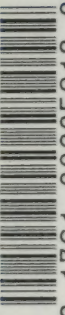


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THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

PART VIII

*HUNT*



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Vol. 12

EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND  
GRAECO-ROMAN BRANCH  
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EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

(GRAECO-ROMAN BRANCH)

Graeco Roman Memoirs

THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI  
PART VIII

*EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES*

BY

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WITH SEVEN PLATES

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## P R E F A C E

THE delay, for which I must beg the indulgence of subscribers, in the publication of this volume, is chiefly due to the lengthy preliminaries which were necessary for the production of two of the new classical texts, the *Meliambi* of Cercidas (1082) and the fragments of an anonymous Satyric drama (1083). Those papyri, with 1091-2, are derived from the second of the large literary finds made in 1906 (cf. the *Archaeological Report* for that year, p. 12), which was at once more extensive, more scattered, and in worse condition than the first. Before any text from it could be dealt with, some thirty thousand pieces of various sizes had to be flattened and examined, a task which occupied several weeks of last year. Possibly some further small fragments may yet be identified; but the great bulk of the find, at any rate, has now been prepared for sorting and copying; and that serious additions will be made is a contingency not sufficiently probable to justify a further postponement.

In editing the new classical fragments (1082-7) I have once more enjoyed the great advantage of the assistance of Professor U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, to whom I am deeply indebted, especially with regard to 1082 and 1086. Professor U. Wilcken was again kind enough to look through the proof-sheets of the non-literary section and to contribute a number of valuable comments. Occasional suggestions received from other friends are recorded in connexion with the texts concerned. To all my helpers, including the Proof-reader of the University Press, I here return hearty thanks.

Another instalment of Oxyrhynchus papyri is designed for the next volume, which I hope to issue early in 1912.

ARTHUR S. HUNT.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD,  
MAY, 1911.



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## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

THE general method followed in this volume is the same as that in Parts I-VII. Of the new literary texts, 1082-3 and 1086-7 are printed in a dual form, a literal transcript being accompanied by a reconstruction in modern style; 1088-9 are given in modern form only. In the others, 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 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 in Parts I-VII, 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; Vol. IV by 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 Cat. = Catalogue des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine, by J. Maspero.
- P. Fay. = Fayûm Towns and their Papyri, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and D. G. Hogarth.
- P. Flor. = Papiiri Fiorentini, Vol. I, by G. Vitelli ; Vol. II, by D. Comparetti.
- P. Gen. = Les Papyrus de Genève, Vol. I, by J. Nicole.
- P. Giessen = Griechische Papyri zu Giessen, Part 1, by E. Kornemann and O. Eger ; Part 2, by P. M. Meyer.
- P. Grenf. = Greek Papyri, Series I, by B. P. Grenfell, and Series II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
- P. Hamburg = Griechische Urkunden der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek, Part 1, by P. M. Meyer.
- P. Hibeh = The Hibeh Papyri, Part I, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
- P. Klein. Form. = Griech. Papyrusurkunden kleineren Formats, Stud. Pal. iii and viii, by C. Wessely.
- P. Leipzig = Griech. Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig, Vol. I, by L. Mitteis.
- P. Leyden = Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Lugduni-Batavi, by C. Leemans.
- P. Oxy. = The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Parts I-VI, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt ; Part VII, by 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 Théodore Reinach.
- P. Rylands = Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Rylands Library, Manchester, Vol. I, by A. S. Hunt.
- P. Strassb. = Griech. 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.

---

### 1073. OLD LATIN VERSION OF GENESIS v-vi.

17 × 5.4 cm. Fourth century. Plate VI (verso).

A small fragment from Egypt of the Bible in the Vulgate has recently made its appearance at Aberdeen (Winstedt, *Class. Quarterly*, 1907, p. 266), and Oxyrhynchus now contributes the following specimen of the Old Latin version, a specimen which is not only more extensive but of much greater value, since the Old Latin is imperfectly known and the present text is for about half its contents the sole authority. It is written on a portion of a vellum leaf from a book in a well-formed uncial hand, which is probably not later than the fourth century. The ink is of a reddish-brown colour. As is common in early Latin MSS., the columns, of which there were no doubt two on each page, are narrow. Rulings were lightly made with a hard point. The text was divided up into rather short paragraphs, of which the first lines were made to protrude slightly into the left margin and are further rendered conspicuous by enlarged initial letters. A medial stop is occasionally employed, and points in the same position are placed before and after numerals; the first of the pair of points is, however, omitted when the numeral stands at the beginning of the line, and the second when at the end. It may be also noted that when representing a figure *d* has the minuscule not the uncial form. Contractions and abbreviations were sparingly used. *m* at the end of a line is sometimes denoted by an over-written horizontal stroke with a dot beneath it; since the regular purpose of this dot was to distinguish *m* from *n*, it may be inferred that *n* in the same position was also represented by the horizontal stroke, though no actual example is preserved. *dominus deus* appears as *dñs d̄s* in l. 31. Traube considered the former of these contractions to be not older than the fifth century

(*Nomina Sacra*, p. 167), but pending fuller evidence the script is a better criterion of the date of this codex than the occurrence of a particular compendium.

Textually the fragment is of considerable interest. As has been already stated, several of the verses here preserved are not otherwise extant in the Old Latin version, though since they tend to follow a definite formula they could to some extent be correctly reconstructed. Others among them were already known from patristic citations, with which, however, the new witness does not always coincide. Minor divergences may easily be attributed to inexact quotation; but some of the peculiar readings of this manuscript point rather to a different recension, of which a prominent characteristic may have been its closeness to the Greek; cf. ll. 28-30 and the note. A variant noted by Augustine makes its appearance in l. 46. *Sp[eci]osae* in l. 48, in the light of a comment by the same Father (cf. note *ad loc.*), looks very like an interpolated gloss.

	Recto.		Verso. Plate VI.	
	<i>genuit Se[th] anni ·dcc</i>	v. 4.	<i>[men ciu]s Noe dicens</i>	v. 29
	<i>et genuit filios et fili</i>		<i>[iste requies]cere faciet</i>	
	<i>as et fu[er]un[t] omnes</i>	5	<i>[nos ab o]pe[ri]b[us] nostris</i>	
	<i>dies Adae quo[s] vixit</i>		<i>[et tristit]is manum nos</i>	
5	<i>annis ·dccc[xxx] et</i>		<i>[traru]m et a terra cui</i>	30
	<i>mortuus est [vixit autē</i>	6	<i>[maled]ixit Dns Ds̄ et vi</i>	30
	<i>Seth annis ·c[ccv] et ge</i>		<i>[xit La]mech annis ·dlxv</i>	
	<i>nuit Enos et [vixit</i>	7	<i>[et genu]it filios et filias</i>	
	<i>Seth postqua[m] genuit</i>		<i>[et fuer]unt omnes dies</i>	31
10	<i>[A]enos annis ·dcccvii et</i>	8	<i>[quos v]ixit Lamech</i>	
	<i>genuit filios [et filias</i>		<i>[anni ·]dccliii et mor[tu</i>	
	<i>et fuerunt omnes di</i>	8	<i>[us est]</i>	
	<i>es Seth ann[is] ·dcccxxii</i>		<i>[Et fuit N]oe annorum</i>	vi. 1
	<i>et mortuus [est</i>		<i>[quinge]ntorum et ge</i>	
15	<i>Et vixit Aeno[s] annis ·xc</i>	9	<i>[nuit N]oe tres filios</i>	40
	<i>et genuit Ca[ïn]an et vi</i>	10	<i>[Sem Cha]m Iapeth</i>	
	<i>xit Aenos pos[tquam</i>		<i>[Et factu]m est postquā</i>	
	<i>genuit Cainān annis</i>		<i>[coeper]unt homines</i>	
	<i>dccxv et genuit filios</i>		<i>[multi fie]ri super terrā</i>	
20	<i>et filias et fu[er]unt om</i>	11	<i>[et filiae] natae sunt eis</i>	
	<i>nes dies Aen[os] annis</i>	45	<i>[vident]es autem filii</i>	2
	<i>dcccv et m[ortuus] est</i>		<i>[Dī filias] hominum</i>	

<i>Et vixit Cain</i> [ <i>n annis</i> · <i>lxx</i>	12	[ <i>quia sp</i> ]cciosae sunt
<i>et genuit M</i> [ <i>aleleel</i>		[ <i>sumpse</i> ]runt sibi uxo
25 <i>et vixit Cain</i> [ <i>an</i>	13 50	[ <i>res ex o</i> ]mnibus quas

1. This verse is preserved in Jerome, *Quaest. Hebr. in Gen.* 313, where *septingenti anni* is written; cf. ll. 12-14, note.

3-6. Verse 5 is not extant elsewhere. For *Adae* cf. e. g. Gen. ii. 16 *praecepit Dominus Deus Adae* (from Augustine). Jerome in verse 4 has *dies Adam. annis* should be *anni*.

6-7 = Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xv. 15. Augustine has *quinque et ducentos annos*, but the ablative is attested in verses 3 (Hilary) and 25 (Jerome) and is no doubt correct; cf. l. 10.

8-11. Verse 7 as far as *dcccvii* is preserved only here; Augustine, *l. c.*, gives *et genuit . . . filias*.

12-14 = Augustine, *l. c.*, where *duodecim et nongenti anni* is given; cf. note on l. 1.

15-25. These five verses are not found elsewhere.

26 sqq. The verse is extant in Jerome, *Quaest. Hebr.* 314, and part of it in Ambrose, *De Noe et Arca*, i. 2 (227 d). The former has *iste requiescere nos faciet*, the latter *hic faciet nos requiescere*. It is useless to attempt to decide whether *iste* or *hic* stood in our MS.; οἶτος is the Greek.

28-30. Jerome, *l. c.*, has *ab operibus nostris*, Ambrose, *l. c.*, omits *nostris* and continues *et a tristitia et a terra*; the Greek is ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ἡμῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν λυπῶν τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν. It is noteworthy that *manu(m) nos[traru]m*, which is absent in Ambrose's version, appears in our MS. as the equivalent of τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν, and that the preceding word is not *tristitia*. What replaced *tristitia* is, however, doubtful. In l. 28 either *ab o]per[ib]us* or *a la]bor[ib]us* can be read, but the former seems preferable both in itself and on account of the patristic evidence. If *a la]bor[ib]us* were substituted, *operibus* would be available for the next line (cf. the Vulgate *ab operibus et laboribus manuum nostrarum*, and ]us is a possible reading; but it is unconvincing, and ]iis is really more suitable. *tristi]tiis* would be a literal rendering of τῶν λυπῶν; the difficulty is that [*et tristi]tiis* is a longer supplement than is expected in the lacuna. Perhaps *tristiis* was written, by a lipography; but *i* and *t* are both narrow letters and on the whole the reading suggested seems to be the least objectionable, though it is adopted with no great confidence. At the end of l. 29 *os* was written as a monogram, the *o* being utilized as the lower curve of the *s*.

31-41. Verses 30 and 31 of chap. v and the first part of verse 1 in the next chapter are found here only. In verse 31 there is nothing corresponding to μετὰ τὸ γεννησαὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Νῶε, and *postquam genuit Noe* must have dropped out. If the length of the lines were the same in the archetype as in this copy, *postquam . . . Noe* would just about have filled one line.

42 sqq. = Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xv. 23.

45. *eis*: so Tertullian, *De Vel. Virg.* 7, where also *cum coepissent* appears for *postquam coeperunt* and *plures* for *multi*; Augustine, *l. c.*, has *illis*. In l. 44 *multi* suits the space much better than *plures*.

46. [*vident]es*: so Augustine, *l. c.*, and Jerome, *Quaest. Hebr.* 314; *conspicati* Tertullian, *l. c.*

*fili*: so Jerome and Tertullian, *ll. cc.*; *angeli* Augustine, *l. c.*, remarking *LXX quidem interpretes et angelos Dei dixerunt istos et filios Dei; quod quidem non omnes codices habent, nam quidam nisi filios Dei non habent*; cf. Aug. *Quaest. in Heptateuch.* i. 3 *quamvis non-*

*nulli et Latini et Graeci codices non angelos habeant sed filios Dei.* *νίολ* has considerable support both in MSS. and the versions and citations.

48. *speciosae: bonae* Augustine and Jerome, *ll. cc.*, *pulchrae* Tertullian, *l. c.* Cf. Aug. *l. c. bonas, id est pulchras. consuetudo quippe Scripturae huius est etiam speciosos corpore bonos vocare.* The Greek is *καλαί*.

*sunt:* so Augustine and Jerome, *ll. cc.*; *essent* Tertullian, *l. c.*

49. Either [*sumpse*]runt (Augustine, *l. c.*) or [*accepe*]runt (Tertullian, *l. c.*) is possible.

## 1074. EXODUS xxxi, xxxii.

2.7 × 5.1 cm. Third century. Plate I (recto).

The following fragment of the book of Exodus in the version of the Septuagint is of insignificant size but is probably older than any of the known MSS. of that book, with the possible exception of 1075, which is of about the same period. 1074 is written in a neat round hand, displaying some tendency towards cursive forms, among which the *κ* is the most pronounced. This hand could not be referred to a time later than the reign of Diocletian, and might well be placed quite at the beginning of the third century or even earlier. The fragment may thus be reckoned with 1, 2, 208, and 656 as one of the most ancient examples of the papyrus codex that have been preserved. A high stop is the only lectional sign occurring.

The character of the text cannot be gauged from so small a sample. Agreements with AM against B are noticeable in ll. 2 and 7.

Recto. Plate I.

· · · · ·  
 [τιν] π[αρ εμοι και εν υμιν εις τας γενεας υμων ινα γνω xxxi. 13  
 τε οτι εγω  $\overline{K\varsigma}$  ο αγια[ζων υμας και φυλαξεσθε το σαβ 14  
 βατον οτι αγιον του[το εστιν  $\overline{K\upsilon}$  υμιν ο βεβηλων αυτο  
 θανατω θανατωθ[ησεται πασ οσ ποιησει εν αυτω ερ  
 5 γον εξολεθ[ρευθησεται  
 · · · · ·

Verso.

· · · · ·  
 ] · [ · · · · · xxxii. 7  
 [ ηρομησεν γαρ] ο λαοσ σου ουσ εξηγα

[γες εκ γης Αιγυπτου παρ]εβησαν ταχυ εκ της 8  
 [οδου ης ενετειλω αυτοις]; εποιησαν αυτοις  
 10 [μοσχον και προσκεκυνηκασι]ν αυτω και

2. το σαβ]βατον; so AM; τα σαββατα B. In l. 3 A has εσται for τουτο εστιν Κυριου.  
 6-7. The vestige of a letter remaining in l. 6 is insufficient to determine whether the  
 papyrus placed το ταχος εντευθεν before (B) or after (AM) καταβηθι. ους; so AM; ον B.  
 9. αυτοις; so n (Holmes 75 = Bodl. Univ. Coll. 52); εαυτοις BAM.

## 1075. EXODUS xl.

15.1 × 9.8 cm.

Third century. Plate I.

This fragment containing the conclusion of the book of Exodus is, like 1074, remarkable for its early date. The MS. was in the form of a roll, not a book, and the sloping uncial hand does not seem to be later than the third century. N is sometimes given the cursive form with a nearly horizontal cross-bar. A stop in the high position apparently occurs in l. 8. Κύριος is abbreviated in the usual way, but not υιοί (l. 15) or Ἰσραήλ (ll. 15, 21). On the verso is 1079, which may itself have been written in the third century.

The text, which is of a 'mixed' type, is of some interest. It shows an agreement with BG against AFM in l. 1, but on the other hand two agreements with AFGM against B in ll. 13-14 and 18. In l. 4 ὡς δέ we obtain very ancient testimony to a reading otherwise dependent on mediaeval authority (cf. e.g. 656, 847, 1007, and 1078). A new variant is found in l. 10.

[κε παρα] τ[ας θυρας της σκηνης	xl. 26
και [εστ]ησε[ν τη]ν [αυλην κυκλω	27
της σ[κ]ηνης και το[υ θυσιαστηρι	
ου ως δε συνετ[ελεσεν Μωυσης	
5 παντα τα εργα [και εκαλυψεν	28
η νεφελη την [σκηνην του μαρ	
τυριου και δοξ[ης Κυ] επλησ	
τη η σκηνης και ουκ ηδ[υ]νασθη	29
Μωυσης εισελθ[ειν] εις τη[ν	
10 σκηνην του μαρτυριου επ[ε]	

[σ]κίασε γαρ επ αυτην η νεφελ[η  
 και δοξης  $\overline{K\upsilon}$  επλησθη η σκη  
 νη ηνικα δε ανεβη η νεφ[ε 30  
 λη απο της σκηνης ανεξευ  
 15 γνυσαν οι υιοι Ισραηλ συν [τη  
 απαρτια αυτων [ει] δε μη [ανε 31  
 βη η νεφελη ου[κ] ανεξ[ευγνυ  
 σαν εως της ημερας ης [ανεβη  
 νεφελη γαρ ην επι της [σκηνης 32  
 20 ημερας και πυρ η[ν] ε[π αυτης  
 νυκτος εναντιον [παντος Ισρα  
 ηλ εν πασαις ταις αυ[αζυγαις  
 αυτων > > >  
 ξξοδοξ

1. After σκηνης AFM add του μαρτυριου.

2-3. A<sup>a</sup> omits και . . . θυσιαστηριου.

4. ως δε: so the cursive w (Athens, Bibl. Nat. 44); cf. the Lyons Octateuch *cum autem consummaret*; και other MSS.

7-8. 1. επλησθη η σκηνη. At the end of l. 8 either ηδυ[ρασθη or ηδυ[νηθη (AFM) makes a rather long supplement.

10. επ[εσ]κίασε γαρ is peculiar to the papyrus; οτι επεσκίαζεν MSS., though the cursive r (Holmes 129=Rome, Vat. Gr. 1252) has επεσκίασεν and x (Brit. Mus. Curzon 66) εσκίασεν; cf. Arm. Boh. Eth. Lyons Oct. *obumbravit*.

12. επλησθη: ενεπλησθη F.

13-14. δε: so g (Par. Reg. Gr. 5) w and Cyril of Alexandria; δ αν others.

η . . . σκηνης: so AFGM; απο της σκηνης η νεφελη B.

18. της: so AFGM; om. B. After ανεβη BAFM add η νεφελη, which is omitted as in the papyrus by G, several cursives (including x), Aeth. Syr.

24. εξοδος is the subscription in BFGM; A adds των υιων 1(σρα)ηλ εξ Αιγυπτου.

### 1076. NEW RECENSION OF TOBIT ii.

9.5 × 13.9 cm.

Sixth century.

A fragment of the book of Tobit, in a text not otherwise extant. Of the Greek version of this popular apocryphon there are two main texts, the one represented by the Vatican and Alexandrine codices (BA), the other by the codex Sinaiticus (S), the latter being the longer, though this greater length is due more to verbosity of style than to the incorporation of fresh matter. On



the question which is the earlier critics are still divided. Besides these two, however, for chaps. vi. 9—xiii. 8, there is found in three cursives a third Greek recension, which may be said to occupy an intermediate position between BA and **N**; from chap. viii onwards this text agrees closely with the Syriac.

Now the present fragment from the second chapter is clearly to be distinguished from BA on the one hand and **N** on the other; the obvious question then arises, Can it belong to the third recension partially preserved in the cursives (C)? This view appears to be highly probable. The relation of 1076 and C to BA and **N** respectively is closely similar. Both 1076 and C belong to the **N** type, but are more concise, while at the same time they occasionally add points of their own. In ii. 3, for instance, the elaborate forms of address in **N** disappear in 1076, just as in vi. 11 they are omitted in C (cf. note on l. 15). On the other hand, the insertion of *καὶ ἀπώλεσεν πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ* in 1076 32-5 (ii. 8) has parallels in C, e.g. in vi. 15 the addition of *ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἀκαθάρτου* and *φιλεῖ αὐτήν*. These like characteristics strongly suggest a common origin; and corroborative evidence for this theory is supplied by the Old Latin version. A peculiarity of that version is that while generally following **N** it occasionally reflects C. Thus in vi. 15 *hoc daemonium* corresponds to *ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἀκαθάρτου* and *diligit eam* to *φιλεῖ αὐτήν*. It therefore seems highly significant that just in the same way in ii. 8 the Old Latin alone of the versions reproduces the phrase *καὶ ἀπώλεσεν πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ* of 1076 with *et perdidit substantiam suam*.

The fragment consists of the lower part of a vellum leaf, on which the text was written in two columns in carefully formed, large round uncials, which may date from the sixth century. Hands of a similar type on papyrus are shown e.g. in Amh. II, Plate 24. One side of the leaf has shrivelled, with the consequence that the letters are here considerably reduced from their original size. The ink is of the brown colour commonly found in the Byzantine period. Rulings were made in the usual way with a hard point, which has left a dark mark upon the surface. Punctuation was effected by dots in the medial position, accompanied by a short blank space; in l. 30 the dot was omitted or has disappeared. A new section is indicated by a marginal sign at l. 11. Small curved marks resembling circumflex accents do duty for rough breathings (ll. 5, 22) as well as diaereses (ll. 34, 36).

Col. i.	Verso.	Col. ii.
. . . . .		. . . . .
λα. εἰπα	ii. 2	10 σθαι σε >—

Τωβια τω	ζ και επορευ	ii. 3
υῖω μου.	θη Τωβιας	
βαδιζε και	και ανεστρε	
5 αγαγε ὄν ε	ψας ειπεν	
αν ευρης	15 μοι. ιδου	
εκ των αδελ	εἰς των	
φων ημῶ	απο του ε	
πτωχων	θνους ημῶ	

	Recto.		
Col. i.		Col. ii.	
. . . . .		. . . . .	
και ηρα αυτῶ	ii. 4	εκινδυνεν	ii. 8
20 εκ της πλα		σεν αποθα	
τειας εις		30 νειν και	
ἐν των οι		απεδρα.	
κηματων		και απωλε	
μεχρι δυει		σεν παντα	
25 τον ηλιον		τα ὑπαρχο[ν	
και θαπτω		35 τα αυτου	
αυτου[.] και	5	και ιδου	

For the purpose of comparison it will be convenient to give the new text with the corresponding portions of the two extant Greek versions in parallel columns:—

1076.	B.	Σ.
ii. 2 πολλὰ, εἶπα Τωβία	πολλά, καὶ εἶπα τῷ υἱῷ	πλείονα, καὶ εἶπα τῷ Τω-
τῷ υἱῷ μου Βάδιζε καὶ ἄγαγε	μου Βάδισον καὶ ἄγαγε ὃν	βεία τῷ υἱῷ μου Παιδίον,
ὃν ἂν εὕρης ἐκ τῶν ἀδελ-	ἂν εὕρης τῶν ἀδελφῶν	βάδιζε καὶ ὃν ἂν εὕρης
φῶν ἡμῶν πτωχῶν	ἡμῶν ἐνδεῆ	πτωχὸν τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν
		. . . καὶ ἄγαγε
ii. 3 παραγενέ]σθαι σε.		σε ἔλθειν. καὶ ἐπορεύθη
καὶ ἐπορεύθη Τωβίας καὶ	καὶ ἔλθων	Τωβίας ζητῆσαί τινα πτω-
ἀναστρέψας εἶπέν μοι Ἴδου	εἶπεν Πάτερ, εἰς ἐκ τοῦ	χῶν τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν καὶ

εἷς τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους γένους ἡμῶν  
ἡμῶν

ἐπιστρέψας λέγει Πάτερ,  
καὶ εἶπα αὐτῷ Ἰδοὺ ἐγώ,  
παιδίον. καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς  
εἶπεν Πάτερ, ἰδοὺ εἷς ἐκ τοῦ  
ἔθνους ἡμῶν

ii. 4 καὶ ἦρα αὐτὸν ἐκ ἀνειλόμην αὐτὸν εἷς τι καὶ ἀναιροῦμαι αὐτὸν ἐκ  
τῆς πλατείας εἰς ἓν τῶν οἶκημα ἕως οὗ ἔδω ὁ ἥλιος. τῆς πλατείας καὶ εἰς ἓν τῶν  
οἰκημάτων μέχρι δύνει τὸν καὶ οἰκιδίων ἔθηκα μέχρι τοῦ  
ἥλιον καὶ θάπτω αὐτόν. καὶ τὸν ἥλιον δύνει καὶ θάψω  
αὐτόν.

ii. 8 ἐκινδύνευσεν ἀπο- (Οὐκέτι φοβεῖται φονευ- (Οὐ φοβεῖται οὐκέτι; ἤδη  
θανεῖν καὶ ἀπέδρα καὶ ἀπώ- θῆναι περὶ τοῦ πράγματος γὰρ) ἐπεζητήθη τὸ φονευ-  
λεσεν πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχον[τα] τούτου) καὶ ἀπέδρα, καὶ ἰδοὺ θῆναι περὶ τοῦ πράγματος  
αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἰδοὺ τούτου) καὶ ἀπέδρα, καὶ  
πάλιν ἰδοὺ

The old Latin runs as follows:—

(2) *complura, et dixi Thobiae filio meo Vade et adduc quemcunque pauperem inveneris ex fratribus nostris*

(3) *venias. et abiit Thobias quaerere aliquem pauperem captivum ex fratribus nostris, et reversus dixit mihi Pater; et ego dixi Quid est fili? et ait mihi Ecce unus ex fratribus nostris*

(4) *et sustuli illum de platea in domum apud me, donec sol occideret, ut illum sepelirem. et*

(8) *(quomodo non timet hic homo? iam enim) inquisitus est huius rei causa ut occideretur, et fugit et perdidit substantiam suam et iterum . . .* The words *et perdidit substantiam suam* occur in Cod. Par. Reg. 3654, but are omitted in the St. Germain MS. and by Lucifer of Calaris who quotes the passage.

7-9. *εκ . . . πτωχων*: Dr. Charles informs me that the Aethiopic (Dillmann, *Vet. Test. Aeth.* v) shows the same construction.

11. For the marginal sign marking a new paragraph or section cf. e.g. 851. 1, 1011. 233.

15. Cf. the passage in vi. 11, where the similar verbiage of **Ν** λέγει Ῥαφαὴλ τῷ παιδαρίῳ Ἐλβεῖα ἀδελφέ. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ἰδοὺ ἐγώ. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ is altogether omitted in C, which simply has εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος. Even B is there fuller, εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος τῷ παιδαρίῳ Ἐδελφέ . . .; it will be noticed that in the present verse also B retains the vocative Πάτερ, which 1076 discards.

26. Dr. Charles points out that this resolution of an infinitive into a finite verb (cf. **Ν** θάψω) is a common Hebraism and may be taken as a sign of translation from a Hebrew or Aramaic original. Nöldeke, in *Monatsb. d. K. Akad. d. Wissensch. z. Berlin*, 1879, pp. 455qq., maintained that the original language was Greek, but there are not a few arguments on the other side; see the evidence adduced by Marshall in Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, iv. p. 788.

## 1077. AMULET: ST. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL iv.

6 x 11.1 cm.

Sixth century. Plate I.

This curious relic contains verses 23-4 (both, but especially the latter, reduced by omissions) of the fourth chapter of St. Matthew, written out most probably as an amulet. Verse 23 'And Jesus went about all Galilee', &c., is preceded by the title 'The gospel of healing according to Matthew'; cf. *Berliner Klassikertexte*, VI. vii. 1. 17-20, where this same twenty-third verse is incorporated in an amulet containing the opening words of the four gospels besides other biblical citations, and 1151. In the present case the words are inscribed on an oblong piece of thin vellum in five columns, and are so arranged as to assume the form of a series of small crosses, which in the first and last column are emphasized by a surrounding border. Each column contains three such crosses except the central one, where in the place of the second cross a human bust has been roughly drawn. A further attempt at ornament has been made by cutting out small rectangles between the columns and by notching the edges in such a way that the spaces on which the crosses stand are given on octagonal shape. The disposition is not quite symmetrical, for the first cross has a line more and the last a line less than the others. The date may be as late as the sixth century.

Col. i.	Col. ii.	Col. iii.	Col. iv.	Col. v.
ἰα	δα	ων	λα	προσ
μα	σκῶ	πα	κιᾶ	ηεν
τικον ευ	και κη	σαν νοσῶ	εν τῶ λα	καν αυ
αγγελιῶ	20 ρυσ	35 και	45 ω κ	60 τω
5 κα	σῶ	πα	α	τους
τα	—	—	—	
Ματ	το		πηλ	κα
θαι	ευ		θεν	κως
ον κ περι	αγγελι		η ακοη	εχοντας
10 ηγεν	25 ον		50 αυ	65 και
ο Ις	της		του	εθε
	—		—	

	ολῆ		βα		σαν		εις		ρα
	τῆ		σει		νο		ολῆ		πευ
	Γαλιλε		λειας κ		σον κ πα		την Συρι		σεν αυτους
15	αν	30	θερα	40	σαν	55	αν	70	ο Ι̅ς
	δι		πευ		μα		και		—

11. ο Ι(ησου)ς: so **NCD**, after Γαλιλαιαν **EKM**, &c., T(extus)-R(eceptus); om. B, W(estcott)-H(ort).

12-15. ολην την Γαλιλ(αι)αν: so **N<sup>b</sup>DEKM**, &c., T-R; εν ολη (om. **N<sup>\*</sup>**) τη Γαλιλαια **N<sup>\*</sup>BC**, W-H.

16-18. εν ταις συναγωγαις αυτων is omitted after διδασκων.

38-40. The dittography of νοσον κ(αι) πασαν was no doubt due to the recurrence of πασαν.

46-8. απηλθεν: so **BDEKM**, &c., T-R, W-H; εξηλθεν **NC**.

53. ολην: πασαν **N**.

61. τους: παντας τους **MSS**.

64. After εχοντας the ordinary text continues ποικιλαις νόσοις και βασάνοις συνεχομένους [και] δαιμονιζομένους και σεληνιαζομένους και παραλυτικούς.

70. ο Ι(ησου)ς: om. **MSS**.

## 1078. EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS ix.

14.2 × 8.4 cm.

Fourth century.

Part of a leaf from a papyrus book, containing a few verses from the ninth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Only five lines are missing between the end of one page and the beginning of the next, whence the height of the inscribed surface can be estimated at about 19 cm., and it is clear that the leaf was nearly square in shape. The hand is of the same type as **850** (Part VI, Plate 1: fourth century?); the letters in **1078** are larger and coarser, but in formation so closely resemble those of **850** that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the two texts are the work of the same scribe. A mark of elision occurs in l. 2 and the same sign is used after a final ξ; there is also one instance of a rough breathing (l. 15). But the chief feature of interest is the system of punctuation by means of double dots, which had already been found in **657**, another early papyrus of this Epistle, and was believed by Blass to confirm his view of the metrical structure of the work; cf. *Lit. Zentralbl.*, 1904, 928. In the two places where the colon is preserved it stands at the end of a verse, but there is some reason to think that it was not confined to that position; cf. notes on ll. 19 and 21. A single medial stop is used in l. 20. So far as can be gathered from these slight

remains, the text had less than 657 in common with the Claromontanus (D). A notable reading is found in l. 7, where a variant known from two cursives has apparently been interlineated.

## Recto.

· · · · ·  
 δ[ι]α δε [του] ι[δ]ι[ο]ν [αιματος εισηλθεν ix. 12  
 εφ' απαξ<sup>3</sup> εις τα αγι[α] αιωνιαν λυτρωσιν  
 ευραμενος : ει γ[αρ] το αιμα τραγων και 13  
 ταυρων και σπ[οδος] δαμαλεως  
 5 ραντιζουσα τους [κεκοινωμενους  
 αγιαζει προς τη[ν] της σαρκος καθαροτητα  
 [π]οσ<sup>λλ</sup>ω [μα]λ[λ]ον τ[ο] αιμα του χυ<sup>ω</sup> ος δια 14  
 πν[ος] αιων]ιου [εαυτον προσηνεγ  
 [κεν αμωμον τ]ω θ[ω] καθαριει την  
 10 [συ]ν[ειδησιν] η]μω[ν]

## Verso.

· · · · ·  
 οι κεκλημ]ε[νοι τ]ης αι[ω] ix. 15  
 [νιου κληρονομια]ς : οπου γαρ διαθηκη [ 16  
 [θανατον αναγκη φ]ερεσθαι του διαθε [
 [μενου διαθηκη γαρ] επι νεκροις βεβαια [ 17  
 15 [επι μη τοτε ισχυι οτε] ζη ο διαθεμενος [
 [οθεν ουδε η πρωτη χ]ωρις αιματος εγ [ 18  
 [κεκαινισται λαληθ]εισης γαρ πασης [ 19  
 [εντολης κατα τον νο]μον [υπο Μωυ]σεω[ς]
 [παντι τω λαω : λαβω]ν τ[ο] αιμα τ]ων [
 20 [μοσχων και των τραγω]ν. μ[ετα υδα]τος [
 [και εριου κοκκινου και υ]σσω[που] : ] αυ[το]

2. αγι[α] : Blass adds των αγιων, with P.

3. ευραμενος : so BNA ; ευρομενος D.

τραγων και] ταυρων : so BNA<sup>D</sup>, W-H ; ταυρων και τραγων KLP, T-R.

7. In the insertion above the line is probably to be recognized the variant found in the cursives 14 and 17 πολλω. It may be due to the same hand as the body of the text; whether the σ of ποσω was cancelled or not cannot be certainly determined. But the decipherment is doubtful, the first supposed λ being of a curiously rounded shape.

8. αιων]ιου (B<sup>N</sup>\*AD<sup>c</sup>E) suits the space better than αγ]ιου (S<sup>c</sup>D\*).

10. It is of course impossible to say whether the papyrus had ημων (AD\*) or υμων (S<sup>N</sup>D<sup>c</sup>E).

15. τοτε : οτ ποτε, with S<sup>c</sup>AD<sup>c</sup>E.

16. Evidently διαθηκη did not follow πρωτη as in D\*E\*.

18. τον (so S<sup>c</sup>ACD : om. S<sup>N</sup>\*D<sup>c</sup>E) is required before νομον in order to fill up the lacuna, unless της be inserted before εντολης, as in D\*, with which MS. the papyrus shows no tendency to agree.

19. The colon after λαω is conjectural, but without it the supplement is rather shorter than would be expected from a comparison of the preceding and following lines; cf. l. 21, note.

20. S<sup>c</sup>KL omit και των τραγων, and so Blass.

21. A colon after υ]τσ[ωπου is again desirable to fill the space. I had already inserted it both here and in l. 19 before noticing that Blass makes a metrical division at υσσωπου and λαφ̄. But the colon does not always occur at his divisions; it is absent after ταυρων in l. 4 and αγαζει in l. 6.

## 1079. REVELATION i.

15.1 × 9.8 cm.

Late third or fourth century.

The verso of the roll containing the book of Exodus (1075) was utilized for a copy of the Apocalypse, the writing travelling in the contrary direction, and the end of the one work thus coinciding with the commencement of the other. The script is a clear, medium-sized cursive, upright and heavily formed, which should perhaps be attributed to the fourth rather than to the third century, though the latter is not at all impossible. Both a high and medial point were used for purposes of punctuation. Ἰησοῦς Χριστός is written ἰη̄ χ̄ρ̄, a form of abbreviation which is unusual in literary texts but is found in inscriptions; cf. Traube, *Nomina Sacra*, pp. 115-16. θεός is contracted in the ordinary way, but not πατήρ (l. 12).

Textually the papyrus shows little consistency; it has, however, two agreements with the Codex Alexandrinus against the other two chief uncials (ll. 11 and 14), while supporting none of the peculiar variants of B or S.

[Ιωαννης τα]ε[ς επτα] εκ[κλησ]ιαις

i. 4

[ταις εν τη] Ασια χαρις ῡμειν και ειρη

- [νη απο ο ων] και ο ην και ο ερχομε  
 [νος και απο τ]ων επτα πνευμα  
 5 [των α] εν[ω]πιον του θρονου αυ  
 [τ]ου· και απο  $\bar{\Gamma}\eta$   $\bar{X}\rho$  ο μαρτυς ο πι 5  
 στος ο πρωτοτοκος των νεκρω  
 και ο αρχων των βασιλεων της γης  
 τω αγαπωντι ημας και λυσαντι η  
 10 [μ]ας εκ των αμαρτιων ημων εν  
 [τ]ω αιματι αυτου και εποιησεν ημ[ι] 6  
 [βα]σ[ιλ]ειαν ιερεις του θ[ε]ω[υ]ω και π[α]τρι  
 [αυτο]υ· αυτω το κρατος και η δοξα  
 [εις το]υς αιωνας αμην ιδου 7  
 15 [ερχε]ται μετα των νεφελων  
 [και οψε]ται αυτον πας οφθαλ  
 [μος και ο]ιτινες αυτον εξε

5. α (BC) suits the space better than των (SA).

9. λυσαντι: so SAC, W-H; λουσαντι B, T-R. S\* omits the following ημας.

10. εκ: so SAC, W-H; απο B, T-R.

ημων: so BNC; om. A.

11. ημ[ι]ν is assured by the remains of the stroke above the line representing the final ν. ημιν is the reading of A, ημας that of SB, W-H, T-R; ημων C. ποιησαντι for επ. B.

12. [βα]σ[ιλ]ειαν: so S\*AC, W-H; βασιλειον B, βασιλεις και P, T-R.

τω θ(ε)ω: this is the reading of the MSS. The scribe first wrote του θ(εο)υ, but altered it before proceeding with the line; he did not delete the ου of του.

13. η δοξα και το κρατος MSS.

14. το]υς αιωνας: so A, W-H; τους αιωνας των αιωνων BN (τον αιωνα S\*) C, T-R.

16. οψε]ται: so BAC; οψονται (S) is unsuited to the size of the lacuna.

17. αυτον: om. S\*.

## 1080. REVELATION iii, iv.

9.5 × 7.8 cm. Fourth century. Plate I (recto).

A practically complete leaf from a vellum codex of the Apocalypse. The two pages are numbered in the outside upper corner 33 and 34 respectively, from which it is clear that the MS. began with the book of Revelation unpreceded by another work. Indeed, the dimensions of the leaf would not be well



suited to lengthy matter, unless the script was very small, which is here not the case. Books of these miniature proportions, of which other examples are 842, 1010, 1096, and P. Rylands 28, seem to have been designed for carrying in the pocket. The hand is a good-sized upright uncial, fairly regular and having a certain amount of ornamental finish; it may date from the fourth century. Marks of elision and a sign of similar form to separate two mutes were added by the original scribe; a rough breathing (if it be a rough breathing) in l. 12 is due to the corrector who has introduced several textual alterations. No stops occur, and instead a short blank space marks a pause (ll. 2, 6, 14, 19). Some of the usual contractions appear,  $\overline{\sigma\nu\nu\sigma}$  among them, though the word is written at length in l. 19. The text is usually in agreement with B, but seems to have been rather inaccurately copied; a substitution of a reading of  $\aleph$  for that of BA is noticeable in l. 1.

## Recto. Plate I.

λγ

ω ζήλω<sup>σον</sup>[[ε]] ουν και μετα iii. 19  
 νοησον ἴδου εστηκα επι 20  
 την θυραν και Τ εισελευσο  
 μαι προς αυτον και δει  
 5 πνησω μετ αυτου και αυ  
 τος μετ' εμου ο νεικων 21  
 δωσω αυτω καθεισαι  
 μετ εμου ε[ν] τω θρον[ω μ]ου  
 ως καγω [[ν]]ενεικη[[κ]][[σ]  
 10 και [[κ]]εκαθισα μετα τ[ο]ν  
 $\overline{\pi\rho\sigma}$  μου εν τω θρονω  
 αυτου ὃ εχων ους ακου 22  
 [σατ]ω τι το  $\overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$  λεγει  
 ταις εκκλησαις μετα iv. 1  
 15 ] κρουω ε[α]ν τ[ις] ακου[ση] της  
 [φων]ης μ[ου] και ανοιξη την θυραν και

## Verso.

λδ

ταυτα ἴδον και ἴδου θυ  
 ρα ανεωγμενη εν  
 τω ουρανω και η φω  
 20 νη η πρωτη ην ηκουσα  
 ως σαλπιγ'γος λαλουσης  
 μετ' εμου λεγων αναβα  
 ωδε και δειξω σοι α δει  
 [γε]νεσθα[ι μ]ετα ταυτα 2  
 25 κ[α]ι [ε]υ[θ]εως εγ[ε]νομην εν  
 [. .]  $\overline{\pi\nu\iota}$  κα[ι] ιδου [θ]ρο  
 νος εκειτο [ε]ν τω  $\overline{\sigma\nu\nu\omega}$   
 και επι το[ν] θρονον κα  
 θημενον και ο καθ[η]  
 επι τον θρονον  
 30 μενος ομοιος ορασει

1. ζήλευε (BAC, W-H) was the original reading, for which ζήλωσον ( $\aleph$ , T-R) was subsequently substituted.

3. The omission of the words κρουω . . . και, which have been supplied at the bottom of the column by the original scribe, was due to the recurrence of θυραν και; cf. note on

l. 16. A sign of the usual form marks the place where the omission occurred; the symbol at l. 15 above *κρονω* is of a different shape.

8. *μου*, which was originally omitted, was inserted by another hand; the addition is in accordance with the MSS.

9-10. *νενεικηκα και κεκαθικα*, the reading of the first hand, is not otherwise attested.

12. The supposed rough breathing over *ο* is doubtful; it might be regarded as a kind of paragraph-mark to divide *ο εχων* from the previous sentence.

16. That *και*, which follows *θυραν* in B $\mathfrak{N}$  (om. A), stood here is indicated by the character of the copyist's error; the eye would more readily pass from the first *θυραν και το εισελεισομαι* if the second *θυραν* was also followed in the archetype by *και*. Line 16 must then have been carried some way beyond l. 15, unless the insertion was continued in a third line which has been broken away.

18. *α* in *ανεωγημενη* is by the second hand, and the preceding *α* and following *ν* have also been retouched; at the end of the line too there has been some alteration. It looks as if the original hand wrote *θυραν ανεωγημενην*. Between the tops of the two alphas there is a horizontal stroke (by the corrector?) which seems meaningless. *ανεωγ.* B, *ηνεωγ.* SA.

19. The last three letters of this line are again due to the corrector, and no trace remains of the previous reading. Possibly *ιδου φωνη* had been written, as in S.

22. *αναβα*: so B $\mathfrak{N}$ ; *αναβηθι* A.

23. *α*: so B $\mathfrak{N}$ ; *οσα* A.

25. Some vestiges in the margin in front of this line are perhaps to be interpreted as *κ]αι*, which is added before *ευθεως* in P (T-R).

26. Before *πν(ευματ)* there is room for two or three letters. Perhaps *τω* preceded, but there is no other authority for this.

28. l. *καθημενος*.

30. *επι τον θρονον*, which was subsequently inserted above the line, has no support.

### 1081. Gnostic Gospel.

20.3 × 10.7 cm.

Early fourth century.

This interesting fragment of heretical literature consists of a leaf from a papyrus book, copied probably in the earlier decades of the fourth century. The bold, slightly inclined script is in its general aspect comparable with that of 406 (Part III, Plate 1, third cent. (?)) and 847 (Part VI, Plate 6, fourth cent.), and must be referred to approximately the same period. No stops or other lectional signs occur. The use of the contraction  $\overline{\pi\rho}$  for *πατήρ* side by side with the commoner  $\overline{\pi\eta\rho}$  is noticeable. *θεός* and *κύριος* appear in the ordinary compendia, but *σωτήρ* and perhaps *άνθρωπος* (l. 20) are unabbreviated.

The lower part of the leaf is broken away, and it is uncertain in what order the two pages should be placed. The recto opens with a question addressed by the disciples to the Saviour how they were to obtain faith, and the answer is made that to those who pass from darkness into the light, the way to faith

is revealed by the operation of their own consciousness. This is followed by an unfortunately mutilated passage in which a distinction is developed between the Father (*πατήρ*) and the Fore-father (*προπάτωρ*). In the verso, which is again occupied by an address of the Master, it is laid down that the offspring of corruption is essentially perishable, while the offspring of incorruption is essentially eternal, and that failure to recognize this truth has been the cause of error. Such a warning might naturally call forth the question of the disciples, how they in contradistinction to those who had been deceived were to find the true belief; while the abstruse theology with which the recto concludes might well have been continued at considerable length, whereas at the commencement of the verso a different subject is under discussion. For these reasons the verso has been selected as the prior of the pages, though the arrangement is admittedly hypothetical.

Regarding the circle of ideas represented in this document there is little doubt. A claim to superior *γνώσις* underlies ll. 20-30; and the words *σωτήρ*, *ἀφθαρσία*, *ἀπόρροια*, *ἔννοια*, *ἀγέννητος* are all characteristic of the Gnostic school. But the most unambiguous indication is provided by the distinction in ll. 36 sqq. between *πατήρ* and *προπάτωρ*, which is embodied in the well-known Valentinian and Marcosian theory of Aeons. The *Προπάτωρ* was the first of the Aeons, the primary principle from which all other existence proceeded; cf. e.g. *Iren. C. Haer.* i. 1. 1 λέγουσι γάρ τινα εἶναι . . . τέλειον Αἰῶνα προόντα τοῦτον δὲ καὶ (Προαρχὴν καὶ) Προπάτορα καὶ Βυθὸν καλοῦσι. The first emanation from the *Προπάτωρ* was *Noûs*, . . . τὸν δὲ Νοῦν τοῦτον καὶ Μονογενῆ καλοῦσιν, Πατέρα καὶ Ἀρχὴν τῶν πάντων: similarly i. 12. 3 ὅπερ ἐνενοήθη προβαλεῖν ὁ Προπάτωρ τοῦτο Πατὴρ ἐκλήθη, and i. 11. 1. In chap. 19 Irenaeus specifies certain passages of Scripture by which this particular doctrine was supported. He also tells us (i. 11. 5) that it took many forms: *περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Βυθοῦ (= Προπάτορος) πολλὰ καὶ διάφοροι γινώμαι παρ' αὐτοῖς*; and its precise shape in the present document can hardly be gleaned from so mutilated a passage. It appears equally idle to speculate upon the identity of the work of which only this tattered leaf has survived. Dr. Carl Schmidt, who has endeavoured without success to trace the fragment in the Coptic literature of the same class, suggests that it might belong to the imperfectly preserved 'Gospel of Mary', observing that the expressions *σωτήρ* and *ὁ ἔχων ὄτα κτλ.* (cf. ll. 6-8, 27, 35) are also found in that work. But the same might be said for example of the *Pistis Sophia*, and the combination in question can scarcely have been rare in the Gnostic writings. That the work from which 1081 is derived was in the form of a Gospel is, however, sufficiently evident; and probably its revelations were placed, as often in the later apocryphal Gospels, in the period after the resurrection. Possibly, as Prof. Swete has suggested, it

comes from the Valentinian 'Gospel of Truth', which is mentioned by *Iren. C. Haer.* iii. 11. 9 *Hi vero qui sunt a Valentino . . . in tantum processerunt audaciae, uti quod ab his non olim conscriptum est, Veritatis evangelium titulent, in nihilo conceniens apostolorum evangeliiis.* But the fragment is best left anonymous, as a remnant of that large body of Gnostic literature which Irenaeus describes as ἀμύθητον πλήθος ἀποκρύφων καὶ νόθων γραφῶν (*op. cit.*, i. 20. 1), and which was still further swelled in the third century.

## Verso.

τα γεγονοσι [. . . . .  
το εμφανεῖς [. . . . πολ(?)  
λη λυθεισα υ[. . . . φθο(?)  
ρα τε πολλη [. . . . .  
5 των αφθαρ[τ]ω[ν τυγχα(?)  
νει ο εχων ω[τ]α τ[α οντα  
περαν των [α]κο[ω]ν α [α]  
κουετω κα[ι] τοις αγρη [α]  
γορουσιν [εγ]ω λαλω ετι [α]  
10 προ[σ] . . . . ε[ι]πεν παν  
το γε[ι]νομε[ν]ον απο  
της [φθορας] απογει  
νετ[αι] ως απ[ο] φθορας  
γεγ[ο]νος το δε γε[ι]νο  
15 με[ν]ον απο] αφ[θ]αρ  
σιας [ουκ απο]γειν[ε]ται  
αλλ[α] με[ν]ει] αφ[θ]αρ  
τον ως απο α[φ]θ[αρσι  
[α]ς γεγονος [.] τ[ι]νες  
20 [δε] των αγ[θ]ρω[π]ων  
επλανηθ[η]σαν . . . .  
μη ειδοτ[ε]ς . . . . .  
φ[θ]οραν τα[.] . . . . .  
θανο[ν]

## Recto.

25 [οι μαθητα]ι κε πως ουν [α]  
[πιστιν ευρ]ισκομεν λεγε[ι]  
[αυτοις ο σ]ωτηρ διελθο[ν]  
[σιν εκ των] αφανων κα[ι]  
[ει]ς το [φω]ς των φαινο [α]  
30 [με]νον και αυτη η απο [α]  
ροια τη[ς] ε[ν]νοιας ανα [α]  
δειξει υ[μ]ιν πως η πιστ[ι]ς  
] των ευρ[ε]τ[ε]ρ[ε]α η φαινομε  
α]δη λ]ων νη του α . [.] ε[ι]κου π[ρ]σ  
35 ο εχων ω[τ]α ακου[ει]ν α  
κουετω [ο των ολ]ων δε  
σποτης ο[υκ] εστ[ι] π[ρ] αλ  
λα προπα[τωρ] ο γαρ π[ρ] [αρ  
χη ε[σ]τ[ιν] των μελλον [α]  
40 των [. . . . . ε]κεινο[ς].  
[. . . . . προ]πατω[ρ]  
[. . . . .]ν απο γε[ι]νεας . [.]  
[. . . . .]ρω ομ[.]ε . [.]  
[. . . . .]εται αυ[.] . . . .  
45 [. . . .]ω[.]μα αν[.] . . . .  
[προπατ]ωρ θ[ς] π[η]ρ[.] . [.]  
[. . . . .]πιαντ[.]π . [.]  
[. . . . .]ει αγεννητ[.]  
[. . . . .]ο μεν του[.]  
50 [. . . . .]τ[ο]

6-22. 'He who hath hearing beyond his ears, let him hear: I speak also to those who watch not. Again he said to . . ., Everything that is born of corruption perisheth, as having been born of corruption; but that which is born of incorruption abideth incorruptible, as having been born of incorruption. Some men have been deceived, not knowing . . .'

5. τυχα|πει Swete, who further proposes ν|αρκη (dative) in l. 3 and [η αφθαρσια in l. 4.

7. [α]κο[ω]ν: the space between ο and ν is hardly filled by an ω, but no other supplement suggests itself. By the 'ears that are beyond the ears' is meant the faculty which perceives the inner significance of the spoken or written word.

10. προ[ς αυτους is too much for the lacuna. Perhaps προ[σω και, which is proposed by Swete.

15. There was a syzygy of Christus and Aphtharsia (*Incorruptela*) according to certain Gnostics; cf. *Iren. C. Haer.* i. 29. 1, Theodoret, *Haer.* i. 13.

24. Probably ε[θανον or θανον[τ . .

25-39. 'The disciples [ask him,] Lord, how then can we find faith? The Saviour saith unto them, If ye pass from the things that are hidden and into the light of the things that are seen, the effluence of conception will of itself show you how faith that appeareth from (?) the . . . Father must be found. He who hath ears to hear, let him hear. The lord of all is not the Father but the Fore-father; for the Father is the beginning of what shall be . . .'

25. If μαθητα|ι is right, ηρωτων αυτον or some equivalent expression is to be supplied. But the |ι may belong to the verb, e. g. λεγουσ|ι or εξεταζουσ|ι, sc. οι μαθηται.

26. l. ευρ|ισκωμεν.

27. The use of the term σωτήρ instead of κύριος is expressly mentioned by Irenaeus, l. i. 3, as a Valentinian characteristic.

29. [ει]ς το [φω]ς is very doubtful; the first visible vestige is quite indecisive, and a rather longer supplement before it would be more suitable. There follow the bases of a vertical stroke (e. g. ι, τ) and of a round letter (e. g. ε, ο, σ). The restoration suggested presupposes a direct opposition between αφανων and φανο[με]νων; but Dr. Bartlet takes exception to this, and thinks that something like της πλανης is required before των φαν.

30. αποροια: cf. the ἀπόροια *luminis* in *Pistis Sophia* 134 sqq.

33-4. The intention of the adscript is not very clear. The words των [α]δη[λ]ων could be inserted in the text after πιστ[ι]ς; or they may be a marginal indication of the contents of the passage. It is not certain that any letters preceded των, but there is a speck of ink over the ω, and the margin above is imperfect. η φαινομενη . . . π(α)ρ(ο)ς is rather obscure, partly owing, perhaps, to the loss of the adjective. α is followed by a straight vertical stroke which is consistent with γ, ι, ν, or π; and the letter before ου may be ν or χ instead of κ. α[ων]ιου cannot be read. Bartlet suggests αγ[γελι]κου (faith in the Father?).

37-8. πατηρ is similarly abbreviated in e. g. a third-century fragment of Philo at Paris; cf. Traube, *Nomina Sacra*, pp. 56, 96; the more usual form π̄π̄ρ is used below, l. 46.

## II. NEW CLASSICAL TEXTS.

1082. CERCIDAS, *Meliambi*.

Height 18.2 cm. Second century. Plate II (Frs. 3, 4).

Cercidas, the philosopher and poet of Megalopolis, has hitherto been represented by about a dozen lines gleaned from a few scattered citations. This shadowy figure is at length given some substance by the remains here published, the authorship of which is established not only by two coincidences with fragments already extant, but also by the title surviving at the end of the work.

This papyrus, like 1083, comes from the second of the large literary finds of 1906. It is unfortunately much broken, and the results of repeated efforts to fit the pieces together have been rather disappointing. The fifth column, such as it is, of Fr. 1 has been built up from several scraps, and probably enough other portions of that column remain among the many unplaced fragments, if their right position could be found; but it is to be feared that some connecting links are missing. The papyri belonging to this find were scattered over a wide area, and possibly further small pieces may eventually make their appearance; but there is no ground for hope of material additions.

The slightly inclined columns are carefully written in well-formed upright uncials which approximate to the oval type, the round letters  $\epsilon$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\omicron$ ,  $\sigma$  being decidedly narrow;  $\alpha$  has sometimes a rounded, sometimes an angular loop. I should attribute this hand to the second century, a date which also suits the cursive marginalia. These consist of both explanatory notes and variants on the text, and seem to have been for the most part added by one person, who commonly used a rather larger and clearer script for the variants than for the other notes. A third hand has perhaps to be postulated for the more straggling letters of the adscript at Fr. 2, ii. 16. As usual, the scholia include several of the common abbreviations,  $\kappa'$  for  $\kappa\alpha\iota$ , &c. To the first annotator also fall most of the alterations in the body of the text, and to him are probably due many of the accents, breathings, and other aids to the reader which it is natural to find in so difficult a work. Some of them may have been put in by the actual copyist, but the subsequent origin of others is seen in the somewhat lighter shade of the ink. The system of accentuation resembles that in other papyri of the period, e.g. 841 and 852. Unaccented syllables are sometimes marked with a grave accent, e.g. Fr. 3. ii.  $\delta$   $\pi\grave{\iota}\mu\epsilon\lambda\delta\sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\omicron\phi\alpha\gamma\omega\grave{\nu}$ . Oxytones receive a grave on the penultimate, Fr. 1. iii. 15  $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\omega\delta\omicron\sigma$ ; if an enclitic follows the final syllable is

accented, as Fr. 1. iv. 6 *δοιά τις*, Fr. 3. ii. 8-9 *οὐδέν ποκα*, and the same accent may be used in the absence of an enclitic, e.g. Fr. 3. ii. 2 *καυθόυς*. A curved stroke is sometimes drawn under compound words, as in 841 and 852, e.g. Fr. 1. ii. 18. On the other hand, in several places words are separated by comma-like marks at the bottom of the letters, e.g. Fr. 1. ii. 17; a similar *diastole* occurs in the Bacchylides papyrus xvi. 102, and in later texts, for instance P. Rylands 10. For punctuation both high and medial dots are employed, the latter commonly placed well above the line.

Of the four principal fragments which have survived, the relative position of the first three is undetermined; the fourth contains the final column of the roll. Fr. 1 is given priority as the most substantial piece. This comprises five columns, three of which are in good preservation. They are divided between two poems, distinguished by a large marginal coronis (iv. 5). The first is a discussion concerning the gods and divine providence. How are the facts of life to be reconciled with the view that the so-called gods are at once just and all-powerful? Zeus the king of Olympus is really impotent. He may hold the scales, as Homer says, but he merely registers Fate's decree. Why, if he is the father of all, are some of us treated in such a step-fatherly fashion? The poet professes himself unable to answer these questions. Let us leave them, he concludes, to the astrologers; and in opposition to the fictitious gods of heaven he sets up as objects of veneration a remarkable triad of earthly divinities, Paean, the god of healing, Giving, and Retribution, under the figure of which he commends the practical duties of succour for the needy in body or soul, and punishment for the doers of evil. Antagonism to the current polytheism was a salient feature of the Cynic philosophy. Antisthenes is reported to have said τὸ κατὰ νόμον εἶναι πολλοὺς θεοὺς, κατὰ δὲ φύσιν ἕνα (Philodemus, *Περὶ εὐσεβ.*, p. 72, Gomperz), and his contemptuous refusal to make a gift to a priest of Cybele is also on record (Clement, *Protrept.*, p. 64, Potter οὐ τρέφω τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν). Similar tendencies, in conjunction with a real religious feeling, are traceable in his disciple Diogenes (cf. e.g. Diog. Laert. vi. 57), and Cercidas carries on the tradition. Bernays (*Lucian und die Kyniker*, pp. 36 sqq.) has drawn attention to this characteristic as a point of contact between Cynics and Christians; in extolling 'Μετὰδως' Cercidas shows himself in harmony with another side of Christian doctrine.

The second poem, of which Col. iv gives the commencement, is on the subject of love. It is addressed to a friend named Damonimus, and opens with a reference to a passage of Euripides (formerly anonymous; cf. note on l. 5), in which Cupid is represented as having two kinds of breath, one making the course of love smooth, the other stormy. The choice rests with the individual,

who is counselled to prefer the gentle breeze and, aided by temperance, to make a safe and easy voyage. Here there is a break, and the following column is unfortunately mutilated; but it contains a few significant verses which advocate the simplest and cheapest satisfaction of animal instincts. Cercidas adopts the attitude expected in a follower of Diogenes, who decried marriage (Diog. Laert. vi. 54, 72), and described love as the occupation of the idle (id. 51) and a painful pursuit of pleasure (id. 67). Love is again referred to in Fr. 4; see below.

Frs. 2 and 3 differ in appearance from Fr. 1 in being more worm-eaten, especially Fr. 3. In Fr. 2 there are remains of three columns, all more or less damaged. Of the first no more is left than two imperfect marginal adscripts. This fragment might be conjectured to form the continuation of Fr. 1, the broken marginalia referring to Col. v, and Fr. 2, Col. ii making the sixth successive column. The subject of the latter is not clear; but so far as they go the contents would not be inconsistent with such a combination. Expressions like 'pain-shunning' (?), 'shadow-fed races (of men)', 'pleasure-stricken mortals' harmonize well enough with the foregoing theme. But this phraseology might of course occur in many other contexts, and the fragment more probably comes from a different part of the roll. At any rate the edges of the papyrus do not join up, and a gap of some centimetres must be supposed. It should also be noticed that the hand in Fr. 2. ii is slightly larger and less compact than in Fr. 1. v, and, what is more significant, that there is a junction between two *slides* at the end of this second column, whereas, on the hypothesis of a combination of Frs. 1 and 2, the junction would be expected to occur at a point rather more to the right. At Col. iii. 10, which was within a line or two of the end of the column, the poem, whatever it was, is brought to a conclusion.

No such tentative combination with any of the other main pieces has to be considered in the case of Fr. 3. This, comprising one nearly complete column, with scanty remnants of those which preceded and followed, is particularly interesting, since it is in some degree autobiographical. After a reflection upon the tenacity with which men cling to life, the poet speaks of his own indomitable spirit, which had shown him the way to all that was best, and of the ardour with which he had devoted himself to the pursuit of the Muses. His hair is already grey, and the poem must have been written comparatively late in life. It is a retrospect of his declining years, and from that standpoint he contemplates with satisfaction the path which he had followed. Perhaps it is his farewell to poesy.

Fr. 4 contains the final column, below which is the subscription giving the title of the manuscript, 'the *Meliambi* of Cercidas the Cynic'. The verses here are disfigured by small lacunae which at present remain imperfectly filled, and



the subject is not clearly defined. Lines 5 sqq. contain a warning against fretting the mind with the endeavour to attain something, but what exactly is meant is obscure. A reference follows to Zeno, presumably the philosopher of Citium, and a 'Zenonian' love of man for man is apparently contrasted with an unequally balanced passion. Wilamowitz suggests that these last four lines form an independent whole, a little poem or skolion which has been relegated to the end of the book. But there is no sign in the margin of a coronis, which marks the termination of poems in Frs. 1. iv and 2. iii, and which should be partially visible opposite l. 10; and in the absence of any such indication the internal evidence is hardly cogent enough for the proposed division. The concluding reference to love is a point of contact between this fragment and Fr. 1. iv-v. Can the *φóβος* in l. 4 be of the same kind as that in Fr. 1. v. 15? If so, it would be a natural hypothesis that Fr. 4 contains the end of the incomplete second poem in Fr. 1. So far as the appearance of the papyrus goes, this column might even be the immediate successor of Fr. 1. v; but the broken edges do not directly join, and the combination can thus be at best a possibility.

The remaining smaller fragments call for little notice. Fr. 5 mentions the name of Sphaerus, which has an important bearing on the date of Cercidas (see p. 26). Fr. 7 coincides with one of the two quotations from our author in Stobaeus.

The metre used in these poems is what is commonly known as dactylo-epitritic. This assumes different forms, of which the normal elements are the enhoplius - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∩, and the epitrite - ∪ - ∩. It is seen at its simplest in the second poem of Fr. 1, where a large proportion of the lines are Prosodiaci of the kind described by Hephaestion, p. 51. 10, as *ἐγκωμιολογικὸν Στησιχόρειον*, - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∩ - ∪ - ∩; in l. 16 the epitrite stands first (*προσοδιακὸν ἀπὸ τροχαίου*). Monotony is avoided by occasional trochaic rhythms. Greater freedom and variety are displayed in the first poem of Fr. 1 and in Fr. 3, where there is an admixture of Adonei (- ∪ ∪ - ∩), with a rare Choriambus (1. iii. 5) or dactylic tetrameter (1. ii. 3). An extra syllable, either short or long, is often prefixed to a verse. Wilamowitz remarks that the nearest parallel to the metrical structure of Cercidas is to be found in the *Δείπνον* attributed to Philoxenus (Bergk, *Poet. Lyr.* iii. pp. 601 sqq.). This structure has not been brought out intelligibly by the writer of the papyrus. Only here and there do the lines correspond with the natural cola (e. g. Fr. 1. ii. 8 (7), iii. 23 (17), iv. 10-1 (8-9)). For the most part the text is copied in what seems to have been the usual fashion with the later dithyrambists, in lines of fairly even length, very much as if it were prose. Hence in the reconstruction given below it has been found necessary to discard the stichometry of the original in favour of a division indicating more

clearly the metrical scheme. When, however, owing to mutilation the scheme is uncertain, as in Frs. 2 and 4, the arrangement of the papyrus is reproduced. Resolution of a long syllable is rare, but is found in a trochee apparently in Fr. 4. 11 and Fr. 32. 3. The shortening of a final vowel or diphthong before a following vowel occurs infrequently (Fr. 1. ii. 6, Fr. 3. ii. 4, 8, 10, possibly Fr. 1. iii. 14), hiatus before an original digamma once only (Fr. 3. ii. 2).

In the matter of dialect also slight confidence can be placed in the tradition of the original. Cercidas uses a Doric speech; but there are degrees and varieties of Doric, and it is not very clear which of them is here to be recognized. The broad *a*, naturally, takes the place of the Attic *η*, verbs in *-μ* have the infinitive in *-μεν*, *ἦμεν* or *εἶμεν* = *εἶναι*, and *πόκα*, *ῥκα*, *ῥκκα*, *τᾶμος*, *αἰ*, *εἰμίν*, *τίν*, *ἀμέ*, *ποτί*, *ῆς*, *λῆς*, *ἐσλός* are other well-defined and characteristic forms. But did the poet employ the vowels of the 'stricter' Doric and write *ω* for *ου* and *η* for *ει*? Here the papyrus is inconsistent. Occasionally *ω* is given by the original scribe as the genitive singular of the second declension (Fr. 1. iii. 9 *τω*, v. 17 *οβολῶ*, Fr. 3. ii. 19 *χρονῶ*), but *ου* is much more common. In No. 4 of the previously extant fragments of Cercidas (see p. 50), Bentley's emendation of *παλῶ . . . δυσεκνίπτω τρυγί το παλῶ . . . δυσεκνιπτῶ τρυγός* is plausible, though unnecessary. Of an original accusative plural in *ως* there is no clear instance, but in one place *ω* has been inserted above *ου* by the second hand (Fr. 3. ii. 3 *κανθῶς*). *οῦν* is constant, and the corrector leaves this untouched (Fr. 1. ii. 15, 20, iii. 5, 11, 22, iv. 18). The question then arises whether uniformity should be obtained by eliminating the few instances of *ω* or the many of *ου*. It is hard to believe that the sporadic *ω* is not a genuine survival. That *ω* should have been gradually replaced by *ου* is natural enough, and such weakening of dialectical peculiarities in the process of transmission is too common to need illustration. Other instances of violation of the dialect are to hand in this papyrus: Fr. 1. ii. 5 *ει* for *αι* first hand, Fr. 3. ii. 11 *μουσῶν*, perhaps Fr. 1. v. 18-19 *το]τ(ε)*. The choice between *ει* and *η* in infinitives is more difficult. *ει* is written in ten places by the copyist, Fr. 1. iii. 8 *λεγειω*, 19 *εχειω*, iv. 19 *εκλεγειω*, 22 *ευθυπλοιω*, Fr. 4. 3 *]μοφλυακείν*, 7 *ποιεισ[θαι*, 8 *στρεφειω*, Fr. 22. 3 *ορειω*, Fr. 36. 2 *δ]αμαζειω*, Fr. 48. 2 *]μαθειω*, in one of which (Fr. 1. iii. 19) *η* has been interlined by the second hand; the solitary example of *ειμεν* = *εἶναι* (Fr. 1. v. 19) similarly has this alternative *η* above the line, as in the Paris papyrus of Alcman ii. 11. *ἦμεν* is perhaps preferable; and in the other cases *η* may be correct. In Cerc. Fr. 2. 3 Bergk following Froben gives *χῆλος* for the traditional *χεῖλος*. The natural tendency towards *ει*, it may be observed, would be much assisted by the palacographical similarity of *ΕΙ* and *Η*, which is a frequent cause of corruption. But the infinitival *-ην* is not very common in literary Doric. *ἀνδάην* is found in the Paris Alcman papyrus iii. 20,

ιδῆν in 8. 7. The MSS. of Theocritus have κανῆν in xxiv. 92, and in other passages are divided between -ειν and -ην; θιγῆν is the reading of the Codex Ravennas in Aristoph. *Lysist.* 1004. In both Aristophanes and Theocritus -ειν is commonly preferred by editors, whose example I should be inclined to follow. Purity of dialect is certainly not to be expected in poetry of the age of Cercidas; and an instance of the epic genitive -οιο (Fr. I. v. 16), which was also used by Theocritus (e.g. i. 68, ii. 8, iv. 17-18), betrays artificiality in the language. But, while naturally the author himself cannot be credited with all the incongruities of the papyrus, the preferable course in a first edition, at any rate, is to leave these for the most part as they have been handed down. Similar inconsistencies are to be found in plenty in the inscriptions. A notable example of the dialectical fusion of this period survives in the poems of Isyllus (C. I. G. 950), where not even the Doric *a* is constant. I have accordingly allowed *ou* to stand side by side with *ω*, and *η* with *ει*. Where it is not clear from the context whether a final *ω* is genitive or dative, no iota subscript has been added. Of specifically Arcadian influence there is no clear trace; the use of the non-Doric *äv* (Fr. I. iii. 9, iv. 8) does not prove it, since *äv* had already been admitted by Theocritus in his Doric poems.

A few words must be added concerning the personality and literary qualities of the poet. The former has been a subject of much uncertainty. Two politicians of Megalopolis who were named Cercidas are known, one a contemporary of Demosthenes, who accuses him of having betrayed his countrymen to Philip (*De Cor.* 295; cf. Harpocrat., Κερκίδας . . . ὅτι δ' ὄπτος τῶν τὰ Μακεδονικὰ φρονούντων ἦν εἶρηκε καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν ἰε' Φιλιππικῶν, Polyb. xviii. 14), the other a friend of Aratus and an actor in the war with Cleomenes towards the close of the next century (Polyb. ii. 48-50, 65). Can either of these personages be identical with Cercidas the poet? If the Grammarians are to be trusted, he too played a part in public affairs. Megalopolis, says Stephanus of Byzantium, was the city of Cercidas ἄριστος νομοθέτης καὶ μελιάμβων ποιητής. νομοθέτης is also the word used by Ptolemy ὁ Ἡφαιστίωνος ἀρ. Phot. *Bibl.* 190 (p. 151 Bekker) ὁ μέντοι νομοθέτης Ἀρκάδων Κερκίδας συνταφῆναι αὐτῷ τὸ α καὶ β τῆς Ἰλιάδος κελεύσειεν. Probably the same tradition is to be recognized in the statement of Eustath. *Il.* B, p. 199 παρασημειοῦται δὲ καὶ ὁ Πορφύριος . . . ἱστορῶν καὶ ὅτι νόμους τινὲς ἐξέθεντο, ἀποστοματίζειν τοὺς παιδευομένους τὸν Ὀμήρου κατάλογον, ὡς καὶ ὁ Κερδίας νομοθετῶν τῆ πατρίδι. In view of the alleged partiality of Cercidas to the second book of the *Iliad* (cf. his aspiration recorded by Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xiii. 20, to meet Homer after death, and Fr. I. iii. 2 below), Cuper's emendation (*Apoth. Hom.* p. 130) of Κερδίας to Κερκίδας is convincing. Meineke proposed to identify the poet with the philo-Macedonian denounced by Demosthenes (*Anal. Alex.*

pp. 385sqq.); but this view did not well accord with the mention in Cerc. Fr. 2 (cf. p. 50) of the death of Diogenes, which occurred in B.C. 323 and does not seem, when that fragment was written, to have been a quite recent event. Stronger objections are now found in two fairly certain allusions of the papyrus, one (Fr. 4. 14) to the Stoic Zeno, who is said to have lived as late as the 130th Olympiad (Diog. Laert. vii. 6) and cannot have become famous before the beginning of the third century, the other to Zeno's disciple Sphaerus (Fr. 5. 4). These references bring the poet down well into the third century, while on the other hand he cannot be placed very much later, since there is good reason to believe that his works were used by Aristophanes of Byzantium, who is supposed to have succeeded Eratosthenes at the Alexandrian library about B.C. 195. As has been pointed out by Strecker (*Hermes*, xxvi. pp. 276-7), the explanation of *μαγίς* citing Cercidas in Phot. *Bibl.* 279 (Cerc. Fr. 8; cf. p. 51) is likely to be derived from Aristophanes' *Περὶ τῶν ὑποπτευομένων μὴ εἰρησθαι τοῖς παλαιοῖς*; cf. Eustath. *Od.* ξ, p. 1761. 34 ἔφη δὲ (*sc.* Ἀριστοφάνης) καὶ ὅτι ἡ μαγίς ἀπὸ τῆς μάξης ἢ τοῦ μαστεύειν ῥηθείσα κτλ., and Pollux vi. 83, x. 81. To this Wilamowitz adds the very plausible suggestion that the citation of *πατρώος* (Cerc. Fr. 9; cf. p. 51) comes from the same grammarian's *Περὶ συγγενικῶν ὀνομάτων*. Our author's *floruit* will accordingly fall in the second half of the third century, and it becomes natural to identify him with the Megalopolitan Cercidas who appears on the political stage at precisely that period. But it will not follow that, as Leo inclines to believe (*Hermes*, xli. p. 444), the statement that he was a *νομοθέτης* rests upon a confusion. 'Die Gesetzgebung hängt mit der Gründung (von Megalopolis) zusammen.' Not necessarily; constitutional ordinances are by no means limited to the period of a city's foundation, and a well authenticated tradition is not so lightly to be set aside. The absence of any hint in the narrative of Polybius that he was speaking of the well-known writer will hardly be regarded as a serious objection to the proposed identification. That the philosopher-poet, besides being a lawgiver and a practical politician, should also have been a general (Polyb. ii. 65), is more surprising; but evidently he was far removed from the typical Cynic sage, and there is no great difficulty in adding some military capacity to his varied accomplishments. How it comes about that he is described by Diogenes Laertius as *Μεγαλοπολίτης ἢ Κρής* (vi. 76) remains unexplained on any view of the poet's personality. S. Bochart wished to remove this complication by the not very happy expedient of substituting Ἄρκας for Κρής. Crönert (*Rhein. Mus.* lxii. pp. 311-12) proposes the emendation Ἄρκας Μεγαλοπολίτης, or *Μεγαλοπολίτης τῆς Ἄρκαδίας*, but makes no attempt to explain how a phrase of this kind became corrupted to ἢ Κρής. If the passage is to be corrected at all, it would be better

to follow Cobet and delete ἡ Κρής as an interpolation. But, as Wilamowitz remarks, conflicting statements of the same kind occur about other celebrated individuals, e.g. Sotades. Perhaps the family had some Cretan connexion. There are no independent grounds for supposing Cercidas to have lived elsewhere than at Megalopolis; and he may reasonably be regarded as a kinsman of his namesake the statesman of the Demosthenic period.

Cercidas is expressly described as a Cynic for the first time in the title at the end of Fr. 4. That he was an adherent of that school of philosophy had, however, been rightly inferred from the extant fragments 2, 4, 5 (p. 50), and the phrase τὸν ἐμὸν Μεγαλοπολίτην Κερκίδαυ (Athen. viii. 347 e) in the mouth of the Cynic Cynulcus (Kaibel, *Athen.* iii. p. 561). His wish to meet after death Hecataeus and Olympus, as well as Homer and Pythagoras (Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xiii. 20), implies that besides philosophy and poetry, he cultivated history and music; and the comprehensiveness of his intellectual interests is directly witnessed by Fr. 3. Nor did he confine himself to one class of poetry, for Athenaeus quotes his *Iambi* (Cerc. Fr. 1) and that there is no mistake in the name is proved by the metre of the quotation. But no doubt it was upon the *Meliambi*, so called as combining lyrical forms with critical or satirical matter, that his literary fame chiefly rested; to Ptolemaeus, *ap. Phot. Bibl.* 279, he is simply ὁ μελοποιός. No other representative of this class of composition is known to us, and to that fact rather than to any conspicuous literary merit the discovery of these Oxyrhynchus fragments, from which a fair idea of the poet can now be obtained, owes its particular interest. In the matter of style they confirm and emphasize the impression given by the few verses already known. An outstanding feature is the frequency of unfamiliar compounds, in which Cercidas displays the facility and boldness of a dithyrambist. Some of these διπλᾶ or τριπλᾶ have a distinct vigour and aptness: ῥυποκιβδοτόκων, συσπλουτοσύνη, πμειλοσαρκοφαγεῖν, φῦλα σκίοθρεπτα, ἀλβοθύλακος λάρος are among the more striking. The poet clearly possessed a feeling for the picturesque, as well as a faculty of expression. His versification is accomplished, and the syntax usually simple. The most pleasing specimen of his work is the exordium of the poem on love (Fr. 1. iii. 5 sqq.) which, though the leading idea is not original, has a grace of its own. That on the subject of the gods (Fr. 1. ii-iii) is not marked by novelty or depth, but the points are well put, and reinforced by some happy phrases and lines. The fragments of Cercidas reveal a cultivated man, of no great originality, perhaps, but well qualified to expound and popularize his philosophic creed, and endowed with at least some of the qualities which go to make a poet.

My debt to Wilamowitz in the reconstruction of this text, as of 1086, is especially large.

Fr. I.

Col. i.

]	αρο	]	. α
]	λα	]	
]	εν	10 ]	
]	γασ	]	
5 ]		]	ανιοψιάδαι
]	ν	]	τος
]		]	έ σπυροιοιπυροι

Col. ii.

	τεκαιακρασίωναθηκεπενη	ακρατησ[
	τυλιδανξένωναποταγαγε	γνωστοτισκίπικροσ
	δ'αμιναργυρονεισανονατα	
	ρεοντακα[.]τιτοκωλυονησ	
5	[[ε]]ιτισφερο[.]το·ρειαγαρεστιθεωπανεκ	
	τελεσαιχηρημ'όκκεπινουν	
	ιη·ητονρυποκιβδοτοκωνα	
	καιτεθνακοχαλκιδαν	
	ητ[.]νπαλινεκχυμενίταν	
10	τωνκτεανωνπλεθροντου	ολεθρον[
	τονκενωσαιτασσυοπλουτο	
	σύνασδομενδ'επιταδεο	
	τρωκτακοινοκρατηροσκυ	
	φωτανολλυμενανδαπα	
15	νύλλανμηποτουνοτασδι	
	κασοφθαλμοσαπεσπαλακω	ζωιονοτουπουσμόφθαλμ
	ται·χωφαεθων,μονάδι,γλη	εχειοφθαλμογδοισου
	ναπαρ <u>αν</u> γεικαιθεμισαλι	δ'βλ[.]πει
	παρακαταχλυνται·πωσετιδαι	ενιοφθαλμωιπ'βλεπει
	μονεσδυτοιμητακουανμη	επεσκοτισ[.]αι
20	τοπανπεπαμενοικαιμαντο	ουνοιμ <sup>η</sup>
	ταλαντονοσεμνοσαστεροπα	
	[. . .]ετασμεσσοντονολυμπον	

Fr. 1.

Col. i.

]αρο	] . α
]λα	]
]εν	ιο ]
]γασ	]
5 ]	]ανιοψιάδα
]ν	]τος
]	] κ(αι) σπυροί οί πυροί.

Col. ii.

. . . τε καὶ ἀκρασίωνα ἀκρατῆς [ὁ Ξένων  
γνωστός τις κ(αι) πικρός.  
 θῆκε πενητυλίδαν Ξένωνα, ποτάγαγε δ' ἄμιν  
 ἄργυρον εἰς ἀνόνατα ρέοντα ;  
 κα[ί] τί τὸ κωλύον ἦς, αἴ τις <σ>φ' ἔρο[ι]το ;  
 5 ρεῖα γάρ ἐστι θεῶ πᾶν ἐκτελέσαι χρῆμ'  
 ὄκκ' ἐπὶ νοῦν ἴη, ἧ τὸν ῥυποκιβδοτόκωνα  
 καὶ τεθνακοχαλκίδα  
 ἧ τ[ὸ]ν παλινεκχυμένιταν τῶν κτεάνων ὄλεθρον  
 τοῦτον κενῶσαι τᾶς συοπλουτοσύνας,  
 10 δόμεν δ' ἐπιταδεοτρῶκτα κοινοκρατηροσκύφω  
 τὰν ὄλλυμέναν δαπάνυλλαν.  
 μήποτ' οὖν ὁ τᾶς Δίκας ὀφθαλμὸς ἀπεςπαλάκωται ; ξῶν ὁ τύπος μ(έν) ὀφθαλμ(ῶν)  
ἔχει, ὀφθαλμοὺς δ' οἷς οὐ-  
δ(έ) βλ[έ]πει.  
ἐνὶ ὀφθαλμῶ π(αρα)βλέπει.  
ἐπесκότισται.  
 χῶ Φαέθων μονάδι γλήγα παραυγεῖ,  
 καὶ Θέμις ἄ λιπαρὰ καταχλύεται ;  
 15 πῶς ἔτι δαίμονες οὖν τοὶ μήτ' ἀκουὰν μήτ' ὄπᾶν πεπαμένοι ;  
 καὶ μὰν τὸ τάλαντον ὁ σεμνὸς  
 ἀστεροπα[γερ]έτας μέσσον τὸν Ὀλυμπον [ἐνίξει]

## Col. iii.

[. . . .]ορθου[. . . . .] . ινενευ  
 κενουδαμηκαιτουθομη  
 ροσειπενενιλαδιρεπειδοταν  
 αισιμοναμαρανδρασικυδαλι  
 5 μοισην·πωσουνεμ[[ε]]νου  
 ποτερεψενορθοσωνζυγοστα  
 τασταδέσχάτᾱφρυγιαμυσων βρυγια  
 ἄζομαιδεθηνλεγεινοσον  
 [. . .]γειτοπαραιοιστωδιοσ  
 10 πλα[. .]ιγγιον·ποιουσεπανα  
 κτορασουντισητινασουρα  
 νιδασκιωνανευρη·πῶλα  
 βηταναξιανδῶθροκρονιδασ  
 οφντευσασπαντασᾶμεκαι  
 15 τεκωντωνμενπατρῶσ  
 τωνδεπεφανεπατηρ·λων  
 μεθεμενπεριτουτωντοισ  
 μετεωροκοποισ·τουτουσ αστρολογοισ  
 γαρεργονουθενελπομεχειν·ἄμινδε  
 20 παιανκαιαγαθαμεταιδωσμελε επειδωσ  
 τωθεοσγαραυτακαιεμεσισ αγαθη  
 καταγαν·μεσφουνοδαιμων  
 ουριαφυσιαειτιματετανταν

## Col. iv.

φω . [. .]ελα[  
 ταῖξαντες[  
 σήτονολ[  
 τυχασ·ταντ'ε[. . .]μιννει εκβαθεω[



## Col. iii.

- ὀρθὸν [ἴσχωρ κ]αὶ νένευκεν οὐδαμῆ·  
 καὶ τοῦθ' Ὀμηρος εἶπεν ἐν Ἰλιάδι·  
 ῥέπει δ' ὅταν αἴσιμον ἄμαρ ἀνδράσι κυδαλίμοις ἦ.  
 πῶς οὖν ἐμὶν οὐ ποτέρεψεν ὀρθὸς ἂν ζυγοστάτας,  
 5 τᾶ δ' ἐσχάτα Μυσῶν Βρυγία;  
 ἄζομαι δέ θην λέγειν ὅσον [παρά]γει τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς  
 τῶ Διὸς πλα[στ]ίγγιον.  
 ποίους ἐπ' ἀνάκτορας οὖν τις  
 ἢ τίνας Οὐρανίδας κίων ἂν εὖροι  
 10 πῶς λάβ(οι) τὰν ἀξίαν, ὅθ' ὁ Κρονίδας ὁ φυτεύσας  
 πάντας ἀμὲ καὶ τεκὼν  
 τῶν μὲν πατρῶος τῶν δὲ πέφανε πατήρ;  
 λῶν μεθέμεν περὶ τούτων τοῖς μετεωροκόποις· ἀστρολόγοις.  
 τούτους γὰρ ἔργον οὐ(δὲ) ἐν ἔλπομ' ἔχειν.  
 15 ἀμὶν δὲ Παιᾶν καὶ {ἀγαθὰ} Μετάδως μελέτω, ἐπεὶ 'δὼς ἀγαθή.'  
 θεὸς γὰρ αὐτὰ, καὶ Νέμεσις κατὰ γᾶν. μέσφ' οὖν ὁ δαίμων  
 οὔρια φυσιᾶει τιμᾶτε ταύταν,

## Col. iv.

φῶτ[ες,] ελα[	με-
ταῖξαντες [	νεμε-
σητὸν ὄλ[β	] τύχας, ταῦτ' ἐ[στὶν ὑ]μῖν
νειόθεν ἐξεμέσαι.	ἐκ βαθέω[ν].

5  $\frac{1}{2}$  οθενεξεμεσαι  
 $\frac{1}{2}$  δοιἀτισᾶμινεφαγναθοισιφν .δοι[  
 σηντονκυανοπτερυγονπαιδα  
 φροδιτασδαμονομ' ουτιγ[.]ρει  
 λειαναπευθησ·καιβροτων[  
 ·γαρ·  
 10 μενανπραειακαιευμενἔ[. . . . .]  
 δεξιτερα[[ν]]πνευσησιαγων  
 ουτοσῆνατρεμιατανναυε  
 ρωτοσσωφρονιπηδαλιωπειθουσ  
 κυβερνη·τοισδεταναριστε  
 15 ρανλυσασεπορσηλαιλαπασ  
 ηλαμυρασποθωναελλᾶσκυμα  
 τιασδιολουτουτοισπορθμοσ  
 ευλεγωνευρειπιδασ·ουκουγκαρ  
 ρονεστιδυνοντωνεκλεγειν  
 20 τονουριονᾶμινανηταν·καιμε  
 τασωφροσυνασοιακιπειθουσ  
 χρωμενονευθυπλοεινὸκῆ  
 κατακυπρινοπορθμοσ·μη αφροδισιοσ

Col. v.

5 or 6 lines lost.

. . . . .  
 νομ[  
 δαπ[  
 και[. . . . .] . τ . ρῆξεί . [  
 10 στρᾶγ[. . . . .] πλοοσ·πανγ[  
 τοβι . . [ . . . . . ] καιπροκοθ[  
 λυμαν[. . . . .] ναβλαψιτε . [  
 αν·καιμ[. . . . .] δυναν·ἄδε[  
 ξαγορασαφροδιτακαιτομη[  
 15 νοσμελεινοπ[.] νικάλησῶκα[

## II.

- 5 Δοιά τις ἀμὶν ἔφα γνάθοισι φυσῆν δοι[ὰ] δισσά.  
τὸν κυανοπτέρυγον παῖδ' Ἀφροδίτας,  
Δαμόνομ'. οὔτι γ[ὰ]ρ εἶ λίαν ἀπευθής·  
καὶ βροτῶν γὰρ [τῶ] μὲν ἂν πραεῖα κ' εὐμενε[ῖ] πνοᾶ]  
δεξιτερὰ πνεύση σιαγῶν,  
10 οὔτος ἐν ἀτρεμῖα τὰν ναῦν ἔρωτος  
σώφροσι πηδαλίῳ πειθοῦς κυβερνή·  
τοῖς δὲ τὰν ἀριστερὰν λύσας ἐπόρση  
λαίλαπας ἢ λαμυρὰς πόθων ἀέλλας,  
κυματίας διόλου τούτοις ὁ πορθμός.  
15 εὔ λέγων Εὐριπίδας. οὐ κάρρον οὖν ἔστι(ν) δὴ ὄντων  
ἐκλέγειν τὸν οὔριον ἀμὶν ἀήταν,  
καὶ μετὰ σωφροσύνας οἴακι πειθοῦς  
χρώμενον εὐθυπλοεῖν ὅκ' ἦ κατὰ Κύπριν ὁ πορθμός; ἀφροδίσιος.  
μῆ . . .

## Col. v.

- . . . . .  
νομ[  
δαπ[  
καὶ τ[. . . . .]. τ . ρηξεί . [  
10 στραγ[. . . . .]πλόος· πανν[  
το βι . . [ . . . . . ] καὶ προκοθ[  
λύμαν [ . . . . . ]να βλαψιτε . [ ]αν,  
καὶ μ[. . . . . ὁ]δύναν· ἅ δ' ἐξ ἀγορᾶς Ἀφροδίτα  
καὶ τὸ μη[δε]νὸς μέλειν ὅπ[α]νίκα λῆς ὅκα χρήξῃς,

## THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

χρηζησουφοβοσουταραχα.τα[  
 τανοβολωκατακλίναςτ[  
 δαρειοδοκειγαμβρ . [   
   η           κο[  
 τειμεν'ιν[

Fr. 2.

Col. i.

Col. ii.

		[. . . . .]νησπυ[
		[. . . . .]ακαρδιογ[
		[. . .] . τικαντ[.]πο . [
		]οτ[.] κροτησιγόμφ[
	] . ευτω	5 τακαιρογε . . [
	]ομ	θεική . άυ . [
		ταφευξιπ . [.] . οναν[
		φύλα[[ι]]σκιόθρεπτακ[. .] . οσ
		εγχεσίμωρος, άδοι[.]π[.]ά
		10 κτωνβροτωνκαιμ[.]λεπι
		σταμενωσωπασα . . σξ[.]
	] . .	χ' . άγασ[.]ψ[.]τραγ[. . .]σπι
5	] . . γαι . [.] . . .	[. . .]ανμενωλεσικαρπον
		[. . . .]υγαφῦσάλέανανδαν
		15 [. . . .] . . η'νεῦραδεκαικρα
		[. . . .]ωτ'ελέλιγμα[. . . .] . . σκρα
		[. . . . .]σευπαλ[. . . . .]αιασ

About 4 lines lost.

Col. iii.

10 lines lost.

. . . . .  
 ταυτα[  
 γαρου[  
 αθεσ[

15 οὐ φόβος οὐ ταραχά· τα[ύ]ταν ὀβολῶ κατακλίνας  
 T[υ]ν]δαρέοιο δόκει γαμβρῶ[s τό]κ[κ]' ἦμεν.  
 κο[  
 νυ[

Fr. 2.

Opposite I. 4

]οτ[.]

Opposite II. 5-6

] . ευτω  
 ] οὔ(τως) μ(έν)

Col. i.

Opposite II. 12-13

] . . .

5 ] . . . vai . [.] . . .

Col. ii.

[. . . . .]νησπυ[

[. . . . .]ακάρδιον [

[. . .] . τικαντ[.]πο . [

κροτησιγύμφ[

κα-

5 τὰ καιρὸν ε . . [

θεῖ κη . αὐ . [

τα φευξιπ . [.] . οναν[

φῦλα σκιόθρεπτα κ[.] . .] . os

ἐγχεσίμωρος ἀδον[ο]π[λ]ά-

10 κτων βροτῶν καὶ μ[ά]λ' ἐπι-

σταμένως ὅπασα . . σε[.]

χ . . αγασ[.]ψ[.]τραγ[. . .]s πι-

[μελ]ᾶν μὲν ὀλεσίκαρπον

[καὶ σφ]ύγα φυσαλέαν αὐδάν

15 [τε . . .] . . ἦ· νεῦρα δὲ καὶ κρα-

[τερᾶς ν]ῶτ' ἐλέλιγμα[ι . . . .] . . s κρα-

[. . . . .]s εὐπαλ[. . . . .] τ]αιās.

Col. iii.

ταυτα[

γὰρ οὐ[

αθεσ[

νатаι . [  
 15 τοσαεικ[  
 ωφιλοστασι[  
 ησκαινοωκ . [  
 πενιαποτιφ[  
 τιμοτάτωδεπ[  
 20  $\frac{1}{6}$  π[. .] . αμυρο[  
 $\frac{1}{7}$  . . . . .

Fr. 3.

Col. i.

Col. ii.

Plate II.

]μενον  
 κισδμαθεισβροτοσουτι  
 εκωνέκλᾱιξεκανθούσ.  
 τῖνδαμάραντονεσωστερ .αμαλακτον.  
 5 νωνκαιανικατονκεαρ  
 εσκενπῖμελδσαρκοφαγῶν  
 πασᾶσμελεδωνᾶσ.τοι  
 . [.]νδιεφευγενκαλονου  
 δέγποκα.παντατεισι[[ν]]  
 10 δυπ[ο]σπ[.]αγχνοισεσκαβρα  
 μουσῶνκνωδαλαπ[[ε]]ιε αγρευματα  
 ριδωνθαλ[.]ευτασεπλεο κενεργηματα  
 θυμεκαῖχνηυτασαριστ[.]σ.  
 νῦνδοκκαμενεκφανεεσ  
 ] ρ  
 ]ον  
 ]ν  
 15 λευκαικορυφ[.] . . . ι  
 αιωρενταιεσ[.] . . . νακι  
 λεωλαχνακνα[.]ονδεγενειον  
 . τ[.] .  
 κάιτιματευεικραγνον ηκ . . φ . ματευ[.]ν  
 αν[.] . . . . ]ηδ[.] . θ[.] . . .  
 [.]λικιασχρονωτεπαξιονκο[.]μελ . . . [.] . . .  
 20 λακενιδερκομεναβιοτᾶσ προορωμι[.] .  
 ευρυνποτιτερματσου λωφ[.] . ]πε[.] . . . ] . ν  
 δον.τᾶμοσεσλᾶσμεν ταμοσε[

νатаι . [   
 15 τος ἀεικ[   
 ὦ φίλος τᾶς ι[   
 ἦς καὶ νόω κ . [   
 πενία ποτιφ[ ( ? ) φιλο-   
 τιμοτάτω δεπ[   
 20 π[ . . ] . αμυρο[

Fr. 3.

Col. ii.

Plate II.

]μενον

[πολλά]κισ δμαθεῖς βροτὸς οὔτι ἐκῶν   
 ἐκλαξε κανθῶς. τὴν δ' ἀμάλακτον ἔσω   
 στέρνων καὶ ἀνίκατον κέαρ ἔσκειν,

5 πιμελοσαρκοφαγῶν πάσας μελεδώνας.

τ(ῶ) τ[ι]ν διέφευγε καλῶν οὐδέν ποκα πάντα τεοῖ-   
 σιν δ' ὑπὸ σπ[λ]άγχνοισ(ιν) ἔσκ(εν) ἀβρὰ Μουσᾶν κνώδαλα, ἀγρεύματα   
 Πιερίδων θ' ἀλ[ι]ευτὰς ἔπλεο, θυμέ, καὶ ἰχνευτὰς ἄριστ[ο]ς. κ(αί) ἐνεργήματα.

νῦν δ', ὄκκα μὲν ἐκφανέες λευκαὶ κορυφ[ᾶ] περιαιω-

10 ρεῦνται εσ[.] . . . νακιλεω λάχναι,

κνα[κ]ὸν δὲ γένειον, καί τι ματεύει

κράγυον [ἀ]λικίας χρόνω τ' ἐπάξιον κολακεύει

δερκομένα βιώτας εὐρὺν ποτὶ τέρματος οὐδόν,

τᾶμος ἔσλας μὲν [

ηκ . . φ . ματευ[. .]ν   
 ἀν(τι τοῦ) . [ . . . ]ηδ[.] . θ[. . .]   
 [.]μελ . . . [ . . . ]   
 προσῶν μι[. .] .   
 λωσ[. .]πε[. .] . ν .   
 τᾶμος ἐ[πειτα].

Col. iii.

Plate II.

	δ[		ταν[
	[		ηκὸρυ[
	γ[		τσασδα[ <sup>`</sup>
	νο . [	15	κτο[
5	σῖκ[		πάιλ . [
	αχαριν[		εκτα[
	ναν,ο[		στακ . [
	μεθα . [		βεβ[
	τῖσαλᾱ[	20	με . [
10	περ . [		ακτι[
	νω . [		

Fr. 4.

Plate II.

	[. . . ]ηθρασκὼπτίλλι <sup>[.]</sup> ο . ἄν . λη[
	[. . . .] . . . ιδ[.] . ]ωσ . βλαβανακλη
	[. . . .]ετ . [ . . . ]μοφλυακεῖν
	τοποσηφ[.]βοσαυτοσυ . [ . . . ]
5	ρων[.]ποστομ[.]τασδητο[.]
	αυτασσκεπτοσυνασκεν[. .]
	μησπουδανποιεισθ[. . . .]
	στρεφεινανωκατωλ[. . .]
	. [.]νευρησδια . θεξᾱν[.] . [ . . . ]
10	σικωσαρμωσμενον
	[.]οτανισοντονποθονελλκ[.] . αι
	[. .] . αθευτονημ[.]ροντ[.] . [ . . . ]
	[. .]στιποταρσενασαρσ . [ . . . .]
	[. . .]τε[.]ωσζαγωνικωσ
15	κ̄ερκιδᾱ
	κυνωσ
	]λιαμβοῖ



Col. iii.

Plate II.

δ[	ταν[
[	η κορυ[
γ[	τας δα[
νο . [	15 κτο[
5 σικ[	παίλ . [
ἄχαριν [	έκτα[
ναν ο[	στακ . [
μεθα . [	βεβ[
τις ἀλα[θ(?)	20 με . [
10 περ . [	ἀκτι[
νωω . [	

Fr. 4.

Plate II.

[. . .]ηθρα σκωπτίλλιο . ἀύ- λη[  
 [. . .] . . ιδ[. .]ως· βλάβαν ἀκλη-  
 [. . . .]ετ . [ . . ]μοφλυακεῖν  
 τόπος ἢ φ[ό]βος αὐτὸς ὑ . [ . . . ]  
 5 ρων [ἀ]ποστομ[οῖ.] τᾶς δὴ το[ι]-  
 αὐτας σκεπτοσύνας κεν[εᾶς]  
 μὴ σπουδὰν ποιεῖσθ[αι καὶ]  
 στρέφειν ἄνω κάτω λ[. . . ]  
 . [.]ν εὐρησ δια . θεα[.] . [.] μου]-  
 10 σικῶς ἀρμωσμένον.  
 [π]οτ' ἄνισον τὸν πόθον ἐλκ[.] . αι  
 [ . . ] . αθευτον ἴμ[ε]ρον τ[.] . [ . . . ]  
 [ . ἐ]στὶ ποτ' ἄρσενας ἀρσ . [ . . . . ]  
 [ . . . ]τ' ἔ[ρ]ως Ζανωνικός.

15           Κερκίδα  
               Κυνὸς  
               με]λίμβοι.

## Fr. 5.

. . . . .  
 ]αθωτουτευθυδικω  
 ]οικεκαλλιμεδων  
 ]στιπονηρακαι  
 ]μενᾶσφαιρωγαρ  
 5 ]προβαλησηκαιτι  
 ]χιτονεισαρεταν  
 ]δεσιχνευεισαλ  
 ]φεροντοπωραν  
 ] . κουττουτ[. ]ναυ  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 6.

. . . . .  
 ]λοπωλον[  
 ]βουσόωμω[  
 ]ιππονχρε[  
 ]τογαρεσταγα[  
 5 ]εαστᾶστω[  
 ] . π .  
 ] . [ .  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 7.

. . . . .  
 ] . εσ[  
 ]τᾶσρ[  
 ]ευεοικος[  
 ]καιφιλο . [

## Fr. 8.

Col. i.	Col. ii.
]σειδέμεν	κᾶ[
]αδεπειλαπι	σχε[
]λέγγροτειου	τιλλ[
]υσωκαιδο	ταη[
5 ] . [ . ]πε[ . ]	τ'όυ[
] . . [ . . . . . ]	5 καιτ[
. . . . .	μνε[
	πιδ[
	. . .

## Fr. 9.

. . . . .  
 ]ηπολιο[  
 ]ινακολα[  
 ]λεωνπυκιν[  
 ]χουσιγηροιδ[  
 5 ]υκετιπανθα[  
 ]σάπ . [ .  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 5.

]αθω τοῦτ' εὐθυδίκω  
 ἔ]οικε Καλλιμέδων  
 ἐ]στὶ πονηρὰ καὶ  
 ]μενα· Σφαίρω γὰρ  
 5 ] προβάλης ἧ καὶ τι  
 ]χιτον εἰς ἀρετὰν  
 ]δες ἰχνεύεις ἀλ-  
 ]φέροντ' ὀπώραν  
 ] . κου τοῦτ[ο]ν αὐ

## Fr. 6.

(?) αἰο]λόπωλον [  
 ] βουσόω μω[π  
 ] ἵππον χρε[μετίζοντα  
 ]το γὰρ ἐστ' ἀγα[  
 5 ]εας τᾶς τω[  
 ] . [

## Fr. 7.

] . εσ[  
 τὸ] τᾶς ῥ[ικνᾶς χελώνας  
 μναμόν]ευ'· οἶκος [γὰρ ἄριστος ἀλαθέως]  
 καὶ φίλο]ς

## Fr. 8.

Col. i.  
 ]σεῖδε μὲν  
 ]αδ' ἐπ' εἰλαπι-  
 ]λεννοτειου  
 ]υσω καὶ δο-  
 5 ] . [·]πε[·]  
 ] . . [· . . . .]

Col. ii.  
 κα[  
 σχε[  
 πλλ[  
 ταη[  
 τ' οὔ[  
 5 καιτ[  
 μυε[  
 πιδ[

## Fr. 9.

]η πολιτο[  
 ]ιν ἀκολα[στ (?)  
 ]λεων πυκιν[  
 ]χου σιγηροὶ δ[  
 5 ο]ύκέτι πανθω[  
 ]σάπ . [

Fr. 10.	Fr. 11.	Fr. 12.	
. . . . .	]ηνομιζ[	. . . . .	
] . [ . . . . ] . [	]τωρευσε[	] . σ[ . . ] . [	
]ρτονλαμβα[	]αιαπελ[	]ηρον[	
] . μιτουτο·γ[	]ι·τουτω[	]φερειτα[	
εκτη.	. . . . .	]εταμελλο[	
]συντελιστ[		. . . . .	
5 ]φερεικαιγα[	Fr. 13.	Fr. 14.	
]ωσμηλεγο[	. . . . .	. . . . .	
]ελθε·δω . [✓	]α[	]μφιον[	
]ηνα·καιτ[	]στωβι[	]νεκαστω·γ[	
]υτευση[	] . κυβερν[	] . νεταιγαρι[	
10 ]αρμοιτο[	]σωδοξα[	]νων[	
] . αλαισο[	5 ]νμεναλλ[	. . . . .	
]τρων·ω[	]καικαρ[		
]ναλαβου[	]φ[		
. . . . .	. . . . .		
Fr. 15.	Fr. 16.	Fr. 17.	
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
]τονπελασδ·ει[	]μ[	]νοσε . . α[	
. . . . .	] . οσθε[	]σιανσκοπε[	
	]ειροσυ[	]διωκτ[ . ]α[	
		. . . . .	
Fr. 18.	Fr. 19.	Fr. 20.	Fr. 21.
]εγαροι[	]ωσγνω[	. . . . .	. . . . .
]νετοι[	] . νθ[	] . εσυμ[	]ηρτ[
]αιρωι[	]ησ [	]ομιζ . [	]αμ[
] . ασαλ[	]αταν[	]μ[	]λλοικρα[ . ] . [
5 ]νω[	5 ] . υμα[	]ατα . [	]τεπανταιν[
. . . . .	. . . . .	5 ]νο[	5 ] . . φαμ[
		νμ[	. . . . .
		]τωνα[	
		. . . . .	

Fr. 10.	Fr. 11.	Fr. 12.	
. . . . .	]η νομιζ[	. . . . .	
] . [ . . . . ] . [	(?) κά]τω βευσε[ῖ	] . σ[ . . ] . [	
]ροτον λαμβα[ν	]αιαπελ[	]ηρου[	
] . μι τοῦτο· ν[	]ι· τοῦ τῶ[	]φέρει τα[	
ἔκτε	. . . . .	]ε τὰ μέλλο[ντα	
] συντελεῖς τ[	Fr. 13.	. . . . .	
5 ]φέρει καὶ γὰρ(?)	. . . . .	Fr. 14.	
]ως μὴ λεγο[	. . . . .	. . . . .	
]ελθε· δω . [ ~	]α[	]μφιον[	
]ηνα· καιτ[	]στω βί[	]ν ἐκάστῳ· γ[	
φ]υτεύση[	] . κυβερν[	] . νεται γὰρ ι[	
10 ]αρμοι το[	]σω δοξα[	]ων[	
] . αλαιος [	5 ]ν μὲν ἀλλ[	. . . . .	
]τεων· ὡ[	]κα νίκα ρ[		
]ναλαβου[	]φ[		
. . . . .	. . . . .		
Fr. 15.	Fr. 16.	Fr. 17.	
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
]τον πέλας δ' ε[	]μ[	]υοσε . . α[	
. . . . .	] . οσθε[	]σίαν σκοπε[ῖ	
	]ειρος ὑ[	] διακτ[έ]α[	
		. . . . .	
Fr. 18.	Fr. 19.	Fr. 20.	Fr. 21.
]ε γὰρ οἱ[	]ως γνω[	. . . . .	. . . . .
]νετοι[	] . νδ[	] . εσυμ[	]ηρτ[
]αιρωί[	]ης [	]ομιζ' . [	]αμ[
] . ασαλ[	]αται[	]μ[	]λλοι κρα[.] . [
5 ] νῦν [	5 ] . υμα[	]ατα . [	]τ' ἐπ' αὐτὰν [
. . . . .	. . . . .	5 ]νο[	] . . φαμ[
		ὑμ[	. . . . .
		]τωνα[	
		. . . . .	

Fr. 22.

. . . . .  
 ] . . . [ . . . ] . [ .  
 ] ζευσκοιραν[  
 ] ο . . . ορεινπαρεστινε[

Fr. 23.

. . . . .  
 ] εισ[ . . ] καυτων  
 ] λβοθυλακονλαρον απολαου[

Fr. 24.

. . . . .  
 ] . . . αισ[  
 ] . ευχηρητο[  
 ] αλ . . . . φρ[  
 ] κεισιβουλ[  
 5 ] πο . . . . λαν[  
 . . . . .

Fr. 25.

. . . . .  
 ] λουσακα[  
 ] ωπαλι . [ .  
 ] εσσοσι . . . [ .  
 ] . . . . ε . . . . [ .  
 . . . . .

Fr. 26.

. . . . .  
 ] δυσπαλεστωι . [ .  
 ] ιλονενθα  
 ] κισκαθιζε[  
 ]  
 . . . . .

Fr. 27.

. . . . .  
 ] ρ[  
 ] δι[  
 . . . . .

Fr. 28.

. . . . .  
 ] αρσε[  
 ] ρεθοσβλε[  
 ] λοσυρομ[  
 ] υ[  
 . . . . .

Fr. 29.

. . . . .  
 ] μον[  
 ] ανομ . [ .  
 ] σοστ[  
 . . . . .

Fr. 30.

. . . . .  
 ] . . . [ .  
 ] ηφασσα[  
 ] . [ . . ] . [ .  
 . . . . .

Fr. 31.

. . . . .  
 ] λ[  
 ] χα . [ .  
 ] ενπ[  
 . . . . .

Fr. 32.

. . . . .  
 ] κ . λ . [ .  
 ] μεχρι  
 ] εριδιατριβα[  
 ] . γερπε[  
 . . . . .

Fr. 33.

. . . . .  
 ] . . . ασ[  
 ] εκφα . [ .  
 ] πι[  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 22.

. . . . .  
 ] . . . [ . . . ] . [ .  
 ] Ζεὺς κοιραν[  
 ] ο . . ορεῖν πάρεστιν ε[

## Fr. 23.

. . . . .  
 ] εἰσ[ . . ] κ' αὐτῶν  
 δ] λβοθύλακον λάρον ἀπολαύον[τα

## Fr. 24.

. . . . .  
 ] . . αἰσ[  
 ] . εὐ χρῆ το[  
 ] αλ . . . . φρ[  
 ἀρ] κεισιβουλ[  
 3 ] πο . . . λαν[  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 25.

. . . . .  
 ] λουσακα[  
 ] ω παλι . [ .  
 μ] ἔσσοις ι . . [ .  
 ] . . . ε . . . [ .  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 26.

. . . . .  
 ] δυσπαλῆς τῶ . [ .  
 ] ιλον ἔνθα  
 ] κῖς καθιζε[  
 ] . . . . .

## Fr. 27.

. . . . .  
 δρ[  
 δι[  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 28.

. . . . .  
 ] αρσε[  
 ] ῥέθος βλε[  
 β] λοσυρομ[ματ(?)  
 ] υ[  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 29.

. . . . .  
 ] μου[  
 ] ανον . [ .  
 ] σοστ[  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 30.

. . . . .  
 ] . . . [ .  
 ] η φάσσασ[  
 ] . [ . . ] . [ .  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 31.

. . . . .  
 λ[  
 χα . [ .  
 ενπ[  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 32.

. . . . .  
 ] κ . λ . [ .  
 ] μέχρι  
 π] ἐρὶ διατρίβα<sup>ω</sup>[  
 ] ' γ ' ἔρπε[  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 33.

. . . . .  
 ] . . ασ[  
 ] ἔκφα . [ .  
 ] π[  
 . . . . .

Fr. 34.	Fr. 35.	Fr. 36.	
τι[	]τοδικανδειφ[	. . . . .	
εξι[	]νκα[.]ν . [.]τ[	]ατοσ[. .] . . . . ω[	
και[	. . . . .	]αμαζεινα[	
. . .		]καια . [.] . θαλ[	
		. . . . .	
Fr. 37.	Fr. 39.	Fr. 40.	
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
$\frac{1}{\equiv}$ . [	]όκα·μ[	] . . . . δρυ[	
$\frac{1}{\equiv}$ ου . [	] . μην[. .] . μ[	] . . [.]ν . [	
$\frac{1}{\equiv}$ ουτ[	]οισ· . [.] . μεε[	]λω·πεφ . [	
. . . . .	]λοιδεκαε[	] [	
Fr. 38.	5 ]ιασ·πολλᾶ[.]δ[	. . . . .	
. . . . .	]φοισ·αδε . υ[	Fr. 41.	
. . . . .	·τ[.]	. . . . .	
] . [	]πα . υλλα . [	]κε . αλ . [ . . . . ]φν . . . [	
]ωνοσε[	]καλου[	]ροπρομαθευσ	
] . . . αμι[	. . . . .	]ισαρο	
]ολι·τασ[		]τάχαρη	
5 ]τουδοι[		5 λ[.]	
] . [			
. . . . .			
Fr. 42.	Fr. 43.	Fr. 44.	Fr. 45.
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
] . [	] . [	] . πο . [	]δεπ[.]
α[	]ερθεν[	] . υ[	] . ωλ[
] . ευτ[	. . . . .	]πρ . [	. . . . .
] . . [		. . . . .	
. . . . .			
Fr. 46.	Fr. 47.	Fr. 48.	Fr. 49.
. . . . .	]νοσε[	. . . . .	]πασ[
]α[	]μελ[	]ρ[.] . . . [	]νκ[



Fr. 34.	Fr. 35.	Fr. 36.	
τι[	]το δίκαν δεῖ φ[	. . . . .	
ἔξι[	]νκα[.]ν . [.]τ[	]ατοσ[. . . . .] ω[	
και[	. . . . .	δ]αμάζειν α[	
. . .		]καια . [.] . θαλ[	
		. . . . .	
Fr. 37.	Fr. 39.	Fr. 40.	
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	
. [	π]όκα· μ[	] . . . . . δρυ[	
	] . μην[. . .] . μ[	] . . [.]ν . [	
<i>Ου</i> . [	]οις· . [.]μει[	]λω· πεφ . [	
ουτ[	]λοιδε και[	] [	
. . .	5 ]ίας· πολλα[.] δ[	. . . . .	
	]φοις· ἄ δε . υ[		
Fr. 38.	ἀ]πατυλλα . [	Fr. 41.	
. . . . .	] καλὸν [	. . . . .	
] . [	. . . . .	]κε . αλ . [ . . . . ]φυ . . . [	
]ωνοσε[		γὰρ] Προμαθεὺς	
] . . . αμι[		]ισαρο	
π]ολίτας [		] τάχα βῆ-	
5 ]τουδοι[		5 λ[.]	
] . [			
. . . . .			
Fr. 42.	Fr. 43.	Fr. 44.	Fr. 45.
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
] . [	] . [	] . πο . [	]δεπ[.]
] . ευντ[ <sup>α[</sup>	ν]έρθεν [	] . υν[	] . ωλ[
] . . [	. . . . .	]πρ . [	. . . . .
. . . . .		. . . . .	
Fr. 46.	Fr. 47.	Fr. 48.	Fr. 49.
. . . . .	]νοσε[	. . . . .	]πασ[
]ἀ[	]μελ[	]ρ[.] . . .	]νκ[

]μαυτ[ 2 lines lost. ] . δ[ ] . ασ[ ]σφ[ .	]ηρανπο[ ] . . κ α . . [ . . . . .	]μαθειν[ ]σχορδη[ . . . . .	]ταλ[ ]νπλ . [ . . . . .
Fr. 50. .	Fr. 51. .	Fr. 52. .	Fr. 53. .
] . ωσαλλο[ ] . [ . . ]τ . [ .	]ερα[ ]υμ[ .	]ν'αι . [ ]γαρα[ .	]αρα[ ]πι[ .
Fr. 54. .	Fr. 55. .	Fr. 56. .	Fr. 57. .
]ρισδ[ ]παρα[ .	]ασκ[ ]αιατ[ .	]ψαν[ ]μεν[ .	] . . λ[ ]κσει[ ] [ ] .
Fr. 58. .	Fr. 59. .	Fr. 60. .	Fr. 61. .
] . [ ]ιον . [ .	] . ]ον . μ . [ .	] . λει ] . .	]ων ] .
Fr. 62. .	Fr. 63. .	Fr. 64. .	Fr. 65. .
] . . [ ]συντομ[ .	]λεσ[ ]ι . [ .	ενφ[ .	]αλοχον[ .
Fr. 66. .	Fr. 67. .	Fr. 68. .	Fr. 69. .
]γερ[ .	]ξεν[ .	]μεσισ[ .	]αι[ .

]μαντ[ 2 lines lost. 5 ] . δ[ ]ασ[ ]σφ[ . . .	]ηραν πο[ ] . . κα . . [ . . . .	]μαθειν [ (?) προ]σχορδη[ . . . .	]ταλ[ ]νπλ . [ . . .
Fr. 50. . . . . ] . ωσ ἀλλο[ ] . [ . . ]τ . [ . . . .	Fr. 51. . . . . ]ερα[ ]νμ[ . . . .	Fr. 52. . . . . ]ν αἴ . [ ] γὰρ α[ . . . .	Fr. 53. . . . . ]αρω[ ]πι[ . . . .
Fr. 54. . . . . ]ρις δ[ ] παρα[ . . . .	Fr. 55. . . . . ]ασκ[ ]αιατ[ . . . .	Fr. 56. . . . . ]ψαν[ ]μεν[ . . . .	Fr. 57. . . . . ] . . λ[ ]κσει[ ] [ . . . .
Fr. 58. . . . . ] . [ ]ον . [ . . . .	Fr. 59. . . . . ] ]ον . μ . [ . . . .	Fr. 60. . . . . ] . λει ] . . . .	Fr. 61. . . . . ]ων ] . . . .
Fr. 62. . . . . ] . . [ ] συντοι[ . . . .	Fr. 63. . . . . ]λεσ[ ]ι . [ . . . .	Fr. 64. . . . . ένφ[ . . . .	Fr. 65. . . . . ]αλοχον [ . . . .
Fr. 66. . . . . ]γερ[ . . . .	Fr. 67. . . . . ]ξεν[ . . . .	Fr. 68. . . . . ]μεσισ[ . . . .	Fr. 69. . . . . ]αι[ . . . .

It may be convenient to add here the previously known fragments of Cercidas, which I transcribe from Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici*, ii. pp. 513-15.

## I AMBI.

1. Athen. xii. 554 d:

ἦν καλλιπύγων ζεύγος ἐν Συρακούσαις.

## MELIAMBI.

2. Diog. Laert. vi. 76:

οὐ μὰν ὁ πάρος γα Σινοπεὺς  
τῆνος ὁ βακτροφόρας, διπλοείματος, αἰθεριβόσκας,  
ἀλλ' ἀνέβα χῆλος ποτ' ὀδόντας ἐρείσας  
καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα συνδακῶν.

5 ἦς γὰρ ἀλαθέως διογενῆς

Ζανὸς γόνος οὐράνιός τε κύων.

1. γα Bergk; γε Cobet, γ' ἕα vulg. 4. This line was bracketed by Cobet. 5. διογενῆς is placed here instead of at the beginning of l. 6 by W-M.

The reference is to the death of Diogenes. The language of this fragment is reflected in [Diog.] *Epist.* 7 Μὴ ἀνιῶ, ὦ πάτερ, ὅτι κύων λέγομαι καὶ ἀμπέχομαι τρίβωνα διπλοῦν κτλ.

3. Stob. *Flor.* lviii. 10 = 1082. Fr. 7. 2-4.

4. Stob. *Flor.* iv. 43:

πῶς κεν ἴδοιεν  
τὰν σοφίαν πέλας ἔστακυῖαν ἄνδρες  
ᾧ τὸ κέαρ παλῶ σέσακται καὶ δυσκενίπτω τρυγί;

1. The preceding line νοῦς ὀρῆ καὶ νοῦς ἀκούει (= Epicharmus, Fr. 117) is not to be assigned to Cercidas. κεν ἴδοιεν Meineke; κ' ἴδοιεν B, ἐνίδοιεν vulg. 2. ἄνδρες W-M; ἀνέρες vulg. 3. W-M with Bentley would prefer the genitive παλῶ . . . δυσκενίπτω τρυγός.

5. Galen x. 406:

ἐν κριομύξοις ἀνδράσιν [εὐδοκιμήσει].

The passage is Θέσσαλος δὲ ἅμα τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ σοφισταῖς ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ θρόνου καθήμενος ἐν κριομύξοις ἀνδράσιν, ὡς ὁ Κερκίδας φησὶν, εὐδοκιμήσει. W-M agrees with Meineke, *Anat. Alex.* p. 394, that εὐδοκιμήσει does not belong to the quotation, notwithstanding its metrical aptness.

## 6. Athen. viii. 347 c :

οὕτω μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ὁ λεβητοχάρων Οὐλπιανός, κατὰ τὸν ἐμὸν Μεγαλο-  
πολίτην Κερκίδα, μὴδὲν μὲν ἐσθίειν τῶν ἀνδρὶ προσηκόντων, τηρεῖν δὲ τοὺς  
ἐσθίοντας, εἰ παρεῖδον ἢ ἄκανθαν ἢ τῶν τραγανῶν τι ἢ χονδρῶδες τῶν παρα-  
τεθέντων.

7. Greg. Naz. *De Virt.* 595 :

ἅπαντα δ' ἔρπειν εἰς βυθὸν τὰ τίμια  
τῶν γαστριμάργων σίτα, μήτε σίτ' ἔτι  
τῶν εὐτελεστάτων λέβητος ἐξ ἑνός,  
ὀρθῶς λέγει που Κερκίδας ὁ φίλτατος,  
5 τέλος τρυφόντων αὐτὸς ἐσθίων ἄλλας,  
αὐτῆς τρυφῆς ἔθ', ἀλμυρὸν καταπτύων.

A corrupt passage, which Bergk does not attempt to emend.

8. Phot. *Bibl.* 279, p. 533 b :

καὶ ἡ μαγίς δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς τραπέζης Αἰγύπτιον δόξει καὶ παντελῶς ἔκθε-  
σμον. Ἐπίχαρμος δὲ ὁ Δωριεὺς καὶ Κερκίδας ὁ μελοποιὸς ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς  
διανοίας ἐχρήσαντο τῇ λέξει.

## 9. Pollux iii. 27 :

ἐπιπάτωρ· βέλτιον γὰρ τοῦνομα τοῦ πατρωοῦ, εἰ καὶ Κερκίδας κέχρηται.  
Cf. Fr. 1. ii. 12.

Fr. 1. i. 12. ]αιοψιάδα is probably a variant; cf. e. g. ii. 10 and 20. Ὀψιάδης occurs as a proper name, e. g. C. I. G. 169.

14. For σπυροί, which evidently occurred in the text of the poet, cf. Etym. Magn. 724. 32 Ἡρωδιανὸς λέγει ὅτι τοὺς πυροὺς σπυροὺς λέγουσιν οἱ Συρακόσιοι, and Hesych. σπυρούς· πυρούς. The word occurs in Paton-Hicks, *Inscr. of Cos*, 39. 11, Collitz, *Gr. Dialektinschr.* 4736 (Thera), Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, ed. 2, 938. 23 (Epidaurus).

ii. 1-iii. 17. '[Why did not Fortune] reduce to penury the . . . and incontinent Xenon, and bring us his money that was running to waste? What was to prevent, supposing some one should ask her? For it is easy for a god to accomplish everything whenever it comes into his mind, and to empty of his swinish wealth the dirty usurer and hoarder or this outpourer and ruin of his substance, and to give the squandered means to the man who takes his bite in season and shares his cup with a neighbour. Is then the eye of Right blinded like a mole's? Does Phaethon see crookedly with a single orb, and is the

vision of fair Justice dimmed? How can they who have neither hearing nor inlet of sight be yet taken for deities? Nay, the august lightning-compeller sits on mid Olympus holding even the balance and in no wise signifies his will. And so said Homer in the *Iliad*; it sinks when the fated day comes to noble men. For why does not he who controls the weights, if he is upright, incline them to me, or to Phrygia at the ends of the earth? Of a truth I fear to say how perversive is the scale of Zeus with men. To what sort of lords, then, or to what children of Heaven can one go to find how he may get his deserts, when the son of Cronus, the begetter and parent of us all, is found to be a father to some and a stepfather to others? Better to leave these questions to the astrologers, for they, I expect, will have no manner of trouble. For us let Paeon and Giving be our care, for she is a goddess, with Retribution, on earth. While, then, the deity sends a favouring breeze, hold her in honour, men, and pursue her . . . and you may then utterly rid yourselves of the reprehensible [desire for] wealth and for [the other gifts] of fortune.'

1. Τύχη or some deity is the subject of the sentence. ἀκρασίῳ is only found here.

2. Two short syllables are required between *πενητ* and *αν*, and *πενητυλίδαν*, although palaeographically unconvincing, satisfies that condition and is a tolerable word. *πενητύλος* (cf. e. g. *μικκύλος*) is, as W(ilamowitz)-M(öllendorff) remarks, in harmony with the style, and the termination *-ίδας* recurs in l. 7 *τεθνακοχαλκίδας*. *πένητ'* of course would be satisfactory, if the problem of the next word could be solved. For the first damaged letter it is difficult to read anything but a *ν*; a mark of elision followed by an *ι* is much less suitable. The second, if not *λ*, can be *δ* or *α*, possibly *ν*. With *ν*, there would be only one more letter before *αν*; with *λ*, *δ*, or *α*, there are probably two, and the slight vestiges seem most consistent with *ισ*, but *ιδ* is, I think, just possible. A *κ* is hardly admissible.

The marginal note evidently refers to Xenon, who is not, apparently, otherwise known to fame.

4. (σ)φ' W-M. *τις φέρο[ι]το* gives inferior sense, and is abnormal in syntax.

6-8. These three opprobrious compounds are all new. The first two go together and express the opposite character to that of the intemperate Xenon (*τοῦτον*, l. 9); the miser makes no better use of his wealth than the spendthrift. *τεθνακοχαλκίδας* is perhaps not impossible for such a bold coiner of words as Cercidas; cf. *παλινεκχυμέντας* in the verse below. The idea it expresses is that hoarded wealth is dead and unprofitable. There is really very little doubt about the first syllable, and though the vestiges of the supposed *κ* are slight they suit that letter well. The mark of length above the *ι* must in any case be erroneous.

The variant *ἔλεθρον* inserted in the margin is obviously right.

9-10. *συσπλοντοςύνα*, *ἐπιταδεοτρώκτας*, and *κοινοκρατηρόσκυφος* are three more otherwise unattested compounds.

11. The diminutive *δαπάνυλλα* is another unfamiliar word; for the form cf. e. g. *φθίνυλλα*, and Fr. 39. 7.

12. The marginal note gives a definition of *σπάλαξ*, from which the novel *ἀποσπαλακοῦν* is formed. For *Δίκας ὀφθαλμός* cf. Soph. Fr. 11, Dionys. Fr. 5, Fr. Adesp. 421 Nauck, &c.

13-14. W-M observes that the introduction of Phaethon, i. e. Helios, between *Δίκας* and *Θέμις* is not unnatural, the sun as all-seeing being regarded as the avenger of the innocent; hence the practice of calling the sun to witness. *λιπαρά* is Hesiod's epithet of *Θέμις*, *Theog.* 901. *παραγγεῖν* and *καταχλευῖν*, which are found here only, are glossed in the adscript. The form *ἀγγεῖν* occurs in Job xxix. 3; cf. Hesych. *ἀγγῶν· ἀγγάζομαι*.

15. The marginal variant, with the slight alteration of *τοι* for *οι*, is no doubt right. *οὔτοι τοί* would be unmetrical. *ὁπάν* here refers especially to the sense of vision.

16-iii. 3. The complaint here seems to be that Zeus does not actively intervene in the interests of right. He only holds the balance and observes its indications; the weights are determined by Fate. Cf. *Iliad* θ 70-2 ἐν δ' ἐτίθει δύο κῆρ . . . ἔλκε δὲ μέσσα λαβῶν ῥέπε δ' αἴσιμον ἡμαρ Ἀχαιῶν. As an alternative to the supplements adopted G. Murray proposes [ἔχων] ὀρθὸν [καθίζει, which is a more difficult order, though not more involved than e.g. Aristoph. *Thesm.* 811. He would also prefer to read ὁ σέμνος . . . [καθίζει, . . . οὐδαμῆ, καὶ τοῦθ' . . . Ἰλιάδι ῥέπει(ν), ὅταν αἴσιμον ἡμαρ, ἀνδράσι κυδαλίμοι(ι)ν. But does Homer say this?

5. βρυγία is more likely to have been altered to φρυγία than vice versa; the shortening of the ν, which is long in Apoll. Rhod. iv. 330 Βρυγηίδας, 470 Βρυγοί, Scymnus 433 Βρυγοί, occasions little difficulty; cf. Βρίγες. Sufficient regularity is restored to the metre by the transposition suggested by W-M. ἐσχάτα Μυσῶν Βρυγία is a variation of the common proverb Μυσῶν ἔσχατος to indicate an insignificant or unknown person; cf. e.g. Plato, *Theaetetus* 209 b αὐτῆ οὖν ἡ διάνοια ἔσθ' ὅτι μᾶλλον ποιήσει με Θεαίτητον ἢ Θεόδωρον διανοεῖσθαι, ἡ τῶν λεγομένων Μυσῶν τὸν ἔσχατον; on which the Scholiast remarks ἐπὶ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων. Μάγνης Ποαστρία' οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ὁ Μυσῶν ἔσχατος' καὶ Μένανδρος Ἀνδρογύν' Μυσῶν ἔσχατος πολέμιος. The poet would have justice rewarded even in the most obscure and humble of men. This seems a more suitable interpretation than to make the δέ adversative 'but inclines them instead to . . .'

An erroneous accent on the first syllable of ἐσχατα has been cancelled by the dots placed on either side of it; cf. 841. vi. 88 and ix. 17, where we wrongly supposed the two accents to be alternatives.

6. [παρα]γεῖ W-M; the letter after the lacuna could equally well be τ. αὐτοῖς refers not to Μυσῶν but vaguely to people in general.

9-10. εὔροι, as emended by the corrector, is evidently right, and λάβοι would naturally follow, as e.g. in Plato, *Crit.* 45 b οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις ἐξελεθῶν ὁ τι χρῶσ σαυτῶ.

12. πατρῶς: cf. Pollux iii. 27 ἐπιπάτωρ' βέλτιον γὰρ τοῦνομα τοῦ πατροῦ, εἰ καὶ Κερκίδας κέχρηται (= Cerc. Fr. 9). The allusion may well be to the present passage.

13. μετεωροκόποις: cf. Aristoph. *Pax* 92 ποῖ δῆτ' ἄλλως μετεωροκοπεῖς; The substantive is found only here. For this sarcastic allusion cf. Diog. Laert. vi. 24 ἔλεγε δὲ (sc. Διογένης) καὶ ὡς ὅτε μὲν ἴδοι . . . ὀνειροκρίτας καὶ μάντις καὶ τοὺς προσέχοντας τούτοις . . . οὐδὲν ματαιότερον νομίζειν ἀνθρώπου.

14. οἰ(δέ) ἔν is restored by W-M on metrical grounds; ἔλπομαι οὐθέν (Murray) is an alternative remedy. The corrector's ἔχην may be the original form; cf. introd. p. 24.

15. μεταιδως, as W-M points out, is probably for Μετάδως, a substantive formed from μεταδίδοναι on the analogy of δῶς in Hesiod's δῶς ἀγαθή (*Opera* 354), to which passage the adscript of the papyrus refers. Αἰδῶς has no doubt some speciousness in view of the passage in Hesiod, *Opera* 197-200, where Αἰδῶς and Νέμεσις are described as leaving the earth for Olympus. Cercidas might be held to be directly controverting that statement: Hesiod was wrong; they are still on earth (κατὰ γῆν, l. 16), and are the true divinities. But, besides metrical difficulties, the objection to this is that the marginal note becomes quite irrelevant and must be supposed to be a mistake. The corruption to αιδως, on the other hand, would be easy, apart from the possible influence on the copyist of Hesiod's conjunction of Αἰδῶς and Νέμεσις. W-M seems also right in regarding ἀγαθά as an interpolation from the verse of Hesiod cited here by the annotator. With θεὸς γὰρ αὐτα in the following verse the epithet is otiose, and its removal leaves the metre normal. If ἀγαθά is retained, it must be scanned as an anapaest, καί being elided before the following short vowel, which would be in accordance with the later practice. Murray, keeping Αἰδῶς, proposes the transposition καὶ μετ' Αἰδῶς ἀγαθά.

The inclusion of Paean among these deities is noteworthy, though hardly surprising;

both Antisthenes (Diog. Laert. vi. 6) and Diogenes (Stob. xiii. 25) are reported to have compared their office to that of doctors, and Bernays remarks on the fact that Diogenes, who spared few, seems to have respected medical men (*Lucian und die Cyniker*, p. 95; cf. Diog. Laert. vi. 24). Perhaps, as W-M thinks, *Νέμεσις* here has a wider meaning than retribution, and is rather the principle of *ius suum cuique*; cf. Arist. *De Mundo* 7 *Νέμεσιν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκάστω διανεμήσεως*, and the similar explanation of Cornutus, *Nat. Deor.* 13. There seems, however, to be no parallel for the actual use of *νέμεσις* in this sense.

17. *τιμᾶτε*: strictly the dialect requires *τιμῆτε*, but this need hardly be pressed.

iv. 1-4. The supplements adopted are for the most part due to W-M. *με]τραῖξαντες* is to be taken with *τιμᾶτε*, the circumflex accent, which is inconsistent with the diaeresis, being erroneous. A complementary clause, specifying the contrasted objects of aversion, followed; *ζῆλον νεμεσητὸν δόλβου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀπὸ τύχης* is the paraphrase suggested by W-M. *-σητον* could be the termination of e.g. *μισητόν*, but *νεμεσητόν* is recommended by *Νέμεσις* in l. 16. *εἰστίν* is also doubtful, and *εἰπὸν*, alluding to an injunction given earlier in the poem, is a possible alternative; *εἰκτόν* is rather too long for the space. Owing to the mutilated condition of the text, the correct division of these concluding lines remains uncertain. *μέσφ' οὖν . . . φυσιάει* and *τιμᾶτε . . . εἰλᾶ[ ]* may be separate verses, and *ταῦτ' . . . ἐξέμεναι* another in the same rhythm.

5-18. 'It has been said, Damonimus—you are not devoid of knowledge—that the dark-winged son of Aphrodite blows on us from his mouth two kinds of breath. The man on whom his right cheek breathes softly with gentle breath steers in calm weather the ship of love by the sane rudder of persuasion. But they on whom he looses the left cheek and stirs forth the storms and wanton blasts of desire have their course ever set on a surging sea. Well said Euripides. Is it not then better to choose of the two the favouring breeze, and wisely using the rudder of persuasion to sail straight while our course lies in Aphrodite's waters?'

5. A new poem, as is indicated by the coronis, begins at this point. The passage alluded to was identified by W-M as *Trag. Gr. Frag.* Adesp. 187 *δισσὰ πνεύματα πνεῖς, Ἔρωσ, from Hermias on Plat. Phaedr.* p. 76; cf. Lucian, *Amor.* 37 *δισσὰ γὰρ οὖτως κατὰ τὸν τραγικὸν πνεύματα πνεῖ ὁ Ἔρωσ, ἐνὸς δὲ ὑνόματος οὐχ ὁμοία πάθη κεκοινωνήκε*. Meineke had already attributed the line to Euripides (*Com. Frag.* iv. p. 171), a conjecture which is now verified by l. 15 below. Cf. *Iph. Aul.* 543-57.

6. *κνανοπτέρυγος* is not otherwise attested.

7. Damonimus is unknown; it is implied that he was sufficiently well-read to recognize the allusion rather than that he was experienced in love.

8-9. The restoration of this passage is a little doubtful. It is not clear in the first place whether *γάρ*, which has been added above the line, was intended to replace or to supplement *μέν*. W-M would ignore the punctuation of the original and connect *καὶ βροτῶν* with *ἀπειθής*, making *[τῷ] μὲν γὰρ ἄν* or *[τῷ] γὰρ ἄν* the beginning of the fresh sentence. But *καὶ βροτῶν* seems more naturally taken, as marked in the papyrus, with the succeeding relatives, and with *[τῷ]* I prefer to suppose that the inserted *γάρ* is slightly out of its proper position. At the end of the line *εὐμενε[στέρᾱ]* is indicated by the grave accent on the third ε; but the juxtaposition of two words in *-τερα* is not satisfactory, and since other instances of mistaken accents occur in this MS., I have adopted W-M's *εὐμενε[ῖ πνοᾶ]*, for which there is just room in the lacuna. Since Euripides had written *πνεύματα πνεῖς*, there is no objection to the repetition of *πνοᾶ . . . πνεύση*. The verse is then a trochaic tetrameter, for which



cf. l. 15. This will leave — — — — instead of the usual — — — — — — — — for the first part of l. 9; but other examples of an Adoneus are not wanting in these poems, e. g. ii. 5, Fr. 3. ii. 3-4, 11, and there is no particular objection to one at this point. Murray makes the suggestion that εὐμενεστέρα | δεξιά may be the original text, δεξιτερὰ being due to the influence of the preceding word; this would not be unattractive, were εὐμενεστέρα assured.

10. ἔρωτος is probably to be connected with ναῦν rather than with ἀτρεμία, in spite of the absence of the article, for which passages like Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 1. 8 τὰς θύρας Κύρου may be compared. Or a more normal construction can easily be obtained by the transposition ναῦν τᾶν.

15. For Εὐριπίδος cf. note on l. 5. I adopt in the second part of the verse the slight alterations suggested by W-M in order to restore the dislocated metre. Another expedient would be to substitute καλὸν for κάρρον, which would give the favourite rhythm — — — — — — — —; but κάρρον looks right, and is unlikely to have displaced an original καλόν.

v. 11. κοθ[ might be a derivative of the Doric form κοθαίρειν for καθαίρειν (cf. Collitz, *Gr. Dialektinschr.* 1646 κοθαρῶν, 1156 κοθάρσι). The choice of words beginning with κοθ is very limited.

13-16. In the restoration of this commendation of a cheap and easy love I owe several points to W-M. Cf. e. g. Diog. Laert. vi. 46, Horace, *Sat.* i. 2. 119 *namque parabilem amo venerem facilemque*. A dot before λησ is presumably accidental; there is another superfluous dot after οβλω. In l. 16 (19) the high stop after εμεν might be interpreted as one of the dots enclosing the insertion above the line.

Fr. 2. ii. 1-3. Fr. 31 might be placed at the top of this column so far as external appearances are concerned.

4. κροτησίγομφος is another novel compound.

6. A vestige from the top of the letter following η suggests λ or δ.

7. Perhaps φευξίπημονα, though the cross-bar of the η must be supposed to have been drawn abnormally high; cf. however η in l. 15. The letter after π is more like another π than anything else, but an ι is also possible. Compounds of φυξι- occur, but none with φευξι-. Or should we combine κα[γραφεύξ(ε)ι?

8. σκιδόθρεπτος occurs only here.

9. The letter between the two lacunae is represented by an upright stroke which may well be one of the limbs of a π, and ἀδ[ο]ν[ο]π[λ]άκτων (W-M) is quite suitable; cf. ἡδονοπλήξ, which was used by Timon. The supposed rough breathing above the initial α may be a mark of long quantity.

12. γασ[ : or γαρ. The letter after ]τρα may be π.

13 sqq. As restored by W-M this passage describes the physical condition of some one suffering from self-indulgence; the first person is used in l. 16, but the poet cannot be here speaking of himself. For ὠλεσίκαρπον cf. Homer κ 510 ἰτέα ὠλεσίκαρποι, which Hesychius explains διὰ τὸ ταχέως ἀποβάλλειν τὸν καρπὸν, ἢ ὅτι πινόμενος ὁ καρπὸς ἀγόνους ποιεῖ; cf. Oppian, *Cyn.* iii. 283 τύμπανον ἐκέλευον, Διδυμήϊον, ὠλεσίκαρπον. The word would here signify useless fat which ἀπόλλυσι τὸν καρπὸν τῆς τροφῆς. σφύξ is included in a list of words in -υξ by Theognostus (Cramer, *Anecd. Ox.* ii. 132), and does not merit the suspicion with which it has been regarded (Lobeck, *Paralip.* p. 108). According to Erasistratus, πνεῦμα is comprised in the arteries, and σφύγα φουσαλέαν might therefore mean an inflated pulse. φουσαλέος occurs in Nonnus, *Dion.* xliii. 405 φουσ. χόανον. For κρα[τερᾶς cf. the gloss below, ] . . ε κρα[τ]αῖς. ] . . as or ] . . as is there possible, but κρα[τερᾶς cannot be read.—This would not be an unsuitable context for Cerc. Fr. 7.

iii. 20. Perhaps λαμροῖ; the letter before μ is more like α than λ, but it is noticeable that ἀλμυρόν occurs in Cerc. Fr. 7. 6. This line ended the poem.

Fr. 3. ii. 2-14. 'Many a mortal to whom death comes closes his eyes unwillingly. And thy heart within thy breast was stubborn and unconquered, making a rich meal of every care. Therefore nought goodly ever escaped thee. All the dainty prey of the Muses, O my soul, was deep in thy affections, and thou wert a most skilled fisher and hunter of the Pierian maids. But now when white hair plain to view hangs about the head . . . and the chin is hoary, and life, if it seeks any good thing suited to its age and years, uses flattery, looking to the broad threshold of its end, now . . .'

3. Of the three variants ἀμάραντον, ἀπέραντον, and ἀμάλακτον the last seems the most suitable. και is best scanned as a short syllable, -οοο-- -οοο--; cf. l. 11.

5. πιμελοσαρκοφαγεῖν is another new compound. The termination is apparently -ῶν, a Doric contraction of εο for which cf. e. g. C. I. G. 2556. 15 ὠνώμενος, 2557. 26 εὐχαριστῶμες.

6. τ(ῶ) τ[ι]ν W-M. For the accus. τ[ι]ν cf. Theocr. xi. 39, &c.; the remains of the first letter are quite consistent with τ. καλῶν, the reading of the corrector, is shown by the metre to be right. To the same hand is due the deletion of the final ν of τεοισιν, where the justice of the alteration is questionable.

7. The metre is easily restored by the slight modifications proposed by W-M. υπο is unsatisfactory, the π occupying too wide a space; but perhaps some mistake had to be rectified.

8. ἀλ[ι]ευτᾶς and ιχνευτᾶς keep up the metaphor of κνώδαλα.

9-10. This is a difficult passage. In the first place the indicative here and in l. 12 after ὄκα is extraordinary. It would be easy to write περιαιωρῶνται and κολακεύη, but the past tenses in ll. 4 and 8 and νῦν in l. 9 show that the reference is to the present rather than the future, so that the indicative is really more in place. Possibly, since ὄκα could govern either mood, a similar licence was extended to the longer form. Then is λάχραι the subject of the sentence? And what is the case of κορυφά? περιαιωρεῖνται seems probable, and the first three letters are consistent with the very slight vestiges. But the preceding lacuna would then be so short as practically to involve the dative κορυφ[ᾶ]. If περι[ι], which is also quite admissible, were read, there would be room for another narrow letter, e. g. κορυφ[αί]. The middle of l. 10 is much damaged; χ may be read for the doubtful κ, χ or α for λ, and ο or σ for ε. The next letter looks like ω, but χ(ε)ίλεα (not -σι) is not quite impossible.

11. W-M notes that Cercidas as a Cynic philosopher did not conform to the fashion of shaving the beard.

12. κράγνον suits the sense as well as the palaeographical conditions, but the α is perhaps a false Doricism; κρήγνον is the Theocritean form (xx. 19, *Épigrr.* xix. 3). A complication is, however, introduced by the apparent interlinear insertion, which remains unexplained. There may be merely a dot before the supposed τ.

13. βιοτας appears to have been wrongly accented; if βιοτᾶς be read, δερκομένα is left suspended, unless, as Murray suggests, ἡλικίας be emended to ἡλικία. κολακεύει lacks an object. ποτί is only moderately satisfactory; the vestige of the letter after π rather points to α, λ, or perhaps ε; παρα or περι could well be read if they fitted the context. The marginal adscript is too much damaged to be of much assistance; προορῶν evidently refers to δερκομένα. Possibly there was another line below λωσ κτλ.

Fr. 4. 1. The letters ηθρασ are on a detached fragment which appears to be rightly placed here. A σ is in any case wanted to precede κ of σκωπτίλλιο., a novel compound presumably

formed from *σκάπτειν* and *ἄλλος*; the termination may be *ον*, *ος*, or *οι[s]*. Or perhaps *σκαοπτιλλις* could be read; the supposed accent on the first *ι* is hardly certain. The circumflex above *α* of *αυ* seems to have been intended as an alternative to the acute, which, to judge by its position, was the original accent. It is not clear whether the two last letters of the line belong to the text or to an adscript. If to the text, they should be read *ση*, preceded by a medial stop.

3. *-μοφλνακεῖν* is another unfamiliar compound, in which *φλνακεῖν* is a form of *φλναρεῖν*. Cf. *φλύαξ*, *φλνακογράφος*, and Hesych. *φλνάσσει· φλναρεῖ, φλύει, id. φλουάζει· φλναρεῖ, ληρεῖ.*

5-10. These lines may be arranged thus:

τᾶς δὴ τοιαύτας σκεπτοσύνας κεν[εᾶς] μὴ  
σπουδὰν ποιείσθ[αι καὶ] στρέφειν ἄνω κάτω,  
λ[ημ]μ' [ε]ν' εὐρησ δια — ∪ ∪ —  
[μου]σικῶς ἄρμοσμένον.

In l. 6 there is barely room in the lacuna for *κεν[εας]* and perhaps *κενας* was mistakenly written. *λ[ημ]μ' [ε]ν'* is suggested *exempli gratia* by W-M; a tiny vestige of the first letter of l. 9 is consistent with a *μ*, but no restoration which does not include the remainder of the verse can be considered satisfactory. In the latter part of that line *θ* could be *ρ*, and the doubtful *ν* may be *δ* or *λ*; the broken letter following might be the *μ* of *μουσικῶς*,—if that is the right word.

11-14. The conclusion of the poem, where in all probability there is a reference to the Stoic Zeno, unfortunately remains obscure. In l. 11 the first *ο* stands somewhat to the right of the initial letter of the line above and, with a slight allowance for the slope of the column, a lacuna of one letter at the beginning of the line is probable, apart from the consideration that *ὄτ'* or *ὄταν* would be contrary to the dialect. Moreover, near the top of the *ο* there is a very small speck of ink which may be a survival of the lost letter. At the end of this line, *αι* is on a detached strip, which was found folded with Fr. 4 and with little doubt belongs to it, though the combination adopted is uncertain. The exiguous remains of the preceding letter are consistent with e.g. *κ* or *μ*, but not *τ*; *ἔλκ[ο]μαι* is possible. In l. 12, if *[π]οτ* above is right, three letters are expected before *αθευον*. The vestiges in front of the *α* do not suit *τ*, nor is *σταθευτόν* here very attractive. Perhaps *τον* is the article. *αρσ* is probable in l. 13 after *αρσενασ* and a repetition of that word in some form, e.g. *ἀρσένων* or *ἄρσην*, seems to be indicated. *ε* is not impossible for the fourth letter, though the very slight trace does not suggest it; a letter having a perpendicular stroke like *η* would be more satisfactory. In l. 14 the first letter may be *γ* or *τ*, and we have the choice between *γ[ε]λ[ω]ς* and *τ'* (or *γ'*) *ἔ[ρ]ως*: the latter accords better with *πόθον* and *ἴμ[ε]ρον* just above.

On the meaning of these lines and their relation to the foregoing passage see p. 23. It is not necessary to assume that the masculine relationship which seems to have been here commended was the ordinary *παιδεραστία*, to which Zeno, as the fragments show (cf. Frs. 247-53, v. Arnim), was supposed to have been addicted. The poet was possibly upholding a sentiment of a more spiritual order as the true 'Zenonian' love. The adjective *Ζηνωνικός* is used by Sopater, *αφ. Athen. iv. p. 160 f.*

15. *Κερκίδα*: *Κερκιδᾶς* is the common spelling, that being the accent according to Arcad. 21. 19 and apparently Herodian, *Περὶ μὲν. λέξ. 10. 30* (though the MS. there has *Κερκιδας*). But *Κερκιδας*, as in Harpocration, Stobaeus, and others is, as W-M observes, better adapted both to Doric nomenclature and to a period prior to the vogue of hypocoristica in *-ās*. Stobaeus makes the genitive *-α*, as here, in lviii. 10, *-ου* in iv. 43.

**Fr. 5.** 2. Καλλιμέδων may be the Philo-Macedonian orator ridiculed for his gluttony by comic poets; cf. e. g. Athen. iii. 104 c-d.

4. σφαίρος was a form used of the κόσμος by Empedocles, but no doubt Σφαίρω should here be taken, with W-M, as a proper name, and the Stoic philosopher (Diog. Laert. vii. 6) is meant. This allusion is of cardinal importance in the question of the poet's date (cf. p. 26), and has a secondary interest from the fact that Sphaerus had been an instructor of Cleomenes, the enemy of Megalopolis (Plut. *Cleom.* 11).

8. ]φεροντ' may be the participle or = ]φέρουσι.

**Fr. 6.** 2-3. Restored by W-M. For l. 2 cf. Callimachus, Fr. 46 βουσόου, ὃν τε μύωπα βοῶν καλέουσιν ἀμορβοί.

**Fr. 7.** 1. A dark fibre running down the verso would suit a combination with Fr. 9. 6, a lacuna of one or two letters dividing σασπ. [ from ]. εσ[; but the edges of the papyrus do not directly join.

2-4. The identification of these lines with Cerc. Fr. 3 (Stob. *Flor.* lviii. 10) is due to W-M. μυαμόνευ' is Meineke's emendation of the reading of AB ἀμναμονεῦ: ἐμναμόνευ' Bergk, ἀμναμονεῖ Gaisford, ἀνάμονα vulg.

**Fr. 8.** i. 1. ]σεῖδε μὲν: or perhaps ]εῖ εἰδέμεν; προειδέμεν is found in a citation from Archytas in Gaisford's Stobaeus App. p. 46.

2. Some case of εἰλαπίνη is probable.

3. β]λεννοτέρου cannot be read.

**Fr. 9.** 4. σιγηροί: cf. Moeris, p. 343 σιγηλὸς ἐν τῷ λ' Ἀττικοί, ἐν τῷ ρ' Ἕλληνες.

5. W-M suggests πανθῶ[πνευμα. πᾶν θω[ or πάνθ' ὦ[ might also be read.

**Fr. 10.** 4. ἐκτελείς is a variant for συντελείς.

7. An interlineation at the end of the line is perhaps a mark of short quantity.

10. Perhaps ἀρμοί,—unless it is γ]άρ μοι.

11. παλαιός is possible: or the division may be ]. α λαιός [.

**Fr. 11.** This fragment might well be from the top of Fr. 1. v. μὴ . . . νόμιζ[ε would be a convenient combination.

2. Some form of the Doric future of ῥέω seems probable.

4. τοῦ τῶ[: or τοῦτ' ὦ[. τούτω[ is excluded by the accent.

**Fr. 13.** 5. A dot between ν and μ half-way up the letters is probably accidental, since there is no word μεναλλ . . .

6. The preceding κ is against the division ἀνίκα ρ[.

**Fr. 20.** 6. In the interlinear insertion the supposed ν may be a rough breathing belonging to the α below; there would then be a dot between the breathing and μ[.

**Fr. 22.** 3. If ορειν = ὄρᾶν the form is comparable with e. g. Theocr. xxvi. 14 ὄρέοντι; but ὄρῆν would also be a good Doric form (Fr. 1. iv. 5 φνσῆν, &c.).

**Fr. 23.** 2. ὀ]λβοθύλακον W-M. This word, which is not found elsewhere, is explained by the marginal ἀπολαύου[τα; ἀπολαυστ[ικόν is unsuitable.

**Fr. 24.** 2. An ink-spot above the line before  $\epsilon$  may represent a high stop.  
4. ἀρκεσίβουλος is unknown, but cf. ἀρκεσίγυιος.

**Fr. 25.** 1. The letter before the lacuna may be  $\tau$ ; it is probably not  $\nu$ .

**Fr. 28.** 2. ] ῥέθος is more likely than ] ρ ἔθος on account of l. 3.

**Fr. 30.** 2. At the left edge of the papyrus between ll. 1 and 2 there is an ink-mark which may belong to some insertion.

**Fr. 31.** Cf. note on Fr. 2. ii. 1-3.

**Fr. 32.** 4. The acute accent on διατριβα[ is singular; but perhaps it has been affected by the alternative termination.

**Fr. 34.** This fragment has a deeper margin at the top of the column than is found elsewhere in this papyrus. Frs. 34-41, 43-4, 59-61, 64-5 are much worm-eaten, a circumstance which dissociates them from Fr. 1.

**Fr. 37.** The hand of this fragment is apparently identical with that of the rest, but the coronis is rather different from those in Fr. 1. iv and Fr. 2. iii, and the paragraphus below l. 3 is unusual in this papyrus.

**Fr. 39.** 7. ἀ]πάτυλλα is suggested by W-M on the analogy of δαπάνυλλαν in Fr. 1. ii. 11. Possibly the latter word was originally written here by mistake.

**Fr. 40.** 3. πεφ : οτ γεφ (γεφυρ-).

**Fr. 41.** 5. This apparent insertion immediately below l. 4 is not easy to interpret. A letter may be lost after the λ, but there is no sign of other letters. The fragment is from the bottom of a column.

**Fr. 43.** 2. ]ερθεν perhaps ended the line. The attribution of this fragment to 1082 is somewhat doubtful.

**Fr. 46.** 6. The interlineation could perhaps be read ·αρ·. The first dot is rather far from the α and may be a high stop.

**Fr. 47** is apparently from the top of a column.

**Fr. 49.** It is hardly certain that this fragment, which seems to be from the top of a column, belongs to the MS.; the letters are slightly smaller and the lines rather closer together than usual.

**Frs. 68-69.** These two small fragments are doubtfully assigned to the MS.

## 1083. SATYRIC DRAMA.

Fr. I 18.5 × 13.1 cm. Second century.

Plate III (Fr. I).

The following fragments of a Satyric drama are written in upright uncials which are slightly above the medium size and of rather heavy and ungraceful appearance. They may be assigned to the second century, a date to which the cursive notes, added in Frs. 15 and 19 by a hand perhaps not to be distinguished from that of the text, would also seem to point. The names of the *dramatis personae* in the margin of Fr. I are more clearly original; but a different hand is probably to be discerned in one or two of the corrections, and may also well be responsible for some of the accents and other signs which occur. Punctuation, however, is to a large extent at any rate due to the first scribe. For this purpose both high and medial dots are used, though without any clear differentiation of values. Marginal paragraphi as usual denote alternations of dialogue; whether a colon in Fr. I. 1 marks the division of a verse between two speakers is questionable (cf. note *ad loc.*).

Both the nature of the plot and the authorship of the play are unfortunately matters of uncertainty. Besides the chorus of Satyrs, which is expressly designated in the adscript to Fr. I. 6, two other characters are mentioned, Oeneus, whose name is entered in the margin as the speaker of Fr. I. 19-20, and Phoenix, who is twice referred to in the text (Frs. 4. 6, 14. 3) as well as, probably, in an explanatory note (Fr. 19. 8-9). It would perhaps be palaeographically just possible, though not at all satisfactory, to read the name at Fr. I. 19 as Phineus instead of Oeneus, and Phineus and Phoenix would be a very natural conjunction. But there seems to be nothing known of Phineus which suits the situation of Fr. I, where the daughter of the person in question is being sought in marriage by the Satyric chorus, evidently as one among several suitors (cf. l. 20). Oeneus, on the other hand, is said to have promoted a contest for his daughter Deianira, in which the river-god Achelous was defeated by Heracles; and with these two figures a chorus of Satyrs would be thoroughly in keeping. But who then is Phoenix? Possibly he was introduced as another unsuccessful aspirant to the maiden's hand. There was, indeed, a tradition actually connecting Phoenix with Oeneus, for according to the Epic poet Asius (*ap.* Pausan. vii. 4. 1) Phoenix married Perimede, a daughter of Oeneus; and it

would not be very far-fetched to suppose that in this story he was consoled for the loss of Deianira by a marriage with her sister.

That the drama from which these fragments are derived was of an early period is indicated as well by the considerable use of the choral element (cf. Frs. 1 and 18-20) as by the language, which is not inconsistent with a fifth-century composition. Can the piece be attributed to one of the three great tragedians? The style is not that of Aeschylus or of Euripides; but to exclude Sophocles is not so easy. The anaphora of *ἔστι* in Fr. 1. 9 sqq. has a good parallel in Soph. Fr. 855. 3-5. Moreover, Sophocles wrote a play called 'Phoenix', of which practically nothing is known, and an 'Oeneus' has also been assigned to him on doubtful evidence. It is, then, conceivable that Sophocles was the author. On the other hand the repetition of *ἀλλά* in Fr. 1. 3 and 19 betrays some lack of polish, and Wilamowitz would prefer, if any conjectural attribution is to be made, to refer the piece to Ion of Chios. That poet is credited with two plays named after Phoenix, the *Φοῖνιξ ἡ Καίνεός* and a *Φοῖνιξ δεύτερος*; from both of these a few short citations have been preserved, but their plots are quite obscure. It is nowhere stated that either of them was a Satyric drama, though this silence does not justify a contrary conclusion; the character of Caeneus, who is said to have been turned by Poseidon from a woman into a man (Nicander, *ap. Anton. Lib. 17, Schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 57, &c.*), would lend itself to Satyric treatment. The suggestion, however, is made with all reserve; there is not even any certainty that the play was a product of the classical period.

Of the order of the fragments but few indications are obtainable. Fr. 1, in which Oeneus asks the Satyrs who they are and they give an account of themselves and their occupations, presumably stood early in the play, and on that account as well as in consideration of its superior size takes precedence of the rest. The position assigned to the smaller pieces is for the most part arbitrary. Three in which a metre other than the iambic is more or less certainly to be recognized (Fr. 18 anapaestic, Frs. 19 and 20 metre doubtful) are placed together near the end. In a few other cases, to which attention is called in the notes, the grouping has been influenced by the rather hazardous evidence of script or colour.

## Fr. 1. Plate III.

κυρεινδρωνταδηλοντι : χρη[  
 εργατηντοιουδαγωνοσαιχμαλ[  
 αλλ'εξερουμεν.αλλαπρωταβουλομ[  
 γνωναιτινεσπ[.]ρεστεκαιγενουσθ[  
 5 βλαστοντεςουγ[.]γυνγεπωμαθ[  
 απανταπευση[.]νυμφιοιμενη[. . .].ν.  
 παιδεςδενυμφων.βακχιουδυπηρεται·  
 θεωνδ'ομαυλοιπασαδηρμοσταιτεχνη  
 πρεπουσ'ενημιν·εστιμενταπροσμαχην  
 10 δοροσ·παλησαγωνεσ·ιπικησ·δρομου.  
 πυγμασ·οδοντων·ορχεωναποστροφαι·  
 ενεισιδ'ωδαιμουσικησ·ενεστιδε  
 μαντειαπανταγνωτακουκεψευσμενα·  
 ιματωντ'ελεγχος·εστινουρανου  
 15 μετρησις·εστορχησις·εστιτωνκατω  
 λαλησις·αρακαρποσηθεωριά  
 ωνσοιλαβεινεξεστιτουθοποιοιαν  
 ] . .  
 ]οινευσ  
 ]·  
 χρηζησειαντηνπαιδα[.]ροστιθισειμοι  
 αλλουχιμεμπτοντογενος·αλλαβουλομαι  
 20 καιτονδαθρησαιπρωτο[.]οστισερχεται

## Fr. 2.

]υδονουδαποδερχ[  
 ]ασωχθονοσσεληνα[  
 ]ουτοφωσβεβηκενοιχετα[  
 ]λλητινυκτοσαστρονη[  
 5 ]νησκειπροσαυγηνηλιθ[  
 ]κπνιδετονδ'αυμελαναβο[  
 ]σδναπροφρωνιδεμεπα[  
 ]π'ευα[.]ωσφυγάδαποτε[  
 ]τιγ[.]· [



## Fr. 1. Plate III.

- κυρεῖν δρῶντα δηλοῦν τί. χρῆ [ . . .  
 ἐργάτην τοιοῦδ' ἀγῶνος αἰχμάλ[ωτον ἐννέπειν.  
 (Οἶν.) ἀλλ' ἐξεροῦμεν· ἀλλὰ πρῶτα βούλομαι  
 γνῶναι τίνες π[ά]ρεστε καὶ γένους ὅ[του  
 5 βλαστούντες· οὐ γ[ὰρ] νῦν γέ πω μαθ[ῶν] ἔχω.  
 Χο(ρὸς) ἄπαντα πεύση. νυμφῖοι μὲν ἤ[κομε]ν,  
 σατύ(ρων). παῖδες δὲ νυμφῶν, Βακχίου δ' ὑπηρέται,  
 θεῶν δ' ὄμαυλοι· πᾶσα δ' ἤρμονται τέχνη  
 πρέπουσ' ἐν ἡμῖν· ἔστι μὲν τὰ πρὸς μάχην  
 10 δορός, πάλης ἀγῶνες, ἵππικῆς, δρόμου,  
 πυγμῆς, ὀδόντων, ὄρχεων ἀποστροφαί,  
 ἔνεισι δ' ᾠδαὶ μουσικῆς, ἔνεστι δὲ  
 μαντεῖα πάντα γνωτὰ κούκ ἐψευσμένα,  
 ἰαμάτων τ' ἔλεγχος, ἔστιν οὐρανοῦ  
 15 μέτρησις, ἔστ' ὄρχησις, ἔστι τῶν κάτω  
 λάλησις· ἄρ' ἄκαρπος ἢ θεωρία;  
 ὦν σοι λαβεῖν ἔξεστι τοῦθ' ὅποῖον ἂν  
 ]··· χρήζης, ἐὰν τὴν παῖδα [π]ροστίθης ἐμοί.  
 Οἰνεύς. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ μεμπτὸν τὸ γένος· ἀλλὰ βούλομαι  
 ]· 20 καὶ τόνδ' ἀθρῆσαι πρῶτο[ν] ὅστις ἔρχεται

## Fr. 2.

- (A) φροῦδον οὐδ' ἀποδέρκ[ομαι  
 ]ασω χθονὸς σεληνα[  
 (B) [ἰδ]οὺ τὸ φῶς βέβηκεν, οἴχετα[ι σέλας·  
 [ἀ]λλ' ἢ τι νυκτὸς ἄστρον ἢ [μῆ]νης κέρας  
 5 [θ]νήσκει πρὸς αὐγὴν ἠλίο[ν] μαυρούμενον,  
 [ἐ]κπνεῖ δὲ τόνδ' αὖ μέλανα βό[στ]ρυχον καπνοῦ.  
 (A) ]σονὰ πρόφρων ἰδέ με πα[ρ]όντα  
 ]π' εὐά[.]ως φυγάδα ποτὲ [  
 ]τιγ[.]· [  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 3.

. . . .  
 ] . . [ . ] . [ .  
 ]στροβεισοφ[  
 ]τινοστεσυμ[  
 ]ικεσθαικαπ[  
 5 ]σισβαμ[  
 . . . .

## Fr. 4.

. . . .  
 ωτ[  
 υφο[  
 ωδιυ[  
 αποσπασεισμ[  
 5 τωνδούνεκη[  
 φοινηξοραισ . . [ .  
 [ . . . ]τρω[  
 . . . .

## Fr. 5.

. . . .  
 ] . υ[  
 ]τ'άνειφων . [ . ]ση . [ .  
 ]ωκυριωσκεκτ[ . ]μενον  
 ]στι·τηνγαρυ[ . ]ατην  
 5 ]μανειργωνδδον  
 ]ηρκλυωνσοφος  
 . . . .

## Fr. 6.

. . . .  
 ]ροσθεν . [ .  
 ]τανομ[  
 ] . εισδετ[  
 ]ησαν[  
 5 ]τοισ[  
 . . . .

## Fr. 7.

. . . .  
 ]φιλεστατο[  
 ] . ντιδ'αντισ[  
 ]κοσοφ . [ .  
 ] . . . [ .  
 . . . .

## Fr. 8.

. . . .  
 ]μεχ[  
 ]οιστρ[  
 ]ην . [ .  
 ]ντας[  
 5 ]τοσλ[  
 ] . π[ .  
 . . . .

## Fr. 9.

. . . .  
 ] . μ . [ .  
 ]μονείτ[ . [ .  
 ]ρποσιος . [ .  
 . . . .

## Fr. 10.

. . . .  
 ]αν[  
 ]οτα[  
 ]εκοι . [ .  
 . . . .

## Fr. 11.

. . . .  
 ]λισ[  
 ]σεχει  
 ]υφρ . . [ .  
 . . . .

## Fr. 3.

. . . . .  
 ] . . [ . ] . [ .  
 [ϰ -] στροβεῖ σοφ[ῶς  
 [ϰ -]· τίνος τε συμ[  
 [ϰ -] ἰκέσθαι καπ[  
 5 ]σις βαί[

## Fr. 4.

(Φοῖν.) ὦ τ[  
 (B) ὑφο[  
 (Φοῖν.) ὠδιν[  
 (B) ἀποσπάσεις μ[ε  
 (Φοῖν.) 5 τῶνδ' οὔνεκ' ἦ[λθον  
 (B) Φοῖνιξ, ὄρα[ς . . [ .  
 (Φοῖν.) [ . . . ]τρω[

## Fr. 5.

. . . . .  
 ] . υ[  
 ]τ' ἂν εἰ φων . [ . ]ση . [ .  
 ]ω κυρίως κεκτ[ή]μενον  
 ἐ[στί] τὴν γὰρ ὑ[στ]άτην  
 5 ]ιαν εἴργων ὀδὸν  
 ἀν]ήρ κλέων σοφὸς

## Fr. 6.

. . . . .  
 π]ρόσθεν . [ .  
 ]ται νομ[  
 ] . εἰς δὲ τ[  
 ]ησαν[  
 5 ]τοις[

## Fr. 7.

. . . . .  
 προσ]φιλεστατο[  
 ' ] . ντι δ' ἀντις[  
 ]κοσοφ . [ .  
 ] . . . [ .

## Fr. 8.

. . . . .  
 ]μεχ[  
 ]οιστρ[  
 ]ην . [ .  
 ]ντας[  
 5 ]τος λ[  
 ]π[

## Fr. 9.

. . . . .  
 ] . μ . [ .  
 ]μονεῖ τι[  
 ]ρ πόσιος . [ .

## Fr. 10.

. . . . .  
 ]αν[  
 ]οτα[  
 ]εκοι . [ .

## Fr. 11.

. . . . .  
 ]λις[  
 ]ς ἔχει  
 ]ὑφρ . . [ .

Fr. 12.

. . . .  
 ]ανα[  
 ]βοληκλυ[  
 ]ηιπαρε[  
 ]μιτυμβε[

Fr. 13.

. . . .  
 ]λ[.]σενγαμ[  
 ]τραζυγεισοχ[  
 ]ριωνζενξασμ[

Fr. 14.

. . . .  
 ]υν[  
 ]ων[  
 ]φοινηξ[  
 ]μησον[  
 5 ] . ησαι[  
 . . . .

Fr. 15.

. . .  
 ηδα[  
 ανευ[  
 ]<sup>ηλ</sup>  
 ]<sup>εκ</sup> καν[  
 . [

Fr. 16.

. . . .  
 ]ρην[  
 ]νποτ[  
 ]μονη[  
 ] . [.] . [

Fr. 17.

. . . .  
 ]κει  
 ]εχρονωι  
 ]διδουσ  
 ]ξιαι

Fr. 18.

. . . .  
 ]  
 ]λαβειη . [  
 ]ήγου[  
 ]τησ  
 ]σανογε  
 5 ] . σανπερισου  
 ]μηκαλονη  
 ]ει[.]αν.  
 ] . ισθαλεγω  
 ]ειφοτιμοι  
 10 ]ων  
 ]δει[. . . .]ν[  
 ]κε[  
 . . . .

Fr. 19.

. . . .  
 ] . σ[.]αχ[  
 ]ρεσσεται[  
 ]  
 ] . . σουτοσώ . [  
 5 ]  
 ]αππαπαππαπ[  
 ]  
 ]μενειπεινοφοι[  
 ]σοδουσιεμφυ[  
 . . . .

Fr. 12.

. . . .  
 ]ανα[  
 ]βολη· κλυ[  
 ]η παρε[  
 ]μι τυμβε[υ

Fr. 13.

. . . .  
 ]λ[.]σεν γαμ[  
 τε]τραζυγείς ὄχ[ους  
 ]ρίων· ζεύξας μ[

Fr. 14.

. . . .  
 ]υ[  
 ]ων[  
 ] Φοῖνιξ [   
 ]μησον[  
 5 ]· ησαι[  
 . . . .

Fr. 15.

. . . .  
 ηδα[  
 ἀνευ [   
 ]ν λη( ) καν[  
 ]  
 . . . .

Fr. 16.

. . . .  
 ]ρην[  
 ]νποτ[  
 ]μονη[  
 ]· [.]· [ ]  
 . . . .

Fr. 17.

. . . .  
 ]κει  
 ]ι χρόνω·  
 ] διδοῦς  
 ε]ξίαι  
 . . . .

Fr. 18.

. . . .  
 ]  
 β]λαβείη· [   
 ]ήγου[  
 ]της  
 5 ]σαν ὅ γε  
 ]· σαν περὶ σοῦ  
 ] μὴ καλὸν ἦ  
 ]ει[.]αν·  
 ] οἷσθ' ἂ λέγω  
 10 ] εἴφ' ὅ τι μοι  
 ]ων  
 ]δει[. . . .]η[  
 ]κε[  
 . . . .

Fr. 19.

. . . .  
 ]· σ[.]αχ[  
 ]ρέσεται [   
 ]  
 ]· . . s οὔτος ὦ· [   
 ]  
 π]απαπαπαπα[αῖ  
 5 ]  
 ] μὲν εἰπεῖν ὁ Φοῖνιξ  
 ]σοδους ἴν' ἐμφυ[

Fr. 20.	Fr. 21.	Fr. 22.	
]ερμαπαφ[	. . .	. . .	
]σιπυλιονει[	] .	] .	
]ουδεδιαπυ[	] .	]ν	
. . . .	]αμ'επο[	]ν.	
	]νοσ.	]σ.	
	]δη[.]	]οι	
	] . ιου	. .	
	. . .		
Fr. 23.	Fr. 24.	Fr. 25.	
. . .	. . .	. . .	
εκ[	]ονογ[	]ασ . [	
χουτ[	]μο . [	]ν	
ζητ[	]ωμεν[	]στενων	
. . .	. . .	]	
		. . .	
Fr. 26.	Fr. 27.	Fr. 28.	Fr. 29.
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
]ησουσδ[	] . α[	]οστ[	]ουνα[
]σδ'οικο[	]εινα[	]χθ[	]ο . [
. . .	] . ιαρη[	]ο[	. . .
	. . .	. . .	
Fr. 30.	Fr. 31.	Fr. 32.	Fr. 33.
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
]υλαχωγ[	]ληνωνκ[	]υχο[	]νειν[
]	]	]	]
]	]	]	. . .
. . .	. . .	. . .	
Fr. 34.	Fr. 35.	Fr. 36.	Fr. 37.
ευδα[	. . .	. . .	. . .
. . .	τελο[	]εσ	] . . φ . [
	. . .	]ροσο[	]ν.ήμ[
		. . .	. . .

Fr. 20. ]ερμα παφ[ ] Σιπύλιον ει[ ]ουδε διαπυ[ . . . . .	Fr. 21. . . . . . ] ] ]αμ' επο[ ]νος· ]δη[· ] . ιου	Fr. 22. . . . . . ] ]ν ]ν· ]ς· ]οι . . . . .	
Fr. 23. . . . . . εκ[ χούτ[ ζήτ[ . . . . .	Fr. 24. . . . . . ]ονον[ ]μο . [ ]ωμεν[ . . . . .	Fr. 25. . . . . . ]ασ . [ ]ν ] στένων ] . . . . .	
Fr. 26. . . . . . ]ησους δ[ ]ς δ' οίκο[ . . . . .	Fr. 27. . . . . . ] . α[ ]εινα[ ] . ιαρη[ . . . . .	Fr. 28. . . . . . ]οστ[ ]χθ[ ]ο[ . . . . .	Fr. 29. . . . . . ]ουνα[ ]ο . [ . . . . .
Fr. 30. . . . . . ]ν λαχών   ] ] . . . . .	Fr. 31. . . . . . ]ληνων κ[ ] ] . . . . .	Fr. 32. . . . . . ]υχο[ ] ] . . . . .	Fr. 33. . . . . . ]νειν ] . . . . .
Fr. 34. εὐδα[ . . . . .	Fr. 35. . . . . . <u>τελο</u> [ . . . . .	Fr. 36. . . . . . ]εσ ]τοσο[ . . . . .	Fr. 37. . . . . . ] . . ω . [ ]ν· ἡμ[ . . . . .

**Fr. 1.** 1-2. In papyri of dramatic works a colon regularly denotes a change of speaker, but such a division is objectionable in a verse of this kind. Possibly then the colon here indicates a metrical division—a purpose for which it is sometimes employed, though that explanation too is quite unconvincing. Above the colon is an oblique mark which is probably to be interpreted as a rather carelessly written accent on *τι*. Either *δηλοῦν τί δρῶντα (με?) κυρεῖν . . .* or *δῆλ' οὖν τί δρῶντα (σε?) κυρεῖν . . .* would be intelligible. *ἐννέπειν* or some similar word is implied by the following *ἐξεροῦμεν*. A small coronis below l. 2 marks the transition to another metre.

2-20. '(Oen.) Well, I will tell you. But first I wish to know who ye are and from what stock ye are sprung; for as yet I have not learnt.

*Chorus of Satyrs.* Thou shalt hear all. As suitors are we come, sons of nymphs, servants of Bacchus, fellow-dwellers with gods; and we are supplied with every fitting art: we are equipped for the spear-fight, ours the contest in wrestling, in horse-racing, running, boxing, biting, ours twisting of testicles, we have the strains of music, we have oracles fully known and not falsified, and medicines to put to the test, we know the meting out of the skies, and dancing, and lore of the nether world. Is our study fruitless? And it is thine to take of these whatever thou wilt, if thou givest thy daughter to me.

*Oeneus.* There is indeed no fault with your stock; but I wish first to see this man who is coming . . .'

16. An acute accent was mistakenly placed on the *a* of *θεωρία* and not afterwards cancelled.

17. To the left of this line there are slight remains of a marginal note.

19. The *o* of *οινεύς* is incomplete, but fairly secure, the stroke below it not being in the right position for the tail of a *φ*. *καίνεύς* is clearly out of the question.

**Fr. 2.** 1. *ἀποδέρκεσθαι* is unexampled but can hardly be avoided; the *ρ*, though rubbed, is clear, and the *κ* is nearly as certain.

3 sqq. Restorations suggested by W-M are printed *exempli gratia*. It may be supposed that the flame of an altar or torch had been extinguished. *η* in l. 4 must be for *ῆ*, not *ῆ* or *ῆ*, since of course a star or the moon could not be said to *ἐκπνέειν μέλανα βό[σ]τρυχον*.

7. ]*σὸνα*: a proper name is rather expected here; but is not easily obtained; the first letter might be *γ* or *τ*, the second is possibly *ω*. There is no doubt about the accent.

8. *εὐά[.]ως* is again difficult; the *ω* may be *ο*.

**Fr. 3.** The appearance of the papyrus and the comparative compactness of the writing suggest that this fragment came from the same column as Fr. 2. Perhaps the broken letters in Fr. 2. 9 and Fr. 3. 1 belong to one line, but I can find no satisfying combination.

**Fr. 6.** This and the following five fragments are grouped with Fr. 5 on account of a certain similarity of colour, which however may well be deceptive.

5. The letters of this line are rather smaller and closer to the line above than usual; apparently the scribe wished to keep the end of the column even with its neighbours.

**Fr. 7.** 3. The vestige after *φ* suits e. g. *α* or *λ*.

**Fr. 8.** 6. *π* enclosed between two dots is an interlineation referring to the next verse.

**Fr. 9.** 2. To the right of the circumflex accent there are some further marks of ink to which I can attach no meaning. A junction between two selides occurs in this fragment.



Fr. 11. 3. The accent is placed slightly to the left of the *υ*, which therefore probably formed a diphthong with a preceding vowel.

Fr. 13. 2. τε]τραξιγείς ὄχ[ους W-M, comparing Eurip. *Hcl.* 1039 τετραξύγων ὄχων.

Fr. 18. 2. ]ηγου was perhaps the end of the line.

Fr. 20. 1. Perhaps θ]ερμὰ παφ[λας . . . ; cf. Aristoph. Fr. 498 (Kock) τὸ δ' ἕντος . . . τουτὶ θερμὸν καὶ τοῦτο παφλάζον. Fr. 20 like Fr. 19 is apparently in a lyric measure.

2. Σιπύλιον: οἱ ]σι Πύλιον.

Fr. 30. This and the two following small pieces may well be from the ends of columns. Fr. 34 is from the top of a column.

#### 1084. HELLANICUS, *Atlantis* 1.

11.5 × 7.9 cm. Early second century. Plate III.

The origin of this fragment is demonstrated by a citation in the Venetian Scholia on Homer Σ 486 (=Hellan. Fr. 56): φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἑλλάνικος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἀτλαντικῶν τὰς μὲν 5' (sc. τῶν Ὑάδων) θεοῖς συνελθεῖν, Ταῦγέτην Δί, ὦν γενέσθαι Λακεδαίμονα, Μαίαν Δί, ἀφ' ὧν Ἐρμῆς, Ἡλέκτραν Δί, ὦν Δάρδανος, Ἀλκούνην Ποσειδῶνι, ὦν Ὑριεύς, Στερόπην Ἄρει, ὦν Οἰνόμαος· Κελαινῶ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ αὐτὴν συγγενέσθαι, ὦν Λύκος· Μερόπην δὲ Σισύφῳ θνητῷ ὄντι, ὦν Γλαῦκος· διὸ καὶ ἀμαυρὰν εἶναι. This passage alludes so patently to the text before us as to assure beyond any question an identification which the subject and dialect would of themselves naturally suggest. References to Hellanicus are not infrequent, but quotations of his *ipsissima verba* are extremely scarce; and the present addition to them, though regrettably small, is very acceptable.

Its handsome appearance indicates with sufficient clearness that this manuscript contained the *Atlantis* itself, and not merely some commentary or grammatical treatise in which the *Atlantis* was excerpted. The rather narrow column is written in a round upright hand very similar to that of 844, though still more calligraphic. Of the two 1084 is perhaps slightly the older; but they no doubt belong to approximately the same period, probably the earlier part of the second century. Dots in the high and middle position, as well as paragraphi, are used for purposes of punctuation, the medial point marking a briefer pause (l. 15). Short lines are filled up by small angular signs turned in the opposite direction to that in which they are usually found.

Col. i.

]. γτ[.

. . .

Col. ii.

νων εν σπη· τ[ων  
 δε̄ γινεται Ερμ[ης  
 φιλητης· οτι αυ [   
 5 τη φιλησιμ[ως  
 συνεκοιμ[ατο·  
 και γ[ινεται θε  
 ων κη[ρυξ] αγηρ[αος  
 και αθανατος· Κ[ε  
 10 λαινοι δε μισγε <  
 ται Ποσειδεων· <  
 των δε γινεται  
 Λυκος ον ο πατηρ  
 κατοικιζει εν μα  
 15 καρων νησοις· <  
 και ποιει αθανα  
 τον· Τηγετη δε  
 [Ζε]υς μισγεται· των  
 [δε γινεται Λακε]  
 20 [δαιμων . . .

2. The sentence may be restored *Μαίαι δε Ζευς μισγεται λανθα]νων κτλ.* This simple construction, as Wilamowitz remarks, is better suited to the style than a sentence containing a genitive such as *μισγομε]νων*. Cf. Apollodor. iii. 10. 2. 1 *Μαία . . . Δῑ συνελθοῦσα ἐν ἄντρῳ τῆς Κυλλήνης Ἑρμῆν τίκει.*

*σπη* is an Epic form which is out of place here ; *σπει* or *σπεῖ* is expected.

3-4. Cf. Hom. *H. Herm.* 292 ἀρχὸς φηλητέων κεκλήσεται, 446 φηλήτα, Διὸς καὶ Μαΐδος υἱέ, Eurip. *Rhes.* 217 Ἑρμῆς, ὅς γε φηλητῶν ἄναξ. The spelling *φιλητης* is a common error which the grammarians try to defend, e. g. Eustath. p. 781. 11 τὸ δέ γε φηλῶ φηλήσω τῶν ὕστερόν ἐστι· διὸ καὶ τὸ πέποιθ' ὄγε φιλήτησι (Hesiod, *Opera* 373) οὐ διὰ τοῦ η̄ ἔχει τὴν ἀρχουσαν ἐν τοῖς ἀκριβέσις ἀντιγράφοις, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦ ἰῶτα, and Helladius, *ap. Photius, Bibl.* p. 535. 6, where the derivation from *φιλεῖν* is advanced, as in the text here : ὅτι κατ' εὐφημισμὸν οἱ Ἀπτικοὶ τὸν κλέπτην φιλήτην λέγουσιν, οἰονεῖ μισητόν· ἢ καὶ φίλητης ὁ κλέπτης, διότι φιλεῖ λαμβάνειν τὰ ἀλλότρια ; cf. Choerob. in Cramer, *Anecd. Oxon.* ii. p. 271. *φιλητης* in the present passage seems at first sight guaranteed by the following sentence ; but *οτι . . . συνεκοιμ[ατο]* may well be a gloss which has become incorporated into the text. As an interpretation it is no happier than its rivals, for *φιλητης* should have an active, not a passive sense.

13-15. Cf. Apollodor. iii. 10. 1. 3 *Κελαινοί, ἐξ ἧς Λύκος ἐγένετο, ὃν Ποσειδῶν ἐν μακάρων ὤκισε νήσοις.*

1085. PANCRATES, *Hadrian and Antinoüs.*

19.6 x 14.2 cm.

Second century.

It is related by Athenaeus (xv. 677 d-f) that Pancrates, an Alexandrian poet and an acquaintance of his own (τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ποιητής, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐγνωμεν), suggested to the Emperor Hadrian when at Alexandria that a certain variety of lotus resembling the rose should be called after Antinoüs, saying that it had sprung from the blood of a famous lion (τοῦ Μαυρουσίου λέοντος) which had been killed by Hadrian in the neighbourhood of the city. This fearsome beast, we are told, had long ranged over Libya and terrorized the inhabitants. The emperor was so pleased with the idea that he rewarded its originator with free maintenance at the Museum. Athenaeus proceeds to quote from 'the poem' of Pancrates four 'not inelegant' hexameter lines in which the lotus of Antinoüs was referred to:

οὔλην ἔρπυλλον, λευκὸν κρίνον ἢδ' ὑάκινθον  
 πορφυρέην γλαυκοῦ τε χελιδονίου πέτηλα  
 καὶ ῥόδον ἄρινόισιν ἀνοιγόμενον ζεφύροισιν  
 οὔπω γὰρ φύεν ἄνθος ἐπώνυμον Ἀντινόοιο.

Pancrates, therefore, embodied his idea in a poem which, it may be presumed, was recited to the emperor. Now the fragment of which the text follows below describes in epic style a great lion hunt the heroes of which were Hadrian and Antinoüs. The inference is obvious, and will hardly be called in question. Here evidently we have the episode which inspired Pancrates; and the poem is none other than that from which Athenaeus quotes.

A further sample of that poem is an interesting acquisition, although its recovery is not likely to add to the literary reputation of Pancrates. His versification is sufficiently good; but his style is diffuse and turgid. The long description of the infuriated lion (ll. 10-25) is a laboured performance, exaggerated but undistinguished either by force or originality. It will be felt that the rather faint praise bestowed upon his contemporary by Athenaeus was the utmost that he deserved.

The sheet upon which the verses are inscribed had been used as the cover of a glass bottle, about the mouth of which it was found wrapped. They are written in an upright and rather small cursive hand which does not look subsequent to the latter part of the second century, and can therefore be removed by but few stages from the author's autograph. Marks of elision and stops in the high position were added by the original scribe.

## Col. i.

About 27 lines lost.

]ν

. . .

## Col. ii.

- [ιππου] δ' Αδρ[η]στοιο θωωτερον· ος ποτ' ανακτα  
 [. . .]ως φευγοντα κατα κλονογ εξεσαωσε  
 [τοι]ον εφεξομενος δαμασην[ο]ρα μιμνε λεροντα  
 [Α]ντινοος λαιηι μεν εχων ρυτηρα χαλινον·  
 5 δεξιτερηι δ' εγχος κεκορυθμενο[ν] εξ αδαμαντος  
 πρωτος δ' Αδριανος προΐεις χαλκηρεον εγχος  
 ουτασεν· ουδε δαμασσεν εκων γαρ απημβροτε θ[η]ρος  
 [ε]υστοχιης γαρ παμπαν εβουλετο πειρηθηναι  
 [Α]ργειφοντιαδαο μεγηρατ[ου Αντι]νοοιο·  
 10 [θ]ηρ δε τυπεις ετι μαλλογ [ο]ρινετο ποσσι δ' αμυσσ[ε]  
 γαιαν τρηχαλ[ε]η[ν] θυμουμ[ε]νος· εκ δε κονη  
 φ[σ ν]εφ[ος] ισταμενη φ[αος η]χλυεν ηελιοιο·  
 μαινετο δ' ως οτε κυμ[α] πολυκλυστο[ι]ο θαλασσης  
 Στρυ[μ]οιου κ[α]τοπισθεν εγειρομενου Ζεφυρ[ο]ιο  
 15 . . η . [ . δ ]επ αμφοτεροισιν επωρορε· μαστιε δ' ουρ[η]η  
 [ισχια κ]αι πλευρας σφετερηι μαστιγι κε . [  
 [. . . . .]ος· οσσε δε δεινον υπ οφρουσι πυρ φ[λεγεθεσ]κον  
 [εκ δ αυ λ]αβροβορ[ω]ν στοματων πολυν αφρον οδοντων  
 [εξανιει] συναρασσομενων εντοσθεν εξ [αιαν  
 20 [κρατος δ] εκ μεγαλοιο και αυχενος εκ λασιο[ιο  
 [χαιτη] χειρομενη κατεσειετο· η μεν απ α[λλων  
 [δασκιος] ην μελεων ατε δενδρεα· η δ' απο ν[ω]του  
 [. . . . .]μενη θηκτοισιν ομοϊος ηεν ακω[καις  
 [ως ο γ εβη] κατεναντα θ[εου] κλυτου Αντι[νοου] τε  
 25 οια γιγαντ[ο]λ[εταο] Διος πα[ρο]ς αντα Τυφωευ[ς  
 τον δε θωως ρα μαθων εσσ[ε]υμ[ενον] [  
 ιππωι επ Αν[τ]ινο . . ακ . υ[. . . . .]ρομ[  
 ρηξεν μεν στομαχον θε[. . . . .]ε τ[ενοντας

- αυχενιους και παντα δι . [   
 30 οφρα κατα χθονος ωκα παγ[   
 αυτ[ου θ]ηροφονοιο θεου [   
 [. . . . .] . πυματον βρυ[κωμενος   
 . . . . .]μνομενοις σκ[   
 [. . . . .] εν κονιησι πεσεν προπετ[ω]ς   
 35 [. . . . . ι]ππειοισι βαλεν πλατυν [   
 [. . . . . ο]πλαισιν εις κατετυπ[τε   
 [. . . . . ι]α κατ' αντια πυγμαχο[   
 [. . . . . ]μενος προς ε[. . . ]κοσ[   
 [. . . . . ] . οσαπ[   
 40 [. . . . . ]σατ[

## Col. iii.

One line lost.

φ[   
 δουρι ζ[. . .] . [

Unplaced fragment.

]χετο[   
 ]ατ' . [

ii. 1-25. ' . . . and swifter than the horse of Adrastus which once saved the king as he fled . . . in the battle-throng. Such was the steed whereon Antinoüs sat in wait for the deadly lion, holding in his left hand the bridle-rein and in his right a spear shod with adamant. First Hadrian hurling his brass-fitted spear wounded the beast but slew him not, for of purpose he missed the mark, wishing to test to the full the sureness of aim of beauteous Antinoüs, son of the Argus-slayer. Stricken, the beast was yet more aroused, and tore up in his wrath the rough ground with his paws, and the dust rising in a cloud dimmed the light of the sun; he raged even as the wave of the surging sea when Zephyrus is stirred forth after the wind of Strymon. [Straight] he rushed upon them both, scourging with his tail his haunches and sides . . . while his eyes, beneath his brows, flashed dreadful fire; and from his ravening jaws the foam showered to the earth as his teeth gnashed

within. On his mighty head and shaggy neck the hair stood bristling; on his other limbs it was bushy as trees, and on his back . . . it was like whetted spear-points. In such wise he came against the glorious god and upon Antinoüs, like Typhoëus of old against Zeus, slayer of giants.'

ii. 1-2. Adrastus was saved by his horse Arion in the expedition of the Seven against Thebes; cf. e. g. Apollodor. iii. 6. 7 Ἐδραστον δὲ μόνον ἵππος διέσωσεν Ἀρίων, Homer Ψ 346-7. In l. 2 ]ος, which is quite clear, is no doubt the termination of an adverb qualifying φευγοντα. κλονον then remains indefinite, but this causes no difficulty in view of the recurrence of the phrase κατὰ κλόνον in the *Iliad* (Π 331, 713, 789, Φ 422) and the familiarity of the allusion. The first *a* of *ανακτα* has been converted apparently from an *ε*, i. e. the scribe at first wrote ποτε unelided.

3. δαμασση]ο]ρα, which was suggested by W-M, is a new compound.

7. θ[ηρος is very doubtful; the remains of the initial letter suggest rather σ.

9. [Α]ργειφοντιαδαο: cf. Kaibel, *Inscr. Gr. Ital.* 978 (a), where Antinoüs is described as ἰέος θεός Ἐρμάων. In a coin struck at Bithynium in his honour Hermes is figured on the reverse (Eckhel, vi. p. 532).

10. ποσσι δ αμωσ[ε: cf. the passage quoted from Hesiod, *Scul.* in the note on ll. 15-17.

12. For η]χλυεν (W-M) cf. Q. Smyrn. xi. 248 κόνω δ' ἀκάμαντες ἀῆται ὄρσαν ἀπειρεσίην' ἠχλυσε δὲ πᾶσαν ὑπερθεν ἠέρα θεσπεσίην.

13. μαινετο δ ὡς οτε: cf. Homer O 605.

15. Some adverb such as ὄκα would be suitable, but that word cannot be read.

15-17. Cf. Homer Υ 170 οὐρῆ δὲ πλευράς τε καὶ ἰσχία ἀμφοτέρωθεν μαστίεται, whence ἰσχία is adopted in l. 16, and Hesiod, *Scul.* 430-1 γλανκίδων δ' ὄσσοις δεινὸν πλευράς τε καὶ ὤμους οὐρῆ μαστιῶων ποσσι γλάφει. σφετερι μαστιγι perhaps refers to the belief that the lion's tail carried a sting; cf. Etym. Gud. 36. 13 ἔχει γὰρ (sc. ὁ λέων) ἐπὶ τῇ οὐρᾷ κέντρον, ἀφ' οὗ παροξύνεται, καθὼς φησὶν Ἱερώνυμος καὶ Ἐπαφρόδιτος. At the end of l. 16 W-M proposes κελ[αινη, which is quite possible.

17. πωρ is followed by a small vestige which only shows that the next letter was a rather tall one, e. g. κ or φ, and φ[λεγεθεσκου (W-M) gives the requisite sense. δεινον is better taken adverbially than as an adjective.

18-19. Cf. Homer Υ 168 περὶ τ' ἀφρὸς ὀδόντας γίγνεται. [εξαινει], which was suggested by W-M, can of course be replaced by several other words, e. g. εκπροίει or εσταζεν. ες [αιαν at the end of this verse is not very satisfactory, and it is likely enough that the verb stood here, but εχ[ευεν is unsuitable. The initial ε is hardly to be avoided, and οδ[οντων is thus excluded.

22. [δασκιος] W-M. ]ην may also be ]ων, i. e. some epithet of μελεων, e. g. [εκπαγλ]ων.

23. [ιστα]μενη would be weak and hardly sufficient for the lacuna, [εγρο]μενη (Callim. *H. Apoll.* 64 θεμείλια . . . ἐγείρειν) is also unlikely.

25. γιγαντ[ο]λ[εταο] and πα[ρο]ς were proposed by W-M; the lacuna is too small for πα[τρο]ς.

26. εσσε[νυ]μενον: there is little doubt about the first σ, and the preceding ε is very suitable; hence it seems likely, as W-M suggests, that Pancrates ventured on an otherwise unexampled perfect form. ἐσσύμενος, besides having a short υ, is adjectival.

27. It is uncertain who is the subject here. Neither Αν[τ]ιωοιο nor Αν[τ]ιωοου nor Αν[τ]ιωοος suits the vestiges at all well; Αν[τ]ιωοιο for -οοιο is possible, but this too is unconvincing. The supposed υ before the lacuna might be ρ or φ, and ]ρομ[ can be ]φομ[.

28. τ[ενοντας] W-M.

33. σκ[ : or σιδ[ or σιδφ[.

Unplaced fragment. The third letter in l. 1 is clearly  $\tau$  not  $\upsilon$ , and so this small piece cannot well be placed at the beginning of ll. 19-20. In l. 2 the mark of elision is very doubtful.

1086. SCHOLIA ON *Iliad* ii.

23.2 x 41 cm.

First century B. C.

This considerable fragment of a commentary on the second Book of the *Iliad* is written in a sloping semi-cursive hand which may be assigned to about the middle of the first century B. C. Certain Ptolemaic characteristics are evident, e.g. the linking of  $\eta$  to the succeeding letter; but these are not so marked as to render probable a date prior to the first century. Palaeographical material for that period is still very scanty; some resemblances may, however, be found between the present script and 236 (a)-(c) (P. Oxy. II, Plate V) which are dated in the reign of Ptolemy Auletes. A probably rather earlier specimen of the same type is to be seen in P. Brit. Mus. 133 of Demosth. *Ep.* 3 (*Classical Texts in the B. M.*, Plate III); cf. also 1087. The verso of 1086 contains a series of medical receipts in an early first-century A. D. hand. A remarkable feature of the recto is the great breadth of the columns, which measured about 16 cm. across. The letters are usually rather small, but there is much unevenness, due partly to a tendency to enlarge initials of clauses and even of words, which the scribe is rather inclined to separate from each other;  $\alpha$  is often a conspicuous letter.  $\eta$  is commonly of the uncial form, but the cursive h-shaped character also appears. The head of a final  $\sigma$  frequently slopes upwards above the line. An accent and a mark of short quantity are once used (l. 49). No stops occur, pauses in the sense being marked by blank spaces which are here and there accompanied by marginal paraphrasi. Shorter blanks, as has been said, are sometimes allowed after individual words when there is no real pause; an attempt has been made in the transcript to indicate the more noticeable divisions, but it is impossible accurately to reproduce the original. Several of the conventional abbreviations not infrequently found in works of this kind are employed; cf. e.g. 663, 856, and the Berlin Didymus.  $\kappa$  =  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota$ ,  $\acute{\mu}$  =  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ,  $\acute{\gamma}$  =  $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ ,  $\tau^{\wedge}$  =  $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$ ,  $/$  =  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}$ ,  $\backslash$  =  $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\upsilon\alpha\iota$ , while  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  is represented by a semicircle (=  $\pi$ ) enclosing a short vertical stroke which stands for the  $\rho$ . A monogram of  $\chi$  and  $\rho$  in the margin stands for  $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\acute{o}\nu$  and calls attention to passages considered to be of special value. Such corrections as have been introduced into the text are probably by the original scribe, who, however, has not succeeded in eliminating all the errors.

For the history of the Homeric scholia, and more especially of the Aristarchean tradition, this new commentary is of no little interest and importance. Its scope is comprehensive. Exegesis plays a considerable part, the less obvious words and phrases being briefly explained more or less in the style of the Scholia Minora or the *Lexicon* of Apollonius. Certain coincidences with those two authorities are pointed out in the notes appended below. Geographical and mythological references are also elucidated; cf. e.g. ll. 1-9, 49-51. Another class of comments deals with differences of reading, e.g. ll. 26-7, 119. Thirdly, the critical signs of Aristarchus are frequently prefixed to the lemmata and their grounds are explained. This is the feature that gives the treatise its significance. As is well known, our knowledge of the work of Aristarchus is largely derived from the extracts from Aristonicus, *Περὶ τῶν Ἀριστάρχου σημείων*, and Didymus, *Περὶ τῆς Ἀρισταρχείου διορθώσεως*, which have been incorporated together with the signs themselves in the Venetian Codex A of the *Iliad*. But the papyrus must on account of its date be independent alike of Aristonicus and Didymus, who both flourished under Augustus. In it, therefore, the tradition of Aristarchus is carried a stage further back. The anonymous commentator is to be regarded as a representative of the Aristarchean school, and upon such writings as this, along with those of the great critic himself, the work of Aristonicus may be taken to have been based. Speculation concerning the author's identity is not likely to be profitable. The most obvious name perhaps is Ammonius, who was probably the successor of Aristarchus at the Alexandrian library. But the field is too large. Suidas puts the number of the grammarians who were disciples of Aristarchus at about forty (*s. v.* Ἀριστάρχος), and there are several even among those who are known to us any one of whom might have been the author. A certain similarity in ll. 2-3 to a passage of Strabo provides no trustworthy clue; cf. the note *ad loc.*

The papyrus and Aristonicus are often in close agreement; see the notes on ll. 11, 29, 63-7, 98, 120-1. But the two authorities by no means coincide. An interesting passage of some length (ll. 11-18), describing Aristarchus' defence of the poet against the criticism of Praxiphanes, does not here come into account, since the reference is to the *Odyssey*, not the *Iliad*, and is only brought in by way of illustrating a principle. Apart from that, however, Aristarchean signs and their explanations which are unrecorded in Venetus A occur in the papyrus, and vice versa: cf. ll. 46-7, 54-5, 86-7, 93-4, 107, 114-16, 120-1, and the notes. In one place (l. 83) Ven. A has the *σημείον* but lacks the explanatory scholium, which is supplied by the papyrus. Similar discrepancies have been observed in some other papyri (445, P. Rylands 51, P. Brit. Mus. 128, and the Hawara papyrus, on which cf. the notes below) with regard to the use of the critical



signs, which tend to be more frequent in the mediaeval MS. In the present case, however, the advantage is rather the other way, and it is plain that Ven. A is not exhaustive. The Aristarchean *σημείωσις* seems to have been thinned down by a process of eclecticism. Its details would appeal differently to different minds, and what might be rejected as of comparative unimportance by one critic would be retained by another. Some allowance must also be made for accidental omissions.

The presence of this large Aristarchean strain in so early a text naturally lends no little weight to the other elements in it which have less definite authority, though how far these elements are likely to represent the teaching of Aristarchus is of course open to question. To some extent they are already to be found in the various extant sources; new views and explanations to which attention may be called are recorded in ll. 5-6, 42-3, 49-51, 58-60, 75-7. A measure of consideration is also due to the textual evidence of the papyrus, although the presence of Aristarchean symbols does not at all necessarily imply an Aristarchean text. This is evident from e.g. the Bodleian papyrus from Hawara (2nd cent.), in which not only diacritical signs but also occasional Aristarchean variants are entered; cf. Ludwich, *Homervulgata*, pp. 42 sqq. On the other hand the text of that papyrus did not coincide with the vulgate, to which reference is sometimes made,<sup>1</sup> and does embody certain readings of Aristarchus. As much may be expected of 1086, in spite of the fact that in two passages (ll. 75 and 83) it diverges from the Aristarchean reading. Several agreements are noticeable between the lemmata here and the exceptionally well written Hawara papyrus; cf. notes on ll. 62, 63, 73, 75. Other lections of interest occur at ll. 26-7, 38, 61, and 119; the last named passage mentions the otherwise unrecorded variant *Ἀνδέρροιο* for *Αἰσθήποιο* in B 825.

In supplementing the large lacunae of Cols. i and iii, the number of letters lost has been estimated on the basis of the passages containing citations, where the extent of the loss is exactly determined, i.e. in Col. i, ll. 19, 28, and 34, and in Col. iii, ll. 97 and 102. No more than an approximate accuracy is often obtainable, especially in Col. iii, where inequalities in the length of the line as well as variations of spacing and script have to be reckoned with; a few letters either above or below the number adopted would here be generally admissible.

<sup>1</sup> The adscript at l. 769 e.g. should be read *ἡ κο(ινη) φερτερος ηεν*, not *ἡτοι φ. η.* as given by Sayce. Cf. 445, 685.

Col. i.

]μερτοντιταρησιονερ[. ]νεμοντο ειμερτον  
 ]καλλιρροονυδωρ οτιταρησιοσποταμοσεχωντην  
 ]στυγοςυδατος επιρρεωντωιπηνηω ουσυμμισ  
 ]περελαιον επιρρει τονπηνειον λεγεταιιδεδι  
 5 ]διατοτονπηνειονθολερονειναι τοισδετιταρη  
 ]μπεκατερωθεν\ τουπηνειου αεστιδενδρηισου  
 ]ζειτονποταμον ωστετοναεραμηρορασθαιδιατην  
 ]οοσθενθρηδονοσυισ ημαγνησιαχωραωνομασ  
 ]ιπηνειον κ-πηλιονεινοσιφυλλον κινησιφυλλον  
 10 ]υθουντος βουλεταιτοσυνδενδρονδηλουν  
 ]ι ρτοδευτερονπροτεροναπηνητησεν τηνδα  
 ]ισταρχοσπεποιηται ρ πραξιφανηκεεινοσ  
 ]παρη[.]ορικωσ ωμειληκοτατημητρι κα  
 ]πηνελοπησερωτησαι επειδηπερωσειμαλιστο  
 15 ]πουσαιηδεφισιν ηαντικλεια συνετωτατη  
 ]γινεται διηναιτιανοαρισταρχοσ δεικνυσο  
 ]η ηαντικλειασημειουταιιδεοτιδιαπαντοσ

Col. i.

οἱ τ' ἀμφ' ἰ]μερτὸν Τιταρήσιον ἔρ[γα] νέμοντο·

ἰμερτὸν

751

[ἐπιθυμητόν. ὅς ρ' ἐς Πηνεῖον προίει] καλλίρροον ὕδωρ· ὁ Τιταρήσιος  
ποταμὸς ἔχων τὴν

752

[πηγὴν ἐν Τιταρίῳ ὄρει ἐκ τοῦ] Στυγὸς ὕδατος ἐπιρρέων τῷ Πηνεῖῳ  
οὐ συμμίσ-[γεται . . . . . ἀλλὰ ὡσ]περ ἔλαιον ἐπιρρεῖ τὸν Πηνεῖόν.  
λέγεται δὲ δι-5 [ἀ τοῦτο τοῦ Στυγὸς (εἶναι) ἀπορρῶγα ἢ] διὰ τὸ τὸν Πηνεῖον θολερὸν εἶναι  
τοῖς δὲ Τιταρη-[σίου ὕδασιν ἀνόμοιον, ἢ διὰ τὸ τὰ Τέ]μμη ἐκατέρωθεν (εἶναι) τοῦ Πηνεῖοῦ  
ἃ ἔστι δένδρο(ις) σύ-[σκια . . . . . ταῦτα γ(ὰρ) ἐπισκιά]ζει τὸν ποταμὸν ὥστε τὸν ἀέρα μὴ  
ὄρασθαι διὰ τὴν[σκιάν. Μαγνήτων δ' ἦρχε Πρόθ]οος Τενθηρόνος υἱός· ἡ Μαγνησία  
χώρα ὠνόμασ-

756

[ται ἀπὸ Μάγνητος τοῦ Αἰόλου. οἱ περ]ὶ Πηνεῖον κ(αὶ) Πήλιον εἰνοσί-  
φυλλον· κινήσιφυλλον·

757

10 [τοῦ γ(ὰρ) κινεῖσθαι πλήθει συνακολουθοῦντος βούλεται τὸ σύνδενδρον  
δηλοῦν.[ἵπποι μ(έν) μέγ' ἄρισται· τὸ σημεῖον ὅτ]ι πρ(ὸς) τὸ δεύτερον πρότερον ἀπὴν-  
τησεν. τὴν δ' ἀ-

763

[πολογίαν τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Ἀρ]ίσταρχος πεποίηται πρ(ὸς) Πραξι-  
φάνην. ἐκεῖνος[γὰρ θαυμάζει τὸν Ὀδυσσεά διὰ τὸ] παρη[γ]ορικῶς ὠμειλικότα τῇ μητρὶ κα-  
[τὰ τὴν τελευταίην περὶ Τηλεμάχου κ(αὶ)] Πηνελόπης ἐρωτήσαι, ἐπειδήπερ  
ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα15 [ἀκοῦσαι θέλει τὰ συμβάντα ἐν τῇ ἀ]πουσίᾳ. ἡ δέ, φησὶν, ἡ Ἀντίκλεια  
συνεπωτάτη[οὔσα εὐθὺς περὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα κατα]γίνεται· δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος  
δεικνὺς ὅ-[τι . . . . .] ἢ ἡ Ἀντίκλεια, σημειοῦται δὲ ὅτι  
διὰ παντὸς

- ]οτεροσαπαντα καταιδιανσυνηθειαν τας  
 ]ωσ ορνιθασωσωσορνιθασ ουτωσταχη  
 20 ]μεγα οτριχασοιετεασταφυληιεπινωτον  
 ]ιχασ οιετεασισοετεισ σταφυληιεπινωτονειισασ  
 ]ισ ωστεσταφυλη αφισουσθαι σταφυληδεεστινολαο  
 ]εί επαυτουσπαρτον κ-επακρουτόσπαρτούμολυβιονεξ  
 ]τηνισοτητα σταφυληνδεωνομασεν επειτο  
 25 ]κτημιομοιον τασεμπηρειηθρεψαργυροτοξοσαπολλων  
 ] ενιοιδαγνοουντεσγραφουσιν τασεμπειεριηπλα  
 ]ατησμακεδονιασ ηδεπηρεια τησθεσσαλιασ>αμφωθη  
 ]εουσασ τωσημειον ςτονφοβον οτιτηντουα  
 ] τουτεστιντονεκτουπολεμου φυγην υπομε  
 30 ]οιελαβον επικεχαραχθαιαιανταισπροσωπονο / φοβου  
 ]καλων τοεμπαραταξειιππουσθηληασεχειν οίγαρσε  
 ]τουριζονται αιδεθηλειαιουδεντουτ'ποιουσιν ετιδε  
 ]ιφυγειν χρησιμευ[.]υσιν οθενκ-επιτ'τουαινειαιφησιν  
 ]ενοιπεδιοιο κραιπναμαλενθακαιενθαδιωκεμ  
 35 ]νερεπτομενοιελεοθρεπτοντεσελινον λωτονερε  
 ]γαναρπαζοντεσ λ[.]τονδεητοιτονπαρημεινλεγομενον  
 ]μοιοντιτουτωιεδεσμα ελεοθρεπτονδεσελινοντο  
 ] εσ[.]ασαναρματαδαυπεπυκασμενα κειτοα<sup>ε</sup>να  
 ] πεπυκασμενα εκδέτουτουταεπιμελειασκα  
 40 ] φοιτ' [.]νθα[.]θακαταστρατον φοιταν / τοαιει

[ὁ ποιητῆς οὕτως εἰς τὰ ὕστερα πρότερος ἀπαντᾷ κατὰ ἰδίαν συνήθειαν. τὰς

[Εὐμηλος ἔλαυνε ποδώκεας ὄρνιθας] ὥς· ὄρνιθας ὥς ὥς ὄρνιθας, οὕτως ταχεῖ-  
20 [αν ποιοῦντες πορείαν ὥς ὄρνεα πετό]μενα. ὄτριχας ολίτεας (σ)ταφύλη  
ἐπὶ νῶτον 765

[ἔείσας· ὄτριχας ὀμότρ]ιχας, ολίτεας ἰσοετείς, σταφύλη ἐπὶ νῶτον εἰείσας  
[οὕτως ἴσας τοῖς νότο]ις ὥστε σταφύλη ἀφισοῦσθαι. σταφύλη δέ ἐστιν ὁ λαο-  
[ξοϊκὸς διαβήτης ὃς ἔχ]ει ἐπ' αὐτοῦ σπάρτον κ(αὶ) ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ σπάρτου  
μολύβιον ἐξ-

[ηρτημένον φ̄ μετροῦσι] τὴν ἰσότητα· σταφύλην δὲ ὠνόμασεν ἐπεὶ τὸ  
25 [μολύβιον (ἐστὶ) σταφίδι τρω]κτῆ ὅμοιον. τὰς ἐν Πηρείῃ θρέψ' ἀργυρότοξος  
'Απόλλων· 766

[. . . . .] ἔνιοι δὲ ἀγνοοῦντες γράφουσιν τὰς ἐν Πιερίῃ, πλα-  
[νῶνται δὲ ἐπεὶ ἢ μ(έν) Πιερί]α τῆς Μακεδονίας ἢ δὲ Πήρεια τῆς Θεσσα-  
λίας. > ἄμφω θη- 767

[λείας φόβον" Ἀρης φορ]εούσας· τὸ σημεῖον πρ(ὸς) τὸν φόβον ὅτι τὴν τοῦ Ἄ-  
[ρεως φυγὴν σημαίνει,] τοῦτ' ἐστὶν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου φυγὴν ὑπομε-  
30 [νούσας. ἀτόπως δὲ ἔν]ιοι ἔλαβον ἐπικεχαράχθαι αὐταῖς πρόσωπον, ὃ  
(ἐστὶ) φόβου

[σημεῖον. δῆλος δὲ (ἐστὶ) παρα]καλῶν τὸ ἐν παρατάξει ἵππους θηλείας  
ἔχειν· οἱ γ(ὰρ) ἄρσε-

[νες . . . . . καὶ . . .] τουρίζονται, αἱ δὲ θήλειαι οὐδὲν τούτ(ων) ποιοῦσιν. ἔτι δὲ  
[κατὰ πόλεμον κ(αὶ) ἐν τῷ] φυγεῖν χρησιμεύ[ο]υσιν, ὅθεν κ(αὶ) ἐπὶ τ(ῶν) τοῦ  
Αἰνεία φησίν,

[Τρώιοι ἵπποι, ἐπιστάμ]ενοι πεδίιο κραιπνὰ μάλ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα διωκέμ(εν)  
35 [ἢ δὲ φέβ]εσθαι. λωτῶν ἐρεπτόμενοι ἐλεόθρεπτόν τε σέλινον· λωτὸν ἐρε- 776  
[πτόμενοι εἶον λωτῶ]ν ἀναρπάζοντες, λ[ω]τὸν δὲ ἦτοι τὸν παρ' ἡμῶν λεγόμενον  
[μελίλωτον ἢ κ(αὶ) ἄλλο ὅ]μοιον τι τούτῳ ἔδεσμα. ἐλεόθρεπτον δὲ σέλινον τὸ

[ἐξ ἔλους φύ]ομενον. ἔσ[τ]ασαν· ἄρματα δ' αὖ πεπυκασμένα κείτο ἀνά- 777  
[κτων ἐν κλισί]ης· πεπυκασμένα, ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ ἐπιμελεία κα-

40 [θηκούσης τυγχάνοντα.] φοίτ(ων) [ἔ]νθα [κ(αὶ) ἔ]νθα κατὰ στρατόν·  
φοιτᾶν (ἐστὶ) τὸ αἰεῖ 779

Col. ii.

επιτουαυτουτοπουενθουσιωδωσορμαν οιδαρισανωσε[.]τεπυριχθωνπα[.]ανεμοιτο  
 ουτωσδεεπορευοντωσ[.]εδοξαιοτικαθολητηνηγηνπυρκατανεμεται του[.]οδεδειλα  
 ✱ βειντροανω τοιπποιθοιφορ[.]σκοναμμουνα οιδαρισανωσειτεπυριχθων ταδελοιπαπα  
 ραναπεφωνηται γαιαδυπεστεναχιζεδιωστερπικερανωι χωμενωιοτεταμφιτυ  
 45 φωειγαιανιμασση[.] ηδεγηνουτωσπε[[νε]]τενεν ωσοτεπεριτωιτυφωει χωμενωιοσ  
 οξευσεπλησεναυτην ιμασσαιγκυριωσ / τοιμαντιπληξαι καταχρηστικωσδεο  
 πωσδηποτε τοδεσημειοντροχωμενωιοτινυτοχολουμενωιδηλοι εσχη  
 ματικεδετατυφωεα αποτηστυφωεωσ ειναρμιοισοθιφασιτυφωεοσεμμεναι  
 ευνασ ἀριμᾶ τησπισιδιασ / υφοισδοκειοτυφωσ \ καθομηρον οίμτοιγενεωτε  
 50 ροι υποτηναιτν[. .]τοενσικελιαι οροσφασιναντων \ ωνπινδαροσ κεινωμ  
 αιτνα δεσμοσυπερφιαλοσαμφικειται ωσαρατ'υποποσσιμεγαστεναχιζετο  
 γαια ωσαρατ'ουτωσ τουτ' μεγα αντιτουμεγαλωσ στενεχιζετο αντιτουεσ  
 τενεν τωιπαθητικωσ αντιτουενεργητικου οδελογοσουτωσ τουτ'υποτοισ  
 ποσσινμεγαλωσεστενενηγη >ερχομενωνμαλαδωκαδιεπρησσονπεδιοιο η  
 55 διπλητοιελλειπε[.] ηδιαπροθεσισ ωκαδε αντιτουωκεωσ ωκεωσδεδιεπρησ  
 σονδιαπεδιοιο παρδιοσαιγιοχοιοσυναγγελιη αλεγεινηι αλεγεινηιτηναλγοσε

## Col. ii.

ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τόπου ἐνθουσιωδῶς ὀρμᾶν. οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν ὡς εἶ] τε πυρὶ χθῶν  
πᾶ[σ]α νέμοιτο· 780

οὕτως δὲ ἐπορεύοντο ὡς[τ]ε δόξαι ὅτι καθ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν πῦρ κατανέμεται.  
τοῦ[τ]ο δὲ δεῖ λα-

ΧΡ(ῆ-  
στόν). βεῖν πρ(ὸς) τὸ ἄνω τὸ ἵπποι θ' οὐ φορ[έε]σκον ἀμύμονα. οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν  
ὡς εἶ τε πυρὶ χθῶν· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πα-

ραναπεφώνηται. γαῖα δ' ὑπεστενάχιζε Διὶ ὡς τερπικεραύνῳ χωομένῳ,  
ὅτε τ' ἀμφὶ Τυ- 781-2

45 φώει γαῖαν ἰμάσση· ἡ δὲ γῆ οὕτως ὑπέστενευ ὡς ὅτε περὶ τῷ Τυφώει  
χωόμενος

ὁ Ζεὺς ἐπλησεν αὐτήν· ἰμάσσαι γ(ὰρ) κυρίως (ἐστὶ) τὸ ἰμάντι πληῆξαι,  
καταχρηστικῶς δὲ ὁ-

πωσδήποτε. τὸ δὲ σημεῖον πρ(ὸς) τὸ χωομένῳ ὅτι νῦν τὸ χολουμένῳ δηλοῖ.  
ἐσχη-

μάτικε δὲ τ(ῆν) Τυφώεα ἀπὸ τῆς Τυφωεύς. εἰν Ἄριμοις ὅθι φασὶ  
Τυφώεος ἔμμεναι 783

εὐνάς· Ἄριμα τῆς Πισιδίας (ἐστίν), ὑφ' οἷς δοκεῖ ὁ Τυφῶς (εἶναι) καθ'  
"Ὀμηρον. οἱ μ(έν)τοι γε νεώτε-

50 ροι ὑπὸ τὴν Αἴτν[η]ν τὸ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ὄρος φασὶν αὐτὸν (εἶναι), ὧν Πίνδαρος·  
κεῖνφ μ(έν)

Αἴτνα δεσμὸς ὑπερφίαλος ἀμφίκειται. ὡς ἄρα τ(ῶν) ὑπὸ ποσσὶ μέγα  
στεναχίζετο 784

γαῖα· ὡς ἄρα τῶν οὕτως τούτ(ων). μέγα ἀντὶ τοῦ μεγάλως. στεναχί-  
ζετο ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔσ-

τενευ, τῷ παθητικῷ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐνεργητικοῦ. ὁ δὲ λόγος οὕτως, τούτ(ων) ὑπὸ τοῖς  
ποσσὶν μεγάλως ἔστενευ ἢ γῆ. > ἐρχομένων· μάλα δ' ὦκα διέπρησον

πεδίοιο· ἡ 785

55 διπλῆ ὅτι ἐλλείπει[ε] ἢ διὰ πρόθεσις. ὦκα δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὠκέως· ὠκέως δὲ  
διέπρησ-

σον διὰ πεδίοιο. πᾶρ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο σὺν ἀγγελίῃ ἀλεγεινῆ· ἀλεγει-  
νῆ(ν) τὴν ἄλγος ἐ- 787

✠ πιφερουσαν ο[.]δαγορασαγορευονεπιπριαμοιο οιονμυθουσελεγον μυθουσεμυθουν  
 το δειδενοεινο[.]ικα[. . .]τοντονχρονοντουοειρουοτικ—αυτεαπεσταλται οδεποη  
 τησδιγηματικοσων[.]υδυναμενοσαπανταειπειν τακατατονχρονονπραχθεντα  
 60 παραμεροσειρηκεν αγχουδισταμενηρεφηποδασωκεαιρισ ισταμενηαντι  
 τουστασα ει[.]ατοδεφθογγηνυειπριαμοιοπολειτη —οστρωνσκοποσιζεποδω  
 κειρησιπεποιθωσ —τυμβωιεπακροτατωιαισυηταογεροντοσ —τωισφινειεσα  
 μει[[<sup>η</sup>οσ]]μετεφηποδασωκεαιρισ αθετειτουτουσαρισταρχοσ οτιπρωτον<sup>η</sup>μουδεπο  
 τευποδιοσπεμπομενηηιρισομοιουταιιτινι αλλαιειαυτοπροσωποσπαραγεινε  
 65 ται ειτιδεκ—ηαπιθανοσ <sup>αποκρισοσ</sup> ειγνεκατουψιλωσειπεινοτιερχονται παρηκταιηιρισ  
 τουτο κ—οπολιτησδηνατοποιησαι ειδεγτουτοιναιοιπροτερονμητολμωντεσ  
 εξελθεινεξελθωσιν [.] ιρισεστοωλεγουσα ωσκ—παρατουδιοσαπεσταλμενη οτι  
 δεομηροσοταντιναεικαζητινι κ—τουσπρεποντασλογουσπεριτιθησινδηλον η  
 γουναρχηουπολιτου / αλλυπερτονπολιτην φησιγ<sup>η</sup> ωγεροναειτοιμυθοιφιλοι  
 70 ακριτοιεισιν <sup>ει</sup> τουτοη<sup>ει</sup>μηειρισλεγουσα πρεποντωσχει ειδεουιοσπατριαπρε  
 πωσ εδειγ<sup>η</sup>λεγεινωπατερ κ—τομυθοιφιλοιακριτοιεισιν ο / αχωριστοι κρι  
 ναιγ<sup>η</sup>τοχωρισαι κ—τουτουουπολιτουγπατεραακουοντωσλεγεινειοικεν αλλαμαλ  
 λουτησιριδοσ ωστεποτε[.]ρηνησπολεμοσδαλιαστοσορωρεν αλιαστοσαν



- <sup>χρ(η-  
στόν).</sup> *πιφέρουσαν. ο[ι] δ' ἀγορὰς ἀγόρευον ἐπὶ Πριάμοιο· εἶον μύθους ἔλεγον,*  
*μύθους ἐμυθοῦν-* 788  
*το. δεῖ δὲ νοεῖν δ[τ]ι κα[τ'] αὐ[τὸν] τὸν χρόνον τοῦ ὄνειρου κ(αὶ) αὐτ(ῆ)  
ἀπέσταλται, ὁ δὲ ποιη-*  
*τῆς διηγηματικὸς ὢν, [ο]ὐ δυνάμενος ἅπαντα εἰπεῖν, τὰ κατὰ τὸν ὄνειρον  
πραχθέντα*  
60 *παρὰ μέρος εἴρηκεν. ἀγχοῦ δ' ἰσταμένη προ(σο)ῆφη πόδας ὠκέα Ἴρις·*  
*ἰσταμένη ἀντὶ* 790  
*τοῦ σταῖσα. εἵ[σ]ατο δὲ φθογγὴν ὑεὶ Πριάμοιο Πολίτη, -ὄς Τρώων σκοπὸς*  
*ἴξε, ποδω-* 791-5  
*κείησι πεποισῶς, -τύμβω ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ Αἰσυιήτῳ γέροντος -τῷ σφιν ἔισα-  
μένη μετέφη πόδας ὠκέα Ἴρις· ἀθετεῖ τούτους Ἀρίσταρχος ὅτι πρῶτον  
μ(έν) οὐδέπο-*  
*τε ὑπὸ Διὸς πεμπομένη ἢ Ἴρις ὁμοιοῦταί τινι, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ αὐτοπρόσωπος  
παραγίνε-*  
65 *ται. ἔτι δὲ κ(αὶ) ἢ (ὕ)πόκρισις ἀπίθανος· εἰ γ(ὰρ) ἔνεκα τοῦ ψιλῶς*  
*εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἔρχονται παρήκται ἢ Ἴρις,*  
*τοῦτο κ(αὶ) ὁ Πολίτης ἠδύνατο ποιῆσαι, εἰ δὲ προ(ς) τοῦτο ἴνα οἱ πρότερον μὴ  
τολμῶντες*  
*ἐξελεθεῖν ἐξελεθῶσιν, [ἢ] Ἴρις ἔστω λέγουσα ὡς κ(αὶ) παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς  
ἀπεσταλμένη. ὅτι*  
*δὲ Ὀμηρος, ὅταν τινὰ εἰκάξῃ τινί, κ(αὶ) τοὺς πρέποντας λόγους περιτίθησιν  
δῆλον. ἢ*  
*γοῦν ἀρχὴ οὐ Πολίτου (ἐστὶ) ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τὸν Πολίτην· φησὶ γ(ὰρ), ὦ  
γέρον, αἰεὶ τοι μῦθοι φίλοι*  
70 *ἄκριτοὶ εἰσιν. τοῦτο εἰ μ(έν) ἢ Ἴρις λέγουσα, πρεπόντως ἔχει, εἰ δὲ ὁ*  
*υἶος πατρί, ἀπρε-*  
*πῶς· ἔδει γ(ὰρ) λέγειν, ὦ πάτερ. κ(αὶ) τὸ μῦθοι φίλοι ἄκριτοὶ εἰσιν, ὅ*  
*(ἐστίν) ἀχώριστοι, κρῖ-*  
*ναι γ(ὰρ) τὸ χωρίσαι, κ(αὶ) τοῦτο οὐ Πολίτου προ(ς) πατέρα, ἀκουόντως*  
*(γὰρ) λέγειν ἔοικεν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλ-*  
*λον τῆς Ἴριδος. ὡς τέ ποτ' εἰ[ρ]ήνης· πολεμὸς δ' ἀλίστος ὄρωρεν·  
ἀλίστος ἀν-* 797

εκκλιτοσ αναποτριπτοσ ονουραδιον / εκκλιναι κ-γέναλλοισνοσφιλιασθειστου  
 75 το / χωρισεκκλινων ημόδημαλαπολλαμαχασεισηλυθονανδρων κ-του  
 τοδεαποεοικοσπολιτηλεγειν τηιδειριδιτηκον οτιαειποτε /  
 εμπολεμοισεκεινοσδεου αλλουπωτοιονδετοσονδετελαονοπωπα κ-ου  
 τοσδετησαυτησεννοιασχεεται ωστεειμήρισλεγουσα αυ[.]οπ[.]ο  
 σωποσειχοικειωσεχεινειδεπολιτησ απιθανον ποτε[']ε['] . . . . . [ . . . . . ] . [ . . . . . ]  
 80 οσ / θανμασμου επιστασθαιουνιριδιοικειονπολιτηιδεου[ . . . ]πρ[ . . . . . ]

## Col. iii.

ηνύφυλλοισινεοικοτεσηψαμαθοισιν [ . . . ]  
 ριδοσλεγοιτο εχοιανπρεποντωσ ειδεπ[ . . . ]  
 μαχησομενοιπεριαστυ τοσημειον οτ[ . . . ]  
 τορσοιδεμαλιστεπιτελλομαιωδεδερεξαι κ[ . . . ]  
 85 τερονοντααδελφοναπιθανον εδειγειπε[ . . . ]  
 τοπροσωποσηρισ παραγεινεται κ-γλεγεισ[ . . . ]  
 τουτο . . . [ . . . ]ξωπ[ . . . ]αξαι απιθανονουναδ[ . . . ]  
 τασσειν [ . . . ]νεκεντουτ παντ ηθετησε[ . . . ]  
 δαλλωνγλωσσαπολυσπερεωνα[ . . . ]  
 90 τοσαν[ . . . ]ρημαινεταιωισιπεραρχει τουτοισδεεκαστοσεπιτασσετ[ . . . ]

- έκκλιτος, ἀναπότριπτος, ὃν οὐ βῆδιόν (έστιν) ἐκκλῖναι· κ(αί) γ(άρ) ἐν  
 ἄλλοις νόσφι λιασθείς, τοῦ-  
 75 το (έστι) χωρίς ἐκκλίνων. ἦ μ(έν) δὴ μάλα πολλὰ μάχας εἰσήλυθον  
 ἀνδρῶν· κ(αί) τοῦ- 798  
 το δὲ ἀπειοκὸς Πολίτη λέγειν, τῇ δ' Ἰριδι προσῆκον, ὅτι αἰεί ποτέ (έστιν)  
 ἐν πολεμοῖς, ἐκείνος δὲ οὐ. ἀλλ' οὐ πω τοιόνδε τοσόνδε τε λαὸν ὄπωπα·  
 κ(αί) οὐ- 799  
 τος δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐννοίας ἔχεται, ὥστε, εἰ μ(έν) ἡ Ἰρις λέγουσα αὐ[τ]οπ[ρ]ό-  
 σωπος, οἰκείως ἔχειν, εἰ δὲ Πολίτης, ἀπίθανον· πότ[ε] γ(άρ) εἶδε λα[ὸ]ν  
 ὃς ἄξι-  
 80 ὅς (έστι) θαυμασμοῦ; ἐπίστασθαι οὖν Ἰριδι οἰκείον, Πολίτη δὲ οὐ  
 [πρέ]πο[ν]. λί- 800

## Col. iii.

- ην γ(άρ) φύλλοισιν ἑοικότες ἢ ψαμάθοισιν· [κ(αί) τοῦτο ὁμοίως ἀπίθα-  
 νον. εἰ γ(άρ) ὑπὸ Ἰ-  
 ριδος λέγοιτο, ἔχει ἂν πρεπόντως, εἰ δὲ Π[ολίτης] λέγει, οὐ. ἔρχονται  
 πεδίοιο 801  
 μαχησόμενοι περὶ ἄστου· τὸ σημεῖον ὅτ[ι] ἐλλείπει πάλιν ἢ διὰ πρόθεσις.  
 Ἐκ- 802  
 τος, σοὶ δὲ μάλιστ' ἐπιτέλλομαι, ὦδε δὲ ῥέξαι· κ(αί) τοῦτο λέγειν πρ(ὸς)  
 Ἐκτορα πρεσβύ-  
 85 τερον ὄντα ἀδελφὸν ἀπίθανον, ἔδει γ(άρ) εἰπεῖν, ὦ ἀδελφέ. ἀλλὰ ἔχει  
 οἰκείως, εἰ αὐ-  
 τοπρόσωπος ἡ Ἰρις παραγίνεται· κ(αί) γ(άρ) λέγει, σ[οὶ] 25 letters  
 τοῦτο . . . [.]ξω π[ρ]ῶξαι. ἀπίθανον οὖν ἀδ[ελφῶ] πρεσβυτέρῳ νεώτερον ἐπι-  
 τάσσειν. [έ]νεκεν τούτ(ων) πάντ(ων) ἠθέτησε[ν] ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος τοὺς στίχους.  
 ἄλλη 804  
 δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα πολυσπερέων ἀνθρώπων· . . . . . τοῖσιν  
 ἕκασ- 805  
 90 τος ἀν[ῆ]ρ σημαινέτω οἰσί περ ἄρχει· τούτοις δὲ ἕκαστος ἐπιτασσέτ[ω]  
 ὦν ἄρχει· (έστι) γ(άρ) τὸ

σημαινειντοεπιτασσειν φαινεταιιδεπαλινεπιτασσεινοπολιτησ[  
 κειονυποαυτουλεγεσθαι αλλυποιριδος τουτ'δηγεῖσθωδιαταξασ[  
 λιτας ωσεφαθεκτωρδουτιθεασεποσηγνοιησεν τουτοαμφιβολ[  
 μαινει οιονεγνωσιθεασ / επος ετερονδεου[. .]γγοησεντοτησ[  
 95 ονουκηφροντιστησεν οκαιμαλλον οτιμύ εξ . [.]! [ ]  
 την ομοιωσθαι αυτοπτινδελεγεινδηλον εκτ'πρ[  
 γεινωσκομενησοτιρισ / παλιμηαγνοεισθαιτοεπος > [ ]  
 δεσσυτολαοσ τωσημειονητουτο οτιτηνπυληνη[  
 τιδετισπροπαροιθεπολιοσαιπειακολωνη τουτοοποιη[  
 100 δετουτουτοναυτοπτ[.]νενδεικνυσι κολωνη / [ . . ] . [ . ] . [ ]  
 νευθεπεριδρομοσενθ[. .]αιενθα απανευθεχω[  
 θεθεοιθητ'εσανανδρων τηνητοιανδρεσ[  
 τοιδετεσημαπολυσκαρθμοιομυρινησ ταυτη[  
 γυναικα οιδεουαλλαμιαντ'αμαξονιδων [  
 105 θμον δεαυτηνειρηκεν τηνπολυσκαριστον σ[  
θατοτετρωεστεδιεκριθενηδεπικουροι ενθασπου [  
 σιμήγεμονευεμεγασκορυθαιολοσεκτωρ τωσημ[

- σημαίνειν τὸ ἐπιτάσσειν. φαίνεται δὲ πάλιν ἐπιτάσσειν ὁ Πολίτης,  
 [ὥστε οὐκ (ἔστιν) οἰ-  
 κείον ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ λέγεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Ἰριδος. <τῶν δ' ἐξηγείσθω κοσμη-  
 σάμενος πολιήτας.> τούτων δ' ἠγείσθω διατάξας [ἕκαστος τοὺς πο- 806  
 λίτας. ὡς ἔφαθ'. Ἔκτωρ δ' οὐ τι θεᾶς ἔπος ἠγνοίησεν· τοῦτο ἀμφί-  
 βολ[ον· ἕτερον μ(έν) γ(άρ) ση- 807  
 μαίνει οἶον ἔγνω ὅτι θεᾶς (ἔστιν) ἔπος, ἕτερον δὲ οὐ[κ ἠ]γνόησεν τὸ τῆς  
 [θεᾶς ἔπος, οἶ-  
 95 ον οὐκ ἠφροντίστησεν. ὃ καὶ μάλλον· ὅτι μ(έν) γ(άρ) ἐξ·[.][.]. . . διὰ τὸ μὴ  
 Πολίτη αὐ-  
 τὴν <ὠ>μοιῶσθαι αὐτόπτιν δὲ λέγειν δῆλον ἐκ τ(ῶν) προ[οιρημένων] τῆς δὲ  
 λεγούσης  
 γνωσκομένης ὅτι Ἰρίς (ἔστι), πάλι μὴ ἀγνοεῖσθαι τὸ ἔπος. > [πάσαι δ'  
 ὠίγνυντο πύλαι, ἐκ 809  
 δ' ἔσσυτο λαός· τὸ σημεῖον πρ(ὸς) τοῦτο ὅτι τὴν πύλην π[ληθυντικῶς  
 εἶρηκεν. ἔσ- 811  
 τι δέ τις προπάροιθε πόλιος αἰπεῖα κολώνη· τοῦτο ὁ ποιη[τῆς περὶ τῶν  
 ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ λέγει, ἐκ  
 100 δὲ· τοῦτου τὸν αὐτόπτ[η]ν ἐνδείκνυσι. κολώνη (ἔστι) [π]ᾶ[ν] ἀ[νάστημα  
 γῆς. ἐν πεδίῳ ἀπά- 812  
 νευθε, περίδρομος ἔνθ[α κ]αὶ ἔνθα· ἀπάνευθε χω[ρὶς] σημαίνει ὡς εἴως  
 μ(έν) ῥ' ἀπάνευ-  
 θε θεοὶ θνητ(ῶν) ἔσαν ἀνδρῶν. τὴν ἦτοι ἄνδρες [Βατίειαν κικλήσκουσιν,  
 ἀθάνα- 813-14  
 τοι δέ τε σῆμα πολυσκάρθμοιο Μυρίνης· ταύτη[ν] οἱ μ(έν) Δαρδάνου  
 λέγουσι γενέσθαι  
 γυναῖκα, οἱ δὲ οὐ, ἀλλὰ μίαν τ(ῶν) Ἀμαζονίδων [. . . . . πολύσκαρ-  
 105 θμον δὲ αὐτὴν εἶρηκεν τὴν πολυσκάριστον, σ[καρθμὸς] γ(άρ) ἢ τ(ῶν) ποδῶν  
 κίνησις. ἔν  
 θα τότε Τρῶές τε διέκριθεν ἠδ' ἐπίκουροι· ἔνθα ὄπου, [οἶον . . . . .  
 Τρω- 815, 816  
 σὶ μ(έν) ἠγεμόνευε μέγας κορυθαίολος Ἔκτωρ· τὸ σημεῖον πρ(ὸς) τὴν  
 ἀνταλλαγὴν τῆς

- πτωσεωσ οτιειρηκεντρωσιναντιτουτρων ομοι[  
λεξανδροσθεοειδησ κορυθαιολοσδε/ητοιοποικιλη[  
110 λονγτοποικιλον ηκαιοεντηπερικεφαλαιαι οξεω[  
θετειγκ-επιτουξεοσκ-ευστραφουστοαιολονοιονοτανλεγηε[  
✱ τουσφρυγασανερασαιολοπωλουσ οθεναλκαιοσαμφο[  
λεγωνουτωσ καιχρυσοπασταντανκυνιανεχων ελαφραπ[  
ζων >δαρδανιωναυτηρχενευσπαισαγχισαιο το σημ[  
115 τουστρ[.]ασ διεστακεντ'δαρδανωγ τοδεεξησ/δαρδα[  
παισαγχισαιοαινειασ ουκοιοσ ταδελοιπαπ[  
ευγενειαν οιδεζελειανειαιονυπαιποδανιατο[  
τ[.]ποδατησειδησ αφνειοιπειν[.]ντεσδωρμ[  
ε[.] . . λ[.] . . μελανανδειροιο πανδαροσωκ-το[  
120 [.] . . ]ν νοητεονεκτου[. . . . .] . [.] . . [.] . τοξικηνα[  
[.] . . ]σεναυτοσγ'εαυτω[.] . . . . . ] [

## Unplaced fragments.

Fr. 1.

. . . .  
] . ειδεταντ[  
. . . .

Fr. 2.

. . .  
]σω[  
]ε[  
. . .

1. ερ[γα] νέμοντο : so Aristarchus ; but the papyrus may of course have read ερ[γ'ε] νέμοντο with the MSS., including the Hawara papyrus and P. Oxy. 20.

2. [έπιθυμητόν : cf. Schol. Didymi ήμερόν' έπιθυμητόν, καλόν.

3. έν Τιταρίφ ήρει is restored by W-M from Strabo, p. 329 ό Πηγειός . . . συνάπτει τοίς Τέμπεισι, παραλαβών πλείους ποταμούς, ών και ό Εύρωπος, ών Τιταρήσιον είπεν ό ποιητής, τας πηγάς έχοντα από του Τιταρίου ήρους. It would be rash to infer from this unimportant

- πτώσειας, ὅτι εἶρηκεν Τρωσὶν ἀντὶ τοῦ Τρώων, ὁμοί[ως τῷ Τρωσὶν μ(έν)  
 προμάχιζεν Ἀ-  
 λέξανδρος θεοειδής. κορυθαίολος δέ (έστιν) ἦτοι ὁ ποικίλη[ν ἔχων τὴν  
 περικεφαλαίαν, αἰό-  
 110 λον γ(άρ) τὸ ποικίλον, ἧ καὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ περικεφαλαίᾳ ὀξέω[ς καὶ εὐκινήτως  
 φερόμενος· εὐ-  
 θετεῖ γ(άρ) κ(αὶ) ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀξέος καὶ εὐστραφοῦς τὸ αἰόλον, οἶον ὅταν λέγῃ  
 ἔ[νθα ἴδον πλείσ-  
 χρ(γ)-  
 στόν). τους Φρύγας ἀνέρας αἰολοπώλους. ὅθεν Ἀλκαῖος ἀμφο[τέρως ἔλαβε τὸ ὄνομα,  
 λέγων οὕτως· καὶ χρυσοπάσταν τὰν κυνίαν ἔχων ἔλαφρα π[.....  
 ζων. > Δαρδανίων αὐτ' ἦρχεν εὐς πάις Ἀγχίσαιο· τὸ σημεῖον ὅτι  
 ..... 819  
 115 τοὺς Τρ[ῶ]ας διέστα(λ)κεν τ(ῶν) Δαρδάνων. τὸ δὲ ἐξῆς (έστι) Δαρδα[νίων  
 αὐτ' ἦρχεν εὐς  
 πάις Ἀγχίσαιο Αἰνείας οὐκ οἶος, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ π[αρεμβέβληκε διὰ μέσου  
 ἐμφανίζων τὴν  
 εὐγένειαν. οἱ δὲ Ζέλειαν ἔναιον ὑπαὶ πόδα νείατο[ν Ἰδης· τὴν ὑπώ-  
 ρειαν, τὸν ἔσχα- 824  
 τ[ον] πόδα τῆς Ἰδης. ἀφνειοί, πίν[ο]ντες ὕδωρ μ[έλαν Αἰσιήποιο·  
 ..... 825  
 ε[.] . . λ[.] . . μέλαν Ἀνδείροιο. Πάνδαρος ᾧ κ(αὶ) τόξον Ἀπόλλων αὐτὸς  
 ἔδωκεν· . . . 827  
 120 [ . . . ] ν νοητέον ἐκ τοῦ [τόξον] . [.] . τ[ῆ]ν τοξικὴν α[ 23 letters  
 [ . . . ] σεν, αὐτὸς γ(άρ) ἑαυτῷ [ἐποίησεν.] [

coincidence, even if ἐν Τιταρίῳ ὄρει were not a restoration, that Strabo was acquainted with the present scholia. If he were here utilizing any Homeric commentary, his source might well be the often quoted work of Apollodorus on Β, which was not concerned with textual criticism.

5-6. (εἶναι) in l. 6 appears to imply that the construction of l. 5 was continued and that therefore alternative reasons were proposed. But the shadiness of the Peneus can have nothing to do with the phenomenon referred to in ll. 3-4, and hence it is probable, as Mr. Allen suggests, that ll. 5-7 are concerned with the supposed derivation of the Peneus from the Styx (l. 755), and the restoration proceeds on that hypothesis. Cf. 841. Frs. 129-31. 4, Schol. For Τέμπη cf. the passage from Strabo cited in the note on l. 3. At the end of l. 6 the reading of the papyrus gives no sense, and I have adopted an emendation suggested by W-M.

8. Τενθηρόνος is the accepted spelling; vv. ll. Τερθ., Τενθ., Τεθ.

9. Cf. Schol. B Μάγνης εἰς τῶν Λιολιδῶν κτλ.

9-10. Cf. Apollon. Sophist. *Lex.* εἰνοσίφυλλον κινησίφυλλον . . . ὄρος δὲ εἰνοσίφυλλον τὸ σύνδενδρον θέλει σημαίνειν.

11-18. 'The sign is affixed because he has dealt first with what comes second. This is the basis of Aristarchus' defence of the poet against Praxiphanes. The latter is surprised at Odysseus because in his soothing intercourse with his mother he asked only at the end about Telemachus and Penelope, since he wishes above all else to hear what has happened in his absence. But Anticleia, he says, with great intelligence at once proceeds to this very subject. Aristarchus therefore points out that . . . Anticleia. The passage is marked with a sign because it is the peculiar habit of the poet to deal first in this way with what is secondary.'

11. Line 763 has a diplê in Ven. A, the scholiast similarly remarking ὅτι πρὸς τὸ δεύτερον πρότερον ἀπήντηκεν. The diplê is absent in the Hawara papyrus.

11-18. The restoration of these lines is in the main due to W-M. The passage of the *Odyssey* referred to is λ 164-203, where Anticleia deals with the questions of Odysseus in the inverse order to that in which they are put. There is no parallel to this note in the extant scholia on the *Iliad*, but points of contact occur in Schol. λ 177 εἰδὸς ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς τὰς ἐκρύας ἐχθρῶδ' ἄντι τὰς νοῦς διακειμένας περὶ Πηνελόπης ὑστάτης ἠρώτησεν. ἡ δὲ εὐφραίνουσα τὸν υἱὸν περὶ πρώτης αὐτῆς ἀπεκρίνατο. Praxiphanes is presumably the Peripatetic philosopher, whose name has recently occurred in a contemporary Delian inscription; cf. Wilhelm, *Jahresh. d. Ost. Arch. Inst.* 1905, pp. 1-5, Crönert, *Kolotes und Menedemos*, pp. 69-74, 179. He was a pupil of Theophrastus, and wrote a dialogue *Περὶ ποιητῶν*, in which criticism of the kind here mentioned may well have been incorporated. The Praxiphanes cited in the scholia on *Oed. Col.* 900 is probably identical. It was natural to give credit for σοφία to Anticleia as the daughter of Autolycus. Lines 16-17 δι' ἣν αἰτίαν . . . Ἀντίκλεια remain obscure.

19-20. The restoration was suggested by W-M. ταχη Pap., but the substitution of η for ει was particularly common at this period; cf. e.g. 1088, and ll. 31 and 70 below.

21-2. Restored by W-M; cf. Schol. B τὸ δὲ ἄτριχας ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁμόχροας, οἰέτεας ὁμίλικας, εἴσας τοῖς νότοις ὁμοίως. Schol. Did. has ἰσοετείς as the gloss on οἰέτεας.

22-3. Cf. Scholl. AB ἔστι δὲ ἄμφω ἴσας τῷ νότῳ ὡς σταφύλη μετρεῖσθαι, ὅ ἐστι λαοξικῶ διαβήτη, ὃς ἅμα πλάτος καὶ ὕψος μετρεῖ.

25. The supplement was suggested by W-M.

26-7. A note on the name Πηρείη, v. l. Πιερίη, on which the extant scholia make no comment. Πιερίη is the common reading, and is retained by Leaf, but Πηρείη, which is preferred by most modern editors, is found in the Bodleian Hawara papyrus and two other MSS., besides Eustath. and Steph. Byz., and is confirmed, as Mr. Allen remarks, by the occurrence of οἱ Πηρείς in *Inscr. Gr.* ix. 2. 205 = Dittenberger, *Syll.* 425. Schol. A has Πιερίη in the note on Ψ 383. πλα[νῶνται] was suggested by W-M. The beginning of the line, he thinks, contained a reference to the service of Apollo to Admetus; cf. Schol. Did. τὰς Ἀδμήτου ἵππους δύο κτλ., and Schol. A on Ψ 383. Perhaps, however, there was merely some phrase like 'So we should read' or 'So the best copies'.

27. The diplê is prefixed to the lemma; cf. ll. 54, 61-2, &c. Ven. A also has a diplê here.

29. φυγῆν σημαίνει W-M. Cf. Schol. A ὅτι τὴν ἐν πολέμῳ φυγῆν φόβον Ἄρεως εἴρηκεν. ἀρετὴ γὰρ ἵππων οὐ μόνον διάκειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτε δέοι ἀταράχως φεύγειν, δικώμεν ἠδὲ φέβασθαι.



30-1. This curious explanation that the horses' heads were branded is referred to in Schol. B τὸ δόρυ, ἢ τὸν ἐκ σιδήρου καυτήρα. Cf. Eustath. ἄλλοι φόβον Ἄρεος τὸν ἐκ σιδήρου καυτήρα ἐνόησαν Ἄρης γὰρ καὶ ὁ σιδήρος ἵνα λέγη ἐγκεκαῦθαι αὐταῖς ἀπὸ σιδήρου σφραγίδα. ἤρесе δὲ τισι καὶ δόρυ ἐναυθα εἰπεῖν τὸν τοῦ Ἄρεος φόβου, ὡς δόρατος ἐγκεκαυμένου αὐταῖς εἰς ἐπίσημον. The supplement in l. 31 is due to W-M.

32. Cf. Schol. B θηλείας ἤγαγον . . . ὅπως τε οἱ ἄρσενες ῥυθμίζουτο μὴ ἐξοιστροῦσθαι, ἔστι γὰρ μάλιστα αἰσθόμενον ἵππος, διὰ τε τὸ μὴ χρεμετίζειν ἐν τοῖς λόχοις. Something of the same sort was no doubt said in the papyrus, but ἵτουρίζονται is an intractable termination. The doubtful τ may be γ, ε, or σ. Perhaps, as W-M suggests, μετ(εω)ρίζονται should be read. At the end of the line he would alter ετι to ὅτι, which, however, is hardly necessary.

33-4. The quotation is from E 222-3.

37. μελίλωτον W-M.

38. [ἐξ ἔλους φνόμενον]: cf. Schol. A ἡτυμολόγηκε δὲ διὰ τοῦ ἐλεόθρεπτόν τε σέλινον τὸ ἐξ ἔλους σενόμενον (l. φνόμενον, for which W-M compares Schol. Nicander, *Thur.* 597). In the following lemma the α of αν does not seem to have been cancelled, and the two readings αῦ and εῦ were therefore intended to stand side by side as variants. εῦ is the usual lection, but αῦ is found in several MSS.

40. The restoration is due to W-M.

42-3. Cf. Schol. Did. ὡς ἂν εἰ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν νέμοιτο καὶ κατεσθίοι τὸ πῦρ. The view that οἱ δέ means the horses of Achilles (l. 770) is remarkable. Other commentators take ll. 780-5 more naturally as referring to the Hellenic host in general; cf. Schol. Did. οἷδ' ἄρ' οἶδε δὴ Ἕλληνας, and Eustath. τὸν κατάλογον πληρώσας ὁ ποιητής, εἶτα ἱστορήσας ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἵππων τοὺς ἀρίστους, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἔρχεται σύνταξιν κτλ. παραναπεφώνηται apparently means 'is parenthetical'; I can find no other instance of the word.

44. ὑπεστενάχιζε: so ABF, &c., Eustath.; ὑπεστονάχιζε is a well represented variant. The ε in the papyrus is coarsely written, but the letter is sufficiently clear.

45. ἰμάσση (AB, &c., edd.) seems more probable than ἰμάσσε[ι], which is found in several MSS. and Eustath.

46-7. These notes do not appear in the extant scholia, nor is there any σημείον in Ven. A or apparently P. Hawara at l. 782. Cf., however, Schol. A on Ψ 603 ὅτι χωόμενος νῦν ἀντὶ τοῦ χολοόμενος, Φ 519, Ψ 385, &c., Apollon. *Lex.* χωόμενος χολοόμενος κτλ.

47-8. Cf. Schol. A 'Τυφωεὶ γαῖων ἰμάσση' ἀπ' εὐθείας τῆς Τυφωεύς. τα is an error, and the accusative Τυφωέα is unexpected when the dative and genitive stand in the Homeric text. But the Hawara papyrus has [Τ]υφωεα in l. 782, and perhaps that variant is reflected here also.

49-51. Our commentator evidently interpreted εὐνάς in the same sense as Schol. B εὐφήμως δὲ τὸν τάφον εὐνάς ἐκάλεσεν. The location of Arima in Pisidia is new; Schol. B and Eustath. place it in Cilicia, others in Mysia, Lydia, or Syria. For the reference to Etna and Pindar cf. Eustath. ὁ δὲ (sc. ὁ Ζεὺς) κεραυνώσας τὸν Τυφῶνα τὴν Σικελικὴν Αἴττην . . . αὐτῷ ἐπέθηκεν. οἶδε τὰ μυθικὰ ταῦτα καὶ Πίνδαρος. The quotation κείνω . . . ἀμφίκειται is also found in Strabo, p. 627 (= Pindar, Fr. 92). ὤν refers to νεώτεροι; it is unnecessary to write ὡς. The two short strokes after μ in l. 50 were apparently added for the purpose of filling up the line. At the beginning of this line the letters τυ seem to have been divided from αι on account of a flaw in the papyrus.

54-5. 'The diplê marks the absence of the preposition διὰ.' πρόθεσις was recognized by W-M. There is no diplê nor accompanying note in Ven. A, but the diplê is found here in the Hawara papyrus.

56. Either ἀλεγεινη or την . . . επιφερουσαν needs alteration.

58-60. This note referring the mission of Iris to the time of 'the dream' = (B 1 sqq.)

seems to be quite novel. L. 58 needs correction, for the second *σι* is plainly superfluous, and *αυτε* must be meant for *αυτή* or *αυτή*.

60-1. So Schol. Did. *ισταμένη* *σι* *σῆσα*.

61. An obelus, which on the analogy of the succeeding verses is expected before *εισατο*, has been omitted. The papyrus supports the better tradition in reading *δέ* and not *γάρ* (Eustath. and a number of MSS.). *ύει* is an Attic spelling.

62. *Δισυήταο*: so the Hawara papyrus; *Δισυήταο* is the accepted form.

*γέροντος*: *ἀνακτος* 20 (second cent.) and one or two mediaeval MSS. The final *σ* is really more like an *ε*.

Line 794 *δέγμενος ὁππότε ναῦφω ἀφορμηθεῖεν Ἀχαιοί* has been omitted, possibly by a mere oversight; cf. l. 92. But it is noticeable that this verse only of 791-5 is obelized in P. Hawara, and the omission here may be taken to indicate that the line was absent from the text of Aristarchus. It is found accompanied by an additional verse in P. Hibeh 19 (ε).

*σφιν*: so 20 (which no doubt also had *μετέφη* later in the verse), the ninth-century MS. in the library of Victor Emmanuel at Rome, and one or two later copies, including Harl. 1771, which also agrees in the reading *Πηρείη* (cf. note on l. 26-7).

63. *μετέφη*: so the Hawara papyrus, v. l. A<sup>1</sup>, B and many other MSS.

63-73. 'Aristarchus athetizes these lines on the ground, first, that when Iris is sent by Zeus she is never made to resemble some one else, but always appears in her own person. Secondly, her pretence is unconvincing; for if Iris is brought in merely for the purpose of announcing their approach, Polites could easily have done this; if, however, it is in order to make the Trojans go out when they were afraid to do so, then let Iris speak as the messenger of Zeus. It is also clear that, when Homer makes one person resemble another, he also puts in their mouth the appropriate language. Now the commencement is not like Polites, but goes beyond him. He says "Old man, interminable words are ever pleasant to thee". If Iris is the speaker, this is appropriate, but if the son is addressing his father, it is inappropriate; for he ought to say, "My father." And "interminable words are pleasant" (that is, continuous, for to determine is to separate) is also unlike Polites addressing his father (for he should speak with deference) but is more like Iris.'

The adverse criticism of Aristarchus on ll. 791-5 was already known from Schol. A, where the same objections are put rather more concisely. *ἀπὸ τούτου ἕως τοῦ τῶ μιν εἰσαμένη ἀθετοῦνται στίχοι πέντε. εἰ γὰρ ἕνεκα τοῦ προαγγεῖλαι ὅτι παραγίνονται οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἤρκει ὁ Πολίτης, εἴπερ ὄλως ἐπετήρει. εἰ δὲ ἕνεκα τοῦ προτρέψασθαι μὴ τολμῶντας προελθεῖν, ἔδει ἀντοπρόσωπον παρεῖναι. ἔθος τέ ἐστι τοῖς μεταμορφουμένοις θεοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἄφοδον ἀπολιπεῖν τεκμήριον εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν. οἱ τε λόγοι οὐχ οὕτως εἰσὶν ἐσχηματισμένοι τοῦ Πολίτου ὡς πρὸς πατέρα, ἀλλ' εἰσὶν ἐπιτεταμένοι καὶ ἐπιπληκτικοί. καὶ τὸ Ἔκτορ, σοὶ δὲ μάλιστα ἐπιτέλλομαι Πολίτη ἀνοίκειον μάλλον δὲ Ἰριδι ἀρμόζει ἐπιτάσσειν.* It is to be observed that the words *ἔθος τέ ἐστι . . . ἐπίγνωσιν*, which do not support the argument of Aristarchus, but rather the opposite view, have no counterpart in the papyrus. The concluding sentence *καὶ τὸ Ἔκτορ κτλ.* corresponds to ll. 84 sqq. below.

*ἀπόκρισις* in l. 65 is inapposite, since the speech of Iris is not an 'answer', and W-M's emendation *ὑπόκρισις* is clearly an improvement.

71-2. Cf. e.g. Schol. B *ἄκριτοι δὲ οἱ ἀναρίθμητοι*, Schol. Did. *ἄκριτοι ἀδιάκριτοι, πολλοί.* A similar idea was probably intended to be conveyed by *ἀχώριστοι*; cf. Apollon. *Lex.* *ἀκριτόμυθε ἄκριτα καὶ ἀδιάστατα λαλῶν.* The letters of *φιλοι* are faint, and it might be supposed that they had been partially erased; this, however, would imply that *ἄκριτοι* was taken for a predicate, 'words are inseparable from you,' which is not a likely interpretation. In the

latter part of l. 72 some emendation is necessary, and perhaps ἀκούοντως . . . ἔοικεν should be rejected, as W-M would prefer.

73. ὡς τέ ποτ' : so the Hawara papyrus; ὡς ποτ' ἐπ' most MSS. 20 has an unmetrical combination of the two readings, ὡς τε ποτ' ἐπ. [ὡς τε ποτ']τε εἰρηνη in P. Hibeh 19 is likely to be a corruption of [ὡς τε ποτ']τε εἰρηνης.

ἀνέγκλιτος : so Schol. Did.; ἀνέγκλιστος (*sic*) Apollon. *Lex.*

74. The reference is to A 349, A 80.

75. ἦ μὲν δὴ : the ordinary view of Homeric editors (e.g. Ludwich, Allen) that the reading of Aristarchus in this passage was ἦδη μὲν, is supported by a partially effaced note in the Hawara papyrus beginning Α]ρ[ιστα]ρχ(ος) ἦ δη μεν (so probably, as in several MSS., not ἦδη). It may nevertheless be questioned whether the passage in Schol. A relating to the Aristarchean reading has been correctly interpreted. This is given in Dindorf's edition as follows: ἦ μὲν δὴ οὕτως αἱ Ἀριστάρχου, ἦδη μὲν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Κώμανον ὁμοίως προφέρεται, καὶ μήποτε παραπλήσιόν ἐστι τῶ 'ἦδη καὶ Φρυγίην εἰσήλυθον ἀμπελόεσσαν' (Γ 184). But μὲν after ἦδη is not in the original text, but an editorial insertion; and the combination ἦδη καὶ seems confirmed by the comparison of Γ 184, which with Dindorf's reading loses its point. I venture to suggest that the note should stand unaltered either in the form ἦ μὲν δὴ οὕτως αἱ Ἀριστάρχου, ἦδη καὶ. ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Κ. ὁμοίως προφέρεται, καὶ μήποτε παραπλήσιόν ἐστι τῶ ἦδη καὶ κτλ.; or ἦ μὲν δὴ οὕτως αἱ Ἀριστάρχου. ἦδη καὶ ἐν τοῖς κτλ. If this is right, there will be a conflict between Schol. A and the Hawara papyrus. A possible explanation is that the copyist of the former transposed μεν and δη in the lemma owing to an inadvertence. But it should be observed that the note in the papyrus is incomplete; it was continued in a second line, which may have modified in some way the statement of the first.

ἦ μὲν δὴ is also found in the text of the Hawara papyrus as well as in AB and the majority of MSS., Hdn., Eustath.; ἦδη μὲν is superscribed in A and is otherwise well supported. In Schol. A ἦ μεν δη was written.

75-7. The commentator's opinion is directly opposed to that of Leaf, who thinks (note *ad loc.*) that 'l. 798 is rather suited to a human warrior than to a goddess'.

79. πότ[ε γ](ἄρ) εἶδε λα[β]ν was suggested by W-M. I have been much inclined to assign the first of the unplaced fragments to this position, reading πότ[ε γ](ἄρ) εἶδε ταῦτ[α], but the difficulty then is, without assuming some corruption, to find a suitable combination with what follows. To add ἦ λαὸν ὡς ἄξι[ος] would make the line too long.

80. A synonym of οἰκείον apparently followed οὐ, though the sense would be complete without further addition.

81-2. The supplements only aim at giving the general sense, which is evident.

83. περί : so MSS. (including 20), with the exception of the late Ambrosianus E 35, which gives προτί, a reading also inserted as a v.l. in A, with the note μαχησόμενοι προτί ἄστυ οὕτως προτί ἄστυ, οὐ περι ἄστυ, ἵνα ὤσιν ἐρχόμενοι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. ὁμοίως καὶ Ζηρόδοτος καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης γράφουσιν. Aristarchus is not here directly named, but analogy strongly supports the usual inference that προτί was his reading.

τὸ σημεῖον κτλ. : the supplement is derived from l. 55; cf. Eustath. τὸ δὲ ἔρχονται πεδίοιο, ἀντὶ τοῦ διὰ τῆς πεδιάδος, καὶ ἔστιν ὁμοιον τῶ διέπρησσαν πεδίοιο, and Schol. Did. πεδίοιο διὰ τοῦ πεδίου. A diplê is inserted against the verse in A as well as in the Hawara papyrus, but there is no corresponding note.

84. ὠδε δέ : so most MSS.; vv. ll. ὠδέ γε, ὠδέ τι.

86-7. τοῖτο . . . π[ρ]ᾶξαι seems to be a paraphrase of ὠδε δὲ ῥέξαι, and the word preceding π[ρ]ᾶξαι should then be a verb meaning 'I command', but neither κελεύω nor ἀξιώ is suitable, and a future would be out of place. The remains suggest ξω, not ξαι, and ῥέξαι π[ρ]ᾶξαι is therefore improbable. λέγει in l. 86 may be followed by any round letter.

Line 802 in A has a diplê prefixed with the note ὅτι περισσεύει ὁ δὲ σύνδεσμος; there is also a diplê in P. Hawara.

88. The obvious [ε]νεκεν is very dubious, but I can find nothing more appropriate; there may be no loss before the traces of the supposed first ν.

ἠθέτησε: or ἠθετήσθ[αι], not ἠθέτηκ[ε].

89. The lost note probably referred to πολυσπερέων; cf. Schol. Did. πολυσπερέων· ἐπὶ πολλὰ μέρη τῆς γῆς διεσπαρμένων, πολυγενῶν ἢ πολυεθνῶν.

90. ὦν ἄρχει: cf. Schol. Did. οἰσί περ ἄρχει· ἀντὶ τοῦ ὦν ἄρχει.

92. The lemma τῶν . . . πολύητας has dropped out. Cf. Schol. Did. τῶν· τούτων. ἐξηγήσθω· ἀφηγήσθω. κοσμησάμενος· διατάξας. πολύητας· πολίτας.

93-4. ἔτερον μ(έν) γ(άρ) and ἔπος οἶον were restored by W-M. A has a diplê against l. 807 (so too P. Hawara) with the accompanying scholium ὅτι τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ πλανήσαν τὸν τὰ ἐπάνω διασκευάσαντα (i. e. a misunderstanding of ἠγνοίησεν led to the interpolation of ll. 791-5). οὐ κείται δὲ συνήθως ἡμῖν τὸ ἠγνοίησεν, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐκ ἀπίθησεν.

95-7. The supplements at the ends of ll. 95-6 are those proposed by W-M. ὁ καὶ μᾶλλον in l. 95 is a much compressed phrase, but it is hardly necessary to suppose an omission. διὰ τό must have been preceded by some word meaning 'he recognized her' or 'she was recognized', e.g. ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔγνω (W-M) or ἐξεφάνη, but neither of these will fit the vestiges. ἀγνοεῖσθαι = ἀφροντίζεσθαι, and δῆλον is of course to be supplied from the preceding sentence. The vulgar spelling πάλι is found in late prose (e.g. that of Philodemus; cf. Clönert, *Mem. Gr. Hercul.* p. 140) and in papyri of the Roman age (e.g. B. G. U. 423. 3, 7).

97. For the diplê cf. l. 54, &c.; but the decipherment is uncertain and the vestige before the lacuna would also be consistent with a π. The diplê is also found in Ven. A and P. Hawara.

98. π[ληθυντικῶς εἶρηκεν] was suggested by W-M; cf. Schol. A ὅτι ἔμφασιν ἔχει πολλῶν πυλῶν, μία δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐστὶ τὸ πᾶσαι ἀντὶ τοῦ ὄλαι, and the similar remark on the parallel passage Θ 58 ὅτι μία ἐστὶ πύλη, καὶ πληθυντικῶς εἶπε πύλαι. Eustathius attributes this note to Herodorus and Apion.

99-100. The restorations, which are due to W-M, are made *exempli gratia*. For that of l. 100 cf. Apollon. *Lex.* κολωνός πᾶν ἀνίστημα τῆς γῆς· ἐστὶ δὲ τις κτλ. π[ύλη] ἀ[νά]στημα is consistent with the vestiges, but they are extremely slight. The remark that the present tense in l. 811 proves the poet to have been an eyewitness of what he describes is remarkable, though not cogent, for the description might depend on hearsay evidence; it would have been more exact to say 'a contemporary'.

101. The quotation is from Υ 41.

103-4. Cf. e.g. Schol. A Μύρινα δὲ Ἀμαζόνος ὄνομα, Strabo, p. 573 Μυρίνης ἦν ἱστοροῦσι μίαν εἶναι τῶν Ἀμαζόνων, Eustath. Μύρινα κείται καὶ παρὰ Λυκόφρονι, λεγομένη παρὰ τινῶν Τεύκρου θυγάτηρ, γυνὴ Δαρδάνου.

105. σκαρθμός κτλ. is adopted from Schol. A πολυσκαρθμοῖο· πολυκινήτου . . . σκαρθμός γὰρ ἢ τῶν ποδῶν κινήσις. Cf. Apollon. *Lex.* s.v. εὐσκαρθμοί, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ πολυσκαρθμοῖο Μυρρίνης τῆς πολυσκαρτίστου ἢ πολυκινήτου.

106. It seems likely, as W-M suggests, that ὅπου was followed by an example, e.g. Α 610.

107. Restored by W-M. There is no σημεῖον nor corresponding note in A, though at Γ 16, the verse cited for comparison in the next line, the remark is made Τρωσίν· ἀντὶ τοῦ Τρώων. πτωτικὸν τὸ σχῆμα· ταῖς δοτικαῖς γὰρ ἀντὶ γενικῶν χρώνται οἱ ποιηταί. P. Hawara similarly lacks the σημεῖον.

109-14. Schol. A has κορυθαίολος· ὁ αἰδῶλλον τὴν περικεφαλαίαν, ὃ ἐστὶ κινῶν, διὰ τὰς ἐν τῷ

πολέμῳ συνεχεῖς καὶ σφοδρὰς ἐνεργείας. ἡ ὁ αἰόλον καὶ ποικίλην ἔχων τὴν περικεφαλαίαν. ἡ ὁ εὐκίνητος ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις. The third of these explanations is more akin than the first to the second interpretation in the papyrus,—where the restoration of course makes no pretence to exactness. Eustath. is nearer: κορυθ. δηλοῖ . . . τὸν ἔχοντα αἰόλην κόρυθα, ἤγουν ποικίλην περικεφαλαίαν . . . ἡ τὸν εὐκίνητον ἐν πολέμοις παρὰ τὸ αἰόλον τὸ ταχύ, . . . ἵνα εἴη κορυθ. αἰόλος ὁ αἰόλος εἰς μάχην μετὰ ὄπλων.

111. ἔ[υθα ἴδον κτλ. is from Γ 185.

112-13. I adopt the supplement of W-M. The meaning clearly is that the two lines of Alcaeus, which are not elsewhere extant, combined the alternative explanations of κορυθαἰόλος given above. χρυσοπάταν expresses τὸ ποικίλον τῆς περικεφαλαίας, and the second verse, as ἔλαφρα indicates, was more or less equivalent to ὀξέω[ς καὶ εὐκινήτως κτλ. W-M proposes π[αίξει after ἔλαφρα.

114-16. Line 819 is marked with a diplê in Ven. A, with the not very illuminating note ὅτι τῶν Δαρδάνων ἦρχεν Δινέλας καὶ αὐτὸς ὦν Δάρδανος· πρὸς τὸ τὸν δ' ἔκτανε Δάρδανος ἀνὴρ (B 701). The papyrus is more explicit; cf. Eustath. καὶ ὅρα ὅτι διαφορὰν οἶδε Δαρδάνων καὶ Τρώων. διέστα(λ)κεν is an easier emendation than διέστ(ησ)κεν. In P. Hawara the diplê is absent at l. 819; at l. 820 the papyrus is defective.

The rest of the scholium relates to the construction of ll. 819 sqq.: 'The sequence is . . .' It is noticeable that there is no further remark on l. 820; A has a diplê and the note ὅτι περισσεύει ἢ ὑπό. The supplement at the end of l. 116 is substantially that of W-M.

117. For ὑπώρειαν (W-M) cf. Schol. B ὑπαὶ πόδα' ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ποδός, ἢν ἡμεῖς ὑπώρειαν καλοῦμεν, and Plutarch, *De Vit. Hom.* ii. 20 'ὑπαὶ πόδα νείατον' Ἰδης', τὴν ὑπώρειαν.

119. This variant 'Ανδείριοιο for Δισήποιο is not otherwise recorded. Cf. Demetrius *ar.* Strabo, p. 602 συμπίπτει δ' εἰς αὐτὸν ὁ "Ανδριος ἀπὸ τῆς Καρησηνῆς . . . παρακειμένης τῇ Δαρδαρικῇ μέχρι τῶν περὶ Ζέλειαν καὶ Πιτύειαν τόπων. At the beginning of the line ἐν ἀλλ[ο]ις would be a possible reading, but the vestiges are too slight for any confidence.

119-21. A diplê is prefixed to l. 827 in A (so too P. Hawara), the note being ὅτι οὐ τὸ τόξον λέγει, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοξικὴν ἐμπειρίαν· τὸ γοῦν τόξον αὐτῶ ὁ κεραιοξός κατασκευάζει (Δ 110). Schol. B is more elaborate: Πορφυρίου. τόξον Ἀπόλλων αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν· τοῦτο μάχεσθαι δοκεῖ τῶ 'αὐτῆ' ἐσύλα τόξον . . . (Δ 105). δηλοῖ γὰρ ἐκεῖ Πάνδαρον ἐαυτῶ πεποιηκέναι τὸ τόξον. λυίτο δ' ἂν καὶ λέξει καὶ ἔθει, λέξει μὲν οὕτως, τὸ γὰρ 'ῶ καὶ τόξον αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν' δύναται ἐπὶ τὴν τοξικὴν μεταφέρεισθαι, ἔθει δέ, ὅτι εἰθίσμεθα οὐχ ἐν ἔχειν ὄπλον, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ περὶ τινα τέχνην ἐσπουδακότες. A similar interpretation was evidently given in the papyrus, though the precise wording is uncertain. There is no trace of writing between ]ν and νοητέον, and it is therefore inadmissible to restore τὸ ση[μεῖο]ν [ἔστι] νοητέον; the rather wide space after [. . .]ν may be partly due to the junction of two selides here. To read ἔδωκε]ν would make l. 119 abnormally short. The long blank interval in l. 121 indicates that the sentence was complete at that point.

Fr. 1. See note on l. 79.

1087. SCHOLIA ON *Iliad* vii.

24.3 × 17.1 cm. Late first century B.C. Plate IV.

The following text belongs like 1086 to an elaborate Homeric commentary, but one of a rather different order. 1086 is a product of the school of Aristarchus, and is a more or less direct exposition of his teaching. 1087 on the other hand shows but the slightest traces of the Aristarchean tradition, which is perhaps to be recognized in no more than a single passage (ll. 85-6, note). No references occur to the *σημεία*; and it is significant that one of the citations from Homer contains a reading of Aristophanes and Zenodotus (ll. 32-3). Another feature of these scholia, which in 1086 is much less conspicuous, is a tendency to learned disquisition. A long note, which might have been most interesting, on the subject of burial is unfortunately mutilated beyond recovery; but a large part of the two more or less complete columns is occupied by a list of 'paronymous' words, illustrated by citations and references, and it is to the presence of this list that the papyrus owes its importance. Not only does the writer adduce several forms for which there is no other testimony, but he commonly supports his instances by stating where they were to be found, and thereby adds to the fragments of a number of Greek authors. Quotations for which the papyrus is the sole authority are given from Pindar, Euripides *Temenus* and *Aegeus*, Aeschylus *Phineus*, Sophocles *Phineus I*, Cratinus *Malthaci*, Archilochus, Xenophanes *Silli*, Antimachus *Thebais*, 'Leandrius' (cf. note on ll. 44-5), Eupolis, Stesichorus *Oresteia*, Alcaeus, Hesiod and the Hesiodic *Κήκκος Γάμος*, Leucon *Phrateres*, and Ananius.

The *παρώνυμα* or derivative words here discussed are forms of the second declension having a nominative which is the same as the genitive of a cognate form belonging to the third declension, e.g. χρυσάωρος χρυσαόρον, which is parallel with χρυσάωρ χρυσάωρος. Treatises on *παρώνυμα* by Tryphon, Habron, and Apollonius Dyscolus are mentioned by Suidas, *s.v.* Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, and are cited by Stephanus of Byzantium, *s.v.* Ἀγάθη, ἀγνιά, Ἰβηρίαι, Σχοινοῦς. Several of the examples found in these excerpts appear also in the papyrus (cf. notes on ll. 23, 37-8), and from some similar theoretical treatise our anonymous author presumably drew his information. It is, however, doubtful whether any of the three grammarians named was his actual source. Tryphon, who flourished in the latter half of the first century B.C. (Suidas, *s.v.*), might perhaps have been utilized if the composition of these scholia were very little anterior to the date of the papyrus. But Tryphon may well have had his predecessors in this

particular field. Coincidences in the examples of *παρώνυμα* do not occur in connexion with him, and even if they did they would not really count for much. There was no doubt a good deal of repetition in grammatical works of the type under consideration, and the instances and quotations would tend to become to some extent stereotyped.

The rather short columns, which lean over considerably to the right, are written in a clear and neat semi-cursive of medium size. Archaic characteristics are less marked than in 1086, but the present papyrus is probably not much posterior.  $\tau$  and  $\pi$  especially are formed on an early pattern, and though some of the letters, e.g.  $\nu$ , would be consistent with a later date, they do not demand it. There are several points of similarity in this script to that of P. Brit. Mus. 133 (Plate III in *Classical Texts from the British Museum*), which Kenyon attributes to the second century B.C. There too a  $\nu$  approximating to the form found here is employed. On the whole I do not think that 1087 is subsequent to the reign of Augustus, and I should be inclined to place it before rather than after the turn of the century. Besides marginal paragraphi, both high and medial stops are used, but without any clear differentiation of value, and it is not always easy to be sure which position was intended. At the end of a note double dots commonly appear, as in 856. Accents are added in some of the words quoted in the long grammatical note, and occasionally elsewhere. Abbreviation is much less frequent than in 1086;  $\sigma\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\phi\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}$ , and  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\grave{\iota}\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta$  are the only shortened forms occurring. Lemmata, when they commence a line, project by about two letters into the left margin; if they occur within a line, then the line following is made to project.

## Col. i.

- ] . . . [ . . . ] σον[ . . . ] ιτ̄εσ̄ . . . ρφ[ . . . ] σαῑπαν  
 ] . . . [ . . . ] εικοσην και παληλαχεινδι  
 ] μη . [ . . . ] γετιδα πολυσεσθαι του γω .  
 ] . . . ρσ[ . . . ] γσ[ . . . ] γ . ασωσ̄ελενοσαντωι  
 5 ] τειλε . [ . . . ] προμοσεμμεναι . αντι  
 ] σωσκα[ . . . ] μηδεπρομοσιστασ του  
 ] :εκτ[ . . . ] ωι . α' εμοι . συ[ . . . ] εχεσγαρ  
 ] χημα[ . . . ] . [ . . . ] επο[ . . . ] θη[ . . . ] νυπ[ . . . ] χησθε  
 ] . εσεμφαι[ . . . ] εινεξονομ[ . . . ] . ποιρ . .  
 10 ] . ιν̄περῑ αυτων λεγων . αλλουκ̄αν  
 ] τεξουρανοθεν πεδιον δεζηνυπ[ . . . ]  
 ] μηστωρ[ . . . ] και οια πολλων δεπιθα  
 ] σε̄ισρωσ̄ιν̄ του εκτοροσ και τηνυπερ  
 ] νδιασαφει και εαυτον . θαρσεινυ  
 15 ] οια οσσητηρακρονιων εξιδησ  
 ] ηκεπαρεσταμεναι και αιαμνυειν  
 ] ονα πολλων α . αυτεπαινοσ δε αυ  
 ] νδιον καλων πληνομοιοσ τοισ  
 ] ε̄ιστοισεκκηνησ στρατιωταισ  
 20 ] μι . τ̄ωῑ τεξ̄υμων προελευσομε  
 ] και εμοι . επιμαρτυροσεστω . το  
 ] εστω . το δε μαρτυροσ παρωνυμον  
 ] εν̄ικη[ . . . ] του πρωτου τυπουσυν  
 ] π̄τωκενωσ το τροιζ̄ηνοσ . ενθεν  
 25 ] ιζ̄ήνοιο . χρυσαοροσ . ενθεν χρυ  
 ] ραισειρηκεπινδαροσ το χαροποσ  
 ] ντο χαρόποιο τανακτοσ . το χα  
 ] ενθεν χαλυβοισειπενυριπιδησ  
 ] με̄ρῑωι . το μέλητοσ σ<sup>ο</sup>υ δε λεγετο σ<sup>ο</sup>ω  
 30 ] ατηγορησασ . τοτανυπερυ  
 ] εν̄σιμωνιδησ . ωκεια γαρουδετα  
 ] γουμιασ . το διακτοροσ αφουερ  
 ] πεμψαντε διακτορον . το αρπαγοσ



## Col. i.

- [. . . .] . . . [.]σον[.] . . ιτες . . ρω[.] . σαι παν  
 [. . . .] . . [.] . . .] εἰκὸς ἦν καὶ πάλῃ λαχεῖν δι-  
 [. . .]μη . [.] . .]ν ἔτι δ' ἀπολύσεσθαι τοῦ γω .  
 [. . .] . . οσ[.] . .]ν σ[.]ν . ας ὡς Ἐλενος αὐτῶ  
 5 [ἐπέ]τειλε . [.] . .]· πρόμος ἔμμεναι· ἀντί- 75  
 [παλο]ς, ὡς κα[ὶ τὸ] μηδὲ πρόμος ἴστασο τού-  
 [τω.] Ἔκτ[ορι δί]ω· ἀν[τι] τοῦ ἐμοί· συ[ν]εχῆς γὰρ  
 [.] . . . σ]χῆμα [.] . [.]επο[.]θη[.]ν ὑπ[ε]ρο[.]χῆς θε-  
 [. . . .] . ες ἐμφαί[ν]ειν ἐξ ὀνόμ[ατο]ς ποιο . .  
 10 [.] . . .] . ιν περὶ αὐτῶν λέγων· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν  
 [ἐρύσαι]τ' ἐξ οὐρανόθεν πεδίον δὲ Ζῆν', ὑπ[α]-  
 [τον] μήστωρ[α]· καὶ ὁ Ἀπόλλων δὲ πιθα-  
 [νῶ]ς εἰς βῶσιν τοῦ Ἐκτορος καὶ τὴν ὑπερ-  
 [βολή]ν διασαφεῖ καὶ ἑαυτόν· θάρσει νῦν·  
 15 [τοῖόν τ]οι ἀοσητῆρα Κρονίων ἐξ Ἴδης  
 [προέ]ηκε παρεστάμεναι καὶ ἀμύνειν,  
 [Φοῖβ]ον Ἀπόλλωνα· αὐτέπαινος δ' ἑαν-  
 [τὸ]ν δῖον καλῶν· πλὴν ὅμοιος τοῖς  
 [γε πλ]είστοις ἐκ σκηνῆς στρατιώταις.  
 20 [Ζεὺς δ' ἄ]μμι· τῶ τ' ἐξ ὑμῶν προελευσομέ- 76  
 [νῶ] καὶ ἐμοί· ἐπὶ μάρτυρος ἔστω· τὸ  
 [ὄλον ἐπ]έστω· τὸ δὲ μάρτυρος παρώννυμον  
 [τῆ γ]ενικῆ τοῦ πρωτοτύπου συμ-  
 [πέ]πτωκεν, ὡς τὸ Τροίζηνος, ἔνθεν  
 25 [Τρο]ιζήνοιο, χρυσάορος, ἔνθεν χρυ-  
 [σαό]ραις εἶρηκε Πίνδαρος, τὸ Χάροπος,  
 [ἔνθε]ν τὸ Χαρόποιό τ' ἄνακτος, τὸ Χά-  
 [λυβος,] ἔνθεν Χαλύβοις εἶπεν Εὐριπίδης  
 [ἐν Τη]μένω, τὸ Μέλητος, οὕ[τως] δ' ἐλέγετο ὁ Σω-  
 30 [κράτους κ]ατηγορήσας, τὸ τανυπτέρυ-  
 [γος, ἔνθ]εν Σιμωνίδης ὠκεῖα γὰρ οὐδὲ τα-  
 [νυπερύ]γου μνίας, τὸ διάκτορος, ἀφ' οὗ Ἐρ-  
 [μείαν] πέμψαντε διάκτορον, τὸ ἄρπαγος,

Col. ii.

εἰθ[.]νεπ[.]ηθυνεναισχ[.]λοσενφινει  
 35 αρπαγοιχ[.]ροιν·καισοφοκλησενφινειᾱ  
 χερσιναρπαγοισ·τοπολυπιδακος·το  
 ιβηροσ·τοτρα[.] . . ωνοσπαρακρα  
 τινωιενμαλθακοισ·τοατμενοσ  
 παραρχιλοχωι·τολαοσαφουφ<sup>η</sup>σιμωνι  
 40 δησ·ξυλακαιλᾶουσεπιβαλλων·τοερυ  
 κοσπαραξε[.]φαινειενᾱσιλλων·τοαἰ  
 δοσενθεντηναιτιατικηντεθηκεν  
 αντιμαχοσενᾱθηβαἰδοσαἰδονδε  
 τοκαωνοσενθεντηναιτιατικηντε  
 45 θηκελεανδριοσκαωνον·τοριψασπι  
 δοσαφουφ<sup>η</sup>ευπολισριψασπιδοντεχει  
 ρατηνκλεωνμουτολιθακοσενθεν  
 φ<sup>η</sup>στησιχοροσενορεστειασβλιθακοισ  
 τοκορυθοσγεγονεδουτοσυιοσαλεξανδρου  
 50 τουπαριδοσ·τοαπατωροσενθενεντωι  
 κην[.]οσγαμωιειρηταιτοαπατωροι·το  
 κοκκυγοσηδελεξισπαρalkαιωι·το  
 δμωοσπαρησιδωι·δμωοσεχωνμα  
 κελην·καιπαραλευκωνιενφρατερσι  
 55 δμ[.]οναλλουκοικετην·τοτρωοσπα  
 ρησι[.] . ]ωιτευκρουδετρωοσ·τοσωληνοσ  
 π[.]ραγανιωι·εσθοτεδεκααιαλασσομε  
 νουτουτονουωστοάγωνοσενθεντην  
 α[.] . ]ιατικηνειρηκενευριπιδησεναι  
 60 γειαγ[.] . ]γαθλησαντα καιτοἰκτινο[.]  
 δεγι . [ . . ] ταναηκεἰχαλκωι·τετα  
 μενηνεχοιτιτηνακμην·μηνισδεηοξει  
 ωσαιτωλ[.]ι[.]οξυθηκτωιωσλοκροι·δο  
 μενα[.]παλιναποδοτωπροσεμεμαχο  
 65 μενοσ·όφραπυροσμε·πυριγαρεκαι  
 ετοπαντατασώματαειστομηνεκρων

## Col. ii.

- ἐνθ[ε]ν ἐπ[λ]ήθυνεν Αἰσχ[ύ]λος ἐν Φινεῖ  
 35 ἄρπαγοι χ[ε]ροῖν, καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Φινεῖ ἄ  
 χερσὶν ἀρπάγοις, τὸ πολυπίδακος, τὸ  
 Ἴβηρος, τὸ τρα[γοπ]ώγωνος παρὰ Κρα-  
 τίνφ ἐν Μαλθακοῖς, τὸ ἄτμενος  
 παρ' Ἀρχιλόφω, τὸ λάος, ἀφ' οὗ φη(σι) Σιμωνί-  
 40 δης ξύλα καὶ λάους ἐπιβάλλων, τὸ Ἔρυ-  
 κος παρὰ Ξεν[ο]φάνει ἐν ἐ' Σίλλων, τὸ Ἄι-  
 δος, ἔνθεν τὴν αἰτιατικὴν τέθηκεν  
 Ἀντίμαχος ἐν ἁ' Θηβαῖδος Ἄιδον δέ,  
 τὸ Κάωνος, ἔνθεν τὴν αἰτιατικὴν τέ-  
 45 θηκε Λεάνδριος Κάωνον, τὸ ριψάσπι-  
 δος ἀφ' οὗ φη(σιν) Εὐπόλις ριψάσπιδόν τε χεῖ-  
 ρα τὴν Κλεωνύμου, τὸ λιθακός, ἔνθεν  
 φη(σι) Στησίχορος ἐν Ὁρεστείας β' λιθακοῖς,  
 τὸ Κόρυθος, γέγονε δ' οὗτος υἱὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 50 τοῦ Πάριδος, τὸ ἀπάτωρος, ἔνθεν ἐν τῷ  
 Κή[κ]ος γάμω εἴρηται τὸ ἀπάτωροι, τὸ  
 κόκκυγος, ἡ δὲ λέξις παρ' Ἀλκαίω, τὸ  
 δμῶος παρ' Ἡσιόδω, δμῶος ἔχων μα-  
 κέλην, καὶ παρὰ Λεύκωνι ἐν Φράτερσι,  
 55 δμ[ῶ]ον ἀλλ' οὐκ οἰκέτην, τὸ Τρῶος πα-  
 ρ' Ἡσι[ό]δω, Τεύκρου δὲ Τρῶος, τὸ σωλήνος  
 π[α]ρ' Ἀνανίω. ἔσθ' ὅτε δὲ καὶ ἀλλασσομέ-  
 νου τοῦ τόνου, ὡς τὸ ἄγωνος, ἔνθεν τὴν  
 αἰ[τ]ιατικὴν εἴρηκεν Εὐριπίδης ἐν Αἰ-  
 60 γεῖ ἄγ[ωνο]ν ἀθλήσαντα, καὶ τὸ ἵκτινο[ς]  
 δ' ἐνί[κ]ησε.] ταναήκει χαλκῶ· τετα- 77  
 μένην ἔχοντι τὴν ἀκμήν. Μῆνις δὲ ἡ ὀξεί  
 ὡς Αἰτωλ[ο]ῖ [ἡ] ὀξυθήκτω ὡς Λοκροί. δό- 79  
 μενα[ι] πάλιν· ἀποδότω ὁ πρὸς ἐμὲ μαχό-  
 65 μενος. ὄφρα πυρός με· πυρὶ γὰρ ἐκαί-  
 ετο πάντα τὰ σώματα εἰς τὸ μὴ νεκρῶν

Col. iii.

	[		τουτο[
	σ[	85	ωσφ <sup>η</sup> κ[
	λ[		τα·λαχειν[
70	δ[		φρων·δ[
	σι[		μεμφε[
	α[		ποικιλ[
	τρο[	90	ειδεκεγ[
	πτο[		μοιευχοσαπ[
75	νο[		ε[
	ειν[		. . [
	τιδ[		δαγ . [
	των[	95	μαχαισα[
	αντ[		ποτινηον·ουσ[
80	μητρ[		νοσ·ουδεν[
	φρυξι . [		παρεπομεν[
	οιδεν[		δεβαρυτον[
	τουσιν[		

1-5. This note, which apparently refers to l. 74, is difficult to reconstruct from the damaged remains. The extant scholia do not help.

2. *πάλη* is not satisfactory, apart from the fact that the omission of iota subscript is unusual in this papyrus. *το δη* could be read, but not *παλαι* nor *παλω*.

3. *απολυεσθαι* cannot be read. At the end of the line *τουγω*, not *τουτω*, seems to be clear.

4. ]νο[ : the doubtful σ can be any round letter. ]ν . ασ may be ]ησασ (-ησας?), and the following ωσ is very uncertain.

5. The supposed point after the second lacuna may be the tip of a letter. *ἀντίπαλος* is hardly the natural synonym for *πρόμος*, which is usually explained as equivalent to *πρόμαχος*, e. g. in Schol. A and Apollon. *Lex.*; moreover a supplement of five letters would be better than one of four. But there is no room for a suitable word if *ἀντι* [του . . . is read, and that phrase would be likely to have been abbreviated, as in l. 7. It may be noticed that Eustathius uses the word *ἀντίπαλος* in his discussion of the passage (p. 666), τὸ δὲ τὸν ἀντίπαλον ἰριστέα πεσεῖν θεῶν τι νομίζει.

7. Cf. Schol. A ὅτι ἰδίως ὡς περὶ ἑτέρου.

8. *επο[ι]ειτ* does not seem admissible, and [π]επο[ι]θη is hardly adapted to the context. For *ἵπ[ερο]χῆν* cf. Schol. B δῖον ἑαυτὸν κατ' ἐξοχὴν ἐκάλεσεν.

9-10. The name of Zeus is expected somewhere in these two lines.

10-12. Θ 21-2; 'Ζῆν' ὕπατον' is similarly quoted in illustration in Schol. B. The

Col. iii.

	[	τουτο[	
	σ[	85 ὡς φη(σι) Κ[. . . . .	λελάχωσι θανόν- 80
	λ[	τα· λαχεῖν [ποιήσωσιν . . . . .	Λυκό-
70	δ[	φρων· δ[	
	σι[	μέμφε[ται	
	α[	ποικίλ[λει	
	τρο[	90 εἰ δέ κ' ἐγ[ὼ τὸν ἔλω . . . . .	δῶη δέ 81
	πτο[	μοι εὐχος Ἀπ[όλλων	
75	νο[	ε[	
	εἰν[	. . [	
	τιδ[	δαν . [	
	των[	95 μάχαις α[. . . . .	καὶ κρεμόω 83
	ἀντ[	ποτὶ νηόν· οὐ σ[	20 letters
80	μητρ[	νος οὐδ' ἔνι [ . . . . .	ἐν τοῖς
	Φρυξί[ . [	παρεπομέν[οις στίχοις. τὸ κρεμόω	
	οὶ δὲ ν[	δὲ βαρυτο[ητέον.	
	τοὺς ν[		

supplement [ἐρύσαι]τ' is slightly long and perhaps the initial letter stood in l. 10. The supposed point in l. 12 may be a vestige of the α of *μηστορα*.

13. Wilamowitz suggests εἶς ἐπίρωσιν, but this is hardly consistent with the remains. *ἵπερ[βολή]ν* (W-M) suits the lacuna rather better than *ἵπερ[οχή]ν*.

14-17. The quotation is from O 254-6.

17-18. Cf. Schol. A καὶ ὅτι ἀκαίρως δῖον ἑαυτὸν ὁ Ἔκτωρ.

21-2. The separation of ἐπί from μάρτυρος is indicated by l. 22, and so Cramer, *Anecd. Par.* iii. 135. 15 μάρτυροι· μάρτυρες, Ἰακῶς δὲ μάρτυροι· Ζεὺς δ' ἅμα (*sic*) ἐπὶ μάρτυρος ἔστω. W-M proposed τὸ [πλήρες ἐπ]έστω, but πλήρες would overload the lacuna, while πλή(ρες) would not quite fill it.

23. The vestiges do not at least suggest ]ενικ, but γ]ενικῆ, as W-M remarks, seems indispensable here. Cf. Steph. Byz., s. v. Ἰβηρία: ἀπὸ τῆς γενικῆς Ἰβηρος εὐθεία, ὡς τῆς φύλακος ὁ φύλακος. Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν τοῖς παρωνύμοις φησὶν· ἀπὸ γενικῶν εὐθεία παράγονται, τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβῆς ὁμοίως τῇ εὐθεία κατὰ τὸν τόνον προπαροξυνόμεναι, καὶ ἡ ἐν ἀπλῶ σχήματι ἢ ἐν συνθέτῳ. ἀπλοῦν μὲν οὖν μάρτυρ μάρτυρος ὁ μάρτυρος, Χάροψ Χάροπος ὁ Χάροπος Ἰαρόποιο τ' ἄνακτος' (cf. ll. 26-7), Τροίξην Τροίξηνος ὁ Τροίξηνος ἰοῖς Τροίξηνιο' (cf. ll. 24-5), Ἰβηρ Ἰβηρος ὁ Ἰβηρος (cf. l. 37).

25. [Τρο]ίξηνιο: B 847.

25-6. χρυσαόραις is not found in the extant works of Pindar, who uses the form χρυσάωρ in *Pvth.* v. 104 and Fr. 139. χρυσαόρος occurs e.g. in Homer, E 509, O 256.

27. Χαρόποιο τ' ἄνακτος: B 672.

28-9. *Χάλυβος* is known as a Euripidean form from *Alc.* 980 and Fr. 472. 6, but this citation from the *Temenus* is new.

31-2 = Simonides, Fr. 32.

32-3. *a* 38. The scholia state that Aristophanes and Zenodotus here read *πέμψαντε*, and Buttman was no doubt right in his inference that they also read *διάκτορον*, which is found in Vat. Ottob. 308 and Vind. 307. *πέμψαντες* *έύσκοπον* other MSS. and edd.

33-6. The form *ἄρπαγος* was known only from Schol. Dorv. Aristoph. *Plut.* 800 and Arcadius, p. 102. 9, whence Dindorf describes it in Stephanus *Theas.* as a *forma recentioris Graecismi*. Only one certain citation of the *Phineus* of Aeschylus (Fr. 258) and one of the first *Phineus* of Sophocles (Fr. 641) were previously known.

36. *πολυπίδακος* is a well-supported variant in Homer,  $\Xi$  307, and elsewhere; it is also read e. g. in the *H. in Ven.* 54 and is found in Hesychius.

37-8. Cf. Steph. Byz., *s. v.* 'Ιβηρίαί : 'Ιβηρ 'Ιβηρος ὁ 'Ιβηρος' ἀφ' οὗ παρὰ Κοναδράτω ἐν 'Ρωμαϊκῆς χιλιάδος ἐστὶν 'Ιβήροισιν οὕτως· καὶ τοὶ Λίγυσι θ' ἄμα καὶ 'Ιβήροισι πολεμέοντες. τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ 'Αβρων ἐν παρωνύμοις φησί. καὶ αὐτὸς 'Ιβηρος τραγοπῶγων ἐν Μαλθακοῖς εἴρηται Κρατίνου (= Fr. 101, Kock). If the papyrus is to be trusted, there must be an error here, and *τραγοπῶγων* should be emended to *τραγοπῶγανος*; αὐτός also has occasioned difficulty. It is true that the form *τραγοπῶγανος* is not otherwise attested, and not a little remarkable that 'Ιβηρος and *τραγοπῶγανος* should have occurred in actual juxta-position. But to attribute the confusion to the papyrus and bring it into conformity with the text of Stephanus by some such alteration as τὸ 'Ιβηρος, (ὄς) τὸ ('Ιβηρος) *τραγοπῶγων* παρὰ Κρατίνου is hardly justifiable. Perhaps, however, a *καί* has dropped out after 'Ιβηρος. *τρα[γοπ]ῶγανος* would be a very uncertain reading apart from the passage of Stephanus, [*γοπ*] being rather cramped and the vestiges of some of the other letters exiguous; but as it is, little doubt remains.

38-9. The form *ἄτμενος* is found in Heysch., Eustathius, *Od.* p. 1750. 62, and Ammonius, *s. v.* *θῆς*, who says that it means *οὐ μόνον ὁ δοῦλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ ὑποτεταμένος ἐλεύθερος*. That the word occurred in Archilochus was unknown. Was he the source of the anonymous citation in Hesychius *ἄτμενον οἶτον*?

39-40. *λάος* has hitherto rested on the support of Soph. *O. C.* 195 ἐπ' ἄκρον *λάου*, on which the Schol. in L remarks *ἀπὸ τῆς λάος ἐστὶ παροξυνομένης εὐθείας, γενομένης ἀπὸ γενικῆς τῆς λάος. ('Ομηρος λάος) ὑπὸ ῥίπης. οὕτως Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ ἐ' τῆς καθόλου*. Jebb follows Dindorf and Wecklein in substituting *λάος* for *λάου*, and hazards the guess that 'Herodian had perhaps no warrant besides this passage (of Sophocles)'. Grammarians had better information than what is commonly credited to them. The traditional *λάου* should in future be allowed to stand. W-M notes that the word is probably to be also recognized in Hesiod Fr. 115. 3 *λεκτοὺς ἐκ γαίης λάου* (*λαοὺς* Et. Gud. Et. Angel., *ἀλέους* Strabo vii. p. 322, *ἀλέας* Rzach with Villebrun; cf. Cramer, *Anecd. Ox.* i. 264. 27 'Ἡσίοδος δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἀλὲς τὸ σημαῖνον τὸ ἀβροῦν, ἀλαός, λαὸς ἀφαιρέσει τοῦ α).

40-1. 'Ερυκος is not a known form for 'Ερυξ, but the first letter is most probably *ε* and the occurrence of the name in the works of Xenophanes is eminently natural. The present is the first reference to separate books of the *Silli*, the attribution of which to Xenophanes by Strabo (p. 643) and others has occasioned much discussion. A careful review of the evidence is given by C. Wachsmuth in his *Sillographi Graeci*. He arrives at the sensible conclusion that the *Silli* of Xenophanes were a poem or series of poems in hexameters wherein various philosophers and poets were attacked; and that they were so called by grammarians on account of their similarity to the *Silli* of Timon. Only one line is quoted expressly from the work (Schol. Aristoph. *Equit.* 406), but eleven other fragments are assigned to it by Diels, *Poet. Phil. Fragmenta*, pp. 39-41.

41-3. 'Αιδος: this is another new form.

44-5. Κάων, gen. Κάωνος, is cited by Theognostus in Cramer, *Anecd. Oxon.* ii. p. 30, and Κάωνος is found without explanation in Suidas. Who this Leandrius may be is uncertain. C. Keil has shown good reason (*Vindiciae onomat.*, 1843) for correcting Λεάνδρος or Λεάνδριος in a number of passages, e.g. Diog. Laert. i. 1. 28, το Μαϊάνδριος, i. e. the Milesian historian whose name is guaranteed by C. I. G. 2905. 8; and Meineke goes a step further by reading Μαϊάνδριος in Steph. Byz., s. v. "Υδη, for the Λεάνδρος or Νεάνδρος of the MSS. The best evidence for a writer called Leandrius is this papyrus, which very possibly has fallen into a common error, though its early date entitles it to some respect.

45-7. ρίψασπιδος occurs only here. Cf. Aristoph. *Nub.* 353 Κλεώνυμον αἶται τὸν ρίψασπιν χθές ἰδοῦσαι and the Schol. τοῦτον ὡς δειλὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως ρίψαντα τὴν ἀσπίδα οὐ τε ἄλλοι κωμῶδοι διαβάλλουσι πάντες καὶ ἐν τοῖς Σφηξίν ὁ αὐτός.

47-8. λιθανός is included in a list of words in -ακος by Arcadius, p. 51. 7. Bekker's *Anecd.* ii. p. 783 (= Bergk, Fr. 31) is the only other express citation of the second book of the *Oresteia*.

50-1. ἀπάτωρος is not otherwise attested. It is noticeable that the name of Hesiod does not accompany the Κήνκος γάμος, regarding the authenticity of which doubts were entertained in antiquity; cf. Athen. ii. p. 49 b Ἡσίοδος ἐν τῷ Κήνκος γάμῳ—κᾶν γὰρ γραμματικῶν παῖδες ἀποξενῶσι τοῦ ποιητοῦ τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ ἀρχαῖα εἶναι—τρίποδας τὰς τραπέζας φησί, and on the other side Plutarch, *Mor.* 730 f καθάπερ οὖν τὸ πῦρ τὴν ὕλην ἐξ ἧς ἀνήφθη, μητέρα καὶ πατέρα ὄσαν, ἦσθιεν, ὡς ὁ τὸν Κήνκος γάμον εἰς τὰ Ἡσιόδου παρεμβαλὼν εἶρηκεν. The poem is also cited as Hesiod's in Schol. Apollon. Rhod. i. 1289; six fragments are attributed to it by Rzach.

52. κόκκυγος, which I owe to W-M, is another unknown form. There is little doubt of the correctness of the reading.

53. Hesiod, *Erga* 470. Whether the word should be accented δμῶος or δμῶός was not agreed; cf. Choerob. in Bekker, *Anecd.* p. 1181 ὡσπερ ὁ Τρώος τοῦ Τρωός καὶ ὁ Τρωός, ὁ δμῶος τοῦ δμῶος· δμῶος ἔχων μακέλην, and Etym. Magn. p. 770. 35 ἔστι Τρώος Τρωός καὶ δμῶος δμῶός χωρὶς τοῦ ι, καὶ μεταγέται ἢ γενική εἰς εὐθείαν καὶ γίνεται Τρωός καὶ δμῶός χωρὶς τοῦ ι.

55. The papyrus makes a small addition to the three existing fragments of Leucon (Kock, i. p. 704). The Φράτερες were produced on the same occasion as the *Peace* of Aristophanes.

55-6. For the form Τρῶος cf. the note on l. 53. It must of course be a nominative and is apparently equivalent to Τρῶός, the mythical king of Troy, as in Malalas iv. Tros was the great grandson of Teucer. Τεύκρον δὲ Τρῶος does not occur in the extant remains of Hesiod; but the name of the author, though quite suitable, is by no means certain.

56-7. σωλῆρος is otherwise unexampled. The scanty remnants of the Iambographer Ananias are mostly derived from Athenaeus.

58-60. ἄγωνος is given by Hesychius as an Aeolic form; cf. Phot. *Lex.* ἄγωνος κατὰ σχηματισμὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀ γῶν· ἀπὸ δὲ γενικῆς ἐσχηματίσθη· οὕτως Ἀλκαῖος ὁ λυρικός πολλάκις ἐχρήσατο (Fr. 120, Bergk). The quotation from the *Aegeus* is new.

60-1. If ἐνίκ[ησε], which was suggested by W-M, is right, it would be equivalent to ἐξενίκησε, 'has come into vogue.' This is very suitable, since ἴκτινος is a common form; and the use of the simple verb, though unusual in this sense, seems quite possible. δ' ἐν ι . . . is less likely.

With regard to the accent, Theognost. 67. 17 and Etym. Magn. 470. 35 agree with the papyrus, while Herodian, *ap.* Eustath. p. 1825. 12, writes ἴκτινος, which is commonly adopted.

61-2. Cf. Schol. Did. ἐπιμήκει καὶ τεταμένην ἔχοντι, τουτέστιν ἠκονημένην, τὴν ἀκμήν, and

Apollon. *Lex. s. v.* τανύηκες, ὅτε μὲν τὸ ξίφος . . . συνθέτως λέγει τὸ τεταμένην ἔχον τὴν ἀκμήν, τουτέστι τὴν ἀκμήν. Menis is an otherwise unknown commentator.

64. A stop is likely to have disappeared after παλιν.

65 εσqq. The loss of this long note concerning burial is very unfortunate. Schol. A merely remarks ὅτι καθόλου διὰ πυρὸς οἶδε γυομένης τὰς ταφάς.

73-5. These three lines project slightly into the margin, though not so much as the Homeric lemmata. Perhaps the indentation was unintentional; or these lines may be a quotation from some other source.

86-9. Cf. Schol. A λελάχωσι· ὅτι ἀντὶ τοῦ λαχεῖν ποιήσωσιν. ἀναδιπλασιασμός λελάχωσι. Λυκόφρων and ποικίλ[λει are restored by W-M, who suggests that something like ἡ δὲ ἀναδιπλασις] ποικίλ[λει τὴν ποίησιν stood in ll. 88-9. The letter following φρων may well be α, ο, or ω instead of δ.

90-1. Verse 81 seems to have been divided into two lemmata, separated by a very short comment; or the scribe might be supposed to have made a mistake and to have written several letters which he had to delete. Unless some such hypothesis is adopted l. 90 will be about ten letters shorter than those of Cols. i-ii, which there is no reason to suppose and ll. 85-6 tend to disprove.

96-9. ποτί: so most MSS. and Eustath.; προτί edd. with Vind. 117 and a Breslau MS. For τὸ κρεμόω, which was restored by W-M, cf. Eustath. *ad loc.* τὸ δὲ κρεμόω πλεονασμὸν ἔχει τοῦ ο τῆς παραληούσης, εἴληπται δὲ ἀντὶ μέλλοντος τοῦ κρεμάσω.

#### 1088. MEDICAL RECEIPTS.

23·2 × 41 cm.

Early first century.

The following series of medical receipts is written on the verso of 1086 in a cursive hand probably dating from the earlier part of the first century. Three columns are nearly entire, and there are traces of a fourth, but practically nothing of it remains. Col. i is preceded by a blank space considerably wider than the margins between the columns and therefore was presumably the commencement, the roll which contained the Homeric scholia having been subdivided before these prescriptions came to be inserted in it. They are a miscellaneous collection, including local applications for wounds and sores, leprosy, flow of blood, polypus, and to induce sneezing, and potions for quartan fever, liver-complaints, dropsy, insomnia, and convulsions(?). Papyri of this class are not infrequent; cf. e.g. 234, P. Tebt. 273, P. Rylands 29-29 (b), *Berl. Klassiker-texte*, iii. pp. 32-3. The writer, who was rather inaccurate, shows noticeable fondness for η instead of ει before another vowel; he also has a curious datival form in l. 32.

Col. i.

Τὸ μήλινον κολλ(ύριον) πρὸς ῥεῦμα  
καὶ ἐλκώματα καὶ πληγὰς  
καὶ αἰμάλωπας·



- καδμήας (δραχμαὶ) δ, ψιμιθίου (δραχμαὶ) η,  
 5 ἀμύλου (δραχμαὶ) δ, λίθου σχι(στοῦ) πεπλ(υμένου) (δραχμῆ) α,  
 κρόκου (δραχμῆ) α, ὀπίου (τριώβολον), κόμμε(ως) (δραχμαὶ) δ,  
 ὕδωρ.  
 ἀρεστῆι πρὸς λεπτὰ ρεύματα  
 καὶ ἐλκώματα·  
 10 ἀμύλου (δραχμαὶ) η, στίμεως (δραχμαὶ) β,  
 ὀπίου (τριώβολον), λεπίδος (τριώβολον),  
 ψιμιθίου (δραχμαὶ) β, κόμμε(ως) (δραχμαὶ) β,  
 ὕδωρ.  
 λεπρική· {α}κανθαρίδ(ων) (δραχμῆ) α, ἄμι,  
 15 εὐζώμου σπέρμα(τος), παραιθου,  
 μελανθίου, σινάπε(ως), καρδάμου,  
 πίσης ὑγρᾶς. χρωὶ τοῖς  
 τόποις.  
 ἴσχαιμον· χαλκίτιδει λήα χρωὶ  
 20 καὶ εὐθέως ἐπιστήσει.  
 αἷμα ἀπὸ μυκτῆρων στῆσαι· μάνναν  
 φύρασον χυλῶι πράσῳι καὶ ἐνάλιψον  
 τὸν χυλὸν ἐνδόθεν.

Col. ii.

- πταρνικόν· ἔλλεβόρου λευκοῦ  
 25 προσφατώτερον τρίψας ἐμφύσα{s}  
 εἰς τοὺς μυκτῆρας, ἢ στρουθήῳ  
 ὠσαύτως ἢ καστορήῳ ὠσαύτως.  
 πρὸς ὄζαινας· ἀρσενικὸν τρίψον  
 λῆον, ὕπτιον κατακλίνας τὸν ἄν-  
 30 θρωπον θεράπευε, ἢ ἔλλεβόρωι  
 μέλανι ὠσαύτως χρῆσον.  
 πρὸς πυλύπους τοὺς ἐμ μυκτῆρεσ-  
 σιν γεινομένους· ἀφροῦ νίτρου ὀπτοῦ (τριώβολον),  
 κυμίνου (δραχμῆ), ἴρεως (δραχμῆ)· τρεῖψας ἐμφύσ(ησ)ον  
 35 εἰς τοὺς μυκτῆρας, ἐὰν δὲ ξηρότεροι

- ὦσι συκῆϊου τὸν φλοιὸν ξηρὸν τρίψας  
 λῆον ἐμφύσα.  
 πρὸς τοὺς τεταρταίους· ὀποῦ σιλφῆου (ὀβολός),  
 ξμύρνη(ς) (ὀβολός). ἄλλο ψῶμισ(μα)· κωνή(υ) (δραχμαὶ) γ, ὑοσκνάμο(υ)  
 (δραχμαὶ) γ,  
 40 ὀπίου (δραχμαὶ) β, καστορήου (δραχμῆ) α, ἐλλεβόρου μέ(λανος) (δραχμῆ) α,  
 λῆα ποιήσας καὶ χωρὶς ἕκαστον ἀναπλά-  
 σας μεθ' ὕδατος κολλύρια πῶει ἡλίκον  
 Αἰγύπ(τιον) κύαμον, εἴτα{ν} ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ ξηρά-  
 νας ταῦτα νήστη διδου πείν τρίψας ἐν γλυ-  
 45 κέωι ἰμικοτυλίωι, προλούσας πρὸ τῆς λήμ-  
 ψεω(ς) ὀρων β καὶ φακὸν πρὸς τοὺς πόδας  
 προτιθεῖς, καὶ σκεπάζειν ἱματίοις.

Col. iii.

- πότημα πρὸς ἡπ[α]τ[ικ][ο]ύς·  
 ἀκόρου (δραχμῆ), πανάκου(ς) (ὀβολός), νάρδου (ὀβολός),  
 50 δαύκου{ς} (δραχμαὶ) β. βρα[δέως]  
 πινέτωι μετὰ γλυκέως ἢ μέλιτ[ο]ς.  
 ἄλλο· πανάκου(ς) (δραχμαὶ) β, ἀκαρου(ς) (δραχμαὶ) β,  
 δαύκου{ς} (δραχμῆ), νάρδου (ὀβολός)· μετὰ  
 γλυκέως καὶ μέλιτος καὶ  
 55 στροβίλων κ(εκ)[ρ]αμένων δὸς πείν.  
 ἄλλο ἐνεργὲς ἰκανῶς· κιννάμο(υ) [. . .,  
 ξμύρνης (δραχμαὶ) ι, νάρδου (δραχμαὶ) ς, σε(σέ)λε[ω]ς  
 Αἰθιοπικοῦ (δραχμαὶ) ς· μετ' ῥ{ω}οῦ λεά[νας]  
 χωρὶς ἕκα[σ]τον καὶ κενταυρεῖ[ου]  
 60 χυλῶι ἀναπλάσα[ς] ἡλίκον Αἰγύπ(τιον)  
 κυάμου δι[ί]δου πείν ἐν μελικρ[ά]-  
 τωι θερμῶι.  
 πότημα ὑδρωπικῶν· ὀρεοσ{ς}ελίνο(υ) . . .,  
 μυρσίνη(ς) (δραχμαὶ) η, καρύων πικρῶ(υ) (δραχμαὶ) δ,  
 65 δαύκου σπέρμα(τος) (δραχμαὶ) ς.  
 ὑπνωτικὸν πότημα· ὑοσκ[ι]νάμου . . .

ἀννήσου (δραχμῆ) α, ὀπίου (τριώβολον)· μείξ[ας δός.  
 κατασπασμικός· αβρουανου (δραχμῆ) α, λ[. . .  
 Χρ(ηστὸς).  
 λιαθεων . . . ( ) εντο( ) (δραχμαί) δ. [

4. ψιμυθῖο Pap. and so *passim*. 22. l. πράσον. 24. l. παρμικόν. 31. l. χρῆσαι.  
 32. l. πολύπους. 34. ε of τρειψας and ο of εμψσον corr. from α. 39. ψωμισ(μα)  
 added above the line. 43. ι of σκια corr. from ε? 44. l. γλυκέως. 45. l. ἡμικοτυλίαι.  
 46. l. ὠρῶν. 52. l. ἀκόρον. 61. l. κύαμον.

1-67. 'The yellow salve for discharges, wounds, bruises, and weals; calamine 4 dr., white lead 8 dr., fine meal 4 dr., purified schist 1 dr., saffron 1 dr., opium 3 ob., gum 4 dr., water.

A good remedy for small discharges and wounds: fine meal 8 dr., antimony 2 dr., opium 3 ob., flake of copper 3 ob., white lead 2 dr., gum 2 dr., water.

For leprosy: cantharides 1 dr., ammi, rocket-seed, . . ., nigella, mustard, cress, raw pitch. Apply locally.

Styptic: use pounded rock-alum, and it will stop (the blood) at once.

To stop nose-bleeding: mix frankincense with onion-juice and apply the juice inside.

To cause sneezing: pound fresh some white hellebore and blow it into the nostrils, or use soap-wort or castor in the same way.

For sores in the nose: rub yellow orpiment smooth, then lay the man on his back and treat him, or use black hellebore in the same way.

For polypus growing in the nostrils: baked soda 3 ob., cummin 1 dr., orris-root 1 dr.; rub them and blow into the nostrils. If the sore is rather dry, rub smooth some dry bark of fig and blow in.

For quartan fever: juice of silphium 1 ob., myrrh 1 ob. Another dose: hemlock 3 dr., henbane 3 dr., opium 2 dr., castor 1 dr., black hellebore 1 dr.; pound and work them up separately with water and make pastilles of the size of an Egyptian bean, then dry in the shade and give them to the patient to drink fasting, rubbing them in half a cotele of raisin wine, having previously given him a bath two hours before taking; apply a warm bottle to the feet, and cover him up with blankets.

Draught for liver-patients: sweet flag 1 dr., opopanax 1 ob., spikenard 1 ob., parsnip 2 dr.; to be drunk slowly with raisin wine or honey.

Another receipt: opopanax 2 dr., sweet flag 2 dr., parsnip 1 dr., spikenard 1 ob.; give to drink with raisin wine and honey and pine-cones mixed.

Another, tolerably strong: cinnamon . . ., myrrh 10 dr., spikenard 6 dr., Aethiopian seseli 6 dr.; rub smooth separately with egg and work up with juice of centaury, and give a dose of the size of an Egyptian bean in warm honey and water.

Draught for dropsy-patients: mountain-parsley . . ., myrtle 8 dr., bitter almonds 4 dr., seed of parsnip 6 dr.

Soporific: henbane . . ., anise 1 dr., opium 4 ob.; mix and administer.'

1. μήλιναι ἔμπλαστροι are dealt with in Galen, xiii. pp. 503 sqq., where a number of prescriptions are given. He says *καλεῖν δ' ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς ἰατροῖς ἀπλῶς μὲν χλωρὰς καὶ μηλίνας καὶ κίρρας, ὅσαι κολλῶσί τε τὰ μὴ πάνυ μεγάλα τραύματα καὶ ἔλκη συνουλοῦσιν*. At the end of the line perhaps *ρέυμα(τα)* should be read.

5. For *λίθος σχιστός* cf. Galen, xii. p. 196. 7, Diosc. v. 144. It is said by the latter to

come from Western Iberia, and πληροὶ δὲ καὶ κοιλώματα . . . καὶ πρὸς ῥήξεις . . . λίαν ἐνεργεῖ. πλύνεσθαι is used of λίθοι e. g. in Galen, xiii. p. 407.

8. ἀρεστή{ι} is very doubtful, but I can find no other reading that yields any sense. The letters are more like ἀρσνη or ἀρετη. τ is comparable to the supposed τ of το( ) in l. 69; η has a taller first stroke than usual, like that of a φ or ψ, but neither of those letters seems admissible. ἀρσνη is unsuitable, nor would such a distinction be likely.

14. For καθαρίδ(ων) cf. Galen, xii. p. 363 ἐμίξαμεν δὲ (sc. τὰς καθ.) καὶ ταῖς πρὸς ψώρας καὶ λέπρας ἀρμοζούσαις δυνάμεσι, and Diosc. Εὐπορ. i. 128. The initial α was probably added owing to some confusion with ἄκανθα.

15. παραιθον is fairly clear, but is not a known word. Was πυρέθρον meant? Dioscorides says that it πρὸς ἐψυγμένα δὲ ἢ παρειμένα μέρη τοῦ σώματος ἄκρως ἀρμόζει (iii. 79).

16. For μελανθίου here cf. e. g. Galen, xii. p. 70 οὐδ' ὅτι λέπρας . . . ἐκβάλλει θαυμαστόν ἐστι, for σινάπε(ως), Diosc. ii. 183 σὺν ὄξει δὲ πρὸς λέπρας, and for καρδάμου ib. 184 ἀποσμῆχει λέπρας.

19. χαλκίτιδι: cf. e. g. Galen, xii. p. 241 μεμιγμένας ἔχει τὴν τε στυπτικήν καὶ δριμύειαν δύναμιν. It is a common remedy of modern barbers.

21-3. Cf. Diosc. ii. p. 178 αἶμα ὁ χυλὸς αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ πράσου) ἴσθησι σὺν ὄξει, καὶ μάλιστα τὸ ἐκ μυκτῆρων φερόμενον, μάννης ἢ λιβανωτοῦ μιγέντος. A number of other receipts are given in Galen, xiv. pp. 337-9, 416-18.

24. Cf. Diosc. iv. 148 παρμούς τε ἐρεθίζει (sc. ἐλλέβ. λευκ.), and Εὐπορ. i. 3.

27. Diosc. ii. 192 says of στρουθίου, κινεῖ δὲ καὶ παρμούς, and of καστόριον, ἔστι δὲ καὶ παρμικός.

28-37. Remedies for ὄζαναι and πόλυποι are specified e. g. by Diosc. Εὐπορ. i. 159, 160; and Galen, xiv. 336-7, 416-17. ἀρσενικόν is prescribed by the latter, p. 337; white hellebore and ἀφρόνιτρον, pp. 416, 417. At the end of l. 28 a horizontal stroke might be interpreted as the sign for 1 obol, but the amount seems immaterial here, and a rather smaller dash at the end of the next line clearly has no such meaning.

32. μυκτῆρεσσιν: the use of the Aeolic dative is remarkable; cf. C. P. R. 242. 10 χουίκεσιν.

36. συκηιον might be for συκ(ε)ίου, but that word is only used in the sense of a decoction of figs. Possibly σικύου is meant.

38 sqq. In a prescription of Harpalus for quartan fever in Galen, xiv. p. 167, σμύρνα and καστόριον are included; other remedies are given ib. pp. 524, 561, Diosc. Εὐπορ. ii. 21.

39. ψώμισ(μα), which has been inserted here, is used by Galen, xii. p. 1004, in connexion with the feeding of infants.

43. The Egyptian bean was a common measure of magnitude; cf. e. g. Galen, xiv. p. 462 χαλκοῦ κεκαμμένου ὅσον κνάμου Διγ. Its equivalent weight is given ib. xix. p. 780 as 1½ ob.

44. νήστη: cf. Moeris, p. 270 νήστις Ἀττικοί, νήστης Ἑλληνες and e. g. Apollon. *Hist. Mirab.* 51 ὅτε νήστης ὑπῆρχεν, *Berl. Klassikertexte*, iii. p. 31. 2. 1, where read νήστης χρῶ. The termination of γλυκέωι (for -ως) was probably affected by that of ἡμικοτυλίωι; cf. l. 22. -έως for -έος is frequently found in later Greek; cf. Lobeck, *Phrynichus*, p. 247.

46. φακόν: cf. e. g. Hippocr. Περὶ γυν. φύσ. ii. p. 571 Kühn, αὐτοῖς τοῖς βράκεισι θερμαίνων, καὶ τοῖς φακοῖς τοῖς ὄστρακίνοις τὸ ὕδωρ ἐγχεῖν ζεστόν. They were so called on account of their shape.

48. If ἦπ[α]ρικ[ο]ύς is right, the letters ρικ, the remains of which are scanty, were rather widely spaced. πρὸς ἡπατικούς occurs as a heading in Galen, xiv. p. 454, and it appears to suit the character of the prescriptions of ll. 49-62. Cf. ib. pp. 374-5, xiii. pp. 198 sqq., Diosc. Εὐπορ. ii. 58-9.

55. κραιμενων seems to have been written for κεκραμένων: there would barely be room for

κ[αί] even if *αμενων* were a word. For *στροβίλων* cf. Diosc. i. 88 *στρόβιλοι δὲ . . . μετὰ γλυκίος ἢ σικύου σπέρματος πινόμενοι . . . ἀμβλυτικοὶ τῶν περὶ κύστιν καὶ νεφροῦς δριμυτήτων.*

57-8. The letter before the lacuna may be *ι*, but since *σέλινον Αἰθιοπικόν* is apparently not a known variety, it seems likely that there was another lipography here and that *σέσει* *Αἰθιοπικόν* (Diosc. iii. 54) was meant. At the end of the line *λευ[κοῦ]* is not impossible, but the remains of the last letter before the lacuna suit *α* rather better than *υ*.

63. Various *πότιμα πρὸς ὑδρωπικούς* are given in Galen, xiii. p. 205, xiv. 462, xv. 912, Diosc. *Εὐπορ.* ii. 63-5; *ἀφέψημα ῥίζων σελίνων* and *μυρσίνης φύλλα* are mentioned by the latter.

68. *κατασπασμικός* does not occur, but this word seems more intelligible than *κατασπασ-τικός*, and the letter before *ι* suggests *μ* rather than *τ*. *αβρνανον* is perhaps meant for *ἀβροτόνον*, which according to Diosc. iii. 26 *βοηθεῖ σπάσμασιν, inter alia*. For the marginal note of approbation, written as usual in the form of a monogram, cf. 1087. 43; it was repeated in the margin of the lost fourth column.

69. The letters after *ων* might be read *τ[ε]κου*. *το( )* is possibly *υδ( )*, i. e. *ἐν ὕδατι*.

## 1089. AN ALEXANDRIAN CHRONICLE.

25 × 14.1 cm.

Third century.

The recto of this papyrus contains a fragment, too much mutilated to be worth reproduction, of a second-century land-survey. On the verso are remains of three columns, written in upright uncials, which may be assigned with probability to the third century. The hand is sufficiently well formed, though marked by no great regularity; towards the ends of the lines there is a rather strong tendency to compression and reduction in the size of the letters. No stops occur nor other lection signs beyond the diaeresis. In one or two places marks of doubtful significance are inserted in the margin (ll. 26, 32).

Of Cols. i and iii only a few disconnected letters have survived, but the intermediate column, though also much damaged, is in its upper portion in fair preservation. It belongs to a narrative of certain events in which the principal actors are, on the one hand Flaccus, on the other Isidorus and Dionysius. The identity of the first two of these is immediately evident. Flaccus is no doubt the praefect L. Avillius Flaccus, the subject of Philo's diatribe; and Isidorus must be the well-known Alexandrian gymnasiarch, one of the instigators of Flaccus in his oppression of the Jews, subsequently his accuser, and eventually, as the papyri have proved, himself a victim. Dionysius also may now be recognized in a hitherto obscure passage of the *Adversus Flaccum*. Philo describes the abettors and tools of Flaccus as *Διονύσιοι, δημοκόποι, Λάμπωνες, γραμματοκύφωνες, Ἰσίδωροι, στασιάρχαι, φιλοπράγμονες, κακῶν εὐρεταί, παραξιπίλιδες*

(Mangey, ii. p. 520). Mangey here proposed to read *Διονυσιοκόλακες*, with an allusion to the Sicilian tyrant, on the very insufficient ground that, while Lampon and Isidorus were familiar names, the history of the period had no record of an Alexandrian Dionysius. This criticism, which the structure of Philo's sentence is itself enough to condemn, is finally disposed of by the appearance of a Dionysius in the company of Isidorus and Flaccus. He, too, was obviously a prominent figure in local politics, and may be presumed to have been associated with Lampon and Isidorus in the anti-Semitic movement.

Unfortunately the situation disclosed by the papyrus is not very clear, and our knowledge, which for the most part depends upon Philo, is too limited to throw much light upon it. According to Philo's account Isidorus, after having been in close relations with Flaccus, became estranged on finding himself less influential than he had imagined. He therefore endeavoured to stir up odium against the praefect, and by means of bribery brought about a demonstration against him at the Gymnasium. Some of the demonstrators were arrested and confessed that they were agents of Isidorus, who thereupon found safety in flight (*Adv. Flaccum*, pp. 537-8). No doubt he disappeared from the scene until the fall of Flaccus, which was not long delayed, enabled him to return. The episode described in the papyrus therefore belongs to the period prior to the exposure of Isidorus. Flaccus is represented as going to the Serapeum, i. e. the famous Alexandrian temple, having previously given certain secret instructions. Isidorus accompanied by Dionysius and a woman named Aphrodisia, who is not otherwise known, then enter and are accosted by a certain *γεραῖός*, who prostrates himself before Isidorus and begs him not to insist on making his way into the presence of Flaccus (*μὴ βιάζου πρὸς τὸ[ν] Φλ[ά]κκου*, ll. 27-38). Dionysius declines to be deterred (ll. 38-42). Flaccus, who seems meanwhile to have been in concealment, thereupon approaches and engages with Isidorus in a conversation which the mutilated condition of the papyrus renders obscure (ll. 42 sqq.), but towards the end (ll. 56-9) relates to the payment of a sum of five talents. It would appear from the narrative that Dionysius was supposed to be in danger (cf. ll. 48-9), and that Flaccus was setting a trap for him or Isidorus or both of them. But who then is the *γεραῖός* and what is the meaning of his intervention? His own reference in l. 36 to the *γέροντες* strongly suggests that the term *γεραῖός* here, as occasionally elsewhere (e. g. Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.* 751. 1), has the technical meaning of 'elder'; and the body of elders to which this *γεραῖός* belonged was presumably the council which at this period presided over the Jews of Alexandria, and of which Flaccus, as Philo relates, had thirty-eight members publicly scourged (*Adv. Flaccum*, pp. 527-8). If the *γεραῖός* was a Jewish elder, the emphasis laid by him on his presence

in the temple of Serapis (ll. 33-4) is readily understood: that was not the place where he would be expected to be found. But the part which he here plays becomes very surprising. He does not seem to be acting as the tool of Flaccus, but to be animated by concern and regard for Dionysius. Is it possible that a common opposition to the praefect brought about a temporary reconciliation between the party of Isidorus and the Jews? In subsequently becoming the accuser of Flaccus, Isidorus may in a sense be regarded as fighting the battle of his former enemies. But the truce, if truce there was, did not last, for it was as an anti-Semite that Isidorus was himself sentenced by Claudius.

There is indeed small chance of success, without further and less ambiguous data, in following the tortuous paths of Alexandrian intrigue during this stormy time. But the interest with which the policy and fate of Isidorus and his fellows were evidently regarded by their compatriots, encourages the hope of fresh accessions to the evidence. An account of his trial together with Lampon is preserved in the well-known papyrus fragments at Berlin and Cairo of which a revised text has recently been published by Wilcken in *Abhandl. d. Phil.-Hist. Kl. d. K. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.* xxvii. No. 23. That their memory was kept green is clear from the allusion made by another Alexandrian, Appianus, when he was himself in a similar position, as reported by 33. The present text deals with an earlier stage in Isidorus' career, and is not necessarily connected with the documents concerning his trial and sentence or that of other Alexandrian citizens. The relation between those various documents is itself still a matter of uncertainty. Deissmann suggested that they belonged to a history of Alexandrian anti-Semitism (*Theol. Literaturz.* 1898, 602-6), Reinach to a chronicle of the vicissitudes of Alexandrian gymnasiarchs (*Rev. des Études juives*, xxxvii. p. 224), while others do not regard them as parts of any single whole. So much, however, seems agreed, that these 'heathen acts of Martyrs' (Bauer, *Archiv*, i. pp. 29-47) were written from the Alexandrian-Greek point of view, and it is highly probable that their real motive was hostility to the Roman Government rather than to the Jews. The Alexandrians were anti-Semitic because the Jews were pro-Roman (cf. Wilcken, *l. c.*, pp. 786-7 and 825, where further references are given). It is natural to refer 1089 to the same class of what may be roughly described as 'nationalist' literature. Perhaps this is even some of the setting in which an account of the 'martyrdom', as recounted in the Berlin and Cairo papyri, was embedded. That, however, is quite problematical, and a negative answer would leave unprejudiced the view that this new Isidorus text represents ideas and interests similar to those of its predecessors, and that it originated and was current in similar circles.

Col. i.	Col. ii.	Col. iii.
	25 οὖν ὁ Φλάκκ[ος εἰς τὸ Σ]αραπίον κε-	[
]να	λεύσας ἐν κρυπ[τῶ ἐτοιμ]άζεσθαι τὸ χρῆμα.	65 ἀ[
]ερας	ἀνέρχεται δὲ κ[αὶ] ὁ Ἰσίδωρος σὺν τῇ Ἀ-	τ[
]μαι	φροδισίᾳ κα[ὶ] τῷ Διονυσίῳ, ἐντὸς δὲ	[
]α	τοῦ νεῶ ἐ[ἰ]σελθόντες {δε} ὁ Ἰσίδωρος	[
5 ]ν	30 καὶ ὁ Διονύσιος προσεκύνησαν. καὶ	[.]ε[
]κει	τότε ἔριπψεν ἑαυτὸν [ὁ γ]εραῖός, γονυ-	70 κρετ[
]υν	κλινῆς δ' ἐχ[ό]μεν[ο]ς [τ]οῦ Δ[ι]ονυσίου	. δια[
]μο	λέγων, ἰδοῦ, δι[έ]σπ[οτ]α Διονύσιε, ἀν-	[.]ησω[
]βου	τικρὺ τοῦ Σ[α]ράπι[ο]ς ὁ γεραῖός· μὴ βι-	[.]εραπ[
10 ] .	35 ἀζου πρὸς τὸν Φλ[ά]κκον, ἀλλὰ σὺν	[.]εισ[
]ε	τοῖς γέρουσιν [.]θ[.]αν. τί σοῦ πορευ-	75 [.]τ . [
]αν	θέντος η . . ε . ατρ . . φ . μεν ; μετα-	. . . .
]ηρ	νόησον, τέκ[νον] Δ[ι]ονύσιε. ὁ δὲ ἀντεί-	
]ατοι	πεν, εὐθετίς [.] . . . δ]ε δεύτε[ρο]ν μὴ	
15 ]ου	40 βούλει ἀρνήσασθαι τὸν Φλάκκον; εἰ	
]ω α	δεῖ τῇ νεᾷ σ[ε]λήνη σ]ὺν αὐτῷ εἶναι,	
]δως	εἰμ[ι] ἐλ[ε]υθ[ε]ρίως. ἐπῆλθεν ὁ Φλάκ-	
]οι μὲν	κος κα[ὶ] ἰ[δ]ῶν τὸν Ἰσί[δ]ωρον εἶπεν,	
]α	τὸ μὲν . . . ν[.] . . . μ[.] . . . ἐστίν τις	
20 ]ε	45 λοιπὸν ἡμῶν . . . . .] . . εσε . ευειν	
]ρισ	ὁ μὴ ε . . . [.] . . . . .] . . ε . . ν ὁ προκα-	
]ν	θήμενος . . . . .]λ[.] . ω οὖν σὲ τ[ὸ]ν	
]ν	[.]ν . ον Σαρ[α]π . . . . .] . . ν κακὸν ποι-	
]ιω	[εἶν] τῶ . . [.] . . . . Διο]νυσίῳ. ὀμνύ-	
. . .	50 [ω σ]οι τ . [.] . . . .]α . αι ἐμὲ τῶ σῶ.	
	[ὁ] δὲ Διονύσιος εἶπεν (?), μηδέποτε	
	[.]ενη[.] . . . . .] . . . εν αὐτὸν εἰς	
	[.] . . [.] . . . . .] . [.] . [.] ἑμαυτὸν ὄς	
	[.] . . . . . τ]ὸν Ἰσ[ί]δωρον οὐδέ	
	55 [Φλάκ]κος [.]λο[.] . . . . [.] . . . τ]ῆν τῆς τη-	



[. . . ἀ]λήθειαν δω[σ] . . . [. . .] ὑπὲρ τοῦ ε-  
 [. . .]ος τάλαντα πέντ[ε . . .] ἐν χρυσῶ  
 [. . . ἀ]ριθμῆσαι τα[ῦ]τα [π]ροθέμενοι κα-  
 [τὰ μέ]σον τοῦ ἱεροῦ . . . . σ[ο]ι ὁ Ἰσιδωρος  
 60 [. . . .]ηθη παρακ[. . . .] . . . τὸν τόκον  
 [. . . .] ἀλλὰ ο[. . . .] κατερχε[. . . .]  
 [ 18 letters ] . τὸν Ἰσιδ[ω-]  
 [ρον 18 ,, ]ν[. . . .]  
 [ . . . . ] . [ . . . ]κ[. . . .]

## Unplaced fragments.

Fr. 1.	Fr. 2.	Fr. 3.
. . .	. . .	. . .
] . [	] . . [	]τ . [
] . [	]πν[	]α[
] . . [	]νη[	. . .
] . σ . [	]οντ[	
5 ]ν[	. . .	
]ξ[		
]ο . [		
] . [		
. . .		

26. το added above the line. 27. ἰσιδωρος Pap.: so in ll. 29 and 62. 33. ἴδου  
 Pap. 34. η of μη corr. 56. ὑπερ Pap. 59. ἱερου Pap.

18-19. These two lines are closer together than they should be.

26. The supplement suggested is a little long for the lacuna. There is an oblique stroke in the left margin against this line.

27. A mark resembling a circumflex accent over the initial α of Ἀφροδισία seems meaningless.

32. ἐχ[ό]μεν[ο]ς is unsatisfactory, since a finite verb is wanted, and the remains of the letter after δε suggest μ or ν rather than χ. Two short strokes are prefixed to this line; cf. note on l. 26.

33. δ[έ]ππ[ο]τα is a very doubtful reading; π and α are quite uncertain, and [οτ] barely fills the space.

34. Σα[ρά]πιος], which was suggested by Wilcken, sufficiently accords with the ambiguous traces.

35. σύν is very insecure, but appears on the whole more suitable than ούν or οὔς.

36-7. With the reading adopted, the sense would seem to be 'What do we gain by your going?', but I cannot identify the principal verb. The termination may be -ομεν or -αμεν, hardly -ωμεν, and before this there is probably a φ (not ψ). ει may be read in place of η after θεντος, but ει μη ἔλαττον is not satisfactory. In l. 36 τι could well be η, and the preceding ν may be μ. If τί is right, [ἐλ]θ[οις] ἄν might serve.

38. τέκ[νον]: cf. 33. 11.

39. εὐθετ(ε)ῖς: or possibly εὐ θεοῖς or θεοὶ σ . . ., hardly εὐ θέλ(ε)ῖς.

42. ἐ]πῆλθεν: ἀ]πῆλθεν seems less appropriate, since the presence of Dionysius (l. 51) indicates that the encounter of Flaccus and Isidorus took place on the same spot, not at some later time.

43. [ιδ]ώ]ν is suggested by the context and the space, but the traces are barely recognizable.

45. Between ε and ενειν are two upright strokes which would suit π or μ; or the doubtful ε may be read by the help of one of these strokes as θ, θεινειν. ει, ετ, or η are possible in place of the preceding εσ.

47. Apparently not κέ]λ[ε]ύω.

48. [δο]ῦλον is not satisfactory; if there were two letters between the supposed ν and ν, they must have been narrow ones. The ν may be χ. The size of the lacunae at the beginnings of the lines from this point onwards is doubtful. There is a tendency in this column for the commencements of the lines to advance not, as often happens, to the left, but to the right; and if the slant shown by ll. 34-48 was continued uninterruptedly, ἀλλά would be the first word of l. 61. But it is not easy to restore ll. 55-60 on that hypothesis, and I have therefore assumed that the progress to the right was arrested. If [Φλάκ]κος in l. 55 is correct, the tendency must even have been slightly reversed.

51. εἶπεν is of about the right length, but it is not at all clear that Dionysius here intervenes, and Flaccus may still be the speaker.

55. There is perhaps nothing lost before λσ[.

**Frs. 1-3.** Fr. 1. 6-7 and 2. 2-3 might perhaps be combined so as to read ]εω[ and ]ονη[, but the appearance of the other side of the papyrus is rather against this. It is hardly certain that Fr. 3 belongs to 1089.

## III. EXTANT CLASSICAL AUTHORS

1090. HESIOD, *Opera*.

32.3 × 11.4 cm. Late first century. Plate V.

One column, originally containing from 35 to 40 lines, written in a good-sized round hand probably towards the close of the first century. There is much similarity of style between this hand and those of 220 and 844, 1090 being perhaps rather the earliest of the group. A more or less definite *terminus antiquum* is provided by a fragment of a mathematical treatise inscribed in second-century cursive on the verso. No accents, breathings, or marks of elision occur; the one example of a stop, a point placed well above the line (l. 268), may be due to a second hand which has added a few corrections or variants. There is a deep margin of 7.4 cm. at the top of the column: that at the bottom is also partially preserved, but the last few lines have disappeared owing to the decomposition of the papyrus.

Notwithstanding inaccuracies, which the corrector has not always eliminated (cf. ll. 269–71), the text, as might be expected from its early date, is of some interest. Three small emendations proposed by modern critics are supported (ll. 263, 264, 268); and there are some other novel readings, which may be correct (ll. 257, 284–5). An agreement with the Rainer papyrus of the fourth century and several ancient citations against the other MSS. is noticeable in l. 278. Erroneous iotas adscript are ignored in the collation below.

[κνδρ]η τ αιδοιη τε θεων [ο]ι Ολυμπον ε[χουσι  
 [και ρ] οποτ αν τις μιν βλαπ[τ]ηι σκολιως ο[νοταζων  
 [αυτι]κα παρ Διι πατρι καθε[ζο]μενηι Κρον[ιωνι  
 260· [γηρυ]ετ ανθρωπων αδ[ι]κ[ο]ν νοον [ο]φρ απ[ο]τεισηι  
 [δημ]ος ατασθαλιας βασ[ι]λε[ω]ν οι λυ[γ]ρα νο[ε]ντες  
 [αλλη]ι παρκλεινωσι δικας σκολιως ενε[ποντες  
 [ταυτ]α φυλασσομενοι β[α]σιλης ειθυνετε [. . . . .

- [δωρ]οφαγοι σκολιεω[ν δε δ]ικεων επι π[αγχ]υ λαθεσθε  
 265 [οι γ α]νται κακα τευχει α[νηρ α]λλω κακα τευ[χων  
 [η δε] κακη βουλη τω[ι β]ο[υλ]ευσαντι κακι[σθη  
 [παν]τα ιδων Διος οφ[θα]λ[μ]ος και παντα ν[οη]σας  
 .ταδ.  
 [και] νυ κε αι κ εθελη [επι]δ[ε]ρκεται ουδε ε λ[ηθει  
 [οιην] δε και τηνδε δ[ικη]ν πολιν εντος ε[εργει  
 270 [ννυ] δ εγω μητ αυ[τος εν] ανθρωποισι δικα[ιος  
 [ειη]ν μητ εμος υ[ιος επει] κακ[ον] αρα δικα[ιον  
 [εμ]μεναι ει μ[ειζω] γε δικη[ν] αδικωτερος εξει  
 [αλλα] τα γ ου [π]ω ε[ολπα] τελειν Δι[α] μητιεν[τα  
 [ω Περση] συ δε τ[αυτα] μετα φρεσ[ι] βαλλεο ση[ισι  
 275 [και νυ] δικ[η]ς επ[ακουε] βιη[ς] δ επ[ιληθε]ο π[αμπα]ν  
 [τουδε] γαρ ανθρ[ωποισι] νο[μον] [διε]ταξε Κ[ρονω]ν  
 [ιχθυσι] μεν και [θηρσι και οι]ωνο[ις] πετενη[οις  
 [εσθην] αλλ[ηλου]ς επει ου δικ[η] ει[σ]τι μετ αυ[τοις  
 [ανθρωποι]σι δ [εδωκε] δικη[ν] ηι [π]ολλον α[ριστη  
 280 [γινεται] ει γαρ τις κ εθελη τα] δικαι [αγ]ορευσ[αι  
 [γινωσκων] τωι με[ν] τ ο[λβο]ν διδοι ευρ[υποα] Ζευς  
 [ος δε] κε μαρτυρη[ισι] εκ[ω]ν επι[ο]ρκ[ον] ομοσ[σας  
 [ψευσεται] εν δε δικη[ν] βλαψας νηκ[ε]στ[ον] αασθη  
 [του δε] τ αμαυροτερη γε[νε]η κατοπ[ισθε] λελειπται  
 285 [ανδρος] δ ευορκου γε[νε]η κατοπι[σθεν] αμεινων  
 [σοι δ] εγω εσθλα νοεω[ν] ερεω μεγ[α] νηπιε Περση  
 [την] μεν τοι κακοτητα κα[ι] ειλαδον [εστιν] ελεσθαι  
 [ρηιδως] λειη μεν οδος] μαλα δ [εγγυθι] ναιει  
 [της] δ αρετης ιδρωτα θε[οι] προ[παροιθεν] εθηκαν

257. θεων: θεοις MSS. Genitives of this kind are familiar in such phrases as *δια θεών*, *ἀριδείκετος ἀνδρῶν*, &c.

260. ἀδ[ι]κ[ον] (GILMQ and v. 1. in others, Proclus 184. 8 g) seems better adapted to the space than ἀδ[ι]κ[ω]ν (CFHDKENOP).

262. δικας, as originally written, is the reading of the MSS. Neither *δίκης* nor *δίκη* commends itself as an alternative.

263. β[α]σιλ[η]ς: so Schaefer; βασιλείς IK, βασιλῆς, CDE, &c., Rzach.

It is unfortunate that the papyrus breaks off at *ειθνετε* and leaves unsolved the crux

of the final word of this verse. The MSS. are divided between *δίκας*, which is corrupt, and *μύθους*, which is not convincing. Rzach prints <sup>†</sup>*δίκας*.

264. *σκολιεω[ν δε δ]ικεων*: *σκολιῶν δε δικῶν* MSS. *δικέων* had been desiderated by Kirchhoff and is adopted by Rzach. There is a light mark through the *ε* of *δικεων*, perhaps inserted by some one who wished to cancel that letter; but the *ε* of *σκολιεω[ν]* is certainly untouched.

265. A mark through the tail of the *φ* in the line above may possibly be meant for a circumflex accent on *α]υτωι*, but an accent would more naturally have been written to the right of the *φ*.

268. *ταδ*, which has been interlineated by the corrector, is the traditional reading; *κε* is corrupt.

*εθεληι*: so Heinrich; there does not seem to be room for the *εθελη[σ]* of the MSS.

269. *πολιν*: l. *πολις*. *ν* of *δ[ικη]ν* is damaged but is suited by the remains.

270. *δε*: so FGH; *δη* CDĒ, &c., Rzach, *δ' ἄρ'* Bentley, *δέ τ'* Gerhard.

271. *αρα*: l. *ανδρα* with the MSS.

273. A slightly inclined stroke above the *τ* of *μητιεν[τα]* seems meaningless.

278. It is clear that the papyrus agreed with the MSS. in reading *εσθειν*, not *εσθεμιν* (Rzach with Clement), which is too long for the space.

*ε[σ]τι μετ*: so the Rainer papyrus, Plutarch, Aelian, Sextus Emp., Orion, also Clement and Porphyry with the genitive *αὐτῶν*; *εστίν ἐν* the mediaeval MSS., Rzach.

280. *[αγ]ορευσ[αι]*: *[αγ]ορευε[ιν]*, which is the reading of most MSS., besides Pseudophoc., Orion, and Tzetzes, is equally possible.

284-5. *κατοπ[ισθε] . . . κατοπι[σθεν]*: *μετοπισθε . . . μετοπισθεν* MSS.

289. Faint indications remain of two more verses, below which the column may have been continued for five lines further.

### 1091. BACCHYLIDES, *Dithyrambos*.

Fr. I 19.4 × 9.3 cm.

Second century.

Remains of one column containing part of Bacchylides' Ode xvi (xvii). To the top of the column is affixed a vellum *σίλλυβος* or label bearing the title *Βακχυλίδου Διθύραμβος*. This roll was therefore limited to the *Dithyrambos* and did not include the Epinician or other poems, a fact which supports the view of Blass (*Bacchyl.* pp. v-vi) that the British Museum fragments were derived from two rolls, rather than, as Kenyon supposed, from one. The corresponding column of the British Museum papyrus (Π) has some small lacunae, and the present second copy is not only an independent witness to the existing text but in a few passages usefully supplements it. Lines 50 and 53 are now completed, the former in accordance with a conjecture of Jurenka, the latter not quite corresponding with any editorial restoration. An emendation of Blass in l. 62 and his transposition of that verse are confirmed, while on the other hand one or two further slight alterations adopted by him do not receive support

(ll. 51, 58, 66, 69, 75, 116). In general the agreement between Π and 1091 is close, extending to the arrangement of the verses, in regard to which only one small discrepancy occurs (l. 51); and there is but a single difference of reading that amounts to a serious variant (l. 70 *πανταρκέα* for *πανδερκέα*). Π is the more careful and accurate, the writer of 1091 being rather liable to small graphical errors, though some of these have been subsequently eliminated. His semi-cursive script is also in strong contrast to the formal uncials of Π; it is round, upright, and clear, but makes no pretence to calligraphy. It may be dated to about the middle of the second century. Punctuation, accents, and other aids have been freely inserted by a second hand, which has also made some corrections in the text. A few of the signs, however, seem to be original,—the diaeresis in l. 71, the mark of elision in the same line and perhaps that in l. 64, and the short curved stroke placed above the letters instead of, as usual, below them (cf. e.g. 1082. ii. 18) to connect the component parts of the compound word *ποταϊνίαν* in l. 51. The accentuation is similar to that of 1082. Examples of *σίλλυβοι* intended both for literary and non-literary rolls have been previously found (e.g. 301, 381, 957), but the present, so far as I am aware, is the first which has survived in its primitive position. It measures 2.1 × 10.1 cm. and is stuck on to the verso so that the edge of the papyrus coincides with the initial letters of the title, which is written on the outer side. When the MS. was rolled up, these initial letters must have been concealed, but enough would remain uncovered for easy identification. This label seems to have been attached at a period rather later than that to which the manuscript itself belongs, the sloping uncials of the title suggesting the third century. It is, moreover, a palimpsest, and the original hand, again a sloping uncial, which is visible on the side inscribed with the title, is unlikely to be earlier than the latter part of the second century, if indeed so early. Portions of three lines are legible, apparently hexameters, but I have failed to identify them.

## Fr. 1.

[τ]όσ' εἶπεν [α]ρε[τ]α[ι]χμος [η]ρως  
 [τ]άφον δε ναυβαται  
 [φ]ῶτος ὑπεραφανον  
 50 [θ]αρσ[ο]ς· ἄλιον τε γαμβρω χόλωσεν ητορ [  
 [ν]φαιné τε ποταϊνίαν μῆτιν·  
 [ει]πεν τε· μεγαλοσθενες  
 [Ζ]ευ πατερ ακουσον· εἰπέρ με νυμ[φα

- [Φ]όινισσα λευκωλενος σοὶ τεκεν. [  
 55 [ν]ῦν προπεμπ' [[ουσ]] ἀπ ουρανου θο[αν  
 [π]υριέθειραν αστραπαν  
 [σα]μ' ἀρίγνωτον· εἰ  
 [δ]ε και σε Τροίξηνιᾶ σεισίχθονι  
 [φ]ύτευσεν Αἶθρα Ποσειδᾶνι  
 60 [τ]όνδε χρῦσεον  
 [χ]ειρος ἀγλαον  
 62 ἐν[ε]γκε κοσμον ἐκ βαθείας ἄλος· [  
 64 [έ]σφα[ι] δ' αἰκ' ἐμᾶς κλύηι  
 65 [Κ]ρονιος εὐχᾶς  
 [ανα]ξ[ι]βρέντας ο πα[ντων μεδεων  
 [κλυέ δ] ἀμειπτον εὐχ[αν μεγασθενης  
 [Ζεὺς ν]πέροχόν τε [[ν]]ιν[ω φυτευσε  
 [τιμαν] φίλω θελων  
 70 [παιδι] πάνταρκέα θέμ[εν  
 [αστρ]αψέ τ' ο δε θῦμαρμ[ενον  
 [ιδ]ων τερας χειρα[[ς]] πέτ[ασσε  
 [κλυ]ταν ἐς αἶθερα μὲν[επτολεμος ηρωσ  
 [ειρε]ν τε· Θησεν· τάδε [  
 75 [μ]εν βλέπει σαφή Διο[ς  
 [δωρ]α συν δ ὄρνυσ' [[ο]] ἐς [βα  
 [ρυβρο]μον [πελ]αγ[ος Κρονιδας  
 [δε τοι] πατη[ρ αναξ τελει

Fr. 2.

- 91 [νιν βο]ρ[εας ἐξοπιθε πνεουσ ἀητα  
 [τρ]εσσαν [δ Αθαναιων

Label attached to top of column

Ἰ  
 Βακχῦλιδου  
 διθυραμβοι  
 Ἰ

Remains of a previous text

]αντη . . . ε δ' αιη  
 ]δ' Ελενη φαος αιτη  
 ]αβρ . . .

49. [φ]ωτος: so rightly B(lass), [ἀνδ]ρ[ός] K(enyon). As B. observed, there was not room for *ανδ* in front of the supposed ρ (which was in fact a τ).

50. χολω[ Π (P. Brit. Mus.), χολώ[σατ' ἦτορ K., Jebb, χολώ[θη κέαρ B. who in the corresponding verse of the second epode (l. 116) altered *ρόδοις ἐρεμνόν* into *ρόδοις εἰρμένον*. K.'s reading proves to have been nearer the truth, and the tradition of the MS. at l. 116 is upheld. There is no analogy for the intransitive use of *χολοῦν*, and the subject must be *ἀρέταιχος ἦρως*, which is readily understood from l. 47.

51. [υ]φαινε: so Π; ὕφανε needlessly B. In Π *μητων* stands in l. 52.

53. με νυμ[φα confirms Jurenka's conjecture. μ[ε κουρ]α B., [μ' ἀλαθέως] K. with Palmer; B. was correct in reading the vestige of the final letter of the verse as *a*.

54. τεκεν: τεκ[ Π. Since the corresponding syllable in the second epode is short, the *ν ἐφέλκυστικόν* is better omitted. The supposed low stop after *τεκεν* is just above the dot referred to in the next note, and may be due to accident.

55. The correction is by the second hand. A misplaced mark of elision after the μ of *προπεμπ* is rather fainter than that after the π and has perhaps been partially erased. There is an unexplained dot above the line where the *a* of *θωαν* would have stood; it does not suit an accent, and is probably accidental.

58. Τροιζηνια is the spelling of Π; B. writes *Τροζηνία*.

62. κόσμον βαθείας Π, which between this verse and *χειρὸς ἀγλαόν* reads *δικὼν θράσει σῶμα πατρὸς [έ]ς δόμον*. B. inserted *ἐκ* before *βαθείας* and put *δικὼν θράσει κτλ.* after l. 62, thereby obtaining a closer metrical correspondence and improving the construction. These alterations, which were accepted by Jebb, are now confirmed. Line 63 has been accidentally left out, but by reading the *ἐκ* restored by B. 1091 shows that l. 62 corresponds to l. 128, not to l. 129. The probability of Jebb's suggestion, that the dislocation was caused by an omission of l. 63, which was subsequently supplied in a wrong position, is also demonstrated.

66. [ανα]ξ[ι]βρεντας: so Π. K., B., and Jebb all substitute *ἀναξιβρόντας*, K. remarking that the MS. reading is an example of the confusion of ε an ο in the papyrus. It is now evident that the ε is no individual vagary, and the spelling is quite defensible. There is analogy for the interchange of ο and ε in Aeolic, e. g. *ἐδύνας* for *δδύνας* (Greg. Cor. p. 597, Schaefer) and *πρές* for *πρός* according to Joannes Gram. 244 b; moreover, *βρένται* is directly attested by Hesychius, a fact which the editors of Bacchylides appear to have overlooked.

67. αμεμπτον: αμειτρον for ἄμετρον K., αμειπτον for ἄμεμπτον B., whose reading is proved to have been correct. The facsimile does not support Jebb's assertion that 'the sixth letter is clearly ρ'.

68-9. The readings of Π are upheld. B. in his second edition adopted Housman's *φίλον . . . παῖδα*.

70. πανταρκα: παντερκέα Π, a more difficult reading (and therefore perhaps preferable), since *παντερκής* has elsewhere only an active sense. Aeschylus calls Darius *πανταρκής βασιλεύς* (*Pers.* 855); cf. Hesych. *πανταρκέα* πᾶσι βοηθόν. *πανταρκής* ὁ πᾶσιν αὐταρκών. In the present passage the word would mean 'all-sufficient' and would be apposite enough.



71. τ': l. θ'. The diaeresis over *ν* of *θυμαρμ[ενον]* is unintelligent.

72. *χειρας*, the original reading, is that of Π, which also gives *πέτασσε*. As thus written the verse has a long syllable more than the three corresponding lines, an irregularity which K. removed by emending to *χεῖρε πέτασε*, while others have preferred *πέτασε χείρας*. B. in his first edition considered the metre of this ode too obscure for a departure here from the tradition, while in his second he transposed *χεῖρας* and *πέτασσε*. But it is now seen that tradition was not stable, and the corrector's deletion of the final *ς* of *χειρας* anticipates in some sense the emendation of K. *χέρε πέτασσε* would give a closer strophic correspondence.

75. *βλεπει* arose from a lipography; l. *βλέπεις* with Π. The emendations by which it has been sought to give regularity to the metre ((*σὺ*) *τάδε* K. with Jebb, *ἔβλεπες* B. ed. 2 with Richards) receive no support, though Platt's *τάδ' (ἔμά)* is not excluded.

76. *συν* is an error for *σν*, correctly written in Π. For *ορνυ(ο)* Π has *ορνυ'*, which may be preferred as the rarer form.

76-8. It is not quite certain how these lines were divided, but [*βρο*] and [*τοι*] would barely fill the space at the beginnings of ll. 77 and 78, and the probabilities are that the arrangement coincided, as elsewhere except in l. 51, with that of Π.

91-2. This small detached fragment from the bottom of a column seems to be rightly identified. Both the hand and the texture of the papyrus are closely similar. If it is correctly placed, the height of the roll was about 30 cm.

*Σίλλυβος*. The mark of elision in the first line of the original text is doubtful and the last word may be *δαίη*. In l. 2 *Ελευη* can of course be divided *ἐλευ ἦ*.

## 1092. HERODOTUS ii.

Height 23.1 cm. Late second century.

Plate V (Col. ix).

The following group of fragments from the Second Book of Herodotus is of rather more respectable compass than the Herodotean papyri which have hitherto been published, whether from Oxyrhynchus (18, 19, 695) or elsewhere (P. Rylands 55, and a Munich papyrus in *Archiv* i. p. 471). It extends from chapter 154 to chapter 175, though some of the pieces are very small and the gaps extensive. Perhaps more scraps of this roll will eventually make their appearance, since 1092 is derived from the same large find as 1082-3, and moreover was in the company of another fragmentary text written in a hand which in the minor samples is practically indistinguishable from that of the Herodotus. Meanwhile I print so much as I have up to the present been able to identify. The extremely mutilated state in which this papyrus proves to be is not of happy augury for the numerous other MSS. which have still to be dealt with from the same source.

The small neat uncials are of the sloping oval type and may be referred to

the latter part of the second century; they are more careful and regular than those of the Oxyrhynchus *Hellenica* (841), and are perhaps rather earlier in date. Though of no great height, the columns, which are strongly inclined to the right, contained about 41 or 42 lines each. Punctuation is effected by high stops, inserted perhaps by the original scribe; they are accompanied by short blank spaces and the usual paragraphi. A second, but no doubt practically contemporary, hand is apparently responsible for a semicursive entry at the top of Col. ix, where a different version of a passage has been copied at length. To this writer may be due a few other small corrections and insertions, but since there is no difference in the colour of the ink no certainty is here attainable.

The MSS. of Herodotus are divided into two groups known as the Florentine, which is headed by AB, and the Roman, represented by RSV. As might be expected from the analogy of other papyri, 1092 does not consistently support either family, but agrees here with one and there with the other. Readings of RSV occur in v. 6, vi. 6, viii. 24, ix. 32, of the Florentine group in i. 2, 3, vii. 1, 5, viii. 22, ix. 44, x. 5; in viii. 7 the papyrus occupies a position midway between the two. The text thus exhibits a stage prior to the differentiation of the families as we know them. But there were already divisions, for, as has been mentioned, an alternative version of several lines in chapter 162 has been inserted 'from certain other copies' at the top of Col. ix; and occasional variants have been recorded elsewhere (cf. v. 5 and notes on viii. 3, 12). In omitting ἀπαρτί in v. 8 the papyrus is in agreement with the MSS. as against some other authorities. Readings apparently not otherwise attested are found in vi. 15, viii. 3, 12, ix. 1-5 (cf. ix. 12), 46, xii. 11-12, and xv. 4, the last confirming a commonly accepted correction of Abresch.

## Col. i.

· · · · ·  
 [γλωσσ]αν οι νυν ερμη[νεε]ς εν Αι [ ii. 154  
 [γυπτ]ωι γεγωνασι[.] οι δε Ίωνες τε  
 [και οι] Καρες τουτους τους χωρους οι [  
 · · · · ·

## Col. v.

· · · · ·  
 τη]ι δε ελα[χιστον εστι ii 158  
 [και συντ]ομωατον εκ [της βορη

[ιης] θαλασσης υπερβηνα[ι ες την  
 [νοτ]ιην και Ερυθρην τη[ν αυτην  
 5 [τα]υτην καλευμενην α[πο του  
 [Κασ]ιου ορεος του οριζοντο[ς Αιγυ  
 [πτο]ν τε και Συριην· απο [τουτου  
 [εισι σ]ταδιοι χιλιοι ες τον Α[ραβι  
 [ον κο]λπον· τουτο μεν το συ[ντο  
 10 [μωτατ]ον [

## Col. vi.

ετραπέ]το πρ[ος στρα 159  
 [τηιας και τριηρες] αι μεν ε[πι τη  
 [βορηιη θαλασση]η εποιη[θησαν  
 [αι δε ε]ν τωι Αραβιωι κολπω[ι ε  
 5 [πι τη] Ε[ρ]υθρη θαλασση των [ετι  
 [οι ολκο]ι ειφι δηλοι· κα[ι] ταυτη[ισι  
 [τ εχρ]ατ[ο ε]ν τωι δεοντι κ[αι Σ]υρι[οι  
 [σι περ]ηι ο Νεκωσ σ[υμ]βαλων εν [·  
 [Μαγδ]ωλωι ενικησε[·] μετα δε τη[ν  
 10 [μαχη]ν Καδυτι[ν πολιν] της Συρι[ης  
 [εουσ]αν μεγα[λην ειλε εν τ]ηι [δε  
 [εσθη]τι ετυχε ταυτα κα[τε]ρ[γασα  
 μενο[ς αν]εθηκε ται Απολλω[νι  
 πεμψ[ας ες Β]ραγχιδας τας Μιλησι  
 15 [ω]ν· με[τα δε εκ]καιδεκα ετεα α  
 [παντα αρξ]ας

## Col. vii.

ων και τω[ν αλλων] Ελληνων ο 160  
 μοιωσ τωι β[ουλομεναι] εξειναι  
 αγων[ι]ς εσθ[αι] οι δε Αιγυπτιοι εφα

σαν [σ]φεας ου[τω τιθεντας παντος  
 5 του δικαιου η[μαρτηκεναι ουδε  
 μian γαρ ει[ναι μηχανην οκως  
 ου τωι αστωι [αγωνιζομενωι προσ  
 [θησοντα]ι αδ[ικεοντες

6 or 7 lines lost.

16 οι Ηλιοισ[ι υπεθηκαντο Ψαμμ  
 ος δε εξ[ετα μουνον βασιλευ  
 σαντος Αιγυπτ[ου και στρατευσα  
 μενου ες Αιθιοπ[ιην και μεταυτι  
 20 κα τελευτησαν[τος εξεδεξατο  
 Απριης ο Ψαμ[μιος ος μετα Ψαμ  
 μητιχον τον [εωντου προπατορα  
 εγενετο ευδαι[μονεστατος των  
 προτερον βασιλ[εων επ ετα πεν  
 25 τε και εικοσι αρξ[ας εν τοισι επι  
 τε Σιδωνα στρατ[ον ηλασε και  
 εναυμαχησε τωι [Τυριωι επει δε  
 [οι] εδ[ε]ε κακως γεν[εσθαι

6 lines lost.

35 ταυτ]α [επι]μεμ[φο  
 [μενοι απεστησαν] απ αυτου δ[ο  
 [κεοντες τον Απριην] εκ προνοι[η]ς [  
 [αυτους αποπεμψαι] ες φαινομε [  
 [νον κακον ινα δη σ]φεων φθορη [  
 40 [γενηται αυτος δε τ]ων λοιπων  
 [Αιγυπτιων ασφαλε]στερον αρ  
 [χοι ταυτα δε δεινα ποι]ευμενοι ου

Col. viii.

[γαρ εστησ]αντο μιν β[ασιλευα  
 τ[ων] Αιγυπτιων οι απ[εστω  
 τες παρεσκευ[α]ς[ε]τ[ο] ως ελων ε ]ν.

161

162

πι τον Απριην[·] πυθομ[ενος  
 5 δέ ταυτα ο Απριης επεμπ[ε ε  
 π Αμασιν ανδρα δοκι[μ]ον [των  
 [πα]ρ εωυτον Αιγυπτιων τω[ι  
 [ουνομα ην Πα]ταρβημις [εντει  
 3 lines lost.

12

]ε.

8 lines lost.

Απριη]ν·

[παρεσεσθαι γαρ κ]αι αυτος και α[λ·]  
 [λους] αξειν [τον] δε Παταρβημιν  
 [εκ τ]ω[ν] τε λογων ουκ αγνοειν  
 25 [την δια]νοιαν· κα[ι] παρα[σκ]ευ·  
 [αζομενο]ν ορωντα σπο[υ]δηι

Col. ix.

Plate V.

[.....] τουτου και ουκ α  
 [γοντα τον Αμασι]ν Απριης ουδε  
 [να λογον αυτωι δοντα] αλλα περιθυ  
 [θυμως εχοντα προστα]ξει περιταμειν  
 [αυτου την τε ρινα] και τα ωτα ου(τως) εν τ(ισιν) α[λλ(οις)]

[απιεναι βουλομε]νον την τα  
 [χιστην βασιλει δ]ηλωσαι τα  
 [πρησσομενα ως δ]ε απικεσθαι  
 [αυτον προς τον Απρ]ιην ουκ α  
 10 [γοντα τον Αμασιν ο]υδενα λο·  
 [γον αυτωι δοντα αλ]λα περιθυ  
 [μως εχοντα προστα]ξει περιτα  
 [μειν αυτου τα τε ωτα κ]αι την ρι  
 [να ιδομενοι δ οι λοιπ]οι των Αι  
 15 [γυπτιων οι ετι τα εκει]νου εφρο  
 [νεον ανδρα τον δοκιμ]ωτατον  
 [εωυτων ουτω αισχρω]ς λυμη δι  
 [ακειμενον ουδενα δη] χρονον

Κ 2

[επισχοντες απιστεατο π]ρ[ος τους  
 20 ετερους κ[αι εδιδοσαν σφεας αυ  
 τους Αμασ[ι πυθομενος δε και  
 ταυτα ο Α[πριης ωπλιζε τους ε  
 πικουρου]ς και ηλαννε επι τους  
 Αιγυπτιους [ειχε δε περι εωυτον  
 25 Καρας τε κ[αι Ιωνας ανδρας επι  
 κουρους τρι[σμυριους ην δε οι τα  
 βασιληϊα ε]ν Σαι πολι μεγαλα ε  
 οντα και αξιοθητα και οι τε  
 περι τον Απ[ριην επι τους Αιγυ  
 30 πτιους ησα]ν και οι περι τον Αμα  
 σιν επι τους [ξεινους εν τε δη

163

Μα[[ν]]μεμφ[ι πολι εγενοντο  
 [α]μφοτεροι κ[αι πειρησεσθαι  
 εμελλον αλ[ληλων εστι δε  
 35 Αιγυπτιων ε]πτα γενεα και  
 τουτων οι μεν [ιρεες οι δε μα  
 χιμοι κεκλεα[ται οι δε βουκο  
 λοι· οι δε συβα]ται οι δε καπη  
 λοι· οι δε ερμη[νεες οι δε κυβερ  
 40 νηται· γενεα [μεν Αιγυπτιων  
 τοσαυτα εστιν [ουνοματα δε σφι  
 κεεται απο τα]ν τεχνεων οι  
 δε μαχιμοι αυτ[ων καλεονται  
 μεν Καλασιριε]ς τε και Ερμο  
 45 τυβιες· εκ νομα]ν δε τωνδε  
 εισι· κατα γαρ νο[μους Αιγυ

164

Col. x.

[πτος απασα διαραιρ]ητα[ι Ερ  
 [μοτυβιων μεν οιδε] εισι ν[ομοι  
 [Βουσιριτης Σαιτη]ς [

165

Many lines lost.

σας κ[αι Λυδους και σχεδον παν 167  
 5 τας τ[ους βαρβαρους αποτιμοτε  
 ρους {

Col. xii.

οικια] προτε[ρον εοντα το 169  
 [τε δε Αμασιο]ς ηδη [βασιλεια εν  
 [θαυτα δε τεως] μεν ετ[ρεφετο εν  
 [τοισι βασιληϊ]οισι· κ[αι μιν Αμα  
 5 [σις εν περιει]πε· τελ[ος

2 lines lost.

εχθιστον] οὐτ[ω δη  
 [παραδιδοι τον Απρι]ην τοισι [Αι  
 10 [γυπτιοισι οι δε μιν] απεπνι[ξαν  
 [και επειτα εθαψαν εν τη]ι πα[τρω  
 [ιηι ταφη η δε εστ]ι εν τωι [ιρωι  
 τη]ς Αθηναιης αγχοτα]ται [του με  
 γαρ]ου εσιοντι αριστ]ερης χ[ειρος  
 15 εθα]ψαν δε Σαιται παντας τους  
 εκ [νομου τουτου

About 19 lines lost.

36 ]· [ λιμ 170  
 [νη τε εστι ε]χομε[νη λιθινηι  
 [κρηπι]δι κεκοσμη[μενη εν  
 [κυ]κλωι και μεγαθος ω]ς

Col. xv.

π]αρεχ[ομενων  
 επεμε]λετο [και 175  
 Αθ]ηναι[ηι

θωυμασια] οια ἐξ[εποιησε

5 υπ]ερβα[λομενος

i. 2. τε: so the older MSS., om. RSV. H(ude) prints τε in brackets.

3. χωρους: χρόνους RSV. This fragment comes from near either the top or the end of a column, but since the papyrus is broken immediately above and below the letters of ll. 1 and 3, the point cannot be definitely decided. My numeration of the columns proceeds on the second alternative, and if that is correct, l. 3 was probably the last of the column.

v. 1. The papyrus seems to have agreed with C in reading δε (so H.); δῆ other MSS. Only the bases of the letters remain, but these on the whole suit δε ελα[ better than δη ελ[ . 2 sqq. A hypothetical division of the lines is adopted.

5. καλευμενην, v. l. καλεομενην: the MSS. here apparently agree on the latter spelling.

6. οριζοντο[ς: so PRSV; οὐρίζοντος others, and H.

8. χιλιοι: so the MSS. H. inserts ἀπαρτί before χιλιοι on the authority of Bekker, *Anecd.* 418, Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 388, Suidas, s. v.

vii. 1. This line was probably the first of the column.

5. των: ὄν PRSV.

6. εισι δηλοι: so RSV; ἐπίδηλοι other MSS., H.

7. Σ]υρο[ισι could also be read with ABCP.

9. Μαγδ]ωλωι: Μαγδ]ολωι (SV) is equally possible, but Μαγδ]αλωί (R Lex. Vind. 165) is unlikely.

15. α[παντα: πάντα RSV, τὰ πάντα other MSS., H.

viii. 1. και is omitted in RSV.

3. αγων[ι]ζεσθαι: so H. with most MSS.; ἀγωνίσασθαι RV.

4. οι[τω: τοῦτο S.

5. ουδε]μιαν: οὐδὲ μίην RSV.

viii. 3. The ]ν at the end of this line is preserved on the edge of the papyrus in the margin of Col. ix. It is too close to the beginnings of the lines of that Column to be the normal conclusion of a line, nor is there in the text an available final ν followed by a stop. I can therefore only suppose that ]ν represents an alternative reading enclosed, as often, between medial dots; perhaps ελασων was a variant on ελων or vice versa, though no such variant is known, and ἐλῶν would be the regular Herodotean form.

7. [πα]ρ εωυτον: ε of εωυτον is represented only by an ambiguous vestige, which could just as well belong to an ι, but this would leave no room for the ε. R similarly has παρ' αὐτόν, SV παρ' αὐτῶν; περὶ ἐωυτόν other MSS., H. περὶ is certainly the natural preposition here, and παρά may have come in from ἀγαγεῖν παρ' ἐωυτόν just below, though the analogy of expressions like Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 4. 18 μένειν παρ' ἐαυτόν might be used in its support. Nearly all MSS. have τὴν νῦν παρ' ἐμὲ ἐοῦσαν δύναμιν in Hdt. viii. 140 (ἐμοί H. with P).

12. What appears to be a final ]ε stands, like ]ν at the end of l. 3, in the margin of the next column. It is not so near to the beginnings of the lines as the ]ν is, but is nevertheless rather further out than would be expected, even in a line of more than the average length; and since there is no ε in the text hereabouts with which it can be readily identified, this may be another instance of a marginal variant.

22. αυτος: so H. with the older MSS.; αὐτόν RSV.

24. [εκ τ]ων τε λογων: so RSV; ἔκ τε τῶν λεγομένων other MSS., H.



**ix.** 1-5. These five lines give an alternative version of ll. 9-13, with the remark that it was found 'in certain copies'; for ου(τως) εν τ(ισιν) ο[λλ(οις) cf. e.g. 874. The second version differs considerably from the ordinary text, which coincides with what stands in ll. 9-13; it has, however, left no trace in the mediaeval MSS. In one respect it seems clearly wrong, for Δπρης does not harmonize with προσταξ[αι]. This may be merely an isolated slip, but the accusative participles certainly produce rather longer supplements than would be expected in ll. 3-4, especially in l. 4, where the lacuna is of the same extent as that at the beginning of the line below. Perhaps, therefore, the writer was consistent and δους and εχων followed, though unless something essential has been omitted this construction could not be justified.

9-13. See the previous note. προσταξ[αι] περιτα[μειν] is an inversion of the order found in the MSS. Cf. l. 4.

30. ησα[ν]: so CPRSV; l. ησαν.

32. μωιμεμφι, which has been corrected from μωνιμεμφι, may be merely a misspelling of Μωιμεμφι, though it is likely enough that the letters were understood to be divided δημωι Μεμφι, as in RSV. δὴ Μέμφι other MSS.

42. κειτα[ι]: so MSS.; κείτα[ι] H.

44. μεν: so AB, &c., H.; om. RSV.

46. γαρ: γαρ δη MSS.

**x.** 1. διαραιρ]ητα[ι] suits the space better than δη]ρητα[ι] (SV).

5. τ[ους]: so H., with AB, &c.; om. RSV.

**xii.** 1-5. The division of these lines, which is calculated on the basis of the following fragment (ll. 8-16) is likely to be approximately correct.

3. τεως]: or perhaps εως], with RSV.

11-12. τη[ι] πα[τρωιη] ταφη η δε εστ[ι]: τη[ι] πατρωίησι ταφήσι. αὶ δέ εἰσι MSS. There is not room for τη[σι], still less τη[ισι], and τη[ι] has been followed in the supplement to its logical conclusion. But of course τηι may have been no more than a clerical error, and πατρωιησι κτλ. have succeeded. No safe inference can be drawn from the size of the lacuna at the beginning of l. 12. The plural is used e.g. in iv. 71, v. 63.

14. The papyrus may have had εισιοντι, with RV.

38-9. Line 38 is slightly shorter than the average and the point of division is uncertain, but no arrangement will admit of the addition of και εργασμενη, which is read by most MSS. after κεκοσμημενη. The two words are also omitted by Athenag. *Legat.* 28. καὶ ἐρμασμένη RV, καὶ ἀρμασμένη S.

**xv.** 4. οια confirms the correction of Abresch; οι MSS. There is no indication how the lines of this fragment were divided.

### 1093. DEMOSTHENES, *Contra Boeotum.*

Height 29.1 cm.

Second century.

These fragments of the Πρὸς Βοιωτὸν περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος are comprised in the remains of seventeen consecutive columns, covering §§ 7-23 of the speech. They are written in an upright semicursive hand, clear but by no means elegant,

dating from about the middle of the second century. The columns, which are very narrow, vary in length from 27 to 31 lines; a deep margin is left both above and below them. Short lines are filled as usual by a conventional sign, which here has the shape of the figure 7. The text has been revised by a corrector, and to him are probably due one or two accents and in considerable measure the elaborate punctuation, for which stops of three kinds, high, medial, and low, are employed, as e.g. in 844. Their use, however, is not invariably accurate, for a medial point sometimes appears where one in the high position would be expected; there is a clear instance of this, e.g., in xv. 24. A symbol resembling the letter s is placed after the word preceding the entry *μάρτυρες* or *μαρτυρία* (xii. 19, xiv. 11). The text of this papyrus, as of so many others, shows mixed relationship; there is, however, some tendency to agree with S, by common consent the best MS. of Demosthenes. Coincidences with S occur at v. 5-6, viii. 14, ix. 2, x. 6, 20-1, xi. 1, xii. 26, xiv. 13, against which have to be set iv. 7 (=Q), vi. 21-2, viii. 28 (=FQ), xii. 10-11, xiii. 10 (=FQr), xiv. 15, xv. 23 (=1). Of the few peculiar variants (v. 7-8, ix. 6, xii. 17, 21, xiv. 5-6) none are striking; two of these (xii. 17, xiv. 5-6) proceed from the second hand.

## Col. i.

. . . . .

ται δηλον ο]υ[ν  
 εσ[ται π]ροτερο[ν  
 σε [φερ]ουσιν [η  
 εμ[ε] συ με[ν

8

5 γαρ φ[η]σεις εμ[ε]  
 εγω δε σε· και  
 δη καλει μετα  
 τουτο ο αρχων  
 η προς ου[τ]ι[να  
 10 αν ηι η δ[ικη  
 ουχ υπα[κουο  
 μεν· ου [ληιτουρ

. . . . .

Col. ii.

π]λην 9  
 [ο πατηρ κ]αι δη  
 [μος ων ο]ντων  
 [αμφοιν τ]ων

Col. iv.

[ουκουν ο] μεν  
 [αυτον εγ]ω δε  
 [εμαντοι] φησω  
 [τον ειλ]ηχοτα  
 5 [ειναι λοι]πον εις 11  
 [το δικασ]τηριον  
 [εισιειναι] ουκουν  
 [εφ εκαστ]ω του  
 [των δικα]στηρι  
 10 [ον ημιν] η πολις  
 [καθιει κα]ι του >  
 [μεν κοιν]ου και  
 [ισου του το]ν λα  
 [χοντα αρ]χειν  
 15 [αποστερη]σομε  
 [θα αλλη]λους  
 [δε πλυνο]υμεν  
 [και ο τωι λο]γωι  
 [κρατησα]ς αρ  
 20 [ξει και πο]τερ αν  
 [βελτιου]ς ειη  
 [μεν των υ]παρ [  
 [χουσων δ]υσκο [  
 ]

Col. iii.

λωι τιν[ι τωι 10  
 χαλκιω[ι προσ  
 εσται. κα[ι ουδε  
 τουτο οπ]οτερον  
 5 εστιν οι [πολλοι  
 γνωσο]νται

Col. v.

[νος αλλου προς]  
 [ημας αυτους]  
 αμφισ[βητω  
 μεν. τι δ [α]ν 12  
 5 αρα· δει γα[ρ] α  
 παντα ημ[α]ς  
 εξετασαι [ατε  
 ρος πεισας [τον  
 ετερον. εα]ν  
 10 λαχη παρα[δου  
 ναι αυτωι τ]ην  
 αρχην. ουτω [  
 κληρωται· [  
 το δυοιν πινα[κι  
 15 οιν τον ενα [  
 κληρουσθα[ι]  
 τί αλλο εστιν·  
 ειτα εφ ωι θανα  
 τον ζημιαν  
 20 ο νομος λεγει· >  
 τουτ[ο] ημιν >  
 [α]δεως εξε [  
 [σ]ται πραττει[ν

[λιων απαλλατ]  
 25 [τομενοι η] και  
 [νας εχθρα]ς και  
 [βλασφημ]ιας  
 [ποιουμε]νοι·  
 [ας πασ αν]αγκη  
 30 [συμβαινει]ν ο  
 [ταν αρχη]ς η τι

πανυ γε· ου γαρ [  
 25 αν αυτο ποιησ[αι  
μεν· οίδα καγω  
 το γουν κατ εμε·  
 αλλ ουδ αιτιαν  
 τοιαυτης ζημι  
 30 ας ενιους εχειν

## Col. vi.

[καλ]ον εξον  
 [μη] ειεν· αλλα 13  
 [ταυτ]α μεν η πο  
 [λις β]λαπτεται [  
 5 [ε]γω δε ιδιαι τι  
 [θ]εασασθε ηλι  
 [κα κ]αι σκοπει  
 [τ εαν] τι δοκωι  
 [λεγει]ν· πολυ γαρ  
 10 χαλεπωτερα  
 ταυτα ων ακη  
 κοατ εστιν· ορα  
 [τ]ε μεν γαρ·  
 απαντες αυτου  
 15 [χρ]ωμενον ε  
 ως μεν εξηι  
 Μενεκλει και  
 τ[οις] περι εκει  
 ν[ο]ν ανθρωποις·  
 20 νυν δε ετεροις  
 ουδεν εκεινου  
 βελτιοσι και τα  
 το[ιαυτ ε]ξηλω

## Col. vii.

About 16 lines lost.  
 [τ]ωι δημ[οσιωι  
 [τ]ι μαλλ[ον ου  
 τος εγγε[γραμμε  
 20 νος ε[σται εμου  
 οτι ν[η Δια ει  
 σοντα[ι παντες  
 π[οτ]ε[ρ]ο[σ ποτε ω

14

κο[τα και] δεινον  
 25 [δοκειν ει]ν[α]ι  
 5 lines lost.

Col. viii.

7 lines lost.  
 [δικη]ν εξου  
 [λης α]υτωι λαχων  
 10 [μηδ]εν εμοι  
 [φαιη] προς αυτον  
 [ειναι]. κυριαν δε  
 [ποι]ησαμενος  
 [εγγ]ραψαι· τι μαλ  
 15 [λο]ν αν ει[η] του  
 [τ]ον η εμε εγγε  
 γραφως· τι δ ει  
 τινας εισφορας  
 μη θειη· τι δ ει 16  
 20 τις αλλ[η] περι του  
 νομα γιγνοιτο  
 [η] ληξι[ς] δικης·  
 [η] δοξα ολ]ωσ  
 [αηδης τις] εισε

[φλεν] κ[α]λως εαν 15  
 25 [δε ο τ]υ[χον γε  
 [νοιτ] αν [χρονος  
 [δι]ελθη· κα[ι] μη  
 [εκ]τισθη το ο  
 [φ]λημα· τ[ι] μαλ  
 30 [λο]ν οι τυτου [

Col. ix.

πατρος οντοιν·  
 φερε δ<sup>ει</sup>[η] δικην  
 αστρατειας φεν  
 γοι· χορευοι δε [ο  
 5 ταν στρατευε  
 σθαι δέηι· και νυν  
 [ο]τα<sup>ε</sup>[ν] εις Ταμν  
 [ν]ας παρηλθον  
 οι αλ[λο]ι· ενθα  
 10 δε τους χοας  
 αγων [α]πελει  
 φθη· κ[αι] τοις Διο  
 νυσι[οις] κατα  
 [με]ν[α]ς εχορευ  
 15 [εν] ω[ς] απαντες  
 [εω]ρ[ατε ο]ι ε [·  
 [πι]δημουντες·  
 [α]πελθ[οντων  
 δε εξ Ευβ[οιας  
 20 των στρατιω  
 των λ[ι]ποταξιου  
 προσεκληθη·  
 καγω ταξι[α]ρ  
 χων της φυ [

17

25 [ται των] πολ  
 [λων πο]τερος  
 [ποτε ουτ]ος εστιν  
 [δουιν ταυτο]ν

## Col. x.

χε[σθαι την λη  
 ξιν [και ει μι  
 σθο]ς επορισθη  
 τοι]ς δικαστηρι  
 5 οis [εισηγον  
 αν δη]λον οτι  
 ταυ]τα δ ει μη  
 σεσ[ημ]α[σμε  
 ν]ων η]δη [συν  
 10 εβ]η τω]ν εχ[ι  
 νω]ν κ]αν μαρ  
 τυρ[ας υ]μιν  
 παρε[σχ]ομην·  
 ειεν· ε[ι δ]ε ξε  
 15 νιας π[ρο]σκλη  
 [θει]η. π[ολλοι]ς  
 [δε π]ρο[σκρου]ει·  
 [και ο]ν [ηνα]γκα  
 [σ]θη τ[ροπο]ν  
 20 [ο] πα[τηρ π]οιη  
 [σα]σθ[αι αυ]τον·  
 [ου λελη]θεν· υ  
 [μεις δε οτ]ε μεν  
 [τουτον ου]κ ε  
 25 ποιε[ιθ ο π]ατηρ  
 [τη]ν [μη]τερ α

18

25 λης ηναγκα  
 ζομην κατα  
 του ονοματος  
 του εμαυτου  
 πατροθεν δε

## Col. xi.

ω  
 γεγονος ουτος  
 [ο]χληρος ηι >  
 [π]αλιν υμιν πο  
 [τε δ]οξει εκεινος  
 5 [αλη]θη λεγειν·  
 [τι δ ει] ψευδο >  
 [μαρτυρι]ων α  
 [λωσεσθα]ι προσ  
 [δοκων ε]φ οis  
 10 [ερανιζει τ]ουτοις  
 [τοις περ]ι αυτου  
 ερ[ημην εασει]  
 ε τ[ελεσθη]ναι  
 την δ[ικη]ν [α  
 15 ρ]α γε [μικραν]  
 ηγεισ[θε βλα]  
 βην ω [ανδρες]  
 Αθηναιοι εν  
 κοινωνιαι τον  
 20 παντα βιον >  
 της τουτου δο  
 ξης και των ερ  
 γων ειναι· ο  
 τι τοινυν ου[δ] α  
 25 διεξεληλυ[θα]  
 υμιν ματην

19

λ[ηθ]η λεγειν  
 η[γεισθ]ε αυτου·  
 [επειδα]ν δ ουτως

Col. xii.

και γραφας ·  
 τινας ω ανδρες  
 Αθηναιοι πε  
 φευγεν εφ αις  
 5 ουδεν αιτιος  
 [ω]ν εγω συν  
 διαβαλλομαι.  
 και της αρχης  
 ημφεσβητει  
 10 ην υμεις με  
 επεχειροτονη  
 σατε· και πολλα  
 και δυσχερη  
 δια το ονομα  
 15 συμβεβηκεν  
 ημιν· ων ινα ει  
 δητε εκαστων ) εκαστον  
 μαρτυρας υμιν  
 παρεξομαι ζ  
 20 μαρτυρες  
 ορατε ανδρες 20  
 Αθηναιοι τα  
 συμβαινοντα.  
 [κ]αι την αηδι  
 25 αν την εκ του  
 πραγματος·  
 ει τοιουνν μηδεν

φοβουμαι. θε  
 ωρησατε· ε[υ]  
 τος γαρ ηδη >

Col. xiii.

αηδες ην εκ  
 τουτων μηδε  
 ολωσ αδυνα  
 τον ταυτον ε  
 5 χειν ονομα  
 ημιν συνεβαι  
 νεν. ου δηπου  
 τουτον μεν  
 δικαιον το με  
 10 ρος των χρη  
 ματων εχε[ι]ν  
 κατα την ποι  
 ησιν ην ο πα  
 τηρ αυτον αναγ  
 15 κασθεις εποι  
 ησατο· εμε δε  
 αφαιρεθηται  
 τουνομα ο  
 βουλομενος.  
 20 και ουδ υφ ε  
 νος βιασθεις  
 εθετο· ουκ εγω  
 γ ηγουμαι· ινα  
 τοιουνν ειδη  
 25 τε [ο]τι ου μονον  
 εις τους φρα  
 τoras ουτως  
 ως μεμαρ  
 τυρη[τ]αι >

Col. xiv.

ο πατηρ την  
 εγγραφην >  
 ε[πο]ιησατο. αλ [  
 λα [κ]αι την δε  
                   β'  
 5 κα[τη]ν εμοι  
                   α'  
 πο[ιων] τουνο  
 μα [του]το ε  
 [θετο λα]βε μοι  
 [και ταυτη]ν >  
 10 τη[ν μα]ρτυρι  
       αν ς  
       μαρτυρ̄  
 ακουετε ανδρες                   21  
 Αθηναιοι οτι  
 15 εγω μεν ην ε  
 π[ι] τουνομα  
 [τος] τουτου παν  
 τα τον χρονον  
 τουτονι δε  
 20 Βοιωτον εις  
 τους φρατορας  
 ηνικα ηναγ  
 κασθη ενε  
 [γ]ραψεν ο πα  
 25 [τ]ηρ. ηδεως  
 [τ]οινυν εροιμην  
 αν αυτον εν  
 [[ν]]αντιον υμων·

Col. xv.

9 or 10 lines lost.  
 10 δε παλ[ιν και  
       μη]ν ει γε εις  
       αυτον. ενεγραψεν  
       αν σε εις τους δη  
       μοτας οπερ εις  
 15 τους φρατορας·  
       ουκουν δεινον  
       ω γη και θεοι·  
       φασκειν μεν  
       εκεινον αυτου  
 20 πατερα ειναι·  
       τολμαν δε α  
       κυρα ποιειν α  
       εκεινος επρα  
       ξεν. ετολμα                   22  
 25 τοινυν προς τωι  
       δαιτητηι πρα  
       γμα αναιδεστα  
       τον λεγειν. ωσ



## Col. xvi.

About 12 lines lost.

μ[ων αγνοειν 22

οιομ[αι οτι ου

15 τ αν εποιησε

δεκατην ουδεις

παιδιου μη

νομιζω[ν αν

τ[ου

8 or 9 lines lost.

η[λθε

## Col. xvii.

About 14 lines lost.

15 ου [τοιουνν εκ του 23

των ε[στ ιδειν

μου[ον

. . . . .

## Unplaced Fragments.

Fr. 1.

. . .

σκι[

. . .

Fr. 2.

. . .

] . ασσ[

. . .

Fr. 3.

. . .

]σπ[

. . .

Fr. 4.

. . .

] . ι

]ειδ[

. . .

Fr. 5.

Col. i. Col. ii.

. . . . .

]αρ

]α

. . . . .

. . . . .

Fr. 6.

. . .

]ξ . [

]ει[

. . .

. . .

Fr. 7.

. . . . .

] . α[

]εισπ[

. . . . .

. . . . .

Fr. 8.

. . .

] . . [

]τη[

] . [

. . .

i. 2. π]ροτερο[ν: l. ποτερον.

10. η δ[ικη: so MSS. (δίκη S); om. B(lass).

iv. 7. ημας was clearly omitted before εισιεναι, as in Q; ήμâs B. with S, ήμίν F.

v. 5-6. απαντα ημ[α]ς: so S; ήμâs άπαντα FQ. B. brackets ήμâs.

7-8. [ατε]ρος: άτερος ήμων MSS.

11. αυται: this word is bracketed by B. on account of the hiatus.

vi. 6. ήλίκα was originally omitted in S.

16. ζ of εζη has been partially rewritten, probably by the second hand.

21-2. ουδεν εκεινου βελτισσι: so vulgo; εκείνου βελτίσιον οὐδέν B. with S.

viii. 14. [εγγ]ραψαι: so S; ἐγγεγράφθαι FQ. The supposed high stop may be part of the cross-bar of the following τ.

27. A short horizontal mark over the ν of εστιν has no evident meaning. It cannot satisfactorily be explained as intended to represent the ν and then replaced by that letter.

28. Μαντιθειω was apparently omitted after δουιν, as in the text of FQ.

ix. 2. φερε δ ει, as emended by the corrector, is the original reading of S (δε ει); φέρ' ει δει others, B.

6. και νυν: και γάρ νυν MSS. (και νυν γάρ r).

7. The α of σταν should have been struck out as well as the ν.

17. The letters μου and part of the ν are on a small fragment which is placed here with some doubt; it does not join up exactly on either side, and its colour is rather lighter than would be expected.

x. 6. ε[η]λον: so Sr, B.; με δηλον others.

20-1. [ο] πι[τηρ πι]νη[σα]σθ[αι αυ]τον: so S and vulg.; ποιησάσθαι αυτον ο πατήρ FQ, ποιήσασθαι ο πατήρ αυτον B.

25-8. ποιε and ν in ll. 25-6 and the initial letters of ll. 27-8 are on detached fragments, the position of which is hardly certain; that of the second fragment is more particularly doubtful owing to its colour.

xi. 1. γεγονος was a slip due perhaps to the influence of the next two words. οϊτος is omitted by FQ.

10. τ]ουτοις [τοις: so the MSS. Harpocration seems to have read τούτους τούς.

20. παντα: so Q; ἅπαντα other MSS.

xii. 3. ν of πεφενγεν has been converted from μ, by which hand is uncertain.

9. ημφεσβηται: so B. with S; ἡμφισβήται others.

10-11. με επεχειροτονησατε: so most MSS. (εμέ); επεχειροτονήσατε S first hand, ἐμὲ ἐχειροτονήσατε S corr. Q and B.

17. The marginal variant εκαστον is apparently new, but S records ἕκαστα; the symbol prefixed is like that sometimes used in supplying an omission, e. g. 844. 114.

21. ανδρες: ὧ ἄνδρες MSS.; cf. xiv. 13.

26. The papyrus agrees with Sr in omitting θεωρειτε after πραγματος.

xiii. 10. των: so FQ text r; τῶν ἐμῶν S and as v. l. FQ, B.

26. φρατορας is also the spelling of S; φράτερας B. Cf. xiv. 21, xv. 15.

xiv. 5-6. εμοι πα[ων], as originally written, is the usual order. For the use of the figures α and β to effect a transposition cf. e. g. 16. i. 26, 1018. 38.

13. ανδρες: so S, B.; ὧ ἄνδρες others.

15. ην: so vulg.; εἰμί B. with S.

19. τουτοι: so MSS.; τούτων B.

xv. 23. επραξεν: so r; ἔπραξε ζῶν others, B.

Fr. 1. The first letter is possibly ε, but the fragment does not suit vii. 28.

Fr. 2. This fragment cannot well be assigned to ix. 14.

Fr. 4 may come from x. 29, but does not directly join.

**Fr. 5.** This fragment might be supposed to be part of § 14 πολλά γάρ [εστ' ἀνθρωπίν]α, but this cannot be reconciled with the τ (or π) of the next column, which would belong to about the twentieth line from the end, and there is no initial τ or π within two lines of the twentieth from the end of Col. viii.

**Fr. 6.** Apparently not vi. 8-9.

**Fr. 8** does not appear to suit either x. 26 or xiv. 5. It is hardly certain that the fragment belongs to this MS., or even which way up it should be read.

1094. DEMOSTHENES, *De Falsa Legatione*.

17 × 6 cm.

Fifth century.

A fragment from the upper part of a vellum leaf, containing on the verso portions of §§ 274-5, on the recto portions of §§ 279-80, of the *De Falsa Legatione*. It is clear from the extensive lacuna between ll. 23 and 24 that the leaf included more than one column; and we have the alternatives of supposing that there were two columns, implying a tall and narrow page of about 35 (at least) × 20 cm., or three columns, which would give a squarer page measuring some 28 cm. across and, if the lower margin was as deep as the upper one, of approximately the same height. The former is perhaps the likelier shape, but in any case this was a large and handsome codex. The script is a sloping uncial of medium size, carefully finished and with rather strongly marked contrasts of light and heavy strokes; it may date from the fifth century. Stops in two positions occur, inserted apparently by the original hand. There is a well-defined vertical ruling down the margin of the recto, but traces of horizontal rulings are only to be distinguished in places.

No particular affinities are traceable in the text, which is inferior in quality to that of 1093. A conjecture of Dobree is supported in l. 38.

Verso.

καίτοι καλλιῶ ταύτης εἰρη	274
νήν οὐτε προτερ[οῖ] οὐθ' ὑ	
στερον οὐδεις ἀν [εἰπειν] εἰχοί	
πέποιήμενην τ[ὴν] πόλιν	
5 ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτ' ἐσκο[ποῦν] τοῦτου	
<sup>υ</sup>	
μὲν γὰρ ἡγόντο [τὴν] αὐτῶν	

L

αρετην και την [της πολεως  
 δοξαν αιτιαν ε[ιναι του δε  
 προικα η μη το[ν του πρεσβευ  
 10 του τροπον το[υτον ουν  
 δικαιον ηξιουν [παρεχεσθαι  
 και αδωροδοκ[ητον τον προ  
 σοντα τοις κοι[νοις εκεινοι  
 275 μεν τοιωνν ο[υτως εχθρον  
 15 ηγουντο το δ[ωροδοκειν  
 και αλυσιτελ[ες τη πολει  
 ωστε μητ επ[ι πραξεως μη  
 δεμιας μητ ε[π ανδρος εαν  
 γιγνεσθαι υμ[εις δε ω την<sup>θ</sup>  
 20 αυτην ειρηνην εορακοτες  
 τα μεν των σ[υμμαχων των  
 ημετερων τ[ειχη καθηρη  
 κυϊαν τ[ας

Recto.

το]ν δωρα ειληφεναι 279  
 25 [ει μεν ηρ]νουντο εξελεγ  
 [χειν λοι]πον αν ην· επειδη  
 [δ ομολο]γουσιν απαγειν δη  
 [που προσ]ηκει· τι ουν<sup>θ</sup> του 280  
 [των ουτ]ως εχοντων υμεις  
 30 [εκεινων] των ανδρων ον  
 [τες οι δε κ]αι τινες αυτων  
 [ετι ζωντ]ες υπομενειτε  
 [τον μεν ε]νεργετην του δη  
 [μου και το]ν εκ Πειραιως Επι  
 35 [κρατην εκ]πεσειν και κολα  
 [σθηναι και] παλιν πρωην >

- [Θρασυβουλ]ον τον Θρασυβου  
 [λου του δη]μοτικου του α  
 [πο Φυλης κ]αταγαγοντος  
 40 [τον δημον κ]αι τινας αλλους  
 [ταλαντα δε]κα ωφληκεναι  
 [και τον αφ] Αρμοδιου και τῶ  
 [τα μεγαισθ υ]μας αγαθα ειργα  
 [σμενων ους] νομωι δια τας  
 45 [ευεργεσιας α]ς ὑπηρξαν εις  
 [υμας εν απασι] τοις ἱεροις και  
 [επι ταις θυσιαις σπο]νδων και

9-10. το[ν του πρεσβευ]του τροπον: τὸν τρόπον τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ MSS.

12. προ]σοντα: προσιόντα MSS.

19. For the abbreviation of ω *ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι* cf. l. 28 and e. g. P. Rylands 58. 92. A stop probably followed *γιγνεσθαι*, but it cannot be distinguished.

22. ημετερων: so k; ὑμετέρων others.

25. εξελεγχ[ειν]: so MSS. except S, which has ἐλέγχειν, and this is adopted by Butcher.

26. λοι]πον: so SYO; there is not room for το λοι]πον, which is found in other MSS.

27. ομολο]γουσιν: so L and vulg. ὁμολόγουν SQ, Blass, Butcher.

28. προσ]ηκει: so k; προσῆκεν other MSS. The present tense is consistent with ομολο]γουσιν in l. 27.

30. εκεινων apparently stood in the text, not Dobree's commonly accepted emendation *εξ εκεινων*.

37. Θρασυβουλ]ον: there is clearly no room for Θρασυβουλον εκεινον which is read by edd. with most MSS. Θρασ. . . . τόν is omitted by the first hands in SY; L has ἐκείνον τὸν Θρασύβουλον instead of Θρασ. ἐκείνον τὸν Θρασυβούλου.

38. του: so Dindorf with Dobree; και τοῦ MSS., Blass, Butcher.

40. κ]αι τινας αλλους: om. MSS. The words perhaps came in from a marginal note.

42. Αρμοδιου: so S<sup>1</sup>L text A; Ἄρμ. καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος others.

43. υ]μας αγαθα: cf. Libanius iv. 737. 27 τὰ μέγ. ἡμᾶς ἀγ. εἶργ. ἀγάθ' ὑμᾶς most MSS. (ἡμᾶς S, &c.), om. ὑμᾶς A; [ὑμᾶς] Blass.

46. και: om. MSS.

1095. [ISOCRATES,] *Ad Demoniacum*.

25.6 × 8.5 cm.

Fourth century.

This is a leaf from a papyrus book, complete at the top and bottom but broken at the side, so that about half the letters in each line are lost. It is inscribed in a clear semicursive hand of medium size, and probably of the fourth

century. Stops in three positions occur, apparently added by the original scribe, to whom a rough breathing in l. 47 also seems to be due; but a few accents are differentiated by a rather darker coloured ink than that of the text, which is of a brownish shade.

Isocrates papyri have not as a rule been distinguished for good qualities (cf. e. g. 844), and in particular their chief representative for the *Ad Demonicum*, P. Berlin 8935, which is attributed to the second century, displays an extraordinary divergence of tradition. 1095 follows the normal type of text and is on the whole a creditable witness. As might be anticipated, there are occasional coincidences with the *deteriores* (ll. 3-4, 17), but agreements with the superior group of MSS., of which the chief is the Codex Urbinas (Γ), predominate. In the collation appended below, which is based on E. Drerup's edition, I do not include unsupported readings of the eccentric Berlin papyrus. Another papyrus at Strassburg is available for comparison only in § 45.

## Recto.

- σιν ἀ[σ]κε[ι] μ[ε]γ[ι]σ[σ]τον [γὰρ ἐν ἐλαχίστοι 40  
 νους ἀγαθὸς ἐν ἀνθρ[ω]που σωματι πει  
 ρω τὸ μ[ε]ν σῶμα εἰ[α]ι φιλοπονος τῆν  
 δε ψυχὴν φιλο[σ]οφ[ο]ς ἵνα τῶι μὲν ἐπιτε
- 5 [λ]εῖν δὲ[ν]ῆ τα δοξάντ[α] τῆι δε προοραν ἐπι  
 στή τα συμφερ[οντ]ᾶ [παν ὁ τι ἀν μελλῆσι 41  
 [ε]ρεῖν. προτερον ἐπι[σ]κοπεῖ τῆι γνώμη  
 [πολ]λοῖσι γὰρ ἡ γ[λ]ωττα [προ]τρεχεῖ τῆσι δια  
 [νοι]ας· νομιζ[ε] μηδ[ε]ν εἶναι τῶν ἀν
- 10 [θρῶ]πίνων βεβαιο[ν] οὕτω γὰρ οὐτ εὐτυχῶν  
 [ε]σει] περιχαρῆσι οὐδὲ δ[υσ]τυχῶν περιλυπῶσι  
 [δυ]ο π[ο]ιοῦ καιρ[ο]υσι του [λε]γειν ἡ περι ὧν οἱ 42  
 [σθα] σ[α]φῶσι ἡ περι ὧν [ἀνα]γκαιον εἶπειν  
 [ε]ν] το[υτ]οῖσι γὰρ μ[ο]νοῖσι [ὁ] λογος τῆσι σιγῆσι
- 15 [κρ]εῖτ[τ]ων· ἐν δε τοῖσι ἀλλοῖσι ἀμεινον σι  
 [γα]ν ἡ λεγειν. χαιρε μ[ε]ν ἐπι τοῖσι συμβα  
 [νου]σι των ἀγαθῶν κ[α]ι λυπῶσι μετριῶσι ε  
 [πι] τοῖσι γινομενοῖσι [των] κακῶν γινου  
 δε [τοι]σι ἀλλοῖσι μηδ ε[ν] ἑτεροῖσι ὧν καταδῆ

- 20 λος· αποπον γαρ την [μεν ουσιαν εν ταις  
οικiais αποκ]ρυπτειν [την δε διανοιαν  
φαν[ε]ραν εχοντα π[εριπατειν μαλλον  
ευλαβου ψογον η κινδυνου δει γαρ ειναι  
φοβεραν τοις μεν [φauλοις την του βιου  
25 τελευτην· τοις δε σ[πουδαιοις την εν ται  
ζην] αδοξ[ιαν· μα]λιστα μεν πειρω ζην  
κατα τη[ν] ασφα[λι]αν εαν δε ποτε σοι συμβηι  
κινδυνευειν ζη[τει την εκ του πολεμου  
σωτηριαν μετα κα[λης δοξης] αλλα μη με  
30 τ' αισχρᾱς φημης· τ[ο] μ[εν] γαρ τελευτησαι  
παντων η πεπρωμενη κατεκρινε το δε  
καλως αποθανειν ιδιον τοις σπουδαιοις  
απενειμε· και μη θα[υμασης] ει πολλα των  
/ειρημενων ου πρεπε[ι σοι προς την νυν 44

## Verso.

- 35 [παρουσαν ηλικιαν ου]δε γαρ εμε τουτο διε  
[λαθεν αλλα προειλομ]ην δια της αυτης πρα  
[γματειας αμα του τε π]αροντος βιο[υ σ]υμβου  
[λιαν εξενεγκειν και τ]ου μ[ελ]λοντος χρονου  
[παραγγελμα καταλιπ]ειν[·] την μεν γαρ τ[ου  
40 [των] χριαν ραδιως] ειδησεις· το[ν] δε μ[ε  
[τ ευνοιας συμβουλευ]οντα χαλεπως ευ[ρη  
[σεις οπως ουν μη] παρ ετέρου τα λοιπ[α  
[ζητησις αλλ εντευθεν] ωσπερ εκ ταμει[ου  
[προφερησις ωιηθην δ]ειν μηδεν πα[ρα  
45 [λιπειν ων εχω σο]ι συμβουλευειν [πολ  
[λην δ αν τοις θεοις] χαριν σχοιην ε[ι μη  
[διαμαρτοιμι της δ]οξης ης εχων π[ερι  
[σου τυχανω τω]ν μεν γαρ αλλων το[υς  
[πλειστους ευρησομ]εν ωσπερ τω[ν] σιτι[ων  
50 [τοις ηδιστοις μαλλο]ν η τοις υγιεινοτα[τοις  
[χαιροντας ουτω κα]ι των φιλων τ[οις] συν

[εξ]αμαρτανουσι πλ[η]σιαζοντας· α[λλ] ου  
 [τοις νουθετουσι σε δ]ε νομιζω του[ναντι  
 [ον τουτων εγνωκε]ναι τεκμηριωι χρ[ω  
 55 [μενος τη περι την] αλλην παιδειαν φι  
 [λοπονιαι τον γαρ αυ]τωι τα βελτιστα πρατ [   
 [τειν επιταττοντα τ]ουτον εικος και τω[ν  
 [αλλων τους επι την] αρετην παρακαλου[ν  
 [τας αποδεχεσθαι μα]λιστα δ αν παροξυν [ 46  
 60 [θειης ορεχθηναι τω]ν καλων εργαων  
 [ει καταμαθοις οτι και τ]ας ηδονας εκ του  
 [των μαλιστα γνησιω]ς εχομεν· εν μεν  
 [γαρ τωι ραθυμειν και] τας πλησμονας α  
 [γαπαν ευθυς αι λυπαι] ταις ηδοναις παρα  
 65 [πεπηγασι το δε περι] την αρετην φιλοπο  
 [νειν και σωφρον]ως τον εαυτου βιον οι  
 [κονομειν αι τας] τερψεις ειλικρινεῖς

3-4. το μ[ε]ν σωμα: so ΔΠΣΥ P. Berl.; τῶ μὲν σώματι Γ. Drerup, with Blass, writes τῶ σώματι μὲν.

την] δε ψυχην: so ΠΣΥ; τῆ δὲ ψυχῆ Γ. φιλοπ. . . . ψυχην om. P. Berl.

5. ἐπι]στη: ἐπιστήση ΣΥ.

7. [ε]ρειν: so probably the papyrus, not [λε]γειν with ΔΠ P. Berl.

9-11. The sentence νομιζ[ε] . . . περιλυπος stands in this position in all MSS. and is retained there by Drerup. H. Wolf transposed it and ll. 12-16 δυο . . . λεγειν, an arrangement adopted by subsequent editors.

11. ουδε: I. ουτε.

12. π[ο]ιου καιρ[ο]υς: καιροῦς ποιῶ Υ Stobaeus.

17. κ[αι] λυπου: so Δ; λυποῦ δέ Γ, &c. The remains of the κ are slight, but they are inconsistent with λ.

30. The grave accent on αισχρας should have been a circumflex.

31. παντων: πάντοτε Σ, πάντως Υ Stobaeus.

32. To add η φυσις (ΠΣΥ Stobaeus) after σπουδαιοις would clearly overload the line, and these two words were no doubt omitted as in Γ P. Berl. They are retained by Blass and other editors, but not by Drerup.

33. The angular paragraphus below this line marks a new section.

40-1. μ[ε]τ ευνοιας συμβουλευ]οντα: σοι συμβ. μετ' εὖν. ΔΠ, συμβουλευσοντα μετ ευν. P. Berl.

42. παρ ετερου τα λοιπ[α]: so Γ; τὰ λοιπὰ μὴ παρ' ἐτ. ΔΠ and P. Berl. (ετερων).

44-5. It is possible that αν preceded εχω as in ΔΠΣΥ; the syllable λι may have stood in l. 44.

47. ης: ην ΔΠ.

55. παιδειαν: so Γ P. Berl., P. Arg.; σου παιδειαν ΔΠΣΥ.

57. τω[ν] αλλων: τους αλλους P. Arg.



61. εκ: τὰς ἐκ Λ. The supplement at the beginning of this line is rather longer than would be expected, but, as it includes four iotas and two omicrons, may be passed.

66. εαυτου: the scribe first wrote εαυτων. εαυτου ΔΠ Stobaeus, αὐτου Γ.

1096. ISOCRATES, *Panegyricus* AND *De Pace*.

10 × 7.3 cm.

Fourth century.

A practically complete though much wrinkled and discoloured leaf of thin vellum, containing the conclusion of the *Panegyricus* and the beginning of the *De Pace*, separated by the titles of the two orations. The measurements of the leaf are similar to those of 1080; it bears no decipherable number, but this must have been a rather bulky little volume, consisting of at least 150 such leaves. The handwriting is a well-formed upright uncial, of medium size, belonging to the so-called biblical type and attributable to the fourth century; some accompanying cursive documents ranged in date from the third century to the fifth. Corrections have been made in blacker ink by a second hand, which has also added stops in three positions, occasional breathings, &c. Textually there is little to remark beyond the usual absence of well-defined affinities to mediaeval MSS.: an agreement with Γ in l. 14 is immediately followed in l. 19 by a 'vulgate' (Α) reading. No comparison is possible with the British Museum papyrus of the *De Pace*, since the commencement of that copy is lost. My collation depends on the edition of Blass.

Verso.

και τοις αλλοις μεγαλῶ

αγαθων αιτιοι δοξ[ο]υ

σιν ειναι &gt;&gt;&gt; .....

&gt;&gt;&gt;&gt;— &lt; πανηγυρικος &gt;

5 &lt; περι της ειρηνης &gt;

απαντες μεν ειωθασιν οι

παριοντες ενθαδε ταυτα

μεγιστα φασκειν ειναι

και μαλιστα σπουδης αξι

10 α τη πολει περι ων αν αυ

τοι μελλωσιν [σ]υμβουλευ  
 ειν· ου μην [α]λλ ει και περι  
 αλλων τινων πραγματῶ  
 ηρμοσεν τοιαυτα προει  
 15 πειν. δοκει μοι πρεπειν  
 και περι των νυν παρον

## Recto.

των εντευθεν [π]οιησασθαι  
 τ[η]ν [αρ]χην· ἤκομεν γαρ 2  
 εκκλησιασονται περι τε  
 20 [π]ολεμου και ειρ[η]νης ἃ  
 μεγαστην εχει δυναμιν  
 εν τωι βιωι των ανθρω  
 πων· και περι ων αναγκη  
 τους ορθως βουλευομενους.  
 25 αμεινον των αλλων πρατ  
 τειν· το μεν ουν μεγαθος  
 υπερ ων συνεληλυθαμῆ  
 τηλικουτον εστιν· ορω 3  
 δ'[[ε]] υμας [ου]κ [ε]ξ̄ ἴσθου των  
 30 λεγοντων [τ]ην ακροασῖ  
 ποιουμενους· αλλα τοις  
 μεν προσεχοντας τον  
 νουν· των δε ουδε [[τη]ν]

5. περι της ειρηνης: περι εἰρήνης Γ, περι τῆς εἰρήνης ἢ συμμαχικός vulg.

11. [σ]υμβουλευειν: συμβουλευσειν MSS.

14. ηρμοσεν: so Γ (-ε); ἤρμοζε vulg.

16. νυν: νυνι vulg.

19. περι τε: so Dionys. Hal. *Isocr.* 16 and vulg.; om. τε Γ.

22. The corrector's reading is that of the MSS.

24. βουλευομενους: so MSS.; βουλευσαμένους Dionys.

33. την was perhaps repeated by an inadvertence on the next page and therefore deleted here. A thick ink-mark between δε and ουδε may have come through from the other side.

1097. CICERO, *De Imp. Cn. Pompei* AND *In Verrem* II. i.

15.4 × 8.4 cm. Fifth century. Plate VI (recto).

Two fragments from Egypt of the *Pro Plancio*, on vellum, were published last year by S. de Ricci (*Mélanges Chatelain*, pp. 442-7), to be followed a few months ago by a papyrus of the Second Oration against Catilina (P. Rylands 61), and still more recently by another of *In Verrem* II. i (ed. F. Ramorino in *Papiri d. Soc. Ital.*). A fourth Ciceronian fragment now makes its appearance. It is a portion of a leaf from a papyrus book, containing the conclusion of the speech *De Imperio Cn. Pompei* and the commencement of the *Actio Secunda* against Verres. The script is a small and upright half-uncial, with some tendency to a more cursive style, especially towards the ends of lines; the linked form of *t* with the cross-bar at an angle and continued to form the base of the next letter is occasionally employed, e. g. in l. 22 *auctoritate*. Greek documents of the fifth century were found in the company of this papyrus and to that century it is itself suitably referred. With the commencement of the Verrine oration the hand becomes rather heavier, and very likely the new speech was begun on another day or with a different pen. The ink throughout is of the brown colour common at the period. The lines are long, and the leaf when complete must have measured some 18 cm. across, the column of writing having a width of about 13.5 cm. With an allowance of 5 cm. for the margin at the top and bottom, the height of the leaf may be estimated at some 29 cm., the proportions being thus very much the same as those of 1011. A great deal can be got into a page of this size, with small writing and closely packed lines; and a further economy of space was attained by the abbreviation or contraction of certain common words. For punctuation a single high point was used, accompanied by a short interval before the next letter, e. g. l. 62.

In the text of this papyrus the chief point of interest is its relation to the Harleianus (H). Noteworthy agreements with that manuscript occur in ll. 12, 28, and 31, in the two latter passages against all other authorities. On the other hand 1097 and H are opposed in ll. 18, 21, 41, and 44. The affinity between the two, therefore, seems to be weaker than that between H and the Turin palimpsest. Readings peculiar to the papyrus are limited to two slight variations in the order of words (ll. 25-6, 42-3), an apparently erroneous addition in l. 29, a fairly evident interpolation in l. 58, and the insertion of *viri*, which is of very questionable value, in l. 13. The collation given below is based on the Oxford editions of Clark and Peterson, supplemented occasionally by

that of Baiter-Halm. Orthographical details such as *adque*, *optume*, *inprobari* are not noticed.

Recto (§§ 60-65).

Plate VI.

- adq> Hispaniense ab uno imperatore eē confecta duasq> urbes potentissimas  
 quae huic imperio maxime  
 min[ist]ra[n]tur Carthaginem adq> Numantiam ab eodem Scipione eē deletas  
 n̄ commemorabo  
 nuper ita [vobis patribusq> vestris eē visum ut in uno C. Mario spes imperi  
 poneretur ut idem cum Iugurtha idem  
 cum Cimbr̄is idem cum Teutonis bellum administraret in ipso Cn. Pompeio  
 in quo novi constitui nihil volt Q.*
- 5 *Catulus qua[m] n[on] multa sint nova summa Q. Catuli voluntate constituta  
 recordamini quid tam novum  
 quam adul[escentulum] privatum exercitum difficili r̄ p̄ tempore conficere  
 confecit huic praeeē prae  
 fuit rem optume ductu suo gerere gessit quid tam praeter consuetudinem  
 quam homini peradu  
 lescenti cuius aetas a senatorio gradu longe abesset imperium adq> exercitum  
 dari Siciliam permitti  
 adq> Africam bellu[m]q> in ea provincia administrandum fuit in his provinciis  
 singulari innocentia*
- 10 *gravitate virtute [bellum in Africa maximum confecit victorem exercitum  
 deportavit quid  
 vero ta[m] inauditum quam eq R> triumphare at eam quoq> rem populus R> n̄  
 modo vidit sed omnium etiam  
 studio vis[us]ndam et co[n]celebrandam putavit quid tam inusitatum quam ut  
 cum duo consules cla  
 rissimi viri fortissim[is]q> essent eq R> ad bellum maximum formidolosissimumq>  
 pro consule mitte  
 retur missus est quo quidem tempore cum esset n̄ nemo in senatu qui diceret  
 n̄ oportere*
- 15 *mitti hominem pr[ae]v[er]atatum pro consule L. Philippus dixisse dicitur n̄ se illum  
 sua sententia pro consule sed  
 pro cons> mittere tanta in eo r̄ p̄ bene gerendae spes constituebatur ut duorum  
 consulum munus unius  
 adulescentis virtuti [committeretur] quid tam singulare quam ut ex senatus  
 consulto legib> solutus consul ante*

- f[er]eret quam ullum q[ui]um magistratum per leges capere licuisset quid tam  
 incredibile quam ut iterum  
 eq R> ex senatus consulto triumpharet quae in omnib[us] hominib[us] nova post  
 hominum memoriam con  
 20 stituta sunt ea tam multa [n] sunt quam haec quae in hoc uno homine vidimus  
 adq[ue] haec tot exempla  
 tanta ac tam <sup>nova p[ro]fecta sunt in eundem</sup> hominem a Q. C[ai]tuli adq[ue] a ceterorum eiusdem dignitatis  
 amplissimorum hominum  
 auctoritate qua re videant ne sit periniquum et n[on] ferendum illorum auctori-  
 tatem de Cn.  
 Pompei dignitate a vobis c[on]probatum semper e[ss]e vestrum ab illis de eodem  
 homine iudicium populiq[ue] R>  
 auctoritatem improbari p[ro]raesertim cum iam suo iure populus R> in hoc homine  
 suam auctoritatem vel  
 25 contra omnes qui dissentiunt possit defendere propterea quod isdem istis  
 reclamantib[us] vos illum  
 unum ex omnib[us] deligistis quem bello praedonum praep[ro]neretis hoc si vos  
 temere fecistis et r[ati]o p[ro]  
 parum consuluistis recte [isti studia vestra suis consiliis regere conantur sin  
 autem vos plus tunc in r[ati]o p[ro]  
 vidistis vos istis re[sp]ugnanti[bus] per vosmet ipsos dignitatem huic imperio  
 salutem orbi terrarum attulistis  
 quod[am] aliquando i[st]i] principes et sibi et ceteris populi R> universi auctori-  
 tati parendum e[ss]e fateantur  
 30 adq[ue] in hoc bello Asiatic[o] et re[gi]o Quirites n[on] solum militaris illa virtus quae  
 est in Cn. Pompeio singularis  
 sed aliae quoq[ue] animi virtutes magnae et multae requiruntur difficile est in  
 Asia Cilicia Syria  
 regnisq[ue] interiorum nationum ita versari nostrum imperatorem ut nihil  
 aliud nisi de hoste ac de  
 laude cogitet deinde etiam [si qui sunt pudore ac temperantia moderatiores  
 tamen eos e[ss]e tales propter mul-  
 titudinem cupidorum hominum nemo arbitratur difficile est dictu Quirites  
 quanto in odio simus apud  
 35 exte[r]as [nationes]*



- [*qui tam nefariis criminibus tam multis testibus convictus*] ora iudicum aspicer  
aut [os  
[*suum populo R*] ostendere auferet est idem Verres qui fuit semper u]t ad  
audendum proiectus  
55 [sic paratus ad audiendum praesto est respondet defendi]tur ne hoc q̄d sibi  
reliqui faciūt  
[ut in reb]us turpissimis cum manifesto teneatur si reticeat et absit tamen  
impudentiae suae p[ro]udentem  
[exitum quacsisse videatur patior iud] et n̄ moleste fero] me laboris mei vos  
virtutis v[est]rae  
[fructum eē laturos nam si iste id fecisset quod prius sta]tuerat ac delibera-  
verat ut n̄ [ ]  
[adesset minus aliquanto quam mihi opus esset cognosceretur] quid ego in hac  
accusatione c[on]  
60 [paranda constituendaq]ue elaborassem vestra vero laus tenuis pl[ur]ne atq[ue]  
obscura iud] [esset  
[neq]ue hoc a vobis populus R] exspectat neq[ue] eo potest eē content]us si condem-  
natus sit is q[ui]  
[ad eē noluerit et si fortes fueritis in eo quem nemo sit au]sus defendere immo  
vero [ ]  
[adsit respondeat summis opib]us summo studio potentissimoru]m hominum  
defendatur ce[rt]et  
[mea diligentia cum illorum omnium cupiditate ves]tra integritas cum istius [pe  
65 [cuncta testium constantia cum illius patronorum minis a]d]q[ue] p[ro]ten]tia  
tūm dem[um]  
[illa omnia victa videbuntur cum in contentionem certamenq]ue venerint absens  
si e]ss[et]

6. The abbreviation of *res publica* is nowhere preserved in the papyrus, but it is commended by considerations of space here and elsewhere.

10. *virtute gravitate* T.

12. *et co[n]celebrandam*: so HE; om. others.

13. *viri*: om. MSS.

17. The supplement in this line is of unusual length and perhaps *senatus consulto* was abbreviated, though written out in l. 19.

18. *al[i]um*: om. H.

19. A stroke indicating abbreviation may have disappeared above the *q* of *eques*.

21. *eundem] hominem*: so MSS. except H, which has *eodem homine*; this is adopted by Clark. The omitted words were added by the original hand.

a *Q. Catuli* (?): so ET; *atque Catuli* H, a *Q. Catulo* dett.

- 25-6. *illum*] *unum* : *unum illum* MSS. *deligistis* is also the spelling of T.
28. *istis* : so H : *iis* T, *his* E dett.
29. *qua[r]e* : om. MSS. The word may have come in from a failure to recognize that *vos . . . attulistis* belonged to the protasis ; or perhaps, as Clark suggests, it is a corruption of *Quirites*, the abbreviation of which was frequently misunderstood. We might then suppose that the *Quirites* which H inserts in l. 30 stood earlier in the papyrus.
30. The addition of *Quirites* with H is probable in view of the size of the lacuna, but of course not certain ; cf. the preceding note.
31. *animi virtutes* : so H, Clark ; *virtutes animi* others.
41. *quidquid* : so MSS. with the exception of H, which has *si quid* (adopted by Clark).
- 42-3. *gratiam* [*bonam* : *bonam gratiam* MSS. It is improbable that *bonam* was left out entirely, since this would leave the supplement in l. 43 abnormally short. That in l. 42, on the other hand, is rather longer than would be expected, and perhaps *ego* was omitted, as in one of the dett.
44. *vestris* is omitted in H.
- 47-8. The title of the speech following as well as of the one preceding seems to have been given here ; cf. e. g. 1096. 4-5 and 1011. 90-1.
52. The apparent shortness of the supplement may be explained by the repetition of the letter *m*.
53. *a* of *aut* is considerably enlarged.
55. It seems clear that *paratus* was not omitted as in D, &c.
58. *ac deliberaverat*, which the MSS. omit, has doubtless come in wrongly from l. 51.
60. Why the *a* of *plane* was written above the line is not clear.
61. The supplement is quite long enough without *enim* after *neque* (so D, &c.) even if *populus* was abbreviated.
64. *istius* : so p Schol. Gronov. and dett. ; *illius* others, Peterson. The initial supplement is four or five letters shorter than would be expected.

1098. VERGIL, *Aeneid* ii.

5.2 × 20.8 cm.

Fourth or fifth century. Plate VI (verso).

Examples of Latin MSS. in square capitals are scarce, and this small fragment from the second book of the *Aeneid*, though textually of no value, has a palaeographical interest. The script is not particularly large, but it has the roundness and breadth characteristic of the type. Hands of this kind are attributed to the fourth or fifth century, and there is no reason to put this specimen any later. They may indeed go back to a somewhat earlier period ; cf. Wessely, *Stud. Pal.* i. App. The fragment is part of a leaf of thin vellum, which was ruled horizontally and vertically in the usual way with a hard point. When complete the page must have been fairly tall, the column consisting of some twenty-three lines. The text has been revised by a corrector whose blacker ink is



easily distinguishable from the brown of the first hand. He also added occasional marginal notes (l. 42), inserted some stops in the middle position, and touched up others which he already found there. He was not, however, responsible for the marginalia on the recto, which are inscribed in small half-uncials in an ink of the same colour as that of the text and may be attributed to the original writer.

## Recto.

[aedificant sectaque intexunt abiete co]stas  
 [votum pro reditu s]imulant. ea fama vagatur. *per terras*  
 [huc delec]ta virum sortiti corpora. furtim *a. e. h. o. v. a.*  
 [includ]unt caeco [lateri penit]usq. cavernas  
 20 [ingentis utrumque armato mi]lite complent.  
 [est in conspectu Tenedos noti]ssima fama  
 [insula dives opum Priami d]um regna maneb[ant  
 [nunc tantum sinus et statio] male f[ida carinis

## Verso.

## Plate VI.

[s]cindi]tur incertum studia in contraria volgus  
 40 primus ibi ante omnis m[agna comitante] caterva  
 Laocon ardens. summa decurrit a[b] arce  
 Laocoontis et procul. o mise[ri quae tanta in]saniam c[ives  
 credit] <sup>i</sup> [e]s avect[os hostis aut ulla putatis  
 dona carere [dolis Danaum sic notus Ulixes  
 45 aut hoc inclusi] [igno occultantur Achivi  
 [aut haec] in nos[tros fabricata est machina muros

17. The supposed *t* in the adscript may be *a*, but *aeras* is hardly suitable.

18. Some further letters of the illegible marginal note may have disappeared.

42. It is possible that three or four letters preceded *Laocoontis*, e. g. *haec*. The meaning of the curved mark, which was inserted by the second hand below this line, is not clear.

1099. GREEK PARAPHRASE OF VERGIL, *Aeneid*.

25.2 × 14.1 cm.

Fifth century.

A leaf, broken diagonally on one side, from a Latin-Greek vocabulary to the *Aeneid*. An analogous text is P. Rylands 61, which contains part of Cicero's *In Catilinam II* with a paraphrase in Greek. There, however, the Latin is transcribed continuously, whereas here it is only excerpted. The Latin words and their Greek equivalents are in parallel columns, both written by one copyist in a well-formed uncial hand of medium size and dating perhaps from the fifth century. The vocabulary extended over at least two books, of which the *explicit* and *incipit*, inscribed in capital letters and enclosed in an ornamental border, are preserved near the end of the second page. A work on so large a scale and executed by so practised a hand is evidently not to be credited to a young learner; and it is surprising to find it so full of blunders. Not only are there frequent errors both in the Latin and the Greek, but the Vergilian order is not always maintained. Words from different verses are sometimes ranged in the same line (e. g. ll. 16, 21) and in two places (ll. 1-6, 27 sqq.) there is a considerable dislocation. Some of the mistakes have been eliminated by a less cultivated hand employing a darker ink, but a good many remain, and no attempt has been made to amend the disturbed order. The corrector is responsible for the accentuation, which in order to assist pronunciation has been applied to the Latin as well as the Greek, stressed syllables receiving an acute accent; in one case (l. 6) a mark of long quantity is used instead. These accents were often very lightly written, and were probably inserted in many places where they are no longer really visible. The leaf, which is of stout vellum, was ruled on the recto with a hard point which has left a light brown mark; the horizontal rulings are doubled so as to regulate the size as well as the line of the writing. There is no trace of pagination.

## Recto.

<i>aspiciunt</i>	θεωροῦσιν	664
<i>auriat</i>	αντλήση	661
<i>sparsasq.</i>	και εραντισμενας	665
<i>conlapsam</i>	ολισθησασαν	664
5 <i>iiit</i>	πορευεται	665
<i>morietur</i>	αποθάνωμεν	659

	<i>ab alta</i>	προς τα υψηλα	665
	<i>concússam</i>	συντιναγίσαν <sup>ε</sup>	666
	<i>laméntis</i>	κοπετοῖς	667
10	<i>ululáto</i>	ολολυγμῶι	
	<i>inmíssis</i>	εισπεμφθέντων	669
	<i>ruat</i>	πέση	
	<i>C[ar]t[is]a[go]</i>	Καρχηδών	670
	[ <i>per cu]l[mi]na</i>	ανα τας οροφάς	671
15	[ <i>voluntú]r</i>	κυλίνται	
	[ <i>exanimis u]nguib[us]</i>	αψυχος ουξιν	672, 673
	[ <i>foedans</i> ]	μιαινουσα	673
	[ <i>pugnis</i> ]	γρόνθοις	
	[ <i>fraude</i>	η <sup>η</sup> ] απατα ενέδραι	675
20	[ <i>petebas</i>	] ηταις	
	[ <i>rogus querar</i>	π <sup>ε</sup> ]υρκαία μ[[ <sup>ε</sup> α]]μψομαι	676, 677
	[ <i>sprevisti</i>	κα]ταφρονησῶ	678
	[ <i>moriens</i>	απ]οθνησκουσα	
	[ <i>ad fata</i>	προ]ς τας μοιρας	
25	[ <i>eadem vocasses</i>	... τα]ς αυτας κεκληκισ <sup>ε</sup> ā	
	[ <i>ambas</i>	... αμφ]οτέρος	679
	[ <i>evaserat fove</i>	εξανεβεβ]ηκει κ <sub>ς</sub> ηδη	685, 686
	[ <i>batq</i>	ετρεφε ]	
	[	... .. ]τιην	
30	[	]	
	[	]	
	[	]	
	[	... .. ]ι	
	[	]	
35	[	... .. ]ι	
	.	.	.

## Verso.

<i>deficit cubitoq</i>	ατ[ω] <sup>ο</sup> νεῖ κ <sub>ζ</sub> ανκωνει	689, 690
<i>laevāvit toro</i>	εκουφισεν στρωμνη	690, 691
<i>revoluta est</i>	ενεκυλίσθη <sup>ε</sup>	691
<i>quaesivit</i>	εζήτησεν	692
40 <i>reperta</i>	ευρεθέντα <sup>η</sup>	
<i>difficilis</i>	δυσχερής	694
<i>obitus</i>	απεδ[[ε]]ύσις <sup>ο</sup>	
<i>luctantem</i>	αντιπαλέουσαν	695
<i>nexaeq</i>	και δεδεμέναι	
45 <i>artus mérita</i>	μέλη αξία <sup>αι</sup>	695, 696
<i>peribit</i>	απόλλυτο	696
<i>nōndum</i>	ουδωπω	698
<i>flāvum</i>	ξανθόν	
<i>Prosérpina</i>	Περσεφ[ο]ν[η]	
50 <i>abstulerat</i>	αφιλα[το]	699
<i>damnāverat</i>	κατέκ[ρινε]	
<i>Órco mille</i>	Χαξι	699, 701
<i>adverso</i>	[εν]α[ντιω]	701
<i>dévolat</i>	[	702
55 <i>Diti huic</i>	[	
<i>séquat</i>	[	704
<i>calor</i>	[	705
» <i>expls</i> [ <i>lib. iiii</i>		
» <i>incipit</i> <i>lib. v</i>		
» [		
60 <i>in[terea</i>		1
<i>áquilone</i> (?)		2
<i>p[olluto</i> (?)		6
<i>n[otum</i> (?)		
. [		
. . . . .		

5. *iii*: l. *ii*.

7. *ab*: l. *ad*.

10. *ululato*: cf. M *ululati*[*o*]μ.

15. It may perhaps be inferred from *κλιονται* that *voluntur* and not *volvantur* was written. *voluntur* is the original reading in Pc and was inserted by the second hand in γ.

17. Some other letter was originally written in place of the first *a* of *μαινουσα*.

21. π<sub>υρ</sub>καῖα should be oxytone, and possibly the accent, though actually nearer to the ι, was intended for the α. The accent on μελη in l. 45 is similarly somewhat misplaced.

22. Why the imperative κα<sub>τ</sub>αφρονησον was written is not easy to see.

25. Nothing is wanted before τα<sub>ς</sub> and probably a defect in the leaf caused the Greek line to be begun further to the right than usual; cf. l. 26. Several other flaws occur in this leaf. εμε τ<sub>ας</sub> would be an unnatural order.

26. ]οτερος here can hardly be anything else than the termination of *αμφοτερος*, for *αμφοτερας*, the accented ε being a survival of the correct termination. But *αμφ]οτερος* does not account for the space, and since ο αυτος αμφ]οτερος would more than fill it, this line tends to confirm the hypothesis suggested by l. 25 of a flaw in the vellum at this point.

27-8. The remains of the Greek appear to suit nothing in the Latin nearer than ll. 685-6.

29. If ll. 27-8 are rightly reconstructed, there was very probably a disturbance in the order of the entries, as in ll. 1-6, and ll. 29 sqq. may return to one of the earlier verses. ]την however is rather intractable unless we go back as far as l. 675 *hoc illud fuit*, which might perhaps be represented by *εκεινο τουτι ην*. This would be of about the right length, but is not particularly satisfactory.

35. Clearly marked rulings terminate three or four lines below this one, but there are faint traces of further rulings lower down, and the column may have continued some ten lines beyond l. 35.

37. The second *o* of *toro* has been converted from a *u*.

39. *quaesivit*: *v* and *t* were written by the corrector over *t* and *s* (*quaesitis*).

43. l. *αντιπαλαιουσαν*.

44. l. *nexosq(ue)*. The Greek shares the error.

46. l. *peribat*.

47. *nondum*: *necdum* Pγ. The first ω of ονδωπω is rather damaged and the misspelling was possibly amended.

55. l. *hunc*.

## IV. DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

### (a) OFFICIAL.

#### 1100. EDICT OF A PRAEFECT.

15.7 × 11.8 cm.

A. D. 206. Plate V.

A circular letter addressed by the praefect Subatianus Aquila to the strategi of the Heptanomia enclosing a copy of an edict which they are directed to post up in conspicuous places for a period of not less than thirty consecutive days. The edict is unfortunately disfigured by extensive lacunae which render it difficult to follow the sense at all closely, and not much more can be said than that the object aimed at was the repression of official extortion, *διασεισμός*. Complaints of this are not rare in the papyri (e.g. 240. 5, 284. 5, 285. 12, P. Amh. 81. 6), and prohibitions of it go back to Ptolemaic times (cf. P. Paris 61, P. Tebt. 5. 138-43, &c.). What particular class or classes of officials the praefect on the present occasion had in view is not apparent.

The text, which is on the verso, is copied in a hand approximating to the literary type, and so, being accurately dated, has a certain palaeographical interest. On the recto is 1110.

Σουβατιανὸς Ἀκύλας στρατηγοῖς ζ νομῶν [καὶ Ἀρσινοῖτου χαίρειν. διατάγμα-  
 τος προτεθέντος ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ πόλει τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων  
 ἀντίγραφον  
 ὑμεῖς φροντίσατε εὐδήλοισ γράμμασι ἐπὶ τῶν μητροπόλεων καὶ ἐν τοῖς  
 τῶν νομῶν φα-  
 νερωτάτοις τόποις προ(θ)εῖναι μὴ ἔλαττον τριάκον[τα ἡμερῶν κατὰ μίαν  
 τινὰ πε-  
 5 ρίοδον. ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς βούλομαι. ἔτους ιε Ἀθῦρ  
 μονων [[υ]] ἐπιμο[.]ως ὑποκιμένων διασιο[μεν  
 25 letters  
 23 ,,  
 22 ,,  
 23 ,, ἐ-  
 22 ,,  
 23 ,, ἐ-

	πὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις [ν]όμοις ἀπο[.]αντες τινὰς ο . [	23 letters
10	τος τῆς τάξεως [. . . παρ]άδιγμα κλη{σ}θήσεται[ι,] οἱ δὲ [	22 ,
	[.]ων κατὰ τ . [ . . . . . ]ομηθονη παρὰ σύστημα [	21 ,,
	[.]ν δὲ ἀθ[. . . . . ]ντές τινα κατὰ τοιαύτην πρόφ[ασιν	17 ,,
	[.] . οἰς ου[. . . . . ] . διασειόμενοι καὶ ἐνοχλούμενοι[ι	16 ,,
	[.]των τ . . . [.]ν διασιόντων τῶν εἰς ταῦτα ὑπῆρη . [	17 ,,
15	μετὰ παρρησίας, κὰν ἐλεγχθῶσι, τῆς προσηκούσης τεύξονται τιμωρίας. εἰ δὲ . .	
	. . ] . ροιντο τοῖς διασειούσι καὶ περιμένειεν καὶ αὐτοῖ . [	17 letters
	[έν] τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ τῶν α . . . . νω[	,, ,,
	[.]νοι τῶν τοιούτων εἰσπράξεως νομισθ[. . . . . ] . πρρ[	,, ,,
	[.]νοῖς κολλητιῶσι ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἐντ[	28 ,,
20	[.] μὴ προσφθείρεσθαι αὐτὸ εἰς καταλ[	,, ,,
	[διά]ταγμα φωραθεῖεν ἐπὶ τουτο[.]σ . [	29 ,,
	[.]αδοθήσονται καὶ οἱ χρώμενοι [	,, ,,
	[πρ]οετέθη ἐν Ἀντινίου πόλ(ει) ὑπὸ Αρι[	,, ,,

3. ὑμεις Pap. 4. ν of ελαττον added above the line. 5. αι of ερωσθαι written over ε. 14. ὑπρηη . [ Pap. 17. τη before των added above the line. 19. ι of νοις added above the line. 23. ὑπο Pap.

1. For Subatianus Aquila cf. the note on **1111**. i. 3-5. The extent of the lacunae at the ends of the lines is uncertain, but can hardly be less than I have supposed. The loss in ll. 2-23 has been roughly calculated on the basis of the supplement adopted in l. 1.

2. Ἀλεξανδρέων: Ἀντινοίων might be preferred on account of l. 23, but Alexandria is the natural place of promulgation. If Ἀντινοίων were supplied, χωρὶς Ἀντινοίου would presumably have to be added in l. 1; cf. e. g. B. G. U. 484. 9-10.

3. ἐδῆλοις γράμμασι: cf. P. Hibeh 29. (a) recto 9 γράψας εἰς λέυκωμα μ[ε]γάλοις γράμμασιν ἐκτιθέτω, Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.* 665. 11-13 ἐν[ ] τε τῇ μητροπόλει τοῦ νομοῦ καὶ καθ' ἑ[καστον τόπο]ν αὐτὸ προθεῖναι σαφείσι καὶ εὐσήμοις [γράμμασιν,] ἵνα [παν]τὶ [ἐκ]δηλα ([εὔ]δηλα) γένηται. For the supplement at the end of the line cf., besides that inscription, *ibid.* 664. 4-5, B. G. U. 1086. ii. 3-4.

4. In B. G. U. 372. ii. 18 the period specified is three months.

5. βούλομαι is the word also used in the analogous circular B. G. U. 646. 7, and in the letter of Subatianus Aquila published by F. Zucker in *Sitzungsb. der K. Preuss. Akad.* 1910, p. 713. Zucker's remark that βούλομαι in place of εὔχομαι is 'ganz gegen die Regel' is somewhat misleading; βούλομαι seems to have been preferred in the praefect's bureau.

10. κλησθήσεται, if rightly read, may be for κληθήσεται; κλήειν and κλήζειν are unlikely here.

11. Perhaps μηδέν was meant; the writer was clearly not very accurate.

14. ὑπρηετ cannot be read, but perhaps the second η is a mistake for ε.

19. κολλητιῶσι is a remarkable word; the fourth and fifth letters might be read as aw, which, however, does not improve matters. τ, not γ, is clear. A Grecism of *collatio* is hardly likely at this date.

22. If the verb is [παρ]αδοθήσονται, the first syllable would probably belong to the previous line. The number of letters lost at the beginnings of ll. 11-22 is not precisely fixed.

## 1101. EDICT OF A PRAEFECT.

28.7 × 17.7 cm.

A.D. 367-70.

Copy of an edict prohibiting recourse to military praepositi on the part of civil litigants. The name of the praefect issuing this decree is given as . . . Imius Statianus, i. e. no doubt Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus (Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.* 723), who held office in A.D. 367-70; cf. *Cod. Theod.* xii. 18. 1, Cantarelli, *La Serie dei Prefetti*, ii. p. 34. He begins by stating that the illegal abuse of military jurisdiction was a matter of his own personal knowledge (ll. 2-12). Jurisdiction over civilians belonged to the praefect (ll. 13-15) and their recourse to praepositi was only permissible when justice was required locally against a soldier (ll. 17-21). Nothing else justified neglect of the proper civil courts, and future offences in this regard would be punished by deportation or confiscation, according to the rank of the delinquent (ll. 22-5). The text breaks off in an incomplete sentence ordering the local riparii to report any cases which they might detect; probably only a few words were wanted to conclude the copy of the edict, and if they were added it must have been either along the lost left-hand margin or on a separate sheet of papyrus, for this one is complete at the bottom and on the right-hand side, and there is no indication of a second sheet having been joined on.

The encroachment against which this proclamation is directed of the military authority in judicial matters is illustrated by the frequently recurring imperial constitutions on the subject during this period. In *Cod. Theod.* xii. 1. 128 of A.D. 392 it was ordained *Militaribus viris nihil sit commune cum curiis; nihil sibi licitum sciant, quod suae non subiectum est potestati*; cf. *id.* i. 21. 1 *Numquam omnino negotiis privatorum vel tuitio militis vel executio tribuatur* (A.D. 393), ii. 1. 9 *Si quis neglectis iudicibus ordinariis sine caelesti oraculo causam civilem ad militare iudicium crediderit deferendam, praeter poenas ante promulgatas intellegat se deportationis sortem excepturum* (cf. l. 24 below *νήσον οικήσαι κελεύω*), *nihilominus et advocatum eius decem librarum auri condemnatione feriendum*, *Cod. Just.* i. 46. 2 *Praecipimus, ne quando curiales vel privatae condicionis homines ad militare exhibentur iudicium* (cf. ll. 24-5 below). Military



arrogance and aggression form one of the main themes of the oration of Libanius *De patrociniis* (cf. §§ 4-5, 23, &c.); and a concrete instance is provided by P. Brit. Mus. 408, where a complaint is brought against a praepositus that he had prevented certain criminals from being brought to justice (about A. D. 346).

Ἀντίγραφον διατάγματος.

- [Φλαύιος Εὐτό]λμιος Στατιανὸς ὁ λαμπρότατος ἑπαρχὸς Ἐγγύπτου λέγει·  
 [οὐ . . . . .] μὲν . . . ρεῖσει καὶ π[αρ' ὀ]λίγων τῶν πρώτων  
 [πυθόμενος], ἀλλὰ πρὸς διδασκαλίαν τρόπον τινὰ λαμβάνον  
 5 [ἐκ τῶν εἰς] ἐκάστ[η]ν πόλιν τε καὶ ἐνορίαν γιγνομένων.  
 [ἔγνων γὰρ] ἐξ ἐν[τ]εῦξεων ὡς τινες τῶν ιδιωτῶν τὴν  
 [τύχην ἄν]ευ πλ . . . . . ιας, εἴτε ὑπὸ κακίας ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ κακο-  
 [βουλείας] τῆς πρ[ο]αιρέσεως βουλόμενοι τοὺς διαδικοῦν-  
 [τας πάνυ κ]αταπονίην, προσφεύγουσιν τοῖς κατὰ τόπον πραι-  
 10 [ποσίτοις] βιβλία τούτοις ὡς ἐπιδιδόντες καὶ παρασκευάζον-  
 [τες ἐκπρ]άττεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν τοὺς τὴν τύχην, ὡς ἔφην,  
 [ιδιώτας.] ὅτι δὲ κεκάλυται παρὰ τοῖς νόμοις τοῦτο, δῆλον·  
 [τῷ γὰρ π]ραιποσίτῳ μὲν [[των]] στρατιωτῶν ἄρχιν ἔξεστι,  
 [ιδιωτῶν] δὲ οὐκέτι, τοὺς δὲ ἄρχοντες τῆς ἐπαρχίας εἶθ . .  
 15 [. . . . .] ἐν τούτοις κ[α]ί δέχεσθαι προσειόντας παρεγγυ-  
 [ᾶται. τοι]γάροι διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ προγράμματος ἅπασιν  
 [δηλὸν ἐσ]τιν τοῦ λοιποῦ. εἰ γὰρ τις τῶν ιδιωτῶν παρὰ  
 [στρατιώτ]η τι ἔχοι κ[α]ί θαρσήσῃ τῇ ἐκδικίᾳ τοῦ πραιποσίτου  
 [καὶ ὡς βο]θηθήσεται παρ' αὐτοῦ πέποιθεν, προσείτω· οὐδὲ γὰρ  
 20 [δύναται] ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων τῆς προσηκούσης τυγχάνειν  
 [παρ' ἄλλο]ν βοήθιας. εἰ δὲ πρὸς ιδιώτην τὴν τύχην, μὴ δι-  
 [απιδάτω] τοῦτο ποιεῖν. εἰ γὰρ τις ὁπίη παραλιμπάνον  
 [τὸ οἰκ]εῖον δικασ[τ]ήριον ἐφ' οὓς δὲ οὐ προσῆκεν καταφεύ-  
 [γων ποτέ], δημοτικῆ[ς] ὄν τύχης, τοῦτον νῆσον οἰκῆσαι κελεύ-  
 25 [ω, ἐὰν δὲ ἦ] βουλευτῆς, δημεύσει ὑποβάλλω. διὸ παρεγγυῶ τοῖς  
 [ἐπὶ τόπων] ρίπαρίοις ἴν', εἴ τινα τῶν ιδιωτῶν καταλάβοιεν παρα-  
 [λιπόντα τ]ὸ οἰκῖον δ[ι]καστήριον ἐπὶ πραιποσίτους καταπεφευγῶτα

2. I. Τατιανός.  
 παραλιμπάνων.

4. . λαμβάνων.  
 23. s of ous added above the line.

9. Second o of προσφεύγουσιν corrected  
 from ι.  
 14. υ of τους corr. from ι. ἄρχοντες is for -τας.  
 24. I. ὄν.

22. I. ὀφθείη

‘ Copy of an edict. Proclamation of Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus, most illustrious praefect of Egypt. [My orders are] not based on information gained by . . . and from a few first comers, but on instruction in a way derived from what occurs in every city and district. I learn from petitions that some persons of civil status, without [excuse?], whether from malice or from perversity of judgement, in their desire thoroughly to worst their adversaries at law, have recourse to the local praepositi, presenting petitions to them and procuring exactions by their means from persons, as I said, of civil status. That this is forbidden by the law is clear. For a praepositus has authority over soldiers, but not over civilians; it is enjoined on the praesides to [govern] them and to receive their applications. This, therefore, is for the future made clear by this proclamation. If any civilian has a difference with a soldier and relies on the vengeance of the praepositus and is confident of receiving assistance from him, let him apply; for he cannot obtain requisite assistance on the spot from any one else. If, however, it is with a person of civil status, let him not attempt to do this. For should any one ever be discovered leaving his proper court and having recourse to unauthorized persons, if he is a man of common rank, I order him to be deported, and if he is a senator, I subject him to confiscation of property. I therefore command the local riparii, if they catch any civilian who has left his proper court and had recourse to praepositi . . .’

3 sqq. This construction is not very satisfactory, and it is quite possible, as Mitteis suggests, that *ἔγνω* preceded *οὐ* in l. 3 and that there is no full stop at the end of l. 5. But on that view of the passage I should prefer to write [*ἔμαθον, οὐ*], and to keep [*ἔγνω γὰρ ἐξ ἐντεύξεων*] as a parenthesis instead of substituting, as he proposes, something like [*καθάπερ*]. Neither *τῇ ῥήσει* nor *ἀκροάσει* suits the remains after ] *μέν*.

5. *εἰς* *ἐκάστ[η]ν*: this use of *εἰς* for *ἐν* is frequent in the *Κοινῆ*, e.g. Diodor. xiii. 12 *καθήμενους εἰς Σικελίαν*, Luke xi. 7 *τὰ παιδιά . . . εἰς τὴν κοίτην εἰσίν*. For *ἐνορία* cf. P. Leipzig 64. 45 *ἡ πόλις καὶ αἱ κώμαι τῆς ἐνορίας*, and on the significance of this conjunction of *πόλις* and *ἐνορία*, Gelzer, *Byz. Verwalt. Aeg.* p. 62.

7. The illegible word after *ἄν[ε]ν* may begin with *προσ*, and *προστασίας* would be reconcilable with the very slight remains. But such a recognition of the principle of *patrocinium* seems inconsistent with the quite general terms of the prohibition in ll. 17 sqq., as well as with the trend of contemporary legislation (cf. e.g. de Zulueta, *De Patroc. Vicorum*, Gelzer, *Byz. Verw.* pp. 69 sqq.), and a vaguer expression like *ἄν[ε]ν προφάσεως* would be preferable. *προφάσεως*, however, cannot be read, and the letter after *π* is more probably *λ* or *ο* than *ρ*, of which part of the tail should be visible. *ἄν[ε]ν* too is uncertain; *εν* may belong to the following word. *κακο[βουλ(ε)ία]ς* produces a tolerable antithesis to *κακίας*, but is highly conjectural.

13-14. By *Cod. Theod.* ii. 1. 2 (A. D. 355) military jurisdiction was limited to criminal cases in which the defendant was a soldier; in *Cod. Just.* iii. 13. 6 (A. D. 413) it extends to civil cases of a like character. A differentiation of suits in which one of the parties was a soldier is recognized in ll. 17 sqq. below. No distinction is, however, drawn between criminal and civil cases.

*ἄρχοντες τῆς ἐπαρχίας*: cf. e.g. *Cod. Just.* i. 4. 30 *τὴν τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν περιμένεν χειροτονίαν*.

15. An infinitive is to be supplied before *τούτοις*.

19-21. Cf. *Cod. Just.* iii. 13. 6 (A. D. 413) *praesertim cum id ipsum e re esse litigantium videatur constetque militarem reum nisi a suo iudice nec exhiberi posse nec, si in culpa fuerit, coerceri*. The supplement in l. 19 is somewhat long, and perhaps *βον[θη]σεται* was written; cf. Daniel (Theodot.) xi. 34.

21. The active form *διαπειρᾶν* is used by Plutarch, *Pomp.* 51.

24. νῆσον οἰκῆσαι: *in insulam deportari*; cf. e. g. *Dig.* xxxii. 1. 3 *deportatos autem eos accipere debemus quibus princeps insulas adnotavit vel de quibus deportandis scripsit*, i. 12. 1. 3 *relegandi deportandique in insulam . . . licentiam habet.* For δημοτικί[ε] cf. P. Leipzig 65. 12 δημ. [λ][το]υργίας.

25. βουλευτής: the final letter is possibly ν, e. g. τὸν δεῖ] βουλευτήν δημύσει ὑποβάλλω.

## 1102. REPORT OF LEGAL PROCEEDINGS.

20.4 × 25.5 cm.

About A. D. 146.

A report of a judgement delivered by a hypomnematographus, Cerealis. There are very slight remains of the column preceding that printed below, and perhaps the earlier history of the case was originally prefixed. It was evidently a complicated and difficult matter, for references are made to decisions already given concerning it by the praefect Valerius Proculus (l. 7) and the juridicus Neocydes (ll. 16, 24),—familiar names which supply an approximate date for the present proceedings. The principal parties to the suit were the representatives of a city (Oxyrhynchus?) and one of its citizens, a certain Eudaemon, the question at issue being the ownership of some property to which Eudaemon was the successor and the city asserted claims. Cerealis re-affirms a decision of the praefect Proculus directing Eudaemon to hand over to the city for the gymnasiarchy a quarter of the property, with exception of a part which had been bestowed as a dowry (ll. 7–11). He ordains a further investigation by the local strategus of the question whether certain land was included under the will—presumably that under which Eudaemon had inherited the property—and if the answer should be in the negative, that the land was to belong to the city (ll. 11–15). The ownership of some furniture and slaves had already been determined by Neocydes (ll. 15–16). A request was then made by the city-delegates to be allowed to keep the revenues of the above-mentioned land, and these were awarded to them apparently for one year (ll. 16–18). Eudaemon complains that his revenues had been impounded, and Cerealis replies that they should be released when the terms of his judgement had been complied with, and declines to reconsider further questions raised by the delegates (ll. 18–24).

Ἀ[ντίγραφον] ἀ[π]οφάσσεω[ς]. (ἔτους) .] Ἀθὺρ κα.

[. . . . .] . [ . ] ρ[ . ] ω[ . ] . . [ . ] . υ[ . ] . . [ . . . ] . λιτι . . [ . ] ρ . [ . .  
καὶ Σ[ . . . . ] σου Ἐρη[ . ] . [ . ] συ . [ . ] ς καὶ τῶν [σ]ύ[ν] αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἐψ[δ]αίμογ[ο]ς καὶ  
Α . . λ . . [ . ] . . . χω . . . [ . ] Κελεάρις ὁ [ι]ερεὺς καὶ ὑπομνηματογράφος

- 5 σκ[εψ]άμ[ενο]ς μετὰ τῶν παρόντων ὑπηγόρευσεν ἀπόφασιν ἢ καὶ ἀνε[γνώσ]θη και[ὰ] λέξιν οὕτως ἔχουσα· ἀκολούθως οἷς ὁ κράτιστος καὶ φι[λαν]θρωπότατος ἡγεμὼν Οὐαλέριος Πρόκλος ἔκρεινεν δοκεῖ μοι . . .  
 10 προ[σ]ῆ[λθε]ρον εἶναι τὸν Εὐδαίμονα μηδὲν τὰ ἀδελφοῦ παρειληφότα, ἐπεὶ ἅπαξ προσῆ[λθε] τῇ κληρονομίᾳ, τὸ τέταρτον τῆς οὐσίας εἰσενενκεί(ν) ὑπὲρ τῆς γυμνα-  
 10 σ[ι]αρχίας τῇ αὐτοῦ πατρίδι, ὑφαιρουμένης τῆς προικὸς τῆς προεδομένης τῇ θυγ[ατρ].] περὶ δὲ τῆς ποσότητος ἐπεὶ πυνθανομένου μου οὐδὲν σαφὲς ἐ-  
 δῆλω[σ]ε[ν], ὁ τοῦ νομ[ο]ῦ στρατηγὸς ἀκρειβέστερον ἐξετάσει ἢ κατοικῆ, καὶ εἰ νε. . . τ . . . [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] ἵν᾿ ἀρῶμαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰς ἀναγνωσθεῖ-  
 15 αῦται τῇ π[ό]λ[ι]ει χ[ω]ρήσουσιν. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐνδομενείας καὶ τῶν ἀνδραπο-  
 δίων ὑπὸ Νεοκύδους τοῦ γενομένου δικαιοδότης κέκριται. τῶν πρέσ-  
 βων ἀξιωσάντων ἐπὶ τῆς προσόδου τῶν ἀρουρῶν στήσαι ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ ὑπομνηματογράφ-  
 φ[ο]ς· ἐν[ι]αυ[τοῦ] τὰς προσόδους ἀπολήμψεται ἢ πόλις. Εὐδαίμονος διὰ τῶν παρεστώ-  
 των λέγοντος κατεσχῆσθαι αὐτοῦ τὰς προσόδους καὶ ἀξιώσαντος ἀπολυ-  
 20 θῆναι αὐτὰς, ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ ὑπομνηματογράφος· ἐπὶ τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κελευ-  
 σθέν[τ]α γένηται, κ[α]ὶ ἢ πόλις τὸ προσῆκον μέρος κομίσηται, ἀπολυθή-  
 [σο]μ[τα]ι. τῶν πρέσβων ἀξιωσάντων σταθῆν[α]ί τι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐπ' ὀ-  
 [νόματο]ς τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ ὑπομνηματογράφος·  
 [Νεοκύδης . . . ἐργ[ο]ν περὶ τούτων ἀπεφήματο. ἐξῆλθεν Σαραπίων  
 25 [ἡγεμ]ο[ν]ικ[ος] ὑ[π]ηρέ[τ]ης Τρωγοδύτης. ἀνέγνω(ν).

4. l. Κεραλίς.

17. l. στήναι.

‘ Copy of a judgement. . . year, Hathur 21. . . and . . . and their associates and Eudaemon and . . . being present, Cerealis, priest and recorder, having considered with those in attendance dictated a judgement which was read out as follows :—“ In accordance with the decision of the most high and gracious praefect Valerius Proculus, I think it right that Eudaemon, without taking any of his brother’s property, having once entered on the inheritance, should contribute the fourth part of the estate to his native city for the gymnasiarchy, with a deduction of the dowry previously given to the daughter. With regard to the amount, seeing that in answer to my question he made no clear statement, the strategus of the nome shall hold a more exact inquiry in the place where he lives, and if the . . . arourae appear not to come under the testamentary covenant according to the laws and

the decisions read to me, . . . these arourae shall go to the city. With regard to the furniture and young slaves, a decision has been given by Neocydes, ex-juridicus." The delegates having requested to remain in possession of the income of the arourae, the priest and recorder said: "The city shall receive the income of one year." On Eudaemon's declaring through his companions that his income had been impounded, and requesting that it should be released, the priest and recorder said: "As soon as my orders have been carried out, and the city has received its proper share, it shall be released." The delegates having made a request for delay and also concerning the property standing in the name of the wife of Apollonius, the priest and recorder said: "Neocydes has delivered judgement . . . about this. Sarapion, assistant of the praefect, Trogodyte, went out. Read by me."

2. Perhaps [πα]ρό[ν]τ[ε]α[ν]. λι may be χι, but the remains do not appear to suit 'Οξυρυγ-  
χίτης in any form.

3. Εἰ[δ]ίμοι[ο]ς, though commended by l. 8, &c., is not very satisfactory, the first three letters being too cramped.

4. [ι]ερέυς καὶ ὑπομηματογράφος: cf. P. Tebt. 286. 15, where our restoration of *ιερέυς* is now confirmed. On the rank of the *ὑπομηματογράφος* see the note *ad loc.* Cerealis is perhaps identical with the Claudius Cerealis who was strategus of the Ἡρακλείδου μερίς in A. D. 138-9 (P. Brit. Mus. 1222. 1 &c.).

5. Cf. P. Tebt. 286. 15-18, which should be restored on this analogy as follows: ἀναστ[ά]ς εἰς συμβούλιον (οἱ -ίαν?) καὶ σκεψάμ[ενος] μετὰ [τ]ῶν [π]α[ρ]ό[ν]τ[ε]ων [ὑ]πηγόρευσε ἀπόφασιν ἢ καὶ ἀνεκνώσθη κατὰ λέξιν] οὔ[τ]ως ἔχουσα. ἀναστ[ά]ς . . . μετὰ [τῶν] had already been proposed by Wilcken, *Archiv* v. p. 232. ὑπηγόρευσε κτλ. occurs in B. G. U. 592. ii. 4-5, and no doubt also in C. P. R. 18. 24-5.

7. L. Valerius Proculus was praefect in the years A. D. 145-7; cf. Cantarelli, *La Serie dei Prefetti*, pp. 49-50.

9. προσή[λθε]: cf. e. g. 76. 22 προῖέρχεσθαι τῇ τούτου κληρονομίᾳ, and 907. 5. I had read πρόσκει[σιν], but a past tense is rightly preferred by Mitteis.

11. τῇ θυγατρὶ is more likely to mean the daughter of the testator (Eudaemon's brother? cf. l. 8) than Eudaemon's own daughter.

ποσότητος: sc. τῆς οὐσίας. The subject of ἐδήλω[σ]ε[ν] might be the strategus instead of Eudaemon. ἐδηλώ[θ]η is less suitable.

14. For this intransitive use of ὑποστελλειν cf. Philo Περὶ τῶν ἐν εἶδει νόμων *ad fin.* (Mangey, ii. p. 357) πρὸς συμπλήρωσιν τῶν δέκα λογίων καὶ τῶν τούτοις ὑποστελλόντων, P. Gen. 16. 15 τὰ ὑποστέλλοντα τῇ κόμῃ. μ. τ suggests μετά, and perhaps a limit of time was here fixed, e. g. μετ' ἔτος, which would not be inconsistent with the very slight vestiges.

16. Other references to Claudius Neocydes occur in P. Fay. 203 (= Preisigke, P. Cairo 1), P. Brit. Mus. 196. 1, B. G. U. 245. ii. 1, 378. 17, 1019. 5; cf. *Archiv* iii. p. 104.

18. ἐνιαυ[τοῦ] is very uncertain.

23. The wife of Apollonius may be identical with the θυγάτηρ mentioned in l. 11.

24-5. Cf. e. g. B. G. U. 592. ii. 9-10 and Gradenwitz, *Einführung*, pp. 10-11; [ἡγεμ]ο[ικ(ός)] is a doubtful reading, but seems justified by analogy. For the spelling Τρωγοδίτης, which is correct, cf. Wilcken, *Theb. Bank.* p. 58. Aethiopic slaves are mentioned in P. Flor. 50. 62, 94.

## 1103. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SENATE.

25.5 x 16.3 cm.

A. D. 360.

A minute of a report made to the Oxyrhynchite senate by Eutrygius, formerly a logistes, concerning the payment of certain recruits. The dux, or commander-in-chief, on visiting the city had received a complaint from these recruits that they had not had their dues. Eutrygius states that his department had satisfied the dux that the complaint was groundless, and that the recruits had as a matter of fact been paid more than they were strictly entitled to.

The payment in question is apparently to be brought into connexion with the χρυσὸς τιρώνων mentioned in several Leipzig papyri of about the same period as 1103; cf. 34. verso 7, 61. 14, 62. 3, &c. In P. Leipzig 35. 8 (c. A.D. 373) an imperial ordinance is quoted limiting the sum payable to recruits to 10 solidi, and in A.D. 375 it was fixed at 6 solidi by *Cod. Theod.* vii. 13. 7. 2, where the payment is described as an allowance for clothing and expenses (*gratia vestis ac sumptuum*). At the time when the present document was drawn up no such general regulation can have been promulgated, since according to l. 7 the amount was determined by the Treasury. Mitteis has raised the question (Introd. to P. Leipzig 54) whether this burden was borne by the State or fell upon the municipalities where the recruits were raised; it is now sufficiently clear that the latter of these alternatives is to be accepted.

This text is written on the verso of 1104, which is over fifty years earlier in date. For other records of proceedings in the local senates cf. B. G. U. 925, C. P. Herm. 7, *Archiv* iv. pp. 115 sqq.

Μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλ(αοῦιον) Εὐσεβίου καὶ Ὑπατείου τῶν λαμ(προτάτων)  
 Μεχεῖρ ιζ, βουλῆς οὔσης, πρυτ(ανεύοντος) Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἀχιλλέως γυμ-  
 (νασιάρχῆσαντος) βουλ(ευτοῦ),  
 Εὐτρύγιος ἀπὸ λογιστῶν εἶπ(εν)· τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ λαμ(προ-  
 τάτου) δουκὸς Φλ(αοῦίου) Ἀρτεμίου  
 εὐτυχῶς ἐπιδημησάσης τοῖς αὐτόθι ἀνεδιδάξαμεν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὡς τῶν  
 5 νεολέκτων τῶν στρατευθέντων ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐκ παραλογισμοῦ ἀνενεγκόντων  
 ὡς μὴ πληρωθέντων τοῦ συνφώνου τοῦ πρὸς αὐτοῦς, [[οτε δη]] καὶ ὅτι  
 φθάσαντες

ἡμῖς ἐπληρώσαμεν αὐτοὺς οὐ μόνον τοῦ ὀρισθέντος ἀπὸ τοῦ ταμίου δοθῆναι  
αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ κ[αὶ] διάπισμα ἄλλο, καὶ προσέλαβεν αὐτοῦ τὸ μεγαλεῖον  
[ 35 letters ]

5. *ανενεγκοντων* Pap.

'The year after the consulship of Flavius Eusebius and Flavius Hypatius the most illustrious, Mecheir 17. At a meeting of the senate, the prytanis being Asclepiades son of Achilleus, ex-gymnasiarch and senator, Eutrygius, ex-logistes, said: His highness my lord the most illustrious dux, Flavius Artemius, having auspiciously made a visit here, we advised his excellency that the new levies raised by us for military service had falsely represented themselves as not having received the sum agreed upon with them, and that we had previously paid them not only the amount fixed upon by the treasury but a further consideration; and his highness accepted [this statement].'

3. Fl. Eutrygius is mentioned in 66. 5, where also he is described as ἀπὸ λογιστῶν. On the titular use of *ex* and ἀπό see Mommsen, *Ephem. Epigr.* v. pp. 128-9, and cf. e. g. 133. 4 ἀπὸ ὑπάτων, 893. 2 ἀπὸ μειζόνων, P. Brit. Mus. 233. 5 ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων, P. Flor. 71 *passim*.

5. *νεολέκτων*: cf. P. Leipzig 35. 8.

8. *διάπισμα*: cf. P. Tebt. 311. 27-9 and note.

9. An object for *προσέλαβεν*, e. g. τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἡμῶν, is probably to be supplied in the lacuna.

#### 1104. APPLICATION FOR PAYMENT.

25.5 × 16.3 cm.

A. D. 306.

A letter from Aurelius Hieracion, prytanis, to the logistes, requesting payment of a sum amounting to over fifty talents of silver in order to meet expenditure on the public baths. Repairs of the baths of Oxyrhynchus figured conspicuously in the municipal budget at this period; cf. 53 and 896, which are dated ten years later than 1104. It is noteworthy that the present outlay is stated to have been authorized by the praefect Clodius Culcianus,—whose period of office is brought down a year later by this allusion. At the end is an endorsement showing that the money was duly paid over and an acknowledgement given for it by Hieracion. Cf. Wessely, *Stud. Pal.* v. 66 sqq. The document is a good deal rubbed, and is difficult in places to decipher; on the verso is 1103.

[ Ἐπὶ ὑπάτ]ων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Ἀυτοκρατό[ρ]ων [   
 Κω]ν[σ]ταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν τὸ 5.   
 Ἀύρη[λ]ίῳ Σεύθι τῷ καὶ Ὡρίωνι λογιστῇ [Ὁ]ξ[υ]ρυγγ[ίτου]

- Αὐρήλιος Ἰερακίων ὁ καὶ Νόνινος γυμνασιαρχήσας) πρυτανεύσας)  
 βουλ(ευτῆς) [ἔναρχ(ος)  
 5 πρύτανεις τῆς λαμπ(ρᾶς) καὶ λαμπ(ροτάτης) Ὁξυρυγχι(τῶν) πόλεως  
 τῷ φιλάτῳ [χαί(ρειν).  
 αἰτοῦμ[α]ι καὶ νῦν ἐπιστάλ[η]ναι ἐξοδιασ[θῆναί μοι]ι [ἐκ τῶν  
 πολιτικῶν ἀπὸ τῶν διατυπωθέντων ἐξῆ]. . . . .  
 [. . . . .] . . . . . ὡς προχωρῖν εἰς τὰ ἀναλώματα ἀκο[ούθως  
 οἷς πρώην ἀναδέδωκά σοι γράμμασιν τοῦ κυρίου μ[ου τοῦ  
 10 [δι]ασημ[ο]τάτου ἡγεμόνος Κλωδίου Κουρκιανοῦ πε[. . . . .  
 [. . . . .] . . . . . ὡς ἄλλα ἀργυρίου τάλαντα πεντήκοντα [καὶ  
 δη[ν]άρια τετρακόσια πεντήκοντα, / (τάλαντα) ν (δηνάρια) νι, δ[έον  
 ἡγούμενος ἐπισταλῆναι τὸν τῶν πολιτικῶν [ἐπί-  
 τροπον ὅπως τὸν ἐξοδιασμόν μοι τούτων ποι[ήση  
 15 [πρ]ὸς τὸ μηδὲν ἐνπόδιον γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀνήκο[υσι  
 τῷ δημοσίῳ βαλανίῳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀνηκόντων  
 τ[ῆ] αὐτῆ πρυτανεία. (2nd hand) ἐρρωσθαί σε εὖχομαι, φίλτατέ μ[ο]ν.  
 3rd hand (ἔτους) ι[δ] καὶ β (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου (καὶ)  
 Μαξιμιανοῦ  
 Σεβαστῶν καὶ Σεουήρου (καὶ) Μαξιμίνου ἐπιφανεστάτων  
 20 Καισάρων Παῦνι δ.  
 4th hand . . . Ἀπολλωνί[ο]ν . . . . . ἰου τ . . . ( ) ἐξωδ(ίασα) τῷ ὑπ . . . ( )  
 πρυτάνει εἰς λόγο[ν τῶ]ν  
 . . . [ . . . . . ν ] τῶν δίδοσθαι τῇ πρυτανείᾳ μεθ' ἃ ἔσχεν ἀργ(υρίου)  
 (τάλαντα) . . .  
 . . . . . [ . . . ] . . . ἀργ(υρίου) τάλ(αντα) πεντήκοντα (καὶ) (δηνάρια)  
 τετρακόσια πεντήκοντα,  
 [ / ] (τάλαντα) ν (δηνάρια) [νν,] (καὶ ?) . . . β . . . . τὰς συνηθ(εις)  
 ἀποχ(ὰς) (καὶ) ἀναδ(έδωκα) τῇ τάξι.  
 25 (ἔτους) ιδ (καὶ ?) [β] Π[α]ῦνι δ.

16. 1. τοῖς ἄλλοις.

‘The sixth consulship of our lords the Emperors Constantius and Maximianus. To his dearest Aurelius Seuthis, also called Horion, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Hieracion also called Noninus, ex-gymnasiarch, ex-prytanis, senator, prytanis in office of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, greeting. I request that



orders may now be given to pay me out of the city's funds from the sums publicly apportioned . . . to be used for the expenses in accordance with the letters of his highness my lord the praefect Clodius Culcianus which I lately handed to you . . . a further sum of fifty talents and four hundred and fifty denarii of silver, total 50 tal. 450 den. I think it right that the curator of the civic chest should be sent to make this payment to me, so that there may be no obstruction to the interests of the public baths or to the other interests of my prytany. I pray for your health, dearest friend.' Date by the regnal years of the emperors, and declaration of the curator (?) that he had paid over the money and obtained a receipt.

3. For Aurelius Seuthis cf. 895. 3.

6. The last three letters of *αιτουμ[α]* are rather cramped, but the reading, which was suggested by Wilcken, is doubtless correct; cf. e. g. 55. 6-7.

7. *διατυπωθέντων*: cf. P. Leipzig 63. 6 *διατυπώσεως γενομένης παρὰ τοῦ προηγησαμένου*, Gelzer, *Byz. Verwalt. Aeg.* p. 40.

8. *ως* is perhaps for *ῶστε*, or of course it may be a genitive termination governed by *ἐξ*, or an adverb.

10. A new date is here supplied for the praefecture of Clodius Culcianus, who according to this passage was still in office on May 29, A. D. 306. He is known to have been praefect in Feb. A. D. 303 from 71; cf. 895. 8 (A. D. 305), P. Amh. 83. 1 (about A. D. 303, *Archiv* v. p. 268).

13. In 55. 14 the title *ταμίας τῶν πολιτικῶν χρημάτων* is used instead of *ἐπίτροπος*; cf. B. G. U. 934. 3, C. P. Herm. 94. 1, and note on l. 21.

21. Apollonius was presumably the name of the *ἐπίτροπος* or of his father. The remains do not suggest *παρά* before *Ἀπολλωνί[ο]υ*. τ . . ( ) is possibly *ταμ(ίας)*.

22. Some such word as *ὀφειλόντων* or *ἐπισταλέντων* preceded *δίδοσθαι*.

23. Perhaps *ἄλλα ἀργ(υρίου)* as in l. 11, but the vestiges are very ambiguous.

24. The apparent *β* suggests *ἀπέλαβον*, but I cannot reconcile this with the remains.

### 1105. NOTICE TO THE AGORANOMUS.

14.2 × 10 cm.

A. D. 81-96.

A description of this papyrus was printed in Part II, 339 (= P. Brit. Mus. 805), but since some scepticism has been expressed concerning the accuracy of the interpretation there given (Manigk, *Gläubigerbefriedigung durch Nutzung*, p. 23; cf. *Z. Sav.-St.* xxx. p. 283), and I have ascertained, as I think, the nature of the yearly payment, previously described as obscure (cf. note on l. 21), it is desirable to publish the complete text. The formula of this document, which is common to a number of Oxyrhynchus papyri of the end of the first century, was discussed in the introd. to 241; cf. *Archiv* i. p. 194, Wenger, *Stellvertretung*, p. 80. There is, however, still some doubt whether in such authorizations to the agoranomi the verb *ἀναγράφειν* means 'to register' or 'to draw up' a contract.

It was originally interpreted by us in the former sense (cf. Preisigke, *Girowesen*, pp. 307-8, 423, 446<sup>1</sup>), but the latter, which was advanced by Koschaker in *Z. Sav.-St.* xxxviii, p. 289 is, as I understand, now preferred by Mitteis.

Φανίας ὁ συνεστάμενος ὑπὸ Φανίου Σαρα-  
 πίωνος τῷ ἀγορανόμῳ χαίρειν. ἀνάγρα-  
 ψον συγγραφὴν ὑποθήκης Θεώνιος τοῦ  
 Θεώνιος τοῦ Θεώνιος τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων  
 5 πόλεως {υποθηκης} τῶν ὑπαρχόντων  
 τῇ ὑποθεμένῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ὀξυρύγχων  
 πόλει Σαραπίου ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Νόδου Δρόμου  
 μερῶν τριῶν ἀπὸ μερῶν πέντε οἰκίας  
 τριστέκου ἐφ' ἣν ἔστιν κατάγειον καὶ τῶν  
 10 προσουσῶν αὐλῶν καὶ φρέατ{ρ}ος λιθίνου  
 καὶ ἐτέρων χρηστηρίων καὶ τῶν εἰς  
 ταῦτα εἰσόδων καὶ ἐξόδων καὶ τῶν  
 σ[υ]γκυρόντων κοινῶν καὶ (ἀ)διερέτων,  
 ὧν ὑπέθετο αὐτῷ Τβῆκισ Ἰέρακος  
 15 τοῦ Θεώνι[ο]ς τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως  
 πρὸς ἀργυρίου κεφαλαίου δραχμὰς  
 τετρακ[ο]σίας ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔτη τρία  
 ἐπ' ἐνοικήσι ἀντὶ τῶν τόκων τῶν  
 αὐτῶν τριῶν μερῶν τῆς οἰκίας  
 20 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, [ἐ]φ' ᾧ κατ' ἔτος  
 τὴν ἀναγε[ώ]σ[ε]ως τάξεταί χα(λκοῦ) (ταλάντων) λ.  
 ἔρρω(σο). ἔτ[ους . . . .] Αὐτοκ[ρά]τορος Καίσαρος  
 Δομιτιαν[οῦ] Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ . . . . .  
 . . . . .

7. 1. Νύτου. 9. 1. τριστέγου ἐφ' . . . κατάγειον. 10. ου of λιθίνου corr. from ωγ.

Phanias, nominee of Phanias son of Sarapion, to the agoranomus, greeting. Register (?) a contract of mortgage for Thoönis son of Thoönis son of Thoönis, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, of the property of the mortgager situated at the Serapeum at Oxyrhynchus

<sup>1</sup> The occurrence of *καταγράφειν* in these *ἐπιστάλματα* is more frequent than Preisigke supposes; that verb seems to have been regularly used where sales were concerned. On his view would not *ἀνάγραφον καταγραφὴν* rather than *κατάγραφον* be expected?

in the quarter of the South Square, namely, three-fifths of a three-storeyed house, below which is a cellar, and the courts belonging thereto, and a stone well and other fixtures and the entrances and exits to them and appurtenances, being joint and indivisible, which Tbekis daughter of Hierax son of Thoönis, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, has mortgaged to him for a capital sum of 400 drachmae of silver for a period of three years, with the right of inhabiting the said three parts of the house and the rest of the property in lieu of interest, on condition that he shall pay annually the charge for the renewal of the mortgage, being of the value of 30 talents of copper. Good-bye. The . . . year of the Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus . . .

18. Other examples of occupation of house property instead of interest are P. Brit. Mus. 1108 and B. G. U. 1115, which were discussed at length by Manigk, *Glaubigerbefriedigung*, pp. 21 sqq. In those two documents, however, there is no technical mortgage of the property, as there indubitably is, notwithstanding Manigk's objections, in 1105. For a later instance (A. D. 608) see the papyrus published by Wessely in *Wiener Stud.* vii. pp. 130-1 *πρὸς δὲ ἀσφάλειαν . . . τοῦ αἰ[τ]οῦ χρ[έ]ους ὑπεθέμην σοι . . . μέρος τρίτον . . . οἰκίας . . . πρὸς τῷ σε ἔχειν τὴν τούτου χρήσιν τε καὶ οἴκησιν ἀντὶ τῆς παραμυθείας.*

21. ἀνανέ[ω]σις: cf. 274. 21-2 τέτακται τέ[λος] ἀνανέ[ω]σις τῆς προκειμένης ὑποθήκης, P. Flor. 1. 6, &c.; Naber, *Archiv* i. p. 314, had already suggested that this was an annual impost. ἀνανέ is the most probable reading of the first five letters, and the ω of the termination is also fairly clear; I am, therefore, confident that the payment to be made by Thoönis was connected with the ἀνανέωσις. More doubt attaches to the identification of the figure at the end of the line. In the original description of this papyrus (τάλαντα) δ was adopted as the object of τάξεται; but that sum is larger than would be expected in view of the fact that the tax on mortgages is known from 243 to have been only 2 per cent. At the normal ratio between silver and Ptolemaic copper of 1 : 450 (242. introd.), 4 talents of copper are 13⅓ per cent. of the capital sum of 400 drachmae. Quite possibly the actual tax was not the only expense involved in the process of ἀνανέωσις; but it can hardly be supposed that extra charges could raise the percentage so high as 13⅓. Mr. Bell, who has kindly looked at the passage, agrees with me that α, which would be 3⅓ per cent., instead of δ is palaeographically unsatisfactory, and hence I prefer to read the figure as λ and to regard this, not as the amount of the τέλος, but as the amount on which the τέλος was paid. At a ratio of 1 : 450, 400 drachmae of silver and 30 talents of copper are equivalent (cf. 331, where these identical sums again stand side by side); and, as is clear from the numerous examples (242-3, 327 sqq.), it was the rule in documents of this class for the capital amount to be expressed in terms of both copper and silver. τὴν is accordingly not to be altered to τῆς, but some word like δαπάνην must be understood. [For the literature on ἀνανέωσις, which must now be reconsidered, see B. Schwarz, *Hypothek*, p. 118.]

## 1106. LETTER TO PAULUS.

19.5 × 31.2 cm.

Sixth century.

The writer of this letter, apparently a military officer of rank, instructs his correspondent, probably a subordinate, to go to a certain village which had been raided by some neighbours, and protect it from further molestation. Armed

intervention is threatened, in case of a repetition of the offence. Both the sender and the scribe add their 'visé' (*legi*) at the foot of the document.

[ ] Κόμμω[ν] Ταυρ( ) (2nd hand)  
 Πα[ύ]λω Σιλλαγρ( ) ἀδελφ(ῶ) Ναρρωούτος, Παχὼν κγ.  
 + οἱ ἀπὸ Π[. . . . .] ἐλθόντες ἐδίδαξαν πάλιν τι[ν]ὰς  
 ἀγροεῖτονας ἐπελθεῖν  
 αὐτοῖς κ[αὶ] . . . . . καὶ] ἄλλα διαφέροντα τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρημέ-  
 νης κώμης  
 φ[. . .] . ν[. . . . .] τολμήσαι. γενοῦ κατὰ τὴν εἰρημένην κώμην  
 καὶ παραφύλαξον  
 5 αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀνεπηρέαστον, καὶ εἴ τινες ἐπ[ι]χ[ε]ιρήσουσιν παράνομόν τι μετ'  
 ἐκείνων πράξαι  
 ἢ ὅπως ἐνθυμηθῆναι, παρεγγύησον τοῖς πρωτεύουσιν αὐτῶν ἀποσχέσθαι  
 τοῦ τοιοῦτου τολμήματος. εἰ γὰρ ἐπιμείνιεν, πλήθος ἐπιστήσεται  
 στρατιωτικὸν  
 καὶ τούτους [ἀν]α[ρ]παστοὺς ποιοῦν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ παραστήσει πρὸς  
 τιμωρίαν  
 ὦν ἂν παρανομήσαι τολμήσειεν. (3rd hand) + *legi*. +  
 10 1st hand *legi scribus*.

On the verso

2nd hand + Κόμμων Ταυρ( ) Παύλω Σιλλαγρ( ) ἀδελφ(ῶ) Ναρρω[ύ]τος [ ]  
 7. 1. ἐπιμένειεν ἢ ἐπιμείναιεν. 9. ν of ων corrected from σ. 1. τολμήσειαν (ὀρ -αιεν)  
 (= τολμήσωσιν). 10. 1. *scribas*.

'Kommon son of Taur . . . to Paulus son of (?) Sillagr . . . brother of Narroous, Pachon 23. The people of P . . . have come and informed me that certain neighbours have again attacked them and ventured to [carry off . . .] and other objects belonging to the people of the said village. Go to the said village and preserve their inviolability, and if any persons attempt to do any lawless action to them or even to contemplate it, instruct their leaders to abstain from any such outrage. For if they persist, a troop of soldiers will come on them and seize and hand them over to a tribunal to be punished for the lawlessness upon which they may venture. (Subscribed) Read by me. Read by me, the scribe.' Address on the verso.

2-4. A similar local feud is referred to in B. G. U. 1035 (Wilcken).

9. For the endorsement *legi* at this period cf. e.g. P. Cairo Cat. 67030. 6. In 67031. 17 I would suggest that the subscription is + *proronatur* for *proronatur*; cf. l. 16, where Wilcken's *προρεθῆναι* (*Archiv* v. p. 445) is no doubt right.

## 1107. LETTER OF EUDAEMON.

6.4 × 31.4 cm.

Fifth or sixth century.

An order to an assistant from an official, whose status is not mentioned, not to permit the removal of the produce of a cultivator until he had paid the rent due to the landowner, who is described as a nurse. The handwriting suggests the fifth century rather than the sixth.

+ Ἐπειδὴ ἡ τροφὸς τοῦ κυρίου Σωφρονίου χρεωστεῖται φόρους παρὰ  
 Ψθειοῦτος τοῦ Φύτοτ[ο]ς  
 τοῦ καὶ γεωργήσαντος αὐτῆς τὴν γῆν, μὴ συγχωρήσατε μηδενὶ ἀνθρώπου  
 ἄψασθαι τοῦ  
 ὑπολοίπου τῆς ἀλωνίας αὐτοῦ μήτε χόρτον ἄχρις ὅταν πληρωθῇ τοὺς  
 φόρους ἐαυτῆς. πρὸς  
 ὑμᾶς γὰρ ἔχω ταῦτα τὰ γραφέντα γενέσθαι, καὶ ἐὰν μάθω ὅτι τίς ποτε  
 ἔλαβεν αὐτοῦ  
 5 τί ποτε, ὑμᾶς οἴκοθεν ἀπαιτῶ πάντα τὰ χρεωστούμενα αὐτῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ.

On the verso

+ ἐπίδο(ς) Ἰωάννη βοηθῶ

π(αρά) Εὐδαίμονος.

3. ὑπολοίπου Pap. 1. χόρτου.

4. ὑμας Pap.; so in l. 5.

5. υ of ὑμας corr.

'Since the nurse of the lord Sophronius is owed rent by Psθειous son of Phutos who cultivated her land, allow no one to touch what is left at his threshing-floor or the green crops until she has received her rent in full. I have to direct this letter to you, and if I learn that any one has taken any thing of his, I shall demand from you personally all that is owed her by him. (Addressed) Deliver to John, assistant, from Eudaemon.'

## 1108. LIST OF OFFICIALS.

34.1 × 12.2 cm.

Late sixth or seventh century.

A short list of persons bearing various minor titles. The names are throughout in the accusative, but the purpose of the list is not stated.

+

+ Εὐτυχῶς.

+ τὸν μεγαλοπρεπέστατον κύριον Θεόδωρον  
τὸν πρίγκιπα,  
τὸν μεγαλοπρεπέστατον Γεώργιον σκρ(είβαν),  
5 τὸν περιβλ(επτον) Κόλλουθον,  
τὸν λογιώτα(τον) Γρηγόριον ἀρχίατρ(ον),  
τὸν μεγαλοπρεπέστατον ἀργυρο(πράτην ?),  
[[τὸν κύριον Γεώργιο[ν] τὸν χαρτ(ουλάριον)]]  
[[τῆ(ς) κυρ(ίας) Σοφίας]]  
10 τὸν κύριον Οὐράνιν τὸν τοῦ αὐτοῦ, [  
τὸν ἀβάκτην Ἀλέξα(νδρον),  
τὸν κύριον Θεόδωρον τὸν ἀπὸ κρ( ), [  
τὸν ἐξέκπτορα τοῦ ἐκδίκ(ου) Ἀμ( ).

6. *apX* Pap.13. *p* of ἐξέκπτορα corr.

3. πρίγκιπα: cf. e.g. P. Brit. Mus. 409. 12, P. Flor. 36. 19, B. G. U. 931. 1  
πριγκιπάριος, Wessely, *Altersindiz. im Philogelos*, p. 23 πρίγκιπι ἡγεμόνος.

6. ἀρχίατρ(ον): cf. e.g. 126. 23.

7. For ἀργυρο(πράτην) cf. e.g. 127. 5, 144. 13.

10. There is probably no loss at the end of the line.

11. ἀβάκτης = *ab actis*; cf. P. Flor. 71. 509, where an ἀβάκτης immediately follows  
a πριγκιπ(άριος).

13. ἐξέκπτορα: cf. 43. recto ii. 26, 942. 6, 1139. 2, P. Hamburg 23. 4.

## (b) DECLARATIONS TO OFFICIALS.

### 1109. SELECTION OF BOYS (ἐπίκρισις).

10.3 × 10.9 cm.

A.D. 160-1.

An unaddressed application requesting that a boy who had arrived at the age of thirteen might be placed on the list of persons paying a reduced poll-tax of 12 drachmae. The formula is the same as that of 258; cf. also 478 and 1028. The 'past 23rd year' mentioned in ll. 9-10 and 13 probably refers to the reign of

Antoninus. This document was made up with others into a roll, and small fragments of the adjoining sheets adhere to each side of it.

- [Π]αρά Ἐρμίππου τοῦ καὶ Ἀρποκρατίωνος  
 Ὠρίωνος πρεσβυτέρου τοῦ Ἐρμίππου μη-  
 [τ]ρ[ός] Θαῖδος Πεκύσιος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλε.  
 [ω]ς δ[ι]ὰ Διονυσίου Διδύμου φίλου. κατὰ  
 5 [τ]ὰ κελευσθέντα περὶ ἐπικρίσεως τῶν  
 προσβ(εβηκότων) εἰς (τρισκαίδεκαετείς) εἰ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων γονέων μη-  
 τροπολειτ(ῶν) (δωδεκαδράχμων) εἰσίν, ἐτάγη ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) Τεμ[γε-  
 γού]θ(εως) ὁ υἱός μου Πτολεμαῖος μητ(ρός)  
 . δ[ι] . . . [ . . ]ωνος προσβ(εβηκῶς) εἰς (τρισκαίδεκαετείς) τῷ διελθ[ό]ν-  
 10 [τί] κγ (ἔτει), ὅθεν παραγενόμενος πρὸς τὴν τού-  
 του ἐπικρίσιν δηλῶ αὐτὸν εἶναι (δωδεκάδραχμον)  
 [καὶ] ἐμὲ ὁμοίως [εἶναι] (δωδεκάδραχμον) ἀναγρα(φόμενον) διὰ λα[ογρ]α(φίας)  
 τοῦ διελθόντος κγ (ἔτους) ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) Ἄνω Παρ[ε]μ[β]ολῆς  
 [κα]ὶ τ[ὸ]ν τῆς μητ(ρός) τοῦ υἱοῦ μου πατέρα Α . . -  
 15 [ . . ] Ἀρποκρατίωνος τοῦ Ἀρποκρατίωνος  
 μητ(ρός) Ἡρακλείας δ[ι]μοίως εἶναι (δωδεκάδραχμον) ε . [ . . . ]

Vestiges of the beginnings of 3 more lines.

3. θαῖδος Pap.      8. υἱός Pap. ; so in l. 14.

'From Hermippus also called Harpocraton, son of Horion elder son of Hermippus, his mother being Thaïs daughter of Pekusis, of Oxyrhynchus, through his friend Dionysius son of Didymus. In accordance with the orders concerning the selection of boys who have reached the age of 13 years if their parents on both sides are inhabitants of the metropolis rated at 12 drachmae, my son Ptolemaeus by . . . daughter of A . . on was listed in the quarter of Teumenouthis as having reached the age of 13 in the past 23rd year; wherefore coming forward for his selection I declare that he is a person rated at 12 drachmae and that I am similarly rated at 12 drachmae as registered in a poll-tax list of the past 23rd year at the Upper Camp quarter, and that the father of the mother of my son, A . . on son of Harpocraton son of Harpocraton, his mother being Heracleia, was similarly rated at 12 drachmae . . .'

7. Cf. 258. 9-12, where similarly read εἰσ[ί]ν, ἐτάγη ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμφόδου ὁ υἱός μου . . . Διδύμου προσβ(εβηκῶς), in accordance with Wilcken's correction, made on the analogy of an unpublished Leipzig papyrus, in *Archiv* v. p. 237. ἐτάγη had been proposed by Wessely in *Sitzungsab. K. Akad. Wissen. Wien*, cxlii. 9, p. 36, but the remainder of his restoration is inadmissible. For the term ἐτάγη cf. the phrase ταγήναι ἐν τῇ τῶν τετελευτηκότων τάξει (e. g. 79. 11), 257. 23 εἰν ἀνεπικρίτοις τετάχθαι, &c.

12. διὰ λα[ογρ]α(φίας): cf. 478. 22-3 δι' ὁμολόγου λαογραφίας.

## 1110. CENSUS-RETURN.

15.7 × 11.8 cm.

A.D. 188.

This census-return, which is preserved on the recto of 1100, though mutilated, is of interest as being concerned, like P. Reinach 49 of the year A. D. 215-16, with Antinoöpolis (cf. 970). It resembles the Reinach return in being addressed to a board of three persons from one φυλή, who had been chosen (by the senate) to superintend the census in one of the districts of the city. The return is made by a citizen of Antinoöpolis, apparently a young man, whose household consisted chiefly of slaves. Incidentally it adds to the list of Antinoite demes (cf. the note on l. 1), and provides new evidence for the date of the praefecture of Aurelius Papirius Dionysius (ll. 6-7). Both the beginnings and ends of the lines are lost; the extent of the lacunae can be measured by ll. 6-8, but it is uncertain how the lines should be divided, and the arrangement adopted is only hypothetical. Two diagonal dashes have been drawn across the top left-hand corner.

[ 20 letters ]ρον Παρρασείῳ καὶ Ἰσιδώρῳ Διδύμῳ  
 Ἐρ[μαιεῖ . . . . .  
 [ 20 letters ] . Ἐρμείνου Ἀνουβιάδος Ἐρμαιεῖ τοῖς  
 τρι[σὶ φυλῆς . . . . .  
 [. . . . . αἰρεθεῖσι] πρὸς τῇ κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφῇ το(ῦ) β  
 [γράμματος.  
 [παρὰ Διοσκουρίδου . . .]ου τοῦ Διοσκουρίδου Ἀδ[ρ]ιανείου τοῦ καὶ  
 Ὀλ[υμπίου . . . . .  
 2nd hand 5 [ 20 letters ]α νεικήσαντος τῷ κδ (ἔτει) Α[ῦρη]λίου  
 Κομμόδου Ἀντω[νίου Καίσαρος  
 [τοῦ κυρίου . . . . . π]άνοπλον. ἀπογρ[ά]φομαι [[τᾶ]] κα[τὰ τὰ] ἀ  
 κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ Αῦρηλίου Παπιρίου  
 [Διονυσίου τοῦ κρατίσ]του ἡγεμόνος εἰς τὴν [πρὸς τὸ ἐ]νεστὸς κη  
 (ἔτος) Αῦρηλίου Κ[ομμόδου Ἀντω-  
 νίου Καίσαρος το]ῦ κυρίου κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφ[ῆ]ν . . . . .] . s εἰς  
 τὴν [ὑπά]ρχ[ουσας] . . . . .  
 [. . . . .]ος Σαβεινίῳ τῷ καὶ Ἀρμονιεῖ οἰκία[ν . . . . .]ν  
 τα . [ . . . ἐν τῷ β γράμματι



- 10 [πλινθείω.] βορείω ἐν ἧ οἰκῶ, κα εἰμι πρὸς τὸ ἐνεστ[ό]ς ἔτος  
 (ἐτῶν) κ[ 16 letters  
 [. . . . .]. Ζώϊλου Ζώϊλου γυμνασιάρχῆσαντος τῆς Ὁξυ-  
 ρύ[γχαν πόλεως . . . . .  
 [. . . δουρικὰ] σῶματα ἐμοῦ τοῦ Διοσκουρίδου κατηντηκότα  
 μῖοι . . . . .  
 [. . . . .]. ος [(ἐτῶν) ., Νά]ρκισσος ἀγοραστὸς (ἐτῶν) κη,  
 Ὡρος ὁμοίως [ 15 letters  
 [ 19 letters ? Πα]μῶνθις (ἐτῶν) κβ, Παυλήμις ὁ καὶ  
 Παυλῆ[νος 12 letters  
 15 [ 20 letters (ἐτῶν)] . ς, Πλουτίων (ἐτῶν) κβ, Δίδυμος  
 νυνὶ ε[ 15 letters  
 [ 17 letters οἰκογ]ενῆς ἐκ δούλης Σαραπιάδος (ἐτῶν) δ [ 15 letters  
 [ 23 letters ] . τος (ἐτῶν) ιθ, Σαραπιὰς ὁμοίως  
 δούλ[η 14 letters  
 [ 24 letters ]εἰναροῦς ἡ καὶ Πείνα (ἐτῶν) ιβ,  
 Ἰδιοκ . [ 14 letters  
 [ 30 letters ]ται (ἐτῶν?) κδ, ταῦ[τ]α  
 πρῶτ[ε]ρο[ν 14 letters  
 20 [. . . . . καὶ ὀμνύω τὴν Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου Ἀν]τωνίνου  
 Κα[ί]σαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
 [τύχην 32 letters καὶ] ἐξ ὑειοῦς  
 καὶ ἐπ' [ἀληθείας ἐπι-  
 [δεδωκέναι τὴν προγεγραμμένην ἀπογραφὴν] καὶ μηδὲν δι[ε]ψεύσθαι.

2. ἔρμειου corr. from ἔρμιου. First ε of ἔρμαιε over an erasure? 6. τ]α before  
 κελουσθεντα added above the line. 11. ζῶϊλου Pap. 18. ἴδιοκ. Pap. 21. ε of υειοῦς  
 corr. from ἱ.

1. Παρράσειος and Ἐρμαιεύς (cf. l. 2) are both new deme names. A new deme of the Hadrianian tribe also occurs in l. 4.

2-3. Cf. P. Reinach 49. 2, as corrected on p. 240, τοῖς τ[ρ]ισὶ φυλῆς Ματιδίας αἰρεθείσι πρὸς τῇ κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφῇ τ[ο]ῦ βῆτα γράμματος. Perhaps the φυλὴ Ματιδία was especially associated with the β γράμμα and should be restored in the present case also; but φυλῆς Ματιδίας αἰρεθείσι would hardly fill the lacuna. It is not clear in the original that an abbreviation of τοῦ was intended, the ο not being raised appreciably above the τ.

4. Ὀλ[υμπίου: this very appropriate supplement was suggested by Wilcken; cf. *Archiv* iv. p. 556. Clearly neither of the two known Hadrianian demes, Καπιτωλιεύς (B. G. U. 301. 2) and Σωσικόσμιος (B. G. U. 709. 24), suits the remains, but τ[ is possible in place of Ὀλ[.

5. ]α is the termination of the name of some athletic festival, perhaps τὰ μεγάλα Ἄντι-νοεῖ]α, for which cf. B. Brit. Mus. 1164. (i) 14-16.

6. Either π]άνοπλον or ] ἔνοπλον may be read; some such word as δρόμον probably preceded.

For M. Aurelius Papirius Dionysius cf. Cantarelli, *La Serie dei Prefetti*, p. 61. The papyrus provides a welcome confirmation of the inference that he was praefect in A. D. 188.

7. πρὸς τὸ ἐ]νεστὸς κη (ἔτος): Fayûm census-returns were not usually sent in until the year after the census-year. From other districts, however, there are several examples, besides the present, dated in the actual year of the census; cf. P. Reinach 49, P. Brit. Mus. 915, P. Hamburg 7, Wessely, *Stud. Pal.* ii. pp. 27-8, 31. The editors of P. Brit. Mus. 915 were wrong in suspecting an error on the part of the scribe, not noticing that the date in l. 41 is confirmed by ll. 20-21. For πρὸς τό cf. P. Reinach 49. 7.

9-10. Cf. P. Reinach 49. 11 ἐν τῷ βῆ[τα] γρ[άμ]ματι πλωθείῳ ἔκτῳ νοτ[εῖ]ῳ (νο[υ]. .]ω Reinach, νοτ[εῖ]ον Preisigke), P. Strassb. 34. 9, where similarly νοτείῳ, not νοτείον, is probably to be read; for the πλωθία at Antinoöpolis see also P. Brit. Mus. 1164. (c) 12-13. The deme-name Ἄρμονιεύς has occurred in P. Hamburg 15. 3, 16. 12, P. Brit. Mus. 1164. (i) 23, &c.

10-11. καὶ τὴν γυναικᾶ μου . . . is probably to be supplied in the lacuna.

18. Ἰδιοκ . [ is apparently another name; ιδιώτης (e. g. B. G. U. 123. 13, 137. 10, 15) is improbable.

21-2. Cf. 480. 9-11. For the omission of γ in ἰ(ε)ιοῦς cf. e. g. P. Par. 42. 2 ὑιαινομεν.

### 1111. CENSUS-RETURNS.

10.2 × 13.4 cm.

A. D. 203.

Two returns for the census of A. D. 201-2, relating to the Oxyrhynchite village of Mermertha. They were stuck together to form a roll, but the first line of Col. i, owing no doubt to the relative shortness of that particular sheet, corresponds with the eighth of Col. ii; in the left margin also there are some slight remains of the document (no doubt a similar declaration) affixed on that side. Col. i, of which the commencement is preserved, is unaddressed, like 479.

#### Col. i.

Παρὰ Διδύμης Κεφάλωνος μη[τρ]ος  
 Διδύμης μετὰ κυρίου Ἡλιοδ(άρου) Διον(υσίου)  
 ἀπ' Ὀξύρυγχ(ων) πόλ(εως). κατὰ τὰ κελ(ευσθέντα) ὑπὸ Μαι-  
 κίου Λαίτου τοῦ λαμπ(ροτάτου) ἡγεμόνος ἀπογρά(φομαι)

5 πρὸς τὴν τοῦ διελ(θόντος) ι (ἔτους) κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογρα(φὴν)  
 τὴν ὑπάρχουσάν μοι ἐν τοῖς ἀνὰ μέ-  
 στον ἐπ' ἀπηλ(ιώτου) μέρεσι κώμης Μερμέρθ(ων)  
 σὺν τοῖς ὁμογνη(σίοις) μου ἀδελ(φοῖς) Ἀσκλάτι καὶ  
 Κεφάλωνι (πρότερον) τῆς μητρ(ὸς) ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸ  
 10 (ἡμισυ) καὶ (πρότερον) τοῦ πατρ(ὸς) ἡμ[ῶν] τρι[ῦ] αὐτ(οῦ)  
 Κεφάλωνος τὸ λοιπὸν (ἡμισυ) . . . . .  
 [. .] ὁμοί(ως) . [

6. ὑπαρχουσαν Pap. ε of εν corr. from γ.

Col. ii.

ἀπὸ κώμης]

Μερμ[έρθ(ων)]. κατὰ τὰ κελ(ευσθέντα) ὑπὸ Μαικίου  
 Λαίτου τοῦ λαμ[προτάτου] ἡγεμόνος  
 ἀπογρά(φομαι) πρὸς τῆ[ν] τοῦ ι (ἔτους) κατ' οἰκ(ίαν)  
 5 ἀπογρα(φὴν) τὸ ὑπάρ[χον] μοι ἐν τῇ κώ(μῃ)  
 (πρότερον) τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ (πρότερον?) [τοῦ ἐκείνου πα-  
 τρὸς Ἀδμήτου ἡ[μισυ] μέρος  
 τόπ(ου) περιετιχισμ(ένου) ἐφ' [οὔ] ἀπογρα(φόμεθα).  
 Ἄδμητος Ἡρακλή[ου] (ἐτῶν) . .  
 10 μητρ(ὸς) Ταποντῶτ[ος] . . . . .  
 ὃν δηλ(ῶ) τετελ(ευτηκέναι) ἔτι ἀ[πὸ] . . . . .  
 Ἡρακλῆς υἱὸς μητρὸς [. . . . . ,  
 ὃν δηλ(ῶ) τετελ(ευτηκέναι) ἔτι πάλα[ι] . . . . .  
 Ἄδμητος υἱὸς μητρ(ὸς) Τ[. . . . .  
 15 ἄτ(εχνος) ἄση(μος) [(ἐτῶν) . .  
 Μιεύς ἀδελφ[ὸς]  
 [  
 . [

i. 'From Didyme daughter of Cephalon and Didyme, with her guardian Heliodorus son of Dionysius, of the city of Oxyrhynchus. In accordance with the orders of his excellency the praefect Maecius Laetus I register for the house to house registration of the past 10th year the house belonging to me in the mid-eastern parts of the village of Mermertha together with my full brothers Asclas and Cephalon, formerly the property of our mother in respect of one half and of our father the said Cephalon in respect of the remaining half . . .'

i. 3-5. It is clear from this passage that Q. Maecius Laetus remained in office down to the beginning of September A.D. 202, and, since census-returns were commonly sent in when the year was well advanced, it is probable that his tenure extended into A.D. 203. Cantarelli is accordingly mistaken (*La Serie dei Prefetti*, p. 65) in dating the praefecture of Subatianus Aquila from the year 201-2 on the strength of B. G. U. 484, in which the census of A.D. 201-2 is referred to but which cannot itself have been written in that year, as 1111 proves. The earliest date for the commencement of the tenure of Subatianus Aquila is A.D. 202-3 (Euseb. vi. 3. 3; cf. *Archiv* v. p. 418).

The statement of the text that the census of A.D. 201-2 was ordered by Laetus is of interest for another reason, to which my attention has been drawn by Wilcken. Rostowzew in *Röm. Kolonat*, pp. 209-11, seeks to bring into close connexion with the census the edicts of Subatianus Aquila and Valerius Datus directing people to return to their homes. It is now clear that Subatianus Aquila was no more the initiator of the census of A.D. 201-2 than Valerius Datus was of the census of A.D. 215-16, and hence their edicts at any rate formed no part of the original orders for holding the census. Cf. Wilcken's forthcoming *Chrestomathie*, p. 235.

ii. ' . . . of the village of Mermertha. In accordance with the orders of his excellency the praefect Maecius Laetus, I register for the house to house registration of the 10th year the half share of a walled space belonging to me at the village, formerly the property of my father and formerly of his father Admetus; at which we return ourselves as follows: Admetus son of Heracleus, aged . . . years, my mother being Tapontos daughter of . . ., whom I declare to have died in the . . . year; my son Heracles by . . . daughter of . . ., whom I declare to have died long ago; my son Admetus by T . . . daughter of . . ., having no trade or distinguishing mark, aged . . . years; my brother Mieus . . .'

6. For the repetition of (πρότερον) cf. i. 9-10. α is clear, but whether it is the numeral or not is doubtful.

8. For the supplement cf. 171. 11 (Part II, p. 208). I suspect that ἐφ' οὗ should also be read in P. Flor. 4. 12.

11. The entries here and in l. 13 concerning the death of the mother's father are unusual. They can hardly refer to the persons named in ll. 9 and 12, since it is the rule for the name of the person making the return to stand first; cf. e. g. P. Flor. 4.

17. A horizontal stroke at the beginning of this line may either belong to a letter, e. g. τ, or represent γίνονται.

## 1112. PURCHASE OF ACACIA-TREES.

17.3 x 9 cm.

A. D. 188.

Two extracts from the records of the idiologus giving the substance of declarations made by a certain Apollonius concerning purchases by him of acacia-trees (*ἄκανθαι*). These trees were evidently the property of the government, and were bought by Apollonius at the rate of 13 drachmae each, a very much smaller price than that found in the private contract 909, where 14 trees fetch 1,200 drachmae. That document, however, is some forty years later in date than 1112, which belongs to the reign of Commodus, and of course there may have been a considerable difference in the size and condition of the trees; some of those here sold are described as 'fallen' (l. 23). The extracts, which are very cursively written and much abbreviated, are written across the fibres on the verso of the papyrus; on the recto are the beginnings of some lines of a second-century account.

- Τὸ κ(ατ' ἄνδρα ?) ἰδίου λόγ(ου), α τ(όμου)  
 μητροπ(όλεως). Ἀπολ(λώνιος) ἐπ(ικαλούμενος) Ὀρίω(ν) Ἀπολ(λωνίου) ἐξ(η)γγη-  
 τεύσας)  
 δηλ(ῶ) κεκυρῶσθ(αι) τὰς σημαν-  
 θείσας τῷ Πα[ύ]ν]ι μηνὶ τοῦ  
 5 κη (ἔτους) ἀκάνθας ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ  
 τῆς Νεμέ(ρων) ἐπὶ χά(ματος) (πρότερον)  
 Σαρᾶ Ἀμδίτ(ος) περὶ Πειννῶ  
 α, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ τῆς Σερύ(φειας)  
 ἐπὶ χά(ματος) ἔργου Κουίωνα(ς)  
 10 περὶ Σενεμελε(ῦ) β, καὶ  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς Σεντῶ ἐπὶ χά(ματος)  
 ἀπεργασίας τοῦ ε (ἔτους) θεο(ῦ) Οὔεσπ(ασιανοῦ)  
 ὄντος ἐκ βορ(ρᾶ) τῆς Σενοικοθ( )  
 α, (δραχμῶν) νβ καὶ τῶν ἐπομέ(νων)  
 15 τῷ κθ (ἔτει) Ἀθῦρ ι, τι(μῆς) (δραχμῶν) νβ  
 [πρ(οσ)]δ(ιαγραφομένων) (δραχμῶν) γ (ὀβολοῦ) (ἡμιωβελίου), / (δραχμαὶ) νε  
 (ὀβολὸς) (ἡμιωβέλιον).

ὁμ(οίως) τοῦ αὐτοῦ) τό(μου).

Ἀπολλώνιο[ς] ὁ προτεταγμέ(νος)

ἐπ(ικαλούμενος) δηλ(ῶ) κεκυρῶσθ(αι) τὰς ση-

20 μανθείσας ὑπὸ πρ(εσ)β(υτέρων) δια-

δεχο(μένων) κομογρα(μματείαν) Νεμ(έρων) ἀκάνθ(ας) γ

ἐν τοῖς βορ(ρ)[ι]νοῖς μέρεσι χῶματο(ς)

εν . ελ . . . καὶ Θῶσβ( ) καταπεπτω(κνίας)

κῦπτι( ) (δραχμῶν) μ καὶ τῶν ἐπομένω(ν)

25 τῶ κθ (ἔτει) Ἀθῦρ ιβ, τι(μῆς) [(δραχμῶν)] μ πρ(οσδιαγραφομένων) β (τριω-  
βόλου), / (δραχμαὶ) μβ (τριώβολου).

1. ιδιου<sup>λ</sup> Pap.  
20. ρ'β Pap.

2. First ω of ὠριων corr. from ἧη.  
22. βορ[.]νοῖς Pap.

7. Second ν of πεεννώ corr.

25. ρ' Pap.

Individual list of the idiologus, volume 1; department of the metropolis. I, Apollonius surnamed Horion, son of Apollonius, ex-exegetes, declare that I have been duly assigned the acacia-trees designated in the month Pauni of the 28th year, one by the comogrammateus of Namera on the embankment formerly belonging to Saras son of Amoïs in the neighbourhood of Peēnno, two by the comogrammateus of Seruphis on the embankment in the tillage of Conion in the neighbourhood of Senemeleu, and one by the comogrammateus of Sento on the embankment in the reclamation of the 5th year of the deified Vespasian situated to the north of Senoikoth . . ., for 52 drachmae and extra payments, in the 29th year, Hathur 10, the price being 52 drachmae and the additional charges 3 drachmae 1½ obols, total 55 drachmae 1½ obols.

Likewise in the same volume. I, Apollonius the aforesaid surnamed, &c., declare that I have been duly assigned the three acacia-trees designated by the elders, being deputies for the comogrammateus of Namera, in the northern parts of the embankment of . . . and Thosbis, which have fallen down . . ., for 40 drachmae and extra payments, in the 29th year, Hathur 12, the price being 40 drachmae and the additional charges 2 drachmae 3 obols, total 42 drachmae, 3 obols.

1. τὸ κ(ατ' ἄνδρα): so e.g. P. Brit. Mus. 259. iii. 104; the third letter is possibly β, but not μ. The superfluous λ above the line (cf. the critical note) stood for λ(όγου), but the writer changed his mind and added λ(όγου), without cancelling the suspended λ.

5. τοῦ: sc. κομογραμματέως; cf. ll. 20-1.

7. For Πεεννώ cf. 713. 26. The scribe seems to have at first intended to abbreviate the name after Πεεν; cf. the note on l. 1, and l. 22 βορ(ρ)[ι]νοῖς.

10. Σενεμελε(ύ): Σενεκελε(ύ) (899. 7, 1052. 3, &c.) can only be read on the supposition that the ε was miswritten, which would be natural were it not for the fact that Σενεμελεύ seems to have been the spelling in 482. 5. Possibly, then, Σενεκελεύ and Σενεμελεύ were distinct places.

14. ἐπόμμενα is the usual term for extra charges in connexion with government sales; cf. 513. 12, P. Amh. 97. 14. As suggested in the note on 513. 12, they are not to be distinguished from the προσδιαγραφόμενα, on the amount of which see the next note.

16. For this contraction of *προσδιαγραφόμενων* cf. ll. 20 *πρ(εσ)β(υτέρων)* and l. 25, where the *δ* is omitted. Other instances of such contraction are P. Amh. 35 *βα(σιλι)κῶν* and the common *κ(ίτ)οι(κος)*; cf. also l. 22. The *προσδιαγραφόμενα* amount to  $6\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. of the price, both here and in l. 25; the same proportion is found in 513. 15.

19. *ε'* is no doubt to be interpreted *ἐπ(ικαλούμενος)* here as in l. 2, the following name, &c., being omitted for the sake of brevity. Apparently in l. 2 also the scribe originally began to write *δηλῶ* immediately after *ἐπ(ικαλούμενος)*; cf. the critical note.

20. *πρ(εσ)β(υτέρων) διαδεχ(ομένων)* cf. e.g. B. G. U. 6. 4, 15. i. 8.

23. It may be doubted whether *εν* is the preposition or the first syllable of a village-name. It does not seem possible to read *ἐν Τεπούει*, a name coupled with *Θῶσβις* in 721. 9.

24. The two final letters of *κυπει( )* may be *αγ*.

## 1113. RETURN OF UNIRRIGATED LAND.

17.3 × 14.9 cm.

A. D. 203.

Two declarations, which have been joined together, concerning unirrigated land; cf. P. Grenf. II. 56, P. Fay. 33, P. Tebt. 324, B. G. U. 139, 198, 973, P. Hamburg 11. One is addressed to the comogrammateus of the village near which the land was situated, the other, like B. G. U. 198, bears no address. Such returns were usually made in consequence of an order of the praefect in office, but in P. Hamburg 11, as in the present case, the authorization is stated to have emanated from the procurator usiacus Claudius Diognetus, who is also known from P. Giessen 48. 25 and papyri published by Wilcken in *Hermes*, xxiii. p. 593 (A. D. 197) and Comparetti in *Mélanges Nicole*, pp. 57 sqq. (Cols. i and iv, A. D. 203, not second century, as was pointed out by Stein, *Archiv* iv. 165).

## Col. i.

Κωμογρα(μματεῖ) Σεντὸ καὶ ἄλλων  
 κωμῶν τῆς μέσης τοπ(αρχίας)  
 παρὰ Διδύμου τοῦ καὶ Διδυμίου-  
 νος ἀρχιερατεύσαντ[ος] τοῦ  
 5 ἐν Ὁξύγγων πόλε[ι] σεβασμιωτάτου  
 Ἀδριανείου καὶ Διογέν[ο]υς καὶ  
 Σαρα[π]ίωνος τοῦ καὶ Ἀριστοκλέους  
 ἀμ[φ]οτέρων Σαραπίωνος  
 μ[η]τρ[ο]ῦς Ἀρι[σ]τ[ο]κλείας τῆς καὶ

- 10 [Χαι]ρῆμονίδος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐ-  
 [τῆς] πόλε[ω]ς. κατὰ τὰ κελευσθ(έντα)  
 ὑπὸ Κλα[υ]δίου Διογνήτου τοῦ  
 κρ[ατί]στου ἐπιτρόπου ἀπογρα(φόμεθα)  
 π[ρό]ς τὸ ἐνεστὸς ἰα (ἔτους) ἣν ἔχο-  
 15 μ[εν] ἄβροχον περὶ Σεντὰ  
 [έ]κ [το]ῦ Κλεάνδρου σὺν τοῖς  
 παρορ[ί]οις εἰς Διονύσιον  
 Ἀπίωνος (πρότερον ?) ἀβρόχου  
 (ἀρούρας) . δ' .  
 20 (ἔτους) ἰα Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων  
 Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβ[ο]ῦς  
 Περτίνακος Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ  
 Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου καὶ Μάρκ[ο]ν  
 Αὐρ[η]λίου Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβ[ο]ῦς

18. α' Pap.

Col. ii.

- 2nd hand Παρὰ Σαραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ Φ[ανίου] γυμνασιάρχ(ήσαντος) τῆς Ὀ-  
 [ξυρῦ]γγ(ων) πόλε(ως) καὶ ὡς χρημα(τίξει) ἀπ' Ὀ[ξυρῦ]γγ(ων) πόλε(ως).  
 κατὰ τὰ κελ(ευσθέντα)  
 [ὑπὸ] Κλαυδίου Διογνήτου τ[ο]ῦ κρατίστου  
 [ἐπιτρ]όπ(ου) τῶν κυρίων Σεβαστῶ[ν] ἀπογρά(φομαι) πρὸς τὸ  
 5 [ἰα (ἔτος)] περὶ κόμην Ψῶβθιν μ[έ]σης τοπ(αρχίας) ἐκ τοῦ Φι-  
 λονείκου μητρικοῦ πρότ(ερον) Α[. . . . .]  
 νυπτᾶτος ἀπὸ (ἀρουρῶν) δι' β' [ἀβρόχου (ἀρούρας) . .  
 [κ]αὶ ὁμνῶ τὴν Λουκίου Σεπ[τιμίου] Σεουήρου  
 Εὐσεβ[ο]ῦς Περτίνακος καὶ Μ[άρκου] Αὐρηλίου  
 10 [Α]ντωνίνου Εὐσεβ[ο]ῦς Σεβασ[τῶν] τύχην καὶ Που-  
 βλίου Σεπτιμίου Γέτα Καίσα[ρος] Σεβαστοῦ μὴ ἐψ(εῦσθαι).  
 [(ἔτους) ἰα] Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρ[ων] Λουκίου Σε-  
 πτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβ[ο]ῦς Περτίνακος



Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου  
 15 καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίου Εὐσεβοῦς  
 Σεβαστῶν καὶ Πουβλίου Σεπτιμίου Γέτα  
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ (2nd hand) Μεχέρ [ . . Σαραπίων ὁ  
 [κα]ὶ Φ[α]νίας γυμνασιάρχ[ή]σας ἐπιδέδωκα.

'To the comogrammateus of Sento and other villages in the middle toparchy from Didymus also called Didymion, ex-chief-priest of the most august temple of Hadrian in the city of Oxyrhynchus, and from Diogenes and Sarapion also called Aristocles, both sons of Sarapion and Aristocleia also called Chaeremonis, of the said city. In accordance with the orders of his highness the procurator Claudius Diognetus we register for the current 11th year the unwatered land belonging to us at Sento in the holding of Cleandrus with the adjacent ground standing in the name of (?) Dionysius son of Apion, namely .  $\frac{1}{4}$  arourae of land previously unwatered.' Date.

'From Sarapion also called Phanas, ex-gymnasiarch of the city of Oxyrhynchus, and however he is styled, of the city of Oxyrhynchus. In accordance with the orders of his highness the Imperial procurator Claudius Diognetus I register for the 11th year at the village of Psobthis in the middle toparchy in the holding of Philonicus, once belonging to my mother and formerly in the possession of A . . . son of . . . nuptas, . . arourae of unwatered land out of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  arourae, and I swear by the fortune of Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augusti and Publius Septimius Geta Caesar Augustus that I have made no false statement.' Date.

i. 14. This date is noticeable, since both B. G. U. 139 and P. Hamburg 11 refer to the 10th year, and evidence is thus for the first time obtained of the registration of unirrigated land in two consecutive years. The fact that such a registration took place in the year 202-3 is a slight argument in favour of the supposition that B. G. U. 108 is also concerned with ἀβροχος γῆ (cf. Eger, *Grundbuchwesen*, p. 183, note 3), in which case a third consecutive year would have to be added. This, however, would not necessarily disprove our view that the returns of unirrigated land were not annual (P. Oxy. II. p. 177), for a succession of low Niles is quite possible; cf. Eger, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

17. For παρορ[ί]σις cf. P. Flor. 50. 9, 86 (ἡ παρόριος). σωματιζομένην or an equivalent phrase is probably to be understood before εἰς on the analogy of most of the other returns, e. g. P. Fay. 33. 18-19 αἰ οὐσαι διὰ σωματισμοῦ εἰς . . . , B. G. U. 139. 13-14 σωματιζομένης εἰς . . . , 198. 8-9 διὰ δὲ σωματισμοῦ εἰς . . . On the meaning of σωματισμός cf. the note on P. Fay. 33. 18-19, and Eger, *Grundbuchwesen*, p. 188, Lewald, *Röm.-Aeg. Grundbuchrecht*, p. 79.

18. (πρότερον) is apparently meant; ἀπ(ό) is inadmissible.

ii. 1. Cf. ll. 17-18.

10. Considerations of space indicate that τύχην stood in this line and not in l. 11.

## 1114. DECLARATION OF INHERITANCE.

26 × 56 cm.

A. D. 237. Plate VII.

A Latin declaration made to the responsible Roman official by M. Aurelius Saras, a citizen of Oxyrhynchus, that his wife had died intestate, and that the inheritance, which passed to their two daughters, was of the value of 200,000 sesterces and free from the *vicesima hereditatum* or succession duty of 5 per cent. To this declaration is appended an affidavit in Greek, duly witnessed, of the fact of intestate death, and a subscription in Latin of a notary of the office concerned with the tax.

The persons concerned were all Aurelii, and therefore subject to the *vicesima*; it was indeed in the interest of this and similar taxes, so we are told (Dio lxxvii. 9), that the *constitutio Antonina* was promulgated; cf. *Archiv* v. p. 429. On the history of the impost see Bachofen, *Ausgew. Lehren des R. Civilrechts*, pp. 322 sqq., Cagnat, *Les Impôts indirects chez les Romains*, pp. 175 sqq., Hirschfeld, *K. Verwaltungsbearbeiter*, pp. 96 sqq. Instituted by Augustus it was levied upon all inheritances and legacies except where the beneficiaries were near relations or the estate inconsiderable (πλήν τῶν πάνυ συγγενῶν ἢ καὶ πενήτων, Dio lv. 25). Caracalla, who raised the rate to 10 per cent., abolished the exemption in virtue of close relationship (Dio lxxvii. 9, Ulpian, *Coll.* xvi. 9. 3); but these changes were reversed by his successor Macrinus (Dio lxxviii. 12). What degree of affinity is to be understood from Dio's phrases πάνυ συγγενῶν and πάνυ προσήκουσι is not clear (cf. Cagnat, *op. cit.*, p. 184), but daughters succeeding to an intestate mother, as they were entitled to do by the recent *Senatus consultum Orfitianum* (cf. 1118. 13), would doubtless be included within the exemption, and this benefit would extend to their father, who in such a case would be the *de facto* heir; cf. the note on l. 9. A niece on the other hand seems not to have enjoyed immunity, for in P. Amh. 72, a declaration by a woman of the value of an intestate uncle's estate to which she was succeeding (A. D. 246), there is no mention of any claim to exemption. Relationship and not poverty was evidently the ground of the claim in the present instance. The taxable minimum is indeed uncertain, but it can hardly have reached 200,000 sesterces; Bachofen puts it at half that amount (*op. cit.*, pp. 341-2; so Mommsen, *Die Röm. Tribus*, p. 120, Marquardt, *Staatsverw.* ii. p. 259). The tax no longer existed in the time of Justinian (*Cod.* vi. 33. 3) and its abolition was perhaps one of the financial reforms of Diocletian and Constantine; this papyrus appears to be the latest document in which it is directly mentioned.

The Latin *professio* and the subscription of the notary are written in clear cursive hands rather similar in type to that of P. Grenf. II. 108 of the latter half of the previous century. Dots or short dashes are, as usual, commonly placed after abbreviations and occasionally after other words (ll. 5, 37). Line 38 is in a smaller and less legible writing.

*Perpetuo et Corneliano co(n)s(ulibus) anno iii Imperatoris Caesaris  
Gaii Iuli Veri Maximini*

*Pii Aug(usti) Germanici Max(imi) Dacici Max(imi) Sarm[ati]ci  
[Max(imi) et Gaii Iuli Veri Maximi Germanici Max(imi)  
Dacici M[ax(imi) Sarmatici Max(imi) Caesaris sancti] Aug(usti) fili Aug(usti)*

[ . . . ] . [

5 [A] *pu*d *Geminium Val[er]ntem* 44 letters  
*procurationis.* [

*Marcus Aurelius Saras fa[ctus] gymnas[iarchus] decurio civitat[is] Oxy-*  
*rhynchitarum*

*filius Marci Aureli Diogenis q[ui] e[st] Hel[iodori] facti euthe[ri]a-*  
*archae . . . [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] . . . ae*

*civitatis Alexandrinorum prof[iteor] . . . . . ] filiabus me[is] Aure-*  
*liabus Stra-*

10 *tonice q[uae] e[st] Sosipatrae et Apolloniae [q[uae] e[st] Dicitis]*  
*h[er]editatem seu bonorum posses-*

*sionem Aureliae Ap[ol]loniae filiae Marci Aurel[i] Apolloni Demetri*  
*q[ui] e[st] Psammi-*

*dis facti gymnasiarchi decurionis civitatis Oxyrinchitarum, matris*  
*eorum uxoris*

*autem suae, intestatae defunctae civitat[is] Oxyrinchitarum prid[ie]*  
*non[is] Iul[ia]s q[uae] p[ro]ximae?) f[uerunt]*

*hora diei tertia secundum testation[em] de hac re factam cuius*  
*exemplum subieci,*

15 *eamque hereditatem esse ducen[ar]am et immunem a vicensima.*  
*exemplum testationis.*

2nd hand "Ετους τρίτου Αυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαίου 'Ιουλίου Ούήρου Μαξι-  
μείνου Εύσεβοῦς Εύτυχοῦς

Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου Δακικοῦ Μεγίστου Σαρματικοῦ  
Μεγίστου καὶ Γαίου 'Ιουλίου

Οὐήρου Μαξίμου Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου Δακικοῦ Μεγίστου Σαρμα-  
 τικοῦ Μεγίστου τοῦ  
 20 ἱερωτάτου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Ἐπιείφ ιβ, ἐν  
 Ὁξυρίνων πόλει.  
 Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Σαρᾶς γυμνασιάρχης βουλευτῆς τῆς Ὁξυρινχειτῶν  
 πόλεως υἱὸς Μάρ-  
 κος Αὐρηλίου Διογένους τοῦ καὶ Ἡλιοδώρου εὐθηνιάρχης βουλευτοῦ τῆς λαμπροτά-  
 τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει ἐμαρτύρατο τοὺς  
 τὸδε τὸ μαρτυρο-  
 ποίημα σφραγίζειν μέλλοντας τῇ ἐνεστώσῃ ἡμέρᾳ {ν} περὶ ὥραν  
 τρίτην ἀπευ-  
 25 κταίως Αὐρηλίαν Ἀπολλωνίαν θυγατέρα Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀπολ-  
 λωνίου Δημητρί-  
 ου τοῦ καὶ Ψάμμιδος καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει γυμνασιάρχης βου-  
 λευτοῦ τῆς Ὁξυριν-  
 χειτῶν πόλ[εως] γυναῖκα ἑαυτοῦ μητέρα τῶν κοινῶν θυγατέρων Αὐ-  
 ρηλιῶν Στρα-  
 τονείκης τῆς καὶ Σωσιπάτρας καὶ Ἀπολλωνίας τῆς καὶ Διεῦτος  
 ἀφηλίκων ἀδι-

Col. ii.

[ἀθετον τελευτήσαι

30 3rd hand (?) [ . . . . . 60 letters ]β[  
 4th hand [Σα]ραπίων ὁ κ[α] [ . . . . . ]σκα[ 30 letters ]ρ[ . . . . .  
 ἀποδεδειγμέν[ος] ἀρχιερεὺς βουλευτῆς] (τῆς) προκειμ[έ]νη[ς πόλ(εως)  
 . . . . .]α[ . . . . .  
 5th hand Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Σαρᾶς γυμν[α]σιάρχης[ς] βουλ(ετῆς) τῆς Ὁξυ-  
 ρυ[γ]χειτῶν  
 πόλ(εως) ἐπιδέδωκα τὴν ἀπογραφὴν.

35 6th hand *Iuvilius Aug(usti) lib(ertus) tabul(arius) intestatam de[e]ssisse  
 secundum*

*adfirmationem insertam pr(idie) non(as) Iul(ias) Perpetuo et  
Corneliano co(n)s(ulibus) notavi pr(idie) id(us) Iul(ias) co(n)-  
s(ulibus) s(upra) s(criptis).*

7th hand ἀφ(um) ς( )...[.....]I[u]l(ias) Perpetuo et Corneliano co(n)s(ulibus).

17. γαίου Ἰουλίου Pap.: so in l. 18.  
second σεβαστου corr. from ρ.

20. ἱερωτατου . . . υἱου Pap. Second σ of  
31. Second κ corr.?

'In the consulship of Perpetuus and Cornelianus, in the third year of the emperor Caesar Gaius Julius Verus Maximinus,' &c., 'before Geminus Valens . . . of the procuratorship. Marcus Aurelius Saras, ex-gymnasiarch, senator of the city of Oxyrhynchus, son of Marcus Aurelius Diogenes also called Heliodorus, ex-eutheniarch of the most illustrious city of Alexandria, declare [on behalf of (?)] my two daughters Aurelia Stratonice also called Sosipatra and Aurelia Apollonia also called Dieus the inheritance or possession of the property of Aurelia Apollonia daughter of Marcus Aurelius Apollonius son of Demetrius also called Psammis, ex-gymnasiarch and senator of the city of Oxyrhynchus, their mother and my wife, who died intestate at the city of Oxyrhynchus on the day before the succeeding (?) Nones of July at the third hour of the day according to the affidavit made on this matter, of which I append a copy, and certify that the inheritance is of the value of two hundred solidi and free of the tax of a twentieth.

'Copy of the affidavit. In the third year,' &c., 'at the city of Oxyrhynchus. Marcus Aurelius Saras, ex-gymnasiarch and senator of the city of Oxyrhynchus, son of Marcus Aurelius Diogenes also called Heliodorus, ex-eutheniarch and senator of the most illustrious city of Alexandria, and however he is styled, called to witness the persons about to seal the present affidavit that on this day at about the third hour to the loss of our hopes Aurelia Apollonia daughter of Marcus Aurelius Apollonius son of Demetrius also called Psammis, and however he is styled, ex-gymnasiarch and senator of the city of Oxyrhynchus, his wife and the mother of their daughters Aurelia Stratonice also called Sosipatra and Aurelia Apollonia also called Dieus, who are under age, died intestate . . .' Signatures of witnesses and of Marcus Aurelius Saras in Greek and of a notary in Latin.

2-4. The small fragment assigned to the middles of these lines is doubtfully placed, *sancti]ssim[i]* being unsatisfactory. *D]acici* could be read in place of *Sarm]atici*, but this causes greater difficulties in the next line.

5-6. Geminus Valens, if that was his name, was apparently an official in the office of the *procurator vicesimae*, who was no doubt appointed for Egypt as for other provinces; cf. Hirschfeld, *K. Verwaltungsbeamten*, pp. 102-4. Α στατιῶν τῆς εἰκοστῆς τῶν κληρονομιῶν καὶ ἐλευθεριῶν at Arsinoïtonpolis is mentioned in B. G. U. 326. ii. 10.

7. It is noticeable, as Wilcken remarks, that the term *civilis* was now used where before the grant of the βουλῆ the correct Latin word was *metropolis*; cf. e.g. the Cairo diptych referred to in the following note.

8. *q(ui) e(i)*: the same abbreviation occurs e.g. in the *cretiones hereditatum* published by De Ricci from a Cairo diptych in *Nouv. Rev.* xxx. pp. 479 sqq. and reprinted in Bruns, ed. 7, pp. 319-20. At the end of this line *decurionis clarissimae* is expected, but cannot be read. Perhaps *decurionis* was omitted and some longer adjective used, e.g. *sp[er]en[dis]d[i]d[i]s- s[i]mae*, which is a possible though not very satisfactory reading; or *decurionis* was written and the adjective was quite short, *decurioni]s s[.]s[.] . . . ae*.

9. How the lacuna after *prof[iteor]* is to be filled is unfortunately somewhat doubtful.

The daughters could only succeed *iussu patris*, and he would at this period be the real beneficiary (Gaius ii. 87; modifications were subsequently introduced, *Cod. Just.* vi. 60): hence something like *me admissae* would be suitable. The construction of l. 15 rather suggests that an infinitive had preceded, otherwise the more neutral supplement [*pro duabus*] might be preferred.

13. *suae*: the construction demands *meae*; that *prof[ileor]* and not *prof[itetur]* preceded in l. 9 is indicated by *subiecti* in l. 14.

The meaning of the letters *g. p. f.* here is uncertain; from their position and the run of the sentence they should refer in some way to the date, and the interpretation suggested in the text will give a tolerable sense. Or possibly *p* might represent *praesens* as an equivalent of the Greek *ἐνεστώσ*; cf. l. 24. *g. p. f.* is also found in C. I. L. v. 5067. 7 of A. D. 103, *La[berio] ii cos. [. . . .] g. p. f. [. . . cur]atores Satur[. . . i]nfra scripti*. The letters have there been explained as standing for *qui primi fuerunt*, referring to the persons *infra scripti*; that, however, is very doubtful, and it seems likely that the day of the month preceded in the lacuna, and that the meaning of the abbreviation is the same as in the present passage.

30. If l. 1 was the first of the column the loss at the top of Col. ii above l. 30 would not be expected to exceed more than three or four lines.

32. *μαρτυρῶ* or some equivalent term is to be supplied at the end of the line. *προκειμ[έ]νης* is very doubtfully read.

35. *Ivivilinus* is a curious name, but I cannot read the letters otherwise; *Iul(ius) Vivilinus* is inadmissible. *Tabularii* are frequently mentioned in connexion with the *vicesima*; cf. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 105. They were commonly freedmen, as here.

38. If *actum* is right (cf. e. g. the Cairo diptych, *ap. Bruns*, p. 320), a place-name would be expected to follow, but the *s* followed by a dot seems clear. Perhaps *s(supra) s(cripto) die* was written.

## 1115. REPLY TO A STRATEGUS.

23.5 × 20.8 cm.

A. D. 284.

The writers of this letter were three agents for the delivery of the military annona, who had been asked by the strategus, in consequence of representations from the praefect and dioecetes, for the receipt for a large quantity of bread delivered by them to certain military and naval detachments. They accordingly forwarded the original receipt, enclosing at the same time a copy which they request the strategus to sign. The receipt had been issued in the sixth year of Probus (A. D. 281), but the signature of the strategus, which is appended as requested, is dated in Pachon of the second year, the reference presumably being to the reign of Numerianus. Pomponius Ianuarianus, the praefect in office (l. 4), is a new addition to the list of Egyptian praefects.

Ἀύρηλιφ Φιλιάρχφ τῶ καὶ Ὀξυρυγγείτου  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Ἰσιδώρου καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδου καὶ Πλουτίνου ἀναπ[ομ-

πῶν ἄρτου. αἰτηθέντες ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐκ τῶν ἐπισταλέντων σοι ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ διασημοτάτου ἡγεμόνος Πομπωνίου Ἰανουαριανοῦ καὶ τοῦ  
 5 δι[α]σημοτάτου διοικητοῦ Αὐρηλίου [Ἀριστέα] ἦν ἔχομεν αὐθεντικὴν  
 [ἀποχ]ῆν οὐ ἀνηνέγκαμεν καὶ δι[α]δεδώκαμεν ἄρτου, ἐπιδίδομέν σοι  
 τῆ[ν] προκειμένην αὐθεντικὴν ἀποχ[ῆν] καὶ ταύτης ἀντίγρα[φον ἀξι-]  
 οὔντες ὑποσημιώσασθαί σ[ε] πρὸς τὸ καὶ ἡμᾶς τὸ ἀ[σ]φ[α]λῆς ἔχειν [τῆς αὐ-]  
 τῆς αὐθεντικῆς ἀποχῆς. Μίκκαλος ἐπὶ διαδόσεως ἀννώνης

10 Ἰσιδώρῳ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ ἐπιμεληταῖς {ε[π]ιμεληταῖς} Ὁξυρυγχεῖ[σ]ιν.  
 παραδ[ε]δώκατε ἐν τῇ Πανῶν πόλει κατὰ κέλευσιν Αὐρηλίου Ἀρ[ισ-]  
 τέα τοῦ κρατίστου διοικητοῦ ἀκολουθῶν αἰς ἐπηνέγκατε φ[ορ-]  
 μαλείαις χωρήσασι στρα[τιω]ταῖς καὶ ναύταις ἄρτου . . . [ . . . . .  
 οὐς μυριάδας τρεῖς καὶ ὀκτακισχιλ[ίους] τετρακοσίους ἐνενη-  
 15 κοντα ἕξ, γίνονται) μυριάδες) γ' Ἡυρς.

(ἔτους) ε' τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου  
 Πρόβου Εὐσεβεῦς Σεβαστοῦ Τῦβι ἐκκαιδεκάτη, Τῦβι ιε.

2nd hand Αὐρήλιος Φιλίαρχος ὁ καὶ Ὡρίων στρα(τηγὸς) Ὁξυρ[υ]γχ(ίτου) ἔσχον  
 τὴν αὐθεντικὴν ἀποχῆν

συμφωνοῦσαν πρὸς τὸ προτεταγμένον ἀντίγρα(φον) ἦν καὶ κατέπεμψα

20 ὥς ἐκελεύσθη. (ἔτους) β' Παχῶν κς.

6. ο of ου corr. from ι. ἀνηνεγκαμεν Pap. 9. μικ'καλος Pap. 12. επηνεγκατε Pap.  
 1. φ[ορ]μαλείαις. 17. εκ'καιδεκατη Pap. 18. στρας Pap.

‘To Aurelius Philiarachus also called Horion, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Isidorus, Aurelius Asclepiades, and Aurelius Plutinus, deliverers of bread. Having been asked by you in consequence of letters sent to you by his honour the praefect Pomponius Januarianus and his honour the dioecetes Aurelius Aristneas for the authentic receipt in our possession for the bread which we have delivered and distributed, we deliver to you the aforesaid authentic receipt and a copy of it which we beg you to sign in order that we too may have the security of the said authentic receipt. “Miccals, superintendent of the distribution of the annona, to Isidorus and Asclepiades, overseers of the Oxyrhynchite nome. You have delivered in Panopolis in obedience to the order of his highness the dioecetes Aurelius Aristneas, in accordance with the certificates presented by you, to the mobilized (?) soldiers and sailors thirty-eight thousand and four hundred and ninety-six modii (?) of bread, total 38,496. The sixth year of our lord the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Probus Pius Augustus, Tubi sixteenth, Tubi 16.” (Signed) I, Aurelius Philiarachus also called Horion, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, have received the authentic receipt, which agrees with the copy above written, and have forwarded it as ordered. Second year, Pachon 26.’

9. ἐπὶ διαδόσεως ἀννώνης: cf. e. g. B. G. U. 1025. ii. 15 διαδότης Σοῆνης, 43. recto iv. 9 εἰς διάδοσιν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, and P. Giessen ii. pp. 88-9.

10. ἐπιμεληταῖς Ὀξύρηνχίτ[ο]ν: cf. 43. recto iv. 21, &c., P. Giessen *l. c.*

12. For φ[ορ]μαλείαις (= φ[ορ]μαρίαις) cf. 43. recto, e. g. ii. 28-9 ἀκολούθ(ως) ῥωμαϊκῆ αὐτοῦ φρουμαρία, iii. 25 τῆς δὲ φρουμαρίας ἐστὶν ἀντίγρα(φον), where φρουμαρία is more likely to be a misspelling of φορμαρία (= *formula*) than of φρουμενταρία, and P. Cairo Cat. 67050. 11, 67051. 6.

13-14. μοδίους suggests itself as the measure (cf. e. g. P. Leipzig 97), but the vestiges do not appear to be very suitable, and moreover there would be plenty of room for so short a word in l. 13, so that its division between two lines is unnatural. But possibly ἄρτου had an epithet (not κα[θαροῦ]).

19. κατέπεψα: i. e. to Alexandria.

### 1116. NOMINATION TO AN OFFICE.

15.8 × 11.3 cm.

A. D. 363.

Nomination of a person to act for one year as inspector of dues appropriated to the Augusteum at Alexandria. In what these dues consisted is not clear owing to the bad condition of the papyrus. The nomination, which is addressed to the logistes, was made by the local *συστάτης*, on whose office see the note on l. 5. Cf. 580, P. Flor. 2, &c.

Ἰπατίας Ἰουλιανοῦ τὸ δ' καὶ Σαλλουστή[ι]ου  
 τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου Θῶθ.  
 Φλαουίῳ Ψοεῖτι λογιστῆ Ὀξύρηνχίτ[ο]ν  
 [πα]ρ[ὰ] Α[ὐ]ρηλίου Μουσῆ Θέωνος  
 5 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως συστάτου ἀμφόδου  
 Δρόμου Γυμ[ν]ασίου καὶ ἄλλων ἀμφόδων.  
 δίδωμι καὶ εἰσαγγέλλω τῷ ἰδίῳ  
 μου κινδύνῳ εἰς ἔπαψιν ε . . . -  
 μαριων τῶν ἐξ ἔθους παρεχω-  
 10 μένον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ Ἀγούστου ὄν[τι]  
 ἐπὶ τῆς λαμπροτάτης Ἀλεξανδρ(ί)ας ἐφ' ἐ-  
 νιαυτὸν ἕνα τῶν ἀπ[ὸ] ν[ε]ωμηνίας  
 Θῶθ ἕως Μεσορῆ ἐπαγωμένον  
 πέμπτης καὶ αὐτῆ[ς] τῆς π[ε]μπτης  
 15 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους μ (ἔτους) θ (ἔτους) τὸν



ἐξῆς ἐν[γε]γραμμένον ὄντα ἐπι-  
 δήτιον πρὸς τὴν χορίαν,  
 ἔστι δὲ

Αὐρήλιον Ζακάωνος Μελανᾶ [

20 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως τῆς αὐτῆς φ[υλῆς].

2nd hand Αὐρήλιος Μουσηῆς συστάτης  
 ἐπιδέδωκα.

3rd hand Διόσκορος [. . . .] . . . ἄς ἔσχον . [  
 ]

4th hand Ἀμμών[ιος

8. 1. ἔποψιν.

9. 1. παρεχομένων.

10. ἱερῶ Παρ.

12. 1. τὸν . . . ν]εομηνίας.

13. 1. ἐπαγομένων.

16. 1. ἐπιτήδειον.

‘In the consulship of Julianus for the fourth time and Sallustius the most illustrious praefect of the sacred praetorium, Thoth . . . To Flavius Psoeis, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Moses son of Theon, of the said city, delegate of appointments of the quarter of the Gymnasium Square and other quarters. I present and announce at my own risk for the inspection of the . . . provided as is the custom at the temple of Augustus in the most illustrious Alexandria, for one year from the first day of Thoth up to and including the fifth intercalary day of Mesore of the present 40th which = the 9th year, the person whose name follows below, who is suitable for the office, namely Aurelius son of Zakaon son of Melanas, of the said city and said tribe.’ Signatures of Aurelius Moses and other officials.

5. συστάτου: cf. 86. 10–11, where συστά[τη] τῆς νυνὶ λειτουργούσης φυλῆς is rightly restored by Jouguet and Wilcken on the analogy of P. Flor. 39. 4 συστάτης τῆς μελλούσης λητου[ργεῖν φυλῆς καὶ ἄλλων ἀμφόδων; cf. *Archiv* iii. p. 534, iv. p. 557. It was the business of the συστάτης to make nominations to λειτουργίαι; cf. 86 and P. Flor. 39. 6 τὴν ἐνχειριστίαν σοι ἰπ’ ἐμοῦ . . . λειτουργίαν. At an earlier period, as appears from 1119, this function was performed by amphodogrammateis and phylarchs. For the tribal divisions at Oxyrhynchus cf. 1030.

8. The initial letter of the mutilated word could also well be η.

10. The letters following Ἄγουστ are very uncertain, but the reading suggested is sufficiently suitable. Ἄγουστῶ does not seem possible. The building referred to may well be the same as that known as the Καισάριον (Strabo xvii. 794) or Σεβάστιον (Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium*, 22); cf. Lumbroso, *L’Egitto*, pp. 188 sqq., F. Blumenthal, *Archiv* v. pp. 318–19. The Caesareum was turned into a church under Constantine or Constantius II, but retained its old name; cf. *Archiv* v. p. 328.

13–14. Cf. P. Flor. 39. 8, where the same phrase is to be read (*Archiv* iii. p. 534). It may be suggested that in the next line of that papyrus the letters following ἔτους, which are transcribed as ου μ[, represent the current years of the Oxyrhynchite eras, which in Thoth of A.D. 396 would be ογ μ[β; cf. l. 15 here.

19. Αὐρήλιον: ἔστι δὲ is not allowed to affect the construction, which is carried on from

l. 17. For Ζακάωνος cf. P. Strassb. 45. 49 and P. Théad. Inv. 15. iv. 2; it is a variant of the common name Ζακάων, e.g. 1059. 4.

20. τῆς αὐτῆς φ[υλῆς: the reading of the much damaged letters is confirmed by P. Flor. 39. 5. φ[υλῆς may have been abbreviated. Since an ἄμφοδον only has been named above (ll. 5-6) and not a φυλή as such, the close connexion of the φυλαί and ἄμφοδα already noticed by Preisigke, *Beamtenwesen*, p. 18<sup>s</sup>, is here brought out very clearly; cf. P. Flor. 39. 4 φυ]λῆς καὶ ἄλλων ἀμφοδων, 1119. 13 ἀμφοδων φυλάρχω, and 1110. 2-3, note.

### (c) PETITIONS.

#### 1117. PETITION TO A PRAEFECT.

19.8 × 13.9 cm.

About A.D. 178.

Draft of an appeal to an unnamed praefect from six persons described as the superintendents of the golden statue of Athene-Thoëris concerning a case of speculation which he had recently decided. The ends of the lines are lost throughout, but, though the lacunae as gauged by ll. 1, 7, and 13 are too large to be restored with much certainty, the general sense is seldom obscured. Judgement had previously been given by an earlier praefect, Pactumeius Magnus (A.D. 176-7), and it was probably to his immediate successor Aurelius (?) Sanctus (A.D. 177-9) that the present petition was addressed. The statue of the goddess had lately been made, and a quantity of gold embezzled in the process. Magnus had decided that the loss, amounting to eighteen talents of silver, should be made good by the artificers and the municipal officials of the year (ll. 4-5). His judgement was substantially upheld by the new praefect, who distributed the responsibility between the contractor, the inspector, the officials who disbursed the money, and the overseers, who now apply for relief (ll. 6-8). They make no profession of innocence, but in the first place ask that two gymnasiarchs and a third official, all of whom, they assert, had been concerned in the disbursements (ll. 9-15), should be called on to assist, and secondly apply for an extension of time, offering an annual payment of two talents (ll. 16 sqq.), and declaring that their existing obligation must reduce them to ruin.

This draft is written across the fibres of the verso; the recto contains remains of two columns of a list of persons, in which the word *πρεσβύτερος* is apparently abbreviated in the same way as in 1112. 20.

Π(αρά) τι(νος) κ(αί) τ(ινος) γενομένων ἐπιμελητῶν χρυσοῦ ξοάνου Ἀθη[νᾶς  
 τῆς καὶ Θοήριδος  
 θεᾶς μεγίστης. ἔναγχος, ἡγεμῶν κύριε, ἐπιδημή[σας ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρα  
 πόλει διέγνωσ μεταξὺ ἡμῶν καὶ ἀρχόντων ἕκ(κ)λητο[. . . . .  
 περὶ ὧν ὁ κρᾶτιστος Μάγνος ἐκέλευσεν τῇ πόλει εἰσενεχθῆναι ἐν α[. . . . .  
 (τάλαντα) ιη ὑπὸ τῶν  
 5 τὴν Θοῆριν ποιησάντων καὶ τῶν τοῦ ἔτους ἐστεφανωμένων ἀρχ[όντων·  
 περὶ ὧν σὺ ὁ  
 κύριος κατὰ τὰ δόξαντά σοι ἀπεφήνω οὕτως· ὁ τὴν ὑπόσχ[εσιν] δοὺς καὶ  
 ὁ τὴν  
 σύνοψιν εἰληφῶς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες οἱ ἐξωδιάσαντες καὶ οἱ ἐπ[ιμεληταὶ] ἀποκα-  
 ταστήσετε τῇ πατρίδι ὑμῶν τὸ ἐνδέον τοῦ χρυσοῦ κατὰ τὸ [. . . . .  
 ἡμεῖς οὖν,  
 κύριε, αὐτοὶ μέτριοι ὄντες ἀξιούμεν ἀκολουθῶς καὶ τῇ ἀ[ποφάσει] . . . . .  
 10 καὶ τοὺς ἐξωδιάσαντας δύο γυμνασιάρχους ὄντας τοῦ ἔτους καὶ τὸν  
 ἀν[. . . . .  
 Θέω[α] καὶ αὐτὸν ἐξωδιάσαντα δι' ὅλου τοῦ ἔτους καὶ αἴρεσιν[. . . . .πα-  
 ρά τε τεχνειτῶν χρυσοχόων λαβόντα καὶ γράμματα τῆς παρα[δόσεως] παρὰ  
 χρυσοχό-  
 ων τῶν παραλαβόντων σχόντα καὶ ἐπὶ τόπων εἰς τὴν δημοσίαν τράπεζαν  
 καταχωρίσαντα ἀκολουθῶς οἷς καὶ κατεχώρισεν ὑπομ[ήμασι] συντελεῖν  
 15 εἰς φόρους ἡμῖν 5 τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπιμεληταῖς [. . . ηγε[. . . . .  
 ὄντες τὰ ιη (τάλαντα) τῇ πόλει ἐκ δυεῖν ταλάντων εἰσεγ[έγκωμεν] . . . . .  
 καὶ οὕτως τὸ κελευσθὲν ὑπὸ σοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἀκολ[ούθως] καὶ οἷς ἀπεφήνω  
 γένηται, ἴν' ὦμεν εὐεργετημένοι. ἡμεῖς γὰρ [ 19 letters  
 μέτρια κεκτήμεθα ἐξ ὧν καὶ μόλις ζῶμεν. διὸ δ[ί]καιόν ἐστιν ἄλλας  
 20 προθεσμίας ἡμῖν εἰς τὴν ἀπόδοσιν δοῦναι ἴν[α] . . . ὑπὸ ἐκάστου  
 ἡμῶν τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν κατ' ἔτος πόλει{s} εἰσ[ενεχθῶσι] . . . . .  
 (δραχμαὶ) Β, καὶ οὕτως καὶ ἡμῖς δυνηθῶμε[ν] ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ παρα[μένειν] . . . . .  
 καὶ μὴ ἀθρόως πολιορκηθέντες πρὸς τῆ[ν] . . . . .  
 πρατοὶ γενέσθαι.

4. ο κρατιστος added above the line.      5. και των added above the line.      6. ουτως Pap.  
 7. λ of ειληφως corr.      1. εξωδιασαντες; cf. ll. 10, 11.      10. εξωδιασαντας added above  
 the line.      12. τε before τεχνειτων added above the line.      13. εις corr.      14. ο of οις

corr. και added above the line.  
24. γενεσθαι corr. from γενομεθα.

18. ἴν Pap.; so in l. 20.

22. ἴδια Pap.

1. τ(ι)νος καὶ τ(ι)νος: cf. e. g. 509, 1034; there is no visible mark of abbreviation with the second τ, but it may have disappeared. The supplement τῆς καὶ Θοήριδος is indicated by l. 5; cf. 579, where the reading Θοήριδος is now confirmed, and 483. 3, note.

3. ἔκ(κ)λητο[ς]: it seems necessary to postulate a misspelling here, for a mention of Letopolis is very unlikely, there being no further indication that any other city than Oxyrhynchus was concerned. Something like ἔκ(κ)λητο[ς] γενομένος might be restored, or preferably perhaps, as Wilcken suggests, ἔκ(κ)λητο[ν] δίκην.

4. α, if that is the right reading, is a figure, having a stroke above it. Perhaps ἔτει or ἐνιαυτῷ followed. (τάλαντα) ιη is derived from l. 16, where it is implied that the amount had been previously mentioned.

5. ἐστεφανωμένων: cf. Demosth. *Meid.* 17 τὸν ἐστεφανωμένον ἄρχοντα, *Aristog.* ii. 5 πέτανται ἄρχοντες καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους περιήρηται, C. I. G. 2330. 6 ὁ ἄρχων τὴν στεφανηφόρον ἀρχήν, &c.; Wilcken adds P. Par. 69. ii. 8 (*Philologus* 53. 82) [ἐ]στεψεν εἰς γυμνασιάρχην.

10. Not τὸν τῆ[ν] σύνοψιν εἰληφότα (l. 7).

15. A final conjunction must have occurred in the latter part of this line.

20. ὑπὸ ἐκάστου is suggested by the figures; if each of the six ἐπιμεληταὶ paid 2,000 drachmae, the sum of two talents mentioned in l. 16 would be produced.

22. ἐν τῇ ἰδία παραμένειν: cf. e. g. 488. 22 κινδυνεύουσα ἐγκαταλείψαι τῆ[ν] ἰδίαν, P. Tebt. 327. 27.

23. πολιορκηθέντες: cf. Plato, *Alc.* ii. 142 a ὑπὸ τῶν συκοφαντῶν πολιορκούμενοι. πρατοὶ in l. 24 keeps up the metaphor.

### 1118. PETITION TO AN ARCHIDICASTES.

11.7 × 11.4 cm. Late first or early second century.

A fragment of an application, addressed no doubt to an archidicastes, for the recovery of a debt. The request is made that the strategus of the Small Oasis should be authorized to forward a copy of the claim to the debtors, and probably this application was appended to a notification to the strategus that the archidicastes had sanctioned the claim, the arrangement being similar to that e. g. of 485; cf. P. Flor. 86. 20-5, where the phraseology is very close to that used here.

[. . .]ως ἀξιώῃ συντάξαι γράψα[ι] τῷ τῆς Μικρᾶς  
[Ὁάσ]εως στρατηγῷ μεταδοῦναι τ . . . γε . . . !  
[. . .]αἰτι καὶ Χενενούβι διὰ τοῦ ἀπ' αὐτῶν φανη-  
[σο]μένου ἀντίγραφον τοῦδε τοῦ ὑπομνήματος  
5 [ὅπ]ως ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀποδῶ μοι τὰ ὀφειλόμε-

[να] καὶ τοὺς προσοφειλομένους τόκους καὶ τὰ  
 [διά]φορα ἢ γεινώσκωσι ἐμβαδεύσον-  
 [τά με εἰς τὰ ὑπ[ο]τεθειμένα καὶ καθέξον-  
 τ[α α]ῦτῶν καὶ κυριεύ(σ)οντα καὶ ἐτέρως  
 10 ἐξαλλοτριώσοντα καὶ ἐπιτελέσοντα ὃ ἐὰν  
 αἰρῶμαι, οὐδεν[ὸ]ς αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ ἄλλω οὐδε-  
 νὶ ἐξ ὑστέρου [κατ]αλειπομένου λόγου  
 [περ]ὶ οὐδεν[ὸ]ς ἀπλῶς

7. εμ corr. from με.

'... I beg you to write to the strategus of the Small Oasis to present to ... and Chenenoubis, through the one of them who may be found, a copy of this memorandum, in order that he may yet pay to me the debt and the interest due in addition and extras, or else that they may know that I shall enter on the mortgaged property and shall occupy and exercise ownership over it and alienate it and do with it whatever I choose, without any claim being left to them or to any one else for the future in any respect ...'

1. Perhaps ἀναγκαι[ω]ς; cf. e. g. 1121. 23, P. Flor. 86. 19.

6-7. τόκους καὶ τὰ [διά]φορα: cf. P. Flor. 86. 22 τόκους καὶ τὰ τέλη καὶ δαπάνας, which shows what is here meant by [διά]φορα. διάφορον is sometimes practically synonymous with τόκος; cf. 1040. introd., and e. g. 1130. 11.

9. αῦτῶν was probably influenced by the coming κυριεύ(σ)οντα.

### 1119. PETITION TO A STRATEGUS, ETC.

28.5 × 39.6 cm.

A. D. 254.

The body of this long document consists of a petition from two citizens of Antinoópolis who had property at Oxyrhynchus, Theon and Arsinoüs, requesting the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome to notify the existing phylarch that they were exempt from nomination to municipal offices. Their rights had been established ten years before under an earlier strategus, and they give a narrative of the course of events, and enclose copies of official correspondence relating to their case. Its history was as follows. Aurelius Sarapion, an amphodogrammateus of Oxyrhynchus, in contravention of the privileges of Theon and Arsinoüs as Antinoite citizens, had nominated them as collectors of money-taxes in the metropolis. On receiving information of this they applied to the senate of their native city, who sent a letter of remonstrance to the epistrategus Antonius

Alexander. A copy of this interesting letter, which is dated in A.D. 244, is given in ll. 14-22. It is a vindication of the privilege enjoyed by Antinoïtes of immunity from public burdens outside their own city (cf. note on l. 16). That privilege had been granted by their founder Hadrian, had been confirmed by his successors, and respected by a long line of praefects and epistrategi. Antonius Alexander is asked to follow this example, and to instruct the strategus of Oxyrhynchus to call the offending amphodogrammateus to account. He did so two months later in a letter transcribed in ll. 22-4. The strategus passed on the correspondence to the amphodogrammateus demanding explanations, and the reply of the latter follows in ll. 25-8. He acknowledges his error, admitting that Theon and Arsinoïus had the rights of Antinoïte citizens, and apparently himself undertaking the duty which he had wrongly imposed upon them. In the upper margin a short note has been added by the strategus to whom the petition was addressed, forwarding the document to the phylarch, as requested by the petitioners (ll. 2-5); and at the foot (l. 30) is the signature of the agent who delivered it.

The lines are of great length and there is a large lacuna at the commencement of each. The restorations adopted often aim at no more than indicating the general sense, which is for the most part clear.

- |   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| 1 |  | κη.  |
| 2 | [ στρατηγὸς Ὀξύρυγχείτου ]   | Αύρηλίῳ Ἡρᾷ φυλάρχῳ(φ)<br>τοῦ εἰσιόντος δ' (ἔτους).  |
| 3 | [ἐπιστέλλεται σοι τὸ βιβλίδιον Αύρηλίῳ Θέωνος καὶ Ἀρσινόῳ]υ  | ἀμφοτέρων Θέωνος Σεβαστείων τῶν καὶ Διοσκουρείων Ἀντι-<br>νοέων, ἐντεταγμένων καὶ ἀντιγράφων ἐπιστολῶν δύο, τὴν μὲν<br>γρα(φείσαν)                                     |
| 4 | [ὑπὸ τῆς κρατίστης Ἀντινοέων βουλῆς Ἀντωνίῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ   | κρα(τίστῳ) ἐπιστρα(τήγῳ),] τὴν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστρα-<br>(τήγου) τῷ τότε γινομένῳ στρα(τηγῷ), ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς γενομένης<br>προσφωνήσεως ὑπὸ τοῦ τότε ἀμφοδογραμματέως. |
| 5 | [(ἔτους) γ Ἀυτοκρατόρων Καισάρων Γαΐου Οὐίβιου Τρεβωνιανοῦ   | Γάλλου καὶ Γαΐου Οὐίβιου]υ Ἀφινίου Γάλλου Οὐέλδουμιανοῦ<br>Οὐλουσιανοῦ Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν (2nd hand)<br>Μεσορῆ κγ.   |
| 6 | 3rd hand [. . . στρατηγῷ Ὀξύρυγχείτου παρὰ Αύρηλίῳ Θέωνος καὶ Ἀρσι-<br>νόου Θέωνος Σεβαστείων τῶν] καὶ Διοσκουρείων Ἀντινοέων. |  |

ἐπεὶ τῇ πρὸ ταύτης περιόδῳ τῶν μελλόντων λειτουργεῖν τοῖς  
ἐνταῦθα ἀμφόδοις ὁ τότε γενόμενος ἀμφοδογραμματεὺς

7 [ *Ἀύρηλιος Σαραπίων* 40 letters εἰσήγ]γειλεν ἡμᾶς διὰ τῆς  
καταχωρισθείσης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γραφῆς λειτουργιῶν εἰς πρακτο-  
ρίαν ἀργυρικῶν τῆς μητροπόλεως, αὐτοὶ τε εὐθέως περιηχη-  
θέντες ἐκέϊσε

8 [ 51 letters οὐχ ἡσυχάσα]μεν, ἀλλὰ προσήλθομεν τῇ κρατίστῃ  
βουλῇ ὑψηγησάμενοι τὴν τόλμαν καὶ τὴν παρανομίαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
ἀμφοδογραμματέως, ἥτις ἀγανακτήσασα ἐπέστειλεν τῷ

9 [κρατίστῳ ἐπιστρατηγῷ Ἀντωνίῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ὃς τὸν νοῦν προσέ-  
χων δικαίως τοῖς μάλιστα δεδομένοις τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πατρίδι  
ἐπέστειλεν τῷ τότε στρατηγῷ Ἀύρηλίῳ Δείῳ τῷ καὶ Περτί-  
νακι κελεύσας αὐτὸν ἐπαναγκασθῆναι ἢ προχειρίσασθαι

10 [ἐτέρους ἀνθ' ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν ἢ 29 letters ] τὰ  
τῆς παρανομίας, ὃ τε στρατηγὸς πάντα ἐπέστειλεν τῷ  
ἀμφοδογραμματεῖ, ἐκεῖνός τε εὐλαβῶς ἔχων τὸν ἐπηρητημένον  
αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ παρανομήματος κίνδυνον

11 [ 36 letters αὐτὸς ὑπέσχετο ἀντὶ τῆς ἀμα]ρτίας, ἀγνοίας  
πρ[ό]φασιν ὑποτειμησάμενος, ὑποστήσασθαι τῷ [με]τὰ τοῦτο  
τὰς λειτουργίας. ὅθεν καὶ νῦν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ καὶ τὸν νυνεὶ  
φύλαρχον δοκεῖν ἀγνοεῖν αὐτὰ ταῦτα

12 [ 39 letters διὰ τὸ τὸν ἕτερον ἡμῶν Ἀύ]ρήλιον Θεῶνα ἐκεῖ  
ἐν τῇ πατρίδι εἶναι προσευκαιροῦντα ταῖς λειτουργίαις εἰς  
ἀ[ς] προχειρίσθημεν τοῦ στοίχου καταλαβόντος τὴν ἡμετέραν  
βουλὴν τῷ ἐνεστῶ-

13 [τι ἔτει . . . . . ἐπιδίδομέν σοι τὰ ὑποκείμενα ἀντίγραφα ἀξιοῦντες  
αὐ]τὰ ταῦτα φανερὰ γενέσθαι δι' ἐνὸς τῶν περὶ σὲ ὑπηρετῶν  
τῷ τῶν μελλόντων λειτουργεῖν ἀμφόδων φύλαρχῳ Ἀύρηλίῳ  
'*Ἡρᾶ* ἴν' εἰδῆ. (ἔτους) γ Ἀυτοκρατόρων Καισάρων

14 [Γαῖου Οὐίβιου Τρεβωνιανοῦ Γάλλου καὶ Γαῖου Οὐίβιου Ἀφινίου  
Γάλλου]ν Οὐελδουμιανοῦ Οὐολουσιανοῦ Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν  
Σεβαστῶν (2nd hand) Μεσορή. (3rd hand) ἔστι δὲ τὰ  
ἀντίγραφα Ἀντινοέων νέων Ἑλλήνων τῆς λαμπρᾶς πόλεως  
οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ ἡ βουλὴ

- 15 [Αιτανίῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ κρατίστῳ ἐπιστρατήγῳ χαίρειν. οἴσθηα,  
κράτιστε τῶν ἐπιτρόπων, τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς εἰ καὶ τις  
ἕτερος πλήρης γεγονὸς τῶν ἐξαιρέτων τῆς ἡμετέρας πατρίδος  
δικαιωμάτων, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν θεὸς Ἀδριανὸς
- 16 [ 40 letters ] . εἰς αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πόλεων  
ἐνομοθέτησεν σαφῶς παρὰ νόμοις μὲν ἡμεῖν ἄρχειν καὶ λει-  
τουργεῖν, πασῶν δὲ ἀπηλλάχθη τῶν παρ' ἄλλοις ἀρχῶν τε  
καὶ λειτουργιῶν, ἔπειτα δὲ
- 17 [ 31 letters ] διαδεξάμενοι τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν ὑπάρχου[σ]αν  
ἡμεῖν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀδιαν εἰ[βεβ]αίωσαν πολλάκις, οἷς ἐπόμενοι  
εὐσεβῶς καὶ οἱ κατὰ καιρ[ὸν] ἠγησάμενοι τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ ὑμεῖς  
οἱ κράτιστοι οὐ μόνον ἀφίεται
- 18 [ἡμᾶς πασῶν τῶν παρ' ἄλλοις ἀρχῶν τε καὶ λειτουργιῶν] ἀλλὰ  
καὶ δίκην ἀπ[α][τ]εῖται τῆς παρανομίας παρὰ τῶν πλημ[μελ]εῖν  
ἐπιχειρούντων εἰς τε τὰς θείας νομοθεσίας κα[ὶ] τὰς τῶν  
ἠγεμόνων κρίσις. ἐπεὶ οὖν Ἀυρήλιοι Θεὸν καὶ Ἀρσίνοος παρ' ἡ-
- 19 [μῖν (?) 36 letters ] συμπολεῖται ἡμέτεροι προσῆλθον ἡμεῖν διὰ  
βιβλιδίων αἰτιώμενοι Σαραπίωνα ἀμφοδογραμματέα τῆς  
'Οξύρυχειτῶν πόλεως ὡς ἀμφοτέρους αὐτοὺς εἰς πρακτορίαν  
μητροπολετικῶν
- 20 [ἀργυρικῶν ἀναδεδωκότα 23 letters ] ἐπ[ε]ίδιδ[ο]μεν σοι τῇ  
ἐπιμελείᾳ ὅπως κελεύσης [τ]ῷ στρατηγῷ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ  
δυοῖν θάτερον γενέσθαι, τὸν ἀμφοδογραμματέα γνωσιμαχή-  
σαντα ἐτέρους ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀναδοῦναι
- 21 [εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν ἢ 16 letters ] ἀπαντῆσαι] πρὸς τὴν ε[ὐ]τυχῶς  
ἐσομένην σου ἐπιδημίαν εἶνα κατὰ το[ὺ]ς πατέρας τῆς ἡμετέρας  
πολιτείας νόμους λόγον ὑπόσχη τ[ῆ]ς τε τῶν θείων νόμον καὶ  
τῶν ἠγεμο[ν]ικῶν κρίσεων
- 22 [ἕβρεως 18 letters ] ἐρῶσθαί σε εὐχόμεθα.] (ἔτους) β Μάρκων  
'Ιουλίῶν Ἀθῦρ λ. ἀντίγραφον ἐπισ[το]λῆς' Ἀντώνιος Ἀλέξαν-  
δρος στρατηγῷ Ὀξύρυχείτου χαίρειν. τίνα μοι ἐπέστειλαν  
'Ἀντιοέων νέων Ἑλλήνων λαμ-
- 23 [πρᾶς πόλεως οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ὅπως εἰδῆς το]ύτ[οις]  
μου τοῖς γράμμασι ὑπ[ο]ταγῆν[αι] ἐκέλευσά σοι. φρόντι[σο]ν



- τὸν ἀμφοδογραμματέα ὧν αἰτιῶνται τῇ ἑαυτῶν πολιτείᾳ  
προσῆκοντας ἀναδεδωκέ[α]μ εἰς πρακτορίαν παρῆναι
- 24 [ 17 letters λόγον ὑποσχέσονται ὧν ἔπραξεν παρὰ τὰ  
νενομ]οθετημένα, εἰ ἔτι αὐ]τοὺς ὡς προσῆκοντας αὐτ[ῶ] ὑπα-  
γαγεῖν ἐπιχειροίη τῇ λειτουργίᾳ. ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι.  
(ἔτους) β Μάρκων Ἰουλίων Μεχειρ γ. τῆς δὲ προσφωνήσεως·
- 25 [Αὐρηλίω Δεῖφ τῶ καὶ Περτίνακι στρατηγῶ Ὁξύρυγχείτῃ παρ]ὰ  
Αὐρηλίου Σαραπίωνος ἀμφοδογραμματέως τῆς Ὁξύρυγχ[ε]ιτῶν  
πόλεως. ἐπεστάλην ὑπὸ [σο]ῦ τῇ α τοῦ Φαμενώθ μηνὸς  
ἐπίσταλμα ᾧ ἐντέτακται ἀντίγραφον
- 26 [ἐπιστολῆς τῆς γραφείσης σοι ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ κρατίστ]τ[ο]υ  
ἐπιστρατήγου, ὑποτεταγμένων αὐτῇ καὶ [τ]ῶν ἀνεμ[ε]χθ[ε]ντων  
αὐ]τῶ ὑπὸ τῆς κρατίστ[τ]ης τῶν Ἀντινοέων βουλῆς ἕνεκεν  
Αὐρηλίω Θεώνος καὶ Ἀρσινόου διδυμα-
- 27 [γενῶν 17 letters ἀναδοθέντων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εἰς πρακτορίαν  
ἀργυ]ρικῶν μητροπόλεως, ὧν τὸν ἔτερ[ο]ν Ἀρσίνοον ὡς Πατερ-  
μ. [. . . . ., ὅπως τὴν κάθοδον ποιήσομαι πρὸς τὸν κράτιστον  
ἐπιστράτ[ηγ]ον ἐὰν ἔτι αὐτοὺς ὡς προσῆκοντας
- 28 [ἡμῖν ὑπαγαγεῖν ἐπιχειρῶ τῇ λειτουργίᾳ. ἐπισκεψάμενος οὖν  
εὖρον αὐ]τοὺς ἔχειν δίκαια Ἀντινοεϊκὰ ἐκ πατρός], ὥς καὶ  
ἔκτοτε μαθ[ῶ]ν ὑπέστ]ην τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λειτουργίαν· ἅπερ  
προσφωνῶ. (ἔτους) β Μάρκων Ἰουλίω Φαρμουῦθι ιγ.
- 29 4th hand [Αὐρήλιοι Θεών καὶ Ἀρσίνοος Θεώνος ἐπ]ιδεδώκαμεν.
- 30 5th hand [ ] ἐπήνεγκα. (6th  
hand?) (ἔτους) γ Μεσορῆ κθ. [. . . . .]. λ( ) κολ(λήματα)  
κε κζ.

3. αντινοεων added above the line. 1. τῆς μὲν γρα(φείσης). 4. 1. τῆς δέ. ησε in προσφωνη-  
σεως corr. 7. ω of καταχωρισθεισης above ο which is crossed through. 11. ὑποστησεσθαι  
Pap. 12. α of ταις corr. 13. ἰν Pap. 15. 1. γεγονώς. 16. 1. μόγοις for νομοις.  
17. 1. τούτω. ν of εθνους corr. from ο. ὑμεις Pap. 1. ἀφίετε. 20.  
σ of σοι corr. from ο; 1. σοῦ. 22. ἰουλιων Pap.; so in l. 24. 23. 1. ὦν for ων. 28. μ  
of φαρμουθι corr. from ο.

' . . . , strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to Aurelius Heras, phylarch for the coming  
fourth year. I send you the petition of Aurelius Theon and Aurelius Arsinoüs, both sons  
of Theon, Antinoites of the Sebasteian tribe and Dioscureian deme, enclosed in which are  
copies of two letters, one written by the most high senate of the Antinoites to Antonius

Alexander the most high epistrategus, the other by the said epistrategus to the then strategus, and also a copy of the reply made by the then amphodogrammateus. The third year of the Emperors and Caesars Gaius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus and Gaius Vibius Afinius Gallus Veldumianus Volusianus Pii Felices Augusti, Mesore 23.

'To . . ., strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Theon and Aurelius Arsinoüs, sons of Theon, Antinoïtes of the Sebasteian tribe and Dioscureian deme. In the previous cycle of the persons about to serve in the quarters of this city, the amphodogrammateus then in office, Aurelius Sarapion, [ignoring our rights,] in the list of burdens submitted by him returned us for the collection of money-taxes in the metropolis, and we immediately on receiving information of it . . . did not acquiesce but applied to the most high senate, recounting the audacity and illegality of the said amphodogrammateus. The senate was indignant and sent to the most high epistrategus Antonius Alexander, who, heedful of the rights especially accorded to our native city, sent to the then strategus Aurelius Dius also called Pertinax directing that the amphodogrammateus should be compelled either to present some other persons instead of us for the office, or [to pay the penalty for] his illegality. The strategus sent the whole correspondence to the amphodogrammateus, and he, being aware of the danger hanging over him in consequence of his illegal action . . ., himself promised in amends for his error, for which he pleaded the excuse of ignorance, to undertake the burden for the future. Now, therefore, in order that the present phylarch may not appear to be ignorant of these facts . . . because one of us, Aurelius Theon, is there in our native city attending to the duties to which we have been assigned, since the turn has come to our senate in the present year to . . ., we submit to you the following copies, begging that they may be communicated for his information by means of one of your assistants to Aurelius Heras, phylarch of the quarters about to serve. The third year of the Emperors and Caesars Gaius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus and Gaius Vibius Afinius Gallus Veldumianus Volusianus Pii Felices Augusti, Mesore. The copies are as follows:—

'The officials and senate of the illustrious city of the Antinoïtes, new Hellenes, to Antonius Alexander the most high epistrategus, greeting. You are aware, highest of procurators, you who during your procuratorship have been especially concerned with the exceptional rights claimed by our native city, that originally the deified Hadrian . . . [distinguishing] it from the other cities in Egypt clearly established the law that we should bear office and burdens nowhere but at home, and we were relieved of all offices and burdens elsewhere; and next . . . his successors on the throne often confirmed our immunity in this respect, and they have been scrupulously followed by the praefects appointed from time to time and by you the most high epistrategi, who not only release us from all external offices and burdens but also punish the lawlessness of those who attempt to offend against the Imperial legislation and the judgements of praefects. Whereas, then, Aurelius Theon and Aurelius Arsinoüs . . . our fellow-citizens have approached us in a petition accusing Sarapion, amphodogrammateus of the city of Oxyrhynchus, of having illegally nominated them both for the collection of money-taxes in the metropolis, . . . we apply to your heedfulness in order that you may direct the strategus of the said nome to have one of two things done, namely that the amphodogrammateus, if he gives way, should nominate to the office other persons in their stead, or else [be compelled to] appear before you at your coming auspicious visit, in order that in accordance with the ancestral usages of our constitution he may render an account for his outrage upon the Imperial laws and the judgements of praefects . . . We pray for your health. The second year of the Marci Julii, Hathur 30th.

'Copy of the letter. Antonius Alexander to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome,

greeting. I have ordered the document sent me by the officials and senate of the illustrious city of the Antinoïtes, new Hellenes, to be appended for your information to this letter. See that the amphodogrammateus whom they accuse of having nominated to the office of collector members of their polity appear . . . to give an account for his defiance of the law, if he still attempts to subject them to the office as persons within his province. I pray for your health. The second year of the Marci Julii, Mecheir 3.

‘Copy of the report. To Aurelius Dius also called Pertinax, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Sarapion, amphodogrammateus of the city of Oxyrhynchus. I received from you on Phamenoth the 1st a missive to which was appended a copy of a letter written to you by Antonius Alexander, the most high epistrategus, with an enclosure in the latter of the appeal made to him by the most high senate of the Antinoïtes on behalf of Aurelius Theon and Aurelius Arsinoüs, twins . . ., who were nominated by me for the collection of money-taxes in the metropolis, one of whom, Arsinoüs, . . ., directing that I should go down to appear before the most high epistrategus, if I still attempt to subject them to the burden as persons within our province. I have accordingly investigated the matter and found that they possess hereditary Antinoïte rights, and I immediately on learning this undertook the burden on their behalf; I accordingly make this report. The second year of the Marci Julii, Pharmouthi 13.

‘Presented by us, Aurelius Theon and Aurelius Arsinoüs, sons of Theon.

‘Delivered by me, . . . 3rd year, Mesore 29 . . . pages 25-27.’

1. κη is an official number; cf. l. 30.

2. φυλάρχ(ω): this title does not seem to have occurred in other papyri of the period, but Wilcken informs me that it is found in a fourth-century Leipzig papyrus which he is editing in his *Chrestomathie*; cf. the γνωστήρ φυλ(ης) of P. Leipzig 65. 7.

4. Ἀνωτίω Ἀλεξάνδρω: cf. l. 22. This epistrategus of the Heptanomia is not otherwise known.

5. For the date cf. ll. 13-14 and 30. It is at first sight surprising, because the Galli only just reached their third year, and the accession of Valerian and Gallienus must have been known in Egypt long before the end of August of 254. The explanation probably is that the covering note of the strategus was, like the petition, written early in the year, and that the month, which is by the same hand as that which inserted Μεσορή in l. 14, was subsequently added without any modification of the regnal year. This will not account for the date in l. 30, which, however, might very naturally be made to conform to those in ll. 2 and 5.

6. περιώδω: cf. 1030. 2, where the word should be taken, as here, in a temporal and not a local sense. For the ἀμφοδι in connexion with λειτουργίαι cf. 1116. 5 and note, B. G. U. 958. c. 11-12 τοῦ νυνὶ λειτουργοῦντος ἀμφοδου. The initial supplement here is rather long, but perhaps this first line projected slightly.

7. ἐκέισε: i. e. probably at Antinoöpolis; cf. l. 12. The division ἐκεί σε is less likely.

8. προσήλθομεν τῇ κρατίστῃ βουλῇ: cf. B. G. U. 1022, a petition to the Antinoïte senate on a similar occasion. For οὐχ ἡσυχάσαμεν cf. e. g. P. Flor. 57. 50, B. G. U. 908. 13, P. Tebt. 330. 8; but of course various other phrases are possible.

10. For the supplement cf. l. 20.

11. Cf. l. 28; but why the amphodogrammateus himself undertakes the λειτουργία, as he apparently does, is not clear. The βουλή in l. 20 only asks that he should be made to nominate other persons.

12. Cf. 487. 15 τῇ γεοργία μου προσευκερύν. The λειτουργία to which the petitioners had been appointed at Antinoöpolis was apparently some burden which the μητροπόλεις undertook in turn. πρὸς τό may be supplied instead of διὰ τό, ‘in order that he may.’

14. νέων Ἑλλήνων: so e. g. B. G. U. 1022. 2, Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.* 709. 4; cf. Wilcken, *Archiv* iv. p. 118.

15. Cf. B. G. U. 168. 3 ἐπιτρόπων μ[έγ]στε, in a petition to an epistrategus, 899. 25, note, and V. Martin, *Épistratèges*, p. 109. It is clear from these passages that the reference is to the present and not, as τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς at first suggests, to a previous office of Antonius Alexander. The supplement at the beginning of the line both here and in l. 25 is somewhat shorter than would be expected, but this may be explained by supposing that spaces were left before χαίρειν and παρ'ἄ; or perhaps iotas adscript were written.

16. The first letter is probably η, ν, or ρ: perhaps χωρ(ε)ίς. Cf. B. G. U. 1022. 6-10 οὐκ ἀ[γ]νοεῖτε, ἄνδρες κράτιστοι, ὅτι πασῶν [λει]τουργιᾶ[ν] ἀφ' {θ} εἰθήμεν τῶν ἀλλαχοῦ [κατ]ὰ διάταξιν θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ οἰκιστοῦ [τ]ῆς ἡμετέρας πόλ[ε]ως.

17. εἰ[βεβ]αίωσαν (Wilcken) is more probable than εἰ[δικ]αίωσαν, of which I had thought. For ἡγούμενοι τοῦ ἔθνους cf. 1020. 5.

22-3. The insertion of ὅπως εἰδῆς gives the sentence the form of an indirect question. The use of τίς for ὅς is found in the N. T., e. g. Mark xiv. 36, Luke xvii. 8, as well as in papyri and inscriptions, e. g. 1155. 13, B. G. U. 822. 5, P. Brit. Mus. 239. 10, but is perhaps better avoided in a comparatively well written document like the present.

26. δυδυμα[γενῶν]: cf. e. g. B. G. U. 26. 10, 115. i. 12. This fact has not previously been stated, unless it was in l. 17.

27. ὄν τὸν ἔτερ[υ]ν κτλ.: cf. l. 12; Πατερμ. [ seems to be some local Oxyrhynchite name. A verb to govern the accusative has to be supplied, but there is very little room for it; perhaps there has been some omission.

28. ὑπέστ[η]ν is obtained from l. 11; cf. the note there.

30. Cf. the note on l. 5.

#### 1120. PETITION.

27 × 9.5 cm.

Early third century.

This petition, like 1117, is no more than a draft; it lacks address and conclusion, and the name of the writer, a widow, is not given. She accuses one man of an outrage upon her son-in-law and another of an act of violence against herself. The document may have been intended for the strategus.

Περὶ ἧς πέπονθεν ἐπὶ  
τόπων ὁ ἀνὴρ τῆς θυ-  
γατρὸς μου Πολυδεύκης  
βιβλείδια ἐπιδέδωκα  
5 ταῖς τάξεσι κατὰ τοῦ  
ὑβρίσαντος αὐτὸν Εὐ-  
δαίμονος, ἀλλὰ οὗτος ἐξεί-

σχυσεν τὰ βιβλείδια ἀθε-  
 τηθήναι, ἵνα μὴ φάνη  
 10 ἐπελευστικός. κατὰ τοῦτο  
 μαρτύρομαι τὴν βίαν  
 γυνὴ χήρα καὶ ἀσθενής.  
 Θῶνις γὰρ ὃν κουράτωρ Σεύ-  
 θου εἰσεπήδησεν εἰς  
 15 τὴν οἰκίαν μου καὶ ἐτόλ-  
 μησεν ἀποσπάσαι δού-  
 λην μου Θεοδώραν μὴ  
 ἔχων κατ' αὐτῆς ἐξου-  
 σίαν, ὡς ἐν παντὶ σθέ-  
 20 νει βίαν με σχεῖν.

6. ὑβρισαντος Pap.  
 εχων corr. from ο.

9. ἴνα Pap.

11. After μαρτυρο a blank space.

18. ω of

‘ Concerning the outrage suffered at his abode by my son-in-law Polydeuces I presented to the officials a petition against the perpetrator, Eudaemon; but his influence procured the failure of the petition, so that he should not seem indictable. I accordingly testify to his violence, being a feeble widow woman. For Thonis the curator of Seuthes rushed into my house and dared to carry off my slave Theodora, though he had no power over her, so that I am subjected to unmitigated violence.’

1. ἦς: sc. ὑβρεως; cf. l. 6.

13. κουράτωρ: cf. 888. 3, note.

## 1121. PETITION TO A BENEFICIARIUS.

25.6 × 16.8 cm.

A. D. 295.

A petition from a woman accusing two neighbours of having seized some property which had belonged to her mother and of which she was the heir. The writer announces her intention of proceeding against the offenders, and asks that they should be made to give security for their appearance.

Ἐπὶ τῶν ὄντων ὑπάτων.

Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀμμωνίῳ β(ενε)φ(ικιαρίῳ) ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου

παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Τεχάσιος Διοδώρ[ο]υ μητρὸς Τεχάσιος ἀπὸ τῆς Μικρᾶς

- Ὁάσεως καταγεινομένης ἐν τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ Ὁξυρυγχειῶν  
 5 πόλι. οὐκ ὀλίγος κίνδυνος οὐδὲ ἡ τυχοῦσα ἐπιστρέφεια ἐπήρτηται  
 ἐκείνοις τοῖς εὐχερῶς συλήσει καὶ ἀρπαγαῖς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἑαυτοὺς  
 ἐπιδιδούσι. καὶ αὐτὴ γὰρ ἀνυπέβλητον ἐπίθεσιν καὶ ἀρπαγὴν πά-  
 σχουσα πρόσκειμι μαρτυρο[μέν]η τὰ εἰς με ἐπιχειρηθέντα. ἡ προ-  
 κειμένη μου μήτηρ Τεχῶσις νόσφ κατα[β]λ[η]θείσα κατὰ τὴν ἑμαυτῆς  
 10 μετριότητα ταύτην ἐνοσοκόμησα καὶ ὑπρέτησα καὶ οὐκ ἐ-  
 παυσάμην τὰ πρέποντα γείνεσθαι ὑπὸ τέκνων γονεῦσι ἀναπλη-  
 ροῦσα. ὥσπερ ταύτης πρὸ ὀλίγων τούτων ἡμερῶν τὸν βίον ἀναπαυ-  
 σαμένης ἀδιαθέτου ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ κληρονόμῳ κατὰ τοὺς νό-  
 μους, πάλιν τὰ πρὸς τὴν κηδίαν αὐτῆς παρέσχον καὶ τὰ καθήκον-  
 15 τα ἐπὶ τῷ θ[α]νάτῳ ἐξετέλεσα. καὶ ὡς ἐμοῦ περὶ τὴν συμφορὰν οὐ-  
 σης οὐκ οἶδα τίνι λόγῳ ἢ πόθεν κεινηθέντες Σωτᾶς τις καὶ Πα-  
 ποντῶς καταμένοντες ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ οἰκίᾳ ἔνθα ἡ μήτηρ μου  
 ᾤκει ἐκ γιτόνων μου ἐπιστάντες τοῖς καταλιφθεῖσι ὑπ' αὐτῆς κεινου-  
 μένοις τε πλείστοις, χρυσῷ οὐκ ὀλίγῳ, ἐνδομενεῖα τοιαύτη, αἰσθη-  
 20 τι πολυτεμειοτάτῃ, καὶ ἄλλοις, ἅπαντα ὡς ἐν ἀνομίᾳ[ι]ς ἀπεσύλη-  
 σαν, τίνι ἐπαγόμενοι οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι. καὶ ἵνα [ἐ]μοῦ τὴν περὶ τούτου ἐκ-  
 δικίαν αἰτεῖν μελλούσης παρὰ τῷ μείζονι οὗτοι ἐμφάνιαν ἑαν-  
 τῶν ποιήσονται ἀναγκαίως ἐπιδίδωμι τάδε τὰ βιβλία μαρτυρο-  
 μέ[ν]η μὲν τὸ ἐπιχείρημα ἀξιούσα δὲ τούτους ἐπαναγκασθῆναι  
 25 ἰκ[ανὰ] ἔνγραφα παρασχεῖν μονῆς καὶ ἐμφανείας, ἐμοῦ ἤδη τὴν  
 πρ[ὸ]ς τὸν μ[ί]ζονα φυγὴν ποιουμένη(ς), τού[τ]ων δὲ τὰ ἴσα διὰ τῆς σῆς  
 ἐμ[μελίας] ἀνυσθῆναι τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ. ἔ[το]υς ια καὶ ἔτους ι  
 τῶ[ν] κυρίω[ν] ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμι[αν]οῦ Σεβαστῶ[ν] καὶ  
 ἔτους γ  
 τῶ[ν] κυρίω[ν] ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων  
 30 Καισ[άρων] Μεχεῖρ ιδ.  
 Ἀνρ[ηλία] Τε[χ]ῶσις ἐπιδέδωκα. Ἀνρῆλιος Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων Σερήνου  
 ἔγρ[αψα] ὑπ' ἐρ αὐτῆς φαμένης μὴ εἰδ[έ]ναι γράμμ[α]τα.

On the verso

2nd hand Τασσαβῆς τῷ β(ε)ν(ε)φ(ικιαρίῳ) κατὰ τῶν τέκν[ων] αὐτῆς.

and at right angles

3rd hand Πολυδεύκει ἀπὸ τῆς

35 . . [.] . . λ( )

πάρος ἔτους τούτου χρόνου.

1. ὑπατων Pap. 7. ἀνῦπερβλητων Pap. 10. ὑπηρετησα Pap. 19. l. ἐσθῆτι. 21.  
ἴνα Pap. 25. ἱκανα Pap. 26. ἴσα Pap. 28. σεβαστων corr. from σεβαστου?

‘In the consulship of the present consuls. To Aurelius Ammonius, beneficiarius of the praefect of Egypt, from Aurelia Techosis daughter of Diodorus and Techosis, of the Small Oasis, now living at the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus. No small danger and no ordinary severity awaits those who lightly give themselves over to plunder and robbery of the property of others. I therefore, being the victim of a most outrageous attack and robbery, approach you to testify to the assault upon me. Techosis, my aforesaid mother, was stricken with illness, and I in the goodness of my heart nursed and tended her and was assiduous in performing what is owing from children to parents. When a few days ago she died intestate, leaving me her daughter heir in accordance with the law, I provided for her funeral and did all that was fitting on the occasion of her death. While I was occupied with my trouble, I know not on what ground or with what impulse, a certain Sotas and Papontos, who are my neighbours in the same house where my mother lived, possessing themselves of the extensive movables left by her, a considerable amount of gold, a quantity of furniture, some very valuable clothes, and other things, lawlessly carried them all off, on what inducement I cannot tell. I am about to demand satisfaction for this of the superior official, and in order that they may put in an appearance I perforce present this petition, testifying to the assault and requesting that they may be compelled to provide written security that they will stay and appear, since I am already having recourse to the official, and that a copy of this document be prepared through your grace for the praefect’s office.’ Date and signature of Aurelia Techosis, written for her by Aurelius Agathodaemon.

1. The document is dated on Feb. 8 (l. 30) when the names of the consuls for the year were very likely not yet known. This is a more probable reason for their omission than the desire for brevity which prompted the formula ἐφ’ ἱερέων καὶ ἱερείων τῶν ὄντων καὶ οὐσῶν in the later Ptolemaic contracts. Cf. the use of δηλωθησόμενος and ἀποδειχθησόμενος, e. g. 902. 19.

2. Cf. P. Brit. Mus. 1157. 4 βενεφικιαρίου ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου and P. Leipzig 20. 4, &c., β(ενε)φ(ικιαρίῳ) τάξεως ἡγεμονίας.

13. κατὰ τοὺς νόμους: i. e. the *senatus consultum Orfitianum*, *Inst.* iii. 4, *Dig.* xxxviii. 17; cf. 1114.

15. θ[α]νάτω: δ[υ]νατῶ is less suitable.

18. κεινουμένοις: cf. e. g. 126. 17 ἀκινήτων πραγμάτων, B. G. U. 8. ii. 8 κεινητοῖς καὶ ἀκεινήτοις.

25. ἱκανά Wilcken, who points out that this passage confirms his restoration of [ἐ]νγραφῆ in P. Brit. Mus. 214. 20; cf. *Archiv* i. 154, and for ἱκανὰ παρασχεῖν = *satis dare*, Wenger, *Rechtshist. Papyrusstud.* p. 87. For the technical μονῆς καὶ ἐμφανείας cf. e. g. P. Grenf. II. 62. 10, 79. 7, B. G. U. 581. 8.

33. This endorsement is mistaken; it was no doubt intended for another document.

34-6. These three obscure lines have no apparent connexion with the contents of the recto.

## (d) CONTRACTS.

## 1122. ENGAGEMENT OF SERVICES.

13.2 × 14 cm.

A.D. 407.

Commencement of a contract for personal attendance and service, in return for food and clothing; probably a money wage was also included in the agreement, which breaks off before this is reached. Cf. P. Strassb. 40, where the servant is described as a *φαμιλιάριος ἐδραῖος κατάδουλος παῖς* (A. D. 569), and *Archiv* v. pp. 260-1. On the verso is a small fragment of a money account.

Μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν τοῦ δεσπότητος ἡμῶν Ἀρκαδίου  
τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου τὸ 5 καὶ Φλ(αυίου) Πρόβου τοῦ λαμπ(ροτάτου)  
Παῦνι ιε.

Αὐρηλίῳ Διδύμῳ Θεώνος βουλ(ευτῆ) τῆς λαμπ(ρᾶς) καὶ λαμπ(ροτάτης)  
5 Ὁξυρυχιτῶν πόλεως  
παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Φοιβάμμωνος ἦτοι Λουκᾶ  
ἐκ πατρὸς Μέλανος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως  
χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἐκουσίᾳ καὶ αὐθαιρέτῳ γνώ-  
μη συντεθεῖσθαί με πρὸς σὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμαί  
10 παραμένιν παρὰ σοὶ καὶ συναποδημῖν  
σοὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλ[ο]δαπῆς καὶ ὑπακούειν σοὶ  
εἰς ἅπαν[τα τὰ ἐπιτραπησόμενά μοι  
ὑπὸ σοῦ, σ[ὶ] δὲ τρέφειν με . . . . .  
καὶ ἱματίξ[ε]ῖ[ν] 22 letters  
15 . ε . ε . . . . . ὠσ[ ]

1. ὑπατιαν Pap.

9. 1. ἐμέ.

11. ὑπακουειν Pap.

14. ἱματιξ[ε]ῖ[ν] Pap.

‘The year after the sixth consulship of our lord Arcadius, eternal Augustus, and Flavius Probus the most illustrious, Pauni 15. To Aurelius Didymus son of Theon, senator of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, from Aurelius Phoebammon otherwise Lucas, son of Melas, of the said city, greeting. I acknowledge of my own free will that I have made an agreement with you to attend you and travel with you in other lands and obey you in all your commands, while you are to feed and clothe me . . .’



11. ἀλλ[ο]δαπής: so P. Strassb. 40. 33. P. Hernals xvi. 11. 11-12 (*Archiv l. c.*) has ἔν τε τῇ πόλει καὶ κατ' ἀγρούς.

12. ἐπιτραπησόμενα: cf. e. g. B. G. U. 1021. 16; ἐπιταχθησόμενα (257. 11), or προσταχθησόμενα (P. Strassb. 40. 40), would also be suitable.

13-14. For the conjunction of τρέφειν and ἱματίζειν cf. e. g. 275. 14, B. G. U. 1021. 14. 1126. 22.

## 1123. DEVOLUTION OF DOMAIN-LAND.

12.3 x 9.4 cm.

A.D. 158-9.

In this contract the incoming tenant of some domain-land guarantees the daughter of the late cultivator, who had died, against any future demands for dues upon the land, over which he is given full rights, while he apparently promises to make no claims to any other part of the estate. The situation may be contrasted with that of 899, where the daughter and heir of a cultivator of domain-land petitions to be released from the responsibility (theoretically illegal) of continuing the cultivation; cf. B. G. U. 648, Rostowzew, *Röm. Kolonat.* pp. 196-7. In the present instance the heir was more fortunate and had found somebody willing to relieve her by becoming the tenant in her father's place.

- Ἀπίων Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Ἰσχυρίωνος μη-  
 [τρὸς] Ἀμμωνοῦτος θέσει Βαλλάρου Πε-  
 [. . . . .] . ιος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως Τα-  
 [. . . . .] Τεῶτος τοῦ Τοτοέως μητρὸς
- 5 Τσεγαφύγγιος ἀπὸ τοῦ Πετενούρι-  
 ος ἐποικίου, μετὰ κ[υρί]ου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Θά-  
 νιος Διογένου[ς] μητρὸς Ταπετσείριος  
 ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολό-  
 γῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀντιλήμψεσθαι τῆς
- 10 . [.] τῆς ἀναγραφομένης εἰς τὸν μετηλ-  
 [λαχότα σου] πατέρα Τεῶν περὶ τὸ Πετεν-  
 οῦριος ἐποικίον καὶ Πανεχμῶθ[ι]ν δημο-  
 σίας γῆς πάσης καὶ ἀπαρενόχλητόν σε  
 καὶ ἀνείσπρακτον [παρ]έξιν περὶ τῶν
- 15 τῆς αὐτῆς δημοσίας γῆς τελεσμάτ[ων]

πάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος δευτέρο[υ  
 εἴκοστοῦ ἔτους Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος  
 [τοῦ κυρίου] εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον,  
 [ἐμοῦ μὴ ἀντ]ιποιουμένου κυριεύ(ει)ν  
 20 [τοῦ ἐπιλ]οίπου φανησομένου ὑπ[άρ-  
 [χειν σοι] πατρικοῦ πόρου παντός,  
 [μόνον δὲ ἐ]ξουσίαν ἔχειν με οἰκονο-  
 [μείν περὶ τῆς γῆς διὰ τὸ ἐ]ξσεστάσθαι  
 [σε τῆς γεωργίας.

On the verso

π[.] . αλ( ) Τα[

2. Second μ of ἀμμωνουτος corr. from ω. 14. εἰ of ἀνεισπρακτον corr. from ἰσ.

‘Apion son of Sarapion son of Ischyriion, his mother being Ammonous adopted daughter of Ballarus son of Pe . . . is, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, to Τα. . . daughter of Teos son of Totoeus, her mother being Tsenaphunchis, of the village of Petenouris, with her guardian her husband Thonis son of Diogenes and Tapetsiris, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, greeting. I agree that I will henceforward undertake all the public land registered in the name of your departed father Teos at the village of Petenouris and Panechmothis, and that I will secure you against any trouble or liability in regard to all dues upon the said public land from the present 22nd year of Antoninus Caesar the lord continually; while I make no claim to control any remaining part which may be found to belong to you of your father’s estate, but only to have power to dispose of the land, since you have resigned the cultivation.’

5. Πετενούριος ἐποίκιον and Πανεχμῶθις (? l. 12) have not previously occurred.

10. Something like γεωργίας τῆς ἀναγραφομένης κτλ. is expected. The vestige of the first letter suggests α, ν, or possibly χ, but there would hardly be room for χ[ρ(ε)ίας], which is not in itself very satisfactory. α[ὐ]τῆς could be read, but is also unconvincing.

19 sqq. Apion here seems to be renouncing claims to property other than the land, and the proposed restoration proceeds on that hypothesis. The desirability of such a stipulation is evident from a comparison of B. G. U. 648, where the claim to the petitioner’s inheritance was based on the cultivation of her father’s βασιλικὴ γῆ.

23. For ἐξ[σ]εστάσθαι cf. e. g. 278. 11 ἐξέσταται τῶι Ἀντιφάνει τοῦ κατ’ αὐτὴν μ[έ]ρους, P. Tebt. 380. 19-20 ἐκίστασθαι τῶι Σαμβᾶ πάντων.

24. σ[ν]άλ(λαγμα) is unsuitable.

## 1124. LEASE OF LAND.

16 X 13.2 cm.

A.D. 26.

The latter part of a lease of land for one year, the rent to be paid partly in wheat, but on green crops in money (ll. 13-15, note).

[. . . . .] . να . [  
 νότον, ἀ[κίνδυν]ον δὲ τὸ ἀπότα[κτον παντὸς κιν-  
 δύνου. ἐ[ὰν] δέ τι πραχθῆ ὁ με[μισ]θωμένος  
 εἰς τὸ δη[μ]όσιον ἢ εἰς ἄλλο τι [ὑ]πὲρ Διονυσίου  
 5 ἢ τῆς γῆ[s, ὑ]πολογεῖτω ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀ[π]οτάκτου, τῶν  
 [δὲ κα]ρπ[ῶν] κυριευέτω Διονύσιος [κ]αὶ οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ  
 [ἐ]φ[σ] ἂν τὸ ἀπότακτο[ν] κομίσηται. τῆς δὲ μισ-  
 θώσεως βεβαιουμέ[ν]ης ἀποδώτω ὁ μεμισθω-  
 μένος τῷ Διονυσίῳ [τ]ὸ ἀπότακτον ἐν τῷ Παύνι  
 10 μηνὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτου[s] ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ Τρύφανος  
 Ἰσιῆου ἀλω[ν] πυρρὸν νέο[ν] καθαρὸν ἄδολον ἄκριθον  
 μέτρῳι τε[τρ]αχοινίκω[ι] Ἀμμων[ί]ου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου,  
 ἢ ἀποτισιάτ[ω] αὐτῷ τιμῆν ἐκάστη[s] ἀρτάβης ἥς ἐὰν  
 μὴ ἀποδῶ ἀ]ργυρί[ου δ]ραχμὰς [. . . , τῆς δ' ἀπὸ  
 15 ξυλαμῆς κ[αὶ] ἐκφόρ[ι]ον διπλοῦν, τοῦ δ' ἐγκατα-  
 λιπεῖν τῇ[ν γε]ωργία[ν] χωρὶς τῶν προκειμένων  
 ἐπίτιμον ἀργυρίου) (δραχμὰς) ἐκατὸ[ν] καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τὰς  
 ἴσας, καὶ ἡ π[ρ]ᾶξις ἔστω Διονυσίῳ ἐκ τε τοῦ μεμισ-  
 θωμένου [κ]αὶ ἐξ οὗ ἐ[ὰν] αἰρήται καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρ-  
 20 χόντων αὐτῷ πάντων, καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης. κυρία  
 ἡ μίσθωσ[ις.] (ἔτους) ιγ [Τι]βερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ  
 Φαῶφι λ.

2nd hand Διονύσιος Θέωνος μεμισθωκα καθότι πρόκειται.  
 (ἔτους) ιγ Τ[ι]βερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Φαῶ(φι) λ.

'... the rent being free of all risk. If any demand be made upon the lessee for the government or for any other purpose on account of Dionysius or the land, the amount shall be deducted from the rent; and Dionysius and his agents shall retain the ownership of the crops until he recover the rent. The lease being guaranteed, the lessee shall pay to Dionysius the rent in the month Pauni of the said year at the threshing-floors of Isieum Tryphonis in wheat that is new, pure, unadulterated, and unmixed with barley, by the 4-choenix measure of Ammonius son of Ptolemaeus, or shall forfeit as the value of every artaba which he does not pay . . . drachmae of silver and double the rent of the land sown with green produce, while the penalty for abandoning the cultivation, in addition to the amounts aforesaid, shall be 100 drachmae of silver and to the treasury an equal sum; and Dionysius shall have the right of execution upon the lessee or anyone he chooses and upon all his property as if in accordance with a legal decision. This lease is valid.' Date and signature of Dionysius.

3-5. Cf. P. Tebt. 105. 48 and 277. 8-10, where ἡ τ[ῆ]ς γῆς is to be read, as here, before ἐπ]ολογείται.

12. For similar measures cf. e. g. 101. 40, P. Tebt 376. 24, note, P. Strassb. 1. 9, note.

13-15. It may be inferred from this distinction between the rent in wheat and that on the land ἀπὸ ξυλαμῆς that different categories of produce had been previously specified. ξυλαμή and ξυλαμῶν are almost always used of green crops like ἄρακος or χόρτος.

15-16. τοῦ δ' ἐγκαταλείπειν κτλ.; cf. 729. 20, P. Tebt. 105. 44, Berger, *Strafklauseln*, pp. 154-6, 162-4.

### 1125. LEASE OF LAND AND LOAN.

9.2 × 11.10 cm.

Second century.

Part of a contract for a lease of some land, with an advance from one of the lessors of 200 drachmae at the usual rate of interest. The formula is similar to that of 101 and 501.

[. . . . .]. αἰ . . [. .] κατ' ἔτος πυροῦ ἀρτάβης ἡμισ[υ].  
ὁμολογεί δὲ ὁ μεμισθωμένος ἔχειν παρὰ  
μόνου τοῦ Διονυσίου προχρήσεως ἀργυρίου δρα-  
χμᾶς διακοσίας τόκου δραχμαίου ἐκάστης  
5 μνᾶς κατὰ μῆνα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς  
Θῶθ, ἄσπερ σὺν τοῖς τόκοις ἀποδώσει τῷ Διону-  
σίῳ τῷ Παῦνι μηνὶ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους  
ἢ τάξεται καὶ τῆς ὑπερχρονείας τὸν αὐτὸν δρα-  
χμαῖον τόκον, ἀκίνδυνα πάντα παντὸς κιν-

- 10 δύνου. ἔαν δέ τις ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσιόντος ἔτους ἄβρο-  
 χος γένηται, παραδεχθήσεται τῷ μεμισθω-  
 μέν[ω,] τῶν τῆς γῆς κατ' ἔτος δημοσίων ὄν-  
 των πρὸς τοὺς μεμισθωκότας ἐκάτερος κα-  
 θ' ὁ μισθοῖ μέρος, οὓς καὶ κυριεύειν τῶν καρ-  
 15 πῶν ἕως τὰ ὀφειλόμενα κομίσωνται. βε-  
 [βα]ιουμένης δὲ τῆς μισθώσεως μετρείτω ὁ  
 [με]μισθωμένος κατ' ἔτος εἰς δημόσιον θησαυρὸν  
 ἰδίαις ἑαυτοῦ δαπάναις τὰ δηλούμενα ἐκφόρια,  
 ὧν θέμα καθαρὸν ἀπὸ πάντων ἀναδότω τοῖς  
 20 [μεμ]ι[σθω]κόσι ἐκατέρω τῶν ἐκφορίων οὗ μισ-  
 [θοῖ] μέρους κ' ατ' ἔτος ὑπὸ τῆν πρώτην [μέτρη-  
 [σιω                    22 letters                    ] τόκο[. . . . .

7. παῦνι Pap.                    8. ὑπερχρονης Pap.                    10. ἰσιοντος Pap.                    13. 1. ἐκάτερον.  
 17. κ of κατ corr.                    18. ἰδίας Pap.                    19. ἀναδότω Pap.

. . . half an artaba of wheat annually. The lessee further acknowledges the receipt from Dionysius singly of an advance of 200 drachmae of silver at the interest of a drachma per mina every month, from the present month Thoth, which sum together with the interest he will return to Dionysius in the month Pauni of the present year or will pay for the overtime interest at the same rate of one drachma, all free of all risk. If any part of the land is unirrigated from the present year, an allowance shall be made to the lessee. The annual taxes upon the land are to be borne by the lessors in proportion to their share of the land leased; and they shall have the ownership of the crop until they receive their dues. The lease being guaranteed, the lessee shall deliver annually at the public granary at his own expense the specified rent, while he shall place on deposit free of all deductions for the lessors, for each the rent of the part leased by him, every year at the time of the first measuring . . .'

1. The word before κατ' ἔτος was apparently not *προστατικοῦ* (cf. 590).

19. Cf. e. g. 101. 31-2, Preisigke, *Griechische Papyri*, pp. 74 sqq. ὧν] θέμα κ[αθαρὸν ἀπὸ πάντων should probably be restored in 501. 39-40.

20-1. Cf. ll. 13-14. τῶν ἐκφορίων is in apposition with ὧν. For ὑπὸ . . . μέτρησιω cf. 101. 33, P. Amh. 88. 24, &c.; the same phrase, on the significance of which cf. Preisigke, *op. cit.*, p. 75, probably occurred in 501. 41-2.

## 1126. LEASE OF LAND.

17.4 x 16.5 cm.

Fifth century.

Lease of four arourae for one year at the rent of 52 carats. The spelling of the document is very erratic.

[ 22 letters ] . . ολ[ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ἐκου]σίως ἐπιδέχομαι μιμισ-  
 θῶσθαι παρ[ὰ σοῦ] ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων . . ε[.  
 τῆς σ[ῆ]ς προστασίας γηδίων περὶ πεδίων τῆς  
 5 αὐτῆς κώμης ἐν κλήρου καλουμένου Τσαβατώου  
 ἀρο[ύ]ρας τέσσαρες, γίνονται (ἄρουραι) δ, πρὸς ἀναμέτρησιν  
 σχυνίου δικέου, γίτονες νότου τον ἀπὸ Τάλη,  
 βορρᾶ τῆς ἀ[ύ]τῆ[ς] π[ροστασία]ς), λιβὸς λιδης Κήτς, ἀπη{λ}-  
 λιώτου λιδης . μεια, εἰς (σ)πορὰν οἶαν ἂν βουληθῶ-  
 10 μιν εἰς τὸν σπόρων τῆς ἀγαθ(ῆς) ἰδ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος), φῶρου  
 ἀποτάκτου τοῦ μετοξὺ συμπεφωνημένου ἐκάστω  
 ἀρουρῶν χρυσοῦ κερᾶτια δέκα τρία ἰδιωτικοῦ ζυγῶ,  
 γίνεταί (δοῦ) κερ(ᾶτια) νβ καθαρὰ ἰδιωτικοῦ ζυγῶ, ὧν περ ὧ φῶ-  
 ρος ἀποδώσω σοι ἐν καιρῶ ἀπετήσεως τῶν δημ(οσίων)  
 15 ἐπὶ τῇ ἰδ ἰνδ(ικτίωνι) ἀνυπερθέτος καὶ ἄνευ πάσης ἀντιλ-  
 ωγίας μετὰ καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὑμῶν πάντων  
 ὑπ[. . . .] σοι ἐνεχύρου [[τ]]αὐτῆς δικέου τῶν αὐτοῦ  
 . [ . . . ἡ μί]σθ(ωσις) κυρί(α) καὶ β(εβ)αί(α) καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες)  
 ὁμ(ολογήσαμεν). (2nd hand) Αὐρήλιοι  
 [ 17 letters ] . [ . . ] . ζ 'Ε[ρμί]ας καὶ Πραγίσχολος υἱὸς Φοιβάμ-  
 20 [μωνος Σερήνου μεμισθώμεθα ὡς πρόκειται.

On the verso

1st hand [ ]ιος Ἐρμίου καὶ Πρ[ανί]σχολος υἱ[ὸς] Φοιβάμ(μωνος)  
 Σερήν[ου] . [ ] χρ(υσοῦ) κερ(ᾶτια) νβ  
 καθαρὰ ἰδιω[τικῶ] ζυγῶ.

2. 1. ἐκου]σίως ἐπιδέχομαι μιμισθῶσθαι. 3. 1. ὑπαρχόντων. 4. 1. πεδίων. 5. 1. κλήρω  
 καλουμένω. 6. δ Pap. 7. 1. σχυνίου δικαίου . . . νότου τῶν. 9. 1. βουληθῶμεν. 10.

1. σπόρον . . . φόρον. ἰδ Pap.; so in l. 15. 11. l. ἐκάστης. 12. l. ἰδιωτικῶ; so in l. 13.  
 13. l. τὸν φόρον. 14. α of ἀποδώσω corr. from ε. l. ἀπαιτήσεως. 15. l. ἀνπερθέτως . . .  
 ἀντιλογίας. 16. l. ἡμῶν. 17. l. δικαίου . . . αἰτᾶν. 21. ν of σερην[ο]υ above the line.

‘. . . I undertake of my free will to lease from you, from the land belonging to your patronage in the fields of the said village in the holding called that of Tsabatoüs, four arourae, total 4 arourae, by the measure of a fair measuring-line, the boundaries being on the south the land of the people of Tale, on the north that in your said patronage, on the west . . ., on the east . . ., to be sown with any kind of crop we choose, for the sowing of the auspicious 14th indiction, at a fixed rent as agreed between us of 13 carats of gold on the private standard for each aroura, making together 52 carats of pure metal on the private standard; and we will pay the rent of these to you at the time of the collection of public taxes in the 14th indiction without delay or dispute of any kind, at the risk of all our property, which is pledged to you for this purpose. The lease is valid and guaranteed, and in answer to the question we have given our consent.’ Signatures of the lessees, and endorsement on the verso.

3. There are traces of ink after *ὑπαρχόντων*, though nothing is wanting for the sense.

4. *προστασίας*: cf. 1134. 7. The land leased clearly belonged to a considerable administrative area, and was perhaps of a similar kind to that concerned in 1134; but more probably *προστασία* here means simply *patrocinium*, the parties to the contract being a patron and one of his dependents.

6-7. Cf. e. g. P. Amh. 95. 4, 12, 96. 3 *δικαίῳ σχοινίῳ*, C. P. R. 40. 11, &c., *πρὸς ἀναμέτρησιν*. For *Τάλη* or *Ταλήη*, which was in the *Κώιτης τόπος* of the Heracleopolite nome, cf. P. Hibeh 36. 3, note. It is to be distinguished from the Oxyrhynchite *Ταλαῶ*.

8-9. *λιθῆ* or *λιθῆς* seems from its repetition to be a common, not a proper name. Possibly it is for *λιτή* or *-ῆς* as an equivalent of *ψιλή*; cf. Alexand. Aetol. *ἀρ*. Athen. 296 c *λιτή φύει εἶαρι γαίη*.

9-10. So e. g. C. P. R. 41. 14-15 *εἰς σπορὰν πυροῦ εἰς τὸν σπόρον τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος κα (ἔτους)*; *εἰς σπορὰν ἣν ἐὰν βουληθῶμεν* occurs e. g. in C. P. R. 42. 15-16.

12. *ἰδιωτικ(ῶ)*: cf. 1138. 5, note.

16-17. That *ἡμῶν* is a misspelling for *ἡμῶν* is indicated by the next line, of which the sense is fairly evident though the construction is obscure; cf. the phrase found in 136. 39-41 and elsewhere *καὶ ὑπεθέμεθα εἰς τὸ δίκαιον τούτου τοῦ συναλλάγματος πάντα ἡμῶν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα . . . ἐνεχύρον λόγῳ καὶ ὑποθήκης δικαίῳ*. *ὑπ*[ at the beginning of l. 17 suggests *ὑποκειμένου* (cf. e. g. B. G. U. 740. 9), which, however, is too long. *υ*[ might be read in place of *ὑπ*].

19. *Ἐ[ρμί]ας* is suggested by the verso, but the difference in the case makes the restoration doubtful. The third letter of the next name may be *ω*.

### 1127. LEASE OF A PIGEON-HOUSE.

28.1 × 7.5 cm.

A. D. 183.

Lease of an upper room with a pigeon-cote for four years at an annual rent of 60 drachmae. Cf. the fragmentary P. Flor. 10, where two *περιστερεῶνες* and a *κέλλα* are let for 400 drachmae in the middle of the next century, and for the formula 502, 911-12, 1036, 1128.

Ἐμίσθωσεν Ἀπολλώνιος Σώ-  
 σου τοῦ Σώσου ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως  
 Πουπλίω Οὐεττίω Διογένει εἰς ἔ-  
 τη τέσσαρα ἀπὸ νεομηνίας Θῶθ  
 5 τοῦ εἰσιόντος κδ (ἔτους) τὸν ὑπερῶον τό-  
 πον τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῶ ἐν  
 Μουχινῦρ οἰκίας καὶ ὃν ἔχει  
 ἐκεῖ περιστερεῶνα σὺν τῇ  
 τούτου κλείμακι ξυλίγη, ἐνοι-  
 10 κίου καὶ φόρου τούτων κατ' ἔτος  
 ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν ἐξήκοντα  
 ἀκινδύνων παντὸς κινδύνου.  
 βεβαιουμένης δὲ τῆς μισθώ-  
 σεως χράσθω ὁ μεμισθωμένος  
 15 τῶ [[υι.]] τόπῳ καὶ τῶ περιστερε-  
 ῶνι ἐπὶ τὰ ἔτη τέσσαρα ἀ{π}κωλύ-  
 τως καὶ ἀποδότω τῶ μεμισ-  
 θωκότι τὸ ἐνοίκιον κατ' ἔτος  
 ἐν δόσεσι δυσὶ διὰ ἑξαμήνου  
 20 τὰς αἰρούσας δραχμὰς τριάκον-  
 τα, καὶ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον παρα-  
 δότω τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον καὶ τὸν περι[[σ]]-  
 στερεῶνα ὡς ἐὰν παραλάβῃ  
 καὶ τὰς ἐπικειμένας θύρας δύο  
 25 κλείν μίαν ἢ ὃ δ' ἂν μὴ παραδῶ  
 τὴν ἀξίαν, ὃ δ' ἂν προσοφειλέ-  
 ση ἀποτεισάτω μεθ' ἡμιολίας,  
 τῆς πράξεως γεινομένης ἕκ τε  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων  
 30 αὐτῶ{ν} πάντων. κυρία ἡ μίσθωσις.  
 (ἔτους) κγ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος  
 Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου  
 Ἀντωνείνου Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ  
 Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Σαρματικοῦ



35 Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου Μεσορῆ εἴ.  
 2nd hand Πούπλιος Ουέτιος Διογέ-  
 νης μεμίσθωμαι τὸν πε-  
 ριστερεῶνα καὶ τὸ(ν) ὑπ[ερῶ]-  
 ον τόπον καὶ ἀποδώσω [τὸ  
 40 καθ' ἔτος ἐνοίκιον ὡς πρόκειται.

4. l. νεομηρίας. 7. ν of μουχινωρ corr.; l. Μουχινῶρ (?). 12. σ of παντος corr. from ν.  
 19. α of εξαμηνου corr. from η. 20. σ of δραχμας corr. 25. ο corr. l. ἡ οὐδ' ἂν or οὐδ' ἄν.

'Apollonius son of Sosus son of Sosus, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, has let to Publius Vettius Diogenes for four years from the first day of Thoth of the coming 24th year the upper room of the house belonging to him at Mouchinor and the pigeon-house there with its wooden ladder at an annual rent and revenue of 60 drachmae of silver free of all risk. The lease being guaranteed, the lessee shall use the room and the pigeon-house for the four years without hindrance, and shall pay the rent annually in two half-yearly instalments of 30 drachmae, and at the end of the term shall return the said room and the pigeon-house in the condition in which he receives them and the two doors and one key attached, or shall pay the value of anything that he does not restore, and shall forfeit one and a half times the amount of any sum owing, right of execution lying against him and all his property. This lease is valid.' Date and signature of Publius Vettius Diogenes.

7. The village of Μουχινῶρ, which is mentioned in 491. 3 and 895, is probably meant. Μουχισ was apparently originally written, the σ being afterwards crossed through and then converted into a ν. Μοῦχισ was another Oxyrhynchite village.

## 1128. LEASE OF A DINING-ROOM.

18.6 x 7.4 cm.

A.D. 173.

A lease of a dining-room (συμπόσιον) and a store-chamber within it for two years at a rent of 20 drachmae per annum. Cf. 1129, B. G. U. 253, P. Strassb. 14; the formula resembles that of 1127.

Ἐμίσθ(ωσεν) Χαιρή(μων) ὁ καὶ  
 Ἀμμώνιος Θέ-  
 ων μητρὸς Θεανούτος τῆς καὶ  
 Σινθώνιος ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πό-  
 λεως Ἀμμωνίῳ ἀπελευθέ-  
 5 ρῶ Σαραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ Θεο-  
 γένους ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλε-

Ἀμμώνιος τῷ μεμισθω-  
 κότι Ἀμμωνίῳ τῷ καὶ Θέ-  
 20 ωνι ἐπὶ τέλει ἐκάστου ἐνι-  
 αυτοῦ χωρὶς ὑπερθέσεως,  
 καὶ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον  
 παραδότω τοὺς τόπους  
 καθαροὺς ἀπὸ κοπρίων

ως ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔτη δύο ἀπὸ  
 ὀγδόης καὶ εἰκάδος τοῦ ὄντος  
 μηνὸς Φαρμουθι τοῦ ἐνεστῶ-  
 10 τος τρισκαιδεκάτου ἔτους  
 Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος  
 τοῦ κυρίου ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης 30  
 αὐτῷ ἐν κώμῃ Σεφῶ οἰκίας  
 τὸ συμπόσιον καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς  
 15 αὐτοῦ κέλλαν ἐνοικίου κατ' ἕ-  
 τος δραχμῶν εἴκοσι, ἅς ἀπο-  
 δότω ὁ μεμισθώμενος

25 καὶ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας  
 καὶ τὰς ἐπικειμένας θύ-  
 ρας καὶ κλεῖς. κυρία ἡ μίσθω-  
 σις. (ἔτους) ιγ Αὐτοκράτορος  
 Καίσαρος Μάρκ[ο]υ  
 30 Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου  
 Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ  
 Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ  
 Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου  
 [Φαρμου]θι κη.

1. εμισθ(ωσεν) . . . κ(αι) and θε in a different hand over an erasure. εμισθωσεν αμμωνιος ο  
 και θε was no doubt originally written; cf. l. 19. 20. ε of εκαιστου corr. from τ. 23.  
 π of τοπουσ corr.

'Chaeremon also called Ammonius Theon, his mother being Theanous also called  
 Sinthonis, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, has let to Ammonius, freedman of Sarapion also  
 called Theogenes, of the said city, for a term of two years from the 28th day of the present  
 month Pharmouthi of the current 13th year of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord, from  
 the house belonging to him in the village of Sepho, a dining-room and the store-chamber  
 within it at an annual rent of 20 drachmae, which the lessee Ammonius shall pay to the  
 lessor Ammonius also called Theon at the end of each year without delay, and at the end  
 of the term he shall restore the rooms free of filth and dirt of all kind, and the doors and  
 keys attached. This lease is valid.' Date.

#### 1129. LEASE OF DINING-ROOMS.

31.7 × 19.5 cm.

A.D. 449.

Lease of two dining-rooms at the rent of 12,000,000 denarii, the contract to  
 last during the pleasure of the lessor; cf. 1037.

Μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλαουίων Ζήνωνος καὶ Ποστουμιανοῦ  
 τῶν λαμπροτάτων Τύβι κδ.  
 Αὐρηλίᾳ Μίκι θυγατρὶ Θεοδώρου ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς  
 καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως παρὰ Αὐρηλίῳ  
 5 Φοιβάμμωνος υἱοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.  
 ἐκουσίως ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώσασθαι ἀπὸ νεμηνίας

τοῦ ἐξῆς μηνὸς Μεχεῖρ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ρκε ρδ  
τῆς παρούσης δευτέρας ἰνδικτίονος τοὺς διαφέρον-  
τάς σοι ἀπὸ οἰκίας οὔσης ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει ἐπ' ἀμφόδου

10 Μικρῆς Τευμε[ν]ούθως δύο τόπους ἦτοι συμπόσια  
σὺν χρηστηρίοις πᾶσι, καὶ τελέσω ὑπὲρ ἐνοικίου ἐνιαυ-  
σίως ἀργυρίου μυριάδας χιλίας διακοσίας, ἄσπερ ἀπο-  
δώσω κατ' ἔτος δι' ἑξαμήνου τὸ ἥμισυ, καὶ ὁπότεν  
βουληθῆς παραδώσω τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνυπερθέτως.

15 κυρία ἢ μίσθωσις καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὁμολόγησα.

2nd hand Ἀυρήλιος Φοιβάμμων Ἀρτεμιδώρου ὁ προκείμενος μεμίσ-  
θωμαι [τοῦ]ς τόπου[ς] κα[ὶ] ἀπ[ὸ] δώσω τὸ ἐνοίκιον [ὡς] πρόκειται.  
[. . . . .] . . [ . . . . . ἔγρα]ψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα  
μὴ εἰδ[ότος].]

20 + *di emu No . . . osios . .*

1. φλασῶν Pap. 4. ου of αυρηλιου corr. from as. 5. υῖου Pap. 11. ὑπερ Pap.

'The year after the consulship of Flavius Zeno and Flavius Postumianus the most illustrious, Tubi 24. To Aurelia Mikis daughter of Theodorus, of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, from Aurelius Phoebammon son of Artemidorus, of the said city. I undertake of my free will to lease from the first day of the next month Mecheir of the current 125th which = the 94th year and of the present second indiction two rooms or dining-rooms belonging to you in a house situated in the said city in the quarter of Small Teumenouthis with all appurtenances, and I will pay in rent annually 1,200 myriads of silver, which I will deliver annually in half yearly instalments of one-half, and whenever you wish I will surrender the said rooms without delay. The lease is valid, and in answer to the question I have given my consent.' Signature of Aurelius Phoebammon written for him by another person in Greek, and of the scribe in Latin.

1. Rufus Praetextatus Postumianus has apparently not been called Flavius elsewhere.

10. The ἀμφόδου Τευμενούθως is well known, but this is the first mention of the Μικρὰ Τευμενούθως.

19. εἰδός was perhaps abbreviated εἰδ.

## 1130. LOAN OF MONEY.

30.8 × 19 cm.

A. D. 484.

Contract for a loan of 10 solidi for a period of about six months, the interest consisting of twenty bundles of tow. The document is written in a well-formed upright hand, but in very illiterate Greek.

Q

ΧΜΥ

Μετὰ τὴν ὑπατεία(ν) Φλ(αουίου) Τρωκῶνδῃ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου  
Παχῶν θ τῆς ζ ἰνδικτί(ωνος).

Ἀὐρήλι[ι]ος Ἀβραὰμ υἱὸς Ἰσῖωνος καὶ Σοφία(ς) ἀπὸ κόμης Σενοκώ-  
5 μεος τοῦ Ὁξυρυγίτου νομοῦ Ἀ[ὐ]ρηλίω Ἰσὰκ υἱῶ Νίλω ἀπὸ  
τῆς μεγαλωπόλεος Ἀλεξανδρίας πραγματευτῆ χαίρειν.

ὁμολογῶ κυρίου καὶ βεβαίου ὄντος τοῦ προτερων μου  
γραμματίου καὶ νῦν ἐσχηκέναι με παρὰ σοῦ ἐν χρήσει διὰ  
χιρὸς ἐξ οἴκου σου εἰς ἰδίαν μ[ο]ν καὶ ἀναγκέαν χρίαν  
10 χρυσοῦ ν[ο]μισμάτια δεσποτι[κ]ὰ δώκε[ι]μα εὔσταθμα ἀπλᾶ  
ἀριθμῶ δέκα, γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) ι, κεφαλέου, καὶ ὑπὲρ  
διαφόρου

αὐτῶν ἄχρει τῆς ἐξῆς δηλουμένης προθεσμίας σιππίου  
καθαροῦ εὐάρεστου ἀπὸ τοῦ [σ]ταθμοῦ τῆς κόμης  
δεσμῖδια εἰ[κ]κωσε[ι], γί(νεται) δε(σμῖδια) κ, ἀκίνδυν[α] ὄντα ἀπὸ παντὸς  
κινδύνου

15 ἐπάναγκες ἀποδώ[σ]ω σοι ἐν τῷ Φαῶφι μηνὶ τοῦ ἐνεσ-  
τατου ἔτους ρξα ρλ ἀρχῆς τῆς ὀγδώης ἰνδικτίωνος ἀνυπερ-  
θέτως καὶ ἄνευ πάσης ἀντιλογίας, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐκ ἐξέσ(εσ)-  
θαι μοι λέγειν δεδω[κ]έναι τι ἐκ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου χρέους  
χωρὶς ἐνγραφουῦς ἐντάγιον ἢ οὖν ἀποχῆ(ς) ὑ̄ πρὸ ἀνακωμιτῆς  
20 καὶ λητρώσε[ο]ς τοῦδέ μου γραμματίου. οἱ δὲ τῆς προθεσμίας  
ἐνστάσης τὴν ἀπόδωσέν σοι μοι ποιήσωμαι καὶ βουλευθῆς  
ἀξιωθεὶς συνδοῦναί μοι ἑτέραν προθεσμίαν, ταῦτα τελέσω σοι  
καὶ τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα χρωνον τῶν αὐτῶν τόκον, γιγνομένης (σ)οι  
τῆς πράξεος παρὰ δε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μοι πάντων.

25 κύριον τὸ γραμματίον ἀπλοῦν γραφὲν καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὁμολόγησα.  
2nd hand Ἀὐρήλιος Ἀβραὰμ υἱὸς Ἰσῖωνος ὁ προκείμενος ἔσχον  
ἐν χρύσει τὰ τοῦ χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια δέκα χωρὶς τὸ  
πρότερον γραμματίον καιφαλέο(ν) καὶ ὑπὲρ διαφόρου αὐτον  
σιππίου δεσμῖδια εἰκ[ο]σι ὡς πρόκειται. Βάνος διάκωνος

30 υἱὸς Πέτρος ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μοὶ εἰτώτος. +

1st hand

✠ δι' ἐμοῦ Πέτρον ἔγράφη.

On the verso

γραμ(ματίων) Ἀβραὰμ Ἰσίωνος ἀπὸ Σενοκόμ(εως) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισματίων)  
 ι ὑπὲρ σιππίου δ(εσμίδιων) κ καὶ ν . [ . . .  
 + [Α]β[ρ]αὰμ Εἰσίωνος ἀπὸ Σενοκόμεος καὶ  
 τόκου μ[ . . . ] . καὶ α . [ . . .

2. ὑπατεία Παρ. 4. l. Σενοκόμεως; so in l. 33. 5. νῖω Παρ. l. Νίλου. 6.  
 l. μεγαλοπόλεως. 7. κ of κυρίου corr. from ε. l. ὄντος . . . προτέρου. 8. l. γραμματίου. 9.  
 l. ἀναγκαίαν. 10. l. δόκιμα. 11. ὅ ἱ; Παρ.; so in l. 32. l. κεφαλαίου . . . διαφόρου.  
 13: ν of [σ]ταβμου corr. 15. l. ἐνεστῶτος. 16. l. ὀγδῶης. Third ι of ἰνδικτιωνος rewritten.  
 19. l. ἐνταγίου . . . ἢ πρὸ ἀνακομιδῆς. 20. l. λυτρώσε[ως] . . . εἰ δέ. 21. l. ἐνστάσης . . .  
 ἀπόδοσιν . . . μή. 23. l. χρόνου τὸν αὐτόν. 24. l. πράξεως παρὰ τε . . . ὑπαρχόντων . . .  
 πάντων. 26. π of προκιμενος corr. 27. l. χρήσει . . . χωρὶς τοῦ. 28. l. προτέρου γραμ-  
 ματίου κεφαλαίου . . . αὐτῶν. 29. l. διάκονος. 30. l. Πέτρου . . . μὴ εἰδῶτος. 32.  
 l. Σενοκόμ(εως).

‘The year after the consulship of Flavius Troconda the most illustrious, Pachon 9, 7th indiction. Aurelius Abraham son of Ision and Sophia, of the village of Senokomis in the Oxyrhynchite nome, to Aurelius Isaac son of Nilus, of the capital city Alexandria, dealer, greeting. I acknowledge, my former bond remaining valid and secure, that I have now received from you as a loan from hand to hand out of your house for my own pressing need ten solidi of gold of the genuine Imperial coinage, of full weight and unalloyed, total 10 solidi of gold, as a capital sum, and for interest upon it up to the term herein following I will pay twenty bundles of tow, pure and satisfactory, according to the weight of the village, total 20 bundles. This sum I will perforce repay to you free of all risk in the month Phaophi of the current 161st which = the 130th year, at the beginning of the eighth indiction, without delay or dispute of any kind, with the condition that it shall not be lawful for me to say that I have paid any of the aforesaid debt without a written deed or receipt or before the recovery and annulment of this my bond. If at the expiry of the term I do not make the payment to you and you are willing at my request to grant me another term, I will pay you this sum with the same interest for the overtime, and you shall have the right of execution upon me and all my property. This bond, of which a single copy is made, is valid, and in answer to the question I have given my consent.’ Signature of Aurelius Abraham written for him by Banos, deacon, signature of the scribe, and endorsement on the verso.

1. χμγ: cf. 940. 1, note.

2. Cf. *Cod. Just.* iv. 59. 2 *post consulatum Trocondae*; he is commonly called Trocondus. The *nomen* Flavius appears to be new.

3. There is an inconsistency between this date and the year of the indiction in l. 2. Pachon 9 of the year after the consulship of Trocondus is May 4, A.D. 483, but Pachon 9 of the 7th indiction is May 4, A.D. 484. The number of the indiction year is supported by ὀγδῶης in l. 16 and confirmed by the years of the Oxyrhynchite eras in the same line, where, though ἐνεστῶτος (*sic*) must be an error for εἰσιῶτος (cf. the note *ad loc.*), it is implied that the current year was A.D. 484, not 483. Τοῖς τὸ β μετὰ should therefore have been written in l. 2, if the name of the consul for A.D. 484, Theodericus, who occurs in *Cod. Just.* i. 3. 36, &c., on April 28, was not generally known.

4. *Σενοκώμις* is mentioned in 47. 16 and 740. 37, where *Σενοκώμ[ε]ως* should be read.  
 6. *μεγαλωπόλεος*: cf. P. Leipzig 45. 13 as corrected by Wilcken, *Archiv* iii. p. 565, with his supplementary note in *Archiv* iv. p. 189, P. Cairo Cat. 67030. i. 3, ii. 10, and P. Flor. 93. 7 *καλλιπόλ(εως) Ἀντινοέων*, P. Cairo Cat. 67023. 6-7 *Πανοπολιτῶν [κ]αλ[λι]πόλεως*.  
 10. So e.g. P. Grenf. II. 90. 8 *νομισμάτια δεσποτικά ἀπλᾶ δόκιμα*; cf. P. Leipzig 61. 11, Wessely, *Stud. Pal.* i. p. 7. (2) 13.  
 12. *σιππίου*, for which cf. P. Brit. Mus. 239. 18, 979. 13, B. G. U. 1080. 18, Wessely, *Allersindiz. im Philogelos*, p. 29, is no doubt a vulgar spelling of *στιππίου* or *στιππ(ε)ίου*, as suggested by Wilcken, *Archiv* i. p. 556. For other instances of interest in kind cf. P. Grenf. II. 90, B. G. U. 740. A verb like *τελέσω* has to be supplied both here and in l. 29.  
 14. *δεσμίδια* of *κάλαμοι* occur in B. G. U. 837. 27. *ἀκίνδυνα ὄντα κτλ.* of course refers to the *νομισμάτια*; the sentence would be improved by some conjunction, e.g. *ταῦτα δέ*, or perhaps (*ἄ*) should be inserted.  
 15-16. Numerous instances show that the year by the eras of Oxyrhynchus began, like the ordinary Egyptian year, on Thoth 1; cf. introd. to 125. Since the contract is dated in Pachon (l. 3), to speak of the coming 'Phaophi of the present year' is a contradiction, and *ἐνεστωτων* must be a slip for *εἰσιόντος*. Though the remains of the figures after ρξ are very slight there is little real doubt about the reading, and I consider ρξ ρκθ to be inadmissible; cf. the note on l. 2. The reference to Phaophi as the *ἀρχή* of the new indiction, which usually began in Egypt in the latter part of Pauni, is not to be taken strictly.  
 17-18. Cf. B. G. U. 1127. 20 *καὶ μὴ ἐξεῖναι τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ λέγειν οὐκέτι παρεῖληφα*.  
 32. *καὶ ν*. [: or perhaps *καινο[υ]*, though this adjective is not used in the contract.  
 33. This line is written in blacker ink but apparently by the same hand. The supposed *chrism* may perhaps be an abbreviation of *γραμματίου*.

## 1131. PROMISSORY NOTE.

30.2 × 10.1 cm.

Fifth century.

An acknowledgement of a debt of 2 solidi less 8 carats, being the purchase money for some wine which had been delivered but not paid for; cf. 914. The writing is across the fibres of the recto.

[. . . .] . [.]μ[.]οσις οἶνοχει(ριστῆ)  
 [τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου) [οἴ]κου Ἰουλιανοῦ  
 [νομικ(αρίου).] ἔχω τῆς σῆς  
 ἀρετ[ῆ]ς καὶ χρεωστῶ  
 5 [α]ὐτῆ ὑπὲρ τιμῆς οἴνου  
 πραθέντος μοι παρὰ σο[υ]  
 χρ[υ]σοῦ νομισμάτια

δύο παρὰ κεράτια  
 ὀκτώ, γίνε(ται) χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια) β παρὰ κεράτια) η,  
 10 καὶ ταῦτα ἐτο[ί]μως  
 ἔχω παρασχεῖν τῇ σῇ  
 ἀρετῇ ἐν τῇ λοιπογ[ρ]αφί(α)  
 τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου) οἴκου  
 ἀνυπερθέτος.  
 15 ἐγράψ(η) μηνὶ Παῦνι θ  
 ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) α. ὁ αὐτὸς Ἰουλιανὸς  
 νομικάρ(ιος) συμφω(νῶ) τὸ  
 πιττάκ(ιον) ὡς πρόκ(ε(ι)ται).

2-3. 1. παρὰ Ἰουλιανοῦ οἱ Ἰουλιανὸς νομικάρ(ιος). 14. 1. ἀνυπερθέτως.

‘Το . . ., wine-dealer of the honourable house, from Julianus, lawyer. I have from your excellency and owe to you, for the price of wine sold to me by you, two solidi of gold less eight carats, total 2 solidi of gold less 8 carats, and this sum I am ready to pay your excellency at the collection of arrears of the honourable house without delay. Written on the 9th of the month Pauni, 1st indiction. I, the said Julianus, lawyer, assent to the deed as above.’

1-3. Julianus, who signs the acknowledgement, is naturally regarded as the debtor, so that Ἰουλιανὸς should be Ἰουλιανός or else παρὰ should be inserted. νομικάριοι (cf. l. 17) occur in 136. 10, 154. 10.

12. λοιπογραφία is properly a list of arrears, as e. g. B. G. U. 976. 20 ἐπὶ τὴν λοιπογρ(αφίαν) τιθέμ[ε]ναι, 977. 4 ἀπὸ λοιπ(ο)γρ(αφίας) κου[φισθῆ]ν[αι], P. Flor. 67 introd. λοιπογραφίας Φαῶφι. It here has a certain temporal signification like λοιπός in 136. 13 ἐνιαυτὸν λογιζόμενον ἀπὸ λοιπάδος χρυσοῦ τῆς παρουσίας πρώτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος).

17-18. συμφω(νῶ) τὸ πιττάκ(ιον): cf. e. g. 934. 10 συνεφώνησα γὰρ (ἀρτάβας) κε, where the note was mistaken, B. G. U. 799. 2-3 συμφ(ωνῶ) καὶ κριθῶν ἀρτάβην μίαν. The letters φω are written as a monogram, the ω through the tail of the φ.

### 1132. REPAYMENT OF A LOAN.

9.4 × 7.5 cm.

About A. D. 162.

Acknowledgement of the return of a loan of 600 drachmae, which was being repaid before it was due. This promptness may be explained by the fact that the interest charged was at double the normal rate.

Σ]αράπ( )

2nd hand Χαιρήμ[ω]ν Σαραπίωνος τοῦ . [ . . .

μητρὸς Ταπλουτᾶτος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγ[χων πό-  
 λεως Τρ[ύ]φωνι Ἑρακλείδ[ου] τ[οῦ] . . .  
 5 ωνος μητρὸς Τααπολλωνίδου ἀπὸ  
 τῆς αὐτῆ[ς] πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμ[ολογῶ  
 ἀπέχειν παρὰ σοῦ ἀποδιδ[ό]ντο[ς] ἐκου-  
 σίως πρὸ προθεσμ[ί]α[ς] διὰ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 πρὸς Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει Σαραπείου Φανίο[υ]  
 10 ἀρχιερατεύσαντος καὶ Πτολεμαίου τῶν  
 σὺν Αὐδασίῳ Παυλείῳ ἐπιτηρη-  
 τῶν τραπέζης ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἑξ[α]-  
 κοσίας κεφαλαίου καὶ τοὺς τούτων  
 μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τόκους ὡς τοῦ μηνὸς  
 15 δραχμῶν δύο, τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον δα-  
 νεισθέν σοι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κατὰ χειρόγραφ[ον]  
 διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς τραπέζης ταῖς ἐπαγομέ-  
 ναις τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους Ἀντωνίνου  
 καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν κυρίων Αὐτοκρατόρων  
 20 [εἰς προ]θεσμ[ίαν

## 16. ὑπ Pap.

'Chaeremon son of Sarapion son of . . ., his mother being Taplutas, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, to Tryphon son of Heraclides son of . . . on, his mother being Taapollonides, of the said city, greeting. I acknowledge that I have received from you, who are making payment of your own accord before the appointed term, through the bank at the Serapeum at Oxyrhynchus of Phantias, ex-chief priest, and Ptolemaeus, the overseers associated with Audasius Paulinus, the capital sum of six hundred silver drachmae with the interest thereon up to the present time at the rate of two drachmae per month, which sum was lent you by me in accordance with a note of hand through the said bank on the intercalary days of the second year of Antoninus and Verus, lords and Emperors, until . . .'

1. Σ]αραπ( ), if right, might refer to the Serapeum (l. 9); but the reading is very doubtful, and ]αρας or ]αζας would be also possible. ] τραπ(εξ . . .) is not suitable.

4. A short name such as Ἀπίωνος or Ὠρίωνος is required.

8-12. The bank at the Serapeum is in several papyri called after the names of individuals, 98. 7 Ἑρακλείδου καὶ μετόχων, 264. 7 Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Λόχου, 267. 4 Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Κλεάνδρου, 269. i. 3 Ἀρχιβίου] τοῦ Ἀρχιβίου. ἐπιτηρηταί are mentioned in 91. 8-11 διὰ Ἡλιοδώρου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπιτηρητῶν τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει Σαραπείου τραπέζης, ἧς ὑπόσχεσις ἐδόθη ὑπὸ Ἐπιμάχου, and an ἀσχουλούμενος ὠνὴν τῆς . . . τραπέζης (Ἐπίμαχος) in 513. 37-8. The present passage is peculiar in describing the bank as that of the ἐπιτηρηταί. In



the note on 513. 37 it was suggested that the persons who successively gave their names to the bank were more probably 'either the ἀσχολούμενοι or the ἐπιτηρηταί of it than the owners'. This view now receives some confirmation so far as the ἐπιτηρηταί are concerned, and the theory that they were only mentioned in 91 because at the time there was no τραπεζίτης (Wilcken, *Archiv* v. p. 212, note 4, Preisigke, *Girowesen*, pp. 21-3) becomes less plausible. ἐπιτηρηταί of banks at Hermopolis occur in P. Flor. 1. 3, P. Strassb. 52. 3.

15. δραχμῶν δύο: *sc.* τῆ μνᾶ, which is twice the normal rate at this period. τόκοι δίδραχοι were the usual charge in the second and first centuries B.C. upon overdue loans, e.g. P. Amh. 50. 19, B. G. U. 1053. 38-9, but are found in ordinary loans, as here, in B. G. U. 1052. 43, 1056. 9, &c. (reign of Augustus). In B. G. U. 1145 (B. C. 5) interest at the rate of 8 obols occurs.

## 1133. RECEIPT.

27.6 x 18 cm.

A.D. 396.

A receipt for the price of some fruit sold by a grower to a dealer. An acknowledgement of indebtedness had previously been made by the latter at the time of the sale (cf. e.g. 1131), but this could not now be found and handed back to him, and therefore the present document was drawn up releasing him from further obligations in the matter.

Μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλαουίων Ὀλυμβρίου καὶ Προβίνου  
τῶν λαμπροτάτων Φαμενῶθ κη.

Ἀυρήλιος Ἰωάννης Σαρμάτου πωμαρίτης ἀφ' Ἡρακλέος  
πόλεως κατ[α]γινόμενος νῦν ἐ[π'] ἐποικίου Νύσου Λιμενίου

5 ἀπὸ πρινπιλαρίων Ἀυ[ρηλίω] Ἀ[ρτεμιδώρ]ω Καλόπου

ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρσενοειτον πόλ[εως κατ]αγινόμενον ἐν τῇ λαμπρᾷ  
καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ Ὀξυρυγ[χειτῶν π]όλει ὀπωροπόλῃ χαίρειν.

ὁμολογῶ ἀπειληθέναι κ[αὶ πεπλη]ροσθαι παρὰ σοῦ τοὺς τέσσαρας  
χρυσίνους παρὲξ μυριάδων ἑξακοσίων τοὺς ἀπὸ λόγου

10 τιμῆς καρποῦ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐποικίου καὶ οὐδένα λόγον ἔχω

πρὸς σὲ περὶ τούτου καὶ οὐκ ἐν(κα)λο σοι οὔτε ἐνκαλέσω, καὶ διὰ τὸ  
παραπεπτοκένῃ τὸ γρ[αμματ]ίόν σου καὶ μὴ εὐρίσκεσθαι

δηλῶ τοῦτω ἄκυρον κ[αὶ . . . ]τι[α]. .]ν εἶναι ἐμοί τε [  
καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπιφέρουσ[ιν αὐτό, καὶ ἐξεδό]μην σοι τήνδε τὴν

15 ἀποχὴν πρὸς ἀσφάλιά[ν σου καὶ ἐπερω]τηθεὶς ὁμολόγησα.

2nd hand Ἀυρήλιος Ἰωάννης Σαρμ[ά]του ἐξεδ[ό]μην τὴν ἀποχὴν

ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος Θ. [. ]ρου ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ  
γρ(άμματα) μὴ εἰδότης.

1st hand

δι' ἐμ[ο]ῦ Ἀμμωνίου ἔγρ(άφη).

On the verso

ἀποχὴ χρ(έους).

2. ωθ CORR.      4. 1. Νήσου.      5. 1. πριμιπυλίων.      6. 1. Ἀρσινοειτῶν . . . καταγινόμενῳ.  
7. 1. ὀπωροπώλη.      8. 1. πεπληρωῶσθαι.      9. 1. ἐξακοσίων.      10. ο of ουδενα CORR. from εγ.  
11. 1. ἐγκαλῶ.      12. 1. παραπετωκέαι.      13. 1. τοῦτο.

'The year after the consulship of Flavius Olybrius and Flavius Probinus the most illustrious, Phamenoth 28. Aurelius John son of Sarmates, fruit-gardener of Heracleopolis, now living at the village of Nesus Limenius, ex-primipilarius, to Aurelius Artemidorus son of Calopus, of Arsinoïtonpolis, living at the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, fruit-dealer, greeting. I acknowledge that I have received from you and have been paid in full the four gold solidi less 600 myriads due for the price of the produce of the said village, and I have no claim upon you in respect of this, and I make and will make no charge against you; and since your bond has been lost and cannot be found I declare that it is null and [void] both for me and every one producing it, and I have issued this receipt for your security and in answer to the question have given my consent.' Signatures of Aurelius John, written for him by Aurelius Theodore, and of the scribe, and title on the verso.

1. The brothers Olybrius and Probinus do not seem to have been given elsewhere the name Flavius.

3. For *πωμαριτης* cf. e. g. B. G. U. 643. 1. The adjective *πωμαρτικός* is found in B. G. U. 900. 24.

5. ἀπὸ πρι(μι)πυλίων: cf. P. Flor. 71. 697, 713, P. Leipzig 41. 1.

8-9. This great depreciation of the *μυριάς* at the end of the fourth century is somewhat surprising. The passage does not necessarily prove that 600 myriads were less than a single solidus (cf. e. g. 1138. 6-8), but they must have at least been considerably less than four. Late in the Byzantine period the value of the *μυριάς* was very much lower than this (Wessely, *Allersindiz. im Philogelos*, pp. 45-6), but for the fourth century the ratio of 1 : 110 (*ibid.* pp. 32-3) seems to be the highest that has previously occurred.

12. For *παραπετ(ω)κέ(αι)* cf. B. G. U. 214. 15 διὰ τὸ φάσκειν *παραπετ{π}τωκέαι*, P. Brit. Mus. 918. 22-3 καὶ φησιν *π[α]ραπετωκέαι*.

14. ἐξεδό]μην: or ἐξεθέ]μην, as in 1034. 16.

17. Θ. [. ]ρου perhaps represents some misspelling of Θεοδώρου.

18. The last few letters of the signature are a mere scribble, with a ρ or φ at the end.

## 1134. OFFICIAL RECEIPT FOR RENTS.

29.6 x 30.5 cm.

A. D. 421.

A receipt and discharge given to an agent by an official who was in the department of the Imperial domains (cf. note on ll. 3-4) for rents collected during the preceding two years from local cultivators. A contract of a kind similar to 136, the phraseology of which is recalled by 1134 (cf. note on ll. 7-10), had probably been previously engaged in by the agent. The document, which might have been included in section (a), is well written in a large and clear hand.

Μ[ετὰ] τὴν ὑπατείαν τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Θεοδοσίου αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου  
τὸ θ' καὶ

Φλ[α]ουίου Κωνσταντίου τὸ γ' τοῦ λαμπροτάτου πατρικίου Φαμενώθ ζ.

Φλαούιος Φοιβάμμων υἱὸς Διογένους ἀπὸ πρωτηκτόρων διοικῶν τὰ πράγματα  
τῆς θειοτάτης οἰκίας ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως

5 Αὐρηλίῳ Μαξιμίνῳ υἱῷ Ἀμμωνος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρειν.

ὁμολογῶ πεπληρῶσθαι τὰ παντοῖα ἐκφόρια ἧτοι γενήματα καὶ ἀργυρικὸν  
ἄπερ ὑπεδέξω παρὰ τῶν ὑπευθύνων γεωργῶν προστασίας Νεσμίμεως τῆς  
κώμης καὶ ἄλλων τόπων ἀποπληρῶν χώραν προνοητοῦ κατὰ τὴν πίστειν

10 τῷ δοθέντι ὑπὸ σοῦ λόγῳ τοῦ τε λήμματος καὶ τοῦ ἐξωδιασμοῦ τῶν παρελθουσῶν  
δευτέρας καὶ τρίτης ἐπινεμήσεων δύο, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν οὐδένα λόγον ἔχειν με  
πρὸς σὲ οὔτε ἐγκαλεῖν σοὶ οὔτε ἐγκαλέσειν οὔτε γενημάτων οὔτε περὶ  
ἀργυρικοῦ οὔτε

περὶ ἄλλου τινὸς εἴδους ἢ γένους ὧν ὑπεδέξω ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς δευτέρας  
ἰνδικτίονος καὶ

τῆς παρελθούσης τρίτης ἐπινεμήσεως παρὰ τῶν ὑπευθύνων γεωργῶν κώμης  
Νεσμί-

15 μεως καὶ τῶν παρεπομένων γηδίων ἄλλων ὑπαρχόντων τῇ θειοτάτῃ οἰκίᾳ  
ὄντων ὑπὸ τὴν ἐμὴν διοίκησιν, καὶ πρὸς σὴν ἀσφάλιαν ταύτην σοὶ ἐξεθέμην  
τὴν ἀποχὴν

ἀπλῆν γραφ(εῖσαν) καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὠμολ(όγησα).

1. ὑπατεῖαν Pap.      2. φλ[α]ουῖου Pap. ; so in l. 3.      3. υῖος Pap. ; so in l. 5.      7. ὑπεδεξω . . . ὑπευθυνων Pap.      προστασ over a washed out word, perhaps κ[ωμ]ῆς.      10. ὑπο Pap.      1. ἐξοδισμοῦ.      12. ου of third ουτε corr. from μη.      13. ἰνδικτιονος Pap.

‘The year after the consulship of our lord Theodosius, eternal Augustus, for the ninth time, and of Flavius Constantius, most illustrious patrician, for the third time, Phamenoth 7. Flavius Phoebammon son of Diogenes, ex-member of the body-guard, administrator for the divine house, of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, to Aurelius Maximinus son of Ammon, of the said city, greeting. I acknowledge that I have been paid in full the rents of every sort, whether in kind or money, which you undertook to collect from the responsible cultivators in the administrative district of the village Nesmimis and other places, discharging the function of an agent in faithful accord with the list of dues handed to you by me and in method corresponding to the account given by you of receipt and expenditure in the two past second and third indictions ; and that for the future I have no count against you and neither make nor will make any charge against you in respect of produce or money or dues of any other sort or kind of those which you undertook to collect in the said second indiction and in the past third indiction from the responsible cultivators of the village Nesmimis and the other accompanying lands belonging to the divine house and under my administration ; and for your security I have issued to you this receipt, of which a single copy has been made, and in response to the question I have given my consent.’

3-4. πρωτηκτόρων: cf. 43. recto iv. 18 πρωτήκτορι τῶν Σεβαστῶν, Amh. 137. 2, P. Brit. Mus. 412. 1 ἐξ ἀποπροτηκτόρων, Mommsen, *Ephem. Epigr.* v. 121 sqq.

διοικῶν . . . οἰκίας: the precise status of this official is not clear, but he was evidently concerned with the royal estates, the *θειοτάτη οἰκία* meaning doubtless the Imperial house. Cf. P. Brit. Mus. 234, a letter written in A.D. 346 by an ἐπίτροπος δεσποτικῶν κτήσεων which refers in ll. 19-20 to τὴν ἀπαίτησιν τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ οἴκου, P. Leipzig 96. i. 3 οὐσίας [οἴκου] Καίσαρος, P. Cairo Cat. 67024. 7, &c. Whether διοικῶν here implies deputed functions, as in P. Klein. Form. 1010 and probably in 901. 3, may be doubted.

7-10. Cf. the very similar language of 136. 14 sqq. (A.D. 583) ἐπὶ τῷ με τὴν χώραν τοῦ προνοητοῦ ἦτοι ὑποδέκτου ἀποπληρῶσαι παρ' αὐτῇ ἐμ. προστασία κτήματος Ματρέου . . . καὶ κατὰ τὸ παρεχόμενόν μοι ἀπαιτήσιμον . . . τὴν μεθοδῖαν τρέψαι κατὰ τῶν ὑπευθύνων γεωργῶν, εἰς τὸ πάντα εἰσπράξαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν . . . ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐνταγίσι τοῖς ἐκδιδομένοις παρ' ἐμοῦ πᾶσιν τοῖς ὑπευθύνοις γεωργοῖς ταύτης τῆς προνοησίας. Wilcken remarks that the Apion family seems to have modelled the administration of its property upon that of the Imperial domains. For προνοητοῦ cf. e. g. 1147. 17, 19, and Gelzer, *Byzant. Verw.* p. 87. The village of Nesmimis is mentioned in 1053. 21.

## (e) TAXATION.

1135. RECEIPT FOR *Anabolicum*.

9.8 x 9.2 cm.

Third century.

This and the following papyrus are receipts for ἀναβολικόν or, as it is termed in 1135, ἱερὸν ἀναβολικόν, issued in the one case by collectors (ἀπαιτηταί) in the other by an 'assistant' (βοηθός). The first receipt, which seems to have been written about the middle of the third century, is for a money payment, the second, dated A.D. 420, is for four tunics. Apparently the only other papyrus mentioning the *anabolicum* is P. Théad. Inv. 15 (the reference to which I owe to Wilcken; cf. *Archiv* iv. p. 185), a receipt issued in A.D. 324 by the ἀποδέκται λίνου τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀναβολικοῦ for 50 pounds of flax. The name has also occurred on some leaden tablets, and in the Edict of Julius Alexander, C. I. G. 4957 = Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.* 669. 21 ἀναβολικὰ εἰληφόσι ἐκ τοῦ φίσκου; cf. Vopiscus, *Aurel.* 45 *vectigal ex Aegypto urbi Romae Aurelianus vitri, chartae, lini, stuppae atque anabolicas species aeternas constituit*. On the nature of this impost see Rostowzew's discussion in *Mitt. d. Arch. Inst., Röm. Abth.* 1896, pp. 317 sqq., *Woch. Klass. Phil.* 1900, 115; he points out that the commodities mentioned by Vopiscus were, with corn, for which there was the special word *annona*, the principal exports of Egypt (ἀναβάλλειν = to lade a ship), and describes the *ratio anabolica* as the taxes upon a certain group of monopolized Egyptian industries.

Διεγράψ(ησαν) ἀπαιτηταῖς  
 ἱεροῦ ἀναβολικ(οῦ) ὀνό(ματος) κληρ(ονόμων ?)  
 Σαραπᾶ δι(ὰ) τῆς γυναικ(ός)  
 δραχμὰς πεντήκοντα  
 5 ἑξ, / (δραχμαὶ) νς.  
 (ἔτους) ε Φαμεν[ὸ]θ ιθ.  
 [Αὐρ]ῆλ(ιος) Ἀντῶ[ν] (ιος) Ἀλ[έξανδ]ρος  
 [σεσημείωμαι].

4. 1. δραχμαί.

'Paid to the collectors of the sacred *anabolicum* on account of the heirs of Sarapas through his wife, fifty-six drachmae, total 56 dr. Fifth year, Phamenoth 19. Signed by me, Aurelius Antonius Alexander.'

2. ἱεροῦ means Imperial; the *annona* is similarly called ἱερά, e. g. Wilcken, *Ost.* 682. 3, 1019. 3. At the end of the line κληρ(ονόμων) (Wilcken) is preferable to κλήρ(ου).

1136. RECEIPT FOR *Anabolicum*.

15.1 X 10.2 cm.

A. D. 420.

Another later receipt for ἀναβολικόν, on which see introduction to the preceding papyrus. The writing is across the fibres of the verso, the recto containing part of a much effaced list of payments in νομισμάτια, headed ἔχθ(εσ) . . .

Ἐντάγιον ἐμοῦ Ἀφφούτος δι' ἐμοῦ  
 Σαρμάτου βοη(θοῦ). ἐδεξάμην παρὰ Θεών(ος)  
 αἰγεωθήτης ὑπὲρ ἀναβολικοῦ  
 τετάρτης ἰνδικ[τ](ώνος) στιχάριον τέσσαρες,  
 5 γίνεται στιχ(άρια) δ, μόνα.—  
 (ἔτους) 95 ξ5 Τῦ[β]ι ε. Σαρμάτης  
 σεσημίωμ(αι).

3. ὑπερ Pap. 4. 1. στιχάρια τέσσαρα.

'Receipt issued by me, Apphous, through me, Sarmates, assistant. I have received from Theon, goat-butcher, for the *anabolicum* of the fourth indiction four tunics, total 4 tunics, and no more. The 97th which = the 66th year, Tubi 5. Signed by me, Sarmates.'

3. αἰγεωθήτης is probably, as Wilcken remarks, for αἰγοθύτης or αἰγιοθύτης; cf. προβαροθύτης, e. g. P. Brit. Mus. 1028. 10.

4. For the collection of στιχάρια for the clothes-tax cf. P. Leipzig 59. 13, 60. 14. Mitteis notes in connexion with those two documents (p. 186) that according to *Cod. Theod.* vii. 6. 3 of A. D. 377 this impost was in Egypt payable in money (cf. e. g. B. G. U. 21. iii. 17-18, 727. 14), and thinks that the delivery in kind attested by P. Leipzig 45-6, 58-60 is due to the fact that they are all earlier than the year 377. But this view will not account for 1136, and hence it is necessary to fall back on the alternative explanation that the *adaeratio* was permissive only and not compulsory.

## 1137. RECEIPT FOR DUES ON LAND.

12.4 X 30.9 cm.

A. D. 562-3.

A receipt for a payment of 20½ carats due upon some land.

+ Ἐσχων καὶ ἐπληρώθ(ην) Μακαρίου βοηθοῦ κόμης Σεραπίωνος Χυρήμωνος  
 ὑ(πὲρ) δημοσίου κτήματος Ἀκούτου ὑ(πὲρ) ἐνδεκάτης ἰνδικ(τίωνος) πλήρης  
 χρυσῶν κεράτια

είκοσι τέταρτων, γίνε(ται) χρ(υσοῦ) κερ(άτια) κδ' δημ(οσίου) πλήρους, καὶ  
 πρὸς τή(ν) ἀσφάλειαν  
 τήν ἀποχή(ν) ὡς πρόκιτε. ἐγράφη μηνὶ Τῦβι ἰνδικ(τίωνος) ια (ἔτους)  
 σλθ ση. + + +  
 5 + δι ἐμοῦ Ἱερημίας γραμ(ματέως) καὶ Φοιβάμμωνος μίξ(ονος). στέχι με.

1. 1. ἔσχον . . . Μακάριος βοηθὸς κόμης Σεραπίωνος Χαιρήμονος. Second ο of σεραπιονος corr.  
 2. 1. Ἀκοῦτος? 3. 1. τέταρτον . . . πλήρης. 4. 1. πρόκειται. 5. 1. Ἱερημίου . . .  
 στοιχεί μοι.

'I, Macarius, assistant at the village of Serapion son of Chaeremon, have received and been paid in full on account of the public dues upon the land of Akous for the eleventh indiction, twenty and a quarter carats of gold, total 20 $\frac{1}{4}$  car. gold for dues in full, and for security (have issued) the receipt as above. Written in the month Tubi of the 11th indiction in the 239th which = the 208th year. (Signed) Through me, Jeremiah, scribe, and Phoebammon, official; agreed to by me.'

1. κομης is more probably for κόμης than κόμετος, though this village-name is not otherwise known. For these local βοηθοί (λογιστηρίου) cf. e.g. 1147. 4, 6, &c., and 125, Gelzer, *Archiv* v. p. 357.

2. δημοσίου is to be taken substantivally, not as an adjective agreeing with κτήματος; cf. e.g. P. Klein. Form. 76. 2 δημοσίου ἀρουρῶν, 95. 7 δημοσίου τῆς αὐτῆς τρίτης ἰνδικ(τίωνος).

## 1138. RECEIPT FOR MONEY-TAXES.

24 x 10.2 cm.

Fifth or sixth century.

Receipt for a payment made on behalf of a church on account of money-taxes. Abbreviations are in several cases marked by a dot above the final letter as well as by the usual diagonal stroke, as e.g. in 1053.

+ Κατεβλήθ(η)  
 ἐπὶ τὸν ἐκκλ(ησίας) λόγ(ον)  
 π(αρὰ) Ἀπφουᾶ πρ(εσβυτέρου)  
 ὑπ(ἐρ) ἀργυρ(ικῶν) ι ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)  
 5 χρ(υσοῦ) ἰδ(ιωτικῶ) ζυγ(ῶ)  
 νομισμ(άτια) δώδεκα  
 π(αρὰ) κερ(άτια) πεντήκοντα  
 ἐν, γίνε(ται) χρ(υσοῦ) ἰδ(ιωτικῶ) ζυγ(ῶ)  
 νομισμ(άτια) ιβ π(αρὰ) να, μό(να).

10 Φαῶφι η ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ια,  
 δι' ἐμοῦ Φιβ γραμματέως).  
 +  
 πρὸς ἀπαξ.

On the verso

2nd hand ακα . α . . . βερεξακα ε . .

10. First φ of φαῶφι and δι in l. 11 blotted. ἰνδ Pap.

'Paid to the credit of the church by Apphouas, presbyter, for the money-dues of the 10th indiction, twelve solidi of gold less fifty-one carats on the private standard, total 12 solidi of gold less 51 carats private standard, and no more. Phaophi 8, 11th indiction, through me, Phib, scribe. Once for all.'

5. On the relative value of a solidus on the private, public, and Alexandrian (e. g. 1147) standards see 154. 13, note.

10. ια: or possibly ιε, with ιδ in l. 4.

13. Cf. B. G. U. 1020. 15.

14. These letters on the verso seem unintelligible and suggest a magical formula.

## (f) ORDERS.

### 1139. ORDER FROM A LOGISTES.

5.5 × 17.5 cm.

Fourth century.

An order from a logistes directing the presidents of the guild of vegetable-dealers to supply an *exceptor* with a certain quantity of vegetables. These trade-guilds are frequently mentioned in the papyri of this period, e. g. 53 (carpenters), 84 (ironworkers), 85 (coppersmiths, beersellers, bakers, oil-sellers, bee-keepers); cf. Ziebarth, *Griech. Vereinswesen*, pp. 96 sqq. The order is written on the verso, the recto containing the beginnings of lines from a list of payments dated in Hathur of the 17th = the 15th = the 7th year, i. e. A. D. 322 (cf. Wilcken, *Archiv* iii. pp. 383-4). Α κέραμιον of wine is valued at 3,000 drachmae (τιμῆς οἴνου κερ[αμίων . . .] ἐκ (δραχμῶν) Γ).



Π(αρά) τοῦ λογιστοῦ  
 μηνιάρχαις λαχανευτῶν. δότε Ἀρκαδίῳ ἐκσκεπτορι λαχάνων  
 ταγὴν μίαν. σεση(μείωμαι).

2. ἐκσκεπτορι Pap.

'From the logistes to the monthly presidents of the vegetable-sellers. Give Arcadius, *exceptor*, one ration of vegetables. Signed by me.'

2. μηνιάρχαι of other Oxyrhynchite guilds are mentioned in 53. 3, 84. 6. For ἐκσκεπτορι cf. 1108. 13.

3. ταγὴν: the word is commonly used in late Greek in the sense of food, especially fodder for horses, e. g. *Chron. Pasch.* p. 138 b ἡ ταγὴ αὐτοῦ . . . παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, p. 254 a εἰς ταγὴν ἵππου. In the present passage, as in B. G. U. 1118. 16 πράσου γλυκέως ταγὰς λ (B. C. 23-2), it implies a definite amount, and ταγάριον has a similar sense in Const. Porph. *Cer.* p. 311. 17 (Bonn). Cf. 1158. 12, note. Possibly τὴν] ταγὴν should be read in P. Flor. 119. 4-5.

## 1140. ORDER FOR VEGETABLE-SEED.

6.1 x 22.8 cm.

A. D. 293.

An order for the payment of an artaba of λαχανόσπερμον.

Π(αρά) Σεύθου Σαραπίωνι γεωργῶ χαίρειν).  
 δὸς Ἡρακλίῳ ὀνηλάτῃ λαχανοσπέρμου  
 μέτρῳ ἐλαιουργικῶ ἀρτάβην μίαν,  
 / (ἀρτάβη) α. ἔρρωσο.  
 5 (ἔτους) ἐνάτου καὶ η καὶ α Μεσορῆ λ.

3. ω of ἐλαιουργικῶ corr. from ι.

'From Seuthes to Sarapion, cultivator, greeting. Give Heraclius, donkey-driver, one artaba of vegetable seed by oil-makers' measure, total 1 art. Good-bye. The 9th which = the 8th which = the 1st year. Mesore 30.'

3. μέτρῳ ἐλαιουργικῶ: cf. P. Flor. 82. 8, 85. 12, in both instances, as here, for measuring λαχανόσπερμον.

## 1141. ORDER FOR WINE.

9.4 x 10 cm.

Third century.

An order to hand over ten jars of wine and the like quantity of ὄξος which were due in connexion with certain agricultural operations. The writing is across the fibres of the verso; on the recto is a fragment of an account.

Π(αρά) Ἰουλ(ίου) Διογένους

Θωνίῳ οἰνοπαρα(λημπτή) χα(ίρειν).

δὸς Κ[ο]πρεῖ φροντιστῆ Σερύφεως

εἰς λόγ(ον) κοπ(ῆς) καλαμειφύης τοῦ διελ(θόντος) α (ἔτους)

5 καὶ εἰς τὰ κατεπείγοντα ἄλ(λα) ἔργ(α)

χωρ(ίου) Γαϊανοῦ οἴνου γενήματος τοῦ

διελθόντ(ος) α (ἔτους) κερά(μια) δέκα, ὄξ(ους) ὁμοί(ως)

κεράμια δέκα. (2nd hand) σεσημίωμαι τὰ τοῦ οἴ-  
νου κεράμια δέκα.

10 σεσημίωμαι

τὰ [το]ῦ ὄξ(ους) κεράμια

δέκα.

1st hand (ἔτους) β Τῦβι ι.

5. κατ'επείγοντα Pap.

6. γαϊανου Pap.

'From Julius Diogenes to Thonius, wine-keeper, greeting. Give to Copreus, agent at Seruphis, on account of the cutting of the growth of reeds in the past first year and the other pressing work at the farm-stead of Gaianus, 10 jars of wine of the produce of the past first year and similarly 10 jars of vinegar.' Signature of Julius Diogenes.

4. καλαμειφύη (for καλαμοφ.?) seems to be novel.

6. Γαϊανοῦ may be the genitive of the name Γαϊανός or an adjective from Γάιος like Ἄντωνιανός, &c.

## 1142. ORDER FOR PURCHASES.

10 x 8.6 cm.

Late third century.

A list of various commodities which an unnamed person and his friends wished to be purchased for them.

Ἐντολικὸν Ἀχιλλίτι. ὑποστάθμι-  
 ον ἀγόρασον ἡμικοτύλην ξυρομού-  
 ρου καλὸν (δραχμῶν) ις, πατήματος (δραχμῶν) η, βρέλ-  
 λιον ὀλκῆς δ, ὄνυχος τέσσερα δη-  
 5 νάρια ὀλκῆς, στυράκιν ὀλκῆς δη-  
 ναρ(ί)ου, στροβ[ί]λια δηναρ(ί)ου μεγάλα,  
 ξήριον (δραχμῶν) ιβ, στήμιον (δραχμῶν) κ, κτενί-  
 α πρὸς κεφαλὴν δύο δηναρί(ου) α,  
 ἀρτύματος δηναρί[ο]υ α. λέει Ὠρί-  
 10 ων ὁ κλιβανεύς ὅτι ἀγόραρόν μοι  
 [. .] τετρώβολα ὀριγάνου. Διογέ-  
 [ν]ης . [.]ς ὄτ[ι] ἀγόρασον χάρτον α.  
 [ἀγόρασον] ἡμεῖν χελάδριον [. . . . . , ἀγόρα]σον ἡμεῖν ἐλέο(υ) ξέσ-  
 15 [τ . . . . . ]ς α, ἀγόρασον ἡμεῖν  
 [. . . . . γλ]ύκιον ροιτικόν. ἐρ(ρ)ῶ-  
 [σθαί σε εὔχ]ομε.

On the verso

ἐντολικὸν Ἀχιλλίτι.

2. 1. ξηρομούρου. 3. 1. καλοῦ. 5. ὀλκῆς Pap. 7. ε of κτενια corr.  
 10. 1. ἀγόρασον. 11. ὀριγάνου) Pap.; so l. 17 εγχ]ομε). 12. 1. χάρτην. 14. 1. ἐλαίου.  
 17. 1. εὔχ]ομαι.

‘Order to Achilles. Buy half a cotyle of dry precipitate (?) of good perfume at 16 drachmae, some trodden grapes (?) at 8 drachmae, sweet gum (?) to the weight of 4 drachmae, onyx-shell to the weight of 4 denarii, incense to the weight of 1 denarius, some large cones at 1 denarius, dry powder at 12 drachmae, thread at 20 drachmae, 2 hair-combs at 1 denarius, sauce at 1 denarius. Horion the baker says, buy me 4 obols of marjoram. Diogenes says, buy a sheet of papyrus. Buy us a bedstead . . . buy us 1 (?) sextarius of oil, buy us . . . some pomegranate wine. I pray for your health.’

1. Cf. 741. 1 λόγ(ος) ἐντολικῶν, a list of articles ordered, and B. G. U. 953. ὑποστάθμιον is apparently an adjective formed from ὑποστάθμη, ‘sediment.’ The division ὑπὸ σταθμίον ‘by weight’ is unsatisfactory, since the article immediately mentioned was to be measured.

3. For πατήματος cf. 1156. 9, where it is evidently a kind of fodder. Perhaps trodden grapes were so used (cf. B. G. U. 1039. 4 οἱ πατηταί), or straw of some sort may be meant (cf. P. Flor. 150. 5 πατήσαι τὰ . . . θέρη). πατητός as an epithet of φόινξ (e. g. B. G. U. 591. 22) has a different sense. βρελλιον, apparently an unknown form, is perhaps for βδέλλιον, which occurs in conjunction with ὄνυξ in Galen, *De Antidot.* ii.

4. ὄνυχος: cf. Diosc. ii. 10 ἔστι πῶμα κογχυλίου, ὅμοιον τῷ τῆς πορφύρας, εὑρισκόμενον ἐν τῇ Ἰνδία ἐν ταῖς ναρδοφόροις λίμναις· διὸ καὶ ἀρωματίζει, νεμομένων τῶν κογχυλίων τὴν νάρδον.

6. στροβ[ί]λια: cf. 1088. 55, 1144. 11, B. G. U. 362. Fr. 2, i. 7 στροβεῖ[λω]ν καὶ ἀρωμάτων, 801. 17-18 στροβίλους δέκα [εἰ]ς θυσίαν.

7. στήμιον: cf. P. Tebt. 413. 12.

9. λέει is for λέγει; cf. 1110. 21 and e. g. 53. 5 λοογράφου.

11. There is room for a couple of letters before τετρώβολα; perhaps [τά].

12. The letter after [ν]ης may be υ and υ[ί]ς is a possibility, λέγει (which is apparently not to be read in this line) being understood.

13. χελάδριον is for χαλάδριον, for which cf. 646, P. Tebt. 414. 13.

14-15. Possibly ξέσ[την] α, ὄξο]υς α; but the remains suggest ]ς rather than ]υς.

16. For ροιτικόν cf. Diosc. v. 34 ροίτης οἶνος.

## (g) ACCOUNTS.

### 1143. TEMPLE-ACCOUNT.

8.7 × 10.4 cm.

About A. D. 1.

Both this and the following papyrus are fragments of accounts of payments in connexion with one or other of the Oxyrhynchite temples. Not improbably they come from the annual reports of receipt and expenditure which it was incumbent upon the priests to submit to the civil officials of the nome; cf. P. Tebt. 298, introd. The 'deified lord emperor' on whose behalf were made the sacrifices and libations recorded in l. 4, was no doubt Augustus, to whose reign this document, from the handwriting, is to be attributed.

ἐλαίου (?)] κοτυλῶν γ (δραχμαὶ) β.  
 τ]οῦ ἡγεμόνος τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παστοφό(ροις) πορευομέ(νοις)  
 ] θυσία(ς) (δραχμαὶ) κ. εἰς θυμέλην γυμνασιά(ρχων) (δραχμαὶ) δ  
 θυ]σίας καὶ σπονδὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου Αὐτοκράτορος  
 5 ] (δραχμαὶ) μ. ἐδαπανή(θησαν) εἰς τὸ ἱερόν ἀλδς (ἀρτάβαι) β  
 περ]ιστεριδ(ι ) εἰς τὰς θυσία(ς) ἀνηλοῦντι  
 ]'' — (ὀβολοὶ δύο), ἐλαίο(υ) με(τρηταὶ) β, περισ(τερίδια) ι, ἀλδς (ἀρ-  
 τάβαι) β, φα(κοῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ιε  
 ] . . . Ἐδ' ἰ[β'.]  
 ] εἰς[. . . . .  
 . . . . .



1. ἀναμῆσιϝ : the third letter has been altered and might be meant for ε, but that is no easier. ἀναμ(ν)ησιό[ις] would be intelligible, but the word does not occur.

6. ἱεράς κλείνης = *lectisternii*. Cf. e.g. Pausan. viii. 37. 2 κλείνη τε ἱερά τῆς Ἀθηνῶς, Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.* iii. p. 46, 110. 2 κλείνην τοῦ κυρίου Σαράπιδος.

7-8. Not γενεθλίους θεοῦ Κλαυδίου or Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου, since neither Claudius nor Nero was born in the month Germaniceus (Pachon) or Germanicus (Thoth). But if, as is possible, the name Germaniceus was given by Claudius, a festival in his honour in that month would be natural enough.

17. Payments in kind begin at this point; Wilcken aptly compares the similar arrangement in B. G. U. I. 17.

## 1145. ACCOUNT OF A SITOLOGUS.

27.8 × 25.6 cm.

First century.

A fragment from an account recording amounts of wheat delivered on different days by various persons who are arranged under their villages,— apparently part of the day-book of a sitologus; cf. e.g. P. Fay. 340. The beginnings of lines of a second column, mentioning the village Ἰσιήου Τρύφων[ος] (l. Τρύφωνος) and the names Ταῖπιδις, Μαῶς, Ἀβτιμαρα[ι], and Νίνυανδρος (= Νίκανδρος?), are not printed.

## Col. i.

	ιβ, Κόβα	
	θ( ) Πετεχῶν Πελούσις	(πυροῦ) νδ,
	θ( ) Ἀπίων Νιγαίου ἠπὲρ ἄλλων τόπον μέσης τοπαρχίας Θέωνος κομον	(πυροῦ) κ.
5	/ τῆς ἡμέρας (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) οδ. [ι]γ, ἡ αὐτὴ κόμη	
	θ( ) Πετεχῶν Πελούσις	(πυροῦ) δ,
	θ( ) Ὡρο[ος] Πετεχῶντος ἀνθ' ὧν Ἀμμόνι(ος) Πετεχῶν(τος)	(πυροῦ) λαλ χ(οίνικες) η,
	θ( ) Πετεχῶν Ἀπολλωνίου προσβ(ύτερος) διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ	(πυροῦ) ε,
10	θ( ) Ὡρος Πτόλλις διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ	(πυροῦ) ιε,
	θ( ) Ὡρος Ἀρπαήσις	(πυροῦ) ιξδ' χ(οίνικες) β,
	Θρακίτα Κόμ(ωνος?) διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ	(πυροῦ) αλ,
	θ( ) Ἡρακλῆς Ἀρπαήσις διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ	(πυροῦ) ι,
	θ( ) Δίδυμος Βατράχου	(πυροῦ) κα χ(οίνικες) η,

- 15 θ( ) Ἀτρῆς — διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ (πυροῦ) δ,  
 Θρακίτα Κόμ(ωνος) διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ (πυροῦ) αλ,  
 θ( ) Ἀτρῆς Πετενούφης (πυροῦ) ιβ χ(οίνικες) β.  
 / τῆς ἡμέρας (πυροῦ) ρκγδ'.  
 ιδ, Σοβθις.
- 20 θ( ) Λούκις τοῦ Λουκίου μητρὸς Ἀπολλωνοῦς (πυροῦ) ελδ',  
 θ( ) Πεκῦσις Διοδώρου διὰ Λούκις Πετρονίου (πυροῦ) βδ',  
 Δωρίων Ἀλεξάνδρου Εἰλιθηείου δ[ι]ὰ (πυροῦ) ρκδ,  
 Κολλκούλις

3. l. Νικαίου (?) ὑπὲρ . . . τόπων. 4. l. κωμῶν; so in l. 6. 8. l. Ἀμμώνι(ος). χων of πετεχωιν(τος) above the line: ἀνθ' ὧν . . . Πετεχωῶν was apparently inserted after (πυροῦ) λα was written. 9. l. προσβ(ύτερος). 12. l. Θρακίδας? so in l. 16. 19. l. Σωβθις.  
 20. l. Ἀπολλωνοῦτος. 21. l. Λουκίου Πετρονίου. 22. l. Εἰλιθειοῦ.

1. Κάβα: cf. P. Hibeh, p. 8 and 56. 6, note. Both this village and Σωβθις (l. 19, P. Hibeh, p. 8) were perhaps near the boundary of the Oxyrhynchite and Heracleopolite nomes.

2. The meaning of the θ which has been prefixed to most of the names, apparently by the same hand as the rest of the account, is uncertain. Above it is a curved or angular mark such as is elsewhere used in this papyrus to indicate an abbreviation. In the second column this θ is omitted with four names out of fifteen. The letter is sometimes found in such a position to indicate a person's decease (= θάνατος, e.g. P. Fay. 105, iii. 26), but its frequency here is hardly consistent with that interpretation. Does it stand for θησαυρός?

4. Θεω[νος] κωμῶν is probably to be restored on this analogy in 740. 35.

9. For the spelling προσβ(ύτερος) cf. e.g. B. G. U. 102. 2.

12. Κόμ(ωνος) (48. 8, 13) is only one of several possibilities.

15. The dash after Ἀτρῆς takes the place of the father's name; there is another instance in Col. ii. Cf. e.g. B. G. U. 1150. 3, *Archiv* v. p. 391.

18. The foregoing items add up to  $122\frac{3}{4}$  artabae 20 choenices, which are expressed in the total as  $123\frac{1}{4}$  artabae, showing that the artaba here used contained 40 choenices; cf. 1044, introd.

22. The Alexandrian deme-name Εἰλιθειος has already occurred in 377 and 623.

## 1146. ACCOUNT OF PAYMENTS.

15.7 × 12.5 cm.

Early fourth century.

A fragment of a list of payments to various persons. There are remains of two columns, of which the first consists only of a row of amounts in money, ranging from 280 drachmae up to 9 talents. The second column, though the ends of the lines are lost, is worth printing on account of some unusual words.

This account is on the verso; the recto contains a fragment of a document, apparently a petition concerning the division of an inheritance, mentioning a *κουράτωρ* and *τὴν δικαιοδοσίαν διοικοῦντι*, i. e. a deputy iuridicus.

## Col. ii.

. . . . .  
 [. . . . .] τῶν[ ] [ ]  
 [. . . . .] ατίωνι γυ[μν]α(σιαρχήσαντι) ε . [.]ρομφ σ, Ἀπί[ωνι  
 ] ὑπὲρ καρ[.]ανης [ ]  
 [Φουλιανῶ] ἐξηγητῆ σ, Ἀπάμμωνι ἐλεοπ[ώλη  
 5 τῶ αὐτῶ Ὡ[φ]εως ὀθωνίου [ ]  
 Ἀμμωνίῳ ἀρχιερεὶ σέλλα εἰς τρύγην διθ[ ]  
 Ἰσίωνι ὀθονιακῶ σ, Αὐξάνορι πράτῃ [ ]  
 Τερεῦτι ἀρτοκοπίσση σ, Φουλιανῶ ἐξη[γητῆ  
 Ἰσιδώρ[α] ἀρτοκοπίσση σ, Τερεῦτι ἀρτοκ[οπίσση  
 10 Ἡρακλειδίω ὑποκαυστῆ σ, Πατερμ[ούθει  
 Ἡρακλήῳ υἱῶ Γεμελλίνου σ, Πτολεμ[ ] διὰ  
 Ἡρακλείδου ἀργυροκόπου [ ]  
 Ἰσιδώρῳ χρυ[σ]οχόῳ διὰ . . ρο . ιδίου [ ]  
 Σερήνῳ βαφῆ διὰ χιρὸς [ ]  
 15 Εὐδαιμονι [[χρυσ]] περικόπτῃ σ, . . . [ ]  
 Διοσκουρίδῃ θαρσικαρίῳ διὰ χιρὸς [ ]  
 Θέωνι τρα(πεξίτῃ) σ, Σαραπίωνι πολ[ι]τικῶ [ ]  
 Ἀστερίῳ (ἐκαρτοντάρ)χ(ῆ) σ, Θέωνι τρα(πεξίτῃ) [ ]  
 τῶ αὐτῶ σ, Σαρᾶ ἑκατοντάρχη  
 20 Κοπρῆ προθηκαρίῳ . ἀλ . . . [.] . μ[ ]  
 Ἡρακλειδ[ί]ω ὑποκα[υ]στῆ [.] . [.] . [.]σ[ ]

4. 1. ἐλαιοπ[ώλη]. 5. 1. ὀθωνίου. 7. ἰσίωνι Pap. 9. ἰσιδώρ[α] Pap.  
 11. υἱῶ Pap. 13. ἰσιδώρῳ Pap. 16. 1. θαρσικαρίῳ.

2. To what the figure σ refers, and why it is so constant throughout this column, is not clear.

3. καρ[.]ανης might perhaps be for χαλ[β]ίνης; or it may be a proper name.

4. [Φουλιανῶ] is restored from l. 8; cf. the repetition of Τερεῦτι, Ἡρακλειδίω, and Θέωνι below.

5. For the village of Ὡφεις cf. 132. 1, &c.

8. This feminine form of ἀρτοκόπος is apparently new.



10. ὑποκαυστή: this word occurs in P. Leyden S iii. 30, vii. 8, T i. 5, where no doubt it is a dative masculine, not, as given by Leemans, a nominative feminine. It means, apparently, a stoker; cf. e. g. B. G. U. 760. 10.

13. ἰδίου may be a word in itself, but ὄρον is unsuitable for the preceding name.

15. περικόπται κλώπες occurs in Photius, p. 418. 6, but the term must have some other meaning here.

16. θαρσικαρίω: cf. P. Brit. Mus. 387. 4, 390. 1, B. G. U. 34. v. 15, Wessely, *Studien*, i. p. 2, P. Leipzig 26. 9, &c.

17. πολιτικός as a title apparently occurs in C. I. G. add. 4957 b Διδότος Σαραπίωνος [τῶν] πολιτικῶν (?).

20. προθηκαρίω is perhaps for προθηκαρίω; cf. ἀποθηκάριος and συνθηκάριος.

## 1147. ACCOUNT OF ARREARS.

32 x 16.4 cm.

Late sixth century.

An account of sums which had not been included in 'the great list' but had either been paid since or were still owing. Some of the items have been subsequently cancelled. The account is described in the heading as relating to the district (διοίκησις) of a *comes*, and mentions several familiar village names (cf. e. g. 998 and 1053).

+ ] Ἀπολοιπασ(μὸς ?) ἰα ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) μετὰ τὴν μεγάλ(ην) ἔχθεσιν  
οὕτως,

διοικήσ(εως) τοῦ κόμ(ετος) Παπυρίου·

τοῖς μείζ(οσι) καὶ τῷ βοηθῷ Τακόνα

Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) θ  
κερ(άτια) αλ,

5 τοῖς σταβλ(ίταις) Τακόνα

Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) η  
κερ(άτια) κγλδ',

[I]ερημία βοηθ(ῶ) Τακόνα ὑπὲρ Παμουθίου ἀπὸ πρ(εσβυτέρων) Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) ζ  
κερ(άτια) δλ,

Ἀπολλῶ βοηθ(ῶ) Σπανίας

Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) 5  
κερ(άτια) ιβδ',

τοῖς ἀπὸ Σεφῶ ὑπὲρ λοιπάδ(ος) τιμ(ῆς) σίτου

Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτιον) α  
κερ(άτια) ιζ,

Παμουθίω μείζ(ονι) Ταμπέτι ὑπὲρ μείζονίας

Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) λ5  
κερ(άτια) 5,

- 10 [Θ]εοδώρω ρίπαρ(ίω) Ἄλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) κε  
κερ(άτια) ιγ,  
[το]ῖς διαφέρο[υ]σ(ι) τῆς ἀγί(ας) ἐκκλ(ησίας) ὑπὲρ τῆς λογιστί(ας) Ἄλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) κς  
κερ(άτια) κγλ,  
[τ]ῷ βοηθ(ῶ) τῶν δ κτημ(άτων) Ἄλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) κθ  
κερ(άτια) ιθλ.
- γί(νεται) νο(μισμάτια) ρνβ κερ(άτιον) α.  
[[ὑπ]ὲρ τῶν β ἀποδείξ(εω) τῶν β μικρ(ῶν) Ἄλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) πβ  
κερ(άτια) θλ]]
- 15 καταβολ(ῶν)  
γί(νεται) Ἄλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) ρνβ κερ(άτιον) α.  
[τ]ῷ προνο(ητή) Παγγουλεείου Ἄλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) δ  
κερ(άτια) ζλ,  
[τ]ῷ αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ τιμ(ῆς) σίτου Ἄλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) ζ  
κερ(άτια) ιε,  
[τ]ῷ προνο(ητή) Θαήσιος ὑπὲρ λοιπάδ(ος) ναύλ(ου) Ἄλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) ζ  
κερ(άτιον) αλδ'.
- 20 γί(νεται) νο(μισμάτια) ιθ κερ(άτιον) δ'.  
[[τῶν προτελεσθ(έντων) ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς Ἡρακλέους Ἄλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) μυ  
κερ(άτια) καδ',]]  
[[τ]ῶν δοθ(έντων) εἰς τὴν πρόσοδων ὑπὲρ τῶν δ κτημ(άτων) Ἄλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) ογ.]]  
[[γί(νεται) Ἄλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) το κερ(άτια) η.]]  
γί(νεται) Ἄλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) ιθ κερ(άτιον) δ'.
4. μειζζ/ Pap. 5. σταβλ' Pap. 9. ὑπερ Pap. 12. κτημς Pap.; so in l. 22.  
14. μικρρ/ Pap. 22. l. πρόσοδον.
1. ἀπολοιπασ(μός): or ἀπολοιπάσ(ματα); I have found no other instance of either word.  
4. Ἄλεξ(ανδρείας): cf. 154. 13, note.  
5. σταβλ(ίταις): cf. 140. 7, &c.  
9. μειζονία, the office of a μειζων, seems to occur only here.  
15. This word, which goes with l. 14, ought also to have been crossed out.  
19. Θαήσιος here, like Παγγουλεείον in l. 17, is a village; cf. 998. For the προνοητής  
cf. 1134. 8, note.  
23. This deleted total is the correct sum of the items in ll. 13, 14, 20-2.

## (h) ORACULAR QUESTIONS, AMULETS, ETC.

## 1148. QUESTION TO THE ORACLE.

7.1 x 5.8 cm.

First century.

The two following papyri contain questions addressed to the oracle of Serapis, who in 1148 is identified with Helios, in 1149 with Zeus-Helios. Cf. 923, which in the light of 1149 is now intelligible, and the analogous documents to which references are there given. The text is written in a crabbed cursive hand across the fibres of the recto.

Κύριέ μου Σαρᾶπι Ἡλιε  
 εὐεργέτα, εἰ βέλτερόν  
 ἔστιν Φανίαν τὸν υἱόν  
 μου καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα  
 5 αὐτοῦ μὴ συμφωνῆσαι  
 νῦν τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ  
 ἀντιλέγειν καὶ μὴ δι-  
 δόναι γράμματα; τοῦ-  
 τό μοι σύμφωνον ἔνεν-  
 10 κε. ἔρρω(σο).

4. γυναικ̄ Pap.

'O lord Serapis Helios, beneficent one, is it better for my son Phantias and his wife not to agree now with his father, but to oppose him and make no contract? Tell me this truly. Goodbye.'

1. Σαρᾶπι Ἡλιε: cf. 1149. 1. The identification of Sarapis with Zeus and Helios is found in many inscriptions.

2. εἰ: so e. g. Wessely, *Script. Gr. Spec.* 26 εἰ οἷ[ν] διδοται. ἦ is probably meant, though a word like ἐρωτῶ could readily be supplied. εἰ might also be regarded here as the conditional particle, 'if it is better . . ., grant me an oracle in that sense,' and this would make σύμφωνον somewhat easier; cf. 1150. 2. But the parallel examples are in favour of taking the first sentence as a question; cf. 1149. 3-4, P. Fay. 138. 2 χρημάτων μοι, ἦ μείνω ἐν Βακχιάδι, &c. σύμφωνον will then mean 'in accordance with truth' or 'expediency'.

9. ἔνευκε: so P. Fay. 138. 1-3 ἡ κρίνεται<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν ἰς πόλιν; τοῦτο ἐξένευγον, B. G. U. 229. 3-4 ἡ μὲν σωθήσονται (l. μὴν σωθήσομαι) . . . , τοῦτό[ν] μοι ἐξένευγον. It does not, I think, mean 'bring this to pass' as translated in P. Fay. 138, but 'deliver an oracle', 'give an answer', like χρημάτισον in P. Fay. 137. 4; cf. P. Giessen 20. 18 ἐχρ[η]ματίσθη ὑπὸ τῶν Διοσκούρων, and 1150. 6, note.

## 1149. QUESTION TO THE ORACLE.

9.7 × 6.1 cm.

Second century.

A question similar to 1148 addressed to the oracle of Zeus-Helios-Serapis, whether it would be expedient to purchase a slave. The writing is at right angles to the fibres of the recto.

Διὶ Ἡλίῳ μεγάλῳ  
 Σεράπ[ι]δι καὶ τοῖς  
 συννάοις. ἐρωτᾶ  
 Νίκη εἰ σ[υ]μφέρει  
 5 μοι ἀ[γο]ράσαι παρὰ  
 Τασαρ[α]πίωνος ὃν  
 ἔχει δοῦλον Σαραπί-  
 ωνα τ[ὸ]ν κα[ὶ] Γ[α]ΐωνα.  
 [τοῦτό] μοι δός.

1. δῦ Pap.

8. γ[α]ΐωνα Pap.

'To Zeus Helios, great Serapis, and the associate gods. Nice asks whether it is expedient for her to buy from Tasarapion her slave Sarapion also called Gaion. Grant me this.'

1 sqq. On this analogy 923. 1-4 may now be restored [Διὶ Ἡ]λίῳ μεγάλ[ῳ] Σεράπ[ι]δι. ἐρωτᾷ[ς] σε Ἀπίων [καὶ] Τ . . . [.] . . . ἡ Ἐξακῶντ[ος] χρημ[α]τίσαι (cf. P. Fay. 137. 2) αὐτοῖς. μ[. . .] in l. 6 is no doubt a person.

9. Cf. 923. 14-15 τοῦτο ἡμῖν δός. δός means 'give a reply', like χρημάτισον and ἐξένευγον; cf. note on 1148. 9.

<sup>1</sup> There is no need to suppose with Wilamowitz, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1901, p. 40, that κρίνεται is for κρίνετε; cf. Wessely, *Script. Gr. Spec.* 26 εἰ οὐ[ν] δι[δο]ταί μοι, where a single deity is addressed.

## 1150. CHRISTIAN PRAYER.

7.5 × 10.8 cm.

Sixth century.

This prayer asking for guidance is, like 925, a Christian analogue of the questions to pagan deities exemplified in 1148-9. As with the amulets (cf. 1151-2), the old practice was carried on under a different nomenclature.

+

+ 'Ο θεὸς τοῦ προστάτου ἡμῶν  
τοῦ ἀγίου Φιλοξένου, ἐὰν  
κελεύεις εἰσενεγκεῖν  
εἰς τὸ νοσοκομῖόν σου Ἀνούπ;  
5 δεῖξον τὴν δύναμίν σου  
καὶ ἐξέλθη τὸ πιττ[ά]κ[ι]ον.

'O God of our patron Saint Philoxenus, dost thou bid us take Anoup to thy hospital? Show thy power and let this prayer be accomplished.'

2. Φιλοξένου: cf. 1151. 48, note.

The occurrence of ἐὰν here might be held to confirm the view that εἰ and ἦ in the parallel passages are really conditional (cf. note on 1148. 2); but 1149. 3 supplies strong evidence on the other side, and ἐὰν may be explained as an indirect interrogative, as e.g. in Xen. *Mem.* iv. 4. 12 σκέψαι ἐὰν . . . ἀρέσκη; cf. the use of ἄν in modern Greek.

6. The first τ of πιττ[ά]κ[ι]ον is irregularly written, but I can see no alternative. Cf. Wessely, *Script. Gr. Spec.* 26. 5-6 ὑπόδειξόν (so we should read, as the facsimile shows, not ὑπόδεξον for ὑπόδεξαι, as W.) μοι κα[ὶ] κύρωσ[όν] μοι τοῦτο τὸ γραπτόν. 'May my prayer have an answer' is probably the real meaning.

## 1151. CHRISTIAN AMULET.

23.4 × 4.4 cm.

Fifth century (?).

An elaborate charm, designed to ward off fever and other ills. Its phraseology is purely Christian, with no admixture of heathen magic. The opening verses of St. John's Gospel are quoted, just as the Lord's prayer is inserted in B. G. U. 954; and the Virgin and several saints are appealed to. The papyrus when found was tightly folded, and tied with a string; it is written in a clear upright hand, approximating to a literary type. Cf. 924, 1077, Wilcken, *Archiv* i. pp. 429 sqq.

- + Φεύγε πν(εὐμ)α  
 μεμισιμένον,  
 Χ(ριστό)ς σε διώκει·  
 πρόελαβέν σε  
 5 ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θε(ο)ῦ καὶ  
 τὸ πν(εὐμ)α τὸ ἅγιον.  
 ὁ θε(ο)ς τῆς προβατι-  
 κῆς κολουμβή-  
 θρας, ἐξελοῦ τὴν  
 10 δούλην σου  
 Ἰωαννίαν ἣν  
 ἔτεκεν Ἀναστασία  
 εἰ καὶ Εὐφημία  
 ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ.  
 15 + ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν  
 ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος  
 ἦν πρὸς τὸν θε(ο)ν καὶ  
 θε(ο)ς ἦν ὁ λόγος.  
 πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ  
 20 ἐγένετο κ(αὶ) χωρεῖς  
 αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο  
 οὐδὲ ἐν ᾧ γέγονεν.  
 κ(ύρι)ε + Χ(ριστ)έ, υἱέ καὶ  
 λόγε τοῦ θε(ο)ῦ τοῦ  
 25 ζῶντος, ὁ ἰασάμε-  
 νος πᾶσαν νόσον  
 καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν,  
 ἴασαι καὶ ἐπίσκεψαι  
 καὶ τὴν δούλην σου  
 30 Ἰωαννίαν ἣν ἔτεκεν  
 Ἀναστασία ἡ καὶ  
 Εὐφημία, καὶ ἀπο-  
 δάωξον καὶ φυγάδευ-  
 σον ἀπ' αὐτῆς πάντα  
 35 πυρετὸν κ(αὶ) παντοῖον  
 ῥῆγος ἀμφημερινὸν  
 τριτεον τεταρτεον  
 καὶ πᾶν κακόν. εὐχ(ε)σ-  
 θαι πρεσβίαις τῆς  
 40 δεσποίνης ἡμῶν τῆς  
 θεοτόκου καὶ τῶν  
 ἐνδόξων ἀρχαγγέ-  
 λων κ(αὶ) τοῦ ἀγίου καὶ ἐν-  
 δόξου ἀποστόλου κ(αὶ)  
 45 εὐαγγελιστοῦ κ(αὶ) θεο-  
 λόγου Ἰωάννου κ(αὶ) τοῦ  
 ἀγίου Σερῆνου κ(αὶ) τοῦ  
 ἀγίου Φιλοξένου κ(αὶ) τοῦ  
 ἀγίου Βήκτωρος κ(αὶ) τοῦ  
 50 ἀγίου Ἰούστου κ(αὶ) πάντων  
 [τῶ]ν ἀγίων. ὅτι τὸ ὄνομά  
 σου, κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θε(ο)ς, ἐπικαλεσά-  
 [μ]ην τὸ θαυμαστὸν  
 καὶ ὑπερένδοξον καὶ  
 55 φοβερὸν τοῖς ὑπε-  
 ναντίοις. ἀμήν. +

2. l. μεμισημένον. 5. υἱος Pap. 11. Ἰωαννίαν Pap.; so in l. 30. 13. l. ἡ.  
 23. υἱε Pap. 25. l. ζῶντος. ἰασαμενος Pap. 28. ἴασαι Pap. 36. l. ῥίγος.  
 37. l. τριταῖον τεταρταῖον. 42. ἀρχαγγέλων Pap. 46. Ἰωαννου Pap. 49. l. Βίκτωρος.  
 50. ἰουστου Pap. 54. ὑπερενδοξον Pap.

‘Fly, hateful spirit! Christ pursues thee; the Son of God and the Holy Spirit have outstripped thee. O God of the sheep-pool, deliver from every evil thy handmaid Joannia whom Anastasia also called Euphemia bare. In the beginning was the Word, and the

Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by him and without him was not anything made that hath been made. O Lord Christ, Son and Word of the living God, who healedest every sickness and every infirmity, heal and regard thy handmaid Joannia whom Anastasia also called Euphemia bare, chase from her and put to flight all fevers and every kind of chill, quotidian, tertian, and quartan, and every evil. Pray through the intercession of our lady the mother of God and the glorious archangels and Saint John, the glorious apostle and evangelist and divine, and Saint Serenus and Saint Philoxenus and Saint Victor and Saint Justus and all the Saints. Upon thy name, O Lord God, have I called, the wonderful and exceeding glorious name, the terror of thy foes. Amen.'

7-8. The allusion is to John v. 2 *ἔστιν δὲ . . . ἐπὶ τῇ προβατικῇ κολυμβήθρα.*

15-22 = John i. 1-3.

22. οὐδὲ ἔν: so **S**<sup>c</sup>**A****B****C**, &c.; οὐδέν **S**<sup>\*</sup>**D**. In ending the sentence at *ὁ γέγονεν*, instead of connecting those words with the following sentence, the writer is in accord with **C**<sup>3</sup>**E****G**<sup>2</sup>**H****K**, &c.; cf. Ambrose, *Enar. in Ps.* 36. 35 *Alexandrinī quidem et Aegyptii legunt* ' . . . *factum est nihil quod factum est*', et *interposita distinctione subiiciunt* ' *in ipso vita est*'.

26-7. Cf. B. G. U. 954. 11-12, and Matt. iv. 23 *θεραπεύων πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν* (1077. 30 sqq.); similarly ix. 35, x. 1.

35-7. Cf. P. Tebt. 275. 20 sqq. *παντός ρίγους . . . τριταίου ἢ τεταρταίου ἢ καθημερινοῦ ἢ παρημερινοῦ*, B. G. U. 956.

38. The infinitive *εὔχεσθαι* is awkward, but cannot be evaded.

47-50. St. Serenus appears also in B. G. U. 954. 3, 29, St. Justus in 941. 14. The latter, like Victor, was martyred in the reign of Diocletian. Philoxenus (cf. 1150. 2) I cannot identify; the Monophysite bishop of Hierapolis is not likely to be meant.

55. There is ink between *ε* and *ρ* of *φοβερόν*, and there was perhaps some misspelling.

## 1152. CHRISTIAN AMULET.

4.2 × 6.1 cm.

Fifth or sixth century.

A short incantation containing magical, Jewish, and Christian elements; cf. 1060. The writing is across the fibres of the recto.

Ωρωρ φωρ ἑλωεί,  
 ἀδωναεί, Ἰαὼ σα-  
 βαώθ, Μιχαήλ, Ἰησοῦ  
 Χριστέ, βοήθι ἡμῖν  
 5 καὶ τούτῳ οἴκῳ. ἀ-  
 μήν.

2. *aw* of *ιαω* corr. from *εσ* (*ιεσ|ου*). 3. 1. Ἰησοῦ.

'Oror phor, eloi, adonai, Iao sabaoth, Michael, Jesus Christ, help us and this house. Amen.'

1-3. Cf. 1060. 3 *ωρωρ φωρφωρ Ἰαὼ σαβαώθ, ἀδονέ*, B. G. U. 955. 1 *κύριε σαβαώθ*.

## (i) PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE.

## 1153. LETTER OF APOLLONIUS.

22.2 × 11.8 cm.

First century.

A letter from a father to his son, who, it appears from the address on the verso, was staying at Alexandria. Most of the letter relates to clothes of various kinds. Nicanor, who is frequently mentioned, and was in the son's company, was perhaps his brother.

- [Ἀπο]λλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ  
 νίῳ χαίρειν.  
 [ἐ]κομισάμην διὰ Ἑρακλᾶτος τὰς κίστας  
 [σὺν] τοῖς βιβλίοις, ὡς γράφεις, καὶ τὸ λεπτί(ν)  
 5 [τὸ ἡ]μίχουν τοῦ ἐλαίου ὃν γράφει Νικάνωρ  
 [πεπ]ομφέναι. μετὰδος Νικάνωρι ὅτι  
 [. . .] κεν Ἑρακλᾶς ὁ ναυτικὸς τὰς  
 [δ]ρ[α]χμὰς ἑξακοσίας μεταβαλέσθαι ἡμε(ῖν)  
 σ[.]ιας τῶν φορτίων αὐτοῦ. σήμερον  
 10 γὰ[ρ] παρεγένετο· ἐγὼ δὲ εὐρῶν τὸ  
 πλοῖον καταπλέον ἀναγκαίως ἔδοξα  
 δηλῶσαί σοι περὶ τῶν προγεγραμμέ(νων).  
 κ[όμ]ῃσαι διὰ Ὀριγᾶτος καρποδέσμια  
 μικτὰ δύο, ἐν μὲν σανδύκινον καὶ ἐν πορφυροῦν,  
 15 ἃ ἐδωρήσατό σοι Πανσανίας ὁ ἀδελφός σου  
 πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐκ φιλοτιμίας αὐτοῦ κατηρ-  
 τισμένα, περὶ ὧν [κ]ομισάμενος ἀντίγρα(ψον).  
 ἀβόλλην σοι ἐὰν εὐρῶ ἀγοράσαι ἰδιωτικ(ῶς)  
 ἐν τάχει πέμφω, ἐὰν δὲ μή, ἐν οἴκῳ σοι καταρ-  
 20 τίομαι. αἱ λώδικες ἐξεταμήθησαν, ὃ δὲ λό-  
 γος αὐτῶν, (ὡς) γράφεις, ὑπὸ Διογᾶτος πεμφθή-  
 σεται Νικάνωρι δι(ὰ) Ἑρακλᾶτος. τῆς γινομέ(νης)  
 συνθέσεως τὸ πρόσχρωμον ἐνείλικται  
 τῆδε τῆ ἐπιστολῆ, ὃ δώσεις τῷ Νικάνωρι



25 [κατα]μαθεῖν, ἴν', ἐὰν αὐτῷ ἀρέσκη, γράψῃ ἡμ(εῖν)  
 [οὔπ]ου γὰρ ἐξεδόθη. ἐντοπία δὲ πορφύρα  
 χρήσασθ(αι) μέλλομεν.

In the left margin, at right angles

ἔρρ[ωσ]ο.

Μεχ(εῖρ) 5.

On the verso

30 Ἀπολλωνίῳ . . . μ( ) πρι( ) τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξί[ανδρείᾳ] . . .

5. l. 5.      6. [πεπ]ομφευσ/ Pap.      14. μικτα added above the line.      19. δε added above the line.

'Apollonius to his son Apollonius, greeting. I have received through Heraclas the boxes with the books, as you write, and the half-chous jar of oil which Nicanor writes that he has sent. Tell Nicanor that Heraclas the boatman . . . to pay us the 600 drachmae for his freights; he was here to-day; I found the boat sailing down and I thought that I ought to let you know about what I have said. You will receive through Origas two variegated (?) wrist-bands, one scarlet and one purple, which your brother Pausanias went to the expense of having made some time ago and presented to you; write and acknowledge their receipt. If I can buy a cloak for you privately, I will send it at once, if not, I will have it made for you at home. The blankets have been cut out; the account of them, as you write, shall be sent by Diogas to Nicanor through Heraclas. A pattern of the colour of the dress that is being made is enclosed in this letter; give it to Nicanor to look at, in order that, if he likes it, he may write to us, for it has not yet been given out. We are going to use local purple. Good-bye. Mecheir 6.' Address on verso.

4. λεπτίον: cf. B. G. U. 14. iv. 18 τιμῆς ταριχίων λεπτίων δ' ἐκ(άστου) (δραχμῶν) σμ, a passage misunderstood equally by the compiler of the B. G. U. index, where λεπτίος is given, and by Herwerden, *Lex. Supplet.*, who translates it 'monetula'. λεπτά in 920. 4 and P. Strassb. 40. 48 ἐλ[α]ίου ξέστας δώδεκα καὶ οἶνον κνίδια . . . καὶ τὰ ἐξ ἔθους διδόμενα λεπτά should no doubt be interpreted like λεπτίον here; cf. P. Flor. 50. 104 λεπτοκεραμίον, 71. 343 λεπτοκεραμῆος.

7-9. Perhaps [εῖρ]ηκεν or some similar verb, τὰς [δ]ρ[α]χμάς evidently being the object of μεταβαλέσθαι. The word at the beginning of l. 9 begins with a round letter, probably ο, θ, or σ; it does not seem possible to read ἀ[ξ]ίας. ἡμε(ι)ο[λ]ίας is very unlikely.

14. There may be one or two letters before the supposed μ of μικτά, which word was added above the line.

23 sqq. Cf. 113. 4-7 συνήλιξα ἐκείνη τῇ ἐπιστολῇ δεῖγμα λευκίν(ον) πρὸς αὐτό μοι οὖν ἐρωτηθεῖς εὐ ποιήσεις ἀγοράσεις κτλ., and P. Giessen 20. 14-16 ὅποιον δέ σοι χρῶ[μ]ι ἀρέσκει [δῆλω]σον δι' ἐπι[σ]τολῆς ἢ μικρόν ἔρ[γο]ν (? ἐρ[ι]ο[ν]) αὐτοῦ π[ε]μψ[ο]ν. πρόσχρωμον seems to be novel. For συνθέσεως cf. 496. 4, P. Hamburg 10. 13, and P. Giessen 21. 8 συνθεσείδιον.

26. [οὔπ]ου, if rightly restored, is for [οὔπ]ω, as e. g. in P. Tebt. 423. 12; cf. 1068. 13. Or something like [ῆδη] οὐ γάρ may be read.

## 1154. LETTER OF THEON.

12.5 × 10.2 cm.

Late first century.

Commencement of a letter from a man urging his sister (and wife?) not to be anxious during his absence. Line 11 suggests that he was on military service.

Θέ[ω]ν Σαραποῦτι τῇ ἀδελφῇ  
 χαίρειν.  
 πρὸ πάντων ὡς ἐνετει-  
 λάμην σοι κατ' ὄψιν ἐπιμε-  
 5 λοῦ σεαυτῆς ἵνα μοι ὑγιαί-  
 νης, μὴ ἀγωνιάσης δὲ  
 περὶ ἐμοῦ ὅτι ἐπὶ ξένης εἰ-  
 μί, αὐτόπτης γὰρ εἰμὶ  
 τῶν τόπων καὶ οὐκ εἰμὶ  
 10 ξέν[ο]ς τῶν ἐνθάδε. ἔὰν  
 [δὲ σ]τρατεύσ[ωμαι (?)]  
 . . . . .

In the left margin, at right angles

πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τοὺς ἀδε[λφ]οὺς  
 [. . . . .] . [. . .] . . σίου τοῦ Ἀρσινοείτου [

On the verso

π[ι(αρά)] Θεώνος [

'Theon to his sister Sarapous, greeting. Above all else, as I enjoined upon you when with you, take care of yourself so that I may have you well, and do not be anxious about me because I am away from home, for I am personally acquainted with these places and am not a stranger here . . .'

12. ἀσπάξου (or ἀσπάξομαι) τόν preceded πατέρα.

13. Possibly Ἀρτινοῦ ἢ Ἰσίου, not Πηλοῦσιον. But ] . . σίου may be a personal and not a local name, though Διοῦνσιον is excluded.

## 1155. LETTER OF THEONAS.

19.4 × 15.5 cm.

A. D. 104.

A letter sent from Alexandria to a pastophorus of the temple of Isis. It is written in a rude hand and in very vulgar Greek.

Θωνᾶς Ἀπίωνι τῷ φιλά[τῳ]  
 πλί[στ]α χ(αίρειν). γινώσκιν σε [θέ-  
 λω ἔτι εὐθὺς ἐπιβέβη-  
 κα ἰς Ἀλεξάνδρην, εὐ-  
 5 θέως ἔμελκε ἐμοὶ περὶ  
 τοῦ πράγ[α]ματος οὐ με ἡ-  
 ρώτηκες. εὔρον τὸν ἄν-  
 θροπον καλῶς πράσ(σ)οντα  
 τὰ μεγάλα. ἀσπάζου  
 10 πάντες τοὺς φίλους.  
 αὐτὸ τὸ πρόγραμ(μ)α τοῦ  
 ἡγεμόνος ἔπενψά σοι  
 ἵνα ἐπίγοις πρὸς τί σοί 'στι.  
 ἔρρωσ[σ]ο.  
 15 (ἔτους) ζ' Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νερο(ύ)α  
 Ταλιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανι(κο)ῦ  
 Δακικοῦ Παχῶν α.

On the verso

ἀπόδος ἰς τὸ Ἴσιν Ἀπίωνι  
 παστοφόρῳ

In the reverse direction

20 παρὰ Θεωνᾶτος.

1. 1. Ἀπίωνι.  
 16. 1. Τραιανοῦ.

3. 1. ὄτι.  
 20. 1. Θεωνᾶτος.

8. First ο of ἀνθρωπον corr. from ω; 1. ἄνθρωπον.

'Theonas to his dearest Apion, many greetings. I wish you to know that as soon as I arrived at Alexandria I immediately attended to the matter about which you asked me. I found the man prospering in the main. Greet all my friends. I send you the actual

proclamation of the praefect in order that you may hasten to do what concerns you. Good-bye. The 7th year of the emperor Nerva Trajanus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, Pachon 1. (Addressed) Deliver to Apion, pastophorus, at the Iseum, from Theonas.'

1. *Θωνᾶς*: on the verso *Θεωνᾶς*, i. e. *Θεωνᾶς*, which is the usual form.
3. *ἐπ(ε)ί* cannot be read.
5. *ἐμέλκε* for *μεμέλκε* is an odd form.
6. *πράγματος* seems to have been intended rather than *προγράμματος* (l. 11).
12. The praefect in office at this date was C. Vibius Maximus; cf. P. Amh. 64.
13. *τί* is for *θ, τι*; cf. note on 1119. 22-3.
19. On the pastophori, who were of lower rank than the *ιερείς*, cf. Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, i. pp. 94-8, ii. p. 152, P. Tebt. 299. 68, note.

## 1156. LETTER OF ANUBION.

11.3 × 8.6 cm.

Third century.

Part of a letter apparently from an agent or steward to his employer, concerning the purchase of some fodder.

Χα[ίρ]ε, κύριέ μου  
 Ἄντᾶ, π(αρά) Ἄνουβίωνος.  
 προσῆλθέν μοι Σαραπί-  
 ων ὁ ἀπὸ Φιλονίκου  
 5 ὡς ἔνεκεν ὀλίγων σι-  
 ταρίων εἰς πρᾶσιν·  
 [ἐὰ]ν οὖν θέλῃς αὐτῶ  
 [δοῦ]ναί [τι] καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς τιμῆς  
 [καὶ] τὸ πάτημα παρ' αὐ-  
 10 [τοῦ] λαβῖν, ἐπὶ μέλλο-  
 [με]ν χόρτου χρίαν ἔχιν.  
 [ἔπε]μψα οὖν αὐτὸν πρὸς  
 [σὲ ἴ]να τοκοῦν σοι μετ' αὐ-  
 [τοῦ] π[οιή]σῃς . [ . . ]ν . . [ .

On the verso

15 τῶ ἀρίστ[ρω] πᾶτ[ρωνι] Ἄντᾶ

5. κ of *ενεκεν* corr. from ν. 8. [δο]ναι added above the line. 13. 1. δοκοῦν or τὸ (δο)κοῦν.

'Greeting, my lord Antas, from Anubion. Sarapion of the village of Philonicus came to me about a small quantity of provisions for sale. Perhaps you may be willing to give him something and take from him the trodden grapes (?) as the price of it, since we are likely to be wanting green-stuff? I therefore send him to you in order that you may do as you please with him . . .'

4. Φιλονίκου : cf. 965 and P. Hibeh, p. 8.

9. πάτημα : cf. 1142. 3, note.

## 1157. LETTER OF PATHERMOUTHIS.

26.1 × 8.7 cm.

Late third century.

The subjects of this letter are a registration, evidently for the census, and a payment of the poll-tax, both of which the writer wished his sister to undertake for him. He was uncertain whether she would be allowed to register him in his absence, and he asks her, in case this should not be possible, to let him know, in order that he might come and do it for himself.

Κυρία μου ἀδελφῆ Διονυσία  
 Παθερμουθις χαίρειν.  
 καθὼς ἐπεμψάς μοι φάσιν  
 ὡς ἔν{εν}εκεν τῆς ἀπογρα-  
 5 φῆς περὶ τοῦ ὑμᾶς ἀπογρά-  
 ψε, ἐπιδῆ οὖν οὐ δύνα-  
 μαι ἀναβῆναι ἴδε ἢ δύνη  
 ἡμᾶς ἀπογράψε· ἀλλ' οὖν  
 [μ]ῆ ἀμελήσης ἀπόγραφον  
 10 ἡμᾶς, ἐγὼ τε καὶ Πατᾶν·  
 ἐὰν δὲ μάθης ὅτι οὐ δύνη  
 ἡμᾶς ἀπογράψε, ἀντίγρα-  
 ψόν μοι κάγῳ ἀναβένω.  
 καὶ μάθε ὅτι τὸ ἐπικεφάλαι-  
 15 ον ἀπαιτοῦσιν, ἐὰν δὲ ἦσαν (< . . -)

On the verso

30 ἀπόδο(ς) Διονυσία [π(αρά) Παθ]ερμουθί(ο)ς.

τες ἀπαιτῆσαι τὸ ἐπικε-  
 φάλαιον, διάγραφον αὐτὸ  
 καὶ ἀναπέμπω σοι τὸ κέρ-  
 μα· ἐὰν δὲ διαγράψῃς  
 20 τὸ ἐπικεφάλαιον, δέξαι  
 τὴν ἀποχῆν. μὴ οὖν  
 ἀμελήσης, ἀδελφῆ, καὶ  
 γράψον μοι περὶ τῆς  
 [ἀ]πογραφῆς ὅτι ἢ ἀπε-  
 25 γράψου ἢ οὐ, καὶ ἀντί-  
 γραψον κάγῳ ἀναβαίνω  
 καὶ ἀπογράφομαι.  
 ἐρῶσθαί [σ]ε εὐχομαι π[ο]λ[λο]ῖς  
 χρόνοις.

5. 1. ἀπογράψαι; so in ll. 8 and 12.

7. ἴδε Παρ. 1. εἰ for ἢ; so in l. 24.

10. 1. ἐμέ τε. 13. 1. ἀναβαίνω. 24. 1. εἰ ἀπεγράψω.

'To my sister, mistress Dionysia, from Pathermouthis, greeting. As you sent me word on account of the registration about registering yourselves, since I cannot come, see whether you can register us. Do not then neglect to register us, me and Patas; but if you learn that you cannot register us, reply to me and I will come. Find out also about the collection of the poll-tax, and if they are [hurrying on with] the collection of the poll-tax, pay it and I will send you the money; and if you pay the poll-tax, get the receipt. Do not neglect this, my sister, and write to me about the registration, whether you have done it or not, and reply to me and I will come and register myself. I pray for your lasting health. (Addressed) Deliver to Dionysia from Pathermouthis.'

10. The name Πατᾶς occurs in P. Brit. Mus. 1170. 264. There is a small hole in the papyrus immediately after the ν, but if another letter, except ι or ο, had been added, it would be partly visible.

14-15. The context indicates that the writer wishes his correspondent to get information and is not himself giving it, so that μάθε ὅτι . . . ἀπαιτοῦσιν practically means 'find out when they are collecting'.

15-16. τες seems to be the termination of a participle of which the commencement has been accidentally omitted; the sense requires some such word as (ἐπείγου)τες. For the construction cf. e. g. P. Tebt. 333. 13 ἐὰν ἦσαν τι παθόντες, 423. 18 ἐὰν οὖν μὴ ἦς λαβών.

#### 1158. LETTER OF LUCIUS.

17.6 × 13.9 cm.

Third century.

A letter to a shopkeeper (κάπηλος) from a man who salutes him as 'brother' in l. 1, but describes himself merely as a friend in the address on the verso. The writer requests his correspondent to collect a debt for him and make certain purchases, and announces the dispatch of some presents. His Greek is erratic.

Κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Διοδώρῳ  
 Δούκις καὶ Σαραπίων{ι} πολλὰ χαίρειν.  
 πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχόμεθαί σοι ὀλοκληρεῖν  
 μετὰ τοῦ οἴκου σου ὄ[λ]ου. θα(μὰ) θῆς ἡμέρας προσ-  
 5 δοκῶμέν σοι ἐλ[θεῖ]ν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. καλῶς  
 οὖν π[ο]ιήσεις ἀπελθεῖν πρὸς [Ἀ]ρητίωνα  
 τὸν ἀρτοκόπον καὶ δέξε π[α]ρ' αὐτοῦ τέ(σ)ε-  
 ρα τάλαν{ν}τα ἂν αὐτοῦ ὄντος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ ἔλα-  
 βεν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀλ(λ') ὅρα μὴ ἀμελήσης. ἐὰν οὖν  
 10 λάβης τὰ τέσσερα τάλαντα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐρχο-  
 μένου σου πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγόρασον ἡμῖν σεῖτι-

- α εἰς τὴν χρῆσιν ἡμῶν καὶ δέξε ταγαρίζα  
καὶ πέμψον ἡμῖν. εἶδὸν οὖν ἔγραψα Ἀριτίωνι  
εἶνα σοι δῆ τὰ τέσσερα τάλαντα, ἐπὶ οὖν  
15 εἶρηκας ὅτι παστάδα θέλ[ις,] ὅταν εἰσνευχθῆ  
πέμπω σοι. ἔλαβα οὖν τὸ Κνείζειν παρὰ Ἀμμω-  
νᾶ τοῦ ὄξους καὶ ἔπεμψά σοι δι' αὐτοῦ σφυ-  
ρίζειν τραγημάτων καὶ σόλειν. ἀσπάζομεν  
τὴν ἀδελφὴν κα[ί] θυγατέραν Ἐλενοῦν  
20 καὶ τὴν θυγατέραν αὐτῆς. ἀσπασον Ἀφῦγ-  
χειν καὶ Τέχωσιν καὶ Πτολεμ(αῖ)ον ἀφ' ἡμῶν.  
ἐὰν οὖν μάθῃς ὅτι μέλλει ζειαβαλεῖν σε Ἀρη-  
τίων περὶ τῶν χαλκείων, γράψον μοι  
καὶ πέμπω αὐτῷ ἐπιθήκην.  
25 ἐρῶσσεί σοι εὐχομαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις.

On the verso

ἀπ(όδος) Διοδώρῳ καπήλῳ παρὰ Λουκίου φίλου.

3. 1. εὐχόμεθά σε. 4. 1. τῆς. κ of προσδοκωμεν corr. 7. 1. δέξαι; so in l. 12.  
8. λαν of τάλαντα added above the line. 1. ā for ὦν. 12. ζ of ταγαρίζα corr. from δ;  
1. ταγαρίδια? 13. 1. Ἀρητίωνι. 14. δῆ = δῶ. 16. 1. Κνίδιον (= Κνιδιον).  
17. 1. σπυρίδιον. 20. αφυγχειν Pap. 21. λ of πτολεμον corr. from σ. 25. 1. ἐρῶσσεθαι.  
ι of χρονοις corr. from σ. 26. π/αρα Pap.

'To my brother Diodorus, many greetings from Lucius and Sarapion. Before all else we pray for your prosperity and that of your whole house. Many times in the day we expect you to come to us. It would be kind of you to go to Aretion the baker and obtain from him four talents which he had from us when he was at Alexandria. See that you do not neglect this. If you get the four talents from him, when you come to us, buy us some provisions for our use and obtain stores and send them to us. You must know that I have written to Aretion to give you the four talents. As you said that you wish for . . ., I will send it you when it is brought. I got the Cnidian jar of vinegar from Ammonas, and I have sent you by him a basket of dainties and a . . . We greet our sister and her daughter Helenous and her daughter. Greet Aphunchis and Techosis and Ptolemaeus from us. If you learn that Aretion is going to accuse you about the copper, write to me and I will send him an addition. I pray for your lasting health.' Address.

2. The position of *Σαραπίωνι* and the use of *ἡμεῖς* and *σύ* make it clear that *Σαραπίων* was intended.

12. *ταγαρίζα* is probably for *ταγαρίδια*, a double diminutive of *ταγή*, for which cf. 1139. 3 and note. *τὰ γαρίδια* (*γάρος*) seems less likely. For the interchange of δ and ζ cf. ll. 16 and 22, and e. g. 1069.

15. *παστάδα*, if that is the right reading, cannot here have its ordinary meaning. It may possibly be connected with the form of sauce called *πάσση* or *πάστα*.

18. *σολειν* is for *σόλιον*, which occurs also in 741. 8 *σόλια ἀρσενικά ζεύγ(η) 5*. Wilamowitz proposed to interpret the term in that passage as the Latin *soleae*, but the occurrence of the singular here is not in favour of this explanation. See moreover P. Cairo Cat. 67006. 47 *σόλιον (?) σιτυροῦν* (l. *σιδηροῦν*). The active form *ἀσπάζω* (cf. l. 20) occurs in Boiss. *Anecd.* iii. p. 205. 96 and in Hesychius.

## 1159. LETTER TO A WIFE.

23.1 × 5.8 cm.

Late third century.

This letter has lost the commencement and is unaddressed on the back; but it was sent to a woman who, since the writer sends salutations to his children and 'our mother', was probably his wife. He gives her various commissions.

συνκοι . . . ὦν . α .  
 ἑαυτοῦ ἵνα μὴ βα-  
 ρήσω αὐτῷ ὀψωνί-  
 ου, ἐπεὶ ἔγραψα αὐ-  
 5 τῷ ὅτι μέχρι λ  
 ἔρχομαι. εἰ δὲ μὴ γε,  
 σύνταξαι αὐτῷ ὅτι  
 ἐλεύσεται μέχρι  
 ιε Φαμενώθ.  
 10 περὶ δὲ τοῦ θέμα-  
 τος τοῦ σείτου μὴ  
 ἀμελήσης τοῦ ἐνο-  
 χλήσαι Θωνίφ.  
 περὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐ-  
 15 μῶν συνέργων,  
 τάξαι τοῖς ἀνθρώ-  
 ποις ὅτι πέμπω

τὰ ἀναλώματα  
 αὐτῶν, ἕασ[ο]ν δὲ  
 20 παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰ σύν-  
 [ερ]γα ἕως πέμ-  
 ψω τὰ ἀναλώματα.  
 ἐρχομένη ἐνεγ-  
 κον τὸ τυλάριον τ[ὸ  
 25 παλαιὸν τὸ ἐν τῷ  
 συμποσίφ ἄνω.  
 ἄσπασαι τὰ ἀβ[άσ]-  
 καντά μου  
 παιδία καὶ τὴν  
 30 μητέρα ἡμῶν  
 καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν  
 σου καὶ τοὺς ἡμ[ῶν]  
 πάντας.

2. ἴνα Pap.

23. ἐνεγ'κον Pap.

' . . . that I may not trouble him about provisions, since I wrote to him that I was coming by the 30th; otherwise, arrange with him that he shall come by the 13th Phamenoth.



With regard to the deposit of corn, do not neglect to worry Thonius. With regard to my tools, tell the men that I am sending the expenses for them, and leave the tools with them until I send the expenses. When you come, bring the old cushion that is up in the dining-room. Salute my children, whom the evil eye shall not harm, and our mother and your sister and all our friends.'

1. The letter after *κοι* is not *ν*.

10. Cf. 1125. 19.

12. There are ink-marks above the latter part of this line, but they are probably accidental.

15. *συνέργων*: cf. 1069. 8, 12, where *σύνεργα* apparently mean weaving-implements.

## 1160. LETTER OF TROPHIMUS.

27.1 × 10.7 cm. Late third or early fourth century.

This letter, which like 1155 is in more than usually vulgar Greek, was written by a son at Alexandria to his father. The pair seem to have been on very good terms, in spite of the father's aspersion on his son's morals in ll. 24 sqq.

Κυρίῳ μου πατρὶ Ὀριγένῃς  
 Τρόφιμος πολλὰ χαίρειν.  
 πρὸ μὲν πάντων πολλά σε ἀσπά-  
 ζομαι καὶ τὴν σύμβιόν σου Κοπρίαν  
 5 καὶ Ἰσίδωρος καὶ Φούλλον καὶ Ἑλένη [  
 καὶ τοὺς ἡμῶν πάντες κατ' ὄνομα.  
 ἔγραψάς μοι διὰ τῶν σῶν γραμ-  
 μάτων ὅτι καυχώμενος ἔχ(ω) ὄνομα [  
 Διοδώρου ὅτι ἔπεμψά σοι ἀργύρια.  
 10 ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ καυχομαι ἑμαυτὸν (ἀ) ἔπεμ-  
 ψά σοι διὰ Φιλοξένου. εἰ ἐπράκαται  
 δὲ τὰ ἴδη ὧν ὑμᾶς ἔπεμψα, γράψον  
 μοι εἶνα ἄλλα ὑμῖν πέμπω.  
 διμήνου δὲ ἡργηκα ὦδη, εἰ μή,  
 15 ἤμελλα ὑμῖν πᾶ(σ)εῖ ἄλλα πέμπιν.  
 τὰ σεσύλληχα δὲ κέρμα(τα). τηρῶ αὐ-  
 τὰ εἰς τὴν δίκην· τὰ ὑπομνή-  
 ματα γὰρ μένω. ἔγραψές μοι

ὅτι ἔντ[υ]χε κατὰ Πολυδεύκης·  
 20 ἔὰν δὲ ἔλθῃ μοι τὰ ὑπομνή-  
 ματα, ἐντυγχάνω κατ' αὐτοῦ  
 καὶ τατὰ Σαραποδώρου. ἡ δο-  
 κῆ σοι δέ, πέμψον μοι κούκκου-  
 μαν ἐλαίου. ἔγραψές μοι δὲ ὅτι κά-  
 25 θῆ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίαν μετὰ τοῦ  
 μυχοῦ[υ] σου· γράψον μοι δὲ τίς ἐστίν  
 ὁ μυχός μου. [[εἰ χριαν]]  
 ἔρρωσ{σ}θαί σε εὔχομαι.

On the verso

ἀ(πόδος) Ὀριγέν[ι]                      π(αρά) Τροφίμου.

1. Ὀριγένει.                      5. ἰσιδώρος Pap.; 1. Ἰσιδώρον καὶ Φούλλωνα καὶ Ἑλένην.                      8. χ of  
 καυχώμενος written above φ, which is crossed through, and μένος also added above the line.  
 10. 1. καυχῶμαι. υ of εμαυτον added above the line.                      11. 1. πεπράκατε.                      12. ἴδη Pap. 1. ἄ.  
 ο of γραψον corr.                      13. ὑμιν Pap.; so in l. 15.                      14. 1. ὠδε.                      17. ὑπομνηματα Pap.;  
 so in l. 20.                      19. 1. Πολυδεύκου.                      21. ἐντυγχανω Pap.                      22. Second τ of τατα corr.  
 from σ; 1. κατά.                      η corr. from ε; 1. εἰ.                      25. 1. Ἀλεξανδρία.                      26-7. 1. μοιχοῦ[υ] . . .  
 μοιχός.

‘To my revered father Origenes, many greetings from Trophimus. Before all else I send many salutations to you and your consort Copria and Isidorus and Phullon and Helene and all our friends severally. You wrote to me in your letter that my boastfulness earns me the name of “Gift of Zeus” because I sent you money; but I do not boast about what I sent you by Philoxenus. If you have sold the various things which I sent you, write to me in order that I may send you more. I have been idle here for two months, otherwise I would have sent you all some more. I am keeping for the trial the money that I have collected; for I am waiting for the memoranda. You wrote to me, “Petition against Polydeuces.” If the memoranda come to me, I will petition against him and against Sarapodorus. If it seems good to you, send me a pot of oil. You wrote to me “You are staying at Alexandria with your paramour”. Write and tell me, who is my paramour. I pray for your health. (Addressed) Deliver to Origenes from Trophimus.’

8-9. The name Diodorus seems to have been jestingly applied to the son on account of his liberalities.

10. ⟨ᾶ⟩: or perhaps ⟨ῶν⟩, the loss of which would be easier after εμαυτόν; cf. l. 12.

16. τᾶ is for ᾶ, a use not uncommon in the papyri. σεσύλληχα for συνείληχα is a noticeable form.

23. κούκκουμα = *cucuma*; another form found in P. Amh. 126. 30 and P. Hamburg 10. 36 is κοκόμαν or κοκκόμαν. The diminutive κοκκούμιον (κοκκούμ(ιον) P. Grenf. II. 111. 23) or κοκκούμιον is more common.

29. Ὀριγέν[ι]: or Ὀριγέν[η(ς)], as in l. 1.

## 1161. CHRISTIAN LETTER.

7 × 8.8 cm.

Fourth century.

This and the next papyrus are both somewhat early specimens of Christian letters. 1161, written by a sick woman, is only a fragment. The upright semi-uncial hand is hardly likely to be earlier than the fourth century.

] . . ας και

τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἡμῶν σωτήρι  
καὶ τῷ οἰκτιρῷ αὐτοῦ τῷ ἡγα-  
πημένῳ ὅπως οὗτοι  
5 πάντες β[ο]ηθήσωσιν ἡμῶν  
τῷ σώματι, τῇ ψυχῇ, τῷ [[πνευματ]ι]]  
πνεύματι. ταῦτα δέ σοι ἔγραψα  
νοσοῦσα, δι[ι]ῶς ἔχουσα, πά-  
νυ μὴ δυναμένη ἀναστῆ-  
10 ναι ἐκ τῆς κοίτης μου, ὅτι πά-  
νυ δινῶς ἔχω. περὶ δὲ οὗ μοι  
ἔγραψας διαμένειν ὅτι ἔπι-  
γε αὐτὸν τῶν εἴκοσι ἡμερῶν  
ἢ νέη αὐτὸν πρὶν νοσήσω ὑπῆ-  
15 γειν καὶ ε[

In the left margin, at right angles

ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς πάντες οἱ ἐνταῦθα

On the verso

] ✕ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Σ . [.

3. 1. υἱ[ὸ].

14. ὑπηγεν Pap.

' . . . (to our God) and gracious saviour and to his beloved Son, that they all may succour our body, soul, and spirit. I write this to you in sickness, being very ill and quite unable to rise from my bed, because I am very ill. With regard to what you wrote to me . . .'

2. If ἡμῶν is right, θεῶ accompanied by other epithets preceded καί in l. 1. Or θ(ε)ῶ καί might be read in place of ἡμῶν. Cf. e. g. Luke i. 47 τῶ θεῶ τῶ σωτηρὶ μου.

12-15. These last lines are obscure. διαμένω is unconvincing, and it is not clear whether ἔπειγε is imperative or for ἤπειγε, or how the letters ηρηαν should be interpreted; νέη for νέα is hardly satisfactory. νοσήσω should strictly be ἐνόσησα.

## 1162. LETTER OF LEON.

12.5 × 9.2 cm.

Fourth century.

A letter from a priest commending a brother-Christian to the good offices of the priests and deacons of a local church. There is considerable variation in the size of the writing, ll. 5, 9, 12 and the word ἐρρῶσθαι in l. 13 being especially conspicuous.

Λέων πρεσβύτερος τοῖς κατὰ  
τόπον συνλιτουργοῖ[s] πρεσβυτ[έ].  
ροισ καὶ διακόνοις ἀ[γ]απητοῖ[s]  
ἀδελφοῖς ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ θ(ε)ῶ  
5 χαρᾶ χα[ί]ρειν.  
τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν Ἀμμώνι-  
ον παραγινόμενον πρὸς  
ὑμᾶς συνδέξασθαι αὐτὸν  
ἐν ἱρήνῃ, δι' οὗ ὑμᾶς  
10 καὶ τοὺς σὺν ὑμῖν ἐγὼ δε  
καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἠδέως ὑμᾶς  
προσαγορεύεσθαι κ(υρί)ῳ.  
ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς [ε]ὔχομε  
ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ [θ](ε)ῶ. Ἐμμ(ανουή)λ μάρτυς(?),  
15 ρθ.

2. ν of συν added above the line. 3. 1. διακόνοις. 6. 1. ἀδελφόν. 7. First α of παραγινόμενον corr. 8. ὑμας Pap.; so in ll. 10, 11, 13. 1. συνδέξασθε. 9. ἱρηνη Pap. 10. 1. τε. 12. A blot, perhaps due to a correction, between προσαγορευ and εσθαι.

‘Leon, presbyter, to the presbyters and deacons who share the local service, beloved brothers in the Lord God, fullness of joy. Our brother Ammonius, who is coming to you, receive in peace; through whom we and those with us greet you and those who are with you kindly in the Lord. I pray for your health in the Lord God. Emmanuel is my witness. Amen.’

2. συλλειτουργός is a good ecclesiastical word, and is sufficiently satisfactory as a reading here.

5. Cf. e. g. John iii. 29 χαρῆ χαίρει.

9-12. Cf. P. Giessen 55. 13-14 σέ καί τοὺς σὺν σοὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἐν κ(υρι)ῷ καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐν κ(υρι)ῷ προσαγορεύομεν. A verb such as θέλομεν may be understood with the infinitive.

## 1163. LETTER TO HERACLAMMON.

18 x 30.6 cm.

Fifth century.

This incomplete letter, which is addressed to a *comes*, was written from the Cyrenaica giving news of the writer's movements. The writing in this and the two following papyri, as usual in Byzantine letters, is across the fibres. On the recto is a fragmentary account, headed, like the recto, with π/.

π/

Τῆ τετράδι καταλαβὼν εἰς ἐσπέραν τὴν Δαρνιτῶν καὶ συντυχὼν  
τῆ ἐξῆς τῷ δεσπότῃ μου τῷ τὰ πάντα μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ καὶ ἀνδρι-  
στάτῳ κόμιτι κ[αὶ] ἐρωτηθὶς παρὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ μεγαλοπρεπίας ὅσα  
5 ἐχρῆν ἀνεδίδαξα αὐ[τ]ὸν περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας μεγαλοπρεπίας καὶ  
πάραυτα καὶ τὴν [. . . . . παρεσκ]εῦασα ὑποβληθῆν[αι  
καὶ γραφῆναι καὶ τ[  
πρὸς τὴν σὴν [μεγαλοπρέπιαν

On the verso

ἐπίδ(ος) τῷ δεσπότῃ μου τῷ τὰ πάντα μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ λαμπροτάτῳ  
10 κόμιτι Ἡρακλάμμωνι Κ[. .]αρ . φρι . . .

5. ὑμετερας Pap.

6. ὑποβληθην[αι Pap.

'I arrived on the 4th at the western border of Darne, and on the next day met my master the most magnificent and most courageous *comes*. On the inquiry of his magnificence I told him what was fitting about your magnificence, and immediately had the . . . submitted and written and . . . (Addressed) Deliver to my master the most magnificent and most illustrious *comes* Heraclammon from . . .'

1. π : cf. 1165. 1 and note on 941. 1.

2. Darne (the modern Derne) was in the extreme east of the Cyrenaica. τὴν suggests that ἐσπέραν is also to be given a capital initial, but perhaps we should write τῶν.

## 1164. LETTER OF THEODOSIUS.

25.1 x 29.4 cm.

Sixth or seventh century.

Letter to a *comes* from a minor local magnate concerning a dispute for the possession of a camel, which was claimed by their respective subordinates. The writer proposes arbitration and promises that the sentence should be respected.

+ Οἱ γραμματηφόροι ἦλθαν πρὸς ἐμὲ φέροντές μοι γράμματα τῆς ὑμετέρας πατρικῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας ἔνεκεν καμήλου, καὶ πάνυ μὲν ἠὲ χαρίστησα τῇ ἀφορμῇ τῇ δεδωκυία μοι ἀξιωθῆναι διὰ χρόνου τιμίων αὐτῆς συλλαβῶν. εὐθέως δὲ παρήνεγκα τ[ο]ῦς ἀντιδίκους αὐτῶν καὶ προήνεγκαν οὐκ ὀλίγους  
 5 ἄνδρας μαρτυροῦντας ὡς αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ κάμηλος· οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ γραμματηφόροι ἦνεγκαν ἄλλους μαρτυροῦντας πάλιν ὡς αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ αὐτὴ κάμηλος, καὶ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων ἐνεγκόντων μάρτυρας οὐκ ἐδυνήθην αὐτοὺς ἀπαλλάξαι. ἀλλὰ ἐὰν κελεύετε, ἐπιτρέψατε αὐτοῖς ἐλθεῖν εἰς δίαίταν μετὰ τῶν

ἐμῶν πρὸς ὃν ἂν ἐρήσωνται οἱ ἀμφοτέροι καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ διαίτης ποιῆσαι,  
 10 παντὶ γὰρ τρόπῳ παρασκευάζω τοῦ(ς) ἐμοὺς ἐμμεῖναι τῇ διδομένῃ αὐτοῖς κρίσει. μαρτυρεῖ μοι γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὅτι σπουδάζω ἐν ἅπασιν τὰ κελευόμενά μοι παρ' ὑμῶν ἀποπληρῶσαι. ταῦτα γράφω πλεῖστα προσκυνῶν καὶ ἀσπαζόμενος τὴν ὑμετέραν πατρικὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν. +

On the verso

+ δεσπότη(τῆ) ἐμῶ τῶ πάντων) μεγαλοπρε(πεστάτῳ) πε . . . τὰ( ) . . . ( )  
 προσκ(υνήσεως) ἀξι(ίῳ) π . . ( ) Πέτρῳ κόμ(ετι) + Θεοδόσιος. +

1. ὑμετερας Pap.

3. δεδωκυία Pap.

9. 1. αἰρήσωνται.

13. ὑμετεραν Pap.

'The letter-carriers came to me bringing me a letter from your paternal magnificence about a camel, and I was very grateful for the opportunity granting me to be deemed worthy after so long of your honoured words. I immediately brought in their opponents and they produced not a few persons testifying that the camel is theirs, while on the other hand the letter-carriers brought other persons testifying that the said camel belongs to them; and since both sides brought witnesses, I could not settle the point between them. But if it be your bidding, order them to come to an arbitration with my people before any one whom they shall both select, and to accept the results of the arbitration; for I will use every means to secure that my people abide by the judgement given them. God is my witness that I am anxious in everything to perform your orders. I write this with many

reverences and greetings to your paternal magnificence. (Addressed) To my master the most magnificent . . . reverend . . . comes Peter, from Theodosius.'

8-9. Wilcken notes the parallelism to P. Grenf. II, 99. (a) 5-8 ἀνελθὼν εἰς δίαίταν καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ διαίτης ποιήσῃ (cf. *Archiv* iii, p. 126).

14. Some abbreviation of πάσης probably preceded προσκ(υήσεως) as in 1165. 13, but the traces of the letters are too faint for identification. Perhaps the proper name begins immediately after ἀξ(ίω), though Πέτρῳ looks right.

## 1165. LETTER OF VICTOR.

16.9 × 29.8 cm.

Sixth century.

A letter from one advocate (σχολαστικός: cf. 902. 1, note, and Gelzer, *Bys. Verwalt.* p. 34) to another expostulating about the treatment of some cultivators in the writer's employ, and threatening reprisals. The cause of the trouble was apparently a dispute about some camels, perhaps a question of ownership like that involved in 1164.

π/

+ Ἔδει τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀδελφικὴν λ[α]μπρὰν παιδείουσιν ἀντιποιηθῆναι τῆς  
 εὐτελείας μου  
 καὶ μὴ ἑᾶσαι με ἐπὶ τοῦ σοῦτον λυθῆναι καὶ οὐ μόνον μὴ ἐπηρεάζειν αὐτῇ  
 καὶ τοῖς διαφέρουσίν μοι  
 εὐτελέσιν πράγμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κωλύειν ἄλλους ἐπηρεάσαι βουλομένους.  
 ταῦτα δέ μοι εἴρηται  
 5 διὰ τοὺς γεωργοὺς μου τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ἀμούλῃ ἐν τοιαύτῃ διαστροφῇ γενέσθαι,  
 διὰ δὲ κάμηλα ἄξια  
 εἴκοσι νομμίων. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐς δικαιολογίας χωροῦμεν καὶ λέγει ἡ  
 ὑμέτερα ἀδελφικὴ σοφία ὡς ἡ  
 παραφυλακὴ τοῦτο ἐποίησεν, καὶ κύριοι ἐστὲ τῆς παραφυλακῆς καὶ ἀντι-  
 π[οι]ηθῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπεξελεθεῖν  
 ὀφείλετε καὶ τὸ ὄλον καταλείψαι τῇ εὐτελείᾳ μου. καὶ θεὸς οἶδεν,  
 ἐδυνάμην καὶ ἐγὼ ἐπηρεάσαι  
 κτήματι πλησίον τοῦ Μύρμυκος τῆς δεσποίνης τῆς παραφυλακῆς ἐκείνης,  
 ὡς καὶ ἐποίησα  
 10 ἄλλοτε ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου) κόμιτος Παύλου ἐπηρεασθεῖς πάλιν παρὰ τῶν  
 ἀπὸ Τερύθεω[s.] . . . [δ]ὲ εἶπω τὸ δέον'

παρακληθήτε οὖν, εἴτε ἔπταισαν εἴτε οὐκ ἔπταισαν, ποιῆσαι αὐτοὺς ἀπολυ-  
θῆναι, ἵνα μὴ εἰς ἕκε[ῖ]νο ἔλ[θ]ῃ  
ἢ καὶ εἰς ἄλλα δυνάμενα λυπῆσαι ἀλλήλους. ταῦτα γράφω μετὰ τῆς  
ἐποφειλ[ο]μένης π[ρ]οσκυνήσεως.

On the verso

+ δεσπό(τη) ἐμῷ τ(ῷ) πά(ντων) λαμπροτάτῳ σοφ(ωτάτῳ) πάσης) προσκ(υνήσεως)  
ἀξ(ίω)  
π(άντων) φιλ(τάτῳ) ἀδελφ(ῷ) λαμπροτάτῳ σχολ(αστικῷ) + Βίκτωρ σὺν θ(ε)ῷ  
σχολ(αστικός).

2. ὑμετεραν Pap.; so in l. 6. 3. μη after μονον added by the second hand above the line.  
5. εσθαι of γενεσθαι by the second hand over an erasure, probably of γενομενους. The top of the original ε is visible. 9. ης and ουης of της δεσποινης corr. by the second hand.  
11. ουν added by the second hand above δε, of which the δ is lightly crossed through.

‘Your fraternal, illustrious learnedness ought to have helped my insignificance and not have allowed me to be so far undone, and not only not to injure me and my insignificant property, but to prevent others who wish to do so. I have said this because my cultivators at Amoules have been put to such straits, and because of some camels worth a score of denarii. If we go to litigation and your fraternal wisdom says that the guard did this, you control the guard and you ought to help me rather than to proceed against me and then leave the whole matter to my insignificance. God knows, I too could have injured an estate near Murmux belonging to the mistress of that guard, as I did on another occasion in the time of the honourable comes Paul, when I was injured once before by the inhabitants of Teruthis. Let me tell you then what you should do; be persuaded, whether they made an error or whether they did not, to have them released, so that I may not come to that or to other steps which might cause us vexation. I write this with due reverence. (Addressed) To my master the most illustrious, most wise, worthy of all reverence, my dearest brother the most illustrious advocate, from Victor, by the grace of God, advocate.’

1. π: cf. 1163. 1.

3. αὐτῇ: sc. τῇ εὐτελείᾳ μου; but the writer immediately after relapses into μοι.

5. Ἀμούλη here and Μύρμηκος (= Μύρμηκος?) in l. 9 appear to be local names.

6. νομμίον = λεπτόν or denarius, the smallest monetary unit (cf. Hultsch, *Metrol.* p. 343), and ἀξια εἴκοσι νομμίων will here be a contemptuous phrase meaning that the quarrel was all over a mere trifle; cf. P. Cairo Cat. 67009. 24 τοῖς πένησι λοουμένοις τῶν νομ[ί]ων. Probably the camels did not belong to Victor.

7. For παραφυλακή cf. e.g. P. Brit. Mus. 1012. 23 sqq. ἀρούρας . . . διακειμ(ένas) . . . ἐν πεδιάδι κώμης Θύνεως καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ταύτης παραφυλακῆν, P. Giessen 56. 10, P. Cairo Cat. 67001. 11 sqq. In the present passage the person or persons constituting the παραφυλακή are meant.

10. A conjunction such as ἵνα or an adverb like νῦν or ἤδη probably preceded δέ; the vestiges are extremely slight. φέρ[ε] cannot be read. Τερῦθις is mentioned in 65. 2, 998, 1040. 14. The name is also found in other nomes; cf. P. Giessen 6. 7, P. Hamburg 17. ii. 1.

11. ἐκε[ῖ]νο: i. e. what he had done on the previous occasion.



# INDICES

## I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS.

### (a) 1082 (CERCIDAS).

(Numbers in thick type refer to fragments ; Cerc. Fr. = a fragment previously extant ; sch. = scholium.)

- ἀβρός** 3. ii. 7.  
**ἀγο**[ 6. 4.  
**ἀγαθός** 1. iii. 15 and sch.  
**ἀγορά** 1. v. 13.  
**ἄγρευμα** 3. ii. 7 sch.  
**ἀδονόπλακτος** 2. ii. 9.  
**ἀεικ[ής** 2. iii. 15.  
**ἄελλα** 1. iv. 13.  
**ἄζεσθαι** 1. iii. 6.  
**ἀήτης** 1. iv. 16.  
**αἰ** 1. ii. 4 ; 3. ii. 11.  
**αἰθεριβόσκας** Cerc. Fr. 2. 2.  
**αἰσ]λόπωλος** 6. 1.  
**αἴσιμος** 1. iii. 3.  
**ἀκλῆ**[ 4. 2.  
**ἀκόλαστος** 9. 2 (?).  
**ἀκουά** 1. ii. 15.  
**ἀκρασίων** 1. ii. 1.  
**ἀκρατής** 1. ii. 1 sch.  
**ἀκτι**[ 3. iii. 20.  
**ἀλα[θ** 3. iii. 9. **ἀλαθέως** 7. 3 ;  
 Cerc. Fr. 2. 5.  
**ἀλιεντάς** 3. ii. 8.  
**ἀλικία** 3. ii. 12.  
**ἀλλά** Cerc. Fr. 2. 3.  
**ἄλλος** 50. 1 (?).  
**ἄλοχος** 65. 1 (?).  
**ἀμάλακτος** 3. ii. 3 (vv. ll. ἀμά-  
 ραντος, ἀπέραντος).  
**ἄμαρ** 1. iii. 3.  
**ἀμάραντος** 3. ii. 3 (vv. ll. ἀμά-  
 λακτος, ἀπέραντος).
- ἀμείς** 1. ii. 2, iii. 15, iv. 5, 16.  
**ἀμέ** 1. iii. 11.  
**ἄν** 1. iii. 9, iv. 8.  
**ἀναβαίνειν** Cerc. Fr. 2. 3.  
**ἀνάκτωρ** 1. iii. 8.  
**ἀνήρ** 1. iii. 3 ; Cerc. Fr. 4. 2 ;  
 Cerc. Fr. 5.  
**ἀνίκτος** 3. ii. 4.  
**ἄνισος** 4. 11.  
**ἀνόματος** 1. ii. 3.  
**ἀντί** 3. ii. 12 sch.  
**ἄνω** 4. 8.  
**ἄξια** 1. iii. 10.  
**ἀπάτυλλα** 39. 7 (?).  
**ἀπέραντος** 3. ii. 13 (vv. ll. ἀμά-  
 λακτος, ἀμάραντος).  
**ἀπευθής** 1. iv. 7.  
**ἀπολαύειν** 23. 2 sch.  
**ἀποσπαλακοῦν** 1. ii. 12.  
**ἀποστομοῦν** 4. 5.  
**ἄργυρος** 1. ii. 3.  
**ἀρετά** 5. 6.  
**ἀριστερός** 1. iv. 12.  
**ἄριστος** 3. ii. 8 ; 7. 3.  
**ἀρκεσίβουλος** (?) 24. 4.  
**ἀρμόζειν** 4. 10.  
**ἀρμοῖ** 10. 10 (?).  
**ἄρσην** 4. 13.  
**ἀστεροπαγερέτας** 1. ii. 17.  
**ἀστρολόγος** 1. iii. 13 sch.  
**ἀτρεμία** 1. iv. 10.  
**αὐδά** 2. ii. 14.
- αὐτός** 1. iii. 6 ; 4. 4 ; 21. 4 ;  
 23. 1.  
**Ἄφροδίσιος** 1. iv. 18 sch.  
**Ἄφροδίτα** 1. iv. 6, v. 13.  
**ἄχαρις** 3. iii. 6.
- βαθύς, ἐκ βαθέων** 1. iv. 4 sch.  
**βακτροφόρας** Cerc. Fr. 2. 2.  
**βεβ[** 3. iii. 19.  
**βιώτας (οἱ βιοτά)** 3. ii. 13.  
**βλάβα** 4. 2.  
**βλαψιτ.** [ 1. v. 12.  
**βλε[** 28. 2.  
**βλέπειν** 1. ii. 12 sch.  
**βλοσυρόμματος** 28. 3 (?).  
**βουσόος** 6. 2.  
**βροτός** 1. iv. 8 ; 2. ii. 10 ;  
 3. ii. 2.  
**Βρυγία** 1. iii. 5 (v. l. Φρυγία).
- γά** 1. iii. 16.  
**γα** Cerc. Fr. 2. 1.  
**γαμβρός** 1. v. 16.  
**γάρ** 1. ii. 5, 14, iii. 16, iv. 7,  
 8 ; 2. iii. 12 ; 5. 4 ; 6. 4 ;  
 7. 3 ; 10. 5 (?); 14. 3 ;  
 18. 1 ; 41. 2 ; 52. 2 ;  
 Cerc. Fr. 2. 5.  
**γένειον** 3. ii. 11.  
**γλήνα** 1. ii. 13.

γνάθος 1. iv. 5.  
 γνω[ 19. i sch.  
 γνωστός 1. ii. i sch.  
 γόνος Cerc. Fr. 2. 6.

δαίμων 1. ii. 15, iii. 16.  
 δαμάζειν 36. 2.  
 δαμνᾶν 3. ii. 2.  
 Δαμόνομος 1. iv. 7.  
 διαπάνλλα 1. ii. 11.  
 δέ 1. ii. 2, 12 sch., iii. 3, 6,  
 15, iv. 12, v. 7; 2. ii. 15;  
 3. ii. 3, 5, 8, 10; 15; 39.  
 6 (?).  
 δεῖν 35. 1.  
 δεξιτερός 1. iv. 9.  
 δέρκεσθαι 3. ii. 13.  
 δή 4. 5.  
 διατριβά 32. 3.  
 διαφεύγειν 3. ii. 6.  
 διδόναι (δόμην) 1. ii. 10.  
 δίκαι 35. 1. Δίκαι 1. ii. 12.  
 διογενής Cerc. Fr. 2. 5.  
 δῖου 1. iv. 14.  
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## AUGUSTUS.

θεὸς καὶ κύριος Ἀυτοκράτωρ 1143. 4.

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θεὸς Κλαύδιος 1144. 8.

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Ἀντωνίνος Καῖσ. ὁ κύριος 1123. 17.

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Ἀντωνίνος καὶ Οὐῆρος οἱ κύριοι Αὐτοκρ. 1132. 18.

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## SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, CARACALLA, AND GETA.

Αὐτοκρ. Καίσαρες Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβῆς Περτίναξ Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηνικὸς Παρθ. Μέγιστ. καὶ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Εὐσεβ. Σεβαστοὶ καὶ Πούβλιος Σεπτίμιος Γέτας Καῖσ. Σεβ. 1113. i. 20, ii. 12.  
Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβ. Περτίναξ καὶ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Εὐσεβ. Σεβαστοὶ καὶ Πούβλιος Σεπτίμιος Γέτας Καῖσ. Σεβ. 1113. ii. 8.

## MAXIMINUS AND MAXIMUS.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Γάιος Ἰούλιος Οὐῆρος Μαξιμίνος Εὐσεβ. Εὐτυχῆς Σεβ. Γερμ. Μέγιστ. Δακ. Μέγιστ. Σαρματικὸς Μέγιστ. καὶ Ἰούλιος Οὐῆρος Μάξιμος Γερμ. Μέγιστ. Δακ. Μέγιστ. Σαρμ. Μέγιστ. ὁ ἱερώτατος Καῖσ. Σεβ. υἱὸς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ 1114. 17.  
*Imperator Caesar Gaius Iulius Verus Maximinus Pius Augustus Germanicus Maximus Dacicus Max. Sarmaticus Max. et Gaius Iulius Verus Maximus Germ. Max. Dac. Max. Sarm. Max. Caesar sanctissimus Augustus filius Augusti* 1114. 1.

## PHILIPPI.

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## GALLI.

Αὐτοκρ. Καίσαρες Γάιος Οὐίβιος Τρεβουανὸς Γάλλος καὶ Γάιος Οὐίβιος Ἀφίνιος Γάλλος Οὐελ-  
δουμανὸς Οὐολουσιανὸς Εὐσεβεῖς Εὐτυχ. Σεβ. 1119. 5, 13.

## PROBUS.

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## NUMERIANUS (?).

ἔτος β 1115. 20.

## DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN.

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ἔτος θ καὶ η καὶ α 1140. 5.

## CONSTANTIUS AND GALERIUS.

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Αὐτοκρ. Κωνστάντιος καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοὶ καὶ Σεουήρος καὶ Μαξιμίνος ἐπιφανέστατοι Καίσαρες 1104. 18. Cf. Index III.

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ιζ ἔτος ιη ἔτος ζ ἔτος 1139. introd.

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