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# ÉGYPTE GRÉCO-ROMAINE

## Literary and Semi-Literary Papyri from the Vienna Papyrus Collection\*

### 1) HOMER, *Iliad* Z, 373-410.

*P. Vindob. Gr.* Inv. No. 26740. This dark brown papyrus which comes from Soknopaiu Nesos and which entered the Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek at Vienna in 1894, has now been split into 2 pieces which are mounted one below the other under a single glass plate, although the 2 pieces originally formed one single stretch of scroll. The upper piece measures  $13.8 \times 66.5$  cms. At 17 cms from the left and 13 cms from the right *κολλήματα* are found. The lower part consists of 2 fragments: frag. 1 measures  $13.8 \times 24.2$  cms (17 cms from the left is a *κόλλημα*); frag. 2 measures  $13.8 \times 34$  cms (8.5 cms from the left is a *κόλλημα*). Both sides of the papyrus are written on. On the one side a demotic text is to be found, written in various columns against the grain of the fibres; on the other side (parallel with the grain of the fibres) are 5 geometry problems, the passage from Homer published here, and 2 conversion problems (like P. Lond. II 265, pp. 257 sqq.). The top and the bottom edges of the papyrus are for the most part evenly cut off (at regular intervals along the top edge there are pieces broken out of the papyrus itself. This damage probably occurred when the papyrus was in a rolled-up state). The left front side of the papyrus is evenly cut off. Partly because of the fact that on the other side the cut runs straight through a column, we may assume that a papyrus that had already been covered with a demotic text was cut through in order to use the other for the Greek text. It might be thought surprising that a text that was produced later was written on the recto side (cf. E. G. TURNER, *Recto and Verso*, JEA 40, 1954, pp. 102 sqq.), but, before the Greek text was written on the recto side, the original text seems to have been washed out. It is moreover typical for a « school » papyrus to reuse an old papyrus (cf. J. A. DAVISON, *The Study of Homer in Greco-Roman Egypt*, Akten des VIII. internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie (= MPER, NS, V. Folge),

\* We are grateful to DR. H. LOEBENSTEIN for permission to publish these texts.

Vienna, 1956, pp. 51 sqq.). The right-hand back side of the papyrus is badly damaged. The possibility must not be ruled out that the scroll used to carry still more writing. The Homeric passage begins at a distance of 2 to 2.5 cms from the 5th mathematical problem. The text has been divided over 3 columns: cols. 1 and 2 are about 10 cms long, col. 3 is about 4 cms long.

A part of this papyrus (frag. 2 of the lower part) has been known since as early as 1938 (cf. H. OELLACHER, *Griechische Literarische Papyri aus der Papyrussammlung Erzherzog Rainer in Wien*, *Études de Papyrologie* 4, 1938, pp. 133 sqq. = Pack<sup>2</sup> no. 791). The present restorer in the Papyrussammlung, MICHAEL FACKELMANN, has found the other parts of this papyrus.

The subjects dealt with (1) and the quality of the Greek make it quite possible that we have here a papyrus deriving from a school (2). Below we give a transcription of the Homeric passage (3), although, and this

(1) The combination of mathematics and literature is not a rare occurrence in papyri deriving from schools. Cf. for example, O. GUÉRAUD et P. JOUGUET, *Un Livre d'Écolier du III<sup>e</sup> Siècle avant J.-C.* (this papyrus too is in the form of a scroll!) and P. J. PARSONS, *A School-Book from the Sayce Collection*, ZPE 6, 1970, pp. 133 sqq.

(2) Cf. G. ZALATEO, *Papiri scolastici*, *Aegyptus* 41, 1961, pp. 160-235. It is a well-known fact that Homer was the school author par excellence (cf. H. I. MARROU, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*<sup>4</sup>, Paris, 1958) and that certain passages of the Iliad especially enjoyed a preference in schools. Although nothing is known to us of a preferential treatment of the sixth book of the Iliad (one is referred, however, to the well-known letter P. Oxy. VI 930), we can readily assume that the particular passage dealing with the parting of Hector and Andromache must have enjoyed a certain popularity.

(3) OELLACHER (*loc. cit.*, pp. 134-135) had assumed that the Homeric passage was followed by a prose paraphrase of the lines 387-410 of Iliad Z. He believed that *δρομοι*, if correctly read, referred to *ἐπιτρομένη* in line 388. Now that the transcribed Homeric passage appears to begin as early as line 373, his hypothesis, which was not very attractive for other reasons as well, has been rendered invalid. We have been able to read more than OELLACHER (thanks also to excellent infra-red exposures made by the excellent photographer of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, A. JANDERKA) and have been able to ascertain that it is a matter here of the conversion of a certain number of artabs of a particular kind into figures of another kind. (We shall publish the 5 geometry and the 2 conversion problems in one of the forthcoming volumes of the Dutch mathematical periodical *Janus* (LXI, 1974, pp. 295 ff.)). The heading of this section (divided by a paragraphos from the last line of the Homeric passage) reads *διάνοια μέτρων*. P. Vindob. Gr. Inv. No. 26740 can therefore no longer be accepted in support of the theory which G. NACHTER-

is to be expected with papyrus manuscripts of the Iliad of a later date than the edition of Aristarchus of Samothrace (i.e. later than the middle of the second century B.C.), the papyrus contributes nothing towards the history of the text<sup>(1)</sup>.

Certain letters or combinations of letters show correspondence with both those of P. Oxy. XXXI 2545 (end of the 1st cent. B.C. or early 1st cent. A.D. = E. G. TURNER, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, Oxford, 1971, no. 37) and also with those of P. gr. E 7344 of the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels (1st cent. A.D. = W. LAMEERE, *Aperçus de Paléographie Homérique*, Paris-Brussels-Antwerp-Amsterdam, 1960, 3 and plate 2). In our case, as always, dating on the basis of the handwriting is extremely risky. In the present case the matter is further complicated by the fact that we have to do with a schoolboy's hand. We believe it is possible to date the text to the 1st or 2nd cent. A.D.

R. A. PACK, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*, 2nd ed., Ann Arbor, 1965, mentions 26 texts (nos. 770-795) containing a passage from the 6th book of the Iliad. The following texts with a passage from book Z of the Iliad have appeared since 1965: Z, 171-183 (ZPE 6, 1970, pp. 121-122); Z, 220-282 (Mus. Helv. 24, 1967, pp. 61-62); Z, 232-248 (P. Yale 8).

The text was compared with W. LEAF's edition (2nd ed., London, 1900).

GAEL, *Fragments d'anthologies homériques*, Chron. d'Ég. 46, 1971, pp. 344 sqq., has developed.

(1) This fact has been known for a long time and has often been mentioned: cf. W. SCHMID-O. STÄHLIN, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, I, 1, München, 1929, p. 164; G. M. BOLLING, *The Athetized Lines of the Iliad*, Baltimore, 1944, p. 5; DAVISON, *loc. cit.*, pp. 51 sqq.; LAMEERE, *op. cit.*, pp. 11 sqq. It is worthwhile nevertheless publishing this kind of papyri because they teach us when and to what extent the standardized text was accepted as such; secondly, they are interesting as examples of ancient book production (cf. V. MARTIN, *Papyrus Bodmer I*, Genève, 1954, pp. 9 sqq.; T. C. SKEAT, *Early Christian Bookproduction: Papyri and Manuscripts* = Chapter III (pp. 54-79) in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, Vol. 2: *The West from the Fathers to the Reformation* (ed. G. W. H. LAMPE, Cambridge 1969)). In the case under discussion the papyrus teaches us what was read at school, and we gain an impression of the standard the pupils were able to reach: despite the fact that the pupil himself (as we may conclude from the colour of the ink which remains constant) has made corrections in some places, we may say, on the basis of this papyrus, that he still had a lot to learn.

Homer, Iliad Z, 373-410

## Column I

- 373 Πύργῳ ἐφειστήκει κόω[σά τε μυρ]ομένη ται.  
 "Ἐκτωρ δ' ὡς οὐκ ἔνδ[ον ἀμύμον]α τόκμεν ἄκοιτιν,  
 375 ἔστη ἐπ' οὐδὸν ἰών, μ[ετὰ δὲ δ]ιμωῆσιν εἶπεν·  
 « εἰ δ' ἄγε μοι, δμοφαί νημεροτέ[α μωθ]ήσασθαι·  
 πῆ ἔπη Ἄνδρομάχη λ[ευκ]ώλενο[ς ἐκ] μεκάροιο·  
 ἦέ πη ἐς γαλῶν ἦ εἰν[ατέρ]ων ἐν[πέ]πλων,  
 ἦ ἐς Ἀθηναίης ἐξώ[ι]χεται, ἐνθά περ ἄλλαι  
 380 Τρωαί ἐνπλόκαμο[ι δειν]ῆν θεὸν ἰλάσκοντο; »  
 τὸν δ' αὐτ' ὀτρηνῆ ταμ[ί]η πρὸς[ ] μῦθον [ἔ]ειπεν·  
 « Ἐκτωρ, ἐπεὶ μάλ' ἄνωγ[ας ἀληθ]έα μωθήσασθαι,  
 οὐτέ πη ἐ[ς] γαλῶν· οὐ[τ'] εἰνατέ[ρων ἐν]πέπλων  
 οὐτ' ἐς Ἀ[θηνα]ίης ἐξοί[χ]εται, ἐνθά περ ἄλλαι  
 385 Τρωαί ἐνπλόκαμοι δ[ειν]ῆν θεὸν ἰλάσκονται,  
 ἀλ' ἐπὶ πόργον ἔβη μέγ[αν Ἰλίου], οὐρ[ε]κ' ἄκουσεν

## Column II

- [τείρεσθαι Τρῶας, μέγα δὲ] κρ[ά]τος εἶναι Ἀχαιῶν.  
 [ἦ μὲν δὴ] πρὸς τείχος ἐπειγομ[έ]ε[με]νη ἀφικάνι  
 [μαινομένη εἰκν]ία· φέ<ρει> δ' ἅμα φαῖδα τιθήνη. »  
 390 [ἦ ῥα γυνή] ταμίη· ὅ δ' ἀπέσσαντο δώματος Ἐκτωρ  
 [τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν] αὐτις ἐνκτιμένας κατ' ἀγνιάς.  
 [εὔτε πόλας ἴκα]νε διεροκόμενος μέγα ἄστυ,  
 [Σκαιάς, τῆ ἄρ' ἔ]μελλε διεξίμεναι πεδίον· ὄ' ε,  
 [ἔνθ' ἄλοχος] .λ. δωροῦ ἐν<αν>τίη ἦλθε θέουσα  
 395 [Ἄνδρομάχη, θυγάτηρ] μεγαλήτορος Ἡετίωνος,  
 Ἡετίων, δ[ς] ἔναιεν ὑπὸ Πλάγῳ ὑλ[η]έσ' σ' ἦ,  
 Θῆ[βη Ὑπο]πλακίη, Κιλίκεσ' ἄνδρες[σι]ν ἀνάστων·  
 τοῦ περ δὴ] θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος Ἡεδίωνο[ς].  
 ἦ οἱ ἔπει<τ' > ἦντησ', ἅμα δ' ἀμφίπολος κίεν αὐτ[ῆ]  
 400 παιδ' ἐπὶ κόλπῳ ἔχουσ' ἀταλάφ<ο>να, γήπιον αὐτῶς,  
 Ἐκτορίδην ἀ<γα>πητόν, [ἀ]λίγκιον ἀστέρι καλῶ,  
 τὸν ῥ' Ἐκτωρ καλέεσκε <Σκαμάν>δροιον, αὐτὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι  
 Ἀστράνακτα· οἶος γὰρ ἐροίκατο Ἴριον Ἐκτωρ.

## Column III

ἦ τοι ὁ μὲν μείδησ[ε]ν, ἰδὼν [ἐς] παῖδα σιω[πῆ]·  
 405 Ἀν[δ]ρομάχη δὲ οἱ ἄγχι παρ[ίστατο], δάκ[ρον] χέουσα,  
 ἔν [τ'] ἄρα [ο]ἰ φῶ χειρὶ, ἔπος τ' ἔ[φ]α[τ'] ἔκ τ' [ὀ]νό[μα]ζε·  
 « δαίμόν[ι]ε, φθί[σι]ς τὸ σὸν μένος, [οὐδ' ἐ]λαιίρεις  
 παιδὰ τε νηπίαχον καὶ ἐμὸν μ[υ]θόρο[ν], ἦ τάχα χήρη]  
 σεῦ ὄσ' εἶμαι· τάχα γάρ σε κατακταν[έ]ο[υ]σιν Ἀχαιοί]  
 410 πάντε[ς] ἐφο[ρ]μ[η]θέντε[ς]· ἐμ[ο]ὶ δέ κε κέρδιον εἴη]

- 373 r. γο<ό>ωσα (MSS.); r. τε.  
 374 The κ of οὐκ ex corr.; MSS. τέτμεν, the writer tried to correct this word, there is a stroke through οκ.  
 375 r. οὐδόν; MSS. ἔειπεν.  
 376 μωθήσασθαι like LMS.  
 377 r. ἔβη; r. μεγάροιο; the epsilon ex α.  
 379 r. ἐξοίχεται.  
 380 MSS. ἰλάσκονται.  
 382 r. Ἔκτορ.  
 383 MSS. γαλόων.  
 386 r. ἀλλ'; MSS. ἄκουσε.  
 388 r. ἀφικάνει.  
 389 r. παῖδα.  
 392 r. διερχόμενος.  
 394 We are not able to read the expected πολύδορος (or πολυέδρος), λ and δ both ex corr.; the η of ἦλθε ex λ.  
 395 The λ of μεγαλήτορος ex π.  
 396 r. Πλάκω.  
 397 The η of Ὑποπλακίη probably ex ας.  
 398 The last part of this line is a repetition of the last part of line 395; r. Ἡετιονος.  
 400 The pap. has ἐπὶ κόλπον like CHNQST, γρ. Harl. a.  
 401 The λ of καλῶ ex κ.  
 403 MSS. Ἀστυνάκτ'; the writer probably intended to write ἐρόετο, MSS. ἐρέετο; r. Ἰλιον.  
 405 There seems to have been a letter between Ἀνδρομάχη and δέ.  
 407 Most MSS. φθίσει σε.  
 408 MSS. ἐμ' ἄμμορον — τινές γρ. καὶ ἐμὸν μόρον An.  
 409 The writer meant to write ἔσομαι (MSS.) but mixed things up.

## 2) PSALM I, 1-3.

*P. Vindob. Gr. Inv. No. 25949.* A mid-brown papyrus, that has been evenly cut off on all sides. The length is 26.7 cms; on the left-hand side the papyrus is 15.4 cms in height; on the right-hand side 11.2 cms.

On the one side is a documentary text of 26 lines (concerning given *zoōti*; this text will be published elsewhere), running parallel with the fibre grain. On the other side this documentary text continues with another 4 lines which run this time against the grain of the fibres. To the right of these 4 lines someone has begun, parallel with the fibres, to write a letter in Coptic (cf. comment upon line 1). Without even finishing the customary opening formula of a Coptic letter, the same person (the letters are the same, as is the colour of the ink) has begun to copy out the first psalm. 10 cms from the left-hand edge there is a very pronounced vertical fold.

The text of the psalm (compared with the edition of A. RAHLFS, Stuttgart, 1962) shows no deviation from the accepted text, with perhaps one exception (cf. comment upon lines 3-4). The numerous spelling mistakes are a consequence of the way Greek was pronounced in the days when our papyrus was written.

What the purpose of this passage of the first psalm is, is no longer to be ascertained. That it served as an amulet (cf. P. COLLART, *Psaumes et amulettes*, Aegyptus 14, 1934, pp. 463 sqq.; IDEM, *Un papyrus Reinach inédit. Psaume 140 sur une amulette* (= P. Rein. II, 61), Aegyptus 13, 1933, pp. 208 sqq.; Cl. PRÉAUX, *Une Amulette Chrétienne aux Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles*, Chron. d'Ég. 10, 1935, pp. 361 sqq.) is not very likely, because our text breaks off in the middle of a word. We do not see any more in this text than a (devout) pastime. The place where the psalm text is written and the way in which the text is written (without the customary division into verses of the psalm — our writer carries straight on right to the very edge of the papyrus in the first 2 lines at any rate —) make it clear that our writer has used the empty space in a text that had already been written before his work. We can therefore safely assume that the documentary text was written on the papyrus prior to the text from the psalms.

The text derives, as we are able to deduce from the information contained in the documentary text, from the Heracleopolites. On the basis of the writing, the text must be dated to the vi<sup>th</sup> or vii<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. (cf. R. SEIDER, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri*, Stuttgart, 1967, Band I, no. 60). The writer of the psalm text, who is certainly not the same as the one who wrote the documentary text, was undoubtedly a Copt. This is apparent not only because of the fact that he first began to write a letter in Coptic, but in particular because of the

way in which he formed his ξ in lines 4 and 5 : a hori with a small arc above it.

In the list of Old Testament writings, preserved on papyrus and the like, which O. MONTEVECCHI gives in *La Papirologia*, Torino, 1973, pp. 296-309, 7 texts of the first psalm are mentioned.

1 ⲧ ⲗⲁⲑⲏ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲛⲗⲱⲃⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ

2 Μακ[ά]ριος ἀνήρ, ὃς οὐκ αἰπορεύθη ἐν βουλή ἄσεβων καὶ ἐν ὁδοῦ ἀμαρτω-

3 λῶ<ν> οὐκ ἔστιν καὶ ἐπὶ καθέδρα<ν> λειμῶ<ν> οὐκ αἰκάθεισεν, ἀλ<λ'> ἦ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ

4 κυρίου <τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ> μελετήσει ἡμέρας καὶ νηκτός. καὶ ἔσται ὡς τὸ ξύλον

5 <τὸ πεφτυμένον> παρὰ δάς διεξόδου<ς> τῶν ὑδάτων, ὃ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτοῦ τώσσει

6 ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ κ

2 γ. ἐπορεύθη ; γ. ὁδοῦ.

3 MSS. ἔστιν, probably not a new reading, but caused by itacistic reading of the text ; καθέδρα is also the reading of A, but the writer of this papyrus often leaves the final η unwritten ; γ. λοιμῶν ; γ. ἐκάθεισεν.

4 γ. νηκτός ; γ. τὸ ξύλον.

5 γ. τάς ; the ν of ὑδάτων ex η ; γ. τὸν καρπὸν ; γ. δώσει

#### Notes :

1) « For all matters » is the customary manner in which a Coptic text may begin (cf. for instance W. C. TILL, *Die koptischen Ostraka der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Wien, 1958, nos. 290/291). One expects a continuation with ⲧⲱⲛⲉ or something similar, but on the papyrus there seems to be an H (although the possibility of it being ⲧⲓ cannot be excluded) and an ⲁ set higher than the other letters for which we have no explanation. For the forms used, see W. E. CRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford, 1939, 653a. The Coptic text begins with a chrismon (cf. M. CRAMER, *Das altägyptische Lebenszeichen im christlichen (koptischen) Ägypten*, Wiesbaden, 1955), that is written straight through another letter. In front of it one can still recognize a (washed out?) my. Did our writer wish to begin his psalm text as early as this point?

2) Our writer has the tendency to leave out the final -ν (in line 5 he also leaves out the final sigma). For this phenomenon, see E. MAYSER,



*Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* (2nd ed. by H. SCHMOLL, Berlin, 1970) I, 1, pp. 180 sqq. and pp. 169 sqq.

3-4) Our writer has omitted the section after *νοῦλον*: from *ἐν τῷ νόμῳ νοῦλον* he has jumped to *ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ* (as the manuscripts show). This is a mistake which it would have been even easier to make, it seems to us, if his example had had the variant *νοῦλον* instead of *αὐτοῦ*; all the more so as he has written *νοῦλον* at the start of a new line. For the jumping from same to same see B. A. VAN GRONINGEN, *Traité d'Histoire et de Critique des Textes Grecs*, Amsterdam, 1963, pp. 94-95; A. DAIN, *Les Manuscrits*<sup>2</sup>, Paris, 1964, p. 48.

3) A CHRISTIAN PRAYER WITH A QUOTATION FROM II COR. 1, 3.

*P. Vindob. Gr. Inv. No. 39935*. A mid-brown papyrus whose origin is unknown. Height 9.2 cms, width 8 cms. The badly damaged text, which runs against the grain of the fibres, is cut off evenly only along the top edge. Two horizontal folds are visible.

In this case also it is not possible to decide with any certainty what kind of text we are concerned with (cf. the preceding papyrus). The interesting thing about this text, which was in all likelihood a prayer for something or other (cf. *ἐπάκουσον ἡμῶν* in line 3), is that it begins with a quotation from the second letter to the Corinthians.

MONTEVECCHI, *op. cit.*, pp. 309 sq., in her list of New Testament writings preserved on papyrus and the like, gives 8 passages from the 2nd letter to the Corinthians.

- 1 Ὁ πατήρ τῶν ἰκτειρωμῶν<sup>ν</sup>
- 2 καὶ θεός πάσης παρακλή-
- 3 σεως ἐπάκουσον ἡμῶν<sup>ν</sup>
- 4 σ|εβομένων|
- 5 ἀγαθότητος| καὶ μ|
- 6 ..α εἰς εἰς τη|
- 7 ..|.|.|.ην|

1 γ. τῶν ἰκτειρωμῶν; pap. ἰκτειρωμῶν      2 pap. θεός

Notes:

1. The *ν* of *ἰκτειρωμῶν*, like that of *ἡμῶν* in line 3, is rendered by a horizontal line above the omega.

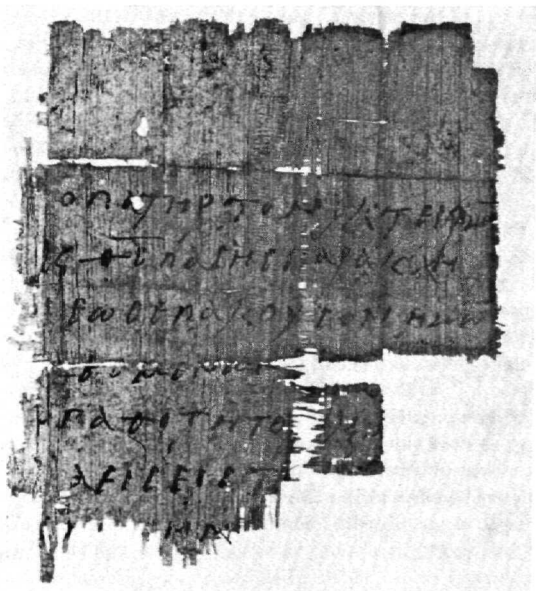


Fig. 1. — P. Vindob. Gr. Inv. No. 39935

2. As a *nomen sacrum* θεός is written ΘΣ, cf. A. H. R. E. PAAP, *Nomina Sacra in the Greek Papyri of the First Five Centuries A.D.* = P. L. Bat. VIII, Leyden, 1959; J. O'CALLAGHAN, « *Nomina Sacra* » in *Papyris graecis saeculi III neotestamentariis*, Analecta Biblica 46, Roma, 1970.

3. In all probability the goodness of God is meant by ἀγαθότης (cf. W. BAUER, *Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, Berlin-New York, 1971, s.v.). One can imagine that the lost part at the end of line 4 originally read: *σε διὰ τῆς*.

#### 4) MYTHOLOGICAL FRAGMENT.

P. Vindob. Gr. Inv. No. 26727. A light-brown papyrus of good quality, which is fairly evenly broken off on the right and left-hand edges, and the bottom edge likewise. On the top edge a small piece has dis-

appeared out of the papyrus. Height 14.5 cms; width 5.9 cms. The text, which is written in black ink, runs parallel with the fibres. In the centre of the papyrus some horizontal fibres (1.6 cms) have worked loose from the vertical layer underneath and been lost. As appears from the traces of ink in line 16 these fibres were probably (at least partially) written upon. The empty margin below (1.5 cms) makes one believe that the papyrus at the bottom edge is complete. It cannot be made out if there was more than one column on this papyrus. The reverse side is not written upon.

Two different hands are to be distinguished on the papyrus: the hand of the actual text and the hand which has made a note in the margin at the bottom edge of the papyrus. The hand that has written the first 23 lines can be dated to the 2nd cent. A.D. (cf. W. SCHUBART, *Papyrus Graeci Berolinenses*, Bonn, 1911, no. 30a and no. 31).

The lines 4, 8, 9, 21 and 22 do not run as far as the right-hand edge, but are only partially covered with script. This could indicate that this papyrus does not tell a continuous story, but that we have to do with short extracts or notes.

A kindred text has been published by S. DARIS, *P. Med. Inv. 123*, Proceedings of the Twelfth Intern. Congr. of Papyrology, Toronto, 1970, pp. 97 sqq.

1 (1 <sup>e</sup> main)	] . λ ι γ ρ [
2	] δ ω ν [ . . ] α . ν ῶ μ φ η [ .
3	] τ η ς β ῆ [ α σ α ] μ ἑ ν η ς ὑ π [
4	] ἀ π ε σ φ ᾶ γ η [
5	] τ ε ρ ε ς . α ἴ τ ο ῖ ς θ ε ο ῖ ς μ [
6	] α ς κ α ἰ Σ α τ ῦ ρ ο υ ς ἐ γ ἑ ν ῆ ς α ν [
7	] . α γ λ α ν η ο υ κ α λ ο ῦ σ α . [
8	] μ η [
9	] . ν ὀ ν ὄ μ α τ α [
10	] φ ω ν ὀ ν ὄ μ α τ α τ ῶ ν [ .
11	] γ ε ν ο μ ἑ ν ο ν α ἰ κ α λ ο ῦ ν τ α ι
12	] . Α ἰ γ λ η Ἐ ὑ φ ρ ὄ ν η π α ν [
13	Λ ε υ κ ι π τ ] ἰ δ ε ς Ἀ μ φ ι θ ἑ ᾶ ς κ α ἰ Λ ε υ κ ι π τ ο υ
14	Κ ᾶ σ τ ω ρ ] κ α ἰ Π ο λ υ δ ε ὑ κ η ς ἔ σ χ ο ν [
15	] . Φ ῶ ἰ β η Ἰ ἰ ᾶ ρ α Ἀ ρ σ ι ν ὄ η [
16	] . [
17	Θ ε ] σ τ ῖ ο υ κ α ἰ τ ῆ ς Λ ε υ ρ ω τ ο ς λ ε [

18 ][ο]υ θυγάτηρ μὲν Ὑπερμν[ήστρα  
 19 ]. υἱός δὲ Ἴφικλος Ἐΐπιπος  
 20 Πληξιππος Ἐδρόπυλος Ἀραρ[  
 21 ]αέθων Προκόων [ ]  
 22 Οἰνό]τροποι [ ]  
 23 ]δε Ἀνίου τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.[ ]  
 24 (2<sup>e</sup> main) vaπ..

3 pap. ⲉⲡ[

15 pap. ἰλαρα

18 pap. ὕπερμν[

The fact that we are concerned with a mythological subject becomes clear through the mention of a number of names of persons. It is less easy to determine which passage of mythology our text refers to. A number of persons (cf. comment on lines 7 and 17-21) are completely unknown. The lines 1-12 give no definite clue to the subject. In lines 13-15, the Leucippides are spoken of and in the lines 17-21, the Thestiades are mentioned. In the framework of Greek mythology these two families are linked together by the mythographs that have been preserved (cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *The Rejuvenation Cure of Pelias*, ZPE 9, 1972, pp. 104 sqq.) only in connection with the hunt of the Calydonian boar. Against that, however, is the fact that a number of the persons mentioned are not linked with this story anywhere in the Greek and/or Latin tradition which has come down to us. If we assume that we have to do with the Calydonian hunt, a link can be established between the majority of the persons mentioned. It is possible that we have here a version of the story which has not been otherwise preserved for us.

The wording of the text creates the impression of wanting to give brief information about mythological persons and their genealogies, such as those which we find, amongst others, in Hyginus (cf. J. Schwartz, *Une source papyrologique d'Hygin le mythographe*, Studi in Onore di A. Calderini e R. Paribeni, II, pp. 151 sqq. = Pack<sup>2</sup> 2452).

The saga concerning the Calydonian hunt is broadly as follows (cf. A. Surber, *Die Meleagersage: eine historisch-vergleichende Untersuchung zur Bestimmung der Quellen*, Diss. Zürich, 1880; PW-RE XV, s.v. Meleagros, Sp. 446-488 (van der Kolf), W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Bd. II, 2, Sp. 2591 sqq. s.v. Meleagros (E. Kuhnert): at a harvest festival, the king of the Aetolian Calydon, Oineus, offers hecatombs to the gods, but in doing so passes over Artemis who in revenge sends a wild boar, which

commits great ravage in the country. Meleager, the son of Oineus and Thestius' daughter Althaia, assembles an array of heroes, including Asclepius, Leucippus, the Dioscuri and the virgin Atalanta. In the course of the hunt, the animal is captured and killed. According to one particular tradition, a fight between Aetolians and Curetes, the inhabitants of Pleuron, breaks out over the boar's hide. During this struggle some sons of Thestius lose their lives (cf. *Schol. Iliad* IX, 529; *Apollod. Bibl.* I, 8, 3. According to another version, Meleager wishes to give the boar's hide to Atalanta and in a fight kills some of his uncles: *Apollod. Bibl.* I, 8, 3; *Hgg. Fab.* 174).

A previously published papyrus that refers to the Calydonian hunt is M. PAPATHOMOPOULOS, *Un poème élégiaque inédit sur Méléagre et le sanglier de Calydon*, *Recherches de Papyrologie*, II, 1962, pp. 99 sqq. = Pack<sup>2</sup> 1756.

Notes :

1-4) It is impossible to establish how many letters on the right and left-hand edge have been lost.

*Νόμψη* (line 2) could well refer to Atalanta, who is often referred to in this way. According to most sources (*Apollod. Bibl.* I, 8, 2; *Pausanias* VIII, 45, 2, *Ovid. Met.* VIII, 379) she strikes the boar the first blow, after which Meleager deals the beast its death blow. *Ἀπασφάγη* (line 4) could refer to the boar and *βιασαμένης* (line 3) to Atalanta (the name is possibly partially hidden in the lacuna at the beginning of line 3); *δων* (line 2) may be a part of *Καλυδών*.

5-8) In line 5 the restoration *μη]τέρες* or *θυγα]τέρες* seems obvious. Concerning the birth of Satyrs in combination with other mythological figures, little is known. The only author in whom we find something about this is Hesiod (frag. 123 MERKELBACH-WEST), who relates that the daughter of Phoroneus (cf. ROSCHER, *op. cit.*, Bd. III, 2, Sp. 2435 sqq. (WEIZSÄCKER)) had five daughters who brought Satyrs, Nymphs and Curetes into the world. The names of some children of Phoroneus, not mentioned by Hesiod, we find in *Schol. Eurip. Orestes* 1246: *Φορωνεύς · ἴσχει δὲ παῖδας ἐκ Πειθοῦς Αἰγικλέα · Ἄπιν · Εὐρώπαν · Νιόβην*. In the light of the Hesiod fragment the restoration *θυγα]τέρες* seems more probable. At the end of line 5 there seems to have been a form of the verb *μειγνύναι*. Basing oneself on the Hesiod fragment, a conjecture can be made with ]ας in line 7, making it *Κουρη]τας*

(cf. ROSCHER, *op. cit.*, Bd. II, 1, Sp. 1588-1591 (IMMISCH)) or  $\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\varphi\lambda\alpha\varsigma$  (cf. PW-RE XVII, Sp. 1528-1530 (F. HEICHELHEIM)). According to some sources (*Hom. Iliad* IX, 529 sqq.; *Bacch. Epinic.* V; *Antoninus Liberalis* II), a struggle between the Aetolians and the Curetes broke out after the killing of the boar over the possession of the animal's hide. If we here restore *Κονοῖτας* ( $\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\varphi\alpha\varsigma$  is of course also not impossible; indeed either of the two words can have been in the lacuna) the connection between these lines and the Calydonian hunt can be established. Lines 7 and 8 present difficulties, although all letters (with the exception of the second omikron of *οκκαλεουσα*, which is somewhat damaged on the left-hand side) have been read with complete certainty. One expects here a summary of the « daughters » who in relation with the gods brought forth Satyrs, (Nymphs and Curetes). If in line 8 *-μη* forms the ending of a proper name (with a superfluous iota adscriptum; possibly instead of an iota subscriptum) we could restore these letters, obtaining  $\text{Ἰφθίμη}$ . Iphthime, the daughter of Dorus, is known, with Hermes, to have begotten Satyrs (cf. ROSCHER, *op. cit.*, Bd. II, 1, Sp. 317 (STOLL)). The letters *αγλανη* (line 7) may form either the ending of a female name, or be themselves a proper name. A name Aglaue (or a name ending in the letters *αγλανη*) is not known to us. Theoretically one can split *οκκαλεουσα* into *οὐκ ἀλέουσα* or *οὐ καλέουσα*. In the first case it escapes us absolutely what the verb *ἀλεῖν* = « grind finely », can signify here; in the second case we note (and this also holds if we read *οὐκ ἀλέουσα*) that the verbal form *καλέουσα* is not contracted, while it is in line 11. We would suggest, tentatively, that *αγλανη* and *οκκαλέουσα* should be considered as thus far unknown female names. In these lines then, women would be mentioned who brought forth Satyrs, Nymphs and Curetes. If the text had remained fully preserved these speculations would perhaps have been unnecessary and maybe a minor correction (r. *οὐκ ἀλέ<γ>ουσα?*) would have been sufficient to restore the context.

The traces of ink following *οκκαλέουσα* are difficult to explain. They are most likely a trema and the upper part of an ypsilon.

9-12) In view of the way in which these lines have been written on the papyrus, it seems correct to interpret them as a coherent whole. Problems are raised by the juxtaposition of the names Aigle and Euphrone. Aigle is mentioned as being one of the daughters of Asclepius (*Schol. Aristoph. Plutus* 701 (ed. DÜBNER); *Pliny N. H.* XXXV, 137) who himself took part in the hunt of the Calydonian boar (cf. *Hgg. Fab.*

173). In the same scholion *Πανάχεια* is named as another daughter of Asclepius. *Παν* at the end of line 12 could be restored to *Πανάχεια*. The difficulty is, however, that nowhere in the tradition is Euphrone mentioned as being a daughter of Asclepius. A different approach is to see in Aigle the wife of Helios and the mother of the Charites. One of the Charites bears the name Euphrosyne (cf. ROSCHER, *op. cit.*, Bd. I, 1, Sp. 153 (ROSCHER); *Antimachus* in *Pausanias* IX, 35, 5). Euphrone is also identified with Euphrosyne, the daughter of Erebus and Nyx (cf. *Hyg. Fab. Praef.* 1). Euphrone/Euphrosyne may also be an euphemistic name for Nyx. We could then complete *παν* at the end of line 12 to *Πανδία*, the daughter of Zeus and Selene (cf. *Hom. Hymn Eiz Selēnēn*, XXXII, 15; *Hyg. Fab. Praef.* 28. *Πανδία* is sometimes used as an epithet for Selene herself). Aigle could be understood in this connection as a personification of sunlight (more probable than moonlight; cf. *LSJ*<sup>9</sup> *αἴγλη* = « the light of the sun or the moon »). In the latter explanation a link with the Calydonian hunt is non-existent. We consider it more plausible that Euphrone is the name of a daughter of Asclepius which has thus far not been known to us.

13-15) In line 15 we come across a number of female names, which belong to the daughters of Leucippus. At the end of line 13 we read *λευ*. These facts and the mention of (Castor) and Polydeuces (line 14) prompt one to restore *Λευκικπιδες* (cf. ROSCHER, *op. cit.*, Bd. II, 2, Sp. 1988-1999 (E. KUHNERT/STOLL)). According to the tradition (*Schol. Lycophron Alex.* 511) Leucippus was married to Philodice. Amphithea (a name that we encounter several times on various occasions in the mythological tradition; cf. ROSCHER, *op. cit.*, Bd. I, 1, Sp. 317 (STOLL)) is nowhere mentioned as the wife of Leucippus. About the relationship between the Dioscuri and the Leucippides there are various traditions. What is certain is that there was a struggle between the Dioscuri and the Aphares, Idas and Lynceus (Apharus was a brother of Leucippus). According to one tradition they joined battle because the Dioscuri were insulted by the Aphares during a banquet. When the Dioscuri then stole the cattle of the Aphares, a fight broke out in which Castor was slain. In a subsequent combat Polydeuces killed both the Aphares in revenge. In this version the daughters of Leucippus, Phoebe and Hilaeira, are the wives of the Dioscuri. Another tradition has it that the Aphares are engaged to Phoebe and Hilaeira (cf. P. Oxy. XXXIV 2389, frag. 4 = *Alcman*, frag. 8 PAGE) and that the two girls are abducted by the Dioscuri. Leucippus (*Hyg. Fab.*

173; *Ovid. Met.* VIII, 306) as well as the Dioscuri and the Apharides (*Ovid. Met.* VIII, 304; *Apollod. Bibl.* I, 8, 2) take part in the Calydonian hunt. The third daughter of Leucippus named here, Arsinoë, is probably mentioned for the sake of completeness (other daughters were perhaps referred to in the lacunae). A direct link between her and the Calydonian hunt cannot be made. What is known about her is that she was married to Apollo and gave birth to Asclepius (cf. ROSCHER, *op. cit.*, Bd. I, 1, Sp. 557 (STOLL)).

17-21) According to tradition (cf. ROSCHER, *op. cit.*, Bd. V, Sp. 779-781 (HÖFER)), Thestius was the son of Agenor and the grandson of Pleuron, the eponymous hero of the town in Aetolia that bears the same name. His wives are named as Deidameia, Laophonte (a daughter of Pleuron, cf. ROSCHER, *op. cit.*, Bd. II, 2, Sp. 1849 (STOLL)), Leucippe and Eurythemis (in P. Oxy. XXVIII 2481, frag. 5b, col. III, 9 a certain Eurythemiste is spoken of; cf. the note of LOBEL on line 34 sq.). If we interpret our text as it stands on the papyrus, yet another new wife of Thestius is mentioned. The name Leuron does not occur, however, in the Greek onomastica (indeed female names ending in *-ων* scarcely occur at all; cf. W. PAPE-G. BENSELER, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, Bd. I<sup>3</sup>, p. XX). We consider it probable that the text in this place is corrupt and that it must be corrected as follows: τῆς < Π > λευρῶνος. One would be inclined to write τῆς < Λαοφόντης Π > λευρῶνος, but then this would be in contradiction with the words of *Apollod. Bibl.* I, 7, 10: Θεστίω δὲ ἐξ Ἐδρωθέμιδος τῆς Κλεοβορίας ἐγένοντο θυγατέρες μὲν Ἀλθαία Αἰθρα Ὑπερμνήστρα, ἀρρενες δὲ Ἴφικλος Ἐύπειρος Πλήξιππος Ἐδρόπυλος. For the children of Thestius, compare ROSCHER, *op. cit.*, Bd. V, Sp. 777 (HÖFER). The use of the singular θυγάτηρ μὲν is striking (line 18; we may assume that the other daughters of Thestius are mentioned in the lacunae. In any case Althaia, who was married to Meleager, and as such forms a further link with the Calydonian hunt) as is εἰδὼς δέ (line 19) although more than one name follows. Nowhere in the tradition did we find the name beginning with Αἰαν[ ], nor that ending in [αεθων nor Procoon mentioned as sons of Thestius. In *Schol. T Hom. Iliad* IX, 567 as also in P. Oxy. XXIII 2359, 4 (= *Stesichorus* frag. 45, 4-5 PAGE) and P. Ashmol. 20 (= *Bacchyl. Dithyr.* 25, 29 SNELL-MÄHLER) we come across the proper name Procaon (with Clytius as his brother). Procaon and Clytius are, in the places referred to, sons of Thestius. Procaon and Procoon are most probably one and the same person (the note in the



critical apparatus to the T scholia (ed. E. MAASS): « *a non certum* » is missing in the edition of H. ERBSE). The letters -*αεθωv* can, according to F. DORNSEIFF-B. HANSEN, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, Berlin, 1957, only be restored to the proper name *Φαέθωv*. On the basis of the correlation in meaning between the names Clytius (cf. ROSCHER, *op. cit.*, Bd. II, I, Sp. 1247 (STOLL)) and Phaethon we may possibly identify the bearers of these names.

22-23) The Oinotropoi were the daughters of Anius, the son and priest of Apollo (cf. ROSCHER, *op. cit.*, Bd. I, Sp. 352 (OERTEL); G. M. SIFAKIS, *Studies in the History of the Hellenistic Drama*, London, 1967, p. 7, note 1). A connection between this family and the Calydonian hunt appears nowhere in the sources. After the alpha of Anius there is a small vertical line on the papyrus, the meaning of which escapes us. Perhaps it was intended to indicate a division of the words and was placed here mistakenly.

24) The meaning of the letters written in a different hand in the empty space beneath the main text eludes us. The letters slant upwards towards the right. Perhaps the last letter was raised out of line. It does not seem possible to read a proper name (of the author?).

##### 5) LISTS WITH WORKS OF CLASSICAL AUTHORS AND UNIDENTIFIED LITERARY TEXT

*P. Vindob. Gr.* Inv. No. 39966. A dark-brown papyrus, which has been cut off evenly only on the right-hand edge. It measures 37.3 cms in width and 26 cms in height. 6 vertical folds are visible. 8.5 cms from the right is a *κόλλημα*. The papyrus, which consists of (at least) 2 separate papyri pasted to each other, is written upon on either side. The side not published here contains a passage from a document (written against the grain of the fibres) on which traces of 9 lines have been preserved. The text of this part of the papyrus is at right angles to the text of the following document (a text that is identical to *P. Lond.* II 256d (pp. 97-98)). It is striking that on the reverse side of the London papyrus a (sub-)literary text also occurs; cf. *P. Lond. Lit.* 138) written in 2 columns (24 and 12 lines long respectively). We shall publish both these documentary texts along with a number of other Viennese texts in our forthcoming *Fünfunddreissig Wiener Papyri*. The 2 papyri have been glued to each other in such a way that, on the side that we publish here, all the fibres run in the same direction. On this side 3 texts have

been written by 2 different persons: column 1 (10 × 6 cms) is placed above left; column 2 (6.5 × 7.5 cms), which is by the same hand as column 1 and at an interval of some 20 cms from column 1, is set above right; column 3 (9 × 4 cms), of which the text is placed upside down in relation to column 2, is below right. All texts are written against the grain of the fibres. Later on, a demotic text was inscribed diagonally across column 1, but columns 2 and 3 have been spared. The demotic text, written with a very thick nib and strong black ink, virtually effaces the text of column 1 which is written with a fine nib. The handwriting of column 3 shows a resemblance to that illustrated in plate 37 in E. G. TURNER, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, Oxford, 1971, that of columns 1 and 2 with that illustrated in plate 15 of the same volume. We date the texts on this side to around the middle of the 1st cent. A.D. This is in accordance with the dating of the texts on the other side: the first text is dated to Hathyr 15 of the year 40 in the reign of Augustus (= 11.11.10 A.D.); the second text to Hathyr 1 of the year 42 in the reign of Augustus (= 28.10.12 A.D.). Cf. E. G. TURNER, *Recto and Verso*, JEA 40, 1954, pp. 102 sqq.

## Column I:

- 1 ].....[ ]ε̄ ζ̄ θ̄ ῑ κ̄ λ̄[  
 2 ]... 'Ομήρ[ου] 'Ι[λιά(δοος)] ]... ]η̄ θ̄ [ῑ] κ̄ λ̄ μ̄ ν̄ ξ̄ ο̄ π̄ ρ̄ σ̄ τ̄[  
 3 ].. Καλ<λ>ιμᾶχ[ου  
 4 ]ι]ρδᾶρον[ ]... δε[.]... ια. Πρῶσοδιω]ν  
 5 traces  
 6 'Ησιόδου Γυναίκων ]γ̄ [δ̄] ε̄ "Εργ' α' καὶ 'Ημέραι  
 Θεογ[ο(νία)]  
 7 ]φους ...[ ]... σ̄  
 8 ].....αγ.....'ω'( ) traces

## Column II:

- 9 ]'Ομήρ[ου]  
 10 ξ̄ ο̄ π̄ ρ̄ σ̄ τ̄ ] ν̄ φ̄ χ̄ ψ̄ ω̄ | 'Οδυσ(σειας) α[.....] κ̄ λ̄ μ̄ ν̄  
 11 ξ̄ ο̄ π̄ ρ̄ σ̄ τ̄ ν̄ φ̄ χ̄ ψ̄ ω̄ γ̄ δ̄ 'Ησιόδου [Γυν]αικῶ(ν)  
 12 α β {ε}ε Θεογο(νία) "Εργ' α' καὶ 'Ημέραι Καλ<λ>ιμᾶχ(ου)  
 13 Αιτίω(ν) ᾱ . [.] "Υμ(ναι) [ 'Επ]ιγρᾶμ[ματα]

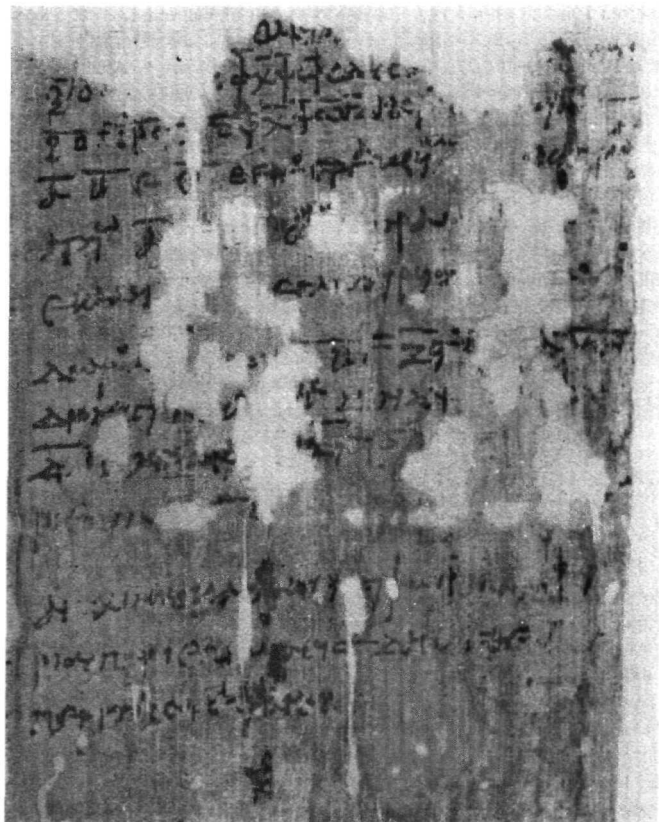


Fig. 2. — *P. Vindob. Gr. Inv. No. 39966, col. II.*

- 14 Ἐκάλῃ Ἐγλογαὶ Πητ[όρω]...  
 15 δωρο(ν) [...].ων [α] β̄ γ̄ ζ̄ η̄ θ̄ [κ] λ̄ μ̄ ρ̄  
 16 Διονυσί[ο]ν ...'.'( ) [...]. μ'( ) Αἰλιαν[οῦ]...  
 17 δ..... δισ[...].β̄ δ̄ η̄ ..δ.( ) [ Πε-  
 18 ρὶ ἐπιμ[ονῆ]ς.

- 19 Αἰσχίνου Κατὰ Κτ[η]σιφῶν τ'(ος) .ατ[ο]  
 20 ρίου Περι ἐπιμονῆς Δημοσθέ[ου]ς  
 21 Περι τοῦ στεφάνου

Column III (2<sup>e</sup> main):

- 23 ....[  
 24 .].θη[  
 25 .]ιω[σ]  
 26 .]δε.[  
 27 αἰμιον[  
 28 τοθηω[  
 29 δενε.....  
 30 κακω[ν  
 31 ετους  
 32 ρουσων  
 33 ταρπ.[  
 34 κεινυμενος  
 35 δετεκει.κωνς  
 36 ηλκου

Columns 1 and 2 are clearly to be distinguished from column 3, both as far as the nature of the handwriting, its position on the papyrus and also its contents are concerned. Column 3 consists of a number of words which are placed beneath one another (probably not more than one word per line). In front of this column, which is a good example of MAAS' Law (cf. TURNER, *Greek Manuscripts*... p. 6), about 1 cm has been left free. Although it is not possible to establish it with certainty, we consider it improbable that these words are explanations of words which might have been written on the left-hand side on a part of the papyrus that is now missing. We have been unable to find an explanation for this column. Prof. C. J. RUIJGH (Amsterdam) thinks

it not inconceivable that the text of this column is to be associated with a work of a medical nature.

The texts of columns 1 and 2, which were written by the same hand, belong together also as regards their content. In both, a number of (known and unknown) classical authors and works by them are enumerated. The big question is what the purpose of these lines was. As a result of a similar Florentine papyrus published by M. Norsa, *Elenco di opere letterarie*, *Aegyptus* 2, 1921, pp. 17-20, the most divergent explanations have been proffered (cf. in latest instance P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Einige Bemerkungen über einen Katalog mit Werken klassischer Schriftsteller*, *Aegyptus* 44, 1964, pp. 20-25. A discussion of previously expressed opinions is also to be found here). Without wishing to exclude other possibilities, we consider it as the most probable explanation that we have here to do with catalogues of books belonging to a particular person or body. Our strongest argument for this is that each book of Homer is separately enumerated (books 3 and 4 of the *Odyssey* later on turned out to be present nonetheless in the library, cf. line 11). Also the fact that not all parts of certain works by certain authors are present (only books 1, 2 and 5 of the five volume work of Hesiod's *Κατάλογος Γυναικῶν*, lines 11/12, and only 3 volumes of the four volume work *Αἴτια* of Callimachus, line 13), points in this direction, as does the probable arrangement of the books according to subject matter (cf. the space left between lines 18 and 19). In the two enumerations neither the sequence, nor the writers mentioned with their works, nor the number of books present, are alike. If our supposition that we have to do with catalogues is correct, then we must assume that two different collections have been catalogued.

*Notes :*

The fact that the demotic text has been written straight through the Greek one, and the damage to the papyrus at this place, make it not only impossible to decipher certain places, but make the reading at certain points extremely dubious, as may be seen from the dots under many letters.

1) It is possible that one or more lines used to precede our line 1.

Above ι and κ the small dash, which indicates that the letters are a number, has been lost.

2) After the  $\theta$  a trace of the number dash can only be seen above the  $\lambda$ .

If our reading  $\text{᾽Ομήρου Ἰλιάδος}$  at the beginning of this line is correct, one wonders whether no volume of the *Odyssey* was present in the library at all, or whether the volumes of the *Odyssey* which were present were enumerated in line 1. In the latter case the repetition of the author's name is striking.

The trace of the letter that has been preserved after the big lacuna points to a  $\varphi$ .

3) At the end of this line we would favour the reading of one of Callimachus' works beginning with *Περί* (cf. *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. ADLER, s. v. *Καλλίμαχος* and the edition of R. PFEIFFER), but the traces are too faint to provide any certainty.

4) It is well known that Pindar wrote *Προσόδια*, of which very little has been preserved (cf. P. Oxy. XXVI 2441 = Pack<sup>2</sup> 1370; B. SNELL, *Pindari Carmina cum Fragmentis*, Vol. II, Leipzig, 1964, fr. 89(a)-94). We are unable to decipher the work which preceded the *Prosodia*. Where the writer, when a certain number of columns of a certain work are to hand, puts the title of the work in the genitive (and then indicates the volumes available), we may assume, seeing that that does not occur here, that the work in question either consisted of a single volume, or was present in full in the library.

It is not certain that the title of this work began with an  $\epsilon$ , because there seems to have been a small number dash above the epsilon, which would imply that the work mentioned in the first place consisted of (at least) 5 volumes; yet as appears from W. SCHMID-O. STÄHLIN, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, I, 2, München, 1934, p. 575, there are no known works of Pindar consisting of 5 or more volumes.

6) The  $\alpha$  of  $\text{Ἔργα}$  is unnecessarily raised above the  $\eta$  (our writer abbreviates by placing the last letter he writes slightly above the rest) something which also occurs in line 12.

7) The letter before  $\varphi\omicron\nu\zeta$  could be an  $\eta$ . We have not been able to trace the name of the writer. We can only say that he wrote a work that consisted of (at least) 18 books.

9) At the end of this line there is enough space to place  $\text{Ἰλιάδος}$  and the figures  $\bar{\alpha}$  up to and including  $\bar{\nu}$ .

10) Between the  $\xi$  and the  $\omicron$  there is the « tail » of a long letter from the line above.

Behind the  $\bar{\omega}$  is a horizontal dash to separate the Odyssey from the preceding work.

In the lacuna between  $\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{\kappa}$  there is sufficient space for the figures  $\bar{\beta}$ , and  $\bar{\varepsilon}$  up to and including  $\bar{\iota}$  to be placed.

11) The omission of *Katálogos* (-γοί) before *Γυναικῶν* is striking, something which in all probability also occurs in line 6.

12) The third letter on this line looks like an epsilon (without a number dash), but could be meant to be a  $\theta$  (cf. the theta of *Θεογονία*). The writer believed that only volumes 1 and 2 of the Catalogus Gynaicon were present in the library, and began with the theta of Theogonia, and then discovered the 5th volume of the Catalogus Gynaicon. Seeing that the third letter of this line is somewhat fainter than the others, it could be that the writer made an attempt to wash it out.

14) A work with the title *Ἐκλογαὶ Ῥητόρων* by Callimachus is not known to us. In frag. 430 PFEIFFER (cf. also frags. 431 and 432) we read: *Καλλιμάχος ἐν τῇ τῶν ῥητορικῶν ἀναγραφῇ* (v. l.: ἀπογραφῇ). These *Ἐκλογαὶ Ῥητόρων* could be a subsection of the *Πίνακες τῶν ἐν πάσῃ παιδείᾳ διαλαμψάντων καὶ ὧν συνέγραψαν ἐν βιβλίῳ; κ̄ καὶ ρ̄*

15) The name of the writer mentioned here, part of which was most probably on the previous line together with the work written by him, which consisted of (at least) 13 books, we are unable to decipher.

16) Seeing it is no longer possible to read the name of the work mentioned here, we cannot say which Dionysius (among the large number of possibilities) is here in question.

If the name *Αἰλιανῶ* (the same name is possibly also to be read in line 8) has been correctly read by us, we must assume that it concerns a writer who is not known to us. The only writer of that name who is known to us is Claudius Aelianus, but, seeing he lives in the 2nd cent. A.D., while our texts seem to have been written around 50 A.D., he must be left out of consideration. The reading is so dubious, that we may also consider *Αἰ[σ]λίδα* a possibility.

19-20) Difficulties are raised by the work *Περὶ ἐπιμονῆς* (as also in lines 17/18) of a writer whose name ends in -οίου. The traces at the end of line 19 will only permit the conclusion that no other work of Aeschines followed here, none at least of those known to us (the letter before the alpha may be a pi, but the reading *Παραπροσβείας* is excluded). *Ἐπιμονή* is a figure of speech which consists of persisting with a particular point and various of the writers included by L. SPENGLER in his *Rhetores Graeci* devoted one or more paragraphs to it (cf. *Index*

*Rhetoricus* s.v.), but a separate book on this subject is not known. The placing of this work between Aeschines' speech « Against Ctesiphon » and Demosthenes' speech « On the Crown », which are closely connected with each other (the title of Demosthenes' speech « On the Crown » is, in most manuscripts Ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου; cf. F. BLASS, *Die attische Beredsamkeit*, III, 1, Leipzig, 1893, pp. 419 sqq.; III, 2, Leipzig, 1898, pp. 208 sq.), may put us on the track. It is well known that Aeschines had no success with his speech against Ctesiphon, that he did not even obtain one fifth of the votes and that, as a direct result of this, he left his native soil (cf. BLASS, *op. cit.*, III, 2, pp. 162 sq.). Ἐπιμονή can also, however, have the meaning of « residence ». It is not to be excluded that we have to do here with a speech by an unknown orator who was dealing with (the effects of) exile.

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