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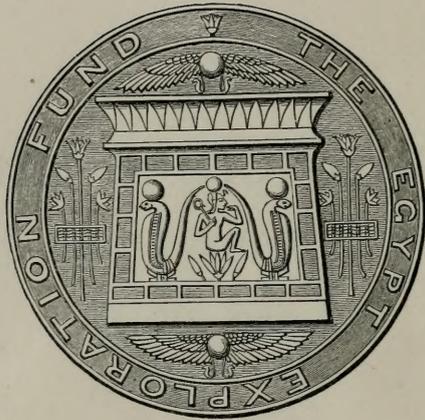




THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI  
PART VI

*GRENFELL AND HUNT*

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vol. 6

EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND  
GRAECO-ROMAN BRANCH

THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI  
PART VI

*EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES*

BY

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WITH SIX PLATES

196533

LONDON

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## P R E F A C E

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 (853) 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.  
ARTHUR S. HUNT.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD,  
SEPTEMBER, 1908.



# CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE . . . . .	v
LIST OF PLATES . . . . .	viii
TABLE OF PAPYRI . . . . .	ix
NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS . . . . .	xiii

## TEXTS

I. THEOLOGICAL FRAGMENTS (845-851) . . . . .	I
II. NEW CLASSICAL TEXTS (852-872) . . . . .	19
III. EXTANT CLASSICAL AUTHORS (873-884) . . . . .	179
IV. MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY FRAGMENTS (885-887) . . . . .	198
V. DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS:	
(a) Official (888-893) . . . . .	202
(b) Declarations to Officials (894-897) . . . . .	213
(c) Petitions (898-904) . . . . .	221
(d) Contracts (905-915) . . . . .	243
(e) Taxation (916-919) . . . . .	269
(f) Accounts (920-922) . . . . .	283
(g) Prayers (923-925) . . . . .	288
(h) Private Correspondence (926-943) . . . . .	291
VI. COLLATIONS OF HOMERIC FRAGMENTS (944-956) . . . . .	315
VII. MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS (957-1006) . . . . .	317

## INDICES

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS:	
(a) 852 (Euripides, <i>Hypsipyle</i> ) . . . . .	329
(b) 853 (Commentary on Thuc. II) . . . . .	335
(c) Other Literary Texts . . . . .	340
II. EMPERORS . . . . .	346
III. CONSULS, ERAS, AND INDICTIONS . . . . .	347
IV. MONTHS AND DAYS . . . . .	348
V. PERSONAL NAMES . . . . .	348
VI. GEOGRAPHICAL . . . . .	357
VII. RELIGION . . . . .	359

	PAGE
VIII. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TITLES . . . . .	360
IX. WEIGHTS, MEASURES, AND COINS . . . . .	362
X. TAXES . . . . .	363
XI. GENERAL INDEX OF GREEK AND LATIN WORDS . . . . .	363
XII. INDEX OF PASSAGES DISCUSSED . . . . .	380

## LIST OF PLATES

I. 848 verso, 849 recto, 850 recto, 854, 867 . . . . .	} <i>at the end.</i>
II. 852 Fr. 1, Cols. ii-iii . . . . .	
III. 852 Fr. 60, Cols. i-ii . . . . .	
IV. 853 Cols. xvi-xvii . . . . .	
V. 871 and 884 recto . . . . .	
VI. 847 recto and 894 . . . . .	

## TABLE OF PAPYRI

*(An asterisk denotes texts which are not printed in full.)*

	A. D.	PAGE
845. Psalms lxxviii and lxx . . . . .	Late 4th or 5th cent.	1
846. Amos ii . . . . .	6th cent.	3
847. St. John's Gospel ii (Plate VI) . . . . .	4th cent.	4
848. Revelation xvi (Plate I) . . . . .	5th cent.	6
849. Acts of Peter (Plate I) . . . . .	Early 4th cent.	6
850. Acts of John (Plate I) . . . . .	4th cent.	12
851. Apocryphal Acts . . . . .	5th or 6th cent.	18
852. Euripides, <i>Hypsipyle</i> (Plates II-III) . . . . .	Late 2nd or early 3rd cent.	19
853. Commentary on Thucydides II (Plate IV) . . . . .	Late 2nd cent.	107
854. Archilochus, 'Ελεγεῖα (Plate I) . . . . .	Late 2nd cent.	149
855. Menander (?) . . . . .	3rd cent.	150
856. Scholia on Aristophanes' <i>Acharnians</i> . . . . .	3rd cent.	155
857. Epitome of Herodotus . . . . .	4th cent.	161
858. Oration against Demosthenes . . . . .	Late 2nd or early 3rd cent.	164
859-864. Poetical Fragments . . . . .	1st-3rd cent.	168
865-870. Prose Fragments (Plate I) . . . . .	1st-7th cent.	173
871, 872. Latin Fragments (Plate V) . . . . .	5th-6th cent.	177
873. Hesiod, <i>Theogonia</i> . . . . .	3rd cent.	179
874. Apollonius Rhodius, <i>Argonautica</i> III . . . . .	Early 3rd cent.	180
875. Sophocles, <i>Antigone</i> . . . . .	Early 2nd cent.	181
876. Euripides, <i>Hecuba</i> . . . . .	5th cent.	182
877. Euripides, <i>Hecuba</i> . . . . .	3rd cent.	183
878. Thucydides II . . . . .	Late 1st cent.	184
879. Thucydides III . . . . .	3rd cent.	186
880. Thucydides V . . . . .	Late 2nd cent.	187
881. Plato, <i>Euthydemus</i> and <i>Lysis</i> . . . . .	Late 2nd or 3rd cent.	192
882. Demosthenes, <i>In Aristogitonem</i> I. . . . .	2nd cent.	194
883. Demosthenes, <i>In Aristocratem</i> . . . . .	3rd cent.	195
884. Sallust, <i>Catilina</i> (Plate V) . . . . .	5th cent.	195
885. Treatise on Divination . . . . .	Late 2nd or early 3rd cent.	198
886. Magical Formula . . . . .	3rd cent.	200
887. Directions for Wrestling (?). . . . .	3rd cent.	201
888. Edict of a Praefect and Petition . . . . .	Late 3rd or early 4th cent.	202

## TABLE OF PAPYRI

	A. D.	PAGE
889. Edict of Diocletian and Petition . . . . .	4th cent.	205
890. Letter to a Strategus . . . . .	3rd cent.	207
891. Apportionment of Duties to an Exegetes . . . . .	294	208
892. Appointment of a Superintendent of Works . . . . .	338	210
893. Judicial Sentence . . . . .	Late 6th or 7th cent.	211
894. Latin Declaration of Birth (Plate VI) . . . . .	194-6	213
895. Return of Village-Accounts . . . . .	305	215
896. Reports to a Logistes . . . . .	316	217
897. Declaration to Riparii . . . . .	346	219
898. Petition to an Acting-Strategus . . . . .	123	221
899. Petition of Apollonarion . . . . .	200	222
900. Petition to a Logistes . . . . .	322	232
901. Petition to a Public Advocate . . . . .	336	234
902. Petition to a Public Advocate . . . . .	About 465	236
903. Accusation against a Husband . . . . .	4th cent.	238
904. Petition to a Praeses . . . . .	5th cent.	241
905. Marriage Contract . . . . .	170	243
906. Deed of Divorce . . . . .	2nd or early 3rd cent.	246
907. Will of Hermogenes . . . . .	276	247
908. Contract between Eutheniarchs . . . . .	199	254
909. Sale of Acacia-Trees . . . . .	225	257
910. Lease of Land . . . . .	197	259
911. Lease of a House . . . . .	233 or 265	262
912. Lease of a Cellar . . . . .	235	263
913. Lease of Land . . . . .	442	265
914. Acknowledgement of a Debt . . . . .	486	267
915. Receipt for Lead and Tin . . . . .	572	268
916. Tax-Receipt . . . . .	198	269
917. Taxing-Memorandum . . . . .	Late 2nd or early 3rd cent.	271
918. Land-Survey . . . . .	2nd cent.	272
919. Advance of Dues on a Freight . . . . .	182?	282
920. Account of Food . . . . .	Late 2nd or early 3rd cent.	283
921. Inventory of Property . . . . .	3rd cent.	284
922. Account of Horses . . . . .	Late 6th or early 7th cent.	286
923. Petition to a Pagan Deity . . . . .	Late 2nd or early 3rd cent.	288
924. Gnostic Charm . . . . .	4th cent.	289
925. Christian Prayer . . . . .	5th or 6th cent.	291
926. Invitation to Dinner . . . . .	3rd cent.	291
927. Invitation to a Wedding . . . . .	3rd cent.	292
928. Letter of Lucius . . . . .	2nd or 3rd cent.	293

TABLE OF POPYRI

xi

	A. D.	PAGE
929. Letter of Nicanor . . . . .	Late 2nd or 3rd cent.	294
930. Letter to Ptolemaeus from his Mother . . . . .	2nd or 3rd cent.	295
931. Letter of Theopompus to a Strategus . . . . .	2nd cent.	296
932. Letter of Thaïs . . . . .	Late 2nd cent.	298
933. Letter of Diogenes . . . . .	Late 2nd cent.	299
934. Letter of Aurelius Stephanus . . . . .	3rd cent.	300
935. Letter of Serenus . . . . .	3rd cent.	301
936. Letter of Pausanias . . . . .	3rd cent.	303
937. Letter of Demarchus . . . . .	3rd cent.	305
938. Letter of Demetrius . . . . .	Late 3rd or 4th cent.	306
939. Letter to Flavianus . . . . .	4th cent.	307
940. Letter to a Clerk . . . . .	5th cent.	309
941. Letter to John . . . . .	6th cent.	310
942. Letter of Timotheus . . . . .	6th or 7th cent.	311
943. Letter of Victor . . . . .	6th cent.	313
*944-956. Homeric Fragments . . . . .	2nd-5th cent.	315
957. Leather <i>σίλλυβος</i> (?) . . . . .	122-3 . . . . .	317
958. Vellum <i>σίλλυβος</i> (?) . . . . .	80 . . . . .	318
*959. Magical Symbols . . . . .	3rd cent.	318
960. Memorandum of a Payment of Corn . . . . .	3rd cent.	318
*961. Demotic Papyrus . . . . .	1st or 2nd cent.	318
962. * <i>ἀπογραφή</i> of Sheep and Memorandum of Contracts . . . . .	Late 1st cent.	318
963. Letter of Ophelia to her Mother . . . . .	2nd or 3rd cent.	318
964. Receipt for the Rent of a Camel-Shed . . . . .	263 . . . . .	318
965. Order to Collectors of Corn-Dues . . . . .	3rd cent.	318
966. Official Account of Payments and Writing- Exercise . . . . .	3rd cent.	319
967. Letter from Apion to his Sister . . . . .	2nd cent.	319
*968. Will of Didyme . . . . .	A. D. 100-138 . . . . .	319
969. Order for Arrest . . . . .	Early 2nd cent.	319
970. <i>ἀπογραφή</i> . . . . .	Early 3rd cent.	319
971. Account of Expenditure on Irrigation . . . . .	Late 1st or early 2nd cent.	319
972. Oath of an Official . . . . .	223 . . . . .	320
*973. Notice to Sitologi . . . . .	168-9 . . . . .	320
974. Order for Payment of Wheat . . . . .	3rd cent.	320
*975. Lease of Land . . . . .	82-3 or 98-9 . . . . .	320
*976. Declaration on Oath . . . . .	197 . . . . .	320
977. Payment of the <i>φόρος</i> of an <i>ἀσχόλημα</i> . . . . .	253 . . . . .	320
978. List of Furniture . . . . .	3rd cent.	321

	A. D.	PAGE
*979. Account of Payments of Corn . . . . .	2nd or 3rd cent. . . . .	321
980. *List of Abstracts of Contracts (?) and of Payments for Houses . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	321
981. Taxing-Memorandum . . . . .	Late 2nd or early 3rd cent. . . . .	321
*982. Taxing-Memorandum . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	321
*983. Report to a Logistes . . . . .	316 . . . . .	321
*984. Census-List . . . . .	82-97 . . . . .	321
*985. Private Account . . . . .	50-100 . . . . .	322
*986. List of House- and Land-Property and of Loans of Seed-Corn . . . . .	131-2 . . . . .	323
987. Vellum Title (?) . . . . .	5th or 6th cent. . . . .	324
988. Loan of Corn and Memorandum concerning a Sale . . . . .	224 . . . . .	324
989. List of Persons and Workshops . . . . .	Late 3rd or 4th cent. . . . .	325
990. Will of a Woman . . . . .	331 . . . . .	325
991. Petition to a Police Official . . . . .	341 . . . . .	325
992. Order for Payment of Wine . . . . .	413 . . . . .	325
993. Order for Payment of Wine . . . . .	6th cent. . . . .	325
994. Order for Payment of Corn . . . . .	499 . . . . .	325
995. Receipt for Money . . . . .	5th cent. . . . .	326
*996. Deed of Surety . . . . .	584 . . . . .	326
997. Account . . . . .	4th cent. . . . .	326
*998. Account of Allowances (?) . . . . .	Late 6th cent. . . . .	326
*999. Account . . . . .	616-7 . . . . .	327
*1000-3. Receipts for Lead and Tin . . . . .	About 572 . . . . .	327
*1004-5. Arabic Papyri . . . . .	7th or 8th cent. . . . .	327
*1006. Arabic Paper . . . . .	Mediaeval Period . . . . .	327

## 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 subscript is employed. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [ ] a deletion in the original. Dots placed within brackets represent the approximate number of letters lost or deleted; dots outside brackets indicate mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Letters with dots underneath them are to be considered doubtful. Heavy Arabic numerals refer to the texts of the Oxyrhynchus papyri in this volume and 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*.

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

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

- C. P. Herm. = Corpus Papyrorum Hermopolitanorum, Vol. I, by C. Wessely.
- C. P. R. = Corpus Papyrorum Raineri, Vol. I, by C. Wessely.
- P. Cairo = Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the Cairo Museum, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
- P. Fay. = Fayûm Towns and their Papyri, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and D. G. Hogarth.
- P. Flor. = Papyri Fiorentini, Vol. I, by G. Vitelli.
- P. Gen. = Les Papyrus de Genève, Vol. I, by J. Nicole.
- P. Grenf. = Greek Papyri, Series I, by B. P. Grenfell, and Series II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
- P. Hibeh = The Hibeh Papyri, Part I, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
- P. Leipzig = Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig, Vol. I, by L. Mitteis.
- P. Leyden = Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Lugduni-Batavi, by C. Leemans.
- P. Magd. = Papyrus de Magdola, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, xxvi. pp. 95-128, xxvii. pp. 174-205, by P. Jouguet and G. Lefebvre.
- P. Oxy. = The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Parts I-V, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
- P. Par. = Les Papyrus grecs du Musée du Louvre, *Notices et Extraits*, t. xviii. 2, by W. Brunet de Presle and E. Egger.
- P. Reinach = Papyrus grecs et démotiques, by Th. Reinach, W. Spiegelberg, and S. de Ricci.
- Rev. Laws = Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus, by B. P. Grenfell, with an Introduction by J. P. Mahaffy.
- P. Strassb. = Griechische Papyrus der K. Universitätsbibliothek zu Strassburg im Elsass, Vol. I, Parts 1-2, by F. Preisigke.
- P. Tebt. = The Tebtunis Papyri, Part I, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and J. G. Smyly; and Part II, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and E. J. Goodspeed.
- Wilcken, *Ost.* = Griechische Ostraka, by U. Wilcken.

## 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 *θεός* and *κύριος* are used, but *οὐρανοί* and *μητρός* are written in full. For the two Psalms here represented the chief uncial MSS. are **N**, 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 **N** than to B, and, as would be expected in an Egyptian text, supports none of the peculiar readings of R.

Verso lxviii. 30-7.

το μ[ου] αινεσω το ονομα του θ̄ν μετ ωδης μεγαλυω αυτον εν αι  
νεσε[ι] και αρεσ[ει] τω θ̄[ω] ῡ[περ] μοσχ[ον] νεον κερατα εκφεροντα και  
οπλας ι[δ]ετ[ω]σαν πτωχοι και ευφρανθ[η]τ[ω]σαν [εκζητησατε  
τον θ̄ν και εκζησεται η ψυχη ῡμων οτι [ιση]κουσ[εν] των  
5 πηνητων κ̄ς και τους πεπεδημενους [αυτου] ουκ εξουδε  
νωσει αινεσατωσαν αυτον οι ουρανοι κα[ι] η γη θαλασσα και παν  
τα τα ερποντα εν αυτοις οτι ο θ̄[ς] σωσει την Σ̄ιων και οικο  
δομηθη[σουντα] ι[αι] πολεις της Ιουδαιας και κατοικησουσιν εκει  
και κλη[ρονομη]σουσιν αυτην και το σπερμα των δουλων αυτου  
10 [κ]αθε[ξου]σιν αυτην

Recto lxx. 3-8.

[τοπον οχυρον του σωσαι με οτι] στερ[ε]ωμα μου κ[α]ι κατα  
 [φυγη μου ει συ ο θς μου] ρυ[σαι] με εκ χειρος αμαρτωλου  
 [εκ χειρος παρανομο]υντος και αδικουντος οτι συ ει υπο  
 [μονη μο]υ κε μου κε ελπις μου εκ νεοτητος μου επι σε  
 15 [επεστ]ηριχθην απο γαστρος εκ κοιλιας μητρος μου συ μου  
 [ει σκεπαστη]ς εν σοι η υπομονησις μου δια παντος ωσει  
 [τερας εγενη]θην τοις πολλοις κ[α]ι σοι βοηθος και κραταιος  
 [πληρωθητω το στομα μου α][νεσ]εως οπως υμνησω

1. It is doubtful whether *το* at the beginning of this line is the final syllable of *αντελαβετο* or the article before *ονομα*. The latter division would make the line rather short, but it could be sufficiently lengthened by the insertion of *μου* after *θεο]ν* with **N<sup>c.a</sup>**. The vestige of the letter after *το* suits *μ* 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. *τω θε(ε)ω*: or perhaps *τω κ(υρι)ω*, which would be a new reading, though the cursive 188 has *τον κυριον*. *εκφεροντα* was perhaps omitted, as in **N\***. 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. [εκζητησατε: ζητησατε R. Cf. note on l. 4.

4. θε(ε)ν: κυριον R.

*εκζησεται η ψυχη υμων: ζησεται η ψυχη ημων (υμων N<sup>c.a</sup>) N\*R, ζησεσθε B*. The *εκ* is a repetition from *εκζητησατε*, or the scribe may have transferred the preposition from one verb to the other; cf. the omission of *εκ* with *ζητησατε* in R.

5. κ(υρι)ς: ο κυριος BNR.

*εξουδε]νωσηι: so N\*R; εξουδενωσεν BN<sup>c.a</sup>*.

7. *ερχονται εν αυτοις: so BN<sup>c.a</sup>R; περατα της γης N\**.

12. The length of the lacuna indicates that the papyrus had *μου* after *θε(ε)ς* with **NR**;

B omits.

13. *υπο]μονη: so the cursives 27, 285; η υπομ. BNR*. Cf. the omission of *η* before *ελπις* in l. 14. It is unlikely that *και* stood before *εκ* as in R.

14. κ(υρι)ε μου: om. μου BNR; cf. the addition of *μου* in l. 12.

κ(υρι)ε ελπις: κυριε η ελπις R; κυριος η ελπις BN.

15. [επεστ]ηριχθην . . . σκεπαστη]ς. The papyrus agrees with **BN**; R has *επεριφην εκ ματρος εκ κ. της μ. μου εν ει μοι υπερασπιστης μου*. *ο* of *κοιλιας* is corrected from *υ*.

16. *υπομονησις (υ seems to be corrected) = υπομνησις*, which is the reading of **N** and the Sahidic version; *υμνησις* BR. *ω* of *ωσει* is corrected.

17. σοι: l. *συ*. **N<sup>c.a</sup>R** add *μου* after *βοηθος*.

*και κραταιος: om. και BNR; και κραταιωμά μου* Arm. Ed., Psalt. Aethiop.

18. R adds *κυριε* after *αινεσεως: οπως υμνησω (την δοξαν σου)* was originally omitted in **N**, but added by the second corrector.

## 846. AMOS ii.

16.4 × 12.6 cm.

Sixth century.

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 × 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.

τα ενεκεν ὑποδηματ[ων  
 [τ]α πατουντα επι τον [χουν  
 της γης· και εκονδυλιζον  
 εις κεφαλαις πτωχω[ν  
 5 και οδον ταπινων ε[ξεκλι  
 [ν]αν και υἱος και π̄ρ̄ [αυτου  
 [ισ]επορευοντο προ[ς την αυτη  
 πα[ι]δικην οπως [βεβηλω  
 [σ]ουσιν το ον[ο]μα τ[ου θῡ] αυ  
 10 [τω]ν· και τα ἱματια [αυτων  
 [δ]εσμευοντες σχ[οι]νιοις  
 [π]αραπετασματα επ[οι]ουν  
 [ε]χομενα του θυσ[ιαστη  
 ριου και οινον εκ σ[υ]κοφαν  
 15 τινων επινο[ν εν τω οικω  
 του θ[υ] αυτων

## Recto ii. 9-12.

α[υ]του ὑποκαθθεν· και ε[γ]ω  
 [αν]ηγαγον ὑμ[α]ς εκ γης [Αι]  
 [γυ]πτου και περιηγαγον ὑ  
 20 [μα]ς εν τη ερημω τεσσ[ε  
 [ρακ]οντα ετη του κατακ[λη  
 [ρονο]μησαι την γην τω[ν  
 [Αμμ]οραιων· και ελαβο[ν εκ  
 [των υἱ]ων υμων εις προ  
 25 [φητα]ς· και εκ των νεαν[ι  
 [σκω]ν υμων εις αγι[ασμον  
 [μη ουκ] εστ[ι]ν ταυτα υἱ[οι  
 [Ιηλ] λεγει κ̄ς και εποτ[ι]ζε  
 [τε το]νς ηγιασμενου[ς] [οι  
 30 [νον κ]α[ι] τοις προφηταις  
 [ενετελλεσθ]ε [μ̄] λεγοντες  
 [ου μη προφητευση]τε·

7. [ισ]επορευοντο: or [ει]σ(ε)πορευοντο. The supplement at the end of the line is rather long, and perhaps την was omitted.

8. [βεβηλωσ]ουσιν: so the cursives 86, 153, 198 (Holmes); βεβηλωσιν B, Swete, βεβηλωσσι(ν) A<sup>2</sup>Q, &c.

20. τεσσ[ερακ]οντα: so AQ; μ' B.

23. [Αμμ]ορραιων: Αμορραιων MSS. There is room for at least three letters in the lacuna; Αμο]ρραιων cannot be read.

ελαβον: Q<sup>a</sup> has ανελαβον.

28. A stop is probably lost after κ(υριω)s.

#### 847. ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL ii.

16.2 × 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 *o* 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 *Ιη̄ς* (l. 9) and *Ῑς* (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 **Σ** against AB, one with A against **Σ**B, and only two with **Σ**A against B. 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.

αυτου και επιστευσαν εις αυ  
τον οι μαθηται αυτου· μετα  
ταυτα κατεβη εις Καφαρνα  
ουμ· αυτος και η μητηρ αυτου·  
5 και οι αδελφοι· και οι μαθη  
ται αυτου· και εκει εμειναν

Verso ii. 16–22.

20 περιστερας πωλουσιν ειπεν·  
αρατε ταυτα εντευθεν· μη  
ποιειτε τον οικον του *π̄ρς*  
μου οικον εμποριου· εμνη  
σθησαν οι μαθηται αυτου· ο  
25 τι γεγραμμενος εστιν· ο *ζηλος*

ου πολλας ημερας· και εγγυς  
 ην το πασχα των Ἰουδαιων· και  
 [ανέ]βη εις Ιεροσολυμα ο Ἰη̄ς  
 10 [και εν]ρεν εν τω ἱερῳ τους πω  
 [λου]ντας βοας και προβατα·  
 [κα]ι περιστερας· και τους κερ  
 μ[ατ]ιστας καθημενους [και  
 ποιησας ως φραγελλιον [εκ σ]χοι  
 15 νιων παντας εξεβαλε[ν ε]κ'  
 του ἱερου· τα τε προβατα και τους  
 βοας και των κολλυβιστων εξε  
 χεεν τα κερματα· και τας τρα  
 πεζ[α]ς ανετρεψεν· και τοις τας

του οικου σου· καταφαγεται με  
 απεκριθησαν ουν οι Ἰουδαιοι  
 και ειπαν αυτω· τι σημ[ειον] δει  
 κνυεις ημιν· οτι ταυ[τα] ποιεις  
 30 απεκριθη Ἰη̄ς και ειπεν αυ[τοις]  
 λυσατε τον ναον τουτον [και  
 [εν τ]ρισιν ημεραις εγερω [αυτον  
 [ειπ]αν ουν οι Ἰουδαιοι· μ και εξ ε  
 τε[σι]ν ωκοδομηθη ο ναος ου  
 35 τος[·] και συ εν τρισιν ημεραις  
 εγερεις αυτον· εκεινος δε ελε  
 γεν περι του ναου του σωματος  
 αυτου· οτε ουν ηγερθη εκ νεκ

1-2. εις αυτον originally stood after αυτον in **Σ**.

3. ταυτα: so M, the cursive 124, &c.; τουτο **Σ**AB, W(estcott)-H(ort), T(extus) R(eceptus).  
 Καφαρναουμ: so **Σ**B, W-H: Καπερναουμ A, T-R.

4. A curved mark above the ρ of μητηρ is presumably accidental.

5. The MS. agrees with B in omitting αυτου after αδελφου (so W-H); **Σ**A add αυτου (so T-R). **Σ** omits και οι μαθηται αυτου.

6. εμειναν: εμεινεν A.

7. και εγγυς: εγγυς δε **Σ**.

9. ο Ιη(σου)ς: so **Σ**B, W-H, T-R; A has ο Ι(ησου)ς εις Ιεροσολυμα Ι(ησου)ς.

11. **Σ** originally read και τα προβατα και βοας.

14. ως is found before φραγελλιον also in GLX, some cursives, &c.; om. ως **Σ**AB, W-H, T-R. **Σ** originally had εποιησεν . . . και παντας in place of the participial construction.

16. τε and τους are omitted in **Σ**.

18. τα κερματα: so B, W-H; το κερμα **Σ**A, T-R.

19. ανετρεψεν: so B, W-H in text; ανεστρεψεν A, T-R, W-H mg., κατεστρεψεν **Σ**.

21. μη: και μη A.

23. εμνησθησαν: so **Σ**B, W-H; εμν. δε A, T-R.

25. γεγραμμενος is an error for γεγραμμενον. In B εστιν precedes γεγρ.

26. καταφαγεται: so **Σ**AB, W-H; κατεφαγε T-R with some cursives and patristic citations.

28. ειπαν: so B, W-H; ειπον **Σ**A, T-R. The same variation occurs at l. 33.

30. Ι(ησου)ς: so AB, W-H; ο Ι. **Σ**, T-R.

32. [εν]: so **Σ**A, W-H in brackets, T-R; om. B. To read [και] in place of [εν] would leave l. 31 too short.

33. μ και εξ: the use of figures instead of words is unusual in early uncial MSS., though sometimes found in B and elsewhere; cf. e. g. 2. recto 9 sqq., 846. 20, note.

34. ωκοδομηθη: so A, T-R; οικοδομηθη **Σ**B\*, W-H.

35. εν is omitted in **Σ**.

38. αυτου: om. **Σ**.

## 848. REVELATION xvi.

3.1 x 9 cm.

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 uncials are 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.

. . . . .  
 [του ναο]υ απο του  
 θρονου λεγουσα  
 γεγονεν και εγε  
 νοντο αστραπαι  
 5 και φωναι και βρο̄  
 ται και σ[εισμος] εγ[ε  
 . . . . .

Verso xvi. 19-20.

. . . . .  
 λη εμνη[σθη] ενω  
 πιον του θ̄υ. δου  
 ναι αυτη το ποτη  
 10 ριον του οινου  
 του θυμου της  
 [ο]ργης αυτ[ο]υ και  
 . . . . .

1. [του ναο]υ: so **NA**, W(escott)-H(ort); του ναου του ουρανου B &c., T(extus) R(eceptus). ουρανου, if uncontracted, would occupy the same space as του ναου, and it is therefore possible that [ουρανο]υ should be read here.

απο του θρονου is omitted in **N** and του θεου substituted.

4-5. The MS. agrees with A (so W-H). **N** inadvertently has βρονται και before αστραπαι as well as και βρονται after φωναι. φ. και βρ. και αστρ. T-R with a number of cursives.

8. δουναι: του δουναι **N**.

9-12. το, του, and αυτου are omitted in **N**.

## 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 connexion 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 *μητερ* is uncontracted. *ν* 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)ν* for *θ(ε)ν̄* occurs in l. 8 and *αποησομεθα* for *ἀποισόμεθα* 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. *σε . . . πειράσαι θέλων* 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 *ἠδέως ἔχει* 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, *ὀρόντων . . . συνεπάθουν* in ll. 4-5 finds a parallel in the *μαρτύριον*, p. 82. 24-5 *καὶ καταπεσόντος αὐτοῦ ἄνωθεν ἐκ(υθ)εῖς συστήη*.

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 Πέτρον 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 'vulgärchristliche' 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. 100 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.

ρξζ

δι εμου μη μελλησαντες  
 [ ] αυτου κατεχοντων ει α  
 [ ] ρα αληθως απεθανεν και  
 ορωντων οτι αληθως νε  
 5 κρος εστιν συνεπαθου  
 τη γραιδι λεγοντες ει αρα  
 βουλει μητερ και θαρρεις  
 τω Πιτρου θ̄ν αραντες  
 αυτον ημεις αποησομεθα  
 10 εκει ινα αυτον εγειρας  
 αποδω σοι τούτων δε ου  
 τως λαουντων ο πραιφε  
 κτος ατειζων τω Πιτρω  
 . . . . . ς ιδου Πιτρε Ϸ-

## Recto.

ρξη

15 ο παις μου νεκρος κειται  
 ον και ο βασιλευς ηδεως  
 εχει και ουκ εφεισαμην  
 αυτου καιτοι γε ετερος  
 εχων μετ εμαντου νεανισ  
 20 κους αλλα σε μαλλον και τ̄ο  
 δια σου θ̄ν πειρασαι θελων  
 ει αρα αληθεις εστε τουτ̄ο  
 ηβουληθην αποθανειν και  
 ο Πιτρος εφη ου πειραζεται  
 25 θ̄ς ουδε δοκιμαζεται Αγριπ  
 πα αλλα φιλουμενος και  
 παρακαλουμενος ακουει  
 των αξιων επει δε γυγι

'... (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 . . ."

Codex Vercellensis (Lipsius, *Acta Apost. Apocr.*, p. 73).

*iuvenes autem qui uenerunt nares pueri 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 suscitans restituat tibi. haec dicentibus iubentibus*

*praefectus autem in foro intuens Petrum dixit: Quid dicis, Petre? ecce puer mortuus iacet quem et imperator libenter habet et non illi pepercit; utique habebam alios conplures iuvenes; sed confidens in te et in dominum tuum quem praedicas, si uere certi et ueri estis: ideo hunc uolui mori. Petrus autem dixit: Non templatur deus neque ex(is)timatur, sed dilectissimus ex animo colendus exaudiet qui digni sunt. Sed quoniam nunc . . .*

1-2. Line 1 is not only far removed from the equivalent of the Latin at this point (something like τῶν δὲ νεανίσκων προσελθόντων καὶ τὰς ρίνας would be expected), but is obviously quite inappropriate. δι εμου is unintelligible, while the case of μελλησαντες is in contradiction to κατεχοντων . . . ορωντων in ll. 2-4, and though in itself the nominative would yield a better construction than the genitive, a parallel for this kind of genitive absolute is cited from another part of the *Acts of Peter* in introd. Nor can αυτου κατεχοντων in l. 2 be right, for a participle meaning 'examined' is necessary in view of the following clause ει ara αλθως απεθανεν. By altering κατεχοντων to κατ(ε)ιδοντων l. 2 may be retained, but δι εμου μη μελλησαντες is almost hopeless to emend. μη μελλησαντων might be read and connected with qui uenerunt (cf. continuo surrexerunt four lines previously, and, for μή instead of οδ in this phrase, *Acts of John*, ed. Bonnet, p. 191. 23 μή μελλήσασα), but δι εμου would remain unaccounted for, and it would still be necessary to suppose the omission of και τας ρίνας before αυτου. It seems more probable that δι εμου μη μελλησαντες has come in by mistake from some other passage. δι' εμου presumably occurred where the Latin has *faciens per me* a few lines after the passage preserved in our fragment, and perhaps again two lines later where *per meam uocem* is found. μη μελλήσαντες, however, does not suggest itself as an equivalent for any Latin expression on p. 73 of Lipsius' edition, except continuo in l. 11 where δι' εμου would be out of place.

2. [ ] αυτου: there is a hole which occupies the place where the first letter of this line and of l. 3 would have come, if these lines began evenly with ll. 1 and 4-14, and it is therefore possible that a letter is lost before αυτου and ρα respectively. But this hypothesis is not satisfactory in l. 2, where αυτου is preferable to e.g. [τ] αυτου or [σ] αυτου, and leads to much difficulty in l. 3; for though the ρ of ρα is very faint the α is practically certain (χ is the only alternative), and that ara is the word meant is shown clearly by ll. 6 and 22. Hence if [α]ρα is read in l. 3, the α at the end of l. 2 becomes superfluous. We prefer to suppose that the hole was there when the leaf was written upon, and that the scribe therefore began ll. 2-3 further to the right than l. 1. ἄρα ἀληθῶς is rendered by only one word in the Latin, uere; cf. l. 22 where in rendering ἄρα ἀληθεῖς the Latin is redundant.

6-7. For τη γραιδι the Latin has *matrem ipsius*, omitting to translate βουλει μητερ και.

8. θυ is a mistake for θω.

9. αποισησμεθα: l. ἀποισόμεθα.

10. εκει: ad Petrum Lat., which is clearer.

12. πραιφεκτος: for this form cf. ch. 12 of the μαρτύριον (p. 100. 16, ed. Lipsius) τῷ πραιφέκτῳ Ἀγρίππᾳ. The Latin has *haec dicentibus iubenibus praefectus autem in foro*, putting autem too late. The addition of in foro, however, makes the passage clearer, since the preceding lines refer to what took place at the house of the old woman.

13. απειζων: cf. ἀπεισας in chs. 55 and 56 of the *Martyrium Petri et Pauli* (ed. Lipsius, pp. 164. 21, 166. 6), which is supposed to be based on the older *Acts of Peter* (cf. Harnack, *Chron. d. altchr. Lit.*, ii. 2, p. 177).

14. The Latin has *dixit: Quid dicis, Petre? ecce puer mortuus, &c.*, and we should expect at the beginning of this line ἔφη τί φης; for which there is not room. The doubtful ς might be ε, i. e. the termination of εἶπε, which is, however, insufficient by itself. The leaf is torn at this point, and the ink very much obliterated, so that decipherment is impossible.

15. μου is omitted in the Latin.

16. βασιλευς = *imperator*, as frequently in the *Martyrium Petri et Pauli*.

18. καιτοι γε ετεροις: 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 μετ εμαντου the Latin has *conplures*.

20-1. τον δια σου θεου = *dominium tuum quem praedicas*. The addition of a participle such as κηρυττόμενον would be an improvement, but is not necessary. πειρασαι θελων is mistranslated by the Latin *confidens in*, which does not suit the following clause *si uere certi*, &c.

22. ει αρα αληθεις: the Latin is redundant, *si uere certi et ueri*. In ll. 2-3 on the other hand ερα αληθως 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*.

### 850. ACTS OF JOHN.

12.1 x 10.7 cm. Fourth century. Plate I (recto).

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. Rebuked 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. 22-36). 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 Patmensis. 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

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 'vulgärchristlich, 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 ὁ τὰ [μ]ηδενὶ 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



νης ἀμ]α πλειοσιν ἀδελφοῖς πρὸς [. . . . . ἐβουλε  
 το περ]αινειν γεφυραν ὕφ ην π[ο]ταμος ἐρρεεῖ [. . . .  
 25 και πο]ρευομενου [τ]ου Ἰωαννου πρὸς τ[ου]ς ἀδελφ[ους]  
 . . . . .]ρ τις [π]ροσεισιν αὐτῶ σχηματι στρατιωτ[ου] ημφι  
 ἐ]σμενος. και εἰς οψ[ι]ν αὐτου στας εφη. Ἰωαννη εἰ σ[. . . .  
 . . . εἰς] χειρα[ς] ἐλευσι ταχιστα· και ὁ Ἰωαννης οἶ[. . . . .  
 εφη σ]βεσι σου ο  $\overline{\kappa\sigma}$  την ἀπειλην [κα]ι την οργην κ[αι] την  
 30 πλημμ]ελιαν και ἰδου ἐκεῖνος ἀφανης ἐγενετο ἀ[πελ  
 θοντο]ς ουν του Ἰ[ω]αννου πρ[ο]ς οὐς ἀπηε[ι] και ευρο[ντος  
 αὐτου]ς συνηθροισμενους εἶπεν. ἀ[ναστα]ντες ἀ[δελ  
 φοι μου] κλεινωμεν γονατα πρὸς τον  $\overline{\kappa\bar{\nu}}$  [κ]αι του μεγ[αλου] ἐχ  
 θρου ἀ]ρατον ενεργημα καταργησαν[τα . . .]τησα[. . . . .  
 35 . . . αυ]τοις ἐκλεινεν γονατα ἀμα αυ[τοις . . .]πεν[. . . . .  
 . . . . .]των  $\overline{\theta\sigma}$  ἐφ[

‘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 weepest 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 unnameable 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 εἶπε is to be supplied before Ζευξ̄ιδι (for whom cf. l. 13) and ἀναστας, ἀρας . . . is the beginning of the speech, although there is no stop after Ζευξ̄ιδι; cf. however l. 30, note.

5. After [. . .]ς is a low stop, as after σε in l. 7 and ημφιε]σμενος in l. 27. If με before μετα . . . is not due to dittography, we may restore μετατ[ρέπειν] (or μετασ[τρέφειν] Ζευξ̄ιδι] εννοου[ντα]. The letter after μετα is quite uncertain. For similar invocations in the *Acts of John* see pp. 187–93 of Bonnet’s edition.

6. ο 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 γνωριμα δια if ]νος in l. 8 is a genitive; ι or μ could be read there in place of the doubtful ν.

9. The supposed ω at the beginning of the line is extremely doubtful, and it would be possible to read e. g. σ. 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[με|νον]s here, with δο|ξα|σο|μεν in place of ευχαρι|στου]μεν in ll. 11-2, omitting both σου in l. 12 and the supposed lacuna between απεγνω[σμενα and επιστρ[εφ]ων 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.

και is possible after ανιστων in place of μ . ., but less suitable.

10. ανιστων is not satisfactory since the word occurred in the previous line. Ιη(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 οικονομία p. 188. 2.

14. εκοινωνησε, which would be expected (cf. *AJ*, p. 193. 14, &c.), is too long for the lacuna after ευχαριστίας. ε[δωκε] might be read; but then if επε[δωκε]ε[ν] in the next line is right (cf. *AJ*, p. 208. 11) these two sentences do not connect well together.

The supposed stop after λαβειν may be the beginning of a letter, e.g. τ. The letter at the end of the line is represented by the lower half of a vertical stroke; [ο]ι [δε is possible.

15. Perhaps ατ]ενισαντε[s. The supposed apostrophe after ουκ is very doubtful. For the ἀνθύπατος of Ephesus cf. *AJ*, p. 167. 28 and 851. 2, note.

16. ]ων suggests a participle like ελθ]ων, 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 [κα]τα is unsuitable.

17. ]ον may be read in place of ]ων. 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. θ̄ν. ἀκατονόμαστος does not occur elsewhere in the apocryphal Acts.

20-1. Prof. C. Schmidt well compares the similar sub-titles in the Coptic *Acta Pauli*. ἀλλαγή = 'posting-stage', which is unsuitable here, occurs in *AJ*, p. 154. 7. Of the compounds ἀπαλλαγή seems most likely, and if the words in l. 22 had been in the genitive it would be easy to connect this heading with the allusion to the separation of Andronicus and his wife Drusiane in *AJ*, p. 181. 25. The presence of the nominative there renders this explanation more difficult, unless indeed we restore ὅπως ἀπη]λλαγή. The double dots after ]λλαγή are not certain. That ἀπα]λλαγή refers to the death of St. John is very improbable, for the section of the *Acts of John* dealing with that subject is extant, under the sub-title of μετάστασις or ἀνάπανσις (*AJ*, p. 203). With regard to the reading η γ]υνη, the γ is almost certain, ρ being the only alternative and less suitable; but ηγ] might of course be the beginning of e.g. another proper name. The prominence of Drusiane, however, as well as Andronicus in the *Acts of John* makes η γ]υνη very probable, even if l. 20 has no connexion with l. 21 and belongs, as is possible, to the preceding section, not to the sub-title at all.

22-3. Cf. *AJ* p. 175. 24-5 (Codex Parisiacus) μετὰ οὖν ἡμέρας τινὰς κατὰ θείαν ἀποκάλυψιν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐν τινὶ κώμῃ εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν τῶν ἀδελφῶν. προς [επισκεψιν (with a shorter verb than εβουλετο) is possible in l. 23, but a place-name or equivalent expression is more likely. The parallel passage in the Codex Patmensis is τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ ὄναρ θεασάμενος ὁ Ἰωάννης μίλια τρία ἕξω πυλῶν περιπατήσαι οὐκ ἠμέλησεν ἀλλ' ὕρθρου ἀναστὰς ἅμα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐβάδιζε.

24. The lacuna at the end may be filled either by a short epithet of π[ο]ταμος, e. g. *μεγας* or *βαθυς*, or else by reading *και* with a compound of πο]ρευομενου. The doubtful *ν* of *ερρεεν* might be *μ*.

26. Cf. *Martyrium Matthaei* (Bonnet, *Acta Apost. Apocr.*, ii. 1, p. 232. 15-6) ὁ δὲ δαίμων ὁ ἐν τῷ στρατιωτικῷ σχήματι ὀφθείς πρότερον τῷ βασιλεῖ πάλιν μετασχηματισθεὶς ἐν σχήματι στρατιώτου ἔστη κ.τ.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 δαίμ[ω]ν) might be read.

28. ορ[γισθις] might be read at the end of the line. The supposed *ο* might be *σ* but not *ε*, so that *ει]πεν* is inadmissible.

30. There is no stop or blank space after *εγενητο*, and *α* possibly represents *α[ντα]*, with απο]βαντο]s for the next word. Cf. note on l. 4.

33-4. The second letter of κ(υριω)ν is rather more like *ν*, 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 *ενεργημα* in l. 34 cf. *AJ*, p. 187. 24 *ἐνέργειαν κακωτικήν*, 200. 14 *δαίμονες, ἐνέργειαι, ἀπειλαί*. For *καταργησαν]τα* cf. *AJ*, p. 192. 24 *καταργήθητι*, and *Acta Philippi*, ed. Bonnet, 40. 7 *καταργηθήσεται πᾶσα ἡ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ δύναμις*. The doubtful *τ* before *ησα* can be *γ*, and διη]γησα]μενος is possible. The word is probably a participle in any case.

35. ἀδελ]φοῖς cannot be read, and the *τ* is nearly certain. With regard to αυ]τοῖς, the repetition of this word is not very satisfactory, but ἀδ]ελφοῖς is inadmissible there also. The next word may be *ει]πεν* [δε, but *τ* can be read for *π*.

#### 851. APOCRYPHAL ACTS.

5.3 × 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 ηγε]μων 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.



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. ξ 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. *vs* of *οικους* in Fr. 58. 8, *μεν* of *λεξομεν* 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. 1. 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 iambs 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:  $\epsilon\iota$  and  $\iota$  are unusually correctly written, but iota adscript is frequently omitted, and some mistakes of accentuation occur. With regard to the use of the Doric  $\alpha$  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 ἔπτα ἐπὶ Θήβας σὺν Ἀδράστῳ καὶ Πολυνείκει ἐστρατεύοντο, παρέβαλον εἰς τὴν Νεμέαν τόπος δὲ οὗτος τοῦ Ἄργου. ζητοῦντες δὲ ὑδρεύσασθαι συνέ-*

τυχον Ὑψιπύλῃ τῇ Θόαντος θυγατρὶ τρεφούσῃ παιδίον Ὀφέλτην καλούμενον Εὐφήγου  
 (l. Εὐφήτου?) καὶ Εὐρυδίκης. ἡ δὲ ἀποθεμένη τὸ παιδίον ἀπῆλθεν αὐτοῖς ὑδρεύσασθαι  
 βουλομένη. δράκων δὲ ἐν τοσοῦτῃ περιπεσὼν τῷ παιδίῳ ἀνείλεν αὐτό. ἡ δὲ ἐπανελθοῦσα  
 ἐθρήνει, Ἀμφιάραος δὲ ὁ μάντις εἰς ὧν τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβάντος τοῖς Ἑλλησι θάνατον  
 προεμαντεύσατο καὶ τὸν παῖδα Ἀρχέμορον ἐκάλεσεν. Ἄδραστος δὲ παραμυθούμενος τὴν  
 Ὑψιπύλῃν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν Νεμεακὸν ἀγῶνα συνεστήσατο. If Λυκούργου be substituted  
 for Εὐφήγου and in the last sentence Ἀμφιάραος for Ἄδραστος and Εὐρυδίκην for  
 Ὑψιπύλῃν, 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 Εὐνεως παρέβαλον  
 ἐν Νεμέᾳ. Εὐρυδίκης δὲ τῆς Λυκούργου γυναικὸς βουλομένης διὰ τὸν Ὀφέλτον θάνατον  
 ἀνελεῖν τὴν Ὑψιπύλῃν διὰ τοῦτό τε ἐν τιμῇ λάθραϊφ κατακλεισάσης, Ἀμφιάραος  
 μαντευσάμενος δείκνυσι τοῖς παισὶ τὴν Ὑψιπύλῃν. ἡ δὲ τοῦτο εὐτυχήσασα παρεκάλει  
 τοὺς ἥρωας τοῖς παισὶν (συν)αγωνίσασθαι. 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 funda-  
 mental 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 Amphiaraus. 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) Διώνυσος, ὃς θύρσοισι . . . πηδᾶ 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 πηδᾶ, and on the other with the express testimony of the scholiast, which there is no reason to doubt, that the passage was Ὑψιπύλης ἢ 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 genetrrix* as Staius, *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 Staius is in agreement with Euripides (cf. *Theb.* v. 640, 715). Hypsipyle then sings a monody to her nursing, 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 *Frogs* 1305 sqq. ποῦ ἔστιν ἡ τοῖς ὀστράκοις αὕτη κροτοῦσα ; δέδρο Μοῦσ' Εὐριπίδου : cf. Phot. *Lex.* p. 180. 12 κροταλίξειν οὐ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν κροτεῖν, ἀλλὰ διὰ κροτάλου. τῆς κροταλισίας, ὡς Εὐριπίδην φησὶν ὁ κωμικὸς περὶ τῆς Ἑψιπύλης λέγων. Nauck, Fr. 769, takes the word κροταλισίας 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 φ[ίλτα]ται, 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 Agonists. 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 Amphiarus 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 Amphiarus 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 Amphiarus' request (Nauck, Fr. 753 δειξω μὲν Ἀργείοισιν Ἀχελῷου ῥόον), 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 Amphiarus 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 Amphiaraus 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 Amphiaraus 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 dixere 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 implebat 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 ἐπαελθοῦσα 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' ἐπὶ ἠδέσθην 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 ( $\gamma\epsilon\nu\nu[\alpha\acute{\iota}' \ \acute{\epsilon}] \lambda\epsilon[\xi\alpha\varsigma]$ ), and Eurydice follows with an angry accusation of using specious words (l. 11  $\tau\acute{\iota} \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau[α] \ \kappa\omicron\mu\psi[\grave{\alpha} \dots]$ ). If the first speaker is Hypsipyle and she had courageously thrown herself upon the queen's mercy,  $\gamma\epsilon\nu\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$  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  $\kappa\omicron\mu\psi\acute{\omicron}\tau\eta\varsigma$ . 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  $\phi\eta\sigma\acute{\iota} \ \delta' \ \acute{\eta}\delta' \ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma \ \kappa\tau\alpha\nu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu \ \mu\epsilon \ \pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha \ \kappa\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota \ \delta\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\iota\varsigma$ , 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 Amphiarus 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 Amphiarus (cf. p. 26) that Frs. 60 and 64 belong to a single act. The longest *ἐξοδος* in the extant plays of Euripides, that of the *Ion*, is under 400 lines, whereas the *ἐξοδος* 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:—

Φαίνε, Θόαν, Βάκχοιο φυτόν τόδε· ματέρα γάρ σου  
 ῥύσῃ τοῦ θανάτου, οἰκέτιν Ὑψιπύλαν,  
 ἃ τὸν ἀπ' Εὐρυδίκας ἔτλη χόλον, ἦμος ἀπούρας  
 ὕδρος, ὃ γὰρ γενέτας, ὤλεσεν Ἀρχέμορον.  
 στείχε δὲ καὶ σὺ λιπὼν Ἀσωπίδος ἄγκλα κούρας (?)  
 γεωαμένην ἄξων Λήμνον εἰς ἠγαθήην.

To which the following explanation is prefixed :—*ἐν δὲ τῷ κατὰ δύσιν πλευρῷ ἐστὶν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ δεκάτου πίνακος Εὐνεὸς γεγλυμμένος καὶ Θόας, οὗς ἐγέννησεν Ὑψιπύλη, ἀναγνωρίζομενοι τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τὴν χρυσῆν δεικνύντες ἄμπελοι, ὅπερ ἦν αὐτοῖς τοῦ γένους σύμβολον, καὶ ῥύομενοι 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 *Εὐνεΐδαι* who traced their descent from Euneos the son of Hypsipyle ; cf. e. g. Hesych. *γένος ἀπὸ Εὐνήου (sic) κεκλημένον, τοῦ Ἰάσονος υἱοῦ, οἷον γένος ὄρχηστῶν καὶ κιθαριστῶν . . οἱ δέ, γένος τι Ἀθήνησι κιθαριστῶν, Photius γένος Ἀθήνησι μουσικόν, ἀπὸ Εὐνεῶ τοῦ Ἰάσονος καὶ Ὑψιπύλης. γένος ἐστὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενον ἦσαν δὲ κιθαρῳδοί, πρὸς τὰς ἱεροουργίας παρέχοντες τὴν χρεῖαν.* 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<sup>1</sup>. It is quite in accordance with this inference to find from *C. I. 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 Ἑλλῆ ὁ υἱὸς τὴν μητέρα ἐκδιδόναι μέλλων ἀνεγνώρισεν* to read Ὑψιπύλη in place of Ἑλλῆ (Valckenaer had conjectured Ἀντιόπη), 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 Capaneus 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

<sup>1</sup> He went on to Lemnos afterwards, at any rate according to Homer *H* 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* Ἑλλη (though otherwise unknown) is retained by the best modern editors; and it is now clear that Ὑψιπύλη would not really be suitable, for it was not the sons' recognition but the intervention of Amphiarus 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, Amphiarus, 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 δμῶις ἡ τροφ[ὸς ?] 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 π[έ]λας 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 Amphiarus, 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 Amphiarus, 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.

Parodos of Chorus of Nemean women. Strophe and antistrophe, each followed by lyrical response from Hypsipyle. About ll. 200—310. Fr. 1. ii. 15—iv. 9.

1st Epeisodion. Arrival of Amphiaraus, 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 Amphiaraus. About ll. 900—1080. Frs. 33—5.

4th Stasimon. The chorus sing the praises of Dionysus and call on him for succour. About ll. 1080—1150. Frs. 57—9.

5th Epeisodion. Hypsipyle is led out to meet her doom. Arrival of Amphiaraus, 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. Amphiaraus 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 *ἄγωνισταί* 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 l. 53 of that comedy τῶν πρὸ ὀλίγου διδαχθέντων καὶ καλῶν, Ὑψιπύλης, Φοινισσῶν, Ἀντιόπης: 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, on the strength of the scanty evidence before them, by modern critics: '*drama eximium*,' Valckenaer, *Diatr.* p. 211, '*fabula venustissima rerum 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 (Frs. 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.

Fr. 1. Col. i.

. . . . .  
 γρα[ 24 letters ]ειοισ  
 ἦξε[. . . . .]σπ[. . . . .]θυρμα[.]α  
 ἄσων[.]δνρμωνεκαγαλη[. . .]ρενας  
 υμεισεκρουσάτ'ωνεάνια[. . .]σ  
 5 ὠμακαριασφῶνἠτεκο[. . .]τισποτ'ην  
 τίτω[.]δεμελαθρωνδε[. . .]νοιπροσηλθετον  
 θοασ στεγ[.]σκεχρήμεθ'[.]ν[. . .]χθῆναιγυναι  
 ειδυ[.]τον[.]νύκτε[. . .]αιμίαν  
 εχο[.]νδδ[.]ωνδειτ[.]πο[. . .]λυ[.]ηροιδο[  
 10 εσο[.]εσθατοῖσδετδδεσονῶσεχειμ[.]ει  
 [. . .]ποτοσμ[. . .]ικ[.]σαρσένωνκυ[.]ι  
 [ 17 letters ] . [.]δωμ[.]τα  
 . . . . .

Fr. 2. . . .

[.]μ[.]  
 λυκουρ[  
 γυνηδ[  
 θοασ ουκενξ[  
 5 προσδ'α[  
 ηκιστ[  
 ξενο[  
 αιιδε[  
 αλλειν[  
 10 . [.]ωνεδ[  
 . . . . .

Fr. 1.

Col. ii.

Plate II.

. . . . .  
 [. . . . .] . . οσσι  
 [. . . . .]οσιδεσθαι  
 [. . . . .] . . ρχονωσενοπρου  
 τ

Fr. 1.

Col. i.

(Tψ.) . . . . .  
 γρα[ . . . . . 24 letters . . . . . ]εις  
 ἤξει[ι . . . . .]σπ . [ . . . . . ἀ]θύρμα[τ]α  
 ἀ σῶν [ὀ]δυρμῶν ἐκγαλη[νιῆι φ]ρένας.  
 ὑμεῖς ἐκρούσατ', ὦ νεανία[ι, πύλα]ς;  
 5 ὦ μακαρία σφῶν ἢ τεκοῦσ', ἦ[τι]ς ποτ' ἦν.  
 τί τῶ[ν]δε μελάθρων δε[όμε]νοι προσήλθετον;  
 Θόας. στέγ[η]ς κεχρήμεθ' [έ]ν[τὸς ἀ]χθῆναι, γύναι,  
 εἰ δυ[να]τὸν ἠ[μί]ν νύκτ' ἐ[ναυλίσ]αι μίαν.  
 ἔχο[με]ν δ' ὀ[σ]ων δεῖ· τ[ί] πο[τε] λυ[π]ηροὶ δό[μοις]  
 10 ἐσό[μ]εσθα τοῖσδε; τὸ δὲ σὸν ὡς ἔχει μ[εν]εῖ.  
 (Tψ.) [ἀδέσ]ποτος μ[έν οἴκ]ο[ς ἀρσένων κυρ]εῖ  
 [ . . . . . 17 letters . . . . . ] . [ . . . ] δώμ[α]τα  
 . . . . .

Fr. 2.

(Tψ.) [ . . . ]μ . [ . . . ]  
 Λυκοῦρ[γος]  
 γυνῆ δ[ὲ] *Εὐρυδίκη*  
 Θόας. οὐκ ἐν ξέ[νων]σι  
 5 πρὸς δ' α[ἰ]  
 (Tψ.) ἠκιστ[α]  
 ξένο[ι]  
 ἀεὶ δὲ [ . . . ]  
 ἀλλ' εἰς ν[ύκτ]  
 10 . . [ . . ]ῶν εδ[ί]  
 . . . . .

Fr. 1.

Col. ii.

Plate II.

(Tψ.) [ . . . . . ] . . οσοι *στρ. α'*  
 [ . . . . . ]ος ιδέσθαι  
 [ . . . . . ] . . ρχον ὡς ἐνόπτρου

D

- [. . . . .]οφαήτιν' αυγαν  
 5 [. . . . .]άυξήματοσον  
 [. .]μνησωμαιτεκνονεν  
 ωποισηθεραπειαισ  
 ἴδουκτύποσῶδεκροτάλωνα<sup>v</sup>
- ✓ / ουτάδ[<sup>ε</sup>α]πήνασουτάδεκερκίδοσ  
 10 ιστοτόνουπαραμυθιαλημνια  
 μουσαμελειμε[[<sup>κρ</sup>λ][<sup>κ</sup>ε[.]]εινῶτιδεισπνον  
 ηχαρινηθεραπευματαπρόσφορα  
 [.]]αιδιπρεπεινεαρωι  
 ταδεμελωδοσαυδῶ
- 15 ]τισύπαραπροθυροισφιλα  
 ποτεραδωματοσεισοδουσ  
 σάιρεισηδροσονεπιπέδωι  
 βαλλεισδιάτεδύλα  
 ήτᾶναργωτᾶνδιασοῦ
- 20 στόματοςαικληζομέναν  
 πεντηκόντερονᾶ[.]]δεισ  
 ήτοχρυσεομαλλον  
 ἴερονδεροσπεριδρυσ  
 ὕζοισομμαδρακοντοσ
- 25 φρουρεῖμναμοσύναδεσοι  
<sup>λημν</sup>  
 τασαγιαλόιο[[νησ]]ου  
 τᾶναιγαιοσελι[.]]σων  
 κυμοτύποσᾶχεί  
 δεῦροτανλειμῶνανέμει[. . . . .]
- 30 απάγειχαλκειο[.]]σοπλο[. . . . .]  
 αργεῖονπ[.]]διονπα[  
 επιτοτᾶ[.]]κιθάρασέρυμα[  
 τᾶσαμφιονιάσέρυγ[  
 φ[. .]πόδασα[. .]ασ[. .]σ[
- 35 ο[.]]εκαλεσεμενο[

- [. . λευκ]οφαῆ τιν' αὐγὰν  
 5 6 [. . . . .] αὔξημα τὸ σὸν  
 7 [. .] μνήσωμαι, τέκνον, εὐ-  
 8 ωποῖς ἢ θεραπείαις.  
 9 ἰδοῦ κτύπος ὄδε κροτάλων· ἄν(ω).  
 11 οὐ τὰδε πῆνας οὐ τὰδε κερκίδος  
 10 12 ἰστοτόνου παραμύθια Λήμνια,  
 13 Μοῦσα, μέλει με κρέκειν, ὅ τι δ' εἰς ὕπνον  
 14 ἢ χάριν ἢ θεραπεύματα πρόσφορα  
 15 [π]αιδὶ πρέπει νεαρῶ  
 16 τὰδε μελωδὸς αὐδῶ.
- Χορός] 15 1 τί σὺ παρὰ προθύροις, φίλα ; στρ. β'  
 2 πότερα δώματος εἰσόδους  
 3 σαίρεις ἢ δρόσον ἐπὶ πέδῳ  
 4 βάλλεις οἶά τε δούλα,  
 5 ἢ τὰν Ἄργῳ τὰν διὰ σοῦ  
 20 6 στόματος αἰεὶ κληζομένην  
 7 πεντηκόντ(ο)ρον ἄδεις,  
 8 ἢ τὸ χρυσεόμαλλον  
 9 ἱερὸν δέρος ὃ περὶ δρυὸς  
 10 ὅζοις ὄμμα δράκοντος  
 25 11 φρουρεῖ, μαμοσύνα δέ σοι  
 12 τᾶς ἀγχιάλιοι Λήμνου  
 13 τὰν Αἰγαῖος ἐλί[σ]των  
 14 κυμο(κ)τύπος ἀχεῖ,  
 15 δεῦρ' ὅτ' ἂν λειμῶνα Νέμειον  
 30 16 ἀπάγει χαλκῆξί}ο[ι]σ(ιν) ὄπλο[ι]ς  
 17 Ἄργεῖον π[ε]δίον πα[ρ]εῖς  
 18 ἐπὶ τὸ τᾶ[ς] κιθάρας ἔρυμα,  
 19 τᾶς Ἀμφιονίας ἔργον [χερὸς  
 20 ὠ[κ]υπόδας Ἄ[δρ]ασ[το]ς [Ἄρ]η θοόν ;  
 35 21 ὁ [δ'] ἐκάλεσε μένο[ς] . . .

ποικιλασ<sup>α</sup>[[υ]]εματα[  
 τόξάτεχρύσια[  
 κα[.]μὸνὸβᾶμονε[  
 αειρομενοιχθ[  
 40 [. . . . .]στ[  
 . . . . .

Fr. I.

Col. iii.

Plate II.

. . . . .  
 [. . . . .]ρα[.]  
 [. . . . .]ρακιαν  
 [. . . .]σ[.]μενησορουσασ  
 εποιδμαγαληνειασ  
 5 πρυμνησιαναψαι  
 τονᾶτουποταμουπαρ  
 θενοσάι<sup>γιν' ν</sup>[[νν]]ετεκωσεν  
 πηλέαμεσωδεπαρίστωι  
 ᾱσιᾶσελεγε<sup>ι</sup>νηιον  
 10 θρησσ'εβοακίθαρισορφέως  
 μακροπολωνπιτυλων  
 ερετησικελευσματαμελπομεναν  
 τοτεμενταχυπλουν  
 τοτεδ'ειλατινασαναπαυμαπλατα[. .]  
 15 τ[.]δεμοιταδεθυμοσιδενίεται  
 δαναωνδεπονουσ  
 ετεροσαναβοατω  
<sup>ο</sup>Χ παρασοφωνεκλυονλογο[.]σ  
 ποτερονωσ επικυματων  
 20 πολινκαιπατριουσδομου[  
 φοινικαστυριαπαισ  
 ευρωπαλιποῦσ'απεβα<sup>ε</sup>  
 διοτροφονκρητανιεραν  
 κουρητωντροφονανδρων

22 ποικίλα σάματα [. . .  
 23 τόξα τε χρύσ(ε)α [. . .  
 24 κα[ί] μονοβάμονε[ς] . . .  
 25 ἀειρόμενοι χθ[ο]ν  
 40 26 [. . . . .]οτ[

Fr. I.

Col. iii.

Plate II.

(Υψ.)

[. . . . .]ραι[.]

ἀντιστρ. α'

[. . . . . Θ]ρακίαν

[. . . .]σ[.]μενῆς ὀρούσας

ἐπ' οἶδμα γαληνεΐας

5 πρυμνήσι' ἀνάψαι,

6 τὸν ἄ τοῦ ποταμο(ῖο) παρ-

7 θένος Αἴγιν' ἐτέκνωσε{ν} Πη-

8 λέα, μέσφω δὲ παρ' ἰστῶ

9 Ἀσιὰς ἔλεγ(ο)ν ἰήιον

10 10 Θρηῆσ' ἐβόα κίθαρις Ὀρφέως,

11 μακροπόλων πιτύλων ἐρέτησι κε-

12 λεύσματα μελπομένα{ν}, τότε μὲν ταχύ-

13 πλουν τότε δ' εἰλατίνας ἀνάπαυμα πλά-

15 14 τα[ς.] τ[ά]δε μοι τάδε θυμὸς (ὕ)δεῖν ἴε-

15 ται, Δαναῶν δὲ πόνους

16 ἕτερος ἀναβοάτω.

Χο(ρός).

1 παρὰ σοφῶν ἔκλυον λόγο[υ]ς

ἀντιστρ. β'

2 π(ρ)ότερον ὡς ἐπὶ κυμάτων

20 3 πόλιν καὶ πατρίους δόμου[ς]

4 Φοινίκας Τυρία παῖς

5 Εὐρώπα λιποῦσ' ἐπέβα

6 Διοτρόφον Κρήταν ἱερὰν

7 Κουρήτων τροφὸν ἀνδρῶν,

- 25 ἄτεκνωναρτόισ[.]ν  
 τρισσοισελιπενκρα[. . .]  
 χῶ'ραστ'ολβιοναρχαν  
 αργειανθ'ετερανκλυω  
 [.]τρωβα<sup>σίλει</sup>[λπ]ανίω  
 30 [.]ρασαμφισαμεΐψαι  
 [.]ασφοροναταν  
 [.]τανθεοσεισφροντιδαθησοι  
 [.]σδηφίλατομεσοι[.]  
 [.]απολείψει  
 35 [.]ατεροσπατερα  
 [.]τεχεισεθεν  
 [.]κυπο . ρ[.]μετανισσεται[  
 [.]γενεα[. . . .]  
 [.]ισσ[  
 40 [.]ωσ . [ .  
 [.]σφιλ[  
 [.] . [ .  
 [.] . ρ . [ .  
 . . . . .

Fr. I.

Col. iv.

- . . . . .  
 ]νεμονάγαγέποτε . [ .  
 κυμα<sup>γ</sup>[τ]οντεποκριν[  
<sup>τανποσισεκτα</sup>  
 κατεθρηνησεναιοιδαισ[  
 5 θανατοσελαχεταδεμαπαθε[  
 τισανηγόσημελοσηκιθαρασ . κιθαρι[. . . . .]  
 επιδακρυσειμοσ'ανοδυρομενα . επιδακρυσιμ[. . . . .]  
 μετακαλλιοπασ  
 επιπονουσανελθοι  
 10 ὤξεννεμέαστησδ'άλσοσεχων  
 τινοσεμπορίαστοσδ'εγγυσορω

- 25 8 ἀ τέκνων ἀρότοις[ι]ν  
 9 τρισσοῖς ἔλιπεν κρά[τος]  
 10 χώρας τ' ὄλβιον ἀρχάν.  
 11 Ἀργείαν θ' ἐτέραν κλύω  
 12 [οῖσ]τρω βασιλείαν Ἴω  
 30 13 [πάτ]ρας ἀμφὶς ἀμείψαι  
 14 [κερ]ασφόρον ἄταν.  
 15 [ταῦ]τ' ἂν θεὸς εἰς φροντίδα θῆ σοι  
 16 [. . .'] . [.]δῆ, φίλα, τὸ μέσον  
 17 [. . . . .] ἀπολείψει  
 35 18 [. . . . .] πατέρος πατέρα  
 19 [. . . . .]τεχει σέθεν  
 20 [. . . . .] ὠκύπορο[s] μετανίσσεται  
 21 [. . . . .] γενεα[. . .]  
 22 [. . . . .]ιοσ[  
 40 23 [. . . . .]ωσ . [  
 24 [. . . . .]σφιλ[  
 25 [. . . . .] . [  
 26 [. . . . .] . ο . [  
 . . . . .

Fr. 1.

Col. iv with Fr. 3.

(ΤΨ.) νεμον ἀγαγέ ποτε . [  
 κυ(ν)αγόν τε Π(ρ)όκριν  
 τὰν πόσις ἔκτα  
 κατεθρήνησεν ἀοιδαῖς.

5 θάνατος ἔλαχε τάδ' ἐμὰ πάθε[α.  
 τίς ἂν ἦ γόος ἢ μέλος ἢ κιθάρας  
 ἐπὶ δάκρυσι μούσ' ἀνοδυρομένα  
 μετὰ Καλλιόπας  
 ἐπὶ πόνους ἂν ἔλθοι ;

10 (Xo.) ὦ Ζεῦ Νεμέας τῆσδ' ἄλσος ἔχων  
 τίνος ἐμπορίας τούσδ' ἐγγυὲς ὀρῶ

- πελάτασξ<sup>ι</sup>ενουσδωρ[[ο]]διπεπλων  
 ἔσθῆστισαφείσπροστουσδεδομουσ  
 στειχοντασερῆμονανάλσοσ  
 15 αμφια<sup>P</sup> ωσεχρονανθρωποισιναιτερημιαι  
 οταντεχρειαεισπεσωνοδοιποροσ  
 αγρουσερημουσκαιμ[[ε]]νοικτηουσῖδη  
 απορνανἔρμήνευτοναποριανεχων  
 ὄπητράπηταικαιμεγαρτοδ[.]σχερεσ  
 20 τοῦτεισβεβηκενάσμενοσδ'εἶδονδομ[  
 τουσδ'ενδιοσλιμῶνινεμέάδοσχθον[  
 καισεειτεδουλητοισδ'εφεστηκάσδομ[  
 ειτουχιδουλονσωμεχουσερησομαι  
 τίνοσταδανδρωνμῆλδβδσκαδωματ[  
 25 φλειουντίασγησῶξενηνομιζεται  
 υψιπυ[λ] [.]λβιαλυκουργουμελαθρακληζεταια[  
 [.]σεξαπασησευρεθεισασωπια  
 κληδοῦχόσεστιτουπιχωριουδιοσ  
 αμφ<sup>Φ</sup> [.]υτονλαβειν[.]ρ[.]μ[.]μανενκρ[[ο]]σσοῖσδωρ  
 30 [.]ερνιβαθεοι[.]ινδ[.]ψσχηρησαιμεθα  
 στρατωνγαρυδατων[.]αματαουδιειπετη  
 στρατουδεπληθειπαντασυνταρασσεται  
 υψι<sup>Π</sup> [.]νεσμολοντεσκαιχ[.]ονοσποιασαπο  
 [—]  
 εκτωνμυκηων[.]μεναργειοιγεν[  
 35 [.]ρ[.]ιαδ'υπερβαινοντεσεισαλληνχθονα  
 [.]ατουπρ[.]θυσαιβουλομεσθαδαι[.]ιδω[.]  
 [.]μεισ[.] . . . [.] . . . [.]θαπροσκαδμουπυλασ  
 [ 19 letters ]υτυχωσγυναι·ειδη[  
 [ " " ]σουθεμι[.]αθειν  
 40 [ 20 " ]αδαπ[.] . . . [.]κηνπατρασ  
 Fr. 3. [.]φ[.] . . . [.]ασθηρά[  
 πα[.] . . . [.]αμφιαρ[

πελάτας ξείνους Δωρίδι πέπλων  
 ἐσθῆ{σ}τι σαφεῖς πρὸς τούσδε δόμους  
 στείχοντας ἐρήμον ἀν' ἄλλος ;

- 15 Ἀμφιάρ(αος). ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἀνθρώποισιν αἰ τ' ἐ(κδ)ημίαι  
 ὅταν τε χρεῖαν εἰσπεσῶν ὀδοιπόρος  
 ἀγροὺς ἐρήμους καὶ μονοικήτους ἴδῃ  
 ἄ(φίλος) ἀνερμήνευτο(ς) ἀπορίαν ἔχων  
 ὅπη τράπηται· κάμῃ γὰρ τὸ δ[υ]σχερὲς  
 20 τοῦτ' εἰσβέβηκεν· ἄσμενος δ' εἶδον δόμ[ους]  
 τούσδ' ἐν Διὸς λειμῶνι Νεμεάδος χθονί[ος].  
 καὶ σ', εἴτε δούλη τοῖσδ' ἐφέστηκας δόμ[ους]  
 εἴτ' οὐχὶ δούλον σῶμ' ἔχουσ', ἐρήσομαι  
 τίνος τάδ' ἀνδρῶν μηλοβοσκὰ δώματ[α]  
 25 Φλειουντίας γῆς, ᾧ ξένη, νομίζεται.

Ἵψιπύ[λ(η)]. [δ]λβια Λυκούργου μέλαθρα κλήζεται τά[δε],  
 [δ]ς ἐξ ἀπάσης (αἰ)ρεθεὶς Ἀσωπία(ς)  
 κληδοῦχος ἐστὶ τοῦπιχωρίου Διός.

- Ἀμφ(ί)αραος. [ρ]υτὸν λαβεῖν [χ]ρ[ῆ]ζοιμ' ἀν ἐν κρωσσοῖς ὕδωρ  
 30 [χ]έρνιβα θεοῖ[σ]ιν ὄ[διον] ὡς χ(ε)αίμεθα.  
 στ[ρ]ατῶν γὰρ ὑδάτων [ν]άματ' οὐ διίπετη,  
 στρατοῦ δὲ πλήθει πάντα συνταράσσεται.

- Ἵψιπ(ύ)λη). [τί]νες μολόντες καὶ χ[θ]ονὸς ποίας ἄπο ;  
 (Ἀμφ.) ἐκ τῶν Μυκηνῶν [έ]σ[μ]έν Ἀργεῖοι γέν[ος],  
 35 [δ]ρια δ' ὑπερβαίνοντες εἰς ἄλλην χθόνα  
 [στρ]ατοῦ προ[θ]ῦσαι βουλόμεσθα Δαν[α]ῖδῶ[ν].  
 [ή]μεις [γὰρ ᾧ]ρμ[ή]μεσ[θ]α πρὸς Κάδμου πύλας,  
 [εἴ] πως θεοὶ πέμποιεν ε]ύτυχῶς, γυναί. εἰ δὴ [

- (Ἵψ.) [τί] δὲ στρατεύεσθ', εἴ γε] σοῦ θέμι[ς] μαθεῖν ;  
 40 (Ἀμφ.) [κατάγειν θέλοντες φυγ]άδα Π[ολυνί]κην πάτρας.  
 (Ἵψ.) [σὺ δ'] ᾧ[ν] τίς ἄλλων πημον]ὰς θηρᾶ[ς] λαβεῖν ;  
 (Ἀμφ.) παῖ[ς] Οἰκ[λέους] τοι μάντις] Ἀμφιάρ[εως] ἐγώ.

ωμεγαλ[. . . . .]ιακαι[

[—]  
 πῶσδ'οιλ[. . . . .]σα .-[

. . . . .

Fr. 4. . . . .

[. .]σε[

]ητοῦ[

]ονομα[

ἦλημ[

5 ἔ[

. . . . .

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

γυ[

ῥσιαφ[

εδεξ[

ποθενμ[

5 εγημῶκλ . [

εἴσηντισω[

ταυτηδιδωσ[

θειθεωνγα[

πολυδαροσοῦ[

10 ειπουθεασφυ[

τουτουδεπαι[

[. . . . .]ῥ . ῥ[

. . . . .

Fr. 5. . . . .

[.]ει . [

ν

οσκαισ[

εισχηρη[

χηρηγαρ[

5 [.]δοξα[

. . . . .

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

/ ειρησ[

εξωγυ[

δ ωσου . [

30 ουδυ[

ειδ . [

/ [.]ισχ . [

(Τψ.) ὦ μεγάλη[α . . . . .]ια καὶ [ϰ - υ -  
 (Αμφ.) πῶς δ' οἰλ[. . . . .]σα . [

Fr. 4. . . . .  
 (Αμφ.) [. .]σε[  
 (Τψ.) ἦ τοῦ [ . . . . .]  
 (Αμφ.) ὄνομα [τὸ σὸν νῦν καὶ γένος λέξον, γύναι.  
 (Τψ.) ἦ Λημ[νία χθῶν Ἰψιπύλην ἔθρεψέ με.  
 5 (Αμφ.) ' : [ . . . . .]

Fr. 1. . . . . Col. v. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 (Αμφ.) γυ[νὴ μ' ἔπεισε . . . . .  
 (Τψ.) ὄσια φ[ίρονουσ' ἦ . . . . .  
 (Αμφ.) ἐδέξ[αθ' ὄρμον . . . . .  
 (Τψ.) πόθεν μ[ . . . . . 375  
 5 (Αμφ.) ἔγημ' ὁ κλε[ινὸς Ἀρμονίαν Κάδμος ποτέ,  
 (Τψ.) εἰς ἦν τις ὤ[ν καὶ θεοὶ συνῆλθον εἰς γάμους.  
 (Αμφ.) ταύτη δίδωσ[ι]ν ὄρμον Ἀφροδίτη καλόν.  
 (Τψ.) θεοὶ θεῶν γὰ[ρ] παισὶν εὐμενεῖς αἰί.  
 (Αμφ.) Πολύδωρος οὐ[ν] ἐκλήξεθ' οὐξ αὐτῶν γόνος. 380  
 10 (Τψ.) εἴ που θεᾶς φύ[σ] θεῖ' ἐδέξατ', εἰκότως.  
 (Αμφ.) τοῦτου δὲ παῖ[ς] ἦν Λάβδακος ϰ - υ -  
 (Τψ.) [. . . . .] . [ . . . . .]

Fr. 5. . . . . Fr. 1. Col. v. . . . .  
 (A) [. .]ει . [ . . . . . (Τψ.) εἰρήσ[εται]  
 (B) δν καὶ σ[ . . . . . (Αμφ.) ἔξω γυ[ναι]  
 (A) εἰς χρη[ . . . . . (Τψ.) ὡς οὐ . [ 400  
 (B) χρη γὰρ [ . . . . . 30 (Αμφ.) οὐ δύ[να]  
 5 (A) [. .]δοξα[ . . . . . (Τψ.) εἶδ . [ . . . . .  
 . . . . . (Αμφ.) [. .]ισχ . [ . . . . .



(Υψ.) ἀλλοι[  
 (Αμφ.) τίς χρ[ 405  
 35 (Υψ.) διδ[  
 . . . . .

Fr. 6. . . . .

(Xo.) [. . . . .] χέριβα[  
 [. . . . .]εσεν[. .]α . [  
 ]ν[  
 [. . . . .] . κασι[  
 [. . . . .]αβο[.] . [  
 5 [. . . . .]σ[.]ισου[  
 [. . . . .]αιδα[  
 [. . . . .]σσ[  
 . . . . .

Fr. 7. . . . .

[. . . . .]νθ[  
 [. . . . .] . πολυκά[ρπων  
 [. . . . .]αι σταχύω[ν  
 [. . . . .]δροσιζομεν[  
 5 [. . . . .]δώτορες ει . [  
 [. . . . .]ελ . [. . . .]εβρ[  
 . . . . .

Frs. 8, 9. . . . .

[. .]λεν[  
 Πλευρ[ων  
 ἀλατευ[  
 πάτρα[. . . . .] . [  
 5 φυγᾶς [. . . . .]  
 νυ[κτὸς δ' ἐποίουν] ἐν κοίταισι παρ' αὐλᾶ  
 ἔριδ[ας θάμ' ἀ]μειβόμενοι  
 σιδ[άρου τ' εἰρ]εσία

σφ . |γα[ . . . ]λον  
 10 κλισιασ . [ . ]ινυκτερου  
 γενναιωνπ[ . ]τερων  
 φ[ . ]γαδεσδοριθυμον[ . ]  
 φοιβουδ' εν[ . ]πα[ . ]β[ . ] . ]ιλευσευχευ  
 ε[ . ]αδραστοσεχ<sup>ω</sup>[ [ . ] ]ν  
 τεκναθηρσιν[ . ] . . [ . ]αι  
 15 [ . . . . . ]ομο[ . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]αμπετασασ  
 ]ε

Fr. 10. . . . .

πρ[ . . . . . ]ον[  
 ] . πουμαλα  
 ]πεγγυσουχιμα[  
 . ]υσσειναλλασο[  
 5 . . . ]ικεσοιασει<sup>ρ</sup>[ [ . ] ] . [  
 . ]εγω  
 τιθροεισ  
 ωλομαν[  
 [ . . . . . ]σα[

Fr. 11. . . . .

εεε[  
 εεε[  
 δα[  
 χθ[  
 5 μ[  
 . . .

Fr. 12. . . . .

φ[  
 με[ . ]θοσαδ[  
 ουγαρεμμεν[  
 λ  
 υψιπινωμοι . [  
 5 [ . ] . [ . . . ] . αεα[  
 [ . . . . . ]οσα[  
 . . . . .

- σφαγαῶ [τε δῆ]λον  
 10 κλισίας π[ερ]ὶ νυκτέρου  
 γενναίων π[α]τέρων  
 φ[υ]γάδες δορὶ θυμόν.  
 Φοίβου δ' ἐν[ο]πᾶ[ς] β[ασ]ιλεὺς ἐνύχεν-  
 ε[ν] Ἄδραστος ἔχων  
 15 τέκνα θηρσὶν [ζ']εὔ[ξ]αι  
 [. . . . .] δ]όμο[ν . . .]  
 [. . . . .] ἀμπετάσας  
 ]ε

Fr. 10. . . . .

- (Xo.) πο[ῦ . . . .]ον[  
 ποῦ μάλ' ;  
 Ἵψιπύλῃ). ἐγγύς, οὐχὶ μακρὰν . . .  
 λε]ύσσειν ἀλλὰ σο[  
 5 (Xo.) ἄλ]ικες, οἷας εἰρ . [  
 (Ἵψ.) οἶ] ἐγώ·  
 (Xo.) τί θροεῖς ;  
 (Ἵψ.) ὠλόμαν [  
 (Xo.) [. . . . .]σα[

Fr. 11. . . . .

- (Ἵψ.) ἐὲ ἐ[ε  
 ἐὲ ἐ[ε  
 (Xo. ?) δα[  
 χο[  
 5 μ[

Fr. 12. . . . .

- (Xo. ?) φ[  
 μέ[γε]θος ἀδ[  
 οὐ γὰρ ἐμμεν[  
 Ἵψιπύλῃ). ἰώ μοι . [  
 5 (Xo. ?) [. . . .] . αεα[  
 [. . . . .]οσα[



Fr. 13.	Fr. 14.	Fr. 15.	Fr. 16.
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
. [	]αβ[.]δ[	]μιν[	]υμνα
—	]	]πο	]
. [	]	]	]
[	]ατωνι[	]	]φατων ο[.]ις
Xo(ρός). ἤδη [	5 ]φη[	]	5 ] . . . .
5 [	. . .	. . .	]σ' . . [.]νδρ . [.]
. [			. . . . .
. . . . .			

Fr. 17. . . . .

]σιμ[

]

]

]αυδ[

. . . . .

Fr. 18. . . . .

(Υψ. ?) κρήνην διαζ[  
 δράκων πάροικ[ος  
 [γ]οργωπά λεύσσω[ν  
 πήληκα σείων, οὐ φόβ[φ  
 5 ποιμένες ἐπεὶ σίγ' εν[.] . [

]λα παν[.] δια δρᾶσαι καὶ ῥυ[

(Xo. ?) φ[εῦ· γυ]ναικὶ πάντα γίγνε[ται  
 [. . . .]ς ἤκει· φύλακα δ' οὐ π[

[. . . . .]σεν . . φε[.]ρο[  
 οσ

. . . . .

Fr. 19. . . . .

]. ε . . [

]δ' ἀγω[

ου

]ρω[

. . . . .

Fr. 20, 21. . . . .

(Υψ.) ὧ φ[ίλτα]ται γ[υ]ναῖκες, ὡς ἐπὶ ξυροῦ  
 ἔστηκα μ[.]π . [



- ἀνάξι'] ἔξειν· οἱ φόβοι δ' ἴσχουσί με.  
 (Xo.) εὔελπ[ι. δ' ο]ὔτι [ρῆμ]' ἔχεις ε[ἰπεῖν φίλαις ;  
 5 ('Υψ.) φεύγειν· στί[β]ων τῶν[δ' ἰ]δρ[ις εἰ γὰρ ἦ μόνον.  
 (Xo.) τί δῆτά γ' ἐξεύρηκας εἰς ἀλκ[ήν σ' ἄγον ;  
 ('Υψ.) δέδο[ι]κα θ[αν]άτῳ παιδὸς οἷα πείσομ[αι].  
 (Xo.) οὐκουν ἄπειρός γ', ὦ τάλαινα, σ[υ]μφορῶν.  
 ('Υψ.) ἔγνωκα κἀγὼ τοῦτο καὶ φυλάξ[ομαι].  
 10 (Xo.) ποῖ δῆτα τρέψῃ ; τίς σε δ[έ]ξεται πρό[λ]ις ;  
 ('Υψ.) πόδες κριν[ο]ῦσι τοῦτο κα[ὶ] π[ρο]θυμία.  
 (Xo.) φυλάσ[σ]ετα[ι] γῆ φρου[ρίο]ισιν ἐν κύκλῳ.  
 ('Υψ.) [ν]ικᾶ[ς·] ἐὼ δὴ τοῦτ[ό] <γ'>· ἀλλ' [ἀ]πέρχομαι.  
 (Xo.) σκόπει, φίλας [γὰρ] τά[σδε] συμβούλους ἔχεις.  
 15 ('Υψ.) τί δ' εἴ τιν' εὐρ[ο]ίμ' [ἔστ]ις ἐξάξει[ι] με γῆς ;  
 (Xo.) [οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις βούλεται] δούλους ἄγειν.  
 [ 25 letters ]τερο[. .

Fr. 22. . . . .

('Υψ.) [. . . .] . ιτονο[  
 [. . .]βου ταλε[  
 καὶ μὴ δι' ὄρ[γῆς  
 χρόνῳ δὲ βου[λ  
 5 τὸ τῶν γυναι[κῶν  
 καὶ πα[ῖ]δα τ[  
 κᾶν διαριθμ[η  
 ἦν δ' ἐξάμα[ροτ

Xo(ρός). γενν[αί] ἔ]λε[ξ]ας

10 ἐν σάφροσιν [

Εὐρυδί[κ(η)]. τί ταῦτ[α] κομψ[ᾶ

Fr. 23. . . . .

(A) τί φ[ῆ]ς ε[  
 (B) ἐκεῖ λο[  
 (A) ὦ πα . [  
 (B) τὸ μ[

Fr. 24. . . . .

(A) δε[  
 (B) καὶ π[  
 (A) ὡς [δ]ὴ τί[  
 (B) ὡς [. . .]ρ[

	Col. i.	Col. ii.			
Fr. 25.	. . .		Fr. 26.	. . .	
	]	. . .		$\frac{\sigma}{\eta}$	
	]αισ	$\frac{\zeta}{\eta}$ [		$\frac{\sigma}{\iota}$	
	]	. . .		. . .	
	. . .				
Fr. 27.	. . .		Fr. 28.	. . .	
	$\frac{[-]}{\theta}$ [.]ρ . [ . . . . ]υ[			]δειξ[	
	καιχ[.]νίβ[			]επω[	
	εφδε[.]νλα[			]κου[	
	[.] . ητατηνι[			]ελ[	
5	αρετηνξενο[			. . .	
	δοκωδεταυ[				
	ηνημησύπει $\frac{\sigma}{\theta}$ θ[				
	[.]λ . [ . . . . ]ουκ[				
	[ . . . . . ] . . . [				
	. . .				
Fr. 29.	. . .	Fr. 30.	. . .	Fr. 31.	. . .
	α . [		[.] . [		$\frac{\sigma}{\rho}$
	πο[		πωσδ[		$\frac{\rho}{\sigma}$
	π[		θαν[		. . .
	. . .		οιεί[		
			. . .		
Fr. 32.	. . .		Fr. 33.	. . .	
		]μ[		]ώ[.] . . α[.] . [	
	]δ'εσ[ . . . . . ]τολ[			]ελασθυρῶν . [	
	]ανυ . α . [ . . ] . ιασ . [			]αδοσειργε[	
	]νονεκτελειγλυκ[			] . τ[.]τ'απο[	
5	]ριεχουσεναγκαλ[		5	]σασ[	
	]κε[.] . ]φιλ $\frac{\alpha}{\theta}$ σ $\frac{\alpha}{\theta}$ τεκν[			] . σηδ[	

Fr. 25.	Col. i.		Fr. 26.		
	. . .		. . .		
	]		σ[		
	]αις		(B) ι[	700	
	]		. . .		
	. . .				
Fr. 27.	. . . . .		Fr. 28.	. . . . .	
(Tψ.)	[.]ρ . [ . . . . . ]υ[	800		]δειξ[	
	καὶ χ[ερ]υιβ[			]επω[	
	έω δε[. .]υλα[			]κου[	
	[.] δῆτα τηυι[			]ελ[	
5	ἀρετήν ξενο[			. . . . .	
	δοκῶ δὲ ταυ[τ	805			
	ἦν μὴ σὺ πεισθ[ῆς				
	[:]λ . [ . . . . . ]ουκ[				
	[. . . . . . .] . . [				
	. . . . .				
Fr. 29.	. . .	Fr. 30.	. . . . .	Fr. 31.	. . . . .
	α . [		[.] . [	(A) ο[	
	πο[		πῶς δ[	(B) ρ[	
	π[		θαι[	. . . . .	
	. . .		(B) οιε[		
			. . . . .		
Fr. 32.	. . . . .		Fr. 33.	. . . . .	
(Tψ.)		]μ[		]ω[.] . : α[.] . [	
	]δ' εσ[. . . . . . .]τολ[			π]έλας θυρῶν . [	
	]ανυ . α . [ . . . . ]ιασ . [			]αδος εἶργει[	
	]νον ἐκτελειῖ γλυκ[ύν			] . τ[.]τ' ἀποι[	
5	πε]ριέχουσ' ἐν ἀγκάλα[αις		5	]σασ[	
	]κε[. .]ι φίλας τέκν[			] . σηδ[	

	]ηληματο[	]αιθοα[
	]ειλογων[	]οχη[
	]παγκαλαισι[	]κετ[
10	]σαπωλομ[	. . . . .
	]κχερων[	. . . . .

Frs. 34, 35. . . . .

	[	]ν[
	[. . . . .]τη[. . . . .]ποινα[	
	[. . . . .]οικληθρ[. .]ωσ[. . . . .]. ουσε[	
	[. . . . .]ωμαιδωματων[. . . . .]τιδα[	
5	[. . . . .]τεξωδμωϊσητροφ[. . . .]κνου [	
	[. . . . .]διδωσινουδεσβαίν[. . .]μων[	
	[. . . . .]ορ . [. . . .]προ[	

Fr. 36. . . . .

	]δι[
	]ιων
	]κτανειν
	]ζωνλαβειν
5	] . . [. . . . .]

Fr. 37. . . . .	Fr. 38. . . . .	Fr. 39. . . . .	Fr. 40. . . . .
]κε[	]αρτ[	]πει[	]ανσ[
] . άι[	]σηλθ . [	]εξιΐσω[	]οντατονδ[
]ταλλ[	]ιτωδ[	] . ια[	]οτα[
]γοιουκ[	]αστ[	. . . .	]σα[
5 ]νδ[	]τουσ[	. . . . .	. . . . .
]ο[	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

	κ]ηλήματο[s	]αι Θόα[
	]ει λόγων [	]οχη[
	έ]π' ἀγκάλαις ι[	]κετ[
10	]ς ἀπωλόμ[ην	. . . . .
	έ]κ χερῶν υ[	

Frs. 34, 35. . . . .

	[	]ν[
	[. . . . .]τη[. . . . .]δέσ]ποινα [-	
	[υ - υ]οι κληῆθρ['] ὥς [. . . . .]. ουσε[-	
	[υ - υ]ωμαι δωμάτων [. . . . .]τιδα[	
5	[υ - υ]τ' ἔξω δμῶϊς ἢ τροφ[ὸς τέ]κνου	
	[υ - ] δίδωσιν οὐδ' ἔσω βαί]ει δό]μων.	
	[. . . . .]ορ. [. . . . .]προ[	

Fr. 36. . . . .

	]δι[
	]ιων
	] κτανεῖν
	]ζων λαβεῖν
5	] . . . [ . . . . . ]

Fr. 37. . . . . Fr. 38. . . . . Fr. 39. . . . . Fr. 40. . . . .

	]κε[	]αρτ[	]πει[	]αν σ[
	] . αί[	]σηλθ. [	] ἐξίσω[	]οντα τονδ[
	]ταλλ[	]ιτωδ[	] . ια[	]οτα[
	]ν οἴου κ[	]αστ[	. . . . .	]σα[
5	]νδ[	5 ]τουσ[	. . . . .	
	]ο[	. . . . .		

Fr. 41. . . . .	Fr. 42. . . . .	Fr. 43. . . . .	Fr. 44. . . . .
]τυσιν[	] . ισ[	]ισι[	]τικτουσ[
]ονι[	]αργουσ[	]οδ'ει[	] . [ . . ] . . [
]ετο[	] . [	]ιστισ[	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Fr. 45. . . . .	Fr. 46. . . . .	Fr. 47. . . . .	Fr. 48. . . . .
]το[	] . ρ'[[α]]α[	] . αισ[	]υνα[
]ρ . . [[ε]]ιδ[	] . αγδ[	]ον[	]ασλ[
]ε . αλιτα[	]μ[	]τ'[	]υπι[
]φορ[	. . . . .	. . . . .	]δ[
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	5 ]ιν[
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Fr. 49. . . . .	Fr. 50. . . . .	Fr. 51. . . . .	Fr. 52. . . . .
]περ[	] . . [	]ειται . [	]ο
]αρα[	]ακ[	]αλακ[	] . . . . .
]ου[	]ου . [	. . . . .	]γ
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Fr. 53. . . . .	Fr. 54. . . . .	Fr. 55. . . . .	Fr. 56. . . . .
]χι[	]ασσ[	] . . . . .	]ει[
]η . [	. . . . .	] . . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .	]γ	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Fr. 57.		Fr. 58. . . . .	
[. . ]εοικεδει[		]αυραιθελομεν[	
[.]εδιουσόστ[		]μύρνασκαπν[	
[.]αντοσεισεσ[		]λάμ[[ε]]οισβρόμιφ[. . ]ει[	
[.]φεστηκ'ουδ[		]απόινασ	
[.] . ιδ'ουτ[ <sup>ωσ[.] . ιδ[</sup>		5 ]τεφιλαι	
5 τίσποτ'[		]θηκαφέρουσατριπε[	



	θαλαμο[	]ασπαραχειροσεδε[
	βάλλειυπ[	]σεσοικουσ
	ανάτ'αιθ[	]ερον'ωσδ'επεπώμ[
10	τίτοσημα[	10 ]πάρισσόροδο <sup>δ</sup> ονχεριγ[
	βότρυσα . [	']σωθεν
	αναδίδω[	]τ[. . . .] . [
	ρείδεγά[	. . . . .
	στάζει[	
15	νέκταρ[	Fr. 59. . . . .
	λιβανου[	] . . [
	<u>λ</u> ταχανε[	]ασάμᾱσ[
	/ χαρινά[	]οκτηήμα . [
	αντάγω[	]σουχιθιγ[
20	.]πότνιαθεω[	5 ]νοικισ [
	.]αοσάσκο <sup>πον</sup> [[ <u>ν</u> ον]]	]εξαγετα[
	.]έριπρωτόγονο[	]ονγενο[
	. . . .]ρωσότενυ[	]εἶπετ'ά[
	. . . . .]δητοτ[ε[	]μενσα . [
25	. . . . .]γενο[	10 ]ηχαριν[
	. . . . .] . . θ[	]ιδ'απομ[
	. . . . .	. . . . .

Fr. 60.

Col. i.

Plate III.

3 (?) lines lost.

. ν . π [

5 οὐτωδοκ[

οργηπρινορθῶσπραγμ[

σιγασ·αμειβηδ'ουδενω[

ωστουθανεινμενδυνεκ[. . . . .]ω

τουδεκτανειντοτεκνονουκορθ[.]σδοκω

10 τουμοντιθηνημ'δνεπεμαιοσιναγκαλαισ

πληνουτεκουσαταλλαδ'ωσεμοντεκνον

στεργουσαεφερονωφελημ'εμοιμε<sup>γ</sup>[[τ]]α

	θαλαμο[	1090	]ας παρὰ χειρὸς ἐδε[ξα
	βάλλει ὑπ[		]ς ἐς οἴκους
	ἀνά τ' αἰθ[έρ		]ερον· ὡς δ' ἐπ' ἐπώμ[ιον
10	τί τὸ σῆμα [		10 κυ]παρισσόρο(φ)ον χερὶ ν[
	βότρυς α . [		ἔ]σωθεν
	ἀναδίδω[σι	1095	]τι[. ∴ . .] . [
	ρεῖ δὲ γά[λακτι		. . . . .
	στάζει [		. . . . .
15	νέκταρ [		Fr. 59. . . . .
	λιβάνου [		] . . [
	τάχ' ἂν ε[	1100	]ας ἀμᾶς [
	χάριν α[		τ]ὸ κτήμα . [
	ἀντάγω[ν		]ς οὐχὶ θιγ[
20	στρ. ὦ] πότνια θεῶ[ν		5 ]ν οἴκοις
	φ]άος ἄσκοπον [		] ἐξάγετα[ι
	ἀ]έρι πρωτόγονο[ν	1105	]ον γένο[ς
	. . . .]ρωσ ὅτε νύ[ξ		] εἰπέ τ' ἄ[
	. . . . .] δὴ τότε [		]μεν σα . [
25	. . . . .] γενο[		10 ]η χάριν [
	. . . . .] . . θ[		]ιδ' ἀπομ[
	. . . . .		. . . . .

Fr. 60.

Col. i.

Plate III.

3 lines lost.

(\*Υψ.) . ν . π[

- 5 οὐτω δοκ[εῖς σὺ δὴ χαρίζεσθαι τυφλῇ  
ὀργῇ πρὶν ὀρθῶς πραγμ[άτων μαθεῖν ὁδόν.  
σιγᾶς, ἀμείβῃ δ' οὐδὲν ὄ[ν κατηγορῶ;  
ὡς τοῦ θανεῖν μὲν οὐνέκ' [αἰτία γ' ἐγ]ώ,  
τοῦ δὲ κτανεῖν τὸ τέκνον οὐκ ὀρθ[ῶ]ς δοκῶ,  
10 τοῦμὸν τιθήνημ', ὃν ἐπ' ἐμαῖσιν ἀγκάλαις  
πλὴν οὐ τεκοῦσα τᾶλλα (γ') ὡς ἐμὸν τέκνον  
στέργουσ' ἔφερ(β)ον, ὠφέλημ' ἐμοὶ μέγα.

- λευ
- ωπρωρακαικαινονεξαλημσδωρ  
 αργουσιωπαιδεσωσαπολλυμαικακωσ  
 15 ωμαντιπατροσοικλεουσθανουμεθα  
 αρηξο[. .]λθεμημιδησυπαιτιασ  
 αισχρασθανουσανδιασεγαρδιολλυμαι  
 ελθειοισθαγαρδηταμακαισεμαρ[[μ]]υρα  
 σαφεστατανδεξαιτ' ανηδ' εμωνκακων  
 20 αγετε·φιλωνγαρουδεναιεισορωπελασ  
 οστισμεσωσεικεναδ[.]πηδεσθηναρα  
 επισχρεσωπεμπουσατ[.]νδεεπισφαγα[.]  
 δομωνανασατωγαρευτρεπεισιδων  
 τουλευθερονσοιπροστιθημιτηφυσει  
 25 ωπροσσεγονατωνικετισαμφιαρωπιτνω  
 [.]αιπροσ[.]ενει . [.]ησαπολλωνοστεχνης  
 [.]αιροναρηκειστοισεμοισινενκακοισ  
 [.]υσαιμε·διαγαρσηναπολλυμαιχαριν  
 μελλωτεθνησκεινδεσμιανδεμ' εισορασ  
 30 προσσοισιγονασινητοθ' ειπομηξενουσ  
 οσα[[ι]]δεπραξεισδ[[ε]]σι[[ο]]σωνπρ[.]δουσεμε  
 ονειδοσαργειοι[[ο]]σινελλησιντεσ[[οι]]  
 αλλωδια[. .]νεμπυρωνλευσωντυχασ  
 δαναοισιγ[. .]ετηνδεσυμφοραντεκνου  
 35 παρωνγα[. .]θαφησιδεηδεεκουσιωσ  
 κτανεινμ[. .]αιδακαπιβουλευσαιδομοισ  
 ειδωσαφειγμαιτηντυχηνητ' υπειδομην  
 τηνησηναπεισητ' εκπεπνευκοτοστεκνου  
 ηκ[.]δ' αρηξωνσυμφοραισιταισισαισ  
 40 τομ[.]νβιαιονουκεχων·τοδευσεβεσ  
 αι[. .]ονγαρευμενεξεπιστασθαιπαθειν  
 δρασαιδεμηδενεπαθονταπροσσεθεν  
 πρωτονμενονσονδειξονωξενηκαρα

- ὦ πρῶρα καὶ λευκαῖνον ἐξ ἄλμης ὕδωρ  
 Ἄργους, ἰὼ παῖδ' {εσ}· ὡς ἀπόλλυμαι κακῶς.
- 15 ὦ μάντι πατρὸς Οἰκλέους, θανούμεθα.  
 ἄρηξο[ν, ἐ]λθέ, μή μ' ἴδης ὑπ' αἰτίας  
 αἰσχροῦς θανούσαν, διὰ σέ γὰρ διόλλυμαι.  
 ἔλθ', οἶσθα γὰρ δὴ τάμά, καὶ σέ μάρτυρα  
 σαφέστατ(ο)ν δέξαιτ' ἂν ἥδ' ἐμῶν κακῶν.
- 20 ἄγετε, φίλων γὰρ οὐδέν' εἰσορῶ πέλας  
 ὅστις με σώσει· κενὰ δ' [ἐ]πηδέσθην ἄρα.  
 (Αμφ.) ἐπίσχεσ, ὦ πέμπουσα τ[ή]νδ' ἐπὶ σφαγᾶ[ς,]  
 δόμων ἄνασσα· τῷ γὰρ εὐ(π)ρεπεῖ σ' ἰδῶν  
 τοὔλευθερόν σοι προστίθημι τῇ φύσει.
- 25 (Υψ.) ὦ πρὸς σε γονάτων ἰκέτις, Ἀμφιάρεω, πίτνω  
 [κ]αὶ πρὸς [γ]ενείῳ[ν τ]ῆς (τ') Ἀπόλλωνος τέχνης,  
 [κ]αιρὸν γὰρ ἦκεις τοῖς ἐμοῖσιν ἐν κακοῖς,  
 [ρ]ῆσαί με· διὰ γὰρ σὴν ἀπόλλυμαι χάριν.  
 μέλλω τε θνήσκειν, δεσμίαν (τ)έ μ' εἰσορᾶς
- 30 πρὸς σοῖσι γόνασιν, ἢ τόθ' εἰπόμην ξένοις·  
 ὅσια δὲ πράξεις ὅσιος ὦν· πρ[ο]δοὺς δέ με  
 ὄνειδος Ἀργείοισιν Ἑλλησίν τ' ἔση.  
 ἀλλ' ὦ δι' ἀ[γνῶ]ν ἐμπύρων λεύσσω τύχας  
 Δαναοῖσιν [εἰπ]ῆ τῆ{ν}δε συμφορὰν τέκνου,
- 35 παρῶν γὰρ οἶσθα· φησὶ δ' ἥδ' ἐκουσίως  
 κτανεῖν μ[ε π]αῖδα κάπιβουλεῦσαι δόμοις.  
 (Αμφ.) εἰδὼς ἀφίγμαι τὴν τύχην θ' ὑπειδόμην  
 τὴν σὴν ἂ πείση τ' ἐκπεπνευκότος τέκνου,  
 ἦκ[ω] δ' ἀρήξων συμφοραῖσι ταῖσι σαῖς,
- 40 τὸ μ[ἐ]ν βίαιον οὐκ ἔχων, τὸ δ' εὖσεβές.  
 αἰ[σχρο]ν γὰρ εὖ μὲν ἐξεπίστασθαι παθεῖν  
 δρᾶσαι δὲ μηδὲν εὖ παθόντα πρὸς σέθεν.  
 πρῶτον μὲν οὖν σὸν δείξον, ὦ ξένη, κᾶρα·



- σῶφρον γὰρ ὄμμα τοῦμόν 'Ελλήνων λόγος  
 45 πολὺς διήκει· καὶ πέφυχ' οὕτως, γύναι,  
 κοσμεῖν τ' ἑμαυτὸν καὶ τὰ διαφέρονθ' ὄραν.  
 ἔπειτ' ἄκουσον, τοῦ τάχους δὲ τοῦδ' ἄνευ·  
 εἰς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλο πᾶν ἀμαρτάνειν χρεῶν,  
 ψυχὴν δ' ἐς ἀνδρὸς ἢ γυναικὸς οὐ καλόν.  
 50 (Εὐρ.) ὦ ξένε πρὸς Ἄργει πλησία[ν] ναίων χθόνα,  
 πάντων {δ'} ἀκο(ύ)ουσ' οἶδά σ' ὄ[ν]τα σῶφρονα·  
 οὐ γάρ ποτ' εἰς τὸδ' ὄμμ' (ἄν) ἔβλ[ε]ψας παρών.  
 νῦν δ' εἴ τι βούλ(η), καὶ κλύε[ι]ν σέθεν θέλω  
 καὶ σ' ἐκδιδάσκειν· οὐκ ἀνάξιος γὰρ εἶ.  
 55 (Ἀμφ.) γύναι, τὸ τῆσδε τῆς ταλαιπώρου κ[α]κὸν  
 ἀγρίως φέρουσάν σ' ἥπιον θέσθαι θέλω,  
 οὐ τήνδε μᾶλ[λ]ον ἢ τὸ τῆς δι[ί]κης ὀ[ρ]ῶν.  
 αἰσχύνομαι δὲ Φοῖβον οὐ δι' ἐμπύρ[ω]ν  
 τέχνην ἐπασκῶ{ν}, ψεύδος εἴ[τ]ι λέξομεν.  
 60 ταύτην ἐγὼ 'ξέπεισα κρηναῖον [γά]νος  
 δεῖξαι δι' ἀγνῶν βρευμάτων [ὅ]πως λάβω  
 στρατιᾶς πρόθυμ', Ἀργεῖον ὡς διεκπερῶν

Fr. 60.

Col. ii.

Plate III.

3 lines lost.

- [. . . . .]υσιν[  
 [. . .] παῖς με[  
 [. . .]ασα μὲν [  
 [ἡμ]εῖς δὲ [  
 70 [. . .]αι θέλ[οντες  
 [δρ]άκων ασ[  
 ἠκόντισ' ἀ[  
 καὶ νιν δρόμ[φ  
 εἴλιξεν ἀμφ[ι  
 75 ἡμεῖς δ' ἰδῶ[ντες

- εγωδετόξευσ[  
 αρχηγαρήμιυ[  
 αρχεμο<sup>ρ</sup>[[ν]]οσε[  
 συτουχισαυτή[  
 80 ὀρνιθαδ'αργειο[  
 καιμηστολ[  
 αλλουχ[  
 πολλοιδ[  
 καδμου[  
 85 νοστουκυρησ[  
   δ  
 άραστοσιξεταρ[  
 έπταστρατηγ[  
 ταμενγενομεν[  
 άδαυπαραινῶτ[  
 90 έφυμενουδεισο[  
 θαπτειντετεκ[  
 αυτοιτεθνησκε[  
   σ  
 ειγηνφεροντεσ[  
 βιονθεριζεινω[  
 95 καιτονμενει[  
 στενειναπε[  
 άδεικοσαργο[  
 θαψαιδοσημ[  
 αλλειστοναε[  
 100 το . [ . . . ]ισβρότε[  
 κλεινοσαρεσ[  
 αγωνάτ'αυτω[  
 στεφανουσιδιδ[  
 ζήλωτοσεστ[  
 105 εντῶδεμε . [  
 μνησθησεται[  
 επωνομασθη[

- ἐγὼ δ' ἐτόξευσ' [  
 ἀρχὴ γὰρ ἡμῖν [πημάτων πολλῶν θανῶν  
 Ἀρχέμορός ἐστιν  
 σύ τ' οὐχὶ σαυτῆ[ν  
 80 ὄρνιθα δ' Ἀργείο[ισι  
 καὶ μὴ στολ[  
 ἀλλουχ[  
 πολλοὶ δ[  
 Κάδμου [  
 85 νόστου κυρησ[  
 Ἄδραστος ἴξετάρ[α πάτριον αὐ πέδον  
 ἐπτά στρατηγ[ῶν ἐκσεσωσμένος μόνος.  
 τὰ μὲν γενόμεν[α δὴ σαφῶς ἐπίστασαι·  
 ἂ δ' αὐ παραινῶ τ[αῦτά μοι δέξαι, γύναι.  
 90 ἔφην μὲν οὐδέεις ὅ[στις οὐ πονεῖ βροτῶν  
 θάπτει{ν} τε τέκν[α χᾶτερα κτᾶται νέα  
 αὐτό(ς) τε θνήσκε[ι· καὶ τὰδ' ἄχθονται βροτοὶ  
 εἰς γῆν φέροντες [γῆν. ἀναγκαίως δ' ἔχει  
 βίον θερίζειν ὥ[στε κάρπιμον στάχυν,  
 95 καὶ τὸν μὲν εἶ[ναι τὸν δὲ μή· τί ταῦτα δεῖ  
 στένειν ἄπερ δεῖ κατὰ φύσιν διεκπερᾶν;  
 ἂ δ' εἰκὸς Ἀργο[  
 θάψαι δὸς ἡμ[ῖν  
 ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν ἀε[ί τοι χρόνον τοῖς πήμασιν  
 100 τοῖ[ς σο]ῖς βρότε[ιον ὠφελήσεται γένος.  
 κλεινὸς γὰρ ἔσ[ται τάφος ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὅδε,  
 ἀγωνά τ' αὐτῶ [γυμνικὸν συστήσομεν  
 στεφάνους διδ[όντες τοῖς κρατοῦσι φυλλάδος.  
 ζηλωτὸς ἔσ[ται δ' ἀνδράσιν νίκη πάνν.  
 105 ἐν τῷδε μὲν [  
 μνησθήσεται[ι δ' ὡς  
 ἐπωνομάσθη [

νεμέασκαταλο[  
 αναιτίαγάρτοις[  
 110 συγγαρκαλώσο[  
 θήσεισεκαιπαιδ[  
 ωπαιτομένοιτ[  
 [. .]ήσσουνήμην[  
 [. .]ροστασφυσεισ[  
 115 καιτασδιαιταστω[  
 π[. .]θωδετοισμε[  
 το[. . . . .]αιοισ[

Fr. 61. . . . .

]ειποι[  
 ]λο[.]ριαζηλωκα[  
 ]θεκαρδιασεσ[  
 ]σδ[.]χοισνεαν[  
 5 ]λθομουπαρόνθ'ο . [  
 ]σινητεθνασιδ[  
 ]λλαδυστυχουν[  
 ]δουλειανπικρ[  
 ]σανηνύτουσλο[  
 10 ]άυσομαισεδω[  
 ]καταστησειασα[  
 ]σθ'ελευθεραν . [  
 ]ροσεισνμοιτερ[  
 ]οφωδοιησχα[  
 15 ]υλίκα[. . .]ιλᾶ[  
 ] . [

Fr. 62. . . . .

] . σ . . . [  
 [v]  
 ]νητομο .  
 ]ημνιαισοδε  
 ]ξαιμεναν  
 5 ]ουκωλυει  
 ]ουσμολειν  
 ]ειαστινος  
 ]αυματα  
 ]νπλακα  
 10 ] . ουφρα[  
 ]θο[  
 . . . . .

Fr. 63. . . . .

] . [ . . ] . [ . ]τις[  
 ]ανδρακατεφυγεν[  
 ]θεινᾒστινειστα[.]δε . [  
 ]ουσανεθεσαντασσυν[

Νεμέας κατ' ἄλο[ος. τήνδε δ' οὖν λῦσαί σε χρή,  
ἀναιτία γάρ τοῖς [

110 σὺν γὰρ καλῶ σβ[ν, ὦ γύναι, πάθος τέλει  
θήσει σε καὶ παῖδ' [εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν εὐκλειεῖς.

(Εὐρ.) ὦ παῖ, τὸ μὲν σοι τ[

[. .] ἦσσον ἢ μνη[

[π]ρὸς τὰς φύσεις [χρῆ καὶ τὰ πράγματα σκοπεῖν

115 καὶ τὰς διαίτας τῶν κακῶν τε κάγαθῶν,  
π[ει]θῶ δὲ τοῖς μέ[ν] σάφροσιν πολλὴν ἔχειν,  
τοῖς μὴ δικ[α]ίοις [δ' οὐδὲ συμβάλλειν χρεῶν.

Fr. 61.

(Υψ. ?)

]ειποι[

]λ' ο[ύ]ρι' ἀζήλω κα[κῶ]

ἦλθε καρδίας ἔσ[ω]

]σδ' [έ]χοις νεανι[

5 ἦλθ' ὁμοῦ παρόνθ' ὄμ[ως]

ζῶ[σιν] ἢ τεθναῖσι δ[ὴ]

]λλα δυστυχοῦν[τ]

] δουλείαν πικρ[ὰν]

]ς ἀνηνύτους λό[γους]

10 ]αὔσομαί σε δω[

] καταστήσειας ἄ[ν]

πρό]σθ' ἐλευθέραν . [

]ρος εἶ σύ μοι τερ[

σ]οφῶ δόιης χά[ριν]

15 ]υλικά[. .]ιλα[

] . [

Fr. 62.

] . σ . . . [

]νητομο .

Δ]ημνίαις ὄδε

]ξαιμεν ἂν

5 ] οὐ κωλύει

]ους μολεῖν

]είας τινὸς

]αυματα

]ν πλάκα

10 ] . ου φρά[σ

]θο[

Fr. 63.

(Υψ. ?) ] . [ . . ] . [ . ]τισ[

] ἄνδρα κατέφυγεν [υ - υ -

]θειν ἔστιν εἰς τα[.]δε . [υ -

]ους ἀνέθεσαν τὰς συν[υ -

5 ]ουκεχουσισυμμαχοῦσ[  
 ]σαμφιαρεωσ·σωσαι[  
 ]θι·σωσπερειν[[<sup>ε</sup>α]]ωσ·[  
 ]α[·]βανω[

Fr. 64. Col. i.

	26 lines lost.		
27	]του		
	]ν		4 lines lost.
	5 lines lost.	50	]δωνίσι θρα καισ
34	]σ	51	]γγαιον οροσ ]τησθρακησ
	4 lines lost.	52	]ασ
39	]δετε		3 lines lost.
	4 lines lost.	56	]σην
	]αστων		]ν][[κατ]] κατ
45	]σ		end of column.

Fr. 64. Col. ii.

	τέκνάταναμιανόδον
	αναπ[·]λινετροχασεν
60	επιφόβονεπιτε
	χάρινελίξασ·χρονω
	δεξελαμψενευάμεροσ
αμφια <sup>ρ</sup>	τηνμενπαρή[·]ώνωγυναιφερηχαριν
	επειδεμοιπροθυμοσησθ'ότ'ήντοτε
65	απεδωκακαγώσοιπρόθυμαεσπαιδε'σώ
	σώξ <sup>ου</sup> [[ε]]δεδησυτέκνα·σ <sup>φ</sup> ωδεμητέρα <sup>τηνδε</sup>
	καιχαιρετ'ήμε[·]σδ'ώσπερορμημεσθαδη
	στρατευμα[·]οιγτεσηξομενηβασεπι
οιψι <sup>π</sup>	ευδαιμονοιησ·άξιοσγαρωξενε
ῥοι	
70	ευδαιμονοιησ·δητατωνδεσωνκακων
	ταλαιναμητερθεωντισώσαπληστοση

5 ] οὐκ ἔχουσι συμμάχους  
 ]s Ἀμφιάρεως· σῶσαι [υ -  
 ]θις ὡσπερὲι νεῶς . [   
 λ]α[μ]βάνω[

Fr. 64.

Col. i.

	26 lines lost.				
27	]του	1548		4 lines lost.	
	]ν		50	Ἡδανίσι Θρα- κίαις	
	5 lines lost.		51	Πάγγαιον ὄρος ] τῆς Θράκης	
34	]s	1555	52	]as	1573
	4 lines lost.			3 lines lost.	
39	]δετε	1560	56	]s ἦν	1577
	4 lines lost.			]ν κάτ(ω).	
	]αστων				
45	]s	1566			

Fr. 64.

Col. ii.

(Υψ.) τέκνα τ' ἀνὰ μίαν ὁδὸν  
 ἀνάπ[α]λιν ἐτρόχασεν 1580

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

Ἀμφιάρ(αος). τὴν μὲν παρ' ἡ[μ]ῶν, ᾧ γύναι, φέρη χάριν,  
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐμοὶ πρόθυμος ἦσθ' ὄτ' ἠντό(μην) 1585

65 ἀπέδωκα κάγῳ σοὶ πρόθυμ' ἐς παῖδε σῶ.  
 σῶζου δὲ δὴ σὺ {τέκνα} σφῶ δὲ τήνδε μητέρα,  
 καὶ χαίρεθ'. ἡμε[ι]s δ', ὡσπερ ὠρμήμεσθα δὴ,  
 στρατεύμ' ἀ[γ]οντες ἤξομεν Θήβας ἐπί.

οἱ Υψιπ(ύλης) εὐδαιμονοίης, ἄξιος γάρ, ᾧ ξένε, 1590

υοί. 70 — εὐδαιμονοίης δῆτα· τῶν δὲ σῶν κακῶν,  
 τάλαινα μήτερ, θεῶν τις ὡς ἀπληστος ἦ(ν).

- ὕψι<sup>π</sup> αἰαφυγαστεμεθενᾶσεφυγον  
 ωτεκνονειμάθοισλημνουποντιασ  
 [ν]  
 ὅτιπατεροσουκέτεμονπόλλιονκαρα  
 75 ἤγάρσ'εταξανπατερασὸνκατακτανειν  
 φοβοσεχειμετωντοτεκακωνᾶω  
 τεκναδιατεγοργάδεσενλεκτροισ  
 έκανουενέτασ  
 π̄ συδ'εξέκλεψασπῶσπόδαῶστεμηθανειν  
 80 ακτᾶσβαρυ[[δ]]ρομουσ  
 ἰκόμανεπίτ'οιδμαθαλασσιονορνεων  
 έρῆμονκόιταν  
 κακειθενηλθεσδευροπῶσ·τίνιστολω  
 ναυταικῶπαισ  
 85 ναυπλιονεισλιμεναξενι[[ων]]πόρον  
 ἄγα  
 αγόνμεδουλοσ[.]νατ'επεβασανωτε[.]νον  
 ενθαδη[[δη]]ναιωνμελεογεμπολαν  
 οιμοικακωνσων  
 μηστέν'επευτυχαισιν  
 90 αλλασπῶσετράφησῶτεδ'εντινι  
 χειριτεκνονωτεκνον  
 ενεπ'ενεπεματρισα  
 αργωμεκαιτονδ'ηγαγεισκολχωνπολιν  
 απομαστίδιονγ'εμῶνστερνων  
 95 επειδ'ἰα[[ε]]ωνεθανεμοσμητερπατηρ  
 οιμοικακωνλέγεισδακρυάτ'ομμασιν  
 / τεκνονεμοισδίδωσ  
 ορφενσμεκαιτονδ'ηγαγ'εισθρακηστοπον  
 τίναπατεριποτεχαριναθλίω[[τιθεμενοσ]]  
 100 τιθεμενοσενεπεμοιτεκνον  
 μοῦσάνμε[[κα]]ρισασιάδοσδιδασκεται  
 κιθα

- Ὑψιπ(ύλη). αἰαῖ φυγάς {τ} ἐμέθεν ἄς ἔφυγον,  
 ὦ τέκνον, εἰ μάθοις, Λήμνου ποντίας  
 πολὺν ὅτι πατέρος οὐκ ἔτεμον κάρα. 1595
- 75 (Εὐν.) ἦ γάρ σ' ἔταξαν πατέρα σὸν κατακτανεῖν;  
 (Υψ.) φόβος ἔχει με τῶν τότε κακῶν· ἰὼ  
 τέκνον), οἶά τε Γοργάδες ἐν λέκτροις  
 ἔκανον εὐνέτας.
- (Εὐν.) σὺ δ' ἐξέκλεψας πῶς πόδ' ὥστε μὴ θανεῖν;  
 80 (Υψ.) ἀκτὰς βαρυβρόμους ἰκόμαν  
 ἐπὶ τ' οἶδμα θαλάσσιον, ὀρν(ίθ)ων  
 ἐρῆμον κοίταν. 1600
- (Εὐν.) κἀκεῖθεν ἦλθες δεῦρο πῶς τίνι στόλῳ;  
 (Υψ.) ναῦται κόπαις 1605  
 85 Ναύπλιον εἰς λιμένα ξεικὸν πόρον  
 ἄγαγόν με δουλοσύ[ν]α τ' ἐπέβασαν, ὦ τέ[κ]νον,  
 ἐνθάδ(ε Δα)ναί(δ)ων μέλειον ἐμπολάν.
- (Εὐν.) οἴμοι κακῶν σῶν.  
 (Υψ.) μὴ στέν' ἐπ' εὐτυχίαισιν. 1610  
 90 ἀλλὰ σὺ πῶς ἐτράφης ὄδε (τ') ἐν τίνι  
 χειρί, τέκνον ὦ τέκνον;  
 ἔνεπ' ἔνεπε ματρὶ σῶ.
- (Εὐν.) Ἀργῶ με καὶ τόνδ' ἤγαγ' ἐ{ι}ς (Ἴω)λ(κὸ)ν πόλιν.  
 (Υψ.) ἀπομαστίδιόν γ' ἐμῶν στέρνων. 1615  
 95 (Εὐν.) ἐπεὶ δ' Ἰάσων ἔθαν' ἐμός, ἠμῆτερ, πατήρ—  
 (Υψ.) οἴμοι κακ(ὰ) λέγεις, δάκρυά τ' ὄμμασιν,  
 τέκνον, ἐμοῖς δίδως.
- (Εὐν.) Ὅρφεύς με καὶ τόνδ' ἤγαγ' εἰς Θράκης τόπον.  
 (Υψ.) τίνα πατέρι ποτὲ χάριν ἀθλίῳ 1620  
 100 τιθέμενος; ἔνεπέ μοι, τέκνον.  
 (Εὐν.) μούσαν με κιθάρ(α)ς Ἀσιάδος διδάσκειται,

τουτ[.]νδ'εσάρεωσδπλαεκοσμησενμ[[<sup>α</sup>α]]χησ  
 διαιγάιουδετιναπορον  
 εμ[.]ετ'ακτᾶνλημνιαν  
 105 θοασ[.]ομιζεισοσπατηρδουιντεκνω  
 106 (a) ἠγα[.]σέσ[.]στ[.]!  
 106 (b) βα[.]χ[.]' . . . ]γεμηχαναισ  
 [ . . . . . ]βό[ . . . ]όνων  
 [ . . . . . ]οσδοκιαβιοτᾶσ[ . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ]εματριπαῖδαση  
 110 . [ . . . . . ]μοι  
κει[ . . . . . ]ντοσινωπονβοτρυν

Fr. 64.

Col. iii.

31 lines lost.  
 α[  
 σ[  
 145 . [ σ[  
 ! [ ε[  
 [ 155 θ[  
 α[ υ[  
 [ ά[  
 150 ο[ α[  
 . . . .

Fr. 65. . . . .

Fr. 66. . . . .

Fr. 67. . . . .

]δυτοι[  
     εισο[  
 ] . [.]νηγ[  
 ]σμονο[  
 ]στρατε[  
 5 ]τοῦνέ[  
 ]ξατ'ήκωδ[  
 ] . ασεμα[  
 ]τονσον . [  
 ]κνιατη[  
 ]ν'διαετο[  
 5 ]αιδεδρακ[  
     ρ  
 ]αισχαγαρλε[  
 ]εγπο . [  
 ]αι  
 ]οῖσ  
 ]  
 5 ]φιλα  
 ] .  
 . . .

- τοῦτ[ο]ν δ' ἐς Ἄρεως ὄπλ' ἐκόσμησεν μάχης.  
 ('Υψ.) δι' Αἰγαίου δὲ τίνα πόρον  
 ἐμ[όλ]ετ' ἀκτὰν Δημνίαν; 1625
- 105 (Εὐν.) Θόας [κ]ομίξει σὸς πάτηρ τέκνω δύ(ο).  
 ('Υψ.) ἦ γὰρ[ρ] σέσ[ω]στ[α]ι;  
 (Εὐν.) Βα[κ]χ[ίου] γε μηχαναῖς.
- 107 ('Υψ.) [. . . . .]βό[. . .]όνων  
 [. . . . .]πρ]οσοκία βιοτᾶς  
 [. . . . .]ε ματρὶ παῖδας ἦ 1630  
 . [. . . . .] μοι.
- 110 (Θό.) κεί[νον] . . . . .]ντος οἰνωπὸν βότρυν

Fr. 64.

Col. iii.

31 lines lost.

	α[			σ[
	σ[	1665	Διώνυσ(ος).	ο[
145	. [			σ[
	ι[			έ[
	[		155	θ[
	α[			υ[
	[	1670		ά[
150	ο[			α[
				. . . . .

Fr. 65. . . . .

Fr. 66. . . . .

Fr. 67. . . . .

	]δυτοι[	] . as ἐμὰ[ς	]εν πο . [
	είπο[	]τον σὸν . [	]αι
	] . [.]νην[	τέ]κν' ἰατη[ρ	]οῖς
	]ς μόνο[	]ν' οἶ' ἐτο[ιμ (?)	] .
	] στρατε[	5 ]αι δεδρακ[	5 ] φίλα
5	] τοῦ νέ[	] αἰσχροῦ γὰρ λέ[γ	] .
	]ξ'αθ' ἦκω δ' ]		. . . . .



]αι σαφῶς [ ]α καλὰ λεγ[  
<sup>νο[</sup>  
 ἔ]στιν αἰ[ . . . . .  
 ]τα θύειν [ . . . . .  
 10 ]ι . . [ . . . . .

Fr. 68. . . . .	Fr. 69. . . . .	Fr. 70. . . . .
']ος	]γανει[	ἀπ]όπτολιν
]μα	]ε	]ι τύχαις
λ]άβη	]ν θεῶν	] .
]ν	] . ον	]την
5 ]νου	5 ἀλ]λαγήν	5 φ]υγάδων
]ν	] .	] φάος
]νω	]ε	]φ ζυγῶ
] κακόν	']σ[.]ον	] .
]α	] . ν	]γης
10 ]δ' ἄφρων	. . . . .	10 ]μεν
]η	. . . . .	] ἐμὰς
. . . . .	. . . . .	]μονα
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

Fr. 71. . . . .	Fr. 72. . . . .	Fr. 73. . . . .
(A) μί[	]δ[	] . [.]τι[
(B) κλ[	] . χρωμεν[	]αταπει[
(A) μη[	]ει μοι παιδ[	]πτειν ε[
(B) κα[	]πας ἦλθε[	]ιδ' εἰ πρ[
5 (A) τισ[	5 ]λλων δε[	5 ]ς βροντ[
(B) μ[	]λ' ἀπόδο[	] . [.]νη[
(A) ο[	]νδ' απ[	. . . . .
(B) ο . [	] [	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

Fr. 74. . . . .	Fr. 75. . . . .	Fr. 76. . . . .
]ησεθι[	]υγσοιθα[	]χ[
]μέντε[	]νεινμ'ει[	]γμεν[
]ωγυνα[	]σουσαδν[	]σσ .
]σωσαι[	]ποτεκ[	]αφια[
5 ] . . [	]θανατ[	]νεχει
. . . . .	] .	5 ]ειθεων
	] . [	. . . . .
	. . . . .	

Fr. 77. . . . .	Fr. 78. . . . .
]	] . [
] . α[[σοι]]	]ει[ <sup>ι</sup> ]ν . [
]	]εν
]εμισ	]δανα[
<sup>ρ</sup>	5 ]ισδισ[
] . ηπερασ	]
5 ]ασθαι	]ο[
]	. . . . .
. . . . .	

Fr. 79. . . . .	Fr. 80. . . . .	Fr. 81. . . . .	Fr. 82. . . . .
]ωσ[ . ]αδ[	]νυνδ[	]θεασρ[	] . α . . [
]ργασηντ[	]ουτ'α . [	]ντετραφ[	]κακ . [
]λιδασμι[	]ωξαν[	]δαθεων . [	] . αδέτισ[
]παισ[	]ωστεσ[	] . [ . ]σιυ[	]τε
. . . . .	5 ] . [	. . . . .	. . . . .
	. . . . .		

Fr. 83. . . . .	Fr. 84. . . . .	Fr. 85. . . . .
]πειθῶ : [	]μενε[	] . [
]κομιζέ[	]στοσο . [	] . εισε[ . ]κ[
<sup>δν</sup>	]σανθρ[	]σκαμ . [
] [ . . ]χρη . [	. . . . .	] . [ . ]φ[
. . . . .		. . . . .

Fr. 74. . . . .	Fr. 75. . . . .	Fr. 76. . . . .
]ησεθί[	]νν σοι θα[ν	]χ[
]μέν τε [	]νειν μ' εἰ[	]γμεν[
] ὦ γύνα[ι	]σουσα δυ[	]σσ .
]σῶσαι [	]ποτεκ[	]αφία[
5 ] . . [	5 ] θανατ[	]ν ἔχει
. . . . .	] .	5 ]εἰ θεῶν
	] . [	. . . . .
	. . . . .	

Fr. 77. . . . .	Fr. 78. . . . .
] . α	] . [
] . α	]εἰ [']ν . [
] . α	]ν
θ]έμις	]δανά[
] χρῆ πέρας	5 ]ις δισ[
5 ]ασθαι	] .
] . α	]ο[
. . . . .	. . . . .

Fr. 79. . . . .	Fr. 80. . . . .	Fr. 81. . . . .	Fr. 82. . . . .
]ωσ[.]αδ[	] νῦν δ[	]θεας ρ[	] . α . . [
]ργα σῆν τ[	]ουτ' ἄ . [	]ντετραφ[	]κακ . [
]λιδας μι[	]ωξαν[	]δα θεῶν . [	] . αδέ τις [
]παισ[	]ωστεσ[	] . [ . ]σιν[	]τε
. . . . .	5 ] . [	. . . . .	. . . . .
	. . . . .		

Fr. 83. ] πειθῶ . [	Fr. 84. . . . .	Fr. 85. . . . .
] κομιζε[	]μενει[	] . [
] οὐ χρη . [	]στοσο[	] . εισέ[.]κ[
. . . . .	]ς ἀνθρ[ωπ	]ις καμ . [
	. . . . .	] . [.]ω[
		. . . . .

Fr. 86. . . . .	Fr. 87. . . . .	Fr. 88. . . . .	
]σ	]νυχ·[	] . . . ι	
]εισ	]ν[[ <sup>η</sup> ο]]νπυρ[	] ]	
]θ[[ <sup>εν</sup> οι]]ποτε		]πέρι	
. . . . .		. . . . .	
Fr. 89. . . . .	Fr. 90. . . . .	Fr. 91. . . . .	Fr. 92. . . . .
]οσ	] . ν	]ιπ[	] . εσθ[
]	]	]τιθ[	]εξομ[
]μωσ	]υσ	]πόρευσ[	]λε[
]	] . οσ	] . [ . . ]ει[	]καταπα[
5 ]υσ	]	. . . . .	. . . . .
]ενον	]		
. . . . .	. . . . .		
Fr. 93. . . . .	Fr. 94. . . . .	Fr. 95. . . . .	Fr. 96. . . . .
]άυτη[	] . . [	]εδε[	]λατ[
]ιει[	]ύσπ[	]ων[	] . μ[
]ανπ[	]αοσ[	]ειν[	] . φ[
]έλα[	]βακ[	] . . [	]δε[
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Fr. 97. . . . .	Fr. 98. . . . .	Fr. 99. . . . .	Fr. 100. . . . .
]ε λ[	]ηδ[	]μον[	]αν[
α[	]όνδ[	]	]
τ[	]ξα[	]τα[	]ατε[
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	] . [
			. . . . .
Fr. 101. . . . .	Fr. 102. . . . .	Fr. 103. . . . .	Fr. 104. . . . .
]ισ[	]σινο[	]ωκα[	]γαν[
]προ[	]αισ . υ . [	]χθο[	]γα[
]α[	]	. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .		

Fr. 86. . . . .	Fr. 87. . . . .	Fr. 88. . . . .	
]σ	]νυχ·[	] . . ι	
]εις	]νην πυρ[	]	
]θεν ποτέ		] περί	
. . . . .		. . . . .	
Fr. 89. . . . .	Fr. 90. . . . .	Fr. 91. . . . .	Fr. 92. . . . .
]ος	] . ν	]π[	] . εσθ[
]	]	]τιθ[	]εξομ[
]μωσ	]υσ	]πόρευσ[	]λε[
]	] . οσ	] . [ . ]ει[	]καταπα[
5 ]υσ	]	. . . . .	. . . . .
]ενον	]		
. . . . .	. . . . .		
Fr. 93. . . . .	Fr. 94. . . . .	Fr. 95. . . . .	Fr. 96. . . . .
τ]αύτη[	] . . [	]εδε[	]λατ[
]ιε[	]ύσπ[	]ων ζ[	] . μ[
]ανπ[	]αοσ[	]ειν[	] . φ[
]έλα[	]βακ[	] . . [	]δε[
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Fr. 97. . . . .	Fr. 98. . . . .	Fr. 99. . . . .	Fr. 100. . . . .
] λ[	]ηδ[	]μον[	]ανι[
α[	]όνδ' [	]	]
τ[	]ξα[	]τα[	]ατε[
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	] . [
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Fr. 101. . . . .	Fr. 102. . . . .	Fr. 103. . . . .	Fr. 104. . . . .
]ιο[	]σινσ[	]ωκο[	]γαν[
]προ[	]αισ . υ . [	]χθο[	]γα[
]α[	]	. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

Fr. 105. . . .	Fr. 106. . . .	Fr. 107. . . .	Fr. 108. . . .
]τουτ[	]	]ι·[	]ξ[
]·σεπ[	]κοισ	]πω[	]αρε
. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
Fr. 109. . . .	Fr. 110. . . .	Fr. 111. . . .	Fr. 112. . . .
]ιοσει[	]ουτε[	]ιν[	]τάο·[
. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
Fr. 113. . . .	Fr. 114. . . .	Fr. 115. . . .	Fr. 116. . . .
]δον[	]·λ[	]θοα[	]·
] [	] [	] [	]όνσ[
] [	] [	] [	] . . . [
. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .

We append here the previously known fragments of the *Hypsipyle*; the numbers are those of Nauck's *Fragmenta Tragicorum*, 1889.

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

Διώνυσος, ὃς θύρσοισι καὶ νεβρῶν δораῖς  
καθαπτὸς ἐν πεύκαισι Παρνασὸν κάτα  
πηδᾶ χορεύων παρθένοις σὺν Δελφίσι

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 Ἀργείοισιν Ἀχελφῶου ῥόον

Hypsipyle accedes to Amphiaraus' 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:

ἕτερον ἐφ' ἐτέρῳ αἰρόμενος  
ἄγρευμ' ἀνθέων ἠδομένα ψυχᾶ  
τὸ νήπιον ἄπληστον ἔχων

1. αἰρόμενος p. 93, ἰώμενος p. 661. 3. ἄχρηστον ἔχων p. 93, ἄπληστος 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;

Fr. 105. . . .	Fr. 106. . . .	Fr. 107. . . .	Fr. 108. . . .
]τουτ[	]	]ε.[	]ξ[
] . σεπ[	]κοις	]πω[	]αρε
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Fr. 109. . . .	Fr. 110. . . .	Fr. 111. . . .	Fr. 112. . . .
]ιοσει[	]ουτε[	]υ[	]τάο . [
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Fr. 113. . . .	Fr. 114. . . .	Fr. 115. . . .	Fr. 116. . . .
]δον[	] . λ[	] Θάα[	].
] [	] [	] [	]ξον σ[
] [	] [	] [	] . . . [
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

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 vernae, &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 σηκὸν ἐς μελαμβασθὴ 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 ὑπέρτερον

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 :

ἔξω γὰρ ὀργῆς πᾶς ἀνὴρ σοφώτερος

The speaker here is in all probability Hypsipyle, deprecating the anger of Eurydice ; cf. Fr. 22. 3 καὶ μὴ δι' ὀργῆς . . . Hence this line is likely to come from the same scene as No. 758 and Frs. 22-32.

761. Stob. *Flor.* 110. 16 :

ἄελπτον οὐδέν, πάντα δ' ἐλπίζειν χρεῶν

Presumably spoken either by Amphiarus 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 σᾶ καὶ κατεσφραγισμένα

Valckenaer wished to emend εὐφημα to εὐσημα, and Hartung following Zirndorfer supposes that the reference is to the σημεία 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. *Frogs* 64 and Schol. *ad loc.* :

ἢ ἑτέρα φράσω ;

The words give no indication of their context. Bothe supposed that the scholiast's remark ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἡμιστίχιον ἐξ Ὑψιπύλης referred to the first half of the line, ἄρ' ἐκδιδάσκω τὸ σαφές.

764. Galenus, vol. 18, 1 p. 519 :

ἰδοῦ, πρὸς αἰθέρ' ἐξαμίλλησαι κόρας  
γραπτούς (τ' ἐν αἰετ)οῖσι πρόσβλε(ψ)ον τύπους

1. κόραι MSS., κόρας Hermann, κόραις Musgrave. 2. οἶσι πρόσβλεπον MSS., ἐν αἰετοῖσι πρόσβλεπειν Valckenaer, *Diatr.* p. 214 (the passage being quoted in connexion with ἀέτωμα or ἀετός), 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. 1. i. 1-3, note.

765. Aristoph. *Frogs* 1320 and Schol. *ad loc.* :

οἰνάνθα τρέφει τὸν ἱερὸν βότρυν

τρέφει 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:

ἀναδρομαί

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

767. Harpocraton, s. v. ἀρκεῦσαι:

ἄρκτος

Harp. says ὅτι δὲ αἱ ἀρκευόμεναι παρθέναι ἄρκτοι καλοῦνται, Εὐριπίδης Ὑψιπύλῃ, Ἀριστοφάνης Δημνίαίς 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?

769. Cf. Fr. 1. ii. 7 and introd. p. 24.

770. = Fr. 1. ii. 13?

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

δράκοντος αἱματώπων ὄμμα

Cf. Fr. 60. 71-2, note.

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

ὦ θνητὰ παραφρονήματ' ἀνθρώπων, μάτην  
οἳ φασιν εἶναι τὴν τύχην ἀλλ' οὐ θεούς·  
εἰ γὰρ τύχη μὲν ἔστιν, οὐδὲν δεῖ θεοῦ,  
εἰ δ' οἳ θεοὶ σθένουσιν, οὐδὲν ἢ 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 ἔστιν τύχη· εἰ δ' οὐ σθένουσιν οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἢ 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.

*Hyps*. 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 *σάς*, which W(ilamowitz)-M(öllendorff) 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 *οις* had a curved base, and may be *ε*, *σ*, *π*, or *ν*. *γρᾶ* suggests Nauck Fr. 764. 2 *γραπτούς* (τ' ἐν αἰετ)οῖσι πρόσβλε(ψ)ον *τύπους*, but the difference of termination seems to preclude any identification with that verse; *αε]ροις* could not be read, and to suppose that *τυποις* was written for *τυπους* is too bold. In l. 2 the doubtful *π* may be *ισ* or *ιω*.

4. The accents of *εκρουσατ* and *νεανια*[ι are wrongly placed.

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

[ἐ]ν τὸς ἀ]χθῆναι is due to Murray.

8. *ἐναυλίσ]αι* (Murray) suits the scanty traces sufficiently well, and is more euphonious after the preceding ἀ]χθῆναι 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. τ after *δει* is only fairly satisfactory, and κ or ν might well be substituted; [τ] hardly fills the lacuna after *πο*, but the scribe's spacing is irregular, and ε especially sometimes occupies a good deal of room.

11. [ἀδέσ]ποτος μ[ἐν σ]κ[ο]ς (Bury) suits the papyrus decidedly better than [ἀπρόσ]τατος μ[ἐν σ]κ[ο]ς (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 [ἀδ]έσποτος 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. οὐκ ἐν ξεινῶσι τοῖσδ' ἄρ' ἀναπαυσαίμεθ' ἄν, πρὸς δ' ἄλλο δὴ τι δῶμ' ἀφορμᾶσθαι χρεῶν; cf. for the latter line *Herc. F.* 1286 ἐς ἄλλην δὴ τιν' ὀρμήσω πόλιν; *Alc.* 1040 εἴ του πρὸς ἄλλου δῶμαθ' ὀρμήθης ξένου, and, for the reply of Hypsipyle in ll. 6-9, *Alc.* 566-7 τὰμὰ δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται μέλαθρ' ἀπωθεῖν οὐδ' ἀτιμάζειν ξένους.

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 *Θρησσ' ἐβόα κάθαρσι Ὀρφέως*, is marked by the marginal *ἄν(ω)*; cf. note on ll. 8-10. By writing *ποταμοῖο* for *ποταμοῦ* in iii. 6, and in the following verse omitting the ν *ἐφελκυστικόν* in *ἐτέκνωσεν* and transposing the first syllable of *Πηλέα*, the following correspondence is obtained:—

ii. 5. [- ὤ -] - - υυ - (3rd glyc.)	= iii. 6. υ - - υυ - υ - (2nd glyc.)
[- ὤ -] - - - υυ - (3rd glyc.)	υυ - - υυ - υ - (2nd glyc.)
- - - υυ - - (pherecr.)	- υ - υυ - - (pherecr.)
υ - υυυ - υυ - (3rd glyc.)	υυυ υυυυ - υ - (2nd glyc.)

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 σ[υ]μενης ὀρού|σας ἐπ' οἶδμα γαλανεί|σας πρυμνήσι' ἀνάψαι. Similarly in Col. ii. 4 the second syllable of ἀγγάν very likely belongs to the following verse; in l. 3 there seems to be a more serious dislocation or corruption.

3. Perhaps ἵ|πάρχον, but the vestiges are too slight to give any confirmation.

4. λευκ|οφαῆ: cf. *I. A.* 1054 λευκοφαῆ ψάμαθον; 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 αἱ θ' ὑπαρόφιοι κατὰ γωνίας εἰειμειλίσετε δακτύλοις φάλαγγες ἰστότονα πηνίσματα κερκίδος ἀοιδοῦ μελίτας was perhaps intended to be a parody on ll. 9-11, and ἰστοτόνου here strongly supports ἰστότονα in the Aristophanes passage where the Ravennas alone has ἰστότονα, the reading preferred by recent editors.

ἄν(ω), 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 ll. 1-14. Cf. also *Fr.* 64. 57, where κάτ(ω) occurs in a similar position, and 223. 125, 700. 27.

11. W-M suggests καλεῖ for μέλει, but, as Mr. E. C. Marchant observes, this is unnecessary if Μοῦσα be taken as a vocative. λεγειν has been altered (perhaps by the first hand) to κρεκειν; cf. l. 26, where Δημοῦν has replaced νησου. 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. Wilamowitz, *Heracles*, I. pp. 147 sqq., 214 sq.

13. νεαρή: perhaps this is the passage referred to in Bekker, *Antiatt.* p. 109. 15 (= Nauck *Fr.* 770) νεαρός ἀντὶ τοῦ νέος' Εὐριπίδης Ὑψιπύλη.

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 αὐτὸς ἢ φρονεῖν μόνος δοκεῖ, ἢ γλώσσαν, ἢ οὐκ ἄλλος, ἢ ψυχὴν ἔχειν, οὗτοι διαπτυχθέντες ὤφθησαν κenoί.

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 respension 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. doct. 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  $\alpha \beta \alpha \beta \gamma$ .

17. *σαίρεις*: cf. e.g. *Hec.* 363-4 *σαίρειν τε δῶμα κερκίσιν τ' ἐφεσπάναι λυπρὰν ἄγουσαν ἡμέραν μ' ἀναγκάσει*. The accent on  $\eta$  is erroneous; cf. i. 4, note.

18. *οἶά τε*: so again *Fr.* 64. 77; cf. Homer,  $\gamma$  73, *Hdt.* ii. 175.

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

21. *πεντηκόντορος* is the usual Attic spelling; *-eros* was an Ionic form, and appears in *Hdt.* Cf. *Apollod.* i. 9. 16 *κάκείνος* (sc. Argus) *Ἀθηνᾶς ὑποθεμένης πεντηκόντορον ναῦν κατεσκευάσασε τὴν προσαγορευθεῖσαν . . . Ἀργῶ*.

22. *χρυσεόμαλλον*: cf. *El.* 724-5 *χρυσεόμαλλον . . . ποιμναν* and *Apollod.* i. 9. 16 *χρυσόμαλλον δέρας*.

28. *κυμοτύπος* though unattested is quite a possible word, but *κυμοκτύπος* (*Simmias ap. Hephaest.* p. 74 *Gaisf.* *κυμοκτύπων ἦραν' ἀλίων μυχῶν*) is required by the metre.

29. *δεῦρ' ὄτ'* (*Murray*) seems preferable to *δεῦρο* ( $\delta'$ ), 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  $\alpha$  of *λειμωνα* seems to be meaningless.

30. *απαγει* is not a quite satisfactory reading. The  $\pi$  is represented only by the second of the two uprights, which is drawn so long as to be more like  $\rho$  or  $\nu$  with a space for an intervening letter after the  $\alpha$ ; there would also be room for a narrow letter between  $\gamma$  and  $\epsilon$ . But we can find no suitable alternative to *ἀπάγει*, and a  $\pi$  of just this shape occurs in the next column in l. 20 *πατριους*; cf. also *παις* in l. 21. The verse can be easily reduced to a third glyconic and brought into harmony with the remains of iii. 15 by reading *χαλκείουσιν* for *χαλκείοις*. *Murray* suggests  $\alpha[\delta']\rho'$  *ἀγει*, with e.g. *κτύπον* after *Νεμείον* in l. 29 (cf. *Or.* 181 *κτύπον ἡγάγετ'*) and *παϊτούντων* in l. 31 instead of *παρείς*. But something of the base of a  $\nu$  would be expected to be visible between  $\alpha$  and  $\rho$ , and a mixture of dochmiacs (*-ον κτύπον κ.τ.λ.*) with glyconics does not seem very probable in a choral ode.

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  $\rho$  would indeed be expected to be visible, but the scribe does not always make that letter very long (cf. e.g. *ερυμα* in the next line), and it is not quite clear how far the accent on  $\epsilon$  of *ερυμα* extends, i. e. the upper extremity of it might belong to a  $\rho$  of the line above.

32-3. The wall raised by the lyre of Amphion is of course Thebes. Cf. *Phoen.* 823-4 *φόρμυγί τε τείχεα Θήβας τᾶς Ἀμφιονίας τε λύρας ὑπο πύργος ἀνίστα*.

34.  $\omega[\kappa\nu]πόδας$  (= *ὠκυτόδης*: cf. *Anth. Pal.* v. 223, ix. 371) is due to W-M. It is noticeable that *ὠκυτόπορος* 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 . . . Ἄρη* cf. *Phoen.* 1123-4 *πύλαις Ἄρη προσήγε, I. A.* 283-4 *λευκήρεμον δ' Ἄρη Τάφιον ἤγεν*.  $A[\delta\rho]ιασ[το]ς$  is very doubtfully read, but his name can hardly be spared in this line, and the initial  $\alpha$  is fairly certain.

35. *ἐκάλεσε μένος*, as *Wilamowitz* suggests, is more apposite than *καλεσόμενος* since the army was already on the march, and it would be more natural to describe the result than the process of *Adrastus'* preparations. The scanty vestiges between  $\sigma$  and  $\mu$  are consistent with either  $\omicron$  or  $\epsilon$ , though an  $\epsilon$  must have been written rather small.

36. Apparently *σνεματα* was originally written, the  $\nu$  being afterwards crossed through, but not the  $\epsilon$ ; possibly, however, the second letter is a deleted  $\iota$  or  $\gamma$ , and the cross-bar of the supposed  $\epsilon$  represents the stroke of deletion. Above the line is an  $\alpha$ , and *σάματα* (*σήματα*) would be a natural word in this context; cf. *El.* 455-6 *ἀσπίδος ἐν κύκλῳ τοιάδε σήματα, I. A.* 275 *πρύμνας σήμα ταυρόπων*. W-M, however, would prefer *σάγματα* (cf. *Andr.*

617 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 τόξά 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. μονοβάμονε[s]: 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. τετραβάμων, *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 Danaï.'

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. *vox media de puppe venit . . . Oeagrius illic acclini malo mediis intersonat Orpheus remigiis.* 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 ελεγον, with a very small ο. The combination of Ἀσιάς and Θρηῆσσα as epithets of κίθαρις is harsh but excusable on account of the frequency of the conjunction 'Asian lyre'; cf. Fr. 64. 101, *Cyclops* 443, &c. Orpheus is enumerated among the Argonauts by Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 315, 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 sqq.

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 ὀρείους πόδας ναός is a synonym for oars.

11-2. Cf. *I. T.* 1125 sqq. συρίζων θ' ὁ κηροδέτας κάλαμος οὐρείου Πανός κόπαις ἐπιθώζει.

15. ἰδεῖν W-M: the earliest examples of this verb are in Alexandrian poets, but the ineptness of ἰδεῖν and the parallelism of ἀναβοάτω 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 . . .'

18 sqq. On the sequence of thought cf. introd. p. 24.

21-2. Cf. *Cretes*, Nauck Fr. 472 Φοινικογενοῖς παῖ τῆς Τυρίας τέκνον Εὐρώπας. Nauck following Bothe omits παῖ τῆς Τυρίας, and παῖ followed by τέκνον can hardly be right, but a less drastic remedy would be to emend παῖ τῆς το παιδός; cf. *Turia* παῖς here.

22. There does not seem much to choose between the alternative readings ἀπέβα and ἐπέβα, but ἀποβαίνειν 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 ὦ θαλάμευμα Κουρήτων ζαθέου τε Κρήτας Διογενέτορες ἔναυλοι. The collocation Διοτρόφον . . . τροφόν is a little inelegant, but probably sound; Διοτρόφος is a new compound.

26. τρισσοῖς: i. e. Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Sarpedon; cf. Hesiod, Fr. 39 (Schol. *Il.* 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. [οῖσ]τροφ: [κέν]τροφ would remove the hiatus, but is both a less natural term (cf. however, Aesch. *Prom.* 596 sqq. νόσον . . . ἄ μαραίνει με χρίουσα κέντροις φοιταλέοις) 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.

30. [πάρ]ρας: the supplement is rather longer than would be expected on the analogy of the verses above, but the scribe tends to make the point of commencement of the lines advance slightly towards the left as the column proceeds; cf. l. 31 where [κερ]ασφόρον is practically certain. [χώ]ρας is less appropriate, especially so soon after l. 27.

ἀμφίς, a word common in Homer and also used by Pindar, is not found elsewhere in tragedy, but that is not a sufficient reason for questioning its genuineness here.

31. [κερ]ισφόρον (Murray) seems guaranteed by the parallel of *Phoen.* 248 τᾶς κερασφόρον . . . Ἰούς, 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 Io τᾶς βούκερω παρθένου.

32 sqq. In this passage the chorus is with little doubt seeking to offer consolation and encouragement to Hypsipyle, and Wilamowitz suggests that ll. 32-7 may have run somewhat as follows:—[ταῦ]τ' ἄν θεὸς εἰς φροντίδα θῆ σοι | [συννί]ε[ι]ς δῆ, φίλα, τὸ μέσον | ἐλπὶς δ' οὐκ ἀπολείψει | [ἔτι σε τὸν π]ατέρος πατέρα | [ρύ]σσεσθαι πο]τ' ἔχει σέθεν | [ἄ]ραν καὶ τάχα σ' ὠκύπορο[ς] μετανίσσεται. Cf. Soph. *O. C.* 385-6 ἔσχατος ἐλπίδ' ὡς ἐμοῦ θεοῦ ὄραν τιν' ἔξειν, ὥστε σωθῆναι ποτε. This restoration, which is made only *exempli gratia*, brilliantly satisfies the requirements of sense and metre, but in the last verse can only with difficulty be reconciled with the papyrus, where the lacuna at the beginning of ll. 35-7 is practically of the same size; one letter more than in l. 35 might be conceded in l. 37 on account of the slope of the column, but hardly three more. In l. 33 also [συννί]ε[ι]ς though just possible is unsatisfactory, since ε[ι] would not normally fill up the space; moreover a future would be more apposite than a present tense. The letters σδ are quite doubtful; the δ may well be θ or σ and the σ possibly ο or ω: γ]νωση might be read were it not for the difficulty of the apparent vestige of an accent above the place where the γ would come; the accent might, however, belong to the preceding letter. Perhaps ἀπολείψει is the apodosis of the sentence, and we should read [κᾶν (?)] α[ἔ]σθη, φίλα, τὸ μέσον, | [ἐλπὶς σ' οὐκ] ἀπολείψει κ.τ.λ. This would well satisfy all the conditions except that [κᾶν] is a short supplement for the beginning of l. 33; α[ἔ] would not be open to the objection brought above against ε[ι]. The supposed acute accent cannot be a mark of elision or length. In ll. 36-7 it is evident that the scribe's division of the verses was not the same as in ii. 33-4.

38. γεναῖ fits in with the context as explained in the preceding note; the god will not forget his descendant.

iv. 2-9. *Hyps.* ' . . . sang a lament for Procris the huntress whom her husband slew. Death is the meet end of these my woes. What wailing, what song, what music of the lyre with tearful lament, though Calliope inspired it, could come up to my suffering?'

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. *ἰ διαλλαγεῖσα Κεφάλῳ μετὰ τούτου παραγίνεται ἐπὶ θήραν ἦν γὰρ θηρευτική. διώκουσαν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ λόχμῃ ἀγροῆσας Κεφάλος ἀκοντίζει καὶ τυχῶν ἀποκτείνει Πρόκριν. καὶ κριθεῖς ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ φυγὴν αἰδίων καταδικάζεται.*

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 τὰ δ' ἐμὰ πάθεα θάνατος ἔλαχε may be right. Or possibly θάνατο(ν) 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 ἂν οὖν τάδ' ἂν ἢ θεὸς ἢ βροτὸς ἢ τί τῶν ἀδοκίτων . . . (φαῖνοι) κακῶν ἔκλυσι; and for the substance of this and the following lines *Phoen.* 1498-1501 τίνα δὲ προσφῶδον ἢ τίνα μουσοπόλον στοναχᾶν ἐπὶ δάκρυσιν δάκρυσιν, ὦ δόμος ὦ δόμος, ἀνακαλέσωμαι; The marginal καθαρί[ς] is perhaps more probably κηθάρισμα, as W-M suggests, than κηθαρί[ς] as a variant for κηθάρας, but either of these would involve some alteration of μοῦσ' ἀνοδυρομένα in the following line; cf. the next note.

7. ἐπιδακρυσί was originally written, and then altered to ἐπιδακρυσεῖ, ἐπιδακρυσί being added in the margin as a variant. The μ[ following is presumably the initial letter of μοῦσα in some form, and possibly μοῦσαν was substituted for μοῦσ' ἂν-, which could not be constructed with the variant κηθαρί[ς] (?) for κηθάρας. ἐπιδακρύνσει, however, would neither scan nor construe with any of these readings.

9. πόνοος without a possessive or similar adjective is obscure, but perhaps admissible in consequence of the proximity of ἐμὰ πάθε[α] in l. 5. W-M thinks that μοῦσ' in l. 7 conceals an original ἐμοῦς, but if so the corruption has gone very deep.

The chorus now catches sight of the approaching strangers, whose advance is signaled 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?

*Hyps.* 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.

*Hyps.* 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.

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

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

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

*Amph.* I am the seer Amphiarus, son of Oecles.'

11. τοῦσδ' : this abnormal accent was preferred by some grammarians; cf. Fr. 64. 66 τῆνδε.

12. For *πελάτας* cf. Soph. *Phil.* 1164 *εὐνοία πάσα πελάταν*. The scribe apparently began to write a λ in place of the first π of *πεπλων*.

13. *έσθῆτι*: *έσθ.* Pap., following the analogy of *έννυμι*, &c.; but the *spiritus lenis* (due probably to the following θ) is usual in *έσθής*, &c.

15. The correction of *ερημιαί* to *έκδημιαί* is due to W-M. *έκδημιαί* is quoted from the *Hypsipyle* in Bekker, *Antiatt.* p. 93. 26 (Nauck Fr. 768), and *έρημιαί* followed by *άγρους έρήμους* in l. 17 produces an awkward tautology.

18. *απών* was originally written, and the ι 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. *άπορον . . άπορίαν* is intolerable, and some other adjective must be substituted. It also seems likely that the nominative case in this and the next word has been replaced by the accusative, though the latter need not be wrong. *άπολις*, as Murray remarks, would be closer to the text of the papyrus than *άφιλος*; cf. *Hes.* 811 *άπολις έρμος άθλιωτάτη βροτών*. This passage supports Wakefield's correction *άνερ(μ)ήνευτα* in *Ion* 255.

24. The compound *μηλοβοσκός* is not otherwise attested.

27. *αιρεθείς* is a simple correction of *ευρεθείς*, which is not a natural word here.

28. *κληδούχος* 'priest', as in *I. T.* 131 *όσίας κληδούχος*.

29-30. [χ]α[ήζοι]μ' *άν* and *όδιον*] were suggested by Murray, *χεαίμεθα* instead of *χρησαιμεθα* by W-M. The middle *χέασθαι* is idiomatic (cf. e.g. Soph. *O. C.* 477 *χόας χέασθαι*), whereas *χρησαιμεθα* is indefensible with [χ]έριμβα; perhaps the scribe was influenced by *χρήζοιμι* in the previous verse. Statius 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. *στρατων* was an easy error with *στρατου* at the beginning of the next verse.

35. [ό]ρια W-M.

37. *ώρμήμεσθα* appears likely here, but the supposed ρμ are extremely doubtful; the vestiges would suit υ or ξ better than ρ. A combination with Fr. 92, though the papyrus is very similar in appearance, does not seem practicable.

38. *ειδη* 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 *εί* and some other particle than *δή*, e.g. *πως* or *γάρ*. This opening combined with *έ]ύτυχώς* renders the general sense sufficiently clear, and the line may be completed in various ways, of which we print an illustration. To suppose that *ειδη* 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 *ειδη*.

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 ]ς οὐ θέμι[ς . . . ;

41. *πημον]ας θηρά[ς λαβείν* W-M. *ώ [ξέν(ε), άλλων πημον]ας θηρά[ς τις ών*; 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 *Όϊκλῆς*, but *Οϊκλῆς* is preferred by editors of Aeschylus and Euripides. In *Suppl.* 925, the only other passage is Eurip. where the name occurs, LP read *Ίοκλέους*.

43. Hypsipyle evidently knew Amphiaras by name; cf. e.g. *Ion* 260-3 (Kp.) *Κρέουσα μέν μοι τοῦνομ', έκ δ' Έρεχθέως πέφυκα, πατρίς γῆ δ' Αθηναίων πόλις*. (*Ίω.*) *ώ κλεινόν οίκουσ' άστυ γενναίων τ' άπο τραφεύσα πατέρων κ.τ.λ.*

44. *οιχ* : *οι* *οιχ* ?

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) Amphiarus after telling Hysipyle 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.  $\eta$ : or  $\acute{\eta}$  or  $\eta$ ?

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 Amphiarus, to persuade her husband to join the expedition against Thebes; Amphiarus 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  $\gamma\nu$ , and if  $\delta\sigma\iota\alpha\ \phi\{\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\sigma\alpha$  is right in l. 2, Eriphyle must have been the subject of l. 1. Cf. *Apollod.* iii. 6. 2  $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \langle\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha\rangle\ \sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\upsilon$ .

3. The line may be completed e. g.  $\epsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\xi\{\alpha\theta\}^{\prime}\ \delta\rho\mu\omicron\nu\ \chi\epsilon\rho\sigma\acute{\iota}\ \text{Πολυνείκου}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ .  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\theta\epsilon\nu$  in l. 4 probably indicates that the  $\delta\rho\mu\omicron\nu$  in particular and not merely  $\delta\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$  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.  $\text{Κάδμος} \dots \delta\sigma\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\alpha\ \gamma\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\varsigma\ \text{Κύπριδος}$   $\epsilon\text{Ἀρμονίαν ποτὲ Πολύδωρον ἐξέφυσε, τοῦ δὲ Λάβδακον φῦναι λέγουσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦδε Δαῖον.}$

6. Restored by W-M. Cf. *Phoen.* 822  $\epsilon\text{Ἀρμονίας δὲ ποτ' εἰς ὑμεναίους ἤλυθον οὐρανίδα.}$

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  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota$  in l. 8; cf. *Schol. Phoen.* 71  $\tau\omicron\nu\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \delta\rho\mu\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\text{Ἀφροδίτη} \dots \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\eta}\ \langle\text{sc. Ἀρμονία}\rangle\ \epsilon\text{χαρίσατο.}$

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 Amphiarus and which Hypsipyle is not clearly defined.

5. The letter after  $\delta$  is more probably  $\sigma$  than  $\epsilon$ .

Col. v. 27. A comparison with the preceding column indicates a gap of 14 lines after l. 12. If  $\gamma\iota$  in l. 28 is  $\gamma\iota\upsilon$  in the vocative the speaker there must be Amphiarus, but that is far from certain.

29. The  $\delta$  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 Amphiarus. 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  $\chi\epsilon\rho\upsilon\beta\alpha$  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  $[\dots]\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$  to  $\sigma\phi$ . [ 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.**  $\chi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\upsilon\psi$  is usually accented, like other words in  $\psi$ , on the penultimate, but the accent  $\chi\epsilon\rho\upsilon\acute{\iota}\beta\omicron\varsigma$ , &c., as in the papyrus, was usual  $\pi\alpha\rho\grave{\alpha}$  τοῖς ποιηταῖς according to Suidas s. v.

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

**Fr. 7. 4.**  $\delta\rho$ οσιζόμεν[ W-M.  $\delta\rho\omicron\sigma\iota\zeta\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$  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 ( $\kappa\lambda\iota\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  π[ερ]ὶ 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 (ll. 13-5  $\Phi\omicron\acute{\iota}\beta\omicron\upsilon$  δ' ἐν[ο]π[ι]α[ῖ]ς . . . τέκνα θηρῶν [ζ]εῦ[ξ]αί), 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 defiances, 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  $\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$  in l. 12 is correct (cf. note *ad loc.*), is mainly due to Murray. For l. 6 cf. *Phoen.* 415-6 (Πο.) νύξ ἦν, 'Ἀδράστου

δ' ἦλθον εἰς παραστάδας. (10.) κοίτας ματεύων . . . ; νυ[ is evidently νύξ in some form, and if φυγας in l. 5 is masculine and not feminine it is probable, as Bury remarks, that l. 6 is a fresh clause and νυ]κτὸς δέ should be restored. At the end of the line either ἀλλᾶ or ἀλλὰ[ις is possible. In l. 7 W-M suggests ἔριδ' [ἔριδος ἀ]μειβόμενοι, which may be right; but the dative would perhaps be expected rather than the genitive in such a phrase, as e. g. in Aret. p. 71. 30 ἀμείψασθαι τὸ κακὸν κακῶ. In l. 8 σιδ[άρον τ' εἶρ]εσία (Bury and Murray) seems certain, though we can find nothing quite parallel. In l. 9 the letter before ον may be χ. σφαγᾶ is a somewhat strong expression, since nobody was killed or, for anything the story tells us, even hurt; but the imperfect ἐποίουν serves to soften it.

12. θυμον: 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 θυμώδ[εις], even if that prosaic word could be admitted here, and δορι θυμώδ[ει] is an improbable combination. A compound adjective δοριθυμ . . . agreeing with φνγάδες would be attractive, but none such is known, nor are there obvious analogies upon which to coin one that would suit the papyrus.

13. ἐν[ο]πά[ς] was suggested by Murray. Cf. *Phoen.* 409-11 ἔχρησ' Ἀδράστῳ Λοξίας χρησμόν τινα . . . κάπρω λέοντι θ' ἀρμόσαι παιδων γάμους, and *El.* 1302 Φοίβου τ' ἄσοφοι γλώσσης ἐνοπαί.

15. [ξ]ευ[ξ]αι is somewhat too cramped to be quite satisfactory, but is adopted in default of a better reading; ἀρμόσαι is excluded.

16-17. ἀμπετάσας probably refers to some word like 'house' or 'gates' and hence δ[ό]μο[ν] (so Bury; δ[ό]μο[ν] or δ[ό]μο[ν] are alternatives) is a natural restoration. Cf. *Alc.* 597 δόμον ἀμπετάσας, *Phoen.* 297 ἀμπετάσον πύλας.

**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 Amphiarus. 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, Ὑψι]π(ύλη), the view adopted of this fragment seems necessary. The doubtful π may also be a letter with a round top like θ or ο (hardly ρ), but the abbreviation χ]ο(ρός) 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 εγγυς.

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

5. For ἀλ]ικες cf. *Herc. F.* 513 πανύστατον νῦν, ἦλικες, δεδόκατε, *Phoen.* 1747 πρὸς ἦλικας φάνθησι σάς. 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); γυνα]ικες 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 ο 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  $\epsilon\gamma\omega$  is right the  $\gamma$  has been corrected, perhaps from  $\tau$  or because as first written the effect of  $\tau$  was produced; cf. Fr. 1. iv. 2 and Fr. 64. 12, where there has been a confusion of  $\gamma$  and  $\tau$ .

Fr. 13. 1. 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.  $\chi[\sigma(\acute{o}\sigma)]$  as in l. 4 below.

Frs. 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. 1. The letters  $\nu\delta$  are very doubtful:  $\kappa\rho\eta\eta\sigma\kappa\iota\alpha\zeta[\ ]$  might be read; cf. *I. T.* 1245-6  $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\nu\sigma\kappa\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\omicron\varsigma(?)\epsilon\upsilon\phi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega\delta\acute{\alpha}\phi\nu\alpha$ .

3. A mark like a grave accent has been placed above  $\pi$  as well as the preceding  $\omega$ ; probably the accent intended for the  $\omega$  was first written too far to the right, and then repeated in its proper place. The acute accent on  $\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\sigma\omega[\ ]$  seems to have been corrected from a circumflex.

4.  $\pi\acute{\eta}\lambda\eta\kappa\alpha\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\nu$  presumably refers to the  $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\nu$ , though  $\pi\acute{\eta}\lambda\eta\xi$  is not used elsewhere of a serpent's crest. Cf. Statius, *Theb.* v. 510 *auratae crudelis gloria frontis prominet, 572 perque iubas stantis capitisque insigne corusci emicat.*

5. Perhaps  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\sigma\acute{\iota}\gamma'$  or  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\sigma\acute{\iota}\gamma'$ , as W-M suggests; but the passage is very obscure. The vestige of the letter after  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota$  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  $\lambda\alpha$  or  $\lambda\alpha\lambda$ . 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  $\delta$  or  $\alpha$ , and rather the former than the latter.  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu[\tau\alpha]\delta\iota\alpha\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\iota$  suggests itself, but the compound  $\delta\iota\alpha\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$  does not occur. On the other hand if the words are divided  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu[\ ]\delta\iota\alpha\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\iota$  a satisfactory restoration is not evident; neither  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu[\theta']\delta\iota\alpha$  (Murray) nor  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu[\tau']\delta\iota\alpha$  seems very likely.  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu[\tau']\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$  is not suitable.

7. The first letter of the line had a tall stroke and was with little doubt either  $\phi$  or  $\psi$ . We suppose the verse to have begun with a hypermetrical  $\phi\epsilon\upsilon$  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  $\epsilon$  in  $\kappa\epsilon\iota$  and the stop at the end of the word might together be taken as a diaeresis over the  $\iota$ ,  $\kappa\acute{\iota}[\ ]\acute{\iota}$ ; but there would then be room only for a very narrow letter, another  $\iota$  or  $\omicron$ , 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  $\lambda\sigma\eta\kappa\epsilon\iota$  is right) must have consisted mainly of vowels.

9. Some insertion has been made over the line, but its nature is very uncertain. The  $\epsilon$  after  $\phi$  is on a small fragment which broke away when the papyrus was being flattened, and should perhaps be put closer to the  $\rho$ .  $\text{Am}\phi[\ ]\rho\epsilon[\ ]\omega\varsigma$  cannot be read.

Fr. 19. This fragment is closely connected with Fr. 18 by the appearance of the papyrus. Possibly it joins on above  $\delta\iota\alpha\zeta[\ ]$  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.

*Chor.* Hast thou no word of hope to tell thy friends?

*Hyps.* Flight! if only I had knowledge of these roads!

*Chor.* 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.

*Chor.* Poor soul, thou hast some acquaintance with such ills!

*Hyps.* Yea, I know them, and I will be on my guard.

*Chor.* Where then wilt thou turn? What city will receive thee?

*Hyps.* My feet and zeal will decide that.

*Chor.* The land is guarded round about by sentinel-posts.

*Hyps.* You are right: let that be; but I go.

*Chor.* 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?

*Chor.* There is no one who is willing to conduct a slave.'

1.  $\omega$  φ[ίλτα]ται, 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[.]ρ could be read.  $\omega$  φίλταται γυναικες occurs in *Orest.* 136;  $\omega$  φ[ίλτα]ται however may of course stand alone, and the γ here is quite doubtful. At the end of the line ἐπὶ ξυροῦ is only one of many possibilities: cf. *Herc. F.* 630  $\omega$ δ' ἔβηγ' ἐπὶ ξυροῦ; Homer κ 173 ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἴσταται ἀκμῆς, &c.

3. ἴσχυοσι seems preferable to ἔχουσι on account of the preceding ἔξειν; but ἔχειν is the usual word, e. g. Fr. 64. 76, *Orest.* 1255 φόβος ἔχει με.

5. στε[γ]ῶν τῶν[δ], which could be read, is an obvious restoration, but the line is then difficult to complete; there is not room for ἐκ]δρ[αμοῦσα. Bury suggests ἐ]δρ[αν' ὡς τάχος δοκεῖ, but ἔδρανα, though a word used by Euripides as well as Aeschylus and Sophocles, occurs 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 *Androm.* 28 ἀλκήν τιν' εὐρεῖν καπικούρησιν 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 question 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 δη ποτ, for which δητα γ has apparently been substituted, is by the first hand, is doubtful.

10. So *Med.* 386 τίς με δέξεται πόλις;

11. For the conjunction of πούς and προθυμία cf. *Ion* 1109-10 τίς προθυμία ποδῶν ἔχει σε; and *Phoen.* 1430 προθυμία ποδός.

12-3. φρο[υρίσ]ισιν and [ν]ικᾶ[ς] W-M; for the latter cf. *Suppl.* 946-7 (Θη.) τί δητα λύπην ταῖσδε προσθῆναι θέλεις; (Αδ.) νικᾶς μένειν χρῆ τλημόνος. We had thought of [ε]κκα[?] ἐὼ δὴ τ(α)ῖτ(ά γ), on the analogy of *El.* 379 κράτιστον εἰκῆ ταῖτ' εἶαν, but this is not so close to the papyrus. In l. 12 ἦδε has been lightly crossed through with ink of the same colour as that of the overwritten εν.

14-6. The restoration of these lines is largely due to Murray. In l. 16 [οὐδείς 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  $\beta$  may be  $\theta$ .

7.  $\delta\alpha\rho\iota\theta\mu\lrcorner$  may be some part of the verb  $\delta\alpha\rho\iota\theta\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$  or  $\delta\iota' \acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\theta\mu\lrcorner[\acute{\omega}\nu]$ ; for the former cf. *I. T.* 966  $\psi\acute{\eta}\phi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \delta\iota\eta\rho\iota\theta\mu\eta\sigma\epsilon$ , and for the latter (W-M) *Bacch.* 209  $\delta\iota' \acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\theta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu \delta' \omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu \alpha\upsilon\acute{\xi}\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota \theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota$ .

9.  $\acute{\epsilon}\lrcorner\lambda\epsilon\lrcorner\xi\alpha\varsigma$  Bury;  $\lrcorner\lambda\omicron\lrcorner$  or  $\lrcorner\lambda\omega\lrcorner$  can also be read, or possibly  $\lrcorner\alpha\sigma\lrcorner$  though the first letter is more like  $\lambda$  than  $\alpha$ . There would not be room for  $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\rho\lrcorner\alpha\sigma\lrcorner$ .

11. This was the last line of a column.

**Frs. 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.

**Frs. 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  $\delta\ \pi\alpha\lrcorner\kappa\alpha\kappa\iota\sigma\tau\eta$  (cf. *Hipp.* 682), if the line is spoken by Eurydice to Hypsipyle; cf. the previous note.

**Fr. 25.**  $\zeta$  in the margin of Col. ii marks, we suppose, the 600th, not the 700th line, the numeration being by the letters of the alphabet, not figures; thus 1000 =  $\kappa$ , not  $\iota$ , 1100 =  $\lambda$ , not  $\iota\alpha$ , 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  $\zeta$  denotes the 600th line of *Iliad* xiii. The same alphabetical system, in which  $\varsigma$  is omitted and  $\zeta = 6$ , 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  $\varsigma$  which is in all probability stichometrical is found, the scribe has confused the alphabetical and numerical systems or employed the latter.

**Frs. 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  $\kappa\alpha\iota \chi\lrcorner\epsilon\rho\lrcorner\nu\iota\beta\lrcorner\omega\nu \acute{\epsilon}\lrcorner\delta\epsilon\iota\acute{\xi}\lrcorner\alpha \dots \acute{\rho}\acute{\omicron}\omicron\upsilon\nu$  or  $\chi\lrcorner\acute{\epsilon}\rho\lrcorner\nu\iota\beta\lrcorner\alpha\varsigma\lrcorner\delta\lrcorner\acute{\epsilon}\lrcorner\acute{\xi}\lrcorner\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha$  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  $\epsilon$ , but  $\epsilon$  does not suit the supposed situation here; cf. the previous note and introd. p. 26.

2. The accent of  $\chi\lrcorner\epsilon\rho\lrcorner\nu\iota\beta\lrcorner$  does not prove that the termination was the genitive plural; cf. *Fr.* 6. 1, note.

3. There is not room for  $\epsilon\gamma\omega$  at the beginning of this line, but  $\upsilon\omega$  would be just possible: perhaps not more than a single letter is lost in the lacuna between  $\epsilon$  and  $\upsilon$ . 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  $\delta\epsilon\tau\iota$  (?), but there would be room for e. g.  $\omicron\upsilon$  or  $\tau\iota$ . Either  $\gamma$  or  $\pi$  could well be read in place of  $\iota$  before the final lacuna.

Fr. 28. 1.  $[\delta\epsilon\epsilon\zeta]$ : the  $\iota$  may be  $\upsilon$ , i. e.  $[\delta' \epsilon\upsilon\zeta]$ . For a possible combination with Fr. 27. 2 cf. note above on Frs. 27-9.

3. Only part of the  $\upsilon$  remains, but there is enough of it, we think, to exclude  $\mu$ .

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 nursing, 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.  $\upsilon$  after  $\alpha\upsilon$  is fairly certain, but beyond this the remains of letters are very slight till  $\iota\alpha\sigma$  is reached; the  $\iota$  may be part of a  $\mu$ , and  $\upsilon\mu\alpha\sigma$  or  $\upsilon\mu\alpha\sigma$  could be read.

4. W-M suggests  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\gamma\omicron\sigma$ .

7.  $\kappa\eta\lambda\eta\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ :  $\kappa\eta\lambda\eta\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$  is used in *Troad.* 893 of the charms of Helen.

9.  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi' \acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\varsigma$ : cf. Fr. 60. 10; perhaps  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi' \acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\iota$  [ $\mu\omicron\upsilon$ ], but the last letter may also be e. g.  $\kappa$ ,  $\lambda$ , or  $\nu$ .

11.  $\chi$  is corrected, apparently from  $\gamma$ .

Fr. 33. The speaker and subject of this fragment are both problematical.  $\theta\alpha\delta\iota$  in l. 7 naturally suggests  $\theta\alpha\delta\iota\varsigma$ , 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  $\omega$  is very doubtful; a circumflex or breathing, or an interlinear letter, is equally possible.

Frs. 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  $\delta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\tau\omega\sigma\alpha$ ), and W-M thinks that she is confronted by Eunoeos 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 there 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  $[\chi\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\acute{\epsilon} \mu\upsilon\sigma\alpha \kappa\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\rho' \acute{\omega}\sigma \delta\epsilon\upsilon \epsilon\iota\sigma\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\upsilon\sigma' \acute{\epsilon}\tau\omega$ , 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 Amphiarus 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  $\omicron\upsilon\sigma$  suits a  $\theta$  only moderately well, and the proposed restoration of the preceding lacuna is somewhat overlong.

4. Perhaps  $\phi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\eta\tau\iota\delta\alpha$ ; the letter before  $\iota$  (which is almost certain) may be  $\gamma$ . Bury suggests  $\epsilon\rho\eta\mu\alpha\iota \dots [\pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\eta\tau\iota\delta\alpha$ , but  $\delta\omega\mu\epsilon\tau\omega\upsilon \pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\eta\tau\omega\varsigma$  is not a very suitable phrase in referring to Hypsipyle.

5-6.  $\acute{\eta} \tau\rho\omicron\phi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  W-M, Murray. We had proposed to read  $\acute{\eta} \tau\rho\omicron\phi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\omicron\upsilon \dots \delta\omega\delta\omega\sigma\alpha$ .



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, Amphiarus, 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 who 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 Danaï, tell this woman of the child's disaster, for thou wert by and knowest. 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 desirest, 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 . . .'

4 sqq. Hypsipyle on her way to death is making a last effort to move Eurydice; cf. introd. p. 26.

5. δοκ[εί]ς σύ: or δοκ[εί] σοι, and the sentence is perhaps interrogative. For χαρίζεσθαι cf. Nauck Fr. 31 from the *Aeolus* ὄργῃ γὰρ ὄστις εὐθέως χαρίζεται.

11. (γ'): δ' Pap., but δέ as W-M remarks, is superfluous; τᾶλλ' ὄπως, which he suggests, is a rather larger alteration.

12. Murray's ἔφερβον for ἔφερον seems the best remedy for this defective line. The mistake would be a very easy one especially after ἐπ' ἐμαῖσιν ἀγκάλαις (cf. *Or.* 464 παῖδ' ἀγκάλαισι περιφέρων), and ἔφερβον can be supported by *Cycl.* 142 ὃν ἐξέθρεψα ταῖσδ' ἐγὼ ποτ' ἀγκάλαις. W-M suggests ἔφερον (ἐπ)ωφέλημ'. Cf. for the language here Fr. 32, and for ὠφέλημ' Statius, *Theb.* v. 608 sqq. *O mihi desertae natorum dulcis imago, Archemore, o rerum et patriae solamen ademptae servitūque decus.*

13. λευκαίνειν is transitive elsewhere in Euripides; cf. Nicander, *Al.* 170 ἀφροῖο νέην κλύδα λευκαίνουσιν.

14. The dot which is placed directly over  $\sigma$  of *παιδευ* was perhaps intended to cancel that superfluous letter, but it may be a carelessly written stop.

16. ἄρηξ[υ]ν, ἐ\|θέ: so *Herc. F.* 494.

19. σαφέστατ(ο)ν: cf. *Hipp.* 972 μάρτυρος σαφεστάτου. σαφέστατ' ἄν would not yield the required sense.

20. ἄγετε is addressed by Hypsipyle to her guards.

21. On the significance of the words *κενὰ δ'* [ἐ]πηδέσθην ἄρα see introd. p. 25. It was suggested by Murray that ἐπηδέσθην might possibly be here used in a passive sense, 'I was revered,' 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. ο of *πεμπουσα* has been corrected apparently from ε, and probably *πεμπειω* 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. *ευτρεπες* was first written, the *ι* being a later insertion though possibly by the original scribe. τῷ *εὐπρεπέι* is instrumental and there is no need for an alteration like ἐγὼ γὰρ *εὐπρεπῆ*. The sentence was begun as if *ἐλευθέραν τὴν φύσιν εἶναι εἰκάζω*, or something of the sort, was to follow.

25. σε . . . *ικέτις πίτνω* = *σε ἰκετεύω*, the abnormal construction being assisted by the familiarity of the formula *πρὸς σε γονάτων*, &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 πάρος *πίτνουσα γονάτων*—*χειρὶ δ' οὐκ ἔξεστι μοι τῆς σῆς λαβέσθαι φιλιότητος γενειάδος*—*ῥῦσαι με πρὸς θεῶν*.

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, *μέλλω δέ . . . δεσμίαν τε*.

30. θ of *τοθ* is corrected from τ. The mistaken *υ* in *ξενους* has not been crossed out.

31-2. Some or even all of the corrections may be in another hand; the η above *οι* in l. 32 looks as if it had been enlarged after it was first inserted.

35. [οἴσ]θα (Murray) is more likely than [ῆσ]θα.

43. Eurydice had veiled herself on the sudden intrusion of a strange man. Cf. the words of the *τροφός* of *Hermione* in *Andr.* 876 ἀλλ' εἶσιθ' εἶσω μηδὲ φαντάζου δόμων πάροιθε τῶνδε, μή τιν' αἰσχύνην λάβης πρόσθεν μελάθρων τῶνδ' ὀρωμένη, τέκνον. It is also to be remembered that Eurydice'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. *Heracl.* 942 πρῶτον μὲν οὖν μοι δεῦρ' ἐπίστρεψον κἄρα.

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 ὄνομα διήκει πάντας. But the locution may be defended on the analogy of *διέναι*, *διέρχασθαι*, &c., and there is no need to suspect a corruption. κ of *και* has been corrected; the scribe apparently began to write σ.

46. *κοσμεῖν* = 'regulate,' 'restrain,' as in *Andr.* 956 *χρεῶν κοσμεῖν γυναῖκας τὰς γυναικείας νόσους*. By *τὰ διαφέρονθ' ὄραν* *Amphiarus* 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 γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔστι τιμώτερον*.

52. Sense and metre both demand the insertion of ἄν after ὄμμα.

53. *βουλει* here *Pap.*, but -η is the regular form elsewhere.

60. The circumflex accent on *εγῶ*, influenced apparently by the prodelision, is curious; but the accentuation is not seldom at fault; cf. *Fr.* 1. i. 4, iv. 11. *κρηναῖον γάνος* occurs in *Aesch. Pers.* 483.

61. [ὄπως λάβω Murray.

62. What was originally written in place of Ἀργείων ὦς is obscure; perhaps the α of προθυμα was also deleted. The mark above ω of ὦς was presumably intended as a rough breathing but it consists of a single horizontal stroke. διεκπερῶν, followed by some such word as ὄρισμα, W-M.

67. In the initial lacuna W-M suggests χῶ, which might be written και ο, Bury ἴαυε.

68. μεν[ : or μει[.], in which case με[ν probably followed παῖς in the preceding line. ]as αμειψ[ could be read.

71-2. Bury suggests ἄσ[ημος and in the next verse σ[ιματωπὸν ὄμμασιν βλέπων, comparing Nauck Fr. 870 δράκοντος αίματωπὸν ὄμμα, 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 ἠκόντισ<sup>2</sup> is evidently δράκων; Bury compares ἀκούτίας, 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. μυρίων πόνων or κακῶν or πολυπόνου μοίρας, but the sense is evident.

80. ὄριθα = 'omen', as e. g. in *I. A.* 988 ὄρις γένοιτ' ἂν . . . θανοῦσ' ἐμὴ παῖς.

81. The letters after μη are represented by exiguous 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' οὐχ[ or ἄλλου χ[.

84. Κάδμον : sc. πόλ(ις) or some equivalent expression.

85. Probably κυρήσ[ας agreeing with Ἄδραστος.

86. ιξεταρ[, as Murray suggests, seems to be a crasis of ἴξεται ἄρα. 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. 11, ll. 94-5 μή, by Marcus Antoninus 7. 40, and l. 94 again at 11. 6. Lines 90-4 are translated by Cicero, *Tusc.* 3. 25. 59.

89. δ' αὖ : γούν Clem. ; δ' αὖ is clearly right.

90. οὐ ποεῖ βροτῶν : οὐκ αἰεὶ ποεῖ Stob. οὐ νοσεῖ βρ. is conjectured by F. G. Schmidt, *Krit. Stud.* ii. p. 487, on the ground that Cicero has *quem non attingit dolor*.

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

92. αυτοι in the papyrus is a slip for αὐτός as read by Plut. and Clem. αὐτοὺς θνήσκειν Stob., who also has κατὰ δ' (= κᾶτα δ'?) for καὶ τὰδ'.

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

94-5. βίου M. Ant. 11. 6, and τὸ . . . τό for τὸν . . . τὸν 7. 40.

96. στένειν . . . διεκπερᾶν : στέγειν . . . δεῖ δ' ἐκπερᾶν Clem.

After this line Plut. and Clem. give another, which Nauck edits as δεινὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων βροτοῖς (οὐθὲν γὰρ δεινόν Plut., οὐ δεινὸν οὐδέν 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 αἰσχρὸν οὐδὲν κ.τ.λ.) as Εὐριπίδου 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 ο rather than ε, i. e. Ἄργος or Ἀργόθεν. Something like Ἄργος ἐξάγουσι πρόσφορα | θάψαι δὸς ἡμῖν κού κενὸν τι πράξομεν seems indicated.

99-101. Cf. Statius, *Theb.* v. 536-7 *ut inde sacer per saecula Grais gentibus et tanto dignus morerere sepulcro*, and 741 *mansuris donandus honoribus infans*.

102-3. Cf. the words of the scholiast on Clement quoted in introd. p. 22 ἐπ' αὐτῶ τὸν Νεμεακὸν ἄγωνα συνεστήσατο, and Schol. Pindar, *Nem.* arg. 4 ὁ δὲ στέφανος ἐκ χλωρῶν πλέκεται σελίνων.

106. The line may be completed e. g. Ἀρχεμόρου τεθνηκότος, as Bury suggests.

111. εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν Murray.

112. Murray proposes τ[ίμιον προσκίεσται. τ[ίμιον is also suggested here by Bury.

113. ἦ after ἡσσον is naturally interpreted as ἦ; cf. Fr. 1. ii. 19 and 22, where ἦ 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; l. 114 also appears, without statement of the source, in *Flor.* Monac. 100.

114. φύσεις: so correctly *Flor.* Monac.; χρήσεις Orion.

117. οὐδέ: οὐδέν Orion, corr. Schneidewin. Wecklein, *Rhein. Mus.* xxxiii. p. 121 proposes to read λόγον in place of χρεῶν.

**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 Amphiarus 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 *selis* 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 l. 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. ἀζήλω κα[κῶ W-M; ο[ἴ]ρια ζήλω κα[κά (Murray) seems more difficult. ἀλ[λ]ο[τ]ρια ζήλω κα[κά is objectionable owing to the neglect of caesura: perhaps ἀ ζήλω.

4. ἔ[χ]οις: or possibly [δ]χοις: cf. Fr. 33. 8, where ]οχη[ might be ἔχη[μα.

5. μ of ομον is corrected from λ, probably by a later hand. The words may also be divided δ μ' οὐ παρόνθ' ὀμ[ω]ς (?) as Murray suggests, which would imply a masculine speaker for this line.

15. Apparently not ἠνίκα.

**Fr. 62. 2.** The *v* above the line seems to have been inserted by the first hand, and was perhaps deleted by the second.

5. The short *v* in κωλύει, if the reading is right, is remarkable. The *v* 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 μνηῶν in *Rhes.* 494.

7. τωός: or τίνος; the fragment may be stichomuthic.

**Fr. 63.** The speaker is probably Hypsipyle, who after her rescue by Amphiarus seems in ll. 5-8 to be asking for further assistance; cf. note on ll. 7-8.

3. An acute accent on εστιν has been substituted for a barytone; cf. 841. VI. 88.

4. υ of ουσ was originally omitted.

7-8. W-M proposes ἀ[θ]ις ὡσπερὶ νεὸς ζ[άλ]η πλαγκτῆς κυβερνήτην σε] λα[μ]βάνω [σοφόν as representing the sense of these two verses; ζ[άλ]η however could not be read, though σ[άλ]ω would suit.

Fr. 64. i. ἀναγνώρισις 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. κάρ(ω) refers to an entry in the (lost) margin below, replacing a deletion (apparently) in the text; cf. Fr. 1. ii. 8. κάρ(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. *χρόνος* . . . *εὐήμερος* 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 *ἐλίξας*. In either case *τε* is best omitted. For the metaphor of *ἐτρόχασεν* cf. e.g. Soph. Fr. 787 *πότημος ἐν πυκνῷ θεοῦ τροχῷ κυκλείται*.

64. *ἤντόμην* 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 *τήνδε* (accented *τήνδε*, 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 *σφίζετε* or *σφίζεσθε* has to be supplied out of the passive *σφίζου*.

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 *εὐδαιμονοίης* (cf. however, Soph. *El.* 1163-4 *ὡς μ' ἀπόλεσας ἀπόλεσας δῆρ', Orest.* 219 *λαβοῦ, λαβοῦ δῆρ'*). W-M reminds us of the parallel in *Med.* 1271 sqq., where the MSS. prefix to l. 1271 *παῖς*, to 1272 *ἕτερος παῖς*, and to 1277-8 *παῖδες* or *οἱ δύο παῖδες*. The stop in l. 70 should have been placed after *θητα* instead of before it.

72-3. *τ* which follows *φυγας* 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 *υ*, which was written by the first hand over *ν* of *εμον*, implies the division *οὐκέτ' ἐμοῦ*, though if the words were so understood *ὅτι* ought also to have been altered to *ὄτε*. The transposition of *πολιόν* 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 *τεκνα* to *τεκνον*, proposed by W-M, is probable since one son is addressed throughout this passage; cf. ll. 73, 86, 91, &c. An anapaestic dimeter is here interposed between a dochmiac dim. and a dochmiac monom. For *οἶά τε* cf. Fr. 1. ii. 18. *Γοργάδες* in the sense of *Γοργόνες* is quoted in Phot. Lex. *πλόκιον Γοργάδος τὸν δοθέντα πλόκαμον τῆς Γοργόνης Ἀστερόπη τῇ Κηφέως*; cf. Lycophr. 1349 *ἡ παλίμφρων Γοργάς*, which is explained by some scholl. as meaning *Hera ἡ ἐμποιοῦσα φόβον παρὰ τὴν γοργότητα*. The word *Γοργάδων* is glossed by Hesychius, who cites it (1 p. 851) from Sophocles' *Daedalus*, as *ἀλιάδων*; cf. *ibid.* *Γοργίδες αἱ Ὠκεανίδες*, Zon. Lex. p. 448 *γοργάδες αἱ δέσποιναι*.

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

80-82. *ορνεων* (*sic*) Pap., but *ὄρνειον* though a good word does not occur elsewhere in tragedy and W-M's correction *ὄρνιθων* is also metrically preferable. Transposing *ικόμαν* to l. 81 we then get here an iambic dimeter, an anapaestic dimeter, and a dochmiac with irrational penultimate. The papyrus shows both the old Attic (properispome) and the later accentuation of *ερημος*. For *ὄρνιθων* . . . *κοίταν* cf. a fragment from the *Polyidus* (Nauck 636. 5) *ὁ κύματ' οἰκῶν ὄρνις. οἶδμα θαλάσσιον* 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 *ἐνθαδῆ* (another *δῆ* deleted) *ναίων*. Murray suggests *ἐνθάδ' ἦ ναίω*, which is closer to the papyrus but makes the construction of *μέλεον ἐμπολάν* more difficult, besides being less satisfactory metrically. The *ο* of *μέλεον* is more like *ω*, and perhaps *μέλεων* was written owing to confusion with *ναίων*.

89-92. Dactylo-epitrit. dim. (*προσοδιακόν*), dactyl. tetrap., 2 cretic dims. (apparently). *στε δ* was written for *οδε τ*: cf. Fr. 60. 29, note; the partial correction is by the first hand.

93. We substitute *ἐς Ἴωλκόν* 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, but 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. Pindar, *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' οὐ μοι πέπρωται ἐς Ἑλλάδα γαίαν ἰκέσθαι τηλοῦ ἀναπλώοντι, σὺ δ' ἄρσενα παῖδα τέκναι, πέμπε μιν ἠβησαντα Πελασγίδος ἕνδον Ἴωλκοῦ*. 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, *ἀπομαστίδιον κ.τ.λ.*

The interlinear *ε* is written through a mark of elision.

94 = Anapaestic monom. (equivalent to dochmiac) + catalectic dochmiac.

95. The letters *σσ* of *εμοσ* are converted from an *ω*.

96-7. *κακά* for *κακων* Murray, restoring the dochmiac trimeter.

98. For Orpheus cf. note on Fr. 1. iii. 8-10.

99-100 = Resolved dochmiac + iambic trim. For *χάριν . . . τιθέμενος* cf. *El.* 61 *χάρिता τιθεμένη πόσει*.

101. This verse which shows that Euneos is the speaker alludes to the Attic clan of *Εὐνεΐδαι*: cf. introd. p. 28. The first hand perhaps wrote *μακαριστας*, but the vestige of the letter after *μ* is too slight to show whether it was corrected.

102. *Ἄρεως ὄπλα . . . μάχης*: *ὄπλα-μάχης* coalesces into a single term, being practically equivalent, as W-M remarks, to *ὀπλομαχίαν*. Cf. *Phoen.* 307-9 *βοστρύχον τε κυανόχρωτα χαίτας-πλόκαμον*, *Soph. Ant.* 795 *βλεφάρων-ἕμερος εὐλέκτρον νύμφας*, &c. The letters *εσ*, though broken, are practically certain.

103-4 = Dochmiac trim., the first member catalectic, the third with an irrational first syllable.

105. The papyrus has *δουιν τεκνω*, 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 *δύ' ἐξ ἐνός κακῶ*, *Phoen.* 582 *δύο κακῶ*, *Aristoph. Birds* 1464 *περῶ*, *Lysis* 291 *τῶ ξύλω*, *Xen. Cyr.* v. 4. 51 *τῶ δὲ δύο φρουρίῳ*; 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. *τῶ παῖδέ σου*, or *ἐκέισε νῶ*, 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 *δύ' οἱ τέκνω*, which no doubt might readily produce *δύοιν τέκνω*; but the collocation does not seem quite satisfactory.

106. *Βα[κ]χ[ίου]* suits the space better than *Βα[ε]χ[ίαις]*, and, as Murray remarks, is more

probable in itself in view of the extremely common use in Euripides of Βάκχιος = Βάκχος. In Statius, *Theb.* v. 283-4, Dionysus in aiding Thoas to escape from Lemnos promises to watch over his fortunes: *in lato patrem committe profundo. Succedam curis.*

107. Perhaps π[όνων, but μετα]βο[λαί (cf. Nauck Fr. inc. 864 μεταβολὰς γὰρ πόνων ἀεὶ φιλῶ) is excluded by the accent on ο.

109. παῖδας ῆ: for the circumflex on η cf. Fr. 1. ii. 17; παῖδα σῆ is less likely.

111. Possibly βροτοῖσι δό[πος, 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. στρατεῖ in l. 4 and θύειν in l. 9 are doubtless references to the Argive army (cf. Frs. 1. iv. 36 and 60. 62), and the speaker is perhaps Amphiaraus, 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. 1. iii; it is quite likely to be lyrical, but does not seem to join on there directly.

Frs. 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. ἡ τύχαις: or πτυχαῖς.

5. This may be a lyric verse.

Fr. 71. Since the recto contains beginnings of lines, this fragment does not belong to Fr. 1. 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. ῆν (not ῆν) is inserted above the line apparently as a variant on εῖ: 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. 1. ii, but we cannot find a place for it there.

Fr. 86. 3. 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 υ; but perhaps the first letter is α and the υ 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 ξ = 1400 is just possible.

Fr. 115. Judged by the manner of writing, Θόα[ 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 ξ.

## 853. COMMENTARY ON THUCYDIDES II.

Height 20.5 cm.

Late second century.  
Plate IV (Cols. xvi-xvii).

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-xiv 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  $\epsilon$  and  $\kappa$ , and presents much similarity to the hand of the Oxyrhynchus scholia on *Iliad* xxi (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, 31, 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.  $\iota$  and  $\nu$  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. 24, 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 l. 18 covers c. 13. 6-7. Fr. 1, 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. (*Ant.* i. 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 ὑπό as equivalent to ἀπό), xix. 4 sqq. (a hopelessly wrong interpretation of ἦς ἀν ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον κ.τ.λ.). Of more interest than his exegetical remarks are his critical notes on the text. The variant ὄρητο for ὄρητο recorded in xiii. 13-5 was already known, but neither ἐκστρατευόμενων (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 ἐξεστρατευμένων, 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 . . .]ος (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. 34-5, 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

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. Iudic.* 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 *τινές*, i. e. his predecessors, and his objections fall under the three heads of *διαλπεισις*, *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 *διαλπεισις* 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 debateable. 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 preceding the Peloponnesian war. Probably his desire to avoid becoming involved in this so serious an undertaking was one of the chief reasons for the postponement 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 remoter causes of events is at least as true as Dionysius' opposing aphorism in c. 11 that true 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 commentaries upon Thucydides; cf. E. Schwabe, *Leipz. Stud.* iv. pp. 81 sqq., Doberentz, *De Scholiis in Thuc.*, Halle, 1876. Numenius, who wrote *περὶ τῶν τῆς λέξεως σχημάτων, ὑποθέσεις τῶν Δημοσθένους καὶ Θουκυδίδου, χρειῶν 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 *ἐκλογή 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 ἡμαρτημένων παρὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν Θουκυδίδου*, indicates that it was quite different from our commentary, as were the *ζητήσεις κατὰ στοιχείου Θουκυδίδου* or *τῶν παρὰ Θουκυδίδου ζητουμένων κατὰ λέξιν* 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 *φίλιππος*, 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 ABEFM, 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 ABEFM 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. *θερη και χειμωνας* above the line for *θέρος και χειμῶνα*.
- (2) v. 5 (c. 2. 4) *χρησθαι* for *χρήσασθαι*.
- (3) v. 21 (c. 4. 2) *εκφυγειν* for *ἐκφεύγειν* (*ἐκφυγεῖν* only in a late Paris MS.).
- (4) v. 30 (c. 4. 3) *στυρακι* for *στυρακίω*.
- (5) vii. 15 (c. 11. 9) *υμιν* for *ἡμῖν*.
- (6) vii. 29 (c. 12. 2) *εκστρατευομενων*, with v.l. *στρατευοντων*, for *ἐξεστρατευμένων*.
- (7) ix. 3 (c. 13. 7) *υπο* for *ἀπό*.
- (8) x. 15 (c. 15. 4) *αρχαιοτατα* for *ἀρχαιότερα*.
- (9) xiii. 20 (c. 22. 3) *Φαρσαλιοι Πειρασιοι (Κρανωνιοι)* for *Φαρσάλιοι Παράσιοι Κρανώνιοι Πειράσιοι*.
- (10) xv. 34 (c. 37. 2) *δρα τι* for *τι δρᾶ*.

(11) xvi. 25 (c. 39. 1) *δαιτωμεθα* for *δαιτώμενοι*.

(12) xvii. 35 (c. 40. 3) *αυτοι* for *οἱ αὐτοί*.

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 *τῆ ἰβ'*, 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).

[		] ι. ι. [ἄρχεται δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ἐνθένδε.]
[	.....]· ρ[	[.....]· ρ[
[	.....]εστιν[.....]ιτοεγθα	[.....] ἐστὶν ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ ἐνθα.
[	.....]λληλου[.....]υπροσαλλη	[παρ' ἀ]λλήλου[ς· ἀντὶ τοῦ] πρὸς ἀλλή-
5 [	.....]συνη[.....]ι	[λους] συνή[θει λέξε]ι.
[	.....]ταιδε[.]ησω[.]κασταεγιγνε	[γέγραπ]ται δ' ἐ[ξ]ῆς ὡ[ς] ἔ[κ]αστα ἐγίγνε-
[	.....]καταθεροσκαίχε[.]μωναδιονυ	[τ]ο κατὰ θέρος καὶ χε[ι]μῶνα· Διονύ-

10 σιος[.]αλικαρνασσευσεντωιπερι  
 θουκυδίδο[.]συνταγματιπεριου  
 πολλωνμ[.]μφεταιονθουκυδι  
 15 δηνταδαν[.]γατωιτριακεφαλαια  
 διεξεισινο[.]τεουκαρχοντασκαι  
 ολυμπιαδα[.]σοιλοιποιοπροτε  
 θεικετωνχ[.]ναλλ'ιδιωσ  
 20 θερηκαιχει[.]ασκαιοτιδιεσπα  
 κεκαιδιη[.]ετηνιστοριαν >  
 καισυνκο[.]πραγματαου  
 καπα[.]τιζω[.]α[.]περικεαστων  
 25 διηγ[.]σεισα[.]απαλλωνεπαλλα  
 τρεπομενοσπρ[.]ντελειωσαικαι >  
 οτιτηναληθητουπολεμουαιτ[.]  
 ανεπιωνωσσοφδραυτοσεξη  
 30 τακωσποτιδιενλαβειαντησιςχυοσ  
 τωναθηραιωνεπολεμησαναυ  
 35 τοισοιλακεδαίμονιοιουμαδια  
 διατακορκυραϊκαηποτειδαιατι  
 κακαιτασπαρατοισπολλοισλεγο >  
 μενασαιτιασομωσουκαποτου >  
 τωνωνεκρινεναυτοσδιηγεται  
 30 εκ[.]ιθεναρξάμενοσαφοιωνπρα  
 γματωνμεταταπερσικαηξη  
 θησανοιαθηραιοιαλλαπαλινεπι  
 35 τασκοινασαιτιασπρεπεται. τοιαν >  
 ταμενοδιοννσιοσεικοτωσδαν  
 35 τισπροσαντονπροπετωσουτωσ >

σιος [ό] Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς ἐν τῷ περὶ  
 Θουκυδίδου συντάγματι περὶ οὗ  
 πολλῶν μ[έ]μφεται τὸν Θουκυδί-  
 δην, τὰ δ' ἀν[ω]τάτω τρία κεφάλαια  
 διεξεισιν, ὅ[τι] τε οὐκ ἄρχοντας καὶ  
 Ὀλυμπιάδα[ς] ὥ[ς] οἱ λοιποὶ προτέ-  
 θεικε τῶν χ[ρόνων] ἀλλ' ἰδίως  
 θέρη καὶ χει[μῶν]ας, καὶ ὅτι διέσπα-  
 κε καὶ διή[ρη]κε τὴν ἱστορίαν  
 καὶ συγκό[πτει] τὰ πράγματα οὐ-  
 κ ἀπα[ρ]τίζω[ν] τ[ά]σ[ς] περὶ ἐκάστων  
 διηγ[ή]σεις ἀ[λλ]ὰ ἀπ' ἄλλων ἐπ' ἄλλα  
 τρεπόμενος πρ[ί]ν τελειῶσαι, καὶ  
 ὅτι τὴν ἀληθῆ τοῦ πολέμου αἰτί[ς]-  
 αν ἐ[ἰ]π[ί]ων ὡς σφόδρα αὐτὸς ἐξη-  
 τακῶς, ὅτι δι' εὐλάβειαν τῆς ἰσχύος  
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπολέμησαν αὐ-  
 τοῖς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐ μὰ Δία  
 διὰ τὰ Κορκυραϊκὰ ἢ Ποτειδαιατι-  
 κὰ καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς λεγο-  
 μένας αἰτίας, ὅμως οὐκ ἀπὸ τού-  
 των ὧν ἔκρινεν αὐτὸς διηγῆται  
 ἐκ[ε]ῖθεν ἀρξάμενος ἀφ' οἷων πρα-  
 γμάτων μετὰ τὰ Περσικὰ ηὔξη-  
 θησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἐπὶ  
 τὰς κοινὰς αἰτίας τρέπεται. τοιαῦ-  
 τα μὲν ὁ Διονύσιος· εἰκότως δ' ἄν  
 τις πρὸς αὐτὸν προπετῶς οὕτως

Col. ii (=A col. ii).

[.....]σ[έ].εν[.]τι  
 [.....]τοσο[.....].έ[.]  
 τ[.....]τωνπραγματων

[μεμφόμενον ἀντεγκαλέ]σε[ι]εν [ό]τι  
 [.....]τοσο[.....].ε[.]  
 τ[.....] τῶν πραγμάτων

σ[. . . . .]νλογισμογοσκαι  
 5 α[. . . . .]νγοσπαρεδωκεν >  
 ε[. . . . .]ανηγαρκατααρ >  
 χ[. . . . .]καικατολυμπια  
 δ[. . . . .]ενπλάτεικαιου  
 κ[. . . . .]νουδωσθηροδο  
 10 τ[. . . . .]ντουσυνεχωσ  
 τ[. . . . .]υσποικι  
 λον[. . . . .]μονωρα  
 φω[. . . . .]οιοντη  
 του[. . . . .]σ[. . .]αστους  
 15 α[. . . . .]πλα[. . .]αίκααπο  
 [. . . . .]μεχριτωνυστατων  
 [. . . . .]ταιεταπαλινπασασ  
 τασ[. . .]βολαστωνπελοποννη[. .  
 ων[. . .]παλληλουσγραφειν[. .]κ[. .  
 20 κυραικαεφεξησδιαφεροντ[. .  
 τοισχρονοισπανταγαρανσυν[. .  
 χεενηπαλινεπιτουσαστουσχι[. .  
 νουσανετρεχεναπρεπωσκα[. .  
 αλογωσουγαρμιαυποθεσισην[  
 25 ουδεενένιχρονωιητοπωιαλλα[  
 πολλαικαιπολλαχουκαικατα  
<sup>και ρ</sup>  
 πολλουσχρονοσ καιμην >  
 εικαικατααρχονταεγραφενα >>  
 ναγκηπαλινηδιαιρεινταπρα  
 30 γματαεπαλλωνγαρκαιαλλων  
 ταυτααρχοντωνσυνεβαινεν  
 οτανδετισενκεφαλιονωγραφη  
 μονονσυνεχωσείρειεαυτωιον  
 εαντιαλεγειοδιονυσισκαιγαρ >  
 35 εικαταρχοντασδεειγραφεινωσ  
 φησινομοιωσεχρηνηδιαιρειντα

σ[. . . . .]ν λογισμὸν δὲ καὶ  
 α[. . . . .]νος παρέδωκεν  
 ε[. . . . .]αν. ἢ γὰρ κατὰ ἄρ-  
 χ[οντας διάθεσις] καὶ κατ' Ὀλυμπιά-  
 δ[ας οὐπω ἐγεγόνει] ἐν πλάτει καὶ οὐ  
 κ[. . . . .]ν οὐδ' ὡς Ἡρόδο-  
 τ[ος . . . . .]ντου συνεχωσ  
 τ[. . . . .]νυσ ποικί-  
 λον [. . . . .]μον γρά-  
 φω[ν . . . . .] οἶον τῆ  
 τοῦ [. . . . .]σ[. .]αστους  
 α[. . . . .]τὰ Πλα[τ]αῖκά ἀπὸ  
 [τῶν πρώτων] μέχρι τῶν υστάτων  
 [διεξελεθόν]τα, εἶτα πάλιν πάσας  
 τὰς [ἐσ]βολὰς τῶν Πελοποννη[σί-  
 ων [ἐ]παλλήλους γράφειν, [τὰ] (δὲ) Κ[ορ-  
 κυραῖκά ἐφεξῆς διαφέροντ[α  
 τοῖς χρόνοις. πάντα γὰρ ἂν συν[έ-  
 χεεν ἢ πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χ[ρό-  
 νους ἀνέτρεχεν ἀπρεπῶσ καὶ  
 ἀλόγως. οὐ γὰρ μία ὑπόθεσις ἦν  
 οὐδὲ ἐν ἐνὶ χρόνῳ ἢ τόπῳ, ἀλλὰ  
 πολλαὶ καὶ πολλαχοῦ καὶ κατὰ  
 πολλοὺσ καιροῦσ. καὶ μὴν  
 εἰ καὶ κατὰ ἄρχοντα(σ) ἔγραφεν, ἀ-  
 νάγκη πάλιν ἦν διαιρεῖν τὰ πρά-  
 γματα· ἐπ' ἄλλων γὰρ καὶ ἄλλων  
 ταῦτα ἀρχόντων συνέβαινεν·  
 ὅταν δὲ τις ἐν κεφάλαιον γράφῃ  
 μόνον συνεχωσ εἴρει. εἰ αὐτῷ οὖν  
 ἐ(ν)αντία λέγει ὁ Διονύσιος· καὶ γὰρ  
 εἰ κατ' ἄρχοντασ ἔδει γράφειν ὡσ  
 φησιν, ὁμοίως ἐχρῆν διαιρεῖν τὰ

## Col. iii (= A col. iii).

π[.]αγματαακολουθ[.] . . . . .]ουσιν  
 [.]ανγετοιουσυνειρη[.] . . . . .]ακαι  
 [.]ηκωλωσινοιχρ[.] . . . . .]ησ[.]  
 [.] . . .]κυδιδη[.]διηγε[.] . . . . .]ι[.] . .  
 5 [.] . . .] . . [.] . .]τηιζ̄συν[.] . . . . .  
 [.] . . . . .]ταιουδειτ[.] . . . . .  
 [.] . . . . .]ροικατο[.] . . . . .  
 [.] . . . . .]ικακα[.]οικι[.] . . . . .  
 [.] . . . . .]πολλ[.]σκεφα[.] . . . . .  
 10 [.] . . . . .]εταζεινοδεδ[.] . . . . .  
 [.] . . . . .]εξ̄ωθενπαραβα[.] . . . . .  
 [.] . . . . .]μεταβασεισμεταξ[.] . . . . .  
 [.] . . . . .]ωνουκεπιτιμᾱι[.] . . . . .  
 [.] . . . . .]νπροκειμενην̄ι[.] . . . . .  
 15 [.] . . .]ν . [.] . .]ταιαιγ[.]πτιακαιλυδ[.] . . . . .  
 π[.] . [.]δεο[.] . . . . .]α . . . ασηι[.]λ[.] . [.] . . .  
 ακριβωσ[.] . . . . .]αχ[.] . . . . .]α  
 προσδετο[.] . . . . .]ντη[.] . . . . .]ασ  
 μηαποτησ̄τω[.] . . [.]ηνα[.]ωναυξη  
 20 σεωσπεποιησθαιτου[.]ουκυδιδην  
 ηνπερφησιναληθεστεραναιτι  
 ανειναιτουπολεμουπρωτονμεν  
 ρητεονωσουκεμελλετονπελο  
 ποννησιακονπροθ[.]μενοσυν  
 25 γραφεινπολεμονπλειουσπολε >  
 μουσαποτωνπερσικωναυτων  
 σχεδοναφωπρωτωνηυξηθη  
 σαναθηναιοιεπεισαγεινενπροσ  
 θηκησμερειεξ̄ωγαρτελεοντησ  
 30 ὑποθεσεωσεινετοεπειτενθυ >  
 μητεονοτι[[τ]]ασσυνγραφευσοφει  
 λειτασφανερασκαιθρυλ[.]υμενας

π[ρ]άγματα ἀκολουθ[ως τοῖς ἀρχ]ουσιν.  
 [ἐ]άν γέ τοι συνείρη [τὰ πράγματ]α καὶ  
 [μ]ὴ κωλύωσιν οἱ χρ[όνοι ἐφεξ]ῆς [ὁ  
 [Θου]κυδιδη[ς] διηγε[ῖται, οἶον .]ι[.] . .  
 [.] . . .] . . [.] . .]τῇ ζ' συν[εχῶς] . . . . .  
 [.] . . . . .]ται. οὐδ' εἰ τ[.] . . . . .  
 [.] . . . . .]ροικατο[.] . . . . .  
 [.] . . . . .]ικα κα[τ]οικι[.] . . . . .  
 [.] . . . . .] πολλ[ὰ]ς κεφα[λὰς] .  
 [.] . . . . .] ἐξ̄ετάζειν. ὁ δὲ Δ[ιονύ-  
 [σιος] . . . . .] ἐξ̄ωθεν παραβα[.] . . . . .  
 [.] . . . . .] μεταβάσεις μεταξ̄[ὐ τῶν  
 [πρασσομέν]ων οὐκ ἐπιτιμᾶ [Ἡροδό-  
 [τῳ] . . . . .]ν προκειμένην ἰ' . [.] . .  
 [.] . .]ν . [.] . .] τὰ Αἰγ[ύ]πτια καὶ Λυδ[ιακά],  
 π[.] . [.] δὲ ο[.] . . . . .]α . . . αση [.]λ[.] . [.] . . .  
 ἀκριβῶς [.] . . . . .]αχ[.] . . . . .]α  
 πρὸς δὲ τὸ [τὴν ἀρχ]ῆν [τῆς ἱστορί]ας  
 μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἀθηνα[ίων] αὐξή-  
 σεως πεποιῆσθαι τὸν [Θ]ουκυδιδην  
 ἦνπερ φησὶν ἀληθεστέραν αἰτί-  
 αν εἶναι τοῦ πολέμου, πρῶτον μὲν  
 ῥητέον ὡς οὐκ ἔμελλε τὸν Πελο-  
 ποννησιακὸν προθ[έ]μενος συγ-  
 γράφειν πόλεμον πλείους πολέ-  
 μους ἀπὸ τῶν Περσικῶν αὐτῶν  
 σχεδὸν ἀφ' ὧν πρώτων ηὐξήθη-  
 σαν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεισάγειν ἐν προσ-  
 θήκης μέρει· ἔξω γὰρ τέλεον τῆς  
 ὑποθέσεως ἐγίνετο. ἔπειτ' ἐνθυ-  
 μητέον ὅτι πᾶς συγγραφεὺς ὀφεί-  
 λει τὰς φανεράς καὶ θρυλ[ο]ύμενας

αιτιαστωνπραγματωνενπρω >  
 τοισακριβωσαφηγεισθαιιδετι >  
 35 νωναφανεστερωνυπονοειτου

αιτίας τῶν πραγμάτων ἐν πρώ-  
 τοις ἀκριβῶς ἀφηγεῖσθαι, εἰ δέ τι-  
 νων ἀφανεστέρων ὑπονοεῖ τοῦ-

Col. iv (= A col. iv).

τοεπι[	το ἐπι[
σθαιοδ[	σθαι ὁ Δ[ιονύσιος
τοικατ[	τοι κατ[
καιπε[	καὶ πε[
5 ναμεσ[	νὰ μέσον
ομηρικ[	Ὀμηρικῶς
χωνα . [	χων α . [
πιεικη[	πιεικῆ [
συκοφ[	συκοφ[αντ
10 αιτριακ[	2. 1. αἰ τριακ[οντούτεις σπουδαί· ἀν-
ταικατα[	ται κατα[ τριακοντού-
τεισκα[	τεις κα[
κωνωσ[	κων ὡς [
δησκ . [	δης κ . [
15 εσπλατα[	ἐς Πλάτα[ιαν τῆς Βοιωτίας· ἡ πό-
λισενι[	λις ἐν[κῶς λέγεται. καὶ Ὀμηρος
οιτεπλα[	οἷ τε Πλά[ταιαν ἔχον.
[. . . .]ε[	[τῶ δὲ π]έ[μπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔ-
τ[	τ[ει ἐπὶ Χρυσίδος ἐν Ἄργει τότε
20 π[	π[εντήκοντα δυοῖν δέοντα ἔτη
ἱερ[	ἱερ[ωμένης·
τι[	τι[
κ[	κ[
πρ[	πρ[
25 τη . [	τη . [
ταουκε . [	τα οὐκ ε . [
φασιτινο[	φασί τινο[ς
καικατολ[	καὶ κατ' Ὀλ[υμπιάδας (?)
ορισαιτου[	ὀρίσαι τοῦ[

30	ουδοκιμα[ τοπροστα[ θεμενοιδ[ αντιτουθ[ θεμενος[	οὐ δοκιμα[ τὸ προστα[ 2. 4. θέμενοι δ[ἐ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ ὄπλα· ἀντὶ τοῦ θέντες θέμενος [
35	καιθρεψαμ[	καὶ θρεψάμ[ενος ἀντὶ τοῦ θρέψας.

Col. v (= B col. i).

	τοδεθεμενοιαν[. .]τουαπο[.]εμε νοικαιστρατοπ[. .]υσαμενοιεν τηαγορα	τὸ δὲ θέμενοι ἀν[τὶ] τοῦ ἀπο[θ]έμε- νοι καὶ στρατοπ[εδε]υσάμενοι ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ.
5	γνωμηνδεπο[. .]υντοκηρυγμασιν τεχρησθαιεπιτηδε[.]οισ εγνωσαν > δεφιλικοισκηρυγμασινχρησθαι καιεισφιλιανυπαγαγεσθαιλεγουσι γαρεπιτηδειουστουσιφι[.]ουσι εδοκειουνεπιχειρηταειναι τωι	γνωμὴν δ' ἐπο[ιο]ύντο κηρύγμασιν τε χρῆσθαι ἐπιτηδε[ί]οις· ἔγνωσαν δὲ φιλικοῖς κηρύγμασιν χρῆσθαι καὶ εἰς φιλίαν ὑπαγαγέσθαι· λέγουσι γὰρ ἐπιτηδείους τοὺς φί[ι]λους.
10	συνηθεισχηματικεχρηταιαντι τουεπιχειρητεον	3. 3. ἐδόκει οὖν ἐπιχειρητέα εἶναι· τῷ συνήθει σχήματι κέχρηται ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπιχειρητέον.
15	καιεισχειρασηισανκαταταχος δι > συλλαβωσαναγνωστεονηισανοι μενγαριωνεσκαιαιολεισδιαιρου σινουτοιδαδιαιρετω	3. 4. καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἦσαν κατὰ τάχος· δι- συλλαβῶς ἀναγνωστέον ἦσαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἴωνες καὶ Αἰολεῖς διαιροῦ- σιν, οὗτοι δὲ ἀδιαιρέτω(ς).
20	οιπλειουσενσκοτωικαιπηλωι > τωνδιόδα[.]ηιχρησ[.]θηναι σφο τωιανωμάλωσχηρηταιεπινοτεωσ αρσενικωιενιοτεδεωσουδετερωι	4. 2. οἱ πλείους ἐν σκότῳ καὶ πηλῷ τῶν διόδα[ν] ἢ χρῆσ[ω]θῆναι· σκό- τῳ ἀνωμάλως χρῆται, ἐνίστε ὡς ἀρσενικῷ, ἐνίστε δὲ ὡς οὐδετέρῳ.
25	εμπειρουσδεχοντεστουσδιωκον ταστομηκεφυγεινωστεδιεφθει ροντοοιπολλοι ητοιουτωσρητεον εμπειρου[.]δεχοντεστουσδιωκον τασειστομηκεφυγεινδιεφθειρον τοιοιπολλοιωστεπαρελκεσθαιτο ωσστητοαρθρονπλεονασειτο >	ἐμπείρους δ' ἔχοντες τοὺς διώκον- τας τοῦ μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν ὥστε διεφθεί- ροντο οἱ πολλοί· ἦτοι οὕτως ῥητέον, ἐμπείρου[ς] δ' ἔχοντες τοὺς διώκον- τας· εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν διεφθείρον- το οἱ πολλοί, ὥστε παρέλκεσθαι τὸ ὥστε· ἢ τὸ ἄρθρον πλεονάσει τὸ

τουεμπειρουσδεχοντε[.]τους > >  
 διωκοντασωσπεμηκεφυγειν  
 διεφθειροντοοιπολλοι  
 30 στυρακιακοντιου τωισαυρωτηρι  
 καλουμενωεστιδετοεσχατον  
 τουδορατος  
 ξυνεβησαντοισπλαταιευσι συνε  
 θεντοεισσυμβασεισηλθονμετα  
 35 φορικωσαποτουεισταυτοβαιν[.]γ  
 τουσενπαραταξειδιεστωτας >  
 αλληλων

του, ἐμπείρους δ' ἔχοντες[ς] τοὺς  
 διώκοντας ὥστε μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν  
 διεφθείροντο οἱ πολλοί.

4. 3. στύρακι ἀκοντίου· τῷ σαυρωτῆρι  
 καλουμένῳ. ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἔσχατον  
 τοῦ δόρατος.

4. 7. ξυνέβησαν τοῖς Πλαταιεῦσι· συνέ-  
 θεντο, εἰς συμβάσεις ἦλθον, μετα-  
 φορικῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς ταῦτὸ βαίν[ει]ν  
 τοὺς ἐν παρατάξει διεστῶτας  
 ἀλλήλων.

Col. vi (= B col. ii).

πανστρατια[ι] ω[. . . . .]  
 \ πανσυδιηπασ[. . . . .]  
 οἷααπροσδοκητου[. . . . .]  
 τωιαάτεαπροσδο[. . . . .]  
 5 [.]ποτ[. . . .]αντεσ[. . . . .]  
 πτευσαντεσκαικ[. . . . .]  
 τινεσλεγουσι [  
 [.]εισαντεσπεριτοισ[. . . . .]  
 περιτωνεξωμοι[. . . . .]  
 10 δαμασθεισγραφητ[. . . . .]  
 βουλεουσωσιπεριαυτ[. . . . .]  
 τωιτοιουτωιλεγειδ[. . . . .]  
 σιτοντεεσηγαγον[. . . . .]  
 κανομηροσνηεσ[. . . . .]  
 15 παρεστασαν[. . .]ονα[. . . . .]  
 εξιταλιασκα[. . .]κελιασ ε[. . . . .]  
 φησινοθ[.]υκυδιδησκα[. . . . .]  
 λιωταισκα[.]τοῖσαποσικ[. . . . .]  
 λακεδαιμονιοιναυσπ[. . . . .]  
 20 ειστηνσυμμαχιανουδ[. . . . .]  
 κειθενπαρεδωκενπε[. . . . .]

5. 1. πανστρατιᾶ· ὡ[ς] . . . . .  
 πανσυδίη πασ[. . . . .]

5. 4. οἷα ἀπροσδοκῆτου [κακοῦ· ἴσον  
 τῷ ἄτε ἀπροσδοκῆτου.

5. 5. [ύ]ποτ[οπήσ]αντες· [ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπο-  
 πτεύσαντες καὶ κ[. . . . .]  
 τινὲς λέγουσι.

[δ]είσαντες περὶ τοῖς [ἔξω· ἀντὶ τοῦ  
 περὶ τῶν ἔξω, ὁμοί[ως] . . . . .  
 δαμασθεῖς. γράφεται δὲ . . . . .

6. 2. βουλεύσωσι περὶ αὐτῶν· . . . . .  
 τῷ τοιούτῳ λέγει δ[. . . . .]

6. 4. σίτον τε ἐσήγαγον· [σίτον ἐσήνεγ-  
 καν· Ὅμηρος νῆες [δ' ἐκ Λήμνιοι  
 παρέστασαν [οἶν]ον ἄ[γ]ουσαι.

7. 2. ἐξ Ἰταλίας κα[ὶ] Σικελίας· ἐπέταξαν,  
 φησὶν ὁ Θ[ο]υκυδίδης, κα[ὶ] τοῖς Ἰτα-  
 λιώταις κα[ὶ] τοῖς ἀπὸ Σικελίας οἱ  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι ναῦς ποιῆσθαι  
 εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν· οὐδ[εὶς] δὲ ἐ-  
 κείθεν παρέδωκεν πε[μφθῆναι]



- [.]ων ειμηπροσεκειτοτοεπαμφο >  
 τεραην[. . . .] [.]τομεγιστηνδο  
 ξανεπ[. . . . .]ξιασινυδεδε  
 20 [.]τειον[. . . . .]οληψινωστοι  
 [.]π[. . . . .]εξοντεςκαι  
 [.]καιοιπρογονοιηχρηστην  
 [.]αντιανεκτωναποβαινον  
 [.]ωνοποιοιεναποτωνεργων >  
 25 [.]φεκατερονοφθητε  
 [.]λλουσοντα[.]ενικοσμοι κοσμοσ  
 [.]ιαταξισωστ[.]αρεπεικοσμη  
 [.]εναμηγεμ[.]  
 [.]αιμονιω[.]εκστρατευομενων  
 30 [.]ετα[.]καισ[.]ατευ[.]ντ[.]νου  
 [.]εδεχον[.]ρεσβεια[.]πολε  
 [.]ντωνπ[.]διαλυσαιτοστρα  
 [.]επ[.]ικ[.]ναναχωρησαι  
 [.]τει  
 35 [.]γγενηται μηδενισυν  
 [.]ηδαιομειλιανεληθη  
 [.]διαλυεσθαι διακρινε  
 [.]ωριζεσθαι
- [τ]ων· εἰ μὴ προσέκειτο τὸ ἐπ' ἀμφό-  
 τερα ἦν [ἀκούσ]σ[αι] τὸ μεγίστην δό-  
 ξαν ἐπ[ὶ] τῆς εὐδοξίας, νῦν δὲ δε-  
 [κ]τέον [ἀντὶ] τοῦ ὑπ[ὸ]ληψιν ὡς τοι-  
 [αύτην ὑπ[ὸ]ληψιν] ἔξοντες καὶ  
 [ὑμεῖς] καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι ἢ χρηστήν  
 [ἢ ἐν]αντίαν ἐκ τῶν ἀποβαιόν-  
 [τ]ων ὁποῖοι (ἀ)ν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων  
 [ἐ]φ' ἐκάτερον ὀφθῆτε.  
 [πο]λλοὺς ὄντα[s] ἐνὶ κόσμῳ· κόσμος  
 [δι]άταξις, ὡς τ[ὸ] αὐτ[ὰ]ρ ἐπεὶ κόσμη-  
 [θ]εν ἄμ' ἠγεμ[ό]νεσσ[ι].
12. 2. [Λακεδ]αιμονίω[ν] ἐκστρατευομένων·  
 [γράφ]ετα[ι] καὶ σ[τρ]ατευ[ό]ντ[ω]ν. οὐ  
 [γὰρ] ἐδέχου[το] π[ρ]εσβεία[ν] πολε-  
 [μού]ντων π[ρὶν] διαλυσαι τὸ στρά-  
 [τευμα] ἢ ἐπ' [ο]ϊκ[ο]ν ἀναχωρῆσαι  
 [ἀμαχη]τεί.  
 [μηδενὶ] ξυ[γγ]ενηται· μηδενὶ συμ-  
 [μίση] μ[η]δ' εἰς ὀμιλίαν ἔλθη.  
 12. 3. [ἔ]μελλε[ν] διαλύεσθαι· διακρίνε-  
 [σθαι, χ]ωρίζεσθαι.

Col. viii (= C col. ii).

- [.]περκαὶ[.]ο[.]  
 [.]νερεκαεκ[.]  
 κενοτιμ[.]μιζ[.]  
 κλεακαιαμ[.]  
 5 τωαγειε[.]ελ[.] . . . . αυ[.] .ιτ[.] . . .  
 ἢ[.]περῖσχυο[.]σι [.]αθοῖσχυουσ[.] . . .  
 [.]χειροσεχειν ενχερσιν[.] . . . .  
 [.]εταχειριζεσθαιδιατη[.] . . . .  
 [.]υσησεπιμελειασ  
 10 [.]ωμηκαιχρηματωνπ[.]υσι[.] . . .
13. 2. [ἄ]περ καὶ [πρ]ό[τερον] . . . . .  
 [.]ν ἔνεκα εκ[.] . . . . .  
 κεν ὅτι ν[ο]μιζ[.] . . . . . Περι-  
 κλέα καὶ αμ[.] . . . . .  
 τῷ ἄγει ἐ[ξ]ελ[α] . . . . αυ[.] .ιτ[.] . . .  
 ἢπερ ισχύου[σι]· [κ]αθ' ὃ ισχύουσ[ι].  
 [διὰ] χειρὸς ἔχειν· ἐν χερσὶν [ἔ]χειν,  
 [μ]εταχειρίζεσθαι διὰ τῆ[s] ἀεὶ δε-  
 [ο]ύσης ἐπιμελείας.  
 [γν]ώμη καὶ χρημάτων π[εριο]υσί[α]



τοδιαστημα[.]ποτουφαληρι[.]υ  
 15 αχριτουκυκ[.]υτουαστεωσ[.]υκλον  
 δελεγειτονπ[.]ριβολουτουα[.]εω[.]  
 [.]αιπαλινοποσονηε[.]ε[.]ε[.]  
 [.]χριτουκυκλου  
 [.]υνουχ[.]αι λ[.]μηνα[.]

τὸ διάστημα [ἀ]πὸ τοῦ Φαλήρ[ικ]οῦ  
 ἀχρι τοῦ κύκλου τοῦ ἀστεως, [κ]ύκλον  
 δὲ λέγει τὸν π[ε]ρίβουλον τοῦ ἀ[στ]εω[ς],  
 [κ]αὶ πάλιν ὁπόσον ἦν ἐ[κ Π]ειραιέ-  
 [ως ἀ]χρι τοῦ κύκλου.

[ξὺν Μο]υνουχ[ί]α· λ[ι]μὴν Ἀ[ττικῆς]

About 3 lines lost.

Fr. 1.

22 ητ[  
 ευβο[  
 αλλ[  
 25 καιγαρ[  
 ξ[.]χισνο[  
 [.]ειτο[  
 οί[

ητ[  
 14. 1. Εὐβο[ιαν·  
 ἀλλ[  
 καὶ γὰρ [  
 ξ[.]χισ νο[  
 [.]ειτο[  
 οί[

Col. x (= E col. i).

[  
 [.]μετευμο[.]  
 [.]χθειευριπι[.]  
 [.]  
 5 ἦα[.]ηδηξυντ[.]  
 εσαυ[.]ντελοντω[.]  
 τοενλ[.]ισ διονυσο[.]  
 μενφησ[.]ευδεδιονυ[.]  
 [.]ητον[.]τελευθει[.]  
 10 [.]οροστά[.]ασηγογε[.]  
 [.]οσδεουτ[.]σφησιν[.]  
 [.]ατοεκλελ[.]μνασθαι[.]  
 [.]τιδεκαειν[.]ηιλακωνι[.]  
 [.]ουλιμνατ[.]σεστιναρτ[.]  
 15 [.]ααρχαιοταταδιονυσιατηβποι  
 [.]επιτρεισμε[.]εσ[.]νεορτηημε

[  
 15. 1. Ἐλευσίνιοι μετ' Εὐμόλπου· . . .  
 [.] ἐν Ἐρε[χ]θεῖ Εὐριπίδης . . .  
 [.]  
 15. 2. ἦ ἀ[πάντων] ἤδη ξυντ[ελοούντων]  
 ἐς αὐ[τήν] ξυ[ν]τελούντων . . . . .  
 15. 4. τὸ ἐν Λίμνα[ι]ς Διονύσο[υ]· Καλλίμαχος  
 μέν φησιν[ι] εὖ δὲ Διωνυσ[ος] . . . . .  
 [.]η τόν [πο]τ' Ἐλευθῆρ ει[.] Λιμναίω  
 [δὲ χ]οροστά[δ]ας ἦγον ἐ[ορτάς], . . .  
 [.]ος δὲ οὐ[τω]ς φησὶν [καλεῖσθαι  
 [δι]ὰ τὸ ἐκλελ[ι]μνάσθαι [τὸν τόπον.  
 [έ]στι δὲ καὶ ἐν [τ]ῇ Λακωνί[α] ἱερὸν  
 [ό]που Λιμνα[τί]ς ἐστιν Ἄρτ[εμυς].  
 [ὅ] τ' ἀρχαιοτάτα Διονύσια τῇ ιβ' ποι-  
 [είται] ἐπὶ τρεῖς μέ[ν] ἐσ[τιν] ἑορτῇ ἡμέ-





	[. . . . .]τογεστωτααντιτο[. . . . .	[σονται,] τὸν ἐνεστῶτα ἀντὶ τοῦ μέλλον-
	[. . . . .]τοτο . . . [.]ικριτιθ[. . . . .	[τος . . .]τοτο . . . [.]ικρι τιθ[. . . . .
30	[. . . . .]ε[. . .] . σ . [.]ο[. . . . .	[. . . . .]ε[. . .] . σ . [.]ο[. . . . .
	[. . . . .]στοήρ[. . . . .	[. . . . .]ς τὸ ἦρ[. . . . .
	[. . . . .]καιμ[. . . . .	[. . . . .] και με[. . . . .
	.	.

Col. xiii (= F col. ii).

	καιεπαινεσ[.]σθαιαντιουεπα[. . .	(20. 4.) και ἐπαινέσ[ε]σθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπα[ινέ- σειν σὺνηθες τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς.
	θριῶξε τοπικωσαντιτουειστ[. . .	21. 1. Θριῶξε· τοπικῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰς τ[ὸ] Θριά- σιον πε{ι}δίον, συνήθ[ω]ς· ἠκολού[θει γὰρ ὡς Ὀλυμπίαζε και οἴκαδε Θριῶξε.
5	γαρωσολυμπιαζεκαιοικαδεθρι[. . .	21. 2. ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς ὡς εἰκὸς τῆς [γ]ῆς τεμν[ο- μένης· ὑπέρβατόν ἐστι, τὸ γὰρ ἐξῆς αὐτοῖς δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο, τὰ δ' ἄλλα διὰ μέσου.
	αλλαυτοισωσεικοστησ[.]ησμεν[. . .	21. 3. κατὰ ξυστάσε[ι]ς τ[ε] γιγνόμενο[ι] συνιστάμενοι, συστρεφόμενο[ι] κατὰ μέρος.
10	μενησ υπερβατονεστιτογαρε[. . . . .	ὡς ἕκαστος ὄργητο· ὡς ἕκαστο[ς] ὠ[ρέ- γετο, ἐπ[ε]θύμει. ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ γράφ[ε- ται ὄρητο.
	αυτοισδεινονεφαινετοταδα[. . .	22. 2. ἐν Φρυγίαις· τόπος δήμου Ἀθμονέω[ν]. τέλει ἐνὶ τῶν ἱππέων· τάγματι, ν[ῦν] μὲν δόρπον ἔλεσθε κατὰ στρα[τ]ὸν ἐν τελέεσσι.
15	διαμεσου	22. 3. Φαρσάλιοι Πειράσιοι· ἀπ[ὸ] Πηρείας, τὰ[ς] ἐν Πηρείῃ θρέψ' ἀργυρότοξος. ἀμαρ- τάνουσι δὲ οἱ γρά[φ]οντες Παράσι- ο[ι], ἔστιν γὰρ τῆς Ἀρκ[αδίας].
	καταξυνστασε[.]στ[.]γεινομενο[. . .	23. 1. ἄραντες· ἀπάραντες, [ἀποσ]τάντες.
	συνισταμενοισυστρεφομενο[. . .	23. 3. παριόντε[ς] δὲ Ὀρωπό[ν] μεθ[ό]ριος γῆς Βοιω[τῶν] και Ἀθηναίων ἐστίν,
	καταμερη	
	ωσεκαστοσωργητο ωσεκαστο[.]ω[. . .	
	γετοεπ[.]θυμειενειοισδεγραφε[. . .	
20	ταιώρητο	
	ενφρυνγιοισ τοποσδημουαθμονεω[. . .	
	τελειενιτωνιππεων ταγματι[. . .	
	μενδορπονελεσθεκαταστρα[.]ον[. . .	
	εντελεεσσι	
25	φαρσαλιοιπειράσιοι απ[.]πηρειαστα[. . .	
	ενπηρειηθρειψαργ[. . . . .	
	τανουσιδειογρα[. . . . .	
	ο[.]εστινγαρτησαρκ[. . . . .	
	ἀραντες απαραντες[. . .]ταντες	
	παριοντε[.]δεωρωπο[. . .]ορισ	
	γησβοιω[. . .]καιαθην[. . .]στιν >	

[. . . . .]βητησαν[. . .]ακισ [ὄθεν ἡμφισ]βήτησαν [πολλ]άκισ  
 [. . .]ου [αὐτ]οῦ.  
 [. . . . .]α[. . .]δαυ[. . . .]οιαθη[. 24. 1. [ἀναχωρησ]ά[ντων] δ' αὐ[τῶν] οἱ Ἄθη-

Some columns lost.

Col. xiv (= G col. i).

	[. . . . .]υτηκοτωναρσε	34. 5.	[. . . . . τετελε]υτηκότων. ἀρσε-
	[. . . . .]σιτονμαραθωνα		[νικῶς δὲ λέγου]σι τὸν Μαραθῶνα.
	[. . . . .]φιοσ		[ ἐπιτᾶ]φιοσ.
	[. . . . .]δριπολλωναρετασ	35. 1.	[καὶ μὴ ἐν ἐνὶ ἀν]δρὶ πολλῶν ἀρετὰς
5	[. . . . .]εντεκαιχειρονει		[κινδυνεύεσθαι] εἶ τε καὶ χεῖρον εἰ-
	[. . . . .]ηται καιμηενει		[πόντι πιστευθ]ῆναι· καὶ μὴ ἐν ἐνὶ
	[. . . . .] . σου[. . . . .]απο		[ἀνδρὶ . . . .] . σου[. . . . .] ἀπο-
	[. . . . .]ντασαρετασκινδυνε[.		[θανόντων]ν τὰς ἀρετὰς κινδυνε[ύ-
	[. . . . .]ποντικαικακωστοιου		[ειν εἶ εἰ]πόντι καὶ κακῶς τοιου-
10	[. . . . .]σπιστευεσθαιῶσαν >		[τοτρόπου]ς πιστεύεσθαι ὡς ἀν
	[. . . . .]ιπη		[οὔτος εἰ]πη.
	[. . . . .]μετριωσειπειν >	35. 2.	[χαλεπὸν γὰρ τὸ] μετρίως εἰπεῖν·
	[. . . . .]καικανωσ		[. . . . .] καὶ ἱκανῶς.
	[. . . . .]οκησιστησαλη		[ἐν ᾧ μόλις καὶ ἡ δ]όκησις τῆς ἀλη-
15	[. . . . .]υσκολονεστιν		[θείας βεβαιού]ται· δ[ύσκολόν] ἐστιν
	[. . . . .]πραγματιμο		[. . . . .] πράγματι μο-
	[. . . . .]ασῦπολη >		[. . . . .]ασ ὑπολή-
	[. . . . .]αιδυσκολον		[ψ . . . . .]αι δύσκολον
	[. . . . .]πιστεται		[. . . . .] ἀπιστεῖται
20	[. . . . .]ουπραγμα		[. . . . .] τοῦ πράγμα-
	[. . . . .]δοξακαι		[τος . . . . .] δόξα καὶ
	[. . . . .]του[. . .]		[. . . . .] του . [.] .
	[. . . . .]		[. . . . .]
	[. . . . .]λεοναζε		[ὁ τε ἀπειρός ἐστιν ἂ καὶ π]λεονάζε-
25	[. . . . .]τηναν >		[σθαι διὰ φθόνον εἶ τι ὑπὲρ] τὴν αὐ-
	[. . . . .]οουντες		[τοῦ φύσιν ἀκούοι· οἱ ἀγν]οοῦντες
	[. . . . .]μισει		[. . . . .] νο]μισει-

	[.....]ειτινα	[αν ἀν.....] εἴ τινα
	[.....]νγαρτο	[.....]ν γὰρ τὸ
30	[.....]καστοσ	[.....]εἴκαστος
	[.....]ηγείται	[.....]ηγείται
	[.....]νβουλη	[πειρᾶσθαι ὑμῶν τῆς ἐκάστο]υ βουλή-
	[.....]επι >>	[σεώς τε καὶ δόξης τυχεῖν ὡς] ἐπὶ
	[.....]στου	[πλείστον· ..... ἐκά]στου

4 lines lost.

Col. xv (= G col. ii).

	[...]αιονγαρου[.....]	36. 1. [δίκ]αιον γὰρ αὐ[τοῖς καὶ πρέπον δέ·
	[...]καιονπ[...]ιρηκ[.]ν. [...].π. [.	[δί]καιον π[άλ]ω εἶρηκ[ε]ν. [...].π. [.
	αντιτουπ[.]ροσηκον	ἀντὶ τοῦ π[ρ]οσηκον.
	καθεστηκυια[.]ηλικιαι εντηπαρᾶ. ηιταυ <sup>τ</sup>	36. 3. καθεστηκυία ἡλικία· ἐν τῇ παρα(κμ)ῇ
		ταύτ(η).
5	καινομαμενδιατομησολιγουσ	37. 1. καὶ ὄνομα μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους
	αλλε[.]πλειονασοικεινδημοκρατια	ἀλλ' ἐ[ς] πλείονας οἰκεῖν δημοκρατία
	κεκλ[.]αι ουπαραιοπολλουσοικειν	κέκλ[η]ται· οὐ παρὰ τὸ πολλοὺς οἰκεῖν
	γινε[.]ιδημοκρατιαα[.]λατιουτον	γίνε[τα]ι δημοκρατία, ἀ[λλ]ὰ τοιοῦτον
	λεγειδιατομηπροσο[.]ιγαρχιαν >	λέγει διὰ τὸ μὴ πρὸς ὀ[λ]ιγαρχίαν
10	διοικεσθαιταπραγματααλλαεισ	διοικεῖσθαι τὰ πράγματα ἀλλὰ εἰς
	[.]τουπληθουσσυμφερον	[τὸ] τοῦ πλήθους συμφέρον.
	μετε[.]τιδεκαταμεντουσνομουσ	μέτε[σ]τι δὲ κατὰ μὲν τοὺς νόμους
	προσταιδιαδιαφοραπασιτοισονκα	πρὸς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον, κα-
	ταδετηναξιωσινωσσεκαστοσεντωι	τὰ δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν ὡς ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ
15	ευδοκιμειουκαπομερουστοπλεο[.]	εὐδοκιμεί οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους τὸ πλεόν·
	διαφοραννταδιαφερονταμ[.]	διάφορά νυν τὰ διαφέροντα· μ[ε]-
	τεχουσιδεπαντεσκαταμεντουσ	τέχουσι δὲ πάντες κατὰ μὲν τοὺς
	νομουσεντοισιἰδιοισυμβολαι[.]σ	νόμους ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις συμβολαί[οι]ς
	ἰσηγοριασκαταδετηναξιανωσεν	ἰσηγορίας, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀξίαν ὡς ἐν
20	τινικ[.]στοσλαμπροσνομιζεται	τινὶ ἕκ[α]στος λαμπρὸς νομίζεται
	εντο[.]σκοινοισουκατατομεροστο	ἐν το[ῖ]ς κοινοῖς, οὐ κατὰ τὸ μέρος τὸ
	επιβαλλονἰσοναντωιτησπ[.]ιτει	ἐπιβάλλον ἴσον αὐτῷ τῆς π[ο]λιτείας
	ασπροστοκοινογτ[.]ματαιαλλα >	ας πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τ[ι]μάται ἀλλὰ

διατηναρετη[. . . .] : ἡ[.]ρετωνοι  
 25 [.] . κ[. . . .]ε . [ . . . . . ]νταξιν  
 [ . . . . . ]εκαστος  
 [ . . . . . ]ννομων  
 [ . . . . . ]ιαρετη >  
 [ . . . . . ]σ  
 30 [ . . . . . ]τοκοινον  
 [ . . . . . ]νπροσ >  
 [ . . . . . ]καθ[. . .]ρανεπιτη  
 [ . . . . . ]ψια[. . .]ιοργησ >  
 [ . . . . . ]δονη[.]δρατιεχον  
 35 [ . . . . . ]σφησινπολ[.]τενομεθα  
 [ . . . . . ]νοισκαιπ[. .]σαλλη >  
 [ . . . . . ]αθημερανεπιτη >  
 [ . . . . . ]χυποπτευσοντες

δια τὴν ἀρετὴν ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἀρετῶν οι-  
 [.] . κ[. . . .]ε . [ . . . . . ]νταξιν  
 [ . . . . . ] ἕκαστος  
 [ . . . . . ] τῶν νόμων  
 [ . . . . . ]ι ἀρετῇ  
 [ . . . . . ]ς.

37. 2. [ἐλευθέρως δὲ τὰ τε πρὸς] τὸ κοινὸν  
 [πολιτεύομεν καὶ ἐς τῆ]ν πρὸς  
 [ἀλλήλους τῶν] καθ' [ἡμέ]ραν ἐπιτη-  
 [δευμάτων ὑπο]ψίαν [οὐ δ]ὲ ὄργης  
 [τὸν πέλας εἰ καθ' ἡ]δονῆ[ν] δρᾶ τι ἔχον-  
 [τες· ἐλευθέρω]ς φησὶν πολ[ι]τενόμεθα  
 [ἔν τε τοῖς κοι]νοῖς καὶ π[ρὸ]ς ἀλλή-  
 [λους ἐν τοῖς κ]αθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτη-  
 [δεύμασιν οὐ]χ ὑποπτέυ[σ]οντες

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

το[. . .]ασουδοργ[. . . . .]  
 προ[. . .]ονηνητ[. . . . .]  
 ουδε[.]ζημιου[. . . . .]ηι  
 οψ[. .]αχθηδονα[. . . . .]  
 5 ουλυπουμεν . [ . ]ν . [ . . . . . ]σ  
 τοισηδεωσδια[. .]σινο[. . . .]ριμεν  
 ζημιαστησκατα[.]κειν[. . .]ονκα  
 τηγορ[. .] . [.]προστιμου[.]ευθερωσ  
 ζηνε[. . .]ρεπομεναλλωσδεεκ  
 10 του . [ . .]αχθόμενοι και βασκαίνον  
 τεσεπ[. . .]αλλωνηδοναισδιατελου<sup>μ</sup>  
 ανεπα[. . .]σδεταῖδιαπροσομιλουν  
 τεσταδ[. . .]οσιαδιαδεοσμαλισταου  
 παρανομ[.]μεν εντοισιδιδιοισαπλ[.]  
 15 στερον[. . .]ηλοισσνοντεσεντοις  
 κοινοισ[. . .]αβωσκαινομιμωσπο

τῶν πέλας οὐδ' ὀργιζόμενοι εἰ  
 πρὸς ἡδονῆν τ[ι] δρᾶ.  
 οὐδὲ [ἀ]ζημιού[ς] μὲν λυπηρὰς δὲ τ[ῆ]  
 ὄψ[ει] ἀχθηδόνα[ς] προστιθέμενοι·  
 οὐ λυπούμεν . [ . ]ν . [ . . . . . ]ς  
 τοῖς ἡδέως δια[ι]τῶσιν, οὐδὲ ἄχ[ρι] μὲν  
 ζημίας τῆς κατὰ [ἐ]κείν[ων, οἶ]ον κα-  
 τηγορ[ίας] κ[α]ὶ προστίμου, [ἐ]λευθέρως  
 ζῆν ἐπιτ[ε]ρέπομεν, ἄλλως δὲ ἐκ  
 τοῦ . [ . .] ἀχθόμενοι καὶ βασκαίνον-  
 τες ἐπ[ὶ] ταῖς ἄλλων ἡδοναῖς διατε-  
 λοῦμεν.

37. 3. ἀνεπα[χθῶ]ς δὲ τὰ ἴδια προσομιλοῦν-  
 τες τὰ δ[η]μόσια διὰ δέος μάλιστα οὐ  
 παρανομ[οῦ]μεν· ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀπλ[ού]-  
 στερον [ἀ]λλήλοις συνόντες ἐν τοῖς  
 κοινοῖς [εὐ]λ[αβῶ]ς καὶ νομίμως πο-

λιτενο[.]θα  
 τῶν τε α[.]ειεν αρχηιοντων ακροασει  
 τωικατ[.]κουεινκα[.]πειθεσθαι τοις  
 20 αρχου[.]ν  
 καιθυσαισι[.] . .]τησιοις οιονδιολουτουετουσ  
 τολυπηρον[.] .]πλησσει εξαιρειταιεξαγει  
 τηντεγαρ[.] .]λινκοινηνπαρεχο >  
 μεν ακ[.] . . .]λιζειλακεδαιμονιουσ  
 25 ανειμεν[.] .]δαιτωμεθα ουκαντι  
 τουαργ[.] .]αλλααδεωσ  
 καιτοιει[.] . .]υμμαιμαλλονηπονων  
 μελετη[.] . .]μημετανομωντοπλε  
 ονητροπ[.] .]ανδρειασεθελομεν >  
 30 κινδυνε[.] . . .]περιγιγνεταιημιν  
 τοιστεμ[.] . . .]υσυναλγεινοισμη >  
 προκαμν[.] . .]καιεσαυταελθουσιν  
 μηατολμ[.] . .]ουστωναιειμοχθουν  
 τωνφαιν[.] . . .]ι καιτοιει[.]ενανεσει  
 35 μαλλον[.] . . .]αιστωνη[.]ζωμεν  
 μηκακ[.] . . .]θουντεστηασκησει  
 μηδυπονομωνααναγκαζομε  
 νοιαλλαδιατηνεμφυτο[.]ανδρει

λιτενδ[με]θα.  
 τῶν τε α[ι]ει ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντων ἀκροάσει·  
 τῷ κατ[α]κούειν κα[ι] πείθεσθαι τοῖς  
 ἄρχου[σι]ν.  
 38. 1. καὶ θυσαίαις [διε]τησίους· οἶον δι' ὄλου τσῷ  
 ἔτους.  
 τὸ λυπηρὸν [ἐκ]πλήσσει· ἐξαιρεῖται,  
 ἐξάγει.  
 39. 1. τὴν τε γὰρ [πό]λιν κοινήν παρέχο-  
 μεν· ἀκ[ροβο]λίζει Λακεδαιμονίους.  
 ἀνειμέν[ως] δαιτώμεθα· οὐκ ἀντὶ  
 τοῦ ἀργ[ῶς] ἀλλὰ ἀδεῶς.  
 39. 4. καίτοι εἰ [ράθ]υμῖα μᾶλλον ἢ πόνων  
 μελέτη [καὶ] μὴ μετὰ νόμων τὸ πλέ-  
 ον ἢ τρόπ[ων] ἀνδρείας ἐθέλομεν  
 κινδυνε[ύειν] περιγιγνεται ἡμῖν  
 τοῖς τε μ[έλλου]σιν ἀλγεινοῖς μὴ  
 προκαμν[εῖν] καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ ἐλθοῦσιν  
 μὴ ἀτολμ[οτέρους] τῶν αἰεὶ μοχθοῦν-  
 των φαίν[εσθα]ι· καίτοι εἰ[ν] ἐν ἀνέσει  
 μᾶλλον [καὶ] ῥ[α]στῶν ζῶμεν  
 μὴ κακ[οπα]θοῦντες τῇ ἀσκήσει  
 μηδ' ὑπὸ νόμων ἀναγκαζόμε-  
 νοὶ ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἔμφυτο[ν] ἀνδρεί-

Col. xvii (=G col. iv). Plate IV.

ανυπο[.] . . . . .]τουσκινδυνουσ  
 [ . . .]ιεστ[.] . . . . .]οτωνδεινων >  
 [ . . . . .]αικαιεστουσκιν  
 [ . . . . .]αντασημανανδ[.]ο  
 5 τ[.]ρουστωναιεικακοπαθουντων  
 φαινεσθαιοιμενγαρλακωνεσαιει  
 πονεινυποτωννομωνηναγκα  
 ζοντοιοιδαθηναιοιπαρατουσκιν

αν ὑπο[φέρουτες] τοὺς κινδύνους,  
 [περ]ίεστ[ιν] ἡμᾶς πρὸ τῶν δεινῶν  
 [μὴ] ταλαιπωρεῖσθαι καὶ ἐς τοὺς κιν-  
 [δύνους] ἀπαντήσ[αντας] μὴ ἀνανδ[ρ]ο-  
 τ[έ]ρους τῶν αἰεὶ κακοπαθούντων  
 φαίνεσθαι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Λάκωνες αἰεὶ  
 πονεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ἠναγκά-  
 ζοντο, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ τοὺς κιν-

δυνουσεπονουντο

- 10 πλουταιτεεργ<sup>υ</sup>ο[[ν]]μαλλονκαιρωιηλο  
 γουκομπωιχωρωμεθα οπλουτοσημων  
 επιτωνε[. .]ωνενκαιρωιφαινεται >  
 ουλογω[. .]ζονειαιλεγομενπλουτειν  
 καιτοπει[. . .]ιουχομολογειντιναιαι
- 15 σχροναλλα[. .]διαφευγεινεργωιαισχρειον  
 ουχωσκαιτ[. .]πεγεσθαιαισχρουαυτοι  
 λεγομενουαλ[. . .]νκριτικοναντι >  
 απλουτεθεικ[. . .]σομηροσαιειδε  
 νεωτεροιαφρ[. . .]υσιν
- 20 εντε[.]ο[.] .]αυτοι[. . . .]ιωναμακαιπολι  
 τικωνεπιμελια[. . .]τεροισπροσεργα  
 τετραμμενοις[. . . .]τικαμηνεδε  
 ωσγνωαι ελ[. . . .]τουπαρχειοιον  
 εντοισαυτοις[. . . .]σινεστιντων
- 25 τειδιωνκαιτ[. . . .]ινωνκατα >  
 τηνπολινηε[. . .]ελειακαιετε  
 ροισεστιπροσε[. . .]ρηκοσιτατησ  
 γεωργιασκαιταπ[. . .]ικαμηδεν >  
 ηττονδιαγιν[. . .]ειν
- 30 καιαυτοιητοικρι[. . .]νγεγενθυ  
 μουμεθαορθω[. . . .]αγματακρινο  
 μεν οιονεπικρι[. . .]νωσετερων  
 ευροντων  
 διαφεροντωσγαρ[. . .]δεεχομεν
- 35 ωστετολμανταε[. . .]μα[. . .]ακαι  
 περιωνεπιχει[. . . . .]ιζε  
 σθαιοιοισαλλ[. . . . .]

δύνους έπονούντο.

40. 1. πλούτω τε έργου μάλλον καιρῶ ἢ λό-  
 γου κόμπῳ χρώμεθα· ὁ πλοῦτος ἡμῶν  
 ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐν καιρῶ φαίνεται,  
 οὐ λόγων [ἀλα]ζονεία λέγομεν πλουτεῖν.  
 καὶ τὸ πέν[εσθα]ι οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν τινη αἰ-  
 σχρὸν ἀλλὰ [μῆ] διαφεύγειν έργῳ αἴσχιον·  
 οὐχ ὡς καὶ τ[οῦ] πένεσθαι αἴσχροῦ αὐτῶ  
 λεγομένου, ἀλ[λὰ συ]γκριτικὸν ἀντὶ  
 ἀπλοῦ τέθεικεν, ὡς Ὁμηρος αἰεὶ δὲ  
 νεώτεροι ἀφραδέο[υ]σιν.
40. 2. ἐν τε τ[τ]ο[ίς] αὐτοῖ[ς] οἰκείων ἅμα καὶ πολι-  
 τικῶν ἐπιμέλεια [καὶ ἐ]τέροις πρὸς ἔργα  
 τετραμμένοις [τὰ πολι]τικὰ μὴ ἐνδε-  
 ῶς γνῶναι· ἐλ[λιπὲς] τὸ ὑπάρχει, οἶον  
 ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς [ἀνδρά]σιν ἐστὶν τῶν  
 τε ἰδίων καὶ τ[ῶν κο]ινῶν κατὰ  
 τὴν πόλιν ἢ ἐ[πιμ]έλεια, καὶ ἐτέ-  
 ροις ἐστὶ πρὸς ἔ[ργα ὠ]ρηκόσι τὰ τῆς  
 γεωργίας καὶ τὰ π[ολιτ]ικὰ μηδὲν  
 ἥττον διαγιμ[ώσκ]ειν.  
 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦτοι κρί[νομε]ν γε ἢ ἐνθυ-  
 μούμεθα ὀρθῶ[ς τὰ πρ]άγματα· κρίνο-  
 μεν οἶον ἐπικρί[νομε]ν ὡς ἐτέρων  
 εὐρόντων.
40. 3. διαφερόντως γὰρ [δὴ τό]δε ἔχομεν  
 ὥστε τολμᾶν τε α[ὐτοῖ] μά[λιστ]α καὶ  
 περὶ ὧν ἐπιχειρήσομεν ἐκλογ[ί]ζε-  
 σθαι· ὁ τοῖς ἄλλ[οις] ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος,

Col. xviii (= G col. v).

λο[

ο[

τ[

λο[γισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει·

ο[

τ[

5 μετ[  
 μωμ[  
 ανθρ[  
 αμαλ[  
 μενο[  
 σιναφ[  
 10 ουτ[εσ[  
 απειρι[  
 αδεωστι[  
 καικαθεκ[  
 αυτοναν[  
 15 στανειδ[  
 στανευτρ[  
 κεςπαρεχ[  
 αθηναιο[  
 πλεισταε[  
 20 τωσμαλι[  
 εαυτονα[  
 παρασχοι[  
 τουευκολ[  
 μονηγαρτ[  
 25 σωνεσπειρ[  
 κρεισσω[  
 νηγαρπε[  
 γωνεντοι[  
 καιμονητ[  
 30 τωνουκα[  
 δεεστερω[  
 τωνυπη[  
 αρχησου[  
 ουτετωιυπ[  
 35 αποκοινο[  
 τοεχειουτ[  
 καταμεμψ[

μετ[  
 μωμ[  
 ανθρ[ωπ  
 αμαλ[  
 μενο[  
 σιν αφ[  
 οντες [  
 απειρι[  
 40. 5. αδεως τι[να ωφελοθμεν· . . . . .  
 41. 1. και καθ' εκ[αστον δοκειν αν μοι τον  
 αυτον αν[δρα παρ' ημων επι πλει-  
 στ' αν ειδ[η και μετα χαριτων мали-  
 στ' αν ευτρ[απελως το σωμα αυταρ-  
 κες παρεχ[εσθαι·  
 Αθηναϊο[ς επι  
 πλειστα ειδη . . . . . χαριεν-  
 τως мали[στα  
 εαυτον αν αυταρκη τω σωματι  
 παρασχοι. [ευτραπελως δε αντι  
 του ευκολ[ωσ.  
 41. 3. μονη γαρ τ[ων νυν ακοησ κρεισ-  
 σων εσ πειρ[αν ερχεται· . . . . .  
 κρεισσω [ μό-  
 νη γαρ πε[ . . . . . των λο-  
 γων εν τοι[ς εργοις . . . . .  
 και μονη τ[ων πολεμίων . . . . .  
 των ουκ αγανακτησιν εχει ως εν  
 δεεστερω[ς . . . . . ουδε  
 των υπη[κων . . . . . ως τη[ς  
 αρχη[ς ουκ αξια ουσα.  
 ουτε τω υπ[ηκοφ καταμεμψιν·  
 απο κοινο[υ . . . . . ληπτεον  
 το εχει. ουτ[ε αγανακτησιν ουτε  
 καταμεμψ[ιν εχει.

Some columns lost.

Col. xix (= H).

	[.....]φύσεως [..		[.....] φύσεως.
	[.....]αχιστονα[.]ετ[. .	45. 2.	[ἡ δόξα καὶ ἦς ἂν ἐπ' ἐλ]άχιστον ἀ[ρ]ετ[ῆς
	[.....]ἄρρεσικλεοσῆ[. .		[πέρι ἧ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς] ἄρρεσι κλέος ἦ·
	[.....]νσυνδεσμον. [..		[.....]ν σύνδεσμον. [..
5	[.....]αντιτουκαίτε[. .		[..... τὸ ἦ] ἀντὶ τοῦ καὶ τέ[θει-
	[.....]μεγωλαονσοον[		[κεν "Ομηρος βούλο]μ' ἐγὼ λαὸν σόον
	[.....]λεσθαιαποκοιν[		[ἔμμεναι ἢ ἀπο]λέσθαι. ἀπὸ κοιν[οῦ
	[.....]ληπτεοντοφυ[		[δὲ .....] ληπτέον τὸ φύ-
	[.....]φύσεωσελαχιστο[		[σεως .....] φύσεως ἐλάχιστο[ν
10	[.....]μηφογουπαρα >		[.....] μὴ ψόγου παρα
	[.....]κλ[. .]σῆκαιησαν		[.....] κλ[έο]ς ἦ καὶ ἦς ἂν
	[.....]λεοσῆπεριαρε >		[ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον κ]λέος ἦ περὶ ἀρε-
	[.....]ογουεντοισαι[.]ρα[		[τῆς ..... ψ]όγου ἐν τοῖς ἀν[δ]ρά-
	[.....]κασδηλονοτ[.]πο		[σι ..... γυναι]κας δηλονότ[ι] πο-
15	[.....]ατουνοηματο[.]παρ[		[.....]α τοῦ νοήματο[ς] παρ[α
	[.....]δοξαιαισγυν[. . . .		[.....] δόξα ταῖς γυν[αιξί
	[.....]φανηναιτη[. . . .		[.....] φανῆναι τη[. . . .
	[.....]καιπαρα[. . . . .		[.....] καὶ παρα[. . . . .

## Unplaced Fragments.

(a) To Cols. i-vi.

Fr. 3.	Fr. 3.
[κρ[	[κρ[
]εδυνα[	]εδυνα[
]εξερχε[	] ἐξερχε[
]καιπο[	] καὶ πο[
].. [	].. [

## (b) To Cols. viii-xiii.

Fr. 4.	Fr. 5.	Fr. 4.	Fr. 5.		
]ατρίδα[	. . . .	(?) π]ατρίδα [	. . . .		
]ασαρετ[	]τηι	]ας ἀρετ[ὰς	]τηη		
]δετη[	]ρασ	] δὲ τη[	]τας		
]στινὸ[	] . σ	ἐ]στὶν ο[	] . s		
5 ]σαττ[	] .	]σαττ[	] .		
. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .		
Fr. 6.	Fr. 7.	Fr. 8.	Fr. 6.	Fr. 7.	Fr. 8.
. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
]ενο[ . .	]α	]νε[	]ενο[ . .	]α	]νε[
]κατε[ .	] >	] . ου[	] κατε[ .	] .	] . ου[
]νδια	]αι	. . .	]ν δια	]αι	. . .
. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .

## (c) To Cols. viii-xix.

Fr. 9.	Fr. 10.	Fr. 9.	Fr. 10.		
. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .		
] . [	] . ε[	] . [	] . ε[		
]περ . [	]μαζ[	]περ . [	]μαζ[		
]εσθ . . [	]ητωςτι[	]εσθ . . [	]ητως τι[		
]ντογ[	]υτοήδ[	]ντον[	]υτο ήδ[		
5 ] . αι[	]ντες [	] . αι[	]ντες [		
. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .		
Fr. 11.	Fr. 12.	Fr. 13.	Fr. 11.	Fr. 12.	Fr. 13.
. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
] [	[.] . [	] . [	] [	[.] . [	] . [
]τομαντ[	μ[	]φο[	]το μαντ[	μ[	]φο[
]ρο[.]επ[	η . [	] . [	]ρο[.] ἐπ[	η . [	] . [
]τ[	[.]η[	. . .	]τ[	[.]η[	. . .
. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .

## (d) To Cols. xiv-xix.

Fr. 14 (to col. xv?).	Fr. 15.	Fr. 14.	Fr. 15.
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
]ινκ[	]εω . [	]ιν κ[	]εω . [
]γτοισι[	]σαλη[	]ν τοῖς ι[	]ς ἀλη[
]ρωνε[	]ε . [	]οων ε[	]ε . [
]ετουδ[	. . . . .	]ε τουδ[	. . . . .
5 ]ται . [	. . . . .	]ται . [	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

## (e) Uncertain.

Fr. 16.	Fr. 17.	Fr. 16.	Fr. 17.		
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .		
] . ρ[	]καλλ[	] . ρ[	] καλλ[		
]ματ[	] . υτοσ[	]ματ[	] . υτοσ[		
]ρεξ[	] . ναστη[	]ρεξ[	] . ναστη[		
]λιστα[	]λυσα[	μά]λιστα [	]λυσα[		
5 ] . εικαι[	5 ]αντι[	]ει και [	] ἀντι [		
]υνη[	] . [	]υνη[	] . [		
]δοτ[	. . . . .	]δοτ[	. . . . .		
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .		
Fr. 18.	Fr. 19.	Fr. 20.	Fr. 18.	Fr. 19.	Fr. 20.
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
]αλο[	σια[	]α[	]αλο[	σια[	]α[
] . επ[	σα[	]ρ . [	] . επ[	σα[	]ρ . [
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Fr. 21.	Fr. 22.	Fr. 23.	Fr. 21.	Fr. 22.	Fr. 23.
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
] . [	]ασ[	]ρι . [	] . [	]ασ[	]ρι . [
] . αφο[	]ερ[	. . . . .	] . αφο[	]ερ[	. . . . .
. . . . .	]μη[	. . . . .	. . . . .	]μη[	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

Fr. 24.	Fr. 25.	Fr. 24.	Fr. 25.
• . .	• . .	• . .	• . .
]ερ[	] . επ[	]ερ[	] . επ[
]τιν[	] . [	]τιν[	] . [
]μ[	• . .	]μ[	• . .
• . .		• . .	

i. 1-3. A note on ἐνθένδε. δ[μοίως κα] (so W(ilamowitz)-M(öllendorff) and Bury) τὸ ἐνθα means that ἐνθα is sometimes used in a temporal sense like ἐνθένδε. Cf. Hesych. *s. v.* ἐνθα and Bekker, *Anecd.* i. p. 250. 32 ἐνθένδε ἤτοι τοπικὸν ἐστίν . . . ἢ χρονικὸν . . . Our author, interpreting ἐνθένδε in a temporal sense, thus avoided the wrong explanation of it given by Schol., ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς αἰτίας.

6-7. [γέγραπται δ' : so most MSS. (δέ), Stuart Jones ; καὶ γέγραπται C, Hude. For the alternative reading θέρη . . . χεμῶνας there is no MS. authority, and it may be merely due to θέρη καὶ χεμῶνας in l. 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 Plataean 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 Θουκυδίδο[υ] συντάγματι: of the two extant MSS. of this treatise one has no title, the other has ἔτι περὶ Θουκυδίδου πλατύτερον, this book following upon the *Ep. ad Cn. Pomp.*

11-34. The passage of Dionysius here summarized is *De Thucyd. Iud.* ed. Radermacher, pp. 335 sqq. (cc. 9-12). Of Dionysius' three objections, the first, relating to the division into summers and winters (ll. 12-15), corresponds to 335. 20-336. 12, the second, concerning the want of connexion (ll. 15-20), to 336. 12-338. 3, and the third, concerning the causes of the war (ll. 21-33), to 338. 4-343. 4. On the first two points similar criticisms are also made, but more briefly, in the same author's *Ep. ad Cn. Pomp.* c. 3, and by Theon, *Progymn.* pp. 184-5 ὅπερ ἐγκαλοῦσιν τινες τῷ Θουκυδίδῃ. διελθὼν γὰρ κ.τ.λ., and Doxopater, *ad Aphthon.* ii. p. 220 τοῦτο γοῦν καὶ τὸν Θουκυδίδην τινὲς αἰτιῶνται καὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν, ὅτι κατὰ θέρος καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα κ.τ.λ.

22. For the correction of ἐπιων to εἰπων, suggested by W-M, cf. Dionys. *op. cit.* c. 10 (p. 338) τὰς αἰτίας βούλεται πρῶτον εἰπεῖν ἀφ' ὧν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε.

ii. 7-8. The restorations διάθεσις (or διαίρεσις) and οὕτω ἐγγόνει are due to Bury, who in ll. 8-9 suggests οὐ κ[οινὸς λογισμὸς ἦ]ν (cf. l. 4).

10. ἴπτον is very likely ἀ]υτοῦ, referring to Herodotus. Bury suggests ἐν τῇ βύβλῳ as the preceding words.

11. Perhaps κατὰ τόπο]υς, as Bury suggests; cf. Dionys. *op. cit.* c. 9 τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενομένων συγγραφέων ἢ κατὰ τόπους μεριζόντων τὰς ἀναγραφὰς κ.τ.λ.

15. The construction of ll. 15-7 is not certain. W-M, who proposed [διεξελέθον]τα in l. 17, would supply something like οὐ γὰρ ἦν in l. 15; Bury, reading [εἴρειν πάν]τα in l. 17, would restore ll. 13-5 οἶον τῇ | τοῦ [πολέμου ἀρχῆ] ἐ[άσ]ας τοὺς | Ἀ[θηναίους τὰ μὲν] Πλα[τ]αῖκά κ.τ.λ. The vestiges of writing before [. ]αστους, however, do not suit ε: if not ο or ω, they are probably parts of two letters, e. g. αι or λη.

19. A conjunction, i. e. δέ or τε, seems to have been omitted through γράφειν being wrongly connected with what follows.

31. ταῦτα: or ταῦτά, i. e. affairs belonging to the same series, which is preferred by Bury.

iii. 3-5. ἐφεξῆ]ς and συ]εχῶς 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 κοινή.

5-6. Bury suggests τὰ Σικελι]κά διηγεί]ται.

8. The absence of a diaeresis above ]ικα makes it probable that the preceding letter was a consonant, e. g. Σικελ]ικά rather than Πλατα]ικά. It does not seem possible to find a suitable second adjective ending in ικ]ικα, for Θρ]αικ]ικά cannot be read, although the supposed ο is very uncertain. κα]τ]οικί]αν or some part of κατοικί]ζειν is more probable, especially as κατ]οικ]ια. [ could be read in l. 7. ]ροι there seems to be an optative, possibly συνεί]ροι. In ll. 9-10 something like εἰς] πολλ[ά]ς κεφ[α]λὰς με]μερισμένα ἐξ]ετάζειν (Bury) is likely.

10-5. The restorations in ll. 12-3 are due to Bury. It is tempting to read  $\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\rho\iota\alpha\nu$  in l. 14, but the stroke above  $\iota$  must then be ignored, for it is not a rough breathing. Since Herodotus' history contained only nine books,  $\iota$  in this context seems to mean the ninth book, the notation following the letters of the alphabet, while  $\text{προκειμένην}$  indicates that it had just been mentioned, possibly in l. 12. But the narrative in the ninth book is particularly free from  $\text{μεταβάσεις}$ , and we should expect the ninth book to be called  $\theta'$  (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)  $\text{ὄντε γὰρ τοῖς τόποις ἐν οἷς αἱ πράξεις ἐπετελέσθησαν ἀκολουθῶν ἐμέρισε τὰς διηγήσεις, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος τε καὶ Ἑλλάδικος κ.τ.λ.}$ ; cf. also the praise of Herodotus in c. 5.

iv. 4-5. ἀνὰ μέσ[ον]: there is probably a reference, as Dr. J. E. Sandys suggests, to what Quintilian (v. 12. 14) calls the *Homeric dispositio* (cf. l. 6 Ὀμηρικ[ῶς]), i. e. placing the weakest part of one's rhetorical forces in the middle (*Il.* iv. 297-300); cf. Cic. *Orator* 50, Cornificius, *Rhet.* iii. 10, 18, Quintil. vii. 1. 10.

10-4. Perhaps καλῶνται in l. 12 and Θουκυδί[δ]ης in l. 13.

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  $\text{τιν[ε]ς}$  is possible, but the doubtful letter is more like  $\omicron$ .

33-5. The first part of this note on  $\text{θέμενοι}$ , as was perceived by W-M and Bury, refers to the use of the middle for the active,  $\text{θρηψάμενος}$  being adduced as a parallel.

v. 1. ἀπο[θ]έμενοι:  $\text{θέμενοι}$  is wrongly explained by Schol. ἀντὶ τοῦ περιθέμενοι ἑαντοῖς. Ὀμηρος· σάκε ἄμοισιν ἔθεντο. ἀνόητον γὰρ κ.τ.λ. The correct interpretation given by our author is supported by Schol. Aeschin. i. 29 τὰ ὄπλα μὴ τίθεσαι· τὸ τίθεσθαι λέγεται καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀποτίθεσθαι τὰ ὄπλα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ περιτίθεσθαι καὶ ἐνδύεσθαι, ὡς ἔγνωμεν ἐν τοῖς Θουκυδιδεῖοις ἐν τῇ β'. ἔνταυθα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀποτίθεσθαι (corr. τοῦ περιτίθεσθαι by Riske, but wrongly) λέγει.

5. χρῆσθαι: χρήσασθαι MSS.

7-8. Cf. Schol. ἐπιτηδείους· πρὸς φιλίαν.

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

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

21-2. ἐκφυγεῖν: so Parisinus 1735; ἐκφεύγειν other MSS. The papyrus text agrees with most MSS. in reading  $\text{οἱ πολλοί}$  in place of  $\text{πολλοί}$ , the reading of A, which is preferred by many recent editors, but not by Stuart Jones. The construction of  $\text{τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν}$  is difficult, and has been explained in several ways. Classen connects the words with  $\text{ἐμπείρους}$ , which is the most satisfactory view, while Poppo constructs them with  $\text{διώκοντας}$  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  $\text{ὥστε διεφθείροντο οἱ πολλοί}$ . Hude, following Herwerden, would omit  $\text{τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν}$  altogether. Our author's criticism is not very illuminating. He remarks that either  $\text{ὥστε}$  is redundant (ll. 22-6) or else  $\text{τοῦ}$  should be omitted and  $\text{ὥστε}$  put in its place. Since he renders  $\text{τοῦ μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν}$  by  $\text{εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν}$  in the one case, and  $\text{ὥστε μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν}$  in the other, both his interpretations approximate to that of Krüger rather than the rival explanations (unless  $\text{εἰς τό}$  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 ὄντες* 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*: *στυρακίω* MSS.; but there is possibly a reference to the reading of the papyrus in Cramer, *Anecd. Par.* iii. p. 84. 3 *τὸν σαυρωτῆρα στύρακα φησὶ Θουκυδίδης*. With the note cf. Schol. *στυράκιον ἔστιν ὁ καλούμενος σαυρωτῆρ τῶν δόρατων*, Hesychius *στύραξ* . . . *ὁ σαυρωτῆρ τοῦ δόρατος*, and the similar explanations in other lexicographers.

33. *συνέθετο*: cf. Schol. *ἀπὸ συνθήκης δηλονότι*.

vi. 1-2. The lacuna at the end of l. 1 may have contained another parallel for *πανστρατιᾶ*, e. g. *πανοικία* (cf. x. 31) or *πανδημεί*, or, as W-M suggests, *ὄ[ς] παρ' Ὀμήρω | πανσυδίη*. If *πασ[ ]* in l. 2 is right, *πᾶσ[ ]ηι τῆι στρατιᾷ* is a natural restoration, but this is rather long, and the reading *παι[ ]* (e. g. *παι[ ]δημεί* or *παι[ ]τῆι τῶι στρατῶι*) 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 *ἀπροσδοκίτου*.

6-7. Perhaps *καὶ κ[ ]αινῆι ὡς | τινες λέγουσι*, as Bury suggests, meaning that this use of *ὑποτοπέω* was not confined to Attic. To the doubtful *κ* the only alternative is *ι*.

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* (Π 816 *θεοῦ πληγῆ καὶ δουρὶ δαμ.*, and X 55 *ἦν μὴ καὶ σὺ θάηης Ἀχιλλῆι δαμ.*) is really at all apposite, W-M nevertheless may be right in restoring *ὁμοίον Ἀχιλλῆι*, and supposing that the latter passage was referred to. Schol. A had noted that the dative there was used for *ὑπ' Ἀχιλλέως*. A more relevant illustration would be one in which *ὑπό* with the dative was used in place of *ὑπό* 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 *περὶ τοῖς ἕξω* (*περὶ τῶν ἕξω?*), though none is known.

11-2. Bury suggests *τρόποι | τῶι τοιούτῳ λέγει δὲ κ[ ]άζωσι*: but the letter following *δ* is much more likely to be *α*, *ε*, or *ο* than *ι*.

14-5. The Homeric quotation is from H 467.

16. There is not room for *ὡς* after *ἐπέταξαν* unless the line was exceptionally long, but *δ* 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 Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς ταῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπαρχούσαις ἕξ Ἴτ. καὶ Σικ. τοῖς τᾶκείνων ἐλομένοις ναῦς ἐπετάχθησαν ποιείσθαι*, 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 *ναῦς* to *νῆες*, while Cobet boldly met the difficulty by reading *Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . ἐπετετάχθησαν* (*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 *Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . ἐπετάχθησαν ναῦς* existed in his text. With regard to the various emendations the paraphrase does not favour *νῆες* in place of *ναῦς* or *ἐπετάχθη σ'*, and with *ἐπετάχθη* simply a note on the dative of the agent *Λακεδαιμόνιοις* would be expected. On the other hand Cobet's *Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπετετάχθησαν* (or *ἐπέταξαν*) 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.

21. π[μφθῆναι W-M. The expedition of Hermocrates to Ionia is described in Thuc. viii. 26.

25-8. The rules for the accentuation of σφίσι and similar pronouns are given by Herodian, ed. Lentz, i. p. 555 sqq. ὅτε μὲν οὖν ἀπολειμμένως λέγονται καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς ἕτερον πρόσωπον ἀντιδιαστέλλονται, ἐγείρουσι τὴν πρὸ αὐτῶν ὀξείαν ὅτε δὲ κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τι ἕτερον διαστολὴν ἐκφέρονται, ὀρθοτονοῦνται 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 τόνον 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. ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας παροιμία, γλυκὺς ἀπείρω πόλεμος, Stob. Flor. 50. 3 Πίνδαρος ὑπορχημάτων γλυκὺ δὲ πόλεμος ἀπείρουσιν, Schol. Il. Δ 227 ὡς καὶ Πίνδαρος γλυκὺς ἀπείρω πόλεμος. Schroeder (Fr. 110, ed. 1908) writes γλυκὺ δ' ἀπείρω 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[ὺ δὲ πο- | is hardly long enough, but γλυκ[ὺς γὰρ ὁ 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. Ll. 1-3 are the end of a note on καὶ ἐξ ὀλίγου τὰ πολλὰ καὶ δι' ὀργῆς αἱ ἐπιχειρήσεις γίνονται in c. 11. 4.

6-9. The restorations are due to W-M.

10. For 'ο[μ]ηρικῶς cf. iv. 6. The quotation is from Δ 539.

12-3. προ[η]σο[σ]ι is far from certain; the supposed σ is more like γ or τ, but with ὄ]τι it is difficult to find anything suitable for the previous word. W-M proposes οὐκέτι προ[νο]ίαι οἱ τοιοῦτοι κατὰ πόλε[μ]ον, θυμ[ῶ]ι δ' ἐξορῶσιν. The article is certainly wanted before τοιοῦτοι and there is just room for [νο]ίαι and [ω]ιδ in the two lacunae, but [ο]ι, though not impossible, is less suitable than [σι]. ἀλλά might be read in place of κατὰ, but it is not satisfactory to make ἐξορῶσιν transitive.

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

18. ἦν [ἀκοῦ]σ[αι]: or possibly ἡκ[ούουμ]ε[ν ἄν], 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 σ might belong to ε or ν or several other letters [ακοῦ]σ[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' ἀμφοτέρα cf. the brief remark of Schol. δόξα ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα καὶ εὐκλείας καὶ δυσκλείας.

20-1. [ἀντὶ τοῦ and ὑ]π[ὸ]ληψιν W-M.

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

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

34. [ἀμαχη]τεῖ was suggested by Bury.

37. διαλύεσθαι: διαλύε[σ]θαι (sic) C, διαλύσεσθαι other MSS., but cf. Schol. διαλύεσθαι ἀφίστασθαι τῶν ἀγωγῶν. Thucydides 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 ἀμ[α] αὐτῶι τοὺς ἐνόχους.

5. The word following ἄγει is probably some part of ἐξελαύνω; cf. Thuc. i. 127. 1 τὸ ἄγος . . . ἐλαύνειν, to which ll. 4-5 refer.

7-9. Cf. Schol. διὰ χειρός· δι' ἐπιμελείας ἵνα μὴ ἀποστῶσι. αἰεί in l. 8 was suggested by Bury.

11. Probably the scribe wrote [κρατι]σθαι, for the lacuna is hardly sufficient for six letters.

12. [προσῶδι] and [πορισμῶι] are both too short for the lacuna, which requires 9 or 10 letters. Perhaps κατορθοῦν should be restored in place of κατορθοῦσθαι, which makes this line rather long.

33-4. Perhaps καθαρὸν ἔλθῃ with καθ[αρὸν] in l. 35, as Hude suggests.

36. καὶ περαιορέον has already been quoted in the lemma in l. 29.

ix. 3-6. The MSS. have τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἐφύλασσον τὸ πρῶτον ὅποτε οἱ πολέμοι ἐσβάλοιν ἀπὸ τε τῶν πρεσβυτάτων καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων καὶ μετοίκων ὅσοι ὄπλιται ἦσαν. The omission of τὸ πρῶτον . . . ἐσβάλοιν 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 ὑπό, which stood there in place of ἀπό, is indefensible if ὑπό τε τῶν πρεσβ. κ.τ.λ. is to be connected with τοσοῦτοι ἐφύλασσον, as our author clearly intended; for ὑπό cannot be used as equivalent to ἀπό in this sense, and the Homeric parallel which he cites, δαίδων ὑπο λαμπομενάων (Σ 492), is irrelevant, since ὑπο there has its not uncommon sense 'to the accompaniment of'.

10. [ἔω]ς: cf. Schol. ἕως τοῦ κύκλου. The reading ἀπ[ό], though possible, is less suitable. The insertion of β' was suggested by Bury.

14-6. [κ]ύκλον δὲ . . . ἀ[στ]ρω[ς] is a parenthesis, and [κ]αὶ πάλιν ὁπόσον κ.τ.λ. depends on ἀπαριθμεῖται, referring to Thucydides' words a few lines later than the lemma, τὰ δὲ μακρὰ τεῖχη πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων. Π[ε]ρ[ι]ρα[ί]ας was suggested by W-M and Bury; εἰκ τοῦ [Π. or ἐκ τ]ῶ Π. cannot be read. The second s of αστεως in l. 14 has been rewritten.

18. Μο[ν]υ[ν]χ[ί]α: so MSS.; Μονυχία 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 ευβο[ ] except Εὔβο[ ] 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 ξ[.]χισνο[ ] is a very unsatisfactory combination of letters, and probably there is some corruption. The ξ projects somewhat to the left, but not enough to justify the inference that it belongs to a lemma.

x. 2-4. Bury suggests παράγει ἐν Ἐρε[ ]χθεὶ Εὐριπί[δ]ης τὸν | Εὐμολπον[ ].

6. The word following ξυ[ ]ντελούντω[ ]ν may, as Bury remarks, have been χρήματα or εἰσφοράς.

7. τὸ ἐν Δ[ί]μ[α]ις Διονύσο[ ]ν so MSS.; τὸ (τοῦ) ἐν Λ. Δ. Hude, following Cobet. The scribe has left a blank space after Δ[ί]μ[α]ις as if the lemma ended there, but probably this is a mistake; cf. x. 25. The remains of l. 10, as was perceived by W-M and Bury, belong to a quotation from the *Hecale* of Callimachus (Fr. 66 a ed. Schneider); see Schol. Ar. *Frogs* 216 Δίμαι χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐν ᾧ Διονύσου ἱερὸν. Καλλίμαχος ἐν Ἐκάλῃ Διμναίω δὲ χοροστάδας

ἦγον εὐρτάς, and Steph. Byz. Λίμναι ἔνθα ὁ Διόνυσος ἐτιμᾶτο. Καλλιμάχος· Λιμναίφ δὲ κ.τ.λ. (καὶ οἱ λιμναῖοι codd.). W-M, restoring Καλλιμάχος in l. 7, regards the quotation as beginning with εὐ δέ in l. 8 and containing two complete hexameters, but this view is open to some objections. The restoration Καλλιμάχος at the end of l. 7 implies that 11 letters are lost after διονυσός, whereas elsewhere in this column the corresponding space contains only 5-8 letters. This difficulty can be got over by supposing that Καλλιμάχος was abbreviated, but in l. 9 a similar and more serious obstacle arises; for Λιμναῖοι (which is certain) is sufficient by itself to fill the lacuna at the end of the line, and since Ἐλευθέρη will be the conclusion of the first hexameter, the first foot of the second hexameter seems to be reduced to εἰ. W-M proposes εἰ[σατο, 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 practically certain, η being the only alternative for εἰ and less satisfactory. Bury on the other hand would restore a shorter name than Καλλιμάχος in l. 7 (Δίδυμος?), and regard the Callimachus quotation as beginning with [Λιμναῖοι in l. 9, reading the preceding word as Ἐλευθηρεῖ, i. e. Ἐλευθερεῖ. 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. vv.* Dionysos, Eleuther, Elethereus.

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 οὐτ[ω]ς in l. 11 ]ος is the termination of a proper name, e. g. Δίδυμ]ος; but it is possible to read ]ως δὲ οὐτ[ο]ς, ]ως being the termination of an adverb or a substantive in the genitive with e. g. δία. οὐτ[ο]ς would however then have to mean Thucydides, 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. Thucydides' statement that the Anthesteria was a general Ionic festival is intended to prove its high antiquity, and cf. Schol. ἀρχαιότερα εἶπε διότι ἔστι καὶ νεώτερα ἄλλα.

τῇ ιβ': so MSS; most modern editors follow Torstrick 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. π[λ]ε[ί]στον: so most MSS., Hude, Stuart Jones; πλείστα AB (corr. A 2nd hand), which Torstrick wished to read, omitting ἄξια. With εἰς τὰ κ.τ.λ. cf. Schol. λείπει ἢ εἰς, ἢ ἢ εἰς τὰ πλείστον ἄξια.

25. There can hardly be any doubt that the lemma ends at οἰκήσει, although the scribe fails to leave a blank space; cf. x. 7, note. The following words in Thuc. are μετείχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, and the construction of the dative οἰκήσει with μετείχον being extremely difficult, some recent editors, including Hude, would omit the latter word. That our author's text had μετείχον is clear from l. 30, and the difficulty of connecting it with οἰκήσει is discussed by him in ll. 25-9, but the nature of his explanation is somewhat obscure. Apparently he regarded τῇ αὐτ. οἰκήσει in place of τῆς αὐτ. οἰκήσεως as equivalent to διὰ τὴν αὐτ. οἰκησιν, thus approximating to the view of Herbst, who explained the dative as instrumental and supplied αὐτῆς (i. e. τῆς αὐτονόμου οἰκήσεως); this, however, produces a very redundant construction. If μετὰ τοῦ μετείχον is rightly restored in l. 25, the beginning of the note seems

to mean 'τῆ αὐτ. οἰκῆσει goes with μετεῖχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι', and διὰ τὴν κατὰ κ.τ.λ. is a distinct remark; if οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι with either μετεῖχον or a different verb in l. 25 be connected with διὰ τὴν κατὰ κ.τ.λ., μετὰ τοῦ must be abandoned: ε or ω might be read in place of the doubtful ο. Schol. merely remark that αὐτονόμου οἰκῆσει is for αὐτονόμου οἰκῆσεως.

29-30. ἔρηται δὲ ὑπερβατῶ[ς κ.τ.λ. refers to the position of ἐπὶ πολὺ which is to be connected with μετεῖχον. τὸ ἐξῆς (restored by W-M) means 'the grammatical sequence is'; cf. xiii. 7, note.

31. [πα]ν[οι]κησία γενόμενοι: so MSS. (v. l. πανοικεσία); Hude and Stuart Jones follow Lipsius in placing πανοικησία after οὐ ῥαδίως.

33. The ο following τ is almost certain, υ being the only alternative. [οι] does not fill up the lacuna, so that το is not the termination of e. g. διεγένοντο. διὰ παν[τό]ς[ς] is possible. Schol. remark πανοικησία καὶ οὐ πανοικία λέγεται.

35-6. κἀλοῦνται | φ[υλ]αί was suggested by Bury and Hude.

36-7. This distinction between σηκός and ναός is also stated by Ammonius: ναός καὶ σηκός διαφέρει. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ναός ἐστι θεῶν, ὁ δὲ σηκός ἡρώων. The distinction is not always observed; cf. Liddell and Scott, s.v. σηκός. The quotation from Callimachus (from the *Hecale*?; cf. x. 7, note) is new.

xi. 14-5. The accent of ἀργός 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]ίη[ς], 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]ῖη[ς].

16. Perhaps δλω[ς] φῆθη.

17. ον is given the barytone accent in order to distinguish it from οδ. The note probably began with something like οὐ διὰ τὸ παρα]νόμου[ς οἰκεῖν | τοσαύτας συμφοραῖ]ς ἐχρή[σαντο, as Stuart Jones suggests.

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

5. εἶναι may have been added in the lemma after μαλακός. The occurrence of ἀθροῖσει 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 λ best.

7. Stuart Jones suggests [ᾠμηρος μαλθακός αἰχμη]τής (P 588).

10. ἀργός: cf. Schol. ἐν τῇ καθέδρᾳ τῇ ἀργία τῆς πολιορκίας δηλονότι.

12. The word before με]ταφορικῶς was probably an equivalent of ἀνείχεν, perhaps ἔμενεν (Bury) or ἐκάλυεν (W-M, who compares Bekker, *Anecd.* i. p. 400. 7 λέγεται ἀνέχειν καὶ τὸ κωλύειν. Θουκυδίδης ἐν ἔκτῳ κ.τ.λ.). In place of τὰ ὄπλα (W-M) Bury suggests χεῖρας. Line 14 clearly contains a comparison between ἀνοχή and ἐκεχειρία, but the reconstruction is uncertain. There is certainly a letter after ἐκε]χειρία, and the vestige suits ι better than σ. If ἐκε]χειριαί is nominative plural this may be accounted for by the plural use of ἀνοχαί; if it is dative singular something like [ἀνοχῇ ἴση τῇ ἐκε]χειρίαί is required. [ἀνοχαί ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκε]χειρίας (W-M) would have been more satisfactory.

17. It is tempting to restore οἱ ῥεῖτο]ι τόπ[ο]ς | τῆς Ἀττικῆς, but ο does not fill the lacuna before σ. Possibly Ρε]ῖτοι τ[.]ς should be read, but the letter following το is more like π than ιτ and there is not room for τ[όπο]ς.

19. Lines 19-32 are on a detached fragment. The writing on the recto 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 *Ἐλευσῖνάδε*, but though the letter before *ἀδε* might be *ν*, the letter before that is more like *ε*, *ο*, or *υ* than *ι*.

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

27-9. The restoration of the beginning of the note is due to W-M, who further suggests ] *τότ(ε) (?) οἱ Ἀτ[τ]ικοὶ τιθ[έ]ασιν* but *Ατ[τ]ικοὶ* does not suit the vestiges. For *ἐπεξ-ελεύσονται* cf. Schol. *εἰ ἐπεξείσων· εἰ ἐπεξελεύσονται οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι 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 *χωρήσασθαι* (c. 20. 4), *ἐπαινέσασθαι* being adduced as an illustration; cf. iv. 32-5. The first two letters of *επαινεσ[ε]σθαι* 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 *δενὸν ἐφαίνετο* after a long interval. The reading *ἐξῆς* is not very satisfactory, for the traces of ink suit *ο*, *σ*, or *τ* better than *ε*, but *τὸ ἐξῆς* is the technical phrase required here; cf. the close parallel in x. 29-30.

13. *ῶρητο*: MSS. are divided between this reading and *ῶρητο* (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 *ῶρητο*.

16. Apart from the present passage in Thuc. Phrygia in Attica is only mentioned twice, (1) Schol. Arist. *Birds* 493 *Φρυγίων ἐρίων ἢ ἀπὸ Φρυγίας ἢ ἀπὸ δήμου. ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἀπαλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔρια*, (2) Steph. Byz. *s. v.* *Φρύγια*, . . . *ἔστι καὶ τὰ Φρύγια οὐδετέρως τόπος 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. 343) 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 Steph. Byz.'s assertion that Phrygia was 'between Boeotia and Attica', which suggests quite a different position.

17. *τάγματι*: so Schol. *τάγματι ἐνί*. The Homeric quotation is from  $\Sigma$  298.

20. *Φαρσάλιοι Πειράσιοι*: *Φαρσάλιοι Παράσιοι* MSS. (cf. 878. 6; *Περάσιοι* B), which continue *Κρανώνιοι 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 *Πειράσιοι* and a confusion with the *Παρράσιοι* in Arcadia, who are out of place here, while the form *Πειράσιοι* is generally altered to *Πυράσιοι* in accordance with Strabo ix. p. 435, and Steph. Byz. *s. v.* *Πύρασος*. The reading of the lemma proves that *Παράσιοι* 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 on *Πειράσιοι*, but rightly rejected it. That *Παράσιοι* was originally a marginal variant which found its way into the text, causing the transposition of *Πειράσιοι*, is now clear, and the hypothesis of an interpolation is confirmed. As regards the form *Πειράσιοι* the lemma supports the traditional spelling of the MSS. against *Πυράσιοι*, and in view of the fact that Steph. Byz. mentions a certain *Πειρασία πόλις Μαγνησίας*, the alteration to *Πυράσιοι* seems to us unnecessary. Our author's explanation of *Πειράσιοι* as connected with the *Πηρεία* mentioned in B 766 is however very doubtful, for the reading *Πηρείη* is there somewhat uncertain (there are variants *Φηρίη* and *Περίη* besides *Πειρίη*), and Steph. Byz. distinguishes *Πηρεία Θεσσαλίας χωρίον* from *Πειρασία*.

22-3. The restoration of these two lines was proposed by W-M, Stuart Jones, and Hude; cf. Schol. Παράσιον Παρράσιον Ἀρκάδες, Παράσιον Θετταλοί.

29. The restoration of this line is far from certain, especially as [των] does not fill the lacuna after *av*, unless those letters were unusually spread out. Perhaps the lemma ended with *αὐ[τῶν]*, which would then be followed by a blank space, and *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι* belongs to the note.

xiv. 1-2. Part of a note on *αἰεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ θάπτονσι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων πλήν γε τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι*. The restoration in l. 2 is due to W-M, who is no doubt right in regarding *ἐπιτάφιος* in l. 3 as a title.

4. That before *ἐνί* the papyrus had *ἐν*, which is omitted by CG, is certain not only from the size of the lacuna but from *ἐν ἐνί* in the paraphrase, l. 6.

6-11. The proposed restoration of the paraphrase is very doubtful in several respects. For *κινδυνεύειν κινδυνεύεσθαι* may be substituted, or possibly *κίνδυνος | γάρ*, as W-M suggests, with *εἶναι τῶν* in l. 7; *τοιούτοτρόπου* is not very satisfactory, but there is not room for *τοιούτους αὐτούς*. In l. 7 either *πολλῶν* or an equivalent is required. *τ]ροσύ[των ἀνδρῶν]* is possible, with another word in place of *ἀνδρί*. The doubtful *σ* may be *π*, but neither *εἰ]πύ[τι* nor *]πολ[λῶν* can be read. Our author seems to have interpreted *πιστευθῆναι*, like Poppo and Classen, as expegetic of *κινδυνεύεσθαι* and not as the subject of it (*τό* being omitted), which latter view is supported by Schol. (*ἀντι 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 *δ]ύσκολον ἐστίν | τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν τῷ] πράγματι μό]νον βεβαιοῦν κατὰ τ]ὰς ὑπολή]ψεις τῶν ἀκροατῶν, κ]αὶ δύσκολον | ἀληθεύειν δοκεῖν· ἀ]πιστεῖται | γὰρ τὸ ὑπερβῆλλον τ]οῦ πράγμα]τος*.

22. 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.

25. *αὐ]τοῦ*: so CG; *εαυτοῦ* ABEFM. It is of course possible, but less likely, that our author meant *αὐτοῦ*.

27-31. Bury suggests *νο]μίσει[αν ἂν ἔνια πλεονάζεσθαι] εἴ τινα | ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς ἀκούοιεν· μόνο]ν γὰρ τὸ | . . . καὶ ὁ ἔ]καστος | αὐτὸς ἰκανὸς εἶναι δρᾶσαι] ἡγείται*.

32-3. Bury is probably right in assigning these lines to a fresh lemma, not to the preceding note, although ll. 30-1 paraphrase words not included in ll. 24-6.

xv. 2. *π[άλ]ιν*, which can hardly be evaded, may be explained, as W-M suggests, as a reference back to *δίκαιον γὰρ ἡμῶς κ.τ.λ.* in c. 11. 2. Our author's note on that passage, if he had one, is lost in the gap between Cols. vi and vii. The word after *εἴρηκ[ε]* is probably an adverb.

4. *καθεστηκία[ι]*: the papyrus follows the ordinary spelling of the MSS.; *καθεστηκία* Hude. After *τῆ* it is difficult to see what other word than *παρακμῆ* can have been meant, but that was certainly not written; the letter following *παρα* is conceivably *κ*, but is much more like *γ* or *τ*, and *μ* is out of the question.

6. *οικεῖν*: so most MSS., Hude, Stuart Jones; *ἦκει* C (second hand) and superscr. G.

7-11. In regarding *οικεῖν* as equivalent to *διοικεῖσθαι* our author is quite correct, but in paraphrasing *ἐς* as 'for the advantage of' he conflicts with modern editors, who practically all adopt the view that *ἐς πλείονας οικεῖν = διοικεῖσθαι ὥστε πλείονας εἶναι τοὺς διοικοῦντας*. This is supported both by the variant *ἦκει* for *οικεῖν* and by several parallels for this use of *ἐς* (especially Thuc. viii. 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 *ἐς*, but is wrong with regard

to the meaning of *οικεῖν*, which cannot mean in this context 'inhabit', as seems to be implied by the contrast between *οικεῖν* in l. 7 and *διοικεῖσθαι* in l. 10.

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

15. τὸ πλέω[ν]: so ABEFM (πλείον), Hude, Stuart Jones; τὰ πλώ CG.

16. διάφορά νυν τὰ διαφέροντα: cf. Schol. τὰ διαφέροντα ταῖς ιδιότησιν.

21-2. This explanation of the obscure phrase *οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους* is novel. Schol. remark τοῦτο λέγει διὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας, βασιλεῖς τῶν Λακωνῶν, οἵτινες ἀπὸ μέρους ἤρχον διὰ μόνην τὴν εὐγένειαν κἄν μὴ εἶχον ἀρετὴν, 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 *γένους* 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 οἷ[[δ]ε (which is possible) followed by a participle or infinitive meaning 'will be assigned' (*κ[αταν]ε[μ]ηθήσεσθαι τῆν τάξιν* is too long, but *κ[αταν]ε[μ]ηθησομένην (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. δρᾶ τι: τι δρᾶ MSS. δρᾶ τι may be a mere slip of a copyist. τι δρᾶ apparently occurs in the paraphrase (xvi. 2).

38. οὐ[χ] ὑποπτέ[σ]οντες: 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 *οὐ δι' ὀργῆς κ.τ.λ.*, and Madvig conjectured *ἔποψιν*, Reifferscheid *ἀνυποψίαν*, to which οὐ[χ] ὑποπτέοντες 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 οὐ[χ] ὑποπτέοντες was merely giving the general sense, obtaining his negative from *οὐ δι' ὀργῆς*; cf. Schol. *ἐλευθέρως δέ' ὡσανεὶ ἔλεγεν οὐκ ἐσμὲν ἀλλήλοις ὑποπτοί*.

xvi. 5. The vestige of a letter following *λυπούμεν* would suit e. g. τ, but hardly ο, so that *λυπούμενο[ι]* is improbable. ν may be read in place of the doubtful ν. *ε[πισκ]υθρ[ωπάζοντε]ς* (Bury) is unsuitable, but ]ς may well be the end of a participle.

9-10. *ἐκ τοῦ . . .* probably refers to *τῆ ὄψι*. *ἐκ τοῦ δι[λου]* (Bury) does not suit; the first letter seems to be α, κ, or λ, the second to be a round letter, e. g. ο; or possibly μ[ might be read.

18. α[ι]εῖ: so Hude with E; αἰ other MSS.; cf. l. 33.

19-20. τοῖς ἀρχου[σιν]: cf. Schol. τῶν ἀρχόντων.

21. οἶον δι' ὄλου τοῦ ἔτους: cf. Schol. δι' ὄλου τοῦ ἔτους θύουσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καθ' ἑκάστην πλὴν μιᾶς ἡμέρας.

24. ἀκ[ροβο]λίξει Λακεδαιμονίους: similar remarks (e. g. *αἰνίττεται πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους*) are frequent in Schol. on cc. 37-9; cf. also xvii. 6-9.

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

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

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

33. ἀτολμ[οτέρους]: so most MSS., Hude, Stuart Jones; ἀτολμότεροις suprascr. G<sub>1</sub>, ex corr. f, and Dion. Hal.

αἰεῖ: so E, Hude, Stuart Jones; αἰ other MSS.; cf. l. 18.

xvii. 1-2. *ανυπο*[ and ]*εστ*[ are on a separate fragment, and the margin is broken away immediately to the left of *ανυπο*; but the position assigned to the fragment admits of practically no doubt, especially as it belongs to the top of a column.

3. *ταλαιπωρείσθ*]αι: so Bury and Hude; *καταπονείσθ*]αι W-M.

10. *καιρῶ*: so the best MSS., Hude, Stuart Jones; *ἐν καιρῶ* F<sub>1</sub> g. It is disputed whether *καιρῶ* 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 καιρῶ* 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 γὰρ τε*, not *αἰεὶ δέ*, which will not scan.

20. *ἐν*: so AB EF; *ἐνι* CG<sub>3</sub>, Hude, Stuart Jones. With *ἐν* it is necessary to supply the verb, as is remarked in l. 23; and *ἐνι* is no doubt preferable.

21. *ἐτέροις*: so MSS., Poppo and Stuart Jones; *ἕτερα* Classen; *ἐτέροις ἕτερα* Hude following Richards. The traditional reading is defended by Poppo on the view that *ἕτεροι* 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 *ἕτερα* or *ἐτέροις ἕτερα* 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 *ἕτεροι*, but since he took *ἔργα* in the sense of *τὰ τῆς γεωργίας ἔργα* he seems to agree with Poppo's view that *ἕτεροι* refers to the poorer classes.

30. *αὐτοῖ*: so AB EF, Poppo, Classen; *οἱ αὐτοῖ* 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' (*ἐνθυμούμεθα*). Our author's interpretation thus supports Poppo's translation *aut iudicamus certe (ab aliis proposita) aut excogilamus (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 τῶδε* Hude. The papyrus may have had [*καὶ τόδε*].

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

xviii. 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. *πλείστ'*: so most MSS., Hude, Stuart Jones; *πλείστον* AB.

18-23. *χαριέν]τως* 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 *Ἀθηναί]ς ἀνὴρ* in l. 18 and *μά]στα τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων* in l. 20. *ἐπιχαρί]τως* (W-M) is an alternative in l. 19. Schol. explain *εὐτραπέλως* by *εὐκινήτως*, *ἐνδεξίως*.

24. *κρείσ]σων*: so most MSS., Hude, Stuart Jones; *κρείσσον* C.

27. Perhaps *πε]ριγίνεται*, as W-M proposes. *λό]γων . . . ἔργους* 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 *υικηθέν]των* in l. 29, *ἔχουσα ἐκείνων*

in l. 31, and *μομφήν ἔχει* in l. 32. The paraphrase does not help in regard to the difficult reading *τῷ πολέμῳ 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*.

**xix. 1-3.** 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 γὰρ 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 ὑμῖν μεγάλη*).

4-7. The Homeric quotation (from A 117) is cited in order to illustrate the use of *ἦ* for *καί*, and if our author considered that Thucydides also employed *ἦ* for *καί* his comment must apply to *ἦ ψόγον*, though in reality there is no justification for interpreting *ἦ* 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 ἦς*, which in his opinion was for *ἦ ἦς*; i. e. he thought that the construction was *τῆς ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως μεγάλη δόξα ἐστὶν μὴ χείροσι γενέσθαι ἢ ἐκείνη ἢ φύσις ἦς ἂν κ.τ.λ.*, which makes no sense. Whichever view we credit him with, our author seems to have completely misunderstood the meaning of the sentence, and the Homeric parallel makes matters worse; for *ἦ* is not there used for *καί*, though on this point he is only following the singularly perverse interpretation of that passage by the Alexandrian critics; cf. Schol. A *ὁ δὲ λόγος τοιοῦτος· θέλω, φησὶν, ἐγὼ τὸν ὄχλον μᾶλλον σφάζεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπολέσθαι. ὁ γὰρ ἦ σύνδεσμος ἀντὶ τοῦ καὶ παρὲλθεται τῷ ποιητῇ.* Our author's lack of judgement in explaining Thucydides' meaning is made still clearer by ll. 7-8 *ἀπὸ κοινῆς . . . ληπτέον τὸ φύσεως*, meaning that *φύσεως* is to be supplied with *ἦς*, for the real antecedent of *ἦς* is *ἐκείνη τῇ γυναικί* understood, and the words which are truly *ἀπὸ κοινῆς* are *μεγάλη ἢ δόξα*. It is impossible to acquit him of having committed a series of errors in his attempt to elucidate this badly constructed, but not particularly difficult sentence.

#### 854. ARCHILOCHUS, Ἐλεγεία.

3.7 × 3.3 cm.

Late second century. Plate I.

The extreme smallness of this fragment is very unfortunate, since the coincidence of the last four lines with a quotation in Athenaeus proves the author to have been Archilochus; cf. Athen. 483 d *μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ κώθωνος) καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ἐν Ἐλεγείοις ὡς ποτηρίου οὕτως· ἀλλ' ἄγε κ.τ.λ. (= Fr. 4 Bergk<sup>4</sup>).* An addition to the 22 lines which, including these four cited by Athenaeus, are all that survive of the Ἐλεγεία, 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 . [  
 $\overline{\theta}$  φρα[  
 ξεινοι . [  
 δειπνον δου[  
 5 — ουτ εμοι ως αι[  
 αλλ αγε συν κω[θωνι θοης δια σελματα νηος  
 φοιτα και κοιλω[ν παματ αφελκε καδων  
 άγρει δ οινον [ερυθρον απο τρυγος ουδε γαρ ημεις  
 νηφέ[ι]ν εν [φυλακη τηδε δυνησομεθα

. . . . .

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

6. *αλλ αγε*: *ἀλλά τε* A, corrected by Musurus.

7. *κοιλω[ν*: *κοίλων* A and editors, but *κοίλων*, an Aeolic form found in Anacreon 9. 2, may well be right here.

9. *νηφέ[ι]ν εν*: *ν. μέν* A, *έν* Mus. But the reading in the papyrus is not satisfactory; one letter between  $\phi$  and  $\nu$  would be better than two, and the traces after the second  $\epsilon$ , if not absolutely inconsistent with  $\nu$ , suggest a round letter like  $\sigma$ . Moreover the accent is wrong. But we can find no suitable alternative; the fourth letter can hardly be  $\sigma$ , and therefore *νήφονες* does not suit; *νήφέμεναι* (conj. Bergk) is inadmissible.

## 855. MENANDER ?

13 x 16.3 cm.

Third century.

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 δούλους δὲ μετεπόησεν ἢ πλεονεξία* (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 οἱ τοὺς δεσπότας ἀποκτείναντες . . . οὐδ' οἱ τοὺς θνήσκουσιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν προσηκόντων . . . κατὰ νόμους ὑμετέρους πατρίους: 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, κάταιθε σάρκας κ.τ.λ.* Murray suggests that Laches only wished to frighten Daus, and was playing a big practical joke. That is a quite tenable hypothesis, but perhaps not much is gained by it so far as the rights of Athenian slaves are concerned. 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 *Perinthia*; 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 uncials 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 ( $\kappa\bar{\alpha}\nu = \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ). All these lection signs seem to be due to the original scribe.

## Col. ii.

[. . . . .]·συδακολουθει[

[. . . . .]ασεξεισινφερωντοπυρ[

καιπυρ·προδηλον·ωτιβειεκαιγετα

επειτακατακαυσειμ'αφειητ'αγγελια

5 [. . .]δουλονοντα·καιδιασωσαν[. .]υπανυ.

[. . .]ανμ'αφειητ'αλλαπεριοψεσθεμε·

[. . .]·προσαλληλουσεχομεν·προσερχεται

[. . .]ριασ·οσονγεφορτιονφερων

[. . .]λωλα·καιδαιδ'αυτοσημμενηνεχων

## Col. i.

10 [. . . . .]ολουθει : περιθετ'ε[.]κυκλωιταχυ

[. . . . .]ιδειξαιδαετηνπανουργιαν

τεχνηντινευρωνδιαφυγωντ'ενθενδεμε

τεχνηνεγώ : ναιδαετομεναπραγμονα

καικουφονεξάπατανγαρεστιδεσποτην

15 φλυαρος : ηην : ειδετιστηντωνφρενων

στακτην : εκνισθήσ : ουχιπροσσουδεσποτα

ομενπονηρος·οθρασυσενθαδ'αρτιωσ

κατατωνσκελωντηγκληρονομιανφι[.]τατο[

[. . . . .]οθων·εξεινχαριν

20 [. . . . .]συφημων : καετ[.]

[. . . . .]·[.]·ιασ

[. . . . .]·ωσαφικετο

[. . . . .]·φερομενοσγαρκᾶνκυκλω[

[. . . . .]·ρτωντεστιτο

Unplaced fragment . . .

]τιβ[

. . .

## Col. ii.

- [. . . . .]· σὺ δ' ἀκολουθεῖ [μοι, Γέτα.  
 (Δῶς) [κληματίδ]ας ἔξεισιν φέρων· τὸ πύρ[δανον  
 καὶ πῦρ πρόδηλον· ὦ Τίβιε καὶ Γέτα,  
 ἔπειτα κατακαύσει μ' ἀφείητ' ἄν, Γέτα,  
 5 [σύν]δουλον ὄντα, καὶ διασώσαν[τ' ; ο]ὐ πάνυ  
 [νῦν] ἄν μ' ἀφείητ'· ἀλλὰ περιόψεσθέ με;  
 [τί δ]ῆ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχομεν; προσέρχεται  
 [ὁ Πυρ]ρίας ὅσον γε φορτίον φέρων·  
 [ἀπό]λωλα· καὶ δᾶδ' αὐτὸς ἡμμένην ἔχων  
 10 [Λάχ]ης ἀκ]ολουθεῖ. Λάχ(ης). περίθετ' ἐ[ν] κύκλω ταχὺ  
 [τὰ ξύλ'· ἐπ]ίδειξαι, Δᾶε, τὴν πανουργίαν  
 τέχνην τιν' εὐρὸν διαφυγῶν τ' ἐνθένδε με.  
 (Δα.) τέχνην ἐγώ; (Λάχ.) ναί, Δᾶε, τὸ μὲν ἀπράγμονα  
 καὶ κοῦφον ἐξαπατᾶν γάρ ἐστι δεσπότην  
 15 φλύαρος. (Δα.) ἡήν. (Λάχ.) εἰ δέ τις τὴν τῶν φρενῶν  
 στακτὴν—ἐκνίσθης; (Δα.) οὐχὶ πρὸς σοῦ, δέσποτα.  
 (Λα.) ὁ μὲν πονηρός, ὁ θρασύς, ἐνθάδ' ἀρτίως  
 κατὰ τῶν σκελῶν τὴν κληρονομίαν φίλ[λ]τάτο[υ  
 [. . . . .] π]οδων. (Δα.) ἔξειν χάριν  
 20 [. . . . .]ς ὑφ' ἡμῶν. Λάχ(ης). κάετ[ε]  
 [. . . . .] Π]υρρίας. . . . . ἀφίκετο  
 [. . . . .] φερόμενος γὰρ κὰν κύκλω  
 [. . . . .]ρτων τ' ἐστὶ τὸ

‘*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. ]βωσ( ) 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 ]βωσ( ) suggests no likely name. Perhaps σωσ( ), e. g. Σωσ(ίας), 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. 2. The supplements were suggested by Wilamowitz. For [κληματίδ]as cf. Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 728 and, for πύρδανον, 661. 19.

3. Τίβιος and Γέτης were common names of slaves. In the line cited from Menander's *Thettale* as εὐθυμία βίε τὸν δούλον τρέφει (Kock, Fr. 231) Bentley proposed to read εὐθυμία τοι Τίβιε κ.τ.λ., but as the second syllable of the name is now shown to be long, the τοι is superfluous.

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

6. [νύ], which makes an apposite contrast to the aorist διασώσαν[τ], is due to Wilamowitz. The only objection to it is the stop after πανν, 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 ο]ὐ πάνν, [οὐκ].

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

8. [ὁ Πυρ]ρίας Wilamowitz. Cf. Aristoph. *Frogs* 730 Πυρρίας and Schol. ὄνομα γὰρ δούλου ὁ Πυρρίας.

9. The ι of δαιδ' was inserted after the second δ had been written.

11. Restored by Wilamowitz. In l. 10 after ταχν 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 περίθετ' is desirable, it is better disregarded. Even if the stop were certain, this 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 δεσπότην ἀπράγμονα καὶ κοῦφον ἐξαπατᾷ θεράπων, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι οὗτος μεγαλείον ἔστι διαπεπραγμένος, ἐπαβελτερώσας τὸν (πρότερον) ἀβέλτερον. Such a striking similarity seems to us to point to Menander as the author of our fragment; cf. introd.

15. ἦν appears to be an exclamation not otherwise attested. Wilamowitz compares Euripides, *Herc. Fur.* 906 ἦ ἦ (ἦ ἦ).

16. The sentence εἰ δὲ . . . στακὴν 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 στακην and εκνίσθης: the latter word is also wrongly accented. This passage seems to be much the earliest instance of the use of στακὴ in the sense of τέφρα, for which cf. e. g. Demetrius Constantinop. *Hieracos.* 2. 18 μετὰ στακῆς ἀπὸ κληματίδων.

18. κατὰ τῶν σκελῶν: cf. Aristoph. *Peace* 241 ὁ κατὰ τοῖν σκελοῖν and Schol. Rav. συμβολικὸν ἐπὶ τῶν διὰ δειλίαν ἀποπατούντων (Wilamowitz). Whether this explanation would suit the present passage remains uncertain owing to the mutilation of the context. ἐκπ]οδῶν (?) in l. 19 would be consistent with it.

19. There may have been two dots, not one, after ]οδων, the papyrus being damaged in the place where the lower dot would be placed. Since καετ[ε] in l. 20 is attributed to Laches, a change of speaker must have intervened in ll. 19-20. ἐκπ]οδῶν is probably to be restored rather than π]οδῶν.

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 Π]υ[ρ]ρίας on the strength of l. 8, but the traces preceding the termination ιας are extremely slight, and though not inconsistent with ]υ[.ρ] they do not suggest those letters. Σ[ω]σίας, 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 Τιβ[ί]ος.

### 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 Ἀθηναίων 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, δ' = δέ, κ' = καί, μ' = μέν, π' = παρὰ, π̄ = ποιητής, π̄ = πρὸς, τ' = τῶν, φ] = 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

*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.

Fr. (a)	Col. i.	
		]μιν
		] τινων
		τ]αίς κω
	μωιδίαις	]ι περι
5		]σιου
		]οι δ(ε) φα(σι) 108?
		]ς Κλεισθ(ενης) 118
		]αβαλλω(ν) :
		παγ]ωνα έχοντ ) 120
10	... επι των πολλους ξενου]ς δεχομ(ενων) :	127
		Θε]ωρος : 134
	Θεογνις· τραγωιδίας] ψυχρος πο(ιητης) :	140
		]ν τῶν
		κ]αταπέλ 160
15	τάσονται·	]ματος [ ]
		φ]η(σι) πολιν :
		]ηι α
		]τις έχων
		]ενοις

20	οι (εισι):	
	αν μυτ	174
τωτ	ς σκληροι.	180

## Fr. (b)

- [. . . . .]ινου: ουκ εμασπιδ[ω(σομαι)] οιον [ ψηφηδακειν. 368; 376  
 [επει ψηφ]οις δικαζοντες χρωνται . [ την περυ 378
- 25 [σι κωμω]ιδιαν· εις τους Βαβυλωνιο[υς  
 [. . . . .]τους τ(ων) Αθηναιων κ(αι) πεδ[ι  
 [. . . . .]υ]πο Κλεωνος δικην εφυ[γε Ιερωννυμου· πο(ιητης) 386  
 [τις ην κο]μητης: του Σισυφου· οιον [ 391  
 [. . . παρ]οιμιαν σκηψιν αγων ουτος· [ 392
- 30 [. . . . .]δ]υσποτμος· εισαγεται γ(αρ) παρ[α τωι Ευριπιδηι ως εκπεττωκως 419  
 [εκ της βα]σιλειας κ(αι) πτωχος περιν[οστων  
 [. . . . .]ται παρ αυτωι υπο δ(ε) χειρων [ 444  
 [. . . τα ρα]κη κ(αι) τα σχισματα: σκιμα[λίσω· 444  
 [. . . . .]τ]οις ρημασι: Τηλεφωι δ αγ[ω φρονω· χρεος 446, 455
- 35 [μεν ουδ]εν· πρ(ος) το χρεος λεγει: ωσπε[ρ η μητηρ· ισχνα μοι 457, 469  
 [φυλλεια] δος τα σαπρα φυλλα α εκ τ[ σκαν 478  
 [δικα· λ]αχανιον τι: εμπορευτε[α· 480  
 [. . . . .] υπερ Λακεδ(αιμονιων) ανδρων λεγ(ειν) ο· [ γραμμη· 482, 483  
 [. . . . .]δρ]ομεων: παρακεκομμενα [ 517
- 40 [σικ(υον) ιδο]ιεν ου(τ ) σικυωι τιθωνωι εοικ( ) [ πεφυσιγγωμενοι· 520, 526  
 [εκκεκαυ]μενοι: πορνᾶ δυο· ως πορν[ σκολια· 527, 532  
 [μελη πα]ροινια: Σεριφιων των Αθ[ηναι παλλαδιων· 542, 547  
 [. . . . τα] π(ερι) τας τριηρεις οντα Παλλαδ[ος αγαλματα  
 [εν δικτυο]ις λε(γει) εν γυργαθοις: τριχ[ιδων· 550, 551
- 45 [. . . . .]αι: τον δ[ε] Τηλεφον [ 555  
 [. . . . .] . . . . . [ . . . ]υκαν επ[  
 [ 20 letters ]· αυτων [  
 [ " " ]α]γωνιζο(μενων) τω[ν  
 [ 21 " ] ουτος δειχ[θ
- 50 [. . . . .] φυλετα·] απο της α(υτης) φυ[λης 568

Fr. (a) Col. ii.

- [. . . . .]κησι[  
 [. . .] τ(ων) α[. .]. τω[  
 [.]καλ( ) οι ετεροι του[ς  
 δειν ως φα(σι) κ(αι) οι ηθ[ πτερον αιτει 584  
 55 ἴνα καθεις εις την φαρυγα ἐξέμεση κομπολακ(υθου)· ουτω λε(γει) 589  
τον Λαμαχον οτι(ι) κομπαστης [ην σπουδαρχ(ιδης)· στρα 595, 596  
τωνιδης παρα) το στρατευεσθα[ι μισθαρχιδης δε οτι μισθον 597  
λαμβανων εφ οἱς αν π[ κοκκυγες· ε 598  
ρημιαν οι ορυ(εις) : Τισαμεν[οφαιν(ιππους)· Πανουργιπ(παρχιδας)· πα 603  
 60 νουργιαι : Γερητοθεοδ(ωρους) Γερ[ης 605  
αλλ ὁ Κοισυρας· ο Μεγακλης· τ[ 614  
δ(ε) κ(αι) οσοι προδοται (εισι) οι μ(εν) α[  
εκεισε ειτα πυνθανετ(αι) λ[  
την ταξιν αυτων η εμ[  
 65 τοι φη(σι) ο Κοισυρας κ(αι) Λαμαχ[ος 616-7  
ελεγον εξίστω· το δ(ε) απο[νιπτρον  
προφωνουσιν εξίστω ἴν[α  
Λαμαχος· ειθ ο Δικαιοπ(ολις) ουδ[ 619?  
χαυνοπολ(ι)τας οιον χαυνοους : ο[τε και βασιλευς· υ 635, 647  
 70 περ εαυτου λεγων οτ(ε) βασιλε[υς  
πρωτον μ(εν) ποτερον ταις ναυ[σι κρατουσιν  
μεγαλοφροσυνην εαυτου [  
δια δ(ε) ταυτα φη(σι) Λακεδαιμο(νιους) [ 652  
πο(ιητην) φα(σι) γ(αρ) οι μ(εν) αυτον εκει . [ 654  
 75 οιον εξ ὧν το δικαστικον [ 656-8  
κ(αι) προς χαριν λεγουτ . [  
ειθ ουτω κατεπραττον [  
φλεγυρα· ενθερμος : φ[εψαλος· σπινθηρ : επανθρακιδες· ιχθυες 665, 668, 670  
η κρεα : οι δ(ε) Θασιαν τ[οι 671

6. The remains of this line suggest Schol. 108 ἀχάνη μετρον ἐστὶ Περσικὸν . . . ἄλλοι δὲ φασιν ὅτι κίστη ἐστίν.

7. Cf. Schol. οὗτος ὁ Κλεισθένης αἰὲ τὸ γένειον ἐξυρᾶτο ἐπὶ τὸ αἰε φαίνεσθαι νέος· διὸ εὐνούχῳ αὐτὸν εἰκάζει.

9. There is nothing in the extant scholia corresponding to  $\acute{\alpha}\omega\gamma\lambda\omega\alpha$   $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\upsilon\tau$  ); the  $\omega$  is very uncertain, but  $\acute{\alpha}\omega\gamma\omega\alpha$  is strongly suggested by  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\upsilon\tau$  ). The overwritten letter is plainly  $\omicron$  not  $\omega$ .

10. Cf. Schol. on  $\omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon}$   $\gamma'$   $\acute{\iota}\sigma\chi\epsilon\iota$   $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha$  :  $\rho\alpha\rho\omicron\iota\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$   $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$   $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\rho\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\delta\epsilon\chi\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\omega\upsilon$ .

11. Cf. Schol.  $\acute{\omicron}$   $\kappa\eta\rho\upsilon\zeta$   $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\alpha$   $\rho\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\eta\eta$   $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\theta\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha$   $\rho\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$   $\Sigma\iota\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\Theta\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\rho\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$   $\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $\eta$   $\sigma\alpha\upsilon$   $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\iota\lambda\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $\acute{\Lambda}\theta\eta\eta\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon$   $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron$   $\Theta\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ . The double dots after  $\Theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$  indicate that the name is the end of the note, not of the lemma.

12. The note in Schol. is similarly worded;  $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\acute{\omicron}$   $\Theta\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omicron}\gamma\iota\upsilon\varsigma$   $\tau\rho\alpha\gamma\omega\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\rho\omicron\iota\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\psi\upsilon\chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ .

14.  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\epsilon\lambda\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omicron\upsilon\alpha\iota$  is glossed in Schol.  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota\sigma\upsilon\sigma\iota$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\eta\sigma\upsilon\sigma\iota$  . . .  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\delta\rho\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\alpha\iota$ .

16. The note perhaps relates to  $\sigma\omega\sigma\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$  in l. 163; but  $\sigma\omega\sigma\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\lambda\iota\omega\iota\alpha$  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  $\acute{\omicron}$   $\theta\rho\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\lambda\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ , 163 about Dicaeopolis and the  $\sigma\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\delta\alpha$ , 166  $\omicron\upsilon$   $\mu\eta$   $\rho\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma\epsilon\iota$   $\kappa.\tau.\lambda.$ , 171  $\delta\iota\omicron\sigma\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ , 172  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\eta$ , but coincidences do not occur here with their language.  $\delta\iota\omicron\sigma\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$  cannot be read in l. 17; the first letter is certainly  $\eta$ .  $\lambda\epsilon\omega\iota\varsigma$  in l. 19 might be  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$  referring to  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\eta$ , but is more likely to be the termination of a participle,  $\omicron\gamma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\omicron\iota\varsigma$ .

21. Cf. Schol.  $\mu\upsilon\tau\tau\omega\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$  :  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\sigma\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\delta\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$   $\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $\acute{\omicron}$   $\mu\upsilon\tau\tau\omega\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$   $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ .  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron$   $\tau\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\upsilon$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\sigma\kappa\omicron\rho\acute{\omicron}\delta\omicron\upsilon$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\omicron}\upsilon$ .

22.  $\sigma\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\iota$  is probably a gloss on  $\rho\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\iota\omega\iota$  in 180 or  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\upsilon\alpha\iota$  in 181. Cf. Schol.  $\rho\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\iota\omega\iota$  :  $\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\omicron\iota$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\sigma\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\acute{\omicron}\iota$  . . .  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\upsilon\alpha\iota$  :  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\alpha$   $\sigma\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\acute{\omicron}\iota$  . . .

23. The letter before  $\upsilon$  can hardly be  $\eta$ , so  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\zeta\eta\lambda\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon$  (cf. ll. 355, 359, 365-6) is unsuitable.  $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$   $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\sigma\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  is glossed in Schol.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\omicron\upsilon$   $\kappa\alpha\theta\omicron\pi\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ,  $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$   $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\iota$   $\rho\epsilon\rho\iota\beta\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$   $\sigma\epsilon\mu\mu\upsilon\alpha\theta\acute{\iota}\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ,  $\eta$   $\sigma\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\sigma\theta\acute{\iota}\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\eta}$   $\beta\rho\alpha\chi\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\mu\iota$ .

24. Schol. are quite different,  $\psi\eta\phi\omega$   $\delta\alpha\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$  :  $\omicron\iota\omega\alpha$   $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ .  $\rho\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\chi\acute{\omicron}\upsilon$   $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  . . .  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\acute{\Lambda}\theta\eta\eta\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\kappa\omega\mu\omega\delta\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ .

25-7. Cf. Schol.  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\beta\alpha\beta\upsilon\lambda\omega\upsilon\iota\omega\iota\varsigma$   $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$ .  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$   $\rho\rho\acute{\omicron}$   $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\acute{\Lambda}\chi\alpha\rho\eta\acute{\omicron}\nu\omega\alpha$   $\acute{\Lambda}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\zeta\epsilon\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\omicron\iota\varsigma$   $\rho\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\kappa\alpha\kappa\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\pi\epsilon\upsilon$ .  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omega\mu\acute{\omega}\delta\eta\sigma\epsilon\alpha$   $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$   $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\tau\epsilon$   $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omega\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon\eta\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\alpha$   $\rho\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omega\alpha$   $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\omega\alpha$  . . .  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$   $\acute{\omicron}\rho\gamma\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$   $\acute{\omicron}$   $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\alpha$   $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\alpha\tau\omicron$   $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\iota\alpha\varsigma$  . . .  $\rho\epsilon\delta\acute{\iota}$  in l. 26 seems strange.

27-8. Cf. Schol.  $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\acute{\omicron}$   $\acute{\Gamma}$ .  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\omega\alpha$   $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota$   $\rho\omicron\iota\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\tau\rho\alpha\gamma\omega\delta\omicron\pi\omicron\iota\delta\iota\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$   $\tau\acute{\omicron}$   $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\alpha$   $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$   $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\iota\alpha$   $\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\theta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  . . .  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omega\mu\acute{\omega}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\omicron$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\rho\alpha\alpha\alpha$   $\kappa\omicron\mu\acute{\omega}\alpha$ . The word  $\kappa\omicron\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\varsigma$  is used in connexion with him by Aristophanes in *Clouds* 348.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\varsigma$  ( $\tau\rho\alpha\gamma\omega\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ ) would be a much less likely restoration.

28.  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\Sigma\iota\sigma\upsilon\phi\omicron\upsilon$  :  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\Sigma$ . MSS., on which Schol. have  $\delta\rho\iota\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$   $\tau\iota\alpha$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\rho\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\alpha$   $\rho\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\acute{\omega}\kappa\alpha\sigma\iota\alpha$   $\omicron\iota$   $\rho\omicron\iota\eta\tau\acute{\alpha}\iota$   $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $\Sigma\iota\sigma\upsilon\phi\omicron\upsilon$  . . .

29. There is no comment in Schol. on this verse beyond the Victorian gloss  $\sigma\kappa\eta\psi\iota\omega$  :  $\eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon\alpha$   $\rho\rho\acute{\omicron}\phi\alpha\sigma\iota\omega$ .

30-3. Cf. Schol. . . .  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\eta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta$   $\tau\eta\eta$   $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha\alpha$   $\omicron\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$   $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$   $\tau\acute{\omicron}$   $\gamma\eta\rho\alpha\varsigma$   $\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron$   $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\acute{\Lambda}\gamma\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$   $\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\omega\alpha$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\rho\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\eta$   $\tau\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\upsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  . . . l. 32 seems to be a continuation of the same note, and l. 33  $\tau\alpha$   $\rho\alpha\lambda\kappa\eta$  . . .  $\sigma\chi\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$  may also belong to it; the latter words may, however, be a gloss on 423  $\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma$  or 431  $\sigma\acute{\rho}\alpha\rho\gamma\alpha\alpha$ , or go back to  $\tau\rho\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$  in 418. Cf. Schol. in the note on  $\omicron\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$  quoted above  $\tau\rho\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$   $\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\acute{\rho}\alpha\kappa\eta$   $\tau\rho\alpha\gamma\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  ; similarly  $\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$  in 423 are explained as  $\delta\iota\epsilon\rho\rho\omega\gamma\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha$   $\acute{\iota}\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\alpha$ , or according to Gl. Vict.  $\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\acute{\rho}\alpha\chi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  : . . .  $\sigma\chi\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu\alpha$ .

33-4. Cf. Schol.  $\sigma\kappa\iota\mu\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega$  :  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\theta\epsilon\upsilon\eta\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega$ ,  $\chi\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omega$   $\kappa.\tau.\lambda.$   $\tau\lambda\acute{\omicron}\iota\varsigma$   $\rho\eta\mu\alpha\sigma\iota$  in l. 34 belongs to the same note.

34. Schol. have only a note to the effect that the verse is a parody of a line in Eurip. *Telephus*  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\iota\mu\iota$ ,  $\tau\eta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omega$   $\delta'$   $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$   $\phi\rho\omicron\upsilon\omega\alpha$ .

35.  $\rho\rho(\omicron\varsigma)$  . . .  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$  : there is nothing corresponding to this in Schol. On 457 Schol. has  $\sigma\kappa\acute{\omicron}\pi\tau\epsilon\iota$   $\acute{\alpha}\iota\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\lambda\alpha\chi\alpha\upsilon\sigma\acute{\rho}\omega\lambda\iota\omega\alpha$   $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\alpha\tau\alpha$   $\mu\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$   $\tau\eta\eta$   $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\alpha$ .

36. Cf. Schol. οἶον μεμαραμμένα καὶ εὐτελῆ τῶν λαχάνων φύλλα . . . τὰ ἀπολείσματα τῶν λαχάνων. There was apparently no stop after *dos*.

37. Cf. Schol. . . . ἔστι γὰρ (ἢ 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 δρ]μεων cf. Schol. γραμμῆ δ' αὐτῆ: ἀρχή, ἀφετηρία, ἢ λεγομένη βαλβίς· ἐκ μεταφορῶς οὖν τῶν δρομέων. On παρακεκομμένα the note is μηδὲν ἐντελές ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ἀδοκίμων νομισμάτων . . .

40. This line is obscure; σικνωι indicates that the reference is to verse 520, and we therefore restore σικ(νον) ἰδο]ιεν, though it is noticeable that there is no stop after ἰδο]ιεν; cf., however, l. 36. τιθωνωι seems to be corrupt; τιθῶν δι is as unsatisfactory here as Τιθωνῶι. Τιθωνόν occurs in *Acharn.* 688.

41. Cf. Schol. φῦσιγιξ λέγεται τὸ ἐκτὸς λέπισμα τῶν σκορόδων . . . πεπλησμένοι (πεφυσημένοι R) ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς . . . ἀσκῶν ἢ φυσῶν. ἢ ἐκκεκομμένοι, οἰδοῦντες.

The note here on πορνα δυο apparently had no relation to Schol. πόρνα is the accepted reading; πόρνας R and Athenaeus.

42. πα]ροινια: Schol. have no explanation of the term σκόλιον in the present passage, but cf. *Wasps* 1238 ἐνιοι δέ φασιν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου προσηγορεύθησαν σκόλια τὰ παροῖνια μέλη, and 1239 λέξεις σκόλιον: . . . ἐν τοῖς Πραξίλλης φέρεται παροινίους. For Σεριφίων cf. Schol. ἢ Σέριφος νησὸς εὐτελεστάτη πρὸς τὴν Θράκην.

43. Cf. Schol. ἐν ταῖς πρώραις τῶν τριήρων ἦν ἀγάλματά τινα ξύλινα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καθιδρυμένα.

44. Schol. have no remark on δικτύους. τριχίδες are explained as εἶδος ἰχθύων.

45. ]αι is probably part of a note on νιγλάρων in 554, e. g. μέλος φ̄ . . . χρῶν]αι or . . . οἱ κελευστ]αί; cf. Schol. ὁ νίγλαρος κροῦμά ἐστι καὶ μέλος μουσικὸν παρακελευστικόν. On τὸν δὲ Τηλέφον the only remark is καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ Τηλέφου Εὐριπίδου.

48. 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 ἡμιχώριον τὸ συναγωνιζόμενον αὐτῶ λέγει ὅτι μὴ ἀναχωρήσης . . .

49-52. 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 λ or χ instead of κ; the letter above the line seems to be λ or χ.

54-5. Cf. Schol. τὸ πτερὸν αἰτεῖ ἵνα ἐξεμέσῃ. εἰώθασι γὰρ οἱ δυσεμεῖς πτερῶ χρῆσθαι.

55-6. Cf. Schol. κομπολακύθου: ματαιοκόμπου, κομπώδους ἐν τῷ κανχῆσθαι. παρεποίησεν καὶ παρέπλασεν ὄνομα{τα} ἕρμιθος διὰ τὸ κομπαστῆν εἶναι τὸν Λάμαχον. On οὐ σπουδαρχίδης the gloss is οὐ σπουδάζων περὶ ἀρχῆς.

57-8. Schol. are similar, the glosses being, on στρατώνιδης, ἀντὶ τοῦ στρατευόμενος, στρατιώτης, and on μισθαρχ., μισθὸν λαμβάνων· ἢ ὅτι τοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν μισθοὺς ἤσθειν.

58-9. The note on κόκκυγες in Schol. is different: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄτακτοι καὶ ἀπαίδευτοι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόκκυξ τὸ ζῷον ἄμουσόν τι φθέγγεται. A similar idea, however, to that apparently expressed in *ερμηϊαν* is to be found in Hesychius κόκκυγες· ἐπὶ ὑπονηθέντων πλειόνων εἶναι, καὶ ὀλίγων ὄντων.

59-60. Schol. have ὁ Τισαμενὸς ὡς ξένος καὶ μαστιγίας κωμωδεῖται, ὁ δὲ Φαῖνιππος ὡς συνώδης καὶ ἡταιρηκός. . . . Πανουργιπαρχίδας: τούτους κωμωδεῖ ὡς πανούργους . . . εἰς μαλακίαν διεβάλλετο Γέρης καὶ Θεόδωρος, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ δούλων.

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(ε) may be meant for an α, but the abbreviation α' here would be more difficult to explain.

65-7. Cf. Schol. εἰώθεσαν εἴ ποτε ἐκχέοιτο ἀπόνητρον ἀπὸ τῶν θυρίδων ἵνα μή τις βραχῆ τῶν παριόντων ἐξίστω λέγειν . . . τοῦτο λέγει διασύρων Μ. καὶ Λ. ὡς πρότερον μὲν πένητας ὄντας εἶτα ἐξαίφνης πλουτήσαντας ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως. τοῖς δανείζουσι παρήνουν οἱ φίλοι ἐξίστασθαι τοῦ δανείζειν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ὀφείλουσιν ἐράνους καὶ χρέα, or according to another explanation, οἱ φίλοι χθὲς καὶ πρῶην συνεβούλευον καταχρῆσι οὖσιν ὑπὸ τε ἐράνων καὶ ὀφλημάτων ἐξίστασθαι τῆς οὐσίας, ὡς μὴ δυναμένοις ἀποδοῦναι. In l. 66 τ of το is corrected.

68. The paragraphus above this line indicates a new lemma, and the stop after Λαμαχος suggests (though it does not prove) that that name formed part of it; hence we refer the note to 619. There is nothing corresponding in Schol.

69. Cf. Schol. χαννοπ. : κεχανωμένους περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἢ τὴν πόλιν.

69-72. Schol. 648-9 have πότεροι ταῖς νασι : ποῖοι αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀθηναίων (καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἴ) ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ κρατοῦσιν . . . ποτέρους εἶποι πολλά : ἀντὶ τοῦ περὶ τούτου τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἠρώτα τίνας διαβάλλει καὶ κωμῶδει. ἔφασκε γὰρ ὅτι οὐς ἂν οὗτος ὁ ποιητὴς σκώψῃ, τούτους σωφρονίζεσθαι καὶ γίνεσθαι βελτίους. In l. 72 the first υ of εαυτον is written as a curved stroke above α, as if the word was to be abbreviated, and there has been some correction of the τ; possibly εαυ(του) του [ should be read.

73. δια δ(ε) κ.τ.λ. seems to have been tacked on to the previous note without a new lemma. Schol. have διὰ τοῦθ' : διὰ τὸ ἔχειν ἡμᾶς τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην ποιητὴν ἄριστον. The papyrus agrees with R in reading ταυθ : τοῦθ' A<sup>2</sup>.

74. Cf. Schol. ἐντεῦθεν τινὲς νομίζουσιν ἐν Αἰγίῃ τὰς κωμῳδίας ποιεῖν τὸν Ἀ. . . ταῖς ἀληθείαις εἰς ἣν τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ κληρουχησάντων . . . ἄλλως οὐδεὶς ἰστορήκεν ὡς ἐν Αἰγίῃ κέκτηται τι Ἀ. . . κ[ωμωδίας] might be read after *εκε*.

75-7. These lines seem to give a paraphrase of 656-8; cf. Schol. 657 οὔθ' ὑποτεινῶν : οὐδὲ τισι μισθὸν διδοῦς ἴν' αὐτὸν ἐπαινέσωσιν, 658 κατάρδων . . . καταβρέχων ἡμᾶς τοῖς ἐπαίνοις ὡς φυτά.

78. Cf. Schol. 665 φλεγυρά : λαμπρά, φλέγουσα, λάμπουσα, θερμὴ διὰ τοὺς ἄνθρακας. 668 φέψαλος : σπυθῆρ.

78-9. Cf. Schol. on ἐπανθρακίδες, λεπτοὶ ἰχθύες ὀπτοί. πάντα τὰ ἐπὶ ἀνθράκων ὀπτώμενα ἐπανθρακίδας ἐκάλουν. These two lines project below the last line of the preceding column.

79. Perhaps after *θασίαν* a high point was written which has coalesced with the cross-bar of the following τ.

## 857. EPITOME OF HERODOTUS.

10.7 × 7.1 cm.

Fourth century.

The lower portion of a leaf from a vellum codex, containing in all 28 lines, most of which are incomplete, from a historical work. The script is a medium-sized upright uncial of the biblical type, and probably of the fourth century, without lection-marks. The MS. is far from accurate, serious mistakes (probably due to omissions) occurring in ll. 3 and 17. The verso is concerned with the dispatch of Cadmus the Coan by Gelon to watch the struggle between Xerxes and the Greeks, and is nothing but an abstract of Herodotus vii. 163. The subject of the recto, the refusal of the Argives to join in the defence of Greece,

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  $\chi\rho\eta[\mu]ατα$  in l. 27, that word being required by the context; cf. note on ll. 15 sqq.

Recto.	Verso.
<p>[.]δ[.]προσεβα[λ..  [Θε]ρμοπυλαις ηγω[νι  [ξ]οντο οι ανα τριακο  [σι]ους πλην Αργειω<sup>-</sup>  5 [ο]υτοι γαρ εφ εαυτω<sup>-</sup>  μενοντες ουτε αν  δρας ουτε ναυς εδω  και [και ο]υδενι συνε  μαχ[ουν δι]α την δο  10 κο[υσαν αυτων] προς</p>	<p>15 [..] απηλ[θον] ο δε Γε  [λ]ων ευλαβουμε[νος  περι του μη νικη[θεν  των των Ελληνω[ν  καυτος ατυχηση [υπο  20 του βαρβαρου επεμ[ψε  Καδμον τον Σκυθου [  ανδρα Κω[ον επ]ι πε[ν  τηκοι[τορων τρ]ιων [  εις Δ[ελφους... ] πολ[.</p>

Π[ερσας συγγενει ?	25 τ[ρ]. . . . . ω[.
α[ν . . .] . . . . .	[. . . . .] . β[αρ]βαρ[.
ου[.]ο[πρ]. . . . .	[. . . . .] . α χρη[μ]ατα [ .
ημερας υπερειδ[.] .	[. . .] και γην και υδωρ

‘. . . 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[σεβα]λ 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 οι in l. 3 a word has dropped out: (Λακεδαιμονιοι) would suit ανα τριακισιους and might easily have been omitted through homoioteleuton, 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. 9-12 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 υπερειδ[(-ε οτ -ον?)]: the subject here seems to have changed, and we have been unable to recover the connexion with Herodotus.

15 sqq. Cf. Hdt. vii. 163 οί μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄγγελοι τοιαῦτα τῷ Γέλωνι χρηματισάμενοι ἀπέπλεον· Γέλων δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα δείσας μὲν περὶ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μὴ οὐ δύνωνται τὸν βάρβαρον ὑπερβαλέσθαι, δεινὸν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ποιησάμενος ἐλθὼν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐὼν Σικελίης τύραννος, ταύτην μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν ἠμέλησε, ὃ δὲ ἄλλης εἶχετο. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ τάχιστα ἐπίθεται τὸν Πέρσῃ διαβεβηκότα τὸν Ἑλλησποντον, πέμπει πεντηκοντέρουσι τρισὶ Κάδμον τὸν Σκύθεω ἄνδρα Κῶων ἐς Δελφοῦς, ἔχοντα χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ φίλιους λόγους, παραδοκῆσοντα τὴν μάχην τῇ πεσέεται, καὶ ἦν μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος νικᾷ, τά τε χρήματα αὐτῷ διδοῖναι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ τῶν ἄρχηι ὁ Γέλων, ἦν δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὅπισω ἀπάγειν.

17-9. The construction in περι του μη . . . ατυχηση has become confused. Either περι του must be omitted or ατυχηση altered to ατυχησαι or, what is perhaps more likely, a word like μελλοντος is to be supplied after περι του.

22. ε[π]ι: the vestige of the letter after the lacuna is extremely slight, but there is not room for μετ[α]. For ἐπί with the dative in connexion with πέμπειν cf. Thuc. vi. 29 πέμπειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτω στρατεύματι.

24. πολ[ ] may be some part of πολὺς (cf. Hdt. l. c. ἔχοντα χρήματα πολλὰ), but it is not certain that any letter is lost at the end of l. 24; πολ[ ]ο[ ]υ is unsatisfactory.

28. Perhaps [τ]ε και. χρη[μ]ατα [ ] may end l. 27; cf. Hdt. l. c.

## 858. ORATION AGAINST DEMOSTHENES.

Fr. (*b*) 18 × 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 853, 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 *tau* 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 l. 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 (ll. 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. (b)	Fr. (a)
[.....]. [	]αν φων. [
[.....]τ. [	]οσου συμ[
[.....]εντ[	]υς τελ[
[.....]λένε[	] τουτον [
5 [.....]. δ. [.]. ν[	]ον καθα[
[.....]. [.]. τ[	5 ]τοις. η[
[.....]. [.]. [.]. ν[	]ρι[
[.....] ησ[ν]χι[αν] αγειν επ. κ[	
[.....]. πολ[.]. ουτησατ[.]. [	
	^ [
10 [.....]ειστον[.]. η[.]. κ[... [	
[.....]ων τρομ[.]. [	
[.....] κακω αλλ. [.]. εις Μαραθωνα ε[.....	
[.....]πα]ρεχειν αξιο[ν α]λλα μην οποτε πα[ρακαλοι	
[του]τους εις Θηβ[ας] ελθειν ου τους μεν α[λλους	
15 [εξεπ]εμπεν αυτ[ος δ]ε οικoi καθηστο βιβ[.]. [...	
[.....] αγαθεις τουτ[.]. [.....] πολιτων τα οπλ[α...]	
[.....]τ... ει... πρωτος... [ε]... [ε]ις την μα[χη]ν	
[εστ]ω δημηγορος και στρατηγος [ο] αυτος [και	
[Δημ]οσθενησ ασπιδα και ψηφισμα εχων α[γορευ	
20 [ετω] Θεμ[ι]στοκλεους δημηγορουντος εμ[βη	
[σομ]αι εξαγετω Περικλης εις Σαμον πλ[ευσσο	
[μαι] ακολουθησω Τολμιδη δια Πελοπον[νησου ει	
[δι]εξιειν ουτος Δημοσθενει δε πως π[εισομαι	
ω γε ου θωραξ ου δορυ ου ξιφος ουδε το π[αρα] του	

- 25 πατρος Ελατεια γαρ κατειλημπα[ι φη  
 [σι] και πεπαυνται δειπν[.]ουντες οι πρυτ[ανεις  
 [α]νεστησαν δε εκ της αγορας οι τας σκ[ηνας  
 [ε]χοντες τον δε σαλπικτην μεταπε[μπε  
 ται τις ταυτα γαρ ην ακουειν Δημοσθεν[η]ς  
 30 δ ουπωποτε σαλπιγγος ακουσας αυτο[ς] υ  
 μας εξεφοβει ταυτα λεγων και διεξιω[ν] ο  
 δε δημοσ ανω καθητο η βουλη δε [ουπω  
 π[ρ]ο(υ)βεβουλευκει περι των παροντω[ν] και  
 [τη]ς μέν βουλης μη προβεβουλ[ευ]κνία[ς  
 35 λεγειν Δημοσθενη κηρυττουτ[ο]ς τ[ου] κη  
 ρος ουδενος  
 [ρ]υκ[ο]ς και απαντων ελεγεν νομους . αρ[.] . . . .  
 [.] τούτ[ο]ς αὐτούτ[ο]ς οικ οισθε και ευνό[υν] . . . . .  
 [τι]να και παρηκολουθηκοτα το[ι]ς πραγμασι  
 [.] . . . ν γαρ οι πλουσιωτατοι τ[ο]ι[ων] πολ[ι]των . . . . .  
 40 [.] . . . [.] . [.] . ιας οι τ[α]ς μεγαλα[ς] επιδοσεις  
 [.] . . . [.] και παντες εβουλε[σθε] . . . . .  
 [.] . . . [ξ]αι την πολιν αλ[ι]  
 [.] . . . [θ]ορυβ[ο]υντος ο[ι]  
 [.] . . . . . [ν] ωστε α[ι]  
 45 [.] . . . . . [ε]ο[ι] . [θε] . [ . . . . .  
 [.] . . . . . [ε]π[ι]

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. θ of θηβ[as] has been corrected from β.

14. [του]rous; or perhaps [αυ]rous, in which case [επ]εμμεν 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 π[εισομαι] in l. 23 and φησι in l. 25.

22-3. For the reference to Tolmides cf. Aeschin. ii. 75 Τολμίδου . . . ὁς χιλίους ἐπιλέκτους ἔχων Ἀθηναίων διὰ μέσης Πελοποννήσου πολεμίας οὔσης ἀδεῶς διεξήει, 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, ἦκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς τοὺς πρυτάνεις ὡς Ἑλλάτεια κατελιηπται. καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξαναστάντες μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες τοὺς τ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξείργον καὶ τὰ γέρρ' ἐνεπίμπρασαν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγούς μετεπέμποντο καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἐκάλουν.

31-6. Cf. *De Cor.* *ibid.* τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλὴν ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὑμεῖς δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπορεύεσθε, καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνην χρηματῖσαι καὶ προβουλεύσαι πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω καθῆτο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' ὡς ἦλθεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰ προσηγγελημέν' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τὸν ἦκοντα παρήγαγον κακείνος εἶπεν, ἠρώτα μὲν ὁ κῆρυξ τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται; παρήει δ' οὐδεὶς.

33. περι is corrected from παρα.

34. The dots above μὲν indicate that the word was to be omitted; cf. l. 37. The implication that the speakers at the ἐκκλησία were fixed by the βουλὴ betrays ignorance of Attic law on the subject; cf. *introd.*

36. νομούς παρ[αβαινων], 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 νομούς and αρ[.]

37-42. Cf. *De Cor.* 171 καίτοι εἰ μὲν τοὺς σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν βουλομένους παρελθεῖν ἔδει, πάντες ἂν ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀναστάντες ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ἐβαδίζετε· πάντες γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι σωθῆναι αὐτὴν ἐβούλεσθε· εἰ δὲ τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους, οἱ τριακόσιοι· εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, καὶ εὔνοος τῇ πόλει καὶ πλουσίους, οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιδόσεις ἐπιδόντες· καὶ γὰρ εὐνοία καὶ πλοῦτος τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν· ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν ἐκείνος ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη οὐ μόνον εὔνοον καὶ πλούσιον ἄνδρ' ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρηκολουθηκότα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ συλλελογισμένον ὀρθῶς . . . At the end of l. 37 some such infinitive as ἀρμόσαι is required, but ευνο[υν] (?) 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 Talaus 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 ταλακάρδιος, cf. Bacch. 5. 157, 15. 26 ταλαπενθής; 5 ἐρεμναῖ[s, cf. Bacch. 16. 116, where ἐρεμνόν should be retained; 10 μεγαλοκλέα, a compound otherwise only found in Bacch. 7. 49; Fr. (b) 7 μενεπ]τολέμων (?), cf. Bacch. 5. 126, 170, 16. 73. With regard to the position of the two main fragments, (b) is probably to be placed below (a) so that the right edges of the papyrus make a more or less straight line, the extent of the gap between (a) 18 and (b) 1 being uncertain. This arrangement is indicated by some strongly marked fibres on the verso, which is inscribed with part of an account of some kind, written towards the end of the second century.

**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 b, Menander Δεισιδάμων 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.



river, and mountain in Arcadia. The following word is perhaps ἀποπρολιπέιν in some form; but the vestige of the letter after λ is too slight to give any indication.

5. ἀλαβῶδες: cf. Hesychius ἀλαβῶδες· ἀνθρακῶδες, κεκαπνισμένον; the word is a derivative of ἀλαβή = ἀνθρακες.

8. πελέσκειο occurs in *Iliad* X 433.

860. Fr. (a) 9.2 x 5.1 cm.

	Fr. (a)	Fr. (b)
	]τοισι βροτων	] δεδορ[κ
	] ερχομενοισιν υποσ[	]ηρολο[
	]..ερ	]
	τα]λακαρδιος επλε	]ρ ορματ[
το	]ντα χαλκου	]
	.ε.	5
5	]ων επιοντ ερυμναι[s	]πρ[.] . [.]
	]ελλαις	(?) μενεπ]τολεμων
	]τ αλκάν.	]εν πυκινας στιχα[s
	ε]καστος ανηρ	] και εμιξατον λ[
	π]ατριδος αι σφισιν ο[	10 ο]πλοις
10	]ν μεγαλοκλεα δο[	
	]χθει	
	]	
	]ντες αιως	Fr. (c)
	]τα πασαν ε . [.] λλοβ[	]
15	]αρ τον εχου[τ] ε[	]ντο[
	α]νδρι γαρ ουδ[	]
	]	
	]ευτε κα	

Fr. (a) 3. The meaning of the insertion (probably by the first hand) is not evident. There are some traces of ink after ερ, but whether another letter or letters followed is very doubtful.

6. No doubt α]λλαις or θυ]λλαις, to which ερεμναι[s in l. 5 probably refers.

Fr. (b) 4. The first letter is more like ρ than φ.

861. 12.6 × 3.5 cm.

Col. i.	Col. ii.
]μ[	κ[
]υ[.]γ . [.]	ω[
]ω[.]	π[
]ων περας	20 θ[
]ω γ εμου	π[
]εσ	ε[
]λιον	μ[
δ]υστυχω	σ[
]καλει	25 β[
10 ]ς ερω	μ[
]σποτην	λ[
]γον αν	α[
]ομαι	τ[
]οι	30 ιχ[
15 ]υχης	λε[
]οφρων	. .
. . . . .	

4. πέρας ΟΓ περᾶς.

11. δε]σπότην ΟΓ ]ς ποτ' ἦν.

862. 13.2 × 10.2 cm.

. . . . .	ελ]ηλυθ' υ[σ]τε[ρος
] . α[. .]ειν	] . οιον επι[
ου]τοσι	]σ[. . τ]ους θε[ους
π]αιδιον	]ς : πλ[ην] ανω :
5 ] . ους ονον	15 ]ερον εστι μοι
]ποντα τουτονι [	] . ου[. .] . δ . γυν
]ν : π[[ <sup>[ο]</sup> α]]υ[[ε]] Φιδια	τ]ην κορην λαβε[



	]ποντιών	]ς   κοίλαι δε πετρων
	μ]αζον <sup>ω</sup> ολεναίς   κοπτουσα	]αδες   μυκηδον εκροτο[υν
10	]υς χορους   οπου θεους εδαι	]ενων ανοιξιας κολπο[ν [
	]	] . ων   θρηνωδον [ . . .
	]	25 ]ε χαλκεου   φανταζε[ . . .
	]ς	ο]υς βροντης κτυπο]υς

1. α of ]μονας has been corrected from ε.

7. πενήθηρ σολήν occurs in Jo. Chrysost. t. 2, p. 624 c (ed. Par.).

10. The end of the verse may equally well be after οπου. εδαι suggests only ἔδαισεν : εδει cannot be read.

17. If the text is right αλευεται and ενθα form a crasis. The epic word ἀλεύεσθαι is not found in the tragedians, though ἀλεύειν occurs in lyric passages.

24. θ in θρηνωδον is corrected apparently from χ.

## 865-870. PROSE FRAGMENTS.

Plate I (867).

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 -ευσ (l. 5), this general being subsequently recalled, perhaps in consequence of an oracle (ll. 6-7). Ἰδρωῶς, 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 Ἰδρωῶς 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 Ἰδρωῶς 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 *αριστοις* and *ακουεις* 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. 8 x 6.3 cm.

απολειπ[  
 μνω διατ[. . .]υ[  
 ὑπο Ὑδρου[ν]τος κελ[                    του στρα  
 τευματος ηγειτο . [                    ε  
 5 ως νοθος υιος υστ[ερον δε                    με

866. 6 x 2.4 cm.

] πολις μου[  
 ]αι πυθομε[ν  
 ]οβαλουσι [  
 ]ε καθολου [  
 5 Κ]αρχηδονιο[

ταπεμπτος εγεν[ετο ]ρεν εις πι .[  
της κατα μαντεια[ν ]ρεν[  
μενων των Ελλη[νων . . . . .

865. 3. The supposed λ after κε might be χ.

5. ως is probably the termination of the genitive of a proper name ending in -eus. The phrase μετάπεμπτος γίγνεσθαι occurs twice in Plutarch.

7. κατα μαντεια[ν: or καταμαντεια[ς, but this word is not known.

866. 2. πνθομέ[ may be the end of a line.

867. 5.7 × 7.5 cm. Plate I.

ὑδωρ αυ[. . .] . . [η  
νεγκεν επι θα[  
λασσαν. κακ[ε]ιθ[εν  
Εφεσω' προσεβι[α  
5 σθη· τα δ αλλα γαρ  
[υ]περμηκη προσ[.

868. 8.1 × 4.1 cm.

[εμε[.]οι τον ακρατον [  
] και οτι θραυστης σ[  
]ς δου[λ]ων ημετερω[ν  
]λοις αποκαυματα [  
5 ]ς δικην τεισεις εμου [  
]ον τοις αριστοις α[  
δια]κονειωσαν πενι[  
]μενης γυναικες α[  
]μων ουκ ακουεις σ[  
10 ]αθη[.]ω τ[ρ]αχηλον [  
]ισασε[  
]μινω[

869. 13.8 × 6.1 cm.

] ὑπαρξεως διαπο . [  
] μη βλεπειν ναους τ[.  
]ς και βωμους αφαγ[.  
]ας ηλθον επι το διστ[.  
5 ]ρον εστιν η ουκ ε . [ . .  
α]λλ ουχι ταυτα μεν . [  
]σης τοις λοιποισ απο[  
ρον  
]υν δε ποτε τοις κα[  
]νουσιν θεοις απο  
10 ]τα[[υ]]το των εκασ  
] νομιζομενοις ου  
]μενος αυτοις παρασ  
]τι τοις κατ αληθη  
] αλλ ουχι τοια . . [ . .  
15 ]ς αναγκαστικο[.  
]ν εις το προκειμε[  
νον ] μεγα[σ]τα δε πασιγ [  
]εν αμα την παρα[  
]κατα φλυαρ[. . . . .  
20 ]ι εις ανθρω[π . . .  
] . αντες οτι [ . . . .  
]λους νο[. . . . .

867. 1. ] . . [η: 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. ]εμε[ν]οι 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 ο Τιθραυστης is less probable.

869. 3. Some form of ἀφαγνίζειν 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 ουκ εσ[τι].

14. Possibly το γλωσ[σ].

18. Or ]ενα ματην.

870. 14.5 × 5.5 cm.

Verso.		Recto.	
		Col. i.	Col. ii.
	]κ . [	]εσ	μβ Τεκτοσ[αγες
	]τε . . [	]	μγ Γαλατ[αι
	ε]θνη της	]	μδ Παφλ[αγονες
	]ιας.	25 ]	με Φρυγε[ς
5	]σιν. Αρα	]	45 μς . . . . [
β	ε]ν γαρ τω	]	. [. ]αιαλ[
	] Αραβια	]	μζ Θετταλ[οι
	]	] . ν	μη Μακαιδ[ονες
	] . αι	30 ]	μθ Θρακες [
10	]	]	50 ν Μυσοι [
	]οι γεγονασιν	] . .	να Βεσσοι [
	Ε]υρωπ[η]	] . .	νβ Δαρδαν[οι
	]	]	νγ Σαρμα[ται
	] προσηγοριας	35 ]	νδ Γρ[
15	Α]ρκαδες.	]	55 νε Π[
	]ωνες. του	]	[
	] Ποντικοι.	]	νε Γ[
	]ανες.	]	νς Δ[
	Πα]μφυλοι.	. . . . .	. . . . .
20	]		
	] . . αι		

48. 1. Μακεδ[ονες].

54. Perhaps Γρ[αικοι].

## 871, 872. LATIN FRAGMENTS.

Plate V (871).

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; *I* 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 30, 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 uncials 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.

871. 12.3 × 12.9 cm.

Plate V.

*inertia* · *ḡ*[*agis* · .] · *it* · *quam* *virtutē* ·  
*et* · *astuti*[*ae* · *mag*]is · *convenit* · *quā*m ·  
*sapientia*[*e* · *me*]mīneris · *autem* *de* · [  
*iis* · *me* · *loq*[*ui* *no*]n · *qui* · *numeros* · *q*[  
5 *tium* · *suo* · [. . . .]cunt · *sed* · *qui* · *in*[ ·  
*iis* · *partib*[*us* · *in* ·] *quibus* · *nūllus* · *ne*[ ·  
*minimu*[*s* · *quidem* ·  
*tius* · *quam*[ ·

N

id · quod · e · [  
 10 [n]eganti[  
 [pe]rfora[

1. The vestiges before *it* suggest *c*, *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. *a[r]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 ]*cunt* may be (*discunt*, *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 *suus*.

6-7. *nullus ne minimu[s] quidem*: cf. e. g. Cicero, *Tusc.* 5. 6. 16 *nulla ne minima quidem aura*; but *ne[c]* without *quidem* would also be possible. At the end of l. 7 *liben]sius* suggests itself.

11. [pe]rfora[: the final letter may be *m* or *n*, but *performare* or *performidosus* are improbable, and the absence of a stop between *r* and *f* makes *per form* inadmissible.

872. 5.9 × 7 cm.

Recto.	Verso.
. . .	. . .
] .	d . [
] . tus	sic d[
] . e	ter s . [
]tros	10 tunc u[
5 ] . er	inse[
]ndus	. [
. . .	. . .

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 *a*.

## III. EXTANT CLASSICAL AUTHORS

873. HESIOD, *Theogonia*.

5.9 × 6.7 cm.

Third century.

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 l. 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] Αμφ[ι]τριτης και ερικτυπου Εννοσιγαιου  
 Τρ[ι]των ε[υ]ρυβιης γενετο μεγας ος τε θαλασσης  
 πυθμεν [ε]χων παρα μητρι φιλη και πατρι ανακτι  
 ναιει χρυ[σ]ε[α] δ[ω] δεινος θεος αυταρ Αρηι  
 ρεινοτορω Κυθε[ρ]εια Φοβον και Δειμον ετικτε  
 935 δεινους οι τ αν[δ]ρων πυκινας κλονεουσι φαλαγγας  
 εν πολεμω κροε[υ]τι συν Αρηι πτολιπορθω  
 Αρμονιη[ν] τε [η]ν Κα[δ]μος υπερθυμος θετ ακοιτιν  
 Ζηνη δ αρ Α[τ]λαντις [Μ]αιη τεκε κυδιμον Ερμην  
 κ[η]ρ[υ]κ αθ[α]γα[τ]ων ιερον λεχος εισαναβασα

Recto.

[η]γε παρ Αιητω[ν] τελεσας στονοεντας αε[θ]λους  
 995 [τους πολλους επετελλε μεγας βασιλευ]ς υπερηνωρ  
 [υβριστης Πελης και ατασθαλος οβρι]μοεργος

[τους τελεσας ες Ιωλκον αφικετο πολλ]α μογησας  
 [ωκειης επι νηος αγων ελικωπιδ]α κουρην  
 [Αισονιδης και μιν θαλε]ρ[η]ν ποιησατ' ακοιτιν  
 1000 [και ρ η γε δμηθεισ υπ Ιησ]ο[νι] ποιμενι λαων  
 [Μηδειον τεκε παιδα τον ο]νυρεσιν ετρεφε Χειρων  
 [Φιλλυριδης μεγαλου δε Διος ν]οος εξετελειτο  
 [αυταρ Νηρηος κουραι αλιοιο γερ]οντος  
 [η τοι μεν Φωκον Ψαμαθη τεκε] δια θεαων  
 . . . . .

997. ες Ιωλκον: we print the reading of the MSS. 'Ιαωλκόν Rzach.  
 1004. δια: ογ δέ[ι]α.

874. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *Argonautica* III.

6 x 4.8 cm.

Early third century.

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.

. . . . .  
 [λευγαλης Φριξοιο εφ]ημοσυνη[σι]ν ελεσ[θε  
 [πατρος ο μεν θνησκω]ν στυγερας επετελλετ αυ[ιας  
 265 [ημετερη κραδιη τι] δέ κεν πολιν Ορχομενοι[ο  
 [οστις οδ Ορχομενος κ]τεανων Αθαμαντος εκητι  
 [μητερ εην αχεουσαν α]ποπρολιποντες ικοισθε  
 [ως εφατ Διητης δε πα]νυστατος ωρτο θυραζε

[εκ δ αυτη Ειδυια δαμαρ κ]ιεν Αιηταο  
 270 [Χαλκιοπης αιουσα το] δ αυτικα παν ομαδοιο πην μ[  
 [ερκος επεπληθει τοι μεν] μεγαν αμφεπενοντο . [

[ 19 letters ] κιεν Αιηταο εν τ(ισιν) ου(τως) φερετ[αι  
 ος φερεται [

263. εφ]ημοσunny[σι]ν ελεσ[θε: so Brunck; . . . φημοσύνησινέεσθαι L; εφημοσύνησιν εεσθε . .  
 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. επετέλλετ: έπετείλατ' MSS.

265. κεν πολιν: so L; 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 *ιδυία* (L) for *Ειδυία*. The abbreviation of ού(τως) is written in the usual way with a semi-circle above ο, and cannot be naturally interpreted as the negative ού; moreover the omission of l. 269 would necessitate the alteration of the feminine participle and the following τὸ 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. πην μ[ in the margin at the end of the line seems to be a variant on (Χαλκίό)πης *διουσα*, but no other reading is attested here. The letter after πην is almost certainly μ, not α; it is unlikely that another letter has disappeared in the space between ν and μ.

271. αμφεπενοντο: so LG; άμφιπ. 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*.

5.5 × 5.7 cm.

Early second century.

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 *σημαίνων* in l. 242, where the variant *σημανών* is commonly preferred, is the one small item of any value to be gleaned from the text.

[το πραγμα δηλοισ δ ω]ς τι σημαινων νε[ον  
 [τα δεινα γαρ τοι προστι]θη[[κ]] ο[[χλ]]ον πολυ[ν  
 [ουκουν ερεισ ποτ ει]τ' απαλλαχθεις απει[ι  
 245 [και δη λεγω σοι τον νεκ]ρον τ[ι]ς αρτιω[ς  
 [θαψας βεβηκε καπι χρωτ]ι διψιαν

242. σημαινων: so LA; σημανῶν Ven. 472 and several other late MSS., and this was apparently also the reading of Didymus; cf. Schol. *Ajax* 1225.

243. The correction of the graphical error οχλον seems to be due to a diorthotes; whether he or the original scribe was responsible for the alteration of the preceding κ to σ is more doubtful. The method of the change is different, the κ being crossed through, while the χλ are cancelled by dots placed above them. Presumably προστεθηκ was first written.

244. π of ἀπάλλαχθεις has been converted from a γ.

876. EURIPIDES, *Hecuba*.

2.9 × 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 εμων in l. 703. A variant found in Parisinus 2713 (thirteenth century) alone of the better MSS, appears in l. 740.

Verso.

700 [εν ψαμαθω λευρα ]  
 [ποντου νιν εξηνεγκ]ε πελαγιος κλυδω-  
 [ωμοι αιαι ]  
 [εμαθον ενυπνιον ο]μματων εμων [

Recto.

E[καβη τι] θ[ρασω ποτερα προσπεσω γονυ

Ἀγαμεμνονος τοῦδ' ἠ [φέρω σιγή κακά  
 τι μοι προσώπω νω[τον εγκλινασα σου  
 740 [δύρη] το κραθεν δ' ου λεγ[εις τις εσθ οδε

703. The space suits *ενυπνιον* (MSS.) better than *ενυπνον* (Murray with Hermann). The division of the verse at *αιαι* is also found in A.

739. A dot above the line between *ω* and *ν* is apparently meaningless.

740. *κραθεν*: so the first hand in Cod. Par. 2713, the reading having been subsequently altered to *πραχθέν*, as in other MSS., by correctors. *κραθεν* of course gives no sense, and presumably *κρανθέν* was intended; cf. e. g. *Ιον* 77 τὸ κρανθέν ὡς ἂν ἐκμάθω.

877. EURIPIDES, *Hecuba*.

Fr. (a) 11.8 × 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.

οἰμο[ι] γυναικος ὡς εοιχ ἠσσωμενος  
 δουλη[ς] υφεξω τοις κακιοσιν δικην  
 ουκου[ν] δικαιως ειπερ ειργασω κακα  
 1255 οἰμο[ι] τεκνων τωνδ ομματος τ εμων ταλας  
 αλγει[ς] τι δ ἠ με παιδος ουκ αλγειν δοκεις  
 χαιρε[ις] υβριζουσ εις εμ ω πανουργε συ  
 ου γαρ μ[ε] χαιρειν χρη σε τιμωρουμενην  
 αλλ ου τ[α]χ ηνικ αν σε ποντια νοτις  
 1260 μων υ[α]υστοληση γης ορους Ελληνιδος  
 κρ[υ]ψη [μεν ουν πεσουσαν εκ καρχησιων  
 προς τ[ου] βιαιων τυγχανουσαν αλματων  
 αυτη π[ρο]ς ιστον ναος αμβηση ποδι  
 υποπ[τε]ροις νωτοισιν η ποιω τροπω  
 1265 κυων [γενηση πυρσ εχουσα δεργματα  
 πως [δ] οισθα μορφης της εμης μεταστασιν  
 ο Θρηξ[ι] μαντις ειπε Διονυσος ταδε

σοι δ ο[υκ εχρησεν ουδεν ων εχεις κακων  
ου γαρ ποτ αν συ μ ειλες ωδε συν δολω

- 1271 [θανου]σα τυμβ[ω δ ονο]μα σω [ κεκλησεται  
[μορφη]ς επωδον μ[η] τι της εμ[η]ς ερεις  
[κυνος] ταλαινης σημα ναυ[ιλοις τεκμαρ  
[ουδεν μ]ελει μοι σου γε μοι δον[τος δικην  
1275 [και σην] γ αναγκη παιδα Κασα[νδραν θανειν  
[απ]επτυσ αυτωι [σοι] διδωμ ε[χειν  
[κτ]εινει νιν η τουδ αλοχο[ς οικουρος πικρα  
[μηπω] μανειη Τυ[ν]δαρι[ς τοσονδε παις  
[καυτον] γε τ[ο]υτογ [πε]λε[κυν εξαρασ ανω  
1280 [ουτος συ] μαιν[η και κακων ερας τυχειν

1256. τι δέ με MSS., corr. Bothe.

1272. The vestiges after επωδον are inconsistent with η and suit μ, and there is space for another letter between this and τι. μ[ή] τι gives a sense, but would be a doubtful improvement on the MSS. reading ἡ τί. Nauck proposed ἐπώνυμόν τι.

1276. αὐτῷ ταῦτα σοὶ δίδωμ' ἔχειν 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. γε: so L; but the vestige of the first letter is too slight to be decisive against the variants δέ and σε.

### 878. THUCYDIDES II.

27.4 × 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 l. 23, paragraphi are sometimes employed, and the ordinary angular sign (cf. e. g. 853), which is here usually accompanied by a dot above and below it, like a διπλή περιεστιγμένη, 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 βοη]θεια αυτη 22. 3	[Φεραιοι ηγουνοτο δε] αυτων
[των Θεσσαλων] κατα το πα	[εκ μεν Λαρισσης Πολυμη]
[λαιον ξυμμαχικ]ον εγενετο	10 [δης και Αριστ]ογους απο >
[τοις Αθηναιοις κ]αι αφικον	[της στασεως εκατερος εκ]
5 [το παρ αυτους Λαρ]ισσαιοι Φαρ	[δε Φαρσαλου Μενων η]σαν
[σαλιοι Παρασιοι] Κραννω >	[δε και] τω[ν αλλων κατα π]ο
[νιοι Πειρασιοι Γυρ]τωνιοι >	[λεις] αρχοντες [

## Col. ii.

15 ανεχωρησαν δια Βοιωτων	23. 3
ουχ ηπερ εσεβαλον παριον	
τες δε Ορωπον την γην την	
Πειρακην καλουμενην ην	
νεμονται Ωρωποι Αθηнай	
20 <u>ων</u> υπη[[ι]]κ[[ω]]οι εδηωσαν αφι	
κομενοι δε ες Πελοποννη	
σον διελυθησαν κατα πο >	
λεις εκαστοι αναχωρησαν	24. 1
των δ αυτων οι Αθηнайοι φυ	
25 λακας κατεστησαντο κατα	
γην και κατα θαλατταν ωσ	
περ δη εμελλον δια παντος	
[του] πολεμου φυλαξειν και	
[χιλια] ταλαντα απο των εν	
30 [τηι] ακροπολει χρηματων [ε]	
[δοξε]ν αυ[τοι]ς εξαιρετα ποι	
[ησαμενοις χ]ωριζεσθαι και	
[μη αναλουν] αλλα απο των	
[αλλων πολε]μειν ην δε τις	

## Col. iii.

23. 3	πεντη[κοντα ναυσι προσ	25. 1
	βεβοθηκη[οτες και αλλοι	
	τινες των εκει ξυμμαχων	
	αλλα τε εκακ[ουν περιπλε	
45	οντες και ες [Μεθωνην της	
	Λακωνικης [αποβαντες	
	τωι τειχει πρ[οσεβαλον ον	
	τι ασθenei κ[αι ανθρωπων	
	ουκ ενοντων [ετυχε δε πε	25. 2
50	ρι τους χωρου[ς τουτους Βρα	
	σιδας ο Τελλιδ[ος ανηρ Σπαρ	
	τιατης φρουρ[αν εχων και αι	
	σθομενος εβ[οηθει τοις εν	
	τωι χωρ[ι]ωι με[τα οπλιτων	
55	εκατον θ[ιαδραμων δε το	
	των Αθην[αιων στρατοπεδον	
	εσκεδασ[μενον κατα την χω	
	ραν και [προς το τειχος τετραμ	
	[με]νον εσ[πιπτει ες την Με	
60	[θω]νην κ[αι ολιγους τινας	
	εν τη εκ[δρομηι απολεσας	

35 [ειπη η επιψ]ηφιση κινειν τῶν μεθ α[υτου την τε πολιν  
 [τα χρηματα τ]αυτα ες αλλο τι περιεποι[ησε και απο τουτου  
 [ην μη οι πολε]μιοι νηιτη του τολμη[ματος πρωτος των  
 [στρατωι επιπλεω]σι [τ]ηι πο 65 κατα τον [πολεμον επηνεθη  
 [λει και δεηι αμυνασ]θαι θα εν Σπαρτη[ι οι δε Αθηναιοι 25. 3  
 40 [νατον ζημιαν επεθ]εντο [αρ]αντες π[αρεπλεον και  
 . . . . . [σχοντ]ες τη[s Ηλειας

5. Δαρ]ισσαιοι: so AB; Δαρισαίοι H(ude) with FM.

6. The papyrus evidently agreed with the MSS. in inserting a name (Παράσιοι ACEFM, Πειράσιοι B) between Φαρσαλιοι and Κρανωνιοι. H. brackets Π. following Heringa, Παγασαίοι Stahl. The correct reading is probably Φαρσάλιοι Πειράσιοι, omitting Πειράσιοι after Κρανώνιοι, as indicated by the new Thucydides commentary; cf. 853. xiii. 20, note.

7. Πειρασιοι]: so MSS.; cf. the previous note. Πυράσιοι H., cf. Strabo ix. p. 435 and Steph. Byz.

10-3. The remains of letters are scanty and the decipherment is doubtful. τω (?) in l. 13 and αρχοντες in l. 14 are on a detached fragment.

17. l. Ωρωπον: the initial letter is correctly written in l. 19.

18. Πειραικην: so MSS.; Γραϊκην Steph. Byz., H. The interlinear ι may have been inserted by the first hand. It is not clear whether the two dots merely enclose the added letter as is often the case, or represent a diaeresis; the former alternative is more likely.

19. l. Ωρωπιοι.

20. The correction is perhaps by a diorthotes.

32. χ]ωριζεσθαι: χωρις θέσθαι MSS., rightly no doubt.

44. The paragraphus is misplaced; perhaps the scribe took αλλα for the conjunction.

61. εκ[δρομη: ἐσδρομή MSS., more appropriately.

62. α[υτου: so E, H.; ἐαυτου ABFM.

64. [. . . πρωτος: so MSS.; πρώτου Herwerden, H.

### 879. THUCYDIDES III.

12.1 × 8.1 cm.

Third century.

Part of one column, with the beginnings of a few lines of the column adjoining, written in third-century sloping uncials of a common type. The portion preserved, from the fifty-eighth and fifty-ninth chapters of Thucydides, 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.

[ρας ξυμμαχ]ο[ι δε ομαι] 58. 4  
 χμοις ποτ[ε] γενομενοις

	ων υμεις το εναντιον		
	αν δρασαιτε μη ορθως		
5	γνοντες· σκεψασθε δε·	58. 5	
	Παυσανιας μεν γαρ εθα		
	πτεν αυτους νομιζων		Col. ii.
	[ε]ν γη <sup>ι</sup> τε φιλ[ι]αι τιθεναι·		. .
	και παρ ανδρασι τοιουτοις·		. [
10	υμεις δε ει κτενειτε η		. .
	μ[α]ς και [χ]ωραν την Πα <sup>λ</sup>		
	ταιϊδα Θηβαϊδα ποιησε		
	τε. τι αλλο η εν πολεμιαι		
	τε και παρα τοις αυθεν		
15	ταις πατερας τους υμε		
	τερους κα[ι ξυ]γγενεις α		. . . .
	τιμους γερων ων νυν		σκ[ο]μεν εκεινης ηι τα 59. 2
	[ι]σχουσι καταλειψετε· προς		λα[μ]προτατα μετ αυτων
	δε και γην εν ηι ηλευ	30	πρ[α]ξαντες νυν εν τηι
20	[θ]ερωθησαν οι Ελληνες		δε τ[α] δεινοτατα κινδυ
	δουλωσετε ιερα τε θεων		νε[υ]ομεν παθειν οπερ 59. 3
	[οις] ευξαμενοι Μηδων		δε αναγκαιον τε και
	[εκρ]ατησαν· ερημουτε		χαλ[ε]πωτατον τοις ωδε
	[και θ]υσιας [τα]ς [π]ατριους	35	εχ[ο]υσι λογου τελευταν δι
25	[των εσσαμενων] και κτι		οτι κ[αι] του βιου ο κινδυνος
	[σαντων αφαιρησεσ]θε		εγγυ[ς] μετ αυτου
	. . . . .		. . . . .

5. δε: so ABIEFGM; τε C, H(ude).

23. ερημουτε: so MSS.; ερημουντες Stahl, ερημωσετε Herwerden. H. prints ερημοϋτε with an obelus.

## 880. THUCYDIDES V.

Fr. (δ) 18.1 × 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



[στησαν] κειμενον επι τη Λακωνικ[ηι και  
 [τηι Ηλ]ειαι οντες ηδη διαφοροι Η[λ]ει[οις τους 34. 2  
 [δ εκ τ]ης νησου ληφθεντα[ς σφων και τα  
 [οπλα] παραδοντας δε[ισ]αντες [μη τι δια την  
 25 [ξυμφ]οραν νομ[ισ]αν[τ]ε[ς] ελα[σσωθη]σεσθαι  
 [και ον]τε[ς επι]τι[μοι] ν[εωτ]ερισ[ωσιν ηδη και αρ  
 [χας τινας εχου]τας α[τι]μους ε[ποιησαν] ατι  
 [μιαν δε τοιανδε] ὥστε μητε α[ρχειν] μητε πρι  
 [αμενους τι η πωλου]ντας κ[υριους] ειναι

Fr. (c). . . . .

30 ετος τω[ι πολεμωι] ετελευτα αμα δε ται ηρι ευ 40. 1  
 θ[υς] τ[ου επιγ]ιγνομενου θερους οι Αργειοι ως οι  
 τε π[ρεσβεις] των Βοιωτων ους εφασαν πεμφειν  
 ουχ η[κον] το τε Πανακτον ηισθοντο καθαιρου  
 μεν[ον και ξυμμαχιαν] ιδιαν γεγενημενην  
 35 τοις [Βοιωτοις]

Fr. (d) . . . . .

π[	40 ξ[
τ[	σ[
θ[	γα[
το[	π[
	. . .

Frs. (e), (f), (g).

[τους τε μη προσηκο]ντ[ας και οσοι αποικοι ον 96  
 45 [τες οι πολλοι και α]ποστ[αντες τινες κεχειρων  
 [ται ες το αυτο τι]θ[ε]ασι[ : δικαιοματι γαρ ουδετε 97  
 [ρους ελλειπει]ν ηγουν[ται κατα δυναμιν δε τους  
 [μεν περιγιγνε]σθαι ημας δε φοβωι ουκ επιε  
 [ναι ωστε εξω] το[υ κ[αι] πλεον[ων αρξαι και το α  
 50 [σφαλες ημιν δια το κα]ταστρα[φηναι α]ν π[αρα  
 [σχοιτε αλλω]ς τε και νη[σιωται] [ναυκρατο]ρων  
 [και ασθενε]στεροι ετερων οντες ει μη π[εριγε

[νοισθε: εν δ εκεινωι ου νομιζετε ασ]φα[λ]ει . . . . . 98  
 [αν δει γαρ αυ και ενταυθα ωσπερ υμεις των] δι  
 55 [καιων λογων ημας εκβιβασαν]τες [τωι υμε  
 [τερωι ξυμφορωι υπακουειν] πειθητ[ε και η  
 [μας το ημιν χρησιμον διδασκο]ντας [ει τυγχανει  
 [και υμιν το αυτο ξυμβαινου] πειρασ[θαι πειθει  
 [οσοι γαρ νυν μηδετεροις ξυμμ]αχου[σι πως ου

Fr. (h).

60 [ο υμεις α]σ[θ]θενεις τε και επι ροπης μιας οντες μη . . . . . 103. 2  
 [βουλεσ]θε παθ[ει]ν μ[η]δ ο]μ[ω]ιωθηναι τοις] π[ο]λ  
 [λοις ο]ις παρον ανθρωπειω[ς ετι σω]ζ[ε]σθαι επει  
 [δαν] πιεζουμενους αυτο[υ]ς επιλι]πωσιν αι φα  
 [νε]ρ[α]ι ελπιδες επι τας αφα[νεις κα]θιστανται  
 65 μαντικην τε και χρησμουσ και οσα τοιαυτα με . . . . . 104  
 [τ] ελπιδων λυμαινεται: χαλεπον μεν και η  
 μεις ευ ιστε νομιζομεν προς δυναμιν τε  
 την υμετεραν και την τυχην ει μη απο του ισου  
 [εσται] αγωνιζεσθαι ομως δε πιστευομεν τη  
 70 [μεν τ]υχηι εκ του θειου μη ελασσωσεσθαι οτι . . . . .  
 [οσιοι] [[οσιοι]] ου προς δικαιοις ισταμεθα: της δε  
 [δυνα]μ[ε]ω[ς] τω ελλειποντι την Λακεδαιμο  
 [ν]ιων ημιν ξυμμαχιαν προσεσεσθαι αναγ  
 κην εχουσαν και ει μη του αλλου της γε συγγε  
 75 νειας ενεκα αισχυνηι βοηθειν και ου παντα . . . . .  
 πασι ουτως αλογωσ θρα[συν]ομεθα [:] της μεν . . . . . 105. 1  
 τουννυ προς το θειον ε[υ]μενειας ουδ ημεις οι  
 ομεθα λελειψεσθαι ουδεν γαρ εξω της ανθρω  
 πειας των μεν εσ το θειον νομισεωσ των δε  
 80 εσ σφας αυτουσ βουλησεωσ δικαιουμενης πρασ  
 σομεν ηγουμεθα γαρ το τε θειον δοξηι το αν . . . . . 105. 2  
 θρωπειον τε σαφωσ δια παντοσ απο φυσ[ε]ω[ς]  
 αναγκαιασ ου αν κρατη αρχειν και ημεις ουτε  
 θεντες τον νομον ουτε κοινωι πρωτοι χρη

85 σαμενοι οντα δε παραλαβοντες και εσομεν̄  
 ες αι καταλειψοντε[s] χρωμεθα αυτωι ειδο  
 [τε]s και υμαs και αλλουs εν τη αυτη δυναμει  
 [η]μιν γενομενουs δρωνταs αν αυτο και προς  
 [μεν] το θειον ουτωs εκ του εικοτοs ου φοβου  
 90 [με]θα ελασσο[ω]σεσθαι τ[η]s δε ες Δ]ακεδαιμ[ουι  
 [ουs δοξης ην δια το αισχρον δη βοη]θησ[ειν  
 . . . . .

Fr. (z). . . . .  
 παρε[χέ]τε ει [μη μεταστησαμενοι ετι ημαs  
 αλλο τι [τ]ωνδε [σφφρονεστερον γνωσεσθε  
 ου γαρ δη επι γε τη[ν εν τοιs αισχροιs και προν  
 95 πτοιs κινδουνοι[s πλειστα διαφθειρουσαν  
 [ανθρω]π[ο]υs [αισχυνην τρεψεσθε πολλοιs  
 [γαρ προορ]ω[μενοιs  
 . . . . .

1-2. The papyrus seems to have differed here from the ordinary text which would give 40 letters between the *s* of τουs in l. 1 and *ν* of μεν in l. 2, whereas the usual length of a line is about 34-5 letters. Perhaps τουτου was omitted; that there was an agreement with Dion. Hal. *De Thuc. Ind.* 845. 12, who has περι δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρόνοις τούτους Σικυνῶνιους Ἀθηναῖοι, is less likely.

14. [α]πο: so MSS.; ἐπί H(u)de.

21-2. τη Λακωνικ[η] και τη Ηλλ[η]ειαι: τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἡλείας MSS.

33. η[κον: ἤκουτο οἱ ἴκουτο 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. το]ν κ[αι: so Krüger; καὶ τοῦ 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 νη]σιωται and ]ατορ[ων is uncertain.

55. εκβιασαν]τες: so H. with CG; but εκβιασαν]τες (ABEFM) may equally well have stood in the papyrus.

63. πιεζουμενουs: this late form also occurs in C.

επιλι]πωσιν (AB) suits the space better than επιλει]πωσιν (CEFGM).

71. ου προς: l. προς ου with MSS.

72. The second ε of ελλειποντι has been corrected probably from an ι.

75. αισχυνη: καὶ αισχ. MSS. The loss of και would be easy between κα and αι.

80. δικαιομενης: δικαιοῡμεν ἢ MSS.

82. απο: ὑπό MSS.  
 84. κοινοι: l. κειμενοι with MSS.  
 87. υμας: ὑμᾶς ἄν MSS.  
 88. αυτο: so MSS.; ταῦτό H., cf. Valla and Schol.

881. PLATO, *Euthydemus* and *Lysis*.

10.2 x 6.2 cm.

Late second or third century.

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.

Col. i.		Col. ii.	
[μον τονδε: αρ ουν εφη τ]αν	301 e	λημμ[ενος ουκ εστιν	302 b
[τα ηγηι σα ειναι ων α]ν		ην δ εγ[ω ω Διονωσοδω	
[αρξῆις και εξῆι σοι αυ]τοις		ρε: τα[λαιπωρος αρ	
[χρησθαι οτι αν βουλη]ι.	302 a	συ γε τ[ις ανθρωπος ει	302 c
5 [οιον βους και προβα]τα		15 και ουδε [Αθηναιοι ωι	
[αρ αν ηγοιο ταυτα σα] ει		μητε θε[οι πατρωιοι εισιν	
[ναι α σοι εξειη και απ]ο		μηθ ἱε[ρα μητε αλλο μη	
[δοσθαι και δουναι κ]αι		δεν καλ[ον και αγαθον: εα	
[θυσαι οτωι βουλοιο θε]ων.		ην δ εγω ω Διονυσοδω	
10 [α δ αν μη ουτως εχη] ου		20 ρε· ευφημει τε και μ[η χα	
. . . . .		λεπως με προδιδασ[κε	

εστι γαρ εμοιγε και β[ω  
 μοι και ἱερα πατ[ρωια  
 και ταλλα οσαπερ [τοις  
 25 αλλοις Αθηναιο[ις τῶν  
 τοιουτων : ε[ιτα τοις αλ  
 λ[οις εφη Αθην[αιοις  
 ο[υκ εστι Ζευς ο πατρωι  
 ο[ς

5. προβα]τα: cf. T, Ven. 189 and Par. 1808, where πρόβατον has an *a* written above the final syllable; πρόβατον BW, Burnet.

14. συ γε τ]ις: τις συ γε Burn. with T, τε συ γε B.

22-3. βωμοι και: so TW, Burn.; om. B.

23. ιερα πατ[ρωια: ἱερά οἰκεία καὶ πατρώα BTW.

## Verso.

[επιτρεπου]σιν αλλα αρ[	208 c	10 εφη ε[ις διδασκα[λο]υ :
[χει σο]υ τις : παιδαγωγος		μων μη και ουτοι σ[ου] α[ρ]
[εφη:] μων δουλος ων		χο[υσ]ε[ι]ν ο[ι] διδασκαλο[ι] :
[ημετ]ερος γε εφη: η̄ δει		[π]αντ[ω]ς δηπου: παμ 208 d
5 [νον η]ν δ εγω ελευθε		[πο]λλ[ου]ς αρα σοι γε δεσπο
[ρον ου]τα γε ὑπο δουλου		15 [τας και αρχ]οντας ως εοι
[αρχεσ]θαι τι δε και ποιων		[κεν] εκω[ν] ο πατηρ εφι
[αυ ου]τος σου ο πα[ι]δαγω		[στησι: αλλ αρα επ]ειδαν
γος α[ρ]χει: αγων [δ]ηπου		[.....]...

1. αρ at the end of the line is uncertain, but to read αλλ αρχ 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 αρχ|ει is very objectionable in a literary text, while to read αρχ|ει 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. σο]υ τις: τις σου MSS., which also read ὅδε or ὁ δέ (ὁ alone Paris. 1811) before παιδαγωγός. The scribe omitted the *a* and perhaps also the *i* in the latter word; he does not seem to have written πεδαγωγός.

4. ἀλλά τί μὴν precedes ἡμέτερός γε in the MSS. (omit ἀλλά . . . ἔφη Ven. 189).

6. γε: om. MSS.

7. δε και: δέ MSS. except Vat. 226 which has και in place of δέ.

8. σου ο π.: δ π. σου MSS.

14. γε: the reading is quite uncertain, but something certainly stood in the papyrus between σοι and δεσπο[τας]. For the insertion of γε cf. l. 6.

15. ως εοι[κεν]: om. MSS. ως ζοικεν occurred a few lines above in 208 b. It is superfluous here after ἄρα.

882. DEMOSTHENES, *In Aristogitonem* I.

9.8 × 7 cm.

Second century.

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.

. . . . .

[κ]αι κεγρα[γως] κ[αι] ιο]ν ιου π[αντ] ανω	§ 47
[τ]ε και κατω ποιω[ν εν] ταις εκκλησι	
[αι]ς ως δεον στ[ρεβλου]ν λαβων ο	
[τι]δηποτε παρω[ν οτε] ηφειετο αφω	
5 [ν]ος εγενετο τη[ν κατα] Δημοκλε	
[ου]ς εισαγγελια[ν αν]α[σεισα]ς ποι ε	
[τρ]εψεν αλλα μυρια ων εμο[ι] μεν	
[ερ]γον απαντων μνησθηναι συ ο[ι]δα	
[ο]τι και τα [αν]τιγραφα αυτων εξεις	
10 [ερ]γολαβων αυτωι [τ]ις ουν ο τον τοι	§ 48

1. 1. κεκραγως.

8. SY add ἐστί(ν) after ἀπάντων: om. Blass with the other MSS.

συ δ [ε]ν ο[ι]δα: om. εν AF, Blass. It is of course impossible to be sure that εν was inserted here as well as δ, but the similarity of συ and εν will readily account for the original omission of δ εν, whereas δ by itself would less easily drop out.

9. εξεις: 1. χεις with MSS.

883. DEMOSTHENES, *In Aristocratem.*

18 × 4.1 cm.

Third century.

A short fragment containing parts of §§ 149–50 of the speech against Aristocrats. 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.

τερα[ς τ]ριακ[ον	§ 149	μον παλιν [πο
τορους ον ακ[ρι		λεμειν π[ροει
βως ηδει πα[ν		λετο Χερ[ρονη
των ανθρωπ[ων		σον και ου[δεν
5 διακειμεν[ον		15 ειχε ποιειν [
εχθροτατα υ		υμας εκει κα
μιν. και με[τα	§ 150	κον μ[ισ]θο[ι πα
ταυτα επειδ[η		λιν αυτον Ολ[υν
τον προς Αμ[φι		θιοις τοι[ς υ]μ[ε
10 πολιν πολ[ε		20 τεροις εχ[θροις

3. πα[ν]των: so A; τῶν ὄντων other MSS., Blass.

5–6. διακειμεν[ον] εχθροτατα υμιν: ἐχθ. ὑμῖν διακ. MSS.

8. ταυτα: so v; ταῦτά γ' Blass with other MSS.

11 sqq. The ordinary reading here is πρότερον πολεμεῖν εἴλετο Τιμόθεος τοῦ πρὸς Χερρόνησον. The text of the papyrus has gone badly astray; προειλετο for εἴλετο is comparatively harmless, but παλιν is an awkward repetition of παλιν in l. 17, and the omission before Χερ[ρονη]σον reduces the passage to nonsense.

884. SALLUST, *Catilina.*

15.8 × 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 *reip* 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. *propulerant* 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.

*liberum adq. solutum* [[fuit]] *hi postquam* vi. 2  
*in una moenia convenere. dispari genere*

*dissimili lingu*<sup>a</sup>[[e]]. *alius alio more viven*  
*tes. incredibile memoratu*[[s]] *est. quam faci*

<sup>a</sup> *le coluerin*[[t]] <sup>tempore tu</sup> *ita brevi multido diversa*

<sup>t</sup> *a*[[d]]<sup>g</sup> *q. va*[[s]] <sup>per con m</sup> *a concordia civitas facta est :*

<sup>c</sup>  
*sed postquam res eorum civibus moribus*  
*agris. aucta. satis prospera satisq. pollens*  
*videbatur : sicuti pleraq. mortalium h[ab]en*

10 tur<sup>entia ia</sup> invidia ex opoleni<sup>i</sup>[[um]] orta est

[z]gitur reges. populiq. f[[e]]nitimi. bell[<sup>o</sup> tem

<sup>taba[nt]</sup>  
[p]d[a]re [pa]uc[z] ex amicis auxilio esse [nam cete  
ri metu pe]r[c]ulsi a peric[u]lis aber[ant]

4 lines lost.

Recto.

propul<sup>e</sup>[[a]]r<sup>a</sup>[[e]]nt: sociis a<sup>t</sup>[[d]]q. amicis auxilia por[ta

bant m<sup>n</sup>[[us]]gisq. [[dis]] dandis quam accipien

20 dis beneficiis amicitias parabant imperium  
legetimum nomen imperii regium habe

6

bant delecti quibus c<sup>annis</sup>[o]rpus infirmum inge  
nium sapientia validum erat. reip. consulta

bant ii vel aetate vel cura similitudine

25 patres appellabantur post ubi regium  
imperium quod initio conservandae li

7

[b]ertatis a<sup>t</sup>[[d]]q. augenda reip. fuerat. in super

[bi]am dominationemq. se convertit. immu

[tato m]ore annua imperia. binosq. impera

30 [tores sibi fecere eo] modo min[ume]

1. *fuit*, which is crossed through, is not found in the MSS.

3. *alius*: so the majority of MSS.; *alii* Dietsch with P<sup>3</sup>BT (2nd hand) p<sup>1</sup> &c.

5-6. *ita . . . facta est*: this sentence is found in Leid. G and with *erat* for *est* in a MS. used by Popma, Vind. 1 and 2, and cod. Herbipolitanus; om. Dietsch. *tempore*, which is inserted above the line, is found only here; the addition is no improvement. *per concordiam* as a variant for *concordia* is also novel; the reading is uncertain, the supposed *c* of *con* looking more like *n*, and very little remaining of the final *m*. Both *per concordiam* and *tempore* might be regarded as explanatory glosses rather than textual variants.

7. Above *e* of *eorum* is a mark resembling a small *c*, which we do not understand.

10. We suppose that the mistaken *opulentum* has been twice corrected. *ia* over the termination is clear, but the decipherment of the cursive letters which precede 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 *nt. ex . . .* or *epo . . .* might be read.

11. *templare* 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.

13. *pe[r]c]ussi* (p<sup>5</sup> g g<sup>6</sup> σ) might also be read, but is less likely than *pe[r]c]ulsi*.

21. 1. *legitimum*.

22. *annis c]o]rpus*: so *M*; *corpus annis* is the usual order.

24. *ii*: *ei* MSS., except g<sup>4</sup>, which has *hi*.

26-7. Several small interlinear signs of doubtful significance occur here; cf. Plate V.

Above *quod* there is something rather like an *e*, and above the middle *i* of *initio* are some strokes resembling the letters *li*; a more complicated sign appears over *augendae*, and an angular mark over *e* of *fuerat*.

30. There is an angular mark above the *n* of *min[ume*; cf. notes on ll. 11 and 26-7.

## IV. MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY FRAGMENTS

### 885. TREATISE ON DIVINATION.

23.3 × 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 uncials 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 *διοσημεῖαι* 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.

Col. i.	Col. ii.	Col. iii.
]οι	χη αυτω εσται	[
]λη	της ευδαιμονι	[
] .	ας εαν δε ολοσχε	τ[
] .	35 ρως καταπεσηι	65 υ[
5 ]εσ	η εικων πλη	[
]γ	γεισα υπο του κε	α[
]ο	ραυνου απώλει	α[
]ι	αν αυτου τωι γε	γ[
]ω	40 νει σημαινει ο	70 η[
10 ] . ρ	λωι· χρη ουν τον	τ[
]ε	πενητα εικονα	γ· [
] .	αφιερουν· και	α[
] .	θυειν Διϊ Κεραυ	εν[
] .	45 ν[ι]ωι· και Ηρακλει	75 μ[
15 ]οις	και Τυχηι Σωτει	σθ[
]ς·	ρα κατα δυνα	κε[
]· γαρ	μιν και προσποι	υο[
]αι	εισθαι μεν το προ	τα[
]ησ	50 τερον σημειον·	80 π[
20 ]α	της δε πεσούσης	χ· [
] .	εικονος εκθυε	ση[
] .	σθαι και αποτρο	επ[
]εν	πιαζεσθαι το ση	δ[
]ασ	55 μειον θυοντα	85 τ[
25 ] .	τοις αυτοις θε	α[
] .	οις ρ	λα[
] .	—	τ[
] .	εαν εικονες ανδρων	μ[
]ο	60 καλων κ[α]γαθων	90 π[
30 ]ι	υπο κεραυνου	ρο[
αρ]	πληγωσ[ι] . [ . . .	

51. First σ of πεσουσης corr. from ι.

'(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 *εαν εικων ανδρος πενητος υπ]ο | [κεραυνου πληγε]ε[[σα μη καταπεση αρ]]χη κ.τ.λ.* In Lydus, *De Ostentis*, the passage concerning statues is as follows (§ 47): *ει δε κατ' αγαλμάτων κατενεχθη (κεραυνος) ποικίλας και επαλλήλους τας συμφορας τοις πράγμασι απειλεί· ει γάρ χαρακτηρες ιδεων των και κόσμια πόλεων τα αγαλματα υπωπτεύθη τοις παλαιοις, αρὰ τοις πράγμασι η περι αυτα υβρις.* 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 × 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-Denkmaeler*, 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 Ἰσις ἡ κυρία.

ρι ὧν θέλις κληδονισ-  
θῆναι. λαβὼν φύνι-

ἀντίγραφον ἱερᾶς βί-  
 βλου τῆς εὐρετίσης ἐν  
 τοῖς τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ταμίοις.  
 5 ὁ δὲ τρόπος ἐστὶν τὰ περ[ὶ]  
 τὰ γράμματα κθ  
 δι' ὧν ὁ Ἑρμῆς κὲ ἡ Ἴσις  
 ζητοῦσα ἑαυτῆς τὸν ἀ-  
 δελφὸν κὲ ἄνδρα Ὁ-  
 10 σιρειν. ἐπικαλοῦ μέ[ν] (?)  
 τὸν Ϛ κὲ τοὺς ἐν βυ-  
 θῶ θεοὺς πάντας πε-  
 15 κος ἄρσενος φύλλα κθ  
 ἐπίγρ(αψον) ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν  
 φύλλων τὰ τῶν θεῶν  
 ὀνόματα κὲ ἐπευξά-  
 μενος ἔρε κατὰ δύο  
 20 δύο, τὸ δὲ ὑπολιπό[μ]ε-  
 νον ἔσχατον ἀναγνώ-  
 τι κὲ εὐρήσις σου τὴν κλη-  
 δόνα ἐν οἷς μέτεσται  
 καὶ χρηματισθήσῃ τῆ-  
 25 λαυγῶς.

1. ἴσις Pap.; so in l. 7.      3. l. εὐρετίσης.      7. l. καί: so in ll. 9, 11, 18, 22.  
 9. ὀσιρειν Pap.      14. l. φοίνικος. The κ has been inserted later.      17. θεω Pap.  
 19. l. ἀρε.      19-20. δυ' δυ' Pap.      20. ὑπολιπο[μ]ενον Pap.      21. l. ἀναγῶθι.  
 24. l. χρηματισθήσῃ.

'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. codd. Astr. Graec.* vii. p. 62 Βίβλος εὐρεθείσα ἐν Ἑλιουπόλει τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐν ἀδύτοις ἐγγεγραμμένη ἐν ἱεροῖς γράμμασι κ.τ.λ.

6. κθ: 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 κθ here; cf. introd.

10. ἐπικαλοῦ μέν: the vestiges following μ suit ε better than α. μέν 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 ἐπικαλοῦμε (= ἐπικαλοῦμαι) here makes the change to the second person singular in l. 13 very difficult.

11. The sign following τὸν is the ordinary symbol in magical papyri for ἥλιος.

14 sqq. Cf. e. g. P. Leyden W. xxiv. 31 sqq. λαβὼν φύλλον δάφνης ἐπίγρ(αψον) τὸν χαλακῆρα (l. χαρακ.) ὦ (l. ὄς) ἐστὶν καὶ δείξας το (l. τῷ) (ἡλίῳ) 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 × 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.
επι το]ν δεξι]ιω]ν [ωμον	]ηση γαρ τον μ . [
] εις τα αριστερα του [	λα]βουσαν μεγαλα[
] επι τον δεξιον ω]μον	] και εξω φευγη [
] επι το [α]κρον του [	]εται η γυνη ελε[
5   ] επι τ[ο]ν αριστερο]ν ωμον	5 α]νθρωποι επι του[
]λημψεται	]α φαρμα[κ]α κατ[
] επι το ακρον το]ν	]ικαν καθευδο[
] επι το στηθος π[	

## V. DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

### (a) OFFICIAL

#### 888. EDICT OF A PRAEFECT AND PETITION.

Fr. (β) 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 Iulia 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 exegetes the name of a man suitable for the guardianship of her children. From P. Amh. 85 and 86, which are applications addressed to the exegetes 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 exegetes 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 exegetes 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.

[Φ]λα[ούιος Ουαλέριος Πομπη]ιανός ὁ διαση[μό]τατος ἑπαρχος Αἰγύπτου  
λέγει  
οἷς [ἐὰν μὴ πεποιημένοι ὦσ]ιν κηδεμόνες ὀρ[φαν]οῖς οἱ τοῦ χειροτονεῖν  
κύριοι καθ[εστῶτες  
ἐν[ 15 letters ποι]είσθωσαν τοὺς καθ' [ήλ]ικίαν κηδεμόνας·  
οὕτω γὰρ συμβήσεται τῆς π[ροσ-  
ηκ[ούσης ἐπιμελείας τυ]γχάνειν, ὡς νῦν γε [π]ολλὰ τῶν ὀρφανικῶν πραγ-  
μάτων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς  
5 κη[δεμόσιν ὄντων ἀνα]βολῆς τυγχάνειν διὰ τὸ μὴ παρεῖναι τοῖς ὀρφανοῖς  
ἐπιτρόπους ἢτοι  
κου[ράτορας. ἔτους] δ καὶ γ (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ  
Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν  
Φα[ῶφι . . . προετέθη ἐν 'Οξυ]ρύγχων τῷ αὐτῷ μην[ί] Φαῶφι κζ.  
. . . [ 16 letters ἐ]νάρχῳ ἐξηγητῇ 'Οξυρυ[χίτου κα]ὶ Μικρᾶς  
'Οάσεως βουλ(ευτῆ) τῆς λαμπ(ρᾶς) καὶ λαμπ(ροτάτης) 'Οξυρύγ-  
[χων πόλεως ]  
10 [παρὰ . . . . . κα]ὶ 'Απολλωνίας ἀμφο[έ]ρων 'Ωριγένους μη(τρὸς)  
Θαήσιος ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπ(ρᾶς) καὶ λαμπ(ροτάτης)  
['Οξυρύγγ(ων) πόλ(εως). τυ]χόντες τῆς κ]ηδεμονίας τῶν ἀφηλίκων ἀδελφιδῶν  
ἡμῶν, τέκνων τῆς μετηλλαχῶ-  
[ίας 50 letters 'Ωριγ]έμου ἀπ[ὸ] τῆς  
[αὐτῆς πόλεως . . .  
. . . . .

1. πομπη]ιανος Pap. 5. τυ'χανειν Pap. 6. σεβαστῶ Pap. 8. οξυρυγ' Pap.

'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 *tutores* 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 Thaësis, 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 [ἐκάστῳ νομῶ εὐθέως, ἢ ἐν τὸς . . . ἡμερῶν. π[ροσ]η-κ[ούσης] 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. *κηδεμόν* is here used as a wider term including both *tutores* and *curatores*; cf. ll. 5-6 where ἐπιτρόπους ἦτοι 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 ἦτοι therefore does not mean that ἐπιτρόπους and κουράτορας are convertible terms.

5. There is a hole in the papyrus between η and σ of ἀνα]βολῆς, 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 Ἐπτανομία (cf. P. Amh. 137. 1 ἐπιστρ[ατήγῳ] Ἐπτ. καὶ Ὀάσεως Μικρᾶς) 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<sup>1</sup>. 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 × 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 *λειτουργίαι*, 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

<sup>1</sup> 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 (φιλιανθρωπία, l. 5) apparently to persons over the age of 60 (ἐξηκονταετείς, 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 Γουνθικ[ὸς Μέγιστος  
 Εὐσεβῆς Ε]ύτυχῆς Νικητῆς Σεβαστὸς κ[αὶ  
 ]ς Σαρματικοὶ Μέγιστοι Γερμαν[ικὸς Μέγιστος  
 Μαξιμιανὸς] οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι Καίσαρες[  
 5 φιλιανθρωπία κεκελεύκαμεν [  
 ]ου χρόνου τῆς πολυαιτίας α . [  
 ] καταλαμβανόντων διὰ τ[  
 πρ]άκτορες καὶ ἐπίσταθμοι κο[  
 ]οις ἐξηκονταετῖς ὡς εἰ ελα[  
 10 προετέθη ἐν Ἀλεξανδρ]ία τῇ α' εἰδῶν Δεκεμβρίω[ν  
 Καίσαρ]σιν τὸ γ' ὑπάτοις. ὑπατίας Ὁκ[  
 τῶν λαμ]προτάτων Παχῶν κθ . [  
 πό]λεως διὰ τοῦ ἐνάρχου πρυτάν[εως  
 τῆς] αὐτῆς πόλεως [  
 15 παρὰ τῆς] αὐτῆς πόλεως. τοῦ προτεταγ[μένου  
 ἐξηκο]στὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπερβεβηκο[  
 ἐβδο]μηκοστὸν καὶ τρίτον ἐνιαυ[τὸν  
 ]περὶ ἐμὲ γῆρας καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώ[ματος ἀσθένειαν  
 γηροβ]οσκίαν μήτε κτῆσιν [  
 20 ]ν ἐπιρωσθῆναι κάμω[ι τῶν] . [  
 ]αι ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων μου φθασαντ . [  
 6. l. πολυετίας. 11. ὑπατοις ὑπατίας Pap. 16. ὑπερβεβηκο[ Pap. 18. ν of την  
 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 (Ἀυτοκράτορ]σιν is the only alternative for Καίσαρ]σιν in l. 11), the reign of Diocletian and Maximian, and the third consulship of Constantius and Galerius are clearly indicated. A slight difficulty arises in connexion with the title Γουνθικός (= Gothicus; cf. for the form P. Leipzig 119. verso ii. 8, where perhaps Γουνθικοῦ should be read for Γουντικῶ), 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 [Ἀυτοκράτωρ Γάιος Ἀυρήλιος Οὐαλέριος Διοκλητιανὸς Γερμανικός] implies an initial loss of 46 letters, and in l. 13 [τῆ κρατίστη βουλῇ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξύρυγχιτῶν 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 Κωνσταντίος καὶ Γάιος Οὐαλέριος Μαξιμιανός, i. e. 56 letters, of which 5-10 probably occurred in l. 3; hence even if Γερμανικός Μέγιστος 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 Σαρματικοὶ Μέγιστοι seems to be an error for the singular, applying to Maximian alone, for if the plural is correct here, Γερμανικοὶ Μέγιστοι must then be read, and Diocletian has already been styled Γερμανικός in l. 1.

8. κο[ ] : ο[ ] κα[ ]ί.

11. Probably [Κωνσταντίῳ καὶ Μαξιμιανῷ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσαρ]σιν; cf. the note on ll. 1-4. The date by the regnal years (ἔτους ιζ' καὶ ις' καὶ θ') probably occurred at the end of l. 10. The date beginning ὑπατίας refers to the following petition; Ου[ ] may be read for Οκ[ ]. 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.

13. Probably [τῆ κρατίστη βουλῇ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξύρυγχιτῶν πόλεως]; cf. note on ll. 1-4.

15. προτεταγ[μένου] : sc. ἐπιστάλματος or διατάγματος or the like.

16. ἐξηκο[ ]στόν : cf. l. 9 ἐξηκονταετίς. ἐβδομηκο[ ]στόν (cf. l. 17) is also possible.

### 890. LETTER TO A STRATEGUS.

20.2 x 14.7 cm.

Third century.

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 Ἀυρήλιος  
 Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Ἀπολινάριος καὶ ὡς  
 χρηματίζω ἑναρχος πρύτανις τῆς  
 Ὀξύρυχειτῶν πόλεως Ἀυρηλίῳ  
 5 Λεωνίδῃ στρατηγῷ τῷ φιλ-  
 τάτῳ χαίρειν.  
 τοὺς ἀπαιτεῖσ[θα]ι μέλλοντας ἀφ' ὧν  
 [ὁ]φ[είλ]ουσι τῇ π[ό]λει χωρούντων

[εἰς δι]αγραφὴν τῶν ἐκ λόγου τῆς  
 10 [πόλε]ως διαγραφομένων καὶ νῦν  
 [γράφομέν] σοι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐμποδί-  
 [ζεσθαι τῆ]ν εἴσπραξιν τοῦ ἱερωτάτου  
 [ταμείου. ] εἰςὶ δὲ Αὐρήλιοι  
 [. . . . . καὶ Ἀ]πολλώνιος καὶ Δομιπτι-  
 15 [νός, οἱ τρεῖς Σ]αραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ  
 [. . . . . ἀγορ]ανομήσαντος, (δραχμὰς ?) υ,  
 [. . . . . Ἑρ]ακλᾶς ὀνόματος  
 [            20 letters            ]ατ . . [ . . .  
 . . . . .

12. ἱερωτατου Pap.

14. δομιτ'τια[[νος Pap.

‘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 ἀ.

14. Perhaps [. . . ὁ καὶ Ἀ]πολλώνιος, in which case δύο must be substituted for τρεῖς in l. 15.

16. (δραχμὰς ?) υ: αυ, i. e. Αὐρήλιος, 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.

11.8 x 6.7 cm.

A. D. 294.

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.

[Ἐφ' ὑ]πάτων Οὐαλερίων Κων-  
 [ σ]ταντ[ί]ου καὶ Μαξιμιά[νου]  
 τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων.  
 Ὀξυρρυχιτῶν τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ  
 5 {καὶ} λαμπ(ροτάτης) πόλεως ἢ κρα(τίστη) βου-  
 λῆ δι' Αὐρηλίου Κορνηλιανοῦ  
 διασ . . ( ) ἐνάρχου πρυτάνεως  
 Πτολεμείω τῷ καὶ Σαρμάτῃ  
 ἐξηγητῇ τῷ φιλ(τάτῳ) χαίρειν.  
 10 ἐξηγητοῦ ζητουμένου εἰς τὰς  
 α . [ . ]ας Ἐπεὶφ ἕως ις,  
 ἔδοξεν ὥστε σὲ μὲν προ-  
 στήναι, τὰ δὲ ἀναλώματα  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν ἀπὸ  
 15 τοῦ τάγματος δοθῆναι καὶ  
 ἵνα τοῦτο εἰδέναι ἔχοις  
 ἐπιστέλλεται σοι, φίλτατε.  
 2nd hand ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχ(όμεθα),  
 φίλτατε.

'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 λαμπ(ροτάτης) 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(στάτου) 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.  $\alpha$  . [ . ] $\alpha\varsigma$  'Επειφ: the supposed  $\varsigma$  is very doubtful, and there may be nothing at all between  $\alpha$  (for which  $\theta$  may be read) and 'Επειφ, but ἀπ[ὸ τῆς]  $\alpha$  is unsuitable, for the lacuna ought not to contain more than 3 letters at most, and even with ἀπ[ὸ]  $\alpha$  there is no stroke above  $\alpha$  to indicate a numeral, as there is over ζ of ιζ. Moreover, to supply *ἡμέρας* with τὰς 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  $\alpha$  . [ . ] $\alpha\varsigma$  in agreement with τὰς, though τοῦ 'Επειφ would be expected.

14. ἀπὸ τοῦ τάγματος: this seems to mean the ἐξηγητικὸν τάγμα, for there were no doubt several exegetae, just as there were several gymnasiarchs; cf. Preisigke, *Städtisches Beamtenwesen*, p. 60, and 908. introd. That βουλευτικόν is the word to be supplied with τάγμα (cf. C. I. G. 4411 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 l. 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.

Φλαούιος Εὐσέβιος λογιστῆς Ὁ[ξυρυγχίτου  
 Ἀυρηλίω Πασίωι Ὀρίωνος β[ουλευτῆ]  
 τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἀδελφῶ ε . [ . . . χαίρειν.  
 ἴσθι ἐκ τῶν ἐπισταλέντων ὑπὸ τῆ[ς τῆς πόλεως  
 5 κρατίστης βουλῆς διὰ τοῦ ἐνάρχου π[ρυτάνεως  
 Ἀυρηλίου Νεπῶτιανοῦ ἠρῆσθαι σε [εἰς . . . . .  
 τῶν ἐνχρηζόντων ξύλων εἰς . . . ος[ . . . . .  
 ἔτι δὲ εἰς  
 βαλανίον καὶ [τ]ῆν κατασκευαζ[ο]μένην βορρινὴν  
 τῆς πόλεως  
 πύλην, καὶ ἵνα τοῦ ἔργου [ἀ]ντιλάβη καὶ διὰ ταχέων

10. ταῦτα ἐκκόψας παρενεχθῆναι ποιήσης εἰς τὸ  
 μηδὲν ἔνεδρον γενέσθαι τὸ δημόσιον καὶ πολιτικὸν  
 ἔργον ἐπιστέλλῃ, ἀδελφέ.

ὑπατείας Φλ[αου]ῶ[ν Ο]ὔρσου καὶ Πολεμίου  
 τῶν λαμπρο[σ]άτων Τῦβι 18.

4. ὑπο Pap.

9. ἴνα 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 consulship 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 αἰρεθέντος . . . εἰς συνων[ή]ν ποιήσε[σ]θαι καὶ [ἀ]νακομιδὴν ξύλων. [εἰς συνωνή]ν is possible here, but does not combine very well with ἐκκόψας. [εἰς ἀνακομιδὴ]ν or [εἰς 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. δημόσιον would be expected to occur somewhere at the end of this line; cf. l. 11 τὸ δημόσιον λουτρόν; but εἰς δημόσιον cannot be read, and though the letter following εἰς may be τ, and the doubtful σ may be δ, εἰς τε τὸ δημόσιον is also inadmissible. Perhaps the word following εἰς gave the special name of the bath in question, but if so it differed from the δείου βαλανείου (43. verso iii. 24), Καί(σ)αρος βαλανείου (43. verso iv. 24), and θερμῶν Ἀδριανῶν δημόσιον βαλανείου (896. 7; cf. 53. 6).

11-2. The words from ἔνεδρον to ἔργον have lines drawn through or above them, indicating deletion, but ἔνεδρον γενέσθαι 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 (τύπος; cf. note on l. 1) pronounced by three μείζονες (cf. 900. 19, note) of a village concerning some dispute, of which no details are given, between Marcus, another μείζων; 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 ὄρκος), 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 ἀξίω[.]πίστων ἀνδρῶν Παμουθίου μείζ(ονος) [υ]ί(οῦ) . σω[. ο]υ  
καὶ Πανίρεν ἀπὸ μείζ(όνων)  
[υ]ί(οῦ) [Ἰ]ωάννου καὶ Ἀπολλῶ ἀπὸ μείζ(όνων) υἱ(οῦ) Φοιβάμμωνος ἀπὸ κώμης  
Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπὲρ Μάρκου  
ἀπὸ μείζ(όνων) καὶ Μαρίνου στιπποπραγματευτῆ, ὥστε Μαρίνου ἐξουσίαν  
αὐτοῦ  
ζητῆσαι τοῦ θε(ί)ου ὅρκου διὰ Σοφία θυγατρὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Μάρκου ἀπὸ  
μείζ(όνων)  
5 καὶ μετὰ τὴν ζητούμενον τοῦ θε(ί)ου ὅρκου διὰ τῆ αὐτῆ Σοφία α[ύ]του δὲ  
Μαρίνου  
οὐδέν[α] λόγον ὑπὲρ οἰασδήποτε ὄλον τὸ σύνολον πράγματος. ἐγράψ(η)  
μη(νὸς)  
Παῦνι [κ]θ ὄρα ἕκτη τοῦ ἡμέρας. δῆλα δὲ πάλιν ἢ εἰ δὲ μὴ θελησαι τοῦ  
αὐτοῦ  
Μαρίν[ου] ζητῆσαι τοῦ θε(ί)ου ὅρκου διὰ τῆ αὐτῆ Σοφία αὐτοῦ δὲ Μαρίνου  
οὐδένα λόγον  
[ὑπὲρ οἰασ]δήποτε ὄλον τὸ σύνολον πράγμ(ατος) καὶ ἀπελλάχθην αὐτοῦ ὡς  
ἐν τύπῳ.

2. [Ἰ]ωαννου Pap. 3. 1. στιπποπραγματευτοῦ . . . Μαρίνῳ ἐξ. αὐτῷ εἶναι. στε of ωστε over an erasure. 4. 1. ζητῆσαι διὰ τοῦ . . . Σοφίας θυγατρὸς. 5. 1. τὸ ζητ. . . τῆς αὐτῆς Σοφίας αὐτῷ Μαρίνῳ ἔσσεσθαι. 6. 1. οἰουδήποτε. 7. 1. ὄρα . . . τῆς ἡμ. . . θελήσει ὁ αὐτός. 8. 1. Μαρίνος . . . διὰ τοῦ . . . τῆς αὐτῆς Σοφίας αὐτῷ Μαρίνῳ ἔσσεσθαι. 9. π of δηποτε apparently corr. 1. οἰου]δήποτε . . . ἀπηλλάχθη.

'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 29th 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 . . . ποιήσασθαι . . . μηδὲ αἰτῆσαι θεῖον καὶ πραγματικὸν τύπον πρὸς τήνδε τὴν διαθήκην, Justin. Nov. 113 tit. θεῖους τύπους ἢ θείας κελεύσεις.

ἀξίω[.]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. ἀξίω[ν]πίστων may have been written, but not ἀξίω[ν 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 πάλιν and εἰ, and the traces may be read as η; but the expression is very clumsy.

## (b) DECLARATIONS TO OFFICIALS

### 894. LATIN DECLARATION OF BIRTH.

9.4 × 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 (*Nouv. 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 libero]rum nator[um]* &c. (3) Date as before, *M(arco) Petronio Honorato praef(ecto) Aeg(ypti) professionis liberorum acceptae citra causarum cognitionem tabula v et post alia pag(ina) iii, xviii k(alendas) Octobr(es)*. (4) *Ti(b(eri)us) Iulius Dioscorides . . . fil(iam) n(atam) Iuliam Ammonum ex Iulia Ammonario xiii k(alendas) 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 Wilcken (*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. *a* 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 [.] Imperatoris Cae[sa]ris L(ucii)
	[		Septimii Severi Pii Pertinacis Aug(usti) A[rabi]ci Adiabenici
	[		mense . . . . . die . . . Alexandriae ad Aegyptum,
	[		apud Marcum Ulpium Primianum praefectum Aegypti
5	[	17 letters	pro]fessus est filium sibi natum
	[	20 "	]num ex Ulpia Sabina xvi
	[	19 "	] . hab(it) ) [O]xyryncho.
	[	20 "	δηλω νίό]ν μοι γεγενῆσθαι

7. [o]xyrynchó 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 Ulpius 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 Aegyptum*.

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 aerarii more Romano professus filium*. The lacuna at the beginning of l. 5 was filled by the name of the father.

6. *rum* 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 *habitans* 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. [*Oxyryncho* should then in either case strictly be [*Oxyrynchi*, unless [*Oxyryncho(rum)* (sc. *urbe*) be read.

## 895. RETURN OF VILLAGE-ACCOUNTS.

19 X 15.4 cm.

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: ] . . . εν / ό διάδοχος είπ(εν) τὰ πεπραγμένα [ 'Α]μμωνιανού δὲν μνίαν [ ] κύριόν μου διασημότατον.

Ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κων]σ[ταντ]ίου  
καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων τὸ ε.  
Αύρηλιῶ Σεύθι τῷ καὶ Ὀρίωνι λ[ο]γιστῇ Ὁξύρυχι[τ]ου  
παρὰ Αύρηλιῶν Σακάωνος Πετίριος καὶ Ψόιτος  
5 Παταβήτος ἀμφοτέρων κωμαρχῶν κόμης Ταμπέτι.  
τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος κα καὶ ιγ (ἔτους) ἐπιζητοῦντί σοι κατὰ  
κέλευσιν τοῦ διασημοτάτου ἡμῶν ἡγεμόνος  
Κλωδίου Κουλκιανοῦ τοὺς κωμητ[ικο]ὺς λόγους τῆς

- ἡμετέρας κάμης μηνῶν δύο τοῦ τε Φαρμουῦθι  
 10 καὶ τοῦ Παχῶν ἀναγκ[αι]φ[ν ἡγ]ησάμενοι ἐπι-  
 δίδομεν ἴν' εἰδέναι [ἔχ]η[ς]. [ἔ]στι δέ·  
 τιμῆς χάρτου καὶ γράπ[τρων . . . .] . ελί[ας] ἐργατῶν  
 τριῶν ἀποσταλέν[των . . . . .] ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα (δραχμαὶ) ρκ,  
 τιμῆς χάρτου καὶ γράπ[τρων . . ελί]ας ἄλλου ἐργάτου ἐνὸς  
 15 [ἀποστ]αλέντων ἐπὶ [τὴν . . . . .]ιτῶν π[όλιν] (δραχμαὶ) ρ[  
 [γί(νονται)] ὁμοῦ (δραχμαὶ) σ[. . . . .] ρ . . [ . . . . .  
 [ . . . . .]νυμεν δὲ τῶ[  
 [ . . . ] μεταφορὰ π[  
 [ . . . . .] Μικρὰν \*Ο[ασι]ν . [  
 20 [ . . . . .] ἐλ[. .] . [  
 [ . . . . παρ]εσχ[ή]καμε[ν]ν [

Remains of 4 more lines, below which the papyrus breaks off.

10. l. ἀναγκ[αί]φ[ν.

15. l. ἀποσταλέντος.

'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 ἀναγκεων was written; the space between κ and ω is narrow for two letters.

12. γράπ[τρων Wilcken, who compares B. G. U. 1062. 20 τιμῆς χάρτου καὶ γράπ[τρων]. ελί[ας, however, remains a difficulty, for there is hardly room for καὶ ἐπιμ]ελί[ας here, and certainly not in l. 14.

15. Ὁξυρρυχ[ι]τῶν would barely go into the space, and Βαβυλῶνα in l. 13 suggests a more remote locality, e. g. Ἄρσιω[ι]τῶν.

16. ρ seems to be the numeral; it is followed at a slight interval by a tall upright stroke which may be ι = 10.

17. Probably not ὄμ]νυμεν, since the statement of accounts is continued in l. 18 sqq.; ἐπιδείκ]νυμεν, e. g., is more likely.

19. Μικρὰν \*Ο[ασι]ν: cf. 888. 8, note.

## 896. REPORTS TO A LOGISTES.

25.1 x 34 cm.

A. D. 316.

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. 983), upon an official in the service of the governor of the province *Aegyptus Herculia* (cf. note on l. 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.

ρκζ.

Οὐαλερίῳ Ἀμμωνιανῶ τῷ καὶ Γεροντίῳ λογιστῇ Ὁξ(υρυγίτου)  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ἀρσινόου ἀπὸ τῆς  
 λαμπ(ρᾶς) καὶ λαμπ(ροτάτης) Ὁξυρυγιτῶν πόλεως ζωγράφου τὴν  
 5 ἐπιστήμην. ἐπιζητούση τῇ σῆ ἔμμελεία τὴν  
 σύνοψιν τῶν δεομένων τόπων ζωγραφίας  
 τοῦ εὐτυχῶς ἐπισκευαζομένου Τραιανῶν  
 Ἀδριανῶν θερμῶν δημοσίου τῆς  
 αὐτῆς πόλεως βαλανίου, κατὰ ταῦτα δηλῶ χρεῖ-  
 10 ζειν εἰς λόγον ζωγραφίας τῶν τε δεομένων  
 τόπων τῶν δύο ψυχροφόρων καὶ ἔμβατικοῦ  
 [θ]όλου ἐνδὸς καὶ ἀρδρομηκιάων ὄλου ξυστοῦ  
 [εἰ]σόδων καὶ ἐξόδων καὶ παραθολίων τεσσάρων  
 [τ]οῦ ἐξωτέρου ξυστοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τόπων  
 15 [εἰς μ]ὲν τιμὴν χρωμάτων ἀργυρίου δηναρίων  
 [μυριάδ . . .] . [ . . . . . ] . εἰς ζωγραφίας ὄλων ἔργων  
 [ἀργυρίου δηναρίων μυ]ριάδων μίαν ὅπερ  
 [προσφωῶ. ]  
 [ὑπατείας Καικινίου Σαβίνου] καὶ Οὐεττίου Ῥουφίνου

20 [τῶν λαμπροτάτων] . . . . .] (2nd hand) *Αὐρή(λιος) Ἀρτεμί-  
δαρος*  
[ἐπιδέδωκα. *Αὐρή(λιος)* . . . . .]ων ἔγρα(ψα) ὑπ(έρ) αὐτοῦ μ(ή) ἰδ(ότος).

## Col. ii.

[ . . . . . ρκη ]  
*Ο[ύ]α[λ][ε]ρ[ί]ω Ἀμμωνιανῶ τῷ καὶ Γερωντίῳ λογιστῇ Ὁξ(υρυγχιτοῦ)  
παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Ἡρωνος [.] . . . . . καὶ Διδύμου*  
25 *Διοσκόρου ἀμφ(οτέρων) ἀπὸ τῆς λα[μπ(ρᾶς) καὶ] λαμπ(ροτάτης)  
Ὁξ(υρυγχι)των*

*πόλεως δημοσίων ἰατρῶν. ἐπ[ε]σ[τ]άλημεν ὑπὸ σοῦ  
σήμερον ἥτις ἐστὶν Φαρμοῦθι 5 [ἐκ] βιβλιδίων  
ἐπιδοθέντων σοι ὑπὸ Ἀπολλωνίου ὀφ(φικιαλίου) ἡγουμένου  
Αἰγύπτου Ἡρκουλείας Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίου ὥστε γενέσθαι*  
30 *[ἐπ]ὶ τῇ[ν] οἰκίαν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει καὶ τοῦτον ἐφιδῖν  
καὶ [ἡ]ν ἀν καταλάβ[ω]με[ν] περὶ αὐτὸν διάθεσιν ἐγ-  
γ[ράφω]ς προσφωνῆσαι. ὅθεν γενόμενοι ἔνθα ὀρῶ-  
με[ν] αὐτὸ[ν] το[ῦ]τον κλε[ιν]ή[ρη]ν ὄντα πυραιτίοις  
α. [.]ι . . . [.] συνεχ[όμενον] ὅπερ[ε] προσφωνοῦμεν.*

35 *ὑπατείας Και[κι]νίου Σ[α]βί[νου] καὶ Οὐεττίου Ῥουφίνου  
τῶν λαμπ(ροτάτων) Φαρμ[ο]ῦθι [5.]*

2nd hand *Αὐρήλιος Ἡρων ἐπιδέδωκα  
πρ[ο]σφωνῶν ὡς πρόκειται.*

3rd hand *Αὐρήλιος Δίδυμος ἐπιδέδωκα προσφωνῶν  
40 ὡς πρ[ό]κειται.*

4. οξυρυγχιτων Pap. 7-8. τραιανων αδριανων over an erasure, probably of αδριανων  
θερμων. 26. ιατρων Pap. 28. υπο Pap. 31. εγ' Pap. 33. ι. πυραιτίοις.

‘To Valerius Ammonianus also called Gerontius, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Artemidorus son of Arsinoüs, 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 and

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 Herculia, 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 Ἀδριανῶν 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[ι]σκευα[σ]θένου θερμῶν δημοσίου βαλανίου, which is evidently identical with the βαλανίον here; the note *ad loc.* is to be modified accordingly.

11-13. ἐμβατικοῦ [θ]όλου: 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.

ἀρδρομηκίαῖον is an unknown word of uncertain signification; παραθόλιον is also new, but creates no difficulty.

16. It is not possible to read ἰ]πὲρ ζωγραφίας, since not only is there no sign of any tail for the ρ, but a mark like an overwritten υ would remain unexplained; the supposed υ, however, is more directly above the ο than elsewhere in the papyrus. κεφαλῆου for κεφαλαιίου might be read but is not satisfactory; perhaps καὶ τελέου.

29. *Aegyptus Jovia*, *Aegyptus Herculia*, and *Thebais* were the three provinces of Egypt according to the reorganization of Diocletian. It was supposed by Mommsen (*Abh. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1862, p. 500), whose view has been generally followed, that *Aegyptus Jovia* consisted of the western, *Aegyptus Herculia* of the eastern, portions of lower Egypt, the latter coinciding with the province afterwards called Augustamnica; but the intrinsically more probable hypothesis of C. Jullian (*Rev. Hist.* xix. p. 357) that *Aegyptus Jovia* was the Delta and *Aegyptus Herculia* 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 Herculia* to the west bank.

31. καταλάβ[ωμε]ν: or perhaps καταλάβ[ωμ]αι, the singular being used by mistake for the plural; the middle is supported by 51. 10.

33. κλειήρην ὄντα occurs in the corresponding passage of 983.

34. The mutilated word is probably an adjective qualifying *πυρετίος*.

### 897. DECLARATION TO RIPARII.

16.5 × 12.6 cm.

A. D. 346.

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 *riparii*, who were police-officers, see 904. 3, note. The papyrus is nearly complete; the missing termination probably contained only the signatures.

- Ἐπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου  
 τὸ δ' καὶ Κώνσταντος τὸ γ' Αὐγούστων.  
 Φλαουίοις Εὐλόγιῳ καὶ Διονυσαρίῳ ρίπαριοις Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου)  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Ἀμόιτος Ὡρου καὶ Πατάπιος  
 5 Παησίου καὶ Σαρμάτου πρεσβυτέρου καὶ Παπνουτίου  
 Παησίου τῶν πάντων ἀπὸ κώμης Ἰσειοῦ  
 Ζαπίτου. ἐπέθετο ἡμῖν ἡ ὑμῶν ἐμμέλια  
 ὥστε Χωοῦν Ἡρακλήου ὑποβληθέν-  
 τα εἶναι ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας κώμης ἀνα-  
 10 ζητῆσαι καὶ παραστῆσαι. κατὰ ταῦτα  
 ὁμολογοῦμεν ὁμνύντες τὸν σεβάσμιον  
 θεῖον ὄρκον τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Αὐγούστων  
 [μ]ήτε τὸν Χωοῦν ἔτι εἶναι ἐπὶ τῆς  
 [ἡμῶν κ]ώμης μήτε εἰδέναι ἡμᾶς  
 15 [ὄπου πο]τέ ἐστίν, καὶ μηδὲν διεψεῦ-  
 [σ]θαί [ἢ ἔν]οχοι εἶ[ημεν τῶ] θε[ί]ῳ ὄρκῳ  
 ] . [

1. ἔπατείας Pap.      6. Ἰσειοῦ Pap.      8. ὑποβληθεντα Pap.      12. αυγουστῶ Pap.  
 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 Paësius, and Aurelius Sarmates the elder, and Aurelius Papnutius son of Paësius, all from the village of Ision Zapitou. Your grace required us to search out and produce Choous son of Heracleus, supposed to belong to our village. We therefore declare on the august divine oath by our masters the Augusti that Choous 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 Ζαπίσου or Ζαγνίου. The name of this village is new; cf. Ἰσειον Παγγᾶ (899. 7), Ἰσειον Τρύφωνος (719. 14).

## (c) PETITIONS

## 898. PETITION TO AN ACTING-STRATEGUS.

23.3 × 8 cm.

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.

Ἐρμოდῶρῳ βασιλ(ικῶ) γρα(μματεῖ)  
 διαδεχομένῳ καὶ [τ]ῆν στ[ρα]τηγίαν  
 παρὰ Διδύμου Διονυσίου τοῦ καὶ  
 Φατρέως ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως.  
 5 ἡ μήτηρ μου Ματρεῖνα Ἡρακλήου  
 τοῦ καὶ Ματρέ[ου] οὔσα μου ἐπίτρο-  
 πος καὶ πολλὰ μ[ε] ἀδικοῦσα ἔτι  
 καὶ πλανήσασά με ἐποίησεν εἰς  
 Ὅασιν καταβῆναι καὶ γράψασθαι  
 10 Διοσκόρῳ ἀνδρὶ ἀπελευθέρας  
 αὐτῆς ὄντι ἰδίῳ αὐτῆς ἀδοτ. [.]  
 ἀργυρίου ταλάντου ἐνὸς ἡμισ{ο}υ  
 καὶ ὑποθέσθαι ὅσα ἔχω ἐν τῇ Ὅασε[ι]  
 κτήματα [λα]βόντα τοῦ Διοσκόρου  
 15 γράμματα ἀπερ[ισπ]άστου. ἀναβά[ν]-  
 τα δέ με εἰς τὸν Ὀξυρυγχείτην  
 μετὰ καὶ τοῦ Διοσκόρου ἐνήδρευ-  
 σεν ἄχρι ἂν αἰτήσῃ με τὴν ἀπερί-  
 σπαστον καὶ ταύτης ἐνκρατῆς  
 20 γενομένη καὶ συνειδυῖα ἑαυτῆι  
 πολλὰ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀνηπακίη

οὐ πρότερον ὁμολογεῖν θέλει  
 αἰτοῦσά μ[ε] ἀντὶ ταύτης ἀποχὴν  
 τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς, οἰομένη ἐκ τοῦ-  
 25 του δύνασθαι ἐκφυγεῖν ἂ διέπρα-  
 ξεν· καίτοι Φιλονίκου τοῦ στρα[τηγοῦ]  
 καθ' ὑπομνηματισμοὺς κρεί-  
 ναντος ἕτερόν μου ἐπίτροπον  
 κατασταθῆναι, οὐ πιστεύοντος  
 30 οὔτε αὐτῆι οὐδὲ τῆι ἡλικίᾳ μου.  
 χωρὶς δὲ τούτων οὐδὲ ὀψώ-  
 νιόν μοι ἐχορήγησεν ἔτι πρὸ μη-  
 νῶν τριῶν, ἐκ παντὸς θλείβου-  
 σά με εἰς τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι κατ' αὐ-  
 35 τῆς προελθεῖν. ὧν πάντων χά-  
 ριν ἀναγκαίως ἐπιδιδούς τὸ  
 ἀναφόριον ἀξιῶ ἔχειν ἐν κατα-  
 χωρισμῶ καὶ διαλαβεῖν ὡς ἑάν  
 σοι [δ]όξη. (ἔτους) ζ' Αὐτοκράτορος  
 40 Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ  
 Παῦνι κθ.

11. ἴδιῳ Pap.

20. συνειδυῖα Pap.

21. ἀνηπακίη Pap.

'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.'

1. 'Ερμωδάρωι : cf. 714. 2, referring to the year before the date of the present papyrus. In the previous line there [στρα(τηγῶ)] should be read in place of [τῶι, for 898. 26 shows that Philonicus was the name of the strategus.

6. ἐπ[ίτρο]πος : cf. 888. 9, note.

9. \*Οασιν : i. e. the Small Oasis (Bahriyeh) ; cf. 888. 8, note.

11. ἀδοτ . [ . : a substantive is wanted to be the object of γράψασθαι and to govern the genitive ταλάντου in l. 12. The letters αδο are quite clear, and the next letter is either τ or π. Possibly ἀδοτον is to be read ; cf. l. 18 τὴν ἀπερίσπαστον, and P. Brit. Mus. II. 361 verso 5 περὶ ἀδότου προοικίος : but this needs other support. For ἰδίῳ cf. 974.

15. γράμματα ἀπερίσπαστον : i. e. a deed of indemnification, distinguished by the formula ἀπερίσπαστον παρέξεσθαι 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 ἂν λάβῃ, instead of which a participial phrase is used as if πρότερον were absent.

26. Φιλονίκου : cf. note on l. 1 and 957. στρα(τηγίσαντος) 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. ὀψώνιον : the allowance of Didymus was probably fixed by his father's will ; cf. e. g. 404. 16 ἡ δ' αὐτὴ γυνὴ μου χορηγήσει τῷ υἱῷ μου κ.τ.λ.

### 899. PETITION OF APOLLONARION.

35.3 × 25.3 cm.

A. D. 200.

The recto of this papyrus consists of a copy of a petition from a woman called Apollonarium, 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 ἣν (γεωργίαν) γυνὴ οὐσα οὐκ ὀφείλω

καθέλκεσθαι κατὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ ἐπιτρόπων περὶ τούτου διατεταγμένα (the correctness of Wilcken's interpretation of that passage in *Ost.* I. p. 702 is now confirmed against the view of Mitteis, *Aus d. Griech. Papyrusurk.* p. 48); cf. also P. Tebt. 327, a petition from a woman asking to be released from the liabilities of an ἐπιτήρησις γεννηματογραφομένων ὑπαρχόντων inherited from her father.

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 ἐπιστ[ράτηγος 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 ἕως τούτου τῆς ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τοῦ βιβλιδίου τὸ ἀντίγρα(φον), occurred immediately before ll. 2-32: ἐσημιω[σ]ά[μην] 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 πρότερον 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 Apollonariion's claims. The next step, as appears from ll. 37-8, was for Apollonariion 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 Apollonariion'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) Apollonariion 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 Apollonariion 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 Diophan[es]), 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 Apollonariion to the dioecetes is, we think, the *βιβλίδιον* which in l. 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 Apollonariion) in answer to the second petition: and with it we should connect [*ἐσ*]ημειωσάμην in l. 46, interpreting that on the analogy of *ἐσημιω*[σ]άμην in l. 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 l. 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 Apollonariion's holdings and the names of the previous cultivators. Probably it was sent to the dioecetes by Apollonariion 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 Apollonariion is clear from the context, especially the words *οἷς ἀκολ[ο]ύθω[ς 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 Apolloniarion 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 Apolloniarion to the strategus (beginning)	} lost
2	second letter of the dioecetes	
3	<i>ἀναγραφή</i>	
4	second petition of Apoll. to the dioecetes (beginning)	
5	first letter of the dioecetes	
6	first petition of Apoll. to the dioecetes	ll. 2-32
4	second petition of Apoll. to the dioecetes (continued)	ll. 33-5
7	letter of Ammonianus	ll. 36-9
4	second petition of Apoll. to the dioecetes (end)	ll. 40-5
1	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 ]*as ἀποφάσεως* [, 3 *παροικ( ) καὶ γεωργ( )*, 5 *Ἀντωνίνω*, 6 *ἐν* Ἀλεξ(ανδρεία) τῇ πρὸς Αἰγύ[πτ]ω, 7 *πρὸς 5' εἰδῶν* Ἀπριλλίων Φαρμουθι 13, 8 ]*ς εἰπ(εν) καταφυγῆν ἐπὶ σὲ τὸν κύρι-*, 9 *ον* ] *λέγων ἐδαν[ε]σάμην*, 10 *κε]φά-λαιον καὶ τοὺς τόκους*. So far as can be judged, this document, unlike the two following, has no bearing on Apolloniarion's case. The rest of Col. i is occupied by a copy of a petition similar to that of Apolloniarion, made apparently a year later by another woman called Heraclia. It begins *Διοφάν[ει (or -τω)*, 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 σοῦ ἐπιστάλμ(ατος?) οὗ ἐ[στιν] ἀντίγρα(φον)· Διοφ(άνης) στρα(τηγός) Ὁξ(υρυχίτου) | (5) κωμογραμματεῦσι τῶν ὑπογεγραμμ[ένων] κωμ(ῶν). βιβλ(ιδίων) δοθέντ(ων) μοι | (6) ὑπὸ Ἡρακλείας Θεώνος ᾧ ἀνείλημπα[ι] ἀντίγρα(φον) ἐπιστολ(ῆς) γραφέισ(ης) ὑπὸ | (7) Φλαυίου Στουδιώσου τοῦ κρα(τίστου)*

διοικ(ητοῦ) περι [γ]εωργ(ίας) δημοσίας γῆς ὡς οὐ | (8) προσηκούσης αὐτῇ ἀντίγρα(φον) ἐπιστέλλε(ται) ὑμῖν ὅπως ἐξετάσαντ(ες) | (9) κατὰ τὸ ἀκρειβέστερον τῶ . . . [ . . . . . ] ἀκ[όλο]υθόν ἐστιν τ . . . | (10) σεσημ(είωμαι), (ἔτους) ἡ Μεσο(ρῆ) ἐπα(γομένων) ε. With 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 γεωργία and beginning *Ἀυτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβ(ής)*: the words *γυναιξίν δικαίας παραιτήσεως* occur in l. 21, and a date, *ἡ (ἔτους) Φαρμοῦθ(ι) ιη*. 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 Apolloniarion'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(εν) ἀναγράφεσ(θαι)*, Apolloniarion is alluded to more than once, and there are numerous references to lands at various places, including the *νομαὶ Διονυσιάδος* mentioned in l. 6 of the recto, while lists of persons occur, in one case being followed by the words *πάντ(ες) ὄντ(ες) προγέωργοι(?)*.

[ 30 letters ] . . ( ) ἀλ( ) μ . ( ) ατ( ) δι[ .  
 2nd hand [Φλαουίω Στουδιώσῳ τῷ κρατίστῳ διοικητῇ παρὰ Ἄπ]ολλωναρίου τῆς  
 [καὶ Ἀριστάνδρας Ἀριστάνδρου μη-  
 [τρὸς Δι]δύμης τῆ[ς . . . . . ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀξύρυχειτῶν] πόλεως. τῆς  
 εὐμενε[στάτης] 19 letters  
 [ . . . . ] ρυνεν ἐπι[ 25 letters ] ἰ ἐχθέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ κατ' ἐμέ  
 σ[ 25 letters  
 5 [ . . . ] κλ[ . ]ειουσι . [ . . ] . . [ . ] ρ[ . . . . . ] σ[ . . . . ] τοῦ Ὀξύρυγ-  
 χείτου ὡς συνα . [ 25 letters  
 [ . . ] περι[ ] μὲν πόλιν (ἀρούρας) κ, περι[ ] δὲ Χύσιν ἐκ [τ]ῶν νομῶν  
 Διονυσιάδο[ς] (ἀρούρας) . καὶ περι[ . . . . . ] (ἀρούρας) . καὶ  
 περι[ τὸ Ἴσιον Παγγᾶ (ἀρούρας) ρι καὶ περι[ Σερ[ῶ]φιν (ἀρούρας) ληζ  
 καὶ περι[ Σενεκελεὺ καὶ Κε[ 25 letters  
 . . ] σος. ἐς ὅσον μὲν οὖν δύναμίς μοι ὑπῆρχεν ταύτας ἐγεώργουν  
 καὶ ἀν[ 25 letters

- [τὰ τ]ελούμενα, ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέβη μοι ἔκ τε ἐπικλ[α]σμῶν κελευσθέντων  
 [. . . . .] ὑπὸ τοῦ λαμπροτά-  
 10 [του] ἡγεμόνος Αἰμιλίου Σατουρνίνου καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων τινῶν ἀφορμῶν  
 καὶ σ[ ] 25 letters  
 [ἀνα]γκαίως σχεδόν τι διενιαυτίσαι με ἐν τούτοις οὐ μόνον συνεχο-  
 μένην 19 letters ἀλλὰ  
 [καὶ] διὰ τοῦτο τήν τε ἐνδομενεΐαν μου καὶ τὸν οἰκείον κόσμον καὶ  
 τήν ἀ . [ ] 25 letters  
 [καὶ ἄ]λλα τῶν ἐμῶν πλείστα ἔμφορα πολλοῦ ἄξια ὀλίγου παντελῶς  
 ἐν τῷ [ ] 25 letters  
 [εἰς ἐνδειά]ν με οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν περιστῆναι. οὐδὲ χάριν ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 μὴ μετα[νάστ]ην [με γενέσθαι . . . . .  
 15 [. . . .] ἐξ . . σ[ω]ν μόνων τραφεῖσα καὶ ἀνα . . εἰσα δέομαι ἐπιδιδούσ[α  
 τὸ ὑπόμνημα 21 letters  
 [. . . τὰ] συμβεβηκότα μοι καὶ ἀπαλλάξαι με τῆς γεωργίας τῶν προ-  
 κειμένων [ἀ]ρ[ουρῶν καὶ γράψαι τῷ τοῦ Ὀ-  
 [ξυρυγχ]εῖτου στρατηγῷ ὅπως ὁ ἐκάστης κόμης πραγματικὸς πρό-  
 νοϊαν ποιήσῃται 17 letters  
 [. . γεωρ]γίαν γενέσθαι· ἀνδράσι γὰρ ἔοικεν τὰ τῆς γεωργίας, ὡς καὶ  
 σὺ ὁ κύριος ἐπίστ[ασαι, 16 letters  
 [. . . .]ματων διὰ τὴν ἔμφυτόν σου εὐεργεσίαν ὑπέταξά σοι ὡς  
 ἕτεροι ἀφο [ . . ] . [ . . . . . ἵν' ὦ  
 20 [διὰ] σοῦ κατὰ πάντα εὐεργετημένη. διευτύχει. (ἔτους) ιη θεοῦ  
 Αἰλίου Ἀντωνίνου Θ[ῶθ 14 letters  
 . . . .] . εἰτιδος Πτολλίωνος, Σατουρνίνος ῥήτωρ εἶπ(ε) Πτολλίων ὁ  
 πατὴρ τῆς [σ]υνηγορ[ουμένης] ἐτ . [ . . . . .  
 [. . . .] . διετάσσετο γῆν βασιλικήν τε καὶ δη[μοσ]ίαν περὶ τε κόμην  
 Βουσεῖρ[ι]ν καὶ Θιντῆριν καὶ Τᾶ . . [ . . . . .  
 [. . . .] . χῶς κόμας τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολείτου. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐκείνου μεταλ-  
 λάξαντος ἐπὶ κληρονόμῳ ταύτῃ οἱ [τῶν κω-  
 [μῶν] τούτων κωμογραμματεῖς παρὰ τὰ ἀπηγορευμένα ἐπιβάλλουσι  
 αὐτῇ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς γεωργί[αν] . .  
 25 [. . .] κέκριται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ καιρὸν ἡγεμόνων καὶ ἐπιστρατήγων  
 γυνα[ίκα]ς ταύτῃ τῇ χρεῖα μὴ καθέλ[κεσ-

- [θ]α[ι,] καὶ αὐτὴ ἀξιῶσι ἀναγεινώσκουσα τὰ κεκριμένα ἀπηλλάχθαι  
 τῆς γεωργίας ἀνδράσι μόνοις προ[σηκ]ού-  
 [ση]ς. [Πα]ρ[μ]ενίων εἶπ(εν)· ἀναγνωσθήτω τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων  
 κ[ε]κριμένα. ἀναγνωσθέντος . . . [ . . .  
 δ[ι]ατ[άγ]ματος Τιβερίου Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπαγορ[ε]ύοντος γυναιῶνα γεωργία .  
 . . ι καὶ Οὐαλερίου Εὐδαίμονος τοῦ ἡγεμονεύσαντος τὸ αὐτὸ κεκριτό[ς]  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ ε (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίου [ . . .  
 30 καὶ Μινικίου Κορελιανοῦ ἐπιστρατήγου ἐπὶ τοῦ ι (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίου  
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κ[υ]ρίου, Παρμενίων εἶπ(εν)· ἀπολλ[ο]ύ-  
 [θω]ς τ[οῖς] ἀναγνωσθεῖσι δύναται ἢ Ταθυνν . . . τῆς γεω[ρ]γίας  
 ἀπηλλάχθαι τ[ . . . . . ] [ . . . . . ] [ . . . . . ] [ . . . . . ] [ . . . . . ] [ . . . . . ] [ . . . . . ] [ . . . . . ] [ . . . . . ] [ . . . . . ]  
 ἐ[τ]έρ[ο]υ[ς] [γ]εωργοὺς εἰς τὴν γεωργίαν μεταδιατάξει. Ἀπολλ[ων]άριον  
 ἢ καὶ Ἀριστάνδρα ἐπιδέδωκα. ἐσημιω[σ]άμην.  
 [ . . ] (ἔτους) ζ Φαμενῶθ ς. ἕως τούτου τῆς ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τοῦ βιβλ[ε]ιδίου  
 τὸ ἀντίγρα(φον). πρὸς ἣν ἀκολουθ[ῶ]ς  
 [π]οι[ῶ]ν ὁ τοῦ νομοῦ βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς Ἀμμωνιανὸς διαδεχόμενος  
 τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐπέστειλεν τοῖς  
 35 πραγματικοῖς τῶν κωμῶν περὶ ἄ(ς) ἐστὶν τὰ ἐδάφη ὡς ὑποτέτακται  
 Ἀμ[μ]ωνιανὸς βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς διαδεχόμενος τῆ[ν] στρατηγίαν  
 κωμογραμματεῖ Χύσεως καὶ ἄλλων κω-  
 μῶν. βιβλειδίων δοθέντων μοι ὑπὸ Ἀπολλωναρίου τῆ[ς] καὶ Ἀρισ-  
 τάνδρας ᾧ ἀνείλημπται ἐπιστολῇ τοῦ κρατίστου  
 δι[ο]ικητοῦ ἔτι δὲ καὶ βιβλειδίων περὶ γεωργίας ἣν ἐδήλω[σεν] μὴ  
 προσήκειν αὐτῇ, τὸ ἕτερον ἐπιστέλλεται ὑμῖν  
 ὅπως κατὰ τὰ κεκριμένα τὴν ἐξέτασιν ποιησάμενοι δηλώσητέ μοι.  
 ἐσημιωσάμην). (ἔτους) ζ Παχῶν κζ.  
 40 δέον οὖν τὴν μεταδιαταγὴν ἐτέροις γενέσθαι κατὰ τὰ γραφέντα ὑπὸ  
 σοῦ καὶ τῆν ἀπαίτησιν τῶν φόρων πα[ρ]-  
 [ρ]ᾶ τῶν γεγεωργηκότων, ὅθεν δέομαι ἔαν σοῦ τῆ τύχ[ῃ] δόξη [κ]ελεῦσαι  
 ἐπιστρεφέστερον γραφῆναι τῷ νῦν  
 στ[ρ]ατηγῷ τοῦ νομοῦ ὅπως ἐπαναγκάσῃ τοὺς μὲν προ[α]γματικούς κατὰ  
 τὰ ἐπ[ὶ] . . . . . ἐπιστ(α)λ[ε]γ[ῶ]ντα αὐτ[οῖς]  
 τ[ῆ]ν μεταδιαταγὴν ποιήσασθαι, τοὺς δὲ πράκτορας τὴν ἀπαίτη[σιν]  
 ποιήσασθαι παρ[ὰ] τῶν ἀντιποιουμένων

τ[ῆ]ς γῆς γεωργῶν, καὶ μὴ ἐνοχλεῖσθαί με γυναικα οὐσ[α]ν ἀνανδρον  
 καὶ ἀβοήθητον, καθὼς [π]ρότερον ἐπ[έ]-  
 45 σ[τ]ειλας περὶ τούτου, ἔν' ᾧ εὐεργετημένη. διευτύχει. Ἀ[π]ολλω  
 νά[ρ]ιον ἢ καὶ Ἀριστάνδρα ἐπιδέδωκα. (ἔτους) η Τῦβι ε[ι].  
 [έ]σημιωσάμην). Αὐφίδιος Ἀμμώνιος ἐσημ(ειωσάμην). ἕως τούτου τ[ὸ]  
 βιβλίδ[ι]ον καὶ ἡ ἀναγρ[α]φή καὶ ἡ ἐπιστολή οἷς ἀκολ[ο]ύθω[ς]  
 [ἀ]ξιώ ἐπιστεῖλαι σε τοῖς τῶν τόπων πραγματικοῖς ὅπω[ς] καθ' (ἀ) ἡξίωσα  
 τὴν μ[ετα]διαταγὴν ποιήσονται πρὸς  
 τὸ καὶ τοὺς πράκτορας τὴν ἀπαίτησιν τῶν ὀφειλομένων ποιήσασθαι  
 παρ' ᾧν προσήκει. (ἔτους) θ Θῶθ α.  
 [Ἀπολλ]ωνάριον ἢ καὶ Ἀριστάνδρα Ἀριστάνδρου ἐπιδέδωκα. Κορνήλιος  
 Πεκύσιος ἐπιγέγραμμαι ἀ[ὐ]τῆς κύριος.  
 50 [. . . .]ς ὑπρέτης ἐπ[ή]νευγα. (ἔτους) θ Θῶθ α.

4. 1. ἐκθέσθαι. *πι* of *επι* above the line. 7. ἴσιον Pap. 8. ὑπηρεν Pap. 14. ὑπερ  
 Pap. 19. ὑπεταξα Pap. 25. ὑπο Pap.; so in l. 37. 35. ὑποτετακται Pap. 38. ἕμιν  
 Pap. 47. *σε* added above the line.

'To his highness the dioecetes Flavius Studiosus from Apollonarium 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, 38½ 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 Ptolion: Saturninus, advocate, said, "Ptolion 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 to the same effect 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, . . . s, 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 Φλαοίφ Στουδιώσφ κ.τ.λ. cf. introd. p. 225.

9. For *ἐπικλασμοί*, which were special levies at intervals, see P. Tebt. 373. 12; note. After *κελευσθέντων* a date probably followed.

10. 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 in 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.

17. *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(μματέων) καὶ πραγματικῶν*, P. Flor. 57. 54, &c. After *ποιήσῃται* something like *ὥστε ὑφ' ἐτέρων τὴν γεωργίαν γενέσθαι* is required by the sense. Possibly the previous cultivators (*οἱ γεγεωργηκότες*) were to be reinstated; cf. ll. 40-4 and the *ἀναγραφὴ* on the verso (p. 226) which contains a list of these persons.

18. *ἐπιστ[* may be *ἐπιστ[ασαι* or some part of *ἐπιστολή* or *ἐπιστέλλειν*, but hardly *ἐπιστ[ρά- τηγος*; cf. introd. The construction of ll. 18-19 is not clear. *ὑπέταξα*, if right, refers to the *ὑπομηματισμός* appended by Apollonarion in ll. 20-32, and *δέ* has perhaps dropped out. *ὑπέταξας ὅπως* cannot be read, and the word following *ἕτεροι* does not seem to be any part of *ἀφίημι*.

21. ] . *ετιδος Προλλίωνος*: the name of the applicant is given in l. 31 as *ἡ Ταθων . . . .*; where the termination is not *-ετις*. Probably she had two names.

ἐτ . [ : perhaps *ἔτι*, *γῆν* being an accusative of the same kind as e.g. Aeschin. 3. 24 *ἐχειροτονήθη Δημοσθένους τὴν ἀρχήν*; or an infinitive such as *γεωργεῖν* 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. Wilcken, *Osl.* 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 Statilius Maximus, as is shown by 487. 1, while B. G. U. 340, an undated petition to him, refers to events in the 12th year, so that Statilius 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. Minicius Corellianus, epistrategus of the Heptanomis, occurs also in P. Gen. 31 which refers to the 9th year of Antoninus. Before *Ὁυαλερίου Εὐδαίμονος, ὑπομηματισμοῦ*, not *διατάγματος*, is to be understood, as is shown by the word *κεκριμότης*. In l. 28 after *γεωργια* no compound of *ἄγεσθαι* seems satisfactory.

32. *ἐσημω[σ]ά[μην]* is the signature of some official and the following date refers to it, not to *ἐπιδέδωκα* 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 *ἐσημω[σ]ά[μην]* 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. *ἕως τούτου*: cf. l. 46, B. G. U. 613. 25 and 36, and introd.

37. *ᾗ ἀνέλιημται*: a singular antecedent for *ᾗ* can be found in *τὸ ἕτερον* on which *βιβλιδίων* depends, but the plural *βιβλιδίων* being probably used, as often, for the singular, the writer may well have meant it to be the antecedent of *ᾗ*. Cf. the letter of Diophanes quoted on p. 225, where the phrase recurs, but with the abbreviation of *βιβλ(ιδ)* *δοθεντ( )*. For *ἀναλαμβάνειν* in the sense of 'including in' cf. e.g. 985 *ὄν ἐπάνω ἀνελ(ημμένοι) ἐν τῷ τοῦ η (ἔτους) λόγ(ῳ) (δραχμαὶ) 'β*, and B. G. U. 168. 24 *τὰ ὑφ' ἑκατέρου μέρους [λεχθέν]τα τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι ἀνελήμφθη*.

38. *τὸ ἕτερον*: *τὸ ἴσον* or *τὸ ἀντίγραφον* would be expected at this point (cf. the letter of Diophanes quoted on pp. 225-6), and perhaps *τὸ ἕτερον* means no more than the 'duplicate', i. e. 'copy'. If it means the second of two *βιβλίδια*, and the plural *βιβλιδίων* 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 *βιβλιδιον 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. (*ἔτους*) *ζ Παχὼν κζ*: the traces of the figure of the year are very slight, and would suit e.g. *η* 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 Apollonarian; cf. προγεωργο(ι?) in the ἀναγραφὴ cited on p. 226. In ll. 43-4 a different phrase is used τῶν ἀντιποιοιμ[ένων] τ[ῆ]ς γῆς γεωργῶν, and in l. 48 they are vaguely called ὧν προσήκει. ἐπιστρεφέστερον was suggested by Wilcken.

### 900. PETITION TO A LOGISTES.

24.3 x 16 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 Inscr. 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.

Ἐπατεῖ[α]ς τῶν δεσπ[ο]τῶν ἡμῶν Λικινίου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ 5' καὶ  
Λικινίου

τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ β' [

Οὐαλερίῳ Διοσκουρίδῃ τῷ καὶ Ἰουλιανῷ λο[γιστῆ] Ὁξυρυχ(ίτου)  
παρ[ὰ] Αὐρηλίου Διοσκόρου Σιλβανοῦ ἄρξαντος βου[λ(ευτοῦ)] τῆς  
λαμπ(ρᾶς) καὶ λαμπ(ροτάτης)

5 Ὁξυρυχειτῶν πόλεως. πραιποσίτου μου ὄντος πατριμωναλίων  
δεκάτου πάγου τοῦδε τοῦ νομοῦ ὑποβληθέντος ἔτι εἰς κονδουκτορίαν  
τοῦ ὀξέος δρόμου τοῦ εὐτυχῶς εἰσιόντος ἔτους, καὶ ἐχρῆν τοῖνυν τοὺς  
ἐξ ἔθους  
ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἀποπληροῦντας ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνιαυσίως εἰς τοῦτο  
ὑπ[ο]βαλ-  
λομένων ὑπακούειν καὶ ἡμεῖν τοῖς ἐνχιρισθεῖσι πλῖστα δημόσια ἐπιτά-  
10 γματα καὶ τὴν χώραν ἣν ἐξ ἔθους ἀποπληροῦσι ἀποπληροῖν, παρεχομέ-  
νων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀναλωμάτων. ἀλλ' ἐπιδὴ μαθάνω τούτους

βουλομένους ἐνεδρεύειν τὴν τηλικαύτην ἀπαρέτητον χρείαν τισὶ μὲν  
ἀπι[ο]ῦσι, ἐνίους δὲ διαβάλλοντας, τῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς ἀντιλήψεως σ[υ]γα-  
χθέντων τοῦ λειτουργήματος, ἐκ τούτου ἠπίχθην τὰ βιβλία ἐπιδοῦναι  
ἀξι-

15 ὦν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὀνηλάτας ἐπαναγκασθῆναι Φαῦστον καὶ Ὡρον καὶ  
Χαιρέαν

πάντ' ἔχειν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐξετέλουν κατ' ἔτος τῆς κονδουκτορίας χρεῖων πάν-  
[τα τε παρα]σχέσθαι αὐτοῦς{ς} τοῖς ἐν(αυσι)οῖς ὑπακούοντες, καὶ

ἡ[μ]ᾶς διὰ τῶν  
[αὐτῶν τ]ὴν ἐνχειρισθεῖσαν χρείαν ἀποπληροῦν καὶ μὴ εἰς ἀνάγκην με  
γενέ-

[σθαι ἐντυ]χεῖν τοῖς μείζουσιν περὶ τούτου. (2nd hand) ἐνεδρείας γεγενη-  
μένης.

20 [ὑπατεία]ς τῆς προκιμένης Μεσορῆ 5.

3rd hand [Ἀὐρ(ήλιος)] Διόσκορος ἐπιδέδωκα.

3. Ἰουλιανῶ Pap. 12. l. ἀπαραίτητον . . . τοὺς μὲν ἀπι[ο]ύστας. 13. υ of ἐνίους CORR.  
from 1. l. σ[υ]γαχθεισῶν. 14. λι of λειτουργήματος CORR. 16. το of κονδουκτορίας CORR.  
17. l. ὑπακούοντας. 18. αν of ἐνχειρισθεισαν CORR.

'In the consulship of our masters Licinius Augustus for the sixth time and Licinius the most renowned Caesar for the second time, . . . To Valerius Dioscurides 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 *πατριμωνάλια* are the properties belonging to the imperial *patrimonium*, which in Egypt in the Roman period were usually called *οὐσιακά*. The occurrence of the term *patrimonialia* in the fourth century is noticeable.

6. ὑποβληθέντος : cf. B. G. U. 906. 10 ὑποβληθέντα βουλευτήν, P. Leipzig 40. iii. 17 τῶν ὑποβληθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν β[ο]ουλευτῶν εἰς τὸν κεφαλαιωτήν.

κονδουκτορίαν τοῦ ὀξέως δρόμου : cf. 138. 9 πακτάριος τοῦ ὀξέως δρόμου, 140. 7 σταθλίτης τοῦ ὀξ. δρ., P. Flor. 39. 6 γραμματεφφόρου τοῦ ὀξ. δρ. In P. Oxy. I. p. 219, &c., we took ὀξ. δρ. to refer to the race-course, but, as Wilcken has remarked to us, the *cursus velox* or express postal service is doubtless meant ; cf. Cod. Theod. 8. 5. 62 and Preisigke, *Klio*, VII. p. 269. κονδουκτορία = *conductoría* is novel, and *conductoría* is apparently not found in the sense implied here.

12-3. For ἀπαραίτητον χρεῖαν cf. 904. 9. τισὶ μὲν ἀπ[ο]ύσι 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 ἀπ[ο]ύσι, but for the case, gives a good sense. It is noticeable that ἐνίοις was originally written for ἐνίους.

τῶν ἡμερῶν . . . σ[υ]ναχθέντων : we suppose σ[υ]ναχθέντων to be an error for σ[υ]ναχθεισῶν, 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 οἱ οἱ κεκληρωμένοι . . . ἀντιλήμψ[ο]νται τῆς ἀρχῆς . . . ὀλίγαι(?) 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 ἀ[ν]τιτοῖς χρεῖαις.

15. On the duties of ὀνηλάται see Rostowzew, *Klio*, vi. p. 253.

16-17. πάντ' ἔχειν is strange, but we can find no other suitable reading, and πάντ' is supported by the following πάν[τα]. πᾶν τ' ἔχειν . . . πᾶν [τε παρα]σχέσθαι would hardly fill the space at the beginning of l. 17. αὐτοῦς is practically certain in spite of the letters marked doubtful, for though the υτ could equally well be read as π, and υς might possibly be κ, these alternatives give no word. The final s has been written twice over, once as a flourish below the line, and again in the ordinary position. ἐνίοις seems to be a slip for ἐνιαυσίοις, 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 ἐνίοις is hardly a possible expression.

19. τοῖς μείζουσιν : μείζων and μειζότερος are apparently general terms for a person in authority, used in much the same way as ὀφφικιάλιος. 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 μείζονι τῆς αὐτῆ[ς] Ταμπέτι, or with the name of the person to whom the μείζων was subordinate, e. g. 131. 14 μείζονα Κλαυδιανοῦ, B. G. U. 367. 5 and 368. 10 κόμητι καὶ μειζοτέρῳ Στρατηγίου τοῦ πανευφύημου πατρικίου ; cf. the similar use of ὀφφικιάλιος in 896. 28. The earliest instance of a μείζων that we have noticed is P. Brit. Mus. II. 214. 22, of the reign of Aurelian.

## 901. PETITION TO A PUBLIC ADVOCATE.

15 × 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.

Ἵπατείας Οὐιβίου] Νεπωτιανοῦ καὶ Τεττίου Φακούνδου  
 τῶν λαμπροτάτων Π[α]χῶν 5.  
 Φλαουί[ω] Ἰουλιανῶ διοικοῦντι ἐκδικίαν Ὁξυρυγχίτου  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Ἀλλοῦτος Θωνίου ἀπὸ κώμης Τααμπέμο[υ]  
 5 ε πάγου. ἐσπερινες ὥρες τῆ χθὲς ἡμέρα ἡμέτεροι χῦροι  
 δύο τὴν ὄρμην ποιούμενοι ἐπὶ ἡμέτερον ἔδαφος  
 γενώμενοι ἐν ὑδραγωγίῳ μηχανῆς τῶν ἡμετέρων  
 πέδων καὶ Παβάνου τινὸς ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης, [καὶ]  
 ὁ προιρημ[ένος Π]αβᾶνος παρατυχῶν ἔχων μετὰ  
 10 χίρας ξοίλιον . . . . ιν τοὺς χύρους βουλόμεν[ο]ς  
 καὶ τοῦτο μ . . . [. . . .]ως μηδαμῶς ἀδικηθεῖ[ς]  
 ὑπὸ τῶν χύρ[ων ἀλλ]ὰ ἐχόμενος τῆς πρὸς τοὺς  
 χύρους ε . . . [. . ὅτι] ἐμοὶ ἐπελήλυθαν βουλόμενος  
 οἰκατα . [ 15 letters ] . ως ἰ μὴ ἔκ τινος  
 15 [ἀπο]νύας τῆν [. . . . .]π . [ἀ]λλ' οὖν τῶν βωῶν  
 [. . . .] . οἴν ἀνκα . [. . .] . . [. .]ημην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
 [ 23 letters ] κόψας ὡς ἐκ τῶν  
 18 ,, ] . . . . οἷς τινὰς παράγετε  
 [ 26 letters ] θρασύτητι [. . .  
 20 [ ,, ,, ] οῦσα . [. . . . .

1. Ἵπατείας . . . τεττίου Pap.  
 χοῖροι : 1. χοῖρ. also in 10, 12, 13.  
 προῖρημ[ένος] Pap. 10. 1. ξύλιον,  
 16. ὑπ Pap. 18. 1. παράγεται,

3. φλαουί[ω] Ἰουλιανῶ Pap.  
 7. 1. γενόμενοι. ημετερω Pap.  
 14. ἰ μη ἐκ' τινος Pap.

5. 1. ἐσπεριναῖς ὥραις . . .  
 8. 1. παίδων. 9.  
 15. 1. [ἀπο]νοίας . . . βωῶν.

'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 οὐί . [. .]ον and Τεττίου. With regard to the latter, though the traces of the second τ in our papyrus are excessively slight, the letter is guaranteed by the comma after the first τ (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 *ι* 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. *Οὐι* . [.]ου may represent either Virius, as Vitelli suggests, or Vibius.

3. *διοικοῦντι ἐκδικίαν*: 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. Amh. 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 *διέπων* in e. g. 727. 5, P. Brit. Mus. 908. 13 and 19.

4. The village of *Τααμπέμου* is mentioned in 501. 10, &c.

8. *πεδων*, if not equivalent to *παίδων* as suggested above, might be for *πεδίων*; but *πεδία* in papyri commonly mean the lands of a village, not of a private owner.

10. . . . *ω* is no doubt an infinitive depending on *βουλόμεν[ο]*, but not *λαβεῖν* or *λαβῖν*.

14. Perhaps *οὐκ οἶδα εἰπως*. At the beginning of the line there is a vestige of ink in front of *οι*, 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 × 39 cm.

About A. D. 465.

A petition to a *defensor* (*ἐκδικος*: 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 (ll. 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]ουίφ' Ἰσᾶκ τῷ λογιωτάτῳ σχολαστικῷ ἐκδικῷ τῆς ἄνω Κυνοπολιτῶν  
 [παρὰ] Αὐρηλίου Μακαρίου υἱοῦ Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.  
 πρ[ὸ τ]οῦτου ὑδροπάροχος καθέστηκα καὶ γεωργὸς φανερῶν πραγμάτων  
 οὐσίας  
 τοῦ [τῆ]ς μακαρίας μνήμης Φοιβ[ά]μμωνος τοῦ πολιτευσαμένου, μετὰ  
 δὲ τὴν τούτου τελευτήν  
 5 ὁ [τούτ]ου ἀδελφὸς Θεόδωρος ἐπισήλθεν εἰς τὴν φροντίδα τῶν τούτου  
 πραγμάτων  
 κ[αὶ τυρ]αννικῷ τρόπῳ ἀπέσπασεν ὀκτὼ καλὰ ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν βοικῶν  
 ζῴων,  
 καὶ [ἐστί]λατο καὶ παρεσκεύασέν με ἀδίκως ἀναλημφθῆναι τῷ δεσμω-  
 τηρίῳ πρὸ  
 τριῶν τούτων μηνῶν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου συνέβη τὸ ὑπόλοιπον τῶν ἐμῶν ζῴων

τῆ λιμῶ τεθνάναι, ταῦτα ἐμοῦ ἐτοίμως ἔχοντας εἰ καὶ φανείην χρεωσ-  
 τούντα  
 10 αὐτῶ ἐγγράφως πληρῶσαι. ἐπὶ τοίνυν οἱ ἔκδικοι ἐπενοήθησαν ἐν ταῖς  
 πόλεσιν  
 πρὸ[s] τῶ βοήθειαν ὀρέξαι τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις, εἰς τελείαν γὰρ ἀνατροπὴν  
 καὶ εἰς αἰχάτην  
 πεινῶν περιέστην ἔνεκεν τοῦ προειρημένου πολιτευομένου, τούσδε τοὺς  
 λιβέλλους  
 ἐπιδίδωμι τῆ σῆ λογίωτι ἀξιῶν κελεύσαι τοῦτον μετασταλήναι,  
 πρῶτο(ν) δὴ πως μὲν  
 παρασκε[υάσαι] τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀρετὴν ἀποδοῦναί μοι ἅπερ ἀπέσπασεν  
 τυραννικῶ τρόπῳ βοικὰ μου  
 15 ζῶα εὐθαλῆ καθὼς καὶ ἀπέσπασεν, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τὰ δοκοῦντα τῆ  
 σῆ λογίωτι πρα-  
 χθῆναι ἀνεθ(ῆ)ναί τέ με τῶν δεσμῶν, ἐμοῦ ὡς προεῖπον ἐτοίμως ἔχοντας  
 πληρῶσαι  
 ὅσα ἐποφίλω αὐτῶ ἐγγράφως· μισοῦσιν γὰρ οἱ νόμοι τοὺς τὰ ἄδικα  
 διαπραττο-  
 μέν[ο]υς, λογιώτατε ἔκδικε κύριε. (2nd hand) Αὐρήλιος Μακάριος  
 Ἰωσήφ ἐπιδέδωκα.  
 3rd hand μετὰ [τ]ὴν ὑπατείαν Φλα[ουί]ου Βιβιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου τὸ β καὶ τοῦ  
 δηλωθησομένου Ἀθὺρ κδ.

1. *ισακ*, Pap. 2. *ἰωσηφ* Pap. 3. *ὑδροπαροχος* Pap. 6. *ε* of *εκ* corr. *βοϊκων*  
 Pap. 9. 1. *χρεωστῶν*. 11. *οι* in *τοις* and *αδικουμένοις* written above *η*, which is crossed  
 through. 11-2. 1. *ἐσχάτην πείναν*. 13. 1. *λογιώτητι*. 15. Second *π* of *ἀπέσπασεν* corr.  
 16. Some letters inserted above *δεσμῶν* have been erased. 17. First *σ* of *μισοῦσιν* corr.  
 from ζ. *διαπραγτο* Pap. 19. *ομενον αθ* blotted.

‘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

be summoned, first of all bringing about the restoration to me by his excellency of my kine which he tyrannously 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. σχολαστικῶ ἐκδίκῳ : cf. 901. 3, 129. 3 τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου) ἐκδίκου ταύτης τῆς Ὁξυρυγχιῶν πόλε(ως), P. Brit. Mus. I. 87. 85 ἐκδικος Ἐρμώνθ(εως), B. G. U. 1094. 1 σχολαστικός καὶ ἐκδικος τῆς Ἐρμουῦ πόλ(εως) (l. πόλε(ως)?) , P. Strassb. 40. 6 σχολαστικῶ καὶ συνηγῶ[ρῳ] (?) τῆς] Θηβαίδος. These ἐκδικοί are the *defensores civitatis* 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—*plebem 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 rusticos urbanosque non patiaris adstigi, officialium insolentiae, iudicum procacitati . . . occurras*, &c. In P. Leipzig 34. 10 of c. A. D. 375 the form δηφήσωρ 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 annonas et sumptus accipere consuesse*.

3. ὑδροπάροχος : cf. 137. 22 ὑδροπαροχ(ίας) and P. Brit. Mus. III. 1044. 25. φανερώων πραγμάτων is similar to ἀκινήτων πραγμάτων in 126. 17, &c.

7. [ἐστί]λατο is not quite satisfactory, the λ being doubtful, and the middle voice unusual.

13. πρῶτο(ν) δὴ πως : or πρωτο(τύ)πως, 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 consulship 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 δηλωθησομένου cf. C. I. G. 3467. 3, 42. 9, and 60. 12 τοῖς ἀποδειχθησομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ γ, P. Brit. Mus. III. 991. 1 ὑπατείας . . . λείου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου καὶ τοῦ ἀποδειχθησομένου : numerous other examples are given in Du Cange, s. v. ὑπατοι δηλωθησόμενοι. Its occurrence in a date μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν is unusual.

### 903. 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 ἀγραφος

γάμος, 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 ὧν εἶπεν κατ' ἐμοῦ ὕβρεων.

ἐνέκλεισεν τοὺς ἐ[α]υτοῦ δούλους καὶ τοὺς

ἐμοῦ ἅμα τῶν τροφίμ[ω]ν μου καὶ τὸν προνοητὴν καὶ τὸν

υἶὸν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ ὅλας ἐ[π]τ[ὰ] ἡμέρας εἰς τὰ κατάγια αὐτοῦ,

5 τοὺς μὲν δούλους αὐτ[οῦ] καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν δούλην Ζωὴν ὕβρισας

ἀποκτίνας αὐτοὺς τῶν π[λ]ηγῶν, καὶ πῦρ προσήνεγκεν ταῖς τρο-

φίμαις μου γυμνώσας αὐτ[ὰ]ς παντελῶς ἃ οὐ ποιοῦσι οἱ νόμοι, καὶ

λέγων τοῖς αὐτοῖς τροφίμοις ὅτι δότε πάντα τὰ αὐτῆς, καὶ εἶπαν

ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔχει παρ' ἡμῶν, τοῖς δὲ δούλοις λέγων μαστιγ[γ]ο(υ)μένοι(ς) ὅτι

10 τί ἦρκεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας μου; βασανιζόμενοι οὖν εἶπαν ὅτι οὐδὲν

τῶν σῶν ἦρκεν ἀλλὰ σῶά ἐστιν πάντα τὰ σά.

ἀπήντησεν δὲ αὐτῷ Ζω[ί]λος ὅτι καὶ τὸν τρόφιμον αὐτοῦ ἐνέ-

κλισεν, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι[ι] διὰ τὸν τρόφιμόν σου ἦλθας ἢ διὰ τὴν

τοίαν ἦλθας λαλῆσαι ἐπάνω αὐτῆς;

15 καὶ ὤμοσεν ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ τῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ

ὅτι ἀπεντεύθεν οὐ μὴ κρύψω αὐτῆ(ν) πάσας μου τὰς κλεῖς καὶ ἐπέχω  
αὐτοῦ ἐπίστευεν καὶ μοι οὐκ ἐπίστευεν. καὶ τοῖς δούλοις

οὔτε ὕβρίζω αὐτὴν ἀπεντεύθεν. καὶ γαμικὸν γέγονεν, καὶ μετὰ

τὰς συνθήκας ταύτας καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ἔκρυψεν πάλιν ἐμὲ τὰς κλεῖς

εἰς ἐμέ. καὶ ἀπελθοῦσα [εἰ]ς τὸ κυριακὸν ἐν Σαμβαθῶ, καὶ ἐποίησεν

20 τὰς ἔξω θύρας αὐτοῦ ἐνκλισθῆναι ἐπάνω μου λέγων ὅτι διὰ τί ἀπήλ-

θας εἰς τὸ κυριακόν; καὶ πολλὰ ἀσελήματα λέγων εἰς πρόσωπόν

μου καὶ διὰ τῆς ρίνδος αὐτοῦ[υ], καὶ περὶ σίτου (ἀρτάβας) ρ τοῦ δημοσίου τοῦ

ὀνόματός μου μηδὲν δεδωκὼς μηδὲ ἀρτάβ(ην) μίαν. ἐνέκλεισεν δὲ

τοὺς τόμους κρατήσας αὐτ[ο]ῦς ὅτι δότε τὴν τιμὴν τῶν (ἀρταβῶν) ρ, μηδὲν

25 δεδω[κ]ῶς ὡς προεῖπον. καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ ὅτι δότε συμμα-

χους ἵνα καὶ αὐτὴν ἐνκλείσωσι. καὶ ἐκρατήθη Χωοῦς ὁ βοηθὸς αὐτοῦ

εἰς τὸ δημόσιον καὶ παρέσχεν αὐτῷ Εὐθάλαμος ἐνέχυρον καὶ οὐκ ἠρκέσθη.  
 ἦρκα κἀγὼ ἄλλο μικρὸν καὶ παρέσχον τῷ αὐτῷ Χωούτι. ἀπαντήσας δὲ  
 αὐτῷ εἰς Ἀντινόου ἔχουσα τὸ πρὸς βαλανῖόν μου μεθ' ὧν ἔχω κοσμηρι-  
 30 δίων, καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὅτι εἴ τι ἔχεις μετ' ἐσοῦ αἶρω αὐτὰ δι' ἃ δέδωκες τῷ  
 βοηθῷ μου Χωούτι ἐνέχυρον διὰ τὰ δημόσια αὐτοῦ. μαρτυρήσαι δὲ  
 περὶ τούτων πάντων ἢ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ. καὶ περὶ Ἀνίλλας τῆς δούλης  
 αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν θλίβων τὴν ψυχὴν μου καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀντινόου καὶ ἐνταῦθα  
 ὅτι ἔκβαλε τὴν δούλην ταύτην ἐπειδὴ αὐτὴ οἶδεν ὅσα κέκτῃται, ἴσως  
 35 θέλων μοι καταπλέξαι καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ προφάσει ἄραι εἴ τι ἔχω· κἀγὼ οὐκ  
 ἠνεσχόμην ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτήν. καὶ ἔμεινεν λέγων ὅτι μετὰ μῆναν  
 λαμβάνω πολιτικὴν ἐμαυτῷ. ταῦτα δὲ οἶδεν ὁ θεός.

1. ὕβρεων Pap. 3. 1. ταῖς τροφίμαις. 4. ὕιον Pap. 6. προσηνεῖ' κεν Pap. 7. 10 of  
 ποιουσι added above the line. 8. 1. ταῖς αὐταῖς τροφίμαις. 9. μαστιγῳγενοιοι Pap. 17.  
 ὕβριζω Pap. 22. σ of σιτου corr. from τ. 26. ἴνα Pap. 28. 1. ἀπήνησα. 31. 1.  
 μαρτυρήσει. 33. Second ο of αντινοου corr. 34. ἴσως Pap. 35. 1. με for μοι. και  
 added above the line. αι of αραι corr. (?) 37. ικ of πολιτικην added above the line.

'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 Zoë 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.'

3. τροφίμ[ω]ν: cf. P. Leipzig 47. 10. The τροφίμαι here were apparently some girls who were being brought up by the complainant, the masculine in l. 8 being an error. A different male τροφίμος is mentioned in l. 12.

6. For the hyperbole in ἀποκτίνας cf. e. g. P. Brit. Mus. I. 113. 12 (d). 11 ὁ χρεώστης ἐφόνευσέν με. The instrumental use of the genitive τῶν π[λ]ηγῶν is noticeable.

9. παρ' ἡμῶν (literally 'on our side') is practically equivalent to παρ' ἡμῖν.

14. τοίαν is a slighting reference to the writer of this indictment. For ἐπάνω cf. 131. 14-5 μάρτυρας το[ύ]ς εὐρεθέντας ἐπάνω τοῦ πατρός μου, B. G. U. 29. 1-2 ἔσχον . . . ἐπάνω τῶν ἐμῶν κληρῶν (both of Byzantine period); the word is used in another uncommon sense in l. 20.

15. With this oath made in the presence of the bishops cf. P. Leipzig 43, where a bishop acts as a judge.

16-7. The insertion above the line is a parenthetical explanation of οὐ μὴ κρύψω . . . κλείς.

22. Speaking through the nose aggravated the insult; cf. μυκτηρίζειν, *naso suspendere*, &c. In Persius 1. 33 *balba de nare locutus* has a different meaning.

29. πρὸς βαλανίον is perhaps better written as two words than one. In either case the article meant seems to be some kind of handbag which was carried by a lady in going to the bath, and would hold trinkets and similar objects. A connexion with βαλανίη, sc. στολί (cf. 265. 3), is less likely.

34. αὐτὴ οἶδεν: cf. P. Tebt. 424. 5 εἰ δὲ μετανοεῖς, σὺ οἶδας.

35. καταπλέξαι is the opposite of ἐκπλέκειν as used in P. Tebt. 315. 21 κἀγὼ σε ἐκπλέξω.

37. For πολιτική in the sense of πόρνη cf. P. Grenf. II. 73. 9. The present passage, which supplies a contemporary parallel, supports our view of that papyrus as against the interpretation of Deissmann (*The Epistle of Psenosiris*) who wished to make τὴν πολιτικὴν there a proper name.

## 904. PETITION TO A PRAESES.

31.3 × 88.5 cm.

Fifth century.

A petition addressed to an unnamed praeses (of the Thebaid) by a certain Flavius, who had consented to act as substitute for Philoxenus in the post of *riparius*, a police official (cf. l. 3, note). Philoxenus had undertaken to provide Flavius with the requisite staff of helpers and indemnity in case of accident, but had failed to fulfil his bond; and Flavius, who had been subjected to much indignity and even violence in the performance of his duties, now prays that he may be released from them and the original holder made responsible. The petition is cast in a stilted and rhetorical style; the handwriting is an exceptionally large, formal cursive.

I

Παρά Φλ(αυίου).

2 ἡ τῆς ὑμετέρας δικαιοκρι[ί]ας καθαρότης πάντως κἀμὲ ἐλεήσει τὸν γεγηρακότα καὶ ἀσυνθηκεὶ διαπεπονητότα καὶ χλεύην παρὰ Φιλοξένου τοῦ καθοσιωμένου μαγιστριανοῦ.

R

- 3 οὗτος γὰρ λόγον ἐνωμότως μοι δεδωκὼς καὶ ἐπαγ[γελ]ί[α]μένος ὡς πάντως  
 ὅσαπερ ἐπιζητεῖται εἰς τὴν τοῦ ρίπαρίου λειτουργίαν ἐκτὸς πάσης  
 ὑπομνήσεως πληρώσει,
- 4 παρέχων μοι καὶ πρὸς βοήθειαν οἰκέτας τε καὶ συμμάχους καὶ [ἄ]λλους τοὺς  
 ὀφείλοντας τὴν παραφυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως ποιεῖσθαι, οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο,  
 ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ συμβῆ ἀτόπημά τι γενέσθαι
- 5 αὐτὸν τὸ ἀζήμιον πληροῖν τοῖ[s] τὴν βλάβην ὑπομένουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα  
 πάντα τὰ συντίνοντα εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν ταύτην ἀποκαθιστᾶν· τούτων  
 δὲ ὄλων ἐκτὸς γεγένηται
- 6 καὶ παρορῶν με τὸν ἄθλιον καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν μετεωριζ[ό]μενον σχοινίοις  
 καὶ πληγαῖς κατακοπτόμενον κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, μὴ κεκτημένον μὴ ἀδελφὸν  
 μὴ συγγενῆ μὴ
- 7 υἱὸν δυνάμενον ἅμα μοι συνπαθῖν, ὡς λοιπὸν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς σωτηρίας πνεῦμα  
 δυστυχῖν με. ὅθεν τὰς ἰκεσίας προσφέρω τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ὥστε ἐμὲ  
 μὲν ἐλευθερωθῆναι
- 8 τὰς τοιαύτας λειτουργεῖ[α]ς, [τὸν] δὲ [πρω]τότυπον καταναγκάζεσθαι ἢ δι' ἑαυτοῦ  
 ἢ διὰ οἰουδήποτε προσώπου τὴν τοιαύτην λειτουργίαν ἐξανύσαι, ἐμοῦ ἀπο-  
 ταξαμένου καὶ μὴ
- 9 δυναμένου [μηδαμῶς ὑπομένειν τ]ὴν τοιαύτην ἀπαρέτητον καὶ φορτικωτάτην  
 λειτουργίαν, ἵνα καγὼ τούτου τυχῶν εὐχαριστήσω ταῖς ἀκλεινεῖς ἀκοαῖς  
 τῆς ὑμετέρας
- 10 ἐξουσίας, μεγαλο[π]ρεπέστατε ἡμῶν ἡγ[ε]μῶν κύριε. †

2. ὑμετερας Pap.; so in ll. 7 and 9. 1. καθωσιωμένου. 3. επαγ[γελ]ι[α]μενος Pap.  
 ὑπομνησεως Pap. 4. ἀλλ' Pap. 5. ὑπομενουσιν . . . αποκαθισταν Pap. 7. υἱον . . .  
 ἰκεσίας . . . ὑμετερα Pap. 8. 1. τῆς τοιαύτης. 9. 1. ἀπαραίτητον. ἵνα Pap. 1. ἀκλεινεῖς.

† 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 magistrarianus. 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. ἀσύνθηκεί is presumably an adverb from ἀσύνθηκος, a form occurring in Onesand. *Strateg.* 1. 37. ἀσύνθηκα 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 καθωσιωμένω μ[αγ]ιστριανῶ καὶ ἐκδ(ικῶ).

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 897 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 τρωῶνων 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. 133. 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 897), and are often found acting in pairs, e. g. 897, and P. Cairo 10269. The office, as 904 shows, was a burdensome λειτουργία.

5. ἀποκαθιστᾶν: this form occurs as early as Aristotle, *Metaph.* 11. 8. 12; cf. Diod. 1. 78, *Act. Apost.* 17. 15 καθιστῶντες, &c.

8. [πρω]τότυπον: cf. 136. 11 ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ ὁ πρωτότυπος, P. Strassb. 40. 25-8 μετ' ἐγγυη[οῦ] . . . ἀναδεχομέν(ου) . . . τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ πρωτοτύπου.

## (d) CONTRACTS

### 905. MARRIAGE CONTRACT.

20.4 × 18 cm.

A. D. 170.

A short but interesting contract of marriage between two inhabitants of the Oxyrhynchite village Psobthis. The formula, as usual in Oxyrhynchus marriage-contracts, is of the protocol type, not that of a ὁμολογία 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.

[. . . . .] Ἀντωνί]νου καὶ Φαυστείας Σεβαστῶν.  
 [ἐξέδοτο Μηνόδο]ρω]ς Ὡρου μητρὸς Τακαλίππου ἀπὸ κόμης Ψώβθως  
 [τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατ]έραν Θατρῆν μητρὸς Θατρῆτος Ἀπολλωνίω  
 [Ἡρακλέους μητρὸς Ταυσοράπιος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης πρὸς γάμου κοι-  
 5 [νωίαν. ἡ δ' ἐκδο]τος φέρει τῷ ἀνδρὶ [εἰς φε]ρνήν λόγου [χ]ρυσοῦ μὲν κοινοῦ  
 σταθμῷ  
 [Ὁξυρυγχείτη] μναγαίον ἐν [[τεταρτον]] ἐν εἶδεσι συντιμηθέν,  
 [καὶ ἔτι ἐν παρ]αφέρνοις ἱματίων σουβροκομαφόρτια δύο,  
 [ἐν μὲν . . . . .]νον τὸ δὲ ἕτερον λευκόν. [[ορον]] συμβιούτωσαν  
 [οὖν ἀλλήλο]ις οἱ γ]αμοῦντες φυλάσσοντες τὰ τοῦ γάμου δίκαια,  
 10 [καὶ ὁ γαμῶν ἐπ]ιχορηγείτω τῇ γαμουμένη τὰ δέοντα κατὰ δύνα-  
 μιν [τοῦ βίου. ἐ]ὰν δ[ὲ ἀ]παλλαγὴ γένητ[α]ι τέκνων ὄντων ἢ καὶ  
 [μὴ γενομένου] ἀποδοτῶ ὁ γαμῶν τὰ παράφερνα πάντα  
 μὲν ἄμ[α] τ[ῆ] ἀπ]αλλαγῇ τὴν δ[ὲ] φερνήν ἐν ἡμέραις ἐξή-  
 κοντα ἀ[φ' ἧ]ς ἐ[ὰν ἡ ἀ]παλλαγὴ γένηται, τῆς πράξεως [[αυ]] οὔσης  
 15 τῷ ἐκιδιδόν[τ]ι Μηνοδώρου παρὰ τοῦ γαμοῦντος καὶ ἐκ  
 τῶν ὑπαρχ[ό]ντων αὐτῷ πάντων. παρῶν δὲ ὁ πατήρ τοῦ  
 γαμοῦντος Ἡρ[α]κλῆς Μῶρου μητρὸς Ἀ[πολ]λωνίας ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης  
 εὐδοκεῖ τῷ [[τῆ]] γάμῳ καὶ ἐνγυᾶται εἰς ἕκτισιν  
 τὴν προκειμένην φερνήν. κυρία ἡ συγγραφὴ δισοῆ γρα-  
 φεῖσα πρὸς τὸ ἐκάτερον μέρος ἔχειν μοναχόν, καὶ ἐπερωτη-  
 20 [θέν]τες ἑαυτοῖς [[αλλήλο]ις] ὠμολόγησαν. (ἔτους) ι Φαμενώθ ιη.

4. κ of κόμης corr. from π, and γ and μ of γαμου written above μ and γ which are crossed through. 5. [εἰς φε]ρνήν λόγου added above the line; 1. φε]ρνής λόγον. 6. 1. μνασίον. 7. ἱματιων Pap. 1. σουβρικομαφόρτια. 14. ο of ουσης corr. from τ. 15. 1. Μηνοδώρω. 17. ηρ[α]κλῆς . . . κόμης added above the line.

. . . Antoninus 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 10th year, Phamenoth 18.'

1. It is very unlikely that this line is a date. There seems to be barely room for (ἔτους) ι (cf. l. 20) Ἀυρηλίου Ἀντωνίου, 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 *Fecunditas*, *Fortuna muliebris*, *Laetitia*, &c. These considerations suggest the probability that l. 1 contains some unfamiliar formula, e. g. τῇ τύχῃ Ἀντωνίου κ.τ.λ., with which might be compared the ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ common in wills. In any case, however, the mention of Φαυστέϊνα Σεβαστή here appears to fix the year given in l. 20 as the 10th of Marcus Aurelius, for though the phrase ἐπερωτη[θέν]τες ἀμολόγησαν 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 Σεβαστή occurs in the reign of Marcus.

5. ὁ δὲ Μηνόδωρος is too long, and the natural subject of φέρει is the bride. We therefore suggest ἐκδο[ρ]ος, though that word does not apparently occur in the papyri; cf. however, ἐκιδόναι and ἐκδότης.

6. [Ὁξυρυχέϊτῃ]: cf. 496. 3 χρυσίου σταθμῷ Ὁξυρυχέϊτῃ μναϊαία πέντε. The insertion of γ in μναγαῖον exemplifies a common phenomenon; cf. P. Tebt. 26. 12, Maysers, *Grammatik*, pp. 167-8.

7. σουβρ(ι)κομαφόρτιον seems to be a new compound; cf. 921. 4 and B. G. U. 327. 7 σου(β)ρικοπαλλιον.

8. ]ρον is the termination of some word like σανδύκινον or κροκώτινον.

10. ἐπιχορηγέϊτω: cf. e. 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 ἄμ[α], and perhaps ἄμ[α] αὐ[τῆ] (τῆ) 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<sup>3</sup>, ἐπερω]τηθεί[σα] is an erroneous reading (Hunt, *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1897, p. 462).

## 906. DEED OF DIVORCE.

12.6 x 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.

[ 45 letters ] α . [ . . ] . [ . . . . . ]  
 [ 24 ,, ] . αλ[ . . . . . ] . σο . [ . . ] κ[αί] τὰ διὰ  
 τῆς αὐτῆς συγγραφῆς ἐ[σ]τ[α]μ[ένα  
 παράφ[ε]ρ[να ὄντα ἐκ] δραχμῶν τεσσαράκοντα, οἱ δὲ τρεῖς καὶ μὴ ἐγκαλεῖν  
 ἀλλήλοις μηδὲ ἐγκαλέσειν  
 μηδὲ ἐπελεύσεσθαι μήτε περὶ μηδενὸς τῶν εἰς τὴν συνβίωσιν τοῦ Διογένους  
 καὶ τῆς Πλουτάρχης  
 5 τεινόντων μηδὲ περὶ ἄλλου μηδενὸς ἀπλῶς μέχρι τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρας. ὁ δὲ  
 Δ[ι]ογένης  
 καὶ ἐπιχορηγῆ[σ]ει ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν τὰ [δ]έοντα τοῖς αὐτοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτῶν παρ' αὐτῶ  
 δαιτωμέν[ο]ις ἄχρι  
 ἡλικίας. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ νῦν ἐξεῖναι τῶ Διογένει καὶ τῇ Πλουτάρχει ἐκάτερος  
 αὐτῶν ἀρμόζεσ[θαι] ὡς ἐὰν αἰρη-  
 ται γάμφ ἀνευθύμφ ὄντι, ἢ τὴν ἐσομένην ἔφοδον ἄκυρον εἶναι, τὴν δὲ δηλου-  
 μένην σ[υ]γγραφὴν  
 κ[αί] τὴν [γ]ενομένην αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦ καταλογίου δημοσίωσιν [καὶ] μετάδοσιν  
 συγχωροῦσει ἄκυρον εἶναι.  
 10 κυρία ἢ ἀποχή. Ὀρίων ὅς (ἐτῶν) νζ ἄσημ(ος). Πλουτάρχη ὡς (ἐτῶν) κδ  
 ἄσημ(ος). Ο[ . . ( ) ] Ἰσίδ(ωρος) ὡς (ἐτῶν) μη οὐλ(ῆ) ὀφρ(ύ) δεξ(ιῶ).

7. l. ἐκατέρφ.

10. l. 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 ἀπέχων παρὰ τοῦ Σωσᾶ τὰς διὰ τῆς συγγραφῆς φερνῆς ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τρι[ακο]σίας κ[αὶ] 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 ἐ[σ]ταμ[έ]να and ὄντα ἐκ are very uncertain, the value of the παράφερνα seem to have been stated.

7. ἐκατέρ[ο]ις cannot be read, nor ὦι for ὠς.

9. διὰ τοῦ καταλογίου δημοσίων 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. Strassb. 29 introd. These deeds were, however, in all previously known instances χειρόγραφα, 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 συγγραφῆ, i. e. the original marriage-contract of Diogenes and Plutarche. The extant marriage-contracts of the Roman period are all notarial συγγραφαί (cf. P. M. Meyer, *Klio*, VI. pp. 442 sqq.), and that a συγγραφῆ should have undergone δημοσίωσις at Alexandria is a new and surprising phenomenon. The only explanation which we can suggest is that the συγγραφῆ in question resembled that mentioned in 259. 11 in being ιδιόγραφος, 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 μετάδοσις here is also not quite clear, owing to our ignorance of the terms of the συγγραφῆ 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 ἀπαλλαγὴ 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.

26.5 × 22.4 cm.

A. D. 276.

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 formulae. 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 formulae 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 formulae 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 occurs, 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.

[*Αύρη*]λιος *Ἑρμογένης* ὁ καὶ *Ε[ύ]δαίμων* ἐξηγητῆς βουλευτῆς [καὶ π]ρ[ύ]τανις  
τῆς λαμπ]ρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτά[της] *Ὀξύρυχιτῶν* πόλεως τότε τὸ βούλημα  
*Ἑλληνικοῖς* γράμμασι κατὰ τὰ συνκεχωρημένα ὑπηγόρευσεν·

*Αύρη*λιοι *Ἑρμείνος* καὶ *Ὠρείων* καὶ *Ἡρακλείδης* καὶ *Πτολεμαῖς* καὶ *Διδύμη*,  
οἱ πέ]ντε τέκνα μου γλυκύτατα [έ]κ [τῆς] συνούσης μοι 18 letters γυναι-  
κὸς *Αύρη*λίας *Ἰσιδώρας* τῆς καὶ *Πρέϊσкас* ματρῶνας στολάτας, αἰρέσει τῇ  
ὑποτεταγμένη ἐφ' οἷς ἕκαστος προσδ[. . . . .] κληρονόμοι μου ἔστωσαν, οἱ  
δὲ λοιποὶ

5 πάντες ἀποκληρόνομοί μου ἔστωσαν, προσερχέσθωσάν τε τῇ κληρονομίᾳ μου  
ἐπὶ τοῖς ἕκαστῳ καταλιμ[πανομένοις] ὁπότεν . . . . . ρασθαι  
ἑαυτοὺς ἐμοῦ κληρονόμους εἶναι, οὗτοί τε ὑπεύθυνοι ἔστωσαν δίδοναι ποιῆσαι  
παρασχέσθαι ταῦτα πάντα [ὅσα ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διαθήκῃ μου γεγραμμένα  
ἔστί,

τοῦτό τε τῇ π[ί]στ]ει αὐτῶν παρακατατέθε[ι]μαι. *Αύρη*λίοις *Ἑρμείνω* καὶ  
*Ὠρείωνι* καὶ *Ἡρακλείδῃ* τοῖς τρισί μου [υἱοῖς] ὡς πρόκειται καταλείπω  
κοινῶς ἐξ ἱ-

σου ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρονομίας τῆς ἐμῆς δ' ἔχω περὶ τὸ Ἴστρου τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἄνω  
*Ἰσεῖον* ἀμπελικὸν χωρίον καὶ σειτ[ικὰς] ἀρούρας πάσας καὶ 16 letters  
νυς καὶ χρηστήρια καὶ συνκυροῦντα πάντα καὶ ἄς ἔχω περὶ *Σεφῶ* σειτικὰς  
ἀρούρας πάσας καὶ ἐν τῇ μητροπ[όλει] τὴν 28 letters

10 μου οἰκίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ ἐνδομενείαν πᾶσαν, τῷ δὲ *Ἑρμείνω* μόνῳ κατ'  
ἐξάιρετον ἄς ἔχω περὶ *Σεγ[. . . . .]* κοινὰς πρὸς  
σειτικὰς ἀρούρας πάσας καὶ δοῦλόν μου ὀνόματι *Φιλοδιόσκορον*. *Αύρη*λίας  
*Πτολεμαίδι* καὶ *Διδύμῃ* ταῖς προγεγραμμέναις θυγατράσι μου . . . . .  
δίδω-

- μι καταλείπω καὶ αὐταῖς κοινῶς ἐξ ἴσου ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρονομίας τῆς ἐμῆς ὃ ἔχω  
 κοινὸν πρὸς τὸν αὐτῶν 24 letters ἀμπελικὸν  
 χωρίον καὶ σειτικὰς ἀρούρας πάσας καὶ προχρείας καὶ χρηστήρια καὶ συν-  
 κυροῦντα πάντα, τῇ δὲ Διδύμῃ [μόνη κατ' ἐξαίρετον 20 letters  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ Πτολεμαίδι βεβαιῶ διὰ τούτου μου τοῦ βουλήματος ἦν φθάσας  
 ἐπιδέδωκα αὐτῇ προῖκα εἰ 21 letters καὶ καταλείπω τὴν  
 15 δούλην ὀνόματι Εὐνοίαν, τὰ δὲ λοιπά μου δούλα σώματα τέσσαρα Διοσκου-  
 ρίδην καὶ Σαβεῖνον καὶ Ἑρμῆ. . . καὶ . . . . τοῖς προκειμένοις ἄρρεσι τοῖς  
 τρισὶ καὶ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν θηλειῶν, λέγω δὴ τῇ Διδύμῃ. Αὐρηλία Ἰσιδώρα τῇ καὶ  
 Πρέισκα τῇ συνούση μοι [γυναικὶ 29 letters  
 πρεπόντως περὶ τὴν συμβίωσιν ἀναστραφείση καταλείπω κυριευτικῶς ἅς ἔχω  
 κοινὰς πρὸς τὸν [αὐτὸν 22 letters περὶ . . . -  
 βιν σειτικὰς ἀρούρας πάσας προυπαλλαγείσας αὐτῇ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς τὴν προσ-  
 ενεχθεῖσάν μοι ἐπ' αὐτῇ τ[. . . φερνήν. ἐπίτροπον δὲ ποιῶ τῶν προκειμέ-  
 νων ἀφηλικῶν μου τέκνων τ[ριῶν] Ὀρείωνος καὶ Ἑρακλείδου καὶ Διδύμης ἕως  
 ἂν οἱ μὲν ἄρρ[ε]νες τῆς ἡλικίας γένωνται ἢ δὲ θήλεια  
 20 ἀνδρὶ γαμηθῇ Αὐρήλιον Δημήτριον [τοῦ] Διονυσοθέου, ἐπακολουθούσης πᾶσι  
 τοῖς τῇ ἐπιτροπείᾳ διαφέρουσι τῆς προγεγραμμένης μου γυναικὸς  
 Ἰσιδώρας τῆς καὶ Πρέισκας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο [οὐ βο]ύλομαι ἄρχοντα ἢ ἀντάρχοντα  
 ἢ ἕτερόν τινα παρεντιθέναι ἑαυτῶν 29 letters ἐ-  
 πιτέλλω γὰρ καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ μο[υ] Διδύμου εἶναι εὐσεβείας βοηθήσειν τῷ  
 Δημητρίῳ ἐν εἰς ἐὰν αὐτοῦ [δέηται 26 letters  
 Αὐρηλίῳ Διονυσάμμωνι φίλῳ μο[υ] καταλείπω δοθῆναί τε βούλομαι κατ' ἔτος  
 ἐφ' ὃν ζήσεται χρόνον ἀ[φ] ὧν ἔχω 26 letters  
 περὶ Μῶα σειτικῶν ἀρου[ρ]ῶν οἴνου μὲν ἅμα τρύγη κεράμια τριάκοντα καὶ  
 πυροῦ μέτρῳ δεκάτῳ τῷ Παῦνι μηνὶ ἀρτάβας 14 letters τῇ Δι-  
 25 δύμῃ . φρα . [.] . . γενομένῃ . ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτῆς ἀργυρίου τάλαντα  
 τέσσαρα, τὴν φροντίδα τ[ὴν]  
 κληρον[ο]μία. τὸ βούλημα ἐποίησα ἐν τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ Ὁξυρυγ-  
 χειτῶν πόλει α (ἔτει) τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν [Μάρκου Κλαυδίου Τακίτου  
 Παῦνι ζ.  
 (ἔτους) α Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Κλαυδίου Τακίτου Εὐσεβοῦς  
 Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Παῦνι ζ. Αὐρήλιος Ἑρμογένης ὁ καὶ Εὐδαίμων  
 τὸ βούλημα πεποίη-  
 κα ἐπὶ [πᾶσ]ι τοῖ[ς] προκειμένοις. ἐλύθη τοῦ αὐτοῦ α (ἔτους) Ἐπειφ.

3. *πτολεμαῖς* Pap.: so in ll. 11, 14.      4. *ἰσιδώρας* Pap.: so in l. 16.      6. *ὑπευθυνοί*  
 Pap.      7. *ἄυρηλοις* Pap.      12. *κ* of *κοινον* corr, from *π*.      18. *προὔπαλλαγείσας* Pap.  
 27. *παῦνι* Pap.

‘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 . . ., I bequeath to the three sons and one of the daughters, to wit Didyme. To Aurelia Isidora also called Prisca, my wedded wife . . . who has conducted herself becomingly in our married life, I leave as her own property all the corn-land belonging to me at . . . bis jointly with the said . . ., 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 Dionysotheon, 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 *Ἑλληνικοῦ βουλήματος*.

2. Cf. 990 and P. Rainer 1702. 13 (*Wien. Stud.* ix. p. 241) *γράμμασιν* ‘Ἑλληνικοῖς ἀκούθως 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 μοι* is restored from l. 16, and was probably followed by some epithet. *ἀδελφῆς καί* would not fill the space.

4. *ματρῶνας στολάτας*: cf. B. G. U. 860. I, P. Flor. 16. I. The *stola* was the mark of rank and dignity. *αἰρέσει* = *voluntati*, a common term in connexion with wills. *προσδ* [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 *ι*, and therefore something like [καὶ αὐταὶ ἔστωσαν κληρο]νόμοι is probably to be restored. The construction of the rest of that line remains uncertain; *μ[έρους]*, however, is not necessary (cf. e. g. ll. 7 and 12 of our papyrus) and possibly *μ[όνα] δ[έ] μου κληρο[νόμο]ι* may be read (cf. P. Leipzig 29. 5 *κληρονόμον σέ μ[ό]ν[η]ν κατὰ πάντας τοὺς ἡ[δ]μοὺς καθίστημι*), though the repetition of *κληρονόμοι* is awkward. Or perhaps *νομοι* is part of some phrase with *οἱ νόμοι*, for which cf. the passage of the Leipzig papyrus just quoted, and P. Brit. Mus. I. 77. 13-4 (Will of Abraham<sup>1</sup>) *ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν . . . νόμων διηγορευμένα*.

4-5. *οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ* . . . *ἔστωσαν*: cf. B. G. U. 326. i. 7, and the will published by de Ricci in Wessely's *Stud. z. Paläographie* I, p. 6, l. 24; the phrase corresponds to the Latin formula *ceteri omnes exheredes sunto* (Gaius 2. 128). The papyrus proves that *μου*, not *μοι* which Arangio-Ruiz wishes to read before *ἔστωσαν* (*op. cit.*, pp. 223, 276), is correct.

5. B. G. U. 326. i. 7-8 is on this analogy to be read *προσε[ρ]χέσ[θω]σάν τε τῇ κληρονομίᾳ μου*, which is now confirmed by Schubart. *ἐπι . . . καταμ[η]πανομένοις* is there replaced by *ἐκάστη ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἰδίου μέρους*, after which l. *ὀπόταν* (Schubart) for *ἀπὸ τ[ῶ]ν*. We accordingly read *ὀπόταν* in the corresponding position, the infinitive . . . *ρασθαι*, which is also adopted from the Berlin papyrus, perhaps depending on an intervening verb, e. g. *φαίνηται*. The *ρ* of *ρασθαι*, Schubart tells us, can be any letter having a long tail, i. e. *ι*, *φ*, or *ψ*, and it is preceded at an interval of three letters by a similar long stroke. *ἀπογράψασθαι* therefore does not seem suitable. Dareste proposed *μετὰ τὸ ὀρᾶσθαι*, and Gradenwitz suggests a connexion with *cernere*, but this is hardly convincing.

6-7. Cf. B. G. U. 326. i. 14-5, where *ταῦτα* (so Schubart) not *αὐτά* is no doubt to be read after *παρασχέσθαι*, as here. Schubart would write in the Berlin text *πάντα [τὰ] ἐν . . . γεγραμμένα. εἴη. τῇ τε πίστει [τα]ύτης* (not [α]ύτης) *παρακατατίθωμαι*, but this absolute use of *εἴη* does not greatly commend itself, and the mood might be due to a *sint* in the original Latin. It therefore seems more satisfactory to have either *ὅσα . . . γεγραμμένα ἐστί* or *τὰ . . . γεγραμμένα* in the lacuna here. The corresponding Latin formulae are *damnas esto dare facere praestare . . . fideique eius committo*; cf. the will of Dasumius C. I. L. 1352. 116 and 125, the will of Hadoindus in Brissonius, *de Formulâ* vii, *ita ut ubicumque aliquid per hoc testamentum meum dedero legavero dareque iussero id ut dehur fiat praestetur fidei tuae heres mea committo*, &c.

7. Or perhaps [τέκνοις ἄρρεσι δίδωμι καταλείπω]: cf. ll. 11-2. *μου* is by no means certain.

8. *περὶ τὸ . . . Ἰσείον*: it is not quite clear how these words should be constructed or even how some of them should be divided. Perhaps τὸ Ἰστρου, sc. ἐποίκιον, τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἄνω Ἰσ., sc. οἰκοπέδων, is the best interpretation; but the first τὸ may refer to Ἰσείον and Ἰστρου . . . ἄνω be descriptive of that name; cf. combinations like Ἰσείον Παγγᾶ (899. 7), Ἰσείον Τρύφωνος (719. 14).

9. *νυς*, which is clearly written, is puzzling. Some expression corresponding to

<sup>1</sup> We are surprised to see that Arangio-Ruiz, *op. cit.*, p. 295, repeats the error of writing *ἐφῶ* in l. 51 of that papyrus. Evidently *ἐφ' ᾧ* should be read there as well as in ll. 28 and 60.

*προχρείας* in l. 13 is expected. The lacuna at the end of the line was presumably occupied with a description of the *οικία*.

10. The names of several Oxyrhynchite villages beginning with *Σεν* are known, *Σενεκελεύ*, *Σενέπτα*, *Σενοκαλενώ*, *Σενοκώμις*, *Σεντώ*. The following *κοινὰς πρὸς* is indicated by l. 12 where *τὸν αὐτ[όν]*, 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.

11-2. *δίδωμι καταλείπω* = *do lego*, as e.g. in C. I. L. 1352. 125; cf. B. G. U. 326. i. 18 [*ἢ κ*] *αὶ δίδωμι καταλίπω*, and ii. 17. The name to which *τὸν αὐτ[όν]* refers probably occurred at the end of l. 10; cf. the previous note.

14. Perhaps *ἐν ἀργυρίου ταλάντοις . . .*: cf. l. 251

16. The line may be completed e.g. *εὐνοούσῃ μοι* (so 494. 9) *καὶ κατὰ πάντα*.

17. Perhaps *περὶ Κορῶ]βιν* (45. 9) or *Θῶσ]βιν* (614, &c.).

18. It was the usual practice in marriage contracts to give the wife a general claim against the husband's property for the repayment of her dowry, but in the present case the security seems to have been limited to a portion of the husband's estate which was formally mortgaged for this purpose. For *ἐπ' αὐτῇ* cf. e.g. 266. 9 *προσηνέγκατο αὐτῷ ἐφ' αὐτῇ ἐν φερνῇ*. *τ[οῦ γάμου]* might be supplied before *φερνήν*, but three or four letters would be enough.

19. For *ἡλικίας 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 *tutor* (*ἐπίτροπος*) to that of a *curator* (*φροντιστής*). According to the provisions of some Oxyrhynchus wills (cf. 491. 9, 495. 10) *ἐπίτροποι* 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 *ἐπίτροπος* here in its technical Roman sense. A *tutor* but not a *curator* could be appointed by a Roman will. For the phrase *ἐπίτροπον ποιεῖν* cf. B. G. U. 326. ii. 17 *ἐποίησα ἐπίτροπον τῇ ἰδίᾳ πίστι*. The analogy of the present passage, in which the *tutor* 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.) *ἐπίτροπος* means *tutor*.

20. *ἐπακολουθούσης*: cf. 909. 4 *ἀφ' ἡλικίων μήτηρ καὶ ἐπακολουθήτρια*, and note.

21. *ἄρχοντα ἢ ἀντάρχοντα*: cf. e.g. C. I. G. 2222. 17 *ἀ[ρ]χόντων 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. *φίλω μου* is very doubtful; the name of Dionysammon's (?) father may be given instead.

25. Possibly *ἐν ὧρα γάμου γενομένη*, with *δοθῆναι βούλομαι* before *τῇ Διδύμῃ*, but the reading would not be very satisfactory, and *γενομεν*, if rightly deciphered, may also be constructed with *ὑπό*.

26. We suppose that there is a small dash after *κληρο[σ]μία*, 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 κ.τ.λ.* 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. *ἐλύθη 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 ἀνεγνώσθησαν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ἣ καὶ ἡ διαθήκη ἐλύθη*, and for *λύειν* in this connexion also 715. 19, B. G. U. 592. ii. 7, &c.

## 908. CONTRACT BETWEEN EUTHENIARCHS.

30.6 × 8.5 cm.

A. D. 199.

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 l. 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, *Staatshaushaltung*, I. 548).

Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Ὡρείων . . .  
 ωνος διὰ τοῦ κατὰ πατ[έ]ρα πάπ-  
 που Ἀπίωνος γυμνα[σ]ιαρχή-  
 σαντος τῆς Ὀξύρυγχειῶν  
 5 πόλεως νυνεὶ εὐθηνιάρχης  
 τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως Τιβερίῳ  
 Κλαυδίῳ Διδύμῳ καὶ ὡς χρημα-

- τίξει τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Διονυσείου  
 καὶ τῆς ἱεράς συνόδου ἱερονει-
- 10 κῶν ἀτελῶν καὶ Θέωνι τῷ  
 [καὶ Ἀν]τιμάχῳ καὶ Διονυσίῳ τῷ καὶ  
 [. . . κ]αὶ Ἀχιλλεῖ τῷ καὶ Ἰσιδώρῳ  
 [ἐξῆ]γητεύσαντι καὶ Ὀρείωνι  
 [τῷ κ]αὶ Βερενεικιανῷ ἐξηγη-
- 15 [τεύ]σαντι τοῖς ε γυμνασιάρ-  
 [χαις] καὶ εὐθηνιάρχαις τῆς αὐτῆς  
 [Ὀξ]υρυχειῶν πόλεως χ[αίρ]ειν.  
 [συ]νεθέμεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς νῦν  
 [ε]ὐθηνιαρχοῦντι ἀπ[ὸ λ] τοῦ ὄν-
- 20 [τος] μηνὸς Παῦνι ἕως καθ' τοῦ  
 [ἐ]ξῆς μηνὸς Ἐπειφ τοῦ ἐνεστῶ-  
 [τος] ζ (ἔτους) ὥστε ὑφ' ἐκάστου ὑμῶν  
 ἀρτοκοπέιον ἐν ἀπαρτισθῆναι  
 [. .] . ησιε . . τρεφόντων ὑμῶν τὰ
- 25 [κ]τήνη χόρτω τε καὶ κριθῇ ἐπὶ τῷ  
 [ἀ]λήθειν τ[ὰ κτ]ήνη ἡμερησίως καθ' ἑ-  
 καστον ἐργ[ασ]τήριον μέχρι πυρ[ροῦ]  
 ἀρταβῶν ἐ[ξ]κοσι . [. .] . ασαρ . . . . . [. χσ-  
 [ρηγ]οῦντος τὰ ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἐργαστηρί[ω]
- 30 κ[τ]ήνη κατὰ τὸ σ[. .] . [. .] . λωκαμε  
 [. .] . . ὑμῶν . . σαγμασμου[. .] . [. .] . π[α]-  
 [ρ]έχειν ἐν ἐργαστή[ρ]ο[ν] τὸν . . [. . . . .  
 [. γερπ( ) ἐμοῦ παρ[έ]χον[τ]ος τροφᾶς . . .  
 [ἀ]λήθοντας πρὸς τὸ . . . . [ἐργ]αστήριον τὰ[s
- 35 ἴσας ἡμερησίως ν[. . . . .] ἀρτάβας  
 εἴκοσι, οὐκ ἐξόντος [οὐδενὶ] ἡμῶν [π]α[ρα]-  
 [βα]ίνειν τὰ προγεγραμμένα. κ[ύρ]ι[α] ταῦ[τ]α  
 τὰ γράμματα ἐξασσὰ γραφέν[τα] πρὸς [τὸ ἐ]κά-  
 τερον ἡμῶν ἔχειν μοναχόν. (ἔτους) ζ
- 40 Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων Λουκίου  
 Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνα[κος  
 Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβ[η]νικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου

καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστῶν  
 Παῦνι κη. (2nd hand) Σαραπίων (δ) καὶ Ὡρεΐ[αν  
 45 δι' ἐμοῦ Ἀπίωνος π[ά]ππου  
 εὐδοκῶ πᾶσιν τοῖς προκει-  
 μένοις.

5. 1. εὐθηνιάρχου (?). 9. ἱερας . . . ἱερονεικων Pap. 12. ἰσιδωρω Pap. 18. ὕμας  
 Pap. 19. 1. [ἐ]ὐθηνιαρχοῦντας. 20. παῦνι Pap. 22. ὑφ . . . ὕμων Pap. 35. ἴσας Pap. (?)

‘Sarapion also called Horion, son of . . . on, through his paternal grandfather Apion, ex-gymnasiarch of Oxyrhynchus, at present eutheniarch 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 Dionyseum and the sacred club, and to Theon also called Antimachus and Dionysius also called . . . and Achilles also called Isidorus, ex-exegetes, and Horion also called Berenicianus, ex-exegetes, all five gymnasiarchs and eutheniarchs of the said city of Oxyrhynchus, greeting. I have made a compact with you being now eutheniarchs 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.

1. Probably Ὡρεΐ]ωνος or Ἀπί]ωνος.

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 ἱερά σύνοδος, which entitled him to ἀτέλεια, and 1074, the statement of this individual's claim, which in l. 1 cites a rescript of Claudius Gothicus (cf. Wilcken, *Archiv*, IV. p. 564 and Viereck, *Klio*, VIII. p. 413) addressed τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἱερονίκαις στεφανείταις. A τόπος καλούμενος Διονύσου Τεχνητῶν at Oxyrhynchus is mentioned in 171 (Part II, p. 208), and the impost in 917. 3 apparently called σπ(ουδῆ) Διονύσου may in some way have benefited the Διονυσεῖον.

19. ἀπὸ [λ]: cf. l. 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 ι. [ἡμε]ρησίως cannot be read.

28. Not ἐμοῦ Σαραπίωνος.

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 ἀηλώκαμεν is unsatisfactory. π might be read in place of το.

31. Perhaps *πάσαν*. The doubtful  $\mu$  may be  $\lambda$  or  $\delta$ ; *ἄνδρας* would be possible. . . .  
*ἡμᾶς τοῦ*[s] would assist [*ἀ*]λήθοντας in l. 34, but the  $\tau$  especially is difficult.

32. Perhaps τὸν Ἀπ[ί]ωνα.

33. *ερ* is followed by the curved mark commonly used in abbreviations to represent  $\pi$ .  
*παρ[ε]χου[τ]ος* is very doubtful.

38. *ἔξασσός* 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, *ἔξασσῆ γραφίσα* should be read for *ἔξᾶς συγγραφίσα*.

## 909. SALE OF ACACIA-TREES.

27.5 × 10.8 cm.

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.

*Ἀύρηλιος Πτολλίων Πτολλίωνος ἀπ' Ὀξύρυγχων*  
*πόλεως ἐπίτροπος ἀφηλίκων τέκνων*  
*Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ καὶ Διδύμου Ὀνησᾶτος*  
*καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀφηλίκων μήτηρ καὶ ἐπακολου-*  
 5 *θήτρια Ἀύρηλία Εὐδαιμονὶς Ἀντινοῦ*  
*τοῦ καὶ Ἐρμοῦ Ἀντινοῖς χωρὶς κυρίου χρη-*  
*ματίζουσα κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθη τέκνων*  
*δικαίῳ Ἀύρηλίοις Σερήνῳ υἱῷ Ἀύρηλίου*  
*Ἀμμωνίου ἐξηγητεύσαντος τῆς Ὀξύρυγ-*  
 10 *χειτῶν πόλεως καὶ Σερήνῳ Σερήνου*  
*καὶ Θεωνᾶτι χρηματίζοντι μητρὸς*  
*Τααρμύσιος καὶ Σωτηρίχῳ Διδύμου ἀπ[ὸ]*  
*τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογοῦμεν*  
*πεπρακέναι ὑμῖν τοῖς τέσσαρσι ἐξ ἴσου*  
 15 *τὰς οὖσας ἐπὶ χώματος ἀμπελ[ι]κοῦ*  
*κτήματος νεοφύτου τῶν ἀφηλίκων*  
*περὶ κόμην Σενέπτα ἀκάνθας ἀριθμῶ*  
*τελείας δεκατέσσαρας τειμῆς τῆς συμ-*  
*πεφωνημένης πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀργυ-*  
 20 *ρίου δραχμῶν χειλ[ί]ων διακοσίων, αἱ πρὸς-*  
*εχώρησαν εἰς συνωνίην πυροῦ χωρῆ-*

σ[α]ντος ὑπὲρ μετρημάτων τῆς προκ[ει-  
 μένης ἀμπέλου χρόνων θεοῦ Κομόδο[υ  
 ἐπὶ τῷ ὑμᾶς τὴν τῶν προκειμένων ἀκαν-  
 25 θῶν ἀναβολὴν ἐξ [ἐ]πιρίζων καὶ ἄρσιν  
 ταῖς ὑμῶν δαπάναις ποιήσασθαι ὁπόταν  
 αἰρήσθαι, ἐπάναγκον δὲ μέχρι τοῦ Μεσορῆ  
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος δ (ἔτους), καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἀκανθῶν  
 ἀναβολὴν καὶ ἄρσιν τῶν [κ]όσμον τῶν τό-  
 30 πων τὸ ἴσον ποιήσασθαι ἡμᾶς τε κατὰ τὸ ἡ-  
 μι[σ]υ καὶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς πεπρακότας κατὰ τὸ ἕτερο[ν  
 ἡμισυ καθὼς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐστάθη, καὶ ἐπρω-  
 τηθέντες ὠμολογήσαμεν. κυρία ἡ πρᾶσις  
 δισση γραφείσα. (ἔτους) δ Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος  
 35 Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀλεξ[άνδρου Εὐσεβο]ῦς  
 Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Τύβι ιε.  
 2nd hand Αὐρήλιος Πτολλί[ων Πτολλίωνος μετ' ἐπα-  
 κολουθητρίας τῆ[ς μητρὸς

7. τεκνω<sup>-</sup> Pap. 8. νῖω Pap. 9. εὐ of ἐξηγητεύσαντος corr. from η. 14. ἴσου  
 Pap. 21-2. ο of χωρησ[α]ντος corr. from α and σ added above the line. 27. ι. αἰρήσθε.  
 28. των added above the line. 30. ἴσον Pap. 32. ι. ἐπερωτηθέντες.

'Aurelius Ptolion son of Ptolion, 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 Antinoöpolis, 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 Taarmiusis 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 Ptolion.

4. Cf. P. Leipzig 9. 6, where three ἀφήλικες send an ἀπογραφή through their mother as επακολουθήτρια, 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 ἀκανθαι 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 αὶ 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. ἐξ [ἐ]πιρίζων is very uncertain; ω[.] can be read for εξ, but ὦ[ς] yields no sense, ὦ[ς] ἐ[πι] ρήτων being inadmissible. We suppose the sense of ἐπίριζος, which apparently does not occur, to be similar to that of ἐπιρίζιον which is read by editors in Diosc. 1. 10 ῥίζα δὲ . . . πλάγια δὲ τὰ ἐπιρίζια ἔχει, i. e. the smaller roots subsidiary to the main ones; for the form cf. ὑπόριζος.

## 910. LEASE OF LAND.

31.5 × 9 cm.

A. D. 197.

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).

[Ἐμίσ]θωσει Ἰερακ[ί]ων Ἰερακίωνος ἀπ' Ὀ-  
 [ξύργχ]ων πόλεως ἀγορανομήσας τῆς αὐτῆς  
 [πόλεως] Τεῶτι Σαραπάμμωνος μητρὸς  
 [. . .]ατος καταγεινομένη ἐν κώμῃ Πα-  
 5 [κέρκη] ἀπηλιώτου τοπαρχίας εἰς ἔτη  
 [τέσσα]ρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος 5 (ἔτους) τὰς  
 [ὑπαρχο]ύσας αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν Πακέρκη ἀρού-  
 [ρας πέν]τε, ὥστε τῷ μὲν ἐνεστῶτι 5 (ἔτει)  
 [καὶ ἡ (ἔτει)] σπεῖραι πυρῷ ἐκφορίου κατ' ἔτος

- 10 [κατ' ἀ]ρουραν ἀνά πυροῦ ἀρτάβας ἕξ, τῷ δὲ  
 [ἐξῆ]ς ζ (ἔτει) καὶ θ (ἔτει) ξυλαμῆσαι χλω-  
 [ροῖς φό]ρου ὡσαύτως κατ' ἔτος κατ' ἄρου-  
 [ραν ἀνά] δραχμὰς τριάκοντα δύο. ὁμο-  
 [λογεῖ δὲ] ὁ μεμισθωμένος αὐτόθι
- 15 [ἐσχηκέναι] καὶ παραμεμετρηῆσθαι παρὰ  
 [τοῦ γεο]ύχου ἐν προ[ο]χρεῖα εἰς σπέρμα .  
 [ὑπὲρ τῆ]ς γῆς μόνου τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους  
 [πυροῦ ἀρ]τάβας ἑπτὰ, ὧν τὰς ἴσας ἐπά-  
 [ναγκο]ν ἀποδώσει αὐτῷ ἅμα τοῖς τῆς
- 20 [γῆς ἐκ]φορίοις τῷ Παῦνι μηνὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
 [ἐνεστῶ]τος ἔτου[ς] μέτρῳ ᾧ παρείληφεν  
 [ἀκίνδ]υνα πάντα [π]αντὸς κινδύνου,  
 [τῶν] τῆς γῆς δη[μ]οσίων ὄντων πρὸς  
 [τὸν γεο]ύχον, ὃν [κ]αὶ κυριεύειν τῶν
- 25 [καρπ]ῶν ἕως τὰ κατ' ἔτος ὀφειλόμε-  
 [να κο]μίσηται. ἐὰν δέ τις ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσιόν-  
 [τος ἔ]τους, ὃ μὴ ε[ἶ]η, ἄβροχος γένηται  
 [παρα]δεχθήσεται[ι] τῷ μεμισθωμένῳ,  
 [ὃς β]εβαιουμένη[ς] τῆς μισθώσεως
- 30 [ἀπο]δότη τὰ ἐκ[φ]όρια καὶ τοὺς φόρους  
 [κα]τ' ἔτος μηνὶ [Π]αῦνι, τὸν δὲ πυρὸν  
 [ἐ]φ' ἄλλω τῆς Πακέρκη νέον καθαρὸν  
 ἄδολον ἄκρειθον κεκοσκιευμένον  
 μέτρῳ τετραχοινείκῳ παραλημ-
- 35 πτικῷ τοῦ γεούχου, τῆς μετρήσεως  
 γ[ε]νομένης ὑπ[ὲρ] τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ πρᾶ-  
 ξ[ι]ς ἔ[σ]τω ἕκ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕκ τῶν ὑπαρ-  
 χόντων αὐτῷ πάντων, ἐπ[ὶ] τῷ τὸν  
 αὐτὸν μεμισθωμένον παραδῶναι τὴν
- 40 γ[ῆν] τῷ ἐσχάτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ τεθρυκο-  
 πημένην καὶ κα[θ]αρὰν ἀπὸ θρύου καὶ δει-  
 σης πάσης. κυρία ἡ μίσθωσις. (ἔτους) 5  
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου  
 Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακος Σεβαστοῦ

- 45 Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου  
 Ἀντωνεῖνου Καίσαρος ἀποδεδειγμένου  
 Ἀυτοκράτορος Ἀθῦρ η. (2nd hand) Τεῶς Σαρα-  
 πάμμωνος μεμίσθωμαι ἐπὶ  
 τὰ τέσσαρα ἔτη τὴν γῆν ἐκφορί-  
 50 ου καὶ φόρου κ[α]τ' ἄρουραν κατ' ἔτος  
 τῆς μὲν ἐν π[υ]ρῷ διετίας ἀνὰ πυ-  
 ροῦ ἀρτάβας ἕξ, [τ]ῆς δὲ ἐν χλω-  
 ροῖς ἀνὰ δραχμὰς τριάκοντα  
 δύο, καὶ ἔσχον τὰς τῶν σπερμάτων  
 55 πυροῦ ἀρτάβας [ἐπ]τὰ καὶ ἀποδώσω  
 πάντα ὡς π[ρ]όκειται. Πτολεμαῖος Διο-  
 νυσίου ἔγραψα [ὑπὲρ] αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδ[ό]-  
 τος γράμματα.

1. ἕρακ[ι]ων ἱερ. Pap.

14. ο before μεμισθ. over an erasure.

18. ἴσας Pap.

26. ἴσιον[τος] Pap.

37. ὑπαρχοντων Pap.

‘Hieracion son of Hieracion, of Oxyrhynchus, ex-agoranomus of the said city, has leased to Teos son of Sarapammon, his mother being . . . as, 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 in the month Pauni of the said present year, by the same measure as that by which he received it, 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.

30. τὰ ἐκ[φ]όρια καὶ τοὺς φόρους: for the distinction cf. P. Tebt. 377. 23-7, note.

## 911. LEASE OF A HOUSE.

11.1 x 7.2 cm.

A.D. 233 or 265.

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 ll. 6 sqq. The papyrus was written in the third century in the 13th year of an emperor who must be Severus Alexander or Gallienus.

Ἐμίσθωσεν Αὐρήλιος Δημήτριος  
 ὁ καὶ [Ζ]ώϊλος ἀρχιερατεύσας ἐξηγη-  
 τῆς β[ο]υλευτῆς τῆς Ὀξύρυγγειῶν πό-  
 λεως Αὐρηλίῳ Θεογένει Θεογένους  
 5 τοῦ Θεογένους ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεω[ς]  
 ἀσθενῆ τὰς ὄψις μετ' ὑπογραφέως  
 τοῦ συνχωρηθέντος αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν  
 ὑπομνημάτων τῆς στρατηγίας  
 Αὐρη[λί]ου Διονυ[σίου] τοῦ καὶ Ἀμμωνίου  
 10 ἐπὶ χρ[ὸ]νον ἔτη δύο ἔτι ἀπὸ α Θῶθ  
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ιγ (ἔτους) ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρ-  
 χόντων αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ὀξύρυγγω[ν]  
 πόλει. [ἐ]π' ἀμφόδου Δρόμου Θεήριδος  
 ἡμισυ μέρος οἰκίας καὶ αἰθρίου ὑφ' ἣν  
 15 κατάγιον καὶ αὐλῆς καὶ τῶν ταύτης  
 χρηστηρίων [π]άντων κοινῆς π[ρ]ὸς  
 [. . . . .] . . [.]ον κατὰ τῶν . . . . .  
 . . . . .

2. [ξ]ώϊλος Pap. 6. μετ' Pap. 1. μεθ'. 8. ὑπομνημάτων Pap. 11. ὑπαρχόντων  
 Pap. 14. ὑφ Pap.

'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 Thoëris, 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 *κηδεμών* or *φροντιστής*, not *ὑπογραφεύς*. The position of this officially constituted *ὑπογραφεύς* appears to lie somewhere between that of the *curator mente capti* and the normal 'subscriber'.

## 912. LEASE OF A CELLAR.

26.8 x 7.9 cm.

A. D. 235.

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.*

Ἐμισθωσεν Ἀύρηλία Βησοῦς  
 Σαραπίωνος μητρὸς Σαραπιά-  
 δος ἀπ' Ὀξύρυγχων πόλεως  
 μετὰ συνεστῶτος Ἀύρηλίου  
 5 Θέωνος τοῦ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδου  
 Ἀύρηλιῶ Πατύτι Πανούριος  
 ἀπὸ Μερμέρθων ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν  
 ἓνα ἀπὸ α Θῶθ τοῦ εἰσιόντος β (ἔτους)  
 ἀφ' ἧς καὶ αὐτὴ ἔχει ἐμ μισθώσει  
 10 παρὰ Ἀύρηλ(ίου) Ἰσιδώρου Χαιρήμονος  
 ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Νότου Κρηπείδος  
 οἰκίας τὸ ἐνὸν κατάγειον καὶ τὸν  
 ἐπάνω τῆς ἐξέδρας τόπον ἐνοι-  
 κίου τοῦ ἔτους ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν  
 15 ἐξήκοντα. βεβαιουμένης δὲ τῆς  
 μισθώσεως χράσθω ὁ μεμι-

νον παραδῶ τὸς μισθου-  
 μένους αὐτῇ ὡς πρόκειται  
 25 τόπους καθαρὸς ἀπὸ κοπρίων  
 καὶ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας ὡς ἐὰν  
 παραλάβῃ καὶ τὰς ἐφεστῶσας  
 τοῖς τόποις θύρας καὶ κλεῖδας,  
 ἢ ἀποτεισάτω οὐδ' ἐὰν μὴ πα-  
 30 ραδῶ τὴν ἀξίαν τειμὴν δ' δ' [ἐὰν  
 προσοφιλέσῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνοι-  
 κίου μεθ' ἡμιολίας, γεινομέ-  
 νης τῆς πράξεως παρά τε αὐ-  
 τοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων  
 35 αὐτῷ πάντων. κυρία ἡ μίσθω-  
 σις, καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὡμο-  
 λόγησεν. (ἔτους) α Ἀυτοκράτορος  
 Καίσαρος Γαίου Ἰουλίου Οὐήρου.

σθωμένος τοῖς μισθουμένοις  
 αὐτῷ τόποις ἐπὶ τὸν χρόνον  
 ἀκωλύτως, καὶ ἀποδότω τὸ ἐνοί-  
 20 κιον ἐν δόσεσι δυσὶ τοῦ ἔτους  
 δι' ἕξαμήνου τὸ ἥμισυ ἀν-  
 υπερθέτως. μετὰ δὲ τὸν χρό-

Μαξιμείνου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς  
 40 [Σ]εβα(στοῦ) Φαμε]γῶθ α. (2nd hand)  
 Ἀύρηλία  
 [Βησοῦς μ]εμισθωκα ὡς πρ[ό-  
 [κειται . . . . .] . . . . .  
 . . . . .

7. ἐνιαυτῷ Pap. 14. δραχμῶ Pap. 21. ἀνῦπερθετως Pap. 24. 1. αὐτῷ. 30.  
 [εἶ] Pap. 32. μεθ' Pap. 34. υπαρχουτῶ Pap.

'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, the lessor 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 1st 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 (χωρὶς κυρίου χρηματιζούση . . . συνεστῶτός σοι Ἀύρηλίου Εὐδαίμονος: cf. P. Leipzig 4. 8 and P. Strassb. 29. 29), where there is a direct opposition between κύριος and συνεστῶτος. 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 κύριος the latter retained him in the form of a συνεστῶτος: cf. P. Leipzig 28. 4 μετὰ συνεστῶτος οὐ ἐκο[ύσ]α ἐμαντῆ παρήνεγκα. συμπαράων is sometimes used as a synonym for συνεστῶτος; cf. P. Leipzig 3. i. 2 and 29. 3, 20.

40. Φαμε]γῶθ α: this is a remarkable date, since Alexander Severus is supposed to have been killed about Feb. 10, and that the accession of Maximinus should have been known at Oxyrhynchus so soon after as Feb. 25 is incredible. If Φαμε]γῶθ α 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 Pap. 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 Fayûm. 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. 907. introd.

With regard to the reading, the numeral  $\alpha$  might perhaps be  $\epsilon$ , but that makes hardly any difference. It is a little surprising that there is nothing to be seen of the abbreviation of  $\Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha(\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon)$ , for the papyrus is broken only slightly above the line of the letters. [ $\Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ ]  $\Theta\acute{\omega}\theta$  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 ].  $\omega\theta \alpha$  was written at the same time as the rest of the date.  $\Theta\acute{\omega}\theta \alpha$  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.  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\kappa\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$  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.

[ $\Upsilon\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma \Phi$ ]λαουίων Εὐδοξίου κ[αὶ] Διοσκόρου τῶν λαμπρ(οτάτων)  
Φαῶφι ιη.

- [. . . . . θ]υγατρὶ τοῦ τ[ῆ]ς ἀρίστης μνή(μη)ς Δανιηλίου  
[προπολιτενο]μένου τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξυρυγιτιῶν πόλεως  
5 [πα]ρὰ Αὐρη[λίω]ν Ἀρμυσίου υἱοῦ Παδιδύμου καὶ Τάορ θυγατρὸς Κάστορος  
[. .]θεσμ[. . .] ἀπὸ κώμης Πτώχεως τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ. ἐκουσίως  
[βουλόμεθ]α μισθώσασθαι ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος  
[ἔτους ἕως] σπορᾶς τῆς τρισκαιδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος ἀπὸ τῶν  
[ὑπαρχόντων] σοι ἐν πεδίῳ τῆς ἡμετέρας κώμης ἐδάφους  
10 [σιτικοῦ ἀρ]ούρας ἐννέα ἢ ὅσας ἐὰν ᾧσιν, ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμᾶς ταύτας  
[σπεῖραι οἷς] αἰρώμεθα γενήμασιν ἐφ' ἡμισίας πάντων τῶν  
[περιγιγνο]μένων καρπῶ[ν] ἐφ' ᾧτε ἡμᾶς παρασχεῖν σοὶ τῇ γεούχῳ  
[τὸ ἡμισυ μέρ]ος ἀντὶ φόρου τῶν περιγιγνομένων καρπῶν  
μ[ετὰ καλῆ]ς πίσ[τ]ῆς, ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς μεμισθωμένους ἀνθ' ᾧν  
15 ποιούμ[εθα] καμάτων τῆς γεωργίας καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν καταβαλλομένων  
παρ' ἡμῶ[ν σ]περμάτων τῇ γῆ ἔχειν τὸ ἄλλο ἡμισυ μέρος

ἀνυπερ[θέτ]ως, τῶν τῆς γῆς δημοσίων ὄντων πρὸς σὲ  
 τὴν γεοῦχ[ον·] ἐπάναγκες δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης παρασχεῖν  
 τὸ ἥμισ[υ μ]έρος τῶν καρπῶν ἐν τῷ δέοντι καιρῷ ἀνυπερθέτως  
 20 καὶ τὴν ἀγ[αβο]λὴν τῶν {ν}ἀ(ρ)ογρῶν ποιήσασθαι. κυρία ἡ μίσθωσις  
 δισοῆ γρ[αφεί]σα κα[ι] ἐπερ(ωτηθέντες) ὠμ[ολ]ογήσαμεν. (2nd hand) Αὐρή-  
 λειο(ι) Ἀρμιύσιον υἷον  
 Παδιδύμ[ι]ου κ[α]ι [Τάορ] θυγάτηρ Κάστορος οἱ προγεγραμμένοι μεμισθώμεθα  
 τὴν  
 γῆν καὶ ἀποδώ[ομ]εν ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης τὸ ἥμισυ μέρο[ς] τῶν περιγιγνο-  
 μένου καρπου  
 καὶ συμφωνῖ ἡμ[ῖν πάν]τα τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα ὡς πρόκειται. Φλ(αούιος)  
 Σαραπίων Ὀρίωνος ἀξιωθεῖς  
 25 ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶ[ν πα]ρόντων γράμματα μὴ εἰδῶτων.

(1st hand) ρ δι επι . . . . . !η . .

On the verso vestiges of an endorsement.

3. δανηλιου over an erasure. 5. α of αρμιυσιου corr. from ο. υιου Pap. 7. αλλη-  
 λεγγυης Pap. 8. ινδικτιονος Pap. 17. ανυπερ[θετ]ως Pap. 19. ανυπερθετως Pap.  
 21. 1. Ἀρμιύσιος υἱός. 23. 1. περιγιγνομένων καρπῶν.

'In the consulship of Flavius Eudoxius and Flavius Dioscorus the most illustrious, Phaophi 18. Το . . . daughter of of Daniel, of excellent memory, president of the council in the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, from Aurelius Harmisius 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.

4. [προπολιτευο]μένων: cf. 67. 2, C. P. R. I. 19. 1, P. Leipzig 37. 3. The title probably means president of the *decuriones* (πολιτευόμενοι); cf. Mitteis, C. P. R. I. pp. 61-2.

6. ]θεσμ[ is awkward and raises doubts whether the fragment containing these letters and ]ρα αυρη[ 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 Κάστωρος would be apposite, but ]θεσμ[ suggests nothing likely. The name "Ενθεσμος occurs in 70. 6, and possibly this may be read here as the patronymic of Castor, τοῦ being omitted, though in the case of the other persons concerned grandfathers' names are not added, and there would barely be room for [Εν].

8. For ἔως] σποράς cf. B. G. U. 586. 10 πρὸς μόνην τὴν τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους σποράν. ἀπὸ] σποράς is suggested by e. g. P. Tebt. 378. 9; but a difficulty would then arise concerning the number of the indiction, which should in that case be the 11th, not the 13th, and ἔως has the further advantage of defining the term of the lease.

11. There is not room in the lacuna for οἷς ἑάν. The rent of one half the produce was fairly common in the Oxyrhynchite nome; cf. 103, 277, 729.

14. For μ[ετὰ καλῆ]ς (or ἀγαθῆ]ς) πίσ[τ]εως cf. e. g. P. Leipzig 28. 21.

20. The corrupt word ναυρωων is more probably for ἀρουρῶν, as Wilcken suggests, than e. g. for νεουργῶν or νεώρων (cf. Theophrast. C. Pl. 3. 13. 3 διὰ τὸ νεουργῶν τε εἶναι τὴν γῆν καὶ ἀκάρπωτον, and Photius νέωρον νέον).

## 914. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF A DEBT.

17.1 x 11.6 cm.

A. D. 486.

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]ῖς μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαοίου Θεοδωρίχου τοῦ  
λαμπροτάτου) Μεχειρ ε θ ἰνδικ(τίονος).

[Αὐρήλ]ιος Ἀφροῦτος υἱὸς Ἀρεοῦτος μητρὸς Κυρίας  
[ὄρμ]ώμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀξυρυχιτῶν πόλεως

5 [Αὐρη]λίω Σερήνω υἱῷ Δανηελίω ἀπὸ τῆς

[αὐτῆς π]όλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ὀφίλειν σοι καὶ

[χρε]ωστεῖν ἀπὸ τιμῆς διαφόρων βαμμάτων

[ὦν ἐ]ώνημαι παρὰ σοῦ καὶ ἐβάσταξα κατὰ τὰ μεταξὺ

[σύμφ]ωνα χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια δύο, γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) β.

10 [τὰ δὲ το]ῦ χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια δύο ἀκίνδυνα

[πάντ]α ἀπὸ παντὸς κινδύνου ἐπάναγκες

[ἀποδ]ώσω σοι ἐν τῷ Φαρμοῦθι μηνὶ τοῦ

[ἐνεστ]ῶτος ἔτους ρξβ ρλα τῆς παρούσης ἐνάτης

[ἰνδι]κτίονος ἀνυπερθέτως, τῆς εἰσπράξεως

15 [σοι γι]γνομένης π[α]ρά τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρ-

[χόντ]ων μοι πάντων ὑποκειμένων τῇ

[ἐκτί]σει τοῦδε τοῦ χρέους ἐνεχύρου λόγῳ  
 [καὶ ὑπο]θήκης δικαίῳ. κύριον τὸ γραμμάτιον  
 [δισσὸ]ν γραφῆ[ν] κ[αὶ] ἐ[περωτηθεὶς ὁμολόγησα.

On the verso

20 γραμμάτιον) Ἀφφούτος υἱοῦ Ἀρεώτου ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ὀξυ[ρυγχιτῶν  
 πόλεως.

1. ὑπατεῖαν φλαουίου Pap. 2. ἕνδικ(τίονος) Pap. 3. 1. Ἀφφού. υἱός Pap. 5. 1.  
 Δανηλίον. 14. ἀνῦπερθεως Pap. 15. ὑπαρ[χοντ]ων Pap. 20. υἱου Pap.

'The year after the consulship 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 ]<sub>ε</sub> are broken, but satisfactory enough, and ]<sub>β</sub> cannot be read; there would indeed be room for one or two more letters in the lacuna, but with a chrisim and an enlarged initial letter the space would be sufficiently accounted for. The scribe therefore seems to have made a mistake; cf. 133 and 140, in which the eighth year after the consulship of Basilus appears where the ninth would be expected.

3. Ἀρεούτος: in the endorsement on the back the father's name is given as Ἀρεώτου.

9. For [σύμφ]ωνα cf. e. g. P. Strassb. 40. 13.

10. The supplement is a trifle long for the lacuna.

13. On the Oxyrhynchite eras cf. 125. introd.

17-8. Cf. 136. 41 and P. Amh. 151. 19.

### 915. RECEIPT FOR LEAD AND TIN.

6 × 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.

+ Ἐδόθη(ησαν) διὰ Ἀπολλῶ μολιβουργ(οῦ) Γεωργίῳ παιδὶ εἰς κόλλησιν  
τῶν σωλήνων

τοῦ λουτρ(οῦ) τοῦ προαστί(ου) Φαῶφι κ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) 5 μολήδου λίτρ(αι)  
δώδεκα καὶ κασιδηρίου λίτρ(αι) τρῖς,

γί(νονται) μολήδ(ου) λί(τραι) ἰβ καὶ κασιδ(ηρίου) λί(τραι) γ μ(όνοι).

(2nd hand) γί(νονται) μολ(ύβδου) λί(τραι) δώδεκα καὶ κασιδηρ(ίου)

λί(τραι) τρῖς μ(όνοι).

(1st hand) (ἔτους) σμθ καὶ σιη Φαῶφι κ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ἔκτ[ης]. ]

1. 1. μολυβδουργ(οῦ).

2. 1. μολύβδου . . . κασιτερίου: so in l. 3.

‘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.’

## (e) TAXATION

### 916. TAX-RECEIPT.

16.3 × 19.4 cm.

A. D. 198.

A receipt for a series of payments on account of a tax of which the name is abbreviated as ης or η<sup>+</sup> and the precise nature is still a matter of uncertainty. This impost is known from two other published texts, B. G. U. 572. 5 and 10, and P. Tebt. 500, in both instances occurring along with the *ναύβιον* and other imposts on land. Wilcken (*Ost.* I. p. 174<sup>1</sup>) interprets it as meaning *ὀγδόη*. The present text shows that it was calculated upon the *aroura*, and the mention of the praefect's instructions concerning it suggests that it was a special levy rather than a regular tax. The sums paid are rather high, amounting to 640 drachmae within two months (ll. 12-9), but it is not clear whether the individual to whom the receipt is issued was the tax-collector or the tax-payer. Caracalla appears as full emperor in Pauni of the 6th year (May 26-June 24 of A. D. 198); cf. 910. introd.

Ἔτους 5 Λουκίου Σεπτίμι[ου

Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακ[ος

Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρ(α)βικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικ[οῦ

- Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος  
 5 Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀνταρίνου  
 Σεβαστοῦ Παῦνι. διεγράφη Πασίωνι  
 [καὶ μετόχ(οις) δημ(οσίοις) τραπ(εζίταις) Ὁξ(υρρυγίτου) [λόγ(ου) ης  
 τῆς κελε(ε)υ-  
 σθείσης κατ' ἄρουρα[ν ἀν]ενεχθῆναι  
 ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς γρα[φεῖ]σι ὑπὸ Αἰμιλί[ο]υ  
 10 Σατουρνίνου τοῦ λα[μ]προτάτου ἡγεμ[όν]ος  
 Τιβέριος Κλούδιος Γέμεινος ὁ κ[αί]  
 Γαίων δραχ[μὰς] διακοσί[α]ς, γί(νονται) (δραχμαὶ) σ. Πασία[ν]  
 βασιλικ(ὸς) τραπ(εζίτης) σεσημ(είωμαι).  
 καὶ τῇ ις τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς ὁμοίως) ὁ αὐτὸς δραχ[μὰς]  
 15 τριακοσίας τεσσεράκον[τ]α, γί(νονται) (δραχμαὶ) τμ. Πασίων  
 βασιλικ(ὸς) τραπ(εζίτης) σεσημ(είωμαι).  
 2nd hand καὶ τῇ ια τοῦ Ἐπειφ ὁμοί(ως) λόγ(ου) η<sup>+</sup>  
 δραχμὰς ἑκατόν, / (δραχμαὶ) ρ. Ζώιλ(ος) ὕ[π]η[ρ]έ(της)  
 σεσημ(είωμαι).  
 20 καὶ τῇ κδ τοῦ Φαῶφι ὁμοίως) [λόγ(ου) η<sup>+</sup> δρα-  
 χμὰς [δ]ι[ακοσ]ί[α]ς, [ / (δραχμαὶ) σ.

3. β of αρβικου written through an α.      6. 1. διέγραψε.      11. os of κλουδιος corr.  
 1. Κλαύδιος.      17. υ of του and first ε of επειφ corr.      20. δ of κδ 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  $\frac{1}{3}$  (?) ordered to be paid upon the aoura in accordance with the edict of his excellency the praefect Aemilius Saturninus, by Tiberius Claudius Geminus also called Gaion (?) two hundred drachmae, total 200 dr. Signed by me, Pasion, public banker.' Records of other instalments follow.

9. On the praefecture of Aemilius Saturninus cf. 899. 10, note.

11-2. The name Γαίων occurs in P. Brit. Mus. II. 258. 130-1, &c., and the repetition of the ι 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 α. In any case a second name seems here more likely than e. g. οἱ(ἐρ) (for ὑπέρ) ἐγ[γ]αί(ι)ων, for though the interchange of οἱ 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 εγ in the lacuna.

## 917. TAXING-MEMORANDUM.

5 x 9.8 cm. Late second or early third century.

A memorandum extracted from the day-book of a collector of money-taxes, summarizing payments under various heads. Of the imposts mentioned two, the *ναύβιον* (l. 2) and *ἐπαρούριον* (l. 3), are familiar. The tax of  $\frac{1}{8}$  (l. 2) is not often met with in Roman times, but a *ἔκτη τεμαχῶν* occurs in P. Brit. Mus. III. 1171. 72 and a *ἔκτη* levied upon *παράδεισοι* apparently in P. Tebt. 343. 69, where we supposed that it was connected with the Ptolemaic tax of  $\frac{1}{8}$  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 *ἔκτη* 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 *ἔκτη*, however, may be a mere survival and not necessarily imply that the tax was actually  $\frac{1}{8}$  of the produce. The tax *να( ) φο( )* (l. 2) is known from 653, where we resolved the abbreviations doubtfully as *να(ῦλον) φο(ρτίων)*. *να(ῦλον)* is on the whole more probable than *να(ύβιον)*; but *φο(ρτίων)* is unsatisfactory, and *φο(ρέτρον)* is more likely than *φό(ρου)* though *να(ύλον) φο(ρέτρον)* is a somewhat tautologous expression; *φοινίκων* or *φοινικῶνος*, however, would more naturally be abbreviated *φοι( )*. The remaining impost, abbreviated *σπ( ) διον( )* (l. 3), we connect with *σπονδ(ή)* in 653, and regard it as levied nominally for a libation to Dionysus; cf. *σπονδή* as a tax in P. Tebt. 347. 2. There may well be a connexion between this tax and the *Διονυσείον* 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 *ἐπαρο(ύριον)* a tax called *πηχ(ισμοῦ) περισ(τερώων)*, for which 47 dr. 1 ob. 2 chal. are paid. *πηχ(ισμοῦ)* by itself appears as an impost in P. Brit. Mus. II. 1171. 73, where  $7\frac{1}{2}$  dr. are paid for it, and 400 drachmae are entered for *ἐπιβολ(ῆς) πηχ(ισμοῦ)* in P. Brit. Mus. III. 1157. 111, 600 dr. in l. 113, and 400 dr. for *πηχ(ισμοῦ) οἰκοπ(έδων)* in l. 152. The editors suggest that the charges for *πηχ(ισμός)* 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 *πηχ(ισμός)* than *γεωμετρία* to an area measured, and we are disposed to regard the *πηχ(ισμός) περισ(τερώων)*

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.  $\frac{1}{3}$  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.

Ἐξ ἔφη(μερίδος) Ἀπίωνος πρά(κτορος) ἀργυρικῶν) Ταλαά.  
 να(υβίου) καὶ ς' καὶ να(ύλου) φο(ρέτρον?) τοῦ ἐνεστ(ῶτος) δ (ἔτους) (δραχμαὶ)  
 κβ (ἡμιωβέλιον),  
 ἐπαρο(υρίου) (δραχμαὶ) ρθ χ(αλκοῖ) γ, σπ(ονδῆς) Διον(ύσου?) (δραχμαὶ) η  
 (τετρώβολον) χ(αλκοῦς) α,  
 / (δραχμαὶ) ρλθ (πεντώβολον). δόσις (δραχμαὶ) ρλθ ὀβ(ολοῖ) ς,  
 5 / (δραχμαὶ) ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα ἑννέα ὀβ(ολοῖ) ς.  
 (ἔτους) δ Παῦνι 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  $\frac{1}{6}$  and freight by water for the present 4th year 22 dr.  $\frac{1}{2}$  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 *ὄν 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) ψκηλίς' λβ' ξ' δ'.* *ὄν ἡ ποσειά.* 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,  $22\frac{5}{8}$  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  $9\frac{1}{16}$  arourae comprised in it fill ii. 1–iii. 2. In iii. 3 begins the general description of the 2nd *σφραγίς*, which contained  $10\frac{1}{8}$  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  $\frac{1}{16}$  aroura for a canal) is preserved. It was divided among three sets of cultivators who owned respectively  $4\frac{1}{16}$ , 2, and  $1\frac{1}{16}$  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  $5\frac{1}{2}$  arourae, but only  $4\frac{1}{2}$  are accounted for in vii. 2-11, so that either  $5\frac{1}{2}$  is an error for  $4\frac{1}{2}$  or an entry has been left out. vii. 12-18 gives the description of the 6th *σφραγίς*, which contained  $30\frac{5}{16}$  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  $6\frac{1}{4}$  artabae per aroura down to  $4\frac{3}{8}$ , this being the commonest rate; cf. P. Brit. Mus. II. 267, where the rents of Crown land near Lake Moeris range from 7 to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  artabae per aroura,  $4\frac{2}{3}$  art. being the most frequent. The exception occurs in the description of the 6th *σφραγίς*, where the  $30\frac{5}{16}$  arourae pay at the rate of (*πυροῦ ἀρτάβας*) δ κ' ξ' ρ' ξ', i. e.  $4\frac{1}{20} \frac{1}{60} \frac{1}{180}$ , or  $4\frac{7}{96}$  art., a fraction which could not be expressed without departing from the ordinary series of fractions of the artaba  $\frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{6} \frac{1}{12}$ , &c. In every instance an addition to the rents had been recently made of amounts ranging from  $\frac{1}{2}$  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, ὄν τὰ [ἐ]κφόρια 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 in Cols. xiii-xiv, and apparently implying land upon which the collection of the rents (in xi. 21 4 artabae to the aroura) 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  $4\frac{1}{4}$  and  $1\frac{5}{8}$  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  $30\frac{2}{3}\frac{3}{2}$  arourae are mentioned in l. 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[ῆ] ἐνεστ[ῶτι] (ἔτει) [, showing that it had been reclaimed 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. 1 (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 [ἀρχομέν]ων ἀπὸ νότ[ου . . . . .]ους φοι(νικῶνος) ἐν ἠπίρω  
 [. . . . .]λὸνμ(ένω)  
 [. . . . .]ῶριγένους ἀπ[. . . . .] ἐξ ἀπηλιώτου διώρυχο(ς) Τεκ-  
 [νάνις κα]λουμ(ένης) μεθ' (ἦν) γύης [. . . . .] κβλῆ' διατίν[ο(υσαι)]  
 ἐπὶ  
 5 νότ(ου). γ[ί(τονες)] νότ(ου) τῶν τῆς [. . . . .] Ἀμυνταροῦτο[ς τ]ῆς  
 Ἀμύν[το]υ, βορρᾶ διῶρυξ [. . . . .] ἀπηλιώτου Τασαταβοῦτος  
 [τ]ῆς Ὀννώφ[ρ]εως σι(τοφόρος), [λιβὸ(ς) διῶρυ]ξ μεθ' (ἦν) ὀδό(ς).  
 [α] σφρα(γίς) ἢ ἐστ(ι) ιζ σφρα(γίς) ε[. . . . .] . ἐνειλ( ) και  
 καμπ(ύλη?) σπόρω  
 (ἄρουραι) θίς' ὦν ἀ(νά) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ςδ' (ἄρουραι) β [καὶ ἀ(νά)  
 (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας)] δλδ' μ' (ἦ) (ἄρουραι) ζίς', / αἰ (προκείμεναι).  
 10 γί(τονες) νότ(ου) διῶρυξ, μεθ' (ἦν) γύη[s ἄ]νυδρο(ς), βορρᾶ βασιλικῆ) γῆ  
 ἠπιρο(ς)  
 διὰ γεωργ(ῶν) Ἀγχορίμφεω[s] Ὀννώφρεως καὶ Πατύνιος

- Ἡρωνο(s) καὶ μετόχ(ου), ἀπηλιώτου) ἐδ(άφη) Θεαβήσεως τῆς  
Πε[σού]ρειως,  
λιβὸς(s) Τεκνάνις λεγομένη διῶρυξ μεθ' (ἦν) ὁδός. ὦν [τὸ κατακ( )·  
ἀρχόμε(ναι) ἀπὸ νότ(ου) [. . .] . εὖς Ἀμήους τοῦ Σοκονώπι(ος) καὶ [. . . .  
15 Ἀμήους τοῦ Πατύνεως ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης) ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δδ' μ' ἦ'  
(ἄρουραι) ἐδ' ἡ' ἰ' ζ' .  
γί(τονες) νότ(ου) διῶρυξ, βορρᾶ ἢ ἐχο(μένη) σφρα(γίς), ἀπηλιώτου)  
κατοικ(ικὰ) ἐδ(άφη), λι(βὸς)  
διῶρυξ. καὶ προσωρίσθ(η) ἄλλο κατὰ (ἄρουραν) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) β' .  
βορρᾶ ἐχόμε(ναι) ἐγβ(αίνουσαι) ἀπηλιώτου) Ἀγχορίμφεως Ὀνωφρέως  
τοῦ  
Δείου καὶ Ἰσίωνο(s) Πανεφρέμμεως καὶ Πατύνις Ἡρων[ο(s)]  
20 τοῦ Ἡρωνο(s) ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης) (ἄρουραι) γλδ' ὦν ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας)  
ςδ' (ἄρουραι) β, καὶ ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δλδ' μ' ἦ'  
(ἄρουρα) αλδ', / αὶ προκείμεναι, ἐν αἷς κοίλωμ(α) καθ' ὑδ(ατος).  
γί(τονες) νότ(ου) ἢ ἐπάνω  
σφρα(γίς) καὶ ἐπί τι μέρος) ἰδι(ωτικὰ) ἐδ(άφη) Θεαβήσεως Πεσοῦ-  
ρειως, βορρᾶ  
βασιλ(ικῆ) γῆ ἠπειρος διὰ γεωργ(ῶν) Ἀγχορίμ(φ)εως) Ὀνωφρέως)  
καὶ Πατύνι[ο(s)]  
Ἡρωνο(s) καὶ μετόχ(ου), ἀπηλιώτου) Θεαβήσεως Πεσοῦρειως  
κλήρ(ος), [

5. ντ of ἀμυνταροτο[ς] CORR.

6. Final o of τασαταβουτος CORR, from η.

## Col. iii.

- λιβὸς διῶ[ρυ]ξ. [καὶ προσωρίσθ(η) ἄλ]λο κατὰ (ἄρουραν) (πυροῦ  
ἀρτάβης) λ.  
ιβ (ἔτει) (ἄρουραι) β του . [. . . προσωρί]σ[θ(η)] ἄλλο κατὰ  
(ἄρουραν) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) δ'.  
ἀπηλιώτου), λ ἀνὰ μέσο[ν] ὄντων ἰδι[ωτικ(ῶν) ἐδαφῶν παρατ(εινόντων)  
βορρᾶ ἐπὶ νότ(ου) [. . . . .]ξ, β σφρα(γίς) ἢ ἐστ(ι) ιη  
σφρα(γίς)  
5 σπ(όρω) (ἄρουραι) ιη' ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ἐδ' [(ἄρουρα) α ἀ(νὰ)  
(πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δλδ' μ' ἦ'] (ἄρουραι) θη', / αὶ προκείμεναι.

- γί(τονες) νότ(ου) διῶ(ρυξ) Τεκ[νάινις λε]γομ(ένη) μεθ' (ἦν) ὀδός(ς), βορρᾶ  
 βασιλ(ικὴ)
- γῆ ἡπειρο(ς) διὰ [γεωργ(ῶν)] Ὀνωφρεως τοῦ Ὀρου καὶ  
 Ἀπολλωνίου τ[οῦ Πανε]φρέμμεως, λιβὸς Τααμείους  
 τῆς Ἀρμιά[ς καὶ] ἐπί τι μέρος ἡ προκ(ειμένη) βασιλ(ικὴ) γῆ,  
 10 ἀπηλ(ιώτου) διῶρυξ. ὦν τὸ κατάκ( )  
 ἀρχόμεναι) λιβὸς Βενια[. . os Ἀγχ]ορίμφεως τ[οῦ  
 Ἀγχορίμφεως καὶ [Πατύνιο(ς)] Ἡρωνο(ς) τοῦ Ν[εστνήφεως  
 ἐξ ἀλληλ(εγγύης) ἀνὰ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δδδ' μ' ἡ' [(ἄρουραι) . .  
 γί(τονες)] νότ(ου) Τεκνά[ινις  
 λεγομ(ένη) διῶρυξ, βορρᾶ [βασιλ(ικὴ) γῆ ἡ]πειρο(ς) διὰ γεω[ργ(ῶν),  
 15 ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ἡ ἐχο(μένη) σφρα(γίς), λιβ[ὸς] . . . . . καὶ προσω-  
 ρί[σθη] ἄλλο  
 κατὰ (ἄρουραν) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) δδ' .  
 7 more lines.

Col. v.

14 lines.

- 15 νότ(ου) καὶ ἀπηλ(ιώτου), ὧν ἀνὰ μ(έσον) οὔσης διῶρυχο(ς) καὶ ἰκανοῦ  
 διαστήματ(ος),  
 γ σφρα(γίς) χέρσο(υ) ἐν κοιλ(ώματι) καθ' ὕδατος (ἄρουραι) β.  
 γί(τονες) νότ(ου) διῶρυξ  
 Φαγήους λεγο(μένη) μεθ' (ἦν) συνώρ(ια) Ἰβιῶνο(ς) Ἀργαίου, βορρᾶ  
 Ἀπολλωνίας τῆς Σαραπίωνος κληρο(ς) κατοικ(ικὸς) ἀνὰ μ(έσον)  
 οὔσης διῶρυγος καὶ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου(υ) κληρο(ς),  
 20 ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ὀδός(ς) δημοσί(α) ἐν ἡ ἀφεις λιθίνη, λιβὸς  
 ἡ ἐχο(μένη) Φακήους λεγο(μένη) διῶρυξ.

17. 1. συνόρ(ια).

21. ε of εχομ(ενη) corr.

Col. xi.

- [. . . . . διὰ] τὸ καθ' ὕδατος γ[εγο(νέ)ναι] (ἄρουραι) δδ' ἡ' ἰ' ε' λ' β' . .  
 α[. . .] εδ' αὶ ἐτ[. ( )  
 [διὰ τὸ καθ' ὕδ]ατο(ς) γεγο(νέ)ναι, ὦν τὰ [ἐ]κφ(ό)ρ(ια) διεστ(ά)λ(η),  
 μ[εμισ]θ(ω)μέ(ναι) γ (ἔτει) ὑπὸ

- πρεσ(βυτέρων) τῆς κώ(μης)] (ἄρourke) ιηδδ', ὦν τὰ ἐκφό(ρια) τῶ δ  
 (ἔτει) ἡλασσ[ώθ(η)] διὰ τὸ καθ' ὑδ(ατος)  
 [γεγο(νέναι), ἀλωνείας] (ἄρourke) α ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δδ', ὦν  
 εἰσιν αἱ ἐκ τῆς [γε]νο(μένης) τῶ ια (ἔτει)  
 5 [τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ] ἀναμ[ετρή]σεως εὔρεθ(εῖσαι) ἀντὶ καθ' ὑδ(ατος) νομῶν  
 (ἄρourke) ε[λ]δ'  
 [. . . . .] γί(τονες) τῶν ὄλ(ων) νότ(ου) διῶρυξ μεθ' (ἦν) ἡ ἐξῆς  
 σφρα(γίς),  
 [βορρά ιδιω(τικὰ)] ἐδ(άφη), ἀπηλ(ιώτου) διῶρυξ μεθ' (ἦν) βασιλ(ικῆ)  
 γῆ ἥπ(ειρος) δι(ὰ) γεωργ(ῶν) καὶ τοῦ πρὸς νότ(ου)  
 [μέρους . . . .] γ( ) ἡ σφρα(γίς), λιβδ(ς) διῶρυξ καὶ ἐπί[ι] τι μ(έρος)  
 ιδιωτ(ικὰ) ἐδ(άφη).  
 ὦν [τὸ] κα[τα]κ( )  
 10 ἀρχόμ(εναι) νότ(ου) χ[ορ]τονομῶν ἐμφό(ρων) (ἄρourke) ιδ[ε]ξ'δ'. γί(τονες)  
 νότ(ου) διῶρυξ,  
 [βο]ρρά πρότ(ερον) μεμισθ(ωμένη) ἡ ἐχο(μένη) ! . . . [ . ] μ( ), ἀπη-  
 λ(ιώτου) καὶ λιβ[δ]ς διῶρυξ.  
 β[ορ]ρά ἐχο(μ(εναι) μ[εμ]ισθ(ωμένα) γ (ἔτει) ὑπὸ 'Α[.]π[ι]έου" Ἡρωνο(ς) καὶ  
 τῶν λοιπ(ῶν) πρεσβ(υτέρων)  
 [τ]ῆς κ[ώ]μης] (ἄρourke) λ[ . ] δ' αἱ οὖσ(αι) καθ' ὑδ(ατος), ὦν τὰ  
 ἐκ[φό(ρια)] τῶ δ (ἔτει) ἡλασσώθ(η),  
 ὦν εἰ[σιν αἱ ἐκ] τῆς γενο(μένης) τῶ ια (ἔτει) τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνα-  
 μετρήσεως  
 15 [εὔρεθ(εῖσαι) ἀντὶ κ]αθ' ὑδ(ατος) ἐν νομ(αῖς) (ἄρourke) ελδ' κα[ . . . ] . .  
 / αἱ προκείμεναι.  
 [γί(τονες) νότ(ου) ἡ ἐπά]νω [σ]φρα(γίς), βορρά κλη[ρ(ος)] κ(α)τοι(κικὸς)  
 [καὶ ἐ]πί τι μέρος ἀλωνεί[α]ς  
 [. . . . ., ἀπ]ηλ(ιώτου) διῶρυξ καὶ κ[α]τοικ(ικὰ) ἐδ(άφη) [καὶ]  
 εἰσαγ(ωγός), λιβδ(ς) διῶρυξ.  
 [βορρ]ά καὶ ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ἐχο(μένη) διὰ γεωργ(ῶν) . . . . . ἀλωνείας  
 (ἄρourke) α ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δδ'.  
 [γί(τονες)] νότ(ου) ἡ ἐπάνω σφ[ρ]α(γίς), [βορρά καὶ ἀπηλ(ιώτου)  
 δ]ιῶρυξ, λιβδ(ς) ἡ ἐπ(άνω) σφ[ρ]α(γίς).  
 20 [βορρ]ά ἐχο(μ(εναι) ἐγβ(αίνουσαι) λιβδ(ς) X[α]μ[ι]ρήμον[ος] Ἀγχο[ρ]ίμφεως  
 τοῦ Ὀνω(φρεως) καὶ Ἀγχο[ρ]ίμφεως)

Ἐρου ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δ' εἷ κωθ . [ . . . . . ] . [ . ] . . .  
 γεω[ρ(γ )] αἰ οὔσ(αι) ἐν ἐποχῆ  
 ἀπὸ [ . (ἔτους) ] διὰ τὸ καθ' ὑδ(ατος) [γε]γο(νέναι)

i. ε of ετ[ corr. from α. The fractions after δδ' have a horizontal stroke above them; similarly in l. 10 and xiii. i and 16.

## Col. xiii.

[ 27 letters (ἄρουραι) . ] δ' ἡ' ξ' δ' ὦν ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δδ'  
 [ 28 ,, ἐ]ν ἐποχῆ τεταγμ(έναι)  
 [ τϜ . (ἔτει) διὰ τὸ καθ' ὑδ(ατος) γεγο(νέναι). γί(τονες) νότ(ου) καὶ  
 βο]ρρᾶ καὶ λιβὸς διῶ(ρυξ),  
 [ ἀπηλ(ιώτου) 25 letters ]  
 5 [ 23 letters καὶ με]τόχ(ων) (ἄρουραι) γλδ', αἰ οὔσ(αι)  
 [ 29 ,, ] γί(τονες) νότ(ου) καὶ βορρᾶ  
 [ 29 ,, ] τοῦ πρὸς νότ(ου) μέρους  
 [ 29 ,, ]  
 [ 28 ,, τϜ δ (ἔτει) ἐναφει(μέναι) διὰ τὸ  
 10 [ 26 ,, γί(τονες)] νότ(ου) βασιλ(ικῆ) γῆ αἰγι(αλίτις),  
 [ βορρᾶ 24 letters ]  
 [ 28 letters τϜ δ (ἔτει) ἐναφει(μέναι) διὰ τὸ  
 [ 27 ,, γί(τονες) νότ(ου) Πέλωρος  
 [ 26 ,, διῶ(ρυξ), ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ἔτερα  
 15 [ διῶ(ρυξ), λι(βὸς) 20 letters ]  
 [ 23 letters ] . [ . . . ]s (ἄρουραι) αδ' ἡ' ξ' δ' ὦν  
 [ 23 ,, ] / αἰ π(ροκείμεναι). καὶ ἐν ἐποχ(ῆ)  
 ἐτάγ(ησαν)  
 [ τϜ . (ἔτει) διὰ τὸ καθ' ὑδ(ατος) γεγο(νέναι). γί(τονες) νότ(ου) καὶ  
 βορρᾶ καὶ λι(βὸς) μεμισθ(ωμέν )  
 [ ]

ii. 2. Probably not κα]λουμ(ένφ), for there is hardly room for a proper name, even if an ἥπειρος was likely to bear one.

4. μεθ' (ῆν): 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( ) συνώρ(ια) Ἰβίωνο(ς) Ἀργαίου 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 μεθορ( ), and μεθ' (ήν) (or δν or δ) is practically certain. In B.G. U. 571. 9-10, where Wilcken reads ἀπὸ χέρσο(ν) ὑπολ(όγου) (ἄρουρα) α ἡς γί(τονες) βο(ρρᾶ) ὑδρ(αγωγός) μέθορος, λιβός χέρσος, νότου ὑδρ(αγωγός) μέθ(ορος) εδ( ), ἀπηλ(ιώτου) κ.τ.λ., we propose μεθ' (δν) ὄρος, . . . μεθ' (δν) ἐδ(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. [α] 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 α σφρα(γίς) ἢ ἐστ(ι) ιζ σ[φρα(γίς) occurs in connexion with the south γείτων of the 4th σφραγίς.

ενειλ( ) is perhaps for ἐν ειλ(υμένη): ἰλύω meaning to cover with slime is quoted by Hesychius. ἐνειλ(ημένη) and ἐνειλ(ημένη) are unsatisfactory. σπόρω is to be connected with (ἄρουραι), not with the preceding words; cf. iii. 5.

12. μετόχ(ου) is more probable than μετόχ(ων) here and in l. 24, since Ἰσιών Πανεφρέμμεως (l. 19) seems to be meant.

13. Τεκνάις λεγομένη διῶρυξ: neither this canal nor that called Φαγήους (v. 17), or Φακήους (v. 21), was known previously. For ὦν [τὸ κατακ( ) cf. iii. 10, xi. 9. The abbreviation κατακ( ) perhaps stands for κατὰ κεφαλῆν, 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 ἀκεφάλου) in a survey-list apparently means 'nondescript', 'unclassified.'

16. βορρᾶ ἢ ἐχο(μένη) σφρα(γίς) means not the 2nd or any other σφραγίς adjoining the 1st, but the plot described in ll. 18 sqq.; cf. l. 21, where νότ(ου) ἢ ἐπάνω σφρα(γίς) refers back to the plot described in ll. 14-7, both plots being comprised in the 1st σφραγίς. Similarly in iii. 15 ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ἢ ἐχο(μένη) σφρα(γίς) corresponds to λιβός ἢ ἐπάνω σφρα(γίς) in the γείτονες of the next plot described; cf. also xi. 16 and 19, where ἢ ἐπάνω σφραγίς refers in each case to the preceding holding. This, the ordinary use of σφραγίς, 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 σφραγίδες in the narrower sense. Where, as e. g. in xi. 6, ἢ ἐξῆς or ἢ ἐπάνω σφρα(γίς) occurs in the description of a numbered σφραγίς as a whole, it refers to another numbered σφραγίς, not to an individual holding.

18. For ἐγβ(αίνουσαι) cf. P. Tebt. 84. 91 and note.

iii. 3. For the occurrence of an angular sign before ἀνὰ μέσον cf. P. Tebt. 86. 32. In v. 1 it takes the shape of a wavy line.

5. σπ(όρω): cf. ii. 8, where σπόρω is written out.

The missing figure of the arourae assessed at  $5\frac{1}{4}$  artabae is supplied by the arithmetic ( $10\frac{1}{8} = 1 + 9\frac{1}{8}$ ), and confirmed by the details concerning the 2nd σφραγίς given in iii. 17-v. 14, since two mentions of  $\frac{1}{2}$  aroura at that rate occur. The rate at which the  $9\frac{1}{8}$  arourae were assessed ( $4\frac{3}{8}$  artabae) is restored from l. 13, &c.

11-2. The restorations of the proper names are derived from an entry in Col. iv, where 1 aroura belonging to these three persons is described. Βενιά[μιος 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 συνώρ(ια) is for the most part lost in a lacuna, this spelling is confirmed by συνώρ(ια) Ἰβ. Ἀργ. which occurs in Col. vii.

21. ἐχομ(ένη) is superfluous and should be omitted, or perhaps altered to προκειμένη, since the canals called Φαγίους (l. 17) and Φακίους are obviously identical.

xi. 1. In the fractions of the aroura after  $\frac{1}{16}$  we should expect  $\frac{1}{8}$   $\frac{1}{4}$ ; λβ can be read, but the two following letters are irreconcilable with ξδ. The following α may be for ἀ(νά), but the sign for πυροῦ ἀρτάθας would not fill the lacuna. At the end of the line ετ[. is perhaps ἐτ[άγ(ησαν), sc. ἐν ἐποχῇ; cf. xiii. 17.

2-5. The punctuation of these lines is not clear, and to what figure δν 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  $6\frac{3}{4}$  arourae in l. 5 to the  $6\frac{3}{4}$  arourae in l. 15. The  $18\frac{3}{4}$  arourae in l. 3 would be expected to correspond to the figure in l. 13, but the vestiges following (ἄρουραι) there suit λ, not ι.

9. η before σφρα(γίς) is probably ἦ, not the number of the σφραγίς, since there is no stroke above it such as occurs with the numbers of the σφραγίδες elsewhere.

11. ἡ ἐχο(μένη) clearly refers to the land described in ll. 12-7; the following word is not σφρα(γίς), and to read ιβ [σφρα(γίς)] is unsatisfactory, for the individual holdings comprised in the numbered σφραγίδες do not themselves have numbers; cf. ii. 16, note. Moreover after ι . . [.] is a horizontal line indicating μ, or merely a mark of abbreviation, but not occurring in the abbreviation of σφραγίς elsewhere in the papyrus.

21. It is not clear whether εῖ means  $5\frac{1}{2}$  (arourae) or is an abbreviated word.  $\frac{1}{2}$  is not a common fraction of the aroura, but occurs in Rev. Laws lx. 23. It is not possible to read Ζ for ε and connect the fractions with the preceding δ.

#### 919. ADVANCE OF DUES ON A FREIGHT.

14.5 × 10.3 cm.

A. D. 182?

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.

Κβ (ἔτους) Παῦνι κς  
 ἐκ λόγ(ου) κλή(ρου?) 'Ιουλ(ίου) Σαραπ(ίωνος).  
 Καλλέα κυβερνήτ(η) εἰς τέλη  
 Μέμφεως τῶν ἐμ[β]ληθέντ(ων)  
 5 αὐτῶι ἐλαίας Προσωπ(ιτῶν) 9  
 κομισθ(έντων) ἀπ' Ἀρσινοεῖτ(ου) καὶ  
 μόνη Κλαυδία 'Ισιδώρα  
 μέλιτος κερα(μίων) ζ καὶ σε-  
 βειτίων κ ὧν λόγ(ον)  
 10 δώσει (δραχμαὶ) ρξ.  
 δό(τω) λόγ(ον) Σαραπ(ίωνι) (δραχμῶν) ρξ.

4. θ of ἐμ[β]ληθέντ(ων) corr. from τ.

'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 Prosopite 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(ρουν) is not quite satisfactory, but κλη(ρονόμου) 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. 1. p. 50. In P. Hibeh 110. 24, of the third century B. C., only a small sum for γραμματικόν 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 Ὀξύρηνχίτης (P. Brit. Mus. III. 1170. verso 79, &c.) from Oxyrhynchus. Προσωπ(ίτιδος) might also be read in agreement with ἐλαίας (cf. e. g. 116. 11 μέτρον Ὀμβρευτικοῦ φοίνικο(ς)), 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 1, but does not greatly resemble either. A figure of some kind however seems essential.

8. σεβειτίων: cf. P. Par. 10. 22 σεβίτιον γυναικείου. The word is supposed to be a diminutive of σεβίς, which according to Hesychius = πυξίς.

11. Σαραπ(ίωνι): the letters are damaged but fairly secure.

## (f) ACCOUNTS

### 920. ACCOUNT OF FOOD.

13.9 × 13.8 cm.

Late second or early third century.

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.

Διζύφων (ἀρτάβη) α	(δραχμαὶ) κ (δυόβολοι),
σινάπεως μ(έτρα) ζ	(δραχμαὶ) ις,
πλατακίων	(δραχμαὶ) κδ (ὀβολός),
λεπτῶν	(δραχμαὶ) η,
5 σαλώτια	(δραχμαὶ) β (δυόβολοι),

ἐλαι	(δραχμαὶ) ιθ (δύβολοι),
πλατακίων	(δραχμαὶ) μη,
στρουτ(οῦ) μεγάλ(ου)	(δραχμαὶ) η,
σφαι[ρ]ίων	(δραχμαὶ) κδ,
10 πλατακίων	(δραχμαὶ) νς,
σφαιρίων	(δραχμαὶ) νβ,
ἰς λόγ(ον) ἀραβῶ(νος) στρουτ(οῦ)	(δραχμαὶ) ιβ [
ῥοῶν	(δραχμαὶ) ε [

1. διζύφων Pap. 3. First a of πλατακιων corr. 6. 1. ἐλαῖαι. 8. 1. στρουθ(οῦ);  
so in l. 12.

1. διζύφων: cf. Anth. Pal. ix. 503 Οὐκ ἀλόγως ἐν διζύφοις δύναμιν τινα θείαν εἶναι ἔφην. χθὲς γοῦν διζύφον ἐν χρονίῳ ἠπιάλω κάμνοντι τεταρταίῳ περιῆψα, καὶ γέγονεν ταχέως, οἷα κρότων, ὑγίης. διζύφοις and διζυφον have been commonly rejected (διζύθοις Erasm., ζιζύφοις (cf. *Geop.* x. 44 ζιζύφα εἰς οἰνόμελι φυλάττεται) Bapt. Pius, &c., ζουφίους Toup, 'genuina vox nondum reperta' Stadtmüller), but are now confirmed by the papyrus. Διζυφον is apparently another form of ζιζυφον, the fruit of the zizyphus or jujube-tree; cf. e. g. Pliny, *H. N.* 15. 14. § 47.

2. μ(έτρα): or perhaps μ(άτια): the abbreviation consists of a μ with a small ζ written above and somewhat to the right of it.

3. πλατάκιον is a (new) diminutive of πλάταξ, which, according to Athen. 309 a, was an Alexandrian name of the fish κορακίνος.

4. For λεπτῶν cf. P. Strassb. 40. 48 τὰ ἐξ ἔθους διδόμενα λεπτὰ . . . ; what exactly is meant is not clear.

5. σαλώτια: the word is unknown.

8. στρουθὸς μέγας or μεγάλη means an ostrich, but ostriches can hardly have been purchased for 8 drachmae. Perhaps this was a part payment; cf. l. 12, where 12 drachmae are paid as earnest money for στρουτ(οῦ). In P. Leipzig 97. xxviii. 18 and 20, xxix. 19 and 21 occur entries of an artaba εἰς τὰ στρουθῶν.

9. σφαιρία are probably sweetmeats, so called from their shape; cf. *Vita MS.* S. *Simeonis Sali* σιλιγγια καὶ σφαιρία καὶ ὀψάρια.

## 921. INVENTORY OF PROPERTY.

34·3 × 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 πήχεις—ἀπλοῖ, καμαρωτικοί (or -ωτοί), and ἐμβαδοί: e. g. ἐπὶ τῷ ἀ(ὐτὸ) ἀπλοῖ πήχ(εις) χπθζς'ίβ', ὧν καμαρωτικοί | συνδ, οἱ] λοιπ(οὶ) πήχ(εις) υκεζς'ίβ'. πήχεις καμαρωτικοί are not otherwise attested; the form ἐμβαδοί for ἐμβαδικοί occurs in Heron, *De Mensuris*, p. 314. Mention is made of

πήγματος γουβεναρίων ἐρικίνων, συμφελίων, and καινῶν πλακίων. At the bottom is an entry concerning κ]εράμια, followed by the signature Αὐρήλιος[ς] Σαρᾶς ἐσημ(ειωσάμην), part of a date, and . . .] ἐπιδῆδωκα.

Τὰ ἀποκείμενα παρὰ Ἀρσινόην		ἐπικάρσιον καινὸν	α,
περιβολάδια ἑρεᾶ	γ,	15 σινδόνια σκιωτὰ	β,
στρώματα σ . ικιανα	γ,	κολόβια τριβακὰ	δ,
σουρικοπάλλιον	α,	ἀναβολάδια	γ,
5 ἱμάτιον λευκὸν	α,	βαλανάριον	α,
κολόβια σμάλλεα	δ,	σινδόνιον παχὺ	α,
μαφόρτιον λευκὸν	α,	20 κερπικάρια τριβακ(ὰ)	β,
κερπικάρια ἑρεᾶ Καλλέ(ου)	β	σινδόνιν Κυνοπολ(ίτου) τριβ(ακὸν)	α,
καὶ λινᾶ,		Ἀφροδίτη,	
10 περίζωμα	α,	ξέσται β,	
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν)	α,	καὶ ἐν τῷ πυρ{ι} γίσκεω	
σανανοφακιάρι(ον) Θαήσι(ος)	α,	25 μύστρα,	
ἄλλο τριβακὸν	α,	πίπερας.	

8. καλλέ(ου) inserted later: the final letter has a stroke above it. 12. l. σαβανοφακιάρι(ον). 16. δ written through γ. 24. κω of πυριγισκω above the line.

'Articles deposited with Arsinoë:—3 woollen wraps, 3 . . . coverings, 1 outer cloak, 1 white mantle, 4 woollen (?) shirts, 1 white veil, 2 woollen pillows belonging to Calleas, and some linen ones, 1 girdle, 1 small face-cloth, 1 face-cloth belonging to Thaësis, 1 ditto, worn, 1 new cross-band, 2 cambrics with shaded stripes, 4 worn shirts, 3 shawls, 1 bathing-bag (?), 1 thick cambric, 2 worn pillows, 1 Cynopolite cambric, worn, an Aphrodite, 2 cups; and in the casket some spoons, some pepper.'

3. σ . ικιανα is perhaps a geographical adjective; the first letter may be α.

4. σουρικοπάλλιον: usually spelled σουβρικοπάλλιον; cf. B. G. U. 327. 7, C. P. R. I. p. 124.

6. σμάλλεα is possibly to be connected with μαλλός: cf. the collateral forms μαρίλη σμαρίλη, μάραγμα σμάραγμα, &c.; but there seems to be no other trace of the spelling with an initial σ in the case of μαλλός.

8. κερπικάρια = *cervicalia*; the word is found in the form κερβικάρια in a similar list published by Wessely in C. P. R. I. p. 125, and in B. G. U. 814. 11. We interpret Καλλέ(ου) as a proper name on the analogy of Θαήσι(ος) in l. 12.

11. σαβανοφακιάριον is a new compound. σαβάνιον occurs in P. Gen. 80. 4.

14. ἐπικάρσιον: cf. C. P. R. I. 21. 19 σουδάριον [ἐπικ]άρσιον and 27. 9 παλλίολον γλοι[όν] ἐπ]ικάρσιον.

15. σκιωτὰ: cf. Arrian, *Peripl. Mar. Rubr.* p. 13 ζῶνα σκιωταί, explained to be variegated girdles. σικιωτεν in P. Tebt. 413. 11 is perhaps for σκιωτόν.

17. ἀναβολάδια occur also in 109. 9. How they differed from περιβολάδια is not clear.

18. βαλανάριον is apparently novel; the word may mean a towel or perhaps a bag carried by a person going to the bath like πρὸς βαλάνιον in 903. 29.

24. *πυργίσκω* 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. *πίπερας* is apparently a form of *πέπερις*: cf. Alex. Trall. i. p. 67 *πιπερόγαρον* for *πεπερόγαρον*.

## 922. ACCOUNT OF HORSES.

31·1 × 21·7 cm.

Late sixth or early seventh century.

This document contains particulars concerning a number of horses and other ζῷα, 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 δέξυς 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 ἵππάρια Ἄσκλου ἐδόθη εἰς τὸν ἵππικόν.  
τὸ ἵππάριον Ὠφείως ἐδόθη εἰς τὸ ἄνω στάβλον.  
τὸ ἵππάριον τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐδόθη εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ στάβλον.  
τὸ ἵππάριον Σπανίας ἐδόθη εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ στάβλον.  
5 τὸ ἵππάριον τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου ἐδόθη εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ στάβλον.  
τὸ μικρὸν λευκὸν ἵππάριον ἐδόθη εἰς τὸν ἵππικόν.  
Πατρίκιον καὶ τὸν μικρὸν γεράτην δεδώκαμεν  
ὑπὲρ τοῦ πυρροῦ ἵππου τοῦ ἄνω στάβλου.  
τὸ λευκὸν φοράδιον καὶ πέλατον δεδώκαμεν  
10 ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος μικροῦ ἵππου.  
τὸν κέντινον πεπράκαμεν καὶ ἡγοράσαμεν  
τὸν μικρὸν μελανὸν τὸν ἐν τῷ στάβλῳ.  
τὸν ἵππον τὸν λεγόμενον Πλέβ πεπράκαμεν  
ὑπὲρ τριῶν νομισμάτων καὶ ταῦτα ἔχει ὁ κύριος Φιλόξενος.

15 τὸ ἰππάρην Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως πεπράκαμεν  
 ὑπὲρ [νομισμάτων] γ καὶ ταῦτα ἔχει ὁ κύριος Φιλόξενος.  
 τὰ β ζῶ[α τ]ῆς Ἡρακλέους καὶ τὸ ζῶον Οὐρεειῆβτ  
 πεπρά[κ]αμεν ὑπ(ὲρ) νομισμάτων εβ' καὶ ταῦτα ἐδόθ(η) τῷ αὐτῷ.  
 τὸ ζῶον το[ῦ] ἄρχο(ντος) καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὑδροφόρου καὶ ὄμουργος  
 20 ἀπαίθαναν.

τὸ φοράδιον τὸ ἀποθανὼν ὑποκάτω Μηναῖ μειςτοτέρου).  
 ἡγοράσθη ἀπὸ Ὡφείως ζῶα τρία νομισμάτων ηγ',  
 καὶ ἀπὸ Παλλώσεως ἄλλο ζῶον νομισμάτων γ.

2nd hand ἡπέθανεν ἢ ὀνοθήλ(εια) τῶν Καρανεωτῶν.

25 τὴν ἄλλην ὀνοθήλιαν τῶν αὐτῶν Καρανεωτῶν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀπὸ  
 Λουκίου  
 καὶ τὴν μικρὰν ἐπάλυσσα καὶ ἔλαβα τέσσαρα νομίσματα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.

1. δύο Pap. ἰπ'παρια Pap.; so in ll. 2-6, 15. ἰπ'πικ(ον) Pap.; so in l. 6. 5. ἀρσι-  
 νοῖτου Pap. 7. π of πατρικιον corr. (?). 8. ὑπερ Pap.; so in ll. 10, 14, 16, and 26.  
 ἰπ'που Pap.; so in ll. 10, 13. 17. Above the last 5 letters of ουρεειηβτ there is a horizontal  
 stroke. 19. ὑδροφορου Pap. 20. l. ἀπέθανον. 21. l. ἀποθανόν. ὑποκάτω Pap.  
 24. l. ἀπέθανεν. 25. τῆν in both cases corr. from η, and final ν of αλλην and ονοθήλιαν  
 inserted. 26. l. ἐπώλησα.

'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 5 $\frac{2}{3}$  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 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  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.'

1. Ἄσκλου on the analogy of Ὡφείως, Σπανίας (which occurred in 190), &c., should be a place-name.

7. Πατρικιον here appears to be a proper name rather than a title. The paragraphus after l. 6 indicates that ἰππικ(όν) ends the sentence (cf. l. 1), so that Patricius does not refer to the groom. Perhaps the name of a horse is meant; cf. l. 13 and note. γεράτην may possibly mean 'aged'; cf. the late form γερατία. The τ might be read as γ.

9. πέλαιον: or πελαγον, which is no easier. For φοράδι(ο)ν cf. Hesych. φοράδες αἱ θήλειαι ἵπποι.

11. κέντινος is an unknown word.

13. ἵππον τὸν λεγόμενον Πλέβ: cf. 140. 22 ζῶου τοῦ λεγομένου Περιισσοῦ. Is Πλέβ connected with *plebeius* (cf. Πατρίκιον in l. 7 and note)?

17. ζῶα in this context more probably signifies asses or mules than oxen (cf. P. Amh. 146. 3 βοῖκὰ ζῶα). In P. Amh. 150. 23-4 χόρ(του) ξηρ(οῦ) πεφορτ(ισ)μένα ζῶα πενήκοντα asses are likely to be meant; cf. 140. 22 τοῦ ἐμοῦ ζῶου in a contract concerning a στάβλον. According to Sophocles' *Lex.* ζῶον was not used of horses.

19. ὄμουργός does not seem to occur elsewhere, but ὄμοεργής and ὄμοεργία are attested in late writers. ὄμουργοῦ was perhaps intended.

24-5. Καρανεωτῶν is not likely to mean natives of Karanis in the Fayûm, though cf. l. 5 Ἀρσινωίτων. There may well have been a village called Καράνεια nearer to Oxyrhynchus.

### (g) PRAYERS

#### 923. PETITION TO A PAGAN DEITY.

20.1 × 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.

. . . . .  
 [ . . . . . ] . ἰω μεγαλ[ . . . . .  
 [ . . . . . ] . . σε Ἀπιων[ . . . . .  
 τ . . [ . ] ε . . γη Ἐξάκων . [ . . . . .  
 [ . . . . . ] . τισαι αὐτοῖς ὥστε  
 5 [ . . . . . ] . ]εις αὐτοῖς τὸν  
 μ[ . . . . . ] ν ὃν εἶασαν εἰς  
 θυσίαν σοῦ τοῦ κυρίου μὴ  
 κατενέγκαι εἰς Ἀλεξάν-  
 δρειαν, ἐπεὶ κατ' ἄγνοϊαν  
 10 τῶν φροντίδων αὐ-

τῶν ἡργάσατο, ἀλλὰ ἕτερον  
 ἀντ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκεῖνον  
 θῦσαι ἐν τῷ ἐν Ὁξυρυγχείτη  
 Σαραπέῳ. τοῦτο ἡμεῖν

15 δός.

1. Perhaps μεγάλ[φ, for which cf. e. g. P. Fay. 137 beginning Σοκωννωκοννὶ θεῶι με(γά)λλ(ωι) μεγάλωι. Line 1 here may be the beginning of the petition, but [τφ κυ]ρίφ (cf. P. Fay. 138. 1 κύριοι Διόσκουροι) is unsuitable; the traces of the letter before the supposed ι rather suggest γ. ΟΓ τ.

2. The letter before σε may be ι, ν, or υ.

3. Unless Ἐξάκων is nominative, the following letter must be τ, which is possible.

4. Possibly [χρημ]ατίσαι.

5. ]μεις seems to be the termination of a future verb, though this does not yield a satisfactory construction. υ or π can be read in place of ι.

6. Possibly μ[όσχο]ν, in which case ἐκεῖνον in l. 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 τὸν μ[. . .]ν is a personal name or description.

8. κατενέγκαι: less probably κατενέγκη.

#### 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 φυλάξης καὶ συντη-  
 ρήσης Ἀρίας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπιημερι-  
 νοῦ φρικὸς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ καθημε-  
 ρινοῦ φρικὸς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νυκτερι-  
 5 νοῦ φρικὸς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ λεπτοῦ  
 {το(υ) λεπτοῦ} πυρε[τοῦ] . . . . .  
 φης. ταῦτα εὐ[μενῶ]ς [π]ρά[ξ]-  
 εις ὄλωσ κατα τὸ θέλημά

σου πρῶτον καὶ κατὰ τὴν πίσ-  
 10 τιν αὐτῆς ὅτι δούλη ἐστὶν  
 τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, καὶ ἵνα  
 τὸ ὄνομά σου ᾗ διὰ παντὸς  
 {η} δεδοξασμέν[ον. ]

15 α Ἰ(ήσο)ῦ πατήρ υἱός μήτηρ Χ(ριστο)ῦ ο  
 η  
 ι πν(εῦμ)α α | ω ἅγιος ω  
 Ἄβρα σάξ

On the verso

Ἄρί(α)ς.

2. l. Ἄριαν . . . τῆς ἐφημεριῆς. υ of επιημερινοῦ corr. from σ. 3-4. l. τῆς καθημεριῆς  
 . . . τῆς νυκτεριῆς. 16. l. ἄγιον.

‘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. ἡ μὴν: cf. B. G. U. 229. 3 and 230. 3 ἡ μὲν σοθήσωι (sic).

2. ἐπιημεριῆς is contrasted with νυκτεριῆς (l. 4), καθημεριῆς with e. g. τριταῖος; cf. P. Tebt. 275. 21, &c.

6. Above the τ of λεπτον is what looks like a π, but in any case seems to be superfluous. The line cannot have proceeded καὶ ἀπὸ ἐπαφῆς, for though ἐπαφή is coupled with ἱερά νόσος in contracts relating to the purchase of slaves, who are guaranteed to be ἀναπόριφοι πλὴν ἱεράς 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. [π]ράξις is very doubtful, for the writer elsewhere divides words between two lines correctly, and the supposed ρ might be ι, τ, or φ, while of the supposed α only the slightest vestige remains.

10-11. Cf. B. G. U. 954. 8 ἐμοῦ τοῦ δούλου σου; δούλος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος occurs in Daniel (Theodot.) 6. 20.

15-7. ω and χω 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, ε being omitted, unless indeed it was written to the left of α or η, where the edge of the papyrus is damaged.

## 925. CHRISTIAN PRAYER.

5.6 x 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 θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ἅγιος  
 ὁ ἀληθινὸς φιλόανθρωπος καὶ  
 δημιουργὸς ὁ π(ατ)ήρ τοῦ κ(υρί)ου (καὶ) σω(τῆ)ρ(ο)ς  
 ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ φανέρωσόν μοι τὴν  
 5 παρὰ σοὶ ἀλήθειαν εἰ βούλη με ἀπελθεῖν  
 εἰς Χιούτ ἢ εὕρισκω σε σὺν ἐμοὶ  
 πράττοντα (καὶ) εὐμενῆν. γένοιτο, ρθ.

'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.'

1-4. Cf. B. G. U. 954. 1-3.

7. ρθ is the common symbol for ἀμήν, 99 being the sum of the numerical equivalents of the letters.

## (h) PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

## 926. INVITATION TO DINNER.

2.9 x 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

14 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.

Καλεῖ σε Ἡραθέων  
 δειπνήσαι εἰς τὴν ἐπί-  
 κρισιν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ οἰ-  
 κίᾳ αὐτ[ο]ῦ αὔριον ἥτις  
 5 ἐστὶν εἰ ἀπὸ ὥρ(ας) [θ.]

On the verso

2nd hand Χαιλαμωνι  
 Ἡλασίον.

6. 1. Χαιράμμωνι (?).

‘Heratheon 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 ω through which a ρ is drawn.

### 927. INVITATION TO A WEDDING.

3.2 × 6.2 cm.

Third century.

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.

Καλὶ σαι Ἔρωσ  
 εἰς γάμους ἥτις  
 ἐστὶν αὔριον κθ  
 ἀπὸ ὥρας θ.

1. 1. σε.

2-3. 1. αὔριον ἥτις ἐστὶν: cf. e. g. 926. 4-5.

‘Eros invites you to a wedding to-morrow the 29th at the 9th hour.’

## 928. LETTER OF LUCIUS.

10.2 x 7.3 cm.

Second or third century.

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.

Δ[σ]υ[κ]ιος Ἀπολιναρίω τῷ  
 ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.  
 ἐπὶ Ζωπύρου τελευτήσαντος τῇ  
 Ταῖδι τοῦ Ἀμφιθαλέος εἰσὶν οἱ  
 5 ἐπεδρεύοντες, ὠμείλησας  
 δέ μοι ποτε περὶ τούτου, φα-  
 νερόν σοι ποιῶ ἵνα ἐὰν δοκι-  
 μάσης ποιήσης πρὶν προ-  
 λημφθῆναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ τοῦ  
 10 Σεβαστείου μητέρα ἔχει.  
 ἐὰν ταρείχια σεαυτῷ ποι-  
 ῆ[s] κάμοι κεράμιον πέμ-  
 ψ[ο]ν. τὰ παιδία παρ' ἐμοῦ καὶ  
 Ἰσιδωρίωνος προσαγόρε[ν]ε.  
 15 ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι.

On the verso

Ἀπολιναρίω.

4. 1. Θαῖδι. 5. 1. ἐφεδρεύοντες. 7. ἴνα Pap. 9. τ of του written over something else. 14. Ἰσιδωρίωνος Pap.

'Lucius to Apolinarius his brother, greeting. Since now that Zopyrus is dead there are persons making designs upon Thaïs 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.'

3. The use of the article with the proper names in ll. 3-4 is unusual, but neither τῇ{τ}θαῖδι nor τῇ παιδί can be read for τῇ Ταῖδι.

9. It is difficult to avoid reading ὁ before τοῦ, though the sentence then seems irrelevant. Without ὁ, the subject of ἔχει is Thaïs.

## 929. LETTER OF NICANOR.

34.5 × 9.8 cm.

Late second or third century.

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 5 (2) ] ἄλφα ξ βῆτ(α) λς (3) ] αμ( ) ρπ 'Αδρι(αν?) καὶ δ' λβ (4) ] ι νς, / τξδ (5) ] 'Αχλς Απολλώνις τξδ (6) ] λήμ(ματος) τξδ, / ἀνηλ(ώματος) τξδ, πλ(ήρες). The preceding sections are similarly headed ] ὑπὲρ δ and ] γ ὑπὲρ ε respectively, with ἄλφα and βῆτ(α) followed by different figures in the next line; in No. 2, l. 3, there is a γ before αμ( ) and 'Αδ( ) for 'Αδρι( ); '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.

Νεικάνωρ Νιννά-  
 ρω τῶι ἀδελφῶ χαίρειν.  
 εἰδώς σου τὸ [σ]πουδαῖον  
 τὸ πρὸς πάντας καὶ  
 5 νῦν ἐν τούτῳ με ὑπη-  
 ρετήσεις. καλῶς ποιή-  
 σεις ἀπαιτήσας Τιθό-  
 ιν τὸν ναυτικὸν δύμα  
 καροῖνου χιτῶνος  
 10 ἐν ᾧ λίνον καὶ λέν-  
 τιον τριβακόν, καὶ ἔρια,  
 ταῦτα δὲ πάντα συν-  
 ενῆι εἰς τὸν χιτῶνα τὸν καροῖνον  
 καὶ ἐσφραγίσθη

On the recto

25 Νιννάρω οἰκονόμω Ἀπίωνος στρα(τηγοῦ)  
 2nd hand π(αρά) Νεικάνωρος.

γῆ λευκῆ, καὶ σὺν τού-  
 15 τῶ ἄλλα δύματα πάν-  
 τα, ὡς εἶναι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ  
 ἀριθμῶ ἕξ, ἀποκαταστή-  
 σαι μοι εἰς Ὀξυρυγχείτην  
 ἕξ ὧν ἔσχον τὰ προκεί-  
 20 μενα πάντα. διδὲ γράφω  
 σοι, ἀδελφέ, ἵν' εἰ ἀλλότρια  
 ἔστιν ἴδης, ἔρεῖς δέ μοι ἐν  
 τάχει περὶ τούτου.  
 ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι.)

2. χαίρει Pap.  
above ll. 13-4.

3. l. [σ]πουδαῖον.

5. l. μοι.

12. l. συνενῆν. εἰς... κα|ροῖνον

'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 τοῦτο: or perhaps ἐν τούτ(ω), but there is no other case of the confusion of ο and ω in this letter.

8. δύμα for ἔνδυμα is apparently novel.

9. καρδίνου seems to be for καρδίνου, 'nut-brown'; cf. Theophr. *de Sensu* 78 καρδίνου χρώμα ἐκ χλωροῦ καὶ κυανοειδοῦς.

12. συνενῆι: this form is the converse of the common use of ἦν for ἦ, e. g. P. Tebt. 317. 19-20 ἐφ' ὧν ἐ[ά]ν . . . ἦν.

17. ἀποκαταστήσας, continuing the construction of ἀπαιτήσας in l. 7, would have been more regular.

19. ἐξ ὧν makes a bad concord with Ὁξυρυχίτην.

25. στρα(τηγοῦ) is very doubtful.

## 930. 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 ὄκνι μοι  
[γ]ράφειν καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐ-  
[ά]ν χρεῖαν ἔχῃς. ἐντεῦ-  
θεν ἐλοιπήθην ἐπιγνοῦ-  
5 σα παρὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς  
τοῦ καθηγητοῦ ἡμῶν  
Διογένους καταπεπλευ-  
κέναι αὐτόν· ἡμερίμνου  
γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰδύια δ-  
10 τι κατὰ δύ[α]μιν μέλλει  
σοι προσέχειν. ἐμέλησε  
δέ μοι πέμψαι καὶ πυθέ-

15 σκεῖς. καὶ ἔλεγεν τὸ ζῆτα,  
ἐμαρτύρει δὲ πολλὰ πε-  
ρὶ τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ σου.  
ὥστε οὖν, τέκνον, μελη-  
σάτω σοὶ τε καὶ τῷ παιδα-  
20 γωγῷ σου καθήκοντι κα-  
θηγητῇ σε παραβάλλειν.  
ἀσπάζονται σε πολλὰ αἱ  
ἀδελφαί σου καὶ τὰ ἀβάσ-  
καντα παιδιά Θεωνίδος  
25 καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι πάντες  
κατ' ὄνομα. ἀσπασαὶ τὸν

σθαι περὶ τῆς ὑγίας σου καὶ  
ἐπιγῶναι τί ἀναγεινῶ-

τειμιώτατον παιδαγωγῶ-  
γόν σου Ἐρωτα.

In the left-hand margin

] . ταιδ̄ . . ἔρρ[. .] . . . [. . .] Ἀθὺρ κ[.]

On the verso

30 ] Πτολεμαίῳ υἱῶι.

4. 1. ἐλυπήθην.

‘. . . 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 ἔλεγεν is the καθηγητής; his daughter could hardly have given this information. τὸ ζῆτα 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. iii. 3-5.

23. ἀβάσκαντα: cf. e. g. P. Fay. 126. 10 τὸ ἀβάσκαντον αὐτῆς παιδίου.

28. There is a blank space after Ἐρωτα, 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 ερρ 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 α, but neither ἐρρ[ῶσ]θαι nor ἐρρ[ῶσ]θ(αι) εὔχ(ομαι) suits, the plural ἔρρωσθε(ε) is unlikely, and there is not room for ἐρρ[ῶσθ]αι.

### 931. LETTER OF THEOPOMPUS TO A STRATEGUS.

Chicago.

22.9 × 10.2 cm.

Second century.

A respectful letter to a strategus of the upper Sebennyte nome (cf. l. 15, note) from a friend, accompanying the present of an ounce of purple. The fact that in l. 8 the praefect is called κράτιστος not λαμπρότατος indicates that the letter was written before the close of the second century, and the early occurrence of the formula ἐρρῶσθαί σε . . . εὔχομαι, which is here combined with ἔρρωσο, is noticeable; cf. 237. vi. 35, note. The papyrus was briefly described in Part I. 163.

Θεόπομπος Σαραπίωνι τῶι  
 τιμι[ω]τάτῳ χαίρειν.  
 ὡς ἠθέλησας, κύριε, τὴν  
 οὐγκίαν τῆς πορφύρα[s] ἔπεμ-  
 5 ψα διὰ τοῦ κομίσαντος [τ]ὸ ἀπὸ  
 σοῦ ἐπιστόλιον φύλακος δο-  
 θησόμενον εἰς τὴν ξενίαν  
 τῆι μεικρᾷ· σὲ γὰρ τῶι κρατίστῳ ἡγεμόνι  
 ἀκολουθεῖν ἐστοχασάμην.  
 10 ἔρρωσθαί σε, κύριέ μου, σὺν τῆι  
 κρατίστῃ ἀδελφῇ καὶ τῆι Κυρίλλῃ  
 εὐχομαι.  
 ἔρρω(σο).  
 Φαῶφι ιε.

On the verso

15 Σαραπίωνι στρατηγῶι Σεβεννύτου ἄνω τόπων  
 π(αρά) Θεοπόμπου  
 φίλου.

8. τῆι μικρᾷ above the line.

6. 1. δοθησομένην.

‘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 toparchy of the Sebennyte nome, from his friend Theopompus.’

8. The μικρά who receives presents at the ξενία (cf. *Archiv*, IV. p. 539) is more likely to be a youthful daughter of the praefect than of Sarapion, especially as γάρ in l. 8 suggests that ll. 8–9 are closely connected with the preceding sentence.

15. στρατηγῶι Σεβεννύτου ἄνω τόπων: usually a strategus had a whole nome under his jurisdiction, but the Arsinoite nome had two strategi for the three μερίδες. That the Sebennyte nome was in the Roman period divided for administrative purposes into two distinct halves, the upper and the lower, with Sebennytus and Pachnamounis as their respective μητροπόλεις, was already known from Ptol. *Geogr.* iv. 5. 21 and 23.

## 932. LETTER OF THAÏS.

9.6 x 12 cm.

Late second century.

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.

Θαῖς Τιγρίῳ τῶι ἰδίῳ χαίρειν.  
 ἔγραψα Ἀπολιναρίῳ ἵνα γένηται ἐν τῇ  
 Πέτνῃ ἵνα μ[ε]τρῆσῃ. ἐρί σοι δὲ Ἀπολιναρίσ  
 πῶς τὰ θέματα καὶ τὰ δημόσια. τὸ ὄνο-  
 5 μα δ' ἂν αὐτός σοι εἴπῃ. ἂν ἔρχῃ ἄφες ἀρ-  
 τάβας ἕξ ἰς τοὺς σάκκους σφραγίσας λαχα-  
 νοσπέρμου ἵνα πρόχιοι ᾧσι, καὶ ἐὰν  
 δύνῃ ἀναβῆναι ἵνα ἐπιγνοῖς τὸν ὄνον.  
 ἀσπάζεται σε Σαραποδώρα κ(αὶ) Σαβίνος. τὰ  
 10 χοιρίδια χωρὶς μου μὴ πῶλι.  
 ἔρρωσο.

1. θαῖς . . . ἰδίῳ Pap.      2. ἵνα Pap.; so in ll. 3, 7, and 8.      7. εἰ Pap.      8. οὐ  
 Pap.      9. κ' Pap.

'Thaïs to her own Tigris, greeting. I wrote to Apolinarius to come to Petne for the measuring. Apolinarius will tell you how the deposits and public dues stand: the name will be that which he will tell you himself. If you come, take out six artabae of vegetable-seed, sealing it in the sacks in order that they may be ready, and if you can go up to find out the ass, do so. Sarapodora and Sabinus salute you. Do not sell the young pigs without me. Good-bye.

3. It appears from 88. 4 and elsewhere that Πέτνῃ is indeclinable.

4-5. The construction and punctuation of these two lines are not clear. Apparently a verb is to be understood with πῶς, and ὁ ἂν κ.τ.λ. is the predicate of τὸ ὄνομα. After the α of δημόσια above a hole in the papyrus there is a mark which might be taken for the top of a σ, but to suppose that σ was written e.g. for (εἰ)ς does not seem likely, and the mark in question is more probably accidental, or denotes a pause. The 'name' was presumably that of the person to whom the measuring specially related.

## 933. LETTER OF DIOGENES.

Width 9.2 cm.

Late second century.

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.

<p>Χαίροις, κύριέ μου          Ἀπολινάριε, παρὰ          Διογένους φίλου.          τυχῶν [τ]οῦ πρὸς σ[ἐ] γει-          5 νομένο[υ] ἡδιστα σε ἀσ-          πάζομ[αι] εὐχόμενος          πᾶσι το[ῖς] θεο[ῖς] πε[ρὶ] τ[ῆ]ς          [σ]φ[η]ρίας σου κ[. . . . .]          about 3 lines lost          [. . . . .]ρ[. . .] τὴν με-          γ[ά]λην ἑορτὴν ἤξα.          περὶ τῆς μικρᾶς ἐγενά-          15 μὴν ἄχρις ἂν καταπλεύ-</p>	<p>ση καὶ πάντα αὐτῇ          ὑπῆρκται ὥστε ἐπα-          νελθόντα σε μαρτυρη-          θη. καὶ περὶ τοῦ οἴκου          20 ἀμέριμνος γείνου ὡς          σοῦ παρόντος. διεπεμ-          ψάμην τῇ μικρᾷ τὸ          ἐπιστό[λ]ιον, ἐποίησα          δὲ καὶ τὸν νυκτοστρά-          25 τηγον φύ]λακα κοιμάσ-          θαι πρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ. ἄσπα-          σ[αί] Πλου[τ]ογένην τὸν φίλον.          ἐρρ[ῶ]σθ(αί) σε εὐχο[μαι], κύριε.</p>
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In the left-hand margin

ἐάν σοι ἀβαρὲς ἦ [πεύθου] παρὰ Ἀντινίου εἰ ἡγόρασεν τῷ παιδίῳ σου  
 30 τὸ φαιλόνιον, εἰ δ[ὲ] μὴ ἀγό]ρασον.

On the verso

Ἀπολιναρίῳ β . . . . . αντ( ) . . . . . πρεσβευτῇ  
 π(αρὰ) Διογένους  
 ὀθονιακοῦ.

18. 1. μαρτυρήσειν.

23. ἐπιστο[λ]ιον' 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 ἤξα occurs e.g. in Pausan. 2. 11. 5 ἤξας.

14-5. Apparently παρ' αὐτῆ is to be understood with ἐγενάμην, and ἄχρῖς ἂν καταπλεύσῃ is for ἄχρῖς κατέπλευσε; but possibly an adjective meaning 'careful', 'sollicitous,' has been accidentally omitted after μικρᾶς.

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 *munus 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. φαιλόμιον: the transposition of λ and ν is common in this word; cf. P. Fay. 347, 2 Ep. Tim. 4. 13 φελόμην.

31. The letters β . . are close to the name Ἀπολιναρίωι, while αντ( ), which is written smaller, is separated by a wide space both from β . . and πρεσβευτῆ. βου[λ(ευτῆ)] Ἀντ(ινοῦ) is a possible reading, but too doubtful to insert in the text. For πρεσβευτῆ cf. 33. iii. 11 πρε[σ]βευτῆν Ἀλεξανδρέων, B. G. U. 932. 2 πρεσβευτ[οῦ τῶν] βαρβάρων: an error for πρεσβύτη is unlikely.

33. ὀθονιακοῦ: cf. C. I. G. 3582. 2 Αἰλίου Ἀγαθόποδος ὀθονιακοῦ. Boeckh regards ὀθονιακοῦ 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.

14 × 14.3 cm.

Third century.

A letter concerning purchases of yokes and manure, and other domestic matters.

Ἀύρηλιος Στέφανος Ἀύρηλίῳ Χαιρήμονι

τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.

ἐξιόντος μου εἰς Ἀλεξάνδριαν μετεβα-

λόμην τῷ σχοινιοπλόκῳ Πετοβάστει πα-

5 ρόντος Ἡρακλήου εἰς τιμὴν ζευκτηρίων

δραχμὰς ἐξήκοντα, καὶ εἰς τιμὴν κ[δ]πρου

ἐν Χύσει παρόντος Κοπρέως (δραχμὰς) μ, καὶ τῇ Κᾶ-

λῆ ὥστε Κοπρεῖ ἂς εἶχον μετὰ χεῖρας τὰς

- (δραχμὰς) μη. μὴ οὖν ἀμελήσης τοῦ βαλεῖν τὴν  
 10 κόπρον. συνεφώνησα γὰρ (ἀρτάβας) κε (δραχμῶν) ρ παρόν-  
 τος Κοπρέως· δώσεις οὖν τὰς λοιπὰς (δραχμὰς) ιβ. μὴ  
 ἀμελήσης παραβαλεῖν ἐκεῖ καὶ τῇ γυναι-  
 κὶ ἕως ἂν παραγένωμαι καὶ χάριν τῶν  
 ποτισμῶν. εἶρον τὸν Αἰθιοπᾶν καὶ κα-  
 15 λῶς αὐτῷ ἐστίν. ἄσπασαι τοὺς ἡμῶν πάν-  
 τας. ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι).

On the verso

Αὐρηλ(ίω) Χαιρήμονι π(αρὰ) Αὐρηλ(ίου) Στεφάνου.

5. Second η of ηρακληου corr. from ου.

'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 25 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 Aethiopus and it is well with him. Salute all our friends. I pray for your health. (Addressed) To Aurelius Chaeremon from Aurelius Stephanus.'

5. ζευκτηρίων: ζευκτήρια apparently in connexion with a water-wheel (the yokes of the oxen which drew it?) occur in P. Flor. 16. 26.

7. ἐν Χύσει: for the village of this name cf. 899. 6. ἐν χύσει, 'in a heap,' referring to the κόπρος is less likely, even if the κόπρος in the present case consisted of sifted nitrous earth (*sebakê*), which Wilcken (*Archiv*, II. pp. 308-12) supposes to have been used in Roman times, as now, for purposes of fertilization. For the name Καλή cf. B. G. U. 839. 1.

10. An infinitive is omitted after συνεφώνησα, e. g. λαβεῖν οἱ ὀνειδισθαι.

12. For παραβάλλειν in the sense of going to a place cf. 930. 20-1 καθήκοντι καθηγητῆ σε παραβάλλειν, 937. 10 παραβάλης πρὸς τῇ πλατείᾳ, and B. G. U. 824. 14 παράβαλε ἐκεῖ.

## 935. LETTER OF SERENUS.

31.5 × 8.8 cm.

Third century.

A letter from a man to his brother, chiefly concerned with the health of various members of the family. On the recto, perhaps in the same hand, are remains of two columns of a list of persons, many of them women, the names being either in the nominative or dative case, followed in some instances at any rate by amounts in artabae. One entry is Θαήσει γυναι(κί) Ἀτρῆ(τος) υἱ(οῦ) βαλαν[

another "Ωρω Αὔκτου [, while towards the end of Col. ii is the heading λαχ[αν]οπ(ῶλαι) ὁμοί(ως) with a note below the next entry διάφο(ρον) β(έτους) (ἀρτάβης) δ' .[. The names Πρ[ε]ί[σκιλλα and Κακῆτ(ος, gen.) also occur. The document appears to be a taxing-list of some kind.

Σερῆνος Διογέν[ε]ι  
 τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.  
 θεῶν συναμβανόν-  
 των ἢ ἀδελφῆ ἐπὶ τ[ὸ]  
 5 κομψότερον ἐτράπη,  
 καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἄρπο-  
 κρατίων σώζεται  
 καὶ [ύγι]αίνει, συναμβ[ά-  
 νο]υσι γὰρ ἡμεῖν αἰεὶ οἶ  
 10 π[άτ]ριοι θεοὶ ἡμῶν  
 δι[ιδό]ντες ἡμεῖν ὑγία[ν] καὶ  
 σω[τ]ηρίαν. ἐμελλον δ[ε]  
 καὶ ἀ[ύτ]δ[ε] ἀναβῆναι τ[ῆ]  
 ἐπε[ὶ οἱ παρὰ] Σαραπίωνος  
 15 εἶπον [κακ]ῶς ἔχειν ἀ[ύ]τ[όν],  
 διὸ γ[ράφ]ω σοι ὅπως δι' οἶ

ἐὰν [ἔχης] διὰ ὥρας γράφ[ης]  
 μο[ι] π[ε]ρὶ τούτου. ἡ μεταφ[ορὰ]  
 τῶν ἀνκαλῶν ἔστε εὐθ[ε]-  
 20 ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς· ἔφθανε  
 γὰρ προβαστάξας τὰς ἐν ταῖς (ἀρού-  
 ραις?) ! .  
 ἄσπασαι πολλὰ τὸν γλυκύτα-  
 τον ἀδελφὸν Ἄρποκρατίωνα  
 καὶ Θεανοῦν καὶ Θέωνα  
 25 καὶ Διογένην καὶ Ἡλιόδωρον.  
 πολλὰ ὑμᾶς πάντα ἀσπά-  
 ζεται Ἱ[ε]ρακίανα καὶ ἡ  
 θυγάτ[ηρ] Τσενῆσις.  
 30 ἐ[ρ]ωθῶσθ(αί) σε εὐχομ(αι)  
 πανοικεί.

17. a of *δια* above the line.  
 θεανουν corr. from a.

19. l. ἔσται.

21. *προ* above the line.

24. θ of

'Serenus to Diogenes his brother, greeting. With the assistance of heaven our sister has taken a turn for the better, and our brother Harpocraton is safe and well; for our ancestral gods continually assist us, granting us health and safety. I intended to come up myself on the [.]th, since Sarapion's friends said that he was ill. I write to you therefore to ask you to write to me at once (?) about him by any messenger you may have. The transport of the bundles will be performed immediately by my father: he has already taken away those in the 1[.] arourae. Many salutations to my sweetest brother Harpocraton, Theanous, Theon, Diogenes, and Heliodorus. Many salutations to you all from Hieraciaena and her daughter Tsenesis. I pray for the health of you and all the household.'

5. κομψότερον: cf. P. Tebt. 414. 10 ἐὰν κομψῶς σχῶ, St. John 4. 52 κομψότερον ἔσχειν.

19. ἀνκαλῶν: cf. e.g. P. Amh. 150. 25 χόρτον . . . ἐν ἀγγάλαις (*sic*), P. Flor. 17. 13, and an Oxyrhynchus ostrakon published in *Arch. Report*, 1904-5, p. 16 τήλεως μανδάκαι ξ; ἀγκάλαι τν.

21. At the end of the line figures apparently follow the symbol for ἄρουραι.

## 936. LETTER OF PAUSANIAS.

16.7 × 14.9 cm.

Third century.

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. i.

Παυσανίας Ἰουλίῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ

τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν.

- πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν  
καὶ τὸ προσκύνημά σου ποιῶ παρὰ τοῖς  
5 ἐπιχωρίοις θεοῖς. κόμισαι παρὰ Σύρου  
κλουῖον ὠῶν π καὶ βαυκάλιον ὄπου  
τριχοίνεικον σινάπεως καὶ ἡμίχουν  
ἐλαίου ραφανίνου καὶ βαυκάλιον ὄπου  
ἡμίχουν μέλιτος καὶ τὸ ξιφίδιν.  
10 κόμισαι παρὰ Ἀγαθημέρου μελικηρίδα  
καὶ κύθραν πλακούντων ι καὶ μελίτινα  
στεφάνια γ· ταῦτα δὺς τῇ ἀδελφῇ μου  
καὶ ἀσπάζου αὐτὴν λείαν. κόμισαι παρὰ  
τοῦ κομίζοντός σοι τὸ ἐπιστόλιον κλουῖον  
15 ἔχον μ καὶ σφυρίδιον Κανωπικὸν ὄπου ζεύγη  
ἄρτων δ καὶ ε ζεύγη σκωρσελείνας.  
ὁ ἡπητήης λέγει ὅτι οὐ δίδω οὔτε τὸν χαλκὸν  
οὔτε τὸ φαινόλιον ἄτερ Ἰούστου, λέγει γὰρ  
ὅτι οὔπω λελύτρωται τὸ φαινόλιον οὐδὲ  
20 Φιλόξενον ὄλ' ἐξ ὅλων οὐχ εὔρον. ἀπῆλθον  
πρὸς τὴν μητέρα (Ἀμ)μωνίου καὶ λέγει ὅτι  
οὐκ ἔχω ἄρτι σείτον οὐδὲ τὰ βιβλίδια ἀπήρ-

[τ]ίσται ἕως ἄρτι. ἔνε(γ)κόν μοι δύο σκυτάρια  
 ἀν[ά]βολον καὶ ταλ{λ}άριον ἵππικίνακοι  
 25 πενταετίας καὶ ὑπόδημα. ἄρτι μοι  
 πέμψον σαρκοφανήν ἔχοντα μα-

## Col. ii.

[	]τως ἡμᾶς	[	]ον γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἠ
[	] ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν	[	]ἔλ]αβον καὶ ἀφη-
[	]ερα μου γρα-	[	] . ἀνάλωμα καὶ
30 [	]μειν καὶ	[	]τι εὐπευκοι
[	]το δεῖ ποῆ-	45 [	] δ' ὕστερα πα-
[σαι	]ς τὸ γὰρ εἰ	[	] ἐμῶ ὀνόματι
[	] . ὅτι πειρα-	[	] ἀσπάξε]ταί σε ἡ μήτηρ
[	]μου ἐλθεῖν	[μου	]νημά μου
35 [	]αν ἔχει ἐν εγ-	[	] ]
[	] παρὰ σοὶ λη-		
[	] μεστὸν πεν-	50	ἐρ]ρῶσθαί σε εὖ-
[	-δ]ράχμου καὶ βεί-		χομαι πολ]λ[οῖ]ς
[κους	] . ερεου μύρου		[χρόνοις. ]
40 [	]ω στατήρα τὸν		

1. ἰουλιῶ Pap. 2. τωῖ Pap. 3. ὕγαινεῖ Pap. 6. κλουῖον Pap.; so in l. 14.  
 8. σπ of σπου corr. from και (?). 11. πλακουντων ἱ Pap. α of μελιτινα corr. from ὄ. 12.  
 1. δός. 19. ο of φαινολιω corr. from ι. 20. χ of ουχ corr.

‘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 choinices 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 10 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 . . .’

6. κλουῖον seems to be a form of κλουβιον or κλωβιον, a bird-cage; cf. the Hebrew *kelāv*. κλουβιν occurs in P. Tebt. 413. 14, where it was mistakenly regarded as a form of κολόβιον. For ὄπου after β at the end of the line cf. ll. 8 and 15. Both here and in l. 15 the second letter is apparently π not μ, and ὄμου, if that were the word meant, should of

course be followed by a dative; in l. 8 the reading is doubtful on account of a correction and the imperfect state of the papyrus.

11. *μελίτινον* has been altered to *μελίτινα*, the *ο* having been converted to an *α*, but the stroke representing the final *ν* being left untouched. This is more likely than that *μελ(λ)ί-τι(ο)ν* *α* should be read, for numerals in this letter have a stroke below as well as above, and the original *ο* is more unaccountable if a figure was intended.

16. *σχωρσελείνας* is presumably a compound of *σχωρ* and *σέλων*, but no such word is known; the doubtful *ει* may be *η*, but this is not less difficult.

20. *ὄλ' ἐξ ὄλων* = *παντάπασιν*, 'entirely'; cf. 893. 6 *ὄλον τὸ σύνολον*.

24. *ἀν[ά]βολον*: cf. P. Tebt. 413. 10 *τέ(σσα)ρα ἀν(ί)βολα*, which we were therefore wrong in altering to *ἀν(α)βολά(ς)* on the analogy of 741. 13-4. The end of this line is puzzling; perhaps *ιππικιν* is a separate word = *ιππικόν*. The final letter is possibly e. g. *ν*, but only a single stroke is visible; *ς* is unlikely.

25. For *πενταετίας* cf. P. Fay. 347 *τετρατίας*, which occurs in a list of miscellaneous articles; but the meaning is obscure in either case.

26. The adjective *σαρκοφανής* is used of animals in Sext. Pyrrh. *Hyrol.* 1. 14. 50 *τά τε ὄστρακόδερμα καὶ τὰ σαρκοφανῆ*, but *σαρκοφανῆν* here seems to be a garment of some sort.

39. Not *σ]τερεοῦ*.

42. *ἐλ]αβον*: or *λ]βον*.

48. Perhaps *προσκή]νημά*.

## 937. LETTER OF DEMARCHUS.

21 x 9.1 cm.

Third century.

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.

Δήμαρχος Τάορ τῆ  
 ἀδελφῆ πλείστα χαίρειν.  
 γεινώσκειν σέ θέλω ὅτι ἔγρα-  
 ψάς μοι περὶ οὗ ἐποίησέν μοι  
 5 Ἀγατεῖνος. ἐὰν οὖν ζήσω  
 χρόνον καὶ ἔλθω εἰς τὴν  
 πατρίδα μου ἐκδικήσω ἑμαυ-  
 τόν. κὰν νῦν οὖν παραγ-  
 γέλλω σοι, ὧ κυρία μου ἀδελ-  
 10 φή, ἵνα παραβάλης πρὸς τῆ  
 πλατεία τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ  
 μάθης περὶ τῆς φιάλης  
 τῆς λιθίνης ἐν (τ)ῷ πλοίῳ

καὶ παραγγείλης πᾶσι τοῖς  
 15 ἐκεῖ, Φιλοκύρῳ καὶ Ζωσίμῳ,  
 παρατηρεῖσθαι αὐτὴν μὴ  
 δόξῃ αὐτῷ [[λαβ]] τῷ Ἀγα-  
 τεῖνῳ λαβῆ[σ]αι τὴν φιάλην,  
 κα[ὶ] ἀντίγραφόν μοι διὰ τοῦ  
 20 Ἀντινοέω[ς] περὶ οὗ σοι  
 ἔπεμψα, καὶ [γ]ράψον ἐκεῖ  
 τὸ κατ' εἶδος ὅτι τι καὶ τι εἴλη-  
 φας. καὶ εἴ τινος χρήζει ὁ Ἀν-  
 τिनόεὺς παρασχέσεις αὐτῷ  
 25 καὶ ἐλεύσει μετ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν  
 Τα[σ]ριτᾶν. [π]έμψον τὸν μα-

In the left margin, at right angles

φόρτην σου καὶ τὸ κεράμιον τοῦ γάρου καὶ δικότυλον ἐλαίου χρηστοῦ.  
ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι.

On the verso

δέξε γ σακκούδια π(αρά) τοῦ Ἀντινο-  
30 ἕως τοῦ σοι τὰ γράμματα διδόντος.

ἀπόδ(ος) Τάορ τῇ ἀδελφῇ π(αρά) Δη[μ]άρχου.

2. χαιρεῖ Pap. 4. ο of ου corr. from τ. 5. l. Ἀγαθῆνος, and similarly in l. 17.  
8. παραγ' γελλω Pap.; similarly in l. 14. 10. ἴνα Pap. 17. ω of αυτω corr. from οισ.  
19. κ of κα[ι] corr. from ε. 25. υ of αυτου 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 εν ω πλοιω, of which the easiest correction seems to be to write τῷ for ω. εν ῶ πλοῖον might perhaps mean 'engraved with a relief of a boat', but this is less likely.

18. For λαβῆ[σ]αι cf. Bekker, *Anecd. Ox.* i. p. 268 ἐστὶ λαβῶ περισπώμενον θέμα . . . καὶ ὁ μέλλων τοῦ λαβῶ λαβήσω καὶ παρ' Εὐπολίδι λελάθηκα ὡς μαθῶ μαθήσω, οὗ ὁ παρακείμενος μεμάθηκα. But there is not much room for the [σ], and the β is of the cursive form like a κ, which is not used in παραβάλης in l. 10; the other letters, however, are clear. The writer began the same word after αὐτῷ in the line above.

22. τι καὶ τι is analogous to τὸ καὶ τό: this is simpler than to take τί καὶ τί as an indirect interrogative, ὅτι being redundant.

26. Τα[σ]οίτων: cf. P. Fay. 101. recto ii. 9 Τασύτης.

27. γάρου: the usual form is ὁ γάρου or τὸ γάρου, but τὸ γάρου occurs in *Geopon.* 20. 46 ed. Basil., and *El. Mag.* τάρυχος . . . παρὰ τὸ γάρη ἔχειν.

### 938. LETTER OF DEMETRIUS.

Chicago.

8.9 × 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 Ἡρακλείδῃ πατρὶ χαίρειν.  
 οὐκ ἀκόλουθον πρᾶγμα ἐποίησας ἐνεδρεύσας τὰς τροφὰς τῶν κτηνῶν  
 τῆς Σεναῶ, ἔκπαλαι ἐπισταλεῖς δώδεκα σαργάνας χόρτου ἐκεῖ ἀποστεῖλαι  
 καὶ μὴ πέμψας, ὡς ἐκ τούτου κινδυνεύειν τὰ κτήνη διαφθαρῆναι. τῶν  
 5 οὖν κτηνῶν κακῶς ἔχόντων καὶ τῆς γῆς διὰ τοῦτο μὴ ποτιζομένης ἠπει-  
 χθην καὶ νῦν σοι γράψαι ὅπως αὐτῆς ὥρας γομω[[σας]]θῆναι ἐπιτηδείως τὰς  
 σαργάνας  
 ποιήσας ἀποστείλῃς. τῇ γὰρ ἀσχολίᾳ μου {γαρ} ἔδοξας ἐπεγγεῖλαι.  
 ἐρῶσθαί σε πολλοῖς χρόνοις  
 εὖχομαι.

## 7. ἐπεγγεῖλαν Pap.

'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 consequence 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. Σεναῶ, which is presumably a village of the Oxyrhynchite nome, is not mentioned elsewhere.

## 939. LETTER TO FLAVIANUS.

25.3 × 17.6 cm.

Fourth century.

An affectionately worded Christian letter, apparently from a dependent to his master, concerning the illness of his mistress. The style, which shows the influence of the New Testament, is more polished than that of the average letter of the period, and the document ranks high as a specimen of epistolary composition. A strip containing the beginnings of lines is missing in the upper portion, but the sense is always clear though the restoration is sometimes quite conjectural.

[Τῷ κυρίῳ] μου	Φλαβιανῶι
[Δημήτ]ριος	χαίρειν.
[ὡς ἐν ἀλ]λοῖς πλείστοις νῦν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς σέ	
[τοῦ δεσπό]του θεοῦ γνῶσις ἀνεφάνη ἅπασιν ἡμῖν	
5 [ὥστε τῇ] κυρίαν ἀνασφῆλαι ἐκ τῆς καταλαβούσης	
[αὐτὴν νόσ]ου, καὶ εἶη διὰ παντὸς ἡμᾶς χάριτας ὁμο-	

- [λογοῦντα]ς διατελεῖν ὅτι ἡμῖν ἴλεως ἐγένετο  
 [καὶ ταῖς εὐ]χαῖς ἡμῶν ἐπένευσεν διασώσας ἡμῖν  
 [τὴν ἡμῶν] κυρίαν· ἐν γὰρ αὐτῇ πάντες τὰς ἐλπίδας  
 10 [ἔχομεν.] συγγνώμην δέ, κύριέ μου, σχοίης μοι  
 [καὶ εὐνοῦς] ἀποδέξει με εἰ καὶ ἐς τηλικαύτην σε  
 [ἀγωνία]ν ἄκων ἐνέβαλον γράψας περὶ αὐτῆς ὅσα  
 [ἐκομίσω.] τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα ἐν θλίψει αὐτῆς  
 [πολλῇ οὐ]σσης οὐκ ὦν ἐν ἐμαυτῷ ἀπέστειλα  
 15 [σπουδάζων] εἴ πως ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου δυνηθείης  
 [πρὸς ἡμᾶς] ἀφικέσθαι, τοῦτο τοῦ καθήκοντος  
 ἀπ[α]ι[του]ντ[ος]· ὡ[ς δὲ ἐπὶ τ]ὸ ῥᾶον ἔδοξεν τετράφθαι  
 ἕτερά σε γράμματα ἐπικαταλαβεῖν ἐσπούδασα διὰ  
 Εὐφροσύνου ἵνα σε εὐθυμότερον καταστήσω.  
 20 νῆ γὰρ τὴν σὴν σωτηρίαν, κύριέ μου, ἧς μάλιστά  
 μοι μέλει, εἰ μὴ ἐπινόσως ἐσχήκει τὸ σωματίον  
 τότε ὁ υἱὸς Ἀθανάσιος αὐτὸν ἀν ἀπέστειλα πρὸς σέ  
 ἅμα Πλουτάρχῳ ἠνίκα ἐβαρεῖτο τῇ νόσῳ. νῦν δὲ  
 πῶς πλῖονα γράψω περὶ αὐτῆς ἀπορῶ, ἔδοξεν  
 25 μὲν γὰρ ὡς προεῖπον ἀνεκτότερον ἐσχηκέναι ἀνακαθεσθεῖ-  
 σα, νοσηλότερον δὲ ὅμως τὸ σωματίον ἔχει. παρα-  
 μυθοῦμ[ε]ῖθα δὲ αὐτὴν ἐκάστης ὥρας ἐκδεχόμε-  
 νοι τὴν [σ]ὴν ἀφίξιν. ἐρρῶσθαί σε, κύριέ μου,  
 διὰ παντὸς τῷ τῶν ὄλων  
 30 δεσπότη εὐχομαι.

Φαρμοῦθι ς.

On the verso

Φλαβιανῶι

Δημήτριος.

7. ἴλεως Pap. 14. οὐκ' Pap. 19. ἵνα Pap. 22. υἱος Pap. 25. ἀνακαθεσθεῖσα 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.'

11. εὔνους: or perhaps ἰλεως, which has already occurred in l. 7. ἰλεως δέξασθαι is a Sophoclean phrase, *Aj.* 1009, *Tr.* 763.

28 sqq. ἐρρῶσθαι κ.τ.λ. is in darker ink, and at first sight appears to have been added by a different hand; but ἐκδεχόμε- presents a similar appearance, whereas the rest of the sentence νοι . . . ἄφιξι, which must have been written at the same time, is just like the preceding lines. It is therefore improbable that any distinction of hand should be made.

## 940. LETTER TO A CLERK.

10.7 x 30 cm.

Fifth century.

A letter containing instructions to a νοτάριος concerning the vintage. The writing, as is usual with Byzantine letters, e. g. 941-3, is across the fibres of the papyrus.

ΧΜΥ

Συνορῶ τέως ἐν ταυτότητι μείναι τὰς ῥύσεις ἄχρι τῆς τελευταίας μερίδος  
 ἵνα μὴ  
 δόξωμεν διώκειν τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μήπω τρυγήσαντας. τοίνυν, ὡς ἀνωτέρω  
 εἴρηται,  
 καταξίωσον ἐπέχειν τοῦ λογισμοῦ ἕως οὗ μάθῃς τὴν τῶν ἄλλων μερίδων  
 δύναμιν,  
 5 καὶ ἐν τοσοῦτῳ γράφεις μοι καὶ οὕτως σκοπῶ τὸ πρακτέον. τὸν δὲ  
 Φοιβάμμωνα

τὸν φροντιστὴν μεταστειλάμενος ἔχε ἐγγὺς σοῦ μίαν μίαν.

On the verso

ἐπίδο(ς) τῷ θαυμασ[ιω(τάτῳ)] Ἰωσήφ νοταρίῳ  
 . . . λαρμόβωνος.

2. ἵνα Pap.

'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  $\chi\mu\gamma$  is given by Smirnof in *Berl. Phil. Wochensch.*, Aug. 18, 1906, pp. 1082 sqq. He suggests that the letters correspond to the Hebrew  $\gamma\eta\eta\eta = \epsilon\iota\iota$  or  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ , comparing the representation of the Hebrew tetragrammaton by the Greek  $\pi\iota\pi\iota$ . It may perhaps be regarded as some slight support for this view that the order of the letters occasionally follows that of the Hebrew,  $\Gamma\text{M}\text{X}$  (cf. *Arch. Report* for 1906-7, p. 10 *ad fin.*); but the question remains unsettled.

2.  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$  in the sense of to 'resolve' or 'determine' is common in Byzantine Greek, e. g. Concil. Chalced. 639  $\epsilon$   $\sigma\upsilon\nu\omicron\rho\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu$   $\pi\rho\delta$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\tau\grave{\alpha}$   $\pi\rho\omega\tau\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha$  . . .  $\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ .

6.  $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$   $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  was used for  $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$   $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  by Sophocles according to Antiatt. 108. 9, and *Apophthegm. Patrum* 80 a (Migne, vol. xlv)  $\chi\rho\eta$   $\omicron\upsilon\tilde{\nu}$   $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$   $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$   $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$   $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\omicron\iota\varsigma$  is quoted by Jannaris, *Hist. Gr. Gram.* § 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  $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$   $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  means 'together', *μα*, and the sense may well be the same in *Apophthegm.* 80 a, emphasizing the  $\sigma\upsilon\nu$  of  $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ .

8. Possibly  $\pi(\acute{\alpha}\rho\grave{\alpha})$   $\text{Χαρμόσωνος}$  or  $\text{Λαρκάσωνος}$ , but  $\pi(\acute{\alpha}\rho\grave{\alpha})$  does not really account sufficiently for all the traces, and the word ending in  $-\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$  may be the name of the place of which Joseph was *νοτάριος*.

## 941. LETTER TO JOHN.

13.3 × 31.4 cm.

Sixth century.

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.

π /

+ Ἐπειδὴ ὁ πλινθευτὴς λέγει τὸν τόπον τοῦ υἱοῦ Νῖννοῦδος ὄστρακώδης  
καὶ μὴ πεποιημένον εἰς πλινθεῦσαι, ὡς δὲ λέγει ὅτι ἔαν σ[κ]υλῆς πρὸς τὸν  
τοῦ οἰκονόμου τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰούστου παρέχει σοι τόπον ὀλίγον ἢ ἀντὶς τοῦ  
μαρτυρίου  
5 ἢ ἐξ ἀρ[ι]στερῶν αὐτοῦ ἤγουν ἐκ δεξιῶν, καταξίωσον χαρίσασθαι μοι  
σκ[υ]λμὸν  
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀλλ' ἄρτι καὶ εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ. εἰκὸς παρέχει σοι τὴν χάριν, ἐκ  
τοῦ γὰρ

ἐγγύς ἐστιν. ἀλλ' οὕτως λέγεις αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐὰν θέλεις παρέχομέν σοι τὸ  
 ἐνοίκιον,  
 μόνον παρέχε μοι, τὸν δὲ θεὸν σοῦ. εὐθὺς διὰ Φοιβάμμωνος δῆλωσόν μοι  
 τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπόκρισιν. εἰπέ δὲ αὐτῷ ὅτι ὀλ[ίγη]ν μόν[ου θέλομ]εν καὶ  
 οὐ πολλήν.

10 ἐπίδ(ος) Ἰωάν[νη π(αρά) . . . . .]ενου. †

2. v̄ion Pap. 1. Νιννοῦτος ὀστρακῶδη. 3. σ of πλινθευσαι corrected. v̄ion Pap. 4. ἰουστου  
 Pap. 6. αλλς Pap.; so in l. 7. 7. ἐγγυς Pap. 10. ἰωαν[η] Pap.

‘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 . . .’

1. 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 δείνα, e. g. 904, led scribes to write π(αρά) even when there was no real intention of adding the name.

3. σκυλῆναι πρὸς = ‘to take the trouble of going to,’ as is shown by instances where ἔως replaces πρὸς, e. g. Cyrill. Scythop. *Vita S. Sabae σκυλῆναι ἔως τοῦ οἴκου*. Cf. 123. 10 (third or fourth century) ποιῆσον αὐτὸν σκυλῆναι πρὸς Τιμόθεον, which we translated wrongly, and B. G. U. 830. 25 where the active form σκυλαί τινα πρὸς is found in a letter of the first century.

4. The form ἀντίς, evidently employed in a local sense, is remarkable. It occurs at a later period with an accusative, e. g. Th. Prodrōmus 3. 285–6 (twelfth century) ἀντίς νερόν φαρμάκιν, and is used in modern Greek.

7. The subject of ἐστιν is perhaps ὁ τόπος, the meaning being that the proposed change of locality would be slight; this seems more likely than that ἡ χάρις is the subject, and that ἐγγύς is metaphorical, ‘the favour is nothing out of the way.’

8. τὸν δὲ θεὸν 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 πολλοῖς χρόνοις καὶ καλοῖς τὴν ὑμετέραν μεγαλοπρ(έπειαν), ‘I wish long life and happiness to your magnificence.’

## 942. LETTER OF TIMOTHEUS.

Chicago.

7 × 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 Νειλουπολιτῶν περὶ ὥραν  
ἕκτην, καὶ μετὰ τὸ  
ἀπολύσαι ἡμᾶς τὰ ζῶα γράμματα ἡμῖν ἀπεδόθη τῆς σῆς ἀδελφικῆς  
λαμπρ(ότητος) περὶ ὀγδόην ὥραν  
καὶ ὁ θεὸς οἶδεν εἶπερ μὴ ἡμεθα ἀπολύσαντες τὰ ζῶα, εἰ δ' αὐτὰ εἶχαμεν  
ἐπαναλύσαι. πρὸ τριῶν οὖν  
ὥρων, ὅτε καὶ δυνάμεθα ἐξελεθεῖν τῆς πόλεως, ἐξερχόμεθα ὀφείλοντες σὺν θεῷ  
παραγενέσθαι.  
5 πάννυ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀήδισεν ἡ ἀδελφικὴ σου λαμπρ(ότητος) μηδὲν ἡμῖν σημάνασα τῶν  
παρακολουθησάντων.

On the verso

+ ἐπίδ(ος) τῷ δεσπ(ότη) τῷ πά(ν)τ(ων) λαμπρ(οτάτῳ) εὐδοκ(ιμωτάτῳ) π(άν)των  
φιλ(τάτῳ) ἀδελφ(ῶ) Πετρωνίῳ ἐξκ(έπτορι)  
π(αρά) Τιμοθέου ὀρδ(ιναρίου) Θεοδόδου.

4. ωρῶν Pap.

7. 1. Θεοδότου.

'We reached Nilopolis on the 13th about the 6th hour, and after we had released the animals a letter was delivered to us from your brotherly excellency about the 8th hour; and God knows whether we had not released the animals, and whether we had any more to unloose. Accordingly before three hours were passed, as soon as we could leave the city we leave it, being obliged by the help of God to arrive. We were much displeased with your brotherly excellency for not explaining to us any of the consequences. (Addressed) Deliver to the lord my most excellent, most illustrious, and most beloved brother Petronius, *exceptor*, from Timotheus, *ordinarius* of Theodotus.'

1. ὥραν ἕκτην: about noon.

2. ζῶα: probably donkeys rather than horses; cf. 922. 17, note.

3. δ' αὐτά: or perhaps *δαντα* for *ταῦτα*: cf. Θεοδόδου in l. 7. A better sense would be obtained if *εἰσαντ(ικ)*a could be read, in which case *εἶχαμεν ἐπαναλύσαι* would mean 'could have returned'.

6. ἐξκ(έπτορι): cf. the *ἐξκέπ(τορες)* 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. *ἐξκ(ουβίτορι)*, as Wilcken remarks, is also possible; cf. P. Brit. Mus. I. 113 (7). 14 *σκουβίτορ(ος)*.

7. ὀρδ(ιναρίου): 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 *ταξίαρχος*, the term may well apply to some minor military officer.

## 943. LETTER OF VICTOR.

17.4 × 34 cm.

Sixth century.

A request to a *chartularius* (cf. 128. I, &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.

+

+ Καταξιώση ἡ σὴ γνησία ἀδελφότης Μηνᾶν τὸν λαμπρότατον καὶ Σερήνον  
τὸν λαμπρότατον τραπεζίτην καὶ Μηνᾶν τὸν προκουράτορα παρασκευάσαι  
ἀπελθεῖν εἰς δίαιταν ἕνεκεν τοῦ λουτροῦ, καὶ μὴ ἀποστῆ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ  
μειζότερος  
ἄχρι συνομολογεῖ τῷ ἐνδόξῳ οἰκῷ ὁ ὀφείλων ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸν φόρον τοῦ  
λο(υ)τροῦ  
5 δοῦναι. Σερήνος γὰρ ὁ λαμπρότατος τραπεζίτης διὰ πίσματος γυναικὸς  
ἐδίωξεν  
Κόλλουθον τὸν εὐλαβέστατον ἐκ τοῦ λο(υ)τροῦ, καὶ ὅτε ἐποίησεν τὸ πῖσμα  
αὐτοῦ οὐ θέλει ἀποστῆναι.  
καὶ ζῆ κύριος οὐκ ἀφίσταμαι τῶν τριῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ πληροῦσιν τὸν φόρον  
τοῦ λουτρο[ῦ] ἕω[ς . .]ειν ἀντιγεοῦχο[ν].+

On the verso

+ δεσπό(τη) τῷ ἀπά(ντων) λαμπρο(τάτω) τιμαξιω(τάτω) σὺν θε(εῷ) ἀδελφῷ  
+ Γεωργίῳ χαρτ(ουλαρίῳ) + Βίκτωρ σὺν θε(εῷ) α . . . λ( )

3. σ of ἀποστη corr. from ο. 4. First ο of συνομολογεῖ over an erasure. 6. τον  
εὐλαβεστατον above the line in a different hand. 7. ἀλλάντοι 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 . . .'

2. προκουράτορα: cf. P. Brit. Mus. III. 1032. 10, a letter of about the same period as this, and Gloss. Basil. προκουράτωρ ἐστὶν ὁ φροντιστὴς ἢ ἐντολεύς, ὁ πρᾶγμα ἐτέρου κατ' ἐντολὴν αὐτοῦ διώκων.

4. ἄχρι συνομολογεί: so probably rather than ἄχρισ ἂν ὁμολογεί, though *a* and *v* when written small, as here, are at this period often indistinguishable. For οἴκω cf. 126. 4, note.

6. ἀποστήναι: sc. τοῦ λουτροῦ (?). But the connexion is not very clear.

7. ζῆ κύριος is frequent in the LXX; cf. e.g. Judges 8. 19 ζῆ κύριος . . . οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινα ὑμᾶς.

8. The term ἀντιγεούχος, which is apparently not found in literary sources, occurs also in 153. 3 τῷ ἐνδ(όξῳ) ἀ., 156. 5 χαρτου(λάριος) καὶ ἀ., B. G. U. 303. 28 μεγαλοπρ(επέστατον) τριβούνον ἀ., 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 γεουχοῦντες 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. ἀντιγεούχος is classed among the officials.

The preceding word seems to be an infinitive, but there is not space for ἐλθεῖν, and ἦκειν and ἰδεῖν are not suitable. A break occurs in the papyrus after the supposed *v*, 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 × 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 × 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 μν]ήσσεσθε corr. to αι by a second hand. 734 Υπέρια[ν. Fifth century, written in heavy sloping uncials.
- 946.** 5.7 × 5.3 cm. A few letters from the middles of ii. 861-867. 864 ? Μεθ]αης τε και Αντι[φος. Late second or third century, written in broad, slightly sloping uncials.
- 947.** 7.5 × 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 × 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 × 4.6 cm. A few letters from near the ends of x. 437-452, from the bottom of a column, with occasional accents (449 ἤε). 446 βοην αγα]θος [Διομηδης (τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη κρατερὸς Διομήδης MSS.). 451 πολεμιξω[ν. Late second or third century, written in square upright uncials similar to those of 889 (Plate I).
- 950.** Fr. (b) 23.8 × 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 εστιν. 368 εξε]ναριξεν. 371 τυμβωι added by a second hand above πυργωι, which is crossed through. 375 αυειλκε. 381 απο θυμον ολεσσαι. Third century, written in sloping oval uncials.

951. Fr. (*b*) 8 × 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 *ous* is not ρ or τ but seems to be α, i. e. παρ]α or κατ]α. Fourth century, written in heavy sloping uncials.
952. 11.7 × 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 uncials.

(*b*) *Odyssey*.

953. Fr. (*d*) 11 × 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 κατεβη Τρωδων. 251 αυειρωτων. 252 εγων ελοενν (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 × 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 uncials than the recto.
955. 7 × 2.8 cm. Fragment of a leaf from a book, containing on the verso a few letters from xvii. 601-606 and on the recto parts of xviii. 27-40, with high stops and frequent accents. 34 ξυνε]ηκ'. Third century, written in upright uncials, those on the recto being much smaller than those on the verso.
956. 9.6 × 14.2 cm. Ends of xxiii. 309-326 and beginnings of 342-356, from the tops of two columns. 317 μεγαλα for βαρέα. 318 Λ]αιστυγονιην αφικοντο. 320 omitted. 345 ρ' omitted. Second or third century, written in heavy square, nearly upright uncials 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 × 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) ἡ τόμ(ος) ἐξητ(ασμένων?) εἰδ(ῶν) ἡ οἱ ἀπὸ διαλογ(ῆς?) ζ (ἔτους) (2) Ἀδριανοῦ ὅς ἐστ(ι) τῶν πρὸς παραγγελ(ίαν) (3) ἀπὸ ιγ, below which in the right-hand corner is ἀπη( ) enclosed apparently between rounded brackets. The symbol after εἰδ(ῶν) is obscure; it resembles the sign for δραχμή or a cursive αι, the following letters οἱ being raised slightly above the line: perhaps (καί) οἱ. A. D. 122-3. Complete. 4 lines.

- 958.** 2 × 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 *ηρακ( )* can equally well be read.
- 959.** 7.2 × 13 cm. 8 incomplete lines containing magical symbols, interspersed with occasional Greek letters. About the third century.
- 960.** 5.7 × 9.5 cm. Memorandum of a payment of corn by two persons, the text being *Αὐρηλία Θεανοῦς Διδύμου καὶ ὁ υἱὸς Αὐρήλιος Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Θέων Σερύφειος πόλεως (ἀρτάβας) μλς'.* *Σερύφειος πόλις* seems to be identical with the known Oxyrhynchite village *Σερούφισ* (cf. e. g. **991**). Third century. Complete. 5 lines.
- 961.** 10.2 × 12.4 cm. Demotic papyrus containing the first 15 lines of a document. First or second century.
- 962.** 11.5 × 6.1 cm. On the recto the first 18 lines of an *ἀπογραφή* of sheep, addressed to the strategus (cf. **245-8**) 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 α (ἔτους) Νέρωνο(ς) Φαρμουθ(ι), καὶ διαίρεσιν τ . . . . α (ἔτους) Παῦνι, ιδ (ἔτους) Κλαυδίου μη(νὸς) Γερμανικείου ἀγορασμ(ὸν) οἰκίας.* Probably written in or soon after the reign of Nero. Complete. 8 lines.
- 963.** 16 × 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 *'Ωφελία Θεαροῦτι τῇ μητρὶ χαίρειν. ἀσπάζομαί σε, μήτηρ, διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων τούτων ἐπιθυμοῦσα ἤδη θεάσασθαι. χάριν δέ σοι οἶδα, μήτηρ, ἐπὶ τῇ σπουδῇ τοῦ καθεδραρίου, ἐκομισάμην γὰρ αὐτό. οὐκ ἀλλότριον γὰρ τοῦ ἡθους ποιεῖς, φιλ[τάτη] μήτηρ, σ]πουδάζουσα . . .* Second or third century. 14 lines.
- 964.** 13.7 × 16.3 cm. Receipt for the rent of a camel-shed, of which the text is *Αὐρήλιος Θέων ὁ καὶ Εὐδαίμων ἐπικαλούμενος Ἀριστίων καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ Σαραποῦς ἡ καὶ Ἀγαθόκλια ἀμφότεροι Ἀριστίωνος καὶ ὡς ἐχρημάτιζεν Αὐρηλίῳ Ἰσιδώρῳ χαίρειν. ὁμολογοῦμεν ἀπεσχηκέναι παρὰ σοῦ τὰ ἐνοίκια οὗ ἔχεις ἡμῶν ἐν μισθώσει καμηλῶνος ἐπ' ἀμφόδου [Ἰπ]πέων Παρεμβολῆς τῶν ἀπὸ Φαμενώθ ἕως Μεσορῆ τοῦ διεληλυθότ[ο]ς ι (ἔτους) ἐν δραχμαῖς διακοσίαις εἴκοσει, μένοντος ἡμῖν τοῦ λόγου πάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστώτος μηνὸς Θῶθ ἐνοικίῳ ἀκολουθῶ[ς] τῇ μισθώσει. κυρία ἡ ἀποχὴ καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες ὁμολογήσαμεν. (ἔτους) ια Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Πουπλίου Λικυνρίου Γαλλιηνοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Θῶθ 5.* Signature of Aurelius Theon. A. D. 263. Complete. 12 lines.
- 965.** 10.2 × 12.1 cm. An order to the collectors of corn-dues at the village of *Φιλονίκου* (cf. P. Hibeh p. 8) to deal gently with a certain individual.

The text is Πράκτορος[ι] σιτικῶν Φιλονείκου. μὴ παρε[νο]χλήσητε Λουκίω Κερελ[. . . . .]ανιανῶ καὶ ἀπόλυσον τὴν [. . . . . αὐτ]οῦ ἕως οὗ κατασπείρωσιν [. . . . .]. Cf. P. Brit. Mus. II. 379, P. Reinach 57, and *Fayûm Towns*, Ostr. 45. Third century. Written across the fibres. Incomplete. 4 or 5 lines.

- 966.** 12.7 × 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 ἐξ ἐπικρίσεως πυροῦ (ἀρτάβαι) χπθδ'κ'δ'μ'ή, λαχάνου (ἀρτάβαι) Γξήσ'κ'δ'. Πούχεως φακοῦ (ἀρτάβαι) β, λαχάνου (ἀρτάβαι) ξγΖ, καὶ ἐξ ἐπικρίσεως [. Third century. On the verso are two lines in rude uncials, no doubt a writing-exercise, of which the text is εν πασιw ξστ αδικτον η (corr.) γνωμη καλον (a corrupt iambic line) ε. .
- 967.** 15.1 × 9.2 cm. The upper part of a letter from a man to his sister. Lines 1-11 Ἀπίων Ἐξακωνοῦτι τῇ ἀδελφῇ χαίρειν. φασὶ τὸν κράτιστον ἡγεμόνα ἐλεύσεσθαι ἐνθάδε περὶ τὴν τριακάδα, ὃ ἴν' εἰδῆς γράφω σοι. καλῶς δὲ ποιήσεις ἐπιστείλασα εἰς ἀγρὸν ἄρξασθαι τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἀμπελώνας ποτισμῶν τῇ πέμπτῃ τοῦ ἐξῆς μηνὸς . . . Address on the verso. Second century. 18 lines.
- 968.** 39.9 × 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 τροφὸς Ἀράσις. At the end are the signatures of the testatrix and witnesses, one of whom is called Ἐκάτων. 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 × 12.4 cm. An order to an ἀρχέφοδος to summon an accused person, similar e. g. to 64-5. The text is Ἀρχεφόδωι μετὰπεμψον Ἀπολλώνιον Γαίου, ἐντυχόντος Ἀπολλώνιον περὶ κατασπορᾶς. Early second century. Complete. 3 lines.
- 970.** 8.1 × 8.7 cm. Beginning of an ἀπογραφή addressed to the comogrammateus of Σερύφεις by an inhabitant of Antinoöpolis. The text is Κωμογρα(μματεῖ) Σερύφεις παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Πάριδος τοῦ καὶ Ζευξίανου Νεροϊανείου τοῦ καὶ Γενεαρχείου ἀποδεδειγμ(ένου) ἀρχιερέως τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ἀντινοέων πόλεως διὰ Αὐρηλίου Πτολεμαίου Ἰερακιάτης ἀπὸ Πέλα. ἀπογρά(φομαι) κατὰ τὰ κελευσθ(έντα) ὑπὸ Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ κρα(τίστου) πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκ(εφθείσαις ?) [. Αὐρ. Ἀντωνίνος is perhaps identical with Αὐρ. Ἀντίνοος, vice-praefect in A.D. 215-6 (cf. Cantarelli, *La serie dei prefetti*, p. 66), unless πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκ(έψειςι), 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 Χαϊρή(μονι) στρα(τηγῶ) and at right angles ] Σερύφε(ως).
- 971.** 14.7 × 7 cm. Account of expenditure on irrigation, of which the text is Λόγο(s) ἀντλ(ήσεως) Διονυσίου. Μεχ(εῖρ) κδ ποιουσι ὑδραγω(γὸν) ἐν τ(ῶ) κλ(ήρῳ) ἐργ(άταις) β ὀβ(ολοὶ) ι, κε β ὀβ(ολοὶ) ι, κς β ὀβ(ολοὶ) ι, κς α ὀβ(ολοὶ) ε, κη

- ἀντλ(οῦσι) ἐργ(άταις) δ ὀβ(ολοὶ) λς, κθ ἀντλ(οῦσι) καὶ παρά(ουσι) ὑδραγ(ωγὸν) δ ὀβ(ολοὶ) λς, λ δ ὀβ(ολοὶ) λς, καὶ ἀνηλ(ώματος) ἐνοικίου κηλ(ωνείου) (cf. P. Tebt. II. 342. iii. 19) ὀβ(ολοὶ) ιη, / ὀβ(ολοὶ) ρξα. καὶ τειμ(ῆς) ἐλαί(ου?) (δυσόβολοι), / ὀβ(ολοὶ) ρξγ, οἰ (δραχμαὶ) κζ. Late first or early second century. Complete. 10 lines.
- 972.** 14.9 × 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 ἐ]ίς [τὸ ἐν μη]δενὶ μεμφθῆναι [ῆ] ξ[νο]χο[ς] ἐ]ῖην τῷ ὄρκῳ. καὶ π[α]ρέσχον δὲ ἑμαυτοῦ ἐνγνητῆν Γάιον Ἰούλιον Ἀντώνιον παρόντα καὶ εὐδοκοῦντα. ἔτους β Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσα[ρ]ος Μάρκου Αὔρηλιου Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Μεσορῆ ἐπαγομένων α. Γάιος Πουλφέρνησις Τιβερείνος ὄμοσα τὸν ὄ[ρ]κον καὶ ἐκτελέσω τὴν χρεία[ν] ὡς πρόκειται. (2nd hand) Γάιος Ἰού[λ]ιο[ς] Ἀντώνιο[ς] ἐνγνομαι (1. ἐγγυῶμαι) αὐτὸν ἐκτελοῦ(ν)τα τὴν δηλουμένην χρεῖαν ὡς πρόκειται. A. D. 223. 16 lines.
- 973.** 8.5 × 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 Ἀνδρομάχ(ου) δι(ὰ) Ἀπολ(λωνίου) βοηθ(οῦ) σιτολ(όγοις) Φοβόου τόπ(ων) χαίρειν. διαστείλατε κ.τ.λ. 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 × 9.1 cm. An order for the payment of 2 artabae of wheat. The text is Π(αρά) Σαρᾶ Διονυσίῳ γεωργῷ χαίρειν. δὸς Ζωσίμῳ ἰδίῳ ὑπὲρ ὄψωνίων πυροῦ ἀρτάβας δύο, γί(νονται) πυροῦ (ἀρτάβαι) β. (ἔτους) δ Μεσορῆ ε σεσημί(ωμαι). Third century. Complete. 4 lines.
- 975.** 19.8 × 7.5 cm. Signature to a lease of 2¼ arourae, in which the lessee agrees to pay rent at the rate of 5½ artabae per aroura and acknowledges a loan of 28 drachmae to be repaid ἅμα τῇ (ἐ)μῇ τρύ[γ]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 × 11.8 cm. Conclusion of a declaration on oath, containing the date (ἔτους) ε Αὐτοκράτο(ρος) Καίσαρος Λουκί[ου] Σεπτι[μίου] Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακο(ς) Σεβαστοῦ Ἀραβ[ικοῦ] Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ καὶ Μάρκου Αὔρη(λίου) Ἀντωνίνου Κ[αί]σαρος ἀποδεδιγμένου Αὐτοκράτορο(ς) Ἀθῦρ λ (i. e. Nov. 26, A. D. 197; cf. **910**. introd.), and the signatures of Ἀντεῖς Σαραπάτος, who makes the declaration, and of a collector of corn-dues as γνωστήρ (Παυλεῖνος πρά(κτωρ) σι(τικῶν) . . . λ( ) δι(ὰ) Διονυσίου βοη(θοῦ) γνωρίζω); cf. **496**. 16, note. 14 lines.
- 977.** 18.7 × 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 Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων Γαίου Οὐιβίου Τρεβωνιανοῦ Γάλλου καὶ Γαίου Οὐιβίου Ἄφινιου Γάλλου Οὐέλδουμανοῦ Οὐολουσιανοῦ Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν Μεχεῖρ ι. Αὐρή(λιος) Σαραπίων ὁ κ(αί) Ἄπεῖς βουλ(ευτῆς) δι' ἐ(μοῦ) Αὐρη(λίου) Διοσκόρου καὶ ὡς χ(ρηματίζω) ἀποσυστα(θεῖς) διεπόμεσα φόρου τοῦ προκ(ειμένου) ἀσχολή(ματος) τὰς προκ(ειμένας) δραχ(μὰς) ὀκτακοσίας, / (δραχμαὶ) ω, ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). (2nd hand) Αὐρήλιος Διονύσιος ὁ καὶ Ἀφροδίσιος γυ(μνασίαρχος) βουλ(ευτῆς) σεση(μείωμαι) τὰς δραχμὰς ὀκτακοσίας, / (δραχμαὶ) ω, followed by a similar signature by an exegetes. 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) β, λιβανοθήκη, ὄσοπτρον (l. 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, Σκῶ, Σενεκελ(εύ), and Μονίμ(ου). 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 ποικιλτῆς τιμῆς οἰκίας ἐν πίστει ἰς ἦν τιμῆς (δραχμαὶ) Β, Ἄρειος ὀπωροπώλη[s] τιμῆς οἰκίας (δραχμαὶ) φ, Δημέας κλη( ) οἰκ(ίας) (δραχμαὶ) Δ. ω (l. ὀ ?) μείζω(ν ?) ἐσημε(ί)ωσατο ?). Third century. Complete. 7 lines.
- 981.** 9 × 9.5 cm. Extract from the ἐφημερίς of Apion similar to 917 and 982. The text is Ἐξ ἐφη(μερίδος) Ἀπίωνος πρά(κτορος) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Σεντω(λενὸν) ἐπαρο(υρίου) τοῦ ἐνεσ(τώτος) δ (ἔτους) (δραχμαὶ) σν (δύβολοι), πηχ(ισμοῦ) περι(στ(ερώνων) τοῦ α(ὑτοῦ) δ (ἔτους) (δραχμαὶ) μζ (ὀβολὸς) χ(αλκοῖ) β, γ(ίνονται) κ.τ.λ. Cf. 917. introd. Late second or early third century. Complete. 6 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, logistes, by two δημόσιοι ἰατροί, of whom the second is named Ἀπίων Ἡροδότου, concerning the injuries received by a certain Μουεῖς. 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 *Paeans* 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(ὺς) ἀπελ(εύθερος) Ἀπολ-

λώνιας ἐξ ἀπογρα(φῆς) α(ὐτοῦ) οἰκῶν ἐν ἱερῶι Ἄρεως θεοῦ μεγίστου γέρδ(ιος) ἄση(μος) (ἐτῶν) με, Ταυοῦρις γ(υνή) αὐτοῦ (ἐτῶν) λ, Θαῆσιω θυγ(ατέρα) (ἐτῶν) ς, Σενπαεσνέ(α) ἄλλην (ἐτους) α Σενπαραίθ(ις) ἄλλη μη(τρὸς) Τατναγοῦτο(ς), δι ἧς καὶ ἐδηλ(ώθη) Πεταρποχρα(τίωνα) υἶδν αὐτο(ῦ) ἀπογεγρα(μμένον) τῶι γ (ἔτει) Τίτου θεοῦ (ἐτους) α τετελευτηκέναι. Ἡρακλῆς Πολ(εμαίου) τοῦ Ἡρακλή(ο)υ μητρὸ(ς) Σενφάιτο(ς) π(ρεσβυτέρας?) Λύκο(υ) ἀφῆλ(ιξ) ἀπὸ γ(υμνασίου) ἐξ ἀπογρα(φῆς) Εὐδ(αίμονος) Λύκου τοῦ Ὠρου φρουτιστοῦ οἰκῶν ἐν μέρει (ἡμίσει) οἰκίας Σενοννώ(φρεως) Ἡρακλήου μελ(ίχρωσ) (ἐτῶν) ι[.]. Other entries of interest are (1) Ὀυνῶ(φρις) Ὀρσεύτου τοῦ Λυκόφρο(νος) μητρὸ(ς) Ἀνρέσιο(ς) Πατρέ[ωσ] ἐξ ἀπογρα(φῆς) α(ὐτοῦ) ἀπὸ γ(υμνασίου) οἰκῶν ἐν μάνδ(ρα) Ἡρακλήου Ἰέρακος (ἐτῶν) μ, (2) Σισύφισ Σι[σ]ύφ(ιος) τοῦ Ὀφίεως μη(τρὸς) Τερεῦτος ἐξ ἀπογρα(φῆς) α(ὐτοῦ) παστοφορός) Ἀπ[ό]λλωνος θεοῦ μεγίσ(του) οἰκῶν ἐν παστοφορίῳ τοῦ αὐτο(ῦ) ἱερο(ῦ) (ἐτῶν) ξ, (3) Ἰέραξ Ἡρακλεοδ(ώρου) το(ῦ) Ἡρακλεοδ(ώρου) μη(τρὸς) Ἀπολλωνία[ς] προξένου βουλ[ε]ντῶν (a phrase which recurs in another fragment . . . ἐξ ἀπογρα(φῆς) α(ὐτοῦ) πρόξενος?) βουλ(εντῶν) οἰκῶν ἐν . . .). The following rare names occur: Ψῶις, Χεμενεῦς, Σενχεμενεῦς, Τερεχα( ) (fem.), Τευφῶς (fem.), Ταανούφισ (fem.), Θαρίων Αἰσχυράτος, Σενύφισ (fem.), Ψαῦτις, Τεαῖφισ (fem.), Θάλλουσα, Ποῦνσις, Παανούφισ, Πατήβισ, Ἀτήρις, Σαρποκρατίς (fem.), Σφραγίς (fem.), Τοῶνσις (fem.), Ψιραίθις, Ψεντοῦς, Ἀρουσῶις, Παυφῶις, Ταυφῶις (fem.), Ἀβαβίκι(ς?), Σενπτόλλισ (fem.), Σέντρ[ι]ς (fem.), Ταψωβάις (fem.), Ταπτίχι(ς) (fem.), Ταφίβισ (fem.), Φιλοστέφ(ανος), Ἀσπιδᾶς, Πάρεχάτης, Πετουφῶις. The locality is apparently Oxyrhynchus, the ἀμφοδον Κρ[η]π(ίδος) being mentioned; cf. 714. 11 Νότου Κρηπίδος. 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 κλήροι.  $\bar{a}$  (= πρότερον) κάτοι(κος) precedes some of the personal names.

985. Height 37.1 cm. The verso of this papyrus contains the fragments of Euripides' *Hypsipyle* (852). 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.: [ι]α. λήμμα(τος) Ἐρμάτος οἰνοπρά(του) ἀπὸ τιμῆς οἴνου γενή(ματος) η (ἐτους) εἰς σ(υμπλήρωσιν) (δραχμῶν) Ὑξη μετὰ τὰ(ς) ἐπά(νω) (δραχμὰς) Ἐξη κατὰ μέρος (δραχμαὶ) ρ. ιβ. ἀνηλώμα(τος) Φαύστῳ ἀντλοῦντι μηχαν(ήν) μηνὸς Σεβα(στοῦ) δ ε ς ἡμε(ρῶν) γ ὡς το(ῦ) μη(νὸς) (δραχμῶν) κ αἰ συναγόμεναι (δραχμαὶ) β. ἐργάτηι τηροῦντι τὸν οἶνον τὸν ἐν ἡλια(στηρίῳ) Μουχινῶρ (an Oxyrhynchite village; cf. 491. 3) (δραχμαὶ) δ. . . . ιγ. Σαραπίωνι Βελλ[έ]ω (so in another fragment) ἀμπελο(υργῶ) δι(ὰ) Πετεσ(ούχου) (δραχμαὶ) κ, λ σημα(ίνει) ὁ Σαρα(πίων) ἀνηλω(θῆναι) ἐργά(ταις) δυσὶ σκάπτου(τι) χούν καὶ ἐπιτιθο(ῦντι) (sic) τοῖς ὄνοις εἰς τὸ ἀπλιωτικὸν χῶμα τοῦ χωρίου ἕως κδ ἡμερῶν ια ἐργ(άταις) κβ ἀνὰ (τετρώβολον) ὀβο(λοὶ) πη αἰ (1. οἰ)

(δραχμαὶ) ιβ (τετράβολον), ὦν δο(θείσαι) α(ὐτῶ) ἐπὶ λόγ(ου) (δραχμαὶ) η. ις Ἑρακλᾶτι *μηχα(ναρίφ) ἰσά(γοντι?)* μη(νὸς) Σεβα(στοῦ) ζ ἔως κ (δραχμαὶ) η. In another fragment a series of figures is summed up / *εἰς τὸ α(ὐτὸ) (δραχμαὶ) Ἰγβ (τριώβολον), ὦν ἐπάνω ἀνειλ(ημμένα)* (cf. 899. 37, note) *ἐν τῶ τοῦ η (ἔτους) λόγ(ω) (δραχμαὶ) Ἰβ, κα(ταλείπονται) (δραχμαὶ) Ἰαχβ (τριώβολον).*

- 986.** 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 part of a list of house-property apparently in the hands of οὐσιακοὶ μισθωταί, probably at the Arsinoite village of Oxyrhyncha, 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 *Λ μέρος ψειλοῦ τόπ(ου) ἀν[. . . .] μηρ[. . . .].* ρωι *ἰμίσει (sic) ψιλοῦ τόπου ἰδιω( ) [ . . ]αμο . . [ οἰκία] καὶ αὐλῆ δηλ(ωθείσα) ἐπικρατήσθαι πρὸ τῆς ἀναλήμψεως ὑπὸ Πετρουχίου Ἀμμωνᾶ τοῦ Παστωσῆτος ἀπὸ τῆς κώμ(ης) ἐξ οὗ περιγεγονέ(ναι) ἀπὸ ἐνοικίων (δραχμαὶ) ιβ. γίτονες τῆς ὄλης (sic) οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς νότου τέκνων Ἡρωνος τοῦ Ζήνωνο[ς] οἰκία, βορρᾶ ῥύμη βασιλ(ικῆ), λιβὸς Ἀρμύσεω(ς) Πάτρωνος διὰ κ[λη]ρονόμων οἰκία, ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ἴσοδος καὶ ἕξοδος. τοῦ αὐτοῦ γ' *μ[έρο]ς οἰκίας καὶ αἰθρίου ἐπικρατηθέν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ξ[ξ] οἰ[ξ] ἐδηλ(ώθη) ιε (ἔτει) περι[γ]ε[γ]ονέ(ναι) (δραχμαὶ) δ. γίτονες τῶν ὄλων κ.τ.λ. Ἀμμωνίου Ἀ[μμ]ωνίου τοῦ καὶ Ῥοδίωνος γεναμέν[ου] οὐσιακοῦ [μισθ]ωτοῦ καὶ ἐνοφειλέσαντος ἐν τ . [ . . ] Λ μέρος δ' *μ[έρο]ς οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς. γίτονες τῆς ὄλ(ης) οἰκίας καὶ ἀ[ὐ]λῆς νότου καὶ ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ῥύμη βασιλ(ικῆ), λιβὸς Πουήρεως [οἰκία,] βορρᾶ ἐτέρων οἰ[κ]ί(α), οὗ τὸ περιγεγάμ(ενον) σὺν τοῖς σιτι[κ]οῖς ὑπάρχουσαι τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου ἐπάνωθε ὄρισται.* In the margin against the beginning of each of these entries is *κόλ(λημα) ρζ.* Col. iv is less complete; ll. 4–7 τοῦ αὐτοῦ *ψιλοῦ τόπος ἀπὸ [μ]έρους ἀνοικοδομημένος ἀπὸ συν[. . .] πλίνθου (or ζ πλίνθου) οὗ μέτρα νότου ἐπὶ βορρᾶ πῆχ(εις) μ, λιβὸς ἐπ' ἀπηλ(ιώτην) τ[οῦ] πρὸς νότου μέρους πῆχ(εις) ιθΛ, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς βορρᾶ πῆχ(εις) ιβΛ, [ἐ]ξ οὗ μηδὲν περιγίνεσθ(αι).* The next entry mentions *τῇ γεναμ(ένῃ) τῶ ιγ (ἔτει) ἐπελεύσει [τ]ῶν οὐσιακῶν,* and that following begins *Φανίου Πετρουφιώμεως τοῦ Φανίου.* In 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 Oxyrhyncha supplied by the comogrammateus. Lines 1–5 *[παρὰ . . . .] ἡ Ἡρωνος κωμογρ(αμματέως) Ὁξυρύνχ(ων) [ . . . . . ] τῶν ὑπὸ [τ]οῦ τῆς μερίδο(ς) βασιλ(ικοῦ) γρα(μματέως) Πτολεμαίου εἰς [ἐπίσκεψιν] μεταδοθέντ(ων) προσοδικῶν ἐδαφῶν τοῦ ις (ἔτους) [Αὐτοκράτορος Κ]αίσαρος Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ (A. D. 131–2). εἶναι δέ' followed by a survey-list of holdings with rents, *γέτονες,****

&c., which is continued in the fragmentary Cols. vi-viii. Col. viii has been cut down the middle and joined to another document in a different hand (Col. ix), the line of junction corresponding to the margin between Cols. viii and vii of the verso. This is a return by *σιτολόγοι γ τοπ(αρχίας)* to an official of the *Πολέμωνος μερίς*, probably the basilicogrammateus, and mentions *βασ[ιλ(ικὴν) γῆν (πυροῦ) φογῆ προσδ[δ(ου) (ἄρουραι) ?] λδ (πυροῦ) [. . . Διο]νυσο-δωριανῆς οὐσίας (πυροῦ) εγ'η'*, 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 *Μυσθᾶς Ἡρακλή(ο)υ τοῦ Δείλου τοῦ Ὀννώ(φριος) καὶ Δείλος Δείλου τοῦ Ὀννώ(φριος) (ἄρουραι) γδ'η'ίς'ξ'δ', ὦν ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) δΛ'ίβ'μ' (ἄρουραι) βδ'η'ίς', καὶ ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) δΛκ'μ' (ἄρουραι) α, (πυροῦ) γγ'η'. Ἀγχορίμφ(ι)ο(ς) Ὀννώφριο(ς) τοῦ Δείλου (ἄρουραι) ιΛδ', ὦν ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) δΛ'ίβ'μ' (ἄρουραι) βΛ, καὶ ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) δΛδ'.'. (ἀρούρας) δ'η', καὶ ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) δΛ (ἀρούρας) Λ'ίς'λ'β', καὶ ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) δι'ς' καὶ ι'έ'ο'έ' (ἄρουραι) β, καὶ ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) δγ' καὶ ι'έ'ο'έ' (ἄρουραι) {(αρουραι)} γή'ίς'λ'β', καὶ ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) δΛκ'δ'μ' (ἄρουραι) βίς', (πυροῦ) ιΛδ'. 21-6 Πενεουήρις Ἡρακλή(ο)υ τοῦ Πενεουήρι(ο)ς καὶ Πενε[ο]υή(ρις) πρεσβ(ύτερος) Δείλου τοῦ Ὀννώφριο(ς) καὶ Ἡρακλή(ο)υ τοῦ Πενεουή(ριος) οἱ γ (ἄρουραι) ση'ίς'ξ'δ', ὦν ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) εέ' καὶ ι'έ'ο'έ' (ἄρουραι) γή'ίς'ξ'δ', καὶ ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) δΛδ'μ' (ἀρούρας) Λλ'β', καὶ ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) δΛδ'ο'έ' (ἄρουραι) β, καὶ ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) δδ' (ἀρούρας) δ'η'ίς'λ'β', (πυροῦ) ς ς'κ'δ'. The fractions  $\frac{1}{15}$ ,  $\frac{1}{18}$ ,  $\frac{1}{20}$ ,  $\frac{1}{40}$ , and  $\frac{1}{75}$  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 Ἄπα Βίκτωρ 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 κεφάλαια σὺν τοῖς συναχθησομένοις διαφόροις τῷ Παῦνι μηνὶ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος τετάρτου ἔτους ἐφ' ἅλω Ἰσίον Παγγᾶ νέα καθαρὰ ἄδολα ἄβωλα κεκοσκιευμένα, τὸν μὲν πυρὸν καὶ ἄκρειθον ὡς εἰς τὸ δημόσιον μετρούμενον, τὴν δὲ κριθὴν καλῶς πεπατημένην χωρὶς δίσης καὶ ἀθήρος, πάντα μέτρῳ τῷ προκειμένῳ κ.τ.λ. Dated in the 4th year of Severus Alexander, Athur 30 (A. D. 224). On the verso is a memorandum concerning the sale of unproductive land, of which the text is Ἐγλήμ(φθεν?) ἐκ γραφῆς ὑπολόγου ιη (ἔτους) Κομόδου Ἰσείου Παγγᾶ Ἀρχεπόλιδος κλήρου μεθ( ) καὶ τῶν συνχωρουμένων εἰς πρᾶσιν οὐκ ἔλασσον διπλῆς τιμῆς μεθ( ) ἄμμου κατεξ(υσμένον) (ἀρουρῶν) δ, γείτ(ονες)

νότ(ου) βα(σιλική?) διὰ Ἀριστάνδ(ρου) Ζήνωνος καὶ ἄλλων κακοφυῆς, βορρᾶ Σαραπίαδος Ἡρώδου νυνὶ Ἡρώδου Διουνσίου, ἀπηλιώτ[ου] ἢ μεγ[ά]λη διῶρυξ, λιβ(ός) ἢ ἑτέρα διῶρυξ, χερσάμμου (ἀρουρῶν) ζ, γείτ(ονες) πάντοθ(εν) [Σα]ραπιάδ(ος) Ἡρώδου νυνὶ Ἡρώδ[ου] Διουνσίου. Third century, soon after A. D. 224.

- 989.** 24 × 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 ἐργαστήριον. καὶ ἐν κώμῃ Τήϊ ἐργαστή[ριον] Ἀμμωνίου σὺν τοῖς υἱ[οῖς] καὶ Εὐαγγέλου χαλκ[έως.] καὶ ἐν ἐποικίῳ Τααμ[πέμου] ἐργαστήριον. καὶ ἐν κώμῃ Ὠφί ἐργαστήριον. καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ ἐποικίῳ ἐργαστήριον, καταμένει δὲ ἐν ἐποικίῳ Σινπέκλη καλουμ[έ]νῳ. καὶ ἐν κ[ώμῃ] Σερύφει Ψευραμόνις υἱὸς Διοσκόρου. καὶ ἐν κώμῃ Πανεύει Παγῶνις. καὶ ἐν Θῶσβι Σαλόβις. καὶ ἐν Χύσι ἄνω Ἰβοεῖς. καὶ Ἰσίου Τρύφωνος Πένβα. καὶ ἐν κώμῃ Ἀδὲ Ἀμμώνιος. ἀξιοῦμεν τούτους συντελεῖν σὺν ἡμῖν. Late third or fourth century. Incomplete, the beginning being lost. 26 lines.
- 990.** 9.5 × 25.3 cm. Beginning of a will of a woman. The text is Ὑπατίας Ἰουνίου Βάσσου καὶ Φλαουίου Ἀβλαβίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων ἐπάρχων Μεσορῆ κη ἐν τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ Ὁξυρυγχεῖτ[ῶν] πόλει. Αὐρηλία Αἰῆς θυγάτηρ Ἀγα[θ]οῦ Δαίμονος Κεκιλίου ἄρξ(αντος) γενομ[έ]νου . . . . .] τῆς λαμπ(ρᾶς) καὶ λαμπ(ροτάτης) Ὁξυρυγχεῖτῶν πόλεως τόδε τὸ βούλη[μα] . . . .] ἐποίησα νοοῦσα καὶ φρονοῦσα ἐπιόσως ἔχουσα γραφ[ῆ]ν ? . . . .] Ἐ[λ]ληνικοῖς γράμμασιν κατὰ τὰ συνκεχωρημένα ὑπ[. . .], followed by parts of two more lines. For the formula cf. 907. A. D. 331. 8 lines.
- 991.** 8.3 × 11 cm. Beginning of a petition (?) addressed to a police official called ἐπόπτης εἰρήνης. The text is Ὑπατίας Ἀντωνίου Μαρκελλίνου καὶ Πετρωνίου Προβίνου τῶν λαμ(προτάτων) (cf. P. Cairo 10690) Φαρμοῦθι ι. Φλαυῖο Διοσκόρῳ ἐπόπτη εἰρήνης Ὁξυρυγχίτου παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Τααμμωνίου Σαραπίωνος ἀπὸ κώμης Σερύφειως γ' ο' (sic, not π(άγου)) τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ . . . A. D. 341. 9 lines.
- 992.** 8.6 × 16.1 cm. Order for the payment of a jar of wine. The text is Ἰουλιανὸς Δωροθέῳ. παρασχοῦ Μαρίᾳ γυνῆ (sic) Πεκολαρίῳ (1. -ου) οἴνο[ν] δι(πλοῦν) α ἐν λοχίαις αὐτῆς. σεσημ(είωμαι) οἴνου διπλοῦν α. (ἔτους) πθ μη (1. νη) Φαρμοῦθι κβ. A. D. 413. Written across the fibres. Complete. 6 lines.
- 993.** 6.9 × 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 + Ἡ ἅγια ἐκ(κ)λη(ησία) Ἀνουθίῳ δι(ακούῳ?) οἰκ(ονόμῳ?) τοῦ ἁγίου Γαβριήλ. παρασχ(οῦ) τῷ κοινατῇ ὑπ(έρ) τῆς ἑορτ(ῆς) τοῦ Τῦβι β ἰνδ(ικτίονος) οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) β δύο μ(όνα), followed by flourishes. Sixth century. Complete. 5 lines.
- 994.** 30.5 × 8 cm. Order for the payment of 12 artabae of corn to a monk. The text is + Φοιβά[μ]ων κόμ(ες) καὶ Σαμουήλ περίβλ(επτος). παρασχοῦ Ἰούστῳ μονάζ(οντι) λόγ(ου) ὀψωνίου κατὰ συνήθ(ειαν) καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνάτης ἰνδικτίονος σίτ(ου) καγκέλλῳ ἀρτάβας δώδεκα, γί(νεται) σίτ(ου) καγκέλλῳ (ἀρτάβαι) ιβ

μό(ναι). (ἔτους) ρος ρμε Θῶθ . . ἰνδικ(τίονος) θ. + A. D. 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 × 11 cm. An illiterate receipt for a solidus and three κόμτα. The text is χμγ + Κυρί(ω) μου ἀδελφ(ῶ) Βαριχῆ Φοιβάμμων χερ(ιστής). ἔχω τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ κυρίου μ[ου] Ἰωάννου χριστοῦ νομιματιαν ἕνα, γί(νεται) ν[ο(μισμάτιον)] α μόνον. Μεσορή ια θ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ἀρχῆ. ιε ὁμοί(ως) καὶ κόμτα (= comta?) τρία μόνα, χρυσίου νομ(ισμάτιον?). Written across the fibres, in the fifth century. Complete. 4 lines.
- 996.** 17.1 × 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 135, beginning Βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπ[ό]του μεγίστου ἐνεργέτου Φλαο[υ]ίου Τιβερίου Μαυρικ[ί]ου τοῦ αἰωνί[ο]υ Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους γ, ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπ(ότου) ἔτους α Ἀθῦρ κδ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) τρίτης (A. D. 584). τοῖς ὑπερφυστάτοις διαδόχοις . . . Ἀνήσιος πρεσβύτερος υἱὸς Ἀνοῦπ μητρὸς Τάβης καὶ Αὐρήλιος Ἀνοῦπ φροντιστῆς υἱὸς Ἀνησιου ἐτέρου μητρὸς Ταπάνης ὀμώμενοι ἀπὸ ἐποικίου μεγάλου Μούχεως καὶ Γεώργιος υἱὸς Ἰωάννου ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Εὐτυχιάδος . . . ὁμολογοῦμεν ἔκουσῃ γνώμη κ.τ.λ. Nearly complete, only the last few lines, which corresponded to 135. 28–31, being missing. Title on the verso. 21 lines.
- 997.** 15.1 × 9.2 cm. An account relating to various Oxyrhynchite villages, perhaps a list of fines for arrears of taxes. The text is [ρ Ὑπ]ἔρ ι (= δεκάτης?) παρολκῶν (cf. P. Amh. 126. 20 ὑπ(ἔρ) ὑπερχρονί(ας)). Νε[ί]λου ἐποικ(ίου) κε, Τανάεως κε, Πέτνη κ, Τακολκίλειως ι, Τεξεεὶ ι, Σεφῶ λ, Ταμπέτει λε, Ἰέμη ις, and on the verso in a different hand Νείλου ἐποικ(ίου) [.,] Τανάεως δ. Fourth century. Practically complete. 11 lines.
- 998.** 32 × 45 cm. Account of allowances (?) to inhabitants of various Oxyrhynchite villages, beginning [Γν]ῶσ(ις) τῆς παραχωρήσ(εως) τοῦ δεσπό(του) ἡμῶν τοῦ κύρου οὕτως· τοῖς ἀπὸ Παλώσεως Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) ογ κερ(άτια) δ, [τ]οῖς ἀπὸ Εὐαγγελείου καὶ Τίλλωνος σί(του) ἀ(ρτάβαι) σ καὶ Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) ις. The other payments are made to [τ]οῖς ἀπὸ Νεκάνθεως ὑ(πὲρ) ἀποτάκ(ων) χωρ(ίων), [τ]οῖς ἀπὸ Ταμπέτι, Σεφῶ, Πακέρκη, Μεσκανούνεως, Σκέλους, Τερόθεως καὶ Θεαγένους καὶ Νικήτου, Μελίτα, Νήσου Λαχανίας, Θαήσιος, Παγγουλείου, Νήσου Λευκαδίου, Λουκίου, Ταρουσέβτ, Ταρουθίνου, Τακόνα, Ὀστρακίνου, Ἰβίωνος, Στεφανίωνος. The total is given in a second column, γί(νονται) σί(του) ἀ(ρτάβαι) ,ατπς καὶ Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) τκ κερ(άτια) δ. Late sixth century. Practically complete. 24 lines. The papyrus was briefly described as 191.

- 999.** 34 × 37.3 cm. Account of receipts and expenditure on one of the estates of Flavius Apion the younger (cf. 138. 5). Lines 1-5 Φλαουίῳ Ἀπίωνι τῷ πανευφ(ήμῳ) καὶ ὑπερφυ(εστάτῳ) ἀπὸ ὑπάτω[ν ὀρδιναρί]ω(ν) γεουχοῦντι (καὶ) ἐνταῦθ(α) τῇ λαμπρῇ Ὁξυργχιτῶν πόλει. λόγο(ς) λ[ημμά(των)] καὶ ἀναλωμά(των) γεν[ο]μέ(νων) δι' ἐμοῦ Στεφάνου προνοητοῦ Παγγουλεείου σὺν το(ῖς) ἄλλ(οις) μέρ(εσι) (καὶ) Μα[ρ]γαρίτου καὶ Ἀμβιοῦτος καὶ Μαιουμᾶ καὶ ἄλλ(ων) ἐξωτικ(ῶν) τόπων (καὶ) ἐπὶ τῆς εἰς ἰνδ(ικτίονος) (ἔτους) σγγ (καὶ) σξβ (A. D. 616-7). λήμμ(ατα) οὐ(τως)· π(αρά) κληρ(ονόμων) Ἀπφοῦτος Ἐπιμάχου ἀπὸ κτήμ(α)τ(ος) Παγγουλεείου σίτου κ(αγκέλλῳ) (ἀρτάβαι) νε (καὶ) νο(μισμάτια) σγ . . ., followed by similar entries. one of which is π(αρά) τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν γεωργῶν ὑ(πὲρ) ἰδί(ας) γῆς. The names Σεναμοῦν and Ταπητάρ(ιος?) occur. 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 × 26.8 cm. Receipt similar to 915 for 4 λίτραι of tin, provided by Apollos, μολυβουργός, εἰς διόρθωσ(ιν) τοῦ λέβυτος (l. λέβητος) τοῦ γεουχικ(οῦ) μακελλαρ(ίου). Written across the fibres, about A. D. 572. Cf. 915. introd. Nearly complete. 2 lines.
- 1001.** 8.3 × 31.2 cm. A similar receipt for 6 λίτραι of tin and 4 of lead provided by Apollos Γεωργίῳ γαστρισι( ) (? = καστρισίῳ, *castrensi*) εἰς μότοσι(ν) (cf. P. Brit. Mus. III. 1177. 295 μοτώματος) τῶν μαγειρικ(ῶν) [σ]κε[υ]ῶ[ν] τοῦ δεσπ(ότου) ἡμῶν τοῦ κύρου. Written across the fibres, about A. D. 572. Nearly complete. 3 lines.
- 1002.** 5.8 × 31.5 cm. A similar receipt for 8 λίτραι of lead and some tin provided by Apollos εἰς διόρθωσ(ιν) τοῦ σωλῆν(ος) λεγομ(ένου) Σαβητ( ) τοῦ λουτρ(οῦ) τῆς μεγάλ(ης) οἰκ(ίας) εἰς ἐπιβουλ[α]. Written across the fibres, about A. D. 572. Incomplete. 3 lines.
- 1003.** 6.5 × 30.3 cm. A similar receipt for 8 λίτραι of lead and 4 of tin provided by Apollos εἰς διόρθωσ(ιν) τῶν χαλκίων τοῦ κτήμ(ατος) Μεσκα-νούνεως. Written across the fibres, about A. D. 572. Nearly complete, 2 lines.
- 1004.** 34.2 × 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 × 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 × 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, *Hypsipyle*).

(Numbers in thick type refer to fragments.)

ἀγαθός 60. 115.  
 ἄγειν 1. i. 7, iv. 1; 20-1. 16;  
 60. 20; 64. 68, 86, 93,  
 98.  
 ἀγκάλῃ 32. 5, 9; 60. 10.  
 ἀγνός 60. 33, 61.  
 ἀγρίως 60. 56.  
 ἀγρός 1. iv. 17.  
 ἀγχίαλος 1. ii. 26.  
 ἀγῶ[ 19. 2.  
 ἀγών 60. 102.  
 ἄδειν 1. ii. 21.  
 ἀδέσποτος 1. i. 11.  
 ἄδραστος 1. ii. 34; 8-9. 14;  
 60. 80.  
 αἰεί 1. ii. 20; 2. 8; 60. 99.  
 αἰερεῖν 1. ii. 39.  
 ἄζηλος 61. 2 (?).  
 ἀήρ 57. 22.  
 ἄθλιος 64. 99.  
 ἄθυρμα 1. i. 2.  
 αἰαῖ 64. 72.  
 Αἰγαῖος 1. ii. 27; 64. 103.  
 Αἴγνα 1. iii. 7.  
 αἰθῆρ 57. 9.  
 αἰρεῖν 1. iv. 27 (εἴρεθεῖς Pap.).  
 αἰσχρός 60. 16, 41; 66. 6.  
 αἰσχύνεσθαι 60. 58.  
 αἰτία 60. 16.  
 ἀκοντίζειν 60. 72.  
 ἀκούειν 60. 47, 51.  
 ἀκτῆ 64. 80, 104.  
 ἀλητεῦ[ 8-9. 3.  
 ἀλκή 20-1. 6.  
 ἀλλά 2. 9; 10. 4; 20-1. 13;  
 60. 33, 99; 64. 90.

ἀλλαγὴ 69. 5.  
 ἄλλος 1. iv. 35, v. 33; 60.  
 11, 48.  
 ἄλμῃ 60. 13.  
 ἄλσος 1. iv. 10, 14; 60.  
 108.  
 ἀμαρτάνειν 60. 48.  
 ἀμείβειν 1. iii. 30; 8-9. 7;  
 60. 7.  
 ἀμός 59. 2.  
 ἀμφί 60. 74.  
 Ἄμφιάραος 1. iv. 15, 29; 64.  
 63. Ἄμφιάρεως 1. iv. 42;  
 60. 25; 63. 6.  
 Ἄμφιόμιος 1. ii. 33.  
 ἀμφίς 1. iii. 30.  
 ἄν 1. iv. 6, 9, 29; 57. 17;  
 60. 19, 52; 61. 11; 62.  
 4. = εἰάν 1. iii. 32; κᾶν  
 22. 7. = ἀνά 1. ii. 29,  
 iv. 14.  
 ἀνά 57. 9; 64. 58. ἄν 1. ii.  
 29, iv. 14.  
 ἀναβοᾶν 1. iii. 17.  
 ἀναγκαῖος 60. 93.  
 ἀναδιδόναι 57. 12.  
 ἀναίτιος 60. 109.  
 ἀνάξιος 20-1. 3; 60. 54.  
 ἀνάπαλιν 64. 59.  
 ἀνάπαυμα 1. iii. 14.  
 ἀναπεταννύειν 8-9. 17.  
 ἀνάπτειν 1. iii. 5.  
 ἀνασσα 60. 23.  
 ἀνατιθέναι 63. 4.  
 ἀνερμήνευτος 1. iv. 18.  
 ἀνήνυτος 61. 9.

ἀνήρ 1. iii. 24, iv. 24; 60. 49;  
 63. 2.  
 ἄνθρωπος 1. iv. 15; 84. 3.  
 ἀνείναι 60. 47.  
 ἀνοδύρεσθαι 1. iv. 7.  
 ἀντάγειν 57. 19.  
 ἄντεσθαι 64. 64 (?).  
 ἄνω 1. ii. 8.  
 ἄξιος 64. 69.  
 αὐοιδῆ 1. iv. 4.  
 ἀπάγειν 1. ii. 30.  
 ἄπας 1. iv. 27.  
 ἄπειρος 20-1. 8.  
 ἀπέρχεσθαι 20-1. 13.  
 ἄπληστος 64. 71.  
 ἀπό 1. iv. 33; 58. 4.  
 ἀποβαίνειν (v. l. ἐπιβ.) 1. iii. 22.  
 ἀποδιδόναι 64. 65; 72. 6 (?).  
 ἀποί[ 33. 4.  
 ἀπολείπειν 1. iii. 34.  
 ἀπολλύναι 32. 10; 60. 14, 28.  
 Ἄπολλον 60. 26.  
 ἀπομαστιδίον 64. 94.  
 ἀπόπολις 70. 1.  
 ἀπορία 1. iv. 18.  
 ἄπορος (l. ἄφιλος?) 1. iv. 18.  
 ἄρα 60. 21, 86.  
 Ἄργεῖος 1. ii. 31, iii. 28, iv.  
 34; 60. 32, 62, 80.  
 Ἄργος 42. 2; 60. 50, 97.  
 Ἄργω 1. ii. 19; 60. 14; 64.  
 93.  
 ἀρετῆ 27. 5.  
 ἀρήγειν 60. 16, 39.  
 Ἄρης 64. 102.  
 ἀριθμός 22. 7 (?).

ἄροτος 1. iii. 25.  
 ἄρσην 1. i. 11.  
 Ἄρχέμορος 60. 78.  
 ἀρχή 1. iii. 27; 60. 77.  
 Ἀσιάς 1. iii. 9; 64. 101.  
 ἄσκοπος 57. 21.  
 ἄσμενος 1. iv. 20.  
 Ἀσωπία 1. iv. 27.  
 ἄτη 1. iii. 31.  
 αὐ 60. 89.  
 αἰγή 1. ii. 4.  
 αὐδᾶν 1. ii. 14.  
 αἰλή 8-9. 6.  
 αἴχημα 1. ii. 5.  
 αὔρα 58. 1 (?).  
 ἀπτός 60. 92, 102.  
 ἀφικνεῖσθαι 60. 37.  
 ἄφιλος (ἄπορος Pap.) 1. iv. 18.  
 [ἀ]φιστάναι 57. 4.  
 ἄφρων 68. 10.  
 ἄχθεσθαι 60. 92.  
  
 βαίνειν 34-5. 6.  
 Βάκχιος 64. 106.  
 βάλλειν 1. ii. 18; 57. 8.  
 βαρύβρομος 64. 80.  
 βασιλεία 1. iii. 29.  
 βασιλεύς 8-9. 13.  
 βίαιος 60. 40.  
 βίος 60. 94.  
 βιοτή 64. 108.  
 βλέπειν 60. 52.  
 βλώσκειν 1. iv. 33; 62. 6;  
 64. 104.  
 βοᾶν 1. iii. 10.  
 βοῦ[λ] 22. 4.  
 βούλεσθαι 1. iv. 36; 60. 53.  
 βότρως 57. 11; 64. 111.  
 Βρόμος 58. 3.  
 βροντ[ί] 73. 5.  
 βρότειος 60. 100.  
 βροτός 60. 90, 92.  
  
 γάλα 57. 13.  
 γαλήμεια 1. iii. 4.  
 γαμῆν 1. v. 5.  
 γάνος 60. 60.  
 γάρ 1. iv. 19, 31, v. 8; 12. 3;  
 20-1. 14; 60. 17, 18, 20,  
 23, 27, 28, 35, 41, 44, 48,

52, 54, 77, 101, 109, 110;  
 64. 69, 75, 106; 66. 6.  
 γε 20-1. 6, 8, 13; 60. 11  
 (δέ Pap.); 64. 106.  
 γενεά 1. iii. 38.  
 γένειον 60. 26.  
 γενναῖος 8-9. 11; 22. 9.  
 γένος 1. iv. 34; 57. 25 (?);  
 59. 7.  
 γῆ 1. iv. 25; 20-1. 12, 15;  
 60. 93.  
 γίγνεσθαι 18. 7; 60. 88.  
 γιγνώσκειν 20-1. 9.  
 γλυκύς 32. 4.  
 γόνυ 60. 25, 30.  
 γόος 1. iv. 6.  
 Γοργάς 64. 77.  
 γοργωπός 18. 3.  
 γρα[φ] 1. i. 1.  
 γυνή 1. i. 7, iv. 38, v. 1, 28;  
 2. 3; 20-1. 1; 22. 5;  
 60. 45, 49, 55, 89; 64.  
 63; 74. 3.  
  
 δάκρυ 1. iv. 7; 64. 96.  
 Δαναΐδα 1. iv. 36; 64. 87 (?).  
 Δαναοί 1. iii. 16; 60. 34.  
 δεδοικέναι 20-1. 7.  
 δεικνύναι 28. 1; 60. 43; 60.  
 61.  
 δεῖν 1. i. 9; 60. 95, 96.  
 δεῖσθαι 1. i. 6.  
 δέρος 1. ii. 23.  
 δέσμιος 60. 29.  
 δέσποινα 34-5. 2.  
 δεῦρο 1. ii. 29; 64. 83.  
 δέχεσθαι 1. v. 3; 20-1. 10;  
 58. 7; 60. 19, 89.  
 δῆ 1. iii. 33, iv. 38; 20-1.  
 13; 24. 3; 57. 24; 60.  
 18; 61. 6; 64. 66, 67.  
 δῆλος 8-9. 9.  
 δῆτα 20-1. 6, 10; 27. 4;  
 64. 70.  
 διά 1. ii. 19; 22. 3, 7 (?);  
 60. 17, 28, 33, 58, 61;  
 64. 103.  
 δίαται 60. 115.  
 διαριθμῆν 22. 7 (?).  
 διαφέρειν 60. 46.

διδάσκειν 64. 101.  
 διδόναι 1. v. 7, 35; 34-5. 6;  
 60. 98; 61. 14; 64. 97.  
 διεκπερᾶν 60. 96.  
 διήκειν 60. 45.  
 διῦπετής 1. iv. 31.  
 δίκαιος 60. 117.  
 δίκη 60. 57.  
 διολλύναι 60. 17.  
 Διόνυσος 57. 2; 64. 152.  
 Διοτροφός 1. iii. 23.  
 διαστ[ί] 78. 5.  
 δμῶς 34-5. 5.  
 δοκεῖν 5. 5 (?); 27. 6; 60.  
 5, 9.  
 δόμος 1. i. 9, iii. 20, iv. 13,  
 20, 22; 8-9. 16; 34-5.  
 6; 60. 23, 36.  
 δόρυ 8-9. 11.  
 δουλεία 61. 8.  
 δοῦλος 1. ii. 18, iv. 22, 23;  
 20-1. 16.  
 δουλοσύνη 64. 86.  
 δράκων 1. ii. 24; 18. 2; 60.  
 71.  
 δρᾶν 18. 6; 60. 42; 66. 5.  
 δρόμος 60. 73.  
 δροσίζειν 7. 4.  
 δρόσος 1. ii. 17.  
 δρῦς 1. ii. 23.  
 δῦμα 1. v. 30.  
 δυνατός 1. i. 8.  
 δύο 64. 105.  
 δυστυχεῖν 61. 7.  
 δυσχερής 1. iv. 19.  
 δῶμα 1. i. 12, ii. 16, iv. 24;  
 34-5. 4.  
 Δωρίς 1. iv. 12.  
 [δ]ώτωρ 7. 5.  
  
 εἶαν 20-1. 13; 27. 3.  
 ἐγγύς 1. iv. 11; 10. 3.  
 ἐγώ 1. ii. 11, iii. 15, iv. 19;  
 10. 6; 12. 4; 20-1. 9,  
 15; 60. 8, 12, 16, 21,  
 28, 29, 31, 36, 60, 76,  
 89; 61. 13; 64. 64, 65,  
 72 (ἐμίθεν), 76, 86, 93, 98,  
 100, 101, 110; 72. 3;  
 75. 2.

ἐέ 11. 1, 2.  
 εἰ 1. 1, 8; 20-1. 15; 60. 53, 59; 64. 73; 73. 4. εἰ δὴ 1. iv. 38. εἴ που 1. v. 10.  
 εἶδέναι 60. 18, 35, 37, 51.  
 εἰκός 60. 97.  
 εἰλάτινος 1. iii. 14.  
 εἶναι 1. i. 5, 10, iv. 28, 34, v. 6; 60. 31, 32, 51, 54, 95, 101, 104; 61. 13 (?); 63. 3; 64. 64, 71; 65. 8.  
 εἰπεῖν 20-1. 4; 59. 8; 60. 34.  
 εἶργειν 33. 3.  
 εἶρσσία 8-9. 8.  
 εἰς 1. i. 8, v. 6; 64. 58.  
 εἰς 1. ii. 11, iii. 32, iv. 35; 2. 9; 5. 3; 20-1. 6; 60. 48, 52, 93, 99; 63. 3; 64. 85, 98.  
 εἰσβαίνειν 1. iv. 20.  
 εἰσοδος 1. ii. 16.  
 εἰσορᾶν 60. 20, 29.  
 εἰσπίπτειν 1. iv. 16.  
 εἶτε 1. iv. 22, 23.  
 ἐκ 1. iv. 34; 32. 11.  
 ἐκγαληνίζειν 1. i. 3.  
 ἐκδημία (ἐρημία Pap.) 1. iv. 15.  
 ἐκδιδάσκειν 60. 54.  
 ἐκεῖ 23. 2.  
 ἐκείθεν 64. 83.  
 ἐκκλέπτειν 64. 79.  
 ἐκλάμπειν 64. 62.  
 ἐκουσίως 60. 35.  
 ἐκπείθειν 64. 60.  
 ἐκπνεῖν 60. 38.  
 ἐκτελεῖν 32. 4.  
 ἔλεγος 1. iii. 9.  
 ἐλεύθερος 60. 24; 61. 12.  
 ἐλίσσειν 1. ii. 27; 60. 74; 64. 61.  
 ἔλλην 60. 32, 44.  
 ἔμαντοῦ 60. 46.  
 ἔμμεν[ 12. 3.  
 ἐμός 1. iv. 5; 60. 10, 11, 18, 19, 27, 44; 64. 94, 95, 97; 66. 1; 70. 11.  
 ἔμπολή 64. 87.  
 ἔμπορία 1. iv. 11.

ἔμπυρα 60. 33, 58.  
 ἐν 1. iv. 21, 29; 2. 4; 20-1. 12; 22. 10; 32. 5; 60. 27, 105; 64. 77, 90.  
 ἐναντίζειν 1. i. 8.  
 ἐνέπειν 64. 92, 100.  
 ἐνθάδε 64. 87.  
 ἐνοπή 8-9. 13.  
 ἔνοπτρον 1. ii. 3.  
 ἐντός 1. i. 7.  
 ἐξ 1. iv. 27; 60. 13.  
 ἐξάγειν 20-1. 15; 59. 6.  
 ἐξαμαρτάνειν 22. 8.  
 ἐξεπίστασθαι 60. 41.  
 ἐξυρίσκειν 20-1. 6.  
 ἐξισοῦν 39. 2.  
 ἔξω 1. v. 28; 34-5. 5.  
 εὐκίεμαι 57. 1.  
 εὐπαιδεῖσθαι 60. 21.  
 εὐπασκείν 60. 59.  
 ἐπεῖ 18. 5 (?); 64. 64, 95.  
 ἔπειτα 60. 47.  
 ἔπεσθαι 60. 30.  
 ἐπέχειν 60. 22.  
 ἐπί 1. ii. 17, 32, iii. 4, 19, iv. 7, 9; 32. 9; 58. 9; 60. 10, 22; 64. 60, 68, 81, 89.  
 ἐπιβαίνειν 1. iii. 22 (v. l. ἀποβ.); 64. 86.  
 ἐπιβουλεύειν 60. 36.  
 ἐπιχώριος 1. iv. 28.  
 ἐπονομάζειν 60. 107.  
 ἐπτά 60. 87.  
 ἐπωμ[ 58. 9.  
 ἔργον 1. ii. 33.  
 ἐρεῖν 1. v. 27.  
 ἔρρεσθαι 1. iv. 23.  
 ἐρέτης 1. iii. 12.  
 ἐρημία 1. iv. 15 (l. ἐκδημία ?).  
 ἐρῆμος 1. iv. 14, 17; 64. 82.  
 ἔρις 8-9. 7.  
 ἔρυμα 1. ii. 32.  
 ἔρχεσθαι 1. iv. 9; 38. 2 (?); 60. 16, 18; 61. 3, 5; 64. 83; 72. 3.  
 ἐς 58. 8; 60. 49; 64. 65, 93 (eis Pap.), 102.  
 ἐσθής 1. iv. 13.  
 ἔσω 34-5. 6; 61. 3.

ἔσωθεν 58. 11.  
 ἔτερος 1. iii. 17, 28; 60. 91.  
 ἐτοίμος 66. 4 (?).  
 ἐν 60. 41, 42.  
 εὐδαιμονεῖν 64. 69, 70.  
 εὐέλπις 20-1. 4.  
 εὐήμερος 64. 62.  
 εὐνέτης 64. 78.  
 εὐπρεπής 60. 23.  
 εὐρίσκειν 1. iv. 27 (l. αἰρεθείς); 20-1. 15.  
 Εὐρυδίκη 22. 11.  
 Εὐρώπη 1. iii. 22.  
 εὐσεβής 60. 40.  
 εὐτυχία 64. 89.  
 εὐτυχῶς 1. iv. 38.  
 εὐωπός 1. ii. 6.  
 ἐφιστάται 1. iv. 22; 57. 4 (?).  
 ἔχειν 1. i. 9, iii. 36 (?), iv. 10, 18, 23; 8-9. 14; 20-1. 3, 4, 14; 60. 40, 93, 116; 61. 4; 63. 5; 64. 76; 76. 4.  
 ἔχθρός 1. iv. 15.  
 ζευγύναι 8-9. 15.  
 Ζεύς 1. iv. 10, 21, 28.  
 ζηλωτός 60. 104.  
 ζῆν 61. 6.  
 ζυγόν 70. 7.  
 ἦ 1. ii. 7, 12, 17, 19, 22, iv. 6; 60. 49, 57, 113; 61. 6; 64. 109.  
 ἦ 4. 2. ἦ γάρ 64. 75, 106.  
 ἦδη 13. 4.  
 ἦδωνίς 64. 50 schol.  
 ἦκειν 1. i. 2; 18. 8; 60. 27, 39; 64. 68; 65. 6.  
 ἦκιστα 2. 6.  
 ἦλιξ 10. 5.  
 ἦμεῖς 1. i. 8, iv. 37; 60. 69, 75, 77, 98; 64. 63, 67.  
 ἦν 22. 8; 27. 7.  
 ἦπιος 60. 56.  
 ἦσσον 60. 113.  
 ἦχέιν 1. ii. 28.  
 θάλαμος 57. 7; 58. 3.  
 θαλάσσιος 64. 81.

θάνατος 1. iv. 5; 20-1. 7;  
75. 5.  
θάπτειν 60. 91, 98.  
θεά 1. v. 10.  
θέλειν 58. 1; 60. 53, 56, 70.  
θέμις 1. iv. 39; 77. 3.  
θεός 1. iii. 32, iv. 30, v. 8;  
57. 20; 64. 71; 69. 3;  
76. 5; 81. 3.  
θεραπεία 1. ii. 7.  
θεράπευμα 1. ii. 12.  
θερίζειν 60. 94.  
Θῆβαι 64. 68.  
θήρ 8-9. 15.  
θηρῶν 1. iv. 41.  
θιγγάνειν 59. 4.  
θνήσκειν 30. 3 (?); 60. 8, 15,  
17, 29, 92; 61. 6; 64.  
79; 75. 1 (?).  
Θόας 1. i. 7; 2. 4; 33. 7;  
64. 105, 115.  
Θράκη 64. 51 schol., 98.  
Θράκιος 1. iii. 2; 64. 50  
schol.  
Θρᾶσσα 1. iii. 10.  
θροεῖν 10. 7.  
θύειν 65. 9.  
θυμός 1. iii. 15; 8-9. 12.  
θύρα 33. 2.  
Ίάσων 64. 95.  
ιατήρ 66. 3.  
ιδεῖν 1. ii. 2, iii. 15 (l. ὑδεῖν),  
iv. 17, 20, v. 31; 60. 16,  
23, 75.  
ιδού 1. ii. 8.  
ἴδρις 20-1. 5.  
ιέναι 1. iii. 15.  
ιέρως 1. ii. 23, iii. 23.  
ἴησις 1. iii. 9.  
ικέτις 60. 25.  
ικνεῖσθαι 60. 86; 64. 80.  
ιστάναι 20-1. 2.  
ιστός 1. iii. 8.  
ιστότονος 1. ii. 10.  
Ἰώ 1. iii. 29.  
ἰώ 12. 4; 60. 14; 64. 76.  
Ἰωλκός 64. 93 (Κόλχοι Pap.).  
Κάδμος 1. iv. 37; 60. 84.

καθιστάναί 61. 11.  
καίνειν 64. 78.  
καιρός 60. 27.  
κακός 60. 19, 27, 55, 115;  
61. 2; 64. 70, 76, 88,  
96; 68. 8. κακῶς 60. 14.  
καλεῖν 1. ii. 35.  
Καλλιόπη 1. iv. 8.  
καλός 60. 49, 110; 66. 7.  
κᾶν 22. 7.  
καπνός 58. 2.  
κάρα 60. 43; 64. 74.  
καρδία 61. 3.  
κάρπιμος 60. 94.  
κατά 60. 96, 108.  
καταθρηγεῖν 1. iv. 4.  
κατακτείνειν 64. 75.  
καταφεύγειν 63. 2.  
κάτω 64. 57.  
κείνος 64. 111.  
κελευσμα 1. iii. 12.  
κενός 60. 21.  
κερασφόρος 1. iii. 31.  
κερκίς 1. ii. 9.  
κήλημα 32. 7.  
κιθάρα 1. ii. 32, iv. 6 (v. l.  
κίθαρις οἱ κιθάρισμα); 64.  
101.  
κίθαρις 1. iii. 10, iv. 6 (?).  
κιθάρισμα 1. iv. 6 (?).  
κλεινός 1. v. 5; 60. 101.  
κληροδοῦχος 1. iv. 28.  
κληῖζειν 1. ii. 20, iv. 26.  
κληῖθρον 34-5. 3.  
κλισία 8-9. 10.  
κλύειν 1. iii. 18, 28; 60. 53.  
κοίτη 8-9. 6; 64. 82.  
Κόλχοι 64. 93 (l. Ἰωλκός?).  
κομίζειν 64. 105; 83. 2.  
κομφός 22. 11.  
κοσμείν 60. 46; 64. 102.  
Κουρήτες 1. iii. 24.  
κράτος 1. iii. 26.  
κρέκειν 1. ii. 11 (v. l. λέγειν).  
κρηναῖος 60. 60.  
κρήνη 18. 1.  
Κρήτη 1. iii. 23.  
κρίνειν 20-1. 11.  
κρόταλον 1. ii. 8.  
κρούειν 1. i. 4.

κρωσσός 1. iv. 29.  
κτείνειν 1. iv. 3; 36. 3; 60.  
9, 36.  
κτῆμα, 59. 3.  
κτύπος 1. ii. 8.  
κύκλος 20-1. 12.  
κῦμα 1. iii. 19.  
κυμο(κ)τύπος 1. ii. 28.  
κυναγός 1. iv. 2.  
κυπαρισσόροφος 58. 10.  
κυρεῖν 1. i. 11; 60. 85.  
κωλύειν 62. 5.  
κώπη 64. 84.  
λαγχάνειν 1. iv. 5.  
λαμβάνειν 1. iv. 29; 36. 4;  
63. 8; 68. 3.  
λέγειν 1. ii. 11 (v. l. κρέκειν);  
22. 9; 60. 59; 64. 96;  
66. 6, 7.  
λειμών 1. ii. 29, iv. 21.  
λείπειν 1. iii. 22, 26.  
λέκτρον 64. 77.  
λευκαίνειν 60. 13.  
λευκ[ο]φαῖς 1. ii. 4.  
λεύσσειν 10. 4; 18. 3; 60.  
33.  
Λήμιος 1. ii. 10; 4. 4; 62.  
3; 64. 104.  
Λῆμος 1. ii. 26 (v. l. νῆσος);  
64. 73.  
λίβανος 57. 16.  
λιμήν 64. 85.  
λόγος 1. iii. 18; 32. 8; 60.  
44; 61. 9.  
Λυκοῦργος 1. iv. 26; 2. 2.  
λυπηρός 1. i. 9.  
μακάριος 1. i. 5.  
μακράν 10. 4.  
μακρόπολος 1. iii. 11.  
μάλα 10. 2.  
μᾶλλον 60. 57.  
μανθάνειν 1. iv. 39; 64. 73.  
μάντις 60. 15.  
μάρτυς 41. 1; 60. 18.  
μάχη 64. 102.  
μέγας 1. iv. 43; 60. 12.  
μέγεθος 12. 2.  
μέλαθρον 1. i. 6, iv. 26.

μέλειν 1. ii. 11.  
 μέλεος 64. 87.  
 μέλλειν 60. 29.  
 μέλος 1. iv. 6.  
 μέλιπεσθαι 1. iii. 12.  
 μελωδός 1. ii. 14.  
 μέν 1. i. 11, iii. 13; 60. 8, 40,  
 41, 48, 68, 88, 90, 95,  
 105, 112, 116; 64. 63.  
 μὲν οὖν 60. 43.  
 μένειν 1. i. 10.  
 μένος 1. ii. 35.  
 μέσος 1. iii. 8, 33.  
 μετά 1. iv. 8.  
 μετανίσσασθαι 1. iii. 37.  
 μή 22. 3; 27. 7; 60. 16,  
 81, 95, 117; 64. 79, 89.  
 μηδεῖς 60. 42.  
 μηλοβοσκός 1. iv. 24.  
 μήτηρ 64. 66, 71, 92, 95,  
 109.  
 μηχανή 64. 106.  
 μνησκεισθαι 1. ii. 6; 60. 106.  
 μνημοσύνη 1. ii. 25.  
 μονοβήμων 1. ii. 38.  
 μονοίκτητος 1. iv. 17.  
 μόνος 65. 3 (?).  
 μοῦσα 1. ii. 11, iv. 7; 64.  
 101.  
 Μυκῆναι 1. iv. 34.  
 ναίειν 60. 50.  
 νᾶμα 1. iv. 31.  
 Ναύπλιος 64. 85.  
 ναῦς 63. 7.  
 ναύτης 64. 84.  
 νεανίας 1. i. 4; 61. 4.  
 νεαρός 1. ii. 13.  
 νέκταρ 57. 15.  
 Νεμέα 1. iv. 10; 60. 108.  
 Νεμεάς 1. iv. 21.  
 Νέμειος 1. ii. 29.  
 ἵμενον 1. iv. 1.  
 νέος 60. 91.  
 νῆσος 1. ii. 26 (ν. λ. Δημος).  
 νικᾶν 20-1. 13.  
 νιν 60. 73.  
 νόστος 60. 85.  
 νύκτερος 8-9. 10.  
 νῦν 60. 53; 80. 1.

νύξ 1. i. 8; 8-9. 6; 57. 23.  
 νυχεύειν 8-9. 13.  
 ξενικός 64. 85.  
 ξένος 1. iv. 12. (ξείν.), 25;  
 2. 7; 27. 5; 60. 30, 43,  
 50; 64. 69.  
 ξενών 2. 4.  
 ὄ (rel.) 1. ii. 27, iii. 6, iv. 3,  
 10, 11.  
 ὄδε 1. i. 6, 10, ii. 8, 9, 14, iii.  
 15, iv. 5, 13, 21, 22, 24,  
 26; 20-1. 5, 14; 60. 19,  
 22, 34, 35, 47, 52, 55, 57,  
 92, 105; 62. 3; 64. 66,  
 90, 93, 98.  
 ὄδιος 1. iv. 30.  
 ὄδοιπóρος 1. iv. 16.  
 ὄδος 64. 58.  
 ὄδυρμός 1. i. 3.  
 ὄζος 1. ii. 24.  
 οἶδμα 1. iii. 4; 64. 81.  
 Οἰκλής 1. iv. 42; 60. 15.  
 οἶκος 1. i. 11; 58. 8; 59. 5.  
 οἴμοι 64. 88, 96.  
 οἴνη 58. 4.  
 οἶνωπός 64. 111.  
 οἶος 10. 5; 20-1. 7; 37. 4;  
 66. 4. οἶά τε 1. ii. 18; 64. 77.  
 οἶστρος 1. iii. 29.  
 ὄλιβος 1. iii. 27, iv. 26.  
 ὄλλύναι 10. 8.  
 ὄμμα 1. ii. 24; 60. 44, 52;  
 64. 96.  
 ὄμοῦ 61. 5.  
 ὄμως 61. 5.  
 ὄνειδος 60. 32.  
 ὄνομα 4. 3.  
 ὄπη 1. iv. 19.  
 ὄπλον 1. ii. 30; 64. 102.  
 ὄραν 1. iv. 11; 60. 46, 57.  
 ὄργή 22. 3 (δι' ὄργης); 60. 6.  
 ὄρθως 60. 6, 9.  
 ὄριον 1. iv. 35.  
 ὄρμᾶν 1. iv. 37; 64. 67.  
 ὄρως 60. 80; 64. 81.  
 ὄρος 64. 51 schol.  
 ὄρούειν 1. iii. 3.  
 ὄρφεύς 1. iii. 10; 64. 98.

ὄς 1. i. 3, ii. 23, iii. 25, iv. 27,  
 v. 6; 5. 2; 18. 4; 60. 7,  
 10, 30, 38, 58, 89, 97;  
 64. 72; 73. 4; 83. 3.  
 ὄσιος 1. v. 2; 60. 31.  
 ὄσος 1. i. 9.  
 ὄσπερ 60. 96.  
 ὄστις 1. i. 5, ii. 11; 20-1. 15;  
 60. 21, 90.  
 ὄταν 1. iv. 16.  
 ὄτε 1. ii. 29; 57. 25; 64. 64.  
 ὄτι 64. 74.  
 οὐ, οὐκ 1. ii. 9, iv. 31, v. 30;  
 2. 4; 12. 3; 18. 8; 60.  
 9, 11, 40, 49, 52, 54, 57,  
 90; 62. 5; 63. 5; 64.  
 74. οὐχί 1. iv. 23; 10. 3;  
 59. 4.  
 οὐδέ 34-5. 6; 57. 4 (?); 60.  
 117.  
 οὐδεῖς 60. 7, 20, 90.  
 οὐκουν 20-1. 8.  
 οὖν 1. v. 9; 60. 43.  
 οὐνεκα 60. 8.  
 οὕριος 61. 2 (?).  
 οὕτις 20-1. 4.  
 οὕτος 1. iii. 32, iv. 20, v. 7,  
 11; 20-1. 9, 11, 13;  
 27. 6; 60. 60, 89, 95;  
 64. 102; 93. 1.  
 οὕτω, οὕτως 60. 5, 45.

Παγγαῖος 64. 51 schol.  
 πάθος 1. iv. 5.  
 παῖς 1. ii. 13, iii. 21, iv. 42,  
 v. 11; 20-1. 7; 22. 6;  
 60. 14, 36, 67, 111, 112;  
 64. 65, 109; 72. 3.  
 παρά 1. ii. 15, iii. 8, 18; 8-9.  
 6; 58. 7; 64. 63.  
 παραινέειν 60. 89.  
 παραμύθιον 1. ii. 10.  
 παρῆναι 60. 35, 52; 61. 5.  
 παρθένος 1. iii. 6.  
 παρῆναι 1. ii. 31.  
 πάροικος 18. 2.  
 πᾶς 1. iv. 32; 18. 6 (?), 7;  
 60. 48, 51.  
 πάσχειν 20-1. 7; 60. 38, 41,  
 42.

πατήρ 1. iii. 35; 8-9. 11;  
60. 15; 64. 74, 75, 95,  
99; 64. 105.  
πάτρα 1. iii. 30, iv. 40; 8-9.  
4.  
πάτριος 1. iii. 20.  
πεδῖον 1. ii. 31.  
πέδον 1. ii. 17.  
πέθειν 27. 7.  
πειθῶ 60. 116; 83. 1.  
πέλας 32. 2; 60. 20.  
πελάτης 1. iv. 22.  
πέμπειν 60. 22.  
πεντηκόντορος 1. ii. 21.  
πέπλον 1. iii. 12.  
πέρας 77. 4.  
περὶ 1. ii. 23; 8-9. 10; 88.  
3.  
περιέχειν 32. 5.  
Πηλεύς 1. iii. 7.  
πήληξ 18. 4.  
πημονή 1. iv. 41.  
πήνη 1. ii. 9.  
πικρός 60. 8.  
πίτνειν 60. 25.  
πίτυλος 1. iii. 11.  
πλάξ 62. 9.  
πλάτη 1. iii. 14.  
Πλευρών 8-9. 2.  
πλήθος 1. iv. 32.  
πλήν 60. 11.  
πλησίος 60. 50.  
πόθεν 1. v. 4.  
ποῖ 20-1. 10.  
ποικίλος 1. ii. 36.  
ποιμήν 18. 5.  
ποῖος 1. iv. 33.  
πολιός 64. 74.  
πόλις 1. iii. 20; 20-1. 10;  
64. 93.  
Πολύδωρος 1. v. 9.  
πολύκαρπος 7. 2.  
Πολυνείκης 1. iv. 40.  
πολύς 60. 45, 83, 116.  
πονεῖν 60. 90.  
πόνοος 1. iii. 16, iv. 9.  
πόντιος 64. 73.  
πορεύειν 91. 3.  
πόρος 64. 85, 103.  
πόσις 1. iv. 3.

ποταμός 1. iii. 6.  
ποτέ 1. i. 5, 9, iv. 1; 57. 6;  
60. 52; 64. 99; 86. 3.  
πότερα 1. ii. 16.  
πότνια 57. 20.  
ποῦ 10. 1, 2.  
που 1. v. 10.  
πούς 20-1. 11; 64. 79.  
πράγμα 60. 6, 114.  
πράσσειν 60. 31.  
πρέπειν 1. ii. 13.  
προδιδόναι 60. 31.  
προθύειν 1. iv. 36.  
πρόθυμα 60. 62.  
προθυμία 20-1. 11.  
πρόθυμος 64. 64, 65.  
πρόθυρον 1. ii. 15.  
Πρόκρις 1. iv. 2.  
πρός 1. iv. 13, 37; 2. 5; 60.  
25, 26, 30, 42, 50, 114.  
προσδοκία 64. 108.  
προσέρχεσθαι 1. i. 6.  
πρόσθε 61. 12.  
προστιθέναι 60. 24.  
πρόσφορος 1. ii. 12.  
πρότερον 1. iii. 19.  
πρυμνήσια 1. iii. 5.  
πρῶρα 60. 13.  
πρωτόγονος 57. 22.  
πρῶτον 60. 43.  
πύλη 1. i. 4, iv. 37.  
πυρ[ 87. 2.  
πῶς 1. iv. 44; 30. 2; 64. 79,  
83, 90.  
ρεῖν 57. 13.  
ρέυμα 60. 61.  
ρύεσθαι 60. 28.  
ρύτος 1. iv. 29.  
σαίρειν 1. ii. 17.  
σαντοῦ 60. 79.  
σαφής 1. iv. 13. σαφῶς 65.  
7. σαφέστατος 60. 19.  
σεῖεν 18. 4.  
σῆμα 1. ii. 36; 57. 10.  
σίγα 18. 5 (?).  
σιγᾶν 60. 7.  
σίδηρος 8-9. 8.  
σκοπεῖν 20-1. 14; 60. 114.

σμίρνα 58. 2.  
σός 1. i. 3, 10, ii. 5, 19; 60.  
28, 30, 38, 39, 43, 100,  
110; 64. 65, 70, 75, 88,  
92, 105; 66. 2; 79. 2.  
σοφός 1. iii. 18; 61. 14.  
στάζειν 57. 14.  
στατός 1. iv. 31.  
στάχυς 7. 3; 60. 94.  
στέγη 1. i. 7.  
στείχειν 1. iv. 14.  
στένειν 60. 96; 64. 89.  
στέργειν 60. 12.  
στέρνον 64. 94.  
στέφανος 60. 103.  
στίβος 20-1. 5.  
στολ[ 60. 81.  
στόλος 64. 83.  
στόμα 1. ii. 20.  
στράτευμα 64. 68; 65. 4 (?).  
στρατηγός 60. 87.  
στρατιά 60. 62.  
στρατός 1. iv. 32, 36.  
σύ 1. ii. 15, 25, iii. 32, iv. 22,  
39; 20-1. 10; 27. 7;  
60. 17, 18, 23-5, 51, 54,  
56, 79, 111, 112; 61. 10,  
13; 64. 65, 66, 79, 90;  
75. 1. σέθεν 1. iii. 36;  
60. 42, 53. σφῶ 64. 66.  
σφῶν 1. i. 5.  
συμβάλλειν 60. 117.  
σύμβουλος 20-1. 14.  
σύμμαχος 63. 5.  
συμφορά 20-1. 8; 60. 34,  
39.  
σύν 60. 110.  
συνταράσσειν 1. iv. 32.  
σφαγή 8-9. 9; 60. 22.  
σώζειν 60. 21; 63. 6; 64.  
66, 106; 74. 4.  
σῶμα 1. iv. 23.  
σῶφρων 22. 10; 60. 44, 51,  
116.  
ταλαίπωρος 60. 55.  
τάλας 20-1. 8; 64. 71.  
τάσσειν 64. 75.  
τάχ' ἄν 57. 17.  
τάχος 60. 47.

- ταχύπους 1. iii. 13.  
τέκνον 1. ii. 6, iii. 25; 8-9.  
15; 32. 6; 34-5. 5; 60.  
9, 11, 34, 38, 91; 64. 58,  
{66}, 73, 77, 86, 91, 97,  
100, 105; 66. 3.  
τεκνοῦν 1. iii. 7.  
τέμνειν 64. 74.  
τέχνη 60. 26, 59.  
τιθέναι 1. iii. 32; 60. 56,  
111; 64. 100.  
τιθήνημα 60. 10.  
τίκτειν 1. i. 5; 44. 1; 60. 11.  
τίς 1. i. 6, 9, 15, iv. 6, 11,  
24, 33, v. 34; 10. 7;  
20-1. 6, 10, 15; 22. 11;  
23. 1; 24. 3; 57. 6, 10;  
60. 95; 64. 83, 90, 99,  
103.  
τις 1. ii. 4, v. 6; 20-1. 15;  
60. 53, 59; 62. 7; 64.  
71; 82. 3.  
τοξεύειν 60. 76.  
τόξον 1. ii. 37.  
τόπος 64. 98.  
τότε 1. iii. 13, 14; 57. 24;  
60. 30; 64. 76.  
τρέπειν 1. iv. 19; 20-1. 10.  
τρέφειν 64. 90; 81. 2.  
τριπέ[ 58. 6.  
τρισός 1. iii. 26.  
τροφός 1. iii. 24; 34-5. 5.  
τροχάζειν 64. 59.  
τύριος 1. iii. 21.  
τύχη 60. 33, 37; 70. 2.  
ἰδεῖν 1. iii. 15 (ιδεῖν Pap.).  
ἰδωρ 1. iv. 29, 31; 60. 13.  
ἰμείς 1. i. 4.  
ἰός 64. 69.  
ἰπερβαίνειν 1. iv. 35.  
ἰπιδέσθαι 60. 37.  
ἵππος 1. ii. 11; 32. 4 (?).  
ὑπό 57. 8(?); 60. 16.  
Ἵψιπύλη 1. iv. 26, 33; 10.  
3; 12. 4; 64. 69, 72.  
φάναι 23. 1; 60. 36.  
φάος 57. 21; 70. 6.  
]φατος 16. 4.  
φέρβειν 60. 12 (φέρειν Pap.).  
φέρειν 58. 6; 60. 12 (l. φέρ-  
βειν), 56, 93; 64. 63.  
φεῦ 18. 7.  
φεύγειν 20-1. 5; 64. 72.  
φίλος 1. ii. 15, iii. 33, 41 (?);  
20-1. 14; 32. 6; 58. 5;  
60. 20; 67. 5. φίλτατος  
20-1. 1.  
Φλιούντιος 1. iv. 25.  
φόβος 18. 4; 20-1. 3; 64.  
60, 76.  
Φοῖβος 8-9. 13; 60. 58.  
Φοινίκη 1. iii. 21.  
φράζειν 62. 10.  
φρήν 1. i. 3.  
φρονεῖν 1. v. 2.  
φροντίς 1. iii. 32.  
φρουρεῖν 1. ii. 25.  
φρούριον 20-1. 12.  
φυγῆς 1. iv. 40; 8-9. 5, 12;  
70. 5.  
φυγή 64. 72.  
φύειν 1. v. 10; 60. 45, 90.  
φύλαξ 18. 18.  
φυλάσσειν 20-1. 9, 12.  
φύσις 60. 24, 96, 114.  
χαίρειν 64. 67.  
χάλκεος 1. ii. 30.  
χάρις 1. ii. 12; 57. 18; 59.  
10; 60. 28; 61. 14; 64.  
61, 63, 99.  
χείρ 1. iv. 30 (χρησθαι Pap.).  
χείρ 32. 11; 58. 7, 10; 64.  
91.  
χέρνυψ 1. iv. 30; 6. 1; 27. 2.  
χθών 1. ii. 39, iv. 21, 33, 35;  
60. 50; 103. 2 (?).  
χορός 1. iii. 18; 13. 4; 22. 9.  
χρᾶν, κέχρημαι 1. i. 7; χρησθαι  
72. 2.  
χρεία 1. iv. 16.  
χρεών 60. 48, 117.  
χρή 5. 4; 60. 114; 77. 4;  
83. 3 (?).  
χρη[ 5. 3.  
χρήζειν 1. iv. 29.  
χρόνος 22. 4; 64. 62.  
χρυσέομαλλος 1. ii. 22.  
χρύσεος 1. ii. 37.  
χώρα 1. iii. 27.  
ψευδος 60. 59.  
ψυχή 60. 49.  
δ 1. i. 4, 5, iv. 10, 25, 43;  
20-1. 1, 8; 23. 3; 60.  
13, 15, 22, 25, 33, 43, 50,  
112; 64. 63, 69, 73, 86,  
91; 74. 3.  
ὠκνητός 1. ii. 34.  
ὠκύπορος 1. iii. 37.  
ὡς (relative) 1. i. 10, ii. 3, iv.  
15; 58. 9; 60. 8, 11, 14,  
62; 64. 71. (final) 1. iii.  
19, iv. 30; 34-5. 3. (un-  
certain) 1. v. 29; 24. 3, 4.  
ὡσπερ 64. 67.  
ὡσπερὶ 63. 7.  
ὡστε 60. 94; 64. 79.  
ὠφέλημα 60. 12.

## (b) 853 (COMMENTARY ON THUCYDIDES II).

(Numbers in thick type refer to columns.)

- ἀγανάκτησις 18. 30.  
ἀγνοεῖν 14. 26.  
ἀγορά 5. 3.  
ἄγος 8. 5.  
ἀδεῶς 18. 26.  
ἀδιαρέτως 5. 15.  
ἀεὶ 10. 38. αἰεὶ 17. 5, 6.  
Ἀθηναῖος 1. 24, 32; 3. 19,  
28; 10. 26, 30; 13. 26;  
17. 8; 18. 18.  
Ἀθμονέων δήμος 13. 16.  
ἄθροισις 12. 5.

- Αἰγύπτιος 3. 15.  
 Αἰολεύς 5. 14.  
 αἰσχρός 17. 16.  
 αἰτία 1. 21, 28, 33; 3. 21, 33; 7. 1.  
 ἀκολουθεῖν 13. 4.  
 ἀκολουθῶς 3. 1.  
 ἀκούειν 7. 18.  
 ἀκουσίως 6. 33.  
 ἀκριβῶς 3. 17, 34.  
 ἀκροβολίζειν 16. 24.  
 ἀλαζονεία 17. 13.  
 ἀληθής 1. 21; 3. 21.  
 Ἀλκαρνασσεύς, Διονύσιος ὁ Ἄλ. 1. 8.  
 ἀλλά 1. 14, 19, 32; 2. 25; 15. 8, 10, 23; 16. 26, 38; 17. 17.  
 ἀλλήλων 1. 4; 5. 37; 15. 36; 16. 15.  
 ἄλλος 1. 19; 2. 30; 11. 2; 13. 8; 16. 11. ἄλλως 16. 9.  
 ἀλογιστεῖν 7. 6.  
 ἀλόγως 2. 24.  
 ἀμαρτάνειν 13. 21.  
 ἀμαχητεί 7. 34.  
 ἀμφισβητεῖν 13. 27.  
 ἀμφότεροι 7. 17.  
 ἀν 1. 34; 2. 21; 7. 24; 14. 10; 18. 21.  
 ἀνά 4. 4.  
 ἀναγιγνώσκειν 5. 13.  
 ἀναγκάζειν 16. 37; 17. 7.  
 ἀνάγκη 2. 28.  
 ἀναιρεῖν 12. 22.  
 ἀνανδρότερος 17. 4.  
 ἀνατιθέναι 8. 24.  
 ἀνατρέχειν 2. 23.  
 ἀναχωρεῖν 7. 33.  
 ἀνδρεία 16. 38.  
 ἄνεσις 16. 34.  
 ἀνέχειν 12. 13.  
 ἀνήρ 17. 24; 19. 13.  
 ἄνθρωπος 18. 6 (?).  
 ἀνιέναι 12. 6.  
 ἀντεγκαλεῖν 2. 1 (?).  
 ἀντί 17. 17; Fr. 17. 5. ἀντί τοῦ 1. 4; 4. 33; 5. 1, 10; 9. 4, 9; 10. 27; 12. 27, 28; 13. 1, 3; 15. 3; 16. 25; 18. 22; 19. 5.  
 ἀνωμάλως 5. 18.  
 ἀνωτάτω 1. 11.  
 ἀξία 15. 19.  
 ἄξιος 10. 20.  
 ἀπαίρειν 13. 24.  
 ἀπαντᾶν 17. 4.  
 ἀπαριθμεῖν 9. 12.  
 ἀπαρτίξειν 1. 18.  
 ἀπειρία 18. 11.  
 ἄπειρος 6. 35.  
 ἀπιστεῖν 14. 19.  
 ἀπλοῦς 17. 18. ἀπλούστερον 16. 14.  
 ἀπό 1. 19, 28, 30; 2. 15; 3. 19, 26, 27; 5. 35; 6. 18, 23; 7. 24; 9. 4, 13; 10. 35; 12. 1, 13; 13. 20; 18. 35; 19. 7.  
 ἀποβαίνειν 7. 23.  
 ἀποθνήσκειν 14. 7.  
 ἀποτιθέναι 5. 1.  
 ἀπρεπῶς 2. 23.  
 ἀπροσδόκητος 6. 4.  
 ἄπτειν 6. 34.  
 Ἄργος 11. 15.  
 ἀργῶς 12. 10; 16. 26.  
 ἀρετή 14. 8; 15. 24, 28; 19. 12; Fr. 4. 2.  
 ἄρθρον 5. 26.  
 Ἄρκαδία 13. 23.  
 ἀρσενικός 5. 19. ἀρσενικῶς 14. 1.  
 Ἄρτεμις 10. 14.  
 ἄρχεσθαι 1. 30.  
 ἀρχή 3. 18; 18. 33.  
 ἀρχων 1. 12; 2. 6, 28, 31, 35; 3. 1; 16. 20.  
 ἀσκησις 16. 36.  
 ἄστυ 9. 14, 15.  
 ἀσφαλῶς 11. 2.  
 ἄτε 6. 4.  
 Ἄττική 9. 18.  
 Ἄττικός 13. 2.  
 αὐξάνειν 1. 31; 3. 27.  
 αὐξήσις 3. 19.  
 αὐτόνομος 10. 27, 28.  
 αὐτός 1. 22, 24, 29, 35; 3. 26; 10. 18; 13. 8, 28; 15. 22; 17. 16. ὁ αὐτός 2. 22; 5. 35; 10. 32; 17. 24.  
 ἀφανέστερος 3. 35.  
 ἀφηγεῖσθαι 3. 34.  
 ἀφιστάναί 13. 24.  
 ἄχθεσθαι 16. 10.  
 ἄχρι 9. 14, 17; 16. 6.  
 βαίνειν 5. 35.  
 βασκαίνειν 16. 10.  
 Βοιωτός 13. 26.  
 γαῖα 11. 15.  
 γάρ 2. 6, 21, 24, 30, 34; 3. 29; 5. 8, 14; 7. 7; 9. 25; 13. 5, 7, 23; 14. 29; 17. 6; 18. 27.  
 γέ 3. 2.  
 γεωργία 17. 28.  
 γῆ 13. 26.  
 γίγνεσθαι 3. 30; 15. 8.  
 γινώσκειν 5. 5.  
 γλυκὺς 6. 34.  
 γοῦν 6. 32.  
 γράφειν 2. 12, 19, 28, 32, 35; 6. 10; 7. 30; 13. 14, 22.  
 γυνή 19. 14, 16.  
 δαμάζειν 6. 10.  
 δέ 1. 34; 2. 32; 3. 16, 18, 34; 5. 1, 6, 15, 31; 6. 27; 7. 19; 9. 11, 15; 10. 8, 11, 13, 17, 29, 36, 37, 38; 13. 8, 14, 22; 15. 17, 19; 16. 9; 17. 8.  
 δεῖν 2. 35; 6. 26; 8. 8.  
 δεινός 13. 8; 17. 2.  
 δεκτέον 7. 19.  
 δέχεσθαι 7. 31.  
 δηλονότι 19. 14.  
 δηλός 6. 30.  
 δημοκρατία 15. 8.  
 δῆμος 8. 24; 13. 16.  
 δημόσιος 8. 25.  
 διά 1. 23, 26; 7. 1; 8. 8; 10. 12, 26; 13. 9; 15. 9, 24; 16. 21, 31.  
 διαγιγνώσκειν 17. 29.

διαιρεῖν 1. 16; 2. 29, 36; 5. 14.  
 διαιτᾶν 16. 6.  
 διακρίνειν 7. 37.  
 διαλύειν 7. 32.  
 διανοεῖσθαι 12. 26.  
 διασπᾶν 1. 15.  
 διάστημα 9. 13.  
 διάταξις 7. 27.  
 διατελεῖν 16. 11.  
 διαφέρειν 2. 20; 15. 16.  
 διαφθείρειν 5. 24, 29.  
 διάφορος 15. 16.  
 διεξέρχασθαι 2. 17.  
 διεξίεναι 1. 12.  
 διηγέσθαι 1. 29; 3. 4.  
 διήγησις 1. 19.  
 διστάναι 5. 36.  
 δίκαιος 15. 2.  
 διοικεῖν 15. 10.  
 Διούσιος (ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεύς) 1. 7, 34; 2. 34; 3. 10; 4. 2.  
 Διόνυσος 10. 8.  
 δισυλλάβως 5. 12.  
 δῶκειν 5. 23, 28.  
 δοκιμάζειν 4. 30.  
 δόξα 7. 18; 14. 21; 19. 16.  
 δόρυ 5. 32.  
 δύνασθαι Fr. 3. 2.  
 δύσκολος 14. 15, 18.  
 εἰ 3. 2.  
 εἰαντοῦ 2. 33; 18. 21.  
 ἐγκλιτέον 6. 25.  
 εἰ 2. 28, 35; 3. 6, 31; 7. 17; 11. 2; 12. 27; 14. 28; 16. 34.  
 εἰδέναι 12. 24.  
 εἶδος 18. 19.  
 εἰκότως 1. 34.  
 εἶναι 1. 3; 2. 24, 29; 3. 22; 5. 31; 7. 18; 9. 10, 16; 10. 13, 14, 16, 17, 23; 13. 7, 23, 26; 14. 15; 17. 24, 27; 18. 10; 19. 11, 12; Fr. 4. 4.  
 εἰπεῖν 1. 22; 10. 18; 14. 9, 11.  
 εἶρειν 2. 33.  
 εἰς 5. 7, 24, 34, 35; 6. 20;

7. 8, 36; 10. 19; 13. 3; 15. 10.  
 εἰς 2. 24, 25, 32; 14. 6.  
 εἰσφέρειν 6. 13.  
 εἶτα 2. 17.  
 ἐκ 7. 23; 9. 16; 16. 9.  
 ἕκαστος 1. 18; 13. 13; 14. 30, 34; 15. 20, 26.  
 ἐκότερος 7. 25.  
 ἐκείθεν 1. 30; 6. 20.  
 ἐκεῖνος 16. 7.  
 ἐκεχειρία 12. 14.  
 ἐκλιμνάζειν 10. 12.  
 ἐκφύγειν 5. 24, 28.  
 ἐλάχιστος 19. 9.  
 ἐλευθέρως 15. 35; 16. 8.  
 Ἐλευθέρη 10. 9.  
 ἑλληνίης 17. 23.  
 ἐλπίζειν 12. 26.  
 ἔμπειρος 5. 23, 27.  
 ἔμφυτος 16. 38.  
 ἐν 1. 8; 2. 8, 25; 3. 28, 33; 5. 2, 36; 8. 7; 10. 13; 13. 14; 14. 6; 15. 4, 18, 19, 21; 16. 14, 15, 34; 17. 12, 24; 18. 28; 19. 13.  
 ἐναντίος 2. 34; 7. 3, 23.  
 ἐναντιοῦσθαι 6. 27.  
 ἐνδεεστέρως 18. 30.  
 ἔνεκα 8. 2.  
 ἔνθα 1. 3.  
 ἐνθυμείσθαι 3. 30.  
 ἐνικῶς 4. 16.  
 ἔνοι 10. 35; 13. 14.  
 ἐνότιε 5. 18, 19.  
 ἐνιστάναι 12. 28.  
 ἔντομα 10. 38.  
 ἐξάγειν 16. 22.  
 ἐξαιρεῖν 16. 22.  
 ἐξελαύνειν 8. 5.  
 ἐξέρχασθαι 7. 2; Fr. 3. 3.  
 ἐξετάζειν 1. 22; 3. 10.  
 ἐξῆς, τὸ ἐ. 10. 29; 13. 7.  
 ἐξιστάναι 7. 7.  
 ἐξορμᾶν 7. 13.  
 ἔξω 3. 29; 6. 9.  
 ἔξωθεν 3. 11.  
 ἐορτή 10. 16.  
 ἐπαινεῖν 13. 1.

ἐπάλληλος 2. 19.  
 ἐπαλις 9. 2.  
 ἐπεισάγειν 3. 28.  
 ἔπειτα 3. 30.  
 ἐπεξέρχασθαι 12. 27.  
 ἐπί 1. 19, 32; 2. 22, 30; 7. 17, 19, 25, 33; 10. 16, 30; 16. 11; 17. 12.  
 ἐπιβάλλειν 15. 22.  
 ἐπικίης 4. 7.  
 ἐπιθυμῶν 13. 14.  
 ἐπικρίνειν 17. 32.  
 ἐπιμέλεια 8. 9; 17. 26.  
 ἐπίσημος 10. 17.  
 ἐπιτάσσειν 6. 16.  
 ἐπιτάφιος 14. 3.  
 ἐπιτήδειος 5. 8.  
 ἐπιτήδευμα 15. 37.  
 ἐπιτιμᾶν 3. 13.  
 ἐπιτρέπειν 16. 9.  
 ἐπιφέρειν 6. 32.  
 ἐπιχειρητέον 5. 11.  
 ἔργον 7. 9, 24; 17. 12, 27.  
 ἔρειν 10. 29; 15. 2.  
 ἐρέτης 12. 2.  
 Ἐρεχθεύς 10. 3.  
 Ἐρμοκράτης 6. 24.  
 ἔρχασθαι 5. 34; 7. 36; 8. 34; 12. 21.  
 ἐσβολή 2. 18.  
 ἔσχατος 5. 31; 6. 22.  
 ἔτερος 17. 26, 32.  
 ἔτοιμος 12. 2.  
 ἔτος 16. 21.  
 εὐ 10. 8.  
 εὐδοξία 7. 19.  
 εὐκόλως 18. 23.  
 εὐλάβεια 1. 23.  
 εὐλαβῶς 16. 16.  
 Εὐριπίδης 10. 3.  
 εὐρίσκειν 17. 33.  
 ἐφεξῆς 2. 20; 3. 3.  
 ἔχειν 5. 23, 27; 7. 21; 10. 38; 18. 36.  
 ἔως 9. 10.  
 ζ 3. 5.  
 Ζεὺς, μὲν Δία 1. 25.  
 ζῆμια 16. 7.  
 ζῆν 16. 9, 35.

ἦ 1. 26; 2. 22, 25; 5. 26;  
6. 22; 7. 22, 23.  
ἡδέως 16. 6.  
ἡδονή 16. 2, 11.  
ἡμεῖς 17. 11.  
ἡμέρα 10. 16; 15. 37.  
Ἡρόδοτος 2. 9; 3. 13.  
ἦρος 10. 34, 36.  
ἦτοι 5. 22.  
ἦττον 17. 29.  
  
θεός 10. 37.  
θερός 1. 15.  
Θουκυδίδης 1. 9, 10; 3. 4, 20;  
6. 17.  
Θριάσιον πεδῖον 13. 3.  
Θριῶζε 13. 5.  
θρυλεῖν 3. 22.  
θυμός 7. 13.  
  
ί 3. 14.  
ἴδιος 15. 18; 16. 14; 17. 25.  
ἰδίως 1. 14.  
ἰεναί 5. 13.  
ἰκανῶς 14. 13.  
ἰππεύς 12. 19.  
ἰσηγορία 15. 19.  
ἴσος 15. 22.  
ἰσχύειν 8. 6.  
ἰσχύς 1. 23.  
ἱστορία 1. 16; 3. 18.  
Ἰταλιώτης 6. 17.  
Ἰωνες 5. 14.  
Ἰωνία 6. 24.  
  
καθῆσθαι 12. 10.  
καὶ γάρ 2. 34; 9. 25.  
καὶ μήν 2. 27.  
καιρός 2. 27; 17. 12.  
καίτοι 16. 34.  
κακοπαθεῖν 16. 36; 17. 5.  
κακοῦν 6. 31.  
κακῶς 14. 9.  
καλεῖν 5. 31; 10. 35.  
Καλλίμαχος 10. 7 (?), 37.  
κατά 2. 6, 7, 26, 28, 35; 4.  
28; 7. 12; 8. 6; 10. 26,  
28; 13. 12; 15. 17, 19,  
21, 37; 16. 7; 17. 25.

κατακοῦν 16. 19.  
κατάμεψις 18. 37.  
καταπλήσσειν 6. 30.  
κατηγορία 16. 7.  
κατοικ[ 3. 8.  
κατορθοῦν 8. 12.  
κεφάλαιον 1. 11; 2. 32.  
κεφαλή 3. 9.  
κήρυγμα 5. 6.  
κλέος 19. 11, 12.  
κινδυνεύειν 14. 8.  
κίνδυνος 17. 1, 3, 8.  
κοινός 1. 33; 15. 21, 23, 36;  
16. 16; 17. 25; 18. 35;  
19. 7.  
Κορυραϊκά 1. 26; 2. 19.  
κόσμος 7. 26.  
κρείσσων 18. 26.  
κρίνειν 1. 29; 17. 31.  
κύκλος 9. 10, 14, 17.  
κωλύειν 3. 3.  
κάπη 12. 3.  
  
Λακεδαιμόνιος 1. 25; 6. 19;  
16. 24.  
Λάκων 17. 6.  
Λακωνία 10. 13.  
λαμπρός 15. 20.  
λέγειν 1. 27; 2. 34; 5. 7;  
6. 7, 12; 10. 36; 14. 2;  
15. 9; 17. 13, 17.  
λέξις 1. 5.  
ληπτέον 19. 8.  
λιμήν 9. 18.  
Λιμνάτις, Ἄρτεμις Λ. 10. 14.  
λογισμός 2. 4.  
λόγος 17. 13; 18. 27.  
λοιπός 1. 13.  
Λυδιακά 3. 15.  
λυπεῖν 16. 5.  
  
μὰ Δία 1. 25.  
μάλιστα 18. 20; Fr. 16. 4 (?).  
μᾶλλον 16. 35.  
Μαραθῶν 14. 2.  
μεγιστος 7. 18.  
μεθόριος 13. 25.  
μέλλειν 3. 23; 12. 9.  
μέμφεσθαι 1. 10.  
μέν 1. 34; 3. 22; 5. 14; 9.

11; 10. 8, 36; 11. 14;  
15. 17; 16. 6; 17. 6.  
μέσος 3. 29; 13. 12; 15. 21.  
μέσος 4. 5; 13. 9.  
μετά 1. 31; 6. 24; 10. 25.  
μετάβασις 3. 12; 6. 28.  
μετανοεῖν 6. 32.  
μεταξύ 3. 12.  
μεταφορικῶς 5. 34; 12. 1, 12.  
μεταχειρίζεσθαι 8. 8.  
μετέχειν 10. 30; 15. 16.  
μέχρι 2. 16.  
μή 3. 3, 19; 5. 24, 28; 7.  
17; 14. 6; 15. 9; 16. 36;  
17. 4; 19. 10.  
μηδέ 7. 36; 16. 37.  
μηδεῖς 7. 35; 17. 28.  
μήν, καὶ μ. 2. 27.  
μόνος 2. 33; 18. 26, 29.  
  
ναός 10. 37.  
ναῦς 6. 19, 22.  
νεότης 6. 33.  
νόημα 19. 15.  
νομίζω 8. 3; 10. 23; 14.  
27; 15. 20.  
νόμιμος 10. 23. νομίμως 16. 16.  
νόμος 15. 18, 27; 16. 37;  
17. 7.  
νῦν 7. 19.  
νυν 15. 16.  
  
οἶκαδε 13. 5.  
οἰκεῖν 10. 33; 15. 7.  
οἰκησις 10. 27, 28.  
οἶκος 7. 33.  
οἶος 1. 30. οἶον 2. 13; 16.  
7, 21; 17. 23, 32. οἶός  
τε 6. 26.  
ὀλιγαρχία 15. 9.  
ὄλος 16. 21.  
Ὀλυμπίαζε 13. 5.  
Ὀλυμπιάς 1. 13; 2. 7; 4.  
28 (?).  
Ὀμηρικῶς 4. 6; 7. 10.  
Ὀμηρος 4. 16; 6. 14; 17. 18.  
ὀμιλία 7. 36.  
ὀμοίως 1. 3; 2. 36; 6. 9.  
ὄμως 1. 28.  
ὀποῖος 7. 24.

ὀπόσος 9. 16.  
 ὄπου 10. 14.  
 ὄραν 7. 25.  
 ὀργίεσθαι 16. 1.  
 ὀρέγεσθαι 13. 13.  
 ὀρίζειν 4. 29.  
 ὀρμῶν 13. 15; 17. 27.  
 ὄσος 6. 26.  
 ὄσπερ 3. 21.  
 ὄταν 2. 32; 8. 35; 12. 2.  
 ὄτι 1. 12, 15, 21, 23; 2. 1;  
 3. 31; 8. 3.  
 οὐδέ 2. 9, 25; 3. 6; 6. 31;  
 16. 1, 6.  
 οὐδεῖς 6. 20.  
 οὐδέτερος 5. 19.  
 οὐκέτι 7. 11.  
 οὖν 2. 33.  
 οὔτε 18. 36.  
 οὔτος 1. 28; 2. 31; 3. 35;  
 4. 10; 5. 15; 15. 4. οὔτως  
 1. 35; 5. 22; 10. 11.  
 ὀφείλειν 3. 31.

πάθος 7. 7.  
 πάλιν 1. 32; 2. 17, 22, 29;  
 9. 16; 15. 2.  
 παινοικία 10. 32.  
 πανσυδῆ 6. 2.  
 παρά 1. 27; 15. 7; 17. 8.  
 παραβαίνειν 3. 11 (?).  
 παραδιδόναι 2. 5; 6. 21.  
 παρακμή 15. 4.  
 παράνομος 11. 18.  
 Παράσιοι 13. 22.  
 παράταξις 5. 36.  
 παρῆλκειν 5. 25.  
 παρέχειν 18. 22.  
 πᾶς 2. 17, 21; 3. 31; 11.  
 14; 15. 17.  
 πατρίς Fr. 4. 1.  
 πεδίον 13. 4.  
 πείθειν 16. 19.  
 Πειραιεύς 9. 11, 16.  
 πέλας 16. 1.  
 Πελασγικός 11. 15.  
 Πελοποννησιακός 3. 23.  
 Πελοποννήσιος 2. 18.  
 πέμπειν 6. 21.  
 πένεσθαι 17. 16.

περί 1. 8, 9, 18; 6. 9, 28; 19. 12.  
 περίβολος 9. 15.  
 περιεῖναι 17. 2.  
 Περικλῆς 8. 3, 30.  
 Περσικά 1. 31; 3. 26.  
 Πηρεία 13. 20.  
 Πίνδαρος 6. 35.  
 πιστεύειν 14. 10.  
 Πλαταικά 2. 15.  
 πλατύς 2. 8.  
 πλείστος 10. 20; 18. 19.  
 πλείων 3. 25.  
 πλεονάζειν 5. 26.  
 πλήθος 15. 11.  
 πλουτεῖν 17. 13.  
 πλοῦτος 17. 11.  
 ποιεῖν 3. 20; 6. 19.  
 ποικίλος 2. 11.  
 πολεμῖν 1. 24; 7. 31.  
 πόλεμος 1. 21; 3. 22, 25; 6.  
 34; 7. 9, 12.  
 πόλις 4. 15; 17. 26.  
 πολιτεία 15. 22.  
 πολιτεύεσθαι 15. 35; 16. 16.  
 πολιτικός 17. 28.  
 πολλάκις 6. 27; 7. 1; 13. 27.  
 πολλαχοῦ 2. 26.  
 πολίς 1. 10; 2. 26, 27; 3.  
 9; 8. 12; 10. 30; 15. 7.  
 οἱ πολλοί 1. 27; 5. 25, 29.  
 πόνειν 17. 7, 9.  
 ποτέ 10. 9.  
 Ποτειδαιατικά 1. 26.  
 πράγμα 1. 17, 30; 2. 3, 29;  
 3. 1, 2, 33; 14. 16, 20;  
 15. 10.  
 πράσσειν 3. 13.  
 πρεσβεία 7. 31.  
 πρεσβύτατος 9. 5.  
 πρὶν 1. 20; 7. 32.  
 πρό 17. 2.  
 πρόγονος 7. 22.  
 προκείσθαι 3. 14.  
 προνοεῖν 7. 12.  
 πρόνοια 8. 11.  
 προσπετῶς 1. 35.  
 πρὸς 1. 4, 35; 3. 18; 15. 9,  
 23, 36; 16. 2; 17. 2.  
 προσήκειν 15. 3.  
 προσθήκη 3. 28.

προσκεῖσθαι 7. 17.  
 πρόστιμον 16. 8.  
 προτιθέναι 1. 13; 3. 24.  
 πρῶτος 3. 27, 33. πρῶτον 3. 22.

ῥηστώγη 16. 35.  
 ῥητέον 3. 23; 5. 22.

σαυρωτήρ 5. 30.  
 σηκός 10. 37, 38.  
 Σικελία 6. 18.  
 σκότος 5. 17.  
 στρατεύειν 7. 30.  
 στρατεύμα 7. 32.  
 στρατοπεδεύειν 5. 2.  
 συγγράφειν 3. 24.  
 συγγραφέυς 3. 31.  
 συγκόπτειν 1. 17.  
 συγκριτικός 17. 17.  
 συγχέειν 2. 21.  
 συκοφαντ[ 4. 9.  
 συμβαίνειν 2. 31.  
 συμβάλλειν 7. 2.  
 σύμβασις 5. 34.  
 συμβόλαιον 15. 18.  
 συμμαχεῖν 6. 22.  
 συμμαχία 6. 20.  
 συμμίσγειν 7. 35.  
 συμφέρειν 15. 11.  
 σύνδεσμος 19. 4.  
 συνείναι 16. 15.  
 συνείρειν 3. 2.  
 συνεχῶς 2. 10, 33; 3. 5.  
 συνήθης 1. 5; 5. 10; 13. 2.  
 συνήθως 13. 4.  
 συνιστάναι 13. 11.  
 σύνταγμα 1. 9.  
 συντελεῖν 10. 6.  
 συντιθέναι 5. 33.  
 Συράκουσσαι 6. 23.  
 συστρέφειν 13. 11.  
 σφόδρα 1. 22.  
 σχεδόν 3. 27.  
 σχῆμα 5. 10.  
 σῶζειν 6. 26.  
 τάγμα 13. 17;  
 ταλαιπωρεῖν 17. 3 (?).  
 τε 6. 26; 17. 25.  
 τείχος 9. 2, 10.

τελειούν 1. 20.  
 τέλειον 3. 29.  
 τελευτᾶν 14. 1.  
 τέμενος 10. 35.  
 τιθέναι 4. 33, 34; 5. 1; 17. 18; 19. 5.  
 τιμᾶν 15. 23.  
 τις 1. 35; 2. 32; 3. 34; 4. 27; 6. 7; 11. 2; 14. 28; 15. 20; 16. 2.  
 τοι 3. 2. Cf. καίτοι.  
 τοιοῦτος 1. 33; 6. 12; 7. 12, 20; 15. 8.  
 τοιουτότροπος 14. 9 (?).  
 τοπικῶς 13. 3.  
 τόπος 2. 25; 12. 17; 13. 16.  
 τοσοῦτος 9. 12.  
 τρεῖς 1. 11; 10. 16.  
 τρέπειν 1. 20, 33.  
 τρέφειν 4. 35.  
 τριακοντούτης 4. 11.  
 ὑπάγειν 5. 7.

ὑπάρχειν 17. 23.  
 ὑπερβατός 13. 7. ὑπερβατῶς 10. 29.  
 ὑπήκοος 18. 32.  
 ὑπό 6. 33; 16. 37; 17. 7.  
 ὑπόθεσις 2. 24; 3. 30.  
 ὑπόληψις 7. 20, 21; 14. 17.  
 ὑπονοεῖν 3. 35.  
 ὑποπτέυειν 6. 5; 15. 38.  
 ὑποφέρειν 17. 1.  
 ὑστατος 2. 16.  
 φαίνεσθαι 13. 8; 17. 6. 12; 19. 17.  
 Φάληρον 9. 11, 13.  
 φάναι 2. 36; 3. 21; 4. 27; 6. 17, 35; 10. 8, 11; 15. 35.  
 φανερός 3. 32.  
 φιλία 5. 7.  
 φιλικός 5. 6.  
 φίλος 5. 8.  
 φυλάσσειν 9. 1; 11. 3.

φυλή 10. 36.  
 φύσις 19. 1, 8, 9.  
 χαριέντως 18. 19 (?).  
 χειμών 1. 15.  
 χεῖρ 8. 7.  
 χρῆ 2. 36.  
 χρῆμα 8. 11.  
 χρῆσθαι 5. 6, 10, 18; 11. 19.  
 χρηστός 7. 22.  
 χρόνος 1. 14; 2. 21, 22, 25; 3. 3.  
 χώρα 10. 26, 28.  
 χωρίζειν 7. 38.  
 ψόγος 19. 10, 13.  
 ὄς 1. 13, 22; 2. 9, 35; 3. 23; 4. 13; 5. 18, 19; 6. 30, 32, 35; 7. 20, 27; 9. 5; 13. 5, 13; 14. 10; 15. 19; 17. 16, 18, 32.  
 ὥστε 5. 25, 26, 28.

## (c) OTHER LITERARY TEXTS.

(Numbers in thick type refer to papyri.)

## (1) GREEK.

ἀγαθός 885. 59.  
 ἄγειν 851. 3; 856. 29; 858 *b*. 8. ἄγε 854. 6.  
 ἀγορά 858 *b*. 27.  
 ἀγορεύειν 858 *b*. 19 (?).  
 ἀγρεῖν 854. 8.  
 Ἀγρίππας 849. 25.  
 ἀγωνίζεσθαι 856. 48; 857. 2.  
 ἄδεικτος 966 (?).  
 ἀδελφός 850. 23, 25, 32; 886. 8.  
 ἀδύνατος 850. 10.  
 ἄελλα 860 *a*. 6 (?).  
 Ἀθηναῖοι 856. 26, 42.  
 αἰνεῖν 850. 11.  
 αἰνῶς 860 *a*. 13.  
 αἶρειν 849. 8; 850. 4; 886. 19.

αἰωρεῖν 864. 14.  
 ἀκατονόμαστος 850. 17.  
 ἀκολουθεῖν 855. 1, 10; 858 *b*. 22.  
 ἀκούειν 849. 27; 858 *b*. 29, 30; 868. 9.  
 ἄκρατος 868. 1.  
 ἄκρος 887. recto 4, 7.  
 ἀκτῆ 864. 18.  
 ἀλαβώδης 859. 5.  
 ἀλεύεσθαι 864. 17.  
 ἀληθής 849. 22; 869. 13.  
 ἀληθῶς 849. 3, 4.  
 ἀλήκη 860 *a*. 7.  
 ἀλλά 849. 20, 26; 851. 7; 854. 6; 855. 6; 858 *b*. 13; 869. 6, 14.  
 ἀλλήλων 855. 7.

ἄλλος 858 *b*. 14; 864. 4; 867. 5.  
 ἄμα 850. 23, 35; 869. 18.  
 ἄμουσος 864. 18.  
 ἀμφιεννύειν 850. 26.  
 ἄν 855. 4, 6; 856. 58; 863. 4.  
 ἀνά 857. 3.  
 ἀναγινώσκειν 886. 21.  
 ἀναγκάζειν 850. 5.  
 ἀναγκαστικός 869. 15.  
 ἀνάκρισις 863. 10.  
 ἀνατιθέναι 858 *b*. 16.  
 Ἀνδρόνικος 850. 21.  
 ἀνὴρ 857. 6, 22; 860 *a*. 8, 16; 885. 58; 886. 9.  
 ἄνθρωπος 851. 8; 869. 20; 887. verso 5.

ἀνθύπατος 850. 15.  
 ἀνιστάται 850. 4, 9 (ἀνιστῶν);  
 858 *b.* 27.  
 ἀνοιγνύειν 864. 23.  
 ἀντίγραφον 886. 2.  
 ἄνω 858 *b.* 32; 862. 14.  
 ἄξιος 849. 28; 858 *b.* 13;  
 862. 18.  
 ἀράτος 850. 34.  
 ἀπαλλαγὴ 850. 20.  
 ἀπαντᾶν 858 *b.* 36.  
 ἀπαξ 863. 4.  
 ἀπειλή 850. 29.  
 ἀπέρχεσθαι 850. 13 (?); 857.  
 15.  
 ἀπίεμαι 850. 31.  
 ἀπό 854. 8; 856. 50; 869.  
 7 (?), 9 (?).  
 ἀποβάλλειν 866. 3 (?).  
 ἀπογιγνώσκειν 850. 6.  
 ἀποιδῶναι 849. 11.  
 ἀποθνήσκειν 849. 3, 23.  
 ἀπόκαυμα 868. 4.  
 ἀπολείπειν 865. 1.  
 ἀπολλύναι 855. 9.  
 ἀπόνυπτρον 856. 66.  
 ἀποπρολείπειν 859. 3 (?).  
 ἀποτροπιάζεσθαι 885. 53.  
 ἀποφέρειν 849. 9.  
 ἀπράγμων 855. 13.  
 ἀπτειν 855. 9.  
 ἀπώλεια 885. 38.  
 ἄρα 849. 2, 6, 22.  
 Ἀραβία 870. 5 (?), 7.  
 Ἀργεῖοι 857. 4.  
 ἀριστερός 887. recto 2, 5.  
 ἄριστος 864. 2, 4; 868. 6.  
 Ἀρκάδες 870. 15.  
 ἄρσην 886. 15.  
 ἀρτίως 855. 17.  
 ἀρχικύνητος 851. 2.  
 ἀρχή 885. 31.  
 ἀσπίς 858 *b.* 19.  
 ἀτενίζειν 849. 13; 850. 15.  
 ἀτυχεῖν 857. 19.  
 αὐτός. 849. 2, 9, 10, 18;  
 850. 1, 26, 27, 32, 35;  
 851. 7; 855. 9; 856.  
 32, 47, 50, 64, 74; 857.  
 19; 858 *b.* 15, 30; 869.

12; 885. 32, 39. ὁ αὐτός  
 858 *b.* 18; 885. 56.  
 ἀφαγνίζειν 869. 3 (?).  
 ἀφανής 850. 30.  
 ἀφέλκειν 854. 7.  
 ἀφίεμαι 855. 4, 6.  
 ἀφιερῶν 885. 43.  
 ἀφικνεῖσθαι 855. 21.  
 Ἀχαιοί 864. 3.  
 Βαβυλώνιοι 856. 25.  
 βάλλειν 856. 8 (?).  
 βάρβαρος 857. 20, 26.  
 βασιλεία 856. 31.  
 βασιλεύς 849. 16; 856. 70.  
 Βέσσοι 870. 32.  
 δεσπότης 886. 2.  
 βιούν 863. 4.  
 βλέπειν 869. 2.  
 βλώσκειν 859. 6.  
 βούλεσθαι 849. 7, 23; 850.  
 14; 851. 1; 858 *b.* 41.  
 βουλή 858 *b.* 32, 34.  
 βροντή 864. 26.  
 βροτός 830 *a.* 1.  
 βροχίζειν 850. 6.  
 βυθός 886. 11.  
 βωμός 869. 3.  
 Γαλάται 870. 23.  
 γάρ 854. 8; 855. 14, 22;  
 856. 30, 74; 857. 5;  
 858 *b.* 25, 29, 39; 860.  
 16; 867. 5; 870. 6;  
 887. verso 1.  
 γε 849. 18; 855. 8; 858 *b.*  
 24; 861. 5; 862. 8.  
 Γέλων 857. 15.  
 γένος 885. 39.  
 Γέρης 856. 60.  
 Γέτης 855. 3, 4.  
 γέφυρα 850. 24.  
 γῆ 857. 28.  
 γίγνεσθαι 850. 30; 865. 6;  
 870. 11.  
 γνώμη 966.  
 γνωρίζειν 850. 8.  
 γνώριμος 850. 7.  
 γόνυ 850. 33, 35.  
 γραιῖς 849. 6.

γράμμα 886. 6.  
 γυνή 850. 21; 868. 8; 887.  
 verso 4.  
 γυργαθός 856. 44.  
 δαίειν 864. 10 (?).  
 Δᾶος 855. 11, 13.  
 Δάρδανοι 870. 33.  
 δᾶς 855. 9.  
 δεικνύειν 856. 49.  
 δεῖν 856. 54.  
 δειπνεῖν 858 *b.* 26.  
 δειπνον 854. 4.  
 Δελφοί 857. 24.  
 δεξιός 887. recto 1, 3.  
 δέρκεσθαι 860 *b.* 1.  
 δεσπότης 855. 14, 16.  
 δέχεσθαι 856. 20.  
 δῆ 855. 7.  
 δημηγορεῖν 858 *b.* 20.  
 δημηγόρος 858 *b.* 18.  
 δῆμος 858 *b.* 32.  
 Δημοσθένης 858 *b.* 19, 23, 29,  
 35.  
 διά 849. 1, 21; 854. 6;  
 856. 73; 857. 9; 858 *b.*  
 22; 886. 7.  
 διακονεῖν 868. 7.  
 διακονία 850. 13.  
 διασώζειν 855. 5.  
 διαφεύγειν 855. 12.  
 διαφθείρειν 863. 6.  
 διδῶναι 857. 7.  
 διεξιέναι 858 *b.* 23, 31.  
 διέρχεσθαι 850. 22.  
 δικάζειν 856. 24.  
 Δικαιοπόλις 856. 68.  
 δικαστικός 856. 75.  
 δίκη 856. 27; 868. 5.  
 δῖος 864. 3.  
 δοκεῖν 857. 9.  
 δοκιμάζειν 849. 25.  
 δόρυ 858 *b.* 24.  
 δοῦλος 850. 17; 868. 3.  
 δραμεῖς 856. 39.  
 δύναμις 885. 47.  
 δύνασθαι 854. 9.  
 δύο, κατὰ δύο δύο 886. 19.  
 δυστυχεῖν 861. 8.  
 δωρεά 850. 12.

εἶν 885. 34, 58.  
 ἑαυτοῦ 850. 6; 858. 70, 72;  
 857. 5 (ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν); 886.  
 8.  
 ἐγείρειν 849. 10.  
 ἐγὼ 849. 1, 15; 850. 5;  
 851. 3; 854. 4; 855. 4,  
 6, 12, 13; 861. 5; 862.  
 15; 863. 2, 5; 868. 5.  
 ἔθνος 870. 3.  
 εἰ 849. 2, 6, 22; 850. 27;  
 855. 15.  
 εἰκῶν 885. 36, 42, 52, 58.  
 εἶναι 849. 5, 22; 851. 6, 7;  
 855. 5, 14, 23; 856. 20,  
 43, 62; 858 *b.* 18, 29;  
 862. 8, 15; 864. 2; 869.  
 5; 885. 32; 886. 5;  
 966.  
 εἰπεῖν 850. 32; 851. 1, 2.  
 εἶς 966 (?).  
 εἰς 850. 7, 27; 856. 25, 55;  
 857. 24; 858 *b.* 12, 14,  
 17, 21; 866. 6; 869.  
 16, 20 (?); 887. recto 2.  
 εἰσάγειν 856. 30.  
 εἶτα 856. 63, 68, 77.  
 ἐκ 856. 36; 858 *b.* 27;  
 864. 16.  
 ἕκαστος 860 *a.* 8; 869. 10 (?);  
 886. 16.  
 ἐκεῖ 849. 10; 856. 74.  
 ἐκεῖθεν 867. 3.  
 ἐκεῖνος 850. 30.  
 ἐκεῖσε 856. 63.  
 ἐκθύεσθαι 885. 52.  
 ἐκκάειν 856. 41.  
 ἐκκλησία 850. 16.  
 ἐκπέμπειν 858 *b.* 15.  
 ἐκποδῶν 855. 19 (?).  
 ἐκφοβεῖν 858 *b.* 31.  
 Ἑλλάτεια 858 *b.* 25.  
 Ἑλληγν 857. 18; 865. 7.  
 Ἑλλησπόντιος 864. 8 (?), 15.  
 ἑμαντοῦ 849. 19.  
 ἐμβαίνειν 858 *b.* 20.  
 ἐν 854. 9; 855. 10, 22;  
 856. 44; 864. 1; 870.  
 6; 886. 3, 11, 16, 23.  
 ἐνέργημα 850. 34.

ἔνθα 864. 17.  
 ἐνθάδε 855. 17; 863. 8.  
 ἐνθὲνδε 855. 12.  
 ἔνθερμος 858. 78.  
 ἐνοεῖν 850. 6.  
 ἐξ 856. 75.  
 ἐξάγειν 858 *b.* 21.  
 ἐξαπατᾶν 855. 14.  
 ἐξεμῖν 856. 55 (?).  
 ἐξέρχασθαι 850. 22.  
 ἐξίναμι 855. 2.  
 ἐξιστάναι 856. 66, 67.  
 ἐξω 887. verso 3.  
 εὐικεῖναι 856. 40.  
 ἐπεὶ 849. 28.  
 ἔπειτα 855. 4; 864. 19.  
 ἐπέυχεσθαι 886. 18.  
 ἐπί 850. 12; 856. 58; 857.  
 5, 22; 867. 2; 869. 4;  
 887. recto *I et saep.*, verso  
 5.  
 ἐπιγράφειν 886. 16.  
 ἐπιδικεῖναι 855. 11.  
 ἐπιιδόναμι 850. 14.  
 ἐπιέναι 860 *a.* 5.  
 ἐπικαλεῖσθαι 886. 10.  
 ἐπιστολή 850. 18.  
 ἐπιστρέφειν 850. 7.  
 ἔργον 859. 8.  
 ἐρεῖν 861. 10.  
 ἐρεμνός 860 *a.* 5 (*v. l.* ἐρεμνός).  
 ἐρημία 856. 58.  
 Ἐρμῆς 886. 4, 7.  
 ἐρυθρός 854. 8.  
 ἐρυμνός 860 *a.* 5 (*v. l.* ἐρεμνός).  
 ἔρχεσθαι 850. 28; 858 *b.*  
 14; 860 *a.* 2; 862. 11;  
 869. 4.  
 εἶς 859. 1.  
 ἔσχατος 886. 21.  
 ἕτερος 849. 18; 856. 53.  
 εὐδαιμονία 885. 33.  
 εὐλαβεῖσθαι 857. 16.  
 εὐνοῦς 858 *b.* 37.  
 εὐρίσκειν 850. 31; 855. 12;  
 886. 3, 22.  
 Εὐρώπη 870. 12.  
 εὐχαριστεῖν 850. 11.  
 εὐχαριστία 850. 13.  
 Ἐφεσος 867. 4.

ἔχειν 849. 17, 19; 855. 7,  
 9, 19; 856. 9, 18; 858 *b.*  
 19, 28; 860 *a.* 15.

Ζεῦξις 850. 4, 13.  
 Ζεὺς 885. 44.  
 ζητεῖν 886. 8.  
 †ζωνθαν (?) 851. 3.

ἦ 869. 5.  
 ἠγείσθαι 865. 4.  
 ἠγεμῶν 851. 1, 5.  
 ἠδέως 849. 16.  
 ἠῆν 855. 15.  
 ἠλιος 886. 11.  
 ἡμεῖς 849. 9; 854. 8; 855.  
 20.  
 ἡμέρα 857. 14.  
 ἡμέτερος 868. 3.  
 Ἡρακλῆς 885. 45.  
 ἡσυχία 858 *b.* 8.

θάλαμος 859. 6.  
 θάλασσα 864. 16; 867. 2.  
 θαρρεῖν 849. 7.  
 θέλειν 849. 21; 886. 13.  
 Θεμιστοκλῆς 858 *b.* 20.  
 θεός 849. 8, 21, 25; 850.  
 36; 851. 7; 862. 13;  
 863. 3; 864. 10; 869.  
 9; 885. 56; 886. 12, 17.  
 Θερμοπίλαι 857. 2.  
 Θετταλοί 870. 28.  
 Θέωρος 856. 11.  
 Θῆβαι 858 *b.* 14.  
 θλίβειν 850. 8.  
 θοός 854. 6.  
 θυρυβεῖν 858 *b.* 43.  
 Θυράκες 870. 30.  
 θρασύς 855. 17.  
 θρασυτός 868. 2.  
 θρηνητός 864. 24.  
 θύειν 885. 44, 55.  
 θώραξ 858 *b.* 24.

ἰδοῦ 849. 14; 850. 30.  
 ἱερός 886. 2.  
 Ἰησοῦς 850. 10.  
 ἴνα 849. 10; 856. 55, 67.  
 Ἰσις 886. 1, 7.

ἰστάναι 850. 27.  
 Ἰωάννης 850. 3, 16, 22, 25,  
 27, 28, 31.  
 Κάδμος 857. 21.  
 κάδος 854. 7.  
 κάειν 855. 20.  
 καθεύδειν 887. verso 7.  
 καθῆσθαι 858 *b.* 15, 32.  
 καθιέναι 856. 55.  
 καθόλου 866. 4.  
 Καίσαρ 850. 18.  
 καίτοι 849. 18.  
 κακός 858 *b.* 12.  
 ]καλεῖν 861. 9.  
 καλός 885. 59; 966.  
 Καρχηδόνιος 866. 5.  
 κατά 850. 16; 855. 18;  
 864. 15; 865. 7; 869.  
 13, 19 (?); 885. 47; 886  
 19.  
 καταδαρθάνειν 859. 7.  
 κατάκαυσις 855. 4.  
 καταλαμβάνειν 858 *b.* 25.  
 καταπίπτειν 885. 35.  
 καταπράττειν 856. 77.  
 καταργεῖν 850. 34.  
 κατέχειν 849. 2.  
 κείσθαι 849. 15.  
 Κεραύνιος 885. 44.  
 κεραυνός 885. 37, 60.  
 κήρυξ 858 *b.* 35.  
 κηρύσσειν 858 *b.* 35.  
 κλαίειν 850. 8.  
 Κλεισθένης 856. 7.  
 Κλέων 856. 27.  
 κληδονίζειν 886. 13.  
 κληδών 886. 22.  
 κληματίς 855. 2.  
 κληρονομία 855. 18.  
 κλίνειν 850. 33, 35.  
 κλύδων 864. 20.  
 κνίζειν 855. 16.  
 κούλος 864. 21. κούλος 854.  
 7.  
 Κοισύρα 856. 65.  
 κόλπος 864. 23.  
 κομήτης 856. 28.  
 κομίζειν 850. 18.  
 κομπαστής 856. 56.

κόπτειν 864. 9.  
 κόρη 862. 17.  
 κούφος 855. 14.  
 κόχλος 864. 20.  
 κρέας 856. 79.  
 κροτεῖν 864. 22.  
 κτύπος 864. 26.  
 κύκλος 855. 10, 22.  
 κύριος 850. 29, 33; 851. 5.  
 κυρία 886. 1.  
 κώθων 854. 6.  
 κωμωδία 856. 3.  
 Κῶπος 857. 22.  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι 856. 73.  
 λαλεῖν 849. 12.  
 Λάμαχος 856. 56, 65.  
 λαμβάνειν 850. 14; 856. 58;  
 862. 17; 886. 1, 4; 887.  
 recto 6, verso 2.  
 λαχάνιον 856. 37.  
 Λάχης 855. 10.  
 λέγειν 849. 6; 850. 17;  
 856. 35, 44, 66, 70, 76;  
 858 *b.* 31, 35, 36.  
 λοιπός 869. 7.  
 μάγος 851. 6.  
 μαζός 864. 9.  
 Μακεδόνες 870. 29.  
 μαντεία 865. 7.  
 Μαραθών 858 *b.* 12.  
 μάχεσθαι 863. 11.  
 μάχη 858 *b.* 17.  
 Μεγακλής 856. 61.  
 μεγαλοκλής 860 *a.* 10.  
 μεγαλοφροσύνη 856. 72.  
 μέγας 850. 33; 851. 7;  
 858 *b.* 40; 886. 1; 887.  
 verso 2. μέγιστος 869. 17.  
 μέλλειν 849. 1.  
 μέλος 864. 19.  
 μέν 855. 13, 17; 856. 62,  
 71, 74; 858 *b.* 14; 869.  
 6; 885. 49.  
 μένειν 857. 6.  
 μενεπτόλεμος 860 *b.* 7 (?).  
 μέσος 850. 16.  
 μετά 849. 19; 850. 5.  
 μεταπέμπειν 858 *b.* 28.

μετάπεμπτος 865. 5.  
 μετείναι 886. 23.  
 μή 849. 1; 857. 17; 858 *b.*  
 34; 869. 2.  
 μηθείς 850. 7.  
 μήν 858 *b.* 13.  
 μήτηρ 849. 7; 859. 6.  
 μιγνύναι 860 *b.* 9.  
 μισθός 856. 57.  
 μισος 850. 13.  
 μῦθος 864. 1.  
 μυκηδόν 864. 22.  
 Μυστοί 870. 31.  
 μυττωτός 856. 21.  
 ναί 855. 13.  
 ναῖς 854. 6; 856. 71; 857. 7.  
 νεανίσκος 849. 19.  
 νεκρός 849. 4, 15.  
 νεκροῦν 850. 9.  
 νέκος 864. 14.  
 νήφειν 854. 9.  
 νικᾶν 857. 7.  
 νόθος 865. 5.  
 νομίζειν 869. 11.  
 νόμος 858 *b.* 36.  
 νῦν 850. 12; 862. 16; 863.  
 6. νυνί 849. 28.  
 ξένος 856. 10. ξείνος 854. 3.  
 ξίφος 858 *b.* 24.  
 ὄδε 854. 9.  
 οἶσθαι 858 *b.* 37.  
 οἴκοι 858 *b.* 15.  
 οἰκονομία 850. 12.  
 οἶνος 854. 8.  
 οἶος 862. 12. οἶον 856. 23,  
 28, 69, 75.  
 ὀλίγος 850. 22.  
 ὀλος 885. 40.  
 ὀλοσχερῶς 885. 34.  
 ὀμοῦ 863. 7.  
 ὄμως 862. 8.  
 ὄνομα 886. 18.  
 ὄνος 862. 5.  
 ὄπλον 858 *b.* 16; 860 *b.* 10.  
 ὀποῖος 864. 20.  
 ὄπου 864. 10.  
 ὀπότε 858 *b.* 13.

ὄρῶν 849. 4.  
 ὄργή 850. 29.  
 ὄρμῶν 860 *b.* 4.  
 ὄρνις 856. 59.  
 ὄς 849. 16; 850. 24, 31;  
 856. 36, 58, 75; 858 *b.*  
 24; 860 *a.* 9; 886. 7,  
 13, 23.  
 \*Ὄσιρις 886. 9.  
 ὄσος 855. 8; 856. 62.  
 ὄτε 856. 70.  
 ὄτι 849. 4; 856. 56; 868.  
 2; 869. 21.  
 οὐ (reflexive) 859. 4.  
 οὐ, οὐκ 849. 17, 24; 850.  
 15; 851. 6; 855. 5;  
 858 *b.* 14, 24, 36; 862.  
 18; 863. 4; 868. 9;  
 869. 5, 11. οὐχί 855. 16;  
 869. 6, 14.  
 οὐδέ 849. 25; 854. 8; 858 *b.*  
 24; 863. 4.  
 οὐδείς 857. 8; 858 *b.* 36.  
 οὖν 885. 41.  
 οὐπάποτε 858 *b.* 30.  
 οὔτε 854. 5; 857. 6, 7.  
 οὔτος 849. 11, 22; 851. 5;  
 856. 29, 49, 73; 857. 5;  
 858 *a.* 4, *b.* 14, 16, 23,  
 29, 31; 869. 6. οὔτοσι  
 862. 3, 6.  
 οὔτω, οὔτως 849. 11; 856.  
 40 (?), 77.  
 ἴοφρων 861. 16.  
 ὄψις 850. 27.  
  
 παιδίον 862. 4, 9.  
 παῖς 849. 15.  
 Παλλάς 856. 43.  
 Πάμφυλοι 870. 19.  
 πανουργία 855. 11; 856. 59.  
 πάνυ 855. 5.  
 παρά 850. 18; 856. 30, 32,  
 57; 858 *b.* 24.  
 παρακαλεῖν 849. 27; 858 *b.* 13.  
 παράκλητος 850. 10.  
 παρακολουθεῖν 858 *b.* 38.  
 παραλείπειν 863. 9.  
 παρῆναι 858 *b.* 33.  
 παρέχειν 858 *b.* 13.

Πάρις 863. 7.  
 παροῖθε 859. 4.  
 παροιμία 856. 29.  
 παροίνιος 856. 42.  
 πάρος 859. 7.  
 πᾶς 850. 12; 858 *b.* 41;  
 860 *a.* 14; 864. 4, 5, 14,  
 19; 869. 17; 886. 12;  
 966.  
 πατήρ 858 *b.* 25.  
 πατήρις 860 *a.* 9.  
 παύειν 858 *b.* 26.  
 Παφλαγόνες 870. 24.  
 πεδί[ 856. 26.  
 πέθειν 858 *b.* 23.  
 πειράζειν 849. 24.  
 πειρᾶν 849. 21.  
 πέλεσθαι 859. 8 (έσκετο);  
 860 *a.* 3.  
 Πελοπόννησος 858 *b.* 22.  
 πέμπειν 857. 20.  
 πένης 885. 42.  
 πενθήρης 864. 7.  
 πενή[ 868. 7.  
 πεντηκόντορος 857. 22.  
 περαίνειν 850. 24.  
 πέρας 861. 4.  
 περί 856. 4, 43; 857. 17;  
 858 *b.* 33; 886. 5, 12.  
 Περικλῆς 858 *b.* 21.  
 περινοστέιν 856. 31.  
 περιρᾶν 855. 6.  
 περιτιθέναι 855. 10.  
 Πέρσαι 857. 11.  
 πέτρα 864. 21.  
 Πέτρος 849. 8, 13, 14, 24.  
 πίπτειν 885. 51.  
 πλείν 858 *b.* 21.  
 πλείων 850. 23. πλείστον  
 863. 5.  
 πλημμέλεια 850. 30.  
 πλήν 857. 4; 862. 14 (?).  
 πλήσσειν 885. 36, 61.  
 πλουσιώτατος 858 *b.* 39.  
 ποιεῖν 851. 1.  
 ποιητής 856. 12.  
 πόλις 856. 16; 858 *b.* 42;  
 863. 5; 866. 1.  
 πολίτης 858 *b.* 16, 39.  
 πολὺς 863. 5.

ποιηρός 855. 17.  
 Ποντικοί 870. 17.  
 ]ποντιος 864. 8.  
 πορεύεσθαι 850. 25.  
 πόρνη 856. 41.  
 ποταμός 850. 24.  
 πότερον 869. 8.  
 ποῦ 862. 7.  
 πραιφεκτος 849. 12.  
 πρὸ, πρὸ τοῦ 863. 9.  
 προβουλεύειν 858 *b.* 33, 34.  
 πρόδηλος 855. 3.  
 προδότης 856. 62.  
 προκείσθαι 869. 16.  
 πρὸς 850. 23, 25, 31, 33;  
 851. 2; 855. 7, 16; 856.  
 34, 76; 857. 10.  
 προσβάλλειν 857. 1.  
 προσβιάζεσθαι 867. 4.  
 προσέρχεσθαι 855. 7.  
 προσηγορία 870. 14.  
 προσίεναι 850. 26.  
 προσκυνεῖν 850. 11.  
 προσποιεῖσθαι 885. 48.  
 πρότερος 885. 49. πρότερον  
 856. 71.  
 προφωνεῖν 856. 67.  
 πρύτανις 858 *b.* 26.  
 πρῶτος 858 *b.* 17. πρῶτον  
 856. 71.  
 πτωχός 856. 31.  
 πυκνός 860 *b.* 8.  
 πυνθάνεσθαι 856. 63; 866. 2.  
 πῦρ 855. 3.  
 πύρδανον 855. 2.  
 Πυρρίας 855. 8, 21.  
 πάγων 856. 9.  
 πῶμα 854. 7.  
 πῶς 858 *b.* 23.  
  
 ῥάκος 856. 33.  
 ῥεῖν 850. 24.  
 ῥήμα 856. 34.  
  
 σάλπιγξ 858 *b.* 30.  
 σαλπικτής 858 *b.* 28.  
 Σάμος 858 *b.* 21.  
 σαρπός 856. 36.  
 Σαρμάται 870. 34.  
 σβεννύναι 850. 29.

σέλιμα 854. 6.  
σημαίνειν 885. 40.  
σημείον 885. 50, 54.  
σίκυος 856. 40.  
σκέλος, κατὰ τῶν σκ. 855. 18.  
σκηνή 858 *b.* 27.  
σκῆψις 856. 29.  
σκληρός 856. 22.  
Σκύθης 857. 21.  
στακτή 855. 16.  
στεναγμός 850. 2.  
στένειν 864. 7.  
στήθος 887. recto 8.  
στίχος 860 *b.* 8.  
στολή 864. 7.  
στρατεύειν 856. 57.  
στράτευμα 865. 3.  
στρατηγός 858 *b.* 18.  
στρατιώτης 850. 26.  
Στύμφηλος 859. 3.  
σύ 849. 11, 20, 21; 850. 7,  
11, 12, 29; 855. 1, 16;  
866. 22.  
συμμαχεῖν 857. 8.  
συμπαθεῖν 849. 5.  
σύν 854. 6.  
συναθροίζειν 850. 32.  
σύνδουλος 855. 5.  
σφείς 860 *a.* 9.  
σχῆμα 850. 26.  
σχίσμα 856. 33.  
Σώτειρα 885. 46.  
  
ταλακάρδιος 860 *a.* 3.  
Ταλαός 859. 2.  
ταμείον 886. 4.  
τάξις 856. 64.  
τάχα 851. 7.  
ταχύ 855. 10. τάχιστα 850.  
28.  
Τεκτόσαγες 870. 22.  
τέχνη 855. 12, 13.  
τηλανγώς 886. 24.

Τίβιος 855. 3.  
†τιθωναι 856. 40.  
τίνειν 868. 5.  
τις 850. 26; 855. 12, 15;  
856. 2, 37; 858 *b.* 29, 38;  
864. 5.  
τοι 856. 65.  
τοίος 869. 14.  
τολμᾶν 850. 15.  
Τολμίδης 858 *b.* 22.  
τότε 864. 16.  
τράχηλος 868. 10.  
τρεῖς 857. 23.  
τριακόσιοι 857. 3.  
τριήρης 856. 43.  
τρόπος 886. 5.  
τρύξ 854. 8.  
Τύχη 885. 46.  
  
Υδροῦς 865. 3.  
ὑδωρ 857. 28; 867. 1.  
υἱός 865. 5.  
ὑμείς 858 *b.* 30.  
ὑπαρξίς 869. 1.  
ὑπέρ 850. 1; 856. 69.  
ὑπεριδείν 857. 14.  
ὑπερμήκης 867. 6.  
ὑπό 850. 24; 855. 20; 856.  
27, 32; 857. 19; 865. 3;  
885. 37, 60.  
ὑπολείπειν 886. 20.  
ὑπερος 862. 11. ὕστερον  
865. 5.  
  
φαίνεσθαι 864. 2.  
φάναι 849. 24; 850. 27;  
856. 6, 16, 54, 65, 73, 74.  
φαντάζειν 864. 25.  
φάρμακον 887. verso 6.  
φάρυγξ 856. 55.  
φείδεσθαι 849. 17.  
Φειδίας 862. 7.

## (2) LATIN (871-2).

astutia 871. 2.  
autem 871. 3.  
convenire 871. 2.  
de 871. 3.

e 871. 9.  
ego 871. 4.  
in 871. 5.  
inertia 871. 1.

φέρειν 855. 2, 18, 22. ἐνεγ-  
κεῖν 862. 10; 867. 1.  
φεύγειν 856. 27; 887. verso 3.  
φιλεῖν 849. 26.  
φίλιππος 855. 18.  
φλυαρ[ 869. 19.  
φλύαρος 855. 15.  
φοῖνιξ 886. 14.  
φοιτᾶν 854. 7.  
φορτίον 855. 8.  
φρα[ 854. 2.  
φρήν 855. 15; 864. 1.  
Φρύγες 870. 25.  
φυλακή 854. 9.  
φυλή 856. 50.  
φύλλον 856. 36; 886. 15, 17.  
φύρειν 864. 16.  
φω[ 858 *a.* 1.

χάλκεος 864. 25.  
χαλκός 860 *a.* 4.  
χάρις 855. 19; 856. 76.  
χαῦνος 856. 69.  
χείρ 850. 28; 856. 32 (?).  
χορός 864. 10.  
χρέος 856. 35.  
χρή 885. 41.  
χρήμα 857. 27.  
χρηματίζειν 886. 24.  
χρησθαι 856. 24.

ψήφισμα 858 *b.* 19.  
ψῆφος 856. 24.  
ψυχρός 856. 12.

ῶ 855. 3.  
ῶδε 851. 3.  
ὠλένη 864. 9.  
ῶμος 887. recto 3.  
ὡς (relative) 851. 1; 854. 5;  
856. 41, 54; 859. 7.  
= ὅτε 855. 21 (?).  
ὥστε 858 *b.* 44.

is 871. 4, 6, 9.  
loqui 871. 4.  
magis 871. 1, 2.  
meminisse 871. 3.

minimus 871. 7.

ne . . . quidem 871. 6-7.

negare 871. 10.

non 871. 4.

nullus 871. 6.

numerus 871. 4.

pars 871. 6.

perforare 871. 11 (?).

quam 871. 1, 2, 8 (?).

qui 871. 4, 5, 6, 9.

sapientia 871. 3.

sed 871. 5.

sic 872. 8.

suus 871. 5.

ter 872. 9.

tunc 872. 16.

virtus 871. 1.

## II. EMPERORS.

### CLAUDIUS.

Κλαύδιος 962.

### NERO.

Νέρων 962.

### GALBA.

Γάλβα 899. 28.

### TITUS.

θεός Τίτος 984. Τίτος 958.

### HADRIAN.

Αύτοκρ. Καῖσ. Τραιανός Ἀδριανός Σεβαστός 898. 40; 986.

Ἀδριανός 957.

### ANTONINUS PIUS.

Ἀντωνίνος Καῖσ. ὁ κύριος 899. 30.

θεός Αἴλιος Ἀντωνίνος 899. 20.

Ἀντωνίνος 899. 29.

### MARCUS AURELIUS AND VERUS.

Ἀντωνίνος καὶ Οὐῆρος οἱ κύριοι Σεβαστοί 973.

### MARCUS AURELIUS.

Ἀντωνίνος καὶ Φαυστίνα Σεβαστοί 905. 1.

### COMMODUS.

θεός Κόμοδος 909. 23.

Κόμοδος 988.

### SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

Imp. Caes. Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Aug. Arabicus Adiabënicus 894. 1.

Αύτοκρ. Καῖσ. Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβής 899. introd.

### SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND CARACALLA.

Αύτοκρ. Καῖσ. Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβ. Περτίναξ Σεβ. Ἀραβ. Ἀδιαβην. καὶ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Καῖσ. ἀποδεδειγμένος Αὐτοκρ. 910. 43; 976.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβ. Περτίναξ Σεβ. Ἄραβ. Ἀδιαβην. Παρθικὸς Μέγιστος καὶ Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Σεβ. 916. 1.

Αὐτοκρ. Καίσαρες Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβ. Περτίναξ Ἄραβ. Ἀδιαβην. Παρθ. Μέγιστ. καὶ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Σεβαστοὶ 908. 40.

SEVERUS ALEXANDER.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Σεουήρος Ἀλέξανδρος Εὐσεβ. Εὐτυχ. Σεβ. 909. 34; 972; 988.

MAXIMINUS.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Γάιος Ἰούλιος Οὐήρος Μαξιμῆϊνος Εὐσεβ. Εὐτυχ. Σεβ. 912. 37.

GALLUS AND VOLUSIANUS.

Αὐτοκρ. Καίσαρες Γάιος Οὐίβιος Τρεβωνιανὸς Γάλλος καὶ Γάιος Οὐίβιος Ἀφίμιος Γάλλος Οὐελδομνιανὸς Οὐολουσιανὸς Εὐσεβ. Εὐτυχ. Σεβαστοὶ 977.

GALLIENUS.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Πούπλιος Δικύνιος Γαλλιηνὸς Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστ. Εὐσεβ. Εὐτυχ. Σεβ. 964.

TACITUS.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Μάρκος Κλαύδιος Τάκιτος Εὐσεβ. Εὐτυχ. Σεβ. 907. 27.  
ὁ κύριος Μάρκος Κλαύδιος Τάκιτος 907. 26.

DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN (cf. Index III).

οἱ κύριοι Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοὶ 888. 6.

[Αὐτοκρ. Γάιος Αὐρήλιος Οὐαλέριος Διοκλητιανὸς] Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστ. Γουθητικὸς [Μέγιστ. κ.τ.λ. Εὐσεβ.] Εὐτυχ. Νικητῆς Σεβ. καὶ [Αὐτοκρ. Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Οὐαλέριος Μαξιμιανὸς Εὐσεβ. Εὐτυχ. Σεβ.] Σαρματικὸς Μέγιστ. Γερμ. [Μέγιστ. καὶ Φλαούιος Οὐαλέριος Κωνσταντίος καὶ Γάιος Οὐαλέριος Μαξιμιανὸς] οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι Καίσαρες 889. 1.

κα καὶ ἰγ ἔτος (of Diocletian and the Caesars Constantius and Maximian) 895. 6.

MAURICE.

ὁ θεϊότατος καὶ εὐσεβεστάτος ἡμῶν δεσπότης μέγιστος εὐεργέτης Φλαούιος Τιβέριος Μαυρίκιος ὁ αἰώνιος Αὐγουστος καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ 996.

Αὐγουστοὶ 897. 12.

III. CONSULS, ERAS, AND INDICATIONS.

CONSULS.

ἐφ' ὑπάτων Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανῶ τῶν ἐπιφ. Καισάρων (294) 891. 1.

Κωνσταντίῳ καὶ Μαξιμιανῶ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καισαρσιν τὸ γ' ὑπάτοις (300) 889. 11.

ἐφ' ὑπάτων Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανῶ τῶν ἐπιφ. Καισάρων τὸ ε' (305) 895. 1.

ὑπατείας Καικινίου Σαβίνου καὶ Οὐεττίου Ῥουφίνου τῶν λαμπροτάτων (316) 896. 19, 35;

983.

ὑπατείας Δικινίου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ζ' καὶ Δικινίου τοῦ ἐπιφ. Καῖσ. τὸ β' (322) 900. 1.

ὑπατείας Ἰουνίου Βάσσου καὶ Φλαούιου Ἀβλαβίου τῶν λαμπροτ. ἐπάρχων (331) 990.

ὑπατείας Οὐίβιου Νεπωτιανοῦ καὶ Τεττίου Φακούνδου τῶν λαμπροτ. (336) 901. 1.

- ἵπατείας Φλαουίων Οὔρσου καὶ Πολεμίου τῶν λαμπροτ. (338) 892. 13.  
 ἵπατείας Ἀτωνίου Μαρκελλίνου καὶ Πετρωνίου Προβίνου τῶν λαμπροτ. (341) 991.  
 ἵπατείας Κωνσταντίου τὸ δ' καὶ Κώνσταντος τὸ γ' Αὐγούστων (346) 897. 1.  
 ἵπατείας Φλαουίων Εὐδοξίου καὶ Διοσκόρου τῶν λαμπροτ. (442) 913. 1.  
 μετὰ τὴν ἵπατείαν Φλαουίου Βιβιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπροτ. τὸ β' καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου (about 465)  
 902. 19.  
 τοῖς μετὰ τὴν ἵπατείαν Φλαουίου Θεοδωρίχου τοῦ λαμπροτ. (486) 914. 1.  
 ἵπατείας Φλαουίου Τιβερίου Μαυρικού ἔτους α (584) 996.

## ERAS OF OXYRHYNCHUS.

- ἔτος πθ νη (μη Pap.; 413) 992.  
 ,, ρξβ ρλα (486) 914. 13.  
 ,, ροϝ ρμε (499) 994.  
 ,, σμβ σση (572) 915. 4.  
 ,, σqγ σξβ (616-7) 999.

## INDICTIONS.

- 2nd (6th cent.) 993.  
 3rd (584) 996.  
 5th (616-7) 999.  
 6th (572) 915. 2, 14.  
 9th (486) 914. 2, 14; (499; 1. 8th) 994; Mesore 11, ἀρχῆ (5th cent.) 995.  
 13th (444-5) 913. 8.

## IV. MONTHS AND DAYS.

## (a) MONTHS.

- Γερμανίκειος (Pachon) 962.  
 Σεβαστός (Thoth) 958; 985.

## (b) DAYS.

- εἶδοι Ἀπρίλλιαι 899. introd.  
 εἶδοι Δεκέμβριαι 889. 10.

- ἐπαγομένωv α 972.  
 τριακάς 967.

## V. PERSONAL NAMES.

- Ἀ[.]άπης village-elder, son of Heron 918. xi. 12. | Ἀγαθόκλεια, Σαραποῦς also called Ag., daughter  
 of Aristion 964.  
 Ἀβαβίκι(ς) 984. | Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων ἄρξας son of Caecilius 990.  
 Ἀβρασάξ 924. 18. | Ἀγχορίμφις father of Anchorimphis 918. iii. 12.  
 Ἀγαθήμερος 936. 10. | Ἀγχορίμφις son of Anchorimphis and father  
 Ἀγαθίνος 937. 5, 17. | of Benia[.]is 918. iii. 11.

- Ἄγχορίμφις son of Horus 918. xi. 20.  
 Ἄγχορίμφις son of Onnophris (1) 918. ii. 11, 18, 23, xi. 20; (2) 986.  
 Ἄδρι(αν) 929. introd.  
 Ἀθανάσιος son of Demetrius 939. 22.  
 Ἀϊās, Ἀύρηλία Ἄ. daughter of Agathodaemon 990.  
 Αἰθιοπᾶς 934. 14.  
 Αἰμίλιος Σατουρνίνος praefect 899. 10; 916. 9.  
 Αἰσχυρᾶς father of Tharion 984.  
 Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἰούλιος Ἄ. father of Pausanias 936. 1.  
 Ἀλέξανδρος, Τιβέριος Ἄ. praefect 899. 28.  
 Ἄλλους, Ἀύρηλία Ἄ. daughter of Thonius 901. 4.  
 Ἀμηοῦς son of Patunis 918. ii. 15.  
 Ἀμηοῦς son of Sokonopis 918. ii. 14.  
 Ἀμωωνᾶς son of Pastoos and father of Petesuchus 986.  
 Ἀμωωνιανός 895. introd.  
 Ἀμωωνιανός, Οὐαλέριος Ἄ. also called Gerontius, logistes 896. 1, 23, 34, 36; 983.  
 Ἀμώωνιος 936. 21; 989.  
 Ἀμώωνιος son of Ammonius 986.  
 Ἀμώωνιος son of Rhodion and father of Ammonius 986.  
 Ἀμώωνιος, Ἀύρηλιος Ἄ. ex-exegetes 908. 8.  
 Ἀμώωνιος, Ἀύρηλιος Διονύσιος also called Am. 911. 9.  
 Ἀμώωνιος, Αὐφίδιος Ἄ. 899. 46.  
 Ἀμοίς, Ἀύρηλιος Ἄ. son of Horus 897. 4.  
 Ἀμυνταροῦς daughter of Amyntas 918. 5.  
 Ἀμυντᾶς 918. 6.  
 Ἀμφιθαλής 928. 4.  
 Ἀνδρόμαχος 973.  
 Ἀνήσιος son of Anoup 996.  
 Ἀνήσιος father of Aurelius Anoup 996.  
 Ἄνιλλα 903. 32.  
 Ἀνούθιος deacon (?) 993.  
 Ἀνούπ father of Anesius 996.  
 Ἀνούπ, Ἀύρηλιος Ἄ. son of Anesius 996.  
 Ἀργείσις daughter of Phrateus 984.  
 Ἀντεῖς son of Sarapas 976.  
 Ἀντίμαχος, Θέων also called Ant., gymnasiarch 908. 10.  
 Ἀντίνοος 933. 29.  
 Ἀντίνοος also called Hermes 909. 5.  
 Ἀντωνίνος 899. introd.  
 Ἀντωνίνος, Ἀύρηλιος Ἄ. ὁ κράτιστος (vice-praefect?) 970.  
 Ἀντώνιος, Ἀύρηλιος Ἄ. governor of Aegyptus Herculia 896. 29.  
 Ἀντώνιος, Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἄ. 972.  
 Ἄπα Βίκτωρ 987.  
 Ἀπεῖς, Ἀύρηλιος Σαραπίων also called Ap., senator 977.  
 Ἀπίων 923. 2; 967.  
 Ἀπίων collector of money-taxes 917. 1; 981; 982.  
 Ἀπίων eutheniarch 908. 3, 45.  
 Ἀπίων public physician, son of Herodotus 983.  
 Ἀπίων strategus (?) 929. 25.  
 Ἀπίων, Φλαούιος Ἄ. 999.  
 Ἀπολινάριος 928. 1, 16; 932. 2, 3.  
 Ἀπολινάριος, Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Ἀύρηλιος Σαραπίων also called Ap., prytanis 890. 1.  
 Ἀπολινάριος πρεσβευτής 933. 1, 31.  
 Ἀπόλλων θεὸς μέγιστος 984.  
 Ἀπολλωνάριον also called Aristandra daughter of Aristander 899. 2 *et saep.*  
 Ἀπολλωνία 905. 17; 984.  
 Ἀπολλωνία daughter of Origenes 888. 10.  
 Ἀπολλωνία daughter of Sarapion 918. v. 18.  
 Ἀπολλώνιος 929. introd.; 969.  
 Ἀπολλώνιος assistant of sitologi 973.  
 Ἀπολλώνιος also called Didymus son of Onesas 909. 3.  
 Ἀπολλώνιος son of Gaius 969.  
 Ἀπολλώνιος son of Heracles 905. 3.  
 Ἀπολλώνιος father of Heraclides 918. ii. 19.  
 Ἀπολλώνιος ὀφφικιάλιος 896. 28.  
 Ἀπολλώνιος son of Panephemmis 918. iii. 8.  
 Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἀύρηλιος Ἄ. son of Sarapion 890. 14.  
 Ἀπολλῶς leadworker 915. 1; 1000-3.  
 Ἀπολλῶς μείζων, son of Phoebammon 893. 2.  
 Ἀπφoῦς son of Epimachus 999.  
 Ἀπφoῦς, Ἀύρηλιος Ἄ. son of Hareous 914. 3, 20.  
 Ἀρᾶσις 968.  
 Ἀρεία 924. 2, 19.  
 Ἄρειος vegetable-seller 980.  
 Ἄρεοῦς father of Aurelius Apphous 914. 3, 20.  
 Ἄρης θεὸς μέγιστος 984.  
 Ἀριστάνδρα, Apollonarian also called Ar., daughter of Aristander 899. 2 *et saep.*  
 Ἀρίστανδρος father of Apollonarian also called Aristandra 899. 2.

- Ἄριστανδρος son of Zenon 988.  
 Ἄριστίων father of Aurelius Theon also called Eudaemon 964.  
 Ἄριστίων, Ἀυρήλιος Θέων also called Eudaemon surnamed Ar., son of Aristion 964.  
 Ἄρμιεύς father of Taames 918. iii. 9.  
 Ἄρμύσιος, Ἀυρήλιος Ἄ. son of Padidyms 913. 5, 21.  
 Ἄρμύσις son of Patron 986.  
 Ἄρουσίως 984.  
 Ἀροκρατίων 935. 6.  
 Ἀρσινόη 921. 1.  
 Ἄρσινος father of Aurelius Artemidorus 896. 2.  
 Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Ἀυρήλιος Ἄ. painter, son of Arsinous 896. 2, 20.  
 Ἀσκληπιάδης, Ἀυρήλιος Θέων also called Ascl. 912. 4.  
 Ἄσπιδᾶς 984.  
 Ἀτῆρις 984.  
 Ἀτρῆς 935. introd.  
 Ἀἴκος father of Horus 935. introd.  
 Ἀυρηλία Ἄϊᾶς daughter of Agathodaemon 990.  
 Ἀυρηλία Ἄλλοῦς daughter of Thonius 901. 4.  
 Ἀυρηλία Βησοῦς daughter of Sarapion 912. 1, 40.  
 Ἀυρηλία Διδύμη daughter of Aurelius Hermogenes also called Eudaemon 907. 3 *et saep.*  
 Ἀυρηλία Εὐδαιμονίς daughter of Antinous also called Hermes 909. 5.  
 Ἀυρηλία Θεανοῦς daughter of Didymus 960.  
 Ἀυρηλία Ἰσιδώρα also called Prisca 907. 4, 16, 21.  
 Ἀυρηλία Πτολεμαΐς daughter of Aurelius Hermogenes also called Eudaemon 907. 3, 11, 14.  
 Ἀυρηλία Τααμῳώνιος daughter of Sarapion 991.  
 Ἀυρηλία Ταῶρ daughter of Castor 913. 5, 22.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Ἄμμώνιος ex-exegetes 909. 8.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Ἄμοῖς son of Horus 897. 4.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Ἄνούπ son of Anesius 996.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος ὁ κράτιστος (vice-praefect?) 970.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Ἀντώνιος governor of Aegyptus Herculia 896. 29.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Ἀπολλώνιος son of Sarapion 890. 14.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Ἀφροῦς son of Hareous 914. 3.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Ἄρμύσιος son of Padidyms 913. 5, 21.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Ἀρτεμίδωρος painter, son of Arsinous 896. 2, 20.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Δημήτριος son of Dionysotheon 907. 20.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Δημήτριος also called Zoilus, exegetes 911. 1.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Δίδυμος public physician, son of Dioscorus 896. 24, 37.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Διονυσάμμων 907. 23.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Διονύσιος also called Ammonius 911. 9.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Διονύσιος also called Aphrodisius, gymnasiarch 977.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Διόσκορος 977.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Διόσκορος senator, son of Silvanus 900. 4, 31.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Δομπτιανός son of Sarapion 890. 14.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Ἐρμείνος son of Aurelius Hermogenes also called Eudaemon 907. 3, 7, 10.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Ἐρμογένης also called Eudaemon, exegetes 907. 1, 27.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Ἐρακλείδης son of Aurelius Hermogenes also called Eudaemon 907. 3, 7, 19.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Ἡρων public physician 896. 24, 37.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Θεογένης son of Theogenes 911. 4.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Θέων also called Asclepiades 912. 4.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Θέων also called Eudaemon surnamed Aristion, son of Aristion 964.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Θεωνᾶς 909. 1.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Ἰσίδωρος 964.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Ἰσίδωρος son of Chaeremon 912. 10.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Κορνηλιανός prytanis 891. 6.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Λεωνίδης strategus 890. 4.  
 Ἀυρήλιος, Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Ἀυρ. Σαραπίων also called Apolinarius, prytanis 890. 1.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Μακάριος son of Joseph 902. 2, 18.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Νεπωτιανός prytanis 892. 6.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Πάρις also called Zeuxianus, chief-priest elect 970.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Πασίων senator, son of Horion 892. 2.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Παπνούτιος son of Paësius 897. 5.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Πατάπις son of Paësis 897. 4.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Πατίτις son of Panouris 912. 6.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Πτολεμαῖος 970.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Πτολλίων son of Ptolion 909. 1, 37.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Σακάων comarch, son of Petiris 895. 4.

- Αὐρήλιος Σαραπίων also called Apeis, senator **977**.  
 Αὐρήλιος Σαραπίων also called Theon **960**.  
 Αὐρήλιος Σαρᾶς **921**. introd.  
 Αὐρήλιος Σαρμάτης elder **897**. 5.  
 Αὐρήλιος Σερήνος son of Aurelius Ammonius **909**. 8.  
 Αὐρήλιος Σερήνος son of Daniel **914**. 5.  
 Αὐρήλιος Σερήνος son of Serenus **909**. 10.  
 Αὐρήλιος Σεύθης also called Horion, logistes **895**. 3.  
 Αὐρήλιος Στέφανος **934**. 1, 17.  
 Αὐρήλιος Σωτήριχος son of Didymus **909**. 12.  
 Αὐρήλιος Χαιρήμων **934**. 1, 17.  
 Αὐρήλιος Ψούς comarch, son of Patabas **895**. 4.  
 Αὐρήλιος Ὀρίων son of Aurelius Hermogenes also called Eudaemon **907**. 3, 7, 19.  
 Αὐφίδιος Ἀμώμιος **899**. 46.  
 Ἀφροδίσιος, Αὐρήλιος Διονύσιος also called Aphr., gymnasiarch **977**.  
 Ἀφροδίτη goddess **921**. 22.  
 Ἀχιλλεύς also called Isidorus, gymnasiarch **908**. 12.  
  
 Βαριχᾶς **995**.  
 Βελλέως father of Sarapion **985**.  
 Βενι[.]is son of Anchorimphis **918**. iii. 11.  
 Βερενικιανός, Ὀρίων also called Ber., gymnasiarch **908**. 13.  
 Βησοῦς, Αὐρηλία Β. **912**. 1, 40.  
 Βίκτωρ **943**. 9. Ἄπα Βίκτωρ **987**.  
  
 Γαβριήλ, ὁ ἅγιος Γ. **993**.  
 Γάιος father of Apollonius **969**.  
 Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἀντώνιος **972**.  
 Γάιος Πουλφέρνησιος Τιβερίσιος **972**.  
 Γαίων (?), Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Γέμιμος also called Gai. **916**. 11.  
 Γέμιμος, Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Γ. also called Gaion **916**. 11.  
 Γερόντιος, Οὐαλέριος Ἀμμωνιανός also called Gerontius, logistes **896**. 1, 23.  
 Γεώργιος **915**. 1.  
 Γεώργιος castrensis (?) **1001**.  
 Γεώργιος chartularius **943**. 9.  
 Γεώργιος son of John **996**.  
  
 Δαίμων, Ἀγαθός Δ. ἄρξας, son of Caecilius **990**.  
 Δανιήλιος father of Aurelius Serenus **914**. 5.  
 Δανιήλιος president of the council **913**. 2.  
 Δήμαρχος **937**. 1, 31.  
 Δημέας **980**.  
 Δημητρία daughter of Andromachus **973**.  
 Δημήτριος father of Athanasius **939**. 2, 33.  
 Δημήτριος son of Heraclides **938**. 1.  
 Δημήτριος, Αὐρήλιος Δ. son of Dionysiotheon **907**. 20, 22.  
 Δημήτριος, Αὐρήλιος Δ. also called Zoilus, exegetes **911**. 1.  
 Διδύμη **899**. 3; **968**.  
 Διδύμη, Αὐρηλία Δ. daughter of Aurelius Hermogenes also called Eudaemon **907**. 3 *et saep.*  
 Δίδυμος **907**. 22; **960**.  
 Δίδυμος father of Aurelius Soterichus **909**. 12.  
 Δίδυμος son of Dionysius also called Phatreus **898**. 3.  
 Δίδυμος, Ἀπολλώνιος also called Did., son of Demeas **909**. 3.  
 Δίδυμος, Αὐρήλιος Δ. public physician, son of Dioscorus **896**. 24, 37.  
 Δίδυμος, Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Δ. gymnasiarch **908**. 6.  
 Διογένης **906**. 4, 5, 7; **935**. 1, 25.  
 Διογένης καθηγητής **930**. 7.  
 Διογένης linen-merchant **933**. 1, 32.  
 Διονυσάμμων, Αὐρήλιος Δ. **907**. 23.  
 Διονυσάριος, Φλαούσιος Δ. riparius **897**. 3.  
 Διονύσιος **971**; **974**.  
 Διονύσιος assistant of collector of corn-dues **976**.  
 Διονύσιος gymnasiarch **908**: 11.  
 Διονύσιος father of Herodes **988**.  
 Διονύσιος also called Phatreus, father of Didymus **898**. 3.  
 Διονύσιος father of Ptolemaeus **910**. 56.  
 Διονύσιος, Αὐρήλιος Δ. also called Ammonius **911**. 9.  
 Διονύσιος, Αὐρήλιος Δ. also called Aphrodisius, gymnasiarch **977**.  
 Διονυσσθέων father of Aurelius Demetrius **907**. 20.  
 Διόνυσσος god **917**. 3.  
 Δίος son of Dius **986**.  
 Δίος father of Onnophris **918**. ii. 19; **986**.  
 Δίος son of Onnophris and father of Dius **986**.  
 Δίος son of Onnophris and father of Heraclius **986**.

- Δίος son of Onnophris and father of Peneoueris 986.  
 Διόσκορος 898. 10, 14, 17.  
 Διόσκορος father of Aurelius Didymus 896. 25.  
 Διόσκορος father of Psenamounis 989.  
 Διόσκορος, Αὐρήλιος Δ. 977.  
 Διόσκορος, Αὐρήλιος Δ. senator, son of Silvanus 900. 4.  
 Διόσκορος, Φλαύιος Δ. ἐπόπτης εἰρήνης 991.  
 Διοσκουρίδης 907. 15  
 Διοσκουρίδης, Οὐαλέριος Δ. also called Julianus, logistes 900. 3.  
 Διοφάν[ης] strategus 899. introd.  
 Δομιτιανός, Αὐρήλιος Δ. son of Sarapion 890. 14.  
 Δωρόθεος 992.
- Ἐκάτων 968.  
 Ἐξακουός 967.  
 Ἐξάκων 923. 3.  
 Ἐπίμαχος father of Apphous 999.  
 Ἐρμ[ 907. 15.  
 Ἐρμᾶς wineseller 985.  
 Ἐρμῆς, Ἀντίνοος also called Herm. 909. 5.  
 Ἐρμογένης, Αὐρήλιος Ἐ. also called Eudaemon, exegetes 907. 1, 27.  
 Ἐρμόδωρος basilicogrammateus and acting strategus 898. 1.  
 Ἐρως 927. 1.  
 Ἐρως παιδαγωγός 930. 28.  
 Εὐάγγελος smith 989.  
 Εὐδαιμονίς, Αὐρηλία Εὐδ. daughter of Antinous also called Hermes 909. 3.  
 Εὐδαίμων son of Lycus 984.  
 Εὐδαίμων, Αὐρήλιος Ἐρμογένης also called Eud., exegetes 907. 1, 27.  
 Εὐδαίμων, Αὐρήλιος Θέων also called Eud. surnamed Ἀριστίων, son of Aristion 964.  
 Εὐδαίμων, Οὐαλέριος Εὐδ. praefect 899. 29.  
 Εὐθάλαμος 903. 27.  
 Εὐλόγιος, Φλαούιος Εὐλ. riparius 897. 3.  
 Εὐνοια 907. 15.  
 Εὐσέβιος, Φλαούιος Εὐσ. logistes 892. 1.  
 Εὐτύχης sitologus (?) 973.  
 Εὐφρόσυνος 939. 19.
- Ζευξιανός, Αὐρήλιος Πάρις also called Zeux., chief-priest elect 970.
- Ζήνων father of Aristander 988.  
 Ζήνων father of Heron 986.  
 Ζωή 903. 5.  
 Ζώιλος 903. 12.  
 Ζώιλος banker's assistant 916. 18.  
 Ζώιλος, Αὐρήλιος Δημήτριος also called Ζο., exegetes 911. 1.  
 Ζώπυρος 928. 3.  
 Ζώσιμος 937. 15; 974.
- Ἡλάσιος (?) 926. 7.  
 Ἡλιόδωρος 935. 25.  
 Ἡραθέων 926. 1.  
 Ἡρακλᾶς 890. 17; 985.  
 Ἡράκλεια daughter of Theon 899. introd.  
 Ἡρακλείδης son of Apollonius 918. v. 19.  
 Ἡρακλείδης father of Demetrius 938. 1.  
 Ἡρακλείδης, Αὐρήλιος Ἡρ. son of Aurelius Hermogenes also called Eudaemon 907. 3, 17, 19.  
 Ἡρακλεόδωρος father of Heracleodorus 984.  
 Ἡρακλεόδωρος son of Heracleodorus and father of Hierax 984.  
 Ἡράκλῆς 934. 5; 984.  
 Ἡράκλῆς father of Chocous 897. 8.  
 Ἡράκλῆς son of Dius and father of Musthas 986.  
 Ἡράκλῆς son of Hierax 984.  
 Ἡράκλῆς also called Matreas 898. 5.  
 Ἡράκλῆς son of Peneoueris 986.  
 Ἡράκλῆς son of Peneoueris and father of Heracles 986.  
 Ἡράκλῆς father of Ptolemaeus 984.  
 Ἡρακλῆς son of Heracleus 986.  
 Ἡρακλῆς son of Morus and father of Apollonius 905. 4, 17.  
 Ἡρακλῆς son of Ptolemaeus 984.  
 Ἡρόδοτος father of Apion public physician 983.  
 Ἡρώδης 988.  
 Ἡρώδης son of Dionysius 988.  
 Ἡρων comogrammateus 986.  
 Ἡρων father of Heron 918. ii. 19.  
 Ἡρων son of Heron and father of Patunis 918. ii. 12, 18, 24.  
 Ἡρων son of Nestnephis and father of Patunis 918. iii. 12.  
 Ἡρων village-elder, father of A[.]apes 918. xi. 12.  
 Ἡρων son of Xenon 986.

- Ἡρων, Ἀρρήλιος Ἡρ. public physician 896.  
24, 37.
- Θαῖσις 888. 10; 921. 12; 935. introd.  
Θαῖσις daughter of Panesneus 984.  
Θαῖς 932. 1.  
Θαῖς daughter of Amphithales 928. 4.  
Θάλλουσα 984.  
Θαρίων son of Aischuras 984.  
Θατρῆς daughter of Menodorus 905. 3.  
Θεαβῆσις daughter of Pesouris 918. ii. 12,  
22, 24.  
Θεανούς 935. 24.  
Θεανούς, Ἀρρηλία Θ. daughter of Didymus 960.  
Θεαρούς 963.  
Θεογένης father of Theogenes 911. 4.  
Θεογένης son of Theogenes 911. 4.  
Θεογένης father of Aurelius Theogenes 911. 4.  
Θεογένης, Ἀρρήλιος Θ. son of Theogenes 911. 4.  
Θεόδοτος 942. 7.  
Θεόδωρος 902. 5.  
Θεόπομπος 931. 1, 16.  
Θέων 899. introd.; 935. 24.  
Θέων also called Antimachus, gymnasiarch  
908. 10.  
Θέων, Ἀρρήλιος Θ. also called Asclepiades 912. 4.  
Θέων, Ἀρρήλιος Θ. also called Eudaemon sur-  
named Aristion, son of Aristion 964.  
Θεωνῆς, Ἀρρηλιος Θ. 909. 11.  
Θεωνίς 930. 24.
- Ἰβοεῖς 989.  
Ἰερακίαινα 935. 27.  
Ἰερακίων ex-agoranomus, son of Hieracion  
910. 1.  
Ἰερακίων father of Hieracion 910. 1.  
Ἰέραξ son of Heracleodorus 984.  
Ἰέραξ father of Heracleus 984.  
Ἰησοῦς 924. 15; 925. 4.  
Ἰουλιανός 992.  
Ἰουλιανός, Οὐαλέριος Διοσκούριδης also called  
Jul., logistes 900. 3.  
Ἰουλιανός, Φλαούιος Ἰ. acting defensor 901. 3.  
Ἰούλιος Ἀλέξανδρος father of Pausanias 936. 1.  
Ἰούλιος Σαραπίων 919. 2, 11 (?).  
Ἰούλιος, Γάιος Ἰ. Ἀντώνιος 972.  
Ἰούστος 936. 18.  
Ἰούστος monk 994.  
Ἰούστος, ὁ ἅγιος Ἰ. 941. 3.  
Ἰσάκ, Φλαούιος Ἰ. defensor 902. 1.
- Ἰσιδώρα, Ἀρρηλία Ἰ. 964.  
Ἰσιδώρα, Ἀρρηλία Ἰ. also called Prisca 907.  
4, 16, 21.  
Ἰσιδώρα, Κλαυδία Ἰ. 919. 7.  
Ἰσιδωρίων 928. 14.  
Ἰσιδωρος 906. 10.  
Ἰσιδωρος, Ἀρρηλιος Ἰ. son of Chaeremon 912.  
10.  
Ἰσιδωρος, Ἀχιλλεύς also called Is., gym-  
nasiarch 908. 12.  
Ἰσίων son of Panephemmis 918. ii. 19.  
Ἰωάννης 941. 10; 995.  
Ἰωάννης father of Georgius 996.  
Ἰωάννης father of Paniren 893. 2.  
Ἰωσήφ father of Aurelius Macarius 902. 2, 18.  
Ἰωσήφ notary 940. 7.
- Καϊκίλιος father of Agathodaemon 990.  
Κακῆς 935. introd.  
Καλή 934. 7.  
Καλλέας 921. 8.  
Καλλέας pilot 919. 3.  
Κάστωρ 913. 5, 22.  
Κερελ[. Δούκιος Κερελ[. . . . .]ανιανός 965.  
Κλάρως 968.  
Κλαυδία Ἰσιδώρα 919. 7.  
Κλαύδιος, Τιβέριος Κλ. Γέμιος also called  
Gaion (?) 916. 11.  
Κλαύδιος, Τιβέριος Κλ. Δίδυμος gymnasiarch  
908. 6.  
Κλώδιος Κουλκιανός praefect 895. 8.  
Κόλλουθος 934. 6.  
Κοπρέυς 934. 7, 8, 11.  
Κορελλιανός, Μινίκιος Κ. epistrategus 899. 30.  
Κορνηλιανός, Ἀρρηλιος Κ. prytanis 891. 6.  
Κορνήλιος son of Pekusis 899. 49.  
Κορνήλιος ποικιλτής 980.  
Κουλκιανός, Κλώδιος Κ. praefect 895. 8.  
Κυρία 914. 3.  
Κύριλλα 931. 11.
- Λεωνίδης, Ἀρρηλιος Λ. strategus 890. 4.  
Λούκιος 928. 1.  
Λούκιος Κερελ[. . . . .]ανιανός 965.  
Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Ἀρρηλιος Σαραπίων also called  
Apolinarius, prytanis 890. 1.  
Λύκος 984.  
Λύκος son of Horus and father of Eudaemon  
984.  
Λυκόφρων father of Orseutes 984.

- Μακάριος, Αὐρήλιος M. son of Joseph 902. 2, 18.  
 Μαρία 992.  
 Μαρίνος tow-merchant 893. 4, 5, 8.  
 Marcus Ulpius Primianus praefect 894. 4.  
 Μάρκος μείζων 893. 2, 4.  
 Ματρείας, Ἡράκλῃος also called Mat. 898. 6.  
 Ματρεΐνα daughter of Heracleus also called Matreas 898. 5.  
 Μηνᾶς 943. 1.  
 Μηνᾶς μειζότερος 922. 21.  
 Μηνᾶς προκουράτωρ 943. 2.  
 Μηνόδωρος son of Horus 905. 2, 15.  
 Μινίκιος Κορrellιανός epistrategus 899. 30.  
 Μουεΐς 983.  
 Μυσθᾶς son of Heracleus 986.  
 Μῶρος father of Heracles 905. 17.
- Νεπωτιανός, Αὐρήλιος N. prytanis 892. 6.  
 Νεστνήφης father of Heron 918. iii. 12.  
 Νικάνωρ 929. 1, 26.  
 Νίνναρος οἰκονόμος 929. 1, 25.  
 Νινοῦς 941. 1 (?).
- Ἵουσησᾶς father of Apollonius also called Didymus 909. 3.  
 Ἵοννώφρις 918. ii. 7.  
 Ἵοννώφρις father of Dios 986.  
 Ἵοννώφρις son of Dios and father of Anchorimphus 918. ii. 11, 18, 23, xi. 20; 986.  
 Ἵοννώφρις son of Horus 918. iii. 7.  
 Ἵοννώφρις son of Orseutes 984.  
 Ἵορσεύτης son of Lycophron and father of Onnophris 984.  
 Οὐαλέριος Ἀμμωνιανός also called Gerontius, logistes 896. 1, 23; 983.  
 Οὐαλέριος Διοσκουρίδης also called Julianus, logistes 900. 3.  
 Οὐαλέριος Εὐδαΐμων praefect 899. 29.  
 Οὐαλέριος, Φλαοῖος Οὐ. Πομπηιανός praefect 888. 1.  
 Ὀφιεύς father of Sisuphis 984.
- Παανούφρις 984.  
 Παβᾶνος 901. 8, 9.  
 Παγῶνις 989.  
 Παδίδυμος father of Aurelius Harmiusis 913. 5, 22.  
 Παήσιος father of Aurelius Papnoutius 897. 6.  
 Παήσιος father of Aurelius Patapis 897. 5.
- Παμούθιος μείζων 893. 1.  
 Πανασνεύς freedman, father of Petarprocration 984.  
 Πανεφρέμμης father of Apollonius 918. iii. 8.  
 Πανεφρέμμης father of Ision 918. ii. 19.  
 Πανῖρεν μείζων son of John 893. 1.  
 Πανοῦρις father of Aurelius Patutis 912. 6.  
 Παπινούτιος, Αὐρήλιος Π. son of Paësius 897. 6.  
 Παρεχάτης 984.  
 Πάρις, Αὐρήλιος Π. also called Zeuxianus, chief-priest elect 970.  
 Παρμενίων 899. 27, 30.  
 Πασίων public banker 916. 6, 12, 15.  
 Πασίων smith 989.  
 Πασίαν, Αὐρήλιος Π. senator, son of Horion 892. 2.  
 Παστωῶς father of Ammonas 986.  
 Παταβῆς son of Aurelius Psois 895. 5.  
 Πατάπις, Αὐρήλιος Π. son of Paësius 897. 4.  
 Πατήβις 984.  
 Πατρίκιος (?) 922. 7.  
 Πάτρων father of Harmiusis 986.  
 Πατῦνις father of Ameos 918. ii. 15.  
 Πατῦνις son of Heron 918. ii. 11, 19, 23, iii. 12.  
 Πατῦτις, Αὐρήλιος Π. son of Panouris 912. 6.  
 Πανλῖνος collector of corn-dues 976.  
 Πανσανίας son of Julius Alexander 936. 1.  
 Πανφῶις 984.  
 Πεκολάριος (?) 992.  
 Πέλωρος 918. xiii. 13.  
 Πεκῦσις father of Κορνήλιος 899. 49.  
 Πένβα 989.  
 Πενεοῦρις son of Dios 986.  
 Πενεοῦρις father of Heracleus 986.  
 Πενεοῦρις son of Heracleus 986.  
 Πεσοῦρις father of Theabesis 918. ii. 12, 22, 24.  
 Πεταρπροκρατίαν son of Panesneus 984.  
 Πετεσορφῶιμος son of Phantias 986.  
 Πετεσοῦχος 985.  
 Πετεσοῦχος son of Ammonas 986.  
 Πετίρις son of Aurelius Sakaon 895. 4.  
 Πετοβάστις ropemaker 934. 4.  
 Πετουφῶις 984.  
 Πετρῶνις exceptor 942. 6.  
 Πλέβ horse 922. 13.  
 Πλουτάρχη 906. 4, 7, 10.  
 Πλουτογένης 933. 27.  
 Πομπηιανός, Φλαοῖος Οὐαλέριος Π. praefect 888. 1.  
 Ποηῆρις 986.  
 Πουλφέρμιος, Γάιος Π. Τιβερίνος 972.

- Πούνσις 984.  
 Πραούς 996.  
 Πρέισκα, Αἰρηλία Ἰσιδώρα also called Prisca 907. 4, 16, 21.  
 Πρέισκιλλα 935. introd.  
 Primianus, Marcus Ulpius P. praefect 894. 4.  
 Πτολεμαῖος 930. 30.  
 Πτολεμαῖος basilicogrammateus 986.  
 Πτολεμαῖος son of Dionysius 910. 56.  
 Πτολεμαῖος son of Heracleus and father of Heracles 984.  
 Πτολεμαῖος, Αἰρήλιος Π. son of Hieraciaena 970.  
 Πτολεμαῖς, Αἰρηλία Π. daughter of Hermogenes also called Eudaemon 907. 3, 11, 14.  
 Πτολεμείνος also called Sarmates, exegetes 891. 8.  
 Πολλίων 899. 21.  
 Πολλίων father of Aurelius Ptolion 909. 1, 37.  
 Πολλίων, Αἰρήλιος Π. son of Ptolion 909. 1, 37.  
 Ῥοδίων father of Ammonius 986.  
 Sabina, Ulpia S. 894. 6.  
 Σαβίνας 907. 15; 932. 9.  
 Σαλόβις 989.  
 Σαμουήλ περίβλεπτος 994.  
 Σαραπάμμων father of Teos 910. 3, 48.  
 Σαραπᾶς father of Anteis 976.  
 Σαραπίας 912. 2.  
 Σαραπίας daughter of Herodes 988.  
 Σαραπίων 890. 1; 912. 2; 918. v. 18; 935. 14, 23; 968; 991.  
 Σαραπίων son of Belleos 985.  
 Σαραπίων ex-agoranomus, father of Apollonius and Domitianus 890. 15.  
 Σαραπίων also called Horion, son of . . . on 908. 1, 44.  
 Σαραπίων, strategus of Sebennytyus 931. 1, 15.  
 Σαραπίων, Αἰρήλιος Σ. also called Apeis, senator 977.  
 Σαραπίων, Αἰρήλιος Σ. also called Theon 960.  
 Σαραπίων, Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Αἰρήλιος Σ. also called Apollinarius, prytanis 890. 1.  
 Σαραπίων, Φλαούιος Σ. son of Horion 913. 24.  
 Σαραποδώρα 932. 9.  
 Σαραπούς also called Agathoclia, daughter of Aristion 964.  
 Σαρᾶς 974.  
 Σαρᾶς, Αἰρήλιος Σ. 921. introd.  
 Σαρμάτης, Αἰρήλιος Σ. elder 897. 5.  
 Σαρμάτης, Πτολεμείνος also called Sarm., exegetes 891. 8.  
 Σαρποκρατίς 984.  
 Σατουρνίνος ῥήτωρ 899. 21.  
 Σατουρνίνος, Αἰμίλιος Σ. praefect 899. 10; 916. 9.  
 Σεβαστέινος 928. 10.  
 Σεναμοῦν 999.  
 Σενοννώφρις daughter of Heracleus 984.  
 Σενπανεσνεύς daughter of Panesneus 984.  
 Σενπαράιθις daughter of Panesneus 984.  
 Σενπτόλλις 984.  
 Σέντρις 984.  
 Σενύφης 984.  
 Σενφῶις daughter of Lycus 984.  
 Σενχεμενεύς 984.  
 Σεπτίμιος, Λούκιος Σ. Αἰρήλιος Σαραπίων also called Apollinarius, prytanis 890. 1.  
 Σερήνος 935. 1.  
 Σερήνος banker 943. 1, 5.  
 Σερήνος father of Serenus 909. 10.  
 Σερήνος son of Serenus 909. 10.  
 Σερήνος, Αἰρήλιος Σ. son of Aurelius Ammonius 909. 8.  
 Σερήνος, Αἰρήλιος Σ. son of Daniel 914. 5.  
 Σεύθης, Αἰρήλιος Σ. also called Horion, logistes 895. 3.  
 Σιλβανός father of Aurelius Dioscorus 900. 4.  
 Σισύφης son of Ophieus and father of Sisuphis 984.  
 Σισύφης pastophorus, son of Sisuphis 984.  
 Σοκονῶπις father of Ameous 918. ii. 14.  
 Σοφία daughter of Marcus 893. 4, 5, 8.  
 Στέφανος προνοητής 999.  
 Στέφανος, Αἰρήλιος Σ. 934. 1, 17.  
 Στουδίωσος, Φλαύιος Σ. dioecetes 899. introd., 2.  
 Σύρος 936. 5.  
 Σφραγίς 984.  
 Σωτήριχος, Αἰρήλιος Σ. son of Didymus 909. 12.  
 Τααμῆς daughter of Harmieus 918. iii. 8.  
 Τααμώνιος, Αἰρηλία Τ. daughter of Sarapion 991.  
 Ταανούφης 984.  
 Τααρμύσις 909. 12.  
 Τάβη 996.  
 Ταθων . . . 899. 31.  
 Τακάλλιπος 905. 2.

- Τανούρις 984.  
 Ταός 937. 1, 31.  
 Ταός, Αύρηλία T. daughter of Castor 913. 5, 22.  
 Ταπάνη 996.  
 Ταπητάρ(ιος ?) 999.  
 Ταπτίχης 984.  
 Τασαταβούς daughter of Onnophris 918. ii. 6.  
 Τασοιτᾶς 937. 26.  
 Τατναγούς 984.  
 Ταυσοράπις 905. 4.  
 Ταυφῶς 984.  
 Ταφίβις 984.  
 Ταψωβᾶς 984.  
 Τεαίψις 984.  
 Τερεῦς 984.  
 Τερεχα( ) 984.  
 Τευφῶς 984.  
 Τεῶς son of Sarapammon 910. 3, 48.  
 Τιβερίνιος Γάιος Πουλφέρνησιος T. 972.  
 Τιβέριος Ἀλέξανδρος praefect 899. 28.  
 Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Γέμιος also called Gaion (?) 916. 11.  
 Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Δίδυμος gymnasiarch 908. 6.  
 Τίγριος 932. 1.  
 Τιθόεις 929. 7.  
 Τιμόθεος ordinarius 942. 7.  
 Τωωνσᾶς 984.  
 Τσενήσις 935. 28.  
 Ulpia Sabina 894. 6.  
 Ulpius, Marcus U. Primianus praefect 894. 4.  
 Φανίας father of Petesorphiomis 986.  
 Φανίας son of Petesorphiomis 986.  
 Φατρεύς 984.  
 Φατρεύς, Διονύσιος also called Phat., father of Didymus 898. 4.  
 Φαῦστος 900. 15; 985.  
 Φιλοδιδύσκορος 907. 11.  
 Φιλόκυρος 937. 15.  
 Φιλόνομος strategus 898. 26; 957.  
 Φιλόξενος 922. 14, 16; 936. 20.  
 Φιλόξενος magistrilianus 904. 2.  
 Φιλοστέφανος 984.  
 Φλαβιανός 939. 1, 32.  
 Φλαούιος 904. 1.  
 Φλαούιος Διονυσάριος riparius 897. 3.  
 Φλαούιος Εὐλόγιος riparius 897. 3.  
 Φλαούιος Εὐσέβιος logistes 892. 1.  
 Φλαούιος Ἰουλιανός acting defensor 901. 3.  
 Φλαούιος Ἰσάκ defensor 902. 1.  
 Φλαούιος Οὐαλέριος Πομπηϊανός praefect 888. 1.  
 Φλαούιος Σαραπίων son of Horion 913. 24.  
 Φλαύιος Διδύσκορος ἐπόπτης εἰρήνης 991.  
 Φλαύιος Στουδίωσος dioecetes 899. introd., 2.  
 Φοιβάμμων 941. 8.  
 Φοιβάμμων father of Apollon 893. 2.  
 Φοιβάμμων comes 994.  
 Φοιβάμμων ex-councillor 902. 4.  
 Φοιβάμμων φροντιστής 940. 5.  
 Φοιβάμμων χειριστής 995.  
 Χαϊράμμων 926. 6 (?).  
 Χαϊρέας 900. 15.  
 Χαϊρήμων son of Anchorimphus 918. xi. 20.  
 Χαϊρήμων father of Aurelius Isidorus 912. 10.  
 Χαϊρήμων strategus 970.  
 Χαϊρήμων, Αὐρήλιος X. 934. 1, 17.  
 Χεμενεύς 984.  
 Χριστός 924. 15; 925. 4.  
 Χωούς 903. 26, 28, 31.  
 Χωούς son of Heracleus 897. 8, 13.  
 Ψαῦτις 984.  
 Ψευαμούνης son of Dioscorus 989.  
 Ψευτοῦς 984.  
 Ψιραίθης 984.  
 Ψῶς 984.  
 Ὀφελία 963.  
 Ὀριγένης 888. 10, 12; 918. ii. 3.  
 Ὀρίων 906. 10.  
 Ὀρίων father of Aurelius Pasion 892. 2.  
 Ὀρίων also called Berenicianus, gymnasiarch 908. 13.  
 Ὀρίων father of Flavius Sarapion 913. 24.  
 Ὀρίων, Αὐρήλιος Σεύθης also called Hor., logistes 895. 3.  
 Ὀρίων, Αὐρήλιος Ὠ. son of Aurelius Hermogenes also called Eudaemon 907. 3, 17, 19.  
 Ὀρίων, Σαραπίων also called Hor., son of . . . on 908. 1, 44.  
 Ὄρος 900. 15.  
 Ὄρος father of Anchorimphus 918. xi. 21.  
 Ὄρος father of Aurelius Amois 897. 4.  
 Ὄρος son of Auctus 935. introd.  
 Ὄρος father of Lycus 984.  
 Ὄρος father of Menodorus 905. 2.  
 Ὄρος father of Onnophris 918. iii. 7.

## VI. GEOGRAPHICAL.

## (a) COUNTRIES, NOMES, CITIES, TOPARCHIES.

Aegyptus 894. 3, 4.  
 Αἴγυπτος 888. 1; 899. introd.  
 Αἴγυπτος Ἑρκουλία 896. 29.  
 Ἀλεξάνδρεια 889. 10; 899. introd.; 923. 8;  
 934. 3; 998.  
 Alexandria 894. 4.  
 Ἀντινοεύς 937. 20, 23, 29.  
 Ἀντινοίς 909. 6.  
 Ἀντινοέων πόλις 970.  
 Ἀντινόου (πόλις) 903. 29, 33; 933. 32 (?).  
 Ἀρσινούτης (νομός) 919. 6; 922. 5.  
 Βαβυλῶν 895. 13.  
 Ἑλληνικός 907. 2; 990.  
 Ἡρακλεοπολίτης (νομός) 899. 23.  
 Ἡρακλέους (πόλις) 922. 17.  
 Ἡρκουλία, Αἴγυπτος Ἑρκ. 896. 29.  
 Κανωπικός 936. 15.  
 Κυνοπολίτης (νομός) 921. 21.  
 Κυνοπολιτῶν (πόλις), ἡ ἄνω 902. 1.  
 Κωνσταντίνου πόλις 922. 15.  
 Μέμφις 919. 4.  
 μερίς 986.  
 Νειλουπολιτῶν (πόλις) 942. 1.  
 νομός 899. 42; 900. 6; 913. 6; 991.  
 ο' (?) 991.

\*Οάσις 898. 9, 13. Μικρὰ \*Ο. 888. 8; 895.  
 19.  
 Ὀξυρρυχίτης (νομός) 888. 8; 892. 1; 895.  
 3; 896. 1, 23; 898. 16; 899. introd., 5,  
 16; 900. 3; 901. 3; 905. 6; 916. 7;  
 923. 13; 929. 18; 991.  
 Ὀξυρρυχιτῶν πόλις 889. 13; 890. 4; 891. 4;  
 896. 3, 25; 899. 3; 900. 5; 907. 1,  
 26; 908. 4, 17; 909. 9; 911. 3; 913.  
 4; 914. 4, 20; 990; 999.  
 Ὀξυρρύχων πόλις 888. 7, 8, 11; 898. 4;  
 909. 1; 910. 1; 911. 12; 912. 3.  
 Oxyrhynchus (? Oxyrhynchorum urbs) 894.  
 7.

πάγος, δέκατος π. 900. 6. ε π. 901. 5.  
 Πολέμωνος μερίς 986.  
 πόλις, = Cynopolis 902. 2. = Nilopolis 942.  
 4. = Oxyrhynchus 889. 14, 15; 892. 3;  
 9; 896. 9, 30; 899. 6; 904. 4; 908. 6;  
 909. 13; 910. 3; 911. 5; 914. 6; 962.  
 ]ιτῶν πόλις 895. 15. πόλεις 902. 10.  
 Προσωπίτης 919. 5.

\*Ρωμαῖοι 919. 7.

Σεβεννύτου ἄνω τόποι 931. 15.

τοπαρχία, ἀπηλιώτου (Oxyrh.) 910. 5. γ τοπ.  
 (Πολέμωνος μερίδος, Arsin.) 986. Σεβεννύτου  
 ἄνω τόποι 931. 15.

## (b) VILLAGES, ἐποίκια, τόποι.

## I. Oxyrhynchite.

\*Ἀδεύ 989.  
 Ἀμβιούτος τόποι 999.  
 Ἀπόλλωνος κώμη 893. 2.  
 Ἄσκλου 922. 1.  
 Εὐαγγελείου 998.  
 Εὐτυχιάδος ἐποίκ. 996.

Ζαπίτου, Ἰσείον Ζ. 897. 6.  
 Ἡρακλείον ἐποίκ. 989.  
 Θαήσιος 998.  
 Θεαγένους 998.  
 Θῶσβις 989.  
 Ἰβίων 998.

Ἰέμη 997.

Ἰσείον Ζαπίτου 897. 6.

Ἰσείον Παγγᾶ 899. 7; 988.

Ἰσείον Τρύφωνος 989.

Ἰστρου 907. 8.

Καρανεώτης 922. 24, 25.

Λαχανίας Νήσος 998.

Λευκαδίου Νήσος 998.

Λουκίου 922. 25; 998.

Μαιουμᾶ τόποι 999.

Μαργαρίτου τόποι 999.

Μελίτα 998.

Μερμέρθα 912. 7.

Μεσκανοῦνις 998.

Μονίμου 979.

Μουχινώρ 985.

Μοῦχης ἐποικ. 996.

Μῶα 907. 24.

Νείλου ἐποικ. 997.

Νεκῶνθις 998; 1003.

Νήσος Λαχανίας 998.

Νήσος Λευκαδίου 998.

Νικήτου 998.

Ἵοστρακίνου 998.

Οὐρείηβτ 922. 17.

Παγγᾶ, Ἰσείον Π. 899. 7; 988.

Παγγουλείου 998; 999.

Πακέρκη 910. 4, 7, 32; 998.

Παλλῶσις ἢ Παλῶσις 922. 23; 998.

Πανεύις 989.

Πέλα 970.

Πέτνη 932. 3; 997.

Ποῦχης 966.

Πτολεμᾶ ἐποικ. 989.

Πτῶχης 913. 6.

Σαδάλου 895. introd.

Σαμβαθῶ 903. 19.

Σείλ 907. 10.

Σεναῶ 938. 3.

Σενεκελεύ 899. 7; 979.

Σενέπτα 909. 17; 979.

Σεντωλενῶ 981.

Σερῦθις 899. 7; 970; 989; 991. Σερύ-  
φως πόλις 960.

Σεφῶ 907. 9; 997; 998.

Συνπέκλη ἐποικ. 989.

Σκέλους 998.

Σκῶ 979.

Σπανία 922. 4.

Στεφανίωνος 998.

Τααμπέμου 901. 4; 989 (?).

Τακολκίλις (?) 997.

Τακόνα 998.

Ταλαῶ 917. 1.

Ταμπέτι 895. 5; 997; 998.

Τανίσις 997.

Ταρουθίνου 998.

Ταρουσέβτ 998.

Τεξεεί 997.

Τερῦθις 998.

Τήις 989.

Τίλλωνος 998.

Τρύφωνος, Ἰσείον Τ. 989.

Φοβόου (ἢ Φοκόου) τόποι 973.

Χιούτ (? not Oxyrhynchite) 925. 6.

Χῦσις 899. 6, 36; 934. 7. Χ. ἄνω 989.

Ψῶβθις 905. 2.

᾽Ωφίς 922. 2, 22; 989.

## 2. Arsinoite.

Ἰβίων Ἀργαίου 918. v. 17.

Ἵοξυρύγχα 986.

## 3. Heracleopolite.

Βουσείρις 899. 22.

Θωτηίρις 899. 22.

Φιλονίκου 965.

(c) ἄμφοδα of *Oxyrhynchus*.

Δρόμου Θοήριδος 911. 13.  
Ἴππέων Παρεμβολῆς 964.

Κρηπίδος 984.  
Νότου Κρηπίδος 912. 11.

## (d) TRIBE AND DEME (ANTINOITE).

Νερουιάνειος ὁ καὶ Γενεάρχειος 970.

## (e) MISCELLANEOUS (BUILDINGS, κλήροι, οὐσίαι, &amp;c.).

Ἄδριανὰ, Τραιανὰ Ἄδρ. θερμά 896. 7.  
Ἄρχεπῶλιδος κλήρος 988.  
βαλανεῖον δημόσιον 896. 8. Cf. 892. 8.  
Διονυσιάδος νομαί 899. introd., 6.  
Διονυσεῖον 908. 8.  
Διονυσοδωριανὴ οὐσία (Arsinoite) 986.  
διῶρυξ Τεκνάνις (Arsinoite) 918. ii. 3, 13, iii.  
6, 13. δ. Φαγήους οἱ Φακήους (Arsinoite)  
918. v. 17, 21. μεγάλη δ. 988.  
θερμὰ Τραιανὰ Ἄδριανὰ 896. 7.  
Ἴσειον, τὸ ἄνω Ἴσ. 907. 8.  
κλήρος Ἀρχεπῶλιδος 988.  
κυριακόν 903. 19, 21.

λουτρόν, δημόσιον λ. 892. 11. λ. τοῦ προαστείου  
915. 2.  
μαρτύριον 941. 4.  
νομαί Διονυσιάδος 899. introd. 6.  
οὐσία Διονυσοδωριανή (Arsinoite) 986.  
προάστειον 915. 2.  
πίλη βορρυνή 892. 8.  
Σαβητ( ), σωλὴν λεγόμενος Σ. 1002.  
Σαραπεῖον 923. 14.  
Τεκνάνις διῶρυξ (Arsinoite) 918. ii. 3, 13, iii.  
6, 13.  
Τραιανὰ Ἄδριανὰ θερμά 896. 7.  
Φαγήους οἱ Φακήους διῶρυξ (Arsinoite) 918. v.  
17, 21.

## VII. RELIGION.

## (I) PAGAN.

(a) *Gods*.

Ἀπόλλων, θεὸς μέγιστος 984.  
Ἄρης, θεὸς μέγιστος 984.  
Ἀφροδίτη 921. 22.

Διόνυσος 917. 3 (?).  
θεοὶ 933. 7; 935. 3, 10; 936. 5.

(b) *Temples*.

Διονυσεῖον 908. 8.  
ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος 984. ἱερ. Ἄρεως 984.

παστοφόριον 984.  
Σαραπεῖον 923. 9.

(c) *Priests*.

ἀρχιερατεύσας 911. 2.  
ἀρχιερεὺς 970.

παστοφόρος 984.

*(d) Miscellaneous.*

ἐορτή, μεγάλη ἑορ. 933. 13.  
 θυσία 923. 7.  
 ἱερὰ σύνοδος 908. 9.

ἱεροῦνης 908. 9.  
 σπονδὴ Διονύσου (?) 917. 3.

*(2) CHRISTIAN.**(a) Divine Titles.*

Ἄβραάξ 924. 17.  
 δεσπότης θεός 939. 4. ὁ τῶν ὄλων δεσπ. 939.  
 29.  
 θεός 903. 37; 941. 8; 942. 3, 4; 943. 9.  
 θεὸς δεσπότης 939. 4. θεὸς ζῶν 924. 11.  
 θεὸς παντοκράτωρ 925. 1.

Ἰησοῦς Χριστός 924. 15; 925. 4.  
 κύριος 925. 4; 943. 7.  
 μήτηρ 924. 15.  
 πατήρ 924. 15.  
 πνεῦμα ἅγιον 924. 16.  
 υἱός 924. 15.

*(b) Ecclesiastical Titles.*

διάκονος 993 (?).  
 ἐπίσκοπος 903. 15.

μονάζων 994.  
 οἰκονόμος τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰούστου 941. 4.

*(c) Miscellaneous.*

Γαβριήλ, ὁ ἅγιος Γ. 993.  
 ἐκκλησία, ἡ ἁγία ἐκκλ. 993.  
 Ἰούστος, ὁ ἅγιος Ἰ. 941. 4.

μαρτύριον 941. 4.  
 qβ (= ἀμήν) 925. 7.  
 χμγ 940. 1; 995.

## VIII. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TITLES.

ἀγορανομήσας 890. 16; 910. 2.  
 ἀντάρχων 907. 21.  
 ἄρξας 900. 4; 990.  
 ἀρχέφοδος 969.  
 ἀρχιερατεύσας 911. 2.  
 ἀρχιερεύς 970.  
 ἄρχων 907. 21; 922. 3, 19.

βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς (α) Ὁξυρνηγίτου. Ἐρμό-  
 δωρος, διαδεχόμενος καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν (A. D.  
 123) 898. 1. Ἀμμωνιανός, διαδεχ. καὶ τὴν  
 στρατ. (A. D. 199) 899. 34, 36. (β) Ἀρσινού-  
 του Πολέμωνος μερίδος. Πτολεμαῖος (A. D.  
 131-2) 986.  
 βοηθός 976. Cf. Index XI.  
 βουλευτής 888. 8; 892. 2; 900. 4; 907. 1;  
 911. 3; 977; 984.  
 βουλή, ἡ κρατίστη β. 891. 5; 892. 5.

γραμματεὺς. See βασιλικὸς γραμ.  
 γυμνασιάρχης 908. 15; 977.  
 γυμνασιαρχήσας 908. 3.

διοικητής, Φλαῖος Στουδίωσος ὁ κράτιστος διοικ.  
 (A. D. 200) 899. introd., 1, 37.

ἐκδικίαν Ὁξυρνηγίτου διοικῶν 901. 3.  
 ἔκδικος 902. 10, 18. ἔκδ. τῆς ἄνω Κυνοπολιτῶν  
 902. 1.  
 ἐξηγητεύσας 908. 13, 14; 909. 9.  
 ἐξηγητής 891. 9, 10; 907. 1; 911. 2; 977.  
 ἐξηγ. Ὁξυρνηγίτου καὶ Μικρᾶς Ὀάσεως 888. 8.  
 ἐξέκπτωρ 942. 6 (?).  
 ἑπαρχος, Ἰούνιος Βύσσος καὶ Φλαούιος Ἀβλάβιος  
 οἱ λαμπρότατοι ἑπαρχοὶ (A. D. 331) 990.  
 Cf. ἡγεμών.

επιστράτηγος 899. 25. Μινίκιος Κορελλιανός  
ἐπιστρ. (A. D. 146-7) 899. 30.

ἐπόπτης εἰρήνης 991.

εὐθηνιάρχης 908. 5, 16.

εὐθηνιαρχῶν 908. 19.

ἡγεμονεύσας. See ἡγεμών.

ἡγεμών 899. 25; 904. 10. Τιβέριος Ἀλέ-  
ξανδρος (A. D. 69) 899. 28. Οὐαλέριος  
Εὐδαίμων ἡγεμονεύσας (A. D. 141-2) 899. 29.  
M. Ulpius Primianus (?), praefectus Ae-  
gypti 894. 4. ὁ λαμπρότατος ἡγ. Αἰμίλιος  
Σατουρνίνος (A. D. 198) 816. 10, (A. D. 200)  
899. 10. Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος ὁ κρῆτιστος  
(? identical with Αὐρ. Ἀντίνοος, vice-praefect  
in A. D. 215-6) 970. Φλαούσιος Οὐαλέριος  
Πομπηανός ὁ διασημότατος ἑπαρχος (A. D. 237)  
888. 1. Κλώδιος Κουλκιανός ὁ διασημ. ἡγ.  
(A. D. 305) 895. 7. ὁ κοάτιστος ἡγεμών  
(unnamed) 931. 8; 967.

ἡγούμενος Αἰγύπτου Ἑρκουλείας (A. D. 316)  
896. 28.

ιατρός, δημόσιος ιατ. 896. 26; 983.

καστρίσιος (?) 1001.

κόμης 994.

κωμάρχης 895. 5.

κωμογραμματεὺς 899. introd., 24, 36; 970;  
986.

λογιστής. Αὐρήλιος Σεύθης ὁ καὶ Ὁρίων (A. D.  
305) 895. 3. Οὐαλέριος Ἀμμωνιανός ὁ καὶ  
Γερόντιος (A. D. 316) 896. 2, 23; 983.  
Οὐαλέριος Διοσκουρίδης ὁ καὶ Ἰουλιανός (A. D.  
322) 900. 3. Φλαούσιος Εὐσέβιος (A. D. 338)  
892. 1.

μαγιστριανός, καθωσιωμένος μαγ. 904. 2.

μειζότερος 922. 21; 943. 3.

μειζῶν 893. 1; 900. 19; 980. ἀπὸ μειζόνων  
893. 2, 3, 4.

νοτάριος 940. 7.

νυκτοστράτηγος 933. 24.

οἰκονόμος στρατηγοῦ (?) 929. 25. Cf. Index  
VII. (2) (b).

ὀρδινάριος 942. 7. ἀπὸ ὑπάτων ὀρδιναρίων 999.  
ὀφφικιάλιος 896. 28.

πολιτευόμενος 902. 12. πολιτευσάμενος 902. 4.  
πραγματικός 899. 17, 35, 42, 47.  
praefectus. See ἡγεμών.

πραιπόσιτος πατριωναλίων δεκάτου πάγου 900. 5.  
πράκτωρ 889. 8; 899. 43, 48; 958 (?).  
πρ. ἀργυρικῶν 917. 1; 981-2. πρ. σιτικῶν  
965; 976.

πρεσβευτής 933. 31.

πρεσβύτεροι κώμης 918. χί. 3, 12.

προκουράτωρ 943. 2.

πρόξενος βουλευτῶν 984.

προπολιτευόμενος 913. 4.

πρύτανις 907. 1. ἔναρχος πρύτ. 889. 13;  
890. 3; 891. 7; 892. 5.

ρίπαριος 897. 3; 904. 3.

σιτολόγος 973; 986.

στρατηγία 911. 8. βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς διαδεχό-  
μενος καὶ τὴν στρ. See βασιλικὸς γραμ.

στρατηγός (a) Ὁξυρυνχίτου. Φιλόνικος (A. D.  
123) 898. 26; 957. Διοφάν[ης] (A. D. 200)  
899. introd. Ἀπίων (?) (late second or  
third cent.) 929. 25. Χαϊρήμων (early third  
cent.) 970. Λεωνίδης (third cent.) 890. 5.  
Unnamed 899. 17, 42. βασιλικὸς γραμ-  
ματεὺς διαδεχόμενος καὶ τὴν στρ. See βασ.  
γρ. (b) Σεβεννύτου ἄνω τόπων. Σαραπίων  
(second cent.) 931. 15.

σχολαστικός 902. 1.

τραπεζίτης 943. 2, 5. βασιλικὸς τρ. 916. 13,  
16. δημόσιος τρ. 916. 7.

ὑπάτος, ἀπὸ ὑπάτων ὀρδιναρίων 999. Cf. Index  
III.

ὑπηρέτης 899. 50; 916. 18.

φύλαξ 931. 6; 933. 25.

χαρτουλάριος 943. 9.

χειριστής 995.

## IX. WEIGHTS, MEASURES, AND COINS.

## (a) WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

ἀγκάλη 935. 19.  
 ἄρουρα 899. 6, 7, 16; 907. 8, 9, 11, 13, 18,  
 24; 910. 7, 10, 12, 50; 913. 10, 20 (?);  
 916. 8; 918. introd. *et saep.*; 935. 21 (?);  
 986; 988.  
 ἀρτάβη 903. 22, 23, 24; 907. 24; 908. 28,  
 35; 910. 10, 18, 52, 55; 918. introd. *et*  
*saep.*; 920. 1; 932. 5; 934. 10; 960;  
 966; 974; 979; 986; 994; 998-9.  
 Unusual fractions:  $\frac{1}{5}$  986.  $\frac{1}{15}$  986.  $\frac{1}{16}$  986.  
 $\frac{1}{20}$  918. introd.; 986.  $\frac{1}{40}$  986.  $\frac{1}{60}$  918.  
 introd.  $\frac{1}{75}$  986.  $\frac{1}{160}$  918. introd.

δικότυλον 937. 27.  
 διπλοῦν 992-3.

ζεύγος 936. 15, 16.

ἡμίχουν 936. 7, 9.

καγκέλλος, καγκέλλω sc. μέτρῳ 994; 999.  
 κέραμμον 907. 24; 919. 8; 961. introd.; 928.  
 12; 937. 27.  
 κόμτον (?) 995.

λίτρα 915. 2, 3; 1000-1002.

μέτρον 910. 21. μ. δέκατον 907. 24. μ.  
 τετραχόινικον παραληπτικὸν τοῦ γεούχου 910.  
 34. καγκέλλω, sc. μέτρῳ 994; 999. μέτρον  
 =  $\frac{1}{10}$  artaba (?) 920. 2.  
 μνασίον. χρυσοῦ κοινοῦ σταθμῶ Ὁξυρυγίτη μν.  
 905. 5.

οὔγκια 931. 4.

ξέστης 921. 23.

πήχυς 921. introd.; 986. π. ἀπλοῦς, ἐμβαδός,  
 καμαρωτικός (οἱ -τός) 921. introd.  
 Προσωπίτης (?) 919. 5.

σαργάνη 936. 3, 6.  
 σταθμὸς Ὁξυρυγίτης 905. 5.  
 στατήρ 936. 40.

τετραχόινικον μέτρον. See μέτρον.  
 τριχόινικον 936. 7.

## (b) COINS.

ἀργύριον 896. 15, 17; 898. 12; 907. 25;  
 909. 19; 912. 14.

δηναρίων μυριάς 896. 15, 17.  
 δραχμὴ 890. 16 (?); 895. 13, 15, 16; 906.  
 3; 909. 20; 910. 13, 53; 912. 14;  
 916. 12 *et saep.*; 917. 2, 3, 4, 5; 919. 10,  
 11; 920. 1 *et saep.*; 934. 6, 7, 9, 10, 11;  
 964; 977; 980-1; 985-6.  
 δυόβολοι 920. 1, 5, 6; 971; 981.

ἡμιωβέλιον 917. 2.

κεράτιον 998.

μνασίον, χρυσοῦ μν. 905. 5.

νόμισμα 922. 14, 16, 18, 22, 23, 26.  
 νομισμάτιον 914. 9, 10; 995; 999. Ἀλεξαν-  
 δρείας νομ. 998.

ὀβολός 917. 4, 5; 920. 3; 971; 981; 985.

πεντάβολον 917. 4.

τάλαντον 898. 12; 907. 25.  
 τετράβολον 917. 3; 985.  
 τριώβολον 985.

χαλκός 936. 17.  
 χαλκοῦς 917. 3; 981.  
 χρυσίον 995 (?).  
 χρυσός 914. 9, 10; 995. χρ. κοινοῦ σταθμῶ  
 Ὁξυρυγίτη μνασίον 905. 5.

X. TAXES.

ἀργυρικά 981-2.

δεκάτη παρολκῶν (?) 997.

δημόσια, τὰ δ. 903. 31 (?); 910. 23; 913. 17;  
932. 4.

ἕκτη 917. 2.

ἐπαρούριον 917. 3; 981.

ἐπικλασμός 899. 9.

η', η<sup>+</sup> (= ὀγδόη?) 916. 7, 17, 20.

Μέμφεως τέλη 919. 3.

μέτρημα 909. 22.

ναύβιον 917. 2.

ναῦλον φορέτρον (?) 917. 2.

ξενία 931. 7.

ὀγδόη. See η'.  
οὐσιακά 986.

πηχισμός περιστερώνων 981.

σιτικά 965; 976; 986.

σπονδή Διονύσου (?) 917. 3.

τέλη Μέμφεως 919. 3.

τελούμενα 899. 9.

φόρος 899. 40. Cf. Index XI.

XI. GENERAL INDEX OF GREEK AND LATIN WORDS.

ἀβαρής 933. 29.

ἀβάσκαντος 930. 23.

ἀβοήθητος 899. 44.

ἄβροχος 910. 27.

ἄβωλος 938.

ἄγιος 924. 16; 925. 1; 941. 4; 993.

ἀγκάλη 935. 19.

ἄγνοια 923. 9.

ἀγοράζειν 922. 11, 22; 933. 29, 30.

ἀγορανομήσας 890. 16; 910. 2.

ἀγορασμός 962.

ἀγρός 967.

ἀγωνία 939. 12.

ἀδελφή 930. 23; 931. 11; 935. 4; 936. 12;  
937. 2, 9, 31; 964; 967.

ἀδελφιδούς 888. 11.

ἀδελφικός 942. 2, 5.

ἀδελφός 892. 3, 12; 902. 5; 903. 15; 904.  
6; 907. 25; 928. 2; 929. 2, 21; 934.  
2; 935. 2, 6, 23; 942. 6; 943. 9; 995.

ἀδελφότης 943. 1.

ἀδικεῖν 898. 7; 901. 11; 902. 11.

ἄδικος 902. 17. ἀδικῶς 902. 7.

ἄδολος 910. 33; 988.

αἰεὶ 935. 9.

αἰζήμιος 904. 5.

αἰθίζειν 942. 5.

αἰθήρ 988.

ἄθλιος 904. 6.

αἰγιαλίτις 918. xiii. 10.

αἰγιαλός 918. xi. 5, 14.

αἰθριον 911. 14; 986.

αἰρεῖν 892. 6; 906. 7; 909. 27; 913. 11.

αἰρειν 903. 10, 11, 28, 30, 35.

αἰρεσις 907. 4.

αἰτεῖν 898. 18, 23.

αἰώνιος 996.

ἀκαθαρσία 912. 26.

ἀκανθα 909. 17, 24, 28.

ἀκίνδυνος 910. 22; 914. 10.

ἀκλινής 904. 9.

ἀκοή 904. 9.

ἀκολουθεῖν 931. 9.

ἀκολουθος 899. introd.; 938. 2. ἀκολούθως  
899. 30, 33, 46; 916. 9; 964.

ἀκριβέστερος 899. introd.

- ἄκριθος 910. 33; 988.  
 ἄκυρος 906. 8, 9.  
 ἀκωλύτως 912. 19.  
 ἄκων 939. 12.  
 ἀλήθεια 925. 5.  
 ἀλήθειν 908. 26, 34.  
 ἀληθινός 925. 2.  
 ἀλληλεγγύη 913. 7, 18, 23; 918. ii. 15, 20,  
 iii. 13.  
 ἀλλήλων 906. 3; 909. 19.  
 ἄλλος 895. 14; 899. 10, 13, 36; 902. 15;  
 903. 28; 904. 4, 5; 906. 5; 913. 16;  
 918. ii. 17, iii. 1, 2, 15; 921. 13; 922.  
 23, 25; 929. 15; 939. 3; 940. 3, 4;  
 984; 988; 999.  
 ἀλλότριος 929. 21; 963.  
 ἄλφα 929. introd.  
 ἄλωνεία 918. xi. 4, 16, 18.  
 ἄλως 910. 32; 988.  
 ἄμα 903. 3; 904. 7; 905. 13; 907. 24;  
 910. 19; 939. 23; 975.  
 ἀμελεῖν 934. 9, 12.  
 ἀμεριμνεῖν 930. 8.  
 ἀμέριμος 933. 20.  
 ἀμῆν (qθ) 925. 7.  
 ἄμμος 988.  
 ἀμπελικός 907. 8; 909. 15.  
 ἄμπελος 909. 23.  
 ἀμπελοργός 985.  
 ἀμπελών 967.  
 ἄμφοδον 911. 13; 912. 11; 964; 984.  
 ἀμφότερος 895. 5; 896. 25; 964.  
 ἀναβαίνειν 898. 15; 932. 8; 935. 13.  
 ἀναβολάδιον 921. 17.  
 ἀναβολή 888. 5; 909. 25, 29; 913. 20.  
 ἀνάβολον 936. 24.  
 ἀναγιγνώσκειν 899. 26, 27, 31; 930. 14.  
 ἀναγκαῖος 895. 10. ἀναγκαῖως 898. 36; 899.  
 11.  
 ἀνάγκη 900. 18.  
 ἀναγράφειν 899. introd.  
 ἀναγραφή 899. 46.  
 ἀναζητεῖν 897. 9.  
 ἀνακαθῆσθαι 939. 25.  
 ἀναλαμβάνειν 899. introd., 37; 902. 7;  
 985.  
 ἀνάληψις 986.  
 ἀνάλησκαι 985.  
 ἀνάλωμα 891. 13; 900. 11; 929. introd.;  
 936. 43; 971; 985; 999.  
 ἀναμέτρησης 918. introd., xi. 5, 14. -  
 ἄνανδρος 899. 44.  
 ἀναρπάζειν 898. 21.  
 ἀναστρέφειν 907. 17.  
 ἀνασφάλλειν 939. 5.  
 ἀνατροπή 902. 11.  
 ἀναφαίνειν 939. 4.  
 ἀναφέρειν 916. 8.  
 ἀναφόριον 898. 37.  
 ἀνεκτότερον 939. 25.  
 ἀνεύθυνος 906. 8.  
 ἀνέχεσθαι 903. 36.  
 ἀνεψιός 907. 22.  
 ἀνῆρ 893. 1; 898. 10; 899. 18, 26; 905.  
 5; 907. 20.  
 ἀνιέναι 902. 16.  
 annus 894. 1.  
 ἀνοικοδομεῖν 986.  
 ἀντάρχων 907. 21.  
 ἀντιγεούχος 943. 8.  
 ἀντιγράφειν 937. 19.  
 ἀντίγραφον 899. introd., 33.  
 ἀντιλαμβάνειν 892. 9.  
 ἀντίληψις 900. 13.  
 ἀντιποιεῖσθαι 899. 43.  
 ἀντίς 941. 4.  
 ἀντλεῖν 971; 985.  
 ἀντλησις 971.  
 ἄνυδρος 918. ii. 10.  
 ἀνυπερθέτως 912. 21; 913. 17, 19; 914. 14.  
 ἄνω 902. 1; 907. 8; 922. 2, 8; 931. 15;  
 989. ἀνωτέρω 940. 3.  
 ἀξιόπιστος 893. 1.  
 ἄξιος 899. 13; 912. 30.  
 ἀξιούν 898. 37; 899. 26, 47; 900. 14;  
 902. 13; 913. 24; 989.  
 ἀπαγορεύειν 899. 24, 28.  
 ἀπατεῖν 890. 7; 929. 7; 939. 17.  
 ἀπαίτησις 899. 40, 43, 48.  
 ἀπαλλαγὴ 905. 11, 13, 14.  
 ἀπαλλάσσειν 893. 9; 899. 16, 26, 31.  
 ἀπαντᾶν 903. 12, 28.  
 ἀπαραίτητος 900. 12; 904. 9.  
 ἀπαρτίζειν 908. 23; 936. 22.  
 ἄπας 939. 4; 943. 9.  
 ἀπελεύθερος 898. 10; 984.  
 ἀπευτεῦθεν 903. 16, 17.  
 ἀπερίσπαστος 898. 15, 18.  
 ἀπέρχεσθαι 903. 19, 20; 925. 5; 936. 20;  
 943. 3.

ἀπέχειν 964.  
 ἀπηλιώτης 910. 5; 918. ii. 3 *et saep.*; 986; 988.  
 ἀπηλιωτικός 985.  
 ἀπιέναι 900. 13.  
 ἀπλοῦς 921. introd. ἀπλῶς 906. 5.  
 ἀπογράφειν 970; 984.  
 ἀπογραφὴ 984.  
 ἀποδεικνύναι, ἀποδεδειγμένος Αὐτοκράτωρ 910.  
 46; 976. ἀποδεδ. ἀρχιερέυς 970.  
 ἀποδέχεσθαι 939. 11.  
 ἀποδιδόναι 902. 14; 905. 12; 910. 19, 30,  
 55; 912. 19; 913. 23; 914. 12; 937.  
 31; 942. 2; 988.  
 ἀποθνήσκειν 922. 10, 20, 21, 24.  
 ἀποκαθιστάναι 904. 5 (ἀποκαθιστᾶν); 918.  
 introd.; 929. 17.  
 ἀποκείσθαι 921. 1.  
 ἀποκληρόνομος 907. 5.  
 ἀπόκρισις 941. 9.  
 ἀποκτείνειν 903. 6.  
 ἀπολύειν 942. 2, 3; 965.  
 ἀπόνοια 901. 15.  
 ἀσπληροῦν 900. 8, 10, 18.  
 ἀπορεῖν 939. 24.  
 ἀποσπᾶν 902. 6, 14, 15.  
 ἀποστέλλειν 895. 13, 15; 938. 3, 7; 939.  
 14, 22.  
 ἀποσυνιστάναι 977.  
 ἀπότακτος 998.  
 ἀποτάσσειν 904. 8.  
 ἀποτίνειν 912. 29.  
 ἀπόφασις 899. introd.  
 ἀποχή 898. 23; 906. 10; 964.  
 ἀργυρικά. See Index X.  
 ἀργύριον 896. 15, 17; 898. 12; 907. 25;  
 909. 19; 912. 14.  
 ἀρδρομηκίαιος 896. 12.  
 ἀρετή 902. 14; 995.  
 ἀριθμός 909. 17; 929. 17.  
 ἀριστερός 941. 5.  
 ἄριστος 913. 3.  
 ἀρκεῖν 903. 27.  
 ἀρμόζειν 906. 7.  
 ἄρουρα. See Index IX (a).  
 ἀρραβών 920. 12.  
 ἄρρηγν 907. 15, 19.  
 ἄρσις 909. 25, 29.  
 ἀρτάβη. See Index IX (a).  
 ἄρτι 936. 22, 23, 25; 941. 6.  
 ἀρτοκοπέιον 908. 23.

ἄρτος 936. 16.  
 ἄρχειν. ἄρχων 907. 21; 922. 3, 19. ἄρξας  
 900. 4; 990. ἄρχεσθαι 918. ii. 1, 14,  
 iii. 11, xi. 10; 967.  
 ἀρχέφθοδος 969.  
 ἀρχή 995.  
 ἀρχιερατεύσας 911. 2.  
 ἀρχιερέυς 970.  
 ἀσέλγημα 903. 21.  
 ἄσμος 906. 10; 984.  
 ἀσθενής 911. 6.  
 ἀσπάζεσθαι 930. 22, 26; 932. 9; 933. 5,  
 26; 934. 15; 935. 22, 26; 936. 13, 47;  
 963.  
 ἀσυνθηκίη 904. 2.  
 ἀσχόλημα 977.  
 ἀσχολία 938. 7.  
 ἀτελής 908. 10.  
 ἄτερ 936. 8.  
 ἀτόπημα 904. 4.  
 αὐλή 911. 15; 986.  
 αὖριον 926. 4; 927. 3.  
 αὐτόθι 910. 14.  
 ἄφεςις 918. v. 20.  
 ἀφῆλιξ 888. 11; 907. 19; 909. 2, 4, 16;  
 984.  
 ἀφίεναι 932. 5.  
 ἀφικνεῖσθαι 939. 16.  
 ἄφιξις 939. 28.  
 ἀφιστάναι 943. 3, 6, 7.  
 ἀφορμή 899. 10.  
 ἄχρι 898. 18; 906. 6; 940. 2; 943. 4.  
 ἄχρις 933. 15.  
 βαλανάριον 921. 18.  
 βαλανεῖον 892. 9; 896. 9. τὸ πρὸς βαλ. 903.  
 29.  
 βαλαν[ ] 935. introd.  
 βάλλειν 934. 9.  
 βάμμα 914. 7.  
 βαρεῖν 939. 23.  
 βασανίζειν 903. 10.  
 βασιλικός. βασ. γῆ 899. 22; 918. ii. 10, 23,  
 iii. 6, 9, 14, xi. 7, xiii. 10; 986; 988 (?).  
 βασ. ῥύμη 986. βασ. γραμματεὺς and βασ.  
 τραπέζιτης. See Index VIII.  
 βαστάζειν 914. 8.  
 βανκάλιον 936. 6, 8.  
 βεβαιοῦν 907. 14; 910. 29; 912. 15.  
 βῆτα 929. introd.

- βιβλίδιον 896. 27; 899. introd., 33, 37, 38, 46; 936. 22.  
 βιβλίον 900. 14.  
 βίκος 936. 28.  
 βίος 905. 11.  
 βλάβη 904. 5.  
 βοήθεια 902. 11; 904. 4.  
 βοηθεῖν 907. 22.  
 βοηθός 903. 26, 31; 973; 976.  
 βοϊκός 902. 6, 14.  
 βορράς 918. ii. 6 *et saep.*; 986; 988.  
 βορρινός 892. 8.  
 βούλεσθαι 900. 12; 901. 10, 13; 907. 21, 23; 913. 7; 925. 5.  
 βουλευτής. See Index VIII.  
 βουλή 891. 5; 892. 5.  
 βούλημα 907. 1, 14, 26, 27; 990.  
 βούς 901. 15.  
 γαμῆν 905. 9, 10, 12, 15, 17; 907. 20.  
 γαμικόν 903. 17.  
 γάμος 905. 4, 9, 17; 906. 8; 927. 2.  
 γάρος (τὸ γ.) 937. 27.  
 γαστρίσι(ος) (= καστρίσιος?) 1001.  
 γείτων 918. ii. 5 *et saep.*; 986; 988.  
 γένημα 913. 11; 985.  
 γεουχεῖν 999.  
 γεουχικός 1000.  
 γεούχος 910. 16, 24, 35; 913. 12, 18.  
 γεράτης 922. 7.  
 γέρδιος 984.  
 γεωργεῖν 899. 8, 41.  
 γεωργία 899. introd., 16, 18, 24, 26, 28, 31, 32, 38; 913. 15.  
 γεωργός 899. introd., 32, 44; 902. 3; 918. ii. 11, 23, iii. 7, 14, xi. 7, 18, 21; 974; 999.  
 γῆ 899. 44; 910. 17, 20, 23, 40, 49; 913. 16, 17, 23; 938. 5; 999. βασιλική γῆ 899. 22; 918. ii. 10, 23, iii. 6, 9, 14, xi. 7, xiii. 10; 986; 988 (?). δημοσία γῆ 899. introd., 22. γῆ λευκή 929. 14. προσόδου sc. γῆ 986.  
 γῆρας 889. 18.  
 γηράσκειν 904. 2.  
 γηροβοσκία 889. 19.  
 γίγνεσθαι 892. 11; 894. 8; 895. 16; 896. 29, 32; 898. 20; 899. 18, 40; 900. 18, 19; 901. 7; 903. 17; 904. 4, 5; 905. 11, 14; 906. 9; 907. 25 (?); 910. 27, 36; 912. 32; 914. 9, 15; 915. 3; 916. 12, 15; 918. introd., xi. 1, 2, 4, 13, 22, xiii. 3, 18; 925. 7; 932. 2; 933. 4, 14, 20; 939. 7; 974; 981; 986; 990; 994-5; 998-9.  
 γινώσκειν 937. 3.  
 γλυκύς 907. 3; 935. 22.  
 γνήσιος 943. 1.  
 γνώμη 996.  
 γνωρίζειν 976.  
 γνώσις 939. 4; 998.  
 γνωστήρ 976.  
 γομοῦν 938. 6.  
 γουβενάριον 921. introd.  
 γράμμα 898. 15; 907. 2; 908. 38; 910. 58; 913. 25; 937. 30; 939. 18; 942. 2; 963; 990.  
 γραμματεὺς. See Index VIII.  
 γραμματίον 914. 18, 20.  
 γράπτρον 895. 12, 14.  
 γράφειν 893. 6; 896. 21; 898. 9; 899. introd., 40, 41; 905. 18; 908. 38; 909. 34; 910. 57; 913. 21, 25; 914. 19; 916. 9; 929. 20; 930. 2; 932. 2; 935. 16, 17; 936. 29; 937. 3, 21; 938. 6; 939. 12, 24; 940. 5; 967; 990.  
 γραφή 988.  
 γύης 918. ii. 4, 10.  
 γυμνασιπρῆχίσσας. See Index VIII.  
 γυμνασιάρχης. See Index VIII.  
 γυμνάσιον, ἀπὸ γυμν. 984.  
 γυμνοῦν 903. 7.  
 γυνή 899. introd., 25, 28, 44; 907. 3, 16, 20; 934. 12; 935. introd., 943. 5; 984; 992.  
 δανείζειν 899. introd.  
 δαπάνη 909. 26.  
 δεῖν 899. 40; 905. 10; 906. 6; 913. 19; 936. 31.  
 δειπνεῖν 926. 2.  
 δεῖσα 910. 41; 988.  
 δεῖσθαι 896. 6, 10; 899. 15, 41; 907. 22.  
 δεκάτη 997 (?).  
 δεξιός 906. 10; 941. 5.  
 δεσμός 902. 16.  
 δεσμοτήριον 902. 7.  
 δεσπότης 942. 6; 943. 9; 998; 1001.  
 δεσπ. θεός 939. 4. ὁ τῶν ὄλων δεσπ. 939. 30. Cf. Index II.  
 δέχεσθαι 937. 29.

δή 899. 14; 902. 13 (?); 907. 16.  
 δῆλος 893. 7.  
 δηλοῦν 896. 9; 899. introd., 38, 39; 902.  
 19; 906. 8; 941. 8; 972; 984; 986.  
 δημιουργός 925. 3.  
 δημόσιος. τὸ δημ. 903. 22, 27; 988. τὰ  
 δημ. 903. 31; 910. 23; 913. 17; 932.  
 4. δημ. βαλανεῖον 896. 8. δημ. γῆ 899.  
 introd., 22. δημ. ἐπίταγμα 900. 9. δημ.  
 ἰατρός 896. 26; 983. δημ. λουτρόν 892.  
 II. δημ. ὁδός 918. v. 20. δημ. τραπέζιτης  
 916. 7.  
 δημοσίωσις 906. 9.  
 δηράριος 896. 15, 17.  
 διά. διὰ ὥρας 935. 17. di(a) 913. 26.  
 διαβάλλειν 900. 13.  
 διαγράφειν 890. 10; 916. 6.  
 διαγραφή 890. 9.  
 διαδέχασθαι 898. 2; 899. 34, 36.  
 διάδοχος 895. introd.; 996.  
 διάθεσις 896. 31.  
 διαθήκη 907. 6.  
 διαίρεσις 962.  
 δίαίτα 943. 3.  
 διαιτᾶν 906. 6.  
 διάκονος 993 (?).  
 διαλαμβάνειν 898. 38.  
 διαλογή 957 (?).  
 διαπάσχειν 904. 2.  
 διαπέμπειν 933. 21.  
 διαπορίζειν 977.  
 διαπράσσειν 898. 25; 902. 17.  
 διασημώτατος 888. 1; 895. introd., 7.  
 διαστέλλειν 918. introd., xi. 2; 973.  
 διάστημα 918. v. 15.  
 διασφίξειν 939. 8.  
 διάταγμα 899. 28.  
 διατάσσειν 899. 22.  
 διατείνειν 918. ii. 4.  
 διατελεῖν 937. 7.  
 διαφέρειν 907. 20.  
 διαφθείρειν 938. 4.  
 διάφορος 914. 7. διάφορα 988.  
 διαψεύδεσθαι 897. 15.  
 δίδοναι 891. 15; 899. introd., 37; 903. 8,  
 23, 24, 25, 30; 904. 3; 907. 6, II, 23;  
 915. 1; 919. 10, II; 922. I *et saep.*;  
 923. 15; 931. 6; 934. II; 935. II;  
 936. 12, 17; 937. 30; 943. 5; 974; 985.  
 διεναντίξειν 899. II.

διέρχεσθαι 964.  
 διετία 910. 51.  
 διευτυχεῖν 899. 20, 45.  
 δίζυφον 920. 1.  
 δικαιοκρισία 904. 2.  
 δίκαιος 899. introd.; 905. 9; 909. 8; 914.  
 18.  
 δικότυλον 937. 27.  
 διό 929. 20; 935. 16.  
 διοικεῖν 901. 3.  
 διοικητής. See Index VIII.  
 διάρθρωσις 1000; 1002-3.  
 διπλοῦς 988. διπλοῦν. See Index IX (a).  
 δισσός 905. 18; 909. 34; 913. 21; 914.  
 19.  
 δίφρος 978.  
 διώκειν 940. 3; 943. 5.  
 διῶρνξ 918. ii. 3 *et saep.*; 988.  
 δοκεῖν 891. 12; 898. 39; 899. 41; 902.  
 15; 937. 17; 938. 7; 939. 17, 24;  
 940. 3.  
 δοκιμάζειν 928. 7.  
 δοξάζειν 924. 13.  
 δόσις 912. 20; 917. 4.  
 δοῦλος 903. 2, 5, 9, 16, 25, 32, 34; 907.  
 II, 15; 924. 10.  
 δραχμή. See Index IX (b).  
 -δραχμος 936. 38.  
 δρόμος 900. 7; 911. 13.  
 δύμα 929. 8, 15.  
 δύναμις 899. 8; 905. 10; 930. 10; 940. 4.  
 δύνασθαι 898. 25, 34; 899. 31; 904. 7,  
 9; 932. 8; 939. 15; 942. 4.  
 δυστυχεῖν 904. 7.  
 εἶαν 923. 6.  
 ἐβδομηκοστὸς καὶ τρίτος 889. 17.  
 ἐγγράφειν 913. 24.  
 ἐγγράφως 896. 31; 902. 10, 17.  
 ἐγγυᾶσθαι 905. 17; 972.  
 ἐγγνητής 972.  
 ἐγγός 940. 6; 941. 7.  
 ἐγκαλεῖν 906. 3.  
 ἐγκλείειν 903. 2, 12, 20, 23, 26.  
 ἐγκρατής 898. 19.  
 ἐγχευρίζειν 900. 9, 18.  
 ἐγχευρίζειν 892. 7.  
 ἐγώ. emu 913. 26.  
 ἕδαφος 899. 35; 901. 6; 913. 9; 918. ii.  
 12, 16, 22, iii. 3, 9, xi. 7, 8; 986.

- ἔθος 900. 7, 10; 909. 7.  
 εἰδέναι 891. 16; 892. 4; 895. 11; 896.  
 21; 897. 14; 903. 34, 37; 910. 57;  
 913. 25; 929. 3, 22; 930. 9; 942. 3;  
 963; 967.  
 εἰδοί 889. 10; 899. introd.  
 εἶδος 905. 6; 937. 22; 957.  
 εἰκός 941. 6.  
 εἴπερ 942. 3.  
 εἰρήνη 991.  
 εἶς. μίαν μίαν 940. 6.  
 εἰσάγειν 985 (?).  
 εἰσαγωγός 918. xi. 17.  
 εἰσιέναι 900. 7; 910. 26; 912. 8.  
 εἴσοδος 896. 13; 986.  
 εἴσπραξις 890. 12; 914. 14.  
 ἔκαστος 899. 17; 904. 6; 907. 4, 5; 908.  
 22, 26, 29; 939. 27.  
 ἐκάτερος 905. 19; 906. 7; 908. 38.  
 ἐκβαίνειν 918. ii. 18, xi. 20.  
 ἐκβάλλειν 903. 34, 36.  
 ἐκδέχασθαι 939. 27.  
 ἐκδιδόναι 905. 2, 15.  
 ἐκδικεῖν 937. 7.  
 ἐκδικία 901. 3.  
 ἔκδικος. See Index VIII.  
 ἔκδοτος 905 5 (?).  
 ἐκεῖ 934. 12; 937. 15, 21; 938. 3.  
 ἐκεῖνος 899. 23; 923. 12.  
 ἐκκλησία 993.  
 ἐκκόπτειν 892. 10.  
 ἐκλαμβάνειν 988.  
 ἐκούσιος 996. ἐκουσίως 913. 6.  
 ἔκπαλαι 938. 3.  
 ἐκτελεῖν 900. 16; 972.  
 ἔκτη. See Index X.  
 ἐκτιθέναι 899. 4.  
 ἔκτισις 905. 17; 914. 17.  
 ἐκτός 904. 3, 5.  
 ἐκφεύγειν 898. 25.  
 ἐκφόριον 910. 9, 20, 30, 49; 918. introd., xi.  
 2, 3, 13.  
 ἐλαία 919. 5; 920. 6.  
 ἔλαιον 936. 8; 937. 27; 971.  
 ἐλασσούν 918. xi. 3, 13.  
 ἐλάσσω 988.  
 ἐλεεῖν 904. 2.  
 ἐλευθεροῦν 904. 7.  
 ἐλπῖς 939. 9.  
 ἐμαντοῦ 937. 7; 972. ἐν ἐμαντῷ 939. 14.  
 ἐμβυδικός 896. 11.  
 ἐμβαδός 921. introd.  
 ἐμβάλλειν 919. 4; 939. 12.  
 ἐμμέλεια 896. 5; 897. 7.  
 ἐμποδίζειν 890. 11.  
 ἔμφορος 899. 13; 918. xi. 10.  
 ἔμφυτος 899. 19.  
 ἔναρχος. ἔν. ἐξηγητής 888. 8. ἐν. πρύτανις  
 889. 13; 890. 3; 891. 7; 892. 5.  
 ἐναφιέναι, ἐναφειμένη (?) sc. γῆ 918. xiii. 9, 12.  
 ἔνδεια 899. 14.  
 ἐνδομενία 899. 12; 907. 10.  
 ἐνδοξος 943. 4.  
 ἐνεδρεία 900. 19.  
 ἐνεδρεύειν 898. 17; 900. 12; 938. 2.  
 ἔνεδρον 892. 11.  
 ἐνείναι 912. 12.  
 ἔνεκεν 902. 12; 943. 3.  
 ἐνέχυρον 903. 27, 31; 914. 17.  
 ἔνθα 896. 32.  
 ἐνθάδε 967.  
 ἐνιαύσιος 900. 17 (?). ἐνιασίως 900. 8.  
 ἐνιαυτός 889. 16, 17; 910. 40; 912. 7.  
 ἔνιοι 900. 13, 17 (?).  
 ἐνιστάται 895. 6; 906. 5; 908. 21; 909.  
 28; 910. 6, 8, 17, 21; 911. 11; 913. 7;  
 914. 13; 917. 2; 918. introd.; 964;  
 981; 988.  
 ἐνοίκιον 912. 13, 19, 31; 941. 7; 964; 971;  
 986.  
 ἐνοφείλειν 986.  
 ἐνοχλεῖν 899. 44.  
 ἔνοχος 897. 10; 972.  
 ἐνταῦθα 903. 33; 999.  
 ἐντεῦθεν 930. 3.  
 ἐντυγχάνειν 900. 19; 969.  
 ἐνωμότως 904. 3.  
 ἐξαίρετος 907. 10, 13.  
 ἐξάμηνος 912. 21.  
 ἐξανύειν 904. 8.  
 ἐξασσός 903. 38.  
 ἐξέδρα 912. 13.  
 ἐξείναι 906. 7; 908. 36.  
 ἐξέρχασθαι 942. 4.  
 ἐξετάζειν 899. introd.; 957.  
 ἐξέτασις 899. 39.  
 ἐξηγητεύσας. See Index VIII.  
 ἐξηγητής. See Index VIII.  
 ἐξηκονταετής 889. 9.  
 ἐξηκοστός 889. 16 (?).

ἐξῆς 908. 21; 910. 11; 918. xi. 6; 967.  
 ἐξίεναι 934. 3.  
 ἐξέπτωρ 942. 6 (?).  
 ἔξοδος 896. 13; 936.  
 ἐξουσία 893. 3; 904. 7, 10.  
 ἔξω 903. 20.  
 ἐξώτερος 896. 14.  
 ἐξωτικός 999.  
 εὐοικέαι 899. 18.  
 εὐορτή 933. 13; 993.  
 ἐπαγγέλλειν 904. 3.  
 ἐπάγειν, ἐπαγόμεναι ἡμέραι. See Index IV.  
 ἐπακολουθεῖν 907. 20.  
 ἐπακολουθήτρια 909. 4, 37.  
 ἐπαναγκάζειν 899. 42; 900. 15.  
 ἐπανάγκης 913. 18; 914. 11.  
 ἐπανάγκος 909. 27; 910. 18.  
 ἐπαναλύειν 942. 3.  
 ἐπανερχεσθαι 933. 17.  
 ἐπάνω 903. 14, 20; 912. 13; 918. ii. 21,  
 xi. 16, 19; 985.  
 ἐπάνωθε 986.  
 ἐπαρούριον 917. 3; 981.  
 ἔπαρχος. See Index VIII.  
 ἐπεγγελᾶν 938. 7.  
 ἐπεὶ 899. 9, 23; 902. 10; 923. 9; 928. 3;  
 935. 14.  
 ἐπείγειν 900. 14; 938. 5.  
 ἐπειδὴ 900. 11; 903. 34; 941. 2.  
 ἐπεισερχεσθαι 902. 5.  
 ἐπέλευσις 986.  
 ἐπέρχεσθαι 901. 13; 906. 4.  
 ἐπερωτᾶν 905. 19; 909. 32; 912. 36; 913.  
 21; 914. 9; 964.  
 ἐπέχειν 903. 16; 940. 4.  
 ἐπιβάλλειν 899. 24.  
 ἐπιβουλ[ 1002.  
 ἐπιγιγνώσκειν 930. 4, 14; 932. 8.  
 ἐπιγράφειν 899. 49.  
 ἐπιιδιδόναι 895. 10; 896. 21, 28, 36, 38;  
 898. 36; 899. 15, 32, 45, 49; 900. 14,  
 21; 902. 13, 18; 907. 14; 921. introd.;  
 940. 7; 941. 10; 942. 6.  
 ἐπιζητεῖν 895. 6; 896. 5; 904. 3.  
 ἐπιθυμῆν 963.  
 ἐπικαλεῖν 964.  
 ἐπικάρσιον 921. 14.  
 ἐπικαταλαμβάνειν 939. 18.  
 ἐπικλασμός 899. 9.  
 ἐπικρίσις 926. 2; 966.

ἐπικρατεῖν 986.  
 ἐπινεύειν 939. 9.  
 ἐπινοεῖν 902. 10.  
 ἐπινόσως 939. 21; 990.  
 ἐπίρριζος (?) 909. 25.  
 ἐπιρωννύναι 889. 20.  
 ἐπισκευάζειν 896. 7.  
 ἐπίσκηψις 918. introd.; 970; 986.  
 ἐπίσκοπος 903. 15.  
 ἐπίσταθμος 889. 8.  
 ἐπίσταλμα 899. introd. (?).  
 ἐπίστασθαι 899. 18.  
 ἐπιστέλλειν 891. 17; 892. 4, 12; 896. 26; 899.  
 introd., 34, 38, 42, 44, 47; 938. 3; 967.  
 ἐπιστήμη 896. 5.  
 ἐπιστολή 899. introd., 33, 37, 46.  
 ἐπιστόλιον 931. 6; 933. 23; 936. 14.  
 ἐπιστράτηγος. See Index VIII.  
 ἐπιστρεφέστερον 899. 41.  
 ἐπίταγμα 900. 9.  
 ἐπιτέλλειν 907. 21.  
 ἐπιτηδείως 938. 6.  
 ἐπιτιθέναι 897. 7; 985 (ἐπιτιθοῦντι).  
 ἐπιτροπεία 907. 20.  
 ἐπιτροπή 898. 24.  
 ἐπίτροπος 888. 5; 898. 6, 28; 907. 18; 909. 2;  
 ἐπιφανέστατος. See Indices II and III.  
 ἐπιφέρειν 899. 50.  
 ἐπιχορηγεῖν 905. 10; 906. 6.  
 ἐπιχώριος 936. 5.  
 ἐπόκιον 899; 996-7.  
 ἐπόπτης 991.  
 ἐποφείλειν 902. 17.  
 ἐποχή 918. introd., xi. 21, xiii. 2, 17.  
 ἐργάζεσθαι 923. 11.  
 ἐργαστήριον 908. 27, 29, 32, 34; 989.  
 ἐργάτης 895. 12, 14; 971; 985.  
 ἔργον 892. 9, 12; 896. 16.  
 ἐρεῖν 929. 22; 932. 3; 940. 3. Cf. λέγειν.  
 ἐρεοῦς 921. 2, 8.  
 ἐρίκνος 921. introd.  
 ἔριον 929. 11.  
 ἔρχεσθαι 903. 13, 14; 932. 5; 936. 34;  
 937. 6, 25; 967.  
 ἔσσοπτρον 978.  
 ἔσπερμνός 901. 5.  
 ἔσχατος 902. 11; 910. 40.  
 ἔτερος 898. 28; 899. 19, 32, 38, 40; 905.  
 8; 907. 21; 909. 31; 918. xiii. 14;  
 923. 11; 939. 18; 936; 938; 996.

- ἔτι 898. 7, 32; 899. 38; 900. 6; 911. 10; 939. 3.  
 ἐτοίμως 902. 9, 16.  
 εὐδοκεῖν 905. 17; 908. 46; 972.  
 εὐδόκιμος 942. 6.  
 εὐεργασία 899. 19.  
 εὐεργετεῖν 899. 20, 45.  
 εὐεργέτης 996. Cf. Index II.  
 εὐθαλής 902. 15.  
 εὐθέως 935. 19. εὐθύς 941. 8.  
 εὐθηνιαρχεῖν 908. 19.  
 εὐθηνιάρχης. See Index VIII.  
 εὐθυμότερος 939. 19.  
 εὐλαβέστατος 943. 6.  
 εὐμενής 899. 3; 925. 7. εὐμενῶς 924. 7.  
 εὐρίσκω 918. xi. 5, 15; 925. 6; 934. 14; 936. 20.  
 εὐσέβεια 907. 22.  
 εὐσεβέστατος 996. Cf. Index II.  
 εὐτυχῶς 896. 7; 900. 7.  
 εὐχαριστεῖν 904. 9.  
 εὐχεσθαι 891. 18; 928. 15; 929. 24; 931. 12; 933. 6, 28; 934. 16; 935. 29; 936. 3, 50; 937. 28; 938. 9; 939. 30.  
 εὐχή 939. 8.  
 ἐφεδρεύειν 928. 5.  
 ἐφημερινός (ἐπιημ.) 924. 2.  
 ἐφημερίς 917. 1; 981-2.  
 ἐφιστάναι 912. 27.  
 ἔφοδος 906. 8.  
 ἐφορᾶν 896. 30.  
 ἔχειν 891. 16; 895. 11; 898. 13, 37; 900. 16; 901. 9, 12; 902. 9, 16; 903. 9, 29, 30, 35; 905. 19; 907. 8, 9, 10, 12, 17, 23; 908. 39; 910. 15, 54; 912. 9; 913. 16; 918. ii. 16, 18, iii. 15, v. 21, xi. 11, 12, 18, 20; 922. 14, 16; 928. 10; 929. 19; 930. 3; 934. 8; 935. 15, 17; 936. 15, 22, 26, 35; 938. 5; 939. 10, 21, 25, 26; 940. 6; 942. 3; 964; 990; 995.  
 ἕως 891. 11; 899. 33, 46; 907. 19; 910. 25; 934. 13; 936. 13; 940. 4; 943. 8; 964; 965; 985.  
 filius 894. 5.  
 ζεύγος 936. 15, 16.  
 ζευκτήριον 934. 5.  
 ζῆν 907. 23; 924. 11; 937. 5; 943. 7. (ζῆ κύριος).  
 ζῆτα, τὸ ζ. (i.e. *Iliad* vi) 930. 15.  
 ζητεῖν 891. 10; 893. 4, 5, 8.  
 ζωγραφία 896. 6, 10, 16.  
 ζωγράφος 896. 4.  
 ζῶν 902. 6, 8, 15; 922. 17, 19, 22, 23; 942. 2, 3.  
 ἦ 893. 7; 903. 13; 904. 8; 906. 8; 907. 21; 912. 29; 913. 10; 925. 6; 941. 4, 5; 972.  
 ἦ μὴν 924. 1.  
 ἠγείσθαι 895. 10. ἠγούμενος. See Index VIII.  
 ἠγεμονεύσας 899. 29.  
 ἠγεμών. See Index VIII.  
 ἠγουν 941. 5.  
 ἠῖδη 963.  
 ἠδιστα 933. 5.  
 ἠθος 963.  
 ἠκεω 933. 13.  
 ἠλιαστήριον 985.  
 ἠλικία 888. 3; 898. 30; 906. 7; 907. 19.  
 ἠμέρα 893. 7; 900. 13; 901. 5; 903. 4; 904. 6; 905. 13; 906. 5.  
 ἠμερησίως 908. 26, 35.  
 ἠμιολία 912. 32.  
 ἠμισυς 909. 30, 32; 911. 14; 912. 21; 913. 13, 16, 19, 23; 986. ἐφ' ἠμισείας 913. 11.  
 ἠμίχουν 936. 7, 9.  
 ἠμωβελιον. See Index IX (δ).  
 ἠνίκα 939. 23.  
 ἠπειρος 918. ii. 1, 10, 23, iii. 7, 14, xi. 7.  
 ἠπηγής 936. 17.  
 ἠτοι 888. 5.  
 θανμάσιος 940. 7.  
 θεᾶσθαι 963.  
 θέατρον 937. 11.  
 θεῖος (sc. ὄρκος) 893. 4, 5, 8; 897. 12, 16. θειώτατος 996.  
 θέλειν 893. 7; 898. 22; 903. 35; 931. 3; 937. 3; 941. 7, 9; 943. 6.  
 θέλημα 924. 8.  
 θέμα 932. 4.  
 θεός. See Index VII.  
 θερμά 896. 8.  
 θῆλος 907. 16, 19.  
 θλίβειν 898. 33; 903. 33.

θλίψις 939. 13.  
 θνήσκειν 902. 9.  
 θόλος 896. 12.  
 θρασύτης 901. 19.  
 θρυοκοπεῖν 910. 40.  
 θρύον 910. 41.  
 θυγάτηρ 893. 4; 905. 3; 913. 3, 5, 22;  
 930. 5; 984; 990.  
 θύειν 923. 23.  
 θύρα 903. 20; 912. 28.  
 θυσία 923. 7.  
 habitare 894. 7.  
 ἰατρός 896. 26; 983.  
 ἴδιος 898. 11; 932. 1; 974; 999.  
 ἰδιωτικός 918. ii. 22, iii. 3, 9, xi. 7, 8.  
 ἰδιω( ) 986.  
 ἱερονίκης 908. 9.  
 ἱερός. ἱερὰ σύνοδος 908. 9. ἱερώτατον ταμείον  
 890. 12. ἱερόν 984.  
 ἱκανός 918. v. 15.  
 ἱκεσία 904. 7.  
 ἴλεως 939. 7.  
 ἰλύειν 918. ii. 8 (?).  
 ἰμάτιον 905. 7; 921. 5.  
 ἴνα 891. 16; 892. 9; 895. 11; 899. 45;  
 903. 26; 904. 9; 924. 11; 928. 7;  
 929. 21; 932. 2, 3, 7, 8; 937. 10;  
 939. 19; 940. 2; 967.  
 ἰνδικτίον 913. 8; 993-6. Cf. Index III.  
 ἰππάριον 922. 1 *et saep.*  
 ἰππικίνακοι (?) 936. 24.  
 ἰππικός 922. 1, 6.  
 ἵππος 922. 8, 10, 13.  
 ἴσος 907. 7, 12; 908. 35; 909. 14, 30;  
 910. 18. ἴσως 903. 34.  
 ἰσάται 906. 2 (?); 909. 32.  
 κάγκελλος 994; 999.  
 καθάρως 910. 32, 41; 912. 25; 988.  
 καθαρότης 904. 2.  
 καθεδράριον 963.  
 καθέλκειν 899. 25.  
 καθηγγητής 930. 6.  
 καθήκειν 930. 12; 939. 16.  
 καθημερινός 924. 3.  
 καθιστάται 888. 2; 898. 29; 902. 3; 939.  
 19.  
 καθοσιούν 904. 2.

καθώς 899. 44; 902. 15; 909. 32.  
 καίτοι 898. 26.  
 καινός 921. introd., 14.  
 καιρός 899. 25; 913. 19.  
 κακοφύης 988.  
 κακῶς 935. 15; 938. 5.  
 καλεῖν 918. ii. 4; 926. 1; 927. 1; 989.  
 καλός 902. 6; 913. 14; 988. καλῶς 929.  
 6; 934. 14; 967.  
 καμαρωτικός 921. introd.  
 καμαρωτός 921. introd.  
 κάματος 913. 15.  
 καμηλῶν 964.  
 καμπύλος 918. ii. 8 (?).  
 Κανωπικὸν σφυρίδιον 936. 15.  
 καρπός ('wrist') 910. 25.  
 καρπός ('fruit') 913. 12, 13, 19, 23.  
 καρύνιος (κάροιος) 929. 9, 13.  
 κασσιτέριον 915. 2, 3; 1000-3.  
 καστρίσιος 1001 (?).  
 καταβαίνειν 898. 9.  
 καταβάλλειν 913. 15.  
 κατάγειον 903. 4. κατάγειον 911. 15; 912. 12.  
 καταγίγνεσθαι 910. 4.  
 κατακόπτειν 904. 6.  
 κατακ( ) 918. ii. 13, iii. 10, xi. 9.  
 καταλαμβάνειν 889. 7; 896. 31; 939. 5;  
 942. 1.  
 καταλείπειν 907. 7, 12, 14, 17, 23; 985.  
 καταλιμπάνειν 907. 5.  
 καταλογεῖον 906. 9.  
 καταμένειν 989.  
 καταναγκάζειν 904. 8.  
 καταξιούν 940. 4; 941. 5; 943. 1.  
 καταξύνειν 988.  
 καταπλεῖν 930. 7; 933. 15.  
 καταπλέκειν 903. 35.  
 κατασκευάζειν 892. 8.  
 κατασπείρειν 965.  
 κατασπορά 969.  
 καταφέρειν 923. 8.  
 καταφυγή 899. introd.  
 καταχωρισμός 898. 37.  
 κατοικικός 918. ii. 16, v. 18, xi. 16, 17.  
 κάτοικος 984.  
 κεύειν 889. 5; 899. 9, 41; 902. 13;  
 916. 7; 970.  
 κέλευσις 895. 7.  
 κέντιος 922. 11.  
 κεράμιον. See Index IX (a).

κερλάριον (= κελλάριον?) 978.  
 κερπικάριον 921. 8, 20.  
 κεφάλαιον 899. introd.; 988.  
 κηδεμονία 888. II.  
 κηδεμών 888. 2, 3, 5.  
 κηλώνειον 971.  
 κινδυνεύειν 938. 4.  
 κίνδυνος 910. 22; 914. II.  
 κλείς 903. 16, 18; 912. 28.  
 κληρονομία 907. 5, 8, 12, 26.  
 κληρονόμος 899. 23; 907. 4, 6; 986; 999.  
 κληῖρος 918. II. 24, V. 18, 19, XI. 16; 919.  
 2 (?); 971; 984; 988.  
 κλη( ) 980.  
 κληῖρης 896. 33.  
 κλουῖον (= κλουβίον?) 936. 6, 14.  
 κοίλωμα 918. II. 21, V. 16.  
 κοιμᾶσθαι 933. 25.  
 κοινῶς 891. 14; 905. 5, 12; 907. 17; 911.  
 16. τὸ κοιν. τῶν γεωργῶν 999. κοινῶς  
 907. 12.  
 κοινωνία 905. 4.  
 κόλλημα 986.  
 κόμες 994.  
 κομίζειν 910. 26; 919. 6; 931. 5; 936. 5,  
 10, 13, 14; 963.  
 κόλλησις 915. I.  
 κολόβιον 921. 6, 16.  
 κόμτος 995 (?).  
 κομψότερος 935. 5.  
 κονδοκτορία 900. 6, 16.  
 κοινατῆς 993.  
 κόπριον 912. 25.  
 κόπρος 934. 6, 10.  
 κοσκινεύειν 910. 33; 988.  
 κοσμηρίδιον 903. 29.  
 κόσμος 899. 12; 909. 29.  
 κουράτωρ 888. 6.  
 κρατεῖν 903. 24, 26.  
 κράτιστος. κρ. ἀδελφῆ 931. II. κρ. βουλή  
 891. 5; 892. 5. κρ. διοικητῆς 899. introd.,  
 I, 37. ὁ κρ. ἡγεμών 931. 8; 967. ὁ κρ.  
 970.  
 κριθή 908. 25; 988.  
 κρίνειν 898. 27; 899. 25, 26, 27, 29, 39.  
 κρίπτειν 903. 16, 18.  
 κτᾶσθαι 903. 34; 904. 6.  
 κτήμα 898. 14; 909. 16; 999; 1003.  
 κτήνος 908. 25, 26, 30; 938. 2, 4, 5.  
 κτήσις 889. 19.

κυβερνήτης 919. 3.  
 κύθρα 936. II.  
 κυριακός. τὸ κυριακόν 903. 19, 21.  
 κυριεύειν 910. 24.  
 κυριευτικῶς 907. 17.  
 κύριος ('guardian') 888. 2; 899. 49  
 909. 6.  
 κύριος ('valid') 905. 18; 906. 10; 908.  
 37; 909. 33; 910. 42; 912. 35; 913.  
 20; 914. 18; 964.  
 κύριος (title) 895. introd.; 899. introd., 18;  
 902. 18; 904. 10; 922. 14, 16; 923.  
 7; 925. 3; 931. 3, 10; 933. I, 28;  
 937. 9; 939. I, 5, 9, 20, 28; 943. 7;  
 995. Cf. Index II.  
 κύρος 998; 1001.  
 κωμάρχης 895. 5.  
 κώμη 895. 5, 9; 897. 6, 9, 14; 899. introd.,  
 17, 35, 36; 901. 8; 905. 4, 17; 913.  
 9; 918. XI. 3, 13; 986; 989; 991. Cf.  
 Index VI (δ).  
 κωμητικός 895. 8.  
 κωμογραματεὺς. See Index VIII.  
 λαλεῖν 903. 14.  
 λαμβάνειν 898. 14; 903. 37; 922. 26;  
 936. 42; 937. 18 (λαβῆσαι), 22.  
 λαμπρός 942. 6; 943. I, 2, 5, 9. Cf.  
 Index III and Index VI s. v. 'Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν  
 πόλις.  
 λαμπρότης 942. 2, 5.  
 λάχανον 966.  
 λαχανοπώλης 935. introd.  
 λαχανόσπερμον 932. 6.  
 λέβης 1000.  
 λέγειν 888. I; 895. introd.; 899. introd.,  
 21, 27, 30; 903. I, 8, 9, 10, 13, 20, 21,  
 25, 30, 36; 907. 16; 918. II. 13, III. 6,  
 14, V. 17, 21; 922. 13; 930. 15; 932.  
 5; 935. 15; 936. 17, 18, 21; 941. 2,  
 3, 6, 7, 9; 1002.  
 λειτούργημα 900. 14.  
 λειτουργία 904. 3, 5, 8, 9.  
 λέντιον 929. 10.  
 λεπτός 924. 5. λεπτά 920. 4.  
 λευκός 905. 8; 921. 5, 7; 922. 6, 9; 929.  
 14.  
 λῆμμα 929. introd.; 985; 999.  
 λίαν 936. 13.  
 λιβανοθήκη 978.

λίβελλος 902. 12.  
 λίθινος 918. v. 20; 937. 13.  
 λιμός (ῆ) 902. 9.  
 λινοῦς 921. 9.  
 λίνον 929. 10.  
 λίτρα 915. 2, 3; 1000-3.  
 λίσψ 918. ii. 7 *et saep.*; 986; 988.  
 λόγιος 902. 1, 18.  
 λογότης 902. 13, 15.  
 λογισμός 940. 4.  
 λογιστής. See Index VIII.  
 λόγος 890. 9; 893. 6, 8; 895. 8; 896.  
 10; 904. 3; 905. 5; 914. 17; 916. 7;  
 17, 20; 919. 2, 9, 11; 920. 12; 964;  
 971; 985; 994; 999.  
 λοιπός 904. 7; 907. 15; 918. xi. 12; 921.  
 introd.; 934. 11.  
 λουτρόν 892. 11; 915. 2; 943. 3, 4, 6, 8;  
 1002.  
 λοχεία 992.  
 λύειν 907. 28.  
 λυπεῖν 930. 4.  
 λυτροῦν 936. 19.  
 μαγειρικός 1001.  
 μαγιστριανός 904. 2.  
 μακάριος 902. 4.  
 μακελλάριος 1000.  
 μάλιστα 939. 20.  
 μάλλον 939. 3.  
 μάνδρα 984.  
 μανθάνειν 900. 11; 937. 12; 940. 4.  
 μαρτυρεῖν 903. 31; 930. 16; 933. 18.  
 μαρτύριον 941. 4.  
 μαστιγοῦν 903. 9.  
 ματρώνα στολάτα 907. 4.  
 μαφόρτης 937. 26.  
 μαφόριον 921. 7.  
 μεγαλοπρεπέστατος 904. 10.  
 μέγας 920. 8; 923. 1; 933. 12; 984;  
 988; 996; 1002. *μείζων* and *μειζότερος*.  
 See Index VIII.  
 μεθ' (ῆν) 918. ii. 4 *et saep.*  
 μεθ( ) 988.  
 μειζότερος, μείζων. See Index VIII.  
 μέλας 922. 12.  
 μέλειν 930. 11, 18; 939. 21.  
 μέλι 919. 8; 936. 9.  
 μελικηρίς 936. 10.  
 μελίτινος 936. 11.

μελίχρως 984.  
 μέλλειν 890. 7; 930. 10; 935. 12.  
 μέμφεσθαι 972.  
 μέν οὖν 899. 8.  
 μένειν 903. 33, 36; 940. 2; 964.  
 μερίς 940. 2, 4; 986.  
 μέρος 905. 19; 911. 14; 913. 13, 16, 19,  
 23; 918. ii. 22; iii. 9, xi. 8, 16, xiii. 7;  
 984-6; 999.  
 μέσος. ἀνά μέσον 918. iii. 3, v. 15, 18.  
 μεστός 936. 37.  
 μεταβάλλειν 934. 3.  
 μεταδιαταγή 899. 40, 43, 47.  
 μεταδιατάσσειν 899. 32.  
 μετάδοσις 906. 9.  
 μεταλλάσσειν 888. 11; 899. 23.  
 μετανάστης 899. 14.  
 μεταξύ 914. 8.  
 μεταπέμπειν 969.  
 μεταστέλλειν 902. 13; 940. 6.  
 μεταφορά 895. 18; 935. 18.  
 μετεωρίζειν 904. 6.  
 μέτοχος 916. 7; 918. ii. 12, 24, xiii. 5.  
 μετρεῖν 932. 3; 988.  
 μέτρημα 909. 22.  
 μέτρησις 910. 35.  
 μέτρον 907. 24; 910. 21, 34; 986; 988.  
 Cf. Index IX (α).  
 μέχρι 906. 5; 908. 27; 909. 27.  
 μηδαμῶς 901. 11.  
 μῆν 893. 6; 895. 9; 898. 32; 902. 8;  
 903. 6; 908. 20, 21; 910. 20, 31; 914.  
 12; 916. 14; 958; 962; 964; 967;  
 985; 988. Cf. Index IV.  
 μήτηρ 888. 10; 898. 5; 899. 2; 903. 32;  
 905. 2, 3, 4, 17; 909. 4, 11, 38; 910.  
 3; 912. 2; 914. 3; 924. 15; 928. 10;  
 936. 21, 47; 963; 984; 996.  
 μητρόπολις 907. 9.  
 μηχανάριος 985.  
 μηχανή 901. 7; 985.  
 μικρός 903. 28; 921. 11; 922. 6, 7, 10, 12,  
 26; 931. 8; 933. 14, 22.  
 μισεῖν 902. 17.  
 μισθοῦν 910. 1, 14, 28, 39, 48; 911. 1;  
 912. 1, 16, 17, 23, 41; 913. 7, 14, 22;  
 918. xi. 2, 11, 12, xiii. 18; 977.  
 μίσθωσις 910. 29, 42; 912. 9, 16, 35; 913.  
 20; 964.  
 μισθωτής 986.

μνασίον 905. 6.  
 μνεία 895. introd.  
 μνήμη 902. 4; 913. 3.  
 μδλυβδος 915. 2, 3; 1001-3.  
 μολυβδουργός 915. 1; 1000-3.  
 μονάζειν 994.  
 μοναχός 905. 19; 908. 39.  
 μόνος 899. 15, 26; 907. 10; 910. 17; 915.  
 3; 919. 7; 993-5. μόνον 899. 11; 904.  
 4; 941. 8, 9.  
 μότωςις 1001.  
 μυριάς 896. 16, 17.  
 μύρον 936. 39.  
 μύστρον 921. 25.  
  
 nasci 894. 5.  
 ναύβιον 917. 2.  
 ναῦλον 917. 2.  
 ναυτικός 929. 8.  
 νέος 910. 32; 988.  
 νεόφυτος 909. 16.  
 νή 939. 20.  
 νοεῖν 990.  
 νομή 899. introd., 6; 918. introd., xi. 5,  
 15.  
 νόμισμα. See Index IX (δ).  
 νομισμάτιον. See Index IX (δ).  
 νόμος 902. 17; 903. 7.  
 νομός 899. 30, 42; 900. 6; 913. 6; 991.  
 Cf. Index VI (α).  
 νοσηλότερος 939. 26.  
 νόσος 939. 6, 23.  
 νοτάριος 940. 7.  
 νότος 918. ii. 1 *et saep.*; 986; 988.  
 νυκτερινός 924. 4.  
 νυκτοστράτηγος 933. 24.  
 νῦν 899. 41; 906. 6, 7; 908. 18; 929.  
 5; 937. 8; 938. 6; 939. 3, 23.  
 νυνί 908. 5; 988.  
  
 ξενία 931. 7.  
 ξέστης 921. 23.  
 ξιφίδιον 936. 9.  
 ξυλαμᾶν 910. 11.  
 ξύλον 892. 7.  
 ξυστός 896. 12, 14.  
  
 ὀγδόη (?) 916. 7, 17, 20.  
 ὀβολός. See Index IX (δ).  
 ὀδός 918. ii. 7, 13, iii. 6, v. 20.

ὄθεν 896. 32; 899. 41; 904. 7.  
 ὀθονιακός 933. 23.  
 οἶσθαι 898. 24.  
 οἰκεῖν 934.  
 οἰκείος 899. 12.  
 οἰκέτης 904. 4.  
 οἰκία 896. 30; 903. 10; 907. 10; 911.  
 14; 912. 12; 926. 3; 933. 26; 982;  
 980; 984; 986; 1002.  
 οἰκονόμος 929. 25; 941. 4; 993.  
 οἶκος 933. 19; 943. 4.  
 οἶνοπράτης 935.  
 οἶνος 907. 24; 995; 992-3.  
 οἰσοδῆποτε 893. 6, 9; 904. 8.  
 ὀκνεῖν 930. 1.  
 ὀλίγος 899. 13; 941. 4, 9.  
 ὀλος 893. 6, 9; 896. 12, 16; 903. 4, 5;  
 918. xi. 6; 936. 19 (*ὄλ' ἐξ ὄλων*), 29; 986;  
 ὄλος 924. 8.  
 ὀμιλεῖν 928. 5.  
 ὀμοῖος 889. 21. ὀμοίως 916. 14, 17, 20; 935.  
 introd.; 995.  
 ὀμνύειν 897. 11; 903. 15; 972.  
 ὀμολογεῖν 897. 11; 898. 22; 905. 20; 909.  
 13, 33; 910. 13; 912. 36; 913. 21; 914.  
 6, 19; 939. 6; 964; 996.  
 ὀμοῦ 895. 16.  
 ὀμουργός 922. 20.  
 ὀμως 939. 26.  
 ὀνηλάτης 900. 15.  
 ὀνοθήλεια 922. 24, 25.  
 ὄνομα 890. 17; 903. 23; 907. 11, 15; 924.  
 12; 930. 26; 932. 4; 936. 46.  
 ὄνος 932. 8; 985.  
 ὄξυς 900. 7.  
 ὀπότεν 909. 26.  
 ὄπου 936. 6, 8 (?), 15.  
 ὀπωροπώλης 980.  
 ὄπως 899. introd., 17, 39, 42, 47; 935. 16;  
 938. 6.  
 ὀρᾶν 896. 32.  
 ὀρδιναριος 942. 7; 999.  
 ὀρέγειν 902. 11.  
 ὀρίζειν 986.  
 ὄρκος 893. 4, 5, 8; 897. 12, 16; 903. 18;  
 972.  
 ὀρμᾶσθαι 914. 4; 996.  
 ὀρμή 901. 6.  
 ὀρφανικός 888. 4.  
 ὀρφανός 888. 2, 5.

- ὄσος 898. 13; 899. 8; 902. 17; 903. 34;  
 913. 10; 939. 12.  
 ὄσσοπερ 904. 3.  
 ὄστρακώδης 941. 2.  
 ὄτε 942. 4; 943. 6.  
 ὅτι 903. 8 *ei saep.*; 924. 10; 930. 9; 936.  
 17, 19, 21; 937. 22; 939. 7; 941. 3,  
 7, 9.  
 οὐ μὴ 903. 16.  
 οὐγκία 931. 4.  
 οὐλή 906. 10.  
 οὖν 899. 8, 40; 901. 15; 903. 10; 930.  
 18; 934. 9; 937. 5, 8; 938. 5; 942. 3.  
 οὐσία 902. 3; 986.  
 οὐσιακὸς μισθωτῆς 986.  
 οὕτω 888. 3. οὕτως 940. 5; 941. 7; 998-9.  
 ὀφείλειν 890. 8; 899. 48; 904. 4; 910.  
 25; 914. 6; 942. 4; 943. 4.  
 ὀφρὺς 906. 10.  
 ὀφφικιάλιος 896. 28.  
 ὄψις 911. 6.  
 ὀψώνιον 898. 31; 974; 994.  
 ὄ, γ ὄ 991.  
 π/ 941. 1.  
 πᾶγος 900. 6; 901. 5.  
 παιδαγωγός 930. 17, 19, 27.  
 παιδίον 928. 13; 930. 24; 933. 29.  
 πᾶσις 901. 8; 915. 1.  
 πάλιν 893. 7; 903. 18.  
 πανεύφημος 999.  
 πανοικεί 935. 30.  
 παντελῶς 899. 13; 903. 7.  
 πάντοθεν 988.  
 παντοκράτωρ 925. 1.  
 πάντως 904. 2, 3.  
 πᾶνυ 942. 5.  
 πάππος 908. 2, 45.  
 παραβαίνειν 908. 36.  
 παραβάλλειν 930. 21; 934. 12; 937. 10.  
 παραγγελία 957.  
 παραγγέλλειν 937. 8, 14.  
 παράγειν 901. 18; 971.  
 παραγίγνεσθαι 934. 13; 942. 4.  
 παραδέχεσθαι 910. 28.  
 παραδίδόναι 910. 39; 912. 23, 29.  
 παραθόλιον 896. 13.  
 παραίτησις 899. introd.  
 παρακατατιθέναι 907. 7.  
 παρακολουθεῖν 942. 5.  
 παραλαμβάνειν 912. 27.  
 παραληπτικός 910. 34.  
 παραμετρεῖν 910. 15.  
 παραμυθεῖσθαι 939. 26.  
 παρασκευάζειν 902. 7, 14; 943. 2.  
 παρατείνειν 918. iii. 3.  
 παρατηρεῖν 937. 16.  
 παρατυγχάνειν 901. 9.  
 παραφέρειν 892. 10.  
 παράφερνα 905. 7, 12; 906. 3.  
 παραφυλακή 904. 4.  
 παραχώρησις 998.  
 παρῆναι 888. 5; 905. 16; 913. 25; 914.  
 13; 933. 21; 934. 4, 7, 10; 972.  
 παρενοχλεῖν 965.  
 παρεντιθέναι 907. 21.  
 παρεχειν 895. 21; 900. 10, 17; 903. 27, 28;  
 904. 4; 907. 6; 908. 31, 33; 913. 12,  
 18; 937. 24; 941. 4, 6, 7, 8; 972; 992-4.  
 παριστάναί 897. 10.  
 παροικ( ) 899. introd.  
 παρολκή 997.  
 παρορᾶν 904. 6.  
 παρουσία 903. 15.  
 πᾶς 897. 6; 898. 33, 35; 899. introd., 20;  
 900. 16; 903. 1, 8, 11, 16, 32; 904. 3,  
 5; 905. 12, 16; 907. 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13,  
 18, 20, 28; 908. 46; 910. 22, 38, 42, 56;  
 911. 16; 912. 26, 35; 913. 11, 24; 914.  
 11, 16; 924. 12; 929. 4, 12, 15, 20;  
 930. 25; 933. 7, 16; 934. 15; 935. 26;  
 936. 3; 937. 14; 939. 6, 9, 15, 29; 942.  
 6; 964; 988.  
 παστοφόρος 984.  
 πατεῖν 988.  
 πατήρ 899. 21, 24; 905. 16; 908. 2; 924.  
 15; 925. 3; 935. 20; 936. 2; 937. 10.  
 πατριμονάλια 900. 5.  
 πάτριος 935. 10.  
 πατρίς 937. 7.  
 παχύς 921. 19.  
 πεδίον 913. 9.  
 πέινα 902. 12.  
 πείσμα 943. 5, 6.  
 πέλατον (?) 922. 9.  
 πέμπειν 928. 12; 930. 12; 931. 4, 26; 937.  
 21, 26; 938. 4.  
 πενταετία 936. 25.  
 πεντώβολον. See Index IX (δ).  
 πέπερις. See πίπερας.

- περίβλεπτος* 994.  
*περιβολάδιον* 921. 2.  
*περιγίγνεσθαι* 913. 12, 13, 23; 986.  
*περίζωμα* 921. 10.  
*περιστάται* 899. 14; 902. 12.  
*περιστερών* 981.  
*πήγμα* 921. introd.  
*πηχισμός* 981.  
*πήχυς*. See Index IX (a).  
*πίπερας* 921. 26.  
*πιπράσκει* 909. 14, 31; 922. 11, 13, 15, 18.  
*πιστεύειν* 898. 29; 903. 17.  
*πίστις* 907. 7; 913. 14; 924. 9; 980.  
*πιστός* 893. 1.  
*πλάκιον* 921. introd.  
*πλακοῦς* 936. 11.  
*πλανῶν* 898. 8.  
*πλατάκιον* 920. 3, 7, 10.  
*πλατεῖα* 937. 11.  
*πλείων, πλείστος*. See *πολύς*.  
*πληγή* 903. 6; 904. 6.  
*πλήρης* 929. introd.  
*πληροῦν* 902. 10, 16; 904. 3, 5; 943. 7.  
*πλινθεύειν* 941. 3.  
*πλινθευτής* 941. 2.  
*πλίνθος* 986.  
*πλοῖον* 937. 13.  
*πνεῦμα* 904. 7; 924. 16.  
*ποιεῖν* 888. 3; 892. 10; 898. 8; 899. 17, 34, 39, 43, 47, 48; 901. 6; 903. 7, 19; 904. 4; 907. 6, 18, 26, 27; 909. 26, 30; 913. 15, 20; 928. 7, 8, 11; 929. 6; 933. 23; 936. 4, 31; 937. 4; 938. 2, 7; 941. 3; 943. 6; 963; 967; 971; 990.  
*ποικιλτής* 980.  
*πόλις* 890. 8, 10; 892. 3, 9; 895. 15; 896. 9, 30; 899. 6; 902. 2, 10; 904. 4; 908. 6; 909. 13; 910. 3; 911. 5; 914. 6; 942. 4; 960; 962. Cf. Index VI (a).  
*πολιτεύεσθαι* 902. 4, 12.  
*πολιτική* 903. 37.  
*πολιτικός* 892. 11.  
*πολυετία* 889. 6.  
*πολύς* 888. 4; 898. 7, 21; 899. 13; 903. 21; 930. 16, 22; 935. 22, 26; 936. 51; 938. 8; 941. 9. *πλείων* 939. 24. *πλείστος* 899. 13; 900. 9; 939. 3. *πλείστα* 937. 2.  
*πορφύρα* 931. 4.  
*ποσεία* 918. introd.  
*ποτέ* 928. 6.  
*ποτίζειν* 938. 5.  
*ποτισμός* 934. 14; 967.  
*πράγμα* 888. 4; 893. 6, 9; 902. 3, 5; 938. 2  
*πραγματικός* 899. 17, 35, 42, 47.  
*πραιπόσιτος* 900. 5.  
*πρακτέος* 940. 5.  
*πράκτωρ*. See Index VIII.  
*πράξις* 905. 14; 910. 36; 912. 33.  
*πράσις* 909. 33; 988.  
*πράσσειν* 895. introd.; 902. 15; 924. 7 (?) 925. 7.  
*πρεπόντως* 907. 17.  
*πρεσβυτής* 933. 31.  
*πρεσβύτερος* 897. 5; 984 (?); 986; 996  
*πρεσβ. κόμης* 918. xi. 3, 12.  
*πρὶν* 928. 8.  
*προάστειον* 915. 2.  
*προβαστάζειν* 935. 21.  
*προγέωργος* (?) 899. introd.  
*προγράφειν* 907. 11; 908. 37; 913. 22.  
*προέρχεσθαι* 898. 35.  
*profiteri* 894. 5.  
*προιστάται* 891. 12.  
*προίξ* 907. 14.  
*προκείσθαι* 896. 37, 39; 899. 16; 900. 20; 905. 18; 907. 18, 28; 908. 46; 909. 22, 24; 910. 56; 912. 24, 41; 913. 24; 918. ii. 9, 21, iii. 5, 9, xi. 15, xiii. 17; 929. 19; 972; 977; 988.  
*προκουράτωρ* 943. 2.  
*προλαμβάνειν* 928. 8.  
*προλέγειν* 901. 9; 902. 12, 16; 903. 25; 939. 25.  
*προνοητής* 903. 3; 999.  
*πρόνοια* 899. 17.  
*πρόξενος βουλευτῶν* 984.  
*προπολιτεύεσθαι* 913. 4.  
*προσαγορεύειν* 928. 14.  
*προσέρχεσθαι* 907. 5.  
*προσέχειν* 930. 11.  
*προσήκειν* 888. 3; 899. introd., 26, 38, 48.  
*προσκύνημα* 936. 4, 48 (?).  
*προσοδικός* 986.  
*πρόσδοος, προσόδου sc. γῆ* 986.  
*προσορίζειν* 918. ii. 17, iii. 1, 2, 15.  
*προσοφείλειν* 912. 31.  
*προσφέρειν* 903. 6; 904. 7; 907. 18.  
*προσφώνειν* 896. 18, 32, 34, 37, 38.

προσχωρεῖν 909. 20.  
 πρόσωπον 903. 21; 904. 8.  
 προτάσσειν 889. 15.  
 πρότερον 898. 22; 899. 44; 918. xi. 11.  
 ā = πρότερον 984.  
 προτιθέναι 888. 7; 889. 10.  
 προυπαλλάσσειν 907. 18.  
 πρόφασις 903. 35.  
 πρόχειρος 932. 7.  
 προχρεία 907. 13; 910. 16.  
 πρύτανις. See Index VIII.  
 πρῶτον 902. 13; 924. 9. πρῶτα 939. 13.  
 πρωτότυπος 904. 8. πρωτοτύπως 902. 13 (?).  
 πύλη 892. 9.  
 πυθάνεσθαι 930. 12; 933. 29.  
 πῦρ 903. 6.  
 πυργίσκος 921. 24.  
 πυρετός 924. 6.  
 πυρέτιον 896. 33.  
 πυρός 907. 24; 908. 27; 909. 21; 910. 9,  
 10, 18, 31, 51, 55; 918. ii. 9 *et saep.*;  
 966; 974; 986; 988.  
 πυρρός 922. 8.  
 πωλεῖν 922. 6; 932. 10.  
 πως 902. 13 (?); 939. 15.  
 πῶς 932. 4; 939. 24.  
 ῥᾶον 939. 17.  
 ῥαφάνιος 936. 8.  
 ῥήτωρ 899. 21.  
 ῥεπάριος 897. 3; 904. 3.  
 ῥίς 903. 22.  
 ῥῶα 920. 13.  
 ῥύμη 986.  
 ῥύσις 940. 2.  
 ῥωννύναι. ἔρρωσο 931. 13; 932. 11. ἐρῶσθαι  
 σε εὔχομαι 891. 18; 928. 15; 929. 24;  
 931. 10; 933. 28; 934. 16; 935. 29;  
 936. 50; 937. 28; 938. 8; 939. 28.  
 σαβανοφακίριον 921. 11, 12.  
 σάκκος 932. 6.  
 σακκούδιον 937. 29.  
 σιλώτια 920. 5.  
 σαργάνη 938. 3, 6.  
 σαρκοφανής 936. 26.  
 σεαντοῦ 928. 11.  
 σεβάσμιος 897. 11.  
 σεβίτιον 919. 8.  
 σημαίνειν 942. 5; 985.

σημειοῦν. σεσημείωμαι 899. introd.; 916. 13,  
 16, 19; 974; 977; 992. ἐσημειώσασθαι  
 899. 32, 39, 46; 921. introd. ἐσημειώσατο  
 980.  
 σήμερον 896. 21.  
 σίναπι 920. 2; 936. 7.  
 σινδόνιον 921. 15, 19, 21.  
 σιτικός 907. 8 *et saep.*; 913. 10; 965.  
 σιτολόγος 973; 986.  
 σίτος 903. 22; 936. 22; 994; 998-9.  
 σιτοφόρος 918. ii. 7.  
 σκάπτειν 985.  
 σκεῦος 1001.  
 σκιωτός 921. 15.  
 σκοπεῖν 940. 5.  
 σκύλλειν 941. 3.  
 σκυλμός 941. 5.  
 σκυτάριον 936. 23.  
 σκωρσελίη (?) 936. 16.  
 σμάλλεος (?) 921. 6.  
 σουβρικομαφόρτιον 905. 7.  
 σουβρικοπάλλιον 921. 4.  
 σπείρειν 910. 9; 913. 11.  
 σπέρμα 910. 16, 54; 913. 16.  
 σπονδή 917. 3.  
 σπορά 913. 8.  
 σπόρος 918. ii. 8, iii. 5.  
 σπουδάζειν 939. 18; 963.  
 σπουδαῖος 929. 3.  
 σπουδή 963.  
 στάβλον 922. 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 12.  
 σταθμός 905. 5.  
 στατήρ 936. 40.  
 στέλλειν 902. 7.  
 στεφάνιον 936. 12.  
 στιπποπραγματεῖτης 893. 3.  
 στολάτα 907. 4.  
 στοχάζεσθαι 931. 9.  
 στρατηγία. See Index VIII.  
 στρατηγός. See Index VIII.  
 στρουθός 920. 8, 12.  
 στρώμα 921. 3.  
 συ, ἐσοῦ 903. 30.  
 συγγενής 904. 6.  
 συγγνώμη 939. 10.  
 συγγραφή 905. 18; 906. 2, 8.  
 συγκυρεῖν 907. 9, 13.  
 συγχωρεῖν 906. 9; 907. 2; 911. 7; 988;  
 990.  
 συλλαμβάνειν 935. 3, 8.

- συμβαίνειν 888. 3; 899. 9, 16; 902. 8; 904. 4.  
 συμβιοῦν 905. 8.  
 συμβίωσις 906. 4; 907. 17.  
 σύμμαχος 903. 25; 904. 4.  
 συμπάσχειν 904. 7.  
 συμπλήρωσις 985.  
 συμφωνεῖν 909. 18; 913. 24; 934. 10.  
 σύμφωνος 914. 4.  
 συμψέλια 921. introd.  
 συναγεῖν 900. 13; 985; 988.  
 συνειδέναί 898. 20.  
 συνεῖναι 907. 16.  
 συνενεῖναι 929. 12.  
 συνέχειν 896. 34; 899. 11.  
 συνηγορεῖν 899. 21.  
 συνήθεια 994.  
 συνθήκη 903. 13.  
 συνιστάναί, συνεστῶς 912. 4.  
 σύννοδος 908. 9.  
 σύνολος 893. 6, 9.  
 συνομολογεῖν 943. 4.  
 συνορᾶν 940. 2.  
 συνόριον 918. v. 17.  
 σύνοψις 896. 6.  
 συντείνειν 904. 5.  
 συντελεῖν 989.  
 συντηρεῖν 924. 1.  
 συντιθέναί 908. 18.  
 συντιμᾶν 905. 6.  
 συνωνή 909. 21.  
 σφαιρίον 920. 9, 11.  
 σφραγίζειν 929. 13; 932. 6.  
 σφραγίς 918. introd. *et saep.*  
 σφυρίδιον 936. 15.  
 σχεδόν 899. 11.  
 σχοιῖον 904. 6.  
 σχοινοπλόκος 934. 4.  
 σχολαστικός 902. 1.  
 σώζειν 935. 7.  
 σωλήν 915. 1. σωλ. λεγόμενος Σαβητ( )  
 1002.  
 σῶμα 889. 18; 904. 6; 907. 15.  
 σωματίον 939. 21, 26.  
 σῶς 903. 11.  
 σωτήρ 925. 3.  
 σωτηρία 904. 7; 933. 8; 935. 12; 939. 20.  
 σ. ικίανος 921. 3.  
 τάγμα 891. 15.  
 τάλαντον. See Index IX (b).  
 ταλάριον 936. 24.  
 ταμίον 890. 13.  
 ταρίχιον 928.  
 τάσσειν 918. xiii. 2, 17.  
 ταυτότης 940. 2.  
 ταχύς. ἐν ταχεί 929. 23. διὰ ταχέων 892. 9.  
 τείνειν 906. 5.  
 τέκνον 888. 11; 905. 11; 907. 3, 19; 909. 2, 7; 930. 18; 986.  
 τελεῖν 899. 9.  
 τέλειος 902. 11; 909. 18.  
 τελευταῖος 940. 2.  
 τελευτᾶν 928. 3; 984.  
 τελευτή 902. 4.  
 τέλος 919. 3.  
 τετραχοῖνικος 910. 34.  
 τετράβολον. See Index IX (b).  
 τέως 940. 2.  
 τηλικούτος 900. 12; 939. 11.  
 τηρεῖν 985.  
 τιμαξιώτατος 943. 9.  
 τιμή 895. 12, 14; 896. 15; 903. 24; 909. 18; 912. 30; 914. 7; 934. 5, 6; 971; 980; 985; 988.  
 τιμιώτατος 930. 27; 931. 2.  
 τις, τι καί τι 937. 22.  
 τοῖνον 900. 7; 902. 10; 940. 3.  
 τοῖος 903. 14.  
 τοιοῦτος 899. 27; 904. 8, 9.  
 τόκος 899. introd.  
 τόμος 903. 24; 957.  
 τοπαρχία 910. 5; 986.  
 τόπος 896. 6, 11, 14; 899. 47; 909. 29; 912. 13, 18, 25, 28; 931. 15; 941. 2, 4; 973; 986; 999.  
 τοσοῦτος 940. 5.  
 τότε 939. 22.  
 τραπεζίτης 916. 7, 13, 16; 943. 2, 5.  
 τρέπειν 935. 5; 939. 17.  
 τρέφειν 899. 15; 908. 24.  
 τριακάς 967.  
 τριβακός 921. 13, 16, 20, 21; 929. 11.  
 τριχοῖνικον 936. 7.  
 τρόπος 902. 6, 14; 939. 15.  
 τροφή 908. 33; 938. 2.  
 τρόφιμος 903. 3, 6, 8, 12, 13.  
 τρόφος 968.  
 τρυγᾶν 940. 3.  
 τρύγη 907. 24; 975.

τυγχάνειν 888. 4, 5; 899. 14; 904. 9;  
 933. 4.  
 τύλη 978.  
 τύπος 893. 1, 9.  
 τυραννικός 902. 6, 14.  
 τύχη 899. 41.  
 ὑβρίζειν 903. 5, 17.  
 ὕβρις 903. 1.  
 ὑγεία 930. 13; 935. 11.  
 ὑγιαίνειν 935. 8; 936. 3.  
 ὑδραγωγίον 901. 7.  
 ὑδραγωγός 971.  
 ὑδροπάροχος 902. 3.  
 ὑδροφόρος 922. 19.  
 ὕδωρ, καθ' ὕδατος 918. *introd. et saep.*  
 υἱός 893. 12; 894. 8; 902. 2; 903. 4;  
 904. 7; 909. 8; 913. 5, 21; 914. 3, 5,  
 20; 924. 15; 930. 30; 935. *introd.*;  
 939. 22; 941. 2, 3; 960; 984; 989;  
 996.  
 ὑπαγορεύειν 907. 2.  
 ὑπακούειν 900. 9, 17.  
 ὑπάρχειν 899. 8; 905. 16; 910. 7, 37; 911.  
 11; 912. 34; 913. 9; 914. 15; 933. 17  
 (ὑπήρκται); 986.  
 ὑπατεία. See Index III.  
 ὕπατος. ἀπὸ ὑπάτων ὀρδινάριων 999. Cf.  
 Index III.  
 ὑπεύθυνος 907. 6.  
 ὑπερβαίνειν 889. 16.  
 ὑπερφύεστατος 996; 999.  
 ὑπηρετεῖν 929. 5.  
 ὑπηρετής 899. 50; 916. 18.  
 ὑποβάλλειν 897. 8; 900. 6, 8.  
 ὑπογράφειν 899. *introd.*  
 ὑπογραφεύς 911. 6.  
 ὑπόδημα 936. 25.  
 ὑποθήκη 914. 18.  
 ὑποκάτω 922. 21.  
 ὑποκείσθαι 914. 16.  
 ὑπόλογος 988.  
 ὑπόλοιπος 902. 8.  
 ὑπομένειν 904. 5.  
 ὑπόμνημα 911. 8.  
 ὑπομνηματισμός 898. 27.  
 ὑπόμνησις 904. 3.  
 ὑποτάσσειν 899. 19, 35; 907. 4.  
 ὑποτιθέναι 898. 13.  
 ὕστερος 936. 45.

φαίνειν 902. 9.  
 φαινόλιον 936. 18, 19. φαλόλιον 933. 30.  
 φακός 966.  
 φάναι 967.  
 φανερός 902. 3; 928. 6.  
 φανεροῦν 925. 4.  
 φέρειν 905. 5; 936. 23.  
 φερνή 905. 5, 13, 18; 907. 18.  
 φθάνειν 889. 21; 907. 14; 935. 20.  
 φιάλη 937. 12, 18.  
 φιλανθρωπία 889. 5.  
 φιλόανθρωπος 925. 2.  
 φίλος 890. 5; 891. 9, 17, 19; 907. 23;  
 931. 17; 933. 3, 27; 942. 6; 963.  
 φοινικῶν 918. ii. 1.  
 φοράδιον 922. 9, 21.  
 φόρετρον 917. 2.  
 φόρος 899. 40; 910. 12, 30, 50; 913. 13;  
 943. 4, 7; 977.  
 φορτικώτατος 904. 9.  
 φρίξ 924. 3, 4, 5.  
 φρονεῖν 990.  
 φροντίς 902. 5; 907. 25; 923. 10.  
 φροντιστής 940. 6; 984; 998.  
 φύλαξ 931. 6; 933. 25.  
 φυλάσσειν 905. 9; 924. 1.  
 χαίρειν 890. 6; 891. 9; 892. 3; 908. 17;  
 909. 13; 928. 2; 929. 2; 931. 2; 932.  
 1; 934. 2; 935. 2; 936. 2; 937. 2;  
 938. 1; 939. 2; 963-4; 967; 973-4.  
 χαίροις 933. 1.  
 χαλκεύς 989.  
 χαλκίον 1003.  
 χαλκός 936. 17.  
 χαλκοῦς. See Index IX (δ).  
 χαρίζεσθαι 941. 5.  
 χάρις 939. 6; 941. 6; 963. χάριων 898. 35;  
 899. 14; 934. 13.  
 χάρτης 895. 12, 14.  
 χαρτουλάριος 943. 9.  
 χεῖρ 901. 10. μετὰ χεῖρας 934. 8.  
 χειριστής 995.  
 χειροτονεῖν 888. 2.  
 χερσαλμυρος 918. *introd.*  
 χέρσαμμος 988.  
 χέρσος 918. v. 16.  
 χθές 901. 5.  
 χιτών 929. 9, 13.  
 χλεύη 904. 2.

χλωρός 910. 11, 52.  
 χμγ 940. 1; 995.  
 χοιρίδιον 932. 10.  
 χοῖρος 901. 5, 10, 12, 13.  
 χορηγεῖν 898. 32; 908. 28.  
 χορτονομή 918. xi. 10.  
 χόρτος 908. 25; 938. 3.  
 χοῦς ('mound') 985.  
 χρεία 899. 25; 900. 12, 16, 18; 930. 3;  
 972.  
 χρέος 914. 17.  
 χρεωστεῖν 902. 9; 914. 7.  
 χρῆζειν 896. 9; 937. 23.  
 χρηματίζειν 890. 3; 908. 7; 909. 6, 11;  
 964; 977.  
 χρῆνα 900. 7.  
 χρῆσθαι 912. 16.  
 χρηστήριον 907. 9, 13; 911. 16.  
 χρηστός 937. 27.  
 χρόνος 889. 6; 907. 23; 909. 23; 911. 10;  
 912. 18, 22; 936. 52; 937. 6; 938. 8.

χρυσός 905. 5; 914. 9, 10; 995.  
 χρῶμα 896. 15.  
 χῶμα 909. 15; 985.  
 χώρα 900. 8, 10.  
 χωρεῖν 890. 8; 909. 21.  
 χωρίον 907. 8, 13; 985; 998.  
 χωρίς 898. 31; 909. 6; 932. 10; 988.

ψιλός 986.  
 ψυχή 903. 33.  
 ψυχροφόρος 896. 11.

ὠνεῖσθαι 914. 8.  
 ὄν 936. 6.  
 ὠρα 893. 7; 901. 5; 926. 5; 927. 4; 935.  
 17 (διὰ ὠρας); 938. 6; 939. 27; 942. 1,  
 2, 4.  
 ὠσαύτως 910. 12.  
 ὦστε 891. 12; 893. 3; 896. 29; 897. 8;  
 904. 7; 908. 22; 910. 8; 923. 4; 930.  
 18; 933. 17; 934. 8; 939. 5.

## XII. INDEX OF PASSAGES DISCUSSED.

### (a) AUTHORS.

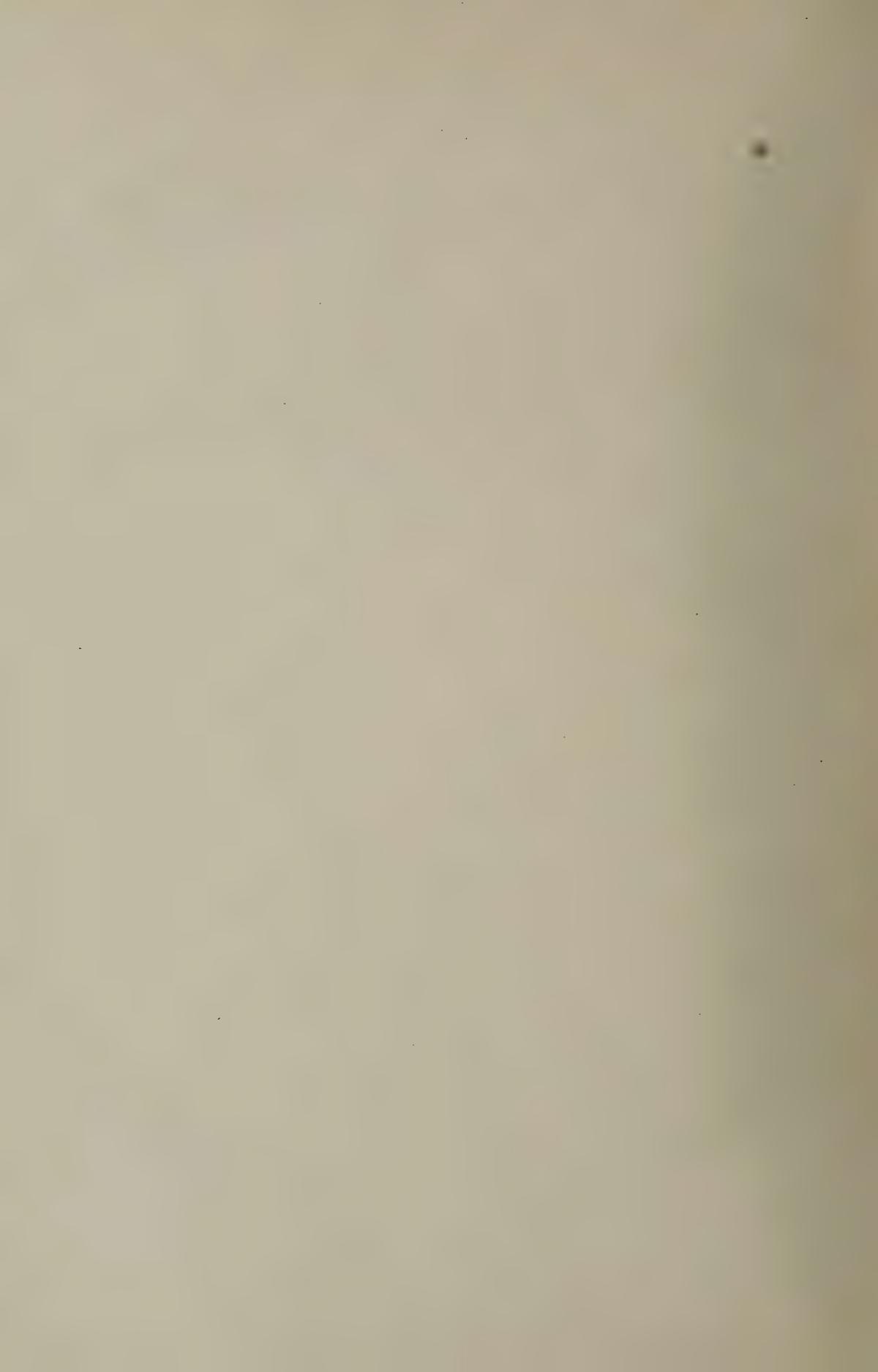
	PAGE		PAGE
Anth. Pal. iii. 10 . . . . .	27	Euripides Frag. 472 (Nauck) . . . . .	87
ix. 503 . . . . .	284	752 . . . . .	23
Apophthegm. Patrum 80a . . . . .	310	754 . . . . .	80
Aristophanes, <i>Frogs</i> 1312 . . . . .	92	755-8 . . . . .	81
1313-6 . . . . .	85	757 . . . . .	101
Aristotle, <i>Poetics</i> 14 . . . . .	28-9	759 . . . . .	102
Callimachus Frag. 66a . . . . .	142	760-7 . . . . .	82-3
Clemens Alex., Schol. on p. 105 . . . . .	21	764 . . . . .	84
Cod. Iust. i. 55 . . . . .	238	870 . . . . .	101
Cod. Theod. i. 29 . . . . .	238	Homer x 55 . . . . .	140
Comicorum Fragmenta 231 (Kock) . . . . .	154	Iul. Capitolinus, <i>Vita Marci</i> 9. 7-9 . . . . .	213-4
Cramer, <i>Anecd. Paris.</i> iii. p. 84. 3 . . . . .	140	Lydus, <i>De Mensibus</i> iv. 7. p. 72 . . . . .	83
Dionysius Hal., <i>De Thucyd. Iudic.</i> 9-20 . . . . .	111-2	Mnesimachus, <i>Hipp.</i> i. i . . . . .	98
Dioscorides i. 10 . . . . .	259	Pindar Frag. 110 . . . . .	141
Euripides, <i>Ion</i> 255 . . . . .	90	Steph. Byz. s. v. Φρύγία . . . . .	145

## (b) PAPYRI, INSCRIPTIONS, &amp;C.

	PAGE		PAGE
P. Amh. 72. 1 . . . . .	236	P. Grenf. II. 73. 9 . . . . .	241
107. 15 . . . . .	230	P. Leipzig 27 . . . . .	245
150. 23-4 . . . . .	288	37 . . . . .	243
B. G. U. I. 15. ii. 1 . . . . .	230	49 . . . . .	243
303. 28 . . . . .	314	116. 2 . . . . .	320
326. i. 6-8, 14-5 . . . . .	252	119. verso ii. 8 . . . . .	206
ii. 17 . . . . .	253	P. Oxy. I. 42. 8-9 . . . . .	232
II. 571. 9-10 . . . . .	281	53. . . . .	217
572. 5, 10 . . . . .	269	53. 5-6 . . . . .	219
578. 7 . . . . .	247	123. 10 . . . . .	311
648. 12-4 . . . . .	222-3, 231	138. 9 . . . . .	234
III. 893. 12-4 . . . . .	234	140. 7 . . . . .	234
IV. 1094. 1 . . . . .	238	153. 3 . . . . .	314
P. Brit. Mus. I. 77. 51 . . . . .	252	156. 5 . . . . .	314
164. 7 . . . . .	230	II. 259. 11 . . . . .	247
III. 1157. 111, 113, 152 . . . . .	271	III. 495 . . . . .	205
1171. 73 . . . . .	271	497. 22-4 . . . . .	245
P. Bruxell. I . . . . .	276	653 . . . . .	271
P. Cairo in <i>Archiv</i> , III. p. 339 . . . . .	219	IV. 714. 1 . . . . .	222
Cairo tablets in <i>Nouv. Rev. Hist.</i> 1906, p. 483 . . . . .	213-5	P. Rainer in Wessely, <i>Führer</i> , No. 249	264
C. I. G. 3582. 2 . . . . .	300	P. Strassb. 29. 46 . . . . .	257
C. P. R. I. 22. 35 . . . . .	245	40. 6 . . . . .	238
30. 52 . . . . .	243	40. 48 . . . . .	284
P. Fay. 339 . . . . .	276	P. Tebt. II. 343. 5, 88 . . . . .	281
347 . . . . .	305	343. 69 . . . . .	271
P. Flor. I. 16. 26 . . . . .	301	413. 10 . . . . .	305
39. 7 . . . . .	234	413. 11 . . . . .	285
96. 6, 13 . . . . .	235-6	413. 14 . . . . .	304
P. Grenf. II. 11. ii. 4 . . . . .	96	500 . . . . .	269











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 ΤΕ ΜΗΝ ΔΕ ΣΩΝ ΦΕΤΟΙ ΧΕ ΣΟΥΝ  
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 ΚΑΙ ΜΗ  
 ΑΛΛΟΥΧ  
 ΠΟΛΛΟΙ  
 ΚΑΘΟ  
 ΜΟΤΟΥ Κ ΤΗ  
 ΑΡΑΤΟΣ ΚΙΟΥ ΤΗ  
 ΕΤΑ ΠΡΑΤΗ  
 ΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΓΕΝΟΜΟ  
 ΔΕ ΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΙΝΩ  
 ΕΠΙ ΜΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΙΟ  
 ΘΥΤΕΙΝ ΤΕ ΤΕ  
 ΑΤΡΟΤΟΝ ΗΣ ΚΕ  
 ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΦΕΡΟΙΤΕ  
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 ΣΤΕΡΕΙΝ Δ ΠΟ  
 ΔΑΣ ΚΟΣΑΡΕ  
 ΒΑΤΑ ΔΟΣ ΗΝ  
 ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΚΑΘΗΝ  
 ΔΕ ΣΤΟΝ ΔΕ  
 ΤΟ ΙΣΕΡΟ  
 ΔΕ ΜΟΝΟΣ ΓΑΡ Ε  
 ΑΤΩΝ ΑΤΡΑΤΗ  
 ΣΤΕΦΗΝ ΤΣΑΙ  
 ΧΗ, ΟΤΟΣ ΕΣΤ  
 ΕΠΩ ΔΕ ΜΕ  
 ΑΝ ΗΣ ΟΝΟΣΤΑ  
 ΒΩΝ ΟΜΑ ΣΕ Η  
 ΜΕ ΒΑΣΙΛΑΤΑ  
 ΑΝ ΗΤΑ ΑΡΤΟΙ  
 ΣΙΝ ΑΡΚΑ ΜΩ  
 ΘΥΤΕΙΣ ΚΑ ΜΩ  
 ΜΑΧΩΝ ΕΝ ΟΥΤ  
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