THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
VOLUME LX
THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
VOLUME LIX

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

E. W. HANDLEY
H. G. IOANNIDOU
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WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY

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The literary part of this volume comprises fragments of earlier Greek poetry, and of New Comedy. 3963–4, edited by Dr M. L. West, are plausibly assigned to the burlesque Margites; 3965, edited by Parsons, offers remains of elegiac poems by Simonides, notably one which described the campaign of Plataea. Of the seven papyri of comedy, 3967 edited by Dr Margaret Maehler and the rest by Professor Handley, four can be attributed certainly (3967) or plausibly to Menander.

In the documentary part, Section III comprises administrative documents of the Roman and Byzantine periods. 3973–3984, edited by Dr J. E. G. Whitehorne, centre on the strategus: they illustrate his manifold bureaucratic functions, and as usual provide new details for the fasti. 3895–7, edited by Professor Maehler, give a view of the appointment and functioning of officials in the fifth and sixth centuries.

Section IV, 3988–4008, consists of private letters of the Roman and Byzantine periods. These were edited by Dr H. G. Ioannidou as a doctoral thesis at University College London under the supervision of Professor Maehler; they have been revised for publication by Rea. As usual, they cover a wide range of day-to-day business. We hear about the sale of non-laying pigeons (3989), the making of a doctor’s instruments (4001), the building of a church (4003); a literate young man promises a lady sweet-meats (3992), a suspicious husband makes enquiries (3994), a friend offers condolences on the death of a wife — and moves straight on to business (4004). Commodities mentioned include cotton (3991), gold leaf (3993), soap (3996) and weaver’s combs (4005); lexical items of interest include σέγγαθον (3997), καρταλάμιον (4006) and the fish ειμάριον (4008). Two writers assume that their letters will be read aloud to an addressee (3996, 3997): more evidence, perhaps, on the question of functional literacy.

Rea made the documentary indexes; for the indexing of the literary texts we are indebted to the skill and precision of Juliane Priwitzer. Once again we record our gratitude to our printers, Charlesworth & Co, who have set a difficult text with phenomenal accuracy.

May 1992

P. J. PARSONS
J. R. REA
General Editors
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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation, see CE 7 (1932) 262–9. It may be summarized as follows:

- \( \alpha\beta\gamma \) The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read
- \( \ldots \) Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor
- \( [\alpha\beta\gamma] \) The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture
- \( [\ldots] \) Approximately three letters are lost
- \( (\ ) \) Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol, e.g. \( (\alpha\beta\gamma\eta) \) represents the symbol \( - \), \( \sigma\tau\rho(\alpha\gamma\gamma\delta\epsilon) \) represents the abbreviation \( \sigma\tau\rho\delta \)
- \( [\{\alpha\beta\gamma\}] \) The letters are deleted in the papyrus
- \( '\alpha\beta\gamma' \) The letters are added above the line
- \( \langle\alpha\beta\gamma\rangle \) The letters are added by the editor
- \( \{\alpha\beta\gamma\} \) The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor

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

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

3963. Homer, Marginest

A fragment with remains of twelve verses, written in a formal round hand. The upper margin is preserved to a depth of 3.5 cm. There are some accents and punctuation. In line 2 the iota of oV is added above the line.

This and 3964 were provisionally assigned by Lobel to the Marginest, the burlesque poem supposedly composed by Homer. Metre, dialect, and what can be discerned of the subject matter are consistent with ascription to the Marginest, and it is not easy to suggest even a theoretical alternative. A fragment of somewhat earlier date, XXII 2309, was assigned to the poem on similar grounds, and is included in the edition of the fragments of the poem in my iambi et elegi Graeci, ii.

Metre. Lines 3–4 and 6–9 appear to be the ends of iambic verses, no doubt trimeters. Lines 1–2 might be iambic, but 1, at least, looks much more like a dactylic hexameter, and 2 may well be. Hexameters and iambic trimeters in irregular alternation were characteristic of the Marginest. Line 5 presents a problem which is discussed below.

Dialect. Ionic features are the masc. a-stem genitive in -eoo (3), and contraction of eo and eeo to ev (4, 6; if the text is archaic the original spelling was eo, and ev represents a modernization).

Subject matter. It is not very clear what is going on, but it is a lively narrative (1–2) with a domestic setting (3, 7), involving a woman, perhaps a bride (4, 8). The story of Marginest's marriage, we know, formed a part of the poem, perhaps the principal part; see frs. 4 and 4a(a) W. There is direct speech (6), something not hitherto attested for the Marginest but in no way surprising.
NEW POETIC TEXTS

The first letter was ε or a blotched c, cancelled by a through-stroke and a dot above. One thinks first of ε, but the top of c might be expected to hook over more. α or perhaps θ may be possible. A spot at the top left corner of the letter; most plausibly β, γ, τ, v; 10 α: less likely ε or α. Traces above and to the right of o, and a spot at letter-top height midway between o and θ. After θε the foot of an upright, slightly turned out; it seems rather far to the right for η conceivable but not attractive.

1 Cf. Margites fr. 7. 81 δανδωμενε] λαπών ἄπο δέμαν ... ἐκ δ' ἐθραμεν έξω; II. xvi 813 αύχε ἀνέθραμε. 3 Perhaps δισισι κιν ολεκτέα, but more likely a single word. ευονίτης seems to be attested hitherto only in Hesych. ευονίτης εὖνικε. In the present fragment the meaning is more probably 'fellow-slave'.


5 Perhaps the letter before τον as ε, and no other vowel comes into question. So not a trimeter-end, as it stands, yet clearly too short for a hexameter. Perhaps the copyist left the line incomplete for some reason.

6 Perhaps κατά. Anyway '... and examine my ...'. One thinks perforce of the episode in which Margites' bride, to guide the idiot into intercourse, pretended that her vagina had (or was) a wound that only a man's penis could heal (fr. 4). Lines 8–9 can be interpreted to suit this. But the line may well have some quite other reference.

7 Perhaps just τοὺς δόμωνε. 8 κατάλαψις μέγη seems likelier than -ε καλτες μέγη. A fifth-foot anapaest seems to have been admitted in this poem (see the introduction to 3964). But it did not necessarily occur here, as the verb may have been compounded, e.g. δίνα-, κατα-, προκεκαλημένη. If the suggestion made above is right, a reference to uncovering may be suitable, e.g. τρήμα άνακακαλημένη.

9 Elevated language was evidently not confined to the hexameter lines. The 'sword' may perhaps be a sexual metaphor, though it seems not to be a usual one in Greek; J. Henderson, The Maculate Muse (New Haven 1975), 122, cites Ar. Lys. 156 and 632 (neither a certain case), and otherwise only Hesych. s.v. κέφος and two very late epigrams (A.P. 5. 238. 1, 9. 361. 5). 10 I cannot suggest a reading here, or determine whether the line was a hexameter or a trimeter. επιεσθείς does not seem to fit the traces.

M. L. WEST

3964. Homer, Margites

A very tattered fragment with the ends of eighteen verses written along the fibres in a formal round hand of the second century. The upper margin is preserved to a depth of 2.6 cm. There are occasional lectional signs (accents, diaeresis on initial ι and υ) and punctuation (high point). In two instances the iota of the diphthong ηι is added above the line.

On the ascription see the introduction to 3963.

Metre. There can be no serious doubt that the lines were iambic trimeters and dactylic hexameters. (Line 1 presents a problem which is discussed below.) In the trimeters it looks as if an anapaest was admitted in the fifth foot (2, proper name? 15). This is perhaps paralleled in Hipponax's sçazons (fr. 25 W.), but not in Archilochus or Semonides. Mute and liquid do not make position in 4 Αφροδίτης (epic scansion) or 12 Ηρακλης.
Dialect. Ionic features are -γ(ι)ς (1, 6), if dative (if subjunctive, an epicism found occasionally in elegy but not otherwise in iambic verse, I think, until Herondas); psilosis perhaps at 2 (but not 12); ευπυνέως uncontracted in spelling (though contracted in pronunciation). The contracted form 'Ἡρακλῆς is noteworthy.

Subject matter. No continuous thread can be followed, but there are references to amorous concourse (2–3, 4, 12–13), perhaps to a new marriage (11), and to music and dancing (14–15). In the commentary it is suggested that the fragment may come from near the end of the Margites.

1 Stray ink above ων. After α the trace of an upright and a spot at letter-top height; then the top of an oblique stroke and most of an upright, perhaps to be combined as ν. 3 After the left corner of a triangular letter. Of ] only the lower tip is likely, though some spots of ink are not accounted for. The high point after α may be illusory. 5 Before φ a spot at ground level. Before ρ the right side of a small bow; ρ is likely, though some spots of ink are not accounted for. The high point after α may be illusory. 7 After the top of e or o the left side of a triangle. 9 After the upper left extremity of a letter, perhaps v or u. 10 Before the right side of a circle: o or φ rather than θ. At end, three low traces close together. 11 The peninsula carrying ς can perhaps be manoeuvred a little further to the right, but I think not far enough to combine the letters as γαμ[. . .]. The end of a horizontal bar and below it a thick spot as of a diagonal from left; perhaps e or κ. Scarcely r. 12 Above the first [κ an indistinct trace. 14 λ: or α, δ. 15 If ω, only one letter lost before ποι. 16 Over v two unaligned dots, I suppose intended for a diaeresis. 17 Above the first [κ an indistinct trace.
NEW POETIC TEXTS

1. Trace and space do not suit γάμοιν δε, so presumably γάμο [ο]δέ. Then one thinks of μυθέν δει (εῦμι) or δει (γεύμα), or conceivably μυθ' δέι (ένειμι or εὔνημα), or δέιμε (not even on the first day of the month), as -γε (ο)τε as a subjunctive ending is unexpected in iambus (see introduction). The syntax is obscure, and the line extends much too far to the right, even if αύδε or μυθή(ν) is eliminated as a dittography. Something must have gone wrong here or in the preceding part of the line. Possibly two lines have become conflated.

2. Perhaps ευτ' Ἐμίτην ὁδὼν, in a comparison of Margites’ reaction to that of Paris or Menelaus when he first saw Helen. Cf. 12. 1. and Ar. Λυσ. 155 f.

3. -νεν or -ντο ἐν ἄλαστοι. If correctly read may be a verb ending -ντο, but there are other possibilities. Αφροδίτης, at the end of a hexameter, seems rather far from ἄλαστοι to be likely to depend on it directly; but ἄλας Αφροδίτης appears as a sexual metaphor in anonymous hexameters ap. Hippol. Ref. 5. 8.

4. Perhaps πάρθηνος.

5. εὑρητικος 'cleanly'. εὐρητοκος and διατηρηκος are otherwise first attested in Attic literature of the late fifth century. -νεν may again be either a dative or a verbal ending.

6. I suspect ἀλεξουκομας, not necessarily applied to dogs; cf. the non-canine uses of ὄλακτων, μαφυλάκας, and also Simon. fr. 7. 12–12. Three-termination declension of compound adjectives is more frequent in poetic language than in prose; see Lobeck, Paralipomena, 455–65.

7. Dative plural either of a perfect participle (γεγονός, λελιθός, πεπληθός) or of a noun or adjective in ἰσχε (ἐν κτήσεως, κυψήλης, etc.).

8. ἐν φακίων 'torch' is one among many possibilities. Cf. Margites fr. 7. 13 φάκιον.

9. ἐνώ γάμο[ν]? Assuming that γάμο represents the fourth foot, there can only be two syllables after γάμο[ν], so presumably not βίον, but βίον. E.g. βίονphiai(ei[). The sense might be that Margites, after being successfully initiated through his wife’s stratagem (see above on 3963 8), now consummated his new marriage in a short space of time (/Spa^€i |xpovojt 12 f. Margites is comically compared to Heracles in fullest vigour making love for the first time to one of his regular partners. For πόροιν cf. II. xiv 295 ὅτε πρώταν περ ἐμεγάληθη φιλότητι, and for the comic comparison to Heracles, Lucilius, A.P. 11. 95. The most appropriate of Heracles’ partners here would be the most desirable, so perhaps Ηθην καλλικύμων βαδοτήξει or the like.

10. μαλάκας μελαζήκει is otherwise first attested in Sappho and Alcaeus (as πάκτης). In Greek literature and art generally, harps appear in contexts of love and pleasure, in the banqueting-room or the boudoir, and in the classical period their players are usually women.

11. Contracted φως would be unexpected, yet it seems less unlikely than φως 'man'. I should be happier with παναφος, but I see no room for the kappa.

12. εὐφαίνω τοι, πολλακας 'happy outcome after misfortunes?'. If the interpretations suggested above are on the right lines, one may speculate that the author, after recounting Margites’ ludicrous misadventures, brought his poem to a conclusion with this scene of sexual triumph and general festivity, somewhat in the manner of an Aristophanic comedy.

N. L. WEST

3965. Simonides, Elegies

No inventory number fr. 1 5.7 × 7.7 cm Second century

Mr Lobel assembled these fragments, the ‘unpublished manuscript’ referred to in P. Turner 3(e). He left a transcript, and some notes towards a commentary, to which I am greatly indebted.
The writing runs with the fibres; the back is blank. Upper margin at least 3.7 cm (fr. 3), lower margin at least 1.5 cm (fr. 6); an intercolumnium of at least 1.2 cm survives on fr. 21. Sheet-joins appear on frr. 2, 12, 18, 20, 21, 23 (?), 42, but we have no direct evidence of the width of the sheets.

The column had at least 24 lines (frr. 2, 19); since that represents only 11.5 cm of papyrus, the original height may have been substantially greater (see p. 33).

The scribe wrote a small, neat, upright script, assignable to the second century. Mr Lobel observed a likeness with the hand which copied the commentaries XXI 2306 on Alcaeus, XXIII 2368 on Bacchylides, and perhaps also XXXV 2742 on Old Comedy. The hand of 3965 aims at a more stylised manner (ligature generally avoided). But he shows himself slipshod in the execution. There are inconsistencies in the shapes of letters (thus π with the right side straight or curved), in the ductus (e.g. v sometimes as a shallow bowl with stem added below, sometimes in a single movement with a loop at the top right), and in the ornament (the stem of τ sometimes bare, sometimes serifed to the left, occasionally hooked to the right); inconsistencies also in the letter-widths and letter-spacing. All this makes the identifying of traces, and the estimating of lacunas, more than usually uncertain.

Lectional apparatus includes: accents (acute commonly; circumflex fr. 25. 12; grave 8. 3?, 20. 6?); rough breathing frr. 2. 16, 36. 2; diaeresis frr. 2. 3, 20. 5, 25. 3?, 26. 18?; longum fr. 25. 2. Punctuation by high stop; low stop fr. 2. 4, diastole fr. 1. 3, double oblique frr. 2. 19 (see note), 11. 9, 18. 10 and 11. Elision is marked at frr. 1. 13, 2. 12, 11. 9, 26. 10, 14, unmarked (unless damage has removed the sign) at fr. 26. 5, 6, 8; no clear example of scriptio plena. Iota adscript is written at frr. 2. 10 and 11, 26. 16 and 17; no clear example of omission.

The main hand seems to have been responsible for all or most of the lectional signs. He also entered a number of suprascript corrections or variants; others are the work of a second hand, a thinner pen writing more cursively, which also added a few marginal notes. These notes, like those in 2327, refer to the scholars Apion (frr. 2. 11; 20. 8, 10) and Ni(canor) (fr. 2. 11).

For the text, Mr Lobel noted two sets of coincidences: (i) fr. 5 overlaps Simonides fr. eleg. 11 West, which Plutarch cites Σιμώνιδος ... γράφωντος; fr. 26 overlaps Simonides fr. eleg. 8. 8–13 West, quoted by Stobaeus with the heading Σιμώνιδος. Some scholars have ascribed the latter to Semonides of Amorgos. About the former, we have no reason to doubt. (ii) Fr. 1. 1–6 overlaps 2327 fr. 6, and fr. 27 overlaps 2327 frr. 3–4. Add to that the likelihood, argued below, that fr. 1. 9 ff. contains the same lines as 2327 fr. 27 i. Prima facie, then, 2327 and 3965 are two copies of the same book, and that book contained poems of Simonides. There is a remoter possibility, that we have here not the substantive Simonides (i.e. a book from the Alexandrian edition), but an anthology including poems of his, or even two anthologies. But the latter would be a remarkably malign coincidence; and I discount the former, because frr. 1 and 2 contained a narrative of substantial length, and many fragments show scholarly annotation.
NEW POETIC TEXTS

We may therefore assume that both papyri represent the same ‘book’ of Simonides. It follows that any fragment of one of them may contain lines represented in any fragment of the other. More collocations must be looked for. But we have to remember that, on any normal assumption about the length of a ‘book’, neither papyrus offers more than (say) 10% of the contents of the original roll.

This ‘book’ consisted, so far as our fragments go, of elegiac verse. The variety of subject suggests a series of separate poems. The coronis entered in the upper margin below 2327 fr. 7. 2 confirms this; and it is certainly tempting to recognise a first line in 2327 fr. 1 + 2(a) i. 3, and perhaps a transition between poems in 3965 fr. 26. 12–3.

We know nothing about the book-divisions of the (presumed) Alexandrian edition of Simonides. The garbled notice in the Suda (IV 361. 10 ff.; see West, IEG II p. 112) says only: γέγραπται αὐτῷ Δωρίδι διαλέκτῳ ἡ Καιμβόσου καὶ Δαρείου βασιλείᾳ καὶ Σέρβου ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ ἡ ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμισίω ναυμαχίᾳ [v. om. G] δι’ ἐλέγειας· ἡ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμίνι μελικῶς· θρήνοι, ἑγκώμια, ἐπιγράμματα, ποιάνει καὶ τραγωδία [−ια Λ cp. V] καὶ ἄλλα. Elsewhere we hear of a possible ἐλέγειαν on Marathon (Vita Aeschyli 8); scraps are quoted ἐκ τῶν ἐλεγείων (fr. 9 W) and ἐπιγραμμάτων (fr. 13 W, cf. fr. 6 W); quotations in elegiacs cover a variety of topics, convivial (frr. 4–5 W), moralising (fr. 8 W) and political (frr. 10–11 W, the Corinthians at the Battle of Plataea).

The contents of 2327 + 3965 in part overlap these hints, and confirm that Simonides’ works included a collection of substantial elegiac poems:

1) The Battle of Plataea. 3965 frr. 1 + 2 + 2327 frr. 6 and 27 i: a hymn to Achilles, and a salute to Homer, lead to an invocation of the Muse, and that to a narrative of the Spartan march and the mustering of the allies at Eleusis. In 2327 fr. 27 ii Persians and Darians meet on a plain; in 3965 fr. 5 (overlapping fr. 11 W) the Corinthians fight valiantly. Add perhaps 3965 fr. 21. Other scraps might belong to this, or to other battle-scenes (3965 frr. 10, 13, 18, 19; 2327 frr. 5, 19). The main portions would occupy at least 50–60 lines; given the leisurely pace of fr. 2, and assuming that others besides the Corinthians got their meed of praise, the whole piece must surely have reached at least 100 lines. Structurally, it presents the old form of Hymn and Epic in miniature and in elegiacs. Historically, it represents a witness to the campaign a generation earlier than Herodotus. The date can be fixed in relation to Simonides’ death (traditionally 468/7); Pausanias still has a place of honour. The occasion can only be guessed at: a public commission (for the Eleutheria?) is one possibility.

2) The Battle of Artemision? Fr. 20, which probably refers to Kalais, would fit neatly in the preliminaries of the battle. Fr. 12 may belong; so might 2327 fr. 31 ii. Two sources mention ἡ ἐπ’ Αρτεμισίω ναυμαχίᾳ among Simonides’ works: the Suda (δι’ ἐλέγειας) and Priscian (lyric snippets, PMG 533). Scholars have normally thought the Suda wrong. 3965 now confirms an elegiac poem. If Priscian is right, the busy poet celebrated (or mentioned) the same victory twice.

3) Youth and age. Fr. 26 overlaps the famous quotation fr. 8 W. The new context shows that lines 1–5 of the quotation did not originally belong.
(4) *Fantastic journey? Fr. 27 + 2327 frr. 1–2 col. ii, 3, 4.* The content is very conjectural: a journey, an island, a symposium. One possible outline: the poet longs to escape (from old age?) to an Elysian *εὕωχία* of love and song. If 2327 frr. 1–2 col. i (Adesp. Eleg. 28 W) begins the same poem, the contrast of age and youth, and perhaps the erotic note, are reinforced; and this poem too ran to some length (at least 40 lines).

(5) Other scraps too suggest a *symptotic context*: frr. 3 the charming boy?, 4 mixing wine?, 14 dance??, 23 crowns and song?, 25 laughter, charm and the donkey.

2327 has been re-edited by Professor M. L. West in *Iambi et Elegi Graeci II* (ed. 1, 1972) as Adesp. Eleg. 28–60 (with notes in *Studies in Greek Elegy & Iambus* (1974) 167f). Fragments of Simonides are cited here by the numeration of that first edition; the forthcoming second edition will include 3965, and renumber other fragments accordingly.

I am grateful to Dr R. A. Coles, who advised on fibres and sheet-joins; to the members of seminars in Berkeley and Oxford which discussed parts of the text, notably Professor R. L. Fowler, Dr G. O. Hutchinson and Professor D. M. Lewis; and above all to Professor M. L. West, who purged my draft of many mistakes, and contributed the many readings, supplements and interpretations marked ‘MLW’.
NEW POETIC TEXTS

Fr. 1


Fr. 2


...
3965. SIMONIDES, ELEGIES

Fr. 1 + 2327 fr. 6

|ος λαι [ | |] οκλου [ | |] μακσεν [ | |] ονος χειρι [ | |] ηδουσαπ [ | |] το τ [ | |] 5 (1)

---

2327 fr. 27

|πρ ιαμου παεε [χ [ | |] ομ [ | |] ιελεα [υ[ρ]ιο κακοφρ [ονο]c [ως [ | |] ιε άρμα καθελ δίκη (-) [ | |] ο ν [ | |] ιων [ | |] άμω [ν] άναοι [ | |] 10 (10)

---

Fr. 2

|θρυστω [ | |] ευχομένου [ | |] και [ | |] φρονακ [ | | | |] δης [ | |] 20 (15) θ[ | |] πτολε[ | |]

---

|ς [ | |] οιων [ | |] [ | |] θρω [ | |] ο [ | |] οθανατο [ | |] 25 (30) παει [ | |] Ηρακλεος [ | |] 15 (20)

---

|περεων δωρου δ [ | |] οβρα [ | |] παιει [ | |] 20 (25) ει [ | |] επει ες [ | |]

---

|παενιας [ | |] τανταλιδων Πέλοπος [ | |] 15 (30) η πε [ | |] [ | |]

---

|ε [ | |] τετοεθ[ | |] ο [ | |] δε [ | |] 20 (35) η φιλα [ | |]

---

|ε [ | |] ειδομεν [ | |] νυμνα [ | |] 20 (40)
NEW POETIC TEXTS

Fr. 1

...}

Fr. 2

...}
Fr. 3

... 

\[\alpha ι ρεακα ν[\]
\[\epsilon ιθοσπον[\]
\[\nu πενερθεμ[\]
\[\epsilon νανθεκ αλλ[\]
\[\alpha ιδερατον[\]
\[\epsilon τερεθ[\]

Fr. 4

... 

\[\mu ιςγ[\]
\[\epsilon ν[\]
\[\epsilon νδ[\]

Fr. 3

1]. point of ink on the edge, level with tops of letters \((γ ε ζ κ Ϗ τ υ ϕ χ)\) \(\alpha \nu[\). Mr Lobel saw \(λ\) (unmetrical) rather than \(α\); but the microscope shows a doubling of the ink at the lower left extremity, with damaged surface above, suggesting an alpha of the narrow pointed type; after that, a doubtful high point of ink on damaged surface, the damage apparently occupies a relatively narrow vertical space, which would hold \(ι\) or \(ρ\)

2] \(\epsilon ν[\), foot of upright hooked to right, two more points of which the lower might complete the hook (which must then be quite marked); to right, single trace (of upright?) on projecting fibres perhaps only one letter \(\alpha α[\), or perhaps \(ω[\), but a slight thickening of the ink halfway along the bow may suggest two letters touching, rather than one; at the end, high ink most like the left-hand arc of a circle high in the line \(5\) \(\alpha δ\), after delta a high broken trace, oddly shaped for an elision mark, perhaps accidental \(\nu[\), upright with a junction at top, foot hooked sharply to right: \(ε\) rather than \(ν\)

6] \(\epsilon ν[\), top of upright Above \(θ[\), a filled-in circle which looks most like a coarser \(θ\)

Fr. 4

1]...[. first, dot at line-level, well in from the beginning, then foot of upright nearly touching it, i.e. \(ι\) or simply upright with broken oblique serif to left? third, \(ε\) or lower part of \(ε\); fourth, foot of upright 2] ...[. upright trace in upper part of line, joining horizontal or flattened arc descending to right 4] ...[. top of upright, possible signs of junction below top (\(?\)) 5]...[. first, apparently upper branches of \(ξ\) (extra ink on right-hand branch might be top of following upright, but not necessarily, cf. \(ξ\) in fr. 1. 11 \(χαπε\); after an interval, short horizontal at two-thirds height

Fr. 5 + frt. 10–11 West

\(μέσσων δ' οἶοτ' \'Εφύρην πολυπίδακα ναυετάντες,\)
\(παντοίης αρσεῖς ιδρευε εν πολέμων,\)
\(οἶ τε πόλιν Γλαύκου Κορίνθιον ἀκτυ νέμοντες\)

Fr. 5

... 

\[\alpha θερ[\]
\[\delta[\]
\[\pi λυ[\]

Fr. 5

1] ...[. foot of upright with junction to left, \(ν\) acceptable 2] \(\delta[\), first, probably cross-bar and right-hand side of \(γ[\); second, perhaps upper right-hand arc of small circle; third, short horizontal trace at upper level 3] \(\pi λυ[\), of \(π\) the top, part of the left-hand junction, and the right-hand side with a rather messy join (so rather than \(γ\) (or the like) \(ε\) Lobel); of \(υ\) the left hand branch (\(υ\) Lobel, but the stroke extends too far to the left)
NEW POETIC TEXTS

Fr. 6

\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]

Fr. 7

\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]

Fr. 8

\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]

Fr. 9

\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]

Fr. 10

\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]

Fr. 11

\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]

Fr. 9

\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]

Fr. 11

\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]

Fr. 11

\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]

Fr. 11

\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]
\[ \text{[ ]} \]

Fr. 11

\[ \text{[ ]} \]

Fr. 11

\[ \text{[ ]} \]

Fr. 11

\[ \text{[ ]} \]

Fr. 11

\[ \text{[ ]} \]

Fr. 10
1. [., upright, damage to top right] 3. [., foot of upright (spacing may suggest i); lower arc of circle at line-level (ε θ o ε ω?)] 4. [., foot of upright (if a short vowel, i)] 5. [., point at line-level (foot of descending oblique rather than upright?) Of γ, left and right elements (hardly α, of, apparently λ with the left-hand branch blotted (or altered from a?) 6. [., lower left-hand arc (of vowels, ε, perhaps ω; too low for ο?)] 7. [., ink level with letter-tops; then flattened top arc (ε, ε?)] 8. [., dot at line-level on under-fibres, then oblique top as of α etc.

Fr. 11
2. [., foot of upright; lower arc of narrow circle] Short line (pent.) 3. [., top junction of λ etc. (but concave?)] Then apparently elements of ν; then space for narrow letter, set high (no ink shows below the hole) 4. [., doubtful trace on the edge at mid-height] 5. [., high horizontal, point of ink below at line-level (γ? or τ, for the spacing of the stem cf. 4 ετ?)] 6. [., point on line, then point at mid-height (of short vowels, ε most likely, o possible?) 7. [., δρα, above a a short oblique, which might be an acute accent, then two points of ink (separated by damage) suited to another similar ι, back and lower curve of ε, θ, ο, ε, ω; then top of upright followed by elision mark (apparently not to be combined as stem and loop of ρ)] 8. [., trace after a may be end of tail, or beginning of next letter; above a, oblique lines in a different ink, too much for an acute accent, perhaps a sharp-nosed a] 9. [., horizontal at line-level (δ, ε, ζ, ο; apparently not λ)] 10. [., probably μο, with the left-hand side of o lost in the narrow vertical strip of damage] 11. [., probably μο, with the left-hand side of o lost in the narrow vertical strip of damage] 12. [., upright hooked to left at top, more ink to right (possible left-hand junction of ν)]

Fr. 12
Sheet join half way across (cutting πι in 4 θροτη)
1–2 Traces probably of two lines rather than one 3. [., first, ink at mid-height on projecting fibres; second perhaps ι (or ν, but one might expect the right-hand loop to go higher?)] Then trace on line, followed by foot of descending oblique 4. [., lower right-hand arc] 5. [., lower part of upright curving to the right (not enough curve for ε?)] Then doubtful remains of a descending oblique (together, κ or ν?) 6. [., on disordered fibres, trace at middle-height, then foot of upright a little below the line] 7. [., damage followed by concave oblique (λ, μ?)] 8. [., surface stripped] 9. [., top and foot of tall upright ε, points from letter with descending oblique, ι rather than ν?] 10. [., top and back of ε (but ε, ι not excluded?) 11. [., third perhaps α (but a further point of ink]
NEW POETIC TEXTS

above) χ, first two dots of ink ranged vertically in the upper part of the line; second, part of upright, then oval arc (or rounded junction) at line-level; then after a space horizontal ink touching the back of β at mid-height. After β, ink touching the lower loop of β, part of the loop or next letter (e.g. a would suit and fill the gap, but no letter is expected to come so close)?

9 ...[, third and fourth perhaps κ and top and back of ε or υ, probably top left junction of ν. Damaged at the top left, but the cross-bar is horizontal, therefore not v.], probably nothing, since any letter narrow enough to fit would show on the preserved papyrus towards line-level. 10 , shallow left-hand arc, with horizontal projecting to left at half-height (ε, δ). 11 . . [, allowing for distorted fibres to the right, probably the tops of μ or of two triangular letters (λλ etc.)

Fr. 13
1 , top of rising oblique, more ink below (κ, ν, χ?) ... [, first, perhaps left-hand part and right foot of χ; then traces at line-level 3 ], high and low points on the edge, e.g. extremities of κ, χ or π, ε 4 ], obscure, possibly β (the β with extended base-line), but very cramped , [], probably back and lower curve of a 5 ], oblique descending from left to right ε likely, although what remains, the top and cross-bar, form a closed loop (too angular for π; not δ)

Fr. 14

Mr. Lobel originally saw traces of three more lines above line 1 (], [, μ [, ν [), and extra letters at the end of 3 (επε [,]) and beginning of 6 (]μη [): these since lost, as he notes.

2 ], gently slanting trace in mid-line, below apparently blank (ο? but e.g. ε, ν not excluded) 3 [, left side of ε, θ 4 ], second, perhaps elements of small loop (ο, ρ); third not explained (too much ink for ε, too little for υ?); then ε suprascript at, corrected or cancelled χ (J. R. Rea)? 5 ], high point of ink on the edge of a 5 ], elements of small loop at half-height (ο?) . . [, beginning of high oblique sloping down to right, then similar at lower level (to be combined as χ?)

Fr. 15

1 ], foot of upright, perhaps thickened by a join (right-hand junction of ν?) Space after η not enough to prove line-end 2 ν, ink at top right is a serif, not a careless high stop. 3 . . [, upper part of ε, or lower of ε (but ο not excluded)? 4 ], top of upright with serif rather than junction? 5 ], upper arc of circle, further ink to right (on twisted fibres?) 4 ], oblique back as of ι, λ 5 ], top of horizontal at half-height . . [, triangular top, probably trace of horizontal base at left, i.e. δ
Fr. 16

\[ \ldots \]
\[ \varsigma \alpha \pi \varepsilon \nu \]
\[ \nu \delta \alpha \mu \varepsilon \]
\[ \mu \]

Fr. 17

\[ \ldots \]
\[ \nu \]
\[ \alpha \mu \]
\[ \omega \]
\[ \alpha \beta \varepsilon \mu \]
\[ \chi \beta \]
\[ \kappa \mu \]
\[ \epsilon \mu \]
\[ \ldots \]

Fr. 16

1 \ldots [a second, perhaps loop and back of a; then ?; lower curve of ϵ or c; then point at mid-height (extended tongue of c?) foot of upright (e.g. \[ \varsigma \mu \] MLW) 2 [a lower part of η, θ 3 [a upright on edge 4 [a faint point at line-level

Fr. 17

1 \ldots [a oblique feet as of λ etc? 2 [a first, right-hand end of high horizontal; last, left-hand arc of small circle? 3 [a second, right-hand junction of ν? Above this, [a written quite large, but the line-spacing strongly suggests that the letters are interlinear, not an independent line-end 4 [a first, a rather than λ 5 [a or λ, then high horizontal with traces below on the edge, e.g. \[ \sigma \tau \] \[ \gamma \nu feet as of a × λ χ; of ν the foot and part of the left-hand branch (if i, the first dot of the diaeresis was elongated into a short oblique, not so at fr. 2, 3, but cf. fr. 26, 18) 6 [a left-hand arc, perhaps descending oblique above, i.e. ε Superscript: \[ \nu \] last probably a, perhaps \[ \kappa \] \[ \omega \] \[ \nu \] first, right-hand junction of ν? second, highish horizontal joining upright to right, too short for τ, ψ, but if π (γ) the next trace, a point near line-level, follows unexpectedly close 9 [a first, top of upright, ψ; ν? last, upright, damaged at top, no junctions visible, 10 [a first, oblique feet, the former curled to the left: λ² κ? 11 [a, λ² 12 [a lower curve as of ε, c 15 on displaced fibres [ν, [loop of a?}
Fr. 18

Sheet-join at extreme right

Further traces on a once detached strip to the right, ink on the stripped underlayer of fibres, from this line or the one before?

1. Foot of upright, apparently further ink to the right (on the underlayer?)

2. Upright with cross-bar to the right at mid-height, i.e. η. This does not explain the thin horizontal which seems to cross the base of ο. But if it was (say) οον, I do not see what to do with the remaining space. ι, ink (part of descending oblique) above a hole, more ink to the right at line level. If a vowel, ι best suits trace and space?

3. Foot of upright with hook or junction to the left

4. Curving tail as of ι, corrected. Final ι dotted above and below point on the edge at two-thirds height.

5. Lower part of upright curving rightwards at the foot, traces of cross-bar above and projecting to the right? i.e. η, π, πακτο, perhaps right side of small loop. Above, by another hand, εινεδαιπαντα. ι, εοινυτο, a, τακαυνευ, a, a, first, apparently left-hand end of high horizontal; after a, apparently ω.
Fr. 19

col. i  col. ii

1  δ[,] ἡπτ[,]  
   χ[,] ἡμα [,  
   θ[,] δεδ [,  
   ἄγρετος [,  

5  δήρων[,]  
   τουσα[,]  
   ρωκωˌν[,  
   κάμμ[,]  
   αμ[,]  

10  δ[,] ...,[  
   ηευμ[,]  
   [, ένονα[,]  
   φ[,] κιςχε[,]  
   αλ[,]  

15  ης谡[,]  
   φρεικωβ[,  
   ακουπ σπευδρ[,]  
   ενλεκ[,]  
   ξεινου[,]  

20  ερχομε[,]  
   η[,] ε[,]  
   κ[,]  
   χ[,]  
   α[,]  

Fr. 19

Col. ii

1[,] point on edge at half-height  2[,] triangular junction at line-level, δ?  3 φ[,] point of ink at half-height  δ[,] curving lip of ν, ω?  4 δγ, of gamma the foot and the right-hand tip, τ perhaps possible  [, upright or convex back with leftward projection at mid height (of vowels, ε η)  7 ν[,] upright with only a trace of the central oblique  9 , a, high point of ink to the right to δ[, a or λ, then foot of upright  10 δ[, left hand arc, horizontal at half-height extending to the right μ[, apparently the upper elements of η, though rather narrow  12 [, upper part of upright, with join from the right at half-height (e.g. top left of η, κ)? Very doubtful  14 [, perhaps a wide π, perhaps τε  19 [, a, δ  19 [, a, δ  21 , η, φ or ψ; if φ, the loop is narrow and carelessly made, but there seems to be more ink than φ would require  ε[,] first α, δ; second, point level with letter-tops?  22 χ[,] long descender  23 [, second apparently φ, but the loop anomalously far to the right Mr Lobel originally saw remains of two more lines, now lost: 25 θυ, α, 26 ακ
Fr. 20

Sheet-join to left (visible after 3 \( \nu \))

Four small pieces combine. (a) and (b) are ranged one above the other by the back fibres and the sheet join visible to the left; (a) above (b), because in 6 the letter-tops in (a) seem to combine conveniently with the letter-feet in (b). In 11–12 (ac|ca) (c) joins (b) on the right (the join was made by MLW on grounds of content; the fibres confirm it perfectly). (d) is ranged to the right of (c) by the horizontal fibres, and spaced in such a way that in 14 \( \tau \nu \) (c) provides the second part of \( \nu \), the second upright.

1 \( \eta \), foot of long descender, 2 \( \gamma \), (but left-hand side unusually sloped?) or \( \alpha \), \( \delta \), \( \lambda \) or \( \omega \), to the right, unexplained point of ink, e.g. low stop or foot of \( \iota \) (or from suprascript letters in 3?) 3 \( \nu \), high stop seems clear . . . . . , badly damaged, first perhaps rising oblique as of \( \alpha \) etc.; fourth, long descender as of \( \rho \) etc. suprascript \( \iota \), \( \upsilon \), before first trace perhaps a point corresponding to that at the end; first, perhaps back and part of loop of \( \alpha \); second, long descender, but it may belong to \( \rho \) in 2; fourth, damaged \( \alpha \) or second loop of \( \omega \), 4 \( \iota \), upright on edge (i, \( \nu \)?) 5 \( \iota \), lower part of upright, ink above to left (stroke, or left-hand dot of diaeresis?) 6 \( \iota \), traces on upper and lower fragments combine, first, lower curve as of \( \epsilon \) etc?; second, top and base as of \( \epsilon, \epsilon \), apparent grave accent above; third, triangular top and right foot of \( \alpha, \lambda \), then top and lower ascender (\( \theta \) too large for \( \sigma \)?) then top and lower curve of \( \epsilon, \epsilon \), perhaps trace of cross-bar, i.e. \( \epsilon \) , lower part of \( \lambda \) or perhaps \( \chi \) 7 \( \iota \), upper part of thick upright; another high dot to right (interlinear? very long descender from 6?) 8 \( \iota \), right-hand end of horizontal at one-third height, e.g. \( \epsilon \) 10 \( \gamma \), \( \alpha, \lambda \) \( \iota \), no ink visible on damaged surface 11 \( \iota \), concave upright or shallow right-hand ascender \( \tau \), upright, then hint of horizontal at mid-height, then concave upright (together, \( \eta \)?) 12 \( \nu \), lower elements of \( \omega \), 13 \( \iota \), top and lower stem of \( \tau \) (stem very curved?) \( \iota \), \( \pi \)? or \( \gamma \) ligatured to a left-hand arc (e.g. \( \gamma \), \( \nu \)?) 14 \( \iota \), first, top elements of \( \mu \), or of \( \alpha \), \( \lambda \) etc.; second, trace above small hole, of vowels only \( \alpha \) would fit the space? 15 \( \iota \), lower part of upright, 1 \( \iota \), or a single wider letter, e.g. \( \eta \), first, anomalous, apparently \( \lambda \) corrected by overwriting to or from \( \omega \); second, left-hand and lower arcs of circle with further ink top right, \( \epsilon \) or possibly \( \omega \)? 14 \( \iota \), first, oblique top as of \( \alpha, \delta, \lambda \) \( \iota \), top of upright \( \iota \), left-hand end of high horizontal, perhaps traces of upright below (i.e. \( \pi \)?) 15 \( \gamma \), right-hand arc of \( \omega \), \( \iota \), left-hand branches of \( \chi \) rather than \( \lambda \)

Fr. 20

NEW POETIC TEXTS
A sheet join touches the end of γ, and runs through δ at the end of γ.

2], curving tail, a likely, λ, μ possible], ink in upper part of line, sloping up steeply from left to right.

3], the top of the upright (anomalously hooked to the left), and the horizontal (not ζ, ε, τ) γωθρ, of τ the left-hand end of the cross-bar; of α the back and top junction; of ο the right-hand arc].], first, descending oblique, possible trace of junction as of λ etc.; second, perhaps shallow curved trace at line-level, e.g. a 4], if not delusory, a point well below the line, e.g. ρ γτ, α the three extremities, of τ the top and foot].], if the fibres lie correctly, a very narrow space (i possible, but not ο) 5], right-hand part only, ι not excluded?].], upright trace in upper part of line, hole to right of α, a [, first, probably τ (left-hand cross-bar and stem), but ι not excluded?; second, perhaps extremities of λ, but fibres disordered (apparently not ι); third, top of stroke descending to right, but on disordered fibres, perhaps originally a simple upright with thin cross-bar (γ, η?)] 6], ι likely, ι not excluded 7], first, short oblique cap as of ε etc.; second, lower part of upright 6 rather than μ (Lobel) []], right-hand tip of of horizontal at two-thirds height 6, confused fibres, but apparently elements of single letter with rounded back, i.e. c].], small trace sloping sharply upwards from left to right (of vowels, α, o most likely?)] 8], upright above φι, γε or perhaps τε (but the left-hand cross-bar would be rather short, assuming that the trace at the extreme left is a separate point, corresponding to that after ε) 9], top of upright, well above the line (e.g. φ), unless the fibres are shifted γτ, [so rather than γλ (Lobel); first trace may continue tail of a; then only part of upright at line-level, broken above and below 5], ink level with letter-tops 6, only the left-hand part of the long cross-bar 6], first, left hand arc of small loop (α?)] 6, perhaps ι not excluded; second, lower elements of α rather than θω 6], upper right-hand arc (α?) 6, dislocated elements with elision mark to right (Lobel)? or rather remains of upper loop and stem ζ}, ν rather than γ (Lobel), since the cross-bar slopes? 12], of ι the right-hand part of cross-bar and the joining upright, of o the top and left-hand side (Lobel); then trace perhaps rising from left to right, but fibres disordered; then elements in the upper part of the line, perhaps combine as κ 13 apparently blank line-end (pentameter), possible traces (marginal?) near the right-hand edge on displaced fibres 13], point above the top level, to right, at line-level, end of oblique sloping down from left to right (α, λ etc.) 16], possibly top of upright, and part of upper branch, of κ 17], slightly convex upright on edge; then perhaps left-hand, and upper right-hand, elements of ν.
NEW POETIC TEXTS

Fr. 22

\[\nu\chi.\]
\[\tau\rho\nu\tau\rho\tau\nu\\]
\[\theta\nu\nu\eta.\]
\[\omega\nu\nu\pi\eta\mu.\]
\[\lambda\nu'\nu\gamma\lambda\nu\nu.\]
\[\epsilon\nu]\n
Fr. 23

\[\nu.\]
\[\xi\tau\epsilon\phi\]
\[\pi\lambda\eta\]
\[\mu\epsilon\lambda\xi\]
\[\epsilon\delta\epsilon\nu\]

Fr. 22

1. χ., χ rather than λ, to judge from the heavy curl at the lower left; then short upright, with heavy oblique serif or junction at top (ν rather than ω?)
2. lower right-hand arc at top level (o, ρ?)
3. point of ink level with the letter-tops (θψ, θ small, cross-bar projecting to touch next letter, whose first stroke is overwritten (correction to or from γ? but not enough ink for γω) [i.e., left-hand arc of flattened circle (ε?)
4. foot of upright, high cross-bar extending to right (γ, τ)
5. sloping back as of α, λ...
6. top of slightly concave upright

Fr. 23

Possible sheet-join.
1-2 stripped; in 1 traces of ink on the underlayer
3. υ., first, oblique back as of α; second, left-hand end of high horizontal, foot of upright below, τ? (but another trace at mid-height follows unexpectedly close)

Fr. 24

\[\]
\[\]
\[\]
\[\]
\[\eta\eta.\]
\[\mu\eta.\]
\[\delta\eta\lambda.\]
\[\]

Fr. 24

1-3 stripped; 4 might be top of column, but possibly a trace of ink at the beginning of 3.
5. part of horizontal at line-level, more ink above (δ not suggested; ε possible?)
6. λ?, rather than μ
7. first, λλ rather than μμ; second, spot on edge at line-level
3965. SIMONIDES, ELEGIES

Fr. 25

]. αἰγονος[  
]εγέλατε. [][  
]περφυλοσις.  
]υχαχαρισγες[  
]. ν.δουκρασερ][  
]. .ρ. .κονος[  
]. .ξομενη[  
]. αγυοσαμη[  
]. .θηλας.καλιγ[  
]. .δφητουνκ[  
]. .ν. .τους[  
]. .ας . .η.[  
]. .ατρε[  
].υπρος.[  
]. .εαμε[  
]. .ωταφερω[  
]. .στυγος.[  
]. .ε.[  
]. .ε.[  
]. .ε.[

Fr. 25

1], curving upright, hooked sharply to right at foot (too shallow for c) 2], only tip of upper stroke and cross-bar . [], left side of λ or possibly μ; to right of gap, lower part of oblique descending from left to right, or lower left arc of circle 3]: rather than ]εγ (Lobel), although ε is rather shallow? μ], trace above ε to right (part of diaeresis?); at end it seems top and stem of ω or τ 5]: stop faint, not to be trusted 6]:, first, doubtful ink on twisted fibres; then perhaps top of ε, c, p likely (not o, unless lower traces do not belong); fourth, apparently stem and horizontal as of γ, but the horizontal thick; then lower right-hand arc of circle, i.e. o? final ε does not have its top extended; short blank after may suggest, but does not prove, line-end 7]:, indeterminate traces (], sε Lobel, but ξ seems certain) 8]:, γυ, confused traces on straggling fibres; γ plausible, but τ not excluded? 9]:, 9], traces on straggling and displaced fibres; of η, only the lower part, on twisted fibres, but fairly secure 9]:, the stop very doubtful γ,[, high trace, perhaps tip of oblique descending from left to right, no clear ink below this (if so, only suitable vowels u and perhaps α) 10]:, λ, first, on a piece attached by a few fibres, a thick trace, touching a long thin horizontal level with letter-tops (this might combine with next to make τ); second, upper part of γ or τ; third, elements of o or λ (not it seems combining with λ to make μ) o, the stop seems secure 11]:, doubtful trace on straggling fibres; then perhaps projecting cross-bar of ε; then convex upright; last, tall upright with junction at mid-height, ink to right near line-level (ε?) a[, point of ink at mid-height before this, unexplained 12]:, second, oblique back as of λ . .η,[ first, probably a; then long horizontal top with ink below, π, τ 13]:, elements of triangular letter, then upright, e.g. δι (very doubtful); to left of this, more ink on movable scrap 14], above o a vertical (superscript ρ rather than tail of ρ in 13]); end, doubtful ink on twisted fibres 15]:, fibres disturbed; apparently foot of upright, perhaps with end of horizontal at mid-height before; then probably κ 16], twisted fibres, immediately before ω top of upright? τ likely (π, ξ Lobel) o, only the initial curl 17]:, traces on projecting fibres; then perhaps ε[, possible stop, then high oblique trace descending from left to right, perhaps junction at top as of a etc., but υ not excluded? 18]:, .ε.,
 second perhaps ε; third, upright on edge descending below line
The beginnings of 13 ff. on a small strip originally separate, joined here by Dr Rea and MLW independently

1]...[, trace (of horizontal?) at half-height; then upright, thickened at top, damage above (i? v perhaps not excluded) 5 ...[, foot of long descender, if not delusory, lower left-hand arc 4 ]...[, foot of upright; then rising oblique higher to the right, then descending oblique e.g. γχ (Lobel thought of ρλ, or of interpreting part of the ink as an accent)? 10 ...[, lower arc at line-level 6 ]...[, space for two letters, but only one trace, foot of upright 9 ]...[, first, probably top and right-hand end of cross-bar of ε; second, top of ε, c? 17 ]...[, ink on straggling fibre 15 a, left-hand end of cross-bar at two-thirds height 5...[, high trace sloping down from left to right, then elements of upright μ, high and low ink consistent with ε 8 ]...[, foot of upright, high horizontal above to right, touching another upright 11 ]...[, elements of horizontal at two-thirds height 14 ]...[, trace towards line-level, sloping down from left to right 18 ]...[, upright hook at top 17 ]...[, up right on the edge 5...[, single trace which I have taken as left-hand part of diaeresis, but large and elongated, cf. fr. 17. 7, possibly part of superscript letter or even long descender from 17...[, three tops, could be combined as ω or c.e. v
3965. SIMONIDES, ELEGIES
Fr. 26 + fr. 8. 6–13 West

\[\thetaο[\]
\[\nuτ[\]
\[\thetaον \varepsilon\pi\iota \chiρω[\]
\]
\[\omega \ παρμεν.\]

5 \[\thetaνητ\omega\nu \delta' \delta' \ph\rhoα \tauικ\iota \ \alpha\υ\thetaος \epsilon\chi\xi\epsiloni \ \piολυπήρατον \ \eta\beta\etaς \ \κο\upsilon\phi\omicron\nu \ \epsilon\chi\omega\nu \ \thetaυ\mu\nu \ \ο\nu \ \pi\alphaλλη \ \α\τέλεις \ \tauα \ νοει:\]

ο\upsilonι τε γάρ \ \epsilon\λπ\iota \ \omicron' \ \epsilon\chi\epsiloni \ \gamma\nu\rhoα\ς\epsilon\muε\nu \ \o\upsilon\tauε \ \thetaα\nu\epsilon\iota\thetaαι \ 
ου\upsilon' \ \upsilon\ \gamma\nu\η\ς \ \omicron' \ \alpha\nu \ \eta\ \phi\rhoο\nuτ\iota\omicron' \ \epsilon\χει \ \kappa, \ \alpha\μ\α\του.

ν\etaι τιοι ο\iotaς \ τα\uomicron\iota τηι \ ke\iota\tauαι \ ν\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o\omicron\o}\]

\[\gamma\lambda\omega\varepsilon\iota\varsigma\epsilon\iota\epsilon\kappa\phi\omicron\nu\gamma' \ \omicron\mu\eta.\]

\[\pi\alpha, \ \delta\alpha\mu\alpha.\]

\[\omega \ \phi\upsilon\theta\iota\omicron\iota\omicron\iota\omicron\iota\omicron\iota\omicron\iota.\]

\[\epsilon\upsilon\theta\alpha\lambda\iota\omicron\iota\omicron.\]

\[\epsilon\upsilon\tau\rho\epsilon\omicron\pi\tau\omega.\]

\[\omega \ \epsilon\upsilon\theta\alpha \ \kappa\alpha.\]

\[\omega \ \nu\omicron \ \epsilon\upsilon\theta\alpha \ \kappa\alpha.\]

\[\omega \ \upsilon\omicron \ \epsilon\upsilon\theta\alpha \ \kappa\alpha.\]

\[\omega \ \nu\omicron \ \epsilon\upsilon\theta\alpha \ \kappa\alpha.\]

\[\omega \ \nu\omicron \ \epsilon\upsilon\theta\alpha \ \kappa\alpha.\]

\[\omega \ \nu\omicron \ \epsilon\upsilon\theta\alpha \ \kappa\alpha.\]
NEW POETIC TEXTS

Fr. 27 + 2327 fr. 3-4

Fr. 27

top

ομι κέλευθον[

α νήσον ἀγαλμα [ ]

[νέανθοτρ[ ]

[καλαβο[ ]

[αποχροοσα[ ]

[μερόεντα[ ]

[δος μανθε[ ]

[αρκίδασε[ ]

[ν[ ]

[βλατ[ ]

...]

5

ν κόμμ[ ]ν Ἰο[ ]επάνων

[εδος πολύδενδρον ικ[ ]

10

[τος ἀπὸ χρόος αν[ ]

[ων μερόεντα[ ]

[δος ἐν ἀνθε[ ]

[φαρκίδας εκ[ ]

[α νεσβλατ[ ]

15

1 ]... traces of one or two letters, first perhaps parts of upright, together possibly elements of ν 2 [ ...], first, left-hand end of horizontal at two-thirds height; second, damaged area, points of ink at line-level and above to right 3 [ ...], upright with junction at half-height? ‘Perhaps left-hand base angle of δ’ Lobel, but there seems too much ink for that; in some ways β or κ suggested, but only if the branches cross and project to the left of the stem (abnormal); θ would leave some ink unexplained, and again the crossbar does not normally project 4 [ ...], parts of upright with crossbar at mid-height (disordered fibres)? 5 [ ...], right-hand elements of χ 6 [ ...], tip of descending oblique at two-thirds height (overhang of ε etc.) 7 [ ...], faint trace towards the top of the line, perhaps delusory 8 [ ...], δος ..., first, ‘loop of ρ suggested, but anomalously rectilinear’ Lobel (but perhaps rather flattened top and stem of υ); second, elements reconcilable with the back and crossbar of ε 9 [ ...], short horizontal trace at mid-level, surface destroyed above to left 10 [ ...], high horizontal, hole below (π? but γ, π perhaps not excluded, if thickened ink to the left indicates a junction) 11 [ ...], first, sloping back as of α? after ν, upper and lower elements of a circle; then at upper level junction of upright and descending oblique, or top of angular loop
Fr. 28

1. λδα. [ 
2. uca. [ 
3. avλ. [ 
4. ωκει[ 

Fr. 29

5. stripped? 
6. stripped? 
7. . . . [ 
8. ψαμεν. [ 
9. νονω . . [ 

Fr. 30

10. [ , upright, horizontal trace joining at top right 
11. hooked left at top, right at foot 
12. branches as of ς, χ 
13. left-hand arc of circle? 

Fr. 28

1. , curving tail as of α etc. 
2. λδ, traces of the flat base of δ? but μ not excluded? 
3. [, upright, first right-hand junction of π?, second, apparently ε, but unexplained point below; third, long descender, ρ, but no trace of the loop 
4. , curved tail and top junction as of α etc. 
5. [, after a space, foot of upright 
6. ω. . . [, first perhaps ε (distorted fibres); traces of two more letters partly concealed by fragile turn-over 

Fr. 29

1. [, first, lower arc as of ε, ε; second, lower part of upright and descending oblique (ς, ν?) 
2. [, upper arc of ε or the like 
3. [, left-hand end of horizontal at mid-height? 

Fr. 31

1. ρ. . . [ 
2. ucr. [ 
3. μη. [ 
4. . . [ 

Fr. 32

1. δωρ' ava[ 
2. . . [ 
3. . . [ 

Fr. 33

1. [ 
2. [ 
3. [ 

Fr. 31

1. ρ. . . [, or perhaps φ; then foot of upright (ι)?; probably base of δ; lower arc and part of cross-bar of ε? 
2. [, long horizontal at mid-height 
3. ν, in the v-shape (anomalous) 

Fr. 32

1. [, first, upper and lower elements of ε?; second, long high horizontal, τ?
NEW POETIC TEXTS

Fr. 34

[...].[...]
]. ῥοκα.[
]. ῥοκα.[
]. ῥοκα.[
]. τε[.

Fr. 35

top?
]. επ[.
]. γα[.
]. νερ[.

Fr. 36

Fr. 34

... top of upright, with high horizontal projecting to right; feet as of γ, π

Fr. 35

... upright, high horizontal extending to right, γ or τ

Fr. 36

... oblique trace directly below breathing, of vowels α, ω?
3965. **SIMONIDES, ELEGIES**

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Fr. 41</th>
<th>Fr. 42</th>
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<td>]...[</td>
<td>]...[</td>
<td>]...[</td>
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<tr>
<td>}θρω[</td>
<td>}η[</td>
<td>}αντο[</td>
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<td>}ο[</td>
<td>}</td>
<td>]...[</td>
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<tr>
<td>}ε[</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Fr. 40

1 ]...[, first probably loop of α; then λ, intersected by a very long descender from the line above

Fr. 42

Sheet-join on the right

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<tr>
<td>}θυμ[</td>
<td>}...[</td>
<td>}ων[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>}...[</td>
<td>}κλ[</td>
<td>}χξ[</td>
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<td>}</td>
<td>}...[</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Fr. 43

2 ]...[, traces of high horizontal and upright (together, π?); third, probably ε; fourth, tip of oblique descending from left to right

Fr. 44

2 ]...[, first anomalous, ξ altered to ε or vice versa?; then blank space of one letter? 3...[, left-hand arc 4...[, high horizontal, π, τ?

Fr. 45

1 ]...[, apparently λ, but anomalous ink close up on edge to left 2...[, descending oblique as of λ etc. 3...[, upright, another point further right

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>}πα[</td>
<td>}α[</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fr. 46

1...[, first part of oblique descending from left to right, trace of vertical before it?; second, upright and upper branch of θ (or cross-bar of η)? e.g. ]θα[; or ]θα[ MLW

Fr. 47

1...[, first part of oblique descending from left to right, trace of vertical before it?; second, upright and upper branch of θ (or cross-bar of η)? e.g. ]θα[; or ]θα[ MLW
fr. 1
1–10 2327 fr. 6 [Adesp. Eleg. 33 W] provides 1–4, and overlaps 5–10. 2327 fr. 27 col. i [56 W] provides ends for 9 ff., and the continuation of the text in col. ii [58 W] (reproduced for convenience in the transcript on p. 9, although its exact horizontal range in relation to 3963 cannot be determined). On the placing of fr. 3, see below.

2327 fr. 6 is the top of a column, fr. 5 the foot. MLW suggests that fr. 5, which clearly refers to a heroic death, directly preceded fr. 6, where some one apparently dies at the hands of Apollo. Fr. 5 has a sheet-join to the right (in the second foot), and fr. 6 another (in the fourth foot), so that we cannot expect to trace horizontal fibres; but the width of the sheet, estimated from the metrical lengths it would contain, is roughly comparable with that between the two joins (the former inferred from a discontinuity of fibres) in 2327 fr. 1 + 2 (Lobel p. 69). But other contexts could be thought of, even within this poem: the fall of Mausolus, or Mardonius?

West restored 2327 fr. 6 to refer to Patroclus and Apollo. The new piece confirms the Trojan context: Greeks (10) sack (9) a town, Priam and Paris make plausible supplements (6-7). 11–14 describe the fame of Achilles; a formula familiar from the Homeric hymns leads over to a new theme.

2–4 Πατρόκλος (c), δίμακας, Άπολλόνως West, referring to the death of Patroclus [Il. 16. 788 ἤργον γὰρ τοῖς Φοίβοις ... 791 πληθὺς δὲ ... /χεῖρι καταπηντηκέ ... 845 Ζεὺς Κρόνιος καὶ Άπολλόνιος, οἱ μὲ δίμακας]. The new fragment shows that Achilles was central to this section; that might explain why Simonides gave Patroclus a substantial niche even in this short-order view of the Trojan War. But the transition is sudden: 7–8 sum up the cause of the war, 9–10 its conclusion. Therefore (argues MLW) Apollo should figure here for the death of Achilles himself ([Il. 19. 416 ff.; 22. 359] — alluded too again in 14.

2 Pent. [2], the lower part of an upright, hooked to the right (ε or c); the beginning of a stroke rising to the right. Πατρόκλος ε[2], ε[2], ε[2] Homer has genitives -ου, -οι, -ος; TLG registers no instance of -ος (the nominative Πατροκλός Τεθεος. 15. 140).

3 Hex. [2], top and foot of shallow oblique, alpha likely. [2], apparently the bottom left-hand angle of δ, but δ also possible.
4 Pent. Various patterns are suggested by Il. 9. 405 (and often) Φοίβοις Άπολλόνως, Hes. fr. 25. 12 MW οὖν Άπολλόνως χείριν, CEG 572. 5 Άπολλόνως χεῖρι διμήκες θξει.

5 (1) Hex. [3] Lobel [3965], with alpha (probably) superscript over the second ε, then a flat top compatible with π: [3965]. [2327], ‘a trace compatible with the top left-hand corner of ε or ι’ (but perhaps just part of a thick upright).

6 (2) Suppl. Lobel. παῖς 3965: παῖς, δ superscript, 2327.

χι, though damaged, seems inevitable; a participle would fit well at the line-end. χ[αρίζει]μου[εν- has attractions: commonly in this place (fr. 26. 12 below; Archil. fr. 6 W, Theogn. 920, 1000, 1224); for παίδι χι, see the fifth century epigrams CEG I 58. 6, 169. 2 (epithets; favour done by the living to the dead), 365. 2 (Κρόνῳ π. χι, dedication, favour done by man to god), and especially Theogn. 773 ff. Φοίβη ἀναζη, αὐτὶς μὲν ἐπάγωσας πόλην ἄγην, / Ἀλκαθύδω Πέλαγος παῖδι χαρίζωμεν. But if Apollo is the subject here too, doing favours to the sons of Priam, or to a singular son (Hector; not Paris, if he comes in the next line), we have an awkward transition from Apollo’s intervention to the punishment of Paris’ sin. MLW therefore proposes to introduce in 5 the deities hostile to Troy, and therefore to restore χ[αιλετέρ].μου[εν- in 6.

7 (3) Ιωάκι, [2327]. Suppl. Lobel, who thought also of κακοφθης[αδε]ς [κακοφθης[αδέ]ς excluded by space as well as by metre). After the sigma, apparently a διάλυς, that assures word-end, but what ambiguous division was it intended to prevent?

Paris is not normally so described (his Iliadic epithets are δόξαι and θεοκίδης); and in fact κακόφθης occurs in the epic only as Zenodotus’ reading (conjecture) at Il. 11. 123 and 136 — Ἀττικόχωρον δαίμονος; and then in poets of the Roman period, of Phaethon Q, Sulpicius Maximus, Kaibel, Ep. Gr. 518. 3, of Oenomaus QS 4. 527. Earlier uses in Pind. fr. 211 and tragedy. Not normally in prose (only Theophr., Πετρ. 3. 3), but later a favourite with Athenasia.

ωτ., [2], the second trace perhaps ε or c: δέξι possible, δέ 75 less likely, not δέ ποιε.

8 (4) [θεογε], the foot of an upright: θ ε π υ possible (υ excluded by the spacing?), though η and π in particular normally have a hooked foot.
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{Context and metre}
\begin{enumerate}
\item The general drift emerges from \textit{kakouphi, kathile} and \textit{diei[...]}, that the destruction of Troy resulted from the sin of Paris. \textit{Soustémouyi yap / teivn podwv ev ivn kakouphous bhaba} (Soph., Ant. 1104). There are two main problems in reconstructing the syntax: (i) what attaches \textit{Allep}[...]/\textit{doroio} to the context? (ii) what forms the subject of \textit{kathile}?
\item (a) The genitive may look back. In that case I see nothing for it but to write e.g. \textit{eivke} at the beginning (II. 6. 356 \textit{Allep}... \textit{eivke} \textit{aiv}) and begin a new clause with \textit{ev} (\textit{aiv}). Alternatively, (b) the genitive may look forward, on the pattern \textit{a[...]} / \textit{kakouphi[...]} (or \textit{aiv[...]} \textit{kakouphi[...]} \textit{aiv}) as \textit{ka[...]} \textit{kathile}.
\item (a) The subject may be \textit{D[...]} / \textit{aivma} (\textit{teivma}) will be the object; \textit{eivte} must then be a noun, or an adjective agreeing with a noun now lost; if we reconstruct 7 on the pattern of (i) (b), space must be found for a connective linking the two accusatives. Dr Hutchinson suggests that we need a noun to mean 'prosperity', as at Eur., \textit{HF} 780 (the lawless man) \textit{eivte} / \textit{alou evwv kaiaviv ivma}, or 'vice', 'foolishness' or the like: \textit{eivte} \textit{kathile} could be considered.
\item (b) The subject may be \textit{aivma (teivma) ... D[...]} / \textit{aivte} / \textit{eivte}, or perhaps \textit{eivte} \textit{eivte}, to agree with it (i might be expected in epic and Ionic, \textit{eiv} in Attic; but \textit{Tyrraeus} and \textit{Theognis}, as transmitted, use both). For this traditional epithet see \textit{Theogn.} 330, Solon fr. 36. 19 W etc., and West on Hes., \textit{Th.} 85-6; \textit{eivte} remains an alternative (MLW). Here there are related problems about the use of \textit{aivma (teivma)}, and the precise meaning of \textit{kathile}. If the poet wrote \textit{aivma}, we have an image of \textit{Justice} not (so far as I see) attested elsewhere: the personification normally sits enthroned (West on Hes., \textit{Op.} 259), or with balance, keys or club (Bacch. 16. 25 f; Parm. 28 B 1. 14; Eur., \textit{Hipp.} 1172); no chariot appears in art, or in descriptions of art (Aesch., \textit{Sept.} 642-8; SVF III 197-8 fr. 1; QS 5. 45 f), as surveyed in \textit{LIMC} III i 388 ff. But this may be too literal-minded; no doubt any powerful deity could command a vehicle. If the poet wrote \textit{teivma}, it might mean 'destined end' (Aesch., \textit{Ag.} 781 \textit{paiv 8eiv teivma nomav, sc. Divn}), or more generally 'authority' (Simon.}, AP 13. 26. 4 = FGE 830 \textit{teivma \'eivov Korivthov}. If the two are variants, we should expect them to function similarly in the image; and it is a question whether we should treat the phrase as pictorial, or as a simple paraphrase. If the latter, the sense will be equivalent to \textit{katavrhv \textit{diei}}, \textit{Theogn.} 207, and \textit{kathile} will mean 'brought (him, it) down': \textit{Od.} 2. 140 etc. \textit{moip' \'aivov kathile ... thnivotov, Aesch. Ag. 396 \'foiv' \'aivov kathilev, sc. \textit{theov}. But if a visually coherent image is sought, \textit{teivma} seems alien to violent action; \textit{aivma} would make a violent image, but perhaps not a practicable one, \textit{diei} \textit{kathile} 'from the top down' or 'down from a height'.
\item (c) The subject might be \textit{Paris} (less likely a paraphrase for him, with \textit{aivma or teivma}), the object \textit{aivma (teivma) / D[...]} / \textit{aivte} / \textit{eivte} (less likely \textit{D[...]} / \textit{eivte[...]}). Again, a question whether to look for visual coherence: literally, \textit{kathilev \textit{aivma}} seems implausible, \textit{teivma} less so (though I find no evidence for the meaning 'boundary stone', which would suit best).
\end{enumerate}
\item The reconstruction proposed depends on two assumptions.
\item (i) \textit{2327} I. 1 col. i provides the ends of the same lines. There is no direct physical proof of this. But the arguments seem overwhelming: (a) The spacing works very well: that is, if you reconstruct the line-ends of \textit{3963} on this basis, you find that the line-ends in \textit{2327} appear in just the right vertical range (the pentameters, and the hexameter 15, would be too short to show). The mid-line lacunae in 17 and 19 are estimated on the same basis. (b) The text which results confirms itself, at least in 9 (the Homeric allusion), 13 (Theocritus' allusion), and 17 (where the sense requires the vocative).
\item (ii) The supplements of line-beginnings are all guess-work. But in 15 \textit{aivma ev \textit{aiv} ev \textit{aiv}} seems practically unavoidable, and I have used that as the standard; other restorations suggested, and lacunas indicated, conform to this, unless otherwise indicated.
\end{enumerate}
NEW POETIC TEXTS

10 (6) In 2327 only an acute accent, perhaps from ἄγαμος, perhaps from μάχοι

ἀγάμοι. Hesychius has ἄγαμος· πολέμαρχος; otherwise the word is not attested, except as a proper name. (i) Formation. EM 299. 43 (Herodian, peri παθῶν 2. 261. 6) shows ancient grammarians comparing such names as ἴχθυος, τετράποδος, and explaining the first element either as a reduction of ἵππος or as deriving from ἱ饶 rather than ἵππος. (ii) Accent. The papyrus (how far the first hand?) writes an acute accent on epsilon, and cancels one on the second alpha. This conforms to the rule stated at Athen. 154E: derivatives of μάχι are proparoxytone (φιλόμαχος), derivatives of μάχεσθαι paroxytone (μπαλάμδρυς). (iii) Vocalisation. I cannot explain the initial Ĥ. Elsewhere the papyrus shows entirely epic or attic forms.

Δαναός. The scribe, or a corrector, cancelled an acute accent on omicron. The accent would conform to normal rules, if -ωι was intended (Chandler §225). One could suggest (a) that the accent was actually written on the preceding alpha, and cancelled as incorrect: it is true that one might expect the accent on a diphthong to stand further to the right, but then it stands rather far to the right of alpha too; or (b) that the accent was cancelled as incorrect, because what stood in the text (originally, or as a result of correction) was Δαναο[ς].

Below iota, and touching it, an oblique stroke similar to the diastole in 3. Yet here it cannot be a diastole, for this is the last word of the line. Anomalous serif?

Δαναοι nominative seems likely. It remains a question whether the phrase means ‘the Greek leaders’ or ‘the Greeks who led the battle’; if the second, whether ἄγαμοι is a stock epithet, or distinguishes the officers from the rank and file. The same question touches the restoration of ἴων, for which (say) both Τρῆς and ἄγαμοι could be considered. If ἄγαμοι could govern a genitive, we could think of ἄνδρον ἴων, if not, of πέρσας or ἰων. If Τρῆς, the genitive might depend on a noun in apposition to ‘city’, or on an epithet ‘victorious over’.

A quite different solution would be e.g. ως εἰς τάν Τρῆς ἄγαμοι Δαναο[ς].

The trace is the foot of an upright, ending at line-level and turning to the left: this turn might represent a hook (serif) or a junction. It looks likely; and on this basis Lobel suggested ᾱδέραστον, cf. Bacch. 13. 65 ἄνθασάντων κλέος (so Plato, Symp. 208C and in a fourth-century Attic epitaph, CEG II 486. 2; ἀθάνατον of course commoner, and often in Trojan contexts: ll. 9. 413, Sappho fr. 44. 4, Ibyc. 282 (a) 47, 'Iion', AP 7. 43. 4 = FGE p. 156).

As an alternative, Dr Hutchinson proposes ἵππατο Ῥηθνον ἄγαμοι Δαναο[ς]. The long alpha is first attested in the fourth century, CEG 548. 4, 721. 2, cf. 'Simon.', AP 7. 253. 4 = FGE 713). ἴππατο cannot be excluded as a reading: cf. fr. 6. 3 for an eccentric form with short upright and hooked foot. But the trace, and the spacing, favour ν.

ἄρ[δρα. The trace is an upright, with a join (projecting to the left) at the top. The joining stroke seems to descend, which would guarantee ο, but a horizontal (γ, π?) is not absolutely excluded.

12 (8) -πλακάμου. The Muses are called ω-, καλα- and ἀρισ-πλάκαμοι (Theogn. 250, Pind., Pyth. 1. 1, PMG 1001; Eur., IA 104; Procl., Hymn. 1. 44); and no doubt many other capillary compliments. It seems inevitable to write Περίδ[ων in agreement.

11-12 (7-8) The two verbs show that we must reconstruct at least two clauses.

The first has κλέος as its subject. I have not found the simple χέειν so used, though the parallel of χέειν αὐθὴν can be added (fame might reasonably be seen as 'poured out' like a libation, or 'heaped up' like a grave-mound?): ἐχέειν (θρίαν Pind., Isthm. 8. 58, the image of the libation?) or καταχέειν (μηθ' εφ' χειρίς καταχέειν II. 25. 408) might be easier. We have also to provide a connection with the heroes who go before. Mr Lobel proposed a supplement which meets both needs: ὢς κατ' ᾱδέραστον κέφαλαι κλέος.

After that, ἐμπνεύσι (provided by 2327) requires a genitive, and so I supply ἄρδρας; equally possible ἀδέρας, but I do not see what could precede. This is the Νεῖον ἰναρ (Simon. fr. 8. 1 W, if indeed it is Simonides, see on fr. 26 below). The line balances and contrasts ᾱδέραστον and ἄρδρας: immortal fame depends on (mortal) man. This contrast confirms ᾱδέραστον as the right restoration. It is itself reinforced by the use of ἐμπνεύσι: in Homer (Od.) the word is used only of gods, and so elsewhere in older poetry (Hes., Οπ. 4; Archil. 193. 2; Alcm. 59(a)); Pindar and Bacchylides join it with the names of gods and with abstract nouns; the earliest example I can find, in which it applies to a human agent, is Eur., Ηερ. 1198.

If this is right, Homer will be the natural subject of ἐμπνεύσι, and the expected object must follow in 13; that is confirmed if, as seems likely, we recognise a high stop (sentence-end) after ἰναρ. Thus: 2 οὖν' (παρ' ὕπ' λοικάξων δέπαστο Περίδ[ων] / [πάσαν ἀληθείαν]. The last phrase Homeric (Od. 11. 507 and elsewhere).
13 (9) ὅπως ὡς ἶαους. Dr. Hutchinson's brilliant supplement is made certain, now that 2327 has contributed the word-end. The word normally means 'younger' within a group; in the sense 'of a later generation', the first examples have so far been Hellenistic (though the first line of Εἰρήναϊ comes close, fr. 1. p. 30 Bern., p. 26 D.). See Theoc. 16. 46 and Gow's note. But in fact Theocritus is clearly recalling our passage: 16. 34 ff. Antioces and Akeus, Scopaeidae and Cleonidae, would be forgotten οἴ μὴ κλέος ἄνδρος ὁ Ἐρίθως ἄπαλλος φιλόκλως | ἑβαγωγὸς ἐτοι πολυμορφων ἐν ἀνδρᾶς θηκ' ἰδροκτοῦν | ὀπλότροισ; 48 ff. similarly the exploits of the Trojan War would be forgotten but for Ἡδονος ἄνδρος ἄνδραθ. Theocritus understood ἐπίσωμαν as equivalent to ὀποκτοῦν, as the context in Simonides certainly suggests. I have found no parallel for this usage.

14 (10) Since the next line is visibly a new start, we must fit in a verb here to match Theocritus' θηκ': παίνει or the like?

ημὺριδέων, not a completely satisfactory interpretation of the first 'in', Lobel. Certainly the dispersed bits are rather wide for the top of an upright, and might rather belong to a descending oblique; on the other hand, the back of a, or (say) the right hand side of a cramped ν, would be expected to show on the apparently undamaged surface to the left of θ. In the Trojan context, this nec propriś is hard to resist. Materials are collected in West's note on Hes., Op. 160: note 11. 12. 23 ἰμιδέων γένος ἄνδρον (the heroes who had fallen in the war—looking back from after the destruction of Troy); Hes., Op. 159 f. ἄνδρων ἱρώις θείος γῆς, οἱ καλονταὶ | ἰμιδέων, προτέρη γενεὴ (killed at Thebes and Troy); in similar context fr. 204. 100, Alc. 42. 13 (specifically Achilles), Bacch. 11. 155. 2327 carries the marginal note ντον', i.e. ημὺριον as gloss or possibly as variant.

ἀκτίφωον; in ll. only of Achilles, except at 15. 441 (arrows); in Od. of the suitors (22. 75 arrows). The word is otherwise rare in early poetry (Bacch. 5. 141; Emped. B 2. 4); not in literary or epigraphic epitaphs before the third century (Anyte, AP 7. 486 etc.); not in tragedy.

γενεῆς: cf. the eccentric form in fr. 2. 6] γε. Achilles' epithet is transferred to the whole generation. That the ἰμιδεοι in general did not reach old age Simonides apparently stated in one of those of Θηρίων (PM 529; corrupt, but if the context was consolatory the gist is presumably 'did not reach old age' rather than 'reached old age only after a life of troubles').

15 (11) ἀλλὰ εὖ μὲν νῦν looks virtually certain. This combination seven times in ll., once in Od. (and according to TLG, otherwise only at AR 1. 303), always with the imperative; texts normally write νῦν, some ancient scholars chose νῦν, see schol. on ll. 1. 421. Dr. Hutchinson notes that καὶ εὖ μὲν νῦν represents a possible, but unattractive, alternative: awkward with νῦν, and poorly attested (Denniston 479 gives no exact parallel, and TLG finds only two examples of this exact phrase—in Origen).

Ἀδεὶς ἐρμουδέως νῦν: Lobel's supplement seems unavoidable: note (i) Μαινῆς ἐρμουδέως νῦν ἩμΗμερ 550 and (ii) ἰωμός ἐρμουδεῖα νῦν Od. 11. 631. (i) represents a common enough line-end (otherwise nominative or accusative): the mother is Leto in Ἡμηντ 182 etc., Maia in ἩμΗμερ 89, 350, Semele at Ἡη 7. 1, Gaia at Od. 11. 576. Apart from Tityus, son of Gaia, the offspring are all gods themselves. Given that, and the hymnic context, it would be tempting to interpret this line of Apollo, who has played some part in the poem (4). This assumes, reasonably, that Leto could qualify as θεᾶ. But the idea founders on ὅπως, which we can hardly attach it to a different subject. The conjunction points rather to Achilles, son of Thetis (θεᾶ θείς ll. 13. 76) and grandson of Nereus: already in the background of 1-4, and hinted at by ἀκτίφωον in the line before.

16-18 (12-14) Mr. Lobel suggested that 2327 fr. 28 contained line-beginnings (to judge from the size of the initial letters), and that these corresponded to the ends in fr. 27 i 8-10, our lines 16-18; they are so printed in Adesp. El. 56 West. If this were right, our freedom of action would be limited by the knowledge that 16 began with ψηφ. [1, 17 with τειχ.] But I doubt whether it is safe to place such small scraps at so great a distance. Certainly I have thought of no suitable supplement for 16; on 17 see the note there.

16 (12) There is more than one way in which the relationship could have been expressed. We could write ἄλλου, and compare the common Homeric use of ἄλλος γέρων in reference to Nereus; but also διαφανοῦς, cf. Aristoph., Ἀθην. 325, Orph. H. 24. 1. The phrase, as Mr. Lobel noted, might continue the description either of Thetis (κούρας διαφανοῦς) or of Achilles himself (νιὸν διαφανοῦς, or, with anaphora, ἐκνέειν χαίρειν] ἄλλου).

17 (13) ἐ' is most likely to be the pronoun. We then need a verb to govern it, and a vocative to explain it (since ἀπ' ἐός excludes a reference back to Achilles). The vocative is supplied by 2327, Μοῦσα; before that, ἐ', possibly an imperative, more probably an epithet which will occupy most and perhaps all of the
three or four syllables missing after ἐμοι (the trace excludes ἐμοι[... it is of π, or possibly ω]. The verb must
then stand at the beginning, or follow in 19; if the former, e.g. κελύφονε]·. (Or, if 2327 fr. 28 is placed
here, παρά[μεμει]. But the placing is doubtful, sec on 16-18; and the verb would imply an infinitive in 18,
in turn which makes the supplement there more difficult, see p. 34.) Among attested epithets, παρθένες
(Emhed. 3, 3 DK) leaves a gap awkward to fill; π[πολυθείκες]·, even if otherwise plausible (Orph. H. 76, 11),
took too long for the estimated space (but the estimate is more than usually fallible, see 9 ff. note). π[λυθ]
seems likely enough: e.g. π[πολυθείκες]·? The sense may then be complete within the line, with ἐμοι depending
on ἔπικους: Timoth. PMG 791, 204 ἐμοι ἐπέτε οὗο ἔπετε, ἐπέ ταύτ' ἄνεκν, ἐπέ ταύτ' Παυκ.

18 (14) [ἐυμεθέντο[...], the trace apparently the upper part of an upright: ω might be υ. It is tempting,
in this context, to look for a dative: the pattern as in Theogn. 13 εὐθὺς, καὶ ἐμοί (Artemis), Solon
13, 2 W Μοῖρας Ἑρμῆς, καθότι μοι εὐθυμήσαι (both beginning of poems); cf. Emhed. 131, 3 DK εὐθυμήσεί
νῦν αὐτὲ παράτασα, Καλλισπέα κτλ. But εὐθύμην[c] cannot be excluded (PMG 1018(b) 3 εὐθυμήνων ἐπακούσατε[...],
Ant. Thess., AP 9, 428, 5 ff; Orph. H. 28, 11 etc.); and see below for the possible combination
with fr. 2.

2327 preserves a marginal note περ ἀρ. The second element could plausibly be taken as ἄρ(φότερον),
i.e. Apion and Nicanor, the two scholars cited elsewhere in the marginia; so K. McNamara, Abbreviations
in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca 5. The first element should then be a variant.

19 (15) [φρον]κ[...]δις, the first trace perhaps the upper part of an upright, the second an
upright. One guess would be μελήθφωνα [ὁδούς ἀπὸ[...]. For the adjective, cf. Pind. fr. 122, 14 μελήθρων ...
... εκείνος. For κόσμων, cf. (apart from fr. 27, 7 below) Solon 1, 2 W, Parmen. 8, 52 DK κ. ἐκπάντω
Pind. fr. 194, 3 κ. λόγων; especially HHBacch. 59 κοσμῶν ... ἀρκέτης, and Orph. fr. 14 (another address to the
Muses?) ἔτηρ δἐ ἐν γεγονεί καταπαύσατε κόσμων ἀπὸ[... (so quoted by Plato, Philol. 66 C. Plu.,
Met. 39, ε[...]ε[...]ο[...]ι[...]ι[...]ε[... in all MSS.]

15-19 (11-15) καί[... αὐτὰρ ἐν ψήλ]. The pattern is familiar from the Homeric Hymms: HHApoll.
545 ἦν καὶ εὐτὸν χαῖρε, δῶς καὶ λεγόνω νῦν! αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ ἐκεί καὶ ἀλλός μετέχειν ἀπὸ[...]. For the
assumption that this, and the parallel formula σεσ[...] εὐ[...] ἀρβάμενος μεταθέσωμαι ἄλλον ἐν ἀμον, represent
the rhapsode's transition from hymn to epic recitation, see Kranz, Rh. Mus. 104 (1961) 11 f; Richardson
on HHCCer 495. Later, certainly, adaptations of these formulae could serve as the beginning of a poem
(Xenoph. 7 W), or in hellenistic poetry as the end of a book (Call. fr. 112, 8 f.) or of a poem (cf. Posidippus
SH 705, 21, with Lloyd-Jones, Academic Papers II 185 f.). Here the formula of closing leads on to a formula
of beginning, the invocation of the Muse. But there is no clear divide: the formulae are integrated, both
in syntax and in line-structure. I assume therefore that we have here a transition, from one poem to another,
but from one section to another within a single poem.

This argument is important. If the next section concerns the Persian War (see below), and if that
continues the same poem, then we can assume a set of formal parallels:

(i) The first section parallels the Homeric Hymn, the second the Epic which followed it. But, very
strikingly, the 'epic' takes the form of an elegy, the 'hymn' addresses Achilles. For Achilles as a divinity see
H. Hommel, Der Gott Achilles (1960): he is already addressed with a hymn-formula in Alc. 335 Lf; and
that must connect with the stories of his being transported to various versions of the Islands of the Best
Pind., Ol. 2, 71 ff, PMG 804 etc.) (cf. CPh 83 (1988) 1 f); Simonides represented him married to Medea
in Elysium (PMG 558). Among cults note Paus. 3, 20, 8, a temple of Achilles as you leave Sparta by the
Arcadian road: ephebes sacrifice to him.

(ii) The Trojan War serves as prelude to the Persian War, with clear implications—the scale of the
war, the battle of East and West (Herodotus 1, 5, 1), a possible parallel between Achilles and Pausanias.

(iii) Homer secured the immortality of the heroes of Troy: it is now for Simonides to immortalise
the Persian War. Simonides quotes Homer as an authority in PMG 564; and see on fr. 26, 13 ff.

20 ff. (16 ff.) Fr. 1 breaks off; 2327 fr. 27 i preserves only scattered line-ends, but then, to the right,
some beginnings from the next column (= Adesp. El. 58 W). Here the poet speaks (13-15) of Medes and
Persians, of the sons of Dorus and (...) Heracles; then ἐκ πέδων. The juxtaposition suggests battle; and
'plain' suggests battle on land. We know that Simonides wrote about the battle of Plataea, and in elegiacs,
from fr. 10-11 W; that he wrote an ἔλεγχον about the battle of Marathon is implied by the Vita Aeschyli
(quoted at fr. 9 W). The mention of Dorians clearly favours Plataea; and indeed a poem about Plataea
certainly figured in this collection, for 3965 fr. 2 narrates the march of the Spartan army to Eleusis, and
fr. 5 coincides with fr. 11 W. I go on to consider how the pieces might fit, if they do belong to the same poem. But it must be emphasised that the general argument is very fragile. We have no systematic account of Simonides’ output: he may have dealt with other land battles of the Persian wars; he might have mentioned the land-operation at Thermopylae as background in the attested poem on the Battle of Artemission (see fr. 20 below).

A preliminary question concerns the format of the two manuscripts.

We know that one and the same verse was top of column in 2327 fr. 4, and third line of column in 3965 fr. 27. But we have no other evidence about the relative formats.

We know that 2327 had a column of at least 24 lines (since 2327 fr. 1, a column-top, must belong to the same column as fr. 27 i); and that 3965 had a column of at least 24 lines (fr. 2; fr. 19).

How much more might be expected? Since the papyri are of the second century, we need not expect a small format: from the figures collected by Bell, Books and Readers 50 f. and Cavallo, Libri Scribi Scritture a Ercolano 14 f. and 48, a roll-height of 25 cm would be normal, 30 cm exceptional. Deducting for the upper and lower margins, we could think that in 2327 a maximum of 21—26 cm would be available for writing, giving a column of 29 to 36 lines; in 3965 a maximum of 18—23 cm, a column of 38—49 lines. I emphasise that these sums are very chancy, and for illustration only.

In 2327, then, we can reckon with a gap, between the invocation (fr. 27 i 9) and the scene with Medes and Persians (ii 13 ff.), of at least 27 lines, and possibly as many as 32—39 lines, of which 7 survive as ends at the foot of col. i, and 7 as broken text above col. ii 13.

If 2327 ii represents Persians and Greeks encountering at Plataea, 3965 fr. 2, which certainly describes the preliminaries of this campaign, should belong in the gap. Since it has 25 lines, it might just fit without overlapping any of the fragmentary verses preserved in 2327.

This means also that 3965 fr. 2 followed relatively soon after fr. 1: that is, probably either (a) below it in the same column or (b) in the next column. If (a), the column would have at least 37 lines, acceptable under the dubious estimate above.

If fr. 21 too stood in the same column (see note there), the total rises to 54 lines.

Fr. 2

The arguments above suggest that fr. 2 followed close on fr. 1. Mr Lobel did indeed arrange them to make a single column, and in such a way that fr. 1. 18 would continue fr. 2. 1. This proposal can be judged on two criteria:

(i) The fibres. The front (horizontal) fibres neither confirm nor deny. The sheet-join on the extreme right of fr. 2 provides no evidence, since the corresponding area of fr. 1 is lost. The back (vertical) fibres give no support either, so far as I see; but Dr Coles thinks that they do not exclude this placing.

(ii) The supplements. The combination of frr. 1 and 2 and 2327 fr. 27 i looks like this:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{To these elements add (a) the marginal note } & \pi \epsilon \rho \text{ in 2327 fr. 27, at a level corresponding to } 1 + 18; \\
\text{(b) 2327 fr. 29, a scrap with } & 1 \delta \epsilon [2, 2 \kappa \pi \rho \iota \iota \iota \iota, \text{which Mr Lobel located to left of lines } 5 + 22 \text{ and } 6 + 23; \text{(c) the marginal note in } & 2327 \text{ fr. 27, at a level corresponding to line } 7 + 24, ] \epsilon \text{ (the placing may be confirmed by this coincidence in forms of } \delta \theta \rho \alpha \mu \tau \omicron \omicron \omicron; \text{ but of course the word is common, cf. fr. 2, 1, and fr. 9, 5, where } & \text{ variants). (b) must be treated with caution: it seems to me again that, with so small a scrap, the fibres cannot prove a placing.} \\
\text{As to the horizontal distance between frr. 1 and 2: if the back fibres are no guide, then the relative placing depends on the restoration of } & 1 + 18 \text{(see below). On this basis, of the supplements printed, that in} \end{align*} \]
19 [εμέλ] is a letter too long; that at the beginning of 20 conforms exactly to the margin as estimated for fr. 1. 15.

Now for the detail:

1 + 18 [θηροια] (εμέλ). The ink interpreted as ν would equally suit a or even the right-hand side of ω. But hiatus at the diaeresis of the pentameter is very rare, even in inscriptional epigrams (Page, Epigrams of Rufinus p. 91; FGE p. 200 on 'Simon.') AP 7. 251; CEG II 696. (note), all not to be created when the reading is doubtful.

How then to attach this genitive phrase to what precedes in 17, the invocation of the Muse? It might depend on a noun in apposition to ἐπισκόπουν or Μοῖά, with the sense 'saviour' or the like. It might more neatly belong to a dependent clause, of the pattern αὖ τι πού ἀνθρώπων εἰσχύμενον ἄνει: notice 19 καὶ (another favour). That leaves no room for the sense to spill over from the hexameter, as a junction with 2327 fr. 28 might require (fr. 1. 17 note).

This still does not account for the marginal (variant) πεπ. MLW therefore proposes, most elegantly, that Simonides wrote εἶπεν γ’ ἀνθρώπων εἰσχύμενοι μέλες; in 2327 the text will have offered πεπ (and so perhaps in 3965, to judge from the spacing), the margin πεπ as correction. He notes a parallel for the general sense in Emped. B 131.

2 + 19 Perhaps έτυνο[π] καὶ τάνδ[ε] με[λ]θρόνα κ[όρ]μον δο[μ]ής. For έτυν[ο]π cf. HH 6. 20 (but there preceding the οὐ[π]τάρ εὐχά; sense requires an imperative, and the space short; one even this may be a little long), με[λ] too may be a little long; δα[θρόνα MLW.

3 + 20 [μετέρ]ερκ. If the trace is rightly seen as the end of a horizontal, ε suits well; among many possibilities (γλακ[ερ]ς, μακρ[ερ] etc.), this supplement matches the margin of fr. 1. 15 (11) above.

I guess the sense to be ὑπ’ τις μήκετε ἐν ὁμάγονοι (ἐκομίσμοις) / ἀνθρώποι τολ. See especially Od. 1. 302 ὑπ’ τις καὶ διάμνην ὑπ’ εὐτή. Trace and space would allow [μν]ερ[ε]τ; 2 but I can make nothing of what follows.

4 + 21 f. After ἐπ’, a spot of ink on the line, too decisive to be accidental: therefore a low point. This might indicate a minor break in syntax or simply clarify the articulation; in either case, there must be word-end. [Note] makes a word: I don’t know whether the absence of diacritics in the note or to the relative [probably not to the pronoun]. A guess: ἀν[θρωπο]ς οἶς Πάρτα, καὶ ἀνθρωπο[ν] κατερμόν ἀλκ[αρ], ὠ[π]ώς Ἰχανέας. If the latter, and if ἀνθρωπο[ν] is recognised in 5, MLW suggests: Πάρτα, οἶς τε καὶ Ἰχανέας ἀνθρώπον / ἀνθρώποι ἀνθρώπων μή τι ν’ ἴδειν τακτή ω[ίς], after 'Simonid.' Epigr. (FGE) xvi, xx (a) 4.

5 + 23 A guess in context: οὐδ’ ἀρχέων διάθεσθαι, φάτες δ’ ἔχειν οὐραρωγ[ε]ν ὁ[μ]ής. (ἔχειν) v MLW. οὐραρωγ[ε]ν [ομής] I. C. Rutherford: μ seems to suit the trace better than any likely case-ending of οὐραρωγε; η; on 2327, faded traces, apparently a horizontal at half-height followed by an upright, 'ει or η suggested; the spacing, on the very rough calculation possible, seems to suit.) For the beginning cf. II. 16. 357 λόθαντο ... ἄλλης, Aesch., Suppl. 731 ἄλλης λαθέθαι; for the end, epigram ap. Athen. I 19C (FGE p. 419), Aristoph., Nub. 460-1 κλέος οὐραρωμένης.

7 + 24 οὐραρωγε; seems likely, although the traces are much damaged.

2327 preserves only the marginal note [α’] εν ανθρωπ[ε]. The second character is raised to show abbreviation. The whole note might be a variant, or a comment; or it might contain parts of each. One approach: -αν ( ) εν ἀνθρωπεωι variant, text originally en d[ηράωποι οτ εν] d[ηράωποι. Another: α’ represents διπλ τοι, as often (McNamee, Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri & Ostraca 69). The gloss then follows.

At the end, apparently, ... ἄνθανατο<ς> (or -αν θανατος<ς>, but I do not see where that could lead). If the same line combined 'men' and 'immortal', the reference might be (as is inferred for the line before) to Fame: Tuft. 12. 31 f. οἶδ’ ποτε κλέος ἑκάθιν άπολλύται οἶδ’ δομι’ αὐτοῦ, / άξι’ ὑπ’ γής περ ἑὼν γάνται ἄνθανατος. For the damaged letters, consider (a) ψρ (or ψρ’); (b) ρ’ (or ρ’); (c) άμ. Under (b), we could think of περ, ὑπέρ, ἄντερ (possible leads are offered by II. 17. 327 ὑπέρ θεῶν, Pind., Pyth. 5. 76 oδ θεῶν ἄντερ). (c) is less attractive palaeographically, for the iota would be unusually long and hooked; but gives scope for a verb (thus καὶ κλέος d[ηράωποι [εκετε] α] άνθανατος<ς> MLW, the genitive explained as εν ανθρωπ[ε]).

8 ff. (25 ff.) Sparta was mentioned above in 4 + 21; then, it is conjectured, words about their valour and immortal fame. 8 ff. describe the march of the Spartan army. Note (a) that there are no signs of a catalogue (tribes, individual names, districts of Laconia); (b) that nothing is said about the Spartan delay and their covert departure, as Herodotus will depict it (9. 10), or about their march along the Eurotas valley (Gomme & others on Thuc. 5. 64. 3), for which line 8 (25) is almost misleading.
8 (25) Ἐν ὔπνων καὶ [Ὁ] Κάρτης ἄκτο ληστή; suppl. Lobel, who compared Theogn. 783. Κάρτης τ’ Ἐβρώτα δυναστήρα ἡγαλὼν ἄκτο, (10) cf. 1088; Eurotas represents its country, as later in CEG II 632. 4 (after the battle of Leuctra) οὐ τῶν ἁπ’ Ἐβρώτα δεῖεστ στόδος. An alternative, as Professor R. L. Fowler points out, would be καὶ [Ἑρμῆς] ἄκτος or the like. For the genitive pattern, see Hdt. 14. 281 τοῦ βηθίν Λάμπου τε καὶ ἄμβροτο ἄκτο ληστή; (καὶ λήστης); cf. Minn. 9. 1 Πόλεων Νηλιάθον ἄκτο ληστής.

These parallels confirm what is in any case likely, that we should write ληστής here. If the subject is 11 (28) νῆμων, the finite verb will come at the beginning of 9 (26) or 11 (28): in e.g. ἔξελακας, cf. Hdt. 9. 13. 3, ἔξελακας (Fowler), cf. 9. 10. 3, ἄρμασας] (MLW).

9 (26) Ζεύς: both sons of Zeus. This version was apparently found also in ‘Hesiod’ (fr. 24 MW), and is implied by the title Dioskouroi, which goes back at least to the sixth century (CEG I 373. Laconia, 391, 427; a Theran graffiti, IG XII iii 359, is tentatively assigned to the seventh). Other versions made them both sons of Tyndareus (Od. 11. 298 ἔντος), or one son of each (implied in Κύπρια fr. 8 B = 6 D.).

ἵσσωδεας: normally Castor is the horse-tamer (II. 3. 237 etc.). But both tame in Alcman PMG 2 (i) and (iv); and of course both ride (Alcaeus 34. 5 ff. LP, HH 33. 18), and appear with their horses in art (LIMC III i 589). A Spartan trait?

Both brothers accompany the army. For the practice, see Hdt. 5. 75. 2, ἐπίκλησον έφι ύπόντες εἴπωστο. Herodotus says that, after the quarrel between Cleomenes and Demaratus, only one king was allowed to go with the army, and accordingly only one Tyndarid. On this expedition there was indeed only one king, Pheidarchus (Hdt. 9. 10. 2); but the Tyndarid rule was broken (or Herodotus, or Simonides, got it wrong).

The poem provides no evidence whether the Tyndarids (and indeed Menelaus, 10) ‘followed’ in some physical form, and if so in what: see Pritchett, The Greek State at War III (1979) 14 ff.

10 (27) ἐς ὅροις: an upright on the edge, well-suited to iota. Two possible patterns of restoration: (i) ἀγονιστάκει ύρως, in apposition [Ћωδήρας] ἢρως or ἂν ἢρως, cf. PMG 510, MLW; (ii) τ’ ἄλοχος ἢρως. The Spartans had other ‘heroes’ in plenty (Robert Parker in Anton Powell, Classical Sparta [1989] 147 ff.); but if Menelaus and the Dioscuri shared a cult (Alcman PMG 7. 6 ff., see below), we may prefer (i). Hdt. 8. 143. 2 (the Athenian reply to Mardonius) θεοὶ ... πένες ... καί τοὺς ἢροις.

εὐρυθιάς: the adjective (not Homeric) commonly applies to marine deities (West on Hes., Theog. 239); of Zeus Bacch. II. 52 (as corrected). HHCer 294 already uses it of a mythical king (Celeus); similarly in Pindar of Ajax, Neoptolemus etc. Was the epithet here conventional, or did it make some point? Probably not a glance at the name of Pausanias’ colleague Euryanax (still less, as Professor Lewis notes, at Eurybiadas, the Spartan commander at Artemision). As a matter of political propaganda, the Spartans might well insist on the ‘wide sway’ of Menelaus, by way of justifying their own claims to Laconia and Messenia (P. Cartledge, Agesilaus 339). But that was an earlier stage; by the fifth century, it is normally assumed, Agamemnon had taken his place.

Μενέλαιος: Sparta is Menelaus’ kingdom, II. 2. 582, and that is where Telemaechus goes to find him, Od. 1. 285. A fragmentary commentary on Alcman, PMG 7. 6 ff., seems to refer to a cult of Menelaus with the Dioscuri at Therapane; other bits of evidence refer to a temple at Therapane (Alcman PMG 14/b)), a temple of the Dioscuri at Therapane (Alcman PMG 2/8) and (iv), a temple of Helen at Therapane (Hdt. 6. 61. 3); a temple of Menelaus at Therapane (Hdt. 6. 61. 3); a temple of Menelaus and Helen are buried (Paus. 3. 19. 9). The site of one temple has been identified on a bluff above the Eurotas, with a monumental building of late vii/early vi, largely redesigned and rebuilt in early v: it has produced bronzes dedicated to Helen, of vii and vi, and an early v stele inscribed to Menelaus (SEG 26. 457–9, cf. 28. 407).

11 (28) ἡ τεκέ: the trace is an indeterminate point at mid-height. I do not know why the accent was placed: simply because of the iconic ending or evidence of a recherché word? Easiest would be παραμένεις: γῆ, γεια πατρία is familiar (II. 13. 188, Theogn. 888, 1210, CEG 66. 2 etc.); πάλις πατρία Aesch., Septem 582 etc.

Ἡγμονής: a (deliberately?) unspecific term: Hdt. 9. 10. 2 Ἡγμονής Πλευστάρχου, but the actual commander was his uncle and guardian Pausanias (13), who coopted a kinsman Euryanax son of Dorieus; contrast Thuc. 1. 28. 7. Note the epitaph on Megistias, which Herodotus says was composed (or set up) by Simonides (AP 7. 228. 3; FGE p. 196), οὖκ ἐτής Σπάρτης Ἡγμονής πολέμως; and the Oath of Plataea, as transmitted in Lycurgus, Lect. 81, ὁδὸ ἡγιαστάλεον τούτῳ ἡγμονίας (the inscriptive text, GHI II 204, has a more specific list of officers).

πόλεως: ω has been written above the second o. Next to it is the note αν, and below and to the right of that N with a vertical stroke written through it. 2327 cites the same two scholars: the former in the less
ambiguous form ambw (i.e. the Apion, antisemite and symphala mundi, who taught at Rome under Tiberius and Claudius) see S. Neitzel, 'Aphion Popularis' (Oriënta), the latter in the same form A(w), i.e. Nicanor? (K. McNamee, 'Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri & Ostraca 63).

12 (29) τούς δ' ύστερον Κλέανθος [με]δ̣δ[ε]σσης [ε]θείον Απίστευτον, exegesis MLW, excellently for the traces. (At the end, Lobel had proposed γ[ε]νηκ' απετρεφ[τ']['not verifiable', as he noted, and it makes difficulties with what precedes.)

13 (30) αναμφότερα, apparently αναπεριττότερα, the last trace anomalous. (i) Dr Rea proposes γη[γή]γής, which would suit the sense in general, but would come awkwardly after εξήτησιν, if that is to be read in the line before. (ii) One could try to accommodate -[νά]ς Παύσανιών: pattern μημον/ 'αποτευχαν' εργά/αν τι; I do not see how to fit in the Heraclid ancestry ('Simon', Epigr. (FGE) xxxix). In any case, no space remains for Pleistarchus or Euryanax: put his name alone to the Delphic Dedication ('Simon', Epigr. (FGE) xvii (a)).

14 ff. (31 ff.) The army advances by way of Corinth, Megara (16?) and the Eleusinian plain (19?), where the Athenians (20) join them.

Our sources for the campaign are these: (i) Hdt. 9. 10—19; (ii) Plutarch, Aristides 10. 7—21, de Herodoti Malignitate 872D (quoting Simonides frs. 10—11 W); (iii) Diodorus 11. 29—33.

As far as concerns the march itself, Herodotus gives a detailed and circumstantial account: 9. 10. 1 5000 Spartiates, under Pausanias, set out by night and (11. 2) march via Orestheum; ambassadors and 5000 chosen periikes follow (11. 3). 14. 1 Mardonius hears that another force of 1000 Lacedaemonians has reached Megara; he sets out to attack them, but retreats on news of their approach (11. 3). 14. 1 Mardonius hears that another force of 1000 Lacedaemonians has reached Megara; he sets out to attack them, but retreats on news of their approach (11. 3). 14. 1 Mardonius hears that another force of 1000 Lacedaemonians has reached Megara; he sets out to attack them, but retreats on news of their approach (11. 3). 14. 1 Mardonius hears that another force of 1000 Lacedaemonians has reached Megara; he sets out to attack them, but retreats on news of their approach (11. 3). 14. 1 Mardonius hears that another force of 1000 Lacedaemonians has reached Megara; he sets out to attack them, but retreats on news of their approach (11. 3). 14. 1 Mardonius hears that another force of 1000 Lacedaemonians has reached Megara; he sets out to attack them, but retreats on news of their approach (11. 3). 14. 1 Mardonius hears that another force of 1000 Lacedaemonians has reached Megara; he sets out to attack them, but retreats on news of their approach (11. 3).
The final trace is oddly shaped and spaced, seems just above the base-line. What may be a lower left-hand corner, considered. After that, most likely a damaged top arc or a top of upright touching a horizontal to the right; then most likely a rough breathing, though that does not explain all the ink, than a suprascript letter (ο?), for which more ink would be needed.

After the rough breathing (if rightly read) on omega adds a limiting element. We need a verb somewhere, but ωϊμων has no obvious attractions (hardly ωϊμων, for the Athenians seem to come later, and in any case there is no room to introduce Salamis); I do not see how to fit in part of αρη. One possible pattern: ένθαπε ήλλα (ήρημος, μαχαί) ϕίλα περικτέων; with όλος cfr. Hdt 9. 19. 1 ό λος Πελοποννήσου. But I have no evidence that ancient editors would have distinguished this crasis with a rough breathing.

After these, if so divided, might introduce a new sentence, or a new phrase with ό μνει. Preceding. If the former, it might refer (i) to a group already mentioned; or (ii) to the groups combined; or (iii) to a new group (i.e. the Athenians). If the sign after πεδιον represents punctuation, that would tell against (iii); but see 19 note.

After πεδιον, a short double dash. The same sign recurs at fr. 11. 9 (damaged), mid-line; and fr. 18. 10, line-end, and 11 (damaged but fairly secure), mid-line. It could hardly represent a strong stop, for that would not suit the metrical pattern in fr. 11. 9 and 18. 11. It could serve as a divider of words or word-groups (for single slashes so used, see Turner, GMAW 2 p. 144, LIV 3812 5 note, Miscellanea Roca-Puig 184 f.); uneconomically, it seems to us, at line-end, though cfr. LIII 3712. But I can produce no parallel. MLW suggests that it might serve as cross-reference to a marginal note.

At the beginning c.g. σώρων, the whole army; σώρων MLW, the old contingents with the new? or the Spartans (Hdt 9. 19. 1 δρόμων έξειναυς Σπαρτιάτας?

If so divided, might introduce a new sentence, or a new phrase with ό μνει. Preceding. If the former, it might refer (i) to a group already mentioned; or (ii) to the groups combined; or (iii) to a new group (i.e. the Athenians). If the sign after πεδιον represents punctuation, that would tell against (iii); but see 19 note.

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At the beginning c.g. σώρων, the whole army; σώρων MLW, the old contingents with the new? or the Athenians, looking forward to 20. 470, epithet?: ό νερ αμών MLW.

20 (37) Hex. βίβλος. Mr Lobel read βίβλος, but I think there is more ink than that; βιβλιος could be considered, but what to make of it? There are clear temptations in Παριβίβλος, for the Athenians must appear shortly. Π. γ. γυ. πόλει Eur., Hipp. 26. Suppl. 526; or Π. παίδες?

έγειρεν πόλει Ελλάδος όντος πεδιέων (the pentameter after Theogn. 784). At the beginning c.g. κάποιον, the whole army; κάποιοι MLW, the old contingents with the new? or the Athenians, looking forward to 20. 470, epithet?: ό νερ αμών MLW.

21 (38) Pent. ἀντίθεσις. The final trace is oddly shaped and spaced. ἀντίθεσις seems just possible, but sigma stands far to the right and leaves ink unexplained. Better for the spacing αντίθεσις.
NEW POETIC TEXTS

(J. R. Rea), but one might expect the foot of [a] to show. Possibly αντίθεου, but γού must be assumed to have its stem anomalously curved or eccentrically damaged.

This epic adjective would normally apply to mythic persons (not e.g. to the Athenian commander, Aristides). I am tempted to read Κέρκυρας αντίθεος, as part of a paraphrase for ‘Athenians’: so a fourth century monument on the Acropolis, CEG II 560, describes them as δύοδος δὲς αυτόκητος αντίθεος Κέρκυρας.

But once again, γού is not an obvious, though it is a possible, interpretation of the first trace. 22 (39) Hex. δυνάμεις τοῦ ε — likely as a pattern (the line would be unusually short, if it ended with τε). If the general structure has been rightly worked out, it will be some time before we reach the battlefield. Perhaps a look back to Artemision or Salamis? ‘Simon.’, Epigr. (FG) xxiv παίδες Αθηναίων...

24 (41) Hex. -ωρυμον α, [α — ? Among many possibilities, ευθυμον of omens (Hdt. 9. 19. 2), as Professor R. L. Fowler suggests.

In principle, the last line(s) of this fragment might overlap the first line(s) of 2327 fr. 27 ii, see above p. 33. But there are no obvious splices; and the poet may well have taken some space to move from Eleusis to the plain of Asopus (2327 fr. 27 ii 13 ff.).

Fr. 3

Top of column. Mr Lobel considered whether it might belong above fr. 1, but saw no clear join and no match between the content and what can be inferred of fr. 1. 1 ff. as supplied by 2327.

In 4, ευνάθεσις might scan (i) as four or (ii) as three syllables (the spelling does not exclude contraction, cf. 2327 fr. 2(a) ii 9 = Adesp. Eleg. 30. 9, West, Studies 82, 96). If (ii), ευνάθεσις should either (a) begin the line or (b) stand in the second and third feet (Theogn. 1200). But (a) makes difficulties with the beginnings of 1 (which would project to the left) and 3 (what to supply in the space?); (b) might suit 3, whether as hexameter or pentameter (υπένθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθεθ
Fr. 7
Line-beginnings.
1 δου[.], δρω[.]
2 βαρβ[.] rather than βαρβ[.]ρ[.]
3 5–6 κρόβ[.] δύτ[.] λ[., cf. Sol. fr. 13. 73 f. (Lobel)]

Fr. 8
5 δίωνκ[.]

Fr. 9
5 E.g. διθρό[.]πο[.]σο[. altered to -προν (by the first hand?).

Fr. 10
2 δέπαξ[.] 4 μάχ[. or e.g. εγερ[.]μάχ[.?
3 7 (τ-)κιδο[. MLW recognises pentameters in 2, 4, 6: 6 οδέμε
4 μυ[.] -ου-. 7 ζάκα[. ούκο-.

Fr. 11
Line ends; 4 clearly pentameter.
3 Hex. ]μυ[.] ελε[.]ταν[. or compound? This manuscript shows some doubts about dialect, but not enough to encourage μ[.]ελε[.]ταν[. ελε[.]ταν[. etc.
4 Pent. μ[.]ελε[.]ταν[. or compound? This manuscript shows some doubts about dialect, but not enough to encourage μ[.]ελε[.]ταν[. ελε[.]ταν[. etc.
5 Hex. ]-άντο φοι[.] -τ ψόφ[.μαχ[. is one of several possibilities. (Not the same as 2327 fr. 2 (a) 7.)
6 Pent. Not the end of fr. 25. 8 (to give μονο[.]; the line-spacing excludes a join.
9 Hex. Apparently ]δρα[. θλης[.] a [ - (a variant reading above a [.?) In ]δρα[. the stroke above a might represent an acute accent, but that would not account for the following traces, which suit a second such stroke. I therefore take both together as the double dash found elsewhere in this MS (see fr. 2. 19 note). Prima facie, it should coincide with a word-division. But then the prosody of -δρα makes difficulties. ει might be read in other ways, but I can find nothing more plausible in combination: not απλης?
10 Pent. If ]επειφ[. the word before must end in δ' or ε[.] (ει)MLW.
11 Hex. E.g. ]μονο[.]

Fr. 12
It seems that at least one syllable is missing at the beginning of 4, and therefore at least two at the beginning of 6. If so, 6 must be hexameter, 7 pentameter. If in 7 εχθρο[. is to be read, that word is likely to follow the diaeresis. Therefore the sheet join visible after 6 κερε runs roughly after the second foot. Fr. 20 has a join in about the same alignment. We might therefore place fr. 12 and 20 in vertical relation. This is the more interesting, because fr. 5, 6 and 11 suggest naval matters, and fr. 20 may refer to the campaign of Artemisium.
3 ] παρονμ[.]ει[.] leads nowhere; ] παρονμ[.]μο[.] may be possible.
4 Hex. The credentials of εξάνθρωπο[.σο[. are weak; the final trace seems to exclude ε]ε[.] αν[.]ερ[.]μο[.]σο[. That leaves ε]ε[.] ε[.] πέρι[.] etc. (MLW); or ε]ε[. (no trace of an elision mark, though the surface seems intact).
5 Pent. εφομυζ[.]σο[. altered to -μηθεσο[. MLW, which suits the traces very well (ο rather than φ to suit the space). Cf. 11.
6 Hex. εχθρο[.] διπό[.] θ[.] η[.] MLW, which suits the traces very well (φ rather than θ to suit the space). Cf. 11.
6 Hex. χείρον |[. διπό[.] θ[.] η[.] MLW, which suits the traces very well (φ rather than θ to suit the space). Cf. 11.
7 Pent. εχθρο[.]
8 Hex. βαρβ[.] or θ[.]μέ[.]ρ[.] ? Boreas would fit well with what is guessed from fr. 20. 5. Palaeographically, it depends on the ink attached to the foot of θ. At first sight, this begins another letter, though unexpectedly close; if so, not θ. But perhaps the trace is simply a flourish on the base of θ (something similar, but smaller, in fr. 27. 5 λαβ[.]). Before, perhaps ικό[. (not με[.]ικ[.] or ικ[.]) could be considered.
11 Pent. δρομ[.]?
12 Hex. γ]ειον[.]ει- or the like (δρ]ειον[.]ει- MLW)?

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Fr. 13
1 κατά, 2 μαχθ., 5 μεγαλά φ[πονε- (or μεγαλ')] might cohere. I think latter hemistichs, evens penta-
meters. E.g. 4 εθνε[θ]διάκ [θέμοι, 6] είχήθ[εμι'] MLW.

Fr. 14
2 ἔνθεον, ἔνθεον] possibly. 3 If ετει[ν] could be assumed (see app. crit.), this is presumably hexameter, -ου-ου]ευω επει[;?
4 ξειτ[1], 5 δι']< possible.

Fr. 16
3 E.g. δαιετ[5], δαιετ[5], or (JRR, MLW) επο]δαιε.

Fr. 17
7 Perhaps δγ]δαιε (with -η[ε'] suprascript as variant) MLW, although ι is not the obvious reading of the traces.
10 Not ετ[ν]ημ, with variant χρημ, as in fr. 19. 22.
13 might be line-end; but the space after ε is not enough to prove it, especially since the surface fibres are damaged.

Fr. 18
Sheet-join at the right, beyond the line-ends; cf. fr. 42. 4 ff. line-ends; 4, 6 etc. pentameters.

Verbs in the past tense (7 f.). Some elements consistent with a scene of planning and decision (5 νόονα, 6 άνωτεροι, 7 ἐν τοιόνοι, 8 ἔφυκαστοι, 9 ἡτορ or ἄλπις, 11 κατ—ει[χες—?], and indeed (MLW) in war (2 μαρ]μαμενοι [τι, 4 πολ]μενοι')
2 Pent. From the position, line-end: e.g. [παμενοι], -οφ[ι], -οφ[ι]; or if the last trace is real, -οφι?
3 Hex. E.g. ν]ροευ άθυθ—?
5 Hex. [νόο]ν possible. 6 Pent. ]φοινοι, the first ν corrected (not simply to or from λη, for that leaves ink unexplained), the final ν dotted above and below (i.e. deleted?). The final ν may be simply a mistake (e.g. νέων altered to νέων). Or one could think of morphological variation in νέων (δινόον).
7 Hex. ]εινε looks like a verb: e.g. εφεκτενε, or (with a normal spelling of long iota) ἐκρ[ευε or the like.
8 Pent. E.g. ]φράκατο, ἔφρακατο.

In the right margin, a note by another hand: perhaps απ' [...], i.e. Απὶ(ον) followed by a variant reading of which only the beginning (first trace η, π, τρ?) survives. In fr. 2. 11 the form of abbreviation used is ατ; in 2327 ατιοθ.
9 Hex. At the end, ἡτορ with variant (or gloss?) ἄλπις seems secure. This was not the epic εν δε ο[ι]τορ (II. 1. 188 etc.); εν cannot be read, and the punctuation may suggest that the sense finished with the line. [ον looks most likely: cf. e.g. κατευθήθη φιλον ἡτορ (II. 3. 31 etc.), δραπόθη δε ο[ι]τορ (16. 500) etc.
10 Pent. ]παμ[ι would satisfy the traces, but not δαβι or Κα]λαμφ (cf. fr. 20. 5). Two short obliques at the end, and again in 11 after ], τα; see fr. 2. 19 note. In the right margin, τ[η] followed after a space by a very high trace, probably a[τι] as in 8.
11 Hex. κατευθ[]κατ—ει[χες—? Dr Rea notes Κατευθαλ among Simonides' known titles (PMG 537).

Fr. 19 col. i
7 Marginal note, ]αικον or perhaps ], αξου, ]κασον could be read. I have considered whether this continues the note at fr. 18. 8, on the pattern απι(ον) παμ[οκ]κασον. But the fibres do not confirm, even if a more plausible variant could be thought of.

col. ii
1 δηματρ'] possible. MLW notes the Temple of Demeter (and the long delay, 5) in Hdt 9. 57–62.
2 χ[ρ][ημα δ] (cf. Theogn. 64, 197), χ[ρ][η] μ' αδ[ (cf. Theogn. 543; but you might have expected the scribe to mark the enclitic).
3 φη δε[ι δυ[ι, 8' εδυ?] cf. 21.
4 ‘Perhaps ἄγυρτος (verb)’ MLW. The accent excludes ἄγυρτος (if indeed such a form can be inferred from ἄγυρτος and Πανόμιμος).

5 ἄδησ.

6 ἄδησ.

7 καὶ Μ[ν] or the like, Ἰ καὶ Μ[ν] similarly?

8 ὦ Μ[ν] ἢ? Μ[ν] ἢ?

9 Ρ[ν] ἢ?

10 Pattern ὃ[λ]ο[τ]ρ α;?


16 Π[ν] Π[ν] Π[ν] Π[ν] or the like: damaged at the top, but apparently not η (φρόνιμοι etc.), since the lower arc rises to touch the cross-bar. But the verb has only a shadowy existence: (i) Hippocr., Coac. Prom. 24 φρόνιμον as variant for φρόνιμα, which editors normally print; (ii) Stephanus ‘φρόνιμοι οτασσοι GL’—but I cannot trace his source.

Fr. 20

Four small pieces combine, see apparatus criticus.

The even lines are hexameters (see 4, 12).

Κάλαρι makes a good reading in 5. It is tempting to combine here three snippets of information. (i) PMG 534 (Schol. Ap. Rhod. i 211–5): Simonides in της ναυμαχίας related how Boreas carried off Orithyia to Thrace, where she gave birth to Zetes and Calais. (ii) PMG 532 (Suda) ... ἡ ἐπ' Ἀρετικάς ναυμαχίας δι' ἑλεγχάς, ὅ δ' ἐν Σαλαμίνι μελκόνων among Simonides’ works. (iii) Hdt 7, 189 λέγεται δὲ λόγος ὡς Ἀθηναίων τῶν Βοράν ἐκ θηριωτῶν ἐπεκάλεσαν, ἔθνος εἰς ἄλλου χρηστηρία τῶν γαμβρῶν ἐπίκουρον καλέσαντι κτλ., the great storm before the battle of Artemisium. This fragment may then belong to the corresponding episode in an Artemisium Elegy of Simonides.

Fr. 12, which has a sheet-join in about the same place, and which may refer to naval matters (and even 8 to Boreas), could come from the same context.

4 Hex. ἢ ... ἢ [οτ] τεῦν τι;?

5 Πεντ. Ζητὴν καὶ Κάλαρι or the like would suit the traces, and the diacritics.

7 Πεντ. ἢ ... ἢ ἐρήμωσε (changed to -βος; cf. West, Studies 83). This phrase at this place in the line: II. 8. 368, Od. 11. 37 (ὑπεν). This phrase at this place in the line: II. 8. 368, Od. 11. 37 (ὑπεν). This phrase at this place in the line: II. 8. 368, Od. 11. 37 (ὑπεν). This phrase at this place in the line: II. 8. 368, Od. 11. 37 (ὑπεν).

11 Πεντ. ἢ ... ἢ κόμων (Orithyia) MLW suits space and trace admirably.

12 Hex. In context, θαλασσαὶ likely; for what follows, I can think of nothing more plausible than ἢτ[α] ἢτ[α] ἢτ[α] ... ἢτ[α] ἢτ[α] ἢτ[α] (Orithyia) MLW suits space and trace admirably.

13 Πεντ. ταύτην ἄγω[ν]θροφιμον ἄλος (the storm roused Nereus or the like) MLW (the same epithet perhaps fr. 22. 5).

14 Hex. τι, τῶα. The high stop is clear. A connective might then be expected: τῶα ἢ or τῶα δὴ MLW, possible.

15 Πεντ. End -με[ν]ον altered to -νε[ν].

Fr. 21

The sheet-join to the right cuts the fifth foot of the hexameter in 9. Fr. 2 shows such a join at hexameter-end. From this imperfect match, we could consider placing fr. 21 above or below (above fr. 1, if the junction of frs. 1 and 2 is accepted). To judge only from the surface texture, a placing below would be acceptable. But the back looks quite different. Note that any such placing would produce a column of at least 54 lines (p. 33), unless there were overlaps, and in fact more, if fr. 21 takes us into the battle which is only in prospect in fr. 2.

No line-end survives, except in 14 (blank). But 8 looks like a pentameter, 9 clearly a hexameter.

Some elements may suggest military action (2, 4, 8?); and a river (3) provides a focus for the battle of Plataea. I have wondered at times whether 2–3 might refer to the first battle above the Asopus (Hdt 9, 20);
or whether hints of first person (3) and singular (8), and "s" or "t" (if rightly read), might combine in a form of the Oath of Plataea (6) might (11). MLW suggests a different and very attractive possibility, that lines 2-6 (and more?) contain a speech of Tisamenus about the outcome of the battle, corresponding to Hdt. 9. 36 (οὗτος δέ..., ὁ Τισαμένος... ἀμακτέστο ἐν τῇ Πλαταιᾷ... τοίς μὲν νῦν Ἐλληνες καλὰ ἐγένετο τὰ ἱδρα ἀμακτοῦσι, διαβαίη δὲ τῶν Ἀκαποῦ καὶ δόξης ἄρχοντες ὑπὸ...), thus, 3 (προ)λόγῳ... 4 πρώτα β[1]η(ςμένοις/δεινον ἀμα)μακτοῦν τε καὶ μῦνοις δ' ἔκειθα... νῦν ἡμᾶτα πάντα μετέχει.

2 Pent. ἠδων βαλλομαι ν...? ἡδων, ἠπεληθοῦν, ἡδων ἠδων illustrate possibilities (e.g. ἡδων βαλλομαι νος κακών, cf. Il. 12. 339, MLW).

3 Hex. -ο-ο-ο-ογω ποταμοῦ possible. I am not sure that the trace would exclude ποταμοῦ, ποτ' ἀμας.


5 Hex. ψαυ ἀμακτέστον or -ογω would be an obvious guess. μένος, νείκος ἀμακτέστον Pind., Pyth. 3. 3, Bacch. 11. 64, cf. 4 β[1]η[?].

6 Pent. ἠδων ἡμᾶτα πάντα ν...-ο-. The phrase often at line-end in epic (before the weak caesura, Il. 16. 449), and so CEG 108. 6 (hexameters), Mimm. 12. 1.

7 Hex. End on the pattern νείκατο...-? The verb is not normally used in the middle, therefore νείκατο[MLW rather than νεικατο (θεσαντό cannot be read). Before that the spacing excludes e.g. έτω-ν, διέκειτο: ἡδων might be read for want of anything better; if εἶλακ (μελακ, πελακ cannot be read), I do not see how to continue.

8 Pent. e.g. ...) ποιμαμαι[χ]ην φιλεῖν (v), with variants ἤ-αιν and τελείων (v). (Palaeographically, γ may be preferable to γ. But γιλεῖν leads nowhere; and the placing of the superscript letters is against their being an addition, i.e. γ φιλεῖν.) ποιμαμαι[ωρ], ποιμαμαι[π]ην seems less suitable to trace and space; but cf. 10.

9 Hex. End seemingly καρποείδα (or compound) το...- (boot? stonework? foundation? Dr Rca compares Pindar fr. 77, Artemision dθι παίδες Ἀθηναίων ἔβαλον τοῖς φανερών / κρεπτό ἕλεοθέρας). At the beginning, the trace suggests φ (though the space is narrow): e.g. -δα[ι]φιόν γώρ; then [?]τ[?]β MLW.

10 Pent. End -ορίην β[1]η(ς) ν...?

11 Hex. End εἰςποτε [-? εἰ ποτε is one possibility (at this place e.g. Theogn. 1331): often in prayers and appeals.

Fr. 22
Odd lines pentameters, see 5.

2 E.g. δισπρόβη, προπόταμ[ρ]ο προπόταμ[ρ]ο τε, cf. Aλc. 130. 20 LP, MLW.

Presumably -ο-ο-ο-ογω (v.l. -ο-ο-ογω) φιλαφω [ο-ο-ογω-]. MLW suggests e.g. κοφός ευ[ε]ληθρής φιλαθρή [με ναί, cf. fr. 1. 16, which would place it in the Hymn to Achilles somewhere before fr. 1. 1. η not in itself an obvious reading of the traces.

Fr. 23
E.g. 4 ετεφ-, 6 μελε-.

Fr. 25
The likely restoration in 1, and the general shape of 3 and 5, show that the odd-numbered lines are the hexameters, and we have remains of the second halves of lines (five syllables lost at the end of 1, four at the end of 5, two at the end of 9? two or three syllables at the ends of the pentameters 4, 10, 16?)

Various elements would suit a party scene: a paean? (1), laughter (2), charm (4); note the chime of 4 with Theogn. 496, and of 6-9 (a donkey joke?) with Theogn. 996.

1 Παλαιός, παλιόν (or -όντος, -όντος) likely; against ἰδον, or the place name, one might count the orthography (μ expected), the prosody (in poetry normally η, though see CEG 155. 2 and note), and the difficulty of restoring what precedes (the trace excludes ραζι). The god? the song?

2 Pent. End on the pattern μηδε δέ γέλα τελείωοι? Or παίεις γέλα τε... (MLW, comparing PMG 646)? Or ἐφαίδα? In either case, I do not see why the scribe bothered with diacritics (γέλα), in forms which should have given koiné speakers no special difficulty. One could look for a rarer word (ἐλα imper.), a doric form (Laconian ἐλά), a proper name (Ελά), a proper name (Ελά), 3 Hex. Pattern η[πη]πει φιλος (nom. or voc.?) or[τ]-[τ]- or[τ]-πει φιλος (MLW)? (Apparently τετς, possibly μεττς, not ρεττς).}
4 Pent. ο[πεκάκες γεννηται οίκοι διαμανθή ζωντανοι γίνεται εοκε δικας — in a poem, MLW points out, addressed (by Eunens?) to a Simonides.

5 Hex. The stop is faint, and need not be trusted. End, διοι κρέβατι...? Two glasses are better? two anchors (Otto, "Sprichwörter" 122)? two friends (Archil. 259 W. and note)? But see on 6.

6 Pent. End, ποσεν δοκεις; There is a slight space after the last sigma; but not enough in itself to prove line-end. The donkey is sustained by the panniers in 9 (and δομα or ντόμα in 82); note also 9 λογια with Call. fr. 1, 29–30. Before it, perhaps, οιρο (but e.g. διδοροι may not be excluded; not νεκρος, as Cleob. 3). Theogn. 993 ει δειγνει Ακεδώμιον όμοιον ἄδεων... γνοτε χ' δεσον δομαν κρατοντων ημώνοι. On this model, one might guess (5) διοι κρέβατι αινικετ απο τισια / ... τι {etc?} περιρρογον δοκει. Donkeys are inferior anyway; and proverbially unmusical.

7 Hex. ζυμηνι...? Feminine here and in 8: donkey, flute-girl.

8 Pent. End άγονα μελον or the like?

9 Hex. καθηλα και λογια...? The first word imposes itself, though the initial traces are too scanty to confirm it as a reading. For the δομα (6) καθηλως see Hermipp. fr. 7, 3 KA with note; the panniers themselves, Aristoph., Isp. 170; description, K. D. White, "Farm Equipment of the Roman World" 96–8. If we recognize a third person imperative in the next line, we could guess e.g. φερτοι before this, ‘let him (her) carry the load and ...’. But note that the stop after καθηλα, which might introduce a new clause, is doubtfully read. λογια, λογιως refer to penetrating sounds: here, the music? or the braying?

10 Pent. End — εφεστοι; ουν...? I can think of no reading but εφεστοι. That could be given a sense: ‘let the donkey earn (food? blows?)’. But we must then assume that the word before (ending in γ or τ) was elided across the diarræsis; no elision is marked by the scribe. The stop before ουν may set off a new clause continuing into the next line; or a contrasting phrase to complete this line (‘but not wine at the symposium’)

οικες MLW).

14 Pent. Καθηλως altered to -ις? MLW.

15 Hex. διηρευον μεθηλα... (cf. Il. 12. 435) might be read, with doubts about θ[. μεθθεοι ... εφεσων)

16 Theogn. 434.


17 Hex. ετροου ο Κατωτος ο γιτος...? — in a poem, Fest. 2. 74 End, φω[ριν]ον —? Two glasses are better? two...

Fr. 26

Lines 5–12 overlap Simonides fr. 8. 6–13 W. The quotation-fragment, thirteen lines beginning εν δι το θαλλιστον ΧΙλος δεινεν άνθρωπον, stands at Stobaeus 4. 34. 28 under the heading Κιμμανθου. Of the three manuscripts, S offers the whole, MA only 6–13. That MA represent a different tradition from S is clear: they contain different selections of extracts. But divergence within a single extract is not expected, and editors have generally treated it as accidental.

The papyrus now shows that in the substantive text fr. 8. 6–13 stood in a different context, without 1–5. It is tempting to think that MA represent the original extract, S a secondary conflation of two extracts on similar themes.

This has its relevance to the question of the author. Some scholars have assigned the whole quotation to Semonides of Amorgos; see against this West, Studies 179 f. Now we must divide it. (a) 6–13 occur here in the same papyrus as fr. 11 W., quoted by Plutarch as Simonides, and other references to the Battle of Platæa: a poem too late for Semonides, and presumably ascribed to Simonides by Alexandrian editors.

(b) 1–5 remain available, though, as West notes, the citation of Homer would be quite characteristic (Simonides PMG 542, 579, 581), and late authority says that Simonides did indeed call Homer ‘Chian’ ([Plu.], De Homero 2. 1, p. 7 Kindstrand).

The real context, as the papyrus presents it, is badly broken. 5–12 = fr. 8. 6–13 develop the theme that youth, and life, are short: carpe diem. (Cf. Minnemerus 1 and 5 W, without the explicit moral.) 3–4 can plausibly be seen as anticipating this. These reflections might find a place in a longer poem about glamorous youth and falling age such as fr. 27 may represent. But they might also make a poem by themselves, especially if 13 ff. change the subject, i.e. begin a new poem [if that poem had to do with Homer, see 14 note, it could provide the original home of fr. 8. 1–5].

3 Hex. θεον επι χρόνον ——? ‘Time’ might anticipate the theme of 10 f: life is short, but (5) the young do not see it. We could approach θεον as (i) a verb, on the pattern of Hes, Op. 133 ψαυριθον ζέακες επι χρόνον, or as (ii) an adjective, on the pattern of Minn. 2. 3 τοις ἵλεοι πήχουν επι χρόνον ἄνθησιν ἡβης {[etc]?}
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terpòmètha. (ii) looks more appealing. Perhaps (μάλα) τυπθόν, cf. AR 4, 12:57 αὐθ, μένειν τυπθόν περ ἐπὶ χρόνον, Od. 12, 407 § 8: δὲ θείοι μόνα πολλοῦ ἐπὶ χρόνων. But I have found no example of a temporal use earlier than AR (in Homer the word refers to size and physical space).

4. Pent. παμε[−−−]−cov. [α] A part of παμε[ε]νις (παμε[ε], μεν[ε], μεν[ε]ντα ἤτοι, etc.) might suit the theme of the transitory: Théogn. 197 ἡ θρήμα δ᾽ ἐν μὲν Δίδηκεν καὶ εἰν ἄκο ἀνδρὶ γένηται / ... παμε[ε]νις τελέθη, Hdt: 3, 57, 3, ... ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἡ παμε[ε]νις ἡμῖν ἔτη ἐπὶ πολλῶν χρόνων παμε[ε]νις (Handley on Mem., Dyss. 798).

5. avpo' yevr]rai 0 pev Atodev Kal cvv nappovipov TeXedet, ... of the transitory: Théogn. ... of a letter? or of a short dash marking the end of the variant, as a short dash marks its beginning? The

the indicative at Tyrt. 10, 28 and Théogn. 1007, the indicative and the subjunctive as variants (editors print
the indicative) at Il. 18, 61 and its imitation Théogn. 1143.

6. [fr. 19 (χρήμα 2, 22, δηρόν 5)] does not join here.

5-12 The spacing makes no difficulties about restoring the text as transmitted in Stobaeus.

5 ἔχει: ἔχει Stob. Of it, the lower arc; not 9, too low for o. In similar expressions, MSS transmit the subjunctive at Tryt. 10, 28 and Théogn. 1007, the indicative and the subjunctive as variants (editors print the indicative) at Il. 18, 61 and its imitation Théogn. 1143.

7 γναρτέμενοι: α- now in the earliest witness (Bergk had wanted γναρτέμενοι). West, Studies 78.

9 η ηπιοι οις ηπιοι MSS. Camerarius' correction confirmed.

10 βιστοι so written: βιστο MSS. Camerarius' conjecture confirmed.

13 fl. If the excпорtor knew his business, we can assume that the syntax was complete at the end of 12: not necessarily that a poem ended there, though an end is generally marked, on the pattern of Théogn. 37 ἰ τάστα μαθὼν κτλ. What little can be seen of the matter (14 'tongue', 16 'lying') would suit a sermon on truth or sincerity—a change of subject, therefore a new poem?

14 ἐκφυν' ὑμη: [I do not know how to interpret the accentuation. ἐκφυν(ε) might be finite or imperatives: perhaps the former, since it might explain why the scribe felt an accent necessary (to draw attention to the missing augment)? In ὑμη: [the acute might distinguish δημοσ (Ὁμηρος) from δημός; or the article ὑ from the relative? (For ὑ cf. Chandler § 739; Moore-Blunt, QUCC 29 (1978) 157 quotes e.g. 1370 Eur., Med. 59 ὑ; contrast 841 Pind., Par. 1 5 ὑ.) But none of this is reliable; and the final trace too slight to limit the possibilities.

Various patterns. With imperative, ὑμη δὲ πάν ... ἐκφυν' δ ὑμη ὑδημοι. With indicative, ἐκφυν' ὑποκύπτων αιγνοντις: even among older poets (παλαι[εί]), Homer did not escape slander? or, MLW suggests, odd Homer's words escaped oblivion, for they told truth (cf. fr. 1, 11 ff. above).

15 ἔχει: ἔχει Stob. Of it, the lower arc; not 9, too low for o. In similar expressions, MSS transmit the subjunctive at Tryt. 10, 28 and Théogn. 1007, the indicative and the subjunctive as variants (editors print the indicative) at Il. 18, 61 and its imitation Théogn. 1143.

16 ἔχει: [I do not know how to interpret the accentuation. ἐκφυν(ε) might be finite or imperatives: perhaps the former, since it might explain why the scribe felt an accent necessary (to draw attention to the missing augment)? In ὑμη: [the acute might distinguish δημοσ (Ὁμηρος) from δημός; or the article ὑ from the relative? (For ὑ cf. Chandler § 739; Moore-Blunt, QUCC 29 (1978) 157 quotes e.g. 1370 Eur., Med. 59 ὑ; contrast 841 Pind., Par. 1 5 ὑ.) But none of this is reliable; and the final trace too slight to limit the possibilities.

17 Hex. ἐνδεικτικῶν, ἐνδεικτικῶν? I can make nothing of either: παράδομαλη seems out of place; that leaves only ἐπ[φ]αγ or ἐπ[φ]αγ. MLW suggests παράδομα[τ]τομ, all-conquering time (cf. PMG 531, 5) cannot dim or leaves only slight to limit the possibilities.

18 Pent. δὲΚ(τ)' παράδομον? Above ὑ [αι, τ], the final trace a point at mid-height on the edge, part of a letter? or of a short dash marking the end of the variant, as a short dash marks its beginning? The superscript letters might represent a variation between dual and plural, i.e. τοι in place of τοι (not τοι, for which the trace seems unsuitable, in place of τοι).

The adjective and its relations apply in epic to 'well-twisted' cords and the like; later to flexible things and adaptable people. The lyre (Od. 21, 408) might suit 17, cf. Théogn. 778; or dancing feet (AP 9, 533-3, Byzantine), with variants πόδε, πόδεκ. Piancy might suit the lies of 16.

19 Hex. ἐστὶν ἔθει καί [.]
3965. SIMONIDES, ELEGIES

Fr. 27

Fr. 27 contains text which overlaps that of 2327 fr. 3. 7–8 and fr. 4 [Adesp. Eleg. 29. 31], which are shown to be consecutive. The notes which follow refer to the lines of the combined text [p. 24]; in 1–6 2327 is the only witness, in to 3965, 7 is top of column in 3965, 9 in 2327.

1 Pent. Short line.
2 Traces of two or three letters, the first possibly the bottom arc of a loop or oval, low in the line. Then then with written above sigma; i.e. -σει altered to -ω (Lobel)?

3 Traces of two or three letters, the foot of an upright, but the extreme lower tip of epsilon may be possible (Lobel).

4 Pent. κέλεμεν[τρ] or the like.

5 Pent. Short line.

6 Hex. ὄμηκενήθη or the like.

7 3965 ο[τε], 2327 ἀφαίω[ν], apparently the foot of an upright, but the extreme lower tip of epsilon may be possible (Lobel).

8 Pent. κόσμου[ν] ὧν [κτείπατόν] Lobel, quoting Theogn. 250 ἀγαλματόν δύο πολυεὐθύνων (cf. Bacc. 1. 3. 5–3). The only other obvious plurality is Athens (Pind. fr. 76 SM). What could be meant by κόσμου? Of song, see above on fr. 22 + 1. 192 (On this basis, MLW elegantly restores πρήσετομιμι κέλεμενήθη / φθέροντον ἄγνων Μουσίων[ν] κόσμου[ν] ὧν [κτείπατόν].) Of a place, in this journeying context—the sea, the glory of the Nereids, or the island, the glory of the Nymphs? somewhere glorified by the Muses (cf. 23 ὀδὸς πολύμυμον;)?

9 In 3965 πολυδόρῳ[ν], with ὄνωρ written above ὄνωρ. Neither epithet informative in itself. Lobel compared Ἀθήναι. 225 Θῆβας δ'. εἰσαφάκετον ἔσος καταιγμένον ὑδ. Add Solon 13. 21 (the wind) θεῶν ἔσος ἀῖπνον ἱκάνει / σύναν. At the end, ἵκανμην is one possibility (so West).

10 2327 ἀντιστοιχίας [τε], a stroke rising to the right: λ' Lobel, but a not I think excluded. 3965 ἀγαλματία, [Pent. To judge from the relative alignment, ὀνομ. ἄγαλμα, [και όνομα. (Either ἀγαλματία or ἄγαλμα; ἄγαλμα[τ] cannot be read.) Among the various meanings of ἄγαλμα, the juxtaposition with ἄγαλμα might suggest 'an object of pride to ...'. The last trace doubtful, perhaps Φ or Κ, apparently not θ[φ]εων; θ[φ]εων MLW.

11 2327 ἰχνέα[ν], 'the right-hand arc of o or ω': 3965 ἐρμαλαβαία[ν], the last trace perhaps the initial curve of μ. Pent. χείρα λάβαν, λαβὼν[ν]—. A gesture of pledge (Il. 6. 233, 21. 286), reassurance (24. 671), welcome (Od. 3. 37), courtship ([HHV] V 57. 61).

12 2327 ἰππόστασις[ν], ἰππόστασις[ν], apodoscopos. [Hex. ῥτος ἀπὸ χροσὸς ὀνομακομίασθαι, ἀπὸ χροσὸς often enough at this place in hexameter poets, Il. 14. 170 ἀπὸ χροσὸς ἴμπροεντός etc.


14 2327 διδρ[ει], ‘a trace level with the tops of letters’, apparently from a horizontal or oblique, not an upright. 3965 διδρ[ει], first, ‘loop of rho suggested, but anomalously rectilinear’ Lobel (but perhaps rather flattened top and stem of upsilon).

15 2327 ἰδοὺ ἐν ἅθη[ν], ἅθη[ν] ἰδοὺ. φαρκιάδα ‘wrinkle’ is quoted from Sophocles (fr. 1108 K. φαρκιάδα MSS, corr. Brunck and others); otherwise the word survives only in grammarians (and the adjective ἐφαρκιάδος in the
medical tradition). Herodian apparently thought the iota long (Arcadius 221. 17 f. Schmidt; ἑρώι δισμάνων
Herod. II 18. 22-4 Lentz); but it cannot be so here. The last trace most suggests τ, but γ, π could be
considered.

16 Hex. νεοβλαστήριον o.o. The adjective is rare, most often of new growth in plants or animals (so Nic., Al. 484; TLG adds Theophr., HP I. 8. 5 and Aesopica 8. 2; Galen 13. 284. 15 of horn); Opp., Hal.
1. 735 τέκνα νεοβλαστήρι.

These fragmentary lines offer some elements which could be combined:
(i) 'sea' 2, 'passage' 3?, 'crossing' 4, 'path' 6, τοκον πολύπεδον (πολύγυνον) 8, 'island' 9.
(ii) an optative verb, and in the first person singular, can be seen in 6, is likely in 11, and could
conveniently be restored in 8.
(iii) 11 ff. hand, flesh, desire, flowers, wrinkles, new-grown.
(i) and (ii) together, assuming that the optatives express a wish, not a potential, might yield 'How I
long to cross the sea to the island ...'. This journey might be (a) real; (b) escapist, on the pattern of Eur.,
Hipp. 732 ff., where the chorus long to fly away to the Island of the Hesperides; (c) post mortem, as
Posidippus SH 705. 22 γῆρα μυκτέρια σύμων ἐπί Ραδήμαθον ιεώμην. The detail does not decide between
these possibilities. Real islands may have many trees (8). But fantastic islands naturally tend to be even
more fertile: Hes., Op. 170 ff. (μάκαρον νείτζολον), Pherecydes FGrH 3 F 16 (θεῶν κύπος); Achilles lives on
the Island of the Blessed with its noble trees (Pind., Ol. 2. 73), or on the White Island (Aethiop. arg. p. 69 B;
Pind., Nem. 4. 49), which Pausanias describes as δάσεια ὕδη πάνα (3. 19. 11).

In what follows, the speaker (the poet?) is to meet someone (11), perhaps someone golden-haired, who
may be desirable (13) among the flowers (14). Again, the details don't exclude a real party, to which the
speaker looks forward. Nonetheless, I should guess that this is a fantasy, whether for this life or the next:
in the idyllic landscape (14) the speaker will lose his wrinkles (15), perhaps even grow his hair again (16).
The deityed Achilles appears in fr. 1; he undoubtedly had yellow hair, and a place in Elysium (as
Simonides himself said, PMG 558). But I see no other reason to bring him in here.

Further considerations arise from 2327. There frr. 1 + 2 contain the top of two columns, printed as
Adeps. Eleg. 28 and 30 W. Mr Lobel suggested that fr. 3 formed the lower part of col. i (POxy XXII
p. 69). Fr. 4 he placed to the right of col. ii 8-11, even though prima facie it contains the top of a column;
and West assigned it to col. iii (since it does not fit well with suggested reconstructions of col. ii).
3965 now makes it certain that the first line of 2327 fr. 4 follows directly on the last line of fr. 3.
Therefore fr. 3 forms the foot of one column, and fr. 4 the head of the next. Therefore either (i) Lobel's
placing of fr. 3 must be given up, or (ii) fr. 4 must combine with frr. 1-2 col. ii.
As to (i), there is no firm footing: Lobel himself noted 'I cannot profess to identify the back fibres of
the one in the other with complete certainty'.
As to (ii), we can use two kinds of argument.
(a) The fibres. As touches the horizontal fibres, nothing can be said for or against, since between the
beginnings in frr. 1-2 ii and the middles in fr. 4 runs the sheet-join mentioned by Lobel (the edge visible
in 8, cutting the chi of χαρη, and below). As for the vertical fibres, I see no clear likeness or unlikeness with
the vertical fibres of ii 9-11.
(b) Possible supplements. The combined text looks like this:

ε. [...]ενα [...]α νέον ἀγάλμα [...] κα[ [...]χρ.[ [...]διν ἡμιθρήτθει [...] 10
θ. [...]χρ. [...] [...] τοις ἀπὸ χρόος αὐ[ [...] λειβαὶ δ' ῥοδίφρων ἵκερθεντα [...]πόθον
καὶ κοιλ. [...] [...] δοκ ἐν ἄλθε [...]
We have no objective means of telling how many letters would be missing between the two parallel strips. I have taken as standard the most plausible supplement, that in 13, and estimated the other lacunas from it.

9 ε, [ε, ε] stands a little in, but there is no clear ink to the left of it; the traces perhaps top and lower curve of ε. Δευτερομενον, upright, perhaps ε or possibly ρ. Lobel, but the irregularities of the ink may be deceptive; above ευ, [ευ, ευ] suprascript, 'the back of ε, or possibly ρ, followed by a dot level with the tops of letters, not ευ' Lobel (the dot perhaps belong to a damaged upward extension of the oblique of ρ).

10 ὅτε: if the division is right, ο seems inevitable, as the only reading of the traces which might serve as a word-end. Even so, final ο is not so common in this dialect. One possibility: a genitive (so Κυνάρα West). Another: an uncontracted spelling in -εο. This points first to εὐσέβεια νήσον. (For the adjective applied to a place, see Hes., Oph. 599 and West's note; real islands no doubt enjoyed sea breezes, and so did the Island of the Blest, Pind., Ol. 2. 71 f.). But the spacing seems to require one or two letters more: therefore, as MLW suggests, εὐσέβεια ὅτα ("splendid" or "far-seen"); for the idea cf. Pind., N. 4. 49 f.; fr. 33c. 5 f.). Before that, ευθεία ἐν ουγκαίοις a little long.

11 τοῖς θεσσαλοῖς, the top of an upright, perhaps (but not certainly) a trace to the right from a joining stroke ("perhaps π" Lobel).

As a speculation, I mention that the spacing would allow και [και] Εὔκρατειδον ἐναποθανάτα ταῖρας. For the beginning, see 14. For Echecratidas, see schol. Theoc. 16. 34, Antiochus, whom Theocritus records among the Thessalian princes made famous by Simonides, was the son of Echecratidas and Dysiris, ἀπὸ φθορὰς Σιμωνίδης (= PMG 528). Dedications by Echecratidas, Θεσσαλίας ἀπὸ χρόνος, and Dysiris, stand among epigrams ascribed to Anacreon (AP 6. 142, 136; FGE pp. 142, 139). Thuc. 1. 111 mentions Θέρσης, ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ βασιλεὺς whom the Athenians tried to restore from exile in 457/6. Historians have posited at least two Echecratidai, a generation apart, to account for these snippets (see e.g. RE Suppl. XII s.v. Pharsalos 1051-4); and in any case the name is not uncommon. The Echecratidas of our poem, if he exists, floats in an amorous context (12 πρὸς τὸν ἔρως) must therefore be young (at the moment of writing? in the poet's memory?); if he is a Thessalian prince, there is no obvious island on which his hand might be shaken—unless indeed on the Island of the Blest.

12 σφικτερακοτρίτης, anomalous trace, 'like the left-hand angle of φ but too high for this' (Lobel). ἵνα or ἦν, λάβοι or λαβοῦν; 275). We could look for something on the lines of ὑπὸ τὸν θεσσαλικὸν ἀπὸ τὸν θεσσαλικὸν βασιλεὺς (where, in spite of Mr Barrett's note, I should take the eyes to be those of Eros). There is one obstacle: the second hand has entered πως above the beta of λαβοῦ. If he was right, the suggested reconstruction falls. But of course such interlinear variants may preserve corruptions just as much as corrections.
Note that the overlap of cross fibres is very small, so that the horizontal alignment is not necessarily reliable.

46 (a poem contemporary with Simonides' old age, see the reference to the Battle of Salamis in 48 ff.).

West, the superscript explained as a v.l. γ for ea. ἀρπετής γλώσσα of the poet, Pind., Isthm. 5. 46 (a poem contemporary with Simonides' old age, see the reference to the Battle of Salamis in 48 ff.).
Thus the combination of 2327 fr. 4 with frs. 1–2 ii produces sense enough to seem plausible. Mr Lobel considered whether fr. 5, which has a sheet-join similarly placed, stood at the foot of the same column, but concluded that the backs were too unlike, Poxy XXII p. 70. (If we accepted the placing, and MLW's suggestion that fr. 5 immediately preceded fr. 4 (above p. 28), it would follow that the Plataea Elegy came next.)

Thus the journey to the island leads to a party scene: someone (the speaker? that is, the poet?) would take someone's hand, while someone (Eros? the beloved?) distils beauty and desire; he would lie on a bed of flowers, wear a wreath of flowers, and exercise his ready tongue in sweet clear song. If εὐγνώμονα is accepted in 14, there is a first person speaker, cf. above 6; if 10 refers to Echecratidas, there would be more reason to see the speaker as Simonides himself.

The reconstruction proposed for 10 and 14 makes those optatives potential. We are no closer to knowing whether the journey to the island, and the celebrations there, are practical anticipation, or wishful fantasy. The most distinctive element, the wrinkles (15), has no immediate context.

The extreme view would be this:
The aged Simonides longs to escape (now, or after death), carrying his poetry, across the sea to the place of many trees, the Island of the Blest (Elysium), there to meet again the dead Echecratidas in all his desirable youth; they will join in the symposium; the wrinkled Simonides too will recover his youth.

Elysium was by now becoming less exclusively the haunt of mythic heroes (as by Plato's time, Gorg. 525–4, it will be open to all the εὐεργέτες): Harmodius is imagined there, PMG 894. That poets might join the μακάρων is implied by Aristoph., Ran. 85—and so later, Sappho in the μακάρων ἀδελφός, Dioscorides AP 7. 407–8, the ποίημα in Elysium, Virgil, Aen. 6. 662. In Elysium, naturally, the good life is lived: μακάρων εὐεργέτας Ar., Ran. 85, εὐεργέτας τῶν δοκῶν Plato, Resp. 263C. The Blest continue the pleasures of their normal lives: so poets will practice their art after death (Nisbet & Hubbard on Horace, Carm. 2. 13, p. 204), just as they hope that old age will not deprive them of it (Eur., Her. 676 f.). I have found no evidence that the Blest were rejuvenated; the idea itself seems natural enough, given that conditions in Elysium parallel those of the Golden Age, where old age had no place (M. Davies, Prom. 13 (1987) 265 ff.; Hes., Op. 113 ff.).

If the reconstruction is accepted, we can confirm Lobel's original placing of 2327 fr. 3 at the foot of frs. 1–2 col. i. At the head of the same column stands the passage printed by West as Adesp. Eleg. 28. On the doubtful calculation made above (p. 33), ten to twenty verses might be lost in between. We have no means of telling whether one poem ended within this lacuna (a fairly short poem, if it began with Adesp. Eleg. 28. 3, see below), so that fr. 3 belongs to the next. But given that the Plataea Elegy was of some length, we should consider whether fr. 3 and its attaching pieces continued the same poem from the top of col. i, or rather from i 3, which West plausibly identified as a first line.

West, Studies 167 f. summed up his interpretation of the earlier fragment thus: "The poet confesses that his sexual inhibitions are losing their grip. Even since his pubic hair appeared, he has—δρακάμενος—respected Dike and Aidos, but now he is a prey to Desire." Difficulties remain in much of the detail. But at minimum, we could say that fr. 1 contains a reference to a symposium, desire and perhaps old age. At maximum, we could imagine a poem on these lines: 'I can never be a cautious wallflower. Even now, in old age, I long for love and wine. Hasten the day, when I recover my youth in the symposium of the Blest.'

Fr. 28
3 οὐ]ε αὐλο[ rather than εαυλο[ MLW.

Fr. 32
1 E.g. ἀναφέεις (pent.) MLW.

Fr. 33
Upper margin? I have tried joining fr. 35, itself a column-top, to give ἀείειν (hex.), ἦν (pent.). But the fibres do not convince.

Fr. 34
3 Pent. end.
Fr. 37
2 Blank end (pent.)? Then 3 e.g. γου]ω|ω|φc MLW.

Fr. 38
1 Perhaps ]μειωφ]. The second 1 is wide, and could be taken as final. But if this is a pentameter, what
   to make of 2?
2 ε[ is separated by a short space, and might be taken as a marginal note. But, since the writing
   looks the same, and the careful suprascript correction seems more appropriate to text, it is better to treat
   the gap as accident or punctuation.

Fr. 42
3 Either an exceptionally long line, or top of column.

Fr. 45
E.g. δ]λόω, ]α χιη[υc MLW.

P. J. PARSONS
II. COMEDY

3966. Menander, Karchedonios, Phasma
or another play

Remains of sixteen lines of comedy (or, as I think more likely, of 15 plus XOPOY) are given by this scrap from the foot of a column. The back of the roll is blank; the lower margin is preserved up to 38 mm. The piece is linked by its handwriting to XXXI 2654, which is identified by a quotation as part of a copy of Menander, Karchedonios, and also to the unassigned comic fragment PKöln I 4, which has been thought to be part of the same roll; the two are respectively nos. 157 and 159 in Austin, Comicorum Graecorum fragmenta in papyris reperta (1973). Karchedonios is therefore a possible identity for the present piece. Enough of the content can be made out (or so I believe) to show that we are concerned with the familiar domestic ritual of bringing the loutra, water from the fountain as for a nuptial bath, with a procession consisting of (at least) the woman who is the loutrophoros, a piper and a singer (it will be suggested that line 12 in fact represents a snatch of lyric); a bystander passes comments. None of this has yet been observed to link with any known text; but since the link by handwriting to Karchedonios need not be a binding one, it is reasonable to consider among other possibilities plays in which a wedding or weddings were a specially prominent motif. Phasma was such a play; and, as it happens, is referred to by one of the ancient metricians for its use of a lyric metre. Other identities can be considered. The fragment was discussed at a colloquium held in Geneva in 1988, and has been published with some discussion in Eric Handley-André Hurst, Relire Ménandre (Recherches et Rencontres 2, Geneva 1990): there the possibilities of Kres and Hypobolimaios were noted by N. Zagagi (see below on 7—10), while Thomas Gelzer outlined a case for identification with Georgos (text, pp. 138 ff.; discussion, pp. 162-6). The general interest of the piece, which in some ways is akin to the beginning of Act III of Dyskolos, emerges not without difficulty from the detailed problems of palaeography, reading and interpretation which it offers.

The copyist writes in a small-to-medium upright hand of a basically formal character, but with some interesting variations in letter forms. It is the same as 'Hand 1' of 2654, which made its first appearance in mid-1968, and is no. 41 in Turner’s Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World (1971; 19862); it was in fact Turner himself who subsequently made the identification. 'Hand 2' of 2654 is larger, and its letters are 'broader, squarer and spikier' (GMAW, loc. cit.). The same contrast of styles is found in the Cologne fragment, first published in 1969, most of which is in 'Hand 2', but the last line of col. i is in 'Hand 1'. The strange (and so far unexplained) alternation seen in both pieces, together with the consideration that the Cologne piece
came reputedly from Oxyrhynchus, led both Turner and Koenen to conclude that they are parts of the same roll, and therefore presumably of the same play; they agree also that ‘Hand 1’ and ‘Hand 2’ represent the work of two people and not one; they differ in assigning a date, in that Koenen thinks of the first century BC, while Turner’s view, to which I incline, is for the first century AD.

In considering the three fragments together, one is reminded strongly, as so often in work on small pieces, how limited one is by the narrow extent of the data for analysis and comparison. The present fragment is set apart from the other two in that it has no alternation of styles, but a uniformity, and no sign of the marginal annotation which characterises 2654; but who is to say whether that makes it part of a continuous passage in ‘Hand 1’ from that same roll, or part of another uniform roll by the same writer? By contrast, the new specimen shows that there are present within ‘Hand 1’ some variations in letter forms which had previously been seen as signs of distinction between the two hands, most notably in the case of alpha and mu.

In our piece, as in the other specimens of ‘Hand 1’, alpha is normally narrow and upright, made in three strokes with mid-line crossbar. But we now have a variant, in which the left side and crossbar are written together in downward and upward diagonal movements, to which the right side is then added: so, for instance, very clearly in the largely cancelled ϑυπνευς in 12. That variant form is the one standard in ‘Hand 2’; but ‘Hand 2’ does itself on occasion produce the narrower upright alpha, as in 2654, 29 aπειθ[; both forms are found there in δραπετα 35 and in πραγματα 37. The other triangular letters, δ and λ, show minor variations of the same kind, as between an upright ‘isosceles’ pattern which is generally characteristic of ‘Hand 1’ and a more freely written ‘equilateral’ shape typical of ‘Hand 2’: so in our piece δ in παιδαινον 16, as opposed to ηδεως 11 or καθευδεν 13; λ in αλφες 7, as opposed to μελος 15, where the second stroke meets the first half-way, as regularly in ‘Hand 2’.

The regular mu of ‘Hand 1’ is made in four strokes, not unlike two juxtaposed lambdas; but it is also found in our piece in the more rapidly written three-stroke form characteristic of ‘Hand 2’. The letter is a little abraded, but clear, in με 15, where the ε that follows takes on a cursive form, with the base written first and then the top and cross-stroke in one movement. The same mu is followed by a formally written ε in μεντοι, 10. ‘Hand 2’, we may note in passing, is not without its lapses into informality, as can be seen from the eta-nu of κορη, 2654, 38.

Some other palaeographical features are probably worth noting here, not only for comparative purposes, but because they may affect the interpretation of damaged or broken letters. The presence of links or small serifs at the end of strokes is intermittent, and can be noted both here and in the other fragments under discussion; it is common to ‘Hand 1’ and ‘Hand 2’. Epsilon, apart from the instance of a cursive form noted above, varies here and in the other fragments between having a formal

1 According to the dealer who sold it: Koenen, ΖΠΕ 5 (1970) 60.
straight cross-stroke, and one in which that stroke tends to detach from the body of the letter and to reduce to a dot. Kappa is most formally written as upright followed by limbs which meet it at mid-point and are formed by two neatly diverging diagonal strokes; but the diagonals can be made in a single curving movement, or three strokes can combine to make a less formal letter. The differences can be seen in our piece from ακουει [11]; και [10]; and οικοτρυ 
. The rho of ‘Hand 1’ is characteristically made with a narrow loop, but sometimes in the wider form that is regular in ‘Hand 2’, and is recognisable in that form, though damaged, in ρη[ν]μις [9]. Tau can have a long top leading from the previous letter, and the vertical stroke may then go down rapidly from the right hand end of it; upsilon has similar minor variations. Of the round letters, omicron varies here and in the other fragments between an upright oval, with sides that can look deceptively straight when the letter is broken, to a compact small round; omega is in two joined curves in the ‘Hand 1’ style, weightier and more formally rounded in ‘Hand 2’.

In short, the accession of new evidence makes it possible to reopen the question of the distinction between the two hands under discussion, and to ask whether they may not after all be the product of one person writing in two styles, rather than two in intimate collaboration. In either case the presence of striking common features is explicable; in neither is it clear what brought about the alternation. Of that, the present fragment shows no sign; nor, unlike the others, has it any sign of the activities of a reviser or editor. Though there is one correction (12), to all appearances that was made currente calamo; there is no punctuation or any other sign of lectional aids; only at 15/16 could we expect to see a paragraphos, and there, where the text seems to call for one, it is lacking. In other words, if this piece came from the same roll as either or both of the other two, it came from a part of the play in which there was less ostensible need, or less occasion, for extra work on the text. So far as I can see, nothing forbids that assumption, and nothing compels us to it. With Karchedonios indicated as a possibility by the handwriting of the fragment, the identity of the play it represents remains open to discussion.

Phasma was mentioned above as a possible host to our piece.¹ This idea began from the point that there are in that play several prominent references to a forthcoming wedding (10, 59, 61, 92) and one (somewhat obscure) reference to a line of lyric unlike, but possibly compatible with, what can be made of 12 (see the detailed notes

that follow). Phasma also has, in the shape of the ‘vision’ which gives the play its title, a girl kept secretly shut up indoors (14 ff. with Donatus’ summary, and perhaps 85: see on ἐνόδον ἐγκεκλειμένη in our fragment at 13). One more coincidence (if that is what it is): at Phasma 52 ff. a slave sarcastically suggests to his young master that for the non-disease of lovesickness a non-remedy would be apt. He is to undergo what Sandbach (ad loc.) describes as ‘a ritual purification, washing and fumigation, sprinkling with water from three springs, in which salt and lentils have been thrown’. All else apart, ἀπὸ κρίνης (9) is not the same thing as ἀπὸ κρωνῶν τριῶν (Phasma 55). But is there some way in which these motifs could be related? Suppose that the young man did indeed send for water, and that the speaker we have called (A) in our fragment took its arrival for a loutrophoria of a different kind? This would not be wholly unlike the comic development at Terence, Andria 490 ff., in which Simo, having overheard the midwife’s perfectly real instructions for the care of her charge, leaps to the conclusion that they are a trick to persuade him that a baby has just been born. One main difference is that the situation propounded here claims no higher status than that of speculation.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{...[} \\
\text{...[} & \nu[ \\
\text{ε[} \\
\text{ησεαυδηθ[} \\
\text{τερον...αυτος[} \\
\text{αλθθεο[} & \chi[ \\
\text{λουτρασουτ...γαρ[} \\
\text{τσιγαμουκινα[} & \rho[ & \etaσεφειν \\
\text{οσαυλοκατιμε...ο...ροσθεω[} \\
\text{στασακουαμανηδεωγυνν[} \\
\text{μεναφυνιον[} & \chi[ \\
\text{καθευνενεδονεγκεκλει[} \\
\text{ειναγαρεμεμεθωνοπροκτουτο[} \\
\text{προσποιοουδροφορειμεδεμελος[} & \ldots \\
\text{παιδαρυνοικοτριψγαρειαμοιδοκε[} \\
\end{align*}
\]
-]ης, ἐάν δέηθ', ἄ[μα.  

\[X]\ O \quad \[P] \quad [OY]

(A) τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀληθές. ο[ἰ]νοχό[ῶν τις ἐρχετ' ἢ

φέρων τὰ] λουτρά: τοῦτο γὰρ[ νομίζεται

τὰ λουτρά] ἀ τοῖς γαμούσις ἀπὸ[ ᾦ κρίνει] κε[ φέρειν,

ἀδειν πρὸς αὐλὼν καὶ τι μέγατοι - πρὸς θεῶν,

πάρει ]ποτ' - ἐπακούσαμ' ἀν ἢδέως, γύναι[.  

(B) ἀφύπνικον, ἀφύπνικον; ἀπ[ο][φ]-

(A) αὐτὴ κάθευδεν ἐιδον ἐγκεκλεμένην:

ἀ]δειν γὰρ ἑμεμίσθωτο πρὸς τούτο[ν. (C) τάλαν,

πρὸς ποίον ὑδροφορεῖν με δεὶ μέλος πτητ.;

⟨A⟩ παιδάριοι οἰκότρυφ γὰρ εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ[.

1–3 are abraded, and 3 has, it seems, lost some letters entirely in that way
COMEDY

1. ...[, mid-line horizontal, then a round letter, θ, ε, ο; then a descender 4. On twisted fibres, parts of two verticals probably linked; i.e. πρ rather than ἁ ζ; at end, downward oblique, α[ not ε], or[ 5. This line probably, but not verifiably, represents ΧΟΠΟΥ rather than the remains of a verse. The surviving ρho is at centre column and has blank (though abraded) surface either side; the line spacing looks a little wider than usual, and the letter itself, though of no more than normal size, is noticeably carefully formed. One more speck of ink, of indeterminate character, is at the place where XIJO could be divined, supposing that the spacing used was that familiar from the Bodmer Dyskolos and elsewhere. But not enough undamaged surface is preserved to make it certain that there was no continuous writing. There is no trace of the decorative lines which copyists sometimes add; and the place where a marginal sign of act-ending might have stood is lost with part of the left side of the column 6. τερερον: τα has a long top, leading from ε, o or ο; perhaps therefore ΤΕΡΕΡΟΝ, perhaps a comparative adjective of a suitable formation. Next, ...: two dots of ink, one over the other, represent a vertical rather than a curve; then downward oblique, suits upper part of ω; then κ or ν, represented by parts of vertical and oblique: i.e. φίν (with improbable ο) or (better) ψψ. At the end, ε joins the top of an upright or of ιν, suits a foot of a vertical, close to α; χ rather than Λ, judging both from general appearance and from a speck of ink at the top right 7. end of sloping oblique αει[α κ]ρθτ[ν]γε could be guessed from the context; it can be verified by observing that the rho (with large bow, like the second of δρομοναν, 15) and the top of a vertical which follows it stand on a tongue of papyrus which is slightly deflected to the right; with this allowed for, there is space suitable for the letters presumed lost; π, on fibres now twisted, appears to be represented by the junction of top and first upright to μετασημα, περι being represented by the top of a vertical immediately after ε and the lower part of another, τ by traces of top and upright, simply by a foot προσ θεῖον is hardly in doubt, though for π there is only a speck of ink from the first upright, ε is incomplete and the upper part of θ abraded, ε is split in half and ν merely the top of the first stroke 11. a vertical; an indeterminate dot of ink at the end 12. [σπερ]δευκον fills the space if the column is regular, and will scan as the beginning of a highly resolved trimeter. But song is in question, both from the context and from the appearance of the unusual adjective δυσπνευς as a synonym for ἡπνει. It may therefore be that we have, written ἐν ἐλέθει, a line that is something other than an iambic trimeter, as for instance dactylic hexameters among trimeters in the near-contemporary copy of Aristophanes, Knights, 2545. Turner, G.MAW 2 no. 37, with discussion pp. 8 and 12. In that case, δυσπνευς, δυσπνευς could have begun the line, offering an interpretation congenial to the context and a strong hint from the word-division that the metre is fully resolved anapaests. The scribe then writes δυσπνευς once again, but immediately recognizes his mistake and crosses through the letters φωσδευς, leaving α as the beginning of the next word. It is followed, after the deletion, by parts of an upright with a curving stroke near it, a gap, and the top of a tall upright. αδ[α ν]δις could be considered, and the degree of repetition present might help to explain the scribe’s confusion 13. η trace of ink on the line, with another higher and to right (could be parts of two letters), then high horizontal joins η, with a dot of ink from a vertical below it: αδητα could be guessed, not confirmed 14. fibres abraded: horizontal stroke perhaps joins ε at mid-line, as for δ]γεν; but δ may be high in relation to ε, as in ἡδέως (11), so that δηδεων is hardly to be ruled out, though not suggested by the trace of ink 15. end, foot of vertical, could be χ or π with nothing lost; third is like τ, with parts of vertical and cross-stroke present; last survives as part of a right-facing curve; τετελει will do if the second, straight-looking, trace is part of ο: cf. τετελει in 8

(X.) [                ] too, in case of need.
C H O [U S]

(A.) [                ] (Μον Σ) [                ]
[The whole thing is] genuine. [Here comes someone] as a wine-server, [or a bringer of the] nuptial bath; for this [is the custom,] to bring [the bath] for the bridal pair from the fountain, [and sing] to the pipe; and indeed—in the gods’ name, [please let me] —I’d be happy to hear a bit, Ma’am.

(B.) (Sings) Awake, awake; away with (?) weariness...
4. ἡμεῖς δὲν μὴν αὐτὸν τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν, γεννήματα—αὐτῶ οὖν ἡμῶν—ῥᾶς: 'Clearer still this, as events will show'. The presumed αὐτῶ εἰμινὶ is one of the variants of the proverbial αὐτῶ δίκες (res indicabit, T. Eur. 469); the phrase is favoured by Euripides (Andr. 265, Pho. 623, B. 973; cf. Hel. 151); but fourth century prose has the variant αὐτῶ διάδεκτα (P. Prot. 342 43) and αὐτῶ διάδεκτα (Dem. False Embassy 19, 157); more material is given by van Leeuwen on Ar. Frogs 1261. εὐ[καλυπτόμενοι] φαίνεται θόσοι τὸ πραξάν ἡ δίδυς ἐπεξεύθεν.

6. Too damaged for more than guesswork, but the sense may have been on the lines of ἑτὶ δυσκολίας ἐκτρέφοντας εὖν—αὐτῶ εἰμινὶ—ῥᾶς: 'Clearer still this, as events will show'. The presumed αὐτῶ εἰμινὶ is one of the variants of the proverbial αὐτῶ δίκες (res indicabit, T. Eur. 469); the phrase is favoured by Euripides (Andr. 265, Pho. 623, B. 973; cf. Hel. 151); but fourth century prose has the variant αὐτῶ διάδεκτα (P. Prot. 342 43) and αὐτῶ διάδεκτα (Dem. False Embassy 19, 157); more material is given by van Leeuwen on Ar. Frogs 1261. εὐ[καλυπτόμενοι] φαίνεται θόσοι τὸ πραξάν ἡ δίδυς ἐπεξεύθεν.

7. τὸ πρῶτον ὑπέρθεν ἐγὼ; διαρθηκέναι ὡς τὸ πραξάν ἡ δίδυς ἐπεξεύθεν.

7–10. The restoration is based on λαυρά (8) and τοῖς γαμοῖσιν ... φέρεων (9); οἱ·ῥοξο[ῶν], though it fits, is no more than tentative. The speaker (I assume) sees water being brought: to mix with the wine for a party (he thinks) or for the customary nuptial bath. This institution is discussed by R. Ginouves, Balaneutike (1992) 265 ff., who quotes representations in art (and see also 299 ff., with 314, 406). The relevant texts are set out in exemplary fashion by R. Wycherley, Agora iii (1957) 137 ff., and they include Harpocratinum under λαυράς τον καὶ λαυράς (Wycherley's no. 439) who remarks μετασκεύασσα τὸ τὸ ἔθες σοι κομικοῦ. Schol. Ar. Lys. 378 refers to γαμήλια λαυράτα to Menander, Kres and Hypobolimaios (= irr. 52, 439 K1). Two plays noted above as possible hosts for the present fragment. Netta Zagagi (see above, p. 51) notes that Kres, like Karchedonios, had a foreign hero: a reference to Athenian marriage customs would have its full effect if addressed to someone alien to them—or (it may be) if an alien were reflecting on them to himself. If the scene was in fact set in Athens, the water, by good custom, will have been drawn from the fountain Kallirhoe/Enneakrounos; according to Isocrates, Antidosis (15), 287, some people (young men of whom he disapproves) even used it to cool their wine (Wycherley 445). It is a fine grammatical point whether ἀπὸ κρήνης φέρεων would then be understood as 'bringing water from the fountain', a place of familiar reference, or simply as 'brining fountain water': see KG i. 602 f. on ἐν ὕδατι, ἔχω τέχνης and the like, and Ar. Lys. 328–9 with Henderson's note.

10. f. δέων EGT

11. ... μέντοι: Denniston, Particles 413 ff.

12. πρὸς θεῶν appears in emotive questions or impassioned appeals, as in τί, πρὸς θεῶν, M. Dysk. 411 or μή, πρὸς θεῶν, ib. 356. Its verb should therefore be something lost before ποτε in 11; it can hardly belong with ἑπακούειµαι. Note especially πάρει, πάρει πρὸς τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶ διαρρηκόντας, 'Do let him...', Ar. Knights 341; πάρει μή 'Excuse me', M. Sik. 186; πρὸς θεῶν πάρει Com. Anon., P. Berol. 11771 (Page, Lit. Pap. 48.
Discounting this, one can consider (H.-D. Blume) or (Thomas Gelzer) or napwv Epitr. 539 ff (his 86on). He does not wish to assert a relationship: see Sandbach on its use by Habrotonon at 5 yw-p addressed breaks in with her comment on it at 14 f; but more than one colleague in discussion preferred to think of a single speaker: Relic Menandre (see p. 51) 164.

12 ἀφάντισκον: cf. E. Rhes. 23.5 εὐμακχών, | 'Εκτός, βάθει πρὸς εὐς, | ἄπτον ἤγχος αἴρεις, ἀφάντισκον — in this lyric passage the verb is transitive with its object understood; and so it may be here, 'wake (her) up', rather than 'awake', intr., a usage quoted by LSJ from Later Greek, namely, Philostratus, Apoll. 2.36, which Menander may have anticipated. From Comedy otherwise we have ἄφαντισκεθα 'wake up' twice: Cratinus, fab. inc. 306K (= Eupolis, Marit. 205 K.-A.: anap. tetr.) and Pherocrates, 191 K/204 K.-A. (Eupoleideans). The normal word in Comedy, as elsewhere, is ἐγκάθισθαι, and it is found repeated, as ἀφάντισκεθα appears to be here, in Com. Anon., PSI 1176 (Page, Lit. Pap. 61.2; Austin, CGFP 255.2): ἐγράφη ἐγκάθισθαι, ἐγκάθισθαι δὲ ἕνας εὔαρτον... All this suggests, even if it does not prove, an elevated, possibly a lyric tone. I he end of vvv...ct...is correct Attic, as opposed to ἐγκαθισθείσα: Moeris, p. 61 (190.28); cf. Phrynichus, ed. 195 Fischer.

Damage, correction, and the loss of the end of the line make interpretation hazardous. Assuming ἀφάντισκον, ἀφάντισκον... fully resolved anapaests (proceleusmatica) are likely from the word-division: see M. L. West, Gl Metre 123 and A. M. Dale in Coll. Papers (1965) 153 ff. A possible continuation might be ἀν[α]φήβηρ κάματων, or even something longer. If the loutrophoros expected regular dimeters, or something else she could march to with decorum, her protest is perhaps understandable; for according to Aphaionus, Grammatici Latini vi. 99K, quoted by West, loc. cit., proceleusmatica were typical of satyric choruses' entries. The use of full resolution to express agitation and flutter is evident in the parodos of Ar. Birds, 310 f., 314 f., and the corresponding 'imperfect' element in the papyrus fragment printed by Sandbach, OCT, p. 146, in which iambic lines are interspersed with lyric hexameters: cf. BICS 16 (1969) 88-101.

It is interesting that Caesius Bassus, GL vi. 225 K, quotes Menander from the Phasma for the use of resolution in ithyphallic metre (--- --- ---); since lyric in Menander is so rare, and since lyric anapaests do mix with single-short patterns, it seems justifiable to raise the possibility that the present song continued further with similar metrical effects, and that it is in fact the lyric being noted. The other two instances of song in Menander also attracted the attention of ancient commentators (I do not count the iambic tetrameter delivered to music in the last act of Dyskoles). The anapaests at the beginning of the epigram by Diogenes Laertius, 6.79 (= Anth. Pal. 7.116), in which iambic lines are interspersed with lyric hexameters: cf. OCT, p. 146, in which iambic lines are interspersed with lyric hexameters: cf. BICS 16 (1969) 88-101.

13 f. A. is thinking aloud. The imperfect tense of κάθευθεν, and the corresponding 'imperfect' element in εἰμιἐκμέθεντο describe an existing situation in which the speaker has only just recognized—not with surprise, as in the common ἄρα ἄρα, but by reflection, as in the imperfect which is sometimes (perhaps misleadingly) called 'philosophic': Goodwin, Moods & Tenses §§39-40; KG I. 145 ff.

έπειν ἐγκαθισθείσηι also at Thesp. 22 (and see discussions of κατακακυμένη) in Phasma, 2825 [Austin, CGFP 195.45]. I am not sure what are the implications of 'shut up inside': does it imply some form of restraint, or merely being in the women's quarters in a bedroom with a bolt, for which see T. Eur. 609. 14 τάλωμεν: for the exclamation and its placing in the line, see Epitr. 370/547, and further Sandbach on 258/434 of that play. Thomas Gelzer suggests πρὸς τοῦτο: ['(C) εἰπὲ μοι, comparing Psik. 197/387].

15 ποτέ, as commonly, with intensive force in a question: LSJ s.v. III. 3.

Dr James Diggle exhorts me to caution on this point.
3966. MENANDER, KARCHEDONIOS, PHASMA?

16 ὀικῷφρος, a domestic slave, the player of the pipe, as opposed to the professional singer. In spite of the lack of a paragraphos under 15, the contrast, and the continuing use of ἔσπε, suggest that the words belong to A, continuing to work out the situation for himself. If the loutrophoros is to continue, she can in theory say 'he seems to me' (or, with δοκεῖς 'you seem to me') 'to be a domestic slave-boy' (and not a professional musician); but, so expressed, that seems to me highly improbable dramatic writing when the other speaker has just used the word ἔμεθατο; too many things would be happening at once.

E. W. HANDLEY

3967. Menander, Misoumenos 381–403, 404*–418*

3967 comes from a roll containing accounts on the front and on the back Menander's Misoumenos written in a fairly regular, medium-sized hand similar to that of three other copies of Menander on the back of documentary rolls from Oxyrhynchus, 3968: Dis Exapaton (Sandbach O13); and the—rather less tidy—Misoumenos 3368. On these see below p. 70.

Fr. 1 contains a passage from Act IV already known from a badly abraded leaf of 2656 (O10).1 vv. 381–403, plus the remains of five more verses, here labelled 404*–408* to distinguish them from the verses preserved in 1605 (O7) which have already been given these numbers. It is made up of four smaller fragments, one containing the middle parts of 383–395 with traces of 381–2 and 396–7; a second containing part of 400–408* with traces from 399; a narrow strip with one or two letters from the middle of vv. 394–9; and lastly a scrap, three to four letters wide, with the remains of six lines, the last of which appears to join directly onto the end of v. 401: the break passes through the tongue of e in κατάλπειν. The preceding five lines seem to tally with what little can be read of the last metron of vv. 396–400 in O10. Fr. 2 consists of two smaller fragments. A series of diagonal dashes on the front of both fr. 1 and fr. 2 against the entries in the account and a worn strip on the back of fr. 1 running downwards from the first iota in κατάλπειν in 401 and apparently continuing through τ and η in fr. 2. 1 and 2 suggest that fr. 2 belongs under the right-hand half of fr. 1 and it seems possible to insert the first line of fr. 2 into the last but one line of fr. 1 (407*) with the join running through the cross-bar of tau. If this placing is correct, fr. 1 and 2 between them contain the last 33 vv. of Act IV (381–403 plus 10 new verses, 404*–413*) and then, after the usual stage direction X O P O Y, the first five verses of Act V, 414*–418*. Act IV begins with 276; if, therefore, fr. 2 joins directly onto fr. 1, this act would have 138 verses—or rather, 140 counting the inserted verses

375b and 380b; or not very many more if fr. 2 is placed lower down in the column. Assuming that frs. 1 and 2 do join, the missing innermost double page of O\(^{10}\) ('E') will have contained the last ten verses of Act IV followed by \(\text{ΧΟΠΟΥ} \) and, at \(\pm 38\) lines to the page, the first 140 or so verses of Act V, the final 38 verses of which are preserved on the second half of D→. In other words, Act V had about 178 verses. Col. ii of 1605, which directly precedes and overlaps D→ ii, could then be tentatively renumbered 545 ff. and D→ ii 556–593.

Fr. 3 is as yet unplaced. It has slight traces of writing on the front but no dashes, so it must occupy a position nearer the middle of the verses than fr. 2, probably in the lower part of the column.

The writer uses an apostrophe twice in 388 (see also app. crit. on 389) and a dash after \(\text{oρυγμε} \) in 387 (high stop, like that in 3971 3, or apostrophe?). He seems to have added something above 407*. He must have had trouble reading the exemplar he copied as he has left a blank space in 386; in 388 \(\tau\alpha\theta\) may be a misinterpretation of \(\pi\alpha\nuτα \) altered to \(\pi\alpha\nuθ\) (see note on 388); in 393 he seems to have read \(\pi\rho\sigmaθεν \) as \(\pi\rho\sigma\σκον\) or \(\pi\rho\sigma\σευ\); in 402 the exemplar may have had scriprio plena: \(\varepsilon\upsilon\pi\alpha\theta\omegaυ\varepsilon\varepsilon\upsilon\omega\rho\rhoι\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\). As the papyrus has \(\varepsilon\upsilon\alpha\varepsilon\mu\mu\omega\) in 394 \(\alpha\) is a slip for \(\delta\lambda\lambda(\delta) \) (on \(\kappa\) in 387 see note below). In addition, the text appears to differ from that of O\(^{10}\) in 384; in 390 O\(^{10}\) seems to have a tau before \(\alpha\tau\omega\chi\mu\alpha\) which this papyrus doesn't have; in 393 this papyrus has \(\tau\alpha \) after \(\text{oυτρύχω} \) which is omitted in O\(^{10}\); in 395 O\(^{10}\) has \(\omega\κτω\), this papyrus \(\ldots \rho\omega\) \(\alphaικτρία \) for \(\alphaικτώ\) (?); in 401 it has \(\kappaα\tauα\lambdaε\iota\piε\nu\) which emphasizes the finality of the bequest better than O\(^{10}\)'s \(\kappaα\tauα\lambdaε\iota\piε\nu\).

Vv. 381–413* seem to be the end of a long monologue of the jilted hero, Thrasonides.\(^3\) 389 \(\muελε\) \(\tau' \) \(\epsilon\muοι \) \(\tauαυτ\'\) and 390 \(\epsilon\kappaει\[\nu\nu\] \) \(\phi\epsilon\gammaω\) are certainly spoken by him. 391–398 contain a series of questions, roughly: ‘So you can’t stop him taking her back? ... Are you going to let her go? ... What’s your life (going to be) like (without her)?’. The speaker appears to be answering his own questions with objections: 394 \(\delta\lambda\lambda' \) \(\epsilon\rhoει\) and possibly 392 f. \(\pi\alpha\nuτ\alpha\χο\) \(\rho\nu\) \(\text{oυτρύχω} \epsilon\kappaει\), in a way similar to that in which Getas takes sides in the conversation he imagines he would have had with Demeas in 314–319 (see below, n. 4). This is almost certainly Thrasonides talking to himself in the second person. In 398/9–403 he exhorts himself to take comfort from the thought that, while life is painful for him, Krateia has reason to be ashamed of herself for the rest of hers (cp. Demeas’ self-exhortation in Sam. 349 ff.). In 403 he has an idea and changes back to the first person (\(\pi\omega\) \(\omega\nuκ \) \(\epsilon\kappaτυ \) \(\muοι\) \(\ldots\) ) in a manner similar to that in which Demeas changes from second to first and back to second person in Sam. 325 ff. (See Blundell quoted in n. 3).

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2 Thirty-nine lines of the column are preserved; it may have had up to fifty like 3368 (Misum. A 1 ff., 50 lines) and O\(^{11}\) (Dis Exagiason, 51 lines); see 3968 introd.

Thrasonides’ servant Getas, who was on stage until around v. 350, may still be there if τοῦτον in 403* refers to him, but there is no indication that any of the lines in this section are spoken by him nor any clear reference to his leaving the stage with Thrasonides at the end of the act. He might, however, be the speaker at the beginning of Act V, see note on 414*. A hitherto unknown character is mentioned in 387: the name Simiche (or Simike) can just be made out in O\textsuperscript{10}. It has not appeared before in the fragments of the Misoumenos. In the Dyskolos it is the name of Knemon’s old woman-servant. Here Simiche might be Kleinias’ servant, referred to as γράφειν in the nota personae at v. 184 and spoken to by Kleinias simply as γραφή in 280; or, as seems more likely if Thrasonides is again waiting outside his own house for a sign of a change of heart from Krateria, she may be a member of his household, perhaps Krateria’s old nurse (see 208 ff. where she has a mute role); unless the nurse is the person referred to as [ ]προ in the nota personae at 155 (see Webster, \textit{Introduct. to Men.}, 165); the speakers in this scene, however, are probably not Krateria and her nurse, but the nurse and another woman from Thrasonides’ house, see Merkelbach, \textit{RhM} 109 (1966) 101, Sisti p. 99 on Mis. 132). It looks as though Simiche does not have a speaking part in this passage: Thrasonides might ask her (388), τί φήσε; and she might reply, τέκμονθε (Krateria has suffered), whereupon he interrupts: ‘are you taking her part? (ὑπέρ ταῦτης δαλαίες);’ but then the τε after μέλει in 389 does not form a convincing connection with δαλαίες. It is possible, as Handley points out, that Simiche does not in fact enter at 387 and that Thrasonides merely remarks to himself that she has left the house because this has some bearing on his own situation (Handley refers to Dysk. 259 ff. where Sostratos alters his plan because he has not found, Getas at home); but the obvious interpretation of Σ. ἐξελμήθειον is that she has come out and is going to talk to him. In this case there seem to be two possible ways of understanding 388—389, (1) S. has come out to comfort Thras. but he goes on about himself and won’t listen to her: (Thras.) ‘What d’ you say?—I’ve suffered everything—(to S.) Are you talking about her?—and I care for her ... —don’t say that?’, so she goes away again. As this interpretation lacks dramatic motivation I would suggest (2) Krateria and Demeas are in Thrasonides’ house; they are afraid that he will turn violent (cp. 320—322) and try to stop Krateria leaving with her father; Simiche comes out to try to persuade him that Krateria has suffered and that if he loves her unselfishly he should let her go: (Thras. to S.) ‘What do you say? She’s suffered everything (you say)?—Are you talking about her?—(389) and (τε, you say) I care for her just for my own sake?—Don’t say that!—(390) and (τε) that it’s my hard luck?—I’m not blaming Demeas’. Compare Act IV i 1 (276) where Kleinias enters asking his womanservant, who is mute here, τί φήσε; and then repeats what she has been telling him, and 211 f. where Krateria does the same with her nurse.\textsuperscript{4} This brief encounter with Simiche may serve the purpose of

\textsuperscript{4} On the way in which Menander’s characters, sometimes without clear signals, quote other people’s words see Eric Handley in \textit{Relire Menandre, Recherches et Rencontres} 2 (Geneva 1990), 137 f. Τί φήσε or φήσε is used in Mis. 211, 259, 276, Dysk. 50 and 456 by someone who has just come onto the stage in conversation (see G.-S. on Mis. 258 ff.). Here it seems to be said by Thrasonides who is already on stage to a mute person entering.
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making Thrasonides realize that he can’t bring himself to stop Demas taking back his daughter; then comes the misery at the thought of life without Krateia and then the bright idea: (403) ‘Why can’t I pretend to (eiv me προστου[μέν]+) and send this (fellow?) to ... (π]έμψαν τοῦτον ε[ε ...’). Perhaps he is thinking of pretending to kill himself and sending Getas to Krateia in the hope that his description of his master’s ‘tragic end’ may stir her pity after all. This passage might then prepare the audience for the culminating scene in Act V depicted on a mosaic in Mytilene5 where Getas may be showing Krateia, now reunited with her brother(?), how Thrasonides has ‘hanged’ himself.6

Thrasonides’ monologue contains echoes of the passage which prepares the ground for it, Getas’ monologue in 284 ff.: 315 ~ 392 f. παυσαχοῦ, 316 ελεοῦ ~ 387 ελεεινός, 321 κ[πα]νείν εαυτόν ~ 404* eiv me (?) 321 βλέπει δε πυρ ~ 397 ἀρπάζαι βλέπων. The last verse of the act, κ[αὶ πρεσαθλ[ε..., echoes Thrasonides’ words before he


6 Compare the scene, Aspis 399 f., in which Daos fools Smikrines into thinking that Chairestratos is dead. For the above interpretation of the mosaic see W. Kraus, RhM 114 (1971) 26 and T. B. L. Webster, Introd. to Menander 166 f. It shows three figures: on the left a slave who has twisted his himation round his neck and is tugging excitedly at one end (Getas?), on the right a woman holding up a hand (Krateia?) and between them a sallow-faced young man who appears to be passing a hand behind the slave’s head to stop him tugging at his himation. Prof. Handley has pointed out to me that his full head of hair suggests he is a soldier, not Krateia’s elderly father (he refers to Plautus’ Miles v. 64, vide caesares quam decet, and to the shaggy young men MINC2 DT 17 (p. 73) and MT 17 (p. 81) = Pickard-Cambridge, Festivals2 figs. 116 and 117), so he could be either Thrasonides himself or Krateia’s missing soldier-brother, either of whom could be pale (Thras. from love, the brother from wounds/sickness, see Fr. 11 ἐκεφόρως, referred to the brother by Webster p. 166 n. 78; by Kraus (supra cit. p. 4) to Thrasonides). However, the scene also appears on a cake mould from Ostia (AK 6 p. 60 and Pl. 26, 3 and 4, MINC2 IT 80 (p. 222) = MINC3 6 FL 1) with the slave holding his himation in exactly the same way, a central figure with shoulder-length hair held by a hand holding up a hand like Krateia in the mosaic and a long-haired, kneeling figure holding a hand to their head as if weeping: if the central figure here is Krateia, the person on their knees ought to be Thrasonides rather than her brother.
enters his house to ask Demeas for Kratesia's hand in marriage at the end of Act III, v. 260 f. νῦν ἡ μακάριον ἡ τρισαβθιωστᾶτον ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτῶν ἐγενότατα.\footnote{7}

My thanks are due to Professor Eric Handley who kindly looked at a draft of this edition and made some very helpful suggestions and corrections, to Professor Herwig Maehler, especially for his help in deciphering 2656, and to Dr Walter Cockle who provided me with photographs of both papyri. I suspect that 2656 is even less easy to read now than it was when Turner first deciphered it; although some of the new readings suggested in the following pages may be right, they have to be accepted with caution.

\footnote{7 There are also one or two echoes of Menelaos' speech in Euripides' \textit{Helena} 947 ff. which, although probably not deliberate allusions, suggest that Menander had read or listened to that play recently (\textit{Hel. 953 εὐφυεία, 955 ἀπολαβείν δαμαρτ' ἑλεψ, 987 ἀδάνατον ἀδοξο σοι, 992 ἐλειὼν ἂν}).}
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Fr. 1

381: [eip[...], [...]

385: [γαγα[...], [...], νρ. [...]
[ηδθ ev [...]
[ετελευ[...]
[ηπετονθ'[...], ταθ' ν., [...]
[ειεμοίτα[...], δοιε, [...]

390: [κατυχηματ., τεκε, [...]
[ουνευστιτουτοειθ[ [...]
[τηναπολαβεντούτ[ [...]
[ουτεχεταπρος., γεν[ [...]
[ηπαφης[...], εαληρετ[ [...]

395: [ρωτομισο[...], οκεαρ[ [...]
[το[...], [...], ας[ [...]
[τα[...], [...], αις[ [...]
[α] [...], [...] α[ [...]

400: [καταλιπέμων[ [...]
[εστιμω[ [...]

403: [τη[...], δονταπισε[ [...]

404*: [...], εμεπροπον[ [...]

405*: [...], εμφαιτοτουνε[ [...]

406*: [...], εμφαιτοτουνε[ [...]
[εν. δ[...], ηεθαι[...], εκ[ [...]

407* = Fr. 2, 1?

408* = Fr. 2, 2?

409* = 3 [...]

410* = 4 [...]

Fr. 2

411*: [...] ανφιωτ[ [...]

412*: [...] ηευντιν[ [...]

413*: [...] ηεφικαθ[ [...]

414*: [...] αυτοφ[ [...]

415*: [...] νη[...], νεν[ [...]

416*: [...] τοφαρμ[ [...]

417*: [...] εν[ [...]

418*: [...] ρ[ [...]

Fr. 3

... [...]

[ονη, [...]
[ονι, [...]
[εδυ[ [...]
[αθηρ[ [...]
[μιζω[ [...]

5
3967. MENANDER, MISOUMENOS 381–403, 404*–418*

2656 + 3967 frt. 1 + 2

..................ειτωσε[ερ[ε],τ[....],....[ε[....],τη[....],....[ε,ε[385]

τ[α γάρ φρασι.........ον,ο,ωτ[....,[

έ]δ]γλαθενεχ[....,εν[....]?

όργης· ελευνός· Σμύρνη· ξελάμην[θ]έν.


με[λ]ει τ[έ]μοι ταύτης δ[ι] εμαυτόν μ[υ]· λέγει·


οὐκ[ο]ν ἐνεστὶ τούτῳ σοι τ[ε]· καί[λ]ή[ς][i]ν

ταύτην ἀπολαβεῖν τούτῳ; φα[ντ][α]χο[ὐ]

όυτας ἔχει τά πρόσβε[ν] γενό[μεν][α]· [α. [τ]


οίκτω τό μικρόν; (?)· ἦς εκαυτόν ἄφα[λ]έει·

καὶ τίς ὁ βίος σοι; ποῦ τό [τ]ή[θ][ε][ω][τ]ρ[ά][μ]άς [ (?)

ἐπίσημον· ε[ἰ τίς]· ...[γετα[....],...[αί[....]]

πλεονεξία τούτ[ι· ἐ. ...· άρτακαι βλέπων

400 [ιςως] ἵππως ε[ἰ τώ[τ]ε; φα[ντ][α]χο[ὐ]

ἐπιφύσκος· ἀ[π[ο]ρος ζῆς, δό[νησθαι, ἀ[ρ]θαι[->[c]

όνειδος αὐτή τούτῳ καταλιπέων ε[ε] δ[ε]ι

αδάνατον· ε[ἰ παθοῦς· ἐτύμωρφδατο

tόν τάγαθ' αὐτῇ δόντα. ποῦς ο[δ]ή· ἐ[ε]τ[οι] μοι

405* , ειν με προσπον[μεν]

τ[έ]μισαι τούτον ε[ε][c]

ἐν δ[....]ν[θα[....],]εκ[....]


410* [ο[τ][....], [υ[....], επ[....]]

τιε[πα[....], [η[....]

α[νοικω[->[e[....]

η[ε][ε][ν] τι[α[....]]

κ[α[ι τρε[βαθλ[->[α[....]

ΧΟΡΟ]γ]

415* [έ][μιαυτόν [η[....]

[ν[η[πο[τ][....], [τ][....] τό φάρμα[ακον]

[εκ[....]

[μ[....]
... Poor me! Simiche has come out. — What are you saying? — has suffered everything — are you talking about her? — and I (only) care for her for my own sake — don’t say that! — and this is my (?) misfortune — I don’t blame him. (381) Can’t you do this? (?) Why did you hesitate to prevent him taking her back? — That’s how it is everywhere. The things which happened before ... life. Are you going to let her go? — But she’ll say, “(Do you think?) you’re going to lull my hatred with (your) compassion, you hapless fellow? How sorry you feel for yourself?” (?) And what’s your life (going to be) like (without her)? What will be the point of having saved her (or: having survived)? If one ... is this being grasping? Maybe you’re being impetuous, looking ready to grab (her). Now use reason (or: this argument?) and take heart: your life is without hope, painful, feeble; you must leave her this as a reproach she won’t live down: although pretensing that I (have killed myself?) ... send this (slave?) into_’
Both papyri seem to have r(e) after Perik. jj.cXcl, ravrrjc, not y(e). McXcl 404—
me/Don’t say that!') rather than with Xeyc ('and do I care for her only for my own sake? Tell
egavrov presumably goes with jj.cXcl jj.ol Dysk. ctl jj-cXcl Kol. Epitr. 20 f.
jj.cXrjjj.a, 240 f. AseA^ijc 159 has XaXcic herT could be taken on its own, preceded by ‘I’ve
(Handley) or ‘in her defence'; or again, ‘Is everything you
XaXelc: subject, this refers to her capture and loss of home and brother) or taken with
Tavrrjc suffered everything on this woman's behalf'. 9

cpr/c; nenovd- <j>rjc, ncnov nenovd- tl (Handley) ..., or
<rrcj in Dysk. to jj.cLpd.KLov this scene, so it must mean 'this woman I’m thinking about'; cp.
misunderstood a correction in the text before him. The verse can be articulated in various ways:
rravra gives a split anapaest (albeit with elision) and the passage may be read without it; the copyist may have
the new papyrus and
n jl e f 10 ['e'] exf>' in O
7 10 Handley suggests that the 'apostrophe' is an abbreviation sign for
n[ after O
7 10 the verse in O
7 10 ; this doesn’t leave enough room for the beginning of the verse in the new papyrus: εώ
(ο' άπο)κρυψεi ..., η'/ η' άνα)κρυψει?
386 O
10 has εξίπλοδενεσ (corrected to χ, apparently not εξίπλοδεν εξω as in v. 210) ηργη or ηρη (hardly
ηργη, the bowl of ρ seems to be there) [.....]άπρ...,(or [όλλ] γ/λυ, ς; H.M. suggests Αίσθαλων, which could
be an exclamation with οδηγε in 387). The blank space in the new papyrus after ἱδηνε is 7–8 letters long;
combined with O
10 this may become εξίπλοδενεσ χ' [.....], but this obviously needs improving on
the. The genitive governed by ένεκα might be found in the next verse in οδηγε or it may have preceded it, e.g.
τύου (or έμω), εξίπλοδενεσ χ'.
387 O
10 has οργησε ελ[ε]νυν Σεξηλεκθήσ (or -ετη) εξίπλοδης[θ]σν. There are low dots after οργησε and ολευως,
but they look like splashes; there is also an ink spot under the ο of οργησε, but it is not a paragraphos. The
new papyrus has a dash after οργησε which might be a high stop or perhaps an apostrophe: οργησε ε(τς) (?),
and there would be room for punctuation after ολευως. On the uncontracted spelling ολευως, usual in
the koine, instead of the Attic ολευως in the papyri here and at Dysk. 297 and Sam. 371 see Gomme-
Sandsbach on Dysk. 297. On the spelling of the name Simiche see Handley, The Dyskolas of Menander p. 125 f.
and G.-S. p. 132 f. and 743. It is spelt with kappa in P. Bodmer 4 in the Dyskolas and in a schoolboy’s
exercise, CGFPR 106. O
10 has only the slightest traces; the copist of the new papyrus apparently wrote κ, but it looks more like χi than his other kappas; perhaps he was trying to imitate the form in his exemplar. 'Ένεκα
may be taken by itself as an exclamation: 'Poor me!' or 'Poor him!' (cp. Chrysis 'δίκεμορος, 'Unhappy me!' in
Sam. 370 or Simiche’s threefold 'δυστυχής' in Dysk. 574, Mis. 177 αί τάλας, Epitr. 436 f. τάλας οἴκος) or it may belong together with έξίπλοδενεσ, with Σεξηλεκθήσ in the vocative. It looks as if έξίπλοδενεσ takes up εξίπλοδενεσ in 386: 'someone came out ... (It’s Simiche (who) has come out.' The person being pitied is presumably Thrasonides, either because Krateia doesn’t seem to be angry with him or because his own temper has made
things worse, see 321 βλέπει δε του και 996 ἐλαβόμεν ελ. 
388 O
10 appears to have τι, φίλη πέπωθι (apparently not πέπωθηθ, nor πέπωθες) τη[β] δε (rather
than αγαθότερον τωτής (or ταυτής Η.Μ.). λαλητε[ς] (; very uncertain). After the second θ the copist has
crossed out α and added an apostrophe. The apostrophe in the new papyrus after πέπωθι suggests πέπωθα
or πέπωθε (as in Dysk. 296 and Ar. Εq. 888 [4] or [4]-παρτα, but as there is very little room for alpha before ζ[9] Handley suggests that the 'apostrophe' is an abbreviation sign for εκ πέπωθα(ν) παρτια. O
10 apparently had πάρτια (or δαπάνας) corrected to πάρθενος the new papyrus πάρτα (or δαπάνας) θ'. This extra τε
gives a split anapaest (albeit with elision) and the passage may be read without it; the copist may have
θ misunderstood a correction παρτα in the text before him. The verse can be articulated in various ways: τι, φίλη, πέπωθε, (Handley) ..., or τι φίλη; πέπωθε- with or more probably without a change of speaker at πέπωθ- (there may be a dicolon after φίλη in the new papyrus, but there doesn’t seem to be a paragraphs under the verse in O
10); πάρτα could be understood as ‘everything conceivable’ with πέπωθ- (if Krateia is the subject, this refers to her capture and loss of home and brother) or taken with λαλητες ‘Is everything you
say about her?' (Handley) or ‘in her defence’; or again, λαλητες could be taken on its own, preceded by ‘I’ve
suffered everything on this woman’s behalf’. Ταυτής ought to be Krateia, but she cannot be on stage in this
scene, so it must mean ‘this woman I’m thinking about’; cp. το μερόκάκων τουτε in Dysk. 559.
389 O
10 may be read με[λ]ετέ τι (rather than με[λ]ετέ) με[λε] τουτε διε με[λ]ητεν μου (Coles) or μη λεγε. Both papyri seem to have τ(e) after μελετε, not γ(e). Μελε- ταυτής, ‘I care for her, love her’; cp. Perik. 404 το μελετημα, ‘sweetheart’, and Gorgias in Dysk. 240 f. διδακτης έτι μελετημα μοις, Καλ. 20 f. Epitr. 150 has μη λεγε at verse-end. Αδιμελετ υποσκευαστήριο (or My sake, don’t say that!) rather than with λεγε (‘For my sake, don’t say that!’).
Tarver. as in Seim.

Now I don't blame him Demas for this misfortune (like oν ξερον (elect) Dysk. 630) or ερον — τουτο, 'and this is my misfortune?' — Menander occasionally omits the article where one would expect it (see Dysk. 250, G.-S. on Mis. 252); τοιμεν τι would be too long; νων τατοκμα (i.e. το ατοκμα, as in Dom. 351: 'Now I don't blame him — Demas — for this misfortune') would fit the space better. The new papyrus has λην, not τατοκμα. A. Borgogno (SIFC 41 (1966) 48f.) suggested that δατοκμα referred to the accidental killing of Krateria's brother by Thrasonides.

I assume that he merely means that he loves her and she won't have him.

O10 has ονεον ενετε τοιτο εξαλ [.. ολλ, [..]. Before 591 (so uncertain) there is a short cross-bar, then possibly κωλετα[π]. Before χ there is only just enough room for το (το κολειν in opposition to the preceding τοιτο?), or τι κολειν with a verb after τοιτον in 392 e.g. κολειν or κολειν (scanned κολειν or κολειν in Sophokles, but short in Menander): 'Why did (do) you hesitate to prevent him taking her back?&; γε would be too long. ονεον: so this isn't in your power? Isn't this in your power?

Oil has ταστην απολαβειν τοιτον άρι, [..]αξον. Above ταστην the superscript Κε[πετε]αη[ν?]. Τοιτον could be τοιτον and subject of έξει in 393, or τοιτον, the object of κολειν in 391, i.e. Demas to whom Thrasonides has just referred as έκεινον in 390. With the order of ταστην απολαβειν τοιτον ντεπιτ. 459 απολαβειν τον δακτυλον με. At the end of the verse παταταν (Austin), echoing ν. 315 f. 'Ελληνοικοι και παντατα[ποιον]ς γενειν (accepting a ransom in a Greek custom and we know it happens everywhere), seems more likely than παλην/αξον (Turner). Before [παταταν] two syllables have been omitted; if the verb suggested above can be dispensed with, perhaps corroborating ιον γαρ — έξει; 'for isn't it like that everywhere?', or a hypothetical objection, άθληδα (H.M.) may be supplied, (cf. άλλα in 316 and 394).

Oil has οντοκ έξει προδει σε[ν][..] ειει, [..], [..]. Instead of εξει, ων could be read; ιον could be εξει or ην; at the end before a a short vertical tipping forward: κ, μ,[?]; after it a low, then a high tracc. κφαλα, -ματα (?). The new papyrus has τα προς aτ προςευ. Handley suggests that τα προκει γενειν and προκει γενειν were variants. Τα ... could be the subject of οντοκ έξει, but this probably forms a sentence with παταταν in 392. Τα προκει γενειν. Handley, 'what happened before wasn't nice', might make good sense if it could refer to the circumstances of Krateria's capture by Thrasonides; he might feel that he had no right to stop her father reclaiming her because he had wronged her. Handley suggests punctuating after το ζιν in 394 and supplying a maxim: τα προκει γενειν — μ — το ζιν. I haven't found the right one yet, but Mai. 589 ατ χρη δεινει ντα προκει εν μινη κακα, might point in the right direction: τα προκει γενειν αμπλακει το ζιν έξει τα προκει γενειν ατ καλα το ζιν? Reading προκοου one might try προε c' οι γενειν, ετειναι ταλ(ιειν) (H.M.), 'she won't join forces with you again'. Reading προε ce Dr Rea conjectures τα προε ce άτρι έκνειν ιον φιρεν.

394 το ζιν αφοητειν αλλ ερει θελα, [..] [..] [..] [..] O10. After ερει, θ rather than ε (the top seems to be there); [..] could be ει; at the end [λιε] is possible (ει rather than η), [ηναν or αλλα] would hardly fit. Turner took το ζιν αφοητειν together: 'Are you going to give up living?', but Handley suggests punctuating before αφοητειν: 'Shall you let her go?'. This would be a more normal use of αφοητειν and seems to give a better sense than the thought of suicide at this point, before the question in 396. 'What's your life going to be like?'; the idea of (pretended) suicide may come in 404 fr. If here Thrasonides asks himself, 'If I do let her go, will this make her show some feeling for me? — No. She'll just despise me: perhaps αλλα' ερει 'δελεειν (H.M.), ταλαν, οδηγον το μικρον, 'but she'll say (cf. Phama, fr. inc. sed. A 77 η οει ..., Epitr. 346 αλλα), 'Do you think you're going to overcome my hatred with compassion, you poor creature' (or δελεειν; ... Do you think I'm going to temper my hatred with pity?). If ταλαν is right the hypothetical speaker is a woman (Krateria), see Sisti on Mis. 132, G.-S. on Epitr. 434 and the article by Dedoussi quoted there. Handley suggests αλλα', ερει, οδηγειν απαν / οδηγον το μικρον οε σεαυτον. This is tempting, but I cannot confirm ερει or οδηγειν.

395 πατει το μεσον ως σεαυτον εξαλ [or σεαυτον αεξα] O10. The new papyrus appears to have had ακτην. This would need the article to make sense ('with your piteousness'). Το μεσον is tragic in tone, cp. Soph. Phil. 674 f. το νοειν 'my sick state' and E. Hec. 293 τα θυματουμενα. At the end of the verse ατελε[λα]c? With Handley's reconstruction of 394 f. this may be taken by itself, perhaps in a future sense as at A. Pr. 764, 'you'll be sorry'; otherwise one might try ως σεαυτον ατελε[λα]c, 'how sorry you feel for yourself!' For this verb with a direct object see E. Otr. 785 θησανον αεγαλλων πατρον.

396 και τει o μικον ου το τατ[π][..] [..] [..] [..] οι O10, ην [κεποικτε(πικί]πηπηπη [εις e.g. see vv. 122 and 132) doesn't fit, but τη[c] [ηλ]ηρηπητ[p][αες seems possible. Ποι το τις σωτηριας / επιπτευμω; might mean 'where is the
distinction of what credit do I get for having saved Krateia? (cp. Epit. 339 τὴν τοῦτο τῇ κατάρας ἐπιθῆκα, the baby's chance of being restored to its family), or (Handley) by καταραθῆσα Thrasiones means his own survival (cp. Asp. 20 f. εὐτραπέλευσα). What's so special about what's the use of having escaped death in battle?". Aspyov evpeiv npopaciv, oXedpov survival (cp. 520 f. 'What's the use of having escaped death in battle?', Epucpcvr), eacTjplac V°d too long, not χρήστησα; then | φρ[ ον] or | φρ[ ον] the new papyrus has | φρ[ ον], i.e. κἀρφας or δράφας? [;;:] εία rather too much ink for | εία, small omicron above epsilon? Et τις εις κάρφας or εί α τις ... (οντιν) ει ταῖς κάρφαις εις (e.g. ψεύς, a reference to Democritus?).

396 ploxeia τον ε., ἀρπασα [;], εις Τούο O. After τοῦτον, είτε, εἰπήρ, εἰπώς? At the end [β]ληστών rather than at β]λησων; the new papyrus has βλησων. With εί α τις ... ploxeia τον είτεν cp. CGFPR 254. 31: ἀναδρομή γάρ τούτο γε καὶ Μ.ν. 488 μέγει 'ετί κέρδος εί ... είτεν καί εἰπήρ, as this would not be compatible with εις in 399. Handley suggests it might be elliptical as in Ar. Clouds 227 (see Dover ad loc.); εί ..., εἰπήρ: 'if that's what he's doing'. With ἀρπάζων βλησων cp. Epit. 398 ἀρπάζων βλησεις and Getas' description of Thrasiones in Mis. 321 βλησεις δὲ πῦρ ... If this is a monologue it seems slightly odd that Thrasiones should be called ἀρπάζων βλησομον of himself; τοῦτον εἰπε ἀρπάζων βλησόμων would certainly mean dialogue, but presumably βλησόμων belongs with εις εἰτομίως εἰς: 'Maybe you're being impetuous, looking ready to grab her'; εἰπώς may be ironical: 'so they think you're being impetuous', cp. Epit. 655, Asp. 232 f.

399 εἰς εἰτομίως εἰς τον λογεύοντα | νυνιν | γενομι O. λογεύομεν possible; νυνιν very faint, but the new papyrus has νυνιν γραφόμενο and νυν are incompatible; Handley suggests reading νυνιν (in that case) λογευμόνοι συγγενού and in the next verse εἴσηφος ἀπώρος ξηθ (instead of ξηθ). I would like to assume that τοῦτο is a mistake for τὸ γε τοῦ δέ (the scribe of O 100 occasionally writes o for οτ in αυτόφορο in 218, ζοιτον in 261), e.g. τοῦτο λογεύοντα γενομιν / εἴσηφος, 'take heart from the following reasoning'; but this gives a broken anapaest of a suspect kind like Dysk. 678 τωι δε πεπλημμένου κάτω (see G-S, ad loc.), while τοῦ (τε) λογεύομι, 'with your powers of reasoning', is a use of λογεύομεν not attested in Menander. Γινομ at verse-end: Kith. 50, cp. Epit. 418. Λογεύομεν and ἄρχει are contrasted in Men. fr. 515 and Aristotle fr. 661 R.; λογεύομεν is regarded by Φιλάρκος λόγης in Men. Mon. 439 and Pap. VI 3.

400 εἴσηφος αιτομέχρως ζεωσ οἰσονηπω[ς] απεθνηκει seems possible in O 100. Cp. δέσωμος ειτομίω in Sam. 3. It is decided to consider whether this verse is a statement or a rhetorical question. Cp. 133 f. δένων γάρ βλων ζεω καὶ ταλαιπώρων τιν(α). 401 [υ]νιν [α]πητον τοντο χρατη[α]λειπη[ε]ν [ε]υν [δε] O (no stop after δε). The new papyrus confirms Austin's supplement. The text also has καταλιπήν μεν like Perik. 716 (see below), cp. Dyso. 443. In 396 O 100 has μεν μεν εύχαντα μεν εύχαντα it has in 310 εάν μεν μεν εύκαταλιπήν. Turner (The Oxyrhynchus Papyri XXXI p. 121, Add. to 2656) was inclined to defend the present subj. in 306, but other instances of this phrase with the aorist became χαταλιπνον κάτω (see G-S, ad loc.), while τοῦ (τε) λογεύομι, 'with your powers of reasoning', is a use of λογεύομεν not attested in Menander. Γινομ at verse-end: Kith. 50, cp. Epit. 418. Λογεύομεν and ἄρχει are contrasted in Men. fr. 515 and Aristotle fr. 661 R.; λογεύομεν is regarded by Φιλάρκος λόγης in Men. Mon. 439 and Pap. VI 3.

402 αθανατον ειπαθον εἰτομομενοντο O. There is a horizontal stroke or stroke + dot above the final τ of ἀθάνατον. The new papyrus has [αθάνατον, a mistake for [-ατον ἐτμόμ]. Merkelbach (RhM 109 (1966) 107 f. n. 29) took ἀθανατον and ειπαθον (α) together, but it must be the reproof which is unduly, like the suspicion Glykeria describes in Perik. 714 f. εἰδομι δοκιμεν ἐγω ... ἐμι δοκιμένοι καταλιπε[ν] [εφιοκαμίοι] ἐφίελεσθαί ανδρεία, cp. χαρίς διαθάνατον in fr. 473 K. Sostrotz' idea in Dysk. 809 that generosity is a sound investment (τοῦτο γὰρ / ἀθάνατον ἐτμόλ) and Austin on Mis. 402 in CGFPR. Τοῦτο in 401 could refer back to ἀπώρος ξηθ ..., but the real cause of shame for Krateia would be her ungrateful behaviour rather than its result (for τοῦτο referring forward see Georg. fr. 1, Epit. 129, Küh. 88 and 93).


404 f. kräiein (cp. v. 321) or ἄτοιο(ε)ιν (H.M.) με προσποο[μένο] νιθιν. 'Why can't I pretend to kill myself?' (for reflexive με ν. K.G. I §454. Anm. 8), or κάθωδοι(ε)ιν / εφιοκαι(α)ισουμεν νι με προσποο[μένον] κατο δι τον παιδον πεποίησον εις την οἰκίαν, '...send this servant into the house pretending that I am dying?'. If τοῦτο refers to Getas he may be on stage but inactive like Sosias in Perik. 486 f. (see G-S. on 485); it may, however, be e.g. a ring, δακτύλων, which Thrasiones means to send to Krateia (like

* Or could εἰπήρ—ἴεως be concessive like ὧν γάρ—ἴεως in Dysk. 75 f. H.M. suggests εἰ γάρ with aposiopesis after βλησόμων.
the gifts he must have sent her earlier in the play, see Arrian on Mis. fr. 2 δόμα τῷ μεσοστὶ πέρας; for rings in comedy also Mis. 146 and Epitr. 387 f.), but there is hardly room for διακόσιοι at the beginning of 404* or 405*.

706* τὸν θόρον δὲ εἰ[ or τῷ τρέξαντι εἰ?]?
707* τις πάλιν χαρὰ πάλιν τις; Or perhaps επάν[θ]ε (v). Thrasonides may be thinking of a sword as a possible suicide weapon. Demeas has jumped to conclusions after recognizing one of Thrasonides' swords in Kleinias' house and any misunderstanding over it will have to be cleared up in Act V. Cp. ὁ θῖς in Mis. 408 and below fr. 3. 5.

711* ἀνοιχτός, ἀνοικτότατος.
712* E.g. ὄσαν (Misi. 269) τινὰ.
713* ἄι τραχάδα[η]ς (oc), cp. Perik. 340, Epitr. 610 (τραχάδας at verse-end) and Thrasonides at A 4 and at 260 which may be echoed here (see above).
714* Possibly ἔμαυστο, in which case the speaker is a man, perhaps Getas on his way to carry out Thrasonides' plan.

716* τὸ φάρμακον may be a poison for Thrasonides' suicide or a remedy like δρυῆς φάρμακον in fr. 518 (cp. Mon. 476) or λόπτης φαλ[μακον in Mon. pap. VI 3; cp. Phasma 51 f.

Fr. 3. 5 cp]άθρη [? See above.
717* Fr. 3. 6 E.g. νο[μείζω, κο]νομείζω? Cp. Perik. 535 σουδέναι νομείζω των τοιούτων άθλην / ἀνθρωπον ούτως ἃς ἐμαυστέν εἰρήν, ep. 413.

M. MAEHLER

3968. New Comedy: (?) Menander, Thais or Kitharistes

22 3B.19/G (4-5)b

7 x 14.8 cm

Third century

Ends and beginnings of comic iambic lines are given by these remains of two columns of a copy of a play written across the vertical fibres on the back of a document from which a few line-endings survive, including a total for a quantity of grain. The script is a medium-to-small mixed hand with a slight forward slope, unpretentious and workmanlike, and with no marked idiosyncrasies. The high point is probably to be seen at the end of i 22 and 23, and the dicolon for change of speaker perhaps in i 1 (and i 12?); otherwise no lectional aids survive, and the elision of ἄλλ(ά) is unmarked in ii 4. An upper margin of some 1.5 cm is preserved.

From its script and format, the piece is to be recognized with high probability as a member of that group of Oxyrhynchus papyri which carry copies of plays or other literary texts on the back of a document from which a few line-endings survive, including a total for a quantity of grain. The script is a medium-to-small mixed hand with a slight forward slope, unpretentious and workmanlike, and with no marked idiosyncrasies. The high point is probably to be seen at the end of i 22 and 23, and the dicolon for change of speaker perhaps in i 1 (and i 12?); otherwise no lectional aids survive, and the elision of ἄλλ(ά) is unmarked in ii 4. An upper margin of some 1.5 cm is preserved.

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column conveniently illustrated in Turner, GMAW\(^2\) no. 31, has as many as 55 lines. If these parallels are taken as a guide, we can reckon on a gap of some twenty lines between what survives of col. i and the top of col. ii.

Present for certain in the text given by col. i are a slave Sosias (vocative in 1 and 20), and a woman, who uses the exclamation τάλαν (7) and presumably also ὁ θεοί (16): she is therefore hearing a story or a plan in which she feels strong emotional involvement. It appears to include concealment (λαμβάνειν 6 f., and possibly ἄκεφερ τυφλών 2), perhaps of a new-born infant (τρέφειν 10, cf. 11); parties mentioned are Phanias, probably but not certainly to be recognized in 12, and ‘the mistress’ (18); of the προκόπλησιν (15), it may be recalled that that is where Syros’ wife puts the baby’s recognition tokens for want of a basket, when she is handed them in Epitrepontes (206/382).

If there is to be anything more tantalizing, it is column ii, some 20 lines on (if our parallels are valid) from the surviving part of col. i. We cannot be sure, at this interval, whether these lines are part of the same sequence of dramatic action. ii 1–8, in the absence of paragraphoi to mark a change of part, should be from the same speaker, and have an appearance of argumentation: right timing (προῦν, 1), antithesis (τίς...3...δαιμ. 4); statements of preference (6, κάλλις[τῆς 8 μύος]). There is no way to tell if there was a paragraphos under 8 or 9; from 10 to 19 there was not; so that at 8 or 9 a new speech could begin, though we do not know that it did. In 1–8, namely at 5, we have the proper name Thais; in 10 we have fish, and in 12 incense.

Menander's Kitharistes comes into question because of the relatively rare name Phanias. Phanias appears in the set of quotations from which editors have made up the fragment that is fr. 1 in Koerte and Sandbach (its text is supplemented by PTurner 5, published in 1981). The name in that fragment has recruited into the play what is accepted as its main block of text, the papyrus piece P Berol 9767, with its ‘Phanias the kitharistes’ in 96–99. To the quotations cited from the play by its title, as represented in Kock and Koerte, Sandbach (OCT, p. 164) adds three more which, like his fr. 1, have Phanias addressed by name: they are two single-line gnomai from PVindob 19999A,\(^1\) and a pair of gnomical lines quoted by Strabo which had appeared among the unassigned fragments as 613K/797 Koe; in the quotation which appears as 726K/544 Koe, the same vocative has been introduced by a conjecture which Sandbach rejects. One can have one’s suspicions (among them that the name Phanias may have propagated itself in the gnomological tradition from the particularly well-known ‘fr. 1’); but there is no specific reason why all this material should not represent a single play. Some possible links of motif between these remains and the present fragment can be imagined, but no verification of the identity they suggest has so far been forthcoming. There is also an obvious and valid challenge, in that the name Thais (ii 5)

\(^1\) Jaekel, monost. IV, with revised text in Eos 73 (1985) 247–51 (FHS).
could be put forward to claim the piece for Menander’s play of that title, no copy of which (perhaps surprisingly) has yet been identified among the numerous papyrus fragments of New Comedy; though a label from one which escaped us is published as PTurner 6 by C. H. Roberts.

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NEW COMEDY: (?) MENANDER, THAIS OR KITHARISTES

Col. i
1. Either [ε] or [,]:

2. Probably ε not ω, which is generally smaller and rounder: see on ii. 10

3. θής [ω] has been considered, but the first looks too square for part of ω and the third too wide for ω

4. 'Before Ἀθηνά, high ink consistent with ρ not υ' EGT: i.e. not β[φηθεν, on that and other grounds. Traces of the first suit top of π, as in ii. 11; the second is like upper part of a down-sloping oblique: therefore possibly Πολεμική, voc. of the rare name Πολεμικός, as at M. Dysk. 432 f. Next, μέκος EGT

12. φ is given by top and foot of a long vertical; next, ink on twisted fibres, some of which may be from flat bow of φ as in ii. 11; the sequence [θανει ΕΓΤ] looks likelier than [φ...αε]] (whence perhaps ε[φθαν]...ι[ε]] proposed as an alternative by HM); if so, the name Phanias is much likelier than ε[θανει]

13. Either ε or υ before λ 14. [...] two vertical traces which may well be parts of ν

15. Abrasion, and perhaps a narrow blank space before ωθεος: possibly change of speaker was indicated

16. [...] First is more like part of π than of τ; otherwise τα ρε[ν] could be thought of 26 [...], downward-sloping stroke, as from δ or λ: e.g. θ[θθεω, δσω]εκων 27. Perhaps η[θ]

Col. ii
1. only a speck of ink: there is nothing to choose between θεω[θδρ] and θεω[σκαι, etc.

3. Possibly προ[ν]: 7 Curve suits ο[ rather than ο[ 10. First, a vertical; third, upper left quadrant of a round letter, which looks too large for ο, it being markedly small in this hand wherever certain: therefore probably ἔθθος, less probably ἔθθον vel sim. 13. [...] dot of high ink only 15. Possibly η[θ]

17. ἔθθη suits the space, but the second letter is unverifiable

Col. i
2. Probably not η[υ] τυφλός \ [δήλον or the like, for palaeographical reasons, but note καὶ τυφλός δήλον as a proverbial expression quoted from Menander's Deisidaimon (38a Koe) and Rhapizomene (367 Koe) in a scholion on Plato, Soph. 241d, who is commenting on πῶς γὰρ ʿό φαίνεται καὶ τὸ λέγειμεν ἐν τούτῳ τυφλός, λαβάμενον in 6 (and 7?; and 24??) may be more to the point.

3. If Πολεμική is acceptable, it must be the name of Sosias' female partner in the conversation (7 and 16). She is someone called on to play the tune of Pan at M. Dysk. 432 f. (whether a member of the household or someone hired): in Lucian, Dial. Mer. 15, possibly recalling her from there, she is a professional party entertainer, whose pipes have been broken in a squabble. If we think of a domestic slave, either she or Sosias may refer to 'the mistress' in 18; if of a music-girl, the milieu indicated by the name Thais in ii 5 becomes relevant.

6. For the verbal echo here assumed, see Ar. Ekkl. 88 ff.: (A.) ... ἱνὰ πληρομὲνης ἔκαστο τῆς ἐκκλησίας. [...] (B.) πληρομὲνης τάλανα. τάλαν shows that a woman is speaker (for some references, see on M. Dysk. 437 ff.): its tone ranges from pity through reproach to alarm and (as with τάλαν in Ekkl. above) scornful disapproval.

10. The verb could of course be επιρέβουσ.

12. For the name Phanias, see the palaeographical commentary and the introduction.

15. For προκόπτωσις, a fold in the dress which could function like a pocket, see M. Epitr. 206 (recognition tokens placed there) and Sandbach's note (his line 382); it is part of a figure of speech in Heniochos 177 Koe: 'No god puts money in your pocket'.

16. ο[ θεο[ is characteristic of women in extant Menander, being an expression favoured by Habrotonon in Epitr. (308/484 et al.; see Sandbach ad loc.) and used by Glykera in the recognition scene of Perik. (377/807), where it looks back to tragedy, in which it is common to men and women; it is not certain who speaks at Perik. 397/827, but that the expression would suit a Parthenis here is clear.

18. ἀπερημένη (without article) is a slave's normal expression for 'the mistress' in Comedy, as at M. Perik. 72/192.

Col. ii
4. Annoyingly ambiguous: ετερ[ε], ετερ[επ].

5. Thais, the name-character of a play, evidently became a legend; that lives on, and is perpetuated by Roman writers, as can be seen from the references accompanying the book-fragments in Koerte-Thierfelder: if this is a piece of that play, it is the first accession of a fragment from papyrus.
It may be worth recalling that καλλετα in dialogue can be a formula of refusal: LSJ s.v. καλλετα C. II. 6.

12 ὄ λαβανοντες εὑρεθεί | καὶ τὸ πέπαγον· τοὺς ἔλαβεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ | ἀπαν ἐπιστεθεῖ, says Knemon in his tirade against elaborate sacrifices and feasts in Dyskolos (449 ff.); one wonders if the fish of 10 were represented as an extravagance. The form in -ιε is nom. or acc. in Menander’s Attic: Sandbach on Sam. 98.

E. W. HANDLEY

3969. NEW COMEDY: ?MENANDER

A group of fragments in a medium formal round hand of the first or early second century AD combine to give portions from the latter part of twelve comic iambic trimeters. The back is blank. In scale and style, this roll recalls that of 1238 + 3217, Menander, Sikyonios (-oi), dated to the late first century by Grenfell and Hunt; but the writing here is more rounded and fluent, notably with its μ in three curving strokes and its cursive tendency (admittedly restrained) to allow letters to link, as μ in 8 and κα in 10. Part-division is indicated by the dicolon (4, 9), with a small space after it, written together with the text and not added; no other lectional signs are to be seen. A lower margin of about 2.8 cm survives.

A character called Smikrines is involved in a dialogue of some emotional intensity, to judge by the way in which the gods are invoked (7, 10), and by the repetitions (3–4, 9, and the name in 8 and 11). Smikrines, it seems, is confronted with a plea which he will not entertain, namely, that something should be given, or given away (to his daughter?). He will apparently not even stay to listen (9), and his interlocutor accordingly bids him goodbye (11). That a Smikrines should be angry, impatient, perhaps even sarcastic (6), is not surprising; whether his partner’s feelings are real or affected, is something to be left open.

No coincidence with a known text has yet been observed. Smikrines is in fact a character in Aspis, as well as in Epitrepontes; Euclio is thought to have had that name in the original of Plautus, Aulularia; there is another still whose presence depends on a disputed supplement in Sikyonios (156, where see Sandbach’s note). The threads of motif which connect, or might connect, the fragment with one or another of these plays are too slender for the issues they raise to be argued out here; and the explanation of them may well be that the present fragment is from yet another play by Menander or a kindred writer which used the name Smikrines to label an old man with certain well-marked anti-social obsessions. For what it is worth, Alciphron did so (3. 7), without apparently having any particular play or dramatic situation in mind.

1 301 f. with Choricius of Gaza 32. 73, conveniently quoted by Koerte-Thierfelder, Menander, vol. 2, p. 51.
3969. NEW COMEDY: MENANDER

Gr. 1

[...]

4 Foot of a vertical 2, horizontal on the line 3 A trace of ink seems to be shared between fragments at the join; it could be the last stroke of μ, in which case nothing is lost. But Dr W. E. H. Cockle is very doubtful about the join. 4 Extreme left tip of δ seems to show on the main fragment; but see above. 5 μθ, τη and τηδιδιδομαι are all possible readings. With resolutions in the first half, the line could end μθ[ – – ]; if μθ[ – – ], the metre would demand θυγατρις, and indicate a high style as in tragedy: see Dyskolos of Menander on 414, where ἐγὼ εἰ, τεκνων is quoted from Misoumenos (214) 6, could well be the remains of ε; part of a down sloping stroke, would suit (e.g.) δ[η][θ][αδικες, δ[η][θ][α]τας 9 μετις or μετεικε W. E. H. Cockle; not μετις 11–12 Probably nothing lost at the join. In 12, the traces do not allow a secure choice between τομευσικλεως and τομευσικλεως, but favour the former; either would scan, given a suitable beginning.

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3 Metre requires ω – – ο as ως το μην[ – – ]μω, τηθ θυγατριςμος, etc.

4 If μθδιδου is repetition by the speaker of 3, 4 may contain an uncomprehending remark by his partner in the dialogue, e.g. τε δης το μετις μωμων[ – – ]; But an imperative may be echoed directly by one speaker from another (Dysk. 503a), and μωμω[ – – ]μω and other words are alternatives to ειςμωμω[ – – ].

6 διδακεις might represent resentment at the interference; e.g. φιλοτεκνων εθεκων διδακεις...

7 The oath by the Twelve Gods is in its expected (though not invariable) place in the second part of the line: Austin on Samia 306. It might indicate rising anger.

9 μετις (or a compound) could represent either present or future (cf. Dysk. 702); the echo of it here assumed will be deliberate subjunctive (KG i. 222); but ἐγὼ μετις of is an easy alternative.

10–11 Continuation from 9 may come with a further indignant question or a phrase appended to the one there; the invocation to Apollo and the Gods could lead to a genitive like τηθ θεως, as it does in Com. Adesp. 244, 355 Austin (to be found in Sandbach, OCT Menander, p. 338).

12 A wish not to be troubled is a hallmark of a certain type of wrapped-up old man: for the expression and its scansion by prodelision, see Dysk. 750. ? μαλακτα μωπον...
There are 10 more scraps or particles of papyrus, some with ink, of which nothing useful can be made out.

Fr. 3, |, vertical and curve, perhaps π; down-sloping stroke, as from λ, joins θω[; ?ίδων].

E. W. HANDLEY

3970. New Comedy

There survive in this fragment the middles of 23 lines which are recognizable metrically as iambic trimeters by the incidence of word-end. While no restoration that occurs to me can be regarded of itself as inevitable, the beginnings of lines 13, 16 and 18, if considered together, would suggest that some 7–8 letters is the usual amount lost. The back is blank; not enough survives below line 23 to show whether or not it was the last of the column.

The copyist writes a sloping and somewhat spreading mixed hand, with narrow ε θ o ι (θ and ι are sometimes very small) and wide α δ λ; η μ ν π ω all tend to breadth; horizontals, as of τ ε, are sometimes prolonged; the spacing between letters is variable, and on occasion generous. The only clear punctuation that survives is by single high point, written currente calamo. There is scriptio plena in 9 (ποτε before punctuation, single or perhaps double point, with a vowel next), and possibly in 10 before correction; elision is unmarked in 12, marked by diastole in 13 (if not also in 10 as corrected), by aspiration and diastole in 7. Parallels such as XXII 2341, proceedings before the Prefect, AD 202; II 223, Iliad v, on the other side of a petition dated AD 186; and PFlor. 259, a letter in the Heroninos archive dated circa AD 260, would suggest a date in the third century and preferably in the earlier part of it: these three are in Roberts, Greek Literary Hands, nos 19(c), 21(a) and 22(d) respectively.

By their content, the lines seem to depict two contrasting moods. Nothing before 10 is informative in this regard; but 10–16 looks like the end of a conversation conducted by someone who either has or assumes an air of benevolent superiority to the other person involved: 11 ‘Add more’; 12 ‘But you made a mistake’; 13 ‘But go along inside’; 15 f. ‘From here on ... let it be agreed. Goodbye my dear H[ ].’ From 17 f., the tone is of anger and disillusionment: ‘That’s just what I told you’... ‘I’m a complete laughing stock’; and it may then be that there follows a narrative of a conversation between the speaker and one Mikion (19 ff.).
Of the various assumptions which the best-preserved words leave open, perhaps
the simplest is that the speaker of the first group of lines (who can be called A)
despaches ‘dear H[ ]’ into a house on stage and goes off by one of the wing-
entrances. Enter at 17, B, referring after his opening outburst to Mikion, who may or
may not be the same as A. The roles of the mild old man and the stern old man who
appear in contrast in a number of comedies who seem to fit A and B quite well; and
if nothing else brought the Adelphoe of Terence to mind as a leading example, the
appearance of the name Mikion, that of the mild old man in Terence, would do so at
once.

Unfortunately (for one would like more Greek, however scrappy, to set beside a
version by a Latin comic poet) there has not yet appeared any link with Adelphoe or
any other comic text which is precise enough to identify the piece; and neither the
name Mikion nor the evanescent ‘dear H[ ]’ (who could in theory be Terence’s Hegio)
appear to be able to bring us any nearer.
1–5 Horizontal fibres partly stripped 1 Traces of ink, apparently all from one line, the last high horizontal 4 Down-sloping stroke meets ο, as (e.g.) τιονικ[ἔ]τ[θ] ην η[λ]ιον; ττ[τ] is a sloping upright at appropriate distance from the stop, fibres stripped above; otherwise, with generous spacing, γι[λ], τ[θ]. 6 [...], second, a slightly curved upright, as of ζ or first of η λιον; after θ, with long cross-stroke, high ink may be diastole or trace of an added letter; then a curve, perhaps ω[...]; it suggested respectively by left and right ends of horizontal θ[θ], upright, perhaps ε[...], part of small round, ο or α; before it, speck of ink on line may indicate double point, not single as printed 10 ], sloping upright; the high loop taken as diastole (cf. 13) could perhaps be combined with it to give ρ or θ, but λ is indicated by a stroke which seems to join the cancelled α; end, possibly γι[ι] possible from trace of ink very close to ζ; at end, high and low traces suggest ε[...], perhaps ζ or ξ 13 [...], dots of high ink; for αγ', θτ' can be thought of, as in επερον, 11 [...].

6 ττ[τ]θν ειήθ[ν] naturally suggests 'daughter'; but διδυμω[θν] (i.e. part of a betrothal formula) cannot be verified.

7 Ambiguous: e.g., έθνος ην οδοθεύς; εθνός έθνος; δε έθνος; πτός; does not in any case seem to match θ.

9 f. The core of the sentence was perhaps γι[ι]—ἔλλαθαί μοι, with an expression of proverbial type. The familiar form represented by καύμας, έστω ἀδημοσίας, πίστις non homo (Krobylos BK.-A., Petr. 44. 6) seems to have a positive counterpart in homines sumus, non dei (Petronius 75. 1): i.e. 'to err is human', ἀδημοσίας ὁμο[ο]ν στηρίζειν (Menander, Phanion 342 Κ), ἀδημοσίας εὐ[ν] Ομοσίας (Herodas 5. 27), where see Headlam's note. Liability to error is not the only human characteristic that New Comedy asserts; but ανδρείον is available as a possible restoration; but ανδρείον ο[ν] of high point 18 [...], tip of horizontal; [...], probably with nothing lost, EGT; γιατί could be read, hardly γιατί; at end, tip of horizontal rather than high point 19 [...], trace of ink from upright or shallow right curve; the high point is uncertain; the κ in μικρόνα could have been corrected 21 [...].

10 f. Were the 'wonderful things' something to be narrated inside? 15 f. av[θ]o[s] taken with what follows, suggests a restoration on the lines of 'if you are satisfied let it be settled like this': e.g. ἀν χαίρεσθα | o[ν]σθαν δεδομένα. After such a sentiment, χαίρε seems natural as an expression of leave-taking. If it were a greeting to a speaker newly arrived, the transition would be very abrupt, unless it was prepared for in some way not now to be seen. In answer to that, A. H. Griffiths takes 15 καὶ τὶ... καὶ διδοθεύς as soliloquy, after the other character has left; for χαίρε in affectionate greeting, see Sandbach on Σαμία 657; in affectionate farewell, ἄλλα ... φιλο[φιλο] ἐρωτοχθή χαίρε πολλά... ἀτ. Peace 718.

12 f. 'Go along in'. The latter must be the case here, if 15 f. is rightly interpreted as leave-taking.

13 f. Were the 'wonderful things' something to be narrated inside?
3970. NEW COMEDY

17 τούτων ἐγὼ λεγον (not unlike 'What did I tell you?') suits the mood of someone angry and disillusioned enough to continue with καταγέλαστος γέγονα. Compare τούτων ἐγὼ προεξέμενος, M. Εὐπ. 5 Ε.124 Ε.; οὐκ ἐγὼ λεγον; Dysk. 172 and 511, Mis. 217; τούτων ἐκεῖνον ὁδύο λεγον, Ar. Αθ. 41, Λυσ. 240 (and cf. Peace 64). In the six examples just mentioned, ἐγὼ (or ὁδύο) λεγον forms the last metron of an iambic trimeter. That could only be so here if the line had lost five elements from its beginning, rather than two or three, like its immediate neighbours. If the restoration is sound (and it is an objection, given this scribe's practice, that there is no punctuation before τούτων) the beginning may rather have been of the shape of παρόστια γένον [μη], 'they deceived me', with πάλιν at the end to lead on to νῦν καταγέλαστος γέγονα. The speaker has perhaps been sent on a wild-goose chase, like Demea in Terence, Adelphiæ, among others; if so, his mood on return makes a specially sharp comic contrast with the euphoria of the previous lines: 703; cf. 505 ff.

19 Μικυλός is a well-attested Attic name, with some 19 examples in the Prosopographia Attica ranging from the sixth century to Menander's time; it is the name of a fishmonger in Alexis, Επίκλεος 78K.-Α.; of the bachelor uncle in Terence, Adelphiæ.

The name of the same character in Terence's Menandrian original is open to dispute. If Menander, Adel. II 8 Κό is a single fragment, as presented by Stobaeus, it should prove by equation with Terence, Ad. 605 ff. that Menander's name for this character was Lamprias. Critics since Cobet have however continued to urge that the second pair of lines, in which Lamprias is named, are discordant with the first two: so, after a careful discussion, O. Rieth, Die Kunst Menanders in den Adelphen des Terenz (1964) 87 ff., and R. H. Martin, ed. Adel. (1976) ad loc. This may be over-refined: the apparent inconsistency between the second sententia and the first will surely have been less sharp in context than it seems to be when the lines are isolated. Gaiser, ap. Rieth 89 n. 133, aptly quotes a parallel speech from Dysk. (295 ff.); and compare Κιθαρίστης, fr. 1 = P. Turner 5, with discussion there.

E. W. HANDLEY

3971. NEW COMEDY

8 1B.199/G(1–2) (b) 2.7 × 7.3 cm Late second/third century

A 'wait and see' fragment: some words from the middle of eleven comic verses survive on this scrap of a roll, written in a small, sloping mixed hand comparable with the Dioscorides, De materia medica of PMichigan 3, and (on a larger scale) the Homer of II 223, respectively Roberts, GLH 15c and 211a; probably therefore to be assigned to the late second or early third century. α, δ and λ are sharply triangular, α with a pronounced point sloping down at the left; ε and ζ are small, θ narrow and ο tiny; descenders, represented by ρ and ν, are long and with a marked backward curve. In 4, a part-division is marked by a dicolon, written with spacing as part of the copy; elsewhere punctuation has been added afterwards in the form of a high dot or short oblique (2, 3, 11); in 10 a dot is placed low between ν and π; there is a rough breathing to indicate ἐν in 5. An upper margin of 1.5 cm survives; the back is blank.

With so little left, almost nothing can be said about the content that could not be contradicted. It is not even certain whether the lines begin on the first metron of an iambic trimeter, with the loss of one or two syllables, as would be the case if εὐθέον κεραυνος or something like it began 7, with a spacious monosyllable (or ω) beginning 8; or whether there are several syllables lost at the beginning, so that 3 ἐπὶ κέρατος ὄντα or 8 καὶ μήλιξ ὅτε could be taken as typical line-endings and not as middles.
That said, there are some slight indications that the piece is from a narrative speech, with an emotional interjection in line 4 from the person hearing it. The speaker highlights his own part (3 εγώ δέ); he possibly mentions associates, if μεν in 2 and ημί in 7 represent first person plurals; there is a stage of difficulty (8); a point at which a third person sees something (9); and, for good dramatic value, the possibility of night and tears in 11. The female slave-name Doris is probably to be recognized in 4.

1 Simple alternatives are a verb ending in -ονοκι, and εδ' uncompounded followed by a word in ποι. εδύπογνος is the only acceptable compound in εδύσω; and jaws or checks and beard are recurrent features in descriptions of people. They appear in collocation in Pollux' list of comic masks: 4. 143, the First Pappos (No. 1) is, inter alia, ευγένειος, ξήνος τάς παρειάς (see also 133 on the mask of the Shorn Old Man in Tragedy); εδύπογνος is used in the comic list of the Longbeard Wavy-haired Old Man (No. 4) and the Hermonian (No. 5); while in the pseudo-Aristotelian Physiognomonica the word describes one of the characteristics of the κεκρυφλος (βοθία 25). A locus classicus for such descriptions in Comedy is P. Rad. 315–20; if someone is being described here it will presumably be the person mentioned in 9. Note also T. Hec. 440 f. . . . .

2 Simple alternatives are a verb ending in -ονοκι, and εδ' uncompounded followed by a word in ποι. εδύπογνος is the only acceptable compound in εδύσω; and jaws or checks and beard are recurrent features in descriptions of people. They appear in collocation in Pollux' list of comic masks: 4. 143, the First Pappos (No. 1) is, inter alia, ευγένειος, ξήνος τάς παρειάς (see also 133 on the mask of the Shorn Old Man in Tragedy); εδύπογνος is used in the comic list of the Longbeard Wavy-haired Old Man (No. 4) and the Hermonian (No. 5); while in the pseudo-Aristotelian Physiognomonica the word describes one of the characteristics of the κεκρυφλος (βοθία 25). A locus classicus for such descriptions in Comedy is P. Rad. 315–20; if someone is being described here it will presumably be the person mentioned in 9. Note also T. Hec. 440 f. . . . .

4 The slave-girl Doris has a considerable part in Menander's Perikeiromene; the name is also that of a character in Encheiridion (PSI 99 = Austin CGFP 129) and possibly in Kidax (105; CGFP 164, 18); it appears as well in the unassigned fragments given by PHamb 120 (inc. 951 Ko; CGFP 161) and in 2658 (CGFP 243)—in the latter two or three times within 23 lines; to these can be added Diphilus, Mnemation 56K.-A.

1 Perhaps Kekryphaloς, but fr. 243 Ko looks to me like a different use of the proverbial concept we find in fr. 951. 12, and not like a quotation or allusion.
NEW COMEDY

1 A τάλαν or ἄταλιαν ἐγώ would be feminine interjections (for some references see on Dysk. 437 ff.);
2 A τάλαντος from a male speaker would indicate very strong emotion (compare Knemon at Dysk. 596–7);
3 ἄραλολεῖ is also to be considered.

5 ἀπολέλει offers a choice of perfect forms from ἀπολεγέλω and ἀπολέγω as well as ἀπολείπω and other
less likely words.

7 For προσδόκωμα (one of several possibilities), note expectatus with a dative in Roman comedy, as at
8 καὶ μόλις ποτὲ at line-end, Dysk. 684; cf. Sam. 493 for the collocation.
9 ὀπαί looks like narrative present: ? ὁπαί·

Perhaps one should recall the tears of Polemon in Perikeirion (52–5/172–3), or even of his fellow
soldier Stratophanes in Sikyonios (see Sandbach on 219).

E. W. HANDLEY

Comedy

5 1B.57/F(q) 7.5 × 10.5 cm Mid-/late second century

The beginnings of fourteen comic iambic lines, recognizable by their metre and vocabulary, are given by this foot of a column from what was once a handsome roll. The back is blank; the written surface is partly abraded and in poor condition; there is a sheet join close to where the fragment is broken at its right-hand edge. The script is a formal round hand of medium size of the type sometimes known as ‘Roman uncial’.1 Lectional signs (accents, breathings, diastole [8] and high point) are added with a finer pen; there is a correction or a speaker’s name above the line in 5; another, in cursive, is at the beginning of 10, and there are traces of yet another before 8. About 2.5 cm of blank lower margin survives.

Specimens of the calligraphic style represented by this fragment are discussed by G. Cavallo, Annali della Scuola Normale di Pisa, ser. ii, 36 (1967) 209–20. Prominent among them is the Hawara Homer (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Gr. Class. a. 1 (P); Turner, GMAW2, no. 13), with which may be cited the very similar copy of Homer represented by 20 (Roberts, GLH no. 12b). By comparison with these, we have a slightly more compact hand, with more contrast between thick strokes and thin, and with serifs which (though still neat) are more prominent. These differences of emphasis are well illustrated by a hand of very large size in the copy of Hesiod, Works and Days, represented in 3229, which is to my eye like enough to suggest that it could be another and more ambitious piece of calligraphy by the same person. If the two copies of Homer, and with them the floruit of this variety of formal round hand, are put in the early to middle part of the second century, the development represented by the present fragment and its kin can be thought of as parallel or not much later: ‘probably to be assigned to the middle or later second century’, remarked M. L. West in publishing 3229. It is a pity (not least in regard to the dating) that there is so little of the cursive,

1 I use this term, as will be plain, without wishing to express an opinion here on its aptness; ‘Homeric
majuscule’ has been suggested as an alternative by W. H. Willis; see Turner, GMAW2, as quoted below,
with addenda.
and that $\xi$, $\phi$ and $\varphi$ are lacking. Of individual letters, alpha is particularly noteworthy. The third or cross stroke, which is often a relatively weak one in this style, is here vestigial almost to vanishing point: clearest in $\tau\tau\alpha$-12, practically absorbed by the thickening curve of the right half of the letter in $\beta\delta\iota\zeta$; 8; and of course very easily abraded. Beta has a narrow, shallowly-curved upper loop and a more generously rounded lower one (8; damaged in 7); kappa appears with a thin upper arm with conspicuous serif, meeting the upright at its middle; mu is wide and strongly curved; upsilon has its first stroke cranking to form a short stem, but tending towards a uniform curve.

The key to the content of the fragment, in so far as it can be determined, is the word $\epsilon\nu\pi\kappa\lambda\nu\rho\nu\nu$ 'heiress' in 13. Under Attic law, in the absence of any other binding arrangement, the guardianship of a man's unmarried daughter passed on his death to his nearest male blood relation. Suppose he has no father living, and no sons or direct male descendants from them, the daughter can be claimed in marriage by one of his brothers in order of seniority, and so on, with the intention that the estate passes eventually to her male issue; there are special provisions for daughters of people in the lowest property class. There is considerable discussion of the full extent and the details of these provisions among experts;2 but given that the basic principles either were plain or could be made plain to a normal person in a theatre, it is not surprising to find that the position of an heiress is at times the central theme of a comedy (as in Aspis, with the foiling of Smikrines in his role of Wicked Uncle), and at other times taken for granted as part of the background (as with Knemon's provisions for the future of his family in Dyskolos 729-39). The question here is whether the heiress is likely to be part of the plot, or is simply mentioned in passing.

Until line 12, at any rate, the piece represents a rapid interchange of dialogue, as the paragraphoi show. The one speaker's name that can be read with acceptable probability is a slave-name, Donax (10)—the product of a fine observation in a seminar by Dr Colin Austin. There are traces of another name at 8, and (it seems) of a different one over the line in 5. One of the three is told to go in at 8; Donax appears to be speaking for all three, or at least for two of the three, when he picks up the phrase $\omega\nu$ $\alpha\nu\epsilon\chi\omicron\omicron\omicron$ in 9 with $\gamma\mu\alpha\varsigma$ $\alpha\nu\epsilon\chi\epsilon\omicron\beta\omicron$ (11). It is then likely that all three are slaves (it is possible to read the damaged names so as to suit that guess); and it is likely that the intolerable situation referred to is one produced by the person who is subject of $\omicron\omicron\omicron$ $\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu$ (6) and also of the supposition in relation to the heiress given by $e\iota$ $\mu\nu$ $\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu$ in 12 f. In other words, one is looking towards the possibility of a slave dialogue like that at the beginning of Heros, for instance, in which a piece of action to come is introduced and given an interesting perspective by what the slaves say of their own and their masters' affairs. That would most naturally happen at the

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beginning of a play; but Aristophanes, *Frogs* 738 ff. (although in Old Comedy) is worth remembering as a clear warning against too rigid a view in this regard. Plays about heiresses are many: Menander wrote two with the title *Epikleros*, and has it in common with several other fourth-century writers; the *Epidikazonenos* of Apollodorus of Carystus, on which Terence based his *Phormio*, likewise has several homonyms; and we do not know how many more plays there were like *Aspis*, whose title gives no clue to the 'heiress' theme of the plot. The justification for so extended a discussion of so few words is in the hope that it may one day lead the piece into a relationship with another and more informative text. So handsome a copy, even in a poor relic, deserves to be (but may not be) a copy of a major play.

1 Specks only lower parts of two curves, as for \( \xi \), or the like; end, \( \omega \).
2 Could be a τ (HM)\
3 \( \theta \) of (HM); last is a vertical. Above the line, *nota personae* at change of speaker, or perhaps correction: the first might be \( \tau \) \( \gamma \) and the last \( \mu \).
4 Perhaps \( \eta \) \( \mu \).
5 There are traces of horizontal ink above the line after \( \beta \) \( \omega \) \( \iota \) \( \nu \) \( \alpha \) \( \iota \) \( \omega \), etc.
6 There are traces of ink in the margin may represent a speaker’s name beginning *Ap-*. (HM)
7 Speaker’s name so read by CA and confirmed by HM.
8 There is abrasion after \( \delta \); \( \varepsilon \) \( \zeta \) \( \tau \) was considered, but does not fit well; the \( \delta \) \( \zeta \) \( \tau \) now suggested is still no more than a venture.
9 Perhaps \( \varepsilon \) \( \iota \) \( \epsilon \).
10 Between \( \nu \) and \( \eta \) there is a curved stroke over the line which I take to be a hyphen, to help the reader to arrive at \( \varepsilon \) \( \pi \) \( \eta \) (as for \( \nu \) \( \Delta \) \( \alpha \) and not \( \epsilon \) \( \iota \) \( \epsilon \)).
11 Turner, CMAW 11, says that he knows of only one example of it written so, rather than under the line, namely in the second-century copy of Bacchylides, *Diptychons* published as VIII 1091, fr. 1, line 5.
12 E.g. 70 \( \chi \) \( \iota \) \( \pi \) \( \gamma \). But what next?

5 \( \alpha \) \( \delta \) \( \tau \) \( \theta \) \( \iota \) \( \nu \) is not necessarily emphatic by virtue of this placing (see, for instance, *Diosk. 540*); but it is odd to find it so placed again in 8 if the repetition is not in some way significant.
6 A stronger way of saying οὐδ' αἰσχύνεται, 'shows no shame at all'. The perfect of ἀπερθυμίασθα is quoted by LSJ only from an official letter of 73 BC, PLett 1. 37, where the flush of anger is perhaps indicated rather than the blush of shame; but Apollodorus com. 19. K. A. has ἀπερθυμιακήσθα 'shamelessly'.

7 δὲ ζῶν 'the survivor' is tentatively read; it implies a contrast with 'the deceased' (see, e.g., M. Sik. 131 f.). In a context involving an ἐπικλήρος, the expression is apt to refer to her late father's next of kin, the man who can claim to marry her (however unsuitably) and so to take control of the estate: see the introductory note.

8–11 If the marginal ink represents a speaker's name correctly placed, άδρῶν must somehow be construed as an isolated remark, for which see Ar. Clouds 218 and my note on M. Dysk. 144. The probability is that the person concerned is the same as the άδρως of 5, in fact the principal subject of the whole scrap of dialogue. With βάσις εἰς έν one of those present is dismissed inside; οὐκ ἀνέχεται (9) is picked up by Donax, who may be either associating himself with the idea or depreciating it—probably the latter, in view of the argumentative tone which seems to set in with 12–13. The name Donax is known as a slave-name: in real life from the will of Theophrastus, as given by Diogenes Laertius (5. 55) and in Comedy at M. Sik. 385–6, Dysk. 959 and T. Eun. 772. If as a slave he is rejecting involvement, the line may have been something like εὖ τοι γεγονεμένων [άντι δυναμόν δεπότας; the ἡμέρα ἀνέχεται ταύτα could either be an independent exclamation or be governed by a following verb.

12–13 One might guess that the 'if' clause runs to εἴδε and expresses an unreal condition in present time; and there will very likely follow an a fortiori argument introduced by νῦν δέ... 'as it is'. The oath was not necessarily νῦν [Δία, but if it had been a more prominent one, such as νῦν Τίνων Απόλλων καί θεός the hyphen to clarify the word-division might not have been thought useful. Perhaps οὖν παρέχων μέτρος (the dot of ink at the end might be almost anything); the sense might be on the lines of 'if he had a quarter of the estate and the heiress too, by Heaven it would be bad enough, but now he claims it all'.
III. DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

3973. REPORT TO A STRATEGUS

Two columns of a report made to the strategus of the Saite nome, in the Western Delta, by a village scribe, in response to a request from the strategus of the Athribite nome, in the Southern Delta, that he exact payment of certain amounts owing to the account of the Athribite. The details are missing but as the final lines of col. ii mention φόροι (24) and contain what appears to be the topographical description of some property (25-6), it seems likely that 3973 was concerned with holders of state land who paid land-rent or taxes in their own nome on land held in another, in this case the Athribite nome. In such cases the taxes were periodically credited to the account of the nome in which the property was actually located, see XLI.3030 introd.

This is the first appearance of a named strategus of the Saite nome, and he may constitute another example of a man who had served as a strategus bringing his official papers back home with him to reuse for his own purposes, see E. G. Turner, JEA 38 (1952) 89-90, S. Daris, Stud. Pap. 22 (1983) 121-33, esp. 128-9 (and add LI 3602-3605). 3973 had been made up into a τόμος ευγκολλήσιμος, as is evident from a prominent join c. 2-3 cm from the left hand margin and from a few traces of the preceding document on the left hand edge opposite lines 2-4. Another join, this time one made by the manufacturer of the roll from which the piece with the report was cut, runs vertically near the centre of the whole fragment. The back of the papyrus bears the exiguous remains, not transcribed, of four entries from an account of money payments, written across the fibres in a different, more cursive, hand, with an annotation to their left in another hand which reads (δραχμαί) πρ, 'dr. 150'.

Apart from the mention of a regnal year possibly numbered 20, or more, in line 13, there is no indication surviving of the date, either in 3973 or in the remains on the back. Nevertheless a date of late first century to mid second is palaeographically suitable for the hands on both front and back; possible years within this period are 116/7+, 135/6+, and 156/7+.

The strategi have been listed in G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, Strategi and Royal Scribes 58 (Athribite), 108 (Saite).
86 DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

up to 20 letters? 

\( \text{vac.} \)

up to 15 letters? \[ \text{vac.} \]

\'Hrâ τῷ καὶ Διονυσίῳ στρατηγῷ Σαῖτου
παρὰ Ηρακλείδου κωμογρ(αμμιματέως) Θερύθεως καὶ ἁλ(λον).
πρὸς ἐπιτήσατο γραφέν σοι ὑπὸ Δομιτίου Ἀπολυναρίου στρατηγοῦ Ἀθρεβείτου, οὐ ἔστιν ἀντιγρ(αφον):

\'Δομιτίος Ἀπολυναρίως στρ(ατηγῶς) Ἀθρεβείτου Ἡρᾶ
τῷ καὶ Διονυσίῳ στρ(ατηγῶς) Σαῖτου τῷ φι[λ(τάτῳ)] \( \chiαρ\)εων.

\[ \text{c. 15 letters} \] . . . . . . . . \( \text{pros} \) τῷ \( \epsilon\tauη[\iota] \epsilon\tauα-
\( \lambda\)εν[\( \tau\)α] \( \text{c. 30 letters} \)

κείμενα κεφάλαια. \( \iota\) οὖν εἰδῆς καὶ τὴν τοῦτον

\( \text{m. 27?} \) \( \text{Bhē} \)ά
ἀπαίτησέν σοι ποιησάμενος προθή ὑπὲρ τούτοις τοῦ
νομοῦ ἐμοὶ τε δηλώσῃ, ἐπεστειλά κοι. ἔρρωθ(αί) εἰς ἔγχωμ(αί).

\( \text{his} \) \( \kappa[\iota] . . . . . \] . . . . . . . . . \( \text{mics oι διακριταί} \)
μετέδω[καν]

\[ \text{c. 5 letters} \] . . . . . . . . . .

\[ \text{c. 3 letters} \] . . . . . . . . . .

\( \text{ii} \)

\[ \text{c. 15 letters} \] . . . . . . . . \( \text{vac.} \)

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REPORT TO A STRATEGUS

To Heras alias Dionysius, strategus of the Saite nome, from Heracleides, village scribe of Therythis and other (villages). In response to the communication written to you by Domitius Apolinarius, strategus of the Arthribite nome, of which this is a copy:

"Domitus Apolinarius, strategus of the Arthribite nome, to Heras alias Dionysius, strategus of the Saite nome, his dearest colleague, greetings.... in response to the ... communicated ... aforementioned (?) sums. Therefore, in order that you may know and, having exacted payment of these, may have them credited on behalf of this nome and notify me, I have sent you this written communication. I pray that you are well.

Year 20(1)? (month, day)...

...the examiners have passed on the information...

...so that, if they are subject to sale ... and the ... given to ... not have been done (exacte?). Therefore through (in?) the petition ... of land-rents from Therythis ... ownerless (properties), to the north and west (of?) a temple(?)..."

1 The traces of letters on the uppermost edge of the top margin (of c. 2.5 cm) may be the remnants of column numbers or annotations made in the top margin, rather than the end of another text. The second group, ], is above the intercolumnar space. Both columns start on approximately the same level.

2-4 Exiguous traces on the left hand edge, clearly the final strokes at the ends of lines in the preceding document of the τόμος ενεργοῦθεν. Although insufficient to be transcribed, enough remains to show that it was not written in the same hand as 3973.

2 Heras alias Dionysius is not otherwise known. On the possibility that he was an Oxyrhynchite, see introd.

Caïro. The fifth nome of Lower Egypt, situated in the Western Delta, with its territory mainly in the area between the Canopic and Rosetta branches of the Nile, although Sais itself stood on the eastern bank of the Rosetta branch, see H. Gauthier, Les noms, XI 1380 19 n.

3 Θραμβίτου, cf. 24, is not otherwise attested.

4-5 Domitius Apolinarius, cf. 6, is not otherwise known.

5 Αθραμβίτου (l. Αθραμβίτου). The tenth nome of Lower Egypt, located in the Southern Delta, cf. A. Calderini, Dizionario dei nomi geografici s.v., H. Gauthier, Les noms 4, 35. The name survives in modern Tell Atrib, see XI 1380 39 n.

9-10 κειμένα κεφάλαια. [προ]κείμενα, [προς]κείμενα or [προ]κείμενα are all likely possibilities.

10-11 Βηγά. There is no obvious place for this in the text, nor does the meaning, `of Besas’, make any certain sense in the context, but it could be a clarification of τούτων, i.e. these sums were the responsibility of someone called Besas. The writing could well be in a second hand, although the style is similar.

13 After ή[ ]], a reading which seems preferable to θ[ ]], only isolated tops of letters are present before the raised horizontal which presumably marks the day number. It seems that the emperor was not named at this point; the month name remains unread.
After Tiberius, who is probably too early for this hand, no emperor reached a twentieth year until Trajan. Year 20 (or 20 +) of Trajan (116/7 +) is perhaps the most likely; year 20 of Hadrian and Pius, 135/6 + and 156/7 +, are also possible.

13–14 oi διακριτοι μετέδοσθαι. Cf. esp. SB XIV 1138: ii 4 μεταδεδομένου [πάντοτε] έν [διακριτοί]: also SB V 774: 9, XVI 1266. 11, 17. On the little that is known about these officials, sometimes called more explicitly διακριτοί τῶν ἐξήκτων, 'examiners of arrears', see R. R. Malek, ΖPE 40 (1982) 215–16. They appear particularly in cases where cooperation between the accounting systems of two strategiates is required, as here.

15–18 Traces only.

19 As at the top of col. i, see 1 n., the traces of letters here may represent the remains of something written above the text in its top margin, here c. 1.5 cm wide, not the bottom of another text. These traces are rather lower than those above col. i and the intercolumnium.

If col. ii was the same width as col. i, c. 38 letters, there are at least 12 letters missing at the line ends.

24 φόρον. The context suggests that the term here bears the meaning of land-rents charged on state land, on which see S. L. Wallace, Taxation 71–2, XLIV 3180. 5 n.


26–30 Traces only.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

3974. Declaration to a Strategus

A declaration by Thonis major, θεαγός (see 6 n.) of Thoeris, to the royal scribe and acting strategus Dionysius, to the effect that his son and nephew have undergone epicrisis and paid the entrance fee (εἰκριτικόν) to the rank of θεαγός.

It has long been known that all those who were attached to temples, whatever their rank, were subject, like other privileged classes, to an epicrisis to prove their right to their position and that they were required to pay an entrance fee, see W. Otto, Priester und Tempel i 213–17, S. L. Wallace, Taxation 249–52, E. H. Gilliam, YCS 10 (1947) 203–5. Even so, there is no exact parallel for the present text, although the responsibility of the strategus and royal scribe for the supervision of temples at nome level is well documented, see YCS 10 (1947) 197, M. Stead, Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Papyrology 416, XII 1435, XLIX 3472, P. Tebt. II 298 introd.

3974 may usefully be compared with XLIX 3470–71, which show what might happen if the entrance fee was not paid on time. In those cases the delay in payment seems to have prompted the query from the office of the Idios Logos; in the present text, a failure by the applicant to ensure that the local authorities had noted (17) the payment of the entrance fee might have had more serious consequences, resulting eventually in a challenge by the Idios Logos to the boys' hereditary right to the office of θεαγός and an attempt to confiscate the offices for sale to someone else, cf. P. Vindob. Boswinkel 1, with P. R. Swarney, Idios Logos 57–9.

The back is blank.
To Dionysius royal scribe, administering also the office of the strategus, from Thonis major son of Thonis, grandson of Plutarchus, whose mother is Tayseiris daughter of Petalus, from Oxyrhynchus, theagus of Thoeris, most great goddess, of the Thoereum of Thenepmoi and of another one of Pasin ... I declare(?) that both my son Thonis, whose mother is Talobais, and Thonis the son of my deceased full (or uterine or paternal half?) brother Thonis minor, whose mother is ..., have both come forward into the category of fourteen-year-olds, in the present sixth year of Antoninus and Verus the lords emperors and that an annotation ought to be made by their names that (they have paid) the entrance fee for the office of theagus ...
A. Gutbub (Montpellier 1984) 161–176. To his conclusion that the theagoi were a religious association whose major role was to convey the corpses or mummies (for 'the gods' = 'the dead' cf. P. Turner 15, p. 78) of sacred animals from temple to necropolis the following points may be added from the Greek evidence:

1. PSI IX 1039 (216/7 or 267/8: for the date see A. Bulow-Jacobsen, Actes du XVe Congres International de Papyrologie iv 125) confirms that the theagoi constituted a separate order, lower in the hierarchy than priests and pastophori; cf. also the existence of separate declarations of the members of each order (listed in XLIX 3473 introd. and E. Battaglia, Archéologia 64 (1984) 90–99). The view of W. Otto, Priester und Tempel i 95 n. 1, followed by C. H. Roberts, JEA 20 (1934) 23, that they are the same as the pastophori, is to be rejected.

2. PSI IX 1039.45, δεδυρίκα, shows that either sex might hold this office.

3. 'Bearer' is to be understood in a general, and not a specific, sense, for the theagoi employed more than one means of transporting their charges. The pictorial evidence cited by Quaegebeur, op. cit. 175 n. 92, shows crocodiles and other sacred animals carried on biers, hauled on sledges and drawn on wheeled funeral carriages, and in P. Lille dem. IV 49 τμ υρω is glossed as δηλα[της] while in XLIX 3495 8 etc. a theagos receives payments which may be for boat hire, cf. P. Tebt. II 298. 30–33 n. and P. Ryl. II 196. 13–14 n.

4. These theagos-payments for what is clearly commercial boat hire show further that, like the pastophori but unlike the priests proper, theagoi were permitted by the state to engage in commercial activities.

7 Θείρηφαυ Θεν (πμα). For other references to Athena-Thoeris and her cult places in Greek papyri, see now J. Quaegebeur etc., ZPE 60 (1985) 224–30, where it is suggested that the cult title (? ) Thenepmoi should be interpreted as τι-ντο-μάγι, 'the daughter of the lion', rather than τι-το-μα/μάγι, 'she of the water/the island', as suggested at XLIX 3472 19 n. The title may also be read in II 331 16 (ed. A. Martin, CE 56 (1981) 299–303) at the line end.

8 Πατεκ[...]ρ[...]κ[...]: otherwise unattested. Like Thenepmos, it is uncertain whether this should be taken as a cult title, or as the name of a place where the goddess was worshipped. If the former, perhaps Πατεκ[της]; if the latter, there may be a connection with the Thèoreum of Sintano, or Sintabo (SB V 7634. 9–10, P. Mert. I 26), if this is in fact a place name, see the discussion by C. H. Roberts, JEA 20 (1934) 25; read then Πατεκ[τω], 'the territory of Sintano', cf. M. Drew-Bear, Le nome Hermopolite 196, on the meaning of Πατεκια. I owe to Dr J. Quaegebeur the suggestion that παι- here is perhaps a reduction of πα- (Coptic πιμα), 'the one of'.

14–17 προςβεβηκ[την] ... εις (τεσσαρεσκεαικαετεις). It is clear that this refers to a different examination from that carried out before the ἀρχισκοπε, on whom see now M. Stead, Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Papyrology 411–18, esp. 415–4, or the ἀρχισκοποφήτης, see A. Bulow-Jacobsen, Actes du XVe Congres International de Papyrologie iv 124–31, being more akin to the civil epikrise for admission to the metropolitan or gymnasia classes, see E. H. Gilliam, YCS 10 (1947) 204, n. 115. The distinction between the two types of examination appears clearly in P. Tebt. II 298 (107/8), in which stolistae are examined by the strategus and royal scribe (line 20), whereas priests 'of the first tribe' are examined in the presence of the Idios Logos, see P. R. Swarney, Idios Logos 57–8, and also in XLIX 3470–71 (κ 131), where it is stated that the minors in question προςβίζωτες εις (τεσσαρεσκεαικαετεις) ... το ἔκρηκτικον διεγείραμαν, but that it is not customary for them to undergo epikrise by the ἀρχισκοποφήτης.

18 τὸ θει[τής] θειεύς: or τὸ τῆς αἱρήτικης θειεύς.

18–19 For the supplement cf. XLIX 3470–71 17–21, 14–18, quoted above, 14–17 n.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE
3975. SWORN DECLARATION OF A SKIPPER

3975. Sworn Declaration of a Skipper

The beginning of an undertaking on oath by Clemens, skipper of a private riverboat, to make his craft available for the transport of grain for the state, cf. IX 1197, republished by R. A. Coles, P. J. Sijpesteijn, CE 61 (1986) 108–110. It is addressed to Dionysius, royal scribe and acting strategus, who has appeared also in this capacity in XVIII 2182 (19 April 165) and 3974 of 165/6.

The back is blank.

Διονυσίως βασιλεύοντα γραμματέος διαδεχόμενον καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν στρατιάν διὰ Σαράπιαν ηγημόνας γεγυμνὸν ἀσιαρχικοῦ διὰ τῆς στρατιάς. Κλημῆς Ἡρακλεοπολείτου νομοῦ καταγεννήμενος ἐν Σερεφά τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολείτου νομοῦ κυβερνήτης ἦν ἰδιαῖς σκάπες κ. 7 letters

[ c. 20–25 letters ]

ὁμολόγων Αὐτοκράτορα Ῥα Καίσαρα
Μάρκου Αὐρήλιον Ἰνταγεῖν καὶ Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα

The earliest and the latest dates possible for Dionysius as royal scribe are March/April 159, when ... alias Theon was in office (P. Laur. III 63), and c. 169–71, when Heracleides was royal scribe and acting-strategus (XXI 253 18–19: on the date see J. D. Thomas, Epistrategos ii 189, 201). Heracleides is also attested on 13 November 170 (XVII 2194 t, where his name fits the lacuna at the beginning of the line). However, as Dionysius has already occurred as acting-strategus on 19 April 165 (XVIII 2182: not 166 as ed. pr.) and in 3974 (165/6) and a full strategus, Claudius Demetrius alias Hermias, is known from 3 June 166 (PSI IX 1033, 12–13), it seems likely that 3975 should also be dated to c. 165–166, cf. G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, Strategi and Royal Scribes 93, 143.
2–3 Capa(πίωνος) γεγον(ασκαρχικότος). Gymnasiarchs of this name from this period known to P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Nouvelle Liste des Gymnasiarques* 14–15 occur in P. Mert. I 18, 7–14 (ex-gymnasiarch 161) and XLII 3492 14 [gymnasiarch 161–9]. The name is so common that all three may be different.

3 δια(α)δοχ(ου). The use of the phrase δια ... διαδοχου usually indicates that the official in question is only temporarily absent and has delegated his authority only for that period, see M. H. Eliassen-de Kat, *Actes du XVIe Congrès International de Papyrologie* iv 119–120.

The addition of τῆς σερ(αρχικάς) here indicates that Sarapion is temporarily replacing Dionysius only in his role of acting-strategus, not in his capacity as royal scribe, cf. the form of expression used in BGU XIII 2238, 2–7, where strategus and royal scribe are each represented by a different deputy.

6 Νομίθματα. Read probably Νομίθματα, see LV 3805 91 n. On the geographical relationship of Sesphtha in the Lower Toparchy to the Heracleopolite nome see XII 1416 13 n., LV 3805 91 n. and LVIII 3957 introd. and 6 n.

10 διακ. For its meaning, ‘private’, in this context, = ἰδιωτικὸς as opposed to δήμος, see A. J. M. Meyer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer* 8–9.

10–11 These lines possibly contained a description of the boat.

12–14 This wording of the oath formula is not recorded in E. Seidl, *Der Eid* i 13, but it follows a normal pattern. It seems that, although Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ was repeated for each, the title of Augustus was postponed to the end, where it would have been given in the plural, Καίσαρει, to apply to both Marcus and Verus.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

3976. Oath of Office

A version of the first part of the customary oath taken by those about to undertake service as liturgists; for parallels see N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Services* 121 (add P. Oxy. Hels. 20 i, P. Harris II 193 and 204), and for discussion E. Seidl, *Der Eid* i 76–80.

The writer gave up in the course of writing the first standard clause of the oath, perhaps because he realized at that stage that he had bungled the address by putting the nominative instead of the dative and had omitted to name the liturgy in question, which we should expect to have found mentioned in lines 5 or 6. If this is so, then the trimming of the bottom edge, which is close to the last line, probably took place at that time. Alternatively, it may have been a writing exercise, cf. MPER XV (= H. Harrauer, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Neue Texte aus dem antiken Unterricht*) 10–11. In which case the scrap was probably trimmed from some other document.

A sheet join running vertically c. 2.5 cm from the right edge shows that this side was the front of the roll from which the piece came. The join overlaps from right to left, so that the piece is upside down in the sense that if the roll had been used for an extended text, it would have been placed so that the joins overlapped from left to right and so offered less resistance to the movement of the pen.

On the back, written across the fibres, from top to bottom in relation to the draft on the front, are: (1) an address in the same hand as the text on the front, and (2) part of a double name in a second hand. Upside down in relation to these two and therefore from bottom to top in relation to the draft on the front are (3) three lines of
writing, all apparently in different hands, containing magical words. They too are perhaps best taken as practice rather than a complete magical formula, see note. J. R. Rea suggests that perhaps there was a group of clerks whiling away time in an office between jobs by writing these jottings.

Aυρήλιος Αμμώνιος ὅ καὶ Απολλώνιος εὐρηγώς Ὅξ(ορυγχίτου) παρὰ Μάρκου Αυρηλίου Θέωνος Δημητρίου μητρός Διονυσίας τῆς καὶ Θεός καὶ ἄριστον ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.

εἰς δοθεῖσα ὑπὸ τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀμφο-δωγραμματέως τοῦ ἑνεκτέως ἦν τοῦ ἑνεκτέως ὁ ἰμένῳ τῆς Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου τῆς ἐνθέως ἀντιλήμ-ψαθαι . . . (vac.)

Back, across the fibres, from top to bottom in relation to the writing on the front:

10 (m. 1) Aυρηλίω Ἀπο[λ]λωνίῳ εὐρ(αηγῷ) Ὅξ(ορυγχίτου) παρὰ Μάρκου Αυρη[λίου]

(m. 2) (vac.) ὅ καὶ Θέων μητρός (vac.)

Back, upside down in relation to 10–12

(m. 3) Ἀβραχωτ( )

(m. 4) Ἀβραχαταχωτ( )

15 (m. 5) Ἀβραχαταχωτ( )

1–2 1. Αυρηλίῳ Ἀμμώνῳ τῷ καὶ Απολλωνίῳ εὐρηγῷ 2 Ὅξ 5–6 1. ἀμφοδωγραμματέως 6 Ὅξ 9 1. ἀντιλήμψεθαι 10 εὐπρ 11 Ὅξ 13 ἀβραχωτ’ 14 ἀβραχαταχωτ’ 15 ἀβρασαταχωτ’

‘Aurelius Ammonius alias Apollonius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Marcus Aurelius Theon son of Demetrius, whose mother is Dionysia alias Thaesis, from the same city. Having been nominated by the current amphodogrammateus of the city for the present sixth year, I swear by the genius of Marcus Antonius Gordianus Caesar the lord that I shall immediately undertake (vac.)’
DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

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Back:

'To Aurelius Apollonius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, from Marcus Aurelius ...'

(2nd hand) (vac.) alias Theon, whose mother is (vac.)

(3rd hand) 'Abrachyt( )'

(4th hand) 'Abraxatachyt( )'

(5th hand) 'Abrasatachyt( )'

1 The writing of the addressee’s name in the nominative rather than dative is only one of several indications that 3976 is a draft or an exercise. Others are (1) the use of τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως in line 4 when only the nome has been mentioned; (2) the omission of the name of the liturgy in line 5 or 6; and (3) the abrupt ending of the text after ἀντιλόμεθα, where the colour of the ink suggests that the writer’s pen had run dry.

6 Year 6 = 242/3, the latest date for Aurelius Ammonius alias Apollonius as strategus. He is elsewhere attested in P. Coll. Yourie I 65 = XLVII 3365 (22 May 241), P. Mich. XIV 675 (20 July 241), and 3977 (undated), cf. G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, Strategi and Royal Scribes 99. The nature of 3976 as a practice piece means that the present date may not be completely reliable.

13–15 Upside down in relation to the other two entries on the back. Like the front, this is a draft or exercise rather than a complete magical formula. In each case the first part of the line recalls the common magical name Ἀβραχάς; this occurs in several variants, as here, in the magical papyri and upon amulets, see K. Preisendanz, PGM iii Register i s.v.; H. Leclercq, Dictionnaire d’archéologie et de liturgie i. i s.v. Abrasax; H. D. Betz, The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation 331 (with further bibliography). The name is often found invoked in the aggressive magic of binding spells (κάταφρον) or love philtres (ἀγωνι), so that, if the line is to be broken up, the second element might be construed as the instruction ῥαξ, ῥαξ, common in spells of this type. Alternatively the mark of abbreviation after the final tau might be expanded as ῥαξ ἀγωνι, cf. PGM ii XIII. 871.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

3977. Address to a Strategus

72/49(c) 7 × 6.5 cm c. 241-243

An undated fragment from the beginning of another document addressed to the strategus Aurelius Ammonius alias Apollonius, cf. 3976. A join very close to the right edge is of an amateur type which indicates that this item formed part of a τόμος ευγχολλήςιμος. Too little remains of the letters of the last line to make a guess at the nature of the original text. The back is blank.

Ἀβρηλίῳ Ἀμμωνίῳ
τῷ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ
ετρ(ατηγώ) Ὀζ(υρυγχίτου)
παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ζήρου

άπελενθέρου (vac.)

5 c. 12 letters [ . . . ]

. . . . . . .
3977. ADDRESS TO A STRATEGUS

ALS

To Aurelius Ammonius alias Apollonius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Syrus, freedman, ..."

1-2 Aurelius Ammonius alias Apollonius is attested in 241 (after 22 May: P. Coll. Younie I 65 = XLVII 3365) and, if the document is reliable, in 242/3, see 3976 introd. The terminus post quem for his tenure is 25 January 239, when Flavius Harpocrates was still in office (XLIII 3133), the terminus ante possibly 244/5, when the strategus may have been Chaeremon: VI 970 descr. verso 1, although the address to Chaeremon seems unconnected with the text on the recto which bears the date. Otherwise a firm terminus ante is 28 January 245, when Aurelius Dius alias Pertinax is first known in office, see G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, Strategi and Royal Scribes 99, add LVIII 3925 and 1 n.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

3978. PETITION TO A STRATEGUS

A petition to the strategus to notify him of fire damage connected with a house in the village of Seryphis used for weaving. Other reports related to fire damage are BGU IV 1201 (AD 2) and XLI 2997 (214). On this sort of petition, which might be more properly described as a report, see especially M. Gdz. 32-6, cf. LVIII 3916 introd.; usually they ask for the report to remain on the record, obviously with a view to legal proceedings in the future. In this case no allusion is made to that possibility.

Of more interest perhaps is the fact that 3978 provides a date for the strategiate of Aurelius Protarchus alias Heron, and therefore also for the undated P. Turner 41, in which he has already appeared, see 1 n.

The back is blank.

Aύρηλιος Πρωτάρχω τῷ
καὶ Ἡρων επὶ ἄπηγάῳ Ὅξει(ουργυχίτου)
παρὰ] Αύρηλιων Θέωνος
τοῦ καὶ Μουνατίου βουλευ-
τοῦ τῇ Οξὲι(ουργυχίτων) πόλε-
ως καὶ Διημητρίου Θέωνος
ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. τῇ δι-
elθοῦση] λ ἐπινθήρ ἀπὸ
κ. 5 ἔτη πλησίων ἦ' ε' ἐχο-
Το Aurelius Protaochus alias Heron, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the Aurelii Theon alias Munatius, councillor of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, and Demetrius son of Theon from the same city. On the past 30th (of last month) a spark from (a furnace?) near (a storeroom?) of... (bundles?) of flax, which we have for the weaving of linens in a house which we hold on lease in the village of Seryphis, set fire to this. Bearing witness of this we submit the petition. Year 1 of Imperator Caesar Gaius Messius Quintus Traianus Decius...
A business letter which also serves as a note of credit for the transfer of funds. For
the format cf. BGU IV 1064 (with the discussion of F. Preisigke, Girowesen im griechischen
Aegypten 204–5) and SB XIV 12094: XLIII 3146, which may also be an ἐπιθήκη, see
there 8 n., differs in being written in the form of a receipt which was then cancelled,
not as an order to pay like the other examples.

The text offers two addenda lexicis (lines 6 and 15), of which the second, connected
with the weaving trade, remains unexplained. There is a sheet join 3.5 to 4 cm from
the left hand edge. The back is blank.

Συμβαντεύεις Λεωνίδη τῷ
νῷ πολλὰ χαίρειν.
καλῶς ποιήσεις μεταβαλόμενος
παρὰ σοι ἐν Ὀξυρυγχείτῃ Ἀὐρη-
lῶν Ἡρακλείδη νῷ Κεφάλω-
nος ὄρυχατος συνλαυ-
ρείτη Λεωνίδου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ
ἡμῶν ἀργυρίου Σεβαστοῦ
νομίσματος δραχμᾶς ἐνα-
kοσίας, ἀνθ᾽ οὗ ἔχον τὰς ἱκας
πλήρης δραχμῖς ἐνακοσίας
ἐνθάδε ἐν κώμῃ Σέφθα, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν
μὴ αὐτὸν κατάχηξης. σημείον
χάριν ὅτε ἐνεβαλόμην

κοὶ λινά σειμεστὰ τριακόσια
ὅτε ἐνέβης μετὰ Ἀλεξάν-
dρου τοῦ ὀθωνικοῦ. ἡ ἐπιθή-
κῇ κυρίᾳ καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖσις
ἀμολογησα.

(ἐτοις) ῥῆ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Γ[αλλι-
ηνοῦ Σεβαστοῦ] Θῶθ κθ.

4 Ὀξυρυγχείτῃ: 1. Ὀξυρυγχείτῃ 6 l. συνλαυρίτη 9, t. l. ἐνακοσίας 10 ἱκας 14 1. ἄτι
19 l. ἀμολογησα
'Sinpsansneus to Leonides his/her (?) son, many greetings. Please pay over at your place in the Oxyrhynchite to Aurelius Heracleides, son of Cephalon the poulterer, who lives in the same street as our brother Leonides, nine hundred drachmas of money of imperial coinage, in lieu of which I have received the equivalent amount in full of nine hundred drachmas here in the village of Sephtha, but do not detain him. As proof (that this instruction comes from Sinpsansneus): I loaded for you three hundred linen semesta when you embarked with Alexander the linen-dealer. The note of credit is binding and having been formally questioned I have assented.'

'Year 14 of our lord Gallienus Augustus, Thoth 29'.

1 Ceφaλεων. Not listed by F. Preisigke, Namenbuch, or D. Foraboschi, Onomasticon, but regularly formed from Ψαλωκείας, plus the prefix Ce-. Cf. the by-form Ceβασκος. We rather expect the prefix to be feminine, derived from an Egyptian expression meaning 'daughter of', but below in 18 we seem to have επερωτηθείς masculine, rather than -Θης feminne, and it may well be that this name is masculine, cf. J. Quaegebeur, CE 56 (1981) 350-6, cf. J. Bingen, CE 63 (1988) 168 and n. 2.

3-4 μεταβαλόμενοι παρά σοι. It is clear now that this should also be read in the parallel BGU IV 1064. 3-4, in place of μεταβαλόμενοι παρά σοι.

6 συνλαμβαντεσ (I. συνλαμβανεσ). Addendum lexicis. The word has occurred before in P. Ryl. IV 666. 37 (late third century), where the editors took it as an adjective deriving from a place name and capitalized it. The wording of this text, however, makes it clear that the meaning must be 'living in the same στείρα, near neighbour'.

7 δέκεσο. Like τιχ in line 2, the term is probably conventional, cf. XLVIII 13396 introd.

11 Πληρης. The indeclinable form 'in full', see F. Preisigke, Fachwörter s.v., H. C. Youtie, Scriptiunculae Postiores ii 653, rather than a miswriting of accr. πλήρες.


15 λωή κεβετα. Better taken as two words rather than a compound, where λω- would be expected, although it is not clear whether the accentuation should be λωή or λωα.

κεβετα. Addendum lexicis. The term can be related to none of those discussed by E. Wipszycka, L'Industrie textile dans l'Empire romain, T. Reil, Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes, or R. Forbes, Studies in Ancient Technology iv 192 ff. In view of the large number involved, we seem to have either a unit of measure or the name of an item of linen made for a particular purpose. Rea has suggested that this may be Latin semis, gen. semissis, and so mean 'half-units'. For the phonetic changes see F. T. Gignac, Grammar i 247, 255 and 66, but it should be noted that e for ? and -σσ- for -ςς- are by no means common. The Diocletianic Edictum de Pretiis quotes the majority of linen items by the complete web, ictος, tελα, see section 26, ed. M. Giaccherio. The other terms of measure commonly used are τεράδακος (= quaternio: Edictum, loc. cit.), δακκος, and πεντάδακος, see L 396 16-17 n. It is obviously difficult to relate κεβετα to any of these.

18 επερωτηθείς. The final long horizontal is at a high level which suggests that it is the cap of sigma rather than the tail of the alpha which would suit -Θης σοι, cf. 1 n. on the form of the writer's name.

20-21 A slight trace before the omega of the month name suits the ligature of theta for Thoth rather than part of the nu of Phamenoth: nu is not ligatured to the following letter in this hand, although the latter (= 25 March 267) cannot be entirely excluded.

The titulature is restored as the most common short version, see P. Bureth, Les titulatures 121. This seems a little cramped for space, but only one example, P. Strasb. 132. 15, of the omission of Θεβασκος is recorded by Bureth. If we adopt that, even dividing Γ[α][λ][λ][ι][ρ][ι][φ][ο][ι], which is more comfortable, there would certainly be room for Φοιξ[ι][ο][θ], but the trace, as already explained, is against it.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE
Instructions from the strategus Aurelius Alexander (?), who is new, see i n., to the decaproti of part of the Lower toparchy to see to the loading of grain onto one of the state grain ships. The back is blank.

A terminus ante quem for the date of 3980 is provided by the appearance of decaproti since that office seems to have been abolished between May and July 302, see J. D. Thomas, BASP 11 (1974) 60–68. The terminus post quem is given by the presence in line 7 of Valerius Eueithius as rationalis. His predecessor Pomponius Domnus was still in office on 1 March 300 (P. Panop. Beaty 2. 270). As Eueithius himself is otherwise first attested in office on 23 September 302 in P. Cornell 20. 5 etc. and 20(a). 7, 27, it follows that 3980 is now the earliest reference to him as rationalis. Note also that his latest possible date in office is now 27 January 304 (or 26 January 305), when his successor ... ius Serapodorus appears in P. Lond. inv. 1260. 4 (text in P. Panop. Beatty pp. 153–6), see CPR V 6. 7 and 10–11 nn. For other references to his tenure see A. H. M. Jones etc., Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire i s.v., J. Lallemand, L’Administration civile 258.

The organisation of the state corn-transport has been much discussed (note especially M. Rostowzew, APF 3 (1906) 212–24, O. Osl. 17–21 nn., E. Börner, Der Staatliche Korntransport, N. Hohlwein, Et. Pap. 4 (1938) 33–102, J. Schwartz, BIFAO 47 (1948) 179 ff.). The responsibility of the decaproti, and earlier (and later) the sitologi, for the quality and quantity of the grain shipped has also been recognized, cf. IV 708 = W. Chr. 432, XI.II 3049 B i8 n., SB XII 11082. Yet 3980 appears to be the first example of a directive of this kind from the strategus to the decaproti, although there are examples of the preceding and subsequent steps taken by the state in its transport of different commodities for the annona militaris at this time, viz. directives from higher authorities to the strategus to have different cargoes loaded and report back (P. Panop. Beaty 2. 114–116), and reports from the strategus detailing cargoes which had been despatched in response to such orders (P. Panop. Beaty 1. 120–127 = 160–165, L 3373).
Aurelius Alexander(?), ex-hypomnematographus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to the Aurelii Alexander and Stratonicus and associates, decaproti of parts of the Lower toparchy, his dearest colleagues, greetings.

"In accordance with the written instructions given by my lord the most perfect rationalis Valerius Euethius, have loaded onto the public boat whose emblem is Panantinous, of 2,500 artabas capacity, under the command of Honoratianus, shipper, one thousand ... hundred ... -ty-six artabas of purest wheat, free from all badness, by the public measure, according to the prescribed measurement ... (and for) ... per cent ... (total) 1900 artabas."

1. Clear remnants of the tail of xi. Otherwise the first doubtful letter might be read as part of mu or pi. Not otherwise attested, Aurelius Alexander(?) must have been the immediate successor in the strategate to Aurelius Zenagenes (latest date 300: XLVI 3301) and the predecessor of Aurelius Horion (earliest date 24 December 303: P. Wise. II 61. 3), see G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, Strategi and Royal Scribes 103-4.

3. These decaproti are not known from elsewhere. Decaproti were drawn from the bouleutic class but the only Alexander listed by A. K. Bowman, Town Councils Appendix 2B, from P. Ryl. IV 691 verso (late third century), is probably not the same man; the name is far from rare. On the other hand, the name Stratonicus is uncommon in the Oxyrhynchite and the Aurelia Stratonice of XLVI 3296 (AD 291) may well be a relation.

4. tolç Koprovok, SeKapwtolv. 3980 provides another of the few exceptions to the general rule first formulated by F. Oertel, Die Liturgie 211, that each toparchy was normally supervised by a college of two decaproti; other exceptions are noted by E. G. Turner, JEA 22 (1936) 8 n. 9. As there appears to be no geographical or chronological pattern discernible among them, the present example should not be taken as indicative of the breakdown of the office at this time. Rather, its probable cause is simply the administration's inability to find enough liturgists with a sufficient πόρος to fill the office on their own, as Turner suggested.

5. The only other example of a decaprotus attached to a part of a toparchy appears to be X 1260 (AD 286). Otherwise only protostatae are so designated (SB VI 9902, XLIV 3184). As 3184 also concerns μετρητης of the Lower toparchy, the connection between the decaproti and the shortlived office of protostatae may have been closer than seemed to be the case when the office was discussed by A. K. Bowman, Akten des XIII Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses 43-51, esp. 49, see J. E. G. Whitehorne, ÆPE 62 (1986) 159-72, esp. 163-4.
For the rationalis Valerius Euehius see introd.

8 ἐξίσαμεν. Cf. SB XII 11082. 2 (138—161) [τοις ὧν τὸν πυρὸν] ἐμβαθυμένους εκτελόντος. The supervisory role of the decaproti, and before (and after) them, the sitologi, in the loading of grain cargoes is also reflected in the shipping receipts, see XLII 3049 B 18 n. These receipts, issued by the shipper after loading, could be cross-checked against a directive of the present type to minimise the possibility of collusion between strategus and decaproti, cf. P. Panop. Beatty 2. 60—71, or between decaproti and shipper, as seems to be implied in 162.

9 παραίσθένου. For the practice of carving a name-device upon a ship’s prow see P. Panop. Beatty 2. 209, L. Casson, Ships and Seamenhip in the Ancient World 244—60.

10 Ἇγετος πάντων φανάληττου τὐχανόντος. The identification of Antinous with Pan is novel, nor is either god listed as a ship’s name by L. Casson, op. cit. 339 ff. For other combinations of names of gods with the name Antinous see F. Dornsciff, B. Hansen, Rückblühung Würtzber. der griechischen Eigennamen 277 s.v. ‘Epanc’; the majority are Antinoic theophoric personal names, see F. Preisigke, Namenbuch s.v. In Egypt, Pan was primarily a god of the desert, see A. Bernard, Le Pantheon d’El-Kanais xix—xxi, whereas Antinous was usually identified with gods of vegetation/fertility: Dionysus, Osiris, Bes (see W. G. 121) in Egypt, Vertumnus in Italy, or, most commonly, with Apollo; for the iconography see C. W. Clairmont, Die Bildnisse des Antinous. Yet both Pan and Antinous are suitable tutelary deities for a ship, Antinous thanks to his intimate, though unfortunate, connection with the Nile (hence the Egyptian identification of him with Osiris), and Pan as Εὐωδος, protector of travellers, see A. Bernard, Pan du Desert 276. Both of them, too, share the epithet κορεσκό, indicating their protective aspect, and Antinous is also identified with Hermes, another protector of travellers, cf. the Antinoic personal name ‘Εργασινόως and the epithet Αργίφωντιάς in a hexameter poem about Hadrian and Antinoos, VII 1085 and 9 n.


11-12 ἕκτω κάτω φανάληττος ταξανόντως. The phrase seems to be without parallel; no reference to φανάλητς is given by F. Preisigke, WB and Suppl., or S. Daris, Spoglio Lessicale. It has occurred with reference to wine in L 3574 B. The normal specification is that the grain should be ἄδολος and ἄδισκος. As φανάλητς is used of the ‘badness’ of either persons or things (LSJ s.v.), this phrase is clearly its equivalent and covers both deliberate and accidental adulteration or spoilage of the cargo.

13 This line was left rather short, with the cap of the final sigma prolonged towards the right margin to occupy a space equivalent to six letters in the line above.

14 χιλιάρα (L. χιλας) c. 12 letters (κατα)είς. Possibilities are seriously limited by the space available. The most likely seems to be χιλιάρα [ει] τακανωτα[ει] κατα [εις] followed by a fraction, §; 14% of this is 233, to give a total of 1900 as in line 16. Yet although the percentage customarily included to compensate for adulteration or short measure varies considerably, it is perhaps unlikely to be as high as this, see A. J. M. Meyer-Termeer, Die Haftung der Schiffer 17—19, cf. next note.


16 The reading of the figures seems convincing. If they are correct, they must represent the load inclusive of the percentage surcharge. The beginning of the line may well have contained the amount of the percentage, see above 14 n., followed by (χιλιάρα) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸν vel sim., indicating that the figure which followed was the total of the cargo, but there is a real difficulty in finding a satisfactory restoration of lines 14—16 in the right combination of words and figures to satisfy the space.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

3981. Petition

A petition about persistent harassment over a debt which the complainant claims does not exist. The text lacks the name and title of the addressee, but as the petitioner refers to hearings before the former strategus Hesychius, who is new, see 7 n., and
alludes to the need to seek satisfaction from a higher authority if the attacks on him continue (20), the document is likely to have been addressed to one of the officials at the level of the nome. Possible candidates at this period are the strategus, the prytanis, or the logistes; the use of the honorific ἵεμελέω (17) perhaps favours the last, see 1 n.

There is a sheet-join 3.5 cm from the left hand edge. The overlap between the sheets is just slightly less than this and the upper, left hand sheet has been feathered in by removing the back layer of vertical fibres, beginning about 2.5 cm from its right edge, in order to ensure a smoother overlap, cf. P. Harris II 212 introd. The back is blank.


τῇ μίξοι ξοῦς ἰδενοχλήσαι περὶ τοῦτον. ὑπατεῖας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἴμων Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικινίου Σεβαστῶν τὰ β’. (m. 2) Φαμενόθ Ἀδρηλίκος Ἀρμᾶς Θηβοῦς ἐπιδεώκις. Ἀδρηλίκος Νεκθερωίκος Φθιμοῦτος ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μῆ εἰδότος.
...from Aurelius Harmasis, son of Tithoeis, priest of the village of Chenetoros. C...iphis, daughter of Psomaus, from the same village does not stop working away at her struggles against me, reasonable man that I am. For many times she brought me before the former strategus Hesychius as though I owe nothing, but she incessantly tries to arrange matters against me on each and every occasion and since on all counts I am manifestly free from debt to this woman I submit my petition to your grace and ask now that she be prevented by you from attacking me so that I may not be brought to the necessity of troubling higher authority on this matter.

In the 2nd consulsip of our masters Constantine and Licinius Augusti, (2nd hand) Phamenoth ...' 

'I, Aurelius Harmasis, son of Tithoeis, have submitted the petition. I, Aurelius Nechtheroeis, son of Phthinouros, wrote on his behalf as he does not know letters.'

1 Exiguous traces only. The first three lines are off set slightly to the left but, if the addressor were the strategus, the spacing would still be insufficient to read the name of either of the men who might have been in office in this year: Aurelius Dioscurides alias Julianus, who was strategus on 22 August 311 (XXXIII 2668), or Aurelius Sarapion alias Serenus, who may have taken over from him in 312 (PSI VIII 886, which mentions Aurelius Ammonius who is first attested as prefect on 17 August 312, see J. Lallemand, L'Administration 230, see G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, Strategi and Royal Scribes 104). However, the honorific ἴπτερον, used in line 17, is never found of the strategus in this period whereas it is not uncommonly found of the logistes, e.g. I 52, 53, 86, X 1265, P. Rein. II 92, and it is remotely possible that the name and title in this line might be readable as Οδοντωρίω 'Πρων τῷ σῷι [Ca][pι]α[πους] λογ(ιστής) [Ο][Φ][άρμαχη] ι[νδυ. For his career as logistes see P. Oxy. LIV pp. 223-4. However, this reading is not totally convincing.

2 Τιθόνος, Cf. 23 and n. This is a theophoric name which is often found of priests. For references to the god Tithoeis (or Tootheis) see G. Ronchi, Lexicon Theonymon vi 1087-8 s.v. Tithoes. For the Egyptian evidence see S. Sauneron, JNES 19 (1960) 269-87 and J. Quaegebeur, Lexicon der Ägyptologie vi 602-6 s.v. Tithoes.

3 Χεντωρίως. Listed in P. Pruneti, I centri abitati, only as a sixth century ἐπισκέπτης, when it formed part of the estates of the Apion family (XVI 1912 c3 etc.). Other known villages in 1912 had been in the Middle toparchy but the account may have dealt with contiguous areas and we cannot assume that this village had also been in the same toparchy.

4 εδρακά (l. εὐπροσκαί). The initial letters have been overwritten. The word is used of the struggles of wrestlers (LSJ s.v. 2), but may be extended to include any type of physical scuffle, as in P. Mich. V 230. 19 (cf. the similar use of ἐπισκέπτης, P. Ryl. II 124. 28, 150. 12), or the tricks used to ensnare one's opponent. In the almost contemporary P. Cair. Isid. 75. 4 (AD 316) μεταβιον τε εὐπροσκαί[η] ἐχών πρὸς πάντα, although translated neutrally by the editors as, 'I am not involved with any persons,' may also bear the initial meaning of 'quarrel' or 'intrigue'.

5 Ἰεύκυς. Not otherwise known. His tenure of office must fall between that of Aurelius Horion (latest date August 305; XXXVI 2766) and Aurelius Dioscurides alias Julianus (earliest date 310/11: PSI VIII 886). The name Hesychius is rare in the Oxyrhynchite, occurring less than a dozen times in the indexes to P. Oxy. The only known official with the name in this period is Aurelius Achirion alias Hesychius, agent of decaproti in 290 (PSI V 461), and ex-hypomnematomatographus, Alexandrian councillor, gymnasiarch, councillor and prytanis of Oxyrhynchus in 297 (XLV 3245 3-5). As strategi were now appointed from the same toparchy but the account may have dealt with contiguous areas and we cannot assume that this village had also been in the same toparchy, it is clearly free from debt to this woman I submit my petition to your grace and ask now that she be prevented by you from attacking me so that I may not be brought to the necessity of troubling higher authority on this matter.'
23 Ἐθνημός. This form is not listed in F. Preisigke, Namenbuch or in D. Foraboschi, Onomasticon, although it is obviously a phonetic variant of the common Ἐθνημός, see 2.

24 Νεκτερέας Φιλομόντος. The names are not attested in these forms although the by-forms Νεκτερέας and Φιλομόντος occur elsewhere, see F. Preisigke, Namenbuch, D. Foraboschi, Onomasticon.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

3982. Receipt for Payment

16 2B.45/F(c)  
15.5 x 26 cm  5 May 314

Acknowledgement to the strategus by comarchs of the village of Phoboou that they have been reimbursed for the cost of tow provided for the treasury. The text follows the expected pattern; the parallels are collected and discussed most lately in P. Heid. IV 323 introd. Of these XII 1430 (324) also concerns tow, but similar receipts also involve clothing of various kinds, gold and silver, iron, and grain or wheat (cītōc).

A sheet join can be seen close to the edge at the bottom right where that edge survives.

At the foot in a third hand, differing from those of the main text and the subscription, is a draft or writing practice (22-23) in the form of an incomplete heading following the same pattern as lines 1-2.

On the back, written along the fibres, is a series of summaries of applications for reimbursement, which are published separately as 3983. The hand in which they are written appears to be the same as the third hand here (22-23). Their date is 7 May 314, just two days later than the present receipt, so that the papyrus was reused almost immediately. This suggests that 3982, although furnished with an authentic subscription (18-21), was a spare copy which soon became available for rough jottings or practice in the office, cf. 3976 introd. The clerk perhaps began to summarise an application for repayment on the foot of this receipt, below the comarch’s subscription, before deciding to turn the papyrus over and begin again on another summary, this time of an application from the same comarchs who had submitted 3983. See also 3983 introd.

Ἀφρηλὼς Σαρασίων τῷ καὶ Σερήνῳ ετρ (ἀγγ.) Οξ (υργ.) [πατρίου]  

παρὰ Ἀφρηλὼν Ἀραπάς Παπαρήπος καὶ Ψεναμοῦνος  

Ἀματόκου, ἀμφί (ὀπέρων) κωμαρχῶν κώμης Φοβόμου  

tοῦ ἐνεκτῶν εὐ τους. ἀπέκταμεν καὶ ἡριθμήμε-  

θα παρὰ Ἀφρηλῶν Αφθονίου, δημοσίων.
χρημάτων τραπατίζε(ιτού), εξ ἐπιστάλμα[τος
...]...ου...ε[...]...τ[...] ἢ ἢ ἡμεθα ἐπιστ[αλναι
εκ[αθῆ[ται ἢμων] ὑπὲρ τιμῆς ὅπων παρέχεχαμεν
κεὶ τὸ ὀνόμας εσφυσιοῦ ἀπὸ λόγου ευνο[ικής
διὰ Αρίστωνον ἐπιμελητοῦ ἀστει εἰς Αλεξάν[δρεαν, (ἔτους)
κ' κε[ν(τηρατίον)] 3 μη ἐγ', (ταλ.) 3 (ἀτ) φλαγχ, ὅν (ἐκατοσταί) 3
(ἡμικύρ) ἡμοῦ ἑκοτ[ατίον] | (ἀτ.) ἢτο ο, τὰ ἀναπα (ταλ.) ἢ (ἀτ.) ἢρη, ζι (ἔτους) ἢ', (ἔτους) ὅμοι ὅτε
κε[ν(τηρατίον)] 3
μι ἐγ', (ταλ.) 3 (ἀτ.) φλαγχ, ὅν (ἐκατοσταί) 3 (ἡμικύρ) ἡμοῦ ἑκοτ[ατίον] (ἀτ.) ἢτο ο, τὰ ἀναπα (ταλ.) ε
(ἀτ.) ἢρη, ὅμοι (ταλ.) [μα (ἀτ.) Β]τις (νας) πλήρησ, [κυρίοι
ἡ ἀποχή καὶ ἐπ[ε]ρ[ω] ἦθελε ωμολογήσαμεν. ὑπατείας 'Ρουφίου Οδολογιανοῦ καὶ Πετροβόνορ Ἀννανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων, Παχ(ων) ι'.
(m. 2) Ἄρηλιος Ἀρσατής καὶ Παναμοῦνι τῇ χρηστήμε[θα
τὸ ἄρχοντον πλήρη ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρήλιος Ἀγα-
θος έγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γράμματα μή εἰ-
δοτῶν;
(m. 3) Αὐρήλιος Σαραπίνιος τῷ καὶ Σερήνῳ ἐτή(απηγών) Ὁξ(υρνγχίτου)
παρὰ Αὐρήλιων Θεόνων (νας)
1 ετῶν 2 Παθατρῆτος 3 ομφ) 6 τραπατίζε[ν]: 1. τραπεζίτου 11 κεν'; 1. μναῖ for
μναῶν. ζ = (ἀτ.), ρ = (ἐκατοσταί). ζ[σ] = (ἐξ ἡμικύρ): and so throughout 12 1. λυπά; ομοί') 13 1. μναῖ
for μναῶν 15 1. ἐπιχρυσθέντες 16 ὑπατείας 17 παλ[λ] 18 ν ὁ Παναμοῦνις τεμαθε
d from μ[α] 19 1. πρόκειται 22 ετής'

'To Aurelius Sarapion alias Serenus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the Aurelii Harpaesis
son of Pathatres and Psenanomis son of Amatoc, both comarchs of the village of Phobou for the present
year. We have received and been paid from Aurelius Aphonius, banker of public moneys, in accordance
with the instruction of... the sums which we requested that instructions be given to be paid to us for the
price of what we provided for the treasury in tow on account of the compulsory purchase via Ariston,
oversee, for (delivery to) Alexandria: for the 20th year 6 hundredweights, 54 minas, 6 talents 533 drachmas,
of which 64% is 2375 drachmas, remainder 5 talents 4158 drachmas; for year 7 and 5 likewise 6 hundred-
weights 54 minas, 6 talents 533 drachmas, of which 63% is 2375 drachmas, remainder 5 talents 4158
drachmas, all together 11 talents 2316 drachmas in full. The receipt is valid and having been formally
questioned we have assented. In the consulate of Rufius Volusianus and Petronius Annianus, uiri clarissimi,
Pachon 10.'

(2nd hand) 'We, the Aurelii Harpaesis and Psenanomis (sic), have had the money paid in full as
aforesaid. I, Aurelius Agathus, wrote on their behalf as they do not know letters.'

(3rd hand) 'To Aurelius Sarapion alias Serenus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the Aurelii
Theon ...' (vac.)
106 DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

1 Αβραμίων Καρατίους τῷ καὶ Σερένω. Known as strategus from PSI VIII 886 (311/2 or later) and SB XVI 12705 (314), see G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, Strategi and Royal Scribes 104.

2–3 Αβραμίων Ἀρσαγής Παταρῆτας καὶ Ψευμαθίου Παταρῆτος. These comarchs appear again as the applicants in the first of the requests for payment copied on the back, see 3983, where the names are written correctly as Παταρῆτας instead of Παταρῆτος and Ψευμαθίου, from Ψευμαθίου, the more normal form, instead of Ψευμαθίου, as here in the subscription (18).

3 Φωκίδιου. Situated earlier in the Eastern toparchy, and by this date in the fifth pagus, see P. Pruni, I centri abitati 214–16.

4 The parallels read simply εἴς ἔμπτωτος κοιν. A possibility might be τοῦ προῦπος, but I cannot read it; the name of the predecessor of Aurelius Sarapion alias Serenus as strategus, Aurelius Dioscurides alias Julianus, is excluded by virtue of its length. In three of the parallels, BGU II 620 = W. Chr. 186, SB I 4421, CPR V 6, reference is also made to the procurator ultimately responsible for the purchase and its reimbursement, but a similar phrase is again excluded here by reason of its length.

9 εἰποντες: ετε broken but sure. According to P. Giessen 103, 11 n. this is the more correct form. For the production of tow see the references given in P. Herm. Rees 22. 14 n., XLV 3254–62 introd., P. Köln III 151 introd., and P. Mich. XIV 680. 3 n.

10–11 (Στέφος) ετ = 311/12, cf. R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, Regnal Formulas 36.

11 κεν (τηραρίων) 5 μητρών. For the reading see line 13. As the price was the same in two consecutive years, it seems safe to assume that the quantity provided was also the same. A centenarium was equivalent to just less than 35 kg., see A. Segrè, Metrologia 47–51, and was divided into 60 minas, as here, or 100 librae. In the Price Edict of Diocletian (§26. 1–3, ed. M. Giacchero) the price of the three different grades of tow is set at 24, 20 and 16 denarii a libra, i.e. 9600, 8000 and 6400 drachmas a centenarium. The present price, which works out at exactly 1 talent per centenarium, therefore represents a considerable discount in the government's favour, over and above the deduction of 65%, which is normal in transactions of this type, see below. For other prices of tow known from this period see LIV p. 235.


22–3 On the relationship of this hand to the applications for repayment written on the back see introd. and 3983 introd.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

3983. Requests for Payment

Summary copies of several applications to the strategus from comarchs in villages of the fifth pagus, asking for reimbursement of the cost of commodities provided for the treasury. The applications are written along the fibres on the back of 3982, in which the comarchs Aurelii Harpaesis and Psenamunis, who also appear here in line 3, acknowledge reimbursement of a similar claim. Parallel applications are XLIV 3194 (323) and P. Ryl. IV 660 (338); similar in form are applications for reimbursement from municipal funds, such as I 55 (283), VIII 1104 (306) and XLIV 3193 (308?).

The present examples appear to be drafts or mere writing practice, done probably in the office of the strategus, where the receipt on the front would have been lodged. The same writer wrote two lines in the lower margin of the document on the other
3983. REQUESTS FOR PAYMENT

side, 3982 22–3. Another hand, very rapid and spindly, using abbreviations freely, has added a note in a lighter coloured ink in the left hand margin opposite lines 9–17.

Upwards in the left hand margin opposite 9–17:

(m. 2) ] . τιος ἀπὸ κ’ ἄμφες Ποσο(μποῦς).

2 οὖς 4 σποκακωμεῖς 1. ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης θεῖς· 6 οὖς τοῦ 8 l. ἀμφοτέρων

10 l. ἡμίν 11 οὐρυγχίτον 13 l. αὐτομεθά 14 l. ἡμίν, v, ευν 17 ηγανάκτει τής κοτ. (from a?), 1. ηγανάκτει 19 κύποσ.

‘In the consulate of Rufius Volusianus and Petronius Annianus, uiri clarissimi, Pachon 12.’

‘To Aurelius Sarapion alias Serenus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, from the Aurelii Harpaes son of Pathatres and Psenamunis son of Amatocus, both comarchs, all from (the same?) village, compulsory purchase to the account of the . . .

‘To Aurelius Sarapion alias Serenus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the Aurelii Pecysis son of Pecysis and . . . From the Aurelii Psentaseus son of Matreas and Hatreus son of Panotbeus, both comarchs of the village of Posompoys, in the fifth pagus, for the present year. We request that instructions be given for payment to be made to us for the price of tow, which we provided for the treasury, on account of compulsory purchase.’

‘To Aurelius Sarapion alias Serenus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome. In the consulate of Rufius Volusianus and Petronius Annianus, uiri clarissimi, Pachon 12. Both of the village of Posompoys, in the fifth pagus, for the present year. We request that instructions be given for payment to be made to us for the price of . . . which we provided for the treasury, on account of compulsory purchase, without (?) . . . the treasury (?) . . . the price . . . we provided . . .’
In the consulate of Rufius Volusianus and Petronius Annianus, *uiri clarissimi*.

Margin. '...iis from the village of Posompöys.'

2, 6, 11 For the strategus see 3982 i n.

3 Αὐρηλίων Ἀσπάζειος Παθατρήτως καὶ Ψαναμούνοις Αματόκου. The same comarchs are the applicants in the receipt for repayment which occupies the front of this papyrus, see 3982 3 n.; in line 2 there Παθατρήτως is written instead of Παθατρήτως, and in line 18 Ψαναμούνες instead of Ψαναμούνες.

4 This line is particularly disjointed. The writer was perhaps thinking of ἀπὸ τῆς α(ῦτης) κώμης as well as ἀπὸ κώμης followed by the village name; κωμης has lost its context, for which see 3982 9; θεῖα has no counterpart elsewhere in the document, but may suggest εἰς λόγον θέλεις διατοπισόμεις, cf. P. Sakon 85. 3–4; χ' is fairly well separated and perhaps represents χ'αιρέων).

5 The upper layer of fibres is stripped from across the entire width of the papyrus. There is room for one, possibly even two lines of writing, to include details of the first claim, but much of the space may have been taken up with the date clause for the second request for payment which begins in line 6.

6 'Οξ(μυγχί)του. Or 'Οξ(μυγχίτου) (του).

11 It is clear that another application must begin after κωμης and although there is no change of line, or even a gap left, the initial alpha of Αὐρηλίων is written larger than usual.

12–13 The names of the comarchs may have been omitted by error or because they had already been written out in full above in line 8. If the former, the marginal note opposite these lines might be taken as an attempt to correct this slip, but I cannot read it as such.

14–15 ἀπὸ λόγου εἰς ὑμής χωρίς, εἰς [του] δημόσιον. The analogy of XII 1430 12–13, ἐν τοίς ταῖς ἀποκρυφαῖς χωρίς ἀντίκρυς κωμης εἰς τοῖς δημόσιοι πανόρω, suggests that the lines may have run ἀπὸ λόγου εἰς ὑμής χωρίς (του) εἰς τοῖς δημόσιοι εἰς τοῖς χωρίς κωμης, but in view of the lack of any clear mark of abbreviation after εἰς this must remain only a suggestion.

16–17 If the date is to be read consecutively, supposing that the beginning of 17 was left blank, it is equivalent to 26 March 314. It was evidently written after that date, see 1, 12, and 3982 16–17.

18 ὡδανάκει (ὁ ὡδανάκει, 'he was angry?'). This seems completely strange to the context. Ετα has an loop near the top left, which might be the beginning of an alpha (for ὡδανάκε) soon converted into the eta. The dotted alpha is on a small scale for this hand and rather open, but it can be paralleled often in και and in the −η of ἔπεταλήρα (13).

19 This may have been a full line following the pattern of 8–9, possibly omitting ἁμφατέρων or with shorter names for the comarchs.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

**3984. Address to a Strategus**

8 1B.190/D(2)c 8.5 x 4 cm

The main interest of this fragment is that it attests as strategus a man who was previously known only from later stages of his career, see LIV p. 229, G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 105. Aurelius Dionysarius, addressed here as strategus, is attested as logistes in ad 342 with the status designation Flavius (I 87, P. Harris I 65); for the grant of the imperial nomen to holders of this office see XLVI 3306 i n., 3308–11 introd., and especially J. G. Keenan, ΖPE 53 (1983) 245–50. Then in 346 he appears again as riparius along with another ex-logistes Flavius Eulogius (VI 897).

On the back, in another hand, is a name with a note of a sum of money against it.
ADDRESS TO A STRATEGUS

109

IMARIEAIC

CERMILOV

AKIVS

SVOV

R

OV

XCLFLCTOPTOV)

ENAPYOV

TOV UPON TRPAIPOIOV KAL TOJTRPY[XAIVLOV

(TIPOKXOV TOV XAPL\NPOTaTOV).

(vac.) [ A\UPHLIV\ DIOVNSARI\\ STRATETH\ [ΟXV\R\G\KXIV\T]ON

PA]R\A A\UPHLIV\0 ATRR\\ APO K[\MUO\CARAPIT-\[OV]OC XAIHRHD\NOOC KAI ΟΡΟ[UV

I. E. G. WHITEHORNE
The document is complete on three sides but torn horizontally below line 17. The beginnings of lines 1–9 are badly abraded. The first hand resembles that of XVI 1878 (AD 461). Two vertical kolleses (8. 5 K^1 16. 5 K^2 7. 5).

The councillors (το κουνόν) of the villagers of Takona notify Anuphius, through his father Theodorus, that they have nominated him nomicarius for the next two years. For his services they will pay him a salary (λόγο μισθών) of 26 solidi ‘in addition to the so-called subvention’ (ἐπίκουρία, sec 11 n.). His duties will include paying the villagers’ share of the taxes (δημόσια). His father, Theodorus son of Megas also called Didymus, is also a nomicarius (4); he occurs again, in the same capacity, in AD 494 (3986) and in 498 (XIX 2237 5). The present text, as well as l 154 = XVI 2024 where two nomicarii are mentioned, suggests that in the fifth and sixth centuries there were at least two acting nomicarii.

Anuphius is obviously still a minor; the fact that he is nominated to serve (apparently) with his father seems to indicate that it had become very difficult to find suitable candidates for this office.

The office of nomicarius is first attested in AD 298: P. Panop. Beatty 1. 252–5 and 385–8 are letters addressed to Φιλοξένω νομικαρίῳ. The first of these informs him that two boats have been ordered by the praeses of the Thebaid for the postal service (see also 154 = 2024 10), one of which is to be provided by the nome (ἀπό τοῦ νομοῦ), and Philoxenus is to ‘make provision for all these matters’; the other letter orders him, on behalf of the praeses, to provide hides for a military fort, ὧν ἐπηδομένον μέρος τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντος τῇ νομῷ τοῦ μερισμόν ποιήσας φανερών καταστήσῃ[γ]ε, i.e., the nomicarius is responsible for the two-thirds share due from the nome (the remaining third being due from the metropolis). The apportionment (μερισμός) of this contribution to the villages of the nome is one of the responsibilities of the nomicarius. Mr T. C. Skeat had already concluded from this text that the nomicarius had nothing to do with νόμος, but ‘exercised some special accounting duties in relation to the nome as distinct from the metropolis’ (P. Panop. Beatty 1. 252 n.). His interpretation is confirmed by the present text, which states also that his duties (ἀνήκοντα, 12) included payment of the taxes on behalf of the villagers. These seem to be included in the salary of 26 solidi for each of the two years, which would otherwise be an exorbitant sum.

Compare also LV 3788 2 n.
[ἀνά]δεξιομένῳ νομίζω καὶ τὴν γνώμην τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοκομητ[ῶν] Ἀυρηλίῳ Ἀμφαξ[τ]ῳ τιμῶ Θεοδώρου διὰ κοῦ τοῦ
[..]ξις[..] τοῖς ὠδηγοῖς τὴν νομικ[ή]ν ὑπομάκα κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀπειβάλλουσα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κύριος γὰρ ἀναλογίαν
[ὑπὸ] τοῦ γνωστοῦ ἀμένοι καὶ μᾶς γ[ν]ώμης κράτους ἡ ἀληθεία ἐν οἷς ἦν καθ' ἠκατον ἐναυτὸν, ὡς ἔρχηται,
ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῆς ὀδηγοῦ καὶ τρικαικαδεκάτης τῶν ἐπινιμήσεων εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ
ψωμ[ικα]ρίου χώραν καὶ φροντίδα ἐπὶ τῶν σε παραμένει καὶ ὑπακούει εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ νομικοῦ φρόντισμα καὶ
μηδὲ μᾶς ἀπολιθθῆναι, καὶ εὔνειον ἐνηθῆς καὶ ἐδοξέων ὠδηγεῖ ἡμῖν καθ' ἠκατον ἐναυτὸν, ὡς ἔρχηται,
πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδρὰς ἀναλογίαν καὶ πάσαν ἀπόκρησιν παραχθέων ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸ ἀπειβάλλον
ἡμῶν μέρος καὶ μηδαμός ἀπολιθθῆναι, καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν οὖν ἡμέραν καὶ συνοφρονεῖται καὶ ἠκατον ἐναυτὸν,
ὁ νομικός ἐξετάζει ἡμέραν ἀπλη ἐγκατά, καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖται ὁμολογηθεῖσα. (m. 2) + Ἀυρήλιος Ἰωάννης
Πάτρικος καὶ Νειλάς Σερήνου οἱ προγεγραμμένοι ἀναδεχόμενοι καὶ
τὴν γνώμην τῶν ἃ]骧]ὐλον ὁμοκομητῶν
πεποιημένα τὴν ἐνομασίαν τοῦ νομικοῦ καὶ εὔνειον ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα
ὡς πρόκειται. Ἀυρήλιος Γερμανὸς Ἰωάννου ἀξιωθεὶς ἐγγραφα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γράμματα μὴ εἰδότων.
Back, downwards along the fibres:

+ ὁνομ(αία) τοῦ νομικ(αρίου) τῶν ἀπὸ κώμ(ής) Τακόνα.

1 λαμπρόθεν, δηλοθε, ἀρχής, ὀφυρωχής 2 ἱωαννοῦ, Ἰ. Πατρύοτος 3 ὁμοκομητάων 8 ἱ. παραμείναι
9 ἱ. ἀπολειφθήναι 10 ἱ. ἱδικτιών 1. ἱδικτιών 11 ἱ. πρῶτο 12 ἱ. ἀπόκρισιν
13 ἱ. ἀπαλειφθήναι, ἱ. ἱαμύλλων 14 ἱωαννης 15 Ἰ. Πατρύοτος 17 ἱ. πρῶτεσται, ἅξωθεις
18 ὁνομα(τ), νομικ(α), κοινός

‘After the consulship of Flavius Marcianus, ur clarissimus, and of the consul to be designated, Pachon
14, 11th indiction year, beginning of the 12th (epinemei), at Oxyrhynchus.’

'The council of the inhabitants of Takona in the Oxyrhynchite nome, through us, Johannes son of
Patbos and Ninus son of Serenus, who guarantee also the opinion of their other fellow villagers, to Aurelius
Anuphius son of Theodorus, through you, his father Theodorus son of Megas also called Didymus, from
the city of the Oxyrhynchites, nomicarius, greetings. As the cycle (has come?) for us to nominate the nomicarius
according to the proportionate share falling to our village, we have, after coming to terms (?) and reaching
agreement, nominated you the afore-mentioned Anuphius, through your father Theodorus, for the twelfth
and thirteenth epinemesis for the same position and duty of nomicarius on condition that you stay and fulfil
the duty of nomicarius without falling short in any way; and it has been agreed and decided that we shall
pay you in each year for the twelfth and thirteenth indictions as salary, in addition to the so-called
subvention, twenty-six gold solidi, in order that you pay the taxes and do all that a nomicarius has to do
and carry out all payment for us according to the share that falls to us, without falling short in any way;
and for your security we have issued this nomination to you, which is valid and has been written in one
copy, and in answer to the formal question we have given our assent.'

(2nd hand) ‘We, the Aurelii Johannes son of Patbos and Ninus son of Serenus, the afore-mentioned,
who guarantee (represents?) also the opinion of our other fellow villagers, have made the nomination of the
nomicarius and agree to all the terms set out above, as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Germanus son of Johannes,
have written on request for them as they are illiterate.'

Back. (1st hand?) ‘Nomination of the nomicarius of the people from the village of Takona.’

1 This is the first papyrus document certainly dated in 473, the year of the fifth consulship of the
western emperor Leo I. It is, however, dated post consulatam Fl. Marciani, after the consulship of the eastern
consul of 472; the consul of the West, Flavius Festus, the last consul appointed by a western emperor, was
not recognized in the East. For Flavius Marcianus see PLRE II 717–8.

It has been argued in R. S. Bagnall etc., The Consuls of the Later Roman Empire 683, cf. 481, that P. Lond.
III 869 descr., published by G. Parassoglou in Mneme G. Petropoulos ii 203–6, should be restored with the
form exemplified here and dated to 14 September 473.

The formula ‘indiction x, ἀπὸ ἱς of x + i’ appears to be peculiar to Oxyrhynchus, see R. S.
Bagnall, K. A. Worp, The Chronological Systems 20 ff., who state (p. 26), ‘where this phrase occurs and the
second number is not followed by any word for indiction, the date is after 1 July. From this we think it
safe to conclude that such double indictional dates refer to the date of the delegatio, the Egyptian indiction
properly speaking, and that the double date thus joins the Thoth and July reckonings’. The present text
shows, however, that the second part of the formula (ἀπὸ ἱς) of x + i) must refer to the Pachon indiction, i.e.
to the prædèlægatio, as ἐπωνυμία does in 1 140 11 and XVI 1966 10.

3 [ἀν]δεξιήμουνον ἅγιαι τὰς γνώμαις they ‘guarantee’ the opinion or decision of their fellow villagers,
i.e. they guarantee that the other villagers support their decision. Cf. PSI I 145, 2, XII 1239, 3 (both fifth
century), BGU XII 2180, 3, P. München I 14, 11, 100 (both sixth century).

4 Aurelius Theodorus son of Megas also called Didymus, is again attested as nomicarius at Oxyrhynchus
in 494 (3986) and in 498 (XIX 2237), possibly also in P. Lond. 45, 1 (fifth/sixth century).

5 Probably [ὑπ]αρχόντος rather than [ὑπ]άρχοντος. Whatever the verb may have been, κόμλον
suggests a system of rotation under which the villages took it in turns to nominate a nomicarius. For a similar
system of rotation which operated among the tribes of Oxyrhynchus at the beginning of the third century
see the introduction to XLIII 3095.
3985. NOMINATION OF A NOMICARIUS


11 ἐπικοινωνία normally means ‘support’, as in P. Abinn. 63. 42, SB IV 7438. 7 and XXXI 2611 22, but seems to be a special levy in P. Cai. Isid. 11. 27 (AD 312).

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3986. FRAGMENT OF CONTRACT BETWEEN OFFICIALS

65 6B.34/J (1–2)a 9.8 × 15 cm 8 March 494

The papyrus is complete on three sides but torn off at the bottom. It has a vertical kollesis at c. 2 cm from the right hand margin. The back is blank.

The heading, consisting of a date by post-consulship, month and day, and indication, followed by the place of issue, ἐν Ὡξυρύχχαον πόλει, is clearly that of an ordinary contract, but the parties hold interesting official positions. Two officers (primicerii) of the quaestionarii on the staff of the praeses of the province of Arcadia address Theodorus, the nomicarius of the Oxyrhynchite nome known from 3985 (AD 473) and XIX 2237 (AD 498). The document breaks off even before this prescript is finished. The two primicerii may be on the praeses’ staff at Heracleopolis, like the princeps in P. Mich. XI 613 (AD 415) and the exceptor in CPR XIV 12 (AD 450); even though Oxyrhynchus was the metropolis of Arcadia (see LI 3636 2 n.), the praeses stayed at Heracleopolis, at least temporarily, in the exercise of his office, see XVI 1878 as revised in LI p. 48. The praesidial lodging, τοῦ ἀρχοντικοῦ καταγωγίου, at Heracleopolis is specifically mentioned in SB VI 9152. 9 (AD 492) and is alluded to in CPR V 17. 8, see the note there on τὴν ἀρχοντικὴν παλαίαν. This praesidial lodging is analogous to the earlier palatia and praetoria to be found probably in all the main cities of Egypt and specifically attested for Antinoopolis, Arsinoe, Hermopolis, Oxyrhynchus, Panopolis, see A. Łukaszewicz, Les édifices publics 177–8, and Memphis, see LV 3788 4.

Quaestionarii are attested in the officia of provincial governors, see most conveniently Ramsay MacMullen, Soldier and Civilian 66–7. Those previously attested at Oxyrhynchus were probably from the staff of the praeses Arcadiae, like the present ones, see SB I 2253. 5, τοῖς κέκκουμαρίοις (Byzantine), and XVI 2050 2, κέκκουμαρί (sixth century), both in lists of supplies or entitlements to allowances in kind. The Hermopolite landholder described a κέκκουμαρία in P. Herm. Landl. G 147 (p. 32), F 366 (p. 75) (mid fourth century), is most likely to have been on the staff of the praeses Thebaidos. For the function of quaestionarii as judicial torturers see 9–10 n. In the present text primicerii quaestionariorum appear for the first time; they would have been the highest ranking members of their section (schola).
After the 2nd consulsip of Flavius Eusebius, vir clarissimus, Phamenoth 12, 2nd indiction, at Oxyrhynchus.

'The Flavii Serenus son of Anubion and Ptolemaeus son of Phoebammon, from Heracleopolis, primicerii of the quaestionarii of the praesidial office of the province of Arcadia, who are staying here in the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhychites, to Aurelius Theodorus son of Megas also called Didymus of discreet memory, nomicarius, from Oxyrhynchus ...'

1 χιε. Cf. 4008 i n.
2-3 See R. S. Bagnall, etc., The Consuls of the Later Roman Empire 523, cf. 513, 525, 527.
9-10 primicerioi τῶν κυκκεσσωναρίων (I. primicerioi τῶν κυκκεσσωναρίων). The iotacism in primicerii is of a not uncommon type, see F. T. Gignac, Grammar ii 264-5; the transliteration of quaestionarius seems to have given trouble, since the expected κοινικοταόερασ has not yet appeared. Instead qu is represented by kv here as in XVI 2050 2 κυκκεσσωναρίοι and in P. Herm. Landl. G 147 (p. 32), F 366 (p. 75) κυκκεσσωναρίων, while u is omitted in SB I 2253. 5 κυκκεσσωναρίων, cf. Gignac, op. cit. i 225-6, esp. §5(f), ce is represented by ε, cf. ibid. 192-3; st is reduced to cc, a phenomenon which is not uncommon, cf. P. Pet. 10. 6 n.; here i is retained correctly as iota, but in the other places it is lost, as frequently before a back vowel, cf. ibid. 304.

The primicerii of the quaestionarii have not occurred before, but perhaps that is not surprising when the quaestionarii themselves are so rare; they were presumably at the top of their section of the praesidial staff, cf. XVI 1901 8οι ρυμικεροί συμβουλευκρινόι, P. Mers. II 95, 3 π. τῶν εἰμιχολαρίων, P. Mich. XIV 689, 1, 3, 4 π. τῶν ἐξεκτούρων. It seems more surprising that they are in the plural; usually a primicerius in the head of his section or of the whole officium, see e.g. A. H. M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire i 599.

Not very much is known about quaestionarius: they are attested as members of the officia of provincial governors, see Ramsay MacMullen, Soldier and Civilian 66-7, and as principales in the legions, see D. J. Breeze,
Bonner Jahrbücher 174 (1974) 275. R. Cagnat in C. Darenberg, G. Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités IV i 797. Cagnat is reluctant to call them simply torturers, but this was at least a popular perception, cf. G. Goetz, Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum II 256. 11 questionarius baculorum ὑπηρέτης, II 591. 6 qu. plagiarus, flagellator, plagitor (l. plagator?), V 623. 54 qu. (a)estitor qui praestit prosequendis (l. perferit) qu.aestionibus, cf. V 326. 45 qu. (a)estioni: inquisitionem cum tormentis; more vivid is the bilingual text with an account of a schoolboy’s day followed by another of business in the forum, see A. C. Dionisotti, JRS 72 (1982) 105... consendit index tribunal et sic uoce praeconis iubet sisti personas, reus sistitur, latro interrogatur, secundum merita torquetur, quaestionarius pulsat ei pectus, vexatur, suspenditur 

pent poena, ducitur ad gladium’. The Greek for quaestionarius here is βασιλέστης, a version of βαι,

The original text probably goes back to the fourth century, see ibid. pp. 123–5. Note too H. Delehaye, Les Martyrs d’Égypte 191 (ch. 14) ἄρταγγελε δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν κυκτοκοραλῶν ἄνω ἀνεφές καὶ ἔλετο. These torturers were attributed by the author of the martyrdom to the staff of Satrius Arrianus, praeses of the Thebaid c. AD 305–7.

12–13 τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ. This title of Oxyrhynchus disappears, as D. Hagedorn has shown, ZPE 12 (1973) 285–6, with note 31, rather abruptly at the beginning of the sixth century, the latest attestations being in XVI 1960 5 (AD 511) and P. Lond. V 1797 (AD 516?).

14–15 Ἔργανες see introd.

14–15 Ἔργανες καὶ ἐργαταὶ. This phrase is typical of church officials, cf. LVIII 3958 12–15 n.

16 γομμακαρίῳ. On the duties of this official see the introduction to 3985.

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guild notified of the nomination, see 2 n. The representatives may have been the secretaries (κεφαλαίωτα) of the guild; in 14 the subscription of only one of them survives, Aurelius Isak; the rest has broken off.

+ ὑπατεύεις Φλαουίων Ὀρέστου καὶ Ἀβινοῦ τῶν λα]μπτάτων,
Φαμενώθ κε, ἵδικ(τίωνοι) 1, ἐν Ὀξυρύγχ(ων) πόλει.

35–40 letters ταύ]της τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ὀξυρύγχωτῶν πόλεως
παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ
tῶν λευκαντῶν τῆς αὐτῆς Ὀξυρύγχωτῶν πόλεως]ς δὲ ἡμῶν τῶν
παρόντων καὶ ξε[ις ὑπογράφοντων
c. 20 letters ἀναδεχομένων καὶ τούς] ἡμῶν ὁμοέργους
ἐμμένοντες εἰς ἡμῶν τοῖς ἔξ[ής ὑποστα-
γμέ]νοι[ς]... ...[c. 20 letters προσ]άγματος τοῦ τά πάντα
μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου καὶ σοφοτάτου κοινοῦ

ἡμῶν ἄρχοντος ἐμφαν[εός]θεύντος ἡμ[ίων c. 15 letters ]φιας
παρακελεύομενον καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς πληρών[τας
tὴν ἐργασίαν τῶν λευκαντῶν προβολῆν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ ὑφίλοντος ἐξ
ἡμῶν υπεισεδειν τὸ τοῦ πρωτοδημόσου

φροντίς μα ἐπὶ τῆς εὐτυχοῦς ἐνδεκάτης ἐπινεμήσεως, τοῦ καιροῦ
ἐνεστηκότος φῶ[θῳ δουλεύουσα τοῖς περὶ τούτον

φοβερῶς προστατηγμένοις ὑψ' ἐν γενόμενοι καὶ μιᾶς κρατήσαντες
γνώμης ἐπιλεξάμενοι δομιάζομεν καὶ εἰσαγελλόμεν

10 ἰδίω ἡμῶν κατόρθωσι καὶ τιμῆματι Ἀὐρήλιου Θεόδωρον υἱὸν Μαξίμου
ὁμότεχου ἡμῶν ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως

ὁμόμενον πρωτοδημότην ἰκανόν ὠντα δυνάμενον τὴν τοιαύτην
ἐγχειρεθείαν αὐτῷ παρ' ἡμῶν τοῦ 'πρωτοδημότ[ου

λειτουργείαν ἐξεανύει ἐπὶ τῆς μνημονευθείσης ἐνδεκάτης ἐπινεμήσεως
προσκυνόντως, ὥς καὶ ἐξεγγυώμενοι
ἐπὶ ἰκανότητι ἐπιζητοῦμεν[ον ...]. φυγομεν κ[αί] παραδώκομεν ἐξ
ἀλληλεγγύης ἐν δημοσίως τόπῳ. κυρ[ία] ἡ ὁνομασία
ἀπλὴ (?) γραφεία καὶ ἐπερωτηθῆνες ὑμιλολογήσαμεν. m. 2 Α]ὐρήλιος
Ἰσακ υ[δ]ς Ἰωάννου λευκ[αί]τῆς ... ...[}
3987. NOMINATION OF A PROTODEMOTES

Back, downwards along the fibres:

15 (m. 1?) ] ὄνομ(α)ς Θεοδ[ώρου
] Ὀξυρυχ( ) γενομ. (εν).

1 ὀνάκο(ii), Ὀξυρυχ
 wealthiest
to the sheikhs, 3 ὑπογραφωτόν 4 ὑποστια 5 ισοφωτάτου 7 ὁ διάκονος;
9 ὑφι 10 ἰδιό, νιν 11 ἰκανον 12 ἱεροτριχίαν 13 ἱκανοτητα
14 ιο(α)κ 15 ὀνόματι 16 Ὀξυρυχενωρ

("In the consulship of Flavius Orestes and Flavius Avienus, (n) clarissimi, Phamenoth 25, 10th indiction, in Oxyrhynchus. (To NN magistrate) of this splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, from the guild (of the bleachers of the same city of Oxyrhynchus), represented by us who are present and whose subscriptions follow below, (...who pledge also) our colleagues who abide, together with us, by what is set out below. (Having received from you a copy?) of the edict of our in all matters most magnificent and most wise common praeses, which has been brought to our notice (through a letter in your own hand?), which orders us who carry out the trade of bleachers to make a proposal of one of our number who is due to enter the charge of protodemotes during the auspicious eleventh indiction, as now the time has come, we, in fear and obedience to what has been authoritatively decreed in this respect, having come to an accord and a unanimous decision, have chosen and nominate and announce at our own risk and liability Aurelius Theodorus son of Maximus, a colleague of ours coming from our city, as a suitable protodemotes, able to carry out the said liturgy of protodemotes that we have entrusted to him for the aforementioned eleventh indiction as is fitting, and we vouch for his suitability and when he is requested we shall ... and produce him under mutual surety in a public place. The nomination, written in one copy (or more?), is valid, and in answer to the formal question we gave our assent."

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Isak son of Ioannes, bleacher, ...'

1 As the handwriting suggests a date in the later fifth or the earlier sixth century, Phamenoth 25 of a tenth indiction year could be 21 March 457, 472, 487, 502, 517, or 532. Of these years 532 is the only one where two clarissimi (Ἀποτάχων) appear as consuls at the right time of year; hence the restoration given in the text, which seems sufficient for the fit space. The consuls of 502, Probus and Avienus, appear in the papyri as a pair only towards the end of the year. Earlier Probus, the eastern consul, is mentioned alone, see R. S. Bagnall, APF 29 (1983) 30, id. et al., The Consuls of the Later Roman Empire 539.

2 Who is the addressee of this text? The deeds of surety P. Strassb. I 46–51 (ad 566) are addressed τῇ δημοκρίτου ἀγορᾷ τῷ δημοκρίτου λόγῳ of Antinoe, represented by the town clerk (ἀρχιμητήριος). In our text, however, a supplement along these lines would be too long for the available space which seems sufficient for a name and one or two titles. The Εὐγέρων P. Laur. II 27 (ad 487–91) is addressed to Φλ. Ἐπιστραγῶν ... προτεσταται τῆς [Ἀρχιμητῶν πολεως], and in Stud. Pal. XX 128 the same official is concerned with a problem arising from an ἑγγάζη. προτεσταται is not an official title but a general and informal designation of the highest dignitary representing the city, cf. XVI 1983 2–4, Stud. Pal. XX 146, and the editor’s note on Pap. Lugd. Bat. XIII 13. 1.

2–3 παρά τοῦ κοινοῦ [τῶν λεικαντῶν τῆς αὐτῆς Ὀξυρυχείας πόλεως] would fill the space.

3 παράτων καὶ λέξει ὑπογραφοῦν: guilds seem to have had two κεφαλαιασταί, so they may be the guild’s representatives here. This would appear likely if we knew that there was only one other subscription after that of Aurelius Isak (14). If so, one could supply, e.g. [τοῦ κοινοῦ κεφαλαιαστῶν ἀναδεχομένων καὶ του] at the beginning of line 4.

5 In the next line παρακελεύομεν suggests a noun (neuter or masc. accusative) with which [προετ.ἀγάματος could be connected, e.g. δεξάμενος παρά εὐν οὐν ἀντίγραφον προετ.ἀγάματος κτλ.

5 ἀρχιμητος the praeses, see XVI 1829 2 n.

6 ἐμπαιξ[ε]ντιστὸς ἡμίν διὰ τῆς τῆς ἱερας ἱερας]βίας?

6–7 τοις πληροίστω τὴν ἑρακλῆαν τῶν λεικαντῶν presumably means ‘those who fulfill, i.e. exorcise, the trade of bleachers’, rather than ‘those who fill, i.e. make up the number of, the guild of bleachers’, since the guild is called κοινός, not ἑγγάζη, in line 2.
This title has occurred in few documents: XIV 1730 4 (IV), XXVII 2480 18 (VI), Stud. Pal. XX 227, 11 (VI/VII), P. Merton II 95, 2 (where the editors translate 'chief of the ward'). The present text makes it clear that it was a liturgy of one year's duration. The wording of this line seems to suggest that each guild had to nominate one of its members for the liturgy; it seems possible, however, that not every guild had to do this every year, but that they took turns.

A. D. E. Cameron, Circus Factions 42 points out that Latin populus, with which he equates δήμος (43-4), is the standard term for the rank and file members of a guild, which explains the use of the term πρωτοδημότης in this case for what is evidently a representative of the guild of λευκαντά. What remains to be discovered is the context in which he represented it.

The liturgy has been 'entrusted' to Theodorus by his colleagues. PSI XII 1265 and P. Rainer Cent. 122 are examples of nominations of guild members by their colleagues. The κοινός of the villagers in 3985 operated on a similar pattern.

This verb is not otherwise attested in the papyri.

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IV. PRIVATE LETTERS

3988. Besarion to Hieracion

Besarion writes from Alexandria to Hieracion, his ‘brother’, that is, to a man of roughly the same age and status as himself, cf. LV 3813–15 introd., and note 3992 2, 34, where the recipient is ‘brother’ in the prescript and ‘friend’ in the address. Hieracion evidently resided in Oxyrhynchus or its neighbourhood. Besarion reports that he tried to deliver a letter to a man called Valerius, who had left Alexandria on the very same day as Besarion arrived. He left the letter to be forwarded to Valerius, who was expected to return to Oxyrhynchus and tell his own story to Hieracion.

Besarion also reports the successful delivery of something to an unnamed poet in Alexandria; a patch of damage prevents us from knowing what it was. This literary touch comes from a writer whose writing is clear but not fluent, and certainly not elegant, and whose spelling and morphology are characteristic of the colloquial Greek of the period, see commentary. Presumably this was Besarion himself rather than a professional scribe; note that the farewell, line 20, is in the same hand as the rest. The letters are rarely ligatured and rather clumsily formed; there are frequent alterations of one letter to another. Such hands are difficult to date; in the absence of definite early or late features this one may be assigned tentatively to the second century, without excluding either the late first or the early third.

A sheet-join running vertically very close to the right edge shows that the writing runs along the fibres of the recto of the roll from which the piece for the letter was cut. A damaged address in one, or possibly two, lines runs downwards along the fibres of the back. Its position, about 2.5 cm from the edge which is the right hand one as viewed from the front, shows that the letter was rolled up from the left hand edge, contrary to the usual practice, which imitated that of longer rolls; they put the right edge inside so that the first column comes into view as soon as the closed roll begins to be unrolled. Our letter was then squashed flat, the exposed right hand edge was tucked inside to protect it, and a centrally placed binding was put round the resulting flat package. Then the address, in two sections divided by the binding, was written on one side and a saltire pattern was inked over the binding so that any tampering with it would be detectable.

\[ \text{Besa} \text{rio} \text{w} \text{ } \text{Ie} \text{ra} \text{k} \text{io} \text{n[1] } \tau \text{o } \text{δ} \text{e} \text{l-} \phi \omega \text{ } \text{π} \text{λe} \text{i} \text{sta} \text{ } \text{χα} \text{i} \text{r} \text{e} \text{n}. \text{ } \text{π} \text{ρ} \text{o } \text{μ} \text{ε} \text{n } \text{παν-} \text{t} \text{ω} \text{n } \text{αυχομαί } \text{ce } \text{υ} \text{για} \text{i} \text{e} \text{n}. \text{ } \text{ευθέ-} \text{ω} \text{c } \text{παραγενάμενος } \text{έν } \text{Αλεξαν-} \text{дрεία } \text{πρός } \text{τών } \text{Οναλέρω } \text{άπελ-} \]
PRIVATE LETTERS

Back, downwards along the fibres:

ἀπὸ Βησαρίωνος (design) Ἱερακίων...

5 πρὸς: π corresp. from α; 1. Ὀδαλέρων; απελ.: λ corresp. (from ε?) 5-6 1. ἄπηλθα 7 1. ἐκδηδημηκέναι
8 1. ἐπιστάλων; αὐτῷ: ν corresp. 12 Διόδωρος: δ corresp.; ὁκεφ.: κ corresp. 16 Сεράπιδος: ε corresp. from α
18 πρὸ[εκ] ίνημα: μ corresp. (from αε?) 20 1. ἔρρωσο

'Besarion to Hieracion, his brother, very many greetings. Before all else I pray for your health. As soon as I got to Alexandria I went off to Valerius, but they tell me that today he has left town. They accepted the letter, so as to send it to him in the country. The rest you will learn from him. Greet... and... and Diodorus and everyone in the household. I have also delivered to the poet... 26 (or 26th?). Do write to me about whatever you need. By the will of Serapis I have been pretty comfortable and I made obeisance for you, as I said, and for everyone. Farewell!'

Back: 'From Besarion to Hieracion...'

4 παραγενέμενος. On the replacement of the second aorist endings by those of the first, which is frequent, see F. T. Gignac, Grammar ii 335-345; for this verb esp. 344. Cf. below 5-6, 7-8 n.n.


5-6 ἄπηλθα = ἄπηλθα. Interchange of η and ε (or αι) is attested, see Gignac i 242-9, but there is no example of its occurrence in these precise conditions, i.e. accented and before a liquid, see ibid. 243-4. Perhaps the writer had another wording in mind at first, e.g. ἄπελθαν πρὸς τὸν Ὀδαλέρων ἔγνω... For the first aorist ending cf. 4 n.

7 ἐκδηδημηκέναι = ἐκδηδημηκέναι. Both phonetic changes are common: for assimilation of κ to γ before δ see Gignac i 174, cf. 3989 6-7 n., for αι = ε ibid. 193.

7-8 ὕλαβαν. Cf. 4 n.
3988. BESARION TO HIERACION

8 ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ διάβολον. Cf. 5 n.

Double conjunctions are not uncommon in the papyri, cf. H. C. Youtie, ἹΕΠ 23 (1976) 109 n. line 8; for this one cf. SB VIII 1069. 11 (AD 79/80), P. Petraus 26. 3-4 (AD 183-7), P. Mich. VIII 595. 4 (II/III), PSI XIV 1421. 4 (III), P. Ant. I 93. 6 (IV), SB XIV 12085. 9 (V), XVI 1936 15 (VI/VI), PSI XII 1345. 6 (VI/VII), P. Apoll. 65. 7 (VII).

9 ἔφανον. For this sense of the word, meaning Egypt as the hinterland of Alexandria and contrasted with it, see U. Wilcken, Grundzüge 34.

13 παράλληλον. Cf. PSI IV 388. 13, 19, 31 (244/3 BC), OGIS I 35. 31, 32, 37 (II BC), BGU XIV 2433. 5; 2433. 31 (I BC), SB I 595 (II), SB VIII 10068. 3 (II/III), P. Oslo I 186. 13 (III), XXII 2338 passim (AD 261/2-288/9); revised by R. A. Coles, ἹΕΠ 18 (1975) 199-204), SB XIV 11729. 5 (AD 348). For poetic contests in Graeco-Roman Egypt see P. M. Fraser, JEA 45 (1959) 80. The young poets of 2338 competed at Naucratis, see R. A. Coles loc. cit.

13-14 It is not quite clear whether what was delivered to the poet was a letter, as often with this verb, or possibly money. In the first case the number at the end of line 14 might be the date of delivery, the 26th of some month, in the second it might be the amount.

16-19 For the practice of the obeisance see G. Geraci, Aegyptus 51 (1971) 3-211, esp. 172-9 for Sarapis as the god especially associated with Alexandria.

20 ἔρροτον = ἔρροτον. Cf. Gignac i 275-7 for interchange of α and ο, which is very frequent, cf. 3989 6 n.

21 Ἀρταδίας Ἡθορίωνος cf. 3991 32, 3992 34. Much more common in addresses is παρ. F. Ziemann, De epistularum Graecarum formulis 280, says that ἀποσ so used occurs especially in the letters of the uneducated, but this is not a sufficient explanation. In particular 3992 seems not to be the letter of a totally uneducated person.

21-2 The traces are very scanty. In 22, where a strip of verso fibres is lost, it is not clear whether the writing might have extended further to the right. We rather expect διδαχή somewhere here, see 1-2, but it has not been recognized.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

3989. Lycarion to Plutarchus

47 5Β.4b/C(3-4)a 16.5 x 21.5 cm Second century

Lycarion, a former gymnasiarch of Oxyrhynchus, writes to Plutarchus, a priest, entirely about business matters, the sale of non-laying pigeons, the manufacture of a new boat, and the successful sale of wine. Apart from this there is only the exchange of greetings.

The hand is a neat, fluent, cursive, sloping slightly to the right, and bearing enough resemblance to W. Schubart, Papyri Graecae Berolinenses No. 23 (AD 144) and No. 26a (AD 159/60) to be assigned with reasonable confidence to the second century.

The pattern of damage and the position of the address on the back show that the letter was packaged to be sent in the normal way, that is, it was rolled up with the right edge inside and squashed flat; the exposed left edge was tucked inside to protect it; the flat package was tied with a binding round the middle, over which a design was inked—on one side of the package only in this case—and the address was written along the fibres, downwards in relation to the letter, in two halves separated by the binding.
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Ἀυκαρίων Πλοντάρχωι τῶι

up to 20 letters χ]α[ἐρεῖν

traces of two lines

περιστεραί μὴ τίκτωις πραθήτωσαν.

ἐγραφέν μοι Σαράπας ὅπως ὀφ[ε]λεν ἐγάδο-

θήναι πάκ[ὲ]νιν καινὼν, εὐθέως ὠν ἐγόδος.


ὁρα οὖν μὴ [ἄμ]ελη[η]ξ, ἐπεὶ χρεία ἐστίν αὐ-

τοῦ εἰς τὸ [ο] χ[ῶ] μ[ᾶ] τὸ περὶ Ποσομπώος τῷ κα-

ρῷ τῆς ὑδροφυλακίας. καλῶς ἐποίησας

τῶν οἴνων ἐμπ[ὲ]ρ[ό] τοῦ κῶς πωλῆσας καὶ μὴ κο-

τυλίσας. αἀπάξον τὰ παιδία σου καὶ τὴν

ἀδελφήν. ἀ]σπάζεσαι ὑμᾶς Ἄπολλονία.

ἐρρόδχαι ἐς εἰθχομαί, τιμιώ-

tατε.


Back, downwards along the fibres:

Πλοντάρχωι ἑρεῖ φίλωι (design) ἄπαρα Ἀυκαρίωνος

γυμνασιαρχής (εαντός) 'Οξυρ (οὐχιτῶν).

6 1. ὀφεῖλεν, ἐκδο-

7 1. ἐκδος 18 ἑρεῖ: γυμνασιαρχής (οξυρ) (no mark)

'Lycarion to Plutarchus ..., greetings. ... (if?) the pigeons are not laying, they are to be sold. Sarapas wrote me that a new boat should be put out to contract. So put it out right away. Sarapas will tell you the measurements. See that you are not negligent, because there is need of it for the dyke at Posompoys at the season of the water control. You did well to sell the wine wholesale and not piecemeal. Greet your children and sister. Apollonia greets you. I pray for your health, my valued friend.'

'Farewell! Phamenoth 21st.'

Back: (1st hand?) 'To Plutarchus, priest, friend, from(?) Lycarion ex-gymnasiarch of the Oxyrhynchites.'

2–4 There is no obvious explanation for the faintness of the remains of writing in these three lines, where the surface damage does not look particularly severe. The traces of χ]α[ἐρεῖν are minimal, but the remains in 3–4 are extensive enough to show that the letter proper began with line 3 and that the prescript ended with 2. In 2 we need something to go with the dative article in 1, e.g. φίλω or ἑρεῖ, cf. 18, or τιμωτᾶσα, cf. 15–16. There were probably spaces between the words as in 1, so that it is unlikely that it has lost as many as the twenty letters for which there might be room. Before χ]α[ἐρεῖν, which is inevitable however the traces are identified, something like σωλά or πλάστα might have intervened.

6 ἐρεῖ. Cf. LSJ s.v. Α.Α.Ι. 'sometimes used to introduce the substance of a statement'.


6–7 ἐγαδοθῆναι = ἐκδοθῆναι, ἐγόδος = ἐκδος. Cf. 3988 7 n.
The meaning of ἐκδοθῶμε here seems to be ‘give out to contract’, that is, a new boat was to be ordered from a boatbuilder. The clearest parallel appears in connection with the clothing levy required from the weavers by the government, see P. Phil. 19, 17–21 (duplicated in BGU VII 1372, 15–16), ὑπὸ τὸν ἐκδοτόμον ἱματικοῦ ἀπαρτίσωμεν καὶ παραδώμενα καὶ μᾶλτα ὅτι ἐπικαίνιτα ἴματε εἶπον ἰμάτιον ἱματικοῦ ἐξος, ἵν τάλιν ἵματα ἀπαρτίσασθε δεῖκτε, ‘... so that we may complete and deliver the clothing given out to contract, especially because there has been imposed on us a contract for another state clothing levy, which it will again be necessary for us to complete’. Cf. P. Coll. Youtie I 16, 29a–30a n., on ἵματα ἵματα. A clear instance in a private context is given by SB XVI 12649, 3. Other probable, but less clear, instances are VIII 1153, XXXI 2593, 17–21, XLIX 3078, 28–9, P. Fuad I Univ. 10, 10.

7 πάντων. Cf. LV. 3866, 2 n. for this type of boat.

10 πᾶρ᾽ ὑπομονῆς. Although very little ink survives, the restoration is suggested by the very frequent references to ἄρβαρον ἱμάτων, e.g. P. Fuad I Univ. 21, 23, IV 729, 7, XIV 1700, 17, XLIX 3498, 30, LI 3638, 24, LI 3639, 16, P. Wisc. 19, 26.

Ποικίλλεις. Cf. P. Pruneti, I centri abitati 153–4. The genitive Ποικίλλεις implies that ov is not a diphthong, but the declension seems to vary.

τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἄρβαρον ἱμάτων. This presumably refers to the inundation period, beginning ideally in mid-July, when the dykes were in special need of guarding. The letter is dated to 17 March, see 17. On private ἄρβαρον ἱμάτων see M. Schnebel, Die Landwirtschaft 63–4, and the present passage looks as if it concerns a private matter, although there was a liturgy described in the same terms, see N. Lewis, The Compulsory Public Services (Pap. Flor. XI) 50.

12 θεωρηθῇ. Cf. Strabo 8, 6, 16 ad fin., writing on Aegina: ἔμπροσθεν γὰρ γενέθη ἀπὸ τῆς λυστήτα τής χώρας, τῶν ἀθρότων ἐπιτυχιότυπον ἑμπορικά. This word fits the traces very well and, though it is not perfectly parallel with the Strabo passage, it can reasonably be taken to mean simply ‘wholesale’ in antithesis to κοτολίκεις, ‘selling by the pint’, cf. W. Chr. 311 (= P. Amh. II 92), 6–7, Stud. Pal. XXII 177, 25; oil is concerned in both cases; the noun κοτολίκεις also occurs in Stud. Pal. XXII 177. 23–4, 34; in P. Ryl. IV 692, 4 its restoration seems dubious. For κοτολίκεις in a more general sense, ‘sell retail, sell piecemeal’ see Arist. Oec. 1347b. 7–8 τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἔμπροσθεν καλὸν εἶχε μὴ κοτολίκεις, ἀλλ’ ἀδύνα τὰ φορτία πεπάθαι: St. Byz. 338, 5–6 πολυοῦς δὲ μόνοις τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἀδύνα τὰ φορτία παρὰ τῶν τεχνίτων ἀγοράζοντες αὐτὰ κατ’ ἄγγια καὶ κοτολίκεις τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν.

17 The repetition of the farewell is unexpected. One might have understood it, if the hand seemed to be that of the sender contrasting with the script of an amanuensis who wrote the letter, but the line does not really seem to be in a second hand. The initial epsilon is not like that of ἐπίπλεναι (15), but it is quite like the one in τιμοῦσα (15) and there is no perceptible change of hand or ink.

The date is equivalent to 17 March. It is not usual to specify the year in private letters later than the first century, but we might just envisage the possibility that ἔπροσθα was abbreviated enough to leave room for a regnal year number without the name of the emperor.

18 The address is written in a large upright clear hand and in a much more formal style, as is usually the case. The writer would presumably be the same.

Although this wording could be translated as it stands, the usual formulas of addresses strongly recommend the insertion of ἐπίπλεναι before the sender’s name.

Lycarion, ex-gymnasiarch of Oxyrhynchus, is not recorded in P. J. Sijpesteijn, Nouvelle liste des gymnasiarques. Aurelius Lycarion, gymnasiarch designate, seemingly of Heracleopolis, in the period AD 282–4, see ΣPE 20 (1976) 159–60, is irrelevant on account of date and place, nor has any record of a priest called Plutarcho yet been identified.

The design, which was drawn over the binding round the middle of the letter, see introd., was a saltire cut through the crossing by a horizontal line. The centre, which was on the missing binding, is now lost.

It is not clear how the final word was abbreviated, perhaps just by an oblique stroke, as often in abbreviations. There is a trace of ink at a high level to the right of the rho.

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This informal letter to a woman is written across the fibres on the back of a fragment of an account of grain in artabas, with beginnings of 16 lines in a rapid cursive with many abbreviations. There is no sheet join to prove that the letter is on the verso, but the usual practice strongly suggests that the account is written on the recto of the original roll and that a piece was cut from the account so that the letter could be written on the blank back. In line 5 of the account there is a symbol for aruras. The general impression is that of an official register, rather than a private memorandum. There is no address, evidently because the bearer, who is mentioned in the letter (3–4, 16–20), did not need one.

The script of the letter is fluent and legible. It may be compared with W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses* No. 23, particularly with the third hand, lines 22 ff.; that document is dated to AD 144, which allows us to assign the present one to the second century.

The sender, whose name is unfortunately lost in the only area of serious damage, seems to have been in a country district characterized by a dyke, in the company of a man from the region of Thebes. It is not clear whether they were connected with irrigation work on the dyke or with agricultural work in the neighbourhood. The bearer of the letter, who was also a Theban, was bringing bundles of vine prunings to the woman and was to receive money from her, perhaps in payment for them; he perhaps arrived, in company with others or another, in the boat which was to be handed over to a harbour guard, and the writer expected him to rejoin the other Theban and himself with bread and money sent by the woman. It is also mentioned that the letter carrier claimed to know about fishing, and that the writer wanted to receive information unspecified about the epistrategus.

This accumulation of tantalizing details without certain connections is typical of papyrus letters.
3990. TO APIA

10 βαίον ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι, ὥπεμφεις ἄρτων (δραχμά) ἐκα τῇ χαλκῷ.
ἀπάξομαι ζηρήν τὸν ἄδελφον καὶ Πτολεμαίον. περὶ τοῦ ἐπιστρατη-
γου δήλωσον μου ὄρφωθαί εὖ ἔχομαι, ἄδελφή.

15 κόμις αἱ παρὰ τοῦ Θηβαίου σάκ-
κον. δὲ πρὸ[ὁ] πρέφασιν ταξέως
ἐλθεῖν, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῷ χω-
ματι μέλλει ἡμεῖς μέγενι. φησὶ δὲ
εἴδειν καὶ ἱχθύας θήραν.

15 εὐχαριστοῦ λαμψω."
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7 δρυμοφόλακας. This official was a liturgist in the second and third centuries AD, see F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie* 269–70. N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* 41; cf. most lately P. Erasm. I 13. 2. the sole reference from the Ptolemaic period.

8–9 These details give a general idea of the boat, although the word ἕλεψις (7) already suggests that it was small, see L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship* 330, 333–6. It could be powered by one man at the two oars, but it also had a sail (ἀμφετέρων) and a pole (κόστάς). This word in boating contexts means a pole used for punting and fending off, see Casson, op. cit. 305, cf. 251 and n. 105. In the absence of specific mention of a mast it is not clear whether the sail was too small to need a timber big enough to merit the name of mast (κέρας) or yard (κέρας), but could be set up on the all purpose pole, or whether ἀμφετέρων, which basically means 'tackle, gear', from ἀμφετέρων, really included the mast and rigging.

11 ἀρτον (δραχμάς) δ. In spite of some damage the sign for drachmas, as above in 4, seems a more convincing reading than e.g. ξύλος, although pairs of loaves are common. For 4 dr. (worth) of loaves’ cf. e.g. SB VI 9026. 10–12 πεμύες ... ἐμοσον δραχμάς εἴκοσι, ‘... send 20 dr. (worth) of cotton’. For bread prices see A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt* 316. From the not too abundant evidence cited there it appears that a usual rate was 1 obol per loaf, so that dr. 4 would buy 24 loaves, or perhaps 28, if it was in the form of a silver tetradrachm.

χαλκόν. For ‘bronze’ = ‘money’ see WB s.v. χάλκος (4). The implication of this term rather than ἀργυρόν might be that a small amount was wanted, small change in bronze fractions of the silver tetradrachm.

13–14 ἔπτερατηρήσατο. On the office see J. D. Thomas, *The Roman Epistrategos*. The implication of this brief instruction can hardly be guessed.

19–20 Fishing might be a useful skill ἐπὶ τῷ χώματί, since the dyke might well be next to a canal, but the relevance even of that is doubtful.

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3991. Sarapias to Ischyrion

Sarapias wrote to her ‘brother’, cf. 3988 introd., in happy anticipation of his arrival for a festival, which may be identifiable with one known at Oxyrhynchus for the month of Tybi, in which the letter is dated, see 6 n., 30–31. She tells him that she will put off sending him supplies which she had intended for him, and in the most interesting passage tells him that his mother has made him a cotton tunic. Cotton is very rarely mentioned in the papyri, although there is evidence that it was grown to some small extent in Egypt, see 14 n.

This tall narrow letter is written on a strip cut from a roll which contained a register. Of this there remain the ends of twenty-two lines with names and amounts of grain in artabas; the top and foot of the column are preserved and the writing, a fluent cursive of the late second or early third century, runs along the fibres of what was no doubt the recto of the roll, although no sheet join is preserved to prove it. In the top half of the right margin stands the address, written downwards across the fibres of the recto. The letter is written the same way up across the fibres of the verso and is virtually undamaged. Its clumsier cursive writing appears to be of much the same date as the register, although it must be later by at least a short period.
The position of the address and the patterns of folding, blotting and damage, show how the letter was packaged for dispatch. The bottom half was folded up over the top so as to conceal the letter, the central crease running through line 15. The doubled sheet was rolled up with the right edge of the letter inside, squashed flat, and left edge was tucked inside to protect it. At this stage the outside of the package was nearly blank, because the recto text too was concealed except for the ends of a few lines long enough to project into the margin. The package was then closed by a binding round the middle, on one side a design was inked over the binding and the address was written in two halves separated by the binding. The design was a simple saltire, its lines retraced two or three times. The removal of the binding has removed the centre of the design.

Capaias Ἰσχυρίωνν

τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρε(ν)

λείαν ἐχάρην κο-

μισθέντων σου

tῶν γραμμάτων

ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἔορτήν

ἐρχομένου σου πρὸς

ἡμᾶς. πολλὰ δὲ σοι

ἐπιμήν', ἃ ἐμέλ-

λομεν πέμπειν,

ἐπέχομεν προς-

dοκώντες τὸν ἤν παροῦ'ξίαν.

τὸν χειτώνα σοι τὸν

ἐριῳ[ξ]υλον ἡ μήτηρ

σου κ[α]τεκενάσσαε.

ἐξητ[ο]μεν [ςοι] τὸν

dινάμενον κομίσαι

ἀσφαλῆ(ν). ἀσπάζεται

ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ Συν-

θοῶνις καὶ ὁ πατήρ

σου. ἀσπασαι Ἐπαφρό-

δείτον καὶ Δημήτριο(ν)

καὶ Ἡρακλείδην.

ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ γεγό-
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neimev ou meukrap,
pollw xronw
mu koumhdeut-
ton sau graham-
ton.

eerwoco. Ti?i

Back, downwards across the fibres:

apatol Sarapiadoe (design) Ioxrivov [1].

2 xarp 3 l. nax 21-2 l. Evaphroditon 23 l. mkrap

'Sarapias to Ischyrion brother, greetings. I was overjoyed when your letter was brought, because you are coming to us for the festival. A lot of supplies for the month which we had intended to send we held back in expectation of your visit. Your mother made you the cotton tunic. We were looking for someone reliable who could deliver it. Your mother and Sinthoonis and your father greet you. Greet Epaphroditus and Demetrius and Heracleides. We had been in no little anxiety because for a long time no letter of yours was delivered. Farewell. Tybi 16.'

Back. 'From Sarapias to Ischyrion.'

6 proe. For this sense, 'for', see F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Reiskopf, Grammatik 13 190 (§259. 7).

eretwv. In line 30-31 the letter is dated Tybi 16, 11 January, or 12 January in a leap year. There was a Greek festival connected with the gymnasion which took place c. Tybi 24, 19/20 January, see F. Perpillou-Thomas, 'La panégyrie au gymnase d'Oxyrhynchos', CE 61 (1986) 303-12, cf. IV 3812 18 n. This could well be the festival alluded to here.

9 ericmaw, Æ. For this harsh elision cf. F. T. Gignac, Grammar i 317 para. d.

12 tauo has been corrected to tavn parwvav; the end -efay, which is slightly below the original level of the line, is now extremely faint. We might expect also cou, but it does not seem to have been written. A large blot above the line just left of vouparou looks like a botched first attempt at the correction; this and a smaller blot above line 9 were offset on top of lines 19 and 22 when the letter was folded horizontally, see introd.

14 elphexulow. This is clearly regarded as an adjective *erohulov, 'made of cotton'. In P. Mich. VIII 500. 7 ta erohulva and SB VI 9026. 14-15 tavn erohulov might be plural of erohulov, 'cotton'. On cotton in Graeco-Roman Egypt see most recently G. Wagner, Les Oases d'Egypte 291-3, incorporating the evidence of O. Douch I 51 of the fourth or fifth century ad, recording weights of cotton allocated to women. The plant was grown in southern Egypt (P. Land. VII 142 ii 8, c. ad 164/5; Pliny, VH XIX 14, Pollux VII 75). The statement of Pollux that the cotton yarn was used as weft on a linen warp may receive support from two second century private letters, SB VI 9025. 31-2, where the writer says that she had not found a cotton tunic, but could have made it if her correspondent would send her the measurements and some warp, and SB VI 9026. 10-12 (cf. 14), where the writer asked for twenty drachmas worth of good cotton weft. On these letters see H. C. Youtie, Scriptaunculae Posteriores ii 665-74 (= AJP 65 (1944) 249-58). The other references are P. Lond. III 928. 1 (p. 190; 3rd cent., see BL I 288), where the context is fragmentary, and P. Mich. VIII 500. 7 (2nd cent.), where the restoration of the following sentence to imply that the cotton goods were to be sent from Rome does not convince. The new reference here does not change the impression that cotton was comparatively rare, see I. Celleris, ai proutai olo tis ypanourias 87-9, E. Wipszycka, L'Industrie textile 40-41. Celleris and Wipszycka prefer to think that most of these documents refer to cotton imported from India. They are perhaps not so numerous as to force us to resort to that
hypothesis, but there is other evidence for cotton exports from India to the West, see L. Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei* 292–3, cf. esp. 16–19.


22 Δημητριυς(ι). A tiny raised speck is interpreted as omicron, and in fact it looks quite like the tiny omicron of Ἐπάρφος above, but it could be a trace of a horizontal line, i.e. Δημητριυς(ι), cf. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 25–9, 3994 5 n.


30–31 Cf. 6 n.

32 For ἄστι in addresses cf. 3988 21 n., 3992 34.

For the design cf. introd., with 3988 introd., 3989 introd., 18 n.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

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**3992. Aelius Theon to Herminus**

This looks like the letter of a wooer to his prospective father-in-law, whom he calls his ‘friend’ in the address (34), but in the prescript (2) ‘brother’, which indicates that Herminus was a man of about his own age and of similar status, see 3988 introd. The beloved was ‘my lady your daughter Dionysia’, who receives greetings before her mother. Theon apologizes for not having sent some special delicacies (παραγμάτα) to Dionysia, ‘because the new ones have not yet been shipped in’. He promises to send some worthy of her when they do come, as well as anything else that he can. He tells Herminus that he makes her obeisance before Sarapis every day, adding ‘and yours and her mother’s’ as a polite afterthought. The obeisance to Sarapis is quite probably an indication that the letter comes from Alexandria, see G. Geraci, *Aegyptus* 51 (1971) 172–3.

Then come more greetings, the farewell and the date, Pachon 22, which is 17 May, but two more paragraphs follow, alluding to business matters which remain opaque for us.

There is a sheet join running vertically close to the middle, which proves that the letter is written on the recto of the roll from which this piece was cut. On the back, downwards along the fibres, is an address in two sections divided by a design of the common saltire pattern, which marks the spot where the letter was tied up for dispatch, cf. 3988 introd. ad fin.

The date is assessed on the basis of the writing, a firm and competent cursive, which may probably be safely assigned to the second century. Note also the nomen Aelius, which is most likely to derive in some way from a grant of citizenship by Hadrian or Pius, perhaps through manumission, directly or indirectly; see also 1 n.

The single accent in line 27, a circumflex on omega to draw attention to the first person of the subjunctive of the verb to be, is enough of a rarity in this context to deserve notice, cf. E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* No. 70.
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Αἶλιος Θέων Ἑρμύνω τῶι
ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν.
καὶ πρὸ ἡμερῶν ἐγραψά `σου ἀσπαζό-
μενός σε καὶ τὴν κυρίαν μου
θυγατέρα σου [Δί]ονυσίαν καὶ τὴν
μητέρα αὐτῆ[ς]. καὶ νῦν τὸ αὐτὸ
ποιῶ καὶ παρ[α]καλῶ εὐγγυνώναι
'μοι' εἰ μὴ πω τῇ 'αὐτῇ κυρίαι ἡμῶν πέ-
πομφα τραγημάτια. οὖπω γὰρ
τὰ νέα κατέπλευσαν. ὅταν δὲ
κατακομβηθη, πέμψω αὐτῇ[i].
άξια αὐτῆς κα[i] εἰ τ[ι] ἄλλο ἕἀν δύ-
νωμαι. έκάστη[ς μέν] τοι ἡμέρας
tὸ προσκύνημα αὐτῆς [π]οιῶ πα-
ρά τῶι θεῶι τωθε[..].τω[ς] κυρίως
Σαράπιδι καὶ σοῦ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς
αὐτῆς. ἀσπαζό[ν] σου ὃν αὐτῆν καὶ
tὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς, μεθ' ὃν ἐρρω-
εθαί σε εὐχόμαι εἰς μακροὺς χρόνους
καὶ ὅλωι σου τῶι οἰκω[i].
ἐρρω(co). Παχὼν κβ.
Διογάς ὁ ἐμὸς ἀνέπλευσαν, ἔπι
ποίαι αἱρεῖσθαι μεταδώσεις σοι
καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ μου καὶ Διονύσιος
ὁ νομογράφος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος
ὁ μελλογυμνασίαρχος, οἷς συλ-
λήψη, ἕἀν γε μῆ ὃ πεπλανη-
μένος. (vac.)
Σαραπιόδωρος ὁ φίλος ὁ ἐμπορος
πολλάκις με λυπήσας καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς
περὶ Διογάτος ἀντιδικεῖ μοι. τοῦτο
typeorm μαρτύρωμαι μόνον. οὐ γὰρ
ὑπομένων αὐτὸν μιμήσασθαι.
AELIUS THEON TO HERMINUS

Back, downwards along the fibres:

ἀπὸ Ἀελίου Θέωνος (design) Ἑρμίνων φίλου.

21 εἰρακότο 27 ὁ —

Aelius Theon to Herminus his brother, greetings. I also wrote to you a few days ago, saluting you and my lady your daughter Dionysia and her mother. I am doing the same now, and I beg you to excuse me if I have not yet sent this same lady of ours any dainties, because the new ones have not yet been shipped in; but when they are brought in I shall send her some worthy of her, along with whatever else I can. However, every day I make her obeisance before the god, the (...?) lord Sarapis, and yours and her mother’s. So greet her and her mother, and with them I wish you and your whole household good health for many years. Farewell! Pachon 22.'

'My Diogas sailed upstream, with what purpose my sister will inform you, as will Dionysius the district scribe and Ptolemaeus the gymnasiarch elect, all of whom you will assist, if I am not mistaken.'

'Sarapiodorus, my friend the merchant, who has often caused me grief, is now also opposing me in the matters relating to Diogas. This I am only drawing to your attention, since I cannot bear to imitate him.'

Back: 'From Aelius Theon to Herminus his friend.'

1 On the probable significance of the nomen Aelius see introd. para. 4. The name Aelius Theon is that of a rhetorician from Alexandria whose book of προγνωσκεφαρα has survived in large part, see Rhetores Graeci (Teubner, ed. L. Spengel) ii 59-130, cf. Suidas (Adler) I ii 702. 17, No. 206, RE VA coll. 2037-54. It is perhaps worth raising the possibility that the sender of the letter could be that man, since E. G. Turner, Greek Papyri 86-7, 92-3, has drawn attention to the signs of interest in literary studies at Oxyrhynchus and of contacts with Alexandrian scholarship; he suggested that the Alexandrian lexicographer Harpocration is to be recognized in some documentary papyri, as well as other less familiar scholars of the period.

9 πραγμάτα. The diminutive form occurs also in P. Mich. II 123 verso v 21, and in Anius Gellius, Noces Atticae VII 13. 12. A recent study of the meaning of πραγμάτα by E. Battaglia, E. 125-6, shows that they included cakes, although most of the things mentioned in the literary passages cited are fruits or nuts. See now also ΣΕ 86 (1991) 276, No. 13. 2.

10-11 κατέπληκεν, κατακομβή. In most Egyptian contexts these words would refer to a voyage northwards, down the Nile, see e.g. H. C. Youtie, Scriptiunculae i 493 (=Harvard Theological Review 41 (1948) 15) n. 36, cf. LSJ s.v. κατακόμβω I. 2, and note ἀνίπτερον in 22 referring to a voyage up the Nile towards Oxyrhynchus. In most non-Egyptian contexts they would refer to the import of goods by sea, see LSJ s.v. κατακομβή I. 4, 'import', κατακόμβω I. 1. In relation to Alexandria, where this letter was quite probably written, see introd. para. 1, either sense is possible, and there is some likelihood that Aelius Theon was promising to send a present of exotic delicacies, such as walnuts and pine kernels, see E. Battaglia, E. 125-6.

12-13 On the combination of εἰς τι with ἐὰν see H. Ljungvik, Zur Syntax der spätgriechischen Volksprache 16-17.

14-17 On the obeisances to Sarapis cf. introd. para. 1.

15 τῷ θεῷ τῷ θεοπάτῳ κυρίων. One possibility, favoured by the distance between οὐ and the upright trace of what must be the next letter, might be τῷ θεωτῷ τῷ θεοπάτῳ κυρίων, but the expression 'the god of gods, the lord Sarapis' is unfamiliar and does not immediately inspire confidence. A less bizarre possibility is that τῷ θεωτῷ was repeated by accident, but even so 'the god, the lord Sarapis' is also unparalleled.

20 καὶ δόλω σου τῷ άικώσι. For the sake of the grammar we might suggest εἰν δόλῳ κλ., cf. P. Mert. I 24. 22-3, P. Mich. VIII 481. 29, XX 2273 25-6, and this may have been in the writer's mind. Alternatively we could correct the datives to accusatives, cf. P. Petaus 28. 2, 23-4, P. Princ. II 73. 16, SB XIV 11906. 4-5.
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22 Διογας. On names ending in -ac, which are frequent, see F. T. Gignac, Grammar ii 16.

It is not clear what is meant by δ ηδίος; Diogas could perhaps be a slave, or a relative, or a friend or colleague. The whole postscript in 22-33 is too obliquely allusive for us to understand what was happening.

22-6 The punctuation and the meaning are uncertain. The printed text shows the minimum punctuation and the translation takes the three καὶ as parallel, Professor Parsons suggested that we should put a comma in 24 after καὶ ηθελή μου, taking καὶ as emphatic, and view καὶ Διονύσιος ... καὶ Πτολέμαιος ... as additional subjects of ἄνευλοις rather than of μεταδότῃς. 'My Diogas sailed upstream, with what purpose my sister will inform you, as did Dionysius ... and Ptolemaeus ...' Yet another possibility is that a comma should fall after μεταδότῃς καὶ, of which the subject would be 'he', Διογας. Then ηθελή μου would also be a subject of ἄνευλοις, 'My Diogas sailed upstream, with what purpose he will inform you, as did my sister and Dionysius ... and Ptolemaeus ...' It is not easy to make a choice without knowledge of the circumstances.

23 ποῖας. According to E. Mayser, Grammatik II i 78, ποῖας already from the Ptolemaic period ceased to ask for the quality and became identical with τίς.

25 The function of the ρουμογράφος still remains obscure; on the little that is known see H. J. Wolff, Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens ii 30-31.

27-8 Cf. LV 3808 6-7, 3819 14-15, 3820 12, 13-14 for unusual periphrastic verb forms, but this is unusual only in being so very correct!

29 It is clear from the context that φιλος is meant ironically. For another example of irony see XVIII 2190 § 11 δ χρίσιμος Ἡρακλας κακὸς κακῶς! ... ἔφυγε, 'The useful Heraclas—curse him!—... ran away'. Heraclas was a disobedient slave.

34 For ἀπό in addresses, see 3988 21 n.

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3993. COPRYS AND SINTHONIS TO SARAPAMMON AND SYRA

The most striking part of this letter is the acknowledgment of the receipt through an ἐπιστολοθήρος, a public servant appointed to carry official correspondence, of a letter from the addressees and of a package containing gold leaves wrapped in a cloth (9-11). As usual with private letters, we would like to know more: the nature of the arrangement with the official dispatch carrier and the nature and purpose of the gold leaves.

The letter is written throughout in the same hand, probably that of a clerk, since it is a clear and firm cursive, probably of around AD 200. There are two columns, the first about 13 cm broad and 19 cm deep, the second narrower, c. 7 cm broad, and shorter, c. 15.5 cm deep. The single sheet joins down the intercolumnium. The clerk may have taken its position into account when he planned the layout. On the back there is the sort of saltire pattern which normally marks the point where a letter was tied when it was made into a package for dispatch, cf. 3988 introd. This is faint, but perfectly visible, whereas there is no trace of the expected address. It is possible that this is a file copy kept in Oxyrhynchus by the senders, cf. 4-5 n.
Κοπρᾶς κ[a]ὶ Σινθῶνις ζαράπαμμων καὶ Σύρας
toῖς τιμωτάτοις υἱὸς χαίρειν.
πρὸ τῶν ὁλῶν ἐφρώσθη ἡμᾶς εὐχόμεθα
cαι τὸ προσκύνημα ἡμῶν ποιοῦμεν παρὰ
toῖς πατρίωι υἱῶν θεοῖς. ἐκομίσαμεθα
παρὰ Τροφίμου καὶ τοῦ ἱερέως κοῦφα ἔξ καὶ
ἀπαιτοῦμεθα ταύτον ἀπὸ Δικωμίας (δραχμᾶς) ἡ ὁ(οὺς) ἦ
καὶ τέλους (δραχμᾶς) γ (τριῶδολον), καὶ ἀμβούλλαι καὶ σολῶν
ζεύγης, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἐπικτολαφόρου ἐκομίσαμεθα
γράμματα ὑμῶν καὶ βάκος ἐν ὁ ἐκτιν πέταλα χρυσα, ἀ δεδώκαμεν Τροφίμῳ.
ἐδηλώσατε ἡμεῖς λαβεῖν ἡμᾶς παρὰ Πετοσείρι
μοι τοῦ ἱερέως (δραχμᾶς) φ καὶ ταύταις μέχρι τοῦ ἤ
ὑμῶν ἀπειλῆφαμεν. οὐ γὰρ ἀγνωσμόνουσιν. εἰπαν
γὰρ ἡμεῖς ὅτι, ἐκλέγομεν αὐτά. ἐλεγον γὰρ ὅτι,
ἐεἰς (δραχμαί) ὑμὴ. εἰ [α] ἢ γὰρ εἰσὶν αὐταί, δήλωσον ἡ-
μεῖν. περὶ γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐρεμεῖν ὅτι, ἐὰν θελετε παρ’ ἡ-
μῶν τὰ (δραχμὰς) φ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῷ γράμμα δοῦναι'. αὐ-
τοί δὲ λέγουσιν [ὁ] τῷ τοῦ ἐεἰς ἤ
ἐρω φ[α] ἑ Κωφίμου λάβετε'. ἦν πάλιν ἀπολά-
βωμεν, δηλώσομεν κοι. δήλωσον η’ μεῖν εἰ θε-
λεις ἐκ τοῦ κειμένου ἀποδοῦναι Ἀπφύτι. κεῖται
μέχρι[ο] υ δηλώσεις [η] μείν. ἐγραφας ἡμεῖν,
’τις ἐεῖν ὁ κληρονόμος τοῦ τετελευτηκὸς τοῦ 
το’ς. ἐχη-
tάσαμεν καὶ εἰ[ρ]ομεν ὅν ἐπεκτινοποίησατο,
ἀλλα οἱ περὶ Πετ[ο] εἰρίν εἰσὶν οἱ ἀναγκαῖοι. ἐδω-
κέν σοι Θέω[ν] ὁ πατὴρ Πετοσείριος κεράμ[ο]ν

κρέως. οὐ γαρ εὑρομεν
ἀσφαλῆ μέλλοντα
30
καὶ αὐτὸ κομίσαι. ἐὰν γὰρ
γράφης τῷ Θέωνι, δηλω-
ςον αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐκομίσω
to kerámion tôn krestó. 40 έαν ἀνάβασις γένηται, 45 πέμψω σοι αὐτὸ διὰ τῶν συνηθῶν ναυτικῶν.  v 35 ἀσπασάι τὸν νῦν ἡμῶν Παῖπνι καὶ Θαίκω τὴν θυγατέραν ἡμῶν. ἀπάντησε τὴν θυγατέραν ἡμῶν καὶ Ἀθηναία καὶ Ἀρεία καὶ Πολεμαίος καὶ Ἡρας. 40 ἀ ἐπεμψας χαρτάρια ἔδωκας Θάνων τῷ νῦν 45 Κεφαλάτος. ἐρρόσθαι ἡμᾶς εὐχόμεθα εὐ διάγυντας. ὦρα μή ἀμελήσῃ περὶ ὅν ἐν ηλιακῇ σοι Ἀπφύς.

'Coprys and Sinthonis to Sarapammon and Syra, their most honoured children, greetings. Before all things we pray for your health and we make your obeisance before your ancestral gods. We received six amphoras from Trophimus and the priest—and we are being asked for dr. 6 ob. 6 for freight from Dicumia and dr. 3 ob. 3 for customs—and a flask and 4 pairs of sandals, and from the dispatch carrier we received your letter and a cloth in which are gold leaves, which we have given to Trophimus. You told us that we should get dr. 500 from Petosiris the priest and these we have not recovered up to now. They do not refuse, for they said to us, 'We are collecting them'. They said, 'The sum is dr. 448'. So if this is the figure, let us know. For we are working on them, (saying) 'If you want to get the dr. 500 from us and give us a document, (you can do that)'. But they say, 'Accept what we have guaranteed by arbitration in the temple through Trophimus'. If we get the money back, we shall let you know. Let us know if you want to pay back Apphys from what you have on deposit. It remains on deposit until you let us know. You wrote to us, 'Who is the heir of the deceased?' We made enquiries and we discovered that it was the man he adopted, but Petosiris and his associates are the next of kin. Theon the father of Petosiris gave you a jar of meat. We could not find a safe person who would bring it to you. If you write to Theon, let him know that you received the jar of meats. If the flood comes, I shall send it to you by the usual boatmen. Salute our son Paapis and Thaesis our daughter. Serenus your brother salutes you, and Dioscorus and Opheline and Ptolemaeus and Heras. The pieces of papyrus which you sent we have given to Thonis the son of Cephalas. We pray for your health and well being.'

'See that you don't be careless about the matters which Apphys has communicated to you.'
1. **Κορης.** This form is new, i.e. not in F. Preisigke, *Nomensbuch* or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon Alterum*. It seems likely to be a phonetic version of masculine Κορης rather than an error for feminine Κορης.

2. **άπαμμων.** No suitable alternative name is known, see F. Dornseiff, B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch d. gr. Eigennamen* 116, but the damage makes it uncertain what exactly went wrong with the writing of it here. The reading of the first two letters as Κα- seems very satisfactory; then there seems to be something more before -άπαμμων, which is clear, but the remains of the third letter are very meagre and narrow and show no sign of the usual decisive descender. It is deduced that rho was omitted and later supplied above the line.

Although the upsilon of Σηρα, a feminine name, is now faint, it seems impossible to read Σαρᾶ, which could be either gender, see 2 n.

2. **νοῦς.** The use of νοῦ for both sexes, 'children', is not so familiar as that of ἀδελφοί for 'siblings', because there are obvious alternatives, παῖς, τέκνα, etc. The distinction is usually made, see here 37—9 ἀπείρω τῶν νόμων Παλαίον καὶ Θαῖκων τὴν θυγατέραν (= -τέρα) ἡμῶν. Although νοῦς often represents κληρονόμοι, see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptinaeae* ii 978–9 (= ΣΠΕ 7 (1971) 70–71), it is not often possible to see that daughters are included. As well as XXXIV 2711 4–6, adduced by Youtie, see BGU XII 2156. 2–3 Σαράταπην (= -ς) καὶ Εὐχάριστα ... ἀδελφοί καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν γονέων ..., νοῦς τὸς τῆς ἀδέξει μήμας Ἑρμογένους; 2164. 7 καὶ[α]νονίσον[ών] (ἔδειξε (7, cf. 2171. 3 & n.) καὶ Θαδόμορας καὶ Θεο[β]λατει αὐτῶν Φαθάμμωνοι, ΝΝ 2271 5–6 Ἡρακλαίν(ν) καὶ Πασίονι (καὶ Καλ[ε]ίνα) καὶ Καλ[ε]ίνα νοῦς Πασίονις. In this last read Ἡρακλίν (= -κλείς fem.) and Πασίονις, since there is no sign of abbreviation in either. (It may be that the writer was putting nominatives for datives here by oversight.) Again in XII 1451. 25 νοῦς includes reference to a daughter.

Once more we need to bear in mind that terms of blood relationship were used freely beyond their strict meanings, see 3988 introd. para. 1.

4—5 See G. Geraci, *Aegyptus* 51 (1971) 193, 266. The formula is plausibly thought to indicate a letter from home to recipients travelling away from home. Yet Synthonis is thought to be a peculiarly Oxyrhynchite name, cf. P. München III 140 introd., which may cast doubt on the theory, since this letter was found at Oxyrhynchus. But another possibility is that this is a file copy, see introd. para. 2. Further speculation seems unprofitable.

5—6 ἑκομισάμεθα παρὰ Τροφίμου καὶ τοῦ κερέως. One thinks for a moment that Trophimus and the priest are the senders, but they were probably agents only, cf. 9—10 παρὰ τοῦ ἐπιστολοφόρου ἑκομισάμεθα γράμματα ἡμῶν, especially since the authors of the letter have handed over to Trophimus goods received from the letter carrier (10—11), and because goods acknowledged in letters are usually those sent by the correspondents.

It is not clear if the priest is the same as Petosiris the priest in 12—13, nor is it clear if that man is the same as the Petosiris in 26—7. The circumstances of the reappearance of Trophimus in 12 and 20 rather suggest that he was a trusted agent of Sarapammon and Syra.

7. **έποις Δικαιμαίας.** According to A. Calderini, S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici* ii 103 this was probably a village of the Heracleopolite nome. To their references add IV 3807 35, which likewise gives no firm clue to its location. All the documents but 3807 and 3993 come from the Arsinoite nome or the Heracleopolite.

It may be that the goods were sent direct from Dicomia, but it is perhaps more likely that this was a point on the journey where they changed boats, i.e. the senders paid freight to their boatman as far as his destination, Dicimia. From that point the next carrier worked for 'cash on delivery'. Dicimia may also have been a customs station, cf. 8 n.

8. **τέλος.** For internal customs charges see S. L. Wallack, *Taxation* 258—71.

9. **αμπούλλας.** This appears to be the Latin word *ampulla*, cf. BGU I 40. 2 (ἀμπόλλης; cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 171), P. Lond. II 191. 16 (p. 265), SB VI 9238. 19, 9350 (= P. Lund IV 14). 15, 265 (all ἀμπούλλαι, cf. Gignac op. cit. i 219). The form is probably a simple phonetic error, β for π after μ, cf.
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Gignac op. cit. 83. The etymology from bulla is not likely to be implied, see Isid. 20. 5. 5 ampla quasi ampla bulla; similis est enim rotunditate bullis quae ex spumis aquarumpunt atque ita inflantur uento; cf. G. Goetz, CGL V 166. 14. colion. Cf. P. Mich. VIII 508. 5 n.

9 Ἑπισκολοφόρου. This person would have been a carrier of official letters. We know of them in public service at the village level, see P. Petaus 84 introd., and at the metropolis level, see XLIII 3095 9–10 and n., with N. Lewis, The Compulsory Public Services 29. Private persons had to make their own arrangements for sending letters. It seems natural that in this case they made the arrangement with an official so useful for the purpose.

10 βάκος. The use of this word to mean a cloth wrapper is not familiar. Compare perhaps I 117 12–16 ἐπεμένα ... βάκος διό, κατασκευήμενα [τῇ] φραγχιδί μου, ἐξ ἄν δώσεις τοὺς παιδίσκους σου ἐν ἐξ αὐτῶν. 'I sent ... two cloths, sealed with my seal, of which you are to give your children one (of them)'. These are probably parcels like ours. The word βάκος, 'rag', would hardly be appropriate to a present of useful or decorative textiles.

11 πέταλα χρυσά. This might certainly mean gold leaf for gilding, see P. Lund IV 7 (SB VI 9321), P. Köln I 52, 13–14, SB XIV 11559. 36. To wrap such fragile stuff in cloth might seem unsafe, but the cloth could be the outer wrapper only and there would be no need to refer to any other packing. Thicker than gilder's leaf would be the gold leaves sometimes used for writing magical texts, see XLII 2 and 3068 3 and introd. with H. C. Youtie, Scuereic role waiSioic cov lv e£ £ I sent ev uvo, Karacecqp-qppeva erreppa ... paxr) avreuv, for the purpose.

12–21 The business matter here is obscure for us because it was so clearly understood by the writers that they mention only details and not essentials. They had been instructed to collect dr. 500 from Petosiris the priest, who had associates, as the plurals in 14–19 reveal. The amount was disputed, Petosiris and his party saying that it should be only dr. 448, but they did not refuse point blank to pay; they temporized and said that they were collecting it (14–16). The writers offered to pay the dr. 500 in return for a written acknowledgement or contract from Petosiris and his party, but they, evidently still disputing the amount, offered to pay what they claimed to have guaranteed under arbitration in a temple (17–20).

13 eis. For the ending cf. 3988 4 n.

γάρ. The writer uses γάρ in a loose sense here and later: ἐλεγον γάρ (15), el [o]δ' ἵνα ἐκείν αὕτη (16), οὐ γάρ ύπομεν (28), ἐν γάρ γράφεις (30–31); cf. J. D. Denniston, The Greek Particles 61. It has been omitted from the translation at these places. In εἶπαν γάρ (14–15) and περί γάρ αὕτως ἐκείν (17), we can translate it as 'for' in the usual way.

14 For δὴ introducing direct speech see LV 3855 7 n. Cf. 15 (end), 17, 19.

ἐλεγον. The imperfect tense possibly indicates that this statement antedated the one introduced by εἶπαν γάρ: translate possibly, 'For they told us ... Before that they said ...'

15 περί γάρ αὕτως ἐκείν δὴ. For εἶπαν περί τι, 'to be busy with something', see LSJ περί C. 3. Used of persons it seems unfamiliar.

17 περί γάρ αὐτῶς ἐκείν δὴ. For εἶπαν περί τι, 'to be busy with something', see LSJ περί C. 3. Used of persons it seems unfamiliar.

18 For the absence of the apodosis, which is an idiom, see LV 3813 72–4 n.

19 ἐκτελέσθη. The sigma is a large lunate blot over the original tau. Emend probably to the perfect μετετελέσθη, assuming the replacement of reduplication by the syllabic augment, see F. T. Gignac, Grammar ii 243–4, rather than the omission of omicron from the imperfect μετετελέσθη.

21 coï. From this point the letter is written as if directed to one of the pair of addressees only, with a few exceptions (δοκ. 40, δικ. 41, δοικ. 46); the postscript returns to the singular (48–9). Cf. 35 n.

24–6 Since the heis is contrasted with those who are connected by blood (ἀδελφοί), it seems likely that τεκνοπωίθαι here means 'to adopt', as it seems to do also only in the damaged context of UPZ I 4. 5, cf. UPZ I 3. Otherwise in the papyri it usually means 'to beget', e.g. P. Eleph. 1. 9, P. Münch 111053 C 16.

If the Petosiris here is the same as the priest of the same name in 12–13, this may be part of the same business as in 12–21, but it appears to be separated from it by the question of the repayment of Apphis which occupies 21–3.

26–33 κεράκημον ... τό κεράκων τῶν κρέατων. Cf. P. Genova I 49. 7–8 κεράκημα β, ἐν κρέακ (=κρέακ), ἐν γλυκελίνω (=γλυκελίνω). The jar would probably have contained pieces of preserved meat, cf. XVIII 2190 62–3 και παραχώρη κρέα πρέπει.
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35 πέμψαν. Here the writer lapses for once into the singular for the senders. Cf. 21 n.
42 The name Ἱδελύνη is new, i.e. not in Preisigke, *Namenbuch* or Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*.
44 χαρπάριτα. The translation has ‘pieces of papyrus’, but since diminutives so often in the vernacular mean the same as the normal form, and χαρπάριτα means ‘papyrus roll’, it is possible that χαρπάριτα here refers to rolls, see N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* 70–78, esp. 77. No unambiguous example of it in that sense has been identified, but a very strong implication of such a use is seen in P. Mich. inv. 1657 = SB XVI 12591, as was argued in the first edition by H. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 35 (1979) 105–7, cf. N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity: A Supplement* (Pap. Brux. 23) 40.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

3994. **CALOCAERUS TO EUPHROSYNE**

No inv. no. 10.5 × 12 cm Early third century

This is the letter of a suspicious husband. He was writing to a woman whom he addressed as his sister, asking her to find out what his wife was doing, since she would not write to him and was in possession of all the property which he owned. He sent greetings to another ‘sister’ and offered to send her anything that she needed from the place where he was. On the uncertainties caused by the customary free use of the terms of blood relationship see 3988 introd., but it is quite possible that the letter was in fact sent to the man’s sisters.

The almost square scrap of papyrus was seemingly cut from a blank area in a used document and the fragmentary line in a different hand on the verso is a remnant of the previous use, since it was mutilated when the piece was cut to this shape, see also 17 n. The letter is written across the fibres of the recto of the original roll, as is shown by a sheet-join running under line 9, the overlap being downwards. When written the letter was rolled up with the top inside, a process which also concealed the half line which already stood on the back. The resulting little roll was squashed flat, the exposed bottom edge was tucked inside to protect it, and a binding was placed round the middle of the flat package. Then on one side the address was written in two parts straddling the binding.

The cursive writing is untidy and slopes backwards in places, but it is practised. It looks like the hand of a private person, rather than that of a professional letter-writer. It probably belongs to the early third century.

*Kalοκαιρος Ευφροσύνη [t.]*

τη άδελφη χαίρειν.

παρακληθείσα, ἀδελφή, ἐάν μοι

τι θε[λε] χαρίσασαι, περιέργασαι

τι πράσσει Αλείκ ἢ γυνή ου. εἰ καὶ
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μὴ ἑγεραφήκειν τοί [τοι], ἀφειλες ἀ-πὸ τεσσαρτῆς γράφειν μοι ὡς ἀδέλ-
φῶ τοι. οὐκ ἐπὶ μέλει μοι περὶ αὐ-
τῆς, ἀλλὰ εἶ τι ἔχω παρ’ αὐτῇ ἐκτίν.
καὶ τῷ μὴ γράφειν μοι αὐτήν, ἐ-
κ τούτου προλαμβάνω ἄλλως ἐ’ πε-
ρὶ αὐτῆς. ἀσπάζομεν Θαῖοι τὴν
ἀδελφὴν καὶ εἶπὲ αὐτῇ, ἕσθι τινά[ε]
χρήση ἐνθάδε, γράφα[υ] μοι.

ἐρρύσθαι σε ἐδχ[οι(αί)]. (vac.)

Back, along the fibres: ἀπόδος Εὐ-
(ματ.) φροσον(η) ἀδελφῇ.

Back, along the fibres, upside down to 16: (m. 2) Διος[κοράτος (?).

8 l. ἐπί 16 eu (ματ.) φροσ

‘Calocaerus to Euphrosyne his sister, greetings. Please, sister, if you want to do me a favour, enquire
what my wife Aleis is doing. Even if I had not written to you, you ought of your own accord to have written
to me, as I am your brother. Not that I care about her, but all that I possess is under her control. And the
fact that she doesn’t write to me — from that I have a presentiment of trouble about her. Salute Thaisus
my sister and tell her, if she needs anything here, to write to me. I pray for your health.

Back, along the fibres: ‘Deliver to Euphrosyne my sister.’
Back, along the fibres, upside down to the address: ‘...Dioscoras (?)’.

1 [τ.]. These letters are struck through. Probably the writer started on the eta of τῆ and then decided
to begin the word again in line 2.
6 μὴ ἑγεραφήκειν. See 3991 24–5 and n.
11 ἄλλως e’. See LSJ s.v. ἄλλως ad fin. ‘otherwise than right, wrongly’.
15 It seems that ἐόχομαι was abbreviated, probably by writing μι above omicron.
16 At the mid-point there is only a blank where the binding was, instead of the usual signs of patterning.
17 Διος[κοράτος. This is in a large clumsy hand. Since it was on the verso even when the papyrus was
used for this letter, see introd., it may be that the first use was for another letter of which this was part of
the address, e.g. ἀπόδος τῷ [τίνι] παρά Διος[κοράτος. In that case the piece was cut from the blank foot of a
tall narrow letter probably of the same width as the height of this one, c. 12 cm. This is the only possible
name, provided that the doubtful letters are correctly read, see F. Dornseiff, B. Hansen, Rückläufiges
Wörterbuch der gr. Eigennamen 140.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

3995. PETOSIRIS TO PLUTARCHUS

47 5B.47/C(5–8)α 12.5 x 7 cm Early third century

This complete little chit, blank on the back, has no more than four and a half
lines. It opens with a normal letter prescript and stops short without a farewell formula
after a polite request for the loan of a donkey to transport half an artaba of loaves of bread. Probably it is just a swift note, dashed off and sent by a messenger who knew the recipient’s address, but it could be a draft, abandoned because the sender was displeased by the roughness of the writing and perhaps also by the phonetic spelling and the obscure grammar of the last clause.

A sheet join c. 5.5 cm from the left edge shows that the writing runs along the fibres of the recto of the original roll from which this piece came. The top and the right edges are fairly straight apart from slight damage, the left and bottom edges, where the damage is only a little worse, were carelessly cut or broken.

Πετοσίρις Πλοντάρχω τῷ ἄδελφῳ χαίρειν.
εὖ ποίησε, ἄδελφε, χρήσον τῷ ὀνάριῳ σου,
αἰτίαν ἀναφέροντι μοι ἰμαρτάβιον
ψωμίων, ἵνα φθάνουσι ἀποκαταστήσαι
ἀντὸ σήμερον.

2 l. ποίησε, 9 of χρήσον corr., 9 of τῷ corr. from ω; l. ὀνάριον
3 l. ἁρμᾶσθεν, l. ἰμαρτάβιον
4 ἵνα; l. φθάνουσι?

'Petosiris to Plutarchus his brother, greetings. Do me a favour, brother, and lend (me) your donkey, because they are bringing half an artaba of loaves of bread up to me, so that they may get it delivered today.'

2 εὖ ποίησε (= «εὔς» χρήσον. For the imperative in this sort of formula see H. Steen, 'Les clichés épistolaires', Classica et Mediaevalia 1 (1939) 142–3.

ἄριον (= ἀριὸν). Cf. 3988 5 n. for the form. Diminutives are characteristic of colloquial Greek, see H. C. Youtie, Scriptiunculae i 504 (= TAPA 89 (1938) 394) and n. 77, so that there is no need to suppose that the donkey was a little one, although the half artaba that it was to carry would not be a full load for a donkey; a normal full load would be about 3 artabas, see H. C. Youtie, op. cit. ii 920 (= Berytus 8. 2 (1944) 90) and n. 42.


ἀναφέροντι. 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 district capital, see H. C. Youtie, Scriptiunculae i 493 (= HTR 41 (1948) 15) and n. 36. Perhaps (c) is most likely here, that is, the bread was to be carried up to the city of Oxyrhynchus from a country place.

ιμαρτάβιον (= ἵματιον). Cf. Gignac, op. cit. i 236 (γ for η).

4–5 The meaning and construction of the last clause are doubtful. Since ἀποκαθίστημι most commonly refers to the return of loans, we at first expect ἀπέτρο to refer to the borrowed donkey, cf. e.g. P. Fouad 28. 19. If θάνουσι really does represent the indicative, this may be an example of the rare causal meaning of ἑυα, see F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch 13 386–7 (§436 n. 2), B. G. Mandilaras, The Verb 283–5 (§590). If so, the present tense probably has a future force, as often, 'because they (will) hurry to return it (the donkey) today'.

If the indicative form really represents the subjunctive, as often, see Gignac, op. cit. ii 358–9, and ἑυα has its usual meaning, then we have to take ἀποκαθίστημι to mean 'deliver', which it does in contexts where the delivery is part of an obligation, such as a rent, tax, or levy, and take ἀπέτρο to refer to the half-artaba of bread. This has been adopted as the easier alternative in the translation.

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Serenus writes to Tapsais as his mother (1, 16), which in this case she may well have been in spite of the widespread use of terms of relationship outside the family, cf. 3988 introd. para. 1. He seems to have been away from home, see ἐμοῦ ἐξερχομένου (11–12), and asks if she has finished making some clothes. He sends two jars of what was probably soap, εὔμημα, see g n., one for Tapsais and one for a lady called Ἁρποκράτιανα; these look like presents. An interesting point is that he asks for part of the letter to be read to Ἁρποκράτιανα, ‘so that it does not appear that I have been neglectful’. It is not a certain conclusion that she was unable to read, see 3997 introd. para 1 and 42 n., but that may well have been the case.

The writing is a good sized rapid and fluent cursive of the third century. There is no change of hand for the farewell formula, but it is impossible to say whether this is the hand of Serenus himself or that of a professional letter writer.

The letter has the appearance of being written along the fibres of the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut, although there is no sheet join to prove it and in several places prominent fibres can be followed from the left edge to the right. The back is blank, without any trace of an address, which could mean that the carrier did not need an address or perhaps that the letter travelled inside a package.

Σερήνος Ταφαίτι τῇ μητρὶ χ[(αἵρεσι). καὶ ἄλλοτε σοι ἔγραψα δηλώσαι μ[οι εἰ
ti σοι Πανίκκος ἐλθὼν τότε ἔδωκε
χαλκόν, καὶ εἰ ἀπήρτισας τὰ ἵματα,
καὶ πόσον ἐδαπάνησας. μὲ δὲ[ε ἡ
μέμψαι. τοσαυτάκις γὰρ ἔμοι γ[ρα-
ψάσος αὐτῷ, οὐδὲ διὰ λόγων μοῦ
ἐμνήσθην. εξ δὲν ἐπεμψα
δνεῖ ετάμων εμῆματος
δὸς ἐνα Ἀρποκρατιαίην. νῦν γὰρ
ἐμνήσθην ὅτι [αὐτῆς] ἐμοῦ ε[χ]ζερ-
[..]χομένου περὶ τούτου μοι ἐπέθετο.
καὶ ἀναγνωσθῆνον αὐτῇ τοῦτο τὸ
μέρος τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ἦν μὴ δοξῆ
με ἡμεληκέναι. [ἂς]πασαὶ τοὺς ἦ-
μῶν πάντας. ἐρρώσθαι γε εὖ[ομαί] μῆτ(ερ).

14 ἢν; 16 εὐχ, μη;
3996. SERENUS TO TAPSAIS

'Serenus to Tapsais, his mother, greetings. I wrote to you previously to let me know if Paniscus gave you any money when he came, and if you finished the cloaks, and how much you spent. But do not blame me, for although I wrote to him so many times, he did not remember me even in conversation. Give one of the two jars of soap (?) I sent to Harpocratiaena, for now I have remembered that she gave me instructions about this when I was leaving, and read this part of the letter to her, so that it does not appear that I have been neglectful. Greet all our people. I pray for your health, mother.'

1 There seems to be too little space for χαιρεων in full. Perhaps the most likely form of abbreviation is χε, cf. e.g. LV 3852 2.
5-6 με δι[ε μη] μεμπαι. It is surprising to find με for εμε where the emphasis is so strong, in spite of the well known fluctuation of the forms and such frequent expressions as εικ με and στος με, cf. F. T. Gignac, Grammar ii 161-2. In 7 μου seems to be emphatic too.
8 ἐμνήθηνε. For superfluous nasals see Gignac, Grammar i 112-4.
9 δοις. Even rarer is the classical δοις, and apart from this word the dual is unknown in the papyri, cf. L1 3611 7 n. For δοις, however, add CPR V 9. 18 (AD 339).
10 σεμιμασκ. This is the classical form of the word and the one usual in the papyri, although ζημιμα and ζεμιμα appear infrequently, see Gignac, Grammar i 112(c). P. Herm. 38. 3 n., which also observes that the meaning is rather general. The word appears in the papyri in agricultural contexts, referring to substances for use, seemingly, on vines (P. Herm. 38. 6) or on sheep (P. Lond. I 113(4). 18-19; p. 299). One variety, for an unknown use, was made with castor oil (κινόανες: J. G. Keenan, "PAP 34 (1979) 144-5). It seems to refer to any oily or greasy compound which was used by anointing it on. In this context soap for the ladies' personal use seems to be the most likely meaning, see Theoc. 15. 30, with A. S. F. Gow's commentary, ii 276-7.
11-12 εξεπερατες. The second correction is not clear. It seems to have involved rewriting the first three letters of 12 and the resulting form of μου remains anomalous, cf. 14-15 n.
14-15 Cf. introd. para. 1.
14-15 At the beginnings unsatisfactory forms of μου have been rewritten, cf. 11-12 n.

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3997. HERACLES TO CERDON

74/35[a] + 36(a)

This is a letter with several minor points of interest. There are two references to the unidentified vegetable substance called καυταθν, here in the plural, which is unusual, and in a form, διεγκαυτα κακαλα (37; cf. περι των καυταθν, 41), which makes the neuter gender clear for the first time, cf. L1 3618 12 n. on καυταθνον. The supposedly poetical word γραια, 'old woman', occurs here (42) for the fourth time in the prosaic papyri. The greeting sent to των ἀναγνωσκοντα (42), shows that Heracles expected his letter to be read to, rather than by, Cerdon. The references to god in the singular suggest that this is a Christian letter, although this is not a sure criterion, see M. Naldini, Il cristianesimo 7-10. Its writing and phrasing suggest that it is of the late third or more probably the early fourth century.

In 1-36 the writing runs along the fibres, probably those of the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut, although there is no sheet join to prove it. A farewell formula was put at the foot in 35-6, but then a single line postscript was added, written downwards in the left margin, as often, cf. LV 3814 29-30 n., 3998 36-8. Next
six more lines of greeting with a second farewell formula were added on the back: they are written downwards along the fibres and occupy a position corresponding to the ends of the lines on the front, i.e. a substantial margin of c. 8 cm, about two thirds of the width of the sheet, was left above them. Then the letter was rolled up from the right hand side in the way normally used for rolls, which concealed the writing on the back as well as that on the front. The little roll was squashed flat, the left edge was tucked inside for protection, and a binding was placed round the middle of the flat package. The address was written on one side in two sections to left and right of the binding and a pattern was inked over the binding. The removal of the binding by the recipient has removed some of the pattern.


ἐάν οὖν λά<βω>, πέμπω σοὶ τι. καὶ οὖν πρό- τρεψον αὐτὸν ἵνα ἀνόκνως ἡμί<ν> γένη[ται] καὶ γράψον μοι τί χρήζεις καὶ δι[ά τί]νυς θέλεις πε’ μ’ πω. οὐδίς . . . . . . . κτ[. . . . . . .]εὶν παρ’ ἐμοῦ καὶ γράφον
Heracles to Cerdon his brother, very many greetings. Before all I pray to get you back in sound health, together with your sweetest daughter Taphynchis. I am surprised that you did not write me a letter. I wrote often to you, yearning for your friendship, while you wrote me only one letter, and didn’t write
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again to me, but wrote to my father, threatening me not a little. God alone knows that I make your obedience every day either in the presence of men or in the presence of god (alone?). For I longed to salute you even by letter, until god gives (you) a good journey and we salute one another. For Cranas knows how I question him closely about you and your people and I kept asking him from the first trip to take something to you and he could not, because Heron, the owner of the camels, was there. And now I have asked him and permission has been granted me. So if (I get anything?), I shall send you something. So urge him to come to us without hesitation and write me what you need and by whom you wish me to send (it). ... Greet (?) Ammonius my brother and ... and Heras and ... and all our people, ... Greet ... and all in the household and write about your health. I pray for your health.

Left margin: 'Send us a few nice sangatha, as many as you can find.'

Back: 'Copres the son of Ammonius greets you ... Topastas greets you, as do Aphas and Ammonus and Helen and (your?, their?) father and mother. Helen greets your daughter. Don't forget about the sangatha. Greet Chcnanum, the old lady, and her children, and the man who reads you the letter. We pray for your health.'

Address: 'Deliver to Cerdon my brother, from Heracles.'

1–2 πρὸ μὲν πάντων. Also frequent is πρὸ μὲν παντός.

5–6 ἐπηγείροντο ... τὸν φίλον. This verb usually governs an accusative; here it takes the genitive like some verbs of desiring, e.g. ἐπηθείσας, ἐφεύμας. Perhaps, therefore, 'yearning for' is nearer the meaning than 'missing'.

9–11 On the προακόημα see G. Geraci, Ἁγγεία 51 (1971) 3–211. It is not known what ceremony precisely is implied by references to the προακόημα in papyri and inscriptions or whether a mention in a letter usually means that a ceremony really was performed, see Geraci, op. cit. 201–2, cf. LV 3809 3–7 n., but παρά is usually followed by a reference to a god, in later times to the Christian god. With παρά ἄνθρωποι compare P. Lond. III 1244 (= M. Naldini, II cristianesimo No. 58), 3–4 προακόημα (l. προπηγ-) πολλά καὶ προακοηματίου νικότο τοῦ ἐνίκητος θεῷ καὶ παρα πάσας ἄνθρωπως προακοημάτως (l. προπηγ-) τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ λαοῖν προπήγων προπηγάτως (l. προακοημάτως). Both texts seem to indicate the decay of the ceremony. Perhaps there may be a distinction between prayers in a public place of worship, παρά ἄνθρωποι, and in private, παρά θεῷ.

11 καὶ ... καὶ. The repetition of personal pronouns is a feature of the colloquial style of the language of the documentary papyri, see H. C. Youtie, Scriptiunculae ii 847, cf. F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch 15 229 (§278).

12 διάκονος. The parallelism of the construction ἐκτάνα ... διάκονος ... καὶ προσκυνήσωμεν indicates that a subjunctive is wanted. Probably this is the iotacistic equivalent of διακόνος, formed by analogy with λαός etc., cf. F. T. Gignac, Grammar ii 386–7, but the absence of an indirect object is also slightly awkward, so that it might represent διά καὶ, where καὶ is the iotacistic equivalent of καί. The fact that καί, μοι, and ἐκαί appear correctly in the rest of the letter makes this last suggestion less likely.

13 δὲ Ἐρασία. This name is unknown. It is a remote possibility that we ought to be interpreting the letters as δὲ Ἐρασία, 'he who ordained' or perhaps as a gnomic aorist, 'he who rules', as a reference to god, but the Christian dictionaries (W. Bauer, Wörterbuch zum neuen Testament, G. W. H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon) do not record the poetic verb κατασκονοῦν, and a further objection is that in 15–17 this personage was unable to do something which was asked of him, which does not suit a pious reference to god.

14 ἡμιέρας (l. ημιέρας). For the false contraction see F. T. Gignac, Grammar ii 364–5. The middle voice of this verb is regularly confined to the senses 'deign, think fit', cf. LSJ s.v. δεχόμοι II. 2. Compare and contrast ἡξάω (19).

16 ἀπὸ τῆς προάδος καὶ τῆς φοράς. After omega there are traces of a damaged letter, not deleted, which might be sigma; cf. perhaps XXXI 2600 δ' πράτενιν προάς τοῖς πράτσεις (or πράτσευ), with P. Petæus to. 6 n. on interchange between καὶ and ταῦτα.

The meaning may be 'for the first time', cf. LSJ s.v. φοράς A.5, but the relevance of this is not clear and in this context involving transport by camel (18) we should compare the numbered φοράς which refer to delivery journeys in accounts of transport, see H. C. Youtie, Scriptiunculae Postiores i 299–300 (= ΖPE 21 (1970) 29–30), ii 517 (= ΖPE 33 (1970) 205).

16–17 ἐνέκτη (l. ἐνέκτῃ). At the end of line 16 the crossbar of epsilon is extended and it seems that nothing more was added. For the variety of forms in this verb see F. T. Gignac, Grammar i 364, ii 448 s.v.
HERACLES TO CERDON

17–18 ἴδιοι ἐκ (l. ἐπε) ἸἈρών, 'because Heron ... was there'. The meaning might be that Heron was elsewhere, not ‘here’, and therefore unavailable to give permission, in which case ἀδύνατο in 19 refers to Heron, or it might mean that he was present and therefore an obstacle, in which case ἀδύνατο in 19 would refer back to Cranas.

19 ἴδιοις. Contrast ἴδιοις ὄν (15).

20 λέξει. The omitted matter may have been more substantial; the meaning is not very clear.


23 διὰ τὸν νεκρὸν δήλως (l. δήλως) πετούμενος. If the restoration is right, πετούμενος is a deliberative subjunctive, see Gignac, op. cit. i 111–119, esp. 116.

26 λέξεις. The verb may be passive, 'it has been settled for me', as in the translation, 'permission has been granted me', or possibly it might be middle, 'he has agreed it with me', see LSJ s.v. 

27 The omitted matter may have been more substantial; the meaning is not very clear.

29 καὶ σαῦρον is 'a very rare combination', J. D. Denniston, The Greek Particles 445.


23 διὰ τὸν νεκρὸν δήλως (l. δήλως) πετούμενος. If the restoration is right, πετούμενος is a deliberative subjunctive, see Gignac, op. cit. i 111–119, esp. 116.


31 An alternative is Troas, but this seems less likely, cf. 44, and there is no mention of Troas in the letter.

32 See introd. for the gender. In LI 3618 n. it is suggested that ἐνδόν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ μικρὸν may be a plant allied to berberis and used in that case to make charcoal to serve the forges of the Alexandrian mint. There ἐνδόν appears in the singular and is measured in κυκράη, hundredweights of Roman pounds ( painters). Elsewhere ἐνδόν is always singular and is sometimes measured in pounds. The use of the plural remains unexplained: it could imply, perhaps, that complete individual plants were wanted.

33 Τομασία is not in F. Preisigke, Namenbuch, or D. Foraboschi, Onomasticon.

34 Cf. P. München III 120. 15 and n. This is now the fourth appearance in the papyri, cf. introd. para. 1.

36 Also possible is ἐκχύμεθα, cf. 43, and a little more may have followed, e.g. ἀπελθεῖ, or νῦν.

37 Also possible is ἐκχύμεθα, cf. 43, and a little more may have followed, e.g. ἀπελθεῖ, or νῦν.

38 Also possible is ἐκχύμεθα, cf. 43, and a little more may have followed, e.g. ἀπελθεῖ, or νῦν.

39 Torracrac is not in F. Preisigke, Namenbuch, or D. Foraboschi, Onomasticon.

40 Cf. introd. para. 1. There may be a suggestion that the task of reading Heracles' letters to Cerdon was usually performed by the same man, whom Heracles knew slightly but not well enough to remember his name. Or perhaps the reader would be an anonymous slave. Or perhaps there was just a likelihood that whoever read it to him would be a mutual friend.

This may bear on the subject of literacy in Graeco-Roman Egypt, but it is not clear what the circumstances were. Although illiteracy was far from rare, it is possible that Cerdon was not illiterate but simply in the habit of having his letters read to him, cf. 3996 introd. para. 1. On the whole subject see now W. V. Harris, Ancient Literacy. It seems unlikely, on the other hand, that τὸν ἀναγνώσκοντα would be referring to a Christian ἀναγνώστης.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

3998. THONIS TO SYRAS AND CALLINICUS

In the prescript Thonis calls his correspondents 'my lords children', but in the rest of the letter he addresses himself to his 'daughter', Syras; a plausible guess might
be that Syras really was his daughter and that Callinicus was his son in law. On the
loose use of terms of family relationship, see 3988 introd. para. 1.

As usual in private letters the circumstances are hard to understand. Thonis
explains that in spite of a contractual duty to return before the twentieth of the month
of Phamenoth, forced upon him by 'the Oxyrhynchites', he is obliged by the death of
another member of the family, 'the husband of your sister Theodora', to stay away,
and expects the delay to be prolonged until the second of the following month
(Pharmuthi). He will make every effort to come as soon as he can. He acknowledges
a letter from Syras and then goes on to the second main topic of his letter.

Someone has paid money for certain goods, but not yet taken possession of them,
and he urges Syras to get hold of them. Damage here makes the exact sense uncertain.
Then follow exchanges of greetings and the farewell formula, but a postscript, con-
sisting mostly of an interesting itemized list of the goods, has been added in three long
lines written downwards in the left margin across the fibres, cf. 3997 introd. para. 2.

The body of the letter is written along the fibres on a surface which was the recto
of the roll from which the piece was cut, as proved by a sheet join running vertically
close to the right edge. On the back is a damaged address in which only remains of
τῇ θυγατρί can be identified, and signs of two patterns of the type associated with the
packaging of letters. They show that the letter had two bindings, one about 7 cm from
the foot and the other the same distance from the top. The piece was rolled up with
the left edge of the letter proper inside, not the right edge, as was natural with longer
rolls and usual even with letters. Then the roll was squashed flat and the free edge
was tucked inside for its protection. Two bindings were tied around it, c. 7 cm from
the ends, with c. 11.5 cm between them. Patterns were inked over the bindings and
the address was written on one side of the package. Of this τῇ θυγα- is dimly legible
between the binding patterns, ending very close to one of them. More traces of the
address follow beyond that binding and extend to the edge which corresponds with
the top of the letter. Before τῇ the traces are even scantier, so that it is difficult to
discover where the address began.

Θώνις Ζηράτι καὶ Καλλινίκῳ τοῖς κυρί-
οις μο[ν] τέκνοις ἐν θεῷ κυρίῳ
πλίστα χαίραι. (vac.)

τὸ προσκύνημα ὑμῶν ποιῶ καθ’ έ-
κάστῃν ἡμέρ[a]υ παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ. γινώ-
σκων σε θέλω ὅτι κατεσχέθην ὑπὸ τῶν
Ὀξυρυχχεῖτων καὶ ἐποιήσαν μαί χρυγρα-
φήσαι μέχρι εἰκά[δο]σι Φαμενόβ μὲ καθι-καὶ σελθὲν μετὰ τῶν ἄδελφων σου καὶ πάν-
THONIS TO SYRAS AND CALLINICUS

3998.

10 ὑ εὐνέχομαι μὴ δυνασθῶ πρὸς τὴν προ-
θεσμίαν κατίσκευὰν διότι ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ ἄνθρωπός
tῆς ἀδελφῆς σου Θεοδώρας καὶ ἐν εὐνεχίᾳ εἰμί μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐ-
τοῦ ἑνεκα τῶν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς. κα-

15 λῶς οὖν τὸ [ο] ἄγας, κυρία μου θυγάτηρ, πο-
λυπραγμονήσαι τί καὶ ἀλλοι χειρογραφῆ-
cαντες τί μέλλουσι πράξαι. ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀμελήσῃς.

προεδοκῶ γὰρ μέχρι δευτέρας ἀπελθὼν οὗτ

15 πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφῆν σου. ἐὰν μὲν δυνασθῶ

ποιῶ ἔλθων. καὶ [α]ι λάρπρο τοῦ τοῦτοι [ . . . [ . . .] πρ[ο]
κυνήσαι ὑμᾶς. ἔλαβά σου ἐπιστόλων [ . . . ] ψινς
καὶ ἔχ[ά]νην ἀκούσας σῇ τῇ ὁδοκηρίᾳ ὑμῶ[ν]
καὶ τ[ῶν] παθῶν ὑ[μ]ῶν. [ . . . ] αμ. . . . εἰ δ-

25 τι, ἐδῶ[κα] τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ ὀπὼ[ι] ἔχ[ε]ν [τὰ ἱδών]. κα-
λῶς ὁ[ν] ποι[ή]ς εἰς λαβῇ τὰ ἱδών. [ο]ν γὰρ ἀπεταξά-
μην ἁπτῶν. οὐ γὰρ οἴδε καὶ ἀυ[τὸ]ς ὅτι ὅρκ ἀπε-


καὶ ὅσα Ἔφελόγις. ἀπαξέται [ὑμᾶς] Ἀπολλώνιος
cαι Θώνις. ἀπαξέται Καλλίνικον [καὶ] Κάλλισπο[ν]
cαὶ Θῶνιν καὶ Δημήτριον καὶ [ . . . ] ν. (vac.)

35 ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι ἵνα τῶν . . . . . . [ . . . ] , κυρία μου

( vac . ) θυγάτηρ. ( vac . )

Downwards in the left margin:

πάν ποιήςς λαβοῦσα τὰ ἱδὲ πάντα. ἔστω δὲ τὸ κατ' ἱδὲ [ν: τὸ
cαι ἡ κρεμαστὴ λυχνία καὶ τ[ό] ν ἐξέτην καὶ τὸν λύχνον ἐχοῦτα

άλωσησαν καὶ τὸ πελάκι καὶ τὰ δύο ἐνώ-

δια εὼν τοῖς πινάροις ἁρτῶν (vac.) καὶ τὰ ἐσπυρίδια δώκας καὶ τὴν

λέγειν τ[ο]ν εἰππένου τρυφερά.
Upwards along the fibres of the back:

\[ \ldots \, \tau \eta \, \theta \nu \gamma \alpha \, (\nu a ?) \ldots \]

Thonis to Syras and Callinicus, my lords children, very many greetings in the lord god. I want you to know that I was detained by the Oxyrhynchites and they made me give a written agreement that I would return by the twentieth of Phamenoth with your brothers, but I am absolutely constrained and cannot return by the due date, because your sister Theodora's husband has died and I am in dispute with his brother about her daughter's affairs.

You will do well, my lady daughter, to inquire what the others who have made agreements for some purpose are going to do. But do not forget, for I expect to go off to your sister until the second of the month. If I manage to persuade them, it would be a good thing, but if..., I shall make every effort to come. For even before this (I had hoped?) to salute you (in person?). I received your letter ... and rejoiced to hear of the health of you both and of your children. ... that, 'I gave the money and I did not get the goods yet'. So you will do well to get the goods. For I did not waive claim to them. Doesn't he know that I did not waive claim? So much for(?) the goods. ... Your ... greet(s you?). Your sister ...as greets you. Eulogius greets you. Apollonius and Thonis greet you. Greet Callinicus and Callippus and Thonis and Demetrius and ... I pray for your health for ..., my lady daughter.'

Margin:

'Make every effort to get all the goods. Here is the itemized list: the washbasin and the pail for the bath and the cooking pot (cauldron or boiler?) and the hanging lamp and the pint pot (ewer?) and the lamp that has a fox and the hatchet and the two earrings with their pearls and the two shoulder pieces(?) and the pound of fine tow.'

Address:

'... to (Syras) his daughter ...'

3 πλείκτα χαίρει (1. πλείκτα χαίρε). Cf. 3999 2, which is the only known parallel. This is the product of the interaction of two different formulae, i.e. πλείκτα χαίρει and the rarer imperative χαίρε, which is usually the first word rather than the last and accompanied by the vocative rather than the usual dative, cf. F. X. Exler, A Study in Greek Epistolography 35-6, H. Koskenniemi, Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes 164-7. An additional cause of surprise is the singular form so close to the prescript addressed to two persons. Thonis continues throughout the letter to address Syras particularly, with occasional recollections of Callinicus.

4-5 The initial greeting 'in the lord god' has every appearance of being a Christian one, although it has been argued that 'the lord god' is not specific to Christianity; the obeisance formula is typically pagan. The matter is discussed by G. Geraci, Aegyptus 51 (1971) 197-200, with references to other probably Christian obeisances; the clearest example was published after Geraci's work by H. C. Youtie, ΖΠΕ 28 (1978) 263-8 (= Scriptiunculae Posteriores i 451-4).

5-11 It is impossible to know what was happening here. The mention below of ἀλλοι χειρογραφήσατεις τιν (16-17) suggests that he is one of a group or category subject to a contractual obligation, probably in connection with taxes or public services, cf. e.g. LV 3795 introd. para. 1.

The manner of the reference to the Oxyrhynchites rather suggests that he did not regard himself as one of them, which is surprising. He may have been a villager rather than a metropolitan, or possibly a citizen of some other place.
3998. THONIS TO SYRAS AND CALLINICUS

8–9 καθελθῇν, cf. 11 κατελθήν (l. κατεκλθήν). For phonetic confusion of θ and τ see F. T. Gignac, Grammar i 92–3.

For the meaning ‘to return home’ see especially P. Tebt. II 353. 6 ἀπ’ ἀναχώρήσεως κατ’ εἰσελθθῆνες. Cf. 3999 21 n.

9–10 πάπαν. This is a false division of syllables, cf. E. G. Turner, Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World7 17 (19–20). The μν is cramped and distorted, which probably indicates that the writer knew that he was in difficulty with his layout.


12–13 ἐν συζύγησι (l. συζύγησι) μετὰ καλ., ‘in dispute . . . with’. It is not perfectly clear that Thonis and the dead man’s brother were adversaries. In that case πρὸς would be more classical, but it is easier to imagine that Thonis was defending his granddaughter’s interests against those of her father’s brother than to picture them as allies against some other party.

15 θυγατρί. For nominative in place of vocative in this word see Gignac, Grammar ii 62, cf. below 35 and perhaps 28.

19–22 The plural [αδ]τοὺς looks like a reference back to the Oxyrhynchites: he will try to persuade them to allow him an extension of time; if they will not be persuaded ἐὰν δὲ [μή] ὅθεν ἔκτισαν; but this cannot be confirmed), he will make every effort to come, that is to comply with his contract, especially since he wants to see his daughter and her family. In 21 the traces might possibly be consistent with ἅλητος[. . . .), but this forces the spacing and is not fully convincing.

22 διαβα. Cf. 3988 4 n.

22–9 The difficulties have not been solved. Clearly it is the recipient, Syras, who is to take possession of the goods, see 36, but another person seems to be involved, see θεό (27).

31 Εἴδοψα (−οῖς). Cf. 3988 5 n.

34 The traces do not appear to fit αἰώνα: ἃ could suit, but the next letter has an oblique like the lower left part of lambda or chi. Cf. P. Mich. VIII 481. 36 ἐφήθησα εἰς εἴγομαι εἰς αἰωνα[α], P. Laur. II 39, 10–11 . . . εἰς μικρὸν αἰώνα, XLI 2962 28 . . . εἰς μικρὸς αἰώνας, X 1299 20 . . . [εἰς πόλλας χρόνος.

35 Cf. 15 n.

36 τὸ κατ’ ἤδειαν. We expect rather τὸ κατ’ ἐδοξ, cf. P. Achmim 8, 42, P. Col. VII 188, 7, VI 937 22, SB X 10520. 4, 18, but δε is clear. Perhaps he felt he had repeated ἐδοξ too often already.

βασκαλίαν was here perhaps spelled βασκαλίαν, cf. κάδυ (36), πελώκυ (37) and 3988 5 n. The word is variously explained as from Latin nasulnun (I 109 22 n.: βασκάλης), from a Jewish word seen also in μασκάλης, ‘laver’ (P. Cair. Isid. 137, 3 n: πασκαλώ), and from a British Celtic word seen in Latin as bascula (B. Meinersmann, Die lateinischen Wörter 9–10, 105, J. Kramer, ΞΨΕ 51 (1983) 117–8); cf. perhaps P. Ryl. IV 627, 82 βάσικήλα. According to Latin glossaries basculae sunt conchae aequae, genera usu iari, see G. Goetz, CGL VI 140 (index), which suggests that laver, washbasin is the correct sense. If so, perhaps it may be that several items in this list can be seen together as equipment for the bathoom, cf. next note.

κάδυ βαλανίας[α]ς ( = κάδυ βαλανίας). This was probably a smallish bucket-shaped vessel used to pour water over a bather, a situla. It would be very unwieldy in pot, so perhaps it was in bronze, as the washbasin just preceding seems likely to have been, see above. The two silver examples in the Seuso treasure give an idea of the shape and size envisaged, roughly 30 cm high and 25 cm in diameter at the base, which in these examples is the widest part, see M. Mango, Antike Welt 21.2 1990 83-4, Abb. 15.

We could possibly take this item as an indication that several of these pieces were for use in the bathroom, i.e. a basin and ewer (?), βασκαλίαν (36), ἔστητα (37), a bath bucket (36) and a boiler, rather than a cooking pot, κόκκυμα[ας] (36), see notes. However, πασκαλώ (= basc.), κόκκυμα, ἔστητα, and πελώκυ (cf. 37) all appear together in P. Cair. Isid. 137 with no indication that they are bathroom equipment, while the frying pan there (δίφυγμον = ἱγίανον, 5) rather suggests that they belong to the kitchen.

α δίφυγμα[ας]. The masculine article suggests the restoration of a sigma, but this is doubtful in view of the range of Greek forms representing Latin custumia: κούκουμα (nom. for acc.?, cf. 5 ἔστητα, 9 δοκεῖ, 10 βας, therefore fem.?) a, P. Cair. Isid. 137, 4; κούκουμαν (acc.) δολών, VIII 1160 23; κόκκυμα (acc.?), P. Ross.-Georg. V 5, 10; κούκουμαν (acc.); κούκουμαν, or -μοι? μικρῶν ( = μικρῶν) a, P. Wash. Univ. I 58, 18; κούκουμαν χαλκός a, Stud. Pal. XX 67 recto 16; κούκουμαν ο, X 1290 4; κούκουμαν a, XIV 1658 9; τὸ κούκουμαν τ[ο]ῦ Θηρίου, P. Strab. VIII 793. 11; κούκουμα ( = κούκουμα) (δρ.) ρ,
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P. Ryl. IV 639. 71 (cf. 228 κουκ'); κουκκος[μ]—P. Apoll. 95 fr. A.B. In P. Hamb. I 10. 36 κοκκόμανα β' might possibly represent κόκκομαν μι a followed by something corrected by the clerk; the most likely thing is that it was a (= 'one') as well, but botched and therefore rewritten close to the noun. This is under the heading χαλκόματα, 'items of bronze', which makes it almost sure to be relevant to our word. However, there is a similar puzzle in κοκκομάρις, P. Amil. II 126 (= P. Sarap. 55); 30, between 'oil' and 'salt', which may be attributable to some other word entirely. In Stud. Pal. XX 164, 2 παράρχ' (ου) Πετρίου κουκκομάθες (νομικής) ως, the abbreviated form could represent an occupation, a patronymic, or a nickname or alias. κουκκόμανα and κοκκομαρίς also appear in the Latin-Greek glossaries, see G. Goetz, CGL VI 290 s.v. κουκκόματα (index). A Greek masculine form with alpha in the ending occurs here and in P. Giss. Univ. III 25. 2–9, κοκκομάναν εκφρασμένων. In P. Cair. Isd. 137. 4 κοκκόματα looks like a feminine nominative; other forms with alpha are ambiguous in gender. See F. T. Gignac, Grammar (index). A Greek masculine form with alpha in the ending occurs here and in P. Giss. Univ. III 25. 2–9, κοκκομάναν εκφρασμένων. In P. Cair. Isd. 137. 4 κοκκόματα looks like a feminine nominative; other forms with alpha are ambiguous in gender. See F. T. Gignac, Grammar (index); Isidorus of Seville 20. 8. 3 says, 'cæcæ δέ και κουκκόμα ου εν ερωτευμένων', which broadly confirms the purpose for which the κουκκόματα was used, regardless of his accuracy. In Martial the poorer man cannot build hot baths in marble like his hero, but he has a cauldron or boiler made to heat his bath water. Following the clue of the κώδικας βαζαλα[λα]νυ (35), it may be worth suggesting that this one too belongs to the bathroom of the bathhouse.

Three of the above references show us that the vessel could be made of bronze; Stud. Pal. XX 67 recto 15, P. Grenf. II 13 (ων W. Chr. 135); 23. P. Hamb. I 10. 36 (with χαλκόματα, 35); another refers to soldering, which implies metal: P. Ryl. IV 639. 71 (cf. 227); a reference in Digest 48. 8. 1. 3 to the use of a key or a κουκκόμα as a weapon in a brawl, which is evidence of the absence of premeditation in a crime, indicates that they were also made in iron: sed si clasti percussit (cf. IV 3644 19–23) aut κουκκόμα in rixa, quamvis ferro percussit, tamen non occidendi animo. TLL IV 1281–2 gives a few references to examples in pot. Bronze is perhaps the most likely in the present case, see above on βαζαλα[λα]νυ.

The shape is not precisely known, but Petronius, Sat. 135–6 shows that the example there had a neck: κουκκόματα fero opus oppositum (135. 4); then, as the result of an accidental fall, frangitur ... ceruix cucumulae (the same vessel, not, therefore, as in OLD, 'a (small cooking-vessel)' ignemque ... restinguat (136. 2). This case the problem of why such a vessel might be used as a container of oil or lupine seeds, see above, and it is of course sensible that a vessel designed to be heated on the fire should have a comparatively narrow mouth, if not a lid, like a modern kettle, to keep the heat in.

37 η κραματική λωχία. For hanging lamps in bronze, which may be the most likely material here, see above on β[αζαλα]νυ κοκκομάθες[ς], cf. e.g. H. B. Walters, Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Lamps in the British Museum Pl. II–V, cf. XXXVII, M. de' Spagnolis, E. De Carolis, Le Lucerne (Museo Nazionale Romano. I bronzi IV. 1) 21–3, 26, 28, 42–3, 50, 59, 64, 67, 69, 80, 88, 90–100. They might also be in clay, cf. e.g. D. M. Bailey, Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum ii 389–91, and Pl. 89, or in glass, see D. B. Harden, Roman Glass from Karanis 155–7.

38 ζεπτυς. This might be either a measure or just a vessel, see G. Goetz, CGL VII 590 s.v., with the interpretations το δύοον ρεκες, το κυκτιον σεξαρίων. It seems that the word χεραυζετυς, which occurs in the papyri three times: Stud. Pal. XX 151. 10, P. Anst. I 87. 8, P. Wash. Univ. I 59. 13, means a set of basin and ewer for washing one's hands, see E. A. Sophocles, Greek Dictionary s.v., cf. P. Grenf. II 111. 6 n.; it seems clear that ζεπτυς, which originally means a pint measure, from σεξαρίων, must be hollow ware and not flatware, and that therefore in that church inventory it must be the silver flagon to match the three silver chalices which precede it. In our case it may be the ewer or water jug which goes with the basin, see above on βαζαλα[λα]νυ.
3998. THONIS TO SYRAS AND CALLINICUS

Δλώστενα (= Δλώστεκα). Eta for epsilon is probably a mistake in declension, rather than a phonetic error, although that is possible, see Gignac, Grammar i 244–6; erroneous addition of final nu is due to contemporary pronunciation, see ibid. 113–4.

For the fox as a motive on clay lamps, which is rare, cf. D. M. Bailey, Catalogue of Lamps in the British Museum iii 73–4. For Egyptian clay lamps in general see Eva-Maria Cahn-Klaiber, Die antiken Tonlampen des archäologischen Instituts der Universität Tübingen 125–262. Bronze lamps have various animals as decoration and might well have had a fox, but none has been traced on this occasion.

πελώκει (= -κον). Cf. 3988 5 n.

37–8 ἐνδίᾳ (= -τα). Cf. Gignac, Grammar i 83. For earrings with pearls cf. e.g. P. Herm. 64 3–4.

X 1273 10, SB VI 9372, 12–13.


ἐπομίδα. This word seems to exist only as the name of a variety of harness or ornament for a horse, Appian, Mith. 115; καὶ ἵππων χαλών καὶ προστηρίδα καὶ ἐπομίδα. In our context it seems likely to be an item of dress or ornament, obviously associated in some way with the shoulder, cf. LSJ s.v. ἐπομίδα II, but no real clue to a more precise description has been discovered. One possibility might be a pair of brooches holding a garment at the shoulders, cf. J. P. Wild, Latomus 24 (1965) 610–13, esp. 611 fig. 1.

εἰπείον. For the spelling see Gignac, Grammar i 66–7; for the diacritical mark see app. crit., cf. ibid. 163–5; for the substance of P. Mich. XIV 680. 3 n.

τροφερόν. In spite of some slight damage the final letter seems to be the inconvenient alpha; read τροφερόν. It means ‘of fine quality’, cf. especially LIV 3753 17–20, where τροφερόν is the most expensive of three qualities, τροφερόν, κοινόν, and ὑποδεκτέρων(ν) χαρίκ(ῶν).

39 Cf. introd. para. 4.

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3999. APHUS TO HERACLAMMON

The writer of this letter, Aphus, reports on his efforts to exact from a person called Didymus a debt due to the recipient, Heraclammon. First he had to find Didymus, which he did by persistently making himself unpleasant to Dioscorus, whose ‘brother’ Didymus was; see 3988 introd. on the ambiguity of the term ‘brother’. He had found Didymus the day before the letter was written and had with difficulty got him to make a written agreement in respect of thirty talents which Heraclammon had disbursed as wages. Aphus advises Heraclammon that if he comes in person he may be able to exact the debt. The difficulty is that some persons, presumably Didymus and his family or Didymus and Dioscorus together, are so poor that they do not even have enough bread to eat and no one else will advance the money on their security.

The introductory prayer ‘before the lord god’ is probably, but not certainly, an indication that Aphus was a Christian, cf. 3998 4–5 n. The letter probably belongs to the first half of the fourth century.

The writing runs along the fibres, but there is no sheet join to prove that this side is the recto of the original roll from which the piece was cut.

The letter was packaged for dispatch in a slightly unusual way. It was rolled up with the left edge inside and squashed flat; the exposed right edge was tucked inside.
the flat package, which was then bent in half head to foot and tied up. The package must have looked somewhat similar to the sealed letter shown in W. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde* Taf. IV No. 14; in our case the binding was close to the joined ends, not in the middle. The address was written along the fibres in two lines on the side corresponding with the foot of the letter, and patterns were inked over the binding on both sides of the package. Each pattern is a rectangle with two diagonals and a third internal line cutting their intersection parallel with the height of the letter and longer side of the rectangle. The removal of the binding has removed the central parts of both patterns. The doubling of the rolled and flattened letter has led to serious damage in the middle section of the text.

The Greek, if colloquial, is better than might be suggested by the phonetic spellings, all of which are well paralleled, cf. in general F. T. Gignac, *Grammar*.
 Aphus to Heraciammon, very many greetings. Before all I pray for your health and well being before the lord god. I want you to know, my lord, that I have done ever so much with Dioscorus about his brother Didymus, and he says to me, 'I have handed him over to Heraciammon. So now I don't know where he is'. I cause an unpleasantness with him every day because of this. So now at last I found Didymus himself, on the 23rd of the month of Pharmuthi. ... and they are hungry ... no one took (them) on bail ... Didymus to make ... an agreement for the thirty talents which you gave as salary. With difficulty I prevailed with him to do this. But now, if you can come (back?) yourself, perhaps you will be able to exact (them?) from him. For I could not prevail with him to do anything, because they do not even have bread and no one took them on bail. I give many greetings to your wife and your children by name. I pray for your health for many years. Pharmuthi 24.'

Address: 'To Heraciammon, from Aphus his brother.'

For the unusual form of the greeting see 3998 3 n.

For the similar use of πολλά to mean 'ever so often', 'very often', like πολλά, see LV 3816 6 n.

'No one took them on pledge' seems to mean that no one will give a pledge that they will be able to pay, or possibly that no one will produce the money on their promise to repay.

At this date thirty talents would be a smallish sum, as is implied by the description of it as 'salary', but in this period inflation was so rapid that without a fixed date it is impossible to make comparisons, cf. R. S. Bagnall, Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt 61-72.
represent the second person present indicative of the analogical form of the same verb, δύναμαι, op. cit. 75 (§97), F. T. Gignac, Grammar ii 384. However, although the New Testament fluctuates between δύναμις and δύναται, it seems unlikely that both are indicative here, and σὺ would sit very awkwardly at the end of the sentence.

21 εἰσελθείν, 'to come/go in', 'arrive', looks here as if it means 'return', cf. 3998 8–9 n.

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4000. Apion to Ammonianus

The introductory prayer to divine providence probably indicates that this is a Christian letter, see 3–4 n. It is almost entirely about business matters, mostly private, but lines 16–22 relate to an ἐπιμέλεια, the public service post of supervisor, ἐπιμελητής; see N. Lewis, The Compulsory Public Services 27–8 for the wide variety of such appointments. All that we learn about this one is that it concerned the collection of money.

These same lines imply that Ammonianus, the addressee, was to be found in Alexandria, along with some companions (ὑμᾶς, 17). This has brought us to wonder why in that case the letter was unearthed at Oxyrhynchus. It may have been brought there by the recipient, but there is a possibility that it was a file copy written on a bit of scrap paper. At five places in the left margin there are traces of writing intruding from the left. This could mean that the clerk wrote at least two letters, or perhaps duplicate letters, on the same piece and later divided them, but it may be more likely that he has used a piece of scrap paper which he cut out of a used roll. This view is favoured by a patch, a strip about 2 cm wide and 7 cm tall pasted on. It reaches to the bottom edge and has parts of lines 21–9 (e.g. φανεράν 21) written over it. It is particularly noticeable because its surface fibres run vertically, while the rest of the writing runs along the fibres of the main piece. There is no sheet join to prove that this side was the recto of the original roll. The patch presumably covers a defect in the writing surface, and is perhaps more likely to have been put on when the piece was used for a second time.

On the other hand, a possible sign that the letter really was sent in the normal way is the presence of traces of writing on the back, where an address would be expected. Unfortunately it is so faded or abraded that nothing has so far proved legible on that side.

The most striking indication of the date is the mention of myriads of myriads of denarii, line 6. This terminology is confined to the second half of the fourth century, by which time inflation had forced the use of very high figures for accounting, see R. S. Bagnall, Currency and Inflation 12.

The writing is a careless but very fluent cursive, tall and laterally compressed. Its appearance of official competence makes a strange contrast with the frequent phonetic spellings; those so routine as to receive no comment here can be traced in F. T. Gignac,
Grammar. A good parallel is a letter with very similar writing and spelling in XLVIII 3396 (Pll. V, VI). This comes from an archive with dated documents ranging from AD 331 to 371, see P. Oxy. XLVIII pp. 74–5; it too refers to myriads of myriads (line 17), and so belongs at the end of the range, in the sixties or seventies.

There is in fact a probable link with that archive, see 26–7 n., but 4000 is not certainly part of it, especially since the 6B element in the inventory number shows that it was found during the sixth season of excavations, while the archive emerged in the fifth.

κυρίῳ μν[υ πατρί]; Ἀμμονιανῷ

Απίων χ(αίρεω).

τῇ θείᾳ προνοίᾳ εὐχομαι καὶ ἔχειν καὶ εὖ-
θυμοῦντι απολάζῃ τὰ παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ γράμματα. 5

σπουδασών, κύριε μου πάτερ, δοῦναι Ὁριγάτι
eἰς λόγων τῇ . . . μυριάδα(ε) μυριάδων
μίαν καὶ μυριάδας διεχιλας, καὶ εἰς
λόγων τοῦ μεγάλου αὐξόνος νομ(ειμάτιον) α, 10
μυριάδας Ἄττης. καὶ ποίησις Χρῖου τὸν βοηθ(ῶν)

'Ἡρακλεῖος παρασχεῖν {αὐτῷ} αὐτῷ Ὁριγάτι
eἰς λόγων τῶν σωφρονῶν νομ(ειμάτια) β, μυριάδας) / ψπ.
καὶ περὶ Μαξεντίου κατέσχον τὸ ναύλον
αὐτοῦ ε . . . [ . . . ] , φασί . . . . καὶ ἀν-

tέστῃ ὅτι, ἡ ἄδηθι . . . δέδωκα αὐτῷ

[k]αὶ ἡ ἄδηθι ἑξέπλεξα μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ', καὶ οὕτως
ἐπιλήψατα αὐτὸν. καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας

θανάζωμεν ύμᾶς πῶς ἁβίτε ἡμᾶς,
καθήμενοι ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας,
μοὴν ποιοῦντας, μοὴν ἀποστέλλο<ν>ταις

τὴν λοιπάδαν τῶν ἀργυρίων {κα} δὲν ἐχι-

ρογραφῆσαται κα, ό, εἰ ἀποστέλλεται τὴν

λοιπάδαν, ἐν ταχί ἀποστίλαται. ἢ δὲ μὴ,

γράψαται ἡμῖν. τὴν λοιπάδαν δὲ τῶν

ἀκαντίνων ἀποστίλαται ἐν φατίοις

δύο. καὶ περὶ τῶν δύο ἀρταβῶν τῶν
κομίλουρίων ὅν ἐγραψά οἱ τοῦ Σερήνου

τοῦ {ἐκατοντάρχου} ἀποστίλαται. ἀποσακον τοὺς ἡμῶν

πάντας καὶ ὀνόμα. ἔρρῳθα ἐυχομαι

πολλοῖς χρόνοις.
To my lord father Ammonius, Apion, greetings. I pray to divine providence that you may be well and receive my letter in good spirits. Make sure, my lord father, to give Horigas on account of... one myriad of myriads and two thousand myriads (of denarii; = den. 120,000,000), and on account of the large axle, sol. 1, den. myr. 2,380 (= den. 23,800,000). And make Chious(?), assistant of Heraclius, deliver to the same Horigas on account of the purples sol. 2, den. myr. n, 780 (= den. myr. n7,800,000). And as for Maxentius, I retained his freight money... and he retorted, 'I have already given him... and I already worked it out with him', and so I paid him in full. And as for the supervisorship, we are surprised that you abandoned us, while you sit in Alexandria, doing nothing, not even sending the remainder of the monies for which you made an agreement (21?). So, if you are sending the remainder, send it quickly; if not, write to us. Send the rest of the acacia wood in two reed baskets. As for the two artabas of buns belonging to Serenus the centurion, of which I wrote you, send them. Greet all our own people name by name. I pray to us. Send the rest of the acacia wood in two reed baskets. As for the two artabas of buns belonging to Serenus the centurion, of which I wrote you, send them. Greet all our own people name by name. I pray for your health for many years.'

3-4 The prayer to divine providence was considered, with due reserve, to be a probable criterion of Christianity by M. Naldini, Il Cristianesimo 14. The reserve was stressed subsequently by G. Tibiletti, Le Lettere Private 118-119, n. 34, but the implication of Christianity is still hard to resist, if there are no contrary indications.

For δύνανται cf. F. T. Gignac, Grammar i 71.

The content of the prayer is given in a much abused formula of which there are many versions as garbled as this one, cf. e.g. LV i 3860 2–3 n. It would help the grammar to some extent if θνα or θποκ could be read in place of καϊ, but this seems impossible.

6 τῇ... We expect a genitive with the article here, cf. 8, 11, but τῇ cannot be read, nor has a genitive ending been found to fit the noun. Something like τῇ Κωνιά or Κωνίᾳ would suit the remains, but these seem unconvincing in grammar and meaning.

On myriads of myriads see introd. para. 4. The unexpected order of words, accusative before genitive, is paralleled in XLVIII 3396 i 7 and 3399 5, which also has the disagreement of number, μηρῶν δὲ μηράδων μίαν.

8 αὐτάρος (Ε)γνώς. The variant spelling has no very obvious phonetic justification, see Gignac, Grammar i 229; it may derive from a false etymology from αὐτάρως. This example seems to be early. Others so far noticed are P. Harr. i 112. 8 (V), XVI 1986 22, 25 (349) = SB XI 11231. 23, 26, I 137 15, 16, 23, 26, 29 (584). XVI 1988 16, 20, 29, 34, 38, 596, XVI 1989 14, 17, 30 (590), 1990 19 (391). In the papyri the word usually refers to a component of the water raising machinery now known as the σαξιά, cf. L. Menassa, P. Laferriere, La Saqia.

9 Χωνὴ. Perhaps Χωνή is meant, with one loop too few in the series, as so often happens. In either case the unknown name may be a version of Χωνώς, which is fairly common. Read Χωνώς?

11 πορφύρα. It is not clear whether this refers to dye (πορφύρα?), yarn, cloth, or garments (all from πορφύρα)?

14-16 It is not certain where the direct speech after δὲ ends. It could extend as far as the full stop, but it seems more satisfactory to imagine that Apion withheld money from Maxentius at first, but then paid it over after Maxentius protested.
4000. APION TO AMMONIANUS

19 ἀποστέλλοντας (= -οντες). Cf. F. T. Gignac, Grammar ii 347, on phonetic spellings which look like conflation of aorist stems with perfect participle endings; this too, with its present stem and link with ποιοῦσας (= -τες), is clearly just a phonetic spelling: nasal omitted, Gignac i 116; αι for ε, ib. 197-3.

20 λοιπάναν (= -άναν); also 22, 23. See Gignac, Grammar ii 45-6.

20-21 [κα...] κα. The κ is an angular form written over a small roundel, possibly omicron; κ is a rounded form. Both are used throughout the document. Even if it is the number 21, the meaning is very obscure.

24 φατίνες = φαθίνες, 'reed baskets'. See most lately P. Nepheros (B. Kramer, J. C. Shelton, Das Archiv des Nepheros) 5, 11 n. For loss of unaccented iota before a back vowel see Gignac, Grammar i 304; for theta replaced by tau, here also in ἄκανθων for ἄκανθων, see ibid. 87.

25 κομλανύρων. Cf. Suidas (Adler) I iii p. 166, 2177 κολλανύρων: εἶδος μελετούστης (1. μελετούστης; cf. LSJ s.v. μελετοῦσα), 'kind of honey cake'. This version of the word is not in LSJ, which cf. s.v. κολλαφρών, or Suppl. The spelling is very varied and in some contexts this sense cannot be distinguished from that of κολλάφρων, 'ointment, (eye) salve', cf. ibid. (Adler) I iii p. 146, 1954 κολλάφρων: τὰ κολλάφρα ἔχουσα τὰς οὐφρας, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἀρτιον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀτρικῶν φαρμάκων λέγεται. See also E. Battaglia, Artos 88-9. Cf. 4001 29 and n.

26-7 Σερήνου τοῦ (ἐκατοντάρχου). Cf. XLVIII 3416 11 Σερήνου τοῦ (δεκαδάρχου); fresh inspection of the original shows that the abbreviation is χ for ἐκατοντάρχης, rather than χ for δεκαδάρχης. The loop of the rho can still be distinguished in spite of abrasion. This links 4000 with the archive of Papnuthis and Dorotheus, see XLVIII pp. 74-6, but 4000 is not certainly part of that archive, see introd.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

4001. EUDAEMON TO HIS MOTHER, GRANDMOTHERS, AND CYRA

25 3B.58/F(a) 11 × 26.5 cm Late fourth century

This letter is interesting mainly for its references to medical matters, and it is particularly unfortunate that these most interesting passages are damaged by fading and by the loss of what seems to be a very small rectangle of papyrus near the bottom left. It seems that Eudaemon was away from home, which the address shows to have been a doctor’s surgery, presumably in Oxyrhynchus, and wrote back to his mother, grandmothers, and a lady called Cyra, whom we might take to be his sister or his wife.

He asked for the means to make more and different medical instruments, which he seems to have intended to do by himself, and for a heater, πορτακήρ, a word known from only one reference in the medical writer Soranus, and for a set of cupping vessels, which would have been for the universal remedy of blood-letting.

A useful collection of references to doctors in the papyri is to be found in CPR XIII pp. 89-100.

The Greek is that of an educated person, with only one intrusive nasal (13) and some few iotacisms, and the hand, which is the same throughout including the address, is well written without haste, although with no pretension to calligraphy. It belongs probably to the second half of the fourth century, and the references to divine providence are pretty certain to be Christian in association.
The writing of the main body of the letter runs along the fibres, but there is no sheet join to show that this is the recto. Two further lines were added downwards in the left margin, and an address was written upwards along the fibres of the back. The letter was rolled up with the right edge inside and squashed flat in the usual way, the exposed left edge was tucked inside for protection, a binding was placed round the middle of the flat package, and the address written in two halves divided by the binding. There is a pale patch in the middle, but no sign of the pattern often associated with such bindings; this may be due to fading or abrasion; all the writing on the back is now very faint.

κυρία[ء] μου μητρί και μάμας
όμοι και Κύρια, Ευνάμων χαίρει(ν).
έπευγα και ἐνό χαμάς προσεπείν
εὐκαιρείαν εὑρέων, εὐχόμενος
τῇ θείᾳ προνοίᾳ ὅσω εὐθυμοῦσαι
καὶ ὑγειαίουσαι ἀπολάβῃ τὰ
παρ’ ἐμοῦ γράμματα. πάνω γὰρ ἡ-
μᾶς Ἡρακλάμμων ἐλθὼν ἑτά-
ραξέν, οτὲ φησίν, ἐπόκησεν Κύρα
ἡ ἀδελφή ἡμῶν’, ἀλλ’ εὐχαρισ-
τούμεν τῇ θείᾳ προνοίᾳ τῇ παγ-
ταχοῦ ἡμῖν καὶ εἰς πάντα βοηθοῦ-
σῃ, οτὶ καὶ αὐτῇ(ν) ὑγείανεν. γν’ ὁ’-
tω δὲ ὅτι τὰ λινοῦδα ἐπὶ θῆ τῆς
ἀδελφῆς ἡμῶν Κυρίλλης καὶ ἔκ(ν)
εὑρω γνήσιον ἐρχόμενον ἀ-
pοτέλλων αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν πορφυρὸ(ν)
καράκαλλον καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα. ἔπ-
χήκαμεν δὲ τὰ εὐκή παρὰ Ἐλένης
τῆς πλουμαρίας καὶ μόνα δ’ βιβλία
εὑρον ἐν τῇ διακκαίᾳ, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐγρά-
ψατε δὲ, ἐπετείλαμεν’. ἔχαμε(ν)
dὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα χωρίς μόνης
τῆς ὑδρείας τοῦ ἐξυγγείου. οὖν
4001. EUDAEMON TO HIS MOTHER, GRANDMOTHERS, AND CYRA 159

25 ἐσπουδασάτω δό αἰδελφὸς ἡμῶν
      Θεόδωρος λητήσας ἡπ ἥνον
      να... καὶ γινώναι περὶ [�] αὐτοῦ
      ...]... ὑδρεῖαν, παρέχεν ἀν-
      τὶ τοῦ δέξυγγειον κολλουρίων ὑδρεῖ-

30 [...][αν. ἐσπουδασον δὲ τὸ χα[λ]κοῦν δελτά-
      ρίων μοι ἀποστείλαι, ἵνα ἄλλα ἀρμενα ποι-
      ᾶςω, μὴ τὰ αὐτά, καὶ τὸν πυριατήρα
      ὁμοίως καὶ τὰς εἰκής, ἵνα ποιῆσω ...
      τάδιον.

Downwards across the fibres in the left margin:

35 ἀπόστειλον δὲ καὶ κολλουρίων λίτρας τρὶς μεμιγμένων ἀπὸ
      πάντων ........[.......]........
      εστικα καὶ .............ο[.]........[.]....[.]... ἀλλα..... λάβω
      ἔτερα καλὰ α...α...

Back, upwards along the fibres:

ἀπόδος εἰς τὸ ιατρεῖον (vac.) [πα]βά Εὐδαίμονος.

1 l. μάμμαις 2 χαρέ 3 ύμας 5 l. ἐκαίριον 6 ὑγ.; l. ὑγαίνουσαι 10 ἀλλ
13 ὑγ.; l. ὑγάνεν 18 εδ. 17 πορφυροῦ? 21 ύμας 22 εσχαμέ 24 ὑδρεῖας; l.
ὑδρεῖας, δέξυγγου 28, 29 ὑδρεῖ.; l. ὑδρέ.; l. δέξυγγου 31 ἑνα 35 l. τρεις

'To the ladies my mother and grandmothers together with Cyra, Eudaemon, greetings. Having found a good opportunity I made haste to greet you right now, praying to divine providence that you may receive my letter in good health and spirits. For Heraclammon came and worried us greatly, because he says, 'Our sister Cyra fell ill', but we thank divine providence; which helps us everywhere and in everything, that she too has recovered. Let her know that the linen garments of our sister Cyrilla were cut from the loom, and if I find a friend going I will send them and the purple cape with a hood and the shoes. We have received the goods from Helen the embroidress and I found only four books in the saddlebag, while you wrote, 'We sent five'. We had all the other things too except only the jar of grease. So let our brother Theodorus make sure to look ... and to know about it ... jar, he provided instead of the grease a jar of ointments. Make sure to send me the bronze sheet(?), so that I may make other instruments, not the same ones, and the heater likewise and the cupping vessels, so that I may make (a set of five?).'

Downwards in the left margin:

'Send also three pounds of ointments mixed from all ... astringent ones and ... I (may?) receive other nice ones ...'

Address:

'Deliver to the surgery, from Eudaemon.'
Another consideration might be that 'medical knowledge was especially likely to be transmitted through reading', W. V. Harris, Ancient Literacy 275, cf. 82, and Professor Parsons draws our attention to P. Ross—Georg. III 1. 17-18 γράφατον ἐκτιμάσαι μον τα ἰατρικά βιβλία (3rd cent.). By the date of this letter a medical book might well be more likely to be in codex than in roll form, especially because codices were easier to consult (Harris, 256-7). On the early appearance of medical codices see C. H. Roberts, Proceedings of the British Academy 40 (1954) 195-6, citing the story of the bishop who answered an accusation of surrendering Christian books during Diocletian's persecution with the words, 'dedi codices medicinales', cf. 184-5 n. 2, (b) and (e). It is very probable that βιβλίον can have that meaning, see G. W. H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon s.v. βιβλίον, but no clear example of it has been found on this occasion.
21 δοκάκα τος. For the doublet δικάκα/δικάκα and others of the same kind see G. Husson, Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia iii 1297–1301.

24 δικερίας (l. δικερία), cf. 28, 29–30. It is not certain whether this word implies any definite form or size of vessel, see C. Darenberg, E. Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités iii 319, s.v. Hidria.

31 δρμέας. Cf. LSJ s.v. 3 b., citing Bacch. ap. Erot. fr. 37 (also 61, with virtually the same words) ἀρμέα γιὰ τὸ δίδως λέγεται τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἱστρεῖ κρεᾶν ἐπιτήθεια ἐργαλεία, ὀλον χμίλα, φιλεβόμα καὶ τάλλα τὰ τούτου ὁμοια.

32 πυραθέρα. This occurs once only, Soranus, Gynaec. 3. 10. 3, in a list of means to apply local heat to the body: πυραθέρας βερβίων ἑδατος πεπληρωμένων.

33 κράκας, 'cups vessels'. On their use, mostly for blood-letting, see the brief clear account of J. S. Milne, Surgical Instruments in Greek and Roman Times 101–5, Pll. IV, XXXI–XXXVII. Note that the small versions illustrated in XXXVI 1, 3 are now considered modern, see E. Künzl, Germania ix 1982 ii 513–32; this article gives a good modern bibliography and an account of the ancient examples. The plural is explained by the fact that doctors needed a set in different sizes to suit any part of the body chosen for this treatment, which was so prevalent that the cupping vessel became a symbol of the profession, illustrated especially on the tombs of doctors. It is mentioned in three fragmentary medical texts surviving on papyrus, see M.-H. Marganne, Inventaire analytique des papyri grecs de médecine pp. 61, 89, 292. Two examples may be illustrated in a temple relief of the Roman period at Kom Ombo, see e.g. A. Stettler, Antike Welt 13, 3 (1982) 48–53, esp. 50, Abb. 4, 1. cf. M.-H. Marganne-Mérand in Archéologie et Médecine, IIIèmes Rencontres Internationales d’Archéologie et d’Histoire d’Antiquités 404–5. An earthenware example is now in the collection of the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin, see C.-B. Arns, Forschungen und Berichte 28 (1990) 31, with abb. 14, but, although it is assigned to the Graeco-Roman period, nothing is known of its provenance or acquisition. Dr Jaromir Málek, of the Griffith Institute, Oxford, kindly gave us his help with matters relating to Egyptology and in particular supplied the references to the illustrated articles of Stettler and Arns.

33–4 The unread word appears to end in -αίων, a diminutive suffix which was not very productive in the Greek of the period, see L. R. Palmer, Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri 88–9; for the known
possibilities see P. Kretschmer, P. Locker, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* 147–8. A possible reading might be πετάδων; the putative nu has suffered the most damage and is completely uncertain, but the other four letters are at least well suited to the remains. In BGU III 812, 6 and P. Mil. II 77 (=SB VI 9509): a πετάδων appears to mean a ‘set of five’.

35 κολλυρίων. Cf. 20 n.

36 στατικά, ‘astringent ones’. It seems probable that this, and not a prepositional compound, is the full word, and that the topic under discussion is still κολλυρία, cf. Actius Amidenus, *Iatric.* 104 περί τῶν στατικῶν κολλυρίων καὶ οργημάτων, καὶ τὰ στατικά καλούμενα κολλώρα ἀποκρουστικά τυγχάνει. Ἡττησι γὰρ τὴν ἄτακτον ἄρμην τοῦ θείματος.

4002. *Diogenes to Eumathius*

65 6B.32/M(6)a 21 x 26 cm Fourth/fifth century

The sender of this letter was a *scholasticus*, that is, a man with legal training, see 23 n. As the bearer of his letters he made use of an armed guard (*εὐμαχος*) attached to an official, probably a civil servant, with the military title of *speculator*, see 5–6 n. In such a context it is not surprising that the language is pretty correct and the writing competent. The main part of the letter, lines 1–15, is in a tall, upright, very fluent, official looking cursive. A second hand in much the same style, but smaller, lighter, and less careful, begins in line 15 and carries through to the end, including the farewell formula. Probably this is the hand of the sender himself and some of the corrections in the earlier section, particularly of iotaicisms, look as if they are in this lighter hand, so that we may guess that a clerk wrote most of the letter and that the sender corrected it and added a postscript and farewell. It looks as if he also intervened in the address on the back, see 22–3 n.

The position of this address shows that the letter was packaged to be sent in the usual way, cf. 3989 introd. para. 3. A sheet join running vertically about 2 cm from the right edge of the front shows that the letter was written along the fibres of the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut.

The recipient is addressed as ‘my master’ (1, 22), but what he receives is a continuous stream of orders and complaints about his failure to send letters and to reply properly to enquiries, so that he was almost certainly not in any way the sender’s superior. The business is entirely private and consists of requests for goods and for information about people. The reference in 18 to φόροι, whether they are rents or taxes, comes in the context of the management of irrigated land and appears to represent a landowner’s point of view.
DIOGENES TO EUMATHIUS

τῷ δεκπότῃ μου (vac.) Εὐμαθίων

(vac.) Διογένης.


5 ἀπέστειλα καὶ τὸν καὶ διὰ εὐμμάχου διαφέροντος Μελαν τῷ επεκουλάτορι ἅλλας τρ’ ἐ’ς ἐπιστολὰς. ἵν’ οὐν ταύτας ὑποδέξῃ,

γράφων. τὰς ὑθρείας καὶ κύθρας καὶ βαυκάλεις μοι ἀπόστιλον διὰ τοῦ φέροντος τὰ ἐπιμηνίδια πλοίου. περὶ Φιλαδέλφου

οὐδέν μοι ἔγραφας. πώς διάγε’; ποίησον Σαλιών τὸν

ἀπὸ Τόκα δροῦναι κοι τὸ φελόνιον Ἀθανασίου τοῦ βοηθοῦ, ἢν ἀποστήλης ἡμεῖν ἐνταῦθα. καὶ κεράμιον τυρῶν ἀποσταλῆτα ἡμεῖν. ἐλ[ε] α’ς ἀπόστιλον καὶ φακῆς

λεπτεπιμελένην ὅλγην καὶ κετάριον ὅλγην λεπτεπιμελένων,

tοκοῦτον δόνον καί πέρυο ἀπεστάλη. τὰς κεράς τοῦ

κραβάκτου μοι ἀπόστιλον. (m. 2?) πολλάκις κοι ἔγραψα ἢν μοι δηλώσῃς περὶ Θεοδόρου, εἰ ἐπαύσατο ἄλγων τὸν ὀδόντα. εἰ ἐλαβεῖτ[[η]]’ ἐ’ τὸν χόρτον τῆς Ἀδεύου τὸν Κορνηλίου, δήλωλόν μοι, καὶ περὶ τοῦ λάκκον καὶ περὶ

θεραπευον ἔργων ἐν ταῖς μιχαναῖς καὶ εἰ οἱ φοροὶ εὐπεπληρώθησαν.

πώς διάγει ἡ Διονυσία? (vac.) ἐρρώθθαι ε’ς πολλότι

χρόνοις εὐχομαι,

κύριε μου.

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 1?) τῶι δεκπότῃ μου (vac.) (m. 2?) ἐν Ὀξύρυγχῳ (design) (m. 1?) Εὐμαθίων

(Acts) Διογένης εχολ(ακτικός)

6 ὅμων 7 γραφῶν; ὑθρείας; 1. δόριας, χύτρας, ἀπόστελλον 10 δώνει: δὴ σοτ; 1. φαινόλων;

11 1. ἀποστελέσθη ἡμῖν 12 1. ἡμῖν, ἀπόστελλον 14 1. κεραίας? 15 1. ἀπόστελλον

17 1. Ἀδαίου, δήλωσον

‘To my master Eumathius, Diogenes. Although I have been sending you many letters over a long time, I hardly receive any letters dispatched by you, since you rarely send any. I sent just now also, by the armed guard who is attached to Melas the speculator, another three letters. So I write to you to take delivery of them. Send me the jars and the pots and the jugs by the boat which brings the monthly supplies. About Philadelphus you wrote me nothing. How is he getting on? Make Salius, the man from Toca, give you the cape belonging to Athanasius the assistant, so that you can send it to us here. And have a pot of cheeses sent to us. Send olives and a little husked lentil and a little husked wheat, the same amount that was sent last year. Send me the bed beams? (and hand?) I wrote often to you to let me know about Theodorus, whether his tooth has stopped aching. If you got the hay from Adaeu, belonging to Cornelius, let me know;
PRIVATE LETTERS

also about the cistern and about summer works in the irrigated fields and if the taxes (or money rents?) have been covered in full. How is Dionysia getting along?

'I pray for your health for many years, my lord.'

Address:
(1st hand?) 'To my master Eumathius. (2nd hand?) in Oxyrhynchus, (1st hand?) Diogenes scholasticus'.

4 ἀρετήλεξε. Most of the corrections, and all those relating to iotacisms, appear to be in the thinner pen which wrote lines 15–21. The insertion of τα in 3 looks like the first hand, that of zeta in 4 is too damaged to allow a judgement. See introd., for the suggestion that the sender corrected the letter as written by a clerk and added postscript, farcwell formula, and the location in the address. Note that several iotacisms and phonetic spellings have been left uncorrected, e.g. ἰδρεία[c], ἀπόστιλον (7), φελάνον (10), ἀρετήλεξη ἁμέν (11), κερέας (14).

5–6 διὰ συμμάχου διάφωτον. Μέλαν τών σπειρωλάτων. On σύμμαχοι see LVIII 3932 11 n., citing A. JORDENS, ZPE 66 (1986) 105–118. In that sixth century letter the armed messenger was attached to an etc. Here it seems very likely that the sēkibras was also a member of one of the provincial offices, a member of the militia officiā as a member of the principate, long obsolete in the army of the day, rising to be sēkibras, cornicularius and centurio princeps, and finally on retirement primipilus'. Cf. BGU XIII 2332. 6–7 στά τῶν ἱερωμάτων ἑορτοκάματης (l. ἱερωμον, Ἀδρ.), SB XIV 11551. 3–4 κκ. τάξεως ἱερωμικά τής Θηβαίβας.

Diogenes the sender could also have been attached to a provincial officium as a scholasticus, see 23 n.

The Rev. J. Chaup is kindly drawn our attention to P. Nepr. 20 with its updated list of papyrus references to the sēkibras [64], and to the study by C. SPICQ, Notes de lexicographie néo-testamentaire ii 735–7.

7 ἰδρεία[c] (l. ἱδρεύς). Cf. 4001 24 n.

κόμπος (l. γύμπας). On the spelling, which is the predominant one in the papyri, see F. T. GIGNAC, Grammar i 94. The φόρτα was a round cooking pot made on the wheel, see Stephanus, Thesaurus s.v., and it had, or might have, handles or lugs, see LSJ s.v.

Βαυκάλεια. On words for containers beginning βαυκάλη- see H. C. YOUTIE, Scriptiunculae i 520–21. They denote a sort of pot with a narrow neck. The name is supposed to be Alexandrian (Athen. Deipnosoph. 11. 784b, βαυκάλην) and onomatopoeic, deriving from the sound a liquid made when poured in or out: Alex. Aphrod. Problem. 1. 94 διὰ τί τὰ λεγόμενα καυκάλα (l. βαυκάλη) εν τῷ πληρωθείσι ὕδατος ψόφον τινά ἀπότελει, δὴν καὶ ἡ φύσις, καὶ τὸ ποιόν τοῦ ψόφου εἰς ὄρθως αὐτῶν μετήνεγκεν, ὡς καὶ τὸ φλοίοσος καὶ βοσβορροῖς καὶ τὰ λασία, ὅτι τὸ ἄγχος ἐν τῷ μη ἄχου ἄδρος πεπληρωσαί, εἰμιατος λεπτότερον τυγχάνοντος. ἐν τῷ τῷ καθεθεῖσα ἀθρόως εἴς αὐτῷ τό ἄδρο τῇ βαριπηθέν διώκει τόν ἄρα ἕως ὡς λεπτομερή ... τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄδρον ἐπὶ τό κατά βιαζέται τόν ἄρα, δὲ ἄρι ἐπὶ τό ἄνω τό ἄδρο. καὶ τοῖτον κατὰ διαδόχη γυμνόμενον εὑμβαίνει καὶ τὸν ψόφον πυκνῶς γίνεται. Several pots of different sizes with narrow necks and fat bodies are illustrated in P. Fay. Pl. XIII.

It is perhaps worth suggesting that the reason the word βαυκάλω appears throughout XVIII 2197 as a unit equivalent to 3,000 bricks, cf. XVI 2055 42 (BL H I p. 140). P. Mert. I 44–2, could possibly be that the bricks were baked, three thousand at a time, in a kiln shaped like the pot of this name, which might have been rather similar to the now obsolete bottle kilns of which a few nineteenth century examples still survive in England. The brick is specified as baked brick, ἀστρόπλαθος, in both 2055 and 2197; if the suggestion is correct, the πλάθος of P. Mert. I 44 has to be understood as baked brick, rather than the commoner mud brick, simply dried in the sun.

The Alexandrian church called Baucalis, cf. Youtie, op. cit. 521 n. 14, may perhaps have been a circular, tholus-shaped building.

8 διὰ ταύ ... πλαύνω. The sender was evidently not in Oxyrhynchus, cf. 22, but in some place which could be reached by boat from there.


9 Μαλουίν. For the declension cf. F. T. GIGNAC, Grammar ii 60 (vii).
round the letter. However, has been added in the lighter hand and at a slightly higher level in the space between the first half of the address and the design which marks the place where the binding was tied round the letter.

The position of this word seems odd, but iota is very clear. Cf. 4003 35 and n. See introd. for the change of writing in this line.

The repetition of the lambda in place of sigma is clearly accidental, see δηλοῦσι correctly in 13. For a similar accident cf. LV 1385 52–3 πολλοίς χρόνοις (1. χρόνοις).

For the spelling of this word with kappa tau, which is usual in the papyri, see F. T. Gignac, Grammar i 66.

μοι. The position of this word seems odd, but iota is very clear. Cf. 4003 35 and n.

The word may have the same sense in P. Cairo. Zen. I 5969. 3. Again, cf. elsewhere in the papyri with the internal consonants in reverse order, and this has been so persistent that Modern Greek has δηλοῦσι, 'chasuble'. On the late Byzantine church vestment see N. K. Moran, "Singers in Late Byzantine and Slavonic Painting" 32–4. On the ancient garment, one of several styles of hooded cape, see L. M. Wilson, The Clothing of the Ancient Romans 87–92. J. P. Wild, Britannia 17 (1986) 703 n. 177.

Athanasioi tou bopophoi. An Athanasius bopophos of unknown origin in a document of 354. P. Stras. V 329. 1, may be too early; possibly relevant is another who was the recipient of an order to pay of λα 350, XIV 1753. The order was issued by a man called Limenius, a name which appears in other papyri of about the same date, see LI 3639 1. (correct 1752 there to 1753), but there is no stronger indication that all the men of this name are identical, nor is there any strong indication that our Athanasius and the one in 1753 are the same. That one was presumably assistant to Limenius in a private capacity. The title of 'assistant' is extremely common over a long period, and is found also in connection with public officials such as the strategus and logistes as well as with compulsory public servants such as the δεκάιρως and other tax collectors. Note also the βοσθ. (σχολακτηκοι) in CPR XIV 39 6. It is possible that Athanasius was the assistant of Diogenes himself in this case.

12–13 υπομνημεναι. On leontis in general cf. LI 3628 13 n. Unhusked lentils were sometimes referred to as αλόδαρακος, see XVIII 2190 61. P. Bouriant 13. 5. P. Ryl. IV 627. 79, possibly also PSI VI 683. 33 (BL VII 236), and certainly P. Oslo III 191. 2.

14–15 τας κεραίας (1. κεραίας) ... του κραβάκτου. Most commonly found as a nautical term for a yard or spar which carries a sail, κεραία can mean a beam and probably any long piece of wood with a substantial but comparatively narrow section. In connection with a bed these seem most likely to be the longest timbers which run from each side of the head to the foot, but it is not obvious why they should come separately from the legs and the necessary cross-pieces. Since this interpretation seems difficult, perhaps it is possible that there is some confusion with κεράω, the latticework of a bed, made of reed or grass rope criss-crossed in the manner of leather straps, cf. C. Daremberg, E. Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités iii. 2, p. 1015 col. ii (sax. lectus), LXX Proverbs 7. 16, and for a well illustrated account of beds of the Pharaonic period Hollis S. Baker, Furniture in the Ancient World 102–6, 123, 142–5. For papyri see especially P. Freib. IV 53. 34–5. άγγελον δια Μάρωνος κ(ε)ριάκες κλωνά δίο (1. 8c). The word may have the same sense in P. Cairo. Zen. I 5969. 9, 11. IV 5969. 2. PSI IV 341. 7, 38. 4. VI 616. 33. VII 834. 10 (all 111 bc), and SB XIV 12103. 14 (κεράων; from ZPE 24 (1977) 82–8; I/II Δπ., where perhaps some connection with beeswax is not excluded). In P. Hels. I 7. 7. 8. 10 κ(ε)ριάων among woven goods probably means 'bandage', cf. NT Eu. 70. 11. 44 (of the grave-wrappings of Lazarus). However, κεράω and κεράα are not homophones, so that the confusion must be more than phonetic, if this conjecture is to be right.

15 κραβάκτου. For the spelling of this word with kappa tau, which is usual in the papyri, see F. T. Gignac, Grammar i 66.
22 Ὀξυρύχω. This form of the name of Oxyrhynchus is very rare, see LVI 3860 γ–10 n., adding P. Wash. Univ. II 108, 3–8, but here there seems no doubt of the reading or interpretation, cf. 4006 12, so that in 3860 9 and 10 Ὀξυρύχων (= Ὀξυρύχον rather than Ὀξύρυχον ΚΕ. πόλις) should be thought less unlikely now.

23 Διογένης σχολαστικός. No scholastici of this name is known either from the list in Axel Claus, 'Ὁ σχολαστικός (Diss. Köln 1965) 20–43 or from the supplements by P. J. Sijpesteijn, ὉΡΕ 70 (1987) 144–5, and T. Gagos, ὉΡΕ 79 (1989) 272; add Gerontius from CPR XIV 39. 3. The term denotes a man with legal training. Some scholastici were attached to high officials, see Claus 132–9, so that it is possible that Diogenes was a colleague of Melas the speculator, see 5–6 n., in some provincial officium, cf. P. Berl. Zill. 5. 5–6 ἵλαστρον τάξις ἡγεμόνιος Θ[ηβαίων], and especially the scholastici in the list of praesidial officials in CPR XIV 39. 2, 3, 6, with 2 n., although it must be pointed out that this list does not contain any speculatores. Of course the indication is tenuous; scholastici acted as courtroom lawyers, judges, municipal and imperial officials.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

4003. Didymus to Athanasius

64 6B.56/G(4–5)a

The grammar of this letter is shaky and the spelling vulgar, which comes as a surprising contrast with the subjects discussed. The sender appears to be taking the initiative in the building of a church and to be giving authority for money to be spent on it; he issues instructions about estate matters in a manner which suggests he was either the owner or a very senior manager; he requests copies of proceedings in the court of an Augustal prefect. In the first half of his letter Didymus urges Athanasius to put his best efforts into a project of building a church. The financial resources for this part of the work, which was mostly concerned with stones and pillars probably to be made out of the stones, consisted of the price of a donkey, unstated, and three gold solidi. We do not learn where the church was to be; perhaps a village is more likely than the metropolis. The stones were to be transported on a fishing-boat from the Oxyrhynchite village of Tampemu in the eastern toparchy, probably the place now marked on the maps as Tambu.

In the second half of his letter, which is on the back of the sheet, he gives instructions which are chiefly about the management of an estate, round which he wants Athanasius to make a tour of inspection and to see to the repair or equipment of irrigation machines. The stewards (προνοητάς, 41), whom Athanasius was to keep at work, were presumably local managers on this estate and their plurality implies that the estate was not small. Didymus also asks for records of proceedings held before an Augustal prefect, probably the prefect of Egypt, to be sent to him because he needs them, or will need them, in Pelusium. Pelusium and Oxyrhynchus both belonged to the province of Augustamnica from its creation in AD 341, see L 3576 introd., until the smaller province of Arcadia was created with Oxyrhynchus as its metropolis.

The handwriting is large and, like the grammar and spelling, rather clumsy, although probably not unpractised. Such hands are among the most difficult to date,
but it looks as if it belongs to the late fourth or to the fifth century. The title of praefectus Augustalis is said to have been first bestowed on Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus as prefect of Egypt in AD 367, see A. H. M. Jones etc., The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire i 876, which gives a conservative terminus post quem for this document. The fact that this person involved in agriculture in the Oxyrhynchite area was travelling to Pelusium, quite probably to transact business in the court of the praeses of Augustamnica, suggests that it dates from before the creation of Arcadia, which is first mentioned in a document in Stud. Pap. XX 117 of AD 411, cf. LI p. 75, three years after the death of the emperor Arcadius, from whom the province evidently derived its name. The date of its foundation is not known, so there remains a possibility that it dates back even into the reign of Theodosius I.

A sheet-join running vertically very close to the right edge shows that the letter begins along the fibres of the recto of the original roll from which the piece was cut. Lines 1–30 are written in this way, parallel with the short sides of the piece, with 29–30 containing a farewell formula, but line 31, which is written downwards in the left margin, continues the text from the end of 28. Then the sheet was turned over and the letter was continued on the back, written upwards with respect to the first side, along the fibres of the verso of the original roll and parallel with the long sides of the piece. There is no address or sign of tying, but repeating patterns of damage indicate that the letter was rolled up from the right edge as was normal and then squashed flat. The absence of address probably means simply that it was delivered by a messenger who knew the destination well, although it might have been put into a parcel of goods.

κυρίῳ μου ἄδελφω Ἀθανασίῳ,

Δίδυμος.

tὸν ἐπιωράνιὸν σοῦ
θεόν, οὖτως νυν-5
φεύεις τὰ ἄρσενικά εἰς
tέκτα, πρὸ πάντων
χρεώστην μὲ ἔχω (v)
tῆς μεγάλης ταύτ-10
τῆς χάριτος, ἐπείδης
cεαντὸν εἰς τὴν ἐκλη-
cίαν. καὶ τὴν τιμὴν
tοῦ ὄνου καὶ τάλλα
τρία ὀλοκότ[ι]να,
ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνάλογος (v)
15 καὶ τελίωσον τὴν ἐκ-
ασίαν. ἡδὴ γὰρ εἴρη(ν)
tοῦς λάθους Ἴσιαιάς
ὁ λαοῦς. εὐνεφώνη-
σεν οὖν πρὸς τὸν ἀν-
θρωπον. καὶ ἀγόρασον(ν)
δύο χρυσάνθη
καὶ ἀρκώντε. τελίωσον(ν)
tοῦς κίνας. ἀπὸ δὰ(μ)-
πεμοῦ ποίησον τὸ

20 ἀλιωτικὸν πρὸ τῆς
ἀποβάεις ἐνεν-
κεῖν. παρακαλῶς μὴ
παρήδησες μου ταύτη(ν)

(vac.) ἱ[ρπ]ψθαῖς[ε[ε]] εἴχομαι

30 (vac.) [π]αλλοῖς χρή[σ]υς[ε].

Downwards in the left hand margin:

τὴν ἀξίωσεν. καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς σοῦ ποιεῖς.

Back, upwards along the fibres:

κατασκευὴ(ν) τῶν μηχανῶν τῆς οὐσίας ἑτόμαζον.
περιέρθη τὴν οὐσίαν. ἀπέστηλά σοι καὶ 'Βορτάσιον σχολάδων 'σοι'.
[.....] τὰ υπομνήματα ὅλα τοῦ Ἀγουσταλίων ἀ ἑχες φω(ν)-
όν. μέλῳ ἑφηδὼν ώς χρη', μετὰ επουδής μ[ο]ι ἀπόστηλον. [χ]ρό-

35 αν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔχω ἐν Πηλουσώ. μὴ ἀνα...η... ει...ε...
τῆς ἑλευθερᾶς μου καὶ ἐν τούτῳ με χρεώστην με ἑχεις,
καθὼς καὶ αὐτή σε προς[..]τρέψας. θαρσῶ δὲ ὅτι μᾶλ-
λον τὰ πάντα ποιεῖς ώς ἐμὲ παρόντος, εἶνα δυνηθῶμεν
τὰ δημόσια εὑρεῖν. μὴ ἀμελήσεις δὲ τοὺς κίνας. ἐπίγε
τοὺς προνοητάς. ἑλευθερῶν θηρωρὸν εὑρέ.

3 ω corr. or rewritten; 1. ἐπομμάζων
4—5 1. νυμφεύεσθε
6 1. τέκνα
7 εἵω
9 1. ἐπίδεικ
10—11 1. ἐκκλησίας
13 1. ἀλοκόττων
14 αναλογον; 1. ἀναλώσων
15 1. τελίωσον
15—16 1. ἐκκλησίας
16 εὑρέ
17 ἰσακεῖας
20 αγορασά
22 1. ἀρκοῦνται; τελίωσι:
To my lord brother Athanasius, Didymus. By your god in heaven, as you shall find wives for your male children, before all, with me as your debtor for this great favour, devote yourself to the church! As for the price of the donkey and the other three solidi, spend out of these and finish the church, for Isiæas the stonecutter has found the stones already, so he made an agreement with the man. And buy two solidi (worth of stones?) and they will be enough. Finish the columns. Have the fishing-boat transport (them) from Tampemu before the river falls. I beg you, do not disregard this request of mine, for indeed you are acting for the sake of my soul and of yours.

'I pray for your health for many years.'

'Make ready for the repair of the irrigation machines of the estate. Make a tour of the estate. I sent you Hecortasius too at your disposal. All the records of proceedings of the Augustal of which you have been shouting, 'I am going to examine (them) properly', send off to me speedily, for I have need of them in Pelusium ... (of?) my wife and in this column will have me as your debtor, as she herself urged you. I am confident that you will do everything as if I were present the more in order that we may be able to find the public taxes. Don't neglect the columns. Drive the stewards on. Find a free man to be doorkeeper.'

3-4 τὸν ἐποράκοντον (1. ἐπορωμάκον) σου θείον. See H. Ljungvik, Etosio 27 (1929) 170-1 for the oath without an introductory particle, ματι νηφό, citing VI 941 8 (punctuate ... μόνον παρέχει μοι τὸν ὀνόμα σου, εὕθει ... δηλώματα μοι τὴν παρ' αὐτού άπόκρυψη), XVI 1841 3, 1859 4-6, PSI VIII 973 3 (punctuate ... πάνω, καὶ τῶν θείων σου, εὕθει τὰ δικαιώματά ...), 7-8 (punctuate ... Καλούντω, τῷ θεόν σου, ... εὐλογίαν εἰς τὸ νομίκιον ...), 9-10 (punctuate ... [ ... ] αὐτοῦ τοῦ θείου σου, δίδω αὐτῷ τὴν ἑπτάκλητον παρὰ τὸν Θεοδώρου ...). Cf. S. G. Kapsomenakis, Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammar der Papyri der nachchristlichen Zeit 95 n. 1, adding P. Ross.-Georg. III 18 8.

For confusion of ο&omega; and ω see F. T. Gignac, Grammar i 208-211, cf. here lines 14(?), 22(?), 34, 36.

4-6 For this unusual expression there is a close parallel, the only one known, in P. Ant. I 41 14-15 ἄλλα ἀδικοὺς νυνθήκης 1. -ετικι; τὰ παράδος σου τῆς ἀδίκωσεις μου μηδένδες(μ)ον. The future tense, as here, is probably more appropriate than the subjunctive. That letter is assigned to the late fourth or fifth century, and by coincidence also mentions Pelusium, cf. 36 here, but it is from Antinoopolis and has no relation with ours.

17 *Iociaiac.* This name is unknown, unless it is a garbled version of 'Iacicus. If so, the initial iota is the phonetic equivalent of eta, cf. Gignac, op. cit. i 235-6, while ει is for iota, op. cit. i 189-191. The second iota would be a case of 'vowel development', op. cit. i 310-311 (no example after sigma).

18 Λαοζεύς. See Gignac, op. cit. ii 37. Cf. XLVI 3308 5 n. 3308 of ΛΩ 373 gives a terminus ante quem for the reappearance in Byzantine times of the classical form, displaced in earlier papyri by λαοζίς.

20-22 The instruction is probably to buy stones to the value of two solidi, cf. e.g. H. C. Youtie, Scripturale Palastrones ii 672-3 πέρπης ... ἄρα ποκεία δραχμάς ἐκοίμωσα, 'send ... twenty drachmas' worth of cotton', even if in other contexts the papyri speak of buying solidi by paying for them in the subsidiary coinage, e.g. LVIII 3401.

The resources available were three solidi plus the price, unstated, of a donkey (11-14), and out of these (ἐξ αὐτῶν 14) the church was to be completed.

Comparison of τελ(ε)ίωσον ποιός ἔκοιμωσα here (22-3) with τελ(ε)ίωσον τὴν ἐκ(κ)ληρίαν above (15-16) suggests that the stones of 17 were intended to make up these columns. The price of 2 solidi represents 1/2 of a libra of gold, or in modern weight just under 9 grammes. In I 134 of ΛΩ 509 a chief of an association of quarrymen (expand κεφαλ/α)οντης) τῶν λαυτῶν 15-16, similarly 29) contracted to supply and deliver 200 large stones for 1 solidus. In XVI 1911 166-8 of ΛΩ 557 the Apion estate bought 150 large stones from quarrymen at 1 solidus less (a discount of) 4½ carats. These texts give some clue to the extent of the work, although our ideas are bound to remain vague, especially since the sums given here refer only to the end of the work on the church and we do not know what preceded. On church building in Egypt see E. Wipszycka, Les ressources ... des églises 105-9, esp. 107 on XVI 2041, an impressive list of stones bought for building work on a church of St. Philoxenus, presumably the one in Oxyrhynchus, cf. XI 1357 24, 38, 58, 64.
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22 ἀρκώντας. It is only remotely possible that this could be jussive subjunctive, 'let them suffice', cf. B. G. Mandilaras, The Verb 250-253 ($554-561, esp. 560); it is more likely that it stands for ἀρκήντας, cf. 3-4 n. para. 2, the present tense for the future, ibid. 102-105 ($§214-219), 'they will be enough'.

23-4 Το[μ]πέμυον. Cf. P. Pruncit, I centri abitati 188, with the map at the end of the book. We know that it was in the Eastern toparchy and it seems that the ancient name survives in the place called Tambu.

25 ἄρατον = ἄλειςτον. For this spelling cf. SB V 8247. 20 πορείες for πορείεθε, see F. T. Gignac, Grammar i 234, where it is the sole example of its type.

26 ἀποβάςεως, 'fall of the Nile flood'. See SB XVI 12312. 14 (25 B.C.), P. Lond. IV 1346. 10, 1465 (desc.; both 8th cent.), and especially P. Mich. inv. 5795 (O. M. Peat, TAPA 87 (1955) 51-9; with D. Bonneau, Le fait et le Nil 45-8) which gives measurements for the fall of the flood water and repeatedly contrasts διπαθεῖται (acc.) with its opposite διπαθεῖθαι, 'rise of the flood', cf. 4004 12-29-30. There was evidently a strong feeling that the bottom right hand corner of the sheet was the appropriate place for the farewell formula, cf. LVI 3865 34-7 n. In this case it has been crowded in there in a smaller, very cursive style, although it would have fitted much more comfortably at the end of the letter on the other side. It could possibly be in a second hand, which would not be unusual, since even senders who made use of an amanuensis often wrote their own farewell, but the ink and weight of the strokes seem much the same.

31 For the common practice of writing lines in the left margin cf. LV 3814 29-30 n. Note that the passage of Cicero cited there was mentioned already by G. Zereteli, P. Jernstedt, P. Ross.-Georg. Ill 1. 28 n.

32 κατακακώς(ν). For loss of nasals see F. T. Gignac, Grammar i 111-114.

μηχανῶν. At this date μηχανή can mean the land associated with an irrigation machine as well as the machine itself, see 4002 17-18 n., but here the primary meaning seems appropriate.


34 Ἀγουστάλλον = Ἀγουστάλλον. Ἀγ - for Ἀδγ - is frequent, see Gignac, op. cit. i 228; on ω for οω see 3-4 n. para. 2.

The fact that proceedings before the Augustal prefect were to be used in Pelusium in Augustamnica, see introd., is an indication of the application of his authority in the praesidial provinces of Egypt, cf. XLVI PP. 93-4.

34-5 ἐχεις φωνήν ὥστε ἐχεις φωνῶν, 'you have been shouting'. On periphrastic perfects with ἔχω as the auxiliary see R. Kühner, B. Gerth, Ausführliche Grammatik II 2. 61-2 ($§82). 11; for late Greek, in which it seems that present participles are less rare, see D. Tabachovitz, Études sur le grec de la basse époque 24-5. F. T. Gignac, Grammar ii 307 and B. G. Mandilaras, The Verb 240 ($§25) mention the fact that the modern language regularly has ἔχω as an auxiliary, but they cite from the papyri only XVI 1875 12-13 ἐβρακεῖστα ... ὡς ταῦτα ἀποκριτῶς ἦν ἐχεις δοθημέρευτο μου δι' ἐμῶν, 'having said ... that he would have them given me by you immediately', which looks extremely idiosyncratic. Better perhaps is XIX 2228 39-40 (5a 38) ... [καὶ πρόδομοι ποιήσας τοῦ ἐκτένειον αὐτὰ [sc. τίμημα] τρέψθεναι, ἐμοὶ τῇ δηλάτου ὡς ἔχεις[ει]ς πεταλοκέμο, 'so that you may ... and may take care that they (the animals) are reared carefully and that you inform me how you have acted'. Although inspection of the original confirms that ἔχεις[είς] is probable, and that no part of εἰς is likely, cf. Gignac ii 305-7, some residual doubt is inevitable when the usage is so rare and there is damage to the text. Here too there is enough damage for the text not to be above all suspicion, but this interpretation is hard to resist.

The verb φωνεῖν is not a neutral term for 'say'. In proceedings we often find it used for the shouted utterances of the crowd, e.g. XXIV 2407 3, 11, 15, 18, 19 etc., which suggests that there is something uncomplimentary in the expression here.

35 μέλος = μέλλω. On the simplification of double consonants and the gemination of single ones see Gignac, op. cit. i 154-65, esp. 155.

ἐφίδιον = ἐπίδεικνυμι. The iotacisms are routine; the false aspiration is almost universal in this word, cf. Gignac, op. cit. i 136-7.

For the position of μ[ο], which seems odd at first sight, cf. 4002 15, P. Fouad 79. 7-8, P. Strasb. IV 286. 11, SB VI 9017 No. 9. 9.
This may indicate that the letter was written from Pelusium, but it is also possible that $\varkappa\upsilon\omega$ has a future sense, 'I shall have need of them in Pelusium', cf. 22 n.

For the implications of the sender's journey to Pelusium on legal business see introd., where it is argued that the relation between Oxyrhynchus and Pelusium seen in this document is an indication that it should be dated before the foundation of Arcadia.

The damage at the end of the line does not seem insurmountable, but so far nothing plausible has been found among the many possible readings.

For $\nu\lambda\varepsilon\theta\kappa\rho\alpha$, 'wife', see e.g. CPR V 22. 4 n.; cf. 4004 4.

It is virtually certain that $\pi\rho\omicron\omicron\epsilon\tau\omicron\rho\epsilon\phi\zeta\sigma\tau\omicron\theta\omicron$. The first omicron may have been rewritten too.

$\pi\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\sigma\omicron\tau\omicron$. Cf. introd. para. 2, comparing LV 3804 introd. on the functions of the stewards of the Apion estates, with due allowances for the large scale of the Apion enterprise. There is the possibility that these are ecclesiastical stewards. We have evidence, see E. Wipszycka, Les ressources ... des églises 144-9 that at least the episcopal churches had finance managers bearing this title and that rich churches had more than one $\pi\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\sigma\omicron\tau\omicron$ (XVI 1894). However, if the church here is just being built, it seems unlikely that it would have landed estates large enough to require more than one steward, so it is perhaps more likely that they are working for some secular estate, one which Didymus owns or has important functions in also.

There is an implication here that a doorkeeper might be expected to be a slave if there was no statement to the contrary, cf. already A. Calderini, M. Mondini, 'Repertorio posteriore delle letter private' in Studi della Scuola Papirologica di Milano li 109-248: $\theta\upsilon\omicron\rho\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron$, portiere, generalmente schiavo' (149), cf. 1. Biezunyska-Malowist, L'Esclavage i 73, 75 n. 60. Compare perhaps SB XII 11169 (from S. Daris, Stud. Pap. 13 (1974) 39-43), where $\varepsilon\beta\rho\varepsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\iota\kappa\epsilon$ (9) is followed by $\theta\upsilon\nu\epsilon\alpha\beta\iota\delta\iota\iota\kappa\epsilon$, where the ethnic may well imply servile status.

In this context the post may well be that of doorkeeper to the church, cf. 1 141 9-10 $\theta\upsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron$, to the $\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\upsilon$ $\upsilon\lambda\alpha\sigma\delta\upsilon\nu$ (AD 503), P. Princ. II 87. 14-15 $\theta\upsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron$ to the $\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\upsilon$ $\theta\alpha\omicron\delta\upsilon\omicron\omicron\omicron$ (AD 612). We learn very little from the papyri about the Christian church's opposition to slavery, see J. A. Straus in Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II 10. 1 p. 897, but it may very well be the reason for the insistence on a free doorkeeper, perhaps even if he is not to be the doorkeeper of the church.

$\theta\upsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron$. Read $\theta\upsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\omicron$. For eta replacing upsilon in this word see F. T. Gignac, Grammar i 263, citing P. Med. II 77 (=SB VI 9509). 4, 9: $\theta\upsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron$, $\delta$; this parallel also applies here to the first rho, which is corrected from lambda, cf. ibid. 103. Note too that the dictionary spelling $\theta\upsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\omicron$ is less common in the papyri than $\theta\upsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\omicron$, ibid. 211.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

4004. Theodorus to Canopus

At the beginning Theodorus offers Canopus condolences on the death of his wife (1-7), but as usual in papyrus letters this subject is dropped quickly and other everyday matters are raised, cf. LV 3819 introd., esp. para. 3 for this peculiarity. Theodorus then invites Canopus and another man called Valentinus to come and visit him at a village to which they are to be conveyed by boat. It is the season of the Nile flood, and since this is supposed to be news to Canopus, the flood must only just have begun, which it usually did about mid-July. Canopus is asked to bring with him various textiles which had been to the cleaner. These belonged to at least three people, whose names are given. The body of the letter ends with greetings to two other men, Didymus
and Philoxenus, and a general greeting to 'all your people'. A second hand then adds a conventional farewell formula, followed by a postscript saying that he did not send some wheat to Canopus so that it could be given to him when he arrived.

The body of the letter, like the address on the back, was presumably written by a clerk. His hand is a good big upright cursive, with many exaggerated risers and descenders. His spelling includes some iotacisms, but is otherwise good. The farewell and postscript are in a more modest sloping cursive, though this too has a few exaggerated descenders. It is certainly the hand of Theodorus himself. It is a pity that we are not given any titles or any other firm clue to the social context of the people involved, but the general impression is that of comfortable middle or upper class life.

A sheet join running vertically about two thirds of the width from the left edge shows that the letter is written along the fibres of the recto of the roll from which this piece of papyrus was cut. The address runs downwards along the fibres of the back. Its position shows that the letter was packaged to be sent in the normal way, rolled up with the right edge of the document inside, cf. 3989 introd. para. 3, although in this case there is no design to mark the central position where the binding passed round the package.

κυρίω μου ἄλη[θ]ῶς τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἀδελφῷ Κανώσῳ,
              (vac.)       Θ' ἐφὶ ὦρος.
atives τῆς ξενοῦ ἐλευθεράν, 'καὶ[ί οὐκ]' [..] ἄλ[όγου]ως τοσοῦτον ὁ οὐίος σοι
Γρατιανὸς ἐπόθησεν αὐτήν, καὶ ξ[τ]ι δε ὅι
ἀλλοι αὐτῆς οὕτω. πλην τί δυνάμεθα [θα] ποιήσαι
πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον; καταξίωσοι ὃς ξαυτὸν
παραμιθήσασθαι καὶ εκπλήσσιν ὑπ[ο] με[ί] [με] ῳ καὶ
ἐλθεῖν πρὸς μὲ μετὰ τοῦ κυρίου μου Ὀυαλειτώνον
ἐν τῇ Νήσῳν. χρείαν γὰρ ἔχω τῆς εὐγενίας <σου> καὶ πάλιν
ποιῶ καὶ διὰ σκάφους προσερμοῦμαι. μὴ [ὁ] ὅν
ὄκνησης, ὅτι ἀνάβας εἰς τιν. ἔρχομενος δὲ καταξίωσον
ἐνέγκε [..] δέν [ε] ἔχεις· γνάφμαι. εἰς δὲ· στίχαριον
Ναθαναήλ, ράχη νεωτή, στίχαριον Συγκλητικῆς,
μαθήματι τῆς Κύρας, στίχαριον Κύρας.
προσαγορεύω Διδύμου καὶ Φιλόζενον
καὶ πάντας τοὺς σοῦς.

(m. 2)       ἐπρώσθαι είς εὖχαμαι
χρόνοις πολλοῖς, κύριε
Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. ?) κυρίώ μου ἀληθῶς (vac.) τιμωστάτω ἀδελφῷ Κανώπῳ

Θεόδωρος.

'To my truly most honoured lord brother Canopus, Theodorus. We were much grieved (to hear the fate of Macaria) your wife, (and it is understandable that) your son Gratianus mourned her so much, (and also) her other sons. But what can we do against mortality? So please comfort yourself and make the effort and come to me with my lord Valentinus at Neson. For I have need of your kind self, and again (?) I shall have you brought by boat. Do not hesitate, for the river has risen. When you come please bring all the cleaned clothes that you have. Here is the list: Nathanael’s tunic, a white blanket(?), Syncletice’s tunic, Cyra’s cape, Cyra’s tunic. I greet Didymus and Philoxenus and all your people.'

(2nd hand) 'I pray for your health for many years, most honoured lord brother.'

'As for the wheat, don’t worry. I didn’t send it myself so that it could be measured out to you when you come.'

Address: (1st hand?) 'To my truly most honoured lord brother Canopus, Theodorus.'
our attention to a new parallel in SB XVI 12980. 2 παρακαλων αυτην (= την ομητεραν αδελφοτητα) εκλων αυτων εις εκπομηνα ... φοντετε μεθ του ταυτου και τα ... παλιδα ... ην απολακωμεν και της κατα προκοψων όμοι προεκμπληκτου, 'inviting you to make the effort to come here ... bringing with you your ... children too ... so that we can enjoy the pleasure of saluting you face to face'.

10 εν τη Νικεαν. The convincing interpretation of this as a place name, rather than νησαων(ας) with a superfluous nasal (cf. F. T. Gignac, Grammar i 12-4), we owe to the Rev. Juan Chapa. He refers especially to P. Nepheros pp. 11-14 for the κοιμη Νικεας of the Heracleopolitan nome. It seems to have been near the boundary with the Cynopolitic nome on the south and on the east bank of the Nile, probably opposite Oxyrhynchite territory on the west bank. The κ. Νικεας of SB 1 1967?, accepted as Oxyrhynchite in P. Pruncet, I centuri abiliatur 121, is probably the same place, likewise the ομοι Νικεως of XVI 1997 2.

eγχναιας (κου) (1. ειακας). Cf. H. Zilliacus, Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredenformen 47, 68. Correction to της <εγχναιας εγχναιας might be more plausible palaeographically, and it is possible, cf. LV 3821 4, 8 PSI VII 843. 8, cf. 4-5, 83b. 5, 7, 8, all three private letters, but P. Strasb IV 160. 2, της εγχναιας, is the only occurrence of this form in a private letter available on the Ilycus (Duke Bank of Documentary Papyri), although it is common in contracts of the same period. The balance of the evidence suggests a preference for η εγχναια in contracts and η εγχναια in letters.

22 is supposed to have the abbreviated form XIX. See also J. M. Diethart, See J. M. Diethart, Diokletianos Preisedikt, or M. Giacherzo, Edictum Diocletiani et Collarum 7. 60–61, where a dyer is to be paid 16 den. for his work on a new σαγμα και ραχειην (ραχειην Αεζανη) = εχουμεν η βασκινς (βασκινοθ Θελχουσα, see

14 Ναθασαιλ. This biblical name is known in the papyri otherwise only from P. Lond. IV 1431. 33 (8th cent.).

βαχη, 'blanket(?). This form of the word appears only in the papyri. P. Gen. 80. 7 has βαχη a, which Wilken (BL I 168 = Archiv 3 (1904–6) 404) corrected to βαχη β, implying a neuter βαχης, see LSJ s.v., but this seemed unlikely in view of the strong evidence for η βαχη, see also J. M. Diethart, ΖPE 64 (1986) 79, Analecta Papyrologica 2 (1990) 89. Dr Paul Schubert has kindly looked again at the original and informs us that the numeral letter is very badly abraded, but that with the aid of a microscope its remains can clearly be seen as those of an alpha. The editor, Jules Nicole, made the only published suggestion about the nature of the textile, commenting, 'designe-t-il un tissu tres fin?', and leaving us to guess that he derived it from δραχυν and compared it with cobwebs.

Stud. Pal. III 407. 1 has δης ο της (l. καια) μαχη παρακατεκαυμεν η διλωμεν [i.e. ]ητι(α) και δοκην πρακαταιν(α) ένωναι(α) διλωμεν [i.e. ]ητι(α) a partly worn white cape with a double stripe of root purple'. Daris conjectures a substantival form of διλωμεν for Stud. Pal. III 407. 1.

P. Oslo III 161. 5 has a feminine accusative, ελαυον ... την βαχην. CPR VIII 65 is a list with feminine nominatives: 6 βικερη χρυσους(ου) ... 7 βοικητα ... 11 βοικητα ... 12 βοικητα ... 14 βοικητα(ου) ... XVI 2058 22 is supposed to have the abbreviated form βαχην(α), see LSJ Suppl. s.v., but a photograph of the original, now in Cairo, shows no sign of abbreviation at this point, so although there is no formal objection to such a diminutive perhaps we should view this spelling as an iotacism, μαχη α, 'coat', with iota as the phonetic equivalent of eta.

The most striking feature of this collection is the range of bright colours: white, white with a gold pattern, leak green, grass green, vermilion. Gold patterned alone is perhaps the same as white with a gold pattern. This encourages an otherwise obvious connection with Diocletian's price edict (S. Lauffer, Discretizans Preisedikt, or M. Giacherzo, Edictum Diocletiani et Collarum 7. 60–61, where a dyer is to be paid 16 den. for his work on a new σαγμα και ραχειην (ραχειην Αεζανη) = εχουμεν η βασκινς (βασκινοθ Θελχουσα, see
A. Petronotis, *ELAIHNIKA* 26 (1973) 255-270, Pl. 32-3 = SEG 37 (1897) p. 102, no. 335 i 60; -οῦς is confirmed by the plates), 6 den. for work on an old one. The *sagum* was a moderately heavy rectangular blanket-like cloak, see L. M. Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans* 104-9. In 19, 4-7 the Latin text refers repeatedly to a *rachana*, the *ēdromiēs* is best known as a wrap worn by athletes after taking exercise, see especially Martial IV 19, which suits the equation or comparison with the *sagum*, but these passages seem to refer to bedding or hangings:

4 [rachana ... πεπυλώσαν μία ἄνευς μήκους καὶ πλάτους πόδας ἐς 'βαστή * βφ'.

A furnishing (?) for a tent with a length and breadth of 16 feet, dyed den. 2,500'.

5 rachana optima grabata[ria] alba libr. XII * MDC = ἕνδρομες καλλιτέχνες καρπαταρία λευκή λειτρων ἰπτ* ἀχ.

Best quality white blanket (?) for a bed, weighing 12 pounds den. 1,600'.

6 rachana Arabica siue Daniscena uel alterius ciuitatis tincta habita ratione ponderis lanae et pliatura den. 2,000' = 1,600'.

A dyed bedspread (?) from Arabia or Damascus or any other community should be sold with account taken of the embroidery and of the poundage of the wool'.

7 rachana rustica p. X * D = ἕνδρομες ιδιωτική λειτρων ἰπτ* ἀχ.

A home-made (?) blanket (?) weighing 10 pounds den. 500'.

Similarly a fuller is to receive 30 den. for work on a new rachana = ἕνδρομδος ἢτοι βακάνης (βακάνας Theb.: 22. 4).

The *rachana*, therefore, was not at all like a spider's web. An ordinary one weighed about ten Roman pounds, a little over seven of our pounds, a little under three and a quarter kilos. One of the best quality for use on a bed weighed twelve Roman pounds. The dyed and embroidered ones sound more like bed covers for show than blankets, the material of these is stated to be wool. The dyed tent furnishing, a massive square of sixteen Roman feet, nearly four and three quarter metres, was certainly no cobweb, although the exact use of it in connection with a tent is not obvious from the description.

Although the Greek transliteration of *rachana* in Diocletian's edict is *βακάνης* (7. 60, with variant *βακάνων* in one copy; 22. 4, with variant *βακανα* in one copy), the papyrus references to the *βάχης* as a textile fabric, sometimes white, sometimes brightly coloured, encourage the identification. The Latin word was presumably accent on the first syllable.

One entry in G. Goetz, CGL V 327. 45, *rachana huittil sax*, i.e. saxonic), provides both a Latin spelling closer to the Edict's Greek, *βακάνης*, and a confirmation of the meaning, since Anglo-Saxon *hwitel* means 'a whistle, cloak, mantle, blanket', J. Bosworth, T. N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* p. 577, cf. Suppl. pp. 583-4, s.v. (reference kindly supplied by Dr A. V. C. Schmidt). The Oxford *NED*, s.v. *whittle*, gives references for the word in various related sense, going down as late as 1871 for a dialect word 'whistle', explained in that case as equivalent to 'shawl'. A second entry in CGL V 623. 17, *raganus* (vel nelle *sup. sc.*), *opusconium* vel panniculus, is obviously related, although the form of the word is not common and the addition over the line present unsolved problems.


The reading is doubtful; *ἐπέι*, which would make good sense, will not fit the traces.

H. G. IOANNIDOU
PRIVATE LETTERS

4005. To Theodosius

It emerges that Theodosius was the employee of a landowner, just possibly as a steward of a country area (προνοητής), see 11–12 n. The sender called him ‘brother’ and in this case might have been his brother-in-law, because he wrote to reassure Theodosius about Mary, ‘our sister and your wife’, and later sent him a message from ‘Abraham, your father-in-law’. The subjects are exclusively private: a cloak given to Mary, a failed attempt by the sender to get money due to Theodosius from the landowner, orders to buy a box and weaver’s combs for another woman, who had the unusual name of Phoebadia, as well as a lump of iron worth a quarter of a solidus, presumably for the sender, and a whole solidus worth of Ascalonian jars for Abraham.

The writing is a rapid cursive, probably of the sixth century, too hasty to be beautiful, but very practised. There are some phonetic spelling errors and one or two repetitions due to haste, some corrected (3), others left unnoticed (5, 8, 10).

The long lines are written parallel with the height of the original roll from which the piece was cut and across the fibres of the recto, as is shown by a sheet join running through line 3, overlapping downwards. This is a format for letters which became popular in the high Byzantine period, probably in the sixth century, cf. LVI 3866–7, 3869–73, below 4006–8. It is in fact what is called transversa charta, see E. G. Turner, The Terms Recto and Verso (Pap. Brux. 16) 26–53, esp. 49–50 on the Byzantine period, although Turner devotes his discussion particularly to long documents. With this format the older prescript was not used and we only learn the names of the people from the addresses, which in many cases are damaged by dirt and abrasion, as here, where there are also heavy blots to make it even less legible.

For dispatch the letter was folded along a vertical line about 13 cm from the right edge and about 17 cm from the left edge and the smaller right portion was laid face down over the left one. At this stage the normal practice would have been to roll the letter up from the bottom, cf. LVIII 3932 introd., but in this case it appears from the patterns of damage and dirt that the top and bottom edges were brought to the middle and the package was pressed flat. Then a binding was tied round it and on the other side, where the surface was not interrupted by the meeting edges, the address was written in two lines, one long one straddling the binding and another below the right half of the first, to the right of a design inked over the binding.
Please have no anxiety about Mary, our sister and your wife, for we will not allow her to want for anything, God willing, nor do we intend to make trouble for her. As you have written about the vermilion cloak, I have given (it) to her, but I went to your landlord wanting to get one solidus out of your salary, after making him an autograph receipt of course, and he could not bring himself to give me anything. Please buy a small box for your sister Phoebadia and four combs for women weavers. If you can buy a cake of iron for one gram (of gold), do not hesitate to do it. Your father-in-law Abraham has commissioned me to write to you that, if you get gold from your landlord, you should buy Ascalonian jars to the value of one solidus for him. Young and old, we give your kindness many greetings and we are well, with God's help.'

Address: 'Deliver to my lord brother Theodosius (?) steward (?) from ... his brother.'

1 φροντίσα(ν). For the superfluous nasal see 4004 10 n.
2 ἐνοίμα(ν). For confusion of οὐ and ω see 4003 3—4 para. 2.
3 κόκκινον. The form κόκκινος is much rarer than κόκκαλον, but it is reasonable to presume that both refer to dye made from the bodies of insects of the genus Coccidae (κόκκος), of which there are various types, see R. J. Forbes, Studies in Ancient Technology iv 100-106; cf. S. Lauffer, Diokletians Preiseditkt 271 for more references. Until recently it was known only from Diocletian's price edict 24. 8, preserved only in Greek: πορφύρα Νεκτάρης (or Νεκταρίης) κόκκινα, which makes it clear that with the basic red pigment dyers could achieve shades which were considered to be purple. Since then it has also appeared several times in CPR VIII 65, quoted in 4004 14 n., as well as here. Although we cannot know the shade of colour, perhaps 'vermilion' is the best English translation, because its derivation from vermis makes clear the fact that we are dealing with a red dye made from insect bodies.
3—4 Besides the confused cancellation at the end of the line there is a slight doubt whether we should read and punctuate differently, as δεδώκαμεν αὐτῇ παρεγεγένηται δε ἐκτὸς ..., we have given (it) to her. I went ...'. This would separate the delivery of the cloak from the next sentence. The text as printed implies that the attempt to get money from the sender's landlord is connected with the cloak; perhaps the sender was buying the cloak for Mary, and wanted the money to come from the salary which was due to him, but the landlord refused to disburse money on the writer's written receipt. 'Your landlord' is slightly misleading in English; it seems that the sender was not a tenant farmer but a salaried employee of the landowner, cf. 5 n.
4 θέλων (l. θέλων). For confusion of omicron and omega see F. T. Gignac, Grammar i 273—7, cf. 6 γλυκεραμίων = γλυκεροκεμίων, 7 μαζίων = μαζίων.
154 n. ἀνέχεσθαι. On the double augment in this verb, which is classical, see LSJ s.v. ἀνέχω, F. T. Gignac, Grammar ii 254, B. G. Mandilaras, The Verb 123 ($267. 2). Expressions with ὅλω or another negative, plus ἀνέχεσθαι, plus infinitive, are common in Byzantine letters on papyrus, see also LSJ s.v. ἀνέχω C. II 5c.
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6 οικοκυρίων (L. οικοκυρίων). Cf. H. C. Youie, Scripturam i 443-4 (= TAPA 98 (1967) 517-8), 453. This was originally a specialized container used by musicians to hold the reeds belonging to the αλλάς, an instrument of the oboe family. The reeds were called γλαύκος, ‘tongues’, perhaps because of their shape, as LSJ implies, perhaps also because they enabled the instrument to ‘speak’. The name of the container came to be used of any box or chest.

Φοβαδία. This feminine version of Phoebadius (cf. P. Ross.-Georg. V 28. 2, P. Giss. I 55. 6) appears to be new.


7 κτένα τῶν γερδενίων. On weaver’s combs, used at intervals during the process to beat the weft more firmly into place, see H. Blümmer, Technologie ii 159-160; LSJ s.v. κτέα seems to be wrong on this point. It is not clear why women weavers are specified, except that in this case the combs are to be bought for a woman. Compare XXXI 2599 4-5 πέσειν ἄμων δύο κτένες γερδενίων; the vulgar spelling is implicitly regularized to κτένα γερδενία in the note. This too concerns women, since the writer was a woman, so we should perhaps understand κτένα γερδενίων. We might timidly suggest that male weavers used heavier combs.

The form γερδενία shows, as well as the common equivalence of επίσθ with αι, see Gignac i 192-3, a vowel loss which is unusual in that it is not followed by a back vowel, but cf. op. cit. 304. b 2 ἀρχεείς, τρακάκαι.

ένοις γράμμαισι (sc. χρυσοῖς). It is not certain what it means to specify a price in terms of gold bullion, cf. L. C. West, A. C. Johnson, Currency 138-9. One gramma is equivalent to one quarter of a solidus, but there was no gold coin of this size. Most probably it refers to the equivalent in the subsidiary base-metal coinage, which changed as the value of gold rose. A rare parallel to this usage is SB XVI 12997 (from CE 57 (1982) 114-7), a letter in which the writer complains that he has paid too much for an old camel and her foal, to wit, five solidi and one gramma for the mother and four solidi less one gramma for the foal. The total price was nine solidi, so that there was no practical difficulty over the payment. It is fairly clear that in this case too gramma is an accounting term, not a description of a physical reality.

εἴδων ματίων (l. εἴδησιν ματίων). Cf. P. Nephros 8. 9-10 (ευνοηθεὶσα 6-7) ... καὶ εἴδησιν ματίων ἐν μμῶν τῶν μυρίων εἶδεν, ‘he bought ... and a cake of iron weighing three minas for twenty myriads of denarii.’ The note there cites P. Ross.-Georg. III 6. 6 and especially J. Gascou, ‘Sur le mot ματία dans la tablette du Louvre AF 6715’, ZPE 60 (1985) 254-8. Note that in XXXIV 2729 15 ματία = ματίων was wrongly interpreted as μάτια, the μάτιον being a measure of volume equivalent to one tenth of an artaba, which is unsuitable to the context. Read now κόμιον ... εἴδησιν κεντ’(γράμα) β’ τέως, έχουστε τὰ β’ ματία μή, i.e. εἴδησιν κεντ’(γράμα) β’ τέως, έχουστε τὰ β’ ματία μή’, ‘... 2 hundredweight of iron so far, the 2 containing 48 cakes’. The price of them is 1,200 myriads (corrected in Aegyptus 64 (1984) 206), i.e. 25 myriads for the average cake, weighing 4.5 Roman pounds. The price is roughly comparable with P. Neph. 8. 9-10, where the cake costing 20 myriads weighs three minas, which is just over three Roman pounds if μμα retains its traditional meaning, but it is perhaps likely that it was used colloquially as the exact equivalent of λίρα, see D. W. Rathbone, ZPE 53 (1983) 267-8. The proportionate rate would be 18 myriads rather than 20, but both texts must be fairly near in date, in the region of AD 330.

8 [3]. The ink after gamma was presumably to have been epsilon, to make the first syllable of the next word, γεφύρω. This first attempt seems to have been abandoned, without stopping to strike out the superfluous writing.

9 For ἀκαλλάνθα cf. LVIII 150. 25 n. One solidus would probably have bought two or three hundred empty jars, cf. e.g. LVIII 13942, where three solidi buy one thousand ordinary jars from a potter plus a few unusual sizes. Probably we should imagine that these were full of wine. Even so this would imply quite a large amount, perhaps thirty or forty jars, cf. A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies 179-180. Of course any exactitude is out of our reach, since we have no information about the capacity of the jars or the quality of the postulated wine.


τὴν εἰς διάθεσιν. Strictly speaking διάθεσις, ‘disposition, attitude’, requires an adjective, such as φιλανθρωπία, μητερικά, ‘friendly, motherly’, to give any meaning in this sort of context, but it became so routine as a title of address, meaning just ‘you’, that the adjective was felt to be superfluous, cf. M. Naldini, Cristianesimo p. 222, note to I. 23.
11–12. Dirt and abrasion, as well as blotting, have made this address very difficult to read, cf. introd. It looks as if Theodosius, if that is his name, was given a title, possibly beginning with ἐπ. Since we know he was the salaried employee of a landowner, cf. 3–4, 5 nn., it may be permissible to guess that this was προνύντης, the steward of an area of an estate, for which see LV 3804 introd.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

4006. Christopher to Theodorus

6 1B.17/II(b) 35 x 17,5 cm Sixth/seventh century

The recipient was a comes and the μελέτερος or major domo of the household of an Apion (11–12). As a mark of respect the sender gives him the epithet θεοφιλακτός, ‘God-defended’, which occurs late and is particularly common in the papyri of the Arab period from Apollonopolis Ano, cf. O. Hornickel, Ehren- und Rangprädikate 17. Consequently Apion here ought to be Flavius Apion III, who appears first in sole charge of his estates in AD 593 and died between July 619 and early January 620, see LVIII 3939 4–5 n. This date range suits the large and flowing, very professional, script.

This was the third letter sent by Christopher asking Theodorus to send him a καρπαλάμιον (καρπ- pap.), which was probably an elaborate belt, perhaps an item of military uniform, see 4 n. He gave details of the dispatch of the two previous letters and renewed the request for the object to be sent to him by the bearer of this third one. The rest is greetings, to Theodorus, to ‘our common mistress’, most probably Theodorus’ wife, to a magnificientissimus Faustus, who is also ‘our common brother’, and to all the household. The address on the back is unusually detailed and informative.

The letter is written transversa charta, see 4005 introd. A sheet join, overlapping downwards, runs horizontally through line 7, showing that the long lines run across the fibres of the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut. The letter was rolled up from the foot and squashed flat to make a long narrow package, the exposed flap was tucked inside for protection and then the address was written along the package next to that flap. A space was left in the middle of the first line of the address at the point where there was usually a binding, but the second line extends beneath it, so that any binding would have obscured at least part of the final words.

+ τρίτην ταύτην ἑπιστολήν ἐγραφ[α] . . . [. ] τ[ω] ἐγὼ ἄγαθος κ[α]ὶ θεοφιλακτός δεκτός (τι 
καὶ ἐξ ὧν μιὰν μὲν διὰ τοῦ εὐάρητου τοῦ ἀποφέροντος αὐτῆ τὰ δίδυμα, δευτέραν δὲ ὅμως μετὰ Ἀππα Κύρου τοῦ καθοσισμένον, καὶ νῦν ταύτην, ὡς ἐκποιεῖν, 
τρίτην χάριν τοῦ καρπαλαμίου, ἵνα πέρπητε μοι, καὶ βάλλω αὐτὸ εἰς τὴν 
. . . ]Λ[. ]ν. παρακαλῶ τοῖνος τοῦτο στειλάι μοι διὰ τοῦ ἀποδιδόντος
This I write as a third letter ... to my good and God-defended master, and of these (I sent) one by the stable lad who brought you the jujubes, and a second likewise with Appa Cyrus the soldier, and now this one, as I said, a third, on the subject of the sword-belt (?), so that you may send (it) me, and I shall put it ... So I beg you to send it to me by the man who delivers my poor letter to you, so that in this matter too I may acknowledge my thanks to you. In writing this I greatly worship and salute my master's footsteps until we meet; (and) especially (I greet) our common mistress. From me (greet) Faustus, our most magnificent common brother, and all the members of your blessed household, young and old, until we meet.'

Address:
'To my own good and God-defended master Theodorus, comes, major domo, Christopher, your slave and brother.'

'Deliver in Oxyrhynchus to the good Theodorus, the major domo of the glorious household of Apion.'
that Christopher was a soldier or civil servant. Well have been confined to the belts of military or pseudo-military uniforms, but there is no other indication different forms was used of other belts besides the specially distinctive one of the praetorian prefects. It may cf. Ducange s.v. Xovpl. l,rorus.

This seems to record the form 

This seems to be about a belt, T^aKicrrjv, a pTaXapiv &c Ubi significat to vel. 

Another, CGL haecfiscella o KapTaXapvc (G. Goetz, cartalama -ia II 339. 17; index s.v.). The only promising clue to the nature of this item is in John Lydus, ii 13 (ed. A. C. Bandy p. 104), on the insignia of the praetorian prefects. He describes an elaborate belt of crimson leather with a fancy buckle which girded the nature of this item is in John Lydus, ii 13 (ed. A. C. Bandy p. 104), on the insignia of the praetorian prefects. He describes an elaborate belt of crimson leather with a fancy buckle which girded the

It is sometimes doubtful whether names beginning with the same three letters belong to the same category, see LV 3804 221 n. on Πανάκις/Παν Νάκιος, P. Gamb. III 228. 13 n., on Πανακίος/Παν Σίμος.

4 καρπαλάμων (L. καρπολ.): A form καρπαλάμω is unknown, but καρπαλάμω does occur and it seems likely that the voiced delta stands for unvoiced tau, see F. T. Gignac, Grammar i 80–83. The gloss καρπαλάμων cartalama (G. Gocz, CGL II 339. 17; -ia one ms) is unhelpful, because there is no trace of the word in Latin. Another, haec fiscella ο καρπαλάμων (CGL II 553. 2), probably rests on confusion with καρπαλάμων, ‘basket’, which is a frequent gloss for fiscella, see CGL VI 453 (index s.v.). The only promising clue to the nature of this item is in John Lydus, ii 13 (ed. A. C. Bandy p. 104), on the insignia of the praetorian prefects. He describes an elaborate belt of crimson leather with a fancy buckle which girded the prefect’s purple tunic and goes on, ο Ρωμαίοι … βάθει τού ξυστύρρα λέγουσιν, την δε άθλη κατακεκινην του περιβάλλοντος ο Γέλλαν καρπαλάμων, το το πληθος καρπαλάμων εξ ιδιωτικών ονομαζει, ‘the Romans call … the belt beltare, but the Gauls call the entire girdle outfit cartalama, which the common people call cartalama out of ignorance’. Du Cange, Glossarium … Medice et Infima Graecitatis, s.v. καρταλάμων, mentions the Latin gloss referred to above and then quotes a virtually incomprehensible passage of medieval Greek, which seems to record the form cartalama in a connected sense: Assiae MSS. Regni Hierosolimitani cap. 101 και ξέτη τους και κείμενος εις θυσίαν ονομαζει, ‘the Romans call … the belt, cartalama, seemingly from Latin latus, cf. Ducange s.v. latus.

It seems reasonable to suggest that καρπαλάμων here is related to καρπαλάμων and that the word in different forms was used of other belts besides the specially distinctive one of the praetorian prefects. It may well have been confined to the belts of military or pseudo-military uniforms, but there is no other indication that Christopher was a soldier or civil servant.
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4–5 In late Greek βαλλω can mean 'wear', see Du Cange s.v. It may be that we should restore [πού][κα][θα] and translate, 'and I shall wear it in the city'. The lambda is virtually certain, but the restoration and the sense are no more than speculative.

5 ἀποδοίωντος. See F. T. Gignac, Grammar ii 383.

6 τὰ εὐτελῆ μου γράμματα. On the habitual expressions of humility in Byzantine letters see H. Ziliacus, Untersuchungen zu den abstracten Anredeformen 77–9, esp. 79 on ἓ ἐλεήμονα (cf. P. Michael, 38. 12, VIII 1165 2, 8, XVI 1944 4. L. Dimmeen, Titles of Address in Christian Greek Epistolography 78–80, 109), which is matched by similar expressions with ταπείνωσε, μετριότερη, εὐθεία, and comparable abstracts in Latin. For the adjective cf. e.g. VIII 81 a τοῦ Π. Απολ. 36. 4, 52. 2 εὐτελῆ μου γράμματα, XVI 1872 6–7 τὰ ἀποστολήνα παρ’ ἐμοὶ εὐτελήτατα, P. Apoll. 36. 4. 52. 2 διὰ τοῦ εὐτελοῦ μου γράμματος. For the persistence of such expressions of humility into the late Byzantine period cf. H. Hunger, Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz 93, with 83–84, where figg. 30–32 show the subscriptions of priests to a document of about 1357, many of which take the form: δὲ εὐτελής ἐκεῖος ... ὑπέρᾳβα, 'the humble priest ... subscribed'.

7 ἄρα, cf. 4008 2. See H. Ljungvik, Studien zur Sprache der apokryphen Apostelgeschichten 86–8 on the progress of the meaning, 'footprint/sole of foot/foot', as well as the use of it in expressions of this kind in Byzantine letters; for similar Coptic expressions cf. A. Biedenkopf-Ziehner, Untersuchungen zum knotischen Briefformular unter Berücksichtigung ägyptischer und griechischer Parallelen 92, 100.

8 ἄρα, cf. XVI 1860 15, P. Herrn. 16. 6. 

8 ἐξαφνώντας τὴν κοινὸν ἕνεκεν δέσποσαν. The language is very elliptical; we feel the need of καὶ or even καὶ ἀπόστωσαμεν ἐμεῖς ἐξαφνώντω. Similarly in the next sentence we need to understand ἀποστόλων or some similar expression.

Since τοῦ εὐτελοῦ δεκτῶν just before means 'you', probably 'our common mistress' refers to the wife of Theodorus, although it could refer, for instance, to a lady of the family of his employer Apion.

In κοινὸν ἕνεκεν the first eta was written so hurriedly and incompletely that it seems to merge with the following nu. The second eta was added above the line for clarification.

9 On the decline of the honorific epithet μεγαλοπρεπέστατος, in Latin magnificentissimus, see O. Hornickel, Ehren- und Rangprädikate 28–9, cf. XVI 3870 4 n.

10–11 We need to understand an instruction to greet Faustus, who has not been identified elsewhere, exactly as in XVI 1940 4. For contexts containing the complete instruction cf. XVI 1837 15, 1872 8, 1875 9–10, 1933 11.


10 ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἑως μεγάλου. Cf. 4005 10 n.

11 οἰκεῖον. Cf. P. Haun. Ill 52. 41; XVI 1869 20. In P. Haun. there may perhaps have been a (καὶ) between δέσποσαν (ὁ) and θεοφιλάκτων, represented as here simply by the double curve symbol, cf. 1 above and XVI 1944 5–6 παρακαλῶ τοῦ ἀριθμὸ καὶ θεοφιλάκτων δικτύων.

Theodoriō κόμη (τι) μειξ(εον)τερ(εω)μον. The name is so common that no attempt at identification is likely to be reliable, cf. XVI 3871 introd., but XVI 1857 and LVI 3871, also of the late sixth or early seventh century, are addressed to a homonym with the same titles. 3871 itself refers to another Theodorus τοῦ λαμπροστάτου μειξητέρων (3). 1849–52, from a similar date range, cf. LVI 3954 introd., 3957 8 n. are addressed to a Theodorus μειξητέρως, without κόμης; 1861 9 refers to Cynopolis and to Θεοδορόω τοῦ μειξητέρω τῇ κυρίᾳ. The Menas who sent 1857, is addressed, it is thought to be the same as the one who sent 1860 and is described there as δεσφυστής of Cynopolis. Our letter is addressed specifically to Oxyrhynchus, but the very care with which the address is amplified, see 12 n., may suggest that our 'Theodorus was not normally to be found in Oxyrhynchus. The Theodorus μειξητέρως of XXVII 2480 3, 13, 16, who is probably the same as the one mentioned, but not named, in 6, 68, 102, travelled with bucellarii of Cynopolis and probably held his post there, but account probably relates to ad 535/6, which is too early to be relevant to our letter.

κόμη(τι). Cf. LVI 3871 10 n. for this title in the late period.

μειξητέρ(ω)μον. Cf. LVI 3871 3 n., LVI 3960 25 n. Here line 12, μ. τοῦ ἐνδοξ(ου) οἰκ(εων), makes it clear that this is a household post, maior domus, 'major domo'. Another passage in which the proximity of μειξητέρως and τοῦ ἐνδοξοῦ οἰκὸς positively proves the same is VI 943 3–4.

11–12 Ἀρμενίφορος ὑψί(τερος) δοῦλο(ευς) (καὶ) ἀδελφο(εις). The presence of ἀδελφο(εις) makes it doubly clear that δοῦλο(εις), as often in this period, see I. F. Fikman, Akten aus XIII Internationalen Papyrologen-
kongresses 119, cf. XLIII 3149 7–8 n., XXVII 2479 2 n., LVI 3870 4 n., is another expression of humility, cf. 6 n. There is no likelihood that Christopher was a slave.

12 + ἀπὸ δ(οκ) ... Ἀπίσιος. This section of the address is in a smaller and less formal style. It could be by a second hand, but there is no very obvious difference in the colour of the ink or the thickness of the pen. In any case it is unusual to find anything so specific in such addresses; it may have been necessary because Oxyrhynchus was not the place where this Theodoras was usually to be found, cf. 11 n.

Οὐκόμηρ(ό)γ(ο)ς(ω?). There is no persuasive parallel for double rho in the name of Oxyrhynchus, although it would seem to be correct by Attic or Atticistic standards, so that the reading is at this point very doubtful, but the traces and the spacing seem to favour -γγγ- over simple -γγ-. The other point of doubt is the ending, but this is the period at which the bare name Οὐκόμηρ(ό)γ(ο)ς began to be used of the city, cf. LVI 3860 9–10 n., 4002 22, and it seems unlikely that Οὐκόμηρ(ό)γ(ο)ς was really intended here.

μεῖζον(ν) τῆς(ω) τοῦ ἀπόδοξ(ου) ἀλκ(ου). Cf. 11 n.

Ἀπίσιος. Probably Flavius Apion III, see introd.

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4007. JULIUS TO CYRIACUS

Cyriacus is described in the address as ἐπιτρόπ(ό)νω and receives the honorific title and epithet of θαυμασίωτις (5, 6) and θαυμασίωτατος (14). It seems unlikely that he was the guardian of Julius, whose tone of command may allow that Cyriacus was his agent, procurator, but another possibility is that ἐπιτροπος is the title of some minor official or semi-official post, see 14 n. Reference is made to a patricius, who may well have been a great landowner, see 8 n., but it is not clear whether the transactions in grain and money that are mentioned are private or estate business. A large hole affecting lines 5–7 is particularly damaging to the run of the sense. Two παῖδες who are involved with the carriage of grain might well be estate servants or slaves, see 2 n.

The writer made use of a piece of papyrus which had already been used on both sides, washing off the previous ink not very effectively, although it has not been possible to read the earlier writing. Under the letter and seemingly upside down to it are the rather pale remains of a few lines of a large Byzantine cursive. On the back the address consists of only one line, but there are extensive washed out remains of cursive writing in at least two directions and some other traces which look more like pen trials than proper writing, cf. H. Harrauer, P. J. Sijpesteijn, Neue Texte aus dem antiken Unterricht p. 25, Taf. 1. It seems clear that all this was washed over before the address was written.

In spite of the untidy state of the papyrus the letter is written in a well practised and not excessively careless sloping Byzantine cursive, probably of the late sixth or seventh century. It was written transversa charta, see 4005 introd., as is shown by a sheet-join, overlapping downwards, running horizontally very close to the bottom edge. For dispatch the letter was rolled up from the foot and squashed flat; then the exposed edge was tucked inside for protection and the address was written along the
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Panel next to that fold. A space was left at the middle of the address for a binding and when that was in place a simple design of three horizontal strokes was inked across it. The removal of the binding has removed the middles of the strokes.

\[+\]

κατέλαβεν τα ἐντάθα Ἀμμων ὁ παῖς φέρων εἰκοσιπέντε ἀρτάβας εἰτοῦ τῶν μέτρων τοῦ κυρίου Παμουθίου. μεταδέδωκεν δὲ μοι ὡς ὅτι τὰ δύο ὀλοκλήρων τὰ ἀντιστοιχία ἐγὼ παρὰ τῆς σῆς

5 θαυμασιότητος ἀπαίτηθησαν εἰς τὴν κ[. . . . .]. γ καὶ καλῶς ἐποίησαν εἰς ἡ θαυμασιότητος συγχωρήσας αὐτούς ἐδ. [. . . . .] έξοντος πλέον ὑπὲρ πέρυς τριάκοντα κεράτια [. . . . .]. καὶ, θεός οἶδεν ὁ μόνος, εἰ ἐγενέμη κατά τὸν πατρίκιον, οὐκ ἐδυνάμην προτέλειαν τῆς ἕνος κερατίων δοῦναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ Απολλίῳ τῷ παιδὶ ὅτι, 'τὸ ὑπόλοιπον [ν] τῆς κρήδης πέμψων μοι', ἔπει, θεός οἶδεν ὁ πάντων δεσπότης, ἐὰν εὔμητρ' ἐλέειν, τετραπλά ἀυτῶν ἀπαίτω. καὶ λοιπῶν μετὰ καλοῦ δοκὶ ἦ τὸ δεον τοῦ λόγου τοῦ εἰτοῦ πέμψων μοι ἵνα μανθάνων γράφω σοι δοῦναι Θεόδωρον καὶ ὅτινι [. . . . .] +

Back, along the fibres:

\[+\] ἐπὶ δ(ο)ς τῷ τὰ πάντας θαυμασιωτάτω Κυριακῶς (design) ἐπιτρέψων (vac.) π(αί) Ιουλίου. +

3 ὡς: 5 corr. 4 ὀλοκλ. τίνα 5 1. ἀπαίτηθησαν τῆς: η' corr. 6 1. ἔξοντας 12 ἵνα 14 ἐπιδότων θαυμασιωτέρον, ἐπιτρέψων (vac.) π'

'Ammon the "boy" arrived in these parts bringing twenty-five artabas of wheat by the measure of the lord Pamuthius, and he informed me that the two gold solidi which were guaranteed me by your Excellency were exacted for the ..., and your Excellency did well to permit that they should ..., for they have a surplus in respect of last year of thirty carats ..., and—the One God knows—if I had gone to the patricius, I could not have given an advance of even the one carat! Say to Apollos the "boy", "Send me the remainder of the barley", since,—God, who is master of all things, knows—if it turns out that I come, I will exact four times the amount from him! And furthermore make delivery properly or send me the duplicate of the account of the grain(?), so that when I have the information I may write to you to make delivery to Theodorus and to whomsoever ...'

Address:

'Deliver to the most excellent in all respects Cyriacus, warden(?), from Julius.'

1 (.) This is the mysterious sign often transcribed as π(αί), which is frequently found at the head of late Byzantine letters in this format, see LVI 3867 1 n. In this case the writer began his letter proper a little too high and therefore wrote straight through the sign, so that it interferes with the reading of παῖς. It seems clear from the character of the ink that it belongs to the letter and not to the earlier writing which was washed out, see introd.

2 κατέλαβεν τὰ ἐντάθα. Cf. LI 3637 2 n.

Ἀμμων ὁ παῖς. Cf. 9 Απολλίῳ τῷ παιδί, P. Hamb. III 228. 11 Πέτρος καὶ Μηνᾶς οἱ παιδες; 229. 2 Πέτρος ὁ παῖς. It is doubtful whether these 'boys' were free men or slaves, since there is a perennial problem about the meaning and associations of the words παῖς, παιδίον, παιδάριον. These two, to judge from their names,
could perhaps fall into the category of the παδίαμα Αἰγύπτιον on the Apion estates, on whom see LVIII 3960 28 n. It was tentatively suggested there that those were slaves, because of an implication in the preceding entry in the account, which by referring to παραμονάριον ἕλεόθερον suggests that there were slaves of the Apion household from whom the free contracted servants had to be distinguished in the context of that account.

3 εἰρος. By this late date εἰρος usually means 'wheat', rather than 'grain' in general, see especially H. Cadell, *Allen d. XIII Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* 61-8, esp. 61-5, and some specific meaning is probably needed here. A doubt arises below in 12, where the request for a copy of the account of εἰρος seems to be associated with the demand in 9-10 for the delivery of a quantity of barley. Unless appearances are misleading, in that passage εἰρος does have its earlier and more general meaning.

τῷ μέτρῳ τοῦ κυρίου Παμουθίου. Various men called 'lord' Pamuthius appear, for instance, in I 128 1 (VI/VII), 142 3 (AD 534), cf. 143 1 (AD 535), XVI 1842 6 (VI), 1871 8 (V), but the name is so common that no reliable identification can be made. For private measures cf. D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht* 13-21.


4 ἀντιδοσωμετήτα, 'guaranteed'. Strictly speaking this is a term of Byzantine law. A glossary, G. Goetz, CGL II 230. 56-7, gives ἀντιδοσωμετήσει, ἀντισωμετησία pecunia constituta, cf. M. Gdz. 269, A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* s.v. constitutum debiti alieni, receptum argentarii, J. G. Keenan, *2PE* 29 (1978) 198: one Latin version of the title of Justinian, Norvea 4 gives constitutae pecuniae repae in place of the Greek ἀντισωμετήσεως, which occurs in I 136 (=W. Chr. 383). 39 in a waiver of this Novella. The phrasing here should mean that the two solidi were owed by the writer, but that the recipient had undertaken to pay the debt as guarantor and that the money had been demanded and paid. It is unfortunate that the damage in line 5 seems to have removed the word or words which would have explained the transfer of the money, and that the next two lines, which may well be continuing on the same subject, are equally seriously damaged.

5-7 τές εἰς τὰς βασιλείας, cf. 5-6 καὶ η τὰς βασιλείας, 14 τῷ τὰ πάντα τὰς βασιλείας συνήστως. Cf. LVI 3869 14: the title and epithet are usually associated with some fairly modest official rank, cf. 14 n.

7. After κράτοια it might be just possible to read and restore εἰς ἄρχοντα 'by the public standard'. cf. LV 3805 7-8 n., although the transition from eta to mu is not easy to accept and the space might be a little too long.

θέου οἴδας ὁ μόνος is a rare turn of phrase, cf. BGU IV 1093 12, P. Hamb. III 228.8 and n, 229.8.

8 ἐγκάθισσαν. Cf. 3988 4 n.

πατριάρχον. The patriciate indicated very high rank and was probably still conferred by imperial grant at this period. cf. LVIII 3939 4-5 n., para. 3. This person is likely to have been one of the great landlords of Egypt and may well have been the patron and employer of both the correspondents. The Apion family spring to mind, although the late patrician John, for instance, of PSI I 76.2, cf. J. G. Keenan, 2PE 29 (1978) 193, was a landlord in the Oxyrhynchus area contemporaneously with the Apions and not yet obviously connected with them.

οὐκ ἐνδούμαι. For omission of ἄν in the apodosis of an unreal past conditional sentence cf. F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* 15 320-1 (§360 and Anm. 2).

On the thematic form see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 75 n. 2. Here ἐνδούμαι is perfectly clear and so provides a little more support for so reading the very damaged word in XVI 1854 6.

προτέλεα (p). On the omission of final nasals see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* 1 111-114.

This passage does nothing to help us out of difficulty over the meaning of προτέλεα, on which see CPR V 25. 9 n.; add new references CPR VI 6. 15, IX 34. 5. According to A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* 273, 315, it may sometimes be connected with tax payments in advance. A basic meaning of advance payment is discernible, but it is not clear how προτέλεα might differ from πρόμερα, on which see LVIII 3943 9 n.

9 παίδι. Cf. 2 n.

10 It looks as if ἔνθα refers illogically to the sender, although in this passage of direct speech it should strictly refer to the recipient.

θέου οἴδας ὁ πάντων δικαίως. Cf. SB VI 9107 3 ὃ θέου ὁ πάντων δικαίως φυλάξω (=εἰς ... possibly also 8986. 13) ὁ πάντων δικαίως εὐπραξέως (ἰπτ. 1. -τος?)[.]
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12 εἴτε. Cf. 3 n.

13 After ἀνείνω we expect something like ἥλει, or ἥλεξε, or βούλει or αἴρη, but nothing that has been thought of will fit the traces, although it is probable that a good guess could be verified.

14 ἔπιτρ(όπω). It does not look likely that Cyriacus was the guardian of Julius, although it is not quite out of the question. Judging by the tone of command Cyriacus could have been the agent, procurator, of Julius, but it may be that he was in charge of some particular institution, cf. the ἐπίτροπος τοῦ ἐνώπιον, 'warden of the hostel', in XVI 2058 31. The use of ἐπίτροπος/procurator as the title of a high Roman official probably does not last beyond the fifth century, e.g. XVI 1973 5 ἐπίτροπος τῆς διοικήτης οἰκίας, AD 420.

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4008. To John, Vice-Dominus

This letter was intended to accompany a fish, which was to be delivered, probably as a gift, to a great landowner’s representative on his Oxyrhynchite estates, an ἀντιγεύσης. It was written on behalf of some estate servants described as παιδᾶρια, a term of debated meaning which may imply that they were slaves, see 4007 2 n.

The writer’s sloping cursive has a professional look, but his spelling is phonetic, e.g. πρῶτον for πρῶτον (2), δίποτε for τίποτε (5). The masculine article instead of the feminine in κατά τὸν ὅψιν (5) looks like an oversight and so does the double accusative after τοποκυνομεν (for ποτοκυνομεν 2). The mixture of respectable appearance and low level of literacy is what we might expect on the working fringes of high society.

The earliest datable ἀντιγεύσης is probably the unnamed one mentioned repeatedly in XXVII 2480 48, 51–3, 55, 57, 59, probably of AD 566, and the term appears in a Coptic papyrus of the Arab period from Aphrodito, P. Lond. IV 1529, 7. A date in the late sixth or early seventh century would be suitable for this document.

The letter is written transversa charta, see 4005 introd. para. 3, as is shown by a sheet-join, overlapping downwards, running horizontally very close to the lower edge. For despatch the letter was rolled up from the foot, the exposed edge was tucked inside for protection, and the address was written along the panel nearest that last fold. A gap was left at the middle of the address for a binding, over which a design was inked once it was in place. Traces of the design survive now that the binding has disappeared.

+ χύ

+ πρῶτον μὲν πολλά ποτοκυνομεν τὰ ἵνα τὸν ἡμῶν ἀγαθῶν δεσπότην.
παρακαλοῦμεν ὑμᾶς, δέσποτα, κελεύσατε δέξασθαι τὸ µικρὸν
εἰς µάρτυς εἰς λόγον τῶν παιδαρίων ὑμῶν. ὑδαμεν γὰρ, δέσποτα,
ὅτι οὐκ εὐρίσκομεν δίποτε κατὰ τὸν ὅψιν ὑμῶν, + δέσποτα. +
Back, along the fibres:

+ τῷ ἡμῶν ἄγα[θ(ω)] διεπότ(η) κυρ(ίω) Ἰωάννη (design) ἰἀλουστρ(η) (καὶ) ἀντιγευόμενον...
+ (vac.) ...
+ [..]... μετέρῳ... 

2 l. πράτον, προκατομήματα ἵνα ἔγαν ἄγαθόν, διεπότα
3 ὡμασ... (from ὠμον)
4 εἰμάρων; ὠμον 5 l. τίποτε, τίν; ὠμον 6 ἡγόθεν, διεπότειψής, ἰἀλουστρ(η) 7 μετέρῳ?

"Firstly we kiss the feet of our good lord. We beg you, lord, give orders to accept the little simarium (a fish) to the credit of your "boys". For we know, lord, that we cannot find anything worthy of your dignity, lord."

Address:

"To our good master, lord John, vir illustris and representative of the landlord, ... your ..."

1 χρήστη. After a voluminous amount of commentary this common Christian symbol remains without an entirely satisfactory explanation, cf. LVI 3862 1 n.

2 προκατομήματα (λθούμεν) Since the writer spells παρακαλούμεν (3) correctly, it is perhaps more likely that the upsilon is omitted accidentally than that omicron was pronounced indistinguishably from ο, although similar spellings are known elsewhere, see F. T. Gignac, Grammar 211–12.


...[.

3 ὡμοῖος, κελεύεται, εἰς ὠμον 4, 5. For the use of the pluralis reverteriae in private letters on papyrus see H. Zilliacus, Selbstgefühl und Seriosität, Studien zum unregelmäßigen Numerusgebrauch im Griechischen 71–8.

3–4 τὸ μεμον εἰμάρων (= ἰμαρον). Cf. XVI 1857 1, where εἰμάρω recurs along with the Nile fish ἀλάθρης, and is presumably a diminutive form, cf. L. R. Palmer, A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri 88, referring to the Nile fish εἰμαρον listed by Athenaeus, Deipnosoph., VII 88 (= 312a), cf. D’Arcy W. Thompson, JEA 14 (1928) 32. Oppian, Hal., I 170, mentions εἴμαρον among Mediterranean fish which inhabit both rocky and sandy areas and Artemidorus, Onir. ii 14 (ed. Teubn. p. 132. 10), describes these as a kind of tunny and says that they had no scales. Xenocrates, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνώρου ἀγάθου τροφῆς ΧΧΧΧVI (J. L. Ideler, Physici et Medici Graeci i p. 133), mentions them: τῶν δὲ ποταμῶν καὶ λιμνῶν ταράγων ἄφηκε μην ὁ Νείλος κτῆσεις εἴμαρον τε καὶ φάργους. The name is taken to be from the Greek adjective εἴμας, 'snub-nosed'. The meaning of κτήσεις is not clear; it could mean just that they were big, or it could denote some similarity to whales, or perhaps dolphins, which are also described as εἴμας, cf. D’Arcy W. Thompson, A Glossary of Greek Fishes 53, where it is pointed out that in this case 'pug-nosed' is meant rather than 'snub-nosed'.

The variously shaped snouts of very many fish could be described as εἴμας, but it may be that εἴμας and εἰμάρων were deliberately chosen with particular reference to the δέφωρ(μα)γεργος, 'the sharp-snouted fish', a name which probably covers both Mormyris aschwinthinai and M. commune, see G. A. Boulegger, Zoology of Egypt: The Fishes of the Nile i 66, cf. II PI. XII, and it may be, therefore, that they refer to another of the mormyrs. Members of the Mormyridae family have snouts in a startling variety of shapes; some could very well be described as flat-nosed. The best contrast is perhaps provided by Hyperopis us hebro, as is shown vividly by the small diagrams of oxyrhynchus and H. bebro juxtaposed in L. Gamer-Wallert, Fische und Fischkulte im alten Agypten 29, Abb. 5, 6. A detailed scientific account and the best illustration of H. bebro are given by Boulegger, op. cit. i 70–73, II PI. V. 2. Douglas J. Brewer and Renée F. Friedman, Fish and Fishing in Ancient Egypt 53, provide a shorter account with two photographs of fish represented in relief from the Tomb of Mereruka (Saqqara, Dynasty VI), which they tentatively identify as H. bebro.

It is clear from the two letters that the εἰμάρων was regarded as being specially good to eat: in 1857 one was part of a consignment of fish sent for the feast of Epiphany (τῆν [παν] ἡγούμεν τῶν θεοφάνων 4–5); here it is a present to the ἀντιγευόμενος, the most important local representative of a magnate who owned an estate, cf. 6 n. According to Boulegger on H. bebro, op. cit. i 73, "The flesh is, like that of other Mormyrs,
much esteemed in Senegambia; but this does not appear to be the case in Egypt at present, although Sonini, the first describer of this species, at the close of the 18th century, found it firm and delicate'.

It may be reasonably suspected that this one was not all that small; one παιδάριον, plus five ἀλάβητα, weighed seventy Roman pounds, c. 22.5 kilos, in 1857 1–2, an average of 3.75 kilos per fish. The humble protestations about the inadequacy of its size and about its unworthiness as a gift to the distinguished recipient are required by the conventions of the Byzantine epistolary style.

4 παιδάριον. Cf. 4007 2 n., on the doubt about the free or servile status of people described as παῖς or παιδάριον.


5 δίποσε (1. τίποσε). Cf. LVI 3870 5 and n., on the same form.

For τίποσε, 'anything', see F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, Grammatik des neustamentlichen Griechisch 251 (§303).

ἀττητική. Cf. F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch s.v. δῆμος (5) for the meaning 'position, dignity'.

6 ἡμέτερον. No ἀντιγενικός of this name is known. A photograph shows that Ἐρμής ἀντιγενικός of XVI 1861 11 does not conceal him, and the reading there remains not improbable. In XXIV 2420 5–6 instead of διὰ ἣνομον Κρίτωμεν ἰδίῳ Φειδία (αυτοῦ) name, plus e.g. τοῦ ἱλιοφόρου (cf. LVI 3871 6 n.) ἀντιγενικός, the person may have been Flavius Victor, cf. LVIII 3957 8 n.

ἀντιγενικός. On the origin and early history of the honorific adjective illustri see A. H. M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire i 528–30, 535–6. On its development and use in the papyri as a substantive title, as here, see O. Hornickel, Ehren- und Rangprädikate 17, cf. 9 citing XVI 1859 8, 1860 6 for the combination ἀντιγενικός καὶ ἀντιγενικός.

ἀντιγενικός. This looks more like the foot of the double curve abbreviation sign than like an omega, i.e. read probably ἀντιγενικός(α). On the post see E. R. Hardy, The Large Estates 85–6. A. H. M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire ii 789–90. It is the highest executive office in the hierarchy of estate administration, cf. LVI 3871 6 n.

6–7 We might expect παιδάριον, cf. 4, among the traces in the worst damaged area, but they have not been found.

7 ἰδίῃς ἐπὶ (αυτοῦ) or -(αυτοῦ) appears, unusually, to be the last word: σε δούλαι (δούλον)? Cf. XVI 1936 18.
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Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in LSJ or Suppl. The article is not indexed.

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