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THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI  
PART VII

*HUNT*



Archaeol  
Egy

EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND  
" (GRAECO-ROMAN BRANCH)  
Graeco-Roman Memoirs  
THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI  
[Grenfell and Hunt]  
PART VII

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES

BY

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WITH SIX PLATES

LONDON

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## P R E F A C E

THE great majority of the papyri published in the following pages, including the chief literary pieces, were discovered in the season of 1905-6; a few come from the finds of the years 1903 and 1904, and one or two in the non-literary section from those of 1897.

In editing these texts I have unhappily lacked the co-operation of the friend and colleague with whom I have worked in partnership since the foundation of the Graeco-Roman Branch. The effects of his absence are, I fear, likely to be apparent to the readers of this book not only in its somewhat reduced size, which on the present occasion corresponds with our advertised intentions more closely than has frequently been the case. In particular, the principal novelty here produced, the Callimachus papyrus (101), happens to abound in problems for the solution of which a second pair of eyes would have been more than usually valuable. In these circumstances it is a matter for much satisfaction that I have again been able to obtain the generous assistance of Professor U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, who has made important contributions to the reconstruction and interpretation of the new classical fragments (1011-1015), especially of 1011. For some further helpful suggestions on the last-named text I am indebted to Professor Gilbert Murray; while Professor U. Wilcken has very kindly looked through the proofsheets of the non-literary documents, and they have naturally profited not a little from his criticism.

I regret that the promised excursus on the excavations and topography of Oxyrhynchus has had to be postponed, and that I cannot undertake that it will be included in the volume for 1910, which will consist of another instalment of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri. But a plan of the site has been prepared, and I hope that its appearance will not be much longer delayed.

ARTHUR S. HUNT.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD,  
DECEMBER, 1909.



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## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

THE general method followed in this volume is the same as that in Parts I-VI. Of the new literary texts, two, 1011 and 1013, are printed in a dual form, a literal transcript being accompanied by a reconstruction in modern style. In other cases, and in the fragments of extant authors, the originals are reproduced except for division of words, capital initials in proper names, expansion of abbreviations, and supplements of lacunae. Additions or corrections by the same hand as the body of the text are in small thin type, those by a different hand in thick type. Non-literary documents are given in modern form with accentuation and punctuation. Abbreviations and symbols are resolved; additions and corrections are usually incorporated in the text and their occurrence is recorded in the critical apparatus, where also faults of orthography, &c., are corrected if they seemed likely to give rise to any difficulty. Iota adscript has been printed when so written, otherwise iota subscript is employed. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [[ ]] a deletion in the original. Dots placed within brackets represent the approximate number of letters lost or deleted; dots outside brackets indicate mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Letters with dots underneath them are to be considered doubtful. Heavy Arabic numerals refer to the texts of the Oxyrhynchus papyri in this volume and in Parts I-VI, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used in referring to papyrological publications are practically those adopted in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, viz.:-

P. Amh. = The Amherst Papyri (Greek), Vols. I-II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

*Archiv* = *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*.

B. G. U. = Aeg. Urkunden aus den K. Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden.

P. Brit. Mus. = Greek Papyri in the British Museum, Vols. I-II, by F. G. Kenyon; Vol. III, by F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell.

*LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS*

- C. P. R. = *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, Vol. I, by C. Wessely.
- P. Fay. = *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and D. G. Hogarth.
- P. Flor. = *Papiri Fiorentini*, Vol. I, by G. Vitelli.
- P. Gen. = *Les Papyrus de Genève*, Vol. I, by J. Nicole.
- P. Goodsp. = *Greek Papyri from the Cairo Museum*, by E. J. Goodspeed (*University of Chicago Decennial Publications*).
- P. Grenf. = *Greek Papyri*, Series I, by B. P. Grenfell, and Series II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
- P. Heidelberg = *Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrussammlung*, Vol. I, by A. Deissmann.
- P. Leipzig = *Griech. Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig*, Vol. I, by L. Mitteis.
- P. Leyden = *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Lugduni-Batavi*, by C. Leemans.
- P. Oxy. = *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Parts I-VI, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
- P. Reinach = *Papyrus grecs et démotiques*, by Théodore Reinach.
- P. Strassb. = *Griech. Papyrus der K. Universitätsbibliothek zu Strassburg im Elsass*, Vol. I, Parts 1-2, by F. Preisigke.
- P. Tebt. = *The Tebtunis Papyri*, Part I, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and J. G. Smyly; and Part II, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and E. J. Goodspeed.
- P. Tor. = *Papyri Graeci Regii Taurinensis Musei Aegyptii*, by A. Peyron.
- Wilcken, *Ost.* = *Griechische Ostraka*, by U. Wilcken.

## I. THEOLOGICAL FRAGMENTS.

1007. GENESIS ii, iii.

5 x 16·2 cm. Late third century. Plate I (recto).

These few verses from the second and third chapters of Genesis are contained on a fragment of a vellum leaf, which, like the Genesis papyrus from Oxyrhynchus already published (650), appears to be of an unusually early date. The text is in double columns, written in a medium-sized upright uncial which can hardly be later than the end of the third century, at any rate. A date anterior to the third century has been claimed for two vellum leaves, the *Kretes* fragment at Berlin (*Berl. Klassikertexte* v. 2. 17), attributed to the first century, and a fragment in the British Museum of the *De Falsa Legatione* which Kenyon assigns to the second (*Palaeogr. of Greek Papyri*, p. 113). Of the latter no facsimile has been published, but the age of the former seems to have been considerably exaggerated, and it may be doubted whether either of them is to be separated from the present example by a very wide interval. The columns of 1007, which contained about 33 lines, may be estimated to have measured some 16·5 cm. in height, the leaf having been of a rather square shape, not much taller than it was broad, like that of the *Kretes*. No stops occur; a short blank space in l. 25 marks the close of a chapter. θεός is contracted in the usual way, but ἄνθρωπος, πατίρ and μήτηρ are written out in full, and the only other compendium used is a most remarkable abbreviation of the so-called Tetragrammaton, which in the Septuagint is regularly represented by κύριος. This abbreviation consists of a doubled Yod, the initial of the sacred name, written in the shape of a Z with a horizontal stroke through the middle, the stroke being carried without a break through both letters; the same form of Yod is found on coins of the second century B.C. This compendium exactly corresponds with that employed in Hebrew MSS. of a later period, "which,

as Dr. Cowley informs me, occurs in the tenth century and no doubt goes back to a much earlier epoch.<sup>1</sup> As is well known, it was a peculiarity of the version of Aquila to write the Tetragrammaton in the archaic Hebrew letters instead of translating it by κύριος; but neither the earlier nor later Hebrew forms of the Tetragrammaton, nor the Greek imitation of the later form, ΠΙΠΗ, has previously appeared in the text of a Greek MS. of the LXX, except the Hexapla fragment published by C. Taylor, *Cairo Palimpsests*, p. 26. A decided tendency to omit the word κύριος was, however, observable in the early Oxyrhynchus papyrus (656), where in one passage a blank space was originally left in which the missing word was supplied by a second hand. Possibly the scribe of that papyrus or its archetype had Hebrew symbols before him which he did not understand, or the archetype had been intended to show the Hebrew symbols and they had not been filled in. At any rate, in the light of the present example, the question may be raised whether Origen's statement (*in Ps.* ii) that 'in the most accurate copies the (sacred) name is written in Hebrew characters' was intended to apply, as is commonly assumed, only to the copies of Aquila's version.

Apart from the substitution of the Tetragrammaton for κύριος, the text, though interesting, is not so far as it goes particularly notable. As usual, it evinces no pronounced affinities with any one of the chief extant MSS., but agrees here with one, there with another. In two passages, again (ll. 20 and 28), it sides with some of the cursives against the earlier MSS. evidence, in one of them (l. 20) having the support of citations in the New Testament and in Philo.

## Verso.

## Col. i.

[εἰς τὸ προσωπὸν αὐτοῦ πνοῆν  
[ζῶης καὶ εγένετο ὁ αὐθρωπός  
[εἰς] ψυχὴν ζωσάν καὶ εφυτευσεύ<sup>5</sup>  
ΖΖ οὗ παραδεισον εν Εδεμ κ[α]  
τα ανατολας και εθετο εκει τον  
[αυθρωπο]ν ον επλασεν και  
[εξανετει]λεν ο θ[εο]ς ετι εκ της γης

απο παντος ξύλου του εν [τω πα ii 16  
ραδεισω βρωσει φαγη απ[ο δε του  
10 ξύλου του γεινωσκειν κ[αλον  
και πονηρον ον φαγεσθε απ αυ  
του η δ αν ημερα φαγη [απ αυτου  
θανατω αποθ[α]γεισθε και ει  
πεν ΖΖ ο θ[εο]ς ου κα[λο]ν ειναι τον  
15 αυθρωπον μονον ποιησωμεν  
αυτω βοηθον κ[ατ αυτον και ε  
[πλ]ασεν ο θ[εο]ς ετ[ι

## Recto.

## Col. i.

[αυτ]ης εληφθη αυτη ενεκεν  
[τουτο]γ καταλειψει ανθρωπος  
20 [τον π]ατερα και την μητερα και  
[προσ]κολληθησεται προς την  
γυναικ]α αυτον και εσονται οι δυο  
[εις σαρκα] μιαν και ησαν οι δυο  
[γυμνοι ο τ]ε Αδαμ και η γυνη  
25 [αυτον και ου]κ ησχυνοντο ο δε iii. 1

[οφις ην φρο]νιμωτατος παν  
των των θηρ]ιων των επι τη[ς]

ii. 23 κεν τω ανδρι [αυτης μετ αυτης iii. 6  
και εφαγοσαν κα[ι διηνοιχθη  
30 σαν οι οφθαλμοι τω[ν δυο και ε  
γνωσαν οτι γυμνοι ησα[ν και ερ  
ραψαν φυλλα συκης και εποιη  
σαν εαυτοις περιζωματα και  
ηκουσαν την φω[ν]η[ν του θυ

35 περιπατ[ουντος]

2. The letters are very faint and uncertain. Possibly the article was omitted, as in some cursives and other authorities.

4. On the abbreviation of the Tetragrammaton cf. introd.

12. φαγη (so E) suits the space better than φαγησθε (AM). The η is directly beneath η of φαγη in l. 9, final ν of γειωσειν and εο of φαγεσθε, and so eight letters are the most that would be expected, whereas φαγησθε would give ten. But as the ends of the lines are not kept very even and final letters are sometimes considerably compressed, such inferences have little security.

18. αυτη is omitted in E.

20. πατερα αυτον . . . μητερα αυτον AEM. αυτον after πατερα is omitted in the citations of this passage in Philo, Matt. xix. 5, Ephes. v. 31, &c., after μητερα in one of Philo's two quotations, Matt. xix. 5, Mark x. 7, Ephes. v. 31, &c., as well as by several cursives.

21. προς την [γυναικ]α: so DEM; τη γυναικι A, and the citations in Matt., Mark, and Ephes.; cf. the previous note.

26. φρο]νιμωτατος: φρονιμωτε[ρος] D.

28. και is added before τω ανδρι in AELM, but is omitted by some cursives as well as in the Armenian and Ethiopic versions.

29. The form εφαγοσαν here seems to be peculiar to this MS. Such forms appear sporadically in the papyri from the second century B.C., e.g. P. Tebt. I. 24. 11 κατηλθοσαν: cf. Mayser, *Grammatik*, p. 322.

34. την φω[ν]η[ν]: so ALM; της φωνης E.

τον θυ: κυριον τον θεον MSS., but the space seems too short for the abbreviation of the Tetragrammaton as well as τον θεον. κυριον is omitted in one of two citations of this passage by Theodoret.

## 1008. I CORINTHIANS vii-viii.

26.5 x 14 cm.

Fourth century.

A fairly preserved leaf from a papyrus book, covering parts of the seventh and eighth chapters of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. The handwriting, a good-sized sloping uncial, may be assigned on its own evidence to the second half of the fourth century, and to this date the accompanying documents, which were of the late fourth or early fifth century, also point; 1009 and the Callimachus papyrus (1011) were discovered at the same time as this leaf. A rough breathing is occasionally used, and a mark of elision is found in l. 7; a small comma, which is often not more than a dot, is sometimes employed to separate syllables when consonants occur in juxtaposition, and the same symbol is added after final consonants other than *v* and *s*. Punctuation is effected by means of blank spaces, which, in the case of longer pauses, are exaggerated and accompanied by a marginal coronis, the next line being at the same time made to protrude slightly to the left (ll. 63 and 70). In addition to the common theological contractions that of *κούρμος* (ll. 36 and 40) is noticeable.

The text is not without interest. On the whole it is a good one, generally agreeing with the earliest uncials BNA; for some exceptions see notes on ll. 1, 29, and 43. Noteworthy coincidences with B may be remarked in ll. 29 (punctuation), 41, and 61. A reading found in one cursive of the tenth century, *πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ* for *πνεῦμα θεοῦ* in vii. 40, reappears in l. 68. There are also five peculiar variants, at ll. 5, 46, 49, 54, and 57; of these the last two are probably merely due to lipography.

## Verso.

[σπα]σθω	εν ακροβυστια τις κε[κλ]η	vii. 18
[ται] μη περιτεμεσθω	η περιτ[ο]	
[μη] ουδειν εστιν και η ακροβυστια		
[ουδ]εν εστιν αλλα τηρησις εντολῶ		
5 [θν] εκαστος εν τη κλησει εν ἡ εκλη		
[θη] εν ταυτη μενετω δουλος εκλη		
[θη]ς μη σοι μελετω αλλ' ει και δυνα		
[σαι] ελευθερος γενεσθαι μαλλον χρη		
[σαι] ο γαρ' εν κώ κληθεις δουλος απε		
10 [λε]υθερος κν εστιν ομοιως ο έλευ		

[θερ]ος κληθεις δουλος εστιν Χν  
 [τι]μης ηγορασθητε μη γειτεσθε  
 [δο]υλοι αν[θ]ων εκαστος εν ω εκλη  
 [θη] αδελφοι εν τουτω μενετω πα {  
 15 [ρα] θω π[ερι] δ[ε] των παρ[θ]ε[νων] ε >  
 [πι]ταγην κν [ουκ εχω γ]νωμην δε δ[ι]  
 [δ]ωμι ως ηλ[εημε]νος υπο κν πιστο[ι]  
 [ει]ναι νομιζω ουν τουτο καλον υ  
 [πα]ρχειν δ[ι]α την ενε[σ]τωσαν ανα[γ]  
 20 [κη]ν οτι κ[αλ]ον ανω τ[ο] ουτως ειν[αι]  
 [δε]δεσα[ι] γυναικι μη ζητει λυσιν  
 [λε]λυσαι απ[ο] γ]νναικος μη ζητει  
 [γν]υναικα ε[αν] δε [και γ]αμησης ουχ'  
 [η]μαρτεις [και] εα[ν γη]μη η παρθε  
 25 [ν]ος ουκ' η[μα]ρτ[εν] θλειψιν δε τη  
 [σα]ρκι εξου[σιν οι τοιου]τοι εγω δε  
 [ν]μων φε[ιδομαι του]το δε φημι  
 [αδ]ελφοι ο [καιρος συνε]σταλμενος  
 [εσ]τιν λ[οιπον ινα και] οι εχ[ο]ντες γυ  
 30 [ν]αικας ω[ς μη εχον]τες ωσιν και  
 [οι] κλαιο[ντες ως μη] κλαιοντες  
 [κα]ι οι χαι[ροντες ως] μη χαιρον  
 [τε]ς και οι [αγοραζον]τες ως μη και  
 [τε]χοντες [και οι χρωμενοι τον κο  
 35 [σμ]ον ως μη καταχρωμενοι παρα  
 [γε]ι γαρ το σ[χημα του] κμον τουτον  
 [θε]λω δε υμ[ας αμερι]μνους ειναι  
 [ο α]γαμος [μεριμνα τα] του κν πως

## Recto.

[αρεσ]η τω κω ο δε γαμησας μεριμνα  
 40 [τα] του κμον πως αρεση τη γυναικι  
 και μεμερισται και η γυνη η [αγα  
 μος και η παρθενος μεριμνα [τα του

κύ ἵνα η αγια και σωματι και [πνατι]  
 η δε γαμησασα μεριμνα τα τοιυ κρου  
 45 πως αρεση τω ανδρι τουτο διε προς  
 το ὕμων συμφορον λεγω ον[χ] ινα  
 βροχον ὕμιν επιβαλω αλλα προς  
 το ευσχημον και ευπαρ'εδρο[ν τω  
 κω απερισπαστους ειναι εἰ δε  
 50 τις ασχημονειν επι την παρ[θενοι  
 αυτου νομιζει εαν η υπερ'ακ[μος  
 και ουτω οφιλει γεινεσθαι ο θ[ελει  
 [ποιε]τω ο[υχ]' [αμαρτα]νει γαμε[ιτω  
 σαν [ος δ]ε εστ[ηκεν τη] καρδια α[υτου  
 55 εδραιος μη εχων [ανα]γκην εξο[νσι  
 αν δε εχει περι του ι[δ]ιου θελη[μα  
 [το]ς και το[ν]το κεκρικ]εν τη ιδ[ια  
 καρδια τηρειν την εαυτου π[αρθε  
 νον καλως ποιησ[ει] ωστε κα[ι ο γα  
 60 μειζων τη[ν έ]αν[του π]αρθενον [κα  
 λως ποιησε[ι και ο [μη] γαμιζω[ν  
 κρεισ'σον π[οιησ]ει γυνη δε[δεται  
 'εφ οσον χρο[νοι] ζη [ο αν]ηρ' αυτ[ης  
 εαν δε κο[ιμηθη ο αν]ηρ' ελευ[θε  
 65 ρα εστιν [ω θελει γαμι]ηθηναι μο  
 νον εν κ[ω μακαριω]τερα δε [εστιν  
 εαν ουτως μ[εινη κατ]α την εμ[ην  
 γνωμην δοκω δε κα]γω πνα X[ν ε  
 χειν π[ερι δε τω]ν ειδωλο[θυτω  
 70 οιδαμεν οτ[ι παντες γ]νωσιν [εχο  
 μεν η γνω[σις φυσιοι] η δε αγ[απη  
 οικοδομει [ει τις δοκ]ει εγνω[κε  
 ναι τι ουπ[ω εγνω κ]αθως δε[ι γνω  
 ναι ει δε τι[ς αγαπα το]ν θν ου[τος  
 75 εγνωσται ι[π αυτου ] περι τ[ης

viii. I

1. τις κέκληγται; so D\*FG; κεκληγται τις ΝΑΒ, W(estcott)–H(ort), τις εκληθη DcEKL, T(extus)–R(eceptus).

5. The addition of *εν* before *ἥ* is peculiar to the papyrus.

10. ομοιως: so ΝΑΒ, W–H; ομοιως και KL, T–R, ομοιως δε και DEFG.

11. Ν\*FG place *εστιν* after *Χριστου*.

12. The first *ε* of *γενεσθε* has been converted from an *ι*.

13–14. In DEFG πλέθρον follows *εκαπτος*, εκληθητε D\*.

14–15. πα[ρ]α: so ΝΒDEF, &c., W–II; but πα[ρ]α | *τω*] (A, T–R) would be an equally suitable reading.

20. καλ[η]ρ: D\*FG add *εστιν*.

23. γημησης: so ΝΒ (γαμηση A), W–H; γημης KL, T–R, λαβης γυναικα DEFG.

24. γημη: the papyrus may of course have had γημη with D\*FG. η before παρθενος is omitted by BFG, and bracketed by W–H.

25. της εν τη D\*FG. ουκ should have been ουχ before γημητε, as in l. 23.

28. ο [καιρος: so ΝΑΒ, &c., W–H; οτι ο καιρος DEFG, T–R.

29. [εσ]τιν λιοποιον: so D\*, but without interpunction; *εστιν το λιοποιον* ΝΑΒ (*εστιν* B), *εστιν λιοποιον εστιν* FG, *το λιοποιον εστιν* DEFGK. *εστιν το λιοποιον* W–H with v. l. *εστιν το λιοποιον*, (*ανεπεπλανενος*) *το λιοποιον εστιν* T–R.

34. τον κοσμον: so ΝΑΒ, W–H; τον κοσμον τουτον D\*FG, τω κοσμω τουτω ΝcDEFGKL, T–R.

39. [αρεση]: so ΝΑΒDEFG, W–H; αρεσει KLP, T–R. The same variation occurs in ll. 40 and 45.

41–2. και μεμερισται: so ΝΑΒD: om. και DcEFGK.

και η: om. και D\*E.

γυνη η [αγα]μος και η παρθενος: so BP; γυνη η αγ. και η παρθενος η αγ. ΝΑF<sup>b</sup>, γυνη και η παρθενος η αγ. DEFGKL.

The reading and punctuation of the papyrus coincides with that adopted by W–H (= B); μεμερισται ή γυνη και η παρθενος. ή ἄγαμος κτλ. T–R, and so Tischendorf with the addition of και before and after μεμερισται.

43. και is read after αγα by ΝBFGKL; om. AD. [και] W–H.

σωματι και [πνι[ευμ]ατι: so DEFGKL, T–R; *τω* is added before both words by ΝΑΒ, W–H.

44. το τον κ[οσ]μον: om. B.

45. αρεση: cf. note on l. 39.

46. νμων: νμων αυτων MSS. συμφορον is also the reading of Ν\*ABD\*, W–H; συμφορον ΝcDEFGKL, T–R.

48. ειναρεδρον: so ΝΑΒDE, &c., W–H; εινπροσεδρον K, T–R.

49. απερισπαστος ειναι: απερισπαστος MSS.

50–1. D\* places νομιζει before επι την παρθενον.

53. γαμετα D\*FG.

54. τη]: εν τη MSS., but the inclusion of *εν* would make the supplement rather long for the lacuna, and its omission, which was easy after the preceding *-εν*, is supported by l. 57. T–R omits *αυτον* with KL.

55. εδραιοι is placed after *εστηκεν* in ΝcKL, T–R.

56. δε: om. A.

57. τη]: εν τη MSS.; cf. l. 54, note.

ιδια καρδια: so ΝΑΒ, W–H; καρδια αντων DEFGKL, T–R.

58. τηρει ΝΑΒ, W–H; τον τηρειν DEFGKL, T–R.

59. ποιησ[ει]: so ΝΑΒ, W–II; ποιει DEFGKL, T–R.

$\gamma\alpha\mu(\epsilon)\iota\zeta\omega\nu$ : so ΝΑΒΔΕ, W-H;  $\epsilon\kappa\gamma\mu\iota\zeta\omega\nu$  KLP, T-R.  $\gamma\alpha\mu\iota\zeta\omega\nu$  suits the papyrus better and is further confirmed by l. 61.

60.  $\tau\eta\mu\epsilon$ av $\tau$ ov πapθe $\nu$ ov: so ΝA, W-H;  $\tau\eta\mu\piapθe\tau$ ov εav $\tau$ ov BDE and W-H as v. l., om. KL, T-R.

61. *ποιησεῖ*: so B; *ποιεῖ* ΗΑΔΕΚΛ, W-H (with v. l. *ποιησεῖ*), T-R.

*και οἱ σοὶ Νῦν ἈΒΔΕΓΓ, Ζ-Η; οἱ δὲ Νῦν ΚΛ, Τ-Ρ.*

*γαμιζα*[ν: so Ν<sup>\*</sup>ABDEFG, W-H; *εκγαμιζων* Ν<sup>c</sup>KL, T-R. Cf. l. 59.

62.  $\pi\alpha\eta\sigma\mu$  NAB, W-H;  $\pi\omega\iota$  DEFGKL, T-R. There is no room at the end of the line for  $\nu\omega\mu\omega$  which is added after  $\delta\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\tau\alpha$  by  $\text{NcD}\ddot{\text{t}}\text{cEFGL}$  (so T-R);  $\nu\omega\mu\omega$  is omitted by W-H with  $\text{N}^*\text{A}\ddot{\text{t}}\text{B}^*$ .

64. κείμηθη: καὶ κοιμηθη DeL, κεκοιμηθη (= καὶ κοιμ.) FG, αποθανη A.

*av̄ηρ*: so ΝΑΒΚ, W-H; *avηρ avης* DEFGL, T-R.

68. It is impossible to tell whether the papyrus had  $\delta\epsilon$  (NADEFGKL) or  $\gamma\alpha\beta$  (B). W-H put the latter in the text and the former in the margin.

X̄ (πιστο) v : so the cursive 17; θεον other MSS.

72. It is practically certain that the papyrus agreed with NAB (so W-H) in omitting  $\delta\epsilon$  after  $\epsilon\iota$ .  $\delta\epsilon$  is added by DEFGKL, T-R.

*εγγρω<sup>κε</sup>ναι*: so ΝΑΒΔΕΓΓ, W-H; *ειδεναι* KL, T-R.

73. *ουπ[ω*: so ΝΑΒ, W-H; *ουδεπω* DEFGKL, T-R.

*εγνω*: the papyrus certainly omitted *ονδεν* which is added here by D<sup>be</sup>EKL (T-R), and probably read *εγνω* with NABD\*FG (W-H) rather than *εγνωκε* with D<sup>e</sup>EKL (T-R).

75. *περὶ τῆς*: the papyrus did not agree with D<sup>oE</sup> in reading *περὶ δὲ τῆς βρωσεως* instead of the better supported *περὶ τῆς βρωσεως ουν* (*περὶ δὲ τῆς γυνασεως* D<sup>\*</sup>).

1009. PHILIPPIANS iii, iv.

15.1 x 11.1 cm.

#### Fourth century.

Probably this fragment, containing parts of some verses from the Epistle to the Philippians, belonged to the same codex as 1008, with which it was found. At first sight it does not appear to do so, for the writing is rather smaller and the ink, instead of being black, is of a brown colour; but the formation of the letters is closely similar, the height and breadth of the column would be approximately the same, and punctuation is effected, as in 1008, by means of blank spaces, not stops. A rough breathing is also occasionally employed (l. 34; cf. 1008. 5); the supposed circumflex accent in l. 26 is perhaps a misformed breathing.

The textual qualities of this leaf bear also a general resemblance to those of 1008. Its tendency is to support the three chief MSS., though it does not agree at all consistently with any one of them, and occasionally strikes out a line of its own. A remarkable coincidence with the Sinaiticus occurs in ll. 25-6, but against this may be set discrepancies in ll. 2 and 16. Disagreements with B

may be noted in ll. 8 and 10. For the order of the names Ἰησοῦν Χριστῷ in l. 15 a parallel is only to be found in the versions, while the variants in ll. 10, 19, and 36 are apparently not otherwise recorded.

## Recto.

[επὶ τῇ πιστεῖ τοῦ γνω]γαῖ αὐτὸν καὶ [τὴν δυναμίν τῆς αναστασεῶς αὐτὸν [καὶ κοινωνιὰν τῶν] παθημάτων [αὐτὸν συνμορφίζο]μενος τῷ θα 5 [νατῳ αὐτὸν εἰ πως] καταντησω εἰς [τὴν ἔξαναστασιν τη]γι εκ νεκρῶν [ουχ ὅτι ηδη ἐλαβον] η ηδη τετέλει [ωμαὶ διωκὼ δε εἰ καταλαβὼ εφ ω [καὶ κατεληφθην υπὸ Ξ]ν αδελφοὶ ε 10 [γῳ ουπω λογιζομαι ε]μαυτον κατει [ληφεναι εν δε τ]α μεν οπισω [επιλανθανομενος] τοις δε εμπρο [σθεν επεκτεινομε]νος κατα σκο [πον διωκω ει]ς το [βρ]αβιον της α 15 [νῳ κλη]σεως τοῦ θύ εν Ιν Χω οσοι [ουν τελ]ειοι τούτῳ φ[ρο]νωμεν καὶ [ει τι ετ]ερως φρονειτ[ε] καὶ [τ]ούτο [ο θ̄ι]ν μηι]ν αποκαλυψ[ει] πλην εἰς [ο εφθασ]ατε τῷ αὐτῷ [στ]οιχειν συν 20 [μιμηται] μον γινεσθε [αδ]ελφοὶ καὶ	iii. 9
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## Verso.

φρο[νειν εν κῶ ναι ερωτω καὶ σε γνησιε συξ[υγε συνλαμβανον αυταις αῖτινες εν [τῷ εναγγελιω συνη θλησαν μοι [μετα και Κλημεντος 25 και των συ[εργων μον και των λοι	iv. 2
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πων ὁν τα οἰνομάτα εν βιβλῳ ζω  
 ης χαιρετε [εν κώ παντοτε παλιν ερω  
 χαιρετε το [επιεικες υμων γνω  
 σθητω πασ[ιν ανοις ο κς εγγυς  
 30 μηδεν μερίμνατε αλλ εν παντι  
 τη προσευ[χη και τη δεησει μετα  
 ευχαριστια[ς τα αιτηματα υμων  
 γνωριξεσθ[ω] προ[ς τον θν και η ει  
 ρηη του θν] ή ὑπερ[ε]χο[υσα παν  
 35 τα νουν φρ[ου]ρησει τας κ[αρδιας ν  
 μων και τ[α ν]οηματα κ[αι τα σωμα  
 τα υμων [εν] Χω Ιν το λο[ιπον αδελ  
 φοι οσα ε[στι]ν αληθη ο[σα σεμνα  
 οσα δικα[ια] οσα αγια οσ[α ευφημα

1. The *i* of *γνω*[*ραι*] has the appearance of a *τ*, perhaps caused by the running of the ink.

2. *αναστασεως*: γρασεως **N**.

3. *κοινωνιαν των*: *κοινωνιαν* **NAB**, *την κ.* DEFGKL. *των* is added in **N<sup>\*</sup>ADEFGKL**, but omitted in **N<sup>\*</sup>B**. *κοινωνιαν* alone will not fill the lacuna, and the papyrus must have had either *την* or *των*, but probably not both. *κοινωνιαν* W-H, *την κ. των* T-R.

4. It is of course not certain that the papyrus did not read *συμμορφουμενος*, with **N<sup>\*</sup>EKL**, T-R, or *συνφορτειζουμενος* with FG.

6. *την εκ νεκρων*: so **NABDE**, W-H; *των νεκρων* KL, T-R.

7. *ελαβον*: D\*EFG add *η ηδη δεδικαωμιν*.

8. The addition of *και* after *ει* would unduly lengthen the supplement. *και* is omitted in **N<sup>\*</sup>D\*E\*FG** but added by AB and others, W-H, T-R.

9. It is impossible to say exactly what stood in this lacuna, which is longer by the space of one letter than those of the preceding six lines. Some MSS. omit *και* (DEF, for instance), others including **N**A have *Χριστου Ιησουν*, and the spelling *κατελημφθην* has better support than *κατεληφθην*. If *και* be omitted, *[κατελημφθην υπο Χι Ιν]* would suit the papyrus not less well than the reading adopted. W-H give *και κατελημφθην ιπδ Χριστοῦ* [*Ιησοῦ*]: T-R has *και κατεληφθην ιπδ τοῦ* (so KL) *Χριστοῦ Ιησοῦ*.

10. *ουτο*: so **NAD**, W-H text, *ου* BDEFGKL, W-HI marg., T-R. The position of *εμαυτου*, which ordinarily follows *εγα*, is peculiar.

12. *τοι δε*: *εις δε τα D\*FG*.

14. *εις*: so **NAB**, W-H; *επι* DEFGKL, T-R.

15. *Ιησοῦν Χ(ριστ)ω*: so the Syriac and Aethiopic; *εν κυριω Ιησου Χριστω D\*EFG, εν Χριστω Ιησου* other MSS., W-H, T-R.

16. *φρονωμεν*: so most MSS., W-H, T-R; *φρονομεν* **NL** (*ουν φρ. N*).

19. *εφθασατε*: *εφθασαμεν* MSS. The papyrus agrees with **N<sup>\*</sup>AB** and W-H in reading simply *τω αυτω [στοιχειν]*. **N<sup>\*</sup>KL** add *κανοι*, *το αυτο φρονειν* (so T-R), DEFG have *το αυτο φρονειν, τω αυτω (σ. κανοι D<sup>c</sup>E) στοιχειν* (*συνστοιχειν* FG).

22. γηγεισ ουξιγε: this order, which has much the strongest support, is inverted in KL, T-R. There are some faint marks above the  $\zeta$  which might be interpreted as an overwritten  $\nu$  ( $\sigmaυξιγε$ ), but they are not certainly ink.

24. It is clear that  $\kappa\alpha$ , which is omitted in D\*EFG, stood in the lacuna.

25-6. The papyrus agrees with R\* against other MSS., which read  $\kappa\alpha\tau\omega\lambda\omega\pi\omega\nu$  συνεργων μονων.

29. A adds  $\tau\omega\iota\omega$  after  $\pi\alpha\omega\iota\omega$ .

34. θ(εο)γε: Χριστον Α.

36. και τα νοηματα και τα σωματα: the ordinary reading here is  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\nu\eta\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ , but FG and some other minor authorities substitute  $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$  for  $\nu\eta\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ . The papyrus is peculiar in having both.

#### 1010. 6 EZRA.

8·4 x 5·6 cm. Fourth century. Plate I (recto).

Oxyrhynchus has already presented us with several fragments in the original Greek of theological works extant, entirely or in part, only in translations,—the *Apocalypse of Baruch* (403), the conclusion of the *Shepherd of Hermas* (404), Irenaeus, *Contra Haereses* (405; cf. P. Oxy. iv. p. 264), the *Acts of Peter* (849); and there is now to be added to the list the following specimen of the Greek of 6 Ezra, as modern scholars call the apocalyptic writing which appears in the printed editions of the Vulgate as 4 Ezra, chapters xv-xvi.

This specimen is but a short one, extending to three verses only (xvi. 57-9) which are inscribed on a vellum leaf comparable for its miniature dimensions to 842, the fragment of a lost Gospel. There, however, the size of the writing was more in proportion with that of the leaf than is the case in 1010, where the letters are of medium size, so that ten or eleven are the usual complement of a line, and twelve lines fill the page. The upright and neat though rather heavily formed uncials may be attributed to the fourth century. No stops occur nor other signs beyond a diaeresis; the usual horizontal stroke above a vowel at the end of a line represents a  $\nu$ . On the recto (flesh-side), which is numbered at the top  $\bar{\mu}$ , the writing is well preserved, but on the other side of the leaf it is rubbed and sometimes indistinct, though only in one place (ll. 21-2) is there a real doubt about the reading.

The sixth book of Ezra was written during a period of persecution, and James (*Texts and Studies*, iii. 2, p. lxiv) following Gutschmid (*Zeitschr. f. wissensch. Theol.* iii. 1860) places the date of composition about A.D. 268; Weinel, however (*Neuest. Apokryphen*, p. 312), holds that the time cannot be fixed more definitely than between A.D. 120 and 300. An Egyptian origin has often been postulated, and the discovery of this early fragment at Oxyrhynchus,

though of course not conclusive, to some extent strengthens that hypothesis. That the Latin version which alone exists was made from Greek is evident from the use of such words as *rumphea* in the passage quoted below; Dr. Charles believes, on the strength of certain Hebraisms, that some Jewish document lies behind, but that is a question which does not here arise. Resemblances to passages in 6 Ezra have been pointed out in Books xi (ix) and xii (x) of the Sibylline Oracles, but with that doubtful exception no traces of the document have been recognized in Greek, and there are very few early references in Latin. The oldest certain quotations are those of the English writer Gildas, who lived in the sixth century, though it has been supposed that there is an allusion to xvi. 60 in Ambrose, *Ep.* xxix.

Two recensions of the Latin version are to be distinguished, a French and a Spanish, of which the principal representatives respectively are the MSS. SA and CM.<sup>1</sup> In 6 Ezra (= 4 Ezra xv-xvi), according to the conclusions of Dr. James (*op. cit.*, p. lxxvii), the Spanish text, though it has often preserved right readings, is the less trustworthy on the whole; moreover in xv. 59-xvi. 3<sup>2</sup>, of which the first verse figures on our leaf, S parts company with A and joins CM, but the text of A, which is supported by the quotations of Gildas, remains generally preferable. A comparison of the two versions with the Greek bears out this criticism. The text of SA may be said to be very literal, though it displays a tendency towards compression (58 *ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι καὶ μετέώροις = in montibus*, 59 *πάλαι ἐκ δευτέρου = rursum*) and variation of wording (57 *διαφθαρήσεται = interient*, 58 *διαφθαρήσονται = peribunt*). That of CM is marked by the same tendencies, but is also less faithful in other ways. Thus in v. 57 *ipse (ipsa)* is not in the Greek, *rumphea* (SA) though not a Latin word, is closer than *gladio* (CM) which is used again later in the verse to translate *μαχαίρῃ*, and *subvertentur* is a much less exact rendering of *συντριβόσονται* than *conterentur*; and in v. 59 *manducabunt carnes suas* retains the original order which in CM is made to conform to the commoner Latin usage. On the other hand the repetition of the possessive adjective in *suum sanguinem* must be placed to the credit of CM, and in v. 59, where S and CM coincide and there is a serious divergence from A, the Greek, though the reading is unfortunately uncertain, is evidently closer to the version of SCM than that of A, which is corrupt; cf. note *ad loc.*

A slight difficulty is raised by the occurrence mentioned above of the numeral *μ* at the top of the recto. Does this refer to the fortieth leaf or the

<sup>1</sup> Since the Bensly-James edition (1895), two valuable MSS. of the twelfth century have come to light, one at Brussels, described by Donatien de Bruyne in *Rev. Bénédictine*, 1907, pp. 254-7; the other, which is being utilized by B. Violet for his forthcoming edition, at Lcon.

fortieth page? There is no sign of any figure in the corresponding position of the verso, but that may be due to the damaged condition of that side of the leaf: it was usual, at any rate when the numeral was placed, as here, in the centre of the upper margin, for each page to be numbered; cf. e.g. 658, 697, P. Amh. 1. Neither supposition, however, is quite satisfactory. The Greek contained on the two sides of the leaf corresponds with four lines of Bensly's text; and since the preceding 56 verses occupy only 96 lines the fortieth leaf would not be expected so early. No doubt with a page of such small size an estimate of this kind can only be approximate; a preliminary page or two may also be reckoned at the beginning of the book, and some allowance made for the compression which has been noted in the Latin. But these considerations combined would not account for a difference of 15 leaves out of 39 ( $96 \div 4 = 24$ ,  $24 + 15 = 39$ ). On the other hand the fortieth page or twentieth leaf ought to have been passed; the forty-ninth page is what would be looked for. This discrepancy, however, may be explained without much difficulty by supposing that the writing was rather smaller at the beginning of the book and that it gradually increased in size.

But on either hypothesis some modification of the ordinary view of these two chapters seems necessary. It is generally considered that they were written as an appendix to 4 Ezra (James, *op. cit.*, p. lxxviii, Weinel, *op. cit.*, p. 311), and that they never circulated in any other guise or position. That view is now tenable only on the supposition that this pocket edition extended to more volumes than one; and it certainly does not appear at all probable that the form here exhibited would have been selected for a work on the scale of 4 Ezra and 6 Ezra, which might easily have been reproduced in a small single volume by the employment of a somewhat larger page and a more compressed script. The present discovery therefore rather suggests that the sixth book of Ezra was originally current independently of the fourth. If the figure 40 is the number of the leaf, this would point to the existence of some prefatory matter no longer represented in the Latin. If, on the other hand, the numeration, as is more likely, refers to the page, the book began in the same abrupt manner that now characterizes it.

## Recto.

$\bar{\mu}$   
μω διαφθα  
ρησεται και  
σν εν ρομφαι  
α πεση και αι

57

## Verso.

. εν λειμω δια  
φθαρησονται  
το και εδοιται τα[  
σαρκας αυτων

5 πόλεις σου σῦ		καὶ τὸ αἷμα αν-
τριβησονται		τῶν πιονται
καὶ παντες σου	58	απὸ λειμῶν ἀρ-
οι εν τοις πεδι		20 του και διψης
οις πεσουν		ὑδατος τα 59
10 ται εν μαχαι		μεγ γκεις τα
ρη και οι εν τοις		λα[ι]γα κα[ι π]αλι
ορεσι και μετε		εκ δευτερου
ωροις		

'(Thy children) shall die of hunger, and thou shalt fall by the sword; and thy cities shall be destroyed, and all thy people that are in the plains shall fall by the sword, and they that are on the mountains and highlands shall die of hunger and shall eat their own flesh and drink their own blood in hunger for bread and thirst for water. At first thou art reduced to misery (?) and again a second time (thou shalt receive woe).'

Latin Version of SA (Bensly, *Liber Ezrae quartus xv.* 57-9, in *Texts and Studies*, iii. 2):

57 *Et nati tui fame interient, et tu rumphea eades, et civitates tuae conterentur,*  
 58 *et omnes tui in campo gladio cadent;* *Et qui sunt in montibus fame*  
*peribunt, et manducabunt carnes suas et sanguinem bibent a fame panis*  
 59 *et siti aquae. Infelix primaria venies, et rursum accipies mala.*

57. famae A      tui in SA<sup>1</sup>, tuae in A      58. famae A (bis)      manducabant<sup>"</sup> S  
 bibent S<sup>1</sup>A, bibant S      siti SA<sup>1</sup>, silis A      59. infelix . . . mala S, propter priorem (-em in  
 ras.) mise . . . et iterum excipies mala A

Latin Version of CM (Bensly, *op. cit.*, p. 89):

57 *Et filii tui fame interient et tu ipse gladio cades, et civitates tue subvententur*  
 58 *et omnes tui in campum gladio cadent. Et qui sunt in montibus fame*  
*dispericent, et carnes suas manducabunt et sanguinem suum bibent a fame*  
 59 *panis et siti aquae. Infelix, primaria venies, et rursum accipies mala.*

57. ipsa M      gladio cident in campo M      59. om. primaria M

1. The sentence is to be completed *καὶ τὰ πάντα σου εν λειμῷα.*

21-2. It is unlucky that there is a doubt concerning the reading here. The termination of *πρωτ-* is quite uncertain; it may be *πρωτα* or *πρωτō* or *πρωτη*; the last would best account for *primaria* in SCM, but *πρωτα* or *πρωτον* are more intelligible and give the expected antithesis to *παλιν εκ δευτερου*. In *μεγ γκεις* the *ν* is the most doubtful point, the traces suggesting either *α* or *λ*. *μελησις* or *με λησις* or *με ανησις* could be read, but none

of these gives any good sense or explains either of the later versions, whereas  $\pi\rho\rho\tau\alpha\mu\nu$   $\eta\kappa\epsilon\iota\sigma$ , even if not very satisfactory, is not far from *infelix primaria venies*;  $\eta\kappa\epsilon\iota\sigma$  is unsuitable. The alternative in A however remains hardly accounted for. James, *op. cit.*, p. lxxiii, proposes that *proper priora miserrima* should be restored, and that the Greek might have been  $\dot{\iota}\nu\pi\rho\rho\tau\alpha\dot{\iota}\kappa\epsilon\iota\sigma\omega\dot{\iota}\sigma$ , which would serve to explain the two versions. The emendation may be right, but it is now seen that the ingenious suggestion for the Greek was mistaken. *Miserrima* is corroborated by both *infelix* and *ταλαιπω*: *proper priora* is not a proper rendering of  $\pi\rho\rho\tau\alpha(-\tau\alpha)\mu\nu$ ; it is an interpretation rather than a translation.

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## II. NEW CLASSICAL TEXTS.

### 1011. CALLIMACHUS, *Aetia* AND *Iambi*.

Fol. 1 30 x 18 cm.

Late fourth century. Plates II and III (Fol. 1 recto, Fol. 2 verso).

It might reasonably have been expected that, among the many classical authors represented by the papyri of Egypt, an Alexandrian poet so celebrated and so prolific as Callimachus would not fail to find a prominent place. Hitherto that expectation has not been realized. A wooden tablet at Vienna has indeed supplied some considerable pieces of the *Hecale* (edited by Th. Gomperz, 1893; cf. Wilamowitz, *Götting. Nachrichten*, 1893, pp. 731-47); but the contributions of the papyri have consisted of a small fragment at Alexandria from the *Hymns*, and a scrap of scholia, also on the *Hymns*, in the Amherst collection (P. Amh. 20). The deficiency is, however, now amply made good by a discovery restoring to us substantial pieces of two important works, previously known only from short and disconnected citations, the *Aetia* and *Iambi*; and by a fortunate chance the new fragments include what was probably the most popular passage of the *Aetia*, the famous love story of Acontius and Cydippe.

As now reconstituted the find, which was made in the winter of 1905-6, consists of seven leaves from a papyrus book, with a few small pieces still unplaced. One of the leaves is nearly perfect and a second is only slightly broken; but the others are all more or less severely damaged. Even where the papyrus is intact, however, it is often extremely difficult to read, owing partly to the rubbed and discoloured state of the surface, partly to the fading of

the ink, which is of the light brown kind frequently met with in the Byzantine period. Its ancient readers had already found the manuscript unsatisfactory in this respect, and letters or words, occasionally whole lines, have here and there been rewritten. In some parts of Foll. 6 and 7, moreover, the ink has run badly, and the papyrus is besides worm-eaten. Where there has been no deterioration the large and handsome script is of course legible enough. Though generally sloping it is sometimes erect, and in the size and quality of the writing, too, some variation is noticeable; an irregular appearance is also caused by the occasional exaggeration of certain letters, e.g. κ. The coarse down strokes contrast strongly with the light horizontal lines, which are at times barely distinguishable from the fibres of the papyrus. ο and ω are commonly small; ε and σ narrow. Like that of 847, this hand seems to represent a transitional stage between the sloping oval style, predominant in the third century, and the squarer, heavier type of the fourth and fifth. Two further considerations assist in the determination of the date: (1) the semicursive notes and additions which have been occasionally inserted, in several cases by the original writer, and of which the age is more easily estimated than that of the more formal script of the text; (2) the fact that a small group of documents in the company of which the present papyrus was discovered (1033 is one of them) was dated about the year 400. On these various grounds the production of this codex is to be placed in the fourth century and, if greater precision is desired, the third quarter of it is perhaps the likeliest period; 1008 and 1009, which were also found along with 1011, appear to belong to about the same epoch.

The work of the original scribe has undergone a good deal of modification. To him are due the pagination and the stichometrical figures below the columns, some paragraphi, and frequently diaereses and marks of elision; but accents, breathings, and stops are to a large extent subsequent additions by one or other of the later hands which have introduced corrections or annotations. Two such hands, at least, are distinguishable, one writing in irregular uncials (e.g. the glosses at ll. 121, 123, 218), the other in semicursive (e.g. ll. 261-4), and both, but especially the latter, using an ink darker than that of the text. The accentuation of ll. 81-9 has the appearance of being original, but this is exceptional, and elsewhere the different shade of ink in the accents commonly shows a later hand, which, however, sometimes only renovated what was already there. Accents are not inserted at all systematically, some leaves (Foll. 2, 3, 4) being plentifully supplied, others (Foll. 1, 6, 7) having very few, while Fol. 5 shows many more on the verso than on the recto. From the same source come a few marginal signs, the significance of which is not always evident. The text as it originally stood was not a very accurate one; and in spite of the efforts of the

correctors the text sometimes remains in an unsatisfactory condition; cf. notes on ll. 7, 39, 62, &c.

It remains to consider the arrangement and subject-matter of the fragments. The position in the codex of three out of the seven leaves is fixed by the pagination. Fol. 1, containing the conclusion of the story of Acontius and Cydippe, is numbered in the left-hand corner of the recto 152. It was already known from Callim. Fr. 26 that this elegy was part of the third book of the *Aetia*, and according to Schneider, *Callimachea*, ii. pp. 99 sqq., it stood early in the book, a view which, as will be seen, suits the data of the papyrus. The subject of the third book is supposed by Schneider to have been inventions and inventors, and Cydippe's history was, he thinks, introduced in connexion with the art of writing as an illustration of the injurious results to which that art might lead. Acontius, a handsome youth, fell in love with the beautiful Cydippe; and seeing her one day in the temple of Artemis he wrote on a fine apple the words, 'By Artemis, I will marry Acontius,' and unobserved rolled this in front of Cydippe. She picked it up and read the inscription, then threw it aside, and, thinking no more of Acontius, proceeded to wed another suitor. The preparations were all made when she suddenly fell ill. Three times the same obstacle to the marriage occurred, and at last her father betook himself to the oracle of Apollo and inquired the cause. Apollo informed him of the broken oath and of the anger of Artemis, and advised him to carry out his daughter's undesigned engagement to Acontius. He accepted the advice, the nuptials were duly celebrated, and Acontius and Cydippe lived in happiness. Such in brief summary is the story as told with elaborate elegance by Aristaenetus, *Epist.* i. 10, whose debt to Callimachus has long been recognized; cf. Buttmann, *Mythol.* ii. p. 115, and, more recently, Dilthey, *De Callim. Cydippa*. The papyrus, which preserves the latter part of the tale, including the illnesses of Cydippe, the visit of her father to the oracle, and the happy event (ll. 1-52), now enables us to see the extent of the debt. Aristaenetus follows Callimachus in the main outlines, and his prose frequently echoes the language of the poet: cf. ll. 20, 29-31, 42-3, 47-9 with the excerpt from Aristaenetus quoted in the note on l. 10; but he omits some details and introduces others of his own. The relation of the two Ovidian letters between Acontius and Cydippe (*Epist. Her.* 20, 21) to the Greek versions is comparatively remote.

This discovery, however, not only displays the beauty of the model of Aristaenetus; it reveals the source of Callimachus. He obtained the story, he says, from Xenomedes, an early historian of Ceos, whose true character now emerges for the first time; cf. l. 54 and the note *ad loc.* The legend, then, was a Cean one; and the fact that a similar tale is told by Antoninus Liberalis,

*Metamorph.* 1, on the authority of Nicander, concerning the Cean heroine Ctesylla, at once becomes more intelligible. Callimachus proceeds (ll. 56-74) to give a brief summary of the mythical history of Ceos as narrated by Xenomedes, several details of which are quite novel; and he expressly credits the historian with a love of the truth (l. 76). The last three verses of the page form the transition to another theme.

Between Fol. 1 and Fol. 2 a large gap intervenes. The verso of Fol. 2 contains the conclusion of the following book of the *Actia*. In this epilogue Callimachus, after a reference to the meeting of Hesiod with the Muses at Hippocrene, an experience which he had in the proem to his work represented as having happened in a dream also to himself, takes a formal farewell of poetry; and declares that he will now devote himself to prose. The poet must then at this time have had in view a large and important prose work; and it is natural to suppose that he was here alluding to his *Ilivakes*, a kind of literary encyclopaedia, which is said by Suidas to have extended to 120 books and must have occupied the author during a long period. But the *Ilivakes* were certainly written at Alexandria; and it would hence follow that the *Actia* were not completed, as held by Schneider, *op. cit.* ii. p. 40, at Cyrene, and the choice would lie between the view of Merkel (Apollon. Rhod. p. xxi), that these poems, though begun were not published in youth, and that of Hecker, *Com. Callim.* p. 16, that they were the product of the poet's maturity. At any rate the present passage is in thorough accordance with the view of Wilamowitz (*Textgesch. d. gr. Bukoliker*, pp. 173-4, cf. *Götting. Nachr.* 1893, pp. 745-6) that the poetical activity of Callimachus is to be assigned to the prior part of his career, and that his appointment at the Alexandrian library turned his energies into another channel. Below these final verses is inscribed the title of the foregoing book, 'The fourth Book of the *Actia* of Callimachus.' From the fact that no number beyond four had been mentioned in the citations from this work, the inference had been drawn that it did not include more than four books; and this is now definitely confirmed by the papyrus.

The fourth book of the *Actia* is followed by the *Iambi*, with which the remainder of the leaves are occupied. Their arrangement depends largely upon the view taken of the foliation of this codex: do the numbers refer to leaves or to pages? As has been remarked in connexion with 1010, in these early books both sides of a leaf often bear a figure, which is commonly set in the centre of the upper margin and gives the number of the column rather than that of the page; cf. e.g. 656, 697, P. Amh. 1, and, for the analogous numeration of columns in a roll, 657. In the present case the left-hand corner of the under side only of the leaf is foliated. Since, however, the three numbers which

can be read with certainty (Foll. 1, 3 and 5) are all even, it is legitimate to suppose that they refer to pages which were numerated in the series 2, 4, 6, 8, &c. An early parallel for such a method of pagination is, indeed, to seek; while, on the other hand, an example of numeration of leaves as opposed to pages is probably to be recognized in *Berliner Klassikertexte*, v. 2. 18, where a leaf bears in opposite corners the figures 9 and 65. If the gatherings were, as seems likely, quaternions, the 9th gathering would begin with the 65th leaf. But let us consider the consequences of the hypothesis that in 1011 leaves and not pages are meant. On the recto of Fol. 2 the critical figure is unfortunately illegible, but since Fol. 3 is numbered 188, and is no doubt either the next leaf or the next but one to Fol. 2, the defaced number on the latter would be either 186 or 187. Thirty-three leaves at least would therefore be lost between Fol. 1 (= 152) and Fol. 2, i.e., on an average of 80 lines to the leaf, 2,640 lines. Foll. 1 and 2 themselves add 89 lines more; and the earlier portion of the story of Cydippe, if it bore about the same relation in bulk to the account of Aristaenetus as the latter part does, may be estimated at approximately 115 verses. One more leaf, at least, must be added by way of preface; so that even if the Cydippe came at the beginning of the third book, the two last books of the *Aetia* will have extended to upwards of 3,000 lines, or, on the assumption that they were more or less equal in size, some 1,500 lines each. Evidently this is not a satisfactory result. There is the analogy of Apollonius Rhodius; but poetical books other than dramatic works, whether in Greek or Latin, do not usually run to so great a length, and moreover we have some positive evidence that the *Aetia* were no exception to the rule. Suidas relates that Marianus, who flourished in the fifth century, produced a *μετάφρασις* of the *Hecale*, *Hymns*, *Aetia*, and *Epigrams* of Callimachus in 6,810 iambic verses. Marianus is hardly likely to have effected a considerable reduction in the number of the lines; the tendency would rather be in the opposite direction. But the extant hymns and genuine epigrams of Callimachus amount to 1,400 lines, and the *Hecale* appears to have been a lengthy poem; therefore, if the four books of the *Aetia* averaged some 1,500 lines, a much larger total than 6,810 iambs would be expected. If on the other hand the alternative view be adopted, that the foliation of this MS. referred to pages, and consequently the foregoing estimate of leaves and lines be divided by two, the difficulties disappear. Seven or eight hundred lines is the normal compass of a book, and the scope of Marianus' metaphrase, with some allowance for hymns and epigrams no longer extant, becomes more natural.

The *Iambi* open with a general prologue, extending to about 30 lines, of which the first three and a half had already been correctly reconstructed from

scattered citations. At l. 103 begins the story of Bathycles' cup, which was to be given to the wisest man and went the round of the seven sages until it came a second time to Thales, by whom it was dedicated to Apollo of Didyma: cf. Diog. Laert. i. 28 ταῦτα δὴ ὁ Καλλίμαχος ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις ἄλλως ἴστορει, παρὰ Μαιανδρίου λαβὼν τῷ Μιλησίῳ Βαθυκλέᾳ γάρ τινα Ἀρκάδα φιάλην καταλιπεῖν καὶ ἐπιτκῆψαι δοῖναι τῶν σοφῶν ὀντίστω. ἐδόθη δὴ Θαλῆς καὶ κατὰ περίδον πάλιν Θαλῆς ὁ δὲ τῷ Διδύμει Ἀπόλλωνι ἀπέστειλεν εἰτίων οὐταν κατὰ τὸν Καλλίμαχον Θαλῆς με τῷ μεδεῦντι Νελέω δήμον διδώστι, τοῦτο διὸς λαβὼν ἀριστεῖν (Fr. 95). The sixteen verses on Fol. 2 are much obscured by mutilation, but Fol. 3 verso is in rather better case. Thales is discovered drawing geometrical figures by Bathycles' son, who offers him the cup. The first two verses and the gist of part of the following passage were previously known from Diogenes Laertius and Diodorus Excerpt. Vat., by means of which attempts had been made at restoration (Fr. 83 a) with, as is now seen, indifferent success; cf. note on ll. 124-8. The sequel is lost with the lower half of the leaf; but since ll. 121 sqq. apparently relate to the first visit to Thales, and the recto of Fol. 3 concerns a different subject, it follows that the story was finished off very briefly. The question then arises, what is the extent of the loss between Fol. 2 and Fol. 3? Does the latter follow immediately upon the former, or is there a leaf missing? The second alternative appears to make the introductory part of the story rather disproportionately long: if the travels of the cup were narrated in about 40 verses, about 35 ought to have sufficed to explain the occasion of them. This Iambus then becomes a very short one, certainly; but that would be in accordance with the promise of brevity made at the outset (l. 103). A further slight advantage may be claimed for this view, that it is consistent with a gathering of six sheets, which is perhaps a more likely number than seven; cf. p. 22. The identity of the third figure on the recto of Fol. 2 is too doubtful to be urged as evidence on either side. Several verses from the missing later portion of the poem are preserved in the extant fragments; cf. note on l. 138.

With the recto of Fol. 3, which is clearly numbered in the left corner 188, a fresh topic is reached. Some man who was the object of general aversion is introduced; but after the first few lines the subject is completely obscured by the mutilation of the papyrus.

Fol. 5, which bears on the recto the number 192, was separated from Fol. 3 by a single leaf, and the gap is certainly to be filled by Fol. 4. This is quite evident from the fact that the last few lines of the recto of Fol. 4 (ll. 211 sqq.) are the commencement of the story of the contest between the olive and the laurel, which is recounted in Fol. 5. Of the verso of Fol. 4 the first 15 verses are fairly preserved. They apparently relate to a legend of a reversal of the

common order of nature in the reign of Saturn, when the spheres of men and beasts were exchanged. This story is referred in ll. 171–3, a passage already known as an *adespotou*, to Aesop (cf. the citation in l. 54 of Xenomedes), but is not found in the extant collection of Aesopian fables or in those of Babrius. The rest of the verso and the recto is severely damaged, and there is little that is intelligible until in l. 211 the narrative of the dispute between the two trees is begun. If, as may well be the case, the preceding lines of the recto all belong to the preface of this, the fable would appear to have been narrated by one of the persons whose meeting is described in ll. 192 sqq. The first two and a half verses of the story itself were already extant (Fr. 93 a), but nothing was known concerning the nature of the quarrel, or of Callimachus' treatment of it in the poem of which a substantial portion is now happily recovered in Fol. 5. Schneidewin, *Excrit. Crit.* ix. p. 57, suggested that the point resembled that of one of the fables of Aphthonius (*Furia* 212), where an olive-tree after deriding a fig for the loss of its leaves is broken by a snowstorm which left the fig unharmed. This conjecture, however, is not verified; the discussion is of a much more elaborate kind. In rhetorical speeches the rivals expatiate in turn upon their own respective merits and advantages, the laurel dwelling upon its ritualistic and ceremonial uses, and taunting the olive with the indignity of association with corpses (ll. 218–239). To this the olive replies at length (ll. 242 sqq.), priding itself on assisting to honour the dead, and, with regard to the pretensions of the laurel, pointing out that the olive-branch was the prize of victory at Olympia, which ranked before Delphi. The olive proceeds (ll. 260 sqq.) to claim superiority on the ground, first, of a more illustrious origin, secondly, of its serviceable qualities, and thirdly, of being the emblem of the suppliant. At ll. 291–6 another tree intervenes in the interests of peace, but with the result of making the laurel, which is getting the worst of the argument, the more angry, and the would-be peacemaker only meets with abuse. Here the papyrus fails us and, since the next leaf is missing, we cannot tell how the quarrel was brought to a termination.

The position of Foll. 6 and 7 is less definitely determined. The latter, which is filled on both sides not with iambics but trochaic tetrameters, belongs to the same sheet as Fol. 5; but since the contents are quite different the pair must have been separated by at least two leaves. It is convenient to assign Fol. 6, which in outward condition rather resembles Fol. 7 (cf. p. 16), to the vacant position. But Fol. 6 does not contain the beginning of the trochaic poem and therefore cannot be the immediate predecessor of Fol. 7; neither does it appear to follow directly on Fol. 5, for there is no sign of any connexion with the story of the olive and laurel, which can scarcely have been brought to its

conclusion in the course of the eight or nine lines which are missing at the top of Fol. 6. Hence, if Fol. 6 be placed here, it is best to suppose that four leaves intervened between Foll. 5 and 7, and that Fol. 6 was the second or third of them. On this theory, unless the unsatisfactory assumption be made that the disposition of the sheets was irregular, the gatherings in this codex will have consisted of six sheets at least. It is certain in the case of Folls. 2-5, of which the last three and probably all four were consecutive, that the verso preceded; and either recto and verso should precede alternately (e.g. P. Amh. 1 and the Cairo Menander), or one should consistently come first in the left half of the gathering, the other in the right (e.g. P. Heidelberg 1; cf. Dziatzko, *Buchwesen*, p. 145). The gatherings of the present MS. were arranged on the latter method, Folls. 2-5, where the verso is consistently uppermost, belonging to the left-hand portion of the gathering; the recto would of course be uppermost in the opposite portion, to which Fol. 7 is referred. A difficulty, however, arises with regard to Fol. 1, which being divided from Fol. 2 by 34 pages or 17 leaves would, if the gatherings uniformly consisted of six sheets, fall in the right-hand half of a gathering, where the recto should precede the verso. The reverse is actually the case; and we have therefore to suppose that some of the gatherings were of fewer sheets than six.

To return to Fol. 6, it is doubtful which side of the leaf came uppermost, but the aspect of the two margins slightly favours the view that here too the verso preceded. Literary matters are the prevailing topic—tragedians (ll. 312, 367), pentameters (ll. 313, 366), poetry (ll. 321-2), choliambics and Hippoanax (ll. 334-5, cf. l. 362), the Muses (ll. 357, 361); but the leaf is badly mutilated, and only here and there a complete verse emerges. No coincidences occur here with the extant fragments, though the latter include lines which may well have been derived from this poem, e.g. Fr. 84 οὐ πρόν μὲν ἡμῖν ὁ τραγῳδὸς ἥγειρεν, Fr. 98 εἴ τις τραγῳδὸς μούσα ληκυθίζοντα.

Of the contents of Fol. 7 there is not much to be said. No verse on either side is complete, or, apparently, capable of successful completion. It is, however, something to learn that Callimachus, like other iambographers, wrote in trochaic tetrameters (trochaic pentameters are exemplified in Fr. 115); and the remains are sufficient to show that his use of the measure was marked by an unexpected freedom. Caesura in the middle of the verse is repeatedly neglected; cf. ll. 378, 381, 390, 396, 418, 421, &c. Callimachus thus allows himself the same licence in this respect as the comedians. On the other hand, he must have been sparing of resolution, since no instance of it occurs in an equivalent of about 30 verses.

That the *Iambi* did not extend far beyond this point cannot of course be

asserted, but it would hardly be expected, since the book is already of some length. Fol. 2 contained about 65 lines, and, if the argument above is correct, not less than seven more leaves, or 560 lines, preceded Fol. 7, making, with the addition of the latter, a total of some 700 lines. Extant fragments prove that the *Iambi* also included pure iambics, so that, unless these occurred on the leaves supposed to be missing between Fol. 5 and Fol. 7, a further considerable addition has to be made on their account. The minimum length of the book may thus be estimated at from 800 to 900 lines.

For the sake of clearness a brief summary of the disposition and contents of the leaves may here be added:—

- Fol. 1 verso and recto (pp. 151–2) = *Act.* iii, story of Cydippe.
- Fol. 2 verso (p. 185?) = *Act.* iv, conclusion, and *Iamb.*, prologue.  
recto (p. 186?) = conclusion of prologue, and story of Bathycles (*Iamb.* 1).
- Fol. 3 verso (p. 187) = story of Bathycles continued.  
recto (p. 188) : subject doubtful (*Iamb.* 2).
- Fol. 4 verso [p. 189] = story of the reign of Saturn (continuation of *Iamb.* 2?).  
recto [p. 190] = story of dispute between laurel and olive (*Iamb.* 3).
- Fol. 5 verso and recto (pp. 191–2) = dispute between laurel and olive con-  
tinued.
- Fol. 6 verso and recto [pp. 195–6 or 197–8?] = a piece relating to poetical  
composition, especially tragedy (*Iamb.* 4).
- Fol. 7 recto and verso [pp. 201–2?] = trochaic poem (*Iamb.* 5).

In the reconstruction and interpretation of this difficult text I have received invaluable assistance from Professor U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, to whom is due in no slight degree such success as may have been attained. Many restorations and comments will be found expressly attributed to him in the notes below; but the frequency of these references is by no means the measure of my great obligations. The proofsheets were also seen by Professor Gilbert Murray, whom I have to thank for a number of acute suggestions and criticisms.

Fol. 1 verso.

ηδηκαικουρωπαρθενοσευννασατο  
 τεθμιονωσεκελευεπροινυμφιοιυπιογιανσαι  
 αρσενιτηνταλινπαιδισναμφιθαλει  
 ηρηνγαρκοτεφασικυνκυοιυσχεολαιδρε  
 5 θυμεσυγ'αεισηκαιταπερουχοσιη  
 φναοκαρξτενεκοντιθεησιδεσιεραφρικτησ  
 εξενέπεικαιτωνηρυγεσιστοριην  
 ηπολυνιδριηχαλεπονκακοι·<sup>υ</sup>στισακαρτει  
 γλωσσησωσετεονπαισδεμαυλινεχει·<sup>ε</sup>  
 10 ηωαιμενεμελλονενυδατιθυμοναμυξειν  
 οιβεσοξειανδερκομενοιδορίδα  
 δειελινητηνδ'ειλ[[λ]]εκακοςχλοοσειλεδενουσοσ  
 αιγασεσαγριαδαστηναποπεμπομεθα·  
 ψευδομενοιδ'ερηνφημιξμεν·ητοτ'ανιγρη  
 15 τηνκουρηηα[.].<sup>η</sup>εωμεχριστεξεδομων  
 δευτερονεστοργυντοτακλισμιαδευτερονηπα[.].<sup>η</sup>  
 επτατεταρταιωμηνασεκαμεπυρι  
 τοτριτονεμησαντογαμουκοτετοτριτοναυτ[  
 κυδιπηγνουλοσκρυμοεσωκισατο  
 20 τετρατον[.]υκετ'εμειεπατηρερηδελφιναρ[  
 φοιβονοδ'εννυχιοντουτεποσηνδασατο  
 αρτεμιδοστηπαιδιγαμονβαρυσορκοσενικλαι  
 λυγδαμινουγαρεμητηνονεκηδεκασισ  
 ουδεναμυκλαιωιθιονεπλεκενουδ'αποθηρησ  
 25 εκλιυζενποταμωιλυματαπαρθενιωι  
 δηλωδ'ηνεπιδημοσακοντιονοπποτεσηπαισ  
 φημεσενουκαλλοννυμφιονεξεμεναι  
 α . . . νξαλλ'ημεθελεισσυμφραδμοναθεσθαι  
 [. .]ηγατελειηησεισορκιαθυγατεροσ  
 30 αργυρονουμολιβωιγαρακοντιοναλλαφαεινωι

Fol. 1 verso.

ἥδη καὶ κούρῳ παρθένος εὐνάσατο  
τέθμιον ὡς ἐκέλευε προνύμφιον ὕπνον λαῦσαι  
(αὐτίκα) τὴν τάλιν παιδὶ σὺν ἀμφιθαλεῖ.  
Ἡρην γάρ κοτέ φασί—κύνον, κύνον, ἵσχεο, λαιδρέ  
5 θυμέ, σύ γ' ἀείση καὶ τά περ οὐχ ὁσίη·  
ῶναο κάρ(θ)' ἔνεκ' οὐ τι θεῆς ἴδεις ιερὰ φρικτῆς,  
ἔξενέπειν καὶ τῶν ἥρυγες ἴστορίην·  
ἡ πολυιδρείη χαλεπὸν κακόν, δοτις ἀκαρτεῖ  
γλώσσης· ὡς ἑτεὸν παῖς ὅδε μαῦλιν ἔχει.  
10 ἡφοι μὲν ἐμέλλον ἐν ὕδατι θυμὸν ἀμύξειν  
οἱ βόες ὁξεῖαν δερκόμενοι δορῖδα  
δειπλινῆν, τὴν δ' εἴλε κακὸς χλόος, εἴλε δὲ νοῦσος  
αἴγας ἐσ ἀγριάδας τὴν ἀποπεμπόμεθα  
ψευδόμενοι δ' ιερῆν φημίζομεν, ἢ τότ' ἀνυρή  
15 τὴν κούρην αὐτ[η]έων μέχρις ἔτηξε δομῶν.  
δεύτερον ἐστόρουντο τὰ κλισμία, δεύτερον ἢ πα[τ]ις  
ἐπτὰ τεταρταίφι μῆνας ἔκαμνε πυρί.  
τὸ τρίτον ἐμνήσαντο γάμου κοτέ, τὸ τρίτον αὐτ[ι]ς  
Κυδίπηην δλὸδος κρυμὸς ἐσωκίσατο.  
20 τέττρατον [ο]ὗκετ' ἐμεινε πατὴρ ἐσ Δέλφιον ἄρ[ας  
Φοῖβον· δ' ὁ δ' ἐννύχιον τοῦτ' ἐπος ηὐδάσατο·  
'Αρτέμιδος τῇ παιδὶ γάμον βαρὺς ὄρκος ἐνικλᾶ,  
Λύγδαμιν· οὐ γάρ ἐμὴ Τῆνον ἔκηδε κάσις,  
οὐδ' ἐν Αμυκλαίῳ θρῆσον ἐπλεκεν, οὐδ' ἀπὸ θήρης  
25 ἔκλυσεν ποταμῷ λύματα Παρθενίω,  
Δῆλῳ δ' ἦν ἐπίδημος, Ἀκόντιον ὄππάτε σὴ παῖς  
ὅμοσεν, οὐκ ἀλλοι, νυμφίον ἔξέμεναι  
α . . . νξ· ἀλλ' ἦν μ' ἐθέλ(η)ς συμφράδμονα θέσθαι  
[πά]ντα τελευτῆσεις ὄρκια θυγατέρος.  
30 ἄργυρον οὐ μολίβῳ γάρ, Ἀκόντιον ἀλλὰ φαεινῷ

ηλεκτρον χρυσωι φημισεμιξεμεναι  
 κοδρειδησυγ' αν φθενοπενθεροσαυταροκειοσ  
 γαμβροσαρισταιον . . τισαμφιερων  
 ικμιονοισιμεμ[.] λεγεπούρεοσαμβωνεσσιν  
 35 πρηνεινχαλ[.] πηγμαιραναγερχομενην  
 αιτεισθαιοδ' αημαπαραιδιοσωτεθαμεινοι  
 πλησσονται λιναισορτυγεσενεφελαισ  
 ηθεοσαυταρουαξονεβηπαλινειρετοδ' αυτην  
 κουρηνηδ' ανετωσπανεκαλυψενεποσ  
 40 κηναυσφοσοτ . λοιπονακοντιεσ[ε] ειομετελθετ  
 εσταιτηνιδηηνεσδιονυσιαδα

μ̄

Fol. 1 recto. Plate II.

 $\rho\nu\beta$ 

χηθεοσενορκειτοκαιηλικεσαυτικ εταιρησ  
 ειδονυμηναιουσουκαναβαλλομενονσ  
 ουσεδοκεωτημουτσακοντιευκτοσεκεινησ  
 45 αντικετησμιτρησψαπαρθενησ  
 ουσφυρονιφικλειονεπιτρεχονασταχυεσσιν  
 ουδ' ακεληνιτησεκτεατιστομιδησ  
 δεξασθαιψηφουδ' ανεμησεπιμαρτυρεσειεν  
 οιτινεσουχαλεπουνηδεσεισθεον  
 50 εκδεγαμουκεινοιομεγουνομαμελενεεσθαι  
 δηγαρεθ' υμετερονφυλονακοντιαδαι  
 πουλυτικαιπεριτιμονιουλιδιναιεταουσιν  
 κειτεονδ' ημεισημερονεκλυνομεν  
 τονδεπαραρχαιονξενομηδεοσοσποτεπασα  
 55 νησονενιμυημκατθετομυθολογω  
 αρχ[ο] μενοσωσνυμφησι[.] Ιναιετοκωρυκιησι  
 τασαποταρηησουλισεδιωξεμεγασ  
 υδρουσσαντωκαιμινεφημισανφοτεκιρω . . .  
 [.] ο . . θυσ[.] ιο . . ωκεενενκαρναισ

ηλεκτρον χρυσῷ φημί σε μιξέμεναι.

Κοδρεΐδης σύ γ' ἀνωθεν ὁ πενθερός, αὐτὰρ ὁ Κεῖος

γαμβρὸς Ἀρισταῖον λήγετος ἀμφὶ ἵερῶν

'Ικμίον οἵστι μέμ[η]λεν ἐπ' οὔρεος ἀμβώνεσσιν

35 πρηγύνειν χαλ[ε]πῆν Μαῖραν ἀνερχομένην,

αἰτεῖσθαι τὸ δ' ἄημα πάραι Διὸς φὲ τε θαμνοί

πλήγσσονται λινέας ὄρτυγες ἐν νεφέλαις.'

ἡ θεός· αὐτὰρ ὁ Νάξον ἔβη πάλιν, εἴρετο δ' αὐτήν

κούρην, ἡ δ' ἄνεως πᾶν ἐκάλυψεν ἔπος.

40 κιῆνανα<sup>(θλ)</sup>ώσ<sup>(ατο)</sup> λοιπόν, Ἀκόντιε, σεῖο μετελθεῖν

ἐστ<sup>(ώ)</sup> τὴν ιδίην ἐς Διονυσιάδα.

Fol. I recto. Plate II.

χὴ θεὸς εὐορκεῖτο καὶ ἡλικες αὐτίχ' ἑταίρης

<sup>(ἢ)</sup>δον ὑμηναίους οὐκ ἀναβαλλομένους.

οὐ σε δοκέω τημοῦτος, Ἀκόντιε, νυκτὸς ἐκείνης

45 ἀντὶ κε τῆς μάτρης ἥψαο παρθενίης

οὐ σφυρὸν Ἰφικλειον ἐπιτρέχον ἀσταχύνεσσιν

οὐδ' ἡ Κελ<sup>(αι)</sup>νήτης ἐκτεάτιστο Μίδης

δέξασθαι, ψήφου δ' ἀν ἐμῆς ἐπιμάρτυρες εἰεν

οἵτινες οὐ χαλεποῦ νήδες εἰσι θεοῦ.

50 ἐκ δὲ γάμου κείνοιο μέγ' οὔνομα μέλλε νέεσθαι·

δὴ γὰρ ἔθ' ὑμέτερον φύλον Ἀκοντιάδαι

πουλύ τι καὶ περίτιμον Ἰουλίδι ναιετάουσιν,

Κείε, τεὸν δ' ἡμεῖς ἵμερον ἐκλύομεν

τόνδε παρ' ἀρχαίον Ξενομήδεος ὁς <sup>(κ)</sup>οτε πάταν

55 νῆσον ἐνι μνήμῃ κάτθετο μυθολόγῳ,

ἀρχμενος ως νῦνφησιν ἐνναίετο Κωρυκίησι

τὰς ἀπὸ Παρνησσοῦ λις ἐδίωξε μέγας,

'Τδροῦσσαν τῷ καὶ μιν ἐφήμισαν, ως τε Κιρω . . .

[.]ο . . θυσ[.]το . . φκεεν ἐν Καρύαις·

- [...] στεμνινασσαντοτεωγαλαλαξισαιει  
ζευσπισαλπιγγωνιραβοηδεχεται  
καρεσομουλελεγεσσι . ετουνομαδ' αλλοβαλεισθ<sup>μ</sup>  
φοιβουκαιμελιησινεθηκεκωσ  
ενδ' υβριθανατοντεκεραυνιονενδεγοητασ  
65 τελχινασμακαροντουκαλεγοντα[[σ]]θεων  
ηλεαδημωνακ[[α]]ταγερωνενθηκατοδελτ[  
καιγρηνιμακελωμητεραδεξιθεησ  
ασμουναστοεγησονανετρεπονεικ' αλ[.]ι[  
υβρισσασκηθεισελλιποναθανατοι  
70 τεσσαρασωστεποληασομεντειχιστεμεγακ[.]ησ  
καρθαιαυχρεισομενη[.]λοσημιθεησ  
ευκρηγονηπτολιεθρονιονλιδοσανταρακαι . .  
πουησσανχαριτωνιδρυμευπλοκαμων  
αστυρογαφραστοσδεκαρη[.]ιονεπεδεκειε  
75 ξινκραθευτανταισοξυνερωτασθευν  
πρεεθυνσετηγμημεμελημενοσεγνθενοπα . . [  
μυθοσεσημετερηνεδραμεκαλλιοπην  
ονγαρτασπολιωνικηγσσασασομαηδη<sup>δησ</sup> . . λλη. .  
80 εστιγεπισαιουγηνοσοπισ . . ιθηγ  
αλλι . . νησ . κρουνονα . . . . . . . . σ

Fol. 2 verso. Plate III.

- [...] ἀρινότ' εμημούσατ[...] ἀστει  
 [...] πουκαιχαριτω[...] βιαμοιαδ' ανασσησ  
 [...] τερησουσεψευδον[...] ματι  
 παγ' αγαθηνκαιπαντατ[...] εσφορονειπε [...] [.]

85 κείνωτ<sup>ω</sup>[[ε]]μοῦσαιπολλανεμοντιβοτα  
 συνμυθοσεβάλοντοπαρέχν[.]ονοξέοσιππον  
 χαιρεσυνεστοιδ ἐρχεολωιτέρη  
 χαιρεζένμεγακαισυσαδ' [...] μοικονανάκτω

60 [ῶ]ς τέ μιν ἐννάσσαντο τέων Ἀλαλάξιος αἰεῖ  
 Ζεὺς ἐπὶ σαλπίγγων ἵρα βοῆ δέχεται  
 Κᾶρες ὁμοῦ Λελέγεσσι, μετ' οὐνομα δ' ἄλλο *(κ)*αλεῖσθαι  
 Φοίβουν καὶ Μελίνης Ἰνις ἔθηκε Κέως·  
 ἐν δ' ὑβριν θάνατόν τε κεραύνιον, ἐν δὲ γόνης  
 65 Τελχῖνας μακάρων τ' οὐκ ἀλέγοντα θεῶν  
 ἡλεῖ Δημώνακτα γέρων ἐνεθήκατο δέλτ[οις],  
 καὶ γρηγὸν Μακεδὼν μητέρα Δεξιθέης,  
 ἂς μούνας ὅτε νῆσον ἀνέτρεπον εἴνεκ' ἀλ[ιτρῆς]  
 ὑβριος ἀσκηθεῖς ἔλλιπον ἀθάνατοι·  
 70 τέσσαρας ὡς τε πόλης ὁ μὲν τείχισσε Μεγακ[λῆ]ς  
 Κάρθαλαν, Χρ(υ)σοῦς δ' Εὔπ[υ]λος ήμιθέης  
 εὐκρηνον πτολεύθρον Ἰουλίδος, αὐτὰρ Ἀκαι . . .  
 Ποιῆσσαν Χαρίτων ἴδρυμ' ἐνπλοκάμων,  
 75 ἀστυρον Ἀφραστος δὲ Κ(ο)ρῆ[σ]ιον, εἶπε δέ, Κεῖε,  
 ἔνυκραβάντ' αὐταῖς ὁξὺν ἔρωτα σέθεν  
 πρέσβυς ἐτητυμίη(s) μεμελημένος, ἐνθεν ὁ παιδός  
 μῦθος ἐσ ήμετέρην ἔδραμε Καλλιόπην. . . .  
 οὐ γάρ τὰς πολίων οἰκήσιας ἔσομαι ηδη. . . λλαι. [  
 ἔστι γε Πισαίον Ζηνὸς ὅπις π . . . ιθην.  
 80 ἀλλ' ι . . . νησ . κρουτονα . . . . . . . . . . .  
 16 (?) leaves lost.

Fol. 2 verso. Plate III.

[. . .]σαριν ὅτ' ἐμὴ μοῦσα τ[. . . . .]άσεται  
 [. . .]ποιν καὶ Χαρίτων [. . . . .]ριαμοια δ' ἀνάσσης  
 [. . .]τερης οὐ σε ψευδον[. . . . .]ματι  
 πάντ' ἀγαθὴν καὶ πάντα τ[ελ]εσφόρον εἰπὲ . . . . . . . .  
 85 κείνῳ τῷ Μοῦσαι πολλὰ νέμοντι βοτά  
 σὺν μύθους ἐβάλοντο παρ' ἔχν[ι]ον ὁξέος ἵππουν  
 χαῖρε, σὺν εὐεστοι δ' ἔρχεο λωιτέρῃ.  
 χαῖρε, Ζεῦ, μέγα καὶ σὺ σάω δ' [όλο]ν οἰκον ἀνάκτων.

αυταρὲγωμουσέωπεξο[.]πειμιομν  
 καλλιμαχου[...]ωνδ  
 καλλιμαχου>ιαμ[...]  
 ακούσταθηπώνακτο[.]υγαραλλ'ήκω  
 εκτωνόίκουβούκολυ[...]πρησκουσιν<sup>αρ.</sup>[  
 φέρωνίαμβονουμάχη[...]οντα[...].[.]υτα[.]  
 95 [.....]γπ[...].ειοι[.]νά[...]πρωποσ  
 [.....].[.]ειν

Fol. 2 recto.

μπι.

ὁπολλον[.]σπαραιπόλωμνᾶι  
 πιθανωρτον[.]φέικεσ[.]ποθύματοσδελφ[  
 επιταχθεγτα[.]αλμην[.]μγάκάτηπλήθευσ[  
 101 . . . . . γ[.]λογτοντράθ[ο]ναγυμνᾶ[.]  
 σωπηγενεσθωκαιγράφεσθετηρῆσιν[.]  
 αιηρβαθυκλησταρκασουμακρηναξω[.]  
 105 μεγασχολαξ[.]ειμιπαρμεσονδιψειν  
 . . . εναχερο[.]στ[.]π[.]λαιστι[.]  
 εγενετοπα[.]τα[.]ειχενόδιστνανθρωποισ  
 θεοιτελειν[.]ασεπίστανται[.]  
 ηδηκαθή[.]σή[.]ήμε[.]α[.]ν[.]  
 110 . . . ακρον[.]καιγαρε[.]χ[.]έζηθριξ

αὐτὰρ ἔγω Μουσέων πεζὸς [ἔ]πειμι νομόν.

90 Καλλιμάχου [Αἰτί]ων δ.

Καλλιμάχου Ἱαμ[βοι.]

Fol. 2 recto.

ώπολλον . [ . . . . . ]ς παρ' αἰτόλῳ μιναι  
.. φείκεσ . [ . . . . . ] 'πδ θύματος Δελφ[οῦ  
· αιμιν . [ . . . . . ]ιν ώ 'κάτη πλήθευς  
.. ιλοις ἐν[ . . . . . ] πνοὴν ἀναλώσει  
... ' ν[. . . .] . λον τὸν τρίβωνα γυμνώ[σ] ..  
σωπῇ γενέσθω καὶ γράφεσθε τὴν ρήσιν. ....  
ἀνὴρ Βαθυκλῆς Ἀρκᾶς—οὐ μακρὴν ἀξω ... {  
... ν . σ . . [.] . [.] . . . . . . . . . .  
μέγα σχολάδ[σ]ων εἰμι πάρ πέσον δινεῖν—  
... ευαχερο[. . .] . . . τ . . . π' λαιστι . . . .  
έγνετο πάντα δ' εἴχεν οἵσιν ἀνθρώποις  
Θεοὶ τελεῦ[τες . .] . as ἐπίστανται.  
ἡδὴ καθῆ[. . . . .] . σή . . . ήμε . α . ν . .  
.. ακροι[. . . . .] καὶ γάρ ε . χ . . ἔῃ θρὶξ

των . . . . [.] του σμενενθατοισδ' ενθα  
 εστησεπουκλωστήρασειχεγαρδεσμοσ  
 μελλοντασηδηπαρθεοισαλινδισθαι . . . η[.] . [.  
 μ . . . σδ' επα[. . .] : . πότησεπαγκωνα πριθι .  
 115 [. . . κεξ . . δσκ[. . .] αναπριμπαγηνβλέψασ. εραγαρλω .  
 [. . .] τειμοισ . . . . [.  
 [. . .] πειτ' εφ[  
 [. . .] τ . [.

Fol. 3 verso.

καιτησαμάξησελέγετοσταθμησασθαι  
 120 τουσαστερισκουσήπλεουσιφοινικεσ  
 / ενρενδ' οπρουσέληηνδ[.] αισίωισττη ορνεον  
 εντριδιδυμεοστονγερ[.] ντακωνηω  
 ξύνοντατηνγηνκαγράφοντασχῆμα γεομετρουντα[  
 τούξενρ' οφρυξενύφορβ[.] ιοστισανθρώπων  
 125 τρ[.] ωνακαισκ[. . . .] πρωτοσέγρ[.] ψε  
 λ[  
 καικυκλονέπ[  
 τωνεμπνεθ[.] ωνε[  
 ουπάντεσαλ' ούσειχεν[  
 προσδη[.] ινώδ' εφησε . [  
 130 εκει[.] ιούλοδχυντονεξ . [  
 ουμο[.] πατηρεφειτον[  
 δοῦ[.] . . τισύμεωντωνσοφ[  
 τωιεπτα' κήγωσοιδίδωμ[  
 [. . . . .] σκίπωνιτούδη[  
 135 [. . . .] γηνυπήνητητέρη[  
 εξει[.] ετηνδόσινμὲν . . [  
 συδ' ε[.] . εφνοσμηλό[  
 βιησ[. . . . .] ειλ[

των' . . . . [.] τοὺς μὲν ἔνθα τοὺς δ' ἔνθα  
 ἔστησέ *(κ)*ου κλωστῆρας<sup>·</sup> εἰχε γὰρ δεσμὸς  
 μέλλοντας ηδη παρθένοις ἀλινδεῖσθαι,<sup>.. ν[.] . [</sup>  
 μ . . . σ δ' επα[.] . . πότης ἐπ' ἀγκῶνα<sup>πρι . . ν . [</sup>  
 115 [.] κεξ . . δς κ[.] . . ανα πρὶν πάγην βλέψας.<sup>ἐρά γάρ λω . [</sup>  
 [.] τιμίοις . . . . [<sup>συρ . [</sup>  
 [έ]πειτ' ἐφ[  
 [.] τ . [

Fol. 3 verso.

καὶ τῆς ἀμάξης ἐλέγετο σταθμήσασθαι  
 120 τοὺς ἀστερίσκους, ἢ πλέοντι Φοίνικες.  
 εὑρεν δ' ὁ προυσέληνο[ς] αἰσθώ στῆτη ὥρνεον  
 ἐν τοῦ Διδυμέος τὸν γέρ[ο]ντα κων[εί]ω  
 ξύνοντα τὴν γῆν καὶ γράφοντα τὸ σχῆμα γεωμετροῦντα  
 τοὐξεῦρ' ὁ Φρύξ *Εὔφορβ[ος]* ὅστις ἀνθρώπων  
 125 τρίγ[ω]να καὶ σκ[αληνά] πρῶτος ἔγρ[α]ψε  
 καὶ κύκλον ἐπ[ταμήκε], ηδὲ νηστεύειν  
 τῶν ἐμπνεύμην[ων] εἰπεν· οἱ δ' ὑπήκουονταν  
 οὐ πάντες ἀλλ' οὐδὲ εἰχεν [οὐτερος δαίμων.  
 πρὸς δῆ [μ]ιν ὁδὸν ἐφησε . [  
 130 ἐκεῖνο] τούλόχρυσον ἔξ . [  
 οιμόδ[ι]ς] πατήρ ἐφείτο τού[  
 δοῦν' ὕστις ὑμέων τῶν σοφ[ῶν ὄντιστος  
 τῶν ἐπτά· κῆγω σοὶ δίδωμ[ι] ἀριστείον.  
 [Θάλης δὲ τῷ] σκίπωνι τοῦδα[φος πλήξει  
 135 [καὶ τὴν ὑπήνην τήτερην [λαβὼν χειρὶ<sup>·</sup>  
 ἔξει[π]ετην δόσιν μὲν . . [  
 σὺ δ' ε[.] . εῶνος μὴ λόγγ  
 Βί(α)ς [.] . . . . ειλ[

Fol. 3 recto.

~~περὶ~~

αλλ' ηιορητισούτοσαλκμεωιφήσει  
 140 καιφεῦγεβαλλειφευγερειτονάνθρωποι  
 ἔκαστο[.] [[δ]]αντο . . [.] . εχθρακηρυσσει  
 ωσεσ . [.] . σινδ . . κοτ . . . .  
 οδ' εξοτισθεκο[.]ικασ[.]σε . . αάκει  
 τηγιγλῶσσαελωνωσκυωισταγπίνηγ  
 145 καιφῆσιταντ' ε . [.] . . . σεκπλευσ[.] . . . ταζαντ[.]  
 [.]τ . [.] . . [.] . . . σηχει[.] ποταμαδ[.]  
 [.] .  
 [.]χηλαγυμνάζει . . . . . . . . . .  
 [.] . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .  
 [.]γρ . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .  
 [.] . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .  
 [.]θαροντεσου . . . φα . . . .  
 150 [.] . . . . . . . . . . . . . .  
 [.] . . . . . . . . . . . . . .  
 [.] . . . . . . . . . . . . . .  
 [.] . . . . . . . . . . . . .  
 [.] . . . . . . . . . . . .  
 [.] . . . . . . . . . . . .  
 155 [.] . . . . . λουκαιγελωτοσ[.]  
 [.] . . . . . πιθ[[ε]]τθεκαιγαρη . [.]  
 [.] . . . . . τατανδ[.] φαισ . . . .  
 [.] . . . . . . . . . . . .  
 [.] . . . . . λυεκαποπλεινόρη  
 [.] . . . . . . . . . . . .  
 [.] . . . . . ήσασ[.] . . . . . γρωκυσω

Fol. 4 verso.

160 τὰπικρόνουστοισαντια . . οτ . [.]  
 λεγονισκαικωσ[.]υ . [.]ηγμεναισ . [.]  
 δίκαιοσ . [.] μσουδίκα[.] . αισυμ . . ι[.]  
 τάνερπετεώ[.] . . εξερεψετεσθ[.]  
 γενοσδετομτ[.] . ιρούστπερουκάρτοσ  
 165 ημέωνεχοντωχητέροισαπάρξασθαι  
 [.] . . φεσαιδρῶνκαικενοσ[.] . έ[.] . . δημοσ

Fol. 3 recto.

ἀλλ' ἦν ὄφη τις 'αῖτος Ἀλκεμέων' φῆσει  
 140 καὶ 'φεῦγε, βάλλ' (ἢ, φεῦγ;) ἐρεῖ, 'τὸν ἀνθρώπον'.  
 ἔκαστος αὐτοῦ . . . [.] . ἔχθρὰ κηρύσσει  
 ἀς ἔστι . . . σὺν ὁ . . . κατ . . . [.] . . .  
 δὲ ἐξόπισθε κοι[νωνί]σθε . . . ἀσκεῖ  
 τὴν γλωσσαν εἰ[λάν] ὡς κίνην ὅταν πίνῃ,  
 145 εἴ τι φῆσαι ταῦτα ἐ[πει]λευσή . . . [.] . τίποτα [.] .  
 [.] . . . τὸν τραχῆγλα γυμνιάζει  
 [.] . . . οὐα . . . αρβύμος  
 [.] . . . τὸν θαυμάτεον σὺ . . . φα . . .  
 150 . . . καὶ εἴλλα . . . απη . . . εὖ . . . [.] .  
 [.] . . . ιουσ . . . ρ . . . ασω . . . [.] . λον  
 [.] . . . ρ μενιος εἴλε τα . . . [.] . λυσσέ  
 [.] . . . οι χλωρὰ σύκ . . . ενο . . . ίσα]  
 . . . [.] . λου καὶ γέλωτος [.]  
 [.] . . . πίθησθε καὶ γάρ η . . .  
 [.] . . . ταῦτα οὐκ [δίφενος . . . ν  
 [.] . . . λυνε κάποπλεῖν ὥρη  
 [.] . . . ήσασε, . . . τῷ κύσω

Fol. 4 verso.

160 τάπι Κρένου τοῖς ἀντίτα . . . οτ . . .  
 λέγεντοι καὶ καὶ [.] . Λημενεῖται . . .  
 δίκαιος ἐκόψεις οὐ δίκαια; δὲ αἰσυμνῶν  
 τῶν ἐρπετῶν [μὲν ἐξέκοψε τῷ φθαλμῷ,  
 γένος δὲ τοῦτο ἔτι . . . ζευν ἀπετέρ οὐ κάρτος  
 165 ἡμέων ἐχέντων χήτεροις ἀπάρξασθαι  
 [.] . . . ψεις ἀνθρῶν καὶ κενὸς [.] . ε[πει] . . . εῆμος



· [.] . ω φίλοφον ψιττακοῦ δε[  
οι [.] τραγῳδὶ τῶν θάλασσαν οἰκεύντων  
ἔχο[ν]σι φωνήν· οἱ δὲ πάντες . [

170 καὶ ποι[λ]ύμυθοι καὶ λάλοι πε[  
ἐκεῖθεν, ὀνδρόνικε, ταῦτα δ' Αἴσω[ν]πος  
ὁ Σαρδηνὴ[δ]ος εἶπεν, ὅντιν' οἱ Δελφοὶ  
ἀδοντα μῦθον οὐ καλῶς ἐδέξαντο  
. [.] θην' [..] ὥπολλον, ἡνίκ' οὐκ ἦ  
175 [.....]αι· καὶ σὺ κάρτ' ἐ[φο]ρμᾶσθε  
[.....]ζεν.

]

[.....] . [.....].  
[.....] τις αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν·  
180 [.....] ἔγενερθε δεῖ κεῖ[σ]θαι  
[.....]λιστι δ' οἰκεῦμεν  
[.....] ἡ] ζόη μετέστραπται ἐπικεχείρ-  
[.....]α Φοίβε ληκῆσα[ι] . ηται τὴν βῆσιν  
[.....]υ· οὐντραφεὶς δ' ὑμῖν  
185 [.....] ἐκεῖνος, ὄνθρωποι  
[.....] . . [.] . κ. ιψη· [.] . ο

Fol. 4 recto

] . . παρ . φ . . . ωσ σ[. . .] . α ἐπισ[.] . εται δ[ὲ] κυρίως ή μὲν ἐπι τῶν καλῶν  
 ] . . . . [.] id[.] . . . . [.] δ'[π] τῶν ἀναγκαζομένων ὁ ἄλλως φάρμακον  
 κον ] . ν

195 καὶ γαμβροῖς πλωσεῖ . . . φιλ[.]νθέσθαι  
 . ν[.] . . . [.] . . δ' . . . [.] νκρηγνωσεπαιδευθην  
 β[.] . . . . . [.] ουσατώ γαθονβλέψαι[.]  
 [.] . . . . . . καιθέουσαπρηγευνται  
 [.] . . . . . μόχθηροσεξεκνήμωσε[.]  
 200 [.] . . . . . να . νευγανήνονήσ[.]σ  
 [.] . . . [.] βητηνκομηναρίπτειν  
 [.] φύπτου[.] . υλοηπογηράσελγαινιν  
 αλω[.] . ειναιτησθεουτονάνθρωπον  
 ρη . ει . ειγ . . υνκο . αριοσεσμούσασ  
 205 ενευσατοι . . [.] γηνέμαξανε[.] . σω  
 α[.] . . . γαρι . . [.] φυπογωνπ[.]  
 [.] . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .  
 την' . . . ρο . . . τρι[.]  
 παλ[.] . . . . .  
 210 παρ[.] . . . . .  
 ἡμενπ[.]εινέκ[.]  
 ἀκου[.] δητοναῖνονε[.]  
 δαφνηνελάιηνε[.]  
 λέγουσιθέσθαικαιγα[.]  
 καλοντεδευδρο[.]  
 215 σεισασ[.]τουσόρπηκ[.]  
 οδ[.] . . . μη . ηφη[.]  
 [.] . . . [.] μεον . . ουνα . .  
 • • • •

## Fol. 5 verso.

[.] ωσ  
 ὠριστὲροσμενλεὺκοσθρουγαστηρ ειδοσθρακοντοσ  
 οδ' ἥλιοπληξόστα[.]ολλαγυμνοῦται  
 220 τισδ' οικοσούπερεγωπαραφλιη  
 τισδ' ουμεμάντισητισουθυτηρέλκει  
 καιπυθειηγαρενδάφνημὲνιδρυται  
 δάφνηνδ' αειδεικαιδάφνηνπέτρωται

195 καὶ γαμβρο[· ἀ]πλῶς ε . . φθ[· γ] θέσθαι  
εἰσ  
· υ[·] . . [·] . . δ[·] . . [·]ν κρηγύως ἐπαιδεύθη  
β[·] . . . . . ν[·] . . [·]ουσα τώγαθὸν βλέψαι  
[·] . . . . . καὶ θεὸν ἀπρηγένται  
[·] . . . . . μοχθῆρὸς ἔξεκινήμωσε  
200 [·] . . . . . να . νευ γ' ἄν ἦν ὀνήσ[το]ς  
[·] . . . . . βῃ τὴν κόμην ἀναρ[φ]ο[τείν]  
[·]ρύπτουν[σ] . . υλον ἢ πονήρ' ἀσελγαίνειν  
αλω[·] . εἶναι τῆς θεού τὸν ἄνθρωπον  
ρη . ει . ειν . υν κο . αριος ἐι Μούσας  
205 ἔνευσα τοι . . [·]ην ἔμαξαν ἐν [·] . σω  
α[·] . . γὰρ ι . . [·]ων πόνων π[  
τριτ(·) . . [·] . . [·] . . [·] . . [·] . . [·]  
παρ[·] . . . . . γ[·]  
210 ἡ μὲν πε[σ]εῖν ἔκ  
ἄκου[ε] δῆ τὸν αἴνον ἔν κοτε Τμάλω  
δάφνην ἐλαίην νεῦ[κος οἱ πάλαι Λυδοὶ  
λέγουσι θέσθαι, καὶ γὰ[ρ] ἦν τανύπτορον  
καλὸν τε δένδρο[ν]  
215 σείσασ[α] τοὺς ὄρπηκ[ας  
οδ[·] . . μη . η φη[σί]  
[·] . . . . νέον . . ουμα . [

Fol. 5 verso.

ώριστερὸς μὲν λευκὸς ὡς ὕδροι γαστήρ, εἶδος δράκοντος.  
οὐδὲ δὲ ἥλιοπλῆγη ὅς τὰ [πο]λλὰ γυμνοῦται.  
220 τίς δὲ οἰκος οὐ περ οὐ[κ] ἐγὼ παρὰ φλεγῆ;  
τίς δὲ οὐ με μάντις ἢ τίς οὐ θυτὴρ ἔλκει;  
καὶ Πυθίη γάρ ἐν δάφνῃ μὲν ὕδρυται,  
δάφνην δὲ ἀείδει καὶ δάφνην ὑπέστρωται.

ὡφρωνελαίητουσδεπαιᾶδασουσβράγχοσ ερωμ[. . .] . στοναπ[  
 225 τουστωνιώνωνοίσοφοιβοσω[. . . . .] λωνο[  
 δάφνητεκρῷωνκηποσύτο . . [.] . ?  
 δὶστηρισε[.]πωναρτεμέασεποί[.]  
 [.].ῆγωμενή'πιδατασή'σχοροφ[.]τέω  
 τογπυθαιστηγεινομαιδεκ[[αἴ]]άεθλον  
 230 οιδωριήσδετεμπόθενμετέμονοσιν  
 ορε[[η]]ναπάκρωνκαιφέρουσινε[[σ]]δελφουσ  
 επηντατόπόλλωνοσιραγίνηται  
 ς ὡφρωνελα[.]ηπημαδ'ονχιγινωσκω  
 ουδ'οίδ'ο . . . ν[[ου]]λαφηφοροσκαμπτεΐ  
 235 α[.]ηγαρειμικδυπατ[[ε]]εύσιμ'ανθρωποι  
 ιρηγαρειμισοίδεχωποτ'αννεκρον  
 μελλωσικαιεινη[.]φ[.]περιστέλλει[.]  
 αυτοῖτ'ανεστεψ[. . . .]ύποταπλευρᾳ[.]  
 τουμηπνεογ[. . . .]ιταξύπ[.]τ[.]  
 240 ημενταδαυκεψ[.]αλλατηνδ'απῆμ[.]  
 μαλ'ατρεμεωσήτεκουσατοχριμ[.]  
 /ωπαντακ . . . τωνεμωγιτοκ[.]  
 εντητελευτηκυκνοσ[.]  
 ηεισασογ[.] . . . ηκαμοιμ[.]  
 245 εγωμενανδρασούσαρη[.]  
 συνεκτεπεμπωχψ[.]  
 [.].ηωναριστεωνοίκα . . . γ . . . [.] . . .  
 [.].ελεευκηηνικεσταφοντηθην  
 φερο[.]παιδεσήγέρουτατιθωνον.  
 250 αυτῷ[.]μαρτεωκηπιτηγοδονκεῖμαι  
 . . . ε . . . πλειογήσυτοισαγινένεσιν  
 εκτωσετεμπεωναλλοτευγαρεμνησθης  
 καιτουτοκωσαεθλονουκεγωκρεσσων  
 σευκαιγ[.]ρουγωηγουλυμπιημεζων  
 255 ημτο[.]σιδελφοισ·αλλ'αριστοιησωπη·

ἀρφων ἐλαίη, τοὺς δὲ παιδας οὐ *Bράγχος* ἐρώμ[εν]ος τοῦ Ἀπ[όλ-]  
 225 τοὺς τῶν Ἰαίων, οἵς ὁ Φοῖβος ὡ[ργίσθη], λαον[το].  
 δάφνη τε κρουών κῆπος οὐ το . . . [ . . . ] . i  
 δἰς ἢ τρὶς ε[ι]πὼν ἀρτεμέας ἐποίησε;  
 [κ]ήγῳ μὲν ἡ' πὶ δαῖτας ἡ' σ χορὸν φ[οι]τέω  
 τὸν Πυθαϊστήν, γίνομαι δὲ καεθλον,  
 230 οἱ Δωριῆς δὲ Τεμπόθεν με τέμνουσιν  
 ὄρέων ἀπ' ἄκρων καὶ φέρουσιν ἐς Δελφοὺς  
 ἐπὴν τὰ τάπολλονος ἵρα γίνηται.  
 ἄρφων ἐλα[ΐ]η, πῆμα δ' οὐχὶ γινώσκω,  
 οὐδὲ οἰδὲ ὄκι[άη]γι οὐλαφηφόρος κάμπτει,  
 235 ἀ[γν]ηγή γάρ είμι, κού πατεῦσί μ' ἄνθρωποι,  
 ἵρη γάρ είμι· σοὶ δὲ χώπόταν νεκρὸν  
 μέλλωσι καίειν ἢ [τά]φ[ο]ι περιστέλλει[ν],  
 αὐτοί τ' ἀνεστέψ[αντο χ]ὺπὸ τὰ πλευρὰ  
 τοῦ μὴ πιένοντος κῆπη]ιτάξ ὑπέστρωσαν.  
 240 ἡ μὲν τάδ' αὐ<χ>εδ[σ' ἡ] ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀπήμ[υνε]  
 μάλ' ἀτρεμαίως ἡ τεκοῦσα τὸ χρῆμ[α·  
 ' ω πάντ' ἀκυθε τῶν ἔμων τόκ[ων δάφνη,  
 ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ κύκνος [  
 ηειστας οὐ'.] . . . ηκα μοι μ[  
 245 ἐγὼ μὲν ἀνδρας οὖς Ἀρη[το]ς ἀπόλλυσι  
 σὺν ἔκ τε πέμπω χνύπδ  
 [. . .] τῶν ἀριστέων οἱ κα . . . ν . . . [.] . . .  
 [ἐγὼ δὲ λευκῆν ἡνίκ' ἐς τάφον τήθην  
 φέροι[ντοι] παῖδες, ἢ γέροντα Τιθωνόν,  
 250 αὐτο[το]ς ὁμαρτέω κῆπη τὴν ὁδὸν κεῖμαι.  
 . . . ε . . . πλεῖον ἢ σὺ τοῖς ἀγινεῦσιν  
 ἔκ τῶν σε Τεμπέων. ἀλλ' ὅτεν γάρ ἐμνήσθης  
 καὶ τοῦτο κώς ἀεθλον οὐκ ἐγὼ κρέσσων  
 σεῦ, κούγ[ὰ]ρ ⟨ώγων, ἢ 'ν 'Ολυμπίη μέζων  
 255 ἢ 'ν το[το]σι Δελφοῖς; ἀλλ' ἀριστον ἡ σωπή.

εγωμενουτεχρηστονουτεσεγρυζω  
 απηνεσουδεναλλαηθε[[ι]]σδρνιθεσ  
 [.]υτοισ[.]φυλλοιστατατινθυριξουσαι οξ..[  
 παλαικαθηνταικωτιλ . . σ . . ευσαι.  
 260 τισδ'ευρεδαφηνγαια . [.] . . . [.]σ[

Fol. 5 recto.

$\rho\bar{\gamma}\beta$  τισευρελαιηπαλλασημοσ . [.] . ξ[.] . ]  
 τωφ[[ω]κοικηδικαζεναρχαιοισ  
 ανηροφιστανερθεναμφιτησακτησ  
 ενηδαφηηπεπωκεντωδαειζωων  
 265 | ωσπρινονωσδρυνωσκυπειρονωσ  $\tilde{\eta}$  λην πενκην  
 τισ[[δ' ευρ']]ελαιηντισδε[.]ηνδαφηνητιμα  
 δαφηνηνπολλωνηδεπαλλασηνευρεν  
 ξινιοντοδαυτ[[ι]]ισθεουσγαρουσδιακρινω  
 τ[.]τησδαφηησοκαρποσεστιχρησομαι  
 270 μητ' $\sigma$  εθεμητεπε $\epsilon\pi$  εμητ' $\epsilon$  πιχρισησ  
 οτησδ'ελαιησ $\epsilon$  δεπολλεσωμασταξ  
 ḥσξ[.] . . . νκαλευσινανδετοχριμα  
 εγ[.] . . . υμβα . ήνεπα . . . χωθησευσ  
 [.] . . εγ[.] . . οντιθημιτηδαφηηπωμα.  
 275 τευγαρ[.]φυλλονουκεταιπροτιν[.]υσι  
 τοτησελ[[λ]]αστατρει'ηδαφηκειται.  
 φευτωνατρυτωνοιακωτιλιξουσι  
 λαιδρηκορωνηκωστοχειλοσουκαλγεισ.  
 275 α τευγαρ[.] . τοφυλλονογοικεταιπροτεινουσι  
 276 α τοτησελαιηστατρειηδαφηκειται  
 φευτωνατρυτωνοιακωτιλιξ[.]υ[.]  
 277 α λ[.] . . . ηκορωνηκωστοχειλοσουκαλγει[.]  
 278 α [.] . . . αρτοπρεμνονδηλιοιφυλασσουσι

έγὼ μὲν οὔτε χρηστὸν οὔτε σε γρύζω  
 ἀπηνὲς οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἄηθες ὄρνιθες  
 [ἐν τοῖσι] φύλλοις ταῦτα τινθυρίζουσαι      δέ . .  
 πάλαι κάθηνται κωτὶλ . . σ . . εῦσαι.  
 260 τίς δ' εὑρε δάφνην; γαῖα . [.] . . . [.] σ.

Fol. 5 recto.

ώς πρῶνον, ώς δρῦν, ώς κύπειρον, ώς ὅλην. πεύκην  
 τίς δ' εὑρ' ἐλαΐν(ν); Παλλάς, ἥμος ἥ[ρ]ιζ[ε]  
 τῷ φυκιοίκῳ κήδικαξεν ἀρχαῖος  
 ἀνὴρ ὄφις τὰ νέρθεν ἀμφὶ τῆς Ἀκτῆς.  
 265 ἐν ἡ δάφνη πέπτωκε. τῶν δ' ἀειζώων  
 τίς τὴν ἐλαίην τίς δὲ [τ]ὴν δάφνην τιμᾶ;  
 δάφνην Ἀπόλλων, ἡ δὲ Παλλὰς ἦν εὑρεν.  
 ἔνυδν τόδι αὐταῖς, θεοὺς γὰρ οὐ διακρίνω.  
 τ[ις] τῆς δάφνης ὁ καρπός; ἐτί χρήσωμαι;  
 270 μῆτ' ἔσθε μήτε πīνε μῆτ' ἐπιχρίσῃς.  
 δ τῆς δ' ἐλαΐης ἕαδε πόλλ', ἔσω μάσταξ  
 ώς ξ[.]γ καλεῦσιν, ἀν δὲ τὸ χρίμα  
 εν[.] κολυμβα . ἦν ἔπα . . χώ Θησεύς.  
 [τὸ διεντερὸν τίθημι τῇ δάφνῃ πτῶμα.  
 275 τεῦ γὰρ [τὸ] φύλλον οἱ ικέται προτείνοισι;  
 τὸ τῆς ἐλαΐης. τὰ τρί' ἡ δάφνη κεῖται.  
 φεῦ τῶν ἀτρύτων, οἷα κωτιλίζουσι·  
 λαιδρὴ κορώνη, κῶς τὸ χεῖλος οὐκ ἀλγεῖς;  
 [τεῦ γ]ὰρ τὸ πρέμνον Δήλιοι φυλάσσουσι;

280 [ . . . . ] ησελαιησήξ[. . . . .] ετηνλητω  
 [ . . . . .] οιποιταικ[. . . . .] σιτωδημῳ  
 [ . . . . .] ατανουνε . . ερ . . ιηδαφνη  
 [ . . . . .] αθαλλωκαλλινικοσήλαιη  
 [ . . . . . . .] φαιευτεκήπιτηνόπλων  
 285 [ . . . . . . .] τερηντιναινέίται  
 [ . . . . . . .] λικουτεκοιμαντεισ  
 [ . . . . . . .] γουτεπια[.γεισ  
 [ . . . . . . .] ημιτηγδαφινην  
 ωσειπετηδ' θμυθοσαμφιτηρησει  
 λ γ ε  
 290 ηγ . ησμεξονδ' ητοπροσθενη . . [ . . ] εν  
 [ . . ] φευτολοιπονεικο . εστονουτ . [ . . ]  
 • ατα . [ . . . σηχυτειχε . . τρ . . [ . . ] γα  
 ελεξενηγαρουκαπωθεγτωνθενδρων  
 ουκ' αταλαιναιπασομεσθαμηλειην  
 295 γενομεθεχθραισμηλε . ωμεναλληλασ  
 ανολβαναι . . . αλλαταντο . . μ . γα  
 τηνδ' αγρ[.σφαιεισαταυροσηδαφηγ  
 εβλεψεκαιταδειπενωκακηλωβη  
 ωσδημημεωνκαιισυμημεποιησαι  
 300 ευστεκτονηγαργειτονευσαποπνιγεισ  
 [ . . . . .] σουμαφοιβονουμαδεσποιναν  
 [ . . . . .] γυμβαλο . . . ενε . . . μαποκτ[.

Fol. 6 verso.

[ . . . . .] αει . . δ . [  
 [ . . . . .] γρακατιγρα . [  
 305 [ . . . . .] γνονε . . . οβρ . [  
 [ . . . . .] κατ . [.] γοισε[  
 [ . . . . .] εκηνπαθηκ[  
 [ . . . . .] γδεπολληντυ[

280 [τὸ τ]ῆς ἐλαίης, ἡ κ[αθεῖσ]ε τὴν Αητῶ  
 [. . . . .] οι πολῖται κ[. . . . .]σι τῷ δήμῳ.  
 [. . . . .]αταν σῦν ε . . ερ . . ων ἡ δάφνη,  
 [. . . . .]α θαλλῷ καλλίνικος ἡλαίη.  
 [. . . . .]. φαιεν τε κήπι τὴν ὅπλων  
 285 [. . . . .]. τερην τιν' αἰνεῖται  
 [. . . . .].λικον τε κοι μάντεις  
 ..... ν οὔτε πια[έ]γεις  
 [. . . . .]. φῆμι τὴν δάφνην.  
 ὡς ἔπει, τῇ δ' ὁ θυμὸς ἀμφὶ τῇ ρήσει  
 290 (ἢδ)ησε, μέξον δ' ἡ τὸ πρόσθεν ἡλγ[ησ]εν.  
 [. .] φεῦ τὸ λοιπὸν εικο . εστονουτ . [. .].  
 . ατα . [. . . . .] σ ἡ χύτ' εἶχε . . τρ . [. .]γα  
 ἐλεξεν, ἦν γὰρ οὐκ ἀπωθε τῶν δένδρων  
 ‘οὐκ, ὥ τάλαιναι, παυσόμεσθα, μὴ λίην  
 295 γεν(ώ)μεθ’ ἔχθραί; μὴ λέγωμεν ἀλλήλας  
 ἄνολβα· ναὶ . . . . ἀλλὰ ταῦτ’ δ . . μ . να.’  
 τὴν δ' ἄγρῳς φανεῖστα ταῦρος ἡ δάφνη  
 ἔβλεψε καὶ τάδ' εἶπεν· ‘ὦ κακὴ λάβη,  
 ὡς δὴ μὲν ἡμέων καὶ σὺ μή με ποιῆσαι  
 300 εὕστεκτον, ἢ γὰρ γειτονεῦσ’ ἀποπνύεις.  
 [. . . . .] σ οὐ μὰ Φοῖβον, οὐ μὰ δέσποιναν  
 [. . . σ]υμβαλο . . . ενε . . . μ’ ἀποκτ[ειν] . . .

Fol. 6 verso.

[. . . . .]αει . . δ . [  
 [. . . . .]υρα καὶ γρα . [  
 305 [. . . . .]υνονε . . . οβρ . [  
 [. . . . .] καὶ . [. .]γοισέ[  
 [. . . . .]ε κῆν πάθη κ[  
 [. . . . .]νδε πολλὴν τν[

[. . . . .] οισταρ[.] σθον . . [  
310 [. . . . .] . . . [.] νκα . . . ε . [  
[. . . . .] ουχιμονονεξη[  
[. . . . .] υστραγωδουσαλακο[  
[. . . . .] ενταμετρονουχ' α . . . | [. . . . .] , ν  
[. . . . . . . . .] . . . . . . . . . | [. . . . .] κρουστε  
315 [. . . . .] τερψω . . ραρ[.] . . . [.] . . . ουσι  
[. . . . .] . . . ροσ . . λονλ . . . . . [.] . . . αικ[.] ρδοσ  
λε  
[. . . . .] . . νγαρεντεσμεχρ . [.] μαι  
[. . . . .] . ταγογονκαιχ . . . . . νεπλασθη  
[. . . . .] φερμενδε . . αγαρ . [.] κεινουσ  
320 [. . . . .] . ασηγαπησαναιτα . . . αυτη  
[. . . . .] οιδοσεσκερατεθυμωται  
[. . . . .] ναοιδαικαιμελη . . ταπνυ . η[.]  
[. . . . .] . δ[.] . ηταιτηηνηγανακρινει  
ηγδουλογιναιφησικαιταγλιμπρητον  
325 και[.] ταυτερεισα . . . . . ατονβραχιονμοζει  
ωστουκαρ . . . . . . . . . !χ . . . . . κρ[.] .  
φανλοισομ[.] ει[.] . . . . . νη[.] ρεπτησαν  
καυταιτρομει[.] . . . ηκακ . σακουσωσι  
τονδ' ουνεκου . . . . . . . . . . . ιμηγ  
330 εκαστοσακρο[.] . . . . . . . . . κνιξει  
ωστησελαιησ[.] . . . . . . . . . κητη  
μηθ . [.] . εχθ[.] . . . . . . . . . ειδωσ  
ουτ[.] . . . κα . . . γου . [.] σισυμμιξασ  
εφεσονοιθενπυροιταμετραμελλοντις  
335 ταχωλατικτεινμημαθωσενανονται

Fol. 6 recto.

[.....] . [.] p . [  
 [.....] . . . p[  
 [.....] . a<sup>t</sup> . . . ]

Fol. 6 recto.

[.....] . . . . .  $v[$   
 [.....] . . . . .  $au . . . i$

[. . . . . . . . . . . .] . μισπλευσαι  
 340 [. . . . . . . . . . . .] . αλού[.] . νηρδ . . [  
 [. . . . . . . . . . . .] γτη . ομιμν[  
 [. . . . . . . . . . . .] δ . τιχ . ουκο[  
 [. . . . . . . . . . . .] . . . δ[.] πηνε[  
 [. . . . . . . . . . . .] . μπολ . . υ . [  
 345 [. . . . . . . . . . . .] σπ[. . . . .] υσισυμμιξασ  
 εκ . . ρ | . . . θεωμα . [.] φεσ . . . αμε[  
 ουτ' εσ | [.] . . . εω . . . . . . . [.] . . [  
 εφεσονοθ[.] . . οι[.]α . . [.]ρ[.] μελλ[  
 ταχωλατικ[.]ειν . ηαμοθωσεναν[  
 350 αλλ' ειτιθυμ . [.] κε . . γαστεραπινευσ . [  
 ειτ' ουνετ . . [.] . αρχαιονειτ' αμαρτη[  
 τουτεμπ[.] . πλεκοσικαιλαδουσ[  
 ιαστικαιδωριστικαιτοσυμμικ[  
 τ[.] . μεχριτ . . μ . . αιφιλοισ . εδησ[  
 355 κ[.] . γουν . . . . . γεγχεουσιτη[  
 ω . . . εινεουδετηριχηψα . . [.] ετ[  
 ην . . [.] . δητ[.] σωσυπι . . . [.] . . . λαμονσαι  
 ου . . γ . . ταικα[.] . [.] . [.] . . ην . . μ[.] .  
 . α[.]αυ . . . [.] . . . . . .] . ρηρησισ  
 360 αμ . . . . . . [.] . . . . .ηγ . . τεσπα[.] . .  
 ουτελλ . . [.] . . . [.] . . ετασμονσασ  
 ω . κηρλ[.] . . . . . .] . . μετρονκοψασ  
 ευπα . . [.] . . . . . .] . . νερυκουσιν  
 καλασλ[.] . . . . . .] μηρευ . ται  
 365 τισ . μεναν . [.] . δε . . . ερδ[.] . . . η  
 συπενταμετρασυντιθεισυ . . . [.] .  
 συδετραγωδ[.] . . . . . εκληρω . .  
 δοκεωμενον[.] . σαλλακαιτ . . α . . αψαι

[.....] . νις πλεῦσαι  
 340 [.....] . αλον [.] . νηρ δ . . [  
 [.....]υτη . δ μιμη[  
 [.....]δ . τιχ . ουκο[  
 [.....] . . δι. πηνε[  
 [.....] . μπολ . . ν . [  
 345 [.....] . . σπ[ . . . ο]υσι συμμίξας  
 ἐκ . . ρ . . . θεῷ μα . [.]σεσ . . αμε[  
 οὗτ' ἔσ[. .] . . . εω . . . [.] . . [  
 "Εφεσον ὅθ[εν π]ῦρ οἱ [τ]ὰ μ[έτ]ρο[α] μέλλ[οντες  
 τὰ χωλὰ τίκ[τ]ειν μὴ 'μαθῶς ἐναύ[ονται].  
 350 ἀλλ' εἴ τι θυμ . [.]γε . . γαστέρα πνευσ . [  
 εἴτ' οὐν ετ . . [.] . ἀρχαῖον εἴτ' ἀμαρτη[  
 τοῦτ' ἐμπ[ε]πλεκόσι καὶ λαλοῦσι[  
 'Ιαστὶ καὶ Δωριστὶ καὶ τὸ σύμμικ[τον  
 τ[.] . μέχρι τ . . μ . . αι φίλοισ . εδησ[  
 355 κ[.] . νουν ε . . . ν ἐγχένουσι τὴν [  
 ω . . . ει νέου δὲ τηνίχ' ἡψα . [.]ετ[  
 ην  
 . [.] . δή τις ὡς ὑπι . . . [.] . . . λα Μοῦσαι  
 ου . . ν . . ται κα[. .] . [.] . [.] . . ην . . μ[.] .  
 . α[. .]αυ . . . σ[. . . . .] . ρη ρῆσις  
 360 αμ . . . . . [.]ην . . τεσπα[.] . .  
 ουτελλ . [.] . . [.] . . ε τὰς Μούσας  
 ω . κῆρ λ[. . . . .] . . μέτρον κόψας  
 ἐν πα . . [.] . . ν ἐρύκουσιν  
 καλὰς λε[. . . . .]ν ρένται  
 365 τισ . μεν αὐ . [.] . δε . . ερδ[. . .]η  
 σὺ πεντάμετρα συντιθέεις ύ . . . [.] .  
 σὺ δὲ τραγῳδο[.] . . . . εκληρω . .  
 δοκέω μὲν ου[.] . σ ἀλλὰ καὶ τ . . α . . ἄψαι

Fol. 7 recto.

- [.] γαρ [ ] βαινοιπολεισ  
 370 [.] χουμοφ [ ] ουρεαβλεπει  
 [.] μεσωκ . [ ] στεγησουσαλη . [  
 [.] ευρειησ[ ] .. χθονοσ[  
 [.] θετουχ' υμεινα[ ] ..  
 καιθεμενκαιπα[  
 375 τωνδαναξ[.] νδ' οι[.] . γ[ ] βαινοιπολεισ  
 φαρμακο[.] . γατρο . . [  
 εστινοικ[.] . αψει[.] ειλεγειν[  
 καιταφο[.] νκ[.] . ιαγιωσκειν[  
 φητικαιπατρο[.] . γκτεινειν[  
 380 τουνεκαντη . [.] προγαιθεαι[]  
 τησδετησευχ[.] . γαεισομαι . . [  
 δουσατημικητη . . ηναιμε . [  
 ηνικαγ[.] . [.] ατηνγε . . ηηπ . [  
 εβδομηγσ . [.] . ατροσκα . . . [  
 385 γ[.] γοιδ' ολυμπονηγ . . . [  
 !. . . . . . τισπα . [  
 τε . [.] . ατιμησεστ[  
 ··ειν[.] πατηρουφαυλ . . . . [.] οξ[  
 πολλατεχνηενταποικ[.] . γλ[  
 390 παιχν[.] τριτωνισηγκενκορ . [  
 πολλαφ[.] . . . ιονσ[.] νλμοσανχενοφ  
 εκτετησ . [.] . . . . . ησαλοσ[  
 καιτοτυγ[.] . . . . . σ . [  
 §[.] πν . . . [.] γγ . [  
 395 παιχνιο . [.] νε . . . εσεκβαλλ[ ]  
 μυριην . [.] γοιατιμησ[.] ε . [  
 ρηιδωσα[.] . [.] αιδ . . . [.] ι . [  
 πολλακαι[.] . . [.] . γ[ ] . . .  
 ησαβοημ[.] . αη[ ] . . .  
 400 ο[.] σιτησμουσησ[ ] . . .  
 παιδοσηγυνη[ ] . . .  
 ] . . . β[.] λ . . .  
 ]ηπενδακρ .  
 ]ληιστη . [.] . . .]

Fol. 7 recto.

- [. . . . .]ν γάρ [ ]βαίνοι πόλεις  
 370 [. . . . .]χουμο[ ]. οὔρεα βλέπει  
 [. . . . .] μέσῳ κ. [ ]. στενησουσαλη [ .  
 [. . . . .] εὐρέιης κ[ ]. . χθονὸς [  
 [. . .]θετ' οὐχ ὑμεῖν α[  
 καὶ θέμεν καὶ πα[  
 375 τῶν δ' ἄναξ [ο]ὗδ' οι[. .] . η[  
 φαρμακο[. .] . ναπο . . [  
 ἐστιν οἰκ[. .] . ι . αφει[.]εν λέγειν [  
 καὶ ταφο[. . .]ν κ[.] . ια γινώσκειν [  
 φησὶ καὶ πατρὸ[ς] . . ν κτείνειν ο[  
 380 τοῦνεκ' ἀν τη[. . .]προν αἱ θεαὶ λ[  
 τῆσδε τῆς εὐχ[ῆς] . ν ἀείσομαι . . [  
 δοῦσα τῇ μικῆ τι τη . . ηναιμε . [  
 ἡνίκ' ἀν[. .] . [.]α τὴν γε . . ν ηπ . [  
 ἔβδόμην σ[.] . πατρὸς κα . . . . [  
 385 η[. .]γοι δ' "Ολυμπον ητ . . [  
 ι[. . . . .] . τις πα . [  
 τε . [.] . α τιμῆς ἐστ[  
 Ζεὺ[ς] πατήρ οὐ φαῦλ . . . . .οκ[  
 πολλὰ τεχνήντα ποικ[λ'] ἀγλ[α  
 390 παίχνι[ια] Τριτωνὶς ἥνεγκεν κόρη [  
 πολλὰ [.] . . . ιου σ[κ]υλμὸς αὐχένο[ς  
 ἔκ τε τῆς [.] . . . . . ης ἀλὸς [  
 καὶ τὸ τυγχάνειν . . . . . σ[.] . [  
 ε[.]πν . . . . .ην . [  
 395 παιχνιο . [.]νε . . . ες ἐκβαλλ[  
 μυρίην . [.] . νοια τιμήεσ[σ'] ε . [  
 ρηδίως α[.] . [.]αιδ . . . . . ι . [  
 πολλὰ καὶ [.] . . . [.] . η[  
 ἦ Σάβον μ[.] . αν[.] . [  
 400 ο[λ]ησι τῆς Μούσης ] . . ρ[.]λ . . ε  
 παιδὸς ἦ γυνὴ [  
 ]ηπεν δακρ .  
 ]ληιστη . . . . ]

<i>ιπποσαρξίς</i>		[.] . . . ψυκρό . .
<i>κωστεχωταλή</i>	.	.
<i>παντακά</i>	[αι]	[.] . . [.] . . . . . ε . [.] ων
405 <i>εργαταιστ.</i> [	] αιστ. [	] οσοισικυ[. . .] γ
<i>ταστ. [.] μεί</i>	[.] ψει. [	] ωστι . . . . . [.] . . . ]
<i>ονπή</i>	[ανμο]	[αλληλοισενησ

Fol. 7 verso.

	] <i>οὐτεσωμέναντ</i> . δ . [	] <i>ηγή</i>
	] <i>ητωπόλλονουδέσκει</i> [	]. ευμερ[
410	] <i>τοιπιθωτοσαρτ</i> [	] <i>σω</i> . . [
	] <i>ματωνεκείτ</i> . [	] <i>ηπονηγή</i> [
	] <i>μπε</i> . . . [	] <i>ερεστισού</i>
	.	] <i>τοιγεετριπονούσ</i>
		ω
		] <i>σοιδ'υποροφοι</i>
415	] <i>εφ[. .]</i> . <i>ξωτ[.]δε</i>	
	]. . . . . <i>κοινηναιτ[. . .]</i> . <i>ιν</i>	
	] <i>ωδ'αλληντιν[.]</i> . <i>ησ[. . .]ων</i>	
	] <i>φησωφοιβεπ</i> . [ . ] <i>ηγηγ[.]εχηγσ</i>	
	]. <i>αιστε</i> . . . <i>γ[. . .]</i> . . . <i>βολα</i>	
	] <i>αχρυσονμερ[. . .]</i> . . . <i>κινεσ</i>	
420	] <i>θενμυρμηκεσ</i> . [ . ] <i>σιπτεροισ</i>	
	] <i>λυσισκαιφανλονοικησειδομον</i>	
	] <i>σαρχαιουσδ'ατιμησξ[. . .]</i> <i>σ</i>	
	]. <i>σιμκακηγδ</i> . . . [ . ] . <i>υ</i> . <i>α</i> . <i>αι</i>	
	]. . . <i>γτεσφιθρωποιπογω</i>	
425	]. . . <i>εστονκα[.]π[.]</i>	
	]. <i>στερειυδοτ</i> . [	
	] <i>ερ[. . .]</i> . . . <i>κριθμενην</i>	
	] <i>ηπ[. . .]</i> . . . <i>ναμαυρωσειχρ[.]κοσ</i>	
	]. <i>τα[.]παιδικαλλιστηδοσιφ[.]</i>	
	] <i>λογενειοναγνενειτριχοσ[.]</i>	
430	] <i>λογοι[.]χαιρωσιμ[.]ρπα</i> . [ . ] . .	

*iππος ἀστε[  
κῶς ἔχω ταλ[  
πάντα κα[  
405 ἐργαται[ . [  
τασ . [ . με[  
ονπ[ ]αι[  
]αισ . [  
]ψει . [  
]αυμο . [*

*] . . υνκρο . .  
] . νε . .  
] . . [ . . . . . ] ε . [ . ] ων  
]οσιοι κι[ . . . ] γ  
]ωσι . . . . . [ . . . . ]  
] ἀλλήλοις ἔνης*

Fol. 7 verso.

*]οντ' ἔσω μ[ε] ναῶν τ . δ . [  
]ην ἄπολλον οὐδ' ἔσκε[ν  
410 ]τοι Πύθωνος αρτ[  
ματων ἔκειτ . [  
]ιπε . . . [  
]εφ[ . . .]  
] . . . . κοισιν αντο[ . . . ] . ιν  
]ωδ' ἄλλην τινο[. .] . ησ[. . .] ων  
]φης, ὁ Φοίβε, π . [ . .] νην [τ]έχνης  
]. αιστε . . . ν . [ . . . βολα  
420 ]α χρυσὸν μεν[ . . .] . . κύνες  
]θεν μύρμηκες . [ . .] σι πτεροῖς  
]λυσις καὶ φαῦλον οἰκήσει δόμον  
]σ ἀρχαίους δ' ἀτιμῆσε[. . . .]ς  
]. σιν κακὴν δ . . . [ . , ν . α . αι  
425 ] . . ντες ἄνθρωποι πόνω  
] . εστον κα[. .] τ[. . . .]  
]στερεῦ δοτ . [  
]ερ[. . . . .] . . κριθῶμεν, ἦν  
]νπ[. . .] . . ν ἀμαυρώσει χρ[ό]νος  
430 ] . τα[.] παιδὶ καλλίστη δόσις  
]ον γένειον ἀγνεύει τριχός  
λ]όγοι[ς] χαίρωσιν [.] ρπα . [ . ] .*

### Unplaced Fragments.

Fr. 1 recto.	Fr. 1 verso.	Fr. 2 recto.	Fr. 2 verso.
[ <i>yat</i> . . [	] . σαιπολ[	] . ντ .	] . . . . [
] . . . ε[	] καιλε[	] λα	] ρετητ[
] . [ . . κ[	] εισθου . [	] αγνων	] τεσειτ[
] . [ . ] λ[	] λε[	] . . .	] ρετεσα . [
5] . [ . ] φ[	5] φ[	. . .	5] ητ . . η . [
· · · · ·	· · · · ·	· · · · ·	· · · · ·
Fr. 3 recto.	Fr. 3 verso.	Fr. 4 recto.	Fr. 4 verso.
· [ . . . [	] . . . [	· . . . . . [	] . . . . . [
] . [ . ] δ[	] δο[	] . λο . . . β[	] νυστην[

	] $\tau\epsilon\omega\nu$ . . [ . . ] . [ . . . . ] . [ . . . ] πόδας
435 . . [	] . . η . [ . ] . [ . . ] . . [ . ] . . . [ . . ] ις
. . δ[	] . τ . μπα . . . σμ . . [ . ] ας
οι δ' ε[	] . ν . σε νύμφη . . δ . . [ . . ] .
ων . [	] . σ . οισιν γεισαν σο[. . . ]
τ[. . . ] . [	] π[. . . ] . . νικατω τα[. . . ]
440 τέξ[ο]μαι [	] . [ . . . . . ] εδ . . . [ . . ] εον
εἰκ' ἄναξ ηπ[	] . ισ . . αι[. . . ] . . ρος
α . . . . το . π[	] . ευθ[. . . ] . . η .
ῶν χοροισ . . . [	] . λλ . [ . ] . .
Κρήστοιν κλ . [	] χε καὶ τροφέ,
445 θήσετ[. . . ] . . . [	] . αι πέρι
χρὴ καλῶ[. . . ] ω[. . . ] τερ[	] ει κατ .
τοῦτον . . . [τ] ππον [	] αθα . [ ] . . τεω
ωγ . . η . . τισων τις . [	] . σοδ . . [ ] . . . . .
	] κ' ἐντ . [ ] ο[

## Unplaced Fragments.

Fr. 1 verso.	Fr. 2 recto.	Fr. 2 verso.
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] $\sigma\alpha\piο\lambda$ [	] $\nu\sigma$ .	]. . . . [
] καὶ λε[	] λα	] χρᾶτιν [
] εις βου . [	] ἄγνον	] σες ειπ[
] λε[	] . . .	] χρῖε σα . [
5 ] φ[	. . . .	5 ] ητ . . η . [
		. . . . .

Fr. 4 recto.	Fr. 4 verso.
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. . . . .	. . . . .
] . . . [ . . [	] . . . . . [
] . λο . . . ρ[	] νσε την[

]ρ . . . . [	]ε . [.]θ . [	]λνθ[. ]γδ . [	] . . . . [
]γα . [.]εκ[	]η . [.]επο[	. . . . .	. . . . .
5] . . . . .	5] . [.]γσ . [		

Fr. 5 recto.	Fr. 5 verso.	Fr. 6 recto.	Fr. 6 verso.
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• . . .	• . . .	• . . .	• . . .
]ειη[	]τ . t . [	] . . . . [	]αισ . [
]γαρηλ[	]νμον[	]λιπο . [	]νησονη[
]τροσα[	]μικ[	] . [.] . . [	]μ . . [
• . . .	• . . .	• . . .	• . . .

Fr. 7 recto.	Fr. 7 verso.	Fr. 8 recto.	Fr. 8 verso.
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• . . .	• . . .	• . . .	• . . .
]α . [.] . ν[	] . πα[	] . γσ . [	] . . [
] . . . [	] . . πε[	] . [	] . [
• . . .	]η[	• . . .	• . . .
• . . .	• . . .	• . . .	• . . .

Fr. 9 recto.	Fr. 9 verso.	Fr. 10 recto.	Fr. 10 verso.
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• . . .	• . . .	• . . .	• . . .
] . [	] . θ[	]τοι .	] . . [
] . ε .	]μ . [	] . . ει.	]γτιωπ[
] . . γ . [	]νυνη[	] . ειδ . [	]νσοναισ[
] . . [	]ορε[	• . . . .	]μην[
• . . .	• . . .	• . . .	• . . .

Fr. 11 recto.	Fr. 11 verso.	Fr. 12 recto.	Fr. 12 verso.
---------------	---------------	---------------	---------------

• . . .	• . . .	• . . .	• . . .
]δεσω[	]κεπο[	]ρ . [	] . μ[
]ται . . λογ . [	]νυσου	]οχ[	]ντ[

]ιλ' ο[. .]υδ . [

· · · · · · · · · · · ·

Fr. 5 recto.

]ειη[  
] γὰρ ηλ[  
]τροσα[  
· · · ·

Fr. 6 verso.

]αισ . [  
] νήσους [  
μ · · [  
· · · ·

Fr. 11 recto.

[. . . . .]δέσω[  
[.]τει . . λογ . [

Fr. 11 verso.

]κεπο[  
Διογύσου

]οὐλεσθερεξω[ ] 5   ]υνθεισικαι . [ ]· [	]ταπὸλλωνοσ ] . ετε 5   ]ε ] . . [	] . . . [ ] . . . [ ] . . . [	]λα[ ] 5   ]κα[ ] . . . [
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Fr. 13 recto.

Fr. 13 verso.

Fr. 14 recto.

Fr. 14 verso.

] . π[ ] ]ε[ ] . . . [	]πιονα[ ] ]ται . . [	] . [ ] ] . . . [	]μη[ ] ] . . . [
---------------------------------	----------------------------	-------------------------	------------------------

Fr. 15 recto.

Fr. 15 verso.

Fr. 16 recto. Fr. 16 verso.

]εισα . εν . [ ] ]ανημοοθ . [ ]σμενίκ . [ ] . . πονην[ ] . . . . .	] . . . εν[ ] ] . στον . [ ]ηση . . [ ]αβε[. .]ν . [ ] . . . . .	]ρα . [ ] ] . ν . [ ] . . . . .	] . . . [ ] ]εν[ ] . . . . .
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Fr. 17 recto.

Fr. 17 verso.

Fr. 18 recto.

Fr. 18 verso.

ελ[ ] γη[ ] . . . . .	blank	] . . [ ] ] . . . . .	]κ[ ] ] . . . . .
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Fr. 19 recto.

Fr. 19 verso.

Fr. 20 recto.

Fr. 20 verso.

]χ . [ ] ] . . . . .	]η[ ] ] . . . . .	] . . . [ ] ] . . . . .	]κ[ ] ] . . . . .
----------------------------	-------------------------	-------------------------------	-------------------------

[β]ούλεσθε ρέξω [ ]ς Ἀπόλλωνος  
 [σ]ὺν θεοῖσι καὶ . [ ] . εἰτε  
 5 [ . . . ] ν . [ 5 . . . . .  
 [ . . . . .  
 \* . . . . .

Fr. 15 recto.

. . . . .  
 ]εισα . εν . [ . . . εν[  
 ]αν ἐμὸς θ . [ . . . στον . [  
 ]ς μὲν ἵκ . [ . . . ν . . [  
 ] . . νους ν[ λ]αβετ]ν . [

Fr. 15 verso.

. . . . .

1-9. “... and already the maid had been couched with the youth in accord with the custom bidding the affianced bride forthwith rest in a pre-nuptial sleep with her all-favoured suitor. For they say that once Hera—” Cease, dog, cease: reckless heart, thou wilt sing what it is not lawful for thee to speak of! Lucky indeed for thee that thou hast never seen the mysteries of the dread goddess, or thou hadst e'en begun to blurt out the tale of them. Verily much knowledge is a grievous ill for one who controls not his tongue; how truly is he a child possessed of a knife.’

1-4. In Aristaenetus i. 10 the description of the sickness with which Cydippe was seized is immediately preceded by a long speech placed in the mouth of Acontius; hence the words *ἡδὶ . . . φασι* may well be the conclusion of the corresponding monologue, though there is nothing in the paraphrase of Aristaenetus reflecting these particular verses. Acontius is apparently expressing his regret that Cydippe had not immediately followed up her (unintentional) declaration that she would marry him after the custom of the maidens of her own island, who copied the example of Hera. Cf. Schol. Townl. Σ 296 εἰς εὐνὴν φορῶντες φίλους λιδύοντες τοκήσας . . . δώ καὶ μέχρι τὸν ἵππην πυλάσσεσθαι παρὰ Ναξίους καὶ τὸν ἀμφιθαλῆν τῇ τάλει (‘Αμφιθαλῆν τῇ Ἰτάλῃ Μαασσ.) συγκατατείθεσθαι· ἀλλος τόν διάφασιν ἐν Σάμῳ λάθρᾳ τὸν γονεῶν διαυρθενένατο τὴν Ἡραν ὅθεν Σάμιος ζήτω τὴν θεοῦ μηροτένοτες τὸν κόρας λάθρᾳ συγκομιζονται, οὗτα παρρησίᾳ τὸν γάμον δύνονται, where, as W(lamowitz)-M(oellendorff) points out, the MS. reading ‘Αμφιθαλῆν τῇ Ἰτάλῃ’ is to be recognized as a citation of l. 3 and emended as above. This correction was not made in his previous discussion of the passage, *Götting. Nachr. Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1895, p. 236. A rather different explanation is proposed by Murray, who thinks that the reference in ll. 1-3 is not directly to Acontius and Cydippe, but to the ritual *ἱερὸς γάμος* at Naxos, ἀμφιθαλῆ having its technical sense of a youth with both parents living, i.e. haunted by no ghosts. But the lines seem to have less point on this view.

3. = Callim. Fr. 210, from Schol. Soph. *Antig.* 629 τάδις λέγεται παρ' Αἰολεῖσσιν ἡ ὄνομασθεῖσα τινὲς νόμῳ. Καὶ λίμαχος αὐτίκα τὴν τάλην κτλ. Schneider prints τῶν for την, but την is confirmed by the papyrus, which backs up the feminine form by substituting ἄρσεν for αὐτίκα; the latter, however, is distinctly the better reading, emphasizing προνύμιον ὄντων and bringing out the distinctive feature of the local practice. The line had already been referred to the story of Cydippe by Buttmann, who was followed by Dilthey and others. προνύμιος is a new compound.

4. The poet interrupts himself; he was about to make some such statement concerning Hera as that in the Townley scholium cited above.

6. κάρθ' (*καρτ'*) is only fairly satisfactory: the first letter must be either κ or ρ and the remains of the fourth best suit τ or γ; μάργη, which W-M suggests, cannot be read. Cf. Theocr. xv. 55 ὀνάθην μεγάλως ὅτι κτλ. οὐ τι . . . φρυκτής, i. e. ‘have not been initiated into the mysteries of Demeter.’

7. ἔγενεται ἥρνης is perhaps a just possible expression for ‘began to tell’, but the construction is harsh and the infinitive rather suspicious, more especially as it has undergone some correction; the first hand wrote εἴγενεται.

8-9. ἀκαρτεῖν is an otherwise unattested form of ἀκαρτεῖν (itself a rare verb), formed on the analogy of κάρτος, &c.; but καρτεῖν does not occur. In the latter part of the pentameter a reference is to be recognized to the proverb μὴ παιδὶ μάχημαρ.

10-49. ‘In the morning the oxen were about to chafe their spirit in the water, having before them the evening’s keen blade, when she was seized by a dread pallor, seized by the sickness that we send out into the wild goats, and falsely call sacred; this it was that then in grievous wise wasted the girl to her very bones. A second time were the couches spread;

a second time the maiden lay ill seven months of a quartan fever. A third time they betook themselves of the marriage : again for the third time a fearful chill laid hold of Cydippe. For a fourth time her father did not tarry, but set off to Apollo of Delphi, who in the night spake this oracle : "A dread oath by Artemis breaks off the maiden's marriage with Lygdamis. My sister was not troubling Tenos, nor plaiting rushes in Amyclae's temple, nor, fresh from the chase, washing away her stains in the stream of Parthenius, but was sojourning at Delos, when your child vowed that she would have Acontius and none other for her husband . . . ; but if you will take me for your adviser you will perform all your daughter's pledges. For I say that you will not be mixing silver with lead, but in accepting Acontius will be mingling electrum with shining gold. You the father-in-law are of the stock of Codrus, while your Cean son is priest of the rites of Aristaeus Bringer of Rain, one whose duty it is to soften on the hill-top the fierceness of the rising Maera, and to ask of Zeus the wind by which the thronging quails are stricken in the hempen nets." Thus spake the god : and the other returned to Naxos and questioned the maid herself, but she hid all the tale in silence. So he voyaged forth : it remained to fetch thee, Acontius, to his own Dionysias. And faith was kept with the goddess, and the maid's fellows forthwith sang their comrade's bridal songs which were no more delayed. Methinks, Acontius, thou wouldest then have taken for the maiden girdle which thou didst touch that night neither the foot of Iphicles speeding over the corn-tops nor the wealth of Midas of Celaenae, and all who are not ignorant of the grievous god would testify to my judgement.'

10 sqq. The poet suddenly changes the scene from Acontius to Cydippe at Naxos. It will be convenient to transcribe here the parallel passage in Aristaenetus, *Epist.* i. 10, which is often a close paraphrase of the language of Callimachus : *τοιάτα μὲν τὸ παιδίον διελέγετο* (SC. 'Ακόντιος), *πρὸς τὸ σώματι μοραύσουμεν καὶ τὸν νοῦν τῇ δὲ Κυδίπηπ πρὸς ἔτερον ὑπτρεπίζετο γάμος*, καὶ πρὸ τῆς παιδίδον τὸν ὑμέανον ὥδον αἱ μονικώτεραι τῶν παρθένων καὶ μελιφωνοι, τοῦτο δὴ Σαπφοῖς τὸ ἡδιστὸν φέρεγμα ἀλλ' ἄφινον νενόσκειν ἡ πᾶς, καὶ πρὸς ἐκφόρον ἀντὶ νυμφαγωγίας οἱ τεκόντες ἔωρον, ἔτα παραδόξως ανέσφρηκε, καὶ δεύτερος ὁ θάλαμος ἔκσημετο καὶ δώπερ ἀπὸ συνθήματος τῆς Τύχης αἴδης ἔνστει, τρίτον δόμοις τινάτα συμβέβηκε τῇ παιδί, ὁ δὲ πατήρ τεάτηρον οὐκ ἀνέμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπύθετο τοῦ Πιθίον τῆς ἄρα θεῶν τὸν γάμον ἐμποδίζει τῇ κόρῃ. ὁ δὲ Ἀπόλλων πατήσας τὸν πατέρα δεδοσκει, τὸν νεόν, τὸ μήδον, τὸν ὄρκον, καὶ τῆς ἀγρέμιδος τὸν θυμόν, καὶ παρανεῖ θάττον εὑροκον ἀποφῆναι τὴν κόρην 'ἄλλως τε,' φησί, 'Κυδίπηπ' Ἀκοντίῳ συντίτων οὐ μόλις δύο ἀντιπειζείν αὔργυρο, ἀλλ' ἐκτάρσεων ὁ γάμος ἔσται χρυσοῖς.' ταῦτα μὲν ἔχοντας ὁ παντός θεός, ὁ δὲ ὄρκος ἄμα τῷ χρηστηρῷ συνεπληροῦσα τοῖς γάμοις. αἱ δὲ τῆς παιδὸς ηδικώτερες ἔτερον ἴμενον ὥδον, οὐκ ἀναβαλλόμενοι ἐπὶ οὖθα ἐπικοπέμονον νόσον· καὶ διδάσκαλος ὑπέλειτε τὴν ἀπάδουσαν, καὶ εἰς τὸ μέλος ικανὸς ἐνιβέβαζε χειρομονοῦσα [τὸν τρόπον], ἔτερος δὲ τοῖς ἄγρασι τὰς τεκρότει, καὶ η δεξιὰ τοῖς διακτύοις ὑπεσταμένοις τὴν ἀμυστερὰν ἐπιλητρεύεις τὸ κούλον, ἵν' ὡσιν οἱ χτίρες εἴφωνοι συμπληρύουμεν τρόπον κυμβίων. Απαντεῖ δὲ οὖν δύος Βραδύνεων ἔδοκει τῷ Ἀκοντίῳ, καὶ οὐτε ἥμέραν ἔκεινης ἐνόμισε μακροτέραν ἕορακέναι οὐτε νύκτα βραχνύέραν τῆς νυκτὸς ἔκεινης, ἢς οὐκ ἀ ηλιάζετο τὸν Μίδου χρυσόν, οὐδὲ τὸν Ταυτάλων πλούτον ισοτάτους ἥγειτο τῇ κόρῃ· καὶ σύμψηφοι πάντες ἦμοι, οὐτο μὴ καθάπτει τὸν ἐρωτικὸν ἀμάθειον τὸν γάρ ἀέραστον οὐκ ἀπεκίνεισεν εινα.

10-12. The meaning is that it was already the morning of the day on which Cydippe's marriage was to be celebrated when the sickness overtook her. *Θυμὸν ἀμύζειν* is a Homeric phrase, A 243 σι δὲ ἔνδοθι θυμὸν ἀμύζεις. The oxen were to exhaust some of their high spirit in a morning bath, in order to come clean and quiet to the evening sacrifice.

12. *χλόος* : cl. Apoll. Rhod. ii. 1216 ἐπὶ χλόος ἐδε παρεάς, iii. 298, iv. 1279; W-M notes also the variant *κέχυτο χλόος* (so a papyrus of the sixth or seventh century, besides several mediaeval MSS.) for *κέχυτ* ἀχλίς in Y 421.

13–14. The words *ψευδόμενοι* δ' ἱερήν φημίζουσεν are cited from Callimachus by Schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 1019 τὰ μεγάλα τῶν παθῶν εὐφῆμως ἱερὰ καὶ καλά φαμεν, ὡς καὶ τὰς Ἐρινύας Εὔπενίδας καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν νόσον ἱεράν, ὡς καὶ Καλλίμαχος· ψευδ. κτλ. (= Callim. Fr. 276). Schneider's too confident reference to *Act.* i. 5 is now proved to have been mistaken. For the exorcism of the disease into wild goats cf. Hesychius κατ' αἰγάς ἄγριας παραπίλα λεγομένη εἰς ἄγριας αἴγας τρέπειν τὰς νόσους, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν λεπά, Philostr. *Her.* p. 148 Boisson. εἰχώμεθα δὲνν Ἀπολλωνι Λυκίω τε καὶ Φυξίω . . . τὴν νόσον δὲ εἰς αἴγας, φασι, τρέψαι, and Suid. s. v. κατ' αἴγας ἄγριας. The supposed connexion with goats comes out in the Hippocratic treatise περὶ λεπάς νόσουν *ad init.* where notice is taken of the popular belief that it was harmful to eat goats' flesh and to wear or lie upon goat-skins; cf. also the references there to the καθαροῖ καὶ ἔπισθατα by which a cure was sought.

15. An epithet of δομῶν is wanted, and αἰτρίων, though involving an emendation, well suits the vestiges. δομή is used for the frame of the body, e. g. in Apoll. Rhod. iii. 1395, Lycophr. 334; we speak similarly of a person's 'build'. The insertion of η above the second ε of ετρεξι is possibly due to the original scribe; the ε itself is untouched.

16. κλιαρία: the diminutive is not otherwise attested.

18. W–M objects to κοτε as inconsistent with the context, since the preparations were made at the end of the seven months, and he would therefore substitute καὶ. But καὶ is certainly not to be read in the papyrus, where κοτ or κατ is fairly plain, and that an original και should be replaced by κοτε is not very probable. Hence the safer course appears to be to retain κοτε, which may be excused on the ground that the marriage would hardly take place immediately Cydippe rose from her bed of sickness. κατά τό would rather disturb the symmetry of ll. 16 and 18.

αντίς: a horizontal stroke extending above αν is apparently to be explained as belonging to a τ, which is sometimes so written at the end of a line in order to save space, e. g. in 844; but the stroke in this case is unusually long.

20. The letters at the end of this line are very indistinct and doubtfully deciphered. Δέλφιον is unsatisfactory because the regular form of the adjective is either Δελφός or Δελφίος; but the vestiges strongly suggest φ, while with Δήλιον, which is the obvious alternative, the vertical stroke which is apparently the tail of the φ is quite unaccounted for. It is also a slight argument in favour of Δέλφιον that Aristaenetus specifies the Pythian Apollo; cf. too Ovid, *Epist.* 21. 231–2 (Cydippe to Acontius) *ope qua revalescere possim Quaeritur a Delphis fata canente deo.*

21. ν in εννυχον is obscured by a blot.

22–3. An impersonal object is expected with ἐνικλᾶ, and it is therefore perhaps better to regard γύρον . . . λιγύδην as a bold use of apposition than with Murray to take λιγδαῖν as directly depending on the verb and γύρον as practically equivalent to γαμέτην, on the analogy of e. g. Eurip. *Androm.* 103–4 Πάρες οὐ γύρον . . . ἡγίγειρ' . . . Ἐλένων. The Naxian rival of Acontius is given a well-known Naxian name. Why the verb ἔσησε (cf. Callim. *H. Dian.* 231) is chosen with reference to Tenos is not clear. The sense of κήδεσθαι would seem more appropriate, but for this there is no parallel; an allusion to some local incident must therefore be assumed. A cult of Artemis at Tenos is attested by the name of the month Ἀρτεμιών, C. I. G. 2338; at Amyclae we hear from Pausanias iii. 18. 9 of a statue of Artemis Λευκοφρυνή carved by Bathycles of Magnesia. The present passage points to a common cult of Artemis and Apollo in the great shrine of Amyclae, such as is frequently found elsewhere. Artemis was prominent in Laconia.

24. For the confusion of θρον with θρυν cf. e. g. Theocr. xiii. 40. Reeds or rushes would be appropriate to Artemis as a river goddess.

25. Παρθενίῳ: cf. Apoll. Rhod. ii. 936–9 and Schol. iii. 876–9, Steph. Byz. s. v.

**Παρθίνος.** Parthenius was also an older name of the river Imbrasus in Samos according to Callim. Fr. 213 (Schol. Apoll. Rhod. ii. 867). The iota adscript was added by a later hand. Λύματα (W-M) gives the required sense and suits the vestiges sufficiently well.

26. Δῆλωφ: cf. Callim. Fr. 30 *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Δῆλος: Δηλίης δὲ Δῆλον ἐρχόμενος χορός, Καλλιμάχος τρίτῳ. This had already been referred to the *Cydiippe* by Dilthey. With ἦν ἐπίδημος may be compared Ovid, *Epist. 20. 19* *Adjūt (sc. Diana) et praeſens ut erat tua verba notavit.*

28. The commencement of this verse is a crux. Some reference to the stratagem of Acontius would be expected; cf. Aristaeetus, *I. c. τὸν νέον, τὸ μῆλον, τὸν ὄρκον*. There is no doubt about *vξ*, and between this and the initial *a*, which is fairly certain, there are at most four letters, perhaps only three. *-vξ* suggests either an adverbial phrase connected with what precedes or an independent verb in the aorist, but I have failed to find an appropriate reading. W-M proposes *αὐτόζης*, but this cannot be reconciled with the papyrus; the *v* may be preceded by *η*, *ν*, or perhaps *γρ* or *τρ*, but not *ζ*. A faint mark is discernible above the *ξ*, but it is not certainly ink and is higher up than a sign of elision would normally be. In the margin near the top of the supposed *a* a short oblique stroke in darker ink has no evident significance. Murray suggests *ἀνει νιξ*, and *ανει* is not impossible, but it is not really satisfactory as a reading, apart from the minor objections that *α* is usually correctly written in this papyrus, and that *ἀνειν* is not elsewhere used intransitively like *ἀνειν*.

30. There is a mark like a grave accent above the first *t* of *μολιθωι* and another resembling an acute-angled rough breathing above the *ω*: in neither case is the intention evident.

33-4. The meaning here doubtless is that Acontius was the priest of Aristaeus-Icmius, which showed his high lineage. Hence some term meaning ‘priest of’, or ‘occupied with’, is required before *ἀμφί*; the difficulty is to find one agreeing with the testimony of the papyrus. W-M’s suggestion *λήτρος* (cf. Callim. Fr. 123 *λήτεροι*) cannot actually be read, but it gives just the sense wanted and involves only a slight alteration; and the very slight vestiges of the first two letters of the word in question are consistent, so far as they go, with *λητ.* *μ* of *αμφί* unaccountably has the appearance of having been crossed through; cf. note on l. 78. The genitive *ιερόν* with *ἀμφί* is abnormal and influenced perhaps by considerations of euphony. For Aristaeus and the Cean rites alluded to in these and the following lines cf. Apoll. Rhod. ii. 500 sqq. and especially ll. 519-27:—

λίπεν δὲ σγε (sc. Ἀρισταῖος) πατρὸς ἐφετμῆ  
Φθίηρ, ἐν δὲ Κέω κατενάσσατο . . .  
καὶ βαύρων ποίησε μέγαν Διὸς Ἰκμαίου,  
ιερά τ’ εὖ ἔρετεν ἐν οὔρεων ἀστέρι κείνῳ  
Σευρίῃ αἰτῷ τε Κρονίῃ Διᾷ, τοῦ δὲ ἔκηγι  
γαῖαν ἐπιψύχουσιν ἐτίσαιε ἐκ Διὸς αἴραι  
λύματα τεσταράκοντα· Κέω δὲ εἴ τὸν ιερῆς  
ἄγροδέων προπάροιτε Κυνὸς ρέσοντι θυηλάς.

“Ικμαίος (= Ἰκμαῖος), which is properly an epithet of Zeus, is here transferred to Aristaeus, or it may be applied to the latter in virtue of his equation to Zeus; cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* ix. 111-15 *θῆσονται τέ νυν ἀδάντων, Σίην καὶ ἀγρὸν Ἀποδλῶν* . . . τοῖς δὲ Ἀρισταῖον καλεῖν. W-M notes that the spelling Ικμαίος is that of the MS. in Schol. Townl. Σ 19.

34-7. *οἶσι*, sc. *ιεροῖς*, may be instrumental and constructed with *πρηγνεῖν*, which depends on *μεμῆλειν*, or *οἶσι* may refer to *λήτρος*, the plural being used, as often, because a class is

mean; cf. e.g. τ 40 θεὸς ἔνδον, οἱ σύρανὸν εὐρὶν ἔχοντιν. The latter construction, which is preferred by Murray, is perhaps the easier. At the end of the line ἐπ' οὐρέος ἀμβώνεσσιν coincides with a quotation in Etym. Magn. 81. 11 ἄμβων . . . λέγονται δὲ καὶ οἱ ὄρεοι καὶ ἕψηλοι τόποι, οἷον ἐπ' οὐρέος ἄμβος (Schneider, *op. cit.* Frag. Anon. 70). The spondaic ending is noticeable; cf. Ludwig *De hexam. spond.* p. 19, Schneider, ii. p. 363. In l. 36 τοδ̄ is better treated as two words than as one, otherwise, unless πρύνων be altered, there will be an awkward asyndeton. W-M would substitute θαρεῖν for θαρεον, but in view of the traditional θαίνειν in the Homeric *H. Herm.* 44 and the v. l. in Nicand. *Ther.* 239, where the Parisinus alone has χαμηλαῖ, and also the statement in Cramer, *Anecd. Oxon.* ii 180 ιστέον ἔτι τὸ θαμεῖνός διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόρου γράφεται, to assert the impossibility of the form here is rather bold.

The rising of the dog-star and the ἑτηροι were midsummer phenomena, while the ὄρνιθαι referred to in ll. 36-7 belonged to the period of early spring. Cf. Ps.-Geminus 68 c-d (Lydus, ed. Wachsmuth, pp. 191-2) ἐν δὲ τῷ δ (Feb. 24) Δημοκρίτῳ . . . καὶ τός ἐπούμενας ἡμέρας λα βορέας πνίσσονται καὶ μάλιστα οἱ προσριθταὶ καλούμενοι . . . ἐν δὲ τῇ ιδ (March 6) Δημοκρίτῳ ἀνέροι πνίσσονται ψυχρόι, οἱ ὄρνιθαι καλούμενοι. It is in March that the quails begin to migrate north across the Mediterranean. But the north wind which brought the birds was the wind which later on cooled the summer heats, and there is no reason to suspect the poet of having confused the ἑτηροι and the ὄρνιθαι.

39. ἀνεώς: *aerōs* the papyrus, but this is plainly inconsistent with ἐκάλυψεν; 'openly' implies 'declared', not 'concealed'. Since therefore one of the two words must be emended, it is preferable, as W-M remarks, to select the adverb, which could easily arise from ἀνεώς, rather than the verb, where a corruption is difficult to explain. A form of such dubious credentials as ἀκαλύπτειν, which is sometimes found as a v. l. for ἀποκαλύπτειν, cannot be called in here. The transition to l. 40, however, seems rather more abrupt if Cydippe refused to speak, though this consideration counts for little in the uncertainty regarding the reading of that line. For ἀνεώς cf. Etym. Magn. ἀνεώς ὁ ἄφωνος κτλ.

40-1. I adopt in this difficult couplet the ingenious emendations of W-M, though without full confidence that the right solution has been found. At the beginning of l. 40 a verb is necessary, and *vao* can hardly be avoided: δ might be substituted for α, but that is quite unintelligible. κήνανοθλώσατο therefore satisfies essential requirements, but it was certainly not written; θλ must be inserted, and though the τ is probable, the remains of the termination do not suggest -aro: the final letter, at the top of which there is a spot of darker ink, looks more like ε than anything else. Above the preceding σ there are some indistinct traces which might represent an interlinear addition by the first hand. κ is probable as the first letter of the line, but β is a possible alternative; βῆ ναῖς would not be amiss, if a suitable continuation were forthcoming. More difficulties arise at the commencement of the next verse. If the meaning be, 'it only remained to fetch Acontius to Naxos,' some substantive like δέμας on which σεῖο may depend must be obtained, and ιοτάδο for εστά is not a violent alteration, for which some slight support may be found in the fact that ἀπεστά is quoted from Callimachus by Suidas (= Fr. 340). εστά, however, is far from being certain. The two last letters must apparently be α, δ, or λ; and they are preceded by the end of a horizontal stroke suggesting γ, π, or τ; ται is therefore indicated, and although the preceding letter is not a satisfactory σ, if the initial ε be right, there is practically no choice. Nor is the meaning which, with εστά, has to be attributed to μετελθεῖν ἐς Διονυσίαδα quite a natural one. μετέρχεσθαι τινα ἐς would be expected to signify 'to go after a person to' a place rather than 'to fetch to'; and on this account Acontius would be preferable to Cydippe's father as the subject of μετελθεῖν. Λοιπὸν σεῖο μετελθεῖν might possibly be interpreted 'if it remains for thee to go', but τὴν ίδειν must then be separated from Διονυσίαδα and supposed to mean Cydippe, which involves an awkward ambiguity, apart from the difficulty

of such a use of *ἴδιος*: *Κυδίπ(π)ην* is not to be read at the beginning of l. 41. If on the other hand the father be the subject, *τὴν ιδίην Διονυσίαδα* is straightforward enough, *ἴδιην* having a point, as W-M remarks, because on this occasion the ordinary practice was reversed and instead of the bride being brought to the home of the husband the husband was fetched to that of the bride. Neither the division *σειο μερ' ἐλθεῖν*, suggested by Murray, nor the hypothesis that . . . *Δίην* should be read for *τὴν ιδίην*, seems to lead to any better result. For the name *Διονυσία* in application to Naxos cf. Diod. v. 52.

The numeral  $\mu$  below this line is a stichometrical figure referring to the number of the lines on the page, though this as a matter of fact only contains 39; cf. Fol. 7 verso, and P. Brit. Mus. 126 (Kenyon, *Classical Texts*, p. 82).

42. No instance of the passive of *εἰσοκέν* is cited in the lexica, but the transitive use is found in Schol. Apollon. Rhod. ii. 257 *ἐκείνους ἦν μή εἰσοκάμεν.* χ' added above the line is in ink of the same colour as the body of the text and perhaps due to the original scribe.

43. W-M is undoubtedly right in restoring *γέδων* on the analogy of Aristaenetus i. 10 *ἐνεργῶν ὕμεναν γέδων, οὐκ ἀναβαλλόμενον ἔτι.* For the interchange of *ει* and *η* cf. ll. 28 and 122. *ὕμενας* seems to occur only here, but has been proposed by Murray in Eurip. *Hippol.* 552, a conjecture which is now much strengthened; the form *ἱμένας* was used by Sappho 9. 3.

45. *τῆς μίτρης ἥψασ:* *τῆς*, if right, = *ἥς*, and the antecedent is transposed, as often, to the relative sentence. But it is very questionable whether *τῆς* should not be emended to *τῇ*, as Murray suggests, *ἀντὶ* following its case as e. g. in Aesch. *Ag.* 1277; cf. Aristaenetus l. c. *πυκτὸς ἑκένης, ἥς οὐκ ἀν ἡλλάξατο*, where however *ἥς* is an emendation: the MS. has 'Ακόντιος οὐκ κτλ.

46. Cf. Cramer, *Anecd. Oxon.* iv. p. 329. 6 (Herodian ii. p. 861 Lentz) διὸ καὶ μέμφονται τὸν Σηριδοτὸν ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἄρνων ἐκεφαλέων κτητικὸν ἔλεγε, καὶ τὸν Καλλίμαχον ‘χειρ ἡ Πολυβ[ερ]γκει[ν]  
καὶ ‘σφυρὸν ‘Ιφίκλειον.’ (= Callim. Fr. 496). Schneider disagreeing with Gaisford and other critics attributed *καὶ* to Callimachus instead of the grammarian and so produced one fragment instead of two, ‘χειρ ἡ Πολυδενκεῖ | καὶ σφυρὸν ‘Ιφίκλειον,’ but this view is now effectually disposed of.

49. οὐ is of course to be constructed with *νῆστες*, not *χαλεποῦ*; cf. e.g. the familiar *τι μ' οὐ λαβῶν ἔκτεινας εἰθί,* Soph. *O. T.* 1391.

50-79. 'From that marriage a great name was to spring: for thy line the Acontiadae still dwells, Cean, numerous and honoured at Iulis; and this desire of thine we heard from old Xenomedes, who once lay up a memorial of the whole island's lore, beginning with how it was taken for an abode by the Corycian nymphs whom a mighty lion drove from Parnassus, wherefore they named it Hydrussa; and how Ciro . . . dwelt at Caryae, and how the Carians and Leleges abode in the island, whose offerings Zeus, god of the battle-cry, ever receives to the trumpets' sound, and then Ceos, son of Phoebus and Melia, caused it to be called by another name; and the tale of insolence and death by lightning, and the sorcerers the Telchines, and Demonax who in his folly recked not of the blessed gods the ancient put in his tablets, and the aged Macelo, mother of Dexitheia, whom alone the immortals left unscathed when for its wicked insolence they laid the island waste; and how of its four cities Megacles founded Carthaea, and Eupylus, son of the demigod Chryso, the fair-founded citadel of Iulis, yea and Acae . . . Poeëssa, seat of the long-tressed Graces, and Aphrastus Coresus' town, and joined with them the old man, friend of truth, told, Cean, of thy sore love; whence came the maiden's story to my muse. I will not then now sing of the habitation of the cities. . . .'

52. *περίτιμος* is apparently novel.

54. This reference by the poet to his authority is highly interesting and also provides some historical information of importance. Xenomedes is occasionally cited by grammarians (Schol. Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 448, Schol. Townl. II 328), but only in one passage is he more fully specified, Dion. Hal. *De Thucyd.* 5, where Σενομήδης ὁ Χίος stands in a list of local historians prior to the Peloponnesian war. It is now evident that Χίος should there be emended with W-M to Κέιος, and that Xenomedes is to be recognized as the Cean writer who was no doubt among the sources of Aristotle and, indirectly, of Heraclides in their accounts of the history and institutions of Ceos. Several points of contact with ll. 56-63 are to be found in the excerpts of Heraclides, Περὶ Πολιτεῖῶν ix, though with some discrepancies (Müller, *Frag. Hist. Gracc.* ii. p. 214): ἐκαέστο μὲν Ὑδρούσα ἡ νῆσος λέγονται δὲ οἰκήσαντα Νύμφας πρότερον αὐτήν φοβήσαντος δὲ αἰτάς λέοντος εἰς Κάρυστον διαβῆναι, διὸ καὶ ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Κέας Λέων καλέσται. Κέα δ' ἐκ Ναυπάκτου διαβὰς φύκε, καὶ ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ ταῦτη ὀνόμασαν. No fresh light is thrown on these early traditions by the recently published inscriptions of Ceos.

*kore* is substituted for *ποτε* in this verse on the analogy of ll. 4 and 18. In the *Hymns* the forms in *π* are preferred, but the Ionic spelling occurs in some of the *Epigrams*.

56. For ἄρχων *ώς* cf. Callim. *H. Dian.* 4 and Fr. 113 b, where the MSS. have the form ἄρχωρ, making the mistake which originally stood in the papyrus. The Corycian nymphs recur in Ovid, *Epist.* 20. 221-2 (Acontius to Cydippe) *Insula Coryciis quondam celeberrima nymphis Cingitur Aegeo, nomine Cea, mari.*

57. According to the Heraclides excerpt quoted in the note on l. 54 the lion was the cause of the departure of the nymphs, not of their arrival. A colossal lion close to a spring of water (cf. l. 72 ἔκρηνος) is still one of the features of the site of Iulis.

58-9. Who it was who lived at Caryae and what this has to do with Cean tradition remains a problem. Besides the well-known Laconian Caryae we hear of places so called only in Arcadia and Lycia, and there is no evident link between any of these and Ceos. W-M suggests that the name at the end of l. 58 may be meant for Κάρυστος, which Callimachus might well derive from Κάρια. Carystus, son of Chiron, was the reputed founder of Carystus in Euboea, and it is noticeable that in the Heraclides excerpt cited above (l. 54, note) that town is mentioned. The suggestion is thus so far plausible, but Κάρυστος is not to be read and, in view of the mutilated condition of the passage and of the absence of confirmatory evidence, emendation is too speculative. The *ω* following *ρ* is very doubtful, but there seems to be no alternative to the *ι* preceding it. Murray proposes Κιρώδης = Κιροάδας, and this would suit the papyrus well enough; but no Κιροάδας is known except the king of the Odrysae conquered by Philip V (Anth. Plan. i. 5. 24 = Brunnck iii. 182). The remains of the first half of the pentameter would suffice to verify a conjecture, but hardly to provide a clue of themselves.

60. *τέιων* as a relative occurs also in Callim. *H. Del.* 185, where some explain it as equivalent to *τάνων* on the analogy of *αἰτίων*, &c. But in the present passage *τέιων* is masculine, as also in Nicand. *Alex.* 2, and the derivation from *τίς* indicated by the scholia on Callimachus is therefore confirmed. Cf. *Epigr.* 30. 2 οἵδε κέλεύθω χαῖρος τίς πολλούς δέδε καὶ δόε φέρει. Ἀλαλάξιος is found as an epithet of Ares in Cornutus, *Nat. Deor.* 21.

61. Hdt. i. 171 attributes certain inventions in armour to the Carians, whose warlike proclivities are also indicated by the tradition that they were the first μυσθοφόροι; but they do not appear to be elsewhere specially connected with σάπιγγες, the introduction of which was claimed by the neighbouring Lydians. The custom referred to by Callimachus belongs not to Ceos but to the Carians proper, whose Ζεὺς Στριτίος (Hdt. v. 119, &c.) is here meant by Ζεὺς Ἀλαλάξιος.

62. *μετ* seems to be the word intended before *ονυμα*, though this was perhaps not originally written. The remains of the first letter might represent a *μ*, but close beneath them is apparently another *μ*, possibly inserted by the first hand though the ink is darker than usual. An alteration is normally made above the line, but since l. 63 is quite complete and satisfactory, it can only be supposed that the first letter of *μετ* was somehow miswritten or defaced, and so repeated in this unusual position. At the end of the verse some emendation is required: *βαλέσθαι* would be difficult and *καλέσθαι* is a slight change which gives an excellent sense.

63. Ceos is called the son of Apollo and Rhodoëssa in Etym. Magn. 507. 53.

64–9. Cf. for this passage Pindar, *Paeans* iv. 42–5 (= 841) χθόνα τοί (sc. Zeus and Poseidon) ποτε καὶ σπραγὸν ἀδρόν πέμψαν κερανῷ τριδύοντι τε ἐς τὸν βαθὺν Τάρπον, ἐμὰν μαρέα (sc. Dexithea) λιπώντες καὶ διων οἰκον εὐερέα, and the passages from Nonnus, *Dionys.* xviii. 35–8, and the scholia on Ovid, *Ibis* 475, referred to in the notes *ad loc.* In three respects Ovid and his scholia are at variance with the version of the legend here given by Callimachus. The line in the *Ibis* is *Ul Macelo rapidis icta est cum coniuge flammis*, and the ancient commentators thereon represent Macelo not as Dexithea's mother, but as an elder sister who was slain on account of the guilt of her husband, while Dexithea and other sisters were preserved; moreover, the name of the sisters' father, the chief of the Telchines, is given as Damo, who is obviously to be identified with the Demonax of l. 66. According to one of the scholiasts the authority for that form of the story was Nicander; and Jebb (*Bacchyl.* p. 444) was justified in regarding it as of a later growth. Nonnus writes Μακελλῶ for *Μακέλω*.

In l. 66 ἡλεά is an adverb, as in Anth. Pal. vii. 639 ἡλεά μεμφόμεθα; cf. also Callim. Fr. 174 ἡλεά μὲν ἔρες. There is, therefore, no need to substitute *ηθέα*. At the end of l. 68 ἀλ[ι]ρ[ῆ]ς (W–M) is very suitable, though the supposed mark of elision is quite doubtful, and δ, e. g., may be read in place of λ.

70–4. The names of the founders of the four towns of Ceos are not elsewhere recorded, nor is the nymph Chryso, if that be the true spelling, otherwise known, unless she be the *δαιμόνιον* to whom Hesychius refers s. v. Χρύσων (Χρυσώ?). The papyrus apparently has χρεισσον (hardly χρυσον), an unlikely form in place of which W–M suggests either Χρυσοῖς or Χρυσοῦς. In l. 73 ἰδρυμ' (W–M) is not very satisfactory, either as a reading or in itself. There is no example of this scansion of the word, though it may be supported by the Homeric shortening of the ν of ἰδρυε (B 191, v 257) and similar liberties of later poets (e. g. ἐνέργεατο Anth. Pal. vii. 109). The initial letter may be a round one like ε or θ; and the supposed δρ are somewhat widely spaced. But no suitable alternative presents itself.

76. The sense requires the genitive with μεμηλημένος, for which cf. e. g. Soph. *Ai.* 1184 τάφον μελυθεῖς. At the end of this verse the letters δος have been interlined by the first hand, and if those below are rightly read, δος may be interpreted as a repetition of the final syllable of παιδος which owing to the length of the line (it is the longest on the page) may have been thought insufficiently distinct. The π and α are fairly satisfactory, and the scanty vestiges following are consistent with ιδο. On the other hand, δος is placed somewhat farther to the left than would be expected, and it is not quite certain that nothing else followed; moreover, εὐθεν and the first half of the pentameter are too doubtfully deciphered to afford a safe basis for restoration. Still, the purport of the passage is probably not misrepresented by the readings adopted.

78. The poet now turns to a fresh subject, a change to which the marginal sign (in darker ink) opposite this couplet may refer, though that interpretation will not suit l. 277, where a rather similar sign occurs: the connecting stroke between the two small circles is, however, in the present case a restoration. That οἰκήσιας was the word intended before

ἄσομαι was guessed by W-M, whose conjecture is probably right, if not very easily verified in the papyrus. The remains suggest  $\mu$  rather than  $\kappa$ , and κουμασας, if that made sense, could well be read. But the  $\kappa$  and  $\eta$  seem possible, and ποδίων οἰκήσια just fits the context, although as W-M remarks, οἴκωσις would be a better term than οἰκήσια: οἴκωσις lacks support. There is a distinct mark, which suits an iota quite well, above the first  $\sigma$  of the syllable οιωρ, though whether it should be referred to the original or a later hand is doubtful. The  $\sigma$  itself has not been deleted, while on the other hand there is an appearance of two diagonal dashes through  $\sigma$ ; but this phenomenon occurs elsewhere in the case of essential letters (cf. ll. 33-4, note), and so may be disregarded. In the marginal note to the right of the verse μελλει would not be inappropriate and is possibly to be read, but the first two letters are very illegible.

79. The reference to Zeus of Pisa is obscure. It has been supposed by some critics (e.g. O. Jahn, *Rhein. Mus.* iii. p. 620) that the principal subject of Book iii of the *Aetia* was the origin of the Hellenic games, on the strength of Steph. Byz. p. 104. 13 Ἀπέσας, ὅπος τῆς Νεύεας, ὡς Πινδάρος καὶ Καλλιμαχος ἐν τρίτῃ; and the present mention of Olympian Zeus may be held to support that view. The passage of Stephanus, as Schneider shows (*op. cit.* ii. p. 138), cannot be considered a very solid argument, but a fresh indication of a similar nature is not to be lightly dismissed. How the story of Cydippe came to be introduced into such a book would remain a problem, though that is no fatal obstacle to the theory. It is very unfortunate that the papyrus is so defaced at this critical point. The end of this verse is hardly hopeless, but l. 80, it is to be feared, is beyond recovery.

80. An ink spot near the top of the second  $a$  is perhaps a high stop after that letter; two vertical strokes follow, which may belong to a  $\pi$ , and the next letter but one was probably  $\rho$  or  $v$ . Some faint marks below the end of this line might perhaps be taken for a stichometrical figure, but it is doubtful whether they are in ink.

81-9. Conclusion of the *Aetia*. It is regrettable that the passage is marred by the mutilation of the first three lines.  $\sigma\epsilon$  in l. 83 is the deity to whom χαῖρε in l. 87 is addressed, but the identity of the deity and the connexion of this and the next verse with ll. 85-6 remain obscure. A restoration more ingenious than convincing of ll. 81-3 is offered by Murray: [βέγ]α ποῦ ὅ' ἐρή μονάδα γι[α] κομι[άστη]ται [και] πον καὶ Χαρίων [τινὰ φω[μάδη]·] οὐα δ' ἀράσθις [ημε]ρέψον σὲ ψεύδον [επ' οἰνό]ματι κτλ. ὁξέα πόνν, which would mean 'severe taste', could doubtless stand on the analogy of such combinations as ε 467 θῆλυς ἔέρση, Theocr. xx. 8 ἀδέα χαῖραν, &c.; but the neuter φωμαδύ lacks authority, and the point of οὐα . . . οἰνό]ματι is hardly clear.

81. *Japv*: the remains of the second letter suggest  $\rho$  rather than  $\epsilon$ ; perhaps -ρων is for -ρεν. The preceding letter seems to be  $a$ ,  $\delta$ , or  $\lambda$ .  $\tau$  after μοναδα is extremely uncertain.

82. The end of this line is a troublesome problem.  $\rho\epsilon$  after the second lacuna may be a single letter, perhaps  $v$ , though this is less suitable.  $a$  is more likely than  $\delta$  before the  $\mu$ , and the letter following it, if not  $\sigma$ , must be  $a$ . The supposed mark of elision after  $\delta$  is uncertain, though probable;  $\beta$  might be read instead of  $\delta'$ .

84. The adjectives may refer to  $\sigma\epsilon$  in l. 83 or to a substantive following εἶπε (εἰπέ?), which apparently governs κείνῳ: but neither μοι εἰχήν nor χάρων μοι (Murray) nor τελευτήν, e.g., is suitable. Perhaps εἰπε τε σ . . [.] . [; or εἰπεις could easily be read, if a satisfactory combination with the context could be established.

85-6. κείνῳ: sc. Hesiod, the legend of whose intercourse with the Muses goes back to *Theogon.* 22-3 αἱ νόν ποθ' Ἡσίόδον καλὴν ἐδίδαξαν ιοιθήν, ἄρνας ποιμανονθ' Ἐλικώνος ὑπὸ ζαΐθεοι; cf. Ovid, *Fast.* vi. 13-4 *Ecce deas vidi, non quas praecceptor arandi Viderat, Ascreas cum sequeretur oves, and Fronto, Ep. ad Marc. i. 2 Hesiodum pastorem . . . dormientem poctam vis factum, at enim ego memini olim apud magistrum me legere:*

ποιμένι μῆλα νέμοντι παρ' ἵχνιον ὀξεῖον ἵππου  
‘Ησιόδῳ, Μονοκέων ἐσπός ὅτ' ἡγρίσαεν.

*Magistrum* in this later passage has been commonly taken to be Callimachus, and Schneider, *op. cit.* ii. p. 789, is inclined to agree with Bergk in referring the distich to the prologue of the *Aetia*, where from an anonymous epigram in Anth. Pal. vii. 42 it appears that the poet represented himself as having been transported in a dream to Helicon and there holding converse with the Muses. But the close parallelism between the quotation of Fronto and ll. 85-6 here points rather to some later imitator, e. g. Parthenius, as W-M suggests. A reference at the close of the poem to Hesiod at Hippocrene is natural enough in the light of Anth. Pal. vii. 42 (cf. introd. p. 18), though the connexion of l. 85 with what precedes is obscure. With regard to the reading, *τε* or *το* was apparently first written before *μοναρα*, and was corrected by the original hand. If *τῷ* is right an antecedent is required, so that *κείνῳ* is very suitable; the first letter is more like *κ* than *χ*, but the *ω* is unconvincing and perhaps this also has undergone some alteration.

88-9. Cf. introd. p. 18.

90-1. It is noticeable that in this MS. the titles of the different books preceded as well as followed them; another example of the same system is found in e. g. the Berlin Nonnus, *Klassikerhandschriften*, V. 2. 10. For the border of angular marks below the titles cf. e. g. 850. 20-1, and P. Amh. 6. 3, &c.; that above them is composed of a series of small crosses joining their neighbours at the top and bottom, such as are sometimes found at the conclusion of non-literary documents.

92-5. This opening passage from the prologue of the *Iambi* had been rightly reconstructed by Schneidewin, *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1845, p. 8, and others from three separate citations (Callim. Fr. 92 ἀκούσαθ' . . . ἥκω, 85 ἔκ . . . πιπρήσκουσν, 90 φέρων . . . Βουτάλειον). Fr. 92 is quoted, as an example of the choliambic metre, by Ruhnus, *De Metr.* p. 368, and Plotius, pp. 270, 272 ed. Gaisf., in conjunction with another verse, Ἡ Κλαζομένιον, Βούταλος κατίκτενεν (*τε κᾶθηναι*, Bergk), and hence Kuster (Suidas, s. v. οὐ γάρ) referred it not to Callimachus but to Hipponax, notwithstanding the express attribution to Callimachus in the Schol. on Aristoph. *Clouds* 232, *Frogs* 58. The futility of the criticism which arbitrarily sets aside such ancient testimony is once more demonstrated by the papyrus. It is of course still possible, as was held by Meineke, with whom Bergk, *Poet. Lyr.* p. 755, agrees, that the line was really by Hipponax and was adopted from him by Callimachus; Schneider, however, *op. cit.* ii. p. 257, rejects this compromise.

93. οικον was apparently written, but only the lower half of the *ι* is preserved and the superfluous letter was presumably eliminated when the rough breathing was added, although there is no sign of the correction. The marginal notes on either side of these verses are mutilated beyond recognition.

95. The word following Βούπ[άλ]ειον does not seem to have been δλλά.

96. A trace of ink on the edge of the papyrus slightly below this line to the right seems to indicate an interlineation.

Among the verses lost with the lower part of this leaf may have occurred Callim. Fr. 98 d (Schol. Townl. ε 172, Strabo ix. 5), which Schneider, *op. cit.* p. 268, assigns to the prologue, and gives thus:—

λίχνος εἴμι καὶ τὸ πείθεσθαι  
καὶ πάντα τὸν βίον τοιάντα μυθίσθαι  
βούλόμενος.

The reconstruction of the second and third lines, however, cannot be right, and their connexion with the first line is very questionable.

97. On the number of the leaf, which is as much a matter of inference as of eyesight, cf. introd., pp. 19-20. The accent on *ωπόλον* is preceded by a mark which looks more like a rough breathing than a sign of crasis, and above them both there seems to be a short horizontal stroke. In the margin to the left some illegible remains of an adscript are perhaps to be recognized. The supposed iota adscript inserted above *αιπόλω* is very small and may be meant for a high stop.

98. Perhaps *σφήκες* were coupled with the *μνιαί*, but the passage is quite obscure. The exact point at which this and the two next lines begin is not clear; l. 97 projects by one letter beyond ll. 102 sqq. *Θύμα Δελφόν* was a proverbial expression used of persons who went to profitless expense; cf. Cod. Coisl. prov. 106 *Δελφοῖς θύσας αἰτός οὐ φαῦλος· ἐπὶ τῶν πολλὰ μὲν δαπανώντων, μηδένος δὲ ἀπολαύσνων, παρ' οἷσαν τοὺς ἐν Δελφοῖς θύσαντας συνέβαινε διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐστιμένων αἰτόνων μηδένος γενέσθαι.*

99. It is hardly possible to determine without the aid of the context whether the letters at the end of the line are rightly read and divided. The doubtful ε of *εκάη* may be σ, and αυ could be substituted for λη, but the accent will then be out of its proper position; the final letter may well be ν instead of σ. A dot just above the line between ν and ω may represent a stop. In the marginal note *επιτραχθετα* is not quite satisfactory, and there are perhaps two letters between ι and α. There is a reference to Hecate in Callim. Fr. 82 d.

100. ισέ: or κό.

102. The coronis below this line marks the end of the prologue. *σωπή* for *σωπή* is found only here and in l. 255 below, but *σωτᾶν* is used by Pindar, *Isthm.* i. 63, *Ol.* xiii. 91.

103. οὐ μακρὺν κτλ. is a parenthesis, of which the sense evidently is 'I will not detain you with a long story, for I have not much leisure myself'.

105. πάρ μέσον διέν seems to be a possible expression for *ἐς μέσον ἀνατρέψεθαι* and is satisfactory enough palaeographically, though several of the letters might be otherwise read: ο may be ω and ειμι could be substituted for δι. Either διέν or διέν is possible: cf. Callim. Fr. 51 *διωρεύνων πέρι βοσκὸν ἔμην ἐφύλασσον ἀλων* and Suid. *διωρεύνων πατονιμένων*.

107-8. Possibly *π[α]γρατ* was originally written, but the interlinear δ is far from certain. οἰστον is apparently an instrumental dative going with *τελεῖντες*. The Ionic form *ἐπισταται* is unobjectionable.

109. καθῆ[ι] is very likely *καθῆ[κων]*, as W-M suggests. 'When he reached old age' seems to be the sense.

113. This verse was identified by W-M in Etym. Magn. 64. 13 *ἀλιθῶς· τὸ κυλίω, οἴων μείλοντας ηδη κτλ.* (= Bergk, *Poet. Lyr.* Fr. Adesp. 29). Lines 111 sqq. refer to precautions taken to obviate the designs indicated; but the bearing of the passage on the story of the cup of Bathycles remains obscure.

114. The first word does not seem to be *μέσος*. Before *πότησ* the rough breathing is clear and perhaps ὡς *πότης* should be read; *ιππότης* is hardly suitable. The marginal note to the right possibly extended to a fifth line.

115. πρων: or perhaps τρω.

118. On the question of the extent of the loss between this line and l. 119 see introd. p. 20.

119-20. These two lines are quoted in Diog. Laert. i. 23 and also by Achilles Tatius, *Arati Phaenom.* i, where the two preceding lines are added: *ἐπλευσεν ἐς Μιλητον· ή γάρ ή νίκη | Θάλητος, ος τ' ήν τοῦτον δεξιὸν γνώμη | καὶ τῆς ἀμάχης κτλ.* (Callim. Fr. 94). Schneider, *ad. loc.*, considers that the subject of *ἐπλευσεν* here is ή φιάλη, but it is much more likely to be the son of Bathycles (cf. l. 131 below). In l. 119 owing to a flaw in the papyrus an interval of two letters is left after οἰε.

121. προνσέληνο[ς] for προσέληνο[ς] was recognized by W-M, who suggests that the form

may be explained as a false Ionicism; but perhaps Callimachus favoured the derivation from προσδέλιν which is noticed in Etym. Magn. 690. 11. αἰσιώ σίτη means 'under happy auspices'; cf. Schol. Aristoph. *Birds* 704 Διόνυσος δέ, ἐπεὶ ή σίτη καὶ εἴ τι τοιούτον ὄρνεον δέξαι πρὸς ἔρωτας φάνεται' ἔχω μέν, ω̄ Δεικυππε, δέξαι σίτη (Bergk, *Poet. Lyri. Fr. Adesp.* 27), and Callim. Fr. 173 ὁ δὲ ἥλεός οὗτος ἐπί σίτην βλέψας. The masculine form σίτης is not attested, though the forms σίτας, σίτος occur in Hesych.; but αἰσιώ may be defended, even if σίτη is feminine, on the analogy of e.g. Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 40, where the MSS. have αἴσιον . . . βροντά.—Traces of darker ink to the left of the line may be the remains of a marginal note.

122. κωνέω: cf. Hesych. κόνειον . . . νάρθηξ.

124-8. Cf. Diog. Laert. i. 24 παρὰ τε Αἰγυπτίων γεωμετρῶν μαθόντα (sc. τὸν Θάλητα) φησὶ Παιφίλη πρῶτον καταγράψα κύκλον τὸ τρίγωνον ὄρθυγώντον καὶ θύγαι βονν. οἱ δὲ Πινθαγόραν φασί, ὃν ἐστιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ λογιστικός. οὗτος προσήγειν ἐπὶ πλειστον, ἀ φρασὶ Καλλίμαχος ἐν τοῖς Ιάμβοις Εὐφρόσων ἐνέρειν τὸν Φρύγα, οἷον σκαλῆν καὶ (Schneider, who is followed by Diels, wrongly wished to delete καὶ) τρίγωνα καὶ ὅσα γραμμικής ἔχεται θεωρίας, and Diodor. x. 6 (Excerpt. Vatic. p. 30) ὅτι Καλλίμαχος ἐπέ περὶ Πινθαγόρου, διότι τῶν ἐν γεωμετρίᾳ προβλημάτων τὰ μὲν εὑρε, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πρῶτος εἰς τὸν "Ἐλλήνας φηγεκεν, ἐν οἷς ὁτὲ ἔξειρε Φριξὸς οὗτος ἀνθρώπους τρίγωνα καὶ σκαλῆν καὶ κύκλον ἐπταμίκη δίδασε (sic) νηστεύειν τῶν ἐμπνεόντων, οἱ ταῦθι οὐδὲ πτηκούσσαν πάντες. The reconstruction of these passages as printed by Schneider is as follows (Fr. 83 a):—

προσήγειν δὲ ἐπὶ πλειστον  
ἀ̄ ἔξειρε Φριξὸς Εὐφρόσων, οὗτος ἀνθρώποις  
τρίγωνά τε σκαλῆν καὶ κύκλον ἐπτὰ  
μῆκη δίδασκε κῆδεδασε νηστεύειν  
τῶν ἐμπνεόντων οἱ δὲ ἄρ' οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν  
πάντες.

Various other attempts which have been made are not more successful, except that Hecker and Brink prove to have been right in combining with these lines Fr. 91 οὐ πάντες ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἔσχεν οὔτερος δαιμὼν, a suggestion which Schneider emphatically rejected. By ὁ Φριξὸς Εὐφρόσων is of course meant Pythagoras; cf. e.g. Diog. Laert. viii. 4. In l. 126 κύκλον ἐντραμμένη is strongly supported by the passage of Diodorus, in spite of the obscurity of the phrase and the accented ε. To the right of this accent, moreover, there is the appearance of a small λ in dark ink, which remains unexplained. Line 128 is quoted by the Schol. on Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 64 καὶ τῶν γειώνων, φησὶ, πολλοὶ ἀπέλαυνον τοῦ κακοῦ τοῦ περὶ τὴν Καρωνίδα· λουρὸς γὰρ ἔγενετο, αἴτιος δὲ τοῦ λουροῦ Ἀπόδλων καὶ Ἄρτεμις. Λουροῦ οὖν γενομένου συναπέλαυνον καὶ οἱ μηδὲν αἴτιοι. "Ναύλος" πολλαὶ καὶ ἔντματα πολὺς κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπηγά. Καλλίμαχος δὲ φησιν οὐ πάντες ὁλοὶ ἔσχεν οὔτερος δαιμὼν. ἔχειν, the reading of the papyrus, is preferable to ἔσχεν, and the alteration of οὔτερος is of course demanded by the metre. The appositeness of the citation is not very evident, and Bentley was probably right after all in regarding it as merely a parallel for δαιμὼν οὔτερος in *Pyth.* iii. 62.

130. For the absence of aspiration cf. l. 108 ἐπίστανται, l. 135 τὴντέρη, l. 253 κώς. The letter following ε was probably η or ι.

131. οὐνώςι πατήρ: cf. Diog. Laert. i. 29 ὁ δὲ περιενεγκών τὴν φιλίην τοῦ Βαθυκλέους παῖς Θυρίων ἐκαλέτο, καθά φησιν Ἐλενοτις ἐν τῷ Πειρὶ Ἀχιλλέως καὶ Ἀλέξων ὁ Μύνδος ἐν ἐνάτῳ Μυθικῶν. It may be inferred that no name was mentioned by Callimachus. W-M observes that οὐνώς is more probably for ὁ ἐμός than δέμος.

132. ὄνηστος, as remarked by W-M, may be supplied with certainty from Diog. Laert. i. 28 Βαθυκλέα . . . ἐπισκῆψαι δοῦναι τῶν σοφῶν ὄνηστον. Schneider, *op. cil.* ii. p. 246, here preferred the reading τῶν σοφῶν τῷ πρωτίστῳ, and did not accept τῶν σοφῶν ὄνηστον as a quotation from Callimachus.

133. ἀριστείον here and λαβὼν χειρὶ in l. 135 are added *exempli gratia*; for the former cf. Callim. Fr. 95 quoted below in the note on l. 138.

134. The restorations are due to W-M.

136. δόσων is only fairly satisfactory. δ is most probable as the first letter, but η could well be read in place of σι and the ο must be supposed to have been rather larger and straight-sided than usual; ο of νοον in the following line is however not dissimilar. The second letter of the line may also be δ or ζ.

137. The doubtful letter before ὁ(?) may also be β, θ, ρ, or σ.

138. β though broken at the bottom is practically certain, and in this context a reference to the sage of Priene is most natural. The form Βῆγος however, though printed by Cobet in Diog. Laert. i. 88 and sanctioned by Pape, *Griech. Eigennamen*, is abnormal and requires better testimony than that of the papyrus.

It may be convenient to add here the four verses previously extant from the sequel of the story of Bathycles. They are:—

Callim. Fr. 89 (Cramer, *Anced. Oxon.* ii. p. 297):

Σθλων ἐκένος δ' ὡς Χίλων' ἀπέστειλεν.

Fr. 96 (Etym. Magn. 442. 10):

Θάλων τὸ δῶρον ἐξ Θάλητος ἀνώλισθεν.

Fr. 95 (Diog. Laert. i. 29):

Θάλης με τῷ μεδεῦντι Νεῖλος δήμον  
δίδωσι, τούτῳ δὲς λαβὼν ἀριστείον.

139. The subject has changed and a new Iambus has commenced; cf. introd., p. 20. δρῆ (W-M) seems right and ο is perhaps possible, though the remains do not suggest this letter. A flaw in the papyrus caused a slight interval to be left after ουρος: cf. note on ll. 119-20. Ἀλκαίων is better interpreted with W-M as a term of reproach than as the man's actual name. Alcmaeon was a typical matricide; cf. the line *ap.* Dio Cass. xxi. 16 Νέρων, Ορέστης, Ἀλκαίων μητροκόνοις.

140. βαλλει is clear, but can hardly stand, and W-M's βαλλ' η seems the easiest emendation. It is possible that something has been inserted above the line over the ι. A mark of elision should perhaps be recognized after the second φευ.

141. The faint traces suggest αυτο rather than αυτω, and some compound of αιτω might have stood here; a dative depending on κρύψονται is however more obvious, and may be right. δ' was deleted by a later hand.

143. εξοπασθει is very doubtful, the penultimate letter being more like β than anything else. No verb in the present or aorist seems to be obtainable, and εξοπασθει is excluded, the κ being certain. κοικ would not fill the space nor would that be suitable without a preceding verb. At the end of the line χάσκει, which W-M suggests, or even ἔχασκει, is possible, and would be apposite if the meaning is 'those behind mockingly put out their tongues at him as he runs away'.

144. ελων has perhaps been written for ειλων or ειλων: such a mistake might easily occur. The remains of the supposed ε could also be interpreted as a λ followed by the comma sometimes placed between two consonants, but there is no sign whatever of a preceding ι. η of πινη seems to have undergone some alteration.

147. The last half of this verse is no doubt to be identified with Callim. Fr. 98, quoted as an example of varying gender in Etym. Magn. 502. 27, Eustath. B p. 108. 22, Schol. A on *Iliad* 1 312, &c. Schol. A has the infin. γυμνάζειν, which was preferred by Meineke,

whom Schneider follows; Meineke was also mistaken in referring the phrase to the prologue of the *Iambi*.

153. *[νοθε]*: or perhaps *[νοαστ]*.

154–5. Some of the letters of these two lines have been renovated with darker ink; cf. notes on ll. 357 and 395.

158. The first letter may be *ω*, i.e. *(δ)κ]ώλνε*.

160 sqq. On the subject of these lines see introd. pp. 20–1; animals are turned into men by Prometheus in an extant fable (*Furia* 320). Callim. Fr. 87 may well belong to this Iambus; cf. note on l. 217. At the end of l. 160 *τα προτ*. [ might be read, if it could be combined with what precedes: the letters between *το* (or *τε*) and *τι* are very doubtful.

162. *αυγηών* is an attractive suggestion of W–M, but is not quite satisfactory, the *το* being too cramped. The slight traces preceding are consistent with *δ*: *δικαίον* might also be read. If a faint mark above *ν* of *νε* be regarded as an acute accent the restoration *[κάφ]ός* would become more doubtful, since the accent expected would be a grave on the *ε*.

163. *έρπετών* is essential, though the vestiges are not easily reconciled with a final *ν*. At the end of the line, if *όφελανός* is the right word, W–M's correction *τ(ω)ψθο[λμω* seems necessary, since a *τ(ε)* would be superfluous.

164–6. The construction and sense of this passage are obscure. In l. 164 *ρον* may possibly be *περ*, i.e. another verb; but the remains of the letter after *τον*, though indistinct, do not well suit an *ε*. *ψεο* in l. 166 is clear, but a verb in the second person seems quite out of place, and [...] *ψ* *εις* is also difficult. There is perhaps not more than one letter between *κενος* and *ει*, which is preceded by a vertical stroke: *μεν* e.g. might be read.

168. Perhaps of *[γάρ]* or *οι* [*θε*] *τραγωδοί*: there is hardly room for *οι [μέν]*. *οίκευντων* (W–M) is highly conjectural, the traces after *θαλασσαν* being very faint and ambiguous.

171. Andronicus was presumably a friend to whom the poem was addressed (cf. the *Βράγχος* of Babrius); Callimachus can hardly be supposed to be apostrophizing the tragedian of that name.

171–3. This passage *ταῦτα . . . εὐδέξαντο* is cited without the name of the author by Apollon. Sophist. *s. v. ἄειδε*. Lachmann referred the lines to Babrius, but Schneidevin, *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1845, p. 7, and Ahrens, *De Cras. et Aphaeer.* p. 31, prove to have been right in crediting them to Callimachus; Schneider, *op. cit.* ii. p. 272, expressed no definite opinion. Lachmann and Schneidevin also proposed to add at a short interval another anonymous verse restored from Suidas *s. v. ζώσεν*, *καὶ περὶ τοῦ Αἰσώπου οἱ Δελφοὶ ζώσαν αἴτον κατὰ κρημνοῦ μάκα* (*ζώσαν αἴτον μᾶκα δέλεως κατὰ κρημνοῦ* Schneider, *l. c.*) of which there is no sign here, though the lacuna at l. 177 would be a possible place for it. *σαρδίνηνες* in the papyrus requires emendation. The object of the sign in the margin opposite l. 173 is not clear; it was added or renovated by a later hand.

174. *ἡα*: cf. Eustath. § p. 1759. 27 (*Ηρακλεῖδης*) *λέγει ὡς καὶ ἀναλογώτερον τοῦ ἡα τὸ ἡα, γλώσσης μὲν ὁν Ἀστανῆς, κείμενον δὲ καὶ παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ* (Fr. 342).

175. *έφορμάσθε*: the supposed mark of elision, the *ε* and the *ρ* are all very doubtful, and there is barely room for *[φο]*. There are traces after *θε* which suggest another letter (e.g. *ν* or *ισ*), but this is inconsistent with the accent on the *a*.

179. *αντ* seems to have been accented, but the nature of the accent is very uncertain.

181. *λιστρι*: or conceivably *βιστρι*.

182. *επικεχειρήτα* in the marginal note is an abnormal division, and there are traces of ink after the *ρ*, but perhaps *η* was miswritten at the end of the first line owing to the narrow space and therefore repeated in front of *τ*. It is probable that the margin did not extend farther to the right and that *ρ*, [*ι*] and *ι* were the last letters of ll. 1 and 2. The note may have been continued in one or two more lines.

185. *ωθροτοι* seems to have been intended, though what precisely was written is open to question. *ωπ* is nearly certain, but the supposed deletion and interlinear *ρ* are unsatisfactory. Possibly there are more letters than one above the line. The speaker is perhaps Apollo.

186. *ψηφοις* could be read.

187-9. To what this note refers is obscure. The line with which it was to be connected was no doubt indicated by a marginal symbol (cf. l. 265), and the marks opposite ll. 214-16 may denote its position, though they are at any rate partially in darker ink.

192. *λῶ* : or *δῶ*, perhaps *δδῶ*, which would suit the context. The supposed interlinear iota adscript resembles that noted in l. 97, and might be interpreted as a high stop. At the beginning of the line *κ* may be *χ*, and it is uncertain whether the circumflex accent was intended for the *a* or the next letter, which would then be *ι*, *καῖ*? . *φ*.

193. *καί* in some shape no doubt followed *θῶκε*, but it is useless to restore this without the next word. *κάπανω* might be read.

194. [.]*v* is presumably a participle, e.g. [*ιδώv*], if the subjects of *εἰπεν* and *ηκειν* were identical.

196. The inserted letters may also be read as *αισ* or *ωσ*.

198. *ἀγρηγένται* : the middle form occurs only here apparently.

199. *ἐξεκνημώθη* *ἐξεφύραρη*.

200. The smooth breathing above *η* of *ην* is hardly certain.

201. Only the tip of the supposed accent on *αναριπτειν* remains, and this might be the base of an inserted *ρ* (by a later hand).

202. [.]*ρούτων* : the accent is again uncertain. *ἀστεγαν(ε)ιν* (W-M) suits the remains of the letters, but is unsatisfactory owing to the rough breathing added above the initial letter, which is much more like *α* than *ο*; the termination may be *-νη*.

204. There is perhaps some corruption here. *μαργος* (or *apros*) *ες* might be read, but the preceding letters are then unintelligible, and *i* after *ρ* is more suitable than *y*. There may be two letters between *κο* and *ap*.

210. *π[.]εινέκ[* : or e.g. *το* . [.]*ηνέκ[*.

211-12. At l. 211 begins the narrative of the quarrel between the laurel and the olive. *ἄκον[ε]* . . . *θέσθαι* = Callim. Fr. 93 a, from Ammonius, *De Diff. Vocal.* *αἴνος ἐστι λόγος καὶ ἀνάπτωσιν μυθεῖν ἀπὸ ἀλέγων ζώων ἡ φυτῶν . . . ἀπὸ δὲ φυτῶν, ὡς παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ ἄκονε κτλ.*, and other grammarians and compilers. Bentley was evidently right in attributing to the same poem the quotation in Cod. Oxon. Περὶ τρόπων παιητικῶν, *ἀστείομός . . . παρὰ δὴ Καλλιμάχῳ ἀστείομόν τη ἡ ἀλα φρονίν* ἔγώ φαιδη πάντων τῶν δένδρων εἰμι. Critics have arranged the words in various ways, mostly vitiated by the fault that condemns Schneider's *ἔγώ φαιδη | πάντων . . . τῶν δένδρων εἰμι*, namely the presence of a spondee in the fifth foot. As the papyrus proves, Callimachus in his choliambics consistently avoids this; the version adopted by Schneider of Fr. 98 a is again inadmissible on the same ground. Meineke's *ἔγώ δὲ πάντων εἰμι δενδρέων φαιδη* is metrically sound, but *ἔγώ φαιδη | δένδρων ἀπάντων εἰμι* would be nearer to tradition.

213. W-M's suggestion for the completion of the verse is printed *exempli gratia*. The only objection is the presence over the line between *y* and *a* of a mark which does not suit an accent on *γαρρ* and might be taken to denote an elision, *καὶ γ'*. But that this is its purpose is by no means clear, and unmeaning ink-marks occur a little lower down between ll. 214 and 215; moreover, Callimachus is rather addicted to *καὶ γάρ*: cf. e.g. ll. 104 and 110.

214-15. The papyrus is imperfect and the form of the signs in the margin here is not quite certain. There seem to be three strokes, a vertical one above and a horizontal one below, with something of the nature of a curve between them. Possibly they had a connexion with the adscript at the top of the page.

217. *νέων* δ' *οὖν* or *γοῦν* will not account for the vestiges. *νεόμεθ' οὖν* might be read, but is not satisfactory. Schneider agrees with Meineke that Callim. Fr. 93 should be connected with Fr. 87, in which case the latter three verses, if *φη[σι]* in l. 216 is correct, must have succeeded immediately here. They are

ἢν κενὸς οἰναντός, φ τό τε πτηνόν  
καὶ τοὺν θαλάσσην καὶ τὸ τετράπονον οὔτως  
ἔφθεγγεθ' ὡς ὁ πηλὸς ὁ Προμηθεῖος.

But the first of these lines is not to be identified with l. 217, and, as W-M remarks, the passage may be referred with more probability to the Iambus partially preserved on Fol. 4 verso.

218–239. “... the left white as a snake's belly, the other, which is oft uncovered, burnt by the sun. What house is there where I am not at the door-post? What seer, what offerer of sacrifice does not take me with him? Yea, and the priestess of Pytho has her seat in laurel, of laurel she sings, of laurel makes her couch. O foolish olive, did not Branchus save the sons of the Ionians, when Phœbus was angry with them, by striking them with laurel and saying twice or thrice ...? I go to feasts and to the Pythian choral dance, I am made prize of victory, and the Dorians cut me on the hill-tops at Tempe and carry me to Delphi whene'er the rites of Apollo are celebrated. O foolish olive, I am acquainted with no hurt, nor know I the path of the bier-carrier, for I am pure, nor do men trample me, for I am sacred; but with you whenever they are about to burn a corpse or lay it out for burial they crown themselves and also duly place you beneath the sides of the lifeless body.”

218–19. In l. 218 above the κ of λευκος there is a mark in dark ink like a large sign of elision, with some lighter cross-strokes through it. ως above the first ν of νδραν has been written through a circular mark somewhat like a θ, from the pen of the original scribe; it is perhaps nothing more than a blot.

The reference in these two lines is obscure. It can hardly be to the olive, with regard to which the distinctions of right and left would be inapposite; nor do the olive's leaves or fruit show any such variation of colour as is here indicated. Murray suggests that a person wearing an exomis is meant, perhaps Apollo, who is sometimes so represented. ήλιοςλής is a new compound; the accent was carelessly placed between the π and λ, instead of on the ο.

223. ‘Sings of the laurel’ seems rather strange here, and W-M suggests αἴρει; but it is perhaps best to leave the text as it stands. The δ is clear.

224–7. Cf. Clem. Alex. Strom. v. 8. 48 'Απολλόδωρος δ' Κερκυραῖος τοὺς στίχους τούτους ἵπτο Βράγχοις ἀναφωνθῆναι τοῦ μάρτιος λέγει Μιλάσιος καθαιρόντος ἀπὸ λαικοῦ. ὁ μὲν γάρ ἐπιρραινὼν τὸ πλήθος δάφνης κλάδους προκατήρχετο τοῦ ὕμνου ὥδε πως· μάλπετε, ὦ παιδες, Ἐκάργαν, ἐπέγαλλεν δ' ὡς εἰτέν δ λαΐς· βέδον, ζάρη, χθών, πλήκτρον, σφίγξ· κναξζβίχ, θίπτης (κναξζβίχθιπτης cod. L), φλεγμό, δρώψ. μέμηντα τῆς ιστορίας καὶ Καλλίχαρος ἐν Ἰάρβοις (Fr. 75). In l. 224 the papyrus has οὐσ before βράγχος, but a relative would leave τοὺς δι παιδας suspended, an unlikely anacolouthon. The emendation of οὐς to οὐ and the restoration of ὠργισθη are due to W-M, who in l. 226 further proposes κῆπος οὐ τορὸν κναξζβί (cf. Clem. Alex.), but this does not suit the papyrus. That οὐ is for οὐ (not οὐ) is apparently indicated by the accent, but το is followed by a vertical stroke which is not long enough for ρ and would suit ι, κ, λ, μ, or ν. Above the final letter of the line a later hand has added a curved mark which the printed text reproduces sufficiently nearly: it is not much like a circumflex accent, though possibly ξ̄ might be read; ξ̄ is unsuitable. κῆπος must be right, though the remains of the final

letter suggests ε rather than σ. The sense of the gloss on l. 224 is evident, but its precise form is not very certain; if ἐρώμενος is right the bracketed letters were rather widely spaced. In ελαυ (l. 224) there is an (earlier) accent on α as well as one on η.

230-2. The allusion here is to the Delphic theoria sent every ninth year to Tempe, whence a laurel branch was carried back by a δαφνηφόρος παις. This solemnity commemorated the purification of Apollo at Tempe (cf. l. 232 τῶν δλῶνων ιδά) after killing the Python; see Steph. Byz. p. 223, 12, Plutarch, *Act. Gr.* 12 (293 c), Müller, *Dorians* ii. 1. 2. Apparently the form Τεμόθεν is not otherwise attested. In l. 232 a faint mark above η of επην is probably not to be regarded as a grave accent.

231. ἑσ, as written originally, is the commoner form in the iambists; cf. l. 248.

233. The marginal mark is of the nature of a coronis, which however is not particularly apposite here.

234. The appearance of an acute accent (by the first hand?) on οιδ is possibly due to the rubbing of a badly written circumflex. ὁκ[οιη]ν was restored by W-M, who also aptly refers for οιλαφηφόρος to Hesychius, οιλαφηφορέν νεκροφορέν. There seems to be no justification for the corrector's initial ω: ό+ον = οι, e. g. τοῦνομα, Hdt. κάμπτει is similarly used absolutely e. g. in Eurip. *I. T.* 7. 815 ἔγρύς . . . κάμπτει.

235. οὐ πατεῖσι μ: cf. l. 250. The correction of the dittography is by a later hand.

236. The sign of elision was eliminated by a corrector; the original scribe took the words as σοὶ δ' ἔχο.

238. πλευρά: the penultimate letter looks like a β, but this is probably due to some accident and πλευρά is doubtless the right word.

239. κῆτητάξ W-M, identifying Callim. Fr. 327 αρ. Etym. Magn. 365, 25 ἐπιτάξ: παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ ἐπίρρημα, παρὰ τὸν ἐπιτάξω μελλοντα, and Helladius in Phot. *Bibl.* p. 532. 36 a τὸ ἐπιτάξ παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ καὶ Ἀράτῳ κείμενον . . . ὁ κατ' ἐπίταγμα καὶ κέδεναι πράττει. This is attractive, though the καὶ could well be dispensed with. Πτ may be read in place of Πτ, and εἰσιτητάξ would yield a tolerable sense.

240-59. 'Thus boasting spake she; but nothing daunted the producer of oil repelled her: "O laurel, utterly barren of that which I bear, you have sung like a swan at the end . . . I help to carry to burial the men whom Ares slays and (am laid on the bier) of the heroes who (perish nobly); and when a white-haired grandmother or an aged Tithonus is borne to the grave by their children, I attend them and am laid upon the ground. I . . . more than you for those who bring you from Tempe; nay, even in that matter of which you spoke, am I not also as a prize superior to you, for where is the greater festival, at Olympia or at Delphi? Yes, silence is best! I indeed say nought of you that is either good or ill, but the birds have long been sitting among my leaves unwontedly chattering thus".'

240. αἰχνήνετο: sc. ἔφη: that η = ῃ is less likely. The participial form here was suggested by W-M, to whom also the correction of τηνδ' to την is due. τηνδ' could stand as an internal accusative with e. g. ἀπηρείσθη, but this is precluded by the accented η. η may well be read instead of μ.

241. For ἡ τεκόντα τὸ χρῖμα cf. Callim. Λουρ. Παλλ. 26 χρίματα, τὰς ιδίας ἔκυονα φυγαδίας.

242. The restoration of this verse is largely due to Murray. τόξων is strongly supported by τεκόντα in l. 241, and if τὸν ἔμαν τάκιων be granted, ακ. . . should be some adjective with privative α. The identity of this adjective is the problem. ακ is certain, and the remains of the third letter suggest α or λ, but ακαρπε cannot be read and ακληρε is, to say the least, very unsatisfactory. Another possibility is ακυ, if the ν be supposed to have had as deep a fork as e. g. the first ν of νδρου in l. 218, and of the few available words ακυε would be

consistent with the papyrus. To this, however, there is the serious objection that in Callim. *H. Apoll.* 53 the *v* is short. But in a derivative of *κίνειν* an irregularity of quantity is not incredible; or perhaps ἀκνθύε might be written (cf. Hesych. s. v. κυθνός). The oblique dash in the margin may be presumed to mark the commencement of the speech.

243-4. ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ . . . ἡσσας: i. e. your words are a presage of defeat. W-M thinks that the point of this allusion to the κύκνειον μέλος is the mention by the laurel of funerals, which is accepted as a bad omen.

246. Murray proposes χῦπό τῷ κάρα κείμαι τῷ] τῶν ἀριστέων οἱ καλὸν νέμονος οἴτον. καλὸν *re* might be read, but the remaining vestiges, though very slight, scarcely suit μουσ οἴτον.

248. *εο*: the papyrus is broken, but there would hardly have been room for *eis*.

249. Ταθωόν: cf. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 688 ἄνδρα Ταθωόν σπαράττω.

250. For the accusative τὴν ὁδὸν cf. e. g. Eurip. *I. T.* 620 εἰς ἀνάγκην κείμεθ'. The letters are faint, but do not suit τῆς ὁδοῦ.

251. -ειον followed by γ looks like a comparative, and πλεῖον, though unconvincing, may be right. τὸ δεῖον is a possible reading. The vestiges of the first letter of the line suggest e. g. γ, κ, ν, or τ, and the fourth is probably ε or σ. Murray thought of τελεῦσα πλεῖον, which may give the sense but cannot be read: possibly δὲ πλεῖον.

252. ἀλλ' ἦτοι is doubtfully deciphered and ἀλλά, τῳ which W-M proposes, is not impossible; but if the letter before τ was α, it was unusually upright, and that following τ is more satisfactory as ε than as ο; moreover, there is a faint mark after ἀλλά which may denote an elision. Another mark above αλ might be taken for an accent.

253. κων is better interpreted with W-M as κώς = καὶ ώ than as κώς = πώς. It is hardly necessary to write (χ)ώς: cf. l. 130, &c. With κώς, τοῦτο δεθον might be taken to mean 'in this contest' (cf. the πτώματα of ll. 265 sqq.), but since the reference clearly is to l. 229, to give δεθον one sense there and another here would not be at all satisfactory.

254. There are several blunders in this line: a ν was originally omitted, οὐλυμπην which will not scan was written for οὐλυμπήν, and it also seems evident that ονγων (or -των) is for ὄγων. With these modifications the sentence might pass muster, but there can be no question that W-M's emendation of καὶ to κωδ distinctly improves it—unless, as Murray suggests, we read in l. 254 ἦν, 'always was.' The remains of the γ of γ[ά]ρ are very slight, but with that exception the imperfect letters are fairly clear.

256-9. Cf. ll. 277-8. There is a contrast between ἔγώ and ὥρνθες, as is indicated by the stop inserted by later hand after οὐδεν in l. 257, and ἥρθες must be taken adverbially: 'I neither praise nor blame; it is the birds in my branches which chatter thus.' The olive humorously attributes to the birds its unflattering remarks. An extensive use of the same motive is made in the Vienna fragments of the *Hecale*, where a large part is taken by birds; see Wilamowitz, *Götting. Nachr.*, 1893, pp. 733-6. Above the ο of ορνθες a slightly curved stroke in black ink is unsuitable for an acute accent and is much more like a sign of elision; but οι ὥρνθες should make ούρνθες, and though the space occupied by the ο is somewhat large, ν was certainly not written after it, nor, probably, an ι. τιθνίζονται in l. 258 is the Attic τονθοίζονται (or -ρίζονται), and the difference of spelling here may be due to corruption, though in the case of an onomatopoeic form it is unsafe to assume this. τονθρύζειν and τονθοργεῖν also occur. The adscript written in coarse and indistinct letters at some distance to the right of the line is perhaps a gloss on τιθνίζονται, e. g. some combination with ἔξι, though that would not be very apposite. In l. 259 κωτίλαιον or κωτίλαιον can be read, but it is difficult to find a suitable word to follow in agreement with it; κωτίλ εσ ο(ε) would also serve. A vestige of the letter before εν suggests γ, τ, ρ, or φ. The letters after εν are very uncertain; σν or σαι is possible, but the σ in either case is not at all satisfactory, and the final letter may be σ. Above the line a small δ in black ink is

clear, joined on the left by a horizontal stroke which could well belong to an *ε*; and conceivably a third letter preceded. Another participle is not attractive, though perhaps easiest to reconcile with the remains.

260–80. ‘Who found the laurel? the earth (produced it) just like the ilex, the oak, the galangale, or other timber. Who found the olive? Pallas, when she contended for Acte with him who dwells amid the seaweed, and the man of old who in the lower parts was a snake gave judgement. That is one fall for the laurel. Who of the immortals honours the olive, who the laurel? Apollo the laurel, Pallas her discovery the olive. In this they are even, for I distinguish not between gods. What is the laurel’s fruit? For what shall I use it? Neither eat it nor drink it nor anoint yourself with it! But that of the olive pleases in many ways: it is a morsel for food . . . , and with it as an unguent one may dive as deep as Theseus (?). A second fall I set down to the laurel. Whose is the leaf that suppliants hold forward? The olive’s: for the third and last time is the laurel thrown. Oh, the tireless ones! how they chatter. Shameless crow, does not your beak ache? Whose is the trunk preserved by the Delians? The olive’s, which gave a seat to Leto.’

261 = 265. ὅλην is superior to the marginal variant πεύκην, which spoils the climax. The wavy mark above the *v* is a form of diaeresis.

262–5 = 261–4. These four verses, originally omitted owing to the homoeoarchon *τις . . . ἐλαῖης*, have been subsequently supplied at the top of the page, their position being marked by the symbol in the margin. In l. 262 (261) the corrector has *τις*, but *τις θ'*, as written by the first hand in l. 266, is preferable. At the end of the verse ᾧ[ρ]ζ[ε] is restored with much probability by W–M, who also points out that this is the passage cited in Schol. A on P 54 Ποσειδῶν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ περὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐφιδονέουσαν καὶ Ποσειδῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκροπόλεως τῆς Ἀττικῆς κρύσας τῇ τρυπῇ κίμα θαλάσσης ἐποίειν ἀναδοθῆναι, Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ ἐλαῖαν κρήτης δὲ αὐτῶν γενόμενος Κέκροψ ὁ τῶν τόπων τῆς Ἀττικῆς βασικεὺς τῇ θεῷ προσσινειπτὴν χώραν, εἰπὼν ὅτι θάλασσα μὲν ἔστι πανταχοῦ, τὸ δὲ φύτὸν τῆς ἐλαῖας ὃντων Ἀθηνᾶς. ἡ ἴστορία παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ (Callim. Fr. 384, wrongly referred by Meineke to Λούστρ. Παλλ. 26, by Schneider to *Aet.* i. 4); cf. Apollod. iii. 14. 1, &c. For ὄφις ῥά νέρθεν cf. e. g. Apollod. l.c. Κέκροψ αὐτόχθων, συγνόεις ἔχων σόμα ἀνδρὸς καὶ δράκοντος, Aristoph. *Wasps* 438 ὁ Κέκροψ ἥρως ἀναξ τὰ πρὸς ποδῶν Δρακοντίδη. W–M is obviously right in emending ἀρχαῖος to ἀρχαῖος. The correction of φω to φυ was by a third hand.

267. *v* of εὐρεψ was added by a corrector.

268. ξυνόν Murray. αἴταις is put for ἡμῖν because the birds are supposed to be speaking; cf. ll. 277–8.

271–3. The general sense evidently is that the produce of the olive is good both as food and as an unguent, but a satisfactory restoration is still to be found. In l. 271 there is a slight break in the papyrus in front of the two interlined letters, but if a third had been written it would have probably been partially apparent; underneath this, just below the supposed *σ*, a dot of black ink is visible, perhaps implying a deletion. But in a sentence contrasting the internal and external uses of the olive ζωή, which was apparently originally written, would have a point, while the intention of the corrector is not clear: ἵτω seems unintelligible. μόσταξ may have the sense ‘mouthful’, ‘morsel’, as in I 324, Theocr. xiv. 39; in both of those passages the word is used of birds and so is very appropriate here; cf. l. 277. In l. 273 the employment of oil as an unguent is apparently traced back to Theseus. βαί is followed at a slight interval by a short vertical stroke which may be part of the next letter, e. g. *v*, or possibly a sign of elision, βα'. A verb is expected after ἵπνον, and therefore οἴτα . . .

$\chi\omega$  (or  $\kappa\omega$ ?) is suitable; the alternative is  $\epsilon\nu\pi\ldots\phi$  with a verb supplied from what precedes. The remains rather suggest a  $\phi$  at an interval of one letter from  $\pi$ , and  $\epsilon\nu\epsilon\nu\pi$  is not impossible; but a reference to one of the persons or animals slain by Theseus seems difficult to work in here, especially with the feminine  $\eta\nu$ . Moreover, the letter next to  $\pi$  is more like  $a$  than the succeeding vestiges are like  $\phi$ , and both cannot be read; probably, therefore, the  $\phi$  is to be rejected and if  $\epsilon\nu\pi$  is right the two following letters could well be  $\lambda\tau$ . At the beginning of the line the doubtful  $\nu$  may be  $\mu$  or  $\sigma$ , and above it is a mark like a grave accent. A mention of the  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\kappa\omega\nu\beta\alpha\iota\delta$  (Athen. 56 b) is hardly likely; on the other hand some form or derivative of  $\kappa\omega\nu\beta\alpha\iota\delta$  is not unattractive, and in front of the  $\nu$  there is a tiny vestige visible which, if it is really part of a letter, is quite consistent with  $\lambda$ . Hence it is rather tempting to suppose with Murray that the allusion is to the famous dive of Theseus described in Bacchyl. xvi.  $\iota\omega\tau\iota\pi\kappa\omega\nu\beta\alpha\iota\delta\eta\nu\epsilon\pi\pi\lambda\tau\tau\omega$  would satisfy the palaeographical conditions, but would be excessively harsh: the use of the preposition is abnormal, while if  $\dot{\alpha}\nu$  be emended to  $\eta\nu$ , a verb is still lacking and is not easily supplied; moreover  $\eta\nu\epsilon\pi\pi\lambda\tau\tau\omega$  (*sc.*  $\kappa\omega\nu\beta\alpha\iota\delta\eta\nu$ ) is barely tolerable. Possibly  $\epsilon\ldots$  is a verb governing  $\chi\rho\mu\alpha$ , and  $\kappa\omega\nu\beta\alpha\iota\delta = \kappa\omega\nu\beta\alpha\iota\delta\eta\nu$ ; or perhaps, in the last resort, refuge may be found in the hypothesis of a lacuna in the text.

275-8. This passage was written twice over, and the superfluous four lines were bracketed by a corrector. It may be suspected that the dittography is to be connected with the omission of the four verses at the top of the page. The scribe, or a predecessor, may have been led by the stichometry to notice that he was four lines short, and accordingly may have made up the deficiency by the simple method of repetition. It is difficult to believe that he could write out four whole verses twice in immediate proximity without being aware of the error. There was some slip in l. 275 *a* after  $\gamma\alpha\iota$ .

276.  $\tau\alpha\tau\pi\iota\delta$ : cf. *tria\xi\ew*, Eurip. *Or.* 434 δᾶ τρῶν ἀπόλλυμα, &c.  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\sigma$ , not  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma$ , was originally written.

277.  $\tau\omega\dot{\alpha}\pi\pi\theta\omega\tau\omega$ : *sc.*  $\dot{\alpha}\pi\pi\theta\omega\tau\omega$ ; cf. ll. 256-9. The olive keeps up the fiction that it is the birds who are talking.  $\kappa\omega\lambda\iota\zeta\ew$  is novel. The marginal symbol (by a later hand) opposite this line was perhaps intended to call attention to the dittography.

278. The crow is singled out as the chattering *par excellence*. For  $\chi\iota\lambda\iota\sigma$  of a bird's beak cf. e.g. Eurip. *Ion* 1199.

279-80. Cf. Callim. *H. Del.* 322 πρέμον δδακάσαι ἄγνων ἔλαις χείρας ἀποστρέψαντας, ἡ Δηλίας εὑρέτο νύμφη παγινα κουρίζοντι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι γελαστών.  $\kappa[\alpha\theta\iota\sigma]\iota\delta$  in l. 280 is suggested by W-M; there is room for a slightly longer supplement.  $\lambda$  or  $\nu$  might be read in place of  $\kappa$ , and the breathing on  $\eta$ , though probable, is not certain.

281.  $\eta\iota\iota\iota$ : or  $\tau\iota\iota\iota$ .

282. ...  $\iota\omega\eta$ , if that be the reading, may of course be a single word. ...  $\mu\epsilon\nu\eta$  is unsuitable.

286. It would be desirable to make  $\omega\theta\iota\ldots\epsilon\iota\delta$  parallel to  $\omega\theta\iota\pi\iota\delta\iota\pi\iota\delta$  in the next line, if a verb were forthcoming; but it is difficult to avoid  $\mu\alpha\nu\tau\iota\delta$ , for which support may be found in l. 221.

288. A slight interval is left before the two last letters of  $\delta\alpha\phi\eta\eta\tau$ , probably owing to a flaw in the papyrus; cf. note on l. 119.

290. At the beginning of the line the first hand wrote something like  $\eta\pi\eta\sigma$  or  $\eta\sigma\eta\sigma$ , which the corrector apparently wished to convert into  $\eta\lambda\pi\sigma\sigma$ . W-M, however, points out that δ θυμὸς ηλγῆσε is a rather tautologous expression; moreover ηλγῆσεν is the word which seems best adapted to the remains at the end of the verse, where neither  $\eta\chi\theta\epsilon\sigma\theta\eta$  nor  $\omega\pi\gamma\iota\sigma\theta\eta$  nor  $\pi\pi\sigma\theta\epsilon\pi\eta\iota\sigma\eta\iota\delta$  is suitable. He therefore proposes boldly to restore φδησε, which is provisionally adopted.

291. Perhaps *εἴ κοτ'*, possibly *εἴκοτ'*; but a partial restoration here is useless.

292. This line describes the tree which here intervenes in the discussion. The doubtful σ may be *p*, but *τρηχυ* seems unlikely.

293. *ἄπωθε* is a necessary correction of *απώθεν*.

294. *λειψν* (W-M) is extremely doubtful; it is not clear exactly how far the line extends.

295. *γενομέθεχθραισ* is easily emended; what follows is more open to question. Either *μηδε* or *μη λε* may be read; and the accusative *ἀλλήλας*, if correct, indicates a verb of speaking. W-M proposes *μηδὲ φῶμεν* which, however, is open to the objection that there seems to be no actual use of *φῆμι* in this sense. Hence it is simpler to read *μὴ λέγωμεν*, placing the note of interrogation either after *πανσόμεσθα*, or, to avoid the asyndeton, after *ἔχθραι*. As a matter of fact neither *μηδὲ φῶμεν* nor *μὴ λέγωμεν* are palaeographically quite satisfactory, since the ε is slightly separated from the letter before it; and between them is a faint mark which may represent an elision. *μηδὲ ἐροῦμεν* would be attractive, if the future were admissible here. *οὐ πανσόμεσθα . . . μηδὲ ἐροῦμεν* is logically parallel to e.g. *οὐ σίγ' ἀνέξει μηδὲ δεῖλαν ἀρέι*, but an example of such a construction in the first person is lacking.

296. The letter before *ἄλλα* seems to be a round one, ε, θ, or σ; το is followed by a vertical stroke which would suit e.g. a ν; the final α is very uncertain; the letter preceding may be μ, ν, or λ.

297. *νη* in *δάφνη* is apparently written in the form of a compendium, the second upright of the ν serving as the first of the η.

299. A trace of ink above ε of μι may indicate some interlinear addition; it is not quite in the right place for an elision sign.

299–300. ‘Don’t you prescribe patience to me, as if you were one of us; your very presence chokes me.’ *εὐτέκτος* is unsupported, but seems a possible word in the sense of ‘tolerant’; *εὐτοργός* is unsuitable. There might be another letter in front of the initial ε, which is not quite in a straight line with the beginnings of the preceding verses. A mark of elision should perhaps be recognized above the σ of *γειτονεύο*.

304. The very light vestiges of the last letter are not inconsistent with a φ.

309. *ἀμήλαθον*: *μων* is hardly to be read.

311. *μεχνόν*: W-M suggests the insertion of ν; a tribrach however, though rare, does occur, e.g. Callim. Fr. 86.

313. *πεντάμετρον*: cf. l. 366. The left hand portions of ll. 313–14 are contained on the detached fragment on which the preceding lines 303–12 are written. A crease down the recto proves that the fragment is the upper part of Fol. 6 and also shows its relative vertical position; but it is not certain that the combination with l. ν and *λεποντα* is correct.

321. Cf. Eurip. *Bacch.* 743 *ταῖροι δ' ιθύστατά κάς κέρας θυμούμενοι*, to which passage Callimachus is perhaps satirically alluding.

322. Possibly the supposed γ below the overwritten χ has been crossed through.

325. *βράχιον*, which must be scanned as a disyllable, with the Ionic short ι, is not very satisfactory, especially with τον preceding; but τον need not be the article, and the remains suggest βρα. *βραχιον* is impossible both on account of the following μ, which seems undeniable, and because the verse then becomes too long, even if ερεια, which is very doubtful, is wrong. The appearance of a σ may be caused by a low circumflex accent (though there is no other sure instance of an accent on this leaf); in that case the two next letters might well be ντ, ερ . . . ντ. For *μοιζει* = *μύζει* cf. l. 73, where *χρειαν* may be a corruption of *χρυσαν* through an intermediate *χρουσαν*. The termination is more like ζει than ζον, and *μεζον* would also be an inexact form in this dialect.

329. An elision mark should perhaps be recognized after the κ of *οννεκ*: ν in that word has been rewritten in darker ink. At the end of the line *μηρό* (μηρό?) is possible.

333–5. Lines 334–5 are repeated on the recto ll. 348–9, and l. 333 also begins with the same word as l. 347 while its conclusion apparently coincides with that of l. 345; cf. ll. 275–8 a, where a dittocky of four lines has been cancelled by a corrector. Owing to the imperfect context no reason can be assigned for the present more complex repetition, nor can the right place of the verses be determined. When Callimachus says that choliambic poets should draw their inspiration from Ephesus he is of course again alluding to Hipponax (cf. ll. 92 sqq.), whose native city Ephesus was.

346–7. The combination of *εκ . . . ρ* and *οὐρ' εσ* with what follows is uncertain; cf. note on l. 313.

347–9. Cf. ll. 333–5 and note. Of the latter part of l. 348 only slight vestiges remain, and the central portion of l. 349 would have been undecipherable without the aid of l. 335; but the dittocky is sufficiently evident.

352. Both aspirated and unaspirated perfect forms occur in later Ionic, and *έμπειρακέσσι* may therefore stand. *έμπειλεκέ* is found in three MSS. in Hippocr. ix. 192. This verse offers a pretty certain instance of a tribrach; cf. note on l. 311.

353. *Δωροτί* is a fairly suitable reading, and is a most likely word to be coupled with *Ιαστί*, which was suggested by W-M. *καιολιστί* is not possible.

357. The last letter (*ε*, *θ?*) before the lacuna in the middle of the line has been rewritten or altered in blacker ink. A similar modification has been made in the letter dividing the second and third lacunae in l. 358.

361. The remains after *λ* suggest a *υ*, but this gives no word.

364. It seems difficult to escape *ρέννατ*, with which may be compared Theocr. xxx. 32 *δείμενον*, Herodas vi. 77 *έγχεντα*. *ν* preceding the *ρ* is almost certain.

366. *οὐριδέλι.ό . . .* or *οὐριθέη, σύ . . .* The line ends with a vertical stroke, which would suit e. g. *ι* or *η*.

368. The last word is possibly *γράψαι*, in which case there is a letter between *γ* and the preceding *α*.

369–73. That the detached fragment containing the ends of the lines belongs to this column is shown by the metre, but the number of letters lost in the middle cannot be estimated. Something must be wrong in l. 371.

382. *ηγ*: or *τε*. With *τη* there need not be more than one letter before *ην*.

385. *ημενον* is proposed by W-M. The letters *δολ* have been rewritten in darker ink.

389. Perhaps *άγλασσαρ*, as W-M suggests; but another adjective is also possible.

390. *παιχ[ια]:* cf. l. 395. The form is best left unaltered in view of the occasional interchange of *γ* with *χ* in Ionic; cf. Herodian ii. 252 = Etym. Magn. 151. 39 *ἄρχμενος . . . ὥφελε δὲ ἀργμενος φιλαζαν δὲ τὸ χ δοκεῖ Ιωνικὸν εἶναι, καθὼ καὶ τὸ ἔργυμα ἄρχμα φασίν*. Some examples are collected in Smyth, *Ionic Dialect*, p. 296.

395 sqq. The latter portion of these lines is again on a detached fragment, the position of which is fixed not only by the metre and the appearance of the papyrus, but also by the fact that ll. 400–2 have been to a large extent rewritten, and this renovation is carried out at the ends of the corresponding lines of the fragment. The width of the gap, however, cannot be measured.

401. *γνην*: or *γνον η?*

404–7. There can be no doubt, owing to the appearance of the papyrus, that the small fragment containing the letters *λα* &c. from the bottom of a column is to be placed here, though its relative distance from what precedes and follows is uncertain. It cannot be joined up so as to read *πάντα καὶ [in l. 404.*

406. There are some traces of ink above the line in front of *ψει*.

408. *ηγέσ* is the Callimachean form, but *ναός* occurs in some Ionic inscriptions and so

may be admissible.  $\mu[\epsilon]\lambda\omega\nu$  would be a possible reading, which it might be easier to combine with the following letters; but since, as l. 409 shows (unless  $\omega\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$  there is an error for  $\alpha\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$ ), there is a loss of two syllables at the beginning of the verse,  $\mu[\epsilon]\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$  would not be metrical.

420-1. W-M points out the parallel in these two lines to Hdt. iii. 102 ἐν δὴ ὅν τῇ ἔρμητι τάντῃ καὶ τῇ ψάμφῳ γίνονται μύρμικες μεγάθεα ἔχοντος κυνῶν μὲν ἐλάσσονα, ἀλιστέκων δὲ μέζονα . . . οὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ μύρμικες ποιεύμενοι οὐκέτου ὑπὸ γῆν ἀναφορέοντι τὴν ψάμφων . . . ή δὲ ψάμμος ἡ ἀναφερομένη ἔστι χρωτίς. For another probable reminiscence of Herodotus cf. Callim. Fr. 209.

425.  $\pi\omega\lambda$  might be read instead of  $\pi\omega\omega$ .

427. Cf. note on Frs. 2-8.

429. Cf. Soph. Fr. 868 χρόνος δ' ἀμαυροῖ πάντα.

Fr. 1. This fragment from the top of a leaf very likely belongs to Fol. 6; Fol. 7 is excluded by a difference in the width of the upper margin.

Frs. 2-8 are likely to come from either Fol. 6 or Fol. 7, and Frs. 6 and 8 almost certainly do so. The former might be placed so that  $\nu\eta\sigma\omega\nu$  immediately precedes  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\omega\nu$  in l. 427; the second line of the recto would then coincide with l. 387, but though there are several alternatives to  $\lambda\omega\nu$ , a suitable combination at that point has not been established. Fr. 8 might be turned the other way up and l. 1 of the recto (which will then be l. 2) read as ].  $\omega\theta\cdot$ . The letters of l. 1 of Fr. 7 have been renovated in black ink, and in l. 1 of Fr. 3 also there was some addition by a later hand.

Fr. 13. The recto possibly gives beginnings of lines.

Fr. 15. The fragment should perhaps not be included here but referred to some other MS. The ink and the spacing of the lines is similar, but the letters are somewhat smaller and their formation in one or two cases looks different.

#### 1012. TREATISE ON LITERARY COMPOSITION.

Height 33.5 cm. Third century. Plate IV (Frs. 1-3).

The following fairly extensive fragments of a prose treatise of the Roman period proceed from the same large literary find to which we owe 841-4, 852-3, and, in the present volume, also 1016-17. How precisely the subject of the treatise is to be defined is not immediately clear. There is a considerable diversity of topics: an analysis of the characteristics of Lysias (A), observations on systems of Ethics (B), a collection of instances of omission and suppression of names or facts in various prose-writers (C), criticism of 'the orators' for belittling the achievements of Philip (D), censure of the diction of Xenophon (F), a list of words having double meanings, which in Attic, though not elsewhere, were distinguished by different accents, and of other 'Atticisms' and 'Hellenisms' (G). This variety might be explained by supposing the work to be of the nature

of a commentary, but if so, this could hardly fail to be more obvious, and the view does not seem tenable. At first sight, indeed, ἀληθές and ἀχρέον in Fr. 16. 3 and 14 might be taken for lemmata; but it is hardly conceivable that ἄγροικος, ἀληθές, and ἀχρέον, all exemplifying the peculiar Attic accentuation, actually occurred in juxtaposition in some book, and the following fragment shows clearly that the writer was simply collecting Atticisms. Indentation of lines such as that in Frs. 21-2 is no doubt a usual feature in scholia (cf. e.g. 853 or the Berlin Didymus); but quotations of any kind and not only lemmata for comment were thus distinguished, and the nature of the small fragments in question is too doubtful for them to be taken as the basis of an argument. There is no real indication that the remains are not those of a connected treatise. Its scope would be more evident if the upper part of Fr. 1. Col. ii were in better preservation; when, however, the writer there declares his intention of considering what books (or parts of books) were good, and lays down that δ λόγος has four divisions (ll. 5 sqq.; cf. Fr. 13. 26 sqq.), the most natural conclusion is that he was a literary critic, and that his treatise related in a general way to composition or style, more particularly (though not exclusively; cf. Frs. 18 and 23) in prose, and perhaps with predominant reference to oratory. Discursive-ness is natural with such a theme; and the technical linguistic discussions of Frs. 14-17 are quite in keeping with it.

With regard to the author, his date at any rate can be fixed within tolerably narrow limits. He refers to Didymus of Alexandria and probably to Caecilius Calactinus (Fr. 13. 24-5), who both flourished at about the beginning of the Christian era; on the other hand, the manuscript is hardly later than the middle of the third century (see below). Hence the two termini for the date of composition are approximately A.D. 50 and 200. Of his qualities, these disconnected fragments scarcely provide the material for a fair estimate. He was sufficiently familiar with the classics, judging from the frequent references and citations, which include, besides the writers just mentioned, Herodotus (Fr. 9. ii. 56), Thucydides (Frs. 5. 3, 9. ii. 23, 36 sqq. iii. 37), Xenophon, *Hellenica* and *Agesilaus* (Fr. 14. 3, 9), Theopompus, *Philippica* (Fr. 9. ii. 13), Lysias (Fr. 1. ii. 20), Demosthenes, *In Androt.* &c. (Frs. 1. ii. 36, 9. ii. 20, iii. 46, 13. ii. 17), Aeschines, *In Timarch.* (Fr. 9. ii. 6, 14), 'The orators' (Fr. 11. ii. 4), Theophrastus, Περὶ κατρῶν (Fr. 9. ii. 27), Heraclides Ponticus (Fr. 9. ii. 1), Aristippus (Fr. 6. 13), Epicurus (? Fr. 6. 11), Aristophanes (Fr. 23. 3), and another comedian (Fr. 9. ii. 3); and he shows good knowledge of detail (cf. e.g. notes on Fr. 9. ii. 6-7 and 14-22). Some inaccuracies in names (Fr. 9. ii. 43, 51, 55) are no doubt copyists' errors. His brief estimate of Lysias is judicious, recalling the criticism of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, of which it might almost be a summary (cf. Fr. 1.

ii. 20 sqq. and note); he had a correct appreciation of the greatness of Philip; and his remarks on Xenophon's vocabulary, so far as they can be followed, seem not unjustifiable. Modern critics too have fallen foul of πολυταπεράτας. There is then some reason to regret that the treatise has been recovered in such poor preservation.

Its fragments, which originally amounted to over one hundred, have been reduced by combination to nearly half that number; but efforts to find a connexion between the larger resulting pieces, designated by the letters A to G, have been unsuccessful. A roll of which the recto was already occupied by a cursive document was used, the writing proceeding in the contrary direction, i. e. the beginning of one text corresponding with the conclusion of the other. That on the recto is an official account, portions of which are printed under 1045, dating from the reign of Septimius Severus, and apparently after his thirteenth year. The literary text on the verso is therefore subsequent to A.D. 204-5, while from the character of the handwriting it would be placed at no great distance from that date. It is written in tall columns in a medium-sized sloping hand, an elegant, and to all appearance by no means a late example of the oval type so frequently met with. A period of from thirty to fifty years will be sufficient to allow for the recto to become antiquated and useless, and the conditions will thus be well satisfied if the manuscript on the back be assigned to about the middle of the third century. Lectional marks are scanty. There are no stops, but the more important pauses are denoted by paragraphi, sometimes accompanied by a blank space in the body of the text (Fr. 13. 26). A single instance of an accent apparently occurs (Fr. 13. 32), though not, where it would be most expected, in Frs. 16-17, where accentual differences are under discussion. The usual angular sign, which here not seldom assumes the shape of a comma, is used to fill the shorter lines, but with little consistency, and the ends of the lines are rather ragged; with regard to their beginnings also the scribe was somewhat irregular, gradually advancing to the left and so giving his columns a considerable slope to the right. His occasional errors in copying have remained uncorrected.

In default of any clear indications regarding the relative position of the main fragments, the arrangement adopted below is more or less arbitrary. A, which is much worm-eaten, is placed first on the strength of Col. ii, part of which seems to be of an introductory character; but, of course, this may be merely the introduction of a fresh section, especially as analogous language occurs in Fr. 13. 26 sqq., which cannot be brought into close connexion with A. On the recto of A is part of an official letter in the same hand as the account, to which it presumably refers; cf. 1045. B, like A, has been damaged by worms, and possibly its first column is the bottom of A Col. iii; the recto contains only

a few letters, but these so far as they go suit that supposition. The third portion, C, is the largest that has survived, including one nearly complete column; on the recto of this are beginnings of lines from the account: cf. 1045. D consists of two small pieces, more decayed than the rest; it has been put next to C because, like Col. iii of the latter, it relates to Philip; but the recto is inconsistent with the hypothesis that Fr. 11 Col. ii is the top of C, Col. iii. E and F are two narrow strips, the former containing remains of two columns, the latter ends of lines from another. The shape of the upper part of Fr. 13, which resembles that of C, renders it likely that this fragment comes from near the top of a column. F, on the other hand, is not improbably from near the bottom. On the recto of both there are slight remains of a few lines, some of which in each case seem to be of the nature of headings or correspondence. The linguistic criticism of F smooths the transition to G (Frs. 16–17), the technical details of which may be suitably reserved for the final place. Fr. 17 probably succeeds Fr. 16, and perhaps belongs to the latter's second column. The recto of Fr. 16 contains a few letters from the tops of two columns, of which the second at any rate shows the same formula as the recto of C. In shape, the left-hand side of this fragment is similar to the upper portion of C and of Fr. 13. Perhaps A, on the strength of the contents of the recto, should be placed at the end instead of the beginning, and E and F be grouped along with that section.

## A (Frs. 1–5). Plate IV.

Fr. 1. Col. i.

Col. ii.

[. .] . ν<sub>1</sub>  
 α . [.].ιω[. . . . .]τω . [  
 π[. .]πο[. . . . .] . αρχα[  
 μεγος [ . . . . .]ιδει[  
 5 τινα τρο[πον . . .] . σ ευ και[ι και  
 κως εχοντα των βιβλιων [τα μεν  
 ουν ευ εχοντα επισκεπτεον τι  
 να εστιν τα [μ]ερη του λογου ευ  
 προθεμεν[οις ε]στ[i]ν δε τε[τ]τα  
 10 ρα κατα [. .]ν[. . . . .]ου[. . . . .]  
 εν μερ[ ] . λαγ[ (Fr. 2)  
 [.].εδει κα[ ]υς δεικ[

[.]ειοισ[  
 ητο[. . .]α[  
 15 ο καιρος ο πρ[  
 τοις προσωπ[οις  
 τουτο[.]σ ανα[  
 [.]. ην ε[.]πα[  
 [.].μενο[.]σ [.].ε . κε . [. . . .] . [.].ν[.  
 20 ον μαλιστα πεφρο[τ]ικεναι Λυ  
 σιας [τω]ν ρητορων [κ]α[ι γ]αρ της  
 αποδ[ει]ξεως των πραγματων  
 [ευπορει] μητε πα[ρ]αλιτ[ων] τι των  
 [χρησιμ]ων μη[τ]ε περιττο[ν] . [.]  
 ]αι  
 ]]  
 ]π[. .  
 ]ο[. .  
 5 ] . .  
 ] αλλη  
 ]νει >  
 (?) τα]ραχον  
 ]σι . [. .]  
 10 μεν  
 ]]  
 30 ακρωμενους κριτας η δικαστας  
 πρεπον εν πασι τηρων και του  
 μετρου μαλιστα φροντιζει και  
 [ουτ]ο[σ] των ρητορων σχεδον  
 [παν]των πιθανωτατος ως δυσ  
 35 [μειμ]ητοτατος εστι [και] βουλο  
 [μεν]ος καθαπτερ κ[αι] ο Δημο]σθε  
 [νησ] εν τοις π[λ]εισ[τοις . . .]σ[.  
 [. . . .]μ . [.]. και[

Fr. 1, Fr. 3.

Col. iii. Plate IV.

.]πο[	ε[
,] των προοι[μιων	γο[
π]ρολαβων . [	[
[. . .] εστιν [	25 . [
πι (?)	

5 θανη και εικ[	ηι
μα εξενην[εγκ	γι
κον η παρε[	κ[
αλελυμενον [	· [
κριτικον ηλ[	30 [
10 [.].ρτων διηγ[	[
[.].τον πασχη [	φ[
[α]ρμοζο[. .] . [	.] . [
[. .]στα γ[α]ρ [	δ[
[. . .] παρα[	35 [.] . [
15 [. . . .]σκ[	τ[
5 lines lost	αν[
21 χ[	..

Fr. 4.

[.] . [  
 . . .] . ναλ[. . .] . [  
 . . .]να τον ρητ[ορος  
 . . νες δια πολ[  
 ]. . [

Fr. 5.

]κ[  
 ]μετ[  
 Θ]ουκν[διδ  
 ]εθ . [

B (Fr. 6-8).

Col. ii.

[.] . | Fr. 7.  
 αντα  
 κα[  
 αρ[

Col. i.

]ους ελ

5 . [ Fr. 8.  
 ον[

	δ]οξα[.] γι[. .]	αλλ[
	]γ και περι νο	το ρ[
	] κατα τον βιον	μ . [
5	] ε[ι]ναι λεγοντες	ιο ξυ[
	] πρασ ο κ[ω]λυομε	υβ[ρ
νος	] . μην υλην	π . [
	ε]ιναι δειν . [.	.
	] ν οιδεγ ηχ[.	λ[
10	] θεους οντα[ς	ο[
	] ειν ως Επι	ι5 ξυ[
κουρος (?)	] ηδονην τελος	τε[
	ειναι λ]εγοντες ως Αριστιπ	α[

C (Fr. 9).

Col. i.

Col. ii.

[ο Ποντικ]ος δε Ηρα[κλειδης	
[. . . . . λ]εγει Λακ[. . . . .	
[. . . . .]ς ο κωμ[ικος . . . . .	
[. . . . .]ων και δ[. . . . .	
5 [. . . . .]εντελεσ[. . . . .	
[. . . . .] ειπων το ον[υμα της εν	
[τη] Ιμερα [ι]ερεια[ς . . . . .	
[. . .] ρηθηναι πα[λιν δε των πο	
[τ]ε παρα Φιλιππο[ν εις Αθηνας	
ιο πρεσβευταντων [ουκ ειρηκε	
τα ονοματα ησαν δε Αντιπατρος	
και Παρμενιων κ[αι Ευρυλοχος	
ως ιστορει Θεοπομ[πος εν τη	
ε[κ]τη των Φιλιππ[ικων Αισχι	
15 ]ο νης δε το κατα γρ[αμματειον	
πορνευσαντος ονομ[α ουκ ηγνο	

ησε μεν ωκυησε δε [εξειπειν λε  
 γων ειναι αυτο[ν τ]ων π[επολι  
 τευμενων ην δε Αγδ[ροτιων ως  
 5 ]ολ  
 ] 20 [Δημοσθενης δηλοι [ειγ [τω κατα  
 | [Αν]δροτιωνος κατα γραμματε[ι  
 | on αυτον λεγων πεπορνευκεναι  
 | πραγματα δε ως Θουκυδιδης ει  
 10 ν πων γαρ οτ[ι] Θεμιστοκλης ηκεν  
 |  
 . . . 25 εις Κερκυρ[α]ν φευγων οτ[ι η]ν αν  
 τω[ν] ει[εργε]της την ενεργεσιαν  
 [ουκ ειπε ταν]την Θεοφραστος  
 [δε εν τοις περ]ι καιρων φησ[ι] δια  
 [φοραν εχειν τοις Κερκυραι[ο]ν  
 30 [Κορινθιοις] και διαιτητην γε  
 [νομεν]ον κρειναι αποδον  
 γ[αι] Κ]ερκυρ[α]ιοις τον Κορινθι  
 σ[ν δη]μον εικοσι ταλαντα [ . . .  
 δι[. . . . .] + [. . . . .] + [. . .  
 35 [ γα[ρ . . . . .]ρ[. . .]π[.] την  
 συμμαχιαν πολιησ[ας κα]ταριθμου  
 μενο[ν] οσα] Αθηνα[ιο]ν ενεργε  
 τησαν Σαμ[ι]ους κολασθηναι ψη  
 40 φισαμενοι κ[αι] προς Αιγινηταις  
 πολεμουσ[ι] ν[α]υς παρασχ[ο]ντες  
 την μεγιστην ενεργεσιαν ου  
 κ ειπεν οτι Κλεομενος Ιππι  
 αν τον τυραννον καταγαγον  
 45 τος εις Αθηνας παλιν Κορινθι  
 οι περι το Θριασιον ηδη Λακεδαι  
 μονιων οντων πρωτοι των  
 συμμαχων αποσταντε[ς] αιτιοι  
 εγενοντο του διαλυθηναι την  
 50 στρατειαν και μη καταχθηναι

τον Ἰππιαν καὶ οτι εν Δακεδαι  
μονι των Π[ι]σιστρατιδων κα  
ταχθηναι δεομενων και Κλε  
ομενους σ[υ]ναγορευοντος αν  
55 τοις αντειπε Σωκλης ο Κοριν  
θιος ως ιστορει Ηροδοτος αντι

## Col. iii.

23 lines lost	40 της Ατ[τικης]
ξ[	εστι δ[
25 α[	την π[
π[	μετα[
κατ[	φικομ[εν
η εορ[τη	45 ται κα[
κησ . [	τη των [
30 επιτ[	νης δ[
Ολυμ[π	Φιλιππ[
νης τ[	πειν τ[
[	50 επαθε[
[	οφθαλμ[ον περι την Μεθωνης πο
35 γ[.] . . [	λιορκια[ν
λεγων [	την δε κ[λειν εν Ιλλυριος λογ
ως Θο[νκυδιδης (?)	χη πληγε[ις τον δε μηρον εν Τρι
σας γα[ρ	55 βαλλοις [
Φρυγ[	

## D (Frs. 10-11).

Fr. 10.

## Col. i.

]  
]ν  
ηρουν

## Col. ii.

φ[  
δε . |  
χερ[

] ρ 5	οι εἰσιν ε διαρρά].[.]	νη[ φυλαξ λομι[ .
] · · · ·		.

Fr. II.

Col. ii.

Col. i

..... β[...] .  
[...] λε[...] . [.] δ[...] μεις κα[...] .  
[...] ιος πεπραγμενων κ[...] .  
[μ]εινων ιπέρ οι ρητορες πε[ποι]  
5 ηκασιν διαβαλλοντες Φιλιπ  
πον πραξαι ρα[δια] παντα φα[ν]  
τες αυτον δωρο[δι]οκιαις και επ[ι]  
ορκιαις κ[αι] απ[αταις και] ουκ α[ν]  
δρεια χρω[μενον]  
10 ου φρονο[υντες  
σιαν λαθ[...] .  
χθροις ο δ[...] ε  
πολεις αιντ  
· [.] . [.] νας κ[ι]

E (Frs. 12-13).

Col. i.

Col. ii.

FIG. 13.

τη[  
πο[  
εξ .

παρ[  
 5 γμα[  
 τον [  
 νον β[  
 η ετερα[  
 τους φ[  
 10 προσφ[  
 ταλω δε[  
 Σικελιας [  
 δε μετασ[  
 πον και δ . [ κα  
 15 τηγ]ορει δια[  
 [. . .]ρατουσ[  
 20 ]ε [. Δημοσθεν[  
 ]ν [. . .]ημε[  
 [  
 [. . . . .] . [  
 γραφ[οντε]ς τε ρ[  
 ειρημενον . [ πε  
 ρι την ευχην [ Καικι  
 25 λιος και Διδυμος εν τοις περι Δη  
 μοσθενους [ ε  
 καστον βιβλιο[ν  
 το ειρημενο[ν  
 εστιν η αλογο[  
 30 εξω και ει αληθ  
 μονωτινι ε[  
 τισι και πότε [  
 [. .] ετεροις ειρη[η  
 [. . .]ο[. . .]τεροιγ[  
 35 [. . . . .]ος δε[  
 [. . . . .]ηγ[  
 . . . . .

## F (Fr. 14-15).

		[τ	]α ομο[ι]α καιτοι εν
		] . [	]α εστιν περισ . [.
		]αι	]α γεινεται οτ[. . .
	5	Ξε]νοφων 20	] και εξω του[. . .
		]ας το	]υ η δια το π[. . .
		]ασταν	ο]ταν κεκλα[σμε
		]γηερω [ν	π]ειπτειν τρα[χει
	10	]λε τις [α	] συνθεσις η[. . .
		]πε > 25	]§ εχουσα οια[. . .
		]αι Ξ[ε]νοφ[ων] νο >	]ν τω συντ[θ .
		]να και τα τ[. . . .]	(?) λ]ειοτητος αι[. . .
		]ροις και πολ[υ]επαι	(?) συγ]κρονοντα π[. . .
		[νετωτατος εν Α]γησιλαω και εν τη	]ομε[
		[πρωτη των Ελληνικων αιτια	Fr. 15. . . .
		[ζεται και αιτε]αδομενος ημαρ	30 ]ον[
	15	[τηκεν και αλλ]α τοιαυτα δοκει λι	(?) συν]τιθεναι [. . .
		[αν (?)]ι πολειτης πολει	(?) με]τροις υπ[. . .

## G (Fr. 16-17).

Fr. 16.

Col. i.

[. . . . . .]ον αγροικος προσπερι	
[σπωμενω]σ οι Ελληνες τον ιδιω	
[την ομοι]ωσ αληθες ομοιωσ και	
[διττα] δυναμεις εχει παρα τοις	
5 [Αττικοι]ς τω δε τον διαστελεται	
[το σημ]αινομενον οταν μεν >	
[γαρ συγ]κατατιθηται τοις υπο των	
λεγομενοις αληθες ερει ως σαφεις	
οταν δε κατ ερωτησιν προφε	
10 ρητ[α]ι τοτε τοξυτατονως την πρω	

[την εἶχοισε συλλαβήν αλῆθες  
[ως ε]λήθεις οι γε μην Ἑλληνες  
[ομοι]ως ειωθασιν λεγειν αλῆθες  
[ως σα]φες αχρειον και τουτο  
15 [φαστ]ην δίττως οι Αττικο[ι] αχρειον  
με[ν β]αρυτονως προφερομενοι  
ως α[ι..]ρειον τον αχρηστον αχρει  
[ον δε] προπερ[ισπωμενως] τον  
[. . .] . ον οι [δε] Ἑλληνες ομοι]ως [

Fr. 17 (to Fr. 16, Col. ii?).

	$\ddot{\alpha} \cdot [.] \cdot [$
	$E\lambda\lambda\eta]_{\mu[\iota]\sigma\mu\sigma}$ [
	$] \cdot [.] \nu \quad A\tau\tau i k o v$ [
	$] \varepsilon \sigma i v \quad E\lambda\lambda\eta \bar{e}$ [
5	$A\tau\tau i k o v$ [
	$E\lambda\lambda] \eta \iota \sigma \mu \bar{o}$ [
	$\nu \quad A\tau\tau i k o v$
	$] \quad E\lambda\lambda\eta \bar{e} \iota \sigma \mu \bar{o}$
	$A\tau\tau i k o v$ [

Fr. 18.

ειν των εν τοις βιβλι  
οις ]ν και η των ποιημα  
των ]. πολὺ εχου  
σα ]νον και το [.....  
επικαλυπτ[. ....  
αληθη κακ[

Fr. 19.

γε[	]ρε[ .
σιν[	σ]κεψεσ[
μοσ[	]τρεψ[.
παρ[	γ]εινωσκο
5 επα[	5 ]ι δε της
φην[	α]γαγνω
σεις κ[	]τοι των
δυι[	]καιν και
ο ταγ[τ	λχειρω[. .
10	τ]υγχα[ν . .

Fr. 20.

Fr. 21-2.

. . . ]α[
]δει βρ[
] μακρα[
] και τα[
5 παρα[
τω . [
τρο[
]ι γαρ κ[
]ιστ[

Fr. 23.

Fr. 24.

Fr. 25.

]ρ[	]ρονος ειρη[	]δ[
]α λεγομενα ω[	]αι ετεροις α[	] . . ον[
]σ και Αριστοφαν[ης	]ων αυτων ε[ρ]ηθ[η	]υτον . [
]ου πεποιηκε γα[ρ		]α . [ . . [
5 ε]μφα[		

Fr. 26.

Fr. 27.

Fr. 28.

Fr. 29.

]π[	]ολ[	]νε[	]ε . [
]υτοι[	]αι . συν[	]ρ[.] . [	]πρ[
]μεν[	δ]ιπλα γρ[	] . ρον[	]ναι[
]δηλ[	] γυνα[ικ	]γω . [	]θε[
5 ]υ υπο[	5 ]απερ[	5 ]αστ[	.
]τοισ[	]στων[	]. [	Fr. 30.
σν]κοφ[αντ (?)	]σκ[	.	.
]νε[	]σ[	.	]. ελ[

	]πι[		]π . . . [
			]βε[
Fr. 31.		Fr. 32.	Fr. 33.
			Fr. 34.
] $\nu\omega\rho$ [ . ] $\gamma$ [	] $\nu$ $\mu$ [	] $\eta$ [	] $\psi\epsilon\nu\delta$ [
] $\rho\eta\tau\omega\rho$ [	$\rho\eta$ ] $\tau\omega\omega\tau$ [	] $\eta\tau\omega$ [	] $\phi\alpha\nu\epsilon\tau$ [ <i>ai</i>
] $\cdot$ [ <i>g</i> ]	] $\cdot$ [ <i>g</i> ]	] $\lambda$ [ <i>g</i>	] $\tau\alpha\pi\alpha$ [
Fr. 35.		Fr. 36.	Fr. 37.
			Fr. 38.
] $\nu$ [	] $\theta\omega\eta$ [	] $\nu\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ [	] $\epsilon\nu$ [
] $\alpha\omega\rho$ [ $\theta$	] $\nu$ $\mu$ [	] $\sigma\gamma\epsilon\tau$ [	] $\nu$ [
] $\nu\epsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha$ [	] $\alpha\sigma\tau\nu$ [	] $\sigma\tau\epsilon$ [	] $\tau\alpha$
] $\pi\epsilon\rho$ [ <i>•</i> . [ <i>g</i> ]	] $\nu\omega$ [ <i>g</i>	] $\cdot$ [ <i>g</i> ]	] $\tau\alpha$
5] $\pi$ ] $\epsilon\rho$ $\tau\omega$ [ <i>v</i>	5] $\cdot$ [ <i>g</i> ]		5] $\cdot$ [ <i>g</i> ]
] $\eta$ [ <i>g</i>			
Fr. 39.		Fr. 40.	Fr. 41.
			Fr. 42.
] $\cdot$ [ <i>g</i> ]	] $\cdot$ $\iota\sigma$ [ <i>g</i>	] $\tau$ $\cdot$ [ <i>g</i> ]	] $\sigma\alpha\sigma$ δ[ <i>g</i>
] $\alpha\omega\alpha\gamma\gamma$ [ <i>g</i>	] $\epsilon\iota\alpha$ [ <i>g</i>	] $\kappa$ [ <i>g</i>	] $\cdot$ $\tau\omega$ [ <i>g</i>
] $\pi\rho$ [ <i>g</i>	] $\epsilon\iota\tau$ [ <i>g</i>	] $\mu$ [ <i>g</i>	] $\kappa\epsilon$ [ <i>g</i>
] $\cdot$ [ <i>g</i> ]	] $\omega\mu$ [ <i>g</i>	] $\nu\epsilon$ [ <i>g</i>	] $\cdot$ [ <i>g</i> ]
Fr. 43.		Fr. 44.	Fr. 45.
			Fr. 46.
] $\rho\omega\varsigma$	] $\cdot$ [ <i>g</i> ]	] $\sigma$ [ <i>g</i>	] $\cdot$ [ <i>g</i> ]

Fr. 47.	Fr. 48.	Fr. 49.	Fr. 50.	Fr. 51.
]ωστ ] . φ[	]παρ[ ] . μ[	]οντ[ ]σα[	]θιδ[ ] . σ[	.
.	.	.	.	.
]	ν . η ν β[	ετ[	τα[	νη[
]	οντ παρατ . [	δει[	ει[	στ[
.	.	.	.	.
Fr. 52.	Fr. 53.	Fr. 54.	Fr. 55.	.
]	]. . δ[	σ[	]	.
βε[	μβαν[	ην[	λ[	.
]. [	.	.	.	.
.	.	.	.	.
Fr. 56.	Fr. 57.	Fr. 58.	Fr. 59.	.
]	υτα[	ων[	ω.ατ[	.
]	.	.	.	.
.	.	.	.	.

Fr. 1. ii. 5 sqq. Cf. introd. p. 84. It is not clear what exactly is meant by *τον λέγον* in l. 8. According to Aristotle, *Rhet.* iii. 13, the usual parts of a δικαικός λόγος were προοίμιον, πρόθεσις, πίστις, and ἐπίλογος, and similar distinctions are made by later writers; but though προοίμια are mentioned in iii. 2, the remains of ll. 10 sqq. here, even if Fr. 2 is wrongly placed (cf. the next note), do not lend themselves to terms of that kind, and the λόγον would appear to be of a more general character.

11-18. That Fr. 2, containing parts of 8 lines from ]. λαγ[ to ]ασατ[ , is to be assigned to this position is very uncertain. The appearance of the papyrus on both sides is suitable, and moreover, on the recto, if the fragment be placed approximately as suggested, the word παρατιθεται results. In l. 16 the doubtful ν may be αι, and ll. 15-17 could be restored ο καρος ο πρεπων (Wilamowitz) κατ το πρεπων τοις προσωποις και τεις ηθεσι (?) τοντοις. But the combination remains unconvincing.

18-19. It is not certain that any letter is lost between ε and π of ε.πα or between ο and σ of νο.κ.

20-35.<sup>24</sup> And of this, Lysias among the orators seems to have been especially careful. For he excels in the exposition of facts, neither omitting anything of value nor adding anything superfluous, but ever on the watch for the right occasion adjusts his words to the characters of the speakers and the audience, and observing always propriety towards his opponents and the judges or jury who are hearing him he above all aims at moderation; he is at once the most persuasive of almost all the orators and the most difficult to imitate.<sup>25</sup>

20 sqq. This characterization of the method of Lysias is to be compared with the criticism of Dionysius of Halicarnassus in the *De Vet. Orat.*, *Lys.* §§ 4-10, where very similar phraseology is used; cf. 5 τοσίους δει τῶν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον τι λέγειν, ὅστις καὶ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν χρηστίων ἀν ἐδειε παραληπεῖν, 7 κράτιστος γάρ δὴ πάντων ἔγενετο ρήτορων . . . τὰ προσκόντα ἑκάστους ἀποδίναι πάθη τε καὶ ἥθη καὶ ἔργα, 8 τίνι λέξιν ἀποδίδωσι τοῖς ἡθεσιν οἰκείαιν, 9 τὸ πρέπον ἔχειν τὴν Λυσίου λέξιν . . . πρὸς τε τὸν λέγοντα καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀκούοντα καὶ πρὸς τὸ πράγμα . . . ἀρκούντως ἡρωαστέρην, 10 ὦδεις ἔστιν ἢ σίχι . . . ὄμολογεῖ πάντων ἡρώων αἵτοις εἶναι πεθανώταν. Photius, *Bibl.* 262, speaks of Lysias' σαφεία εὖ τοῖς πράγμασι, but otherwise his remarks have little in common with Dionysius and our author. In ll. 20-1, if *ον* is the relative, δοκεῖ has to be supplied, unless Λυσίας is a mistake for Λυσιαν.

23. [υνοπε] Wilamowitz.

24. Probably περιττό[ρ] τ[ι], but only the smallest vestige is visible at the end of the line.

25. Some such participle as [επαγγ]ων or [εμβαλ]ων is to be restored. φροῖρων is not very satisfactory, but suits the remains better than φυλατ[ρων], for which there is hardly room.

33. [ον].<sup>26</sup>: the broken letter seems to be ο rather than ω.

34. ω may be an error for ό, as Wilamowitz suggests, or <ω> ω might be restored.

iii. 1-3. These three lines are on a detached fragment (3), but its position here is strongly favoured by the peculiar colouring of the papyrus.

10. Possibly [γα]ρ τῶν διηγησοντων. The ρ is immediately under that in the previous line, so that only one letter would be expected in front of it, but the scribe has a tendency to advance the lines to the left as the column proceeds.

11. ο of ]ρων is very doubtful and γυ could well be read, but [αο]τυ seems unlikely, and there would not be room for [πλαο]γυ, and it would be difficult to find an alternative.

Frs. 4-5. The attribution of these two small fragments to Fr. 1. iii is suggested by the occurrence on the recto of a junction between two selides, also found in Col. iii. If Fr. 4 belongs to the column, not more than two or three letters are lost at the beginnings of ll. 2-4; in the case of Fr. 5 the initial loss would extend to five or six letters. In Fr. 4. l. 4 ]γεσαι αποδ[ may be read.

Fr. 6. i. 6. κ[ω]λυομένος: there is barely room for ω between the supposed κ and λ. ιο may be read in place of ι and α for λ; the ν also is very uncertain.

7. The trace of a diaeresis above ν of νλην is very slight.

Frs. 7-8 appear to belong to Fr. 6. ii, Fr. 8 being especially suitable; but there is no direct junction.

Fr. 9. ii. 1. Cf. note on ll. 6-7.

3. Cf. the reference to Aristophanes in Fr. 23.

6-7. The allusion here, as was perceived by Wilamowitz, is to Aeschines 2. 10 καὶ τὸ τῆς λεπελας ἐνίπνιον τῆς ἐν Σικελίᾳ διηγήσατο, explained by the scholiast as a reference to a story in Timaeus about a woman of Himeria who had a dream concerning the approaching tyranny of Dionysius; cf. also Photius *s. v.* λεπελας ἐνίπνιον, Valerius Max. i. 7. Moreover,

Tertullian, *De Anima* 46, expressly refers this story to Heraclides (Ponticus): *sed et Dionysii Siciliae tyrannidem Himerae quaedam somniavit: Heraclides prodidit*; hence the restoration of l. 1. None of the authorities, however, mentions the name of the priestess, which our author implies was known, and which is perhaps given in l. 2.

9-14. This passage, containing a new citation of the sixth book of the *Philippica*, was utilized for the recent edition of the Theopompe in the Oxford Classical Texts (Fr. 64); but we there hesitated to restore the names of Antipater and Eurylochus owing to the apparent insufficiency of the space at the ends of ll. 11-12, where not more than eight letters would be expected. But the scribe is not very careful in keeping his lines even, and there can be little doubt that Philip's three ambassadors to Athens, specified in the argument to Demosth. *Fals. Leg.* 5, are really meant: ἥγανον ἀπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου τρεῖς πρότεροι, Ἀρίταρχος, Παρρησίων καὶ Εὐρυλόχου. The passage where the names were omitted might be e. g. Aesch. 2, 55. The supplements of ll. 8-10 were suggested by Wilamowitz; in l. 8 πωτέ is very uncertain, the vestige at the beginning of l. 9 not suggesting an ε, though it is not inconsistent with that letter.

14-22. The identification of this reference to Aesch. 1. 165 is due to Wilamowitz. Aeschines says: πόθεν οὖν ἴσχυκε καὶ σύνηθες γεγένηται λέγειν, ὡς κατὰ γραμματεῖον ἥδη τινὲς ἡταίρους, ἔρω. ἀνὴρ εἰς τῶν πολιτῶν (τὸ δ' ὄνειρα οὐ λέξω τάς γάρ ἀπεχθειας φένυ) . . . λέγεται κατὰ συνθήκας ἡταίρηκαν. That the person there alluded to was Androtion is not mentioned in the scholia, and apparently has not been recognized, though the language of Demosthenes in the speech against Androtion (21-3) where the word γραμματεῖον recurs, might, as indicated by our author, have warranted the inference.

23-56. 'Or suppression of facts, as in Thucydides. For he says that Themistocles in his flight came to Corcyra because he was a benefactor of that people, but he does not say what the benefit was. Theophrastus, however, in his book "On Occasions" states that the Corcyraeans had a quarrel with the Corinthians, and Themistocles being made arbiter decided that the people of Corinth should pay to the Corcyraeans twenty talents . . . and when he describes the Corinthians as enumerating the benefits which they had conferred on the Athenians, in voting for the punishment of the Samians and providing the Athenians with ships when at war with the Aeginetans, he does not mention the greatest benefit of all, namely that when Cleomenes was restoring the tyrant Hippias to Athens it was again the Corinthians who, after the Lacedaemonians were already as far as the Thriasian plain, were the first of the allies to desert, and so caused the abandonment of the expedition and the failure of the restoration of Hippias; and that when at Lacedaemon the Pisistratidae were asking to be restored, and Cleomenes was supporting them, Socles the Corinthian opposed him, as is narrated by Herodotus.'

23 sqq. After considering instances of the suppression of names the author now turns to suppression of facts, of which he gives some cases from Thucydides. The first is from i. 136 ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοδῆς προαισθέμενος φένγει ἐπὶ Πελοπονῆστον ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν, ὃν αὐτῶν εἰέργετη.

26 sqq. The restorations are largely due to Wilamowitz, who compares the similar account in Plutarch, *Themist.* 24 γενόμενος γάρ αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν Κορκυραίων) κριτής πρὸς Κορινθίους ἔχόντων διαφοράν, ἀναστη τὴν ἔχθραν εἴκοσι τάλαντα κρίνας τοὺς Κορινθίους καταβαλέειν καὶ Δευκάδα κοινῆ νεμεῖν ἀμφοτέρους ἀποκο.

27-8. Citations of the now lost treatise of Theophrastus περὶ καιρῶν are scarce. It is otherwise called πολιτικὰ τὰ πρὸς καιρούς (Harpocration, s. v. ἐπίσκοπος) or τὰ πρὸς καιρούς simply (Parthenius 9), and is said to have consisted of four books.

36 sqq. Cf. Thucyd. i. 41. στρατηγίαν in l. 37 of course means the proposed alliance between Athens and Corcyra which the Corinthians were opposing (i. 31).

40. I. Αιγαίητας.

43. Ιππαν here and in l. 51 is an error for 'Ισαγόραν; cf. Hdt. v. 73.

44. I. καταγοντος, as Wiliamowitz remarks.

55. I. Σωσικλῆς; cf. Hdt. v. 92.

iii. 37-40. The reference appears to be to Thucyd. ii. 22. There is no mention in Thucydides of any other Phrygia than the Attic village. Lines 41 sqq. perhaps described its position, on which cf. 853. xiii. 16, note.

48-55. This passage evidently relates to the three serious wounds received by Philip during his campaigns, on which subject the principal authority is now Didymus, *De Demosth.* xii. 40-xiii. 7 περὶ μὲν γάρ τὴν Μεθώνης πολιορκίαν τὸν δεξῖν ὀφθαλμὸν ἔκεκόπτη τοξεῖαι πληγεῖς . . . τὴν δὲ κλίν τὴν δεξιὰν ἐν Ἰλλυρίῳ λόγχῃ τὸν Ἰλλυρίου Πλευράτος ὄντα, . . . τῷρτον τραύμα λαμβάνει κατὰ τὴν εἰς Τριβαλλοὺς ἐμβολήν τὴν σάρων τυος τῶν διωκόντων εἰς τὸν δεξῖν αὐτοῦ μηρὸν ὡσαμένου καὶ χωλεύσαντος αὐτὸν. Cf. Schol. Demosth. *De Cor.* 67 ὅτι τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπλήγη ἐν τῇ Μεθώνῃ, τὴν δὲ κλείν ἐν Ἰλλυρίῳ, τὸ δὲ σκέλος καὶ τὴν χείρα ἐν Σκύδασι, and Plutarch, *De Alex.* *Vit.* 1. 9 τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς Φιλίππου λόγχῃ τὸν μηρὸν ἐν Τριβαλλοῖς διαπαρέντος. If Δημοσθέης is rightly restored in l. 46 the allusion presumably was to *De Cor.* 67 ἵπτε ἀρχῆς καὶ διωστείας τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκρύμψαν, τὴν κλείν κατεπύγα, τὴν χεῖρα, τὸ σκέλος πεπηρυμένον, perhaps as another case of suppressed facts.

Frs. 10-11. These fragments were found folded together, and are distinguished from the others by being much decayed and discoloured. Probably they belong to the same two columns, but their relation to each other is wholly uncertain. The recto prevents their being combined so that Fr. 10. i. 1 supplies the ν of αὐθεῖα in Fr. 11. ii. 8.

Fr. 11. 4 sqq. περ.: so apparently the papyrus; l. οπερ.

The oft repeated charge brought against Philip of bribery and unscrupulousness finds strong expression e.g. in Pausan. viii. 7. 5 στρατηγὸν δὲ ἀγαθὸν οὐκ ἀν τι φρονῶν ὥρι καλέσειν αὐτὸν, ὃς γε καὶ ὄρκους θένον κατεπάτησεν αὖτις, καὶ σπονδαῖς ἐπὶ παντὶ ἔνεστατο, πίστιν τε ἡγίαστε μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων, and Diod. xvi. 54. 4 ἦν γάρ πειραν εἰληφός ὅτι τὰ τοις ὅπλοις ἀδύνατα χειρωθῆναι τῷ χρυσῷ ῥάβδῳ ἦταν καταπολεμῆσαι; cf. e.g. Demosth. *Phil.* iii. 37 sqq. Demosthenes, however, at least gives Philip credit for personal bravery; cf. the passage quoted from the *De Cor.* in the note on Fr. 9. iii. 48-55.

10. φρον[υ]τες is rather speculative, but seems more consistent with the papyrus than φρον[τ]ιζοντες (or -τα).

Frs. 12-13. It is probable that not more than a few lines are missing at the top of Fr. 13. ii, and therefore, if Fr. 12 is the top of that column, which is far from certain, the gap between them is slight.

Fr. 13. 24-5. The restoration of the name Caecilius here, i.e. Caecilius Galactinus, seems fairly secure. He was a contemporary of Didymus, and the titles of his works, which were largely concerned with oratory, include Σύγκρισις Δημοσθένεος καὶ Λισχίνος, Σύγκρισις Δημοσθένεος καὶ Κικέρων, Περὶ χαρακτῆρος τῶν δέκα ῥήτορων, Περὶ Δημοσθένεος, πόσις αὐτοῦ γνήσιοι λόγοι καὶ ποῖοι νόδοι, and Περὶ τῶν καθ' ιστορίαν ἢ παρ' ιστορίαν εἰρμένων τοῖς ῥήτορσι. He is cited several times by Plutarch, for example, in the *Vit. X Orat.*, e.g. 832 E, 836 A, 840 B; cf. Dion. Hal. *Ἐρ.* ad *Cn. Pomp.* 3 ἴροι μέτων καὶ τῷ φιλτάτῳ Κακαλίῳ δοκεῖ. For εν τοις περὶ Δημοσθένεος cf. the title at the end of the Berlin papyrus of

Didymus, Διδύμου περὶ Δημοσθένους κῆ, Φιλιππικῶν γ'. In l. 24 *ως φασιν* or *τὰς* like may be supplied before *Καικλίου*; what *την εὐχήν* refers to is obscure.

31. Either *-μον φάντα* or *μόνων ταῖς*.

Fr. 14. 11-15. The ἀπαξ εἰρημένον, πολυεπανετώτατος, occurs in Xen. *Ages.* 6. 8 πολυεπανετώτατος δὲ καὶ πολυεπανετώτατος ὑπὸ πάντων ἀθροπών. It is apparently unnoticed in the grammarians and lexicographers. If *Ιρος* is another unusual word from the *Agesilaus* this may perhaps be ἀνεπιληπτόερος (1. 5), which is the only example of the comparative of ἀνεπιληπτός. *αἰνάζεται* and *αἰνάζομενοι* occur in *Hell.* i. 6. 5 and 12; the verb was also used by Cassius Dio, but no other writer is quoted for it in the Thesaurus of Stephanus.

16. *πολειτηρ* looks like another citation from Xenophon, but he does not appear to have used the word in an abnormal sense, nor to have employed any strange compound of it. Our author can hardly be referring to the occasional equivalence of πολέιτης to συμπολειτεύμενος, which is regular; cf. e. g. Pollux iii. 51 πολέιτης ὁ δὲ συμπολέιτης οὐ δόκιμον.

18. Possibly *περισσω*: the form *περίττος* would however be expected; cf. Fr. 1. ii. 9, 24, Fr. 16. i. 15.

22. *κεκλασμένος* or some other part of *κεκλάσθαι* fits in with the context; cf. Long. *De Sublim.* 41 *κεκλασμένος* ἥνθιός, Demetr. *De Eloc.* 189 *κεκλασμένος* μέτρου.

23. *τροφία*, as Wilamowitz suggests, will make a suitable opposition to *λιξιοτυπος* in l. 27.

27-8. Cf. for the suggested supplements Demetr. *De Eloc.* 299 ἡ δὲ λεώπτης ἡ περὶ τὴν σύνθετον (ll. 24, 26) οὐαί *κεκρηται* . . . φυλαξάμενοι τὴν σύγκρουσιν φωνηνταν γραμμάτων. In l. 28 the doubtful *π* is possibly a *γ*, i. e. *γραμμάτα*.

Fr. 15. Similarity of appearance makes the bottom of the foregoing column a suitable position for this fragment, and it may even be placed consistently with the recto so that its first line coincides with the last of Fr. 14, *Ιουε[ν]τον[η]*.

Fr. 16. 1-3. For the variation in the meaning of ἄγροικος according to its accent cf. Ammonius s. v., ἄγροικος καὶ ἄγριος διαφέρει. προπερισπουμένως μὲν ὁ ἐν ἄγρῳ κτιοκάν, προπαροξυτάνως δὲ ὁ σκαῦς τοῖς τρόποις. *ομοίως* is due to Wilamowitz, who also suggests that *ο σκαῦς ] τον τραπ[ον]* may on the analogy of the passage in Ammonius be restored in l. 1. *προσπερι[σπωμενα]ς* is a graphical error.

3-14. *ἄληθες*: this word also has two senses in Attic, the meaning being distinguished by the accent; thus when a man assents to what is stated by somebody he will say *ἄληθες* like *σαφές*, but when he utters it interrogatively he will pronounce the first syllable with an acute accent, *ἄληθες*, like *ἄληθες*. The Hellenes in general, however, are accustomed to say *ἄληθες* just in the same way as *σαφές*.

3 sqq. Cf. Ammonius *ἄληθες* μὲν γάρ δέντονως τὸ ἔναντιον τῷ ψεύδει, *ἄληθες* δὲ προπαροξυτόνως τὸ κατ' ἔρωτας λεγόμενον.

4. [θίττας]: cf. l. 15.

10. l. οὗτοντος.

12. [*ως* *εληθες*] was restored by Wilamowitz. Instead of writing the word with its appropriate accent, our author compares another word having the same accent, *ἄληθες* to indicate *ἄληθες*, as above in l. 8 *σαφές* to indicate *ἄληθες*: cf. also l. 17.

14-19. Wilamowitz compares Arcadius, p. 116. 17 (ed. Barker) *ἄχρειος* *ἄχρειον* καὶ Ἀττικῶς *ἄχρειως* *ἄχρειων*, interpreting *ἄχρειως* as the opposite of *ιπόχρεως*. Authorities differ concerning the accentuation of *ἄχρειος*, for while elsewhere Arcadius states that *ἄχρειος* was the

Attic accent (p. 87, 6 ἄχρειος τὸ κοινόν, ἀχρεῖος δὲ τὸ Ἀττικόν), according to others, e.g. Schol. Ven. B 269, it was ἄχρειος. If, as our author says, the Attic accent varied with the sense, this would account for the conflicting evidence on the subject. It is unfortunate that the word in l. 19 giving the second meaning is mutilated: the vestige of the letter before ο suits ι or υ.

17. That the small fragment containing the beginnings of ll. 16–17 is rightly placed is hardly to be doubted, but there seems to be no proparoxytone word *aἰχρεῖος*, and *ἄχρειος* does not sufficiently fill the space; the first letter might be λ, but that is equally intractable. Possibly *αχρεῖος* was written again by mistake for *απειον*: there are two other errors in this column.

Fr. 17. This fragment cannot belong to Fr. 16. i on account of the writing on the recto, but it may well come from the column succeeding. The subject at any rate is similar.

18. α . [.] . [.] is probably the word characterized as a Hellenism; Αττικὸν is less likely, since the fourth letter is unusually long for an ι.

6. A stroke is drawn above the final ι, after which there is a short blank space. An abbreviation of Ελληνικὸς is presumably intended, unless the stroke is to be regarded as accidental, in which case the ι would be the last letter of the line and σπορ followed at the beginning of the next.

Fr. 18. In colour and texture this fragment from the top of a column resembles Frs. 14–15, but the recto is inconsistent with the supposition that they come from the same column, and their subjects are also quite different; that of Fr. 18 appears to have affinities to Fr. 1. ii or Fr. 13. ii, 26 sqq.

Fr. 19. The most probable place for this fragment, on account of its dark colour and blank recto, is the upper part of Fr. 9. iii.

Fr. 20. 10. Fr. 36. 3 cannot be combined here.

Frs. 21–2. Lines 1–3 are on a detached fragment, but its position here is practically assured by the recto. The reason for the indentation of ll. 5–7 is doubtful. Perhaps the lines above and below are quotations, which were commonly distinguished in this manner, e.g. 220, 418, 853; or ll. 5–7 may be the heading of a section. In either case it is likely that there is no loss at the beginnings of ll. 2–4, and that not more than a narrow letter at any rate is missing in front of the two doubtful iota in ll. 8–9; if they are read as etas no loss need be assumed.

Fr. 23. 4. The cramped manner of writing γᾱ suggests that the fragment contains ends of lines.

Frs. 24–5. These two fragments both come from the bottom of a column and should perhaps be combined, Fr. 25 being placed to the right of Fr. 24, but with a gap between ᾱ and γρον. The recto of Fr. 24 is covered with a strengthening strip of papyrus which it is undesirable to remove. In Fr. 24. l. 2 between γᾱ and ερεψις there is a short blank space in which a letter may possibly have disappeared.

Fr. 31–2 may well come from Fr. 1. ii–iii. Fr. 31, in which there is apparently a junction of two selides, would be especially suitable in Col. iii; cf. note on Frs. 4–5.

Fr. 35. Similarity in colouring suggests that this fragment may belong to the upper part of Fr. 1. iii.

Fr. 42. 2. Probably  $\rho\eta\tau\rho\eta$ [ again.

Fr. 43. 3. If the second letter is really a  $\phi$  (or  $\psi$ ), this line protruded considerably.

Frs. 54, 57-9. That these scraps belong to 1012 is somewhat uncertain, and Fr. 58 should perhaps be turned the other way up and read  $\gamma\epsilon\cdot\cdot$ .

### 1013. MENANDER, ΜΙΣΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ.

16.7 x 13.9 cm.

Fifth or sixth century.

Important contributions to the remains of Menander have already been made by the Oxyrhynchus papyri in substantial pieces of the *Περικευρομένη* (211) and the *Κάλωξ* (409), and to these are now to be added the following fragments from the *Μισούμενος*, which, if of much more modest compass, are still not without value. Their identification admits of practically no doubt. A clue is at once provided by the occurrence of the name Thrasonides, which was that of the principal character in this celebrated comedy. The name of his slave was Getas (Kock, Frs. 335, 345, Arrian, *Diss. Epict.* iv. 1. 19), and his father apparently also figured in the play; Getas and the father of Thrasonides duly appear in the papyrus. These, however, are not the only *dramatis personae* which here occur; three others are mentioned, Crateia (ll. 32, 39), Demeas (ll. 13 sqq.), and Kleinias (? ll. 12-3). But we know from Simplicius on Aristotle, *Phys.*, p. 384. 13 (Diels), that Crateia (a rare name) and Demeas were characters in a play of Menander. The passage is: *ὅταν λέγωμεν ὅτι ἀπὸ τύχης ἥλθεν ὁ ξένος καὶ λυτρωσάμενος τὸν αἰχμάλωτον, ὡς δὲ παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ Δημέας τὴν Κράτειαν, ἀπῆλθεν.* Meineke thought that *Κράτην* or *Κράτητα* was the correct reading, but C. Keil (*Philol.* i. 552) proves to have been right in defending *Κράτεια*,<sup>1</sup>—which Kock (Fr. 939) needlessly prints with a small  $\kappa$ . That the play alluded to by Simplicius was the *Μισούμενος* was not known, but this is now evident, and the passage may henceforth be rescued from the position it has hitherto occupied among the *\*Ἀδηλα Δράματα*. Finally, to clinch the argument, the phraseology and the situation disclosed in the papyrus are in striking accord with what is known of the plot of the *Μισούμενος*. Thrasonides was a soldier of an overbearing and repulsive type, in love with his slave (Crateia), who, as we may now add from Fr. 939, was also his captive; cf. Libanius iv. 512. 1 . . . ὡς ὑπέρογκόν τι καὶ σοβαρόν καὶ πολλή τις ἀλαζονεία

<sup>1</sup> Wilamowitz refers to Kaibel's vindication in *Hermes* xxv. pp. 98-9 of *Κράτεια ή Φαρμακοπάλης* as the title of a play of Alexis against the suspicions of editors of Athenaeus, the name *Κράτεια* having been found on a Theban vase.

στρατιώτης ἀνήρ, εἴ τις ίμων φαντάζεται τὸν Μεγάδορον Θρασωνίδην, οἶδεν ὁ λέγων στρατιωτικὴν γάρ φησιν ἀηδίαν νοσοῦντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς ἀπέχθειαν αὐτῷ κινῆσαι τὴν ἔρωμένην· καὶ γέγονεν ἀμέλει προσηγορία τῷ δράματι τὸν Θρασωνίδον τὸ μῖσος, and Kock, Fr. 338 παιδισκάριον με καταδέδοντακτενές, ὃν οὐδὲξ εἴς τῶν πολεμῶν {οὐ}πώποτε. The relation between the two was thus the same as that between Polemon and Glycera in the *Περικειρομένη*, and the resulting situation is closely analogous and seems to have had a very similar *dénouement*. Thrasonides' despair at the aversion of Crateia is described in Arrian, *Diss. Epict.* iv. 1. 19: 'First he goes out in the night, when Geta is afraid to do so. . . . Next he demands a sword, and is enraged with the man who out of kindness refuses to give him one, and he sends presents to his disdainful mistress, and implores and weeps; then a slight improvement elates him.' Now this is just the attitude of the Thrasonides of the papyrus; cf. ll. 40 sqq.: 'You will now prove me, father, of all men living the most happy or miserable; for unless this man will accept me fully and give this woman to me, it is all over with Thrasonides: which heaven forbid!' 'This man' is doubtless Demeas (evidently the father of Crateia: cf. l. 39), who, as has been seen in Fr. 939, unexpectedly arrived on the scene and effected her release (*λυτρωσάμενος*; cf. l. 21 ἀπολυτροῦν). Hence it is clear that our fragments come from near the conclusion of the play. Further points of contact with the extant citations from the *Μισούμενος* are pointed out in the notes on ll. 18 and 19.

Whether the recto precedes the verso or vice versa is not immediately

Recto.

Fr. 1.

]ηκειμ[  
]γείτο[  
· · · · ·

Fr. 2.

]πηνικα[  
]ἢ . . . [  
· · · · ·

Fr. 3. 5

]· οσίωνφ· [.] . [  
]κούσομαισαφῳ[  
]· ητοσεκτοποι[  
]νητόνηλιον :  
]ωσγέτα  
]δησανθαδίασ γετ

evident, for the extremity of the right margin of the recto though fairly straight is not cleanly cut, and the appearance of the edge might have been caused by a break where the crease in the quire came. But internal evidence provides a less equivocal clue. The verso is occupied by the conclusion of a dialogue between the soldier Thrasonides and his father (ll. 34, 40), the former, as has been seen above, being very eager that Crateia should be given to him (in marriage) by her father, i.e. Demeas (ll. 39, 42-3). Hence, since she was now in her father's keeping, the rescue had already been effected. On the recto her release is the subject of a discussion between Cleinias and Demeas, who in the capacity of a parent demands her freedom (ll. 21-2). This scene must therefore have preceded that on the verso; and it is natural to identify Demeas' interlocutor Cleinias as the father of Thrasonides.

The papyrus is no more than a tattered leaf, of which only the lower part has survived, with four small detached pieces. It is of a comparatively late date. The hand is a rather coarse semicursive, which must be referred to the fifth or even the sixth century. Alternations in the dialogue are denoted as usual by paragraphi and double dots; the name of the speaker is inserted to the left of the column at l. 38, while at ll. 10-13 similar entries have been added in a ruder hand and darker ink in the right margin, as in the Cairo Menander. Stops in both the high and middle position occur, and accents, breathings, and marks of elision are plentifully supplied, mostly by the original scribe. The accents are sometimes rather carelessly placed, e.g. that intended for the *a* of *αλλ* in l. 44 really falls over the second *λ*.

## Recto.

Fr. 1.		]ηκειμ[ ] γεέτον
Fr. 2.		] πηνίκα [ ] ḷ . . . [
Fr. 3.	5	] . οσλων φ . [.] . [ ἀ]κούσομαι σαφῶ[ ] . ητος ἐκτόπου[ ] νὴ τὸν ἥλιον. (Κλειν. ?)
10	Γέτ(ας) Θρασωνίδης αὐθαδίας	]ως, Γέτα,

κλει<sup>ν</sup>

]τὶ λαβῶ :

]: δημέασ<sup>κλει<sup>ν</sup></sup>

]ρροσουδεγρῦ

]δδημέα

] . . . εράσεγῶ

. . . . . τησ· β[ . . . ταυτὶ λέγει

. . . . ακλάναναντιβολῶνοσλύρασ :

. . . περιπατήσωκαυτδσώσεμοιδοκεῖ :

20       . . . τοῦτο δ' είρημετε[. . . αυτοῦν' αξιῶ

. . . ωναπολυτροῦνθ' αγπατήρ· εγώδέγε

ηκ  
. . . ωγυνναικασεντετυχωσδημέα :

## Verso.

Fr. 1.	• . . . .
	• . . . . [
	• . . . πα[
25	• . . . πάτρ[
	• . . κέτι . [
	• . . . .
Fr. 2.	]μο . . κλ . [
	• . . . .
Fr. 3.	[. . . . ]χγ . . . [
	[.] επονθαμεν : τ[
30	[. .] θασὶ τοῦτο τ[
	ἐλοῦσαμικο . . [
	διατικράτειαφ . β[
	δτοῦτο πράξασξ . [
	αλλὰ πάτερε[
35	άπαντ' α[
	βουλευτε[
	ζῆνεῦπρο[
θρ/	ώτονπαρα[

ἀν]θ[ρ]ώπου λαβεῖν  
 Κλειν(Ιας) ]τὶ λάβω.  
 (Γετ.) ] Κλειν(Ιας) Δημέας  
 ]νος οὐδὲ γρῦ  
 15 γά]ρ, Δημέα,  
 (Δημ.) ] . . . ερᾶς ἐγὼ  
 ]της· ρ[.] . . [·] ταυτὶ λέγει  
 ]. α κλάων, ἀτιθολῶν, ὅνος λύρας.  
 (Κλειν.) [συμ]περιπατήσω κάντος, ὡς ἔμοὶ δοκεῖ.  
 20 (Δημ.) ] τοῦτο δ' εἴρημετε[· ·] . αυτοῦ σ' ἀξιῶ  
 ]νω ἀπολυτροῦν ὥν πατήρ. (Κλειν.) ἐγὼ δέ γε  
 [μισ]ῶ γυναικας ἐντευχηκώς, Δημέα.

## Verso.

. . .  
 Fr. 1. ] . . [  
 ] . πα[  
 25 ] . πάτρ[  
 οὐ]κέτι . [  
 . . .  
 Fr. 2. μο . . κλ . [  
 . . .  
 Fr. 3. [· · · · · χη · · [  
 [π]επόνθαμεν. (Κλειν.?) τ[  
 30 [· .]θασι τοῦτο τί . [  
 ἐλοῦσα μιμο . . [  
 (Θρ.) διὰ τί Κράτεια φ· ρ[  
 (Κλειν.?) ὁ τοῦτο πράξας ἐ· [  
 (Θρ.) ἀλλά, πάτερ, ε[  
 35 ἄπαντ' ἀ[  
 βουλευτέ[ον  
 ζῆν εὖ πρέ[πει  
 Θρ(ασωνίδης) ὦ τοῦ παρα[

πατὴρκρατειαστ[.]δη[.]λ' αφ[  
 νῦνημακάριυνῆτρίσαθλιο[.]πατε[  
 δεέξεισμετωνδώντωνἀπάντωνγεν[  
 εὶμηγαρῦτοσδοκιμάσειμεκυρία[  
 δῶσειτεταύτηνοίχεταιθραγνόνδ[  
 θομῆγένοιτ·ἀλλ'εισίωμεν·[.]κεν[

Fr. 4 recto.

[ει . . .]  
 ὕστεπάν[  
 ]δὲτίμη[  
 ]πόνο[  
 . . .

Fr. 5 recto.

]τ' α[  
 . . .

Fr. 4 verso.

]ρδωσε[  
 ]δελφον[  
 ]τιν : [

Fr. 5 verso.

]ρ[  
 ]κα[  
 ] + τ + [

Frs. 1-2. Corresponding dark-coloured fibres on the verso, and the tip of a stroke on Fr. 2 which may be the base of the  $\tau$  of  $\kappa\epsilon\tau\iota$  in Fr. 1, suggest the combination of these two fragments, and similar fibres on the main piece make it likely that Frs. 1-2 are to be placed at the top above Fr. 3, perhaps immediately; the letters  $\mu\sigma$  would then be the beginning of the line and  $\pi\tau\omega\kappa$  on the recto probably the end.

9.  $\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha$  is followed by some traces which may be ink; possibly there has been an erasure of a colon or a  $\sigma$ . The identity of the speaker of this line is quite doubtful; since it is addressed to Getas, the previous line is likely to belong to him.

12.  $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\nu\langle\iota\alpha\rangle$  seems to be the most probable expansion of the abbreviation  $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\nu$ . No name beginning with these letters is attested for the New Comedy, but  $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\nu\iota\alpha\varsigma$  ( $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\nu\iota\alpha\varsigma$  codd.) occurs in a fragment of Polyzelus (Kock, i. p. 791).  $\gamma\iota\iota$  may be  $\gamma\tau\iota$  or  $\tau\omega\gamma\iota$  or  $\tau\alpha\gamma\iota$ .

13. The supposed double dots may be the extremities of a  $\sigma$ .

16.  $\epsilon\chi\theta\rho\alpha\varsigma$  is just possible, but the  $\chi$  is unsatisfactory and the preceding letter is more like  $\sigma$  or  $\alpha$  than  $\epsilon$ . The remains of the first letter after the lacuna suggest  $\beta$  or  $\delta$ . If l. 19 is rightly assigned to Cleinias, Demeas must intervene either at l. 16 or l. 17.

18.  $\kappa\lambda\alpha\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\alpha\tau\iota\beta\omega\alpha\omega\varsigma$ ; cf. the passage quoted from Arrian, *Diss. Epict.*, in the introduction,  $\delta\omega\rho\alpha\tau\iota\mu\sigma\omega\sigma\eta\pi\epsilon\mu\pi\kappa\tau\iota\alpha$  πέμπει καὶ δέται καὶ κλάει.  $\sigma\sigma\omega\lambda\iota\rho\alpha\varsigma$  occurred also in Menander's *Ψοφοδής* (Kock, Fr. 527), according to Photius and Suidas, who add  $\eta\delta'$  ὅλη παρομία,  $\sigma\sigma\omega\lambda\iota\rho\alpha\varsigma$

πατὴρ Κρατεῖας [.]ον[.]λ' αφ[  
 40 νῦν ἡ μακάριον ἡ τρισάθλιο[ν] πάτε[ρ],  
 δέξεις με τῶν ζώντων ἀπάντων γει[όμενον].  
 εἰ μὴ γάρ οὐτος δοκιμάσει με κυρίως  
 δώσει τε ταύτην, οὔχεται Θρασωνίδης.  
 οὐ μὴ γέροιτ' ἀλλ' εἰσίωμεν . . . [-κεν[

Fr. 4 recto.

]ει . . . [  
 ] ώστε πάν[  
 ]δὲ τι μητ[  
 | πόνο[  
 . . .

Fr. 5 recto.

]τ' ω[  
 . . .

Fr. 4 verso.

]ρ δώσει[  
 ἀ]δελφον[  
 ἐσ]τιν. [(B)

Fr. 5 verso.

]ι[  
 ] καὶ[  
 ]. τ . [

ἵκουε καὶ σùλπιγγος ἐσ. λέγεται (δέ) ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ συγκατατίθεμένων μηδὲ ἐπαινούντων. Headless obstinacy is the quality apparently conveyed by the saying.

19. [συμ]περιπατήσω: this is probably a reference to the restlessness of Thrasonides, which is emphasized in Kock, Fr. 341 ὁ δυστυχής, τι ὃ καθεύδεις; σύ μ' ἀποκναίεις περιπατῶν, though of course Fr. 341 is not from the present scene. The attempt to indicate the number of letters lost at the beginnings of the preceding and following lines is based on the hypothesis that [συμ] (Wilamowitz) is correct.

20-1. These two verses ought to be restored without much difficulty, but the text appears to be at fault. Wilamowitz is surely right in emending απαλυτρούθ' (cf. introd., p. 104) to ἀπαλυτροῦν, and in supposing that a change of speaker occurs at ἔψω in spite of the single point in the papyrus; but what is εἴρημετέ? εἴρη from εἴρειν is unlikely, and εἴρεσθαι for εἴρεσθαι is only an Ionic form; there remains εἴρημε = εἴρημα, which is not easy to manage. The ε after τ can hardly be read otherwise; the letter before αὐτὸν may well be κ, μ, or σ.

30. The letter following θ seems to be α, not ω, and the accented ι is inconsistent with a subjunctive; but [-]βασι is difficult.

31. μμ: or κκ, but not μκρ. The first letter of the line may be α.

34-6. There is no paragraphus below any of these lines, but a change of speaker must

have occurred in their course, since l. 34 evidently belongs to Thrasonides, who is again the speaker at l. 38.

37. The circumflex on  $\hat{\epsilon}\hat{v}$  precludes the restoration of  $\epsilon\hat{v}\pi\rho'\epsilon\pi\hat{\omega}s$ .

38.  $\sigma$  of  $\tau\alpha v$  has apparently been converted from an  $\epsilon$ .

Fr. 4 verso 2. Some blurred marks above the first three letters may be accidental.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 5 verso 2. The supposed *a* has apparently been corrected.

1014 HISTORICAL FRAGMENT

15.6 x 8.8 cm

### Third century

A fragment from a historical work, apparently not extant. It contains part of a description of a battle, which took place on the sea-coast and seems to have been attended with much loss of life; the identity of the combatants, however, is not made clear. The language suggests a writer of the Hellenistic period.

Parts of twenty-six lines remain from the bottom of a column, written on the verso of the papyrus in a not very regular sloping hand of a medium size and common third-century type. Stops and other lection signs, except the diaeresis, are entirely absent; a second hand has made a correction in l. 14. There is no complete line in the fragment, and the extent of the loss is uncertain. In the transcript below, ll. 8-10, where the supplements suggested are plausible, have been taken as the basis for an approximate estimate of the number of letters missing.

On the recto are the beginnings of eighteen lines from the top of a column of a survey-list, drawn up in the second century, and giving the position and value of certain plots of land; a *ἡλιαστήριον* is mentioned. The writing proceeds in the same direction as that on the recto, relatively to which it is, therefore, upside down.

[. . . . .]ιν [. . . . .]  
[. . . . .]αι το πα[. . . . . . . . .]  
[. . . το]υ χωμα[το]ς . . . . . . .  
[. . . ε]ποχετευ[. . . . . . . . .]  
5 θεν της κωμης [. . . . . . . . .]  
μεγαλη και πλατεια [. . . . . οι δε τε  
ταγμενοι προς το ε[. . . . . ιδοντες  
ισιουντας τους πολεμιους ενπι  
πτον[σ]ιν ταχυ παι[ωλεθρια δε γει  
10 μεται οι μεν γαρ γενομενοι κατα

προσωπον αφνω δι[. . . . .]  
 δε τας λογχας εγειραντες . . . . .  
 τες ειστρεχουσιν το δι[ε . . . . .]  
 ην και ωνκωντ[[αι]] μ[. . . . .]  
 15 πανταχοθεν οιδουσ[α . . . . .]  
 επεκλυζε το παν τα[. . . . .] η  
 θαλασσα ενπεσούτες δε οι . . . . .  
 λοι τους μεν κα[. . . . .]  
 τον στρατηγον α[. . . . .]  
 20 σιν ταις λογχαις α[. . . . .] γε  
 γονοτας και προς το αδ[. . . . .] τε  
 τραμμενους ταν δε αλλ[ων . . . . .]  
 [. . .] . γητος θανατος ην οι μεγ [γαρ . . . . .]  
 [. . . . . εξ]ω της συμβολη[ς . . . . .]  
 25 [. . . . .]τες ταις αιχμα[ις . . . . .]  
 [. . . . . δ]ε ου λαβοντες σχο[λην . . . . .]

4. Some form of ἐποχετένειν or ἀποχετένειν is to be restored. At the end of the line εξωθεν or εσωθεν is probable.

7. Possibly ἐνοικιον, but the narrative is too mutilated for satisfactory restoration.

10. γ[η]νομενοι κατα Wilamowitz.

11. δι[ε: ου δη[.]

15. οιδουσ[α is commended by the context, though οιδειν does not seem to be applied elsewhere to the sea; cf. however οιδημα and Arat. 908 οιδαιοντα διλασσα.

16. The middle of ἐπιλάζειν is not used in the active sense, otherwise the division επεκλυζετο παντα[ might be adopted.

17-18. Perhaps ψιλοι, or λαι could be the termination of a name, e.g. Θετταλοι, Αιτωλοι, Γαλαλοι.

23. [. . .] . γητος: ει may be read in place of η, but is less likely. The vestige of the preceding letter suits γ, τ, or ν better than κ or χ, and απροσβολητος is not therefore satisfactory. απαραιτητος, as Wilamowitz suggests, or ανεξηγητος (Hesych.) would give a good sense.

## 1015. PANEGYRICAL POEM.

17 x 23.6 cm.

Third century.

This short poem of twenty-two hexameter verses is described in the title written both at the foot and in the left margin opposite to ll. 8-9 as an Encomium on Hermes—‘Ερμοῦ ἐγκώμιον; the name ‘Ερμοῦ has, however, in both

places been washed out, and higher up in the margin the same hand has entered another endorsement, *εἰς τὸν ἀρχοντα*, which is a more exact description of the purpose of the piece. The first nine lines are, indeed, devoted to Hermes, who, in an elaborate invocation in which some of the principal attributes of the god are recited, is called on for inspiration. But the person really to be celebrated was the youth Theon (l. 12) who in l. 1 is referred to as the *ὑποφήγορα παιδα* of Hermes, and to whom the poet returns in l. 10 sqq., where he is described as honouring the god in having supplied a fountain of oil for his fellow-citizens, apparently a poetical way of saying that he had made a benefaction to the gymnasium. That gift, however, and another of corn (l. 15), had occurred previously, and he was now making to the youths a further presentation of a kind which could only come from one 'learned in the lore of the Muses' (l. 20), and did the donor still more credit, i. e. some endowment of the arts, which the allusive method of the writer does not allow to be further specified. Probably, as Wilamowitz suggests, Theon was a young man whose wealth had led to his early appointment to the office of gymnasiarch (cf. l. 13 *ἀρχένοντα*, and the title); but he is not recognizable among the known gymnasiarchs of Oxyrhynchus.

The poem is written on a well-preserved sheet of papyrus in a medium-sized sloping hand somewhat similar in style to that of 223 (Part II, Plate 1), though not so well-formed and regular; it may be assigned to the middle or latter half of the third century. Accents, elision marks and stops (high and medial) are plentifully supplied, marks of long quantity are also sometimes inserted, and there is one instance of the use of the curved stroke below a compound word (l. 14) as e. g. in the Bacchylides papyrus. Whether all these signs are due to the original writer is not evident; a second hand has undoubtedly been at work on the text; but since the ink employed by the latter did not differ appreciably in colour, responsibility for single strokes cannot be accurately determined. In one or two cases accents have been amended (cf. note on line 11), which suggests that the accentuation was original and was revised by the corrector, though this of course is not a necessary inference. The accentual system resembles that found in other papyri of the period (cf. 223 and 841), but it is somewhat loosely employed, e. g. l. 5 *πεσῶν*, besides the above-mentioned errors which have been eliminated. The alterations introduced by the second hand at ll. 6-7, 10, and 19 are curious, and may even have come from the author's own pen, if an amanuensis was employed for the body of the text. In any case the poem is probably little older than the papyrus; it is unlikely that effusions of this class would be long-lived, the subject and the style being alike undistinguished, though the versification is correct enough. Some specimens of panegyrics, with which this may be compared, of a later period and more

ambitious design, have been published in the *Berliner Klassikertexte*, I. 2. xi, and the inscriptions offer other parallels.

αυτος μοι τέον ἄεισαι υποφήτορα παιδα  
 Ερμεια σπενσαταιας. αοιδοπόδλω δ' επαρήγοις.  
 επτάτονον χειρεσσι λύδην πδλνηχέ κρόνων.  
 εις τον αρχοντα την αυτος τα πρωτα κάμες. παρα ποστι τεκόνσης  
 5 άρτι πεσῶν λύτρον δέ βων πόρες Απολλωνι  
 τουνεκα μουσοπόλον [με]ν ανυμνειουσιν αοιδοι.  
 αγρονόμοι δε θεον νόμιον κλέιουσι βοτῆρες.  
 [Ερμου] Ερμην δ εν σταδίοις εναγωνιον αθλητηρες.  
 ενκωμιον γυμνασιων δε πόλης επίσκοπον ἀειδουσιν.  
 10 ενθα σε και παις ουτος αναξ τιων [ανα] δημ[ον]<sup>ιερω εν</sup>  
 πέι[ρ]ακ' ε[λ]αιόρυτον προχέων αστοισι γεράριευ  
 ου γαρ σε πρωτιστα Θέων μετα παισιν εταιροις  
 αρχευοντα νέον γεινωσκομεν αλλ ετι τηλον.  
 ήμεν ἐλαιόχυτοισιν αλειφόμενοι κοτύλησιν.  
 15 ηδε και αινύμενοι δωρων Δημήτερος αγνης.  
 κεινα μεν εσθλα φιλος δημω πορες. εσθλα δ' επ εσθλοις  
 ενθαδε νυν παιδεσσι διδοῖς και αμέινονα ταυτα.  
 ητοι μεν γαρ κεινα και αφνέιός πόροι ανηρ.  
 κενεανγεα δωρα  
 πλουτου γαρ κενεοι πέλει μειλήγματα κεινα.  
 20 ταυτα δε Μουσάων σοφης δέδαημένος ανηρ.  
 τῶ σ' επι τοισι μάλιστα γεράριομεν ἡ περ εκεινοις.  
 ουνεκα κεινα πατηρ σε διδάξατο. ταυτα δε Μουσαι.

[Ερμου] εγκωμιον

<sup>‘</sup>Hermes, do thou thyself hasten to sing for me of thy young interpreter, and help the bard, striking with thy hand the seven-stringed many-toned lyre, which thou thyself first madest new-dropped at thy mother's feet and gavest to Apollo in ransom for his oxen; therefore do latter-day bards celebrate thy service of the Muses, and herdsmen in the fields proclaim thee as pastoral god, while athletes in the stadium call on Hermes ruler of the games, and cities hymn thee as warden of the gymnasia. And here too this youth, O King,

honours thee in thy hallowed folk, pouring a fount of oil for the citizens. For it is not newly that we know thee, Theon, holding chief office among thy youthful comrades, but of old, whether anointing ourselves with oil-distilling flasks, or partaking of the gifts of chaste Demeter. Such blessings didst thou of thy favour bestow on the folk; and blessings on blessings here givest thou now to the youths, yea more precious still. For those in truth a rich man too might bestow, since vainglorious are the gifts of vain wealth; but these come from a man learned in the wisdom of the Muses. Therefore we honour thee more highly for these than for them, because they were taught thee by thy father, and these by the Muses.'

1. Theon may be addressed as the *ἰποφήτωρ* of Hermes in virtue of his office of gymnasiarχ (cf. ll. 9–10), though very likely there is a special reference to his musical or literary tastes.

3. I. λύρην. Cf. the converse interchange of δ and ρ in l. 11.

4–5. Cf. H. *Herm.* 17 ἡρός γεγονώς μέσῳ ἥμαρι ἐγκαθίριεν. The lengthening of the first syllable of Απολλων follows the Homeric usage, A 14, &c.; cf. ll. 1 αιστα, 9 αειδοναι.

λύτρον: there is perhaps in this word a deliberate reference to the fanciful etymology which connected λύρα with λύτρα or λύτρον, e.g. Bekker, *Anecd.*, p. 752 εἴρηται δὲ λύρα, λύτρα τις οὖσα . . . εἰδὼ δὲ (sc. Hermes) καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ μωσικόν, δέδουκεν ὑπέρ ἑντοῦ τὴν λύτραν λύτρον.

7. Cf. e.g. H. *Herm.* 570–1 καὶ μῆλοισι, σάτα τρέφει εὐρέα χθών, πάσι δ' ἐπὶ προβάτουσιν ἀνάστειν κύβουσιν Ἐρρῆν.

8. Cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* ii. 10 ἐναγώνιος Ἐρρᾶς, *Nem.* x. 52–3, &c.; the patronage of sport is not a Homeric attribute of Hermes. The initial ε has been corrected from η. With regard to the partially erased title in the margin here and below l. 22, Wilamowitz thinks that these entries refer not to the present poem but to an encomium on Hermes pronounced by Theon on the occasion of his entry upon office and of his gift to the state, and that the same event is alluded to in the epithet τεὸν *ἰποφήτρος* in l. 1. The more obvious view taken in the introduction, that the title was intended to apply to the contents of the papyrus and was recognized to be erroneous, seems to have advantages.

11. ἀλαιόρυτος here and ἀλαιόχυτος in l. 14 seem to be otherwise unattested. The acute accent on πέιδακ' is written over a circumflex; similar corrections have been made in l. 17 αμίνωτα and l. 21 γεράριομεν, while in l. 14 a circumflex is replaced by the second grave accent in ἀλαιόχυτοισι.

13. τηλον is evidently temporal, in antithesis to νεον. Cf. p. 253 τηλον ἀπώλετο νόστιμον ἥμαρ, Oppian, *Hal.* ii. 495.

20. For the genitive with δέδαημένοι cf. Φ 487 πολέμοι δαίγμεναι.

21. μαλιστα . . . η: so Apoll. Rhod. iii. 91.

### III. EXTANT CLASSICAL AUTHORS

#### 1016. PLATO, *Phædrus*.

28 x 57.5 cm. Third century. Plate V (Cols. v-vi).

Six columns in very fair preservation, containing the proem of the *Phædrus* (pp. 227 a-230 c). A coronis is placed at the bottom of the last column, and a broad margin follows, which shows that the dialogue was not continued on this sheet; either, therefore, it was for some reason left incomplete or a fresh roll was begun.

As with so many of the literary papyri belonging to the first large find of 1906, from which both 1016 and 1017 are derived, this text is on the verso of a cursive document, a register of landowners, part of which is printed later on in this volume (1044). The document was drawn up in the fourteenth year of an unnamed emperor, no doubt either Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 173-4) or Septimius Severus (A.D. 205-6). A date near the commencement or in the earlier decades of the third century is therefore indicated for the MS. of the *Phædrus*, and this is the period which the hand itself would naturally suggest. It is a medium-sized uncial of the oval type, but upright, and written in a rather free and flowing style. The employment of iota adscript, though frequent, is irregular. Alternations of the dialogue are, as usual, marked by double dots, accompanied sometimes by paragraphi; but for the double dots a single high stop, which is also used for purposes of punctuation, is not infrequently substituted (e.g. ll. 95, 115, 124, &c.), and conversely the colon sporadically appears where the single stop would be expected (ll. 53, 153). N at the end of a line is often written as a stroke over the preceding vowel. Accents (ll. 218, 227) and marks of elision (ll. 11, 59) are rare. Another occasional sign deserving remark is the comma placed between doubled mutes (ll. 199, 232, 261), a use of which there appears to be as yet no instance earlier than the third century. That all these lectionary marks proceed from the original scribe is not certain, but he no doubt was responsible for the majority of them. There is, indeed, scanty evidence of a second hand at all. In one or two places, however, alterations seem to be due

to a diorthotes, who may also have introduced, for instance, such accentuation as occurs.

The text is not uninteresting, showing a number of small variations from the mediaeval MSS. No doubt the scribe was liable to make mistakes (cf. ll. 40, 85, 154, 187) and sometimes seems to have had a difficulty in reading his archetype (cf. notes on ll. 160 and 229). On the other hand good readings occur which have hitherto rested either on inferior evidence or modern conjecture; such are l. 21 ποιήσασθαι, l. 74 πάνν τι (so Schanz; πάνν τις MSS.), l. 239 οὐδέ γε (so editors; οὐ δέ γε BT, &c., οὐδὲ Par. 1812), l. 253 αὗται, l. 258 προσείσονται. These lend a certain colour to the variants the value of which is more questionable. As between the two principal MSS., the Bodleianus (B) and Marcianus (T), the papyrus shows, as usual, little preference, agreeing first with one and then with the other. The appended collation is based on Burnet's Oxford edition, of which B and T are the foundation; occasional references to other MSS. are taken from the edition of Bekker.

## Col. i.

- |                                    |       |
|------------------------------------|-------|
| [ω φίλε Φ]αίδρε ποι δη και ποθεν : | 227 a |
| [παρα Λυ]σιου ω Σωκρατες του Κε    |       |
| [φαλον] πορευομαι δε προς περι     |       |
| τελ                                |       |
| [πατο]ν εξω χους μ[[ε]]ικρον γαρ   |       |
| 5 [εκει] διετριψα χρονον καθημε    |       |
| [νος] εξ εωθινου τωι δε σωι και ε  |       |
| [μωι] εταιρι πειθομενος Ακου       |       |
| [με]νωι κατα τας οδους ποιου       |       |
| [μαι] τους περιπατους φησιν        |       |
| 10 [γαρ] ακοπωτερους ειναι των     |       |
| εν] τοις δρομοις : καλως γ' εφη    | 227 b |
| [ω ε]ταιρε αταρ Λυσιας ην ως ε     |       |
| [οι]κεν εν αστει : ναι παρ Επι     |       |
| [κρ]ατει εν τηδε τηι πλησιον       |       |
| 15 [τη] Μουρυχιαι οικιαι : τις ου  |       |
| [δη]η ην η διατριβη η δηλον οτι    |       |
| [τη]ον λογων υμας Λυσιας ιστια     |       |
| [σχ]ολη ει σοι προιοντι ακονειν    |       |

- [τι δ]αι· ουκ αν οιει με κατα Πιν  
 20 [δαρο]ν και ασχολιας υπερτερό  
 [πραγ]μα ποιησασθαι το σην τε  
 [και Λ]υσιου διατριβην ακ[ου]σαι :  
 [προ]αγε δη: λεγοις αν: και μῆ  
 [ω Σω]κρατες προσηκουσα γε 227 c  
 25 [σοι η] ακοη· ο γαρ τοι λογος πε  
 [ρι ον] διετριβομεν ουκ οιδ ον  
 [τινα] τροπον ερωτικος· γεγρα  
 [φε μ]εν γαρ δη ο Λυσιας πειρω  
 [μεν]ον τινα των καλων ου  
 30 [χ υπ] εραστου δε· αλλ αυτο δη  
 [τουτ]ο και κεκομψευται· λε  
 [γει ω]ς χαριστεον τω μη ερῶ  
 [τι μα]λον η τω ερωντι· ω  
 [γενν]αιος· ειθε γραψειεν  
 35 [ως χρ]η πενητι μαλλον η  
 [πλουσ]ιωι και πρεσβυτερω  
 [η νεωτερω]ι και οσα αλλα ε  
 'μοι τε προσε]στιν και τοις πολ 227 d  
 [λοις ημων η] γαρ αν αστει  
 οι λογοι και εγω  
 40 [οι και δημωφελει]ς ειεν ουτως γε  
 [επιτεθυμηκα α]ντων ακου  
 [σαι ωστ εαν βαδιζων ποι  
 [ηι τον περιπατον] Μεγαραδε  
 [και κατα Ηροδικον] προσβασ  
 45 [τωι τειχει παλιν α]πιης ου>  
 [μη σου απολειφ]θω : πως  
 [λεγεις ω βελτιστε Σω]κρα
- Col. ii.
- τει· οιει με α Λυσιας εν πολ 228 a  
 λωι χρονωι κατα σχολην  
 50 συνεθηκεν δεινοτatos

αν των νυν γραφειν ταυτα  
 ἴδιωτην οντα απομνημο  
 νευσειν αξιως εκεινου: πολ  
 λου γε δεω καιτοι εβουλομῆ  
 55 γ αν μαλλον η μοι πολυ χρυ  
 σιον γενεσθαι: ω Φαιδρε  
 ει εγω Φαιδρον αγνοω και  
 εμαντον επιλελησμαι· αλ  
 λα γαρ ουδ' ετερα εστιν του  
 60 των εν δ οιδα οτι Λυστιον λο  
 γον ακ[ο]μ[ω]ν εκει[ν]ος ου μ[ο]  
 νον απαξ̄η κουστ[έ]ν αλ[λ]α  
 πολλακις επαναλ[α]μβα[ν]ω  
 εκελευεν οι λεγειν ο δε ε

228 b

65 πειθετο προθυμ[ως] τ[ω]ι δ[ε]  
 ουδε ταυτα ην ικ[ανα] αλ  
 λα τελευτων παραλα[β]ω  
 το βιβλιον α μαλιστα επ[ε]  
 θυμει επεσκοπε[ι κα]ι [τουτο

70 δρων εξ εωθινου καθημ[ε]  
 νος απειπων ει[ς] περιπα  
 τον ηει ως μεν εγωμαι νιη  
 τον κυνα εξε[πι]σταμενος  
 τον λογον ει μ[η] παιν τι

75 ην μακρος ε[πο]ρευετο δε  
 εκτος τειχου[ς ι]να μελετω  
 ηι απαντησα[ς δ]ε τω νοσοῦ  
 τι περι λογων ακοην ιδω  
 μεν η[σθη οτι εξοι] τον ξυ

80 κορι[βαντιων]τα κα[ι π]ρ[ο]  
 αγειν' [ . . ε]κελευ δεο[με  
 νου δ[ε λε]γειν του των λ[ο]  
 γων ερ[αστ]ους εθρυπτετ[ο]  
 ως δη ουκ επιθυμων λεγει

228 c

85 τελευτων δε ελεγεν και  
ει μη τις εκων ακουοι βιαι  
ερειν συ ουν ω Φαιδρε αυ >  
του δεηθητι οπερ ταχα  
π[αντως ποιησει νιν η]δη πο[ι]  
90 ε[ιν :] εμοι ως αληθως πολυ  
[κρατ]ιστον εστιν ουτως ο  
π[ως ε]αγ δυνωμαι λεγειν  
[ως μοι δοκεις συ [ο]ιδαμως

Col. iii.

με αφησειν πριν αι ειπω  
95 αμως γε πως· πανι γαρ σοι  
του  
αληθη δοκω· ουτω νυν ποι  
ησω τωι οντι γαρ ω Σωκρατες  
παντος μαλλον τα γε ρη  
μ[α]τα ουκ εξεμαθον την  
100 μεντοι διανοιαν σχεδον  
π[α]γτων οις εφη διαφερει  
[τα] του ερωντος η τα του μη  
[εν] κεφαλαιοις ουν εκαστο  
[ε]φεξης διειμι αρξαμενος  
105 [απ]ο του πρωτου: δειξας  
[γ]ε π[ρ]ωτον ω φιλοτης ο εν  
τηι αρ[ι]στερα εχεις υπο τωι  
ιματιωι τοπαξω γαρ σε εχει  
τον λογον αυτον ει δε του  
110 το εστιν ουτωσι διανουον πε  
[ρι] εμον ως εγω σε πανι μεν  
[φιλ]ω π[α]ροντος δε Λυσιου  
[ε]μαντον σοι εμμελεταν  
[π]αρεχειν ου πανι δεδοκται  
115 [α]ιλλ iθι δεικνυε· πανε· εκκε

[κρ]ουκας με τών ελπιδος [[ν]]

[ω Σ]ωκρατεις ην ειχον εν

[σοι] ως εγγυμνασμενος

[αλλα] ποι δη βουλει καθιξο

120 [μενο]ι αναγνωμεν' δευρο  
[εκτρ]απομενοι κατα τον Ἰ  
[Χισο]ν ἵωμεν ειτα οπου  
εαν δοξη καθ ησυχιαν κα  
θιξησομεθα· εις καιρον

125 ως εοικεν ανυποδητος ώ  
ετυχον συ μεν γαρ αει θασ  
σον ουν ημιν κατα το υδατι  
ον βρεχουσι τους ποδας ἵε  
ναι· και ουκ αηδεις αλλως τε

130 και τηνδε την ωραν του  
ετου[ς] τε και της ημερας:  
προαγε δη και σκοπει οπου  
καθεδουμεθα: ορας ουν  
εκεινην την υψηλοτατῆ

135 πλατανον· τι μην: εκει  
σκια τε εστι και πνευμα  
μετριον και ποια καθιξε  
σθαι η εαν βουλωμεθα  
κατακλιθηναι: προαγοις ἦ

229 a

229 b

## Col. iv.

140 ειπε μοι ω Σ[ω]κρατεις ουκ εν  
θενδε μεντοι ποθεν απο  
του Ἰλιου λεγεται ο Βορεας  
την Ωρειθιαν αρπασαι: λε  
γεται γαρ: αρ ουν και ενθενδε  
145 χαριεντα γουν και διαφανη  
και καθαρα τα υδατια φαινε

ται καὶ επιτηδεῖα κοραις παι  
 ἔειν παρ αυτα; οὐκ ἀλλα κα  
 τωθεν οσον δυ η τρια σταδι  
 150 α ηι προς το της Αγρας διαβαι  
 νομεν και που τι εστι βωμος  
 αυτοθι Βορεου: ον παν εν  
 νενοηκα: αλλ ειπε προς Δι  
 ος ω Σωκρατες σε τουτο το μν  
 155 θολογημα πειθει αληθει ειναι  
 αλλ ει απιστοιην ωσπερ οι σοφοι  
 ουκ αν ατοπος ειην ειτα σοφι  
 ζομενος φαιην αυτην  
 πνευμα Βορεου κατα των  
 160 πλησιον πετρων ον η Φαρ  
 μακεια παιζουσαν ωσαι και  
 ουτω δη τελευτησασαν λε  
 χθηναι υπο Βορεου αναρπα  
 στον γεγονεναι η εξ Αρειου  
 165 παγον λεγεται γαρ αν και ον  
 τος ο λογος ως εκειθεν αλλ ον  
 κ ενθενδε ηρπασθη εγω  
 δε ω Φαιδρε αλλως μεν τα  
 τοιαντα χαριεντα ηγουμαι  
 170 λειαν δε δεινον και επιπονου  
 και ον παν ευτυχουσ ανδρος  
 κατ αλλο μεν ουδεν οτι δε αν  
 τωι αναγ'κη μετα τουτο το τω  
 Ιπποκειταυρων ειδος επα  
 175 νορθουσθαι και αυτις το της  
 Χειμαιρης επιρρει δε οχλος  
 τοιουτων Γοργονων και Πη  
 γασων και αλλων αμηχανω  
 πληθει τε και ατοπια θερμην  
 180 τερατολογων τινων φυσεων

229 c

229 d

229 e

αις ει τις απιστων προσβιβα  
κατα το εικος εκαστον ατε  
αγροικω τινι σοφιαι χρωμε  
νος πολλης αυτωι σχολης

Col. v. Plate V.

185 δεησει· εμ[οι δ]ε προς τα τοι  
αυτα ουδα[μ]ως εστι σχο  
λη το δε αι[τιο]ν ω φιλε του  
τοντου τοδε ον δυναμαι πω  
κατα το Δελφικον γραμμα  
190 γνωναι εμαυτον γελοιο  
δη μοι φαινεται τοντο ε.  
τι αγνοουντα τα αλλοτρι  
α σκοπειν οθεν δη χαι  
ρειν εασας ταυτα πειθο  
195 μενος δε τωι νομιζο  
μενω περι αυτων ο νν  
δη ελεγον σκοπω ον  
ταυτα αλλα εμαυτον  
ειτε τι θηριον τυγχανω  
200 Τυφωνος πολυπλοκω  
τερον και μαλλον επι  
τεθυμμενον ειτε η  
μερωτερον τε και απλου  
στερον ζων θειας τι  
205 νος και ατυφον [[φ]] μοιρας  
φυσει μετεχον αταρ  
ω εταιρε μεταξυ των λο  
γων αρ ον τοδε ην το  
δενδρον εφ οπερ ηγει  
210 ημας: τουτο μεν ουν  
αυτο: ιη την Ηραν

230 a

230 b

καλη γε η καταγωγή  
 η τ[ε] γαρ πλατανος αν  
 τη μαλα αμφιλαφης τε  
 215 και υψηλη του τε αγνου  
 το ύψος και το συσκιον  
 παγκαλον και ως ακμή  
 εχει της ἀνθης ως αν εν  
 ωδεστατον παρεχοι  
 220 τον τοπον η τε αυ πη  
 γη χαριεστατη υπο της  
 πλατανου ρει μαλα ψυ  
 χρου υδατος ως γε τωι πο  
 δι τεκμηρασθαι Νυμ  
 225 φων τε τινων και Α  
 χελωιουν ἕρον απο τῶ

## Col. vi. Plate V.

κορῶν τε [και αγ]αλματων  
 εοικεν ει[ναι ει δε] αν βουλει  
 ευπνουν [τ]ου τοπου ως  
 230 αγαπητον [κα]ι σφοδρα η  
 δη θερινον [τ]ε και λιγυρό  
 υφηχει τω [τω]ν τετ' τιγῶ  
 χο[ρ]ωι παντ[ω]ν δε κομψό  
 τα[το]ν το της ποας οτι εν η  
 235 ρεμα προσαντει ἵκανη πε  
 φυκεν κατακλινεντι τῆ  
 κεφαλην παγκαλως εχει  
 ωστε αριστα σοι εξενα  
 γηται ω φιλε Φαιδρε συ δε  
 240 γε ω θαυμασιε αποπωτα  
 τος τις φαινει ατεχνως  
 γαρ ο λεγεις ξεναγουμε

230c

νωι τινι και ουκ επιχωρι  
 ωι εοικας ουτως εκ του α  
 245 στεως ουτε εσ την υπερ  
 οριαν αποδημεις ουτε  
 εξω τειχους εμοιγε δοκεις  
 το παραπαν εξιεναι: συν  
 γιγνωσκε μοι ω αριστε· φιλο  
 250 μαθης γαρ ειμι· τα μεν ου  
 χωρια και τα δενδρα ουδε  
 μ εθελει διδασκειν οι δ εν  
 τωι αστει ανθρωποι συ με  
 τοι γε δοκεις της εμης ε  
 255 ξοδου το φαρμακον ευρη  
 κεναι ωσπερ γαρ οι τα πινω  
 τα θρεμματα θαλλον η  
 τινα καρπον προσειον  
 τες αγουσι· ουτω συ μοι λο  
 260 γους προτινων εν βιβλι  
 οις την τε Αττικην φαι  
 νει περιαξειν απασαν  
 και οπη αν αλλοσε βουλη  
 ννυ δ ουν εν τωι παροντι  
 265 δενρο αφικομενος εγω με  
 μοι δοκω κατακεισεσθαι·  
 οι  
 συ δε εν οπωι σχημα[.]τι οιει  
 ραιστα αναγνωσεσθαι τουθ ε  
 λομενος αναγιγνωσκε  
 >———

4. μικρον: συχνόν MSS. The deletion of the ε was probably due to the corrector.  
 5. [εκει] διετρύγα: or perhaps [εκει ετρυψα, which, however, is not a known variant.  
 11. γ' εφη: γάρ MSS.  
 12. ετρυψε: ἔτρηρε λέγει MSS.  
 15. [τη] Μαυρυχαι οικιαι: τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου οἰκίᾳ τῇ Μαρυχίᾳ MSS.  
 16. [δη]: so B: om. T.  
 18. [σχολη ει σοι: πενση ει σοι σχολη MSS.

19. δ]<sub>α</sub>: so B corr., Vat. 225, Ven. 189; δέ T and other MSS. ε of με was converted from α.

21. ποιησασθαι: so Burnet with Par. 1811; ποιησεσθαι BT.

σην: so BT; τεπν G, which is accepted by Burnet.

25. λόγος: λόγος ἦν MSS.

28. μὲν: om. MSS.

31-2. λέγει: MSS. λέγει γάρ, for which there is not room in the lacuna. τω before μη in l. 32 and before επωτι in l. 33 is omitted in the ordinary text.

40. The insertion above the line (apparently by the first hand) brings the papyrus into conformity with the usual text, except that καὶ εγώ appears here in place of εγώ' οὐν.

41. αἰγῶν: om. MSS.

55. πολὺ: so B; πολὺν T.

60. εὐ δ: so T; om. δ' B.

72. εγωμαι: the MSS. have ἐγώ οἶμαι without crasis.

74. παν τι: so Burnet with Schanz: πάντα τις MSS.

78-9. ιδων μεν: so T corr., Hermann, Schanz; ιδὼν μέν, ιδὼν μέν B and the majority of the MSS. (vv. II. ιδὼν μὲν ιδὼν μέν, ιδὼν μὲν λόν) and so Burnet.

81. ἐκέλευτος does not fill the space. Possibly there was a flaw in the papyrus (cf. l. 158), or a particle like δή or γε may have been added.

85. ἐλεγεν: MSS. ἐμέλλε which is required by the following ἐρεῖν.

87. A stop may be lost after ερειν.

92. ἔταν δυναμαι: δύναμαι MSS. For ἔταν cf. e.g. l. 123.

96. οὐτω: οὐτωσι MSS., which agree with the corrected reading τουτο.

101. π[α]γων: ἀπάντω MSS. There is but a tiny vestige of the π, but this combined with the short space is a sufficient indication.

103. οὐν: om. MSS. οὐν here implies the removal of the usual punctuation after ἐξέμασον, upon which verb, with the papyrus reading, την διανοιαν must depend. εκαστον is omitted in B.

106. ο: τι ἄρα B, τι ἄρα ὁ T.

112. Λυσιον: so T; καὶ Λυσίον B, Burnet.

116. ἐλπιδων was originally written, but was altered by the first hand to ἐλπιδος which is required by ην in the next line.

119. ποι: πον MSS. καθεζόμενοι is also the reading of BT; καθεζόμενοι Vind. 89, Stallbaum.

123. καθ ηναχαν: ἐν ἡναχίδι MSS.

126. γαρ: so Ven. 184. γάρ δή BT, &c.

θασον: ῥάστων MSS.

132. σκοτει: σκότει ἄμα MSS.

133. καθεδονμεθα: καθεζόσθμεθα BT, &c., καθεζησθμεθα Par. 1826. καθεδεῖται is used by Plato in *Theaet.* 146 a.

139. κατακλιθηται: so BT; κατακλινηται Burnet. B has βονλόμεθα for βονλώμεθα.

144. κατ: om. MSS.

145. διαφανη και καθαρα: so Ven. 189; καθαρά και διαφανή other MSS. The δ of διαφανη has been converted from a κ, i.e. the scribe presumably began to write καθαρα.

150. της Αγρας: so BT, &c.; ἐν "Αγρας Burnet (τὰ ἐν "Αγρας Bratuscheck). The ρ is not certain, having at first sight rather the appearance of an ι; but this is probably due to the scaling of the ink.

151. The interlinear σ may have been inserted by the original hand. τις Burnet with T, τι B. π of πον has apparently also been altered from a τ (i.e. τοτι) was originally

written), and there is a diagonal stroke through τ of τις as though that letter was to be deleted. Perhaps the corrector, whoever he was, intended to rewrite the whole word and then changed his mind and inserted τ.

152. εννεοηκα: νενόκα MSS.

154. σε: σν MSS., with πείθη or πείθει. σε was due to πείθει having been taken for the active instead of the middle.

158. Owing to a flaw in the papyrus the syllable φαι and ην are separated by a considerable interval.

160. ον η is apparently due to a misreading of συν; cf. note on l. 229.

163. Βορεοι: τοῦ Βορέου MSS.

165. λ of λεγεται was converted from a γ.

175. αντις: αῖνθι MSS., more correctly.

176. Χειμαιρης: ε was first written in place of αι; the alteration may be by the original scribe. The Ionic genitive is a vulgar form, like ἔαν in l. 92, &c.

επιρρει: και ἐπιρρει MSS.

179. πληθει . . . ατοπια (= ἀτοπία): so Par. 1811, 1812 corr., Athenaeus; πλήθη . . . δρωται BT, &c., Burnet. Why θερην was written at the end of this line is rather a mystery. In addition to the dots by which the word is cancelled a stroke is drawn through the ρ. The inserted ι is placed after the θ, and if it was written by the original scribe he no doubt also deleted θερην.

185. τα τοιαντα: αὐτά B, ταῦτα T.

187. τοντουτον: l. τοίτου.

191. δη: so BT; δ Vind. 80.

199. θηριον: so B; θηριον ὡν T (Burnet), θηριον ὡν vulg.

201. επιτεθυμενον: so BT, &c.; ἐπιτεθυμένον vulg.

223. ω γε: so Aristaenetus and vulg.; ώστε γε BT, Burnet.

225. φ at the beginning of the line is blotted.

229. το is omitted before εντονον, before which word a short blank space was left. Presumably the archetype was defective or illegible; cf. the scribe's failure to read συν in l. 160.

230. ηδη: so B; ηδύ T, Burnet.

232. υφηκει: l. υπηκει. B has ἵπηκειο (om. τω).

235. προσαντει: so T; προσαντε B. The first three letters of the word are smudged.

239. συ δε γε: so edd.: οὐ δέ γε BT, &c., σν οὐ Par. 1812. Cf. l. 253.

244. αστεως: δάστεως MSS.

248. The third γ of συγγενωσει was apparently intended to be cancelled by the dot placed above it; cf. ll. 116 and 179. In l. 269, however, a similar spelling remains unaltered.

253. συ: so Par. 1809, edd.; οὐ BT, &c. Cf. l. 239.

254. γε: om. MSS., but Par. 1809 has γε above the line after σν.

δοκει: δοκεις μοι T; δοκει μοι B.

εμης: so T; om. B.

258. προσειντει: so Vat. 173; προσιόντε B, &c.

259. οντω συ μοι λογοις: σν ἐμοι λόγοις οὖτω MSS.

263. οπη: so Coisl. 155, Ven. 8, 184, and others; οποι BT, Burnet.

264. δ ουν: so T, Burnet; οὖν B.

266. κατακεισθαι: so T, Burnet; κατακεισθαι B, &c.

267. οτωι was originally written for οτοιω, which is the reading of the MSS.; the alteration seems to have been made by a different hand.

1017. PLATO, *Phaedrus*.

Height 27.5 cm. Late second or early third century. Plate VI (Cols. xix–xx).

The following remains of a fine copy of the *Phaedrus* extend from p. 238 c to p. 251 b, with considerable lacunae, a gap of as much as eleven columns occurring after Col. vii. This text and 1016 were found together, but they are two quite distinct manuscripts, and differ markedly both in the quality of the materials and the character of the hands. In 1017 the papyrus is thinner and of superior texture (in several places supporting strips were added at the back), and the recto only is used, while the writer was a calligrapher of no mean order. His script is a handsome example of the oval type, regular and graceful, slightly inclined, and rather above the medium size. A few accents, breathings, and marks of elision occur, but these are mainly, if not entirely, due to a second hand, which has made certain corrections and inserted a number of alternative readings either in the text above the line or opposite in the right margin. In one case at least (xxxv. 5) a third hand is to be recognized. The punctuation, however, for which stops in three positions are employed (a low point, e.g. in xxi. 9, 27), is original. Paragraphi seem to have been used only where there was a change of speaker, in combination with the usual double dots; a coronis marks the end of a section at xxi. 29. Iota adscript is irregularly written; ξ, not σ, usually appears in compounds of ξvv (σvv- in Col. iv. 8). In order to preserve the evenness of the column the last two or three letters of a line are sometimes considerably compressed, and for the same reason a final N is occasionally represented by a stroke above the preceding vowel. The scribe is so skilful in his spacing that the angular sign used for filling out a short line is rarely called into requisition. This MS. is probably rather earlier in date than 1016, and may go back to the end of the second century.

The text is on the whole accurate and good, and the double readings, which have been referred to above, give it a particular interest. One of them supports a conjecture of Heindorf (iv. 3), some reappear in the MSS. (cf. i. 1, iii. 6, iv. 24, vii. 1, xx. 31–2, xxii. 31, xxvi. 9), others are new (iv. 6, 16, 25, 31, v. 15, 16, vii. 32, xix. 29, 33, xx. 5, 29, xxi. 17, 23, xxii. 20, 24, xxvi. 14, xxxii). New readings without variants are also not infrequent, and though seldom of much importance they may sometimes be correct; cf. e.g. vi. 9, vii. 30, xx. 2, 11, xxi. 26, 29, xxii. 18, 23, xxvi. 10, 29, 31, xxvii. 4, 29, xxxiv. 13, xxxv. 3, 4, 12, the last confirming a correction of Cobet. Moreover, the papyrus shows its good

quality by frequently preserving the superior reading when one of the two chief authorities, B and T, goes astray, sometimes (e. g. xxi. 4, xxii. 13) against them both. As in the commentary on 1016, it is to the evidence of those two MSS., as given by Burnet, that the collation appended below is for the most part confined; some additional information has been supplied from Bekker's edition.

Col. i.

Opposite Col. ii, 5.

1

Col. iii.

Col. ii.

θο[ε]ς πεπονθεναι : πανν  
μεν [ουν ω Σωκρατες πα  
ρα τ[ο]ι ειωθος ευροια τις σε  
ειληφεν [: σιγη τοινν]

5 μου ακούεις [τών οντί γαρ θεί  
ος [εο]ικεν ο τ[οπος ειναι  
[ωσ]τε εαν αρα πο[σ]λλακις  
[νυ]μφοιλημπτ[ο]ς προιον  
[τος τ]ου λογου γεννωμαι >  
10 [μη θ]αυμαστ[ης] τα νυν γαρ  
[ουκ]ετι πορρω διθυραμ  
[β]ων φ[θε]γγομαι : αληθεσ  
[τατ]α λεγεις : τουτων μεν  
[τοι σ]υ α[ι]τιος αλλα τα λοιπα

2286

328 d

[ερω]μενον ως [ηδιστον  
[εαν]τωι παρασκ[ευαξειν  
[νο]σουντι δε π[αν ηδυ  
[το] μη αντιτ[εινον κρειτ]  
5 [τον δε και ι[σ]σον εχθρον

ΟΥΤΕ δη κρείττον ουτε [ι]

[σου]μενον ε[κ]ω[ν] ερα[στη]ς  
[παι]δικα ανε[ξε]τα[i] η[τ]  
τω δε και υπο[δε]εστ[η]ερον

το αει απεργαζεται ηττω  
δε αμαθης σοφουν δειλος  
ανδρειου αδυνατος ειπει  
ρητορικου βραδυν αγχ[|[ε]|][|ν|]  
νου τοσουτων κακων και  
15 ετι πλειονων κατα την  
[δι]ια[νο]ιαν εραστην [τερω]

238 e

330 a

Col. iv

[ερω]μενωι αναγκη γιγνο  
[μεν]ων τε και φυσει ενον  
  
·ΟΙΣ·  
[των]· των μεν ηδεσθαι τα

Col. 35

κειν· δει μετα τ[α]υτα ι  
δειν· οφθησεται δε μαλ  
θακον τινα και ου στερεον  
διωκων· ουδ εν πλιω κα

[δε π]αρασκευαζειν. η στε  
5 [ρεσθ]αι του παραυτικα ηδε

.ε.

[ος φ]θονερον δην αναγκη  
[ειναι]. και πολλων μεν αλ  
[λων] συν[ο]υσιων απειργον  
[τα και] αφελιμων οθεν  
10 [αν μ]αλιστα ανηρ γιγνοι  
[το μεγαλης αιτιον ειναι  
[βλαβης] μεγιστης δε της  
[οθεν] αν φρονιμωτασ  
[ειη το]υτο δε η θεια φιλοσο  
15 [φια τ]υγχανει ον ης εραστη  
[παιδ]ικα αναγκη πορρω  
πορρω[τα]τα[α]  
[θεν ει]ργειν περιφοβον ον  
τα του] καταφρονηθηναι  
τα τ[ε] αλλα μηγχανασθαι >  
20 οπως [αν] η παντα αγνο  
ων και πα]ντα [αποθλε  
πων [εις τον ε[ρ]αστη]ηγ' >  
οιος ω[ν τωι μ]εν ηδιστος [

.ερ.

εαυτω[ι δε β]λαβερωτασ  
25 ειηι τα [μεν ο]υν κατα δια- [ . . . . ]ψν  
ν[ο]ιδ[αν επ]ιτρ[οπος τε] και- 239 c  
κ[οινωνος ουδαμη] λυσι  
τελης ανηρ εχ]ων ερωτα·  
την δε το]υ σωματος εξιν  
30 τε και θε]ραπειαν οιαν τε  
και [ως] θεραπευσει ου αν γε  
νη[ται] κυριος ος ηδυ προ[[σ]]  
α[γαθον] ηναγκασται διω

θεραπευ  
στειν

5 θαρω τεθραμμενον αλ  
λ υπο συμμιγει σκ[ε]ια πο  
νων μεν αιδρειων και  
ιδρωτων ξηρων απειρον  
ε[μ]πειρον δε απαλης και α  
10 νανδρου διαιτης αλλοτρι 239 d  
οις χρωμασιν και κοσμοις  
χητει οικειων κοσμουμε  
νον\* οσα τε αλλα τουτοις  
επεται παντα επιτηδευ  
15 [ον]τα· α δηλα και ουκ αξιο α δη δηλα  
περ]αιτερω προβαινειν  
[α]λλα εν κεφαλαιον ορισα ορισαμενον  
[μ]ενους επ αλλο ιεναι· το  
[γα]ρ τοιουτο σωμα εν πολε  
20 μω τε και αλλαις χρειας ο  
σαι μεγαλαι οι μεν εχθροι  
θαρρουσιν οι δι φιλοι και  
αυτοι οι ερασται φοβουνται·  
τουτο μεν ουν ως δηλον ε  
25 ατεον· το δ εφεξης ρητεον  
τινα ημιν αφελιαν η τι  
να βλαβην περι την κτη  
σιν η του ερωντος ομιλι  
α τε και επιτροπεια παρε  
30 ξεται σαφεις δη τουτο γε  
πι  
παν μεν\* μαλιστα δε τωι  
εραστη οτι των φιλτατω  
και ευνουστατων και θει

239 e

Col. vi.

[οτ]ατων κτηματων [ορ  
 φ[α]νον προ παντος [ευξαι  
 τ [α]γ ειναι τον ερωμε[νον  
 πατρος [γαρ] και μητρο[σ] κ[α]  
 5 ξυγγειν[ω]ν και [φ]λων [στε  
 ρεσθ[αι αν αυτον] δεξαι[το  
 διακωλυ[τας κα]ι επ[ιτι  
 μητας ηγουμ[ε]νος της η[δι  
 στη[ης πρ]ος εαυτον ομειλ[ιας  
 10 [αλλα μην ου]σιαν γ εχοντ[α  
 [χ]ρι[σ]το[ν] <sup>[ν]</sup> η τινος αλλης κ[τη  
 σεω[σ] ουτε εναλ[ω]τον ομ[οι  
 ως ου[τε αλοντα ει]μετα[χει  
 ριστο[ν ηγ]ησετ[αι] εξ[ε]ιν [πα  
 15 σα αναγκη εραστην παι[δι  
 κοι[σ φθ]ονει μεν ουσιαν [κε  
 κτημενοις· απολλυμε[νης  
 δε χαιρε[ι]γ [ε]τι τοινυν αγ[α  
 μον α[παι]δα· αοικον οτι  
 20 πλει[στον] χρονον π[αιδικα  
 εραστ[ης ευξαι]τ αν γενεσθ[αι  
 το[ν] <sup>[ν]</sup> αι[του γλυκυν] ως πλειστο[ν  
 χρονο]γ καρ[πουσθ]αι επ[ι  
 θυμω[ν] ερ[τι μεν δη και  
 25 αλλα κ[α]κα· α[λλα τις δαιμων 240b  
 εμειξε τοις [πλειστοις εν  
 τω παραντικ[α ηδονην  
 οιον κολακι [δεινω θηριω  
 και βλ[αβ]η μ[εγαλη ομως  
 30 επεμειξεν η [φυσις ηδο

Col. vii.

[πων θρεμ]μα[των τε και] θρεμμ[ατων και  
 [επιτηδε]υματων<sup>\*</sup> ο[ις το  
 [γε καθ η]μεραν ηδιο[τοις ηδι]στοισιν  
 [ειναι υπαρχ]ει· παι[δικοις  
 5 [δε εραστης προ]ς τω β[λα  
 [βερω και εις το συ]νημερευ  
 [ειν παντων α]ηδεστα  
 [τον ηλικα γα]ρ και ο [πα  
 [λαιος λογος τερπ]ειν τ[ον  
 10 [ηλικα η γαρ οι]μαι χρ[ονον  
 [ισοτης ετισας ηδονας]  
 αγο[νσα δια ομοιοτητα φι  
 λιαν πα[ρεχεται αλλ ομως  
 κορον γ[ε και η τοντων συν  
 15 [ουσ]ια ε[χει  
 10 lines lost.  
 [ηδ]ονα[σ] α[ει διδους αγει  
 [αρι]ωντι α[κ]ουοντι απτο  
 [με]ιωι· και π[ασαν αισθη  
 [σιν] αισθαν[ο]μ[ενω του ε  
 20 π[ρω]μενον [ωστε μετα] ηδ[ο  
 [ν]ων αι[τω αραροτ]ως υπη[  
 ερετειν τ[οι] δε δη ερωμε  
 [ν]ωι ποιον παρα]μυθιον  
 [η τ]ων ηδονας διδους  
 25 [πο]ιησει [τον ισον χρονον  
 ελ[.]

νην τινα οὐκ αμουσον  
και τ[ι. τι]ς ε̄ταιραν ως βλα  
βερον ψεξε[ιεν αν και αλ  
λα πολλα τ[ων τοιουτορο

## Col. xix. Plate VI.

[τους επιγιγ]νομεν[ους  
[παιδε]νει ος δ αν ανευ μα  
[νιας Μουσων επι ποιητι  
[κ]ας θυρας αφικηται· πει  
5 [σθ]εις ως α[ρ]α εκ τεχνης ικα  
[ν]ος ποιητης εσομενος.  
[α]τελης αυτος τε και η ποι  
[η]σις υπο της των μαινο  
[μ]εινων η του σωφρονοῦ  
10 [το]ς ηφαντισθη· τοαυτα  
[μ]εν σοι και ετι πλειωι μα  
[νι]ας εχω γιγνομενης  
[α]π[ο θ]εων λεγειν καλα  
[ερ]γα· ωστε τουτο γε αυτο  
15 [μ]η φοβωμεθα μηδ[ε] τι[ς]  
[η]μας λογος θορυβειτω δε  
[δι]γρομενος ως προ του  
[κε]κεινημενου τον σω  
[φρο]να δει προαιρεισθαι  
20 [φιλ]ονι· αλλα τοδε προς ε  
[κει]νων δειξας φερεσθω  
[τα ν]ικητηρια· ως ουκ ε  
[π ω]φε[λια σ] ερως τωι ε  
[ρων]τι [κ]αι τωι ερωμενωι  
25 [εκ θε]ων επιπεμπεται  
[ημι]ν δε αποδεικτεον  
[αν το]υνα[ντιο]ν ως επ εν

245 a

[ανθρωπιν]ης ιδοντα  
[παθη τε κα]ι εργα και ειδη  
[ταληθες ιο]ηγα[ι] αρχη δε  
[απο]δ[i]ξι[ε]ιος η[δε] ψυχη  
5 [πασ]α αβαιν]α[τος το] γ[αρ] αυ<sup>το γαρ [αει]χει</sup>  
τ[οκ]εινητον αθαν[α]τ[ο]ν  
τ[ο δ αλλο] κεινουν και ν  
π αλλ[ου] κ[ει]νουμενον

245 b

πανλαν εχ[ει] πανλα[ν] εχει ζ[ω]ης μοι[σ]  
10 δη το ε[α]υτο κεινουν [α  
τε ουκ [α]πολειπον εαι[το  
ουποτε λη[γ]ει κεινουμε  
νον αλλα και τοις αλλ[οις  
15 οσα κεινειται τουτ[ο] πηγη  
και αρχη κεινησεως αρ  
χη δε αγενητον εξ αρχης  
γαρ αναγκη παν το γιγνο  
μεν γ[ιγ]νεσθαι αυτην  
20 δε μηδ εξ ενος· [ει γαρ ε]κ  
του αρχη γιγνοιτο ουκ αν [  
[εξ αρ]χης γ[ιγνοι]το· επει  
δη δε αγεν[η]τον εστιν.  
και αδιαφθορον αντ[ο  
25 αναγκη ειναι· αρχης γαρ  
δη απολομεν[η]ς ουτε αν

[τυχὶ]α τὴ[ι] μ[ε]γιστη[ι] πα  
[ρα θὲ]ον ἡ τοιαυτὴ μανια θεων  
30 [δίδο]ται· η δε δη[μ]οποιει 245 c .;ο τη ποτε εκ [του] ουτε αλ  
[ξις εστ]η[ι] δενοις μεν α λο εξ εκεινη[σ γ]ενησε  
[πιστο]σ σοφοις δε πιστη ται ειπ[ερ ε]ξ αρ[χης] δει πᾶ δ[ει τ]α παντα  
[δει ουν πρωτον ψυχης χης περι θειας θειας ν τα γιγνεσθαι ουτ[ω δ]η κει  
[φυσεω]σ περι θειας τε και φυσεως ανθρωπι νησεως μεν αρχ[η] το αυ το αυτο κεινον  
το εαυτο κεινουν τουτο δ[ε] ουτε] απολλυσθαι ουτε το αυτο κεινον  
γιγνεσθαι δυνατον η παν

## Col. xxii.

τα τε ουρανον πα[σαν τε 245 c γενεσιν ἔνυμπεσθ]ουσαν  
στηναι και μηποτ αν  
τις εχειν οθεν κε[ι]μηθεν  
5 τα γενησται αθ[α]γατου φ  
δε πεφασμενου του υπ αν  
του κεινουμενου ψυχης  
ουσιαν τε και λογον τουτο  
αυτον τις λεγων ουκ αι  
10 σχυνειται παν γαρ σω[μ]α  
ω μεν εξωθεν το κεινει  
σθαι αψυχον· ω δε ενδοθ[ε]  
αυτω εξ αυτ[ο]υ εμψυχον[ν]  
ως ταυτης ουσης φυσε

15 [ως ψ]υχης ει δ ε[ε]τι τουτ<sup>σ</sup>  
[ουτω]σ εχον μη αλλο το ει  
[ν]αι τ[ο] αυτο εαυτο κεινού  
[η] ψυχη[ν] εξ [α]γαγκης α  
γενητη[ον τε και αθ]αρα  
20 [το]ν ψ[υχη] αν ειη πε]ρι  
[μεν ου]ν [α]θ[ανασ]ιας αν

## Col. xxii.

των [αλλων μεμεικται και 246 b πρωτ[ον μεν ημων ο αρ  
χων ξ[υνωριδος ηνιο  
χει ει[τα των ιππων ο μεν  
5 αιμη[φ] καλος τε και αγαθος  
[και εκ τοιουτων] ο δε [εξ  
[εναντιων τε και] εναν[τι  
ος [χαλεπη δη και] δινσκο  
λο[ις εξ αναγκης η περι η  
10 μας η[μιοχ]ησις π[η δη  
ονν θνητον τε και α[θα  
η[α]τον ζωον [ε]κλη[θη  
πειρατεον ειπ[ει]ν ψ[υχη]  
πασα π[α]γτος επιμε[λει  
15 ται του α[ψ]υχο[υ πα]ντα [δε  
ουρανο[ν] περ[ιπ]ολει· αλ  
λοτε εν [α]λλοιοι ειδεσι [γι  
γη[ο]μεν[η]· τελεια [μεν  
ουσα και επτερωμενη  
το άυτο κει 246 c νουν  
246 a μετεωρ[ο]π[ο]λειται και μετεωρ[πο  
παντα [το]ν κοσμον δι λει τε  
οικει· η δ[ε] πτ[ε]ρ[ο]ρυηση[α]  
[σα] πως φερεται εως αν

τῆς ἡ[κί]ανως περὶ δέ		
[τῆς] ἴδεας ὡδὲ λεκτεον̄	ιδεας αυτης	[[π]]τερρ[ου τινος αιν]τιλα
[ο]ιον μεν εστι παντ[η]		στιφεου[
25 π[αντ]ρ[ω]ς θειας [ει]γαν και		βηται οιν κατοικια]θεισα
μακαριας δηγησεω[σ]		σωμα γηι[νον] λαβονσα
ω δ' εοικεν. ανθρωπι		αυτο ἀντο δοκουν κει[νει]
νης [τε] και ελ[ατ]τονος.		[δια την εκει]νη δυνα
ταυτη ουν [δη] λεγωμεν.	τ[αυτη ουν] [λεγωμεν]	μιν [ξωον] το ξυ[μπ]αν
>—		30 [ε]κλ[ηθη] ψυχ[η και] σω
;ο εοικετω δ[η] ξυμφυτω		[μ]α πα[γε]ν [θ]ητον τε θητη[ην]
δυναμει υποπτερου [ξεν		[εσ]χεν επωνυμιαν αθα
γους τε και ηνιοχου θ[εων		[ν]ατ[ον] δε ουδ εξ ε[νος λ]ογου
μεν ουν ιππο[τ]ι τε και ην[τ]		
οχοι παντες αυτ[ο]ι τε αγα		
35 θοι και εξ αγαθων· το δε		

## Col. xxiii.

[γ]α[δ]ηγεμων εν ουρανω Ζευς      246 c  
ελαν[νων πτηνον αρμα πρω

## Col. xxvi.

[το προσηκ]ον δεξεσθ[αι]	247 d
[ιδουσα δι]α χρονου το ον	
[αγαπα τε και] θεωρουσ[α]	
[ταληθη τρε]ψ[ε]ται και	
5 [ευπαθει εως αν κ]υκ[λω η	
[περιφ]ορα εις [ταν]τον [πε	
[ριεν]εγκη[·] ε[ν δε τη]ι	
[περι]οδωι κα[θο]ρα μ[εν]	
[αντ]ην δικαιοσυνην*	αν τηνδ
10 [., .]. δικαιοσυνη· καθ[ο]	
[ρα δ]ε σωφροσυνην καθο	
[ρα δ ε]πιστημην. ονχ' ή γ[ε]	

## Col. xxvii.

χου [κεφαλ]ην· και[ι συμπε	
ριηνε[χ]θη την π[εριφορα	
θορυβου[μ]ενη υπο [των	
ιππων και μοδις [καθορω	
5 σα τα οντα ή δε τοτ[ε μεν	
ηρεν τ[ο]ιτ[ε δ ου βιαζομε	
νων δ[ε τ]ων ιππ[ων τα	
μεν ειδε [τ]α δ' ου α[ι δε δη	
αλλαι [γλιχο]μεναι μ[εν α	
10 πασα[ι τον α]λω επ[ονται	
αδυν[ατονται] δε ν[ποβρυ	
χιαι [συμπερ]ιφερ[ονται	

[νεστι]ς προσεστιν· ουδέ ἡ [εστι π]ου ετέρα εν ετερωι	εν ετερω ουσα	πατουσ[α]ι αλληλα[σ και επιβαλλου[σ]αι· ετε[ρα προ	248 b
15 [· . . . ω]γημεις ννν ον [των κα]λο[ν]μ[εν]· αλλα τῆ [εν τω ο ε]στιν οντως ε [πιστημ]ην ο[ν]σαν· κ[αι] [ταλλα ωσ]αντ[ως τα ον	247 c	15 της [ετ]ερα[ς πειρ]ω[μενη γενεσθαι θορυβος [ουν και αμιλλα και ίδρως [εσχα τος γιγν[ε]ται δὲ δη κα κιαι ηνιοχων πο[λλαι	
20 [τα οντως θ]εασαμε[νη και [εστιαθει]σα [δυσ]α πα[λιν [εις το εισω του ονυραν]ου [οικαδε]ηλθεν· ελθουση[ς [δε αυτη]ς ο ηνιοχος προς		20 μεν [χωλε]υονται [πολ λαι δ[ε πολλαι] πτερα [θραν ονται π]ασαι δε π[ολιν ε]χο[ν]σαι [πονο]ατ[ελεις της του οντο]ς θεας [απερ	
25 [την φα]τηνη τους ιπ [πους σ]ησας π[α]ρεβαλε [αμβροσι]αν τε και επ[ι [αυτη νεκ]ταρ εποιισε[ν [και οντο]ς μεν δη θεω[ν		25 χονται· κ[αι α]πελθουσαι τ[ρο]φη δ[οξα]στη χρω[ν τα[ι ον δε ενε]κα η π[ολ λη σπ[ουδη το αληθειας ιδειν ο[ν] εστι πεδιον	
30 [βιος αι δε] αλλαι ψυχαι η [ 248 a [μεν αρισ]τα θεο[ι]ς επομ[ε [ην υπε]ρηρεν [ει]ς τον [ [εξω τοπ]ου την τ[ου ηνιο		30 ἡ τ[ε] δη π[ροσηκουσα ψυ χη[ς τ]ω α[ριστω νομη εκ [του εκει λειμωνος τυγ χα[ν]ει ον[σ]α [η τε του πτε	248 c

Col. xxxii.

Opposite Col. xxix. 17.

]¶

Opposite Col. xxxiii. 19.

] . ταδ[·]  
]ν

Col. xxixii.

[τι]μ[ια] ψυχαις ουκ ενεστι  
[φ]εγγος ον[δεν εν τοις τη  
[δ]ε ομοιωμ[ασιν αλλα δι α  
μυδρων ο[ργανων μογις

250 b

[λους ωσπερ ει]πομεν δι[ε]  
[τ εκεινων τε] ελαμπεν ον  
[δευρο τ ελθο]γτεις κατει  
ληφαμεν αυτο] δια της ε

250 d

Col. xxixiv.

5 αυτων κ[αι ολιγοι επι τας  
εικονας ι[οντες θεωνται  
το του εικα[σθεντος γενος  
καλλ]ος δε τ[οτην ιδειν  
λ[αμπρον]  
4 lines lost.  
τε κ[αι ετελοντο των τελετω  
ι 5 η[ν θεμις λεγειν μακαριω  
τα[την ην ωργιαζομεν  
ολ[οκληροι μεν αυτοι ον  
τεις και απαθεις κακων  
οσ[α ημας εν υστερω χρονω  
20 η[πεμνεν

5 [ναργεστατης α]ισθη[[τα]]σε  
[ως των ημετερ]ων στιλ  
[βον εναργεστ]ατα οψις γαρ  
[ημιν οξυτατη των δια  
[του σωματος ερχετ]αι αισθη  
10 [σεων η φρονησις] ουχ ο  
[ραται δεινους γαρ] αιν πα  
[ρειχεν ερωτας ει τ]ι τοι  
[ουτον εναργες εαν]της

250 c

## Col. XXXV.

ται παρα φυσιν ηδονην  
διωκων ο δε αρτιτε[λης  
η των τοτε πολυθεαμων  
οταν τι θεοειδες ιδη προ  
5 η  
5 σωπον καλλος εν μ[εμι  
μημενον η τινα σωμ[α  
τος ιδεαν πρωτον μεν  
εφριξεν και τι των τ[ο  
τε υπηλθε αυτον δει  
10 ματων ειτα προσορων  
ως θεον σεβεται και ει μ[η  
εδεδιει την [τ]ης σφοδρ[α

251 a μανιας δοξαν. θνοι αν  
ως αγαλματ[ι] και θεω [τ]οις  
15 παιδικοις ιδοντα δε αυ  
τον οιον εκ της φρικης  
μεταβολη τε και ιδρως  
και θερμοτης αηθης λαμ  
[β]ανει δεξαμ[ενοις γαρ τ[ον  
20 [κ]αλλους την [απο]β[ροη]  
[δ]α των ομμ[ατων εθερ  
[μ]ανθη η η τ[ον πτερου  
[φυ]σις αρδ[ε]ται [θερμαν  
[θεντος] δε εταικη

251 b

## Unidentified fragments.

(a)  
δ[  
το[(b)  
]ναν  
]ηδε(c)  
ξ[  
[(d)  
· [  
ε[

$\kappa \cdot [$	$] \cdot \mu \eta$	$\beta [$	$\kappa [$	
$o \nu [$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$[$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	
5 $\nu \cdot [$	(e)	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	(g)	
$\epsilon \kappa [$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	(f)	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	
$\tau o \xi [$	$] \cdot \tau \omega [$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$] \cdot [$	
$\epsilon \pi [$	$] \alpha [$	$\omega [$	$] \alpha [$	
$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\theta [$	$] \theta [$	
(h)	(i)	(k)	(l)	
$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	
$] \alpha [$	$]$	$] \tau \alpha \zeta \eta [$	$] \tau \epsilon [$	
$] \tau \epsilon [$	$\mu$	$] \sigma \tau [$	$] \alpha \lambda [$	
$] \lambda \sigma \sigma [$	$\nu$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	
$] \lambda \alpha [$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	
$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	
(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	
$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	
$] \pi \varrho [$	$] \epsilon \tau [$	$] \nu \tau [$	$] \cdot [$	
$] \tau \theta [$	$] \alpha [$	$] \sigma [$	$] \pi \omega [$	
$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	
(q)	(r)	(s)	(t)	(u)
$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$
$] \lambda \xi [$	$] \epsilon \iota \kappa [$	$] \epsilon \kappa [$	$] \alpha \tau [$	$] \alpha \lambda [$
$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$
(v)	(w)	(x)	(y)	(z)
$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$
$] \alpha v [$	$] \alpha [$	$] \mu [$	$] \cdot \mu [$	$] \mu [$
$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$	$\cdot \cdot \cdot$

i.  $\epsilon \kappa$  is part of a marginal variant. The tenth line from the bottom of this column would fall near the beginning of 238 b, and  $\epsilon \kappa$  may therefore well refer to  $\kappa \epsilon \lambda \eta \mu \epsilon \nu \omega$ , for which Vat. 225 has  $\kappa \epsilon \kappa \eta \mu \epsilon \nu \omega$ , e. g.  $\tau \omega \tau \omega \kappa \epsilon \lambda \eta \mu \epsilon \nu \omega$  with  $\kappa \epsilon \kappa \eta \mu \epsilon \nu \omega$  in the body of the text.

There is a similar confusion in the MSS. regarding *κεκτημένον* just below and *κεκτήσθαι* in the previous sentence. The division *κεκτήλη* is however unusual.

iii. 4.  $\mu\eta$  so T, edd.; om. B.

6.  $\delta\epsilon$ , which is here entered as a variant, is found in Vat. 225; cf. iv. 6.

13. The alteration in the spelling and division of *αγχιων* is by the second hand.

iv. 3.  $\tau\alpha\nu$ , v. l.  $\tau\alpha\nu$ :  $\tau\alpha\nu$ , the original reading, is that of BT and Stobaeus;  $\tau\alpha\nu$  was conjectured by Heindorf. Burnet prints  $\tau\alpha\nu$  within brackets.

6.  $\delta\epsilon$  for  $\delta\eta$  does not occur in the MSS.

16. The marginal  $\pi\omega\rho\pi\omega\tau\alpha\tau\alpha$  is peculiar to the papyrus.

24.  $\beta\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon\rho\tau\epsilon\rho\tau\epsilon$ , the alternative reading, is that of Vat. 225, Ven. 185, 189, and four Paris MSS. The margin after this word is lost, but the line is completely filled, and it is not likely that  $\alpha\nu$  or  $\bar{a}$  followed;  $\alpha\nu$  is omitted in BT.  $\tau\omega$  (so B) is still more unlikely to have been added at the end of l. 23.

25. The marginal entry seems to have been some variant on  $\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\nu$ , but none is known;  $\lambda\alpha\nu$  would not be satisfactory. The object of the short horizontal strokes at the end of this line and the next is not evident. In  $\epsilon\eta$  the second  $\iota$  is perhaps a later addition.

26. It is not at all certain that the detached fragment containing the letters  $\lambda\tau\rho\tau\tau$  is rightly placed here.

31. No variant  $\theta\epsilon\rho\alpha\pi\epsilon\nu\epsilon\tau\epsilon$  occurs elsewhere, nor can it be defended.

32. A  $\sigma$  at the end of this line has apparently been crossed through, by which hand cannot be determined.  $\pi\omega\sigma$  for  $\pi\omega\sigma$  is found in Ven. 185.

v. 1.  $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ : B has the haplography  $\mu\epsilon$ .

2.  $\delta\epsilon$ : so MSS.;  $\delta\eta$  Burnet with Hirschig.

5. There may be a high stop after  $\tau\epsilon\theta\alpha\mu\mu\epsilon\nu\eta$ , but there are several accidental ink-spots at the end of this line.

11.  $\kappa\sigma\mu\tau\sigma$ : so MSS.;  $\sigma\chi\eta\mu\sigma\tau\sigma$  Plutarch.

15. a  $\delta\eta$   $\delta\eta\lambda$  for a  $\delta\eta\lambda$  is not otherwise recorded.

17. The MSS. support the reading in the text,  $\alpha\pi\sigma\tau\mu\tau\mu\epsilon\nu\eta$  ( $\alpha\pi\sigma\mu\tau\mu\epsilon\nu\eta$  two Paris MSS.);  $\alpha\pi\mu\mu\epsilon\nu\eta$  is new.

19.  $\tau\alpha\eta\tau\alpha$ :  $\tau\alpha\eta\tau\alpha$  MSS.

31.  $\delta\epsilon$ : so T;  $\gamma\epsilon$  B.

33.  $\kappa\alpha$ :  $\tau\epsilon$  καὶ MSS.

vi. 4.  $\mu\pi\tau\mu\tau\mu\kappa\tau\mu$ : so T Stobaeus; om. καὶ B.

9.  $\epsilon\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\alpha$ :  $\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\alpha$  MSS.; either may be right.

11.  $\chi\rho\eta\tau\alpha\tau\alpha$  seems to have been originally written by mistake for  $\chi\rho\eta\tau\alpha\tau\alpha$ . It is impossible to be sure which hand made the correction.

19.  $\sigma\kappa\tau\mu$  B.

22. The deletion of the superfluous  $\nu$  is perhaps to be assigned to the second rather than to the first hand.

23-4. The letters  $\lambda\tau\kappa\tau\mu$  and  $\lambda\epsilon\tau\mu$  are on a detached fragment, the position of which is hardly certain.

32.  $\tau\mu\tau\mu$ :  $\tau\mu\tau\mu$  was possibly written originally.

vii. 1. The variant in the margin is presumably  $\kappa\alpha$  for  $\tau\epsilon$  καὶ, as in Ven. 8 and 189.

3. T and Stobaeus have  $\eta\delta\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\alpha$ , B the marginal  $\eta\delta\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\alpha$  (so Burnet).

7. There would be room for two or three more letters in this line, the lacuna being of the same length as in ll. 5–6, but there is no known variant. *απαντων* for *παντων* is not a very satisfying remedy.

8. γαρ: so MSS.; γάρ δή Burnet with Stobaeus and Aristaenetus.

11–30. The division of the lines is conjectural; it is not at all clear that in ll. 12–14 αγε[τ], &c., are beginnings of lines, the margin being lost.

30–1. ηδονης seems to have stood in place of ηδόνης: ων is certain, and the vestiges suit the following αν[τ] and in the previous line ηδ[η]. ηδονῆς ἀραράτως αὐτῷ MSS.

32. Above the ω of τρω a letter has been written (by the second hand?) which can hardly be read otherwise than as λ, and after it another letter may be lost. No variant occurs here, and the insertion is not easily accounted for.

35. [ποιησει]: the scribe began to write α instead of ε.

**xix.** II. [μέν σοι: so T Aristides, Burnet; μέντοι B.]

23. ωφέλια or ωφέλεια: there would be room for ο before ερως in either case.

29. θεον: the MSS. have only the marginal reading, θεων.

33–4. According to the insertion in the margin the order of the words was to be ψυχῆς περὶ θείας φύσεως τοῦ αἰθροπνεύματος, which is intelligible though not convincing. There is no variation in the MSS.

**xx.** 2. και ειδή: om. MSS.

5. αυτοκεντρον is not a known variant on αικενητον, which here stood in the margin, but it suits the vestiges and is in itself likely enough; cf. τὸ αἴτο κυρον in the next sentence and αὐτοκέντρον in Hermias, *ad Phaedr.*, pp. 115 sqq.

11. εάντο: αἴτο MSS.

22. [εξ αρχης: so BT Simplicius Stobaeus; ἐτι ἀρχή Burnet with Buttmann (and Iamblichus?); ἀρχή Vind. 89 and apparently Cicero.]

24. αδιαθεορον: so T Proclus and edd.; ἀθεορον Stobaeus, ἀδιάθεορον B.

29. πατρα, v.l. τα πατρα: the MSS. all give the article.

31–2. The best MSS. support the reading in the text (with αὐτὸ for εαντο); τὸ αὐτὸ κινοῦν, as in the margin here, is however found in Par. 2011 and Ven. 8, 184. Cf. xxi. 17.

**xxi.** 2. γενεσιν: so BT Syrianus Stobaeus; γῆν t in marg.

3. αντις: the MSS. all have the regular Attic form. Cf. 1016. 175.

4. τχειν: so Stobaeus, Burnet; ζχειν στήριξi BT.

6. οε: so T Alexander Stobaeus; om. B.

Only the tail of the over-written φ is preserved, and it is therefore difficult to distinguish the hand; the π has not been crossed out. The MSS. have εαντο.

15. δε ετι was originally written: the correction is likely to be by the second hand.

17. For the variant cf. xx. 31–2; the MSS. are here unanimous except that some have αἴτο for εαντο.

23. The MSS. support the adscript ιδεας αντης.

26. μακαριας: μακρᾶς MSS.

29. [δη]: om. MSS. The crossbar of a τ in the margin points to the insertion of the ordinary reading as a variant.

30. εουκετο δη]: so rightly t Hermias Stobaeus, though of course it is impossible to be certain that the scribe intended the words to be so divided; εουκε τῷ δή T, εουκε τῷ δή B, εουκε δή τῷ Vind. 109, εουκε δή τῇ vulg.

34. πάντες αυτοι[τ]ε: so T, Burnet; και πάντες αἴτοι B.

**xxii.** 11. τε: so T, Burnet; om. B.

13-14.  $\psi\psi\chi\eta$ ] πασα: so Burnet with Simplicius; πᾶσα ἡ ψυχή B, ἡ ψυχή πᾶσα T, ψυχή γὰρ πᾶσα Eusebius.  $\psi\psi\chi\eta$  amply fills the line.

16. οὐρανού: so BT, Burnet; ἀθρωπῶν Vind. 109, οὐρ Herwerden, secl. Badham.

18. τελεῖα: τελέα MSS. It seems likely that the papyrus agreed with B and many other MSS. in omitting οὐρ (T, Burnet) after μεν, which sufficiently fills the space, though οὐρ if written ὅ would not take much room.

20. μετεωρόπολης τε, the marginal adscript, is the reading of Syrianus, μετεωρόπολης λειται is new; μετεωροποίης BT and the majority of the MSS., v. l. μετεωροποίεται.

21. παῖα: so B, Burnet; ἄπαντα T.

22. I. πτερορρυγάσα.

23. πως: om. MSS. Only the barest vestige remains of the letter preceding ω and it does not particularly suggest π, but since τεος would be too long πως seems inevitable.

24. The MSS. support the marginal στρέπεον (the usual Platonic form: στρέπτορέον Tim. Locr. 101 a), not στρέψον. It is probable that the second rather than the original hand substituted σ for π.

29. A fragment containing the letters μν is rather doubtfully placed here.

31. θηγῆ in the margin was doubtless θηγῆν, which is found instead of the better supported θηγῆν in Ven. 8, Par. 2011.

**xxvi. 1.** δέξεσθαι]: so B; δέξασθαι T, Burnet.

8. καθοδόμα μέρη: so T; καθοδώμεν B.

9. The reading αῦτὴν δικαιουσίην, indicated by the writer of the adscript, is found in Coisl. 155 and was considered favourably by Heindorf.

10. [ . . ]. δικαιουσίη does not occur in any MS. The letter before δ is represented by a vertical stroke which would suit η, ι, or ρ, and it is immediately below the second upright of the η in [αὐτῆν]. Perhaps [ο εστ] may be restored; cf. Parm. 133 d αἰτοῦ διεσπόντος δήπον, δ ἔστι διεπόντης.

13. οὐδὲ η: so B (οὐδ'); οὐ δή T, οὐδ' ᾧ vulg.

14. εν ετερῳ οντα (so MSS.) in the margin shows that something other than οντα stood in the text, but there is no known variant. Of the ν of οντν there remains only the top of the second upright stroke.

17. οντως: ὃν οντως MSS.

29. δη: om. MSS.

31. θεοῖς: θεῷ MSS. (θεῶν Coisl. 155).

επομένῃς: ἐπομένῃ καὶ εἰκασμένῃ MSS. One more letter might have been expected in the lacuna at the beginning of the next line.

**xxvii. 4.** μολις: μόρις MSS.

6. δ' ον: δ' εὖν MSS. δ' ον was presumably due to the influence of I. 8.

27. The papyrus of course may have read δη with T instead of δε. B here has οὐδὲν εχει for οὐ δ' ἔνεχε ᾧ.

29. οὐ εστι πεδίον: πεδίον οὐ ἔστιν MSS.

**xxxiii.** A slight difficulty arises concerning the gap between the remains of this column and Col. xxvii. A column of this papyrus corresponds elsewhere to approximately fourteen lines of the Oxford text; there are sixty-five printed lines lost between xxvii. 33 and xxxiii. 1, giving an average of only thirteen lines for the five columns, which would therefore appear to have been written larger or to have been rather shorter than their neighbours. This irregularity makes it the less easy to explain the remains of the two marginal adscripts which are all that survive of Col. xxxii. In the second of them ] οταν δέ | τι των is

a possible reading, with a reference to p. 250 a 6 *αὐται δέ, ὅταν* (v. l. *όπορων*) *τι τῶν ἐκεί κτλ.*; but the stroke before *τ* is somewhat straight for an *o*, and the words in question would be expected to have occurred two or three lines lower in the column: moreover *ὅταν δέ*, which would imply the omission of *αὐται*, is quite unsupported. On the other hand there is nothing else in the neighbourhood suggesting *-των*, and that ll. 14–20 of Col. xxxiii, which are on the same fragment as the two marginal insertions, are rightly identified can hardly be doubted.

**xxxiii. 1.** This line is most probably the first of the column, but the margin above it is imperfect.

14. *τε*, which was originally omitted, was added by the second hand.

**xxxiv. 1.** *ο*: om. MSS. Possibly *τ(ε)* was omitted in l. 3.

13. *ἐναργές εαυτῆς* : *ἐαυτῆς ἐναργές* MSS.

**xxxv. 3.** *η (= ῥ)*: *δ* MSS.

4. *τι θεοῖς* *ἐθνῶν πρόσωπον*: *θεοῖς* *πρόσωπον* *ἴῃ* MSS., omitting *τι*.

5. *η* was added above the line by a hand different from that to which the majority at any rate of the insertions are due. The MSS. agree with the original reading.

12. *εδεῖται* confirms the correction of Cobet; *δεδεῖη* B, *δεδεῖται* T.

22. *η η*: so T and edd.; *ἢ* B.

Fr. (*δ*). This fragment cannot be referred to Col. xxii. 7–9.

Fr. (*ε*). Neither Col. ii. 10–12 nor Col. xxxv. 18–20 seems to be the right position for this fragment.

Fr. (*d*) possibly belongs to Col. xxxiii.

Fr. (*f*). The breathing over the *ω* is doubtful.

Fr. (*k*). It is hardly certain that the fragment belongs to 1017.

Fr. (*m*). Col. ii. 2–3 is an unsuitable position for this fragment.

Fr. (*n*) cannot be assigned to Col. xxvii. 8–9.

Fr. (*p*). Not Col. xxvii. 19–20 or 22–3.

Fr. (*v*). The combination with Col. xxii. 5 is unconvincing.

#### 1018. XENOPHON, *Cyropaedia* i.

25.6 x 10.7 cm.

Third century.

Two columns, containing part of the sixth chapter of the *Cyropaedia*, Book i. The recto of the papyrus is occupied by a second-century money-account; the literary text on the verso, written in rather coarse and irregular uncials, may be attributed to the first half of the third century. Stops in the high and medial position are inserted, besides double dots marking a change of speaker; as in 1018, a single point is sometimes used where two would be in place, and vice versa.

Accents have been added occasionally. These lectional signs as well as a few corrections may all be due to the original scribe.

Textually this papyrus is of considerable interest, standing in very close relationship to the family of MSS. represented by D, the Bodleianus, and Stobaeus. Witness to the early influence of this family had already been found in a Vienna papyrus (ed. Wessely, *Mittheilungen* vi) and in 697; and the same conclusion is emphasized by 1018, whose agreement with DBod. is still more marked. In fact, there is here only one noticeable discrepancy from those two MSS. to set against the considerable number of coincidences, namely at l. 39 where instead of their *rues* the papyrus has the commonly accepted *τ(έ) είνι*. Editors may be right in regarding this as the generally inferior family; but there can be no doubt that it embodies an ancient and strongly established tradition.

In the collation below I am able to supplement the information given by Dindorf (Oxford, 1857) with that of the apparatus to the edition of the *Cypria* about to be published by Mr. E. C. Marchant, who has kindly allowed me the use of his proofsheets. C = Parisinus, Bod. = Bodleianus Bib. Canon. 39 (Marchant's D), H = Escorialensis T iii. 14; the other sigla correspond with those of Dindorf.

## Col. i.

[π]λεονεκτην των πο	6. 27
[λε]μιων και ο Κυρος ε	
[πι]γελασας ειπεν : ω Η	
[ρα]κλεις· οιον συ λεγεις	
5 [ω π]ατερ δειν αιδρα με	
[γε]νεσθαι: οιος αν εφη	
[ω π]αι δικαιοτatos τε	
<sup>α</sup> [και] νομιμωτ <sup>ε</sup> gos ανηρ	
[ειη]: πως μην εφη	28
10 [παι]δας οντας ημας	
[και] εφηβους ταναντι	
[α το]υτων εδιδασκετε·	
[ναι] μα Δι εφη και ννν	
[γε π]ρος τους φιλους τε	

## Col. ii.

35 τινος αει [.] [επειρασθε	
αγωνιζεσθαι προς αν	
τα· ή ου γιγ[νωσκεις	
οτι παντά τά[υτά κακουρ	
γιαι τ εισι και απαται	
40 και δολωσ[εις και πλε	
ονεξιαι· ναι μα Δι ε	29
φη ο Κυρος θηριων γε	
ανθρωπων δ [ει και	
δοξαιμι βουλεσθαι ε	
45 ξαπατησαι [τινα πολ	
λας πληγας οίδα λαμ	
βανων: ουδε [γαρ το	
ξενειν εφη οίμαι ου	

15 [καὶ] τοὺς<sup>ς πολεμίας</sup> φιλούσ[ι]. οπως  
[δε γε] τους πολεμίους δν  
[ναισ]θε κακως ποιειν  
[ουκ ο]ισθα μανθανον  
[τας υ]μας πολλα[σ] κα  
20 [κουργ]ιας: ου δητα εγωγ[ε]  
[εφη ω] πατερ: τινος  
[μην ε]φη ενεκα εμαν  
[θανετ]ε τοξευειν. τι  
[νος δ ε]νεκα ακοντιζειν  
25 [τινος δ ε]νεκα δουλοῦν.  
[νις αγρ]ιους πλεγμασι  
[και ορυ]γμασι τ[ι] δ ε  
[λαφο]υς ποδαγραις  
[και αρ]ιπεδοναις. τι  
30 [δε λεον]ιστι και αρκτοις  
[και παρ]βαλε[σι]ν ου  
[κ εις το ι]σον [κ]αθιστα  
[μενοι] εμαχεσθε αλ  
[λα μετα πλεο]νεξιας

δ ακοντιζειν [ανθρω  
50 πον επετρεπο[μεν υμιν  
αλλ επι σκοπ[ου εδιδα  
ξαμεν ινα γε τιν  
μεν μη κακο[υργοιη  
τε τους φιλου[ς ει δε  
55 ποτε πολεμ[ος γενοι  
το δυνατοθε [και αν  
θρωπων [σ]τοχα[ξεσθαι  
και εξαπαταν [δε και  
πλεονεκ[τ]ειν [ουκ εν  
60 ανθρωποις επα[ιδεν  
ομεν [υμας] αλλ [εν θη  
ριοις. [ινα μηδ εν τον  
[τοις τους φιλ]ους βλα  
[πτοιτε ε δε] ποτ[ε πο  
65 [λεμος γενο]ιτο μη  
[δε τουτων α]γυκ[ινα

6. *av*: ἀν (ῶν) Hertlein, Hug, Marchant.

8. *νομιμωτερος*: the second *r* was converted from a *p*, i. e. *νομιμωτερος* was first written.

9. [ειη]: on the analogy of the preceding and following lines not more than three letters should be lost, and hence it is likely that the papyrus agreed with DBod. and Stobaeus in reading *ειη* for *ειης*. The supposed double dots might possibly be the tips of a *σ*, but some kind of stop at any rate is expected.

14. The papyrus evidently had *γε* before *π]οος*, agreeing with DBod.; om. other MSS.

15. *τοις πολειτας*: so Stobaeus; *πρὸς τοις πολιτας* DBod., *πολίτας* other MSS. It is not clear whether the removal of the dittoigraphy is due to the original or another hand.

16. *διναισθε* suits the space better than *δι[ναι]σθε* (CAD, *δύνασθαι* Bod.).

20-1. *εγωγ[ε] εφη*: so DBod.; *ἔφη* έγονε other MSS.

22. *ε]φη ενεκα*: so DBod.; *ένεκα* *ἔφη* other MSS.

24. *ένεκα*: om. C.

25. *δουλοῦν*: so most MSS.; *δολοῦν* HR. The original reading of D is doubtful.

26. *πλεγμασι*: so DBod. (-σι); *και πλέγμασι* other MSS.

33. *εμαχεσθε*: *μάχεσθε* CAGH.

35. *αι*: *αιει* CAGH. The letter following *αι* is covered by a blot and a dot signifying deletion is also placed over it; perhaps the ink ran when the scribe was writing the *ε* of *επειρασθε*.

36. αὐ]τα : or ταῦτα, as in DBod.

37-8. γηγώσκεις ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα is the reading of DBod., and no doubt the same order was indicated by the marks above l. 38, the oblique dashes showing the number of letters to be transposed and the figures  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  the desired arrangement; cf. e.g. 16. 26. The alteration may be by the first hand. πάντα γηγώσκεις ταῦτα ὅτι other MSS.

39. DBod. have τίνεις for τ(έ) εἰσι.

42. ο Κύρος : so DBod.; om. other MSS.

48. εφη ὄμραι : so Bod., οἵμαι ἔφη D and a later hand in G; om. εφη other MSS.

51. επεὶ σκοπῶν εδιδάξαμεν : so DBod.; ἐπεὶ σκοπῶν βάλλειν ἐδιδάσκομεν other MSS. A blot covers the  $\alpha$  of αλλ.

58. [θε : so DBod.; om. CAGRII.

65. μῆδε : μηδέποτε AGH.

1019. CHARITON, *Chæreas and Callirrhoë*.

17 x 17.5 cm. Late second or early third century.

Two fragments of the *Chæreas* and *Callirrhoë* have already been obtained from Egypt, one a Fayûm papyrus of about the end of the second century (P. Fay. 1), the other a vellum palimpsest bought by Wilcken at Luxor, of the later Byzantine period (*Archiv* i. pp. 227 sqq.). Fresh evidence for the early popularity of Chariton's romance is now supplied by a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus. This contains parts of two columns, from the third and fourth chapters of Book ii, written in a clear semi-cursive hand of, apparently, much the same date as P. Fay. 1; it may be assigned to the close of the second century, or, at latest, to the opening decades of the third. An oblique dash is used as a stop in l. 55; cf. e.g. 413 verso.

The text of the *Chæreas* and *Callirrhoë*, apart from the two small fragments recently discovered, depends upon a single Florentine MS. of the thirteenth or fourteenth century (F). Compared with this, 1019 shows characteristics very similar to those of the Fayûm papyrus, except that the latter is more accurate. As would be anticipated in copies so much closer to the author, both papyri sometimes supply what is evidently a better reading. Thus, e.g., in 1019, ποδῶν in l. 1 confirms an emendation of D'Orville ( $\pi\omega\theta\acute{e}v$  F); in l. 25 the sense, which in F is obscured, was rightly given, though the exact wording is uncertain; ἀνομάζων for εἴναι νομίζων and in l. 54 the omission of ὅτι are other patent gains. There are also a number of small variations with regard to which the choice is less easy, though naturally the older authority deserves every consideration and is likely to be more often right than not. On the other hand, confidence is

disturbed by such errors as those in ll. 33, 38, 44, and 48–9. A noteworthy agreement of the papyrus with F in a probable corruption is found in l. 29.

## Col. i.

[γεων ψοφ]ον δε ποδων αισθο  
[μενη Καλλιροη προς αυτον [ε  
[πεστραφη] θεασαμενος ο[νν ο  
[Διονυσιος] ειλεως εφη ω Α[φρο  
5 [διτη και ε]π αγαθω μοι φα[νει  
[ης καταπι]πτοντα δε αυτ[ον  
[ηδη Λεωνα]ς υπελαβεν κ[αι  
[αυτη φησιν] εστιν ω δεσποτ[α  
[η νεωνητο]ς μηδεν ταραχθ[ης  
10 [και συ δε ω] γυναι προσελθε  
[τω κυριω Κ]αλλιροη μεν ουν  
[προς τουνο]μα του κυριου κατω  
[κυψασα πηγην αφηκε δακρυων  
[οψε μεταμαν]θανονσα την  
15 [ελευθεριαν] ο δε Διονυσιος πλη  
[ξας τον Λεο]γαν ασεβεστατε  
[ειπεν ως αν]θρωποις διαλεγη  
[τοις θεοις ταυ]την λεγεις αρ  
[γυρωνητον δι]καιως ουν ουχ εν  
20 [ρεις τον πιπρα]σκοντα ουκ ηκου  
[σας ουδε Ομη]ρου διδασκοντος  
[ημας και γε οι] θεοι ξεινοισιν εοι[  
[κοτες αλλοδα]ποισιν αιθρωπων  
[υβριν τε και ευνο]μιην εφορωσιν  
25 [. . . . . . . . . Κα]λλιροη πανσαι  
[μου καταγελ]ων και θεαν ονο  
[μαξων την] οιδε αιθρωπον  
[ευτυχη λαλουστης [δ]ε α[ν]της

\* \* \* \* \*

## ii. 3

Col. ii.

τῶν εστωτῶν ἐκεὶ καὶ κεκλη  
 30 μενων συνηκεν ο Λεωνας  
     καὶ αφεικομενος εις το τεμε  
     νος εξηγαγε την Καλλιροην  
     τους δην ιδειν οτι φυσει γεινον  
     ται βασιλεις ωσπερ ο εν τω σμη  
 35 νει των μελισσων ηκολουθο  
     υν γαρ αυτοματως απαιτεσ  
     αυτη καθαπερ υπο του καλλο  
     νις δεσποινη κεχειροτονημενοι  
     η μεν ουν απηλθεν εις την οι  
 40 κησιν την συνηθη Διονυσιος δ [ε  
     τετρωτο μεν το δε τραυμα πε[ρι  
     στελλειν επειρατο οια δη πεπ[αι  
     δευμενος ανηρ και εξαιρετω[  
     αρετης αντεποιουμενος μη  
 45 δε τοις οικεταις θελων ευκατα  
     φρονητος δοκειν μητε μειρακ[ι  
     ωδης τοις φιλοις διεκαρτερει [  
     παρα ολην την εσπεραν ποιο[ν  
     μενος γαρ λανθανειν κατα[δη  
 50 λος δε γεινομενος μαλλον [εκ  
     της σιωπης μοιραν δε τινα [λα  
     βων απο του δειπνου ταυτην φ[η  
     σι κομισταω τις τη ξενη μη ειπη [  
     δε παρα του κυριου αλλα παρα Διο  
 55 νυνιον / τον μεν ουν ποτον προ  
     η[γ]αγεν επι πλε[ι]στον ηπιστατο

ii. 4

1. ποδῶν: D'Orville's *infelix conjectura* (Cobet, *Mnemos.* 8, p. 256) is confirmed; ποθίν F, ὅπισθεν Cobet. ποδῶν was accepted by Hercher.

2. Καλλύροη: this is the regular spelling in this text as well as in P. Fay, 1 and in Wilcken's fragments.

4. εἰδεις εἴη : ἀνεβόστεν ἰδεις εἴη F. εἴης is superfluous.

8. εστιν : om. F.

12-13. In F πηγὴν ἀφῆκε δακρίων precedes κάτω κύψασα.

18. There is not room in the lacuna for σύ which precedes ταῦτη in F.

19. διλκασις ενικαχ : καὶ ὡς οὐχ F. Since αἱ γυρωνητοι alone does not fill the space, the restoration of διλκασις seems certain and gives a preferable reading.

20. ηκονθασις : so the Didot edition and Hercher; ἀκούσας previous editors.

22. Nine letters will hardly fill the lacuna, which is of the same length as in ll. 20 and 23, and the papyrus therefore seems to have agreed with F. Hercher restores the usual reading in ρ 485 καὶ τε θεοί.

25. F has τὸ γοὺν λαιπὸν παῖσι κτλ., which has been generally recognized to be defective. The papyrus has the name Καλλιρροή, which is obviously needed, and this was of course preceded by some such verb as εἶπεν or ἐφη; but there is not room for so much as τὸ γοὺν λαιπὸν as well, and how the lacuna should be filled remains doubtful.

26. ονομαζασι : this is clearly superior to F's εἶναι νομίζων. Callirrhoë's point is that Dionysius did *not* think so, but only pretended that he did.

29. καὶ κεκηλημένω : so F; ὡς κεκηλημένων Jacobs, whom Hercher follows.

30. ο : om. F. On the other hand after Λεωνᾶς F has τὸ γεγονός which is omitted in the papyrus.

33. τοὺς is an evident clerical error; τότε rightly F.

34. ο εν : om. ο F.

35. The divisions ηκολουθο|νν here and καλλο|νς in l. 37 are very unusual.

36. αυτοματος : om. F.

37. αυτη : om. F.

38. κεχειροτονημένοι : I. κεχειροτονημένη with F.

42. δη : δέ F. Cf. P. Fay. I. ii. 17 and for the asyndeton ibid. i. 16, note.

44. I. αυτιπονουμενος. μήτε for μ[η]δε rightly F.

45. θελων : ἔθελων F.

48-9. ποιο|νμενος γαρ : οἴδμενος μέν F, no doubt correctly.

50. μαλλον : om. F.

51. [λα]βον : λαβόμενος F.

53. ειη : εἴητε F. The papyrus is broken away after the η, but the line is of full length and it is unlikely that -τε followed. The 3rd person singular is quite correct after κομισάσθι τι.

54. παρα . . . παρα : παρὰ . . . ὅτι παρά F. Hercher inserts another ὅτι before the first παρά, but ὅτι can well be spared altogether.

## IV. DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

### (a) OFFICIAL.

#### 1020. IMPERIAL RESCRIPTS.

10·8 x 20 cm.

A.D. 198-201.

A fragment from the bottom of a column, giving two short rescripts of the Emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla, directing that the praefect should hold a new trial if the persons to whom the rescripts are addressed were under full age. This is the well-known *In integrum restitutio*, regularly allowed by Roman law to minors; cf. Cod. Just. 2. 21, Dig. 4. 4. The only novelty lies in the phrase used to express the praefect's procedure, ἀγῶνα ἐκδικεῖν: as is remarked by Professor Mitteis, to whom I am indebted for some suggestions on this papyrus, ἐκδικεῖν here apparently has the sense of ἐκδικάζειν. One of the two cases related to release from an obligation of some kind (*ἀφεσίς*), in the other there was an accusation of fraud (*ἀπάτη*). These rescripts are preceded by the remains of two lines from another official response referring an applicant, who had complained of some injustice, to the epistrategus. The papyrus seems to contain a collection of such decisions, though whether they were all concerned with the *In integrum restitutio* is not clear. Perhaps they were here cited by a petitioner as precedents supporting his claim.

[. . . . .] ἡσ· εἰ περιγραφὴ [  
· . . . .] τῷ ἐπιστρατήγῳ ἔντυχε.

*Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουῆρος [Εὐσεβὴς Π]ερπίναξ  
Σ[εβαστὸς Ἀραβικὸς Ἄδιαβηνικὸς*

*Παρθικὸς Μέγιστος καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Άντωνος*

5 *Οὐάρῳ Δαμασαῖον. εἰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἡλικίας ἔχεις β[οήθιαν,] φὸνούμενος  
τοῦ θηροῦς*

*τὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς ἀφέσεως ἐκδικ[ήσει.] πρ[οετέθη] ἐν Ἀλεξανδ[ρείᾳ]*

Προκόνδη Ἐρμαίον δὶς Ἐπαγάθ[ο]ν ἀπελευθέρου. εἰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ή[λικίας  
 ἔχεις βοήθιαν,  
 τὸν ἀγώνα τῆς ἀπάτης ὁ ἡγούμ[ε]νος τοῦ ἔθνου[ς] ἐκδικήσει. πρ[ο]ετέθ(η)  
 ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ

7. η of προκονδη corr. from ω : the name is preceded by a marginal cross. 8. ει of  
 εκδικήσει corr. from η. θνο of εθνου[ς] blotted.

ll. 3-8. 'The Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus and the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augustus to Varus son of Damasaeus. If you can claim the assistance due to immature age, the praefect of the province shall decide the suit for release. Published in Alexandria . . .

To Procunda daughter of Hermaeus through Epagathus, freedman. If you can claim the assistance due to immature age, the praefect of the province shall decide the suit for fraud. Published in Alexandria . . .'

1-2. These two lines seem to be the decision of a local official rather than another imperial rescript. Σε in l. 1 may be the termination of a proper name; or ]. ε, e. g. ειπε, might be read.

5. Βοήθειαν Mitteis. ή ἐκ τῆς ήλικίας βοήθεια is *aetatis auxilium*, for which cf. e. g. Cod. Just. 21. 2 *Eo tempore, quo soror tua auxilio invocabatur aetatis.* ἔχεις means 'is rightly yours', i. e. if your years justify the *restitutio*. For ὁ ἡγούμ[ε]νος τοῦ ἔθνους (cf. l. 8) as a synonym for ἡγεμών, *praeses provinciae*, cf. e. g. Cass. Dio Ixxix. 18, and for the use of ἔθνος, *Archiv* iv. p. 380. This line is somewhat short as compared with l. 7, but the sentence appears to be complete.

6. Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ was no doubt followed by a date.

#### 1021. NOTIFICATION OF THE ACCESSION OF NERO.

13.5 x 5.9 cm.

A.D. 54.

The following unaddressed notice of the decease of the emperor Claudius and the accession of Nero seems to be a rough draft for an official circular or a public proclamation. It is written in a small cursive hand, and several corrections and modifications show the absence of finish. A closely analogous document is B. G. U. 646, a circular from the praefect to the strategi of the Heptanomia enclosing a copy of his order to the people of Alexandria for the celebration of the accession of Pertinax; cf. also the fragmentary Berlin letter, quoted in the note on ll. 14-16, announcing the nomination of G. Julius Verus Maximus as Caesar, and the curious Giessen papyrus published by

Kornemann in *Klio* vii. p. 278 (*Archiv* v. p. 249), referring to the accession of Hadrian.

The papyrus is dated on the 21st (?) of the month Neos Sebastos (Hathur), i. e. November 17, thirty-five days after the death of Claudius. Oxyrhynchus was thus considerably in advance of Elephantine, where, as Wilcken, *Ost.* i. 13, shows, the news was still unknown on November 28.

'Ο μὲν ὁφειλόμενος	[[μεγιστ]] τε πάντων
τοῖς προγόνοις καὶ ἐν-	ἀγαθῶν Νέρων
φανῆς θεὸς Καῖσαρ εἰς	Καῖσαρ ἀποδέδεικται.
αὐτοὺς κεχώρηκε,	διὸ πάντες ὁφείλομεν
5 δὸς τῆς οἰκουμένης	15 στεφανηφοροῦντας
καὶ προσδοκηθεὶς καὶ ἐλπισ-	καὶ βουθυτοῦντας
θεὶς Αὐτοκράτωρ ἀποδέ-	θεοῖς πᾶσι ἔιδέναι
δεικται, ἀγαθὸς	χάριτας. (ἔτους) α Νέρωνος
δαίμων δὲ τῆς	Κλανδίου Καῖσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
10 οὐκούμενης [ἀρ]χὴ ὡν	20 μηδὸν Νέ(ον) Σεβα(στοῦ) κα.

7. *θεις* added above the line. 8. *ε* of δεικται above the line. 10. I. οἰκουμένης. *ων* above the line. 15–16. I. στεφανηφοροῦντες καὶ βουθυτοῦντες. 19. σεβαστοῦ γερμανικοῦ added in front of κλανδίου.

'The Caesar who had to pay his debt to his ancestors, god manifest, has joined them, and the expectation and hope of the world has been declared Emperor, the good genius of the world and source of all good things, Nero, has been declared Caesar. Therefore ought we all wearing garlands and with sacrifices of oxen to give thanks to all the gods. The 1st year of the Emperor Nero Cladius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, the 21st of the month Neos Sebastos.'

8–13. Perhaps there is an intentional antithesis here between Καῖσαρ and Αὐτοκράτωρ in l. 7; but the repetition of οἰκουμένης and ἀποδέεικται is clumsy, and ll. 8–13 look like an alternative version of ll. 5–8. For ἀγαθὸς δαίμων τῆς οἰκουμένης as applied to Nero cf. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Gr. Inscr.* ii. 666 [Νέρων] Κλανδίος . . . δ ἀγαθὸς δαίμων τῆς οἰκουμένης, σὺν ἄντανοις οἷς ἐνεργέσθετος ἀγαθός (Wilcken). The reading in ll. 10–11 is very uncertain, but probably does not misrepresent the sense, for which Wilcken compares the prophetic papyrus discussed by him in *Hermes* xl. pp. 544 sqq., Col. ii. 6–7 ἐπάνω . . . παραγίνεται βασιλεὺς ἀγαθὸν δοτήρ (ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα occurs three lines above); cf. also σὺν ἄντανοις . . . ἀγαθοῖς in the inscription already quoted. [ἀρ]χὴ in l. 10 is not at all convincing: the final letter is more like *v* than *n*, and [...]νεων could be read; moreover in l. 11, instead of supposing that the writer began the word μεγίστων, it would be possible to regard the deleted letters as a mistaken repetition of the syllables -μενων. A participle, however, gives a less satisfactory construction and sense, and no suitable substantive ending in -ων seems to be obtainable; ηγεμών is not satisfactory.

14-16. The construction is confused, the accusative being employed as if δεῖ or some similar word and not ὅρθιον were written. Cf. for the phraseology B. G. U. 646, 19-24 [ἀ]κόλουθον ἔστιν, [δὲ ἀδρές] Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, πανδημεῖς [θύμοι]γας καὶ εὐχορίους . . . στεφανηφορῆσαι ἡμέρας πεντεκάδεκα. It may be convenient to add here the text of the letter in the Royal Library at Berlin, published by Parthey in *Memorie dell' Istituto di Corrisp. Arch.* 2, p. 440, and reprinted with improvements by Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, p. 267; ἐπει γνῶστης ἐγενόμην τοῦ εἰλαγεδ[ιο]ν περὶ τοῦ διηγορεύσθαι Καίσαρα τὸν τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὔγουστος Καίσαρος Ταίου Ιουλίου Οὐλόν Μάζεμιν Εὐτεβούς Εἴτυχον Σεβαστοῦ πάτερα Γάιον Ιούλιον Οὐλόν Μάζεμον Σεβαστόν, χρῆ, τιμώσατε, τὰς θεάς κωμάζεσθαι. ἦν [ι]ν εἶδος καὶ παραπόχης . . .

19. Some very cursive letters just below the line in front of Κλανδίον are probably to be interpreted as Σεβαστόν Γερμανικόν, which was originally omitted. The words have been transferred in the text to their proper position. Καίσαρος too is very cursive.

20. κα: the second figure is very uncertain; it could also be δ or ε.

#### 1022. ENROLMENT OF RECRUITS.

36.8 x 9 cm.

A.D. 103. Plate I.

This is a letter in Latin addressed by the praefect of Egypt, C. Minicius Italus, to Celsianus, praefect of the third Ituracan cohort, announcing the addition to the cohort of six recruits, whose names, ages, and distinguishing marks, if any, are given. At the foot is a note of the receipt of the letter and of its entry in the archives of the cohort. The document, which is in excellent preservation, is written in a clear cursive: dots are placed usually after abbreviated words and in some cases also after numerals, rarely elsewhere.

cc

[C.] *Minicius Ital[u]s Celsiano suo  
sal u[er]o.*

*tirones sex probatos a me in  
coh(orte) cui praece in nume-  
ros referri iube ex xi  
kalendas Martias: nomi-  
na eorum et iconiſmos  
huic epistulae subicci.  
vale frater karissime.  
C. Veturium Genellum  
annor(um) xxi sine i(conismo),  
C. Longium Priscum  
annor(um) xxii, i(conismus) supercil(io) sinistr(o),*

- 15      *C. Iulium Maximum ann(orum) xxv  
sine i(conismo),*  
       [.] *Lucium Secundum  
annor(un) xx sine i(conismo),*  
       *C. Iulium Saturninum  
annor(un) xxiii, i(conismus) manu sinistr(a),*  
       *M. Antonium Valentem  
ann(orum) xxii, i(conismus) frontis  
parte dextr(a).*
- 2nd hand.    *accepta vi k(alendas) Martias ann(o) vi  
Impleratoris Traiani η(ostrī) per  
Priscum singul(arem).*  
       *Avidius Arrianus cornicular(ius)  
coh(ortis) iii Ituracorum  
scripsi authenticam  
30      epistulam in tabulario  
cohorts esse.*
15. maximum. Pap.    30. epistulam. Pap.

'C. Minicius Italus to his dear Celsianus, greeting. Give orders that the six recruits who have been approved by me in the cohort under your command be included in the ranks from Feb. 19: I append to this letter their names and descriptions. Farewell, dearest brother.

C. Veturius Gemellus, aged 21, without description,  
 C. Longius Priscus, aged 22; description, a mark on his left eyebrow,  
 C. Julius Maximus, aged 25, without description,  
 [.] Lucius Secundus, aged 20, without description,  
 C. Julius Saturninus, aged 23; description, a mark on his left hand,  
 M. Antonius Valens, aged 22; description, a mark on the right side of his forehead.  
 Received on Feb. 24 in the 6th year of our emperor Trajan through Priscus, orderly.  
 I, Avidius Arrianus, adjutant of the third cohort of the Ituraeans, have written out the original letter for the archives of the cohort.'

1. The meaning of these letters in the middle of the upper margin is obscure. The second is pretty certainly *e*, the first *c* or *s*. There is no sign of anything further, but the papyrus is at this point worn as well as broken, and it is possible that one or two more letters followed. *Cefpi* on the analogy of 720. 15 (if that be the right reading<sup>1</sup>) is not very satisfactory.

2. Feb. 24, A.D. 103 (ll. 24-5) is the latest date so far known for the praefecture of Minicius Italus, who was succeeded in this year by Vibius Maximus. The papyrus

<sup>1</sup> Wilcken's suggestion *legi* (*Archiv* iii. 313) is hardly suitable; the first letter may be *l*, but the third does not seem to be *g*.

confirms the view of the date of Italus expressed in P. Amh. 64, and the corrected reading of B. G. U. 908. 9, ε (εται), in *Archiv* ii. p. 137.

4. *Probatus* is the technical term for 'passed', 'examined' by the praefect, corresponding to the Greek ἐπικεκριμένος (e. g. 1023. 5); cf. B. G. U. 696. i. 28 *tirones probati* and *Mel. d'arch. de l'école française de Rome*, 1897, p. 450 *probato in iii Gallica*. The spelling *sexs* is found in inscriptions.

8. *icon[iz]mos*: the word may have its ordinary sense if in l. 14, &c., some term signifying a mark or scar be understood; otherwise it must be supposed that the proper meaning 'description' here passes into that of the features constituting the description, *sine iconismo* being practically equivalent to ἀσημος. Cf. τ 245-6 μυθήσομαι οἷος ἔην περ, γυρὸς ἐν ὄμοισιν, μελανόχροος, οὐλοκάρηνος, on which the scholiast remarks that δ τρόπος εἰκοναγύρος.

11. This man recurs forty years later as a veteran in 1035. 2.

25. *n(ostr)i* is unexpected, though it may stand. The letter could be *m*, but this is no easier. *an(gusti)* cannot be read.

27. *Arrianus*: or perhaps *Traianus*.

28. The third Ituraean cohort is mentioned as being in Egypt in the year 83 in C. I. L. iii. p. 1962. From the fact that this letter was found at Oxyrhynchus it may be inferred that the cohort was at this period stationed in that district. That a son of one of the recruits subsequently appears there (1035. 1-3) well accords with such a conclusion.

### 1023. ARRIVAL OF A VETERAN.

8.3 × 7.5 cm.

Second century.

A brief note recording the presence, at Oxyrhynchus no doubt, of a veteran soldier, with particulars of his entry upon the praefect's list. The document is unaddressed, and is no more than an occasional memorandum. It is inscribed on the verso of 1035, and presumably belongs, like that papyrus, to the reign of Antoninus, in spite of the formula of ll. 8-9, which was probably taken over from an earlier document. Lines 6-9 supply a new date for the praefecture of Q. Rammius Martialis, which is shown to go back to the first year of Hadrian.

Πόπλιος Πετρώνιος  
Κέλερ ἀπολύσιμος  
στρατιώτης, πρώτως  
παρεπιδημήσας, δηλω-  
5 θεὶς ἐπικεκρίσθαι  
ὑπὸ Κοείντου 'Ραμ-

μί[ο]ν Μαρτιάλις  
τῷ α (έτει) Ἀδριανοῦ  
τοῦ κυρίου.

'Publius Petronius Celer, discharged soldier, now for the first time residing, declared to have been placed on the list by Quintus Rammius Martialis in the first year of Hadrianus the lord.'

4. παρεπιδημήσας: record of the place of residence chosen by the veterans was kept in the epikrisis-lists; cf. B. G. U. 113. 12 βωβόμενος παρεπιδημένην πρὸς καρίν [τὸν νομῷ Ἀρσινοέτη] (so too 265, 19, 780, 14), and for παρεπιδημεῖν e. g. P. Tor. 8. 13 τῶν παρεπιδημούντων καὶ κατοκώντων ἐπ τάντας ξένων. On the subject of the epikrisis of the veterans see P. Meyer, *Heerwesen*, p. 125.

6 sqq. The earliest date hitherto recorded for the praefecture of Q. Rammius Martialis was Pharmouthi 28 of the second year of Hadrian (23 April 118), in C. I. G. 4713 f = Dittenberger, *Orientalis Gr. Inscr.* ii. 678; he is now shown to have entered upon his office before the end of Hadrian's first year, i.e. before 29 August, 117. His predecessor, M. Rutilius Lupus, was still praefect on the fifth of January of that year (B. G. U. 114. 5).

## 1024. ORDER FOR A GRANT OF SEED.

30·4 x 6·5 cm.

A.D. 129.

An authorization from the strategus and basilicogrammateus of the nome to a local sitologus for a grant of seed-corn to a cultivator. The document is closely parallel to P. Brit. Mus. 256 recto (e) (*Catalogue* ii. p. 96), an earlier authorization of a similar character, though differing in detail, conveyed from the strategus and basilicogrammateus by a son of an imperial slave; and in one or two places it helps to establish the text of that interesting but imperfect papyrus. Cf. Wilcken, *Archiv* iii. pp. 236-7; Goodspeed, *Papyri from Karanis*, p. 10.

Ἄσκληπιάδης στρατηγὸς  
Οξυρυγχέτου Ἡρακλῆ τῷ  
καὶ Ἡρακλείδῃ σιτολόγῳ  
ἀπηλιώτου τοπαρχίας Πα-  
5 κέρκη τόπων χαίρειν. μέτρη-  
σον συνεπιστέλλοντος  
Τέρακος βασιλικοῦ γραμματ(έως)  
ἐκ τοῦ καλλίστου δείγμα-

τος ἀπὸ γενήματος τοῦ  
 10 διελθόντος ιγ (ἔτος) εἰς κατα-  
     σπορὰν τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ιδ (ἔτος)  
     Ἄδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
     εἰς σπέρματα δάνεια Ἀπολ-  
     λωνίου Ἡλιοδώρου τοῦ Ἀπολ-  
 15 λωνίου μητρὸς Θαιδόσ  
     Χ[αι]ρίμονος ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχα(ν)  
     πόλεως ἡς (ἔτῶν) οθ ο(ὐλὴ) δφρ(ὺ)  
     δεξ(ιᾶ), δν καὶ γνωριεῖς  
     ἰδίῳ κινδύνῳ, ἦν ἥρηται  
 20 δι' αἰτήσεως εἰς ἦν γεωργεῖ  
     περὶ κώμην Ὄφιν ἐκ τοῦ  
     Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀλθαιέως  
     σὺν τῷ Πυρρίου καὶ Λυσιμάχο(ν)  
     κλήρων (ἄρουραν) αδ' πυροῦ  
 25 καθαροῦ ἀδόλου ἀβώλου ἀκρί-  
     θον κεκοσκινευμένου μέ-  
     τρῳ δημοσίῳ μετρήσει τῇ  
     κελευσθείσῃ ἀρτάβην  
     μίαν τέταρτον, / (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβη) αδ',  
 30 μηδενὸς ὑπολογουμένου  
     εἰς δφειλὴν ἡ ἔτερόν τι  
     ἀπλῶς, ἦν καταθήσεται  
     εἰς τὴν γῆν ὑγιῶς ἐπακο-  
     λουθούντων τῶν εἰωθό-  
 35 των, καὶ ἐκ νέων ἀποδάσει  
     τὰς ἵστας ἀμα τοῖς τῆς γῆς  
     δημοσίοις· παρ' οὐ καὶ λήμψῃ  
     τὴν καθήκουσαν ἀποχὴν  
     διστήν, ὧν τὴν ἔτέραν ἔμοι  
 40 ἀναδόσεις. (ἔτος) ιδ Ἀντοκράτορος  
     Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ Ἄδριανοῦ  
     Σεβαστοῦ Ἀθὺρ ιξ.

2nd hand. Ἰέραξ βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς [.] διαδεχόμενος  
 καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν, με-  
 45 τρήσατε τὴν τοῦ πυροῦ ἀρτάβην  
 μίαν τέταρτον, [ ] (πυροῦ ?) αδ', ὡς πρόκειται.

24. I. κλήρου.

32. η of ην corr. from α, i.e. the scribe began to write ἦς or ἤ.

'Asclepiades, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to Heraclias also called Heraclides, sitologus of the district of Pakerke in the eastern toparchy, greeting. Measure out, with the authorization also of Hierax the basilicogrammateus, from the best sample, of the produce of the past 13th year, for the sowing of the present 14th year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord, as a loan of seed for Apollonius son of Heliodorus son of Apollonius, his mother being Thais daughter of Chaeremon, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, aged about 78, with a scar on the right eyebrow, whom you are to recognize at your own risk, as requested by him for the  $\frac{1}{4}$  arourae of land which he cultivates near the village of Ophis in the holding of Apollonius of the Althaean deme with those of Pyrrhias and Lysimachus, one and one quarter artabae of wheat, pure, unadulterated, unmixed with earth and sifted, according to public measure and regulation measurement, total  $1\frac{1}{4}$  art. wheat, without any deduction for debts or any other purpose; and he shall sow it on the land in good faith under the observance of the usual officers, and shall repay an equivalent amount out of the new crop together with the government dues upon the land; and you shall take from him a proper receipt in duplicate and shall give one copy to me. The 14th year of the Emperor Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus, Hathur 17.

From Hierax, basilicogrammateus and deputy-strategus: measure out the one and a quarter artabae of wheat, total  $1\frac{1}{4}$  wheat, as above.'

1. The authorization is nominally issued by the strategus although, as the signature in ll. 43-6 shows, the basilicogrammateus was discharging the duties of the superior office. Some traces of ink above l. 1 near the edge of the papyrus are perhaps due to accidental blotting.

6-7. Cf. P. Brit. Mus. 256 recto (e) 2-3 ἀκολούθως τοῖς ἵπο Οὐακος στρατηγοῖ . . . [καὶ]  
 Ἀσκληπιάδον βασιλικὸν γραμματέων ἐνεργαλμένοις καὶ ἐπειφραγμένοις δίγμασι.

22. Ἀλλαγέως: at this period the name of an Alexandrian deme was regularly accompanied by that of the tribe (cf. Schubart, *Archiv* v. pp. 83 sqq.); the absence of the latter here is of course due to the fact that the name of the κῆπος dates from an earlier time.

32-3. This passage makes it clear that in l. 7 of the Brit. Mus. papyrus . . . a νῆσος καταθήσεος is to be read instead of ἐνιαυτοῖς καταθήσεοι. The possibility of γ in place of σ had already been observed by Grenfell. οὐνῶς is equally certain in P. Flor. 21. 13.

33-4. ἐπακολουθήσαντων τῶν εἰσθίστων: the officials meant probably coincided at least partially with those specified in P. Brit. Mus. 256 recto (d) 1-4 as concurring in the authorization of the grant to which 256 recto (e) refers, namely the ἑγούμενος (?) of the toparch, the comogrammateus and the scribe of the public cultivators.

38. The papyrus confirms ἀποχήν in l. 10 of the Brit. Mus. text, as restored by Wilcken, *Archiv*, l. c. in place of χειρογραφίαν.

43. There seems to be some correction in front of διαδεχόμενος. Perhaps a μ is deleted, i.e. the writer began the word μετρήσατε.

46. [ / ] (πυροῦ) αδ': or perhaps simply / αδ'.

## 1025. ENGAGEMENT OF PERFORMERS.

25.9 x 7.2 cm.

Late third century.

An order from the municipal officials of Euergetis to an actor and a Homeric reciter to come and perform on the occasion of a festival. The document is analogous to P. Grenf. II. 67, in which the president of a village council engages the services of two dancing-girls, and which belongs, like 1025, to the third century; cf. also 475, 731, Brit. Mus. 331, P. Flor. 74, and 519 and 1050, which record payments made to a mime and a reciter, no doubt on some such occasion as the present.

*Αὐρήλιος Ἀγαθος γυ(μνασιάρχης)  
 ἔναρχος πρύτανις καὶ  
 Ἐρμανοβάμμων ἔξηγ(ητῆς)  
 καὶ Διδυμος ἀρχιερεὺς  
 5 καὶ Κοπρίας κοσμητὴς  
 πόλεως Εὐεργέτιδος  
 Αὐρηλίοις Εύριπῳ βιολό-  
 γῳ καὶ Σαραπῷ δημητριστῇ  
 χαίρειν.  
 10 ἔξαυτῆς ἥκετε, καθὼς  
 ἔθος ὑμῖν ἐστιν συνπα-  
 νηγυρίζειν, συνεορτάσον-  
 τες ἐν τῇ πατρῷᾳ ἥ[μ]ῶν  
 ἐορτῇ γενεθλίᾳ τοῦ Κρόνου  
 15 θεοῦ μεγίστου ἀναγ . . . . [.]  
 τῶν θεωριῶν ἀμ' αὐ[ρ]ιον  
 ἥτις ἐστὶν οἱ ἀγομ[έν]ων  
 ἐπὶ τὰς ἔξ ἔθους ἡμ[έρ]ας,  
 λαμβάνοντες το[ὺς] μισ-  
 20 θοὺς καὶ τὰ τέμια.  
 σεσημ(ειώμεθα).  
 2nd hand. Ἐρμανοβάμμων ἔξηγ(ητῆς)  
 ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὔχομαι).*

3rd hand. *Διδυμος ἀρχιερ(εὺς) ἐρρώσθαι νμᾶς εὔχομαι.*

4th hand. 25 *Κοπρίας ἐρρώσθαι νμᾶς  
εὔχομαι.*

'Aurelius Agathus, gymnasiarich, prytanis in office, and Aurelius Hermanobammon, exegetes, and Aurelius Didymus, chief priest, and Aurelius Coprias, cosmetes, of the city of Euergetis, to Aurelius Euripas, actor, and Aurelius Sarapas, Homeric reciter, greeting. Come at once, in accordance with your custom of taking part in the holiday, in order to celebrate with us our traditional festival on the birthday of Cronus the most great god. The spectacles will begin to-morrow the 10th and be held for the regular number of days; and you will receive the usual payment and presents. Signed, I, Hermanobammon, exegetes, pray for your health.' Similar signatures of Didymus and Coprias follow.

3. Hermanobammon is a compound of the names of three deities, Hermes, Anoubis, and Ammon. 'Ερμανοῦθις and 'Ερμάμμων are already familiar (B. G. U. 332. 9, P. Leipzig 15. 3, &c.).

4-5. The order in which the *ἀρχιερεύς* and *κοσμητής* here stand is the reverse of that assigned them by Preisigke, *Städt. Beamtenwesen*, pp. 31 sqq., and the signatures in ll. 22-6 prevent any supposition of a lapse on the part of the writer. In P. Flor. 21. 1-2, on the other hand, the cosmetes is given precedence. Apparently the rank of *ἀρχιερεύς* was liable to some fluctuation.

6. Euergetis is mentioned in 814, a papyrus of the first century; it was evidently a considerable place.

7. *Βιολόγῳ*: this word occurs in an epigram found at Aquileia (Jacobs, *Anth. Pal.* iii. p. 970) τὸ λαλεῖσθαι φόβος Ἡρακλείδης μεμάδι Βασιλῆη στήλην θέτο βιολόγος φώς. It meant much the same as *μύμος*, no doubt; cf. 510. 3-4 and 1050. 25-6, where a *μύμος* and a *όμηριστής* stand in close proximity.

15. The remains at the end of the line do not suit *ἀνανεομένων* or *ἀναγκαῖων*.

19-20. The scale of payment was high, as is shown by 510, where a *μύμος* receives 496 and a *όμηριστής* 448 drachmae. It appears from that papyrus that the municipal officials made considerable contributions towards such entertainments.

## 1026. ATTESTATION OF AGREEMENT.

28.8 x 17.8 cm.

Fifth century.

The compact recorded in this papyrus is not very clearly expressed, but the main points are sufficiently evident. The principals are Gerontius and John, the latter apparently being in Gerontius' debt. It is directed that certain personal effects should be sold and the debt paid; and that any surplus should be given to John's children. A list is appended of the property, with the prices obtained for the articles already sold: as often happens in such lists, some rare or

unknown words occur. The document was drawn up by two *πρεσβύτεροι*, who seem to have been to some extent mediators as well as witnesses; cf. note on l. 2. No date is given, but the character of the handwriting and the nature of the sums mentioned fix the period fairly definitely.

2. ἰω[ά]ννης Pap.; 1. Ιω[ά]ννος.	3. Ἰωατία Pap.	4. 1. φικιαλίσις.	5. 1. τό.
I. Ιωάννης.	II. ἔστιν Pap.; so in l. 18.	12. 1. βαλλαρικῷ.	17. ουνχ: Pap.
I. πανθεόνιον.			21.

' We have mediated between Gerontius and John to this effect :—John shall take the cloaks and the linen with the veils and the kerchiefs to be sold, and shall pay the loan of the three solidi ; and we have given them to Gerontius to be sold for their value, as to the

amount of which an oath shall be taken (?); and the remainder shall be paid to John for the expenses of his children. The articles sold are as follows:—an onyx-coloured Dalmatian vest at 33,850,000 denarii; another likewise of the Xoite kind at 30,000,000; a . . . linen cloth with a common kerchief at 1 solidus; a kerchief at 7,500,000; a towel and a linen cloth at 15,000,000 denarii. The unsold articles are as follows:—1 small hide, 1 onyx-coloured veil, 1 Xoite veil, 1 . . . veil, a woman's box, a little shrine to hold unguents; these are to be sold through Theodorus and Gerontius for their value. Expenses through Gerontius amount to 18,600,000 denarii. We, Andreas and Triadelphus, presbyters, are witnesses.'

1. There are vestiges of a short heading, apparently not χμ.

2. μεταξὺ ἐλάθομεν: cf. e. g. P. Tebt. 433 διαλήμψεται μετοξὺ ὑμῶν ὁ στρατηγός. Perhaps the two πρεσβύτεροι should be regarded simply as μεταχυμετίται who witnessed an agreement independently arrived at; cf. e. g. C. P. R. 19. 7–8 σωεθέμην . . . ἐπὶ παρονίᾳ Διοσκουρίδον πρεσβύτερον τῆς ἔκκλησις ἐπὶ ὅροις ὥστε κτλ., 23 ὁ μεταχυμετίτης, Mitteis, *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1905, ii. p. 56. But the whole form of the present document, as well as ll. 5–6, may be taken to imply a more active part in the negotiation; cf. P. Brit. Mus. 113. (1)

3. μαφόριον, not μαφόριον, is the usual form in Byzantine Greek; see Du Cange, *s.v.*

4–5. δοῦναι τὸ δάνειον might mean to lend, not to repay; but the whole transaction seems more intelligible if the words are construed in the latter sense.

6. τί . . . ὄρκον: the meaning appears to be that an oath was to be taken by Gerontius as to the amount realized, but the construction of τί is harsh and the asyndeton awkward.

10. On the numismatical peculiarities of this period cf. the data collected by Wessely in his article on Philogelos, *Sitzungsber. d. k. Akad. d. Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-Hist. Kl.* cxlix. The thousands in ll. 10, 11, and 14 are denoted, as is usual at this date, by oblique strokes at the bottom of the figure. The symbol for μυριάδες is a semicircle open at the base and having a dot beneath it.

11. Ξοῖτον is formed from Ξοῖτης and some speciality of Xoīs or the Xoīte nome is meant; cf. B. G. U. 927, 6 ἔριων Ξοῖτικῶν.

12. παραπλῶν is difficult, but the alternatives seem to be no better; γα, γλ, τα or τλ could be read in place of the π, and δ instead of λ (-νον is unlikely). βιλλαρικόν = villaricum, but that form does not occur.

14. βαλανίριον: cf. 921. 18, 1051. 22.

16. δελμάτιον = δερμάτιον; but perhaps δελματί(κ)ον should be read.

19. μονθανάτον is unknown; the syllable μονθ suggests that the word may indicate a local product like Ξοῖτον.

21. The novel πανθειονύριον was evidently a casket of special shape, modelled perhaps on that of the Roman Pantheon.

24. πρεσβύτεροι: cf. P. Brit. Mus. 113. (1) 104 sqq. (i. p. 204), where two πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἰκονόμοι τῆς ἀγάλας ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀρσωτίῶν πάλεως subscribe to a deed of arbitration, and C. P. R. 19. 7–8, quoted above.

## (δ) DECLARATIONS TO OFFICIALS.

## 1027. DENIAL OF A CLAIM.

8.7 x 16.7 cm.

First century.

This document, of which the beginning and end are missing, is an application, addressed no doubt to the βιβλιοφύλακες, from a creditor whose security was threatened. Money had been lent to two brothers, Theon and Pekusis, on the security of some house-property. In default of payment the creditor desired to foreclose upon the property, when he learnt that in order to prevent this the father of the debtors had sent in a declaration that the property had been mortgaged to himself. The applicant seeks to prove that this declaration was fraudulent.

The papyrus may be assigned on account of the character of the handwriting to about the middle of the first century.

δι' ὑμ[ῶν . .]φ[  
 ποχρέων μον Θέωνος καὶ Πεκύσιος Ἀμμωνίου, τοῦ μὲν  
 Θέων[ος] ήμίσους οἰκίας μονοστέγου καὶ αὐλαῖς τοῦ δὲ  
 Πεκύσιος ὄγδοου μέροντος ἐπέρας οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῶν καὶ αἰ-  
 5 θρίου, [έ]φ' ἡς ἀλλαῖς τὸ π[ε]ρὶ τῆς ἐνεχυρασίας ὑπόμνημα  
 περιεῖχεν διαστολαῖς. ἐξ οὐ καὶ ἔξεχομένου μον τῆς  
 τῶν[ι] ἡνεχυρασμένων προσβολῆς προσέπεσέν μοι [ῃ .]  
 τὸν τῶν ὑποχρέων πατέρα Ἀμμώνιον Ἀμμωνίου  
 ἐπιδεδωκέναι ὑμῖν ὑπόμνημα ἀφ' οὗ ἔδρεν δυνή-  
 10 σασθαι ἐμποδισθῆναι μον τὴν πρᾶξιν, δι' οὖ ματαίως  
 εἰστορεῖ περὶ τε τοῦ ἀγνοεῖν αὐτὸν τὴν τῶν ἐμοὶ γεγενη-  
 [μένων] ἀσφαλιῶν θέσιν καὶ ὅτι ὑπόκειται αὐτῷ  
 [ 30 letters ]εφ[. . . . .]

5. 1. [έ]φ' αῖτι.      6. Second ε of εξεχομένου corr. from ο (?) .      10. δ of εμποδισθηται corr. from ρ and δι ον corr. from δι ων.

‘ . . . of my debtors Theon and Pekusis sons of Ammonius, Theon of the half of a one-storeyed house and court, and Pekusis of an eighth part of another house and courts and yard, with the other conditions contained in the memorandum of transfer. When I therefore pursued my right of entry upon the transferred property, I found that the father of the debtors, Ammonius son of Ammonius, had presented to you a memorandum by means of which he hoped that my execution might be prevented, wherein he vainly relates that he was ignorant of the securities which had been given to me, and that he has had hypothecated to himself . . . ’

1. The construction may have been something like ἀπεγραψάμην or πορεθέμην] δι’ ίμεν  
ἀρχαλείας.

5. ἡς is evidently a slip for αῖς; cf. e.g. 280. 12 ἐφ’ οῖς ἀλλοις ἡ ἀσφάλεια περιέχει,  
P. Strassb. 40. 14 ἐφ’ αῖς περιέχει διαστολαῖς πάσαῖς.

7. προσβολῆς: cf. P. Flor. 55. 25, 56. 11 ἐνεχυρασίας καὶ προσβολῆς, B. G. U. 1132. 17,  
23. The word here seems to be closer in meaning to ἐμβαδεία than to ἐνεχυραία (Manigk,  
Z. Savigny-St. xxx. p. 289; cf. Eger, *Grundbuchwesen*, p. 47; Rabel, *Verfügungsbeschränkungen*, p. 29). At the end of the line the scribe perhaps began to write ἐπιδεωκίαι.

1028. SELECTION OF BOYS (*ἐπίκρισις*).

24·4 × 7·3 cm.

A. D. 86.

Application from a woman, whose husband was dead, for the registration of their fourteen-year-old son in the list of privileged persons paying a reduced poll-tax of 12 drachmae. The document, which is written in a very cursive hand, is directed to a board of officials resembling that addressed in 714, not, like 478, to the βιβλιοφύλακες; cf. besides those two papyri 257–8.

X

2nd hand (?). Κλανδίῳ Μακεδονίῳ στρα(τηγῷ)  
 καὶ Γαίῳ βα(σιλικῷ) γρα(μματεῖ) καὶ Διον(υσίῳ)  
 καὶ Φιλίσκῳ γ(υμνασιαρχήσασι) καὶ Ἀπολλω(νίῳ)  
 5 καὶ Θέωνι γρα(μματεῖσι) πόλ(εως)  
 παρὰ Ταορέως τῆς Θομψήμιο(ς)  
 τοῦ Θοώνιος τῶ[ν] ἀπ’ Ὁξυρύγχ(ων)  
 πόλεως μετὰ κυρίου Θομ-  
 ψήμιος τοῦ Θοώνιος. κατὰ τὰ  
 10 κελευσθέντα περὶ τοῦ ἐπι-  
 κριθῆναι τεὺς προσβαίνοντ(as)

εἰς τὸν (τεσσαρεσκαιδεκαετεῖς) εἰ ἀμφοτέρω(n)  
 γοιέων μητροπολειῶν  
 (δωδεκαδράχμων) εἰσίν, προσφωνῶι  
 15 τὸν νιόν μου Χαιρήμονα  
 'Οινώφριος τοῦ Σόίτος  
 παστοφόρον Σαράπιδος  
 θεοῦ μεγίστου ἀπογρα(ψάμενοι) ἐπ' ἀμ-  
 φόδου 'Ιπποδρόμου προσ-  
 20 βεβηκέναι τῷ ἔνεσ-  
 τωτι ε (ἔτει) καὶ εἶναι αὐτὸν  
 (δωδεκαδραχμον) καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ μὲν πα-  
 τέρα ἐμοῦ δὲ γενόμε-  
 νον ἄνδρα 'Οινώφριν  
 25 Σόίτος παστοφόρον τοῦ α(ύτοῦ)  
 θεοῦ ἀπογρα(ψάμενον) ἐπὶ τοῦ α(ύτοῦ)  
 ἀμφόδου ἐν (δωδεκαδράχμοις) τετελε(υτηκέναι)  
 τῷ α (ἔτει) Δομιτιανῷ  
 τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τὸν πατέρα  
 30 μου Θομψῆμιν Θοώνιο(s)  
 ἀπογρα(ψάμενον) ἐπὶ Θοηρείου Θενέ-  
 πλωι ἐν (δωδεκαδράχμοις) τετελε(υτηκέναι)  
 τῷ β (ἔτει) θεοῦ Τίτου,  
 καὶ ὁμοίω Αύτοκράτορα  
 35 Καίσαρα Δομιτιανὸν  
 Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν  
 μὴ ψεύσασθαι. (ἔτους) ε Αύτοκράτορος  
 Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ  
 Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν  
 40 'Επείφ α. (3rd hand). Ταορσος  
 [...] . . . [.] . . . § ἐπιδέδω(κα)

## 40. 1. Ταορσεύς.

' To Claudius Macedonius, strategus, and Gaius, basilicogrammateus, and Dionysius and Philiscus, ex-gymnasiarchs, and Apollonius and Theon, city-scribes, from Taorseus

daughter of Thompsemis son of Thoönis, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, with her guardian Thompsemis son of Thoönis. In accordance with the orders concerning the selection of boys approaching the age of 14 when their parents on both sides are residents of the metropolis rated at 12 drachmae, I declare that my son Chaeremon son of Onnophris son of Soïs, pastophorus of Sarapis the most great god, registered in the quarter of the Hippodrome, has reached the age in the present 5th year and that he is a person rated at 12 drachmae, and that his father my late husband Onnophris son of Soïs, pastophorus of the said god, registered in the same quarter among those rated at 12 drachmae, died in the 1st year of Domitian the lord, and that my father Thompsemis son of Thoönis, registered at the Thoëreum (Theneplon) among those rated at 12 drachmae, died in the 2nd year of the deified Titus; and I swear by the Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus that I have made no false statement.' Date, and signature of Taorseus.

1. A large cross or  $\chi$  in the upper margin is presumably some official mark.

6. That *Taopseüs* (or *Taopseūs*) not *Taopseüs* (P. Brit. Mus. II, index) is the nominative is indicated by P. Tebt. 311. 29; the two genitives *Taopseūros* and *Taopseūos* correspond to the two masculine forms '*Oprseūros*' and '*Oprseūos*', from '*Oprseūs*' and '*Oprseūs*'.

17. *παιτοφόρον*: cf. P. Tebt. 292, where application for priestly circumcision is made for a boy of only seven years; in P. Gen. 260. 22 (Nicole, 1909) the age is still earlier.

18. *ἀπογράφωμενος*: *ἀναγράφωμενος* would be more usual, but there is no doubt about the reading here or in ll. 26 and 31.

19. *προσβεβηκίαν*: sc. *eis τοὺς τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατέτες*; the age is similarly omitted in P. Fay. 27. 9, P. Tebt. 320. 8.

31. *Θοηρίον*: cf. 43. verso iv. 14, 16. *Θενέπλω* is another name defining the locality more closely; cf. 478. 15.

41. *Θοηψήμως* would be expected at the beginning of this line, but there is hardly room for so much, and it is difficult to recognize the indistinct vestiges. As *Taopseüs* shows, a misspelling is quite probable. The signature is in rude uncials.

#### 1029. RETURN OF HIEROGLYPHIC INSCRIBERS.

31·7 x 10·9 cm.

A.D. 107.

A list, addressed to the basilicogrammateus, of the carvers of hieroglyphics at Oxyrhynchus in the 11th year of Trajan. These *ἱερογλύφοι* are classified according to the district in which they lived; and they declare on oath that the list is exhaustive and that there were no apprentices or strangers versed in their art. Few references occur in papyri or inscriptions to the *ἱερογλύφοι* (cf. P. Leyden U. i. 2, iv. 2, C. I. G. 4716 d 14, and the Cairo inscription edited by Spiegelberg, *Die demot. Inschr.* pp. 69-70) and little is known concerning their position; but it is evident from ll. 15-16 below that some of them were definitely attached to the service of the temples, and there is a close analogy between the present return and the lists (*γραφαῖ*) of priests and temple-revenues annually supplied to the strategi or basilicogrammateis, on which cf. P. Tebt. 298.

Κλαυδίῳ Μενάνδρῳ βασιλικῷ γραμματεῖ  
παρὰ Τεώτους νεωτέρου Ὄννώφριος τοῦ Τεώτους  
μητρὸς Τασεύτος καὶ Ἀσκλάτος Ὄννώφριος  
τοῦ Ὀσμόλχιος μητρὸς Τεσαύριος ἀμφοτέρων  
5 απ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως ἵερογλύφων τῶν κε-  
χειρισμένων ὑπὸ τῶν συνιερογλύφων γρα-  
φὴ ἡμῶν τε καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν συνιερογλύ-  
φων τοῦ ἐνεστήτωτος ἐγδεκάτου ἔτος  
Τραιανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου.

10 *WV eval.*

Δεκάτης

Τέως Ὁνυώφριος ὁ προγεγραμμένος,

*'Onnōphrīs ἀδελφός,*

*'Ασκλᾶς Ὁρνώφρις ὁ προγεγραμμένος,*

<sup>15</sup> Ὁσμόλχις ἀδελφὸς ὃν καὶ ἱερογλύφος

*Οσείριος θεοῦ μεγίστου.*

*·Απι(δος?) δρόμου Θοήριδος·*

*Πτολεμαῖς Πετοσοράπιος τοῦ Πετοσοράπιος.*

$$= \alpha v \delta(\rho \epsilon s) \cdot \epsilon.$$

<sup>20</sup> καὶ ὅμινομεν Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα

*Nέρουν Τραιανὸν [Σ]εβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν*

*Δακτίκὸν ἔξ οὐγιοῦς καὶ ἐπ' ἀληθεῖα*

δεδωκέναι τὴν προκειμένην γραφὴν

*καὶ πλείω τούτων μὴ εἶναι μηδὲ ἔχειν*

25 μαθητὰς ἡ ἐπιξένους χρωὶς μένους

*τῇ τέχνῃ εἰς τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἡμέραν,*

ἢ ἔνοχοι εἴημεν τῷ ὄρκῳ. (ἔτους) [i]α

*Kaíσaros Nερούα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ*

Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ Φαῶφι κθ.

5. *τερογλυφων* Pap.; so in ll. 6 and 7. The final *v* of *των* and *κεχειρισμενων* added above the line. 16. Second *o* of *οπεριος* above the line.

<sup>4</sup> To Cladius Menandrus, basilicogrammateus, from Teos, younger son of Onnophris son of Teos, his mother being Taseus, and Asklas son of Onnophris son of Osmolchis, his mother being Terasius, both of the city of Oxrychion, hieroglyphic carvers, who have

been delegated by their fellow-carvers: the list of ourselves and the said fellow-carvers of hieroglyphics for the present 11th year of Trajanus Caesar the lord, as follows:—

In the quarter of the Tenth, Teos son of Onnophris, the aforesaid, Onnophris his brother, Askas son of Onnophris, the aforesaid, Osmolchis his brother, who is also a hieroglyphic carver of Osiris the most great god.

In the quarter of the square of Thoeris, Ptolemaeus son of Petosorapis son of Petosorapis.

Total 5 men. And we swear by the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajanus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus that we have honestly and truthfully presented the foregoing list, and that there are no more than these, and that we have no apprentices or strangers carrying on the art down to the present day, otherwise may we be liable to the consequences of the oath. The 11th year of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajanus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, Phaophi 29.'

II. Δεκάτης, since it stands parallel to δρόμου Θούριδος in l. 17, must be the name of an ἀμφοθεον or λαῖρα at Oxyrhynchus; it has not occurred previously in the local papyri.

15-16. Cf. 579 *λεποτεκνῶν Ἀθρώσ Θούριδος*. This special description of Osmolchis as a *λεποτεκνός* of Osiris seems to indicate that the other four occupied a more or less independent position and were not connected with any particular temple or cult. In the margin opposite this line there is a dash and, just below, the letters *am*, apparently intended to modify or supplement in some way the statement of the text. Perhaps the meaning is that Osmolchis was associated with the cult of Apis as well as that of Osiris.

## 1030. NOTIFICATION OF DEATH.

26.2 x 9.6 cm.

A.D. 212.

This notice of the death of a slave follows the usual formula (cf. e.g. 262), and its chief point of interest lies in the address. The report, which is dated in the year 212, is directed to the 'ἀμφοδογραμματέων of the first tribe and the second circuit', showing that at the beginning of the third century the inhabitants of Oxyrhynchus were divided off into numbered tribes which were subdivided into numbered circuits (*περίοδοι*). It was already clear from e.g. 86. 11 and P. Leipzig 65. 7-8 that the municipal reorganization introduced by Severus included a tribal division on the Greek model; but the present is so far much the earliest allusion to this arrangement, and the *περίοδοι* seem to be novel.

*πε.*

2nd hand. Σερήνῳ ἀμφοδογρα(μματεῖ) α φυλ(ῆς) β περιόδ(ον)  
 παρὰ Διογένους (3rd hand) Παποντῶτος  
 τοῦ Σπαρτᾶ μητρὸς Τερεύτος  
 5 ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως. ὁ

έμοιν καὶ τῆς ὁμοπατρίας μου  
ἀδελφῆς Θαισίος δοῦλος Ἰστόρη-  
τος ὑπερετῆς ἄτεχ(vos) ἀναγραφό-  
μενος ἐπ' ἀμφόδον Παμμένους

10 Παραδείσουν ἐτελ(εύτησε) τῷ διελ(θόντι) ἔτει·  
διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι τὸ ὑπόμνημα  
ἀξιῶν αὐτὸν ἀναγραφῆναι ἐν  
τῇ τῶν [δ]υοῖν τάξει, καὶ  
ὅμνύῳ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου Μάρκου

15 Αὐρηλίου [Σ]εουήρου Ἀντωνίνου  
τύχην μὴ ἐψεῦσθαι. (ἔτους) καὶ  
Αὐτοκράτ[ο]ρος Καίσαρος Μάρκου  
Αὐρηλίου [Σ]εουήρου Ἀντωνίνου  
Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου Βρετανικοῦ

20 Μεγίστου Εὐτεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ  
[[μηνὸς Ἀδριανοῦ]] κ. (4th hand). Διογένης  
Παποντῶτος ἐπιδέδωκα καὶ διώ-  
μεκα τὸν ὄρκον.

1st hand (?). Σερῆνος ἀμφοδογύρα(μματεὺς) ἔσχον τού-  
25 τον τὸ ἵσον.

## 'No. 85.

To Serenus, district-scribe of the first tribe, second circuit, from Diogenes son of Papontos son of Sparta, his mother being Tereus, of the city of Oxyrhynchus. The slave belonging to me and Thaësis, my full sister on the father's side, Historetus, who was past age, had no handicraft, and was registered in the quarter of Pammenes' Garden, died in the past year: I therefore present this memorandum begging that he be registered in the list of such persons, and I swear by the fortune of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus that I have made no false statement.' Date, and signatures of Diogenes and Serenus.

2. ἀμφοδογύρα(μματεῖ): cf. B. G. U. 1062. 3, P. Brit. Mus. 935. 1, 936. 1, and P. Tebt. 436, where no doubt ἀμφοδογύρα(μματεών) should be read. All these instances date from the earlier part of the third century, at which period the office would seem to have been instituted. For *a φυλά(ῆς)* cf. P. Leipzig 65. 7-8 *ε φυλά(ῆς)*.

3. A different hand continued the document from the name Παποντῶτος. There are some similarities in the first line and a half to the signature of Diogenes in ll. 21-3, but probably the writers were distinct.

8. ὑπερετῆς: i. e. past the age of 60, after which liability to poll-tax ceased; cf. P. Brit. Mus. 259. 64 and Wilcken, *Archiv* iii. pp. 232-3.

21. The name of the month has for some reason been washed out.

22. διώμεκα: so e.g. 251. 30.

## (c) PETITIONS.

## 1031. APPLICATION FOR GRANT OF SEED.

15·4 x 9·4 cm.

A.D. 228.

A request for a grant of 30 artabae of corn as seed for 30 arourae of government land, of which the applicant was the sub-lessee. The document is addressed to two members of the senate of Oxyrhynchus who were the local commissioners for such grants. Cf. 1024 and P. Flor. 21.

*Αύρηλίοις Δημητρίῳ τῷ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀρ-*  
*χιερατεύσαντι καὶ Διοσκόρῳ ἀγορανόμῳ*  
*ἀμφοτέροις βουλευταῖς τῆς Ὁξυρυγχειῶν πό-*  
*λεως αἰρεθεῖσται ὑπὸ τῆς κρατίστης βουλῆς*  
 5 *ἐπὶ ἀναδόσεως σπερμάτων τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος*  
*η (ἔτους) ἄνω τοπ(αρχίας)*  
*παρὰ Αύρηλίου Βιαίου Βιαίου μητρὸς Ταιόλλης*  
*ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐπισήμου ἐποικίου. αἰτοῦμαι ἐπιστα-*  
*λῆγραι εἰς (σ)πέρματα δάνεια ἀπὸ πυροῦ γενήμα(τος)*  
 10 *τοῦ διελθόντος ζ (ἔτους) εἰς κατασπορὰν τοῦ ἐνεστῶ-*  
*τος η (ἔτους) εἰς ἦν γεωργῷ δημοσίαν γῆν οὐκ ἔλατ-*  
*τον διαρτάβου περὶ κώμην Σκὸν ὀνόμα(τι)*  
*Λουκίου Αύρηλίου Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ τοῦ νιοῦ Λου-*  
*κίου Αύρηλίου Ματραίου τοῦ καὶ Ἡρατίου ἐκ τ(οῦ)*  
 15 *ΠΩΔέου κλήρου (ἀρούρας) κε (ἡμισυ) καὶ ἐκ τ(οῦ) Παιδιέως*  
*κλήρου (ἀρούρας) γ (ἡμισυ), γ(ίνονται) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ (ἀρουραὶ) λ, (ἀρτάβας)*  
*λ, ἀσπερ κοκκολογή-*  
*σας ἀπὸ κριθῆς καὶ αἴρης καταθῆσω εἰς τὴν*  
*γῆν ὑγίως καὶ πιστῶς ἐπακολουθούντων*  
*τῶν εἰς τοῦτο προκεχειρισμένων καὶ ἐκ νέ-*  
 20 *ων ἀποδόσω τὰς ἵσας σὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις*  
*ἄμα τοῖς τῆς γῆς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος η (ἔτους) γνη[σ]ίοις*  
*τελέσμασι μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ ἡμιαρτάβῳ*  
*μετρήσει τῇ κελευσθείσῃ, καὶ ὅμνύω τὴν*

[Μάρκο]ν Αὐρηλίου Σεούρου Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 25 [Καίσα]ρος τοῦ κυρίου τύχην μὴ ἐψεύσθαι.  
 [(ἔτους) η Αὐ]τοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου  
 [Αὐ]ρηλίου Σεούρο[ν] Ἄ[λ]εξάνδρου Εύσεβοῦς  
 [Εὐ]τυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Χοίακ. (2nd hand). Αὐρήλιος  
 [Βίαιος] Βιαίου ἐ[π]ιδέδωκα

7. ταιόλλης Παρ. 11. ἀλαρ' Παρ. 13. νῖον Παρ. 14. I. Ματρίου. ηραῖσκον Παρ.  
 15. I. Πεδιίως. 16. κοκ' κο Παρ.

'To Aurelius Demetrius also called Alexander, ex-chief priest, and Aurelius Dioscorus, agoranomus, both senators of the city of Oxyrhynchus, elected by the most high senate to superintend the distribution of seed of the present 8th year in the upper toparchy, from Aurelius Biaeus son of Biaeus and Taiolle, from the village of Episemus. I request that there be assigned to me as one of the loans of seed from the wheat crop of the past 7th year for the sowing of the present 8th year, for the public land which I cultivate at a rent of not less than 2 artabae near the village of Sko in the name of Lucius Aurelius Apollonius and his son Lucius Aurelius Matreus also called Heraiscus, in the holding of Odeas  $26\frac{1}{2}$  arourae and in the holding of Pedieus  $3\frac{1}{2}$  arourae, total 30 arourae, a loan of 30 artabae, which I will clear of barley and darnel and plant upon the land honestly and in good faith under the cognizance of those appointed for that duty, and I will repay out of the new crop an equivalent amount with the accompaniments at the same time as the regular dues upon the land for the present 8th year by the public half-artaba measure and according to the measurement ordered; and I swear by the fortune of Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Caesar the lord that I have made no false statement.' Date and signature of Aurelius Biaeus.

5. Cf. P. Flor. 21. 2-4, where I. σπερμάτων ἀναδόσεως or διαδόσεως.

8. Ἐπι(σήμου) τόπ(ων) should perhaps be restored on this analogy in 518. 4. In P. Flor. 21. 9 ἐπισταδῆντι εἰς δάνεια may safely be read.

11. The nature of the distinction between δημοσίᾳ and βασιλικῇ γῆ is still doubtful; cf. Wilcken, *Archiv* v. pp. 248-9, Mitteis, *Z. d. Savigny-Sl.* xxx, pp. 400-1.

12. διαράθων must refer to γῆ and the meaning be that the annual rent per aroura was in no case less than two artabae. There may have been some restriction on loans of seed for land of inferior quality.

16. κοκκολογεῖν occurs in the glossaries of Dositheus Magister.

18. Cf. 1024. 33-4.

20. ἐπομένοις: cf. e.g. 518. 12. What exactly these ἐπόμενα are in the case of loans of seed is not clear; it is unlikely that the additional payments mentioned in P. Brit. Mus. 193 are on account of such loans; cf. P. Tebt. II. p. 342. In P. Flor. 54 of A.D. 314 loans of seed are to be repaid μετὰ τῆς ἡμιοδίας: cf. 1040, introd.

21-2. γνη[σ]ίοις τελέσμασι: cf. 740. 14 γνησίων δημοσίων, P. Amh. 86. 10, P. Strassb. 2. 13. The γνήσια τελέσματα here no doubt included the rent; cf. 133. 18, 1024. 36-7. γημαρταζω: γημαρταζω might also be read, but cf. I. 12.

## 1032. PETITION TO THE ÉPISTRATEGUS.

38.8 x 14.2 cm.

A.D. 162.

A petition to the epistrategus Vedium Faustus from a brother and sister, asking for a decision in a dispute which had arisen out of some irregularity in the registration of a vineyard. The case had been delegated to the epistrategus through the dioecetes, and the facts are recounted in a copy of a long petition to the praefect Volusius Maecianus (cf. note on l. 5) who had been appealed to in the first instance (ll. 5-42). In A.D. 147-8 a small piece of land owned by the petitioners had been converted into a vineyard, in accordance with a permit which it now appears was requisite in such cases, and a certain sum of money was paid to the government for the right to make the change (cf. note on l. 8). But some formalities of declaration or registration (*παράθεσις*) were omitted, and nine years afterwards the praefect Sempronius Liberalis ordered these to be carried out without delay. According to an entry made by an assistant of the strategus of the nome, this order was communicated to Diogenes, a deceased brother of the petitioners; but they assert that not only was there no evidence of the communication, but Diogenes had died long before the order was made, and accuse the assistant of bad faith. At the end of June or the beginning of July A.D. 161 the praefect referred the matter to the dioecetes Vonasius Facundus (ll. 43-8), who, in the absence of the accused assistant, sent it on to be dealt with by the epistrategus (ll. 48-54). An endorsement at the bottom of the document (ll. 58-60), dated at least nine months later, declares the readiness of the latter to hear the case.

Some of the main sections of the document are marked off by means of short blank spaces. It is rather difficult to read in parts owing to the discolouration of the papyrus. The verso contains 1049.

Οὐηδίῳ Φαύστῳ τῷ κρατίστῳ ἐπιστρατήγῳ  
 παρὰ Ἀμμωνίου καὶ Μαρθεῖτος ἀμφ' ὅτέρ]ων Διογένους ἀπ' Ὁ-  
 ἔνρυγχων πόλεως. οὗ ἐπέδομεν Οὐολονσ[ιώ] Μαικιανῷ τῷ  
 ἡγεμονεύσαντι βιβλειδίου καὶ ἡς ἐτύχομε[ν] ὑπογραφῆς  
 5 ἐστὶν ἀντίγραφον· Λουκίῳ Ούολονσίῳ Μαικιανῷ ἐπάρχῳ  
 Αἰγύπτου παρὰ Ἀμμωνίου καὶ Μαρθεῖτος τῆς καὶ Ἡρακλείας  
 ἀμφοτέρων Διογένους τοῦ Διογένους ἀπ[ὸ] τῆς μητροπόλεως τοῦ Ὁ-  
 ἔνρυγχεύτου. ἔτι ἀπὸ ταῦτα (ἔτους) θεοῦ Αἰδίου Ἀντωνίου ἀνήσαμεν ἀπὸ  
 τῶν οἰκοπέδων ἀρχαίων πρότερον τοῦ μετηλλαχότος κα-

- 10 τὰ πατέρα ἡμῶν πάππου Διογένους μητρὸς Σεψαρίου περὶ Σεψαρίου τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ὁξυρυγχείτου ὡς συνεχωρῆθη ἀμπέλου ἀρούρης τέταρτον δύδων ἐκκαιδέκατον, οὐ τὸ δόφε[ιλ]όμενον πρόστειμον παραγραφὴν διεγράφη, καὶ περὶ τούτου προσεφώνησεν ὁ τῶν τόπων κωμογραμματεὺς συμφά[ι]ως γεγονέναι
- 15 τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ἀπὸ ἴδων ὄκοπέδων . . . . . τουμ . . .  
 [. . .]γ καὶ δι[αγρα]φῆς τοῦ ὑπολόγου περι . . . . ε[. ἐπεὶ] ὃν  
 γῆν ἔγωμεν ἐπὶ τε τούτου καὶ ἐτέρου [ῆ]χθαι εἰδος δι[ο]ῦ δηλ[οῦ-  
 ται τὸς ἐμφερομένους κτήτορας ἐνγράφως παρανγελέν-  
 τας μὴ παρατεθέσθαι τοὺς δὲ τόπους εἶναι ἐν φυτείᾳ, διὰ τὸ
- 20 Σεμπρώνιον Λιβεράλιον τὸν ἡγεμονεύσαντα τῷ γενε-  
 μένῳ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ διαλογισμῷ τοῦ νομοῦ [τ]ῷ κ (ἔτει) θεοῦ Αἰλίου  
 [Α]γιτωνίου ὑπογεγραφέναι ἔαν μὴ ἐντὸς διμήνου πα-  
 [ρά]θωνται ἐνέχεσθαι τοῖς ὠρισμένοις, ἐκ δὲ ὧν νῦν  
 ξ[π]εσκέψαμεθα παρακειμένων τῷ εἴδει παρὰ τῷ [το]ῦ νομοῦ
- 25 βασιλικ(ῷ) γραμμα(τεῖ) ἐμάθαμεν Διονυσίου τινα γενόμενον τῷ κγ  
 (ἔτει)  
 ὑπηρέτην τοῦ τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχείτου στρατηγοῦ ὑπογεγραφέναι  
 μεταδεδωκέναι Διογένειι σιωνῷ τοῦ σημαινομένου ἡ-  
 μῶν πάππου, τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Διογ[ένη]ν φησι μεταδε-  
 δωκέναι γενόμενον ἡμῶν ἀδελφὸν [τετ]ελευτηκέναι ἐν
- 30 [Θὼθ] τοῦ . . . ([ἔτους]) θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ, ὡς ἐκ τούτου ἐλέγχεσθαι  
 τὴν ἔκ . . .  
 [τοῦ] ὑπηρέτου Διονυσίου γενομένην ἐπὶ [π]αραγραφῇ ἡμῶν  
 [κακ]ουργίαν, μὴ γάρ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν ὡς ἐκελεύσθη  
 [ἐπεινε]γκεῦν γράμματα τοῦ μετειληφότος ἐ[κ] τῆς ἀληθείας  
 [μεταδεδω]κέναι, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἐπάνω δηλοῦται πρὸ πολλοῦ χρό-  
 35 [νου] ἡς πεποίηται ὑπογραφῆς τετελευτηκέναι τὸν ἀδελφὸν  
 [ἡμῶν Διογ]ένην ἀναγκαῖον οὖν, ἡγεμῶν κύριε, κατε-  
 φῆ[γο]μεν [ἐ]πὶ σὲ τὸν πάντων [σω]τῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην καὶ ἀ-  
 ἔιοῦμεν, ἔαν σου τῇ τύχῃ δόξῃ, γράψαι τοῖς τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχείτου  
 στρατηγῷ καὶ βασιλικ(ῷ) γραμμα(τεῖ) ὅπως ἡμῶν παρατιθεμέ-  
 40 νων τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπιζητηθέντα μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς οὐ δεόν-  
 τως γενομένης ὑπ[ὸ] τοῦ ὑπ[η]ρέτου ὑπογραφῆς καθ' ἥ-

[μ]ῶν . . . οκ . . . ε[. . .] ἵν' ὁμ[έ]ν εὐεργετημένοι. διεν[τ]ύχει.  
 ἔ[σ]πι δὲ ὑπογραφῆς αὐτοῦ ἀντίγραφον· οἱ ταῦτα δόντες  
 τὰ βιβλεῖδια ἀ[ρ]ιθμῷ δέκα ἐντύχετε Οὐωνασίω Φα-  
 45 κούνδῳ τῷ κρατίστῳ διοικητῇ, φ τὰ ἵστο ἐπέμφθη. πρόθες. (ἔτους) α  
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Αὐτωνίου Σεβαστοῦ  
 καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Οὐήρου Σεβαστοῦ  
 Ἐπε[ι]φ. [προ]τέθη Ἐπείφ ιδ. ἐπεὶ οὖν, κύριε, ὁ κράτιστος διοι-  
 κητὴς ἐντευχθεὶς ὑφ' ἡμῶν καὶ μαθὼν τὸν Διονύσιον  
 50 [τότε μ]ὴ παρβόητα ἀνέτεμψεν καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ σὲ οὕτως ἀποφηγά(μενος).  
 [Οὐωνάδ]σιος Φακοῦντος ἐπεν· ‘τὸν ὑπηρέτην αἰτιᾶς, [κ]αὶ δεῖ  
 παρόντος  
 [Διονυ]σίον ἔξετασθῆναι τὸ πράγμα. ἐντυχει οὖν τῷ κρατίσ-  
 [τῷ] ἐ]πιστροφῇ γάρ, ὃς παρόντος αὐτῷ π[ερὶ τ]οῦ πράγματος δια-  
 [γν]ώσετ[α],’ ἀξιοῦμεν, ἐάν σου τῇ [τύχῃ δόξῃ, διαλαβεῖν  
 55 [περὶ τοῦ πράγματος, ἵν' ὅμεν εὐερ[γε]τημένοι. δι[ε]ντύχει.  
 2nd hand. Ἀμμώνιος καὶ Μάρθιον ἀμφότεροι Διογένους διὰ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἡμῶν  
 Ἀμμώνιον ἐπιδεδώκαμεν.  
 3rd hand. (ἔτους ?) [β?] Φαρμ(οῦθι) κ.  
 60 τῇ τάξει. ἀκού-  
 σθήσεται.

9. ἴδιαν Pap.; so in l. 15. 19. μη added above the line. 26. ὑπογεγραφεῖν Pap.  
 51. l. Φακοῦντος. 55. ὑ Pap.

To his highness the epistrategus Vadius Faustus from Ammonius and Martheis, both children of Diogenes, of the city of Oxyrhynchus. The following is a copy of the petition which we presented to Volusius Maecianus, ex-praefect, and of the endorsement upon it which we received: "To Lucius Volusius Maecianus, praefect of Egypt, from Ammonius and Martheis also called Heracleia, both children of Diogenes son of Diogenes, of the metropolis of the Oxyrhynchite nome. As long ago as the 11th year of the deified Aelius Antoninus we converted out of our own ancient plots which formerly belonged to our deceased paternal grandfather Diogenes, whose mother was Sepsarion, near Senepsau in the said Oxyrhynchite nome, as was conceded to us,  $\frac{7}{8}$  of an aroura of vine-land, on which the sum owing as apportioned was paid, and concerning this the local comogrammateus reported that the registration had been carried out accordingly out of our own plots . . . Whereas then we have now discovered that in the time of this comogrammateus and another a report was made whereby it is declared that the owners concerned when warned in writing to do so had not sent in a statement, and that the land was planted (because Sempronius Liberalis the ex-praefect in the circuit of the nome held in his time in the 20th year of the deified Aelius Antoninus had made an endorsement 'If they fail to present a statement within two months they shall be liable to the prescribed penalties'), and since

from the remarks which we have now seen appended to the report in the hands of the basilicogrammateus of the nome we have learnt that a certain Dionysius, who was assistant of the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome in the 23rd year, has made an endorsement that he had given information to Diogenes the grandson of our aforesaid grandfather, and this Diogenes to whom he says he gave information and who was our brother died in Thoth of the . . . year of the deified Hadrian, so that from this fact the malice of the assistant Dionysius with intent to defraud us is proved, for he could not in accordance with the order produce the acknowledgement of the recipient that he had in truth given the information, but, as stated above, our brother Diogenes died long before the endorsement which has been made: therefore, lord prefect, we have perforce taken refuge with you, the saviour and benefactor of all, begging you, if your fortune sees fit, to write to the strategus and basilicogrammateus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, in order that, on our presenting the statement originally required, we may suffer no damage in consequence of the endorsement wrongly made by the assistant, and so may obtain relief. Farewell." And of his endorsement this is a copy: "Let those who have presented these documents, ten in number, apply to his highness the dioecetes Vonasius Facundus, to whom copies have been sent. Make this public. The 1st year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus and the Emperor Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus, Epeiph . . . Published Epeiph 14." Since therefore, sir, his highness the dioecetes, being appealed to by us and learning that Dionysius was not then present, referred this matter also to you in the following terms: "Vonasius Facundus gives sentence: You accuse the assistant and the case must be investigated in the presence of Dionysius; apply therefore to his highness the epistrategus, who, when Dionysius appears, will give judgement in the case," we request you, if it seems good to your fortune, to decide about the case, so that we may obtain relief. Farewell.

(Signed) Ammonius and Marthion, both children of Diogenes, have presented this petition through one of us, Ammonius.

(Endorsed) The 2nd year, Pharmouthi 20. To the administration: he shall be heard.'

4. *βιβλεῖδιον*: cf. *Archiv* v. pp. 262 sqq., where Wilcken shows that *βιβλεῖδιον* was the regular term for 'petition' till the end of the third century, when *βιβλίον* and *λιβελλος* displaced it. The papyri of the present volume, so far as they go, bear out that result; cf. ll. 44 below, 1065 introd., 1070. 32, and, for *λιβελλος*, 1033. 14.

5. Lucius Volusius Maecianus occurs in 653, B. G. U. 613. 9 and P. Gen. 35, but the precise date of his prefecture remained uncertain (cf. *Archiv* iii. p. 392). It is now fixed with probability by ll. 45 sqq. in the year A. D. 161.

8. *ἀνήγαμεν*: cf. 707. 23 *γῆν ἀνάξαι ἀμπέλῳ*, P. Brit. Mus. 921. 2 sqq. *ἐπὶ συνεχωρίθη* *ό πατήρ μοι . . . ἀναγαγεῖν . . . (ἀρνύεται) σ . . . , ἐπίπληγοντί σοι εἰ ἄλλοτε ησαν ἐν ἀμπέλῳ*. The present passage does not necessarily come into conflict with Wilcken's view (*Archiv* iv. p. 548) that *ἀναγεῖν* in P. Brit. Mus. 921 cannot be used absolutely and that some phrase like *εἰς ἀμπέλου* must be restored, since here too the descriptive genitive *ἀμπέλου* in l. 11 serves to define the meaning of the verb; that *ἀμπέλου* is not to be altered to *ἀμπέλῳ* seems clear from the order of the words. Wilcken was however mistaken in assuming that the land in question necessarily belonged to the domains. Apparently even in the case of private property (cf. l. 9 *ἰδίων οἰκοπέδων*) a special permit was necessary for turning any part of it into a vineyard (cf. l. 11 *ώς συνεχωρίθη*, as in P. Brit. Mus. 921); and a *πρόστιμον* was exacted for the privilege. The scale of this *πρόστιμον* is indicated by B. G. U. 929 b 2-4, *ἀπὸ παραδείσου [έξ] Ἀριστονίκου κλήρου εἰς ἀμπέλ(ων) φυτείᾳ[ν . . .] (ἀρούρης) α(ημέρων) προστίμον ώς τῆς (ἀρούρης) (δραχμᾶς) μβ.* A new light is thus thrown upon certain other instances where a *πρόστιμον* was imposed on land, e. g. P. Amh. 31 (B. C. 112), where a woman who

had planted palm-trees on a piece of desert is mulcted in the sum of 1200 copper drachmae. It may now be suggested that this money was held to be due not so much on account of the enclosure of the land as on account of the nature of the crop; cf. B. G. U. 563. ii. 6-8 ἀπὸ νεοφί[των . . .] ἀπὸ σικιών, ἐξ ἐπωκ[έψεως] ι[έπτους] φοι[γικών] φοι[ρίμου] (ἀρμόρου) [ . . .] ὃν πρόστειρον[ον] τελεῖσθαι (ἀρούρης) ι[έπτον] . . ., and ll. 18-19 φοι[γικών] ἀπ[ό] σικι[ών] . . . ἀνηγ[μεν] . . . If the planting of palms no less than of vines was as such subject to special restrictions, the theories which have been put forward with regard to P. Amh. 31 (cf. *Archiv* ii. p. 119-21) would need considerable modification.

10. Σενεψαίον: cf. 503. 4. The village Σενεψαύ has not previously occurred; it is not likely to be the same as Σενέπτα.

16. περὶ . [: or γει[σομεν] . ? The first letter is more like γ than π, but the third is more like ρ than τ.

17. [ῆ]χθαι εἶδος: cf. P. Tebt. 287. 12 ἡχθη περὶ τούτου εἶδος and the note *ad loc.*

18. ἐμφερούμενος: cf. P. Amh. 68. 62 τοὺς δὲ ἐμφερούμενος τ(αὶ) παραβεβεῖς μὴ ἐνενηρχόντα, P. Brit. Mus. 359. 4-5 τῶν ἐμφερούμενων μὴ ἀκονάντων, 974. ii. 4-5 εἶδῶν ὅπωριμων πάντων τῶν ἐμφερούμενων τῇ αἰτίᾳ χρεῖ, 1008. 9-10 πάντοις τοῖς ἐμφερούμενοι αἴτῃ (sc. Αἰτηλίῃ) κεφαλαῖς, B. G. U. 390. 7 προσβίτε[ρ]οι δὲ εἰσαν οἱ ἐμφερούμενοι τῷ πράγματι, 915. 7 εἰ φανήσεται τοὺς ἐμφερούμενους κωμογραμμέis μεταβῶνται. A comparison of these passages indicates that οἱ ἐμφερούμενοι are the persons involved or concerned in the matter in hand. The neuter in P. Brit. Mus. 974 and 1008 is best translated 'relating to.'

19. μὴ παρατεθεῖσα: i. e. had not made a proper declaration, or registration of the change; cf. e. g. 713. 1, note, *Archiv* i. p. 196, Eger, *Aeg. Grundbuchwesen*, p. 135, Lewald, *Grundbuchrecht*, p. 38. ἔγραφος probably qualifies παραγελέτας rather than παρατεθεῖσα.

19-23. δὰ τὸ κτλ. is added to explain the ground of the εἶδος. The παράθετος was ordered by the praefect and the εἶδος noted that the order had not been complied with. For τὸν μὴ ἔντος διμήνον κτλ. cf. e. g. P. Amh. 68. 71-2 ἐὰν μὴ ἐν διμήνῳ τὰς παραδίτεις ἐνε[νε]-γκῶσι, ἀπαιτ[ε]σθωσαν . . .

26. The serving of official notices on the persons concerned was one of the functions of the ὄπηρέται; cf. e. g. 485. 49, 712. 16-17.

28 sqq. The oblique construction is illogically continued.

30. [Θώβ] is probable on account of the short space.

31. [π]ιγραφῆ: περγραφῆ would be expected but cannot be read; the letter before γ is almost certainly α. Perhaps there was a clerical error, though cf. 488. 29-30 μὴ κακῶς με παραγράφεσθαι.

33. The meaning appears to be that Dionysius could not prove his assertion about the μετάδοσις by producing the receipt of Diogenes. Cf. e. g. 485. 41-2, where an acknowledgement of receipt is endorsed upon a document of which the μετάδοσις had been duly authorized. There is not room for ε[πὶ] τῆς.

41-2. If καθ' ι[μέν] is right something like ἀδικον οἱ βλάβος γένηται followed; προκέ[ε] . . . might be read, but this does not combine with καθ' ή μῶν. κ of καθ is doubtful, but a π seems impossible.

43-5. Cf. B. G. U. 613. 4-6 οἱ ταῦτα ἐπιδόντες (?l. δόντες, which would appear to suit the space better) τῇ βιβλείδαια ἀμετ[μῆ] οἱ ἐντίχετε φαβρικανῷ [ε]πάρχω εἰλ[ην] καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν [κεκρυέν]ων . . . φ[α]τὰ τοι εὖθη. B. G. U. 1085. iii. 25-6 should be restored on the same lines, with τρία [rather than τριάκοντα]. The figure of the year in l. 45 is not clear, but a π seems to be right.

56. Μαρθίον: in ll. 2 and 6 the name was given as Μαρθέις.

59. τῇ τάξει means the official department concerned; cf. e. g. 1042. 15, and P. Fay. 35. 9-10 βιβλείων τῆς τάξεως.

## 1033. PETITION TO RIPARI.

28.3 x 18.9 cm.

A. D. 392.

A petition to two *riparii* of the Oxyrhynchite nome from two *νυκτοστράτηγοι*, who complain of the dangerous character of their duties and request either to be allowed proper assistance or to be relieved of their responsibilities. On the office of *riparius*, who was a police magistrate not met with before the fourth century, see note on 904. 3. The *νυκτοστράτηγοι* were an earlier institution (cf. 933. 24 and note *ad loc.*, *Archiv* i. p. 479); this is the first definite mention of them at Oxyrhynchus, and it is evident that they occupied a comparatively subordinate position.

On the verso is an account (1048).

'Υπατίας τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Ἀρκαδίου αἰώνιου Αύγούστου τὸ β καὶ  
Φλα(ονίου) 'Ρουφίνου

τοῦ λαμπροτάτου Φαῶφι καὶ.

Σεπτιμίῳ Παύλῳ καὶ Κλανδίῳ Τατιανῷ ῥιπαρίοις Ὁξυρυγχίτον  
παρὸν Αὐρηλίων Γαίου καὶ Θέωνος ἀμφοτέρων νυκτοστρατήγων τῆς αὐτῆς  
πόλεως. τῶν εἰρηνικῶν τὴν φροντίδα ἀναθεδοιημένοι καὶ ἀμέρ-  
πτως ὑπουργοῦμεν τοῖς δημοσίοις ἐπιτάγμασι ἐπανέχοντες δὲ  
καὶ τῇ παραφυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως, ἀναγκαζόμεθα δὲ συνεχῶς  
ἔνεκεν τῆς παραστάσεως διαφόρων προσώπων κατὰ πρόσταγμα  
τῶν κυρίων μου τῶν μι{ν} {χόνων} ἡμῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ μὴ ἔχόντων  
10 ἡμῶν τὴν βοήθειαν εἴτ' οὖν τοὺς δημοσίους καὶ τοὺς ἐφοδευτὰς  
πολλάκεις σχεδὸν εἰπε(ὶ)ν εἰς ψυχὴν ἐκεινὸνεύσαμεν διὰ τὸ  
τούτους παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπεσπάσθαι μόνοι περιερχόμενοι  
τὴν πόλιν καὶ κατοπτεύοντες. διὰ τοῦτο ἑαυτοὺς ἀσφαλισζόμενοι  
τούσδε τοὺς λιβέλλους ἐπιδίδομεν ἀξιοῦντες ἡ τὴν προσήκουσαν  
15 ἡμῖν βοήθιαν τούς τε δημοσίους καὶ τοὺς ἐφοδευτὰς ὡς προεπιμεν  
παραδοῦναι ἡ τὸ ἀνενόχλητον ἡμᾶς ἔχειν περὶ τε τῆς παραφυλακῆς  
τῆς πόλεως καὶ περὶ τῆς παραστάσεως τῶν ζητουμένων προσώ-  
πων, ἵνα μὴ ὑπαίτιοι γενώμεθα κινδύνῳ.

1. ὑπατίας Pap. 4. μοὶ αμφιτορεων corr. 6. ὑπουργοῦμεν Pap. 16. αοἱ ανεο-  
χλητον corr. 18. ὑπαίτιοι Pap.

'In the 2nd consulship of our sovereign Arcadius, eternal Augustus, and of Flavius Rufinus the most illustrious, Phaophi 21. To Septimius Paulus and Claudius Tatianus, riparii of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Gaius and Aurelius Theon, both night-strategi of the said city. Being entrusted with the care of the peace we are irreproachable in our obedience to public orders, and also intent upon the guardianship of the city. We are often called upon for the production of various persons in accordance with the command of our lords the superior officials, but having no assistance either of public guards or inspectors we often run the risk almost of our lives because these assistants have been taken from us and we go about the city on the watch all alone. Therefore to safeguard ourselves we present this petition requesting either that we should be given the proper assistance of the public guards and the inspectors as aforesaid or that we should have no concern for the guardianship of the city or the production of persons who are wanted, in order that we may not incur risk.'

5. ἀναδεδομένοι is a curious form; there is no doubt about the reading.

8. Cf. 807, a declaration addressed to two *riparii* denying knowledge of the whereabouts of a person whom it was required ἀναζητῆσαι καὶ παρατήσαι.

10. ἐφοδεῖται do not seem to be mentioned elsewhere in the papyri.

11. σχεδὸν εἰπε(;)ν: apparently a mixture of σχεδὼν and ὡς εἰπεῖν.

#### (d) CONTRACTS.

#### 1034. DRAFT OF A WILL.

10·8 x 13 cm.

Second century.

Commencement of a will in draft, giving the proposed provisions, but not specifying names, which are either replaced by the word *tis* or simply omitted. There are three heirs, a daughter, her foster-brother (*σύντροφος*), and a third person, and the property devised, so far as the papyrus goes, consisted of houses.

On the verso is part of an account, of which the first few lines are well preserved: Λῆ(μα) π(αρὰ) Ζωῆ(ον): εἴναι μεθ' ἦς ἔδωκεν τῷ Μεσορῇ τοῦ διελθ(όντος) ἔτους ἀπὸ κεφαλαίον (δραχμᾶς) φ [ὡς εὐ] ([ει[σ] above the line) εἰς πλιγρωσιν (δραχμῶν) 'B (τοῦ κεφαλ(αίον) above (δραχμῶν) 'B) ὡς ἑστάθη (έδοξε τῷ κοινῷ above ἑστάθη) ἐπὶ διαλύσει τῶν προσφειλομένων [[τ . . . §]] ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (corr. from -των) εἰς Πότον (l. Πόθον?) Σιτοῖτον (l. -τος) κεφαλ(αίον) (δραχμᾶς) Ἀφ, καὶ ἀνεδόθη αὐτῷ εἰς ἀκύρωσιν

τὰ χ(ρόγραφα) ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτὸν συντελέσαι κατὰ μῆνα π(νροῦ?) (ἀρτάβας?) !ε. Parts of five lines of another paragraph follow, beginning in the same way: λῆ(μα) π(αρὰ) Ζωίλ(ον).

Κληρονόμους καταλείπω τὴν θυγατέρ[α]  
 μου τινὰ καὶ τὸν {τον} σύντροφον αὐτῆς  
 τινὰ καὶ τινα, τὸν μέν τινα ἡς προϋπήλ-  
 λαξα πρὸς τὴν ἐπενεχθεῖσαν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῇ  
 5 γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ κειμένην αὐτοῖς γαμικ(ῆν)  
 συνγραφῆς ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ον) οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς,  
 [τ]ὴν δὲ θυγατέρα μου καὶ τὸν σύντροφο(ν)  
 α[δ]ητῆς κοινῶς ἔξισον δὲν ἔχω οἰκιῶν  
 [δύο]  
 10 [. . . . τῆς] μὲν ἐ[π' α]μφόδ(ον) . . [ο]υ τῆς δὲ  
 [έτερα(s) ἐπ'] ἀμφόδ(ον) καὶ . . . . . ω

. . . . .

'I leave as my heirs my daughter *x* and her foster-brother *y* and *z*, *z* of the house and court in the            quarter which I previously mortgaged in security for the (dowry) brought to him upon his wife (in accordance with) the contract of marriage drawn up between them, and my daughter and her foster-brother jointly in equal shares of the two houses owned by me . . . one in the . . . quarter and the other in the            quarter, . . .'

2. For this use of *tis* cf. e. g. 509, P. Brit. Mus. 1157 verso iii.

3-6. Cf. 907. 18 προϋπαλλαγέσας αὐτῇ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς τὴν προσενεχθεῖσάν μοι ἐπ' αὐτῷ  
 ι[. . . φερνήν, and the note *ad loc.*, B. G. U. 970, 15 sqq. The construction of ll. 5-6 is confused and incomplete; φερνήν must be supplied after γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ, and this should be followed by something like κατὰ τὴν κειμένην αὐτοῖς γαμικ(ῆν) συνγραφῆν.

9-10. The lacuna may be filled e. g. [δύο καὶ αὐλῶν καὶ τῶν σινκυρότων | πάντων.

#### 1035. LEASE OF A WEAVER'S IMPLEMENT.

8·3 x 7·5 cm.

A. D. 143.

Fragment of a lease, for a period of five years, of a ζεῦγος κτενιστικύν, an iron instrument of some kind used in wool-combing or cloth-weaving, perhaps a pair of shears. The lessor was the son of a veteran, C. Veturius Gemellus, who is no doubt to be identified with the *tiro* of 1022. 11.

On the recto of this papyrus is 1023, which relates to another veteran soldier.

'Εμίσθωσεν Γάιος Οὐετούριος  
 Γέμελλος νῦν Γαῖον Οὐετού-  
 ρίου Γεμέλλου οὐετρανοῦ  
 'Επαγάθῳ ἀπεδευθέρῳ Πτολε-  
 5 μαίον Πτολ[ε]μαίον ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγ-  
 χων πόλεως Πέρσῃ τῆς ἐπι-  
 γονῆς ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔτη πέντε  
 ἀπὸ νουμηνίας τοῦ ἔξης μηνὸς  
 Φαμενώθ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος  
 10 ἑκτου [έτοι]ντος Ἀντωνείνου  
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου τὸ ὑπάρ-  
 χον αὐτῷ ξεῦγος κτενιστή-  
 κὸν σιδηροῦν τέλειον και-  
 νὸν ἵσακμον φόρου κατὰ  
 15 μῆνα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἱτοῦ, Φ[αμενώθ]

I. γαῖος Pap.; so in l. 2.

II. ἐπιρχον Pap.

III. ἵσικμον Pap.

'Gaius Veturius Gemellus son of Gaius Veturius Gemellus, veteran, has let to Epagathus, freedman of Ptolemaeus son of Ptolemaeus, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, a Persian of the Epigone, for a period of five years from the first day of the next month Phamenoth of the present sixth year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, the combing-instrument belonging to him, made of iron, in perfect condition, new and with an even edge, at a monthly rent from the said month Phamenoth . . .'

12. Both *κτενιστικόν* and *ἵσακμον* in l. 14 seem to be new.

## 1036. LEASE OF A HOUSE.

33·2 x 8·7 cm.

A.D. 273.

A lease of a house for two years at a yearly rent of 400 drachmae; cf. 502, 911, 912. For the date see P. Strassb. i. pp. 32-34.

'Εμίσθωσαν Τίτοι Μάλιοι Σερῆ-  
 νος καὶ (Α)λέξανδρος ἀμφότεροι

25 μῆνου τὸ ἥμισυ καὶ χράσθω  
 τῇ προκειμένῃ οἰκίᾳ

Τύπου Μαλίου Ἡρακλᾶ διὰ  
τοῦ ἐνὸς Σερήνου

5 Αὐρη[λί]φ Ἡρακλῆφ Σαραπᾶ τῷ  
Μο . [.] . οι μητρὸς Στεφανοῦ-  
τος ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμ-  
προτάτης Ὁξυρυγχειῶν  
πόλεως ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔτη δύο

10 ἀπὸ [τοῦ] ὁθόνης τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος  
δ (ἔτους ?) τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῦ  
ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει ἐπὶ ἀμφό-  
διον Παμμένους Παραδέσου .  
οἰκίαν καὶ αἴθριον καὶ αὐ-

15 λὴν καὶ τὰ ταῦτα τῆς χρη-  
στήρια πάντα, π[λὴν] τόπου  
ἐνὸς ὄντος ὑπὸ τὸν [.] . . . νον  
καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀπη[λιώ]του [τῆς]  
οἰκίας οἰκοπέδων, ἐνοικίον

20 κατ' ἕτος ἀργυρίου [δρ]αχμῶν  
τετρακοσίων, βεβαιουμέ-  
νης δὲ τῆς μισθώσεως  
ἀποδότω ὡς μεμισθωμένος  
τὸ κατ' ἕτος ἐνοίκιον δι' ἔξα-

ἐπὶ [τὸν] χρόνον ἀκολύ-  
τως, μεθ' ὃν παραδῖότω  
καθαρὰν ἀπὸ κοπρίων  
30 καὶ δείσης πάσης καὶ ἂς ἐὰν  
παραλάβῃ θύρας καὶ κλεῖδας,  
γεινομένης τῆς πρ[άξε]ως  
παρά τε τοῦ με[μ]ισθωμένου  
ώς καθήκει. κυρί[α] ἡ μίσθωσις  
35 περὶ ἦς ἀλλήλους ἐπερωτή-  
σαντες ἀλλήλους ὠμολόγη-  
σαν. (ἔτους) δ Αὐτοκράτορ[ο]ς  
Καίσαρος Λουκίου Δομιτίου  
Αὐρηλιανοῦ Γ[ερά]μ[ηθ]ικοῦ

40 Μεγίστου Εὐ[στ]έβο[ν] Εὐτυχοῦς  
Ἀνεικήτου Σεβαστοῦ Φαΐφι ιγ.  
2nd hand Αὐρήλιος Ἡράκλη[ος] μεμι-  
σθωμα τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ ἀποδό-  
σω τὸ ἐνοίκιον ώς πρόκειται,  
45 καὶ [ἐπερωτηθεῖς] ωμολόγησα.  
Αὐρήλιος Σερῆνος ἔγραψα  
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότος γράμματα.

17. . . . ro Pap.

'Titus Manlius Serenus and Titus Manlius Alexander, both sons of Titus Manlius Heraclias, through one of them, namely Serenus, have let to Aurelius Heracleus son of Sarapas son of Mo . . . , his mother being Stephanous, of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, for a term of two years from Thoth of the present 4th year, from his property in the said city in the quarter of Pammene's Garden a house and yard and court and all the appurtenances with the exception of one room beneath . . . and the plots on the east of the house, at an annual rent of 400 drachmae. When the lease is guaranteed the lessee shall pay the annual rent in half-yearly instalments of half the sum, and shall use the aforesaid house without hindrance for the term, after which he shall restore it free of filth and dirt of all kinds together with such doors and keys as he has received, right of execution lying against the lessee, as is just. The lease is valid, and we have put the question to each other and consented to each other. The 4th year of the Emperor Caesar Lucius Domitius Aurelian Gothicus Maximus Pius Felix Invictus Augustus, Phaophi 13. (Signed) I, Aurelius Heracleus, have leased the house and will pay the rent as aforesaid.

and in answer to the question have given my consent. I, Aurelius Serenus, wrote for him, as he was ignorant of letters.'

17. The vestiges hardly suit [ $\kappa$ ]ιμνον.

33. The  $\tau\epsilon$  is anticipatory of the usual adjunct καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῦ πάντων, which is here omitted.

1037. LEASE OF AN *exhedra*.

21.6 × 16.6 cm.

A. D. 444.

Lease of an *exhedra* or hall of a house for an indefinite period at the rent of 24,000,000 denarii (cf. 1026. 10, note), the lessor being empowered to resume his property when he chose to do so.

 $\chi[\mu]y.$ 

[*M*]ετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλαονίων Μαξίμο[ν] τὸ [β]  
 καὶ Πατερίους τῶν λαμπρ(οτάτων) Μεσορὴ ιη.  
 Αὐρηλίῳ Φιλοξένῳ Δωράτο[ς] πορθιοπώλῃ  
 5 [ἀ]πὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν  
 [πόλ]εως παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἰέρακ[ο]ς [Α]ν[α]στ[α]τιανοῦ  
 [ἀπὸ] τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. ἔκουσίως ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώ-  
 [σασθαι] ἀπὸ νεομηνίας τοῦ ἔξης μηνὸς Θώβ  
 [τῆς παρούσης] [βα]σι[ε]λέιας τῆς τρισκαιδεκάτης  
 10 [ινδικτίων τὴν διαφέρουσάν σοι ἀπὸ ο[λ]κ[η]ς  
 [τῆς κ]αλουμένη[ς] .]αρους οὐσης ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ὁξυρυγχιτ(ῶν)  
 [πόλ]η[ει] ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ἀγορᾶς ( $\Sigma$ )κυτέων δλόκληρο[ν]  
 ἔξ[έ]δραν σὺν χρηστηρίοις πᾶσι, καὶ τελέσ[ω  
 σοι ὑπὲρ ἐνοίκους ἐνιαυσίως ἀργυρίον μυριάδας  
 15 δισχιλίας τετρακοσίας, καὶ ἐπάναγκες ἀποδόσω  
 τὸ ἐνοίκου ἀνυπερθέτως, καὶ ὅπότ[αν] βουληθῆται  
 [π]αραδόσω σοι τὴν αὐτὴν ἔξ[έ]δραν [καθαράν.  
 [κυρία ἡ μίσθωσις ἀπλή γραφῖσα καὶ [ἐπερωτηθήσ[ι]  
 [ώμολόγησα.

On the verso

20 μίσθωσι[ς ἔξ[έ]δρα]ς.

4. 1. φορθιοπώλῃ.

N 2

<sup>4</sup> The year after the consulship of Flavius Maximus for the 2nd time and Flavius Paterius, the most illustrious, Mesore 18. To Aurelius Philoxenus son of Doras, seller of *phorbiūm*, of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, from Aurelius Hierax son of Anastatianus, of the said city. I undertake of my own free will to lease from the first day of the next month Thoth of the present reign and the 13th indiction, the hall belonging to you in the house called . . . which is in the said city of Oxyrhynchus in the quarter of the Cobblers' Market, complete with all its appurtenances, and I will pay you for rent 2,400 myriads of silver yearly, and I will perfecly pay the rent with no delay, and whenever you wish I will hand over to you the hall in a clean state. This lease, of which a single copy is made, is valid, and in answer to the question I have given my consent.'

1. χμέγ: cf. 940. 1, note.

4. παρβιωπώλη, if that is the right reading, is for φορβιωπώλη, a seller of *phorbiūm* or perhaps, more generally, a seller of fodder. φορβίον is mentioned in Galen, vol. xii, p. 152 (Kühn) φορβίον τῷ στέρματι πρὸς λευκόματα χρῶσται, Arcadius, p. 120. 9 (Barker) τὸ σιλφίου καὶ φύρβιον προπαραξίνεται: cf. ἐνφόρβιον and ἐνφόρβια, the latter form perhaps occurring in P. Goodsp. 30. xxxi. 22 (Cröner, Stud. z. Paläogr. iv. 99).

9. The reign was that of Theodosius II and Valentinian III.

12. ὀλάκληρον: cf. 1038. 23. οἰκίας ὁδοῦ κλήρου should evidently be read in P. Strassb.

4. 11.

17. καθαρίν: or e. g. ὀλάκληρον, as in l. 12. For ὅπότεν αν βουληθῆσ cf. e. g. 1038. 31.

#### 1038. LEASE OF PART OF A HOUSE.

30.5 x 10.3 cm.

A.D. 568.

A lease of a ground-floor room (*τόπος*) in a house, at the annual rent of 10 keratia, the lease to be determinable, as is common at this period, at the pleasure of the owner. Other good examples of late leases of house-property are P. Brit. Mus. 113. 6 (a) (*τόπος*), (b) (*τόποι δύο* in a house), 871 (*τρίκλιτος*) and 1023, P. Flor. 13 and 73, P. Strassb. 4.

+ Βασιλείας καὶ ὑπατίας  
τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου  
ἡμῶν δεσπότου Φλαονίου  
Ιουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου  
5 καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους γ  
Μεσορὴ β ἵνδικτίωνος α.  
Φλ(αονία) Εὐφημίᾳ τῇ ἐνδόξῳ θυγατρὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τοῦ τῆς ἐνδόξου μνήμης

- Μουσαίου γεουχούσης* καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ  
 10 λαμπρῷ Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει  
 διὰ σὸν Φλ(ασίου) Ἀναστασίου τοῦ περιβλ(έπτου)  
 αὐτῆς διοικ(ητοῦ) καὶ σὸν Ἱερημίου τοῦ  
 θαυμασίου ἑνοκολόγου Αὐρήλιος  
 Στέφανος ἀρτοκόπος) νιὸς Ἡρακλάμμωνος  
 15 μητρὸς) Νόννας ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς  
 πόλεως χαίρειν. ἔκουσίως ἐπιδέχομαι  
 μισθώσασθαι ἀπὸ νεομηνίας  
 τοῦ Θώθ μηνὸς τῆς σὺν θεῷ  
 δευτέρας ἵνδικτώνος) ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχ(όντων) τῇ  
 20 ὑμῶν ἐνδοξ(ότητι) ἀπὸ οἰκίας νευούσης  
 ἐπὶ νότον διακειμένης) ἐπὶ ταύτης  
 τῆς πόλεως ἐπ' ἀμφόδου  
 τῆς ἀγίας Εὐφημίας ὀλόκληρον)  
 ἐπίπεδον τόπον νεύοντα καὶ  
 25 αὐτὸν ἐπὶ νότον σὺν χρηστηρίοις  
 πᾶσιν καὶ δικαίους ἐξ ὅλης τῆς οἰκί[ας],  
 καὶ τελέσω ὑπὲρ ἑνοικ(ίου) τούτου  
 ἐνιαυσίως κεράτια δέκα νομιτ(ευόμενα),  
 γύ(νεται) κεράτια) ο νομιτ(ευόμενα), διπερ ἐνοίκιον ἀπο-  
 30 δώσω κατ' ἔτος δὶ ἔξαμήνου τὸ ἡμισυ, καὶ  
 ὅπόταν βουληθείης ἀντιπαραδώσω  
 τὴν ἔμην(ν)ομήν τοῦ τόπου ὡς καὶ παρείληφ(α).  
 κυρ(ία) ἡ μίσθ(ωσις) ἀπλ(ῆ) γραφ(εῖσα) καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεὶς) ώμολ(όγησα).  
 Στέφανος νιὸς Ἡρακλάμμωνος  
 35 στοιχεῖ ἡμῖν ἡ παροῦσα μίσθ(ωσις) ὁ[ς] πρόκ(ειται).  
 'Ιωάννης ἀξ(ιωθεὶς) ἔγραψ(αψα)] ὑπὲρ ἀγρ(αμμάτου) ὥντ[ος].  
 [+di επι Ioannu . .] . . . . +  
 On the verso  
 + μίσθ(ωσις) Στεφάνου νιὸν Ἡρακλάμμωνος ἀπὸ τῆς Ὁξυρυγχ(ιτῶν) λόγῳ  
 ἑνοικ(ίου) κερ(ατίων) ο  
 νομιτ(ευόμενων).

'The 3rd year of the reign and consulship of our most godly and pious sovereign Flavius Justinus, eternal Augustus and Imperator, Mesore 2, 1st induction. To Flavia Euphemia, the honourable daughter of Musaeus of honoured memory, landholder at this illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, through you, Flavius Anastasius, her noble agent, and you, Jeremias, her admirable collector, Aurelius Stephanus, baker, son of Heraclammon and Nonna, of the said city, greeting. I undertake of my own free will to lease from the first day of the month Thoth of the coming D.V. second induction, from your honour's property out of a house facing south situated in this city in the quarter of St. Euphemia, a complete room on the ground floor also facing south with all appurtenances and the rights attaching to all the house, and I will pay annually as rent for this ten carats of current coinage, total 10 carats current, which rent I will pay every year in half-yearly instalments of half the sum, and whenever you wish I will surrender my possession of the room just as I received it. This lease, of which one copy has been made, is valid, and in answer to the question I have given my consent.' Signature of Stephanus written for him by the scribe John, signature of John, and title on the verso.

1-6. Cf. 199 = P. Brit. Mus. 778, which is dated on Mesore 4 of the same year. In l. 3 of that papyrus the 2nd induction is specified, and since in 1038 the 1st induction was still current (cf. also ll. 18-19 *τῆς σὺν θεῷ δευτέρας ἵδ(ικτίων)*) it is evident that, as Kenyon suggests, a change of induction-year was just taking place when 199 was written, and probably l. 3 there should be read *ἵδ(ικτίων) απχ(ης) β.* The month of Mesore is unusually late in the year for the commencement of an induction, though cf. P. Grenf. 100. 4.

9. *γεωχούσ(γ):* cf. 133. 5, &c. *γεωχούσ(γ)* looks probable in P. Strassb. 40. 7.

13. *ἐνοικολόγου = ἐνοικολόγου* (e.g. B. G. U. 3. 7); cf. 1043. 1, P. Strassb. 15. 1, and the analogous *ἐποικου*, &c., for *ἐποικου*, e.g. P. Goodisp. 15. 3.

20. *νευούσης:* cf. P. Brit. Mus. 1023. 12 *κο[τ]ώνος . . . νε[ν]ούτο[ς] εἰς βορρᾶ.* *ἀνεψημένος εἰς* and *βλέπων εἰς* are similarly used, e.g. P. Brit. Mus. 113. 6 (*ἀ*) 14, (*β*) 20.

31. *ὅπόταν βούληθεις:* this misuse of the optative is common at this period.

32. The reading at the beginning of this line is rather uncertain. The formation of the first letter suggests *γ* rather than *τ*, but *γην* is inappropriate here. *τήν* must be followed by a substantive meaning 'possession' or something of the sort, and it ends either in *-νομην* or, conceivably, in *-νομιαν*. There seems, however, to be no suitable compound, and hence the choice lies between *τήν ἔμην* (*νομην* with a ligature of *v* or simply *τήν νομην* with a dittography of *ημην*). For *νομην* cf. e.g. P. Tebt. 286. 7 *νομηὴ ἀδικος = ἀδικοῦσα ποσσεῖον*, and the fifth-century contract of sale published by de Ricci in Wessely's *Stud. z. Paläogr.* i. p. 7. 18-19 *ἡμίσους μέρους οἰκίας . . . ὅπ τὴν νομην . . . ἐτείθεν τοι παραδέδωκα.*

37. *Ιoannu* was most likely followed by *eteliothe*, but this is not easily reconciled with the strokes that remain.

#### 1039. CONTRACT OF DEPOSIT.

33.2 x 10.6 cm.

A.D. 210.

Acknowledgement of a deposit (*παραθήκη*) of 600 drachmae repayable on demand; cf. e.g. P. Tebt. 387, P. Brit. Mus. 943, B. G. U. 729. The name of the emperor Geta has been deleted in the date formula, as in 54, 58 and elsewhere.

[*Απο]λλάνιος Σαραπίωνος [τοῦ Σαρα-  
πίωνος μητρὸς Σινθεῦτ[ος ἀπ' Ὁξυ-  
ρύγχων πόλεως Θέωνι Κ. [.....  
τοῦ καὶ Χαιρήμονος μητρὸς Ἀπί[ας ἀπὸ<sup>5</sup>  
τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρειν. [όμοιο-  
γῶ ἐσχηκέναι παρὰ σοῦ διὰ χ[ειρὸς  
ἐν παραβέσει ἀργυρίου Σεβαστοῦ  
νομίσματος δραχμὰς ἔξακτος,  
ἀσπερ ὅπηνίκα ἐν αἰρῆ ἀποκα-<sup>10</sup>  
το ταστήσω σοι ἀνευ πάσης ὑπερθέ-  
σεως [καὶ] εὐρησιογ[ία]ς, εἰ δὲ μή,  
ἐκτείσ[ω σοὶ] κατὰ τὸν τῶν παρ[α-  
θηκάν νόμον,] γεινομένης [σοι:  
τῆς πρ[άξε]ως] ἐκ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ [ἐκ  
τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μοι πάντων.  
κύρια τη τῆς παραθήκης γράμ-  
ματα δισσὰ γραφέντα ἵπ[ε]μον  
τοῦ Ἀπολλάνιου πανταχῆ ἐπιφ[ε-  
ρόμενα καὶ παντὶ τῷ ὑπὲρ σοῦ<sup>15</sup>  
20 ἐπιφέροντι. (ἔτοις) οὐδὲ Αὐτοκρατόρων  
Καισάρων Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεονήρου  
Περτίνακος Ἀραβ[ι]κοῦ Ἀδιαβηνίκοῦ  
Παρθικοῦ Βρεταννικοῦ Μεγίστο[ν]  
καὶ Μάρκου Αύρηλου Ἀντωνίου  
25 [[καὶ Πουβλίου Σεπτιμίου Γέτα]]  
Βρεταννικῶν Μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶν  
Σεβαστῶν Φασάφι ιγ.*

11. 1. εὐρησιογίας.

16. 1. τά for τη.

<sup>4</sup> Apollonius son of Sarapion son of Sarapion, his mother being Sintheus, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, to Theon son of C . . . also called Chaeremon, his mother being Apia, of the said city, greeting. I acknowledge the receipt from you from hand to hand on deposit of 600 silver drachmae of the imperial coinage, which I will restore to you whenever you choose without any delay or excuse, otherwise I will forfeit them to you in accordance with the law of deposits, and you shall have the right of execution upon me and upon all my property. This deed of deposit, written by me, Apollonius, in duplicate is valid whenever produced and whosoever produces it on your behalf.' Date.

4. Ἀπί[ας: cf. 76. 2, 249. 3, 1046. 8.

7. ἐν παραθέσει: so P. Brit. Mus. 943. 5, P. Flor. 31. 4, P. Strassb. 54. 4. παραθήση is the commoner term in this sense.

#### 1040. LOAN OF WHEAT.

31·3 × 20 cm.

A.D. 225.

An acknowledgement of a loan of four artabae of wheat, to be repaid with an addition (*διάφορον*) of one-half. This addition is to be regarded simply as interest for the accommodation, as in P. Flor. 54, where government loans of seed are to be repaid *μετὰ τῆς ἡμιολίας*; cf. 1042. 28, where *διάφορον* practically means interest. In P. Tebt. 110 and P. Amh. 147 the *ἡμιολίαι* should probably be similarly explained rather than as fines incurred in connexion with previous transactions. The deed is written out in duplicate (*διστά γραφέντα* l. 31) on a single sheet, in two columns, of which the second, being the better preserved, is printed; cf. 988.

Col. ii.

*Αὐρήλιοι Πεκῦσις Παυσειρίος μη-*  
*τρὸς Σοήριος καὶ ὁ τούτου υἱὸς Πετε-*  
*νοῦφις μητρὸς Σινθεύτος ἀμφό-*  
*τεροι ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως Αὐρηλίῳ*  
*5 Θέωνι Διδύμου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πό-*  
*λεως χαίρειν. ὅμολογοιμεν ἀμφο-*  
*τέροις ἐξ ισον ἐσχηγέναι καὶ παρα-*  
*μεμετρῆσθαι παρὰ σοῦ πυροῦ γενή-*  
*ματος τοῦ διελθόντος δ (ἔτους) ἀρτάβας*  
*10 τέσσαρας ἐπὶ διαφόρῳ ἡμιολίᾳ,*  
*ώς εἶναι ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ πυροῦ σὺν δια-*  
*φόρῳ ἀρτάβας ἐξ, ἀσπερ ἀποδῶ-*  
*σω σοι ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης τῷ Παῦνι*  
*μηνὶ ἐφ' ἀλω κάμης Τερύθεως*  
*15 [πν]ο[δ]ν νέον καθαρὸν ἀδολον ἀβω-*  
*[λον] ἄκρειθον καικοσκεινευμένον*

- [ώς εἰς] δημόσιον μετρούμενον μέ-  
 [τραῷ] παραλημπτικῷ σου φὶ καὶ παρα-  
 [με]μετρήμεθα, τῶν παρὰ σοῦ  
 20 [τὴ]ν μέτρησιν ποιουμένων. ἐ-  
 [άν] δὲ μὴ ἀποδῆ καθὰ ἔγραψαμε[θα  
 [τὰ]ς προκειμένας τοῦ πυροῦ σὺν δι-  
 [αφδ]ρῳ ἀρτάβᾳς ἔξ, ταύτας {⟨σ⟩οι} ἐκτεί-  
 [σω σ]οι μεθ' ἡμιολίας καὶ διάφορον  
 25 [⟨δ⟩α]φορον} τοῦ ὑπερτεσόντος χρόνον  
 [ὅμοι]ως ἔξ ἡμιολίας παρά τε ἡμῶν  
 [ἀλλ]ηλεγγύων ὅντων εἰς ἐκτεισιν  
 [ἢ π]αρ' οὐ ἐὰν ἡμῶν αἱρῇ καὶ ἐκ τῶν  
 [ὑπ]αρχόντων ἡμεῖν παντοῖων  
 30 [πά]ντων, καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης. κύρια  
 [τὰ γ]ράμματα διστὰ γραφέντα ώς ἐν  
 [δ]ημοσίῳ κακακείμενα, περὶ δὲ  
 [τ]οῦ ταῦτα ὁρθῶς ⟨καὶ⟩ καλῶς γείνεσθαι  
 [ἔ]πιηρτηθέντες ὑπὸ σοῦ ωμολογή-  
 35 σ[α]μεν. (ἔτους) εἰ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος  
 Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεονήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ  
 Αθύρη η. (2nd hand.) Αὐρήλιοι Πεκῆσις  
 Πανσείριος καὶ ὁ νιὸς Πετε-  
 40 νοῦφις παραμεμέτρημεθα  
 παρὰ τοῦ Αὐρηλίου Θέων[ος  
 τὰς τοῦ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας  
 τέσσαρας ἐπὶ διαφόρῳ  
 ἔξ ἡμιολίας καὶ ἀποδώσομεν  
 45 τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ πυροῦ  
 ἀρτάβας ἔξ ἔξ ἀλληλεγγύ-  
 ης τῇ δηλουμένῃ προθε-  
 σμίῃ, καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες  
 ωμολογήσαμεν ώς πρόκι-  
 50 ται. Αὐρήλιος Πετρώνιος

*Μάρκον ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν  
φαμένων μὴ εἰδέναι γράμ-  
ματα.*

On the verso of Col. i

3rd hand *χ(ρόγραφον) Πεκύσιος (ἀρταβῶν) δ.*

4. *οξυρυγ' χων* Pap. 7. *ῖσον* Pap. 28. *α* of *ατρη* corr. from *ε.* 29. *παντοιων* corr. from *παντων.* 32. *Ι. κατακείμενα.* 34. *Ι. [ἐ]περωτηθέντες.* 41. *π* of *παρα* corr. 45. *ο* of *αυτο* corr. *π* of *πιρφ' ον* rewritten. 52. *ν* of *ειδεναι* corr.

Collated with this text Col. i shows the following variants: 1. 6 *ἀμφότεροι*, 1. 10 *ἡμιολία*, 1. 12 *ἀποδώσαμεν*, 1. 14 *Τερίθεω*, ll. 23-4 *ταῦτας ἐκτείναμεν σοι, -μεν* being corrected from *σοι* and *σοι* added above the line. 1. 25 om. *διαφόρον.* 1. 33 Perhaps *καὶ καλῶς* (lacuna). 1. 34 *ἐπε-  
ρωτηθέντες.* 1. 40 *παραμετρήμεθα.* 1. 49 *πρόσκειται.*

'Aurelius Pekusis, son of Pausiris and Soëris, and his son Aurelius Petenouphis whose mother is Sintheus, both of the city of Oxyrhynchus, to Aurelius Theon son of Didymus, of the said city, greeting. We acknowledge both equally that we have received and had measured out to us from you of the crop of the past 4th year four artabae of wheat at the interest of one-half, making a total, with the interest, of six artabae of wheat, which we will repay to you on our mutual security in the month of Pauni at the threshing-floor of the village of Teruthis, in wheat that is new, pure, unadulterated, without earth or barley, and sifted, as measured into the public granary, by your own receiving measure by which the measurement has been made to us, the measuring to be done by your agents. If I do not repay according to our written agreement the aforesaid six artabae of wheat including the addition, I will forfeit them to you with an increase of one-half and interest for the overtime also of one-half, (and you shall have the right of execution) upon us as mutual securities for the payment or upon whichever of us you choose and upon all our property of every kind, as in accordance with a legal decision. This bond, which is written in duplicate, is valid as if publicly registered, and in answer to your question whether this is rightly and fairly done we have given our consent.' Date, signature of Pekusis and Petenouphis written for them by Aurelius Petronius, and title on the back.

7. *ἐσχηγέναι*: Col. i shows the same spelling.

10. For *διαφόρῳ* cf. 988, 1041. 9, 1042. 28, P. Leipzig 97. xix. 1, &c., 102. i. 1.

21. *ἔγραψάμεθα*: the termination is assured by the duplicate copy.

26. *παρά τε ἡμῶν*: sc. *τῆς πράξεως σοι οὖσης.*

#### 1041. GUARANTEE FOR A LOAN.

27·7 X 15·7 cm.

A.D. 381.

In this deed Aurelius Plutarchus (?) takes upon himself the responsibility for the repayment of a loan which had been made through his intervention to a friend, Philonicus. The transaction was connected in some way with another

agreement in which Plutarchus was concerned, but the reference to this (ll. 9-10) is rather obscure.

[*Τπατίας Φλαουίων Εύχαιρίον κ[α]ὶ Σναγρίον τῶν  
λ]αμπροτάτων Παῦνι ε.*  
 [*Αύρήλιος Πλούταρχος Ψεναμούνιος μητρὸς Τεδ[.]μῆς  
ἀπὸ κώμης*] Φοβάσου ε πάγου τοῦ Ὁξυρ[ι]γχίτου ν[ο]μοῦ  
 5 *Αύρη[λιό . . .] . φ' Ἡρακλᾶ ἀπὸ τῆς [αὐτ]ῆς πόλεως βαφῖ χαίρειν.  
ἐπεὶ [πισθεῖς] ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἔγραψω Φιλον[ι]κῷ Βησάμμωνος  
ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς π[ο]λέως εἰς ἀπόδοσιν ἀργυρίου δηναρίων  
μυριάδ[ων τε]τρακισχιλίων διακοσίων χρεωστουμένων  
αὐτ[ρ]ῷ ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀπὸ λόγου διαφόρων ἀκο[λο]ύθως οἷς ἐθέμην  
 10 *α[.]ε[. . . . .] οἰς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ σε ἔχειν τὸ ἀσφαλὲς παρ' ἐμοῦ  
[ἔως τῆς] τούτων[ν] ἀπόδοσεως ὁμολογῶ ὄφιλειν σοι καὶ ἔχειν  
[παρ' ἐμαν]τῷ τ[ὰ]ς αὐτὰς τοῦ ἀργυρίου δηναρίων μυριάδας  
[τετρακισ]χιλίας διακοσίας, / (δηναρίων) μ(υριάδες), δσ, ἐπεὶ τῷ με  
ταύτας σοι ἀπο-*  
*[καταστῆσαι ἐν τῇ διὰ τοῦ γεγεν{ν}ημένου ὑπὸ σοῦ αὐτῷ τῷ  
 15 [Φιλονίκ]ῳ γραμματίου, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τῇ νεομηνίᾳ τοῦ Μεσορ[η]  
[μηνὸς το]ῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ιδ σ β τῆς παρούσης ἐνάτης  
[ἰνδικτίωνος], καὶ [ἀ]γακομίσασθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ τούτων  
γενόμενον αὐτῷ ὑπὸ σοῦ γραμματίου καὶ ἀναδοῦναι σοι  
εἰς ἀκέρωσιν, γινομένης σοι τῆς πράξεως παρά τε ἐμοῦ  
 20 καὶ ἐκ [τῶν ὑπαρχ]όντων μ[ο]ι πάντων, κύριον τὸ γραμματίου  
ἀπλοῦν γραφέν] καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα.**

2nd hand *Αύρήλιος Πλούταρχος Ψεναμούνιος ὁ προκιμένος  
ὄφιλω σοι καὶ ἔχω παρ' ἐμαυτῷ τὰ[ς το]ῦ ἀργυρίου  
δηναρίων μυριάδας τετρακισχιλεῖας διακοσίας  
 25 κ[αὶ ταύτας σοι ἀποδοσ]ῷ ἐν τῇ [προθεσ]μίᾳ ὡ[ς πρ]ό-  
[κειται . . . . .]ος . [ . . . . .] . [.] . α . . [.] .  
[ 28 letters ].*

1. l. Εὐχερίου.

5. χαιρεῖ Pap.

6. ὥπ Pap.

9. οἱ οἱς corr. from γ.

15.

<sup>1</sup> In the consulship of Flavius Eucherius and Syagrius the most illustrious, Pauni 15. Aurelius Plutarchus, son of Psenamounis and Ted[.]me, of the village of Phoboou in the μεσορᾶ Pap.

5th pagus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to Aurelius . . . us son of Heraclas, of the said city, dyer, greeting. Whereas owing to my persuasion you have drawn up an agreement with Philonicus son of Besammon, of the said city, for the repayment of four thousand two hundred myriads of denarii of silver which have been lent to him by you on account of extra payments in accordance with the contracts of . . . made by me, in order that you may have security from me until the repayment of this sum I acknowledge that I owe and myself have the said four thousand two hundred myriads of denarii of silver, total 42,000,000 denarii, on the condition that I restore them to you on the day specified in the agreement made by you with the said Philonicus, that is the first day of the month Mesore of the present 14th = the 6th year and the current 9th indiction, and that I shall recover from him the agreement for this sum made by you with him and shall hand it over to you for annulment; and you shall have the right of execution upon me and all my property. This agreement, of which one copy has been made, is valid, and in answer to the question I have given my consent.' Signature of Aurelius Plutarchus.

3. Πλούταρχος of course is uncertain, but it was a common name at Oxyrhynchus. At the end of the line Φοβόμην for Φοβότημην cannot be read; the initial letter is perhaps δ or λ, and the second may be α.

4. Φοβόων: the occurrence of this name shows that Φοβόων is the right reading in 973, though perhaps Φοβόων should be restored, since P. Leipzig 116. 2, according to Wilcken's revision in *Archiv* iv. p. 485, supports the spelling of 1041.

6. [πισθείσ] is commended by the sense and the size of the lacuna.

9. διαφέρων: cf. 1040. 10 and introd.

10. [.].[.] could be read in place of a[.].[], but there is hardly room for [π].[στ].[ως]. In the previous line the relative has been corrected and it is not quite clear what was originally written.

14. τὴν: sc., of course, προθεσμίᾳ, which is expressed in l. 25 below.

16. The regnal years are those of Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius.

26–7. These two lines very likely specified the writer of the foregoing signature on behalf of Plutarchus.

#### 1042. LOAN OF MONEY.

31 × 8·3 cm.

A.D. 578.

An agreement for a loan of one-third of a solidus, to be repaid on demand with some addition as interest, but the rate is not defined.

+ Βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου  
καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν  
δεσπότου μεγίστου εὐεργέτου  
Φλ(αυνίου) Ἰουστίνου τ[οῦ αἰ]ωνίου]  
5 Αύγουστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος

- ἔτους ιγ, μετὰ τὴν δευτέραν  
ἕπατίαν τῆς αὐτῶν γαληνότητ(ος)  
ἔτους ια, καὶ Φλ(αυνίου) Τιβερίου τοῦ  
καὶ νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ
- 10 εύτυχεστάτου ἡμῶν  
Καίσαρος ἔτους γ  
Παχὼν οἱ ἵνδικτίωνος ια.  
Φλαονίῳ Φίβ τῷ εὐδοκιμωτ(άτῳ)  
συνθαδιούβᾳ τῆς ἡγεμον(ικῆς)  
15 τάξεως τῆς Ἀρκάδων ἐπαρχ(ίας)  
νιφ τοῦ τῆς λαμπρ(ᾶς) μνήμ(ης)  
ἀπὸ τῆς νέας Ἰουστίνου  
πόλεως Αὐρήλιος Ἰωάννης  
μυλοκόπος νιὸς Ἀνούπ μητρ(ὸς)
- 20 Κυράναν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς  
πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ  
ἐσχηκέναι παρὰ τῆς σῆς λαμπρ(ότητος)  
ἐν χρήσει εἰς ἀναγκαίας μου  
χρέίας χρυσοῦ νομισμάτιον  
25 τρίτον ἰδιωτικῷ), νομ(ιτευόμενον), γἱ(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτιον) γ' ζ(υγῷ)  
ἰδιωτικῷ),  
καὶ τοῦτο ὁμολογῶ παρασχεῖν  
αὐτῇ ὀπόταν βούληθ(ῆ)  
μετὰ τοῦ διαφόρου ἀνυπερθ(έτως).  
κύρ(ιον) τὸ γρα(μματίον) ἀπλ(οῦν) γραφ(ὲν) καὶ  
30 ἐπερ(ωτηθεὶς) ὡμολ(όγησα). + Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἰωάννης νιὸς  
Ἀνούπ ὁ προγεγραμμ(ένος) πεποίημ(αι)  
τοῦτο τὸ γρα(μματίον) ὡς πρόκ(ειται). Σερῆνος  
ᜓγραψα ὑ(πὲρ) αὐτοῦ ἀγρ(αμμάτου) ὄντος.  
\* di empi Serēnu etelioth.

On the verso

- 35 + γρα(μματίον) Ἰωάννου μυλοκόπ(ον) νιοῦ Ἀνούπ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουστίνου  
πόλ(εως) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτιον) γ' ζ(υγῷ) ἰδιωτικῷ).

4. ιονστίνου Pap.; so in ll. 17, 35. 6. ῥ Pap. 7. ὑπαριαν Pap. 8. ἡ Pap.  
 12. ἵδια Pap. 13. φλαονία Pap. 16. ωνω Pap.; so in ll. 19, 30, 35. 18. ἰωανῆς  
 Pap.; so in ll. 30, 35. 25. ἰδια Pap.; so in l. 35.

'The 13th year of the reign of our most godly and pious sovereign and greatest benefactor Flavius Justinus, eternal Augustus and Imperator, the 11th year after the second consulship of his serenity, and the 3rd year of Flavius Tiberius also called Novus Constantinus, our most fortunate Caesar, Pachon 15, 11th indiction. To Flavius Phib, the most esteemed assistant in the prefect's office in the province of Arcadia, son of [illegible] of illustrious memory, from the new city of Justinus, Aurelius John, millstone-maker, son of Anoup and Kuranan, an inhabitant of the said city, greeting. I acknowledge that I have received from your magnificence as a loan for my pressing needs one-third of a gold solidus on the private standard of current coin, total  $\frac{1}{3}$  gold solidus, private standard, and this I agree to produce to you whenever you choose, together with the extra payment, without delay. This deed, of which one copy has been made, is valid, and in answer to the question I have given my consent.' Signature of John written for him by Serenus, the scribe who penned the contract, signature of Serenus, and title on the back.

8-11. Tiberius was appointed Caesar in 574; cf. Chron. Pasch. p. 376 a μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίῳ τῆς η' ἴνδικτίων ἡσθέντων 'Ιουστίνος Αὐγούστος καὶ ἐποίησεν Τιβέριον Καίσαρα μετονόμαστας αὐτὸν Κωνσταντίνον.

14-15. σουβαδιούβᾳ = subadiuiae. On the province of Arcadia, which corresponded to the earlier Heptanomia, cf. Gelzer, *Leipziger hist. Abhandl.* xiii, pp. 8-9.

17. A blank space was left for the name, which was never filled in. For νέας 'Ιουστίνον πόλεως cf. 126. 5.

25. A solidus on the private standard was slightly inferior in value to a solidus on the public or the Alexandrian standard; cf. 154. 13, note.

## 1043. RECEIPT.

6.6 × 33.5 cm.

A.D. 578.

A receipt, dated by the eras of Oxyrhynchus, for three sextarii of oil. The writing is across the fibres of the papyrus.

+ 'Εδόθ(ησαν) διὰ Σ]ερήνου ἐνοικολόγ(ου) Μακαρίῳ καὶ Ἡλίᾳ καὶ  
 Καρονὴ συμμάχ(οις) παραμέ(νοντι)  
 τῷ ἐνδόξ(ω) ο[ἱ]κ(ω) λόγῳ ἀναλωμά(των) τῶν ἀπὸ μη(νὸς) Φαμενὼθ ις  
 ἔως λ τοῦ ἀντ(οῦ), ήμερ(ῶν) ιε, ἐλαῖον ρέστ(αι)  
 τρεῖς, γύ(νονται) ἐλαῖ(ου) ρέστ(αι) γ μόνοι). (2nd hand) γύ(νονται)  
 ἐλαῖ(ου) ρέστ(αι) τρεῖς μ(όνοι).

1st hand (ετούς) σνδ σκγ Φαμενὼθ ιθ ἵδικτίωνος) ἐνδεκά[τη]ς.

1. συμμαχ(οις) παραμέ(νοντι) Pap. 2. ημερ(ῶν) Pap.

Received through Serenus, collector, by Macarius and Elias and Kamoul, assistants attending on the honourable house, on account of expenses from the 16th of the month Phamenoth to the 30th of the same month, 15 days, three sextarii of oil, total 3 sextarii of oil, and no more. (Signed) Total three sextarii of oil and no more. The 254th = the 223rd year, Phamenoth 19, 11th indiction.

1. ἔνοικολόγ(ον): cf. 1038. 13, note.

2. The ἔνδοξος οἰκος of the Apion family is probably meant; cf. P. Oxy. I. p. 206, and 133. 8, 16, 135. 16, &c.

### (e) ACCOUNTS AND LISTS.

#### 1044. TAXING-LIST.

28 x 57.5 cm.

A.D. 173-4 or 205-6.

On the verso of this papyrus are the six columns from the commencement of the *Phaedrus* printed under 1016. The recto contains three columns, of which the first is well preserved, of an alphabetical register of landholders, with the amounts due upon their holdings. The second column is much effaced, and of the third only the beginnings of lines remain; but Col. i, which follows below, is a sufficient specimen of the whole; some few points of interest occurring in the later part of the document are incorporated in the notes. The date is about the end of the second century; the reign, of which the past 13th year is mentioned in l. 4, is perhaps more likely to be that of Marcus Aurelius than that of Septimius Severus.

The personal names are accompanied by various items of land and wheat, those of the latter being added up at the end of the several entries as the amount payable. In a number of cases the land is assigned to no definite class; sometimes, however, it is described as *βασιλική*, and another common category is *α* (*ἀρτάβης*), i.e. land paying a tax of 1 artaba on the aroura. A similar combination of *βασιλική* and *α* (*ἀρτάβης*) is found in P. Brit. Mus. 604, and from P. Tebt. 576 it is known that a tax of 1 artaba per aroura was paid by catoeci; cf. ibid. 346. 5, note. In the present case it is noticeable that the amounts attached

to the land specified as *a* (*ἀρτάβης*) are reckoned not at 1 artaba but at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per aroura (in l. 5 a fraction of  $\frac{1}{12}$  aroura is ignored, and in ll. 24 and 27,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  choenices are treated as 3; but otherwise the rate of  $1\frac{1}{8}$  is correctly calculated). In one or two instances (ll. 9, 27) the land is stated to have been purchased.

Besides the dues coupled with definite plots of land, there occurs not infrequently an independent item called *οικοπέδου* ( ), i.e. *οικοπέδουν* or -*δων*, the amount being usually 3 choenices; in one case, however (l. 11), it is 6 choenices, and a second charge of 3 choenices is made under this head to the same individual (l. 12). An impost *προσόδον* (*οικοπέδων*) occurs in a few papyri of the Roman period (Wilcken, *Ost.* i. p. 390; cf. P. Fay, 42 (a). ii. 15, B. G. U. 761) and is supposed to have been levied on incomes derived from building-sites,—a kind of tax on ground-rents. But that impost is regularly paid in money, whereas the payments for *οικοπέδου* here are in kind; moreover, the property concerned in 1044 is clearly agricultural; and the constancy of the amount shows that it can have stood in no very exact relation to income. Perhaps we have to do with a single tax, which was assessed in money upon land that was built over and in kind upon agricultural land; but it will be well to wait for further evidence.

An interesting point resulting from the arithmetic of this document is that the artaba in which the calculations are made contained 40 choenices; cf. e.g. ll. 12 and 21, and notes. An artaba of 40 choenices is found in the Oxyrhynchus metrological fragment (9 verso 8), and the survival of this measure in the Roman period had been inferred from the occurrence of fractions of fifths and tenths of an artaba (cf. P. Tebt. 61 (b). 386, note), but the present is the clearest example of its official use.

- |   |   |              |
|---|---|--------------|
| 1 | [ 20 letters ] . [  | 18 letters ] |
| 2 | [ . . . . . ] λια ἐκ τ(οῦ) Σωτάδου[ς ἀπὸ] (ἀρουρῶν?) θίσ' (ἀρουραι)<br>εἰς ἡ Ἀβράκη (ἀρταβῶν) ση̄ καὶ ἐκ τ(οῦ) Ν[εικο]μάχου (πρότερον)<br>Πνεφερῶ[τ]ος                                    |              |
| 3 | [ . . . . . (ἀρουραι) . . . . (ἀρταβῶν) βδ', γ(ίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι)<br>η[δ' η̄], ἀλλ(ο) ὀνόμα(τος) "Ωρου Πετσείριος ἐκ τ(οῦ) Ἄνδρο[ν]είκου<br>(ἀρούρης) ↗ (ἀρτάβης) ↗ χ(οινίκων) γ, |              |
| 4 | [καὶ . . . . .] τῷ διελ(θόντι) ιγ (ἔτει) ἀπὸ μ[ητ]ροπόλ(εως) ὀνόμα(τος)<br>Σαραποῦτος τῆς καὶ Ταδιογάτος [Δι]ογένους τοῦ καὶ Πανσανίου  |              |
| 5 | [ . . . . . ]ς ἐκ τ(οῦ) Σωτάδους α (ἀρτάβης) (ἀρουραι) γιβ' (ἀρταβῶν)<br>γδ' η̄, γ(ίνονται) ὀνόμα(τος) πυροῦ (ἀρτάβαι) ιγ χ(οίνικες) γ.   |              |

- 6 [κληρονό(μοι)] Παυσειρίωνος Παυσειρίωνος μητρὸ[ς . . .]ημηοῦτος Παλάσεως ἐκ τ(οῦ) Χεριγένους ἀπὸ (ἀρουρῶν) β (ἀρουρα) α ((ἀρτάβων) . . .),  
 7 [δρύνο]ν ἀπὸ (ἀρουρῶν) Λδ' η' (ἀρουραι) δ' η' ίβ' ((ἀρτάβης) . . .), οἰκοπ(έδου) (ἀρτάβης) χ(οίνικες) γ, γ(ίνονται) [. . .] (ἀρτάβαι) ε χ(οίνικες) δ.  
 αλ ἐκ τ(οῦ) Μενεμάχου (πρότερον) Παυσείριος Ἀπίτος  
 8 [(ἀρουραι) . (ἀρτάβῶν)] βΛδ', τὸ γ' (ἀρτάβαι) αΛη', γ(ίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) {ι}αλ χ(οίνικες) ε, ἄλλ(ο) δρύνου ἀπὸ (ἀρουρῆς) δ' η' τὸ γ' (ἀρουρῆς) η' (ἀρτάβης) Λ, γ(ίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ζ χ(οίνικες) θ, αἱ διὰ τῆς  
 9 [ἀγ]ορα(σάσης) τὸν πόρον Θαϊσοῦτος Πετσείριος διὰ τῶν Ἀρψήμιος καὶ τῶν ἀδελ(φῶν) καὶ τῶν λοιπ(ῶν) ἀντιπ(οιουμένων) τοῦ πόρου.  
  
 10 [Πε]τσειρίων Σειρίωνος μητρὸς Μαρθοῦτος ἐκ τ(οῦ) Ἀνδρωνος σὺν τ(ῷ)  
 Μενεσθέως βα(σιλικῆς) (ἀρουρῆς) Λ (ἀρτάβῶν) αΛδ' χ(οινίκων) ζ,  
 11 Νεικοστρά(του) (ἀρουρῆς) Λ (ἀρτάβῶν) αΛδ' χ(οινίκων) ζ, οἰκοπ(έδου)  
 (ἀρτάβης) χ(οίνικες) σ, Μενεμάχου (ἀρουρα) α (ἀρτάβῶν) αη', Πολέ-  
 μωνος βασιλ(ικῆς) (ἀρουρῆς) Λη' (ἀρτάβῶν) βδ' χ(οινίκων) η,  
 12 οἰκοπ(έδου) (ἀρτάβης) χ(οίνικες) γ, γ(ίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ζΛ χ(οί-  
 νικες) σ, δρύνου ἀπὸ (ἀρουρῆς) δ' η' τὸ Λ (ἀρουρῆς) η' ίσ' (ἀρτάβης)  
 Λδ'. γ(ίνονται) πυροῦ ηδ' χ(οίνικες) σ.  
 13 αἱ διὰ τῶν ἀντιπ(οιουμένων) τοῦ πόρου.  
  
 14 Παυσειρίων Ψεναμούνιος οἰκοπ(έδου) (ἀρτάβης) χ(οίνικες) σ, Νεικοστρά(του)  
 (ἀρουρῆς) δ' (ἀρτάβης) δ' χ(οινίκων) β, γ(ίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβης)  
 δ' η', καὶ ἐκ τ(οῦ) Μενεμάχου  
 15 βασιλ(ικῆς) (ἀρουρῆς) ι' (ἀρτάβης) Λ χ(οινίκων) η.  
  
 16 Τετσείριος Ἀρψήμειος γυνὴ τοῦ προγεγρα(μμένου) ἐκ τ(οῦ) λοιπ(οῦ) Μενε-  
 σθέως α (ἀρτάβης) (ἀρουρα) α (ἀρτάβῶν) αη', οἰκοπ(έδου) (ἀρτάβης)  
 χ(οίνικες) γ, (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) αη' χ(οίνικες) γ.  
  
 17 Πενῦρις Πετρωνίου τοῦ καὶ Ὄριωνος ἐκ τ(οῦ) Μενεμάχου α (ἀρτάβης)  
 (ἀρουραι) β (ἀρτάβῶν) βδ', καὶ εἰς τὸν α(ὐτὸν) μετ(ρῳ?) Τοτοέως  
 18 βασιλ(ικῆς) ἐκ τ(οῦ) Χεριγένους (ἀρουραι) αη' (ἀρτάβης) χ(οινίκων) σ.  
 O

- 19 Πετσεῖρις Ἡρακλήν μητρὸς Σούριος δι(α) κληρον[όμων] Παλώσεως ἐκ τ(oū) Νεικομάχου βασιλ(ικῆς) (ἀρούρης) δ' (ἀρτάβης) Λδ̄ χ(οινίκων) θ,  
 20 Κοραέως (ἀρούρης) ἔδ̄ ρέκη (ἀρτάβης) χ(οινίκων) δ, καὶ ἐκ τ(oū) Πολέμωνος (ἀρούρης) Λ (ἀρταβῶν) αΛ χ(οινίκων) Σ, ἀλλ(η) ἐκ τ(oū)  
 α(ντοῦ) (ἀρουρα) α (ἀρταβῶν) γΛδ̄ χ(οινίκων) δ, ἀλλ(αι)  
 21 ἐκ τ(oū) α(ντοῦ) (ἀρουραι) γΛ (ἀρταβῶν) θΛ χ(οινίκων) η, ἀλλ(ο) ἐκ τ(oū)  
 α(ντοῦ) (ἀρούρης) Λ (ἀρταβῶν) αΛδ̄ χ(οινίκων) ζ, γ(ίνονται) πυροῦ  
 (ἀρτάβαι) ιη χ(οίνικες) η.
- 22 Πγεφερσόνις Ὀννώφριος γυνὴ Ἀρακυγ( ) ἐκ τ(oū) Ἀνδρωνος σὸν τ(ω̄)  
 Μενεσθέως α (ἀρτάβης) (ἀρουραι) ι (ἀρταβῶν) ιαδ̄, νετρῳ  
 23 [ . . . ]εθάνορος καὶ Παραμόνου (ἀρούρης) Λη' (ἀρτάβης) Λ χ(οινίκων) θ,  
 βασιλ(ικῆς) (ἀρούρης) λβ' (ἀρτάβης) η, γ(ίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβης)  
 Λδ̄ χ(οίνικες) δ, καὶ ἐκ τ(oū) Ἀνδρωνος
- 24 [σὸν τ(ω̄)] Μενεσθέως α (ἀρτάβης) (ἀρούρης) Λ (ἀρτάβης) Λ χ(οινίκων) γ,  
 καὶ ἐκ τ(oū) λοιπ(oū) Μενεσθέως α (ἀρτάβης) (ἀρουρα) α (ἀρταβῶν)  
 αη', καὶ ἐκ τ(oū) Ἀνδρονείκου
- 25 [[ἀρούρης]] Λ (ἀρτάβης) Λ χ(οινίκων) γ, καὶ ἐκ τ(oū) Πολέμωνος (ἀρουρα)  
 α (ἀρταβῶν) αη', γ(ίνονται) ἐπὶ τὸ α(ντὸ) πυροῦ (ἀρτάβαι) ιεΛ.
- 26 [Λ ἑσω]μα(τίσθησαν) ἐπὶ πόλεως Ἀρσινόη καὶ Διονυσίω Ἀπολλοφάνους α  
 (ἀρτάβης) (ἀρουραι) ε (ἀρταβῶν) εΛη', ἀλ(ο) α (ἀρτάβης)
- 27 [[ἀρούρης]] Λ (ἀρτάβης) Λ χ(οινίκων) γ, γ(ίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) Σ  
 χ(οίνικες) η, ἀγορα(στῶν) δικαίω Ἀρτεμεῖτι μητ(ρὸς) Πενπαντεύριος  
 ἐκ τ(oū) Ἀνδρωνος
- 28 [σὸν τ(ω̄)] Μενεσθέως α (ἀρτάβης) ἀπὸ (ἀρουρῶν) ι (ἀρουραι) ε (ἀρταβῶν)  
 εΛ[η'.] γ(ίνονται) ἐπὶ τὸ α(ντὸ) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ιαΛδ̄ χ(οίνικες)  
 γ, λ[ο]ιπ(αι) (ἀρτάβαι) γΛ χ(οίνικες) ζ.

8. Λ after (ἀρτάβης) corr. from γ (?). 9. θαισοντος Pap. 10. τ of μαρθοντος added above α θ. 16. Final χ(οίνικες) γ written immediately below αη'. 22. δ corr. from α.

2. ἐκ τ(oū) Σωτάδους: sc. κληρου. A holding mentioned in Col. ii but not in this column is ἐκ τ(oū) Στρόμβου.

5. The stroke over the fraction ιβ covers also the preceding γ, but that was doubtless unintentional. The total τγ exceeds the sum of the items by  $\frac{3}{4}$  ( $8\frac{3}{8} + \frac{1}{2} + 3\frac{3}{8} = 12\frac{1}{4}$ ). It is unlikely that these  $\frac{3}{4}$  occurred in the lacuna at the beginning of the line, since neither καΐ nor δ can be read before ικ; μητ(ρὸς) . . . Σ is more likely.

6. *κληροδ(μοι)* is supplied on the analogy of several entries in Cols. ii and iii. At the end of this line an amount of artabae is missing; cf. l. 7.

7. [θρόν]o: cf. l. 8 *ἀλλ(o) δρέουν* and l. 12. The word is unknown: is it a form of *δρυμός*?

An amount of artabae is again missing before *οἰκοπ(έδου)*; cf. l. 6. It is doubtful what followed *χ(ίστραι)*: neither *πυροῦ* nor (*πυροῦ*) suits the papyrus. The meaning of the *aL* after *χ(ίστραι)* δ is also obscure. In Col. ii *aL* occurs in connexion with *ἰδωτική γῆ*: *χ(ίστραι)* (*ἄπραται*) γη' (*ἄπρατῶν*) iβ *χ(ανίκων)* β, *ἰδωτικής aL καὶ a (ἀπράτης) ἐκ τ(οῦ) Θέων κτλ.*, from 'which it appears that (*ἀπράτων*) is to be supplied and a new category of land paying  $1\frac{1}{2}$  art. is meant; cf. the Ptolemaic *διατραβία* (P. Tebt. 5. 15, note).

8. At the beginning of the line either *βLδ* or *aLγ'* must be wrong, and since the latter figure is corroborated by the addition, the fault is shown to lie with *βLδ*, which should be *δLδγ'*. Another mistake occurs in the number *aL χ(ίστραι) ε*, for this exceeds the later total 7 art. 9 choen., and it is evident that the *i* should be omitted and that (*ἀπράται*) *aL χ(ίστραι) ε* is another way of expressing the previous number (*ἀπράται*) *aLη'*; cf. l. 23. The final total is then correct: 5 art. 4 choen. (l. 7) +  $1\frac{1}{2}$  art. 5 choen. +  $\frac{1}{2}$  art. = 7 art. 9 choen. That the artaba contained 40 choenices is confirmed by ll. 12, 21, &c.

9. *ἀντιτ(οιουμένων)*: in one place in Col. ii the word is written in a less abbreviated form, αι δι(α) τῶν ἀγοραστῶν καὶ ἀντιτονοῦντον κτλ.

10. *Νεικοστρά(τον)*: i.e. ἐκ τ(οῦ) N.

11. The items in ll. 10-12 add up to  $6\frac{7}{8}$  art. 31 choen., and the total is given in l. 12 as  $7\frac{1}{2}$  art. 6 choen., i.e. 25 choen. are reckoned as  $\frac{5}{8}$  art., implying an artaba of 40 choen.

14. *χ(ίστραι) σ* should no doubt be *χ(ίστραι) γ*, which, with the exception of l. 12, is the regular amount for *οἰκοπ(έδου)*. With this correction the equation 5 choen. =  $\frac{1}{8}$  art. results, as in ll. 8, 23, and 27.

17. *νετρφ(ρο)*: cf. l. 22 and also an entry in Col. ii *τῆς Ἐρμίου ἀκολούθως χρημα(τίζοντος) π( ) νετρφ ε . . [*. In both these places the *v* is clear and *μέτρφ* certainly cannot be read, nor does *μέτρφ* seem suited to the context. *νετρφ* however is an unknown word and the sense is obscure.

21. An artaba of 40 choenices again follows from the addition of the items, which amount to  $17\frac{1}{4}$  art. 38 choen. The total as given is 18 art. 8 choen.; therefore 30 choen. =  $\frac{3}{4}$  art.

22. *Ἀρακνγ( )*: other uncommon names occurring in Col. ii are *Παρδαλᾶς* and *Πενπαν-λῆμις* (fem.).

23. The total  $\frac{3}{4}$  art. 4 choen. is the sum of the two preceding items, 5 choen. being reckoned, as before, as  $\frac{1}{8}$  art.

25.  $11\frac{1}{4} + \frac{3}{4} + \frac{1}{2} + 1\frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{2} + 1\frac{1}{8}$  art. and 10 choen. =  $15\frac{1}{4}$  art. and 10 choen., =  $15\frac{1}{2}$  art.

26. [*L ἔσωμα(τίσθησαν)*]: two similar entries occur in Col. ii, e.g. *L ἔσωμα(τίσθησαν) Γαβενίᾳ Ἰσιδώρᾳ . . λοπ(αι) (πυροῦ) (ἀπράται) . .* On *σωματισμός* cf. P. Fay. 33, 18-19, note, and Eger, Aeg. *Grundbuchwesen*, p. 188, Lewald, *Röm.-Aeg. Grundbuchrecht*, p. 79, who both support our view. It may be suggested that in P. Brit. Mus. 604. 3 *κατ' εἰδ[ος σω]ματισμοῦ* should be restored in place of *κατ' εἰδ[η] σπερ]ματισμοῦ*.

## 1045. LIST OF DUES.

Height 33·5 cm.

About A.D. 205.

The following much mutilated fragments are given as specimens of the document on the recto of 1012. C contains part of a list of property-owners, of whom many bear Roman names and several are women; their property is frequently stated to be in the territory of Alexandria, and the sums mentioned are large. The column printed was preceded by another of which only one or two letters remain. A is occupied with some official correspondence, written in the same large hand as the list, to which it no doubt refers, though whether by way of general preface or otherwise is uncertain;  $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu \delta\phi\epsilon\lambda\omega\mu\epsilon\nu\omega\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\omega\omega$  in l. 49 may well refer to the amounts detailed in C. Two other fragments, E and F, appear to contain matter of a kind somewhat similar to that of A; the former mentions  $]s \delta\delta\omega\kappa\eta[\tau\hat{\eta}s$ .

C (Fr. 9), Col. ii.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| $\pi\rho\sigma\tau\epsilon\theta[\epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma\ (δραχμάς)$ | $\delta\eta-$                                       |
| [μ]οσίου γ[  | $\dot{\epsilon}\nu \tau\hat{\eta}$                  |
| [Αλ]εξ(ανδρέων) χώ[ρα] ὑπαρχ( )  |   |
| [. . .]ς προσ[   |   |
| 5 [Σαρ]απίων δ [καὶ .  | $\dot{\epsilon}\nu \tau\hat{\eta}$                  |
| Αλεξ(ανδρέων) χώ[ρα] ὑ[παρχ( )]  | μετὰ τὰς προσ-                                      |
| τεθείσας [(δραχμάς)]   |   |
| [Στ]ατιλία Αντίπατρα   |   |
| τῶν Μενελάου τ[  |   |
| 10 (ταλαντ ) κα (δραχμ ) 'Δκα ἀπὸ τοῦ σ[                               |   |
| Κλανδία Χαιρημονίς [   | $\dot{\epsilon}\nu \tau\hat{\eta} \ 'Αλεξ(ανδρέων)$ |
| χώρα ὑπάρχ( ) (ταλαντ ) ιδ [   | μετὰ τὰς προσ-                                      |
| τεθείσας (δραχμάς) 'Δχις [   |   |
| Μάρκος Κόλαιος Άμε[  |   |
| 15 'Ιουλίου Α[λ]εξάνδρου ε . [   |   |
| (ταλαντ ) ιβ α[. . .] . [. . .]υα[                                     |   |
| 'Αντώνιο[ς   | $\dot{\epsilon}\nu \tau\hat{\eta}$                  |
| 'Αλεξ(ανδρέων) χώρα . [. . .]απ[                                       |   |

- Αἰλία Εἰρήνη ἡ [κα]ὶ Σερη[ν  
 20 . [ . . . . . . . . ] (ταλαντ ) ια [  
 Μα[. . . αδ[. . . . . ἐκ προ . [  
 (ταλαντ ) μδ ἀπὸ τῶν συναγομένων  
 Μαρκία Σ[ο]ιλπικία εἰς λ[όγον (?)  
 ὑπαρχ( ) αὐτοῦ (ταλαντ ) α (δραχμ ) 'ΓΧ[  
 25 Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Νικαι[  
 ἡ καὶ Ἡράκλεια τῶν [  
 ἐν τῷ Ἀδριανῷ γραμ[  
 τῶν συναγομένων) (ταλαντ ) β (δραχμ ) νισ [  
 τὸ ιγ (ἔτος) (δραχμ ) 'Δυ [  
 30 Νεμεσιανὸς ὁ καὶ Ἡρα[  
 τοῦ καὶ Γαιανοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξ(ανδρέων) χάρα(ρα) ὑπαρχ( ) ἀπὸ τῶν  
 συναγ[ο]μ[ένων] [[δραχμ ]]' χισ μετὰ τὰς προστεθ(είσας) (δραχμὰς) (?)  
 Πούπλιο[ς] Τιτιαν[ὸς]

A (Frs. 1-2).

Remains of 3 lines.

- [ μέρος μὲν α . [ . . . . ]ης πρὸ[ς] τοὺς κοινῷ[ς  
 (ταλαντ )]α (δραχμ ) 'Ενθ καὶ πρός. φρόντι[σ]ον οὖν τὴν [  
 (?) ποιή]σασθαι ἐὰν [ . . . . ]πα[. . . . .]ι ἐκ τοῦ [  
 40 . γων [ . . . . ] ἡμῖν δ[. . . . .]τον . [  
 ]αι . [ . . . . .]πο το[. . . . .] . . τουπ . [  
 ]εντ[. . . . .] παρατ[ιθ]εσθαι ταυτα[  
 ] . οὐκ . [ . . . . .] ο[.]μοδ[. . . . .]π[  
 Σεπτιμίου] Σ[ε]ουήρου Εύσεβο]ῦς Περτ[ι]νακος Σεβ[αστοῦ  
 45 δηλωθεῖσι ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς π[όλεω]ς γρ[αμματέως  
 ] νομοῦ πραγματικῷ[ν . . .]η[  
 κλη]ηρονόμοις τοῦ Εἰρηνίωνος Σαρα[π  
 ]ητρια ἐπέστειλα ὅπως ἐξαυτῆς τ[  
 τῶν διφει]λομένων κεφαλαίων ὑπὸ τοῦ . [  
 50 ]νται εἰδόσιν εἰ δι' ὑπερπ[. . .]σιν [  
 γρα]φεῖσι ἐσό[μ]ενα καὶ τ[

] ὅπω[ς πα]γτὸς τοῦ κ[  
]ωπ[

I5. ιοιλιον Pap.

1. μετὰ τὰς is probably to be restored before προστεθίσας here and in ll. 6 and 12; cf. l. 32. For προστεθίσας cf. e. g. B. G. U. 8. ii. 15 sqq.

3. [Αλ]εξ[ανδρέων] χώ[ρα]: cf. ll. 6 and 18. Wilcken reminds me that according to the edict of Julius Alexander (Dittenberger, *Orientalis Gr. Inscr.* 669. 59-60) the ἀρχαῖα γῆ in the Ἀλεξανδρέων χώρα was free of land-tax, so that the plots mentioned in this papyrus may have belonged to some other category.

4. This line give the date of the foregoing letter, (ἔτους) . Λιτοκράτορος Καισαρος Λονκίου Σεπτημίου] Σ[ε]νήρου κτλ., i.e. A.D. 193-198.

48. Probably Δημητρίᾳ, as one of the κληρονόμοι; but the division ]η τρία is of course also possible.

50-1. The sense no doubt is that neglect of the instructions will be punished: but δι' ὑπέρβ[έ]σιν cannot be read.

#### 1046. TAXING-ACCOUNT.

24·5 X 9 cm.

A. D. 218-219.

Conclusion of an account of payments for various taxes and dues. The verso contains a letter (1064).

τιμῆ(ς) χλωρᾶ(ν)	(δραχμαὶ) νυμε (δβολὸς) χ(αλκοῦς) α,
τόκ(ου) διαική(σεως)	(δραχμαὶ) ρις (πεντάβολον) χ(αλκοῖ) γ,
προσδό(ων) ἀμπελ(άνων)	(δραχμαὶ) ρθ,
ιερατ(ικῶν) χλωρᾶ(ν)	(δραχμαὶ) ξ,
5 σεντάξεως	(δραχμαὶ) πς (τριάβολον) χ(αλκοῖ) γ,
↙ (δραχμαὶ) 'Βρμη.	
καὶ διεγρά(φησαν) ἐπὶ τὴν δημοσί(αν) τρά(πεζαν)	
ὑπὸ Κλαυδί(ας) Ἰσιδώρα(ς) τῆς κ(αὶ) Ἀπίας	
ἀπομοίρη(ς)	(δραχμαὶ) ρις,
10 καὶ ὑπὸ Αύρηλίου Ἀχιλλέως τοῦ κ(αὶ) Ἰσιδώρο(ν)	
ἀπομοίρη(ς)	(δραχμαὶ) λς,
↙ (δραχμαὶ) ρνβ.	

✓ ἐπ(ὶ τὸ αὐτὸ) τῆς διαστολ(ῆς) (δραχμαὶ) 'Βτ.  
 (ἔτους) β Αὐτοκρατόρος Καίσαρος  
 15 Μάρκου Αύρηλίου Ἀντωνίου  
 Εὐσεβοῦς Εύτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ  
 Τῦβι.

ζ. l. συντάξεως.

1. τιμῆ(ς) χλωρῶ(ν): cf. P. Brit. Mus. 171 (a), a receipt for 36 drachmae paid to a πράκτωρ στικ(ῶν) διοικήσ(εως) κώμης Σοκονταίου Νήσου on 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  arourae ἀπὸ τιμῆ(ς) χλωρῶν. Line 4 below records another payment for χλωρά on some temple-land, ἵερατ(ικῶν) χλωρῶ(ν).

3. Taxes on ἀμπελῶνες are well known under various names, but this particular form προσόδ(ων) διμελ(ῶνων), which recalls the προσόδων φοινίκ(ων) (Wilcken, *Ost.* No. 276, A.D. 186-187), appears to be novel. Wilcken in *Ost.* i. p. 310 regards the impost ὑπέρ προσόδων φοινίκ(ων) as an income-tax; that however is uncertain.

5. For the priestly σύνταξις, which is here appropriately placed next to ἵερατ(ικῶν) χλωρῶ(ν), cf. P. Tebt. 302, 5, B.G.U. 707, 10, Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, i. pp. 366 sqq.; ἵερατικ(αῖ) συντάξεις also occurs in an unpublished Hawara papyrus.

9. ἀπόφοιτ(ης): in P. Brit. Mus. 195, 9-10 ἀπόφοιτα is calculated at a rate of 10 dr. per aroura of ἀμπελῶνες, and 5 dr. per aroura of παράδεσοι; a rate of 5 drachmae is also found in B.G.U. 915, 1.

13. τῆς διαστολ(ῆς): cf. e.g. B.G.U. 552 A. iii. 5, 553 A. iii. 10.

#### 1047. ACCOUNT OF A PRAEPOSITUS.

25·8 x 12·8 cm.

Fourth century.

A short account of two payments to a *praepositus* (*castrorum*), one for *stipendium*, the other as a *donativum*. At the other end of the papyrus, written in the opposite direction, there are 10 lines of a calculation of days according to the Roman calendar, preceded by a heading ]. iow, e.g. ll. 7-10 [λόγον ἀπὸ τῆς [[πρὸ τῷ]] καλανδ(ῶν) 'Οκτομβρίων ἔως τῆς πρὸ αἱδῶν τῶν α(ὐτῶν), ἡμερ(ῶν) τῷ. λόγον ἀπὸ τῆς [[πρὸ τοῦ καλανδῶν Νοεμβρίων]] ἰῶτρ' Οκτωμβρίων (τῷ, οκτ. above the line) ἔως τῆς νωιῶν (κω corr. from πρὸ) Νοεμβρίων, ἡμερ(ῶν) κβ.

Ἄργος τοῦ κυρίου μου πραιποσίτου.

στιπενδίου καλανδῶν

Σεπτεμβρίων (δηναρίων) μ(υριάδες) γ , 5,  
 δωνατίουν πρὸ ὁκτὼ καλ(ανδῶν)

5 Αὐγούστων (δηνάρια) βφ.

// ὁμοῦ μ(υριάδες) γ [,η]φ.

'Account of my lord the praepositus: for the stipend of September 1, 36,000 denarii, a present on July 25, 2,500 denarii, making together 38,500 denarii.'

3. The abbreviation of  $\mu(\nu\rho\alpha\delta\epsilon\varsigma)$  here takes the form of a large uncial M, above which the γ is written.

#### 1048. ACCOUNT OF CORN-FREIGHTS.

28.3 × 18.9 cm. Late fourth or early fifth century.

The following account is written on the verso of 1033. It is a list ( $\beta\rho\epsilon\nu\iota\omega\eta$ ) of freights of corn carried by boats which are classified as λονσωράι (lusoriae) and πλοῖα, with the names of the owners of the boats and their captains. For the lusoriae see Cod. Theod. vii. 17 *de lusoriis Danuvii*, where they are styled iudiciae and agrarienses, and it is also ordained that quaecumque ex veteribus fucrint reformatae transvectioni speciei annonariae secernantur; cf. Theod. Novel. 23. The freights here are presumably to be connected with the embola. Lines 8–15 are in ink of a different colour from that used for the first seven lines and were probably written at a different time, but the hand is perhaps the same. Oblique dashes occur in the left margin against ll. 2–7, and there are some obscure marginal annotations.—Cf. P. Flor. 75, &c.

Βρ(εούιον).

λονσωρία)	Πακίου πολ(ιτευομένου) ὑπὸ Θεόδωρον Παρίτ	
		(ἀρτάβαι) ωκγ,
πλ(οῖον) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ Εὐδαιμονα Σαραπᾶ		(ἀρτάβαι) νιελ,
πλ(οῖον) Ἀετίου πολ(ιτευομένου) ὑπὸ Τιμόθεον Κιχντος		(ἀρτάβαι) βχκ,
5 πλ(οῖον) Αθανασίου πολ(ιτευομένου) ὑπὸ Πλούταρχον Πανίωνος ?)		(ἀρτάβαι) γχλ,
λονσωρία)	πλ(οῖον) Σατορνίλου λαμ(προτάτου ?) ὑπὸ Νειεσίωνα δι(ὰ)	
10 πλ(οῖον) Σατορνίλου λαμ(προτάτου) ὑπὸ Ἀλέξα. ρον Διδύμου		(ἀρτάβαι) βνξ,
κριθῶν		(ἀρτάβαι) ψοξ
πλ(οῖον) Οὐαλερίου πολ(ιτευομένου) ὑπὸ Παῦλον Σαραπίωνος		(ἀρτάβαι) αψνβ,
		(ἀρτάβαι) βρνζ,

Μακροβίου πλ(οίον) ὑπὸ Θέ(ω)να Ἀγάθου (ἀρτάβαι) ψηλ,  
 καὶ πέμπτης (ἀρτάβαι) ωβῃ,  
 ἄλλαι τῆς ί( ) εξ· ην (ἀρτάβαι) λβ,  
 1. εξ( ) 1. γ.  
 Μακροβίου πλ(οίον) ὑπὸ Διδυμον Πλά (ἀρτάβαι), ατλα,  
 15 Λευκαδίου πλ(οίον) ὑπὸ Ἀπφοῦς Εύδαίμονος (ἀρτάβαι) τηλ.

8. l. Ἀλέξανδρον. δυ of διδυμον corr. 15. l. Ἀπφοῦν.

2. πολ(ιτευομένου): this expansion of the abbreviation πολ( ) is indicated by a fragment of a similar list, which was found along with this, headed δ(ά) τοῦ νομικοῦ and containing the titles ἄντο πρ(ετερών) and σχολ(αστικοῦ) in the same position as πολ(ιτευομένου).

5. The margin does not seem to be quite complete, but the loss before χοι( ) &c. in the marginalia on ll. 5–8 is in any case small. For Πανιών cf. C. P. R. 34. I Πανιών.

8. Ἀλέξανδρον was doubtless intended, but cannot be read; the letter before ρ looks most like another α.

10. ἵπ(ό) Παῦλον is suggested by the fragment mentioned in the note on l. I, ὑπὸ Παῦλον occurring there.

12. πέμπτη is apparently the name of a tax, and may be the same as the πέμπη which occurs in P. Brit. Mus. 1107 in connexion with λιμένος Μέρφεως and ἐπισταρεῖας; that papyrus, however, is of the third century.

13. This line is obscure. The top of the s of τῆς is brought down to a level of its base and followed by two oblique dashes; and there are some slanting flourishes between έ and γν. έ probably stands for πέμπτης: cf. e. g. P. Brit. Mus. 1107, where πέμπτης is written έ after its first occurrence; but τῆς α(ντῆς) is unsuitable.

## 1049. ACCOUNT OF TRANSPORT.

30.6 x 14.2 cm.

Late second century.

An account of expenses incurred in connexion with the transport of χόρτος to the village of Ophis. Hire of donkeys is at the rate of 2 drachmae a day, of donkey-drivers 1 drachma 5 obols and 2 dr. 4 ob., of workmen employed in tying up bundles 3 dr. 3 ob. The account is written on the verso of 1032.

[A]όγ(ος) μεταφο(ρᾶς) χόρτ(ον) μετανελθ(όντος)  
 εἰς τὴν) ἄλω τῆς Ὄφεως Παχῶν.  
 ιη. ὄνο(ι) θ φο(ρτία) η, / μανδάκαι) οβ ἔξ ἀνκαλ(ῶν) μγ, ἀγώ(για) κδ.  
 μισθ(ὸς) ὄνο(ι) θ ἐκ (δραχμῶν) β (δραχμαὶ) ιη,  
 5 ὄνηλ(άταις) ὄμ(οίως) γ ἐκ (δραχμῆς) α (πεντωβόλον)  
 (δραχμαὶ) ε (օβολός),

ᾶλ(λωφ) α ὄνηλ(άτη) ὄμ(οίωσ) (δραχμαι) β (τετράβολον),  
 ᾶλ(λοις) β ἐργ(άταις) δεσμ(εύοντι) μανδ(άκας) (δραχμαι) γ (τριάβολον).  
 / (δραχμαι) κθ (ὅβολός).

ιθ. ὄμ(οίωσ) ὄνο(i) ιβ φο(ρτία) η, / μα(νδάκαι) ης, ἀγά(για) λβ.  
 10 μισθ(ὸς) ὄνο(is) ιβ ἐ[κ] (δραχμῶν) β (δραχμαι) [κδ.]  
 ὄνηλ(άταις) ὄμ(οίωσ) σ ἐ[κ] (δραχμῆς) α (πεντώβολον)  
 (δραχμαι) ι (δυνόβολοι),  
 15 ἄλ(λοις) β ἐργ(άταις) δεσμ(εύοντι) μα(νδάκας) (δραχμαι) γ (τριάβολον).  
 / (δραχμαι) λξ (πεντώβολον).

κ. ὄμ(οίωσ) ὄνο(i) δ φο(ρτία) θ, / μα(νδάκαι) λ[η], ἀ[γ]γώ(για) ιγ.  
 20 μισθ(ὸς) ὄνο(is) δ ἐκ (δραχμῶν) β (δραχμαι) [η.]  
 ὄνηλ(άταις) ὄμ(οίωσ) β ἐκ (δραχμῆς) α (πεντώβολον)  
 (δραχμαι) γ (τριάβολον),  
 ἄλ(λωφ) ἐργ(άτη) α δεσμ(εύοντι) μα(νδάκας) (δραχμη) α (πεντώβολον).  
 / (δραχμαι) ιγ (ὅβολός).

κ[α]. ὄμ(οίωσ) ὄνο(i) σ φο(ρτία) η, / μ]α(νδάκαι) μη, ἀγώ(για) [ιγ.  
 25 μισθ(ὸς) ὄνο(is) σ ἐκ (δραχμῶν) β (δραχμαι) [ιβ.,]  
 [ὁ]νηλ(άταις) ὄμ(οίωσ) γ ἐκ (δραχμῆς) α (πεντώβολον)  
 [(δραχμαι) ε (ὅβολός,)]

ἄλ(λωφ) ἐργ(άτη) α δεσμ(εύοντι) μ[α(νδάκας) [(δραχμη) α] (πεντώβολον).  
 / (δραχμαι) [ιθ.,]  
 / ἐπ(ὶ τὸ αὐτὸ) ἀγά(για) π[ε] [(δραχμαι) οθ.

5. The sign for ( $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\hat{\eta}\varsigma$ ) was inserted after *a* was written.

**Lines 1-13:**

**Lines 1-3.** Account of the transport of hay transferred to the threshing-floor of Ophis in Pachon.

The 18th. 9 donkeys, 8 loads, making 72 trusses from 43 bundles, 24 cart-loads. Wages for 9 donkeys at 2 drachmae, 18 dr., likewise for 3 drivers at 1 dr. 5 obols, 5 dr. 1 ob., likewise for another driver 2 dr. 4 ob., for 2 more workmen binding trusses 3 dr. 3 ob. Total 20 dr. 1 ob.

The 19th. Likewise 12 donkeys, 8 loads, making 96 trusses, 32 cart-loads. Wages for 12 donkeys at 2 dr., 24 dr., likewise for 6 drivers at 1 dr. 5 ob., 10 dr. 2 ob., for 2 more workmen binding trusses 3 dr. 3 ob. Total 37 dr. 5 ob.

3.  $\phi\sigma(\iota)$  can hardly be anything but  $\phi\sigma(\rho\tau\alpha)$ ; the constancy of the figures with  $\phi\sigma(\rho\tau\alpha)$ , 8 thrice, 9 once, indicates that they represent the number of journeys to the  $\delta\lambda\omega\sigma$  performed in the day. These  $\phi\sigma\tau\alpha$  are equated to  $\mu\nu\delta\alpha\kappa\alpha$ , and three  $\mu\nu\delta\alpha\kappa\alpha$  are reckoned as an  $\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\alpha$ . Cf. P. Brit. Mus. 121. 585 sqq. where  $\mu\nu\delta\alpha\kappa\alpha$ ,  $\alpha\gamma\kappa\alpha$ , and  $\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\alpha$

are found together, as here, 1166. 12-13, and the Oxyrhynchus ostraca referred to in the note on 935. 19.

5. The drachmae are throughout on the silver standard, seven obols being the equivalent of a drachma.

7. *δεσμός(ένοσι)* *μανδ(άκας)*: cf. P. Brit. Mus. 131. 426 ἴργάτη δεσμεύοντι ἀγκάλας (*πεντάβολον*).

24. It is doubtful what followed ἐπ(i τὸ αὐτό). The total of the ἀγώνia would hardly be expected to be given here, but neither ἀργυρίου([δραχμαὶ]) φθ nor ἀγωγῆς([δραχμοὶ]) φθ is suitable. The letter after 'a' may well be λ, and perhaps some form or derivative of ἄλως occurred; cf. l. 2.

## 1050. ACCOUNT FOR GAMES.

20·4 x 15·5 cm.

Second or third century.

A fragment of an account of expenditure for the purposes of the public games at Oxyrhynchus. Cf. 519, part of an account of the same character, where several of the items that are found here recur, and 1025.

Col. i.

<i>Αἴγ(ος) (δραχμῶν) ν.</i>		<i>σφαιρομάχ(οις) [</i>
<i>ἰερεῦσι</i>	(δραχμαὶ) ξ,	ǎλ(λφ) ζεύγ(ει) παν[κρατ(ιαστῶν)
<i>Νείλῳ</i>	(δραχμαὶ) κ,	15 <i>Κώφω πύκ(τη) [</i>
<i>Θρόνῳ</i>	(δραχμαὶ) κ,	φύλ(αξι) θεάτ[ρου
5 <i>ἱπποκόμ(οις)</i>	(δραχμαὶ) .,	ράντα[ις
<i>κήρυκι</i>	[	παν . [
<i>ξυστάρχ(η)</i>	[	μανγανα[ . [
<i>Ὀρείωνι</i>	[	20 αὐλητ[ῆ
<i>Σεουνήρῳ</i>	[	ἱεροδιούλοις
10 <i>Βελλαρείνῳ</i>	[	ερ[
<i>βραβευταῖς</i>	[	τ[
<i>πανκρατ(ιαστῶν)</i>	ζε[ύγ(ει)	.

Col. ii.

<i>κ . [</i>
25 <i>μείμω [</i>
ομηριστ[ῆ

2. *ἱερεῦσι* Pap. 5. *ἱπποκόμ* Pap. 6. First κ of *κήρυκι* corr. from ιε. 21. *ἱεροδ[* Pap.

' Account of 400 drachmae. To the priests 60 dr., to Nilus 20 dr., for a chair 20 dr., grooms . . dr., a herald . . dr., the master of the games . . dr., Horion . . dr., Severus . . dr., Bellarinus . . dr., umpires . . dr., a pair of pancratiasts . . dr., boxers armed with the ball . . dr., another pair of pancratiasts . . dr., to Cophus the boxer . . dr., guards of the theatre . . dr., sprinklers . . dr., . . . conjurer . . dr., flute-player . . dr., temple-slaves . . dr., . . . an actor . . dr., a Homeric reciter . . dr.'

3. Cf. 519. 10, where 20 dr. are paid κωμασταῖς Νεῖλ(ον).

10. Βελλαρεῖψ: or possibly βελλαρένῳ, from *bellaria*; but *bellarinus* does not occur, and the word would hardly be in place in this context.

15. Κώφω: cf. P. Tebt. 283. 8, 406. 26, P. Goodsp. 30. iii. 26 νιῷ Κώφης (not κωφ·).

17. πάντραις: cf. B. G. U. 185. 10 μέντρης, and Wessely's note in *Studien z. Paldogr.* ii. 25.

19. An unfamiliar derivative of *máyyavos* seems to have occurred here; *μαγανευτῆς*, which would be expected, cannot be read.

#### 1051. INVENTORY OF PROPERTY.

15·3 × 5·3 cm.

Third century.

A list of articles, chiefly of dress, belonging to a woman whose name is given at the end; cf. 921, where the vocabulary is very similar, and also 741, P. Tebt. 405–6, P. Gen. 80, &c.

Δελματίκιν [ . . . . α,	τριν πορφύρας ριζί-
δελματίκιν λιμοῦν	ον, κολόβιν γυνεκῖον
ριζόσημον α, [άναβο-	15 φευδοπόρφυρον α,
λάδιν ισνεν α, [κολό-	δελματικὴ λινᾶ α,
5 βιν δίσημον [α, ριζό-	μαπίν αφρεν α,
σημον α, φ[ι]βλατώ-	όξιναφον καὶ πινά-
ριν α, στιχάρ[ιν λιν-	κιν, ἀργυρᾶ μαπα ε,
οῦν α, κολόβ[ιν λιν-	20 [ ] σά-
[ο]ῦν τριβακὸν [α, . .	γος λευκὸς α,
10 [. .] ανον ἀναβολ[άδιν	βαλανάριν α.
[α,] φιβλατώριν α,	Κυριλλοῦτος.
[σι]γδόνιν α, ιμιλί-	
4. ισνεν Pap.      12. ιμιλιτριν Pap.: 1. ἡμιλιτρι(ο)ν.      14. 1. γυναικ(ε)ῖο[ρ].      16. 1. λινῆ.	

' 1 Dalmatian vest, 1 linen Dalmatian vest with vegetable-purple stripe, 1 . . . shawl, 1 shirt with double stripe, 1 with vegetable-purple stripe, 1 band with buckle, 1 linen tunic, 1 linen shawl, worn, 1 . . . shawl, 1 band with buckle, 1 cambric, half a pound of vegetable-

purple, 1 woman's shirt of false purple, 1 linen Dalmatian vest, 1 . . . napkin, a saucer and plate, 5 silvered napkins (?), 1 white blanket, 1 towel. 'The property of Cyrillos.'

3. *μίζοντημον*: a new compound; cf. l. 13 *πορφύρας μίζιον*.

6. *φ[ι]θατώ]ριν*: cf. l. 11. It is the Latin *fibulatorium*.

7. *στιχάριον* occurs also in P. Gen. 80. 3, e.g.

15. *ψευδοπόρφυρον*: i.e., presumably, dyed with *πορφύρα μίζιας*.

17. It is doubtful how the letters should be divided. *μαπιν* may be for *μαππίον*, but *αφρει* is puzzling. At the end of the line above a there is no sign of the horizontal stroke which usually accompanies numerals in this list, but it may have disappeared with some of the fibres of the papyrus, or have been omitted, as was apparently the case in l. 3.

19. *μαπα*: l. *μαππία?* Cf. l. 17. But *ἀργυρᾶ* is an unexpected epithet.

20. The upper fibres of the papyrus are missing where this line would naturally have stood, but possibly this had happened before the list was written and there is nothing missing before *σύος*. The letters *ων* are below the lacuna caused by the detachment of the fibres, and their position cannot be accounted for by the mere slope of the line. But it is curious that, if there is no loss, the word should have been begun at this point.

22. *βαλανάριν*: cf. 1026. 14.

## 1052. ACCOUNT OF REVENUES.

27.7 x 10.2 cm.

Fourth century.

A list of amounts, which are associated with various Oxyrhynchite villages, of balsam valued in money, and of wool and woad (*ἰσάτις*) estimated by weight. Several names occur among the villages which have not previously appeared in the papyri. The account is written on the verso of 1057, and is therefore later than the year A.D. 362.

<i>Κερκεύρων</i>	<i>τι(μῆς) βαρσάμο[ν]</i> (δηναρίων) <i>μ(υριάδες) νν,</i>
<i>Σερφέως</i>	(δηναρίων) <i>μ(υριάδες) ,σρ</i>
<i>Σενεκελεὺν</i>	(δηναρίων) [μ(υριάδες)] , <i>ατν,</i>
<i>Μουχινάξας</i>	(δηναρίων) <i>μ(υριάδες) χλ,</i>
5 <i>Σύρων</i>	(δηναρίων) <i>μ(υριάδες) ,βΤ</i>
<i>Ἀλεξοῦτος</i>	(δηναρίων) <i>μ(υριάδες) τν,</i>
<i>ἐποικ(ίου) Μερ . . .</i>	(δηναρίων) <i>μ(υριάδες) ρν.</i>
<i>ἐρίον</i>	
<i>Κερκεύρων</i>	<i>λί(τραι) ιβ,</i>
10 <i>Βαφὲ[ω]ν</i>	[μ] <i>μν(αῖ?) ε,</i>
<i>Σενεκελεὺν</i>	<i>λί(τραι) η,</i>

Βαφ(έων) μ(ναῖ) ε,  
 Σερύφεως λ(ίτραι) κβ μ(ναῖ) ι,  
 Μουχινάξας λ(ίτραι) β μ(ναῖ) γ,  
 15 Κερκεθύρεως λ(ίτραι) β,  
 Ἀλεξοῦτος λ(ίτραι) α μ(νᾶ) α,  
 Σύρων λ(ίτραι) ιβ μ(ναῖ) ιβ,  
 Πετεμούνεως λ(ίτραι) γ μ(ναῖ) γ.  
 ισάτεως.  
 20 [Σ]ερύφεως δ( ) κεντ(ηνάρια) η λ(ίτραι) λε,  
 Κτοίσων  
 [Σ]ενεκελεὺ κεντ(ηνάριον) α λ(ίτραι) κ,  
 [Μ]ουχινάξας κεντ(ηνάριον) α,  
 [Κ]ε[ρ]κεθύρ(εως) λ(ίτραι) κγ,  
 25 [ . . ]κουλι + οὐ κεντ(ηνάριον) α λ(ίτραι) κ

In the left margin, at right angles

Πέτρη κεντ(ηνάρια) β, Περεινούνεως α λ(ίτραι) ν, Πετεμούνεως λ(ίτραι) ν,  
 Σύρων κεντ(ηνάρια) ε, Ἀλεξοῦτος κεντ(ηνάριον) α, Κερκεύρων κεντ(ηνάρια)  
 γ {κεντ(ηνάρια)} λ(ίτραι) π.

1. l. βαλσάμο[ν]. 20. of κεντ corr. from λι(τραι).

1. *βαλσάμον* occurs in B. G. U. 953, 6 and *δποβάλσαμον* in B. G. U. 34, v. 13.

7. Not *Μερρέρθα*.

10. The third letter of the name is most probably a φ, and the other vestiges suit *Βαφ(έων)*; cf. l. 12, where the abbreviation *Βαφ( )* is more natural if the same name had just occurred. On the other hand there is no other instance in the list of the name of a village being repeated under the same heading. With regard to the *μναῖ* the only objection is that these consistently follow the *λίτραι*, instead of preceding them as would be expected; cf. e.g. P. Brit. Mus. 1254, where the normal order is observed. But it is difficult to perceive what else can be meant, and in l. 10 *μν(αῖ)*, or even *μν(ι)*, may be read; in the other cases the word is written simply as μ with a wavy flourish after it.

20. In the abbreviation of *κεντ(ηνάριον)* the ν is slurred, so that there sometimes appears to be only κετ; the ν is clearest in l. 27 after *Ἀλεξοῦτος*. The preceding abbreviation, which consists of δ and a waved flourish, is obscure.

21. *Κρόισων* (?) appears to be a village-name, the amount corresponding to which has not been filled in.

## 1053. ACCOUNT OF WORK ON DYKES AND OF EXPENDITURE.

24.4 x 27.8 cm. Late sixth or early seventh century.

This papyrus was briefly and not quite accurately described in Part I, 191. Both recto and verso contain accounts connected more or less directly with the dykes. That on the recto refers to repairs carried out on an estate at Tarousebt (cf. 908), and is important as showing that the naubion, or as it is here called *naubion*, was at this period a cubic *ξύλον*, thus confirming our restoration of 669.<sup>1</sup> The Ptolemaic naubion is now known to have been a cube of two royal cubits (*Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.* 13 Juillet 1906), and since the *ξύλον* contained three cubits it is clear that the naubion, at any rate in the later Roman and Byzantine periods, had gained in size. Fifty such naubia are here valued at one solidus. The account on the verso gives particulars of the expenditure of 227 $\frac{2}{3}$  solidi, which were received from a superintendent of dykes and disbursed for various purposes. Both these documents most probably belong to the papers of the Apion family (cf. P. Oxy. I. pp. 206 sqq.), with which several of the villages named on the verso are known to have been connected.

+ Λόγος                  ] τοῦ κτήμ(ατος) Ταρουσθέτη γεναμέ(νης) ἐπὶ μη(νὸς) Ἐπειδὴ<sup>10</sup>  
καὶ ἵνδ(ι)κ(τίωνος) εὐχαρώστε(ως) σὲ ἵν(δικτίωνος)  
] διὰ Ἰωάννου ποταμί(ον) καὶ καιν(οποιοῦ ?) οὐτ(ως).  
μῆκ(ους) ξύλ(α) πλά(τους) ξύλ(α) μῆ βάθ(ους) ξύλ(α) αἵ τις ναού(α) δωλ,  
μῆκ(ους) ξύλ(α) καὶ πλά(τους) ξύλ(α) τιβ βάθ(ους) ξύλ(ον) γ' τις ναού(α) ρη,  
μῆκ(ους) ξύλ(α) καὶ πλά(τους) ξύλ(α) τιβ βάθ(ους) ξύλ(ον) λε τις ναού(α) σκδ,  
μῆκ(ους) ξύλ(α) λγ πλά(τους) ξύλ(α) κβ βάθ(ους) ξύλ(ον) γ' τις ναού(α) σξδ,  
μῆκ(ους) ξύλ(α) τη πλά(τους) ξύλ(α) τιβ βάθ(ους) ξύλ(ον) γ' τις ναού(α) ρβ,  
] γί(νεται) ναού(α) εφκη τις νο(μισμάτια) ριλ,  
] νο(μισμάτια) κελ,  
] / νο(μισμάτια) ρλσ.  
] ναού(α) τη τις νο(μισμάτια) ζ, γ(ίνεται)  
δ(μοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) ρμγ.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Kenyon informs me that P. Brit. Mus. 1785, of the Byzantine period, shows that the mutilated adjective in 669, 4 is *τεπατζόνην*. With 1053 recto cf. now P. Giessen 42 (ed. P. Meyer 1910), where in l. 5 read *βάθ(οι) Σ'*, i. e. *ἡ ξύλος*.

Verso

+ Λήμματα	τοῦ χωματεπίκτ(ον)	νο(μισμάτια) σκζβ',
L δίδεται εἰς γεουχικὸν λόγον		οῦ(τως)·
διὰ τῶν ἀπὸ Σπανίας		νο(μισμάτια) ι,
15 διὰ τῶν ἀπὸ Τατέπει		νο(μισμάτια) ιβ,
διὰ τῶν ἀπὸ Τακόνα ἐνεχθέντων		νο(μισμάτια) κ,
διὰ τῶν ἀπὸ Ταρούθινου		νο(μισμάτια) λξ,
διὰ τῶν ἀπὸ Μεσκανούνεως		νο(μισμάτια) β,
διὰ τῶν ἀπὸ Σεφώ		νο(μισμάτια) β.
20 / νο(μισμάτια) πγ, / ἀρ(ιθμοῦ) π(αρὰ) τῶν χωματεπίκτων		νο(μισμάτια) ρμδβ'.
ἐξ ὧν ἐδόθη τοῖς ἀπὸ Νεσμίμεως		νο(μισμάτια) ι,
τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰσίου Παγγᾶ		νο(μισμάτια) γ,
εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀββᾶ τηρακίωνος		νο(μισμάτια) γ,
τῷ χωματεπίκτῃ ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ		νο(μισμάτια) ι,
25 τοῖς ταρφωταῖς ὑπὲρ συνθέματος; τῶν χωματεπίκτων		νο(μισμάτια) δ.
/ νο(μισμάτια) (καὶ) τούτοις {νο(μισμάτια)} κςL, ὡς		
/ ἀρ(ιθμοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) ριη̄σ'. ἐξ ὧν ἐδόθη(η)		
τοῖς ἀπὸ Ταμιτ( ) Τεώς		νο(μισμάτια) ξ,
(καὶ) τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀμηντος		νο(μισμάτια) ι,
30 τοῖς ἀπὸ Ταμ . [.]εφ . [.]ει . . ]		νο(μισμάτια) β

2. *τιμωνον* Pap.    3.  $\omega$  over an erasure.    8.  $\rho\bar{\iota}$  Pap. The figures  $\kappa\eta$  and  $\mu\zeta$ , and  
 $\kappa\zeta$  in l. 9, are over an erasure.    14. *i* Pap.; so in ll. 15, 21, and 27.    19.  $\sigma$  of  
 $\sigma\delta\omega$  rewritten.    21.  $\epsilon\acute{E}$  Pap.    22. *ιστον* Pap.    23. *περικατον* Pap.

3. ποταριτ(ov): cf. e.g. B. G. U. 14. ii. 19 sqq., 295. 8, 11, P. Reinach 52 bis.  
 8. Line 11 gives the valuation 1 solidus for 50 naubia. In l. 8 the ratio would be identical if the total of the naubia were 5525 instead of 5528; the odd 3 naubia were thus ignored in the calculation.

12. χωματεπίκτ(ov): cf. P. Brit. Mus. 1246-8, where, as I had already pointed out (*Archiv* iv. p. 557), χωματεπ(ε)ίκται should be read.

13. δίδεται: analogous forms occur already in the Roman period, e.g. 121. 23, B. G. U. 261. 21 δίδω, B. G. U. 38. 19 δίδι; so B. G. U. 326. i. 16 παρακατατίθοσαι, &c.

<sup>20</sup> *dp(θροῦ)*: the analogy of l. 27 points to this reading, though the abbreviation is rather differently written. Only one *χωματεκτηνός* is mentioned in l. 12, and the plural here is perhaps a slip.

25. *ταρθωτ(αις)* seems to be another form of *ταρσωταις*; cf. the Ptolemaic *παραφρυγανισμός*. For *συνθ(έματος)* cf. B. G. U. 809. 10; *συνθ(ήκηση)*, or *συνθ(έσεως)* *τῶν χωμ(άτων)* are other possibilities.

28. *Ταμιτ( ) Τεώς*: so apparently rather than *Ταμιτ' τεώς*; not only is the crossbar of the *τ* brought down just as e. g. in *τούτ(οις)* in l. 26, but there is also a dot above, which is used with many of the other abbreviations.

### (f) ORDERS FOR PAYMENT.

#### 1054. ORDER FOR DELIVERY OF WINE.

18.5 × 9.8 cm.

A.D. 263.

An order for a payment of 65 keramia of wine. This papyrus was found with 1055, which is from the same person, but written in a different hand. For the date cf. introd. to 1055.

*Πέκυλλος Πολυδεύκι  
χαίρειν.  
παράδο[ς] Θέων φρ(οντιστῆ) Σατύ-  
ρου 'Ονεχ[.]. σ ἀπὸ τῶν  
5 κεραμίων ρα λοιπὸν  
οἶνον ἐν κεραμ(οῖς) ἔξηκοντα  
πέντε. ἔρρωστο.  
(ἔτους) ις Παῦνι κδ.*

'Pecyllus to Polydeuces, greeting. Deliver to Theon, agent of Satyrus son of Onech . . , from the 101 jars the remainder of the wine in 65 jars. Farewell. The 10th year, Pauni 24.

4. 'Ονεχ[.]. σ seems to be a proper name. *ον-* might be for *οἰν-* (cf. 1055. 2 *οἰνεμπόρῳ*), but this gives no likely word, and the spelling in the document is otherwise correct. The third letter may well be *ο* instead of *ε*, but *ὄνεχεύς* is unknown.

## 1055. ORDER FOR DELIVERY OF WINE.

9·3 x 12·2 cm.

A.D. 267.

Another order from Pecyllus (cf. 1054) for a delivery of wine. The document is on the verso of the papyrus, the recto containing the ends of 8 lines of an account of payments in artabae, preceded by parts of two lines of a letter mentioning ἵππεως Κομάρον Σερήνου and dated in the 18th year, probably of Septimius Severus. 1054 and 1055 therefore apparently belong to the reign of Gallienus.

Πέκυλλος Θέω[γ]ι χαίρειν.  
 παράδος Ἡρακλ[ε]ῖδῃ οἰνεμπόρῳ τέ-  
 τάρτης ληνοῦ [κε]ράμια διακόσια (τρία), πέμ-  
 πτης κεράμια ἑκατόν, συμφωνηθέν-  
 5 τα ὡς τῶν ρα δραχμῶν χειλίων ἑκα-  
 τόν, ὥν ἡ τειμὴ χωρεῖ εἰς ἐπιθήκην  
 Ἐμβητίων ταλάντων πέντε. (2nd hand) δὸς τὰ τοῦ  
 οἴνου κερά(μια) τριακόσια  
 τρία.

10 1st hand (ἔπος) ιδε Παῦρι ιζ.

6. ὡν Pap.

'Pecyllus to Theon, greeting. Deliver to Heraclides, wine-merchant, 203 jars from the fourth vat, and 100 jars from the fifth, of which the price has been agreed upon at the rate of 1,100 drachmae for 101 jars and the cost goes to make up the five talents of Embetion. (Signed) Pay the 303 jars of wine. The 14th year, Pauni 17.'

3. *τρία* has presumably dropped out after *διακόσια* owing to the homoeoteleuton; cf. ll. 8-9, and the figure *ρα* in l. 5, which suits 303 but not 300.

7. The signature is probably in the hand of 1054, which will then be the autograph of Pecyllus; hence the absence of signature there.

## 1056. ORDER FOR DELIVERY OF ARACUS.

12·7 x 21 cm.

A.D. 360.

An order to deliver 40 artabae of aracus, which are valued at 72,000,000 denarii, and were in payment for 500 pounds of meat. The date is by the eras of Oxyrhynchus.

*Π(αρὰ) Πτολεμίου Θωνίω προνοητῇ Νίγρου χαίρειν.  
παραμέτρησον Δωροθέῳ ἀδελφῷ ὑπὲρ τιμῆς κρέως  
λιτρῶν πεντακοσίων μέλλοντι ληματίσαι τῷ ημετέρῳ ὀνόματι  
τέως δ(ιὰ) Ἱερονίκ(ον) ἄρακος ἀρτάβας τεσσεράκοντα, / ἄρακ(ος)  
(ἀρτάβαι) μ,*

5 ὡς τῆς ἀρτάβης μίας λογισζομένης ἐξ δηναρίων μυριάδων  
έκατὸν ὁγδοήκοντα, ὡς εἶναι τοῦ ἐπιστάλματος  
δηναρίων μυριάδας ἐπτακισχιλίας διακοσίας, / (δηναρίων) μ(υριάδες) Ζσ.

2nd hand σεσημίομαι ἄρακος ἀρτάβας τεσ(σ)εράκοντα.

1st hand (ἔτους) λξ (ἔτους) σ (ἔτους) Φαῶφι γ.

On the verso

ιο εἰς θεός.

ἄρακος Φαῶφι.

3. πεντακοσιῶν added above χιλιῶν, which is crossed through. 4. δ(ιὰ) ιερονικ(ον)  
added above τεως; ιερονικον is abbreviated ιερόικ. 8. l. σεσημείωμαι.

<sup>1</sup> From Ptoleminus to Thonius, steward of Nigrus, greeting. Measure out to my brother Dorotheus, who is about to collect payments on my account, hitherto paid (?) through Hieronicus, for the price of 500 pounds of meat, forty artabae of aracus, total 40 art. aracus, a single artaba being reckoned at one hundred and eighty myriads of denarii, making the order seven thousand two hundred myriads of denarii, total 7,200 myriads of denarii.' Signature and date. Endorsed on the verso 'There is one God: aracus, Phaophi'.

4. τέως δ(ιὰ): so P. Brit. Mus. 984. 5, &c., also of the fourth century. There are two oblique dashes against this line, and a single shorter one against l. 5.

### 1057. ORDER FOR PAYMENT.

10·2 X 27·7 cm.

A. D. 362.

An order for the payment of 7,500,000 denarii which were owing to the writer for a hide. The writing is across the fibres of the papyrus. The verso contains 1052.

*Παπνοῦτις Τράκον ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.  
παράσχου Παπνούτιψ ὑπηρέτῃ στρατηγοῦ ἀφ' ὧν μοι χρεωστῖς ἀπὸ τιμῆς  
βύρσας ἀργυρίου δηναρίου μυριάδας ἐπτακοσίας πεντήκοντα, γ(ίνονται)  
(δηναρίων) μ(υριάδες) ψυ μάνγαι).  
(ἔτους) λη (ἔτους) ζ (ἔτους) Σ Μεχεὶρ τε. ὁ αὐτὸς Παπνοῦτις σεση(μείωματ).*

1. Δράκοντε? (Wilcken).

2. ὑπηρέτη Pap.

3. l. δηναρίων.

P 2

'Papnoutis to his brother Dracon, greeting. Pay to Papnoutius, the assistant of the strategus, from the money which you owe me for the price of a hide seven hundred and fifty myriads of denarii of silver, total 750 myriads of denarii, and no more.' Date and signature.

2. A mention of the strategus at this late date is noticeable; cf. 86, and Wilcken, *Hermes* xxvii. pp. 297 sqq., Gelzer, *Leipziger hist. Abhandl.* xiii. pp. 51-2.

4. The signature was more rapidly written than the body of the text, but does not seem to be by a different hand.

### (g) PRAYERS.

#### 1058. CHRISTIAN PRAYER.

9.2 x 11.9 cm. Fourth or fifth century.

A short prayer, inscribed in large rude uncials. On the verso are a few words, written in different directions, apparently to try a pen.

'Ο θεός τῶν παρακειμένων σταυρῶν,  
μένων σταυρῶν,  
βοήθησον τὸν δο-  
ῦλόν σου Ἀπόφονᾶν.  
5 ἀμήν.  
ο καλ . [

i. θεος Pap.

3. ν of δουλον added in front of the line.

'O God of the crosses that are laid upon us, help thy servant Apphouas. Amen.'

1-2. θεός τῶν παρακειμένων σταυρῶν is a curious phrase, though of course the metaphorical use of σταυρός is as old as the Gospels, e.g. Luke ix. 23 ἀράτο τὸν σταυρὸν αἰτοῦ καθ' ημέραν. God is apparently thought of as at once the sender and mitigator of trials.

#### 1059. CHRISTIAN PRAYER.

6.1 x 12.2 cm.

Fifth century.

A prayer written in a rude hand and in illiterate Greek, across the fibres of the papyrus. This is on the verso; the recto contains the first four lines

of a list of χλαρίδια with their values, e. g. χλαρίδια τρία λευ[κά το(μισματέων)] ε, χλαρίδιον λευκόν . . . ον το(μισματέων) ια.

*Kύ(ριε) θ(ε)έ μου καὶ ὑ ἐρπίς μου,  
ὥψε Θέκλα καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις  
αὐτῆς), ὥψε Ἀννηα καὶ τῆς δού-  
λης αὐτῆς, ὥψε Ἀπφοῦς, ὥψε Σα-  
5 καύσων, ὥψε Διωνυσίου καὶ τῶν  
τέκνον αὐτοῦ, ὥψε Ἐλλαδίου, ὥψε  
Πτολεμέου, ὥψε κατ' ὄνομα.*

1. *κατ/*Pap. 1. ἡ ἀλπίς. 2. 1. ὥψαι Θέκλαν κτλ. 5 of τοῖς above the line. 3. 1. "Αννη?"  
4. 1. Σακάωνα? Cf. e. g. P. Brit. Mus. 250. 24.

'O Lord my God and my hope, look on Thecla and her children, look on Anna and her servant, look on Apphous, look on Sakaon, look on Dionysius and his children, look on Helladius, look on Ptolemaeus, look on each one of them.'

2. *ώψε* is apparently for *ὄψαι* from *ὄπτεσθαι*, 'look upon' implying 'protect'; cf. e. g. Ps. xxxii. 18 οἱ ὁφθαλμοὶ Κυρίου ἐπὶ τοῖς φοβουμένους αἰτόν. But there seems to be no parallel for the imperative form.

7. *κατ'* *ὄνομα* is familiar in the phrase *ἀσπάζεσθαι κατ' ὄνομα*; it practically means 'severally', 'each and all'.

## 1060. Gnostic Amulet.

9·2 x 6·3 cm.

Sixth century.

A charm against reptiles and other ills. The first three lines are occupied by a formula showing the gradual diminution by cutting off letters which is frequent in texts of this class (cf. e. g. B. G. U. 956), then follows a mystical invocation of the familiar kind including the names 'Ιαώ (Jehovah) σαβαὼθ ἀδωνάι, then the petition proper 'Free this house from every evil reptile and thing, quickly, quickly', and finally a reference to St. Phocas. Cf. 924 and P. Tebt. 275.

+ *Tὴν θύραν τὴν Ἀφροδίτην*  
*φροδιτην ροδιτην οδιτην*  
*διτην ιτην την την ην. ωρωρ*  
*φωρφωρ 'Ιαώ σαβαὼθ ἀδονὲ*

5 δενοσε σκορπίε αρτερησιε,  
 ἀπάλλαξον τὸν οἶκον τοῦτοι  
 ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ ἐρπετοῦ  
 (καὶ) πράγματος ταχὺ ταχύ.  
 10 Φ[α]μενὼθ ιγ ἵνδ(ικτίωνος) τρίτης

?

3. ιην Pap.

4. īaw Pap. 1. īδωναι.

10. ιγ īnδ Pap.

3. την την ην should be την ην ν.

4. φωρφωρ: cf. P. Brit. Mus. 121. 684-5, 658-60.

5. σκορπίε is suitable in a charm against ἐρπετά: the other words in this line appear to be meaningless.

9. Since the amulet was designed to ward off reptiles this Phocas must evidently be the Syrian martyr who is mentioned by Gregory of Tours, *In Glor. Mart.* 98, and whose tomb was the resort of persons suffering from snake-bites: *si in quempiam in his locis coluber morsum stringens venena diffuderit exempli qui percussus est ut ianuam atrii quo martyr quiescet attigerit . . . salvatur*. But the date given in l. 10 does not quite correspond with St. Phocas' day of celebration, which is Mar. 5 (cf. the *Acta Sanctorum* under this day); Phamenoth 13 corresponds to Mar. 9.

— — —

## (h) PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE.

### 1061. LETTER OF DIOGENES.

29 X 16.4 cm.

B. C. 22.

A letter asking for assistance with regard to the measurement of certain unirrigated land and the payment of the dues upon it. The hand is of a quite early type, and the 8th year in l. 26 is more likely to refer to the reign of Augustus than of Tiberius.

Διογέν[η]ς Διονυσίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ πλεῖστα  
 χαῖρειν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν. ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἄλλοτέ σοι  
 ἐγράψαμεν καὶ οὐ διῆτησαι ήμᾶς καὶ Ἀπολλώ-

νίωτι τῶι ἀδελφῷ σου τὰ νῦν ἀνάγκην ἔσχον  
 5 παρακαλέσαι Πτολεμαίον Πτολεμαίου νεώτε(ρον)  
 ὅπως συντύχῃ Δίωι καὶ Διογένει Δημητρίον  
 ἔως ἂν μετρηθῇ ἡ ἀβροχός ήτι ἐν ταῖς  
 10 ξ (ἀρούραις) καὶ μετρηθῇ τὸ διάτερον δημόσιον διὰ τοῦ Διονυσίου  
 καὶ τὸ κατάλοιπον ἀποδοθῇ τῷ Πτολε-  
 15 μαίῳ. ἐρωτηθεὶς οὖν συνπροσέσῃ τῷ  
 Πτολεμ[α]ῖῳ καὶ Ἀπολ[λα]γνίος ὁ ἀδελφός σου  
 ἔως μοι τοῦτο τελέσητε, διαφέρετε γὰρ  
 τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἐμπειρία, καν δέον ἦν  
 Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ ἀλλῳ ἀδελφῷ τῷ Πτο-  
 20 λεμαίον πρεσβυτέρῳ συντυχεῖν περὶ  
 τούτου, συντύχῃ καὶ σπουδάσει ἔως  
 ὅτου τελεσθῇ. ἐὰν] οὖν σοι φαίνηται  
 καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων καὶ ὑπὲρ ὃν ἀλλων  
 σε διὰ γραπτοῦ ἡρότησα ἀντιφωνῆ-  
 25 σοι μοι, ἔσῃ μοι κεχαρισμένος, καὶ σὺ  
 δὲ γράψε ὑπὲρ ὃν ἔαν θέλης καὶ ἥδιστα  
 ποιήσωι. ἔγραψα δὲ καὶ Δίῳ τῷ τοῦ χι-  
 ριστοῦ περὶ τούτου, φέρε καὶ συντεύξῃ,  
 ἀσπάζου τὸν σὸν πάντας. ἀσπάζε-  
 30 ταί ταί σε Ἀθηναροῦς καὶ τὰ παιδία τὰ λοιπά.  
 ἐπιμελοῦ σεα(ντοῦ) ἵν' ὑγι[α(ίης)]. ἔρρωσ{σ}ο. (ἔτους) η Ἐπε[ἰφ].

On the verso

Διονυσίῳ τῷ καὶ Ἀμότι Πτολεμαίου ἀδελφῷ Ἀπολλωνίου  
 κωμογραμμάτεως Θάλθεως παρόντος ἔχομένως Θέωνος) Ἰσχυρίωνος).

3. κ of second και corr. from ρ.      11. α of αδελφος corr. from δ.      22. σ of ποιησωι corr. from ι.

'Diogenes to his brother Dionysius, many greetings and wishes for good health. Since I have written to you at other times and you have not brought about an agreement between us, and also to your brother Apollonius, I have now been obliged to urge Ptolemaeus the younger, son of Ptolemaeus, to meet Dius and Diogenes son of Demetrius until the unwatered land in the seven arourae and the government dues on it be measured through Dionysius and the remainder paid over to Ptolemaeus. I therefore beg that you will interview Ptolemaeus, both you and your brother Apollonius, until you effect this for

me, for you are superior to Ptolemaeus in experience, and if it is necessary to meet the other Ptolemaeus, the elder brother of Ptolemaeus, about this, that he may meet him and do his best until it is effected. If then it please you to reply to me about this and about the other subjects which I asked you about by letter I shall be obliged to you; and do you write to me about anything that you wish and I will most gladly do it. I have written also to Dius, the son of the agent, about this; whom you will meet. Salute all your household; Athenarous and the rest of the children salute you. Take care of your health. Good-bye. The 8th year of Augustus, Epeiph . . (Addressed) To Dionysius also called Amois, son of Ptolemaeus and brother of Apollonius the comogrammateus of Tholthis, who is staying near Theon son of Ischyron.'

3. *διήγησαι*: δεδίγησαι would be the normal form, but since the single augment is used in the imperfect and aorist an analogous form of the perfect causes little difficulty.

16. The third person was employed perhaps because the writer was thinking primarily of Apollonius.

#### 1062. LETTER OF MARCUS.

27·1 × 13·2 cm.

Second century.

A letter referring to the purchase of some fleeces which the writer was expecting his correspondent to procure on his behalf.

*Μάρκος Ματρέαι τῷ φιλτάτῳ  
χαίρειν.  
περὶ τῶν πόκων σου ἐπαγγελλ[ο]μένου  
καλὰ ἀγοράσαι προσθεῖς ὅτι τὰ θέρια  
5 ἔστιν τὰ κρείσσονα σ[ο]ὶ π[ρ]οσεταξά-  
μην ὅτι ὅταν καλὰ γένηται τότε  
ἀγύρασον, καὶ ἔγραψά σοι ὅτι οὐκ ἐπέγεγ-  
καν ἔως Μεσορῆ, ὑστερον δέ μοι [ἔγρ]αψα  
ὅτι ἀγοράσας πέπρακα καὶ . . . [.]. -  
10 γράφω μοι ἐπιστολὴν ἔγραψα, [. . .]. . . -  
τος δὲ οὐδέποτε ἐγενάμην αὐτὸν  
δέ σοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πέμψω διὰ Σύρου  
15 ἵνα αὐτὴν ἀναγνοῖς νήφων καὶ σαυτοῦ  
καταγνοῖς. εἰ δὲ τοῦτό σοι βάρος φέρει  
καὶ μήπω ἡγόρασας, τὸ ἀργύριον δὸς  
Ζωίλαι τῷ φίλῳ, εἰ δὲ ἡγόρασας*

τοὺς πόκους, παράδος τῷι αὐτῷι  
σφραγίσας [ίνα μο]ι κομισθῶσι.  
ερρω[σο.]  
20 ] Μεσορὴ κ.

On the verso

ἀπὸ Μάρκου      Ματρέαι α . . . . . Τρυφᾶ.

4. Second *a* of *αγορασαι* corr. from *q.* 1. *προσθέντος.*      16. ζωῆλωι Pap.

'Marcus to his dearest Matreas, greeting. About the fleeces, since you offered to buy some good ones, adding that the summer ones were the best, I bade you buy them whenever they were good, and I wrote to you that they had not brought any to me up to Mesore, and you afterwards wrote and said you had bought some and sold them again, and . . . you wrote me a letter, and I was never . . .; I will send you the very letter by Syrus in order that you may read it in a sober mood and be self-condemned. If it is troublesome and you have not yet bought them, give the money to my friend Zoilus; if however you have bought them, deliver them to him under seal, in order that they may be conveyed to me. Good-bye.' Date, and address on the verso.

9. ἄμα, [τ]ῷι σ[υγ]γράψωι would be a possible reading, [τ]ῷι σ[υγ]γράψωι referring to the sale; but σ[υγ]γραψῆι would be expected.

13. ἀναγνοῖς: this form of the subjunctive is common in the κοινῇ.

### 1063. LETTER TO AMOIS.

19.6 x 12.2 cm.

Second or third century.

The writer of this letter, who does not give his own name, commissions his son to deliver a message to Herodes, the son of a gymnasiarich, with regard to an appointment to the office of ἀρχέφοδος. Herodes himself seems to have held no official position, and it was presumably as his father's son that he was concerned in the matter.

Χαῖροις, τέκνον Ἀμοῖ.  
σύμβαλε Ἡρώδῃ τῷι νἱῷ Ἀπίωνος τοῦ  
γυμνασιάρχον ἐξ ὀνόματός μον καὶ  
εἰπον αὐτῷ ὅτι σήμερον ὅτε ἔδωκά  
5 εοι ὀνόματα τρία ὡς εἰς ἀρχεφοδεῖ-

αν καὶ τῇ ἐξῆς ἐμ[ο]ῦ σου πυθομέ-  
νου τί ἔπραξας εἶπας οὐδένα ἐκεί-  
νων εἰς τὴν χρέαν ἔδωκα ἀλλὰ τὸν  
εἰπόντα πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τοῦτο ἔστιν  
10 Ἀντᾶν Δι[ο]μυσίου. τὸ δύνομα οὖν  
τοῦτο συντήρησον Ἀρσάν Λέοντος  
τοῦ Λέοντος μῆτρο[ς] Ταβόγυφος.

On the verso

$\alpha\pi\delta\delta\sigma\delta$  Ἀμόι[τι . .] . ιτ . . [.] . . [.]

10. διονυσίου/ Pap.

'Greeting, my son Amois! Go and see Herodes, the son of Apion the gymnasiarich, in my name and say to him "the other day I gave you three names for the office of archephodus, and the next day when I asked you what you had done you said 'I have not given in any of them for the office but the man who told you of them, that is, Antas son of Dionysius'. So keep this name: Harsas son of Leon son of Leon, his mother being Tabonphis". I pray for your health. When you have read the letter do not give it to Herodes. (Addressed) Deliver to Amois...'

4. *εἰπον* is the imperative of *εἰπα*. That *σημερον* is not to be taken literally is shown by l. 6.

11. The writer apparently wished the name of Harsas to be substituted for that of Antas; but *συντήρησον* is rather ambiguous.

1064. LETTER TO DIDYMAS.

24·5 X 9 cm.

### Third century.

This letter is on the verso of 1046, and is therefore later than A.D. 218-9, though probably not later by very many years. The writer requests the good offices of his correspondent on behalf of a local revenue-collector.

*Διογένης Διδυμάτι τῷ  
ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.  
γενόμενος πρὸς Ἀχιλλᾶ*

πυνθανόμενος περὶ σοῦ  
 5 ἔφη ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ψώβθῃ ἐστίν.  
 γράφω σοι οὖν εἰδὼς σου τὸ  
 σπουδαῖον ὅπως συνλά-

βης τῷ Ἀπει ἀπαιτοῦντι  
 τὰ λήμματα τῆς Τακόνα,  
 10 ξενίαν δὲ αὐτῷ ποιήσῃς,  
 πρὸς τὸ ἐπανελθόντα αὐτὸν  
 μαρτυρήσαί μοι.  
 ἔρωσο.

I. 6 *σοι* added above the line.

'Diogenes to his brother Didymas, greeting. I went to Achillas and inquired about you and he said "He is at Psobthis". So knowing your goodness I write to you that you may assist Apis, who is collecting the revenues of Takona, and may show him hospitality, so that on his return he may bear witness of it to me. Good-bye.'

3-5. γενόμενος . . . ἔφη: a mixed construction of a common type.

10. Τακόνα: this village must have been in the vicinity of Psobthis.

#### 1065. LETTER OF HEPHAESTION.

9 x 9.5 cm.

Third century.

The following short letter is written on the verso of a fragment from a petition, addressed probably to the strategus (l. 4 ὑπὸ σοῦ δι' ὑπηρέτου ἐκ βιβλειδίων ἐπιδοθέντων) and complaining of injury by a brother in connexion with a division of land at Kerkethuris.

Στεφάνῳ παρὰ Ἡφαιστίωνος.  
 λαβὼν τὰ γράμματα τοῦ νιοῦ  
 μον Θέωνος ἔξαντῆς πάντα ὑπερ-

θέμενος ἐλθέ μοι εἰς τὸ ἐποίκιον  
 5 διὰ τὰ συμβάντα μοι. ἐὰν δὲ  
 ὀλιγωρήσῃς, ὕσπερ [ο]ἱ θεοὶ οὐκ ἐ-

φίσαντό μ[ο]ν οὔτως κάγω  
 θεῶ[ν] οὐ φί[σ]ομαι.  
 [έρρωσ]ο.

2. *τοιον* Pap.3. *ὑπερθεμένος* Pap.

'To Stephanus from Hephæstion. On receipt of the letter from my son Theon put off everything and come at once to me at the village because of what has happened to me. If you neglect this, as the gods have not spared me so will I not spare the gods. Good-bye.'

7-8. Cf. the letter published by Vitelli in *Atene e Roma*, vii. p. 124, ll. 11-13 οὗτοι εἰλανάδην (cf. 528, 10) οὐτε προσεκύνσα θεοῖς φοβούμενή σου τὸ μετέπορον, a reference which I owe to Wilcken, who further quotes an unpublished Bremen papyrus, ὅτι δὲ ὅτι οὐ μέλλω θεῷ σχολάζειν, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἀπαρτίσω τὸν νιόν μου. These three passages illustrate the tendency in the popular religion to regard the relationship between gods and men as one of strict reciprocity. If the gods neglected their duty and afflicted their devotees, the sufferers retaliated by turning their backs on the gods.

## 1066. LETTER OF NEMESIANUS.

26.8 x 11 cm.

Third century.

A letter concerning a file, which was to be procured of a certain size and other articles which the correspondents were forwarding to each other.

N[ε]μ[ε]σιανος [Σα]ρ[α]πάμμων  
 ἀδελφῷ πλῆ[σ]τρα χαίρειν.  
 καλῶς μὲν ἐποίησας ἀποστίλας  
 μοι τὴν ρύην, ἀλλὰ ἀπέστιλάς  
 5 μοι αὐτὴν μᾶλλον λεπτοτέραν. εἰ-  
 δοὺν οὖν ἀπέστιλά σοι αὐτὴν δι' Ἀπόλ-  
 λωνος καὶ τὸ ἔξονπλάριν εἴ-  
 να πρὸς αὐτὸν ποιήσῃς. ἔγραψάς  
 μοι διὰ τῆς [ἐ]πιστολῆς ὅτι ἀπέστιλά  
 10 σοι λινούδιν παιδικόν, καὶ οὐδὲν  
 εἴληφα. ἔλεγέν μοι Ἀπόλλων ὅτι  
 οὐδέν μοι ἔδωσεν. ἔπειμψά σοι τὸ

τρισκελίδιν [δ]ι' Ἀπόλλωνος, εἴ τινος  
 δὲ χρήξεις ἀντίγραψόν μοι διὰ  
 15 τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος εἴνα σοι ἀ-  
 ποστίλω, σπουδασον δὲ γενέσθαι  
 μίοι ρίμην καὶ ἀπόστιλόν μοι αὐτὴν  
 [δι'] Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ ἀναζήτησον  
 [Ἄδην οὐ μόνο]ν μνίζουσαν τὰ ἔν-  
 20 [λα, ἀλλὰ ἡ τὰ σι]δῆρια μνίζει ἐξε-  
 [. . . . .]α, καὶ ὑποδίκυν εἴ σοι  
 [. . . . .]  
 ἐρρ]ῶσθαι σε εὐχομαί  
 πολλοῖς χρόνοις.

21. *ὑποδίκυν* Pap.

'Nemesianus to his brother Sarapammon, many greetings. You did well to send me the file, but you sent me one which is too fine. So I send it to you by Apollon with the pattern in order that you may go by that. You write to me in the letter "I send you a boy's linen cloth", and I have received nothing. Apollon told me, "He gave me nothing." I send you the tripod by Apollon; and if you want anything reply to me by the said Apollon, so that I may send it you, and do your best to get me the file, and send it by Apollon; and look for a file which files not only wood but iron tools . . . and indicate . . . I pray for your lasting health.'

7. *ἔξονπλάριν* = *exemplarium*.

12. *ὕδωρεν*: this is a rather early instance of the sigmatic form which is occasionally found in writers of the decadence, e. g. *προδύωρας* in Hesychius, s. v. *προδύνεος*.

19-20. The supplements adopted are in the main due to Wilcken. ν of *μόνον* is represented by a vertical stroke which is somewhat tall for a ν and may well be an ι. At the end of l. 20 ἐξε- is perhaps *ἐξεράσας* or *ἐξέτασον*, and the doubtful α at the beginning of l. 21 could be σ, e. g. *ἐξε[τασον δὲ καλῶ]ς*.

#### 1067. LETTER OF HELENE.

22·3 x 6·7 cm.

Third century.

A very ungrammatical letter from a woman reproaching her brother for neglecting another brother's funeral, and giving him sundry commissions. Their father, in a postscript, asks for a present of fish.

Ἐλένη Πετεχῶντος  
 τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.  
 οὐ καλῶς ἐπραξας μὴ ἔλ-  
 θεῖν χάριν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ  
 5 σου ἀφῆκες αὐτὸν μὴ  
 κηδεύσαι αὐτὸν. μάθε  
 σὺν ὅτι ἀλλοτρίαν γυ-  
 ναῖκαν ἐκληρονόμη-  
 σεν αὐτὸν. γενοῦσθαι  
 10 πρὸς Θέωνα καὶ εἰπὲ .  
 αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς κέλλας  
 ὅτι ἐσφραγίσθη τὴν  
 κέλλαν αὐτοῦ μη-  
 δὲν ὀφείλων, καὶ  
 15 εἰτὲ Πετεχῶντι τὸν  
 νῦν Πολυδεύκης  
 ὅτι εἰ μέλλεις ἔλθεῖν  
 ἔλθε, Διόσκορος γάρ  
 λειτουργεῖ ὑπὲρ σοῦ·  
 20 εἰ σῖδες ὅτι οὐ μέλλεις  
 ἔλθεῖν, πέμψον μοι  
 τὸν ἀδελφόν σου  
 Κάστορα.  
 ἐρρᾶσθαί σε εὔχομαι.  
 25 καὶ γὼ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ π[α-  
 τὴρ] ὑμῶν ἀσπάζομαι  
 ὑμᾶς πολλά. ἀγόρασόν  
 μοι ὄψαρίδιον ἐκ τῆς  
 θαλάσσης, πέμψον [δέ]  
 30 διὰ ἀνθρώπου π[. . . .]  
 ημε[.]ου ε . [ ]

1. I. Πετεχῶντι. 7. I. ἀλλοτρία γυνῆ. 12-13. θοῖσισφραγισθη corr. from a.  
 1. ἡ κέλλα. 14. I. ὀφείλοντος. 15-16. I. τῷ νῦν Πολυδεύκους. νῦν Pap. 20. ou added  
 above the line.

Helene to her brother Petechon, greeting. You did not do well not to come on account of your brother; you have allowed his burial to be neglected. Know then that a strange woman is made his heir. Go to Theon and tell him about his cellar, that it has been sealed up although he owes nothing; and say to Petechon the son of Polydeuces, "Come if you are coming, for Dioscorus is labouring on your behalf. If you know that you are not coming, send me your brother Castor." I pray for your health.

I also, your father Alexander, send you many salutations. Buy me a little fish from the sea and send it by a man . .

5. ἀφῆκες : so I. 20 οἴδεις, 903. 30 δέδωκες, &c.

25. There is no change of hand, and it is likely that both Helene and her father employed an amanuensis.

30. Perhaps π[αρ]ημένον.

## 1068. LETTER OF SATORNILUS.

24.1 x 9.9 cm.

Third century.

Satornilus, the writer of this letter, was engaged with some assistants in the conveyance of a corpse from the Arsinoite nome to Alexandria. Delays occurring in the Arsinoite nome, his companions had temporarily gone away, probably back to the Oxyrhynchite nome, and Satornilus now asks his correspondent to give them any assistance they needed.

Σατορνίλος κυρίῳ μου Ἀπολλωνίου  
χαίρειν.  
μὴ εὐπορήσας πλοῖον ἐν τῷ Ἀρσενοείδῃ  
ἔγραψα τῷ κυρίῳ μου Κληματίῳ τῷ ἀρχ(ι)ε-  
5 ρὶ εἴνα μοι πλοῖον διαπέμψεται εἴνα δυ-  
νηθώ τὸ σωμάτιν κατενεκνῖν ἐν Ἀλε-  
ξάνδριαν, καὶ διαπέμψετό μοι σκαφῖδι-  
ον ἀρταβῶν ἔξηκοντα. οἱ ἀδελφοὶ οὖν  
οἱ ἐνέγκαντες αὐτὸς ἔλαβαν καὶ γράμ-  
10 ματα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Κληματίου ἐφ' ᾧ μη-  
δὶς ἐνοχλήστι αὐτῷ κατὰ τόπον.  
ἀνελθόντες οὖν ἐν τῷ Ἀρσενοεί-  
τῃ εὑρον τὸ σωμάτιν μήπου δυνά-  
μενον κηδευθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ήμερῶν  
15 ἀνοχὴν ἔχω. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς  
χάριν ἀναγκέας χρίας γενέσθαι  
εἰς Τοού. παρακαλῶ οὖν, κύριέ μου, ὑπάρ-  
ξε αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ τῆς σῆς σπουδῆς,  
20 τες, καὶ εἴ τι ἄν ἀλλον σου χρίαν σκῶ-  
σιν Σιμίου χάριν—ὅτι ἔπεμψας ἐπὶ  
τὸν οὖν καὶ κατέσχον αὐτὸν—ἔως  
γένωμε πρὸς σέ. ἀξιώσω οὖν, κύρε μου,  
εἴνα δῶς αὐτοῖς γράμματα εἴνα μη-

25 δῖς ἐνοχλήστι αὐτοῖς καθ' ὁδόν,  
εἴνα δύνηθῶ κηδεύσας τὸ σωμά-  
τιν ἐλθῖν πρὸς σέ.

ἐρρῶσθαι σοι εὔχομαι  
πολλοῖς χρόνοις.

On the verso

30 ἀπόδος Ἀπολλωνίου παρὰ Σατορνίου.

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| 1. l. Ἀπολλωνίῳ; so in l. 30.           | 3. l. Ἀρσινόῃ;                                | 6. l. Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ or                            |
| εἰς Ἀλεξανδρίαν.                        | 7. διεπέμψατο.                                | 9. ενεγ̄ καυτες Pap. ε of ελαβαν corr. from λ. |
| 11. χ ονοχλησι corr. from κ. l. αὐτοῖς? | 16. αναγ̄κεας Pap. l. ἀναγκαλας.              | 17. ὑπάρχε Pap.; ν corr. from α. l. ὑπάρχου.   |
| l. σχῶσιν.                              | 20. ν of ἀλλον added above the line; l. ἀλλο. | 23. l. γένουμαι. ll. 24-5 are blotted.         |
| 22. κ of κατεχον corr. from τ.          |   |  |

'Satornilius to my lord Apollonius, greeting. Finding no boat available in the Arsinoë nome I wrote to my lord Clematius the chief priest that he might send me a boat and so I might be able to carry the body down to Alexandria; and he sent me a skiff of sixty artabae burden. The brethren who brought it received letters also from Clematius to the intent that no one in the neighbourhood should trouble them (?). So on going up to the Arsinoë nome they found the body not yet ready to be buried, and I have a delay of some days. They therefore determined on account of a pressing need to go to Toou. So I urge you, my lord, to supply them with the marks of your good will, that on their return they may testify of it to me, and with anything else they may need from you for Simias' sake (for you sent for the ass and they kept it), until I come to you. I beg you then, my lord, to give them a letter in order that no one may trouble them on the road, and so I may be able to bury the body and come to you. I pray for your lasting health. (Addressed) Deliver to Apollonius from Satornilius.'

13. μῆποι is for μῆπω: so P. Tebt. 423. 12 οὕπον μοι ἐδήλωσας.

17. Τοού: this name occurs in Hermopolite papyri, e.g. B.G. U. 892. 8, P. Leipzig 99. 19.

21. Σιμίον: apparently the name of the dead man.

23. Wilcken suggests that αξιωσω is for ἀξιώ σον (σε?).

#### 1069. LETTER OF TROILUS.

26.6 x 12 cm.

Third century.

A letter from a man to his sister, concerning chiefly a tunic which was to be made for him. The writer was a man of some means, but this letter, which is in a large uncultivated hand, is in the vulgarest of Greek; the form πρὸ σέν for πρὸς σέ, and the use of δ for ζ are especially noticeable.

Τρωίλος Μᾶξ τῇ ἀδελφῇ χαίρειν.  
 καλῶς ποιήσεις ἀναγκάσῃ  
 γενέστε μου τὸ κειθώνε[ι]ν τὸ λευ-  
 κὸν κατὰ τάχο{υ}ς εἰ[ν]υα εὖ-  
 [καν]  
 5 ρω αὐτῷ γενάμενον [[εινα ερθῳ]]  
 ἐὰν ἔρθω πρὸ σέν. εἰδού γὰρ καὶ  
 Ἡρακλείδῃ ἔγραψα εἰ[ν]υα λά-  
 βης τὰ σύνεργά μου κα[τ] τὸν  
 μεισθὸν τῶν γερζενῶν. θέ-  
 10 λω δὲ εἰδένε πῶς σπουδάσεις  
 αὐτῷ γενέστε. εἰδού γὰρ καὶ  
 τὸ πορφύρειν μετὰ τῶν συ[ν]έργων  
 κεῖτε. σπουδασον δὲ πέμ-  
 ψε τὸ ἐπειστολείδειν Θερμου-  
 15 θείῳ εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν,  
 τάχα γὰρ δυνασθῶμεν φο[ρ]μο-  
 τρείσε σοι δύω καμῆλους [πν]υοῦ  
 καὶ πέμψε πρὸ σέν. τὴν  
 πεδείσκην μου δὲ πρὸ λόγον  
 20 ἀνάγκασον φειλοποιεῖστε,  
 ἐὰν γὰρ τέκῃ ἡ Ταμοὺν ἀ-  
 νάγκασον αὐτὴν τὸ βρέ-  
 φος φειλοπονῆσε. σπούδα-  
 σον γὰρ τὸ κειθώνειν μου  
 25 γενέστε πρὸ λόγον, καὶ κ[α-  
 λὰ μέτρα αὐτῷ βαλέτωσαν  
 καὶ μεγάλε ἔστωσαν ἐπεὶ  
 φείδης αὐτοῦ. ἀγόρασον  
 τῷ Νεικήτῃ ὅνον εἴνα δυ-  
 30 νασθῇ σου τὰ πράγματα  
 δειεξερτεῖν· ἡ τινος  
 δὲ χρῆδεις ἀντείγραψόν μοι.  
 ἀσπάζομαι δὲ Ἡρᾶν.  
 ἐρρῶσ(θ)αί σε εὔχομαι).

In the left margin, at right angles

35 εἰδον γὰρ ἔγραψα Ἡρακλεῖδη εἴνα δῆ τῇ Ταμοὺν (δραχμὰς) Γ.

On the verso

$\pi(\alpha\rho\dot{\alpha})$  Τρωίλον

$M\dot{a}\zeta$  τεῖ

ἀδελφῆ.

1. τρωίλος Pap.; so in l. 36.	The first stroke of η in τη is twice written.	2. αναγ' κασε		
Pap. 1. ἀναγάσαι,	3. l. γενέσθαι . . . κιθώνιν.	5. 1. αὐτό.	6. 1. ζλθω.	9. 1. γερ-
δαυνῶν.	10. l. εἰδέναι . . . σπονδάζειν.	11. 1. αὐτό γενέσθαι.	13. 1. κείται . . . πεμψει.	δαυνῶν.
16. l. φο[ρ]ετρίσαι.	18. 1. πέμψαι.	19. 1. παιδίσκην.	λογῆ Pap.	20. αναγ' κασον
Pap.; so in l. 22.	1. φιλοπονεῖσθαι.	23. 1. φιλοτονήσαι.	25. 1. γενέσθαι.	27.
l. μεγάλαι (?).	28. 1. ρίζης.	31. 1. διεξελθεῖν εἰ.	32. 1. χρῆσαι.	36. 1. τῇ.

'Troilus to his sister Maz, greeting. You will do well to have my white tunic made quickly in order that I may find it made if I come to you. I have written to Heraclides also so that you may receive my tools (?) and the wages of the weavers; and I wish to know how you are hurrying on the making of it. The purple is put with the tools. Be careful to send the letter to Thermouthion at Alexandria, for we may be able to load two camels with wheat for you and to send them to you. Make my slave-girl be properly industrious; and if Tamoun bear a child make her be assiduous with it. Be careful to have my tunic made properly, and let them put good measure into it, and be large-handed in the colouring. Buy a donkey for Nicetes in order that he may be able to accomplish your business; and reply to me if you want anything. I salute Heras. I pray for your health. P.S. I have written to Heraclides to give Tamoun 3,000 drachmae. (Addressed) From Troilus to his sister Maz.

6. πρὸ σέν: cf. l. 18, and πρὸ (= πρὸς) λόγον in ll. 19 and 25. σέν and ἐμέν are common in mediaeval Greek; the latter occurs e.g. in C. I. G. 3440, which is of about the same period as the papyrus. The dropping of final s is common from an early period; cf. Mayser, *Grammatik*, pp. 205-7, and for πρό = πρός, e.g. P. Strassb. 4. 18.

8. τὰ σύνεργα seem to be implements to be used in the weaving of the κιθώνιον. Du Cange quotes a similar use from Damascenus Studita, *Homil.* 25 βαστῶντες . . . παιδευτικὰ σύνεργα, ἀλλοι σπατιον ἄλλοι μαχέριον κτλ.

9. γερένων, if right, is for γερδανῶν (cf. l. 10 σπονδάδεις, l. 32 χρῆδεις); but the supposed ν is not very satisfactory and may be a π, and a letter may be lost between this and ων. Cf. note on l. 27.

16. δυνασθάμεν is equivalent to δυνησόμεθα: so e.g. P. Amh. 144 ἔαν εῦρω πλάσον ξλθ[ω]. For the converse use of the future indicative for the subjunctive cf. e.g. 1068. 19 ἔνα μοι μαρτυρήσουσαν. At the end of the line φορετρίζειν seems to be the verb intended, but I can find no other instance of it.

21-3. This may be no more than a warning against any neglect; perhaps however, as Wilcken suggests, the meaning is that the child was not to be exposed (cf. e.g. 744. 10).

27. If μεγάλε is for μεγάλαι the feminine would confirm γερένων in l. 9 and the meaning must be 'generous', 'unstinting'; otherwise μεγάλε = μεγάλα, sc. μέτρα.

28. ρεῖδης is doubtless for ρίζης; cf. the adjective ρίζόσημος, e.g. 1051. 3. Perhaps a [δέ] is lost at the end of the line.

## 1070. LETTER OF AURELIUS DEMAREUS.

22·1 x 12 cm.

Third century.

This is a verbose and rather pompous epistle sent apparently from Alexandria by a husband to his wife whom he addresses as his sister. The writer expresses much solicitude for his home and reproaches his wife in an ironical strain for neglecting to write to him.

Αύρηλιος Δημαρε[ῦ]ς Αύρηλίᾳ Ἀρσινόῃ τῇ  
 ἀδελφῇ χαίρειν. ἡ προάγουσα παρ' ἐμοῦ πα-  
 ρὰ πᾶσι θεοῖς εὐχὴ ἡ περὶ τῆς σωτηρί-  
 ας σου καὶ τοῦ τέκνου ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀδελ-  
 φοῦ σου καὶ τοῦ πατρό[ς] σοι]ν καὶ τῆς μητρός  
 σου καὶ τῷ[ν] ἡμῷ[ν] πάντων καὶ πολὺ ἔτι  
 μεῖζον [νῆψην ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ Σαραπείῳ  
 προσκυνεῖ, τὸν μέγαν θεὸν Σαράπιν πα-  
 ρακαλῶ περὶ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν  
 5 οἱ ἡμῶν πάντων καὶ τῶν χρηστῶν ἐλπί-  
 δων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι νε[[σ]]υμισμέ-  
 νων. τὸ μὲν οὖν γράφειν σοι περὶ  
 τῶν πραγμάτων ἡμῶν ἡ καὶ τῶν ἔργων  
 ὅπερ καὶ φθάνω πολλάκις σοι γράψας  
 10 διὰ ἐπιστολῶν πολλῶν οὐχ ἥττον δὲ καὶ κατ' ὄψιν  
 [[δέ]] σοι ἐνετειλάμην περιττὸν νῦν  
 ἡγησάμην, καὶ γὰρ σὺ αὐτὴ μῆτρήρ  
 τυγχάνουσα τοῦ τέκνου ἡμῶν μᾶ[λ-  
 λον ἐμοῦ θελήσεις τὴν τούτων πρόνοοι-  
 15 { νοι } αν καὶ ἐπανώ[ρθ]ωσιν γ[ε]νέσθαι  
 μετὰ τῆς ἀνυπε[ρ]βλήτου κ[η]δεμονίας.  
 περὶ δὲ τῆς σεαντῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ  
 φροντίδος ἀντὶ παντὸς προνῆστον,  
 ὅπερ καὶ περὶ τούτου πολλάκις σοι ἔγρα-  
 20 ψα, μηδενὸς ὡν ἔχομεν αὐτῶν

φειδομένη. ἔπειμψά σοι διὰ Διονυ-  
σίου τοῦ . . . [-] . . . ητος ἡ ἐν [-]. νομῳ  
ἡ ἐν τῇ σε[. . . . .]α τοῦ γείτονος τῆς  
οἰκίας τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ἐλαίου Σει-  
ρητικοῦ [κοτύλας] ἐξ ἐν ἀνγελῷ ἡμι-  
χόφῳ καὶ τραγη[μ]άτων σφυρίδαν  
μεστήν μίαν. Βιβλίδια δύο ἐκ Σει-  
ρυφᾶ δοδέντην [ἀπ]ό τε Ἀπολλω-  
νίου τοῦ νιοῦ τοῦ Σκόπα καὶ τοῦ  
γαμ[. . .]βροῦ αὐτοῦ Στεφάνου τοῦ  
κατὰ βόλιν κατὰ τοῦ πατρός  
σου καὶ τῆς μητρός σου καὶ τούτων  
τὰ ἀντίγραφά σοι διεπειμψάμην  
ἐν τῷ ἀποδέξμῳ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν.  
40 ἐὰν οὖν [συ]ντύχητε καὶ δόξῃ

In the left margin, at right angles

### On the verso

45 μηδέν μοι ἐν τῷ παρόντι [δι] ἐπιμηνιδών διαπέμψησθαι ἔστ’ ἀν υμεῖν πε-  
ρὶ τούτου δηλώσω ή καὶ γράψω. τοὺς ἡμῶν πάντας κατ’ ὄνομα προσ-  
αγόρευε καὶ ἀσπασε. πάνυ δὲ ὑμεῖν εὐχαριστώ ὅτι πολλάκις ἐμοῦ γρά-  
ψαντος ὑμεῖν οὐδὲ ὅλως ἐγράψατε οὐδὲ ἐμνήσθητε μου περὶ τῆς  
50 λαῶν καὶ κατ’ ὅψιν παρὸν ἐνετιλάμην. μὴ ἀμελήσῃς μὴ ἄρα ποτὲ θε-  
λης μ[ε]τὰ σ[ο]ι[ν] [Ηρ]αείδι τὴν τήρησιν τῆς ὅλης οἰκίας παραδιδόναι ἀ-  
χρήστουν οὕστις αὐτῆς καί, δι μὴ εἴη, ἀλλ[α]γῇ ἔξι ἄλλων γένηται. τοῦ παιδα-  
ρίουν Πτ[ο]λεμαίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἐρμογένους ἐξερχομένου εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάν-  
δρειαν πολλάκις ἐλθόντος πρὸς ἐμὲ οὐ τεθελήκατε αἰνότω διδόναι ἐπιστο-

55 λὰς οὐδ' ὅλας α[ὐτὸν] προσήκατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ Εὐδ[αιμων] αὐτῷ ἀπετάξατο  
[λέγων ὅτι ἐν τῷ παρόντι οὐ σχολάζομεν ἔτεροις ἔξερχόμενοι.

ἀπόδ(ος) ἀρσινόη ἀδελφῆ π(αρὰ) Δημαρέως.

- |                                |   |                     |               |
|--------------------------------|---|---------------------|---------------|
| 10. τ of των corr. from χ.     | 15. An ε is added above α of δια, i.e. the writer perhaps intended δι' ἐπιστολῶν. | 16. περὶ των Pap.   |               |
| 18. τυγχανούσα Pap.            | 20. l. ἐπανθρθωσιν.   | 27. η corr. from ε. | 36. l. πόλιν. |
| 37-8. τοιώ . . . επεμψαμή Pap. | 45. l. διαπέμψησθε.   | 47. l. ἄσπασαι.     |               |

Aurelius Demareus to his sister Aurelia Arsinoë, greeting. The prayer which I previously made to all the gods for the preservation of yourself and our child and your brother and father and mother and all our friends now goes up to them with far greater force in the great Serapeum, and I beseech the great god Serapis for your life and that of all our friends and for the good hopes that are held by mankind. I think it superfluous to write to you about our business and affairs concerning which I have written to you often before in many letters and have equally given you instructions in person; for you yourself as the mother of our child will be more eager than I am that those affairs should be studied and advanced with unsurpassed solicitude. But before all study the care and regard of yourself, as I have often written to you about this also, sparing nothing that we have. I send you by Dionysius, who . . . either in . . . or in the . . . the neighbour of the house of Apollonius, six cotylae of Siretic (?) oil in a half-chous jar, and one basket full of sweetmeats. Two petitions which were presented by Xenophas from Apollonius son of Scopas and his son-in-law Stephanus, who is at the city, against you father and mother—of these too I send copies in the bundle of letters. If therefore you meet and come to any conclusion about them let me know quickly, and anything that I thought I could do, being here, I will not neglect (?). Nothing has happened up to now about our affairs. I pray for your health. . . . Do not at present send me any supplies until I let you know or write to you about this. Greet and salute all our friends severally. I thank you very much for this that, although I have often written to you, you have not written at all nor remembered me in regard to the safety of our house, as I often by notes and letters and when with you in person enjoined on you to do. Do not neglect this, lest indeed you choose to hand over the keeping of the whole house to Heraüs, who is unworthy, along with yourself, and, what heaven forbid, we find ourselves at sixes and sevens. The slave of Ptolemaeus, the brother of Hermogenes, has been journeying to Alexandria and has often come to me, but you have not been willing to give him letters and have not sent him to me at all, but Eudaemon parted with him saying “At present we are not at leisure and are visiting others.” (Addressed) Deliver to my sister Arsinoë from Demareus.’

8. τὸν μέγαν Σαραπίν may belong to both verbs. In any case a conjunction is wanted.

29-31. ἑλαιὸν . . . καὶ τραγῆ[μ]άτεων σφυρίδαν: cf. 529. 4 εqq. The adjective Σειρητικῶν apparently indicates the place of manufacture.

41-2. If the decipherment is correct the construction has become very much confused. It seems difficult to avoid ἀδ[ελφ]η; δ or σ would be possible instead of α, but these give no suitable word. The vestiges appear irreconcilable with ἡ[ε]γένη[ω], so that ὅτι ἡ[ε]γένη[ω]. . . οὐ[ε]γένη[ω], is excluded. In l. 43 there would be room for two letters between ο[ε] and ι[ε]: οὐ[ε]γένη[ω]s is not at

all likely.  $\mu\bar{\eta}$   $\dot{\alpha}\mu\bar{e}\lambda\bar{\eta}\sigma\omega$  can perhaps be connected with  $\delta\eta\lambda\bar{\omega}\sigma\tau\bar{\epsilon}$ , but more probably this is a case of the use of  $\mu\bar{\eta}$  where  $\bar{o}\bar{w}$  would be expected, or we may write  $\tau\bar{o}\bar{i}\bar{t}\bar{o}\bar{v}\bar{o}$  ( $\bar{o}\bar{v}$ )  $\mu\bar{\eta}$ .

43. The superfluous δ is only partially preserved and was possibly deleted.

52.  $\bar{\alpha}\lambda(\lambda')$   $\bar{e}\bar{e}\bar{x}$   $\bar{a}\bar{l}\bar{a}\bar{w}\bar{v}$ , if the letters are rightly so interpreted, seems to be a phrase meaning 'out of harmony,' one person doing one thing and another another.  $'\bar{\alpha}\bar{l}\bar{e}\bar{e}\bar{x}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{d}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{v}$  cannot be read, nor, if it could, would it give a satisfactory sense.

## 1071. LETTER OF PAMBECHIS.

15·6 × 31·6 cm.

Fifth century.

Letter to a captain (l. 10) requesting him to give orders concerning the disposal of 100 artabae of corn. The writing is across the fibres of the papyrus.

 $\pi/$ 

+ Καθὼς καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον παρεκλήθης παρ' ἐμοῦ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου  
μου τοῦ ἑλλογιμοτάτου  
Κύρου σχολαστικοῦ ἔνεκεν τῶν ἑκατὸν σίτου ἐκ τοῦ παλαιοῦ γενήματος,  
καταξίωσον οὖν  
τελείοσον τὴν χάριν, ἀντίγραψον τοῖς ναύτοις σου τὸ τέλος ὁφίλουσιν ποιή-  
σουσιν. ἔτν  
5 κελεύεις ἵνα ποιήσουσιν αὐτὰ ψωμία ἐνταῦθα κ[α]ὶ πέμψουσιν αὐτὰ εἰς  
τὴν Ἰβιονος,  
γράψον αὐτοῖς, ἔτν πάλιν κελεύεις ἵνα πέμψουσιν τὸν σῖτον εἰς τὴν  
'Ιβιονος, πάλιν  
γράψον αὐτοῖς· καὶ γὰρ ἥδη ἔλαβεν Ἀνούπ τὰς πεντήκοντα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ  
ἄλλος ἔλαβεν  
τὰς πεντήκοντα αὐτοῦ. καταξίωσον οὖν γράψον αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦ γραμμα-  
τηφόρου  
τὸ τέλος ὁφίλουσιν ποιήσουσιν, δέσποτα.

On the verso

10 + ἐπίδ(ος) τῷ κυρίῳ μου τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ἀσκαλᾶς ναυκλήρου  
π(αρὰ) Παμβῆχις πρ. [ . . . . . ]

3. κ of *ενεκεν* incompletely formed. ν of *ουν* rewritten. 4. l. *τελείωσον* . . . *ναύταις*.  
5. ἵνα Pap.; so in l. 6. Ἰβιονος Pap.; so in l. 6. l. Ἰβιώνος. 7. ὁ ἄλλος Pap. 10. φω  
of *αδελφῳ* written as a monogram, ω through the tail of φ. l. Ἀσκαλᾶς *ναυκλήρῳ*.

' As you were urged in person by me and by my lord the most distinguished Cyrus, advocate, on account of the hundred artabae of corn from the old produce, vouchsafe to perform this favour and write to your sailors what they ought to do. If you order them to make the bread here and send it to the village of Ibion, write to them; or if you order them to send the corn to Ibion, again write to them. For Anoup has already taken his fifty, and the other man his fifty. Vouchsafe then to write to them by the letter-carrier what they ought to do, sir. (Addressed) Deliver to my lord and brother Askalas, captain, from Pambechis . . .'

1. π: cf. 941. 1, note.

3. Κύρον is best regarded as a proper name since κυρίου precedes in l. 2. For the σχολαστικό cf. 902. 1, note, Gelzer, *Leipziger hist. Abhandl.* xiii. p. 34.

4. ὁφίδουσιν παιζόντων is a parataxis like καταξίωσον τελείωσον.

## 1072. LETTER OF PHILOXENUS.

29·9 × 5·3 cm.

Fifth or sixth century.

A short letter, written in a very narrow column, relating to a pond which was in process of construction.

Φιλόξενος	ἐν τῷ κτήματι
ἀπα Μαρτυρίου	ἱερέων,
πρεσβυτέρου.	15 μέλλω γὰρ
δεχόμενος	όρκώσε
5 τοῦτό μου	περὶ τοῦ
τὸ γράμμα	ἀναλόματος
σπούδασον	ὅτι τί
φροντίσαι	20 ἀνήλωσαν
τοῦ νέου	εἰς αὐτόν.
10 λάκκου	
τοῦ γιγνομένου	ἔρρ(ωσο).
σὺν θεῷ	

2-3. Ι. Μαρτυρίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ.

14. Ἱερεων Pap.

' Philoxenus to Apa Martyrius, elder. On receipt of this my letter hasten to give heed to the new pond which is being made by the help of God in the priests' estate, for I am about to take an oath of them as to the expense, what they have spent upon it. Good-bye.'

19. ὅτι τί: on the analogy it will be better to write τι καὶ τί than τι καὶ τι in 937. 22, as was preferred by Wilcken, *Archiv* v. p. 272.



# I N D I C E S

## I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS.

(α) 1011 (CALLIMACHUS, *Aetia* and *Iambi*).

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| <p>ἀγαθός 84, 197.<br/>     ἀγαπᾶν 320.<br/>     ἀγέω 103.<br/>     ἀγινῦν 251.<br/>     ἀγκάν 114.<br/>     ἀγλα . . . 389.<br/>     ἀγνεύεν 431.<br/>     ἀγρός 235.<br/>     ἄγρος Fr. 2 recto 3.<br/>     ἄγρα 13.<br/>     ἄγριος 297.<br/>     ἄγων 254.<br/>     ἀδειν. See δεῖδειν.<br/>     ἀειθον 229, 253.<br/>     δεῖδειν 5, 94, 173, 223, 244,<br/>         381, 437. ἀδειν 43, 78.<br/>     δεῖζων 265.<br/>     ἄηθες 257.<br/>     ἄημα 36.<br/>     δέματος 69.<br/>     αἰεὶ 60.<br/>     αἰνέν 285.<br/>     αῖνος 211.<br/>     αῖξ 13.<br/>     αῖσθος 97.<br/>     αἴρειν 12, 153.<br/>     αἴρουν 20.<br/>     αἴτιος 121.<br/>     αἰσχυμάν 162.<br/>     Αἴστοτος 171.<br/>     αἴτεισθαι 36.<br/>     Λίτια 90.<br/>     Ἀκατ . . . 72.<br/>     ἀκαρτεῖν 8.</p> | <p>'Ακοντιάδαι 51.<br/>     'Ακόρτιος 26, 30, 40, 44.<br/>     ἀκούειν 92, 211, 328.<br/>     ἄκρος 231, 330, 400 (?).<br/>     'Ακτῆ 264.<br/>     ἀκύθος 242.<br/>     'Αλαλάξιος 60.<br/>     ἀλγεῖν 278, 290.<br/>     ἀλέγειν 65.<br/>     'Αλέξανδρος 145 marg.<br/>     ἀλινδεῖσθαι 113.<br/>     ἀλιτρός 68.<br/>     'Αλλάκεων 139.<br/>     ἀλλά 28, 30, 80, 128, 139,<br/>         240, 252, 255, 257, 296,<br/>         312, 351, 368. οὐ γάρ<br/>         ἀλλὰ 92.<br/>     ἀλλήλων 295, 407.<br/>     ἀλλος 27, 62, 416. πλλως 188.<br/>     ἀλς 392.<br/>     ἀμάθος 335, 349.<br/>     ἀμαξα 119.<br/>     ἀμαρτάνειν 351.<br/>     ἀμαυροῦν 429.<br/>     ἀμβων 34.<br/>     ἀμιθος 309.<br/>     'Αμυκλαῖν 24.<br/>     ἀμύστοιν 10.<br/>     ἀμφὶ 33, 264, 289.<br/>     ἀμφιθάής 3.<br/>     ἄν 48, 200, 380.<br/>     ἄν = ava 272.<br/>     ἀναβάλλειν 43.<br/>     ἀναγκάζειν 188.</p> | <p>ἀνακρίνειν 323.<br/>     ἀναλίσκειν 100.<br/>     ἀναξ 88, 375, 441.<br/>     ἀναρρίπτειν 201.<br/>     ἀναστο 82.<br/>     ἀναστέφεσθαι 238.<br/>     ἀνατρέπειν 68.<br/>     ἀνδάνειν 271.<br/>     'Ανδρόνικος 171.<br/>     ἀνέρχεσθαι 35.<br/>     ἀνεως (ἀνέτως Pap.) 39.<br/>     ἀνήρ 103, 166, 245, 264.<br/>     ἀνθρωπος 95, 107, 124, 140,<br/>         185, 203, 235, 425.<br/>     ἀντηρός 14.<br/>     ἀνολβος 296.<br/>     ἀντί 45.<br/>     ἀνωθεν 32.<br/>     ἀοιδὴ 322.<br/>     ἀοιδὸς 321.<br/>     ἀπαι 146 marg.<br/>     ἀπανώνειν 240.<br/>     ἀπάρχεσθαι 165.<br/>     ἀπηρῆς 257.<br/>     ἀπλῶς 195.<br/>     ἀπό 24, 57, 98, 231.<br/>     ἀποκτείνειν 302.<br/>     'Απόλλων 97, 174, 224 marg.,<br/>         232, 267, 409, Fr. 11<br/>         verso 3.<br/>     ἀποπέμψεσθαι 13.<br/>     ἀποπλεῖν 158.<br/>     ἀποπνίγειν 300.<br/>     ἀπρηγεσθαι 198.</p> |
|---|---|--|

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*ράδιος* 1012. Fr. 11. ii. 6.  
*ρήπτω* 1012. A ii. 21, 33, Fr. 4. 3, Fr. 11. ii. 4, Fr. 31. 2, Fr. 32. 2.  
*Σάμωις* 1012. A ii. 39.  
*σάρξ* 1010. 16.  
*σαφῆ* 1012. Fr. 16. 8, 14.  
*σαφῶς* 1013. 8.  
*σημανεῖν* 1012. Fr. 16. 6.  
*Σκελά* 1012. Fr. 13. ii. 12.  
*σκεψεῖν* 1012. Fr. 20. 2.  
*σοφία* 1015. 20.  
*σπείδειν* 1015. 2.  
*στάδιον* 1015. 8.  
*στρατείν* 1012. C ii. 50.  
*στρατηγός* 1014. 19.  
*σύ* 1010. 3, 5, 7; 1013. 20; 1015. 6, 10, 12, 21, 22.  
*συγκαταθεσθαι* 1012. Fr. 16. 7.  
*συγκροίειν* 1012. F 28 (?).  
*συκοφάντης* 1012. Fr. 26. 7.  
*συλλαβή* 1012. Fr. 16. 11.  
*συμβολή* 1014. 24.  
*συμμαχία* 1012. C ii. 37.  
*συμμαχος* 1012. C ii. 48.  
*συμπεριπατέων* 1013. 19 (?).  
*συναγορέύειν* 1012. A ii. 54.  
*σύνθετος* 1012. F 24.  
*συντιθέναι* 1012. F 26 (?), 31 (?).  
*συντρίβειν* 1010. 5.
- σχεδόν* 1012. A ii. 33.  
*σχολή* 1014. 26.  
*Σω(σι)ληῆς* 1012. C ii. 55.  
*τάλαντον* 1012. C ii. 33.  
*τάλας* 1010. 22.  
*τάραχος* 1012. A i. 8.  
*τάσσειν* 1014. 6.  
*ταχύ* 1014. 9.  
*τε* 1013. 43.  
*τελος* 1012. B i. 12.  
*τέρδις* 1015. 1.  
*τέσσαρα* 1012. A ii. 9.  
*τηλοῦ* 1015. 13.  
*τηρεῖν* 1012. A ii. 31.  
*τίειν* 1015. 10.  
*τίκτειν* 1015. 4.  
*τίς* 1012. A ii. 7, Fr. 13. ii. 32; 1013. 30, Fr. 4 recto 3. δὰ τὶ 1013. 32.  
*τις* 1012. A ii. 5, 23, F 7, Fr. 16. 7.  
*τουσίος* 1012. F 15.  
*τόρος* 1012. Fr. 16. 5.  
*τότε* 1012. Fr. 16. 10.  
*τούνκα* 1015. 6.  
*τραχύς* 1012. F 23 (?).  
*τρέπτιν* 1014. 21. } *τρεψή* 1012. Fr. 20. 3.  
*Τριβαλλοί* 1012. C iii. 54.  
*τρισάθλος* 1013. 46.  
*τρόπος* 1012. A ii. 5.  
*τυγχάνειν* 1012. Fr. 20. 10.  
*τύραννος* 1012. C ii. 44.  
*ὑβρ[* 1012. B ii. 11.  
*ὑδωρ* 1010. 21.  
*ὑπᾶ* 1012. B i. 7.  
*ὑπάρχειν* 1012. A ii. 13.  
*ὑπὸ* 1012. Fr. 16. 7.  
*ὑποφήτωρ* 1015. 1.  
*φαίνεσθαι* 1012. Fr. 34. 2.  
*φάναι* 1012. C ii. 28, Fr. 11. ii. 6, Fr. 16. 15.  
*φέρειν* 1012. Fr. 35. 3.  
*φεύγειν* 1012. C ii. 25.  
*Φιλιππικά* 1012. C ii. 14.

Φιλιππος 1012. C ii. 9, iii. 48,	χείρ 1015. 3.	ψηφίζεσθαι 1012. C ii. 39.
Fr. ii. 5.	χειρο[ 1012. Fr. 20. 9.	
φίλος 1015. 16.	χρήσιμος 1012. A ii. 24 (?).	ζ 1013. 38.
φρονέιν 1012. Fr. ii. 10 (?) .	χρήσθαι 1012. Fr. ii. 21. 9.	ώς 1012. A ii. 34, B i. 11, 13,
φροντίζειν 1012. A ii. 20, 32.	χῶμα 1014. 3.	C ii. 13, 23, 56, iii. 37,
φρουρεῖν 1012. A ii. 25.		Fr. 16. 8, 14, 17; 1013.
Φρύγια 1012. C iii. 39.	ψευδο[ 1012. Fr. 34. 1.	19.
φυλα[ 1012. Fr. 10. ii. 5.		ωστε 1013. Fr. 4 recto 2.

## II. EMPERORS.

CLAUDIUS.

θεὸς Καῖσαρ 1021. 3.

NERO.

Νέρων Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικός 1021. 18.  
Νέρων 1021. 12.

TITUS.

θεὸς Τίτος 1028. 33.

DOMITIAN.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Δομιτιανὸς Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικός 1028. 34, 37.  
Δομιτιανὸς ὁ κύριος 1028. 28.

TRAJAN.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Νέρους Τραϊανὸς Σεβ. Γερμ. Δακικός 1029. 20, 27.  
Τραϊανὸς Καῖσ. ὁ κύριος 1029. 9.  
Imperator Traianus noster 1022. 25.

HADRIAN.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Τραϊανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβ. 1024. 40.  
Ἀδριανὸς Καῖσ. ὁ κύριος 1024. 12.  
Ἀδριανὸς ὁ κύριος 1023. 8.  
θεὸς Ἀδριανὸς 1032. 30.

ANTONINUS PIUS.

'Αντωνῖνος Καῖσ. ὁ κύριος 1035. 10.  
θεὸς Αἵδος Ἀντωνῖνος 1032. 8, 21.

MARCUS AURELIUS AND VERUS.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Μάρκος Αἰρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Σεβ. καὶ Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Λούκιος Αἰρήλιος Οὐῆρος  
Σεβ. 1032. 46.

## SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

Ἀντοκρ. Καῖσ. Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεούνηρος Εὐσεβῆς Περτίναξ Σεβ. [ 1045. 44.

## SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND CARACALLA.

Ἀντοκρ. Καῖσ. Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεούνηρος Εὐσεβῆς Περτίναξ Σεβ. Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηνικὸς Παρθικὸς Μέγιστος καὶ Αἴτοκρ. Καῖσ. Μάρκος Αἰρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Εὐσεβῆς Σεβ. 1020. 3.

## SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, CARACALLA, AND GETA.

Ἀντοκρ. Καῖσαρες Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεούνηρος Περτίναξ Ἀραβ. Ἀδιαβην. Παρθ. Βρεταννικὸς Μέγιστ. καὶ Μάρκος Αἰρήλιος Ἀιτωνῖνος καὶ Ποιόβλιος Σεπτίμιος Γέτας Βρεταννικοὶ Μέγιστ. Εὐσεβεῖς Σεβαστοὶ 1039. 20.

## CARACALLA.

Αἴτοκρ. Καῖσ. Μάρκος Αἰρήλιος Σεούνηρος Ἀντωνῖνος Παρθ. Μέγιστ. Βρεταν. Μέγιστ. Εὐσεβ. Σεβ. 1030. 17.  
οἱ κύριοι Μάρκος Αἰρήλιος Σεούνηρος Ἀντωνῖνος 1030. 14.

## ELAGABALUS.

Αἴτοκρ. Καῖσ. Μάρκος Αἰρήλιος Ἀιτωνῖνος Εὐσεβῆς Εἰτυχῆς Σεβ. 1046. 14.

## SEVERUS ALEXANDER.

Ἀντοκρ. Καῖσ. Μάρκος Αἰρήλιος Σεούνηρος Ἀλέξανδρος Εὐσεβῆς Εἰτυχῆς Σεβ. 1031. 26 ;  
1040. 35.  
Μάρκος Αἰρήλιος Σεούνηρος Ἀλέξανδρος Καῖσ. ο κύριος 1031. 24.

## AURELIAN.

Ἀντοκρ. Καῖσ. Λούκιος Δομίτιος Αἰρηλιανὸς Γουνθικὸς Μέγιστ. Εὐσεβ. Εἰτυχ. Ἀνίκητος Σεβ. 1036. 37.

## GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, AND THEODOSIUS.

ἔτος ιδ σ' β 1041. 16.

## JUSTIN II.

ὁ θειότατος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν δεσπότης Φλαούνιος Ἰουστῖνος ὁ αἰώνιος Αὔγουστος καὶ Αἴτοκρ. 1038. 2.

## JUSTIN II AND TIBERIUS.

ὁ θειάτ, καὶ εὐσεβέστ. ἡμῶν δεσπότης μέγιστος εὐεργέτης Φλ. Ἰουστῖνος ὁ αἰώνιος Αὔγ. καὶ Αἴτοκρ. καὶ Φλ. Τιβέριος ὁ καὶ νέος Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ εὐτυχέστ. ἡμῶν Καῖσ. 1042. 1.

Ἀντοκράτωρ 1021. 7.  
Καῖσαρ 1021. 13.

## III. CONSULS, ERAS, INDICTIONS.

## CONSULS.

ὑπατεῖας Φλαονίων Εὐχερίου καὶ Σναγρίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων (381) **1041**. 1.  
 ὑπατεῖας τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Ἀρκαδίου αἰώνιου Αἰγυόντου τὸ β' καὶ Φλαονίου Ῥουφίνου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου (392) **1033**. 1.  
 μετὰ τῆς ὑπατείαν Φλαονίων Μαξίμου τὸ β' καὶ Πατερίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων (444) **1037**. 2.  
 ὑπατεῖας τοῦ θεοτ. καὶ εὐσέβεστ. ἡμῶν δεσπότου Φλ. Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰώνιου Ληγ. καὶ Λητοκρ. ἔτους γ (568) **1038**. 1.  
 μετά τὴν δευτέραν ὑπατείαν τῆς αὐτῶν (Φλ. Ἰουστίνου) γαληνότητος ἔτους ια (578) **1042**. 6.

## ERAS OF OXYRHYNCHUS.

- ἔτος λγ ζ (360) **1056**. 9.  
 ἔτος λη ξ (362) **1057**. 4.  
 ἔτος σνδ σκγ (578) **1043**.

## INDICTIONS.

- 1st (568) **1038**. 6.  
 2nd (568-9) **1038**. 19.  
 3rd (6th cent.) **1060**. 10.  
 5th (late 6th or early 7th cent.) **1053**. 1.  
 9th (381) **1041**. 16.  
 11th (578) **1042**. 12; **1043**. 4.  
 13th (444) **1037**. 9.

## IV. MONTHS AND DAYS.

## (a) MONTHS.

'Αδριανός (Choiaik) **1030**. 21; **1045**. 27 (?).  
 Νέος Σεβαστός (Hathur) **1021**. 20.

## (b) DAYS.

εἶδοι Ὁκτώβριαι **1047**. introd.  
 καλάνδαι Αὔγουσται **1047**. 4.  
 kalendas Martiae **1022**. 7, 24.  
 καλάνδαι Νοέμβριαι **1047**. introd.  
 καλάνδαι Ὁκτώβριαι **1047**. introd.  
 καλάνδαι Σεπτέμβριαι **1047**. 2.  
 νῶναι Νοέμβριαι **1047**. introd.

## V. PERSONAL NAMES.

- "*Λγαθος* f. of Theon **1048.** 11.  
 "Αγαθος, Αίρηλος" A. gymnasarch **1025.** 1.  
 "Αδριανός **1045.** 27 (?).  
 "Αέτος decurion **1048.** 4.  
 "Αθανάσιος decurion **1048.** 5.  
 "Αθηναροῦ **1065.** 25.  
 Άλλα Ειρήνη also called Seren . . . **1045.** 19.  
 "Αλέξανδρος, Αίρηλος Δημήτρος also called A., ex-chief priest, &c. **1031.** 1.  
 Άλεξανδρος s. of Copeirus **1048.** 6.  
 "Αλέξανδρος s. of Didymus **1048.** 8.  
 "Αλέξανδρος, Ιωάννος" A. **1045.** 15.  
 Άλεξανδρος f. of Petchon, Castor and Helene **1067.** 25.  
 "Αλέξανδρος, Τίτος Μάλιος" A. s. of Titus Manilius Heraclias **1036.** 2.  
 "Αμει" f. (?) of Marcus Colaenus **1045.** 14.  
 "Αμμώνιος" f. of Ammonius **1027.** 8.  
 "Αμμώνιος" s. of Ammonius and f. of Theon and Pekusis **1027.** 2, 8.  
 "Αμύνων" s. of Diogenes **1032.** 2, 6, 56, 57.  
 "Αμύνη **1063.** 1, 16.  
 "Αμύνη" also called Dionysius, s. of Ptolemaeus **1061.** 1, 27.  
 "Αναστάσιος, Φλασίος" A. **1038.** 11.  
 "Αναστατιανός" f. of Aurelius Hierax **1037.** 6.  
 "Ανδρέας presbyter **1026.** 24.  
 "Ανδρόνικος **1044.** 24.  
 "Ανδρων **1044.** 10, 22, 23, 27.  
 "Αννα **1059.** 3 (?).  
 "Αννών **1071.** 7.  
 "Ανούτ" f. of Aurelius Johannes **1042.** 19, 31, 35.  
 "Αντάς" s. of Dionysius **1063.** 10.  
 "Αντίπατρα, Στατιλία" A. **1045.** 8.  
 "Αντώνιος **1045.** 17.  
 Antonius, M. Ant. Valens **1022.** 21.  
 "Απία **1039.** 4.  
 "Απία, Κλανδία" Ισιδώρα also called A. **1048.** 7.  
 "Απῖς **1064.** 8.  
 "Απῖς god **1029.** 17 marg. (?).  
 "Απῖς f. of Pauseiris **1044.** 7.  
 "Απίον" f. of Herodes **1063.** 2.  
 "Απολλοφάνης" f. of Arsinoe and Dionysius **1044.** 26.  
 "Απούλλων **1066.** 6 et saep.
- "Απολλάνιος **1024.** 22; **1068.** 1, 30; **1070.** 29.  
 "Απολλάνιος" city-scribe **1028.** 4.  
 "Απολλάνιος" comogrammateus **1061.** 3, 11, 27.  
 "Απολλάνιος" f. of Heliodus **1024.** 14.  
 "Απολλάνιος" s. of Heliodus **1024.** 13.  
 "Απολλάνιος, Λούκιος Αίρηλος" A. f. of L. Aurelius Matreas **1031.** 13.  
 "Απολλάνιος" s. of Sarapion **1039.** 1, 18.  
 "Απολλάνιος" s. of Scopas **1070.** 33.  
 "Απτρωάς **1058.** 4.  
 "Απφούς **1059.** 4.  
 "Απφούς" s. of Eudaemon **1048.** 15.  
 "Αρακυ( ) **1044.** 22.  
 Arianius, Avidius A. cornicularius **1022.** 27.  
 "Αρρᾶs" s. of Leon **1063.** 11.  
 "Αρρώνη, Αίρηλα" A. **1070.** 1, 57.  
 "Αρρώνος" s. of Apollophanes **1044.** 26.  
 "Αρρεμεῖς" s. of Penpauseiris **1044.** 27.  
 "Αργήνης **1044.** 9.  
 "Αργήνης" f. of Teteiris **1044.** 16.  
 "Ασκαλᾶς **1071.** 10.  
 "Ασκλᾶs" s. of Onnophris **1029.** 3, 14.  
 Άιρηλια "Αρρώνη **1070.** 1, 57.  
 Άιρηλος . . . s. of Heraclias **1041.** 5.  
 Άιρηλος "Αγαθος gymnasarch **1025.** 1.  
 Άιρηλος "Αχιλλέως" also called Isidorus **1046.** 10.  
 Άιρηλος Βίαος s. of Biaeus **1031.** 7, 28.  
 Άιρηλος Γάιος night-strategus **1033.** 4.  
 Άιρηλος Δημαρεῖς **1070.** 1, 57.  
 Άιρηλος Δημήτρος also called Alexander, ex-chief priest, &c. **1031.** 1.  
 Άιρηλος Διδύμος chief priest **1025.** 4, 24.  
 Άιρηλος Διάσκορος agoranomus **1031.** 2.  
 Άιρηλος Έρμανοβάιμουρον exegetes **1025.** 3, 22.  
 Άιρηλος Εύριτας mime **1025.** 7.  
 Άιρηλος Ήράλος s. of Sarapas **1036.** 5, 42.  
 Άιρηλος Θέων s. of Didymus **1040.** 4, 41.  
 Άιρηλος Θέων night-strategus **1033.** 4.  
 Άιρηλος Ιέραξ s. of Anastatianus **1037.** 6.  
 Άιρηλος Ιωάννης s. of Anoup **1042.** 18, 30.  
 Άιρηλος Κορπίας cosmetes **1025.** 5, 25.  
 Άιρηλος, Λούκιος Άιρ. "Απολλάνιος" f. of L. Aur. Matreas **1031.** 13.  
 Άιρηλος, Λούκιος Άιρ. Matreas also called

- Heraſcus, s. of L. Aur. Apollonius **1031**.  
*13.*  
 Αὐρῆλος Πεκύσις s. of Pauseiris and f. of Petenouphis **1040**. *1*, 38.  
 Αὐρῆλος Πετενοῦφις s. of Aurelius Pekusis **1040**. *2*, 39.  
 Αὐρῆλος Πετρώνιος s. of Marcus **1040**. 50.  
 Αὐρῆλος Πλούταρχος s. of Psenamounis **1041**.  
*3*, 22.  
 Αὐρῆλος Σαραπᾶς reciter **1025**. 8.  
 Αὐρῆλος Σερῆνος **1038**. 46.  
 Αὐρῆλος Στίφανος s. of Heraclammon **1038**.  
*13*, 34, 38.  
 Αὐρῆλος Φιλόδεσος s. of Doras **1037**. 4.  
 Avidius Arrianus cornicularius **1022**. 27.  
 Αὐροδίτη **1060**. *1*.  
 'Αχιλλᾶς **1064**. *1*.  
 'Αχιλλέας, Αὐρῆλος 'Α. also called Isidorus **1046**. *10*.  
  
 Βελλαρένος **1050**. *10*.  
 Βηράμμων f. of Philonicus **1041**. 6.  
 Βίαος f. of Aurelius Biaeus **1031**. *7*, 29.  
 Βίαος, Αὐρῆλος B. s. of Biaeus **1031**. *7*, 28.  
  
 C. Iulius Maximus **1022**. *15*.  
 C. Iulius Saturninus **1022**. *19*.  
 C. Longius Priscus **1022**. *13*.  
 C. Minicius Italus praefect **1022**. *2*.  
 C. Veturius Gemellus **1022**. *11*. Cf. **1035**. *2*.  
 Celsianus praef. cohortis **1022**. *2*.  
  
 Γαβνία Ἰσιδώρα **1044**. 26, note.  
 Γιάνος **1045**. *31*.  
 Γάος, Αὐρῆλος Γ. night-strategus **1033**. 4.  
 Γάος basilicogrammateus **1028**. *3*.  
 Γάος Ονετόνιος Γέμελλος f. of Gaius Veturius Gemellus **1035**. *2*. Cf. **1022**. *11*.  
 Γάος Ονετόνιος Γέμελλος s. of Gaius Veturius Gemellus **1035**. *1*.  
 Γέμελλος. See Γάος.  
 Gemellus C. Veturius G. **1022**. *11*. Cf. **1035**. *2*.  
 Γερύντος **1026**. *2*, *6*, *22*, *23*.  
  
 Δαμασαῖος f. of Varus **1020**. 5.  
 Δημαρέας, Αὐρῆλος Δ. **1070**. *1*, 57.  
 Δημήτριος, Αὐρῆλος Δ. also called Alexander, ex-chief priest, &c. **1031**. *1*.
- Δημήτριος f. of Dius and Diogenes **1061**. 6.  
 Διδυμᾶς **1064**. *1*.  
 Διδύμος f. of Alexander **1048**. 8.  
 Διδύμος, Αὐρῆλος Δ. chief priest **1025**. *4*, *24*,  
*49*, *52*.  
 Διδύμος f. of Aurelius Theon **1040**. 5.  
 Διδύμος s. of Plas **1048**. *14*.  
 Διογένης **1061**. *1*; **1064**. *1*.  
 Διογένης s. of Demetrius **1061**. 6.  
 Διογένης f. of Diogenes **1032**. *7*, *10*.  
 Διογένης s. of Diogenes **1032**. *27*, *28*, *36*.  
 Διογένης s. of Diogenes and f. of Ammonius, Diogenes and Martheis **1032**. *2*, *7*, *56*.  
 Διογένης s. of Papontos **1030**. *3*, *21*.  
 Διογένης also called Pausanias, f. of Sarapous also called Tadiogas **1044**. 4.  
 Διονύσιος **1059**. *5*; **1061**. *8*; **1070**. *26*.  
 Διονύσιος also called Amoīs, s. of Ptolemaeus **1061**. *1*, *27*.  
 Διονύσιος f. of Antas **1063**. *10*.  
 Διωνύσιος s. of Apollophanes **1044**. *26*.  
 Διωνύσιος assistant of strategus **1032**. *25*, *31*.  
 Διωνύσιος ex-gymnasiarch **1028**. *3*.  
 Δίος **1061**. *22*.  
 Δίος s. of Demetrius **1061**. 6.  
 Διόστορος **1067**. *18*.  
 Διόστορος, Αὐρῆλος Δ. agoranomus **1031**. *2*.  
 Δράκων **1057**. *1* (?).  
 Δωρᾶς f. of Aurelius Philoxenus **1037**. 4.  
 Δωρόθεος **1056**. *2*.  
  
 Εἰρήνη, Αἴλια El. also called Seren . . . **1045**.  
*19*.  
 Εἰρηνώ s. of Sarap . . . **1045**. *47*.  
 'Ελένη d. of Alexander **1067**. *1*.  
 'Ελλάδος **1059**. 6.  
 'Εμβρήτων **1055**. *7*.  
 'Εμβρήτων **1055**. *7*.  
 'Επάγαθος freedman **1035**. *4*.  
 'Επάγαθος imperial freedman **1020**. *7*.  
 'Ερραῖος f. of Procunda **1020**. *7*.  
 'Ερμανοβάζιμμων, Αὐρῆλος 'Ε. exegetes **1025**. *3*, *22*.  
 'Ερμίας **1044**. *17*, note.  
 'Ερρογένης **1070**. *53*.  
 Εἰδαῖμον **1070**. *55*.  
 Εἰδαῖμων f. of Apphous **1048**. *15*.  
 Εἰδαῖμων s. of Sarapas **1048**. *3*.  
 Εἰριπᾶς, Αὐρῆλος E. mime **1025**. *7*.

- Ἐνέφημία saint **1038.** 23.  
 Εὐέφημία, Φλαονία Εὐ. d. of Musaeus **1038.** 7.
- Ζωῖλος **1034.** introd.; **1062.** 16.
- 'Ηλιας assistant **1043.** 1.  
 'Ηλιδώρος s. of Apollonius and f. of Apollonius **1024.** 14.  
 'Ηραὶ also called Nemesianus **1045.** 30.  
 'Ηραι **1070.** 51.
- 'Ηράτοκλος, Δούκος Αἰρήλιος Μαρέας also called H., s. of L. Aur. Apollonius **1031.** 13.
- 'Ηρακλάμπω f. of Aurelius Stephanus **1038.** 14, 34, 38.
- 'Ηρακλᾶς f. of Aurelius . . . **1041.** 5.
- 'Ηρακλᾶς also called Heracles **1024.** 2.
- 'Ηρακλᾶς, Τίρος Μάλιος Ἡ., f. of Titus Manlius Serenus and Titus Manlius Alexander **1036.** 3.
- 'Ηράκλειος **1045.** 26.
- 'Ηράκλεια, Μαρθείς also called H., d. of Diogenes **1032.** 2, 6, 56.
- 'Ηρακλεῖδης **1069.** 7, 35.
- 'Ηρακλεῖδης, Ήρακλᾶς also called H. **1024.** 3.
- 'Ηρακλεῖδης wine-merchant **1055.** 2.
- 'Ηράκλης, Αἴρηλιος Ἡ. s. of Sarapas **1036.** 5, 42.
- 'Ηράκλης f. of Petseiris **1044.** 19.
- 'Ηρᾶς **1069.** 33.
- 'Ηράδης s. of Apion **1063.** 2, 15.
- 'Ηφαιστίων f. of Theon **1065.** 1.
- Θαῆτης d. of Papontos **1030.** 7.
- Θαῖς d. of Chaeremon **1024.** 15.
- Θαισῶν d. of Petseiris **1044.** 9.
- Θέλλα **1059.** 2.
- Θεῖδωρος **1026.** 22.
- Θεῖδωρος s. of Parit **1048.** 2.
- Θερμούθιος **1069.** 14.
- Θέων **1044.** 7, note; **1055.** 1; **1067.** 10.
- Θέων s. of Agathus **1048.** 11.
- Θέων s. of Ammonius **1027.** 2, 3.
- Θέων, Αἴρηλιος Θ. s. of Didymus **1040.** 4, 41.
- Θέων, Αἴρηλιος Θ. night-strategus **1033.** 4.
- Θέων city-scribe **1028.** 5.
- Θέων s. of Hephaestion **1065.** 3.
- Θέων s. of Ischyron **1061.** 28.
- Θέων s. of C . . . also called Chaeremon **1039.** 3.
- Θέων φροντιστής **1054.** 3.
- Θομψῆμα s. of Thoōnis **1028.** 8.
- Θομψῆμα s. of Thoōnis and f. of Taorseus **1028.** 6, 30.
- Θοῦνις f. of Thompsemis **1028.** 7, 9, 30.
- Θώνιος πρωνοτῆς **1056.** 1.
- 'Ιαό **1060.** 4.
- 'Ιέραξ, Αἰρῆλιος 'Ι. s. of Anastatianus **1037.** 6.
- 'Ιέραξ basilicogrammateus **1024.** 7, 24.
- 'Ιεράμια **1038.** 12.
- 'Ιερόκιος **1056.** 4.
- 'Ιούλιος 'Αλέξανδρος **1045.** 15.
- 'Ισιδώρα, Γαβανία 'Ι. **1044.** 26, note.
- 'Ισιδώρα, Κλαυδία 'Ι. also called Apia **1046.** 7.
- 'Ισιδώρος, Αἴρηλιος 'Αχιλλεύς also called I. **1046.** 10.
- 'Ιστόρητος **1030.** 7.
- 'Ισχυρίων f. of Theon **1061.** 28.
- Ιταλος, C. Minicius I. praefect **1022.** 2.
- Iulius, C. I. Maximus **1022.** 15.
- Iulius, C. I. Saturninus **1022.** 19.
- 'Ιωάννης **1026.** 2, 3, 7; **1038.** 36. Ioannes **1038.** 37.
- 'Ιωάννης Αἴρηλιος 'Ι. s. of Anoup **1042.** 18, 30, 35.
- 'Ιωάννης ποτομάτης **1053.** 2.
- | Καμούλ assistant **1043.** 1.
- Κάστωρ s. of Alexander **1067.** 23.
- Κέλερ, Πόλιτος Πετρώνος Κ. **1023.** 1.
- Κικήν f. of Timotheus **1048.** 4.
- Κλανδίν 'Ισιδώρα also called Apia **1046.** 7.
- Κλαυδία Χαρημονίς **1045.** 11.
- Κλαύδιος Μακεδόνιος strategus **1028.** 2.
- Κλαύδιος Μέλανδρος basilicogrammateus **1029.** 1.
- Κλαύδιος Ταγιανός riparius **1033.** 3.
- Κλαύδιος, Τιζέριος Κ. Νικαὶ **1045.** 25.
- Κλημάτος chief priest **1068.** 4, 10.
- Κόντος Τάρμιος Μαρτιλίου praefect **1023.** 6.
- Κόλανος, Μάρκος Κ. s. of Ame[ **1045.** 14.
- Κόμαρος s. of Serenus, Ιππέις **1055.** introd.
- Κοπρέις f. of Alexander **1048.** 6.
- Κορηάς Αἴρηλιος Κ., cosmetes **1025.** 5, 25.
- Κοραέν **1044.** 20.
- Κυράνων **1042.** 20.
- Κυριλλοῦς **1051.** 23.
- Κύρος scholasticus **1071.** 2.
- Κώφος **1050.** 15.

- Λευκάδιος **1048.** 15.  
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     Matreas **1031.** 13.  
 Λούκιος Αἰρῆιος Μαρέας also called Heraiscus,  
     s. of L. Aur. Apollonius **1031.** 13.  
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     Heraclias **1036.** 1, 4.  
 Μάλιος, Tίτος Μ. Ἡρακλᾶς f. of Titus Manlius Se-  
     renus and Titus Manlius Alexander **1036.** 3.  
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     Heraclias **1036.** 2.  
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**1032.** 2, 6; called Μαρθίον **1032.** 56.  
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**1032.** 56; called Μαρθίες **1032.** 2, 6.  
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 Μαρκία Σουλτικά **1045.** 23.  
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 Μαρέας, Λούκιος Αἰρῆιος M. also called He-  
     raiscus, s. of L. Aur. Apollonius **1031.** 13.  
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**1029.** 1.  
 Μενέλαος **1045.** 9.  
 Μενίμαχος **1044.** 7.  
 Μενεθέος **1044.** 10 *et saep.*  
 Minicius, C. M. Italus praefect **1022.** 2.  
 Μηνοσάτος f. of Flavia Euphemia **1038.** 9.  
  
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 Νικήτη **1069.** 29.  
 Νικόμαχος **1044.** 2 *et saep.*  
 Νικόστρατος **1044.** 11, 14.  
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     and Osmolchis **1029.** 3, 14.  
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     Onnophris **1029.** 2, 12.  
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 Οινεύριος, Γάιος Οὐ. Γέμελος f. of Gaius  
     Veturius Gemellus **1035.** 2. Cf. **1022.** 11.  
 Οινεύριος, Γάιος Οὐ. Γέμελος s. of Gaius  
     Veturius Gemellus **1035.** 1.  
 Οὐολούσιος, Λούκιος Οὐ. Μαικανός praefect  
**1032.** 3, 5.  
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 Πάλιος decurion **1048.** 2.  
 Παλάδιος **1044.** 19.  
 Παλάδιος f. of . . . emeouos **1044.** 6.  
 Παρβῆχις **1071.** 11.  
 Πανίων (?) f. of Plutarchus **1048.** 5.  
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     and Thaësis **1030.** 3, 22.  
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 Παρί f. of Theodorus **1048.** 2.  
 Παιδός (?) s. of Sarapion **1048.** 10.  
 Παιδός, Σεπτίμιος II. riparius **1033.** 3.  
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     pous also called Tadiogas **1044.** 4.

- Πανσείρις s. of Apis **1044**. 7.  
 Πανσέρις f. of Aurelius Pekusis **1040**. 1, 39.  
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 Πέκυλλος **1054**. 1; **1055**. 1.  
 Πεκύντις s. of Ammonius **1027**. 2, 4.  
 Πεκύντις, Αἰρήλος II. s. of Pauseiris and f. of  
     Petrenouphis **1040**. 1, 38, 53.  
 Πεπαύλημης **1044**. 22, note.  
 Πεπανσέρις **1044**. 27.  
 Πενύρη s. of Petronius also called Horion  
     **1044**. 17.  
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     **1040**. 2, 37.  
 Πετεχὸν s. of Alexander **1067**. 1.  
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 Πετοσοράπης f. of Πέτοσοραπής **1029**. 18.  
 Πετοσοράπης s. of Petosorapis and f. of Ptole-  
     maeus **1029**. 18.  
 Πεπρώνιος, Αἴρήλος II. s. of Marcus **1040**. 50.  
 Πεπρώνιος, Πόπλιος II. Κέλερ **1023**. 1.  
 Πεπρώνιος also called Horion f. of Penuris  
     **1044**. 17.  
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 Πεπσείρης f. of Thaïsous **1044**. 9.  
 Πεπσειρίων s. of Seirion **1044**. 10.  
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 Πολυθένεκη **1054**. 1.  
 Πολυθένεκη f. of Petechon **1067**. 16.  
 Πόπλιος Πεπρώνιος Κέλερ **1023**. 1.  
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     **1061**. 27.  
 Πτολεμαῖος s. of Petosorapis **1029**. 18.
- Πτολεμαῖος f. of Ptolemaeus **1035**. 5; **1061**. 5.  
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 'Ράμμιος, Κόντρος 'Ρ. Μαρτιᾶλις praefect **1023**. 6.  
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 Σαραπᾶς f. of Eudaemon **1048**. 3.  
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     Heracleus **1036**. 5.  
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 Σαραπῖων also called . . . **1045**. 5.  
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     **1039**. 1.  
 Σαραπῖνος also called Tadiogas, d. of Diogenes  
     also called Pausanias **1044**. 4.  
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 Σατurninus, C. Iulius S. **1022**. 19.  
 Σάγυρος **1054**. 3.  
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 Σερῆνος f. of Comarus Ιππεῖς **1055**. introd.  
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     Heracras **1036**. 1, 4.  
 Σεψίδηρος **1032**. 10.  
 Σιμίας **1068**. 21.  
 Σινθέν **1039**. 2; **1040**. 3.  
 Σισόνις **1034**. introd. (?).  
 Σκόπας f. of Apollonius **1070**. 34.  
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 Σόίς f. of Onnophris **1028**. 16, 25.  
 Σονλπικία, Μαρκία Σ. **1045**. 23.  
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- Στέφανος 1065. 1; 1070. 35.  
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 Ταρούν 1069. 21, 35.  
 Ταρούτης d. of Thompsemis 1028. 6, 40.  
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 Τατανός, Κλαύδιος T. riparius 1033. 3.  
 Τεδ[...]μη (?) 1041. 3.  
 Τερέυς 1030. 4.  
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 Τίτανός, Ποιόπλιος T. 1045. 33.  
 Τίτος Μάλιος Ἀλέξανδρος s. of Titus Manlius Heraclias 1036. 2.  
 Τίτος Μάλιος Ἡρακλᾶς f. of Titus Manlius Serenus and Titus Manlius Alexander 1036. 3.  
 Τίτος Μάλιος Σερῆνος s. of Titus Manlius Heraclias 1036. 4.  
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 Τριάδελφος presbyter 1026. 24.  
 Τρυφᾶς 1062. 21.  
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- Valens, M. Antonius V. 1022. 21.  
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- Φακοῦνδος, Οἰωνάσιος Φ. dioecetes 1032. 44, 51.  
 Φίβ, Φλαούιος Φ. subadiuva 1042. 13.  
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- Φιλόχενος Φ. s. of Doras 1037. 4.  
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- Χαιρημονίς, Κλαυδία Χ. 1045. 11.  
 Χαιρίμων also called C . . . , f. of Theon 1039. 4.  
 Χαιρήμων s. of Onnophris 1028. 15.  
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- Ψεναμονίς f. of Aurelius Plutarchus 1041. 3, 22.  
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- Παδέας 1031. 15.  
 Π'ορίων 1050. 8.  
 Π'ορίων, Πετρόνιος also called H., f. of Penuris 1044. 17.  
 Π'ορος s. of Petseiris 1044. 3.
- ... ημηνὸς 1044. 6.  
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## VI. GEOGRAPHICAL.

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- Αἴγυπτος 1032. 6.  
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 15; 1070. 53.  
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 Ἀρκάδων ἐπαρχία 1042. 15.
- Ἀρσιωσῆτης (τεμός) 1068. 3, 12.  
 ἔθνος 1020. 5, 8.  
 ἐπαρχία Ἀρκάδων 1042. 15.  
 Εὑεργέτις πόλις 1025. 6.

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Ituraei 1022. 28.

μητρόπολις τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχίτου 1032. 7. μητρόπολις 1044. 4.

νομός 1032. 21, 24; 1045. 46.

Ξεῦτιος 1026. 11, 18.

'Οξυρυγχίτης (νομὸς) 1024. 2; 1032. 7, 11, 26, 38; 1033. 3; 1041. 4.

'Οξυρυγχίτων πόλις 1031. 3; 1038. 38. λαμπρά Ὁξυρυγχίτῶν π. 1038. 10. λαμπρὰ καὶ λαμπροτάτη Ὁξ. π. 1036. 7; 1037. 5.

'Οξυρύγχων πόλις 1024. 16; 1028. 7; 1029. 5; 1030. 5; 1032. 2; 1035. 5; 1037. 11; 1039. 2; 1040. 4.

πάγος πέμπτος 1041. 4.

Πέροης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς 1035. 6.

πόλις == νέα 'Ιουστίνον π. 1042. 21. = Oxyrhynchus 1033. 5, 7, 13, 17; 1036. 12; 1037. 7; 1038. 16, 22; 1039. 5; 1040. 5; 1041. 5, 7; 1044. 26; 1070. 36 (?) πόλις Εὐεργέτις 1025. 6.

Σευρητικός 1070. 28.

τοπαρχία, ἄνω τ. 1031. 6. ἀπηλιώτου τ. 1024. 5.

(b) VILLAGES, ἔποικα, τόποι (*Oxyrhynchite*).

'Αλεξοῦτος 1052. 6, 16, 27.  
'Αμηρος 1053. 29.

Βαφίων 1052. 10, 12.

'Επιτήμου ἔποικου 1031. 8.

Θώλθις 1061. 28.

Ιβιών 1071. 5, 6.

Ίσιόν Παγγᾶ 1053. 28.

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Κερκείων 1052. 1, 9, 27.

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Μερ . . ε ἔποικον 1052. 7.

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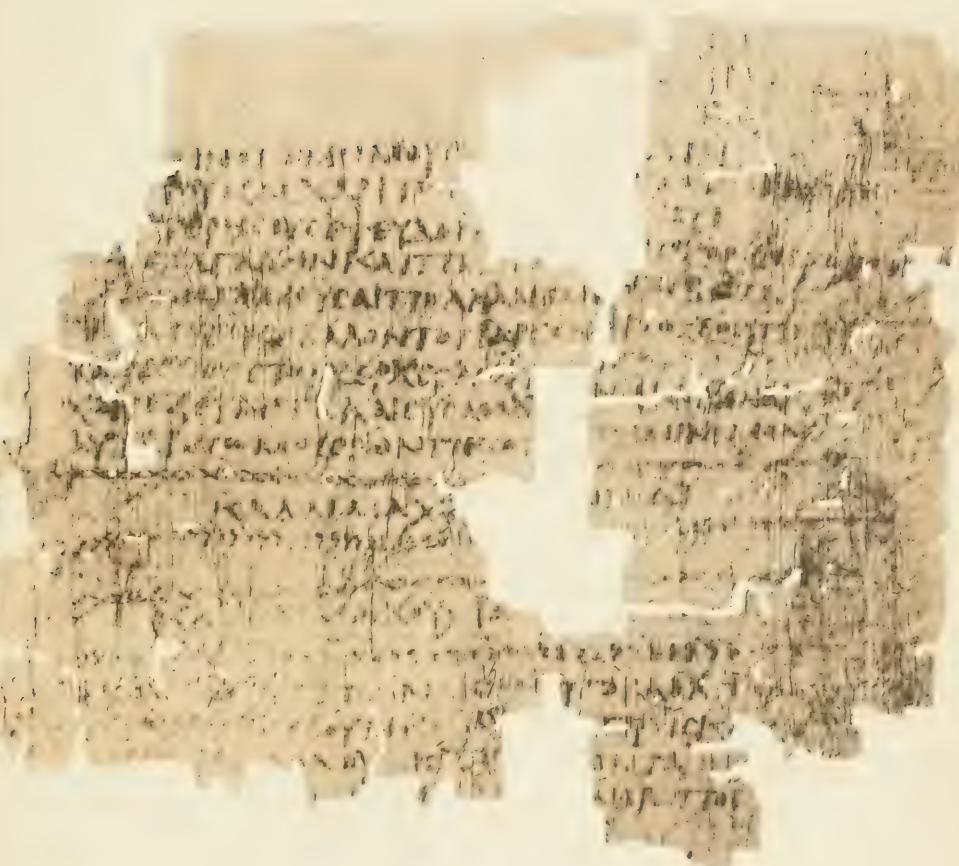
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