THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
PART VI
GRENFELL AND HUNT
EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND
GRAECO-ROMAN BRANCH

THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
PART VI

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES
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Of the papyri included in this volume, the two long classical texts containing the Hypsipyle of Euripides (852) and the new commentary on Thucydides II (858) formed part of the large find of literary MSS. which was made on Jan. 13, 1906, in the circumstances described in the Times of May 24, 1906, and the Archaeological Report of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1905–6, p. 10. The other literary papyri were chiefly discovered during the same season, but some were found in 1897 or 1902. The non-literary documents, which largely belong to the third and fourth centuries, come, with a few exceptions, from the finds of 1897.

In editing the new classical texts we have for the first time been without the support of the late Professor F. Blass, to whom our previous publications have owed so much; but for 852 and 853 we have been fortunate in obtaining the generous aid of Professors U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff and J. B. Bury, who have very materially furthered the reconstruction of those texts, while Mr. Gilbert Murray has also contributed many most valuable suggestions and criticisms upon 852. To these three scholars in particular, and to some others whose occasional assistance is acknowledged in connexion with the individual papyri, we here offer our sincerest thanks. Lastly, we would express our obligations to the accomplished Proof-reader of the University Press, whose care, in this book as in its predecessors, has removed many small blemishes from our pages.

The next volume of the Graeco-Roman Branch will be Part VII of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, to be issued, we hope, in the course of 1909. We expect to include in it a detailed description of the site and excavations with a plan, and a résumé of the topographical information which the papyri have so far yielded concerning Oxyrhynchus and the Oxyrhynchite nome.

BERNARD P. GRENFELL.
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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The general method followed in this volume is the same as that in
Parts I–V. As before, some of the more important new literary texts (852–3,
855) are printed in a dual form, a literal transcript being accompanied by
a reconstruction in modern style. In other cases, and in the fragments of
extant authors, the originals are reproduced except for division of words,
capital initials in proper names, expansion of abbreviations, and supplements of
lacunae. Additions or corrections by the same hand as the body of the text
are in small thin type, those by a different hand in thick type. Non-literary
documents, including the magical text (886) in the 'Miscellaneous' section, are
given in modern form with accentuation and punctuation. Abbreviations and
symbols are resolved; additions and corrections are usually incorporated in the
text and their occurrence is recorded in the critical apparatus, where also faults
of orthography, &c., are corrected if they seemed likely to give rise to any
difficulty. Iota adscript has been printed when so written, otherwise iota sub-
script is employed. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the
resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets ⟨ ⟩ a mistaken omission
in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets
[ ][ ] a deletion in the original. Dots placed within brackets represent the
approximate number of letters lost or deleted; dots outside brackets indicate
mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Letters with dots underneath them are
to be considered doubtful. Heavy Arabic numerals refer to the texts of the
Oxyrhynchus papyri in this volume and Parts I–V, ordinary numerals to lines,
small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used in referring to papyrological publications are
practically those adopted in the Archiv für Papyrusforschung, viz.:—
P. Amh. = The Amherst Papyri (Greek), Vols. I–II, by B. P. Grenfell and
A. S. Hunt.
Archiv = Archiv für Papyrusforschung.
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I. THEOLOGICAL FRAGMENTS

845. PSALMS lxviii and lxx.

12-5 × 18-2 cm. Late fourth or fifth century.

This fragment from a papyrus book contains parts of Ps. lxviii and lxx, written in a large and clear cursive hand probably of the period from 350 to 450. The book was of a large size, the page when complete measuring about 22 cm. across. No lection signs occur beyond the diaeresis; the usual contractions of θεὸς and κύριος are used, but ὀφραυνοῖ and μυτρῶς are written in full. For the two Psalms here represented the chief uncial MSS. are δὲ, B, and R (the Verona Psalter, attributed to the sixth century), but the papyrus does not agree consistently with any of these authorities. It seems to have been rather nearer to δὲ than to B, and, as would be expected in an Egyptian text, supports none of the peculiar readings of R.

Verso lxviii. 30–7.

τοῦ μιαντοῦ τὸ ονομα του θυμ ομη μεγαλύνω αὐτον εν αἰ
νεστει και αρσετε τω θω ψερ μοσχα ον νεον κ Corinthians εκφεροντα και
οπλας [δετο] ο[π]ως και ευφρανθητως [εκθετε]
τον θυ και εκθετα τη ψυχη ύμων στι [ιση] κοινην των
5 πενητων και τους πεπεδημενους [αυτον ουκ εξουθε
νοσει ανεσατοςαν αυτον οι ουρανοι και η γη θαλασα και παν
τα τα ερποντα εν αυτοις οτι ο θσ σωσει την Σωσει και οικο
δομηθηςουσαν] [αι πολεις της Ιουδαιας και κατοικησουσιν εκει
και κληρονομησουσιν αυτην και το σπερμα των δουλων αυτου
10 [καθε] έδουσιν αυτην

B
THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

Recto lxx. 3-8.

[...] oographon tou sswa me osi] stere[ph]oma mou k[a] kata [tuph]g mou ei sy o o τ[
[ek xoros parapn]m]ntos kai adikounntos sti sy ei upo [mou] τ[

1. It is doubtful whether το at the beginning of this line is the final syllable of 
anteleqeto or the article before σσομα. The latter division would make the line rather short, 
but it could be sufficiently lengthened by the insertion of μου after θ(e)ov with Νο. The 
vestige of the letter after το suits ο better than ο, but is too slight to decide the point, and 
some traces of ink later on in this line are also indecisive.

2. το θ(e)ov: or perhaps το κ[υρι]ων, which would be a new reading, though the cursive 
188 has τον κυριον. ekeperwta was perhaps omitted, as in Νο*. Its insertion produces a 
very long line, while on the other hand its omission leaves the supplement a little shorter than 
would be expected.

3. [ekstapaste]: γνατατ R. Cf. note on l. 4.

4. θ(e)ov: κυριο R.

ɛkstastai τη ψυχη νωον: γνατατ τη ψυχη νωον (νωοι Νο-3) Νο*R, γνατατ R. The έκ is 
a repetition from ekstapaste, or the scribe may have transferred the preposition from one verb 
to the other; cf. the omission of ek with γνατατ in R.

5. (υριον): ο κυριο ΒΝR.

εξωειναει: so Νο*R; εξωνωσεν ΒΝο-3.

6. εκτιβητα να νωοι: so ΒΝο-3; περαιτα της γης Νο*. 

7. The length of the lacuna indicates that the papyrus had μου after θ(ε)ov; with Νο; 
B omits.

8. τη νωοι: so the cursives 27, 285; τη νωοι. ΒΝR. Cf. the omission of η before 
elpis in l. 14. It is unlikely that και stood before έκ as in R.

9. (υριο) μου: ομ. μου ΒΝR; cf. the addition of μου in l. 12.

(υριο) ετις: κυριε η ελπις R; κυριος η ελπις ΒΝ.

10. (επατ)αγθην : ... καπατατη). The papyrus agrees with ΒΝ; R has επιφην ek 
ματρος έκ της μ. μου συ ει μου νπερασις της μου. ο of κοιλιας is corrected from τη.

11. τη νωοι (τη νωοι seems to be corrected) = νπερασις, which is the reading of Νο 
and the Sahidic version; νπερασις BR. of ως is corrected.

12. so: l. ιυο. Νο-3R add μου after βοηθον.


13. R adds κυριο after αινεις: οπως γνησιω (την δοξαν του) was originally written in Νο, 
but added by the second corrector.
The upper portion of a leaf from a papyrus codex, preserving part of the second chapter of the book of Amos in the Septuagint version. Six lines are lost at the bottom of the verso, and the size of the complete page can be estimated at about \(26.5 \times 15.5\) cm. The large and heavy uncial script, round and upright, in brown ink, and resembling the hand of P. Amh. 190, is probably of the sixth century. At the ends of the longer lines the writing becomes very small. Two kinds of stops, the high and middle, occur, as well as some of the usual contractions. The text is fairly correct, and so far as it goes coincides for the most part with that of the Vaticanus, Alexandrinus, and Marchalianus, with which we give a collation. The only variant of interest is in verse 7, where a reading peculiar to a few cursives occurs.

**Verso ii. 6–8.**

\[\text{τὰ ἐνεκέκ ύποδηματιων} \]
\[\text{[τ]ὰ πατονουτα επὶ τον [χουν] τῆς γῆς καὶ εκορυσυλίζου} \]
\[\text{εἰς κεφαλας πτωχων} \]

5 \[\text{kαι οδὸν ταπινων εἰς ἐκκλησίαν} \]
\[\text{[μ]αν καὶ θῖος καὶ π[α] [αυτου} \]
\[\text{[σ]πορευοντο πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν} \]
\[\text{πα[π[ώρακην ὁπο]ς [βεβηλω} \]
\[\text{[σ]ονιν το [ον][ο]μ [του ἐν αυ} \]

10 \[\text{[των] ν καὶ τα ἱματια [αυτων} \]
\[\text{[δ]εσμευοντες σχισινων} \]
\[\text{[π]οραστασιματα επ[ιοινυ} \]
\[\text{[ε]χομενα τον θυσιαστη} \]
\[\text{ριου και οινον εκ συκοφαν} \]

15 \[\text{των επινυν εν τω οικω} \]
\[\text{του [θ]υ αυτων} \]

**Recto ii. 9–12.**

\[\text{α[ν]του ύποκατωθεν} \]
\[\text{και εγω} \]
\[\text{[αν]νιγαγον ύμαι εκ γης [Α]πο} \]
\[\text{[γυς]που και περιγαγον} \]

20 \[\text{μας εν τη ερημω τεσσε]ε} \]
\[\text{[ρακ][ο]ντα ετη του κατακλη} \]
\[\text{[ρονο][μ]ασι την γην των [Α]μφι} \]
\[\text{[μ]αρανων και ελαβοι εκ} \]
\[\text{[των υ]μων εις προ[ο} \]

25 \[\text{φησασι} \]
\[\text{και εκ των νεαι} \]
\[\text{[σκω][ν] υμων εις αγιασμον} \]
\[\text{[μ]η [ουκ] επτ[η][ν] ταυτα δι'οι} \]
\[\text{[Η]ηλ λεγει και εποτ]ι'ε} \]
\[\text{[τε τω[ν] γιαμασφοσ [οι} \]

30 \[\text{[νον κε][λ] τως προφηταις} \]
\[\text{[ενετελεθε]ε [Α] λεγοντε} \]
\[\text{[ον μη προφητευνη]τε} \]

7. \[\text{[ω]σπορευοντο: or [ει]ο[σ]πορευοντο. The supplement at the end of the line is rather long, and perhaps ηρω was omitted.} \]
8. \[\text{[βεβηλων]ων: so the cursives 86, 153, 198 (Holmes); βεβηλω]ω B, Swete,} \]
\[\text{βεβηλωσων(ν) ΔεQ, &c.} \]
20. τεσσεράκοντα : so AQ; μ' B.
23. ἀμορραίων: Αμορραίων MSS. There is room for at least three letters in the lacuna; ἀμορραίων cannot be read.
ελαβον: Q has ανελαβον.
28. A stop is probably lost after κ(υριοὴς.


16·2 x 14·6 cm. Fourth century. Plate VI (recto).

This leaf from a vellum MS. of St. John’s Gospel is sufficiently early in date to be of decided value. The rather large calligraphic script is more closely related to the sloping oval type of the third and fourth centuries than to the squarer heavier style which subsequently became common for biblical texts and of which 848 and 851 are examples. Especially noticeable are the small ο and ω placed high in the line of writing; the ω is also remarkably shallow—shallower for instance, than that in 665 (cf. P. Oxy. IV, Plate I). We have little hesitation in referring the MS. to the fourth century, and it may well be as old as any of the great biblical codices. Stops in the middle position are freely used; a few other dots which occur seem to be accidental. The usual contractions of πατρός and Ἰησοῦς are used, the latter word appearing both as Ἰς (l. 9) and Ἰς (l. 30); μήτηρ, on the other hand, is written out at length (l. 4).

The leaf is practically entire, and preserves a dozen verses from chap. ii of the Gospel. Compared with the three principal MSS., the Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, and Alexandrinus (C and D are both defective here), the text is much nearest to that of the Vaticanus, with which it agrees four times against the other two, whereas there is no coincidence with Ν against AB, one with A against ΝΒ, and only two with ΝΑ against Β. Readings unsupported by any of the three are found in verse 12, ταῦτα for τοῦτο, and verse 15, where ὡς is added before φραγέλλιον, variants for which the new MS. is much the earliest authority.

Recto ii. 11–16.

αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰστευναν εἰς Αὐ τοῦ μαθηταί. Αὐ τοῦ μετα ταῦτα κατεβή εἰς Καφαρνα ὦμεν. Αὐ τοῦ καὶ η ὑπηρελιφθη αὐτοῦ.
5 καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί καὶ οἱ μαθηταί ταῦτα αὐτοῦ. καὶ εἰκε εἰμεναν

Verso ii. 16–22.

20 περιστερας πολυσαμεν εἰπεν ἀρατε ταῦτα εὐτευθεῖν. μη ποιεῖτε τὸν οἰκον τον προς μον οἰκον εμπορίου εμνη σῶθησαν οἱ μαθηταί αὐτοῦ. ο
25 τι γεγραμμενος εστιν. ο ξῆλος
15 οὖν πόλλας ἡμέρας καὶ εγγὺς ἦν τὸ πᾶσχα τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἦν ἐν τῷ ἵερῳ τοῦ τῶν διδόμοι τις προβάτα καὶ περιτερεῖς καὶ τοὺς κερματίστας καθημένους καὶ τοὺς περιστέρας καὶ τοὺς Κερ αὔτως ἐξεβαλεῖν ὡς φραγέλλιον· καὶ τοὺς τοῦ ἱεροῦ τα τε προβάτα και τοὺς Βοας και τοὺς κολλυβιστών εξεκέεν τὰ κερματὰ καὶ τας τρα πεζ[α] εντερψεν καὶ τοῖς τας τοῦ εἰς αὐτὸν καταφαγεται με απεκρίθησαν οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαίοι καὶ εἶπαν αὐτοῖς τι σημεῖον δει κνυεις ημῖν στὶ ταύτα ποιεῖσ 30 απεκρίθη Ἰησοῦ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς λυσατε τὸν ναὸν τούτον καὶ προβατά καὶ περιστέρας καθημένους καὶ τοὺς περιστέρας ὡς φραγέλλιον εἰς Ιεροσολυμα τὸν πασχα τῶν Τουδαιων καὶ επεσαν κατὰ τοὺς κερματίστας καθημένους καὶ τοὺς περιστέρας καὶ τοὺς προβατάντας καὶ τοὺς κολλυβισταν εὐρω ὡς φραγέλλιον· καὶ τοῖς τοῦ εἰς αὐτὸν ρνηρθὲν εκ νεκ
848. REVELATION xvi.

Fifth century. Plate I (verso).

Fragment of a leaf from a vellum codex, containing a few verses from Rev. xvi. The book was of remarkably small size, for only 11 lines are lost between the last line of the recto and the first of the verso, whence it follows that there were only 17 lines in the complete page; the inscribed surface would thus have been about 10 cm. in height. The bold upright uncial style is similar in style to those of the Codex Alexandrinus, though rather heavier; they may be referred to the fifth century. Stops in both the high and middle position occur. The text agrees, so far as it goes, with that of the Codex Alexandrinus.

Recto xvi. 17–8.

[τοῦ ναοῦ] ἀπὸ τοῦ
θρόνου λέγουσα:
γεγονέν καὶ εἰခ

5 καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρό
ταῦ: καὶ εἰς ὁμοῖος εὐθυμενοῦ


λῃ ἐμνηθή ἐνω
τιοὺς τοῦ θυ: δῶ

10 μέν τοῦ οἴου
τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς

[τὰργῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ

1. [τοῦ ναοῦ]: so ΝΑ, W(estcott)-H(ort); τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ ωμοῦ B &c., T(extus) R(eceptus). ωμοῦ, if uncontracted, would occupy the same space as τοῦ ναοῦ, and it is therefore possible that [ωμοῦ] should be read here.

ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου is omitted in Ν and τοῦ θεοῦ substituted.

4–5. The MS. agrees with A (so W-H). Ν inadvertently has βρονταὶ καὶ before αστραπαῖοι as well as καὶ βρονταῖος after φωναὶ. φ. καὶ βρ. καὶ αστρ. T-R with a number of cursives.

8. δουλε: τοῦ δουλε Ν.

9–12. το, τοῦ, and αὐτοῦ are omitted in Ν.

849. ACTS OF PETER.

9.8 x 9 cm. Early fourth century. Plate I (recto).

A single leaf from a vellum codex of the Acts of Peter in Greek, the two pages being numbered 167 and 168 respectively. These so-called ‘Gnostic’ Acts of Peter, distinct from the so-called ‘Catholic’ Acts, are partially preserved in more than one shape. There is firstly the Latin Codex Vercellensis of the
seventh century, which contains an account of the acts of Peter at Rome in connection with Simon Magus and of his martyrdom. Secondly, there are two Greek MSS. (of the ninth to eleventh centuries) containing only the martyrdom; dependent upon this recension are the Slavonic, Coptic, Armenian, and Ethiopic versions. Thirdly, another Latin version of the martyrdom, ascribed to Bishop Linus and extant in a large number of MSS., is independent of the version in the Codex Vercellensis, which is shorter and written in much worse Latin. These three texts were edited by Lipsius in *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, I. pp. 1–22 and 45–103. Recently a fragment of a different portion of the Acts dealing with an incident during Peter’s sojourn at Jerusalem has been published by C. Schmidt from a fourth or fifth century Coptic MS. at Berlin (Die alten Petrusakten in Texte und Untersuchungen, Bd. xxiv. Heft 1). The date and character of these Acts of Peter, and the history of the text in its different forms have been the subject of much discussion; and the discovery of a fragment of what is no doubt the Greek original is a new factor of considerable importance. Our fragment belongs to the portion of the Acts concerned with Simon Magus found only in the Codex Vercellensis, and corresponds to p. 73, ll. 16–27 of Lipsius’ edition.

The leaf is practically perfect, but the ink is much obliterated in the last five lines of the verso. The handwriting is a medium-sized upright uncial of a common third to fourth century type. Had the material used been papyrus, we should have been more disposed to assign it to the late third than to the fourth century, but since vellum was not commonly used in Egypt until the fourth century, it is safer to attribute the fragment to the period from Diocletian to Constantine. The papyri with which it was found were rather mixed in point of date, ranging from the third century to the fifth. The usual contraction of θεός and its cases is employed, but μηρος is uncontracted. υ at the end of a line is sometimes indicated by a stroke above the preceding letter. There are no stops, breathings, or accents, but a coronis is employed to fill up a space at the end of l. 14. The scribe was not very careful; θ(ε)ου for θ(ε)ο occurs in l. 8 and οψηςμθα for ἀποσμα for ἀποσήμα in l. 9, while in ll. 1–2 it is clear that the text is seriously corrupt; cf. note ad loc. Apart, however, from this difficulty at the beginning, the agreement between the Greek of our fragment and the Latin of the Codex Vercellensis is on the whole very close. The Greek sometimes tends to be fuller than the Latin, there being two instances (cf. notes on ll. 6–7 and 19) where the Latin omits words or phrases found in the Greek: at other times the Latin is longer; cf. notes on ll. 14, 22, and 26. ηθελων σε in ll. 20–1 is wrongly rendered confidens in te, but as a rule the Latin is a singularly literal interpretation; cf. e.g. libenter habet for ἡθελων ἐχει in ll. 16–7, and the close resemblance in the
order of the words throughout. That our fragment represents the Greek text from which the Codex Vercellensis was translated admits of little doubt.

For the question of the relation of the two Latin versions and the Greek μαρτύριον to the Greek original of the Acts of Peter that conclusion is of cardinal importance. Lipsius had supposed that the Greek original was altogether lost, and that the longer Latin version found in the martyrium ascribed to Bishop Linus, so far as it went, represented the original more faithfully than the shorter Latin version found in the Codex Vercellensis, while he regarded the Greek text of the μαρτύριον as a retranslation from the shorter Latin version. Against this complicated hypothesis Zahn (Gesch. d. NT Kanons, ii. pp. 832 sqq.) put forward the simpler explanation that the extant Greek μαρτύριον was part of the original Acts of Peter, that the Codex Vercellensis was a translation of it, the longer Latin version being an independent translation made at a later date with numerous elaborations, and a much less faithful representation of the original. The correctness of Zahn's explanation, which has been generally accepted (cf. Harnack, Chron. d. altchr. Lit., ii. 1, p. 551), is thoroughly vindicated by the new discovery. Though the longer Latin version of that portion of the Acts to which our fragment belongs is not extant (whether the longer Latin version ever contained more than the martyrium is very doubtful), a comparison of the divergences in the two Latin versions of the martyrium shows unquestionably that the shorter and not the longer one is the form supported by our fragment. The rejection of the claims of the longer Latin version to be regarded as more authentic than the shorter also removes the principal reason for supposing the Greek text of the μαρτύριον to be a retranslation from the Latin, and this theory may now be finally abandoned. Since the Greek μαρτύριον agrees on the whole very closely with the conclusion of the Codex Vercellensis, Zahn is clearly right in accepting the former as belonging to the Greek original. Its relation to this shorter Latin version is very similar to that of our fragment to the corresponding portion of the Codex Vercellensis. The Greek tends to be rather fuller than the Latin, which however sometimes instead of abbreviating paraphrases the Greek at greater length and generally follows it closely. So far as the style of our fragment can be judged, it is quite in keeping with that of the μαρτύριον. The construction, for instance, ὁρώντων ... συνεπάθουν in 1. 4—5 finds a parallel in the μαρτύριον, p. 82. 24—5 καὶ καταπεσόντος αὐτοῦ ἀνωθεν ἐκλ(υθ)εὶς συστῇ.

Did the MS. to which our fragment belongs begin at the point where the Codex Vercellensis commences, or did it also comprise an account of earlier doings of Peter, including perhaps the events at Jerusalem described in C. Schmidt's fragment, which apparently belongs to the period before Peter came to Rome? The two pages of our fragment, nos. 167 and 168 of the MS., correspond to 12
lines of Lipsius’ edition of the Codex Vercellensis. The previous 166 pages therefore ought to correspond to approximately 996 lines of his edition. As a matter of fact the preceding portion of the Codex Vercellensis occupies 908 lines, and when allowance is made for the circumstance that, judging by the μαρτύριον, the tendency of the Latin to abbreviate the original is less marked than usual in our fragment, there is every probability that the beginning of this MS. coincided with the beginning of the Codex Vercellensis, and that the acts of Peter at Jerusalem formed no part of it. This conclusion is not necessarily fatal to C. Schmidt’s view that his fragments form part of the same work as the Codex Vercellensis, for from an early period the various apocryphal Acts tended to break up into distinct sections, if indeed these sections were originally combined. That the Acts of Paul comprised the Acts of Paul and Thecla, the forged correspondence with the Corinthians, and the Martyrium Pauli, which were previously known as distinct documents, has only recently been made clear through C. Schmidt’s discovery of the Coptic fragments of the Acts as a whole. Similarly of the Acts of John various sections have been preserved in different forms, but with considerable lacunae in or between them, in one of which is no doubt to be placed the new fragment in the present volume (850), itself containing the beginning of a distinct section with a sub-title of its own. But since the composition of the Acts of Peter is referred by the principal critics to A.D. 160–170 (Zahn), 200–210 (C. Schmidt), 200–220 (Harnack), our fragment was written little, if at all, later than a century afterwards; and the apparent absence in so early a MS. of any section corresponding with C. Schmidt’s fragment certainly provides an argument in favour of G. Ficker, who (Die Petrusakten, pp. 6–7, Neutest. Apokryphen, ed. E. Hennecke, pp. 383–4) is disposed to regard that fragment as either not belonging to the Acts of Peter as such, or as later than the Acts of the Codex Vercellensis, and thinks that these Acts were intended to follow immediately after the Acts of the Apostles. On the other hand the subscription in the Coptic MS. Πρᾶξις Πέτρου certainly provides strong prima facie evidence that it belonged to the same work as the Codex Vercellensis, and, as C. Schmidt reminds us, in the stichometry of Nicephorus the Acts of Peter is credited with 2750 στίχοι (i.e. it was about the same length as Leviticus or St. Luke’s Gospel), a number which is too large to be accounted for by the Greek original of the Codex Vercellensis alone.

On the disputed questions of the date of the composition of the Acts of Peter and their supposed Gnostic or ‘vulgäritchstliche’ origin (cf. Harnack, op. cit., ii. 2. pp. 170–2) the new fragment has no direct bearing, but its appearance is useful in tending to clear the ground by a dispersal of the suspicions of having been tampered with which have hitherto attached to the Codex Vercellensis and
the Greek μαρτύριον (cf. Harnack’s later view that the Acts of Peter are a compilation in Texte und Unters. Bd. xx. Heft 3, pp. 120 sqq., and C. Schmidt’s criticism of this in his Petrusakten). For, putting aside the question whether C. Schmidt’s Coptic fragment was an integral part of the Acts or not, there is now no longer any reason to doubt the substantial fidelity of the shorter Latin version, or to suppose that it and the μαρτύριον represent, as far as they go, anything else than the Acts of Peter in their original form.

Verso.

ρέξ
δί εμον μη μελησαντες
[
] αυτον κατεχοντον ει α
[ ] ρα αληθων απεθανον και
οροντων οτι αληθως νε
κρος εστω συνεπαθον
τη γραδι λεγοντες ει αρα
βουλι μηπερ και θαρρεις
τω Πετρω δυν αραντες
αυτον ευηις αποηνομεθα
εκει ινα αυτον εγειρας
αποδο σοι τουτον δε ου
τως καλουντον ο πραιφε
κτοσ ατενιζον τω Πετρω

Recto.

ρη
15 ο παις μου νεκρος κειται
ον και ο βασιλευς ηδος
εχει και ουκ εφεισαμην
αυτον καιοι γε ετερους
εχων μετ εμαυτου νεανισ
20 κους αλλα σε μαλλον και το
dια σου δυν πειρασαι θελων
eι αρα αληθεις εατε τουτο
ηβουληθην αποθανειν και
ο Πετροσ εφη ου πειραζεται
25 δι ουθε δοκιμαζεται Αγριπ
tα αλλα φιλουμενοι και
παρακαλουμενοι άκουει
tον αξιων επει δε μην

‘... (the youths having examined his nostrils to see) whether he was indeed really dead, and seeing that he was in truth a corpse, consoled the old woman saying, “If indeed you wish, mother, and trust in the God of Peter, we will lift him up and carry him thither, in order that Peter may raise him and restore him to you.” While they were thus speaking, the praefect looking intently at Peter (said), “Behold, Peter, my servant lies dead, who was a favourite of the king himself, and I did not spare him although I have with me other youths; but because I desired to try you and the God whom you preach, whether ye are indeed true, I wished him to die.” And Peter said, “God is not to be tried or proved, Agrippa, but when He is loved and entreated He hearkens to those who are worthy. But since now...’”


iuuenes autem qui venerunt nares puert considerarant si uere mortuus esset. uidentes autem quoniam mortuus est consolabantur matrem ipsius dicentes: Si uere credis in deo Petri tollentes eum perferimus ad Petrum ut eum suscitant restitut tibi. hae dicentibus iubebus
praefectus autem in foro inuenus Petrum dixit: Quid dicis, Petre? ecce puer mortuus iacet quem et imperator libenter habet et non illi peperci; utique habebam alios confutatis tuares; sed confidem in te et in dominum tuum quem praedicas, si nere certi et certi estis: ideo huc uolui mori. Petrus autem dixit: Non templatur deus neque ex(is)limatur, sed dilectissimus ex amino coiendus exaudiet qui digni sunt. Sed quantum inuoc...
16. βασιλευς = imperator, as frequently in the Martyrium Petri et Pauli.

18. καίτοι ye etreous: the point of this is that the boy chosen to die was the favourite servant, and that Agrippa might have chosen one of his other attendants.

19. In place of met evnouv the Latin has conplures.

20-1. τὸν δια θεοὴν = dominum tuum quem praedicas. The addition of a participle such as κηρυττόμενον would be an improvement, but is not necessary. πειραται θελων is mistranslated by the Latin confidens in, which does not suit the following clause si uere certi; &c.

22. et ara olybis: the Latin is redundant, si uere certi et ueri. In ll. 2–3 on the other hand ara olybis is rendered by one word uere.

25. Αγριππα is omitted in the Latin.

26-7. φιλουμενος και παρακαλουμενος: this is clearer than the Latin dilectissimus ex animo colendus.


The upper portion (apparently) of a leaf from a codex of the Acts of John, containing a mutilated account of two incidents, neither of which occurs in the extant portions of that work. The handwriting is a good-sized, irregular and rather inelegant uncial of the fourth century. Stops (middle and low points) are freely employed, as well as occasional breathings. The ordinary theological contractions of θεός, Ἰησοῦς, and κύριος occur. The recto has in one or two lines at the top of the page the sub-title of the section of the Acts. This sub-title is unfortunately incomplete, and no light is thrown upon it by the actual contents of the fragment; but the mention of Andronicus supplies a point of contact with the extant portions of the Acts of John, in which that individual is mentioned several times as a στρατηγός of Ephesus who, at first a sceptic, afterwards became one of the apostle’s chief disciples in that city. The following incident is of a type familiar in apocryphal Acts. The apostle goes to visit the brethren apparently at a village near Ephesus, and on the way has to cross a bridge, where his passage is barred by a demon in the form of a soldier, who threatens violence. The military aspect assumed by the demon recalls a similar story in the Martyrium Matthaei, which is not impossibly here copying the Acts of John; cf. l. 26, note. Rebuffed by St. John, the demon vanishes, and on reaching his destination the apostle exhorts the brethren to worship and joins with them in prayer (ll. 22–35). The verso (ll. 1–19) is concerned with a quite different episode which is much more obscure. The scene is a church (cf. l. 16), and apparently a person called Zeuxis (l. 13) had just tried to hang himself but had been miraculously saved by St. John (ll. 5–6), who in ll. 4–13 offers up a thanksgiving of a character for which there are numerous parallels in the extant Acts of John. Afterwards
some question seems to arise concerning the partaking of the Eucharist (ll. 13-5), and the proconsul (sc. of Ephesus) intervenes, perhaps bringing a letter from the Emperor (ll. 15-8), but the circumstances are obscure. Whether the page on the recto precedes that on the verso or vice versa there is no external evidence to show; but since the description of the incident on the verso implies a considerable amount of space devoted to the earlier part of the Zeuxis story, we prefer to suppose that the verso precedes the recto, for the missing lower half of the recto does not seem to allow sufficient room for the beginning of the Zeuxis story, which is obviously quite unconnected with the incident concerning the demon in the form of a soldier. The verso therefore presumably belongs to the conclusion of one section of the Acts of John, and the recto to the beginning of the next. The tendency of the various apocryphal Acts to split up into independent parts has already been noted (cf. p. 9) in regard to the Acts of Peter, and in the Acts of John is especially marked; the fullest edition (Bonnet, Acta Apost. Apocr., i. pp. 151-216) is made up of five separate sections derived from different MSS., and not only separated from each other by gaps of uncertain length, but also exhibiting in some places evidence of internal omissions. There is no difficulty in finding a place for the new fragment. The references to Andronicus and the proconsul clearly indicate Ephesus as the background. Andronicus is mentioned, obviously for the first time, in c. 31 of the extant Acts, where he appears as an unbeliever, but in c. 37 he has already become a disciple, and the account of his conversion probably occurred in one or more lost chapters which originally intervened between cc. 31 and 37, although these both belong to the continuous section of the Acts (cc. 18-86) found in the Codex Patensis. Andronicus also occurs in the following section found only in the Codex Vindobonensis (cc. 87-105), so that our fragment must be inserted at some point later than c. 31 and before c. 106, where begins the account of the μετάστασις with which the work concluded. Two periods of residence at Ephesus are ascribed to the apostle in these chapters, the first covering cc. 31-55, at which point St. John leaves for Smyrna and there is a gap in which several chapters are lost. His return to Ephesus is narrated in c. 62, and throughout the rest of the Acts Ephesus remains the scene. Excluding therefore cc. 55-62 with those lost between cc. 55 and 58, all of which dealt with events away from Ephesus, the most suitable points for the insertion of our fragment are (1) c. 37 before the sentence beginning οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Μιλήτου, where there is a change of subject, and a lacuna is in any case probable owing to the inconsistency of c. 37 with c. 31 concerning Andronicus; (2) the gap between cc. 86 and 87; (3) the gap between cc. 105 and 106. But though in these three places the lacunae are evident, there are other points between
THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

cc. 31-55 and 62-86 (cc. 87-105 form one long speech) where the existence of lacunae is possible, so that there is much freedom of choice. If the title in ll. 20 and 21 refers, as is possible, to the separation of Andronicus from his wife Drusiane, alluded to in c. 63 (ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κεχωρισμένης αὐτῆς διὰ θεοσέβειαν), our fragment must have preceded that chapter, and the general resemblance between the situation in ll. 22 sqq. and that in c. 48 (especially in the version found in the Codex Parisiacus; cf. ll. 22-3, note) also suggests that our fragment belongs to the earlier rather than to the later portions of the Acts of John.

The composition of the original Acts of John is assigned by all critics to the second century, but how far back in that century the work is to be placed depends largely upon the disputed question whether it was used by Clement of Alexandria, as has been supposed by Zahn and others, but not by Harnack (Chron. d. altchr. Lit., ii. 1, p. 542, ii. 2, p. 174). As is usual with apocryphal Acts preserved in comparatively late MSS., there is some uncertainty as to the extent to which the existing portions accurately represent the original or have been subjected to editing. So far as it goes, our fragment, which on account of its antiquity no doubt belongs to the original Acts of John, agrees closely both in its general form and contents with the previously extant portions, and therefore tends to support the view that these have not undergone any serious amount of revision; cf. the similar conclusion to which we attained in connexion with the Acts of Peter (pp. 9-10). The use of the first person plural in reference to Leucius, the supposed narrator of the Acts of John, which often occurs in the narrative portions of the Acts dealing with Ephesus, is not found in ll. 22 sqq. where it might perhaps be expected; but no importance is to be attached to this circumstance, for e.g. in the story in cc. 48 sqq. the use of the first person is equally absent. Formerly the Acts of John were treated as pronouncedly Gnostic, but this inference has recently been disputed by C. Schmidt, who is followed by Harnack (op. cit., ii. 2, p. 173) in regarding them as 'vulgärichristlich, aber von ausserordentlich starker modalistischer und doketischer Färbung'. It is unfortunate that the passage in our fragment which would be most likely to show its author's theological point of view, the prayer in ll. 5-13, is far from complete. While most of the phrases are, so far as can be judged, of a conventional character, the expression ὅ τὰ [μὴδενὶ γνώριμα . . . ] γνωρίζων in ll. 7-8 has a somewhat Gnostic ring.

The beginnings and ends of lines are lost on both pages of the fragment, but it is clear from the fairly certain restorations of the lacunae between ll. 22-3, 26-7, 29-30, and 31-2 that the lines on the recto contained about 41 letters, and l. 27 which projects proves that at least 5 letters are lost at the beginnings.
of the other lines on the recto. We have calculated the size of the lacunae on
the hypothesis that one letter is lost before σμηνός in l. 27 and 4 letters at the
end of l. 31. The arrangement of the division of lines on the verso is more
problematical; we suppose the lines to be of the same length as those on the
recto and have taken the restorations in ll. 12 and 13 as the basis for calculating
the size of the lacunae elsewhere; cf. note on l. 9.

Verso.

........................................... υ[περ αυτον π[............................
...........................................] στενάγμων και τ[............................
...........................................] δε Ιωάννης μ[............................
...........................................Ζευς]δι αναστάς αρας π[............................
5 [. . . . .]πτ [. . .]ρ δ αναγκασάς με μετα [. . .]
...........................................] ενυσοντας τα] β[ροχισαι εαυτων ο та απεγνωσμενα
...........................................] επιστρ[εφ]ων εις σε, δ τα [μ]ηδεν γνωριμα [. . .]
...........................................]νοι γνωριζον, δ κλαιων то тεθλιμενοις
...........................................]ω ο τους νενεκρομενους ανιστων μ [. . .][σου [. . .]
10 [. . . .] ανις тων αδυνατων Ωνи δι παρακλητος [των [. . .]
...........................................]μμων, ανιστομεν σε και προσκυνομεν κα[ι ευχαρι
στου]μεν επι παση σι[ου δωρεα, και τη νυν οικονιμα σου
και] διακονια, και μονω το Ζευς δι της ευχαριστιας
...........................................]επειθικε[ν] τοις β[ουλομενοις λαβειν [. . .][σου [. . .]
15 [. . . .] επισταντες ουκ ετολμησαν, ο δε ανθυπατος [. . .]
...........................................]νομα κα[τα το μεσον της εκκλησιας τω Ιωανη
...........................................]ων λεγει δουλε του ακατωνομαστου δ [. . .]
...........................................][. . . .] επιστολας εκομισαι παρα Καιρ]αρος [. . .]
...........................................]
...........................................]

Recto.

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"John... (spake) to Zeuxis, "Rise up and lift...; thou who didst compel me to turn from his purpose one who was intending to hang himself, who turnest the hearts that are in despair to thyself, who makest known the things that are known to none... who weep for the afflicted... who raisest the dead... of the weak, O Jesus, the comforter of the... We praise thee and worship thee and give thanks to thee for all thy bounty and the present dispensation and service." And he (gave) the eucharist to Zeuxis alone, (and then) offered it to those who wished to receive it, but... did not dare to do so. The proconsul... (coming) into the middle of the church saith to John: "O servant of the nameable one, ... brought letters from Caesar..."

The separation (?); Andronicus and his wife. After a few days had passed, John went forth with several brethren to... and wished to cross a bridge under which a... river was flowing. And as John was on his way to the brethren, a certain... clothed in the fashion of a soldier, approached him, and standing before his face said, "John, if thou (advancest) thou shalt straightway engage me in combat." And John... said, "The Lord shall quench thy threat and thy wrath and thy offence," and behold the other vanished. John then having come to those whom he was visiting and found them gathered together, spake, "Let us rise up, my brethren, and bow our knees before the Lord who has made of none effect the unseen activity of even the great (enemy?)"... he bowed his knees with them..."

4. Probably εἰπε is to be supplied before ΖευξΊιδι (for whom cf. l. 13) and ἀναστάτας, ἀπα... is the beginning of the speech, although there is no stop after ΖευξΊιδι; cf. however l. 30, note.

5. After [. .] is a low stop, as after σε in l. 7 and ημῖνεμοσ in l. 27. If με before μετά... is not due to dittography, we may restore μετά[ρέπειν] (or μετά[τρέπειν] ΖευξΊιδι) εἰπονερτα. The letter after μετά is quite uncertain. For similar invocations in the Acts of John see pp. 187–93 of Bonnet's edition.
6. o both before τα here and before τους in l. 9 probably had a breathing which is lost in a lacuna.
7. The line may be completed γνωριμία δια if ος in l. 8 is a genitive; τι or μ might be read there in place of the doubtful ν.
8. The supposed ο at the beginning of the line is extremely doubtful, and it would be possible to read e.g. τ. In that case, if the lines on the verso were 3 or 4 letters shorter than those on the recto (cf. introd. p. 15), we might read τεθλιμ μενους here, with δοξαζομεν in place of γνωριμία μεν in ll. 11-2, omitting both σου in l. 12 and the supposed lacuna between αυτοις σεμεναι and επιστρεφών in ll. 6-7. The reduction of the corresponding lacunae elsewhere by 3 or 4 letters would, however, present some difficulty in ll. 13-4, where a verb is necessary; and we prefer to adhere to the length of lines indicated by the recto.
9. και is possible after αναστων in place of μ . . , but less suitable.
10. αναστων is not satisfactory since the word occurred in the previous line. η(σο)ν is no doubt vocative.
11-3. Cf. e.g. Acts of John (AJ), p. 189. 23-4, and 193. 2 sqq., and for οἰκονομία p. 188. 2.
14. εκκοιμησε, which would be expected (cf. AJ, p. 193. 14, &c.), is too long for the lacuna after ευχαριστιαν. εδεικτε might be read; but then if ετε ευξειξωτον in the next line is right (cf. AJ, p. 208. 11) these two sentences do not connect well together.
16. ους suggests a participle like εκθνωμεν, but the following letters constitute a difficulty, the arrangement of the fibres, which are twisted, being not quite certain. Of the supposed κ the merest vestige remains, but δε κατα is unsuitable.
17. Jw may be read in place of Jw. At the end of the line the supposed rough breathing is more to the left than usual, but it is not satisfactory to regard it as part of a mark of abbreviation, i.e. θυ. άκατονόμαστος does not occur elsewhere in the apocryphal Acts.
20-1. Prof. C. Schmidt well compares the similar sub-titles in the Coptic Acta Pauli.
22-3. Cf. AJ p. 175. 24-5 (Codex Parisiaticus) μετα οδων ημερας των κατα διευκολυνειν εξηλευθεν ο Ιωαννης εν τωι κωμει εις επισκεφτειν τωι αδελφων. προς επισκεφτον (with a shorter verb than επισκοπευον) is possible in l. 23, but a place-name or equivalent expression is more likely. The parallel passage in the Codex Patensis is την προς εξηλευθεν ο Ιωαννης μιλα τρια ιων πελων περιστησαι ουκ ημελησαν αλλα ερθησαν αναστως αμα τωι αδελφωι επι την οδον εμβαδει.
24. The lacuna at the end may be filled either by a short epithet of πζοταμος, e.g. μεγας or βαθυς, or else by reading και with a compound of πορευμονου. The doubtful ν of ἐρρευεν might be μ.

26. Cf. Martyrium Matthaei (Bonnet, Acta Apost. Apocr., ii. I, p. 232. 15-6) ὁ δὲ δαίμων ὁ ἐν τῷ στρατιωτικῷ σχήματι ὀφθεὶ πρότερον τῷ βασιλεῖ πάλιν μετασχηματισθεὶς ἐν σχήματι στρατιώτου ἔστη κ.κ.λ. Since the Martyrium Matthaei was composed much later than the Acts of John, the coincidence may be due to imitation by the author of the former work. δαίμων would be expected at the beginning of this line, for it is clearly an evil spirit who appears; but the traces of the last letter are inconsistent with ν and suggest ρ, though δαιμων might be read.

28. ὁρίσθης might be read at the end of the line. The supposed o might be σ but not ε, so that κτενις is inadmissible.

30. There is no stop or blank space after ἐπευρο, and a possibly represents α[πο] of the next word. Cf. note on |. 4.

33-4. The second letter of κυριοῆν is rather more like v, but the accusative seems to be required by the sense. ν or π can be read after με in place of γ. The word no doubt refers to the powers of evil; with ἐνεργεια in l. 34 cf. Aq. p. 187. 24 ἐνεργειαν κακωτικὴν, 200. 14 δαίμονες, ἐνεργεια, ἀπειλη. For καταργησατα cf. Aq. p. 192. 24 καταργηθη, and Acta Philippi, ed. Bonnet, 40. 7 καταργηθῆσεται πᾶσα ἡ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ δύναμι. The doubtful τ before ησα can be γ, and δαίμωναμενος is possible. The word is probably a participle in any case. 35. ἀδελφοῖς cannot be read, and the τ is nearly certain. With regard to αποτελει, the repetition of this word is not very satisfactory, but αδελφος is inadmissible there also. The next word may be κτενεν [δε, but τ can be read for π.


5.3 x 18 cm. Fifth or sixth century.

The following small fragment of a papyrus codex, which clearly contained the Acts of some apostle or saint, we have not succeeded in identifying with any of the Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha edited by Lipsius and Bonnet. It consists of the lower portion of a leaf, written with brown ink in a large round calligraphic uncial hand which is certainly not later than the sixth century and may belong to the fifth. θεός is contracted as usual, but not ἄνθρωπος, nor perhaps κύριος. The recto begins just after the commencement of a new chapter which is indicated by a paragraphus and by a vertical wavy line in the margin, apparently the bottom of a flourish. If our restoration ηγείμων in l. 1 (cf. l. 5) is correct, a praefect is apparently giving orders for some one to be exposed to wild beasts. The verso contains part of a protest made to the praefect, defending some one (no doubt the apostle concerned in these Acts) from the charge of being a magician. Whether the recto or the verso comes first is quite uncertain. Some points of connexion with the Acts of Paul and Thecla, in which a similar scene occurs, suggest that the fragment may belong either to a different version of those Acts or to one of the lost sections of the Acts of Paul (cf. p. 9), but it does not correspond to any of the new Coptic fragments of that work.
851. APOCRYPHAL ACTS

Recto. Verso.

ἢ ἐπεν ὡς βουλὴ πῶς ο [δε ηγε
μον ἐπεν πρὸς τους ἄρχικυν
νηγοὺς αγετε μοι ὦδε ζωθαν

ς...said "Do as you wish". The praefect said to the chief huntsmen, "Bring to me here ..."

"O lord praefect, this man is not a magician, but perhaps his god is great ..."

2. ἄρχικυνηγοὺς: this word does not seem to occur in Lipsius and Bonnet's Acta Apost. Apocr., but cf. Acts of Paul and Thecla, ed. Lipsius, p. 257. ἄρχικυνη γὰρ ἑβδομα τὰ κυνήγα, ἵππων (cf. l. 5) is also the word used in those Acts for the Roman governor, while πραίφεκτος is used in the Acts of Peter and ἀνθύπατος in the Acts of John.

3. The letter after ζω, if not ν, must be η or possibly π, and the next letter seems to be a round one, but much narrower than the scribe's θ or σ elsewhere. Possibly he began to write ζωνθαν and corrected it to ζωθαν, but though the supposed ν may have been crossed through the next letter is not like σ or τ corrected into σ. Or perhaps a proper name is intended. ζωθαν cannot be read.


II. NEW CLASSICAL TEXTS.

852. EURIPIDES, Hypsipyle.

Height 37.1 cm. Late second or early third century.

Plates II and III (Fr. i. ii-iii,
Fr. 6o. i-ii).

The following fragments, which constitute the most important addition to the remains of Greek tragedy hitherto made by Egyptian papyri, belong, like 841-4 in our previous volume and 853 in this, to the first large group of literary texts found in 1906. The style and contents of 852 were sufficiently definite to enable us at the time of the first announcement of the discovery to identify the play as the Hypsipyle of Euripides, and this identification has subsequently been confirmed by the recognition of at least two coincidences with citations from that drama by ancient authorities.

C 2
In common with the other manuscripts from this find, the papyrus was recovered in an extremely mutilated condition. The most considerable piece was the central portion of Fr. 1 containing parts of two consecutive columns; but the majority of the fragments, originally numbering over 200, were comparatively small in size. On the whole they have hardly fitted together so well as might have been expected. Particularly difficult to deal with in this respect are the pieces numbered 6-17 and 20-56, which formed a small group found subsequently at some little distance from the rest, and distinguished by being of a darker colour and badly worm-eaten. Another characteristic shared by 852 with 841-2 and 853 is that the literary text is on the verso of a non-literary document,—in this instance a money account, of which a description is given under 985. Though of course very useful for purposes of confirmation, this document on the recto, which follows no regular formula, is in too large a hand to be of much assistance towards the combination of small fragments; moreover the recto of a number of the fragments is uninscribed. The account is of a decidedly early date, and may be safely placed within the first century; but it was apparently not till a good many years later that the verso came to be used for this copy of the Hypsipyle, which we should judge to be little anterior to A.D. 200. It is written in a sloping uncial hand similar in kind to that of 842 (the new historian), and no doubt of about the same period. $\xi$ is always of the cursive shape, with a tail, and other cursive forms occasionally make their appearance, particularly at the ends of lines, e.g. $\nu$ of $\alpha\i\kappa\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ in Fr. 58. 8, $\mu\nu\nu$ of $\lambda\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon$ in Fr. 60. 59. The size of the letters and the spacing show considerable variations in different parts of the MS.; there is a marked contrast for instance in this respect between Fr. i. ii and Fr. 60. ii (cf. Plates II and III). Hence inequalities occur in the number of lines contained in the columns, which are remarkably tall: there was a difference of seven lines between Cols. i and ii of Fr. 60, numbering 62 and 55 lines respectively; Col. ii of Fr. 64 has only 54 lines, while the first seven columns of the play averaged about 60 lines, as is shown by the occurrence in the seventh column of the figure 400, the verse opposite to which this numeral is placed being succeeded by at least 15 lines before the column ended. This marginal numeration of verses by hundreds is not infrequent in papyri; cf. e.g. 841 (Pindar's Paeans), and note on Fr. 25. There are frequent variations of the point in the column at which the lines were commenced, the object usually being to mark the distinction between iambics and lyrics or strophic divisions within the latter. Accents, breathings, and marks of elision and quantity are fairly frequent throughout, but lectional signs, as might be expected, are rather commoner in the lyrical parts than elsewhere. The system of accentuation is similar in character to that of 223, 841 and other
papyri of this period; it should be noted that for convenience of printing we place the circumflex on the second vowel of a diphthong, though in the original it usually covers the two letters. A line curving upwards is occasionally placed below compound words, as in 841 and the Bacchylides papyrus. Punctuation, which is rare, is commonly effected by a high stop, usually placed well above the line; a low stop occurs in Fr. 68, 7. To what extent these various signs are due to the original scribe is uncertain; but he evidently wrote some of them and the majority may well come from his pen. The same writer was also doubtless responsible for the names of the dramatis personae which occasionally appear in the margin (cf. 211, 855, &c.), for the stichometrical figures already mentioned, and for the paragraphi, which are employed both to denote changes of speaker and to mark strophic divisions. But it is equally clear that a number of the frequent alterations and additions made in the text are due to another hand, which we have as usual attempted to distinguish by the use of a thicker type; it is however often very difficult to feel confidence in assigning the authorship of minor corrections, and doubtful cases have as a rule been credited to the original writer. Occasionally a variant or an explanatory note is inserted in the margin. But in spite of the numerous modifications the text is left in a by no means satisfactory condition, and in several passages emendation is necessary. The fault no doubt sometimes lay with the archetype, but it is impossible to acquit our copyist of much carelessness. His orthography is very fair: εἰ and ι are unusually correctly written, but iota adscript is frequently omitted, and some mistakes of accentuation occur. With regard to the use of the Doric α in the lyrical parts there is little consistency, and here we as a rule follow the spelling of the papyrus.

The fragments are scattered widely over the play, and though much of the plot is now clear, some essential points unfortunately remain in doubt. Hypsipyle's story is told by several ancient authorities, but none of the versions is found to agree very closely with the treatment of Euripides. Hypsipyle, daughter of Thoas, the son of Dionysus and king of Lemnos, in a massacre of the men of the island by the women concealed and saved her father, whom she succeeded in the government of Lemnos. The deception was eventually discovered, and Hypsipyle, who had meanwhile become the mother of two sons by Jason on his way to Colchis in quest of the golden fleece, was sold as a slave to Lycurgus, king of Nemea, and put in charge of his infant son. It was with her subsequent adventures at Nemea that the plot of Euripides' drama was concerned. The following is the account of the scholiast to Clement of Alexandria, p. 105 sqq.:—ὅτε οἱ ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θῆβας σὺν Ἁδράστῳ καὶ Πολυνείκει ἐστρατεύοντο, παρέβαλον εἰς τὴν Νεμέαν τόπος ὁ γὰρ λαμπρότατος Ἐρέτρατενόντω, παρέβαλον εἰς τὴν Νεμέαν τόπος ὃς αὐτὸς τοῦ ᾿Αργου. ζητούντες δὲ ὑδρεύσασθαι αὐνε-
τυχον Ὑψιπύλῃ τῇ Θόαντος θυγατρὶ τρεφούσῃ παιδίον ᾿Οφέλτην καλούμενον. Εὐρυδίκης, ἡ δὲ ἀποθεμένη τὸ παιδίον ἀπῆλθεν αὐτοῖς ὑδρευσάμεθα, δράκων δὲ ἐν τοσούτῳ περιπεσών τῷ παιδίῳ ἀνεῖλεν αὐτό. ᾿Αμφιάραος δὲ ὁ μάντις εἷς ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ συμβάντος τοῖς Ἐλληνοι θάνατον προεμαντεύσατο καὶ τὸν παῖδα Ἀρχέμορον ἐκάλεσεν. "Ἀδραστος δὲ παραμυθούμενος τὴν ᾿Τυπετᾶς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ τὸν Νεμεακὸν ἀγῶνα συνεστήσατο. Λυκούργου be substituted for Εὐφήγου and in the last sentence ᾿Αμφιάραος for Ἀδραστος and Εὐρυδίκην for Ἑυρυδίκην, the outline so far as it goes will be accurate, but it omits entirely the two sons of Hypsipyle who, as we now know, played a part in the plot of Euripides. Apollodorus iii. 6. 4 is slightly less detailed: he adds however that the serpent was slain and gives Lycurgus as the name of the king of Nemea.

Four separate accounts are prefixed to the scholia on Pindar's Nemea. The first of these brings in Hypsipyle's sons, though with marked divergences from Euripides: ἐν ἐκείνῳ δὲ τῷ καιρῷ κατὰ ζήτησιν οἱ παῖδες Θόας καὶ Εὐρυδίκης παρεβάλον ἐν Νεμέᾳ. Ἑυρυδίκης δὲ τῆς Λυκούργου γυναικὸς βουλομένης διὰ τὸν Ὀφέλτου θάνατον ἀνελεῖν τὴν Ὑψιπύλην διὰ τοῦτο τε ἐν τῷ τόπῳ λαθραίῳ κατακλεισάσης, ᾿Αμφιάραος μαντευσάμενος δείκνυσι τοῖς παισὶ τὴν Ὑψιπύλην. ᾿Αμφιάραος." There was evidently no question of the concealment of Hypsipyle by the queen in Euripides' play, nor any intercourse between the former and the seven chieftains after her recognition by her sons. The brief account of Hyginus c. 74 is very similar to those of Apollodorus and the scholiast on Clement. In only one extant work is the story of Hypsipyle at Nemea treated at length, namely the Thebais of Statius, which might have been expected to reflect the version of Euripides and was largely drawn upon by Hartung in connexion with the Hypsipyle in his Euripides Restitutus, ii. pp. 430 sqq. Statius, however, whom as Hartung thought esse Euripide usum auctore manifestum est, turns out to have been by no means a safe guide. Apart from minor variations in detail, which need not be emphasized here, there are fundamental discrepancies in structure. After the death of the child (Theb. v. 505 sqq.) Statius represents the Argive army as proceeding with Hypsipyle to the palace of Lycurgus. The procession is met by the king, who proposes to take vengeance for Hypsipyle's negligence, but is restrained by the chieftains. In the confusion which results the sons of Hypsipyle, who had been hospitably received at the palace, go to the assistance of Lycurgus and are so led to discover their mother's identity. Then follows the institution of the Nemean games at the instigation of Amphiaras. As will be seen, it was certainly not from Euripides that Statius derived the ground-plan of this part of his poem. In the fragments of the tragedy Lycurgus is conspicuous by his absence, his place being taken by the queen Eurydice who in Statius is a minor figure, while the only representative of
the Argive army is Amphiaraus accompanied by a few attendants, and his appeal on Hypsipyle's behalf is exclusively to right, not might (Fr. 60, 40).

Let us now turn to the actual remains of the play. First in order stand the three verses quoted in Aristoph. Frogs 1211–3 from the prologue (Nauck Fr. 752) Διόνυσος, ὃς θύρσοις...πηδᾷ κ.τ.λ. Welcker, Griech. Trag. ii. pp. 557–8, and Hartung, Eurip. Rest. ii. p. 431, are very positive that the prologue was spoken by Dionysus and have therefore to suppose that the lines cited by Aristophanes were preceded by one or two other verses. This however is on the one hand inconsistent with the use of the third person πηδᾷ, and on the other with the express testimony of the scholiast, which there is no reason to doubt, that the passage was Ὑψιπύλης ἡ ἀρχή. The opening is strictly parallel to others in the prologues of Euripides, e.g. those of the Ion or the Iphig. in Tauris, where the speaker begins by giving his or her genealogy. In the present case accordingly the speaker was tracing descent from Dionysus, and the only persons who can here come in question are Hypsipyle herself or one of her two sons Euneos and Thoas. In the first column of Fr. 1 of the papyrus, which, as the stichometry indicates, was the third column of the play, the sons in the guise of travellers seeking hospitality for the night appear in colloquy with a woman, whose congratulations to the mother of the strangers would almost suffice to identify her as Hypsipyle herself; hence the initial ῥῆσις would be quite appropriate in the mouth of any one of the three persons who are available. If the speaker of it is, as we suppose, Hypsipyle, the arrangement is similar to that of the Iphigenia in Tauris. Hypsipyle recounts her history and circumstances, and then enters the palace, perhaps for the purpose of fetching the child Archemorus; Euneos and Thoas arrive, and after some conversation, in which their identity and mission (they were looking for their lost mother: causa viae genetrix as Statius, Theb. v. 715, says; cf. Schol. Nem. quoted on p. 22) are explained, knock at the door of the palace; Hypsipyle opens it and the dialogue of Fr. 1. Col. i follows. If on the other hand Euneos or Thoas made the opening speech, Hypsipyle would not have appeared until the travellers proceeded to knock at the door. This view is simpler, but possibly too simple; it hardly accounts so well for the 120 lines of the first two columns, apart from the consideration that the heroine of the piece is perhaps more suitable as the προλογίζουσα.

The papyrus breaks off in the middle of the conversation of Hypsipyle with the strangers, who presumably gained admittance, in spite of the absence of the king Lycurgus (Fr. 1. i. 11); in these two details Statius is in agreement with Euripides (cf. Theb. v. 640, 715). Hypsipyle then sings a monody to her nursling, of which the conclusion is preserved in the first 14 lines of Fr. 1. ii. This is the song, as the reference in l. 8 to κρόταλα indicates, to which allusion is made.
in Fr. 1305 sqq. τοῦ 'στιν ὑ τῶν οὐτράκοις αὐτὴ κροτόβα; δεύρο Μοῦτ' Εὐριπίδου: cf. Phot. Lex. p. 180. 12 κροταλίζειν' οὐ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν κροτεῖν, ἀλλὰ διὰ κροτάλου. τῆς κροταλισάσης, ὡς Εὐριπίδην' φησίν ὁ κομικὸς περὶ τῆς Ὄιπυλῆς λέγων. Nauck, Fr. 769, takes the word κροταλισάσης as having occurred in the text of the play, but that is not at all likely; the verse of the papyrus sufficiently accounts for Photius' note. The parodos of the chorus, consisting of Nemean women friendly to Hypsipyle (cf. Fr. 1. ii. 15 φίλα, Frs. 20-1. 1 φίλταἿται, 14 φίλας), follows, the choral ode consisting of a strophe and antistrophe (largely composed of glyconic verses), each of which is succeeded by a lyrical response from Hypsipyle. In the strophe (Fr. 1. ii. 15-40) the chorus asks if the captive's thoughts are still busy with her island home while such stirring events as the march of the army of Adrastus against Thebes are in progress. Hypsipyle replies (Fr. 1. iii. 1-17) that she cares for none of these things; her heart is with the ships of the Agonauts. The chorus offers consolation by recalling the adventures of other heroines who had left their homes and suggests that Hypsipyle's prospects are brighter than were theirs (Fr. 1. iii. 18-43). Hypsipyle refuses to take comfort, and can only look forward to the release of death (Fr. 1. iv. 1-9). She then perceives some strangers approaching (Fr. 1. iv. 10-14), and Amphiaraus enters with a small retinue (Fr. 1. iv. 15). He addresses Hypsipyle, and asks to be shown the way to running water, which was needed for the purpose of a sacrifice on behalf of the army on crossing the frontier (cf. note on Fr. 1. iv. 35). A long dialogue ensues in which Amphiaraus explains who he is, what was the object of the expedition, and how he himself came to be concerned in it, while Hypsipyle in her turn discloses her identity and antecedents (Fr. 1. iv. 53-v with Frs. 3-5). Finally she consents to comply with Amphiaraus' request (Nauck, Fr. 753 δείξω μὲν 'Ἄργειοισιν Ἀχελώου ρέον), and goes off with him, carrying the child with her. Thus ends the first ἐπεισόδιον, and the chorus occupied the interval with an ode, to which Frs. 6-9 are likely to belong; there is a reference in Fr. 6. 1 to χέρνιβα, and the description in Frs. 8-9 of the quarrel between Polynices and Tydeus which led up to the expedition of Adrastus would be a very suitable subject at this point. Meanwhile Hypsipyle, perhaps with the motive attributed to her by Statius ne tarda Pelasgis dux foret (iv. 778), had left the child lying unguarded on the ground, to find on her return that he had fallen a victim to a snake; cf. the fragmentary description of the accident by Amphiaraus in Fr. 60. 67 sqq.

At this point the course of events becomes obscured, and clearness is reached only at Frs. 20-1, where Hypsipyle is found in conversation with the chorus, fearful of the vengeance of the child's parents and considering means of flight. In what way is the lacuna to be filled? How was the misadventure made known to the chorus and in the palace? The usual tragic means in such a case
was the report of a messenger, and as a matter of fact in Fr. 18 there are the remains of a few lines which certainly refer to the serpent, and might well come from such a report. The objection to this view is the subsequent occurrence of a description of the scene by Amphaiaurus when pleading with Eurydice. On this ground Prof. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, to whom with Prof. J. B. Bury and Mr. Gilbert Murray we owe a number of most valuable suggestions and criticisms, would reject the intervention of a messenger, and refer Fr. 18 to the first dialogue between Amphaiaurus and Hypsipyle, supposing the serpent to be a well-known object to whose existence Hypsipyle might allude in speaking of the spring. This no doubt is a quite tenable explanation, and the serpent is actually so treated by Statius; cf. v. 505 nemoris sacer horror Achaei, 511-2 Inachio sanctum dixerit Tonanti agricolae, and 579 sqq. On the other hand some description of the disaster seems essential at this point, if only for the enlightenment of the audience; moreover to credit Hypsipyle with so clear a previous knowledge of the risk would considerably increase her culpability in leaving her charge unprotected, while to the parallel from Statius a counterweight may be found in his reference to a messenger: et iam sacrifici subitus per tecta Lycurgi nuntius implerat lacrimis (v. 638-9). Hence, whether a regular messenger was employed by Euripides or not, we should prefer to regard Fr. 18 as part of a post factum narrative. But there is an obvious alternative to a regular messenger: possibly the narrator was Hypsipyle herself. At the conclusion of the stasimon she may have returned alone from her ill-fated expedition, and in answer to interrogations from the chorus briefly stated what had occurred; to the lyrical portion of such a scene we should refer Frs. 10-13; cf. the scholiast on Clement quoted above, ἡ δὲ ἐπανελθοῦσα ἐθρήνει. The question would then arise, how was the news to reach queen Eurydice? A hint towards the solution of this problem is perhaps to be found in the rather mysterious remark of Hypsipyle when being led off to death, κενὰ δ᾽ ἐπῄδεσθην ἄρα, 'to no purpose then was my compunction' (Fr. 60. 21). These words appear to imply that shame had prevented her from a certain action; and we can find no interpretation more suitable than that first suggested by Mr. Murray, that Hypsipyle's feelings of honour led her to abandon the project of flight discussed in Frs. 20-1. If that is right, then she might naturally be supposed to have gone a step further, and voluntarily to have surrendered herself. Of course this explanation of Fr. 60. 21 is quite compatible with the hypothesis of a messenger; but the latter expedient becomes rather superfluous, and the awkwardness of a second description of Archemorus' fate would be far slighter if the first had been a more or less incoherent account by the distracted Hypsipyle, and not a formal report of another independent eyewitness.
Our supposition of a voluntary surrender seems to harmonize with the mutilated fragment in which Eurydice first occurs among the *dramatis personae*. In Fr. 22 the speakers are an unnamed person who appears to be pleading the cause of Hypsipyle, the chorus, and Eurydice. The chorus praise the first speaker’s nobility or generosity (*γεννάιος ἔϊλείξας*), and Eurydice follows with an angry accusation of using specious words (l. 11 τί ραδρὰ κομψὰ...). If the first speaker is Hypsipyle and she had courageously thrown herself upon the queen’s mercy, *γεννάιος* would be the natural epithet for the chorus to apply to her, while her scruples and excuses would no less naturally appear to the indignant mother as mere *κομψότης*. Frs. 23–31 may for the most part well belong to the same scene as Fr. 22; in the case of three of them stichometrical figures show that they come from the central portion of the play (ll. 600–800), though somewhat widely dispersed.

Postponing for the moment the question of what further scenes may have here intervened, we pass on to Fr. 60, where sure ground is again reached. Hypsipyle is now being led off to her doom. She makes a final appeal to Eurydice, acknowledging indeed that she had unwillingly caused the child’s death, but indignantly repudiating the charge of malicious negligence made against her by the queen (cf. ll. 35–6 φησὶ δ᾽ ἥδ᾽ ἑκουσίως κτανεῖν με παῖδα κἀπιβουλεῦσαι δόμοις, and Nauck Fr. 758). It is of no avail, and her position seems hopeless when at the critical moment Amphiaraus suddenly interposes. He had foreseen, he says, Hypsipyle’s fate, and comes with the object of preventing it, not by force, but by persuasion. The queen, who here meets Amphiaraus for the first time, consents to hear him. He proceeds to tell her (ll. 55–111) how he had induced Hypsipyle to show the way to the spring, and describes the accident with the deductions which he drew from it concerning the fate of the expedition against Thebes. He offers philosophical consolation, and concludes with the practical proposal that the army should give her son burial and institute a festival (the Nemean games) to perpetuate both his name and hers. Of Eurydice’s reply only the first few lines are preserved, but their tone suggests that she had been convinced and was prepared to give way (ll. 112–7). Another gap here occurs, but that it is of no very large extent seems to follow from the fact that in Fr. 64. Col. ii Amphiaraus is still found upon the stage. He has now done the further service of bringing about a recognition between Hypsipyle and her sons, and this accomplished he leaves them to mutual explanations in which the adventures of both parties are reviewed, Hypsipyle speaking mainly in lyrical measures and the sons more calmly in iambics. The 1600th line is marked in the course of this column, and that the end of the play is imminent is also clear from the occurrence in the margin of the column following of the name of the god
Dionysus as a speaker. Col. i of this fragment has almost entirely disappeared,
but it must have been largely if not entirely occupied by the scene of anagnorisis,
and therefore one or more columns are required between Fr. 60. ii and Fr. 64. i
for Eurydice's decision and exit, and the development by Amphiaras of the
preliminaries, whatever they were, to the recognition. Stichometrical data point
to a loss of three columns, to which probably should be assigned Frs. 61-3
(cf. Fr. 61. 4-6, Fr. 62. 3, Fr. 63. 6). A suitable place can also be found for the
lyrical fragments 57-9 in the choral ode immediately preceding the long act
which we have now reconstructed. In these fragments, of which the connexion
is evident and the language recalls that of the parodos in the Bacchae, the chorus
sings the praises of Dionysus. The topic at this juncture would be especially
appropriate: the god is invoked to come to the assistance of his descendant
in her extremity, and his actual appearance in the concluding scene is fittingly
presaged. In one of these fragments (57. 15; cf. note ad loc.) the figure 1100
probably occurs, which though consistent with the position assigned to them
involves a final act of unusual length, if it be inferred from the presence of
Amphiaras (cf. p. 26) that Frs. 60 and 64 belong to a single act. The longest
ἔξοδος in the extant plays of Euripides, that of the Ion, is under 400 lines,
whereas the ἔξοδος here would reach nearly 600. Hence it is likely that a short
choral ode, like e.g. that in Electra 1147-64, divided the exit of Eurydice
and the recognition of Hypsipyle's sons, though not necessarily effecting a real
break in the action. The large lyrical element in the two columns of Fr. 64
is a further reason for reducing the part of the chorus in this section.

Euripides' plot may thus be followed with sufficient clearness by means
of the surviving fragments both in its earlier stages and its final dénouement; but
there is an intermediate link which remains wrapped in obscurity. It would
in any case have been not a little singular if Hypsipyle's sons who, as has
been seen, appeared both at the outset and at the end of the play, were kept
entirely out of the action during the rest of it. Secondly, an interval of some
200 lines between about ll. 900 and 1100 at present remains quite unaccounted
for, and it is difficult to see how this can be filled without bringing in the sons in
some way. Now on this point we have some external evidence to take into
consideration, primarily that of the epigram in Anth. Pal. iii. 10:—

Φαῖνε, Ὄδαν, Βάκχου φυτὸν τὸδε ματέρα γὰρ σου
ῥύσῃ τοῦ θανάτου, οἰκέτιν Ὑψιπύλαν,
ἀ τὸν ἀντ’ Εὐρυδίκας ἡλική χόλον, ἥμως ἀποφάσι
ὑδος, δ’ ἦς γενέτας, ὅλεσεν Ἀρχέμορον,
στέιξε δὲ καὶ σὺ λιπὼν Ἀσωπίδος ἄγκεα κοῦρας (?)
γενωμένη ἄξων Λήμυρον ἐς ὑμαθένν.
To which the following explanation is prefixed:—ἐν δὲ τῷ κατὰ δύσιν πλευρῷ ἐστιν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ δεκάτου πίνακος Ἐυνόος γεγλυμένος καὶ Θόας, ὁς ἐγέννησεν Ὑψιπύλη, ἀναγνωριζόμενοι τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τὴν χρυσῆν δεικνύντες ἄμπελοι, ὅπερ ἦν αὐτοῖς τοῦ γένους σύμβολον, καὶ ῥυόμενοι αὐτὴν τῆς διὰ τὸν Ἀρχεμόρου θάνατον παρ᾽ Εὐρυδίκης τιμωρίας. According to this Euneos and Thoas rescued Hypsipyle; but in Euripides her preserver, properly so called, was certainly Amphiaraus. There thus appear to be two distinct traditions; and it is even possible, as Wilamowitz suggests, to follow these to their source. There was at Athens a class of musicians called Εὐνεῖδαι who traced their descent from Euneos the son of Hypsipyle; cf. e.g. Hesych. γένος ἀπὸ Εὐνήου (sic) κεκλημένον, τοῦ Ἰάσονος υἱοῦ, οἷον γένος ὀρχηστῶν καὶ κιθαριστῶν... οἱ δὲ γένος τι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκριβῶς, οἱ δὲ Θεσσαλοί ἀπὸ Εὔνεω τοῦ Ἰάσονος καὶ Ὑψιπύλης. Κιθαρωδοί, πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας παρέχοντες τὴν χρείαν. Attic legend therefore brought Euneos to Athens, and would accordingly be likely to glorify him by giving him and his brother the credit of saving Hypsipyle. A clear reflection of this form of the legend is to be found in Euripides in Fr. 64. 98, where one of the sons (obviously Euneos) says that Orpheus had taught him the lyre. These considerations provide a clue, as Wilamowitz points out, to the tenour of the speech of Dionysus, whose appearance when the crisis was over would otherwise have remained rather unaccountable; the god no doubt directed Euneos to go to Athens. It is quite in accordance with this inference to find from C. J. A. iii. 274 that Dionysus Melpomenos was the object of the family cult of the Euneidae. The other and probably older legend, which represented Hypsipyle as owing her preservation to Amphiaraus, is likely to have been derived from Theban epic tradition. Euripides contrived to combine both versions of the story; but what part he assigned to the sons between their arrival at the palace and their recognition is a problem which still awaits solution. Hartung, Eurip. Rest. ii. pp. 431 and 437–8, proposing in Arist. Poet. c. 14 καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἐλλῆν ὁ νόος τὴν μητέρα ἐκδιδόναι μέλλων ἀνεγνώρισεν to read Ὑψιπύλη in place of Ἕλλῃ (Valckenaer had conjectured Ἀντιόπῃ), thought that Euneos and Thoas were constituted Hypsipyle's judges and condemned her to death, a view supported, as he believed, by an amphora published by Gerhard in 1837, which represents Hypsipyle and Amphiaraus standing before Eurydice, with Euneos and Thoas on the side next Hypsipyle and the two chieftains Parthenopaeus and Capanes next to Amphiaraus; above the two former appears Dionysus, above the other pair Zeus and Nemea. But this evidence is of very doubtful value. In the passage

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1 He went on to Lemnos afterwards, at any rate according to Homer I. 467 sqq., where he is represented as sending cargoes of Lemnian wine to the Greek army—a most appropriate gift from a descendant of Dionysus. Cf. Anth. Pal. iii. 10. 5–6 quoted above.
from the Poetics Ἐλλη (though otherwise unknown) is retained by the best modern editors; and it is now clear that Ἐνεινηλη would not really be suitable, for it was not the sons' recognition but the intervention of Amphiaraus that saved Hypsipyle; the recognition came afterwards. As for the amphora, the artist's object seems to have been to include the principal figures associated in the legend rather than to depict a single scene of it; at any rate it is evident that Hypsipyle, her two sons, Eurydice, Amphiaraus, Parthenopaeus, and Capaneus cannot all have been brought on the stage together by Euripides. There is apparently no road this way; and we have searched vainly for a clue in the papyrus. One or two mutilated passages indeed in the central group of fragments may be interpreted as remains of a scene in which the sons appear, the most significant being Frs. 34–5. There Hypsipyle is alluded to by the periphrasis ὑμεῖς ἡ τροφή[δ] τέκνου, which in Wilamowitz's opinion implies that the speaker was unacquainted with her name. The only characters to whom such ignorance would be natural are Euneos and Thoas; and perhaps the latter name is to be recognized in Fr. 33. 7, while πέλας θυρῶν in l. 2 of the same fragment may be a reference to their encounter with Hypsipyle in the prologos. But these fragments are too ambiguous to carry much weight, and they hardly bring us any nearer to the answer to the question how the sons were brought into connexion with the main action. If, as we have supposed, Hypsipyle did not carry out her idea of flight, they cannot have assisted her in it—although perhaps it was of the travellers whom she had befriended that she was thinking in her question to the chorus (Frs. 20–1. 15), 'What if I found some one to convey me out of the country?' Possibly there is a substratum of truth in Hartung's theory, and Eurydice in the absence of her husband turned to the two strangers for advice or support in her condemnation of the culprit. Or possibly—and this we think more likely—they may have gone to seek the assistance of Amphiaraus, although the natural inference from his words in Fr. 60. 37–8 is that his opportune arrival was spontaneous. This last suggestion would have the further advantage of bringing the young men into contact with Amphiaraus, and so give him an opportunity to discover their identity. Indeed it is difficult to perceive how otherwise he can have become aware of their presence at all—unless by a very remarkable display of his powers of divination.

It will be convenient here to summarize briefly our conception of the dramatic structure.

Prologos. Speech of Hypsipyle, describing her history and present circumstances, after which she retires on some pretext into the palace. Arrival of Euneos and Thoas, who hold an explanatory conversation; they then knock and Hypsipyle emerges with the child Archemorus. She inquires their business,
and they enter. Hypsipyle left alone sings to the child. ll. 1—about 200. Nauck Fr. 752, Fr. 1. i—ii. 14, Fr. 2.


1st Epeisodion. Arrival of Amphiaras, who converses with Hypsipyle and persuades her to conduct him to a stream of water. They go out together. About ll. 310—430. Fr. 1. iv. 10—v, Frs. 3—5, Nauck Fr. 753.

1st Stasimon. The chorus refer to the quarrel of Polynices and Tydeus at Argos, and their marriage with the daughters of Adrastus. About ll. 430—500. Fr. 7—9.

2nd Epeisodion. Hypsipyle returns in great grief after the death of Archemorus. She laments his fate, and questioned by the chorus gives some description of what had occurred. Becoming calmer she considers plans of flight, but finally resolves to give herself up to Eurydice (?). About ll. 500—650. Frs. 10—13, Nauck Fr. 754–5, Frs. 20—1.

2nd Stasimon. About ll. 650—700.

3rd Epeisodion. Hypsipyle and Eurydice; Hypsipyle is condemned to death. About ll. 700—850. Frs. 22—32, Nauck Frs. 758, 760.

3rd Stasimon. About ll. 850—900.

4th Epeisodion. Euneos and Thoas take an uncertain part in the action. They were probably confronted with Eurydice, and perhaps subsequently induced either by an appeal from Hypsipyle or by natural generosity to go and seek assistance from Amphiaras. About ll. 900—1080. Frs. 33—5.


5th Epeisodion. Hypsipyle is led out to meet her doom. Arrival of Amphiaras, who persuades Eurydice of Hypsipyle’s real innocence. Exit Eurydice. About ll. 1150—1350. Fr. 60. i—ii.

5th Stasimon. About ll. 1350—75.

Exodos. Amphiaras brings about the recognition between Hypsipyle and Euneos and Thoas, and then leaves the mother and sons together. Dionysus, the ancestor of the family, appears ex machina, and sends Euneos to Athens. About ll. 1375—1720. Frs. 61—64, Nauck Frs. 756, 761, 762, Fr. ap. Lydus.

With regard to the number of the actors, though the characters in the play are only six, they would require four δύοντατοι to represent them if the papyrus is followed in the ascription of Fr. 64. 68—70 to the two sons of Hypsipyle—whether they speak simultaneously or one after the other; cf. note ad loc. If the number is to be reduced to the ordinary three, one of the sons must be a mute.
It is clear from internal evidence that Euneos is the speaker in Fr. 64. 101 (cf. p. 28), while the papyrus assigns Fr. 1. i. 7 sqq. to Thoas; but the former may have been the κωφὸν πρόσωπον in one scene, the latter in the other.

The Hypsipyle was one of the latest of Euripides' plays, being brought out not long before Aristophanes' Frogs, as stated by the scholiast on 1. 53 of that comedy τῶν πρὸ δόλγου διδαχθέντων καὶ καλών, 'Ὑψιπύλη, Φοινισσῶν, Ἀντιώπης: the Frogs was produced in 405 B.C., Euripides having died the year before. This statement of date is borne out by indications traceable in the character of the lyrical odes (cf. notes on Fr. 1. ii. 15 sqq.), as well as by the repeated parodies of the Hypsipyle in the Frogs (cf. e.g. notes on Fr. 1. ii. 8–10, Fr. 7. 4), which are more natural if the play be supposed to be fresh in the memory of Aristophanes' audience. From the conjunction of the three names in the above-mentioned note of the scholiast it has been inferred by some critics, e.g. Hartung and Meineke, that the Hypsipyle, Phoenissae, and Antiope belonged to the same tetralogy; but this is quite uncertain. The remark that they were 'fine' tragedies probably reflects the popular verdict, which in the case of the Hypsipyle has been endorsed by some critics, e.g. Hartung and Meineke, that the Hypsipyle, Phoenissae, and Antiope belonged to the same tetralogy; but this is quite uncertain. The remark that they were 'fine' tragedies probably reflects the popular verdict, which in the case of the Hypsipyle has been endorsed, on the strength of the scanty evidence before them, by modern critics: 'drama eximium,' Valckenaer, Diatr. p. 211, 'fabula venustissima verum varietate distincta,' Hartung, op. cit. ii. p. 411. We now know that there was not quite so much varietas as Hartung imagined, but the remains happily brought to light at Oxyrhynchus sufficiently justify his epithet 'venusta'. If none of the new fragments reveals Euripides in his sublimest poetic flights, they maintain a high level of excellence, and need not fear comparison with much of his extant work; while the fact that the dramatization of this part of the Hypsipyle legend appears to be essentially a Euripidean creation renders the recovery of at any rate the bulk of his plot, with upwards of 300 verses either complete or capable of suitable restoration, a matter of especial satisfaction.

In arranging the fragments of the papyrus we have placed them so far as possible in what we conceive to have been their original order. The small group, which, as already explained (p. 20), was found separately, and both from the stichometrical numeration and internal evidence appears to represent the central portion of the play, has been kept together (Fr. 6–17, 20–56); the other minor fragments, the contents of which give no sufficient clue to their position, are placed at the end. Finally on pp. 80–83 we print the previously known citations from the play, and attempt to assign them their place among the fragments of the papyrus.
THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

Fr. 1. Col. i.

γραφὲς [...] 24 letters ἱεσ'
ἥξε[...] Στριμωκύμαλὴ[...] ἱπενασ
νυμεισκρούσατ' ὀνεακία[...] σ
5 ὁμακαρισκονήτεκο[...] ἵσποτ' ἤν
τίτω[...] δεμελαβρῶν[...] νοιπροελθετον
θοασ στεγ[...] σκεχρήμεθ'[...] χθήναιγναι
eιδι[...] πον[...] νύκτε[...] ημίαν
ἐχό[...] νοθ[...] ουδει[...] πο[...] λυ[...] ἱποίδο[...
10 ἑσθο][σματοῖσδετδῆσονφωσεχεμ[...] εἰ
[...] πτωσαμ[...] [κ] χαρασέωνκυ[...] ἱ
[17 letters] [...] δομ[...] τα

Fr. 2.

[...] μ[...]
λυκουρ[...]
γυνηδ[...]
θοασ ουκεκχε[...]
5 προσδ'[...]
ἡκιστ[...]
ζενο[...] αειδε[...]
αλλει[...]
10 [...] ουνεθ[...]

Fr. 1. Col. ii. Plate II.

[...[...] οσοι
[...[...] φειδεσθαι
[...] ρχονοσενπρον
852. EURIPIDES, HYPSIPYLE

Fr. 1. Col. i.
(Tψ.) γρα[24 letters] 'εος
ης[.] σπ[.] δυματα[.] α
σων[.] δυμων εκγνωσει φρενας.
υμεις εκρωσατ, ανεανα[.] πυλαι;
δω μακαρια σφων η τεκο[.] δη[.] της ποτ' ην.
tι τω[.] δι μελαθρων δε[.] ρμευνοι προσηλθετον;
Θασ. στηγ[.] κεχρομεθ' [.] διχθηραι.
ει διβα[.] ταν ημιιυν νυκτ' εναλλισαι μιαν.
εχομευν δ' ο[.] αυναν δει τι[.] ποτε ηληροι δομοις
estμεσα τοιοθε; τι δε σων ως έχει μενει.
(Tψ.) [αδεσε]ποτος μ' ειν ο[.] αρσενων κυρει;
[17 letters] .[.] δωματα

Fr. 2.
(Tψ.) μ[.] ην ων κυρεις.
Ευρυδικη
Θασ. ουκ ειν εξινωσι
προς δ' α[.]
(Tψ.) [.] ηκιστα
[.] ενοι[.]
dει δε [.]
δαλ εις ν[.]

Fr. 1. Col. ii. Plate II.
(Tψ.) [.] osoi στρ. α'
[.] ιδεσθαι
[.] ρχουν ως εναπτρου
34 THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

[. . . . .]φοβήτιν' αυγαν
5 [. . . . .]ἀνεξηματοσον
[. . ]μησσωμαιτεκνονεν
ωποιςθεραπειαισ

ιδουκτυπουσοδεκροτάλωνα

\[\text{οτάδ}[[\alpha]]\text{τίνασουτάδεκερκίδος}\]
10 ισοτόνωνπαραμυθιαλημνια

κρ
μουσαμελεμε[[\lambda]]η[.]εινοτιδεσπυπνον
ηχαρινθεραπευμεναματαπρόσφορα
[.]αιδιπρεπειναραιο
ταδεμελωδοσαυνδώ

15 ρωσύπαραπροθυροισφιλα
ποτεραδωματοσεισοδουνσ
σαύρεσηδροσυνεπιπέδων
βαλλενοδιάτεδβυλα

ηταναργοτανδιασοβ

20 στοματοσσαεκληζομέναν
πεντηκόντερονα,]δεισ
ητοχρυσομαλλον
ιεροδεσπεριδρυοσ

υζοισμαδρακοσσοσ

25 φρουρειμνουσούναδεσοι

λημν
τασαγχιάλοισ[[υησ]]ον

τάναιγαιοσελι[.]σον
κυμοτόποσάχει

δευτοπανλεμώνανέμει,. . . . .]

30 απάγειχαλκειο[,]σοπλο[, . . . .]
αργειοντ[.]διοντα[.

επιτετα[.]κιθάρασέρμα[.

τάσαμφιονιασέργον[.

ομ[.]πόδαρο[, .]αρι[.]σ[.

35 ο[.]καλεσμενοι}
EURIPIDES, HYPSIPYLE

Χα(ρός)] 15 1 τί σὺ παρὰ προθύρους, φίλα; στρ. β'
2 πότερα δώματος εισόδουσ
3 σαΐρεις ἢ δρόσουν ἐπὶ πέθαφ
4 βάλλεις οίᾳ τε δούλα,
5 ἢ τὰν Ἀργῷ τὰν διὰ σοῦ
6 στόματος ἀεὶ κλῃζομέναν
7 πεντηκόντ(ορον) ἐδεις,
8 ἢ τὸ χρυσεόμαλλον
9 λειμώνα Νέμειον
10 ὀ[ήτορον] ἢ δρόμου
11 τὰν Ἀργεῖον παρεὶς
12 ὁ Ἀρη θοόν;
13 ὁ δ' ἐκάλεσε μένοις...
ποικιλασ[[ν]]ματα[1]
tοξάτεχρύσια[κα[.]]
αιρομενοι[θ]
40 [. . . . . . . ]οτ[. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .]

Fr. i.  
Col. iii.  
Plate II.

πρωμησαναψαι  
tονατότυπομονταρ

θενσα[[[ν]]]τεκωσεν  
πηλεμωσωδηπαρίστωι  
διάσησελεγνηιον

θρησε αβοακίθαρισορφέως  
μακροπολωντιτωι  
ερετηισικελευσματαμελπομεναν  
τοτεμενταχυπλουν  
τοτεειλατιαναναπαμπλαται [. . .]

παρασοφωνεκλυνουλογ[ . . ]σ  
ποτερονωσεπικματων  
πολινκαπατριουσδομου[ι]  
φοινικαστυριασαις  
ευρωπαλιτιουσ' απεβα  
διστροφονκρητανεραν  
κουρητωντροφονανθρων
852. EURIPIDES, HYPsipyle

22 ποικίλα σάματα [.
23 τόξα τε χρύσ(ε)α [.
24 κα[ι] μονοβάμους [.
25 ἀειρόμενοι χθόν 
40 26 [.

Fr. I.  Col. iii.  Plate II.

(Ὑψ.) [ . . . . . . . . ]ραι[.] αντιστρ. α'

[ . . . . . . . . ]Θρηκίαν

[ . . . . ]ο[.]μενής ὀρούσας

ἐπ’ οἴδαμα γαληνείας

5 πρυμνήστι ἀνάψαι,
6 τον ἀ τοῦ ποταμ(ῖο) παρ-
7 θένος Ἀγιν' ἐτέκνωσε{ν} Πη-
8 λέα, μέσω δὲ παρ’ ἱστῷ
9 Ἀσιᾶς ἔλεγ(ο)ν ἱμων

10 Ἡρασσ’ ἐβόα κιθαρίς Ὀρφέως,
11 μακροπόλων πιτύλων ἐρέτρας κε-
12 λεύσματα μελπομένα{ν}, τότε μὲν ταχύ-
13 πλούτων τότε δ’ εἰλατίνας ἀνάπαυμα πλά-
15 ται, Δαναῶν δὲ πόνους
16 ἐτερος ἀναβαίνον.

Χέ(ρος). 1 παρὰ σοφῶν ἔκλυον λόγο[υ]ς ἀντιστρ. β'

2 π(ρ)ότερον ὡς ἐπὶ κυμάτων
20 3 πολὺν καὶ πατρίους δήμους
4 Φαινίκας Τυρία παῖς
5 Ἐυρώπα λιποῦσ’ ἐπέβα
6 Διοτρόφοι Κρήτα τοῖς ἱερὰν
7 Κουρήτων τροφῶν ἀνδρῶν,
25 ἀτεκνωναρήτοις[.]ν

τρισσοσελεπενκρα[. . .]

χῶρα τ' ὀλβιοναρχαν

αργειανθ' ετερανκλω

σιλει[. . .]προβα[.]λπ[.]ανιω

30 [. . .]ρασαμφισαμεύψαι

 [. . .]σαφορονταν

 [. . .]γανθεοσεισφροντιδαθησοι

 [. . .:]. [.]σδηφιλατομεσοι[.]

 [. . . . . . .]απολείψει

35 [. . . . . . .]ατεροσπατερα

 [. . . . . . .]τεχεισθεν

 [. . . . . . .]κυπαι φ.[.]μετανιστέαι[

 [. . . . . . .]γενεα[. . . .]

 [. . . . . . .].ιοσ[

40 [. . . . . . .]ζως[.]

 [. . . . . . .]τφιλ[.]

 [. . . . . . .].ι[.]

 [. . . . . . .].φ[.]

 . . . . . . . . . . . .

Fr. i. Col. iv.

 . . . . . . . . . . . .

 [.νεμονάγαγετος[.]

 κυμα[.]οντεοκριν[.]

 ταυτοσιακτα

 κατεθρησκευαιαια[.]

5 θανατοσελεχταδεμαπαθε[.]

tισάνασεσεσεσεσεσσαταιαμ.κιβαρ[. . . . . . . . . . . . .]

 επιδακρυςειμοδιονδονομονα.επιδακρυσιμ[. . . . . . . . . . .]

 μετακαλλιοπασ

 επισινουσανελθοι

10 ὀξευμεσεσήστισθω' ᾀλσοσεσ[.]

 τινοσεμπορίστοισθω' εγγυσωρω
25 ὁ τέκνων ἀρροτοιοῖς
9 τρισσοῖς ἐλπίνων κρατῶν]
10 χώρας τ' ἀλβιον ἀρχάν.
11 Ἀργεῖαν θ' ἐτέραν κλώ
12 [οῖό]τρω βασιλείαν Ἰᾷ
30 13 [πατρα]ς ἀμφίς ἀμείψαι
14 [κερ]ασφόρον ἄταν.
15 [ταύ]τ' ἀν θεοὺς εἰς φροντίδα θῇ σοι
16 [. . . . . ] . [. ]ς δῆ, φίλα, τὸ μέαν
17 [. . . . . . . ] ἀπολείψει
35 18 [. . . . . . . ] πατέρος πατέρα
19 [. . . . . . . ] τεχεὶ σέθεν
20 [. . . . . . . ] ωκίπορο[ς] μετανίσσεται
21 [. . . . . . . ] γενεά[ . . . ]
22 [. . . . . . . ] . ο[ . ]
40 23 [. . . . . . . ] ωσ . [ ]
24 [. . . . . . . ] σφι[λ]
25 [. . . . . . . ] . . [ ]
26 [. . . . . . . ] . . [ ]

Fr. 1. Col. iv with Fr. 3.

(Τψ.) νεμόν ἄγαγέ ποτε . [ ]
κυ[ν]αγών τε παρὸκριν
tὸν πόσιν ἐκτα
κατεθρήνησεν ἀοιδαῖς.

5 θάνατος ἐλαχε τάδ' ἐμὰ πάθεα.
tὸς ἂν ἡ γόος ἡ μέλος ἡ κιθάρας
ἐπὶ δάκρυσ μοῦ' ἀνοδυρομένα
μετὰ Καλλιόπας
ἐπὶ πόνους ἂν ἔλθοι .

10 (Χο.) ὦ Ζεῦ Νεμέας τῆςδ' ἕλσος ἔχων
tίνος ἐμπορίας τούδ' ἐγγύς ὀρῶ
πελάτας ἐν αὐτῷ 

15 ἀμφια ὥστε ἐνανθρωπιστικής ὑπερήφανος

αγροτερήμονα καὶ τινῷ εὐφωβίῳ ἐναθρακτὶ

20 ἄρειστος ὡστε οὐκ εἰσεῖρῃ 

τοῦτο τεκμερίζεται ἐν τῷ ἑυρήματι ὑπὲρ ἴσβεβηκεν ἑνδομε ἡκτενεῖν ἑσπερίδος 

25 τὸ ἔτος ἐν τῷ ἀλυσίῳ ἡμέρᾳ ἀποτελεῖ 

μετὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔσται ἑορτημένος 

30 φιλοσοφική στροφή 

μετὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τοῦ παραλήπτερον 

35 καὶ τὴν ἐκπροσώπησιν 

Αμφια ἡμεῖς ἑντοῦτοι ἔσται 

40 ἀρείστος ὡστε οὐκ ἐστὶν ἑλπίζει ἑορτημένος 

Παίς...
πελάτας ξείνους Δωρίδι πέπλον
ἔσθη[σ]τι σαφεῖς πρὸς τούσδε δόμους
στείχοντας ἐρήμους ἀν' ἀλασος;
15 Ἀμφιάραος, ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἀνθρώποισιν αὖ τ' Ἐκδημίαι
ὅταν τε χρείαν εἰσπέσὼν ὁδοιπόρος
ἀγροὺς ἐρήμους καὶ μονοκικτός ὤη
ἄφιλος) ἀνερμηνευτο[ς] σπορ[ιάν] ἐχὼν
ὅτη τράπηται: κάμε γὰρ τὸ δ[υ]ναχρές
τοῦ εἰσθήβηκεν' ἀσμενος δ' εἰδον δόμοις
τοῦ δ' ἐν Δίος λειμῶνι Νεμέαδος χθον[ός].
καὶ σ', ἀπὸ δοῦλη τοῦ δ' ἐφιλο[ς] δομημένος
ἐξ' ὀψὶ δούλον σῶμ' ἐχοσα', ἐρήσομαι
tόνος τάδ' ἀνδρῶν μηλοβοσκα δώματα
ζενή, νομίζεται.
20 Ἐλιοντιάς γῆς, ὁ ἀμφιάραος
"Τψιπύλη[π] [δ]αμως Δικοῦργον μέλαθρα κληρικεῖα τά[δε],
[δ]ι [ἐς ἀπάσης (α)ρεθείς Ἀσωπία(ς)
κηλοδοχίς ἐστι τοῦπιχωρίου Δίος.
Ἀμφιάραος. [β]υτὸν λαβεῖν [Χ]ρίζοιμι' ἀν ἐν κρωσοῖς ὄδωρ
στ[ρ]ατῶν γὰρ ὀδάτων [ν]άματ' ύπερβαίνοντες εἰς ἄλλην χθόνα
τοῦ[σ]τρατοῦ προ[θ]υσαίει Κάδμου πύλας,
[ε]ἰ πὼς θεοὶ πέμποιει ε[υμυχα] κόμου, γύναι. εἰ δή [弓
("Τψι") τί δὲ στρατεύεσθ', εἰ γε σοῦ [θέμις μ]αθεῖν;
("Τψ") [σῳ δ'] διν τὸς ἄλλων πηνο[ή]μεν θηρ[ί]ς λαβεῖν;
(Ἀμφ.) παί[σ] Οἰκ[λέους τοι τάντω Αμφιάρατος ἐγώ.
ωμεγαλ[...

πώσδ'οι[...

Fr. 4

[...]σε[...

Ιητο[...

Ονομα[...

💵

Fr. 1, Col. v.

γυ'[...

δαίαφ[...

eδεξ[...

ποθενμ[...

5 εγημύκλ. [...

 eiusντισω[...

ταυτηδιδωσι[...

θεοκεωνγα[...

πολυδωροσοδ[...

10 ειπουθεασφυ[...

tουτουδεπαι[...

[... ...]'.

Fr. 5.

[...]

ν[σκαιφ[...

εισχρη[...

Χρηγαρ[...

5 [дов[...

Fr. 1, Col. v.

/ ειρησ[...

εξω[...

δ[ωσον[...

30 ουθυ[...

eιδ[...

/ [.]ιαχ[...
852. EURIPIDES, HYPSIPYLE 43

(Τψ.) ὦ μεγάλ[σα . . . . . . . . ]καὶ [ἢ – ὰ –
(Ἀμφ.) πῶς δ᾽ οἰ[σ. . . . . . . . ]σα . [  

Fr. 4. . . . . . .

(Ἀμφ.) [. .].[ε]
(Τψ.) ἦ τοῦ [  
(Ἀμφ.) ὄνομα [τὸ σῶν νῦν καὶ γένος λέξον, γίναι.
(Τψ.) ἦ Δημ[νία χθὼν Ἱψιπύλην ἐθρεψε με.
5 (Ἀμφ.) : [  

Fr. 1. Col. v.

. . . . . . .

(Ἀμφ.) γυ[νὴ μ᾽ ἐπεισε . .
(Τψ.) ὀσια φίρονοσ᾽ ἦ . .
(Ἀμφ.) ἐδέξ[αθ' δρμον . .
(Τψ.) πόθεν μ\[  
5 (Ἀμφ.) ἔγημ᾽ ὁ κλεινῶς Ἀρμονίαν Κάδρος ποτέ, 375
(Τψ.) εἰς ἦν τις ὅπερ καὶ θεοὶ συνήλθον εἰς γάμους.
(Ἀμφ.) ταύτῃ δίδωσιν ὅρμον Ἀφροδίτη θηλόν.
(Τψ.) θεοὶ θεῶν γάρ παυσιν εὐμενεῖς αἰῶ.
(Ἀμφ.) Πολύδωρος οὐ[ν ἐκλήξεθ᾽ οὐς αὐτῶν γόνος. 380
10 (Τψ.) εἰ τοῦ χθος θεῖς θεῖ᾽ ἐδέξατ᾽, εἰκότως.
(Ἀμφ.) τουτοῦ δὲ παῖς ἥν Δάβδακος ὜ – ὰ –
(Τψ.) [ . . . . . . ] . [  

Fr. 5. . . . . . . Fr. 1. Col. v. . . . . . .

(A) [.].[ε] . [  
(B) ὅν καὶ σ[  
(A) εἰς χρη[  
(B) χρη γὰρ [  
5 (A) [.].[δοξα] 30 (Ἀμφ.) οὐ δύνα 400
(A) [.].[ε] . [  
(B) [.].[σΧ] . [  

Fr. 6.

[... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...]

[... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...]

[... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...]

Fr. 7.

[... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...]

[... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...]

[... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...]

Frs. 8, 9.

[... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...]

[... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...]

[... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...]

[... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...]
852. EURIPIDES, HYPsipyle

Fr. 6.

(Xo.) [. . . . . . . . .] χέρνιβα[ ]
[. . . . . . . . .] εσεν[ .] [ ]
[. . . . . . . . .] κασι[ ]
[. . . . . . . . .] αβδο[. ] [ ]
5 [. . . . . . . . .] σο[. ] σονι[ ]
[. . . . . . . . .] αιδα[ ]
[. . . . . . . . .] σο[ ]

Fr. 7.

[. . . . . . . . .] νθ[ ]
[. . . . . . . . .] πολυκά[ρπον]
[. . . . . . . . .] αι σταχύων
[. . . . . . . . .] δροσιζομεν[ ]
5 [ . . . . . . . . .] δότορες ει[ . ]
[. . . . . . . . .] ελ[ . . . . ] ερ[ ]

Fr. 8, 9.

[. . . . . . . . .] λευ[ ]
Πλευρ[ων]
ἀλατευ[ ]
πάτρα[ . . . . . . . . . ] [ ]
5 φυγ[ . . . . . . . . . ]
νυ[κτὸς δ' ἐποίου] ἐν κοίταισι παρ' αὐλῇ
ἐριδ[ας θάμ' ἀμείβομενοι]
σιδ[άρου τ' εἰρ][ειδίᾳ]
σφ. γα[...].λον
10 κλισίας [. .].υνυκτέρουν
γενναίων [. .].τερων
ψ[. .].γαθεσδορίθυμοι [. .]
φουβουδ'[. .].πα[. .].ς[. .].λευσενυχεν
ω
ε[. .].αδραστοσεχ
τεκναθηρι[. .].[. .].αι
15 [. .].μο[. .].
[. .].αμπετασας
}[ε

Fr. 10.

το[. .].]οι[. .]
]. πουμαλα
]τεγγυσουχιμα[. .]
].υσεσειςαλλαστ[. .]
5 [. .].τσεσιασε[. .].[. .]
].γεω
τιθροεισ
ωολομαν[. .]
[. .].]σοι[. .]

Fr. 11.

εεε[. .]
εεε[. .]
ο[. .]
Χρ[. .]
5 μ[. .]

Fr. 12.

φ[. .]
μει[. ].]θοσαδ[. .]
ουγαρεμμεν[. .]
λ
υψιπυιωμοι[. .]
5 [. .].[. .].αεφ[. .]
[. .].]σοι[. .]

THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
852. EURIPIDES, HYPSIPYLE

σφαγῇ [τε δή]λον
10 κλισίας π[ερ]ὶ νυκτέρου
gενναίων π[α]τέρων
φ[υ]γάδες δορὶ δυμών.
Φοίβου δ᾽ ἐν[ο]πλείως θυμόν.
ἐν Ἀδραστος ἔχων

[

....

[ἀπετάσας]
THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

Fr. 13. 

Fr. 14. 

Fr. 15. 

Fr. 16. 

Fr. 17. 

Fr. 18. 

Fr. 19. 

Fr. 20, 21. 

ωφ[. .]ταιγ[ 
εστη[καιρ]πι. .]τι[. .]νόθ[ ]
Ευριπίδης, Ηυσίπυλη

Fr. 13. Fr. 14. Fr. 15. Fr. 16.

[ ] [αβ[.]δ[] ]μι[ ]μυνα
— [ ]πο ]
[ ]τατω[ ]φαρων ο[.]κη
Χο(ρός). ἦδη [ ]φη [ ] φο [ 5 ]
5 [ 5 ]

Fr. 17. [σιν [ ] ]

Fr. 18. [πανι] ]
5 ποιμένες ἐπεὶ σίγ᾽ εν[.] [ ]
Χο. (δια δρᾶσαι καὶ ῥυ[ ]
5 ποιμένες ἐπεὶ σίγ᾽ εν[.] [ ]
πηληκα σείων, οὗ φόβ[ ]

Fr. 19. [σιν [ ] ]

Fris. 20, 21.

(Τυψ.) δο[.]λατα[.] ται γυναικες, ὡς ἐπὶ ἔχων
ἐστικα μ[.]π . [ ]

E
THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

Fr. 22.

Fr. 23.

Fr. 24.
EURIPIDES, HYPSIPYLE

ἀναίξι ἕξειν. οἱ φόβοι δ᾽ ἴσχουσί με.

(Xo.) εὐελπίς δ᾽ οἴστι [ῥῆμ᾽] ἐξεῖσ εἰπεῖν φίλαις;


(Xo.) τί δήτα γ᾽ εξεύρηκας εἰς ἀλκ[ὴν] σ᾽ ἄγων;


(Xo.) σκόπει, φίλαις γὰρ ἢ μόνον. οὔκουν ἄπειρός γ᾽, ὦ τάλαινα, συμβούλους ἐξεῖσ.

('Ὑψ.' ἔγνωκα κὰγὼ τὸῦ τοῦ καὶ φυλάξομαι.

10 (Xo.) ποῖ δῆτα τρέψῃ; τίς σε δ[ὲ]ξεῖται πάλαις;

('Ὑψ.' τὸν δρο[μο]βαί τὸῦ καὶ προθυμία.

(Xo.) φιλάσι[ν]τε[σ] гῆ φρονίμω|σιν ἐν κύκλω.


(Xo.) σκόπει, φίλας [γὰ]ρ τά[σθε] συμβούλους ἐξεῖσ.


(Xo.) οὐκ ἦστιν ὅστις βούλεται δούλους ἀγεν.

[25 letters] τερο[.] . . . . . .

Fr. 22. . . . . . . . . . .

('Ὑψ.' [ . . . ] ἐυονό[ ]
[ . . . ] βο[υ] τ[α]λε[ ]
καὶ μη δὲ [θρή]γ[ῆς]
5 τὸ τῶν γυναι[κῶν]
καὶ παί[ν]δα τ[ι]
καὶ διαμ[ή[η]
ὕν δ᾽ ἐξαμ[α]ρτ
10 ἐν σῶφροσιν [
Εὐρυνθ][η]. τί ταῦτ[α] κομψ[α]

Fr. 23. . . . . .

(A) τί φύ[σε] ὡ[]
(B) ἐκεῖ[ν] λο[ι[ ]
(A) ὠ[ τα. ]
(B) τὸ μ[ι[ ]
. . . . . . . . . .

Fr. 24. . . . . .

(A) δε[ ]
(B) καὶ π[ ]
(A) ὡ[ σ [δ] ὡ[ τ[ ]
(B) ὡ[ τ[ . . . ]ρ]
Col. i.

Fr. 25.

] ]

]αις

]...

Fr. 27.

[—]

[•]ρ·[••••••]θ[•]
καιχ[•]ν[•]
εωδ[•]ι[•]
[•]η[•]
[•]α[•]
[••••••]...

Fr. 29.

α·[•]
πε[•]
π[•]

Fr. 32.

[•]
[•]ονι[•]
[•]νον[•]
[•]ου[•]
[•]

Fr. 26.

[•]

Fr. 28.

[•]δε[•]
[•]σο[•]
[•]κ[•]

Fr. 30.

[•]·[•]
πωδ[•]
θαν[•]
οιε[•]

Fr. 31.

[•]

Fr. 33.

[•]ω[•]
[•]ας[•]
[•]ι[•]
[•]τ[•]σ[•]
[•]ηδ[•]
852. EURIPIDES, HYPsipyle

Fr. 25. Col. i. Fr. 26.

. . .

[ ]

]ais

] (B) il [ 700

. . .

Fr. 27. . . . . . . . .

(Ty.) [·p · [ . . . . ] [ 800 Fr. 28. . .

καὶ χ[ερ]ν[β[ [δει][

έω δειρ. ;υλα[ [επω[

[ ] δηγα την[ ]κον[ 5 ἀπερην ξενο[ [ελ[

dοκω δε ταυτ 805 [ . . . . . . . . .

ἡν μη σν πεισθη[σ[ [·]ν [ . . . . ]ουκ[ 1 . . . . . . . . [ [ . . . . . . . . .

Fr. 29. . . Fr. 30. . . Fr. 31. . .

α. [ [ ] [ 1 (A) 6[ 111. [ (B) ρ[ [ . . . . . . . . .

πο[ πως δ[ θαμ[ 5 . (B) οι[ . . . . . . . . .

Fr. 28. . . . .

Fr. 32. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

(Ty.) [μ[ [ . . . . . . [γολ[ [ . . . . . . . . .

[ ]αιν . α [. . ] ιας . [ [ . . . . . . . . .

[ ιον ἐκτελει γλυκ[υν [ . . . . . . . . .

5 περίπεχουν ἐν ἄγκαλ[αις [ . . . . . . . . .

]κε[ . . ] φίλας τέκν[ ] } a[ . . . . . . . . .

Fr. 33. . . . . . . . . . . . . .

[λ[ . . α[ . . [ [ . . . . . . . . .

πελας θυρ[ων[ ] [ . . . . . . . . .

]αιός εἰργε[ . . . . . . . . .


] . σηδ[ . . . . . . . . .
Ἰηλημαῖ Ἰαιθοαϊ
Ἰειλογωνΐ Ἰοχῇ
Ἰπαγκαλαισι Ἰκετί
10 Ἰσαπωλομί
Ἰκχερωννῖ

Frs. 34, 35.

[ ... ]
[ ... ]ποινα[ ... ]
[ ... ]οικληθρ[ ... ]ωσ[ ... ]
[ ... ]ομαίωματω[ ... ]
5[ ... ]εξωθωμοίση τροφ[ ... ]κνων
[ ... ]διδωσινουεσωβάιν[ ... ]μων[ ... ]
[ ... ]ορ[ ... ]προ[ ... ]

Fr. 36.
δι[...

Fr. 37.
κτ[...

Fr. 38.
σηλθ[...

Fr. 39.
είσω[...

Fr. 40.
στ[...]
κυλήματοις ἐπ᾿ ἀγκάλαις ἀπωλότην

Frs. 34, 35:

 tragedia [-
[ν[...
[... δέσποινα...
[ν[.......
[...].
[...].
[...].
[...]προ[...

Fr. 36.

[κτανεῖν

[κων λαβεῖν

[...]

Fr. 37.

[...]

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Fr. 38.

[...]

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Fr. 39.

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Fr. 40.

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5 [...}
THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

Fr. 41. .... Fr. 42. .... Fr. 43. .... Fr. 44. ....

| toyis | id | id | titoos |
| ors | argos | e' | |
| toi | | | astos |

Fr. 45. .... Fr. 46. .... Fr. 47. .... Fr. 48. ....

| toi | [ | a | a] | a |
| looked | aro | | aoi |
| = | a | a | a |

Fr. 49. .... Fr. 50. .... Fr. 51. .... Fr. 52. ....

| vep | | | j |
| aro | alaao | aoi | a |
| ou | | | |

Fr. 53. .... Fr. 54. .... Fr. 55. .... Fr. 56. ....

| xi | aso | | |
| et | | | |

Fr. 57.

[ ] eoi kede
[ ] oionupooi
[ ] antousoi
[ ] festhe

\[ 5 \] e' ouli

tipo

Fr. 58.

\[ 5 \] ephi

[ ] ekaio
[ ] ekaio
[ ] ekaio
[ ] ekaio

\[ 5 \] ephi
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<td>αἵρᾳ θέλομεν</td>
<td>αἵρᾳ θέλομεν</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σμύρνας κατν</td>
<td>σμύρνας κατν</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>θαλάμοις Βρόμιοι</td>
<td>θαλάμοις Βρόμιοι</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>το φίλαι</td>
<td>το φίλαι</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>θηκα φέρουσα τρπε</td>
<td>θηκα φέρουσα τρπε</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fr. 60.

5 οὐτωδοῖ ]
οργηπρινορθῶσπραγμί |]
σιγασ'αμειβηδ' ουδενωΐ |]
ὡστουθανεινμενουνεκί. - - - |

10 τουμοντιθηνημ᾽ Ὀνεπεμαισιναγκαλαι |]
πληνουτεκουσαταλλαδ᾽ ὠσεμοντεκνο |]
στεργουσαεφερονωφελημ᾽ εμοιμε[της] a

Fr. 59.

λιθανοὺ[ ]
ταχανε[ ]
Χαριν[ ]
αντάγο[ ]

20 πότνιαθεω[ ]

3 (?!) lines lost.

. ν . π[ ]

5 οὐτωδοῖ[ ]
οργηπρινορθῶσπραγμί[ ]
σιγασ'αμειβηδ' ουδενω[ ]

10 τουμοντιθηνημ᾽ Ὀνεπεμαισιναγκαλαι |]
πληνουτεκουσαταλλαδ᾽ ὠσεμοντεκνο |]
στεργουσαεφερονωφελημ᾽ εμοιμε[της] a

Fr. 60.

Col. i.

Plate III.
Ταλαμο[ | 1090 | ἴς παρὰ χειρὸς ἐδείξα
βάλλει ὑπὶ Ἰς ἐς οἴκους
ἀνά τ᾽ αἰθέρ Ἱερον: ὡς δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἐπώμιον
τί τὸ σῆμα [ | 10 | κυπαρισσόρος(φ)ον χερὶ Ν[ ἐσωθεν
η δὲ γάλακτι
στάζει [ | 15 | νέκταρ [ Fr. 59.
λιβάνου [ | Τάχ᾽ ἄν ε[ | 1100 | ἴς ἁμᾶς Τ[ 
χάριν α[ | 70 κτῆμα .].
ἀντάγαν τ[ τὸ κτῆμα .].
\ 20 στρ. δ[ πότια θεών[ | 5 | ν ὦκι θυγ[ φ[άος ἄσκοπον [ | 1105 | 70 σα .].
ἄρει πρῶτογονο[ν | 1105 | 70 σα .].
[..]ρος ὅτε νο[ξ[] | 1105 | 70 σα .].
[....] δὴ τότε [ | ] εἰπὲ τ᾽ α[| 25 | κεν οὸ[| [....] 8[| 10 | η χάριν [ | ] δ᾽ ἀπομ[ | Fr. 60. | Col. i. Plate III. | 3 lines lost.
(ΤΨ). ν . π[ | 5 | οὐτο ὁδηγεῖς σὺ δὴ χαρίζεσθαι τυφλῆ
ὀργῇ πρὶν ὄρθως πραγμ[άτων μαθεῖν ὀδόν.
συγφ[άρμα οὗ ὀδύδων ὀδὸν καθηγο[ρ[; | ὃς τοῦ βασείν μὲν ὀδυκ[ αἰτία γ᾽ ἐγ[όω,
τοῦ δὲ κτα[είν τὸ τέκνον ὦκ ὀρ[θῶς δοκ[ω,
το[μὸν τιθήν[ μ[ ὦν ἐπ᾽ ἐμα[ίσιν ἀγκάλαις
πλὴν ὦκ τεκουσα τάλλα (γ᾽) ὡς ἐμὸν τέκνον
στέργους ἐφερ(θ)ον, ὡφέλημι ἐμοί μέγα.

Fr. 60. | Col. i. Plate III. | 3 lines lost.
(ΤΨ). ν . π[ | 5 | οὐτο ὁδηγεῖς σὺ δὴ χαρίζεσθαι τυφλῆ
ὀργῇ πρὶν ὄρθως πραγμ[άτων μαθεῖν ὀδόν.
συγφ[άρμα οὗ ὀδύδων ὀδὸν καθηγο[ρ[; | ὃς τοῦ βασείν μὲν ὀδυκ[ αἰτία γ᾽ ἐγ[όω,
τοῦ δὲ κτα[είν τὸ τέκνον ὦκ ὀρ[θῶς δοκ[ω,
το[μὸν τιθήν[ μ[ ὦν ἐπ᾽ ἐμα[ίσιν ἀγκάλαις
πλὴν ὦκ τεκουσα τάλλα (γ᾽) ὡς ἐμὸν τέκνον
στέργους ἐφερ(θ)ον, ὡφέλημι ἐμοί μέγα.
οπρορακαικαινονεξαλμησυδωρ
αργουσϊωπαιδεσδωσαπολλυμαικακὼσ
15 ὠὡμαντιπατροσοϊκλεουσθανουμεθα
αρηξοί. ΙἸλθεμημϊδησυπαιτιασ
αἰσχραςθανουσανδιασεγαρδιολλυμαι
τουλευθερουσιοπροστιθήμητροσε
20 γαετε:φιλωγαρουδεναισορωπελασ
δομωνανασσατωγαρευτεπεισίδων
μελλωτηνησκευνδεμαιδεμ᾽ εισορασ
25 ὡτοσοισιγονασινητοθ᾽ ειπομηνξενουο
οσα[[.]]δεπραξειο[[.]]σωνπρ′.[.]δουσεμε
ονειδοσαργειο[[.]]σωνπρειεισονενκάκοισ
αλλωδιά. . νεμπυρωνλευσωντυχασ
δαναοισινΐ. . ετηνδεσυμφοραντεκνου
30 παρωνγαῖ. . Ἰθαφησιδεηδεέκουσιως
cτανεινμῖ. αιδακαπιβουλευσαιδομοισ
ειἰδωσαφειγμαιτηντυχηντ᾽ υπειδομην
τηνσηνᾶπεισητ᾽ εκπεπνευκοτοστεκνου
ηκ."δ"αρηξωνσυμφοραισταισισισα
40 τομ[[.]]ρβιαιονουκεχωντοδευσσεβεσ
αι. . ονγαρεμευεξεπιστασθαιπαθαιν
δρασαιδεμηδενπαντανταπροσσεθεν
πρωτουμενονσουδειξονοξενηκαρα
ὦ πρῷρα καὶ λευκαῖνον ἐξ ἅλμης ὕδωρ Ἄργους, ἰὼ παῖδ᾽ ὡς ἀπόλλυμαι κακῶς.

15 ὦ μάντι πατρὸς Ὠκλέους, θανούμεθα. ἀρηξοίν, ἔλθθε, μὴ μ᾽ ἰδῆς ὑπ᾽ αὐτίας αἰωρᾶς θανοῦσαν, διὰ σὲ γὰρ διδύλλμαι. ἔλθ᾽, οἴσθα γὰρ δὴ τάμα, καὶ σὲ μάρτυρα σαφέστατον δέξασθ᾽ ἀν ἦδ᾽ ἐμῶν κακῶν.

20 ἅγετε, φίλων γὰρ οὐδεὶν εἰσορῷ πέλας ὅστις με σώσει: κενὰ δ᾽ ἐπηδέσθην ἀρα. (Ἀμφ.) ἐπισχεῖς, ὦ πέμπουσα τῇ νόθ᾽ ἐπὶ σφαγᾷς, δόμων ἄνασσα: τῷ γὰρ εῦ πρεπεῖ σε ἱδων τουλεύθερον σοι προστίθημι τῇ φύσῃ.


30 πρὸς σοῦ γύναις, ἦ τόθ᾽ εἰπόμην ἥκεις· δοτά δὲ πραξεῖς ὅσιος ὅνων πρόξοδος δὲ με ὅνειδου Ἀργείουσιν Ἐλλησίν τ᾽ ἐση. ἀλλ᾽ ᾧ δὲ ᾧ γνών ἐμπύρων λεύσσων τύχας Δαναοίσιν εἰπὶ τῇ ν ἐστὶ συμφορὰν τέκνων, παρὼν γὰρ ἥ οἰσθα: φησὶ δ᾽ ἦδ᾽ ἐκουσών κτανεῖν μὲ πιάδα κατισουλεύσαι δόμοις. (Ἀμφ.) εἰδὸς ἀφῖγμαι τὴν τύχην θ᾽ ὑπειδόμην τὴν σὴν ἀπὶ τῆς εἰς πείσῃ ἐκπεπνευκότος τέκνου, ἥκαν δ᾽ ἀρήξον συμφοραίοι ταῖοί σαῖς, τὸ μὲν εὖ μὲν ἐξεπίστασθαι παθεῖν δράσαι δὲ μηδὲν εὐ παθοῦνα πρὸς σέθεν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν σὸν δείξον, ᾧ ἥκε, κάρα·
σο[σ]οματουμενολρων

45 πολυσινήκαιφικούτωσαγωναι
κοσμειντ' εμαυτουκαίταδιαφερονθ' οραν

50 οξεοντοσαγραφειτησιο[σι]οιονονθ' θινα
παντών' ακουσ' οίδασεν', τρασωρον
συγαρτον' εισοδ' ομμαεβ[σα]νον

55 γυναιτοτησετησταλαπουρουκ[.]μ ον
αχρισωφερουσαναντησπιονθ[.].

60 ταυτηνεγώξεπεσεακρηναιον[.].

Fr. 60. Col. ii. Plate III.

3 (?) lines lost.

[. . . .].ψιν[.
[. . . .].παίσμε[.
[. . . .].ασαμε[.
[. . .].εισδε[.

70 [. . .].αιθελ[.
[. . .].ακονσ[.

75 ημεισδείδο]
σῶφρον γὰρ ὄμμα τούμων Ἑλλήνων λόγος

45 πολὺς διήκει· καὶ πέφυρ̣ ὄφτας, γνωριζομεν τ’ ἐμαυτόν καὶ τὰ διαφέρονθ’ ὅραν.

ἐπείτ’ ἀκουσον, τοῦ τάχους δὲ τοῦτ’ ἀνεε·

εἰς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλο πάν ἀμαρτάνειν χρεῶν,

ψυχὴν δ’ ἐσ ἀνδρὸς ἡ γυναικὸς οὐ καλὸν.

50 (Εὐρ.) ὁ ἔσδε πρὸς Ἀργεῖον πλησίαν ναὸν ἄχανα,

πάντων {δ’} ἀκοὐον’ ὀδιά σ’ ὑ[υ]τά σωφρονα·

οὐ γὰρ ποτ’ εἰς τὸν ὄμμι’ (ἀν) ἐβλ[ε]μας παρόν.

νῦν δ’ εἰ τι βούλησιν, καὶ κλυ[ε]ίν σέθεν θέλω

καὶ σ’ ἐκδιδάσκειν· οὐκ ἀνάξιος γὰρ εἰ.

55 (Ἀμφ.) γνώριν, τὸ τῆς τῆς ταλαιπωροῦ ᾲ[κόνν]

ἀγρίως φέρουσάν σ’ ἡπιον θεσθαν θέλα[ν],


ἀσχέυομαι δὲ Φοῖβον οὐ δι’ ἐμπύρ[ων]

τέχνην ὑπακώνν, ψεύδος εἰ’ τι λέσομεν.

60 ταῦταν ἐγὼ ἔσδε ἐπείσασα κρηναῖον [γά][νος]

de[ε]ζαι δι’ ἀγνῶν ῥεμάτων [ὅπως λάβω]

στρατιάς πρόθυμ’ Ἀργεῖον ὡς διἀκηπερῶν

Fr. 60.  Col. ii.  Plate III.

3 lines lost.

[... . .]ου[ν]

[... . .] παῖς με[ν]

[... . .]ασα μεν []

[ἡμ]εῖς δὲ []

70 [... . .]αι θέλοντες

[ὁ]ράκον αὐ[τί]

[ἡ]κόντις ἀ’[]

καὶ νῦν ὑ[ρ]ῶ[ν]

ἐλιξ[εῖν ἀμφί]

75 ἢμεῖς δ’ ἰδ[εῖντες]
εγωδετόξευσι
αρχηγαρήμων

αρχημο[ν]οσε
αυτουχισαυτήν
80 ὄρνιθαδ'ἀργειον
καμηστοῖ
αλλοιχ
πολλοῖ
καθμον
85 νοστουκυρησι
δ' ἀραστοσίγεταρ
ἐπταστρατηγὸν
ταμενγενομενοῖ
ἀδαίπαρανώντι
90 ἐφυμενοῦδεισον
θαπτετετεκ
αυτοτεθυνησκεν
σε
εἰγήνφεροντεσ
βιονθεριζείνων
95 κατομμενεῖ
στενειναπεί
ἀδείκοσαργοῖ
θαψαὶςειμὶ
αλλείστοναεῖ
το. ἷ. . Πισβρότεῖ
κλεινοσγαρεῖστι'
στεφανουσδιδ
ζηλωτοσεστὶ
ἐπωνομασθη
ἐπωνομασθη

100 το. [. .]σαβρότε[ι
κλεινοσγαρεῖσι
αγωνάτ'αυτωι
στεφανουσδίδ[ι
ξηλωτοσεστί

105 εντώδεμε. [.]
μνησθησετα]
eπωνομασθη
EURIPIDES, HYPSIPYLE

ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἑτόξευσ᾽ [ 
ἀρχὴ γὰρ ἡμῖν [πημάτων πολλῶν θανῶν 
'Αρχέμορὸς ἐ[στίν 
σὺ τ᾽ οὐχὶ σαυτῆ[ν 
80 ὅρνθα δ᾽ Ἀργείο[ισι 
καὶ μὴ στο[ι 
ἀλλο[ι 
πολλοὶ δ[ 
Κάδμου [ 
85 νόστου κυρησ[ 
Ἄδραστος ἔξετάρ[α πάτριον ἀυ πέδων 
ἐπὶ τὰ στρατηγ[ῶν ἐκσεσωμένοις μόνοις. 
τὰ μὲν γενόμενα[α δὴ σαφῶς ἐπίστασαι: 
ἀδ᾽ ἀυ παραίνω ταῦτά μου δέξαι, γύναι. 
90 ἐφι μὲν οὐδε[ς ὃς τις οὐ πονε[ βροτῶν 
θάπτει[ν τε τέκνα χάτερα κτᾶται νέα 
αὐτῷ[ς] τε θησάθαι· καὶ τάδ᾽ ἀχθονται βροτοὶ 
iei γῆν φέροντες [γῆν. ἀναγκαῖος δ᾽ ἐχει 
βίον θερίζειν κάρπιμον στάχυν, 
95 καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰλναι τὸν δὲ μῆς τι ταῦτα δεὶ 
στένειν ἀπέρ δεὶ κατὰ φύσιν διεκπεράν; 
ἀδ᾽ εἰκὸς Ἀργο[ 
θάψαι δὸς ἡμῖν 
ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ τοῖς πήμασιν 
100 τοῖς σοῖς βρότ[ιον ὀφελῆσται γένος. 
κλεινὸς γὰρ ἐσται τάφος ἐν ἀνθρώποις δει, 
ἀγώνα τ᾽ αὐτῷ [γυμνικὸν συστήσομεν 
στεφάνους διδόντες τοῖς κρατοῦσι φυλλάδος. 
ξηλωτὸς ἐστ[αι δ᾽ ἀνδράσιν νύκη πάνιν. 
105 ἐν τῶδε μὲν [ 
μησιθήσεται δ᾽ ὡς 
ἐποιομάσθη [ 
F
νεμέασκατάλοσ
αναίτιαγάρτοισιν
τοιούτου πραγμάτου τίον
αιτία γάρ τοίσι
συνγαρκάλωσοι τοίσι
αναίτια γάρ τοίσι
πάρα διαβάζονται συνOSPµν
ὁπαίτομένσοι τί Ἰσινὴ μὴν!
Ἰροστασφυσεῖς ἢ
τοιούτος πραγμάτου τίον
κατασαράνθησαι παρατείνοντες τίον
πάρα διαβάζονται συνOSPµν

Fr. 61.
ἐποτίς...

Fr. 62.

Fr. 63.

Fr. 64. 69: 32a (Pree.)

Fr. 65. 1:1
Νεμέας κατ’ ἄλογος. τήροι δ’ οὖν λύσαι σε χρῆ, 
ἀναιτία γάρ: τοῖς [110
σῦν γὰρ καλὸς σῶν, ὥ γύναι, πάθος τέλει 
θῆτες εἰς καὶ παῖδ’ [εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν εὐκλεεῖσ.
(Ἑυρ.) ὃ παί, τὸ μὲν σοι τ[115
[..] ἥσον ἢ μην] 
[πρὸς τὰς φύσεις [χρῆ καὶ τὰ πράγματα σκοπεῖν 
καὶ τὰς διαίτας τῶν κακῶν τε κἀγαθῶν, 
πειθὼ δὲ τοῖς μὲν σωφροσὺν πολλὴν ἐχεῖν, 
τοῖς μὴ δικαίοις [δ’ οὔδε συμβάλλειν χρεῶν.

Fr. 61.

Fr. 62.

Fr. 63.
THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

5 Ἰουκεχουσισυμμαχουσ[...

Fr. 64. Col. i.

26 lines lost.

27 ]του

5 lines lost.

34 ]σ

4 lines lost.

39 ]δετε

4 lines lost.

45 ]σ

4 lines lost.

Fr. 64. Col. ii.

τέκναταμιανοδον
ανα[,]λυμητρασεν

60 επιφόβονεπιπετε
χάρινεδηςεπιτε
ἀμφιαθημενταρ[...]δωσωυμαιησαρηχαριν
επειδευμποδυμοσηθο'ν'ημτοτε

65 απεδοκακαγώσοιπρώθυμαεπατε'sώ

σώτης]δεδηπτεκνα'Sωδερητερα
καιχαιρετ'ημε[...]δω'κωπερομενθαθαθ
στρατευμα[,]ορτεσθ'ξομενθ'βασετεπ

οιψιτωςικοισ'Αξιοσγαρωξενε

70 ευδαμονοισο'δησαωνδεσωνκακων
ταλαναμητεθεωντισωσαπληστοση
5 | οὐκ ἔχουσι συμμάχους
| Σ' Ἀμφιάραος· σῶσαι [ο —
| θίς ὡσπερεὶ νεώς· [λ|α[μ]|βάνω]

Fr. 64. Col. i.

26 lines lost.

27 ]του 1548
ν 5 lines lost.

34 |ς 1555
4 lines lost.

39 ]δετε 1560
4 lines lost.

45 |ς 1566

Fr. 64. Col. ii.

(Τψ.) τέκνα τ' ἀνὰ μίαν ὁδὸν
ἀνάπ[α]λιν ἐτρόχασεν

60 ἐπὶ φόβον ἐπὶ {τε}
χάριν ἐλίξας,
Χρόνῳ δ' ἐξέλαμψεν εὐάμερος.

'Ἀμφιάραος'. τήν μὲν παρ' ἥ[μ]ῶν, ὃ γύναι, φέρη χάριν,
ἐπεὶ δ' ἐμοὶ πρόθυμος ἴσθ' ὅτ' ἤντε[μι]

65 ἀπάθωκα κάγῳ σοι πρόθυμ' ἐς παίδε σώ.
σφ' η' σφ' {τέκνα} σφ' δὲ τήνε νεὰ μητέρα,
καὶ χαίρεθ'· ἴμε[η]ς δ', ὡσπερ ὁρμήσεθα δή,
στράτευμ' ἀγιοντες ἠθεμεν Θήβας ἐπὶ.

oi 'Τψ[ύ]λης εὐδαιμονίης, άξιος γάρ, ὃ ξένε,

vol. 70 — εὐδαιμονίης δήτα· τῶν δὲ σῶν κακῶν,
tάλαινα μήτερ, θεῶν τις ὁς ἀπληστος ἂ[ν'].
\[
\psi \pi \\
aiaifunastemebevnesefuyov
\]
\[\omega tekevoneimâthoulymouvonias\]
\[\delta i\tau i pateroesoukêtemovtonvollôv\]
\[75\]
\[hýgârêtâxâevapatereasounkataktanein\]
\[fobosêheimevontotekakawô\]
\[teknâviategoryádesenvlektronia\]
\[ékâvonenevêta\]
\[\pi\]
\[suvêexêklepsiasposéôdodovstemâanen\]
\[80\]
\[aktâsbare\]\[\delta\]\[ro\muov\]
\[ikômañepi'ti oïdôvbalasiasiônero\]
\[épômokôta\]
\[kakeiðenêlêdèsevropòvôtivostolov\]
\[nautakópia\]
\[85\]
\[nauplîoneislimenaxëu]\[\[\]nov\]
\[pôrion\]
\[ôga\]
\[agômêduvlo\]
\[epêbasanôte]\[\[\]
\[nuðaði]\[\[\]
\[naiwmêleôremporolov\]
\[ôimôkakosovov\]
\[muñtên'epetuxiaisov\]
\[90\]
\[allassuñdastrôfôsêthe\]
\[chêrictêkovañtekov\]
\[epê'nepetuxiaisov\]
\[a\]
\[arogyvokeiovôhagayovkolhovpolov\]
\[apomastidion'émôvôsterovov\]
\[95\]
\[epêu'dia]\[\[\]
\[onêthèanemosmêterpatpr\]
\[ôimôkakowêgeiðeskakrownôrômæisov\]
\[ôtekovnemôiosðôso\]
\[ôrðeuñmêkaiovôhagay'eiðrakêsotovov\]
\[tînavapateripotecharihovliôv]\[\[tivevemovov\]
\[100\]
\[tivevemovonênepetuxiaisov\]
\[ôba\]
\[muñsâmê]\[\[\]
\[risasidôsôsidastetovai\]
Τυπ(όλη). Αλαὶ φυγὰς {τ} ἐμέθεν ὡς ἐφυγον,
ἀ δέκνου, εἰ μάδοις, Δήμουν ποινίας
πολίδων ὅτι πατέρους οὐκ ἔτεμον κάρα.

75 (Εὐν.) ἦ γάρ σ' ἐταξαίν πατέρα σ' ὅν κατακτάνειν;
(Τψ.) φόβος ἔχει με τῶν τότε κακῶν ὡς
tέκνον), οἶα τε Γοργάδες ἐν λέκτροις
ἐκανον εὐνέτας.

(Εὐν.) σὺ δ' ἐξέκλεψα πῶς πόδ' ὡστε μὴ θανεῖν;
80 (Τψ.) ἀκτὰς βαρυβρόμους ἱκόμαν
ἐπὶ τ' οἴδμα βαλάσσων, δρν(θ)ων
ἐρήμων κοίταν.

(Εὐν.) κάκεϊδεν ἤλθες δεύρο πῶς τίνι στόλου;
(Τψ.) ναυτὶ κόπαις
85 Ναῦπλιον εἰς λιμένα ξενικὸν πόρον
ἀγαγὼν με δουλοῦ[ν]α τ' ἐπέβασαν, ὥς ὁ
ἐνθάδ(ε Δαναῖδην) μέλεας μέλεων ἐμπολάν.

(Εὐν.) οἶμαι κακῶν σῶν.
(Τψ.) μὴ στέν' ἐπ' εὐτυχίαισιν.
90 Ἀλλὰ σὺ πῶς ἐτράφης ὅδε (τ') ἐν τίνι
χειρί, τέκνου ὥστε τέκνον;
ἐνεπ' ἐνεπε ματρὶ σφ.

(Εὐν.) 'Αργῳ με καὶ τόνδ' ἤγαγ' ἐ{ι}Δη (Ἰω)λ(κδ)ν πόλιν..
(Τψ.) ἀπομαστίδιον γ' ἐμὼν στέρνων.
95 (Εὐν.) ἐπεὶ δ' Ἰάσω' ἢθαν' ἐμώς, μήτερ, πατήρ—
(Τψ.) οἴμων κακ(ά) λέγεις, δάκρυα τ' ὀμμασιν,
tέκνων, ἐμοῖς δίδωσ.

(Εὐν.) 'Ορφεὺς με καὶ τόνδ' ἤγαγ' εἰς Θράκης τόπον.
(Τψ.) τίνα πατέρι ποτὲ χάριν ἀθλίῳ
100 τιθέμενος; ἐνεπέ μοι, τέκνων.
(Εὐν.) μοισάν με κιβάρ(α)ς Λασιάδος διδάσκεται,
τούτου νόθησά ρισίωσαίδρακοσμησετομ[ξήσ]μερη
διαγαίουδετιναπορον

εμί, ἔτακτανημιαν

105 θοασ[ομίζεισοοπαθηρδωνεικονω]υποκοσμησετομ[ξήσ]μερη

106 (a) ἀγα[σεσ]το[μ]υποκοσμησετομ[ξήσ]μερη

106 (b) [βα[ι.]|χί.]γεμηχανασ

[................]θό[...η]ον

[................]σοθοκιαβιτιάσι]...

[................]εματριπαϊδιασή

110 [................]μοι

κε[ι[................]ντοσοινωποβοτρνυ

Fr. 64. Col. iii.

31 lines lost.

| α[ | σ α[ | διονυ α[ |
| σ[ | | |
| 145 [ | σ[ |
| [ | ε[ |
| [ | 155 θ[ |
| α[ | α[ |
| [ | |
| 150 [ | |

Fr. 65. Fr. 66. Fr. 67.

| δυτοι[ | ασεμα[ | ευτο[ |
| αα[ | | ]η|
| ] | ηπη[ | ]κιατη[ |
| ομονο[ | ν' οινετο[ | ]ονο|
| ορτατε[ | | ]
| 5 τονέ[ | 5 αιδεδρακ[ | 5 ]φιλα |
| ]στ ήκωδ[ | ]αισχαγαρλε[ | ] |

Fr. 66.

| ]στ ήκωδ [ | ]αισχαγαρλε [ | ] |

Fr. 67.

| ]στ ήκωδ [ | ]αισχαγαρλε [ | ] |
τοῦτον δ' ἐς Ἀρεως ὀπλ᾽ ἐκόσμησεν μάχης.

(Τ.ψ.) δι' Ἀιγαίου δὲ τίνα πόρον
ἐμ[ό]λετ' ἀκτὰν Δημυίαν;

105 (Εὐν.) Θόας [κ]οµίζει σὸς πάτηρ τέκνω δό(ο).

(Τ.ψ.) ἦ γὰ[ρ] σέσωστίς [σ]ε[ω]στα[ὶ]

(Εὐν.) Βο[κ]χίων γε μηξανάις.

110 (Τ.ψ.) [. . . . . . .]θέ[. . . . . .].]όνων
 [. . . . . . . . . . πρ]οσδοκία βιοτάς
 [. . . . . . . . . . ι]ε ματρὶ παῖδας ἦ

(Θ.δ.) κε[ινο]νόν . . . . . . . . . ιτ[ο]οι ω[ν]όπον βότρυν

Fr. 64.

31 lines lost.

Col. iii.

Fr. 65.

Fr. 66.

Fr. 67.

Fr. 67.

Fr. 67.
Fr. 68.

| ιος | 5 άλλα
| γανε | 5 φρυγάδων
| μα | 5 φαος
| λάβη | 5 ἰπγό
| ν | ]
| νοου'] | ]

Fr. 69.

| κακόν | ]υν θεῶν |
| α | ]φυγάδων |
| η | ]κακόν |
| άφρων | ]ον |
| άφρων | | έμας |

Fr. 70.

| άλλα | ]ηρυ 
| πασ ήλθε | ]ηρυ |
| τις ήπιον δε | ]τυχαις |
| άλλων δε | ]τυχαις |
| μη | ]τυχαις |

Fr. 71.

| τις | ]τυχαις |
| μη | ]τυχαις |
| κα [ | ]τυχαις |
| κα [ | ]τυχαις |

Fr. 72.

| άλλων δε | ]τυχαις |
| μη [ | ]τυχαις |
| κα | ]τυχαις |
| κα | ]τυχαις |

Fr. 73.

| μη | ]τυχαις |
| κα | ]τυχαις |
| κα | ]τυχαις |
| κα | ]τυχαις |

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[ai σαφος [ | ]a καλα λεγ[

Fr. 68.

| ιος | 5 άλλα
| γανε | 5 φρυγάδων
| μα | 5 φαος
| λάβη | 5 ἰπγό
| ν | ]
| νοου'] | ]

Fr. 69.

| κακόν | ]υν θεῶν |
| α | ]φυγάδων |
| η | ]κακόν |
| άφρων | ]ον |
| άφρων | | έμας |

Fr. 70.

| άλλα | ]ηρυ 
| πασ ήλθε | ]ηρυ |
| τις ήπιον δε | ]τυχαις |
| άλλων δε | ]τυχαις |
| μη | ]τυχαις |

Fr. 71.

| τις | ]τυχαις |
| μη | ]τυχαις |
| κα [ | ]τυχαις |
| κα [ | ]τυχαις |

Fr. 72.

| άλλων δε | ]τυχαις |
| μη [ | ]τυχαις |
| κα | ]τυχαις |
| κα | ]τυχαις |

Fr. 73.

| μη | ]τυχαις |
| κα | ]τυχαις |
| κα | ]τυχαις |
| κα | ]τυχαις |
Fr. 74. 75. 76.

[οτε] [ονοιθα] [ξ]
[μενε] [νειμε] [γε]
[ωνα] [σουσαν] [αφι]
[σωσα] [ποτεκ] [νεθε]
5 . . . . 5 [θανατ] 5 [ειθεων]
. . . . . . .

Fr. 77. 78.

] . . a[ [οι]] [ει]
[εμο] [δανα]
]. ηπεραι 5 [σδιο]
5 [σοθα]
]
. . . . .

Fr. 79. 80. 81. 82.

[ωσ] [αδ] [μωδ] [α]
[ργαση] [ουτα] [ντεφα]
[λιδαμι] [ωχα] [βαθεω]
[παισ] [ωσει] [..] 5 [.]
. . . . . . .

Fr. 83. 84. 85.

[πειθω] [μενε] [].
[κομις] [στοο] [ειε]
[τω] [σανθρ] [σκαρ].
. . . . . . .
Fr. 74.  

[θσθηθ]  
[μέν τε]  
[δό γυναί]  
[σώσαι]  
5  

Fr. 75.  

[νον σοι θανυν]  
[πείν μ' ει]  
[σούης δι]  
[ποτεκ]  
5  

Fr. 76.  

[ξι]  
[γμει][]  
[σο]  
[αφια]  
[ν έχει]  
5  

Fr. 77.  

[α]  
[θείμις]  
[χρη πέρας]  
5  

Fr. 78.  

[ε]  
[βανα]  
5  

Fr. 79.  

[ωσ]  
[ργα σήν τί]  
[λιδας μι]  
[παιο]  
5  

Fr. 80.  

[νον δι]  
[ουτ' δ]  
[ωξαν]  

Fr. 81.  

[θεας ρ]  
[ντετραφ]  
[θα θεών]  
[...οιν[]  
5  

Fr. 82.  

[α]  
[κακ]  
[αδέ τις]  
[τε]  

Fr. 83.  

[πειθω]  
[kομετι]  
[οδ χρη]  

Fr. 84.  

[μενει]  
[στοσε]  
[s ανθρωπ]  

Fr. 85.  

[.]  
[.]  
[.]  

852. EURIPIDES, HYPSIPYLE
Εν. 86... : : Πειραγες ευθυς...

ἐν ἸΜ1 ορίζω...

Ὁ ΒΟΟΣ. ΝΣ...

Ἰαυτή Ιαισ...

Ἰανπί Ῥοσ...

Ἱμωσ Ἰησ Ἰπόρευσ...

ἊΣ 1. οσ Ἰκαταπαῖ...

Ἰελαι Ἰβακί...

Fr. 89. . . . Fr. 90. . . . Fr. 91. . . . Fr. 92. . . .

Fr. 93. . . . Fr. 94. . . . Fr. 95. . . . Fr. 96. . . .

Fr. 97. . . . Fr. 98. . . . Fr. 99. . . . Fr. 100. . . .

Fr. 101. . . . Fr. 102. . . . Fr. 103. . . . Fr. 104. . . .
We append here the previously known fragments of the *Hysipyle*; the numbers are those of Nauck's *Fragmenta Tragicorum*, 1889.

752. Aristoph. *Frogs* 1211-3 and Schol. ad loc.:

Διόνυσος, ὃς θύρσοις καὶ νεβρῶν δοραῖς
καθαπτὸς ἐν πεύκαισι Παρνασὸν κάτα
πηδᾷ χορεῦοι παρθένοις σὺν Δελφίσιν

The first three lines of the play, spoken by Hypsipyle, or, less probably, one of her sons; cf. introd. p. 23.

753. Didymus in Macrob. *Sat*. 5. 18. 12:

δείξω μὲν ᾿Αργείοισιν ᾿Αχελῷον ῥόον

Hypsipyle accedes to Amphiaraut's request to show him a spring. The line is to be placed between Fr. 1. v. 35 and Fr. 6.

754. Plut. *Mor.* p. 93 D = p. 661 F:

*ἐτερον ἐφ’ ἐτέρῳ αἱρήμενος
ἄγρευμ’ ἀνθέων ἱδρέμαι γυμνὰ
τὸ νῆπιον ἀπληστον ἔχων*

1. αἱρήμενος p. 93, ἰώμενος p. 661. 3. ἀχρηστον ἔχων p. 93, ἀπληστον ἔων p. 661.

This fragment, spoken by Hypsipyle and referring to Archemorus, probably belongs to the lyrical portion of the scene between her and the chorus immediately after the accident;
Sa2. EURIPIDES, HYPSIPYLE

Fr. 105. ... Fr. 106. ... Fr. 107. ... Fr. 108. ...

[tau][
[stet][

Fr. 109. ... Fr. 110. ... Fr. 111. ... Fr. 112. ...

[stse][

Fr. 113. ... Fr. 114. ... Fr. 115. ... Fr. 116. ...

[thov][
[ele][
[tho][

see introd. p. 25, and note on Fr. 10, in the neighbourhood of which it is to be placed. Cf. Statius, Theb. iv. 786 sqq. at puer in gremio verna, &c.

755. Aristoph. Frogs 1328 and Schol. ad loc.:

ἀνὰ τὸ δωδεκαμήχανον ἄντρον

This is usually supposed to refer to the lair of the δράκων (cf. Phoen. 1010 σηκόν ἐς μελαμβαθῆ δράκοντος), and if so is to be connected with No. 754 and Frs. 10 sqq. δωδεκαμήχανον, however, is a very strange epithet of ἄντρον. There is another reading ἄστρον, which has been taken to mean the sun or the moon; but this is also unsatisfactory.

756. Aristoph. Frogs 1322 and Schol. 1320:

περίβαλ᾽ ὦ τέκνον ὠλένας

Spoken by Hypsipyle and probably from the scene of recognition between her and her sons (Fr. 64. i), rather than addressed to the child Archemorus in the early part of the play.

757. = Fr. 60. 89–96.

758. Stob. Flor. 10. 26:

κακοῖς τὸ κέρδος τῆς δίκης υπέρτερον

Probably to be attributed to Eurydice, who is accusing Hypsipyle of corruption; cf. Fr. 60. 35–6. The line will then come from the vicinity of Frs. 22–32.

759. = Fr. 60. 114–18.
760. Stob. Flor. 20. 31 and 20. 12:

εἴσω γὰρ ὄργης πᾶς ἄνὴρ σοφότερος

The speaker here is in all probability Hypsipyle, deprecating the anger of Eurydice; cf. Fr. 22. 3 καὶ μὴ δὲ ὄργ[ῆς] ... Hence this line is likely to come from the same scene as No. 758 and Frs. 22–32.

761. Stob. Flor. 110. 16:

ἀελπτον οὐδέν, πάντα δ᾽ ἐλπίζειν χρεῶν

Presumably spoken either by Amphiaras to Hypsipyle or by Hypsipyle herself after her unexpected deliverance, and to be placed somewhere between Fr. 60. 117 and Fr. 64. ii.

762. Eust. ii. p. 959. 43:

εὐφημα καὶ σά καὶ κατεσφραγισμένα

Valckenaer wished to emend εὐφημα to εὐσήμα, and Hartung following Zirndorfer supposes that the reference is to the σήματα by which the recognition of Euneos and Thoas was effected. Wilamowitz would retain εὐφημα, supposing a reference to some secret which was to be preserved by silence; but the context cannot be recovered.

763. Aristoph. Frags 64 and Schol. ad loc.:

ἡ ἐτέρα φράσῳ;

The words give no indication of their context. Bothe supposed that the scholiast's remark ἐστι δὲ τὸ ἡμιστίχιον εἰς Ὑψιπύλης referred to the first half of the line, ἃρ' ἐκδιδάσκω τὸ σαφῆ.

764. Galenus, vol. 18, i p. 519:

ἰδοὺ, πρὸς αἰθέρ᾽ ἐξαμιλλησαι κόρας
yrapptous (τ᾽ ἐν αἰετοῖσι πρόσβλεψον τύπους

1. κόραι MSS., κόρας Hermann, κόραι Musgrave. 2. οἷσι πρόσβλεσαι MSS., ἐν αἰετοῖσι προσβλέπειν Valckenaer, Dzatr. p. 214 (the passage being quoted in connexion with ἀετός or ἀετοὶ), τ᾽ ... πρόσβλεψον Nauck.

The reference in these lines is obscure; possibly they occurred in the conversation of Euneos and Thoas on their arrival outside the palace; cf. introd. p. 23, and Fr. i. 1–3, note.

765. Aristoph. Frags 1320 and Schol. ad loc.:

οἰνάνθα τρέφει τὸν ἱερὸν βότρυν

tréfei RV, φέρει other MSS., οἰνάντας τε τρέφει Tzetzes.

This is connected by Welcker (Gr. Trag. ii. p. 559) with the χρυσῆ ἄμπελος referred to in the Scholium on Anth. Pal. iii. 10 (introd. p. 28) as the symbol by which Euneos and Thoas established their identity. But the words might well come from a choral ode such as those to which Frs. 7 and 57–9 belong; cf. also Fr. 64. 111.
766. Hesychius 1, p. 320:

άναδρομαί

Hesych. gives as synonyms αὖθεσεις, βλαστήσεις. An ode such as that in Frs. 57–9 would be a likely place for the word to occur.

767. Harpocration, s. v. ἄρκτεύων:

ἄρκτος

Harp. says ὅτι δὲ αἱ ἀρκτευόμεναι παρθένοι ἄρκτοι καλοῦνται, Εὐριπίδης ὑψίπυλη, Ἀριστοφάνης Λημνίαις καὶ Λυσιστράτῃ. These so-called ἄρκτοι were devoted to the cult of Artemis Brauronia, who was associated with Lemnian legend through the story told by Hdt. vi. 138 of the rape of Athenian women from Brauron. At what point an allusion to them came in the Hypsipyle is quite obscure.

768. = Fr. 1. iv. 15?


770. = Fr. 1. ii. 13?

862. (fab. inc.) Bekker, Anecd. p. 362:

δράκοντος αἵματωπὸν ὄμμα

Cf. Fr. 60. 71–2, note.

Lydus, de mensibus iv. 7. p. 72, ed. Wünsch:

ὦ θνητὰ παραφρονήματ᾽ ἀνθρώπων, μάτην
οἷ φαίνει εἶναι τὴν τύχην ἀλλ᾽ οὐ θεὸς:
eἰ γὰρ τύχη μὲν ἐστὶν, ἄδει θεοῦ,
eἰ δ᾽ οἱ θεοὶ σθένουσιν, ἄδει ἡ τύχη.

Our attention was drawn by Wilamowitz to this citation, which is given with the name of the poet and play. The two last lines appear in the form εἰ μὲν θεοὶ σθένουσιν οὐκ ἐστὶν τύχη εἰ δ᾽ οὐ σθένουσιν οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἡ τύχη in Floril. Monac. 108 (cf. Schol. Lucian, p. 171), and so stand in Nauck, Fr. adesp. 169; W—M would read θεῶν for θεοῦ in l. 3. The lines are likely to have occurred towards the end of the play, after Fr. 60.

Fr. 1. i. 2–11. Hypsipyle. ‘... toys to soothe thy mind from lamentation. Was it you, young sirs, who knocked at the gates? Oh happy woman your mother, who'er she was. What do ye come seeking from these halls?

Thoas. We desire to be taken within the house, woman, if it be possible for us to rest here a single night. We have with us all we need: wherein should we be any trouble to these halls? Thy duties will be undisturbed.

Hyp. It chances that the house is left without a man to rule it ...'

1–3. Hypsipyle is apparently quieting the child, which had been crying, before addressing the strangers; possibly their appearance was the cause of the child's alarm. In l. 3 some
alteration of σων seems almost necessary, and σας, which W(ilamowitz)—M(üllendorff) suggests, is a simple remedy; τῶν would be easier than σῶν. The remains of the two preceding verses give little clue to their sense; at the end of l. 1 the letter before ας had a curved base, and may be ε, α, π, or ο. γραφει suggests Nauck Fr. 764. 2 γραφθεῖσα (τ᾽ ἐν αἰετοῖς) πρῶτοι τῶν τίπους, but the difference of termination seems to preclude any identification with that verse; αρτοι could not be read, and to suppose that τυποι was written for τυποι is too bold. In l. 2 the doubtful σι may be αρ or ου.

4. The accents of ἐκρουσατ and ναπαλατ are wrongly placed.

7. Θοας: this was the name of the second son of Jason and Hypsipyle according also to Schol. Pind. Ἡμ. Argum. 2, Myth. Vat. 1, 133, 2, 141, Anth. Pal. ii, 10, and Statius, Theb. vi. 342; Apollod. i. 9. 17 calls him Nebrophonus, Hyginus, c. 17, Deipylus.

8. ἐν αὐλίσα (Murray) suits the scanty traces sufficiently well, and is more euphonious after the preceding ἀϊχθῆναι than another passive infinitive such as δεχθῆναι. ἐναυλίζειν occurs in Soph. Phil. 33.

9. The reading of the latter half of the line is doubtful. τα after θα is only fairly satisfactory, and ξ or π might well be substituted; [τε] hardly fills the lacuna after τα, but the scribe’s spacing is irregular, and ε especially sometimes occupies a good deal of room.

11. [ἀδέσῆποτος μὲν ὀλοσ (Bury) suits the papyrus decidedly better than [ἀπρόσἠτατος μὲν ὀλοσ (W—M).] Fr. 2. 1. The gap between this and the preceding fragment is evidently very slight, and Fr. 2. 1 may well be the next line to Fr. 1. i. 11. It is indeed just possible that the two lines should be combined into one, reading [ἀδέσηποτος κ.τ.λ., but the vestiges in Fr. 2. 1 though scanty are not in favour of σ]. The purport of the passage clearly is that Lycurgus the king was away (cf. introd. p. 23), and that in his absence the queen Eurydice was at the head of affairs.

4 sqq. The remains of these verses suggest that the sense of Thoas’s remark was ‘Then we cannot find quarters here but must seek them elsewhere?’ to which Hypsipyle replied, ‘By no means; strangers are always made welcome here.’ Ll. 4—5 may accordingly be restored e.g. ὅκ ἐν ἀϊχθησα τῶιῳ δρ ἀναπανταμεθ ἀν, πρῶς δ ἄλλο δὴ τὶ δωμ ἀφορμάθαι χρεώ; cf. for the latter line Herc. F. l. 286 ἐν ἀλλοι δὴ τοῦ ὁμίσθα πᾶλιν; Alc. 1040 εἴ του πρὸς ἀλλον δώμαθ δώμαθ ἄρισθην ἄρισθην, and, for the reply of Hypsipyle in ll. 6—9, Alc. 566—7 τὰμα δ’ οὐκ ἐπιστατν μέλαθρ’ ἀποθεῖν οὐδ’ ἀτιμάζειν ἄρισθα.

Fr. 1. ii. 1—14. Hypsipyle is singing to the child Archemorus; cf. introd. p. 23. The metrical identity between ll. 9—14 here and ll. 11—7 in Col. iii, makes natural the supposition that the preceding verses of these two sets of lyrics were in strophic correspondence, though as they stand in the papyrus they do not at first sight appear to be so. But, as W—M points out to us, a sufficient correspondence can be obtained in ll. 5—8 with very slight manipulation, the verses being glyconics, in which a free responsion is permissible. Between ll. 8 and 9 the loss of a verse, answering to iii. 10 Θρῆσθα τί βάλεις ὁμόθρεως, is marked by the marginal άδων; cf. note on ll. 8—10. By writing ποταμίοι for ποταμού in iii, 6, and in the following verse omitting the ν ἐφελκυστικον in ἐτέκνωσεν and transposing the first syllable of Πηλέα, the following correspondence is obtained:—

ii. 5. [——–—] — — — — (3rd glyc.) = iii. 6. — — — — — — (2nd glyc.)
[——–—] — — — — — (3rd glyc.)
— — — — — — (pherecr.)
— — — — — — (pherecr.)
ο — οοο — — — (3rd glyc.)
— — — — — (2nd glyc.)
— — — — — (2nd glyc.)
— — — — — (pherecr.)
Owing to the imperfect text it is hazardous to attempt to extend this process to the preceding lines; but it seems likely that in Col. iii. 3-5 the scribe’s division is at fault, and that the glyconic-pherecratic measure should be restored by writing οἱ δοράς ἐπ᾽ οἴλιμα γαλακτίας πρωμήνιον ἀνήφαμι. Similarly in Col. ii. 4 the second syllable of αἰτήν very likely belongs to the following verse; in l. 3 there seems to be a more serious dislocation or corruption.

3. Perhaps ἐξάρχον, but the vestiges are too slight to give any confirmation.

4. λευκοβαθαὶ: cf. I. A. 1054 λευκοβαθαὶ ψάμαδοι; but this is only one of several possibilities.

8-14. Hyps. ‘Lo this rattle’s sound! ( . . . ) No Lemnian strain as solace for the shuttle or for the comb pressed within the web, O Muse, is this which I have to utter, but whatever befits a young child, for his slumber or amusement or meet tending, of this I make my song’ (i.e. I sing for the benefit of my nursling, not to beguile labour at the loom).

8-10. For κροτάλων cf. Aristophanes, Frogs 1305–6, and the other references given in introd. p. 24. Frogs 1313–6 αἰ θ᾽ ὑπωρύφιοι κατὰ γανίας εἰειειειείσπετε δακτύλοις φάλαγγες ἱστότονα πρῶταμα κερκίδας ἰστότονα was perhaps intended to be a parody on ll. 9–11, and ἱστότονα here strongly supports ἱστότονα in the Aristophanes passage where the Ravennas alone has ἱστότονα, the reading preferred by recent editors.

ao, written in a probably different hand at the end of l. 8, and the critical signs in front of ll. 8–9 refer to an insertion in the lost upper margin supplying a textual omission which is also indicated by the metre; cf. note on ii. 1-14. Cf. also Fr. 64. 57, where καὶ(ω) occurs in a similar position, and 223. 125, 700. 27.

11. W-M suggests κολεῖ for μελεῖ, but, as Mr. E. C. Marchant observes, this is unnecessary if Μοῦσα be taken as a vocative. λέγειν has been altered (perhaps by the first hand) to κρεκεῖν; cf. l. 26, where ηματίον has replaced νησίον. Murray remarks that these variations recall the double readings which are found in the Laurentian MS. in several of Euripides’ plays, the Ion, I. A., I. T., and Rhesus, and which perhaps descended from the edition of Aristophanes of Byzantium; cf. Wilamowicz, Heracles, I. pp. 147 sqq., 214 sq.

13. νορφ: perhaps this is the passage referred to in Bekker, Antiatt. p. 109. 15 (= Nauck Fr. 770) νορφ: ἀντὶ τοῦ νέος Ἑυριπίδου Ἑυριπίδου ὑψώτην.

14. τάδε: this construction ad sensum of a plural substantive with a singular relative having a collective sense is common from Homer downwards. A good parallel to the present passage is Soph. Ant. 707 ὅστις γὰρ αὐτὸν ἢ φρονεῖν μόνον δοκεῖ, ἢ γλῶσσαν, ἢν οὐκ ἄλλος, ἢ ψυχὴν ἐχει, οὗτοι διαπτυχθέντες ὄφθησαν κανόν.

15-37. Chorus. ‘Why art thou, dear one, at the vestibule? Art thou sweeping the palace-entrance or sprinkling water-drops upon the ground in servile wise, or art thou hymning the fifty-oared Argo which is ever on thy lips or the sacred fleece of gold guarded upon oaken branches by a dragon’s eye? Are thy thoughts with sea-girt Lemnos, echoing to the rolling billows of the Aegean, now, when hither up Nemea’s meads in brazen panoply fleet Adrastus having passed the plain of Argos is bringing swift war against the lyre-built wall, the work of Amphion’s hand? He has summoned the might (of Hellas) with divers scutcheons and gilded bows . . .’

15 sqq. As with the lyrics of Hypsipyle (cf. note on ii. 1-14), so too in the two choral odes, strophic responsion was naturally observed, and ii. 15 sqq. = iii. 18 sqq., the metre being as before to a large extent glyconic, and the correspondence of a free character. A greater licence in the use of the polyschematic glyconic verse, as was remarked by G. Hermann, Elem. doctr. metr., is a characteristic of Euripides’ later period. Hypsipyle’s
third song, of which the conclusion remains at the top of Col. iv, served as an epode; the
general scheme thus is a β a β γ.

17. σαίρεις: cf. e.g. Her. 363-4 σαίρειν τε δίδαμα κερκίαν τ’ ἐφεστίσαν λυπρὰν ἄγουσαν
ημέραν μ’ ἀναγκαίᾳν. The accent on η is erroneous; cf. i. 4, note.

18. οἷα τε: so again Fr. 64. 77; cf. Homer, γ 73, Hdt. ii. 175.

19 sqq. Cf. Statius, Theb. v. 615-6 quotiens tibi Lemnon et Argo sueta logui et longa
somnum suaderes querela.

21. πεντηκόντος is the usual Attic spelling; -epos was an Ionic form, and appears in
Hdt. Cf. Apollod. i. 9. 16 ἀκείνος (sc. Argus) ’Αθηναῖς ὑποθεμένης πεντηκόντον ναῦν κατασκεύασε
τὴν προσαγορευθεῖσαν ... ’Αργο.

22. χρυσόμαλλον: cf. El. 724-5 χρυσόμαλλον ... ποίμναν and Apollod. i. 9. 16
χρυσόμαλλον δέρας.

28. κυμοτύπος though unattested is quite a possible word, but κυμοκτύπος (Simmiis ap.
Hephaest. p. 74 Gaisf. κυμοκτύπων ἤραν’ ἁλίων μυχῶν) is required by the metre.

29. δεύ’ ὅτ’ (Murray) seems preferable to δεῦρο (δ’), bringing out more clearly the
connexion of thought; ' Are you still harping,' the chorus asks, 'on the old themes when
events of such importance are passing at our doors?' A comma-like mark just below the
a Of λειμωνα Seems to be meaningless.

30. ἀσαγεί is not a quite satisfactory reading. The π is represented only by the second
of the two uprights, which is drawn so long as to be more like ρ or v with a space for an
intervening letter after the a; there would also be room for a narrow letter between γ and ε.
But we can find no suitable alternative to ἀσάγει, and a π of just this shape occurs in
the next column in l. 20 πατριους; cf. also πατριους in l. 21.

31. παρείς (W-M) suits the sense, and to a sufficient extent also the metre, though the
corresponding line (iii. 34) is catalectic. Part of the tail of the π would indeed be expected
to be visible, but the scribe does not always make that letter very long (cf. e.g. ἐρυμα in the
next line), and it is not quite clear how far the accent on ε of ἐρυμα extends, i.e. the upper
extremity of it might belong to a ρ of the line above.

32-3. The wall raised by the lyre of Amphion is of course Thebes. Cf. Phoen. 823-4
φόρμιγγι τε τείχεα Θήβας τὰς Ἀμφιονίας τε λύρας ὕπο πύργον ἀνέστα.

34. ἀκείνος ( = ὠκυπόδης: cf. Anth. Pal. v. 223, ix. 371) is due to W-M. It is
noticeable that ὠκυπόδης occurs in the corresponding verse of the antistrophe (l. 37). The
supplement at the end of the line aims at reproducing the metre of iii. 37, but is of course
highly conjectural; for ἀπάγει ... ἀρη cf. Phoen. 1123-4 πύλαις Ἄρη προσῆγε, I. A. 283-4
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be spared in this line, and the initial a is fairly certain.

36. Apparently σάματα was originally written, the ν being afterwards crossed through,
but not the e; possibly, however, the second letter is a deleted e or γ, and the cross-bar of
the supposed e represents the stroke of deletion. Above the line is an a, and σάματα
(σήματα) would be a natural word in this context; cf. El. 455-6 οὐπίθης ἐν κύκλῳ τοῖς
σήματα, I. A. 275 πρύμνας σήμα ταύροπου. W-M, however, would prefer σάγματα (cf. Andr.
κάλλιστα τεύχη δ᾽ ἐν καλοῖσι σάγμασιν), and it is indeed possible that an overwritten γ followed the α, for the papyrus is rubbed here.

37. The accentuation of τόξα τε is in accordance with the rules of ancient grammarians; cf. Fr. 64, ii. 1, 841 V. 44 ἐνθά με and note ad loc.

38. μονοβάμοις: the only other instance of this word is Anth. Pal. xv. 27, where it is applied to μέτρον in the sense of having only one foot. Cf. τετραβάμοιν, El. 476, &c.

iii. 3-17. Hyps. ‘... speeding over the waves in the calm to make fast the cables, him whom the river-maiden Aegina bore, even Peleus; and by the mast amidships Orpheus’ Thracian lyre of Asia sounded a dirge of invocation, playing a measure for the rowers of the long-shafted oars, now a swift stroke, now easing the blade of pine. This, this my soul longs to celebrate: let others hymn the toils of the Danai.’

3-5. In its present condition this is an obscure passage. On the question of the metre cf. note on ii. 1-14.

6-7. ποταμοῖο and ἐτέκνωσε Πηλέα are changes made on metrical grounds; cf. note on ii. 1-14. Peleus is introduced here as one of the Argonauts; cf. Apollod. i. 9. 16; but according to the usual mythology he was the son of Aeacus, and grandson, not son, of Aegina. The ‘river’ of course is Asopus.

8-10. Cf. Statius, Theb. v. 342 sqq. voce media de puppe venit... Oeagrirus illic acclinis malo mediis intersosal Orpheus remigitis. ἔλεγον is a certain emendation of W-M. The termination has been altered in the papyrus, but what was first written is doubtful; possibly it was actually ἔλεγον, with a very small ο. The combination of ἄσιας and Θρῆσα as epithets of κίθαρις is harsh but excusable on account of the frequency of the conjunction ‘Asian lyre’; cf. Fr. 64. 98. Orpheus is enumerated among the Argonauts by Pindar, Pyth. iv. 375, and according to later mythographers his musical art had much to do with the success of the expedition. Cf. Fr. 64. 98.

11 sqq. We rearrange the division of the verses so as to correspond to that of ii. 9 sq.

11. μακροπόλος is not found elsewhere, but may perhaps be defended here on the analogy of the Homeric ἐν ἀκροπόλοισιν ὄρεσσιν E 523, τ 205. W-M’s suggestion to read μακροπόδων (though that word too lacks classical support) is, however, very attractive; cf. e. g. Timotheus, Persae 101-2, where ὄρειους πόδας ναός is a synonym for oars.

12-2. Cf. L. T. 1125 sqq. συρίζων θ᾽ ὁ κηροδέτας κάλαμος οὐρείου Πανὸς κώπαις ἐπιθωύξει. ἑδεῖν W-M: the earliest examples of this verb are in Alexandrian poets, but the ineptness of ἱδεῖν and the parallelism of ἀναβοάσαι make the correction practically certain here; cf. also ii. 19-21.

18-32. Chorus. ‘From wise men have I heard the tale how of old the Tyrian maid Europa left the city and Phoenician home of her fathers, and journeyed on the waves to sacred Crete, nurse of Zeus and home of the Curetes; yet to a threefold birth of children she left sovereignty and happy sway over the land. And another maiden, I hear, queenly Io of Argos, quitted her fatherland to take the horns of a cow and suffer a gadfly’s torment. When the god calls this to thy mind...’


21-2. Cf. Cretes, Nauck Fr. 472 Φωκίκηγενος παῖ τῆς Τυρίας τίκνων Ελρώσας. Nauck following Bothe omits παῖ τῆς Τυρίας, and παῖ followed by τίκνων can hardly be right, but a less drastic remedy would be to emend παῖ τῆς to παῖδες; cf. Τυρία παῖδε here.

22. There does not seem much to choose between the alternative readings ἐπέθα and ἐπέβα, but ἐποβαίνειν does not happen to occur with a direct accusative elsewhere in Euripides,
and the idea of departure is sufficiently expressed by λιποῦσα. Whether the interlinear ε was added by the first or second hand is doubtful; cf. introd. p. 21.

23-4. Cf. Bacch. 120–2 ὁ διδάσκαλος Κουρήτων ζαθεῖ θηρίας ἱππευτῶν τε Κρήτας Διοτρόφος τρισσόν. The collocation Διοτρόφος ... τρισσόν is a little inelegant, but probably sound; Διοτρόφος is a new compound.

26. τρισσόν: i.e. Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Sarpedon; cf. Hesiod, Fr. 39 (Schol. II. M 292), Apollod. iii. 1. 1, &c.

27. Both a circumflex and an acute accent have been placed above the ω of χωρας; the former of course is erroneous.

29. [ἀντ]ροφός: [ἐν]ροφό would remove the hiatus, but is both a less natural term (cf. however, Aesch. Prom. 596 sqq. νάσω ... ἐμαύθη με χρίνωσα κέντροι φωστάδεον) and less suited to the size of lacuna. The following word as originally written was a vox nihili; the first of the two deleted letters seems to be λ rather than α.

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31. [ἐρ]ασφόρον (Murray) seems guaranteed by the parallel of Phoen. 248 τάς κερασ-φόρον ... ἔσχε, though ας is not certain, and two letters would be enough for the lacuna if the column was kept straight; cf. the preceding note. Aeschylus, Prom. 588, calls Ιὸ τάς βούκερω παρθένοι.
2. The insidious corruption in this line was detected by Murray. The legend of Procris, daughter of Erechtheus, who was accidentally killed when hunting by her husband Cephalus is thus told by Apollod. iii. 15. διαλλαγεῖσα Κεφάλῳ πέρα τούτων παραγίνεται ἐπὶ θήραν ἢ γάρ ὥριμη, διόκουσαν γάρ αὐτὴν τῇ λόγῳ ἀγνώστης Κέφαλος ἀκούει καὶ τυχών ἀποκτείνει Πρόκριν, καὶ κρεμάει ἐν’ ἄριστῳ πάγῳ φρενὴν ἑδών καταδείκτει.

3. This line at first omitted has been inserted by the original scribe; cf. ii. 8, note.

5. In view of the imperfect context we have left this verse as it stands in the papyrus, though the transposition suggested by W-M δ᾽ ἐμὰ πάθεα θάνατος ἔλαχε may be right. Or possibly θάνατον γὰρ ἔλαχε (sc. Procris) τὰ δ᾽ ἐμὰ πάθεα τίς κ.τ.λ. should be read.

6. For the form of this verse cf. I. T. 895-9 τίς ἄν ὰντ᾽ ἄν ἄν ἄν ἄν ἄν τών άδοκήτων... (φιλοί) κακῶν ἔκλυσιν οὐ... Should be read.

7. episkapeti was originally written, and then altered to episkapreti, episkapros being added in the margin as a variant. The πὰ following is presumably the initial letter of μοῦσα in some form, and possibly μοῦσαν was substituted for μοῦσαν ἔλαχε, which could not be constructed with the variant κιθάρις (ἢ) for κιθάρις, episkapreti, however, would neither scan nor construe with any of these readings.

9. πόνουs without a possessive or similar adjective is obscure, but perhaps admissible in consequence of the proximity of ἐμὰ πάθεα in 1. 5. W-M thinks that μοῦσα in l. 7 conceals an original θάνατος in the following line; cf. the next note.

The chorus now catches sight of the approaching strangers, whose advance is signalized by the usual anapaests, ll. 10-4.

iv. 10-42. Chor. “O Zeus, Lord of our Nemea’s grove, what is the quest of these strangers, marked by the Dorian fashion of their dress, whom I see approaching hard by, on their way towards these halls through the lonely grove?

Amphiaraus. How distasteful to a man is travel, and the sight of fields deserted or with lonely habitations when a wayfarer is overtaken by some need, unbefriended, with none to interpret his want, in doubt which way to turn. E’en upon me has this strait come, but with joy I saw yon house in the mead of Zeus in Nemea’s land. And thee, strange woman, whether thou art a slave who watchest over the house, or no servile person, thee will I ask, what man is called the lord of this mansion where the sheep are tended in the land of Phlius?

Hyp. Lycurgus call men the master of these rich halls, who was chosen from out all Asopia to be the warden of Zeus, the country’s god.

Amph. I desire to take some running water in our pitchers as a libation to the gods offered by us on our journey. For streams of stagnant water are impure, and they have all been defiled by the army’s throng.

Hyp. Who are ye, and from what land do ye come?

Amph. We are from Mycenae and of Argive race, and on crossing the border into another land we wish to offer sacrifice for the Danaid army; for we have set forth against the gates of Cadmus—if haply the gods may speed us prospering on our way, woman.

Hyp. Why are ye marching, if I may learn this of thee?

Amph. We would restore Polynices, an exile from his fatherland.

Hyp. And who art thou who seekest to take the troubles of others?

Amph. I am the seer Amphiaraus, son of Oecles.”

11. τοῦτο: this abnormal accent was preferred by some grammarians; cf. Fr. 64.
12. For πελάτες cf. Soph. Phil. 1164 εὐνοία πάσα πελάταν. The scribe apparently began to write a λ in place of the first π of πεπλων.

13. ἐσθῆτι: ἐσθ. Pap., following the analogy of ἑορμα, &c.; but the ερημίαι is due probably to the following η is usual in ἐσθῆς, &c.

15. The correction of ἐρημίαι to ἐκδημίαι is due to W-M. ἐξημία is quoted from the Hypsipyle in Bekker, Antatt. p. 93. 26 (Nauck Fr. 768), and ἐρημίαι followed by ἄροις ἐρήμων in 1. 17 produces an awkward tautology.

18. ἀπωρός was originally written, and the Ρ was subsequently converted into ρ and ο written through the mark of elision, the correction being probably by a different hand; an acute accent seems to have been erased over the first ο. ἀπωρον ... ἄροις is intolerable, and some other adjective must be substituted. It also seems likely that the nominative case in the next word has been replaced by the accusative, though the latter need not be wrong. ἀπωρος as Murray remarks, would be closer to the text of the papyrus than ἀφίλος; cf. Hc. 811 ἀφίλος ἔρημος ἀδικωτάτη βροτῶν. This passage supports Wakefield's correction ἀνερ(μ) βροτῶν in Ion 255.

24. The compound μηλοβοσκός is not otherwise attested.

27. αἱρεθείς is a simple correction of εὑρεθεὶς, which is not a natural word here.

29-30. [χ] ἐρημίαι ἀγροὺς ἐρήμους were suggested by Murray, χεαίμεθα instead of χρησεμεθα, which is indefensible with [χ]έρνιβα; perhaps the scribe was influenced by χρήζοιμι in the previous verse. Statusus describes the country as suffering from a drought, and it was water for drink not a libation that Hypsipyle was begged to indicate; cf. Theb. iv. 754 sqq.

31. στρατῶν was an easy error with στρατον at the beginning of the next verse.

35. ὡρμήμεσθα appears likely here, but the supposed ρ is extremely doubtful; the vestiges would suit ν or ζ better than ρ. A combination with Fr. 92, though the papyrus is very similar in appearance, does not seem practicable.

38. εἰδή in the margin at the end of this line is no doubt a variant like those in Col. iv, and we therefore infer that the verse began with ει and some other particle than δή, e. g. πως or γάρ. This opening combined with εἰρυχώ renders the general sense sufficiently clear, and the line may be completed in various ways, of which we print an illustration. To suppose that εἰδή is the commencement of a line originally omitted and subsequently supplied is inadmissible, for the margin between the columns is not nearly broad enough to contain a verse in a single line, while if the verse were divided into several lines, something of these should be visible below εἰδή.

39. The restoration of the first half of the verse is the suggestion of Bury; but it is quite likely that the letters should be divided οὐ θέμις...; 41. τηροματικάς λοφεῖν W-M. ὄν (εἰνε), ἄλλων πημονας δηρῶς ἔδω; would also be suitable. The position of Fr. 3, containing the beginnings of ll. 41-4, is practically assured by the appearance of the papyrus and the appropriateness of its contents.

42. Both here and in Fr. 60. 15 the papyrus has the Homeric and Pindaric form ὀκλήσ, but ὀκλήσ is preferred by editors of Aeschylus and Euripides. In Suppl. 925, the only other passage is Eurip. where the name occurs, LP read ἔκλογος.

43. Hypsipyle evidently knew Amphiaras by name; cf. e. g. Ion 260-3 (Κρ.) Κρίσσων μὲν μοι τοῦτον', ἐκ δ' ἐμβελείᾳ πέρικες, πατρίς γῆς τῆς Αθηναίων πόλις. ('Ἰω..) δ' ἔκλογον ἀοιδὸν ἄστυ γενναίων τραγεία σπάτων κ.τ.λ.

44. αἰτ[ ]; or σοι[ ]?

Fr. 4. The precise position of this fragment is uncertain, but there are two reasons for
placing it above rather than below ll. 1–11 of Col. v: (1) Amphiaraus after telling Hypsipyle his name would naturally proceed to ask hers before making any further disclosures, especially when he found that his name was familiar to her (cf. l. 43, note), (2) a dark fibre in the papyrus in front of the lines is noticeable in Fr. 4 and also in the upper part of Col. v, but disappears lower in the column. Since the break along the top of Cols. iv and v is horizontal and the number of lines in a column here is about 60 (cf. introd. p. 20), there is a loss of at least 15 lines between iv. 44 and v. 1.

2. ἦ: Or ἢ or ἵ?
3–4. We print a restoration suggested by Bury; the same sense can of course be represented in various other ways.

Fr. 1. v. 1–11. Amph. 'My wife persuaded me ...
Hyps. With righteous intent or (guilefully)?
Amph. She received a necklace ...
Hyps. Whence (was it obtained)?
Amph. Famed Cadmus once married Harmonia,—
Hyps. He was one of those whose nuptials were attended by gods.
Amph. To her Aphrodite gave a lovely necklace.
Hyps. The gods to children of gods are ever kind.
Amph. Now their son was called Polydorus.
Hyps. If he was the son of a goddess, and received gods' gifts, 'twas a fit name.
Amph. His son was Labdacus ...

1–11. The subject of this passage, as was perceived by both W–M and Bury, is clearly the famous necklace of Harmonia with which Polynices bribed Eriphyle, the wife of Amphiaraus, to persuade her husband to join the expedition against Thebes; Amphiaraus had sworn that Eriphyle should be the arbiter in any question that might arise between himself and Adrastus, and so could not reject Eriphyle's request, although he was aware of her duplicity; cf. Apollod. iii. 6. 2.

1. Only the bottoms of the first two letters remain, and their identity is extremely doubtful; but the vestiges suit γν, and if ὅσια φρονοῦσα is right in l. 2, Eriphyle must have been the subject of l. 1. Cf. Apollod iii. 6. 2 'Εριφύλη τὸν ὅρμον λαβοῦσα ἔπεισε τὸν ἄνδρα στρατεύειν.

3. The line may be completed e. g. ἐδέσθ' ὅρμον χερείς Πολυνείκων πάρα. πόθεν in l. 4 probably indicates that the ὅρμος in particular and not merely δῶρα in general had been mentioned, but it hardly follows that Polynices had also been specified.

5. For the genealogy here following cf. Phoen. 5 sqq. Κάδμος ... ἀπὸ πατέρα γῆμας Κύπριδος Ἀρμονίας ποτὲ Πολυνείκων ἐδέσθα, τοῦ δὲ Λάβδακον φῶνι λέγοντι, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δυῖ ταύτην.


7. Accounts differ as to who gave the necklace and to whom it was given; according to some Harmonia received it from Cadmus. But that the giver in this line should be divine is necessary from the emphasis on θεοὶ in l. 8; cf. Schol. Phoen. 71 τὸν μὲν ὅρμον Ἀφροδίτην ... αὐτῆς (sc. 'Ἀρμονίας) ἐχαρίσατο.

8–10. The restorations were suggested by W–M.

Fr. 5. The appearance of the papyrus suggests that this fragment goes closer to l. 12 than to l. 27, and the first line of it may even coincide with l. 12. It is noticeable that on the lower edge of the recto there are two or three half obliterated letters in a small hand, whereas the recto of the rest of Cols. iv–v is blank. But these few letters run in the reverse
direction to the other writing on the recto, and their presence is not a valid reason against placing the fragment in Col. v, which is its most suitable position. Which of the speakers is Amphiaras and which Hypsipyle is not clearly defined.

5. The letter after δ is more probably o than e.

Col. v. 27. A comparison with the preceding column indicates a gap of 14 lines after l. 12. If γαπ in l. 28 is γαπαμ in the vocative the speaker there must be Amphiaras, but that is far from certain.

29. The δ in the left margin marks the 400th line of the play; cf. Fr. 25, and introd. p. 20.

Frs. 6-9. We regard these fragments as forming part of the stasimon which followed the scene between Hypsipyle and Amphiaras. That Frs. 6-7 and 9 belong to a single column is practically assured by a vertical crease in the papyrus, made, as the writing in the case of the two latter shows, after the recto but before the verso was inscribed. This crease has also served as a rough guide to the number of letters lost at the beginnings of lines in Frs. 6 and 7. The position of the three fragments relatively to each other is quite uncertain, and they may be arranged in any order; but it is likely on account of the difference of subject that Fr. 9 was separated by a considerable gap from the other two. The reference to χερνίβος in Fr. 6. 1 affords a slight reason for placing that fragment first; also Frs. 7 and 9 are alike in colour, while that of Fr. 6 is rather different. Fr. 8, containing the beginnings of nine lines from [. . .]αυτοι to ουφ, is shown to belong to the same column by the appearance of the papyrus on both recto and verso (the line of junction between two selides accurately corresponds in Frs. 8 and 9), and its place has been determined on internal evidence, especially ll. 6-7 and 9.

Fr. 6. 1. χερνίψ is usually accented, like other words in ψ, on the penultimate, but the accent χερνίβος, &c., as in the papyrus, was usual παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς according to Suidas s.v.

3. The supposed interlinear ν is possibly only a circumflex accent, but the angle seems to be too acute.

Fr. 7. 4. δροσιζομενί W-M. δροσιζόμεναι in Aristoph. Frogs 1312 may well be a reminiscence of this passage.

Frs. 8-9. The chorus is here tracing the events which led to the expedition against Thebes. According to the well-known story Polynices of Thebes and Tydeus of Calydon, both fugitives from their homes, arrived simultaneously at Argos and began quarrelling in front of the palace of Adrastus about their quarters for the night (κλισίας περὶ νυκτέρου, l. 10). Adrastus roused by the noise separated the combatants; and, believing that they represented the lion and the boar which an oracle had foretold as the husbands of his daughters (Il. 13-5 Φοίβου δ᾽ ἐφορά[ς]. . . τέκνα θηρσὶν εῦ ξαί), adopted them as sons-in-law and undertook to restore them each to his country. Cf. Suppl. 131 sqq., Phoen. 409 sqq., Apollod. iii. 6. 1.

2. Pleuron was close to Calydon, the capital of Tydeus.

6-15. 'By night in lairs by the court-yard, exchanging frequent defiance, by oarage of iron and by slaughter they made proof with the spear, fugitives as they were, of the spirit of their noble fathers. And king Adrastus lay in his couch, having received the behests of Phoebus that he should wed his daughters to wild beasts . . .'

6-9. The restoration, which proceeds on the assumption that θυμόν in l. 12 is correct (cf. note ad loc.), is mainly due to Murray. For l. 6 cf. Phoen. 415-6 (Πο.) νῦ νυ, 'Αδράστου
12. **θυμωδί:** only very slight vestiges remain of the letters after μ, and the first of them may also be α or ω; θυμωδ[...] could be read, but there is not room for θυμωδ(ες), even if that prosaic word could be admitted here, and δορὶ θυμώδει is an improbable combination. A compound adjective δορμωδέας ... agreeing with φωνάδες would be attractive, but none such is known, nor are there obvious analogies upon which to coin one that would suit the papyrus.

13. [ευφομένων] was suggested by Murray. Cf. Phoen. 409-11 έχρησ᾽ Αδράστῳ Λοξίας χρησμόν τινα... κάπρῳ λέοντι θ᾽ ἁρμόσαι παίδων γάμους, and El. 1302 Φοίβου τ᾽ ἄσοφοι γλώσση εὐφομένων.

15. ζευξαι is somewhat too cramped to be quite satisfactory, but is adopted in default of a better reading; ἁρμόσαι is excluded.

16-17. ἀμπετάσας probably refers to some word like ‘house’ or ‘gates’ and hence ἀμπετάσας (so Bury; δόμοι or δέυοι are alternatives) is a natural restoration. Cf. Alc. 597 δόμων ἀμπετάσας, Phoen. 297 ἀμπετάσας πόλις.

**Fr. 10.** As explained in introd. p. 25 we regard this and the three following fragments (the relative order of which is quite uncertain) as belonging to a lyrical dialogue between the chorus and Hypsipyle after the latter’s return from her disastrous expedition with Amphiaraus. Much depends upon the correctness of the decipherment in l. 3 of Fr. 10, where there is a broken letter of the name of the speaker. If the name is, as we believe, Ψυθυ(ς), the view adopted of this fragment seems necessary. The doubtful π may also be a letter with a round top like θ or ρ (hardly ρ), but the abbreviation χ(ρος) is unsuitable because something of the χ ought also to be visible. Murray proposed to make Fr. 10 refer to a search for Hypsipyle and Fr. 11. 1-2 represent her cries when captured, while Bury thought that Fr. 10 is a dialogue between the members of the chorus, who caught sight of the struggle with the serpent going on in the distance. But the name of Hypsipyle before l. 3 would of course be inconsistent with either of these interpretations.

2. There is a speck of ink at the edge of the papyrus in front of this line, but the absence of a paragraphus below l. 1 is against referring l. 2 to a different speaker whose name might be given in the margin, as in l. 3.

3. μα[κράν] Murray. There is no paragraphus below εγγον.

4. If λεύσσειν is right, this line projected by a letter further to the left than ll. 3 and 7-8.

5. For ἰδίκες cf. Herc. F. 513 πανόστατον νῦν, ἰδίκες, δεδόκατε, Phoen. 1747 πρὸς ἰδίκες φῶνισθ' φίλοι. Either two or three letters may be lost according as l. 4 or ll. 7-8 are taken as the standard (cf. note on l. 4); γυναῖκες would be too long. At the end of this line some correction has been made; apparently a letter like γ or τ has been crossed through and o or ρ written above. Whether the next letter which is rounded like ε, θ, or σ, was also altered cannot be determined; εἴρηκε is unsatisfactory as the remains stand.
6. If ευω is right the γ has been corrected, perhaps from τ or because as first written the effect of τ was produced; cf. Fr. 1. iv. 2 and Fr. 64. 12, where there has been a confusion of γ and τ.

Fr. 13. i. The vestige in the margin may be part of an oblique dash (cf. Fr. 57. 16, Fr. 60. 72, &c.) or represent a letter, e.g. χ[ε[ρ[ο[ς] as in l. 4 below.

Fr. 14-7. These fragments may be connected either with Frs. 6-9 or 10-3. Frs. 14 and 15 were found adhering together, face to face, and the worm-eaten edges follow the same pattern.

Frs. 18-9. On the position and interpretation of these two pieces cf. introd. p. 25. They were found with the main group of fragments, but are distinguished from them by the dark colour and semi-decayed condition of the papyrus.

Fr. 18. i. The letters νδ are very doubtful: κρήνη σκιαζι might be read; cf. I. T. 1245-6 δράκων σκιηρά κατάχαλκος (?) εφθάλμη δήφην.

3. A mark like a grave accent has been placed above π as well as the preceding ω; probably the accent intended for the ω was first written too far to the right, and then repeated in its proper place. The acute accent on λευσσωι seems to have been corrected from a circumflex.

4. πίθηκα σείων presumably refers to the δράκων, though πίθηκι is not used elsewhere of a serpent's crest. Cf. Statius, Theb. v. 510 auratae crudelis gloria frontis prominet, 572 perque iubas stantis capitiis insigne coruscet emicat.

5. Perhaps εκέν σιγι or εκείσ γι, as W-M suggests; but the passage is very obscure. The vestige of the letter after σεί is too minute to be recognized.

6. At the left edge of the papyrus opposite this line are two letters, in a smaller but perhaps not different hand, which may be read as ηι or ηλι. They probably belong to a marginal note on the preceding column (cf. Fr. 64. 50-1) rather than to an entry of the dramatis persona, since the paragraphus shows that a change of speaker does not occur till the line below. The commencement of the verse is difficult. The letter after the lacuna seems to be either δ or α, and rather the former than the latter. πάντα διαδρᾶσαι suggests itself, but the compound διαδρᾶν does not occur. On the other hand if the words are divided πάν ποιεῖ, πάντα διαδρᾶν a satisfactory restoration is not evident; neither πάντα διαδρᾶν (Murray) nor πάντα διαδρᾶσαι seems very likely. πάντα διαδρᾶσαι is not suitable.

7. The first letter of the line had a tall stroke and was with little doubt either φ or ψ. We suppose the verse to have begun with a hypermetrical φευ on account of the difficulty of filling up a foot with the remaining two letters; but there is a rather similar problem in the next line.

8. The vestige supposed to represent the top of the ε in κει and the stop at the end of the word might together be taken as a diaeresis over the ι, ε, ιε; but there would then be room only for a very narrow letter, another ε or ι, in the lacuna. At the beginning of the line the space is so short that the foot and a half to be supplied there (if τηκει is right) must have consisted mainly of vowels.

9. Some insertion has been made over the line, but its nature is very uncertain. The ε after φ is on a small fragment which broke away when the papyrus was being flattened, and should perhaps be put closer to the p. Αμφικτ[οι]ως cannot be read.

Fr. 19. This fragment is closely connected with Fr. 18 by the appearance of the papyrus. Possibly it joins on above δα[θ] in l. 1 of Fr. 18.

Frs. 20, 21. On the scene here see introd. p. 24. The position of Fr. 20, which con-
tains the beginnings of ll. 1-4, is probable on internal evidence and confirmed by the 
correspondence of the fibres of the recto.

1-16. Hyps. 'Dear friends, I stand on the razor's edge, (in danger of) shameful 
treatment; I am full of fear.
Char. Hast thou no word of hope to tell thy friends?
Hyps. Flight! if only I had knowledge of these roads!
Char. What then hast thou found that spurs thee to boldness?
Hyps. I am fearful of what I shall suffer because of the child's death.
Char. Poor soul, thou hast some acquaintance with such ills!
Hyps. Yea, I know them, and I will be on my guard.
Char. Where then wilt thou turn? What city will receive thee?
Hyps. My feet and zeal will decide that.
Char. The land is guarded round about by sentinels.
Hyps. You are right: let that be; but I go.
Char. Consider, for thou hast friends in us to give thee counsel.
Hyps. What if I found some one to conduct me forth from this land?
Char. There is no one who is willing to conduct a slave.'

1. ὥ φιλταται γυναῖκες, suggested by Bury, is suitable in itself but not a very satisfactory reading 
of the papyrus, as it makes the letters between φ and τ rather crowded, while on the other 
hand there is a slight space between the ω and the Φ; ω[.]p could be read. ὥ φιλταται 
γυναῖκες occurs in ὧρατι 136; ὥ φιλταται however may of course stand alone, and the 
γ here is quite doubtful. At the end of the line ἐπὶ ἔγροφου is only one of many possibilities: 
cf. ὧρατι ἐπὶ ἔγροφος ἔσται ἐπὶ ἔγροφο; Homer ἐπὶ ἔγροφο ἔσται ἔγροφο, &c.
3. ἐξουσίωσε seems preferable to ἐξουσίωσε on account of the preceding ἐξουσίωσε; but ἐξουσίωσε is the 
usual word, e. g. Fr. 64, 76, ὧρατι 1255 φόβος ἐξει.
5. στεγῶν τῶν δ', which could be read, is an obvious restoration, but the line is then 
difficult to complete; there is not room for ἐκ[.]πατητα. Bury suggests ἐκ[.]πατητα ὧ Ὀκτώ 
στρατοι, but ἐκ[.]πατητα, though a word used by Euripides as well as Aeschylus and Sophocles, 
occur only in lyrics. Hence we adopt the restoration proposed by Murray, which is 
sufficiently consistent with the papyrus; something of the lost β might have been expected 
to be visible, but would not necessarily be so.
6. W-M would restore at the end of this line κακῶν, on the analogy of ἀνθρ. 28 
ἀλκήν τι' εὑρεῖν κἀπικούρησιν κακῶν, but ἀλκή in the present passage seems to have a different 
sense. Hypsipyle has just stated in the previous line what her ἀλκή κακῶν, her defence or 
resource, was to be, namely flight; and her reply in l. 7 shows clearly that the present ques-
tion must be, what induced her to contemplate such a bold step. Our proposed restoration 
Attempts to give this meaning. Whether the alteration of the original reading δὴ ποτ, for 
which δὴ γαρ has apparently been substituted, is by the first hand, is doubtful.
10. So Med. 386 τίς με δέχεται πόλις;
11. For the conjunction of ποῦς and προθυμία cf. ὧρατ 1109-10 τίς προθυμία ποδῶν ἐξει σε;
and ἀριθμ. 1430 προθυμία ποδῶς.
12-3. ἐκ[.]πατητα κακῶν and μηδείς[.] μήδεις W-M; for the latter cf. Suppl. 946-7 (ἡγ.) τί δήτα 
λύπη ταίσει προσέχω τιλίκεις; (ἀδ.) μηδείς μένεις χρή τηλικὼς. We had thought of [ἐκ[.]κατητα] ἐὼ 
δὴ τ' ἐκ[.]κατητα (ἀγ'), on the analogy of ἐλ. 379 κράτιστον εἰκή ταυτ' ἐτα, but this is not so close to 
the papyrus. In l. 12 ἐνδείξη has been lightly crossed through with ink of the same colour as 
that of the overwritten ἐν.
14-6. The restoration of these lines is largely due to Murray. In l. 16 [οὐδεὶς θελήσει 
δραπέτας] may be suggested as an alternative supplement.
Fr. 22. The speaker of ll. 1–8 is evidently pleading the cause of Hypsipyle, and we assign them to Hypsipyle herself for the reasons given in introd. p. 26.

2. The doubtful β may be δ.

7. διαριθμῖ may be some part of the verb διαριθμῶν or δ' ἄριθμ[ῶν]; for the former cf. I. T. 966 ψῆφους διηρίθμησε, and for the latter (W-M) Bacch. 209 δ' ἄριθμῶν δ' ἀριθμός αὐτῷ ἀκείμενος.

9. ἔλεξας Bury; Ἰλοῖ or Ἰλωί can also be read, or possibly Ἰάσί though the first letter is more like λ than α. There would not be room for ἔδρασις.

11. This was the last line of a column.

Frts. 23–36. The relative position of these pieces is mostly indeterminate, though there are grounds in certain cases for connecting two or more of them somewhat closely together; see the notes on the individual fragments.

Frts. 23–4. These two fragments are similar in appearance, and may well belong to the same dialogue; if the speakers are, as we conjecture, Eurydice and Hypsipyle, (A), the questioner, would naturally be the former in both pieces.

Fr. 23. 3. Perhaps ῥι[κιστή (cf. Hipp. 682), if the line is spoken by Eurydice to Hypsipyle; cf. the previous note.

Fr. 25. ξ in the margin of Col. ii marks, we suppose, the 660th, not the 700th line, the numeration being by the letters of the alphabet, not figures; thus ἱκόν = κ, not ι, ἱκόν = λ, not ιο, and so on; cf. Fr. 64, 79, 841. II. 25, VI. 7, and P. Brit. Mus. 732. Col. xvi (Journal of Phil. xxvi. No. 51, p. 43), where a ζ denotes the 660th line of Iliad xiii. The same alphabetical system, in which ς is omitted and ζ = 6, is commonly used for the numeration of the books of a work, e.g. Homer and Herodotus. In P. Grenf. II. 11. ii. 4 (Pherecydes), where a ζ which is in all probability stichometrical is found, the scribe has confused the alphabetical and numerical systems or employed the latter.

Frts. 27–9. Fr. 28 was found adhering, face downwards, to the upper right-hand side of Fr. 27, and the worm-eaten edges have the same pattern. This indication that the two fragments are to be connected gains some confirmation from the recto, where part of an oblique dash denoting a total occurs on Fr. 27, and on Fr. 28 there is in the right position the end of a stroke which may be the continuation of the same oblique dash. If so, the gap between them is unlikely to be large, and καὶ χερνίβιων ἔδειξα... ῥόον or χερνίβας δείξιουσα would be a suitable combination; but we have not succeeded in carrying out the restoration on this basis. That Fr. 29 belongs to the same column as Fr. 27 is made probable by the presence of a pair of dark fibres in the left margin of both fragments; these fibres are rather closer to the commencement of the lines in Fr. 27 than in Fr. 29, which suggests that the latter preceded, but this inference is not certain. The speaker apparently is Hypsipyle, who is addressing the queen Eurydice (cf. Fr. 27. 2 and 6–7), as in Fr. 22, and perhaps Frs. 27–9 come from the upper part of the column of which Fr. 22 is the bottom; but the writing on them is of a distinctly smaller size than that of Fr. 22, so that in any case it is likely that there was an appreciable interval.

Fr. 27. 1. Only the bottom of the stichometrical letter in the margin remains, and it may be read as ε, but ε does not suit the supposed situation here; cf. the previous note and introd. p. 26.

2. The accent of ἔξεσθαι does not prove that the termination was the genitive plural; cf. Fr. 6. 1, note.
3. There is not room for ευω at the beginning of this line, but υω would be just possible; perhaps not more than a single letter is lost in the lacuna between ε and υ. A paragraphus below this or the next line would probably be invisible, the papyrus being much rubbed.

4. A single broad letter would fill the space before δαι (?), but there would be room for e.g. ϊς or π. Either γ or π could well be read in place of i before the final lacuna.

Fr. 28. 1. θεος: the i may be υ, i.e. θεος. For a possible combination with Fr. 27, cf. note above on Frs. 27-9.

3. Only part of the υ remains, but there is enough of it, we think, to exclude μ.

Fr. 29. See note on Frs. 27-9.

Fr. 32. The speaker here, evidently, is again Hypsipyle, who is dwelling upon her love for her dead nursling, probably in repudiation of the accusations of Eurydice; cf. Fr. 60. 10. It is clear from the recto that the fragment is not from the same column as Fr. 22 or Fr. 27.

3. υ after ω is fairly certain, but beyond this the remains of letters are very slight till ταρ is reached; the i may be part of a μ, and υιαι or υιας could be read.


7. κηλήματις: κηλήματις is used in Iliad. 93 of the charms of Helen.

9. ις ις ις: cf. Fr. 60. 10; perhaps ις ις ις ις ις ις ις, but the last letter may also be e.g. κ, λ, or υ.

Fr. 33. The speaker and subject of this fragment are both problematical. θως in l. 7 naturally suggests θως, and perhaps this fragment belongs with Frs. 34-5 to a scene in which the sons of Hypsipyle again figured; cf. introd. p. 29.

1. The supposed grave accent on ω is very doubtful; a circumflex or breathing, or an interlinear letter, is equally possible.

Fr. 34-5. The suggested combination of these two fragments is made probable by its suitability in ll. 5-6, and some confirmatory evidence is supplied by the recto. But the situation remains very doubtful, and we abstain from attempts at reconstruction. That Eurydice is one of the characters concerned is probable (cf. l. 2 διαιμων), and W-M thinks that she is confronted by Euneos and Thoas, but we are not convinced that the periphrasis used in speaking of Hypsipyle in l. 5 really involves this; cf. introd. p. 29, and the notes below. The number of letters to be supplied at the beginnings of the lines is uncertain; they are estimated on the hypothesis that six are lost in ll. 4-6, but though these can hardly have been less, there may have been more. The worm-eaten pattern of Fr. 35 is identical with that of Frs. 14-5.

3. Bury suggests χαλατέ τοις κλῆθρ᾽ ὡς ἄν εἰσελĬθοῦσ᾽ ἔϊσω, supposing the speaker to be Eurydice who had been away from the palace, and had now just returned. He thinks that the absence of the queen as well as the king when Amphiaraus arrived would be an advantage to the plot as helping to excuse Hypsipyle, who thus could not ask leave to grant his request. But the data seem scarcely sufficient to substantiate this view. The vestige before ωω suits a δ only moderately well, and the proposed restoration of the preceding lacuna is somewhat overlong.

4. Perhaps φουλλῆς; the letter before τ (which is almost certain) may be θ. Bury suggests θουλλῆς . . . θουλλῆς, but διαιμων προειλής is not a very suitable phrase in referring to Hypsipyle.

5-6. ἦ τρεφότας W-M. Murray. We had proposed to read ἦ τρεφότας εἰμινον . . . διαιμων.
but W–M objects to this (1) that τέκυῳ would be expected, and (2) that Hypsipyle was a dry-nurse. No doubt the dative would be more natural, but the genitive hardly seems impossible; and to the latter objection it may be answered that Hypsipyle would not be more than middle-aged (Statius, *Theb.* v. 466, makes her sons about twenty years old), and that her own language rather conveys the impression that she fulfilled all a mother’s functions πλὴν οὐ τεκοῦσα, especially if ἐφερβὸν be read in Fr. 60. 12, and secondly that she was certainly imagined as a nurse in the fuller sense by Statius; *cf.* *Theb.* v. 617 ὑβερα παρτὸ ταμα ματέραν δαβαμ. It may also be questioned whether τροφὰς διδόναι would necessarily imply suckling. οὐδ᾽ ἐσω βάνει suggests something like [ἐ&ye|r' ἔξω at the beginning of l. 5.

**Frs. 37–56** are too small to give clear indications concerning their metre. They were found at the same time as Frs. 6 sqq. (*cf.* introd. p. 20), and are therefore grouped here with them.

**Fr. 41.** i. μόρυσσον: *cf.* Fr. 60. 18.

**Fr. 46.** i. The deleted a was originally unelided.

**Fr. 49.** 2. There was a horizontal stroke like a mark of length or a rough breathing above the letter preceding the first a.

**Frs. 57–9** probably belong to the stasimon preceding the act partially preserved in Fr. 60; *cf.* introd. p. 27, and note on l. 17. We have not succeeded in finding a combination between them, but the texture of the papyrus and the character of the script, as well as similarities in subject and metre, serve to connect them. The praise of Dionysus is the main theme, and the metre had a large anapaestic element.

**Fr. 57.** i. This line is apparently the first of a column.

5. The supposed stop after ὅ may well be one of two dots inclosing the interlinear variant, though such dots are not commonly used in this papyrus; *cf.* however, Fr. 1. iv. 6–7 and Fr. 73. 4.


17. The traces of the stichometrical figure are slight, but that it is such a figure is evident from the horizontal dashes above and below it, and this granted the only suitable reading is λ, i.e. ιιοο; the stroke seems to be too diagonal for the right-hand limb of a μ.

20 sqq. The commencement of a new strophe or antistrophe is marked by the paragraphus and the projection of the lines to the left; *cf.* e.g. Fr. 1. iii. 18. Who is addressed in πότνια θεῶν is not clear.


**Fr. 58.** i. οὐραί: or οὐράι.

2. *Cf.* Fr. 57. 16 and Iou 89 σιρύσσης δ’ ἀνδρὸν καπνὸς εἰς δρόφους φανθέοι πέτασαι, *Trov.* 1064 σιρύσσης αἰθερίας τε καπνόν.

3. *Cf.* Fr. 57. 7.

10. κυπαρισσόροδος: this word was conjectured by Casaubon in *Mnesim.* *Hipp.* 1. 1, where the MS. reading is κυπαρισσόροδον. It is just possible that φ and not ο is stood in the papyrus, but something of the vertical stroke of a φ ought certainly to appear. *Cf.* W–M remarks, is a hardly possible compound.

**Fr. 59.** The colour of the papyrus suggests that this fragment is to be placed below rather than above Fr. 58; it does not seem likely that Fr. 58. 12 and Fr. 59. 1 coincide.
Fr. 60. 5-62. Hyps. "... So seemest thou to indulge blind rage without staying to learn truly the events' course. Art thou silent, and answerest none of my complaints? For of the child's death I am indeed the cause, but of killing him I am not justly accused,—my nursling, whom I fed in my arms, and who to my love was as my own child in all save that I bare him not, my great comfort! O prow of Argo, and the sea's white foam! O my children, I perish miserably! O seer, son of Oecles, death is upon me! Help me, come, suffer me not to die on a shameful charge; since for thy sake I am lost! Come, for thou knowest my case, and wouldst be received by this woman as the surest witness of my mishap.—Let us go, since I see no friend at hand to save me. Vain then was my compunction!

Amph. Stay, thou who art sending this woman to be slain, O queen of the palace; for from thy comeliness to my view I attribute to thee noble birth.

Hyps. O, by thy knees, Amphiaraurus, from the ground I supplicate thee, by thy beard, by Apollo's sacred art, save me, for thou art come at the very moment in my extremity, and 'tis for thy sake that I perish. I am at the point of death, and in bonds thou seest me at thy knees when then went with the strangers. So thou, a holy man, wilt do a holy deed; but if thou desertest me thou wilt be a reproach to the Argives, yea, to the Hellene race. O thou who by the altar's sacred flame dost foresee the fortunes of the Danai, tell this woman of the child's disaster, for thou wert by and knewest. She says that of set purpose I killed her son and plotted against her house.

Amph. With knowledge am I come, having suspected the fate which the child's end would bring upon thee; and I am here to aid thine evil case, armed not with might, but right. For it were shame to know well how to receive benefits from thee, and having received them, how to do nought in return. First then, stranger lady, show thy face; for the discreetness of my eye is much noised abroad among the Hellenes, and it is my nature, lady, to restrain myself and to discern qualities. Next listen and relax this hastiness. In all else error needs must be, but error against the life of a man or woman is a foul thing.

Euryd. Stranger, native of the neighbouring land by Argos, I have learned of all men of thy discretion, else hadst thou never stood by and looked upon this face. And now if thou desierest, I am willing to listen and to instruct thee; for thou art not unworthy.

Amph. Lady, I would soften thy bitterness at this poor creature's injury, not so much out of regard for her as for justice; and I am shamed before Phoebus whose art I practise by sacrificial fire if I speak any falsehood. 'Twas I who persuaded this woman to show a spring of water running with a pure stream that therefrom I might take an offering for the army in crossing the bounds of Argos...'
14. The dot which is placed directly over ς of σαφές was perhaps intended to cancel that superfluous letter, but it may be a carelessly written stop.
20. ἐγ[ή]τε is addressed by Hypsipyle to her guards.
21. On the significance of the words κενὰ δ᾽ ἐϊπῇδέσθην ἄρα see introd. p. 25. It was suggested by Murray that ἐπῇδέσθην might possibly be here used in a passive sense, 'I was reverenced,' i.e. spared, in which case Hypsipyle would mean that she might as well have been slain at once; but there seems to be no parallel for such a use.
22. o of πεμποῦσα has been corrected apparently from ε, and probably πεμπεσι was first written. The left margin is broken away close to the beginnings of the lines throughout this column, and the entries of the speakers' names, if they occurred, are lost.
23. εὐπρεπες was first written, the being a later insertion though possibly by the original scribe. τῷ εὐπρεπεῖ is instrumental and there is no need for an alteration like ἐγώ yap εὐπρεπῆ. The sentence was begun as if ἔλευθερα τὴν φύσιν εἶναι εἰκάζω, or something of the sort, to was to follow.
25. σε... λέγεινς πίτνω = se legeteis, the abnormal construction being assisted by the familiarity of the formula πρὸς σε γνώτων, &c., which is sometimes used with an entire ellipse of a verb. Cf. for this appeal e.g. Andr. 572 sqq. ἀλλ' ἀντιάζω σ', ὦ γέρον, τῶν σῶν πάροι πίτνων γονάτων—χειρὶ δ' ὅσι ἐξεταί μοι τής σῆς λαβίσθαι φαλητής γενειάδος—ῥούσε με πρὸς δειν. 29. Since the second sentence expands the first and does not stand in any sort of opposition to it, τε is more appropriate than δέ. Perhaps the particles should be transposed, μέλα δε... δεσμίαν τε.
30. θ of τοῦ is corrected from τ. The mistaken ν in ξενὸς has not been crossed out.
31-2. Some or even all of the corrections may be in another hand; the η above ο in l. 32 looks as if it had been enlarged after it was first inserted.
35. οἶσθα (Murray) is more likely than {ο ὁa.
43. Euridyce had veiled herself on the sudden intrusion of a strange man. Cf. the words of the τροφὸς of Hermione in Andr. 876 ἀλλ' εἴσιθ᾽ εἴσω μηδὲ φαντάζου δόμων πάροι τῶν, μή τιν' αἰσχὺρα λαβίς πρόσθιν μελάρων τῶν ὁραμένη, τέκνα. It is also to be remembered that Euridyce's husband was absent from the palace. A more subtle interpretation of her attitude has been proposed by Murray, who thinks that shame at being surprised by a good man in an act of blind vindictiveness led to an outburst of tears. There is, however, no real hint of this in the Greek, and ll. 51-2 are hardly consistent with it. For the turn of the verse cf. HeracI. 942 πρῶτον μὲν οὖν μοι δεῦρ᾽ ἐπίστρεψον κάρα.
44-5. There seems to be no similar instance of this use of διήκειν, which inverts the ordinary construction, e.g. Soph. O. C. 305-6 πολὺ γάρ, ὦ γέρον, τὸ σὸν ὅμοι διήκει πᾶντα. But the location may be defended on the analogy of διέα, διήκεσθαι, &c., and there is no need to suspect a corruption. οἷος ήκας has been corrected; the scribe apparently began to write σ.
46. κοσμεῖν = 'regulate,' 'restrain,' as in Andr. 956 χρεὼν κοσμεῖν γυναῖκας τὰς γυναικεῖς νόσους. By τα διαφώματι ὁρὰμ Amphiaras apparently means that he regarded essential qualities, not allowing himself to be distracted by vanities.
47. Perhaps the interlinear δ as well as the ε and σ is by a later hand.
49. Cf. Alc. 301 ψυχῆς γάρ οἶδεν ἔστι τιμωτέρον.
52. Sense and metre both demand the insertion of δν after ὄμμα.
53. Bovde here Pap., but σ is the regular form elsewhere.
60. The circumflex accent on εφω, influenced apparently by the prodelision, is curious; but the accentuation is not seldom at fault; cf. Fr. ι. 4, ια. 11. κρηναίου γάνος occurs in Aesch. Pers. 483.
61. ὁπως λάβω Murray.

62. What was originally written in place of Ἀργεῖον ὡς is obscure; perhaps the a of πρὸςμια was also deleted. The mark above ω of ως was presumably intended as a rough breathing but it consists of a single horizontal stroke. διεκπερῶν, followed by some such word as ὀμματα, W–M.

67. In the initial lacuna W–M suggests χώ, which might be written καὶ ο, Bury ἄνω.

68. μεν : or με, [ in which case μ[ιν probably followed παῖς in the preceding line. ]

71–2. Bury suggests ἄσιμα and in the next verse ἄκαντος ἀκαντων δήμα, which is quoted from Euripides in Anecd. Bekk. p. 362, and has been referred to this play by Hartung, Eurip. Rest. ii. p. 436. The subject of ἁλλάς is evidently ἄκαντος; Bury compares οὐκατια, the name of a kind of serpent.

The breathings in l. 72 are both not quite certain.

77. We adopt the restoration proposed by Bury; the line of course easily admits of several variations, e.g. μερίδων πόνων or κακών or πολλών μοίρας, but the sense is evident.

80. ὅπως = 'omen', as e.g. in 1. A. 988 ὅπως γένοιτʼ ... τέκνων ἢ χρῆ παῖς.

81. The letters after μὴ are represented by equestious vestiges and are all very doubtful.

Above the second of them there is a faint vertical mark which may represent an inserted iota; that it is the top of a φ or ψ is not probable.

82. ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ ἀλλοῦ χί.

84. Κάδμου : sc. πόλ(ις) Or Some equivalent expression.

85. Probably κυρήσια as Murray suggests, seems to be a crasis of ἰζεραί ἴπα. Our restorations in this and the next two lines only attempt to give the sense.

89–96 = Nauck Fr. 757. 1–8. Lines 89–92 and 95 end–96 are quoted by Clement Alex. Strom. iv. p. 587, ll. 89–96, by Plutarch, Mor. p. 110 F, and Stobaeus (who gives the name of the play), Flor. 108. ii. ll. 94–5 μὴ, by Marcus Antoninus 7. 40, and l. 94 again at 11. 6. Lines 90–4 are translated by Cicero, Tussc. 3. 25. 59.

91. There is considerable variation in this line in the authorities; Stob. has θάπτειν . . . καὶ ἕτερα κτᾶσθαι πάλιν, Plutarch θάπτει... χάτερ′ αὖ κτᾶται νέα, Clement θάπτει καὶ ἕτερα σπείρει νέα. We follow Nauck's text.

92. οὐ πονεῖ βροτῶν : οὐκ ἀεὶ πονεῖ Stob. οὐ νοσεῖ Bp. is conjectured by F. G. Schmidt, Krit. Stud. ii. p. 487, on the ground that Cicero has quem non alittingit dolor.

93. γῆν ἀναγκαίως δ᾽ : τῆνδ᾽ ἀναγκαίως Plut. and Stob., corrected by Grotius from Cicero's translation reddenda terrae est terra.

95. Blau M. Ant. 11. 6, and τὸ ... τὸ for τὸν ... τὸν 7. 40.

96. τινὲς . . . διεκπερῶν: στέγων ... δεὶ δ΄ ἐκτερῶν Clem.

After this line Plut. and Clem. give another, which Nauck edits as δεινὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν βροτῶν (οὐδὲν γὰρ δεινὸν Plut., οὐ δεινὸν δεινὸν Clem.), and it is quite possible that there has been an omission in the papyrus; cf. Fr. 1. ii. 8 and Fr. 64. 57. On the other hand the verse is not added here by Stobaeus, who quotes it (in the form οὐκ ἁλπάρον αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ.) as θάπτετο simply, without the name of the play, in another place, Flor. 29. 56. Stobaeus' testimony, therefore, tends to corroborate the papyrus, and as the line is easily spared we do not insert it.

97. The letter before the lacuna seems to be o rather than e, i.e. Ἀργεῖον or Ἀργαί. Something like Αργεῖον ἐξάγουσι πρόσφορα | βάπται διὸς ἵππων καὶ κενῶν τι πράξομεν seems indicated.
99-101. Cf. Statius, Theb. v. 536-7 ut inde sacer per saecula Grais gentibus et tauto
dignus morerere sepulcro, and 741 munsuris donandus honoribus insans.
102-3. Cf. the words of the scholiast on Clement quoted in introd. p. 22 εἰς τοῦ τοῦ
Ναυκακόν ἀγώνα συναντήσατο, and Schol. Pindar, Nem. arg. 4 ὁ δὲ στέφανος ἐκ χλωρῶν πλέκεται
σελίνων.
106. The line may be completed e.g. Ἀρχεμόρου τεθηκότος, as Bury suggests.
111. εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν Murray.
112. Murray proposes τῇμον προσκέισεται. τῇμον is also suggested here by Bury.
113. ὡς after ῥησον is naturally interpreted as ὄ; cf. Fr. i. ii. 19 and 22, where ὄ is
written in the same way. But μὴν is obscure.
114-7 = Nauck Fr. 759, quoted from the Hypsipyle in Orion, Flor. 7. 5. p. 51, 10;
1. 114 also appears, without statement of the source, in Flor. Monac. 100.
114. φόνους : so correctly Flor. Monac.; χρήσεις Orion.
proposes to read λύγου in place of χρήσων.

Frs. 61-3. These fragments, as W—M suggests, may be assigned with probability to
the columns intervening between Fr. 60. ii and Fr. 64. i; the allusions to Hypsipyle's sons in
Fr. 61. 4-6, to Lemnos in Fr. 62. 3, and to Amphiphius in Fr. 63. 6 suit that position.
But though all three give ends of lines they appear to come from different columns. Fr. 63
is distinguished by a δείκνυσι rather to the right of the centre; and the other two are quite
dissimilar, Fr. 61 being light-coloured and well preserved, whereas Fr. 62 is dark and
rubbed. It is likely enough that some of the other pieces among Frs. 65-73 also belong
to this part of the play, but in the absence of definite indications we do not attempt to assign
their position.

Fr. 61. Hypsipyle is the speaker in part of this fragment at any rate, perhaps throughout.
In 1. 6 she is probably expressing her ignorance whether her sons survive or not, and ll. 8
and 12 contain allusions to her servitude. A reference to the strange young men precedes
in l. 4; W—M may well be right in thinking that Hypsipyle is addressing one of the latter,
and asking him to obtain her liberty. If so the fragment would be preliminary to their
recognition.

2. ἀζήλῳ καὶ κά W—M; ὡσρία θέλῳ καί κά (Murray) seems more difficult. ἅλλῳ τῷ ἡμῖν ἡμῖν
καί κά is objectionable owing to the neglect of caesura: perhaps ὁ θελός.
4. ἔχων: or possibly ὑπό: cf. Fr. 33. 8, where ἑχνίθι μήτε be ἑχνίθα μα.
5. μ of ομον is corrected from λ, probably by a later hand. The words may also be
divided ἔμνι σα παρασφάλις δείκνυσι (?) as Murray suggests, which would imply a masculine speaker
for this line.
15. Apparently not ἦνκα.

Fr. 62. 2. The ν above the line seems to have been inserted by the first hand, and was
perhaps deleted by the second.
5. The short ν in καλέντι, if the reading is right, is remarkable. The ν is similarly
scanned e.g. in Aristophanes' Knights 723, 972, but is long elsewhere in tragedy wherever
the quantity is determinable, Ion 391, Phoen. 990. Murray notes the parallel of μερικόν in
Rhes. 494.
7. τῶν: or τῶν; the fragment may be stichomithic.

Fr. 63. The speaker is probably Hypsipyle, who after her rescue by Amphiphius
seems in ll. 5-8 to be asking for further assistance; cf. note on ll. 7-8.
3. An acute accent on ἐστίν has been substituted for a barytone; cf. 841. VI. 88.
4. v of ὤνω was originally omitted.

7–8. W–M proposes αὐδῆς ἄσπερεν νέως ζ[ῦ]δη πλαγκτῆς κυβερνήτην σε] λαμ[βᾶνο] [σοφῶν] as representing the sense of these two verses; ζ[ῦ]δη however could not be read, though σ[ὐ]δὲ would suit.

Fr. 64. i. ἰαναγνώρισις between Hypsipyle and her sons; cf. introd. p. 26. It is tempting to place Fr. 70 at the top of this column. The recto is blank save for the tip of an oblique dash, and in the margin of Fr. 64. i recto there are two incomplete oblique dashes, to one of which the tip in Fr. 70 might well belong. On the other hand the strongly marked fibres of the papyrus do not correspond in the two pieces as they should do, and the combination cannot therefore be regarded as satisfactory.

50–1. These explanatory glosses are in a small hand resembling that of the text, though perhaps distinct from it. The words Ἡδωνίσι and Πάγγαιον of course occurred in the text.

57. κάτ(ω) refers to an entry in the (lost) margin below, replacing a deletion (apparently) in the text; cf. Fr. 1. ii. 8. κάτ(ω) has been written twice, perhaps through mere inadvertence, or possibly the corrector thought that the word was placed too near the end of the verse, and so rubbed it out and rewrote it further off.

58–106. Hyps. ‘... (the wheel of the god) ... me and my children has run back again along a single road, rolling us now towards terror, now delight; and at last he has shone forth serene.

Amph. This is the guerdon, lady, that thou receivest from me; since thou wert zealous towards my entreaty, I in my turn have shown my zeal towards thy sons. God keep thee now, and keep ye this your mother, and fare ye well; while we will go on with our army to Thebes, even as we have set forth to do.

The sons of Hyps. Blessings on thee, friend, for thou dost merit them; yea, blessings on thee. Hapless mother, how insatiate of thy woes was one among the gods!

Hyps. Ah, if thou shouldst learn of my banishment, my son, my banishment from sea-washed Lemnos, because I cut not off the grey head of my father!

Eun. Can they have ordered thee to slay thy father?

Hyps. I am full of terror at those bygone woes. Oh, my son, like Gorgons they slaughtered their husbands in their beds.

Eun. And thou, how didst thou steal away from death?

Hyps. I reached the resounding shore and the sea-wave where the birds make their lonely nests.

Eun. And how camest thou thence, what convoy brought thee hither?

Hyps. Sailors carried me by ship to Nauplia's haven, the place of travellers' passage, and brought me to servitude here, my son, a sorry merchandise of Danaid maidens.

Eun. Alas for thy woes!

Hyps. Lament not in our good fortune. But how wert thou and thy brother here brought up, and by whose hand, O my son? Tell me, tell thy mother.

Eun. The Argo brought me and him to the city of Iolcus.

Hyps. Yea, the nursling of my breast!

Eun. But when my father Jason died, mother,—

Hyps. Alas! thou speakest of my afflictions, my son, and bringest the tears to my eyes.

Eun. — Then Orpheus brought him and me to the land of Thrace.

Hyps. What kindness was he doing to thy hapless father? Tell me, my son.

Eun. He taught me the music of the Asian lyre, and my brother he schooled in Ares' art of arms.

Hyps. And by what way went ye over the Aegean to the shore of Lemnos?
Eun. Thy father Thoas conveyed thy two children.

Hyps. Is he then safe?

Eun. Yea, by the contrivance of Bacchus.'

58-62. ἐμέ evidently preceded, and the subject of the sentence is δαίμων or Βάκχος or some equivalent expression. χρόνῳ... εὐάμερος is a regular dochmiac dimeter, and ll. 58-60 as they stand in the papyrus may also be regarded as resolved dochmiacs, but it is perhaps better, as W-M suggests, to regard those verses as iambic on account of ἑλίξας. In either case τέ is best omitted. For the metaphor of ἐτράχασεν cf. e.g. Soph. Fr. 787 πόσιος ἐν πυκνῷ θεοῦ τροχῷ κυκλεῖται.

64. ἠντόμην is a somewhat strong expression, but we can find no more suitable correction for the meaningless ἦν τότε of the papyrus, and it is well to suppose that Hypsipyle was not easily persuaded.

65. A slightly curved stroke in which we can see no meaning stands above ε of παιδε; it might be meant for an iota.

66. The line as left by the first hand though grammatically correct will not scan, since it gives a short final vowel before σφ. To omit τέκνα and bring in τῆνδε (accented τῆνδε, cf. Fr. 1. vi. 11), which was inserted at a different time and probably by a different hand, is an easy remedy, but the construction then becomes more difficult, since a transitive σῴζετε or σmoidεσθε has to be supplied out of the passive σφαιν.

69-71. The marginal annotation assigns these lines to both sons, which implies a fourth actor; cf. introd. p. 30. Perhaps one of them spoke l. 69, the other ll. 70-1; this adds point to the repeated εὔδαιμονης (cf. however, Soph. Ελ. 1163-4 ὡς μ' ἀπώλεσας ἀπώλεσας δήρ', Orestl. 219 λαβοῦ, λαβοῦ δήρ'). W-M reminds us of the parallel in Med. 1271 sqq., where the MSS. prefix to l. 1271 παῖς, to 1272 ἔτερος παῖς, and to 1277-8 παιδες or oί δώ παιδες. The stop in l. 70 should have been placed after δήρα instead of before it.

72-3. οὗ which follows φαγεῖ in the papyrus might be regarded as an error for γ' (cf. Fr. 60. 12), but is better omitted altogether. The metre of these two verses is iambic monometer, dochmiac monometer, dochmiac dimeter.

74. The deleted ν, which was written by the first hand over ν of εμοῦ, implies the division οἰκεί' ἐμοί, though if the words were so understood οτί ought also to have been altered to οτέ. The transposition of πολίων is suggested by W-M in order to produce a dochmiac dimeter.

75 sqq. Since Euneos is the speaker in l. 101 (cf. introd. p. 28), it is best to regard him as sustaining the whole of this conversation.

77. The correction of τέκνα to τέκνον, proposed by W-M, is probable since one son is addressed throughout this passage; cf. ll. 73, 86, 91, &c. An anaepastic dimeter is here interposed between a dochmiac dim. and a dochmiac monom. For οὖτε cf. Fr. 1. ii. 18. Γοργάδες in the sense of Γοργόνες is quoted in Phot. Lex. πλάκων Γοργάδων τὸν δαίμων πλάκων τῆς Γοργώνες' ἀπεράσπη τῇ Κηφέως; cf. Lycophr. 1349 ἡ πολιορκή Γοργάς, which is explained by some scholiast, as meaning Hera ἡ ἐμποιοῦσα φόβον παρὰ τὴν γοργότητα. The word Γοργάδων is glossed by Hesychius, who cites it (p. 851) from Sophocles' Daedalus, as έδώκων; cf. ibid. Γοργάδες αἱ ὄξεαν, Ἰόν. Lex. p. 448 γοργάδες αἱ δέσποιναι.

79. On the marginal π = l. 1600 cf. Fr. 25, note.

80-82. ὀρνίθων (sic) Pap., but ὀρνίθων though a good word does not occur elsewhere in tragedy and W-M’s correction ὑπόνων is also metrically preferable. Transposing λείμαν to l. 81 we then get here an iambic dimeter, an anaepastic dimeter, and a dochmiac with irrational penultimate. The papyrus shows both the old Attic (properispome) and the later accentuation of ημός. For ὑπόνων ... κοίτων cf. a fragment from the Polyidus (Nauck 636. 5) ὑπόνων οἰκῶν ὑπόνων. ὕπόνων διάλειτων occurred in the Bellerophon (Nauck 301. 2)
84-6 = spond. dip., dactyl. tetrap., 2 dactylo-epitrit. dims., with catalexis in the second.
87. We adopt W-M’s conjecture ἐνθάδε Δαναίδων, which produces a dochmiac dimeter, for the unintelligible ἐνθαδη (another δὴ deleted) ναίων. Murray suggests ἐνθάδι γ ναίω, which is closer to the papyrus but makes the construction of μελεων ἐμπολάν more difficult, besides being less satisfactory metrically. The o of μελεων is more like ω, and perhaps μελεων was written owing to confusion with ναίων.
93. We substitute ἐς Ἰωλκόν for εἰς Κόλχων, the incongruity of which had already struck us and was further emphasized by Dr. Mahaffy. According to Ovid, Heroid. 6. 56, Jason stayed two years at Lemnos; his children were not yet born when he sailed for Colchis: at any rate it is improbable that he could have wished to take two infants on that dangerous expedition; moreover there would be a strange hiatus in Euneos’ story if he said nothing of going to Thessaly. Euripides apparently imagined Jason as calling again at Lemnos on his return from Colchis (cf. Findar, Pyth. 4. 251), and on finding Hypsipyle gone—she had in the meantime been banished—his natural course would be to carry his young children away with him to his own home; according to Statius, Theb. v. 467, Hypsipyle on going into exile left them in the charge of a person named Lycaste, who is unknown from other sources. Cf. Apollon. Rhod. i. 904–6 (Jason to Hypsipyle) εἰ δ’ ἀνω τερατών ἐς Ελλάδα γάναν ἔκτισεν τηλον, ὁμπλώστρον, στὸ δ’ ἀρετη παιδα τέκμη, πιέπε μν ἠχώναν Πελασγιδον ἐνοῦ ἰαλκοῦ. W-M however, in spite of the foregoing considerations, would retain εἰς Κόλχων on the ground that this is required by Hypsipyle’s interjection in the next line, ἀναμαστίδων κ.τ.λ.

The line πορκι σε is written through a mark of elision.
94 = Anapaestic monom. (equivalent to dochmiac) + catalectic dochmiac.
95. The letters o before of are converted from an ω.
96-7. κακά for κακων Murray, restoring the dochmiac trimeter.
98. For Orpheus cf. note on Fr. i. iii. 8–10.
99-100 = Resolved dochmiac + iambic trim. For χάριν . . . τιθήμενος cf. El. 61 χάρισα τιθήμενη πίσε.
101. This verse which shows that Euneos is the speaker alludes to the Attic clan of Εὐνεῖδαι: cf. introd. p. 28. The first hand perhaps wrote μακαρίσας, but the vestige of the letter after μ is too slight to show whether it was corrected.
103–4 = Dochmiac trim., the first member catalectic, the third with an irrational first syllable.
105. The papyrus has δυοίν τεκνώ, which is obviously wrong. W-M believes that there is a serious corruption, first on account of the form τέκνω, and secondly because the words would naturally mean ‘his children’ not ‘your children’. But although dual neuters in -ω are certainly rare, they do occasionally occur, e. g. I. T. 487 δο’ ἐξ ἑνὸς κακώ, Phoen. 582 δύο κακώ, Aristoph. Birds 1464 πτερώ, Lyrist. 291 ἐκεί, Xen. Cyr. v. 4. 51 ἐν ἑνὸς φρονιμίῳ; and though the expression is not clear, no doubt could arise concerning the intended meaning. It would be easy to complete the line differently, e. g. τῷ παῖδι σου, or ἐκείνῃ νά, but not easy to account for the corruption. We therefore leave the text as nearly as possible in the form in which it stands, while quite admitting its questionable authenticity. Murray ingeniously proposes δο’ αἱ τέκνω, which no doubt might readily produce δοίων τέκνω; but the collocation does not seem quite satisfactory.
106. Be[κ]χ[των] suits the space better than Be[κ]χ[τωμ] and, as Murray remarks, is more
probable in itself in view of the extremely common use in Euripides of Ἄκης = Ἄκης. In Statius, Theb. v. 283-4, Dionysus in aiding Thoas to escape from Lemnos promises to watch over his fortunes: ἐν lato patrem committite profundo. Succedam curis.

107. Perhaps πλὼν, but μεταβολάδας (cf. Nauck Fr. inc. 864 μεταβολάδα γὰρ πόνων ἀεὶ φιλᾶ) is excluded by the accent on φ.

109. παῖδας πόνων: for the circumflex on η cf. Fr. i. ii. 17; παῖδα αὐτῆ is less likely.

111. Possibly βροτοῖσι δόΙντο, as Murray suggests: but the sense of the passage remains too obscure for a restoration.

152. On this appearance of Dionysus and the purport of his speech cf. introd. p. 28.

Fr. 65. στράτει in l. 4 and θύειν in l. 9 are doubtless references to the Argive army (cf. Frs. i. iv. 36 and 60. 62), and the speaker is perhaps Amphiaraous, in which case the fragment should probably be placed with Frs. 61-3 in the gap between Frs. 60 and 64.

Fr. 67. The rubbed papyrus is very similar in appearance to the bottom of Fr. i. iii; it is quite likely to be lyrical, but does not seem to join on there directly.

Fr. 68-9. Fr. 68 cannot be placed in Col. i of Fr. 64, nor is it at all likely that Fr. 69 belongs there.

Fr. 70. Possibly this fragment belongs to the top of Fr. 64. i; cf. note ad loc. It does not come from the same column as Fr. 77.

2. τύχαις: OF πτυχαῖς.

5. This may be a lyric verse.

Fr. 71. Since the recto contains beginnings of lines, this fragment does not belong to Fr. i. v, where the recto is blank.

Fr. 72. This piece approximates in condition to Frs. 18-9, but not closely enough to be definitely grouped with them.

Fr. 73. 4. ἥν (not ἡ) is inserted above the line apparently as a variant on εἰ: in the absence of the context it is of course impossible to give either the preference.

Fr. 76. 3. The insertion above the line is puzzling: the two sigmas are clear, and at a short distance from them is a vestige of what seems to be another letter.

Fr. 77. 4. The slight vestige of the first letter would suit χ.

Fr. 79. This fragment looks as if it belonged to Fr. i. ii, but we cannot find a place for it there.

Fr. 86. 4. A vestige on the edge of the papyrus above the top of the θ may represent a breathing or belong to another inserted letter.

Fr. 90. 4. This is probably the last line of a column.

Fr. 96. 4. The supposed ε has been corrected apparently from ν; but perhaps the first letter is α and the ν was merely crossed out, being followed by a τ.

Fr. 97. In the margin slightly above l. 1 is what appears to be a small θ with two horizontal strokes below it. The remains do not well suit either one of the dramatis personae or a stichometrical figure, though ε = 1400 is just possible.

Fr. 115. Judged by the manner of writing, Ὀμήρος is more probably part of the text than a marginal dramatis persona, though the blank space below would suit the latter hypothesis.

Fr. 116. This is perhaps part of a marginal note; cf. Fr. 64. i. 50-1. The stroke like an accent is some little way above the ε.
These considerable portions of a commentary upon the second book of Thucydides belong to the large find of literary papyri which produced 841-4 and 852, and consisted originally of about a hundred fragments of varying sizes, two-thirds of which have been pieced together. Excluding the small unplaced fragments, 19 columns (about 600 lines) are preserved, divided into eight separate sections which we have called A–H, and covering the first 45 chapters of the book, though with large gaps at certain points. Like 842, which was written on the verso of a long official document from the Arsinoite nome (918), this commentary is on the back of a series of non-literary documents from that district. A detailed description of these texts is given under 986; here it is necessary to state that the writing proceeds in the opposite direction to that of the scholia, and that at least three originally different papyri have been joined together to form a roll of sufficient length for the literary text. Cols. i–iv of the recto (= Cols. xix–xv of the verso) belong to a survey-list of confiscated house property; Cols. v–viii of the recto (= Cols. xiii–viii of the verso) are in the same hand and of a similar character, but are concerned with property in land, the writer, a comogrammateus of the village of Oxyrhyncha in the 16th year of Hadrian, making a fresh start. Col. viii of the recto was cut down the middle and joined to another second-century document, Col. ix (= Col. vii of the verso), containing a return by sitologi which has itself had the beginnings of lines cut off; the line of junction corresponds to the margin between Cols. viii and vii of the verso. Cols. x–xv of the recto (= Cols. vi–i of the verso) belong to a third document, a second-century account concerning loans of seed-corn to cultivators of Crown lands.

The script of the commentary is a small and neat informal uncial, with a tendency to lapse into cursive forms, especially in the letters ε and κ, and presents much similarity to the hand of the Oxyrhynchus scholia on ΗΙΙΑΙΔ ΧΧΙ (221). The circumstance that one of the documents on the recto is dated in A.D. 131–2 provides a terminus a quo for the date of the text on the verso, which on palaeographical grounds is not likely to be later than A.D. 200.Probably 842, 852, and 853 were all written about the same time, somewhat later than 221. Iota adscript is rarely (e. g. x. 15, 37, xv. 34) omitted. There are no stops, and accents, breathings, and elision-marks are used sparingly; but paragraphi
occur frequently to separate the notes, and the lemmata project into the left margin by the width of one letter, as in the Berlin Didymus papyrus, and are separated from the notes referring to them by a short blank space. With each new quotation the scribe begins a fresh line. The common angular sign (sometimes doubled) is employed to fill up short lines. \( i \) and \( v \) occasionally have the diaeresis. The concluding word of a note is four times \( (v. 15, vii. 28, xv. 4, xvi. 11) \) abbreviated, even though in the first two cases there was plenty of room to write the word out in full; but of the conventional abbreviations often found in commentaries of this period \( (cf. \ e.g. 856) \) there is no trace. The columns contain from 35 to 38 lines, the beginnings of which tend to slope away to the left as the column proceeds. There are a few corrections, all due to the original scribe, who was not a very careful copyist, so that several minor alterations in the text, chiefly due to omissions, are necessary; \( cf. i. 22, ii. 19, 28, vii. 22, ix. 13, x. 27, xv. 4, 38. \)

Of the eight sections into which the papyrus falls, \( A \) contains Cols. i–iii in a very fair condition, and the beginnings of lines of Col. iv. So far as the external evidence is concerned, there is no special indication that Col. i is the original beginning of the writing on the verso, but since the first note refers to the opening words of Book II, it is probable that in Col. i we have the actual commencement of the work, and that the roll did not contain our author’s commentary on Book I if he wrote one. i. 7–iv. 9 is taken up by a long discussion of the criticisms directed against Thucydides’ method of writing history by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his extant work \( περὶ \ Θουκυδίδου \), so that by the end of Col. iv our author has only reached c. 2. 4. B, comprising the two well-preserved columns v and vi, follows immediately after A and covers cc. 2. 4–8. 2, after which there is a gap. Since the writing on the recto of B has no connexion with that on the recto of C, it does not help to decide the width of the lacuna between these two sections, but the internal evidence of the scholia shows that at least one column and probably not more than two are missing between Cols. vi and vii. C, which contains the two damaged columns vii and viii, begins at c. 11. 4 and reaches c. 13. 6. D, containing the upper half of Col. ix, follows C without an interval, and down to 1. 18 covers c. 13. 6–7. Fr. i, however, apparently refers to c. 14. 1 and probably belongs to the lower part of Col. ix, which no doubt covered all c. 14; for E begins at c. 15. 1, and though, as far as the verso is concerned, there might be a column or two missing between D and E, the writing on the recto makes it practically certain that Col. x follows immediately after Col. ix. While Col. i of E (=Col. x), which covers cc. 15. 1–17. 1 is in moderate preservation, Col. ii (=Col. xi) is represented only by three small detached fragments. The exact position of that containing parts of
ll. 1–3 is obvious from internal evidence, while that containing the beginnings of ll. 15–7 is fixed not only by its suitability to this context, but by the writing on the recto, and the accuracy of the position assigned to the third fragment, containing parts of ll. 14–21 (Fr. 2), is hardly open to question. The next section, F, consists of the ends of lines of Col. xii and three quarters of Col. xiii, covering cc. 17. 4–24. 1. That anything is lost between Cols. xi and xii is most unlikely, but after Col. xiii there is a long gap, since G begins at c. 34. 5. In this section we have the ends of lines of Col. xiv, then three well-preserved columns (xv–xvii) and the beginnings of lines of another (xviii) covering cc. 34. 5–41. 3. The beginning of the funeral oration of Pericles (cc. 35–45) is noted in xiv. 3. After Col. xviii there is another considerable lacuna in which probably 3 or 4 columns are lost, and H (Col. xix) has only the ends of 18 lines on a fragment dealing with c. 45. 2, near the conclusion of the funeral oration.

The date at which these scholia were composed can be fixed within tolerably narrow limits. Dionysius of Halicarnassus came to Rome in 30 B.C. and issued his great work on Roman Archaeology in 7 B.C. (Aut. 1. 7. 2), while Q. Aelius Tubero, to whom the treatise on Thucydides was addressed, is probably identical with the consul of 11 B.C., so that our commentary which discusses that treatise cannot be earlier than 30 B.C. and is not likely to be earlier than 10 B.C. On the other hand, since the MS. itself is not later than A.D. 200, the composition of the commentary can hardly have taken place later than Hadrian's time, and it is more likely that it was written soon after the beginning of the Christian era.

The extant scholia on Thucydides, derived from the Byzantine MSS. and of varying dates, are fairly full, but do not display much learning, and are rarely of great value either for the elucidation of the text or for quotations from other writers; and in spite of the greater antiquity of our commentary it is but little superior to them in point of quality. Our author's interest in Thucydides was mainly grammatical, and most of the notes are devoted to the explanation of words, phrases, or constructions, with frequent paraphrases of clauses or even whole sentences which were difficult, especially in the funeral oration. Questions of spelling and accentuation are discussed in v. 12–5 and vi. 25–8. In exegesis our author displays more intelligence than the extant scholia (e.g. v. 1–3); and though many of his remarks are trivial enough, his opinions on several well-known and much disputed passages have some importance, as supporting now one, now another of the modern commentators, or suggesting something new; e.g. x. 25–30, xiv. 6–11, xv. 16–24, xvii. 16–9, 23–9, and 31–3. But his authority cannot be ranked high, for in several places his interpretation is certainly wide of the mark; cf. v. 22–9 (two explanations of the infinitive τοῦ μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν,
both of which are unsatisfactory), ix. 4–6 (an impossible explanation of διπό as equivalent to διπόδι), xix. 4 sqq. (a hopelessly wrong interpretation of ἵππι ἐν ἐν’ ἠλάχιστον κ.τ.λ.). Of more interest than his exegetical remarks are his critical notes on the text. The variant ἀφρόματο for ἀφρύματο recorded in xiii. 13–5 was already known, but neither ἐκστρατευομένων (vii. 29), which occurred in our author’s text of Thucydides II. 12. 2, nor the alternative reading in the note στρατευόντων (vii. 30) have found their way into the existing MSS., which all have ἐκστρατευμένων, a reading ignored by our author. Of real value is the note on Πειράσιοι (xiii. 20–3), which explains the origin of a long felt corruption in the text of c. 22. 3. In the rare cases where the commentary deals with historical or geographical rather than with grammatical or textual questions, it is singularly disappointing. The brief indication of the position of Phrygia in xiii. 16 slightly modifies the current view of the site of that unimportant village, and the note on the temple of Dionysus at Limnae (x. 7–14) might have been of some value if more complete, but that on the Anthesteria (x. 16–8) merely confirms what was already known to us from other sources, and such annotations as vi. 16–24 and xiii. 25–8 are elementary. Our author, indeed, exhibits a very limited acquaintance with Greek literature. There is not a single quotation from other Greek historians, and apart from the discussion of the criticisms of Dionysius, the only prose writer of any kind who is referred to is ὁ οἷος (apparently an earlier commentator on Thucydides) mentioned in x. 11. A well-known quotation from Pindar, which in its later proverbial form is also quoted by the extant scholia on Thucydides, occurs in vi. 14–5, and there is a passing allusion to the Erechtheus of Euripides in x. 3; but the only other writers with whom our author shows familiarity are Homer and Callimachus. The former is quoted by way of illustration not less than ten times (iv. 6, 17, vi. 9–10 (?), 14–5, vii. 10–1, 27–8, ix. 5–6, xiii. 17–9, 20–1, xvii. 18–9, xix. 6–7), the interpretation in the last instance being singularly perverse, though in accordance with that of the earlier Alexandrian commentators, while the citation in ix. 5–6 is quite inapposite (cf. vi. 9–10, note). The text is uniformly the vulgate except in xvii. 18–9, where our author probably relied on his memory and quoted inaccurately. Callimachus is cited twice, the first quotation (x. 7–10, from the Hecale) being partly extant, the second (x. 37–8) new.

In view of the general similarity in mode of treatment between this commentary and the extant scholia it is surprising that the points of actual agreement are so few. The most noteworthy is the Pindar quotation alluded to above (vi. 34–5), but even here the scholia quote the saying as a παροιμία and in a slightly different form. Elsewhere there are occasional verbal similarities, such as would be expected from any commentators covering the same ground (cf. e.g. notes
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on v. 33, viii. 7–9, ix. 10, x. 19–20, xii. 10, xiii. 17, xv. 16, xvi. 19–24), but amid innumerable divergencies no striking coincidences are found anywhere, and there is no reason to think that our author is one of the direct sources of the extant scholia, while even an indirect influence upon them seems unlikely.

The somewhat unfavourable impression which our author makes as a commentator on the text of Thucydides is improved when we turn to his discussion of the views of Dionysius about Thucydides' methods as a historian. As a literary critic he exhibits himself to greater advantage than as a grammarian, and his defence of Thucydides is both just and sensible. Dionysius, whose whole treatment of Thucydides though not wanting in learning and acumen is marked by a lack of appreciation of his real merits, in cc. 9–20 of his De Thucyd. Indic. censures the historian's mode of dealing with his subject-matter, the following chapters (cc. 21–55) being concerned with his style. Dionysius' criticisms on the former topic are represented as coming not from himself but from τίνες, i.e. his predecessors, and his objections fall under the three heads of διαίρεσις, τάξις, and ἐξεργασία (c. 9). Our author replies to the criticisms under the first two heads, briefly summarizing cc. 9–12 in i. 7–33. To Dionysius' strictures with regard to διαίρεσις on firstly Thucydides' choice of a division according to summers and winters in preference to the years of the archons or Olympiads or the geographical arrangement adopted by Herodotus, and secondly on the consequent want of connexion and abrupt transitions in his narrative, our author justly retorts that there was no reason why Thucydides should have chosen to reckon by archons or Olympiads (ii. 6 sqq.), and that the Herodotean method of narrating events according to localities was quite inapplicable to a history of the Peloponnesian war (ii. 15–27), concluding with an effective argumentum ad hominem against Dionysius (ii. 33–iii. 1), whose own theory of what system of chronology ought to have been followed is shown to be open to the objection concerning abrupt transitions which he had brought against Thucydides. A system of dating by the years of the archons or Olympiads which began in the summer would in fact disturb the sequence of the narrative far more than Thucydides' division of the year into summer and winter, which in describing military operations is the most natural one. In iii. 2–17, a passage which is much mutilated, our author deals with the supposed want of connexion in Thucydides' narrative, and shows that this charge is exaggerated. In iii. 18–iv. 9 he contradicts Dionysius' criticism directed against the τάξις, that in his account of the origin of the war Thucydides ought to have begun by describing the true cause of it, the rise of Athens, instead of postponing this to his description of the commonly alleged causes, the Corcyrean and Potidaean incidents. The point at issue between our author and Dionysius is here more debatable. No doubt a modern historian
of the Peloponnesian war would in agreement with Dionysius prefer to begin
with a sketch of the rise of Athens rather than to introduce this subsequently as
a digression. But looking at Book I from the point of view of Thucydides' aims
as expressed in his preface, the arrangement adopted by him is quite defensible.
As our author points out (iii. 22-30), Dionysius was wrong in thinking that
Thucydides was under an obligation to give an elaborate account of events pre-
ceeding the Peloponnesian war. Probably his desire to avoid becoming involved
in this so serious an undertaking was one of the chief reasons for the postpone-
ment of the sketch of the rise of Athens. Further, our author's dictum in
iii. 30-iv. 1 about the duty of a historian to relate the obvious before the remotest
causes of events is at least as true as Dionysius' opposing aphorism in c. 11 that
ture causes ought to precede false ones, the fact being that no a priori rule can be
laid down on the subject, which has to be settled with regard to expediency.
Whatever his demerits as an annotator, our author must on the points in dispute
be credited with a fairer appreciation of Thucydides than his adversary, one
of the ablest critics of the day.

Can our author be identified with any of the known commentators upon
Thucydides? The answer, is, we think, in the negative. The extant scholia
mention three of their sources, Antyllus, Asclepius (or Asclepiades), and
Phoebammon. Of these Phoebammon, who lived in the fourth century, is out
of the question. The dates of Antyllus and Asclepius, who is generally thought
to have been a rhetorician rather than a grammarian, are quite uncertain, and
might therefore fall within the period (about 10 B.C.-A.D. 140) in which the
author of our commentary wrote; but the slightness of the connexion between it
and the extant scholia (cf. p. 110) excludes the likelihood of an identification with
writers utilized in them. Nor is much more to be said in favour of identifying
our author with any of the other rhetoricians or grammarians who composed
Doberentz, De Scholitis in Thuc., Halle, 1876. Numerinus, who wrote περὶ τῶν τῆς
λέξεως σχημάτων, ὑποθέσεις τῶν Δημοσθένους καὶ Θουκυδίδου, χρείαν συναγωγῆ, &c.,
probably lived in the time of Hadrian, which barely falls within the right period,
and to judge by the title his work seems to have consisted of short arguments,
not a detailed commentary. Julius Vestinus, who also lived under Hadrian, and
wrote an ἐκλογὴ ἐκ τῶν Θουκυδίδου, was apparently a lexicographer, not a regular
commentator upon Thucydides. The title of Claudius Didymus' work, composed
probably in the first century, περὶ τῶν ἡμαρτημέων παρὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν Θουκυδίδη,
indicates that it was quite different from our commentary, as were the ζητήσεις
κατὰ στοιχεῖον Θουκυδίδου or τῶν παρὰ Θουκυδίδης ζητούμενων κατὰ λέξων written by
Evagoras of Lindus, also probably in the first century. Didymus χαλκέντερος,
though a contemporary of Dionysius, is also, we think, out of the question, for it is very doubtful whether he wrote on Thucydides (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, Real-encycl. v. p. 460), and his recently discovered commentary on Demosthenes is almost entirely historical, not grammatical, and abounds in quotations, being thus far removed in character from our papyrus. Caecilius Calactinus, who was also coeval with Dionysius, has no stronger claims than Didymus to be identified with our author. He discussed and quoted Thucydides (cf. pp. 57–8 and 193–6 of Ofenloch's edition), and though Dionysius (Ep. ad Cn. Pomp. 3. 20) calls Caecilius φιλάρας, the two critics seem to have had controversies (cf. Ofenloch, p. xiii). But Caecilius was primarily a rhetorician, and that he wrote a grammatical commentary on Thucydides is improbable. Sabinus (time of Hadrian), Tiberius, and Heron son of Cotys (dates unknown) wrote ὑπομνήματα upon Thucydides about which nothing further has been recorded, and since our commentary is technically a ὑπόμνημα, it is possible that one of these writers is identical with our author; but it is more likely that he was some obscure Alexandrian grammarian whose works were not long preserved, and whose name even is lost. Of his influence on later grammarians (apart from the Thucydides scholia already discussed) we have not discovered any clear trace, though cf. x. 36–7, note.

It remains to examine our author's text of Thucydides, in so far as this can be ascertained from the lemmata. The chief MSS. fall into two main families, CG and ABFEM, of which the former is now generally considered to be superior. As usual, the text of the papyrus is of an eclectic character and does not consistently agree with either family; but it supports the ABFEM group seven times (cf. notes on i. 6–7, xiii. 13, xiv. 4, xv. 15, xvii. 20, 30, xviii. 24) against only four agreements with the other (cf. notes on vii. 37, xiv. 25, xvi. 29, 31). Several new readings occur, of which we append a list.

1. i. 7 (c. 1. 1) v. l. θέρη καὶ χειμῶνας above the line for θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα.
2. v. 5 (c. 2. 4) χρησθαί for χρήσασθαί.
3. v. 21 (c. 4. 2) ἐκφεύγειν for ἐκφεύγειν (ἐκφυγεῖν only in a late Paris MS.).
4. v. 30 (c. 4. 3) στυρακίῳ for στυρακίῳ.
5. vii. 15 (c. 11. 9) ἡμῖν for ἠμῖν.
6. vii. 29 (c. 12. 2) εὐκατανομημένων, with v. 1. στρατευόμουν, for ἐξεκατανομημένων.
7. ix. 3 (c. 13. 7) νπο for ἀπό.
8. x. 15 (c. 15. 4) ἀρχαίοτατα for ἀρχαιότερα.
9. xiii. 20 (c. 22. 3) Φαρσαλίοι Πειρασίοι (Κραννωνιοί) for Φαρσάλιοι Παράσιοι Κρανώνιοι Πειράσιοι.
10. xv. 34 (c. 37. 2) δρα τι for τι δρα.
Of these (5), which confirms a conjecture of Hude, and (9), where the note shows that Παράσιοι is an interpolation, are undoubtedly better than the readings of the MSS. On the other hand (7) is certainly wrong and (1), (11), and (12) may be merely due to mistakes on the part of the copyist of the papyrus (cf. his omission in ix. 3) and in any case are not likely to be right. In respect to the other new readings there is little to choose between them and the MSS., the sense being hardly if at all affected by any of them. As regards the passages in Thucydides which have been suspected of being corrupt, the explanation of Παράσιοι supports the conclusions of modern editors, and there is some reason to believe that the formidable anacoluthon in the MSS. reading at c. 7. 2 did not occur in our author's text (cf. vi. 16, note); but elsewhere the papyrus, like other Thucydides papyri (cf. 878–880), tends to confirm the ordinary text even where alterations have generally been accepted. Thus in c. 15. 4 (x. 15) the words τῆς ἑβδομής, usually regarded as a gloss, are found, and neither Cobet's insertion of τοῦ in c. 15. 4 (x. 7, note) nor Lipsius' transference of πανοικησία in c. 16. 1 (x. 31) nor the proposals to omit words in c. 4. 2 (v. 21–2, note) and c. 16. 1 (x. 25, note) are confirmed. On the whole our author's text, though not on a level with the first-century fragments of Book IV (16 and 696), and perhaps affected to some extent by errors of the copyist, is a good one, and its early date gives it considerable value.

In the restoration of the very imperfect text of this papyrus, we have received much assistance from Professors U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff and J. B. Bury; some suggestions are also due to Dr. C. Hude and Mr. H. Stuart Jones. We give the text and reconstruction in parallel columns, the lemmata being distinguished in the latter by thick type. In the notes Schol. = the extant scholia on Thucydides.

Col. i (= A col. i).

[...] 1. 1. [ἀρχεται δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ἔνθεν·]
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σιος[,] Ἀλικαρνασσευσεντωπερι θουκυδιδο[,] συνταγματιπερουν
10 πολλωμ[,] μιφεταιουθουκυδι
δηνταδι[,] Τατωτικεφαλαια διεξεισιν[,] τευκραχοντασκαι
ολυμπιαδαι[,] ουσιοποιαπτε
θεικτων[,] καλλιδιωσ
15 θερηκαχε[,] οσκασιατεισεσπα
κεκαιδι[,] ηπινιστοριαν
καισυνκο[,] ιπραγματαου
καπα[,] τις[,] [α][,] περιεκαστων
α διηγ[,] σεισα[,] απαλλωνεπαλλα
20 τρεπομενοσ[,] [τ]υτελεωσαικαι
στηνιναθ [,] του προτεθεικε
τοις χρω[,] των χρω,, ἰδιως
θερικε οτιπολεμουαιτι.
25 τισπραγματων προτετακορκυραϊκα
ηπιεριεκαστων
30 εκ[,] ιθεναρξαμενοσαφοιωνπρα
γματων μεταταπερσικα
θησανοιαθηναιοιαλλαπαλινεπι
τακοιναιαταιστρεπεται τοιον
35 τισπροσαυτονπροπετωσουτοσ,
10 τ[. ...]. ἦν Πλα[τ.]αίκα α'[...] παρέδωκεν...

15 σ[. ...]. ἦν Προ[ποίκι]

20 κυραϊκεφησιδιαφεροντ[ι].

25 οὐδενενιχρονωιητοπωιαλλαί

30 γιαστασεπαιλλονγαρκαιαλλον

35 εικασταρχουτασεδεγαφεινων...
π[.]. αγματακολουθ[.]. ουσιν
[.]. ανγετουσινειρ[.]. ακαι
[.]. ηκωλωσινοιρ[.]. ησ[.].
[.]. ηκουδ[.]. δηγε[.].

π[.]. ιαγματακολουθ[.]. ουσιν
[.]. ιανγετειρ[.]. ουσιν
[.]. ιακαλ[.]. οικι[.].
[.]. ιολλ[.]. οικεβα[.].

π[.]. εταεινεοδ[.].
[.]. εξωθενπαραβα[.].
[.]. μεταβασεισμεταβ[.].
[.]. οινουκεπτιμαι[.].
[.]. προκειμενηρι[.].

π[.]. τεαεινεοδ[.].
[.]. εξωθενπαραβα[.].
[.]. μεταβασεισμεταβ[.].
[.]. οινουκεπτιμαι[.].
[.]. προκειμενηρι[.].

π[.]. εταεινεοδ[.].
[.]. εξωθενπαραβα[.].
[.]. μεταβασεισμεταβ[.].
[.]. οινουκεπτιμαι[.].
[.]. προκειμενηρι[.].

π[.]. εταεινεοδ[.].
[.]. εξωθενπαραβα[.].
[.]. μεταβασεισμεταβ[.].
[.]. οινουκεπτιμαι[.].
[.]. προκειμενηρι[.].

π[.]. εταεινεοδ[.].
[.]. εξωθενπαραβα[.].
[.]. μεταβασεισμεταβ[.].
[.]. οινουκεπτιμαι[.].
[.]. προκειμενηρι[.].

π[.]. εταεινεοδ[.].
[.]. εξωθενπαραβα[.].
[.]. μεταβασεισμεταβ[.].
[.]. οινουκεπτιμαι[.].
[.]. προκειμενηρι[.].

π[.]. εταεινεοδ[.].
[.]. εξωθενπαραβα[.].
[.]. μεταβασεισμεταβ[.].
[.]. οινουκεπτιμαι[.].
[.]. προκειμενηρι[.].

π[.]. εταεινεοδ[.].
[.]. εξωθενπαραβα[.].
[.]. μεταβασεισμεταβ[.].
[.]. οινουκεπτιμαι[.].
[.]. προκειμενηρι[.].

π[.]. εταεινεοδ[.].
[.]. εξωθενπαραβα[.].
[.]. μεταβασεισμεταβ[.].
[.]. οινουκεπτιμαι[.].
[.]. προκειμενηρι[.].

π[.]. εταεινεοδ[.].
[.]. εξωθενπαραβα[.].
[.]. μεταβασεισμεταβ[.].
[.]. οινουκεπτιμαι[.].
[.]. προκειμενηρι[.].

π[.]. εταεινεοδ[.].
[.]. εξωθενπαραβα[.].
[.]. μεταβασεισμεταβ[.].
[.]. οινουκεπτιμαι[.].
[.]. προκειμενηρι[.].
αἰτιαστων πραγματων εν πρώτης ακριβως αφηγεσθαι, ει δε τινων αφανετερων υπονοει τοις ακριβως αφηγεσθαι ειδετι > 

Col. iv (= A col. iv).

tοεπι] το έπι] 
σθαιο] σθαι δ ∆ισωσios 
τοικατ] τοι κατ] 
καιπε] και πε] 
ναμες[ να μεαυον 
ομηρικ] 'Ομηρικαως 
χωνα ] χον α ] 
πιεικη] πιεικη ] 
συκοφ[ συκοφαυτ 

10 αιριακ] 2.1. αι τριακοντούτεις σπουδαι αβ- 
 ται κατα[ τριακοντού- 
 τεις κα[ 
κωνω[ 
δησκ . ] 

15 εσπλατατ] ες Πλαταιαν της Βοιωτιας η πο-
 
λισεω[ λις ενικως λεγεται και "Ομηρος 
οιτεπλα[ οι τε Πλαταιαν έχον. 
[. . . ] ] 
τι] 

20 π] 
ιερ[ 
τι[ 
κι] 
πρ] 

25 τη . ] 
τασικε ] 
φασινυ] 
καικαταλ] 
ορισαιτου[ 

"Ολυμπιάδας (?)
10 οὐδοκιμά[  
15 τὸ προστατ[  
20 θέμενοι[  
25 αντιτουθ[  
30 θέμενοι[  
35 καὶθρεψαμ[  

2. 4. θέμενοι δ' ἐσ τὴν ἁγοράν τὰ ὅπλα·  
    ἀντὶ τοῦ θ[έ]ι[έ]τες  
    θέμενοι [  
    καὶ θρεψαμ[έ]νοι ἀντὶ τοῦ θρέψας.  

Col. v (= B col. i).  

τοδεθεμενοιαν[ .]τουατο[.]έμε  
νοικαιοτρατοπ[.]υσαμενοις  
τιμαγορα  
γνωμηνδεπο[ .]υντοκηρυγμασιν  
5 τεχρησαειπτε[.]οις εγνωσαν >  
δεφιλικοεικηρυγμασιν χρησθαι  
καιεσφιλιανυπαγαγεσθαιuncei  
γαρεπιτηδειουσουσφι[.]ουσ  
εδοκεουνεπιχειρητεαειναι τοι  
10 συνθεοσκεχματικεχρηταιαν  
τουεπιπισχηρητουον  
καιισχειραισηανμπιστασαον δι>  
συλλαβωσαναγορωστενισαον  
μενγαριωσκαιαιολειςδιαιρου  
15 συνυτιοδεαδιαιρεωαϊου  
ουπλειουεσκοτοκαιηλωλου >  
τωνδιδο[.]ηρησι[.]οναι σκο  
τοιανωμαλωχρηταιεισεως  
αρσενικωσεισεδεωουδετερωου  
20 εμπειρουσεχουεστουσιδοκων  
ταστομμεκρηγεωστειδιεθει  
ροντουιπολλου πηοιουωρητεου  
εμπειρου[.]δεχουεσττουσιδοκων  
ταστοιουμεκρηγεωστειδιεθειρου  
25 τουιοπολλοιωστειαρκεεσειαο  
ωστητοαρθροπλειναςειτο >  

τὸ δὲ θέμενοι ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄπο[θ]έμε-  
νοι καὶ στρατοπ[εδε]υσάμενοι ἐν  
τῇ ἁγορᾷ.  

γνώμην δ' ἐπο[ι]ούντο κηρύγμασιν  
τε χρηθ[α]ὶ ἐπιτηδε[ί]οις: ἐγνωσαν  
'dε φιλικοίς κηρύγμασιν χρηθαι  
καὶ εἰς φιλιάν ὑπαγέσθαι· λέγουσι  
γὰρ ἐπιτηδείους τοὺς φίλους.  
3. 3. ἐδόκει οὖν ἐπιχειρητεα εἶναι· τῷ  
sυνήθει σχήματι κέχρηται ἀντὶ  
tοῦ ἐπιχειρητείου.  
3. 4. καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἦσαν κατὰ τάχος· δι-  
συλλαβῶς ἀναγνωστέων ἦσαν. οἱ  
μὲν γὰρ Ἰωνὶς καὶ Ἀἰολεῖς διαιρο-  
σιν, οὕτως δὲ ἀδιαίρετα(ς).  
4. 2. οἱ πλειούς ἐν σκότω καὶ πηλῷ  
tῶν διόδω[ν] ἦ χρῆ σ[ου]θήματι: σκό-  
tόπο ἀνωμαλός χρῆται, ἐνίοτε ὡς  
ἀρσενικῷ, ἐνίοτε δὲ ὡς οὐδετέρῳ.  
ἐμπείρους δὲ ἐχοῦτες τοὺς διώκον-  
tες τοῦ μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν ὥστε διεφθειρ-  
ροντο οἱ πολλοὶ· ἤτοι οὕτως ῥητέοι,  
ἐμπείρους[ς] δὲ ἐχοῦτες τοὺς διώκον-  
tες εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν διεφθειρον-  
tο οἱ πολλοὶ, ὡςτε παρέλκεσθαι τὸ  
ὡστε· ἢ τὸ ἄρθρον πλειονάσει τὸ
τουμπειρουσδεχοντε[.]τουσ >
διωκοντασωστοποιοναι
καλουμενισεισετεσχατον
tουδοτατον
ξυνεβησαντοιςπλαταιευσι
τομπεπρους δ᾽ ἑκνελε[.]τους
dωκοντας ὡστε μη ἐκφυγειν
dιεθειροντοιςπολλοι

4. 3. στυρακοντοπολλοι του σαυρωτηρι
καλουμενισετεσχατον
tουδοτατον
ξυνεβησαντοιςπλαταιευσι
τομπεπρους δ᾽ ἑκνελε[.]τους
dωκοντας ὡστε μη ἐκφυγειν
dιεθειροντοιςπολλοι

30 στυρακιακοντου τοις σαυρωτηρι
cαλουμενισετεσχατον
tουδοτατον
ξυνεβησαντοιςπλαταιευσι
τομπεπρους δ᾽ ἑκνελε[.]τους
dωκοντας ὡστε μη ἐκφυγειν
dιεθειροντοιςπολλοι

35 φορικωσαποτουεισταυβαιν[.]τους
tουσενταξιεισεστατο
αλληλων

πανουτρατις φι

_πανουτρατις φι

_πανουτρατις φι

4. 1. πανουτρατις φι

5. 1. πανουτρατις φι

5. 4. σιν ἄποστολον κακον ια

5. 5. [ὑποτιοπήσαντες] [ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπο-

5. 7. ξυεβησαν τοις Πλαταιοις συνε-

6. 1. βουλεύσωσι περὶ αὐτων

6. 4. σιν τε ἐσήνεν[.]σιν εἰς τοιούτῳ λέγει

7. 2. Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικυονίας εἰσπέμματε, φησιν Ο Θεοκυνιδῆς, καὶ τοῖς Ἰτα-

7. 1. Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικυονίας εἰσπέμματε, φησιν Ο Θεοκυνιδῆς, καὶ τοῖς Ἰτα-

7. 4. σιν τε ἐσήγαγον[.]σιν εἰς τοιούτῳ λέγει

15 παρεστασαν[.]ονα[.]

16 ἐγκαταλεξακι[.]κελλας ει

17 [φησιν Ο Θεοκυνιδῆς, καὶ τοῖς Ἰτα-

18 [φησιν Ο Θεοκυνιδῆς, καὶ τοῖς Ἰτα-

19 [φησιν Ο Θεοκυνιδῆς, καὶ τοῖς Ἰτα-

20 εἰστιν τροπομαχιανουθε[.]κειθενπαρεκκλειπτε[.]
ναυσησυμμαχησαντας[.....] ναις ἡ συμμαχήσαντας, [εἴ μὴ ἐν' ἐ-
σχάτοις] ἀπὸ Συρακουσῶν[.....] ἐς τὸν Ἱωνίαν τὰς μεθ' [Ἐ] μοικράτιος.

7. 3. ὁρντες εἰ σφυνι· ἐγκλιτεον 
δῶν οὖν τε δει σφυειν [τὸν τόκον, 
pολλάκις δὲ ἐναντιοῦτα[.....] 
περὶ τὰς μεταβάσεις τῶν δι. 

8. 1. ἀρχόμενοι γ[α]ρ πάντες ἠξυτεροιον ἀν-
tιλαμβάνουται: δῆλον ὡς [οὐ κατα-
πεληγμένοι οὐδ' οὐκ [ακουσίων ὑπ[ο[ ἀπειρίας 
ἡπτετο τοῦ πολέμου γλυκ[ὺς ἀπείροισιν ὥς φη[σι Πίνδαρος.

8. 2. πολλὰ δὲ χρησμολόγοι ἢδοιν: 

One or more columns lost.

Col. vii (= C col. i).

[.....]σαντισπολλακικαίδι > (11. 4.) [.....] ἐκ μικρᾶ 
[.....] ἐξῆλθονκαισυνεβα[.....] ἐξῆλθον καὶ συνέβα-

11. 7. [καὶ οἱ λογισμοί] τοῦ ἐλάχιστα. χρώμενοι 
[θυμίῳ πλείστα ἐς ἐργοῦν καθόστατα-
[tai: οἱ ἀλργοστόλοιτε [τολμηρό-
tατοι, ἐξόρμησι γὰρ τὰ πάθη[.....] 
[.....] τοὺς τοῦ οὐκ[.....] τῶν 
[.....] ἐξόρμωσιν.

11. 9. [καὶ] μεγίστην δόξαν οἰσομενοι 
τοῖς τε προγόνοις καὶ υἱῶν αὐτῶι 
[ἐπ' ἀμφότερα ἐκ τῶν ἀναβαίνων-

[.....] μοιελαχισταχρώμενοι > [καὶ οἱ λογισμῷ ἐλάχιστα χρώμενοι 
[καὶ μεγίστην δόξαν οἰσόμενοι 
[τοῖς τε προγόνοις καὶ υἱῶν αὐτῶι.
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[Ὡν εἰμή προσέκειτο τὸ ἐπ᾽ ἀμφότερα ἔκατερον ὀφθῆτε.]

10 [ἡμικαὶ χρηματοπιστία τῶν ἐν στίχοις τοῖς ἡμείς καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι ἡ χρηστήν ἐκ τῶν ἀποβαινόν τῶν ὁποῖον ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργαντῶν ἔκατερον ὄφθητε.]

12. 3. [Ἀκεδαμιαμονωνὶ ἐκστρατευομένων ἐκδίκησε ἡ πέτα Ἰερισβεῖα ἔδεχοντο πρεσβείας πολεῖν ἐκεῖνοι πίπτοντες στράτευσαι ἐπ᾽ οἴκος ἀναχωρῆσαι ἔπειτα ἐπεὶ κόσμημα Ἰαρεπεὶκοσμη ὡς τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπεὶ κόσμημα ἰαμηγεμίναι ἡμ᾽ ἡγεμόνεσσι.]

Col. viii (= C col. ii).
13. 4. [ἐν τε ἀναθήμασιν ίδιοϊς καὶ δημο-[
σίοις ..................] [.] νωτ[...]

7 lines lost.

13. 6. καὶ περαιρητον:

Col. ix (= D with Fr. 1).

[.] καὶ τῶν παρ' ἐπαλξιν' τῶν φυλα-
[.]σαίνων τὰ τείχη ἑφ' ὁν αἱ ἐπάλξεις.

13. 7. [τοῦ] οὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐφόλασσον ὑπὸ τε τῶν[
[.] πρεποῦτατων ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν[
[.] πρεποῦτατων, ὡς δαίδων ὑπὸ[
[.] λαμπομενάων.

τοῦ τε [γ]άρ Φαληρικοῦ τεῖχους στάδι-
οι ἦσαν [π]ροτε [κ]αὶ τριάκοντα πρὸς[
[.] τοῦ [κύκλων τοῦ ἡμέρας ἐγκατατέρι τε[
[.] τοῦ Φαληρίως ἀπαριθμεῖται δὲ τοῦτο ὡς[...]

[.] τοῦ κέλευξαν ἢ ἢ [β'] τεῖχῃ τὸ[
[.] ἐκατονθέται ἡμείς [.] ἡμείς [.] ὡς[...]

[.] ἀπαριθμεῖται δὲ [το]
τοδιαστημα[.]ποτουφαληρρ[.]νυ
αχριτουκυ[.]μουσαστεωσ[.]υκλον
δελεγειτουνν[.]ιβολοντουαι[.]εοι.
 [...]αιταλινουπουνηνε[.]ει[...]
 [...]χριτουκυκλον
 [...]μυνχ[.]αι λ[.]μνα[...]
 το διαστημα [αι]πο τοι Φαληρ[.]κ[.]ουν
 δὲ [ειρε] τοι κυκ[.]λον τοι άστεως, [κ[.]υκλον
dε [λεγει] τοι π[ειρατο] λον τοι [οισ]εοις,
 [...καi παλιν υποσουν ει [κ[.]π]ηρατε-
 [ως] [αι]ροι τοι κυκλον.
 [...]μυνχ[.]αι λ[.]μνα[...]
 [καρτικής]

About 3 lines lost.

Fr. 1.

22 ἐυβοῖο[...
αλλ[...
 25 καγαρ[...
εΤ[.]Χασο[...
[.]ετο[...
...οι[...

.Col. x (= E col. i).

15. 1. [Ἐλευσίνιοι] μετ’ Ἐυμὸ[λπου]...
 [...ἐν Ἐρε[.]θεὶ Εὐριπίδης ...]
 [...]

15. 2. ἡ [πάντων] ἡ[πι]ντελοντων
ἐς αὐ[τήν]...[...]με[λοντα]...

15. 4. το ἐν Δ[μαινα]ς Διονύσου[...] Καλλίμαχος
μεν φ[ησιν] εὐ δὲ Διονυ[...]...
[...] τον [το]’ Ἐλευθήρ ει[. Διμναίρ[...
[ [...]Χοροστασίας ἡγον ἕ[ρτας]...
[...]φησιν καλείσθαι...
[...]το ἐκκλη[.]μνάσθαι τον τόπον...
[...]τοι εὐδασθαί εἰ ἐν τῇ Δακωνίᾳ ἱερόν...
[...]καὶ ἐν Ἐλευθήρ[.]...
[...]το [...]το αρχαίοτα Διονύσια...
 [...ἐπι τοι[...] επί τρεῖς μέν[...]...

[...]
καὶ εἶ τι ἄλλο βεβαιῶς κληστὸν ἦν·  
καὶ εἶ τι ἄλλο δισφαλῶς.

Col. xi (= E col. ii. with Fr. 2).

κατατηνχωραν· ἀ Scientology
κατατηνχωραν· ἀ Scientology
[15.1] καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἀϊσφαλῶς· ἔστω· καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἀϊσφαλῶς· ἔστω.  

10 lines lost.
17. 4. [ἔξαρτόντες] μεταφορικῶς ἀπὸ τῶν πλοίων λέγεται θαυμασμένος οἱ ἑρετεῖς ἑτοίμως διοίκησιν πρὸς τὴν κόμην.

18. 3. [ἐν τῇ ξυναγωγῇ τοῦ] πολέμου μαθηματικῶς ἡ λακός οἱ ἑρετεῖς καὶ ἢ ἑρετεῖς καὶ ἡ λαῖκας η ἑρετεῖς καὶ ἡ λαῖκας.

18. 5. [τὸν 'Αρχίδαμον ἐν τῇ] καθέδρᾳ εἰς ἔξοδον συναγωγῇ τοῦ πολέμου παρὰ ἑρετεῖς καὶ ἡ ἑρετεῖς καὶ ἡ λαῖκας.

19. 2. [καὶ τροπήν τινα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων περὶ τοὺς 'Πειτους καλοὺς ἐποιήσαντο] ἔποιησαντο ἐποιήσαντο.

Some lines lost (?).
καὶ επαινεῖσθαι τὸν ἐνεστῶτα ἀντὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς.

20. 4. καὶ ἐπανεύρισκον ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ἑκάστου τῆς γῆς τεμνίων: ὑπὲρβατόν ἐστιν, τὸ γὰρ ἑξῆς αὐτῶν δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα διὰ μέσου.

21. 2. ἀλλὰ αὐτοῖς ὡς εἰκὸς τῆς [γ]ῆς τεμνεῖσθαι τὸ ἑκάστου, τὸ γὰρ ἐξῆς αὐτοῖς δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο, τάδ᾽ Αἰλλα διὰ μέσου.

21. 3. κατὰ δεξιάσεις τῆς γυναικείας πολεμικῆς, συνιστάμενοι, συστρεφόμενοι κατὰ μέρη.

22. 2. ἐν Φυργίοις: τῶν ἄρησος δήμου Ἀθηναίων, τέλει ἐν τῶν ἱππεῶν τάγματι, ὡς μὲν δόρπον ἔλεσθε κατὰ στραϊτῶν ἐν τελέσσι.
Some columns lost.

Col. xiv (= G col. i).

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[.......]βητησαν[...]μισό

[.......]σιτομαραθωνα

[.......]φισο

[.......]δρπολλοναρτασ

[.......]εφτεκαχειρονει

[.......]ναι και μηνυει

[.......]σον[.......]απο

[.......]ντασαρετασκυνδυνεπ

[.......]πονικακακωστουον

[.......]οπιστευεσθαιον

[.......]πη

[.......]μετριωσετετειν

[.......]καικανωσ

[.......]οκησιοστησαλη

[.......]υσκολονεστων

[.......]πραγματιμο

[.......]ασυπολη

[.......]αιδυσκολον

[.......]πιστεται

[.......]ονπραγμα

[.......]δοξακαι

[.......]τοντι

[.......]λεοναξε

[.......]πνεαν

[.......]οουντεσ

[.......]μουει

[34. 5. [...] τετελευτηκότων. ἄρσε-

[35. 1. [...] καὶ μή ἐν ἑνὶ ἀνδρὶ πολλῶν ἀρετὰς

[35. 2. [...] μετρῖως εἰπεῖν

[35. 3. [...] και Ικανωσ

[34. 6. [...] τοὺ πράγματι ποιεῖται

[35. 4. [...] εὐφόριοι.

[35. 5. [...] καὶ μη ἐν ἑνὶ καὶ μὴ ἐν ἑνὶ...
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[τες ἐδ εἶν κ τον οἶ πῷς... ηγεῖται]

[πειρᾶσθαι ὑμῶν τῆς ἑκάστου βουλή-]

[πλείστον... ἑκάστον]

4 lines lost.

Col. xv (= G col. ii).

[δίκαιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ πρέπον δὲ...]

[δίκαιον πάλ... ἑκάστου]

37. 1. καὶ ὅνωμα μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ᾽ ἐς πλείους... διοικεῖσθαι τὰ πράγματα ἀλλὰ τοιοῦτον λεγεῖ...
THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

διατηρατε[.]...] μετομοι
25 [...] κ[.]...ε[.]... ] ητατεβ [.]...[.]... ] ητατεβ
[.]...[.]... ] ηκαστοσ[.]...[.]... ] ηνομου
[.]...[.]... ] ηαρετη >
[.]...[.]... ] σ
30 [...]...[.]... ] τοκουνον
[.]...[.]... ] ιπροσ >
[.]...[.]... ] καθ[.]... ] κανεπητη
[.]...[.]... ] ψιατ[.]... ] ιοργησ >
[.]...[.]... ] δοη[.]... ] δωτιεχουν
35 [...]...[.]... ] σφησιποι[.]... ] τευμεθα
[.]...[.]... ] ψουκαη[.]... ] σαλλη >
[.]...[.]... ] αθημερανεπιτη >
[.]...[.]... ] χυποπτευσουντεσ

Col. xvi (= G col. iii). Plate IV.

to[.]... ] ασουδρηγ [.]
πρ[.]... ] ϐονητ [.]
ουδε[.] ] εμου [.]
οψ[.] ] αθηδονα [.]
tov [. ]... ] αχθομενοκαιβασκασων τεσπ[.]... ] αλλωνηθουνασδιατελουμεν

ανεπα[.]... ] οδηαειαδιπροσομμουν
tεσταθ [. ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ] ονουνμουνασσαλιστανου
tεραν [. ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... ]... }
Col. xvii (=G col. iv).

Plate IV.

ant

...]οςκινδυνουσ

[... ]ιστ[... ]ιτωνιδων

[... ]ακαιεστοικαι

[... ]αντασμακανον[... ]

[... ]ρουστοναιεικακοπαθουντων

[...]θανενθαιμενγηγελακωνονσαιει

τονειντονωνιονωνηναγαγακαι

ζωναιδαιναιοιπαρατουσκιν

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λευτο[... ]θα.

tων τε αι[... ]ι ειν αρχην άντων άκροάσει.

τω κατ[... ]ακουει και[... ]πειθεθαι τοις

άρξωνυιν.

38. 1. και θυσιαις διετησιοις οιον δι οι ου τοι

το λυπηρον εκπλησσει εξαιρεται,

εξαγει.

39. 1. την τα γαρ [πολιν κοινην παρεχο-

μεν ακ[... ]λειακεδαιμοιουνος

ανεμενουνος διαετησιοθα ονκ αντι

τοις ταμος] οιδα άθεωσ.

39. 4. καιτοι ει [μαθαιμα μαλλον ἢ πόνων

μελετη] και] μη μετα νόμουν το πλε-

ουν] τρπον ους άνδρεις έθελομεν

κυνυνεοιν] περιγιγνυται ήμαι

tois τη] με]λλομεν άλγειαις ομη

προκαμνεισι] καιεσαυταινοιμεν

μηατολμι]ους τους αιει μοχθον-

τους φαίνεσθαι οιμενγαρικωνεσαι

καιτοι ει] μαι]ς εη 

κακοπαθουντων

φαίνεσθαι οις μεν γαρ Λάκωνες αιει

πονειν ὑπὸ των νόμων ήναγκαζομε

νου άλλα δια την έμφυτον[...] άνδρει.
δύνους ἐπονοῦτο.

10 πλούτωτερον ἐπιθυμοῦσιν
γυναικείς χρηματοκινοῦν τις πλούτους
ἐπιθυμοῦσιν. Ἡ γυναικείας χρηματοκινοῦσα
καὶ τοῖς πλούτους ὑπὲρ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἡμᾶς
δύνουσιν.

15 σχηματίζοντο τοις πολιτικοῖς ἐπιμελεῖται.
τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἐπιμελεῖται ἡ συνεφαρμενεῖ.

20 εὐθύς ἀντικρίζει ἢ κρίνει ὀρθῶς τὰ πράγματα.
καὶ ἄλλοις ἄλλας ἀλλαγῆς μὲν 
ἐπισκοποῦντο. ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλαγῆς μὲν 
ἐπισκοποῦντο. ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλαγῆς μὲν 
ἐπισκοποῦντο. ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλαγῆς μὲν 
ἐπισκοποῦντο. ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλαγῆς μὲν 
ἐπισκοποῦντο. ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλαγῆς μὲν 
ἐπισκοποῦντο. ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλαγῆς μὲν 
ἐπισκοποῦντο. ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλαγῆς μὲν 
ἐπισκοποῦντο. ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλαγῆς μὲν 
ἐπισκοποῦντο. ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλαγῆς μὲν 
ἐπισκοποῦντο. ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλαγῆς μὲν 
ἐπισκοποῦντο. ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλαγῆς μὲν 
ἐπισκοποῦντο. ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλαγῆς μὲν 
ἐπισκοποῦντο. ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλαγῆς μὲν 
ἐπισκοποῦντο. ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλαγῆς μὲν 
ἐπισκοποῦντο. ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλαγῆς μὲν 
ἐπισκοποῦντο. ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλαγῆς μὲν 
ἐπισκοποῦντο. ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλαγῆς μὲν 
ἐπισκοποῦντο. ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλαγῆς μὲν 
ἐπισκοποῦντο. ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλαγῆς μὲν 
ἐπισκοποῦντο. ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλαγῆς μὲν 
ἐπισκοποῦντο. ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλαγῆς μὲν 
ἐπισκοποῦ

35 ὁποῖοι ἢ ὁποῖα ἢ ὁποῖοι
καὶ ἢ ὁποῖοι

Col. xviii (= G col. v).

λο[3]
θ[ι]

λο[3]γισμὸς δὲ ὁδικοῦν γέρειν: 
θ[ι]
μετί
μωμὶ
ἀνθρὶ
ἀμαλὶ
μενοὶ
σιναφὶ
οντεσὶ
απειρὶ
ἀδεωστὶ
καικαθὲκ
αυτοναῖ
κεσπαρὲξ
αὐθναῖο
πλειστὰε
τωσμαλὶ
εἰσαυτὸν
παρασχὸ
τουευκὸ
μονηγαρτὶ
σώνεστειρὶ
κρεισσωνὶ
ιγαρπε
γωνευτὶ
καμωνὴ
tωνοικα
δεστερω
τωνπη
αρχησοῦ
οντετεινῆ
αποκοινῆ
tοεχειουὴ
cατάμεμψι
μετί
μωμὶ
ἀνθρὶσι
ἀμαλὶσι
μενοὶσι
σιναφὶσι
οντεσὶσι
απειρὶσι
ἀδεωστὶσι
καικαθὲκσι
αυτοναῖσι
κεσπαρὲξσι
αὐθναῖοσι
πλειστὰεσι
τωσμαλὶσι
εἰσαυτὸνσι
παρασχὸσι
τουευκὸσι
μονηγαρτὶσι
σώνεστειρὶσι
κρεισσωνὶσι
ιγαρπεσι
γωνευτὶσι
καμωνὴσι
tωνοικασι
δεστερωσι
tωνπησι
αρχησοῦσι
οντετεινῆσι
αποκοινῆσι
tοεχειουὴσι
cατάμεμψισι

40. 5. ἀδεῶς τίνα ὡφελοῦμεν . . . . . . .
41. 1. καὶ καθ’ ἐξιστοῦ δοκεῖν ἂν μοι τὸν
ἀυτὸν ἄνθρωπον παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πλεί-
στ’ ἂν εἰδ[η] καὶ μετὰ χαρίτων μάλι-
στ’ ἂν εὔτραπέλως τὸ σῶμα αὐτὰρ-
κες παρέχεσθαι . . . . . . . . . . .

Some columns lost.
Col. xix (=H).

45. 2. [ὁ δόξα καὶ ἡ ἀν ἐπ᾽ ἐλάχιστον ἅρπεται κλέος ἢ
[πέρι ἡ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἀρετίας ἀρρενίσκεται κλέος ἢ
[πέρι ἡ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἀρετίας ἀρρενίσκεται κλέος ἢ
[πέρι ἡ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἀρετίας ἀρρενίσκεται κλέος ἢ
[πέρι ἡ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἀρετίας ἀρρενίσκεται κλέος ἢ
[πέρι ἡ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἀρετίας ἀρρενίσκεται κλέος ἢ
[πέρι ἡ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἀρετίας ἀρρενίσκεται κλέος ἢ
[πέρι ἡ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἀρετίας ἀρρενίσκεται κλέος ἢ
[πέρι ἡ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἀρετίας ἀρρενίσκεται κλέος ἢ
[πέρι ἡ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἀρετίας ἀρρενίσκεται κλέος ἢ
[πέρι ἡ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἀρετίας ἀρρενίσκεται κλέος ἢ
[πέρι ἡ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἀρετίας ἀρρενίσκεται κλέος ἢ

Unplaced Fragments.

(a) To Cols. i-vi.

Fr. 3.

κρ[π[]
καὶ[νο[]
ἐξερχε[ί]
καὶ[π[]
]

Fr. 3.

κρ[π[]
καὶ[νο[]
ἐξερχ[ε[]
καὶ[π[]
]
(b) To Cols. viii–xiii.

Fr. 4. Fr. 5. Fr. 4. Fr. 5.

| ιατρίδα | ... | (?) πιατρίδα | ... |
| ασαρτς | τη | ασ ἄρτας | τη |
| δετη | ας | δε τη | ας |
| στυνο | σ | εστιν ο | ... |

5 σαρτ | ... | σαρτ | ...

Fr. 6. Fr. 7. Fr. 8. Fr. 6. Fr. 7. Fr. 8.

| ένοι | α | ένοι | α |
| κατε | > | κατε | ... |
| νδια | αι | ν δια | αι |

(c) To Cols. viii–xix.

Fr. 9. Fr. 10. Fr. 9. Fr. 10.

| ... | ... | ... | ... |
| περ | μαζ | περ | μαζ |
| εσο | ητοστι | εσο | ητοστι |
| ντοφ | ντοφδ | ντοφ | ντοφδ |

5 αυ | ντεσ | αυ | ντεσ |


| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| τοματν | μι | τοματν | μι |
| ποιέτ | η | ποιέτ | η |
| τλ | τλ | τλ | τλ |
(d) To Cols. xiv–xix.

Fr. 14 (to col. xv?).

| 1 | [νο][κ]
| 2 | [ντο][ι][σ]
| 3 | [του][δ]
| 4 | [ται]

Fr. 15.

| 1 | [ε][ο][ι]
| 2 | [σα][λη]
| 3 | [ε]
| 4 | [ται]

Fr. 14.

| 1 | [ν][κ]
| 2 | [ν][το][ι][σ]
| 3 | [σ][ο][ν][ε]
| 4 | [το][ι][δ]

Fr. 15.

| 1 | [ε][ο][ι]
| 2 | [σ][α][λη]
| 3 | [ε]
| 4 | [το][ι][δ]

(e) Uncertain.

Fr. 16.

| 1 | [ρ][κ]
| 2 | [μα][τ]
| 3 | [ν][η][σ]
| 4 | [νυ][τ]
| 5 | [δο][τ]

Fr. 17.

| 1 | [κα][λη][ν]
| 2 | [υ][το][σ]
| 3 | [ν][α][σ]
| 4 | [νυ][π]
| 5 | [δο][τ]

Fr. 16.

| 1 | [κα][λη][ν]
| 2 | [μα][τ]
| 3 | [ν][η][σ]
| 4 | [νυ][π]
| 5 | [δο][τ]

Fr. 17.

| 1 | [κα][λη][ν]
| 2 | [μα][τ]
| 3 | [ν][η][σ]
| 4 | [νυ][π]
| 5 | [δο][τ]

Fr. 18.

| 1 | [ε][λο][ι]
| 2 | [σ][ι][α]
| 3 | [α]

Fr. 19.

| 1 | [ε][λο][ι]
| 2 | [σ][ι][α]
| 3 | [α]

Fr. 20.

| 1 | [σ][ι][α]
| 2 | [ρ]

Fr. 21.

| 1 | [α][σ][ι]
| 2 | [ρ][ι]
| 3 | [α][φ][ο]
| 4 | [μ][η]

Fr. 22.

| 1 | [α][σ][ι]
| 2 | [ρ][ι]
| 3 | [α][φ][ο]
| 4 | [μ][η]

Fr. 23.

| 1 | [α][σ][ι]
| 2 | [ρ][ι]
| 3 | [α][φ][ο]
| 4 | [μ][η]
853. COMMENTARY ON THUCYDIDES II

Fr. 24. Fr. 25. Fr. 24. Fr 25.
[ε][ε] [ε][ε] [ε][ε] [ε][ε]
[τ][τ] [τ][τ] [τ][τ] [τ][τ]
[μ][μ] [μ][μ]
.
.
.
.

i. 1–3. A note on ἐνθένδε. δὲ μοι καὶ (so W(ilmowitzi)-M(üllendorf) and Bury) τὸ ἔθνα means that ἔθνα is sometimes used in a temporal sense like ἐνθένδε. Cf. Hesych. s.v. ἔθνα and Bekker, Anecd. i. p. 250. 32 ἐνθένδε ἦτοι τοπικόν ἐστιν... ἢ χρονικὸν... Our author, interpreting ἐνθένδε in a temporal sense, thus avoided the wrong explanation of it given by Schol., ἀπὸ τῆς τῆς τῆς αἰτίας.

6–7. [γέγραπται δ᾽ : so most MSS. (δέ), Stuart Jones; καὶ γέγραπται C, Hude. For the alternative reading θέρη... χειμῶνας there is no MS. authority, and it may be merely due to θέρη καὶ χειμῶνας in 1. 15.

i. 7–iv. 1. Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his treatise on Thucydides blames Thucydides on a few grounds, and discusses three chief points, first that he has not fixed his dates by archons and Olympiads, like other historians, but according to a system of his own by summers and winters; secondly that he has disturbed and divided the narrative and breaks up the events, not completing his accounts of the several incidents, but turning from one subject to another before he has finished with it; and thirdly that although he declares, as the result of his own elaborate examination, the true cause of the war to be this, that it was precaution against the power of the Athenians which induced the Lacedaemonians to make war on them, not really the Corcyrean or Potidaean affairs or the causes generally alleged, nevertheless he does not begin at the point which he has chosen and start with the events which led to the growth of Athens after the Persian war, but reverts to the commonly accepted causes. Such is Dionysius’ view; but in opposition to this rash criticism one might reasonably retort that... For the system of dating by archons and Olympiads had not yet come into common use... (it was impossible) to relate Platanean affairs from first to last, and then go back to describe all the invasions of the Peloponnesians one after the other, and Corcyrean affairs continuously, differing as they did in date; for he would have thrown everything into confusion, or turned back again to periods which he had treated, in a fashion both unsuitable and unreasonable. For he was not dealing with a single subject or events at one time or one place, but with many subjects in many places and at many periods. Moreover, even if he had dated by archons, he would still have been obliged to divide the events, for these occurred some under one archon, some under another; it is when a person is only writing about a single subject that his narrative is continuous throughout. Hence Dionysius contradicts himself; for even if Thucydides ought to have dated by the archons, as he asserts, he would have been equally obliged to divide events according to the archons. If, however, the events are connected and the chronology offers no obstacle, Thucydides’ narrative is continuous, as for instance... in the seventh book... As for the charge that Thucydides has not made the beginning of his history start with the growth of the Athenians, which he asserts was the truer cause of the war, in the first place it must be remarked that it was not his intention, after setting out to write a history of the Peloponnesian war, to introduce by way of a supplement several other wars since the Persian war itself, which may almost be regarded as the origin of the growth of Athens; for that would have lain altogether outside
his subject. Secondly it must be remembered that it is the duty of every historian to
describe accurately first of all the obvious and commonly alleged causes of events, and if he
suspects the existence of any more obscure reasons (to add these afterwards . . .).'

i. 8-9. ἐν τῷ περὶ Θουκυδίδου[...]
ii. 7-8. The restorations διάθεσις (or διαίρεσις) and οὔπω ἐγεγόνει are due to Bury, who in
ll. 8-9 suggests οὐ κοινὸς λογισμὸς ἢ (cf. 1. 4).

iii. 3-5. ἐφεξῆς and συνεχῶς were suggested by W-M and Bury. τῇ ζ’ presumably
refers to the seventh, not the sixth, book of Thucydides. That in reckoning the eight books
our author’s notation followed the letters of the alphabet, as in the books of Homer, rather
than the numerals is unlikely, though cf. iii. 10-5, note. The existing division of Thucydides’
work into eight books was already known to Dionysius, who mentions the eighth in op. cit.
c. 16, and though there were other ancient divisions of the work into nine or thirteen books,
our author no doubt agreed with Dionysius in employing the system which Marcellinus (Vit.
Thuc. 58), quoting Asclepius, calls ἡ πλείστη καὶ ἡ κοινὴ.

5-6. Bury suggests τὰ Σικελικὰ διηγεῖται.

8. The absence of a diaeresis above ἱκα makes it probable that the preceding letter
was a consonant, e. g. Σικελικαί rather than Πλατακαί. It does not seem possible to find
a suitable second adjective ending in ικαί, for Θραικικά cannot be read, although the
supposed o is very uncertain. κατοικίαν or some part of κατοικίζειν is more probable,
especially κατίοικα.. καὶ could be read in l. 7. ἰποι there seems to be an optative, possibly
συνε[...]κα. In ll. 9-10 something like ἐ(κ) πολλάκις...
10–5. The restorations in ll. 12–3 are due to Bury. It is tempting to read ἱστορίαν in l. 14, but the stroke above τ must then be ignored, for it is not a rough breathing. Since Herodotus' history contained only nine books, it in this context seems to mean the ninth book, the notation following the letters of the alphabet, while προκειμένη indicates that it had just been mentioned, possibly in l. 12. But the narrative in the ninth book is particularly free from μεταβάσεις, and we should expect the ninth book to be called θ’ (cf. iii. 3–5, note), so that the suggested explanation is not satisfactory. The passage in Dionysius which our author seems to have had in his mind is in op. cit. c. 9 (p. 336) ὠντε γὰρ τοῖς τόποις ἐν ὦι αἱ πράξεις ἐπελεύθησαν ἀκολουθοῦν ἔμψυχε τάς διηγήσεις, ὡς Ἵροδότου τε καὶ Ἐλλάνδους κτλ.; cf. also the praise of Herodotus in c. 5.

iv. 4–5. d[η]α με[ν]α: there is probably a reference, as Dr. J. E. Sandys suggests, to what Quintilian (v. 12. 14) calls the Homeric dispositio (cf. l. 6 'Ομηρος'; i.e. placing the weakest part of one's rhetorical forces in the middle (ll. iv. 297–300); cf. Cic. Orator 50, Cornificius, Rhet. iii. 10, 18, Quintil. vii. i. 10.


15–7. The restorations in ll. 16–7 are by W–M. The Homeric quotation is from B 504.

18–31. This note is out of place and should have preceded that in ll. 15–7. In l. 27 τιμεσις is possible, but the doubtful letter is more like ο.

33–5. The first part of this note on θέμενοι, as was perceived by W–M and Bury, refers to the use of the middle for the active, θρεψάμενοι being added as a parallel.

v. 1. ἀπὸ τοῦ περιθέμενοι: ἀπὸ τοῦ περιθέμενοι is wrongly explained by Schol. ἀντὶ τοῦ περιθέμενοι ἑαυτοῖς. "Ομηρος' σακε ὀμοίων έθεσεν. ἀνόητον yap k.r.A. The correct interpretation given by our author is supported by Schol. Aeschin. i. 29 τα ὑπα τοῦ τίθεσθαι το τίθεσθαι λέγεται καὶ εἰς τοῦ ἀποτίθεσθαι τα ὑπα καὶ εἰς τοῦ περιτίθεσθαι και ἐνδυσθα, ὡς εγρομεν εν τοις Θουκυδιδείων εν τῇ β'. ἐνταβα δε ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀποτίθεσθαι (corr. to περιτίθεσθαι by Reiske, but wrongly) λέγει.

5. χρῆσθαι: χρήσασθαι MSS.


12. εἰς: είς MSS., which, however, have the form ηςαν or ηςαν here as elsewhere in place of the more correct ησαν (i.e. ηςαν) found in our author's text. Cf. the first century Thucydides papyrus from Oxyrhynchus (16), which in iii. 7 has απηιεσαν with the variant απηισαν. The object of the note is to distinguish the Attic ησαν with iota adscript from may as a trisyllable, the form found in Homer, &c.

17–9. This is the only place where Thucydides uses the masculine form of σκότος; the neuter occurs in Thuc. iii. 23 and viii. 42. The Clarendonianus and Aeneas Tact. 2 have σκότει in the present passage, but the papyrus supports the overwhelming majority of the MSS.

21–2. εφρυγεν: ο so Parisinus 1735; εφρυγεν other MSS. The papyrus text agrees with most MSS. in reading οι πολλοι in place of πολλοι, the reading of A, which is preferred by many recent editors, but not by Stuart Jones. The construction of τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν is difficult, and has been explained in several ways. Classen connects the words with ἐμπείρους, which is the most satisfactory view, while Poppo constructs them with διωκόντας as an infinitive of purpose 'in order that they might not escape', and Krüger regarded the phrase as expressing the effect 'so that they could not escape', an explanation which produces a tautology with the following words ὥστε διεφθειρότατοι οἱ πολλοί. Hude, following Herwerden, would omit τοῦ μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν altogether. Our author's criticism is not very illuminating. He remarks that either ὥστε is redundant (ll. 22–6) or else τοῦ should be omitted and ὥστε put in its place. Since he renders τοῦ μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν by εἰς τοῦ μὴ ἐκφυγείν in the one case, and ὥστε μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν in the other, both his interpretations approximate to that of Krüger rather than the rival explanations (unless εἰς τό means 'in respect of', in which case our author's first
explanation agrees with Classen's), but both seem to rest upon a misapprehension of the construction of the whole sentence. For the omission of ὥστε or the transference of it to the place occupied by τοῦ would have the effect of leaving διεφθείροντο without any construction, unless indeed in our author's text a fresh sentence began where the MSS. have ἄπειροι μὲν δοτείς connected with what precedes. No variant, however, upon μὲν in that passage is known, and it is more likely that our author simply misunderstood the sentence.

30. στύρακι: στυρακίῳ MSS.; but there is possibly a reference to the reading of the papyrus in Cramer, Anecd. Par. iii. p. 84. 3 τῶν σαυρωτήρα στύρακα φησί Θουκυδίς. With the note cf. Schol. στυρακίων ἕστιν ὁ καλούμενος σαυρωτήρ τῶν δοράτων, Hesychius στύρακε...ὁ σαυρωτήρ τοῦ βάτεως, and the similar explanations in other lexicographers.

33. συνέθεντο: cf. Schol. ἀπὸ συνθήκης δηλονότι.

vi. 1-2. The lacuna at the end of l. 1 may have contained another parallel for πανστρατιώ, e.g. πανοικία (cf. x. 31) or πανδημεί, or, as W–M suggests, ἀπὸ παρ'. Ὀμήρον πανοικία. If παρ' in l. 2 is right, πᾶσση τῆς στρατιᾶς is a natural restoration, but this is rather long, and the reading παρ' (e.g. παρ' θεοῦ πολεμίζω, πανδημεί) is not excluded. The meaning, if any, of the stroke in the margin against l. 2 is obscure. There is in the top margin another stroke /, which seems to be accidental.

3. It is of course doubtful whether κακοῦ (or τοῦ κακοῦ as conjectured by Bredow and Baumeister) occurred in the lemma, which may have ended with ἀπροσδοκήτου.

6-7. Perhaps καὶ κυρίων ὡς...τινες λέγοναι, as Bury suggests, meaning that this use of υποτοπέω was not confined to Attic. To the doubtful κ the only alternative is τ.

9-10. A note on the dative in place of the genitive after περί. δαμασθείς must belong to a quotation, which would be expected to be from Homer; and though neither of the two instances of δαμασθείς in the Iliad (II 316 θεοῦ πληγῇ καὶ δομῷ δαμἀ, and X 55 ἠν μὴ καὶ σεί βάλῃ ᾿Αχιλῆ δαμ,) is really at all appropriate, W–M nevertheless may be right in restoring δομῶν ᾿Αχιλῆ, and supposing that the latter passage was referred to. Schol. A had noted that the dative there was used for ὑπὸ ᾿Αχιλλέως. A more relevant illustration would be one in which ὑπὸ with the dative was used in place of ὑπὸ with the genitive, but it is difficult to see whence this is to be obtained without altering δαμασθείς. γράφεται (cf. vii, 30) points to a variant upon περί τῶν ἔξω (περί τῶν ἔξω ἢ), though none is known.

11-2. Bury suggests τρόπῳ...τῶι τοιούτωι λέγει δι' ἐκάστῳ: but the letter following δ is much more likely to be a, e, or o than τ.

14-5. The Homeric quotation is from H 467. 16. There is no room for ὡς...τῆς αὐτῶς ὑποτοπέως ἢ τῆς ἀπὸ ἐπιτάξασθαι (ἐπέταξαν) unless the line was exceptionally long, but ὡς might be inserted. It is unfortunate that the text of this passage, in which a well-known difficulty occurs, is not quoted in extenso. The chief MSS. have καὶ δακτυλιώμοιο πρὸς τῶι αὐτῶι ὑποτοπέως ἢ ἐπέταξαν πρὸς τῶι τοῖς ἔξω ποιεῖσθαι, which will not construe. Hude follows Herbst in emending ἐπετάχθησαν to ἐπετάχθη σ', i.e. διακοσίας; Poppo and Stuart Jones read ἐπετάχθη (with apparently one late MS.); Classen preferred the alteration of μανῖ τοῖς νῆες, while Cobet boldly met the difficulty by reading δακτυλιώμοιο...ἐπετέταχεσαν (ἐπέταξαν Böhme). It is impossible to argue with certainty from our author's paraphrase in ll. 16-20 back to his text of Thucydides at this point; but seeing that he ignores any grammatical difficulty, it is improbable that such an anacoluthon as δακτυλιώμοιο...ἐπετέταχεσαν existed in his text. With regard to the various emendations the paraphrase does not favour νῆες in place of νῆες οἱ ἐπετάχθη σ', and with ἐπετάχθη simply a note on the dative of the agent δακτυλιώμοιο would be expected. On the other hand Cobet's δακτυλιώμοιο ἐπετέταχεσαν (οἱ ἐπετάξα) would suit the paraphrase very well, especially as the construction of the sentence would then be quite easy, and no grammatical note would be
necessary. But the great difficulty would still remain of accounting for the origin of the corruption.


25-8. The rules for the accentuation of σφίσι and similar pronouns are given by Herodian, ed. Lenz, i. p. 555 sqq. οτέ μὲν οὖν ἀπολελυμένως λέγονται καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς ἐτερον πρόσωπων ἀντιδιαστέλλονται, ἐγείρουσι τὴν πρὸ αὑτῶν ὀξείαν' ὅτε δὲ κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τι ἐτερον διαστολὴν ἐκφέρονται, ὕστοτονται κ.τ.λ.; cf. the rules quoted in the notes ad loc. from the Homeric scholia. The general sense of the passage seems to be 'σφίσι here is enclitic, for although one ought to keep its accent (τὸν révov W—M) as far as possible, the rule concerning μεταβάσεις (i. e. the reference of a pronoun to another person than the subject of the sentence) often prevents this'. But the lacunae make the whole passage obscure. Modern editors accentuate σφίσι here.

34-5. Cf. Schol. οπὸ ἀπειρίας παρομία, γλυκὸς ἀπείρῳ πόλεμος, Stob. Flor. 50. 3 Πίνδαρος ἑρεχθομένων γλυκὸ δὲ πόλεμος ἀπείρως, Schol. Π. Λ 227 ὡς καὶ Πίνδαρος' γλυκὸς ἀπείρῳ πόλεμος. Schroeder (Fr. 110, ed. 1908) writes γλυκὸ δ᾽ ἀπείρῳ πόλεμος, but this now seems hardly satisfactory in view of the uncertainty of the metre and the agreement of our author with Stobaeus. The precise restoration of the lacuna at the end of l. 34 is uncertain. γλυκ[υ δὲ πό- |] is hardly long enough, but γλυκ[υ γάρ ὅ πο- |] is possible, if our author was not aiming at an exact quotation.

vii. 1. The extent of the gap between Cols. vi and vii cannot be determined by the writing on the recto; cf. introd. p. 108. L. 1—3 are the end of a note on καὶ ἐξ ὀλίγου τὰ πολλὰ καὶ δὲ ἄργη ᾗ ἐνυχρίσεις γέγονοντα in c. ii. 4.

6-9. The restorations are due to W—M.

10. For ὅμως cf. iv. 6. The quotation is from Δ 539.

12-3. προφο[ν]ει is far from certain; the supposed σ is more like ν or τ, but with ὅτι it is difficult to view anything suitable for the previous word. W—M proposes οῆ[ει προφον]ει] τοιοῦτοι κατὰ πόλει[νθ, θυμ[ῶι δ᾽] ἐξορμῶσι. The article is certainly wanted before τοιοῦτοι and there is just room for [ναι] and [ωθ] in the two lacunae, but [ν], though not impossible, is less suitable than [στ]. ᾠλαί might be read in place of κατά, but it is not satisfactory to make ἐξορμῶσι transitive.

15. ὕμως: the papyrus confirms the conjecture of Hude; ἦμως MSS., Stuart Jones.

18. ἰσ[ακο]ν[αι]; or possibly ἰσ[ακο]μ[εν] as W—M suggests; but though κ can be read in place of ν, and the vestige which we regard as the tip of an α might belong to ε or ν or several other letters [ακο]ν[αι] suits the space better, and the author of the commentary does not elsewhere employ the first person plural. With this lengthy note on ἐπ᾽ ἀμφότερα cf. the brief remark of Schol. δέκα ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα καὶ ἐκείλεις καὶ δυκείλεις.

20-1. [ἀρτὶ τοῦ] and [υ[π]ληψ] W—M.

27-8. The Homeric quotation (identified by W—M) is from Γ 1.

29. ἐκστρατευομένων: neither this reading nor ἐκστρατούσωτος, a variant mentioned in l. 30, was known previously, the MSS. all having ἐκστρατευομένων. The perfect middle of this verb is not found elsewhere in Thucydidcs, and the present is quite defensible.

34. ἀμαχη[τε] was suggested by Bury.

37. διαλεύσθαι: διαλεύκασθαι (sic) C, διαλεύκασθαι other MSS., but cf. Schol. διαλεύκασθαι διφορτασθαι τῶν ἄγιων. Thucydidcs employs the future infinitive after μέλλειν somewhat more often than the present, and where the MSS. are divided on the point, e. g. here and in i. 107. 3 and viii. 6-5, editors prefer the future.

viii. 4. Hude proposes to restore the line ἄμα ἄνιν τοῖς ἐκήκουν. 5. The word following ἄγει is probably some part of ἐξελαύνω; cf. Thuc. i. 127. Π τὸ ἄγει ... ἐλαύνειν, to which ii. 4-5 refer.
7-9. Cf. Schol. δῆ χειρός: δι' ἐπιμελείας ἵνα μὴ ἀποστῶσι. ἄει in l. 8 was suggested by Bury.
10. Probably the scribe wrote [κατορθοῖσθαι, for the lacuna is hardly sufficient for six letters.
12. [προσόδωι] and [πορισμῶι] are both too short for the lacuna, which requires 9 or 10 letters. Perhaps κατορθοῖσθαι should be restored in place of κατορθοῖς[θαι, which makes this line rather long.
33-4. Perhaps καθαρίζων ἐλθῇ with καθαρίζων in l. 35, as Hude suggests.
96. καὶ περαιρέων has already been quoted in the lemma in l. 29.
ix. 3-6. The MSS. have τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἐφίλασσον τὸ πρῶτον ὅπως ἐπεὶ πολέμιοι ἐσθίδωμεν ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτάτων καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων καὶ μετοίκων ὅσοι ὑπῆκεν ἡμῖν. The omission of τὸ πρῶτον... ἐσθίδωμεν in the lemma is probably a mere accident, and does not imply that the words were wanting in our author's text, though this seems to have gone astray at this point. The reading ὑπῆκεν, which stood there in place of ἀπὸ, is indefensible if ὑπῆκεν τὸ τῶν πρεσβ. κ.τ.λ. is to be connected with τοσοῦτοι ἐφίλασσον, as our author clearly intended; for ὑπῆκεν cannot be used as equivalent to ἀπὸ in this sense, and the Homeric parallel which he cites, δαίδων ὕπο λαμπομενάων (2 492), is irrelevant, since ὑπῆκεν has its not uncommon sense 'to the accompaniment of'.
18. Μο[υ]νυ[χία : so MSS.; Μουνιχίᾳ Hude, Stuart Jones.
22-8. The position assigned by us to Fr. 1 is not certain. On the one hand the colour and general appearance of the fragment suggest that it belongs to this column, and when placed where it is λιβός at the beginning of a line giving a new entry of the land-survey on the recto of Fr. 1 will come just underneath λιβός at the beginning of another entry which is on the recto of the upper part of Col. ix, while the lines on the recto of the fragment containing the ends of viii. 22-9 (the position of which is fixed) may be the continuation of the lines on the recto of Fr. 1, though there is no certain connexion. The chief objection to the position assigned to Fr. 1 is that on the recto of the upper part of Col. ix there seems to be a junction between two selides, which would be expected to appear also on Fr. 1, but does not. We have, however, been unable to find any suitable place for the lemma in l. 23 commencing ἐξ Ἰχισνοί, except ἐξ Ἰχισνοί in 14. 1, and if that restoration is accepted, the position given to Fr. 1 must be approximately correct. A difficulty arises in l. 26 where ἐξ Ἰχισνοί is a very unsatisfactory combination of letters, and probably there is some corruption. The ekyll projects somewhat to the left, but not enough to justify the inference that it belongs to a lemma.
ἦγον ἑορτάς, and Steph. Byz. Ἁμας ἐνθὰ ὁ Δίονυσός ἐτιμᾶτος Καλλίμαχος Λιμναίῳ δὲ κτλ. (καὶ οἱ λαμπείαν κοιλλ.), W—M, restoring Καλλίμαχος in l. 7, regards the quotation as beginning with εὖ δὲ in l. 8 and containing two complete hexameters, but this view is open to some objections. The restoration Καλλίμαχος at the end of l. 7 implies that 11 letters are lost after διονυσοῖ, whereas elsewhere in this column the corresponding space contains only 5–8 letters. This difficulty can be got over by supposing that Καλλίμαχος was abbreviated, but in l. 9 a similar and more serious obstacle arises; for Λιμναίοι (which is certain) is sufficient by itself to fill the lacuna at the end of the line, and since Ἐλευθήρ will be the conclusion of the first hexameter, the first foot of the second hexameter seems to be reduced to ei. W—M proposes εἴσατο, which makes excellent sense, but involves a supplement of 12 letters in the lacuna. The ε of εἰ has been corrected from a straight stroke (probably ι) but the reading is practicaily certain, η being the only alternative for εἰ and less satisfactory. Bury on the other hand would restore a shorter name than Καλλίμαχος in l. 7 (Δίδυμος?), and regard the Callimachus quotation as beginning with ᾿Ελευθερεῖ, i.e. Ελευθερεῖ. But that Callimachus' name was mentioned in l. 7 (cf. x. 37), and that ll. 8–9 belong to the quotation, seem to us more probable. On Eleuther, the eponymous hero of Eleutherae, who is said to have made the first image of Dionysus subsequently brought by Pegasus to the temple ἐν Λίμναις at Athens, cf. Pauly-Wissowa, Real-encycl. s.v. Dionysos, Eleuther, Eleuthereus.

11–2. Apparently the point of the contrast between this statement and the Callimachus quotation is that according to the latter the temple at Limnae was called after Dionysus as god of marshes in general, while according to the other explanation Limnae was merely a local name. With οὕτος in l. 11 οὗς is the termination of a proper name, e.g. Δίδυμος; but it is possible to read Ἰως δὲ οὗτος, Ἰως being the termination of an adverb or a substantive in the genitive with e.g. διά, οὗτος would however then have to mean Thucydidis, which is not satisfactory.

15. ἀρχαιότατα: ἀρχαιότερα MSS. The reading of the lemma may be a mere error, but is in itself defensible; for accepting Boeckh's view that there were four distinct Dionysiac festivals at Athens, the Greater and Lesser Dionysia, the Anthesteria, and Lenaea, the Anthesteria might be called the 'most ancient' instead of the 'more ancient', i.e. than the Greater Dionysia. Thucydidis' statement that the Anthesteria was a general Ionic festival is intended to prove its high antiquity, and cf. Schol. ἄρχαιοτέρα εἶπε διότι ἔστι καὶ νεώτερα ἄλλο. τῇ 8: so MSS; most modern editors follow Torstrik in regarding the words as a gloss. With a mention of the day μηνός, not ἐν μηνί, would be expected. The papyrus shows, however, that the interpolation, if it be such, is very early. Our author's note concerning the date of the festival is in accord with the extant evidence on the subject; cf. Pauly-Wissowa, Real-encycl. i. p. 2372.

19–20. πλεῖστον: so most MSS., Hude, Stuart Jones; πλεῖστα AB (corr. A 2nd hand), which Torstrik wished to read, omitting ἀδία. With εἰς τὰ κτλ. cf. Schol. λείπει ἡ εἰς, ἦς εἰς τὰ πλείστων ἄδια.

25. There can hardly be any doubt that the lemma ends at ὀλίσκει, although the scribe fails to leave a blank space; cf. x. 7, note. The following words in Thuc. are μετέχοι οἱ Ἀθηναίοι, and the construction of the dative ὀλίσκει with μετέχοι being extremely difficult, some recent editors, including Hude, would omit the latter word. That our author's text had μετέχοι is clear from l. 30, and the difficulty of connecting it with ὀλίσκει is discussed by him in ll. 25–9, but in ll. 25–9, the nature of his explanation is somewhat obscure. Apparently he regarded τῆς στοιχεῖον facts in place of τῆς στοιχείων, for στοιχείων as equivalent to διὰ τῆς αὐτής, thus approximating to the view of Herbst, who explained the dative as instrumental and supplied αὐτής (i.e. τῆς αὐτοῦ ὀλίσκειος); this, however, produces a very redundant construction. If μετά τοῦ μετέχου is rightly restored in l. 25, the beginning of the note seems
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to mean 'τῇ αὖτ. οἰκήσει' goes With μετείχον of ᾿Αθηναῖοι, and διὰ τὴν κατὰ κ.τ.λ. is a distinct remark; if οἱ ᾿Αθηναῖοι with either μετείχον or a different verb in l. 25 be connected with διὰ τὴν κατὰ κ.τ.λ., μετὰ τῆς must be abandoned: ε or ο might be read in place of the doubtful ο. Schol. merely remark that αὐτονόμη αἰκήσει is for αὐτονόμου αἰκήσεως.

29-30. εἴρηται δὲ ῥετριτικοῖς κ.τ.λ. refers to the position of ἐπὶ πολό which is to be connected with μετείχον. τὸ ἓξης (restored by W—M) means 'the grammatical sequence is'; cf. xiii. 7, note.

31. [πα]ν[ο]ικεσία γενόμενοι: so MSS. (v. 1. πανοικεσία); Hude and Stuart Jones follow Lipsius in placing πανοικεσία after οὐ ράδιως. [οι] does not fill up the lacuna, so that το is not the termination of e. g. διεγένοντο, διὰ πανοικίας is possible. Schol. remark πανοικεσία καὶ οὐ πανοικία λέγεται,

35-6. κίαλοῦνται φ[υ]λ[αί] was suggested by Bury and Hude.

36-7. This distinction between σηκός and ναός is also stated by Ammonius: ναὸς καὶ σηκὸς διαφέρει. ὁ μὲν ναὸς ἠπάτη θεϊν, ὁ δὲ σηκὸς ἡρώων. The distinction is not always observed; cf. Liddell and Scott, s. v. σηκός. (The quotation from Callimachus (from the Ἱεκάλες; cf. x. 7, note) is new.

xi. 14-5. The accent of ἄφ' γος points, as W—M perceived, to the restoration of these lines as a quotation of the well-known oracle, which occurs e. g. in Schol. Theocr. xiv. 48. The beginning of the line is commonly cited as γαίης μὲν πάσης, but here γαίης and πάσης have changed places. A difficulty arises in connexion with the reading [γα]ίης, that, since it belongs to the note, not the lemma, there ought to be only one letter lost, but the scribe sometimes begins his lines unevenly (e. g. in ix. 26) and occasionally treats words belonging to the note as if they were part of the lemma (e. g. in xvii. 31). Possibly, however, he wrote [α]ίης.

16. Perhaps διος ὁμήρη.

17. ὡς is given the barytone accent in order to distinguish it from οὗ. The note probably began with something like οὐ διὰ τὸ παράνομω ὁς οἰκεῖν | τοσαύται συμφοραῖς ἐχρήσαντο, as Stuart Jones suggests.

xii. 2-3. The restorations are due to W—M.

5. τομας may have been added in the lemma after μαλακός. The occurrence of ἀθροίσει in the paraphrase indicates that our author explained ξυναγωγῇ as referring to the assemblage of the allies at Sparta not to the conduct of the war, thus agreeing with Herbst against the ordinary view; cf. Classen, ad loc.

6. [.] ε: the vestige of the first letter would suit δ or ι best.

7. Stuart Jones suggests [Ομορφο μαλακός αἰχμή] (P 588).


12. The word before μεταφορικῶς was probably an equivalent of ἀνέκεισε, perhaps ἔμενεν (Bury) or ἐκώλυεν (W—M, who compares Bekker, Anecd. i. p. 400. 7 λέγεται ἀνέκειν καὶ τὸ καλέτειν). In place of τὰ ὅπλα (W—M) Bury suggests χείρας. Line 14 clearly contains a comparison between ἀνοχῇ and ἐκεχειρίᾳ, but the reconstruction is uncertain. There is certainly a letter after ἐκεχειρίᾳ, and the vestige suits ι better than κ. If ἐκεχειρία is nominative plural this may be accounted for by the plural use of ἀνοχαί; if it is dative singular something like [ἀνοχῆ ἴση τῇ ἐκεχειρίᾳ is required. [ἀνοχαί ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκεχειρίας (W—M) would have been more satisfactory.

17. It is tempting to restore οἱ Πετροὶ τῶν [ος | τῆς Ἀττικῆς, but ο does not fill the lacuna before τ. Possibly Πετροὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς should be read, but the letter following το is more like τ than ττ and there is not room for τοῖον τοῦ.

19. Lines 19-32 are on a detached fragment. The writing on the verso confirms the
internal evidence of ll. 24–7 that these lines belong to the lower portion of Col. xii, but the extent of the gap, if any, between ll. 18 and 19 is uncertain.

23. The accent of ἀδε suggests, as W–M remarks, a form like ᾿Ελευσινάδε, but though the letter before ἀδε might be ν, the letter before that is more like ε, σ, or ν than τ.

24. The letter before ναι may be ει instead of η, but ταξάμενον μεῖναι does not suit the size of the initial lacuna, and περιδεῖν τμῆναι is also too long, so that οὐ καταβῆναι is practically certain. To the form βεῖσαι there is no objection, but the word does not seem very suitable in this context. The doubtful δ might be read as φ, γ, or μ.

27–9. The restoration of the beginning of the note is due to W–M, who further suggests ἤδεισαν of Ἀτίτικοι τιθέασιν. but Ἀτίτικοι does not suit the vestiges. For ἐπεξελεύσονται cf. Schol. εἰ ἐπεξίασιν εἰ ἐπεξελεύσονται ὥς Ἀθηναίοι πρὸς πόλεμον.

xiii. 1. This line, restored by Hude, and the next clearly belong to a note on the use of the middle in place of the active in χωρήσεσθαι (c. 20. 4), ἐπαινέσεσθαι being added as an illustration; cf. iv. 32–5. The first two letters of ἐπαινεσίεσθαι have a stroke through them, but this is to be regarded as accidental, not as implying deletion.

7. A note on the construction of αὐτοῖς, which depends on δεῖν ἐφαίνετο after a long interval. The reading εὔξης is not very satisfactory, for the traces of ink suit ο, σ, or τ better than ε, but τὸ ἑξῆς is the technical phrase required here; cf. the close parallel in x. 29–30.

13. ὁρμητο: MSS. are divided between this reading and ὁμμητο (CEG), which according to our author (l. 14) was found 'in some copies', and must have been a very early variant. Editors also differ; Hude and Stuart Jones prefer ὁμμητο.

16. Apart from the present passage in Thuc. Phrygia in Attica is only mentioned twice, (1) Schol. Arist. Birds 493 Φρυγίων ἐρίων ή ἀπὸ Φρυγίας ἢ ἀπὸ δήμου. έκεί γὰρ ἀπαλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἐρία, (2) Stepb. Byz. s. v. Φρύγια ... ὡς καὶ τὰ Φρύγια εὔστερὰ τότος μεταξὺ Βοιωτίας καὶ Ἀττικῆς. Bursian (Geogr. i. p. 334) conjecturally placed it in the neighbourhood of Acharnae at the north-east foot of Mount Aegaleus. Since the site of Athmonon is fixed (ibid. p. 434) at the modern village of Marusi, which is 7 kilometres west of Acharnae, the statement of our author that Phrygia belonged to the Athmonian deme does not accord with the position assigned to the village by Bursian, although Athmonon being an important deme may have stretched some way to the west. Our author is likely to be right on the point, in spite of Stepb. Byz.'s assertion that Phrygia was 'between Boeotia and Attica', which suggests quite a different position.

17. τάγματι: so Schol. τάγματι ἐντ. The Homeric quotation is from ο 298.

20. Φαρσάλιοι Πειράσιοι: Φαρσάλιοι Παῤάσιοι MSS. (cf. 878. 6; Περάσιοι B), which continue Κραννώνιοι Πειράσιοι. Παράσιοι, a term nowhere else applied to a Thessalian tribe, has generally been rejected by critics as an interpolation due to a misspelling of Περάσιοι and a confusion with the Παρράσιοι in Arcadia, who are out of place here, while the form Περάσιοι is generally altered to Πάράσιοι in accordance with Strabo ix. p. 435, and Stepb. Byz. s. v. Πάρσιος. The reading of the lemma proves that Πάρσιοι did not stand after Φαρσάλιοι in our author's text of Thuc., while his note shows that he knew of Παράσιοι (or Παρράσιοι) as a variant of Περάσιοι, but rightly rejected it. That Παράσιοι was originally a marginal variant which found its way into the text, causing the transposition of Περάσιοι, is now clear, and the hypothesis of an interpolation is confirmed. As regards the form Περάσιος the lemma supports the traditional spelling of the MSS. against Παράσιοι, and in view of the fact that Stepb. Byz. mentions a certain Παρασία πόλις Μαγνησίας, the alteration to Παράσιοι seems to us unnecessary. Our author's explanation of Παράσιοι as connected with the Περάσια mentioned in B 766 is however very doubtful, for the reading Περάσι τε is there somewhat uncertain (there are variants Φεριί and Περίλλη besides Περίλλη), and Stepb. Byz. distinguishes Περάσια Θεσαλίας χωρίον from Περάσια.
22-3. The restoration of these two lines was proposed by W-M, Stuart Jones, and Hude; cf. Schol. Παράσιοι' Παρράσιοι ᾿Αρκάδες, Παράσιοι Θετταλοί.
29. The restoration of this line is far from certain, especially as των does not fill the lacuna after αὐτῷ, unless those letters were unusually spread out. Perhaps the lemma ended with αὐτῷ, which would then be followed by a blank space, and οἱ ᾿Αθηναῖοι belongs to the note.

xiv. 1-2. Part of a note on αἰεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἰδίων τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων πλὴν γε τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι. The restoration in l. 2 is due to W-M, who is no doubt right in regarding ἐπιταφήσιος in l. 3 as a title.
4. That before ἐν the papyrus had ἐν, which is omitted by CG, is certain not only from the size of the lacuna but from ἐν ἐν in the paraphrase, l. 6.
6-11. The proposed restoration of the paraphrase is very doubtful in several respects. For κινδυνεύειν κινδυνεϊύεσθαι may be substituted, or possibly κίνδυνο[ς] γάρ, as W—M suggests, with εἶναι τῶν in l. 7; τοιουτοτρόπος is not very satisfactory, but there is no room for τοιουτοτρόπος. In l. 7 either πολλῶν or an equivalent is required. τοιουτοτρόπος ἀνήσκοισ is possible, with another word in place of ἀνήσκοισ. The doubtful σ may be π, but neither εἰπόντι nor ωδ[Adv can be read. Our author seems to have interpreted πιστευθῆναι, like Poppo and Classen, as epexegetic of κινδυνεύεσθαι and not as the subject of it (τό being omitted), which latter view is supported by Schol. (ἀντὶ τοῦ καὶ μὴ ἐν κινδύνῳ γίνεσθαι τὸ πιστευθῆναι) and now advocated by Steup; cf. Classen's Thucydides, ed. iv. p. 221.
13. Perhaps [συμμέτρωσ], as W—M suggests (cf. Schol. μετρίως' συμμέτρωσ, ἀξίως), or [ἐπιτηδείως] (Bury).
15-20. Bury restores these lines δύσκολόν ἐστιν | τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν τῷ πράγματι μόϊνον βεβαιοῦν κατὰ τὰς ὑπολήψεις τῶν ἀκροατῶν, κιὶ δύσκολο | ἀληθεύειν δοκεῖν' ἀΪπιστεῖται | γὰρ τὸ ἀντίλεγον τῷ πράγματι. The letter (beginning with a vertical stroke) following του has a horizontal line above it, indicating either a numeral or word cited like καὶ in xix. 5.
22. The letter (beginning with a vertical stroke) following τοῦ has a horizontal line above it, indicating either a numeral or word cited like καὶ in xix. 5.
25. αὐτοῦ: so CG; ἑαυτοῦ ABEFM. It is of course possible, but less likely, that our author meant αὑτοῦ.
27-31. Bury suggests νοεῖν ἄν ἐν μείνας σαυθιὲς εἰ γεια ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀκούον μὲνον γαρ τὸ . . . καὶ δ' ἅλλος [ αὐτοῦ ἐκαίν εἶναι δρᾶσας] ἤγείται. Our author's note on that passage, if he had one, is lost in the gap between Cols. vi and vii. The word after εἰρήκεν is probably an adverb.
4. καθεστηκύᾳ[ι]: the papyrus follows the ordinary spelling of the MSS.; καθεστηκύᾳ Hude. After τῇ it is difficult to see what other word than παρακμῇ can have been meant, but that was certainly not written; the letter following παρά could be conceivably κ, but is much more like γ or τ, and μ is out of the question.
6. οἰκεῖν: so most MSS., Hude, Stuart Jones; ήκεῖν C (second hand) and superscr. G.
7-11. In regarding οἰκείων as equivalent to διοικεῖσθαι our author is quite correct, but in paraphrasing εἰς as 'for the advantage of' he conflicts with modern editors, who practically all adopt the view that ἐς πλείων οἰκείων = διοικεῖσθαι ὅτε πλείως εἶναι τοὺς διοικούντας. This is supported both by the variant ήκεῖν for οἰκείων and by several parallels for this use of εἰς (especially Thuc. vii. 53), and suits the context much better. The interpretation which our author rejects in ll. 7-8 seems to be right in its interpretation of εἰς, but is wrong with regard
to the meaning of οἰκεῖν, which cannot mean in this context 'inhabit', as seems to be implied by the contrast between οἰκεῖν in 1. 7 and διοικεῖσθαι in 1. 10.

14. τὸ ς has the barytone accent to distinguish it from τῶι.

15. τὸ πλέοϊν : ABEFM (πλεῖον), Hude, Stuart Jones; τὰ πλέω CG,


21-2. This explanation of the obscure phrase οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους is novel. Schol. remark τοῦτο λέγει διὰ τοῦ 'Ἡρακλείδας, βασιλεῖς τῶν Λακώνων, οὗτοι ἀπὸ μέρους ἥρχον διὰ μίαν τὴν εὐγένειαν κἂν μὴ εἶχον ἀρετήν, and in accordance with this supposed reference to the Spartan kings the phrase has generally been interpreted 'not because he is sprung from a particular class', while Classen thinks that the meaning is 'not because he is supported by a political party', and Herwerden wished to read γίνοις for μέρους. Our author on the other hand interprets it 'not according to the equal share to which he is entitled as a member of a democratic state', i.e. honours are distributed not in equal shares but in accordance with merit.

In l. 25 Bury suggests οἱ δὲ (which is possible) followed by a participle or infinitive meaning 'will be assigned' (κατανῆμθησεσθαι τὴν τάξιν is too long, but κατανῆμθησομένη τὴν τάξιν could be read), and in l. 26 [αὐτῶι ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ] ἕκαστος.

33. ὑποψίαν : or possibly ἀνυποψίαν; cf. note on l. 38.

34. δρᾷ τι: τι Spa MSS. δρᾷ τὶ may be a mere slip of a copyist. τι δρᾷ apparently occurs in the paraphrase (xvi. 2).

38. οὐχ ὑποπτεύοντες : if our author's text had the ordinary reading ὑποψίαν in l. 33, his paraphrase is not very accurate at this point. Thucydides' phrase ἐς τὴν ... ὑποψίαν does not harmonize well with the following words όν δὲ ὡς κ.τ.λ., and Madvig conjectured ἀνυποψίαν, to which οὐχ ὑποπτεύοντες would be appropriate enough. To read ἀνυποψίαν in l. 33 is possible, for though it would produce 13 mostly broad letters in the lacuna as against only 11 in l. 32, there are 14 letters in the corresponding lacuna in l. 34, and in the lower part of this column the beginnings of lines seems to have sloped away to the left. But it is more probable that our author read ὑποψίαν and in ὑποπτεύοντες was merely giving 'the general sense, obtaining his negative from οὐ δὲ ὡς; cf. Schol. ἔλευθεροι δὲ ἀνακειτε ἐλεγεν οὐκ ἐκεῖν ἀλῆλοις ὑποπτεύοντο.

xvi. 5. The vestige of a letter following λυπομένων would suit e. g. τ, but hardly o, so that λυπομένων is improbable. ν may be read in place of the doubtful v. eπισκυθρήσαντες (Bury) is unsuitable, but υ may well be the end of a participle.

9-10. ἐκ τοῦ . . . . . . . . probably refers to τῇ δόξῃ. ἐκ τοῦ [δήλω] (Bury) does not suit; the first letter seems to be a, κ, or λ, the second to be a round letter, e. g. o; or possibly μι might be read.

18. αἰεί: so Hude with E; ἀεί other MSS.; cf. l. 33.


24. ἀκροβαλίζει Λακεδαίμονος: similar remarks (e. g. αἰνετεῖ τρὶς Λακεδαίμονος) are frequent in Schol. on cc. 37-9; cf. also xvii. 6-9.

25. διαιτώμεθα: διαιτώμενοι MSS., the verb being χωροῦμεν. Whether διαιτώμεθα is an inadvertence, or implies a different arrangement of this sentence in our author's text (e. g. διαιτώμεθα . . . χωροῦμεν) is uncertain.

29. ἐθέλομεν: so CG, Hude, Stuart Jones; ἠθέλωμεν other MSS. and Dion. Hal.

31. τοῖς τε: so BCG, Hude, Stuart Jones; τε τοῖς other MSS.

33. ἀτολμοτέρους: so most MSS., Hude, Stuart Jones; ἀτολμοτέροις suprascr. G, ex corr. ι, and Dion. Hal.

αἰεί: so E, Hude, Stuart Jones; ἀεί other MSS.; cf. l. 18.
THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

xvii. 1–2. ἀνυποῖ and Ἰιεστί are on a separate fragment, and the margin is broken away immediately to the left of ἀνυποῖ; but the position assigned to the fragment admits of practically no doubt, especially as it belongs to the top of a column.

3. ταλαιπωρεῖσθαι: so Bury and Hude; καταπονεῖσθαι W–M.

10. καιρῷ: so the best MSS., Hude, Stuart Jones; ἐν καιρῷ F, g. It is disputed whether καιρῷ is a predicate of πλούτῳ, ὡς being omitted (so Poppo and Steup), or is a kind of adverbial dative (so Classen, 3rd ed.): our author’s paraphrase in spite of the use of ἐν καιρῷ is compatible with either view.

16–8. This explanation of αἴσχιον as a comparative used in place of the simple adjective agrees with that of the ancient grammarian quoted by Poppo (who practically accepts this view) αἴσχιον ἀντὶ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ, Θουκυδίδης, while other explanations, e.g. Classen’s, attach greater significance to the comparative.

18–9. The quotation is from η 294. A slight error has crept in, for the MSS. have αἰεὶ γάρ τε, not αἰεὶ δέ, which will not scan.

20. ἐν: so ABEF; ἔν CGf, Hude, Stuart Jones. With ἐν it is necessary to supply the verb, as is remarked in l. 23; and ἔν is no doubt preferable.

21. ἐρέσι: so MSS., Poppo and Stuart Jones; ἐπέρα Classen; ἐπέρα ἐπέρα Hude following Richards. The traditional reading is defended by Poppo on the view that ἐπέρα refers to the poorer classes of Athenians who were too busy to take part in the administration of public affairs, but able to form a judgement on them, and that the persons meant by τοῖς αὐτοῖς are the richer classes, an interpretation which is rather arbitrary. With ἐπέρα or ἐπέρα ἐπέρα both halves of the sentence refer to the Athenians in general, the second half emphasizing the same idea as that expressed by the first. Our author does not explain precisely who are meant by ἐπέρα, but since he took ἐρέα in the sense of τὰ τῆς γεωργίας ἐρέα he seems to agree with Poppo’s view that ἐπέρα refers to the poorer classes.

30. αἴτω: so ABEF, Poppo, Classen; οἱ αἴτω CG, Hude, Stuart Jones. Cf. l. 35, note.

31. The scribe has by mistake included κρίνομεν in the lemma. The note explains κρίνομεν as meaning ‘decide upon proposals invented by others’, implying a contrast with ‘originate new ones ourselves’ (ἐνθυμοῦμεθα). Our author’s interpretation thus supports Poppo’s translation aut indicamus certe (ab aliis proposita) aut excogitamus (nova) recte, against Classen’s ‘entweder bringen wir die Sachen zur Entscheidung, oder suchen über sie richtige Einsicht zu gewinnen’.

34. [δὴ τόδε]: δὴ (δεῖ AB) καὶ τόδε MSS., Stuart Jones; δὴ καὶ τόδε Hude. The papyrus may have had καὶ τόδε.

35. οἱ αὐτοί: οἱ αὐτοί MSS.; cf. αὐτοί in l. 30, where the MSS. are divided. αὐτοί may be right there, but here οἱ αὐτοί is distinctly better.

viii. 12. The note was doubtless on ἀδεῶς, upon which Schol. remark ἀντὶ τοῦ μεγάλως, μεγάλως may have occurred here, or, as W–M suggests, ἀφθόνως.

14. πλεῖστοί: so most MSS., Hude, Stuart Jones; πλεῖστοι AB.

18–23. χαριέντως in l. 19 and the restoration of l. 22 were suggested by Bury and Stuart Jones, the restoration of l. 21 by Bury, who proposes Ἀθηναῖοις ἀνὴρ in l. 18 and μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων ἄνθρωπων in l. 20. ἐπιχαρίτως (W–M) is an alternative in l. 19. Schol. explain εἰρπησθῆναι by εὐκινήτως, ἐνδεξίως.

24. κρησσῶν: so most MSS., Hude, Stuart Jones; κρησσῶν C.

27. Perhaps περιμενότα, as W–M proposes. λόγῳ... ἔργοι was suggested by both him and Bury.

29–33. These lines paraphrase the sentence of Thucydides following the lemma. The restorations are mainly due to Bury, who further proposes μεθένθησαν in l. 29, ἔχουσα ἐκείνων
in l. 31, and μομφὴν ἔχει in l. 32. The paraphrase does not help in regard to the difficult reading τῷ πολεμίῳ ἐπελθόντι, which many critics have wished to alter.

35-7. A note (restored in part by Bury) to the effect that ἔχει governs κατάμεμψιν as well as ἀγανάκτησιν.

There is a blank space after φύσεως before the lacuna, and if φύσεως was the end of the line, l. 1 probably belongs to a note on τῆς τε ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως and ll. 2-3 are a lemma. It is possible, however, that a couple of letters are lost in the lacuna after φύσεως, in which case that word belongs to the lemma and ll. 2-3 to the note. That all three lines belong to a note is less likely, for l. 1 would then be too short; and the same objection applies to regarding all three as a lemma, while in addition it would then be necessary to suppose the omission of a whole line (μὴ χείροσι γενέσθαι ἡμῖν μεγάλη).

4-7. The Homeric quotation (from Α 117) is cited in order to illustrate the use of ἢ for καί, and if our author considered that Thucydides also employed ἢ for καί his comment must apply to ἢ ψόγου, though in reality there is no justification for interpreting ἢ there as καί. It is possible, however, as W-M points out, that the quotation is intended to illustrate the converse of Thucydides' use; in that case our author's remark applies to καί ἢς, which in his opinion was for ἢ ἢς; i.e. he thought that the construction was τῆς ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως μεγάλη δόξα ἢς ἐκείνῃ τῇ γυναικί καὶ μεγάλη δόξα ἐστὶν μὴ χείροσι γενέσθαι ἥς. It is possible, however, as W—M points out, that the quotation is intended to illustrate the converse of Thucydides' use; in that case our author's remark applies to καὶ ἢς, which in his opinion was for ἢ ἢς; i.e. he thought that the construction was τῆς ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως μεγάλη δόξα ἢς ἐκείνῃ τῇ γυναικί καὶ μεγάλη δόξα ἐστὶν μὴ χείροσι γενέσθαι.

The fragment of Archilochus is very small, and is the last four lines of a quotation in Athenaeus; cf. Athen. 483d μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ κώθωνος) καὶ Ἀρχιλόχος ἐν 'Ελεγείοις ὡς ποτηρίου οὕτως "ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε κιτιλ. (=Fr. 4 Bergk 4). An addition to the 22 lines which, including these four cited by Athenaeus, are all that survive of the 'Ελεγεία, would have been very welcome; but in its present mutilated state the fragment is practically worthless. It seems to have come from an extensive roll (cf. note on l. 2), the recto of which was occupied by a cursive document dating probably from about the middle of the second century; the seventh year of an emperor (Antoninus?) is mentioned. The literary text on the verso, written in rather small round uncials, need not be
referred to a much later period, and may well fall within the same century. Two accents occur, besides some marginal marks of uncertain significance.

Φ Φ
Φ Φ
Ε Ε
Ε

5 — ουτ εμοι ας ας
αλλ αγε συν καιθωνι θης δια σεματα νηος
φοιτα και κοιλαυν πωματ αφελε καδων
ἀγρει δ οινον [εμπρον απο τρυγος ουδε γαρ ημεις
νηφε[ι]ν εν [φολακη τηδε δυνηομεθα

2. The marginal θ is most naturally explained as marking the 800th line of the manuscript; cf. e.g. 852. The papyrus is broken immediately above the θ, but a slight vestige is left which we suppose to represent a stroke over the letter. Of the marks below θ the second horizontal line and the vertical one beneath should perhaps be combined as a critical sign referring to 1. 3, to which they are really opposite; cf. the dash opposite 1. 5.


7. κοιλαυν: κοιλων A and editors, but κοιλων, an Aeolic form found in Anacreon 9. 2, may well be right here.

9. νηφε[ι]ν εν: ν. μεν A, εν Mus. But the reading in the papyrus is not satisfactory; one letter between Φ and ι would be better than two, and the traces after the second ι, if not absolutely inconsistent with ι, suggest a round letter like ι. Moreover the accent is wrong. But we can find no suitable alternative; the fourth letter can hardly be ι, and therefore νηφε[ι]ν does not suit; νηφεμενον (conj. Bergk) is inadmissible.

855. MENANDER?

13 x 16.3 cm.

This fragment of an unidentified New Attic comedy, though inconsiderable in size, is of more than usual interest, bringing before us with much vividness a scene to which we think there is no exact parallel in the extant remains of either Greek or Roman comedy. A slave Daus has been detected and caught by an indulgent (l. 13) master, Laches, in some act of villainy connected with an inheritance (l. 18), and Laches proposes to have him burnt alive. Daus is perhaps bound to a stake; his fellow-slaves, to whom the victim appeals
vainly for mercy, bring out faggots and pile them round him; and Laches himself carries the lighted torch. Wilamowitz, to whom we are much indebted in the reconstruction of this text, supposes that the slave had taken refuge at an altar, where however the right of asylum would not protect him from being burnt. At any rate the language plainly implies that it was not his master's object merely to dislodge him from a place of sanctuary. Of course the grim scene was not acted out, and no doubt Daus eventually escaped; but that it should be carried so far is a significant indication of the Athenian attitude towards slavery at this period, and the passage may be placed in contrast to some others where a more humane tendency is displayed, e.g. Philemon's ἐλευθέρους ἐπόησε πάντας τῇ φύσει ὄφελος ἐπελεύσε ποτέ τὴ φώει ὄφελος δὲ μετεπόντως ἡ πλευνεία (Kock, Fr. 95). It is said that the position of slaves was peculiarly favourable at Athens, and though a master had the power of punishment he might not legally put them to death; cf. Antiphon, de caede Herodis, p. 728 οὐδὲ οὐ τῶν διεπότας ἀποκτέλωντες . . . οὐδὲ οὕτως θυγατερῶν ἐν' αὐτῶ τῶν προσηκόντων . . . κατὰ νόμους ἑμετέρους πατρίως: but perhaps the law was stricter in theory on this point than in practice. For the burning of slaves Wilamowitz cites the fragment from Euripides' Syleus (Nauck Fr. 687) in which Heracles in a servile position says πίμπρη, κάτ' άτίθε αὐτῶ τῶν προσηκόντων . . . κατὰ νόμους ἑμετέρους πατρίως: but perhaps the law was stricter in theory than in practice. For the burning of slaves Wilamowitz cites the fragment from Euripides' Syleus (Nauck Fr. 687) in which Heracles in a servile position says πίμπρη, κάτ' άτίθε αὐτῶ τῶν προσηκόντων . . . κατὰ νόμους ἑμετέρους πατρίως: but perhaps the law was stricter in theory than in practice.

Daus certainly thought that he was to be burned, and seems rather to take it for granted; he makes no protest against the illegality or the unheard of barbarity of the act. There is a general similarity between the scene in the papyrus and that in Aristophanes' Thesmoph. 726 sqq., with the essential difference that Mnesilochus, for whose burning preparations are there made, is a free man.

The identity of the play to which the fragment belongs and of its author is quite uncertain. Wilamowitz would refer it to some other poet than Menander on the ground of the occurrence of the article at the end of a verse at l. 23, to which there is no parallel in the Cairo papyrus. But this is not a very conclusive argument, and it seems to us to be more than outweighed by a remarkable linguistic coincidence between ll. 13-4 and a citation from the Perithia; cf. note ad loc.

There are remains of two columns, the second of which is in fair preservation. The text is written in medium-sized sloping uncial of the common third-century type. Double dots and paragraphi are employed to denote the alternations of the dialogue, and, as in 211, 852, and the Cairo Menander, the names of the speakers are sometimes inserted, in a more cursive but perhaps not different hand. Stops, mostly a high point (one in the middle
position occurs at the end of ii. 5), are freely used, though not always with
discrimination, and marks of elision are also frequent; two accents occur (one
misplaced) and a mark of long quantity (καὶ = καλ ἔν). All these lection signs
seem to be due to the original scribe.

Col. ii.

[...]

Col. i.

[...]

10 [....]ολουθεὶ: περιβετῆ[...]κυκλωταχυν

[...]δειξαίδα[...]πανουργιαν

τεχνηνεγώ: ναϊδαιομενατραγμονα

κακουφουνεξάπατανγαρεστίδεσποτην

15 φλυαρος: ην: εἰδετιςτητοκωφρεων

στακτὴν: εκκυνθήσο: ουχπροσουσδεσποτα

ομενπονηρο:οθρασυςεσποτα

κατακατωνσκελωτηνκληρονομινε[...]τατο[}

20 [......]οβωνεξινχαριν

Unplaced fragment

[...]

[...]
Col. ii.

[...]

855. MENANDER? 153

(Tibius (?) ... , and do you, Getes, follow me.

Daus. He is coming out with faggots; there is the fuel and the fire. O Tibius and Getes, would you then leave me to be burnt, Getes, me your fellow slave, and your preserver? Surely you will not desert me now! Will you disregard me? What have we against each other? Here comes Pyrrhias, with what a load on his back! I am undone! Laches himself is following with a lighted torch.
**Laches.** Put the logs quickly all round him. Give an exhibition, Daus, of your cunning by finding some device and escaping me here.

*Da.* I find a device?

*La.* Yes, Daus; for to deceive an easygoing and careless master is mere foolery.

*Da.* Oh!

*La.* But if one feels his brains turning to ashes—were you hurt?

*Da.* Not by you, master.

*La.* This rascal, this rogue, has lately in a cowardly manner (made away) here with the inheritance of my dearest . . .

Col. i. Ἰβωσί is in the same hand as the interlinear *dramatis personae* in the next column. In the Cairo Menander papyrus the names of speakers are frequently added in the right-hand margin of the column to which they refer, and that might be the case here, though Ἰβωσί suggests no likely name. Perhaps σωσί, e.g. Σωσίας, a name frequent in comedy, may be read, though there would then remain an unexplained mark below the first σ; cf. note on l. 21. But of course the word may not be a name at all.

Col. ii. The supplements were suggested by Wilamowitz. For [ελημονᾶς cf. Aristoph. Thesmoph. 728 and, for πῦρδαν, B66. 19.

3. *Tίβιος* and *Γέτης* were common names of slaves. In the line cited from Menander's *Thetele* as ἔθυμια βρέχει τὸν δοῦλον πρέπει (Kock, Fr. 231) Bentley proposed to read ἔθυμια τοι *Τίβιε κ.τ.λ.*, but as the second syllable of the name is now shown to be long, the τοι is superfluous.

4. κατακαύσει is quite clearly written, and there is no necessity to emend to κατακαῦω, though that might have been expected.

6. [κόν], which makes an apposite contrast to the aorist διασώσαν᾽ τ᾽, is due to Wilamowitz. The only objection to it is the stop after πάνυ, but as the scribe’s pointing is not always accurate (cf. e.g. l. 3) this is not a fatal obstacle. If the presence of the stop is to be pressed, we might read [κόν πάνυ, [κόν].

7. The letter before ποσ, of which only a very slight vestige remains, may be ω, but there does not seem to be room for [ούρ].


9. The w of δαδ᾽ was inserted after the second δ had been written.

11. Restored by Wilamowitz. In l. 10 after ταχυ an indistinct spot on the edge of the papyrus may represent a stop, but it is further away from the final letter than is the case e.g. in ll. 5 and 6 and, since an object for περίδερε is desirable, it is better disregarded. Even if the stop were certain, it would not necessarily preclude the suggested supplement; cf. note on l. 6.

13-4. Cf. for the language Menander, *Perinthia* (Kock, Fr. 393) Ὅστις παραλαβὼν διαπραγματεύειν ἀπρέποντα καὶ κόψεις ἐξαιτηθήθατω, οἷς οὔ γὰρ τι οὗτος μεγαλεῖον ἐστιν διαπεπραγμένος, ἐπανεθερμάφωσα τὸν (πρότερον) ἀβέλετρεν. Such a striking similarity seems to us to point to Menander as the author of our fragment; cf. introd.

15. ἢ ἀν succeeds the sentence ἐν τοὺς μετὰ τὼν στακτῆς ἀπὸ κληματίδων.

16. The sentence *ei de . . . στακτῆν* is not completed, a wince on the part of the slave at the idea of his brains’ ashes leading Laches to break off with the question ἐκνίσθης. A single stop instead of double dots should have been placed between στακτῆν and ἀκοιδῆς: the latter word is also wrongly accented. This passage seems to be much the earliest instance of the use of στακτῆ in the sense of τέφρα, for which cf. e.g. Demetrius Constantinop.
18. κατὰ τῶν σκελῶν: cf. Aristoph. Peace 241 ὁ κατὰ τῶν σκελῶν and Schol. Rav. symbolików ἐπὶ τῶν διὰ δειλῶν ἀποπατοῦσιν (Wilamowitz). Whether this explanation would suit the present passage remains uncertain owing to the mutilation of the context. ἐκπίδων (?) in l. 19 would be consistent with it.

19. There may have been two dots, not one, after Ἰοδῶν, the papyrus being damaged in the place where the lower dot would be placed. Since καέτε in l. 20 is attributed to Laches, a change of speaker must have intervened in ll. 19–20. ἐκπίδων is probably to be restored rather than ποδῶν.

21. Perhaps πῶς ἀφίκετο, but the vestige before ως might also represent double dots, and ὡς should then be read. With regard to the name of the speaker inserted above the line, we read Πτώς ἡμικης on the strength of l. 8, but the traces preceding the termination ως are extremely slight, and though not inconsistent with the they do not suggest those letters. Σωρίκης, a name possibly to be recognized in the first column (cf. note ad loc.), would in some ways be more suitable.

23. The article τό at the end of a verse is noticeable; cf. introd. This line was apparently the last of the column.

24. We have failed to fix the place of this small fragment. The letters suggest Τίβιος.

855. MENANDER?

856. SCHOLIA ON ARISTOPHANES’ Acharnians.

Fr. (a) 11·9 × 5·9, Fr. (b) 10·2 × 5·1 cm. Third century.

These scholia are contained in two fragments, preserving parts of two successive columns. The long interval between the subjects of the last line of Col. i and the first remaining line of Col. ii shows that the columns were tall, the probable height of the papyrus being over 30 cm. They were also proportionately broad, and the compact writing combined with extensive abbreviation enables the scribe to economize greatly in space. On the same scale another column would have brought him to the end of the play, and the commentary was thus completed in three columns. It may well have belonged to a series of similar commentaries, and is evidently not to be classed as a collection of school-notes. It is written in rather small sloping uncials, apparently of the third century; the several notes are divided off from each other by double dots, accompanied by paragraphi; a single high dot usually follows the lemmata, but is also occasionally used as an ordinary stop; accents and breathings are sparingly added. The system of abbreviation resembles that of the Berlin commentary of Didymus on Demosthenes and of the 'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία; besides words shortened by the ordinary method of omitting the termination and writing a letter above the line, the following more conventional abbreviations occur: γ' = γάρ, β' = δέ, κ' = καί, µ' = µέν, π' = παρε, π = ποιησά, κ = κοιπά, τ' = τῶν, φισ = φησί or φασί, ε = εἰσί.

As will be seen from the excerpts quoted below, the scholia stand in no close relation to the extant scholia, of which the principal source for the
The commentary below Schol. means the extant scholia, which we cite from the edition of Dindorf, with some modification from Rutherford’s transcript of the Ravennas.

Fr. (a) Col. i.

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Acharnians is the Codex Ravennas. The papyrus notes are usually not only far shorter but also less frequent; vv. 392–444, for instance, are covered in five lines whereas in Dindorf’s edition they occupy four pages. On the other hand words or phrases are sometimes here selected for comment which in the extant scholia are passed over (cf. ll. 9, 29, 35, 37, 38, 44, 68), and the notes are occasionally quite full, e.g. those on vv. 614–7; similarly a more precise explanation than that of the scholia is noticeable in l. 55. Verbal agreements occur here and there, but they are nowhere striking and scarcely amount to more than is natural in a treatment of the same subject. If, indeed, there be any historical connexion between the annotations of the papyrus and those represented in the mediaeval MSS., it is of a very slight and distant character.

In the commentary below Schol. means the extant scholia, which we cite from the edition of Dindorf, with some modification from Rutherford’s transcript of the Ravennas.
856. SCHOLIA ON ARISTOPHANES’ ‘ACHARNIANS’ 157

20  
| οι (ευστ): | 174 |
| αν μυτ | 180 |
| σκληρου | 180 |

Fr. (b)

[. . . . . . .  οἱ εισι: την περυ 378]

25 [εις τους Βαβυλωνιους  Ιερωνυμου: ποιησις 386]

30 [εις τους Βαβυλωνιους  Ισινου: οὐκ ενασβιδώμαι: οἵον 391]

35 [εις τες Βασιλειας  κατ πτωχος περιναστων  Χρεως 446, 455]

40 [εις κατ τωι Ευρυπιδευς ως εκπεπτωκόως 419]

45 [εις της Βασιλειας κατ πτωχος περιναστων  Τηλεφων  δ’ αγίων της 550, 551]
158 THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

Fr. (a) Col. ii.

[...]

53 ινα καθεσ εις την φαρυγα εξεμεση κομπολακ(υθου)· ουτω λε(γει) 589
tον Λαμαχον οτ(i) κομπαστης [ην σπουδαρχ(ιδης)]·

55 τωνιδης π(αρα) το στρατευεσθαι μισθαρχιδης δε οτι μισθον 597
λαμβανων εφ οις αν πι· κοκκυγες·

60 νουργιαι: Γερητοθεοδ(ων) Γερης 605

65 τοι φη(σι) ο Κοισυρας κ(αι) Λαμαχος ελεγον εξιστω·

70 περ εαυτου λεγων οτ(ε) βασιλευς προτρων μ(εν) ποτερον τασ ναιης κρατουσιν µεγαλοφροσυνην εαυτου [...

6. The remains of this line suggest Schol. 108 ἀχάνη μετρον ἐστὶ Περσικὸν... ἄλλοι δὲ φάσιν ὅτι κίστη ἐστίν.

9. There is nothing in the extant scholia corresponding to πάγωνα ἔχοντες; the ω is very uncertain, but πάγωνα is strongly suggested by ἔχοντες. The overwritten letter is plainly o not ω.


11. Cf. Schol. οὗ κῆρος καλεί ἄλλον πρεσβευτὴν εὐθύνει πάρα Ἐπικόλουθος τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, πρὸς ὅν ἦσαν ἀποστείλαντες αὐτὸν 'Αδηναῖος οὗτος δὲ ἐκάλετο Θέωρος. The double dots after Θέωρος indicate that the name is the end of the note, not of the lemma.

12. The note in Schol. is similarly worded; οὗτος ὁ Θέωρος τραγῳδίας ποιητὴς ἐπείρας.

14. καταπελτάσονται is glossed in Schol. κατακοντίσουσι, κατακολούθουσι... κατασκευάζονται... καταδρομοῦνται.

16. The note perhaps relates to σωσίπολις in l. 163; but σωσίπολις cannot be read.

17-20. The remains of these lines give no clear clue to their subjects. In the extant scholia there are notes on 162 ὁ θρακὴς λέως, 163 about Dicaeopolis and the σκόρδα, 166 ὁ μύθος κ.τ.λ., 171 διοικία, 172 θύρα, but coincidences do not occur here with their language. διοικία cannot be read in l. 17; the first letter is certainly η. |evos in |, 19 might be évov referring to θύρα, but is more likely to be the termination of a participle, or ἐν οἷς.


22. σκλήροι is probably a gloss on πρίνινοι in 180 or δριμύν καταδικάζειν, πανταχοῦ ὡς φιλοδίκους...

23. The letter before ν cannot hardly be η, so ἐς ἐνοικονόμητος is un-suitable. μυττωτόν is glossed in Schol. ἀντὶ τοῦ σκόρδα, ἐξ ὧν ὁ μυττωτὸς γίνεται. κατασκευάζεται ἀπὸ τυροῦ καὶ σκορόδου καὶ οὐρημοῦ.

24. Schol. are quite different, ψήφῳ δακεῖν : οἷον καταδικάζειν, πανταχοῦ ὡς φιλοδίκους... τοὺς 'Αθηναίους κωμῳδεῖ.

25-7. Cf. Schol. τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους λέγει. τούτους γὰρ πρὸ τῶν 'Αχαρνέων Ἀριστοφάνης ἐδίδαξε, ἐν οἷς πολλοὺς κακῶς εἶπεν. οὐκ ἐγείραμεν ἀνέγείραμεν... ἐκατασκεύασαν, ἐπειδὴ βραχύς εἶμι.

28. τοὺς Σιάνους: τὰς = MSS., on which Schol. have δριμύν τινα καὶ πανοῦργον παριιδεδώκασιν οἱ ποιηταὶ τὸν Σίσυφον...

29. There is no comment in Schol. on this verse beyond the Victorian gloss σκῆψιν: ἤγουν πρόφασιν.

30. 33. Schol. σκιμαλίσω : ἐξουθενίσω, χλευάσω k.T.d. τοις ρήμασι in 34 belongs to the same note.

31. 34. Schol. σκοπεύει : ἐξονθήσω, κλείνω κ.τ.λ. τοὺς ρήματα σχισματα may also belong to it; the latter words may, however, be a gloss on 423 λακίδες or 431 σπάργανα, or go back to τράχη in 418. Schol. in the note on ὁμός quoted above τράχη τὰ ῥάκη τραγικῶς: similarly λακίδες in 423 are explained as διερρωγότα ἰμάτια, or according to Gl. Vict. λακίδες... σχισματα. 33-4. Cf. Schol. σκηνοφρασίας: εξονθήσατο, κλείνω κ.τ.λ. τοὺς ρημαίς in l. 34 belongs to the same note.

33. 34. Schol. have only a note to the effect that the verse is a parody of a line in Eurip. Τελέρχοι καλὸς ἔχωμι, Τυλλήφορ δ' ἀγὼ φρονῦ.
36. Cf. Schol. οὖν μεμαραμμένα καὶ εὐτελῆ τῶν λαχάνων φύλλα ... τὰ ἀπολεπίσματα τῶν λαχάνων. There was apparently no stop after δός.

37. Cf. Schol. ἔστε yap (ἡ σκάνδιξ) λάχανον ἄγριον εὐτελές. No note occurs on ἐμπορευτέα, a reading in which the papyrus supports R and other MSS. εὐπορευτέα A, ἐκπορευτέα Bentley.

38. There is no corresponding comment in Schol.

39. For δρήομεων cf. Schol. γραμμὴ δ᾽ αὑτή: ἀρχή, ἀφετηρία, ἡ λεγομένη βαλβίς" ἐκ μεταφορᾶς οὖν τῶν δρομέων. On παρακεκομμένα the note is μηδὲν ἐντελὲς ἔχοντα" ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ἀδοκίμων νομισμάτων ... .

40. This line is obscure; over indicates that the reference is to verse 520, and we therefore restore σικ(υον) ιδον, though it is noticeable that there is no stop after ὕλεος; cf., however, l. 36. τιθῶν ὡς is as unsatisfactory here as τιθῶν ὡς. Τιθωνόν occurs in Acharn. 688.

41. Cf. Schol. φῦσιγξ λέγεται τὸ ἐκτὸς λέπισμα τῶν σκορόδων... πεπλησμένοι (πεφυσημένοι R) ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς... ἀσκῶν ἢ φυσῶν. ἢ ἐκκεκουμένοι, οἰδοῦντες. The note here on πορνα δυο apparently had no relation to Schol. πόρνα is the accepted reading; πόρνας R and Athenaeus.

42. παΐροινια : Schol. have no explanation of the term σκόλιον in the present passage, but cf. Wasps 1238 ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου προσηγορεύθησαν σκόλια τὰ παροίνια μέλη, and 1239 λέξεις σκόλιον: ... ἐν τοῖς Πραξίλλης φέρεται παροινίοις. For Σεριφίων cf. Schol. ἡ Σέριφος νησὸς εὐτελεστάτη πρὸς τὴν Θράκην.

43. Cf. Schol. ἐν ταῖς πρῴραις τῶν τριήρων ἦν ἀγάλματά τινα ξύλινα τῆς ᾿Αθηνᾶς καθιδρυμένα.

44. Schol. have no remark on δικτύοις. τριχίδες are explained as εἶδος ἰχθύων.

45. ἤ is probably part of a note on νυγλάρων in 554, e. g. μέλος φ ... χρῆσθαι or ... οἱ κελευτέρι; cf. Schol. ὁ νύμφωρος κραύμα ἐστι καὶ μέλος μουσικὸν παρακεκεφαλικόν.

46. This line appears to be part of a description of the quarrel between the two halves of the chorus; cf. Schol. 557 ἐνταῦθα διαιρεῖται ὁ χορὸς εἰς δύο μέρη, καὶ τὸ μὲν ὀργίζεται ἐφ᾽ οἷς λέγει ὁ Δικ., τὸ δὲ καὶ ἀποδέχεται, and 563 τὸ ἡμιχόριον τὸ συναγωνιζόμενο αὐτῷ λέγει ὅτι μὴ ἀναχωρήσῃς ... .

50-52. Perhaps l. 51 or l. 52 should be combined with l. 50, but we have failed to make out any connexion. If l. 50 is rightly explained as a gloss on 568 φυλέτα it is not possible to put l. 51 higher up than l. 49. There is no note on φυλέτα in Schol.

53. The first letter may be A or x instead of «; the letter above the line seems to be A or x.


55-6. Cf. Schol. κομπολακύθου : ματαιοκόμπου, κομπώδους ἐν τῷ καυχᾶσθαι. παρεποίησεν καὶ παρέπλασεν ὄνομα ταὶ ὄρνιθος διὰ τὸ κομπαστὴν εἶναι τὸν Λάμαχον. On οὐ σπουδαρχίδης the gloss is οὐ σπουδάζων περὶ ἀρχῆς.

57-8. Schol. are similar, the glosses being, on στρατώνιδης, ἀντί τοῦ στρατευόμενος, στρατιώτης, and on μισθαρχ., μισθὸν λαμβάνων" ὅτι τοὺς τῶν στρατιώτων μισθοὺς ἤσθιεν.

59-60. Schol. have ὁ Τισαμενὸς ὡς ξένος καὶ μαστιγίας κωμῳδεῖται, ὁ δὲ Φαίνιππος ὡς συώδης καὶ ἡταρηκώς. ... Πανουργιππαρχίδας : τούτους κωμῳδεῖ ὡς πανούργους ... ἐis μαλακίαν διεβάλλετο Τέρης καὶ Θεόδωρος, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ δοῦλων.

61-4. In Schol. ὁ Κοισύρας is similarly interpreted as Megacles, but here the resemblance ceases. What follows apparently corresponds to the explanation of the allusion to ὁ Κοισύρας.
καὶ Λάμαχος quoted in the next note, but it is quite differently worded. In l. 62 the supposed δ of δ(e) may be meant for an α, but the abbreviation a' here would be more difficult to explain.

65-7. Cf. Schol. εἰώθεσαν εἴ ποτε ἐκχέοιτο ἀπόνιπτρον ἀπὸ τῶν θυρίδων ἵνα μή τις βραχῇ τῶν παρίστων ἐξίστω λέγειν... τοῦτο λέγει διασύρων Μ. καὶ Α. ὡς πρότερον μὲν πένητας ἄριστας εἶτα ἐξάφνης πλουτήσαντας απὸ τῆς πόλεως. τοῖς δανείζουσι παρῆνουσι οἱ φίλοι ἐξίστασθαι τοῖς τουούτοις ὀφείλουσιν ἐράνους καὶ ὀφλημάτων εξίστασθαι τῆς οὐσίας, ὡς μὴ δυναμένους ἀποδοῦναι. In l. 66 τ of το is corrected.

68. The paragraphus above this line indicates a new lemma, and the note after Λάμαχος suggests (though it does not prove) that that name formed part of it; hence we refer the note to 619. That is nothing corresponding in Schol.


69-72. Schol. 648-09 have ποτέροι ταῖς ναυσί: ποῖοι αὐτῶν τῶν 'Αθηναίων (καὶ τῶν Δακεδα- μοιῶν;) ἐν τῇ καμαχῇ κρατοῦσιν... ποτέροι εἶτα πολλά; αὕτη τοῦ περὶ ποτέρου τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἱστορία ἀλλοι διαβάλλει καὶ χωρίζει αὐτούς ναυσίδες καὶ γίνεσθαι βέβαιος. In l. 72 the first v of εαυτοῦ is written as a curved stroke above a, as if the word was to be abbreviated, and there has been some correction of the τ; possibly εαυτοῦ τοῦ [should be read.

73. dia δ(e) κ.π.λ. seems to have been tacked on to the previous note without a new lemma. Schol. have dia τοῦθ': διά το τέχνην ὡς τῶν Ἀριστοφάνης ποιητής πρῶτον. The papyrus agrees with Ρ in reading ταυτί: τοῦθ' Α2.

74. Cf. Schol. ἑπτάνθεν τοὺς νομίζουσιν ἐν Λιγαγίᾳ τὰς κομμίδιας ποιών τῶν 'Α... τοῖς ἐλευθερίασιν εἰς ἵνα τῶν τῇ νησί κληροδοτάτων... ἄλλως' αὐτοῖς ἑστηκέναι ὡς ἐν Λιγαγίᾳ κεκτημένη τῇ 'Α... κομμίδας might be read after καταβρέχοντας.

75-7. These lines seem to give a paraphrase of 656-8; cf. Schol. 657 ἀθ' ὅποτενει: οὔτε τατι μεθύνει διδοῖτο ἵνα αὐτῶν ἑπαίνωσιν, 658 κατάρβων... καταβρέχοντας ὡς τοῖς ἑπάνω ἡς φλεγαί.


78-9. Cf. Schol. ἐπαναθρακίδες, λεπτοὶ ἱχθύες ὀπτοί, πάντα τὰ ἐπὶ ἀνθρακῶν ὀπτώμενα ἐπαναθρακίδες ἐκλίνουσιν. These two lines project below the last line of the preceding column.

79. Perhaps after δανόν a high point was written which has coalesced with the cross-bar of the following τ.

856. SCHOLIA ON ARISTOPHANES' 'ACHARNIANS' 161

857. EPITOME OF HERODOTUS.
corresponds to that of cc. 148–52 of the same book, though the verbal resemblance to Herodotus is here less marked. In the absence of external evidence to show which side of the leaf came first, we suppose that the order of the narrative in our fragment agreed with Herodotus, and therefore the recto precedes the verso. A mention in l. 2 of the battle of Thermopylae, which is not described by Herodotus until cc. 201 sqq., causes some difficulty (cf. ll. 1–4, note), but it is clear that this is a forward reference and not part of our author's description of the engagement. The chapters intervening between 152 and 163 are occupied by, first, a digression on Gelon, and secondly his colloquy with the ambassadors who came to ask for help, and the lacuna between the end of the recto and the beginning of the verso no doubt contained a brief account of the unsuccessful embassy; cf. note on ll. 15 sqq. Probably our fragment belongs to an epitome of Herodotus as such, rather than to a historical work closely based upon him. This being granted, the first name that suggests itself for the authorship is Theopompus, who began his historical researches by writing an epitome of Herodotus of which only a few isolated words survive. The fragment is too short to enable us to obtain much idea of the writer's style, but the occurrence of at least two examples of hiatus (ll. 20 and 21–2), which is very rare in the extant quotations from Theopompus, does not favour the view that he was the author, though his earliest literary efforts may have shown less care in this respect.

The fragment is in two pieces which do not actually join, but the position of the smaller one, which contains the last line of each page and parts of the two preceding ones, is made practically certain by the combination χρηστα in l. 27, that word being required by the context; cf. note on ll. 15 sqq.

Recto.

Verso.

[...[v.]..προσβαλαλα. [...]
[Θε]μοπολασις γνωριμια
[ζ]υμοι ανα τριακο
[σι]ους πλην Αργειων—
[ο][οτοι γαρ εφ εαυτο——
μενοντες ουτε αν
[δρατοι ουτε ναυς εδω
[και οιδενει συνε
μαχιων δια την δο
[κοιναν αυτων] προσ

15 [...απηλθον] ο δε Γε
[λ]ων ευλαβουμενος
περι του μη νικηθεν
των των Ελληνων
καυτος αυτησυν [υπο
20 του βαρβαρου επεμψε
Καθυμον των Σκυθων [κα]
ανδρα Κοινον επι πε[ν
τικτηροι τρι[ουν [ko]
eis Δ[ελφους...] πολ.]
attacked Thermopylae, the Lacedaemonians) fought to the number of three hundred, except the Argives. These remaining at home provided neither men nor ships, and allied themselves with neither side on account of their pretended relationship to the Persians (?) ... (The ambassadors) ... departed. Gelon, taking precautions that if the Greeks were defeated he should himself suffer no harm at the hands of the barbarians, sent Cadmus, son of Scythes, a man of Cos, in command of three fifty-oared vessels to Delphi (with instructions to offer to the barbarians, if victorious), money, earth, and water ...

1-4. προ[σβαλ] may be imperfect or aorist. The subject is in any case the Persians or Xerxes, but the construction of ll. 1-4 is obscure. After αι in l. 3 a word has dropped out: ἀλεξανδρων would suit αν τρακσιονες and might easily have been omitted through homoioiteleuton, but then πλην Αργειων must be connected, not with the words immediately preceding, but with something lost before l. 1. (Ελληνες) or (Πελοποννησιοι) would suit πΛΗΝ ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ very well, but involve a difficulty with regard to the figure, since 300 applies to the Lacedaemonian contingent. The reference to the battle of Thermopylae is in any case somewhat remarkable, since Herodotus first mentions that place in c. 175 and describes the battle in cc. 201 sqq., whereas our fragment corresponds to cc. 148-63; cf. introd.

5. The neutrality of Argos is discussed in detail by Herodotus, who opposes the Argive version of their action (cc. 148-9) to that current elsewhere (cc. 150-1) and then gives his own intentionally confused view (c. 152). If our restoration of ll. 1-12 is on the right lines, the epitomizer explained the action of the Argives in the light of c. 150 (the letter of Xerxes claiming relationship between the Persians and Argives), thus interpreting correctly the real opinion of Herodotus, who no doubt believed in the medism of the Argives, though unwilling to accuse them openly.

14. ημερας υπερειδι(-ε or -οι?): the subject here seems to have changed, and we have been unable to recover the connexion with Herodotus.

15 sqq. Cf. Hdt. vii. 163 οι μεν δη των Ελληνων άγγελου τοιαύτα το γλώς χρηματισάμενοι ἀπέστειλον Γέλων δε πρὸς τοὺς δείσαν μεν περὶ τοῖς 'Ελληνησ μυ οὐ δύνωνται το βάρβαρον ἐπιρβαλεῖσθαι, δευν δε καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχεῖτο παρατόμενον ἐνθα το Πελοπόννησον ἄρχεσθαι ἡμερας τῶν ἐν χρήματα πολλά καὶ φιλίους λόγους, καραδοκήσοντα τὴν μάχην τῇ πεσέεται, καὶ ἢν μὲν ο βάρβαρος νικά, τα τις χρήματα αὐτῷ διδάσκαλοι καὶ γην τε καὶ ὕδωρ τῶν ἐρχει ὁ Γέλων, ἡν δε οι "Ελληνες, ἐπίσω απαγένειν. 17-9. The construction in περὶ του μη ... στηχιση has become confused. Either περὶ του must be omitted or στηχιση altered to στηχισαι or, what is perhaps more likely, a word like μελλοντος is to be supplied after περὶ του.

22. ep): the vestige of the letter after the lacuna is extremely slight, but there is not room for μετα. For ετι with the dative in connexion with πέμπειν cf. Thuc. vi. 29 πέμπειν αὐτῶν ἐτι τοσοῦτο στηχισειμα.

24. πολ] may be some part of πολὺς (cf. Hdt. l. c. ξεχωρτά χρήματα πολλά), but it is not certain that any letter is lost at the end of l. 24; πολ[α]v is unsatisfactory.

28. Perhaps [ετ] κα. χρηματα [ may end l. 27; cf. Hdt. l. c.
858. ORATION AGAINST DEMOSTHENES.

Fr. (b) 18 x 7.7 cm. Late second or early third century.

Two fragments of an oration attacking Demosthenes, written on the verso of a second-century cursive document of which only a few letters from the ends and beginnings of lines are preserved. The exact position of Fr. (a), containing parts of six lines from the top of a column, in relation to Fr. (b) is not certain, but that the two fragments belong to the same column is most likely. If so Fr. (a) must on account of the recto be placed above the right side of Fr. (b) and comes from near the ends of the lines, but there is nothing to indicate how near l. 1 of Fr. (b) is to the top of the column. The script of the oration is a sloping uncial bearing a strong resemblance to the hand of 858, with which it may be regarded as contemporary. The ends of lines are lost throughout, and the margin is also broken at the beginnings, being only visible at l. 29, where ται seems to be the beginning of a line, though even that is not quite certain; in ll. 26–36 however, where the restorations hardly admit of doubt, it is clear that the interval between the end of one line and the beginning of the next does not exceed four or five letters. No lection-marks occur except a doubtful accent in l. 4, but there are several corrections (some due to the original scribe, others in a second hand), the text being very faulty.

Where the fragment first becomes intelligible at l. 13, an unfavourable comparison is being instituted between Demosthenes and another orator, whose identity is uncertain, the point of the contrast being that Demosthenes had never himself taken part in active service. In l. 25 the subject changes, and the speaker criticizes Demosthenes for his behaviour when the news of the capture of Elatea reached Athens; this passage is clearly borrowed from the famous description of that crisis in De Cor. 169 sqq., several of the phrases which Demosthenes there used being here actually placed in his mouth (ll. 25–9). The oration to which the fragment belonged therefore presupposes the existence of the De Corona which was composed after B.C. 330; but on the other hand the general situation implied by our author seems to be the period between the capture of Elatea in 339 and the battle of Chaeronea in September 338, for since Demosthenes took part in that engagement the reproaches addressed to him in ll. 24–5 and 29–30 would be inapplicable at a later date. This inconsistency at once gives rise to the suspicion that our fragment belongs to a rhetorical exercise, not to a genuine oration whether of Demades or another philo-Macedonian orator, and several other considerations combine to leave no room for doubt as to the real character of the composition. The florid, jerky
style, the use of δημηγόρος, a term foreign to Attic oratory, the exaggerated
description of Demosthenes in 1. 19 as holding a shield in one hand and a
psephisma in the other, and still more the serious blunder with regard to Attic
law which has crept into a passage (I. 34–5) borrowed from the De Corona,
are all quite incompatible with a contemporary of Demosthenes, and indicate
that the oration is, like 216, a work of the Alexandrian school of rhetoric, and
probably not earlier than the Christian era.

We are indebted to Prof. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff for several
suggestions in the restoration and interpretation of this fragment.

Fr. (β).

| 5  |
| 10 |

Fr. (α).

| 5  |
| 10 |

858. ORATION AGAINST DEMOSTHENES 165
13-38. 'Yet when he exhorted them to come to Thebes, he did not dispatch the rest and himself remain at home, but... he was the first to go out to fight. Let the same man be both orator and general, and let Demosthenes harangue with a shield in his hands as well as a decree. If Themistocles is the orator I will embark; let Pericles lead an expedition to Samos and I will sail; I will follow Tolmides across the Peloponnese, if he marches through it; but how can I listen to Demosthenes, who has no breastplate, no spear, no sword, not even one inherited from his father? "Elatea has been captured," he said, "the prytaneis have broken off their meal; the owner of tents have left the marketplace; some one is fetching the trumpeter." That was what we heard him say. Although Demosthenes had never yet heard the sound of a trumpet he was nevertheless terrifying you by these words and this description. The demos was seated on the hill, the boule had not yet deliberated about the crisis, and although the boule had not yet decided that Demosthenes
should speak, when the herald made the proclamation and no one came forward he nevertheless (in violation of?) the laws said: "Do you not think that a loyal and a careful follower of events (is needed)?"

13-4. The identity of this commander who marched to Thebes is obscure; there is no need for him to have been a contemporary of Demosthenes, for ll. 20-3 are quite general. Timotheus, as Wilamowitz remarks, would be a most suitable person to mention in this context, but he did not command at Thebes in b.c. 378, though as he was strategus at the time he may have been credited with having done so by the author of this oration. ð of ð[bας] has been corrected from ð.

14. [του]τους: or perhaps [αυ]ρους, in which case [εν]μεν must be read in l. 15. The initial lacuna throughout ll. 14-22 would be expected to extend to three letters.

18-21. The restorations are chiefly due to Wilamowitz, who also suggested πισιμα in l. 23 and φων in l. 25.

22-3. For the reference to Tolmides cf. Aeschin. ii. 75 Τολμίδων . . . ὡς χιλίους ἐπιλέκτου ἀθραντων διὰ μέσης Πελοποννήσου πολεμίων οὕσις ἀδεως διεξεχε, which may, as Wilamowitz points out, well be the source of the present passage. The statement is of course a rhetorical exaggeration.

24-5. το π[αρα του] πατρος: Demosthenes' father was a sword-manufacturer; cf. Dem. xxvii. 9.

25-9. Cf. De Cor. 169 ἐσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ήκε δὲ ἁγέλλων τις ὡς τοῖς πρυτάνεις ὡς ἔλατεια κατειληπτα, καὶ μετά ταῦτα ὡς τοῖς εἰσοδοντεῖς ἐπιπτετοι τῶν τις τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἁγοράν ἐξείργαν καὶ τὰ γέρρα ἐπεμπροσθεναν, οἱ δὲ τούς στρατηγοὺς μετεπέμποντο καὶ τῶν σαλπικτήν ἐκόλουθον.

31-6. Cf. De Cor. ibid. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἁμα τη ἡμέραν οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλήν ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὡς δ' ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπερεύχθη, καὶ πρὶν ἐκιήν χρηματίσαντες καὶ προβολεύσαντες πᾶς ὁ δήμος ἀνώ καθήκωσε. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἠδειν ἡ βουλή καὶ ἀπεγγείλαν οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰ προσαγγελμένα ἐπηναι καὶ τῶν ἕκοτα παρῆγγαγαν κάκεινος εἴπεν, ἡράσθα μὲν ὁ κήρυξ τίς ἁγορεύειν βούλεται; παρηήδε δ' οδης.

33. πέρι is corrected from παρα.

34. The dots above μεν indicate that the word was to be omitted; cf. l. 37. The implication that the speakers at the ἐκκλησία were fixed by the βουλή betrays ignorance of Attic law on the subject; cf. introd.

36. νομους παραβαινων, as Wilamowitz suggests, is the natural restoration, but there is hardly room for so broad a letter as π, and it is not even certain that any letter stood between νομους and αρι.

37-42. Cf. De Cor. 171 καίτοι εἰ μὲν τοὺς σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν βουλομένους παραδείγμα εἶδε, πάντες ἃν ἤκεσαν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄθρανται εἰπὶ τὸ βδῆμα ἐξάδεξε ταῖς γάρ οἴδας ὅτι σωθῆναι αὐτῶν ἐξολοθρέωσε εἰ δὲ τοὺς πλουσιάτους, οἱ τριακόσιοι εἰ δὲ τοὺς διμέτρητα ταῦτα, καὶ εἴπει τῇ πόλει καὶ πλουσίοις, οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιτόαντες ἐπιβάλλει καὶ γὰρ εὖ δέοι καὶ πλοῦτο τοῦτο ἐπιέχειν. ἀλλ' ὡς ἔσονεν ἐκεῖνος ὁ καπετάνος καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη οὐ μόνος ἔνθα καὶ πλοῦτον ἄνθρωποι ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρακολούθητο τούς πρόγνασσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ συνελεγμένων ὀρθῶς . . . At the end of l. 37 some such infinitive as ἁρμόσαι is required, but εὐνοῶν (?) has apparently been corrected, and what exactly was written is very uncertain.
859-864. Poetical Fragments.

The following six small pieces in verse, which do not seem to be extant, may be conveniently grouped together.

859 contains the latter parts of a few hexameter lines from the end of a column, written in bold and well-formed uncials of the sloping type common in the third century. Some variae lectiones and corrections have been inserted apparently by a second hand, to whom the occasional accents and breathings may also be due; a high point, placed slightly above the line, occurs once. There are mentions of Stymphelus and Talaxus king of Argos (l. 2); and the very rare word ἀλαβώδης, otherwise known only from Hesychius, is found in l. 5. On the verso are some blots and flourishes.

860, consisting of three fragments from a column of lyrics, is more valuable. The good-sized, upright hand is evidently early in date and probably falls within the first century, or at any rate is not later than the beginning of the second. An insertion in l. 3 and a variant, enclosed as commonly within two dots, at l. 5 are due to the original scribe, who seems also to be responsible for the occasional accents and punctuation (a point in the middle position in l. 7). The subject and authorship of the poem are alike obscure; the vocabulary is suggestive of Bacchylides: Fr. (a) 3 ταλασάριον, cf. Bacch. 5. 157, 15. 26 ταλαπενθῆς; 5 ἐρεμ-

861 is a narrow strip containing very scanty remains of two columns of iambics, the language pointing to tragedy rather than comedy. The squarely formed upright uncials belong to what is commonly called the biblical type, and may be assigned to the third century. A broad margin was left at the top of the columns.

862 and 863 are fragments of comedies. 862 belongs to a dialogue mentioning a person called Phidias, a name no doubt frequent in the later Attic comedy (cf. Antiphanes ap. Athen. ii. 38 δ, Menander Δεισιδαίμων Fr. 1). The hand, which is probably of the third century, is a better and perhaps rather earlier example of the style exemplified by 861. Change of speaker is denoted by the usual double dots. Two marks of elision are perhaps later additions.
863, written in well-formed sloping uncials of the third century, is in rather better preservation. The verses perhaps belong to a single speaker, who seems to be bewailing his misfortunes; but they are too broken for reconstruction. Two instances of the rough breathing and a high point at the end of l. 8 may well be by the original scribe.

864, containing the ends of lines from an entire column, comes apparently from an anthology. At the top are five hexameter lines, in which the δῖοι Ἀχαιοί figure, written in a semicursive hand; the letters of the last three lines, which seem to have been put in at a different time, are markedly larger and coarser than those of the two preceding. Below, in a more regular and probably distinct hand, is a series of iambic verses in tragic style, written continuously like prose. The column is divided off into three paragraphs, of which the third is separated by a broad blank space from the second, while a rather narrower interval is left between the second and the hexameters. It is likely that the names of the authors stood in these spaces. The occurrence in l. 22 of the unattested word μυκηδόν, followed two lines later by θρηνῳδόν, is noticeable. The papyrus probably dates from the third century. In the transcription given below we have tentatively marked off by horizontal lines the successive verses; in the last paragraph the point of division is sometimes indicated by short intervals left between the words.

859. 5·5 x 7·5 cm.

2. The form Ταλαῶο is also found in a citation from Antimachus in Pausan. 8. 25. 9; cf. Etym. M. p. 746. 10 Ταλαῶο μετὰ τοῦ ἂνι τῶν οὐ κατεπείγει δὲ, ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν  ὡς Μίνωο. Ταλαῶο μετὰ τοῦ εἰ τινές ἦν γάρ φασι Ταλαῶο οὐ κατεπείγει δὲ, ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν εἰς ὡς εὐθειῶν Ἀττικῶν κέκλιται, καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ ο, ὡς Μίνωο.

3. Στύμφηλος was the name of several mythological personages, as well as of the city,
river, and mountain in Arcadia. The following word is perhaps ἀποπρολιπεῖν in some form; but the vestige of the letter after λ is too slight to give any indication.

5. ἀλαβώδεος: cf. Hesychius ἀλαβῶδες ἄνθρακές, κεκαπνισμένον; the word is a derivative of ἄλοβη = ἄνθρακες.

8. πελέσκεο occurs in Iliad X 433.

860. Fr. (a) 9·2 x 5·1 cm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fr. (a)</th>
<th>Fr. (b)</th>
<th>Fr. (c)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>τοιαὶ βροτῶν</td>
<td>διδορ[κ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>εφομενοσίν υποσ[</td>
<td>ηρολο[</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τα[λακαρδὸς επλε</td>
<td>ἀρ ορματ[</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ντα χαλκοῦ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ον επιοτν ερμυναγ[</td>
<td>πρ[.] •</td>
<td>•</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ελλασ</td>
<td>(?) μενεπ[γολεμον</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τ ἀλκάν</td>
<td>εν πυκνασ στίχασ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ε[καστος ανηρ</td>
<td>και εμιξατον λ[</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>π[ατρίδος αι σφιαιν όι</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>o]πλοις</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ν μεγαλοκλεα δ[</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ξ[θε</td>
<td>]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ντες αἰνως</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fr. (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τα πασαν ε [•]άλοβ[</td>
<td>]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>αρ τον εχοτ[τ] ε[</td>
<td>ντο[</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>αφερ γαρ ουδ[</td>
<td>]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>] ευτε κα</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fr. (a) 3. The meaning of the insertion (probably by the first hand) is not evident. There are some traces of ink after εφ, but whether another letter or letters followed is very doubtful.

6. No doubt ἀλλας or ἄφιλλας, to which ερμυνας in 1. 5 probably refers.

Fr. (b) 4. The first letter is more like ρ than φ.
861. 12-6 x 3-5 cm.

Col. i. 

[μ]  
[ν:][ λ' . [ ]  
[ο]  
[ων περας]  
[γ γ εμου]  
[ε]  
[αι]  

Col. ii. 

κ]  
ο[  
π[  
[θ]  
π[  
ε[  
μ[  
σ[  
25 β[  
μ[  
λ[  
α[  
τ[  
30 ιχ[  
λι[  

4. περας αι περας.  
11. δεσπότην αι ποτ' ἦν.

862. 13-2 x 10-2 cm.

ελ]γλυθ' υ[σ]τε[ρος  
] . οιν επι[  
]σ[ . τ]ους θε[ους  
]σ : πλ[ην] ανω :  
15 ἑρον εστι μοι  
] . οι[ . ] . δ . μν  
τ]ην κορην λαβε[  

Φιδια
172 THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

1. τοις εν δοσις θεοις
5. ή μοι της πολεως πλειστον πολυ

3. The doubtful ο may be ε and the next letter had a long tail like ρ or υ: ]. τοι σε νερτειροις might read. But the supposed ρ may also be υ or τ.
7. Παριδες occurs in the sense of μοιχοι in Anth. Pal. xi. 278 and Chariton 5. 2. Perhaps Αλεξανδροι preceded.
12. εσω: οτ δειν' οτ δερπ.

864. 15.8 x 6.8 cm.

5. οφρασει τινα παντες
10. πενθηρει στολη | στενουσα | στενουσα

7. The correction may be due to the first hand.

863. 6.8 x 10.8 cm.

3. The doubtful ο may be ε and the next letter had a long tail like ρ or υ: ]. τοι σε νερτειροις might read. But the supposed ρ may also be υ or τ.
7. Παριδες occurs in the sense of μοιχοι in Anth. Pal. xi. 278 and Chariton 5. 2. Perhaps Αλεξανδροι preceded.
12. εσω: οτ δειν' οτ δερπ.
The following six small prose fragments remain unidentified, and except in the case of 866 there is good reason for believing them to belong to works which are not extant. The first three seem to be historical, the fourth is perhaps from a commentary, the fifth is philosophical, and the sixth geographical.

865 consists of the beginnings of the last eight lines of a column, written in a medium-sized uncial hand of the third century. The fragment belongs to a description of a war in which Greeks were apparently fighting foreigners, and the leader of one of the armies was the illegitimate son of a person whose name probably ended in -evs (l. 5), this general being subsequently recalled, perhaps in consequence of an oracle (ll. 6-7). 'Ydrôvs, presumably the town in Calabria, is mentioned in l. 3. A φρούριον of that name occurred in Book xxxix of Theopompus' Philippica (Fr. 210), which was concerned with Sicilian history, though whether the φρούριον was identical with 'Ydrôvs in Calabria is not certain. Possibly our fragment too belongs to a lost work dealing with Sicilian history. Apart from the Theopompus passage, there seems to be no mention of 'Ydrôvs in Greek historians before the Roman period.

866 contains a few letters from the first seven lines of a column. The script is a neat uncial of a distinctly early type, and may be ascribed with confidence to the first century. A mention of the Carthaginians in l. 5 suggests that this fragment also is historical, but the context is quite uncertain.

867 (Plate I) has six nearly complete lines from the top of a column, in
a rather large and handsome square uncial, resembling the hand of 661 (Part IV, Plate V). That papyrus (late second century) provides an exceptionally early example of the type of hand to which the great Biblical codices belong. The present specimen is probably somewhat later than 661, and is likely to have been written in the third century. Two kinds of stops (high and middle points) occur. An iota adscript has been inserted in one place by the original scribe. The fragment refers to the capture of Ephesus, and may belong to a historical work. For προσβιάζεσθαι with the dative, which occurs in l. 4, the only example quoted in the lexica is Diod. xx. 39.

868 consists of parts of twelve lines, apparently from the top of a column, written on the verso, the recto being blank except in one corner where there are one or two broken letters. The script is a medium-sized rather irregular uncial, probably of the first century. The nature of the fragment is very obscure; the second person singular occurs in ll. 5 and 9, but it is difficult to believe that the lines belong to a connected oration or dialogue, and we are disposed to regard the fragment as a piece of a commentary, the blank spaces after αριστος and ακονεις in ll. 6 and 9 in that case marking the division between the text and the scholia; cf. 853. The rare word ἀπόκαυμα (l. 4) is not found in writers of the classical period.

869 contains the ends of twenty-two lines from the upper part of a column, written in a sloping uncial hand of probably the latter half of the third century. The subject is clearly of a philosophical character, and perhaps has reference to religion.

870 is part of a leaf from a papyrus codex containing a geographical work. The recto gives a list of tribes in Thrace, Macedonia, and Asia Minor, apparently in two columns, the successive names being numbered. Of the verso only a few letters from the ends of lines are preserved; the last seven lines also seem to be a list of names, but the upper portion of the page is different. Which side of the leaf came first is uncertain. The script is a good-sized oval uncial of the sixth or seventh century.
865. 3. The supposed λ after κε might be χ.
5. ws is probably the termination of the genitive of a proper name ending in -ενς. The phrase μετάπεμπτος γίγνεσθαι occurs twice in Plutarch.
7. κατα μαντείας: or καταμαντείας, but this word is not known.

866. 2. πυθυμεί may be the end of a line.

867. 5.7 x 7.5 cm. Plate I.

868. 8.1 x 4.1 cm.

869. 13.8 x 6.1 cm.

867. i. […] [γ]: the first letter is probably α, δ, κ, λ, or χ, while the vestiges of the second suggest γ, η, ι, π, or τ. It is not certain that a letter is lost at the end of the line.
868. 1. με[ν] is possible, though the ν would be rather cramped. But there may have been a blank space before οι; cf. ll. 6 and 9.
2. οτι θραυστης: the division o Θραυστης is less probable.
869. 3. Some form of ἀφανίζειν is presumably to be restored, if the γ is right; but the vestiges after αφα may represent the angular mark for filling up a line.
5. Perhaps η ωκ γοντι.

870. 14:5×5:5 cm.

Verso. Recto.

Col. i. Col. ii.

|ε . |  | μβ Τεκτος[αγες]|Κιν. Aρα| 45 μτ . . . [ |
|τε . |  | μγ Ταλατ[αι]| | | |
|ε[θυντης]|  | μδ Παφλ[αγονες]| | |
|ιας. 25 |  | με Φρυγες[γ]| |

|σεν.|  |  |  |  |  |
|β |  | μ[υ][υ][α] Θεταλ[οι]| | |
| | | μη Μακαιδονες| | |
| . α] . |  | μθ Θακακες[ ]|  | |
| 5 |  |  |  |  | |
| 10 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 15 |  |  |  |  |  |

|νι γεγοναςιν|  |  |  |  |  |
|Εναρμοσι|  |  |  |  |  |
| προσηγοριας 35 |  | νβ Δαρδαν[οι]|  | |
| Αρκαδες. |  | νγ Χαρμαται|  | |
|κανες. του|  | νδ Γρ[|  | |
| ] Ποντικοι.|  | νς Γ|  | |
| |  | νς Α|  | |
| |  |  |  |  |  |

48. 1. Μακε[ν]ος. 54. Perhaps Γρ[ακοι. |
We have not been able to identify the two following fragments in Latin, and print them here in the hope that some of our readers may be more successful.

871, a papyrus, has a considerable palaeographical interest, since part of a document in Greek cursive on the verso, which is most probably of the fifth century, provides a fairly secure *terminus ante quem*. On the other hand it is unlikely that the writing on the recto was separated from that on the verso by a very wide interval of time, and consequently that the literary text is to be put earlier than the fourth century, while it may be as late as the commencement of the fifth. It is written in rather heavy rustic capitals, of a less formal and epigraphic type than e.g. those of the Palatine Virgil, though not dissimilar in formation. The tail of the Q is a conspicuous feature; J is made rather tall in *qui* in l. 5 and *iis* in l. 6. Words are divided off by dots after the manner of inscriptions, as in the Herculaneum fragments on Actium and in 80, a manuscript which in Part I we perhaps dated rather too early. Somebody is addressed in the second person in l. 3, and the treatise seems to have been of a philosophical character, and not extant, if the references for the rather rare word *astutia*, which occurs in l. 2, are complete in the new Latin Thesaurus.

872 is a small piece from a vellum leaf of a book, containing on one side the beginnings and on the other the ends of a few lines, written in good-sized and rather ornate uncial letters which may be referred to the sixth century. *S* at the beginning of a line is made rather tall; the same letter is combined with a *U* at the end of l. 6 in order to save space. Whether the fragment is to be classed as prose or verse is doubtful. The scanty remains, so far as they go, would suit hexameters, and the lines differ considerably in length, but that is not seldom the case in Latin prose MSS. It does not seem to be Virgil; but no good word occurs to provide a clue.
i. The vestiges before it suggest e, t, or s; x would probably also be suitable, but no example of that letter occurs in the papyrus.

4. The letter at the end of the line if not a can only be m or possibly n, and judging by the preceding and following lines, not more than one or two letters should follow. ar'tium is the obvious word, and this would involve suos, not suorum (the slight vestiges after suo would be consistent with either r or s) in l. 5; but numeros artium suos, whatever the mutilated verb in cunct may be (discessunt, dicunt ?), seems an awkward collocation. The use of the plural numeros is noticeable; it should mean not 'numbers' but 'parts', 'members', or 'office', a sense in which the word is often accompanied by suos.

6–7. nullus ne minimus quidem: cf. e. g. Cicero, Tusc. 5. 6. 16 nulla ne minima quidem aura; but nihil without quidem would also be possible. At the end of l. 7 liberius suggests itself.

11. [perfura]: the final letter may be m or n, but performare or performidolosus are improbable, and the absence of a stop between r and f makes per form[ ] inadmissible.

872. 5.9 x 7 cm.

Recto. | Verso.
---|---
| . . | . . |
| . . | d. [ |
| tus | sic a[ |
| e | ter s. [ |
| tros | 10 tum n[ |
| er | in[ |
| [n| | [ |

5. Or possibly . eri, but the appearance of i is probably due to the penetration of ink from the other side, the vellum being thin.

11. The letter after s may also be e or o.
The beginnings and ends of a few lines from the *Theogonia* of Hesiod, preserved on a fragment of a leaf from a papyrus book. The character of the handwriting, a rather small and informal round uncial, points to a date not very late in the third century, in which the codex form is somewhat uncommon except for theological works. A mark of elision is used in 1. 999, and in one or two other places a similar sign may have been obliterated, the surface of the papyrus being damaged. The columns of writing were remarkably tall, there being an interval of 63 lines between the corresponding points of the recto and verso. The text agrees, so far as it goes, with that of Rzach.

Verso.

930 εκ [δ] Αμφιτριτῆς καὶ ερεκτυποῦ Ευνοσιγαιοῦ
Τρίτων εἰυρυβίης Εννοσιγαιοῦ
Τρίτων εἰυρυβίης γενεό μεγας ος τε βαλασσής
πυθμεν [εχον παρα μητρι φυλη καὶ πατρι ανακτι
ναιει χρισε]α διω δεινος θεος αυταρ Αρη
ρειωτορω Κυθερεια Φοβον και Δειμον ετικτε
935 δεινοις οι τ ανδρων πυκινας κλονεουντι φαλαγγας
ευ πολεμω κροσεατι ουν Αρη πτολιπορω
Αρμονιν τε [η]ν Καλόμος υπερθυμος βετ ακοιτων
Ζηνι δ αρ Αιτ[λ]αντις [Μαιη τεκε κυδιουν Ερμην
κηρύκ αθαυπατων ιερον λεχος εισαναβασα

Recto.

[ηγε παρ Αιητεω τελεσα στοιοετας αε]θλους
995 [τους πολλους επετελλε μεγας βασιλεως] υπερθυμωρ
[υβρισθης Πελινη και απασβαλος οβριμεργος]
Oxyrhynchus papyri of Apollonius Rhodius have been remarkably productive of valuable readings (cf. 690–1), and it is to be regretted that the remains of the present MS. are not more extensive, since judging by the small fragment which survives it would have been of much importance for critical purposes. Only the ends of nine lines from the bottom of a column are preserved; but in this narrow compass occurs an apparent confirmation of a generally accepted emendation of Brunck (l. 263), besides marginal references to unknown variants in two other lines. The text is written in a small sloping hand on the verso of a second-century list of persons, and probably dates from the end of that century or the earlier part of the third. There is one instance of an acute accent which may be by the original scribe, but no clear case of punctuation (cf. l. 268, note). Our references to the MSS. L(aurentianus) and G(uelferbytanus) are derived from Merkel's edition.

[λευγαλεης Φριξοι εφιημοσυνη[σι]ν ελεσ[θε]
[πατρος ο μεν θυσκω[ν στυγερας επετέλλετ ανίας]
[ημετερη κραδη τι] δε κευ πολιν Ορχομενοιο
[οστις οδ Ορχομενος κρεανων Αθαμαντος εκτη]
[μητερ εν αχεουσαν α]ποπρολποτες ικουσθε
[ως εφατ Αιητης δε πα]ψυστατος αρτο θυραζε
[ek δ αυτη Ειδυια δαμαρ κ]ιν Αιηταο
270 [Χαλκιοπης αιονα το] δ αυτη α παν ομαδοιο
[ερκος επεπληθει το μεν] μεγαν αμφεπενουτο
π]υν μ[ [ 19 letters ] κιν Αιηταο εν π(σιν) ου(τοι) φερεται
ος φερεται []

263. εφημοσυνησιν ελεσθε: so Brunck; . . . φημοσυνησιν εεθε . . . G. The reading in the papyrus is unfortunately not certain, but at any rate does not agree with that of LG, while on the other hand the broken letters are quite consistent with Brunck's conjecture.
264. επετελλετ : ἐπετείλατ᾽ MSS.
265. κεν πολιν : SOL; κε πτόλιν G.
268. At some little distance from the end of the line there is an ink-spot which perhaps represents a stop (in the middle position).
269. This line is rewritten at the bottom of the column with a note concerning an alternative version found in some MSS. Whether the ordinary reading of the verse stood in the text is of course uncertain. No variant is cited by editors beyond the trivial ιδυηα (L) for Ειδυηα. The abbreviation of ου(τοι) is written in the usual way with a semi-circle above ο, and cannot be naturally interpreted as the negative νο; moreover the omission of l. 269 would necessitate the alteration of the feminine participle and the following το δ' in l. 270. There was indeed a considerable variation in that verse (cf. the next note); but there is no need to suppose that it affected the general construction of the passage. The letters preceding φερεται in the second line of the adscript are very doubtful; before the papyrus breaks off after φερεται, there is a short blank space, but not enough to show that the note ended here.
270. π]υν μ[ in the margin at the end of the line seems to be a variant on (Χαλκιο)πης διονηα, but no other reading is attested here. The letter after πυν is almost certainly μ, not α; it is unlikely that another letter has disappeared in the space between ν and μ.
271. αμφεπενουτο : so LG; ἀμφιμ. Brunck with four late Paris MSS. On the extreme edge of the papyrus opposite this line are signs of ink which would suit e.g. τ or φ: but they may be accidental.

875. SOPHOCLES, Antigone.

A fragment from the top of a column, inscribed with the ends of five lines from the Antigone. The hand is a good-sized uncial, round and upright; but not calligraphic; it probably dates from the first half of the second century. A different writer seems to have made at least one alteration (l. 243), but the mark of elision in l. 244 is apparently original. The antiquity of L's σημαινων in l. 242, where the variant σημανων is commonly preferred, is the one small item of any value to be gleaned from the text.
THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

[το πραγμα δηλοις και νε[ον]
[τα δεινα yap τοι προστιθηκον πολυν
[ουκουν ερεις ποτ ει]σ απαλλαχθεις απειρει

245 [και δη λεγω σοι Τον νεκρον τις αρτιως
[θαψας βεβηκε καπι χρωτι δευτιαν

876. EURIPIDES, Hecuba.

2-9 x 8.4. Fifth century.

A small fragment of a leaf from a papyrus book containing the Hecuba of Euripides. The somewhat negligent uncial writing, which is upright and of good size, seems to belong to the earlier Byzantine period, and may date from the fifth century; the ink is of the common brown colour. Marks of elision were used, but no accent occurs. The paragraphus after l. 738 and elision mark in l. 740 are in blacker ink and seem to be due to a corrector, who is perhaps responsible also for emow in l. 703. A variant found in Parisinun 2713 (thirteenth century) alone of the better MSS. appears in l. 740.

Verso.

700 [εν ψαμαθω λευρα
[ποντου μιν εξηνεκτε επελαγιος κλυδω
[ομοι αιαι
[εμαθον ενυπνιον εμων [Ερασω ποτερα προσπεσω γονυ

Recto.
876. EURIPIDES, HECUBA

Αγαμεμνόνος τούθ' η [φερω σηγη κακα
τι μοι προσωπω νο[τον εγκλινασα σον
740 [δυρη] το κραθεν δ' ου λεγεις τις εσθ οδε

703. The space suits ενυπνιον (MSS.) better than ενυπνον (Murray with Hermann). The division of the verse at μια is also found in Α.

739. A dot above the line between α and ν is apparently meaningless.

740. κραθεν: so the first hand in Cod. Par. 2713, the reading having been subsequently altered to πραχθεν, as in other MSS., by correctors. κραθεν of course gives no sense, and presumably πραχθεν was intended; cf. e. g. Ιον 77 το κραθεν ιων ήν εκμαθω.

877. EURIPIDES, Hecuba.

Fr. (a) 11-8 x 4-3 cm. Third century.

These two fragments from the upper part of a column also come from a copy of the Hecuba. The text, which is on the verso of the papyrus, the recto being blank, is in a slightly sloping uncial hand of the oval type, and was probably written in the third century. No lectional sign occurs other than the paragraphus. A variant at l. 1272 is of some small interest.
σοι δ ὃ οἷου εχρησεν ουδεν ον εχεις κακων
ον γαρ ποτ αν συ μ ειλες ωδε συν δολω

1271 θανουσα τυμβιω δ ονομα σω [ κεκλησεται
[μορφης] επωδον μη γη της εμης ερεις
[κυνος] ταλαινης σημα ναυτιλοις τεκμαρ
[ονδεν μηλει μοι σου γε μοι δοντος δικην
1275 [και σην] γ αναγκη παιαδα Κασανδραν θανειν
[απεπτυσ αυτω [σοι] διδομ ειχειν
[κτηνει μιν η τουδ αλοχος οικουρος πικρα
[μητω] μανειη Τυν[βαρες] τοσονε παις
1280 [ουτοσ συ] μαινη [η και κακων ερας τυχειν

1276. τι δι με MSS., cor. Bothe.
1272. The vestiges after επωδον are inconsistent with η and suit μ, and there is space
for another letter between this and τι. μη τι gives a sense, but would be a doubtful
improvement on the MSS. reading η τι. Nauck proposed επωνυμόν τι.
1276. αυτῷ ταῦτα σοὶ δίδομεν εἵχειν MSS. ταῦτα seems to have been omitted after αυτῳ.
The line may have been completed by e.g. τάδε, but a graphical error is more likely.
1279. αυτω: so L; but the vestige of the first letter is too slight to be decisive against
the variants δι and σε.

878. THUCYDIDAE II.

27·4 x 16·9 cm. Late first century.

These remains of three consecutive columns, containing portions of chapters
22-4 of the second book of Thucydides, were found not at Oxyrhynchus itself
but in a small very shallow mound lying about a mile beyond the site to the
north, where some experimental work (without other result) was done one day in
January, 1906. The text is written in a round ornamental hand which we should
refer to the latter part of the first century. Upright strokes are commonly
finished off with apices, A is of the capital shape, M shallow-topped, I of the
archaic form. No breathings, accents, or stops occur; a short blank space marks
a pause in 1. 23, paragraphi are sometimes employed, and the ordinary angular
sign (cf. e.g. 868), which is here usually accompanied by a dot above and below
it, like a διπλη περιεστιγμενη, is used to fill up short lines. But though early in
date the MS. is inferior in quality, having several erroneous readings; it is however of some interest on account of its support, in two doubtful passages, of the traditional text. Our collations in 878–880 are with the text of Hude.

Col. i.

[εστησαν η δε βοηθεια αυτη 22. 3


Col. ii.

15 ανεχωρησαν δια Βοιωτων [περι] τον μετορ εσεβαλον παριον τες δε Ορωπον την γην την ' 
Πειρακην καλομενην ην νεμονται Πρωτοι Αθηναι 20 [ων υπη[(η]]κοινοι εδημασαν αφι κομητοι δε ες Πελοποννη σον διελυθησαν κατα το > λεις εκατοι αναχωρησαν των δ αυτων οι Αθηναιοι φυ 24. 3

25 λακας κατεστησαντο κατα γην και κατα θαλατταν ασ τερ δη εμελλον δια παντος [του] πολεμου φιλαξει και [χιλια] ταλαντα απο των εν

30 [τη] ακροπολει χρηματων [ε] [δοξειν αυτοις εξαιρετα ποι [ησαμενοι χρηματισθαι και [μη αναλοι η]λα απο των [αλλων πολε]μειν ην δε τις

Col. iii.

23. 3 πεντη[κοντα ναις προσ [βεβοηθηκ][οτες και αλλοι τινες] των [ε]κει ζυμμαχων αλλα τε εκακιουν περιπλε 45 ουτε και ες [Μεθωνην της Λακωνικης] αποβας 
τοι τειχει πριοσεβαλον ον τι ασθενει και ανθρωπων ουκ ενοντων [ετυχε δε πε 25. 2

50 ρι τους χωρους τουτοις Βρα σιδας ο Τελλιδοις ανηρ Σταρ τιατης φουρμαν εχων και αι σοβομενοι εβοηθητε τοις εν τωι χωριου μετα οπλιτων

55 εκατον διαδραμων δε το των Αθηναιων στρατοπεδουν εσκεδασμενοι κατα την χω ραν και [προς το] τειχος τετραμ [με]ρον εσπιπτε ες την Με

60 [θω]ην και αληγος τινας εν τηι εκδρομη απολεσας
Part of one column, with the beginnings of a few lines of the column adjoining, written in third-century sloping uncial, from the fifty-eighth and fifty-ninth chapters of Thucydidis, Book III, shows a correct text, supporting a traditional but suspected reading (l. 23). Two kinds of stop, the high and low (l. 13), are used, besides paragraphi; these, like the interlinear insertions in ll. 8 and 11, may be by the original scribe.

Col. i.

[i. χιπαμαχον] τον θεον μεθ αύτων την τε πολιν
tον τολμηὴν επιγραματο πρωτος των
ev Σπαρτη; οι δὲ Αθηναίων 25. 3

λαρσαίοι: so AB; Λάρσαίοι H(ude) with FM.
6. The papyrus evidently agreed with the MSS. in inserting a name (Παράσιοι ACEFM, Περάσιοι B) between Φαρσαλιίοι and Κραννωνιοι. H. brackets Π, following Heringa, Παγασαῖοι Stahl. The correct reading is probably Φαρσαλιίοι Πειράσιοι, omitting Πειράσιοι after Κραννώνιοι, as indicated by the new Thucydides commentary; cf. 853. xiii. 20, note.


10-3. The remains of letters are scanty and the decipherment is doubtful. τω (?) in l. 13 and ἀπροτος in l. 14 are on a detached fragment.
11. l. Αυτων: the initial letter is correctly written in l. 19.
18. Πειρακηρ: so MSS.; Γρατίν Steph. Byz., H. The interlinear ἵ may have been inserted by the first hand. It is not clear whether the two dots merely enclose the added letter or is often the case, or represent a diaeresis; the former alternative is more likely.
19. l. Αυτων.
20. The correction is perhaps by a diorthotes.
32. χωρίζεσθαι: χωρὶς θέσθαι MSS., rightly no doubt.
44. The paragraphus is misplaced; perhaps the scribe took αλλά for the conjunction.
61. εκδρομή: ἐσδρομῇ MSS., more appropriately.
62. αὐτοῦ: so E, H.; ἑαυτοῦ ABFM.
64. [.. Πρωτος: so MSS.; πρῶτον Herwerden, H.

879. THUCYDIDES III.
12.1 × 8.1 cm. Third century.
ὦν ὑμεῖς το εναντίον
ἀν δρασαίτε μη ὁρθῶς
5 γνωτες σεκαμαθε δε' Παυσανιας μεν γαρ εθα
πτεν αυτους νομιζων
[ε]ν γη' τε φιλ[ε]ιαι τιθεναι
και παρ ανδρας τοιουτοις
10 ὑμεῖς δε ει κτενειτε η
μ[α]ς και [χ]ωραν την Πα
ταϊδα Θηβαιδα ποιησε
τε τι αλλο η εν πολεμιαι
τε και παρα τοις αυθεν
15 ταις πατερας τους ουμε
τερους και [ξ]υγγενεις α
τιμους γεφων ον νυν
[ι]σχοινι καταλειψετε προς
δε και γην ει νη ηλευ
20 [θ]εροθησαν οι Ελληνες
δουλωτε ιερα τε θεων
[οις] ευχαμενοι Μηδων
[εκρασησαν ερημουτε]
και [θ]υσιας [τα][π]ατριους
25 [των εσσαμενου]ν και κτι
[σαντων αφαιρησε]δε

5. δε: so ABEFGM; τε C, H(ude).

880. THUCYDIDES V.

Fr. (b) 18·1 x 13·2 cm. Late second century.

The following nine fragments from the fifth book of Thucydides fall into two groups, which were discovered on different occasions and come from quite different parts of the MS. Frs. (a)–(d), containing portions of chapters 32–4 and 40, were
found together, and the remainder, covering chapters 96–105 and part of 111, made their appearance some little distance away ten days afterwards. The rather broad columns are written in a clear and upright semicursive hand, dating apparently from the later decades of the second century. High stops and paragraphi are used, double dots as usual denoting a change of speaker in the report of the debate at Melos. There are two instances of the rough breathing; a final ν is occasionally represented by a horizontal dash over the preceding vowel; iota adscript and ξ in ξυν are commonly but not consistently written. The text is not of a high class and shows several errors which are absent from the better mediaeval MSS.; it supports tradition in two passages where emendations are accepted by Hude, but confirms Krüger’s conjecture τοῦ καὶ for καὶ τοῦ in c. 97, which Hude does not adopt.

Fr. (a). . . . . .

του[ς αυ[τοις 32. i
] μεν Αθηναιοι
απεκ[τειναν ]
γυν[αικας [ 5
Πλατ[αιευσιν [ 5
κα][τηγαγο[ν] 5
] το[ς τε

Fr. (b). . . . . . . . .

[αυ][χα[τοι δ ὁ[ντες δι[σωσατο το τε] εν [Κυ
[ψελοις] τε[ιχος και τα]εσ εν [Παρρασιοις] πολιεις 10
απη[λθον] Δακε[δαι[μι]νιοι δ]ε τους τε Πα[ρ]
ρ[ασιους αυτους ποιησαν]και το [τει
[χος και]θελοντες ανεχωρησαν επ οικου και[ι 34. 1
[του αυ][του] θερους ηθη ηκοτων αυτους τι[ων
[α][πο Θρακης μετα Βρασιδου εξελθοντων 15
[στρατιωτων ους ο Κλεαιριδα[σ] μετα τα[ς οπον
[δας εκ]ομισε οι Δακε[δαι]μι[νιοι ευσε[φαν
[το τους μεν μετα Βρα[σιδου] Ειλωτας μα[χεσα
[μενους ελευθερους ε[ι]αι και οικεις ο[που
[αν Βαυλωνται και υποτεθ[ον ου πολλω αυ[τους
20 [μετα τ]ων νεοδαμωδων ες Δεπρεον [κατε}
ἰστησαν κειμενον ἐπὶ τῇ Δακωνικῇ καὶ

τῇ Ἡλειᾳ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λακωνικῆ καὶ

δὲ εκ τῆς ηῆς ληφθέντας σφόν καὶ τὰ

πολιαὶ παραδοτὰς δὲκεσαντες μὴ τι διὰ τὴν

ἐξουσίας οὐκ ὁλίγαις ἐπὶ τῆς νῆσου ληφθενταῖς καὶ τὰ

πολεμάτια παραδόντας δὲσαι αὐτοῖς ἐκκεντρεῖται καὶ

μιαν δὲ τοιαύτην ὡστε μὴν αἰρεῖν μὴν πρὶ

[αμενοὺς τι ἡ πολον]νυας κυρίους εἰναι

30 ετος τοι[ι] πολεμοι ετελευτα αμα δὲ των ἦτπ εν

θύου του επιγεγυμομενου θεροι οἱ Ἀργειοι οσοὶ τνε
tερασθησεσθαι καὶ οὐτεις επητιμοι νεωτισιωσιν ἡθν καὶ αρ

Χας τινας ἐχουντας α[τ]ίνοις ἐποιησαν ατι

μιαν δὲ τοιαυτην δωσε μητε α[ρχειν μητε πρι

[αμενοὺς τι τη πολον]νυας κυρίους εἰναι

35 τοιτ [Βοιωτοι]

Fr. (c).

40 ετος τοι[ι] πολεμοι ετελευτα αμα δὲ των ἦτπ εν

θύου του επιγεγυμομενου θεροι οἱ Ἀργειοι οσοὶ τνε
tερασθησεσθαι καὶ οὐτεις επητιμοι νεωτισιωσιν ἡθν καὶ αρ

Χας τινας ἐχουντας α[τ]ίνοις ἐποιησαν ατι

μιαν δὲ τοιαυτην δωσε μητε α[ρχειν μητε πρι

[αμενοὺς τι τη πολον]νυας κυρίους εἰναι

35 τοιτ [Βοιωτοι]

Fr. (d).

Frs. (e), (f), (g).

τους τε μη προσηκοντας και οσοι αποικοι ον

τας των πολλων και αποστασιαν των κεχειρων

τας τις το αυτο τιλεσα : δικαιωματι γαρ ουθετε

[ρους ελλειπειμηγουνται κατα δυναμιν δε τους

μεν περιγιγνουσαι ημας δει φοβωι ουκ επιε

ναι ουτε εξω τοι καυ μπλεωφοιν αρξαι και το α

σφαλες ημιν δια το απαστραφηναι αν πιπαρ

[σχιστει αλλως τε και ηη]σιωται [μουσκ]ιτατων

και ασθενεστεροι ετερων οντες ει μη πιερεγε

96

97

98
νοισθε: εν δει γαρ αυ και ενταυβα ωστε υμεις των δι
καιον λογον υμας εκβιβασαντες τοιον υμει
τεροι εξουσιων υπακουειν πειδει και η
μας το ημν χρησιμον διδακοντας ει τυγχανει
και υμι το αυτο εξουσιων πειρασθαι πειδει
οσιοι γαρ νυν μηδετεροι εξουσιων ποσ ου

Fr. (b).

60 [ο υμεις α]σθενεις τε και επι ροπης μιας ουτες η
[βουλεσθε παθειν μην ο]μοιωθηναι τοις η[οι
λοις ο]ις παρον ανθρωπειωσ ετι σοιξηθαι επει
[δαι] πιευσουμενοι αυτοις επιληπτωσιν αι φα
[νε]ραι ελπιδες επι τας αφανεις καιδισται
65 μαντικην τε και χρησιμου και οσι τοιαυτα με
[τ] ελπιδον λυμαινεται χαλεπου μεν και η
μεις εν ιστε νομιζουμεν προς δυναμιν τε
την υμετεραν και την τυχην ει μη απο τον ιου
[εσται] αγωνιζεσθαι ομος δε πιστευομεν τη
70 [με]ν τυχη εκ του θειου μη ελασσοσεσθαι δη
[οσιοι] [οσιοι] ου προς δικαιους ισταμεθα της δε
[δυναμεσ] το ελλειπντι την Δακεδαμο
[νι]ον ημιν εξουσιαν προσεσθαι αναγ
κην εχουσαι και ει μη του αλλου της γε συγγ
75 νειας ενεκα αισχυνη βοθηιν και ου παντα
παι νοις ης ορασφανοθετας ιπ της μεν
τοιν προς το θειον ευμενειας ουδ ημεις οι
ομεθα λειτουργεσθαι ουδεν γαρ εξω της αυτο
πειας των μεν ες το θειον νομισεως των δε
80 ες σφας αυτους βουλησως δικαιουμενης πρασ
ομεν ηγουμεθα γαρ το τ θειον δοξη το αν
θρωπιον το σαφως δια παντο προτο απο φυσεως
αναγκαιας ου αν κρατη αρχει και ημεις ουτε
θεντες τον νομον ουτε κοινοι πρωτοι χρη
85 σαμενοι ουτα δε παραλαβοντες και εσομενο
εν αει καταλειψαντες[σ] χρωμθα αυτω ειδο
τεις και υμας και αλλους εν τηι αυτηι δυναμει
ημιν γενομενους δρωντας αν αυτο και προς
[μεν] το θειον αυτω εκ του εικοτος υν φοβον
90 [μεθα] ελασθα[σεθαι της δε ει Δακαδαιμονι]
[ους δοξης ην δια το αισχρον δη βοηθησειν

1-2. The papyrus seems to have differed here from the ordinary text which would give
40 letters between the s of τους in l. 1 and v of μεν in l. 2, whereas the usual length of
a line is about 34-5 letters. Perhaps τους was omitted; that there was an agreement
with Dion. Hal. De Thuc. Ind. 845. 12, who has περι δε τους αυτους χρωμους τους Σικυωνους
'Αθηναιοι, is less likely.
21-2. τηι Δακωνηι και τηι Ηλειαι: της Δακωνης και της 'Ηλειας MSS.
33. ηκον: ηκαστο or ικαστο MSS. The η in the papyrus is clear, and the line is quite
long enough without the superfluous το.
Fr. (d). This small piece, containing the first letters of lines, we have failed to identify.
Since it was found with Frs. (a)–(c) it would be expected to come from the neighbourhood of
cc. 30-40.
49. του [κ]αι: so Krüger; και του MSS., H.
50-1. It is likely that the papyrus had ναυκρατόρων rather than ναυτοκρατόρων (B corr.
M), but owing to the very doubtful identity of the two broken letters at the end of l. 50 the
size of the lacuna between νησιωται and ιατοριων is uncertain.
55. εκθεσαντες: so H. with CG; but εκθασαντες (ABEFM) may equally well have
stood in the papyrus.
63. πειρομενοι: this late form also occurs in C.
επιλειτοσιν (AB) suits the space better than επιλειτοσιν (CEFGM).
71. ou προσ: l. προσ ou with MSS.
72. The second e of ελαιειστηι has been corrected probably from an i.
75. αισχυνηι: και αισχ. MSS. The loss of και would be easy between και and αι.
80. δικαιομενηι: δικαιομεν η MSS.
881. PLATO, Euthydemus and Lysis.

A small fragment containing on the recto part of a column, and a few letters from the ends of some lines of the column preceding, from Plato's *Euthydemus*. The text, which is written in a small neat uncial hand, round and upright, of about the end of the second century, shows one or two unimportant variants as compared with the three principal MSS., with none of which it agrees at all consistently. Stops (in the middle position), paragraphi, and double dots marking a change of speaker occur.

On the verso of this is a portion of a column from the *Lysis*, written in a small irregular uncial hand with some admixture of cursive, dating probably from the first half of the third century. Double dots accompanied by paragraphi mark, as usual, alternations in the dialogue; there is also a doubtful instance of a high stop, and one accent. The surface of the papyrus has suffered considerably and decipherment is sometimes difficult. Considering the small size of the fragment variations from the ordinary text are surprisingly frequent; they do not seem to be very valuable, though in most cases they are not obviously wrong.

**Recto.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Col. i.</th>
<th>Col. ii.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[μον τονδε: αρ ουν εφη τη]αυ</td>
<td>ληµµενος ουκ εστιν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[τα γηγη σα ειναι ον αλ]υ</td>
<td>[υν δ εγω ω Διονυσοδω</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[αρας και εξη σοι αυςοις]</td>
<td>ρε: τα[λαιπωρος αρα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[χρησθαι στι αν βουλη]ι</td>
<td>[συ γε τις ανθρωπος ει</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 [οιον βους και προβα]γα</td>
<td>15 και ουθε [Αθηναιος ωι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[αρ αν ηγοι ταυτα σα] ει</td>
<td>μητε θειοι πατρωιοι εισιν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ναι α σοι εξειη και απ]ο</td>
<td>[μηθ εισα μητε αλλο μη</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[δουθαι και δουναι κηαζ]</td>
<td>[δεν καλιν και αγαθον: εα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[θυσαι οτωι θεωι]ν.</td>
<td>[υν δ εγω ω Διονυσοδω</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 [α δ αν μη ουτως εχηι] ου</td>
<td>20 ρε ευθημει τε και μη κα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>λεπως με προδιδασκε</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
881. PLATO, EUTHYDEMUS AND LYSIS 193

ἐστι γαρ εμοιγε και β[ω
μοι και ίερα πατ[ρωια
και ταλλα οσαιερ [τοις
25 αλλοις Αθηναιο[ις των
tοουτων: είτα τοις αλ
λοις εφη Αθηναιοις
ο[ικ εστι Ζευς ο πατρωι
ο[ις

5. πρόβατα: cf. T, Ven. 189 and Par. 1808, where πρόβατον has an a written above the final syllable; προβατον BW, Burnet.

14. συ τε τε: τε συ γε Burn. with T, τε συ γε B.

22–3. βωμοι και: so TW, Burn.; om. B.

Verso.

[ἐπιτρεπου]σι πορ,' αλλα αρι[208 c 10 εφη ε[ι]ς διδασκαλόυν:
[χει σον τις: πιδαγωγος
[εφι: μων δουλος ομ
[ημερ]ερος γε εφη: η δει

5 [νον ην] δ εγω ελευθε
[ρον ου]τα γε υπο δουλου
[αρχεσθαι: τι δε και ποιων
[αν ου]τος σου ο πα(ί)δαγω
γος α[ρ]χει: αγων [δ]ητου

1. αρ at the end of the line is uncertain, but to read αλλα αρι is not more satisfactory, for though the first of the doubtful letters is in some ways more like ρ than α the second is more like ρ than χ. Moreover the division ορια is very objectionable in a literary text, while to read αριε would make this line longer than any of those that follow, and besides necessitate a supplement of three letters at the beginning of 1. 2, where there is no known variant.

2. σον τις: τις σου MSS., which also read δης or δ δε (δ alone Paris. 1811) before παιδαγωγός. The scribe omitted the α and perhaps also the ε in the latter word; he does not seem to have written μετερος.

4. ἀλλα τι μην precedes ημετερος γε in the MSS. (omit ἀλλα... εφη Ven. 189).

6. γε: om. MSS.

7. δε και: δε MSS. except Vat. 226 which has και in place of δε.
8. σοῦ οί π.: δ. π. σοῦ MSS.
14. γέ: the reading is quite uncertain, but something certainly stood in the papyrus between σοῦ and δεσποῖτας. For the insertion of γέ cf. l. 6.
15. ὡς εἰσεῖν: om. MSS. ὡς ἔσει ἐστι occurred a few lines above in 208 b. It is superfluous here after ἄπα.

882. DEMOSTHENES, In Aristogitonem I.

A fragment from the bottom of a column of a roll containing the first speech of Demosthenes against Aristogiton. It is written in an upright and rather small round hand, not very regular, and probably dating from the second century. No stops or other lectional signs are found, but slight blank spaces, perhaps corresponding to marginal paragraphi, are left where a pause occurred in ll. 7 and 10. An interlinear addition in l. 8 may be by the original scribe. The fragment is too small to possess any critical value; the writer was apparently careless.

ὙΠ ΤΥ κίαι λόγῳ των ἑλπιῶν § 47
[Τλη Κατ Κατω ποιῳν ὑπὸ ταῖς εκκλησίαις]
[αι]ς ὡς δεον στρεφέσθαι λαβον ὁ
[τυ]δηποτε παρατόν ότε ηθειτόν αφο
5 [ν]ος εγενετο ἄπα ρυ βα δημοκλέε
[αι]ς εισαγγελίαν ἀνα[σεισα]ς τοι ε
[τρι]ευνεν ἀλλα μυρία ὡν εμο[ι] μεν
δ[ε]ν
[ερ]ον απαντων μυθήθηναι συ [ο][δα]
[ο]τι και τα [αν]τιγραφα αυτῶν εἰεῖς
10 [ερ]γολαβων αυτῶν [τρ]ις οὖν ὁ τον τοι

§ 48

1. Δ. κεκραγών.
8. SY add ἐστὶν after ἁπάντων: om. Blass with the other MSS.
9. δ [ε]ν [ο]δα: om. ευ AF, Blass. It is of course impossible to be sure that ευ was inserted here as well as δ, but the similarity of δυ and ευ will readily account for the original omission of δ ευ, whereas δ by itself would less easily drop out.
9. ἐκείνο: l. ἐκεῖνο with MSS.
883. DEMOSTHENES, IN ARISTOCRATREM

18 x 4.1 cm. Third century.

A short fragment containing parts of §§ 149–50 of the speech against Aristocrates. The roll was written in narrow columns, a large space (7.5 cm.) being left above them. The good-sized, well-formed hand is of the oval type, but the letters are upright or have only a very slight slope; ω is noticeably small. It seems to be a rather early example of this style of literary writing, and perhaps goes back to the beginning of the third century. A stop placed midway in the line and accompanied by a paragraphus marks the end of a section. There are two agreements with minor MSS. against S; but judging from the blunders in ll. 11–4 the text was not of a high class.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{τερον} & \text{ } \tau \text{ριακ} \text{[ον] } \text{§ 149} & \text{μου} \text{ } \pi \text{αλιν } [\pi] \\
\text{τορους} & \text{ον} \text{ } \alpha \text{κρι} & \text{λεμεν } \pi \text{[ροει} \\
\text{βως} & \text{ηδει } \pi \text{α[ν} & \text{λετο } \text{Χερρονη} \\
\text{των} & \text{ανθροπων} & \text{σον} \text{ } \kappa \text{αι } \nu \text{[δεν} \\
& \text{διακειμενον} & \text{15 ε[ιχε } \text{ποιειν [} \\
& \text{εχθροτατα } \nu & \text{ύμας } \text{εκει } \kappa \text{α} \\
& \text{μιν.} & \text{και } \mu \text{ε[τα} & \text{κον } \text{μ} \text{ισ[β[ι } \pi \text{α} \\
& \text{ταπτα } \text{ετειδη} & \text{λιν } \text{αυτον } \text{Ολ[ν} \\
& \text{των} & \text{προς Αρ} \text{ψι} & \text{θοις } \text{τοις } \nu \text{μ[ε} \\
& \text{πολιν} & \text{πολε} & \text{20 τεροις } \text{ε[θροισ} \\
\end{align*}
\]

3. \text{πολε[ε]υ: so A; των δυτων other MSS., Blass.}
5–6. \text{διακειμενον εχθροτατα μιν: εχθ. μιν Διακ. MSS.}
8. \text{ταπτα: so } \nu; \text{αιντα } \gamma' \text{ Blass with other MSS.}
11 sqq. The ordinary reading here is πρότερον πολεμειν ειλετο Τιμωθεσ τοι προς Χερονησον. The text of the papyrus has gone badly asray; προείλετο for ειλετο is comparatively harmless, but πολειν is an awkward repetition of πολιν in l. 17, and the omission before Χερρονησον reduces the passage to nonsense.

884. SALLUST, Catilina.

15.8 x 15.4 cm. Fifth century. Plate V (recto).

Latin classics have been conspicuous for their rarity among papyri from Egypt, and hence the following fragment of Sallust’s Catilina, ch. vi, is of more than ordinary interest. It consists of a nearly complete leaf from a papyrus
codex, which may be assigned to the fifth century. The upright and well-formed hand is of the 'mixed' type, the forms of the letters, in which cursive characteristics predominate, being in general similar to those e.g. of the legal fragments in P. Amh. II. 28, which are no doubt of about the same date. The ink is of the reddish-brown colour common at this period. Dots in three positions as well as the colon (cf. P. Amh. II. 27) are used for purposes of punctuation, pauses being also sometimes marked by blank spaces (ll. 1, 3, 25) or paragraphi (l. 6). \(que\) is written \(q\); the only other abbreviation which occurs is \(re\) for \(reipublicae\).

The scribe was extremely careless and made a number of errors, which have been amended to some extent by himself but more often by some one else. Since the colour of the ink in these corrections does not differ from that of the text, it is not easy to distinguish the hands; but the alteration of e.g. \(propularent\) to \(propulerant\) in l. 18 seems clearly to be by the original writer, while the insertion of \(annis\) four lines lower down is not less clearly due to another person. There also occur a few cursive adscripts (ll. 5, 6, and 10) which may be independent both of the original scribe and the corrector of \(annis, \&c.;\) if, however, they are to be assigned to one or other of them, the former seems more likely to be responsible than the latter. It may be noted that the cross-stroke of \(t\) in \(tempore\), l. 5, is brought down to form the base of the following \(e\) as in the Italian papyri of the fifth and sixth centuries. In several places small interlinear marks are found of which the significance is not clear; cf. note on ll. 7, 26-7, 30.

The text as corrected is good, agreeing in the main with the best MSS., of which there are a large number dating from the tenth century onwards. The most interesting reading is the occurrence in ll. 5-6 of the sentence \(ita brevi...facta est\), for which there is otherwise small support. Our collation is based on the edition of R. Dietsch (Leipzig, 1859), from whose text the papyrus rarely diverges.

Verso.

\textit{liberum adq. solutum [fuit]} hi postquam
\textit{in una moenia convenere. dispari genere}
\textit{dissimili linguis\[e\]. alius alio more vivere}
\textit{tes. incredibile memorata\[s\] est. quam faci}
\textit{a tempore tu}
\textit{le coluerint\[t\] ita brevi modo diversa}
\textit{per eon m}
\textit{\[d\]g. va\[s\]a concordia civitas facta est :}
\textit{sed postquam res eorum civibus moribus}
\textit{agris. autem. satis prospera satis. pollens}
\textit{videbatur: sicuti pleraq. mortalium Haben}
tur invidia ex opulentium orta est:

iigitur reges populique fuit imimi. bellorum tempus

paucis ex amicis auxilio esse [nam ceteri metu peperici si a periculis aberant]

4 lines lost.

propus aut sociis amicis auxilia porra

bant mensus dandis quam accipiens

dis beneficis amicitias parabant imperium.

legetimum nomen imperii regium habe

annis

bant delecti quibus oppus infirmum ingens

nium sapientia validum erat. reipublica consulta

ii vel aetate vel cura similitudine

patres appellabantur post ubi regnum

imperium quod initio conservandae

[Erecta aut sociis amicis auxilia porra

bant mensus dandis quam accipiens

dis beneficis amicitias parabant imperium.

legetimum nomen imperii regium habe

annis

bant delecti quibus oppus infirmum ingens

nium sapientia validum erat. reipublica consulta

ii vel aetate vel cura similitudine

patres appellabantur post ubi regnum

imperium quod initio conservandae]

[e]ptatis augenda reipublica in super

[bi]am dominationem se convertit immun

tota more annua imperii minus impera

[tores sibi fecere eo] modo minimum

9. fuit, which is crossed through, is not found in the MSS.
10. alius: so the majority of MSS.; alius Dietsch with PBT (and hand) p
c.
11. qua est: this sentence is found in Leid. G and with erat for est in a

7. Above e of corum is a mark resembling a small e, which we do not understand.
8. We suppose that the mistaken opulentum has been twice corrected. in over the

10. We suppose that the mistaken opulentum has been twice corrected. in over the

termination is clear, but the decipherment of the cursive letters which precede it at a higher

level is very doubtful. The first of them is probably e, and entia seems just possible, though

there is really more ink than is satisfactorily accounted for by in. ex... or ex... might

be read.
11. temptare or tentare MSS. Just in front of the upright stroke of b in bello there is an

angular mark to which we can attach no meaning. The low stop beneath it is doubtful.
IV. MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY FRAGMENTS

885. TREATISE ON DIVINATION.

23:3 x 8:3 cm. Late second or early third century.

This text, containing one well-preserved column between two others which have almost entirely disappeared, is written in careful and well-formed upright uncialis of about the end of the second century. High stops are used, besides paragraphi, while a coronis below a short line at l. 57 marks the end of a section; an accent occurs in l. 38. The subject of what remains is the interpretation of strokes of lightning when falling upon statues. A parallel to this is to be found in the work of Johannes Lydus, de Ostentis, §§ 47-52, where a section occurs (probably derived from Cornelius Labeo, a writer of the second or third century) giving the prognostications to be deduced when various objects, and among them statues, are struck by lightning, according to the position of the sun. Possibly astronomical conditions were also taken into account in the present treatise, though they do not figure in what remains. Whether it concerned thunderbolts only (περὶ κεραυνῶν) or was of a wider character and included other διοσημεῖα is also doubtful. It is interesting as an early specimen of the treatises on signs and wonders which in the Byzantine period became so popular. A noticeable circumstance is that there are no traces of Egyptian influence, the gods mentioned in ll. 44–6 being exclusively Greek. According to Lydus indeed ( §§ 43, 52), things were not struck by lightning in Egypt, or if ever they were, when the sun was in Pisces, it was a good omen. Thunderstorms do occur at the present day, though rarely.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Col. i</th>
<th>Col. ii</th>
<th>Col. iii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>οι</td>
<td>Χη αυτω εσται</td>
<td>[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Άη</td>
<td>της ευθαιμονι</td>
<td>[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ας εαν δε ολοσχε</td>
<td>τ[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35 ρως καταπεση</td>
<td>65 η[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σ</td>
<td>η εικων πλη</td>
<td>[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>υ</td>
<td>γεισα υπο του κε</td>
<td>α[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ρ</td>
<td>ραπου άπωλει</td>
<td>α[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ι</td>
<td>αν αυτου τω γε</td>
<td>γ[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ω</td>
<td>40 νει σημαινει ο</td>
<td>70 η[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>λουα Χρη ουν τον</td>
<td>τ[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ε</td>
<td>πενητα εικονα</td>
<td>γ[</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>αφιερουν και</td>
<td>α[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ζυνειν Δι Κεραν</td>
<td>εν[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>45 η[ου και Ηρακλει</td>
<td>75 μ[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>και Τυχη Σωτει</td>
<td>σ[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ι</td>
<td>ρα κατα δυνα</td>
<td>κε[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>η</td>
<td>μιν και προσποι</td>
<td>ν[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>αι</td>
<td>εισθαι μεν το προ</td>
<td>τα[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ησ</td>
<td>50 τερον σημειον</td>
<td>80 π[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>της δε πεσουης</td>
<td>Χ[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ι</td>
<td>εικονος εκθε</td>
<td>ση[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>σθαι και αποτρο</td>
<td>επ[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>πιαζσθαι το ση</td>
<td>δ[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ισ</td>
<td>55 μειον θυνιτα</td>
<td>85 τ[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>τοις αυτοις θε</td>
<td>α[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ι</td>
<td>ωι</td>
<td>λ[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td>τ[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>εαν εικονεις ανδρων</td>
<td>μ[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>60 καλων κ[α]γαθων</td>
<td>90 π[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ι</td>
<td>υπο κεραιην</td>
<td>ρ[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>αρ</td>
<td>πληγωσ[ι]. [. . .</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

51. First σ of πεσουης corr. from τ.
‘(If the statue of a poor man be struck by a thunderbolt and do not fall), it will be the beginning of happiness for him; but if the statue when struck by the thunderbolt falls down entirely, it indicates the destruction of his whole family. The poor man should therefore purify the statue, and sacrifice to Zeus Wielder of Thunder, and Heracles, and Fortune the Preserver in accordance with his means, and appropriate the former portent; but the portent of the fallen statue he should expiate and avert by sacrifice to the same gods. If the statues of noble men be struck by a thunderbolt...

31 sqq. The sense of the protasis of this sentence is apparent from what follows; it may be restored εἰ ἔκειν ἀνδρὸς πενητὸς πτολυτίς καὶ μὴ καταπεσή ατρῆς k.ε.λ. In Lydus, De Ostenis, the passage concerning statues is as follows (§ 47): εἰ δὲ ἐκείν ἀγαλμάτων κατενεχθῇ (κεραυνὸς) πολλάς καὶ ἐπαλλήλους τὰς συμφορὰς τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀπειλεῖ· εἰ γὰρ χαρακτῆρει ἑδράμεν ντινον καὶ κόσμα πόλεων τὰ ἀγάλματα ὑποτεύνη τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ἀρά τοῖς πράγμασιν ἡ περί αὐτά ἕβρις. The statues there meant are public ornaments, or represent abstract qualities, and the portent has a more general significance than is the case here, where private individuals are concerned.

41. The marginal sign, which stands midway between the two columns, is repeated again before l. 87. Its meaning is obscure; it cannot be associated with the paragraphus below l. 41, since at l. 87 there is no paragraphus, nor on the other hand is it very likely in the latter place to have some connexion with the conclusion of the section in l. 57, for l. 10 is a full line, and there is therefore no reason to suppose that a section ended at that point. The symbol might be taken to represent αρ or δρ, but the first letter would be incompletely formed.

886. MAGICAL FORMULA.

21.3 x 12.5 cm. Third century.

A formula for obtaining an omen, of a type common in magical papyri, and purporting, as often happens with Hermetic writings, to be copied from a sacred book; cf. note on ll. 2-4 and Reitzenstein, Poimandres, pp. 138 sqq.

The letters of the alphabet, which are frequently employed in astrology and magic (cf. Boll, Sphaera, pp. 469 sqq., Reitzenstein, op. cit., pp. 260 and 288, Dieterich, ABC-Denkmäler, P. Brit. Mus. 121. 705 sqq., &c.), play a somewhat mysterious part in the formula, their number being reckoned as 29 instead of 24. An uneven figure was in any case required owing to the nature of the process described in ll. 19-21, but how the figure 29 was obtained is quite obscure. To give confidence in the efficacy of the spell, the claim is made (ll. 7-10) that it was used by Hermes and Isis in the search for the dismembered body of Osiris. The scribe was a very illiterate person, and makes several mistakes. A couple of dashes are placed in the margin below l. 1 and against ll. 24-5.

Μεγάλη Ἡ Ἰσις ἡ κυρία. Ῥὶ δόν θέλεις κληθονισθήναι. καβάνων φίνι-
Great is the Lady Isis. Copy of a sacred book found in the archives of Hermes. The method is concerned with the 29 letters used by Hermes and Isis when searching for her brother and husband Osiris. Invoke the sun and all the gods in the deep concerning those things about which you wish to receive an omen. Take 29 leaves of a male palm, and inscribe on each of the leaves the names of the gods; then after a prayer lift them up two by two, and read that which is left at the last, and you will find wherein your omen consists, and you will obtain an illuminating answer.

2-4. Prof. F. Cumont well compares the beginning of a magical formula found in Catal. cod. Astr. Graec. vii. p. 62 Βίβλος εὑρεθείσα ἐν "Ἡλιουπόλει τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐγγεγραμμένη ἐν ἱεροῖς γράμμασι κ.τ.λΔ.

6. εὐ: in l. 15 κε might be read in place of κθ, the right-hand part of the second numeral being lost, but there is, we think, no doubt about the reading εὐ here; cf. introd.

10. ἐπικαλοῦ μὲν: the vestiges following με στείρη better than αunameus is not very satisfactory, and ἐπικαλοῦμαι constantly occurs in magical formulae of this character (e.g. the extract from P. Leyden W. quoted in note on l. 14); but to read ἐπικαλοῦμαι (= ἐπικαλοῦμαι) here makes the change to the second person singular in l. 13 very difficult.

11. the sign following τῶ is the ordinary symbol in magical papyri for φίλος.

14 sqq. Cf. e. g. P. Leyden W. xxiv. 31 sqq. λαβὼν φίλλαν διάφως ἐπιγραφὸν τῶν χαλακτήρων (l. χαρακ.) ὀ (l. δέ) ἐστιν καὶ δείχατο το (l. τῶ) (ἡλίο) λέγε, ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε κ.τ.λ.

19. κατὰ δύο δύο: for this mixture of distributives cf. e. g. Luke x. 1.

887. DIRECTIONS FOR WRESTLING (?).

10-6 x 5-8 cm. Third century.

On the recto of this small fragment are parts of eight lines from the bottom of a column, containing repeated references to different parts of the body and
apparently belonging to a treatise of the same class as 466, which is concerned with grips in wrestling. The careful and rather large uncial writing is probably of the third century. On the verso is another text in a similar and possibly identical hand; but the letters are more hastily formed, and the lines are set much wider apart and also come further down towards the lower edge of the papyrus. The subject here is evidently different, but the remains are too scanty to give a definite clue to its nature.

Recto. Verso.

ἐπι το[ν] δεξιον ω[μον] ]ηση γαρ του μ[ ]
] εις τα αριστερα του [ λα]βουσαν μεγαλα[ ]
] επι τον δεξιον α[μον] ] και εξω φευγη [ ]
] επι το [α]κρων του [ ]
] επι το [α][κρων του [ ]
] ημψεται 5 α[νθρωποι επι του[ ]
] επι το ακρον το[ν[ ]
] επι το στηθος π[ ]
] α[καπαν καθενδο] [ ]
]

V. DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

(a) OFFICIAL

888. EDICT OF A PRAEFECT AND PETITION.

Fr. (δ) 9-2 × 14-9 cm. Late third or early fourth century.

A petition to the exegetes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, with which is here coupled the Small Oasis, from two persons, one of whom was a woman (cf. note on l. 9), concerning the guardianship of the children of their dead sister. Only the first two or three lines of this document remain and its purport is unknown; the interest of the papyrus lies in the fact that prefixed to the mutilated petition is a copy of an edict, dated in the year 287, of the praefect Flavius Valerius
Pompeianus, relating to the appointment of guardians for orphan minors. This ordinance directs that magistrates empowered to make such appointments (οἱ τοῦ χειροτονεῖν κύριοι) should do so in all cases where orphans were without guardians, since absence of the latter led to much delay in business in which orphans were involved. The question here arises, what magistrates were competent to appoint guardians? According to the lex Julia et Titia, passed in B.C. 31, this right was in the provinces vested in the praefects, and that that enactment continued in force in the third century is shown by 720, where it is expressly named (A.D. 247). In practice, however, the praefect of Egypt is seldom found exercising his power, which was delegated to subordinate officials, and in particular to the ἐξηγηταί, who, as in 888, are the persons most commonly invoked in connexion with the guardianship of minors; cf. e.g. B. G. U. 1070, in which a woman supplies to the exegetae the name of a man suitable for the guardianship of her children. From P. Amh. 85 and 86, which are applications addressed to the exegetae for leases of land belonging to orphans, it would appear that this magistrate was actually responsible to some extent for the proper management of property of that class. Professor Mitteis, to whom we are indebted for several points in the interpretation of this papyrus, thinks that the praefect was principally appealed to when the parties concerned came from different nomes, or when one or other of them happened to be residing outside his own nome, and the local magistrates were consequently unable to act. The latter explanation would well suit P. Tebt. 326, where the applicants who have recourse to the praefect are natives of Antinoöpolis domiciled in the Fayûm. The exegetae, however, were not the only officials competent in these matters. In 487 the γραμματεὺς πόλεως is stated to have assigned a guardian to certain minors, and the epistrategus is requested to direct the strategus to give orders that the γραμματεὺς should substitute another person. According to P. Tebt. 326, where the case is referred to the praefect, the magistrate who would actually make the appointment in accordance with the praefect's instructions would be not the exegetae but the strategus; cf. P. Cattaoui verso ii. 17-9, where the iuridicus proposes to instruct the strategus to make an appointment of guardians. In both these instances no doubt the strategus may be supposed to be acting merely as the temporary delegate of the superior authority; but a more general competence to deal with such matters is proved, for Oxyrhynchus at any rate, by 56, where an application by a woman for a κύριος is addressed to the exegetae because the deputy-strategus was absent, and 898. 26-9, where a strategus orders the guardian of a minor to be changed. A new date is supplied by this papyrus for the praefecture of Pompeianus, who is shown to have been in office in Oct. 287, while from P. Amh. 137 he is known to have been still praefect in July 289.
Proclamation of his excellency Flavius Valerius Pompeianus, praefect of Egypt. Orphans for whom no guardians have been assigned shall have guardians in accordance with their age created for them by those competent to make the appointment...; for it will thus result that they receive proper attention, whereas at present much business concerning orphans and depending upon their guardians is delayed because the orphans are unattended by titulares or curatores. The 4th which = the 3rd year of our lords the Augusti Diocletianus and Maximianus, Phaophi... Published in Oxyrhynchus on the 27th of the same month Phaophi.

To..., exegetes in office of the Oxyrhynchite nome and the Small Oasis, senator of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, from... and Apollonia, both children of Origenes and Thaésis, of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus. We were given the guardianship of our nephews (or nieces), the children of our dead sister... daughter of Origenes, of the said city...
3. The lacuna may be filled e.g. ἐν [ἑκάστῳ νομῷ εὐθέως, or ἐν[tòs ... ἡμερῶν. π[ροσ]η-
κοφύσι Mitteis,
τοὺς καθ’ [ἡλ]ικίαν κηδεμόνας, 'guardians corresponding to the age of the orphans,' i.e.
tutores for those below the age of puberty (14 years), curatores for those under 25 years.
kηδεμόν is here used as a wider term including both tutores and curatores; cf. ll. 5-6 where
ἐπιτρόπους ήτω κουράτορας is synonymous with τοὺς καθ’ ἡλικ, κηδεμόνας, 'tutores or curatores as
the case may be.' The distinction between tutor and curator is not infrequently lost sight
of in provincial documents of this period, but no such confusion would be expected, as
Mitteis has pointed out to us, in an official proclamation, and ήτω therefore does not mean
that ἐπιτρόπους and κουράτορας are convertible terms.
5. There is a hole in the papyrus between η and ζ of ἀναβολῆς, in which there is room
for a letter; the writing surface seems to have been faulty at this point. The supplement
of the preceding lacuna is a trifle shorter than it might be.
6. There would be room for about five letters between κουράτορας and ἔτους, but a short
blank space may well have been left before the date.
8. The Small Oasis (Bahriyeh) which was grouped with the ’Επιστρατήγῳ Ἕπτ. καὶ ᾿Οάσεως Μεικτᾶς) would naturally, for administrative purposes,
be combined with the Oxyrhynchite nome, to the west of which it lies; cf. 485, where the
implication is that persons living in the Oasis were under the jurisdiction of the Oxyrhynchite
strategus.
9. The petitioners were either brother and sister, or else two sisters; in the former
case, which is the more probable, they perhaps also stood in the relation of husband and
wife. In any case the passage provides another instance of female guardianship, which has
already been attested for peregrini by 495, and for Roman citizens by P. Tebt. 378; cf.
Wenger, Zeitschr. f. Savigny-Stiftung, 28, p. 305. Various instances in the papyri prove
the possibility of a mother acting as guardian to her children (cf. e.g. 898, 5-6), and the
guardianship of mothers and grandmothers was eventually admitted by the later Roman law;
but that of women not so related to the ward was at no period legalized.

889. EDICT OF DIOCLETIAN AND PETITION.
23.5 x 9.3 cm. Fourth century.

This narrow strip from a papyrus written in a large cursive hand in very
broad lines contains in ll. 11 sqq. part of a petition addressed to the boule of, no
doubt, Oxyrhynchus, by a man who probably wished to be let off some municipal
burden on the score of old age and ill-health. In support of his case he appeals
to an imperial decree, of which a copy is prefixed in ll. 1-11. The papyrus
is thus similar in character to P. Flor. 57, a petition to the praefect claiming
immunity from λειτουργίας, which begins by quoting several rescripts of Septimius
Severus and Caracalla guaranteeing this immunity to persons over the age of 70.
The authors of the present decree are clearly Diocletian and Maximian, and the
date of it is apparently the third consulship of the Caesars Constantine and

1 In 495 it is the sister of the testator, not, as stated by Wenger, his daughter, who is appointed
guardian.
Galerius, A.D. 300. It was of the nature of an indulgence (φιλανθρωπίᾳ, l. 5) apparently to persons over the age of 60 (ἐξηκονταετεῖς, l. 9), but the special nature of the benefits conferred remains obscure, the only clue being afforded by l. 8, where there seems to be a reference to πράκτορες (?) and to the practice of quartering persons upon others (ἐπίσταθμοι). The remains of the date of the petition itself (ll. 11–2) are too slight to fix the year, but it no doubt falls within the 50 years following A.D. 300.

Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστος Γούνθικος Μέγιστος

Εὐσεβὴς Εὔτυχὴς Νικητὴς Σεβαστὸς καὶ Σαρματικοὶ Μέγιστοι Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστος

Магиановъ  ои эпифанестатои Кайсаре[ς

φιλανθρωπίᾳ кекелеκавем [ ]

ιου χρόνου τής πολυαιτίας α. [ ]

καταλαμβανόντων δεί τί[ ]

πράκτορες καὶ ἐπίσταθμοι κα[ ]

ἰος ἐξηκονταετής ὡς εἰ ελα[ ]

10 προσέθη ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ τῇ α' εἰδῶν Δεκεμβρίων

Καίσαρε[ιν τὸ γ' ύπάτωσι. ὑπατίας 'Οξ[ ]

τῶν λαμπροτάτων Παχών κθ. [ ]

πόλεως διὰ τοῦ ἐνάρχου πρυτάνεως τῆς] αὐτής πόλεως [ ]

15 παρὰ [ ]

τῆς] αὐτῆς πόλεως. τοῦ προτεταγμένου [ ]

ἐξηκοστῶν ἐναυτῶν ὑπερβεβηκ[ ]

ἐβδομακοστῶν καὶ τρίτων ἐναυτῶν [ ]

περὶ ἐμὲ γῆρας καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀσθένειαν [ ]

γηροβοσκίαν μῆτε κτῆσιν [ ]

20 [ ]

[ ]ν ἐπιρωσθῆναι κάροι τον [ ]

[ ]με ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων μου φθασαντ [ ]

6. ὑπατίας Παπ. 11. ὑπατίας Παπ. 16. ὑπερβεβηκ] Παπ. 18. ν ὑπατίας Παπ. corr. from σ.

1–4. Since there are two Augusti bearing the titles Germanicus and Sarmaticus, and two Caesars, while the consuls hold office for the third time and must be Caesars or Augusti (Αὐτοκράτωρ is the only alternative for Καῖσαρ in l. 11), the reign of Diocletian and Maximian, and the third consulsip of Constantius and Galerius are clearly indicated. A slight difficulty arises in connexion with the title Γούνθικος (= Gothicus; cf. for the form P. Leipzig 119. verso ii. 8, where perhaps Γούνθικον should be read for Γούνθικον), which was
adopted by Claudius, Aurelian, and Probus, but seems to be new as an epithet of Diocletian. With regard to the length of the lines, only in ll. 1 and 13 can the beginnings be restored with any degree of probability. In l. 1 [Αὐτοκράτωρ Γίνεαι Δυρήλιος Οὐαλέριος Δωκλητιανὸς Γερμανικὸς] implies an initial loss of 46 letters, and in l. 13 [τῇ κρατίστῃ βουλῇ τῆς λοιμάς καὶ λαμπροτάτης 'Οξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως] a loss of 52, and since no shorter restorations of these two lines are likely, the initial lacunae may be estimated at not less than 45 letters throughout. How much is lost at the ends of lines is more uncertain. If the names of the Caesars were given in full, as is likely, in ll. 3-4, we must restore καὶ Φλαύιος Οὐαλέριος Κωνστάντιος καὶ Γάιος Οὐαλέριος Μαξιμιανὸς, i.e. 56 letters, of which 5-10 probably occurred in l. 3; hence even if Γερμανικὸς Μέγας is the last of Maximian’s titles, there seems to be a loss of from 15 to 20 letters, and the total number of letters missing between the points at which one line breaks off and the next commences can hardly be less than 60 on an average, and may amount to 70 or more. In l. 3 Σερμακαὶ Μέγιστοι seems to be an error for the singular, applying to Maximian alone, for if the plural is correct here, Γερμανικὸς Μέγας must then be read, and Diocletian has already been styled Γερμανικὸς in l. 1.

8. κολ: or καὶ οἱ.

11. Probably [Κωνστάντιῳ καὶ Μαξιμιανῷ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσαρ]σι; cf. the note on ll. 1-4. The date by the regnal years (ἔτους ιζ καὶ ις καὶ 6) probably occurred at the end of l. 10. The date beginning ὑπατίας refers to the following petition; Οὐ, may be read for Ὀὐ. Owing to the length of the lacuna before λαμπροτάτων the names must have been given in full, and it is quite uncertain who these consuls were.


15. προτετάγμένοι: sc. ἐπιστάλματος or διατάγματος or the like.

16. ἑξηκοῖστόν: cf. l. 9 ἑξηκονταετῆς. ἐβδομηκοῖστον (cf. l. 17) is also possible.

890. LETTER TO A STRATEGUS.

An incomplete letter from the prytanis of the local βουλῇ at Oxyrhynchus to the strategus, giving a list of persons who owed money to the municipal treasury. Apparently these sums were to be collected by the agents of the imperial government and to be balanced against moneys owing to the imperial from the municipal exchequer.

Δούκιος Σεπτίμιος Δυρήλιος
Σαραπίων ο καὶ Ἀπολλυνάριος καὶ ὡς
χρηματίζω ἐναρχος πρύτανις τῆς
'Οξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως Δυρήλιῳ
5 Δεωνίδῃ στρατηγῷ τῶι φιλ-
τάτωι χαίρειν.

τοὺς ἀπαιτεῖσθαι μέλλοντας ἀφ’ ὧν
[δῆλοι]ουσι τῇ πώλει] χωρίων

Third century.
THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

Lucius Septimius Aurelius Sarapion also called Apolinarius, and however I am styled, prytanis in office of Oxyrhynchus, to his dearest Aurelius Leonides, strategus, greeting. A written list of those from whom are to be exacted the sums which they owe to the city, and which are to be used in payment of moneys payable from the account of the city, is hereby given you in order that there may be no hindrance in collecting the revenues of the most sacred Treasury. They are Aurelius... Aurelius Apollonius, and Aurelius Domitianus, all three sons of Sarapion also called... ex-agoranomus, 400 drachmae...'

7. With ἀφ᾽ ὧν the sentence begins as if the object of ἀπαιτεῖσθαι, i.e. particular sums of money or τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα, was going to be stated; but this is not expressed, so that ἀφ᾽ ὧν is practically equivalent to ἀπ᾽ ὧν.
14. Perhaps [.... δ καὶ Α]πολλώνιος, in which case δίο must be substituted for τρεῖς in l. 15.
16. (δραχμὰς?) v. av, i.e. Ἀλπήλιος, might be read; but it is likely that the actual amounts of the debts were mentioned, not merely the names of the debtors.

891. APPORTIONMENT OF DUTIES TO AN EXEGETES.

A letter from the boule of Oxyrhynchus to an exegetes, acquainting him with the fact that he had been chosen to act in his official capacity during part of the month of Epeiph as superintendent or president in the discharge of certain duties, the nature of which is uncertain (cf. l. 11, note), the expenses being borne in common by the whole body of exegetae.

The papyrus is written in a small very flowing cursive, and the surface is much damaged in several places.
In the consulship of Valerius Constantius and Valerius Maximianus, the most renowned Caesars. The most high senate of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus through Aurelius Cornelianus... prytanis in office, to their dearest Ptoleminus also called Sarmates, exegetes, greeting. An exegetes being required for the... of Epeiph up to the 17th, it was decided that you should preside, while the expenses should be paid by the whole body of those belonging to the order. This letter is accordingly sent to you, dear friend, for your information. 'We pray for your health, dear friend.'

1-2. The writing is much obliterated in these lines, but on palaeographical grounds the papyrus can hardly be later than Diocletian's reign, and that the Caesars are Constantius and Galerius is, we think, certain. Probably the initial ε was written large, causing l. 2 to begin much further to the right than ll. 1 and 3.

5. The reading καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) is very doubtful, and it is not satisfactory to suppose the repetition of καὶ; but λαμπρὰ καὶ λαμπροτάτη are the regular epithets of Oxyrhynchus, and though λαμ. ρ' might be read for καὶ λαμ', the letter before the supposed ρ would suit ν or μ but not π. σεμνοτάτης and ἀρχαίας, honorific epithets of Hermopolis (e.g. in P. Brit. Mus. 955), are out of the question here.

7. διασ... ( ) διασημ( ) or διαστ( ) might perhaps be read; the letter following the doubtful σ has a vertical stroke coming below the line and suggests τ or ρ, while above this is a long horizontal line possibly representing an overwritten λ or μ. But διασημ(οστάτου) and διαστ(ολέως) are unsuitable to the context, and no title of any kind would be expected at this
point, so that it is perhaps safer to regard the word as part of the name of the prytanis, though in that case the abbreviation of it is remarkable.

11. a. [.] ἀπὸ τῆς: the supposed s is very doubtful, and there may be nothing at all between a (for which δ may be read) and 'Επείφ, but ἀπὸ τῆς a is unsuitable, for the lacuna ought not to contain more than 3 letters at most, and even with ἀπὸ a there is no stroke above a to indicate a numeral, as there is over ζ of α. Moreover, to supply ἡμέρας with τάς and suppose that only the period and not the purpose for which the exegetes was required was expressed, is unsatisfactory. We prefer therefore to read a. [.] in agreement with τάς, though τοῦ 'Επείφ would be expected.

14. ἀπὸ τοῦ τάγματος: this seems to mean the ἔγγραφον τάγμα, for there were no doubt several exegetae, just as there were several gymnasiarchs; cf. Preisigke, Slätisches Beamtenwesen, p. 60, and 908. introd. That βουλευτικόν is the word to be supplied with τάγμα (cf. C. I. G. 441 b. 5) is less likely.

892. APPOINTMENT OF A SUPERINTENDENT OF WORKS.

24:2 X 13:8 cm. A.D. 338.

A letter from the logistes of the nome to a member of the boule at Oxyrhynchus, informing him that he had been appointed by that body to superintend the supply of wood required in building a public bath and a gate. Though written in a formal cursive hand the letter is only a rough draft, which has been subjected to correction, especially towards the end. The words added between the lines are more cursively written than the body of the document, but the hand seems to be the same; μηδέν added in the margin of I. 11 is almost certainly due to the original scribe.

On the verso is a list of names preceded by a heading in two lines, the writing being much effaced. Apparently the individuals in question were sent to the Arsinoite nome to meet some charge.
892. APPOINTMENT OF A SUPERINTENDENT OF WORKS

Io tauta ekkyphas parenevchthēnai poïhēs eis tō peri tō λουτρῶν μηδὲν enēdron genέsthai tō dēmiasiao kal politeikōn érgon epistēllē, adelphē.


4. úno Pap. 9. iwa Pap.

'Flavius Eusebius, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to Aurelius Pasion, son of Horion, senator of the said city, his ... brother, greeting. Know that by the instructions of the most high senate of the city conveyed through the prytanis in office, Aurelius Nepotianus, you have been chosen to (provide) the timber required for the ... bath, and also for the construction of the north gate of the city; and you are hereby instructed, brother, to take charge of the work, and with all speed to get the timber cut and delivered, so that there may be no fraud in connexion with the public bath and the municipal work.

In the consulsip of Flavius Ursus and Flavius Polemius the most illustrious, Tubi 18.'

1. Flavius Eusebius occurs also in 85 and 86.

6. Cf. C. P. Herm. 83. 7–8 aipebēitos eis tôn tēnum[yn] poïhēsthai kai ἐνακομιδὴν ξίλων. (eis tôn tēnum[yn] is possible here, but does not combine very well with ekkyphas. [eis tôn tēnum[yn] or ἐπιμέλειαν (cf. e. g. C. P. Herm. 67.8) would be appropriate enough, but are somewhat long. For a similar notification of appointment cf. B. G. U. 362. v.

7. dēmiasiao would be expected to occur somewhere at the end of this line; cf. l. 1 tō dēmiasiao λουτρῶν; but ἐν dēmiasiao cannot be read, and though-the letter following ἐν may be τ, and the doubtful σ may be δ, [eis tō dēmiasiao is also inadmissible. Perhaps the word following ἐν gave the special name of the bath in question, but if so it differed from the ἐν dēmiasiao (43. verso iii. 24), Κακ[σα]ρος dēmiasiao (43. verso iv. 24), and δερμόν 'Andrian dēmiasiao (896. 7 ; cf. 53. 6).

11–2. The words from enēdron to ἐργον have lines drawn through or above them, indicating deletion, but enēdron genēsthai at any rate cannot be spared. Apparently the corrector, whether identical or not with the original scribe (cf. introd.), at first cancelled these words, intending to rewrite the sentence entirely, but changed his mind and merely added what was required to restore the sense of the passage.

893. JUDICIAL SENTENCE.

12.5 × 34 cm. Late sixth or seventh century.

The extraordinary grammar of this document makes it difficult to construe, though its general purport is fairly clear. It is a decision or enactment (tûpos; cf. note on l. 1) pronounced by three meiōnes (cf. 900. 19, note) of a village concerning some dispute, of which no details are given, between Marcus, another meiōn, and Marinus. The latter, who was apparently the plaintiff, is declared to have the right of imposing upon Marcus, acting through his daughter Sophia, a formal affidavit (θεῖος ὅρκος), in which perjury would have serious consequences; and
Marcus would then be free from further proceedings. If Marinus declined to conduct an investigation by means of the proposed affidavit he was to be debarred from taking other steps in the matter.

The writing is across the fibres of the papyrus.

+Τῷ τύπῳ τῶν ἀξιωτέρων ἀνδρῶν Παμουθίου μεῖζονος [υἱ(ο)ῦ]. σω[λ. ο]υ καὶ Πανιρεν ἀπὸ μειζ[όνων]
υ[ἱ(ο)ῦ] Παμουθίου καὶ Ἀπολλω ἀπὸ μειζ[όνων] Φοιβάμμων ἀπὸ κόμης Μαρίνου στιπποπραγματευτῆ, ἀστε Παμουθίου ἥρων αὐτοῦ εἶναι

ζητήσαι τοῦ θε(ι)ου ὅρκον διὰ Σοφία θυγατρί τοῦ αὐτοῦ Μάρκου ἀπὸ μειζ[όνων]

καὶ μετὰ τὴν ζητούμενον τοῦ θε(ι)ου ὅρκον διὰ τῇ αὐτῇ Σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ δὲ Παμουθίου

οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ οἰσανὶδὴτο Παμουθίου θυγατρὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Μάρκου ἀπὸ μειζ[όνων] Μαρίνου εἶναι.

Παυνὶ ὑπὲρ οἰσανὶδῆτο Παμουθίου αὐτοῦ δὲ Παμουθίου ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Μάρκου ἔσεσθαι.

By the sentence of the honourable men Pamuthius, official, son of ..., and Paniren, of official rank, son of John, and Apollos, of official rank, son of Phoebammon, of the village of Apollo, in respect of Marcus, of official rank, and Marinus, tow-merchant: Marinus has power to make inquiry by means of the divine oath through Sophia, daughter of the said Marcus, of official rank, and after the inquiry by means of the divine oath through the said Sophia Marinus shall have no ground of complaint on any matter of any kind whatsoever. Written on the 20th of the month Pauni, the sixth hour of the day. It is manifest on the other hand that, if the said Marinus refuses to make inquiry by means of the divine oath through the said Sophia, Marinus shall have no ground of complaint on any matter of any kind whatsoever, and Marcus is free of him as though he were declared so by sentence.'
1. For τύπος in the sense of ordinance or decree, found in late Greek, cf. P. Brit. Mus. 77. 45-7 μηδὲ προσέλευσιν κατὰ σοῦ ... παίρνεσθαι ... μηδὲ οἰκίσαι θείον καὶ πραγματικόν τύπων πρὸς τὸν τὴν διαθήκην, Justin. Nov. 113 ut. θείου τύπους ή θείας κελέταις...

ἀξιω[ν]πίστων : ἀξιοπίστων must be intended (cf. e.g. P. Brit. Mus. 77. 68 ἀξιοπίστων μαρτύρων) ; but the space between ω and π is so wide that it is difficult to suppose that nothing intervened. ἀξιω[ν καί]... may have been written, but not δίδω[v καί].

7-9. This clause is added as a postscript to provide for the contingency of Marinus refusing to acquiesce in the form of investigation prescribed. Something seems to have been written between ταύτα and εἰ, and the traces may be read as ταύτα; but the expression is very clumsy.

(6) DECLARATIONS TO OFFICIALS

894. LATIN DECLARATION OF BIRTH.

9.4 x 10.8 cm. A.D. 194-6. Plate VI.

Declarations of the birth of children are of frequent occurrence among Egyptian papyri, but these have always related to peregrini and until recently there has been no example of such a declaration made by a Roman citizen. Two years ago, however, the omission was supplied by some wax tablets in the Cairo Museum published by S. de Ricci, among which is a certificated copy, taken from an official register, of a declaration of birth made by a Roman in the year 148 (Novv. Revue Hist., 1906, p. 483 ; cf. Archiv, IV. p. 252). The formula of these tablets, which are in Latin, falls into four sections: (1) Names of seven witnesses. (2) Date (a) by Roman consuls and month, (b) by Emperor and Egyptian months, Alexandr(iae) ad Aegyptum, descriptum et recognitum fac[tum] ex tabula albi profession[um liber]orum nator[um] &c. (3) Date as before, M(areo) Petronio Honorato praef(ecto) Aeg(ypti) professionis liberorum acceptae citra causarum cognitionem tabula v et post alia pag(ina) iii, xviii kalendas Octobr(es). (4) Ti-b(erius) Iulius Dioscorides . . . fil(iam) n(atam) Iuliam Ammonum ex Iulia Ammonario xiii kalendas Septembres . . . Here three chief points are clear: the declaration was made in the Latin language, it was made at Alexandria, and to the praefect of Egypt. A fragment of a tablet in the Bodleian Library has been recognized by Wilckcn (Archiv, IV. p. 267) as part of a similar Latin declaration.

Another instance has now come to light in the following papyrus, which is later in date by some two generations. In the meantime according to the statement of Julius Capitolinus, Vita Marci, 9. 7-9, the formalities of registration had been regulated by Marcus Aurelius, who ordered that declarations of birth should be made within 30 days of the event at Rome to the praefecti aerarii Saturni, in the provinces to certain tabularii publici. We should therefore be prepared
to find in a registration of a date subsequent to this regulation some features distinguishing it from one of the reign of Antoninus. As a matter of fact, however, these distinguishing features do not occur. Our papyrus shows the same three essential points as the Cairo tablets: the declaration was made at Alexandria, and to the praefect, and the certificate is drawn up in Latin, though followed by the signature of the declaring party in Greek. The tabularii publici, whatever that vague term may signify, do not appear. Prof. Mitteis, to whom we are indebted for information on this question of registration, thinks that perhaps only the praefectorial bureau is thereby meant. In any case it seems that the regulations attributed to Marcus Aurelius had practically no effect upon the form of a Roman declaration of birth in Egypt.

The scarcity of dated specimens of Latin cursive makes this papyrus palaeographically valuable. It is written in a clear and good-sized hand with occasional division of words. Abbreviations and an ordinal figure in l. 6 (cf. 737) are followed by a single dot. ο is sometimes supplied with an abortive cross-bar. On the verso are traces of ink which seem to be more than blottings, but the writing is too much effaced for decipherment; it is probably Latin, perhaps figures.

[21 letters | anno [.] Imp(eratoris) Cae(sa)ris L(ucii)
[mense ........ die .. . A]lexandr(iae) ad A[e]gypti[um,
apud Marcum Ulpianum Pri]mianum praef(ectum) Aegypti
5 [17 letters | pro]fessus est filium sibi natum
[20 „ | num ex Ulpia Sabina xvi
[19 „ | . hab(it ) [O]xyryncho.
[20 „ | θηλα uio| mu gye vi|thetai

7. [o]xyry|ncho Pap.

'In the ... year of the Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus, in the month ..., at Alexandria on the coast of Egypt, before Marcus Ulpianus Primianus, praefect of Egypt ..., has declared a son, named ... nus, born to him and Ulpia Sabina on the 16th ..., being an inhabitant (?) of Oxyrhynchus. (Signed) I ..., declare that a son has been born to me ...'

1. Probably one line is lost which with the first half of l. 1 gave the date by the Roman consuls and month, as in the Cairo tablets. The year may be the second, third, fourth, or fifth; cf. l. 4, note.
3. mense ... die ...: so the Cairo tablets, which also support the supplement ad A[e]gypti[um.
4. M. Ulpius Primianus is the only praefect with a name ending in -ianus who is
known in the sole reign of Severus, and though the list is not certainly complete the three praefects who held office during this short period cover it quite sufficiently. There is therefore good ground for identifying the praefect of the papyrus with Primianus, whose name occurs in two inscriptions, C.I.G. 4863. iv of A.D. 194–5 and C.I.L. III. 51 of Feb. 24, 196, and in B.G. U. 973. 6 (undated). Mantennius Sabinus was still praefect on April 21, 194 (Archiv, II. p. 447, no. 77), and Aemilius Saturninus had entered office before July 11, 197 (B.G. U. 15. ii. 1). The limits of Primianus' praefecture are thus from the second to the fifth years of Severus.

4–5. Cf. Vita Gordiani 4. 8 apud praefectum aerarit more Romano professus filium. The lacuna at the beginning of l. 5 was filled by the name of the father.

6. jum is the termination of the son's name, and xvi refers to the day of the month on which the birth occurred, and which was given according to the Roman calendar; cf. the Cairo tablets, section (4). According to the law attributed to Marcus Aurelius (cf. introd.) the registration had to be made intra tricensimum diem; it is noticeable that the Cairo tablets are already in accordance with this regulation.

7. If hab- stands for habitiāns referring to the name of the father, it is somewhat out of its place. Perhaps a plural participle was intended, connecting loosely with both parents. [O]xyrynchο should then in either case strictly be [O]xyrynchi, unless [O]xyryncho(rum) (sc. urbe) be read.

895. RETURN OF VILLAGE-ACCOUNTS.

A statement rendered to the logistes of the nome by two comarchs of the village of Tampeti, of the village-accounts for two months. Most of its details are lost through the mutilation of the papyrus. The report was required in consequence of an order of the praefect (cf. e.g. P. Tebt. 336) Clodius Culcianus, for whose period of office a new date is supplied; cf. note on l. 8. The document has been joined to another return of a similar character, of which only the beginnings of the first eleven lines are preserved; Σαδάλου occurs apparently as a village name. On the verso at right angles to the writing on the recto are the ends of nine lines, apparently of an account of judicial proceedings. The last three lines are: ]... ev / διάδοχος εἰπ(εν) τὰ πεπραγμένα | Ἀμμωνιανοῦ ὧν μνίαν κύριόν μου διασ(ζημ)ότατον.

Ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κων[σταντίου]
καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων τὸ ε. Ἀυρηλίῳ Χαύρη [καὶ Ὠρίωνι λοι]γιστῇ Ὀξυρυχίτου

5 Παταβῆτος ἀμφοτέρων κομαρχῶν κώμης Ταμπετί. τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος καὶ καὶ τε γι (ἔτους) ἐπιζητοῦτι σοι κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ διασημοστάτου ἡμῶν ἡγεμόνος Ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων τὸ ε. Ἀυρηλίῳ Χαύρη [καὶ Ὠρίωνι λοι]γιστῇ Ὀξυρυχίτου παρὰ Αὐρηλίῳ Σακάνως Πετίριος καὶ Ψάτος κυρίον μου διασ(ζημ)ότατον.

A.D. 305.

A statement rendered to the logistes of the nome by two comarchs of the village of Tampeti, of the village-accounts for two months. Most of its details are lost through the mutilation of the papyrus. The report was required in consequence of an order of the praefect (cf. e.g. P. Tebt. 336) Clodius Culcianus, for whose period of office a new date is supplied; cf. note on l. 8. The document has been joined to another return of a similar character, of which only the beginnings of the first eleven lines are preserved; Σαδάλου occurs apparently as a village name. On the verso at right angles to the writing on the recto are the ends of nine lines, apparently of an account of judicial proceedings. The last three lines are: ]... ev / διάδοχος εἰπ(εν) τὰ πεπραγμένα | Ἀμμωνιανοῦ ὧν μνίαν κύριόν μου διασ(ζημ)ότατον.

Ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων τὸ ε. Ἀυρηλίῳ Χαύρη [καὶ Ὠρίωνι λοι]γιστῇ Ὀξυρυχίτου παρὰ Αὐρηλίῳ Σακάνως Πετίριος καὶ Ψάτος κυρίον μου διασ(ζημ)ότατον.
In the consulship of our lords Constantius and Maximianus, most renowned Caesars, for the fifth time. To Aurelius Seuthes also called Horion, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Sakaon son of Petiris, and Aurelius Psois son of Patabes, both comarchs of the village of Tampeti. In reply to your request in the present 21st which = the 13th year, in accordance with the order of his excellency the praefect Clodius Culcianus, for the village-accounts of our village in the two months Pharmouthi and Pachon, we, regarding this as a necessary duty, present them for your information, as follows:—For the price of papyrus and writing-materials . . . of three workmen sent to Babylon 120 drachmae ; for the price of papyrus and writing-materials . . . of one workman sent to . . . 1. . . drachmae; total together 2. . . drachmae . . .

2. The numeral ε is not very satisfactory, but is confirmed by the date in l. 6.
6. The years are those of Diocletian and the Caesars Constantius and Maximianus, the year of the emperor Maximianus being omitted ; cf. e.g. the date in 71. 4.
8. Clodius Culcianus is mentioned as praefect in Feb., A. D. 303, in 71. The present passage proves him to have been still in office at the end of May, A. D. 305.
10. Perhaps anavgen was written ; the space between κ and ω is narrow for two letters.
12. γράπτων Wilcken, who compares B. G. U. 1062. 20 τιμῆς χάρτου καὶ γράπτων. ], elias, however, remains a difficulty, for there is hardly room for καὶ ἐπιμελείας here, and certainly not in l. 14.
15. 'Οξιμαθῖατων would barely go into the space, and Βαβυλῶνα in l. 13 suggests a more remote locality, e.g. 'Αρσινωτῶν.
16. ρ seems to be the numeral; it is followed at a slight interval by a tall upright stroke which may be 10.
17. Probably not ὄμην, since the statement of accounts is continued in l. 18 sqq.; ἐπιθείας, e.g., is more likely.
19. Μικρᾶν Ο[ασιῆν. cf. 888. 8, note.
These two reports addressed to the logistes Valerius Ammonianus belong to the same series as 53, which was sent to the same official and is dated in the same year. The first of them, which is numbered at the top 127, is also closely connected with 53 in subject. It is an estimate of the probable expense of painting certain specified parts of some public baths which were in course of repair; and these repairs were also the occasion of the report contained in 53. Some new technical terms occur in the description of the work stated to be necessary. This is followed by a medical report, similar to 51–2, 476, B. G. U. 647, &c. (cf. 988), upon an official in the service of the governor of the province Aegyptus Herculia (cf. note on 1.29). The doctors certify that the person in question, who was perhaps suspected of malingering, was suffering from a mild attack of fever.

Col. i.

ρκξ.
Οὐαλερίῳ Ἀμμωνιανῷ τῷ καὶ Γεροντίῳ λόγιστῇ Ὀξυρυγχίτου παρὰ Διόρηλῳ Ἀρτεμιδόρου Ἀρσινοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπ(ράς) καὶ λαμπ(ρότης) Ὀξυρυγχίτων πόλεως ζωγράφου τὴν 5 ἐπιστήμην. ἐπιζητοῦσῃ τῇ σῇ ἐμμελείᾳ τὴν σύνοψιν τῶν δεομένων τόπων ζωγραφίας τοῦ εὐτυχῶς εἰσπευκεναζομένου Τραιανῶν Ἀδριανῶν θερμῶν δημοσίου τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως βαλανίου, κατὰ ταῦτα δηλῶ ἔμελτον καὶ ἐξόδων καὶ παραθολίων τεσσάρων τοῦ ἐξωτέρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τόπων εἰς μὲν τιμὴν χρωμάτων ἅρου ἐκαθορίστης τάς δεομένων τόπων τῶν δύο ψυχροφόρων καὶ ἐμβατικοῦ θόλου δοκιμαζόντων καὶ ἐξεταζόντων τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπηρεάσεων ἐπιζητοῦσαν καὶ συπαθητικάς ἐπιδήμων τῶν ἄλλων τόπων ὑπατείας Σ᾿ αβίνο καὶ Οὐσερίου 'Ρουφίνου

988. REPORTS TO A LOGISTES

25.1 x 34 cm.

A.D. 316.

986. REPORTS TO A LOGISTES.
To Valerius Ammonianus also called Gerontius, logistesa of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Artemidorus son of Arsinoh, of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, a painter by profession. In reply to the request of your grace for an inspection of the places requiring painting in the public bath of the said city now auspiciously under repair at the warm baths of Trajanus Hadrianus, I hereby declare that for the painting of the parts requiring it—of the two cold water conductors, and one vapour-bath, and the entrances and exits of the entire colonnade, and four passages round the vapour-bath in the outer colonnade, and the other places—there is required for cost of paint... thousand denarii of silver, and of the... painting of the whole work ten thousand denarii of silver; which I therefore report. The consulship of Caecinius Sabinus...
Vettius Rufinus the most illustrious,... (Signed) I, Aurelius Artemidorus, have presented the report. I, Aurelius... on wrote for him, being illiterate.'

'To Valerius Ammonianus also called Gerontius, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the Aurelii Heron son of... and Didymus son of Dioscorus, both of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, public physicians. We were sent by you to-day, Pharmouthi 6, in consequence of a petition delivered to you by Apollonius, officer of Aurelius Antonius governor of Aegyptus Hercilia, to go to the house in the said city and inspect this person, and to make a written report upon the condition in which we found him. Having therefore proceeded thither we saw the man himself lying on a bed seized with a slight...fever; which we accordingly report.' Date and signature of the two physicians.

7-8. Τραιανῶν ᾿Αδριανῶν θερμῶν: the 'Baths of Hadrian' are also mentioned in 54. 14 in A.D. 201, when too they were undergoing repair. Cf. 53. 5-6 τοῦ εὐτυχῶς ἐπ Ἰσκευα(ο)-μένου θερμῶν δημοσίου βαλανίου, which is evidently identical with the βαλανίου here; the note ad loc. is to be modified accordingly.

11-13. ἐμβατικοῦ θόλου: ἐμβασις and in later Greek ἐμβατή are used in the sense of a bath. For θόλος cf. P. Magd. 33. 3 and Mélanges Nicole, p. 282 ἐν τῷ γυναικείῳ θόλῳ. ἀρδρομηκιαίων is an unknown word of uncertain signification; παραθόλιον is also new, but creates no difficulty.

16. It is not possible to read ἱπ ζωγραφίας, since not only is there no sign of any tail for the ρ, but a mark like an overwritten v would remain unexplained; the supposed v, however, is more directly above the o than elsewhere in the papyrus. κεφαίου for κεφαλαίου might be read but is not satisfactory; perhaps καὶ τεἸλέου.

29. Aegyptus Jovia, Aegyptus Hercilia, and Thébais were the three provinces of Egypt according to the reorganization of Diocletian. It was supposed by Mommsen (Abb. d. Berl. Akad., 1862, p. 500), whose view has been generally followed, that Aegyptus Jovia consisted of the western, Aegyptus Hercilia of the eastern, portions of lower Egypt, the latter coinciding with the province afterwards called Augustanmica; but the intrinsically more probable hypothesis of C. Jullian (Rev. Ast, xix, p. 357) that Aegyptus Jovia was the Delta and Aegyptus Hercilia corresponded to the Heptanomis with the Arsinoite nome, is supported, as the editors notice, by a papyrus published by Collinet and Jouguet in Archiv, III. pp. 339 sqq., and receives fresh confirmation from 896. Mommsen's theory, however, might be reconciled with these two documents by transposing Aegyptus Hercilia to the west bank.

καταλάβομεῖν: or perhaps καταλάβιωμ��αι, the singular being used by mistake for the plural; the middle is supported by 51. 10.

κλεινὴν ὄντα occurs in the corresponding passage of 883.

The mutilated word is probably an adjective qualifying πυρετίοις.

897. DECLARATION TO RIPARII.

A declaration on oath addressed to two riparii of the Oxyrhynchite nome by four inhabitants of a village, denying all knowledge of the whereabouts of a certain individual whom they had been ordered to produce. On the riparrii, who were police-officers, see 904. 3, note. The papyrus is nearly complete; the missing termination probably contained only the signatures.
'Ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου
τὸ 8 καὶ Κώνσταντος τὸ γ΄ «Αὐγούστων.

Φλαουίοις Εὐλογίῳ καὶ Διονυσαρίῳ ῥιπαρίοις 'Οξυρνγχ(ίτων)
παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Ἀμόιτος Ὀμοσ καὶ Πατάπιος

Παησίου καὶ Σαρμάτου πρεσβύτερου καὶ Παησίου
Παησίου τῶν πάντων ἀπὸ κόμης Ἰσείου
Ζαπίτου. ἐπέθετο ἡμῖν ἐμμέλια
ὧστε Χωοῦν Ἡρακλῆου ὑποβληθέν-
τα εἶναι ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας κόμης ἀνα-

ξητήσαι καὶ παραστῆσαι. κατὰ ταῦτα
ὁμολογοῦμεν ομνύντες τὸν σεβάσμιον
θεῖον ὅρκον τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Αὐγούστων

[μ]ήτε τὸν Χωοῦν ἔτι εἶναι ἐπὶ τῆς
[ἡμῶν κ]όμης μήτε εἰδέναι ἡμᾶς

[ὁπο τ]ο[ etree] ἐστιν, καὶ μηδὲν διεψευ-

[σ]θαι ἢ ἔνοχοι εἴϊμεν τῷ θεῖῳ ὅρκῳ

14. τ of μητε corr. from δ.

'In the consulship of our masters Constantius for the fourth time and Constans for the third time, the Augusti. To Flavius Eulogius and Flavius Dionysarius, riparii of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Amois son of Horus, and Aurelius Patapis son of Paēsius, and Aurelius Sarmates the elder, and Aurelius Papnutius son of Paēsius, all from the village of Ision Zapitou. Your grace required us to search out and produce Choulos son of Heracleus, supposed to belong to our village. We therefore declare on the august divine oath by our masters the Augusti that Choulos is no longer at our village, and that we do not know where he is, and that we have made no false statement, under pain of becoming liable to the consequences of the divine oath . . .'

7. Ζαπίτου: or Ζαπίου or Ζανιτου. The name of this village is new; cf. Ἰσείου Παγγά (899. 7), Ἰσείου Τρόφωνος (719. 14).
A petition to Hermodorus (cf. 714), basilicogrammateus and acting-strategus, from Didymus, a minor, complaining of fraud on the part of his mother Matrina in her capacity as his guardian. It is alleged that Matrina, after various acts of bad faith, had obtained possession of a deed belonging to Didymus and demanded in exchange for it a document absolving her from all claims in connexion with the guardianship.

A.D. 123.

A petition to Hermodorus (cf. 714), basilicogrammateus and acting-strategus, from Didymus, a minor, complaining of fraud on the part of his mother Matrina in her capacity as his guardian. It is alleged that Matrina, after various acts of bad faith, had obtained possession of a deed belonging to Didymus and demanded in exchange for it a document absolving her from all claims in connexion with the guardianship.
'To Hermodorus, basilicogrammateus and deputy-strategus, from Didymus son of Dionysius also called Phatres, of the city of Oxyrhynchus. My mother Matrina, daughter of Heracleus also called Matreus, who is my guardian and by whom I am much injured, has ended by beguiling me and causing me to go to the Oasis, and to draw up with Dioscorus, the husband of her freedwoman and her confidant, a ... of one and a half talents of silver, and to mortgage all my property in the Oasis in return for a deed of release received from Dioscorus. On my return to the Oxyrhynchite nome with Dioscorus she watched for an opportunity of asking me for the deed, and after obtaining possession of it, being conscious of the theft of much of my property, she refuses to acknowledge having it, and demands in return a receipt for her guardianship, thinking by this means to escape the consequences of her misdeeds. This she has done notwithstanding the fact that Philonicus the strategus has decided, in accordance with a report of proceedings, that another person should be appointed as my guardian, distrusting both her and my own youth. Besides this she has failed to supply my allowance for the last three months, using every means of oppressing me so as to render me incapable of proceeding against her. For all these reasons I am obliged to present this petition, and beg that it may be registered, and that you will take whatever steps you think best. The seventh year of the Emperor Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus, Pauni 29.'

I. Ἑρμοδώρῳ: cf. 714. 2, referring to the year before the date of the present papyrus. In the previous line there [στρα(τηγῷ) should be read in place of [τῶι, for 898. 26 shows that Philonicus was the name of the strategus.


9. ἰδίῳ: i.e. the Small Oasis (Bahriyeh); cf. 898. 8, note.

11. ἀδὸν ... : a substantive is wanted to be the object of γράψασθαι and to govern the genitive ταλάντου in 1, 12. The letters αδο are quite clear, and the next letter is either τ or π. Possibly ἀδόνου is to be read; cf. l. 18 τὴν ἀπερίσπαστον, and P. Brit. Mus. II. 361 verso 5 περὶ ἀδόνου προως*[έν: but this needs other support. For ἰδίῳ cf. 974.

15. ἀπερίσπαστον: i.e. a deed of indemnification, distinguished by the formula ἀπερίσπαστον περέβεβεθαι or an equivalent phrase; cf. e.g. 270, 286. 9 sqq., and P. Tebt. 392. In l. 18 the deed is called ἡ ἀπερίσπαστος simply.

22-3. The construction is mixed: οὐ πρότερον ... θέλει would naturally be followed by πρὶν ἀν λάβῃ, instead of which a participial phrase is used as if πρότερον were absent.

26. Φιλονίκου: cf. note on 1 and 957. στρα(τηγήσαντος) is possible, if Philonicus had resigned or died and was not merely absent temporarily. For the competence of the strategi in the appointment of guardians cf. 888. introd.

31. ἰδίῳ: the allowance of Didymus was probably fixed by his father’s will; cf. e.g. 494. 16 ἡ δ’ αὐτή γυνὴ μου χορηγησει τῷ τις μου κ.τ.λ.

899. PETITION OF APOLLONARION.

The recto of this papyrus consists of a copy of a petition from a woman called Apollonarion, claiming on the score of her sex to be released from the responsibility of cultivating various plots of Crown land in the Oxyrhynchite nome. That women were legally exempt from the obligation to undertake this duty was known from B. G. U. 648. 12-4 εἰς ἥν (γεωργίαν) γυνὴ ὀδὸν ὁ ὄφειλον
The petition of Apollonarion is dated at the end Thoth 1 of the 9th year of an emperor, who from the reference in l. 10 to the praefect Aemilius Saturninus must be Septimius Severus: it was a very elaborate and composite document, giving apparently the history of her case from the beginning, and quoting both her own previous petitions and various official correspondence in connexion with them. Since the papyrus contains only the concluding portion of the document, one or more preceding columns being lost, and what remains is in far from perfect condition, it is difficult to trace fully the whole complicated narrative, but the general outline of Apollonarion's proceedings is fairly clear. Her first step was to send the petition which occupies ll. 2–32. In this she explained the nature of her liabilities in connexion with the cultivation of Crown land (ll. 3–8) and the difficulties into which she had fallen (ll. 8–14), and requested that she, as a woman, might be released from the obligations and her place taken by men (ll. 14–20). In support of her claim she appended an account of a similar application made in court in A.D. 154 by a woman, which after the recital of earlier precedents created by two praefects and an epistrategus was decided in the applicant's favour (ll. 20–32). The name and rank of the official to whom this initial petition was addressed are lost, but ll. 9–10 show that he was not the praefect, and ll. 16–7 that he was above the strategus. The hypothesis that he was the epistrategus can be supported by the possible restoration σὺ ὁ κύριος ἐπιστίρατης in l. 18; but since this petition seems to be identical with the βιβλίδιον which in ll. 33 and 38 is coupled with an ἐπιστολή of the dioecetes, probably the latter official was addressed, his name being Flavius Studiosus, as appears from a contemporary document on the verso (cf. p. 225). In answer to Apollonarion the dioecetes wrote a letter, apparently to the acting strategus of the nome, at the same time enclosing a copy of her petition. The text of this letter, as is shown by l. 33 ἱὼς τούτου τῆς ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τοῦ βιβλεῖδιον τὸ ἀντίγραφον, occurred immediately before ll. 2–32: ἐσημιῶσας at the end of l. 32 may indicate the official signature of the dioecetes appended to the enclosure. The date in l. 33, Phamenoth 6 of the 7th year, applies to this signature, not to Apollonarion's petition, which was probably written a short time previously. Concerning the contents of the dioecetes' letter, it is clear both from Apollonarion's reference to it in a later petition (ll. 44–5 καθὼς πρώτερον ἐπέστειλας) and from the terms in which it is spoken of by the acting strategus (ll. 37–8) that the dioecetes admitted the justice
of Apollonarion's claims. The next step, as appears from ll. 37–8, was for Apollonarion to write a petition to the acting strategus, Ammonianus, enclosing the letter of the dioecetes and her original petition, and no doubt asking him to give the necessary instructions to the local officials of the different villages to remove her name from the list of cultivators. This petition to the acting strategus must have been presented between Phamenoth 6 and Pachon 27 of the 7th year, for on the latter day Ammonianus wrote to the comogrammateis of the villages concerned the letter contained in ll. 36–9, enclosing a copy of Apollonarion's petition to himself, the letter of the dioecetes and the original petition, and ordering an inquiry into the facts to be held and a report to be made. So far the negotiations seem to have proceeded smoothly, but at this point a hitch occurred; for in Tubi of the 8th year (i.e. eight months later than Ammonianus' letter to the comogrammateis) Apollonarion addressed a second petition to the dioecetes, of which the conclusion is extant in ll. 40–45, while the lost beginning of it presumably preceded the letter of the dioecetes which occurred immediately before ll. 2 sqq. In this second petition Apollonarion began by quoting the dioecetes' letter in answer to her first petition, and the first petition itself (ll. 2–23), then recounted the action of Ammonianus (ll. 33–9), and ended by asking the dioecetes to give stricter instructions to the new strategus (whose name is shown by one of the documents on the verso to be Diophanus), so that pressure might be applied to the local village authorities to carry out the previous orders of the dioecetes and to release her. The second petition of Apollonarion to the dioecetes is, we think, the βιβλείδιον which in ll. 46 is coupled with an ἀναγραφή and ἐπιστολή as having been quoted in the papyrus. Hence the texts of both these documents seem to have immediately preceded the beginning of the second petition. The ἐπιστολή is no doubt a second letter of the dioecetes (to the strategus or Apollonarion) in answer to the second petition: and with it we should connect ἐσημειωσάμην in 1. 46, interpreting that on the analogy of ἐσημιωσάμην in 1. 32 as the official signature of the dioecetes appended to the copy of the petition enclosed in his reply; but the identity of Aufidius Ammonius, who also appends his signature in 1. 46, remains quite obscure. The nature of the ἀναγραφή is explained by Col. ii of the verso, which seems to contain an actual copy of it. It was a report, probably supplied by the various comogrammateis, giving the situations and descriptions of Apollonarion's holdings and the names of the previous cultivators. Probably it was sent to the dioecetes by Apollonarion along with her second petition to him, and was also included by him in his reply. That this reply was, like the earlier one, favourable to Apollonarion is clear from the context, especially the words ὁδὸς ἀκολούθων κ.τ.λ. in ll. 46–7: the date at which it was dispatched is not stated, but though the
second petition was written in Tubi the reply had not taken effect by the end of the year, for on Thoth 1 of the 9th year Apollonarion sent off yet another petition, addressed, as we think, to the strategus. In this she began by citing the whole dossier, which by this time comprised the second letter of the dioecetes, the ἀναγραφή, and her own second petition with all its enclosures, and concluded (ll. 46–50) with the usual request that the local officials should be instructed to release her from liabilities. Of this petition to the strategus we take the papyrus to be a copy, and, if so, the beginning of this third petition of which the end remains in ll. 46–50 was the actual beginning of the papyrus. A brief summary of the arrangement of this very complicated document, as reconstructed by us, may be of assistance.

1. Petition of Apollonarion to the strategus (beginning)
2. Second letter of the dioecetes
3. Lost
4. Second petition of Apoll. to the dioecetes (beginning)
5. First letter of the dioecetes
6. First petition of Apoll. to the dioecetes (continuation) ll. 2–32
7. Letter of Ammonianus
8. Second petition of Apoll. to the dioecetes (continuation) ll. 33–5
9. Second petition of Apoll. to the dioecetes (end) ll. 40–5
10. Petition of Apoll. to the strategus (end) ll. 46–50

The chronological order of the documents is 6, 5, 7, 4, 3, 2, 1.

On the verso, the surface of which is much damaged, are two incomplete columns belonging to three distinct documents, written in hands which strongly resemble each other, but are perhaps not identical, and are certainly different from the hand of the recto. The upper half of Col. i contains parts of 22 lines (the last 8 being almost entirely obliterated) of a document quoting a ὑπομνηματισμός. Among the words decipherable are 1.1 ἀποφάσεως [ ], 3 παρουκ( ) καὶ γεωργ( ), 5 Ἀντωνίῳ, 6 ἐν Ἀλεξ(ανδρείᾳ) τῇ πρὸς Αἰγύπτ(οι), 7 mpd ς΄ εἰδῶν Ἀπριλίων Φαρμοῦθι, 8 ἐπὶ τὸν κύρι-, 9 ov ἐδανε[ι] Ἰσάμην, 10 κεφάλαιον καὶ τοὺς τόκους. So far as can be judged, this document, unlike the two following, has no bearing on Apollonarion's case. The rest of Col. i is occupied by a copy of a petition similar to that of Apollonarion, made apparently a year later by another woman called Heraclia. It begins Διοφάν(ε)ις (or -της), the rest of that line and the two next being almost entirely effaced, but in l. 4 sqq. is a passage which is legible: ὑπὸ σου ἐπιστάμους (ἀτος?) ὑπὸ στημ[αι] ἄντιγραφον. Διοφ(άνης) στρατηγὸς Ὁ[ξ(υρ)υγ(χίτου)] | (5) κομμαρισμων σαν ὑπογραμμισ(ων) κομ.(ων). βιβλιδίων δοθέντων μοι | (6) ὑπὸ Ἡρακλείας Θέωνος ὑπὸ ἀνελημματο[ι] ἄντιγραφον ἐπιστολῆς γραφείσης ὑπὸ | (7) Φλαβίου Στουδιώσου τοῦ κρατίστου Q
In this letter of Diophanes cf. the almost identical letter of Ammonianus in ll. 36–9 of the recto. Then follows a copy of the petition to Diophanes from Heraclia enclosing a letter of the dioecetes Flavius Studiosus, but these two documents, which continue up to the end of l. 17, are in a hopeless condition. In l. 18 sqq. is what appears to be a short imperial decree bearing upon the immunity of women from ἑωργία and beginning Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Λούκ(ιος) Σεπτίμ(ιος) Σεουῆρος Εὐσεβ(ής): the words γυναιξὶν δικαίας παραιτήσεως occur in l. 21, and a date, η (ήτον) Φαρμοθ(ι) ἤμ. l. 22 also seems to belong to the decree, but the subject of the two following lines, which are the last of the column and begin much further to the right, is different. Col. ii has only the beginnings of lines, and probably not more than about a third of each is preserved. The subject of the first five lines is uncertain, but the rest of the column (ll. 6–45) is occupied by a document bearing upon Apollonarian's case, being we think a copy of the ἀναγραφή referred to in l. 46 of the recto (cf. p. 224). It begins (l. 6) δηλοῦμ(ε)ν ἀναγράφεσιθαι, Apollonarian is alluded to more than once, and there are numerous references to lands at various places, including the νομαὶ Διονυσιάδου mentioned in l. 6 of the recto, while lists of persons occur, in one case being followed by the words πάντ(ες) δωτ(ες) προσέργησον(με)));
899. PETITION OF APOLLONARION

[τὰ τ]ελούμενα, ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέβη μοι ἐκ τε ἐπικλ[α]σμῶν κελευσθέντων [.........] ὑπὸ τοῦ λαμπροτά-

10 [του] ἡγεμόνος Αἰμιλίου Σατουρνίνου καὶ εἶς ἄλλων τινῶν αἵρεσιν καὶ σ[ ] 25 letters
[ἄναγκας σχέδιον τι διενηλωτίσαι με ἐν τούτοις οὐ μόνον συνεχο-

μέν[ν] 19 letters ἀλλὰ [καὶ] διὰ τούτο τὴν τε ἐνδομενείαν μοι καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον κόσμον καὶ τὴν ἀ[ ] 25 letters
[καὶ ἄ][λλα τῶν ἐμῶν πλεῖστα ἐμφορὰ πολλοῦ ἄξια ὑπὸ τοῦ λαμπροτά

10 [το] ἡγεμόνος Αἰμιλίου Σ᾿ ατουρνίνου καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων τινῶν ἀφορμῶν καὶ σὶ 25 letters
[ἐντὸς] 15 [.........] εἰς τὴν τυχοῦσαν περιστήναι. οὐ δὴ χάριν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν τούτῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τε ἐνδομενείαν μου καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον κόσμον καὶ τὴν ἀναγκαίως σχεδόν τι διενιαυτίσαι ἐν τούτῳ οὐ μόνον συνεχο-

μέν[ν] 17 letters καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἐνδομενείαν μου καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον κόσμον καὶ τὴν ἀ[ ] 25 letters
[καὶ ἄ]'ϊλλα τῶν ἐμῶν πλεῖστα ἐμφορὰ πολλοῦ ἄξια ὑπὸ τοῦ λαμπροτά

15 [.........] ἐπὶ τοῦ λαμπροτάντος τοῦ ἡγεμόνος Αἰμιλίου Σ᾿ ατουρνίνου καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων τινῶν ἀφορμῶν καὶ σὶ 25 letters
[ἐντὸς] 20 [.........] διὰ τὴν τυχοῦσαν περιστήναι. διενηλωτίσαι με ἐν τούτῳ οὐ μόνον συνεχο-

μέν[ν] 22 letters καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν τε ἐνδομενείαν μου καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον κόσμον καὶ τὴν ἀ[ ] 25 letters
[καὶ ἄ]'ϊλλα τῶν ἐμῶν πλεῖστα ἐμφορὰ πολλοῦ ἄξια ὑπὸ τοῦ λαμπροτά

20 [.........] διὰ τὴν τυχοῦσαν περιστήναι. διενηλωτίσαι με ἐν τούτῳ οὐ μόνον συνεχο-

μέν[ν] 27 letters καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν τε ἐνδομενείαν μου καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον κόσμον καὶ τὴν ἀ[ ] 25 letters
[καὶ ἄ]'ϊλλα τῶν ἐμῶν πλεῖστα ἐμφορὰ πολλοῦ ἄξια ὑπὸ τοῦ λαμπροτά
To his highness the dioecetes Flavius Studiosus from Apollonarion also called Aristandra, daughter of Aristander, her mother being Didyma daughter of . . . of Oxyrhynchus. . . . (I am lessee of) 20 arourae near the metropolis, arourae at Chusis in the pastures of Dionysias, . . . 110 arourae at Ision Panga, 38¼ arourae at Seruphis, and . . . arourae at Senekeleu and . . . As long as I had the power I cultivated these and (paid) the taxes, but since it has been my fate as the result both of the extra levies ordained . . . by his excellency the praefect Aemilius Saturninus and of other causes . . . to have perforce spent nearly all the year on them, not only being hard pressed . . . but also in consequence (having sacrificed) both my household stock, my private ornaments, and . . . and a large quantity of other property worth a considerable amount for quite a small sum . . . I am hence reduced to extreme poverty. For which reason, in order that I may not become a wanderer . . . as I have only . . . to live on, I present this petition, and entreat you (to pity) my fate, and release me from the cultivation of the aforesaid lands, and to write to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome instructions that the official in each village shall provide for the cultivation being performed by others; for men are the persons suitable for undertaking the cultivation, as you yourself, my lord, . . . owing to your innate kindness, I have appended . . . in order that I may be completely benefited through you. Farewell. The 18th year of the deified Aelius Antoninus, Thoth . . . in the case of . . . etis daughter of Ptollion: Saturninus, advocate, said, "Ptollion the father of my client was appointed (to cultivate) Crown and public land at the villages of Busiris, Thinteris, and . . . in the Heracleopolite nome. He died leaving her as his heir, and since the comogrammateis of these villages are imposing upon her the obligation to cultivate her father's land in defiance of the regulations forbidding this, and it has been decided by praefects and epistrategi from time to time that women are not to be forced to undertake this duty, she too requests, citing these judgements, that she may be released from the cultivation, which pertains only to men." Parmenion said, "Let the judgements upon such cases be read." There were read a decree
of Tiberius Alexander in the 2nd year of Galba, forbidding women to be made cultivators, and a decision of Valerius Eudaemon in the 5th year of Antoninus, and another of Minicius Corellianus, epistrategus in the 10th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord; whereupon Parmenion said, "In accordance with the judgements which have been read, Tathun . . . has the right to be released from the cultivation . . . , and other cultivators ought to be appointed for the land in her stead." I, Apollonarion also called Aristandra, have presented this petition. Signed, the 7th year, Phamenoth 6. So far the copy of the letter and the petition; acting in accordance with which the basilicogrammateus of the nome and deputy-strategus Ammonianus wrote instructions to the officials of the villages where the lands are situated as follows: Ammonianus, basilicogrammateus and deputy-strategus, to the comogrammateus of Chusis and those of the other villages. I send you a copy of the petition presented to me by Apollonarion also called Aristandra, to which is joined a letter of his highness the dioecetes, and also a petition concerning the cultivation for which she declared herself not to be liable, in order that you may, in accordance with the judgements on the subject, hold an inquiry and report to me. Signed, the 7th year, Pachon 27. The change in appointment of other cultivators ought accordingly to take place in conformity with your letter, and the rents should be exacted from the former cultivators; I therefore entreat you, if it please your Fortune, to command that stricter instructions be written to the present strategus of the nome to compel the officials to make the change in accordance with the orders which they have received, and the collectors to exact the dues from the cultivators who claim the land, and not to harass me, a woman without a husband or helper, following your previous instructions in this matter, that I may obtain relief. Farewell. Presented by me, Apollonarion also called Aristandra. The 8th year, Tubi 1. Signed. Signed by me Aufidius Ammonius. Thus far the petition, the list, and the letter; in accordance with which I entreat you to instruct the local officials to make the change in the appointment as claimed by me, and the collectors to exact the dues from the proper persons. The 9th year, Thoth 1. Presented by me Apollonarion also called Aristandra, daughter of Aristander. I, Cornelius son of Pekusis, have been appointed her guardian. I, . . ., assistant, have brought the petition. The 9th year, Thoth 1.

1. The nature of this much abbreviated marginal note, which is written in a larger hand than the body of the text, is quite uncertain.
2. For the restoration Φλαουίῳ Στουδιώσῳ κ.λ. cf. introd. p. 225.
3. For ἔπικλασμοι, which were special levies at intervals, see P. Tebt. 373. 12, note. After κελευθέντων a date probably followed.
4. Aemilius Saturninus is known from B. G. U. 15. ii. 1, a letter from him to the strategi of the Heptanomis written on Epeiph 17 of the 5th year. His official rank was not there given, but P. M. Meyer's view that he was praefect is now confirmed by the present passage and 916. 10, where he is mentioned as praefect in Pauni of the 6th year; cf. Cantarelli, La serie dei prefetti di Egitto, pp. 63-4. The precise date of this petition of Apollonarion to the dioecetes is uncertain (cf. introd.); it cannot be later than Phamenoth 6 of the 7th year (cf. l. 32, note), and probably is not many months earlier. After Saturninus the next praefect who is known is Q. Maecius Laetus, who held office in the 10th year.
5. πραγματικός: cf. ll. 35-6, where by πραγματικοί are meant the κωμογραμματεῖς, and ll. 42-3, where they are contrasted with the πράκτορες. The word seems to be a general term for a minor official; cf. P. Amh. 107. 15 τῶν τοῦ νομοῦ πραγματικῶν, P. Brit. Mus. 164, 7 τῶν βασιλ(ικῶν) γρα(ματάτων) καὶ πραγματικῶν, P. Flor. 57. 54, &c. After ποιήσηται something like ὥστε ὑπ᾽ ἑτέρων τὴν γεωργίαν γενέσθαι is required by the sense. Possibly the previous cultivators (οἱ γεγεωργηκότες) were to be reinstated; cf. ll. 40-4 and the ἀναγραφή on the verso (p. 226) which contains a list of these persons.
18. ἐπιστί may be ἐπιστάσαι or some part of ἐπιστολή or ἐπιστέλλειν, but hardly ἐπιστιρτά

tnyos; cf. introd. The construction of ll. 18-19 is not clear. ὑπέταξα, if right, refers to the

ὑπομνημάτισμος appended by Apollonarion in ll. 20-32, and δέ has perhaps dropped out.

ὑπέταξας ὅπως cannot be read, and the word following ἕτεραι does not seem to be any part of

ἐφιμά.

21. ἐπίστολος Πηλλίανος: the name of the applicant is given in l. 31 as ἡ Ταῦθου ...., where the termination is not -τε. Probably she had two names.

ἐτ[ ] ... perhaps ἐτ[ ], γῆν being an accusative of the same kind as e.g. Aeschin. 3. 24

ἐκθρονισθήθη δημαρχής τῷ ἄρχειν; or an infinitive such as γεωργίαν may have occurred.

25. ἐπιστρατήγων corresponds to ἐπιτρόπων in the parallel passage from B. G. U. 648.

12-4 quoted on pp. 222-3; cf. Wileken, Ost. i. p. 427.

27. Parmenion, the presiding judge, cannot have been praefect, for on Thoth 1 of the 18th year of Antoninus (cf. l. 20) that office was held by Sempronius Liberalis (B. G. U. 372). Perhaps he was epistrategus of the Heptanomis, but that view is open to the objection that in Choiak of the 20th year the epistrategus was Statillus Maximus, as is shown by 487. i, while B. G. U. 340, an undated petition to him, refers to events in the 12th year, so that Statillus Maximus may have been already in office in the 18th year. Other possibilities are that Parmenion was δικαιοδότης, διοικητής, or ἴδιος λόγος.

28-30. For Tiberius Alexander and Valerius Eudaemon cf. Cantarelli, op. cit. pp. 33 and 49. Mincius Corellianus, epistrategus of the Heptanomis, occurs also in P. Gen. 31 which refers to the 9th year of Antoninus. Before Ovidianus Eudaemon, ὑπομνηματισμόν, not διατάγματος, is to be understood, as is shown by the word κεκριμένος. In l. 28 after γεωργίᾳ no compound of ἄγεσθαι seems satisfactory.

32. ἐντιμοσύνης is the signature of some official and the following date refers to it, not to ἐπίθετα which marks the end of Apollonarion’s petition. The signature may have been added in the office of the dioecetes upon the receipt of the petition, but since the petition is itself an enclosure in the letter of the dioecetes, we are disposed to regard ἐντιμοσύνης as the signature of the dioecetes at the conclusion of the copy of the petition which he was forwarding; cf. l. 46 and introd.

33. τοῦ τούτου: cf. l. 46, B. G. U. 613. 25 and 36, and introd.

37. τὸ ἕτερον: a singular antecedent for ὁ can be found in τὸ ἔτερον on which βιβλίδιον depends, but the plural βιβλίδια being probably used, as often, for the singular, the writer may well have meant it to be the antecedent of ὁ. Cf. the letter of Diophanes quoted on p. 225, where the phrase recurs, but with the abbreviation of βιβλιδ(ιά ) δοθέν( ). For ἀναλαμβάνειν in the sense of ‘including in’ cf. e.g. 985 ὑπὸ ἐπάνω ἀνειλ(ημέναι) ἐν τῷ τοῦ η (τῶν) λόγῳ ὑφ᾽ ἑκατέρου μέρους [λεχθέντα τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι ἀνελήμφθη.

38. τὸ ἔτερον: τὸ ιππίων or τὸ ἀντίγραφον would be expected at this point (cf. the letter of Diophanes quoted on pp. 225-6), and perhaps τὸ ἔτερον means no more than the ‘duplicate’, i.e. ‘copy’. If it means the second of two βιβλίδια, and the plural βιβλίδια in l. 37 is really correct, these were probably duplicates, not two petitions to Ammonianus written at different times, so that the sense would be much the same. None of the three documents stated to be enclosed in Ammonianus’ letter actually follows in l. 40 sqq.; the βιβλίδιον περὶ γεωργίας is the original petition to the dioecetes already quoted in ll. 2-32, and the letter of the dioecetes immediately preceded it, but the petition of Apollonarion to Ammonianus himself does not seem to have been cited in the papyrus; cf. introd.

39. τοῦ τούτου: the traces of the figure of the year are very slight, and would suit e.g. 7 as well; but the date of Ammonianus’ letter is clearly later than Phamenoth 6 of the 7th year (l. 33), the date of the communication from the dioecetes which caused it to be written, and unless the date in l. 39 is earlier than that in l. 45 (Tubi of the 8th year) we are
unable to explain the relation of ll. 40–50 to what precedes, for ll. 40–5 cannot be regarded as an enclosure in the letter of Ammonianus.

41. τῶν γεγεωργηκότων: apparently the previous cultivators were to be made responsible for the land leased by Apollonarion; cf. προγεωργο(ι?) in the ἀναγραφή cited on p. 226. In ll. 43–4 a different phrase is used τῶν ἀντιποιουμένων τί 5 γῆς γεωργῶν, and in l. 48 they are vaguely called ἄν προσήκει. ἐπιστρεφέστερον was suggested by Wilcken.

900. PETITION TO A LOGISTES.

24:3 Χ τὸ cm. A.D. 322.

A petition to Dioscurides, the same logistes who issued the proclamation about the gymnastic display in 42, from a functionary who had been nominated as an annual superintendent of the express-post, and who here complains of the failure of certain donkey-drivers to support him in carrying out his duties. It is badly put together, in spite of the comparatively high position of the writer.

The year of the sixth consulate of Licinius Augustus and the second of Licinius Caesar, in which the papyrus is dated (cf. 42. 8–9), is still disputed. The two most recent discussions are those of Jouguet in Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Insr. et Belles-Lettres, 1906, pp. 231–6 (cf. Archiv, III. pp. 339–43), and Seeck in Rhein. Mus. 1907, pp. 517 sqq., who uphold A.D. 322, and Viereck in Archiv, IV. pp. 156–62, who decides for A.D. 323. Of these alternatives we prefer the former.

Τπατε[...] τῶν δεσπ[οτῶν ἡμῶν Δικινίου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε' καὶ Δικινίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ β' [Οὐαλερίῳ Διοσκουρίδῃ τῷ καὶ Τουλιανῷ λα[γιστῇ Ὁξυρυγχείτῳ] παρ[α] Διοσκόρου Σιλβανοῦ ἀρχικοῦ Σιλβανοῦ ἀρχικοῦ παρ[α] Δυρηλίον Διοσκόρου Σιλβανοῦ ἀρχικοῦ τῆς λαμπίρᾶς καὶ λαμπίροτατης ᾿Οξυρυγχείτων πόλεως πραιποσίτου μου ὄντος πατριμωναλίων δεκάτου πάγου τοῦδε τοῦ νομοῦ ὑποβληθέντος ἔτι εἰς κονδουκτορίαν τοῦ ὀξέος δρόμου τοῦ εὐτυχῶς εἰσιόντος ἔτους, καὶ ἐξρήν τοίνυν τούς εξ έθους ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἀποπληρουσάς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνιαυσίως εἰς τοῦτο ὑπ[ο]βαλ- λομένων ὑπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἢμείς τοῖς ἐνχιρισθεῖσι πλύσσα ἐστιωδοκορολεύοντας, καὶ ἐξ έθους ἀποπληρουσία ἀποπληρωμάτων, παρεχομένων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἀναλωμάτων. ἀλλ' ἐπιδίδη μαυθάνω τούτους
900. PETITION TO A LOGISTES

βουλομένους ἐνεδρεύειν τὴν τηλικαύτην ἀπαρέτητον χρείαν τισὶ μὲν ἀπ[ο][σί], ἐνίου δὲ διαβάλλοντας, τῶν ἥμερων τῆς ἀντιλήμψεως σ[υ]ρχέντων τοῦ λιτουργήματος, ἐκ τοῦτον ἡπίχθην τὰ βιβλία ἐπιδοῦναι ἀξι-

15 ὅν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὑπηλάτας ἐπαναγκασθῆναι Φαῦστον καὶ Ὡρον καὶ Ἑλεά

πάντ᾽ ἤχειν ὑπὲρ ὅν ἐξετέλουν κατ᾽ ἄτος τῆς κονδουκτορίας χρείαν πάν-

[τα τε παρασχέθαι αὐτοῖς] τοῖς ἐνιαυσίγοις ὑπακούοντες, καὶ ἡμῶν διὰ τῶν

[αὐτῶν τὸ]ν ἐνχειρισθείσαν χρείαν ἀποπληροῖν καὶ μὴ εἰς ἀνάγκην γενέ-

[σθαι ἐντο]χεῖν τοῖς μείζοσιν περὶ τοῦτον. (2nd hand) ἐνεδρεῖας γεγεν-

20 [ὑπατεία]ς τῆς προκειμένης Μεσορῆς 7.

3rd hand [Αὐρ(ήλιος)] Διόσκορος ἐπιδέδωκα.


'In the consulship of our masters Licinius Augustus for the sixth time and Licinius the most renowned Caesar for the second time, . . . To Valerius Dioscorides also called Julianus, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Dioscorus son of Silvanus, ex-magistrate and senator of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, Being already the administrator of the imperial patrimonial estates in the tenth pagus of this nome, I have besides been nominated as contractor for the express-post for the year auspiciously approaching. It was accordingly incumbent on those who customarily discharge such services on behalf of the annual nominees to this office, to render obedience to me who have been entrusted with so many public burdens, and to discharge their customary services, for which their expenses are provided. But whereas I learn that these persons are desirous of acting fraudulently in respect of these important and unavoidable functions, some by absenting themselves, and others by deception, and since the period before entering upon this duty has become short, I therefore hasten to present this petition, requesting that the said donkey-drivers, Faustus, Horus, and Chaereas, be compelled to retain and to provide everything for the functions pertaining to the contract which they were wont yearly to fulfil, in obedience to the annual contractors, so that I may with their assistance perform the function entrusted to me, and not be reduced to appeal to the officials upon this matter. (Endorsed) Concerning a case of fraud: in the consulship aforesaid, Mesore 6. (Signed) Presented by me, Aurelius Dioscorus.'

5. The πατριμωνία are the properties belonging to the imperial patrimonium, which in Egypt in the Roman period were usually called oōsia. The occurrence of the term patrimonalia in the fourth century is noticeable.

κονδουκτορία τοῦ ὀξέος δρόμου: cf. 138. 9 πακτάριος τοῦ ὀξεος δρόμου, 140. 7 σταδίτις τοῦ ὀξεος δρόμου, P. Flor. 39. 6 γραμματηφόροι τοῦ ὀξεος δρόμου. In P. Oxy. I. p. 219, &c., we took σταδίτις to refer to the race-course, but, as Wilcken has remarked to us, the curiosus velox or express postal service is doubtless meant; cf. Cod. Theod. 8. 5. 62 and Preisigke, Klio, VII. p. 269. κονδουκτορία = conductoria is novel, and conduciorta is apparently not found in the sense implied here.

12-3. For ἀπαραίτητον χρείαν cf. 904. 9. τιαί μὲν ἀπηγίσαι has no construction, and should have been in the accusative. The reading is indeed uncertain, and the supposed π not very satisfactory; but a participle seems required to balance διαβάλλοντας, and ἀπηγίσαι, but for the case, gives a good sense. It is noticeable that ἐνίους was originally written for ἐνίοις.

τῶν ἀπαραίτητον . . . συναχθέντων: we suppose συναχθέντων to be an error for συναχθεῖσαι, and the meaning to be that the interval of time remaining before Dioscorus had to take up his duties had become short. This remedy is somewhat violent, but cf. B. G. U. 893. 12-14 οὗτοι ὁ κεκληρωμένος . . . ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς ἐγχιρισθείσης αἰτοῖς. . . ὁλίγαι() ἡμέραι ἐν μέσῳ εἰσίν, where the sense appears to be very similar, and, for this use of ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι, e. g. B. G. U. 18. 14 ἀντιλαμβ. τῆς ἐγχιρισθείσης αἰτοῖς χρείας.


16-17. πάντ᾽ ἔχειν is strange, but we can find no other suitable reading, and πάντ᾽ is supported by the following πάντα. πάντ᾽ ἔχειν . . . πάντα περὶ παρασχέσθαι would hardly fill the space at the beginning of l. 17. αὑτός is practically certain in spite of the letters marked doubtful, for though the or could equally well be read as π, and ω might possibly be κή, these alternatives give no word. The final π has been written twice over, once as a flourish below the line, and again in the ordinary position. εἰνώς seems to be a slip for ἐνόμισος, a word which has already occurred in the adverbial form in l. 8; the mistake may have been assisted by ἐνίους in l. 13. τοῖς ἐνίους is hardly a possible expression.

19. τοὺς μειζονάν: μειζονά and μειζότερον are apparently general terms for a person in authority, used in the same way as ῥήματινιον. The titles commonly occur without further definition as e. g. in 894. 1, but are also found both in combination with a local name indicating the sphere of influence, e. g. 158. 2 τῷ μειζονα τῆς αὐτῆς Ταμπέτι, or with the name of the person to whom the μειζονα was subordinate, e. g. 131. 14 μειζονα Κλαυδιανοῦ, B. G. U. 367. 5 and 368. 10 κόμητι και μειζότερον στρατηγίῳ τῶν πανευφήμων πατριών; cf. the similar use of ῥήματινιον in 896. 28. The earliest instance of a μειζονα that we have noticed is P. Brit. Mus. II. 214. 22, of the reign of Aurelian.

901. Petition to a Public Advocate.

15 X 12 cm. A.D. 336.

This document like 902 is addressed to an official occupying the position of ἔκδικος or defensor (cf. 902. 1, note), though in this case as a deputy. It is a complaint of a woman against a neighbour arising out of a chase after her pigs which had got loose; but the details of the story are lost owing to the mutilation of the papyrus. On the verso are a few letters which apparently have no relation to the petition on the recto.
In the consulship of Vibius (?) Nepotianus and Tettius Facundus the most illustrious, Pachon 6. To Flavius Julianus, deputy-advocate of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelia Allous daughter of Thonius of the village of Taampemou in the fifth pagus. In the evening time of yesterday our two pigs made a rush into our piece of land, and got into the channel of the water-machine of our children and a certain Pabanus, of the said village. The aforesaid Pabanus happening to be by, and having in his hands a stick, wished to (catch) the pigs and (remove them) from the place. He had not been in the least injured by the pigs, but full of . . . against them, because they had overrun me, wishing to . . . (I know not how?) unless from some madness . . .

1. Cf. for these consuls, whose gentile names are not known from literary sources, P. Flor. 96. 6 and 13, where Vitelli reads Ovit and Τεττίου. With regard to the latter, though the traces of the second r in our papyrus are excessively slight, the letter is guaranteed by the comma after the first r (see critical note). This mark, which is quite clear, would
not have been inserted if the next letter had been a vowel, and we have no doubt that the
supposed ε in P. Flor. 96 is a similar sign, which is sometimes so exaggerated that it could
easily be mistaken for a letter. Moreover, Tettius has the advantage of being a well-known
Roman name. Ov. [.]ov may represent either Virius, as Vitelli suggests, or Vibius.
3. διοικοῦντι ἐκδίκας: the occurrence of this phrase shows that Wilcken's objections in
Archiv, II. p. 127 to our supplement διοικ(οῦντι) [τὴν στρ(ατηγίαν) in P. Athen. 72. 1 are
groundless. Its precise significance is not yet proved, but we adhere meanwhile to our
original explanation that it means a deputy, and not the magistrate proper; cf. the analogous
use of διτάτο in e.g. 727. 5, P. Brit. Mus. 908. 13 and 19.
4. The village of Ταμπέμου is mentioned in 501. 10, &c.
8. πεδῶν, if not equivalent to παιδῶν as suggested above, might be for πεδία;
but πεδία in papyri commonly mean the lands of a village, not of a private owner.
14. Perhaps ἐκ σίδη ἐπιμ. At the beginning of the line there is a vestige of ink in
front of οἱ, but if another letter was written this line was begun further to the left than those
above it.

902. PETITION TO A PUBLIC ADVOCATE.

31:5 x 39 cm. About A.D. 465.

A petition to a defensor (ἔκδικος: cf. note on l. 1) of Cynopolis from a
cultivator, complaining of oppression and wrongful imprisonment by a member of
the senate. According to his own statement the petitioner would seem to have
been treated with extreme harshness; but it is likely from his repeated offer
(II. 9-10, 16-7) to pay any debt which could be established against him, that right
was not entirely on one side. A difficulty arises regarding the date of the
papyrus; cf. note on l. 19.

Φ[λα]σκαί ᾿Ισὰκ τῷ λογιστῷ σχολαστικῷ ἐκδίκῳ τῆς ᾿Αἰω νοῦ Κυνοπολιτῶν
[παρὰ] Διορήδου Μακαρίου υἱοῦ ᾿Ιωσῆφ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.

πρὸ τούτου ὑδρόπαροχος καθέστηκα καὶ γεωργὸς φανερῶν πραγμάτων
οὐσίας
tου [τῆς] μακαρίας μνήμης Φοιβιάμμων τοῦ πολιτευσαμένου, μετὰ
dὲ τὴν τοῦτου τελευτήν
5 ὁ τοῦτου ἀδελφὸς Θεόδωρος ἕπισκόπου ἐπεσήμανεν εἰς τὴν φροντίδα τῶν τοῦτο
πραγμάτων
καὶ τυραννικῷ τρόπῳ ἀπέσπασεν ὁκτὼ καλὰ ἐκ τῶν ἔμων βοικῶν
ζώων,
καὶ [ἐστι]κατο καὶ παρεσκευάσας με ἀδίκοις ἀναλημφῆναι τῷ δεσμω-
τηρίῳ πρὸ
tριῶν τοῦτον μηνῶν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦτον συνέβη τὸ ὕπόλοιπον τῶν ἔμων ζώων
To Flavius Isaac, most learned advocate and defensor of the upper quarter of Cynopolis, from Aurelius Macarius, son of Joseph, of the said city. In the past I was appointed irrigator and cultivator of real property on the estate of Phoebammon, of blessed memory, member of the council. After his death his brother Theodorus entered upon the management of his property, and tyrannously seized eight fine beasts out of my kine; he also sent and had me unjustly carried off to prison three months ago, in consequence of which the remainder of my kine have died of hunger. This he has done in spite of my readiness to pay, if written proof of any debt to him can be produced. Therefore, since advocates have been devised in the cities for the purpose of lending assistance to the oppressed—and I have been reduced to complete ruin and the extremity of hunger through the aforesaid member of the council—I present this petition to your wisdom, begging you to order him to
THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

be summoned, first of all bringing about the restoration to me by his excellency of my kine which he tyrannically seized, in the same good condition in which they then were; and for the rest directing that what seems good to your wisdom should be done, and that I be released from my bonds, since I am ready, as aforesaid, to discharge any debt secured in writing. For the perpetrators of injustice are hateful to the laws, most learned lord advocate. (Signed) I, Aurelius Macarius, son of Joseph, presented this petition. The year after the consulship of the most illustrious Flavius Vivianus for the second time, and of the consul whose name is to be declared, Athur 24.

1. σχολαστικῷ ἐκδίκῳ: cf. 901. 3, 129. 3 τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐκδίκου ταύτης τῆς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως, P. Brit. Mus. I. 87. 85 ἐκδίκου Ἐρμοῦ(θεος), B.G. U. 1094. 1 σχολαστικὸς καὶ ἐκδίκου τῆς Ἐρμοῦ πόλεως (l. πόλεως)?, P. Strassb. 40. 6 σχολαστικὸς καὶ συνηγόϊρος (? τῆς) Ἑρμοῦ. These ἐκδίκου are the defensores civilitatis who from the year A.D. 365 appear as regularly constituted authorities in the provincial towns (Cod. Just. i. 55; Cod. Theod. i. 29). They were elected by the body of the citizens, the decurions being ineligible, and held office originally for five years, but after the time of Justinian only for two. Scholastici are expressly named in Cod. Theod. i. 29. 2 among the classes suitable for the appointment. The defensores had a limited jurisdiction in civil cases and in minor criminal matters; their chief function was, as described in ll. 10–1 of the papyrus, to protect citizens from oppression and injustice—pleadem tantum vel decuriones ab omni improborum insolentia et temeritate tueantur, Cod. Theod. i. 29. 7; cf. Cod. Just. i. 55. 4 ut imprimis parentis vicem plebi exhibeas, descriptionibus rustico urbanoque non patiaris adfligere, officinalium insolentiam, iudicium procaciitate . . . occurras, &c. In P. Leipzig 34. 10 of c. A.D. 375 the form δηθύνησωρ is used.

The σχολαστικοί were advocates employed in defending cases and similar legal work, such as drawing up petitions; cf. Cod. Theod. 8. 10. 2, where they are coupled with officiales, and their avarice is censured: nec latet . . . scholasticos ultra modum acceptis honorariis in defensione causarum omnium et amnonas et sumptus accipere consessu.

3. ὑδροπάροχος: cf. 187. 22 ὑδροπαροχίας and P. Brit. Mus. III. 1044. 25. ἤφανταν προγηματῶν is similar to ακινήτων πραγμάτων in 126. 17, &c.

7. [ἐστί]λατο is not quite satisfactory, the ι being doubtful, and the middle voice unusual.

13. πρῶτο(ν) δὴ παῖς: or πρῶτο(τῆς)παῖς, as Wilcken suggests.

19. This date is singular, for the order of the words must imply that Vivianus had been consul for the second time, whereas his only recorded consulsip is that in A.D. 463 (when his partner was Fl. Caecina Basilius, or, according to Marcellinus, Felix), and the lists show no blanks in the years preceding and following that year, to which period without doubt the papyrus belongs. For the phrase τοῦ δηθύνησωμένου cf. C. I. G. 3467. 3, 42. 9, and 60. 12 τοῦ αποδικηθησομένου ὑπάτου τῷ γ. P. Brit. Mus. III. 991. 1 ὑπατείας . . . τοῖς τοῦ λαμπροτάτου καὶ τοῦ ἀποδικηθησομένου: numerous other examples are given in Du Cange, s. v. ὑπάτων δηθύνησωμένων. Its occurrence in a date μετὰ τῆς ὑπατίας is unusual.

908. ACCUSATION AGAINST A HUSBAND.

27.2 × 21.6 cm. Fourth century.

This singular document is an elaborate indictment of a husband by his wife, who gives a circumstantial account of the former's violent or insulting behaviour, extending over a considerable period of time. The two, whose names are not mentioned, seem to have been a young couple, united originally by an ἀγαφὸς
γόμος, and subsequently by a regular contract (ll. 17–8); but in neither condition
could they succeed in living on terms of harmony. The present document, which
is unaddressed, was presumably a kind of affidavit used in proceedings taken
against the husband; it is written in vulgar Greek, and in an irregular uncial
hand, the letters of the first two lines being much enlarged. The occurrence
of the word πολιτική in l. 37 is of special interest in connexion with the much-
discussed Epistle of Psenosiris; cf. note ad loc. On the verso are a few lines of
shorthand in two columns.

Περὶ πάντων ὃν εἶπεν κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ ὑβρεῶν.

ἐνέκλεισεν τοὺς ᾧ ἀρνύτων δοῦλους καὶ τοὺς
ἐμοῦ ἀμα τῶν τροφίμων μου καὶ τὸν προσοπῆν καὶ τὸν
υῖον αὐτοῦ ἕως ἦλθα ἡμέρας εἰς τὰ κατάγαια αὐτοῦ,

τοὺς μὲν δοῦλους αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δούλην Ζωῆν ὑβρίσας
ἀποκτίνα τὸν πόλεμον μου, καὶ πῦρ προσηνέγκεν τοῖς τρο-
φίμως μου γυμνώσας αὐτᾶς παντελῶς ἐκ τοὺς ποιοῦντοι οἱ νόμοι, καὶ
λέγων τοὺς αὐτοῖς τροφίμως ὑστερᾶς τὰ ὑπάρχοντα τὰ ταῦτα αὐτῆς, καὶ εἶπαν ὅτι
οὐδὲν ἐξει παρ᾽ ἡμᾶς, τοῖς δὲ δοῦλοις λέγων μαστίγον γενοῦν τὰ ὕποτην ὑστερᾶς εἰς τὰ ταῦτα αὐτῆς, καὶ ἦρκεν τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῆς εἰς τὰ σά.

ἀπενεύμησε δὲ αὐτῶν ὅτι καὶ τῶν τροφίμων αὐτοῦ ἐνέ-
κλισιν, καὶ εἶπαν αὐτῷ ὅτι διὰ τὸν τρόφιμόν σου ἦλθας ἡ διὰ τὴν
τοῖς τοῖς ἷξαμα λαλήσατε ἐπάνω αὐτῆς;

καὶ ὁμοστος ἐπὶ παρουσία τῶν παρουσίων καὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν αὐτοῦ

ὅτι ἀπενεύμησεν οὐ μὴ κρύψω αὐτὴν τὸν τὸς κλεῖς καὶ ἐπέκρη
αὐτοῦ ἐπιστεύειν καὶ ἐπεξετάζειν αὐτοῦ ἐπιστεύειν.

οὐδὲν ὑβρίζω αὐτὴν ἀπενεύμησεν. καὶ γαμικὸν γέγονεν, καὶ μετὰ
τῶν τοῖς τοῖς οὕτως αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἁμα δούλως ἐκρυβήθην πάλιν ἐμὲ τὰ κλεῖς
καὶ ἀνεπίδοσα [εἰς τὸ κυριακὸν ἐν Σαμβαθώ, καὶ ἐποίησεν

τὰς ἔξω θύρας αὐτοῦ ἐνκλίσθην ἐπάνω μου λέγων ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἀπήλ-
θας εἰς τὸ κυριακὸν; καὶ πολλὰ άσελγήματα λέγων εἰς πρόσωπον
μου καὶ διὰ τῆς μίνιος αὐτοῦ[ι] καὶ περὶ στοῦ (ἀρτάβας) ρ τοῦ δημοσίου τοῦ
νόματος μου μηδὲν δεδωκὼς μηδὲν ἀρτάβιν μίαν. ἐνέκλεισεν δὲ
τοὺς τοῖς τοῖς τοῖς κρατήσας αὐτοῦ ὅτι δὸτε τὴν τηρήμα τῶν (ἀρτάβων) ρ. μηδὲν

dedω[κε] ὃς προείπον. καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς δοῦλοις αὐτῶ δereotype αὐτῶ ὅτι δὸτε συμμά-
χους ἐνα καὶ αὐτὴν ἐνεκλίσομαι. καὶ ἐκατέβη Χωσίδος ψοθὸς αὐτῶ
Concerning all the insults uttered by him against me. He shut up his own slaves and mine with my foster-daughters and his agent and son for seven whole days in his cellars, having insulted his slaves and my slave Zoé and half killed them with blows, and he applied fire to my foster-daughters, having stripped them quite naked, which is contrary to the laws. He also said to the same foster-daughters, "Give up all that is hers," and they said, "She has nothing with us"; and to the slaves when they were being beaten he said, "What did she take from my house?" and they under torture said, "She has taken nothing of yours, but all your property is safe." Zoilus went to see him because he had shut up his foster-son, and he said to him, "Have you come on account of your foster-son or of such a woman, to talk about her?" He swore in the presence of the bishops and of his own brothers, "Henceforward I will not hide all my keys from her (he trusted his slaves but would not trust me); I will stop and not insult her." Whereupon a marriage deed was made, and after this agreement and his oaths, he again hid the keys from me; and when I had gone out to the church at Sambatho he had the outside doors shut on me, saying, "Why did you go to the church?" and using many terms of abuse to my face, and through his nose. There were 100 artabae of corn due to the State on my account of which he paid nothing, not a single artaba. He obtained possession of the books, and shut them up saying, "Pay the price of the hundred artabae" having himself paid nothing, as I stated before; and he said to his slaves, "Provide helpers, to shut her up also." Choous his assistant was carried off to prison, and Euthalamus gave security for him which was insufficient, so I took a little more and gave it for the said Choous. When I met him at Antinoöpolis having my bathing-bag (?) with my ornaments, he said to me, "I shall take anything you have with you on account of the security which you gave to my assistant Choous for his dues to the State." To all this his mother will bear witness. He also persisted in vexing my soul about his slave Anilla, both at Antinoöpolis and here, saying, "Send away this slave, for she knows how much she has possessed herself of," probably wanting to get me involved, and on this pretext to take away whatever I have myself. But I refused to send her away, and he kept saying, "A month hence I will take a mistress." God knows this is true.
The documentary text is a combination of ancient Greek and Latin, discussing legal and personal matters. It includes references to various cases and legal practices, such as the use of oaths and the handling of bribes. The text also contains references to specific locations and historical events, like the Thebaid and Pergamum, providing insights into the legal and social norms of the time.

The document contains several acronyms and abbreviations typical of legal documents, which are explained in the margins or footnotes. These acronyms and abbreviations, such as “p.,” “l.,” and “s.c.,” indicate specific locations or references within the text.

The text is written in a stylized and formal style, typical of legal documents of the period, and is characterized by its use of rhetorical devices to emphasize certain points. The handwriting is described as large and formal, indicating that it was likely written by a professional scribe or a court official.

The document is divided into paragraphs, with each paragraph discussing a particular case or legal matter. The paragraphs are numbered, with references to specific pages and lines, indicating the detailed nature of the text and the need for careful reading and interpretation.

The text also includes quotations from other legal documents, such as P. Leipzig 47, which are referenced in the margins. These quotations provide context and additional information about the legal practices of the time.

In summary, the text is a detailed and formal legal document, discussing a range of legal matters and cases, and providing insights into the legal and social norms of the period. The document is written in a stylized and formal style, with references to specific locations and historical events, and is characterized by its use of rhetorical devices and acronyms and abbreviations typical of legal documents.
From Flavius. The purity of your righteous judgement will surely pity me, an old man who has suffered a breach of covenant and mockery at the hands of Philoxenus, the devoted magistrianus. He gave me his word on oath, and promised that he would surely fulfil without any reminding every requirement for the office of riparius, providing for my support both servants and assistants and others whose duty it would be to undertake the guarding of the city; and not only so, but he promised that if anything extraordinary happened, he would himself make up the loss to those who suffered injury, and also that he would set right everything connected with this office. But all this he has evaded, paying no attention to my unfortunate self, who am daily suspended by ropes and have my body belaboured with blows, and possess no brother, no relative, no son to sympathize with me, so that at last the very breath of my life is in danger. Accordingly I make my entreaties to your highness that I should be released from so grievous an office, and that the original holder should be compelled to finish it either himself or through some other person, as I renounce
it, being unable to endure any longer an office so severe and onerous, in order that having gained my request I may bless the impartial ears of your highness, our most noble lord praeses.'

2. ἀσυνθηκεί is presumably an adverb from ἀσύνθηκος, a form occurring in Onesand. Strateg. i. 37. ἀσύνθηκος would have been more normal with καὶ χλεύην following.

μαγιστριανοῦ: the magistriani were the agentes in rebus in the service of the magister officiorum, and were employed as messengers or representatives in the provinces; cf. Cod. Theod. 6. 27, Cod. Just. 12. 20 De agentibus in rebus. καθωσιωμένος which = devotissimus, i.e. a true servant of the State, was the regular epithet of magistriani; cf. e.g. Cod. Just. 12. 21. 7 schola devotissimorum agentum in rebus, C. I. G. 3467. 7–8 καθωσιωμένοι μ[αγ]ιστριαν[ά]ι και ἐκδ(ίκῳ).

3. ῥιπαρίου: that the riparius, who first appears in the fourth century, was primarily a police official appears clearly from l. 4, where the παραφυλακὴ τῆς πόλεως is mentioned as the sphere of duties of his assistants, and the other evidence is in accordance with this. In P. Amh. 146 a riparius issues to eirenarchs an order for arrest similar to those sent in earlier times by the strategus (e.g. P. Tebt. 290), decurion (64), or beneficiarius (65). Petitions to riparii concerning cases of assault are extant in P. Cairo 10269 and P. Leipzig 37, and in 807 they are found engaged in the search for offenders. Other references to them are P. Leipzig 49, where a riparius appears as surety for the appearance of a person, P. Leipzig 62. i. 34, where two riparii are found acting with a ὑποδέκτης χρυσοῦ τιρώνων in the delivery of gold to a χρυσώνης, C. P. R. 30. 52, where a ῥιπάριος τοῦ ἐνάτου οἴκου occurs in a papyrus of the sixth century, when the 'houses' of the great nobles play an important part in the administration of the country (cf. 183. 8), and P. Brit. Mus. 653.17. They were sometimes officials of μητροπόλεις (e.g. P. Leipzig 49), sometimes of the nome (P. Leipzig 37 and 807), and are often found acting in pairs, e.g. 807, and P. Cairo 10269. The office, as 904 shows, was a burdensome λειτουργία.

5. ἀποκαθιστᾶν: this form occurs as early as Aristotle, Metaph. ii. 8. 12; cf. Diod. i. 78, Act. Apost. 17. 15 καθιστῶντες, &c.


(d) CONTRACTS

905. MARRIAGE CONTRACT.

A short but interesting contract of marriage between two inhabitants of the Oxyrhynchite village Psothi. The formula, as usual in Oxyrhynchus marriage-contracts, is of the protocol type, not that of a διαλογία as in the Fayûm; cf. 496. The dowry brought by the bride is briefly described, the obligation of the husband to maintain his wife adequately is emphasized in the stereotyped phraseology, and provision is made for the restoration of the dowry in case of a separation. An uncommon clause is added at the end, where the bridegroom’s father appears as a consenting party to the deed and guarantor of the repayment of the dowry; and the opening formula is also remarkable; cf. l. 1, note.
Antinous and Faustina, Augusti. Menodorus son of Horus and Tacallippus of the village of Psobthis has given for partnership of marriage Thatres, his daughter by Thatres, to Apollonius son of Heracles and Tausorapis. The bride brings to her husband in respect of dowry one mina's weight on the Oxyrhynchite standard of common gold, in kind, according to valuation, and in parapherna in clothing two outer veils, one ..., the other white. Let the husband and wife therefore live together observing the duties of marriage, and the husband shall supply the wife with necessaries in proportion to his means. If a separation takes place after the birth of children or before it, the husband shall restore all the super-dowry at the time of separation, and the dowry in sixty days from the day on which the separation takes place; and Menodorus, the giver of the bride, shall have the right of execution upon the husband and upon all his property. The father of the husband, Heracles son of Morus and Apollonia, of the said village, being present assents to the
marriage, and is surety for the payment of the aforesaid dowry. This contract is valid, being written in duplicate in order that each party may have a copy; and in answer to the formal question they have declared to each other their consent. ‘The roth year, Phamenoth 18.’

1. It is very unlikely that this line is a date. There seems to be barely room for (ἔτους) i (cf. l. 20) Ἀυρηλίου 'Αυρηλίου, even if ἔτους were written as a symbol; it is also noticeable that the month is not added (there being a blank space after Σεβαστῶν), and the date at the end makes another at the beginning quite superfluous. Moreover, the mention of the empress in a date would be very unusual, though possibly it might have been thought appropriate in a marriage-contract; cf. the coins in which Faustina is associated with Pecunditas, Fortuna muliebris, Laetitia, &c. These considerations suggest the probability that l. 1 contains some unfamiliar formula, ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ Ἀντωνίου κ.τ.λ., with which might be compared the ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ common in wills. In any case, however, the mention of Φαυστίνα Σεβαστῆ here appears to fix the year given in l. 20 as the roth of Marcus Aurelius, for though the phrase ἐπερωτήθεντες ὡμολόγησαν in ll. 19–20 suggests a later period (cf. note ad loc.), the fact that none of the parties to the contract is an Aurelius gives strong support to a date earlier than Caracalla. For Faustina cf. 502. 3–4, where a priest of Φαυστίνα Σεβαστῆ occurs in the reign of Marcus.

5. ὁ δὲ οὐκόματος is too long, and the natural subject of ἀρχαῖ is the bride. We therefore suggest ἔκδότος, though that word does not apparently occur in the papyri; cf. however, ἐκδίδοναι and ἐκδότης.


7. σουβρ(ι)κομαφόρτιον seems to be a new compound; cf. 921. 4 and B.G. U. 327. 7 σουβρ(η)κοπόλλην.

8. ἔως is the termination of some word like σανδύκινον or κροκώτινον.

10. σὺν ὅς ἐπιγράφεται: cf. c. g. 906. 6.

12–3. Cf. 603, where it is similarly provided that the παράφερνα were to be returned on demand, and the φερνή within sixty days. The latter term is also that fixed in 497. 6 and P. Gen. 21 (Archiv, III. p. 387); in Roman marriage-contracts thirty days is a commoner limit. At the beginning of l. 13 the space is rather broad for ἄν[τ]η, and perhaps ἄν[τ]η τῇ should be read.

16–8. On the analogy of this passage we would suggest that the signature which in 497. 22–4 follows those of the bridegroom and the bride’s father is that of the bridegroom’s father, who was perhaps made security, as here, for the repayment. Similarly in 906. 10 Isidorus, who is only a few years younger than the father of the wife, may well be the father of the husband. In P. Leipzig 27, which like 906 is an agreement for divorce, the husband is associated with a person who actually pays over the dowry on his behalf to the wife’s father; but this fourth person is there unlikely to be the husband’s father, since not only is no such relationship stated, but the husband was a freedman, who would not be expected to have an assignable father. Mitteis suggests that he was the banker, but that does not seem at all probable; we should prefer to suppose that he was more intimately concerned in the transaction, and had appeared in the original marriage-contract as the husband’s guarantor.

19. This is a remarkably early example of the use in Egypt of the stipulatory formula, which only becomes common in the third century. In fact we are unable to refer to another instance from the second century apart from those in which Roman citizens are concerned, for in C. [P. R. 22.135] which is cited by Mitteis, Reichsrecht, p. 486, ἐπερωτηθείται is an erroneous reading (Hunt, Gött. Gel. Anz., 1897, p. 462).
906. Deed of Divorce.

12.6 × 33.1 cm. Second or early third century.

The conclusion of a contract for divorce; cf. 266, P. Leipzig 27, C. P. R. I. 23, &c. The document is apparently called an ἀποχή, referring to the repayment of the dowry; cf. note on l. 10. At the end are the names and descriptions of the principal parties to the contract, Horion who is no doubt the wife’s father, Plutarche the wife, and a third person who is not the husband but may have been a surety for him; cf. 905. 16–8, note.


7. 1. ἐκατέρφ. 10. ὡς for ὅς.

... and the parapherna fixed in the said contract, worth 40 drachmae. The three further agree that they neither make nor will make any claim or proceed against each other on any point connected with the union of Diogenes and Plutarche, or on any other subject whatever up to the present day. Diogenes shall henceforth provide the necessary means for the said sons, who shall live with him until they come of age; and henceforth it shall...
be lawful for Diogenes and Plutarche, either of them, to marry as they choose without incurring liability, any act of aggression against them being invalid. The above-mentioned contract, and the registration of it through the record-office, and communication of it are acknowledged to be invalid. This receipt is valid. Horion, aged about 57, with no distinguishing mark. Plutarche, aged about 24, with no distinguishing mark. O... Isidorus, aged about 48, with a scar on his right eyebrow.'

1-2. Cf. P. Leipz. 27. 20-3 Ἡρων δὲ ἀπέχιν παρὰ τοῦ Σωσᾶ τὰ διὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν φερνῆ ὁρισμῶν δραχμὰς τρι[ακο]σίας καὶ τὰ παράφερνα πάντα. In marriage-contracts the repayment of the παράφερνα is generally provided for without any stipulation concerning their value, such as commonly occurs in connexion with the φερνή. In the marriage-contract of Diogenes and Plutarche, however, though ὁσοὶ[τε]να and ὡς are very uncertain, the value of the παράφερνα seem to have been stated.

7. ἑκάτερος cannot be read, nor ὡς for ὡς.

9. διὰ τοῦ καταλογείου δημοσίωσιν apparently refers to the registration of deeds through the archidicastes in the Library of Hadrian and Nanaeum at Alexandria; cf. 719, P. Leipzig 10, and, for the latest discussion, P. Strasseb. 29 introd. These deeds were, however, in all previously known instances χειρόγραφον, i.e. private notes of hand without the intervention of the agoranomus or other notarial official, whereas the document in the present case was a συγγραφή, i.e. the original marriage-contract of Diogenes and Plutarche. The extant marriage-contracts of the Roman period are all notarial συγγραφαι (cf. P. M. Meyer, Klio, VI. pp. 448 sqq.), and that a συγγραφή should have undergone δημοσίωσις at Alexandria is a new and surprising phenomenon. The only explanation which we can suggest is that the συγγραφή in question resembled that mentioned in 259. ii in being ἰδιόγραφος, i.e. that it was really a χειρόγραφον (cf. P. M. Meyer, op. cit., p. 447), which required to be sent to Alexandria to receive official δημοσίωσις. What is precisely meant by μετάδοσιν here is also not quite clear, owing to our ignorance of the terms of the συγγραφή and the circumstances of its δημοσίωσις, but μετάδοσις is likely to be connected with μεταδοθήτω which occurs in the instructions of the archidicastes quoted in the documents bearing upon the δημοσίωσις, e.g. 719. 4, B. G. U. 578. 7. μεταδοθήτω in the latter example is explained by Mitteis (Hermes, xxxii. p. 647) as 'the communication of the copy of the petition concerning δημοσίωσις to the defendant through the strategus', but this explanation does not very well suit the other cases where the δημοσίωσις is not preparatory to an action at law as in B. G. U. 578, but is only a precautionary step (cf. 719. introd.). Perhaps μετάδοσις means the official communication of the fact of δημοσίωσις to all concerned.

10. ἀποχή: the reading of the last three letters is uncertain, but an abbreviation of ἀπαλλαγή or ἀποζυγή is not admissible. The repayment of the dowry was the chief point in a contract concerning divorce; the formula of 266 and P. Brit. Mus. II. 178 is simply that of an ἀποχή: cf. Lesquier, Rev. de Phil. 1906, p. 25.

907. WILL OF HERMOGENES.

The following will is preserved on the verso of 412, a fragment from the Κεστοί of Julius Africanus. The testator, Aurelius Hermogenes, a president of the boule at Oxyrhynchus, divides a considerable real estate between his five children—three sons and two daughters—and his wife. Property of various
kinds is first apportioned to the sons, a special bequest being made to the eldest of them (ll. 7–11). Other property was similarly to be shared by the daughters, the elder of whom was married; the dowry bestowed on this elder daughter is confirmed, and provision made for the future marriage-portion of her sister (ll. 11–6, 24–5). To the wife is given the absolute ownership of some land hypothecated as security for her dowry. A guardian is appointed for the three younger children who were still under age, to act in the case of the sons until they attained their majority, in that of the daughter until her marriage; the wife of Hermogenes is associated in the guardianship, and a nephew is requested to give his assistance when required.

The chief point of interest in this will, which is not the original document but a copy taken after the original was opened (cf. l. 28 and note), lies in its adherence to Latin formule. According to the express statement of l. 2 the deed was drawn up in Greek; yet it reproduces in a striking manner the phraseology of the will of Gaius Longinus Castor at Berlin (B. G. U. 326; cf. Mommsen, Sitzungsber. d. Pr. Akad. 1894, p. 47, Scialoja, Bull. dell' Inst. di dir. rom. vii, p. 2, &c.), which was translated from the Latin. In the recent monograph of Arangio-Ruiz, La successione testamentaria secondo i papiri greco-egizii, where the evidence is conveniently collected and fully discussed, it is remarked (pp. 277–9) how little difference the promulgation of the constitutio Antonina made to the testamentary formule current in Egypt. Latin phrases and forms appear sporadically, but the few previously published Greek wills of the third and following centuries have been cast in the typically Greek shape. In the light of the present text this conclusion needs some modification. The preference here shown for Latin forms may be traceable in a greater or less degree to the high municipal position of the testator; but the influence of Roman law upon the formule of Egyptian wills was evidently stronger than has hitherto been suspected.

The papyrus is dated on Pauni 7 (June 1) of the first year of the emperor Tacitus, and is said to have been opened in the following month Epeiph (June 25–July 24) of the 'same first year'. Aurelian seems to have been killed before March 25, 275, but since Tacitus was not chosen emperor till about September and his accession could not have been foreseen, it is evident that the date of the papyrus refers to the year 276. Tacitus only reigned six months, his death probably occurring early in April; that the news of it had not yet reached Oxyrhynchus by Epeiph is however not very remarkable, for there were considerable variations in the length of the periods which elapsed before changes in the imperial succession became generally known in Egypt: Commodus appears in the date of B. G. U. 515 more than five months after his death. Cf.
912. 40, note, and P. Strassburg 8. 17, where Pauni 14 of the first year of Tacitus
courts, and Preisigke's discussion in pp. 30 sqq.
The ends of the lines are missing throughout and the exact extent of the
loss is not quite certain. Assuming that l. 6 corresponded verbally to B. G. U.
326. i. 15, the number of letters to be supplied in ll. 1–16 is about 35, in the
remainder 2 or 3 less; and our restorations are made on this hypothesis. In one
or two places a slightly longer supplement seems necessary, but not more than
can be accounted for by a reasonable variation in the length of the lines and the
size of the writing.

τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὑφυγραρχοῦ σὸς τόδε τὸ βουλήμα
Ἐλληνικοῖς γράφμασι κατὰ τὰ συνεκχωρημένα υπηγόρευσεν.
Αὐρήλιος Ἐρμείνος καὶ Ὑρέλων καὶ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Πτολεμαῖς καὶ Διδύμης,
οἱ πέντε τέκνα μου γλυκύτατα [ἐ]ξ τῆς συνούσης μοι 18 letters γυναι-
κὰς Αὐρήλιας 'Ισιδώρας τῆς καὶ Ὑπείρας υπαστάντας, αἱρέσει τῇ
ὑποτεταγμένῃ ἐφ' οἷς ἔκαστος προσδέχατο ... καὶ Κηρονόμοι μου ἔστωσαν, οἱ
δὲ λοιποὶ
5 πάντες ἀποκληρόνομοι μου ἔστωσαν, προσερχέσθωσάν τε τῇ κηρονομίᾳ μου
ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκάστῳ καταλημ[πα]νομένοις ὑπόταν .............. ., ραθαί
ἐκατονθ' ἐμὸς κηρονόμος ἐμὸς, οὗτοι τε ὑπεύθυνοι ἔστωσαν διδόναι ποιήσῃ
παραχέσθαι ταῦτα πάντα [όςα ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διαθήκῃ μου γεγραμμένα εἶναι,
tοῦτο τε τῇ πιστεὶ αὐτῶν παρακατατέθηκεν]μα. Αὐρήλιος Ἐρμείνος καὶ
Ὑρέλων καὶ Ἡρακλείδη τοῖς τρισὶ μου ὑπὸν ὡς πρόκειται καταλείπω
κοινῶς ἐξ ὑπὲρ τῆς κηρονομίας τῆς ἐμῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς Σεβουσίας ἐκάστῳ
νυς καὶ χρηστηρία καὶ συνκυροῦντα πάντα καὶ ὡς ἐκατερο[το] τῆς ἐκάστης
πάντα καὶ εἰς τῇ μητροπόλει την 28 letters
10 μοι εἰς τὴν υπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐνδομενείαν πᾶσαν, τῷ δὲ Ἐρμείνῳ μόνῳ καὶ,
καὶ Πτολεμαίδι καὶ Διδύμη ταῖς προφερεμέναις θυγατράσι μου ........
διδο-
μι καταλείπω καὶ αὐταῖς κοινῶς ἐξ ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρονομίας τῆς ἔμης δ ἐξω κοινῶν πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν 24 letters ἀμπελικὸν χωρίν καὶ σειτικὰς ἀρούρας πάσας καὶ προχρείας καὶ χρηστήρια καὶ συν-
kυροῦντα πάντα, τῇ δὲ Διδύμη [μόνῃ κατ' ἐξαιρέτων] 20 letters ἀλλα καὶ τῇ Πτολεμαίῳ βεβαιοὶ διὰ τοῦτον μου τοῦ βουλήματος ὃν φθάσας 
ἐπιδεδωκα αὐτῇ προίκι ε] 21 letters καὶ καταλείπω τῆν 
15 δούλην ὄνοματι Εὐνοιαν, τὰ δὲ λουπὰ μου δουλά σάματα τέσσαρα Διοσκο-
ρίδιν καὶ Σαβείνου καὶ Ἐρρή... καὶ τοὺς προκειμένους ἄρρεστοι τοῖς τρισι καὶ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν θηλειών, λέγω δὴ τῇ Διδύμη. Ἀσρήλης Ἰσιδώρᾳ τῇ καὶ 
Πρείσκᾳ τῇ συνούσῃ μοι [γυναικι] 29 letters 
προπάνως περὶ τῆς συμβίωσιν ἀναστραφείση καταλ[είπω] κυριευτικῶς ἃς ἔχω κοινὰς πρὸς τὸν [αὐτὸν 22 letters περὶ ...-

20 ἀνδρὶ γαμηθῇ Αὐρήλιον Δημήτριον τοῦ Διονυσιακῆν, ἐπακολουθούσαι πάσι 
τοῖς τῇ ἐπιτροπείᾳ διαφέρισαι τῆς προγεγραμμένης μου γυναικὸς Ἰσιδώρας τῆς καὶ Πρείσκᾳ τῇ συνούσῃ μοι [γυνai] 29 letters 
περὶ ...-πιτέλλω γὰρ καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ μο[ῦ] Διδύμου εἰναι εὐσεβείας βοηθήσειν τῷ Δημήτριῳ ἐν οἷς ἐὰν αὐτοῦ [ἀγαθῶν 26 letters 

κληρονομία. τὸ βούλημα ἐποίησα ἐν τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ Ὀξυρυχ- 
χειτῶν πάλιν δ λαμπροτάτῃ ἐν τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ Ὀξυρυ-
χειτῶν πέλει α (ἐτεὶ) τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν [Μάρκου Κλαυδίου Τακίτου Παῦνι ζ. 

(ήτους) α Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Κλαυδίου Τακίτου Εὐσεβοῦς 

Εὐτυχὸς Σεβαστὸς Παῦνι ζ. Ἀσρήλης Ἰσιδώρᾳ ἀρρενῷ ὁ καὶ Εὐδάιμων 

τὸ βούλημα πεποίη-

κα ἐπὶ [πάσοι] τοῖς προκειμένωι. ἐλθύθη τοῦ αὐτοῦ α (ήτους) Ἐπείδη,
Aurelius Hermogenes also called Eudaemon; exegetes, councillor and prytanis of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, dictated the following will in the Greek language, in accordance with the permission. Aurelius Herminus, Aurelius Horion, Aurelius Heraclides, Aurelia Ptolemais and Aurelia Didyme, my five dearest children by my ... wife Aurelia Isidora also called Prisca, a matron wearing the stola, shall be my heirs according to the disposition below written, and on the conditions on which each ... all other persons being disinherited; they shall proceed to my inheritance in accordance with the bequests made to each of them whenever they ... themselves to be my heirs; they shall be responsible for giving, doing, and providing all this which is written in this my testament, and I confide this to their honour. To Aurelius Herminus, Aurelius Horion, and Aurelius Heraclides my three sons as aforesaid I bequeath jointly in equal shares on behalf of my inheritance the vineyard belonging to me near the village of (?) Istrus by the upper temple of Isis, and all the corn-land and ... and utensils and all appurtenances, and all the corn-land belonging to me at Sepho, and in the metropolis my ... house and all the furniture in it; and to Herminus alone as his special property all the corn-land belonging to me at Sen ... jointly with ... and my slave called Philodioscorus. To Aurelia Ptolemais and Aurelia Didyme my aforesaid daughters ... I give and bequeath likewise jointly, and in equal shares on behalf of my inheritance, the vineyard belonging to me at ... jointly with the said ... with all the corn-land and the plant, utensils, and all appurtenances. To Didyme alone as her special property I bequeath ... and I also confirm to Ptolemais by this my will the dowry ... which I previously gave her, and I leave to her my slave named Eunoea; my remaining four slaves, Dioscurides and Sabinus and Herm ... and ... , which was previously mortgaged by me to her in security for the dowry brought to me with her ... I appoint as guardian of my three children aforesaid who are under age, Horion, Heraclides, and Didyme, until the boys attain majority and the girl is married, Aurelius Demetrius son of Dionysiothan, with the concurrence, in all that pertains to the guardianship, of my aforesaid wife Isidora also called Prisca; and accordingly I do not wish any magistrate or deputy or any other person to intrude himself ..., for I further enjoin it upon the piety of my nephew Didymus to assist Demetrius in any way that may be required of him. To my friend Aurelius Dionysammon I bequeath and I wish that there be given him during his lifetime from ... and the corn-land belonging to me at Moa thirty jars of wine at the vintage and ... artabae of wheat by the tenth measure in the month of Pauni. (I direct that there be provided as dowry) for Didyme ... by her brothers four talents of silver ... This will was made by me in the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus in the first year of our lord Marcus Claudius Tacitus, Pauni 7. The first year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Claudius Tacitus Pius Felix Augustus, Pauni 7. I, Aurelius Hermogenes also called Eudaemon, have made this will with all the above provisions. Opened in the same first year, Epeiph.'

1. βούλημα: cf. ll. 14 and 26 below, and P. Leipzig 29. 7 'Ελληνικοῦ βουλήματος.
2. Cf. 990 and P. Rainer 1702. 13 (Wien. Stud. ix. p. 241) γράμματος 'Ελληνικοῖς ἀκο-
 λουθέων τῇ θείᾳ [διατάξει. According to the older Roman law the use of the Latin language was essential in all legal transactions. The emperor who established the right to use Greek
is thought to have been Alexander Severus, to whose reign the Rainer papyrus belongs; whether the permission applied to other countries besides Egypt is disputed; cf. Arangio-Ruiz, *op. cit.*, p. 266 sqq.

3. συνούσης μου is restored from l. 16, and was probably followed by some epithet. αδελφῆς καί would not fill the space.

4. ματρώνας στολάτας: cf. B. G. U. 860. 1, P. Flor. 16. 1. The *stola* was the mark of rank and dignity. *αἱρέσει* = *voluntati*, a common term in connexion with wills. *προσὸ* is a verb apparently meaning 'shares' or 'is endowed'.

For the supplement κληρονόμοι μου ἔστωσαν cf. B. G. U. 326, i. 6, where, as Schubart informs us, the fifth letter is almost certainly ς, and therefore something like *καὶ αὐτοῖς ἔστωσαν κληρονόμοι* is probably to be restored. The construction of the rest of that line remains uncertain; *μέρους* however, is not necessary (cf. e.g. ll. 7 and 12 of our papyrus) and possibly μ' ὄνας δὲ μου κληρονομομένοι may be read (cf. P. Leipzig 29. 5 κληρονόμον σὲ μ' ὄνομα κατὰ πάντων τοὺς ἐφ' μοι καθίστημι), though the repetition of κληρονόμοι is awkward. Or perhaps μου is part of some phrase with of] νόμοι, for which cf. the passage of the Leipzig papyrus just quoted, and P. Brit. Mus. I. 77. 13-14 (Will of Abraham) ὅπως ὑπὸ τῶν... νόμων διηγορεύεται.

5. ἐπὶ... ἐπὶ τῇ κληρονομίᾳ μου, which is now confirmed by Schubart. ἐπὶ... καταλαμβάνομεν is there replaced by ἐκαστὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ ῥωμοῦ μέρους, after which l. ὀπότα (Schubart) for ἀπὸ τῆς. We accordingly read ὀπότα in the corresponding position, the infinitive... πασίν, which is also adopted from the Berlin papyrus, perhaps depending on an intervening verb, e.g. φαίνεται. The ροῖ τοῦ ραθμοῦ, Schubart tells us, can be any letter having a long tail, i.e. τῆς, δ' and Ϛ, and it is preceded at an interval of three letters by a similar long stroke. ἀριθμάτωσαι therefore does not seem suitable. Dareste proposed μετὰ τὸ ὀφάνθη, and Gradenwitz suggests a connexion with *cernere*, but this is hardly convincing.

6. ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ... ἐκκλησίᾳ, which is clearly written, is puzzling. Some expression corresponding to... *καταλείπω* : cf. ll. 11-2. *μου* is by no means certain.

7. περὶ ὧν... Ἰσεῖον: it is not quite clear how these words should be constructed or even how some of them should be divided. Perhaps τὸ Ἰσεῖον, κατὰ τὸ ἰσεῖον, is the best interpretation; but the first τὸ may refer to Ἰσεῖον and Ἰσεῖον... ἵνα be descriptive of that name; cf. combinations like Ἰσεῖον Παγην (699. 7), Ἰσεῖον Τρέφωνως (719. 14).

8. κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καταλείπω: cf. ll. 11-2. *μου* is by no means certain.

9. ἤποι, which is clearly written, is puzzling. Some expression corresponding to
The names of several Oxyrhynchite villages beginning with Σελ are known, Σενεκελεύ, Σενεπτά, Σενοκολενω, Σενοκόμω, Σεντό. The following κοινὰ πρός is indicated by l. 12 where τὸν αὐτόν, if correct, implies a previous mention of a person with whom Hermogenes held property in common, and the end of l. 10 seems the most suitable place for the name to be given; cf. also l. 17.

II-2. δίδωμι καταλείπω = do lego, as e.g. in C. I. L. 1352.125; cf. B. G. U. 326. i. 18 [ἐν καὶ δίδωμι καταλείπω, and ii. 17. The name to which τὸν αὐτὸν refers probably occurred at the end of l. 10; cf. the previous note.


16. The line may be completed e.g. ἐν κοινῇ μου (so 494. 9) καὶ κατὰ πάντα.

17. Perhaps προπορέγκατο αὐτῷ ἐφ᾽ ἄλλῳ ἐν φιλοφερίᾳ. τῷ γάμῳ might be supplied before φιλοφερίᾳ, but three or four letters would be enough.

19. For ἡλικία γενέσθαι cf. e.g. 496. 12, 651; the age of 14 years is probably here meant, at which time a boy passed from the care of a τετράχθος (φροντιστής). According to the provisions of some Oxyrhynchus wills (cf. 491. 9, 495. 10) τετράχθος are appointed to act for minors up to the age of 20 or 25 years, but these cases are anterior to the constitutio Antonina, and considering the strong tendency of Hermogenes to use Roman formulae, it is safer to take τετράχθος here in its technical Roman sense. A τετράχθος but not a curator could be appointed by a Roman will. For the phrase τετράχθος ποιεῖν cf. B. G. U. 326. ii. 17 ἐποίησα τετράχθος τῇ ἰδίᾳ πιστί. The analogy of the present passage, in which the τετράχθος is assigned to the daughter as well as the sons, makes it clear that in that much discussed clause also (cf. Arangio-Ruiz, op. cit. pp. 232 sqq.) τετράχθος means τετράχθος.

20. ἐπακολουθοῦσα: cf. 909. 4 ἀφηλίκων μήτηρ καὶ ἐπακολουθήτρι, and note.

21. ἀρχόντων ἢ ἀνταρχόντων: cf. e.g. C. I. G. 2222. 17 ἀρχόντων ἢ ἀνταρχόντων. ἀντι- corresponds to the Latin pro-. But the intervention of a magistrate would according to Roman law be necessary when the sons required a curator; cf. 888. introd.

23. φίλῳ μου is very doubtful; the name of Dionysammon's (?) father may be given instead.

25. Possibly ἐν ὥρᾳ γάμου γενομένῃ, with δοθῆναι βούλομαι before τῇ Δεδομένῃ, but the reading would not be very satisfactory, and γενομένη, if rightly deciphered, may also be constructed with ὑπό.

26. We suppose that there is a small dash after ἀνθρωποστία, followed by a short blank space; but the papyrus is damaged in this part, and a letter or two may have intervened before the supposed το. There is not room for Εὐσεβοῦς κατιλ. at the end of this line. Perhaps Τακίτου alone stood here, with the Roman month or a reference to the consuls; cf. B. G. U. 326. ii. 11-2.

28. ἀλήθη κ.τ.λ.: this entry, which is in the same hand and was evidently written at the same time as the rest of the text, indicates that the whole document is a copy made after the λύσις had taken place. Cf. B. G. U. 326. ii. 21 καὶ διακονόθησαν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ἦ γινεν καὶ ἤ διαθήσε τῇ ἁλήθῃ, and for τοῦ in this connexion also 715. 19, B. G. U. 592. ii. 7, &c.
An agreement between Sarapion, who was either himself a eutheniarch at Oxyrhynchus or, more probably, the grandson of a person holding that office (cf. note on 1. 5), and five other eutheniarchs concerning the grinding of wheat for bread to be supplied to the city. The precise terms of the agreement are much obscured by the mutilation of the papyrus; the five eutheniarchs were however each to bear the expense of one factory, and Sarapion and his grandfather were apparently together made responsible for a sixth, the average daily output of each mill being fixed at 20 artabae. But the details are comparatively unimportant, and the value of the document lies mainly in the fresh information supplied regarding the office of gymnasiarch and eutheniarch. The eutheniarchs, who first appear towards the end of the second century, superintended the food supply of the capital towns; but they are not very often mentioned and their official rank is not yet clear (cf. P. Tebt. 397. 14-5, note). They are sometimes found holding another office simultaneously, e.g. that of exegetes; in the present case five eutheniarchs were gymnasiarchs. We here learn further that at Oxyrhynchus they formed a board of at least six; and ll. 18-21 indicate that these six held office for a period of a single month. Hence it would appear that the number for the year was twelve, and that they exercised their functions in alternate months in two sections of six. With regard to the number of the gymnasiarchs, of whom five are mentioned in ll. 6-15, this is the largest figure yet attested for Oxyrhynchus; but C. P. Herm. 57 (to which Wilcken called our attention) indicates the coexistence of at least ten gymnasiarchs at Hermopolis, and there may well have been ten or twelve or even more at Oxyrhynchus. At Athens at this period there were monthly as well as yearly gymnasiarchs, and the monthly office was sometimes held by more than one person (Boeckh, Staatsausgaben, I. 548).

Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ 'Ομήρων . . .
ονος διὰ τοῦ κατὰ πατέρα πάπ-
. που Ἁπίωνος γυμνα[σί]αρχή-
- σαντος τῆς 'Οξυρυγχεϊτῶν
5 πόλεως νυνεί εὐθηνιάρχης
τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως Τιβερίῳ
Κλαύδιος Διδύμῳ καὶ ὁς χρημα-
CONTRACT BETWEEN EUTHENIARCHS

καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς συνόδου ἱερονειάς τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Διονυσείου καὶ τῆς ἵππου ἱερονείας τῶν ἀτελῶν θεῶν τῷ Αντιμάχῳ καὶ Διονυσίῳ τῷ καὶ Βερενεικιανῷ ἐξηγητῶν πόλεως ἁπάντων καὶ Παυνίτου μηνὸς Παῦνι ἕως δύο μηνῶν γυμνασιάρχων τῶν ἑκάστων ἑργαστηρίων ἑκάστου ἐργαστηρίου μέχρι πυρᾶν τρεφόντων ὑμῶν καί Χρήστων τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρειν. ἐπὶ τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Καισάρων Δουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σ᾽ ευθεῖα καὶ Θεοῦ τῷ [καὶ] Αράμπην Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου Αραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβροκοῦ Περτίνακος Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβροκοῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου.
καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου ᾿ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστῶν
Παῦνι κη. (2nd hand) Σαραπίων (ὄ) καὶ Ὄρειαν
45 δὲ ἐμοὶ Ἀπίωνος πι[δεπ]που
evδοκῶ πάσιν τοῖς προκει-
μένοις.


'Sarapion also called Horion, son of . . . on, through his paternal grandfather Apion, ex-gymnasiarch of Oxyrhynchus, at present eunuch of the said city, to Tiberius Claudius Didymus and however 'he is styled, a victor in the games and exempt from taxation, member of the Dionysium and the sacred club, and to Theon also called Antiachus and Dionisyus also called . . . and Achilles also called Isidorus, ex-exegetes, and Horion also called Berecianian, ex-exegetes, all five gymnasiarchs and eunucharchs of the said city of Oxyrhynchus, greeting. I have made a compact with you being now eunucharchs from the 30th (?) of the present month Pauni till the 29th of the following month Epeiph in the current 7th year, that one bakery be fitted out by each of you . . . the animals being fed by you with grass and barley, on the understanding that they grind daily in each factory as much as 20 artabae of wheat . . . supplying the animals in each factory . . . to provide one factory, the fodder being provided by me, and we shall grind at (this) factory an equal amount daily, namely 20 artabae; and it shall be unlawful for any of us to transgress the aforesaid conditions. This contract, done in six copies in order that each of us may have one, is valid.' Date and signature of Sarapion.

5. It is not clear whether εὐθηνιάρχης refers to Sarapion or to Apion; in the former case the order is irregular, in the latter εὐθηνιάρχου should have been written. On the whole we prefer the second alternative, though why Sarapion appears in the business at all then becomes obscure, and his action must be supposed to depend upon a private arrangement between himself and his grandfather.

8-10. This Διονυσεῖον is more probably an Oxyrhynchite than an Alexandrian temple; cf. B. G. U. 1073, a notification from the boule of Oxyrhynchus to the record-office of the election of a person to the σύλλογος of a ἱερὰ σύνοδος, which entitled him to ἀτέλεια, and 1074, the statement of this individual's claim, which in 1. 1 cites a rescript of Claudius Gothicus (cf. Wilcken, Archiv, IV. p. 564 and Viereck, Klio, VIII. p. 413) addressed ἄπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἱερονίκαις στεφανείταις. A τόπος καλοῦμεν Διονυσεῖον Τεχνιτῶν at Oxyrhynchus is mentioned in 171 (Part II, p. 208), and the impost in 917. 3 apparently called σπί(ονδὴ) Διον(ύσου) may in some way have benefited the Διονυσεῖον.

19. ἀπὸ [λ]: cf. I. 44, which shows that this contract was written on Pauni 28. 30 days would be a natural period.

24. [ἐκ] τῆς ἴσης is not satisfactory, for though the doubtful ε may be σ, the vestiges of the next letter do not seem to suit η; a stroke below the line suggests rather ξ or ρ. With ἴσης moreover a diaeresis would be expected over the ε. [ὑμε]ρέως cannot be read.


30. There may be a letter at the end of the line after ε, e.g. ν, but a first person plural does not accord at all well with κατὰ τό. The traces do not suit δεδηλώκαμεν, and ἄνθρωκαμεν is unsatisfactory. ι might be read in place of νο.
31. Perhaps πᾶσαν. The doubtful μ may be λ or δ; ἄνδρας would be possible. ...
32. Perhaps τῶν Ἀπίων.
33. ερ is followed by the curved mark commonly used in abbreviations to represent π.
38. ἑξασσός is unknown to the lexica but is parallel to τετρασσός, P. Amh. 107. 16, B.G. U. 817. 17. The word is also to be recognized in P. Strassb. 29. 46 where, as the facsimile shows, ἐξασσὴ γραφῖσα should be read for ἑξὰς συγγραφῖσα.

909. SALE OF ACACIA-TREES.

A.D. 225.

A contract for the sale of fourteen acacia-trees on the edge of a vineyard for 1200 drachmae, the purchase-money being devoted to the payment of arrears of taxes upon the vineyard.

Αὐρήλιος Πτολλίων Πτολλίωνος ἀπ᾽ Ὦξυρύγχων
πόλεως ἐπίτροπος ἀφηλίκων τέκνων
Αὐρήλιος Σερήνου υἱῷ Αὐρήλιου
καὶ τῶν ἀφηλίκων μήτηρ καὶ ἐπακολο[-
5 θήτρια Αὐρηλία Εὐδαιμονὶς ᾿Αντινόου
τοῦ καὶ ᾿Ερμοῦ ᾿Αντινοῦς χωρίς κυρίων ἡρ-
ματίζουσα κατὰ ᾿Ρωμαίων ἑκάστη τέκνων
Δικαῖος Αὐρηλίος Σερήνου
καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀφηλίκων μήτηρ καὶ ἐπακολο[-
10 χειτῶν πόλεως καὶ Σερήνως Σερήνου
καὶ Θεωνᾶτι χρηματίζοντι μητρὸς
Τααρμιύσιος καὶ Σωτηρίχῳ Διδύμου ἀπὸ τῆς ᾿Οξυρυγ-
τινῆς αὐτῆς πύλεως καὶ Σερήνους Σερήνους
καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀφηλίκων μήτηρ καὶ ἐπακολο[-
15 τὰς ὀδάς ἐπὶ χώματος ἀμπελ[ι]κτής κατὰ νεοφύτου τῶν ἀφηλίκων
περὶ κώμης Κενέττας ἀκάνθας ἀριθμῷ
τελείας δεκατέσσαρας τειμῆς τῆς συμ-
πεφωνημένης πρὸς ἀλλῆλους ἀργυ-
20 ρίου δραχμῶν χειλ[ι]κων διακοσίων, αἱ προσ-
εχώρησαν εἰς συνωνήν πυροῦ χωρῆ-
7. tekoν— Pap. 8. υνω Pap. 9. eu of ἐγγυησαντος corr. from η. 14. ίσον Pap. 21–2. o of χωρησαἼντος corr. from a and s added above the line. 27. l. αἱρηθε. 28. 8ωn added above the line. 30. iσωn Pap. 32. 1. ἐπερωθηθέντες.

Aurelius Ptollion son of Ptollion, of Oxyrhynchus, tutor of the children of Apollonius also called Didymus, son of Onesas, who are minors, and the mother of the minors, who gives her concurrence, Aurelia Eudaemonis daughter of Antinous also called Hermes, of Antinoopolis, acting without a guardian in accordance with Roman custom by the right of her children, to the Aurelii Serenus son of Aurelius Ammonius, formerly exegetes of Oxyrhynchus, and Serenus son of Serenus, and Theonas styled as having Taarmiús as his mother, and Soterichus son of Didymus, of the said city, greeting. We acknowledge that we have sold to you four in equal shares the fourteen acacia-trees in good condition growing upon the embankment of the newly-planted vineyard belonging to the minors, at the price agreed upon between us of 1200 drachmae of silver, which sum was devoted to the purchase of wheat paid for the dues upon the aforesaid vineyard in the reign of the deified Commodus, on condition that you shall perform the complete uprooting and removal of the aforesaid acacia-trees at your own expense whenever you choose, but of necessity not later than Mesore of the present 4th year, and after the pulling up and removal of the acacia-trees the place shall be set in order in equal shares, half by us and the other half by you the buyers, as hereby agreed, and in answer to the formal question we have given our consent. This sale, of which there are two copies, is valid. The 4th year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Tubi 15.' Signature of Aurelius Ptollion.
4. Cf. P. Leipzig 9. 6, where three ἀδέλφιαὶ send an ἀναγραφή through their mother as ἐπακολουθητέων, and 907. 20, where the concurrence (ἐπακολουθεῖν) of the mother in the acts of the guardian of minors is provided for by will.

15. For ἀκάνθαι in vineyards cf. P. Brit. Mus. 214. 13-5 (II. p. 162). The wood was used for boat-building (Hdt. ii. 96), and for various kinds of machinery (P. Brit. Mus. 1177. 177-220 = III. pp. 186-7), and gum arabic was obtained from it (Hdt. ii. 96).

20. The clause at προσεχώρησαν κ.τ.λ. takes the place of the usual acknowledgement of the purchase-price by the seller. Apparently the money in question had been paid direct to the sellers of the corn.

25. ἀναβολήν: this word is generally used for 'banking up', and the trees were ἐπὶ χώματος (l. 15); but the context shows that it must here be employed in the unusual sense of digging up or uprooting. εἰς ἐπίρριζον is very uncertain; ἐστὶ can be read for εἰς, but ὡς yields no sense, ὡς εἰς ἔπητεν being inadmissible. We suppose the sense of ἐπίρριζος, which apparently does not occur, to be similar to that of ἐπίρριζον which is read by editors in Diosc. i. 10 μία δὲ ... πλάγια δὲ τὰ ἐπιρρίζα ἔχει, i.e. the smaller roots subsidiary to the main ones; for the form cf. ἐπιφρίζος.

910. LEASE OF LAND.

A lease of 5 arourae of land at Pakerke for four years, following the usual formula. In the first and third years of the lease the land was to be sown with wheat at a rent of 6 artabae per aroura, in the second and fourth years with green-stuffs at a rent of 32 drachmae per aroura; cf. e.g. P. Tebt. 377. Seven artabae of seed-corn were lent by the landlord for the first year's crop. Caracalla is called in the date formula emperor-designate on Nov. 4, 197, as in inscriptions and coins of that year; his tribunicia potestas began in the following January, and already by May, 198, he was placed on an equality with his father (C. I. L. viii. 2465); cf. 976, which was written 22 days later than 910, Caracalla being still emperor-designate, and 916, where he appears as full emperor in Pauni (May 26--June 24 A.D. 198).

THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

10 [κατ' ἀ'] πουραν ἀνὰ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας ἡς, τῷ δὲ [ἐξῆ]ς ζ (ἐτεὶ) καὶ θ (ἐτεὶ) ἐλαμῆσαι χλω-
[ποῖσ φόρου ἄσεντος κατ' ἔσεσθε κατ' ἄρον-
[ποῖν ἀνὰ] δραχμᾶς τριάκοντα δύο. ὁμο-
[λογεὶ δὲ] ὁ μεμισθωμένος αὐτοθ
15 [ἐσχηκέναι] καὶ παραμεμετρήσασθαι παρὰ
[τοῦ γεο]ύχου ἐν πρήχειὰν εἰς σπέρμα ἔτος ἕξ, τῷ δὲ [ἐξῆ]ς (ἔτεὶ) καὶ θ ἐς ἐπά-
[ποὺς φόρου ὡσαύτως κατ characteristics, not found in the image.
Hieracion son of Hieracion, of Oxyrhynchus, ex-agoranomus of the said city, has leased to Teos son of Sarapammon, his mother being ..., inhabiting the village of Pakerke in the eastern toparchy, for four years dating from the present 6th year, the 5 arourae which he owns at Pakerke, on condition that in the present 6th year and in the 8th year Teos shall sow them with wheat at the annual rent of 6 artabae of wheat per aroura, and in the following 7th and 9th years he shall cultivate them with green-stuffs at the annual rent likewise of 32 drachmae per aroura. The lessee acknowledges that he has on the spot received and had measured to him from the landlord as a loan for seed on account of the land, for the present year only, 7 artabae of wheat, of which he shall be compelled to repay an equal amount to the lessor together with the rent in kind, guaranteed completely against all risks, the taxes upon the land being payable by the landlord, who shall further retain the ownership of the produce until he recovers his annual dues. If after the coming year (which heaven forbid!) any part be unirrigated, an allowance shall be made to the lessee, who when the lease is guaranteed shall pay the rent in kind and money annually in the month of Pauni, the wheat at the threshing-floor of Pakerke, new, pure, unadulterated, unmixed with barley, and sifted, according to the 4-choenix receiving measure of the landlord, the measuring being done by his agents; and he shall have the right of execution upon both the lessee and all his property, and the said lessee shall deliver the land in the last year with all the rushes cut, and free from rushes and dirt of all kinds. This lease is valid.' Date and signature of the lessee.

This contract for the lease of part of a house at Oxyrhynchus follows so far as it goes the ordinary formula (cf. e.g. 502); the chief point of interest in it is the mention of a special appointment of a ὑπογραφεύς or subscriber to act on behalf of the lessee, whose sight was affected; cf. note on ii. 6 sqq. The papyrus was written in the third century in the 13th year of an emperor who must be Severus Alexander or Gallienus.

Aurelius Demetrius also called Zoilus, ex-chief priest, exegetes and councillor of Oxyrhynchus, has leased to Aurelius Theogenes son of Theogenes, of the said city, who has weak sight, and is acting with the subscriber who has been appointed for him in accordance with the memoranda of the office of the strategus, namely Aurelius Dionysius also called Ammonius, for a period of two years from Thoth 1 of the present 13th year, of his property at the said city of Oxyrhynchus in the quarter of the Square of Thoéris, a half share of a house and yard, beneath which is a cellar, and court, and all the appurtenances, being held by me in common with...
6–8. An appointment of a ὑπογραφεύς by the strategus seems to be quite novel, and shows the ὑπογραφεύς in a somewhat new light. This term is frequently used in contracts to designate the person who signs on behalf of an illiterate party to an agreement, but *per se* has no other concern with the business in hand; there is no reason to suppose that ordinary 'subscribers' of this kind required any official recognition. A man with defective sight would naturally need in his business transactions the services of such a ὑπογραφεύς, but the latter would not be expected to have the prominence here accorded him, or to be specially appointed by the strategus. On the other hand if the physical disabilities of Theogenes had been such as to debar him from acting on his own account, his representative should have been termed κηδεμὼν or φροντιστής, not ὑπογραφεύς. The position of this officially constituted ὑπογραφεύς appears to lie somewhere between that of the curator mente capit and the normal 'subscriber'.

912. LEASE OF A CELLAR.

A lease of an underground chamber in a house together with the space above the exhedra, at an annual rental of 60 drachmae; cf. 502, the phraseology of which is closely similar, and B.G. U. 253. The date in l. 40 appears to show that the death of Alexander Severus and the accession of Maximinus occurred some days earlier in the year 235 than has been generally supposed; cf. the note ad loc.
Aurelia Besous, daughter of Sarapion and Sarapias, of Oxyrhynchus, acting with Aurelius Theon also called Asclepiades, has leased to Aurelius Patus son of Panouris, from Mermertha, for one year from Thoth 1 of the coming 2nd year out of the house which she herself holds on lease from Aurelius Isidorus son of Chaeremon in the South Quay quarter, the cellar within it and the space above the hall at the rent of 60 drachmae of silver for the year. When the lease is guaranteed the lessee shall use the parts leased to him throughout the period without hindrance, and shall pay the rent in two instalments in the year, half the sum at intervals of 6 months, without any delay. And at the end of the period he shall deliver the parts leased to him as aforesaid free from filth and dirt of every kind, in the condition in which he receives them, with the existing doors and keys, or shall forfeit a sum equivalent to what he fails to deliver, and for arrears of rent one and a half times the original amount, and the lessee having the right of execution upon both his person and all his property. This lease is valid, and in answer to the formal question he gave his consent.

The first year of the Emperor Caesar Gaius Julius Verus Maximinus Pius Felix Augustus, Phamenoth 1.

Signature of Aurelia Besous.

4. μετὰ συνεστῶτος: the precise legal significance of this phrase, which is found in several papyri of the period subsequent to the constitutio Antonina, is somewhat obscure. That it is not equivalent to μετὰ κυρίου is quite clear from e.g. C. P. R. I. 9. 2 (χωρίς κυρίου χρηματιζούσῃ ... συνεστῶτός σοι Αὐρηλίου Ἐσχάπονος; cf. P. Leipzig 4. 8 and P. Strassb. 29, 29), where there is a direct opposition between κυρίου and συνεστῶς. Wenger, in his most recent discussion of the subject, Gött. gel. Anz. 1907, p. 293, proposes to find an explanation in the distinction between Reichsrecht and Volksrecht; where the former no longer required a κυρίου the latter retained him in the form of a συνεστώς; cf. P. Leipzig 28. 4 μετὰ συνεστῶτος ὁ ἡκοίνος ἐμαυτῇ παρῆνεγκα. συμπαρών is sometimes used as a synonym for συνεστῶς; cf. P. Leipzig 3. 1. 2 and 29. 3, 20.

40. ΦαμεἸνὼθ: this is a remarkable date, since Alexander Severus is supposed to have been killed about Feb. 19, and that the accession of Maximinus should have been known at Oxyrhynchus so soon after as Feb. 25 is incredible. If ΦαμεἸνὼθ a here is correct, the death of Alexander must be put back somewhat earlier; a date from about Jan. 10–20 is the latest that would be expected. On the other hand some days of January in this year must be allowed to Alexander in order to account for coins on which is marked the 14th year of his tribunicia potestas, which would date from Jan. 1. The problem is further complicated by a papyrus from the Heracleopolite nome translated by Wessely in Führer P. Erz. Rainer No. 249, which is dated in Pharmouthi of the 14th year of Alexander; that is to say, the writer of that document continued to reckon the year by Alexander at least 30 days after another writer, at a place further south, had adopted the new reckoning
by Maximinus. The discrepancy, however, is less striking than that between B.G.U. 784 which is dated by Pertinax on April 2, 193, and B.G.U. 515 which is still dated by Commodus on June 2 of the same year, both documents coming from the Fayum. It seems that the scribes were not very prompt in adapting themselves to the altered conditions, and that force of habit sometimes led careless persons to go on using a superseded formula; cf. B07. introd.

With regard to the reading, the numeral a might perhaps be ε, but that makes hardly any difference. It is a little surprising that there is nothing to be seen of the abbreviation of Σεβαστοῦ(στοῦ), for the papyrus is broken only slightly above the line of the letters. [Σεβαστοῦ] Θόθ might well be read, but Thoth 1 of a first year is an impossible date, since according to the Egyptian reckoning Thoth 1 always began a new regnal year. There is no doubt either about the number of the year in l. 37, which is also guaranteed by l. 8, or that α06 a was written at the same time as the rest of the date. Θόθ a might possibly be explained as an inadvertence of the scribe caused by a reminiscence of l. 8; but this cannot be regarded as a satisfactory hypothesis.

41. πρόκειται may of course have been abbreviated.

913. LEASE OF LAND.

31.7 x 23.5 cm. A.D. 442.

A lease of 9 acres of land for apparently three years (cf. note on l. 8), at the rent of half the produce, the landlord being responsible for taxes and the tenants providing seed.

[Ὑπατείας ΦἸλαουίων Εὐθοδίον κ[αὶ] Διοσκόρου τῶν λαμπρ(στῶν)]

Φαώφι ἦ,

[ . . . . . . . . θυγατρὶ τοῦ Τήνος άριστης μη(μη)ς Δανιηλίων]

[προπολειτευ[ό])μενον τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀλυμνηχίτων πόλεως]

5 [πα[ρὰ] Αύρηλ[ιών] Άρμουσίου ν[οῦ Πασιδόμου καὶ Τάρῳ θυγατρὸς Κάστορος]

[ . . . θεσμ. . . άπο τοῦ κόμης Περύκης τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ. ἐκουσίως]

[Βουλδμεθα] μισθόσασθαι εξ ἐλληκαγγύης ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος]

[ἔτους ἔως] σποράς τῆς τρισακαδεκάτης ἑπτακισίοις ἀπὸ τῶν]

[ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῦ ἐν πεδίῳ τῆς ἡμετέρας κώμης ἑκοσίως]

10 [στικὶ λόγω μενέα ἡ ὅσαι ἐάν ὥσιν, ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμᾶς ταύτας]

[σπειραί χί] αἱρώμεθα γενήμασιν ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς πάντων τῶν]

[περίγιγνομένων καρπῶν] ἐφ’ ἀντὶ ἡμᾶς παρασχεῖν σοι τῇ γεωργίᾳ]

[τό ἡμῖν μέρος ἀντὶ φόρου τῶν περίγιγνομένων καρπῶν]

[μετὰ καλῆς πίστεως, ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς μεμισθημένους ἀνθ’ ὅν]

15 ποιοῦμεθα) καμάτων τῆς γεωργίας καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν καταβαλλομένων]

[παρ’ ἡμῶν σ]περμάτων τῇ γῇ ἔχειν τὸ ἄλλο ἡμῖν μέρος
ἀνυπερθέτως, τῶν τῆς γῆς δημοσίων ὄντων πρὸς σὲ τὴν γεωε[ν] ἐπάναγκες δὲ ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀλληλεγγύης παρασχεῖν τὸ ἡμισυ[m]έρος τῶν καρπῶν ἐν τῷ δέοντι καιρῷ ἀνυπερθέτως καὶ τὴν ἀνϊαβοϊλὴν τῶν ἐπερωτηθέντες ἄφιες τὴν δημοσίαν ποιῆσαι. κυρία ἡ μίσθωσις κυρία ἡ μίσθωσις 
γῆν καὶ ἀποδώσω[ο]μεν εἰς ἀλληλεγγύης τὸ ἡμισυ[ν] μέρος τῶν περιγιγνομένων καρπῶν καὶ συμφωνούμεν ἡμῖν πᾶντα τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα ὡς πρόκειται. Φλ(αούιος) Σ᾿ αραπίων ἀξιωθεὶς ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παρόντων γράμματα μὴ εἰδότων.

On the verso vestiges of an endorsement.

3. δανηλίαν over an erasure. 5. α of ἀρμοσίου corr. from ἀνω. ὑπὸ Παπ. 7. ἀλληλεγγύης Παπ. 8. ἤπειρος Παπ. 17. ανυπερθέτως Παπ. 21. Αρμείσιος Παπ. 23. περιγιγνομένων καρπῶν.

In the consulship of Flavius Eudoxius and Flavius Dioscorus the most illustrious, Phaophi 18. Το... daughter of Daniel, of excellent memory, president of the council in the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, from Aurelius Harmiusius son of Padidymus and Aurelia Taor daughter of Castor, ... from the village of Ptochis in the said nome. We desire of our own free will to lease upon our mutual security from the present year until the sowing of the 13th indiction, out of the land belonging to you in the fields of our village, 9 arourae of corn-land or thereabouts, on condition that we sow them with any crops we please on the basis of half shares in the resulting produce, the terms being that we shall pay to you the landlord in place of rent the half of the produce in good faith, and that we the lessees in return for the labour bestowed on the cultivation and the seed sown by us in the land shall keep the other half, with no delay, the taxes upon the land being due from you the landlord; and it shall be obligatory upon us on our mutual security to pay the half of the produce at the proper season with no delay, and to perform the banking up of the land. This lease, of which there are two copies, is valid, and in answer to the formal question we have given our assent.' Signatures of the lessees written for them by Flavius Sarapion.


6. ἵστερον is awkward and raises doubts whether the fragment containing these letters and Ἰρα αυρηΐ in l. 5 is after all rightly placed here; the hand, however, though not certainly identical, is very similar, the fibres of the papyrus correspond rather well, and the verso, which contains vestiges of an endorsement in the right position, is also suitable. A title
referring to Κάστορος would be apposite, but Ἐφθασε... suggests nothing likely. The name Ἐφθασε occurs in 70. 6, and possibly this may be read here as the patronymic of Castor, τῶν being omitted, though in the case of the other persons concerned grandfathers' names are not added, and there would barely be room for Ἐφθασε...  

8. For ἕως σπορᾶς cf. B. G. U. 586. 10 πρὸς μόνη τὴν τοῦ ἐνεστάτου ἐτῶν σπορᾶν. ἀπὸ σπορᾶς is suggested by e.g. P. Tebt. 378. 9; but a difficulty would then arise concerning the number of the indication, which should in that case be the 11th, not the 13th, and ἕως has the further advantage of defining the term of the lease.  

11. There is not room in the lacuna for ὅσον εἶναι. The rent of one half the produce was fairly common in the Oxyrhynchite nome; cf. 103, 277, 729.  

14. For μέτα καλῆς (or ἀγάθῆς) πίστις cf. e.g. Ρ. Leipzig 28. 21.  

20. The corrupt word vaovpsy is more probably for ἀρουρῶν, as Wilcken suggests, than e.g. for νεωρῶν (cf. Theophrast. C. Pl. 3. 13. 3 διὰ τὸ νεωρῶν τε εἶναι τὴν γῆν καὶ ἀκάρπωτον, and Photius νεωρῶν νεών).  

914. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF A DEBT.  

17·1 cm. L. D. 436.  

A promissory note for the payment of two solidi of gold, due in consequence of a purchase of dye. The goods had already been delivered to the purchaser, who in the present document undertakes to pay the money for them two months later.  

[ + Το]γε μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φάναντον Θεοδορίχου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου Μεχερι ε θ ἱνδικτίονος.  

[Αὐρήλ]ιος Ἀπφοτής υἱὸς Ἀρεοῦτος μητρὸς Κυρίας ὅμοιονος ἀπὸ τῆς Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως ἄνω ἔως ἐκεῖνης τῆς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους σπορᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν δύο χρυσῶν νομίσματιν ἀκίνδυνα πάντα ἀπὸ παντὸς κινδύνου ἐπάναγκε ἀποδώσω σοι ἐν τῷ Φαρμοϋτι μηνὶ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους β' έτῶν.  

On the verso

20 γρ(αμμάτιον) Ἀπφοῦτος υἱοῦ Ἀρεώτου ἀπὸ τῆς Λαμπρᾶς ὤμολόγησα.

I. ὕπατειαν φλαουίου Pap. 2. Ἱνδικ(τίονος) Pap. 3. 1. Ἀπφοῦες. υίος Pap. 5. 1. Δανιηλίου. 14. ανὕπερθετως Pap. 15. ὕπαρ[ζχοντίων Pap. 20. viov Pap.

'The year after the consulsip of Flavius Theodoric the most illustrious, Mecheir 5, the 9th indiction. Aurelius Apphous son of Hareous and Cyria, coming from the city of Oxyrhynchus, to Aurelius Serenus son of Daniel, of the said city, greeting. I acknowledge that I owe as a debt to you, of the price of various dyes which I have bought from you and removed in accordance with the agreement between us, two solidi of gold, total 2 solidi of gold; and the two solidi of gold I will of necessity repay to you free of all risk in the month Pharmouthi of the current 162nd = the 131st year and the present 9th indiction with no delay, and you shall have the right of execution upon me and all my property, which is mortgaged for the repayment of this debt, as security and lawful pledge. This bond, which is written in duplicate, is valid, and in answer to the formal question I have given my consent. (Endorsed) Deed of Apphous son of Hareotes, of the illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus.'

1. There is an inconsistency in the statements of date, for the year after the consulship of Theodoric was A.D. 485, whereas the dates by the indiction in l. 2 and by the Oxyrhynchite eras in l. 13 combine to fix the year as 486. The letters ἕ are broken, but satisfactory enough, and ἕ cannot be read; there would indeed be room for one or two more letters in the lacuna, but with a chrism and an enlarged initial letter the space would be sufficiently accounted for. The scribe therefore seems to have made a mistake; cf. 183 and 140, in which the eighth year after the consulship of Basilius appears where the ninth would be expected.

3. Ἀρεώτους: in the endorsement on the back the father’s name is given as Ἀρεώτος.
9. For σύμφωνα cf. e.g. P. Strassb. 40. 13.
10. The supplement is a trifle long for the lacuna.

915. RECEIPT FOR LEAD AND TIN.

6 x 30·4 cm. A.D. 572.

A receipt for lead and tin supplied by a lead-worker for repairing the pipes of a bath. The papyrus was found rolled up with four similar receipts issued to the same lead-worker, which are described in 1000-1003. The writing is in each case across the fibres. 915 alone is dated by the two Oxyrhynchite eras.
Provided by Apollos, lead-worker, for Georgius, servant, for soldering the pipes of the bath in the suburb on Phaophi 20 of the 6th indiction, twelve pounds of lead and three pounds of tin, total 12 lbs. lead and 3 lbs. tin only. Total 12 lbs. lead and 3 lbs. tin only. The 249th which = the 218th year, Phaophi 20, 6th indiction.'
THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος
5 Καίσαρος Μάρκου ΔΑὐρηλίου Ανταῖνος Σεβαστοῦ Παῦνι. διεγράφη Πασίωνι:
[kαι] μετόχ(οις) δη(μοίοις) τραπ(είτες) 'Οξ(υρούχικτον) [λ]όγ(οι) η[η]
τῆς κελ(ε)υ-
σθείσης κατ’ ἄρουρα[v ἀνενεχθῆναι]
άκολοθος τοῖς γρα[φείσι] ὑπὸ Αἰμιλ[ιῳ]
10 Σατουρνίνου τοῦ λα[μ]προτάτου ἡγεμ[όνος]
Τιβέριος Κλούδιος Γέμεινος ὁ κ[αὶ]
Γαίων δραχ[μάς] διακοσι[α], γί(νονταί) (δραχμαί) σ. Πασίον[α]
βασιλικ(ὸς) τραπ(είτης) σεσημ(είωμα).
καὶ τῇ ια τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς ὁ δραχμὰ[ς]
15 τριακοσίας τεσσεράκοντα(τ)α, γί(νονταί) (δραχμαί) τμ. Πασίων
βασιλικ(ὸς) τραπ(είτης) σεσημ(είωμα).
2nd hand καὶ τῇ κα τοῦ Φαῶφι ὁμί(οίως)
δραχμὰς διακοσί[ας], [ / (δραχμαί) σ.
20 καὶ τῇ κα τοῦ Φαῶφι ὁμί(οίως) [λόγ(ου)] η[η] δρα-
χμά[ς] [δ][ακοσίωσι]([α], [ / (δραχμαί) σ.

3. β of ἀρβικου written through an a. 6. i. διέγραψε. II. os Of κλουδιος corr.
1. κλαύδιος. 17. ν of του and first e of επείφ corr. 20. δ of κα corr.

'The sixth year of Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus and of the emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, Pauni. Paid to Pasion and his associates, public bankers of the Oxyrhynchite nome, on account of the tax of 2 (9) ordered to be paid upon the aurora in accordance with the edict of his excellency the praefect Aemilius Saturninus, by Tiberius Claudius Geminus also called Gaiion (?) two hundred drachmae, total 2co dr. Signed by me, Pasion, public banker.' Records of other instalments follow.

11-2. The name Γαίων occurs in P. Brit. Mus. II. 258. 130-1, &, and the repetition of the ε here was perhaps a clerical error. The initial letter is uncertain, and might be meant for σ or possibly ε, and ε could also be read in place of σ. In any case a second name seems here more likely than e.g. οὶ(το) (for επείφ) εγγάζα[i]ς, for though the interchange of α and υ is common enough, to postulate it in a doubtful passage is not very satisfactory. There would too only just be room for the abbreviation of π and ευ in the lacuna.
A memorandum extracted from the day-book of a collector of money-taxes, summarizing payments under various heads. Of the imposts mentioned two, the ναβίον (l. 2) and ἐπαρούριον (l. 3), are familiar. The tax of § (l. 2) is not often met with in Roman times, but a ἕκτη τεμαχῶν occurs in P. Brit. Mus. III. 1171, 72 and a ἕκτη levied upon παράδεισου apparently in P. Tebt. 343, 69, where we supposed that it was connected with the Ptolemaic tax of § of the produce for ἀπόμοιρα upon vineyards and gardens, in spite of the fact that the ἀπόμοιρα is known to have been sometimes calculated in Roman times upon the acreage of land. That the ἕκτη here too means the ἀπόμοιρα is very likely, especially as the latter is found in 653, where several of the taxes mentioned in 917 occur; the name ἕκτη, however, may be a mere survival and not necessarily imply that the tax was actually § of the produce. The tax να( ) φο( ) (l. 2) is known from 653, where we resolved the abbreviations doubtfully as να(ιον) φο(ρτίων). να(ιον) is on the whole more probable than να(φιον); but φο(ρτίων) is unsatisfactory, and φο(φέτρου) is more likely than φο(ρου) though να(ιον) φο(φέτρου) is a somewhat tautologous expression; φοινικών or φοινικων, however, would more naturally be abbreviated φοι( ). The remaining impost, abbreviated σπ( διον ( ) (l. 3), we connect with σπον(η) in 653, and regard it as levied nominally for a libation to Dionysus; cf. σπον(η) as a tax in P. Tebt. 347, 2. There may well be a connexion between this tax and the Διονυσεῖον at Oxyrhynchus, which perhaps benefited by the proceeds; cf. 908, 8-10, note.

Two other similar memoranda by the same tax-collector are described in 981-2. One of these has only the beginnings of lines; the other, which is complete, mentions besides ἐπαροφίον (l. 2) a tax called πιγχ(σμο) περιστερῶν, for which 47 dr. 1 ob. 2 chal. are paid. πιγχ(σμο) by itself appears as an impost in P. Brit. Mus. II. 1171, 73, where 7¼ dr. are paid for it, and 400 drachmae are entered for ἐπαροφίον (η) πιγχ(σμο) in P. Brit. Mus. III. 1157, 111, 600 dr. in l. 113, and 400 dr. for πιγχ(σμο) οικεν(ησών) in l. 152. The editors suggest that the charges for πιγχ(σμο) were for measuring areas, but remark that the amounts paid are high; possibly the impost was levied upon the areas measured, not on behalf of the measuring. That the impost γεωμετρίας means land-tax, not a tax for measuring, was maintained by Wilcken (Ost. I. pp. 173-6), but the evidence subsequently discovered does not support that view; cf. P. Tebt. I. p. 39. There is, however, somewhat less difficulty in referring the term πιγχ(σμο to an area measured, and we are disposed to regard the πιγχ(σμο περιστερῶν του
as a tax upon pigeon-houses levied according to their size. In Ptolemaic times there was a tax upon them called τρίτη περιστερώνων (i.e. ⅓ of the profits; cf. P. Tebt. 84. 9, note), but this is not known to have survived into Roman times, and the πηχισμὸς περιστ. may have taken its place. The 4th year, in which 917 and 981 are written (982 is dated in the 3rd year), more probably refers to the reign of Septimius Severus than to that of Marcus Aurelius, Elagabalus, or Severus Alexander.

'Εξ ἐφη(μερίδος) Ἀπίωνος πρά(κτορος) ἄργ(υρικῶν) Ταλαώ. να(βίου) καὶ ἡ(μίωβέλιον), ἐπαρο(υρίου) (δραχμαι) ρθ (αλκοῦ) γ', σπ(ονδῆς) Διον(ύσου?) (δραχμαι) η (τετρώβολον) χ(αλκοῦς) α, 5 (δραχμαι) ἐκατον τριάκοντα ἑκατὸν ὀβολ(οί) σ. (ἔτους) δ Παύνι ε.

2. β of κβ corr. from δ.

'From the day-book of Apion, collector of money-taxes at Talao. For naubion and the tax of ⅓ and freight by water for the present 4th year 22 dr. 4 ob., for land-tax 109 dr. 3 chalci, for a libation to Dionysus (?) 8 dr. 4 ob. 1 chal. Total 139 dr. 5 ob. Paid 139 dr. 6 ob. Total one hundred and thirty-nine dr. 6 obols. The 4th year, Pauni 5.'

3. σπ(ονδῆς): the first letter might possibly be ε, but σ is a more suitable reading and is confirmed by 653; cf. introd.

4. The sum actually paid is 1 obol in excess of what was due; similarly in 981 the δόσις exceeds the previous total by nearly 2 obols.

918. LAND-SURVEY.

Height 21-2 cm. Second century.

The verso of this long papyrus contains the text of the new Greek historian (842), and a short description of the document on the recto was given in Part V, pp. 110-1. This is a very elaborate survey-register of Crown land at a village in the south-west of the Arsinoite nome near Ibion Argaei, which is mentioned e.g. in v. 17: The plots leased to separate cultivators are arranged in σφραγίδες of varying sizes which have a double system of numbering. One set of numbers refers to the order in which they occur in the present list, beginning with the 1st σφραγίς and ending, so far as the papyrus goes, with the 12th; the other set of numbers refers to some more extensive register, of which the σφραγίδες here
described formed a part. In only two cases are the figures of the second set preserved, the 1st and 2nd σφραγίδες of the present list corresponding to the 17th and 18th of the other; and it is not unlikely that there was a difference of 16 between the two sets of numbers throughout. From these numbered σφραγίδες must be distinguished the use of the term σφραγίς in 918 to denote the individual plots; cf. ii. 16, note.

The normal scheme of the survey is as follows. First comes a description of a particular σφραγίς as a whole,—its geographical relation to the preceding σφραγίς, its number on both systems, its size, the rents yielded by it, and its adjacent areas. Where as the result of flooding or other cause in former years (ranging from the 3rd to the 12th of an unnamed emperor) the rents were no longer paid or had been reduced, or the land had changed its category (e. g. χερσάλμυρος which had become pasture land), information is added on these points, there being several references to earlier surveys. The general account of each σφραγίς closes with the words ὧν τὸ κατακ( _ ) (cf. ii. 13, note), referring to the following description of the individual plots into which it was subdivided. These more detailed entries give the geographical position of each plot (in the first entry the arourae are defined as ἀρχόμεναι, in the later ones as ἐχόμεναι), the name of the lessee or cultivator, the size and rent of the plot, the adjacent areas, and the addition made to the rent as the result of a reassessment. Where the land was not paying the normal rent or had undergone changes, the details already summarized in the general account of the σφραγίς are repeated in reference to the particular cultivators, e. g. in Col. xi.

The papyrus is divided into four sections separated by gaps, and as the writing on the recto and verso runs in opposite directions, D, the last section of the historical work containing Cols. xi–xxi, is the first of the land-survey, comprising Cols. i–viii. Col. i, which is much mutilated, is in a different hand from the rest, and is apparently the concluding part of a summary of the succeeding columns. It is concerned chiefly with land καθ’ ὕδατος (cf. Cols. ix–xv), and ends γίνο(νται) καθ’ ὕδατος (ἀρουραι) ψκηζίας’ ἀρουραῖς. ὧν ἡ ποσεία. In Col. ii begins the detailed list of σφραγίδες. Lines 1–2 indicate the point from which the survey starts, and ll. 3–7 apparently define the position of certain arourae, 22 in number, which stand in some obscure relationship to the 1st σφραγίς. The general description of that σφραγίς occupies ll. 8–13, and the details concerning the two sets of cultivators of the 94 arourae comprised in it fill ii. 1–iii. 2. In iii. 3 begins the general description of the 2nd σφραγίς, which contained 104 arourae, the details following in iii. 11–v. 14. The 3rd σφραγίς (v. 15–21) contained only 2 arourae situated in a hollow which seems to have been formerly dry but was now flooded, and as no rent or cultivators were assigned to it only
the general description was required. The account of the 4th σφραγίς (vi. 1-8) is incomplete, but the number of the arourae in it (8, including 1/9 aroura for a canal) is preserved. It was divided among three sets of cultivators who owned respectively 4 1/5, 2, and 1 1/8 arourae. vi. 19-vii. 1 contains the description of what is clearly the 5th σφραγίς, though the number is for some reason omitted. It comprised 5 2/9 arourae, but only 4 3/2 are accounted for in vii. 2-11, so that either 5 2/9 is an error for 4 3/2 or an entry has been left out. vii. 12-18 gives the description of the 6th σφραγίς, which contained 30 7/16 arourae, and the details concerning the several plots followed in Col. viii, of which only a few letters from the beginnings of lines are preserved, section D breaking off at this point. So far the land in question, with the exception of that in the 2nd σφραγίς, had been in good condition. The rents up to this point range with one exception from 61 artabae per aroura down to 43 2, this being the commonest rate; cf. P. Brit. Mus. II. 267, where the rents of Crown land near Lake Moeris range from 7 to 2 1/4 artabae per aroura, 4 7/9 art. being the most frequent. The exception occurs in the description of the 6th σφραγίς, where the 30 7/16 arourae pay at the rate of (πυροῦ ἄραβάς) ὃ ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν ἐκ τῆς, i.e. 4 1/20 ἐκ τῶν ἐκ τῆς, or 4 7/16 art., a fraction which could not be expressed without departing from the ordinary series of fractions of the artaba 4/5, &c. In every instance an addition to the rents had been recently made of amounts ranging from 1/2 to 1 artaba, and in one case (iii. 1-2) the rent had been twice raised. The case is different when we turn to the later columns of the survey on the recto of sections C, B, and A. These are chiefly concerned with land which had been flooded, and was therefore unproductive except where it had been reclaimed for pastures. A, containing the ends of lines of Col. xiii, Col. xiv, which is incomplete, and Col. xv, of which the ends of lines are lost, deals with the 11th and 12th σφραγίδες; but to which σφραγίς C (parts of 12 lines from Col. ix) and B (containing a portion of Col. x, Col. xi, which is fairly well preserved, and a few letters from the beginnings of lines of Col. xii) refer is not indicated, and the relative order of these three sections would be quite doubtful apart from the text on the verso. If we are right in regarding A as the first section of the historical work (cf. Part V, pp. 114-5), it is the last of the survey, and C and B must belong to the σφραγίδες intervening between the 6th and 11th; but it remains uncertain whether C comes between D and B or between B and A; cf. Part V, pp. 113-4. Col. ix, so far as can be judged from its scanty remains, deals with land similar to that described in Col. xi, various ἀναμετρήσεις (cf. xi. 5) being mentioned. Nothing can be made of Col. x, but Col. xi. 1-9 gives the conclusion of a general description of a new σφραγίς, which had been flooded, the entries concerning the individual holdings following in ll. 10 sqq. Owing to the loss of the beginning and the uncertainty of the construction of the various
relative clauses which are piled one upon another the details are not clear, but various categories of land 
καθ’ ὕδατος are distinguishable: (1) in l. 2 that on which rent continued for a time at any rate to be exacted, ὧν τὰ ἐϊκφόρια διεστάλ(η), (2) in ll. 3 and 13 land of which the rent had been reduced and which subsequently had been converted into pasture land, (3) in l. 21 land ἐν ἐποχῇ, a category frequently mentioned also inCols. xiii-xiv, and apparently implying land upon which the collection of the rents (in xi. 21 artabae) had been suspended indefinitely; cf. P. Tebt. 336. 13-5 and 337. 2, notes. Col. xii, as we have said, is represented only by a few letters, and Col. xiii, with which section A begins, has only ends of lines. Both this column and Col. xiv give part of a detailed list of entries referring to what must be the 11th σφραγίς, since the account of the 12th σφραγίς begins at the top of Col. xv. Of the five entries in Col. xiii two are concerned with land ἐν ἐποχῇ, two with land in another category, the arourae being called ἐναφει(μέναι), a term which occurs in P. Tebt. II. 325. 5; cf. note ad loc. The land had presumably been placed in this class because it had been flooded, but to judge by P. Tebt. 325 ἐναφει(μένη) γῆ was capable of being cultivated, though at only a nominal rent. Col. xiv contains five more entries concerning lands placed ἐν ἐποχῇ in the 8th year. Rents at the rate of 42 and 18 artabae to the aroura are mentioned (the latter being exceptionally low, cf. p. 274), but if our interpretation of ἐποχή is correct these represent only the rents paid before the land went out of cultivation. Col. xv begins with a description of the 12th σφραγίς, which occupies ll. 1-12. Lines 3-11 summarize in a manner similar to xi. 1-5 the changes which had taken place in the character of the land since the 4th year as the result of various ἐπισκέψεις, but owing to the loss of the ends no connected sense is obtainable. The σφραγίς seems to have consisted largely of χερσάλ(μυρος) which had been converted into νομαί at different periods, and, since 3023 arourae are mentioned in |. 6, to have been more extensive than usual. Lines 13-21 give the first three entries concerning individual holdings. In one of these the land had become καθ’ ὕδατος in the 12th year, but the remark is added ἀποκατεστάθ(η) τ[ῷ] ἐνεστ[ῶτι] (ἔτει) [, showing that it had been re-claimed in the year in which the survey was written. Since no years later than the 12th are mentioned elsewhere in the papyrus, the ἐνεστὸς ἔτος is likely to have been very soon after the 12th, and may even be the 13th. The handwriting proves that the survey belongs to the second century, and most probably to the reign of Antoninus or Marcus Aurelius. We print Cols. ii. 1-iii. 16, v. 15-21, xi and xiii, which afford good specimens of the whole. The parts omitted mainly consist of repetitions of the same formulae or are too much damaged to be intelligible.

Two other land-surveys of the Roman period exhibit a classification of land
by numbered σφραγίδες, P. Fay. 339 and P. Bruxell. i (Mayence and de Ricci, 
Musée Belge, 1904, pp. 101 sqq.). P. Fay. 339 is a mere fragment, but the 
accounts of the 11th and 12th σφραγίδες are for the most part preserved ; the text 
of the entry concerning the 12th σφραγίς is quoted in our publication, that of 
the 11th follows the same formula. The geographical situation of each σφραγίς, 
its size, rent, cultivator, and surroundings are given ; but the areas are much smaller 
than in 918, being only 1 and 1½ arourae in the two cases, and the term σφραγίς 
seems to be used to denote a plot of ground belonging to a single lessee rather 
than a group of such plots; cf. ii. 16, note. On the other hand in the Brussels 
papyrus, which though reputed to come from Dimeh is on account of the proper 
names more likely to have been discovered at Hermopolis and to refer to land in 
the Hermopolite, not the Arsinoite, nome, the σφραγίδες are much larger than 
those in 918, one of them containing over 635 arourae. ἰδιωτικὴ as well as 
βασιλικὴ γῆ is included in them, and the land-tax upon the former is added 
to receipts from rents of the latter, whereas in 918 private land, though frequently 
mentioned among the γείτονες, is not included in the survey. The Brussels survey, 
of which the extant portions cover the 6th to the 10th σφραγίδες, is moreover on 
a much less elaborate scale than 918, and does not enter into any details concerning 
individual cultivators of Crown land.

Col. ii.

2nd hand | [ἀρχομένων ἀπὸ νότ[ου ............]ους φοι(νικῶνος) ἐν ἡπείρῳ 
[. . . .].]ουμ(ένω) 
[. . . . .].] Ἀργεύνους ἀπ[. . . . . . . . . .] ἳπηλ(ιώτου) διώρυχος(ς) Τεκ-
[ράνιος κα')+ουμ(ένης) μεθ( ἰν) γή[ς [. . . . . . . . . .] χβ'θη διατίν(ουσαι)]

5 νότ(ου). γὴ(τοὺς)] νότ(ος) τῶν τῆς [. . . . . . . . 'Α]μνιταρωτοὶ τῆς 
'Αμυντίτων, βορρᾶ διῶρυξ [. . . . . . . .] ἀπηλ(ιώτου) Τασαταβοῦτος 
[τῆς ᾿Οννώφρεως σι(τοφόρος), [λιβὸ(ς) διῶρυξ μεθ( ἰν) ἰδό(ς).

[α] σφρα(γίς) ἦ ἐστ(ί) ἕσε(ρι) έτε(ρίς) άρουρε(ς νότ(ος) διῶρυξ, μεθ( ἰν) ἰνινδρ(ος), βορρᾶ βασιλ(ική) γῆ ἐπὶ
καμπ(υλή ?) στόρρω 

(ἀρουραὶ) Θίς' ὁν ὁν(ά) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) εδ' (ἀρουραὶ) β [καὶ ὁν(ά) 
(πυροῦ ἀρτάβας)] δὲ δ' ὁμ' (ἡν) (ἀρουραὶ) Θίς', ἀτ προκειμενα. 

10 γῇ(τοὺς) νότ(ίς) διῶρυξ, μεθ( ἰν) γῆ(ς ἀρνυθρ(ος), βορρᾶ βασιλ(ική) γῆ 

διὰ γεωργ(ίων) ᾿Αγκορίμφεως[σ] 'Οννώφρεως καὶ Πατύνιος
"Ἡρωνο(ς) καὶ μετόχ(ου), ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ἐδ(άφη) Θεαβήσεως τῆς
Πεισούρεως,
λιβὸς διῶρυξ. Ἀμήους τοῦ Σοκονόπ(ιος) καὶ [...]. ἐνελήμωτος τοῦ Πατύνεως ἐξ ἀλληλ(εγγύης) ἀνὰ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δέκατον μῆ' (ἀρουραί) ἐδ' ἅρι' Ἅρωνο(ς) καὶ περδυ(οῦ), ἀπηλιώτου Θεαβήσεως "Πεσούρεως τοῦ
Δείου καὶ "Ισώνο(ς) Πανεφρέμμεως καὶ Πατύνις "Ἡρωνο(ς)
τοῦ Πολεμικοῦ Πεισούρεως ἐν ἀλληλ(εγγύης) ἀνὰ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δ' ἄρουρα οἵτινες ἵπποι ἐν κοίλῳ (ἀρουραί) προσωρίσθη ἄλλο κατὰ (ἀρουραί) Ἰσίωνο(ς) Πανεφρέμμεως καὶ Πατύνις Ἐρωνο(ς) τοῦ Ἐρωνο(ς) καὶ μετόχ(ου), ἀπηλ(ιώτου) Θεαβήσεως Πεσούρεως κλῆρος,
5. θεματαθετοντος cor. 6. θεματαθετοντος cor. from η.

Col. iii.

"Δυσ(ι) τοῦ ἀμυνταρουτές cor.

λιβὸς διῶρυξ. Ἅρωνο(ς) καὶ προσωρίσθῆ (ἔτει) ἄρουραί (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δ' ἄρουρα ἵπποι ἐν κοίλῳ (ἀρουραί) προσωρίσθη ἄλλο κατὰ (ἀρουραί) Ἐρωνος (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δ'. ἄρουρα ἵπποι διὰ τὸ ἱπποτικόν ἦν ἱπποτικόν ἵππο τοῦ Πεισούρεως καὶ Πατύνις Ἐρωνο(ς).

"Δυσ(ι) τοῦ ἀμυνταρουτές cor. 6. θεματαθετοντος cor. from η.
THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

γι(στονος) νότ(ου) διά(ρυγος) Τεκ(ναμος λεγομένη) μεθ'(ήν) δίδο(σ), βορρᾶ( βασιλικῆ)

γῆ ἡπείρου διὰ [γεωργίαν] 'Οννώφρεως τοῦ "Ωρου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Πανεπιφρέμεως, λιβός Ταμειεύους

τῆς Ἀρμιέως καὶ ἐπὶ τι μέρος ἡ προκειμένη βασιλικῆ καὶ ἀπηλ(ιώτου) διώρυξ... διὰ γεωργῶν ἀπηλ(ιώτου) διώρυξ. ὡν τὸ κατακ( )

ἀρχόμεναι λιβὸς Ἐθνώφρεως καὶ Πατύνιος "Ηρωνός τοῦ Νεστνήφεως ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ἡ ἐχομένη σφραγίς, λιβὸς Ταμείους καὶ προσωρίσθη ἄλλο κατὰ (ἀρουραν) πυροῦ ἀρτάβης Λδ'.

7 more lines.

Col. v.

14 lines.

15 νότ(ου) καὶ ἀπηλ(ιώτου), § ἀνὰ μέσον οὐσίς διώρυχος καὶ ικανοῦ διαστήματος...

γ σφραγίς Χέρσου εν κοιλ(άματι) καθ' ὅθατος (ἀρουραν) β. γι(στονος) νότ(ου) διώρυξ

Φαγίους λεγομένης μεθ' (ήν) συνώρια 'Ιβιῶνος Αργαίου, βορρᾶ Ἀπολλωνίας τῆς Σαραπίωνος κλῆρος κατοικίας οὐσίς διώρυχος καὶ Ἠρακλείου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου κλῆρος, ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ὁδὸς δημοσία ἐν ἡ ἄφεσις λιθίνη λιβὸς ἡ ἐχομένη διώρυξ.

17. 1. συνώρια. 21. ε of εχομένη corr.

Col. xi.

[. . . . . διὰ] τὸ καθ' ὅθατος γι(στονος) νότ(ου) διώρυξ [διὰ τὸ καθ' ὅθατος] γι(στονος) νότ(ου) διώρυξ [διὰ τὸ καθ' ὅθατος] γι(στονος) νότ(ου) διώρυξ...
πρεσ(βυτέρων) τῆς κώ(μη9)) (ἄρουραι) ἂναμ[τρή]σεως εὐφρεθ(είσαι) ἀντὶ καθ’ ὅδ’(ατοσ) νομῶ(ν) (ἀρουραι) τ’ [Δ]2‘

[...] γί(τονε) τῶν δι(λω) νόσ(ου) ἔω(ρε) μεθ’ (ἡν) ἤ ὑγί(ης)

[βορρά ἵω(τω)κά] ἐδ(άφη), ἀπηλ(ωτον) διῶρυξ μεθ’ (ἡν) ἅρσικ(ί) γῆ ἦπ(ερος) δι(ά) γεωργ(ῶν) καὶ τοῦ πρὸς νόσ(ου) [μέρους ... ]

[βορρα καὶ ἀπηλ(ωτον) ἐδ(άφη)]. ἀπηλ(ωτον) καὶ εἰσαγ(ωγός), ἀρ[ρουρα] τ’ [Δ]2‘

[βορρα καὶ ἀρουραι] τ’ [Δ]2‘ αἱ ὁ[ων] καθ’ ὅδ’ ὁδο(α) καὶ ἐπί(μέρους)

[βορρα καὶ ἀρουραι] τ’ [Δ]2‘ αἱ ὁ[ων] καθ’ ὅδ’ ὁδο(α) καὶ ἐπί(μέρους)

[βορρα καὶ ἀρουρα] τ’ [Δ]2‘ αἱ ὁ[ων] καθ’ ὅδ’ ὁδο(α) καὶ ἐπί(μέρους)

[βορρα καὶ ἀρουρα] τ’ [Δ]2‘ αἱ ὁ[ων] καθ’ ὅδ’ ὁδο(α) καὶ ἐπί(μέρους)
"Ωρου δ(να) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δ εὖ καθ [........] [.....] 
γεω[ργ]'] αἱ ωδαι(αι) εν ἐποχῇ 
ἀπὸ [(....)] διὰ τὸ καθ' ὅθεν (ατος) ἱγε(ναι)

i. ε of ε[corr. from α]. The fractions after δδ' have a horizontal stroke above them; similarly in l. 10 and xiii. 1 and 16.

Col. xiii.

[27 letters (ἀρουραί).] ἰδ' η' δ' δων δ(να) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δδ' 
[28 ε]ν ἐποχῇ τεταγμέναι
[τῷ ἔτει διὰ τὸ καθ' ὅθεν (ατος) γεγο(νεί).
γί(τον) νότ(ον) καὶ 
βορρᾶ καὶ λιβὸς διῶρυξ, 

[ἀπηλ(ιώτου) 25 letters ]

5 [23 letters καὶ μετόχ(ων) (ἀρουραί) γυδ', αἱ ωδαι(αι)
[29 γί(τον) νότ(ον) καὶ βορρᾶ
[29 ]
[29]
[28 τῷ ἔτει δ(έτει) ἐναφει(μέναι) διὰ τὸ 

10 [26 γί(τον) νότ(ον) καὶ βορρᾶ 24 letters ]

[28 τῷ ἔτει δ(έτει) ἐναφει(μέναι) διὰ τὸ 
[27 γί(τον) νότ(ον) Πελώρος
[26 διῶρυξ, ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ἐτέρα 

15 [διῶρυξ, λιβός] 20 letters]

23 letters ] [. . .]s (ἀρουραί) αδ' η' ζ' ζ' δων
[23 ] / αἱ π(ροκειμέναι). καὶ εν ἐποχῇ(ни)

[τῷ ἔτει δ(έτει) διὰ τὸ καθ' ὅθεν (ατος) γεγο(νεί).
γί(τον) νότ(ον) καὶ βορρᾶ καὶ λιβός] μεμισθ(ωμέν)

ii. 2. Probably not καὶ ἄρουρα(εφι), for there is hardly room for a proper name, even if an ηπειρος was likely to bear one.

4. μεθ (ἡπι): the abbreviation μεθ( ) occurs frequently in this survey, always following the description of one of the γείτονες, but is nowhere written out. It is clearly different from ἀνὰ μέσον which occurs in a corresponding position, e.g. in v. 18, and is, we think, contrasted with it, meaning 'beyond' 'as opposed to' 'between'; cf. v. 17, where μεθ( ) συνάρ(ος) Ἰβίων(ος)

'Αργαίου must mean that the boundary between the lands of Ibion and the village with which
918 is concerned lay beyond the canal which was the south γείτων of the 3rd σφραγίς. μεθ(όριον) would hardly give the required sense, and would have been probably abbreviated μεθ(᾽) (ἢν) (or ὅν or 4) is practically certain. In B.G.U. 571. 9-10, where Wilcken reads ἀπὸ χέρσο(υ) ὑπολ(όγου) (ἄρουρα) ἡ ἤ γί(τονες) ἄπο(ρρα) ἐδ(ρα(γωγίς) μέθορος, λιβὸς χέρσος, νότου ἐθ(ρα(γωγίς) μεθ(ος εδ(᾽), ἀπηλ(ίωτου) κ.κ.λ., we propose μεθ(᾽) (ἢν) ὅρος, ... μεθ(᾽) (ὅν) εδ(άφη).

κβΖη: the interpretation of these figures, which seem to give the total of the arourae described in ll. 3-7, is uncertain, for they have a line above them such as is found elsewhere in the papyrus above a series of fractions, e.g. xi. 10, but not above numerals referring to arourae. The relationship of ll. 3-7 to ll. 1-2 and 8 sqq. is very obscure, but regarded as fractions the figures are still more difficult.

8. [σφρα(γίς): the restoration of the missing figure is certain, not only from the position of the entry at the beginning of the list (cf. iii. 4) but from Col. vi, where a σφρα(γίς) ἡ ἐστὶ(ς) σφρα(γίς) occurs in connexion with the south γείτων of the 4th σφραγίς. ενειλ(ημένη) is perhaps for ἐν εἰλ(υμένη): ἰλύω meaning to cover with slime is quoted by Hesychius. ενειλ(ημένη) and ενειλ(ημένη) are unsatisfactory. σφρα(γίς) is to be connected with (ἄρουραι), not with the preceding words; cf. iii. 5.

12. μετόχ(ων) is more probable than μετόχ(ων) here and in l. 24, since ἴσων Πανεφρέμεως (l. 19) seems to be meant.

13. Τεκνάνις λεγομ(ένη) διάφανε: neither this canal nor that called Φαγήους (v. 17), or Φακήους (v. 21), was known previously. For ὧν [τὸ κατα(κατα) (cf. iii. 10, xi. 9. The abbreviation κατα( is perhaps stands for κατὰ κεφαλήν, which is used e.g. in Arist. Pol. 2. 10. 7, in the sense of κατ᾽ ἄνδρα. Cf. P. Tebt. 343. 5 and 88, where ξεφάλω(v) in a survey-list apparently means 'nondescript', 'unclassified.'

16. θορρα(ς ἡ ἐχο(μένη) σφρα(γίς) means not the 2nd or any other σφρα(γίς) adjoining the 1st, but the plot described in ll. 18 sqq.; cf. l. 21, where ἡ ἐπάνω σφρα(γίς) refers back to the plot described in ll. 14-7, both plots being comprised in the 1st σφρα(γίς). Similarly in iii. 15 ἀπηλ(ίωτου) ἡ ἐχο(μένη) σφρα(γίς) corresponds to λιβὸς ἡ ἐπάνω σφρα(γίς) in the γείτονες of the next plot described; cf. also xi. 16 and 19, where ἡ ἐπάνω σφρα(γίς) refers in each case to the preceding holding. This, the ordinary use of σφρα(γίς), which occurs throughout 918 in describing the γείτονες of the individual holdings to express the separate parcels, must be distinguished from its use to denote the larger areas which had numbers, and contained several σφρα(γίς) in the narrower sense. Where, as e.g. in xi. 6, ἡ ἐπάνω σφρα(γίς) occurs in the description of a numbered σφρα(γίς) as a whole, it refers to another numbered σφρα(γίς), not to an individual holding.

18. For εγβ(αίνουσαι) cf. P. Tebt. 84. 91 and note.

iii. 3. For the occurrence of an angular sign before ἡ ἑξῆς cf. P. Tebt. 86. 32. In v. i it takes the shape of a wavy line.

5. σφρα(γίς): cf. ii. 8, where σφρα(γίς) is written out. The missing figure of the arourae assessed at 5½ artabae is supplied by the arithmetic (10½ = 1 + 9½), and confirmed by the details concerning the 2nd σφρα(γίς) given in iii. 17-v. 14, since two mentions of ½ aroura at that rate occur. The rate at which the 9½ arourae were assessed (4½ artabae) is restored from l. 13, &c.

11-2. The restorations of the proper names are derived from an entry in Col. iv, where ἔρουα belongs to these three persons is described. Бенджому is not improbable, but there is no likelihood of a connexion between this name, which ought to be Graeco-Egyptian, and Benjamin.

v. 17. Though the ω of συνῴφ(ω) is for the most part lost in a lacuna, this spelling is confirmed by συνῴφ(ω)18. 'Apy. which occurs in Col. vii.
21. ἐχομ(ένη) is superfluous and should be omitted, or perhaps altered to προκειμένη, since the canals called Φαγήους (l. 17) and Φακήους are obviously identical.

xi. 1. In the fractions of the aroura after \( \frac{1}{8} \) we should expect \( \frac{3}{32} \); \( \lambda \beta \) can be read, but the two following letters are irreconcilable with \( \xi \delta \). The following \( \alpha \) may be for \( \epsilon(\nu) \), but the sign for πυροῦ ἀρτάβας would not fill the lacuna. At the end of the line \( \sigma \epsilon \), is perhaps \( \epsilon \iota(\gamma(\nu) \sigma \sigma) \), sc. \( \epsilon(\nu) \epsilon(\omicron) \gamma \); cf. xiii. 17.

2-5. The punctuation of these lines is not clear, and to what figure \( \delta \nu \) in each case refers is uncertain. The land ‘leased in the 3rd year’ (l. 2) corresponds to that described in ll. 12-3, the 1 aroura in l. 4 to that in l. 18, and the \( 6 \frac{1}{3} \) arourae in l. 5 to the \( 6 \frac{2}{3} \) arourae in l. 15. The \( 18 \frac{1}{3} \) arourae in l. 3 would be expected to correspond to the figure in l. 13, but the vestiges following (ἀρουρα) there suit λ, not \( \iota \).

9. \( \eta \) before σφραγ(ίς) is probably \( \eta \), not the number of the σφραγίς, since there is no stroke above it such as occurs with the numbers of the σφραγίδες elsewhere.

11. \( \eta \) ἐχο(μένη) clearly refers to the land described in ll. 12-7; the following word is not σφραγ(ίς), and to read \( \delta \beta \) [σφραγ(ίς)] is unsatisfactory, for the individual holdings comprised in the numbered σφραγίδες do not themselves have numbers; cf. ii. 16, note. Moreover after \( \iota \)... is a horizontal line indicating \( \mu \), or merely a mark of abbreviation, but not occurring in the abbreviation of σφραγίς elsewhere in the papyrus.

21. It is not clear whether \( \epsilon \tau \) means \( 5 \frac{1}{3} \) (arourae) or is an abbreviated word. \( \frac{1}{8} \) is not a common fraction of the aroura, but occurs in Rev. Laws lx. 23. It is not possible to read \( \zeta \) for \( \epsilon \) and connect the fractions with the preceding \( \delta \).

919. ADVANCE OF DUES ON A FREIGHT.

**Memorandum of an advance of 160 drachmae to a ship's captain for customs-dues to be paid at Memphis on a cargo of olives and honey. The 22nd year in which the document is dated probably refers to the reign of Commodus.**

\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{Κβ (ἔτους) Παῦνι κ' } & \\
\text{ἐκ λογ(ου) κλῆ(ρου ?)'Ιουλ(ίου) Σαραπ(ίων).} & \\
\text{Καλλέα κυβερνήτ(η) εἰς τέλη} & \\
\text{Μέμφεως τῶν ἐμ(β)εληθέντ(ων)} & \\
\text{5 αὐτῶι ἐλαίας Προσωπ(ίων) ἦ} & \\
\text{κομισθ(έντων) ἀπ' Ἀρσινοείτ(ου) κα} & \\
\text{δραχμίων} & \\
\text{μέλιτος Κλαυδία Ισιδώρᾳ} & \\
\text{μέλιτος κερα(μίων) καὶ σε-} & \\
\text{βετίων ὑν λόγο(ν)} & \\
10 \text{δώσει (δραχμαί) ρξ.} & \\
\text{δό(τω) λογ(ον) Σαραπ(ίων) (δραχμών) ρξ.} & \\
\end{align*} \]

4. \( \delta \) of \( \epsilon(μ[β]ληθέν(ω) \) corr. from \( \tau \).
919. ADVANCE OF DUES ON A FREIGHT

The 22nd year, Pauni 27, on account of the holding (?) of Julius Sarapion. Paid to Calleas, pilot, for the taxes of Memphis upon his freight of 90 Prospite measures of olives carried from the Arsinoite nome, and 7 jars and 20 boxes of honey for Claudia Isidora solely, 160 drachmae, of which he shall render an account.

Let him render an account to Sarapion of 160 drachmae.'

2. κλή(ρου) is not quite satisfactory, but κλη(ρονομου) or -ων is unlikely owing to l. 11, where a Sarapion is apparently mentioned whom it is natural to identify with the Julius Sarapion here.

3–4. The τέλη Μέμφεως are analogous to the duty called λιμένος Μέμφεως in Fayûm customs-receipts, e.g. P. Fay. 69, 72, &c.; cf. P. Brit. Mus. III. 1107 and Preisigke's recent discussion of this tax in P. Strassb. i. p. 50. In P. Hibeh 110. 24, of the third century B.C., only a small sum for γραμματικακή was paid at Memphis upon a freight of corn.

5. We suppose Προσωπ(ίτης) to be a measure deriving its name from the Prosopite nome, like the Ὀξυρυχίτης (Ῥ. Brit. Mus. III. 1170. verso 79, &c.) from Oxyrhynchus. Προσωπ(ίτιδος) might also be read in agreement with ἐλαίας (cf. 6. g. 116. 11 μέτρον ᾿Ομβειτικοῦ νειρίου), in which case the measure is not specified; but apart from that small difficulty it is unlikely that olives from the Prosopite nome in the Delta would be taken to Memphis via the Fayûm. The figure at the end of the line is doubtful; it is more like 9 than 4, but does not greatly resemble either. A figure of some kind however seems essential.

8. σεβεῖτιων: cf. P. Par. 10. 22 σεβίτιον γυναικεῖον. The word is supposed to be a diminutive of σεβίς, which according to Hesychius = πυξίς.

11. Σαραπ(ίων): the letters are damaged but fairly secure.

(f) ACCOUNTS

920. ACCOUNT OF FOOD.

A short list of various articles, largely comestibles, with the prices paid for them. This is written on the verso of another money account of which parts of two columns remain, the beginnings and ends of lines respectively being lost. The items in the second column are dated in Phamenoth and Pharmouthi of the 21st year of an emperor whom from the handwriting we should suppose to be Antoninus or Commodus; the document on the verso, which is in a different hand, is unlikely to be very much later.
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ἐλεαι (δραχμαὶ) ιθ (δυόβολοι),  
πλατακίων  (δραχμαὶ) μη,  
στρουτ(οῦ) μεγάλ(ον) (δραχμαὶ η,  
σφαιρίων (δραχμαὴ Kd,  
το πλατακίων (δραχμαὶ vs,  
σφαιρίων (δραχμαὴ vB,  
is λόγ(ου) ἀραβῶ(νος) στρουτ(οῦ) (δραχμαὶ ιβ 1  
ῥοῶν (δραχμαὴ εἴ  
1. διζύφων Pap. 3. First a of πλατακιων corr. 6. 1. ἐλαῖαι. 8. I. στρουθ(οῦν;  
2. μ(έτρα) : or perhaps μ(άτια) : the abbreviation consists of a » with a small ¢ written  
3. πλατάκιον is a (new) diminutive of πλάταξ, which, according to Athen. 309 a, was an  
4. For λεπτῶν cf. P. Strassb. 40. 48 τά είς ἔθους διδόμενα λεπτά . . . ; what exactly is meant  
5. σαλώτια : the word is unknown.  
8. στρουθὸς μέγας or μεγάλα means an ostrich, but ostriches can hardly have been  
9. σφαιρία are probably sweetmeats, so called from their shape; cf. Vita MS.  
S. Simonis Salii αἰλίγμα καὶ σφαιρία καὶ ὀψάρια.

921. INVENTORY OF PROPERTY.

34.3 x 14.4 cm. Third century.

A list of various articles, chiefly of dress; cf. 109, 741, P. Tebt. 406, P. Gen. 80, &c. The list is on the verso of a lengthy third-century account, of which the beginnings of lines are lost throughout, mostly concerning measurements of buildings, &c., and mentioning different kinds of πῆχεις—ἀπλοὶ, καμαρωτικοί (or -ωτοί), and ἐμβαδοί: e.g. ἐπὶ τὸ a(πτρο) ἀπλοὶ πῆχ(eis) χτᾶζε'ζ'ζ', ἀπὸ καμαρωτικοὶ | σν δ, οἱ  
λοιπ(οὶ) πῆχ(eis) νεκρε'ζ'ζ'ζ'ζ'. πῆχ(eis) καμαρωτικοὶ are not otherwise attested; the form ἐμβαδοί for ἐμβαδικοί occurs in Heron, De Mensuris, p. 314. Mention is made of
921. INVENTORY OF PROPERTY

πήγματος γονθεναρίων ἐρικίων, συμψελίων, and καινῶν πλακίων. At the bottom is an entry concerning κεφάλια, followed by the signature Λόρήλιο[ς] Σαρᾶς ἐσημ(ειωσάμην), part of a date, and ... ἐπιδέωκα.

Τὰ ἀποκλήμανα παρὰ ἶπροινόν:
περιβολάδια ἐρεά
στρώματα σ. ικιανα
σουρικοπάλλιον
5 ἰμάτιον λευκῶν
κολόβια σμάλλεα
μαφόρτιον λευκῶν
κερπικαρία ἐρεά
καὶ λινά,
τὰ ἀποκλήμανα παρὰ ᾿Αρσινόην:
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
τὰ ἀποκλήμανα παρὰ ᾿Αρσινόην:
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
τὰ ἀποκλήμανα παρὰ ᾿Αρσινόην:
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
τὰ ἀποκλήμανα παρὰ ᾿Αρσινόην:
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
τὰ ἀποκλήμανα παρὰ ᾿Αρσινόην:
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
τὰ ἀποκλήμανα παρὰ ᾿Αρσινόην:
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
τὰ ἀποκλήμανα παρὰ ᾿Αρσινόην:
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
τὰ ἀποκλήμανα παρὰ ᾿Αρσινόην:
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
τὰ ἀποκλήμανα παρὰ ᾿Αρσινόην:
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
τὰ ἀποκλήμανα παρὰ ᾿Αρσινόην:
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
τὰ ἀποκλήμανα παρὰ ᾿Αρσινόην:
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
τὰ ἀποκλήμανα παρὰ ᾿Αρσινόην:
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
τὰ ἀποκλήμανα παρὰ ᾿Αρσινόην:
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
τὰ ἀποκλήμανα παρὰ ᾿Αρσινόην:
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
τὰ ἀποκλήμανα παρὰ ᾿Αρσινόην:
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
τὰ ἀποκλήμανα παρὰ ᾿Αρσινόην:
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
τὰ ἀποκλήμανα παρὰ ᾿Αρσινόην:
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
τὰ ἀποκλήμανα παρὰ ᾿Αρσινόην:
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
τὰ ἀποκλήμανα παρὰ ᾿Αρσινόην:
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
τὰ ἀποκλήμανα παρὰ ᾿Αρσινόην:
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
τὰ ἀποκλήμανα παρὰ ᾿Αρσινόην:
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
τὰ ἀποκλήμανα παρὰ ᾿Αρσινόην:
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν) α,
24. πυργίσκῳ seems to be the word intended, though there is something between the ρ and γ. The surface of the papyrus was faulty here, and this may have disconcerted the writer.

26. πιπεράς is apparently a form of πέπερις: cf. Alex. Trall. i. p. 67 πιπεράγαρον for πιπερόγαρον.

922. ACCOUNT OF HORSES.

31·1 x 21·7 cm. Late sixth or early seventh century.

This document contains particulars concerning a number of horses and other ζώα, how they had been disposed of, changes effected by sale and purchase, and losses through decease. The use to which these animals were put is not stated, but some of them may well have been employed in the ὀξὺς δρόμος (cf. 900. 6, note), or perhaps the δημόσιος κίρκος (145. 2). The popularity of horse-racing at this period seems to have led to the introduction of foreign breeds and variation of qualities; one of the horses here enumerated came from Constantinople (l. 15), and several unknown technical terms or epithets occur.

The sheet of papyrus is so made up that the recto of a strip added along one side coincides with the verso of the remainder, and on this surface, which is thus mostly verso, the account is written. On the back at a distance from each other are two semi-effaced and illegible lines in which we can discover no connexion with the main document.

+ Τὰ δύο ἱππάρια Ἀσκλπον ἐδόθη εἰς τὸν ἱππικόν.
    τὸ ἱππάριον Ἀρχεος ἐδόθη εἰς τὸ ἄνω στάβλον.
    τὸ ἱππάριον τῶν ἄρχοντος ἐδόθη εἰς τὸ ἱππικόν.
    τὸ ἱππάριον Σπανίας ἐδόθη εἰς τὸ ἵππιστὸν.
    τὸ ἱππάριον Σἐ πανίας ἐδόθη εἰς τὸ ἵππιστὸν.
    τὸ ἱππάριον Σ᾽ ἀποθεοῦ τῶν ἐδόθη εἰς τὸ ἵππιστὸν.
5 τὸ ἱππάριον Ἀριστοτέου ἐδόθη εἰς τὸ ἵππιστὸν.
    τὸ μικρὸν λευκὸν ἱππάριον ἐδόθη εἰς τὸ ἵππιστὸν.
    Ἡμικρίκιον καὶ τὸν μικρὸν γεράτην δεδώκαμεν
        υπὲρ τοῦ πυρροῦ ἱπποῦ τὸν ἄνω στάβλον.
    τὸ λευκὸν φοράδιν καὶ πέλατον δεδώκαμεν
10 υπὲρ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος μικροῦ ἱπποῦ.
    τὸν κέντινον πεπράκαμεν καὶ ἠγοράσαμεν
        τὸν μικρὸν μελανὸν τὸν ἐν τῷ στάβλῳ.
    τὸν ἱππόν τὸν λεγόμενον Πλέβ πεπράκαμεν
        υπὲρ τριῶν νομισμάτων καὶ ταύτα ἔχει ὁ κύριος Φιλόσενος.)
The two horses from Asclou were delivered to the groom. The horse from Ophis was delivered to the upper stable. The horse of the magistrate was delivered to the same stable. The horse from Spania was delivered to the same stable. The horse from the Arsinoite nome was delivered to the same stable. The small white horse was delivered to the groom. I gave Patricius (?) and the small ... for the bay horse of the upper stable. I gave the white mare and the ... for the small horse which died. I sold the ... and bought the small black one which is in the stable. I sold the horse called Pleb for 3 solidi, which the revered Philoxenus has. I sold the horse from Constantinople for 3 solidi, which the revered Philoxenus has. I sold the two asses (?) from Heracleopolis and the ass from Oureeiebt for 52 solidi, which were paid to the same. The ass of the magistrate and that of the water-carrier and its mate are dead. The mare which died belonged to Menas the official. Three asses were bought from Ophis for 8½ solidi, and another from Pallosis for 3 solidi. The she-ass of the Karaneots is dead. The other she-ass of the said Karaneots and that belonging to the people from Lucii and the small one I sold, and received 4 solidi for them.'
11. κέντυος is an unknown word.

13. ἵππον τὸν λεγόμενον Πλέβ: cf. 140. 22 ζῴου τοῦ λεγομένου Περισσοῦ. Is Πλέβ connected with πλῆκσις (cf. Παρτίκιον in l. 7 and note)?

17. ζώα in this context more probably signifies asses or mules than oxen (cf. P. Amh. 146. 3 θήκα ζώα). In P. Amh. 150. 23-4 χορ(τοῦ) ἔπηρ(οι) πεφορτ(ε)τόνα ζωά πενήνταν asses are likely to be meant; cf. 140. 22 τοῦ ἐμοῦ ζῶον in a contract concerning a στάβλον. According to Sophocles' Lex. ζώα was not used of horses.

19. ὁμουργός does not seem to occur elsewhere, but ὁμοεργής and ὁμοεργία are attested in late writers. ὁμουργοῦ was perhaps intended.

24-5. Καρανεωτῶν is not likely to mean natives of Karanis in the Fayûm, though cf. l. 5 Ἀραγώντων. There may well have been a village called Καράνεια nearer to Oxyrhynchus.

(g) PRAYERS

923. PETITION TO A PAGAN DEITY.

20-1 x 8.4 cm. Late second or early third century.

A petition addressed to the deity of some Oxyrhynchite temple, perhaps Sarapis, apparently with a view to prevent the departure of a certain person to Alexandria for purposes of sacrifice, and to cause him to sacrifice at the Oxyrhynchite Sarapeum instead; but owing to the incompleteness of the first six lines, where the construction is uncertain, the precise object of the prayer is obscure; cf. l. 6, note. Similar petitions or questions addressed to Graeco-Egyptian deities are extant in P. Fay. 137-8, B. G. U. 229-30, Wessely, Script. Gr. Spec. no. 26, and P. Brit. Mus. 1267 d (Archiv, IV. p. 559); cf. also 925. The papyrus is broken at the top, but it is not certain that any lines are missing.

[ ... ] τοῦ μεγαλ[ ... ]
[ ... ] se Ἁπιων[ ... ]
7 [ ... ] ye Ἐξάκων [...]
[ ... ] τισαι αὐτοῖς ὡστε
5 [ ... ]πει αὐτοῖς τὸν μ[ ... ]v ἰδι εἰςαν εἰς
θυσίαν σοῦ τῶν κυρίου μὴ
κατενέγκας εἰς Ἀλεξάν-
δρειαν, ἐπει κατ' ἄγνοιαν
τῶν φροντίδων αὐ-
923. PETITION TO A PAGAN DEITY

τῶν ἡργάσατο, ἀλλὰ ἔτερον
ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκεῖνον
θύσαι ἐν τῷ ἐν Ὀξυρυγχείτῃ
Σαραπεῖφ. τοῦτο ἡμεῖν

15 δόσ.

1. Perhaps μεγάλῳ, for which cf. e.g. P. Fay. 137 beginning Σοκωννωκοννῖ θεῶι μεζγάλῳ. Line 1 here may be the beginning of the petition, but τῷ κυρίῳ (cf. P. Fay. 138. 1 κύριοι Διώκουης) is unsuitable; the traces of the letter before the supposed ἐ rather suggest γ or τ.
2. The letter before σε may be γ, ν, or υ.
3. Unless ἕξακων is nominative, the following letter must be τ, which is possible.
5. μεσ seems to be the termination of a future verb, though this does not yield a satisfactory construction. ν or π can be read in place of σ.
6. Possibly μ[όσχο]ν, in which case ἐκεῖνον in 1. 12 is the object, not the subject, of θῦσαι. But it seems hardly likely that the petition should be merely concerned with the place where a calf was to be sacrificed, and the question whether a person was to make a journey was frequently asked of an oracle; cf. P. Fay. 137–8 and P. Tebt. 284. 2 sqq., and for a Christian parallel 925. We prefer therefore to suppose that τῶν μ[, ]ν is a personal name or description.
8. κατενέγκαι: less probably κατενέγκῃ.

924. Gnostic Charm.

9 x 7.6 cm. Fourth century.

A charm for warding off fever, similar to B. G. U. 956 (edited with a commentary by Wilcken in Archiv, I. pp. 420–7) and P. Tebt. 275, but Christian instead of pagan; cf. B. G. U. 954–5. The Deity is not addressed under any particular name at the beginning, but the essentially Gnostic character of the charm is shown at the end by the mystical symbols and the occurrence of the title Abrasax, a common Gnostic name of the Supreme Being.

Ἡ μὴν φιλάξης καὶ συντηρή-ρήσης Ἀρλας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπιημερι-νοῦ φρικὸς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ καθημε-ρινοῦ φρικὸς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νυκτερι-νοῦ φρικὸς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ λεπτοῦ

{τοῦ(ν) λεπτοῦ} πυρε[τοῦ] . . . . . . .

φις. ταῦτα εἰς[μενω]ς [π]ροῖξ-
eis δῆλως κατὰ τὸ θέλημα

U
Verily guard and protect Aria from ague by day and quotidian ague and ague by
night and slight fever and ... All this thou wilt graciously do in accordance with thy
will first and with her faith, since she is a servant of the living God, and in order that thy
name may be glorified for ever.'

1. 4 μήν: cf. B. G. U. 229. 3 and 230. 3 ἦ μὲν σοθῆσωι (σιç).
2. ἐπιημερινός is contrasted with νυκτερινός (l. 4), καθημερινός with e. g. τριταῖος; cf.
P. Tebt. 275. 21, &c.

6. Above the τ of Aerrov is what looks like a 7, but in any case seems to be superfluous.
The line cannot have proceeded καὶ ἀπὸ ἐπαϊφῆς, for though ἐπαφῆ is coupled with ἵνα
νόσος in contracts relating to the purchase of slaves, who are guaranteed to be ἀναπόριφοι
πλῆν ἱερᾶς νόσου καὶ ἐπαφῆς (e. g. in 95. 19), the term does not signify a disease, as will
shortly be demonstrated by Prof. Kübler.

7–8. [πράϊ ξ]: is very doubtful, for the writer elsewhere divides words between two
lines correctly, and the supposed r might be i, r, or φ, while of the supposed a only the
slightest vestige remains.

10–11. Cf. B. G. U. 954. 8 ἐμοῦ τοῦ δουλοῦ σου; δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ Ἰωάννου occurs in
Daniel (Theodot.) 6. 20.

15–7. οῦ and ηὐ are written larger than the rest. The use of the vowels is very
common in magical formulae, but it is curious that here they are six, not seven in number,
c being omitted, unless indeed it was written to the left of σ or η, where the edge of the
papyrus is damaged.
925. CHRISTIAN PRAYER.

5.6 × 9.6 cm. Fifth or sixth century.

This prayer is a Christian counterpart of the pagan petitions to the oracle of which 923 is a specimen. The writer asks whether it was the divine will that he should make a certain journey and whether success would attend him. Presumably this prayer was to be deposited in some church, just as the similar pagan documents were left in the temples; cf. P. Fay. 137. introd. It is written in a clear cursive of the fifth or sixth century.

Ὁ θεός ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ἅγιος ὁ ἀληθινὸς φιλάνθρωπος καὶ δημιουργὸς ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ φανέρωσόν μοι τὴν παρὰ σοὶ ἀλήθιαν εἰ βούλῃ με ἀπελθεῖν εἰς Χιουτ ἢ εὑρίσκω σε σὺν εἰμὶ πράττοντα (καὶ) εὐμενῆν. γένοιτο, αθ. 'O God almighty, holy, true, and merciful, Creator, Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, reveal to me thy truth, whether it be thy will that I go to Chiout, and whether I shall find thee aiding me and gracious. So be it; Amen.'

7. θ is the common symbol for ἀμήν, 99 being the sum of the numerical equivalents of the letters.

926. INVITATION TO DINNER.

2.9 × 4.9 cm. Third century.

This and the following papyrus (927) are further examples of the formal invitations to feasts of which we have previously published examples from Oxyrhynchus (110-1, 524, 747) and the Fayûm (P. Fay. 132), but which curiously enough have not yet appeared in other collections. The occasion of the party in the present case was the ἐπίκρισις of the person in whose name the invitation was issued, i.e. his admission to the privileged class who were wholly or in part exempt from the poll-tax; cf. P. Oxy. II. pp. 217 sqq. The normal age of candidates for ἐπίκρισις was about 13 years, since on reaching
they became liable to the tax; the formality thus heralded the attainment of puberty and the entry upon the duties of a citizen. This invitation is peculiar in having upon the back what seems to be an address, which former instances have lacked; the address, however, is in a different hand and doubtfully deciphered, and possibly it is not really connected with the note on the recto.

Kalēi se Ἡραθέων
deiπνῆσαι εἰς τὴν ἐπί-
κρισιν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ol-
kia αὐτ[ο]ῦ αὔριον ἡτις
5 ἐστὶν ε ἀπὸ ἀρ(ας) [θ.]

On the verso
2nd hand Χαιλάμων
᾿Ηλασίου.

6. 1. Χαιράμων (?).

‘Herathéon invites you to dine with him, on the occasion of his examination, at his house to-morrow, the 5th, at the 9th hour.’

5. The abbreviation of ὥρας consists of an ο through which a p is drawn.

927. INVITATION TO A WEDDING.

A formal invitation to a wedding, by which no doubt a feast in celebration of the wedding is to be understood; cf. 926. introd., and 111, 747, and P. Fay. 132, which are also invitations to wedding feasts. The writing is on the verso of a strip cut from two documents which have been gummed together; one of these apparently mentioned the emperor Alexander Severus, so that the invitation may be referred to the middle or latter part of the third century.

Kalī σατ Ἐρως
eis γάμους ἡτις
ἐστὶν αὔριον κβ
ἀπὸ ἀρας θ.

1. 1. ce. 2–3. 1. αὔριον ἡτις ἐστιν; cf. e. g. 926. 4–5.

‘Eros invites you to a wedding to-morrow the 29th at the 9th hour.’
928. LETTER OF LUCIUS.

In this kindly letter written by Lucius to Apolinarius, who is addressed as 'brother', the latter is warned of a plot against a girl who had lost her protector, and is asked to befriend her. The writing is across the fibres of the papyrus.

ΔΑΦΥΙΚΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΙΝΑΡΙΩΝ ΤΟΥ
ἀδελφοῖς χαίρειν,
ἐπὶ Ζωπύρου τελευτήσαντος τῇ
Ταΐδι τοῦ Ἀμφιθαλέου εἰσίν οἱ
ἐπεθρεύοντες, ὑμείλησασ
δέ μοι ποτὲ περὶ τούτου, φα-
νερόν σοι ποιώ ἵνα ἐὰν δοκι-
μάσης ποιήσῃς πρὶν προ-
ληφθῇναι, οὖν γὰρ ὁ τοῦ
Σεβαστείνου μητέρα ἔχει.
ἐὰν ταρείχια σεαυτῷ ποι-
ἢ[5] κἀμοὶ κεράμιον πέμ-
ψί[ο]ν. τὰ παιδία παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ καὶ
Ἰσιδωρίωνος προσαγόρεῦ.
ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχομαι.

On the verso

ἈΠΟΛΙΝΑΡΙΩΝ.

4. 1. Θαίδη. 5. 1. ἐφεδρεύοντες. 7. τῶι Παπ. 9. τοῦ τοῦ τοῦ τοῦ written over something else. 14. Ἰσιδωρίωνος Παπ.

'Lucius to Apolinarius his brother, greeting. Since now that Zopyrus is dead there are persons making designs upon Thais daughter of Amphithales, and you once had a conversation with me on this subject, I therefore inform you, in order that if you think fit you may act before she is entrapped; for the son (?) of Sebastinus has no mother either. If you are making pickled fish for yourself send me a jar too. Greet the children from me and Isidorion. I pray for your health. (Addressed) To Apolinarius.'
The subject of this letter is the loss of some articles of clothing, which the writer wished his correspondent to assist him in recovering. It is on the verso of the papyrus, the recto containing the latter parts of lines of a column of early second-century accounts, of which the upper portion has been erased to receive the address of the letter. Three sections remain, each following the same formula, e.g. (the last) (1) ὑπὲρ ς (2) ἄλφα ξ βῆτ(α) ἃς (3) ἀμεί) Ὁ (4) ᾿Απολλώνις τξὸ (5) λήμ(ματος) τξδ, (6) τα(jjpes). The preceding sections are similarly headed ὑπὲρ ὃ and Ἰγ ὑπὲρ € respectively, with ἄλφα and βῆτ(α) followed by different figures in the next line; in No. 2, l. 3, there is a γ before ᾿Απολλώνις appears in the same position in both cases.

The verso had already been once used, and has been cleaned to make way for Nicanor’s epistle. The original document began with a date of the 21st year of Commodus (A.D. 180), but beyond this only a few isolated letters are legible.

Neikánow Ἕννα- 25 ὑπὲρ ὃι ἄδελφοι χαίρειν.
ρῷ τῶι ἀδελφῷ καὶ σὺν τού- 10 ἐν τῷ λίνῳ καὶ λέν- 
τοιν πρὸς σύν- 
τον χιτώνον καὶ ἔριᾳ, 
ταῦτα δὲ πάντα συν-
 ενηί εἰς τὸν χιτώνα τὸν καροῖνον 
καὶ ἐσφραγίσθη

On the recto

25 Νεικάνωρ οἰκονόμῳ Ἀπόλλωνος στρατηγοῦ
2nd hand π(αρά) Neikánowos.

2. χειρὶ Ραπ. 3. l. [ἐπ]ουδαίον. 5. l. μοι. 12. l. συνεπῆν. εἰς... καύσων
above ll. 13-4.
929. LETTER OF NICANOR

Nicanor to Ninnarus his brother, greeting. Knowing your goodness to all, I ask you now to do me this one service. Please demand from Titho's the sailor a garment consisting of a brown tunic, inside which was a linen cloth, a worn towel, and some wool. All these were inside the brown tunic, and it was sealed with white clay, and with it send back to me all the other garments, making the total number six, to the Oxyrhynchite nome whence I obtained all the aforesaid articles. I write therefore to you, brother, to see if they are in some one else's possession. Please tell me at once about this. I pray for your health.

(Addressed) To Ninnarus steward of Apion, strategus (?), from Nicanor.'

5. ἐν τοῦ: or perhaps ἐν τοῖς, but there is no other case of the confusion of o and ω in this letter.

8. δύμα for ἔνδυμα is apparently novel.

9. καρόινον seems to be for καρυίνον, 'nut-brown'; cf. Theophr. de Sensu 78 καρύινον χρῶμα ἐκ χλωροῦ καὶ κυανοειδοῦς.

12. συνιή: this form is the converse of the common use of ὅν for ὃ, e.g. P. Tebt. 317. 19-20 ἐπὶ ὃν ἐκ[...] ἐν.

17. ἀποκαταστήσας, continuing the construction of ἀπαίτησας in l. 7, would have been more regular.

19. ἐξ ὧν makes a bad concord with ὀξυρυγχεῖτον.

25. στρατηγοῦ is very doubtful.

980. LETTER TO PTOLEMAEUS FROM HIS MOTHER.

15 × 9.2 cm. Second or third century.

An interesting letter from a mother to her son, whose teacher (καθηγητής) had just left him, and who was now in the charge of his παιδαγωγός. The writer with evident anxiety urges him to find another teacher.

[... . . . .]ν μὴ δικαίον μου
[γ]ραφέων καὶ περὶ δὴν ἐν
[ά]υρον ἔχωμα. ἐντεῦθεν ἐλοιπὴν ἐπιγνῶ[...]
5 σα παρὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς του καθηγητοῦ σου...

Διογένους καταπελεύθερον κέναι αὐτῶν ἡμερίμνουν
γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰδίκει δὲν...
10 τε κατὰ δύναμιν μέλλειν
σοι προσέχειν. ἐμέλησον
dὲ μοι πέμψαι καὶ πυθέ-

15 σκείς. καὶ ἔλεγεν τὸ ζήτα, ἐμαρτύρει δὲ πολλὰ περὶ τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ σου.

20 γογγὺς σου καθήκοντι ἡμερίμνην σε παραβάλλειν...

25 καὶ οἱ ἠμέτεροι πάντες
κατ’ ὄνομα. ἀσπασίσαι τὸν
... do not hesitate to write to me about anything which you require. It grieved me to learn from the daughter of our teacher Diogenes that he had sailed, for I had no anxiety about him, knowing that he intended to look after you to the best of his ability. I took care to send and ask about your health and learn what you are reading; he said that it was the sixth book and testified at length concerning your attendant. So my son, I urge both you and your attendant to take care that you go to a suitable teacher. Many salutations are sent to you by your sisters and Theonis' children, whom the evil eye shall not harm, and by all our friends by name. Salute your esteemed attendant Eros... (Addressed)... to her son Ptolemaeus.'

3. ἐντεῦθεν, whether meaning 'forthwith' (e.g. P. Tebt. 378. 11 ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἔσχον) or 'therefore', is more probably to be connected with ἐλυπήθην than with the preceding sentence.

15. The subject of ἐλεγεῖν is the καθηγητής; his daughter could hardly have given this information. τὸ ἐρωτά no doubt refers to Homer, and is therefore likely to denote the sixth rather than the seventh book, the Homeric books being commonly numbered by letters not figures; cf. notes on 852. Fr. 25, and 853. ili. 3–5.

23. ἀβάσκαντα: cf. e.g. P. Fay. 126. το τὸ ἀβάσκαντον αὐτῆς παιδίον.

28. There is a blank space after Ἐρωτά, which indicates that this is the name of the παιδαγωγός, not the imperative of ἐρωτᾶν to be constructed with what follows in the margin.

29. If the letters epp are right they no doubt belong to ἔρρωσο or ἐρρῶσθαι, but the succeeding vestiges present difficulties. The letter next after the lacuna may be θ or ι, but neither ἔρρῳσθαι nor ἐρρ[ὁσθ]αι εὔχ(ομαι) suits, the plural ἔρρῳσθαι is unlikely, and there is not room for ἐ ἐρρὶ ὦσθιαι.
'Theopompus to his most esteemed Sarapion, greeting. As you wished, sir, I have sent by the guard who brought the letter from you the ounce of purple to be presented at the entertainment to the little one; for I guessed that you were in attendance upon his excellency the praefect. I pray for the health of you, sir, with your excellent sister and Cyrilla. Good-bye. Phaophi 15. (Addressed) To Sarapion, strategus of the upper toparcy of the Sebennyte nome, from his friend Theopompus.'
A letter from a woman to a relative or friend, giving him various instructions about the payment of dues and other matters relating to agriculture. The sentences are loosely constructed and the meaning in consequence not always transparent.

Θαίς Τιγρίῳ τῶι ἰδίῳ χαίρειν. 
ἔγραψα Ἀπολιναρίῳ ἵνα γένηται ἐν τῇ 
Πέτνῃ ἵνα μετρήσῃ. ἐρὸ σοι δὲ Ἀπολινάρις 
πῶς τὰ θέματα καὶ τὰ δημόσια καὶ τὸ ὄνο 
5 μα ὧν ἄν αὐτός σοι εἴπῃ. ἄν ἔρχῃ ἄφες ἄρ 
τάβας ἐξ ἵνα τοὺς σάκκους σφραγίσως λαχα 
νοστέρμου ἵνα πρόχιροι ὁμι, καὶ ἔναν 
δύνῃ ἀναβήμειν ἵνα ἐπιγγνῶς τὸν ὄνο 
ἀσπάζεται σε Σαραποδώρα καὶ Σαβῖνος. τὰ 
10 χοιρίδια χωρὶς μηὶ πώλη 
ἔρρωσο.
A letter to Apolinarius, a πρεσβευτής, from a friend, chiefly concerning a little girl who probably was Apolinarius’ daughter and had been commended to the care of his correspondent.

\[ \text{Χαίροις, κύριε ποι ἑαὶ πάντα αὐτῇ} \]

\[ \text{᾿Δπολινάριε, παρὰ ἑωκήτης ὕπηρκαί ὦπε ἑπα-} \]

\[ \text{νελθόντα σε μαρτυρη-} \]

\[ \text{θη, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὀίκου} \]

\[ \text{χαίροις, κύριε ποι ἑαὶ πάντα αὐτῇ} \]

\[ \text{᾿Δπολινάριε, παρὰ ἑωκήτης ὕπηρκαί ὦπε ἑπα-} \]

\[ \text{νελθόντα σε μαρτυρη-} \]

\[ \text{θη, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὀίκου} \]

\[ \text{χαίροις, κύριε ποι ἑαὶ πάντα αὐτῇ} \]

\[ \text{᾿Δπολινάριε, παρὰ ἑωκήτης ὕπηρκαί ὦπε ἑπα-} \]

\[ \text{νελθόντα σε μαρτυρη-} \]

\[ \text{θη, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὀίκου} \]

\[ \text{χαίροις, κύριε ποι ἑαὶ πάντα αὐτῇ} \]

\[ \text{᾿Δπολινάριε, παρὰ ἑωκήτης ὕπηρκαί ὦπε ἑπα-} \]

\[ \text{νελθόντα σε μαρτυρη-} \]

\[ \text{θη, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὀίκου} \]

\[ \text{χαίροις, κύριε ποι ἑαὶ πάντα αὐτῇ} \]

\[ \text{᾿Δπολινάριε, παρὰ ἑωκήτης ὕπηρκαί ὦπε ἑπα-} \]

\[ \text{νελθόντα σε μαρτυρη-} \]

\[ \text{θη, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὀίκου} \]

\[ \text{χαίροις, κύριε ποι ἑαὶ πάντα αὐτῇ} \]

\[ \text{᾿Δπολινάριε, παρὰ ἑωκήτης ὕπηρκαί ὦπε ἑπα-} \]

\[ \text{νελθόντα σε μαρτυρη-} \]

\[ \text{θη, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὀίκου} \]

\[ \text{χαίροις, κύριε ποι ἑαὶ πάντα αὐτῇ} \]

\[ \text{᾿Δπολινάριε, παρὰ ἑωκήτης ὕπηρκαί ὦπε ἑπα-} \]

\[ \text{νελθόντα σε μαρτυρη-} \]

\[ \text{θη, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὀίκου} \]

\[ \text{χαίροις, κύριε ποι ἑαὶ πάντα αὐτῇ} \]

\[ \text{᾿Δπολινάριε, παρὰ ἑωκήτης ὕπηρκαί ὦπε ἑπα-} \]

\[ \text{νελθόντα σε μαρτυρη-} \]

\[ \text{θη, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὀίκου} \]

\[ \text{χαίροις, κύριε ποι ἑαὶ πάντα αὐτῇ} \]

In the left-hand margin

\[ \text{ἐάν σοι ἀβαρὲς ἢ [πεύθου] παρὰ Ἀντινόου ἐν ἠγόρασεν τῷ παιδίῳ σου} \]

\[ \text{τὸ φαῖλόνιον, εἰ Ἰῃ ἀγόρασον.} \]

On the verso

\[ \text{᾿Απολιναρίωι β. . . αὐτ( ) πρεσβευτή} \]

\[ \text{π(αρὰ) Διογένους} \]

\[ \text{ὀθονιακοῦ.} \]

\[ \text{18. 1. μαρτυρήσεως.} \]

\[ \text{23. επιστοίλιον Pap.} \]

‘Greeting, my good Apolinarius, from your friend Diogenes. Having met with a man who is going to you I greet you most kindly, praying to all the gods for your preservation. ... I came to the great festival. With regard to the little girl, I was there until she sailed, and everything was provided for her so that when you come back you will bear me witness. Have no more anxiety about your household than you would if you were present. I sent the letter to the little girl and made the night-strategus sleep on guard at the house. Salute my friend Plutogenes. I pray for your health, sir. If it is no trouble to you inquire of
Antinous whether he bought the cloak for your child, and if not, buy it. (Addressed) To Apolinarius, . . . legate, from Diogenes, linen-merchant.'

1. For the optative in place of the more usual infinitive cf. e. g. 526. 1, P. Tebt. 417. 1.
8. The size of the gap below this line is estimated by the apparent length of the lacunae in ll. 29–30, which are written along the left-hand margin.
13. The late aorist ἥξα occurs e. g. in Pausan. 2. 11. 5 ἥξας.
14–5. Apparently παρ᾽ αὐτῇ is to be understood with ἐγενάμην, and δεξια δὲ καταπλεύσῃ is for δεξια καταπλεύσε; but possibly an adjective meaning 'careful', 'sollicitous,' has been accidentally omitted after μικράς.

24. νυκτοστράτηγοι occur at Hermopolis, e. g. P. Leipzig 39. 3, 40. iii. 16 (late fourth century) and were probably established in other large provincial towns of Egypt, as they were in those of Asia Minor (Hirschfeld, Sitzungsber. Berl. Akad. 1891, p. 868); cf. the νυκτερινὸς στρατηγός of Alexandria. Their existence at Oxyrhynchus, however, cannot be inferred from the present passage, since it is uncertain where the letter was written. The office is described as a manus personale in Dig. 50. 4. 18. 12. It is somewhat surprising to find the νυκτοστράτηγος himself mounting guard over a particular house, especially as it seems from l. 33 that the writer Diogenes was a person in a private station; his correspondent, however, was a man of some importance.

30. φαιλόνιον: the transposition of λ and ν is common in this word; cf. P. Fay. 347, 2 Ep. Tim. 4. 13 φελόνη.
31. The letters 8. . . are close to the name Ἀπολιναρίωι, while ἄντ ), which is written smaller, is separated by a wide space both from B . . . and πρεσβευτῇ. ᾿Αντζινοέων πόλεως is a possible reading, but too doubtful to insert in the text. For πρεσβευτῇ cf. 33. iii. 11 πρεσβευτὴν ᾿Αλεξανδρείων, B. G. U. 932. 2 πρεσβευτοῦ τῶν βαρβάρων; an error for πρεσβύτῃ is unlikely.

33. θδονικαὐ: cf. C. I. G. 3582. 2 Αἰλίου ᾿Αγαθόποδος οθονιακοῦ, Boeckh regards οθονιακοῦ as a proper name, but the word is, we think, more probably a title both there and in our papyrus.

934. LETTER OF AURELIUS STEPHANUS.

A letter concerning purchases of yokes and manure, and other domestic matters.

Aὐρήλιος Στέφανος Αὐρηλίῳ Χαιρήμονι τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. ἐξιόντος μου εἰς ᾿Αλεξάνδριαν μετεβαλόμην τῷ σχοινιοπλόκῳ Πετοβάστει παρὸντος ᾿Ηρακλῆου εἰς τιμὴν ζευκτηρίων δραχμὰς ἑξήκοντα, καὶ εἰς τιμὴν κυρίου παρόντος Κοπρέως (δραχμὰς) μ, καὶ τῇ Καλῇ ὥστε Κοπρεῖ ἃς εἶχον μετὰ χειρὰς τὰς
Aurelius Stephanus to Aurelius Chaeremon, his brother, greeting. As I was setting forth for Alexandria I paid to the rope-weaver Petobastis in the presence of Heracleus as the price of yokes 60 drachmae, and as the price of manure at Chusis in the presence of Kopreus 40 drachmae, and to Kale for Kopreus the 48 drachmae which I had with me. Do not fail therefore to throw the manure on the land. I agreed to pay 100 drachmae for 100 artabae, in the presence of Kopreus; you will therefore give him the remaining 12 drachmae. Do not fail to go there, both to help my wife until I return, and for the sake of the irrigation. I found Aethiopas and it is well with him. Salute all our friends, I pray for your health. (Addressed) To Aurelius Chaeremon from Aurelius Stephanus.'
another Ὅρῳ Avxrov [ , while towards the end of Col. ii is the heading λαχ(ῶ[ς]ο[ς] α(ρτάθης) δ'. The names Πειςε(ς)καλας and Κακῆτ(ος, gen.) also occur. The document appears to be a taxing-list of some kind.

Σερῆνος Διογέν[e]:
τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. 5 κομψότερον ἔτραπη,
καὶ ἐὰν ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἄρτο-
κρατίων σῶζεται
καὶ [ὑγι]αίνει, συνλαμβά-
νωσι] γὰρ ἡ ἀδελφὴ ἐπὶ 7[6 20 ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός "ἐπὶ τῇ . θυγάτ[ηρ 
ἐπεὶ ο[ς Σαράπιων ἔτας εὐθ-
των ἡ ἀδελφὴ ἐπὶ τῇ ἑπτ[ης . θυγάτ[ήρ 
5 ἐπον [κακίων ἐσει[ν αὐτὴν, 15 ἐπ[όλαις μανδάκαι £;
ἀγκάλαι τν. ;
21. At the end of the line figures apparently follow the symbol for ἄρουραι.
This letter is noticeable for several unusual words which it contains. It is written in a fairly regular sloping uncial hand in two columns, that to the left, of which only the ends of lines remain, following that to the right. The writer apparently anticipated that he would not finish his letter in a single column, but curiously began on the right-hand side of the sheet, leaving a broad margin in front of his first column. The writing of the left column, which was no doubt considerably narrower than the other, is of a reduced size. A graphical peculiarity is a horizontal dash placed below as well as above the figures in ll. 6, 11, &c.

Col. 1.

Παυσανίας ᾿Ιουλίῳ ᾿Αλεξάνδρωι
tοι πατρὶ χαίρειν.
πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν
καὶ τὸ προσκύνημα σου ποιῶ παρὰ τοῖς
5 ἐπιχειρίωσις θεοῖς. κόμισαι παρὰ Σύρου
κλουίον φῶν π καὶ βαυκάλιον ὅπου
τριχοίνεικον σινάπεως καὶ ἡμίχουν
ἐλαιὸν βαυκάλιον καὶ βαυκάλιον ὅπου
ἡμίχουν μέλιτος καὶ τὸ ἔξωθιν.
10 κόμισαι παρὰ ᾿Αγαθημέρου μελικηρίδα
καὶ κόμισαι παρὰ τοῦ κομίζοντός σοι τὸ ἐπιστόλιον κλουίον
κόμισαι παρὰ τοῦ κομίζοντός σοι τὸ ἐπιστόλιον κλουίον
15 ἐξον μ καὶ σφυρίδιον Κανωπικὸν ὅπου ζεύγη
ἀρτῶν δ καὶ σ ζεύγη σκωροσελίνας.
ὁ ἡπητής λέγει ὅτι οὐ δίδω οὔτε τὸν χαλκὸν
οὔτε τὸ φαινόλιν ἀτερ Ἰούστου, λέγει γὰρ
ὅτι οὔπω λελυτρώτατο τὸ φαινόλιν οὐδὲ
20 Φιλόδετον ὅλ' ἐξ οἷον συή ἐνυ. ἀπήλθον
πρὸς τὴν μητέρα (Αρμινιά) καὶ λέγει ὅτι
οὐκ ἔχω ἀρτί σεῖτον οὐδὲ τὰ βιβλίδια ἀπήρ-
Pausanias to his father Julius Alexander, greeting. Before all else I pray for your health, and I perform the act of worship on your behalf to the gods of the country. Receive from Syrus a basket of 80 eggs and a jug with 3 choicines of mustard and half a chous of raphanus oil and a jug with half a chous of honey and the dagger. From Agathemerus receive a honeycomb and a pot of ro cakes and 3 honey-sweet garlands; give these to my sister and salute her warmly. Receive from the bearer of the letter a basket containing 40 eggs (?) and a Canopic basket with 4 pairs of loaves and 6 pairs of ... The cobbler says that he will not give up either the money or the cloak without Justus, for he says "The cloak has not yet been redeemed, and I have entirely failed to find Philoxenus". I went to the mother of Ammonius, and she says "I have no food now, and the petitions have not yet been got ready". Bring me two hides, a wrap, and a small crate . . . five years old, and some (?) shoes. Send me now an open-work covering (?) having a . . .
course be followed by a dative; in 1.8 the reading is doubtful on account of a correction and the imperfect state of the papyrus.

11. μελίτινον has been altered to μελίτως, the o having been converted to an a, but the stroke representing the final v being left untouched. This is more likely than that μελ(λ)ι- τ(ο)ν a should be read, for numerals in this letter have a stroke below as well as above, and the original a is more unaccountable if a figure was intended.

16. σκυψαλείναιs is presumably a compound of σκύψω and σεληνόν, but no such word is known; the doubtful σ may be η, but this is not less difficult.

20. ὅλον τὸ σύνολον.

24. ἀναβολον : cf. P. Tebt. 413. 10 τὸ(σο)μα δι(τ)όλια, which we were therefore wrong in altering to δι(τ)όλι(κ)α on the analogy of 741. 13-4. The end of this line is puzzling; perhaps ἐπικεφαλήν is a separate word = ἐπικεφάλον. The final letter is possibly e. g. ν, but only a single stroke is visible; s is unlikely.

The following letter to a woman named Taor from her brother Demarchus is chiefly concerned with a stone bowl, about the safety of which the writer was anxious. The usual request for various articles and announcement of other articles on their way to the addressee form the conclusion.

937. LETTER OF DEMARCHUS.

Δήμαρχος Τάορ τῇ...
In the left margin, at right angles

φόρτην σου καὶ τὸ κεράμιον τοῦ γάρος καὶ δικότυλον ἐλαίου χρηστοῦ.
ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχομαι.

On the verso

δέξε γ σακκούδια π(αρά) τοῦ Ἀντινο-
30 έως τοῦ σοι τὰ γράμματα διδόντος.

ἄπόδ(ος) Τάορ τῇ δεξι"ι π(αρά) Δη[

2. χαιρεῖι Pap. 4. o of ov corr. from τ. 5. l. 'Ἀγαθῖνος, and similarly in l. 17.
8. παραγ' γελλω Pap.; similarly in l. 14. 10. ἢν Pap. 17. o of autov corr. from aut.
19. κ of κε[ι] corr. from τ. 25. v of autov corr. from ν. 29. l. δέξαι.

'Demarchus to his sister Taor, very many greetings. I would have you know that
you wrote to me about what Agathinus did to me. Well, if I live and come to my native
land I will have my revenge. And for the present I bid you, my dear sister, go to the street
of the theatre and find out about the stone bowl in the boat and warn them all there,
Philocyrus and Zosimus, to keep a watch on it, lest Agathinus should determine to take
the bowl. Write me a reply through the man from Antinoöpolis about whom I sent to you,
and write the list there, that you have received so and so. If the man from Antinoöpolis wants
anything provide him with it, and come with him to meet Tasoitas. Send your cloak and
the jar of pickled fish and two cotylae of good oil. I pray for your health. You will
receive three bags from the man from Antinoöpolis who is the bearer of this letter.
(Addressed) Deliver to my sister Taor from Demarchus.'

13. The papyrus has ev o πλοιο, of which the easiest correction seems to be to write
τῷ for o. ἐν o πλοῖον might perhaps mean 'engraved with a relief of a boat', but this
is less likely.

18. For λοβῆι[σ]ια cf. Bekker, Anecd. Ox. i. p. 268 ἐστὶ λαβῶ περισπώμενον θέμα... καὶ
ὁ μέλλων τοῦ λαβῆι λαβήσω καὶ παρ' ἐνισχία λειάζησα ὡς μαθῶ μαθήσω, οὗ ὁ παρακείμενος μεμάθηκα.
But there is not much room for the [σ], and the B is of the cursive form like a κ, which is
not used in παραβάλῃς in l. 10; the other letters, however, are clear. The writer began the
same word after αυτῳ in the line above.

22. τι καί τι is analogous to τὸ καὶ τὸ: this is simpler than to take τι καί τι as an indirect
interrogative, ouden being redundant.


27. γάρος: the usual form is ὁ γάρος or τὸ γάρος, but τὸ γάρος occurs in Geopon. 20. 46

388. LETTER OF DEMETRIUS.

Chicago. 8-9 x 17-8 cm. Late third or fourth century.

A letter from a son to his father, reproaching him for his failure to send
fodder for the oxen. The papyrus was briefly described in Part I. 161. The
writing is across the fibres.
Δημήτριος Ἰππακλεΐδῃ πατρὶ χαίρειν.
οὐκ ἀκόλουθον πράγμα ἐποίησας ἐνέδρευσας τὰς τροφὰς τῶν κτηνῶν
tῆς Σεναώ, ἐκπαλαί ἐπισταλεῖς διάδεκα σαργάνας χόρτου ἐκεί ἀποστέλλαι
καὶ μὴ πέμψας, ὡς ἐκ τοῦτο κινδυνεύειν τὰ κτήνη διασφαρῆναι. 
tῶν 5 οὖν κτηνῶν κακῶς ἔχοντων καὶ τῆς γῆς διὰ τοῦτο μὴ ποτιζομένης ἥπει-
χθην καὶ νῦν σοι γράψαι ὅπως αὐτῆς ὥρας γομαὶ ἐπιτηδείως τὰς
ποιῆσαι ἀποστέλλῃς. τῇ γὰρ ἀσχολίᾳ μου ἔδοξας ἐπεγγελᾶν.
ἐρρῶσθαι σε πολλοῖς χρόνοις εὐχομαι.

'Demetrius to Heraclides his father, greeting. It was an unfitting act of yours to
intercept the fodder for the oxen at Senao, and not to dispatch it, although you had long ago
been instructed to send twelve baskets of hay thither, with the result that the oxen are in
danger of destruction. Since the oxen are thus in a sorry state, and the land in conse-
quence is not being irrigated, I hasten to write to you now once more and beg you
instantly to get the baskets properly laden and send them off; for you seem to be mocking
my industry. I pray for your long health.'

3. Σεναώ, which is presumably a village of the Oxyrhynchite nome, is not mentioned
elsewhere.

Τῷ κυρίῳ Φλαβιανῶι
Δημήτριος χαίρειν.
[ὁ]ς ἐν ἄλῳ πλείστοις νῦν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡ πρὸς σὲ
[τοῦ δεσπότου θεοῦ γνῶσις ἀνεφάνη ἅπασιν ἡμῖν
5 [ὅστε τὴν] κυρίαν ἀνασφῆλαι ἐκ τῆς καταλαβούσης
[αὐτῆς νόσιοι, καὶ εἰς διὰ παντὸς ἡμᾶς χάριτας ὁμο-

X 2
[λογοῦντας διατελεῖν ὅτι ἡμῖν ἱλεως ἐγένετο
καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς ἡμῶν ἐπένευσεν διασώσας ἡμῖν
τὴν κυρίαν: ἐν γὰρ αὐτῇ πάντες τὰς ἐλπίδας
συνγνώμην δέ, κύριέ μου, σχοίης μοι
καὶ εὖνους ἀποδέξει με εἰ καὶ ἐς τιλικακὴν σε
ἀγωνίαν ἀκὼν ἐνέβαλον γράψας περὶ αὐτῆς ὡς
ἐκομίσω. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα ἐν θλίψῃ αὐτῆς
πολλῇ οὔδης οὐκ ἂν ἐν ἐμαυτῷ ἀπέστειλα
[σπουδάζων] εἰ πῶς ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου διωνθεῖς
[πρὸς ἡμᾶς] ἀφικέσθαι, τοῦτο τοῦ καθήκουσας
πρὸς αὐτῆς ἐπικαταλαβεῖν ἐσπούδασα διὰ
Ἐὐφροσύνου ἵνα σε εὐθυμότερον καταστήσω.
νὴ γὰρ τὴν συνειρθῶσα, κύριε μου, ἃς μάλιστά
μοι μέλει, εἰ μὴ ἐπινόσως ἐσχήκει τὸ σωμάτιον
τότε ὁ υἱὸς ᾿Αθανάσιος αὐτὸν ἂν ἀπέστειλα πρὸς σὲ
ἀμὴ Πλουτάρχῳ ἡνίκα ἐβαρεῖτο τῇ νόσῳ. νῦν δὲ
πῶς πλίονα γράψω περὶ αὐτῆς ἀπορῶ, ἔδοξεν
μὲν γὰρ ὡς προεῖπον ἀνεκτότερον ἐσχηκέναι ἀνακαθεσθεί-
σα, νοσηλότερο δὲ ὅμως σωμάτιον ἔχει. παρα-
μυθοῦμεν τὴν ἄφιξιν. ἐρρῶσθαι σε, κύριε μου,
διὰ παντὸς τῷ τῶν ἄλων

c. Φαρμοῦθι σ.

On the verso
Φλαβιανῶι
Δημήτριος.

inserted later.

'To my lord Flavianus from Demetrius, greeting. As on many other occasions so
now even more plainly than ever has the regard of the Lord God for you been revealed to
us all by the recovery of my mistress from the sickness which overtook her, and may it be
granted us to continue for ever to acknowledge our thanks to Him because He was
gracious to us and inclined His ear to our prayers by preserving for us our mistress; for in
her the hopes of all of us rest. Please pardon me, my lord, and receive me kindly, though I unwillingly caused you so much anxiety by writing to you the messages which you received. I wrote the first letter when she was in much pain, and I was beside myself in anxiety that you should come to us by every possible means in your power, for this was what duty demanded; but as she seems to have taken a turn for the better I am anxious that you should receive another letter by Euphrosynus, in order that I may make you more cheerful. By your own safety, my lord, which is my first interest, if my son Athanasius had not then been ailing, I should have sent him to you with Plutarchus when she was overcome by the sickness. But now I know not what more I am to write concerning her, for her condition seems, as I have said, to be more tolerable, as she has sat up, but she nevertheless remains rather ill. We comfort her by hourly expecting your arrival. I pray my lord, to the Master of all for your continued health. Pharmouthi 6. (Addressed) To Flavianus from Demetrius.

940. LETTER TO A CLERK.

A letter containing instructions to a *votários* concerning the vintage. The writing, as is usual with Byzantine letters, e.g. 941–3, is across the fibres of the papyrus.

ΧΨΥ

Συνορῶ τέως ἐν ταυτότητι μεῖναι τὰς ῥύσεις ἀχρὶ τῆς τελευταίας μερίδος ἵνα μὴ δέξαμεν διάκειν τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μῆπω τρυγήσαντας. τοῖνυν, ὡς ἀνωτέρω εἴρηται, καταξίωσον ἐπέξειν τοῦ λογισμοῦ ἐως ὅσο μάθης τὴν τῶν ἄλλων μερίδων δύναμιν, ἣ καὶ ἐν τοσοῦτο γράφεις μοι καὶ οὕτως σκοπῶ τὸ πρακτέον. τὸν δὲ Φοιβάμωνα τῶν φρουτιστῆν μεταστειλάμενος ἔχε ἐγγὺς σου μίαν μίαν.

On the verso

ἐπιθο(ς) τῷ θαυμα(ῳ) τάτω Διοσθηφ νοταρίῳ ᾿Ἰωσήφ νοταρίῳ ἀρμόσσωνος.

2. ἐν Παπ.
It is my desire that the flow of the wine should remain as it is for some time until the last holding is ready, that we may not seem to press hardly upon the others who have not yet gathered the grapes. Therefore, as stated above, please to delay the account-taking until you learn the capacity of the other holdings, and in the meantime write to me, and thus I shall see what is to be done. Send for Phoebammon the steward, and keep him at hand together with you. (Addressed) Deliver to the most admirable Joseph, clerk, from (?) Charmoson (?)

1. A careful discussion of various explanations of the mystic formula χμγ is given by Smirnoff in Berl. Phil. Wochensch., Aug. 18, 1906, pp. 1082 sqq. He suggests that the letters correspond to the Hebrew τῆς = εἰς or εἰ, comparing the representation of the Hebrew tetragrammaton by the Greek πτη. It may perhaps be regarded as some slight support for this view that the order of the letters occasionally follows that of the Hebrew, ΓΜΧ (cf. Arch. Report for 1906–7, p. 10 ad fin.) ; but the question remains unsettled.

2. συνορᾶν in the sense of to ‘resolve’ or ‘determine’ is common in Byzantine Greek, e.g. Concil. Chalced. 639 ε συνορῶμεν πρὸδ πάντων μία προσείχα καὶ φαίλησθαι.

6. μία μία was used for κατὰ μίαν by Sophocles according to Antiatt. 108. 9, and Apophthegm. Patrum 80 α (Migne, vol. xlv) χρῆ σοι μίαν μίαν συγκατάβαινειν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς is quoted by Jannaris, Hist. Gr. Gram. ὃ 666 as an instance of the same use, while Sophocles, Lexicon, p. 427, translates this ‘once in a while, occasionally’. In the papyrus, however, the context clearly indicates that μία μία means ‘together’, μίαν, and the sense may well be the same in Apophthegm. 80 α, emphasizing the σύν of συγκατάβαινειν.

8. Possibly π(αρὰ) Χαρμόσωνος or Λαρκάσωνος, but π(αρὰ) does not really account sufficiently for all the traces, and the word ending in -ονος may be the name of the place of which Joseph was νοτάριος.

941. LETTER TO JOHN.

In this letter the writer entreats his friend to help him in obtaining from the monastery of St. Justus a piece of ground to be used for brickmaking.

Ἐπειδὴ ὁ πλινθευτὴς λέγει τὸν τόπον τοῦ υἱοῦ Νιννοῦδος ὀστρακώδης καὶ μη πεποιημένον εἰς πλινθεύσαι, ὡς δὲ λέγει ὅτι ἐὰν σκυλῆς πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ὀικονόμου τοῦ ἁγίου ᾿Ιούστου παρέχει σοι τὸν τόπον ὅλην ἢ ἀντὶς τοῦ μαρτυρίου 5 ἢ ἐκ ἀρτιστῶν αὐτοῦ ήγουν ἐκ δεξιῶν, καταξίωσαν χαρίσασθαι μοι σκυλῆς. πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀλλ' ἄρτι καὶ εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ. εἰκὸς παρέχει σοι τὴν χάριν, ἐκ τοῦ γάρ
941. LETTER TO JOHN

ἐγγύς ἐστιν. ἄλλον οὗτος λέγεις αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐὰν θέλεις παρέξομεν σοι ὅτι ἐνοίκιον, μόνον πάρεξει μοι, τῶν δὲ θεῶν σοῦ. εὐθὺς διὰ Φοιβάμμωνος δήλωσόν μοι τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπόκρισιν. εἰπὲ δὲ αὐτῷ ὅτι ὃλη(γη)ν μόνον θελοῦμεν καὶ οὐ πολλὴν.

ἐπιθ(ος). 'Ἰωάννη παρὰ) . . . . . . . ἐνοῦ. +

2. νῦν Παπ. 1. Νιννοῦτος ὀστρακώδης. 3. σ of πλουθεσσα corrected. νῦν Παπ. 4. ιονστου Παπ. 6. ἀλλε Παπ.; so in l. 7. 7. εὐγνυ Παπ. 10. ἱωάνη Παπ.

Since the brickmaker says that the place of the son of Ninnous (?) is full of sherds and not adapted for brickmaking, and as he says that if you will trouble to go to the son of the steward of the monastery of St. Justus he will provide you with a small space, either opposite the martyr's shrine, or on the left of it, or on the right, vouchsafe me the favour of going to him and speaking to him now. It is likely that he will grant you this favour, for it is close by. Say to him this: "If you wish, we will pay you rent, only grant me the favour and God be with you (?)" Inform me immediately by Phoebammon of his answer. Tell him that we only want a little and not much. (Addressed) Deliver to John from . . . .

The meaning of this π with a dash through it, which is not uncommon at the top of letters of this period, is obscure. It is written like the abbreviation of παρά, but παρά without a following name is meaningless. Possibly, however, the custom of commencing παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνα, e.g. 894, led scribes to write παρὰ even when there was no real intention of adding the name.

3. σκολήμα πρόσ = 'to take the trouble of going to,' as is shown by instances where ἐως replaces πρόσ, e.g. Cyrill. Scythop. Vita S. Sabae σκολὴμα ἐως τοῦ ὀκου. Cf. 123. 10 (third or fourth century) ποιήσων αὐτῶν σκολήμα πρὸς Τιμόθεου, which we translated wrongly, and B. G. U. 830. 25 where the active form σκῦλαί τινα πρὸς is found in a letter of the first century.

4. The form ἁνίσ, evidently employed in a local sense, is remarkable. It occurs at a later period with an accusative, e.g. Th. Prodromus 3. 285-6 (twelfth century) ἁνίσ νερίν φαρμάκων, and is used in modern Greek.

7. The subject of ἐστιν is perhaps δ τόπος, the meaning being that the proposed change of locality would be slight; this seems more likely than that ἥ χάρις is the subject, and that ἐγγύς is metaphorical, 'the favour is nothing out of the way.'

8. τῶν δὲ θεῶν σοῦ: this very elliptical phrase appears to mean, 'I pray that God may bless you (if you do as I ask)'; cf. 155. 4-5 πολλοὶ χρῶσες καὶ καλοὶ τῆν ὑπερέαν μεγαλοπρεπειᾶς, 'I wish long life and happiness to your magnificence.'

942. LETTER OF TIMOTHEUS.

Chicago. 7 x 30 cm. Sixth or seventh century.

A letter from a man who had just arrived at Nilopolis, where he had received a letter from the addressee; in consequence of this he had resumed his journey without delay though very unwillingly. Both the writer and the person addressed
bear abbreviated titles (apparently *ordinarius* and *exceptor* respectively) which are somewhat obscure but seem to be military; cf. ll. 6-7, notes. The papyrus was briefly described in Part I. 162.

+ Κατὰ τὴν τρισκαιδεκάτην κατελάβαμεν τὴν Ἕλευσσαν περὶ ὥραν ἑκτην, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀπολύσαι ἡμᾶς τὰ ζώα γράμματα ἤμιν ἀπεδόθη τῆς σῆς ἀδελφικῆς λαμπρ(ότητος) περὶ ὥραν ἀπολύσαι καὶ ὡς εἰπὲ ῥηθα ἤμεθα ἀπολύσαντες τὰ ζώα, εἰ δὲ αὐτὰ εἶχαμεν ἐπαναλύσαι πρὸ τριῶν ὥρων, ὡς καὶ δύναμεθα ἐξελθεῖν τὴς πόλεως, ἐξερχόμεθα ὑποτεαντη σὺν θεῷ παραγενέσθαι.

5 πάνω δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀδήσιον ἡ ἀδελφικὴ σου λαμπρ(ότητς) μηδὲν ἡμῖν σημάνασα τῶν παρακολουθησάντων.

On the verso

+ ἐπίθος τῷ δεσπό(τῃ) τῷ Ἀρ(αγα)λάμπρ(οτάτῳ) εὐδοκ(ιμωτάτῳ) πά(ντων) φιλ(τάτῳ) ἀδελφ(ῷ) Πετρωνίῳ ἐξε(κέπτορι) π(αρὰ) Τιμοθέου ὀρ(ξηναρίου) Θεοδότου.

4. ὥραν ἑκτην: about noon.

2. ζώα: probably donkeys rather than horses; cf. 922. 17, note.

3. τὰ διὰ: or perhaps διὰ for τὰ: cf. Θεοδότου in l. 7. A better sense would be obtained if ἐισαυτό(ς) a could be read, in which case εἰχαμεν ἐπαναλύσαι would mean 'could have returned'.

6. ἐξε(πετοποι): cf. the ἐξε(πετος) mentioned in 43. recto ii. 26, an account of military supplies. The *exceptores* were a kind of clerks, and those in 43 were clearly connected with the army; probably Petronius too held a military position; cf. the next note. ἐξε(πετοποι), as Wilcken remarks, is also possible; cf. P. Brit. Mus. I. 113 (7). 14 σκοπεποποι(ει).

7. ὀρξηναρίου: we have not found another instance of this title in a papyrus, and the meaning is uncertain, but as *ordinarius* was used for a centurion and equated to *ταξιαρχος*, the term may well apply to some minor military officer.
A request to a chartularius (cf. 128. 1, &c.) that he would send three persons in order that a decision might be arrived at on the question which of them was responsible for the dues upon a bath.

+ Καταγίωση ἡ σὴ γνησία ἀδελφότης Μηνᾶν τὸν λαμπρότατον καὶ Σερῆνον τὸν λαμπρότατον τραπεζίτηυ καὶ Μηνᾶν τὸν προκουράτορα παρασκευάσαι ἀπελθεὶν εἰς δίαιταν ἐνεκεν τοῦ λουτροῦ, καὶ μὴ ἀποστῇ ἀπʻ αὐτῶν ὁ μειζότερος ἀχρὶ συνομολογεῖ τῷ ἐνδόξῳ οἰκῷ ὁ διέφειλὼν ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸν φόρον τοῦ λο(υ)τροῦ δοῦναι. Σερῆνος γὰρ ὁ λαμπρότατος τραπεζίτης διὰ τίςματος γυναικὸς ἐδιώξεν Κόλλουθον τὸν εὐλαβέστατον ἐκ τοῦ λο(υ)τροῦ, καὶ ὅτε ἐποίησεν τὸ πίσμα αὐτοῦ οὐ θέλει ἀποστῆναι. καὶ (ἡ κύριος οὐκ ἀφίσταμαι τῶν τριῶν, ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ πληροῦσιν τὸν φόρον τοῦ λο(υ)τροῦ ἕως ἀντιγεούχοιν.

On the verso

+ δεσπό(τῃ τῶ ἁπά(ντω) λαμπρο(τάτῳ) τιμαξιω(τάτῳ) σὺν θ(εῷ) ἀδελφῷ δεσπό(τῃ τῶ ἁπά(ντω) λαμπρο(τάτῳ) τιμαξιω(τάτῳ) σὺν θ(εῷ) ἀδελφῷ τῶν εὐλαβεστατον above the line in a different hand. 3. σ of αποστη corr. from α. 4. First o of συνομολογει over an erasure. 6. του eulabestaton above the line in a different hand. 7. ἀλλατοι Pap.

'May your true brotherliness vouchsafe to cause the most illustrious Menas and Serenus the most illustrious banker, and Menas the agent to come to arbitration with respect to the bath, and let not the official leave them until the one of them who owes the rent of the bath agrees with the noble house to pay it. For Serenus the most illustrious banker through the persuasion of his wife chased the most discreet Colluthus out of the bath, and having done what he was persuaded to do will not depart. As the Lord lives I do not leave the three, but they pay the rent of the bath until the deputy ... (Addressed) To the most illustrious and honourable lord, by the grace of God my brother George, secretary, from Victor, by the grace of God ...'

4. ἄχρι συνομολογεῖ: so probably rather than ἄχρις ἂν ὁμολογεῖ, though a and v when written small, as here, are at this period often indistinguishable. For οἴκῳ cf. 198. 4, note.

6. ἀποστῆναι: sc. τοῦ λουτροῦ (?). But the connexion is not very clear.

7. ζη κύριος is frequent in the LXX; cf. e.g. Judges 8. 19 ζη κύριος . . . οὖκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινα ὑμᾶς.

8. The term ἀντιγεοῦχος, which is apparently not found in literary sources, occurs also in 158. 3 τῷ ἐνδ(όξῳ) ἄ., 156. 5 χαρτου(λάριος) καὶ ἄ., B. G. U. 303. 28 μεγολοπρ(επέστατον) τριβοῦν ἄ., and 693. 2, all of the Byzantine period. In 156 we translated the word as ‘land-agent’, i.e. the deputy of the owner, which on analogy should be the meaning. The γεουχοῦστες of Byzantine papyri are commonly people of importance, e.g. Flavius Apion at Oxyrhynchus (133. 4-5, &c.), whose representative would be an influential person. In the indices of the B. G. U. ἀντιγεοῦχος is classed among the officials.

The preceding word seems to be an infinitive, but there is not space for ἐλθεῖν, and ἥκειν and ἰδεῖν are not suitable. A break occurs in the papyrus after the supposed ν, and this may have been followed by another narrow letter.
VI. COLLATIONS OF HOMERIC FRAGMENTS

(The collations are with text of Ludwich.)

(a) Iliad.

944. 6·1 x 6·3 cm. A few letters from the ends of ii. 436-444, with elision-marks. Third century, written in sloping oval uncials.

945. 13·5 x 6·5 cm. Fragment of the top of a leaf from a book, containing on the recto the ends of ii. 722-741 and on the verso the beginnings of 753-772, with occasional breathings, accents, and elision-marks. 724 Final ε of μνήσεσθε corr. to αἱ by a second hand. 734 Υπέριαν. Fifth century, written in heavy sloping uncials.

946. 5·7 x 5·3 cm. A few letters from the middles of ii. 861-867. 864 ?Μεθα και Αντιφος. Late second or third century, written in broad, slightly sloping uncials.

947. 7·5 x 2·9 cm. A few letters from the beginnings of iv. 443-452, from the bottom of a column, with elision-marks. Third century, written in a small and neat but not very regular uncial hand.

948. Fr. (a) 8·9 x 4·3 cm. Two fragments containing the ends of x. 233-243 and 250-255, with stops (middle and low points) and occasional breathings, accents, and marks of quantity. Third century, written in a good-sized semi-uncial hand.

949. 13 x 4·6 cm. A few letters from near the ends of x. 437-452, from the bottom of a column, with occasional accents (449 ἦ). 446 βοην αγα]βος [Διομήδης (τὸν δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη κρατερὸς Διομήδης MSS.). 451 πτολεμεῖων. Late second or third century, written in square upright uncials similar to those of 889 (Plate I).

950. Fr. (b) 23·8 x 5·7 cm. Two fragments, the first containing a few letters from near the beginnings of xi. 322-329, the second the ends of 359-402 (a whole column), with stops, and occasional breathings, accents, and elision-marks. 366 εστίν. 368 εξειραμένυ. 371 τυμβωι added by a second hand above τυργων, which is crossed through. 375 ανειλκε. 381 ἄπο ϑυμον ὀλεισσαν. Third century, written in sloping oval uncials.
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951. Fr. (b) 8 x 6 cm. Part of a leaf from a book, containing on the verso portions of xx. 425-437 and on the recto portions of 470-482, with elision-marks. 473 The letter before ov is not p or τ but seems to be a, i.e. παρα or κατα. Fourth century, written in heavy sloping uncial.

952. 11.7 x 5.2 cm. Parts of xxiv. 74-90 from the top of a column, with high stops and occasional accents. 78 τε omitted. Third century, written in sloping oval uncial.

(b) Odyssey.

953. Fr. (d) 11 x 11.9 cm. Four fragments from three distinct columns of a MS. of iv. Fr. (a), from the bottom of a column, contains a few letters from 97-100, Fr. (b), from the top of a column, parts of 197-204, Fr. (c) a few letters from 222-224, and Fr. (d), from the bottom of a column, parts of 248-261, with high stops, and occasional breathings, accents, and elision-marks. 249 κατεβή Τρῶων. 251 ανειρώτων. 252 ἐλόευν (the reading of Aristarchus?). 254 με for μεν. Second century, written in a round upright uncial hand of good size and handsome appearance.

954. 2.6 x 9.3 cm. Fragment of a leaf from a vellum book, containing on the verso the beginnings of xiv. 299-303 and on the recto the ends of 328-332, with frequent accents. Fourth or fifth century, the verso being written in lighter and more sloping uncial than the recto.

955. 7 x 2.8 cm. Fragment of a leaf from a book, containing on the verso a few letters from xvii. 631-636 and on the recto parts of xviii. 27-40, with high stops and frequent accents. 34 ξυνεηκ. Third century, written in upright uncial, those on the recto being much smaller than those on the verso.

956. 9.6 x 14.2 cm. Ends of xxiii. 309-326 and beginnings of 342-356, from the tops of two columns. 317 μεγάλα for βαρέα. 318 Λαυτυγινην αφικοντο. 320 omitted. 345 ρ' omitted. Second or third century, written in heavy square, nearly upright uncial of medium size.
VII. MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS

These may be classified as follows (we call attention to the fact that the texts of 957-8, 962-7, 969-72, 974, 977-8, 980-1, 987-95, and 997 are given nearly or quite in full).

Writing Exercise 966 verso.
Magical papyrus 959.
Orders to officials 965, 969.
ἀπογραφαί 962 recto, 970.
Reports to officials 983, 989.
Declarations on oath 972, 976.
Petition 991.
Lease 975.
Wills 968, 990.
Loan 988 recto.
Deed of surety 996.
Miscellaneous contracts 977, 980 recto.
Receipts 964, 995, 1000-3.
Taxation 960, 966 recto, 979, 981-2, 997.
Census-List 984.
Land-Survey 984, 986, 988 verso.
Accounts 962 verso, 971, 978, 980 verso, 985-6, 998-9.
Orders for payment 973-4, 992-4.
Private Correspondence 963, 967.
Titles or σίλλυβοι 957-8, 987.
Demotic papyrus 961.
Arabic papyri and paper 1004-6.

957. 3.3 x 13.4 cm. A strip of leather, once glued to a papyrus, perhaps a σίλλυβος, and containing a much abbreviated official note, of which the text is (1) Φιλ(ονίκου) στρα(τηγοῦ) (cf. 898. 26) τάμον(αυ) εζη(ασμίνων?) ελο(γω) ι το απο διαλογῆς ? ζ έτους (2) άδριανος δο εστ(ι) τῶν πρὸς παραγγελ(ίαν) (3) ἀπο γε, below which in the right-hand corner is απη( ) enclosed apparently between rounded brackets. The symbol after ελο(γω) is obscure; it resembles the sign for δραχμή or a cursive αι, the following letters αι being raised slightly above the line: perhaps (καλ) οι. A.D. 122-3. Complete. 4 lines.
958. 2 x 8.4 cm. A strip of vellum, perhaps used like 957 as a σίλλυβος. It is inscribed with two lines (1) | πρακ( ) τοῦ μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ (2) | γ (ἔτους) Τίτου (A.D. 80). The strip is complete above and below the writing, and perhaps nothing is lost at the beginnings of lines. πρακ( ), if correct, probably refers to πράκτωρ or a derivative, but πρακ( ) can equally well be read.

959. 7.2 x 13 cm. 8 incomplete lines containing magical symbols, interspersed with occasional Greek letters. About the third century.

960. 5.7 x 9.5 cm. Memorandum of a payment of corn by two persons, the text being Αὐρηλία Θεανοῦ Διδύμου καὶ ὁ νῦν Αὐρήλιος Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Θέων Σερύφεως πόλεως (ἀρτάβας) πλε'. Σερύφεως πόλις seems to be identical with the known Oxyrhynchite village Σεροῦς (cf. e.g. 991). Third century. Complete. 5 lines.

961. 10.2 x 12.4 cm. Demotic papyrus containing the first 15 lines of a document. First or second century.

962. 11.5 x 6.1 cm. On the recto the first 18 lines of an ἀπογραφή of sheep, addressed to the strategus (cf. 245-6) probably in the reign of Claudius or Nero, the writing being much obliterated. On the verso a memorandum concerning various contracts, of which the text is Πόλεως ἀγορασμὸν οἰκίας a (ἔτους) Νέρωνος(ς) Φαρμοῦθ(ι), καὶ διαίρεσιν τ . . . . a (ἔτους) Παιῶν, ἠ (ἔτους) Κλαυδίου μη(νὸς) Γερμανικείου ἀγορασμ(ὸν) οἰκίας. Probably written in or soon after the reign of Nero. Complete. 8 lines.

963. 16 x 9.7 cm. The upper part of a letter from a woman to her mother, thanking her for sending a καθεδράριον ('stool'). The text of ll. 1-11 is Ὡφελία Θεαροῦτι τῇ μητρὶ χαίρειν. ἀσπάζομαί σε, μῆτερ, διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐπιθυμοῦσα ἤδη θεάσασθαι. χάριν δὲ σοι οἶδα, μῆτερ, ἐπὶ τῇ σπουδῇ τοῦ καθεδραρίου, ἐκομισάμην γὰρ αὐτό. οὐκ ἀλλότριοι τοῦ ἤθους ποιεῖς, φιλτάτη μῆτερ, σἸπουδάζουσα . . . Second or third century. 14 lines.

964. 13.7 x 16.3 cm. Receipt for the rent of a camel-shed, of which the text is Αὐρηλίου Θεών ὁ καὶ Εὐδαίμων ἐπικαλούμενος Ἀριστίως καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ Σαραπίως ἡ καὶ Ἀγαθόκλια ἀμφότεροι Ἀριστιών καὶ ὁς ἐχοῦσι τῶν ἀκολουθεῖς χαίρειν. οἱ μοιχοὶς καὶ ἐπισχεχθέντες παρὰ των τῶν ἀκολούθων καταλήκτου ἐπὶ ἀμφότεροι ἀνακολούθων εἰσήκουσε, μένουσιν δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῶν ἀκολούθων αὐτῶν ἐκείς ἐν τῷ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς Ἐστίου ἐν τῇ μισθώσει. κυρία ἡ ἀποχὴ καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες ἐκολούθησαν. (ἔτους) τα Ἀὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Ποιοθενίου Λικερίου Γαλατωνοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐστοιχοῦ, Σεβαστοῦ Ἐστίου ο. s. Signature of Aurelius Theon. A.D. 263. Complete. 12 lines.

965. 10.2 x 12.1 cm. An order to the collectors of corn-dues at the village of Φιλοκάτου (cf. P. Hibeh p. 8) to deal gently with a certain individual.
The text is Πράκτορος[.] σιτικῶν Φιλονείκου. μὴ παρεῖνοϋχήστε Λουκίῳ Кερελ[.]. . . . . .].μανιάν καὶ ἀπόλυσον τὴν [. . . . . . . . ἀντοῦ έως οὗ καταστείρωσιν [. . . . . . . .]. Cf. P. Brit. Mus. II. 379, P. Reinach 57, and Fayum Towns, Ostr. 45. Third century. Written across the fibres. Incomplete. 4 or 5 lines.

966. 12.7 x 10.5 cm. On the recto 7 lines of an official account, apparently giving a list of payments from different villages. The text is καὶ εἴς ἐπικρίσεως πυρὸν (ἀρτάβαι) χρθδ' κ' μή, λαχάνου (ἀρτάβαι) Τξης' κ' ο. Ποῦξεως' φακοῦ (ἀρτάβαι) β, λαχάνου (ἀρτάβαι) εγ', καὶ εἴς ἐπικρίσεως [. Third century. On the verso are two lines in rude uncial, no doubt a writing-exercise, of which the text is εν πασιν εἰς αὐτόν η (corr.) γνωμή κατον (a corrupt iambic line) ε. .

967. 15.1 x 9.2 cm. The upper part of a letter from a man to his sister. Lines 1–11 'Απίων 'Εξακωνούτι τῇ ἀδελφῆ εὐχές. φασί τὸν κράτιστον ἡγεμόνα ἐμφανίσητε ἐν τῇ τριακάδα, δ' εἰδος γράφοι σοι. καὶ τῶν ἐν τριακάδᾳ εἰς τῶν ἄρταβοις ποιμῶν τῇ πέμπτῃ τοῦ ἐξίς μυρό. . . Address on the verso. Second century. 18 lines.

968. 39.9 x 13.4 cm. Ends of lines of the will of a woman called Didyme, leaving her property to her sons by her former husband Κλάρος and her present husband Sarapion, and making provision for her τροφὴ Αρᾶνως. At the end are the signatures of the testatrix and witnesses, one of whom is called Εκάτων. Cf. 489–95. Written across the fibres, probably in the reign of Trajan or Hadrian. 45 lines, including 3 lines of an endorsement upon the verso.

969. 8.8 x 12.4 cm. An order to an ἀρχέφωδος to summon an accused person, similar e.g. to 64–5. The text is 'Αρχεφόδωι. μετάπεμψον Ἀπόλλωνίου Γαίου, ἐντύχόντος Ἀπολλώνιος περὶ κατασπορᾶς. Early second century. Complete. 3 lines.

970. 8.1 x 8.7 cm. Beginning of an ἀπογραφή addressed to the comogrammateus of Σερύφεως by an inhabitant of Antinoopolis. The text is Κωμογρ(μματεῖ) Σερύφεως παρὰ Αἱρηλίου Πάριδος τοῦ καὶ Ζευσιανοῦ Νερουιανοῦ τοῦ καὶ Γενεαρχείου ἀποδεδειγμ. τῆς ἀρχηγοῦτος Σερύφεως παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Πάριδος τοῦ καὶ Ζευσιανοῦ Νερουιανοῦ τοῦ καὶ Γενεαρχείου ἀρχιερέως τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ἀντινοέως πόλεως διὰ Αὐρηλίου Πτολεμαίου ἱερακιάνης ἀπὸ Πέλας. ἀπογρά(φομαι) κατὰ τὰ κελευθ(έντα) Αὐρ. Ἀντωνίους ἀπογρ(αφή) τοῦ κρα(τίστου) πρὸς τὰς ἐπισκ(εφθείσις ?) [Αὐρ. Ἀντωνίους is perhaps identical with Αὐρ. Ἀντίνοος, vice-praefect in A.D. 215–6 (cf. Cantarelli, La serie dei prefetti, p. 66), unless πρὸς τὰς ἐπισκ(εφθείσις), a new title, be read. ἐπικρ(ίσεσι) is unsuitable. Early third century. 12 lines. This ἀπογραφή has been glued to another, of which the beginnings of 8 lines are preserved, and which on the verso has Χαιρήμοι στρατηγῶν and at right angles] Σερύφεως[.]
ἀντλ(οῦσι) ἐργ(άταις) ὃ ὀβ(ολοὶ) As, KO ἀντλ(οῦσι) καὶ παράγ(ουσι) ὕδραγ(ωγὸν) ὃ ὀβ(ολοὶ) Ag, Χ ὃ ὀβ(ολοὶ) Ag, καὶ ἀνηλ(ώματος) ἐνοικίου κηλ(ωείου) (cf. P. Tebt. II. 342. iii. 19) ὀβ(ολοὶ) ιη, ὀβ(ολοὶ) ρξα. καὶ τειμ(ῆς) ἐλαί(ου ?) (δυόβολοι), ὀβ(ολοὶ) ρξγ; ὀτ (δραχμαί) κZ. Late first or early second century. Complete. 10 lines.

972. 14.9 x 10 cm. Conclusion of an oath taken by an official upon entering office, similar to 82, a fragment of an oath by a strategus. The text is ἐλ[ε][ὶς τὸ ἐν μηδενὶ μεμφθῆναι ἢ ἔϊνοι εἰ[ῆν τῷ ὅρκῳ. καὶ παρέ[ςχον δὲ ἐμαυτοῦ ἐνγυητὴν Γάιον ᾿ολίον ᾿Αντώνιον παρόντα καὶ εὐδοκοῦντα. ἔτους Β Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσα[ρ]ος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σευήρου ᾿Αλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ᾿Αραβ[ικοῦ] ᾿Αδιωβηνικοῦ καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρη(λίου) ᾿Αντωνίνου Καλοapos ἀποδεδιγμένου Αὐτοκράτορος Αθύρ A (i.e. Nov. 26, A.D. 197; cf. 910. introd.), and the signatures of ᾿Αντεῖς Σαραπᾶτος, who makes the declaration, and of a collector of corn-dues as γνωστήρ (Παυλεῖνος πράκτωρ σι(τικῶν) ... «AC 1) δι(ὰ) Διονυσίου Βον(A0d) γνωρίζω) ; cf. 496. τό, note. 14 lines.

973. 8.5 x 10 cm. A notice to sitologi, similar to 516, 619–32, and P. Leipzig 112–117, authorizing them to pay 24½ artabae of wheat, beginning Δημητρία ῾Ανδρομάχ(ου) δι(ὰ) ᾿Απολ(λωνίου) βοηθ(οῦ) σιτολ(όγοι) PoBdov τόπ(ων) χαίρειν. διαστείλατε κιτιλ. The Φοβόου (or Φοκόου) τόποι are clearly identical with the Φοβ.. μου τόποι in P. Leipzig 116. 2. After the date, the 9th year of Aurelius and Verus (A.D. 168–9), is the signature of a certain Εὐτύχης, perhaps a σιτολόγος. Nearly complete. 12 lines.

974. 4.5 x 9.1 cm. An order for the payment of 2 artabae of wheat. The text is Π(αρὰ) Σαρὰ Διονυσίῳ γεωργῷ χαίρειν. δὸς Ζωσίμῳ ὅδι πῆρ ὡφυλῶν πυρὸν ἀρτάβας δύο, γλ(υκταί) πυρὸν ἀρτάβας β. (ἐτους) δ Ἔσσωρ ἐ σεσημί(ωμαι). Third century. Complete. 4 lines.

975. 19.8 x 7.5 cm. Signature to a lease of 23 arourae, in which the lessee agrees to pay rent at the rate of 5⅔ artabae per aroura and acknowledges a loan of 28 drachmae to be repaid ἅμα τῇ (ἐμῇ τρύϊγ[ε]ῃ, apart from other debts to the lessor. Written in the 2nd year of an emperor who is probably Domitian or Trajan. 20 lines.

976. 11.7 x 11.8 cm. Conclusion of a declaration on oath, containing the date (ἔτους) Σ Ἀντοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δούκιαν Σευήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περίκλακ(ο) Σεβαστοῦ ᾿Αραβ(κοῦ) ᾿Αδιωβηνικοῦ καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου ᾿Αντωνίνου Καλοapos Αντοκράτορος ᾿Αθύρ Λα (i.e. Nov. 26, A.D. 197; cf. 910. introd.), and the signatures of ᾿Αντεῖς Σαραπᾶτος, who makes the declaration, and of a collector of corn-dues as γνωστήρ (Παυλεῖνος πράκτωρ σι(τικῶν) .. . .. λ( ) δι(ὰ) Διονυσίου βοηθ(οῦ) γνωρίζω); cf. 496. 16, note. 14 lines.

977. 18.7 x 7.2 cm. Conclusion of a document relating to a payment of 800
drachmae for the φόρος of an ἀσχόλημα (the collection of a tax?), containing only the date and signatures. Lines 4–19 (ἔτους) β Αὐτοκράτορων Καίσαρων Γαίου Οὐιβίου Τρεβωνιανοῦ Γάλλου καὶ Γαίου Οὐιβίου Ἀφινίου Γάλλου Ἄρηλιος Ἀπελλών Έσημα τοῦ προκ(ειμένου) ἀσχολή(ματος) τὰς προκ(ειμένας) δραχ(μὰς) ὀκτακοσίας, / (δραχμαὶ) ὡ, ὡς πρόκ(ειται). (2nd hand) Αὐρη(λίος) Διονύσιος 6 καὶ ᾿Αφροδίσιος γυ(μνασίαρχος) βουλ(ευτὴς) σεση(μείωμαι) τὰς δραχμὰς ὀκτακοσίας, / (δραχμαὶ) w, followed by a similar signature by an exegetēs.

A.D. 253. 21 lines.

978. 4·6 × 7·5 cm. Beginning of a list of articles of furniture. The text is Κερλάρια (l. κελάρια?), δίφρος (sic) B, λιβανοθήκη, ὄσοπτρον (1. ἔσοπτρον), τύλ[η), κ. [. Third century. 6 lines.

979. 7·4 × 4·2 cm. Fragment of an account of payments in artabae from the villages of Σενέπτα, Σκώ, Σενεκελ(εύ), and Μονή(μου). Second or third century. 6 lines, the ends of which are lost.

980. 14·9 × 7·8 cm. On the recto parts of 14 lines from a list of abstracts of contracts (?), the last 8 lines referring to a purchase of land. Early third century. On the verso is a short list of payments for the purchase of houses, of which the text is Κορνήλιος ποικιλτὴς τιμῆς οἰκίας έν πίστει ἢν τιμῆς (δραχμαῖ) 'Β, Ἄρηλιος ὀπωροπώλης (δραχμαῖ) φ, Δημέας κλ( ). οἰκ(ίας) (δραχμαί) 'Δ. ο (l. ο ?) μείζω(ν ἢ) ἐσημεῖῳ(άστο ὢ). Third century. Complete. 7 lines.

981. 9 × 9·5 cm. Extract from the ἐφημερίς of Apion similar to 917 and 982. The text is 'Εξ ἐφη(μεριδός) Ἀπίωνος πρά(κτορος) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Ἀπσανω(λενῶ) ἐπαρο(υρίου) τοῦ ἐνεσ(τῶτος) ἢ (ἔτους) (δραχμαί) ὧν τιμῆς (δραχμαί) φ, Δημέας κλ( ), οἰκ(ίας) (δραχμαί) 'Δ. ο (l. ο ?) μείζω(ν ἢ) ἐσημεῖῳ(άστο ὢ). Third century. Complete. 7 lines.

982. 6·5 × 6·5 cm. Fragment of a similar memorandum of Apion, written in the 3rd year, the ends of lines being lost. Cf. 917. introd. 4 lines.

983. 24·5 × 18·7 cm. Report, similar to 896. ii, addressed to Valerius Ammonianus, logistēs, by two δημόσιοι ἰατροί, of whom the second is named 'Απίων Ἡροδότου, concerning the injuries received by a certain Μουέις. The papyrus is numbered 106 in the series of which 53 is no. 105 and 896 nos. 127–8; cf. 53 and 896. introd. Dated in the consulship of Sabinus and Rufinus (A.D. 316). Incomplete. 16 lines.

984. Height 18 cm. The verso of this mutilated papyrus contains the Paecans of Pindar (841). On the recto of sections A–C is a census-list of persons with their ages, parentage, abode, &c., e. g. Πανεσνε(ύς) ἀπελ(εύθερος) Ἀπολ...
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λόγιας ἐν ἀπογρα(φῆς) οἰκών ἐν ιερῶν "Ἀρεως θεοῦ μεγίστου γέρδ(ιος) ἄση(μος) (ἐτῶν) μ, Ταυροῦρις γ(υμνασίου) οἰκῶν ἐν ἱερῶν... Μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων (ἔτους) Ηρακλῆου μελ(ίχρως) (ἐτῶν) ι[.. Other entries of interest are (1) Ὀννω-φῆς Ὀρσεύτου τοῦ Λυκόφρο(νος) μητρὸ(ς) Ἁνρέσιο(ς) Φατρέϊως ἐξ ἀπογρα(φῆς) Ἀπολλωνίας προξενοῦ (a phrase which recurs in another fragment... ἐξ ἀπογρα(φῆς) α(ὐτοῦ) πρόξενο(ς) βουλ(ευτῶν) οἰκῶν év...). The following rare names occur:... Ψαῦτις, Τεαῖψις (fem.), Θάλλουσα, Ποῦνσις, Παανοῦφις, Πατῆβις, ᾿Ατῆρις, Σαρποκρατίς (fem.), Σφραγίς (fem.), Τοῶνσις (fem.), Ψιραίθης, Ψεντοῦς, ᾿Αρουσῶις, Παυφῶις, Ταυφῶις (fem.), ᾿Αβαβῖκι(ς ἢ), Σενπτόλλις (fem.), Σέντρις (fem.), Ταψωβᾶις (fem.), Ταφῖβις (fem.), Φιλοστέφ(ανος), ᾿Ασπιδᾶς, Παρεχάτης, Πετουφῶις. The locality is apparently Oxyrhynchus, the ἄμφοδον Κρηπ(ῖδος) being mentioned; cf. 714. Νότου Κρηπῖδος. Written after the reign of Titus, probably in that of Domitian. On the recto of section D in a different hand (cf. Part V. p. 13) are parts of a few lines from a land-survey, mentioning various κλῆροι. The verso of this papyrus contains the fragments of Euripides' Hypsipyle (585). On the recto is a private account of receipts and expenditure written in the second half of the first century in a large cursive hand. Only one column has complete lines, e.g. ll. 6 sqq.: [ἰ. η. κήματος] Ἑρμᾶτος οἰνοπρά(του) ἀπὸ τιμῆς οἴνου γενή(ματος) ἐ(ἔτους) εἰς ἐ(ἔτους) ἀνηλώμα(τος) Φαύστῳ ἀντλοῦντι μηχα(νὴν) μηνὸς Σεβα(στοῦ) ὃ ἡ ἡμε(ρῶν) ὡς 70(8) μη(νὸς) (δραχμῶν) κ αἱ συναγό(μεναι) (δραχμαί) β. ἐργάτηι τηροῦντι τὸν ὀἶνον τὸν ἐν ἡλια(στηρίῳ) Μουχινὼρ (an Oxyrhynchite village; cf. 491. 3) ὁ σαραπίων Βελλ[έω] (so in another fragment) ἀμπελο(υργῷ) δι(ὰ) Πετεσ(ούχου) (δραχμαί) ψερεταῖ(ας) ἐν ἐργ(άταις) KB ἀνὰ (τετρώβολον) ὀβο(λοὶ) πη αἱ (1. ot)
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In another fragment a series of figures is summed up εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ (δραχμαὶ) "Γχβ (τριώβολον), δὲν ἐπάνω: ἄνευ (ημέραν) (cf. 989. 37, note) ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἡ (ἐτους) λόγ(φ) (δραχμαὶ) 'Β, καὶ (ταλείπουται) (δραχμαὶ) 'Αχβ (τριώβολον).

Height 20.5 cm. The verso of this papyrus contains the commentary on Thucydides (853). On the recto are three distinct documents which have been joined together to form a roll of sufficient length; cf. p. 107. The first of these, which is on the recto of Cols. xix—xiv of the commentary, is probably at the Arsinote village of Oxyrhynchus, in the 16th year of Hadrian (see below). Col. i (on the recto of section H) is a mere fragment and Col. ii has only ends of lines; but Col. iii is well preserved, and contains the following three entries (ll. 4—25) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζ μέρος ψειλοῦ τόπ(ου) αφ' ἵππος ἱμίσει (516) ψιλοῦ τόπου ἰδιω(ervice) οἰκία καὶ αὐλὴ δηλ(ωθεῖσα) ἐπικεκρατῆσθαι πρὸ τῆς ἀναλήμψεως ὑπὸ Πετεσούχου ᾿Αμμωνᾶ τοῦ Πατωκτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς κώμ(ης) ἰσάγοντι μη(νὸς) Σεβα(στοῦ) ¢ ἕως κ ἐπάνωι ἀνειλ(ημέναι) (cf. 899. 37, note) ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἔτους λόγ(ῳ) (δραχμαὶ) ιβ. γίτονες τῆς ἀλής (sic) οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς νότον τέκνων "Ἡρων τοῦ Ζήνωνος οἰκία, βορρά ῥύμη βασιλ(ική), λιβὸς Ἀρμιύσεως Πάτρωνος διὰ κλη(ρονόμων οἰκία, ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ἱσοδός καὶ ἐξεδοθ. τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἱμίσει (μέρους) οἰκίας καὶ αὐθρίου ἐπικρατηθέν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ αἱ δομ(αὶ) ἐπὶ βορρᾶ (δραχμαὶ) δ. γίτονες τῶν ὅλων κ.τ.λ. ᾿Αμμωνίου "Αμμαθοῦντο τοῦ καὶ "Ροδίωνος γεναμένου(ου) οἰκίακοι μισθωταί καὶ ἐνοφειλέσάντως ἐν τ. [. . .] ζ μέρος ὥμοιος οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς. γίτονες τῆς δί(λης) οἰκίας καὶ αὐ(λής) νότον καὶ ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ῥύμη βασιλ(ική), λιβὸς Πουήρεως [οἰκία, βορρά ἐπάνω] ἱμίσει (αῖ), οὗ τὸ περιγεγο(νεν) σὺν τοῖς σιτικοῖς Ἐπαρχουσει τοῦ ᾿Αμμωνίου ἐπάνωθε ἀριστα. In the margin against the beginning of each of these entries is κόλλημα 9¢ Col. iv is less complete; ll. 4—7 τοῦ αὑτοῦ ψιλοῦ τόπος απὸ μέρους ἀνακαθομμένου ἀπὸ συν [. . .] πλάθους (οὐ ζ πλάθους) οὗ μέτρα νότον ἐπὶ βορρά πήχεις (εἰς) μ, βιβος ἐπ' ἀπηλ(ιώτης) τοῦ νότον μέρους πήχεις (εἰς) ιβ, εκ δὲ τοῦ πιὸς βορρά πήχεις (εἰς) βλ, [Ὁ] οὗ μέτρ. περιγεγονε(ν) ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γ΄ μέρους οἰκίας καὶ αἰθρίου ἐπικρατηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς κώμης ἐπανεγεγο(νεν) (δραχμὰς) τὸν ἀνοικοδομημένος ἀπὸ συν πλίνθου (or ¢ πλίνθου) οὗ μέτρα νότον ἐπὶ βορρά πήχεις (εἰς) μ, λιβὸς ἐπ' ἀπηλ(ιώτης) τοῦ νότον μέρους πήχεις (εἰς) ιβ, εκ δὲ τοῦ πιὸς βορρά πήχεις (εἰς) βλ, [Θ] οὗ μέτρ. περιγεγο(νεν) ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γ΄ μέρους οἰκίας καὶ αἰθρίου ἐπικρατηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐξ οὗ ἐδηλ(ωθη) καὶ αὐλῆς. γίτονες τῆς ἀλής (sic) οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς νότον τέκνων "Ἥρων τοῦ Ζήνωνος οἰκία, βορρά ἐπάνωθε ἀριστα. In the margin against the beginning of each of these entries is κόλλημα 9¢ Col. iv is less complete; ll. 4—7 τοῦ αὑτοῦ ψιλοῦ τόπος απὸ μέρους ἀνακαθομμένου ἀπὸ συν [. . .] πλάθους (οὐ ζ πλάθους) οὗ μέτρα νότον ἐπὶ βορρά πήχεις (εἰς) μ, λιβὸς ἐπ' ἀπηλ(ιώτης) τοῦ νότον μέρους πήχεις (εἰς) ιβ, εκ δὲ τοῦ πιὸς βορρά πήχεις (εἰς) βλ, [Θ] οὗ μέτρ. περιγεγο(νεν) ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γ΄ μέρους οἰκίας καὶ αἰθρίου ἐπικρατηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐξ οὗ ἐδηλ(ωθη) καὶ αὐλῆς. γίτονες τῆς ἀλής (sic) οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς νότον τέκνων "Ἥρων τοῦ Ζήνωνος οἰκία, βορρά ἐπάνωθε ἀριστα.

In the same hand as Col. v, which is in the same hand as Cols. i—iv and is on the recto of Col. xiii of the commentary, begins a return of προσοδικὰ ἐδάφη (i.e. confiscated land) at Oxyrhynchus supplied by the comogrammateus. Lines 1—5 [παρὰ . . . ὁ Ἱωνος κωμογρ(αμματέως) Ὁξυρύγχω(ον) [. . . . . . .] ἐν ὑπὸ τῆς μερίς (βασιλ(ικοῦ) γραμματέως) Πτολεμαίουο(υ) εἰς ἐπικεκραμμένων ἐδαφῶν τοῦ ἡ (ἐτος) τοῦ ᾿Αδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ (A. Ὁ. 131—2). εἶναι δὲ followed by a survey-list of holdings with rents, γείτονες,
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&c., which is continued in the fragmentary Cols. vi–viii. Col. viii has been cut down in the middle and joined to another document in a different hand (Col. ix), the line of junction corresponding to the margin between Cols. vii and viii of the verso. This is a return by σιτολόγοι γ τοπ(αρχάς) to an official of the Πολέμωνος μερίς, probably the basilicogrammateus, and mentions βασιλ(ε)ν(ε) χαίρει (πυροῦ) φογ(ή) προσβδ(ον) (ἄρουραί) ?) λύθε (πυροῦ) [... Διονυσιακοφράσκης φόινικάς (πυροῦ) εγ' εύθυς, but is too much damaged to be intelligible. Cols. x–xv, corresponding to Cols. vi–i of the commentary, belong to an account of seed-corn issued at the rate of 1 artaba per aroura to various cultivators of Crown land, the rent of the holdings being described in detail. Col. xi is well preserved, but the others are more or less broken. The formula is the same throughout; e.g. xi. 7–15 Μυστήρας Υπαρχλήιον(ου) τοῦ Δείων τοῦ Ὀνυφίου καὶ Δείων Διον τοῦ Ὀνυφίου (ἄρουραι) γν empath' ε' ξ', ἄν ά(να) (πυροῦ) δζ' β' (ἄρουραι) βζ' ἐ' καὶ ά(να) (πυροῦ) δζ' κ' (ἄρουραι) α', (πυροῦ) γγ' ε'. Αγχορίζεις (φίλος) τοῦ Άγνωφρίου καὶ Δείως Δίου τοῦ Άγνωφρίου (ἄρουραι) γδ' η (ς' ες', ὧν ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) ἦ ζι' β' μ' (ἄρουραι) βζ', καὶ ά(να) (πυροῦ) δζ' μ', (πυροῦ) ίε' (ἄρουραί) δζζ', ἄν (πυροῦ) γγ' ε'. Αγχορίζεις (φίλος) τοῦ Άγνωφρίου καὶ Δείως Δίου τοῦ Άγνωφρίου (ἄρουραι) γδ' η (ς' ες', ὧν ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) ἦ ζι' β' μ' (ἄρουραι) α', (πυροῦ) γγ' ε'. The fractions 2, 3, 3, 3, and 3 of an artaba are unusual; cf. 918. introd. and P. Tebt. 341.

987. 7.7 × 9.4 cm. A piece of vellum with the name "Απα Βικτώρ in uncials enclosed in an ornamental border, and below in different ink Χρ. Fifth or sixth century.

988. 15 × 18.4 cm. On the recto is the conclusion of two copies of a χειρόγραφον concerning a loan of corn, the first copy having lost the beginnings of lines. Col. ii. 1–10 ἀποδώσω δέ σοι τὰ προκείμενα κεφαλαία σὺν τοῖς συναχθησομένοις διαφόροις τῷ Παύνῳ μην τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος τετάρτου ἔτους ἐφ' ἅλω Ἰσίου Παγγᾶ νέα καθαρὰ ἄδολα ἄβωλα κεκοσκινευμένα, τὸν μὲν πυρὸν καὶ ἄκρειθον ὡς εἰς τὸ δημόσιον μετρούμενον, τὴν δὲ κριθὴν καλῶς πεπατημένην χωρὶς δίσης καὶ ἀθέρος, πάντα μέτρῳ τῷ προκειμένῳ κτλ. Dated in the 4th year of Severus Alexander, Artur 30 (A.D. 224). On the verso is a memorandum concerning the sale of unproductive land, of which the text is "Εγγυτός (φθέν?) ξραφίς ὑπολόγου τοῦ (ἔτους) Κοραίου Ἰσού Παγγᾶ Αρχιπαλάδος κλήρου μεθ' (καὶ τῶν συνοργάσομένων εἰς πρώτων ὦν ἔλασσον διπλῆς τιμῆς μεθ' (ἀρμον κατεξ(υσμένου) (ἄρουραί) δ', γελί(ους)
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νότ(ου) βα(σιλικὴ Ὁ) διὰ ᾿Αριστάνδ(ρου) Ζήνωνος καὶ ἄλλων κακοφυής, βορρᾶ Σαρα-
πιάδος Ηρώδου νυνὶ Ηρώδου Διοκλέα, απηλιώτου ἡ μεγ(άθ)ε διώρυξ, λιβ(ὸς) ἡ ἐτέρα διώρυξ, χερσάμου (ἀρουρῶν) ζ. γείτ(ονες) πάντοθ(εν) [Σα]ραπιάδ(ος) Ηρώδου νυνὶ Ηρώδου Διοκλῆσιον. Third century, soon after A.D. 224.

989. 24 x 10-8 cm. A list of persons and ἐργαστήρια at different villages, sent apparently to some official with a view to the exaction of a contribution from them. The text is... Πασίων χαλκεύς., ἐν ἐποικίῳ Πτολεμᾶ ἐργαστήριο!... καὶ ἐν κώμῃ ᾿Αμμωνίου σὺν τοῖς υἱ[οῖς] καὶ Εὐαγγέλου χαλκ[έως]. καὶ ἐν ἐποικίῳ Τααμ[πέμου] ἐργαστήριον. καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ ἐποικίῳ ἐργαστήριον, καταμένι δὲ ἐν ἐποικίῳ Σινπέκλη καλουμ[έϊνῳ. καὶ ἐν κ[ώμ]η Σερύφει Ψεναμοῦνις υἱὸς Διοσκόρου. καὶ ἐν κώμῃ Πανεύει Τ[Παγῶνις. καὶ ἐν Θώσβι Σαλόβις. καὶ ἐν ᾿Ισίου Τρύφωνος Πένβα. καὶ ἐν κώμῃ ᾿Αδεὺ ᾿Αμμώνιος. ἀξιοῦμεν τούτους συντελεῖν σὺν ἡμεῖς. Late third or fourth century. Incomplete, the beginning being lost. 26 lines.

990. 9:5 x 25:3 cm. Beginning of a will of a woman. The text is Ὑπατείας ᾿Ιουνίου Βάσσου καὶ Φλαουίου ᾿Αβλαβίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων ἐπάρχων Μεσορὴ ᾿Οξυρυγχειτ[ῶν] ἐν τῇ λαμπρῇ καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ Ὄξυρυγχειτ[ῶν] πόλει. Αὐρηλία ᾿Αἰᾶς θυγάτηρ ᾿Αγαϊθὸς Δαίμονος Κεκίλου ἀρξ(αντος) γενομένου .. . . « -- .| ths Aap (pas) καὶ λαμ(ροτάτη5) ᾿Οξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως τόδε τὸ βούληϊμα..... .) ἐποίησα νοοῦσα καὶ φρονοῦσα ἐπινο-

followed by parts of two more lines. For the formula cf. 907. A.D. 331. 8 lines.

991. 8·3 x 11 cm. Beginning of a petition (?) addressed to a police official called ἐπόπτης εἰρήνης. The text is Ὑπατείας ᾿Αντωνίου Μαρκελλίνου καὶ Πετρωνίου Προβίνου τῶν λαμ(προτάτων) (cf. P. Cairo 10690) Φαρμοῦθι ᾿Οξυρυγχίτου παρὰ Αὐρηλίᾳ Τααμμωνίου Σαραπίωνος ἀπὸ κώμης Σερύφεως γ ′ (sic, not π[άγου]) τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ... A.D. 341. 9 lines.

992. 8·6 x 16·1 cm. Order for the payment of a jar of wine. The text is Ἰουλιανὸς Δωροθέῳ. παρασχοῦ Μαρίᾳ γυνῆ (516) Πεκολαρίῳ ὀπολύοντο (ἐπο-

a ἐν λοχίαις αὐτῆς. σεσημ(είωμαι) οἴνου διπλοῦν a. (ἔτους) πθ μη (1. vn) Φαρμοῦτι κβ. A.D. 413. Written across the fibres. Complete. 6 lines.

993. 6·9 x 7·3 cm. Order issued by a church for the payment of two jars of wine to a plasterer on the occasion of a feast. The text is Ἠ ᾿Αγαῖα ἐκ(λήμβον(τας ᾿Ανωθίου δι(ακόνῳ ?) οἰκ(ονόμῳ ἢ) τοῦ ἁγίου Γαβριήλ. mapacyx(0d) τῷ κονιατῇ ὑπ(ὲρ) τῆς ἑορτ(ῆς) ὦν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) β δύο μ(όνα), followed by flourishes. Sixth century. Complete. 5 lines.

994. 30·5 x 8 cm. Order for the payment of 12 artabae of corn to a monk. The text is Ἐ Φοιβάϊμων xdp(es) καὶ Σαμουὴλ περίβλ(επτος). παρασχοῦ Ιούστῳ μονάζ(οντι) Ady(ov) ὀψωνίου κατὰ συνήθ(ειαν) καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνάτης ἰνδικτίονος σίτ(ου) καγκέλλῳ ἀρτάβας δώδεκα, γ(ίνοιται) σίτ(ου) καγ(κέλφ) (ἀρτάβαι) ιβ
μό(ναι). (ἐτόνα) ροσ ὤμε Θωθ . . ἰδικ(τίους) θ. + Λ. ὁ. 499. A difficulty arises, as often, in the figure of the indiction, which should be the 8th not the 9th. Written across the fibres. Complete. 4 lines.

995. 31 x 11 cm. An illiterate receipt for a solidus and three κόμτα. The text is χυνγ + Κυρ(ι) ρος ἰδικ(τίους) χερ(ιστής). ἔχω τής σῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ κύριου μου) Ἰωάννου χρυσοῦ νομισματιαν ἔνα, γί(νομαι) νο(μισματίου) α μένον. Μεσορή ιа θ ἰδικ(τίους) ἀρχή. ιε ὄμοι(ως) καὶ κόμτα (= compta ?) τρία μόνα, χαράγον ρομ(αμάτιον ?). Written across the fibres, in the fifth century. Complete. 4 lines.

996. 17:1 x 29:4 cm. Deed whereby two γεωργοί become surety to the heirs of Flavius Apion that two other γεωργοί, Praous and Georgius, would remain on the estate belonging to the heirs, the formula being practically identical with that of 185, beginning Βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου ἄντικρος καὶ Τίραννας τοῦ αἰωνίου τοῦ αἰωνίου . . . Αὐγούστου ἔτους ο, ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπ(ότου) ἔτους ο, ἰδικτίον τρίτων (A.D. 584). τοῖς ὑπερφυεστάτοις διαδόχοις . . . Ἀνήσιος πρεσβύτερος νύσ Ἀνυόπ μητρὸς Τάβης καὶ Αὐρήλιος Ἀνοὺπ φροντιστὴς νύσ Ἀνούποιον ἐτέρου μητρὸς Ταπάνης ὑμών, ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Μούχεως καὶ Γεώργιος νύσ Ἰωάννου ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Ἐπικύραιος . . . ὀμολογοῦμεν ἑκουσίᾳ γνώμῃ κ.λ. Nearly complete, only the last few lines, which corresponded to 185. 28-31, being missing. Title on the verso. 21 lines.

997. 15:1 x 9:2 cm. An account relating to various Oxyrhynchite villages, perhaps including a list of fines for arrears of taxes. The text is ? Ὑπ(ὲρ) [τοῦ] παραχωρήσ(εως) τοῦ δεσπό(του) τοῦ κύρου οὕτωσ" τοῖς ἀπὸ Παλώσεως Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) o, ἣτοῖς ἀπὸ Εὐαγγελείου καὶ Τίλλωνος σί(του) ἀ(ρτάβαι) o καὶ Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) ὄρμωμεν απὸ ἐποικίου μεγάλου Μούχεως καὶ Τερύθεως καὶ Θεαγένους καὶ Νικήτου, Μελίτα, Νήσου Λαχανίας, Θαήσιος, Παγγουλεέος, Παλάμπης, Μεσκανούνεως, Σκέλους, Τερύθεως καὶ Θεαγένους καὶ Νικήτου, Μελίτα, Νήσου Λαχανίας, Θαήσιος, Παγγουλεέος, Νήσου Λευκάδιου, Δευτέρων, Ταρούθεως, Τεμπέτος, Στεφανίωνος. The total is given in a second column, γί(νονται) σί(του) (ἀρτάβαι) ἀρτάβαι καὶ Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) τκ κερ(άτιο) δ. Late sixth century. Practically complete. 11 lines.

998. 32 x 45 cm. Account of allowances (?) to inhabitants of various Oxyrhynchite villages, beginning Τάπογες τῆς παραχωρήσ(εως) τοῦ δεσπό(του) τοῦ κύρου οὕτωσ" τοῖς ἀπὸ Παλώσεως Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) ου(μαμάτια) ου(μαμάτια) τκ, ἣτοῖς ἀπὸ Εὐαγγελείου καὶ Τίλλωνος σί(του) ἀ(ρτάβαι) σ καὶ Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) μαμάτια τκ, ἣτοῖς ἀπὸ Νεκώθεως ύ(πέρ) ἀ(ρτάβαι) καὶ Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) τκ, ἣτοίς ἀπὸ Παλάμπης, Κανού, Μεσκανούνεως, Σκέλους, Τερύθεως καὶ Θεαγένους καὶ Νικήτου, Μελίτα, Νήσου Λαχανίας, Θαήσιος, Παγγουλεέος, Νήσου Λευκάδιου, Δευτέρων, Ταρούθεως, Ταρούθεως, Τακόνα, Παγγουλεέος, 'Iβίωνος, Στεφανίωνος. The total is given in a second column, γ(υμνοῦται) σί(του) (ἀρτάβαι) ἀρτάβαι καὶ Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) τκ κερ(άτιο) δ. Late sixth century. Practically complete. 24 lines. The papyrus was briefly described as 191.
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999. 34 x 37·3 cm. Account of receipts and expenditure on one of the estates of Flavius Apion the younger (cf. 198. 5). Lines 1–5 Φλαουίῳ Ἀπίων τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ύπερφυ(ες) ἄπῳ υπάτων ὁδιναρίων(υ) γεουχουμέντι (καὶ) ἑνταῦθ(α) τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὀξυργχιτῶν πύλῃ. Λόγο(ς) ἱ(ημα(των)) καὶ ἀναλομ(α(των)) γεο(μέ(ων)) δι’ ἐμοῦ Στεφάνου προ(νοητοῦ) Παγγουλεείου σὺν το(ις) ἀλλ(οις) μέρ(εσι) (καὶ) Μαρτ(ινότου) καὶ Ἀρμαθίου καὶ Μανουμα καὶ ἀλλ(ων) ἑξωτικ(ῶν) τῶν το(υ) καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ε ἐνδικτίου(ος) (ἐνοῦ) ση(ν) (καὶ) σεβαζόμενον (A.D. 616–7). Λήλωμα(των) ὡ(των)" Απσαράτ(ος) ἀνεπεκτ(ός) ᾽Οξυργχιτῶν πύλῃ. Title on the verso. One nearly complete column, probably followed by another which is lost. 22 lines in all. The papyrus was briefly described as 196.

1000. 6·3 x 26·8 cm. Receipt similar to 915 for 4 λίτραι of tin, provided by Απόλλων, μαθηματικός, εἰς διόρθωσ(ιν) τοῦ λέβυτος (1. λέβητος) τοῦ γεουχικ(οῦ) μακελλάρ(ιος). Written across the fibres, about A.D. 572. Cf. 915. introd. Nearly complete. 2 lines.

1001. 8·3 x 31·2 cm. A similar receipt for 6 λίτραι of tin and 4 of lead provided by Απόλλων Γεωργίῳ γαστρισίῳ (乙肝ικ(οῦ) μακελλάρ(ιος). Written across the fibres, about A.D. 572. Nearly complete. 3 lines.

1002. 5·8 x 31·5 cm. A similar receipt for 8 λίτραι of lead and some tin provided by Απόλλων εἰς διόρθ(ωσιν) τοῦ χαλκίων τοῦ κτήματος Μεσκανούκ(ος). Written across the fibres, about A.D. 572. Incomplete. 3 lines.

1003. 6·5 x 30·3 cm. A similar receipt for 8 λίτραι of lead and 4 of tin provided by Απόλλων εἰς διόρθ(ωσιν) τῶν χαλκίων τοῦ κτήματος Μεσκανούκ(ος). Written across the fibres, about A.D. 572. Nearly complete, 2 lines.

1004. 34·2 x 17·2 cm. Arabic papyrus containing on the recto 24 lines, of which the ends are missing, and on the verso a complete letter (?) of 9 lines in a large hand. Seventh or eighth century.

1005. 18·9 x 22·1 cm. Arabic papyrus containing on the recto 8 complete lines with part of one line at right angles, and on the verso the last 10 lines of another document with part of one line at right angles. Seventh or eighth century.

1006. 15·6 x 7·7 cm. A complete Arabic document of 13 lines, written on paper in the mediaeval period.
## INDICES

### I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS.

(a) 852 (Euripides, Hysipyle).

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<td>ἀποδεικνύναι, ἀποδεδειγμένος</td>
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<td>ἀποδέχεσθαι</td>
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<td>to give, having given</td>
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