

PAPYRI

GREEK & EGYPTIAN

EDITED BY VARIOUS HANDS
IN HONOUR OF
ERIC GARDNER TURNER

ON THE OCCASION OF HIS
SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY

(P. Turner)

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PREFACE

No scholar of this generation has done more for papyrology, and for the international collaboration of which papyrologists have always been proud, than Eric Turner. Accordingly, some fifty of his colleagues from some ten different countries have collaborated to honour him with a collection of papyrus texts. The volume is offered to him, on his seventieth birthday, with all respect and affection.

The General Editors record their thanks to the contributors; to Mrs Helen Cockle, for compiling the bibliography and the Greek indexes; to Dr W. J. Tait and Dr C. C. Walters, for making the demotic and Coptic indexes; to the Egypt Exploration Society, which has published the volume; and to the managers, readers, and compositors of the Oxford University Press, who have produced so handsome a book with such exemplary speed.

P. J. PARSONS

J. R. REA

General Editors,

Graeco-Roman Memoirs

September 1980

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305

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

I 'HESIOD', *Γυναικῶν Κατάλογος*

PLeid. inv. 502-9

fr. 1 11.2 × 34 cm

Second century AD

Plates I-III

Among the papyri acquired by the Leiden Papyrological Institute in 1971 there were several fragments which obviously belonged to one and the same roll. Prof. B. A. van Groningen recognized the text as part of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*; but circumstances forced him to give up the idea of publishing it. Now, by the generous permission of Prof. van Groningen, and of Prof. P. W. Pestman, Director of the Leiden Institute, we offer a first publication of these pieces to Eric Turner, in the hope that he will find something of interest both in the content and in the format.

There were originally eight fragments. These have been reduced by combination to four. Of these, fr. 1-3 represent three consecutive columns, with more than a hundred lines of writing:

col. i = fr. 1 col. i (= inv. 509+506+505+503)

col. ii = fr. 2 (inv. 504) + fr. 1 col. ii + fr. 3 col. i (inv. 502).

(There is no physical join between fr. 2 and fr. 3. But in 51-2 and 55 the sense, and the overlap with Hes. fr. 11 MW, make the alignment absolutely certain.)

col. iii = fr. 3 col. ii (inv. 508).

That col. ii follows immediately on col. i is strongly suggested by the content (the marriage of Perimede occurs at the foot of col. i, her descendants in the upper part of col. ii; if a whole column is missing in between, this branch of the family must have occupied sixty lines; but that is too much), and confirmed by a plausible though by no means certain fibre-join between fr. 1 and fr. 2 at the level of line 41 (see plate). That col. iii follows immediately on col. ii is guaranteed by the physical join. Fr. 4 (inv. 507⁴) remains isolated; we suspect that it belongs in the upper part of col. iii, as lines 83-9 or thereabouts. 15

This was a magnificent roll, with a height of at least 34 cm, and columns of 37 or 38 lines. Upper margin 2.8 cm, written height 27 cm, lower margin 4.5 cm; minimum intercolumnium 3-3.5 cm. We have not detected any sheet-joins.¹ The writing runs parallel with the fibres. The back is blank.

The hand is a fine example of the 'informal round' type,² to be compared with the London *Hyperides* (C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, no. 13b) and assigned to the

¹ On the heights of rolls, and the widths of their sheets, see E. G. Turner, *Typology of the Early Codex* 48; *Recto and Verso* 61.

² E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, p. 24. So far as we can determine from published photographs, there is no other fragment of the *Catalogue* written by this scribe.

second century, earlier rather than later. The scribe always writes iota adscript when required. He always omits an elided vowel, and almost always an elision-mark is written (exception, fr. 4. 7). He generally adds movable nu at line-ends (48, 51, 64, 72; exceptions, 60? 70?).

The text carries occasional accents, breathings, and diaereses. Some of these, most of the elision-marks, and the high stops at line-ends, seem to be the work of the original scribe, who also corrected errors of his own by overwriting or deletion (34 $\mu\eta\llbracket\upsilon\rrbracket$, 70?). Other correctors followed. We can perhaps distinguish three writers, though as usual without great confidence. M² used paler ink and more cursive letter forms; he corrected small-scale errors and omissions (10, 22, 38, 70?; 18, 90?) and added accents (50; 22 he apparently corrected his own accent, and wrote the deletion-points). M³, with a thin pen and darker ink, added breathings (33, 47, 51, fr. 4. 4), diaereses (47, 52) and elision-marks (47). M⁴, a clumsy writer with a thick pen and blacker ink, noted an omitted line (above 39) and two variants (62), deleted a superfluous letter (49), perhaps added an accent (5?) and an elision-mark (67?).

The text itself must come from near the beginning of the *Catalogue*,¹ since it deals with the three sons of Hellen (Hes. fr. 9 MW): Dorus, fr. 1-3. 1-19; Xuthus, 20-4; Aeolus, 25 ff. The section about Dorus is the most difficult and interesting: something was said (perhaps) about the arrival of the Dorians in Argos, something about Aegimius, something about the five daughters who gave birth to the Nymphs, Satyrs, and Curetes (a quite unexpected placing of Hes. fr. 123 MW); we have conjectured that Dorus himself fathered these daughters, and therefore that he was here married to a daughter of Phoroneus, a dynastic alliance which would serve to link the Dorian Temenids to the pre-Dorian Inachids.² The section about Xuthus is significantly brief. The Aeolid section gives the history of at least four of the daughters, Perimede (fr. 1-3. 35), Calyce (58), Alcyone (90), and Pisidice (99); this continuous narrative overlaps some scattered fragments already known (fr. 10, 11, 14, 16, 245 MW); its most interesting part, if fr. 4 is rightly placed before fr. 1-3. 89, was the story of Alcyone and Ceyx, which already includes the erotic element (fr. 4. 5) on which Ovid and other later writers were to dwell.

We record our warm thanks to Prof. M. L. West, who read and criticized our first draft, and contributed a number of valuable readings and supplements.

¹ PRIMI I 17 ii 11 (Commentary on Antimachus) apparently quotes fr. 1-3. 62 = Hes. fr. 245 MW as from Hesiod $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota\epsilon$. But our papyrus must belong to Book i, not Book v. Clearly the scholiast, or his scribe, made a mistake; or 'Hesiod' used the phrase twice.

² For similar myths, which combine and so systematize independent genealogies, and at the same time legitimate in advance the possession of conquered territory, see M. P. Nilsson, *Cults, Myths, Oracles and Politics* (1951, 1972), 65 ff. We owe the reference to Dr D. M. Lewis.

	col. i	
1	]. ὀλυμπονε.....ν]. βασιληος[]. νοναργοςερανιον·]. εραζάργεϊμέσσει[5]]. εέσσεταμαντων·]. ληός]. αμφυλόν·ε]. .εῖ.η.περ.[...].c]. ειακαιανδρω.[] 10]]. μ...οσαιγμ...[]]. ω...εδ...κ...[]]. λει[...].μ...[]]. ἰφθ[]μην.[]].[] 15]]. ικκ...[]]. εν...[]]. εαιεξε...νογ[]]. ὑρωνκαμμη...γοφ...]. γμονεσορχ...[] 20]]. ρατονειδος...[]]. χθηροσθειοι. []]. ἦς[]ε[]τ'α...[] 5]. σπω...ν []]. δέαδιομηδην· [] 25]]. π'...βα...[]]. .αιολομ...της· []]. έρθυμοςπ...νήρης [] 10]. τ'αριδεικετ...σανδρων]. ασινηβωο...τες 30]]. κοντότεκ...γματεκρα·]. ευνη[...]. []]. ατον...δρεχουσα[] 15]. .[...]. .εινόμοιας]. νειδε[...]. μή[]ν[]δημ· 35]]. μιχ...φίλοστητι]. λό...δ'μοιρι]. ος...ελη...c· 20]. αιετ[]α[]ε[]εκ...].	

]..[
]..[...ρειδοςέχουσα
]...ηχίητα·
]..ρ...οιμεγαλων
]..[...εσσιθε...ιν·
].....
]..ουνιερσνίος
]..ονασειμεγάροιν
]ριονίπποκορυστην·
]..σακόρητοναυτης·
]..εμεγαλωειυπηκται
]εσνίος...κ.υτ...ε.πότατυδεuc
]ρεταναήκειχαλκωι
]..σα.ηρυφωνικεαδι..
]..ερ.νιμένοναντιβ...ι.
]..ερηνποιήσατ'ακο...ιν·
]...οιμακαρεσσιθ...ιαι·
].....αδεδωραδωκεν[]
 κo...ανoc
]..θαγα.....ραοςσην· ..γατοταμη.
].....δύνγέγ.[...υί..
].....κελοσαβανάτοιμ[]
].....γοραγεινατοπαιδα·
]..οκα...σπολυκ.ετη[]
]..[...έκτωρθέτ[]ακο...ιν[]
]κρατεροστεμ[...].
]πυ.σουλιοσαρης[]
]...σε[^xθ]εσεκ.
]...ετ'ακουτ.γ
]αθανατησιν.
]ητω.ανθρω.ων·
]...[...].ηιδ...[...].
]...[...].

col. ii

- 39a ἧ [δ'] ὑποκυ[αμένη]
 39 ἄφ[ν]ειρς μήλο[ιαι]
[
 κουρη....[
 τοῦ κυρρ...α.[
 καὶ την...[
 ἧρωῖ προ[]..[
 45 αὐτὰρ ο...[]ρ[α]τρὸν εἶδος ἔχουσιν
[δώμα]τα ἠχῆντα·
 ἧ δ' ὑποκυα[μένη]]ρα ποιμένα λαῶν
 Ἀντίμαχον [φίλον μακ]ά[ρ]εσσιν θεοῖσιν·
 Εὐρε[ίτην θ' [ἐλικοβ]λέφαρον] Χαρ[ίτεσσιν] ὁμοίην·
 50 τήν ἔχε Π[ορ]θάν]]ιου νιέος υἱός
 ἧ οἱ παῖδα[]ς ἐγείνατ' ἀμύ]μονας ἐν μεγάροισιν·
 Οἰνέα τ' [Ἀλ]κάθοόν τ]ε καὶ Ἀγ]ρίον ἵπποκορυστὴν·
]ιπποδα]]ης ἀκόρητον αὐτῆς·
]τατος δεπυλ] γέν]ετ' ἐν μεγάροισιν εὐπῆκτοι
 55 ρ' Οἰνέο]ς υἱός ἀγακλυτὸς ἵπποτα Τυδεύς,
 κτεί]μεν ταναῆκεῖ χαλκῶϊ
]ς ἀπη]ύρων Οἰνέα δῖον,
] κρα]τερὸν μένος ἀντιθέ[ο]ιο,
] θα]λερὴν ποιήσας ἀκοιτιν]
 60] φίλον]μακάρεσσιν θεοῖσιν·
] περιεῖσα δὲ δῶρα ἔδωκεν
]ν δ' αὐτῶι ταμῆ]ς θανάτῳ] καὶ γήραος ἦεν·
]]... Καλ]υδῶν γέν]ε[θ'] υἱός,
].. ἐπιέ]κελος ἀθανάτ]οισιν,
 65]... νορα γεί]ατο παῖδα·
 α[]πλόκαμος Πολυκάστῃ
 η[]...εκτωρ θέτ' ἀκοιτιν
 ε[]κρατερός τε μ[έ]γας τε
 τ[]βρυ]ππος οὐλῖος Ἀρης
 70 δ[]...ς ἔχεσκε
 τ[]ν θέτ' ἀκοιτιν
 α[]ἀθανάτῃσιν
 ὁ[]τητῶν ἀνθρώπων·
]...[]..ηῖδ...[]ε..
 75 ν[]...[]...[]

Fr. 3
col. ii

.
 .[
 1-ν
 90 καιτηνπο.[
 αλκρον'η'.
 αυ.....[
 ναι.....[
 ...ξ...[
 95 π...ετ...[
 ιε.....[
 ..□.[
 φρα.....α[
 τ...δ'α...[
 100 πεμειδίκ.[
 ηδέτεκ'α.[
[
[
 δι...εκ.[
 105 πρ□.....[
[
 ...γ.δ[
].....[
]...[
 110]...[
]...[
]...[
]...[
]...[

Fr. 4

.
 1]...παν...[
]...αλκο.ε.ε...[
]...ισυναγαλλόμενο...[
]...αναδωματαήχηεν...[
 5]...ε.οικαμιαψιδήτηφι.ο...[
]...νοουβεβλαμμε...[
]...ησεναπαμγλήεντοςολ...[

col. iii

- 89 .[
καὶ τὴν μὲν πο.[
ἀλκυόν' ἣ τ[
ἀνθρώπων[ν]
[ναίει καὶ [ρ' ἄλαιοι]
[Κῆνξ δ' ο[υτεπ]
95 [παύεται [αἰέτω,ν
[ἔεται Ἀλκυόν[η]ς
[ἀλ[λ]ᾷ [Διὸς κρυπ]
[φράσαςθα[ι δυ]
[τὴν δ' αἶ Μ[υρμ]
100 [Πεισιδίκη[ν ὥπυ,ιε
[ἣ δ' ἔτεκε' Ἀγ[τιφ,ον
[ἣ δὲ Πόρξ[ιδάω,ν
[Αἰολίς] ...[.μ,
δὲς τέκε[
105 .ρ[....[
.....[
της γεδ[

Fr. 4

- 1]...παυ..[
]..αλκο.ε.ε...[
]ημεν ἀγαλλόμενος ..[
] ἀνὰ δώματα ἡχέεντ[α
5]μενοι καὶ μαψιδίηι φιλότῃ[τι
]..νόου βεβλαμμέν[ἐσθλοῦ
]..ησεν ἀπ' αἰγλήεντος Ὀλύμπ[ου
.
.
.
.
.

Fr. 1 1]... trace level with the letter-tops; foot of oblique descending from left to right and joining vertical to right (ν , or e.g. α). ϵ ... first, point of ink or short serif level with the letter-tops, another point vertically below, a little under normal line-level. 2]... apparently points of ink from the cap of a circular letter (ϵ , θ , σ , c). [] the damaged area could contain a high point, but not a letter. 3] ν , first, lower left and upper right arcs of a circle (ϵ , θ , σ , c , ω); of ν , only the oblique and the right vertical (the oblique apparently too straight for α , λ). But it is possible that a small piece of papyrus is displaced; if it is moved, the first trace becomes the right side of a circle, with no sign of a cross-bar, i.e. σ or ω . 4]... a single point of ink level with the letter-tops. $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}$, the acute accent is doubtful; we cannot explain the horizontal stroke above the diaeresis (unless the whole group is a damaged circumflex, cf. 8 and 74). [] space for a high point. 5]... arcs from top and bottom of a circular letter (ϵ , θ , σ , c , ω): well below the expected level (papyrus warped?). Above and to the right, two unexplained points, not ink? 6]... vertical with serified foot. $\delta\epsilon$, accent (?) by M^2 . 7]... end of high horizontal, joining vertical, probably right side of π . ϵ , apparently two points of ink at line-level, but the fibres are disturbed. 8]... second, perhaps upper part of circular letter with cross-bar projecting to the right (ϵ , θ). η , high horizontal, perhaps with single vertical at mid-point (i.e. τ ; but then an unexplained point to the left of the vertical). π , tops of two verticals. [] vertical, top joins high horizontal extending to right, top of another vertical joining half-way (π , τ ?). [] c , vertical. 9]... foot of an oblique descending from left to right, curving up to join ϵ . [] apparently serified foot of vertical, to the right scattered ink on damaged fibres. 10] μ ... first anomalous, perhaps α corrected to ϵ , above the line M^2 has written something, damaged σ rather than short-mark (see comm.); second, parts of two verticals. 11] ω ... two verticals, first with cross-bar extending rightwards from the top (π ? γ ?). $\epsilon\delta$, oblique sloping down from left to right (α , δ , λ , χ); of ϵ , parts of the curved back and of a long cross-bar touching δ . κ ... first, foot of oblique descending from left to right, joining vertical (ν ? α etc.?); second possibly upper arc of circular letter (ϵ , σ ?) 12]... σ or ω ; points of ink above, perhaps accidental. λ , high point to the right perhaps accidental (apparently not χ). μ , ϵ or ϵ ? 13]... vertical, before it perhaps traces of oblique descending from left to right (ν , α). [] point or foot of upright at line-level. [] a detached trace which (if one measures upwards from 30) ought to belong to this line; a prolonged horizontal, which might represent, e.g., the cross-bar of ϵ or η , extended at the line-end. 14] Perhaps a grave accent on the first trace, an acute on the third; [] perhaps α (or λ), then upright. [] ϵ or c ? 15]... ω or more likely σ . κ ... first λ or more likely α ; second, beginning of high horizontal (e.g. $\kappa\sigma\tau$). 16]... parts of vertical and high horizontal (γ , π , τ). [] first σ or c ; then foot of vertical. 17]... tiny trace, perhaps from right-hand arc of circle. ν , γ or τ , then ϵ or θ . 18]... lower part of vertical, more ink to the right at two-thirds height. $\kappa\alpha\mu\eta$, a suprascript by M^2 . [] first, tips of two obliques suggesting ν or χ ; second, top of oblique sloping down from left to right. σ written over some letter beginning with a serified vertical. [] first perhaps upper stem and loop of ρ ; second, serified foot of upright. 19]... vertical. [] first, top of two verticals; second, short horizontal level with the letter-tops. 20]... first, ϵ or θ ; second, foot of oblique rising from left to right. 21] $\chi\theta\eta$, above θ , high up, a stroke resembling a grave accent, accidental?; above η , indistinct traces, possibly circumflex accent. α , σ or c . 22] [] ϵ crossed out; α written above and elision-mark added by M^2 . α ... vertical with junction at half-height (η , κ). [] first, serified foot of vertical, remains of high horizontal to the right; second, foot of vertical; third, serified foot, another point of ink higher to the right. 23]... π or τ . [] first, heavy point at line-level; second, points of ink consistent with a circular letter. 24]... parts of vertical? 25]... ink at half-height, perhaps from right-hand arc of circle. [] β , cap of circular letter; then point of ink level with the letter-tops. [] first, point of ink level with the letter-tops; second, ϵ or θ . 26]... second, cap of circular letter. μ ... short horizontal just below the letter-tops (lower than it looks on the photograph, since the fibres are distorted upwards). 27]... the end of a horizontal level with the letter-tops. π ... left-hand half of circular letter; then small trace suitable to loop of ρ . 28] τ , elision-mark perhaps by M^2 . τ , σ or c . 29]... point of ink, to the left of the gap, level with the letter-tops. 30]... end of horizontal at two-thirds height. κ , a point of ink on the edge, above the horizontal of κ . 31]... first, cross-bar and lower arc of ϵ or θ ? second, foot of upright; lower arc of circular letter. 32]... first apparently left end of cross-bar, and lower left arc, of ϵ or θ . 33]... first, two verticals; second, apparently the top of an

oblique descending from left to right.]...., first and second, a point of ink well above the letter-tops, perhaps acute accent; third and fourth, caps of circular letters. $\epsilon\mu$, breathing by M² (or M⁴?). 34]...., first, points from lower part of vertical; second, perhaps lower arc of circular letter; third, probably ρ (foot of distinctive long descender); fourth, point of ink at middle-height on projecting fibre. $\mu\eta\epsilon\lambda$, above η a deletion-point and a circumflex accent corrected to an acute (or vice versa), both by M²; ν crossed out, apparently by the original scribe, deletion-point above, by M²? 35 χ ., apparently left side of ϵ or θ . 36 δ , vertical. 37 ... , first, vertical; second, oblique descending from left to right; third, cap of ϵ or θ . η ., perhaps lower right-hand arc of circular letter. 38]., foot of oblique, descending from left to right, joining vertical at line-level (ν ; α , etc.). $\tau\alpha\epsilon\lambda$, M² wrote the accent, crossed out ϵ , added α above. ϵ ., faint traces suggesting $\epsilon\eta$ (hardly $\epsilon\eta$).

Fr. 1 col. ii

11]., ϵ or θ

14]., upright

19]., α , ϵ or ω 20]., possibly π

Fr. 2-3. Top margin, line added by M⁴.]., lower part of vertical.]., back of rounded letter, probably ϵ . 39]., first perhaps foot of diagonal sloping up from left to right (but the fibres are disturbed). ϵ ., cap of circular letter.]., perhaps lower left arc of circular letter. 40 First, end of horizontal level with the tops of letters (γ , π , τ ?); second perhaps top hook of α , δ , λ ? 41 η ., long horizontal level with the letter-tops, remains of descender towards its right end, τ rather than π . 42-3 On the marginal sign see comm. 42 $\kappa\epsilon\upsilon$, α anomalous, corrected? α ., vertical, probably ι . 43 $\tau\eta\epsilon$, something suprascript above τ , this and the stem of τ then overwritten by M⁴?]., first perhaps μ . 44]., left-hand side of circular letter?]., serified foot of vertical, then point at line-level. On either side of these traces, and above, the papyrus appears to be blank; but the alignment established by the sense in 51-2 makes it clear that 45 was not the first line of the column; the blank areas therefore are not original, but result from surface-damage. 45]., long horizontal level with the letter-tops, two verticals below (π ? γ , τ ?).]., long descender (ρ or ϕ).]., second, lower arc of circular letter. 46]., first, vertical, cross-bar extending rightwards from the top (γ , η , π ?); second, horizontal level with the letter-tops.]., first, γ or τ ; second, perhaps triangular letter (α ?); third, parts of vertical with cross-bar projecting to the left at two-thirds height, presumably the first part of a very wide η (cf. π at the same point in the next line). $\eta\chi$, above the first letter confused ink most suggesting smooth breathing with circumflex above. 47 $\eta\delta'\alpha\pi\alpha$, breathing, elision-mark, and diaeresis by M².]., point of ink at half-height. ρ ... first, α or λ ; second, left end of horizontal level with the letter-tops, then right end of horizontal with vertical below (together making a very wide π ?). 48 $\tau\epsilon\mu$, accent faint, M²? χ ., first, cap of circular letter, connected to χ by horizontal at half-height; second, some way to the right, serified top of vertical (appears somewhat above the line in the photograph, because the fibres have been displaced upwards).]., point of ink just below line-level. ϵ ... , first, circular letter, with cross-bar or intersected by the cross-bar of ϵ before; second, parts of vertical?; third, probably ϵ . 49]., deleted with two strokes by M⁴.]., ϵ or θ .]...., fourth, long descender (ρ or ϕ). Last trace apparently two verticals. 50 $\epsilon\chi\epsilon$, accent by M².]., first, point of ink on the edge at half-height; then vertical. 51 η ... , breathing by M²; first trace, perhaps circular letter; then point at line-level; then two more such points, above them horizontal level with the letter-tops.]., second perhaps triangular (δ); third, thick oblique rising from left to right.]., horizontal at line-level, perhaps spreading foot of μ . 52]., apparently upper left arc of circle, then vertical, then first vertical and upper part of oblique of ν ? There must be three letters here, despite appearances; the papyrus has somehow been impacted.]., horizontal level with the letter-tops. $\tau\epsilon$, diaeresis by M². 53]., vertical. 54]., first, parts of circular letter (ϵ or ϵ ?); second, serified foot of vertical. $\lambda\omega\epsilon$, λ has not been crossed out; ρ suprascript (by M²?). 55 ϵ ... , first, α , δ , λ , χ . τ ., first, cap of circular letter; second, cap of ϵ or ϵ . τ , diaeresis by M². π ., horizontal level with the letter-tops. 56]., above and to the right of ϵ a suprascript letter, perhaps μ or ν . 57]., apparently thin upright, see comm. ϵ ., foot of vertical, then vertical. $\delta\epsilon$... , first α or ϵ ; second perhaps left side and upper oblique of ν . 58]., horizontal level with the letter-tops. ρ ., α or θ . θ ... , first, α or θ ? ι ., α or ϵ . 59]., part of oblique sloping down from left to right. α ... , first, top and foot of vertical? 60]...., third, two traces as from the middle of a triangular letter (α , δ , λ , χ). 61]...., first, short horizontal at line-level; second, feet of two verticals?; third,

lower arc of ϵ or c ; fourth, part of long descender (ρ or ϕ)?; serified foot of upright (ι ?) ; lower arcs of two circular letters.

62], two points of ink at line-level. ρ , first, point at line-level; second, lower arc of circular letter; third, ink at line-level, two points (one to left, one to right) on isolated fibres above; fourth, foot of vertical, foot of oblique descending from left to right (together κ ?) ; sixth, vertical; seventh, vertical; eighth, two verticals, perhaps remains of cross-bar just below the top (i.e. η). Superscript: σ ., thin oblique descending from left to right (unexplained, accidental?), then top of vertical; point of ink just below the letter-tops. Margin: . . ., two traces of ink at line-level (fibres displaced downward). η ., σ or c . 63 w ., first left-hand arc of σ , c , w ; second, top and lower arc of circular letter, c most likely. 64],, first, right-hand end of horizontal, joining next letter, just below the letter-tops; second, ϵ or c ; third, ϵ or θ ?; fourth, long horizontal level with the tops of letters, below the foot of one vertical (?) and the top of a second (i.e. π ?); fifth, top of vertical. 66 g ., first perhaps μ ; second, lower arc of circular letter. κ ., foot of oblique descending from left to right, perhaps another point at line-level before it (α , δ , λ , χ); more space than appears from the photograph, since the fibres are crushed together. 67], thick trace well above the letter-tops, perhaps elision-mark by M^4 . . . ϵ , first, two uprights, cross-bar at two-thirds height, continuing to touch the next trace (η ?); second, oblique descending from left to right, foot curving up to touch next letter (α , λ ?). $\theta\epsilon\tau$, the accent is a double stroke. σ ., first, vertical; second, point of ink level with the letter tops; more space than appears from the photograph, since the fibres are crushed together. 69 c ., upper left-hand corner of square. 70],, second, remains of two verticals (and an oblique joining them, i.e. ν ?); third, ϵ or possibly θ ; fourth, lower right-hand arc of circular letter? $\epsilon[\theta]$, crossed through and χ superscript, perhaps by the original scribe (same thickness and colour of ink), perhaps by M^2 (letter-form more cursive). κ ., perhaps remains of top, middle, and foot of ϵ or θ ; further ink to right on distorted fibres might be high stop. 71],, second perhaps shadowy remains of ν ; third, left side of circular letter with cross-bar projecting (ϵ , θ). 7., point of ink level with the letter-tops; not room for more than ι , even if the fibres are straightened. 72 ν ., high point of ink, stop? or accidental? 74],, third, top of ϵ or θ .], outlines of triangular letter (α , δ , λ , χ), perhaps part of base-line (i.e. δ). $\eta\theta$, accent broken, but not apparently diacresis. δ ., first, remains consistent with top and base of circular letter, or top and left leg of α or λ ?; second, very short horizontal level with the letter-tops.] ϵ ., first, vertical, cross-bar extending to right just below the top; at first sight, η , but then the final trace (at line-level) is unexplained; better perhaps α , the cross-bar of ϵ continuing across ι to touch α .

82-4 Heavy unexplained ink in the left margin at this level.

89], junction of horizontal at line-level and oblique rising from left to right (δ or ζ). 90], top of vertical. Superscript (by original scribe? or M^2 ?) :], foot of oblique descending from left to right, joins vertical which perhaps curves rightward at foot and perhaps had a cross-bar at two-thirds height. 91 $\nu\rho$., possibly δ (M^2).], π or τ . 92 av ., second apparently has long descender (ρ , ϕ). 93 vat ., first, part of ϵ or θ ; second, lower part of vertical. 96], vertical; then left side of σ or c . 98], σ ., first, ϵ or c ?; second, ϵ or θ . 99 τ ., first, vertical, trace of cross-bar to right just below the letter-tops; second, foot of oblique descending from left to right, joining vertical. 101], top of vertical. 104 $\delta\iota$., first, left side of σ or c ; second, right side of γ , π or τ . 107 γ ., ϵ or θ ?

Fr. 4 2 ρ ., remains of two verticals? ϵ ., two verticals, possibly remains of junction at lower right to suggest ν . ϵ .,], perhaps ϵ ; first trace, vertical? or back of circular letter? 3], serified foot at line-level, above, end of horizontal just below letter-tops, joining ι . . .], first, part of circular letter. 4], $\alpha\alpha$, mark like an acute accent high up above the second α . 5], serified top of vertical. ϵ ., tops of two verticals. ι ., oblique rising from left to right. . .], first, long horizontal level with letter-tops; second, top of vertical. 6], ν ., unexplained horizontal trace above ν . $\beta\lambda\alpha\mu\mu$, above, some letters superscript (M^2 ?) and then crossed through? The crossing out, and therefore the writing, may extend well to the left (so that the trace above the first ν is part of it). The visible letters look like $\alpha\phi\sigma\tau$. . .], the first perhaps τ (or π ?) 7], first, a flat top (if a vowel, ϵ or σ); second, upper arc of circular letter. . .], first, vertical, perhaps branching at the top (i.e. ν).

1-19 *Descendants of Dorus?* Dorus, Xuthus, and Aeolus are named (in this order) in Hes. fr. 9. 2 MW. Since 20-4 probably deal with the family of Xuthus, and 25 ff. certainly deal with the family of Aeolus, there is a good chance that 1-19, or the latter part of them, refer to the family of Dorus. And in fact his son and grandsons do appear in 10 and 7. We infer that 1-5 may, and 11-19 must, concern themselves with Dorus or his descendants.

The mythographers credit Dorus with two sons, Aegimius (Diod. 4. 58. 6) and Tectamus/Teutamus (Diod. 4. 60. 2; on the forms of the name, *RE* under *Teutamos*, 1; Nonnus mentions a daughter Iphthime (*Dion.* 14. 114 f.). Aegimius has his place below (10); so perhaps does Iphthime (13); there is nothing that certainly relates to Tectamus or his Cretan kingdom or his son Asterius (who married Europa and adopted her sons Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Sarpedon).

1-5 The fixed points here are Olympus, Argos, and the future tense in 5. Dorus has no place in Argos; but he may have married the daughter of its king Phoroneus (see below); he is the eponym of its Dorian conquerors; and Hyllus, whom his son Aegimius adopted, is the ancestor of the Dorian kings of Argos. We guess, then, that these lines contain a narrative, or (given the future tense) a prophecy, of the Dorian conquest of Argos; 1 may then refer to the Dorians' old home around Mt. Olympus.

1]...: the second trace suggests *v* or *ai*. The possibilities include *-ov* (e.g. μακρ[όν] and ἀ[ν]δ[ρ] (West), to avoid the breach of Hermann's Bridge); *καί* is not excluded, though the first trace does not favour it.

ε...: *v*: substantial traces remain of the second letter; the rest is vestigial. *εχον[ε]* looks better than *εχον[ε]*; both suit the space, but the vertical spacing of the traces, and the shape of the upper trace (a horizontal serif?) suggest *χ* more than *v*.

Who is the subject? (a) The gods, οἱ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσι (Hom., *Il.* v 404 and often). (b) The Dorians. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλιωνος βασιλῆος οἴκεε (sc. τὸ Δωρικὸν γένος) γῆν τὴν Φθιώτιν, ἐπὶ δὲ Δωῶν τοῦ Ἑλλήνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀσσάν τε καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον χώραν, καλεομένην δὲ Ἰστιαίων Herod. i 56; cf. Hes. fr. 7. 3 MW (Magnes and Macedon, cousins of Dorus) οἱ περὶ Πιερίην καὶ Ὀλυμπον δώματ' ἔβαιον.

(a) looks more likely in itself, because similar formulae are so common; the gods may (for example) have promoted the Dorian advance. (b) fits the conjectured context more closely; if *εχον[ε]* is right, we must assume that this is all part of a speech (5 note).

2]ε or]οc. If the latter, a name, or διοτρεφέ]οc.

3]νον rather than]νον. e.g. πολὺν χρ[ὸ]νον.

4]...εραc: the trace is too small to limit the possibilities (e.g. ἀ]νέρας, μη]τέρας, δ]αέρας; γέρας, πέρας, τέρας; even a 'Doric' accusative -ράc, cf. fr. 150. 15 MW).

5]οc rather than]εc.

The future verb has to be explained. Was it a comment of the poet's? or part of a speech, as at Hes. fr. 31. 1-4 MW (Poseidon to Tyro)? One guess would be κλέ]οc ἔccetai; this phrase and similar ones do occur commonly in speeches (Hom., *Od.* xxiv 94; *Il.* ii 325, vii 451, *Od.* xxiv 196; at Hes. fr. 70. 7 MW the context is uncertain, at *HH Apoll.* 156, where the poet himself speaks, the context is different.)

6 ff. Aegimius and his sons (6 probably belongs with what follows, since the scribe wrote no stop at the end). If the birth of the sons is announced here for the first time, supplement e.g. [Αἰγίμου δὲ βίη δουρικλειτοῦ βαc]λῆος | [γέιναι] ἐν μεγάροις κατ[ά] (West).

6 βαc]λῆος would suit the trace. If that is right, the apparent grave accent on the last syllable (written by the second hand) must be a mistake or an accident.

7 Sons of Aegimius: e.g. Δύμαντ[ά] τε Πάμφυλόν τε.

8]...εἰτηπερ...[...].c looks the likeliest reading; before εἰ, perhaps ε or θ (not δ); after περ, perhaps α and the first part of γ or π; before c, an upright. This gives -θεῖ (for -θει? cf. 4, where perhaps αργεῖ was written, 74) τὴν περὶ...[...].c.

9 Perhaps θεῶν βαc]λεια καὶ ἀνδρῶν. This precise title of Hera is not attested elsewhere (βαc]λεια alone, *HHom.* xii 1 etc.); it follows the pattern of the masculine accusative θεῶν βαc]λῆα καὶ ἀνδρῶν (Hes. *Theog.* 897; dative, 923). Prof. West suggests that 8-9 refer to Aegimius' wife (no source records her name), on these lines: (8) [μυγράμενος] - - - - -]θεῖ, τὴν περὶ π[α]ρ[α] | (9) [φύλκιος] ἐφύλκε (or τίμηκε) θεῶν βαc]λεια καὶ ἀνδρῶν.

10]μ.ροc: the second letter has been corrected; above it, the lower part of a circle, written in lighter ink. One possibility is κρατερὸν] μένος (Hes. fr. 14. 4?, 33(a). 34, 252. 6 MW). But the short-mark would be unexpectedly deep; and in any case has no obvious function here. We therefore prefer

to take it as part of a suprascript omicron. In that case the final version was -μονος, i.e. ἀμύμονος Αἰγυμίοιο or the like.

13 ff. The context shows, that the Nymphs, Satyrs, and Curetes (17-19) somehow derived from the family of Dorus. In trying to determine the precise connection we have three pieces of evidence:

(a) Strab. 10. 3. 19 p. 471: 'Ἡρόδοτος μὲν γὰρ ἑκατέρω καὶ τῆς Φορωνέως θυγατρὸς πέντε γενέσθαι θυγατέρας φησὶν, "ἐξ ὧν οὐδ' ἔστι νόμφαι θεαὶ <ἐξ> ἐγένοντο κατὰ (= 17-19)". The corrupt ἑκατέρω stands in all MSS: Ἐκατέρου (n² B³, according to Lasserre) and Ἐκαταίου (Med. plut. 28. 40, according to Kramer) are clearly conjectures.

(b) P. Vindob. Gr. inv. 26727, published by Sijpesteijn and Worp in *Chron. d'Ég.* 97-8 (1974) 318, a papyrus of ii AD which lists the members of various mythological families:

- | | |
|-----|---|
| (5) | θυγατέρες αἱ τοῖς θεοῖς μιχθεῖσαι? νόμφαι καὶ |
| (6) | Κουρήτ[?] καὶ Κατύρου ἐγέν[?]ησαν |
| (7) |] (vac.) ἀγλαυη (vac.) ουκαλερυκα. [|
| (8) |]μη (vac.) [|

It might be expected that the name of the father (and mother?) stood at the beginning of 5; and that 7-8 named the daughters (five in number, according to (a): there is clearly room for five names, although the line-length cannot be precisely determined). In fact, 7 does seem to give names in the nominative, though in corrupt form (Ἀγλαῆ or Ἀγλαύρη? Οὐκαλέρυκα?); and 8, if the iota adscript is false, can conveniently be restored as Ἰφθίμη, see (c) below.

(c) Nonnus, *Dion.* xiv 105 ff. catalogues the leaders of the Satyrs:

- (112) εὐν δὲ Φερσπόνδω Λύκος ἦεν, ἥχετα κήρυξ,
καὶ Πρόνομος πρᾶπιδεν κεκαμένος, οὗς τέκεν Ἑρμῆς
Ἰφθίμην κρυβίοισιν ὑποζεύξας ὑμεναίους,
(115) τὴν ποτὲ Δῶρος ἔτικτε, Διὸς βλάστημα γενέθλην,
μήλα γονῆς Ἑλλήνων κατὰ

(Pherespondus and Iphthime again in xviii 313-15). The names of the Satyrs may be invented for the occasion. But the passage does provide a plausible link between the Satyrs and the family of Dorus.

These three sources could easily be combined. Dorus married a daughter of Phoroneus (a: emend ἑκατέρω to ἐκ Δώρου); he had five daughters (a), whose names were X, Y, Iphthime (b?, c), Agaue? (b) and Ucalegousa? (b); these mated with gods (b) and gave birth to Nymphs, Satyrs, and Curetes (a, b); in particular, Iphthime mated with Hermes and gave birth to Satyrs (c).

(Nothing is recorded elsewhere about this marriage, or any marriage, of Dorus. But there would be a clear purpose in marrying him to Phoroneus' daughter: it provides a link between pre-Dorian and Dorian Argos, and (through Hyllus) a legitimization of the Temenid kings as descendants of the Inachids. Notice that lines 1-5 also anticipate the Dorians' arrival in Argos.)

Even if this construction is correct, we have no means of telling what exactly occurred in our poem. But it is tempting to suppose that 13-14 listed the five daughters, with 13 καὶ Ἰφθίμη [] ---. But of course, Ἰφθίμη may be simply an epithet. (The minimal traces at the end of 14 could easily be read Οὐκαλέρυκα.)

17-19 = Hes. fr. 123 MW. The papyrus confirms the correction of Korais in 17 ἐξ ἐγένοντο (ἐγένοντο codd.); and shows that Sittl was wrong to treat the first line as prose, and ascribe the rest to the poem on the Idaean Dactyls (fr. 282 MW).

20-4 *Descendants of Xuthus*. Xuthus married Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus, and fathered Achaeus and Ion (Apollod. *Bibl.* i 7. 3); he also had a daughter Diomedes (ibid. i 9. 4). Since Diomedes occurs in 24, and Ἑρεῖχθός is an unavoidable supplement in 21, the subject of these lines is virtually certain.

20 ἐπήρατον (fr. 25. 39 MW etc.) or πολυήρατον (*Theog.* 908; fr. 17(a). 7 MW). Prof. West restores e.g. Σοῦθος δὲ Κρείουσαν ἐπήρατον εἶδος ἐχ[]ουσαν, | [κούρην] --- Ἑρεῖχθός θεοῖο κατὰ.

21 For this ending cf. *Scd.* 138.

23 The sons must come here. End perhaps Ἀχαιὸν τε κλυτὰ τῶπαλον. Beginning then e.g. ἦ οἱ Ἰωνά τε δῖον (West).

κλυτὰ τῶπαλον: the word does not occur elsewhere in Hesiod or his fragments; in Homer only of Hades; Pind. fr. 243 SM of Poseidon.

24 καὶ εὐεῖ[]δεά Διομήδην (καὶ *Theog.* 354; καὶ 250)? If there was only one daughter, beginning e.g.

γείνατ' ἐνὶ μεγάροισι (West). The descendants of Diomedes are passed over here (Apollod. *Bibl.* i 9. 4); her daughter Asterodeia fr. 58. 8 f. MW.

25 ff. *Descendants of Aeolus*. 26–8 list of sons. 33–4 list of daughters, who are then treated in detail: 35–57 Perimede, 58 ff. Calyce, 89 (or before)–98 Alcyone, 99 ff. Pisidice, 102 ?? Canace (if not here, then later; or earlier, after Calyce).

25–7 = Hes. fr. 10 MW.

28 Apollod. *Bibl.* i 7. 3 names the remaining sons as Μάγνης and Δηιών (other references: *RE* under Aiolos (1) 1039): e.g. Μάγνης τ' ἀντίθεος Δηιών τ' ἄ. ἄ. ? (Δήϊων apparently at Hes. fr. 26. 29 MW; δῆϊων adjective at *Il.* ii 544 and often. 'But he might have appeared as Δηϊονεύς', West.) But Hes. fr. 7 MW, as Prof. West points out, calls Magnes the son of Zeus and Thya. Therefore either the Hesiodic poems contained two different accounts of Magnes (fr. 7 is not quoted from any particular poem), or some other name completed the list here (see *RE* l.c. for Aethlius, Cerphius, and Mimas).

29–30 These sons grew up in their father's house, and had children of their own.

30 κῆριμα: in Homer and Hesiod the word occurs only as an epithet of Hermes.

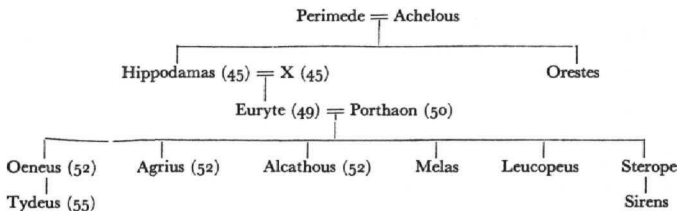
31–4 His wife also bore Aeolus five daughters.

31 e.g. [τοὺς δὲ μέτ' (or αὐτὸς δ' ἑστὶν) Αἰναρέτη τέκεν Αἰάλαω] εὐνη[θ]εῖς[a. For the wife's name see Preller–Robert, *Gr. Myth.* ii i 52 n. 5.

32 e.g. [ἰφθίμου κούρας, πολυήρ]ατον ε. ε. (West).

33–4 e.g. [Ἀλκυονήν καὶ Πεισιδίκτην, Ἄ[αρ]ῖτρεσσιν ὁμοίας, | [καὶ Καλύκην Κανάκην τε καὶ ε]νέειδέ[α] *Ἡερμυῖδην*.

35–57 *Perimede and her descendants*. The genealogy is given by Apollod. *Bibl.* i 7. 3 and i 7. 10, in this form:



The poet seems to follow the same pattern of generations. He gives details about the marriage of Perimede and about her children, which we have failed to reconstruct (37–44); they must include the birth of Hippodamas. He provides a brother for Euryte (49), and perhaps different names for her youngest sons (53–4).

35 ff. 'The structure must be "To her Achelous made love; and she was living (or delivered, cf. fr. 5 MW) in the house of . . . , the notable squire who dwelt by . . . , rich in flocks"' (West).

36 ἐν ὑψηλοῖσι δόμοισι *Il.* vi 503, Hes. fr. 129. 4 MW. The papyrus apparently has ἰλοῖ, not ἰλοῖ.

37 ἰο: proper name? or e.g. διοτρεφεῖς.

38 ραιετάακρρ: ραιετάακρρ less likely.

Col. ii

39a The line was added in the upper margin by M⁴, and must therefore have been omitted somewhere in the body of the column. We assume that the flourish in the left-hand margin of 42–3 is a caret-mark; in which case 39a belongs between 42 and 43. On caret-marks see S. Daris, *Stud. Pap.* 7 (1968) 7–22 (various shapes), E. A. Lowe, *Palaeographic Papers* ii 356–8 (anchor-shape only); our mark would be a variation of the semi-circular form found in P. Oxy. I 16, P. Lit. Lond. 131 and elsewhere (cf. P. RyI. I 16. 1 n.).

39 Hes. *Op.* [120] ἀφνειοὶ μῆλ' οἶσι, φίλοι μακάρεσσιν θεοῖσι. Hes. fr. 240. 1–2 MW Ἐλλοπίη . . . ἀφνειή μῆλ' οἶσι καὶ εὐλιπόδεσσι βόεσσιν.

41 If *κουρη*... [the only possibilities seem to be *κούρη τ'* (or *τ-*), and parts of *Κουρή*ς and *Κουρή*τες.
43-4 Perhaps *καὶ τὴν μητρ...* | *ἡρωὶ προ[λιπόρθου]*, 'Her he (her father) gave in marriage to... the hero, sacker of cities.'

45-52 The lacuna in the middle of these lines (between fr. 2 and fr. 3) can be estimated with reasonable accuracy from the certain supplement in 52.

45 Perhaps *αὐτὰρ ὁ* or *αὐτὰρ ὁ γ'* ἐπ[(Hippodamas?). End *ἐπ-* or *πολυ-*, see 20 n.

46 Perhaps *ἡγήετο*, [*... - ποτὶ δώμα*] *τὰ ἡγήετα* (West).

47-8 This Antimachus is otherwise unknown. The pattern might be *ῥ δ' ὑποκυ[μένη μεγάλητ]ορα ποιμένα λαών* | *Ἀντίμαχος* [τέκε παῖδα (West; this precise supplement looks a little short for the gap); or (assuming another unknown son, with a name of the shape *Ἀκτορα*) *ῥ δ' ὑποκυ[μένη τέκε(ν) - ...]* *ρα ποιμένα λαών* | *Ἀντίμαχος* [τε ἀνακτα.

49-55 = Hcs. fr. 11 MW = P. Oxy. 2075 fr. 2.

49 *Εὐρείτην*: *Εὐρύτην* in Apollod. *Bibl.* i 7. 10. The middle syllable is lengthened, to avoid an intractable cretic (W. Schulze, *Qu. Ep.* 289 ff.); there was also the analogy of *εὐρυτος*/εὐρ(ρ)είτης. The original scribe wrote *ευρρ*; the fourth hand deleted the first rho.

[*ἄλκοβ*; *λέφαρος*] *γ κτλ*: the supplement suits the space very well; but the reading relies on the familiar formula, since all the dotted letters are vestigial.

50] *ου*: the trace (a point of ink at half-height on the edge) is indecisive. Our only idea is *Πλευρω*-*ρίου*, which fits the space precisely. Porthaon was the son of Agenor, who was the son of Pleuron (Apollod. *Bibl.* i 7. 7); for the patronymic adjective compare *Il.* xi 591 *Τελαμώνιον υἱόν*, *Od.* iii 190 *Ποιάντιον ... υἱόν*.

51 The sense required is clear, 'She gave birth to blameless sons.' The first difficulty lies in placing] *γενενα*], i.e. (*δ*) *γένεατ(ο)*, provided by P. Oxy., between the beginning and end provided by P. Leid. Two different patterns might be thought of: (*a*) *ῥ δ' ἀρ' ἐγένεατο παῖδας*, (*b*) *ῥ δ' ἀρα παῖδας ἐγένεατ'*. Against (*a*) is the spacing in P. Oxy.: seven or eight letters must have preceded *γενενα*, as appears from 49-50, and that is long for a single trochee. We therefore assume (*b*). The obvious guesses are *ῥ δὲ παῖδας ἐγένεατ'* and *ῥ οἱ π. ἐ.* (the second better suited to the spacing in P. Oxy.). The remains in P. Leid. seem not to allow *ῥη* (the base of delta would be too high; and eta much too narrow, even allowing for the vertical crease which intersects nu in *ου* below); they do seem to allow *ῥριφιδρα*], which we print.

53 ff. There are two related difficulties here. (*a*) Apollod. *Bibl.* i 7. 10 names five sons; the first three fit neatly into 52; Melas and Leucopeus remain. The list might be completed in 53 and 54, each of which mentions a male. In 53 we could write *καὶ Μέλαν' ἱππόδαμον δειν]ῆς ἀκόρητον αὐτῆς* (this suits the spacing in both papyri; for the final tag see *Scut.* 459, *Il.* xiii 621). But in 54 there is no room for Leucopeus. If the supplement *ὀπλότατος* is right (Merkelbach and West; a little short for the space in P. Oxy., but not enough to exclude it), we see nothing for it but *ὀπλότατος δὲ Πυλ[γένετ' ἐν μεγάροις εὐπύκτων*. Pylas, Pylos, and Pylon are all possible names, but none is attested for this group (a different Pylos in 69 ff.?). (*b*) If 52-4 list only sons of Porthaon, it was they or some of them that Tydeus killed. It is indeed said elsewhere that he killed one uncle: Agrius (Antonin. Lib. 37), Alcaethous (Apollod. *Bibl.* i 8. 5), Melas (accidentally: Schol. *T. Il.* xiv 114). But the demonstrably older accounts refer to the sons of Melas or of Agrius (*Alcmaeonis*, fr. 4 Ki. = *FGrH* 3 F 122(a); Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F 122(b) with Schol. *T. Il.* xiv 114). There is then the possibility that 53-4 listed sons of Agrius, *ὅς τέκεν* 'ἱππόδαμον κτλ. But if 54 *ὀπλότατος* is right, at least three sons must have been named; and we see no way of fitting two names into 53. We therefore discount this possibility; and conclude that 53-4 named sons of Porthaon, one of them at least different from Apollodorus' list.

55-65 = fr. 14 MW = P. Oxy. 2483 fr. 1 col. i; 92-103 = fr. 16 = *ibid.* col. ii. P. Leid. now allows us to correct a mistake in the publication of P. Oxy. 2483. This papyrus consists of two fragments (see P. Oxy. XXVIII pl. i), which are joined in such a way that between i 8 = P. Leid 62 and i 10 = P. Leid 63 there is space for (and the final trace of) a whole line. We have re-examined the original, and it seems to us clear that the join is false; the fibres match better, and the initial traces of col. ii fit better, if the left-hand fragment is placed one line lower in relation to the right-hand fragment. Thus 'i 9' ceases to exist (the final trace belongs to nu in the line above), and so does 'ii 1'; 'i 10' follows directly on 'i 8', as it does in P. Leid.

55 e.g. *τοὺς μὲν ῥ'* (illogical, since Oeneus was not killed)? *τῶν μὲν ῥ'* (then the names, or a limiting

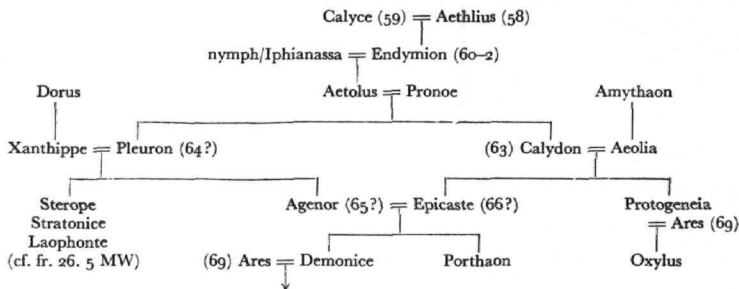
phrase, must follow in 56)? τοῦ μὲν ῥ' . . . υἱας ὑπερφιάλων (this at least makes Tydeus kill his cousins, as in the *Alcmaeonis* and in Pherecydes)?

57] ε: apparently a vertical, with a hair-line horizontal extending to the left near the top. But]εc runs foul of the metre, and]εc of the grammar. It may be that, e.g., κάρ]τος is possible (omicron with flattened right side, as in 64 νατο; the horizontal of tau continuing through the top of omicron to make a right-angle join, as in 66 παλυ). In that case West suggests, e.g., ὅττι βίην καὶ κάρ]τος κτλ.

58-75 The first letter or letters of most of these lines are preserved in fr. 1 col. ii. Given the wide gap between fr. 1 and fr. 3, the relative alignment of beginnings and ends is not absolutely certain. What we give seems to us the most likely, provided that the relative placing of fr. 1 and fr. 2 (by fibre-match at the level of line 41) is correct. It also suits the sense in 65 f. and 73, unlike the alternative placing one line lower.

58 ff. *Calyce and her descendants*. The key here is 62. We had considered the possibility that this continues the story of Tydeus: he himself forfeited the gift of immortality, and asked that it be transferred to his son Diomedes (Pind. *Nem.* 10. 7; Roscher, *Tydeus* 1396). But one authority, in quoting 62, refers it directly to Endymion. If we accept that, then 58-9 must record the marriage of Endymion's parents, Calyce and Aethlius.

The genealogy is given by Apollod. *Bibl.* i 7. 5-7 in this form:



58 e.g. αὐτὰρ Μεθλίω West (perhaps a little short for the space).

59 Calyce. E.g. εὐειδέα Καλύκην West.

60 e.g. ἡ δὲ τέκε' Ἐνδυμίωνα].

61 e.g. τὸν δὲ Ζεὺς τίμησε, cf. *Theog.* 399.

62 = fr. 245 MW ἢ δ' αὐτῷ θανάτου ταμίης; Schol. AR iv 58 paraphrases the same words, in summarizing Hesiod's account of Endymion. It is clear that 62 overlaps and completes this citation, with a minor variation in word-order. The second hand has added two corrections or variants. In the right margin, θανάτου ταμίης; therefore the main text had some other reading; but it did not simply omit ταμίης, as the line-length shows; we conclude that it had ταμίης; θανάτου in inverse order (the small trace before θανάτου allows]ε). Above γήραος, κοίρανος: an inferior variant, derived from a common line-end (fr. 195. 7, 308 MW, *HH Cer.* 97): it is essential to the Endymion story that he was ageless as well as deathless.

63 Calydon was the grandson of Endymion, through Aetolus, according to Apollodorus; the son of Endymion according to others (Steph. Byz. s.v.). Aetolus could appear here at the beginning of 63: τ[οῦ δ' ἦν Αἰτωλός, τοῦ] δ' ἄρ' West. The traces before Καλύδων are quite indecisive.

64 e.g. Πλευρὸν δ' αἰχμητῆ]ς (a little long for the gap). In] ε, eta seems to be the only long vowel that suits the trace. The final tag is elsewhere (*Il.*, *Od.*, *Scut.* 182) preceded by a patronymic; that would be superfluous here, unless extended to a remoter ancestor (*Αἰολίδ]ης*).

65]: apparently ε or θ. At the end Ἀχιλλῶρα (son of Pleuron) rather than Ἀχιλλῶρα?

66 We do not understand the paragraphos above this line. It might indicate a new section, as at fr. 25. 34 MW (the poet finishes with the descendants of Althaea, and turns to her sister Hypermetra). But here, so far as we can see, the story of Calyce's descendants continues; and before 99, where a new section does begin, there seems to be no paragraphos.

[Πολυκάμρος: most likely *ἔν-οι καλλι-*.

Πολυκάστη: no Polycaste listed in Roscher belongs to this family. Either she is an unknown; or she is a variant of Epicaste, cousin and wife of Agenor. If the second, 66-8 might refer to her parentage (Αἰολίας δ' ἄρ' ἔην καλλί[Πολυκάστη | ἥ[ν *ωωω* - *ωωω* - Καλυδών] κρατερὸς τε μ[έ]γας τε), 69-70 to her sister Protogeneia (mother by Ares of Oxythus).

67 []...έκτωρ: our only idea is *ωστ'* ἡλέκτωρ. The objections to this are strong: (a) the apostrophe, though a convenient interpretation of the high anomalous trace, stands rather far to the left; (b) we should expect *τεύχεα παμφάνων ὤστ'* ἡλέκτωρ (Il. vi 513, xix 398), but the initial trace certainly excludes *τ'εύχεα*. But *έκτωρ*, *Έκτωρ*, and *δέκτωρ* seem even more intractable.

69 τ[η]ν is one possibility.

70 []...ς: apparently []...θός (the first trace minimal). If the girl was the subject of *έχεκε*, rather than Ares (cf. 50), perhaps *δθ' ἡβη[ς] ἄνθος έχεκε* or the like (Il. xix 484, HH Cer. 108, Theog. 988).

71 ff. It is possible, given the uncertainties, that these lines continue the descendants of Endymion. Demodice (Demonic in Apollodorus), daughter of Agenor, appears in fr. 22 MW; this cannot be attached here (there is a superficial similarity between fr. 22. 2 and 74, but fr. 22. 1 and 73 seem quite incompatible), and there is hardly room for it in 75 ff. (certainly not, if we are right in placing our fr. 4 as 83-9; probably not in any case, since the story of Demodice must have continued some way after fr. 22. 9 MW, and the story of Alcione must have begun some way before 89). Either she was postponed, or she appeared twice.

Another possibility is, that the third sister, Alcione, begins here. The pattern would be: *τ[η]ν δὲ *ωωω* - Κηφ[ε] θαλερ[η]ν θέτ' ἀκούειν | Α[λκυόνην, ἥ εἶδος ἐρήμειτ'] ἀθανάτην* (fr. 23(a), 16, 180. 14 MW; restored fr. 23(a), 10, 35. 12, 36. 3). *δς [β' ἀφνεύτατος γένητο θν]ητῶν ἀνθρώπων* (Il. xx 220, 233). In that case the account of Alcione and Ceyx, down to their metamorphosis, would occupy 19 lines. Is that likely? Hesiod told the version of the story in which Alcione and Ceyx called one another Zeus and Hera, and were punished for their insolence (the versions are discussed by Brooks Otis, *Ovid as an Epic Poet* (1970) 421 ff.); see fr. 15 MW, and P. Mich. inv. 1447^v 14 ff. (*Dictionary of Metamorphoses*, published by T. T. Renner, HSCP 82 (1978) 291):

- Αλκυόνην τὴν Αἰόλου ἔγχευε Κη[φ]εὺς ὁ Φωκφό-
(15) ρου τοῦ ἀνέρος νίδς. ἀμφὺ δ' ἦσα[ν ὑπερ]φ[α]νοι, ἀλ-
λῆλων δ' ἐραβέντες ἡ[...]. α. [...]. ρνα[...]
Δία κα[λ]αί, αὐτὴν (?) ἥραν προσήχ[ρε]ν. ἐφ' [ὡ]ι ὄργι-
ει[ε] δ' Ζεὺς μετεμόρφωσεν ἀμφοτέρους [εἰς ὄρ-
γε[α], ὡς Ἑκτόδος ἐν Γυναικῶν Καταλόγῳ.

On the face of it there is not enough picturesque detail here (as there is in the story of Salmeoneus, fr. 30 MW) to fill out a long passage. But the argument is plainly insecure.

71]ην likely, e.g. θαλερ[η]ν West.

74 Αηιδάμερα (West) suits the remains (δη[?] for δη[?], as in 8?). The name is not otherwise known in this context.

75 We assume that this was the last line of the column, only because it ranges with the last line of col. i; there is no clear free margin below. Col. i then had 38 lines, col. ii 37. Such variations are common enough.

83-9 See on fr. 4 below.

90 μ[ε]ν: if this reading of the suprascript word is right, we have the fourth stroke only of mu, and the back and lower curve of epsilon.

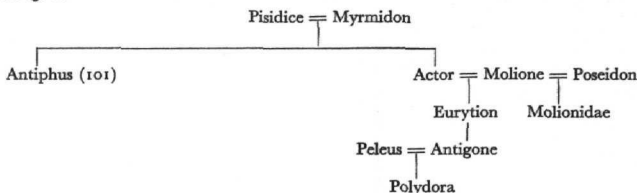
πο[ι]: the trace looks like the upper part of a vertical, e.g. καὶ τὴν μ[ε]ν πο[ι]ῆσε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, cf. fr. 205. 3-5 MW.

91 ἥ τ(ε)? 'Who shuns the haunts of men and dwells (nests) on the water'.

92-103 = fr. 16 MW = P. Oxy. 2483 fr. 1 col. ii. P. Leid. is much damaged, so that many lines can be read only with the help of P. Oxy.

97 f. φ[λ]α[γ] [Διὸς κρυπτῶς πέλεται νόος, οὐδὲ τις ἀνδρῶν | φράσασθα[ι] δύναται West (ap. MW).

99 ff. *Pisidice and her descendants*. A genealogy can be assembled from Apollod. *Bibl.* i 7. 3, i 8. 2, ii 7. 2, iii 13. 1:



For Molione and her sons, see fr. 17-18 MW; for Polydora fr. 213.

99 e.g. $\epsilon\tau\eta\nu\ \delta'$ αὖ Μ[υρμιδόνος κρατερὸν μόνος ἀντιθέου West (ap. MW).

101 e.g. $\eta\ \delta'$ ἔτεκε Ἀντιφῶν υἱὰ καὶ Ἀκτορα West (ap. MW).

102 ἡ δέ: we have considered three candidates: Molione, wife of Actor son of Pisidice, mother by Poseidon of the Molionidae (fr. 17-18 MW); Canace, fifth daughter of Aeolus, mother by Poseidon of Hopleus, Nireus, Epopeus, Alocus, and Triops (Apollod. *Bibl.* i 7. 4); Iphimedeia, daughter of Triops and wife of Alocus, mother by Poseidon of the Aloadae (fr. 19 MW). *Aiolis* (103) suits Canace; *δὲς τέκε* (104) suggests Molione or Iphimedeia (but then we do not see how the transition was managed).

103 *Αἰολίς*: the last trace suits c better than o (not δ); then perhaps η or ζ . P. Oxy. was read as *αιολίς* (-ic con. West).

105 Perhaps $\pi\rho[\delta]\varsigma$, hardly $\pi\rho[\iota]\varsigma$. Then possibly δ , i.e. $\delta(\epsilon)$.

106 Possibly $\pi\epsilon[\iota]\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\ \delta[\iota]$

107 Read by Prof. West.

Fr. 4. It would be economical, if this fragment too belonged to col. iii; if it does belong, it must have stood at the top (in lines 76-89) or the foot (lines 105-112), since its line-ends clearly do not match any of the line-beginnings 90-104. But we have found no clear fibre-correspondences to place it.

The content is ambiguous. There are at least two incidents in this immediate context that might suit. (a) The persons in 5 f. might be Alcione and Ceyx; their infatuated insolence attracts the anger of Zeus (7). The reference to *φιλότης* is at first sight against this; it would fit better in the other version of the myth, where Ceyx perishes innocent in a storm at sea, and the love-lorn Alcione laments him for ever. But Mr Renner's papyrus (above, 71 ff. note) now gives a narrative, which combines their guilty insolence and their mutual passion (*ἀλλήλων ἐρασθέντες*), and at the end cites Hesiod as source; although there is no proof, that all the details come from Hesiod, we have at least some reason to believe that the erotic motif, which might otherwise be thought a hellenistic invention, goes back to the *Catalogues*, perhaps then to our fr. 4. (b) The persons in 5 f. might alternatively be the Aloadae, who nursed impious passions for Hera and Artemis; they were grandsons of Canace, daughter of Aeolus, and might reasonably find a place in 105 ff. (cf. fr. 19-20 MW).

We prefer (a). If it is right, fr. 1-3. 90 follows fr. 4. 7 with little or no interval, so that fr. 4 = fr. 1-3. 82-8 or 83-9, see 7 n.

2 Perhaps] *χαλκόν* (εὖ, παγ- etc.). Armour? The sources do not represent Ceyx as imitating thunder, in the way of Salmoneus (fr. 30. 5, 7 MW).

4 *ἡχέεντα*: here a later hand wrote a rough breathing (in 46 the traces are confused). Compare P. Oxy. 2079 fr. 1 (= Call. fr. 1 Pf.) 29 *ἡχον*; contrast Herodian ii 2 904. 27 f. L., and the normal practice of the medieval MSS. The rough breathing seems to stand in some relation to the original digamma (Chantraine, *Gr. Hom.* i 139 f.), or to the hiatus which resulted from the loss of it.

5 e.g. *τερπέμενοι* (Od. v 227 *τερπέσθην φιλότῳ*, Il. iii 441 etc.).

6 *βεβλαμμέν[οι]* likely. Supplement from Theognis 723. Above *βλαμμ*, something suprascript and then crossed out; see the critical note.

7] *ἡχεν*: *νεμίζησεν* likely (not *ἐβόησεν*, excluded both by the initial trace and by the placing of the accent). Before that, e.g., *τοὺς δὲ ἰδών*, to explain the *ἀπό* following. We have guessed that this

line comes immediately before, or not long before, fr. 1-3. 90; and fr. 1-3. 89 probably begins with 8 or ζ[. Prof. West therefore suggests writing 89 Ζ[εὺς δὲ ἰδὼν νεμ[έτηεν; or 88 τοὺς δὲ ἰδὼν, 89 Ζ[εὺς ἐμ[βρεμέτης.

Oxford
Amsterdam
Amsterdam

P. J. Parsons
P. J. Sijpesteijn
K. A. Worp

2 ALCAEUS

P. Daris inv. 98

cm 2,4×3,5

Secolo primo a. C.

Frammento di papiro (inv. n. 98 della mia collezione) dal formato rettangolare, con una appendice in basso a destra, che ne prolunga l'altezza per una striscia molto sottile, danneggiata dal distacco delle fibre di superficie, lungo le quali correva la scrittura.

Il frustolo dalle dimensioni tanto ridotte non apparirebbe meritevole di una qualche considerazione, se, nelle quattro righe frammentarie leggibili, non fosse possibile individuare un passo di Alceo. I versi conservati nelle righe 2-4 del nuovo papiro si identificano con i versi citati alle righe 25-27 del frammento 77 di P. Oxy. 2506 (S 280 Page, Alc. fr. 306 A b Voigt).

Sarebbe sin troppo facile constatare che il minuscolo pezzo di papiro non accresce di molto le nostre conoscenze né risponde ai numerosi interrogativi suscitati dal testo di Alceo nella particolare tradizione di P. Oxy. 2506. Il frammento si segnala perciò non tanto per il quasi irrilevante recupero di qualche brandello di verso, quanto perchè documenta l'appartenenza del componimento alla raccolta dei versi di Alceo, nella edizione nota all'Egitto tolemaico-romano.

La scrittura è di dimensioni piccole, rotonda, di spessore uniforme, rigorosamente bilineare, con apici ornamentali alle estremità delle singole lettere. Ricorda, da una parte, l'Apollodoro di Colonia (P. Köln inv. 5604, edito in *Collectanea Papyrologica* 1, tav. I e III c) e, dall'altra, P. Ryl. 586 (Roberts, *GLH* 8 a), dell'anno 99 a. C.; le affinità con i due testi consigliano di proporre il secolo I a. C. quale epoca di preparazione del manoscritto. Il verso è bianco.

	]	αιςδοισαμ[		
	]	προνηρεπα[		δῶ] πόνηρε πα[ιδων
	]	ςμεν [		Ἀμάρδιος]ς μὲν
4	]	ςυμποταις[	4	δὲ] συμπόταις [
	]	ο [		
	]	[		
	]	[		
8	]	ειθο.[		
	]	[		