

TWO UNPUBLISHED POPYRI

BY

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I. P. Amsterdam inv. 53: Thucydides V 82, 5-6

Provenance unknown. 10.2 × 5.1 cms. Lightbrown papyrus of good quality. The papyrus is evenly broken off at the top, the left side and the bottom. The right side is partially broken, and partially cut, off. The writing runs parallel with the fibres. The verso is not inscribed. The handwriting, which may be dated to the second half of the 2nd century A.D., displays the same characteristics as that of B. M. Pap. 2068 (= P. Oxy. IX 1074)¹⁾. Two accents seem to have been added by a different hand, judging by the colour of the ink (l. 7 ἦν; l. 9 τών). In l. 8 there is a middle stop before the eta of ἦ and a rough breathing above the article ἦ. In l. 11 there is a high stop before ξυνήδουσαν (see note) and in l. 14 a high stop before καί. Between ll. 6-7 at the left side are traces of ink which cannot be identified.

A division of the missing parts of the text over the lines has been tempted, starting from the most probable division in ll. 9-10 and working backwards and forwards. Each line should have accounted for some 18-20 letters. Lower numbers of letters occurring are 16 (ll. 2; 11) and 17 (l. 10).

R. A. Pack²⁾ mentions 3 fragments on papyrus from the fifth book of Thucydides, viz. Pack²⁾ 1523; 1526; 1527. None of these publications contains the passage on the papyrus under discussion³⁾.

¹⁾ See E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Oxford 1971), pl. 34.

²⁾ *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt* (Ann Arbor 1965).

³⁾ Pack's list has been brought up to date by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *A New Papyrus Text of Thucydides* (I 90,3-91,3), *Aeg.* 51 (1971), 221-223. For the Thucydides papyri see also Fr. Fischer, *Thucydidis reliquiae in papyris et membranis Aegyptiis repositae* (Leipzig 1913). For the manuscript tradition see B. Hemmerdinger, *Essai sur l'histoire du texte de Thucydide* (Paris 1955); P. Focardi, *Il testo di Tucidide nei mss Vatic. Gr. 126 e Paris Gr. 1734 in rapporto anche ai papiri Tucididei*, *Aeg.* 35 (1955), 43-62; P. J. Sijpesteijn, *o.c.*, 222.

The text of the papyrus has been compared with the Teubner edition of K. Hude (Leipzig 1898-1901), the O.C.T. edition of H. Stuart Jones-J. E. Powell (Oxford 1942²) and the Budé edition of J. de Romilly (Paris 1967). It presents two variant readings (see notes on ll. 5 and 16).

Greek Text (Pl. I)

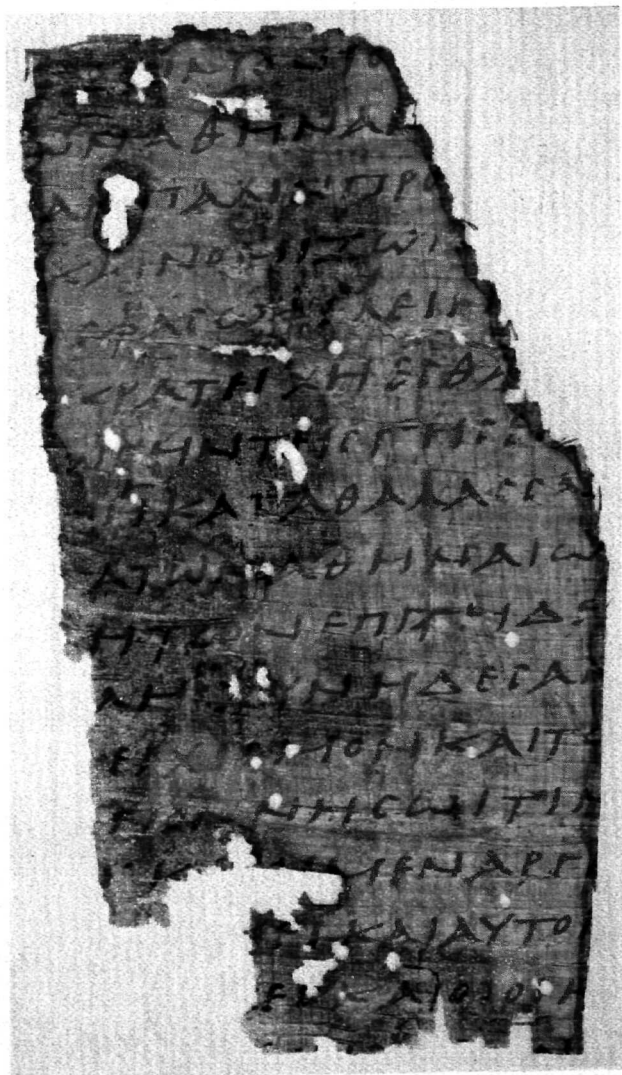
[- - - - - Δα -]

- 1 κ]εδαμμονίω[υς και τήν
 2 τ]ῶν Ἀθηναίω[ν ξυμμα-
 3 χί]αν πάλιν προ[σαγόμενός
 4 τε] και νομίζω[ν [μέγιστον
 5 ἀ]ν σφᾶς ὠφελεῖν [τειχί]ζει
 6 μα]κρά τείχη ἐς θά[λασσαν
 7 σπ]ῶς ἦν τῆς γῆς εἰ[ργων-
 8 ται]. ἡ κατά θάλασσαν [σφᾶς
 9 με]τά τῶν Ἀθηναίω[ν ἑπα-
 10 γω]γή τῶν ἐπιτηδε[ίων
 11 ὠφε]λῆ' ἰ'· ξυνηδεσαν [δὲ
 12 τὸν] τειχισμὸν και τῶ[ν ἐν
 13 Πελο]ποννήσῳ τιν[ἐς πό-
 14 λεω]ν· κ[αί] οἱ μὲν Ἀργε[ῖοι
 15 πανθη]μει και αὐτοί [και
 16 γυναῖ]χες και οἱ[οι]κ[έ]ται
 17 ἐτειχί]ζ[ο]ν καὶ [ἐκ] τ[ῶ]ν[- - - - -

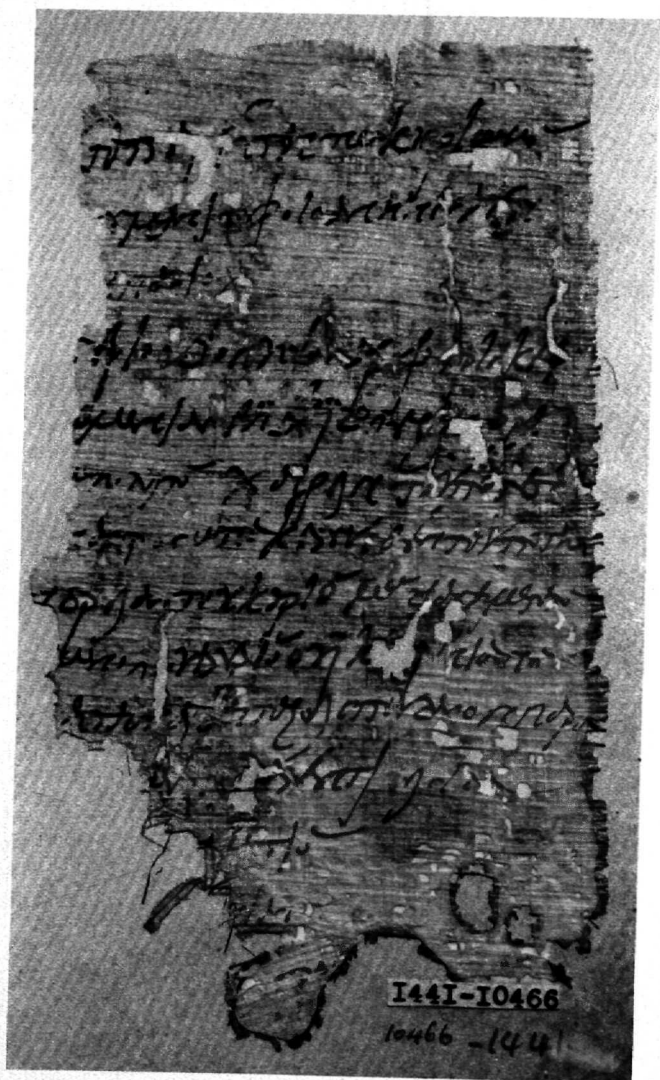
Notes

L. 5. The papyrus presents an interesting variant reading. The MSS., except for G^{cor}: ὠφελῆσαι, read ὠφελήσιν. The reading ὠφελήσιν offers an instance of fut. inf with ἄν, which construction has been defended by L. Herbst⁴). Only one instance of ἄν/κέν with the fut. has come down to us on a papyrus text, which un-

⁴) Über ἄν beim Futur im Thukydides (Progr. Hamburg 1867). See further W. J. Verdenius on Thuc. II 80, 1, Mnemos. 1965, 303-4; G. J. de Vries on Pl. Phdr. 227 b 9-10 and the literature mentioned there. Cf. also G. J. de Vries on Pl. Euthyd. 287 d, Mnemos. 1972, 48; P. Pucci, Rev. Phil. 37 (1963), 255-7.



I. P. Amsterdam inv. 53: Thucydides V 82, 5-6



II. P. Cairo inv. 10466: Copy of an Order of Arrest

equivocally supports the legitimacy of part of the medieval manuscript tradition, viz. Pindar, *Ol.* 1, 110 (see the Teubner edition by B. Snell-H. Maehler). There are two other cases of the fut. with $\xi\nu$, but there the papyrus is defective in some way, viz. P. Oxy. X 1245, 93 (= Thuc. I 140, 5), where after $\xi\nu$ the verb is lost in the lacuna, and P. Lond. Lit. 131 (= Isocr. *De Pace*, 82), where the reading $\lambda\upsilon\pi\eta\sigma\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ seems to have been corrected on the papyrus itself into $\lambda\upsilon\pi\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\alpha$ ⁵). If we accept the fut. inf. with $\xi\nu$ as the original reading in the present passage, our papyrus offers a textual variant which may be regarded palaeographically as a case of lipography ($\acute{\omega}\phi\epsilon\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\nu > \acute{\omega}\phi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$; one letter-group has been left out by the writer).

As regards the other instances of the fut. inf. with $\xi\nu$ in Thucydides, the manuscript tradition is as follows:

II 80, 8: προσχωρή ++ G; προσχωρήσαι J^{2a1}; προσχωρήσειν ABCEFM VI 66, 1: λυπήσαι G; λυπήσειν ABCEFM

VIII 25, 5: προσχωρήσαι G (litt. ai in rasura); προσχωρήσειν ABCEFM VIII 71, 1: ἡσυχάζειν M; ἡσυχάζειν ABCEFG (ex -σει factum f)

We see that in four out of the five passages, where the fut. inf. with $\xi\nu$ occurs, the manuscript G (or its corrector(s)) tends to alter the fut. inf. into the inf. aor.⁶). I am inclined to consider the variant readings of G as a matter of conjecture. For II 80, 8 the manuscript G is followed by J^{2a1}.

L. 10. The tau of ἐπιτηδεύων has been corrected; maybe from a gamma?

L. 11. Before ξυνήδεσαν the papyrus presents a small vertical dash, which has a knob at the bottom. I tend to see in this a high stop, on top of which a iota adscriptum has been placed. The iota adscriptum belongs, of course, to ὠφελῆι⁷). For iota adscriptum in the present papyrus compare also l. 13 Πελοποννήσωι.

⁵) In P. Oxy. VII 1016, 21 (= Pl. *Phdr.* 227 b 10) the papyrus reads ποιήσασθαι instead of ποιήσεσθαι (see de Vries *ad loc.*).

⁶) See the remark of J. de Romilly in her Budé edition of Thucydides, vol. II, 85: "On ne s'étonnera pas de voire parfois signalées de leçons récentes (en particulier de J²) ayant tous les caractères d'une simple conjecture...". For the relation between the manuscripts G and J see the Budé edition, vol. I, XXIX-XXX; A. Kleinlogel, *Geschichte des Thukydidestextes im Mittelalter* (Berlin 1965), 5; 131; 168.

⁷) Cf. Turner, *o.c.*, pl. 34 col. II, 15 = P. Oxy. IX 1074 col. V, 15.

L. 16. The reading $\sigma\{\sigma\}\chi[$ has to be regarded as a case of ditto-graphy, as there seems no point in interpreting the first σ as the article. See for a similar phrase Thuc. I 90, 3.

II. P. Cairo inv. 10466: Copy of an Order of Arrest

Hermopolites. 15 × 8.6 cms. ca. 325 A.D. Lightbrown papyrus of good quality. The top and the right side are complete. The left side and the bottom are irregularly broken off. There is a margin of 1 cm. at the top. The papyrus was three or four times folded. The handwriting shows a cursive written with black ink. The papyrus is pasted on to cardboard.

Greek text (Pl. II)

- 1 Ταῦτα παρ᾽σ'στη τῷ κυρίῳ μο'υ'
 2 ἡ]γεμόνι ἐφ' οἷς ἀνήνεγκεν
 3]εγάδιος.
 4 Οὐα]λέριος Διονύσιος (ἐκατόνταρχος) ὠρ(δινᾶτος) πρίνκειψ
 5 ἡγ]εμονίας Θηβαίδος ἐξάχτορι
 6 Ἐρ]μοπολίτου' χαίρειν. Τὰ ὑποτεταγ-
 7 μέ]γα πρόσωπα κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς
 8 ἀ]νδρείας τοῦ κυρίου' μο'υ' διασημοτάτο'υ
 9 ἡγε]μόνος Οὐαλερίου' Οὐκι[τ]ωφρινιανο'υ'
 10 παρ]αστῆσαι τῇ τάξει σπούδασον παρα-
 11 στῆσαι τ]ῷ ὑποστάλεντι. Εἰσι δέ·
 12]υωτίου
 13]σιάττο'υ'
 14]προσ[

l. 1: παρ᾽σ'στη: -ε- ex i corr. ?; -η ex corr.

l. 5: Pap.: θηβαίδος

l. 6: Pap.: ὑποτεταγ

l. 9: Pap.: οὐκτωφρινιανου

Translation

These (persons) appeared before my lord the *praeses*, concerning whom N.N. has submitted a report.

Valerius Dionysius, leading *centurio*, chief of staff of the *praeses* of the Thebaid, to the *exactor* of the Hermopolites, greetings. Make haste to produce the following persons whose presence at

his office has been ordered by his noble excellency the *praeses* Valerius Victorinianus, before the person whom this concerns. They are: - - -

The brief description of this text by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt⁸⁾ has given rise to a discussion of the position of the *hegemon* (= Lat. *praeses*) Valerius Victorinianus among the leading governmental officials of Egypt in the first quarter of the fourth century A. D.⁹⁾

Lallemand assumed that the above mentioned *praeses* Valerius Victorinianus could be identified as the prefect of Egypt $\Theta\upsilon\beta\alpha\iota\tau\omega\pi\alpha\epsilon\upsilon\tau\eta$ mentioned in P. Lond. inv. 2226, 15 (308 A. D.)¹⁰⁾. However, since the publication of P. Oxy. XXXIII 2674 (308 A. D.) in 1968 it has become known that the name of the prefect of Egypt in that year was in fact Valerius Victorinus¹¹⁾.

The publication of P. Strasb. 296 has shown that in 326 A. D. a Valerius Victorinianus officiated as *praeses Thebaidos*. His term of office falls between 323 A. D. (P. Köln Panopolis 27, published in ZPE 10, 1973, 126) and 326 A. D. (P. Strasb. 296). The start of his term of office may be placed about 321 A. D. (cp. P. Vindob. Worp 8, p. 74). Due to the lack of any specific date in the Cairo text we can give only an approximate dating for this papyrus.

The text seems to fall into two parts. Lines 4-14 contain an order of the leading *centurio* Valerius Dionysius, chief of staff of Victorinianus, to an anonymous *exactor* of the Hermopolite nome to produce certain people whose presence had been ordered by the *praeses*. In the same handwriting lines 1-3 seem to contain the confirmation that the people summoned have in fact appeared.

⁸⁾ *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, Vol. X, Nos. 10001-10869: *Greek Papyri* (Le Caire 1903).

⁹⁾ See C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets d'Égypte de 284 à 395* (Bruxelles 1962), 106-8; J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte de l'avènement de Dioclétien à la création du diocèse (284-382 A. D.)* (Bruxelles 1964), 239.

¹⁰⁾ An abstract of P. Lond. inv. 2226 has been published by Lallemand, *o.c.*, 265.

¹¹⁾ See the editor's note to P. Oxy. XXXIII 2674, 3 for some revised readings of P. Lond. inv. 2226, 15; O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia* (Milano 1973), 134, wrongly calls the prefect of Egypt in 308 A. D. Valerius Victorinianus.

Key-word for this interpretation is ταῦτα (l. 1), which cannot be understood except in relation to πρόσωπα (l. 7). Apparently the writer has written α—very short—report on the summons of these people and has copied *in extenso* the order of Valerius Dionysius.

Notes

L. 1. The sigma above παρέστη can be explained in various ways: a) it represents the number six. The papyrus could have formed part of a roll containing copies of letters, orders, etc.; b) the writer has—incorrectly!—doubled the sigma of παρέστη by writing the second letter as an afterthought above the line. A parallel of this kind of gemination can be found in P. Amsterdam inv. 37 Col. II, 62 (published in ZPE 14, 1974, 145 ff.), where the reading ἀνερήσονται has to be corrected as ἀνασστήσουσι¹²). According to the editor of P. Mich. X 589-591 (49, n. 11; 50) the use of παρίστημι in 'orders of arrest' is very rare. See, however, F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, s.v., 2, where many examples of παρίστημι with the meaning 'present, produce' are given.

L. 2. ἀναφέρω means 'to tender a document to the authorities' (cp. Preisigke, *o.c.*, s.v. 7). A written charge could possibly be meant in this passage (cp. P. Oxy. I 66, 17).

L. 3. Γενάδιος presumably forms the subject of ἀνήνεγκεν; perhaps the personal name Gennadius is meant.

L. 4. For the *gentilicium* Valerius see P. Mich. X, p. 55¹³). The *centurio ordinatus* Valerius Dionysius is not known from other papyri already published. In general ὀρδινᾶτος rarely occurs in the papyri¹⁴). For the spelling ὠρ- instead of ὀρ- cp. P. Beatty Pano- polis 2, 60. The *centurio* is rarely mentioned in fourth century papyri¹⁵). Cp. for the *ordinati* P. Mich. X 592, II, 3 note. For the role of the *centurio princeps* as the chief of staff of the *praeses* see P. Oxy. XIV 1637, 10 note.

¹² Cf. E. Mayser-H. Schmoll, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, I 1 (Berlin 1970), 192.

¹³ Cf. also J. G. Keenan, *The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations in Later Roman Egypt*, ZPE 11 (1973), 33-63, esp. 44-5.

¹⁴ See S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nella lingua greca d'Egitto* (Barcelona 1971), s.v.

¹⁵ See Wilcken, *Grundzüge* . . . , 406; P. Vindob. Sijpesteijn 1, 15-16.

L. 5. For the office of the *exactor* see Lallemand, *o.c.*, 118 f.

L. 8. Ἀνδρεία as a title of honour for the *praeses* also occurs in P. Strassb. 296 verso, 11¹⁶).

L. 11. The word ὑποσταλέντι presents some palaeographical problems and its meaning in this context is not absolutely clear either. After ὑπο- and before -αλέντι there is virtually space for only one letter, whereas for the reading ὑποσταλέντι we need space for two letters. We have to suppose that the writer wrote the combination -στ- very compactly. A semantic problem is that according to Preisigke (*o.c.*, s.v.) the meaning of the verb ὑποστέλλω is "herunterziehen 1) (Med.) sich aus Furcht zurückziehen, aus Furcht unterdrücken, verschweigen, auslassen, ausser Betracht lassen". However, these meanings are of no help in interpreting the word in this context. In addition Preisigke gives the translations "wozu gehören, sich erstrecken, wohin entfallen" (see also P. Groningen 10, p. 28-29). Starting from these translations the use of ὑποσταλέντι can perhaps be explained on the analogy of some verbs which take a dative in the active voice but allow a personal passive construction, e.g. βοηθέω τινί ~ βοηθοῦμαι¹⁷). A similar construction is known of the verb ἐπιστέλλω. A correction of ὑποσταλέντι into ἀποσταλέντι (ὁ ἀποσταλεὶς = ὁ ἀπόστολος) seems attractive, but can hardly be accounted for¹⁸).

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¹⁶) See for this title H. Zilliacus, *Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen und Höflichkeitstiteln im Griechischen* (Helsingfors 1949), 42.

¹⁷) Cf. Kühner-Gerth, *Griech. Grammatik*, I, 124-5.

¹⁸) I should like to thank Prof. C. J. Ruijgh and Dr. P. J. Sijpesteijn, with whom I discussed some problems. I am especially indebted to Prof. Gamal Mokhtar (President of the Egyptian Organisation of Antiquities) and Prof. Abdel Quadr Selim (General Director of the Egyptian Museum) for giving me access to this and other papyri in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Through the most efficient assistance of Mr. W. F. G. J. Stoetzer (Director of the Nederlands Instituut voor Archeologie en Arabische Studien in Cairo) they also made a photograph of the Cairo papyrus available to me.