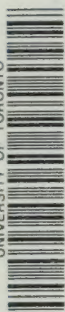



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THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

PART XIII

GRENFELL AND HUNT



EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

III (GRAECO-ROMAN BRANCH)

Græco-Roman Memoirs

THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
PART XIII

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES

BY

BERNARD P. GRENFELL, D.LITT.

HONORARY PROFESSOR OF PAPYROLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, AND FELLOW OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE
FELLOW OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY

AND

ARTHUR S. HUNT, D.LITT.

PROFESSOR OF PAPYROLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, AND FELLOW OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE
FELLOW OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY

WITH SIX PLATES

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PREFACE

THE present volume consists of literary texts, like Parts V and XI. The papyri of Lysias (1606), Hyperides (1607), Aeschines Socraticus (1608), and an oration on the cult of a Roman Emperor (1612) belong to the first of the three large literary finds of the 1905-6 season, which produced 841-4, &c., and has now been completely published; those of Ephorus (1610), a work on literary criticism (1611), and Herodotus (1619) belong to the second, which is not yet exhausted. Most of the other texts were found in the early part of the same season.

Prof. Hunt's continued absence from Oxford on military duties has prevented him from taking an active part in the decipherment and editing of this volume, but he has revised some of the papyri and the proofs. We are much indebted to Mr. E. Lobel, who has made numerous suggestions in the reconstruction and interpretation of the new classical texts, and to Dr. J. V. Bartlet for similar help in regard to the new theological texts. The assistance on various points afforded by Mr. T. W. Allen, Profs. J. Burnet, J. B. Bury, and A. E. Housman, Dr. C. Hude, Mr. H. Stuart Jones, Sir William M. Ramsay, Prof. M. Rostowzew, and Sir John E. Sandys is acknowledged in connexion with the individual papyri.

The two sections consisting of Contracts and Private Accounts, which were omitted from Part XII owing to want of space, are held over for Part XIV, which will contain non-literary documents and is in active preparation. We hope to issue it in the course of 1919, and that Mr. J. de M. Johnson's edition of the valuable Theocritus papyrus discovered by him at Antinoë will be issued simultaneously.

BERNARD P. GRENFELL.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD,
SEPTEMBER, 1918.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	v
LIST OF PLATES	vi
TABLE OF PAPYRI	vii
NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	viii

TEXTS

I. THEOLOGICAL (1594-1603)	1
II. NEW CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS (1604-1613).	27
III. FRAGMENTS OF EXTANT CLASSICAL AUTHORS (1614-1625).	155

INDICES

I. NEW THEOLOGICAL FRAGMENTS	217
II. NEW CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS	219
III. SUBJECTS DISCUSSED IN THE INTRODUCTIONS AND NOTES	230
IV. PASSAGES DISCUSSED	233

LIST OF PLATES

I. 1594 recto, 1597 verso, 1604 Fr. 1	}	<i>at the end.</i>
II. 1606 Fr. 6, Cols. i-ii		
III. 1607 Frs. 5 + 4, 1608 Fr. 4, 1610 Frs. 1, 4-6, 15		
IV. 1615 recto, 1618 Col. x, 1622 Cols. ii-iii		
V. 1619 Fr. 10, 1621 verso		
VI. 1620, 1624 Cols. lxiii-iv, lxvi		

TABLE OF PAPYRI

	CENTURY	PAGE
1594. New Recension of Tobit xii (vellum; Plate i)	Late 3rd	1
1595. Ecclesiasticus i	6th	6
1596. St. John vi	4th	8
1597. Acts xxvi (Plate i)	Late 3rd or 4th	10
1598. 1 Thessalonians iv—2 Thess. i	Late 3rd or 4th	12
1599. Hermas, <i>Shepherd, Sim.</i> viii	4th	15
1600. Treatise on the Passion	5th	19
1601. Homily on Spiritual Warfare	Late 4th or 5th	21
1602. Homily to Monks (vellum)	Late 4th or 5th	23
1603. Homily concerning Women	5th or 6th	25
1604. Pindar, <i>Dithyrambs</i> (Plate i)	Late 2nd	27
1605. Menander, <i>Μισοῦμενος</i>	3rd	45
1606. Lysias, πρὸς Ἰπποθέτην, <i>Against Theomnestus</i> , &c. (Plate ii)	Late 2nd or 3rd	48
1607. Hyperides (?), <i>For Lycophron</i> (Plate iii)	Late 2nd or 3rd	74
1608. Aeschines Socraticus, <i>Alcibiades</i> (Plate iii)	Late 2nd	88
1609. Philosophical Work: Metrological Fragment	2nd	94
1610. Ephorus xii or xi (Plate iii)	Late 2nd or 3rd	98
1611. Work on Literary Criticism	Early 3rd	127
1612. Oration on the Cult of Caesar	3rd	148
1613. List of Early Athenian Archons	2nd	154
1614. Pindar, <i>Ol.</i> i, ii, vi, vii	5th or 6th	155
1615. Sophocles, <i>Ajax</i> (Plate iv)	4th	162
1616. Euripides, <i>Orestes</i> (vellum)	5th	163
1617. Aristophanes, <i>Plutus</i>	5th	165
1618. Theocritus, <i>Id.</i> v, vii, xv (Plate iv)	5th	168
1619. Herodotus iii (Plate v)	Late 1st or 2nd	180
1620. Thucydides i (Plate vi)	Late 2nd or 3rd	189
1621. Thucydides ii (vellum; Plate v)	4th	194
1622. Thucydides ii (Plate iv)	Early 2nd	196
1623. Thucydides iii (vellum)	5th or 6th	197
1624. Plato, <i>Protagoras</i> (Plate vi)	3rd	199
1625. Aeschines, <i>In Ctesiphontem</i>	2nd	209

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–XII. 1604 (Pindar) is printed in dual form, a literal transcript being accompanied by a reconstruction in modern style. In the other texts the originals are reproduced except for separation of words, capital initials in proper names, expansion of abbreviations, and supplements of lacunae. A reconstruction in modern form of the more complete portions of 1606–7 and 1610–12 is also given. 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. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [] a deletion in the original. Dots placed within brackets represent the approximate number of letters lost or deleted; dots outside brackets indicate mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Letters with dots underneath them are to be considered doubtful. Heavy Arabic numerals refer to the texts of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri in this volume and Parts I–XII, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns. In the case of vellum fragments the terms *recto* and *verso* are used with reference to the upper and under sides of a leaf, not to the hair-side and flesh-side.

The abbreviations used in referring to papyrological publications are practically those adopted in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, viz. :—

Archiv = *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*.

P. Amh. = The Amherst Papyri, Vols. I–II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

P. Brit. Mus. = Greek Papyri in the British Museum, Vols. I–V, by Sir F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell.

P. Fay. = Fayûm Towns and their Papyri, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and D. G. Hogarth.

P. Grenf. = Greek Papyri, Series I–II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

P. Hibeh = The Hibeh Papyri, Part I, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

P. Oxy. = The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Parts I–XII, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

P. Ryl. = Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Rylands Library, Vol. I, by A. S. Hunt.

P. S. I. = Papiiri della Società Italiana, Vols. I–V, by G. Vitelli and others.

I. THEOLOGICAL FRAGMENTS

1594. NEW RECENSION OF TOBIT xii.

6.2 × 7.5 cm. Late third century. Plate I (recto).

A nearly complete leaf of a diminutive vellum codex, containing Tobit xii. 14-19 in a recension which is not extant. Another fragment of a novel version of this popular apocryphon (ii. 2-4, 8) was published in 1076, but is later in date (sixth century) than 1594, which is written in a small neat uncial hand of an unusually early type, resembling the hands of 656 and 1007 (both Genesis: Part iv, Plate ii and Part vii, Plate i). 656 is probably earlier than A. D. 250 and likely to be somewhat older than 1007 and 1594, being written on papyrus and having no contractions, whereas in the other two fragments *θεός* is contracted; but, like 1007, 1594 was probably written in the second half of the third century. The leaf when complete was nearly square, and of approximately the same size as P. Ryl. 28 (Part i, Plate v), a fourth-century treatise on *μαντική*: for other miniature codices of biblical texts cf. 842 and 1010. No punctuation is discernible, but a diaeresis over an initial *υ* apparently occurs on the verso, which is much damaged and difficult to decipher. There are traces of what may be lines of ruling in the margin of the recto, which is probably the hair-side.

There are two main Greek recensions of Tobit, one represented by the Codex Sinaiticus (S), the other by the Cod. Vaticanus (B) and Cod. Alexandrinus (A). The recension of S, which is fuller and more picturesque than that of BA, is tending to be regarded as the earlier. Besides these two there is for chs. vi. 9-xiii. 8 a third Greek redaction represented by three cursive MSS., and from vii. 11 supported by the Syriac version, which before that point agrees with BA. This third recension occupies an intermediate position, being allied to S but less verbose, and is sometimes supported by the Old Latin version, which, like the Aramaic and earlier Hebrew versions, generally supports S. The view put forward in 1076 int., that 1076 belongs to the third Greek recension partially preserved by the cursives, was adopted in the latest and only fully equipped edition of Tobit, that of Mr. D. C. Simpson in Charles's *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O. T.* i. 174 sqq.; cf. *Journ. of Theol. Stud.* xiv. 516 sqq.

Leaving undecided the question whether the original language of Tobit was Greek or Semitic, he thinks that the book was composed in Egypt not long before 170 B. C., and that the recension of **N** is the nearest approach to the original, while that of BA did not reach its present form until about A. D. 180, and the third recension was later still.

The conditions of the problem are somewhat altered by the discovery of **1594**, which is on the whole much nearer to BA than to **N** or the third recension, here fortunately extant. In vv. 14-17, where the two main recensions do not greatly differ, **1594** agrees with BA against **N** in the insertion of ἐκ (l. 3), ἀγίων (l. 3; ἀγίων ἀγγέλων BA; ἀγγέλων **N**), προσαναφέρουσι (l. 3; add. τὰς προσευχὰς τῶν ἀγίων BA; παρεστήκασιν **N**), the omission of αὐτῶν (l. 8), and the insertion of ἔσται (l. 12); against these can be set only the agreements with **N** in the form ἔπεσαν (l. 8), the insertion of ἀπαν[τα in l. 13 (πάντα **N**; om. BA), and καί for BA's ὅτι in l. 9. In vv. 18-19, where the text of **N** is longer than that of BA and differently arranged, the new fragment agrees with BA in having ἐμαντοῦ, not ἐμῆ, in l. 15 and in constructing πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας with ὀπιτανόμην ὑμῖν (ll. 18-19), whereas **N** connects the first phrase with the preceding εὐλογεῖτε or with an added repetition of it, αὐτῷ ὑμνεῖτε. Against this must be set the partial agreements between **1594** and **N** as to the verb in l. 16 (ἡμην μεθ' ὑμῶν: om. B; ἦλθον A), and the occurrence in **1594**. 20 of ἐθεωρεῖτέ με (cf. Old Latin *videbatis me*) corresponding to **N**'s θεωρεῖτέ με. With the peculiar readings of the third Greek recension **1594** agrees against the other two in respect of the omission of Σάρραν in l. 2, and of ἀγγέλων in l. 3, the insertion of ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν in l. 9, and the reading θεοῦ in l. 6 (θεοῦ without τοῦ μεγάλου the cursives; cf. *Dei* Old Lat.). But elsewhere the third Greek recension follows **N** rather than **1594**, and is shorter even than BA in v. 19.

The new recension has also a number of peculiar readings, such as the constant use of καί as a connecting particle, where BA vary the monotony by δέ (l. 12; om. **N**) or ὅθεν (l. 17; om. **N**) or the absence of connexion (l. 19), and especially the new arrangement of vv. 18-19, which avoids both the obvious omission in B and the redundancy of **N** at this point. On the whole **1594**, while belonging to the BA type of text, is distinctly better. Is this superiority to be explained as resulting from a revision of the BA text in the light of **N**, or from the priority and greater purity of the text illustrated by **1594**, of which BA is a later form? The second hypothesis seems to us much the more probable for several reasons. In the first place **1594** is an older MS. than B or A. Secondly, the constant use of καί in **1594** points to a more archaic text than that of BA. Thirdly, the text of BA, where in comparison with that of **1594** it is markedly inferior, as in vv. 15 and 18, seems to have arisen out of the text of **1594**,

not vice versa. In v. 15 the employment of ἅγιος by BA three times within the same sentence, referring to different persons in each case, is intolerable, and the addition of τὰς προσευχὰς τῶν ἁγίων looks like a Christian gloss on προσαναφέρουσι, which is intelligible by itself, while BA's ἁγίων ἀγγέλων (ἀγγέλων **Σ**; ἁγίων 1594 and the third recension) may be the result of a conflation of readings or of a confusion between αγίων and αγλων, a contraction of ἀγγέλων found e.g. in 1603. 12. In v. 18 1594 has ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν οὐχ ὅτι τῆ ἔμαντοῦ χάριτι ἤμην ἀλλὰ τῆ θελήσει τοῦ θεοῦ corresponding to B's ὅτι οὐ τῆ ἔμαντοῦ χάριτι ἀλλὰ τῆ θελήσει τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν without a verb, which is supplied by A (add. ἦλθον). The phrase 'your God' is very inappropriate in the mouth of an angel, and it is noticeable that the third recension, which at this point follows BA rather than **Σ**, ignores ὑμῶν. The explanation is probably that ὑμῶν had really nothing to do with θεοῦ, but is the survival of ἤμην μεθ' ὑμῶν found in both 1594 and **Σ**, and that A's ἦλθον is merely a correction inserted to restore the defective grammar. 1594's phrase οὐχ ὅτι... in place of BA's (ὅτι) οὐχί... gives a more literary touch to the passage, and might easily cause difficulty to some one who did not understand that ἤμην was to be supplied with ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν, with the result that a simpler construction was substituted. Fourthly, the result of an attempt to combine the merits of BA and **Σ** is partly extant in the third recension, and though that edition now appears to have taken into consideration the text represented by 1594 as well as those of **Σ** and BA (cf. p. 2), it does not coincide with 1594, and is in fact nearer to **Σ** than to 1594 or BA, just like 1076. That fragment on account of its affinity to **Σ** is still to be considered as probably a specimen of the missing portion of the third recension, not as part of the recension illustrated by 1594. We are therefore disposed to regard 1594 as an earlier form of the BA text, which developed out of 1594 partly owing to certain editorial changes, partly owing to corruptions introduced in the normal course of transmission.

There remains the question whether 1594 or **Σ** more closely represents the original text of Tobit. Owing to the small size of the fragment it is difficult to speak with certainty; but with regard to the characteristics of the BA text which Simpson (*Fourn. of Theol. Stud.* xiv. 527-8) selects as evidence for the later date of BA it is noticeable that (1) 1594 does not tend, like BA, to avoid καί as a connecting particle, (2) if 1594 is less redundant than in ll. 14-18, in ll. 19-20 it has a repetition which is absent from **Σ**, and (3) the two uncommon words in 1594, προσαναφέρουσι and ὀπτανόμην, and the unusual construction in ll. 14-16 are absent from **Σ**, though as a rule the BA text is more commonplace than that of **Σ**. The **Σ** text is certainly not conspicuously better than that of 1594 in these six verses. The addition in **Σ** of Σάρραν before

τὴν νόμφην in l. 1 and the omission of ἐκ in l. 3 and ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν in l. 9 are no improvements; ἀγίων without BA's ἀγγέλων in l. 3 and προσαναφέρουσι without BA's τὰς προσευχὰς τῶν ἀγίων are hardly open to the inferences which Simpson (*op. cit.* 521) draws from a comparison of the 'angelology' of BA and **Σ** concerning the later character of BA. The use of θεοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου in l. 6 in place of **Σ**'s κυρίου perhaps illustrates the 'tendency to emphasize the transcendental character of the Godhead' which according to Simpson (*loc. cit.*) serves to distinguish BA from **Σ**, and ὀπτάνεσθαι (l. 19), as he pointed out, came to have a definite Christian connotation, being found in Acts i. 3 with reference to the appearances of Christ after the Resurrection. But the word occurs in the LXX and Ptolemaic papyri, and curious linguistic affinities between Tobit xii. 16-22 and the Gospels (cf. Simpson's n. *ad loc.*) are traceable in the text of **Σ** as well as BA, so that the mere occurrence of ὀπτάνεσθαι does not prove much. The reading of 1594 in v. 18 ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν οὐχ ὅτι τῇ ἐμαντοῦ χάριτι ἤμην is defensible against **Σ**'s ἐγὼ ὅτε ἤμην μεθ' ὑμῶν οὐχὶ τῇ ἐμῇ χάριτι ἤμην μεθ' ὑμῶν: but the arrangement of vv. 18-19 as a whole is more satisfactory in **Σ**; for πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας is more appropriate in conjunction with εὐλογεῖτε than with ὀπτανόμεν, and the repetition εὐλογεῖτε . . . ὑμνεῖτε in **Σ** is probably better than the repetition ὀπτανόμεν . . . ἐθεωρεῖτε in 1594, which here combines the two verbs found singly in **Σ** and BA, though whether **Σ**'s θεωρεῖτε is superior to ἐθεωρεῖτε in 1594, here supported by the Old Latin, is very doubtful. In l. 3 ἀγγέλων (**Σ**) is perhaps preferable to ἀγίων (1594), the two words being liable to confusion as soon as contractions came into use (cf. p. 3).

Our conclusion therefore is that, while the recension of **Σ** is probably older than that of BA, **Σ** had before the age of the Antonines, perhaps even from the earliest times when Tobit was read in Greek, a rival in the shape of the text to which 1594 belongs. This was largely superseded after A. D. 200 by the BA recension, which was based on it; but traces of the influence of the 1594 text are discernible in the Old Latin version, which was made probably before 300, and the 1594 text remained sufficiently important by the side of the BA text for it to be used in the compilation of the intermediate text found in the cursives and 1076, which was designed (in the fourth or fifth century?) as a compromise between the various conflicting versions of the story. The result of the discovery of 1594 is, we think, to diminish somewhat the superiority in point of age which can be claimed for the recension of **Σ** over others, and to increase the respect due to both BA and the third recension, as being either based upon or, in the case of the third recension, influenced by an older recension which is independent of **Σ** and may well contain some original elements.

Recto.	Verso.
[σα]σθαί σε και την νυμ xii. 14	υμιν̄ εσται και τον θ̄ν̄ [ευ
φην σου εγω ειμι Ραφαηλ 15	λογειτε εις τον απαν[τα
εις εκ των ζ̄̄ αγιω[ν] οῑ προσ	αιωνα εγω μεθ υμων 18
αναφερουσιν και εισπορευ	15 ουχ̄ οτῑ τη̄ εμαντοῡ χαρι
5 ονται ενωπιον της δο	τι ημην̄ αλλα τη̄ θελη
ξης του θ̄ν̄ του μεγαλου	σει του θ̄ν̄ και αυτον̄ ευλο
και εταραχθησαν οῑ β̄ και 16	γειτε και πασας τας ημ̄[ε
επεσαν̄ επῑ προσωποῑ	ρας̄ ωπτανομην̄ ῡμ̄[ν
[ε]πῑ την̄ γην̄ καῑ εφοβη	20 καῑ εθεωρειτε̄ με̄ οτῑ
10 [θησαν̄ καῑ ειπεν̄ αυ]τοις̄ 17	οῡκ̄ εφαγον̄ ουδε̄ επιον̄
[μη̄ φοβεισθε̄ ειρηνη]	I line lost

In place of a collation, we give the new text side by side with the three extant Greek versions and the Old Latin in full.

1594.

BA.

N.

14 *ιάσα*σθαί σε καὶ τὴν
 νύμφην σου. 15 *ἐγὼ* εἶμι
 Ῥαφαήλ, εἰς ἐκ τῶν ἐπτὰ
 ἁγίων οἱ προσαναφέρουσιν
 καὶ εἰσπορεύονται ἐνώπιον
 τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ
 μεγάλου. 16 καὶ ἐταρά-
 χθησαν οἱ δύο καὶ ἔπεσαν
 ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν
 καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν. 17 καὶ
 εἶπεν αὐτοῖς [Μὴ φο-
 βεῖσθε, εἰρήνη] ὑμῖν ἔσται
 καὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐλογεῖτε εἰς
 τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα. 18 *ἐγὼ*
 μεθ' ὑμῶν οὐχ ὅτι τῇ ἔμαν-
 του χάριτι ἤμην, ἀλλὰ τῇ
 θελήσει τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ
 αὐτὸν εὐλογεῖτε. 19 καὶ

14 *ιάσα*σθαί σε καὶ τὴν
 νύμφην σου Σάρραν. 15 *ἐγὼ*
 εἶμι Ῥαφαήλ, εἰς ἐκ τῶν
 ἐπτὰ ἁγίων ἀγγέλων
 οἱ προσαναφέρουσιν τὰς
 προσευχὰς τῶν ἁγίων καὶ
 εἰσπορεύονται ἐνώπιον τῆς
 δόξης τοῦ ἁγίου. 16 καὶ ἐτα-
 ράχθησαν οἱ δύο καὶ ἔπεσον
 (-σαν A) ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, ὅτι
 ἐφοβήθησαν. 17 καὶ εἶπεν
 αὐτοῖς Μὴ φοβεῖσθε (add
 ὅτι A) εἰρήνη ὑμῖν ἔσται·
 τὸν δὲ θεὸν εὐλογεῖτε εἰς
 τὸν αἰῶνα, 18 ὅτι οὐ τῇ
 ἔμαντου χάριτι, ἀλλὰ τῇ
 θελήσει τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν
 (add ἦλθον A)· ὅθεν εὐ-

14 *ιάσα*σθαι καὶ Σάρραν
 τὴν νύμφην σου. 15 *ἐγὼ*
 εἶμι Ῥαφαήλ, εἰς τῶν
 ἐπτὰ ἀγγέλων οἱ παρεστή-
 κασιν καὶ εἰσπορεύονται
 ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης κυρίου.
 16 καὶ ἐταράχθησαν οἱ δύο
 καὶ ἔπεσαν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον
 αὐτῶν καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν.
 17 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Μὴ
 φοβεῖσθε, εἰρήνη ὑμῖν·
 τὸν θεὸν εὐλογεῖτε εἰς
 πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα. 18 *ἐγὼ*
 ὅτε ἤμην μεθ' ὑμῶν οὐχὶ
 τῇ ἐμῇ χάριτι ἤμην μεθ'
 ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ τῇ θελήσει
 τοῦ θεοῦ· αὐτὸν εὐλογεῖτε,
 κατὰ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας

πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ὠπτα- λογεῖτε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν αὐτῷ ὑμνεῖτε. ¹⁹ καὶ θε-
νόμην ὑμῖν καὶ ἐθεωρεῖ- αἰῶνα. ¹⁹ πάσας τὰς ἡμέ- ωρεῖτέ με ὅτι οὐκ ἔφα-
τέ με ὅτ[ι] οὐ[κ] ἔφαγον . . . ρας ὠπτανόμην ὑμῖν καὶ γον . . .
οὐκ ἔφαγον . . .

Cursives 44, 106, 107.

¹⁴ ἰάσασθαί σε καὶ τὴν νύμφην σου.
¹⁵ ἐγὼ εἰμι Ῥαφαήλ, εἰς τῶν ἀγίων τῶν
παρεστώτων ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. ¹⁶ καὶ
ἐταράχθησαν ἀμφότεροι καὶ ἔπεσαν ἐπὶ
πρόσωπον αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὅτι ἐφο-
βήθησαν (ὅτι ἐφ. om. 44). ¹⁷ καὶ εἶπεν
αὐτοῖς, Μὴ φοβεῖσθε, εἰρήνη ὑμῖν ἔσται·
εὐλογεῖτε τὸν θεόν, ¹⁸ ὅτι οὐ τῇ ἐμῇ
χάριτι ἀλλὰ τῇ θελήσει τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγὼ
ἦλθον. ¹⁹ καὶ οὐκ ἔφαγον . . .

Old Latin.

¹⁴ *tentare te et Sarram nurum tuam.*
¹⁵ *Ego enim sum Raphael, unus de*
septem angelis sanctis qui adsistimus et
conversamur ante claritatem Dei. ¹⁶ *Et*
conturbati sunt utrique et ceciderunt in
faciem et timuerunt. ¹⁷ *Et dixit illis*
Raphael: Nolite timere, pax vobiscum,
Deum benedicite in omni aevo. ¹⁸ *Etenim*
cum essem vobiscum non mea gratia
cram sed voluntate Dei: ipsi ergo
benedicite, et omnibus diebus decantate
ei. Et videbatis me quia manduca-
cabam . . .

3. προσαναφερουσιν: this word occurs twice elsewhere in the LXX, Judith xi. 18 ἐλθοῦσα προσαναοῖσώ σοι and 2 Macc. xi. 36 ἃ δὲ ἔκρινε προσανενεχθῆναι τῷ βασιλεῖ.

11-12. That *οτι* should be read in l. 11 before *ειρηνη* with A is improbable, the line being long enough without it, and similar words of connexion being avoided elsewhere in the fragment; cf. p. 3. It is just possible that *υ]μειν* should be read instead of *υμιν* in l. 12.

13. *εις*: *επι* might be read, but *εις* is regularly used in this phrase in the LXX and N. T.

15. *ουχ οτι*: *κ* is the only alternative to *χ* and the vestige of the next letter suits *ο*, but not *ε*, so that *ουκετι* is an unsatisfactory reading, even if it suited the context. The traces of *τι* are slight, but suggest no other appropriate reading, so that *ουχ οτι* is practically certain; cf. int.

20-1. *οτ[ι] | ου[κ]* (so **Σ**) is very uncertain, but suits the slight traces somewhat better than *κα[ι] | ου[κ]* (BA) or *ου[κ] | φα[γον]*.

1595. ECCLESIASTICUS i.

18 × 11.2 cm.

Sixth century.

A leaf from a papyrus codex, containing the first nine verses of Ecclesiasticus in the LXX, written with brown ink in large heavy round uncials of the type represented by e. g. Schubart, *Pap. Gracc. Berol. 44a* (*Iliad* xxii), probably in the sixth century, to which documents found with or near 1595 belong. The numbering of the pages, if it existed in the position occupied by the numberings

in e. g. 1598, is not preserved, so that it is uncertain whether this is the first leaf of the codex or only of a section. The beginnings of verses are marked by fresh lines which project slightly, and the ends by high stops apparently throughout, though owing to injuries to the surface these are not always discernible. The usual contractions for θεός, κύριος (but not in l. 1), and οὐρανός occur.

Verse 7 ἐπιστήμη σοφίας τίνι ἐφανέρωθη καὶ τὴν πολυπειρίαν αὐτῆς τίς συνήκεν; which is generally regarded as a doublet of v. 6, is omitted, as in the chief uncial MSS.; but v. 5 (πηγὴ σοφίας λόγος θεοῦ ἐν ὑψίστοις, καὶ αἱ πορεῖαι αὐτῆς ἐντολαὶ αἰώνιοι) is retained, as in some cursives and versions (cf. ll. 16–19, n.), though this too has generally been rejected as a doublet of the preceding verse; cf. Box-Oesterley in Charles's *Apocr. and Pseudepigr.* i. 318. The resemblance, however, between vv. 4–5 is much less marked than that between vv. 6–7, and since v. 4 ends with αἰῶνος, v. 5 with αἰώνιοι, the hypothesis that the disappearance of v. 5 is an error due to homoioteleuton has, we think, more to justify it than the view that it is a Pharisaic addition. In other respects the text of 1595 is not remarkable, the spelling and arrangement agreeing with SAC rather than with B. A note at the bottom of the recto perhaps refers to an omission. This is the first papyrus of Ecclesiasticus.

Verso.		Recto.	
[πα]σα σοφια παρα κυριου κ[αι ι		εν ὑψιστοις·	
[μ]ετ αυτου εστιν		και αι ποριαι αυτ[ης εν	
[ει]ς τον αιωνα·		τολαι αιωνιοι·	
[αμ]μον θαλασσων και	2	20 ριζα σοφιας τιν[ι απε	6
5 [σ]ταγονας ὕετου και		καλυφθη·	
[η]μερας αιωνος τις		και τα πανουργημ[ατα	
[ε]ξ αριθμησει·		αυτης τις εγν[ω·	
[υψ]ος οὐνοῦ και πλατος	3	εις εστιν σοφος [φοβε	8
[γ]ης και αβυσσον και		25 ρος σφοδρα·	
10 σοφιαν τι[ς] εξιχνι		καθη[μ]ενος επι τ[ου	
[α]σει·		θρονου αυτου[·	
[πρ]οτερα παντων εκτι	4	κ̄ς αυτος εκτισεν [αυτην ?	9
[σ]ται σοφια·		και ειδεν και εξη[ριθμη	
[και] συνεσις φρονησε		30 σεν αυτην·	
15 ως εξ αιωνος·		και εξεχεεν αυτην[ν επι	
[πη]γη σοφιας λογος θ̄ν	5	παντα τα εργα [αυτου·	
		[επανω· αυτην]	

9-10. *και σοφίαν*: om. Syriac and Latin versions.

16-19. This verse (5), omitted by the uncial MSS., is found in cursive 248 and others and in the Syro-Hexaplar, Latin, and Sahidic versions; cf. int.

22. *πανουργηματα*: so **NA**C; *πανουργεματα* B.

23-4. Between these lines several cursives (not 248), the Syro-Hexaplar, Latin, and Sahidic versions insert verse *η επιστήμη σοφίας κτλ.*; cf. int.

24. *σοφος*: this word, though found in the Greek MSS., is omitted by Box-Oesterley, *l. c.*, following the versions. In place of ll. 24-5 the Syriac and Arabic versions have 'One (there is) who hath dominion over all her treasures'.

28. *κς*: B alone of the Greek MSS. assigns this word to the previous verse. That *αυτην*, the reading of the MSS., was added at the end of the line is not quite certain, though without it the line would be rather short; cf. l. 33, n.

29. *ειδεν*: so **NA**C; *ιδεν* BA.

33. Whether this line, which was written in uncials by a different hand in darker ink but intentionally obliterated, has any connexion with the main text is uncertain. The readings of all the letters except the first four are very doubtful, and there are several ink smudges on both sides of the papyrus which seem to be accidental. If *επανω* is right, the reference is perhaps to an omission by the first hand, i. e. of *αυτην* in l. 28 rather than *αυτου* in l. 32.

1596. ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL vi.

10.7 × 5.2 cm.

Fourth century.

A fragment from the lower part of a leaf of a papyrus codex of St. John's Gospel, containing vi. 8-12 and 17-22, but with the loss of slightly more than half the lines. It was found together with third-fourth century documents, and probably belongs to the early or middle part of the fourth century, the script being a medium-sized semiuncial. *Ἰ(ησοῦ)s* is the only contraction, and one high stop occurs (l. 41); pauses are indicated by a slight space in l. 46, and probably by a larger space in the lacuna in l. 49. The papyrus, though hardly so old as 208 (parts of i and xx) and 1228 (xv. 25-xvi. 31) and not very correctly spelled, is interesting on account of its early date, being probably older than 847 (ii. 11-22 on vellum). The text is eclectic in places (e. g. l. 22), as often happens in early Biblical MSS., but tends, like 847, to support B rather than **NA**, to which 208 and to a less degree 1228 incline, or A. There are 8 agreements with B in the 10 places where B and **NA*** differ, and in only 1 out of 5 places, where A differs from both **NA** and B, does 1596 apparently support A (l. 21, n.). A new order of words seems to occur in a passage where all three of the chief MSS. differ (ll. 40-1, n.).

Recto.

14 lines lost

15 [*αυτου Ανδρεας ο αδελφος Σιμων]νος Πετρο]υ . vi. 8
[εστιν παιδαριον ωδε ος ε]χει πεντε αρτους κ[ρι 9*

	[θινους και δυο οψαρια αλ]λα ταυτα τι εστιν ει[ς [τοσουτους ειπεν ο Ις ποιησ]ατε τους ανθρωπου[ς	10
	[αναπεσειν ην δε χορτ]ος πολυς εν τω τοπ[ω	
20	[ανεπεσαν ουν οι] ανδρες τον αριθ[μον [ωσει πεντακις]χιλειοι ελεβεν ου[ν	11
	[τους αρτους ο Ις κ]αι ευχαριστησας εδω[[κεν τοις ανακειμ]ενοις ομοιωσ και εκ [των οψαριων οσο]ν ηθελον ως δε	
25	[ενεπλησθησαν] λεγει τοις μαθηταις α[ν	12

Verso.

13 lines lost

	[χοντο πε]ραν τ[ης θαλασσης εις Καφαρναουμ	17
40	[κ]αι σκοτια ηδη εγ[ε]γ[ονει και ου προς αυτους |ε]ληλυθει ο Ις· η τε θαλασσα ανεμου μεγα	18
	[λο]υ πνεοντος διεγει[ρετο εληλακοτες ουν	19
	ως σταδιοις εικοσι π[εντε η τριακοντα θεωρου [σι]ν Ιν περιπατου[ντα επι της θαλασσης	
45	και ενγυς του πλοι[ου γινομενον και εφοβηθησαν ο δε [λεγει αυτοις εγω ειμι	20
	μη φοβεισθαι ηθε[λον ουν λαβειν αυτον	21
	εις το πλοιον και ε[υθεως εγενετο το πλοιον επι της γης εις η[ν υπηγον τη επαυ	22
50	ριον ο οχλος ο εστ[ηκως περαν της θαλασσης ιδεν οτι πλοιαριον [αλλο ουκ ην εκει ει μη εν	

16-18. The restorations of these lines, based on **N** and **B**, are quite long enough, even allowing for the slope of the column towards the left, which is noticeable on the verso. Hence it is very improbable that 1596 agreed with **A** and many later MSS. in adding *εν* after *παιδαριον* in l. 16 and *δε* after *ειπεν* in l. 18.

19. *χορτ]ος πολυς*: so nearly all MSS.; *πολυς χορτος* **A**.

20. *ουν οι] ανδρες*: this, the reading of **NB** &c., suits the space better than *ουν οι αν(θρωπ)οι ανδρες* (**A** &c.). Some MSS. omit *ουν* or *οι*, and 1596 may have had *οι αν(θρωπ)οι ανδρες*, omitting *ουν*.

21. [ωσει (**A** and most MSS.) suits the length of the lacuna better than *ως* (**NB**).

ελεβεν: l. *ελαβεν*.

ου[ν: so **N**^c**ABD** and some others; *δε* **N**^{*} &c.

22^a. *ευχαριστησας*: so **AB** and most MSS.; *ευχαριστησεν και* **ND** &c.

- εδω[κεν: so **ND** and some others; διεδωκεν AB and most MSS.
 23. και: so **NAB** and most MSS.; δε και D &c.
 40. [κ]αι σκοτια ηδη εγ[ε]γ[ονει: so AB and most MSS.; κατελαβεν δε αυτους η σκοτια **ND**.
 40-1. ου προς αυτους [ε]ληλυθει ο Ι(ησου)ς: ουπω εληλ. Ι(ησ.) προς αυτ. **N**; ουπω προς αυτ. εληλ. ο Ι(ησ.) B; ουκ εληλ. προς αυτ. ο Ι(ησ.) A. There is not room for ουπω here.
 41. τε: so most MSS.; δε D &c.
 42. διεγει[ρετο: so B &c.; διηγειρετο **NAD** &c.
 43. ως: so **NB** and most MSS.; ωσει AD &c.; om. a few MSS.
 σταδιους: so **N^a** vel **bAB** and most MSS.; σταδια **N^{*}D**.
 43-4. θεωρου[σι]ν: the supplement in l. 43 is rather long; and possibly ορω[σι]ν occurred, though no such variant is known here. Before Ι(ησου)ν the MSS. insert τον, but there is certainly not room for [το]ν here.
 46. ο δε: so all Greek MSS. except **N**, which has και.
 47. φοβεισθαι: .l. φοβεισθε.
 49. επι της γης: so **N^eABD** and most MSS.; επι την γην **N^{*}** &c.
 [υπηγον: so all MSS. except **N^{*}**, which has υπηνητησεν. That reading is possible here, for the supplement (13 letters) is 3 or 4 letters shorter than would be expected, but there may well have been a considerable space before τη επαυριον, which begins a new section.
 51. ιδεν: so **ND** &c. (ειδεν); ειδον AB &c.; ιδων some MSS.

1597. ACTS OF THE APOSTLES xxvi.

5.7 × 2.8 cm. Late third or fourth century.
 Plate I (verso).

This scrap from the bottom of a leaf of a papyrus codex is tantalizing, for it belongs to an abnormal recension of Acts. The script is a good-sized, somewhat irregular uncial, which is certainly not later than the fourth century and may belong to the latter part of the third. M has the middle brought down below the side strokes; the top stroke of Ξ is curved and the middle of Ω is slurred. θεός is contracted, as usual. Whether stops were employed is uncertain. All that survives is 7-10 letters from the beginnings or ends of 10 fairly long lines which covered xxvi. 7-8 and 20, and the reconstructions of the lacunae are in several places doubtful; but enough remains to show that the text presented many novelties. In ch. xxvi D (Codex Bezae), the principal rival of the current text, is defective; but in ll. 3 and 8 there are strong indications of agreements between 1597 and some of the variants preserved in Old Latin MSS., so that the fragment seems to represent a very ancient Greek text akin to the 'Western', apparently avoiding some of the difficulties of construction and sense presented by the current text in this chapter. That a piece of the 'Western' text of Acts should make its appearance in Egypt is an interesting circumstance, but perhaps not very surprising. The reading of D in Matt. iii. 16-17 occurred in the Oxyrhynchus Irenaeus fragment (405;

Part iv, pp. 264-5), and in other papyrus or vellum fragments of Acts from Egypt occasional agreements with D are found (in P. Amh. 8 at ii. 13, and in von Soden's α^8 at iv. 32).

Verso. Plate i.

το δωδεκ[αφυλον ημων εν εκτε	7
νια νυκτ[α και ημεραν λατρευει εν?	
ελπιδι κ[ατανησαι περι ης νυν?	
ενκαλου[μαι υπο Ιουδαιων ει?	8
5 ο θ̄ς νεκρ[ους εγειρει	

Recto.

[απειθης τη ουρανιω οπτασια α]λλα τοις ε[ν	20
[Δαμασκω πρωτον τε και Ιερο]σολομοις κα[ι	
[τη Ιουδαια και τοις εθνεσιν] εκηρυξα [
[μετανοειν και επιστρεφειν ε]πι τον θ̄ν [
10 [αξια της μετανοιας εργα προ]ασσοντας [

1-3. The ordinary Greek text is ἐν ἑκτε(ε)ῖα νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν λατρεύον ἐλπίζει κατανήσαι (-ήσειν B)· περὶ ἧς ἐλπίδος ἐγκαλοῦμαι, but Cod. Gigas (13th cent.) which has *instante nocte ac die deseruiunt in spe peruenire, de qua spe nunc accusor* in place of the usual *nocte ac die deseruientes sperant deuenire, de qua spe accusor*, seems to be based on a Greek text closely allied to 1597. ἐλπιδι in l. 3 makes a verb, not a participle, necessary in l. 2; but whether ἐν should be inserted at the end of l. 2 is doubtful, for it produces 20 letters in the lacuna, whereas in l. 1 there are only 16 in the corresponding space. Line 1 is, however, very short compared with the lines on the recto, and possibly a dittography or unknown variant occurred in the lost part of it. If so, there was no appreciable difference in the length of the lines on the two sides of the leaf, and not only is there plenty of room for λατρευει ἐν in l. 2, but ἐλπίδος, for the omission of which there is no parallel, can be restored instead of νυν in l. 3, and βασιλευ inserted in l. 4 (cf. n.). But on the whole we prefer on account of l. 1 to suppose that the lines on the verso are somewhat shorter than those on the recto.

4. After Ιουδαιων, before which many cursives insert τῶν, most Greek MSS. except A insert βασιλεῦ; but Cod. Gigas omits rex, and there may well have been a blank space before v. 8. There is no room for βασιλευ here without creating a great difficulty in the restoration of l. 1; cf. the preceding n. How 1597's recension of v. 8 was arranged is not clear. The Greek MSS. all have τί ἄπιστον κρίνεται παρ' ὑμῖν, εἰ ὁ θεὸς νεκροὺς ἐγείρει, which is reproduced in the Latin, and the omission of a line containing τι . . . υμιν is an easy hypothesis. But in view of the other new readings in 1597 the passage may represent a genuinely different recension of a verse which comes into the context somewhat abruptly, and which Nestle wished to place after v. 23.

6. Verses 9-19, which are missing at the top of the recto, would occupy 33 or 34 lines corresponding to ll. 6-10, if the text was approximately as long as the ordinary one; but 1597 seems to be somewhat shorter than usual.

7. The restorations of ll. 9-10, which are practically certain, favour the insertion here

of either $\tau\epsilon$ before $\kappa\alpha\iota$ with $\aleph\text{AB}$ (but not traceable in the Old Latin) or $\epsilon\nu$ before $\text{I}\epsilon\rho\sigma\omicron\lambda\omicron\mu\omicron\iota\varsigma$ with A , but not of both.

$\kappa\alpha[\epsilon] \mid \tau\eta \text{I}\omicron\upsilon\delta\alpha\iota\alpha$: this restoration, though implying a new variant, suits the presumable length of the lacuna in l. 8 (if $\kappa\alpha\iota \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \epsilon\theta\nu\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ is retained) much better than $\kappa\alpha[\epsilon] \mid \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \text{I}\omicron\upsilon\delta\alpha\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$, which would have the support of *in omnem regionem iudeis*, the reading of the Cod. Colbertinus (13th cent.) and a corrector of the Cod. Perpinianus (13th cent.). $\aleph\text{BA}$ have $\pi\alpha\sigma\alpha\nu \tau\epsilon \tau\eta\nu \chi\omega\rho\alpha\nu \tau\eta\varsigma \text{I}\omicron\upsilon\delta\alpha\iota\alpha\varsigma$, which is retained by Tischendorf in spite of the difficulty caused by the unexplained accusative, in later MSS. governed by an inserted $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (so von Soden). That 1597, which was shorter here than the current text, had $\kappa\alpha[\epsilon] \mid \epsilon\iota\varsigma \pi\alpha\sigma\alpha\nu \tau\eta\nu \chi\omega\rho\alpha\nu \tau\eta\varsigma \text{I}\omicron\upsilon\delta\alpha\iota\alpha\varsigma$ and omitted $\kappa\alpha\iota \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \epsilon\theta\nu\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ is possible, but less likely.

8. $\epsilon\kappa\eta\rho\nu\zeta\alpha$: $\alpha\pi\eta\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ ($\aleph\text{BA}$) is the best attested reading, and the numerous variants are all compounds of $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$ in some form. The Old Latin MSS. have *adnuntiare* in some form, except the Floriacensis (6th–7th cent.) which has *praedicaui*, apparently representing $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\eta\rho\nu\zeta\alpha$.

9. $\tau\omicron\nu \theta(\epsilon\omicron)\nu$: $\tau\omicron\nu \zeta\omicron\nu\tau\alpha \theta$. some cursives, &c. (including von Soden's chief 'Pamphilus' group); cf. xiv. 15.

1598. I THESSALONIANS iv—II THESSALONIANS i.

Fr. 4 8.8 × 6.2 cm. Late third or fourth century.

Parts of two consecutive leaves and an unidentified scrap of a papyrus codex, containing I Thess. iv. 12–II Thess. i. 2 with considerable lacunae. The script is a large heavy round uncial of the early biblical type, not so formal and calligraphic as e.g. 1166 (Part ix, Plate i), but, like 406, probably of the late third rather than the fourth century. The usual contractions of $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\text{I}\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$, and $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ occur. No stops are actually found, but a γ -shaped sign is used for filling up short lines. The numbers of the pages, which are twice preserved (pp. 207–8), suggest that the book was a collection of St. Paul's Epistles, and it is noteworthy that the usual order of these from Romans to I Thess. would exactly account for the preceding 206 pages.

The text is interesting, being, as often, eclectic in character. It agrees with B four times against $\aleph\text{A}$, once with BA against \aleph , twice with $\aleph\text{A}$ against B, once with \aleph against BA. In ll. 60, 77, and 109 the papyrus clearly presented a longer text than any of the MSS., but in no case is the addition preserved, though fairly probable conjectures can be made. In l. 70 the papyrus is shorter than the MSS. The unidentified fragment does not agree with the ordinary text of any passage in either of these two Epistles. A seventh-century vellum fragment of I Thess. iii. 6–9, iv. 2–5 has been published by Wessely (*Stud. sur Palaeogr.* xii. 192).

Frs. 1 + 2 recto.

Frs. 1 + 2 verso.

$\sigma\zeta$
 νος [χρειαν εχητε ου θελο I. iv. 13
 μεν [δε υμας αγνοειν αδελ

$\sigma\eta$
 [ουτως ερχεται οταν λεγ]ωσιν v. 3
 35 [ειρηνη και ασφαλεια το]τ αι

3	[φο]ι [περι των κοιμωμενων 15 lines lost			17 lines lost	
	νου και ο[ι νεκροι εν Χω̄ ᾱ iv. 16			[δυσαμενοι θωρακ]α πιστε[v. 8	
20	ναστησο[νται πρωτον ε 17	55		[ως και αγαπης και] περικεφα[9	
	πειτ[α ημεις οι ζωντες			[ουκ εθετο ο θς] ημας εις ορ[
	οι περ[ι]λ[ειπομενοι αμα			[γην αλλα εις π]εριποη[σ]ιν	
	συν αυτοις α[ρπαγησομεθα			[σωτηριας δια τ]ου κ̄ν ημων	
	εν νεφελ[αις εις απαντη			[Ιη̄ν του αποθανον]τος ὑπερ η 10	
25	σιν του κ̄ν εις [αερα και ουτω 60			[μων παντων? ιν]α ε[τε γρ]η	
	παντοτε συν [κ̄ω εσομεθα ωσ 18			6 lines lost	
	7 lines lost				

Frs. 3 + 4 verso.

[σθ]
 [υμιν και προϊστ]α[με v. 12
 [ρους υμων εν κ̄ω κα]ι νου
 [θετουντας υμας] και ηγει 13
 70 [σθαι αυτοις εκ περισσου
 [εν αγαπη δια το] ε[ρ]γογ̄ αυ
 [των] ε[ιρηνευετ]ε εν αυτοις
 [παρ]ακ[αλουμεν δε υ]μας α 14
 [δελφοι νουθετειτε] τους
 75 [α]τ[α]κ[α]τ[ο]υς π[α]ραμυθεισ[θε
 τους ο[λ]ιγοψυχ[ους αυτεχε
 σθε των α[σθ]ε[νων εν υμιν?
 μακροθυμειτ]ε προς παν
 80 τας ορατε μη τ[ις κακον αν 15
 τι κακου τινι απ[ο]δα αλλα
 παντοτε το α[γαθον διωκε
 τε και εις [αλληλους και εις
 παν]τας παντοτε χαιρετε 16
 αδια[λειπτως προσευχεσθε 17
 85 εν π[αντι ευχαριστειτε του 18
 18 lines lost

Frs. 3 + 4 recto.

[] []
 και περι η[μων ασπασασθε v. 26
 105 τους αδ[ελφους παντας εν
 φιληματ]ι αγιω ενορκιζω υ 27
 μας τον κ̄ν [αναγνωσθηναι
 την επιστ]ολην πασιν τοις
 αδελφ[οις τοις αγιοις? η χα 28
 110 ρις του [κ̄ν ημων Ιη̄ν Χ̄ν με
 θ υμ[ων
 [προς Θεσσα]λονε[ικ]ε[ις] ᾱ
 [προς Θεσσαλο]νε[ικ]ε[ις] β̄
 [Παυλος και Σιλ]ουανο[ς] και II. i. 1
 115 Τιμοθεος τη εκκ[λη]σια
 [Θεσσαλονεικων εν] θ̄ω
 [πρ]ι ημων και κ̄ω Ιη̄ν Χ̄ω
 [χαρις υμιν και ειρηνη] απο 2
 18 lines lost

Fr. 5 (middle of a column).

	Verso.	Recto.
137	]ασ[	]το[
	]α[	]εια[
	]υ[	]σευ[
140	]κα[	144 . .] Ἰη[

- 1-2. θέλο]μεν: so **NAB** and most MSS.; θέλω some cursives, versions, and citations.
22. οι περ[ι]λ[ειτουργοι: so most MSS.; om. FG &c.
25. του κ(υριο)υ: so **NAB** and most MSS.; some others have τω Χριστω.
26. συν: so **NA** &c.; εν B.
35. το]τ: the ε is not usually elided here.
56. ο θ(εο)ς] ημας: so B with some cursives; ημας ο θ(εο)ς **NA** &c.
59. [Ἰην: so B and the Aethiopic version; for Ἰην̄ Χν̄, the ordinary reading, there is not room.
- υπερ: so **N^cAD** and most others; περι **N^{*}B**.
- 59-60. η[μων παντων? ι]α: om. παντων MSS. No variant except γρηγορουμεν for γρηγορωμεν is known at this point, but the traces of letters in l. 60 are irreconcilable with the ordinary readings, αε being nearly certain, though the other vestiges are inconclusive.
67. προιστ]αν[ο]με[νους: so **NA**, this being a common Egyptian form of the usual προῖσταμένους. The reading is not quite certain, but suits the vestiges better than προ[ο]στα]με[νους, which seems to be the only alternative.
69. και: so **NAB** and most MSS.; ωστε FG.
70. ε]κ περισσου: υπερεκπερισσου **NA** and most MSS.; υπερεκπερισσως BD*FG. In iii. 10 and Eph. iii. 20 there is no variant for υπερεκπερισσου, but in Mark xiv. 31 **NBCD** &c. read εκπερισσως in place of εκ περισσου.
71. The supposed traces of ε]ρ]γον are very doubtful, but no variant is known.
72. αυτοις: so **NO^{*}** &c.; εαυτοις ABD^c &c.
77. ο[σθ]ε]γων εν νυν?: so Bartlet; the MSS. have nothing between ασθενων and μακροθυμειτε.
82. και: so **N^cB** &c.; om. **N^{*}AD** &c.
104. και: so BD* &c.; om. **NAD^c** and most other MSS.
106. ενορκιζω (ABD* &c.) suits the space better than ορκιζω (**ND^b** and most others).
109. αδελφ[ο]ις τοις αγιοις: αδελφοις **N^{*}BD** &c.; αγιοις αδελφοις **N^cA** &c.
111. After νμ[ων] the papyrus may have had αμην with **NA** &c.
112. The title agrees with **NB^{*}**; other MSS. add ἐπληρώθη or ἐτελείσθη or ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Ἰθρηνῶν.
113. The title agrees with **NAB**; other MSS. prefix ἄρχεται.
114. Σιλ]ονανο[ς]: so **NAB** &c.; some MSS. have Σιλβανός.
117. Ιη(σο)υ Χ(ριστ)ω: so **NAB** &c.; Χ(ριστ)ω Ι(ησου)υ D and some others.
144. This line corresponds in position to l. 143, the upper part of the recto being lost. The first contraction was presumably some case of κύριος or Χριστός, but l. 144 cannot be combined with l. 117.

1599. HERMAS, *Pastor*, *Sim.* viii.

24.5 × 19.8 cm.

Fourth century.

A complete leaf of a papyrus codex containing *Sim.* viii. 6. 4-8. 3 of the *Shepherd* of Hermas, this being the eighth Greek fragment of that popular work which has been obtained from Egypt, besides a few Coptic fragments; cf. 1172. int. and *Berl. Klassikertexte*, vi, p. 16. The two pages are numbered 72 and 73, the columns being slightly longer than those in 1172, where *Sim.* ii occupies pp. 70-1. The script of the major portion is a medium-sized upright semiuncial with a tendency to exaggerate the last stroke of α, κ, and λ. Something seems to have gone wrong with the verso, where the original writing has been obliterated in ll. 5-6 and from 7 onwards, and a larger and less practised hand, which imitates the style of the first, takes its place up to the end of the page. The leaf was found with dated third-century documents, but the writing hardly suggests so early a date, and it more probably belongs to the fourth century, like 1172, than to the last quarter of the third. θεός and κύριος are contracted, as usual. Pauses are indicated by high stops and blank spaces. An apostrophe is sometimes used to mark elision or divide double consonants.

The text is not very good, being prone to omissions, especially owing to homoioteleuton, as in ll. 19-20, 25, 27, 40-1; cf. ll. 3, 9, 18, 22, 24, 32, 33, 41, 45, where 1599 is in nearly all cases clearly wrong. Other slips occur, e. g. in l. 29. But naturally the difference of nine centuries between the dates of 1599 and the Codex Athous, which for this part of the *Shepherd* is the sole Greek authority, expresses itself by a number of improvements in the older text. In five places (ll. 9 ἐλάλησας, 20, 31, 37, 54) it supports one or both of the Latin versions against the Athous, which in l. 54 had corrupted ἀντόν to λοιπόν, as discerned by Hilgenfeld. Of the other variants the most noteworthy occur in ll. 3-4, 5, 11, 25, 38, 42, 46, 48, 50, 56. Most of these are probably right; that in ll. 3-4 is apparently supported by the Aethiopic version. There are, as usual in Hermas papyri, several changes in the order of words (ll. 6, 30, 44, 47, 49, 52), where the evidence of the older witness is generally the more credible; cf. 1172. int.

The collation with the text of the Codex Athous (ca) is based on Lake's transcript in *Facsimile of the Athos fragments of the Shepherd of Hermas*, which supersedes Simonides's transcript used by Gebhardt-Harnack and the imperfect collation of Georgandas. The information as to the Latin Vulgate and Palatine versions (L¹ and L²) and Aethiopic version (A) is obtained from Gebhardt-Harnack's and Hilgenfeld's editions. A new edition of the *Shepherd* is much to be desired.

Verso.

- απο των τοιουτων ^{οβ} [[τοιουτων]] η ζωη απε[στη] viii. 6. 4
 οι δε τας ξηρας και ασηπτους επιδεδωκο[τες] και 5
 ουτοι· εγγυς αυτων ησαν ὑποκριται και [διδ]αχας
 εισφεροντες ετερας· και εκστρεφοντε[ς] τους
 5 δουλους του θν· (2nd hand) μα[[λ]]λιστα δε παλιν τους ημαρ
 1st hand τηκοτες (2nd h.) μη αφεντες α(1st h.)υτους (2nd h.) μετανοειν·
 αλλα ταις διδαχαις ταις μωραις πειθοντες αυτους
 ουτοι ουν εχουσιν ελπιδα του μετανοησαι· βλεπισ 6
 δε εξ αυτων μετανενοηκοτες αφ οτε ελαλησας
 10 αυτοις τας εντολας μου· κα[ι] ετι μετανοησωσιν·
 οσοι δε ου μετενοησαν απωλεσαν την ψυχην
 αυτων· οσοι δε μετενοησαν εξ αυτων αγαθ[ο]ι
 εγ[ε]νουντο· και εγενετο η κατ'οικια αυτων ει[ς]
 τα τιχη τα πρωτα· τινες δε και εις τον πυργ[ο]ν
 15 ανεβησαν· βλεπισ ουν φησιν οτι η μετανοια
 των αμαρτων ζων ειχεν το δε μη μετα
 νοησαι θανατον οσοι δε ημιξηρους επε[ι] 7. 1
 δωκαν και εν αυταις σχισμας ειχον· ακουε πε[ρι]
 αυτων· οσων ησαν αι ραβδα[ι] ημιξηρους [
 20 διψυχοι εισιν και καταλαλοι μηδεποτε ειρηνη[ε]υ 2
 οντες εν εαυτοις· αλλα διχοστατουντες η[αν]
 τοτε και τουτοις φησιν επικειται μεταν[ο]ια
 βλεπεις φησιν τινας ηδη εξ αυτων μεταν[ε]νο
 ηκοτας· και ετι ελπισ εστιν εν αυτοις μετα[ν]οιας
 25 οσοι ουν φησιν εξ αυτων μετανενοηκα[σι] 3
 βραδυτερον εις τα τιχη κατοικησωσιν·
 οι δε ου μετανοησωσιν ταις πραξε[σ]ιν αυτων
 θανατω αποθανουνται·

Recto.

- 1st hand ο[σοι δε] χλωρας επιδεδωκοτες τας ραβδους αυτων 4
 30 και [σχι]σμας εχουσας ουτοι παντοτε πιστοι και

αγα[θοι] εγενοντο εχοντες δε ζηλον τινα εν
 αλ[λη]λοις περι πρωτων και περι δοξας· αλλα
 παντες ουτοι μωροι εισιν εν αλ[λη]λοις· αλλα και ου 5
 τοι ακουσαντες των εντολων μου αγαθοι
 35 ουτες εκαθαρισαν εαυτους και μετενοησαν
 ταχυ εγενετο ουν η κατοικησις αυτων εις τον
 πυργον· εαν δε τις αυτων παλιν επιστραφη
 εις την διχοσ[τα]σιαν εκ'κολλ'ηθησεται του πυργου
 και απολεσι την ζωην αυτου· η ζωη παντων 6
 40 εστιν των τηρουντων τας εντολας του κ̄ν
 και τας εντολας δε περι πρωτων η περι δοξης
 ουκ εστιν αλλα περι μακροθυμιας και περι ταπι
 νοφρ[ο]συνης ανδρος εν τοις δε τοιουτοις η ζωη του κ̄ν
 εν δε τοις διχοστατοις και παρανομοις θανατος·
 45 των δε επιδεδωκοτων τας ραβδους ημισυ χλωρας ημισυ 8, 1
 ξηρας ουτοι εισιν οι ταις πραγματαις αυτων
 ενπεφυρμενοι και τοις αγιοις μη κολλ'ωμενοι
 δια τουτο το η[μι]συ αυτων ζη και το ημισυ απεθανεν
 πολλοι ουν ακουσαντες των εντολων μου μετε 2
 50 νοησαν οσοι ουν μετενοησαν η κατοικια αυτων
 [εις] τον πυργον τινες δε αυτων εις τελος απεστησαν
 [ουτο]ι ουν μετανοιαν ουκ εχουσιν δια τας πραγμα
 [τιας γαρ] αυτων εβλασφη[μη]σαν τον κ̄ν και απηρησαντο
 [α]υτοι απωλεσαν ουν την ζωην αυτων δια την πο
 55 [νη]ριαν ην επραξαν πολλοι δε εξ αυτων εδιψυχησαν 3
 ουτοι ουν ετι εχουσιν μετανοιαν εαν ταχυ μετανοησωσιν

1. τοιουτων: so ca and L²; L¹ adds *ergo*, A *igitur*. The termination of the word following τοιουτων is very uncertain; but, though the obliteration might be accidental instead of intentional, τοιωνν does not seem long enough.

3. ουτοι· εγγυς αυτων ησαν: οἱτοι ἐγγυς αὐτῶν· ἦσαν γὰρ ca, supported by L¹L² and A.

3-4. [διδ]αχας εισφεροντες ετερας: διδ. ξένας εισφ. ca. *pravas* in L¹L² perhaps implies a different adjective, but A's *duplicem* (*doctrinam*) seems to support *ετερας*, for which cf. Gal. i 6 ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον. The Gnostics are supposed to be meant.

5. μο[λ]λιστα: or possibly μαλλιστα.

παλιν: om. ca, L¹L².

ημαρτηκοτες: ἡμαρτηκότας ca; cf. l. 9, where the accusative in -ες recurs, and Jannaris, *Hist. Gr. Gram.*, p. 120.

6. αφεντες: αφιεντες ca in accordance with the other participles.
 αυτους μετανοειν: μετανοειν αυτ. ca.
7. πειθοντες: so ca and L¹ (*detinentes*); *detinebant* L²; *seducunt* A.
9. εξ αυτων: πολλους εξ αυτ. ca with L¹L².
 μετανενοηκοτες: και μετανενοηκοτας ca; cf. l. 5, n.
 αφ στε: αφ³ ης ca.
 ελαλησας: so L¹L² (*pertulisti*); ελαλησα ca; *nuntiatum est* A. Editors prefer ελαλησας.
 Cf. the passage immediately preceding l. 1, where ca has ελαλησα, but L¹ implies ελαλησας.
10. μετανοησωσιν: μετανοησουσιν ca; cf. ll. 26-7 and Jannaris, *op. cit.* p. 555.
11. μετενοησαν: μετανοησουσιν ca; *egerint* (v.l. *egerunt*) L¹L². *μετανοησουσιν* is probably due to a reminiscence of l. 10.
 ψυχην: ζωην ca; *vilam* L¹L².
 12-3. αγαθ[ο]ι εγ[ε]νοντο· και: om. L¹.
 16. ειχεν: εχει ca; *inesse (vilam)* L¹L².
 18. πε[ρι]: και περι ca; *de (his) vero* L¹L².
 19-20. αι ραβδα[ι] ημιξηρους διψυχοι εισιν και καταλαλοι: αι ραβδοι καθα (l. κατα) το αυτο ημιξηροι διψυχοι εισιν· ουτε γαρ ζωσιν ουτε τεθνηκασιν. οι δε ημιξηρους εχοντες και εν αυταις σχισμας, ουτοι και διψυχοι και καταλαλοι εισιν ca, the omissions in 1599 being mostly due to homoioteleuton; cf. int. The archetype of 1599 may well have already lost κατα το αυτο, which is omitted by L² and A (*tantummodo* L¹).
 20. μηδεποτε: *et nunquam* L¹L²A; και μηδε ca. και μηδεποτε Gebh.-Harn.; but και is superfluous.
 22. και: αλλα και ca; *et (his) quidem* L¹; *nam et* L².
 23. ηδη: om. ca, L¹L².
 24. ετι ελπις εστιν εν αυτοις μετα[νοιας]: ετι, φησιν, εστιν εν αυτοις ελπις μεταν. ca.
 25. οσοι ουν: και οσοι ca; *quicunque vero* L¹; *quicunque enim* L².
 μετανενοηκα[σι] βραδυτερον: μεταν. την κατοικιαν εις τον πυργον εξουσιν. οσοι δε εξ αυτων βραδυτερον μετανενοηκασι ca. Cf. ll. 19-20, n.
 26. κατοικησωσιν: -σουσιν ca. Cf. l. 10, n. The supposed stop may be part of the κ of κα[σι] in l. 25.
 27. οι δε ου μετανοησωσιν: so L¹, *qui vero non egerint*; οσοι δε ου μετανοουσιν αλλ' εμμενουσι ca. Cf. ll. 10, 19-20, and 29, nn.
 29. ο[σοι]: ο[ι] ca. Cf. l. 27 where the papyrus has οι for οσοι.
 30. ουτοι παντοτε: παντοτε ουτοι ca.
 31. δε: om. ca; but *sed* L¹L².
 32. δοξας: l. δοξης. δοξης τινος ca with L² (*dignitate quadam*); L¹ omits *quadam*. Cf. l. 41, n.
 33. εν αλληλοις: add εχοντες περι πρωτειων ca, which edd. emend by inserting ζηλον after εχοντες from L¹ *habent inter se aemulationem de principatu* and L² *de principatu certantur*.
 35. εκαθαρισαν: εκαθαρησαν ca.
 37. αυτων: so L¹L² (*eorum*); om ca.
 επιστραφη: επιστρεψη ca; *rediērit* L¹L². In classical authors the passive was used in this sense; but cf. Matt. xii. 44 επιστρεψω εις τον οικον μου.
 38. εκκολληθησεται: εκβληθησεται απο ca; *expelletur* L¹L². εκκολληαν is not attested, but seems not unlikely here; cf. l. 47 τοις αγιοις μη κολλωμενοι. β and κ are often very similar in cursive hands from the second century onwards.
 40-1. των τηρουτων τας εντολας του κ(υριο)υ και τας εντολας δε: των τας εντ. του κ(υρ). φυλισσόντων εν ταϊς εντολαις δε ca with L²; (*vila enim*) *eorum qui custodiunt mandata domini in mandatis consistit* L¹. και may be a mistake for κατα, but εν τοις δε τοιουτοις occurs in l. 43.

41. δόξης: δόξης τινός ca with L¹L².
42. ταπεινοφρ[ο]σύνης: ταπεινοφρονήσεως ca; *humilitatem animae* L¹; *animi humil.* L². ταπεινοφροσύνη occurs several times in the N. T. and 1 Clem. and in the *Shepherd* twice, *Vis.* iii. 10. 6, *Sim.* v. 3. 7; but for ταπεινοφρόνησις Stephanus only quotes Tertullian. 1599 is likely to be right.
43. εν τοις δε τοιουτοις: εν τοις τοιούτοις ουν ca. L¹ has for ll. 42-3 *per patientiam . . . vilam homines consequentur.*
44. εν δε τοις διχοστατοις: εν τοις διχοστάτοις δε ca. εν δε has been corrected. διχοστάται edd.
45. των δε επιδεδωκοτων: οι δε επεδωδοκότες ca, rightly.
46. ημισυ χλωρας ημισυ ξηρας: ημ. μὲν χλ. ημ. δὲ ξηρ. ca; L¹L² invert *viride* and *aridum*.
47. ταις πραγματαιαις αυτων: εν ταις πραγματείαις ca; *negotiationibus (involuti)* L¹L².
48. και το ημισυ απεθανεν: το δε ημισυ νεκρόν ἐστι ca; *dimidium mortuum est* L¹; *dimidiae mortuae sunt* L².
49. των εντολων μου: μου τῶν ἐντ. ca.
50. ουν: γοῦν ca; L¹L² om. οσοι γουν μετενοησαν.
52. δια τας πραγμα[ταιαις] γαρ: δια γὰρ τ. πραγμ. ca.
54. [α]ντων: Hilgenfeld's conjecture for the meaningless λοιπών of ca is confirmed; cf. *et eum abnegaverunt* L¹, *eumque abneg.* L².
56. ουν: om. ca; *adhuc et his est regressus qui si cito . . .* L¹; *quibus adhuc per celerem poenitentiam regressio est* L².

1600. TREATISE ON THE PASSION.

22.5 × 7.8 cm.

Fifth century.

This and the next three fragments (1601-3) all come from works which do not seem to be extant, though in the absence of an adequate patristic lexicon, except for the Apostolic Fathers and Apologists, this is not quite certain. None of them is likely to have been composed before the third or fourth century. 1600, which is most of a leaf from a papyrus codex, contains part of a treatise on the Passion as foreshadowed in the Old Testament by various types such as Abel, Joseph, and Moses, and being therefore at once both old and new; illustrations from Deuteronomy and the Psalms are quoted. The verso clearly follows the recto, with an interval of perhaps not more than a single line at the top. The script is a good-sized round uncial of a formal type. The mound in which 1600 was found produced mainly fifth-century documents, and that century rather than the sixth is likely to be the date of the papyrus. The customary contractions for θεός, κύριος, and Χριστός occur. Pauses are indicated sometimes by high stops or blank spaces, but the employment of them is irregular. There are a few marginal corrections in a similar but not identical hand. On both sides of the papyrus the surface is much damaged in places. The restorations are largely due to Dr. Bartlet, who suggests that 1600 may come from Hippolytus, Πρὸς Ἰουδαίους.

Recto.

. χ]αριν' οτ[ι .
] . [.] πιστεως
 [.] εκ μακρου προσ
 [.] ουτω δη και το
 5 [του κ̄ν̄ π]αθος εκ μακρου
]ωθεν δια δε τυ
 [που δηλω?]θεν σημερον
 [εν ημιν?] τυγχανει τετε
 λειωμε]ν[ρον .]α
 10 [.]ας καινο]ν το] π̄α
 [λαιον] νομιζο]μενο]ν
 [εστι γ]αρ καινο]ν και π]α
 λαιον το] του κ̄ν̄ μυστη[
 ριον π]αλαιον μεν κα[
 15 [τα το]ν νομον καινον [
 [δε κατ]α την χαριν αλλ' εα]ν
 [αποβ]λεψης εις το]ν τυπο̄
 [καιν]ον οψη δια της θῡ
 [δοσε?]ως τοινυν ει βου ε̄α[
 20 [λει το] του κ̄ν̄ μυστηρῑο [
 γνωριμ]ι αποβλεψον δη
 [εις το]ν Αβελ· τον δι αδελ
 [φου φ]ορευομενοι εις
 [τον . . .] . . . τον ομοιος
 25 [.] . . . οξομενον
 [εις το]ν Ιωσηφ· τον ο
 [μοι]ως πιπρασκομε
 [νον] εις τον Μωυσαα
 [τον] ομοιος εκτιθε]μενον

Verso.

30 τ[ο]ν ομοι]ως με
 ιον εις το]υς αλλους
 τους ομοιος [κακως πα
 σχοντες αποβ]λεψον δε
 και εις τον εν [Ησαια ως
 35 προβατον σφ]αχθεντα
 τον παταξαι]τα
 και σωσαντα [πολλους?
 περι του α]μ[ατος] [.
 δια π]ροφητικης [γραφης?
 40 τ[ο] του κ̄ν̄ μυστη]ριον
 . . ο μενον ο [μεν γαρ
 Μωυσης προε]φητευσε
 και οψεσθε τη]ν [ζωνη ν
 45 μων κρεμαμει]νην εμπρο
 σθεν των οφθαλ]μων ν
 μων νυκτος και [ημερας
 και ου πιστευσητ]ε εις την
 ζωνη υμων ο [δε Δαυειδ
 50 ε]ι]πεν ινα τι εφρηναξ]ειν εθνη και
 λαοι εμελετησα]ν κεια
 παρεστησαν οι βα]σιλεις
 της γης και οι α]ρχοντες
 συνηχθησαν ε]πι το αυ
 το κατα του κ̄ν̄ κα]ι κατα του
 55 Χ̄ν̄ αυτου ογ . . ε]
 ε . ς ως αρνιο]ν [εις σφαγην
 αγομενον του] [.
 ελογισαντο . . . [.

Fr. 2 recto.

] . . . [.
 60] . ιλ .

Thus the Passion of the Lord which was (foreknown) for a long time and revealed by a pattern, to-day finds itself fulfilled in us . . . new which was thought old. For the mystery of the Lord is new and old, old in respect of the law, but new in respect of grace. But if thou wilt consider the pattern, thou wilt see that it is new by the giving (?) of God. If then thou wishest to know the mystery of the Lord, consider Abel who was killed through his brother; . . . who was likewise . . .; Joseph who was likewise sold; Moses who was likewise exposed; . . . who was likewise . . .; the others who likewise suffered evil things. And consider also him who in Isaiah was slain as a sheep, who (was ?) struck . . . and saved (many). Concerning the blood . . . the mystery of the Lord is (revealed) through prophetic writing. For Moses prophesied "And ye shall see your life hanging before your eyes night and day, and ye shall have no assurance of your life". And David said "Why did the nations rage and the peoples imagine vain things? The kings of the earth set themselves and the rulers took counsel together against the Lord and against his anointed". Whom . . . they considered as a lamb led to the slaughter . . .

8-9. τετελειωμενον οἱ τετελεσμενον would be expected, but hardly fills up l. 9, which is shorter than the rest and perhaps ends a sentence.

17. τον τυπον: the reading is very doubtful; but neither παλαιον nor το παλαιον is satisfactory, and cf. l. 6. It is not quite certain that a fragment containing the supposed $\bar{\sigma}$ of τυπον, $\bar{\nu}$ in l. 18, and the top of the ν of βου and εα[in l. 19 is rightly placed here.

19. The marginal note apparently corrects εἰ βούλει to εαν βουλη. λη may have been written in the margin below εαν or at the beginning of l. 20, or possibly εαν | [βου]|λ[η] should be restored at the ends of ll. 19-21. δ[is, however, preferable in l. 21; cf. n.

21. There is a space between αποβλεψον and δ[, which perhaps belongs to a marginal addition beginning in l. 19; cf. n. δ[ε is not wanted, αποβλεψον being the apodosis of εἰ βου[λει (but cf. l. 33, where there is room for δε); and δ[η is more likely.

22. The readings after λβελ are very uncertain, but τον υπο του | [καιν φ]οινομενον does not suit the vestiges.

24-5. εις [τον Ισ]αακ τον ομοιος [υπο πρ]σ σφαζομενον is unsuitable, though οζομενον does not suggest an appropriate word.

32-3. πα|σχοντες: cf. 1599. 5, n.

34-5. Cf. Isa. liii. 7 ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη and ll. 56-7.

36. παταξαντα: παταχθεντα would be expected.

43-8. A loose quotation of Deut. xxviii. 66 καὶ ἔσται ἡ ζωὴ σου κρεμαμένη ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σου, καὶ φοβηθήσῃ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, καὶ οὐ πιστεύσεις τῇ ζωῇ σου.

49-55 = Psalm ii. 1.

56-8. Cf. Psalm xliiii. 22 ελογίσθημεν ὡς πρόβατα σφαγῆς and ll. 34-5, n.

59-60. This unplaced fragment, being blank on the verso, presumably came near the ends of lines; but at the ends of ll. 13-15 there is apparently nothing lost. It is not clear which way up it is to be read.

1601. HOMILY ON SPIRITUAL WARFARE.

12.7 × 10.2 cm.

Late fourth or fifth century.

The lower part of a leaf of a papyrus codex containing a homily of some kind on the warfare of the soul, largely concerned with Joel i. 6 (ll. 2 sqq.) and 8 (ll. 23-8), but also referring to Hosea iii. 3 (ll. 29-30) and perhaps the Pentateuch

(l. 32). For much of the reconstruction we are indebted to Dr. Bartlet. The script is a medium-sized semiuncial of the late fourth or fifth century, with occasional high stops and the usual contractions of *θεός* and probably *κύριος*, but not of *υἱός*. Abbreviations are found on the recto, which probably followed the verso, and these perhaps occurred at the ends of lines of the verso also. Brown ink was employed.

Verso.

.....
]ωμεν.....
 [.]ωμεν του νου [οτι εθνος ανεβη
 επι την γην του [κ̄υ ισχυρον γη
 γαρ φησιν αι ψυχ[αι των αγιων
 5 και η ψυχη του υἱου της απωλει(ας)?
 εθνος εξουσιων του κοσμου του
 του και πνευματικ[η εστιν ημιν
 η παλη και αναβαινε[ι αυτο? ισχυ
 ρον τυγχανον κα[ι ανευ αρι
 10 θμων ων η τεταρ[τη].....
 κατα τουτο γαρ λελ[εκται ανα
 ριθμητον τουτου [δε του εθνους
 [οι] οδοντες λεοντ[ος οτι ο αντι
 [δι]κος υμων διαβολ[ος περιπατει
 15 [ζ]ητων καταπειν [.....

Recto.

.....
]εται.....
]πυρον αι.....
] κεραυνηση ριπτι
]ν αυτων απολλυσι
 20]ρον περιτιθησιν δε
] οπερ δηλουται εν
]της μετα[[ν]] ταυτα
 θρη]νησον προς με

25 σας]κον επι τον ανδρα αυ(της)
 λ]εγει ην θρηνει επι
 τους δικαιους τους εν τη
] τω θω θρηνειν δε
 ο]τι ε]νηστευσ(αν) και εθρηνευσ̄α
]ν ελεγ(εν) Ωσηε γυναικ(ι) πορ(νευουση)
 30 οτι καθηση] επ εμοι και ου μη πορ(νευσης)
] . ιθ[. . .] . ρακ() οτι πρωτ(ον) μεν
] . εγραψεν Μωϋσης οτι εαν
 ε]πιθυμ() την εξ εθν(ους) εκκλησῑα
 τ]ουτ() αντι του μη ως εθνικ()

2-15. ' . . . because "a nation is come up on the land of the Lord in strength". By "land" he means the souls of the holy, and the soul of the son of destruction by the "nation" of the powers of this world; and our wrestling is spiritual. And it "is come up being strong and without numbers", of which the fourth . . .; for on this account it has been called numberless. Of this nation "the teeth are those of a lion" because your adversary the Devil walketh about seeking to devour . . .'

1.]ωμε[ν: the first and third letters might be ο, and the same applies to]ωμεν in l. 2.

2-3. Cf. Joel i. 6 ὅτι ἔθνος ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν μου ἰσχυρὸν καὶ ἀναρίθμητον, οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτοῦ ὀδόντες λέοντος, καὶ αἱ μύλαι αὐτοῦ σκύμνου.

6. s of εθνος has been corrected.

7-8. Cf. Eph. vi. 12 ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πάλη πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα, ἀλλὰ . . . πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας.

13-15. Cf. 1 Peter v. 8 ὁ ἀντίδικος ὑμῶν διάβολος, ὡς λέων ὠρυόμενος, περιπατεῖ ζητῶν τίνα καταπήγῃ.

18. κεραυνησι: κεραυνοῖν is known, but apparently not κεραυνεῖν.

23-4. Cf. Joel i. 8 θρήνησον πρὸς με ὑπὲρ νύμφην περιεζωσμένην σάκκων ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς τὸν παρθενικόν. There is not room here for περιεζωσμένην, unless it was contracted, and certainly not for υπερ νυμφην as well, so that the quotation was probably not verbal; cf. ll. 2-3 and 29-30, nn.

29-30. Cf. Hos. iii. 3 καὶ εἶπα πρὸς αὐτήν, 'Ἡμέρας πολλὰς καθήση ἐπ' ἐμοί, καὶ οὐ μὴ παρνεύσης . . .

1602. HOMILY TO MONKS.

12.5 × 10.8 cm. Late fourth or fifth century.

A leaf of a vellum codex containing apparently the beginning of a section of a homily to ascetics on the spiritual warfare as illustrated by the history of Israel. The vellum is stained and shrivelled in places, rendering the decipherment sometimes difficult, especially on the verso (the flesh-side?), where the ink is fainter; and we are indebted to suggestions of Dr. Bartlet

for several readings. The script is a good-sized uncial of the early biblical type, not quite as old as 406 (Part iii, Plate i) or 849 (Part vi, Plate i), but probably of the late fourth century rather than the fifth. Θ is written small and the middle of Ω is slurred, as in 1597 (Plate i). Stops are freely employed, these being generally in the middle position, but double dots and a mark like an apostrophe are also used. A breathing is inserted in l. 4. $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, Ἰησοῦς , Ἰσραήλ , $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\pi\acute{\nu}\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$, and Χριστός are contracted. Some remarkable expressions occur in ll. 32-7.

Recto.

στρατιωται $\overline{\text{Χν}}$ ακουσατε πο
 σακισ εκ χειρος ανομων ο
 $\theta\varsigma$ ερρυσατο τον $\overline{\text{Ιηλ}}$ και με
 $\chi\rho\iota$ οὐ τα προς τον $\overline{\kappa\nu}$ ετη
 5 ρουσαν ουκ απεστη απ αυτω:
 εκ χειρος γαρ Φ αραω εσω
 σεν αυτον οντος ανομου.
 και $\Omega\gamma$ βασιλευ[ς] α[μ]οσιοτε
 ρου· και Αδαρ μετ[α τ]ων αλλο
 10 φυλων· και επει τα προς $\theta\nu$
 ετηρουσαν· ετι εδωκεν
 αυτοις εκ καρπου της ισχυ
 ος επαγγελιαμενος γην
 Χαναναιων · και ὑπεταξῆ
 15 αυτοις τους αλλοφυλους·
 και μετ αυτα οσα εν τη ε
 ρημω και τη ανδρω [[και]]
 παρεσχεν: επι τουτοις
 προφητας εξεπεμψεν·
 20 κηρυσσειν τον $\overline{\kappa\nu}$ ημω

Verso.

$\overline{\text{Χν}}$ Ιν οιτινες κατα ταξιν
 και κληρον (και) μερισμον λα
 βοντες $\overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$ Χρυ καλοπαθου
 κ
 τες υπο του λαου ανηρεθη
 25 σαν· ανηρεθησαν' αποστᾶ
 τες $\overline{\pi\nu\omicron\varsigma}$ ζωντος κατα
 τας [αν]ομιαις αυτων· εσ
 φαλη[σαν] της κληρονομι
 ας· της αιωνιου· και νυν α
 30 δελφ[οι] μεινате νικηται·
 μειν[α]τε εως αν υπομεινᾶ
 τες κ[υ]ρωμεν την προσελευ
 σιν την προς $\overline{\kappa\nu}$ · και συμ
 φυτον και οπλον ευδο
 35 κιας λαβωμεν $\overline{\text{Χν}}$ $\overline{\text{Ιν}}$ · αυτω
 ὑπερ ημων φυντα εαυτω
 γη! [[και]] ουτως ως εστιν·
 και παραλαβετε τον λογον
 οτι $\overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$ δυναμεως επ ε
 40 σχατω των καιρων

‘Soldiers of Christ, hear how often God delivered Israel from the hand of the lawless, and while they kept the things pertaining to the Lord He did not withdraw from them—for He saved Israel from the hand of Pharaoh the lawless, and from Og, a more unholy king, and from Arad with the men of other nations, and when they kept the things pertaining to God He still gave to them from the fruit of strength, having promised to them the land of Canaan, and He subjected to them the men of other nations—and again how

He supplied them in the desert and waterless place, and in addition He sent forth prophets to herald our Lord Christ Jesus, men who receiving in order and lot and due portion the spirit of Christ and suffering ills from the people were put to death. They were destroyed because they departed from the living Spirit after their own lawlessness; they lost the eternal inheritance. And now, brethren, remain conquerors. Remain until having endured we attain the approach unto the Lord, and receive as innate and a shield of well-pleasing Christ Jesus, Him who planted Himself for our sakes on earth so as He is; and accept the word, because a spirit of power in the last time . . .'

4. *ετηρουσαν*: this form of the imperfect was introduced in the second century B. C.; cf. Maysen, *Grammatik d. griech. Pap. aus d. Ptolemäerzeit*, p. 323.

9. *Αδαρ μετ[α τ]ων αλλοφυλων*: *Αδαρ* is a Jewish month, not a proper name, and seems to be corrupt, probably for *Αραδ* the Canaanite (Numb. xxi. 1-3).

12. *καρπου της ισχυος*: a phrase apparently meaning 'spoil'.

17. *και* has dots above it; cf. l. 37.

23. The correction (if the supposed vestige of *κ* above the line is really ink) may be by the first hand.

25. *ανηρεθησαν*: the subject reverts to *αυτοις* in l. 15, i. e. the Jews.

32-5. We have not been able to find a parallel for the expressions in these lines.

36. *φεντα* is used transitively, as if it were *φενσαντα*. The traces suit *φ* very well. Cf. *εφν* for *εφουσε* in two British Museum Greek inscriptions, nos. 1004 and 1074, discussed by J. A. R. Munro in *Class. Rev.* 1917. 142.

37. *γηι*: the dots above *και* indicating deletion are clear, but the scribe does not seem to have also placed dots over *γηι*. He (or the preacher) apparently meant *εν γηι*. *πνι* cannot be read instead. For *γη* as equivalent to human nature Bartlet compares Barn. vi. 9 *ανθρωπος γαρ γη εστιν πασχυοσα*.

38. *λογον*: i. e. the preacher's discourse probably, rather than the Gospel.

1603. HOMILY CONCERNING WOMEN.

21.1 × 13.3 cm.

Fifth or sixth century.

The upper part of a column of a roll written in a large sloping uncial hand of the fifth or sixth century with light brown ink. The subject is a diatribe, addressed probably to ascetics, against the female sex, through whom the Evil One is wont to exert his wiles. Examples from the Bible are cited in ll. 1-11, a passage which seems to be modelled on Hebr. xi; the rest consists of a more general condemnation. A contraction *αγ(γε)λους* and stops in the high and (more commonly) middle position occur. 403 (*Apocalypse of Baruch*; Part iii, Plate i; fifth century) is a somewhat earlier specimen of this type of uncial, of which sixth-century specimens in smaller hands occur in P. Cairo Maspero 67097 verso (i. Plates xxviii-ix) and 67177 verso (ii. Plates xix-xx).

. . . γυναικ[?]α του Ουριου δε[

[.] . . δια γυναικος το[ν] σοφωτατον

[Σο]λ[ο]μωνα προς παραβασιν [παρηγαγε?

- δια γυναικος τον ανδριωτ[ατον Σαμψων
 5 ξυρησας ετυφλωσε· δια γυναικος τους
 υιους Ηλει του ιερεως εδαφ[ισας εκτανε?
 δια γυναικος τον ουρανον [.
 εδιωξε· δια γυναικος το[ν
 Ιωσηφ εν φυλ(ακ)η δεσμευσα[ς
 10 δια γυναικος τον παντοπ[.
 Ιωαννην απετεμεν· τι δε υμιν ερω
 δια γυναικος τους αγλους [. κα
 τεβαλε· δια γυναικος παντα[ς
 παντας φονευει· παντας ατ[ιμαζει?
 15 γυνη γαρ αναιδης ουδενος φε[ιδεται?
 ου Λευιτην τιμα· ουκ ιερεα ο[υ
 ου προφητην αιδειται· π[αντων
 κακιστον γυνη πονηρα [π]αν[των]
 εαν δε και πλουτον εχη τη πομ[ηρια] αυτης
 20 [συ]νεργοντα· δισσον το κακο[ν]
 [-]τοζω . [-] . αθεραπευτο[ν] [.

' . . . the wife of Uriah . . . ; by a woman he turned aside the most wise Solomon (?) to transgression ; by a woman he shaved and blinded the most brave Samson ; by a woman he dashed to the ground and (slew) the sons of Eli the priest ; by a woman he . . . and persecuted heaven ; by a woman he bound the most . . . Joseph in prison and . . . ; by a woman he cut off the head of the all . . . John. What shall I say to you? By a woman he . . . cast forth the angels ; by a woman he . . . all, he slays all, he dishonours all. For a shameless woman spares none . . . , honours not a Levite, reverences not a priest, not a . . . , not a prophet. A wicked woman is the worst of all (ills?), the . . . of all ; and if she also have wealth as her ally in wickedness, the evil is double . . . '

7. There is hardly room for more than a participle at the end of the line. Gen. vi. 1 sqq. seems to be referred to ; cf. l. 12 and II Peter ii. 4.

10. παντοπ[: or παντογ[. παντοπ[αθη by itself is too short, but another word may have followed.

12. Possibly [απ ουρανον κα]τεβαλε : cf. l. 7, n.

14. ατ[ιμαζει is rather short and ατ[ιμους ποιει can be read ; cf. l. 15.

15. φε[ιδεται : or φε[ιδομενη

16. ο[υ] πρεσβυτερον and ο[υ]κ αποστολον are rather long, but ο[υ] βασιλεια is possible.

17. Perhaps π[αντων] κακων or ζων.

21. ξ can be read in place of ζ. το ζων αθεραπευτον is too short, but it is not quite certain that a letter is lost before το.

II. NEW CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS

1604. PINDAR, *Dithyramps*.

Fr. 1 18 x 25.3 cm.

Late second century.

Plate I (Fr. 1).

To the valuable papyri of Pindar already obtained from Oxyrhynchus (cf. 1614. int.) have now to be added two fragments of a roll containing his dithyramps, an important section of the poet's works hitherto represented only by the first 18 lines of an ode for the Athenians about Semele (Fr. 75 Schroeder) and a few short quotations. Two of these from the same dithyramb fortunately occur in the papyrus, thus establishing its authorship and character, while another Pindaric citation from an unspecified ode is also present. The larger fragment contains the middle portion of two columns, of which the first comes from a point near the conclusion of a dithyramb probably for the Argives, the second from the beginning of a dithyramb for the Thebans. The smaller fragment belongs to a third ode, possibly for the Corinthians, and may have preceded the other two instead of following them. According to the *βίος Πινδαρου* prefixed to the Codex Vratislaviensis there were two books of his dithyramps, and the scholiast on *Ol.* xiii. 25 states that in the 1st (book) Pindar attributed the discovery of the dithyramb to Thebes (Fr. 71). This claim is likely to have been made in an ode for the Thebans, which may well have been the second of the three poems in 1604. If so, all three odes probably belong to the 1st book. Little can be made of the first and third dithyramps owing to the loss of the beginnings of lines, but the first 30 lines of the second are nearly complete. In the reconstruction and interpretation of this difficult papyrus we are indebted for a number of valuable suggestions to Professors J. B. Bury and A. E. Housman, Sir John E. Sandys, Mr. H. Stuart Jones, and Mr. E. Lobel.

The dithyramb according to the usual view, which has recently been disputed by Professor Ridgeway,¹ was originally a song to Dionysus, as the paean was a song to Apollo, but enlarged its scope in the time of Pindar's predecessors, Lasus and Simonides. The latter wrote dithyramps entitled *Europa* and *Memnon*, and perhaps one on *Danaë*, if the well-known fragment about her comes from a dithyramb rather than from a *θρηνη*. Pindar and Bacchylides belong to the middle dithyrambic period. Later dithyrambic poets exercised greater

¹ *Class. Rev.* 1912. 134-9, *Class. Quart.* 1912. 241-2.

freedom in their choice of subjects, and in Roman times 'dithyramb' seems to have been applied to any lyric poem which contained a narrative concerning the heroes; cf. Plut. *De Mus.* 10 and Jebb, *Bacchyl.* p. 39. Concerning the form and character of the dithyramb hardly anything was known before the discovery of the Bacchylides papyrus; but in this the last seven odes (xiv-xx Blass; xix and xx are mere fragments) are generally regarded as dithyrambs, though this classification of them is not altogether free from doubt, for, while xvi is called a dithyramb by Servius (c. 400 A.D.) and in 1091, it is in fact a paean to Apollo, and xix might be a *ὑμέναιος*. The titles of these odes are 'Αρτηγορίδαι ἢ 'Ελένης ἀπαίτησις, [Ἰπρακλῆς], 'Ιλιθεοὶ ἢ Θησεύς, Θησεύς, 'Ιώ ('Αθηναίσις), 'Ιδας (Λακεδαιμονίσις), and [Κασσάνδρα?]. Dionysus is introduced only in xviii, the essential feature of these poems being the presentation of a myth. The metre is in only one case (xiv) dactylo-epitritic, which is generally employed in the epinician odes; but the division into strophes, antistrophes, and epodes is found in four out of the five well-preserved dithyrambs, the fifth having only strophes. The introduction of 'free verse' (*ἀπολελυμένα*), not in strophes, is ascribed sometimes to Melanippides, a younger contemporary of Pindar (so Jebb, *op. cit.* p. 46, Weir Smyth, *Greek Melic poets*, liii), sometimes to Lasus, or to Pindar himself (Crusius in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.* v. 1214) on the evidence of (1) Horace, *Odes* iv. 2. 10 *seu per audaces nova dithyrambos verba devolvit numerisque fertur lege solutis*, (2) Pseudo-Censorinus, c. 9 *Pindari . . . qui liberos etiam numeris modos edidit*, (3) Fr. 75 about Semele, which is thought to be in 'free verse', (4) Pindar's reference in Fr. 79 to his predecessors' poetry as *σχοιωτένεια*, which has been supposed to imply division into triads as contrasted with his own verse.

The new find, so far as it goes, does not contribute much to support Horace's description of Pindar's dithyrambs. Apart from *σχοιωτένεια* (II. 1) there are only two new words *ἐδάμπυξ* (I. 13) and *ἀκραμπτεί* (III. 12). Dithyramb I was certainly arranged in triads, II either in triads or, less probably, in strophes, while the remains of III are not long enough to show the arrangement. Hence, in the absence of any definite evidence for supposing that Fr. 75 is in 'free verse', that fragment can quite well be regarded as parallel to the first strophe of II, which is of about the same length. Fr. 79 happens to occur in II, and the recovery of the context of that passage so important for the history of the dithyramb shows that Pindar was not referring to the distinction between triads and *ἀπολελυμένα*. The metre of II, and probably of III also, is dactylo-epitritic, that of I logaedic, like Fr. 75. There are some irregularities (cf. II. 4-6, 8-11, 12, 13-14, 15-16, 19, 30, nn.), but hardly more prominent than those in the epinician odes. With regard to the subjects of the dithyrambs, the title of II was 'Heracles the bold or Cerberus', an episode also treated by Stesichorus (Fr. 11), another

exploit of Heracles being treated by Bacchylides (cf. p. 28). I was apparently concerned with the deeds of an Argive hero, perhaps Perseus. The subject of III is uncertain, for the extant fragment comes from a part of the dithyramb in which Dionysus was apparently addressed. He is also prominent in II, and is referred to in I, so that Pindar's dithyrambs were clearly more of the nature of Dionysiac odes than those of Bacchylides. There is no trace of any of the three odes having taken the form of a dialogue such as Bacchyl. xvii. On the whole the impression created by the new find is that Pindar as a dithyrambist was distinctly conservative, and the innovations introduced in the fifth century B.C. were not due to him.

The papyrus was found in the mound which produced 1082-3, 1231, 1233-4 &c., but it is doubtful whether it belonged to that collection of lyric and other texts. The handwriting is a medium-sized, rather square and sloping uncial resembling that of 223 (after A. D. 185; Part ii, Plate i) and the corrector who inserted two missing lines in 1234. 2. ii (Part x, Plate iv). That the main text was written before, not after, 200 is made probable (1) by the title of II, which is in a small cursive hand employing 4-shaped η and apparently different from that of the main text, (2) by the numerous scholia in another, still smaller cursive hand, referring to questions of reading or interpretation. These marginalia, which are practically contemporary with the main text, are very similar to those in 1234, and seem to belong to the second century rather than the third. The main text was originally corrupt in not a few passages, especially in III, and has been subjected to considerable revision. One of the correctors, who is responsible for the readings above the line in II. 27 and III. 9 $\alpha\nu$, is possibly identical with the original scribe or with the writer of the title, but more probably different. A second corrector, to whom we should assign all the other interlinear readings, is certainly distinct from the original scribe, the first corrector, and the writers of the title of II and the scholia. A few mistakes of spelling have escaped correction; cf. II. 8-11, 21, nn. An elaborate coronis, similar to those in 1234, occurred at the beginning of II, but there is no paragraphus after II. 18, where it would be expected. Accents, breathings, and marks of elision or quantity are not infrequent, being mostly due to the first hand, but in some cases added by the second corrector. The stops (high points, except two in the middle position in I. 10 (?) and II. 14) seem to be all due to the first hand, like the occasional diaereses.

I. Only the upper part of the column is of any value, but the slight traces of ll. 25-38 are sufficient to show that they correspond to ll. 11-24; cf. the reference to the antistrophe in l. 20 schol. Lines 1-10 evidently belong

to the penultimate epode, which may have begun several lines earlier. The concluding epode is lost. To judge by the length of lines in II, not more than 10 letters (i. e. 4 syllables) would be expected to be lost before ll. 7-12, and 2 more letters before ll. 2-6 and 13-17. A shorter lacuna at the beginning (4 letters) would suit l. 15, but in l. 14 one or two words seem to be lost before ἀέ]ξερε. That the poem was for the Argives is indicated by the references in ll. 6-7 to the building of a city (Tiryns or Mycenae?) by Cyclopes in Argive territory, and in l. 9 to the house of Abas. The mention of the Gorgons in l. 5 suggests that Perseus was the subject, and possible mentions of Danaë and Acrisius or Proetus occur in ll. 1-3; but Phorcus himself (l. 5), apart from his being the father of the Gorgons and Graecae, is not known to be specially connected with the Perseus legends. The new strophe apparently introduces a change of subject. After a reference to the Dionysiac gathering and an address to the Muses, in l. 15 begins a narrative of an adventure of some one who seems to be newly mentioned. Phorcus and probably the Gorgons again occur, and Bury would refer this passage, not ll. 1-10, to Perseus. The approach of the end of the ode and some parallelisms with Fr. 75 suggest that Dionysus himself might be meant. Possibly Frs. 254 and 284 are to be connected with this poem; cf. ll. 1 and 17, nn. The metre is logaedic. Some of the lines (e. g. strophe 1 and 3) might be regarded as ending in dochmiacs, but these belong to tragedy rather than to lyrics.

Strophe	Epode
	Some lines lost (?)
- ?] - u - u u u u - - u -	] u u u u [- ?
u u -	- u - -]
. u u - - - u u	] u ? u u - u [-
u] - u u u - - - u u u - -	] - u u - |
5 - u] u - u - u - u u u -	5] - u u u u - u [-
u u - u - - u u - u - -	u] - - u u - ? [-
- - ?] - - u - u - u u - -	] u - - u u - |
u	] - u - u u u - u u
	] - u - u
10 - u u u	10] u u
] u ? - u -	
- u -	
- - u u u	
-	

II. This dithyramb for the Thebans was evidently well known in antiquity on account of its opening reference to the *σχοιωστένεια ἀοιδή* and *σάν κίβδηλον*, which is quoted by several writers (Fr. 79^a) and enables ll. 1-3 to be restored. Another passage a few lines later (Fr. 79^b), quoted by Strabo alone, had been much corrupted in the MSS. of that author; in a third fragment which occurs (Fr. 208) there are also marked differences between Plutarch's citations and the text of the papyrus. Frs. 81 and 249 also have some points of connexion with II, but are probably from different poems; cf. l. 1, marg., n. The ode begins with a contrast between the older and newer form of dithyramb in favour of the newer, which claims inspiration from the festival held in honour of Dionysus at Olympos itself (ll. 1-8). There follows in ll. 8-23 a picturesque and vivid description of the celestial festival, and a characteristically grandiloquent reference to the poet himself, which leads to the subject of Thebes and the ancestry of Dionysus, whose mother Semele was the daughter of Cadmus and Harmonia (ll. 23-30). The poem breaks off shortly before the end of the antistrophe, where Dionysus himself was apparently being addressed. An epode probably followed; cf. p. 28. The metre is dactylo-epitritic, like that of Fr. 74^b, a corrupt quotation from Pindar found in Epiphanius, which has been assigned by Schroeder to the dithyrambs. The main subject of the poem, Cerberus, is not reached.

Strophe.

<p>—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—</p> <p>—υ—</p> <p>—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—</p> <p>υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—</p> <p>5 —υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—</p> <p>—υ—υ—υ—</p> <p>—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—</p> <p>—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—</p> <p>—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—</p>	<p>10 —υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—</p> <p>—υ—υ—υ—</p> <p>—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—</p> <p>υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—</p> <p>—υ—</p> <p>15 —υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—</p> <p>—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—</p> <p>—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—</p> <p>—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—</p>
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III. In this dithyramb about 10 letters seem to be missing at the beginnings of ll. 5-14, and about 5 more in ll. 15-25. There is no metrical correspondence in ll. 1-21, and whether ll. 22-6 correspond to some of ll. 1-10 or not is uncertain. Probably part of the fragment belongs to an epode, unless indeed this poem was in *ἀπολελυμένα*. Dionysus is apparently addressed in ll. 6 sqq., being invited to join in the festival celebrated at a certain city. Bury would

	|υ-υ[υ]-υ--	15	]--υ-
	υ-υυ'--υ-		--υ-υ-
	|υυυ		]υ?-υ--
	υ--υυ--υυ-?		--υ-υ-|
10	υ--υυ--υυυυ|		υ?υυ--υ-?
	]υυ?-υυ-		

I. [ΑΡΓΕΙΟΙΣ.]

	] από Δανα[	έπ. α
	]ν λεγόντων [
	]ιον άνακτα [
	] λειβόμενον δ . [
5	]υσε πατέρα Γοργόν[ων	
	Κυ]κλώπων· πτόλις άρ[ά οί?	.]αν . s ήν τὸ οἶ δι' ὁ οὔ(τως) διο() αὐτῶ,
	]ν έν Ἄργει μεγάλη . . [	ά]γνοήσαντες δὲ το(ὔτο) ὡς σολοικισμο(ὔ)
	]ποι ζυγέντες έρατᾶ δόμον	όντος μεταγρ(άφουσιν) εἰς οἶ.
	]ντ' Ἄβαντος,	
10	τοὺς]λεεν. τούς· εξενίζοντο οἱ Κύκλωπες. Διονυσιακόν.	
	1 εὐ]δαιμόνων βρομιάδι θοίνα πρέπει	στρ. β
	2] κορυφᾶν	
	3] θέμεν· εὐάμπυκες	
	4 ἀέ]ξετ' έτι, Μοῖσαι, θάλος αοιδᾶν	
15	5 ὕμμι γὰρ εὐχομαι. λέγοντι δὲ βροτοἰ	
	6]α φυγόντα νιν καὶ μέλαν έρκος ἄλμας	
	7 κουρᾶν?] Φόρκοιο, σύγγγονον πατέρων,	κορᾶν
	8]ν	
	9]πον τ' έμολον,	
20	10] . ιαν έαν	ἀπ[.] . ο() έαν περισ[σ(ῶς)
	11]ρωμενον.	πρ' οσαχθέν ¹⁾ έξ άντιστρο' φῆς'.
	12 --υ]ιον	
	13] λεγόμενον) έπ' έπίμαχον.	
	14 --]	
25	1 --υ-υ-υυυυ--]εραν	άντ. β

Two lines lost
] . . . [
]ισ
 30]ισ
]ασιωσ
]
]τελειταισ·
]αν οκενπερισσο·
 35]· ναιατο
]μανθανατον[
]
]λαισ
]

Fr. 1. Col. ii. Plate i.

θρασ[
 ηρακλησ
 ηκερβεροσ
 θηβαιοισ

[
 ξπ[
 διθ[
 καιτοσα[
 διαπεπ[.]α[.]πυλα[
 5 κλοισινεαι[. . . .]ιδότεσ
 δάνβρομιου[. . .]ταν
 καιπαρασκα[.]ονδιοσουρανιδάι
 ενμεγαροισί[.]ντι·σεμναίμενκαταρχει ϊσάντι
 ματεριπαρμ[.]άλαιρομβοιτυμπανων·
 10 ενδεκέχλαδ[.]κρόταλ'αιθομένατε
 δαϊσὺποξαν[.]ισιπενκαισ·
 ενδεναῖδωγερίγδουποιστοναχαι·
 μανίαιτ'αλαλ[.][[λα]]τεορίνεταιινψαύχενι
 συνκλοιωι·
 15 ενδ'ὄπαγκρά[.]σκεραυνοσαμπνέων
 πυρκεκίη[. . . .]ιναλιου
 εγχοσ·αλκαεσσα[.]επαλλάδο[.]αιγισ α . . . [

Two lines lost

	4	υ — υ υ υ — — υ υ υ — —] . . . [
	5	— υ υ — υ — υ — υ υ] ις	
30	6	υ υ — υ — — υ υ — υ —] ις	
	7	— — υ — υ άσπ]ασίως	
	8]	
	9	—] τελεταίς,	
	10	κεν — έ]άν ὃ κεν περισσός.	
35	11	] . ναίατο	
	12	]μαν θάνατον [
	13]	
	14	]λαις	
]	

II. ΘΡΑΣ[ΥΣ] ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ Η ΚΕΡΒΕΡΟΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΙΣ.

	1	Π[ρὶν μὲν ἔρπε σχοινοτένειά τ' αἰοῖδ'α	} στρ. α
	2	διθυράμβων	
	3	καὶ τὸ σὰν κίβδαλον ἀνθρώποισιν ἀπὸ στομάτων,	} Fr. 79 a
	4	διαπέπ[τ]α[νται δὲ νῦν ἱροῖς?] πύλα[ι κύ-	
5	ξ	κλοισι νέαι· [. . .] εἰδότες	
	6	οἴαν Βρομίου [τελε]τὰν	
	7	καὶ παρὰ σκά[πτ]ον Διὸς Οὐρανίδαι	
	8	ἐν μεγάροισι ἰ[σ(τ)ά]ντι. σεμνᾶ μὲν κατάρχει ἰστάντι	} Fr. 79 b
10	10	ἐν δὲ κέχλαδ[ον] κρόταλ' αἰθομένα τε	
	11	δᾶς ὑπὸ ξαν[θα]ῖσι πεύκαις,	}
	12	ἐν δὲ Ναῖδων ἐρίγδουποι στοναχαὶ	
	13	μανία τ' ἀλαλ[αί] τ' ὀρίνεται (ρί)ψαύχενι	} Fr. 208
	14	σὺν κλόνφ.	
15	15	ἐν δ' ὁ παγκρα[τῆ]ς κεραυνὸς ἀμπνέων	
	16	πῦρ κεκίνη[ται τὸ τ'] Ἐνναλίου	
	17	ἔγχος, ἀλκᾶεσσά [τ]ε Παιλλάδο[ς] αἰγίς	a . . . [

B

μυριωνφογγαζεταικλαγγαῖσδρακοντων· οφ[
 ριμφαδ' εἰσινάρτεμισοιοπόλοισ· οἰόπολοσ
 20 ζεύξαισ' ενοργαισ
 βακχειαισφυλονλεοντωνα[
 οδεκηλείταιχορευούσαισικα[
 ρῶναγελαισ·εμεδ' ἐξάιρετο[
 καρυκασοφωνεπεων
 25 μοῖσ' ανέστᾱσ' ελλάδικα[.]λ[
 ευχομενονβρισαρματοισο[
 ενθάποθαρμονιαγ[.]ᾰμ^a[[εν]]γα[
 καδμονυψη[. . .]σπραπιδεσ[
 ναν·θ[. .]σδ' ακ[.]μφάν·
 30 καιτέκ[']ένδοξο[. . .]ανθρωπο[
 διονυσ[. .]θ[.]τ[.]γ[
 ματε[
 πει . [
 [

Fr. 2.

]ναλ[
]
]ιτομει·στασισ·
]ποδα

5]κατε[. . . .]ονκνανο^x[[κ]]ιτων
]τεαντε[. . .]ανμελιζοι
]πλοκοнос[. . .]ωνγκισσινων α^ρπλ[
]κροταφον[]

ε^λ ε ^{αν}[[ωξ]] ᾱ

10]εωμ^ε[[φ]]θ^ε[[ον]]φιλιδηπολε[[ω]]
]ιοντεσκοπελονγειτοναπρυτανι . [
]αμᾱ·καιστρατια·[[ἰσ]]
]τ'ακναμπτεικρεμασον·
]στεχαρμάσ τασεπιδορατιδασ

- 18 μυρίων φθογγάζεται κλαγγαῖς δρακόντων. ὄφ[εων
 1 ρίμφα δ' εἶσιν Ἄρτεμις οἰόπόλος ζεύ- οἰόπολος ἀντ. α
 20 2 ξαισ' ἐν ὄργαις
 3 Βακχίαις φύλον λεόντων ἀ[γροτέρων Βρομίω·
 4 ὁ δὲ κηλεῖται χορευούσαισι κα[ὶ θη-
 5 ρῶν ἀγέλαις. ἐμὲ δ' ἐξάαιρετο[ν
 6 κάρυκα σοφῶν ἐπέων
 25 7 Μοῖσ' ἀνέστασ' Ἑλλάδι κα[λ]λ[ι]χόρφ?
 8 εὐχόμενον βρισαρμάτοις ὄλβον τε? Θήβαις,
 9 ἔνθα ποθ' Ἀρμονίαν [φ]άμα γα[μετὰν
 10 Κάδμον ὑψη[λαῖς] πραπίδες[σι] λαχεῖν κεδ-?
 11 νάν· Δ[ιὸς] δ' ἄκ[ουσεν] ὀμφάν,
 30 12 καὶ τέκ' εὐδοξο[ν] παρ' ἀνθρώποις γενεάν.
 13 Διόνσο[ι],]τ[.]γ[
 14 ματέ[ρος] ?
 15 πει . [

III. [ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΙΣ ?]

-]ναλ[
]
]ιτο μὲν στάσις,
] πόδα
 5] κατε[. . . .]ον κυανοχίτων
] τεὰν τε[λετ]ὰν μελίζοι
] πλόκον σ[τεφά]γων κισσίνων ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) πλ[εκτῶν] ?
 κρόταφον
]εων ἔλθε φίλαν δῆ (?) πολέα
 10]ιον τε σκόπελον γείτονα πρύτανι . [
]αμα καὶ στρατιά,
] τ' ἀκναμπτεὶ κρέμασον,
]ς τε χάρμας τὰς ἐπιδορατίδας.

15]π[. . .]ντοσα[[ρ]]χηρνοιτοπα[
]ωνπελοι·
]λανπόροιχορων[
]εστ'αιδαι·
]οιοφυ[[λ]]λονω[
]επεταλοισηρ[
 20]·
]
]μιον[[ε]]ιπ[
]τιταμιασ[
]νστολ·[
 25]λθε[
]υ[

I. 1. Either Δανά[as (referring to Perseus) or Δανα[οῦ (e. g. τρίτον] ἀπὸ Δ., referring to Acrisius or Proetus) or Δανα[ῶν or else]α πόδα ν· [can be read, the last letter being quite uncertain. Pindar Fr. 284 from Schol. A Homer Ξ 319 αὐτὴ δέ (Δανάη), ὡς φησιν Πίνδαρος καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, ἐφθάρη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατραδέλφου αὐτῆς Προΐτου, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς καὶ στάσις ἐκινήθη might refer to this dithyramb.

3. Possibly Ἀκρίσ[ιον. The first letter might be ν or π, but hardly τ, so that Προΐ[τον (cf. ll. 6-7, n.) is unsatisfactory. Lobel suggests Λίκ[ιον, referring either to Proetus or Iobates, king of Lycia, who restored Proetus.

4. The doubtful δ can be α or λ. For λειβόμενον cf. P^y. xii. 9 τὸν (sc. θρήνον) . . . αἶε λειβόμενον δυσπενθέϊ σὺν καμάτῳ.

5. The letter before σε can be ε, ι, σ, υ, or ω. For Phorcus (= Phorcys), the father of the Gorgons, cf. l. 17 and p. 30.

6. Bury suggests πρόγονόν τε Κυ[κλώπων, Phorcus being grandfather of Polyphemus through his daughter Thoösa.

6-7. The scholium is obscure, but seems to refer to the distinction between οἶ (= εἰντῶ) and οἱ (= αὐτῶ), and οἱ with or without an accent presumably occurred in the text. Whether the traces of a word following μεγαλωῖ belong to the text or a scholium is uncertain; τ[is possible. Bury proposes πόλις ἄρ[ά οἱ | δέδηγτο (or τέτυκτο) κείνω]ν ἐν Ἄργει μεγάλοι τ[έχνα. The city in question was probably either Tiryns, which was built by the Cyclopes for Proetus, as described in Bacchyl. x. 59-81, or Midea or Mycenae, of which Perseus was the legendary founder (Paus. ii. 15. 4), being assisted by the Cyclopes (Schol. Eur. Or. 965).

8-9. If ζυγέτες is to be taken literally, ἴπ[οι and ἴκο]ντ' (Stuart Jones) are probable; but ἐρατῆ suggests that the context may concern music, and Bury proposed φόρμιγγι δ' ἔμ]νοι ζυγέτες ἐρατῆ δῶμον | ἄχρον ἀνά σκιά]ντ' Ἄβαντος, comparing Homer λ 334 κληθμῶ δ' ἔσχοντο κατὰ μέγαρα σκιάοντα. ἔμ]νοι is, however, unsatisfactory, for if the doubtful letter was ν the middle stroke ought to have been visible, so that π (κόμ]ποι? Bury) or η or ι is preferable. The 'house of Abas' means the palace at Argos; cf. P^y. viii. 55 Ἄβαντος εὐρυχόρους ἀγυιάς.

10. The stop after]λεεν is not quite certain, and δ can be read for λ. Bury proposes τοῖς δ' ἄσμ' ἐκῆ]λεεν, based on the scholium, in which τους is apparently quoted from the text

15]π[. . .]ντος αὐχὴν ῥύοιτο πα[
]ων πέλοι
]λαν πόνοι χορῶν [
]εες τ' αἰοδαί,
]οιο φῦλον ω[
 20]ε πετάλοις ἤρ[ινοῖς ?
].
]
]μιον ἰπ[π
]τι ταμίας [
]ν στολ . [
 25]λθε[
]υ[

and Διονυσιακον refers to a different word. For ἐκή]λεεν cf. II. 22 and the Homeric verse cited in ll. 8-9, n. The objection to it is that Pindar elsewhere uses the contracted forms in imperfects.

11-13. A new strophe begins here. Bury proposes something like ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν εὐ]δαιμόνων βρομιάδι θοίνα πρέπει | ἔργοισι λόγων] κορυφᾶν | ἐπιχωρίοισι] θέμεν. Cf. *Nem.* ix. 8 ἀλλ' ἀνὰ μὲν βρομίαν φόρμιγγ', ἀνὰ δ' αὐλὸν ἐπ' αὐτὰν ὄρσομεν ἰππίων ἄεθλων κορυφάν.

13-14. εὐάμπυξ is not found elsewhere, but ἐλικάμπυξ, κυνάμπυξ, λιπαράμπυξ, and χρυσάμπυξ occur in Pindar. For ἀέ]ξετ' (Bury, Stuart Jones) cf. *Ol.* vi. 105 ἐμῶν δ' ὕμνων ἄεξ' εὐτερπέες ἄνθος. Before it Bury proposes Περσεῖ νυν, in order to explain νυν in l. 16. Βρομίῳ νυν is also possible; cf. l. 17, n.

15. ὕμμι] was suggested by Bury, who proposes an epithet of αἰοιδῶν, e. g. κλυτᾶν, before it.

16. Regarding νυν as Perseus, Bury proposes Λιβύας πεδί]α (or γύαλ]α) φνγόντα. κῆρ]α (Stuart Jones) is also possible. If Dionysus, who according to Paus. ii. 22. 1 attacked Argos from the sea, were meant (cf. l. 17, n.), δεσμ]ᾶ (Lobel) would be suitable; cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 610 sqq. It is not clear whether ἔρκος was simply omitted by the first hand or was intended to take the place of ἄλμας. The corresponding line of the antistrophe hardly projects as far as would be expected if it contained equivalents of both words; but the collocation ἔρκος ἄλμας occurs in *Pg.* ii. 80 ἀβάπτιστός εἰμι φέλλος ὡς ὑπὲρ ἔ. ᾧ, where ἄλμας is usually connected with ἀβάπτιστος, not ἔρκος, and ἔρκος is thought to mean 'net'. This parallel makes us disposed to retain both words, and to regard them as a periphrasis for the sea, like the scholiast on *Pg.* ii. 80, who explains ἔρκος as ἐπιφάνεια, 'surface'.

17. κορᾶν points to a word like it in the text, either a synonym or κορᾶν differently spelled (κουρᾶν?) or wrongly accented (cf. II. 19, n.). The Graeae or more probably the Gorgons (cf. l. 5 and p. 30) must be meant, and the line may have begun with ἐς followed by a word implying 'abode' (τᾶν?). Pindar Fr. 254 from Apollodorus ii. 38 αἶται δὲ αἰ νύμφαι πτηνῷ εἶχον πέδιλα καὶ τὴν κίβισιν, ἣν φασιν εἶναι πήραν. Πίνδαρος δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδος ἐν Ἄσπιδι ἐπὶ τοῖ Περσέως κτλ. may have referred to this dithyramb. σύγγονον πατέρων is obscure. If the stops before and after these words are correct, they seem to be in apposition to νυν, which is

unsatisfactory. As Stuart Jones remarks, *σίγγονον* would be expected to agree with a word like *ἀρετάν* in the next line. *πατέρων* is probably the plural of amplification; cf. Fr. 75. 10 *Βρόμιον ὄν τ' Ἐριβόαν τε βροτοὶ καλέομεν, γόνον ὑπάτων μὲν πατέρων μέλπεμεν γυναικῶν τε Καδμειῶν ἔμολον* (v. l. *Σεμέλην*). The resemblances between this passage and ll. 15-19 (*βροτοὶ . . . πατέρων . . . ἔμολον*) suggest that *νν* might be Dionysus, not Perseus; cf. l. 16, n.

18.]ν is not visible on the facsimile.

19.]πον: or] . ιον. μ of *εμολον* is corrected from τ.

20. The marginal note refers to *εάν*, which 'is rejected (?)', being superfluously introduced from the antistrophe', i. e. l. 34, which ends *εἰάν* and also contained a superfluous word. The last letter of *απ[.]ο()* might be δ or λ, but *ἀπ[οβ]άλ(εται)* and *ἀποδο(κιμάζεται)* are not satisfactory readings.

23. The ο of *λεγο(μενον)* is not raised above the line, as would be expected if the word is an abbreviation; but]λετο is inadmissible.

28. In the margin are traces of a scholium.

34. *εἰάν*: cf. l. 20, n. *το κεν περισσόν* would be expected; cf. l. 6, schol.

II. 'Heracles the bold or Cerberus. For the Thebans.

Formerly both dithyrambic song issued from the lips of men long drawn out and the sigma under suspicion; but now new gates have been opened for sacred choirs: they (sing?), knowing what manner of festival of Bromius the celestials by the very sceptre of Zeus celebrate in their halls. Beside the majesty of the great mother of the gods begins the beating of drums; therewith swells the music of the castanets and the torch blazing below the yellow pine-brands; therewith resounding laments of the Naiads, wild dances and shouts are stirred in the fury of tossing the neck on high. Therewith moves the almighty thunderbolt breathing fire, and the sword of the god of War, and the valiant aegis of Pallas rings with the hissing of countless serpents. Lightly comes Artemis the lone huntress, who has yoked in the Bacchic revels the race of most savage lions for Bromius, while he is enchanted also by the dancing throng of beasts. Me too, a chosen herald of wise words, the Muse raised up to pray for prosperity (?) for Hellas with its fair dances and chariot-pressing Thebes, where of old, as the story tells, Cadmus by high design won sage Harmonia as his bride, and she hearkened to the voice of Zeus and became the mother of offspring famed among men. O Dionysus, . . .'

I marg. *θρασ[ύς] Ἡρακλῆς ἢ Κέρβερος*: Heracles is called *θρασυμάχανος* in *Ol. vi. 67*. For other examples of alternative titles of dithyrambs cf. p. 28. It is tempting to connect with this ode Pindar Fr. 249^a (Schol. AB on Homer *Φ 194*) *Ἡρακλῆς εἰς Ἄιδου κατελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Κέρβερον συνένυχε Μελεάγρῳ τῷ Οἰνέως, οὗ καὶ δεηθέντος γῆμαι τὴν ἀδελφὴν Δηάνειραν, ἐπανελθὼν εἰς φῶς ἔσπευσεν εἰς Αἰτωλίαν πρὸς Οἰνέα, καταλαβὼν δὲ μνηστευόμενον τὴν κόρην Ἀχελῶν τὸν πλησίον ποταμόν, διεπάλασεν αὐτῷ . . . δοκεῖ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ποταμῶν μέγιστος εἶναι ὁ Ἀχελῶς διὸ καὶ πᾶν ὕδωρ τῆ τούτου προσηγορία καλεῖται. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Πινδάρῳ. But Fr. 249^b (221. ix. 14), which seems to belong to the passage in question about the Achelouïs, is in a different metre, *πρόσθα μὲν σ' Ἀχελωῖον τὸν αἰοιδότατον εὐρωπία κράνα Μέλ[ανός] τε ποταμοῦ ῥοαὶ τρέφον κάλαμον. A fragment concerning Heracles from a dithyramb (Fr. 81) is quoted by Aristides ii. 70 ὅτι καὶ ἑτέρωθι μεμνημένος περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν διθυράμβῳ τινί σέ δ' ἐγὼ παρὰ μιν (παρ' ἄμμιν Boeckh, παρὰ νν Bergk⁴), φησίν, αἰνέω μὲν, Γηρνώη, τὸ δὲ μὴ Διὶ (Διὶ Hermann) φίλτερον σιγῶμι πᾶμπαν. The metre of this from *αἰνέω . . . πᾶμπαν* corresponds to II. 1-3 κιβ], and the words preceding *αἰνέω* might correspond metrically to the end of an epode; but the capture of the oxen of Geryones is a different exploit, and Fr. 81 is likely to belong to another dithyramb. Fr. 169 (Plato, *Gorg.* 484 b, Aristides, ii. 68, Schol. Pind. *Nem.* ix. 35 *νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς κτλ.*), which mentions Geryones and is in dactylo-epitritic metre, but does not correspond to the extant part of II, and Fr. 168 (Athenaeus, x. 411 b, Philostratus, *Imm.* ii. 24 *δ(ο)ῖα βοῶν θερμὰ κτλ.*), which refers to the devouring of an ox by Heracles at the house of Coronus, an**

episode connected with the capture of the Cretan bull (Apollod. ii. 5. 7), and is not in dactylo-epitritic metre, certainly have no connexion with our dithyramb.

1-3 (= Fr. 79^a). Cf. Strabo x. 469 *μάρτυρες δ' οἱ ποιηταὶ τῶν τοιούτων ὑπνοῦντων* (sc. concerning the Curetes and Corybantes): *ὁ τε γὰρ Πίνδαρος ἐν τῷ διθυράμβῳ οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ πρὶν μὲν εἶρπε σχοινοτοίας (σχοινοτένεια edd.) τ' αἰοῖδ' (v. l. αἰοῖδαι) διθυράμβων (-βῶ most MSS.), μνησθεῖς δέ (δέ om. most edd.) τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἔμνων τῶν τε παλαιῶν καὶ τῶν ἔσπερον, μετάβας ἀπὸ τούτων φησί· σοὶ μὲν κατάρχει (κατάρχειν edd.) μάτερ παρὰ μεγάλαι (v. l. μεγάλοι; μεγάλα πύρα edd.) ῥομβοὶ (ῥόμβοι edd.) κυμβάλων, ἐν δὲ κεχλάδων (κεχλάδειν edd.) κρόταλ' αἰθομένα τε δᾶς (δαῖς some edd.) ὑπὸ ξανθαῖσι πεύκαις (= ll. 8-11), τὴν κοινωσίαν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἀποδειχθέντων νομίμων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Φρυγῶσι περὶ τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν συνοικειῶν ἀλλήλοις, Athen. x. 455 b Πίνδαρος δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀσιγμοποιηθεῖσαν ᾠδὴν, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς φησι Κλέαρχος, οἰοῦναι γρίφου τινὸς ἐν μελοποιῶι προβληθέντος, ὡς πολλῶν τούτω προσκρουόντων διὰ τὸ δυνατὸν (ἀδύνατον edd.) εἶναι ἀποσχεῖσθαι τοῦ σίγμα καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ δοκιμάζειν, ἐποίησε (corrupt ?)· πρὶν μὲν εἶρπε σχοινοτένεια (l. -τένεια) τ' αἰοῖδ' καὶ τὸ σὰν τίβηλον (κίβδηλον edd.) ἀνθρώποις, x. 448 c καθάπερ οἱ ἀσιγμοὶ καλούμενοι τῶν γρίφων· ὅθεν καὶ Πίνδαρος πρὸς τὸ σ̄ ἐποίησεν ᾠδὴν (corrupt ?), xi. 467 a τὸ δὲ σὰν ἀντὶ τοῦ σίγμα Δωρικῶς εἰρήκασιν. οἱ γὰρ μουσικοί, καθάπερ πολλὰκις Ἀριστόξενός φησι, τὸ σίγμα λέγειν παρηγοῦντο διὰ τὸ σκληρόστομον εἶναι καὶ ἀνεπιτήδειον αὐλῶ· . . . καὶ Πίνδαρος δὲ φησι· πρὶν μὲν ἦρπε σχοινοτένεια τ' αἰοῖδ' καὶ τὸ σὰν κίβδηλον ἀπὸ στομάτων, Dionysius, *De com. verb.* 14 εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ ἀσιγμοὺς ὅλας ᾠδὰς ἐποίησαν· δηλοῖ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐν οἷς φησι· πρὶν μὲν ἦρπε σχοινοτενὴ φωνήετα (or other corruptions) διθυράμβων καὶ τὸ σὰν κίβδηλον (v. l. κίβδαλον) ἀνθρώποις (v. l. -ποι). From these varying forms of l. 3 Hermann restored καὶ τὸ σὰν κίβδηλον ἀνθρώποισιν ἀπὸ στομάτων. The termination of the line is wanting in both ll. 3 and 18, but there is no reason to doubt Hermann's restoration; cf. for the metre l. 7.*

1. *σχοινοτένεια*: this is formed on the analogy of *ἠδνέπεια*, *μουσογένεια*, &c., and means 'stretched out like a rope', 'prolix'; cf. Philostr. *Heroic.* i. 14 *μὴ ἀποτέινειν (τὰ ἄσματα) μηδὲ σχοινοτενῆ ἐργάζεσθαι*. It does not refer to division into triads, for Π itself is divided into triads or strophes; cf. p. 28 and l. 3, n.

2. The division *αἰοῖδ' διθυράμβων* would be expected from the arrangement of ll. 19-20, but *δα* (or *δη*) *δ* does not suit the traces of l. 2, and the real dividing-point of the feet is probably after *αἰοῖδ'* here and *ζεν-* in l. 20.

3. *καὶ τὸ σὰν κίβδαλον*: the meaning of this is a long-standing difficulty. Athenaeus and Dionysius (cf. ll. 1-3, n.) supposed that it referred to the *ᾠδαὶ ἀσιγμοί*, i. e. of Pindar's predecessor, Lasus, Athenaeus x. 455 c proceeding to quote a line without *σ* from Lasus' hymn to Demeter. The epitomator of Athenaeus, followed by Eustathius, p. 1335. 52, misunderstanding this, attributed the composition of odes without *σ* to Pindar himself. Boeckh and Dissen translate *κίβδηλον* '*pravum*', supposing that it refers to the mispronunciation of *σ* in the Dorian dialect (so also Donaldson and Weir Smyth), and that Pindar meant to contrast the old-fashioned odes in which *σ* was used with the new kind without *σ* invented by Lasus, Pindar himself reverting to the old-fashioned type. Sandys (translation of Pindar in the Loeb series), connecting *κίβδηλον* (sc. ἦν) with *ἀνθρώποισιν ἀπὸ στομάτων*, translates 'when the sibilant san was discarded from the lips of men', i. e. was rejected as spurious. The mutilated condition of ll. 4-5 leaves the context obscure in some points, especially as to the precise nature of the transition to the account of the Dionysiac festival in Olympus (cf. ll. 4-6, n.); but it is tolerably certain that the new kind of dithyramb which is contrasted with the old is not the dithyramb of Lasus, but of Pindar himself, as is also shown by the definite reference to himself in l. 23. Hence Boeckh's view of Pindar's relation to the two kinds of dithyramb is just the opposite of what the context demands. Sandys's translation gives the right kind of sense, but *ἀνθρώποισιν ἀπὸ στομάτων* is much more likely to be dependent on *ἔρπε* than on *κίβδαλον*, and the position of *τ'* indicates that *ἔρπε*, not *ἦν*, is to be supplied with *κίβδαλον*. We are disposed, therefore, to regard *τὸ σὰν κίβδαλον* as

a reference to Lasus' *ῥοδαῖ ἄσιγμοι*, *σάν* being used as the equivalent of *σίγμα*, and *κίβδαλον* comparing it to base coin which when produced is rejected, and implying a contrast with Pindar's own use of *σ*, which was unrestricted.

4-6. *διαπέπ[τ]ο[ν]ται δὲ* and *πίλαι* were suggested by Sandys, *νῦν* by Lobel, *κύκλοισι* by Bury. The slight vestiges towards the end of the line suit *πολο[ι]* rather well, especially the *π* and *λ* (for which *α* is the only alternative); but the preceding lacuna is rather short for the proposed supplement. The metre of l. 4 is fixed by l. 22. For opening the 'gates' of song cf. *Ol.* vi. 27 *πύλας ὕμνων ἀναπίτναμεν*, *Nem.* ix. 2 *ἀναπεπταμέναι ξείνων νενίκανται θύραι*, Bacchyl. Fr. 5. 2 *οὐδὲ γὰρ ῥᾶστον ἀρρήτων ἐπέων πύλας ἐξευρεῖν*. *κύκλοισι* refers to the *κύκλιοι χοροὶ* of the dithyramb. To find an anapaest short enough for the lacuna before *ἐ]ιδότες* in l. 5 is difficult. If *πύλο[ι]* is right, *ἐ]ιδότες* must belong to a new sentence and may refer to *χοροὶ* (e.g. something like *σοφοὶ οἱ ἐ]ιδ.*); but Bury would connect it with the preceding line, suggesting *διαπεπ[ρ]ο[χ]ασι δ'* — — — *κύκλοισι* *νέαν* [*σοφοὶ ἐδ' ἐ]ιδότες | οἶαν* *Βρόμιος* [*ιδ*]έαν *κτλ.*, and comparing *Nem.* ix. 3 *ἀλλ' ἐπέων γλυκὴν ὕμνον πρᾶσσετε* and Eur. *Bacch.* 471 *τὰ δ' ὄργι' ἐστὶ τίν' ἰδέαν ξηοντά σοι*; *νεαν* for *ναι*, *Βρομιος* for *Βρομιον*, and *ιδ]εαν* for *τελε]ταν* are possible readings; but *τελε]τάν* (Sandys) suits *ιστάντι* particularly well, and the metaphor of the gates is attractive. For *Βρομίον* [*τελε]τάν* cf. *Py.* ix. 97 *νικάσαντά σε καὶ τελεταῖς ὠρίαῖς ἐν Παλλάδος εἶδον*. *Βρομιωι* is inadmissible. The metre of l. 5 is somewhat abnormal. After a choriambus is an anapaest and a cretic, or else an ionic a minore and iambus. For anapaests in dactylo-epitritics cf. e.g. *Py.* i. 2, 6, iii. 4; for 'iambic catalexis' cf. *Ol.* vi. 5, *Nem.* viii. 14.

7. The last syllable of *Οὐρανίδαί* was marked long by the first hand, short by the corrector, who wished to indicate (rightly) that the word was nom. plur., not dat. sing.; cf. I. 8 *ερατῆν*. The syllable is long as a matter of fact, but there was no point in marking it long at the end of a line, unless indeed the first hand wished to connect it with *ἐν* in l. 8 and scanned *-ρανιδῆν ἐν* together in spite of the hiatus. But, as Housman remarks, the metre of l. 8 corresponds to e.g. *Py.* iv. 296 *δαϊδαλέαν φόρμιγγα βαστάζων πολίταις*, and in each case the phrase — — — — — comes both before and after, so that *ᾱ* is to be regarded as merely a slip.

8. The last syllable of the line seems to stand by itself (cf. the preceding n.), as frequently in Bacchylides' dactylo-epitritics. In Pindar's there seem to be instances of hypercatalexis in Frs. 29-30 (from an ὕμνος).

ἰ[σ(τ)ά]ντι: there is not room for *στα* in the lacuna and the marginal *ιστάντι* indicates that the main text was in some respect different. If there had been a wrong accent over *ἰ* it ought to have been visible, and there is no doubt that the first hand read *ισάντι*, a Doric form not found in Pindar but quite suitable in itself. *ισάντι* would make sense (cf. *ἐ]ιδότες* in l. 5), but *ιστάντι* is preferable.

8-11. *σεμνᾶ . . . πεύκαις*: this passage (Fr. 79^b; cf. ll. 1-3, n.) is quoted by Strabo with several corruptions or variations, *σοί* for *σεμνᾶ*, *μάτερ παρά* for *ματερὶ πᾶρ*, *ῥόμβοι κυμβάλων* for *ῥόμβοι τυμπάνων*, and *κεχλάδων* for *κέχλαδ[ον]* (or *-δ[εν]*). Misled by *σοί*, modern editors were unable to restore the passage on the right lines. The confirmation of the *schema Pindaricum* *κατάρχει . . . ῥόμβοι* against emendations is interesting. Another instance occurs in l. 13 *μανίαι τ' ἀλα[αί] τ' ὀρίνεται*, which had been obscured in the quotations of this by Plutarch. Two more occur in ll. 18-19 of the fragmentary dithyramb for the Athenians (Fr. 75); in the epinician odes this construction is rare. *κυμβάλων* may have stood in Strabo's text of II, but *τυμπάνων* is likely to be right; cf. Catullus, *Atys* 9 *lyranum, tubam, Cybelle, tua, mater, initia*, which may even have been an imitation of this passage. Bergk referred to this dithyramb Fr. 80, a quotation from Pindar in a Herculaneum fragment of Philodemus, *De pietate*, which is restored *κυβέ[λα] μᾶτ[ερ] θεῶν*. The metre may well be dactylo-epitritic, but there is no place for Fr. 80 in the context of the reference to Cybele in ll. 8-9. Owing to the lacuna at the end of l. 27 the

Bury; cf. *Nem.* iii. 46 *λεόντεσσιν ἀγροτέροις*. Βρομίω (Bury) is required to explain *ὁ δέ* in l. 22. The metre is practically certain; cf. ll. 1-3, n.

22-3. *καί ἰθηρῶν*: so Housman and Bury. The *a* of *καί* is nearly certain, the only alternative being *ο*. The sentence is suggested by the mention of lions in the line above. Bacchus is flattered not only by the attentions of his fellow-gods, but also by the worship of brute creatures. *ἀγέλαι λεόντων* occurs in Pind. Fr. 239.

25-6. Cf. Fr. 151 *Μοῖσ' ἀνέγκέ με*. *κα[λ]λ[ι]χόρφ* and *δ[λ]βον τε* were suggested by Bury; Sandys proposes *κα[ι] γ[ε]ν[ε]άν* with *ο[ι]κόν τε*, but the traces of a letter after *κα[.]* suggest *a*, *δ*, *λ*, or *ν*. For the late position of *τε* cf. *Nem.* ix. 34 *παρὰ πεζοβόαις ἵπποις τε*. That *Θήβαις* occurred at the end of l. 26 is clear from what follows (cf. Fr. 195 *εὐάρματε Θήβαις*), but a restoration in which *εὐχόμενον* meant 'boasting myself' rather than 'praying for' would be more appropriate. *ἄγαλα* is, however, inadmissible in l. 26, the *ο* before the lacuna being almost certain. For the metre of that line cf. l. 7, n.

27. The first hand wrote *ποτ αρμονιαν*. *φ]άμα γα[μετάν]* is due to Housman, who corrects *τυμπάνων* in l. 9 to *τυπάνων*: Bury, retaining *τυμπάνων* there, proposed *φ]άμα γα[ρ]ύει*: cf. ll. 8-11, n. The first hand wrote *φ]άμεν γα[ι]*: the first corrector then added *a* above the line, deleting *ε* and perhaps *ν* also; cf. III. 9, n. As Housman remarks, a verb does not seem necessary with *φάμα* (sc. *ἔστι*): cf. Aesch. *Septem* 217-18 *ἀλλ' οὖν θεοὺς τοὺς τῆς αἰούσης πόλεος ἐκλείπειν λόγος*, and *φάτις* in Pindar himself (according to the usually accepted emendation of Bothe) in *Is.* viii. 40 *Αἰακίδα, ὅν τ' εὐσεβέστατον φάτις Ἰσολκοῦ τράφειν πεδίον*, and *ubi fama* in Stat. *Theb.* i. 699.

28. *ὑψί[σται]ς* could be read in place of *ὑψη[λαί]ς*. There is little doubt about the *s*, *τ* being the only alternative. *λαχεῖν κεδ-]* (or *ἀγ-]*)*νάν* is due to Bury. Nonnus, *Dionys.* iv. 28 sqq., represents Harmonia as at first reluctant to marry Cadmus. Housman prefers *ἄγειν σεμ]νάν*, comparing *Nem.* v. 47 *σεμνὰν θέτιν Πηλέα θ'*, Aesch. *Prom.* 560 *ἄγαγεσ' Ἡσιόναν . . . δάμαρτα*, and, for the present infinitive with *ποτέ* in a past sense, *Pyl.* vi. 21-4 *τάν ποτ' . . . φαντὶ . . . παραινέιν*. *σεμνός* has however occurred in l. 8. For *πραπίδες* in connexion with a suitor he compares *Is.* viii. 30 *ἀλλ' οὐ σφιν ἄμβροτοι τέλεισαν εὐνὰν θεῶν πραπίδες*.

30. *εὐδοξο[ν]*: if *ξ* is right, the parts of it were joined instead of being written, as elsewhere in 1604, as a dot between two strokes. The second *ο* is also doubtful, *a* being quite as suitable. But the position of the accent over *ευ* strongly favours *εὐδοξο[ν]*, for *εὐδοκέ[μ]ον* and *-κη[τ]ον* are inadmissible, and though a crossed out *τ* might be read in place of *ξ*, *εὐδοτε[ι]ραν* is not a known word and *εὐδο[τ]κ[ι]μον* is unsatisfactory apart from the wrong accent. At the beginning of the line — υ — — corresponds to — υ — υ in l. 12; cf. l. 19, n. *παρ'] ἀνθρώπο[ις] γενεάν* is due to Bury. *Σεμέλαν* may be substituted for *γενεάν*, she being in any case the person chiefly meant, as is shown by the reference to her in l. 32.

31. *Διονυσ[ε]* must be vocative, for any other case would fill up the lacuna, leaving no room for the letter preceding *θ*, which apparently had an acute accent and was therefore a vowel. Probably *Διονυσ[ε]* was written and the *ε* not elided; cf. *τε ορίνεται* in l. 13. If the two letters in the lacuna formed a diphthong, the accent ought to have been more to the left.

32. *ματέ[ρος]*: i. e. Semele; cf. l. 30, n. *ο* could be read in place of *ε*.

III. 1. The doubtful *λ* can be *ν*.

3. *στάσις* elsewhere in Pindar means 'sedition', but here may, as Bury remarks, refer to the chorus either in the sense of *κατάστασις* (*χορῶν*) or of a division; cf. l. 5, n.

5. Bury proposes *κατε[ναντί]ον*.

6. *τεάν* must refer to Dionysus, if *τε[λετ]άν* is right; cf. int. p. 29.

7-8. Bury suggests *βαλῶν δέ] πλόκον σ[τεφά]νων κισσίνων | ἀμφὶ τεόν κρόταφον*, making *μελίζοι* the end of a clause and connecting ll. 7-8 with *ἔλθε* in l. 9. A stop may, however, have been lost after *κρόταφον*. The scholium probably refers to the unusual expression

πλόκον στεφάνων. For πλ[εκτῶν, sc. στεφάνων, cf. Eur. *Hērpol.* 73 πλεκτὸν στέφανον. ὄρ[μον (cf. *Nem.* iv. 17) does not suit the vestiges.

9. Apparently φιλιδη was altered first to φίλως δη and then, the correction being crossed out, to φίλαν δη. The ι after φιλ is not crossed out; but the αν above the line begins close to the λ and φίλαν δη (which makes the line end with two choriambi) is metrically preferable to φίλιαν δη or simply φίλιαν. Moreover it is not certain that the ο of φθον was crossed out like the φ and ν when ελθε was substituted, and in II. 27 there is a similar doubt concerning the deletion of a superfluous letter.

πολεᾶ is corrected from πολεω. The mark of quantity is not quite certain, but α alone does not account for all the ink. πόλις is clearly meant, but no form πολέα is known, though, since πόληα occurs in Hesiod, it does not seem impossible.

10. Bury proposes πελώριον . . . πρύτανι, and would see in this line a reference to the Acrocorinthus; but πρυτανι . . . [may be vocative, as in *Pz.* ii. 58.

11. ἄμα: the first letter might be λ and the second ν; the third is more like α with a high stop after it than [.]ς. Bury suggests something like ἔποιτο δ' ἄμα, but the stop is an objection to ἄμα.

12. ἀκναμπτεῖ, 'inflexibly', is a new adverb. ἄκαμπτος occurs in *Is.* iii. 71 and ἄκαμπτος in the MSS. of *Pz.* iv. 72 (ἄκαμπτος Hermann).

13. τὰς ἐπιδορατίδας is a gloss on χάρμας, which was used in the sense of 'spear-shafts' also by Stesichorus and Ibycus according to Schol. Pind. *Ol.* ix. 128.

14-15. Bury suggests ἄλιος δ' ἀπ[είρα]ντος αὐχὴν ῥύοιτο πα[γάγυριν | ἔρκος τ' ἐγχωρί]ων πέλοι, 'Let the impassable sea-neck protect the festal gathering and be the bulwark of the people,' comparing *Ol.* viii. 48 ἐπ' Ἴσθμῶ ποντία and Eur. *Med.* 212 πόντου κληδ' ἀπέραντον. αὐχὴν would on this view mean the Isthmus of Corinth. The general sense of ll. 12-15 is, he thinks, 'Put aside arms and preparations for war, and trust for defence to the Isthmus.' αὐχὴν elsewhere in Pindar means the human neck, but that does not combine easily with ῥύοιτο.

17. Perhaps πολυγαθ]εες. αἰδαί can, however, be dative.

18. Bury suggests Σισύφ]οιο or Γλανκ]οῖο φίλον, referring to the Corinthians.

19. For πετάλοις ἤρ[ωοῖς (Bury) cf. *Pz.* ix. 46 ὄσσα τε χθῶν ἤρῶν φύλλ' ἀναπέμπει. The first letter of the line might be ρ.

22. Bury suggests στόμιον ἵππειον (or ἵπ[που]), referring either to the legend of Bellerophon and the bridle (φίλτρον ἵππειον) of Pegasus, a story told by Pindar in an ode written for the Corinthian Xenophon (*Ol.* xiii), or perhaps to a particular kind of mouthpiece, i. e. one of the ἵππεια ἔντεα said to have been invented by the Corinthians (*Ol.* xiii. 20).

1605. MENANDER, ΜΙΣΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ.

15 × 5.2 cm.

Third century.

This exiguous fragment of a comedy, though containing only the beginnings of 27 lines from the top of a column and a few letters from the ends of lines of the preceding column, has some interest, since it can with much probability be identified. The name of a speaker, Γέ(τας), is inserted in the margin against ll. 34-5, and characters of that name are known to have occurred in three of Menander's plays, the *Ἡρώς*, *Μισούμενος*, and *Περυνθία* (if Koerte is right in assigning 855 to the last-named play), while the apparent mention in l. 25 (cf. l. 29, n.) of *Θρασωνίδης*, the name of the leading character in the *Μισούμενος*,

indicates the second of the three. Parts of about 50 lines near the end of that play are extant in 1013, and there are 14 other fragments of it known, but no correspondence with 1605 is at all likely, though one or two are just possible; cf. ll. 24-5, nn. Geta was the slave of Thrasonides, but who his interlocutor here was is quite obscure. Other known characters in the play are Clinias, Demeas, and Cratea. For the plot, which turned upon the redemption of Cratea through her father Demeas from servitude with Thrasonides, a rough soldier, see 1013. int. and Koerte, *Menandrea*, li.

The handwriting is a medium-sized sloping uncial resembling 1376 (Part xi, Plate iii), and probably of the third century, to which some dated documents found together with 1605 belong. The speaker's name is written more cursively by a different hand, which does not seem to be appreciably later than that of the main text. Paragraphi occur, indicating changes of speaker, but no stops.

Another papyrus (3rd cent.) containing 23 lines divided between two scenes, which has recently been published by Wilamowitz (*Sitzungsab. d. Berl. Akad.* 1918, 747-9) as part of an uncertain comedy, perhaps by Menander, is probably to be assigned to the *Μισούμενος*. In the second scene a woman called Cratea unexpectedly recognizes her father, whereupon the owner of the house intervenes, and in the margin of l. 18 Γε() occurs as the name of a speaker. Wilamowitz, though noticing the agreement with the *Μισούμενος* with regard to Cratea, attributes the fragment to a different play, chiefly because Γε() is supposed also to occur in the margin of l. 12 in reference to a character who is addressed in the next line as *τηθία*. From this he infers that Γε() is an unknown feminine name. But it is much more likely that Γε() in l. 18 is Γε(τας), and that in l. 12, where the decipherment is admitted to be very uncertain, either the marginal note is to be read differently or some rearrangement of the supposed speakers is to be introduced. Geta and Cratea will then be the characters in the *Μισούμενος*, the father will be Demeas, and the owner of the house Thrasonides, the action being highly appropriate to that play. This explanation is confirmed by the striking parallelism between Fr. 11 of the *Μισούμενος*, ἀφανείς γεγόνασιν αἱ σπάθαι and l. 11 of the Berlin papyrus, ἢ οἰκῶ τὰς σπάθας τῶν γειτόνων.

Col. i.

Col. ii.

25 ουκεῖτι [
 Θρασω[νιδ
 τι τανα[
 καλως [
 ον παιδ[

9 lines lost

			ζηλοτυπ[ο
		30	α νυν λε[γ
			εις τουρ[γον
			διακοσι[
10	]εις		νη Δια τ[
	]	Γε(τας)	αναγε [.]. [
	]ς		απο της . [
	]ν	36	φαινε[
	]θη		διδοασιν [
15	]		προσευξ[
	] . [ . . . . ]		ουτως απ[
	]ν κακον	40	ουκ εξα[
	]		πως ειπ[
	]αι		τα ρημα[τ
20	]		λεγων τ[
	]		ελεγεν α[
	] παρην	45	ναι φησι [
	] .		ηκουσα[
	. . . . .		εκπλει . [
			αγαθα λ[
			[σα ?]φει τι[
		50	[κ]αλωσ . [
		

24. ουκει is apparently the first word in the last line of a small detached fragment of 1013 (l. 26). But an actual coincidence is unlikely.

25. Θρασω[νιδ : this might possibly coincide with the corrupt Fr. 14 (Koerte) of the Μισούμενος, which is generally restored μισούσι μὲν | Θρασωι(ίδην), ὦ πάτερ, ἀπεκτάγκασι δ' οὐ.

29. ζηλοτυπ[ο : cf. Περικειρομένη 408-9 ὁ δ' ἀλάστωρ ἐγὼ | καὶ ζηλότυπος ἄνθρωπος, spoken by Polemon, the counterpart of Thrasonides in that play.

34. Perhaps αναγε [σ]ε[αυτον, as in Σαμία 145. The γ is however very doubtful and ανασ[.] . [can be read. It is not clear whether Γε(τας) refers to l. 34 or to l. 35. The surface of the papyrus between ll. 33-4 is rubbed, but there is no trace of a paragraphus, so that if Γε(τας) refers to l. 34 there was probably a change of speaker in the middle of that line.

1606. LYSIAS, *Orations* πρὸς Ἰπποθέρσην, *Against Theomnestus, &c.*

Height 29.5 cm. Late second or early third century.
Plate II (Fr. 6, Cols. i-ii).

Lysias has hitherto been represented in papyri only by some small third-century B.C. pieces of the oration against Theozotides (P. Hibeh 14); but the following fragments of several of his lost private speeches are more extensive and valuable. Like 1607-8 and 1612, they form part of the first of the three large finds of literary papyri in 1905-6, which also produced 841-4, 852-3, 1012, 1016-17, 1364, and 1376, the publication of this find being now completed. The small group consisting of Frs. 8-18 was found separately in a different part of the same mound, but no doubt belongs to the same roll. Originally about 200 in number, the fragments have been reduced by combinations to 150. Much the longest of them is Fr. 6, which contains (1) the last three columns of a speech, with the title (ll. 237-8) πρὸς Ἰπποθέρσην ὑπὲρ θεραπαίνης followed by a blank space, (2) the first two columns of a speech directed against a certain Theomnestus by an unnamed plaintiff. πρὸς Ἰπποθέρσην is known as the title of a speech by Lysias (no. lxi) from Harpocration, who makes two quotations from it, Fr. 122 (Sauppe) ἀφανῆς οὐσία καὶ φανερά and Fr. 123 Ἰερώνυμος. Fr. 122 seems to be connected with Fr. 2 of the papyrus, where οὐσ]ίαν . . . ἀφ[ανίσ]αι is a probable restoration in ll. 29-32, and φαν]ερά is possible in l. 48; but Ἰερώνυμος does not seem to occur in 1606, though it is tempting to restore his name in l. 89. The title of the second speech would at first sight be expected to be κατὰ Θεομνήστου: but two orations of Lysias with that title are extant (x and xi), xi being merely an abbreviation of x. Since both of these are quite distinct from the speech against Theomnestus in the papyrus and presumably refer to a different person, while Harpocration seems to have known of only one speech κατὰ Θεομνήστου, i. e. the extant oration x (Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, i. 611), the title of the second speech in 1606 is likely to have been something else. Fr. 9, belonging to the smaller group, contains parts of the last 16 lines of what is obviously a third speech, with part of the title, which seems to be unknown, and a few letters from the beginning of what is much more likely to be a fourth speech than the oration πρὸς Ἰπποθέρσην, and among the numerous minute scraps from the main find are certainly three (Frs. 19, 20, and 22), and perhaps two more (Frs. 21 and 44), which contain parts of titles. The minimum number of speeches represented by the fragments as a whole is four, a figure which could be obtained by assigning Fr. 9. ii to the speech πρὸς Ἰπποθέρσην, Fr. 19 (κατὰ Θεομνήστου?) or Fr. 22 to the speech against Theomnestus, and Fr. 20 to the title of the third

speech, and ignoring Frs. 21 and 44. But at least six of the lost orations are much more probably represented, and though all of these may have been quite short, it is clear that the fragments are widely scattered over different parts of the roll. Lysias is credited by Plutarch (*Vita Lys.* 836 a) with no fewer than 425 speeches, of which Dionysius and Caecilius recognized 233 as genuine. The names of about 170 are known, and 34 are extant.

The script is a handsome uncial approximating towards the early biblical type, like 1234 (Part X, Plate iv) and 1365 (Part XI, Plate vi), and probably belongs to the early part of the third century or even the end of the second. Iota adscript was generally written. Paragraphi and two kinds of stops, in the high and middle position, are employed; that Fr. 82, in which a coronis occurs, belongs to 1606 is not certain. Fr. 6, in which the upper and lower margins are preserved, shows that there were 46-49 lines in a column. The other fragments are or may be from the middles of columns except when it is otherwise stated. The lines, which tend to begin and end more to the left as the column proceeds, range from 15 to 22 letters, generally having 18 or 19, and the >-shaped sign is used for filling up short lines. Deletions are indicated by a line drawn (by the first hand) above the letters in question; but the text has not apparently been subjected to any independent revision, and several mistakes are noticeable, generally omissions; cf. ll. 47, 115, 139, 141, 173, 217, 349-56, 536.

Of the oration *πρὸς Ἰπποθέρσην* the three concluding columns (ll. 126-238), though requiring a good deal of restoration, are fairly well preserved, and some intelligible passages are provided by four other fragments (1-2 and 4-5) evidently belonging to earlier columns of the same speech (ll. 7-19, 28-47, 76-86, 114-24). The respective order of these is doubtful, but Fr. 4 may be placed below Fr. 2 with an interval not exceeding 2 or 3 lines between ll. 48 and 76; cf. ll. 38-44, n. Frs. 3 and 26 also probably belong to this oration, and perhaps Frs. 28-30, 87, and 100-1. It must have been one of Lysias' more important speeches, being concerned, like the oration against Eratosthenes (xii), with the administration of the Thirty Tyrants and his own grievances. In xii Lysias prosecuted Eratosthenes, who was one of the Thirty, for the murder of his brother Polemarchus (cf. 1606. 8-9, 161); the present action mainly turned on the question of the restoration of Lysias' property on his return from exile. As the title implies, the speech was on the side of the defence; but that the real defendant was not the *θεράπαινα* but Lysias himself, is clear not only from the general tenour of the fragments, in which Lysias is very prominent, but from the expression *φεύγει τὴν δίκην* applied to him in ll. 183-4, and the closing appeal in l. 221 *ἀποψηφίσασθαι Λυσίου*. How the *θεράπαινα* became involved in the case does not appear, but presumably she was acting merely as Lysias' agent. With the plaintiff Hippo-

therses were associated one or more other individuals, the plural being employed in reference to the side of the prosecution, which is called *οὔτοι* in ll. 32 and 229 and perhaps *οἱ ἀντίδικοι* in l. 133. Nicostratus and Xenoc[les] (ll. 17-18) may well be two of the persons meant, and possibly Sosia[des] (ll. 92-3, n.). The dispute was concerned with the ownership of property (*οὐσία*) worth 70 (?) talents, formerly belonging to Lysias, which had been seized by the Thirty and apparently sold by them to Hippotherses and his associates (ll. 28-34), and which Lysias was now trying to recover. By the terms of the amnesty arranged at the time of the restoration of the democracy in B. C. 403, sales made during the administration of the Thirty remained valid; but unsold property reverted to its original owners, an exception being made in the case of land and houses, i. e. immovable property, which were to be returned in any case (ll. 38-48). This reference to the amnesty is important, confirming Grote's views (*Hist. of Greece*, viii, ch. 66) on the nature of the agreement; but the precise application of it to the dispute between Hippotherses and Lysias is obscured by the incompleteness of Frs. 1-5. Lysias evidently regarded the terms of the amnesty as in favour of his contentions, but Hippotherses too may have appealed to it, and perhaps the interpretation was one of the chief points of dispute. In ll. 13-17 Lysias complains that he was being prevented by the prosecution from buying back his own property from the purchasers; but in ll. 76 sqq. he is found objecting to a claim of Hippotherses for half the price of, apparently, the *οὐσία* described in ll. 28-34, and in ll. 114 sqq. he criticizes the legality of the sales effected by the Thirty. This evidence is not very easy to combine into a connected argument; but apparently the *οὐσία* bought from the Thirty by Hippotherses contained land and houses, and Hippotherses refused to surrender these without compensation, whereupon Lysias, through the *θεράπαιρα*, took some step towards ejecting Hippotherses which resulted in the prosecution, possibly in some form of *δίκη ἐξούλης*. The peroration, to which ll. 127-236 belong, does not throw much light on the facts of the case, which are referred to only in general terms (ll. 224-36), but in itself is of much interest, since it contains an eloquent comparison of Lysias' behaviour towards the State with that of his opponent. The patriotism of Lysias, who after losing his brother and much property made large sacrifices in support of the democrats, is recorded in a passage which was evidently before Plutarch when writing his account of this part of Lysias' life (ll. 163-71, n.), and is contrasted with the pro-Spartan zeal of Hippotherses. The speech must have been delivered very soon after the restoration of the democracy, i. e. in 403 or 402 B. C.

The second oration, that directed in prosecution of Theomnestus, after a very short introduction (ll. 239-46), proceeds to the narration of the facts. The

unnamed plaintiff claims to have lent his friend Theomnestus 30 minae in order to pay a debt to a certain Theozotides for which judgement had been entered against Theomnestus. The transaction took place without witnesses, and Theomnestus, having subsequently quarrelled with the plaintiff, now denied the loan (ll. 246-61). After a mutilated passage apparently explaining the nature of the quarrel, which seems to have been connected with the guardianship of some property, and the unsuccessful attempts of the plaintiff to get his money returned (ll. 261-95), a dilemma is propounded for the defence. Theomnestus must maintain either that he borrowed the money from some one else, or that he did not borrow any money at all, in order to pay Theozotides (ll. 295-301). Of these alternative lines of defence the first is rebutted in ll. 301-40, Fr. 7 probably belonging to the column following Fr. 6. v, while the second is dealt with in ll. 340-66 by putting a number of questions designed to show that Theomnestus would not have run the risks which he actually incurred, if he had had the requisite money at hand. The rest of the speech is lost, and there are no indications of the date of its delivery.

The third speech (Frs. 8, 9. i and probably some of Frs. 10-18), apparently against a person whose name ended in -ylius, seems to have been concerned with the sale of a ship at Carthage, and a question of partnership; but there is nothing to show what was the subject of the fourth speech (Fr. 9. ii and probably some of Frs. 10-18). With regard to the remaining fragments the more or less probable position of Frs. 13, 16, 28, 45, 53, 73, 80, and 128 has been ascertained. Fr. 25 apparently comes from a fifth speech about an inheritance (*κληρος*), and Frs. 31 and 39, which probably belong to the same oration, may be connected with a reference in Harpocration to *βεβαιώσεως δίκη* in two unnamed speeches of Lysias (cf. l. 493, n.), while probably one of Frs. 19-22 belongs to the title of it. Fr. 64 might come from the speech *πρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην* or that *πρὸς Ἀρχεβιάδην*.

We are indebted to Mr. E. Lobel and Dr. C. Hude for several good suggestions in the restoration of this papyrus.

(a) *πρὸς Ἰπποθέρσην.*

Fr. 1.

11 letters	]κ[.	15	δ]ους τοις εωνημεγ[οις
10 "	]αμ[.		[[τ]α εαυτου]] δυναται κ[ομιζε
5 "	συκ]οφαν[τ.		σ]θαι Νικοστρατος γα[ρ δι
8 "	]ντ[.		κ]αζεται μετα Ξενοκ[λεους?
5 7 "	] ουτος . [.		το]ν πωλη[σαντος

E 2

.....]ταια[.	20 .]να ασπι[δ 12 letters
. ε]ξέφυ[γε]ν τ[α]ν δε α	. .]ο παρα[14 „
δελφ[ο]ν αυτ[ο]ν [Πολεμαρχον	πέ]ντηκοι[τα 11 „
] απεκτειναν και την [ουσι	δ]ραχμω[ν 11 „
10 α]ν αφειλοντο και [εως	.]νω . [14 „
με]ν εν Πειραιει ωιχε[το η	25 .]δους τ[13 „
ξι]ου κατελθων απ[οφε	.]σθαι ο . [13 „
ρ]εσθαι νυνι δε επε[ιδη η?	.]ιτας σ[13 „
κ]ει ουδε την τιμην [απο	

Fr. 2.

Col. i.	Col. ii.	Fr. 3.
[.] . [. σ]υλ	[	π]ολλων [
ληφ[θ] ουσ]ιαν	50 [	]ιπομ[
30 δε εβδ[ομηκο]ντα τα	π[	ε]ωνημεν[
λαντων [απεδο?]ντο ην	κ[	]των Ιππο[θεροσ
ουτοι ουτ αφ[ανισ]αι ουτ απο	α[	]πτα[
δοσθαι πολ[λων] ημερων	ιπ[	75
εδυνα[ντο ε]πε[ι]δ[η] τ[οι]	55 βο[
35 νυν μεθ [υ]μων φ[ευ]γων	δια[
Δυσιασ [ωιχ]ετο και μετ[α]	απ[
του υμ[ε]τερου πληθους	σασ[
κατηλθεν κελευουσων	δεπ[
των συνθηκων τα μεν	60 ελθω[
40 πεπραμενα τους εωνη	ωιχετ[ο	
μειους εχειν τα δε α	λων α[
[π]ρατα τους κατελθοντας	[ε]κειν[
[κ]ομιζεσθαι ουτος ουτε γην	ποιησα[
[ου]τ οικιαν κεκτημενος	65 σασαν[
45 [α] και αι συνθηκαι τοις κα	ως ασπ[ιδ	
[τε]λθουσιν απεδιδosan	ησαμειν	
[εα]ν δε {αν δ[ε]} αποδω[σ]ι	[
[.]τ[ο] . . .]ερα	σι[
	70 τ[

Fr. 4. Col. i.

. . . .] μετα τα[υτα] τοι
 [νυ]ν ω ανδρες δικασται τ[ο
 [ημ]ισυ της τιμης ηξι
 [ου π]αρα Λυσιου λαβειν λε
 80 [γων] τας εαυτου συμφο
 [ρ]ας ωσπερ τουτου θησαν
 [ρ]ον [ε]πι των τριακοντα
 [ε]υρηκοτος αλλ ουκ απολω
 [λε]κοτος τα οντα διαγα
 85 [να]κτουντος δ αυτου και
 [χαλε]πως φερουτος προς
 [.]ντιλ . . .
 [.]νμ[.] . . α
 [.]νλου Αχαρ
 90 [νεως]πουσιν αυτω
 [.] παραλαβων
 [.] τον Σωσια
 [δην?]νειστην η
 [.] συγκειμε
 95 [ν]ος ωμολο
 [γ]ξν τοις αν
 [.]ομε
 [ν] ανηρ
 [.]ενωι
 100 [.]σδεδει
 [.]ν[.] . .

Fr. 4. Col. ii.

προ[
 δικη[
 ι[.]λν[
 105 γεν . [
 του[
 τροπ[
 δω[
 σινα[
 110 ξαντος [
 ου[.] . [.]τ[
 τοσ[

Fr. 5.

[.] δεινο]ν γ[α]ρ
 [αν ειη ω ανδρες δικ]ασται [
 115 [ει κ]ατηλθε[τε] μ[ε]ν ως αδ[ι
 [κ]ρουμενοι των δε οντων |
 [α]ποστερεισθε ως αδικου[ν]
 [τε]ς· καιτο[ι] δικαιως αν
 [οργιζοι]σθε τοις εωνημε
 120 [νοι]ς τα υμετερα εν ταις τοι
 [αυ]ταις συμφοραις πρω
 [το]ν μεν γαρ οι τριακον[τα]
 [ουδεν α]ν επωλουν ει οι [ω
 [ι]ησομ]ενοι μη ησαν ε[.]
 125 [.]τ[.] γκαρ ε[.] ν
 [.]ων εν

Fr. 6.

Col. i. Plate ii.

[.] συ]νθη
 [κ]το]νξ νομους
 [.]ακη]κοατε η
 130 [.]ας δικαιοτε
 [ρον]ντας λε

Col. ii + Fr. 80. Plate ii.

168 [Η]λει]ον ξ[ε]νον οντα ε
 αυ[τω]ι επει[σεν] αυτον δυ[
 170 ο ταλαντα π[α]ρασχειν τ[ε]
 ληι και αντι τ[ο]ντων ουδε
 μιαν χ[α]ρ]ιν ουδε δωρεαν

- [γειν]ς βελτιους·
 [. τ]ου[ς] αντιδι
 [κους . . .]εισ[. . . .] υμιν
 135 [.] τουτων επιτρεπο
 [μεν α]κουσαντας τα Δυσι
 [αι και Ι]πποθερση πεπρα
 [γμεν]α οποτεραν βουλεσθε
 [κρισιν ?] πραγματος ψηφι
 140 [σασθαι] περι τουτων οπο
 [(τ)ε]ρος βελ[τι]ων ων περι την
 [ημετερ]αν πολιν τυγχα
 [νει δεο]μαι δ υμων ακου
 [σαι ινα κ]αι ουτος υμιν δο
 145 [ξας χρ]ηστος ειναι προθυ
 [μηται ε]πι του λοιπου και ο
 [Ιπποθερ]σης ακουσας τα
 [προσηκ]οντ αυτω βελτι
 [ων το λοι]πον ηι οτ[ι] μεν
 150 [ουν ? . . .]α Δυσι[. . . .] υμιν
 [.]επ[. . .] παντε
 [λως ? δηλο]ν εω[ς] μ[ε]ν γαρ υ
 [μεις ηυδα]ιμονειτε πλου
 [σιωτατος η]ν των μετοι
 155 [κων επειδ]η δε συμφο
 [ρα εγενετο] επεμεγε
 [ουδε γ]αρ ελαχιστον με
 [ρος των υμε]τερων δυστυ
 [χιων . . .]υσεν ανομωσ
 160 [υπο των τρια]κοντα και
 [αδελφου και] χρηματων
 [πολλων απεσ]τερημ[ε]νο[ς]
 [επει δε φευ]γων ωιχετο
 [επικουρους] τριακοσι
 165 [ους επεμψεν ?] εις την κα
 παρ υμιν κεκομισται και
 φευγων μεν τοιουτος ην
 175 κατελθων δε ουδενα πω
 [π]οτε Αθηναιων ελυπη
 [σε]ν ουτε περι των αυτου
 α[ν]αμνημισκων ευερ
 γ[ε]σιων ουτε περι των αλ
 180 λ[ο]τριων ονειδιζων αμαρ
 [τη]ματων νυν δ αναγ
 κηι περι αυτου λεγειν υ
 πο τοιουτου γαρ φευγει την
 δικ[η]ν ος επι μεν των τε
 185 τρα[κο]σιων φευγων ωιχε
 το εκ Δεκελειας δε ορμω
 μενος μ[ε]τα των πολε
 μων ε[πι τη]ν πατριδα
 εστρατευ[σεν οι δε] της πο
 190 λεω[ς] εχθροι κατηγα|
 γον αυ[τον και] | π[ολι]την
 υμετερον επ[ο]ισαν
 ωστ| οιμαι πασ[ι] δηλον
 εινα[ι] οτ[ι] μ[ε]ιο[ν] νυνι
 195 φρονει των τ[ει]χων ωικο
 δομημενων [η των
 τοτε καθηρι]ημενων [
 ουδ ομ[ο]ιας ελπιδας ε
 χει επ[ι τα]ις υμετεραις
 200 ευτυχ[ιαις] και συμφοραις
 ειτα τ[ε]λεος ?] ων [π]ολιτησ
 [[και]] ουδ[ε]πωπ[ο]τε αυτωι
 μεταμελη[σα]ν ουδε δι
 α την ηλικι[α]ν β[ε]λτι
 205 ων γεγενημεν[ος] συκο
 φαντει τους πολλ[ους] με

[θοδον και π]αρεσχετο
[χρηματα τε δ]ραχμας
7 lines lost

θ α υμας ειργα[σ]α[το] . . .
και ταυ[. . .]υ[.]
ζοντ[.]
210 αριστα [.]
ρον Λυσι[.]
και πει[τ]
των απ[.]
μειος . [.]
215 [.] αλλ[.]

Fr. 6. Col. iii.

Δ[υσιαν δε χαριν] παρα[
του [δημου απολαμ]βαν[ειν <ευ>
εργ[εσιαν] την μεγα
στ[ην πεποη]κστα δεο
220 μα[ι ου]ν υμων ω ανδρες
δικασται αποψηφισασθαι
Λυσιου μεμνημενους
και τ[ο]υτου κ[αι] των αλλων
των ει[ρ]ημενων ει δε
225 μ[η] τις εσται τουτου ανθρω
πων δυστυχεστερος ει τα
[μεν] αυτοι βιαι ληφονται

τ[α] δ υμεις δωσετε η τις
το[υ]των ευδαιμονεστε
230 [ρος] ει μη μονον [[περι]] των
[τοτ]ε πραχθεντων συγ
[γνω]μην αυτοις εξετε
[αλλα] και νυνι περι ων
[αν ει]ς υμας εισιωσιν ο
235 [σα] αν κελευωσιν ψηφι
εισθε
προς Ιπποθερσην
υπερ θεραπεινης

(b) *Against Theomnestus.*

Fr. 6. Col. iv.

[φαι]νεται [δι]α το[υ] . . . [.]
240 [. . . .] του Θεομνηστος
[προς ?] υμας [σχ]εδον παν .
[. . .] ναι ουτω γαρ διε
[θηκε ?] ν ωστε μη μο
[νον επ]ιτροπους ειναι κε
245 [. . .] αλλα κ[α]ι την ουσιαν
[.] ουτι δ εταιρωι

Fr. 6. Col. v.

[
[
290 [
ο[
δ[
την αναγκην [.
σεως ουδ αυτος αυ[.
295 τει αναγκη δ αυ[τωι

- [Θεο]μν[ησ]ται τριακον
 [τ]α μνας εδωκα δικην
 δεον εκτισα[ι Θεο]δοτιδη
 250 πριν δυναι τον ηλιον ει
 δε μη υπερημερον εινα
 δους δε ωσπερ εικο[ς] αν[ε]ν
 μαρτυρων αποστ[ε]ρου[μ]ε
 νος αναγκαζομαι δικα
 255 ζεσθαι Θεομνηστος δε
 προ του μεν ην μοι φιλος
 και εταιρος νυνι δε πει
 σθεις υπο των εμων εχθρων
 ταυτα τε πραττει και αλ
 260 λο οτιουν αν εις εμε [ε]τολμη
 σεν· πριν δε ταυτην η
 [μι]ν την διαφοραν γενε
 σθ[α]ι ουτε ηνωχλη[σ]α ουτε
 απητησα [το αργ]υριον ου
 265 δε . [.] πολυς εξο
 [.]ν δε εωρων
 επιτροπην
 ουσ[ια]ς αυτω κα[τ]εσκευα
 σμε[νην]]ντο με
 270 εκλ[.]ν τη της α
 π[.]τε οτε εδω
 κ[αυτω ανευ μ]αρτυρων·
 δους [δε και την] απαιτη
 σιν [.]ς εναντι
 275 ον ε[.]νμενος
 ηγη[σαμην περ]ιεργον
 εινα[ι] μονον
 α[.]τερων
 τ[.]ν
 280 εισ[.]· ι
- ει μη παρ εμου τ[ο] αργυ
 ριον εχει δυοιν θατ[ε]ρον
 η παρ ετερου φα[σ]κ[ειν] ει
 ληφεναι η αυτ[ον] το παν?
 300 εκτετικεναι τω[ι] Θεοδο
 τιδη ει μ[ε]ν το[ι]νυν
 παρ ετερου φησει [ειλη
 [φεναι] καπ[.]

 305 [.]
 [.]
 [.]
 [.] . απ[.]
 310 [.]ειν[.]
 [.]ν μη απο[.]
 [.]ε τοκον α . [.]
 [.] υφ ετερω[ν]
 τ[.]να τοκον [.]
 315 [.] παρ εμο[υ] ?
 ε]σεν του σννι[δο] ?
 το[ς] . .] την αποριαν ο[.]
 κν[ειν] δεθηθηναι· π[αρα
 δε των μηνυσοντω[ν]
 320 τοις εκ[θ]ρο[ι]ς αξ[ι]ουν δα[.]
 νειζ[ε]σθαι· κα[ι]τοι π[ω]σ
 εικος τα μεν εμα ε[τε]
 ροις συνεκδιδοσθαι αυ
 τωι δε παρ ετερω[ν] δε[α
 325 νειζεσθ[αι] ως δ ου . [.]
 τος ηξ[ιω]σ[ε]ν αυτωι μ[.]
 οντος παρ ετερου δαν[ει]
 ζεσθαι μεγα υμ[ι]ν τε[.]
 κμηριον ερω ο[τε] γαρ [ε

ετ[.]θατε[]
 επ[.] ουν τι ε
 ξι[. τ]ο αργυρι
 ον [.] . εις εστι[]
 285 μ . [.] . εξ αυ
 τ[. τ]ου πρα
 γ[ματος] ποιη

330 χο[ρ]ηγει αυ[δρα]σι [εις Δι
 ονυσια πα[. χι
 λ[ι]ας δραχ[μας μι ?
 σθον διελυ[σε

Frs. 7 + 45 + 73.

333a [.]γο[ι]
 334 περι τ[.]ου[.]α . . [
 335 μου οκνειν δεη[θηναι] ? . .
 τε δε | περι του βοος π[.
 [ε]π[] εμοι οικειωι οντ[ι
 [.]αι | προς μεν ουν τ[ο παρ ε
 τ]ερω[ου] φασκειν ειληφε
 340 [να]ι ταυτα λεγω αν [δε . .
 [. . .] . οντος αργυριου . .
 [. υ]μας του Θεο[μνηστον] ?
 [εν]τ[ε]υθεν χρη [εξεταζειν] ?
 [πω]ς εικος εστιν η[.
 345 [.]ς αργυριου πε[ρ]ιδ[ειν] ε
 [αυ]τον εις τον εσχα[του] κιν
 δ[υ]νον ελθοντα κα[ι το]σαν
 την [δ]υναμιν επι[δ]ειξαι
 τοις εχθροις και <τις> ουτ[ω] σφο

350 δρα επ[ε]τρεπε τη[ι τ]υχη[ι
 ει [κ]αι τ[ι] εξαιφνης [ε]πα
 θεν περι το σωμα αμα
 και τον βιον αναγκασθη
 ναι παθειν εις τουτ[ο προ]ρ
 355 [ηκο]ντα ωστε ει εδυ [ο] ηλι
 [ο]ς υπερημερου οντ[ο]ς κ[αι
 [τι]ς ουτως ανοητος οστ[ι]ς
 [αυ]τον παρασκευαζει [υ
 [πο] τοις εχ[θ]ροις γενεσθαι
 360 [η τ]ις ουτως αφρων οστις
 [.]ει ολιγου δειν α
 [.]ναι η τις υ
 [.] οστις λ[. . .] ν
 [.]αιμι[.
 365 [.]ν εξο[.
 [.] . [.

(c) *Against . . . ylius, &c.*

Fr. 8.	Fr. 9. Col. i.	Fr. 9. Col. ii.
[μαρ]τυρ[ε]ς	[.] υμ[ιν] ?	390 [
[πα]λιν τ[ο]ινυν [ω] ανδρε[ι]ς	[.]υτων τοις μαρτυ	[
[δικ]ασται ως τη[ν] ναυν	375 [σι]	[
370 [εν Κ]αρχηδονι απ[ε]δοτ[ο]	[] μαρτυρε[ς]	[

[μα]ρτυρησουσιν [υ]μιν ο[ι [επι]πλεοντε[ς]	[ως με]ν τ[οι]νυν ω ανδρες [δικασ]ται ουκ εγενομηγ [αυτ]ωι κ[ο]ινωμος ακ[ου 380 [σατε] των μαρτυρων και [.]. αποδομε [ν]ν αποδοσθαι [. . . τ]αυτα τ[οι]νυν ω αν 400 [δρες δικαστ]αι σκοπουν 385 [τες]μ . . . υ[. . .]ε[. [.]α . . . αδ[. . . [. . . την] ναυ[ν] [.]ε . . . [. [. . . ψη]φισα[σ]θε [προς] . υλιον	τα . [. 395 δικ[. κα . [. λυ[. ου[. πη[. 400 [. εσ[. το[. τι[.	
Fr. 10.]αταπ[405] . δ[.] . . . [.] . ε και [.]σ[]εις μεντ[] παρ ετερω[ν] ?]ας δε λει[410] διαλλα[]ε . [	Fr. 11. [.] . τ[[.]τ[.]λλ[[.] . [. 415 [.]ν . μ[οντα[.] . δικαι[[.]ειν δη τισιν α[[.]ου[.]αντα αρ . [. . . ου 430 τω σφοδρα μου [κατε 420 φρονησεν [ω]στ[ε] . . . σθα[ι] αντ[[.]ω δεινοτ[[. . .]τε[.]ντ[435	Fr. 12.]λου . [. . 425] . υ[.] . [. .] . ον οντα[]ν φευ[[γ]ρια] αδικως α]ν οιογ ου]σατε] . . . ετολμα] .πραγμα]τογ[. . .]γα[. . . 435	Fr. 13. top of col.] μαρτυρ[]ομαι [μαρτυρες] Fr. 14. π[.] . [. . .]η[440 δυ ετη προσ[εφα? σκε βουλευσθαι α[με ποιησασθ[αι end of col.
Fr. 15. [. .]σηστ[δανειζ[445 . . . ελ[δ[	Fr. 16. 447]π[ο]ν]νη]εφα	Fr. 17. 450] . στ . [.]μεν . [.] . . [.	Fr. 18. 453] . ν[]ειτ[455] . ξ . [.

(d) MISCELLANEOUS.

Fr. 19	Fr. 20.	Fr. 21.	Fr. 22.
456]τοῡ	457]̄προς [	458] παρα[ομων?	459]̄απει[460]̄προς [O?]. [
Fr. 23.	Fr. 24.	Fr. 25.	
] . [.]̄ποτ[]οῡ και []τουμ[π]αρεχομ[ε 465]ητε̄ κα[] φασκο[ν]ν[	470 . .]̄τιοι[. π]αραλ[. .]̄ πλειο[.]̄δε των . [] . αῑ πιστ[εις?] π]αραστ[.]̄ρας εδω[κ 475 τ]αχα ουν [ε]καστων [.]̄ν τις παρ[ρ]τυρας ε . [.]̄δοκω κα[480 .]̄ν ειναι κ[.]̄ιον οτι τ[αν]αγκη τ . []̄ηρειν καλου[μεν end of col.	485]α[]δωτωι []την̄ συμβα[λ] μη̄ τοῡ κλη[ρου] χρηματω[ν] εις̄ ταυτη[ν 490]ην̄ εκτισιν̄ σωτ[το]ν̄ κληρον̄ απ[]αῑ την̄ παιδισκ[ην] ουν̄ εφη̄ βεβα[ι]ση[.]̄ δ̄ εῑ τῑ φη[495]θ[α]ῑ εμοῑ δικα[]τ[.]̄ ακου[σ]ας̄ ῑε . [] καῑ . . [.]̄ντ[βο]υλευσ[]ην̄ τῑ τ[500]ατ[!	
Fr. 26.	Fr. 27.	Fr. 28.	
[. . .]̄ ουκ̄ α[. [. . .]̄ αλλ̄ εῑ μεν̄ απτ[. . . [. . . π]ολεμιοις̄ αυτ[. . . [. . .]̄ . [.]̄ . ουκ̄ αν̄ ειχεν̄ [. . 505 [. .]̄ ακογτος̄ τοιουτωῑ δ[ε [τρο]π̄ωῑ ηγησα[το] δ[ι [κα]ῑως̄ αγανα[κτειν επῑ των̄ πατ[ριων̄ απο	515 τ]αλ ταῑ ν[τος̄ τ[515 ζ]ετ[αι δειξ[ρους̄ . [εν̄ τη[μ[	520 . [π[μ[δι[διδ[525 β[π . [ρα[

	στερουμενος [.	ξ[
510	μοι δοκουσιν ο[ι τα υμε	τι[
	τερα πριαμεν[οι	

Frs. 29 + 30 + 28? .

Fr. 31.

530	δυ[.] . σ[ . . .		]ων[.
	β[.] ξροις ε	540	]υροσυ[.
	π . [.] αι αυτον πα		]τρος του[
	ρα[.] ον αποδει		] και τοις φο
	ξ[. . .] ο[ι . | [ . . α]υτον εναγ[		] αι αγανα
535	τι|α τοις αλ[λοις] γ[ι]γνωσκον	κτ	π]ολλα ημαρ
	τα μονον <α?> α[ν α]υτω δικαι	545 τ	]οι μηδεν
	[ω]ς παρ υμων φ[ι]ροι το[.] . ν		]ων φροντι
	[. . .] ν πως γαρ | δυνα[τ]αι		αμφι]σβητει τω[ι [
	end of col.		]ε . τ . [

Fr. 32.

Fr. 33.

Fr. 34.

	[.]φητ[		] . ενος [	565] .
550	[.]θειτα[		]του ουτος δε τ[	]τα
	[.]ντ[.] . [		δ]ιαγομενος [	]αρ
	[ο]υκ εθελ[.] . [	560	δια]λελυκε τηγ [	]θαι
	ειχετε ου γαρ θ[ι]κα[ι]ον?		]ν ο φασκων [ .	]ρα
	μεν υμ[ι]ν ε[ι]σεν . [ . . .		]αιος ειναι των [	570]ν
555	υπερ τ[ο]υτου [.]η[		]ν προ]ς [τ]ας ενιω[	]σα
	[.] . [		] . . . [	]τα

Fr. 35.

Fr. 36.

Fr. 37.

Fr. 38.

	[.] . νεω[	580 . [		]νκα[
	στρατεια[	φ[		595]ν γαρ [
575	και ετε[	φ[		]τουτ[
	συνε . [	αν[	590]ε	]υμ[
	των . [τε	λ . [	]εμ	]σα[
	λευτ[	585 εκ[	] ]	]ντε[
	[.]ρωφ[	δ[	]αι	600]ν . [

Fr. 39.		Fr. 40.	
]ρο . [		Col. i.	Col. ii.
β]εβαιοι π[		2 lines lost	. [
ο]υκ απ[		] .	615 σ[
αμφ]ισβητ[	610	]ν	π[
605] αποσ[		] . ου	3 lines lost
]σφ[		]	620 α . [
		] .	ει . [
Fr. 41.	Fr. 42.	Fr. 43.	Fr. 44.
]ε[	]τη[	] [	]φει[
]δρ[	]του[	635 λ[	]κοστ[
]πει[	630]μα[	. [	]νε[
625]προσ[	]ω . [	κ[	]ημ[
]ντα . [	]θερ . [	κ[	645] [
]ω[	]ει[	ει[	]του[
		640 η[] . [
Fr. 45.	Fr. 46.	Fr. 47.	Fr. 48.
]ροι[	654]πο . [	] . .	]ρ . [
] περι τ[	2 lines lost	]	] . ο
650]μον φ[	]τε . . . [ . ] . [	] τότε	]πτ .
]τεδε[	]τα επιτηδε[ια ?	]ν	670]ηχιο
]πε . [	]ν ως αξιον ει	665]ν] .
]α[	660]ης φ[ω]νησαι[	]ωι	]αι
Fr. 49.	Fr. 50.	Fr. 51.	Fr. 52.
]ρου	]ι εισε[	] και ε[] . [
] . ε	] . εση[	]ν συ . [	] . ν λα . λ[
675]ρειν	680]ωστο . [	685 ομο]λογουμ[	690] . ωι τωι περρυσ[
]πι	]ι τυγχ[αν	]ιν το α[	]μενου δ[.]υξ . [
]ν	]οντ[	]σεσ[	]υττ[

Fr. 53.	Fr. 54.	Fr. 55.	Fr. 56.
]αι . [	] . . [	] . ιλα[	706]μ[
]λει τις . [	]ιαιτα[	] ου φασκων [
695]αθηκ[	700] μαρτυσ[ι ?	] εκεινης . . [
]μφεσ[	μαρτυ]ρες	705]γον αλλα γ[
] . . [		end of col.	
Fr. 57.	Fr. 58.	Fr. 59.	Fr. 60.
] . [	711]ισα[	715]ψασ[	] εργα[
]θων δ[	]ασε[	]ση πισ[	720] . τειμ[
]επεν . [	]ν γα[	]ομει[	]κανε[
710]α[	] . κυ[	] . . [	]α[
Fr. 61.	Fr. 62.	Fr. 63.	Fr. 64.
]τ . . ταλ[	727]αν σι	730]υτον ε[	]υτωι π . [
τρι]ηραρχ[	] . τυ	]αι τον . [	735]ιδηξαι τ[
725 πλο]υσιωτα[τ	]ν αμ	]ασουκ[	]ι αναισχυν[τος
]ω . [	end of col.	]α . [	Σωσ?]ιαδης κ[
Fr. 65.	Fr. 66.	Fr. 67.	Fr. 68.
]σιε[	] . [	top of col.	]ω[
]κλ[	] . ιτ[	] . ελλ[	]υγ[
740] . τ[	745]τ[	]ων χ[	]γ[
]ερου[	]ντ[	750]μ[α[	755]ου α[
]αφί[	]η[	] . [	]β[
Fr. 69.	Fr. 70.	Fr. 71.	Fr. 72.
]ν . [	761 . . . [	765 ] . . [	]υοσ[
]υτον [	χρον[	] . ου . [	770]οιτ[
]κον[	την [	]ετω[	]βων [
760]απ[	τ[.]ε[	]εριε[	] . α[

Fr. 73.	Fr. 74.	Fr. 75.	Fr. 76.
]αι[	[.] . . [	781 Σω?σιαδη[	785] θεο
]ερ[	[.]πο[	] . . θελη[	]τηρ
775]τ[	[.]ον . [	]πην .	]ε
] . [	780 [.]ειν[	]θ[	]α
Fr. 77.	Fr. 78.	Fr. 79.	Fr. 80.
την [	σθαι και ε . [	]εκ[.	801]π[.] .]την
790 ουδ[	[.]μενον [	]ν . ι	]οιησαν
ψηφ[ι	795 [.] . ν' εξ . [	]θω	]ι δηλον
απου[	[.] . . . [	800]παι	]ν ινυι
Fr. 81.	Fr. 82.	Fr. 83.	Fr. 84.
805 ] . . [	τ[] . . [.	[.] . [
]ωνδ[	810 > [	]ομε	[.]υρα . [
]αδε[	ακ[	815]τε	]αθυ[
]αλλ[	στα[	] . ξ[!	820 [.] . [
Fr. 85.	Fr. 86.	Fr. 87.	Fr. 88.
821 δου τ[	] . [	top of col.	831 [.]ν . [
ημισ[υ	825]αυ[	] μαρτ[υρ	επ[
πλησι[	]ν[.] . [	]αι ο αυ[	στρα[τ
end of col.	]σεα[	830] . [. . [
Fr. 89.	Fr. 90.	Fr. 91.	Fr. 92.
835 οπ . [	]οντ[	841 ων το[	τ[α[
δια . [	]φανων[	τιαν τ[	845 τεσ[
οι πλα[	840]υτωι [.] . . . [	κην . [	ε[σ[
end of col.			
Fr. 93.	Fr. 94.	Fr. 95.	Fr. 96.
847 ] . . [	850 μα]ρτυρων [	852 α[	855] . τη . [
] δε τουτωι πε . [	τη]ν πραξιγ [	α[	]σφεισ[
]μετ[	end of col.	η[	]οι[α[

Fr. 97. top of col. 858] ποτε επε[ω ανδρ]ες δικα[σται	Fr. 98. top of col. 860]τω . []]ωμα[	Fr. 99. 862 α[τ[λ[	Fr. 100. 865]αιολ[]με[]τ[
Fr. 101. 868]ι[blank space]λυσ[	Fr. 102. 870]ης οργης ανα[]ας δικαζειν []]ωι πρ[	Fr. 103.]πο[]α[875]δ[	Fr. 104. 876]νωι μ[]σον πε[] [
Fr. 105.]αι[880]ιδο[] . κ[	Fr. 106. 882 [.] λου[[.] τε ο[ι[ [.] . . [	Fr. 107. 885] . [] ι]σχυ . []]υ[	Fr. 108.] . . []]τω[890]αντα . []
Fr. 109. 891]α[] . η[]αφ[	Fr. 110.] . . [] 895]δρ . []]αυτ[	Fr. 111. 897]πρ[]δενα[] . []	Fr. 112. 900]ρα]αι]ε
Fr. 113.] . [.] ρ[]τιν[905]δ . . []	Fr. 114. 906]αν[]τωι δ[end of col.	Fr. 115. 908]ικ[]αρ[end of col.	Fr. 116. top of col. 910 το[χ[
Fr. 117. 912]ωι π[]μα[	Fr. 118.]δρενε[915]η η	Fr. 119. 916]τι ακη[]ε απατη[	Fr. 120. 918]υτον ο]υδε
Fr. 121. 920]ει[] . οδ[	Fr. 122. 922] . []]ν . υμι[ν	Fr. 123.]των κ[925]ωι α[	Fr. 124. 926]αν]γοι

Fr. 125. 928]δικω[]ι τρια[	Fr. 126. 930]στρ[ατ εισι[	Fr. 127. 932]ει[α[διοτ[	Fr. 128.]καν[935 α]νδρ[εσ
Fr. 129. 936]ορ[.]ερ δαι	Fr. 130. 938]ν μη[] . ε[	Fr. 131. 940]ωκ . []αη[	Fr. 132. 942] . . []νος [
Fr. 133. 945]μενος υ[]δε και [	Fr. 134. 946] εμαυ[τ πε]ριεστη[	Fr. 135. 948]σμ[απ]οστερη[	Fr. 136. 950]ρ . . []ν απο[
Fr. 137. 952 ειυ[απ . [	Fr. 138. μ . [955 σθα[ι	Fr. 139. 956 α[κ[	Fr. 140. 958 τ[ε[
Fr. 141. 960]το α[]τα . [	Fr. 142. 962]ται α[ ] . . [	Fr. 143.]α[965]ω[	Fr. 144. 966]α . []ς γη[
Fr. 145. 968]θα[ι[]στ[ι	Fr. 146. 970] . ε . []σπ[ι	Fr. 147. 972]α . []ω[	Fr. 148.] . . [975]εισ[
Fr. 149. 976]ν]]σ	Fr. 150. top of col. 979 αλλ[	Fr. 151. 980] . . []ταυτο[	Fr. 152. 982] ηδη [
Fr. 153. 983]τολ[	Fr. 154. 984]ατ[	Fr. 155. 985]αυ[

Fr. 1. . . . οὗτος . . . [ε]ξέφυ[γε]ν, τὸν δὲ ἀ]δελφ[ὸν αὐτ[ο]ῦ [Πολέμαρχον] ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τὴν
[οὐσίαν] ἀφείλοντο. καὶ [ἕως μέ]ν ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἄχε[το ἤξι]ου κατελθὼν ἀπ[οφέρ]εσθαι, νυνὶ δὲ ἐπε[ιδὴ]

ἦκ?]ει οὐδὲ τὴν τιμὴν [ἀποδ]οῦς τοῖς ἐωνημένοις [τ]ὰ ἑαυτοῦ δύνανται κ[ομί]ζεσθαι. Νικόστρατος γὰρ [δικ]άζεται μετὰ Ξενοκ[λέους το]ῦ πωλή[σαντος] . . .

'Lysias . . . escaped by flight, but they killed his brother Polemarchus and took away his property. While he was away at the Piraeus, he claimed to get it back on his return; but now when he has come back, he is unable to recover what is his own, even by paying the price to the purchasers. For Nicostratus is prosecuting him with Xenocles, who offered for sale . . .'

Fr. 2. . . . σ]υλληφ[θ] . . . οἱ σ]άν δέ ἐβδ[ομήκο]τα ταλαίτων [ἀπέδω?]ντο, ἦν οὔτοι οὔτ' ἀφ' ἀνίσ]ιαι οὔτ' ἀποδόσθαι πολ[λῶν] ἡμερῶν ἐδύνα[ντο]. ἐ]πε[ε]δ[ι]ή] τ[α]ῦ]νν μεθ' [ὑ]μῶν φ[ε]ύ[γων] Λυσίας [ᾗ]χ]ετο καὶ μετ[ᾶ] τοῦ ὑ[με]τέρου πλήθους κατήλθεν, κελευουσῶν τῶν συνθηκῶν τὰ μὲν πεπραμένα τοὺς ἐωνημένους ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ ἄ[π]ρατα τοὺς κατελθόντας [κ]ομίζεσθαι, οὔτος οὔτε γῆν [οὔ]τ' οἰκίαν κεκτημένος, [ᾶ] καὶ αἰ σ]υνθηκῆαι τοῖς κα[τε]λθούσιν ἀπεδίδουσαν, [εᾶ]ν δὲ <μῆ?> ἀποδῶ[σ]ι . . .

' . . . and sold the property for 70 talents, which property they were unable either to realize or to sell within a long period. So when Lysias departed with you into exile and returned with your democracy, the treaty enjoining that buyers should keep their purchases, but the returned exiles should recover what was unsold, he, not having obtained either land or house, which even the treaty restored to the returned exiles, or if it did (not?) restore . . .'

Fr. 4. μετὰ τα[ῦ]τα τοῖ[σ]ιν, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τ[ὸ] ἦμ]ισν τῆς τιμῆς ἠξί[ου] π[α]ρὰ Λυσίου λαβεῖν, λε[ί]γων τὰς ἑαυτοῦ συμφο[ρ]άς, ὥσπερ τούτου θησαν[ρ]ὸν [ἐ]πὶ τῶν τριάκοντα [ε]ἰρηκότος ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπολω[λε]κότος τὰ ἔντα. διαγο[ν]ακτούντος δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ χαλε[π]ῶς φέροντος πρὸς . . .

'Afterwards then, gentlemen of the jury, he claimed to receive half the price from Lysias, recounting his own misfortunes, as if Lysias had discovered a treasure in the time of the Thirty and not lost his property. Lysias being indignant and unwilling to submit . . .'

Fr. 5. δεῖνὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη ὧ ἄνδρες δικ[ασ]ταί, [εἰ κ]ατήλθε[τε] μ[ε]ν ὡς ἀ[ε]κ[ο]ύμενοι, τῶν δὲ ἄντων [ἀ]ποστειρέσθε ὡς ἀδικού[τε]ς. καίτοι[ε] δικαίως ἂν [ὀργί]ζοισθε τοῖς ἐωνημέ[νοι]ς τὰ ὑμέτερα ἐν ταῖς τοῖ[αῖ]ταις συμφοραῖς. πρῶ[το]ν μὲν γὰρ οἱ τριάκον[τα] οὐδὲν ἄ]ν ἐπώλουν εἰ οἱ [ὠνησόμε]νοι μὴ ἦσαν.

'It would be monstrous, gentlemen of the jury, that you should come back from exile as the injured parties, and yet be deprived of your property as if you were the wrongdoers. You might, however, justly be angry with the purchasers of your property in times of such misfortunes; for in the first place the Thirty would not have been offering anything for sale unless there had been intending buyers.'

Fr. 6. i-iii. ὑμῶν [δὲ περὶ?] τούτων ἐπιτρέπο[μεν] ἀκούσαντας τὰ Λυσί[α] καὶ [Ἰ]πποθέρη πεπρα[γμέν]α ὁποτέραν βούλεσθε [κρίσιν?] (< ?>) πράγματος ψηφί[σασθαι] περὶ τούτων ὅσ[ο] (τε)ρος βελ[τί]ων ὧν περὶ τὴν [ἡμετέρ]αν πόλιν τυγχά[νει]. δέο[μαι] δ' ὑμῶν ἀκού[σαι], ἵνα κ[αὶ] οὗτος ὑμῶν δό[ξ]ας χρ[η]στὸς εἶναι προσι[μῆ]ται ἐπὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ, καὶ ὁ [Ἰ]πποθέρ]σης ἀκούσας τὰ [προσῆ]κ[ο]ιτ' αὐτῶι Βελτίων τὸ λοιπὸν ἦ. ὅτ[ι] μὲν [οὔ]ν? . . .]α Λυσί[α]. . . ὑ]μῶν [.]ε[π]. πα[ν]τέ[λως] δ[η]λο[ν]. ἔω[ς] [μ]ε]ν γὰρ ὑ]μεῖς ηἰδα[μονε]ῖτε πλουσιώτατος ἦ]ν τῶν μετοίκων, ἐπειδ[ὴ] δὲ συμφο[ρ]ὰ ἐγένετο] ἐπέμενεν, [οὐδὲ γ]ὰρ ἐλάχιστον μ[έ]ρος τῶν ἐμ[ε]τέρων δυστι[χιῶν] . . .]υσεν, ἀνόμως [ὑ]πὸ τῶν τριά[κοντα] καὶ [ἀδελφοῦ] καὶ χρημάτων [πολλῶν ἀπεσ]τερμη[έ]νο[ς]. ἐπεὶ δὲ φεύ[γων] ᾗχετο, [ἐπικούρους] τριακοσί[ους] ἐπεμψεν?]εἰς τὴν κ[ό]σθον καὶ πα[ρ]έσχετο [χρηματ]ὰ τε δ[ραχμ]ὰς [δισχιλίας] καὶ ἀσπίδας διακοσίας . . . Θρασυδαῖον τὸν Ἰλλεῖον ξ[έ]νον ὄντα ἐαι[τῶ] ἐπει[σεν] αὐτὸν δύο τάλατα πα[ρ]ασχεῖν τ[έ]λη, καὶ ἀντὶ τ[ο]ύτων οὐδεμίαν χ[ί]αριν οὐδὲ δωρεάν παρ' ὑμ[ῶν] κεκόμισται. καὶ φεύγων μὲν τοιούτος ἦν, κατελθὼν δὲ οὐδένα πα[ρ]εῖτε Ἀθηναίων ἐλίπ[ισεν], οὔτε περὶ τῶν αἰτοῦ ἄν[ι]μμυήσκων ἐνεργ[ε]σιῶν οὔτε περὶ τῶν ἀλλ[ο]τρῶν ὑνείδίζων ἀμαρ[τη]μάτων. νῦν δ' ἀνάγκη περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγειν, ὑπὸ τοιούτου γὰρ φεύγει τὴν

δικῆν] ὡς ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν τετρακισίων φείγων ἄγετε, ἐκ Δεκελείας δὲ ἠρμώμενος μὲν ἐτὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ τῇ πατρίδα ἐστράτευσεν, οἱ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐχθροὶ κατήγαγον αὐτὸν καὶ πολίτην ὑμέτερον ἐποίησαν. ὦστ', οἶμαι, πᾶσι δῆλον εἶναι ὅτι μίσειν νυνὶ φρονεῖ τῶν τειχῶν ὠκοδομημένων [ἢ τῶν] τότε καθηγημένων, οἷδ' ἄμφοίβας ἐλπιδας ἔχει ἐπὶ ταῖς ἱμετέραις εἰτυχίαις] καὶ συμφοραῖς, εἴτα τέλεος ὦν πᾶσι τῆς, οἷδ' ἐπιπέπυτε αὐτῷ μεταμελίσειν οἷδ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν βελτίων γενημῆος, σικλοφρατεῖ τοῖς πολλοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς εἰργασίη το . . . Ἀνοσίω δὲ χάριν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ἀπολαμβάνειν εἰρηγῆσιαν] τὴν μεγίστην πεποιήκοιτα. δέομαι οἷν ἱμῶν, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἀποψηφισασθε Ἀνοσίω μεμνημένους καὶ τούτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν εἰρημένων. εἰ δὲ μή, τίς ἔσται τοῦτου ἀθρώπων δυστυχέστερος, εἰ τὰ μὲν αὐτοὶ βία λήθονται, τὰ δ' ὑμεῖς δώσετε; ἢ τίς τούτων εὐδαιμονέστερος, εἰ μὴ μόνον τῶν τούτων πραχθέντων συγγνώμην αὐτοῖς ἔξετε, [ἀλλὰ] καὶ νυνὶ περὶ ὧν εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσώσωσιν ὄσα ἂν κελεύσωσιν ψηφιεῖσθε;

πρὸς Ἴπποθέρσην ὑπὲρ Θεραπαινῆς.

. . . we leave it to you, after hearing the actions of Lysias and Hippotherses, to give whichever verdict on the matter you choose with regard to the question which of the two is the better citizen. And I beg you to listen, in order that both Lysias, having been judged by you to have done his duty, may be still more zealous in the future, and Hippotherses hearing the truth about himself may behave better. . . . For while you were prosperous Lysias was the richest of the metoeci; but when disaster came he stayed on; for he did not in the least fail to share in your misfortunes, being illegally deprived by the Thirty of both his brother and much money. When he left Athens in flight, he sent 300 mercenaries to help in the restoration and provided both 2,000 drachmae in money and 200 shields . . . (and going to) Thrasylaeus the Elean, who was his guest-friend, he persuaded him to provide two talents in taxes, though in return for this he has never obtained any recompense or favour from you. Such was his behaviour in exile, while since his return he has never given offence to a single Athenian either by recalling the benefits conferred by himself or by making reproaches for the sins of others. But now it is necessary to speak about him, since his accuser is a man of this character: in the time of the Four Hundred he took to flight, and making Decelea his head-quarters fought with the enemy against his country; and it was the foes of the city who restored him and made him your fellow-citizen. Hence it is, I think, plain to all that he is now less pleased with the walls which were built than with the walls which were then destroyed, and bases quite dissimilar hopes upon your good fortunes and your disasters, and then being a full citizen, and never having repented or improved through age, he slanders the democracy after what he has done against you . . . (it is just) that Lysias should receive the thanks of the people for having conferred the greatest benefit upon them. I entreat you therefore, gentlemen of the jury, to acquit Lysias, remembering both this and the other arguments which I have used. Otherwise who in the world will be more unfortunate than Lysias, if his opponents are to take part of his property by force and part of it is to be given to them by you, or who will be happier than they, if you intend not only to pardon them for their past misdeeds but also now, whatever proposals they may make to you, to vote for all their demands? Against Hippotherses on behalf of a maidservant.'

Fr. 6. iv v, 7. Αὐτὸν μετὰ δὲ τῆς τοῦ Θεόμνητος πρὸς;] ἡμᾶς σχεδὸν πάντων . . .]ναι. οὕτω γὰρ διεβήκε;] ὥστε μὴ μόνον ἐπιτρόπους εἶναι κε[. . . ἀ]λλὰ καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ὄν]τι δ' ἐταῖρος [Θεο]μ[ή]τρω τριάκοι[τ]ρα μᾶς ἔδωκα, δίκην δέον ἐκτίσαι Θ[εο]σοφίῳ πρὶν δόξαι τὸν ἄλλον. εἰ δὲ μή, ἐπερημερον εἶναι. τοῖς δὲ ὡσπερ, εἰς ἂν εἴη μαρτύρων, ἀποστ[ε]ν οὐ μόνον ἀναγκάζομαι δικάζεσθαι. Θεόμνητος δὲ πρὸ τοῦ μὲν ἦν μοι φίλος καὶ ἐταῖρος, νυνὶ δὲ πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐχθρῶν ταῦτα τε πράττει καὶ ἄλλο ὅτιον ἂν εἰς ἐμὲ [ἐ]τόλμησεν. πρὶν δὲ ταύτην ἡμί]ν τὴν διαφορ]ὴν γεῖσθ' αὐτῷ, οὔτε ἠνώχλη]τα οὔτε ἀπήνητα [τὸ ἀν]έμω, αἰδὲ . . . (l. 293) . . . τὴν ἀνάγκην]σεως οὐδ' αὐτοῦ ἀν[. . .]τε. ἀνάγκη δ' αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ παρ' ἐμοῦ τὸ ἀργύριον ἔχει, δυνὸν εἶσθ' ἄλλο. ἢ παρ' ἑτέρου φάσκειν εἰληφέναι ἢ αὐτῷ τὸ πᾶν;] ἐκτετεκέναι τῷ Θεο[σο]φίῳ. εἰ μὲν

το[ίνυν] πα[ρ'] ἑτέρου φήσει [εἰληφέναι] καπ[. . . (l. 315) παρ' ἑμο[ῦ] ε[. . . .]τεν τοῦ συνε[δό]το[ς]
 . . . τὴν ἀπορίαν ὀκνεῖν] δεηθῆμι, π[ι]νὰ δὲ τῶν μνησόντων[ι] τοῖς ἐχ[θ]οῖσι ἀξιοῦν δανεῖ[ε]ῖσθαι.
 κα[ί]τοι π[ῶ]ς εἰκὸς τὰ μὲν ἐμὰ ἐ[τέ]ροις συνεκδίδ[ο]σθαι, αὐτῶ δὲ παρ' ἑτέρων δι[ε]ίξασθ[αι]; ὡς δ'
 οἱ . . . [.]τος ἤξ[ί]ω σ[ε] . . . αἰτῶ μ[ε] . . . ἄντος παρ' ἑτέρου δαι[ε]ῖσθαι μέγα ἰμ[ε]ν τεκμήριον ἐρῶ. ὅτε γὰρ
 [ε]χθ[ρο]ν ἡγεῖ ἀνδράσι [εἰς Δι]πίσια πα[.] χι[λ]ί[ς] ἰσ[ο]δραχμὰς . . . μ[ι]τθὸν διέλιπε . . . (l. 338)
 πρὸς μὲν οὖν τ[ὸ] παρ' ἐ[τέ]ροι φήσκειν εἰληφέναι ταῦτα λέγω· ἀν[δ]ρ[ῶ]ν] οὗτος ἀργυρίον
 ἰμᾶς τὸν Θεόμνηστον ἐντ[ὲ]θεν χρῆ[ι] ἐξετάζειν? πῶ[ι] εἰκὸς ἐστίν η[.] ἀργυρίον πε[ρ]ὶ αὐ[τῶ]ν
 ἐ[α]ντ[ὸν] εἰς τὸν ἐσχα[τ]οῦν κινεῖ[ν] ἑλθόντα καὶ τ[ὸ] ταύτην [δ]ναμιν ἐπ[ὶ] ἡλείξει τοῖς ἐχθροῖς; καὶ (τίς)
 οὐτ[ὸ] σφόδρα ἐπ[έ]τρεπε τῇ [τ]ύχῃ, εἰ [κ]αὶ τ[ε] ἐξείφνης [ε]ταθεν, ὥστε περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἅμα καὶ τὸν
 βίον ἀναγκασθ[ῆ]ναι παθεῖν εἰς τοῦτ[ο] πρ[ὸ] ἡκόνητα εἰ ἔδν [ό] ἡλίος ὑπερήμερου ὄντος; κ[αὶ] ἰ[σ]τίς οὕτως
 ἀνίητος ὄστ[ι]ς [αὐ]τὸν παρασκευάζε[ται] ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐχ[θ]οῖσι γενέσθαι; [ἢ] τ[ί]ς; οὕτως ἄφρων ὄστις . . .

. . . As he was my associate, I gave Theomnestus 30 minae, when he was obliged to pay a penalty to Theozotides before sunset or else become liable for default. Having given him the money naturally without witnesses and being defrauded of it, I am compelled to go to law. Theomnestus previously was my friend and associate, but now at the persuasion of my enemies this is how he acts, and he would have dared to do anything else against me. Before this quarrel between us arose, I neither troubled him nor demanded back the money . . . (l. 295) He must, if he has not had the money from me, make one of two pleas, either that he has received it from some one else, or that he himself paid Theozotides in full. If on the one hand he is going to assert that he received it from some one else, . . . (l. 315) . . . he hesitated to ask from me who was aware of his straits (?), but thought fit to borrow from persons who were going to inform his enemies. Is it, however, probable that my money should be lent out (?) to others, and that he should borrow from others than myself? To show that he did not think fit . . . to borrow from some one else, I will produce an important piece of evidence. When he was providing a men's chorus at the Dionysiac festival, . . . (l. 338) With regard then to the assertion that he received the money from some one else, that is my answer. But if (he paid from) the money which he had by him, you must put these questions to Theomnestus. Is it likely that he would have overlooked the extreme danger which he incurred and put so much power into his enemies' hands? Who ever had such excessive trust in fortune, even if suddenly he became possessed, that he was obliged to endanger his body and life as well, having come to this pass if the sun set leaving him a defaulter? Who is so senseless as to place himself at the mercy of his enemies, or who is so foolish as to . . .

3. συκ]οφαν[τ]: cf. xii. 5 ἐπειδὴ δ' οἱ τριάκοντα πονηροὶ μὲν καὶ συκοφάνται ὄντες εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέστησαν, to which ll. 2-4 were probably similar.

5. οὗτος means Lysias, as apparently throughout the fragments of this speech; cf. ll. 43, 81, 144, 225. His opponents are spoken of as οἱ in ll. 32 and 229, while τούτων in l. 140 refers to both Lysias and Hippotheres. The letter following οὗτος can be γ, ι, οἱ π.

8. [Πολεμαρχον is rather long for the lacuna, but seems necessary; cf. the next n. and xii. 17 sqq.

9-10. τὴν [οὐσίαν] ἀφειλοντο: cf. ll. 29, 162, and Plut. *Vit. Lys.* 835 ε τῶν τριάκοντα παραλαβόντων τὴν πόλιν ἐξέπεσεν . . . ἀφαιρεθεὶς τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Πολέμαρχον. [οικία]ν could be read both here and in l. 29 (cf. l. 44), but is unsuitable; for Lysias with his brother owned three houses (xii. 18), and the price mentioned in l. 30, which must be not less than 30 and seems to be 70 talents, is too high for a single house; cf. xix. 29, where a house costs 50 minae, and xix. 42, where a house and land cost 5 talents. A list of Lysias' losses, given in xii. 19, includes 700 shields, 120 slaves, money, clothes, and furniture.

11. *εν Πειραιει*: according to xii. 17 Lysias went to Megara from Athens, and Plut. *op. cit.* 835f states διήγεν *έν Μεγάροις*. The Piraeus is mentioned here as being the headquarters of the exiles after its capture by Thrasybulus. One of the houses of Lysias and his brother was there; cf. Plato, *Rep.* 327a.

11-12. ηξι]ου: cf. l. 78.

12-13. απ[οφε]ρ]ισθαι: or αι[ακομι]ζ]εσθαι; cf. κ[ομι]ζεσ]λαι in l. 16. αγ[or αι.] could also be read, and the verb may be intransitive; but possibly τα εαυτου, which in l. 16 has a line above it, was added in the margin of ll. 12-13.

16-17. κ[ομι]ζεσ]θαι: cf. l. 43 and 12-13, n. The omission of τα εαυτου here is no improvement, unless the words had been inserted in the margin of ll. 12-13.

17-18. Neither Nicostratus nor Xenoc[les] is known from other sources.

20. ασπι[δ]: Lysias had a shield-manufacturing business; cf. xii. 19 and Plut. *op. cit.* 835f, quoted in ll. 163-71, n.

29. ουσ]ιαν: cf. ll. 9-10, n. ουσιαν . . . σ]υλ]ληφ] [θεισαν αξ]ιαν | δε is possible.

30. εβδ[ομηκο]ντα: the first letter might be σ or ω, and the traces of the second and third are very doubtful, but unless there was another word before the number, εβδ[ομηκο]ντα is preferable to e. g. εξ [και τριακο]ντα.

31. [απεδο]ντο is far from certain, especially since ι or ω can be read in place of ν, so that the subject might be singular. If [απεδο]ντο is right, the subject seems to be the Thirty Tyrants as contrasted with ουτοι in l. 32, which refers to Hippotherses and his associates.

32. αφ[ανισ]αι: i. e. εξαργυρ]ισαι: cf. the contrast between αφαν]ης and φανερα ο]υσια in the fragment of this speech quoted on p. 48.

35-6. Cf. l. 163.

38-44. For ο]ντος meaning Lysias cf. l. 5, n. The context does not suit the reference of ο]ντος to Hippotherses, though there may be only a short gap between ll. 48 and 76; cf. int. p. 49.

47. This line seems to be corrupt, though α[.] (but not ο[ντ] or any other letter than α[.] can be read in place of ι[ε]. A dittography of αν δε is the simplest hypothesis, but there may well be an omission of μη before αποδω[σ]ι, and possibly [ω]ν δε αν <μη> αποδω[σ]ι should be read.

48. The letter before ρα can be σ, but φαν]ερα is possible; cf. int. p. 48.

83. [ε]νρηκοτος suits the space better than [η]νρηκοτος: in l. 153 the spelling of ηνδα]μουμετε is uncertain.

86. [χαλε]πως φεροντος: cf. xix. 50.

89.]υλον: ο]ν του is less suitable, and Ιερων]υμον (cf. Lys. Fr. 123 quoted on p. 48) is inadmissible.

92-3. Σωσιμ[δην]: Σωσια (genitive) or Σωσια]νακτα is possible; but cf. Fr. 64, where αναισχυν]τος Σωσι]αδης can be restored in ll. 736-7. παραλαβων [τον αναισχυν]τον Σωσια]δη could even be read here. Fr. 75, where Σω]σιαδι] is not unlikely in l. 781, may also refer to this person.

93-4. δα]νειστην should perhaps be restored in l. 93, but]ν εις την η[μεραν την] σιγκειμε]-]νην is possible.

102. This line is in the same position in the column as l. 92.

113-18. Cf. xxxiv. 11 δεινόν γάρ αν ειη, ω (ανδρες) Αθηναίοι, ει οτε μεν εφεύγομεν εμαχόμεθα Λακεδαιμονίοις ινα κατέλωμεν, κατελθόντες δε φευξόμεθα ινα μη μαχώμεθα.

119. [οργιζο]ισθε: cf. xii. 30, 80, 90. With τοις εωνημε]νοις τα νμετερα cf. ll. 510-11.

124-5. Perhaps ε[πειτα].

127-8. τας συ]νθη]κας τε και το]υς νομους could be read, but is contrary to Lysias' use of τε. ταις (or των) συ]νθη]καις (or -κων) κατα το]υς νομους is more likely.

129. ακη]κοατε: i. e. in ll. 38 sqq. probably.

129-35. Either η] in l. 129 or . .]as in l. 130 is likely to belong to ηας, which is expected about this point, being perhaps contrasted with τ]ου[s] αντιδικους in ll. 133-4. If there was a pause after αντιδικους, the next sentence may have begun ημ]εις [τουων] υμιν. In view of the stop, however, at the end of l. 132, τ]ου[s] αντιδικους may be connected with what follows, and mean both parties to the suit, not Lysias' adversaries. υμιν in l. 134 clearly goes with επιτρεπε[μεν: cf. Plato, *Apol.* 35 d ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέπω . . . κρίναι. There is room for [δε περι] before τουτων in l. 135, but περι τουτων occurs shortly after in l. 140.

139. [κρισιν]: cf. xxv. 10 οὕτως γὰρ ἂν δικαιοτάτην (τήν) κρίσιν περι αὐτῶν ποιῆσθε. For [γνωμην] there is not room. περι του would be expected before πραγματος, but since περι τουτων occurs in the next line, the sentence would be improved by the omission of πραγματος.

141. There seems to have been an omission of τε at the beginning of this line, as in l. 115.

144-5. Cf. xxv. 17 ὅστις γὰρ τότε οὐδὲν ἐξήμαρτον . . . , ἧ που νῦν σφόδρα προθυμῆσομαι χρηστέος εἶναι. δο[ξας or δο[κων seems to be inevitable, for the letter before ο is more like δ than λ, which is the only alternative.

148. [προσηκ]ουτ: or [συμφερ]ουτ.

149. It is not certain that the space (the width of a letter) between ηι and οτ[ε] was blank, the surface of the papyrus being damaged. Whether μεν had a δε answering to it is not clear, and perhaps μεν[τοι should be read.

150. υ]μιν: or η]μιν.

155-6. Cf. xii. 43 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ ναυμαχία καὶ ἡ συμφορὰ τῇ πόλει ἐγένετο.

157-9. Cf. xii. 20 οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐλάχιστον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας ἐλέου . . . ἐτυγχάνομεν, xii. 22 μετῆν γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐμοὶ τούτου τάγαθοῦ οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μέρος, and especially xviii. 2 τῶν μὲν κακῶν οὐκ ἐλάχιστον αὐτὸς μετέσχε μέρος. The υ of]υσεν in l. 159 is fairly certain. A verb meaning 'avoided' is expected, but εφ]υγεν cannot be read.

160-2. Cf. ll. 8-10, nn.

163-71. Cf. Plut. *op. cit.* 835 f ἐπιθεμένων δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τῇ καθόδῳ, ἐπεὶ χρησιμώτατος ἀπάντων ὤφθη, χρήματά τε παρασχῶν δραχμὰς διαχίλιας καὶ ἀσπίδας διακοσίας πεμφθεῖς τε σὺν Ἐρμῆν ἐπικούρους ἐμισθώσατο τριακοσίους, δύο τ' ἐπέισε τάλαντα δοῦναι Θρασυδαίῳ τὸν Ἥλειον, ξένον αὐτῷ (better αὐτῶ) γεγονότα, which is clearly based upon the present passage, not, as Blass (*op. cit.* p. 339) supposed, upon the speech περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐργεσιῶν (cf. ll. 177-9 n.). A shorter verb than ἐμισθώσατο seems to have occurred in l. 165, though cf. xii. 59 ἐπικούρους μισθοῦσθαι. With the spelling τ[ε]ληι in ll. 170-1 cf. ἀραγκηι as the nominative in ll. 181-2.

173. παρ υμιν: the traces of ι are very slight, but there is not room for υμων, which is what Lysias probably wrote (cf. ll. 216-19, n.), though later writers, e. g. Dio Cass. Exc. p. 66. 34, often use the dative with παρά in place of the genitive.

177-9. The speech πρὸς Ἴπποθέρσην was probably delivered before that περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐργεσιῶν, of which the contents and date are unknown.

178. α[ν]αμνησκων: for μνημίσκειν, which appears as a form of μμνήσκειν in the Roman period, but is not likely to have been used by Lysias himself, cf. Porphyry. *Vit. Plotini* 13 ἐν δὲ τισι λέξεσιν ἀμαρτάνων, οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἶπεν ἀναμνησκειται ἀλλὰ ἀναμνημίσκεται, and P. Hamburg 37. 4 (2nd cent.) μνημίσκεσθαι, quoted by W. Schmid in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1914. 1568.

184. ἐπι μεν των τετρα[κο]σιων: i. e. at the fall of the Four Hundred, when several of the leaders escaped to Decelea; cf. Thuc. viii. 98.

191-4. That two originally separate fragments, one attributed to the middles of ll. 192-3, the other (Fr. 80) to the ends of ll. 191-4, are correctly placed admits of little doubt.

194-7. The general sense is that Hippotherses took more pride in the destruction than in the building of the walls; cf. xii. 63 καίτοι σφόδρ' ἂν αὐτὸν οἶμαι μετὰ Θεμιστοκλέους πολιτευόμενον προσποιεῖσθαι πράττειν ὅπως οἰκοδομηθήσεται τὰ τείχη, ὅποτε καὶ μετὰ Θηραμένους ὅπως

καθαيرهθήσεται, and xiv. 39 ἡ τῶν τειχῶν καθηρημένων ἀγανακτεῖ. The first letter of μ[ειο]ν is, however, very uncertain, γ, η, ι, κ, υ, π, or τ being equally possible. σ[ι] ο[μ]ιο[ι]ο[ν] could be read instead of σ[ι] μ[ειο]ν, with και instead of η in l. 196 (which as it stands is rather short); but this does not combine well with οὐδ ομ[ο]ίας ἐλπίδας in l. 198. τῶν τειχῶν κτλ. seems to be a genitive absolute.

201. ὦν: The first letter can be η, ι, or ω, but hardly υ.

203. μεταμελη[σα]ν: cf. the use of the present participle absolutely in Isocr. 382 c and Plato, *Phaedo* 114 a.

207. εἰργα[σ]α[το]: εἰργα[σ]τ[αι] is inadmissible. The next word may have been *κακα*.

212-13. Perhaps πεν[τηκοντα] ταλαν[των].

216-19. Though the remains are scanty, the general sense is fairly clear; but in l. 217 βαν[] would be expected to end the line, and there is certainly not room for both εἰν and εὐ after it. Λυσ[] cannot be read. For χαριν[] παρα του [δημου απολαμ]βαν[ειν] cf. l. 172 and xx. 30 χάριν παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπολαμβάνειν.

230. The cancelling of περι is supported by x. 2 συγγνώμην ἂν εἶχον αὐτῶ τῶν εἰρημένων: but cf. ix. 22 ἰπέρ τῶν περιφανῶν ἀδικημάτων συγγνώμην ποιείσθε, and xix. 56 περὶ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς . . . συγγνώμην ἔχετε.

239-46. [δι]α το[υ] λο[γ]ου του[του] is unsatisfactory, for the slight traces after το[υ] do not suit λο, and if the letter preceding]ου were υ, the tail of it would rather be expected to be visible. [δι]α το[υ] του[του] λο[γ]ου is also unsuitable, and since this speech is for the prosecution it is not likely to have begun with a reference to a speech by the defendant. [δι]α το[υ] αγ[ω]νος του[του] is possible, but we have not been able to restore the whole passage satisfactorily. [εἰρηκε]ναι could be read in l. 242, but like λο[γ]ου is not appropriate, and διε[θηκε]ν in ll. 242-3 is rather short. With ἐπ[ι]τροπους and ουσίαν in ll. 244-5 cf. ll. 267-8. The vestige of a letter at the end of l. 244 suggests ε, ι, or υ. κε[λευει] α[λλα] is too long.

249. Θε[ε]οδοσιδη: cf. l. 300. He is not likely to be the same person as the Θεοζοτιδης against whom lix was directed, for the fragments of that speech in P. Hibeh 14 are concerned with a γραφή παραιόμων on account of Th.'s proposals to alter the pay of soldiers and arrangements for benefiting orphans. Nor is he to be identified with the Θεοζοτιδης χορηγός τραγωδῶν mentioned by Dem. xxi. 59. With regard to the spelling, Θεοζοτιδης is the only form recognized in the *Prosopogr. Att.*; but Θεοσοδοτιδης or Θεοδοσιδης is commonly found in Byzantine MSS.

265. . .]ν: or επε]ι.

267-8. Cf. ll. 244-5.

269. The letter preceding το may be ι or ω.

270.]αι can be read in place of]ν.

271. Perhaps το]τε, unless ο]τε was written twice by mistake. γε is the only alternative τ] τε.

272. ανευ μ]αρτυρων: cf. l. 252.

275. ποιο?]υμενος: η, ι, or ω can be read instead of υ.

276. Cf. xii. 35 ἡ που σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡγήσονται περιέργους ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τηρουμένων.

293-4. Probably απαιτη]σεως or αποδο]σεως.

294-5. αι[τιλε]γει cannot be read without altering the text, though it is the word expected.

297. δνοιν θατ[ερον]: cf. vi. 8, xii. 34.

302-3. Possibly [ειληφε]ναι ου]κ απ[ι].

312. The letter before τοκον might be ω, but is apparently not υ.

317-18. ο]κε[ειν] δεθηθαι: cf. l. 335, where these words seem to recur. But the ο is lower in the line than would be expected and there might be one or two letters lost after it. The letter following κ, if not υ, is μ.

320. The *ἐχθροί* are those of Theomnestus (cf. l. 349), not those of the plaintiff (l. 258).
322. The *ν* of *μεν* is corrected from *μ*.
- 325-6. Possibly *ουκ* [*αυ*]τος: *ουχ* [*ου*]τος is not a satisfactory reading. The last three letters of *αυτωι* are very doubtful, but the following *μ* is nearly certain, so that *π[αρ]ουτος* and *ε[ξ]ουτος* are excluded.
- 330-2. Cf. xxi. 2 *ἔτι δ' ἀνδράσι χορηγῶν εἰς Διονύσια . . . ἐνίκησα καὶ ἀνήλωσα σὺν τῇ τοῦ τρίποδος ἀναθέσει πεντακισχίλις δραχμάς. ἀλλ' ἄλλας δραχ[μ]ας could be read.*
- 333 a-41. That Frs. 45 and 73 join together and are to be placed near the beginnings of these lines was ascertained after they had been printed in the miscellaneous section.
335. Cf. ll. 317-18, n. *δε ε[]* could be read. If *δεη[θη]ναι* is right, the next word may be *το[]τε*.
337. Cf. ll. 246 and 256-7.
- 338-40. Cf. ll. 298-300.
- 344-5. The word or words before *αργυριου* may well have ended *ου[το]ς*, corresponding to ll. 340-1. *ν[παρ]χου[το]ς* is inadmissible.
348. *επι[δ]ειξαι*: or *επι[.]ηξαι*, which suggests no suitable word, though *επι[δ]ηξαι* may have been written for *επι[δ]ειξαι*, as perhaps in l. 738. *[δ]υναμιν* is also difficult, but the *ν* of *[δ]υν* is almost certain.
349. That *τις* has been omitted before *ουτ[ω]* is clear from ll. 356-7. For *ουτ[ω] σφοδρα* cf. ll. 418-19.
350. Cf. ii. 79 *οὐκ ἐπιτρέψαντες περὶ αὐτῶν τῇ τύχῃ.*
- 351-6. As the text stands, there is no construction for the infinitive *αναγ[κασθ]ηναι* in l. 353 and no verb for *ωστε* in l. 355. The simplest course is to transpose *ωστε* to l. 352 after *[ε]παθεν*, but the corruption may go deeper; e. g. *ωστε εἰ εδν [ο] ηλι[ος] υπερημερου ουτ[ος]* may be transferred to l. 352, or *ωστε* may be inserted there and a verb added for the second *ωστε*. For *εἰς τουτ[ο] προ[η]κο[υ]ντα* cf. Dem. xxviii. 5.
- 362-3. Perhaps *ν[μ]ων* or *ζ[ο]ν[τω]ς*.
367. Fr. 13 is perhaps to be placed immediately above Fr. 8, so that the stroke visible under the *μ* of *ισμαι* in l. 437 represents the stroke lost above *[ε]ς* in l. 367.
- 370-2. These lines apparently began more to the left than ll. 368-9.
- 377-80. Cf. xxxi. 14 *ὡς οὖν ᾄκει τε ἐν ᾽Ωρωπῶ . . . ἀκούσατε τῶν μαρτύρων. μάρτυρες.* Here the mention of *μάρτυρες* comes first.
387. *την] ναυ*: cf. l. 369.
389. *προς] υλιον*: or possibly *] υλην* or *] . . αιον* or *] . . νον*. *πρὸς Ἀρμόδιον, π. Ἀρχίνου*, and *π. Χυτρίνου* are titles of lost speeches of Lysias; but *Αρ]μοδιον* cannot be read, and the speech *π. Ἀρχίνου* was concerned with Lysias' citizenship, which is clearly foreign to the subject of Frs. 8-9. Of the speech *π. Χυτρίνου* only one fragment is extant, which is concerned with an assault, and the vestiges do not suit *Χυ]τρινον*. Fr. 20 possibly belongs to this line; but cf. int. pp. 48-9.
397. Possibly *Λυ[σ]ιας* in some form; but cf. int. p. 48.
410. There was perhaps a blank space after *αλλα*, indicating the end of a line.
416. It is not certain whether a letter has been obliterated after *οντα*, or there was a blank space before the vestige of the next letter, which might be *α*, i. e. *αδικα ι[]* or *α δικα[ι]*. *ω δικασ[ται]* could be read, but Lysias regularly uses *ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί*.
- 418-20. Cf. ll. 349 sqq. It is, however, unlikely that Fr. 11 belongs to the speech against Theomnestus.
- 436-8. Cf. l. 367, n.
- 440-1. *εφα]σκε*: Fr. 16, in which l. 449 ends *]εφα*, may well belong to the ends of l. 440 and the two preceding lines.
- 447-9. Cf. the previous n.

456. Possibly, but not very probably, *κατα Θεομνησίου*: cf. int. p. 48. The two extant orations κ. Θεομν. are distinguished as α' and β'. There is a blank space above and below]του.

457. Cf. l. 389, n. There is a blank space above *προς* [, but the lower margin is broken away.

458. The blank spaces above and below this line indicate a title. 'Υπερ Φανίου *παρανόμων* was the title of a speech of Lysias according to Athenaeus xii. 551 d, who quotes a long extract from an invective against Cinesias, a writer of dithyrambs and comedies, this being one of the two speeches *πρὸς Κινησίαν* mentioned by Harpocration. The speech *κατὰ Θεοσοτίδου* was also concerned with *παρανόμων* (cf. l. 249, n.), and Blass (*op. cit.* p. 350) assigns five other speeches to the same category. But none of the other miscellaneous fragments of 1606 suggests any of these speeches as its source.

459-60. Possibly a letter is lost before *απει*[. There is a space below l. 460, but none between ll. 459-60, such as is found elsewhere between the last line of a speech and the title; possibly therefore *προσ*[. [is a heading like *μάρτυρες*, and not a title. The vestige of a letter would suit γ, η, ι, κ, μ, ν, π, τ, or υ, and the lacuna between it and *προς*, if not blank, is likely to have contained ο, since any other letter ought to have left visible traces. No speech of Lysias *πρὸς* Ο[. . . is known, and there is no reason to connect this fragment with the title of *τὴν περὶ τῆς Ὀνομακλήους θυγατρὸς*.

468-83. It is not at all certain that Fr. 24 comes from a point near the beginnings of lines; cf. l. 483, n.

472-4. Cf. xii. 77 *πολλὰς πίστεϊς αὐτοῖς ἔργω δεδωκώς*, and l. 716, where *πισ*[τις perhaps recurs.

481. Apparently not *δη*[λυσσι.

483.]*η*ρεν *καλου*[: or]*η*ρ *ενκαλου*[μεν : in which case]*η*ρ is probably not the beginning of a line.

490. *σωτ*[: *Σωσ*[ιαθη (cf. ll. 92-3, n.) is inadmissible.

493. *βεβα*[ι : cf. l. 602 β]εβαιοι and Lys. Fr. 310 (from Harpocration) *βεβαιώσεως δίκης ὀνομά ἐστιν ἣν δικάζονται οἱ ὠνησάμενοί τι τῷ ἀποδομένῳ, ἂν ἕτερος μὲν ἀμφισβητῇ τοῦ παραέντος, ὁ δὲ μὴ βεβαιοῖ. ἐνίστε καὶ ἀρραβῶνος μόνου δοθέντος εἶτα ἀμφισβητήσαντός του ἐλάγχανε τὴν τῆς βεβαιώσεως δίκην ὁ τὸν ἀρραβῶνα δούς τῷ λαβάντι. Δυσίας ἐν δυσὶ λόγοις. ἀμφ]ισβητ[occurs in l. 604 and ἀμφ]ισβητει in l. 547, so that all three Frs. 25, 31, and 39 may have come from one of the two speeches to which Harpocration was referring. In any case they probably belong to an oration different from those against Hippotherses and Theomnestus; cf. int. The colour of Frs. 31 and 39 suggests that they are to be placed near each other.*

496. ἴε . [: *Ιερ*[ωνυμος (cf. Lysias Fr. 123 and p. 48) might be restored, but cf. the previous n.

506-11. Cf. ll. 118-20 *καίτοι*[ι] *δικαίως αν* [*οργιζο*]σθε *τοῖς εωνημένο*]ς *τα υμετερα* and xxxi. 33 *μόνος δὲ . . . δικαίως οὐδ' ἂν ἀγανακτοῖη μὴ τυχών*. Fr. 26 may well belong to the speech *πρὸς Ἰπποθέρη*ν, but the proposed restoration of ll. 506-7 makes those lines shorter than usual by one or two letters, and *επι* *των πατ*[ριων seems to be a mistake for *επι* *τοῖς πατ*[ριοις : cf. i. 1 *ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀγανακτοῖη*.

520-9. Fr. 28 probably joins Fr. 29; cf. the next n.

530-5. That Frs. 29 and 30, both from the bottoms of columns, join, as indicated in the text, admits of hardly any doubt; the position assigned to Fr. 28. 524-9 at the beginnings of these lines is attractive, but not certain. A new sentence begins in l. 533 with *αποδει*[, and *αποδει*[ξω [*τ*]οι[νν *α*]ντων would be expected; but the traces of the letter following ξ suggest no other vowel than α, and *αποδει*[ξαι or *αποδει*[ξαις is difficult to construct. The ο of *οι* . in l. 534 is nearly certain, but the next letter might be υ and the third is quite doubtful.

536. The left-hand part of the τ of τα is missing, and there is no external evidence for τ being the first letter of the line. There is certainly not room for a [αν α]ντω.

537-8. φερουτο [τ]ην | [χαρι]ν is possible. Frs. 28-30 might belong to the speech πρὸς Ἰπποθέρησιν: cf. ll. 171-3.

539-48. Cf. l. 493, n. It is tempting to place Fr. 53 to the left of Fr. 31, so that the tip of the σ of]μφες[in l. 696 would belong to the bottom of the σ of]σβητει in l. 547. The fibres suit well enough, though the two fragments would still not actually join each other. Lines 544-7 would then run [. . .]αι . [. . . π]ολλα ημαρ|[τ . . .]λει (or]α ει) τις σοι (or τισι οι) μηδεν | [. . . κ]αθηκων φροντι|[. . . η]μφεςβητει τωι, which remains obscure.

554. The letter following ε[ι]σεν seems to begin with a vertical stroke and not to be ε.

559. δ]ιαγομενος: the middle of this verb is used by Plato, but not elsewhere by Lysias.]ναγομενος can be read.

601-6. Cf. l. 493, n.

641-7. It is not certain that Fr. 44 belongs to 1606.

648-53. Cf. ll. 333 a-41, n.

693-7. Cf. ll. 539-48, n.

716. Cf. ll. 472-4, n.

725. πλο]υσιωτα[τ: cf. ll. 153-4.

735.]δηξαι: the η is clear, but επ]ιδειξαι may be meant; cf. l. 348, n.

736-7. For αναισχυν[τος Σωσ]ιαδης cf. ll. 92-3, n. But Lysias made speeches πρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην and πρὸς Ἀρχεβιάδην, and either of these two names can equally well be supplied.

773-6. Cf. ll. 333 a-41, n.

781. For Σω]σιαδη[cf. ll. 92-3, n.

785. Perhaps Θεο[μνηστος or Θεο[ζοτιδης (cf. l. 249, n.).

801-4. Cf. ll. 191-4, n.

809-12. Whether this fragment belongs to 1606 is doubtful. There is no other instance of a coronis in the papyrus.

829.]αι ο Λι[σias can be read, in which case Fr. 87 would belong to the speech πρὸς Ἰπποθέρησιν.

858-9. Fr. 128 is probably to be placed to the left of Fr. 97 with a slight gap between them, in which case the combined reading is]καν ποτε επε[and ω α]νδρες δικα[σται.

865. Possibly]αι ο Λ[υσias; cf. l. 829, n.

869. Possibly] Λυσ[ias; cf. l. 829, n.

934-5. Cf. ll. 858-9, n.

1607. HYPERIDES (?), *For Lycophron*.

Height 27.5 cm. Late second or early third century.
Plate III (Frs. 5 + 4).

These fragments of a lost oration, found with 1606, were originally more than 60 in number, but have been reduced by a quarter through combinations. At least ten columns are represented, the longest fragment (1) containing parts of three with some continuous passages; but of the other pieces only Fr. 5 is of much value, and not more than about 100 lines in all can be restored. The order of the fragments is uncertain; but the similarity in colour and texture of Frs. 2-12 suggests that they are to be placed near each other, and suitable positions have

been found for Frs. 3 and 4 in combination with Frs. 2. ii and 5 respectively. That Fr. 14 belongs to Fr. 2. ii is far from certain (cf. ll. 159-62, n.), for Frs. 13-20 form another group, differing from the rest in colour. The handwriting is an upright, rather irregular uncial of the late second or early third century, the letters being as a rule somewhat widely separated. The script sometimes, e. g. in Frs. 13-20, tends to become more compact; but there seems to be no change of hand. There were 39-40 lines in a column, and 11-18 letters, usually 13-15, in a line. The common >-shaped sign is used for filling up short lines, being duplicated in l. 87. Iota adscript was written. High stops were employed, these sometimes approximating to the middle position, but probably without any intentional distinction. All these, together with occasional diaereses over *ι* and *υ*, a mark of elision in l. 230, and an accent in l. 455, are due to the original scribe, as are certainly most of the corrections; but the alterations in ll. 15, 71, 93, and 424 were possibly made by a different person.

The oration was evidently in defence of a certain Lycophron, who is mentioned several times by name (ll. 28, 106, 160?, and 287), but elsewhere is usually called *οἴτρος*. He was accused of adultery with a woman whose husband was ill (ll. 180-8), the main subject of Fr. 1 being a denial of the charge that Lycophron had dug a hole in the wall which divided his house from hers. It is also evident that this person is identical with the Lycophron defended by Hyperides in an oration of which a few fragments from the beginning and the whole of the concluding portion are extant in P. Brit. Mus. 115. That speech was similarly concerned with an accusation against Lycophron of adultery with an unnamed woman whose husband was in a dying condition; her brother Dioxippus, a distinguished athlete (Hyperid. *Lycophr.* § 5), is obviously identical with the Dioxippus of 1607. 285, and the Theomnestus alluded to in 1607. 219 as one of the chief witnesses for the prosecution is no doubt the same as the accuser Theomnestus who is bitterly attacked in *Lycophr.* § 2, while there is probably a reference in 1607. 283 to Charippus, the second husband of the woman in question (*Lycophr.* § 3). Since the British Museum oration was composed for delivery by the defendant himself, who speaks in the first person, 1607, in which Lycophron is mentioned in the third person, cannot belong to the missing part of it, though it must have covered the same ground. The Oxyrhynchus fragments therefore belong to another speech delivered in connexion with this *cause célèbre* of about 340 B. C.

From the British Museum papyrus it is known that the proceedings against Lycophron took the form of an *εἰσαγγελία*, which in the first instance was brought before the *δῆμος* by the famous orator Lycurgus in the absence of Lycophron from Athens on military service at Lemnos. In the fifth and the earlier half of

the fourth century B. C. εἰσαγγελίαι brought before the δῆμος, either directly or through the agency of the βουλή, were usually tried by the whole δῆμος, as e. g. in 388 in the case of Ergocles, against whom a speech of Lysias is extant; but after 361 the normal practice, as illustrated chiefly by the orations of Hyperides for Lycophron and Euxenippus and that of Lycurgus against Leocrates, seems to have been to refer such cases to a court of dicasts; cf. Lipsius, *Attisches Recht*, i. 176 sqq. Lycurgus is known from quotations to have composed two speeches against Lycophron, and it is generally supposed that one of these was delivered by himself before the whole δῆμος, while the other was written for delivery before the dicasts by the chief plaintiff, a certain Ariston, this being the speech to which Hyperides' oration for Lycophron was the reply (Blass, *Att. Beredsamkeit*, iii. 59). The line of argument adopted in 1607 renders it impossible to regard the speech as the work of Lycurgus, and there is some *a priori* probability that the author of it was Hyperides. This orator was rather widely read in Egypt, for six of his speeches are preserved more or less completely in four papyri from that country (682, a fragment of a lost oration, may also belong to him), whereas, of his contemporaries other than Lycurgus, Demades and Dinarchus are not represented in papyri, and neither Aeschines, who according to Pseudo-Plutarch 840 e wrote only four speeches, nor Demosthenes, whose orations are nearly all extant, is suitable as the author of 1607. Like Lycurgus, Hyperides may well have taken part in the proceedings before the δῆμος concerning Lycophron in addition to the subsequent trial before the dicasts; but the employment of the phrase ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί in 1607. 221-2, not ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι as in Lysias' speech against Ergocles, is irreconcilable with the hypothesis that the δῆμος as a whole was being addressed. Lycurgus in his oration against Leocrates uses ὦ ἄνδρες, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι and ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί indiscriminately, but in a speech delivered before dicasts, and if Hyperides was the author of 1607 he must have written two orations for delivery at the same trial, one (the British Museum papyrus) spoken by Lycophron, the other (1607) spoken either by the author himself or by a third person. The British Museum oration concludes with an appeal from Lycophron to a certain Theophilus to speak on his behalf, and it is to this speech, also composed by Hyperides, rather than to a speech delivered by Hyperides in the first person, that we are disposed to attribute 1607. This hypothesis is distinctly supported by internal evidence. Hyperides was censured by several ancient critics, particularly Hermogenes, for carelessness in his choice of λέξεις (cf. Blass, *op. cit.* iii. 25 sqq.), and 1607 has several not strictly Attic expressions, which seem to be taken from common life. Thus ἀπείπασθαι with an accusative (l. 28) and παρασιωπᾶν (l. 69) are not attested before Polybius, nor is ἐγενήθη (l. 63, n.) with certainty before Philemon. σῶμα in ll. 32 and 76 is used in a manner approximating to its third

century B. C. use as 'slave', and it is possible that *διαλέγεσθαι* in l. 97 is used *de concubitu*, which would be exactly parallel to the rare use of *διαλέγεσθαι* in the sense of *πλησιάζειν ταῖς γυναῖξι* ascribed to Hyperides by Moeris, p. 195 (= Blass, Fr. 171). That quotation, together with two similar references in Pollux to Hyperides' use of *διειλεγμένος*, is assigned by Blass to the oration *περὶ Φρύνης*, but the Moeris quotation might even refer to the present passage. There are also several other agreements with Hyperides in points of diction; cf. ll. 26, 71-3, 82, 86-8, 108, 111, 128, 220-3, nn.

Against the attribution of 1607 to Hyperides it may be urged that the British Museum papyrus has the title at the end (*ἀπολογία ὑπὲρ Λυκόφρονος*) without the addition *α'* or *β'*, and proceeds to the speech for Euxenippus, and the ancient references to the speech for Lycophron (four in Pollux, one in *Antiatticista* in Bekker, *Anecd.* p. 97) do not mention more than one. But the British Museum papyrus contains only three selected orations, and since the quotations in Pollux and *Antiatticista* from the speech for Lycophron do not occur in it, they might even refer to 1607, not to that speech. If there were two speeches for Lycophron, sometimes distinguished as *α'* and *β'*, the ignoring of that distinction by Pollux and *Antiatticista* would be no more remarkable than the failure of Harpocration in seven out of nine cases and of Suidas twice to state which of the two speeches of Lycurgus they meant by *κατὰ Λυκόφρονος*. Moreover the title of 1607 may have been something different from *ὑπὲρ Λυκόφρονος β'*. According to Pseudo-Plutarch 849d Hyperides composed 77 speeches, of which 52 were genuine. The titles of nearly 70 are known, and none of these is at all suitable for identification with 1607, except possibly a speech which is vaguely described by Pollux as *συνηγορικός*. But the scholiast on Aeschines, *De falsa leg.* § 18, gives the number of Hyperides' orations as 170, and though the figures assigned by this scholiast to the speeches of the orators are in general less trustworthy than those of Pseudo-Plutarch, and in some cases (e. g. in regard to Lysias and Isaeus) certainly corrupt, the figure 77 for Hyperides may well be too small, while, even if correct, it leaves a small balance of unknown speeches, of which 1607 may have been one. That Athenian advocates sometimes composed two orations for delivery by different speakers at the same trial is known from the two extant orations of Lysias against Alcibiades, of which the second is not a reply by the speaker of the first, and is not parallel to the second speech of Demosthenes against Aphobus; cf. Blass, *op. cit.* i. 492. Though open to some difficulties, the view that 1607 passed in Egypt as the composition of Hyperides offers the most satisfactory explanation. Whether it was actually genuine is more doubtful, in view of Pseudo-Plutarch's rejection of one-third of the speeches assigned to Hyperides. While the first oration of Demosthenes against Stephanus is

generally regarded as authentic, the second is not; cf. Blass, *op. cit.* iii. 409 sqq., 472-5. But against the hypothesis that 1607 is a later composition ascribed to Hyperides must be set the apparent mention in ll. 218-20 of two individuals, Anaschetus and Criton, who are known from an inscription of 340 B. C., the approximate date of the British Museum speech.

We are indebted to Mr. Lobel and Dr. Hude for several good suggestions in the restoration of this papyrus.

Fr. I. Col. i.

	13 lines lost		δεδηλωκεν· ουθ ο
	[τουτο]ν δι[ο]ρυξαι τον	25	τι γενομενης προς
15	[τοιχο]ν τη[ς] προς τ[ο]ν		αυτον αψιμαχιας
	[ανθρ]ωπον ομειλιας		εκεινοι την χρειαν
	[ενε]κεν ουδαμως		[α]πειπαντο οθεν ο Δυ
	[πιθ]ανοι· εστιν· ουτε		κοφρων επι το τογ
	γα[ρ] ως <προς> τους προτερον	30	τοιχον διορυξαι κα
20	αυται λειτουργουν		τηπ[ει]χθη μηκετι
	τας και παν ο τι κελεν		[των] σω[μ]ατων [. . .]
	[οι] προθυμως υπομε		[. . ο]μοιος τε[.]
	νοντας διηνεχθη		5 or 6 lines lost

21. ν of παν corr.

Fr. I. Col. ii (complete).

40	[. . .]σθαι ουκ αν διω
	[ρ]υξε τον τοιχον πο
	[θ]εν γαρ ανθρωπος
	[μ]ηδεν κατεπειγο
	[μ]ενος αλλ εχων την
45	[ε]ξουσιαν και τα παρ ε
	κεινης ειδεναι και
	τα παρ αυτου λεγειν
	[κ]αι τ[ους? . .]· ους ο
	[.] ποιεισθαι
50	[.]· ον επι
	[.]·ων α· [·]αι

Fr. I. Col. iii (complete).

	απερ ουτοι π[ρουθεν?]
80	το· νυν δ εκ[ε]ι[μ]ο]ν μιν [
	εωρων κα[θ] υπερβο
	λην ασθ[ε]νωσ δια
	κειμεν[ο]ν ταυτην
	δε τ[ην τ]ησ ο[ι]κ[ιας]
85	μ[ε]λλουσα[ν] κυριεν
	ει[μ]ν π[ο]λυ προ οφθαλ
	μων ανελαμβα
	νον μη παθιντος
	τι τουτου τιμωριαν
90	υποσχωσιν ων αν

[.] . ην επ[. .] .
 [.] ντων τηλι
 κο[υτος? ω]ν ουδεπο
 55 τ[ε] [.] ατο και
 τ[ο]υται ουδε[π]οθ ο
 Χρ[ε]μης? την[] οικια
 απ[ειπεν?] και μην
 αδυν[ατο]ν γε ειχεν
 60 ταξιν το[] τας θερα
 παινας αυτης προς
 τουτον διαφερεσθαι
 τις [γ]αρ αν ουτως εγε
 νηθη θρασεια ωστε
 65 η τα παρα τουτου
 ρηθεντα[] [[τα παρα
 τουτου ρηθεντα]]
 η τα παρ εκεινης
 προς τουτον πα[ρα]
 70 σιωπησαι της ιδια[ς]
 εχθας [εν]εκα[] προ
 [χ]ει[ρος δε] ην ο κιν
 [δυνος ει? μ]εν γαρ
 [.] ν συν
 75 [.] νειν
 [.] ν τα σω
 [ματα] νγην
 [.] ντειν

92. 1. [δ]ιορυχθηναι.

Col. i (top).

118 [.] ν συννοι
 [κ] ννοι κυρι

τεπ[ρα]ξαν ουκουιν
 ουτ[ε] δ[ι]ερυχθηναι
 τον τ[υ]χον ^{οι}υπο του
 του πιθανον ουτε
 95 ειωθει καθαπ[ε]ρ λε[ι]
 γει ταις θεραπαινας
 διαλεγεσθαι. τ[ι]νος
 γαρ ενεκεν[] [τι? προς
 [[γαρ]] αυτον τ[αυτας]
 100 διενεχ[θηναι] εδει?
 ον φιλο[φρονεστερον]?
 δη της [δεσποινης]?
 προσφ[ε]ρομενης αυ
 τωι επ[.]
^{ρα}
 105 τι ποτ αι[.]
 ο Λυκοφ[ρων]
 δοντος [.]
 και ηη Δ[ι]α
 κατεφρον[η]σε
 110 τε τον με[.]
 υπελαβε και
 τον δηλ[.] ου
 δεποθ ^ιπ[.]
 και κατετ[.]
 115 αμφοτερ[.] οι
 δετερω[.]
 ων συν[.]

95. Second a of καθαπ[ε]ρ corr. from ο.

Fr. 2.

Col. ii (top) + Frs. 3 and 14?

(υ)μεις οι μ[. . . .] ου δικα
 160 ζοντε[ς] Λυκοφρο[γος] κα

- 120 [.] . ωσιν·
 [.] . υσει
 [.] ωτατην
 [.] παρη
 [.] μενηι·
- 125 [.] τ'ουτον
 [.] τα· αλ
 [λα] υτα
 [.] διαρρη
 [δην] της
- 130 [11 letters] . ειν
 [13 ,,] .
 [13 ,,] .
 [11 ,,]]εκα
 [14 ,,]]
- 135 [14 ,,]]
 [13 ,,]]ο
 [11 ,,]] . αλ
 [11 ,,]] . τισ
 [12 ,,]]θο
- 140 [13 ,,]] .
 [13 ,,]]ασ
 [13 ,,]]κα
 [14 ,,]]
 [14 ,,]]
- 145 [14 ,,]]υ
 [14 ,,]]σ
 [14 ,,]] . ι
 11 lines lost
- Fr. 3.
 σ]θαι . . [
 200]καθυ[
- ταγνω[σε]σθ[ε αλλ?] εαν
 γε σωφρο[ν]η[ε . . .] . [·]
 μη μου[ον
 μους αλ[λα και . . .
 165 νους [.
 νατ[.
 α . [.
 2 lines lost
- 170 [.]ισ]θαι . . [.
 που | καθ υ[.
 αντεχεσ[θαι
 πως πιθα[νον . . ι
 ειναι τοις . [.
 175 τοντα το[.
 [σ]θαι μεν . [.
 την εχο[. η
 λικι[α]ν τα[.
 χωρησε[.
- 180 ^ρδ' απεπε[.
 ιεσθαι τη[.
 δ[. .] τον [.
 μεν του[.
 υ[π]ερ ων [.
- 185 σ[[ο]]ωφρον[.
 δ' ομολογει[.
 και γαρ ει τις [.
 τηπ[. . .] γαν[.
 α[.]τ[.
- 190 αν δ'ηπ[.
^δμιαν ανατα[.
 κατ αυτου τ[.
 ειπειν ηξιω[σ
 [[τ]]ει μεν εκ τ[ου? δι

Fr. 4.
 201]ρ[.λλ
]εκτο[
]ησθ[
 } . . .

Frs. 5 (top) + 4. Plate iii.

205 μενον [. πα
 ρ αυτων
 την επιτ.
 τομενον . [. . .
 . [.]ησομενην [προς ?
 210 τους συνπολιτειν
 ομενους διαβολην
 τισιν ουν τεκμηη
 ριο[[υ]]ς χρησαμενος
 τουτους κελευει
 215 καταδικαζειν' χ[ρη
 τ[α]ι νη Δια τ[α]ις των
 κηδεστων μ[αρτυ
 ρ]ιαις Ανασχετων
 και Θεομνηστου και
 220 Κριτωνος ας καλωσ
 εχον εστιν ω α[ν
 δρες δικασται μ[η
 παρερ[γως] εξετα
 σαι την [γα]ρ ολην κα
 225 τηγορι[αν] | εκ το[. .
 [. .]τοις [. . .]ησθ[. .
 [. .]εα[. . .]

Fr. 8.

Col. i.

252]ρς

Col. ii.

259 [. .]ρα

195 εφθαρκε[αι την αν
 θρ[[ι]]ωπον[. ε
 πιτ
 ηρ

Fr. 6 (top).

γαρ αν αυτ[. ε
 κειους το
 230 οθ' ουτοι τα[. ε
 πραττον ο[.
 [. .]ασα [.
 . .]θ ετερ[.
 . .]υ ε[. .] . σ[.
 235 . .]υτω . . [.
 [μ]εροις πιθ[ανον] ε
 [σ]τιν ουτε τ[.
 [.]η . σπειδ[.
 [ου]τε τον τ[.
 240 [. . .]οντ[. η[.
 [ισ]ταναι τ[.
 [. .] πραττε[.
 [. .] . υτ[.
 [. . .] .]τες τ[.
 245 . . .] . [.
 [.]ραις [.

Fr. 7.

[ο]πως
 [. .]λο[. η
 συχια[.
 250 γνω[. ακη
 κοατ[ε

Fr. 9.

265]ιοτ[

]ποσ[

Fr. 12.

270] . εμφ[

]που[

	ησαι	260	σασθα[ι		Fr. 10.	272	]ραχ[
	]να		μενο[				]ροσα[
255	]τις		π ^ρ[		267	]τξ[	]εχ[
	]χυ		χ[]..[
	]το		θ . οπ[		Fr. 11.		
	]ου				269	] συν[

Fr. 13 (tops of cols.).

Col. i.	Col. ii.	Col. iii.
275]	[τ]ωι Χα[ριπ]π[ω]ι την [α	[. . .]υ[
]]	δελφη[ν ε]ις [Ο]λυ[μνιαν	δ . . [
]]	285 αποδημησα[ι] τον Δ[ι	295 θεν . [
] .	ωξιππ[ο]ν στεφανω	επεν[
]εν	σ[ο]ντα την πολιν Δυ	[. . .] . [
280]περ[.	κοφρονα δε τεως μεν	α[.]τ[σ]
] . σ	[[λυ]]πεμποντα επισ[το	θειται ε[
]τ[. . . .	290 [λα]ς λεγειν [.]κει	300 γασμ[
	[.]η . [.]τ[.	5 lines lost
	[.] . . . [.	306 . . . [
		[.]ννα . [
		[.]αθ[. .]θ[
		[.]εστ[
		310 [.] . ται . [
		[. .]ξω . κ[
		[.] . ου[

Fr. 14 (top).

[.]ου δικα	
[.]ρος κα	
315 [. . .]σθ[. . .] εαν	
[. . .] . τ[. . .] . [.]	

Col. i.	Fr. 15.	Col. ii.	Fr. 16.	Fr. 18.
			. [	]μ[
330	α[.] φα		φ[	]τελ[
	νεραν [.] συ		. ε[	375]υτ[
	κοφαν[τ		355 με[	]κειο . [
	σθαι α . [.] υ		τοι[	]στου . [
	περ ων [.		τα[	] την ε[
335	λογοι[.		ξιμ[	]δ . [

	τες καθαπερ λε?	πον . [
	γει πε . [. ε	360 παραδ[	Fr. 19.
. .	πιστολας	των [	380]δα[
]ο	τα ως εφ[.	τα πλ . [	]δε[
] .	340 κους αχα[.	ηδε[	]ε . [
]α	ουν εστ[ι	ταπ[] . [
. 320]ο	σκων κ[.	365 λεω[
] . α	τον κα[.		Fr. 20.
]ι	ειθε[ρ	Fr. 17.] . [
]]	345 μαι[ . ] . . . . .	]μ[	385]αρ[.] . [
]]	ρακω[ . . . . .	]σσ[	]ην μ[
325]]	τος[ . . . . .	] . ε . [	] . ει τοις . [
]]	νις[ . . . . .	] . υ[	]σαν πι[
]]	ταυ . [.	370]μι . [	]υτον ε[
]]	350 ζης . [ . . . . .	]ω εσ[	390] . μα .
]]	το . [ . . . . .	]σα[	]τα[
	end of col.		

Fr. 21.

Fr. 22.

	Col. i.	Col. ii.	
	[.] ποιησασ] . . [
	[.] τIAN γε		] ὑπο τοι[
	[.] προς αυτους		πα ?] ροινεισθ[αι ?
395	γμ[α]τος		] τον τρ[
.	εκει[μ]ου	415] μαι . . [	] νεσθαι [
[.]	κατασκευ		] σ[.] . . [
[.]	αθειν		
[.]	του . [		Fr. 23.
400 [.]	κουσ . [		] ντρ[
[.]	οι περι		] επιδ[η
[.]	ζω ει		420] παμου[
[.]	γειν	. . .	] σ και πασ[ης
[.]	εξε	408 α[	] συνης . [
405 [.]	πρ[ο]ηρει	τα[	] . σαι μ[

406	[το?]ν αλ[[λ]ν μεν[	410	μ[ . . .		]ο α[[τ]] . [
				425	] . υ . θ[]ωπ[
	Fr. 24.		Fr. 25 (top).		Fr. 27 (top).
	]π[		]ν[	445	μη π[
	]δη . [		]πε . [		λογη[
	]τον . [		]ειπ[		μηδε [
430	]μου[	440	]σος δε [		Fr. 28.
	]αυδ . [		Fr. 26.		]α . [
	]μησα[		441	]απισ[	]νε . [
	]δανη[.ιτ		]ρεσ[	450	]τη[
	] . αυτο		]ασι . [		] περι [
435	]τ . [		]ειθ[		]ναυ[
	]ο[
	Fr. 29.		Fr. 30.		Fr. 32.
	] . ου . [		] . . ο . [ . . .		]α[
	]νε[		]αι . ωστε . [.	470	]τ . [
455	] ὁ δε [		]την τ[ .		] . υ[
	]ην το . [	465	ο]υδεις εστιν		] . θερα[παιν
	] . ιους απαστ[		end of col.		] . θ[
	] . δαι τ . . [		Fr. 31.		] . ε[
	]νος μεν . [		466	]νο	Fr. 33.
460	]ια ευλα . [		] προς	475	]λου[
	] δε ταις . [		. χ . .		] . νε[
	end of col.				
	Fr. 34.		Fr. 35.		Fr. 36.
	λα[		] . [		]αρα[
	συ[		]ι . [	490	]η[
	. [	485	]υτ[		]ερι[
480	φ[		] . ν .		οδ[
	α[		]τα[
	τ[] . [
					Fr. 37.
					]ογ[
					]ει . [
				495	]ε[
					Fr. 38.
				496	]ασ[
					]επ[

Fr. 39.	Fr. 40.	Fr. 41.	Fr. 42.	Fr. 43.
498].. θι· [	500]μ[	502]· τ[	].. [	506]· νο[
]ι τοις· [	]· ετ[	]τ[	505]στα[]· [
end of col.				
Fr. 44.	Fr. 45.	Fr. 46.	Fr. 47.	
508]τετ[	509]νο[	510]π[	511]· τ[

Fr. 1. (i) . . . τοιτα]ν δ[ο]ύξαι τὸν τοίχον]· τ[ί]ς] πρὸς τὴν ἀνθρ]ωπον ἀμιλίας ἐπέ]κεν οἰδαμῶς [πιθ]ανόν ἐστιν. οὔτε γὰρ] ὡς (πρὸς) τοὺς πρότερον αὐτῶ λειτουρ]οῦντας καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι κελεύ[ο]ι προθύμωσ ὑπομένοντασ διη]νεχθη δεδῆλωκεν, οὔθ' ὅτι γενομένησ πρὸσ αὐτὸν ἀψιμαχί]ας ἐκείνοι τὴν χρείαν ἀ]τείπατο, ὅθεν ὁ Δυκόφρων ἐπὶ τὸ τὸν τοίχον διορ]ῦξαι κατηπ[είχθ]η, μηκέτι [τῶν] σω[μ]ίτων [. . . . ὁ]μοίωσ τε[. . . (ii) . . .]πθαι οὐκ ἂν διώ]ρῦξε τὸν τοίχον. πῶθ]εν γὰρ ἀνθρωποσ [μ]ηδέν κατεπειγό[μ]ενοσ ἀλλ' ἔχων τὴν [έ]ξουσίαν καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκεί]νης εἰδέναι καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ λέγειν [κ]αὶ . . . (l. 55) καὶ το[ύ]τω οὐδέ]ποθ' ὁ Χρ[έ]μησ? τὴν] οἰκίαν ἀπ[εί]πεν? καὶ μὴν ἀδυν[ά]τω γε εἶχεν τάξιν τὸ τὰσ θεραπεύαισ αὐτῆσ πρὸσ τοῦτον διαφέρεσθαι. τίσ [γ]ὰρ ἂν οὕτωσ ἐγενήθ]η θρασεῖα ὥσπερ ἡ τὰ παρὰ τοῦτου ῥηθέντα ἢ τὰ παρ' ἐκεί]νης πρὸσ τοῦτον πα[ρα]σιωπήσαι τῆσ ἰδία]σ] ἔχθρασ [έν]εκα; πρὸ]χ]είροσ δέ] ἦν ὁ κίνδυνοσ. εἰ? μ]έν γὰρ . . . (iii) ἄπερ οὔ]τοι π[ρο]ύθεν?]το. νῦν δ' ἐκ[έ]ιν[ο]ν μ]έν ἑώρων κα[θ'] ὑπερβολὴν ἀσθ[ε]νῶσ ἐπι]κρίμει[ο]. ταύτην δὲ τὴν τ]ῆσ οἰ]κίασ μ]ε]λλουσιν κενεῖ]ε[ι]· π[ο]λλὸν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀνελάμβανον, μὴ παθόντοσ τι τοῦτον τιμωρίαν ὑποσχῶσιν ὧν ἀντέ]ρα]ξιν. οὐκ οὐτ[ε] δ]ι(ο)ρυχθῆναι τὸν τοίχον ὑπὸ τοῦτου πιθανόν, οὔτε εἰῶθ]ει, καθάπ[ε]ο λέγει, ταῖσ θεραπεύαισ διαλέγεσθαι. τ[ί]νοσ] γὰρ ἔνεκεν; [τί? πρὸσ] αὐτὸν τ[αὐ]τασ διενεχ[θῆ]ναι ἔδει (?), ὃν φίλο[φ]ροῦέστερον? δὴ τῆσ [δεσποίνησ?] πρὸσφ[ε]ρ[ο]μένησ αὐ]τῶ . . .

'That he dug through the wall for the sake of intercourse with the woman is not at all credible. For the accuser has not shown either that he quarrelled with the persons who were in his service and readily submitted to any of his orders, or that owing to an altercation with him they renounced their intimacy, in consequence of which Lycophron was reduced to digging through the wall, since the servants were no longer . . .

. . . he would not have dug through the wall. For why should a man, who was not in straits, but in a position both to get news from her and to send messages from himself, . . . ?

. . . and Chremes never forbade him the house (?). Moreover that her maids quarrelled with him was as good as impossible. For which of them could have become so bold as to pass over in silence either his messages to her or her messages to him for the sake of private enmity? The danger was close at hand; for . . . But, as it was, they saw that he was in an excessively weak state, while she who was about to become the owner of the house was kept before their eyes, for fear that if anything happened to him they would suffer punishment for their revenge. It is therefore incredible that Lycophron dug through the wall, and he was not in the habit, as stated by the accuser, of conversing with the maidservants. Why should he have done so? What need was there for them to quarrel with him when, their mistress being on quite familiar terms with him, they . . . ?'

Fr. 5. 212 τίσιν οὖν τεκμ[η]ρίοισ χρησάμ[ε]νοσ τοῦτοσ κελεύ[ε]ι καταδικάζειν; χ[ρ]ῆ]τ[α]ι, νῆ Δία, ταί]σ τῶν] κηδεσῶν μ[αρτυ]ρίαισ Ἀνασχέ[το]ν καὶ Θεομῆστ[ον] καὶ Κρίτανοσ, ἄσ καλ[ῶ]σ ἔχον ἐστί]ν, ὧ ἀ]νδρ[ε]σ δικασταί, μ[η] παρέρ[γω]σ ἔξ[ε]τά]σαι. τὴν [γὰ]ρ ὄλη]ν κα]τηγορέ[αν] ἔκ το[. . .

'On what proofs then does he rely when he bids them (sc. his fellow-citizens) give

a verdict of guilty? He relies forsooth on the evidence of his relatives by marriage, Anaschetus, Theomnestus, and Criton, which it is your duty, gentlemen of the jury, to examine with special care. For the whole accusation (depends) on . . .'

18. [πιθ]ανον: cf. ll. 94, 173, 236.

19. <προς>: cf. ll. 61-2.

24. δεδηλωκεν: the subject is ὁ κατηγορος, sc. Ariston; cf. int. p. 76.

26. αψιμαχίας: cf. Aeschin. *De fals. leg.* 176. ἀψιμαχεῖν is quoted from Hyperides by Antiaticista ap. Bekk. *Anecd.* 79. 12.

30-1. κατηπ[ειχθ]η: cf. l. 43.

32. σ[α]μ[α]των: cf. l. 76 and int. p. 76.

33. τε[: or τρ[. The second letter may have been corrected.

48.] . ους: ε or ρ can be read instead of ο.

53-4. τηλικο[υτος? ω]ν: the reference might be to the age of dying husband (cf. ll. 80-3 and int.); but it seems more likely that he is the subject not of]ατο in l. 55 but of the verb in l. 58, and that Lycophron is the subject as far as l. 55. In that case the point of τηλικο[υτος would be that Lycophron was over 50 years of age when the trial took place, an argument used in his defence on the charge of adultery in *Lycophr.* § 15.

56-8. The restorations are highly conjectural, but ο χρ[looks like a proper name, and a mention of the husband, whose name is unknown, but who is called ἐκείνος in l. 80, is very appropriate here. τα[υτη is inadmissible in l. 56.

63. εγενηθη: this form, which is common in the third century B.C., occurs in the MSS. of Plato, *Phileb.* 62 d ἐξεγενήθη ἡμῖν (ἐξεγένεθ' ἡμῖν Stallbaum), and in two fragments of Philemon; cf. Lobeck, *Phryg.* 109, and int. p. 76.

69. πα[ρα]σιωπησαι: cf. int. p. 76.

71-3. προ[χ]ει[ρος δε] ην ο κιν[δυνος]: cf. Hyper. *Epitaph.* 17 εἰς τὸ κινδυνεύειν [πρ]οχείρως.

73. εἰ? μ]εν γαρ: μ]εν is required to balance ν]ν δε in l. 80, but may have come in l. 76.

76. σ[ώ]ματα: cf. l. 32.

77-9.]ττειν is perhaps διορ]ττειν (cf. ll. 14, 30, 92) and]υγην might be διορ]υγην or διωρ]υγην, though neither form is classical, the best MSS. in Dem. vii. 40 having διορ]υγή. But π[ρ]ουθεν]το, if that is the right restoration, does not fit in very well with a reference to digging through the wall. ουτοι are the σώματα.

80. εκ[ε]ι[α]ν: cf. ll. 56-8, n. The first husband of the woman is similarly alluded to in *Lycophr.* xlvι επε[ιδ]ή ετε[λείτησεν ἐκείνος and xlvii ἐκείνος [κινού]σαν τὴν γυναῖκα ἐξ] αὐτοῦ καταλέ[λοιπε]ν. μ]εν already projects for some distance into the margin, and there is no room for [αν after it, if αν ελαμβανον be read in l. 87; cf. n. *ad loc.*

82. ασθ[ε]νωσ διακειμεν[ο]ν: cf. *Lycophr.* § 17 ἀπόρως διακειμένους.

86-8. προ οφθαλμων ανελαμβανον: cf. *Epitaph.* 17 πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ὀρώμενα αὐτοῖς τὰ δεινά, and Polyb. ii. 35 λαμβάνων πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τὸ παράδοξον τῶν τότε γενομένων. There seems to be no instance of ἀναλαμβάνειν with πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν, but with the division αν ελαμβανον it is necessary to suppose the omission of αν in l. 80.

97. διαλεγεσθαι: cf. int. p. 77.

98. The supposed stop after ενεκεν might be the beginning of τ. For the supplements in ll. 98-100 cf. ll. 60-2.

108. νη Δι[α]: cf. l. 216, *Demosth.* i. 7, *Euclid.* 12, 14, 27.

111. υπελαβε: a favourite word of Hyperides, occurring 11 times in his speeches.

128. διαρρη[δην]: cf. *Athenog.* 10, 16.

159-62. It is very doubtful whether Fr. 14, containing the supposed ends of these lines, is rightly placed here, for the colour of it is different, especially on the verso (cf. int. p. 74), and at a junction with the upper margin of Fr. 2, which becomes necessary, the

fibres of the recto do not harmonize very well. *οι μ[ισθ]ου δικα[ζ]οντες* is too short. *οιμ[αι]* is possible, and *ου* may be the negative.

170-1. Fr. 3 seems to be rightly placed here. *καθ υ[περ]βολην* is not unlikely in l. 171; cf. l. 81.

198. This line was probably the last of the column, which is already slightly longer than usual (40 lines compared to 39 in Fr. 1).

199-200. Cf. ll. 170-1, n.

201-4. Fr. 4 almost certainly belongs to ll. 224-7.

208. *τομενον*: the last two letters are very doubtful; but cf. l. 205. *τομενην* cannot be read.

218-20. The very rare name *Ἀνάσχετος* occurs also in C. I. A. ii. 804 Ba (*Ἀν. Δημοτέλους Ἀλαιεύς*) in a list of sureties in 340 B.C. for some triremes supplied to the Chalcidians, the preceding name being *Κρίτων Ἀστυόχου Κυδαθηναεύς*, who is also mentioned in C. I. A. ii. 807, and included among the *κάλλιστοι τῶν πολιτῶν* by Aeschin. *Contra Timarch.* 156. Probably these two persons are identical with *Ἀνάσχετος* and *Κρίτων* here. For *Θεόμνηστος* cf. *Lycophr.* § 2 τὸ δ' ἀργύριον Θεο[μνή]στω δίδωσι (sc. Ariston)· ἐκεῖνος δὲ λαμβάνων ἀνδράποδα ἀγοράζει, καὶ παρέχει ὡς περ τοῖς λησταῖς ἐπισιτισμόν, καὶ δίδωσι τούτῳ ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου τοῦ ἀνδραπόδου ὀβολὸν τῆς ἡμέρας, ὅπως ἂν ἡ ἀθάνατος συκοφάντης.

220-1. *καλ[ως] εχον*: cf. *Demosth.* viii. 22 *καλῶς [ἔχειν τὸν] Ἄρπαλον [ἐγδοῦναι τ]ὴν πόλιν, Lycophr.* § 11 *καὶ τοῦτο πῶς καλῶς ἔχει σὲ μὲν . . . τὴν κατηγορίαν ποιήσασθαι.*

222-3. *μ[η] παρερ[γως] ἐξέ[τα]σαι*: cf. *Athenog.* 13 *τούς τε νόμους ἐξετάζειν . . . πάρεργα τὰλλα πάντα ποιησάμενον.*

228-31. It is not absolutely certain that these are the beginnings of lines.

236. *πιθ[ανον]*: cf. l. 18.

283. [*τ]οι Χα[ριπ]πω[ι]*: the traces of the supposed *πω* are very slight and indecisive, but a mention of Charippus, to whom Dioxiippus gave his sister in second marriage, and who figures largely in the charges discussed in *Lycophr.* §§ 3-7, is very appropriate; cf. int. p. 75. *εγδοντα ος προ του εγδουσαι* is to be supplied at the end of the preceding column; cf. *Lycophr.* § 5 *καὶ γὰρ οὔτος* (sc. Dioxiippus) *ἠκολούθει διὰ τὸ χήραν ἐγδιδόσθαι αὐτήν.*

284. *ε[ι]ς [ο]λυ[μπιαν]*: it is not certain that any letter is missing in the lacuna after *ε[ι]ς*, and the following vestiges would also suit *αι[]* or *ατ[]* or possibly *ισ[]*, but Dioxiippus was victorious as a pancratiast at Olympia according to Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 139 and others. The date assigned to his victory by Foerster, *Olymp. Sieger*, no. 381, is 336 B.C., but there is no very definite evidence for fixing the year, except the fact that Dioxiippus went to Asia with Alexander (Diod. xvii. 100-1), i.e. in 335 or 334, and died there, so that he cannot have been at Olympia after 336. The oration of Hyperides against Lycophron is generally assigned to 340 B.C., and if [*ο]λυ[μπιαν]* is right the victory of Dioxiippus was more probably in 340, or even 344, than in 336.

286-7. *στεφανωσ[ο]ντα*: *στεφανωσ[α]ντα* does not suit the size of the lacuna.

288. The *τ* of *τεως* has either been corrected from *ι* or else been inserted later.

289. The letter before *πεμποντα* seems to have been *σ* or *ν* with a stroke through it, and the vestige of the preceding letter rather suggests *α* or *λ*, so that probably the scribe began to write *αυται* or *Λυκοφρονι*, but corrected it.

313-16. Cf. ll. 159-62, n.

336-7. For *κυ[θαπερ λε]γει* cf. l. 95.

427-36. These are perhaps the beginnings of lines; but if so, *δα* projects into the margin of l. 433.

1608. AESCHINES SOCRATICUS, *Alcibiades*.

Fr. 4 16 × 9.8 cm.

Late second century.

Plate III (Fr. 4).

The source of these scanty fragments of a dialogue between Socrates and Alcibiades, chiefly concerning the character of Themistocles, is shown to be the *Alcibiades* of Aeschines Socraticus by coincidences with two of the six extant quotations from that lost dialogue. Aeschines was one of the most important followers of Socrates, being often placed by ancient critics next in rank to Plato and Xenophon. His reputation rested not so much on his own contributions to the development of his master's philosophy, which seem to have been inconsiderable, but on the elegance of his style, which is specially praised by Aristides and Hermogenes, and on the fidelity of his representation of Socrates, which even led to the accusation in antiquity that the master, not the disciple, was the author of the dialogues (Diog. Laert. *Vita Aeschinis*, ii. 7). The recovery of new fragments of the *Alcibiades* is therefore a matter of some interest, especially in view of the current controversy initiated by Prof. Burnet concerning the historical character of the Platonic Socrates.

The extant fragments of Aeschines' seven genuine dialogues have recently been collected and discussed by H. Krauss (Teubner, 1911) and more fully by H. Dittmar (*Philol. Untersuch.* xxi. 1912). Much the longest is Fr. 1 (Krauss) of the *Alcibiades* from Aristides, *orat.* 46 (ii. 292 sqq., Dindorf) containing a panegyric upon Themistocles addressed to Alcibiades by Socrates, and concluding with a warning that even Themistocles' ἐπιστήμη was not strong enough to save him from disasters. Another passage in the same oration of Aristides (ii. 369) not only supplies a second fragment (small), which Krauss, following C. F. Hermann, assigns to a position immediately preceding Fr. 1, but gives a general description of the context of Fr. 1, from which it appears that Alcibiades was reduced to tears by the sense of his own inferiority to Themistocles. Before the end of the dialogue, which was put into the form of a narrative by Socrates, as is shown by the use of the first person in referring to him, Alcibiades seems to have left, and Frs. 3 and 4 (from Aristid. *orat.* 45) apparently belong to the conclusion of the dialogue, being part of an explanation of Socrates' general point of view in relation to Alcibiades, addressed to an unknown third participator in the conversation. Frs. 5 and 6, from Priscianus and Athenaeus respectively, are unimportant; but evidently the general drift of the whole dialogue was similar to that of the (Pseudo-)Platonic *Alcibiades*, a desire to curb the arrogance of Alcibiades. Aristides in fact contrasts the two dialogues, to the disadvantage of Plato. There are also apparent allusions to

Aeschines' dialogue in Cic. *Tusc.* iii. 77 and Augustin, *De civit. dei*, xiv. 8; cf. Dittmar's Fr. 10, and pp. 99-103 of his edition. These indicate that Socrates showed Alcibiades, who thought himself *beatus* (εὐδαίμων), that he was really *stultus* (ἀμαθής), and as such *miser* (ἄθλιος), with the result that Alcibiades entreated Socrates to free him from *turpitude* (αἰσχρότης) and teach him *virtus* (ἀρετή).

Of the 19 (originally 25) fragments of the papyrus only six are large enough to be of any value, and the longest continuous passage is less than 20 lines (ll. 34-52). Fr. 5 (ll. 77-87) contains after parts of 5 new lines Krauss's Fr. 2, immediately followed, as he had correctly surmised, by the beginning of his Fr. 1. This is continued after a gap in Frs. 6 and 7, the latter fragment containing the bottoms of two columns. Since the extent of the missing portion of Fr. 7. ii is known to have been approximately 19 lines, there were about 30 lines in a column, and probably Fr. 5, of which the upper margin is broken off, is from the top of a column; for Frs. 5, 6, and 7. i together account for 30 lines. With regard to the position of the other fragments, none of them belongs to the four columns immediately following Fr. 7. ii, all of which must have been occupied by the remainder of the extant panegyric on Themistocles, and internal evidence indicates that at any rate Frs. 1, 2, and 4 preceded Frs. 5-7. Fr. 1 is placed in that position because the reference to Themistocles in l. 3 may be the first introduction of his name into the discussion, which continues to be occupied with him in Frs. 4-7. Socrates seems to have asked a question reflecting on his interlocutor's (presumably Alcibiades') relations to his parents, adducing as a parallel the bad relations of Themistocles to his parents—a remark which draws a protest from Alcibiades (ll. 1-6). The next question is concerned with a different subject, whether people are first μουσικοί and ἵππικοί or the opposite, the second alternative being naturally adopted by Alcibiades (ll. 7-15), at which point the fragment ceases to be intelligible. The story that Themistocles had been disinherited by his father, which is mentioned by Plutarch and other writers (cf. ll. 38-9, n.), had in any case been alluded to by Socrates before Fr. 4, in which Alcibiades is definitely stated to be the other speaker (l. 50); for in ll. 36-48 the latter expressed his surprise at the supposed disinheritance, and vigorously condemned the character of Themistocles implied by such an incident. There is an apparent connexion between this speech of Alcibiades and the reference at the beginning of Socrates' panegyric on Themistocles (ll. 85-7) to Alcibiades' boldness in criticizing that statesman; but Frs. 5-7 cannot be combined with the remains of Fr. 4. ii, so that at least one column intervened between Fr. 4. i and Frs. 5-7, though the gap is not likely to be wide. The next question of Socrates (ll. 48 sqq.) is incompletely preserved and somewhat

obscure, as is the point of his remark in ll. 34-6, which preceded the outburst of Alcibiades and mentions Apollodorus' defence τοῦ φαύλου. This Apollodorus is presumably the inseparable companion of Socrates who appears as the narrator in Plato's *Symposium*, and he seems to have taken part in the conversation in Aeschines' dialogue. Though there is no reason to assign any of the remarks in the extant portion of 1608 to Apollodorus, the two remarks from the end of the dialogue (Frs. 3 and 4 Krauss; cf. p. 88) may well have been addressed to him: Anytus has been suggested there, but as a mere guess. The position of Fr. 2 is more doubtful, since there is no apparent reference in it to Themistocles; but there seems to be a connexion between ἀπολογίας in l. 28 and ἀπολογεῖσθαι in l. 36, so that Fr. 2 is likely to have preceded Fr. 4 with no very great interval. The first 5 lines of Fr. 5 apparently belong not to a speech but, like the next 3, to a piece of narrative: Alcibiades, who is meant by αὐτόν in l. 82, is probably also indicated by αὐτῷ in l. 79. Lines 82-136 correspond to Krauss's Fr. 2 and part of 1. Here there are some small variations between 1608 and the MSS. of Aristides, whose quotations do not seem to be exact. In ll. 130-2, where the MSS. are corrupt, 1608 is incompletely preserved, but does not seem to have been right; cf. n. *ad loc.* The papyrus as a whole is too short to prove much; but such glimpses of Aeschines' style as it affords indicate a close resemblance between his picture of Socrates and Plato's in the earlier dialogues, and so far as they go rather support Prof. Burnet's view that Plato was there giving a true representation of Socrates' teaching.

1608 was found with 841-4, 1606-7, &c. The handwriting is a good-sized elegant uncial of the sloping oval type, with a tendency to exaggerate the size of *a* and *v*. It is a somewhat later specimen of this type than 24 (Demosthenes, προίμια δημογορικά: Part i, Plate vii) and 665 (*History of Sicily*: Part iv, Plate i), but earlier than e.g. 223 (Homer E: Part ii, Plate i) and Schubart, *Pap. Graecae*, 19 b (Hesiod, *Catalogue*), and probably belongs to the latter half of the second century. Iota adscript was generally written. Changes of speaker are indicated (perhaps not consistently) by double dots with or without paragraphi, and two kinds of stops, a high and a low point, are employed, besides occasional diaereses over initial *i* and *v*. A mark of elision in l. 53 seems to be due to the original scribe, but an accent and breathing in l. 37 are probably by the (contemporary) corrector, who has altered mistakes in ll. 10, 37 (?), and 42. A critical mark against l. 138 probably refers to a lost marginal note. The scribe seems to have been rather prone to omissions; cf. ll. 10 and 48-50. The fragments are or may be from the middles of columns, except where it is stated otherwise.

Fr. 1.

. [.] περι τους
 σεαυτου γου[εας γεγε?]
 νησθαι. οιος περ [ο Θε
 μιστοκλης λεγεται [πε
 5 ρι τους εαυτου γο[νεας :
 ευφημει εφη ω Σ[ωκρα
 τες : π[ο]τερον δε δοκει [
 σοι το[is] ανθρωποις αν[α]γ
 καιο[ν] ειναι αμοι[σους]
 10 ποτε[ρο]ν η μουσικο[υ]ς γι
 νεο[θα]ι και ποτερο[ν] α
 φι[ππου]ς η ιππικο[υ]ς : α
 ναγ[καιο]ν μοι δοκει [
 αμοι[σους] προτερον κ[αι]
 15 αφιπ[πους] : ουκο[υν] . . .
 [.]οχ[.]ην λ[.] . . .
 [.]παμ[.]

Fr. 4. Col. i. Plate iii.

[.]υ[.]
 καλως δε κα[ι] ο Απολ[λο]
 35 δωρος υπερ του φαν[ι]λου
 απολογεισθαι : αλλ εκ[ε]ι
 νο η δ ος εγω ουκ αν ωμη[ν]
 τον Θεμιστοκλεα υ[π]ο
 του πατρος αποκηρυχ[θη]
 40 ναι φανλου γαρ και πορ
 ρω ανοιας ηκοντα τα
 γε τοιαυτα : [[ω]]στις εις δι
 αφορας τοιαυτας και ε
 χθρας τας μεγαistas
 45 προς τους εαυτου γου[ε]
 ασ κατεστη : ο και παι

Fr. 2.

[.]υ[.]
 [. . . .]τηριου[ς] [.]
 20 [ο]υδετερους δε[ι]
 α : ουτε γαρ τους [.]
 [ουδ]οτιουν δε[ι]
 τησθαι ηπε[ξ]
 [. .] ωστε α[.]
 25 [.] των δικ[.] δι
 απραξασθα[ι] ε
 παινειν ου[τ]ε
 νες δια τας το[ι]αυτας απο
 λογιας απεγν[ωσαν] αν
 30 θρωπων με[.]
 [. . .]τω . [.]

Fr. 3.

32]υτ[α]

Fr. 5, 6, 7. Col. i.

εγ τοις [.]
 μεγαλα[.]
 αυτωι ειχε[.]
 80 κομειωι τ[.]
 αν αμαρτη[.]
 γνους ουν α[υτον] εγω
 οτι ζηλοτυη[ω]ς εχει προς
 Θεμιστοκλ[ε]α ειπον ε
 85 πειδη του [Θεμιστοκλε
 ους βιου επιλαμβανεσ
 [θ]αι ετολμη[σας] σκεψαι
 5 lines lost
 [ω Σωκρατες τα] τοιαυ[τ]α
 [ειδεναι : ηδη ο]νι πωπ[ο]

Fr. 4. Col. ii.

Plate iii.

. . .
 ει . [. . .]
 60 τεσ[. . .]
 θρω[. . .]
 ητ[. . .]
 α[. . .]
 [. . .]

	δαριον ευλαβηθηναι	65 [	95 [τε σοι εμελησ[εν οτι ταυ[
	[<αν> ευρο]ιτο : ουτω δη μικρον	. [	[της της χωρ]ας τοσαυ[
	[νενο]μικας ειναι ην δ ε	γ[	[της ουσης οσ]ην ο ηλιο[ς
50	[γω ω Α]λκιβιαδη γονεσ[ι]ν	α[	[πορευεται η] καλειτ[αι
	[διαβ?]ληθηναι. ωστε του	γ[	[Ασια εις ανηρ αρχει : π]α
	[επιτυχ?]οντος ανθρωπου	70 δ[	100 [νυ μεν ουν εφη ο γ?]ε με
	[.] . τουτ' εστ[ι]]	γ[	[γας βασιλευς : οισ]θα ουν
	[.] . σ . [.] . [. . .	λ . [	[οτι εκεινος εσ]τρατευσε
55	[12 letters]ταμ[.]ν	τ[α]	[δευρο και επι] Λακεδαι
	[11 ,,] των φαν	. [	[μουιους ηγου]μενος ει
	[λοτατων?] εστιν ει δε	75 [	105 [τουτω τω πολ]εε κατα
	[.]ν πολιν τε	[	[στρεψαιτο ρα]διως τους
	end of col.	end of col.	end of col.

Fr. 7. Col. ii.

19 lines lost.

126	[πεξων και] χρηματω[ν
	[τα των Ελλη]νων πραγμ[α
	[τα πολυ ελει]πτεο τα δε
	[βασιλε]ως προειχεν[αλ[
130	λ [ηδ]ει οτι ει μη αυτους τ[ο?]
	βουλ[ε]ν εσθαι εκεινος [πε
	ριεστ[αι] τα γε αλλα αυ[τον
	τοσαυτα οντα το μεγ[εθος
	ο[ν]δ[ε]ν μεγα εμελλον [ω
135	φελησειν και τουτο ε[γνω
	κει αρα οτι οποτερων [αν
	end of col.

Fr. 8.

. [
ζ[
γα[
140 χ[ε]
λου[
ωσ . [
ει . [
τε . [
145 τ[η]
τημ[
end of col.

Fr. 9.

σ[αυ] . [
ηκα[
τρι ρα[
150 αλλ[
γαρ [[η]] . [
θου μη[
[.]ιοι[ε]
Fr. 10.
. [
155]νυμ[
ω Σωκρ]ατες ο[
]τω . [

Fr. 11.

]υκα[
]ν. και το[
160]υτωι αδ[
]αντα[

Fr. 12.

[.]οπ[
κωσ[
προ[
165 δο . [

Fr. 13.

166 και[
ξυν[
και[

Fr. 14.

]ω
170]τι
]ι . [

Fr. 15.	Fr. 16.	Fr. 17.	Fr. 18.	Fr. 19.
top of col.	top of col.	176 πλ[	178]α[	180] . . [
172]ουθε[	α[	λιπ[	]οικ[	]ογ[
]ε τοιαυ[τ	175 τω[

1-6. Probably, as Prof. Burnet, to whom we are indebted for several suggestions in the interpretation of 1608, remarks, Socrates asked 'Would you be willing to have behaved to your parents as Themistocles is said to have behaved to his?' Alcibiades replies 'Hush, Socrates'.

7-15. 'Do you think that men have to be unmusical before they are musical, and unskilled in riding before they are skilled?—I think that they must first be unmusical and unskilled in riding.' For ἄμουσοι in conjunction with ἀφιπποὶ cf. Plato, *Rep.* 335c. Burnet thinks that this was part of an argument intended to show that Themistocles did not achieve what he did φύσει (which Alcibiades considered sufficient for himself). Since Themistocles was so unsatisfactory in his youth, he must have become great and acquired ἐπιστήμη by care and practice.

16.]οχ[: or [α]ρχ[.

19. Perhaps [δικασ]τηριου ε[.

28. το[αντας απο]λογιας : cf. l. 36 and int.

34-51. '... and Apollodorus also to make a good defence on behalf of the mean.—But, he replied, there is this point; I should not have thought that Themistocles was disinherited by his father; for such conduct betokens a mean character and reaches the height of folly, when a person is involved in such quarrels and in the most violent enmity with his parents, which even a child would find a way of avoiding.—Did you think it so small-minded, Alcibiades, said I, to be filled with hatred of one's parents that . . .'

34-5. Απολ[λο]δαρος : cf. int. No orator of this name who was contemporary with Socrates is known. του φαι[λου can be masculine or neuter. As Burnet remarks, Alcibiades may have been relying on his natural gifts, so that the question of κάλλος arose. Apollodorus may well have championed the cause of 'the ugly' (e.g. Socrates); for he certainly stands for the more cynical aspect of Socraticism, as appears from the beginning of the *Symposium*.

36. Of the double dots after απολογεισθαι only the upper is preserved.

αλλ εκε[ε]νο : Burnet compares *Hippias maior* 283d ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο, μὴν μὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κτλ.

37. ἦ : the first hand perhaps wrote ι.

38-9. Cf. int. and Plut. *Vit. Themist.* 2 ἀ δὲ τούτων ἐξαρτῶσιν ἔνοι διηγῆματα πλάττοντες ἀποκλήρυσεν μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ . . . δοκεῖ κατεψεῦσθαι, Aelian, *Var. hist.* ii. 12 ἀποκηρυχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, Nepos, *Themist.* 1 a patre exheredatus est.

40-1. πορρω ανοιας ἡκοντα : cf. Plato, *Euthyd.* 294e πόρρω σοφίας ἦκεις.

48. [(αν) ευρο]ιτο : this reading is not very satisfactory; but εὔροιτο is preferable to εὔροι, the active not being used with an infinitive in classical times, and there is a change of speaker before ουτω, so that [αν ε]υροι with the omission of double dots before ουτω, though a possible reading, is open to still greater objections.

50. γονεσ(ι)ν : γονεων is inadmissible.

52. [επιτυχ]οτος was suggested by Burnet.

55-9. The fragment containing these lines was originally separate, and is not quite certainly placed here.

61. Probably αν]θρω[π : cf. l. 52.

77. This line is probably the top of the column; cf. int. p. 89.

82-4. γνους . . . Θεμιστοκλ[εα = Aeschin. Fr. 2; cf. int. The MSS. of Aristides have ζηλοτύπως ἔχοντα instead of σι ζηλοτυ[ως εχει, and before Θεμιστοκλέα some of the deterioros insert τόν, which was certainly omitted in the papyrus.

84-5. ε]πειδη του : from this point up to l. 136 the papyrus corresponds to the beginning of Aeschin. Fr. 1; cf. int. After ἐπειδή the MSS. of Aristides insert τοίνυν, which is evidently due to looseness of quotation.

93-8. These remains are on a separate fragment, and there is no external evidence for their being near the ends of lines.

94-5. ο]ν παπ[οτε σοι : ο]ν σοι πάποτε MSS. 1608 may have omitted σοι. The ε of εμελησ]εν comes above the α of χωρ]ας in l. 96.

97. οσ]ην : so the 'deteriores', followed by Dindorf and Hermann. AET, which are considered the best MSS., have ὄσον, which is adopted by Fischer, Krauss, and Dittmar. ὄσσην is, however, supported by Aristides xiv (i. 325, Dindorf) ὅπερ γάρ τις ἔφη τῶν λογοποιῶν περὶ τῆς Ἀσίας λέγων ὄσσην ὁ ἥλιος πορεύεται ταύτης πάσης ἀρχεῖν ἄνδρα ἕνα.

100. γ?]ε : om. MSS.

105. πολ]εε : so MSS. πόλει Krauss and Dittmar, following Herodian, ii. 2, p. 696 ὡς παρ' Αἰσχίνῃ τῷ Σωκρατικῷ τούτω τῷ πόλει : πόλη Hermann, following Choeroboscus.

130-2. εἰ μὴ αὐτοῦ τὸ βουλευέσθαι ἐκείνους (ἐκείνος E) περιέσται, τά γε ἄλλα αὐτῶν (αὐτόν E) MSS. Dindorf : εἰ μὴ αὐτοῦ τῷ βουλευέσθαι ἐκείνον . . . αὐτόν Hermann : εἰ μὴ αὐτῶν τῷ βουλ. ἐκείνος . . . αὐτόν Reiske : εἰ μὴ αὐτοῦ τῷ βουλ. ἐκείνος . . . αὐτόν Krauss, Dittmar. Whether 1608 had τ[ο or τ[ωι and αἰ]τον or αἰ]των is uncertain; but it apparently agreed with E in reading ἐκείνος (though εκεινο[s is just possible), and certainly differed from all the MSS. and editors in having αὐτούς instead of αὐτοῦ—a novelty which seems to be erroneous.

134. εμελλεν [ω]φελησειν : ὠφελήσει MSS.

136. αρα : om. MSS.

138. For the critical mark cf. int. p. 90.

154-7. Fr. 10 resembles Fr. 7. ii in colour, but does not occur in the text of the missing portion of that column.

159. The supposed low stop after ν might be the lower of two dots marking a change of speaker, in which case καιτο[ι is not improbable.

162-5. This fragment is very likely to be placed above Fr. 9, but there is no actual join.

1609. PHILOSOPHICAL WORK (EUDORUS?). METROLOGICAL FRAGMENT.

8 × 10.2 cm.

Second century.

The recto of this papyrus contains 13 nearly complete lines from the middle of a column of a lost philosophical work, with a few letters from the preceding and following columns. It is written in a clear compact semiuncial hand of the second century, which somewhat resembles that of 410 (Part iii, Plate iv) and is not later than the reign of Marcus Aurelius, more probably belonging to the reign of Trajan or Hadrian. A stroke in the middle of l. 12 indicates the beginning of a new section. The subject under discussion is εἶδωλα in mirrors, and the author, who alludes in l. 13 to his commentary on the *Timaeus* of Plato, and objects in ll. 16 sqq. to the views of Democritus, Epicurus, and Empedocles, evidently belonged to the Academic school. The first commentator

on Plato, was according to Proclus, *In Tim.* p. 24, Crantor of Soli in Cilicia, whose discussion of the *Timaeus* is mentioned several times by Plutarch in his *De animae procreatione*. But since Crantor was a contemporary of Epicurus and died before him, he is unsuitable as the author of the papyrus, in which Epicurus is ranked with Democritus and Empedocles. Another philosopher of the Academic school, also mentioned by Plutarch, *op. cit.*, in connexion with the *Timaeus*, is Eudorus of Alexandria, who flourished about 25 B. C. and is generally thought to have written a commentary on that dialogue, besides an encyclopaedic work upon philosophy in general and a treatise on Aristotle's *Categories*. The encyclopaedic work, of which a few fragments survive, is described by Stobaeus, *Ecl.* ii. 46 as Εὐδώρου τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως Ἀκαδημικοῦ φιλοσόφου διαίρεσις τοῦ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λόγου, βιβλίον ἀξιόκτητον ἐν ᾧ πᾶσαν ἐπεξελήλυθε προβληματικῶς τὴν ἐπιστήμην. It was used extensively by Arius Didymus of Alexandria, a Stoic philosopher with eclectic tendencies, and seems to have been a work of some importance. The account of it given by Zeller, *Gesch. d. griech. Philos.* i. 612, who considers that it collected the answers of the chief writers on the main problems of philosophy, is quite in harmony with the papyrus. A difficulty with regard to the attribution of 1609 to Eudorus, who naturally wrote in Attic, arises from the occurrence of an Ionic form, περιούσας, in l. 21. The context there, however, and the occurrence elsewhere of several non-Ionic forms (οὖν, τούτων, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς) indicate that the author was in this case using Empedocles' language, though περιούσας cannot itself have occurred in hexameters.

On the verso in a different and larger semiuncial hand, which is not earlier than A. D. 150 and may even be later than 200, are the ends of 11 lines from the middle of a column of metrological tables, similar to e. g. 9. verso and 669. Some abbreviations and the usual symbols for drachma (l. 31) and $\frac{1}{2}$ (l. 36) occur. The amount lost at the beginnings of lines is uncertain, but seems to be considerable in most, if not all, cases, and not much can be gleaned from the fragment. As far as l. 37 it is concerned with liquid measures, especially in relation to the cyathus, weights being expressed in drachmae; the last $2\frac{1}{2}$ lines deal with the mina and its subdivisions. The κόγχη, an uncommon measure, is mentioned in l. 30, with a novel weight assigned to it. Details are discussed in the commentary.

Recto.

Col. i.

Col. ii.

Col. iii.

δοκη δε εκει φα[ιν]εσθαι ου
 10 γαρ επ εκεινου του κατοπτρου
 οραται αλλ η ανακλασις επι

	τον ορώντα\ περι μεν ουν	
. . .	τουτων εν τοις εις τον Τι	
]πo	μαιον ει[ρ]ηται ου δει δε ει	
]ν[ο]ν	15 δωλον τοιουτον ακουειν οι	. .
]νταυ	ον το κατα Δημοκριτον η Επι	τ[
]μεν	κουρον η ως Εμπεδοκλης	[
5] . ιν	απορροας φαιη αν απιξεναι	τ[
]τιν	απο εκαστου των κ[α]τοπτρι	25 ε[
]ει .	20 ζομενον και τ[.	ε[
]τη	περιουσας [.	

'(if?) . . . and it (the image) seem to appear there. For it is not seen on that mirror, but the reflexion to the person seeing (is seen). This, however, has been discussed in my commentary on the Timaeus. An image ought not to be described as it is in the systems of Democritus or Epicurus, or as Empedocles would say that emanations come off from each of the objects shown in the mirror and . . . surviving . . .'

12. ορώντα: ν is practically certain and the very faint traces of the two preceding letters suit ρω, but joining ο is a descending stroke which is superfluous and seems to be merely a ligature. The stroke after ορώντα is a mark of punctuation.

13. εις τον Τιμαιον: i.e. in connexion with 71 b οἶον ἐν κατόπτρῳ δεχομένῳ τύπους καὶ κατιδεῖν εἶδωλα παρέχοντι: cf. 72 c.

14. δει: ει is very cramped, and the ι was probably omitted originally.

16. For Democritus' theory of εἶδωλα cf. Sext. Math. ix. 19 Δημόκριτος δὲ εἶδωλά τινα φησιν ἐμπελάζειν ἀνθρώποις κτλ. Epicurus' views are expressed in his *Epist.* 1 ap. Diog. Laert. x. 46 sqq.

18. For Empedocles' views on ἀπορροαὶ cf. Ritter and Preller, *Hist. phil. Graec.* §§ 166 h, 177 b.

19. κ[α]τοπτριζομενων is passive; cf. Plut. *De plac. philos.* 894 f καταντικρὸν δὲ τοῦ κατοπτρίζοντος αὐτήν (sc. ἡλιακὴν περιφεγγεῖαν) ἀστέρος. The middle is the form commonly used.

21. περιουσας: cf. int. p. 95.

Verso.

27	]α[. . .] κοι[αθ() . .
	] κοιαθ() ε . [.]ν
	]σον και η μεγ[α]
30 [λη	] κονχη η μεγ[α]
[λη	εχ[?]ει S ιη η δε τετ'
	]ορραι εισιν δε οβ
	] ουν μεγα κοιαθ(ου?)
	το δε] μικρον κοιαθον

35 .] ογδοον μερος
 | α Σ η μυα [[. .]]
 [εχρει [̄ ιη S] ρμδ η δε [̄
 [S η?]αι ε [̄

27. κο[αθ()]: κύαθος is thus misspelled throughout, a circumstance which raises a doubt whether some other forms are correct. The cyathus was regularly $\frac{1}{6}$ of a κοτύλη, but of varying weights and subdivisions.

29.]τον: or]εον.

29-31. The doubtful γ of μεγ[αλη might be ν in both l. 29 and l. 30, but in neither place is μει[[κρα admissible. The restoration η μεν κογχη η μεγ[αλη εχ]ει would suit ll. 34-5, where ογδοον μερος might follow immediately after κοιαθου, but ll. 31-2 do not seem to be concerned with the μικρά κόγχη, and, since the break along the left side is practically vertical, it would be necessary to suppose that the beginning of l. 31 projected by several letters beyond ll. 30 and 35, while it is very difficult to restore the other lines, especially ll. 32-4, on the hypothesis of a short lacuna or no lacuna at all at the beginnings. The κόγχη occurs together with κόγχη χηραμίσ as a medicinal measure in Hippocrates (Hultsch, *Metrol. Script.* i. 75-6), and is equated by Hesychius and Photius to the χήμη, which is treated variously as $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{10}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, or $\frac{1}{5}$ of a cyathus. In the *Cleopatrae tabula* (Hultsch, i. 235; cf. 256) the μεγάλη κόγχη is equated to the ὀξύβαφον and contains $1\frac{1}{2}$ cyathi, weighing 15 drachmae, while the ἐλάττων κόγχη contains $\frac{1}{2}$ cyathus, weighing 5 dr. The papyrus evidently gives the weight of the μεγάλη κόγχη as 18 dr.: the initial lacuna in l. 31 may well have contained a statement of the relation of this κόγχη to a cyathus, which presumably stood in the ratio of 1: $1\frac{1}{2}$ to it, especially as a cyathus of 12 drachmae is indicated by ll. 35-6; cf. n.

31. εχ]ει: or αγ]ει or ποι]ει or εσ]τι.

31-2. τετ' is presumably τετ(αρτη), but there is room for a letter between ε and the vertical stroke which is supposed to represent the second τ. τετάρτη is not known as a liquid measure, but τέταρτον μέρος or τεταρτημόριον κοτύλης occurs in Hippocrates (Hultsch, i. 75^b), and τέταρτον is common in the sense of $\frac{1}{4}$ ξέστης or quartarius, i. e. $\frac{1}{2}$ κοτύλη or 3 cyathi. The connexion of l. 32 with the preceding line is obscure. Only εισω is certain.]ομαι suggests ἀμφ]ομαι, but ἀσφορεός is the regular Greek form: δρα]χμαι is inadmissible. δ of δε is fairly certain (no figure in the thousands or hundreds will suit), but the following letter, if ε, is very cramped. δ, i. e. δ(ραχμαί), could be read; but in l. 31 the ordinary symbol for drachmae occurs and in l. 36, where the figures seem to refer to drachmae, the preceding abbreviation was different. The figure οβ(?) probably refers to drachmae, and perhaps gives the weight of a κοτύλη; cf. l. 31.

33-6. If the genitive κ(υ)αθου in l. 34 is right, these lines are clearly concerned with a subdivision of the cyathus, the smaller measure being apparently $\frac{1}{6}$ of it and weighing $1\frac{1}{2}$ drachmae, which is in accordance with the weight ascribed to a μεγάλη κόγχη in l. 31, if the cyathus in 1609 is, as usual (cf. ll. 29-31, n.), $\frac{2}{3}$ of a μεγ. κόγχη. The smallest measures for liquids were the χήμη, κόγχη (ἐλάττων), κοχλιάριον, μυστρίων or λίστριον, μίστρον, and κάρνον, but since the measure in question is neuter, the first two need not be discussed. The κοχλιάριον is sometimes, e. g. in the *Cleop. tab.*, treated as weighing 1 drachma, i. e. $\frac{1}{10}$ of a cyathus there, but $\frac{1}{12}$ of the cyathus in 1609; elsewhere (e. g. Hultsch, i. 238. 7) it weighs 3 γράμματα, i. e. 2 drachmae. The terms μέγα and μικρόν do not occur in connexion with it, but something like κοχλιαριον] ονν μεγα κοιαθ(ον) [εκτον (or τεταρτον, if it weighed twice the μικρόν) μέρος το δε] μικρον κοιαθου [—] ογδοον μερος can be restored in ll. 33-5, though how the

lacunae in ll. 35-6 were filled is in any case obscure. *μύστρον* (Hultsch, ii. 198-9) is somewhat less suitable than *κοχλιάριον*. The *μέγα μύστρον* has sometimes 2, sometimes 3 cyathi, but elsewhere is $\frac{1}{16}$ or $\frac{1}{18}$ *κοτύλη* i. e. $\frac{3}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ cyathus, while the *μικρόν μύστρον* is $\frac{1}{24}$ or $\frac{1}{24}$ *κοτύλη*, i. e. $\frac{3}{11}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ cyathus, which is not very close to $\frac{1}{8}$ cyathus. The *μυστριον* or *λίστριον*, which is rarely mentioned, is the same as the *μικρόν μύστρον*, and unlikely to be distinguished as *μέγα* and *μικρόν*: but two kinds of *κάρνα* are known, the *βασιλικόν*, which weighed 4 drachmae in the *Cleop. tab.*, but elsewhere 7 drachmae (Hultsch, i. 243. 8), and the *Ποντικόν*, which weighed 1 drachma (Hultsch, i. 243. 9), so that *καρνον*] is as good as *κοχλιαριον*] in l. 33. *οὖν* is not very satisfactory, and the *ο* is uncertain; but to *κα]ρυ(ο)ν* there is the objection that the tail of a *ρ* ought to have been visible. In the absence of any known measure of which the smaller size was $\frac{1}{8}$ cyathus and weighed $1\frac{1}{2}$ drachmae, the name to which *μεγα* and *μικρον* refer and even the supposed connexion between ll. 34-6 remain doubtful. The stroke before the figures in l. 36 is smaller than that after *τετ* in l. 31 and may belong to a letter (e. g. *θ* or *μ*) above the line.

36-8. Cf. the *Cleop. tab.* (Hultsch, i. 234) ἡ Πτολεμαϊκὴ μνᾶ ἔχει ο(ι)γ(γίαι) η, (δραχμᾶς) ρμδ . . . ἡ οὐγγία ἔχει δραχμᾶς η.

1610. EPHORUS, xii (or xi).

Frs. 12 + 13 15.2 × 9.1 cm. Late second or early third century. Plate III (Frs. 1, 4-6, 15).

These 60 fragments (originally about 70) of a lost historical work were found with 1611, 1619, &c.; cf. 1619. int. They are mostly quite small, the longest containing less than 20 complete lines; but owing to frequent correspondences with Diodorus xi. 59 sqq. a large amount of restoration is possible, and about 100 lines in all are intelligible. In at least 16 cases the context of the fragments can be established, and in spite of their unpromising appearance they constitute a valuable find, especially since they deal with events in the *Pentecontaëtia*, which are for the most part outside the scope of Herodotus' history, and are only briefly sketched by Thucydides.

The handwriting is a handsome upright uncial approximating towards the biblical type, like 1234, 1365, and 1606, but more calligraphic than the first two. 1012 and 1611 are also written in similar hands, but smaller. The date of the papyrus is not later than the early part of the third century and may go back to the latter part of the second, being approximately A.D. 200. There are no lection-marks except the common angular signs for filling up short lines, paragraphi, and high stops. Pauses are sometimes also indicated by blank spaces. The only correction is the deletion of the iota adscript of *απεθνησκον* in l. 104; elsewhere (ll. 105 and 198, but not in l. 60?) iota adscript was generally written, and, so far as can be judged, the scribe was more careful than the average. The lines were short, ranging from 12-17 letters and usually consisting of 14 or 15. The height of the columns is uncertain. All the fragments come or may come

from the middles of columns, except where it is otherwise stated. There is no external evidence to show their order, and the chronology of the twenty years following the battle of Plataea is in many points uncertain. The arrangement of Frs. 1-16 in the text is based on the order of the corresponding passages in Diodorus, and admits of little doubt. That Frs. 1-5 preceded 6 is clear from the reference to a change of subject in l. 37.

Of the three groups into which Frs. 1-16 fall the first, containing Frs. 1-5 (ll. 1-35; cf. ll. 36-7), is concerned with Themistocles. The most intelligible of them is Fr. 3, which comes from an estimate of his character and agrees very closely with a passage in Diod. xi. 59, no fewer than 13 consecutive words being identical; cf. p. 102. In Frs. 2 and 4+5 the division of lines is uncertain, and the resemblances to Diodorus are less marked, especially in the second half of Frs. 4+5, which does not correspond at all; but the points of agreement with Diodorus (cf. ll. 15-17 and 18 sqq., nn.) are sufficient to show that these fragments refer to other parts of the same chapter as Fr. 3, and are to be placed Fr. 2 shortly before Fr. 3, and Frs. 4+5 almost immediately after it. The small Frs. 26 and 38 also may belong to the character of Themistocles; cf. ll. 192-4 and 237-9, nn. Fr. 1, in which Themistocles is mentioned in l. 7, presents greater difficulties, since not only are the ends of lines missing, but no direct parallelism to Diodorus is traceable. Probably ll. 7 sqq. refer to the reception of Themistocles by Xerxes at the Persian court, which in Diodorus precedes the character of Themistocles, and the allusion in l. 8 to the statements of *οἱ μὲν* is to be connected with the ancient discrepancies among historians as to both the reigning king (Artaxerxes according to Thucydides and Charon, Xerxes according to Ephorus, Dinon, and others), and the circumstances attending Themistocles' arrival; cf. ll. 7-12, n. That our author, like Diodorus but unlike Plutarch, favoured views opposed to that of Thucydides is clear from his general support of Diodorus, especially with regard to the accession of Artaxerxes (Frs. 15-16); but the influence of Thucydides' language is apparent in ll. 11-12 and evident later in Fr. 6. It is also possible that Fr. 31 is to be connected with Thucydides' and Diodorus' accounts of the presents of land made by the Persian king to Themistocles (ll. 213-14, n.), and Frs. 18 and 41 with Diodorus' account of the adventures of Themistocles in Persia. Fr. 41 in that case comes shortly before Fr. 1 (ll. 246-8, n.), while Fr. 18, if the context has been rightly caught (ll. 140-5, n.), may be placed between Frs. 1 and 2, preceding Fr. 31, if that fragment too refers to Themistocles.

The second group, consisting of Frs. 6-14, is concerned with Cimon's operations in the Aegean and Southern Mediterranean against the Persians, which are summarized by Thuc. i. 98-100 and more fully treated by Diodorus and Plutarch.

The end of a digression (i. e. the excursus upon the career of Themistocles) is announced in ll. 36-7, and in l. 37 a new section begins, just as in Diodorus, with the departure of the Greek fleet from Byzantium. This town had evidently already passed out of the possession of Pausanias according to our author, as is also implied by Diodorus and Plutarch, but not by Thucydides, whose indefiniteness as to the date of Pausanias' expulsion (i. 131), coupled with a statement in Justin ix. 1 that Pausanias held the city for seven years, has led to a controversy whether the transference of Byzantium to the Athenians took place in 476 or 470 B. C.; cf. Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* iii. 96¹. 1610 supports the earlier date. Our author's account of the capture of Eion on the Strymon is clearly borrowed with hardly any variation from Thucydides, Herodotus' story of the heroic defence of the Persian governor being ignored. Diodorus here adds a sentence about the Athenian projects, which is probably his own invention (cf. p. 103); but his description of the capture of Eion is apart from some unnecessary verbiage equally brief, being somewhat closer to our author than to Thucydides and having the same general construction of the sentence (ll. 37-46, n.). Plutarch's account, based on Herodotus, is much longer.

The next event recorded is the capture of Scyros (l. 46), which is briefly mentioned by Thucydides and Diodorus. Our author, however, seems to have, like Plutarch, devoted much more space to this episode, which led to one of Cimon's most popular exploits, the recovery of the bones of Theseus. After l. 46 Fr. 6 breaks off; but it is practically certain that Fr. 7, which mentions 'king Lyco[medes]', is from an account of the Theseus story introduced, as by Plutarch, in connexion with Cimon's capture of Scyros (ll. 49-51, n.), and probably Fr. 35, which mentions the Pelasgians, is to be placed between Frs. 7 and 8. It is significant that Diodorus' reference to the Pelasgians at Scyros is not only the sole mention of them in Book xi, but is also, except the mention of Byzantium, the one detail in his account of the operations at Eion and Scyros which is not ultimately traceable to Thucydides.

After the capture of Scyros Thuc. i. 98. 3-4 proceeds to describe a war with Carystus in Euboea and the revolt of Naxos before coming to the twofold battle of the Eurymedon by sea and land (i. 100. 1). Diodorus on the other hand, ignoring the first two events, but mentioning Cimon's return to Athens in quest of reinforcements, narrates the operations in Caria which led up to a naval battle off the coast of Cyprus on the same day as the land-battle of the Eurymedon. The inherent improbability of Diodorus' account of the double victory, especially on account of the distance of Cyprus from the Eurymedon and the night-attack, which is a favourite stratagem in Diodorus' battles, has been generally recognized and ascribed to his use of Ephorus; cf. e. g. Busolt, iii. 146⁵. Our author's

account evidently agreed closely with that of Diodorus, but probably narrated some events omitted by him; cf. Fr. 39 for a possible reference to the Euboean war. Fr. 8 is with the exception of a couple of words and a difference of order identical with a passage in Diodorus' description of the Carian operations, while Frs. 9 + 10. i + 53, which narrate the sea-fight off Cyprus, are also couched in very similar language. The numbers of the ships on both sides taking part in the naval engagement agree exactly with the figures of Diodorus, the figure of the Persian ships being practically in accordance with that ascribed to Ephorus by Plutarch (350 Ephorus; 340 1610 and Diodorus; Phanodemus' figure, 600, is an obvious exaggeration); but the number of ships captured by Cimon is stated to have been 100, as in the metrical inscription which is quoted (no doubt from Ephorus) by Diodorus and is perhaps represented by Fr. 48 (cf. p. 102), and in Lycurgus and Aristodemus, whereas Diodorus himself gives the number as 'more than 100', being perhaps influenced by the different figure mentioned by Thucydides (ll. 62-76, n.). A detail omitted by Diodorus, the capture of a Persian admiral, is recorded in ll. 75 sqq., and the remains of Fr. 10. ii do not clearly correspond to any passage in Diodorus near this point, being too slight for certain reconstruction (cf. ll. 77-8, n. for a suggestion). Probably they belong to the early part of the description of the land-battle of the Eurymedon, and are to be placed not long before Fr. 11, which records the killing of the Persian general of the land-forces, Pherendates, in language practically identical with that of Diodorus. This coincidence is of great importance for deciding the question of the authorship of 1610, for from Plutarch it is known that Pherendates' name occurred in Ephorus, from whom Diodorus no doubt obtained it; cf. p. 106. Frs. 12 + 13 continue the account of the land-battle, and since they constitute the longest connected piece, afford the best material for a comparison between our author and Diodorus. The general resemblance between them is very marked, ll. 94-101 presenting only trifling variants (cf. pp. 103-4); in ll. 101-12 1610 gives the more precise details about the destruction of the Persians, while Diodorus enlarges upon the absence of the moon and its effects; cf. p. 124. The small Fr. 14 probably came immediately after Frs. 12 + 13 (l. 114 can even belong to ll. 112 or 113), and describes one of Cimon's tactics in the land-battle in terms similar to but not identical with those of Diodorus. Concerning the date of the battle of the Eurymedon, which has been ascribed to various years between 470 and 465 B. C. (autumn of 468 Busolt), the papyrus gives no new information beyond its general support of Diodorus, who assigns the engagement to 470, but is very confused throughout the Pentecontaëtia in adapting his authority, Ephorus, to his own chronological system (cf. p. 110). It is noteworthy that 1610 agrees with Diodorus and Frontinus as to the locality of the two battles, while

Polyaenus, who has been sometimes supposed to represent Ephorus on this point more exactly than Diodorus (Busolt, *l. c.*), inverts the scene, ascribing the land-battle to Cyprus, the sea-fight to the Eurymedon (ll. 62-76, n.). The battle of the Eurymedon tended in ancient times to become confused with Cimon's later operations at Cyprus in connexion with the Egyptian expedition, and all details of later historians concerning it which are inconsistent with the statements of Thucydides are usually rejected. The small Fr. 48, if it belongs to the inscription about Cimon's victories which is quoted by Diodorus, is to be placed after Fr. 14 (ll. 267-9, n.), and Fr. 28 also perhaps refers to the land-battle of the Eurymedon, coming shortly before Fr. 11 (ll. 200-2, n.).

After the battle of the Eurymedon Diodorus (xi. 63-8) proceeds to narrate first the revolt of the Helots and Messenians from Sparta, secondly the war between Argos and Mycenae, and then turns to Sicilian affairs before reverting to Persian. The corresponding portion of 1610 is missing, unless Fr. 43 refers to the revolt of the Helots (ll. 252-4, n.), and Fr. 41 to the Argive-Mycenean war (ll. 246-8, n.).

The third section of the papyrus consists of Frs. 15 and 16, which both refer to Persian affairs. Fr. 16, which relates to the plot of Artabanus to kill Xerxes and seize the throne, is almost verbally identical with Diodorus. The context of Fr. 15, which mentions Artaxerxes, is not quite certain owing to the incompleteness of the lines; but most probably this fragment too is concerned with the plot of Artabanus, and immediately preceded Fr. 16, affording apparent points of contact with both Diodorus and Justin (ll. 119 sqq., n.).

With regard to Frs. 17-62, Fr. 53 has been assigned to ll. 67-9 (p. 101), and the most likely positions for Frs. 26 (p. 99), 35 (p. 100), and 48 (p. 102) have been indicated, while suggestions have also been made for the possible context of Frs. 18 (p. 99), 28 (p. 102), 31 (p. 99), 38 (p. 99), 39 (p. 101), 41 (p. 99), and 43 (p. 102). Fr. 17 seems to belong to a geographical description of some place in connexion with a battle, being comparable e.g. to Diodorus' description of Plataea, but referring to a different place (ll. 134-9, n.). The remaining fragments contain hardly any complete words, and no more instances of a clear correspondence with Diodorus have been detected.

The relation of our author to Diodorus will be made clearer by the following table of agreements and contrasts.

(1) *Exact correspondences of 1610 with Diodorus.* ll. 18-22 (ἐκείνον μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἠτιμασμένον τὴν δὲ πόλιν διὰ τὰς ἐκείνου πράξεις); 30-1 (χαλεπωτάτην . . . πρὸς ἐκείνον); 56-61 (παραθαλαττίων . . . πόλεων ὅσαι μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦσαν ἀπὸ κισμέναι παραχρῆμα συν[έ]πεισε, with a slight alteration in the order; *v. inf.*); 63-9 (τὸν τῶν Περσῶν στόλον περὶ [τὴν Κύπρον] . . . [διακοσί]αις περ[ί]κουτα π[ρ]ο[ς])

τρια[κοσίας κ]αὶ τετταρ[άκοντα] with slight variations in the order; *v. inf.*); 84-8 (τὸν μὲ]ν στρατηγὸν . . . [Φερενδάτη]ν ἀδελ[φιδόου]ν . . . τοῦ βασ[ιλέως ἐν τῇ] σκηνῇ); 94-8 (ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου τὴν . . . τῶν πολεμίων πρὸς τὰς ναῦς); 267-9 (perhaps from a metrical inscription of 8 lines quoted by Diodorus; cf. p. 102).

(2) *Inexact correspondences with Diodorus* (additions of Diodorus other than verbal changes are in round brackets).

Line.	1610.	Diodorus.
16-17	τίς] δὲ τοσοῦτοι[ς διὰ τ]ῶν ἔργω[ν	τίς δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις . . . τοσοῦτοις
22-5	τῆς μεγίστης τιμῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀξιωθείσαι	ἐπαιρομένην
27-9	σο]φ[ωτάτην καὶ δικαιο]στά[την]]τά[τ]η[ν] κ[αὶ	σοφωτάτην καὶ ἐπιεικεστάτην
30	[γενομένη]ν	γεγενημένην
37	. . .] παρεξί[σθ]ημιεν	πεπλεονάκαμεν παρεκρίντες
37-46	Ἴ�θηναῖοι δὲ Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρατηγούντος ἐκπλεύσαντες ἐκ Βυζαντίου μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων Ἡϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στυρ- μόνι Περσῶν ἔχοντων εἶλον καὶ [Σκῆρον], ἦν νῆσον . . .	Ἴ�θηναῖοι στρατηγὸν ἐλόμενοι Κίμωνο τὸν Μ. (καὶ δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον παραδόντες ἐξέπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὴν παράλιον τῆς Ἀσίας βοηθήσουσα μὲν ταῖς συμμαχούσαις πόλεσιν, ἐλευθερώσουσα δὲ τὰς Περσικαῖς ἔτι φρου- ραῖς κατεχομένας.) οὗτος δὲ παραλαβὼν τὸν στόλον ἐν Βυζαντίῳ καὶ (so Reiske; καὶ ἐν Βυζ. MSS.; καὶ ἐκ Βυζ. is suggested by the parallel in 1610) καταπλεύσας ἐπὶ πόλιν τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἡϊόνα, ταύτην μὲν Περσῶν κατεχόντων ἐχειρώσατο, Σκῆρον δὲ Πελασγῶν ἐνοικούντων καὶ Δολόπων ἐξε- πολιόρησε καὶ κτίστην Ἀθηναῖον κατα- στήσας κατεκληρούχησε τὴν χώραν.
58-60	ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦσαν ἀπφικισμένοι	ἦσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλ. ἀπφκ. ταύτας
63-6	τὸ]ν τ[ῶν Περσῶν στόλου]ν περὶ [τὴν Κύπρον συντετά[χθαι]	τὸν στόλ. τῶν Π. διατρίβειν περὶ τὴν Κ.
66-7	διακοσί]αις πεν[τήκοντα]	διακ. καὶ πεντήκ. ναυσὶ
69-75	παραταχθείσας δὲ πολὺν χρόνον πολλὰς μὲν τῶν κινδυνευουσῶν βαρβαρι- κῶν νέων διέφθειρεν ἑκατὸν δ' αὐτοῖς ἀν- δράσιον εἶλε	γενομένου δ' ἀγῶνος ἰσχυροῦ (καὶ τῶν στόλων ἀμφοτέρων λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζομένοι τὸ τελευταῖον ἐνίκων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ) πολλὰς μὲν τῶν ἐναντίων ναῦς διέφθειραν, (πλείους) δὲ τῶν ἑκατὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι εἶλον
85	αὐτῶν	τῶν βαρβάρων (τὸν ἕτερον)

93 ἐχθροὶ?] διετέλ[ουν ὄ]ντες	τὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀλλοτριῶς ἔχοντας(?)
94 [ῶσ]τε νομίζοντες	διὸ καὶ νομίσαντες
96 ἔφοδον αὐτοῖς γεγόνειαι	ἐπιφορὰν εἶναι
98-101 ἔφευγον ὑπολαμβάνοντες εἶναι φι- λίαις	ὡς πρὸς φιλίας ἔφευγον
101-12 οὗ δὴ πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν κατα- λειφθέντων ἐκεῖ φυλάκων ἀπέθνησκον ἐν τῇ νυκτί, πολλοὶ δὲ ζῶντες ἠλίσκοντο περιπίπτοντες τοῖς Ἑλλησιν διὰ τὴν ἀπο- ρίαν ὅπου τράποιτο καὶ τὸν [ἐ]ξ[αίφνης] οὐτοῖς ἐ[πιπεσόντα φόβ]ον	τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς (οὔσης ἀσελήνου καὶ σκο- τεινῆς) συνέβαινε τὴν ἄγνοιαν πολὺ μάλλον αὔξεσθαι καὶ μηδένα τάληθες δύνασθαι ἰδεῖν. διὸ καὶ πολλοῦ φόβου γενομένου διὰ τὴν ἀταξίαν τῶν βαρβάρων
114-18 restoration uncertain	Cf. ll. 114-16, n.
124-6 αὐτὸς κατα[σχέιν τ]ὴν βασιλείαν [βουλόμ]ενος	ἔκρινεν . . . τὴν βασ. εἰς ἑαυτὸν μεταστῆσαι
128-32 ἀνε[κοινοῦ]το τὴν] . ιω πρὸς [τὸν ἐνοῦχον] Μιθρι[δάτην κατα]κοιμι- [στῆν τοῦ βασιλέ]ως	ἀνακοινωσάμενος δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν πρὸς Μ. τὸν εὐν. ὃς ἦν κατακοιμιστῆς τοῦ βασ.

(3) *Omissions in Diodorus.* ll. 7-14 (different accounts of Themistocles' reception by Xerxes); 15, 25-6, and 32-5 (sentences in the estimate of Themistocles); 47-51 and 228-30? (the episode of Cimon's recovery of the bones of Theseus); 57 (καλουμένων); 75-6 (capture of a Persian admiral); 87 (ὄντα); 119-22 and 125-7 (details of the plot of Artabanus). Besides these ll. 1-7, 52-5, 77-83, 111-13, and 134-9, all of which are incomplete and obscure, seem to belong to passages not corresponding to anything in Diodorus, as is also the case with many of the minor fragments.

Where 1610 and Diodorus agree as to the sense, but express themselves differently, sometimes one, sometimes the other is longer; but on the whole Diodorus in the chapters covered by 1610 is distinctly the shorter of the two, details and even whole episodes which occur in 1610 being absent in his work. We postpone the discussion of the few passages in which he is fuller than 1610, until the question of the authorship of the papyrus has been decided (cf. p. 111); for the present it is sufficient to point out that none of Diodorus' additional sentences or phrases contains anything striking or implies any real divergence from 1610, except perhaps in l. 74 (πλείους τῶν ἑκατόν for 1610's ἑκατόν with regard to the number of ships captured by Cimon off Cyprus). Beside the conspicuous points of agreement the differences between 1610 and Diodorus, apart from his omissions, in any case appear trivial.

The remarkably close resemblance between our author and Diodorus must

be explained in one of three ways. Either one of the two writers was copying the other, or they derived their common information from the same source, i. e. from the historian who is now always supposed to underlie Diodorus' account of the Pentecontaëtia, Ephorus. Between these alternatives the choice admits in our opinion of hardly any doubt. The agreements between 1610 and Diodorus, which sometimes amount to the identity of a whole sentence and extend over not only the narrative but moral reflexions upon the character of individuals, are too marked to be explained satisfactorily by the hypothesis of a common source; and there is no historian among Ephorus' contemporaries and successors who has any particular claim to be regarded as the author of 1610. Theopompus, apart from the great antecedent improbability that he would slavishly copy Ephorus (or Ephorus him), dealt with the Pentecontaëtia in an excursus upon Athenian demagogues in Book x of the *Φιλιππικά* (Fr. 90 Grenfell-Hunt), whereas 1610 has all the appearance of belonging to a comprehensive history of Greece. The detailed description of the plot of Artabanus (Frs. 15-16), which is probably in part derived from Ctesias (ll. 119 sqq., n.), does not at all suggest an *'Αρθίς*, and Phanodemus at any rate is excluded by his divergence from 1610 as to the size of the Persian fleet in the sea-fight off the Eurymedon or Cyprus (ll. 62-76, n.). Callisthenes—apart from the fact that his histories primarily dealt with the fourth century B.C.—is excluded by his disagreement with 1610 on the subject of the name of the Persian general of the land-forces in the battle of the Eurymedon (ll. 84-8, n.). Of the historians (other than Ephorus), who according to Plut. *Themist.* 27 (cf. ll. 7-12, n.) represented Themistocles as a suppliant to Xerxes, like 1610, Dinon and Heraclides wrote histories of Persia, not of Greece, Clitarchus an account of Alexander's Asiatic campaigns. Cratippus, whose claims required to be considered in connexion with the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (842), wrote a continuation of Thucydides. 1610 might conceivably be the work of another historian of about the age of Diodorus, following Ephorus with equal fidelity; but it is much more likely that the agreements between 1610 and Diodorus are due to the circumstance that one work was the immediate authority for the other.

The hypothesis that 1610 is based upon Diodorus may safely be dismissed. The papyrus was written only about two centuries after him, and the view that it represents the work of a historian of the Roman period, who was copying Diodorus, is open to several objections. Of Diodorus himself there are no extant papyri and Plutarch is equally unrepresented. The circulation in Egypt of the works of the later Greek historians was evidently rather limited, and about A.D. 200 people still preferred the more famous writers (cf. p. 110). The partial survival of Diodorus, who is never cited by heathen writers, though the title of

his history was known to Pliny, is due to the circumstance that his work happened to suit the Christians (Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.* v. 664); and to suppose that he served as the main authority for another and still more elaborate history of Greece composed not later than A.D. 150 is to attribute to him an importance to which he has no claim. **12**, a historical composition of the Roman period in Egypt, illustrates the kind of synchronistic Graeco-Roman annals which were utilized by Diodorus (cf. Schwartz, *op. cit.* v. 665), but bears no resemblance to **1610**. A survey of the differences between our author's and Diodorus' accounts of the same events (cf. pp. 102-4) is distinctly unfavourable to the hypothesis that **1610** is the later of the two. Thus in narrating the capture of Scyros our author is much more detailed, describing incidents which are ignored by Thucydides and Diodorus, but not by Plutarch. The new details in **1610** concerning the sea and land battles near the Eurymedon, though perhaps of no great historical value, at any rate indicate a serious historian of a higher calibre and distinctly better informed than Diodorus. There is every reason to suppose that our author was earlier, not later, than Diodorus, and the way is now clear for a discussion of the remaining hypothesis, that Diodorus was copying our author, who is no other than Ephorus himself.

The identification of our author with Ephorus is supported by many considerations. (1) Ephorus was a well-known and popular writer, extensively used by writers of the Roman period, so that his works would be expected to turn up in Egypt.

(2) The most important argument of all is that **1610** coincides with Ephorus and Diodorus both as to the visit of Themistocles to Xerxes, not Artaxerxes (cf. p. 99), and the name of the Persian general Pherendates (ll. 84-8, n.), while **1610**'s and Diodorus' figure (340) of the ships in the Persian fleet in the sea-battle off Cyprus is practically identical with the figure (350) ascribed to Ephorus (ll. 62-76, n.). The slight difference may well be due either to a corruption in the MSS. of Plutarch (ν for μ), or to a rounding-off of Ephorus' figure by that writer. These three are the only extant pieces of direct evidence concerning Ephorus' narrative of the events covered by the papyrus, and the coincidence with regard to Pherendates, whose name is a certain restoration in l. 86, is particularly weighty.

(3) The close relationship between **1610** and Diodorus, though this resemblance often extends beyond the point which with the scanty available evidence could hitherto be proved as regards Ephorus and Diodorus, is in the main such as has been generally considered to exist between those two historians; cf. pp. 105 and III-2 and Schwartz, *op. cit.* v. 679.

(4) The general relation of **1610** to Plutarch, who has been thought (e. g. by

Busolt) to have followed other historians, e.g. Theopompus, Heraclides, and Callisthenes, more than Ephorus in dealing with the Pentecontaetia, is also quite in keeping with what would be expected to be found in Ephorus. Particular statements of Plutarch with regard to Ephorus are verified (all three pieces of evidence discussed in (2) are obtained from Plutarch); but as a rule Plutarch preferred a different authority, though his account of Cimon's recovery of the bones of Theseus may have been obtained from 1610 (ll. 49-51, n.).

(5) The traces of connexion between 1610 and (1) Justin (ll. 119 sqq., n.), who certainly used Ephorus, (2) Polyænus, (3) Frontinus (ll. 62-76, n.), and (4) Aristodemus (ll. 7-12, 62-76, nn.), are such as would be expected to occur, if Ephorus is the author.

(6) The account of the capture of Eion in 1610 (ll. 37-46, n.) is borrowed straight from Thucydides, whom Ephorus is supposed to have used. Elsewhere he differs conspicuously from Thucydides, as was known, with regard to two incidents which occur in 1610, the appeal of Themistocles to Xerxes and the sea-fight off Cyprus (ll. 7-12 and 62-76, nn.), an apparent indirect allusion being made to Thucydides' account of the former incident.

(7) The arrangement of the narrative in 1610, in which events are evidently grouped not annalistically as in Thucydides, but rather according to subject, is in accordance with the definite statement of Diodorus v. 1 concerning the arrangement adopted by Ephorus (*κατὰ γένος*: cf. p. 110).

(8) The disposition of our author to digress and moralize, which is illustrated by his excursus upon Themistocles, is quite in harmony with Polybius' reference (xii. 28) to Ephorus' fondness for *παρεκβάσεις* and *γνωμολογίαι*.

(9) The interest shown by our author in antiquarian lore, exemplified by the excursus on Theseus (p. 100), accords very well with Ephorus' known interest in that subject (cf. Schwartz, *op. cit.* vi. 13).

(10) The prominence of the Athenians in 1610 is in keeping with the supposed sympathies of Ephorus (cf. Schwartz, *op. cit.* vi. 14), though these have been disputed (cf. Walker, *Hell. Oxy.* 107).

(11) The historical arguments are to some extent reinforced by linguistic evidence, for there is a general similarity of style between 1610 and the extant fragments of Ephorus. Actual quotations of his words are very few, but there are occasional agreements in them with 1610 in points of diction (cf. ll. 26, 94-9, 102-4, 114-16, nn.), though these are not very striking. The careful avoidance of hiatus (cf. ll. 59-60), the monotonous frequency of antitheses, and a decided tendency to verbosity, especially in the reflexions upon Themistocles, accord very fairly with the judgements of ancient critics upon Ephorus' style; cf. Cicero, *Hortens.* Fr. 12 *quid . . . Ephoro mitius inveniri potest?*; Brut. 204 *lenissimum*

Ephori ingenium; Dio Chrys. xviii, p. 283 Ἐφορος δὲ πολλὴν μὲν ἱστορίαν παραδίδωσιν, τὸ δὲ ὑπτιον καὶ ἀνειμένον τῆς ἀπαγγελίας σοι οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον. The digression on Themistocles, if, as is practically certain, the whole of Diod. xi. 58. 4-59 was taken with very little change from our author, contains somewhat more rhetoric than would be expected to appear in Ephorus, and is nearer to Frs. 217 and 283 (Grenfell-Hunt) of Theopompus, which also have a series of rhetorical questions, than to anything in Ephorus' extant fragments. But for reasons which have been given (p. 105) Theopompus is quite unsuitable as the author of 1610, and in spite of the well-known saying of Isocrates about his two illustrious pupils that Ephorus required the spur, Theopompus the bit, the two disciples of that master probably had many rhetorical devices in common.

Our conclusion therefore is that at last there is a papyrus which, especially in view of its coincidences with fragments of Ephorus, and its close agreements with Diodorus, can be ascribed to Ephorus with overwhelming probability.

The books of Ephorus' Ἱστορίαι which dealt with the period round that which is covered by 1610 were x-xiii; cf. Schwartz, *op. cit.* vi. 5. Fr. 107 (Müller) from Book x is concerned with Miltiades at Paros and belongs to the interval between Marathon and Salamis. A fragment from Schol. Aristid. p. 515. 22 (Müller, FHG. iv. 642) refers to the fine of 50 talents imposed on Miltiades and paid by Cimon when a young man (Plut. *Cimon* 4), i. e. before the events recorded in 1610. The scholiast gives as his source Ἐφορος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ, which is usually corrected to ἐνδεκάτῃ. There is also a difficulty about the number of the book in Eph. Fr. 109; for his discussion of various opinions upon the causes of the rise of the Nile is ascribed by most MSS. of Theo *Progygn.* to Book xi, but one MS. has ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ in the margin, and Joannes Lydus, in referring to the same discussion, attributes it τῇ πρώτῃ, which has been usually corrected, as in the other case, to ἐνδεκάτῃ. Müller accepts πέμπτῃ as right on the reasonable, and in our opinion sufficient ground that Book v was geographical and is known to have been concerned with Asia and Libya; but Schwartz (*l. c.*) accepts ἐνδεκάτῃ, suggesting (what does not seem very probable) that an excursus on Egypt may have occurred in connexion with the revolt of Inarus, which is narrated by Diodorus in the chapters immediately following those corresponding to Frs. 15-16 of 1610. After Fr. 109 there is no fragment of Ephorus which can be assigned with certainty to a particular event and book until Fr. 126 from Book xvii is reached. This records the death of Alcibiades and corresponds to Diod. xiv. 11. Fr. 110, however, a mention of a Sicilian island Τυχία in Book xii, is doubtfully connected by Schwartz (*l. c.*) with the expulsion of Thrasylbulus from Syracuse in about 466 B. C. (Diod. xi. 68), and Fr. 124, a mention of Ἐντελα in Sicily in Book xvi, is thought by him to refer probably

to the early history of Dionysius (cf. Diod. xiv. 9). It is therefore not clear to which book 1610 belonged; but evidently xi or xii is the most suitable.

The new discovery in any case adds fresh fuel to the controversy concerning the authorship of two other papyri from the same site, the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (842) and a fragment concerning the Orthagoridae in Sicyon (1365). In our first edition of 842 we discussed the claims of Ephorus, Theopompus, and Cratippus to be regarded as the author, and eventually decided doubtfully in favour of Theopompus, a hypothesis which was advocated by E. Meyer and found considerable favour in Germany, but very little in this country. The claims of Cratippus were formerly advocated by Walker (*Klio* viii. 356-71) and are still supported by the latest editor of the *Hell. Oxy.*, J. H. Lipsius. The case for Ephorus has been well stated by Judeich (*Rhein. Mus.* 1911. 94-139), and more fully by Walker (*Hell. Oxy.* 1912), whose able advocacy has gained many adherents. With regard to 1365 our view that Ephorus (or Aristotle?) might be the author has been disputed by M. Lenchantin de Gubernatis (*Atti Acc. Torino*, li. 290-305), on the ground that the oracle mentioned by Diodorus referred to Andreas himself, implying that he was to be the first tyrant, whereas 1365 states that Andreas' son Orthagoras was the first tyrant. This objection, however, does not seem to us insuperable, for Diodorus' words are ὅτι Σικωνίοις ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία ἑκατὸν ἔτη μαστιγονομήθῃσθαι αὐτούς. ἐπερωτησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν τίς ὁ ταῦτα ποιήσων πάλιν ἀπεκρίθη ᾧ ἂν καταπλεύσαντες πρώτῳ γεγενημένον εἶδον ἀκούσωσιν . . ., which points to the νῆος (Orthagoras) as the important person.

The authorship of 842 is too large a question to be adequately rediscussed here, but the main bearings of the new find upon the problem, assuming that we are right in attributing 1610 to Ephorus, may be indicated. Firstly, the agreements between 842 and Diodorus, which could only be explained by his direct or indirect use of the author of 842, and which constituted the most solid argument in favour of the view that Ephorus was the writer in question (cf. Part v. 125-7; Walker, *op. cit.* 50 sqq.), are less marked indeed than the correspondences of 1610 with Diodorus in Frs. 3, 8-11, 16, but are on much the same level as those in Frs. 4-6, 12+13, 15. Secondly, the relation of 842 to Plutarch and Justin is similar to that of 1610 to those authors. In both papyri the connexion with Plutarch is slight, but their influence upon Justin is traceable. Thirdly, the scale of the history in the two papyri is not dissimilar, when allowances are made for the comparative paucity of evidence for the more ancient period. 1610, though its account of the capture of Eion reproduces the brevity of Thucydides, not the details of Herodotus (cf. ll. 37-46, n.), was evidently on a large scale, being even more detailed than Diodorus, so far as can be judged. Hence the discovery of 1610 goes some way to remove the supposed difficulty (cf. Part v,

l. c., and in answer to it Walker, *op. cit.* 32 sqq.) that Ephorus' history was less detailed than 842. Fourthly, while in 842 the narrative was arranged chronologically in the style of Thucydides, in 1610 the arrangement bears no sign of being annalistic, and was evidently to a large extent according to subject; cf. p. 107. Here 1610 rather damages the position of Judeich, who (*op. cit.* 110) minimized one of the chief difficulties in the attribution of 842 to Ephorus, the fact that according to Diodorus v. 1 Ephorus' history was arranged *κατὰ γένος*, and maintained that Ephorus did write more or less annalistically. Walker's position, on the other hand, is less affected, for he had acutely divined (*op. cit.* 30-1) from Diodorus' account of the Pentecontaëtia that Ephorus' account of it was arranged according to subject, not annalistically, just as in fact 1610 shows it to have been with regard to two of the three incidents selected by Walker as evidence (Themistocles in Persia, and Cimon's operations up to the battle of the Eurymedon). This divergence, however, between 1610 and 842 (which belongs to Book xviii, if it is by Ephorus) remains something of a difficulty in spite of Walker's arguments (*op. cit.* 32 sqq.) for the view that in the later books of Ephorus greater respect was paid to the annalistic method. Fifthly, speeches in the style of Thucydides do not occur in either papyrus, but each of them has at least one excursus (842 on the Boeotian constitution, 1610 on Themistocles; that in 842. x on the character of an individual is too incomplete to be at all intelligible). Lastly, there are rather more agreements in diction between 1610 and 842 (cf. 15-17, 56-61, 73-4, 94-9, 101, 104, 121, 123, nn.) than between 1610 and the extant fragments of Ephorus (cf. p. 107), which owing to the length of 842 is not surprising, and the general style of 842 is not unlike that of 1610.

With regard to 1365, the circumstance that the parallel account in a fragment of Diodorus breaks off just before the point at which the papyrus begins prevents us from knowing the extent of their resemblance; but they combine in most respects remarkably well. The fondness for the genitive absolute and the repetition of the article with an adjective placed after a substantive, which were noted (Part xi. 107) as characteristics of 1365, do not appear in 1610, but the general style is not at all dissimilar. The wide range of the library to which 1610 belonged and, to a less extent, that of the library containing 842 (1365 was found with only a couple of Homeric fragments) render us unwilling to lay much stress on the circumstance that all three papyri, which are approximately contemporaneous, come from the same site. In about A. D. 200 copies of most of the Greek authors of the first rank and many of the second and third were probably still in circulation at Oxyrhynchus. But the historian who would be expected to come next in popularity to Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon

is Ephorus, not Theopompus, whose works had already begun to perish in Diodorus' time (Theop. Fr. 28 Grenfell-Hunt, βύβλους ὀκτὼ πρὸς ταῖς πεντήκοντα ἐξ ὧν πέντε διαφωνοῦσιν); and if, as we are rather disposed to infer from the joint connexion with Diodorus, 842, 1365, and 1610 are the work of one author, he is certainly Ephorus.

To summarize the chief points of value in 1610 from the point of view of our identification of its author with Ephorus, (1) the most important is that it enables us to realize for the first time at all adequately the debt of Diodorus, particularly in Book xi, to that author. That the younger historian was under great obligations to the older has long been supposed, but, since Diodorus also used various other authors, the extent and method of his use of Ephorus, whose name he rarely mentions, had nearly always to be guessed rather than proved. That he sometimes incorporated whole sentences or even chapters with little or no change, at other times merely paraphrased or abbreviated his main authority, compressing some details and omitting some episodes altogether, but adding, so far as 1610 goes (cf. pp. 102-4), hardly anything of his own, is not only new but very valuable information. Where Diodorus is perceptibly longer than or different from Ephorus in 1610, the new matter is probably in the main an amplification introduced for the sake of variety (ll. 37-46, 101-10) or a mere rhetorical exaggeration (ll. 69-75), though in regard to the latter passage some of Diodorus' variations may be due to deference for Thucydides (ll. 62-76, n.). It is particularly instructive that Diodorus' account of the twofold battle of the Eurymedon, which is just one of the cases where his precise relation to Ephorus was most in doubt owing to the divergent evidence of Polyænus (ll. 62-76, n.), proves to be on the whole a very faithful reproduction of the older historian, and that a digression such as that in Diod. xi. 58. 4-59 on Themistocles is now shown to have been borrowed almost verbally from Ephorus. Evidently Diodorus was a writer of very slight originality, and a future editor of Ephorus' fragments will be able to include most of Diod. xi with confidence. His debt to Ephorus in that book is almost as great as are his obligations to Agatharchides in iii. 12-48, where a comparison of Diodorus with the excerpts of Agatharchides Περὶ τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης preserved by Photius shows that everything in Diodorus down to the most minute details is borrowed from the older writer. Theopompus on the other hand, so far as the Pentecontaëtia is concerned, does not seem to have been utilized to any serious extent by Diodorus. The effect of 1610 upon the criticism of other books of Diodorus, especially xii-xv, is also likely to be considerable, but the discussion of these falls outside our present scope. It is clear, however, that much of Diodorus' work, which could be ignored, so long as his statements were regarded as merely those of a writer of the Augustan

age, will henceforth have to be treated with the respect due to the celebrated fourth century B. C. historian whom he was to a large extent copying.

(2) There is now much more material for estimating the scale of Ephorus' history of the fifth century B. C. Diodorus seems to have incorporated most of the essential parts, but by no means all the details and digressions, and Ephorus, as is shown by the account of the land-battle of the Eurymedon and the plot of Artabanus, evidently wrote at very considerable length, though his account of the capture of Eion ignores the material available from Herodotus, and the sea-fight off Cyprus is described in a few lines. His system in dealing with the *Pentecontaëtia* was to group events by subjects, not by definite years, an arrangement which led Diodorus into great confusion about the chronology of this period. But in dealing with the fourth century B. C., which occupied the second half of Ephorus' *ιστορίαι*, he may have employed a different method.

(3) With regard to the sources of Ephorus, 1610 exhibits one clear case of direct borrowing from Thucydides (ll. 37-46, n.), and an apparent reference to him in an allusion to authorities vaguely described as *οἱ μὲν* (l. 8, n.); but in other respects 1610 comes into marked conflict with him; cf. p. 107. Herodotus is not utilized in connexion with the capture of Eion, and Frs. 15-16 do not display any verbal connexion with the *Περσικά* of Ctesias, though Diodorus' language in a passage in this context betrays a use of that author; cf. ll. 119 sqq., n. There is now more reason than ever to suppose that the metrical inscription upon Cimon's victories was quoted by Diodorus from Ephorus (ll. 267-9, n.).

(4) Of later writers, other than Diodorus, who dealt with the *Pentecontaëtia*, Plutarch kept Ephorus' history in view, but preferred to follow other authorities, while echoes of Ephorus are found in Justin, Aristodemus, Polyænus, and Frontinus (p. 107).

(5) For Ephorus' style the evidence is still scanty, and it is difficult to judge it fairly from fragments so discontinuous and brief as those in 1610. But it does not seem to have been much better than that of Diodorus, the leading characteristics of it being casiness, verbosity, and tameness, with a tendency to break into rhetoric (cf. pp. 107-8).

(6) The discovery of 1610 affects many points in the controversy concerning the authorship of 842, and to a less extent that of 1365. On the whole it rather supports the attribution of 842 to Ephorus, since it tends to remove the difficulty caused by the elaborate scale of that work, and reinforces the most solid argument for ascribing it to Ephorus, the evident traces of connexion between 842 and Diodorus. In the light of 1610 it is increasingly difficult to explain those agreements with Diodorus from the point of view that 842 is the work of Theopompus or Cratippus. On the other hand the resemblances between 1610

and Diodorus often reach far beyond the point attained by 842, and the principal obstacle to the attribution of 842 to Ephorus remains in a somewhat accentuated form, the strictly chronological system imitated from Thucydides, which is found in 842, as contrasted with Ephorus' arrangement according to subject, which is well illustrated by 1610. With regard to 1365 there is less evidence for the extent of its resemblance to Diodorus, but the hypothesis that it came from an early book of Ephorus still remains attractive.

Ephorus, in spite of his celebrity and wealth of new information not to be found in Herodotus, Thucydides, or Xenophon, was not a great historian, and to judge by 1610 it may be doubted whether in his treatment of the fifth century B. C., which brought him into frequent conflict with Thucydides, many of the novelties were of real historical value. The servility of Diodorus, who, as it now appears, followed Ephorus almost blindly through that period, and was practically incapable of original composition, has probably prevented us from losing very much when Books x-xv of the older historian perished. With his history of the fourth century B. C. the case is different. Here Ephorus is likely to have been as well informed as Xenophon, Theopompus, or any other, and if he was the author of the account of Agesilaus' and Conon's campaigns and the excursus on the Boeotian constitution in 842, his merits were by no means inconsiderable. Even with regard to quite early Greek history he was sometimes, if 1365 is from his work, distinctly independent of Herodotus and rather valuable.

It is in any case satisfactory that with the recovery of these fragments of Ephorus' history of the Pentecontaëtia the 'higher criticism' of Diodorus not only can point henceforth to several substantial verifications of the methods of modern research in ancient history, but enters a new phase.

Fr. 1. Plate iii.

[.] . αν κ[.]
 [.] ε ποτε τ . [.]
 [.] την τ[.]
 [.] νι . [.] ανα
 5 γ[κ]αιον [ε]στιν [.]
 ει[ς] τα τοτε π[ε]ρι του
 Θεμιστοκλεους λε
 γουσι δ οι μεν ο[τι] υπε
 μνησεν αυ[το]ν ων
 10 περι τε της ν[α]υμα
 χιας και της γ[ε]φυρας

Fr. 2.

15]ων εσπουδ[ασε
 τις ?] δε τοσουτοι[ς] δι
 α ? τ]ων εργα[ν]

Fr. 3.

[.]ε . [. . .]ω[. . .] εκ[εινον]
 μεν υπο της πολε[ως]
 20 ητιμασμενον τ[η]ν
 δε πολιν δια τ[α]ς ε
 κεινου πραξε[ις] της
 μεγαιστης τιμης υπο

12 [προ]ηγγειλε· περι δε
[τη]ς ναυμαχ[ιας . . .
[. . .] α[.

των Ελληνων αξι
25 ωθεισαν· η μεγαλην
[ηγεμονι?]αν οιον τ .

Frs. 4 + 5. Plate iii.

. σο]φ[ωτατην και
δικαι?]τα[την . . .
.]τα[τη]ν[υ] | κ[αι
30 χαλεπ]ωτατην [γενο
μενη]ν προς | εκεινον
οι δ υ]πολαμβανου[σιν
οτι ει]περ εβουλη[θη
εκ ? δο]ναι τη]ν ηγε
35 μονια?]ν απ[α].

Fr. 6. Plate iii.

ειρη]μεν . . . οθεν ?
παρεξ]εβημεν· Α[θη
ναιοι [δ]ε Κ[ι]μωνος
του Μι[λ]τιαδου στρα
40 τηγου]ντος εκπλευ
σαντες εκ Βυζαντι
ου μετα των συμμα
χων [Η]ιωνα την επι
Στρ[υμο]νι Περσων ε
45 χον[των]ν ειλον και
[Σκυρο]ν· ην νησ[ο]ν

Fr. 7.

Col. i.

[.]την
[.]νεται
[.]ης· αυ
50 [του γαρ ? προ]ς Λυκο
[μηδην τον β]ασιλεα

Col. ii.

. . .
[.]α[
πρω[
μα[
55 θησι[

Fr. 8.

παραθ]αλαττιων
καλο]νμενω[ν πολε
ων οσ]αι μεν εκ της
Ελλα]δος ησα[ν α
60 πω]κισμεναι π[αρα
]χρημ[α] συν]επεισε

Frs. 9 + 10 + 53.

Col. i.

[.] Κιμων πυν
[θανομενος το]ν των
[Περσων στολο]ν περι
65 [την Κυπρον συ]ντετα
[χθαι διακοσι]αις πεγ[
[τηκοντα π]ρ[ος]· τρια[
[κοσιας κ]αι τετ[ταρ]α
[κοντα] παραταχ[θει

Col. ii.

Fr. 11.
[.] τον μεν
85 [στρατηγο]ν αυτων
[Φερενδατη]ν αδελ
[φιδουν οντ]α του βασι[
[λεως εν τη]ι σκημη[ι {

70 [σ]ας δε πολυν χρονο[ν
 πολλας μεν των κ[ιν
 δυνενουσων βαρβα[ρι
 κων νεων διεφθε[ι
 [ρ]εν· εκατον δ αυτοις
 75 [α]νδρασιν [ε]ιλε ζωγρη 80 πατ[
 [σας τ]ον π[. . . .]ων
 τι τω[
 τα[
 τω[

Frs. 12 + 13.

Col. i.

Col. ii.

[.]ε
 [. .] διετελ[ουν ο]ντες·
 [ωσ]τε νομιζοντες α
 95 πο της ηπειρ[ου] την
 εφοδον αυτ[ο]ις γεγ[ο]
 νεναι των π[ο]λεμι
 ων προς τα[ς] γαυ[ς] ε
 φευγον υπο[λ]αμβα
 100 νοντες αυτοις ει[ν]αι
] . ε φιλιας ου δη π[ο]λλοι
 90] μεν υπο των κατα
] . λειφθεντων εκει
 φυλακων απεθνη[[ι]]
 105 [σ]κον] εν τη νυκτι
 [πο]λλοι δε ζωντες η
 λισκουτο περιπιπτον
 τες τοις Ελλη[σιν] | δια
 την απορι[α]ν οπου
 110 τ[ρ]απ[ο]ι[ν]το | και του
 [ε]ξ[αι]φνης | αυτοις ε
 πιπεσοντα φοβ[η]ον
 [.]ατα

Fr. 14.

] στρα[τιωτ] ?

115

] νυ[κτ] ?

αυ[τ]οις πυρ[ισ]ον ?

ληνα[

]ον . [

Fr. 15. Plate iii.

[. τ?]ους [
 120 [. . . λογχ?]οφορους φ[ν
 [.]ων ετυγχα[
 [νεν ο Α]ρταξερξ[ης] [
 [αμα μ]εν αυτος κατα
 [σχειν?] την βασιλειαν
 125 [βουλο?]μενος· αμα δε
 [δεδιω?]ς μη πραγ
 [μα

Fr. 16.

[. ανε]κκ[ο]νον
 [το?] την . . .] . εν προς
 130 [τον ευνουχον] Μιθρι
 δατην κατα κ[α]μι
 [στην του βασιλε]ως

	Fr. 17.		Fr. 18.		Fr. 19.
	. . . . . δο?]λιχου τ[.		140]με[. [
135	. . .] . βραχυν τοπον [.		]ληλ[		δ[
	. . .]ν και του στρατ[.		]ν . [		ει . [
	. . . .] και μονοι των [.		α]δελ[φον ?		επ[
	. . . .] τ[ο]ποις π[.		επι]θειν[αι ?	150	σε[
	. . . . .]νον ε[. . . .	145	] . δε [		τ[
			end of col. ?		

	Fr. 20.		Fr. 21.		Fr. 22.
	Col. i.	Col. ii.	160]α	165]ν	
		155 . [	]νους	]α	
152	]αλ	σ[	]σθε	]δαι	
	] . μη	π[	] αλλα	]αν	
	]νν	τ . [	] . α .]	
	. . .	πε . [

	Fr. 23 (tops of cols.?).		Fr. 24.		Fr. 25.
	Col. i.	Col. ii.	Col. i.	Col. ii.	]σα .
170	]νοι	. [	] . ω	[	]νουκ
	]εσ	παλιν α[	]τυγ	μ[].
	]ν	175 εκα[	[χαν—] ιδι	α[	190]ασι
		κτ[	180]ιου	185 α[	] . ο
			].	δ[

	Fr. 26.	Fr. 27.	Fr. 28.	Fr. 29.
	Ελ]λησιγ	196]εκι . . [	200]σιν[	]ωκ[.
	]λυσαι τας [	]ν οραν [	] Αθηνα[ο	205] . τα
	εκεινο ?]ν πραξε[ις	]σηι δ[	]νοντο κ[	]πο
195	]ι . [	]αλα[	]τ[	]νι

	Fr. 30.	Fr. 31.	Fr. 32.	Fr. 33.
	]ατ[	[. . .]ωστ[	216]ναι[	220]ν[
	]νταν[	την εδωκ[ε	]ου πρ[	]ασ[
210	π]αρα τα]ν	χωραν τε[	]ιδαν [	]στων [
	] παρα[	215 . [	]φοιν[	]αθη[

Fr. 34.	Fr. 35 (top).	Fr. 36.	Fr. 37.	
] . η[	] Πελασγους [	231] και τ . [	] εν[
225] μ[	] ν τινα [	] λιστα [	235] . νί[
] α[	230 κα]ταφυγ[	] σει[	] ηη[
] . [			end of col. ?	
Fr. 38.	Fr. 39.	Fr. 40.	Fr. 41.	Fr. 42.
237 ξαν [τις δε ?	240 ] . . [	] τ[	246] αι[	] ως δε ?
τεν[—μιαι ?	] ντων ελ	] τομ[	] υμμ[	250] τατην
] ραξι[ει ?	] οι αν αλλη[	245] νεισ[	] εκατ[	] α
Fr. 43.	Fr. 44.	Fr. 45.	Fr. 46.	Fr. 47.
252 ξα[	255] ενεργ[ε	] . [	261] τα[	] ακο[
βα[	] τεροι[	] . [.] π[	] τελ[	265] νι τ[
τη[	] ασυγ[	260] ντε . [	] υτ[	] η[
Fr. 48.	Fr. 49.	Fr. 50.	Fr. 51.	Fr. 52.
267 να ?] υς ελ[ον ?	270] υντων	] αι . [	276 η[	ρ[
] ανδ[ρων ?	κ]αι των	] ωτ[	π[	280 τ[
με] γ[α ?	] .	275] τηη[	φη[	το[
Fr. 53.	Fr. 54.	Fr. 55.	Fr. 56.	Fr. 57.
282] ρ[	285] λα[	287] αγ[	] ν	291] υφ[
] αι τετ[	] υτο[	] κατα[	290] γων	] οι[
] . . [
Fr. 58.	Fr. 59.	Fr. 60.	Fr. 61.	Fr. 62.
293] αι[	295] . α[	297 ο[	δ[	301]
] ου[	] ντ[	τ[	300 ε[	] τως

Fr. 1. (2) . . . ποτε . . . (5) ἀνα]γ[κ]αίων [έ]στιν [. . .] εἰ[ς] τὰ τότε π[ε]ρὶ τοῦ] Θεμιστοκλέου[ς]. λέγουσι δ' οἱ μὲν ὅτι ἐπέμνησεν ἀπ' οὗ ἄν' περὶ τε τῆς νῆαμαχίας καὶ τῆς γ' ἐφύρας προ]ήγγειλε' π[ε]ρὶ δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίας . . .

' . . . it is necessary to (return ?) to what (happened) then concerning Themistocles. Some say that he reminded him of his warnings about both the sea-fight and the bridge; but with regard to the sea-fight . . .

2. ι or η can be read.

4-5. ἀνα]γ[κ]αίων: the supposed γ could be ρ, but hardly τ, υ, or φ, which would make

the beginning of l. 5 project, and λ could be read in place of α. εναγ|γ[ε]λιον (cf. l. 12) is excluded by the fact that only the plural of this word occurs in Attic. Bury suggests επα|νι[ναι ανα|γ[κ]μιον [ε]στιν [αυτις, referring to a previous account of the flight of Themistocles (Frs. 1-5 are themselves part of a digression anticipating the chronological order of events; cf. l. 37 and p. 99). The letter following ν can be ε, but the hiatus -ναι ανα- is an objection to this restoration; cf. p. 107.

6. ε[ς] τα: of the letter following ε all that survives is the tip of a stroke which might be vertical or horizontal. εντα or επτα could be read, but suggests no suitable word.

7-12. Cf. p. 99, Thuc. i. 137 ἐσπέμπει γράμματα πρὸς βασιλέα Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου νεωστὶ βασιλεύοντα. εἰδῆλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς ἦκω παρὰ σέ, ὃς κακὰ μὲν πλείστα Ἑλλήνων εἰργασμαι τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον, ὅσον χρόνον τὸν σὸν πατέρα ἐπιόντα ἐμοὶ ἀνάγκη ἡμνύομην, πολὺ δ' ἔτι πλείω ἀγαθὰ, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεὶ μὲν ἐμοί, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἐν ἐπικινδύνῳ πάλιν ἡ ἀποκομιδὴ ἐγγίγντο. καὶ μοι εὐεργεσία ὀφείλεται (γράφας τὴν τε ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος προάγγελσιν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν, ἣν ψευδῶς προσεποιήσατο, τότε δι' αὐτὸν οὐ διάλυσιν), καὶ νῦν ἔχων . . ., Plut. *Themist.* 27 Θουκυδίδης μὲν οὖν καὶ Χάρων ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς ἱστοροῦσι τεθνηκότος Ξέρξου πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ γείεσθαι τὴν ἔντευξιν. Ἐφορος δὲ καὶ Δείων καὶ Κλείταρχος καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, ἔτι δ' ἄλλοι πλείονες, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τὸν Ξέρξην. τοῖς δὲ χρονικοῖς δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ὁ Θουκυδίδης συμφέρεσθαι, καίπερ οὐδ' αὐτοῖς ἀτρέμα συνταπτόμενος. The following account of the reception of Themistocles by Artabanus the χιλίαρχος, who is identical with the Artabanus to whom Frs. 15-16 refer (cf. ll. 119 sqq., n.), is stated by Plutarch to be derived from Phantias, with a few extra details obtained from Eratosthenes *περὶ πλούτου*, and Phantias too, as is observed by Busolt, iii. 132², seems to have represented Xerxes as still reigning at the time of Themistocles' arrival; cf. l. 8, n. Plutarch does not state his source for the two next chapters (28-9), which relate in detail the reception of Themistocles by the Persian king and the honours paid to him, being partly derived from Thucydides, partly from some one else (Heraclides? Busolt, iii. 129¹). A different version of the letter recorded by Thucydides is put into Themistocles' mouth, ἦκω σοι, βασιλεῦ, Θεμιστοκλῆς . . . ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν ὀφείλουσι Πέρσαι κακὰ, πλείω δὲ ἀγαθὰ καλῶσαντι τὴν δίωξιν, ὅτε τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν ἀσφαλεὶ γενομένης παρέσχε τὰ οἴκοι σωζόμενα χαρίσασθαι τι καὶ ἡμῖν. Diodorus xi. 56. 8 shows more interest in the stratagem by which Lysithides introduced Themistocles to Xerxes (cf. ll. 246-8, n.) than in Themistocles' defence of himself before the king, which is described quite briefly κάκεινον δόντος τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ λόγον καὶ μαθόντος ὡς οὐδὲν ἠδίκησεν. Aristodemus 10 καὶ ὑπέμνησεν αὐτὸν (sc. Artaxerxes) τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ἃς ἐδόκει κατατεθείσθαι εἰς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Ξέρξην, λέγων καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῷ γεγενῆσθαι αἴτιος [ἐνδε]ίξας λύσειν τοὺς Ἑλληνας τὸ ζεῦγμα, though primarily based on Thucydides, shows traces of a knowledge of Ephorus; cf. ll. 62-76, n. Nepos (*Themist.* 9) follows Thucydides, *scio plerosque ita scripsisse, Themistoclem Xerxe regnante in Asiam transisse. Sed ego potissimum Thucydidi credo . . .*, quoting the letter to Artaxerxes *Idem multo plura bona feci postquam in tuto ipse et ille in periculo esse coepit. Nam cum in Asiam reverti vellet, proelio apud Salamina facto, litteris cum certiore feci id agi ut pons quem in Hellesponto fecerat dissolveretur atque ab hostibus circumiretur: quo munitio ille periculo est liberatus.* The earliest authority for the view that Xerxes, not Artaxerxes, was the king in question is Aeschines Socraticus quoted by Aristid. ii. 293 (cf. 1608). The date of Themistocles' arrival in Persia continues to be a matter of dispute: Busolt, iii. 132², sides with Thucydides, and assigns that event to a period shortly after the spring of 464.

8. οἱ μὲν: cf. the previous n. Thucydides is probably included, for the expressions in ll. 11-12 seem to be derived from him, though αυ[ον] is apparently Xerxes, not Artaxerxes, cf. the next n. Dinon may also be meant, for he was approximately Ephorus' contemporary. Clitarchus and Heraclides, who were younger, can hardly have been referred to by Ephorus, nor can Phantias (cf. the previous n.), who was the disciple of Aristotle.

8-9. *υπε[μνησεν αυτον*: we prefer *υπε[μνησεν* to *ανε[μνησεν* on account of the parallel in Aristodemus 10 cited above. His work, the date of which is unknown, is based mainly on Herodotus and Thucydides, but its frequent resemblances to Diodorus, especially as to the causes of the Peloponnesian War, suggest the use of Ephorus, and *υπεμνησεν αυτον* looks like a reminiscence of the present passage. *αυτον*, however, here is, we think, Xerxes not Artaxerxes, because (1) there is no mention of the king's father (cf. Thuc. *l. c.*); (2) the accession of Artaxerxes is described by Diodorus in a much later chapter, to which Frs. 15-16 refer; (3) Ephorus is definitely known to have agreed with the majority of historians that Xerxes was the reigning king. The difficulty is that owing to the loss of the second part of the sentence from l. 14 onwards it is not clear whether our author accepted the opinion of *οι μεν* or not. If he rejected it, then *αυτον* might be Artaxerxes and Fr. 1 would be more suitably placed after Fr. 16, with a backward reference in ll. 5-7 to the account of Themistocles in Persia which must in any case have preceded Frs. 2-5. This would have the advantage of making the suggested connexion between ll. 7-12 and both Thucydides and Aristodemus closer: but we are unwilling to separate Fr. 1 so widely from Frs. 2-5, seeing that Themistocles is the subject of them all. To retain Fr. 1 where it is, and make *αυτον* Artaxerxes, with a possible forward reference in ll. 5-7 to a subsequent mention of Artaxerxes, is a possible compromise; but with *[προ]ηγγειλε* the most natural dative to be supplied is *αυτω*, i.e. Xerxes, not *τω πατρι αυτου* which would be required by the identification of *αυτον* with Artaxerxes.

10. *ε[ανμα]χιας*: cf. l. 13, Hdt. viii. 75, Thuc. *l. c.*, Diod. xi. 17, Plut. *Themist.* 12 and 28.

11. *της γεφυρας*: cf. Hdt. viii. 110 *τας εν Ελλησπόντω γεφύρας λυειν*, Thuc. *l. c.*, Diod. xi. 19. 5 *τον παιδαγωγον των ιδιων νιων απεστειλε προς τον Ξερξην δηλωσοντα διοτι μελλουσιν οι Ελληνες πλευσαντες επι το ζευγμα λυειν την γεφυραν*, and the next n. Diodorus' employment of the singular (Hdt. and Thuc. have the plural) confirms *γεφυρας* here; but the stroke following *της* might be round just as well as straight.

12. *[προ]ηγγειλε*: cf. Thuc. *l. c.* *προαγγελσιν*. *[εξ]ηγγειλε* would also be suitable; cf. Plut. *Them.* 12 *ον εκπεμπει προς τον Ξερξην κρυφα κελυσας λεγειν οτι Θεμιστοκλης ο των Αθηναίων στρατηγος αιρουμενος τα βασιλειως εξαγγελλει πρωτος αυτω τους Ελληνας αποδιδρασκοντας*.

Fr. 2. *τις δε . . .]ων εσπουδ[ασε; τις?] δε τοσο[υ]τοι[ς] δια? τ]ων εργω[ν] . . .*

15-17. Cf. p. 99 and Diod. xi. 59. 2 *τις δε προς απασαν την εκ της Ασίας δυναμιν αναστατω τη πολει παραταχθεις ενίκησε; τις δε τοις εργοις εν ειρήνη την πατριδα δυνατην κατεσκευασε τοσο[υ]τοις (τούτοις MSS.; τοιούτοις or τοσο[υ]τοις Reiske)*. *]ων* can be a participle or the end of a phrase like *δια των εργων*. With *εσπουδ[ασε]* cf. 842. xiv. 7 *εσπουδαζον εκπολεμωσαι*.

Frs. 3-5. . . . *ε[κ]εινον] μεν υπο της πολε[ως] ηττησμενον, τ[ην] δε πολιν δια τ[α]ς εκεινου πραξε[ις] της μεγιστης τιμης υπο των Ελληνων αξιωθεισαν, η μεγάλην [ηγμονι?]αν οιον . . . σοφ[ω]τάτην και δικαιοτάτην]τάτ[η]ν] και χαλεπ[ω]τάτην [γενομένη]ν προς εκεινον. οι δ' υ]πολαμβανουσιν οτι ει]περ εβουλι[θη εκ? δο]ναι τη]ν ηγεμονια?]ν . . .*

. . . that while he was dishonoured by the city, the city owing to his achievements was held by the Greeks to be worthy of the highest honour, which (city favoured) . . . a great empire . . . (the city) which was the wisest and justest became the most . . . and severe to him. Some suppose that, even if he wished to surrender the hegemony, . . .'

18 sqq. Cf. p. 99 and Diod. xi. 59. 3 *διοπερ οταν το μεγεθος των εργων αυτου θεωρησωμεν και σκοπουντες τα κατα μέρος ευρωμεν εκεινον μεν υπο της πολεως ηττησμενον, την δε πολιν δια τας εκεινου πραξεις επαιρομένην, εικότως την δοκουσαν ειναι των απασων πολεων σοφωτάτην και*

ἐπιεικεστάτην χαλεπωτάτην πρὸς ἐκείνον εἰρίσκομεν γεγενημένην. εἰ[ρ]ω[μεν] is inadmissible in l. 18.

21-2. τ[α]ς ἐκεῖνου πράξεις: cf. ll. 193-4, where the phrase perhaps recurs, suggesting that Fr. 26 belongs to this context.

22-5. Diodorus has only one word here in place of seven: cf. p. 103.

26. [ηγμονί]αν: cf. Ephorus Fr. 67 τελευτήσαντος γὰρ ἐκείνου (Epaminondas) τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀποβαλεῖν εἰθὺς τοῖς Θηβαίοις. οἰονεῖ is inadmissible.

27-31. Cf. Diod. *l. c.* The division of lines in Frs. 4 + 5 is uncertain, but there is hardly any doubt that Fr. 5, containing the supposed ends of ll. 29-31, is rightly joined to the other. Bury suggests ἀλλως before σο[φ]ω[τα]τήν and μα[τα]ίω[τα]τ[η]ν before κ[αί]. Cf. l. 32, n.

30-1. [γενο]μένην: [γεγενη]μένην (cf. Diod. *l. c.*) seems too long for the lacuna.

32. υ[πο]λαμβανοῖ[σιν]: cf. ll. 94-9, n. The adopted restoration of ll. 32-5 was proposed by Bury. εβουλη[θη] εκδο[ναι] produces a hiatus, which is unsatisfactory (cf. ll. 4-5, n.); but προδο[ναι] seems too long, if χαλεπ[ω]τατην is the beginning of l. 30. With the division χαλεπ[ω]τατην, however, προ[δο]ναι could be read; cf. ll. 27-31, n. The division χαλεπ[ω]τατην would create a great difficulty in l. 31, for there would not be room for [νη]ν or [σα]ν and a participle is wanted there, the ν being nearly certain.

34. The vestige of a letter before ναι suggests γ, τ, or ν, so that τ[η]ν αιτ[αν] is unsatisfactory, though the doubtful η can be ι. απα[σαν] is possible, but with another word than ηγεμονια], for which cf. l. 26, n.

FR. 6. . . . εἰρη[μέν] . . . , ὄθεν] παρεξ[έβ]ημεν. Ἄ[θη]ναῖοι [δ]ὲ Κ[ί]μωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρατηγού[ν]τος ἐκπλεύσαντες ἐκ Βυζαντίου μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων Ἡ[ι]όνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρ[υμό]νι Περσῶν ἐχόν[των] εἶλον καὶ [Σκυρο]ν, ἣν νῆσο[ν] . . .

‘. . . from which we digressed. The Athenians under the command of Cimon son of Miltiades sailed out from Byzantium with their allies, and captured Eion on the Strymon, which was in the possession of the Persians, and Scyros, which island . . .’

36-7. Probably τοῖς] εἰρη[μενοῖς] σ[τ] των] εἰρη[μενων]. For ὄθεν] cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* i. 5. 1 ὄθεν παρεξέβημεν, and for παρεξ[έβ]ημεν Diod. xi. 59. 4 περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Θεμιστοκλέους ἀρετῆς εἰ καὶ πεπλεονάκαμεν παρεκβάντες, ἀλλ’ οὖν οὐκ ἄξιον . . . The digression evidently contained the estimate of Themistocles (Frs. 2-5); but the fibres of the verso of Fr. 6 suggest that it belongs to a different column. Bury suggests something like ἐπανωμεν δε τυσοτων περι του Θεμιστοκλεους] εἰρη[μενων]: cf. ll. 4-5, n.

37-46. Cf. pp. 99-100, Hdt. vii. 107, where the heroic defence of Eion by Βόγης is described in some detail, Thuc. i. 98 (the source of the present passage; cf. p. 107) πρῶτον μὲν Ἡίονα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι Μήδων ἐχόντων πολιορκία εἶλον καὶ ἠνδραπόδισαν, Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρατηγού[ν]τος. ἔπειτα Σκυρον τὴν ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ νῆσον, ἣν ᾤκουν Δόλοπες, ἠνδραπόδισαν καὶ ᾤκισαν αὐτοί, and Diod. xi. 60. 1-2 Ἄθηναῖοι στρατηγὸν ἐλόμενοι Κίμωνα τὸν Μιλτιάδου κτλ. (cited on p. 103), which is longer than 1610, but adds nothing new about the capture of Eion, and bears distinct traces of derivation from 1610, especially the mentions of Byzantium and Pelasgi (cf. p. 100). Plutarch's account (*Cimon* 7) Κίμων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων ἤδη προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῷ στρατηγὸς εἰς Θράκην ἐπλευσε, πυνθανόμενος Περσῶν ἄνδρας ἐνδόξους καὶ συγγενεῖς βασιλέως Ἡίονα πόλιν παρὰ τῷ Στρυμόνι κειμένην ποταμῷ κατέχοντας ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον Ἕλλησι. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς μαχητῶν Πέρσας ἐνίκησε καὶ κατέκλεισεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔπειτα τοῖς ὑπὲρ Στρυμόνα Θράκας κτλ., which proceeds to narrate the story of Βόγης (here called Βούτης) told by Hdt., is based on other historians than Ephorus.

46. [Σκυρο]ν: cf. Thuc. and Diod. *ll. cc.* Our author was much more detailed; cf. Fr. 7.

Fr. 7. 49-51. Cf. p. 100 and Plut. *Cimon* 8, where the story of Cimon's recovery of the bones of Theseus is narrated in detail, being possibly based on Ephorus, especially the mention of Lycomedes, *πυθανόμενος δὲ τὸν παλαιὸν Θησέα τὸν λιγῶς φυγόντα μὲν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν εἰς Σκύρον, αὐτοῦ δ' ἀποθανόντα δόλω διὰ φόβον ὑπὸ Λυκομήδους τοῦ βασιλέως ἐσπούδασε τὸν τάφον ἀνευρεῖν.* *αυ[του δε πρ]ος* would make l. 50 rather short, but perhaps *αυ[τος (sc. Theseus) δ(ε) . . . μεν]ος* should be read. Fr. 35, which mentions the Pelasgians and a *κα[ταφυγ]ή?*, is probably to be connected with the episode; cf. p. 100.

55. *θησι*[: the last letter might be γ, η, κ, or π, but not ε, so that a reference to Theseus (cf. the previous n.) is inadmissible.

Fr. 8. *τῶν παραθ[αλαττίων καλο]υμένων[ν πόλεων ὅσ]αι μὲν ἐκ τ[ῆς Ἑλλά]δος ἦσαν[ν ἀποφ]κισμέναι π[αρα] χ[ρήμα] συν[έπεισε] . . .*

' . . . of the so-called coast cities those which had been founded from Greece he at once persuaded (to revolt).'

56-61. The division of lines in this fragment is practically certain. Cf. p. 101 and Diod. xi. 60. 4 *πλεύσας οὖν μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στόλου πρὸς τὴν Καρίαν, τῶν παραθαλαττίων πόλεων ὅσαι μὲν ἦσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποκισμέναι, ταύτας παραχρήμα συνέπεισεν ἀποστήναι τῶν Περσῶν, ὅσαι δ' ὑπῆρχον δίγλωττοι καὶ φρουρὰς ἔχουσαι Περσικὰς βίαν προσάγων ἐπολιόρκει, which only differs by the omission of *καλουμένων*, the changed position of *ἦσαν*, and the insertion of *ταύτας*. Plutarch's account (*Cimon* 12) is differently worded, *τὰ μὲν ἐπόρθει καὶ κατεστρέφετο, τὰ δὲ ἀφίστη καὶ προσήγετο τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ὥστε τὴν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας Ἀσίαν ἄχρι Παμφυλίας παντάπασι Περσικῶν ὀπλῶν ἐρημῶσαι*, and proceeded to give fresh details omitted by Diodorus. With *παραθ[αλαττίων]* cf. 842. xxī. 17 *Φρυγίας τῆς παρ[αθα]λαττιδίου*, and with *ἀποκισμέναι* Ephorus Fr. 30 a (FHG. iv. 642) from schol. Aristid. p. 11. 17 Dindorf *οἱ δὲ τὰς ἀποικίας καταλέγουσιν' εἰς Ἐφορον ἀποτείνεται ὅς περὶ τῆς Ἰωνικῆς ἀποικίας ἔγραψε* (sc. in Book iii).*

Frs. 9+10+53. . . . *Κίμων πυθανόμενος τὸν τ[ῶν Περσῶν στόλον]ν περὶ [τὴν Κύπρον συν]υπετά[χθαι, διακοσίαις πεντήκοντα π[λοῖ]α τριακοσίας καὶ τετταράκοντα.] παραταχ[θείσ]ας δὲ πολὺν χρόνον πολλὰς μὲν τῶν κ[ι]ν[δυνευουσῶν βαρ]βα[ρι]κῶν νεῶν διέφθει[ρεν, ἑκατὸν δ' αὐτοῖς [ἀ]νδράσι[ν] [ε]ἰλε[ζωγρή]σας τ[ὸν π[λοῖ]ον . . .*

'(Cimon attacked, perceiving) that the Persian fleet was drawn up off Cyprus, with two hundred and fifty ships against three hundred and forty. After they had opposed each other for a considerable time, he destroyed many of the barbarians' ships which ran into danger and captured a hundred of them with the crews, taking alive . . .'

62-76. Cf. p. 101 and Diod. xi. 60. 5-6 *οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τὸ μὲν πεζὸν στράτευμα δι' ἐαυτῶν κατεσκεύασαν, τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν ἤθροισαν ἕκ τε Φοινίκης καὶ Κύπρου καὶ Κιλικίας· ἐστράτηγει δὲ τῶν Περσικῶν δυνάμεων Τιθραύστης, υἱὸς ὧν Ξέρξην νόθος. Κίμων δὲ πυθανόμενος τὸν στόλον τῶν Περσῶν διατρίβειν περὶ τὴν Κύπρον καὶ πλεύσας ἐπὶ τοῖς βαρβάρους ἐνανμάχησε διακοσίαις καὶ πεντήκοντα ναυσὶ πρὸς τριακοσίας καὶ τετταράκοντα. γενομένου δ' ἰγῶνος ἰσχυροῦ καὶ τῶν στόλων ἀμφοτέρων λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζομένων τὸ τελευταῖον ἐνίκων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ πολλὰς μὲν τῶν ἐναντιῶν ναῦς διέφθειραν, πλείους δὲ τῶν ἑκατὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι[ν] εἶλον. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν νεῶν καταφυγουσῶν εἰς τὴν Κύπρον οἱ μὲν ἐν αὐταῖς ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπεχώρησαν, αἱ δὲ νῆες κεναὶ τῶν βοηθοῦντων οὖσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγενήθησαν ὑποχείριμοι.* In xi. 62. 1 Cimon's total captures in connexion with this battle are estimated at 340 triremes, i. e. the whole Persian fleet, Diodorus forgetting there to allow for the ships sunk. Plutarch's account (*Cimon* 12), as usual, is mainly different, *Ἐφορος μὲν οὖν Τιθραύστην φησὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν νεῶν ἄρχειν καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ Φερενδάτην* (cf. l. 86), *Καλλισθέης δ' Ἀριομάνδην τὸν Γωβρίου κυριώτατον ὄντα τῆς δυνάμεως παρὰ τὸν Εὐρυμέδοντα ταῖς ναυσὶ παρορμεῖν, οὐκ ὄντα μάχεσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλησι πρόθυμον, ἀλλὰ προσδεχόμενον ὀδοῦκοντα ναῦς Φοινίσσας ἀπὸ Κύπρου προσπλευούσας. ταύτας φθῆναι βουλόμενος ὁ Κίμων ἀνήχηθ, βιάζεσθαι παρε-*

σκευασμένοι, ἂν ἐκόντες μὴ ναυμαχῶσιν. οἱ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν, ὡς μὴ βιασθεῖεν, εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν εἰσωρμίσαντο, προσφερομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀντεξέπλευσαν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Φανόδημος, ἑξακοσίας ναυσίν, ὡς δ' Ἐφωρος, πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίας. ἔργον δὲ κατὰ γούν τὴν θάλατταν οὐδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπράχθη τῆς δυνάμεως ἄξιον, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀποστρέφοντες ἐξέπιπτον οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ κατέφευγον εἰς τὸ πεζὸν ἐγγὺς παρατεταγμένοι, οἱ δὲ καταλαβανόμενοι διεφθείροντο μετὰ τῶν νεῶν. ᾧ καὶ δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅτι πᾶμπολλοὶ τινες αἱ πεπληρωμένοι τοῖς βαρβάροις νῆες ἦσαν, ὅτε πολλῶν μὲν, ὡς εἰκός, ἐκφυγουσῶν, πολλῶν δὲ συντριβεισῶν, ὅμως αἰχμαλώτους διακοσίας ἔλαβον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. The figure 200 also occurs in the brief account of Thucydides i. 100 ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἡ ἐπ' Εὐρυμέδοντι ποταμῷ ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ πεζομαχία καὶ ναυμαχία Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων πρὸς Μήδους, καὶ ἐνίκων τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀμφότερα Ἀθηναῖοι Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρατηγούντος, καὶ εἶλον τριήρεις Φοινίκων καὶ διεφθείραν τὰς πάσας ἐς διακοσίας, and in the confused account of Nepos (*Cimon* 2. 2), who erroneously makes Mycale the scene of the sea-fight, *Idem iterum apud Mycalen Cypriorum et Phoenicium ducentarum navium classem devictam cepit*. The concluding sentence of Thucydides is obscurely worded, and it has been proposed to insert a numeral (π) after Φοινίκων; cf. Busolt, iii. 146³. Plutarch evidently knew Ephorus' account, but followed a historian (apparently Callisthenes), who agreed in the main with Thucydides as to the locality of the sea-battle and the number of the Persian losses. Thucydides' account, supplemented by Plutarch's, is usually preferred to any other (cf. Busolt, iii. 146³); but besides Diodorus Aristodemus 11. 2 Κίμωνος δὲ τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρατηγούτος ἀνέπλευσαν ἐπὶ τὴν Παμφυλίαν κατὰ τὸν λεγόμενον Εὐρυμέδοντα ποταμὸν καὶ ἐνανμάχησαν Φοῖνιξι καὶ Πέρσiais καὶ λαμπρὰ ἔργα ἐπεδείξαντο, ἑκατὸν τε ναὺς ἐλόντες αὐτάνδρους ἐπεζομάχησαν, was evidently influenced by Ephorus, and Frontinus, *Strateg.* iv. 7. 45, agrees with Diodorus both as to the locality of the sea-fight (*apud insulam Cyprum*) and the stratagem of Cimon at the land-battle of the Eurymedon (cf. Diod. xi. 61. 1-2 and ll. 77-8, n.). Polyaeus, *Strateg.* i. 34. 1, inverts the scene of the sea-fight (off the Eurymedon) and the stratagem (Cyprus), and Klussmann and Duncker (cf. Busolt, *l. c.*) held that this represented Ephorus' description more closely than Diodorus' account—a view which is disposed of by 1610. Some echoes of Ephorus, however, seem to survive in Polyaeus' account; cf. καὶ πολλὰ σκάφη βαρβαρικά ἐλών with ll. 72-3 and τὸν στόλον ὡς φίλιον ὑποδέχονται with ll. 98-101. Justin gives no details, but the figure 100 for the ships captured by Cimon is also found in Lycurg. *c. Leocr.* 72, and is supported by the metrical inscription quoted by Diodorus xi. 62. 3, no doubt from Ephorus, even if Fr. 48 does not actually belong to it (cf. ll. 267-9, n.). Diodorus' exaggeration of it πλείους τῶν ἑκατὸν (*l. c.*) is either merely rhetorical (cf. p. 111) or made out of deference to the figure 200 in Thucydides. In favour of the second explanation is the circumstance that his insertion of τὸ τελευταῖον ἐνίκων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι suggests the influence of Thucydides (καὶ ἐνίκων . . . Ἀθηναῖοι). Whether Diodorus had any other authority for his statement τῶν στόλων ἀμφοτέρων λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζομένων than Ephorus' reference to πολλὸν χρόνον may also be doubted. Aristodemus, *l. c.*, speaks of λαμπρὰ ἔργα, but in reference to the Greeks only, and Plutarch, *l. c.*, definitely denies that the Persian fleet made any serious resistance, in contrast to the subsequent κρατερὰ μάχη on land, of which his rhetorical description has been ascribed to Theopompus; cf. Busolt, iii. 146⁵.

62-3. For πυνθανομενος cf. Diod. *l. c.* The verb may well have been ἀντεξέπλευσε (cf. Plut. *l. c.*).

66-9. The figures are exactly reproduced by Diodorus, *l. c.* No importance is to be attached to the variation in Plutarch's figure (350 instead of 340) of the number of the Persian fleet according to Ephorus; cf. p. 106. Frs. 9, 10. i and 53 do not actually touch each other, but the combination is practically certain; cf. ll. 282-4, n. Of the third τ in τετταρ[ακοντα a bit of the cross-bar is on Fr. 9 and the tail of the vertical stroke on Fr. 10.

73-4. διεφθέ[ιρ]εν: this word occurs twice in 842 (xiv. 9 and xix. 20).

76. π[. . . .]ων: Π[ερσικ]ων (sc. δυνάμεων) (or π[ολεμ]ων), followed by ηγεμονα (i. e.

Tithraustes; cf. Diod. *l. c.*) can be restored, but the article is expected. π is nearly certain, $\gamma\epsilon$ [, $\gamma\sigma$], or $\gamma\omega$ [being the only alternatives and less satisfactory readings. $\tau\omega$ ν Περσῶν is therefore inadmissible; but $\tau\omicron\nu$ Π[. . .]ων[δην, i.e. a subordinate Persian admiral, or conceivably Γω[βρναν] (cf. Callisthenes *ap. Plut. l. c.*) ων (i.e. $\delta\nu$) is possible.

77–8. The height of the columns in 1610 is unknown, but probably about 40 lines are lost between ll. 76 and 77, so that the remains of Fr. 10. ii would be expected to be parallel to some part of Diod. xi. 61. 1–2, which narrates the beginning of the land-battle of the Eurymedon. Perhaps ll. 77–8 are to be connected with *ἐνεβίβασεν εἰς τὰς αἰχμαλωτίδας ναῦς τῶν ἰδίων τοῖς ἀρίστοις, δοὺς τιάρας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν περιθειὺς Περσικῆν. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι προσπλέοντες ἄρτι τοῦ στόλου ταῖς Περσικαῖς ναυσὶ καὶ παρασκευαῖς ψευσθέντες ὑπέλαβον τὰς ἰδίας τριήρεις εἶναι. εἰδὼς οὗτοι μὲν προσεδέξαντο κτλ.* (cf. ll. 200–2, n.). *ἰδοῦτες . . . καὶ τὴν ἀλ]λην [κατασκευὴν ὑπε]λαμ[βανον* (cf. l. 99) is possible, the letter after *λα* beginning with a vertical stroke (not β). Another passage which might be connected with ll. 77–8 is xi. 61. 4 *τοῖς μὲν γὰρ Ἑλληνας οὐχ ὑπελάμβανον ἦκειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετὰ δυνάμεως τὸ σύνολον μῆδ' ἔχειν κτλ.* But *Ελ]ληνας οὐχ ὑπε]λαμ[βανον* makes l. 77 too short, and in the absence of any correspondence in ch. 61 with ll. 79–83 the remains of this column may well have been concerned with details omitted by Diodorus; cf. p. 112.

Fr. 11. *τὸν με]ν [στρατηγὸν] αὐτῶν [Φερενδάτη]ν ἀδελ[φιδου]ν ὄντ]α τοῦ βασι[λέως ἐν τῇ] σκηνῇ [. . . (they killed) their general Pherendates, who was the king's nephew, in his tent.*

84–8. Cf. p. 101 and Diod. xi. 61. 3 *καὶ τὸν μὲν στρατηγὸν τῶν βαρβάρων τὸν ἕτερον Φερενδάτην, ἀδελφιδουὺν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ καταλαβόντες ἐφόνευσαν*, which hardly differs. The two last words or an equivalent must have followed l. 82. Pherendates was mentioned by Ephorus; cf. Plut. *Cimon* 12 quoted in ll. 62–76, n. and p. 106.

Frs. 12 + 13. . . . *διετέλουν ὅ]τες. [ὡς τε νομίζοιτες ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπιέ]ροι] τὴν ἐφοδὸν αὐτ]εῖς γεγ]ονέναι τῶν π[ο]λεμίων πρὸς τὰ[s] ναῖ[s] ἔφευγον, ὑπο[λ]αμβάνοντες αὐτοῖς εἰ[ν]αι φιλίας· οὐ δὴ π[ο]λλοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν καταλειφθέντων ἐκεῖ φυλάκων ἀπέθνη[σκον] ἐν τῇ νυκτί, πολλοὶ δὲ ζῶντες ἠλλίσκοντο περιπίπτοντες τοῖς Ἑλλησιν διὰ τὴν ἀπορί[α]ν ὅπου τ[ρ]άπ[ο]ι[στο], καὶ τὸν [ἐ]ξ[αίφνης] αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσόντα φόβ[ο]ν.*

' . . . Hence, thinking that their enemies' attack was from the land, they fled to the ships, expecting these to be on their own side. There many of them were killed in the night by the guards who had been left behind on the spot, while many were taken alive, falling into the hands of the Greeks through their ignorance which way to turn and the fear which had suddenly overtaken them.'

93. *διετέλουν ὅ]τες*: cf. 1365. 16 *δι[ιετέλ]εσε διαιωόμενος καὶ παιδευόμενος οὕτως. οἱ Πισίδες εχθροὶ* may have preceded, the sentence probably corresponding to *καὶ τὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντας* in Diodorus; cf. the next n.

94 + 9q. Cf. pp. 101–2 and Diod. xi. 61. 4–6 *τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Ἑλληνας οὐχ ὑπελάμβανον ἦκειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετὰ δυνάμεως τὸ σύνολον, μῆδ' ἔχειν αὐτοὺς πεζὴν στρατιὰν πεπεισμένοι· τοὺς δὲ Πισίδας ὄντας ὁμόρους καὶ τὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντας ὑπελάμβανον ἦκειν μετὰ δυνάμεως (ὑπέλ. . . . *δυν. del. Madvig).* διὸ καὶ νομίσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπιέρου τὴν ἐπιφορὰν εἶναι τῶν πολεμίων πρὸς τὰς ναῦς ὡς πρὸς φιλίας ἔφευγον. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς οὕσης ἀσελήνου καὶ σκοτεινῆς συνέβαινε τὴν ἄγνοιαν πολὺ μᾶλλον αὔξασθαι καὶ μῆδενα τάληθές δύνασθαι ἰδεῖν. διὸ καὶ πολλοὺ φόνον γενομένου διὰ τὴν ἀταξίαν τῶν βαρβάρων ὁ μὲν Κίμων κτλ.* (cf. ll. 114–16, n.). Plutarch's account (*Cimon* 13, from Theopompus?; cf. ll. 62–76, n.) is quite different, *τῶν δὲ πεζῶν ἐπικαταβάντων πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν μέγα μὲν ἔργον ἐφαίνετο τῷ Κίμωνι τὸ βιάζεσθαι τὴν ἀπόβασιν καὶ κεκμηκότας ἀκμήσι καὶ πολλαπλασίοις ἐπάγειν τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ὅμως δὲ βῶμη καὶ φρονήματι τοῦ κρατεῖν ὄρων ἐπλημένους καὶ προθύμους ὁμῶς χωρεῖν τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἀπεβίβαξε τοὺς ὀπίστας ἔτι θερμούς τῶν κατὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἀγῶνι μετὰ κραυγῆς καὶ δρόμου προσφερομένων. ὑποστάτων δὲ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ δεξαμένων οἰκ ἀγεννῶς κρατερὰ μάχη συνέστη· καὶ*

τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀξιώμασι πρῶτοι καὶ διαπρεπεῖς ἔπεσον. πολλῶ δ' ἀγῶνι τρεψάμενοι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔκτεινον, εἶτα ἤρουν αὐτοὺς τε καὶ σκηνὰς παντοδαπῶν χρημάτων γεμούσας. Diodorus' reference to the absence of the moon seems to be his own invention, since there is no indication in ll. 105-7 of anything corresponding to it and no further reference to the darkness is in fact expected after l. 104. Possibly, however, the absence of the moon may have been mentioned earlier in Ephorus' account.

94-9. νομίζοντες . . . υπο[λ]αμβανοντες: cf. νομίζομεν ὑπολαμβάνοντες in Ephorus Fr. 2, and, for ὑπολαμβάνειν; ll. 32, 77-8, n., and 842. vi. 10, xi. 17, xiv. 11.

101. φιλίως: cf. 842. xiv. 40 φιλίως, and Polyæn. *Strateg.* i. 34. 1, quoted in ll. 62-76, n.

102-4. καταλειφθεντων . . . φυλακῶν: cf. Ephorus Fr. 53 φύλακας δὲ κατέλιπον.

104. ἀπεθνη[σκειν]: cf. 842. xx. 33 συμμείξαντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν.

108. That the fragment containing σι and part of the ν of Ελλη[σιν] and the ends of ll. 103-7 is rightly combined with the top of the ν admits of hardly any doubt.

111-12. The letter after αυτοῖς may be σ, and]ων may be read for]ον.

Fr. 14. . . στρα[τιωτ?—] ν[κτ?—] αὐ]τοῖς πυρ[σόν?—]ηνα[. . .

114-16. Cf. p. 101, Diod. *l. c.* ὁ μὲν Κίμων προειρηκὼς τοῖς στρατιώταις πρὸς τὸν ἀρθροσόμενον πυρρὸν συντρέχειν ἤρε πρὸς ταῖς ναυσὶ σύσσημον, εὐλαβούμενος μὴ διεσπαρμένον τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀρπαγὴν ὀρμησάντων γένηται τι παράλογον. πάντων δὲ πρὸς τὸν πυρρὸν ἀθροισθέντων καὶ πανσαμένων τῆς ἀρπαγῆς, τότε μὲν εἰς τὰς ναὺς ἀπεχώρησαν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία κτλ. πυρσεύειν occurs in Ephorus Fr. 107. Fr. 48 not improbably came between Frs. 14 and 15; cf. ll. 267-9, n.

Frs. 15-16. τ[?]οὺς [. . . λοχ[?]οφόρους, ὧ[ν]ων ἐτύγχα[νε]ν ὁ Ἄ]ρταξέρξης, [ἄμα μ]ὲν αὐτὸς κατα[σχέιν? τ]ῆν βασιλείαν [βουλόμ?]ενος, ἄμα δὲ [δεδιώ?]ς μὴ πραγ[μα . . .] ἀνε]κικοῦ[το?] τῆν . . .] . ἢ πρὸς [τὸν εὐνοῦχον] Μιθρι[δάτην] κατα[?]μι[σῆν] τοῦ βασιλέ]ως.

' . . . the spearmen, of whom Artaxerxes happened to be . . . , being at the same time anxious to obtain the kingdom himself and afraid that . . . he communicated the (plot) to the eunuch Mithridates, the king's chamberlain.'

119 sqq. Cf. Diod. xi. 69. 1 ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀρτάβανος τὸ μὲν γένος Ὑρκάνιος, δυνάμενος δὲ πλείστον παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ Ξέρξῃ καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων ἀφηγούμενος, ἔκρινεν ἀνελεῖν τὸν Ξέρξην καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς ἑαυτὸν μεταστήσαι. ἀνακοινωσάμενος δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν πρὸς Μιθριδάτην τὸν εὐνοῦχον, ὃς ἦν κατακοιμιστῆς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὴν κυριωτάτην ἔχων πίστιν, ἄμα δὲ καὶ συγγενῆς ὢν Ἀρταβάνου καὶ φίλος ὑπήκουσε πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν. [καὶ τὴν κυριωτάτην] can be restored in l. 133. Probably Fr. 16 followed Fr. 15 with a very slight interval (cf. p. 102), which is in accordance with the general appearance of the recto of these two fragments, though the verso does not suggest their propinquity. αὐτός in l. 123 we refer to Artabanus, the phrase κατα[σχέιν τ]ῆν βασιλείαν [βουλόμ]ενος (cf. κατασχέιν τὴν ἀρχὴν in Diod. xi. 69. 4 quoted below, and τὴν χώραν κατασχέιν in Ephorus Fr. 29) being very close to both Diodorus' τὴν βασιλείαν . . . μεταστήσαι and Justin iii. 1 *Xerxes . . . quippe Artabanus praefectus eius . . . in spem regni adductus cum septem robustissimis filiis regiam vesperi ingreditur*, which is likely in any case to have been partly derived from Ephorus. The chief difficulty is that δορυφόρους would be expected in l. 120, but the bottom of the letter preceding φο (which is practically certain) does not come below the line, nor is the tail of a preceding ρ visible. The word is therefore, we conjecture, a synonym for δορυφόρους, λοχ[?]οφόρους being preferable to ξυστ[?]οφόρους. With the reading τοῦ]ς φόρους there might be a connexion with Diod. xi. 71. 1 ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Περσῶν ἄρτι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀνακτησάμενος . . . διέταξε τὰ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν συναφερόντως αὐτῶ . . . ἐπεμελήθη δὲ καὶ τῶν προσόδων καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως κατασκευῆς, καὶ καθόλου τὴν βασιλείαν ὅλην ἐπιεικῶς διοικῶν μεγάλης ὑποδοχῆς ἐτύγχανε παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις. The rest of Fr. 15 would then have to be restored differently. But though αὐτός could be Artaxerxes

and [κτησάμ]ενος is possible in l. 125, the other parallel is closer and more satisfactory. It is just possible that, while Fr. 15 refers to the plot of Artabanus, the parallel section in Diodorus is not 69. 1 but 69. 3-4 ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀρτάβανος παραγενόμενος ἔτι νυκτὸς οὔσης πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταξέρξην ἔφησε Δαρεῖον τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ φονεῖα γεγονέναι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς ἑαυτὸν περισπᾶν. συνεβούλευσιν οὖν αὐτῷ πρὸ τοῦ κατασχεῖν ἐκείνον τὴν ἀρχὴν σκοπεῖν ὅπως μὴ δουλείῃ διὰ βραθυμίαν ἀλλὰ βασιλεύσῃ τὸν φονεῖα τοῦ πατρὸς τιμωρησάμενος· ἐπηγγείλατο δ' αὐτῷ συνεργοὶς παρέξεσθαι τοὺς δορυφόρους τοῦ βασιλέως. But this too, in spite of some resemblances, seems to suit Fr. 15 less well than does 69. 1.

The plot of Artabanus is also described by Ctesias Frs. 29-30 Ἀρτάβανος δὲ μέγα παρὰ Ξέρξη δυνάμενος μετ' Ἀσπραμίτου τοῦ εὐνούχου καὶ αὐτοῦ μέγα δυναμένου βουλευόνται ἀνελεῖν Ξέρξη, καὶ ἀναιροῦσι κτλ. This is evidently one of the ultimate sources of Diodorus' statement, which in any case must be derived (with some variations, if our explanation of Fr. 15 is correct) from Ephorus, who was probably responsible for the change of Ἀσπραμίτης to Μιθριδάτης: cf. the variation between Justin's *Bacabasus* (from Ephorus or Dinon?) and Ctesias' Μεγίβυζος (Fr. 30), each representing the Persian name *Bagabukhsha* (cf. Gilmore, *ad loc.*), the subsequent betrayer of Artabanus to Artaxerxes.

121.]ων is probably a participle. [ηγεμῶν]ων is possible; but Artabanus himself, not Artaxerxes, was in command of the δορυφόροι: cf. the previous n.

ετυχα[νευ: cf. l. 178]τυχ[χαν? A fondness for τυγχάνειν characterizes 842; cf. Part V. 124.

123. [σμα με]ν: cf. l. 125 σμα δε and the same contrast in 842. x. 2.

128-9. ανε]κονοι[το την . . .] . ιν: cf. Diod. l. c. ἀνακοινωσάμενος δὲ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν and 842. i. 3 κοινωσάμενος . . . περὶ τοῦ πράγματος. ανε]κονοι [την βουλευ]σιν can be read, but is unlikely, the middle being much commoner than the active. The letter before ιν is γ, ξ, σ, or τ. πρα]ξιν would be the right length.

133. Cf. ll. 119 sqq., n.

134-9. Cf. p. 102 and Diod. xi. 30. 4-5 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς ἰπωρείας μετεστρατοπέδευσαν εἰς ἕτερον τόπον εὐθετώτερον πρὸς τὴν ὀλοσχερῆ νίκην. ἦν γὰρ ἐκ μὲν τῶν δεξιῶν γεώλοφος ὑψηλός, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐνωμένων ὁ Ἀσώπος ποταμός· τὸν δ' ἀνὰ μέσον τόπον ἐπέειχεν ἡ στρατοπεδεία, πεφραγμένη τῇ φύσει καὶ ταῖς τῶν τόπων ἀσφαλείαις, where τόπος (cf. ll. 135 and 138) occurs thrice, though the context is different. στρατ[ο πεδου] is possible in ll. 136-7, and [ει τοις τ[ο]ποις (Bury) in ll. 137-8, but hardly τ[ο]πο]ν in ll. 134-5. The dividing-point of the lines in this fragment is uncertain.

140-5. Fr. 18 perhaps corresponds to Diod. xi. 57. 3 αὕτη (Xerxes' sister) πυθομένη τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια πειθίμην ἐσθῆτα λαβούσα καὶ μετὰ δακρύων ἰκέτεε τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπιθεῖναι τιμωρίαν τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ. ὡς δ' οὐ προσείχεν αὐτῇ, περιήει . . . Lines 143-5 can be restored τον ἀδελ[φον τιμωριαν (or κολασιν) προσ]θει[αι Θεμιστοκλει] ὡ[ς] δε [. The υ in l. 142, which is nearly certain, would then be expected to belong to δακρύων rather than to ἰκέτεε, but the vestiges of the letter following it do not suit ω, whereas ε is possible. ικετε τε κλαιουσα τον ἀδελ φον would be suitable, but the remaining two lines 140-1 present difficulties. ηλ[θεν in l. 141 is unsatisfactory, for the preceding letter seems to be λ, not α, and με[λαυνη στο]λη is too short. If λ[αβουσα και ικετε]υε be restored,]λη must be the accusative plural of a word meaning 'clothes' or, as there seems to be none available, an adjective in agreement with e.g. ἱμάτια. The suggested correspondence with Diodorus therefore remains very uncertain, especially since the supposed λ of ἀδελ[φον can be α, and]σειπ[can be read for]θειν[.

178.]τυχ[χαν: cf. l. 121, n.

192-4. If τας [εκεινο]υ πραξ[εις (cf. l. 20) is right, Fr. 26 may well belong to the estimate of Themistocles. The doubtful ε can be ι. Ελληνισιν suggests that the corresponding passage in Diodorus is xi. 59. 2-3 ὡστ' εὐχείρωτον γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι. διότι ὅταν τὸ μέγεθος

τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ θεωρήσωμεν κτλ., so that Fr. 26 would seem to come immediately above Fr. 3 (cf. ll. 18 sqq., n.); but the fibres of the verso do not suggest this, and]λυσαι is difficult in such a context. The only alternative is ισ?]χυσαι, with which reading Bury suggests παρα τοῖς ΕΛ]λησιν [. μη ισ]χυσαι κτλ.

200-2. None of the references to the Athenians in Diod. xi. 55-70 corresponds verbally to this passage; but with the restoration] Αθηνα[ους προσεδε]χοντο it can well be connected with xi. 61. 2 διόπερ εὔτοι μὲν προσεδέξαντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὡς φίλους ὄντας, ὁ δὲ Κίμων κτλ.]ουντο can, however, be read in place of]χοντο.

213-14. την or φην can be read. For εδωκ[ε . . . χωραν as a possible reference to Xerxes' presents to Themistocles cf. Thuc. i. 138. 5 ταύτης γὰρ ἦρχε τῆς χώρας, δόντος βασιλέως, and Diod. xi. 57. 7 ἐδωρήσατο δ' αὐτῷ πόλεις τρεῖς . . . Λάμψακον δὲ ἀμπελόφυτον ἔχουσαν χώραν πολλήν. But the words might come in many other contexts, e. g. Cimon's distribution of land in Thrace to the Athenians; cf. Plut. *Cimon* 7 τὴν δὲ χώραν . . . παρέδωκε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, and Diod. xi. 60. 2 καὶ κτίστην Ἀθηναίων καταστήσας κατεκληρούχησε τὴν χώραν (cf. p. 103).

218.]ιδων[: cf. ll. 237-9, n.

219.]φωυ[: Fr. 32 does not seem to be connected with any of the references to the Phoenicians in Diod. xi.

223. Perhaps] Αθη[ναιοι in some form; cf. l. 201.

228-30. The mention of the Pelasgians and κα]ταφυγ[ή? suggests that Fr. 35 refers to Scyros and Cimon's discovery of the bones of Theseus, who took refuge there; cf. ll. 49-51, n., and p. 100.

237-9. Cf. p. 99 and Diod. xi. 59. 1-2 (Themistocles) τίς γὰρ ἕτερος . . . ταῖς ἰδίαις πράξεσιν ἀφείλετο τῆς Σπάρτης ταύτην τὴν δόξαν; τίνα δ' ἄλλον ἰστορήκαμεν μᾶ πράξει ποιήσαντα διενεγκεῖν αὐτὸν μὲν τῶν ἡγεμόνων, τὴν δὲ πόλιν τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, τοὺς δ' Ἕλληνας τῶν βαρβάρων; The fact that ξαν was either actually or approximately the end of a sentence, as is shown by the paragraphus, renders the connexion of that passage with Fr. 38 very probable. Bury suggests δω]ξαν [τις δε τα κοια εκ]τει[ως πραττων μαι] πραξ[ει . . . It is tempting also to connect with this fragment Fr. 32, where Ελλην]ιδων can be restored in l. 218, and Fr. 39, where πολιν] των ΕΛ[ληνιδων is possible in l. 241; but the other lines in those two fragments do not harmonize easily with either that context or each other.

241-2. Cf. the previous n. There is a slight blank space between οι and αν in l. 242, which, however, is not fatal to Ευβ]οιαν, and with των ΕΛ[ληνων in l. 241 there might possibly be a reference to the expedition of Cimon against Carystus in Euboea (Thuc. i. 98. 3; cf. pp. 100-1), which was presumably mentioned by Ephorus.

246-8. There is a possible connexion with Diod. xi. 65. 4 ἄλλων δ' οἰκ ὄντων συμμαχων ἐρημία τῶν ἐπικουρούντων κατὰ κράτος ἦλθωσαν (sc. the Myceneans), or better with xi. 56. 7 κομίζειν ταύτην ἐπὶ ἀπήνης κεκρυμμένην καὶ τῶν ἀπαντώντων μηδένα πολυπραγμανεῖν μηδὲ κατ' ὄψιν ἀπαντῆσαι τῇ ἀγομῆνῃ (Lysithides' device for the introduction of Themistocles to Xerxes; cf. p. 99); but if so, Diodorus' version is longer.

252-4. Possibly συντα]ξια[ς δε Αρχιδαμος ο] | Βα[σιλευς τοις αφεσ]τι[κοσι: cf. Diod. xi. 63. 7 τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον οἱ περιλειφθέντες ἐσώθησαν, οὓς συντάξας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀρχίδαμος παρεσκευάζετο πολεμεῖν τοῖς ἀφεστηκόσι. But between ll. 253 and 254 is a spot of ink which, if not accidental, may belong to a paragraphus, implying a change of sentence, and γη[can be read for τη[.

255. εὐεργετεῖν, εὐεργέτης, and εἰεργασία occur several times in Diod. xi, but the rest of Fr. 44 does not suit the context of any of those passages.

257.]ασυη[: perhaps]ας υπ[ο.

267-9. Fr. 48 exactly suits Diod. xi. 62. 3 να]υς ελ[ον εν πελαγει] ανδ[ρων πληθουσας με]γ[α, from the metrical inscription concerning Cimon's victories, which is in any case probably quoted from Ephorus; cf. ll. 62-76, n. But the fragment is too small to be identified with

certainly, and in l. 269 π can be read in place of γ . Another possible parallel is xi. 54. 4 Πανσανίας μὲν κρίνας προδιδόναι τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐδήλωσε τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιβολὴν Θεμιστοκλεί καὶ παρεκάλεσε. το]υς ΕΛ[ληνας τὴν ἰδι]αν δ[ήλωσας would account for ll. 267-8, and]γ[(or]π[) might belong to ἐπιβολὴν or a synonym for it, or to π[αρεκάλεσε.

282-4. Fr. 53 is to be combined with Frs. 9 + 10. i, though not actually joining them, and belongs to ll. 67-9; cf. ll. 66-9, n. The fibres on the verso harmonize excellently with those of Fr. 10, and the vestiges in l. 284 can be the top of πα(ραταχ[θεισ]as).

1611. EXTRACTS FROM A WORK ON LITERARY CRITICISM.

Fr. 1 18.6 × 26.5 cm.

Early third century.

These seventy fragments of a work on literary criticism, evidently composed by a grammarian, were found with 1610, &c. The largest piece, Fr. 1, contains after a few letters from the ends of lines four nearly complete columns, while the other pieces are much smaller; about 130 lines in all are complete or can be restored. Various literary topics, which have no apparent connexion with each other, are discussed, being illustrated by frequent quotations from lost or (in two cases) extant works—a circumstance which lends the papyrus considerable interest. The two sections of which the beginnings are preserved (ll. 38 and 101) both commence with ὅτι, so that probably the text is a series of extracts from a longer work.

In Fr. 1 ll. 28-37 give the conclusion of a discussion of a contest of comedies and of the number of the judges. There is perhaps a contrast drawn between the practice of the writer's own day and that of earlier times, and the *Bacchae* of Lysippus and Πλοῦτοι of Cratinus are cited as authorities for a number (apparently that of the κριταί) being five; but the context is obscure in several points; cf. ll. 30, 35, nn.

The next section (ll. 38-100), which is practically complete, is mainly concerned with Caeneus, the mythical king of the Lapithae, who was first a woman, but was changed into a man by Poseidon, and rendered invulnerable, then incurred the enmity of Zeus by making his subjects worship his spear instead of the gods, and was ultimately buried alive by the Centaurs. The explanation of Caeneus' spear, which became proverbial, is given in connexion with a reference to it in Book ii of Theophrastus' *Περὶ βασιλείας* (ll. 38-46), the whole story of Caeneus being related in an extract from Acusilaus of Argos, an early writer on mythology who was probably older than Herodotus (ll. 55-83). Since the thirty-one extant fragments of Acusilaus (FHG. i. 100-3) contain hardly any professed quotations of his actual words, the papyrus for the first time affords an opportunity of estimating the character of that author's *ιστορία* or *γενεαλογία*. The dialect proves to be in the main Ionic, as had generally been surmised, although no trace of it has been preserved in the extant

fragments; and the style is decidedly primitive. A Doric form of the aorist infinitive, *τεκέειν*, is found in l. 59, and a curious expression, *μάλιστα χρημάτων*, occurs in ll. 67-8. The influence of Acusilaus' version of the Caeneus legend is now traceable in scholia on Homer and Apollonius Rhodius, which may have derived their knowledge of the passage through our author; cf. l. 56, n. A rather naïve remark of the ancient logographer, that it was not *ιερόν* for gods to bear children by mortals, leads our author first to the citation of two lines from the *Ἀλκμέων ὁ διὰ Κορίνθου* of Euripides, spoken by Apollo, which illustrated this subject, and later to a short discussion of it, the last four lines being fragmentary (ll. 85-100).

In the third section (ll. 101-20) the first four lines are fragmentary, the ends of lines are missing throughout, and the conclusion is not reached, so that the reconstruction is somewhat difficult. The subject is the various persons called Thucydides, of whom three are distinguished, the politician (son of Melesias and father of Stephanus), the historian (son of Olorus), and the Pharsalian, as in Marcellinus' life of the historian. Polemon's treatise *Περὶ ἀκροπόλεως*, which is known from Marcellinus to have discussed the second and third Thucydides, is here mentioned with reference to the first, apparently as the authority for a statement based on epigraphic evidence that he was the father of Stephanus, which is to be connected with an extant quotation from another work of Polemon (ll. 101-11, n.). In confirmation of the paternity of Stephanus, which seems to have been disputed, a passage from the *Meno* of Plato is quoted, and Fr. 1 breaks off where the writer was about to add fresh evidence on the point from a lost comedy, the *Iapetus* of Hermippus.

The order of the smaller fragments is quite uncertain except in a few instances. Fr. 2. i is concerned with a *βόρειος ἵππος*, two lines from the beginning of the *Omphale* of Ion being quoted as an illustration (ll. 121-7), but how the subject was introduced does not appear. The difficulty, whatever it was, is stated to have been solved by Mnaseas of Patara in his work *Περὶ χρησμών* (ll. 128-30). Fr. 4 is concerned with a female character in epic poetry (Penthesilea?), part of a hexameter line referring to her being cited (ll. 146-7), besides two mentions of her by authors whose names are imperfectly preserved, one of them being perhaps Arctinus, who wrote the *Aethiopsis* (ll. 148-52). Frs. 5, 6, and 43 are to be combined, as appears partly from external evidence, partly from the resulting satisfactory restoration of ll. 16c-4. The main subject of this section, of which the beginning and end are not preserved, is the authorship of a celebrated ancient ode to Pallas. The first three words of this ode *Παλλάδα περσέπολιν δεινάν* were quoted by Aristophanes in l. 967 of the *Clouds*, and from the extant rather confused scholia on that passage and another in Aristides it is

known that according to Eratosthenes Phrynichus (i. e. the comic poet) attributed the authorship of the ode to Lamprocles, an early Athenian dithyrambic poet, while others assigned the ode to Stesichorus. Our author, who refers to an inconclusive discussion of the claims of Lamprocles and Stesichorus by Chamaeleon (a disciple of Aristotle), and possibly, but by no means certainly, mentions Eratosthenes (ll. 158-9, n.), also adduces the evidence of Phrynichus in favour of Lamprocles as the author, and quotes the passage in Aristophanes (ll. 160-76).

Little can be made of the remaining fragments. There is probably a reference in Fr. 8. ii to Hellanicus on *Κτλοεις* (ll. 212-14, n.); but the context is obscure. Fr. 9, which is more considerable, relates to a person with a name beginning with probably A or Λ and ending in -δημος (e. g. Aristodemus), who, after adventures in which the Naxians and Thracians were apparently concerned, was carried off and put to death after a trial by the Parians (ll. 218-28). The *Orestes* of Theodectes (?) is quoted in Fr. 17, and apparently a play of Lysippus in Fr. 21, while Fr. 16 perhaps has another reference to the *Omphale* of Ion, and Fr. 14 possibly mentions Simonides. Other proper names which occur are *Ασση* (l. 247, n.), Lycia or the Lycians (l. 251), Odysseus (l. 272, perhaps in connexion with his descent to Hades), and Ptolemaeus (possibly Ptol. Philopator or Philadelphus; ll. 369-70, n.). The names of the grammarians Aristarchus and Didymus can be restored in ll. 231 and 283 respectively, but in neither place with any confidence. That Frs. 31-2, 42, 44-5, 63-5, and 68 belong to 1611 is not at all certain. All the fragments belong to the middles of columns, except Fr. 1 and where it is otherwise stated.

The handwriting is a small neat uncial closely resembling that of 1012, a treatise on literary composition, written soon after A. D. 205 (Part vii, Plate iv). 1611 also probably belongs to the first two or three decades of the third century, and is approximately contemporary with 1610, of which the script is similar, but larger. The columns are short, consisting of 24 or 25 lines of 14-20 letters, generally about 17. The end of a section is marked in l. 37 by a coronis, which is employed after l. 115 and probably l. 138 to divide a quotation from the main text. Paragraphi also occur after ll. 90 (where it is misplaced), 165, 214, and 231 to indicate quotations. Strokes against the margin of ll. 83-4 call attention to the recommencement of the author's commentary at the end of the extract from Acusilaus, of which the beginning is distinguished by the sign χ (l. 56, n.). The obelus against l. 116 apparently also indicates a quotation, and the two flourishes after l. 138 seem to be merely supplementary to the neighbouring coronis. High stops were used, but not at all regularly; one doubtful instance of a stop in the middle position occurs in l. 442. Occasional marks of elision and quantity and accents are found in the poetical quotations (ll. 91 and 127), and there are some

diæreses over *ι* and *υ*. An abbreviation, *κ'* for *καί*, is used in l. 216. Iota adscript was not infrequently omitted by the first hand, but when ignored was inserted by a contemporary corrector, who might even be the same scribe. The insertion, however, of two words omitted in l. 59 and similar additions of omitted letters in ll. 281, 338, and 350 all seem to be in a second hand, especially the cursively written *ε* above l. 281; in ll. 169 and 223 the alterations are most probably due to the first hand. The revision of the papyrus was in any case not very thorough, and several small mistakes remain uncorrected, ll. 45 *ο* for *ου*, 46 *αξιον* for *αξιων*, 57 *Ποσιδων* for *Ποσειδεων*, 61 *αυτον* for *αυτην*, 80 *ορειον* for *ορθιον*, 84 *τι* for *το*, 91 *απ'* for *απο*, 107 the apparent omission of *καλον* after *Κο[αλεμον*, 127 *αίνεται* for *ἀνεται*, 222 *μεθικαν* for *μεθηκαν*: cf. also ll. 123, 146, and 172-3, nn.

The date of the papyrus itself excludes a later period than about the middle of the second century for the composition of the work from which 1611 was excerpted. On the other hand a date not earlier than 200 B.C. is indicated by the references to (1) Polemon, who was a Delphic *πρόξενος* in 177-6 B.C. (Susemihl, *Gesch. d. Alex. Lit.* i. 667¹²²), and according to Suidas a contemporary of Ptolemy Epiphanes (204-181 B.C.), and (2) Mnaseas, who according to an ambiguously worded statement of Suidas was a pupil of Eratosthenes. The striking resemblance between the discussion of the authorship of the ode to Pallas in 1611 and the views attributed to Eratosthenes by the scholia on Aristophanes' *Clouds* 967 (cf. pp. 128-9 and ll. 162-5, n.) at first sight suggests that the papyrus may consist of extracts from Eratosthenes' celebrated work *Περὶ ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας*. The first of the three sections in Fr. 1 seems to be concerned with the Old Comedy; the second, about Caeneus, deals with a subject which was the basis of plays by two writers of the Middle Comedy, Antiphanes and Araros, and may well have been utilized earlier, while the third, about Thucydides, leads up to a quotation from Hermippus. The two statements attributed to Asclepiades of Myrlea by Suidas that Polemon (1) synchronized with Aristophanes of Byzantium (the successor of Eratosthenes as librarian at Alexandria; cf. p. 131) and (2) was the disciple of Panaetius (about 180-110 B.C.) are scarcely consistent with each other, and the second has usually been regarded as corrupt; cf. Susemihl, i. 666¹¹³. Since Eratosthenes according to Suidas was born in 276-2 B.C. and died at the age of eighty in the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes, it is possible that his *Περὶ ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας* quoted Polemon's earlier works. The suggestion of Knaack (Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.* vi. 360), that the treatise on Comedy was written in the early part of Eratosthenes' life before he left Athens for Alexandria, is not based on any evidence, and Theophrastus, a writer utilized in it (cf. Strecker, *De Lycophrone, Euphronio, Eratosthene, &c.*, Fr. 75), is also quoted in 1611 (l. 38). Polemon, who joined the Pergamene

school, wrote a treatise against Eratosthenes (Susemihl, i. 670¹⁵³) *Περὶ τῆς Ἀθήνησιν Ἐρατοσθένους ἐπιδημίας*, denying (probably ironically) that Eratosthenes had ever been at Athens, and two of the six extant fragments of that treatise (Frs. 47-8, FHG. iii. 130) apparently refer to statements in the *Περὶ ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας*, which was therefore earlier than Polemon's attack on Eratosthenes. It is, however, not quite clear that Polemon is mentioned in 1611 with approval (cf. ll. 101-11, n.), and the controversy between him and Eratosthenes may have been begun by the latter. As regards Mnaseas, whose date mainly depends on that of Eratosthenes, the fact that he is quoted with approval in 1611 (l. 128) is not inconsistent with the hypothesis that he was the author's own pupil; but it is not quite certain whether Suidas meant to call Mnaseas the pupil of Eratosthenes or of Aristarchus. The latter interpretation, which would of course be fatal to the view that 1611 was the work of Eratosthenes, is rejected by Susemihl, i. 679²⁰⁹. The date of Eratosthenes' death (196-4 B.C.), which is accepted by Susemihl mainly on the evidence of Suidas, thus leaves a narrow margin of time available to which the *Περὶ ἀρχ. κωμ.* could be assigned on the assumption that 1611 belongs to that work; but most of this margin tends to disappear, if with Knaack (Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.* vi. 359) Strabo's statement that Eratosthenes was the pupil of Zeno of Citium be accepted; for Eratosthenes' birth and death must then be put back about ten years earlier than Suidas' dates. 1241, which settles the order of the Alexandrian librarians from Apollonius Rhodius to Cydas and rectifies some errors of Suidas, is apt to be mistaken or corrupt in its chronological references to the Ptolemies with whom the librarians were associated. But the position assigned to Eratosthenes, next after Apollonius Rhodius and before Aristophanes of Byzantium, whose successors were (omitting καὶ Ἀρίσταρχος in 1241. ii. 8 as an interpolation) Apollonius the εἰδογράφος and Aristarchus of Samothrace, suggests that Eratosthenes' literary activity hardly continued as late as the reign of Epiphanes, and if the corrupt Φιλοπάτορος in 1241. ii. 15 is corrected to Ἐπιφάνους instead of Φιλομήτορος, as is possible, Eratosthenes' period of office at Alexandria must have ended soon after the accession of Philopator in 222-1 B.C. Hence, though the difficulty caused by the mention of Mnaseas can be got over, that caused by the reference to Polemon *Περὶ ἀκροπόλεως* is a much more serious and probably insuperable obstacle to the attribution of 1611 to Eratosthenes *Περὶ ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας*. Moreover it is possible that the scholium on Aristophanes which gives Lamprocles' version of the ode to Pallas is nearer to Eratosthenes' actual words than are the other scholia, which agree with 1611 in quoting Phrynichus' version (cf. ll. 162-5, n.), and the ode to Pallas was evidently the subject of much discussion. Lastly, in 1611 the sections about Caeneus and Thucydides are not, so far

as can be judged, specially concerned with Old Comedy, so that a later author than Eratosthenes is distinctly more probable. Eratosthenes may even have been referred to by name in the discussion of the ode to Pallas (ll. 158-9, n.), and he is in any case likely to have been the main source of that section of the papyrus.

The hypothesis of the Eratosthenean authorship of the section concerning the ode to Pallas might be combined with the attribution of other sections to different grammarians; but though it is not certain that the various extracts are all from the same work, there is more to be said in favour of the view that they come from one of the *miscellanies* (σύμμικτα), which were composed by several grammarians of the Alexandrine and Roman periods. Of these miscellanies the earliest known is by Callistratus the pupil of Aristophanes of Byzantium and composer also of a work *Πρὸς τὰς ἀθετήσεις* (sc. of Aristarchus) and commentaries on Cratinus and Aristophanes; cf. Athen. iii. 125 c-d, where the 7th book is quoted, R. Schmidt, *De Callistrato Aristophaneo*, and Susemihl, i. 450. Another composer of miscellanies was Herodicus ὁ Κρατήτειος, who is chiefly known from quotations in Athenaeus from his three works, *Πρὸς τὸν Φιλοσοκράτην*, *Σύμμικτα ὑπομνήματα* (Athen. viii. 340 e), and *Κωμφοδούμενοι* (in at least six books). His date is disputed: Gudeman in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.* viii. 974, assigns him to the first century B. C. That the celebrated Didymus, who died in the reign of Augustus, wrote *Σύμμικτα* is attested by the *Etym. Gud.* 124. 2, where it is stated that Alexion (a first-century grammarian of Alexandria) made an epitome of them. The *Σύμμικτα* are generally identified with the *Συμποσιακά* of Didymus, which were also of a miscellaneous character; cf. Cohn in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.* v. 470. Suidas' list of the works of Seleucus, the Homeric critic, who lived in the time of Tiberius (Gudeman, *l. c.*), ends καὶ ἄλλα σύμμικτα, and Seleucus ἐν Συμμίκοις is cited by Schol. Apoll. Rhod. ii. 1055. Pamphila, who lived in the reign of Nero, wrote according to Photius (*Cod.* 175) thirty-three books *συμμίκτων ἱστορικῶν ὑπομνημάτων λόγοι*, which were largely used by Aulus Gellius and Diogenes Laertius. 1611 may well belong to one of these five writers of miscellanies; but Didymus has the strongest claim to be regarded as the author, since in his case the existence of an epitome is also attested. In the absence of any clear reference to grammarians later than the second century B. C. Callistratus is more suitable as the composer than Herodicus, Seleucus, or Pamphilus, and 1611 seems to be somewhat earlier than 1012, which mentions both Didymus and Caecilius Calactinus, and was not composed before A. D. 50. Dionysius ὁ μουσικός, who is known to have discussed the authorship of the ode to Pallas (cf. ll. 162-5, n.) and lived in the time of Hadrian, is not at all likely to be the author of 1611, for his known works are all concerned with μουσική in some form or (if he was identical with Aelius Dionysius) lexicography, and

the Caeneus and Thucydides sections are not at all appropriate to him. Rufus, who is coupled with Dionysius (cf. ll. 162-5, n.) and is thought to have epitomized his *Μουσική ιστορία* (cf. Cohn in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.* v. 986), is, apart from other considerations, unsuitable on account of his date, which is probably third century or later.

We are indebted to Mr. T. W. Allen for several suggestions in the reconstruction of this papyrus.

Col. i.	Col. ii.	Fr. 1.	Col. iii.
5 lines lost	3 lines lost [. . .]λα . [. [. . .]ς αντί[.]αι		[π]τρῶι καθαπ[ερ οἱ π]ο
]ο	30 [. . .]ον νυν σ . ερα . η	50 [λλο]ι βασιλεις [εσφαλη ?] | ου	[γαρ] εδυνατο π[ρος ?] | της
]ν	μας δυ οντας τεττα	[υπ Α]κουσιλαου [του] | Αρ	γειου καταλ[εγομενης]
]ντων	ρ[α]ς και τους κριτας δη	ιστοριας απολυσαι	
] . α	λον ουτως τετταρα	55 λεγει γαρ περι Καινεα [
10]σ	κοντα Λυσιππ[ο]ς δ εν	Χ ουτως Καινηι δε τη	
]ει	35 Βακχαις ε ομοιως δε	Ελατου μισγεται Ποσι	
]αις	και Κρατινος εν Πλου	δων επειτα ου γαρ ην	
12 lines lost	τοῖς λεγει	αυτοις ιερων παιδας ^{τεκέν ουτ} [τ] εξ ε	
	> [ο]τι το παρα Θεοφραστῶι	60 κεινου ουτ εξ αλλου ου	
	λε[γο]μενον εν τῶι δευ	δενος ποιει αυτον Πο	
	40 τρωι Περι βασιλειας	σε[ι]δεων ανδρα ατρω	
	περι του Καινεως δο	[το]ν ισχυν εχοντα [με]γι	
	ρατος τουτο και ουτος	[σ]τ[η]ν των ανθρωπων	
	εστιν ως αληθως ο τῶι	65 των τοτε και οτε τις αυ	
	σκηπτρωι βασιλευων	τον κεντοιη σιδηρωι	
	45 ο(υ) τῶι δορατι καθαπερ	η χαλκῶι ηλισκετο μα	
	ο Καινευς αξιον γαρ	λιστα χρηματων και	
	[κρα]τειν ο Καινευς τῶι	γιγνεται βασιλευς ου	
	[δορ]ατι αλλ ουχι τῶι σκη	70 τος Λαπιθεων και τοῖς	
		Κενταυροις πολεμει	
		σκε επειτα στησας ακου	

59. τε of τεκέν corr. from ου.

72. ι of επειτα added later.

Col. iv.	Col. v.
[τιον εν αγοραι τουτωι?]	[μενου]
[κελευει θυειν? θεοι]	λι[.]
75 σι δ ουκ ηε. [. και?	τα [.]
Ζευς ιδων αυτ[ον τα]υτα	100 χεν [.]
ποιουντα απειλει και	>—
εφορμαι τους Κενταυρους	στι ουχ [.]
κακεινοι αυτον κατα	δη [. και? Πολεμων
80 κοπτουσιν ορειον κατα	εν τωι [· Περὶ ακροπο
γης και ανωθεν πετρην	λεως δ[.]
επιθεισιν σημα και	105 αναγραφ[.]
, αποθιησκει· τουτ ε[σ]τιν	τον Μελησιου [υιον Στε
, γαρ ισως τι τωι δορατι αρ	φανου δε του Κο[α]λεμου (καλου)
85 χειν τον Καινεα δυνα	μενου πατερα [ουτοι?
ται δε δια τουτου και το	δε τον συγγραφ[ε]α μεν
παρ Ευριπιδη· εν Αλκμε	110 φασιν Ολορου υι[ον τρι?
ωνι τωι δια Κ[ο]ρινθου	τον δε τον Φαρσ[α]λιον
λεγομενον υπο θεου	περι μεν ουν του [του Στε
90 καγω μεν ατεκνος εγε	φανου πατρος κ[αι Πλα
νομην κεινης απ· Αλ	των φησιν εν τ[ωι Με
κμεωνι δ ετεκε διδυ	115 νωι ουτως [στι Θου
μα τεκνα παρθενος	>—
εαν τις ζητη· πως η	— κυδιδης δυο [νεις εθρε
95 του θεου μειξις αγονος	ψεν Μελησια[ν και Στε
εστιν δια του προκει	φανον· τουτου[ς] επαιδευ
	σεν· και Ερμιπ[πο]ς ο ποι
	120 ητης εν Ιαπε[τωι] λεγει

87. κ of αλκμεωνι corr.

Fr. 2 (tops of cols.?).		Fr. 3.
Col. i.	Col. ii.	
[. . .] ο εν τη Ιωνο[ς Ομφ]α	131 [	135 . . . ε[
λη κατ αρχην λεγομε	ποι[	ον πατ[
[ν]ος Ηρακλεους βορειος	ποιο . [	ο δε θα[
[ιπ]πος ουτως ορων μεν	ρ . α . [	2̄ μεγαλ[
125 [η]δη Πελοπος εξελευ	. . .	7̄ >— πενθε[

[νο]μεν Ἐρμη βορειον
 [ιπ]πον· αίνεται δ οδος
 [διαλ]έλυκε δ αυτο Μνα
 [σεας ο?] Παταρ[ευσ ε]ν τω[ι]
 130 [Περι χ]ρησμοφ[ν.....

140 ποσ ποτ[
 θαρσει π[
 οσ εμ[
 ο εξέ[

Fr. 4.

Col. i.

Col. ii.

145 δρ[. .]τ[..... και?
 συ γυναι τινος εγγον[ος
 ειχ[ε]αι ειναι και τ[α ε
 ξης και ως εκτιθετ[αι Αρ
 [κτι?]πος ολον αυτη[ς
 144]ν 150 [τον] θανατον και ο [. .
 [. . .]δης δε τον τρ[. .
 . [. . . εν] τ[ω] ε̄ [.]α[. .
]

Fr. 5 + 43.

[.] . [

155 σιν[
 αδ[
 αφ[
 θα[
 νησε[
 160 ταις Φ[ρυν]ιχος.....
 αφηγο[ν]μει[ος.....
 Πα[λ]λα[δα] περ[ι]σεπολιν
 162 a κλη[ζ]ω π[ο]λεμαδο

Fr. 6.

Col. i.

Col. ii.

[κο]ν αγναν παιδα Δι
 [ος] μεγαλου δ[αμασιπ
 165 πον ουτω παρα[ποιει]?
 διαπορουσι γαρ ουκ ο
 λιγοι π[ε]ρι τ[ου]των κα
 [θ]απερ Χαμαιλεων πο
 τερον ποτε Στη[σι]χορον
 170 εστιν η Λαμπροκλ[ε
 [ο]υς κ[αι]π[ε]ρ[ι] του Φρυν[ι
 [χου Λαμ]προκλει μα[θη]τη[ς]?
 [Μιδωνος?] προσνεμον
 [τος και?] Αριστοφανης
 175 [δε?] παρα[ποιει] λεγων
 [Παλλαδα] π[ε]ρ[ε]π[ο]λιν
 end of col.

[.] .]
] . σι
 195]ως πυρ
]ιπονο
 ο]ν μονον
]ησεν αλ
 λα και] . ε[ξ]εν
 200]μβον
]ουοις
 185 χετ[
 ευρω . [] . εστ[.
 λιαις ω[στε]?
 ειναι τον [205]πει[.
 ρισμον . []
 190 ει γε και []
 και εν[]
 π[.]ει[]
 end of col.

Fr. 7.

[.] .

169. υ of Στη[σι]χορον corr. from σ.

	Fr. 8.		Fr. 9.
Col. i.	Col. ii.		αλλ[
	[. . .]εν[		Ναξ[ιοι? εν? με
	[. .]ν π . [	220	ταιχ[μιοι?
210	χερε . [		τα των Θρα[κων
	τοι συμ[		μεθικαν α[ποκομισα?
	βιον π[. Ελλανι		[μ]ενο[[ς]] δε τον Α[ριστο?
	κος δ εν [ταις Εθνων?		δημον εις την Π[αρον?
	κτισεσι [	225	η'τιωντο περι τουτ[ων
215	δε περι[		οι Παριοι και εις δι[κα
206] . ιπον	[. .]ροι κ [		στηριον εισαγαγον[τες
]γει	[.]ε συμ[		απεκτειναν· κ[αι? . .
			[.]ης δ εν [. . . .
	Fr. 10.	Fr. 11.	Fr. 12.
230	δ[	. . . . .] . [ . . . . .	[. .]τιν[
	αριστα[	. . . . .]εγκη[. . .	250 μους ο[
	δ εν ζ̄ τρ[	. . . . . παρ?οιμιω[. . . .	Αυκι[
	διων εχ[	. . . .] . . . [ . .] ε[. . . .	τε . [
	ρ[ο]ν και κ[	245 . .]αρις εσχατοι[. . . .	ρω[
235	την ερυθ[ραν	. . .]τουσης ηδονα[ς η?	νι . [
	ου ξενον [	αλγ?ηδονας ο δε Ασση[	255 ριλ[
	παταρ[	. . .]ι [σ]τρατευοι περι[ι .	εκ . [
	μα εξηγ[	end of col.	[ο]ι . [
	γαρ την . . [ου?		
240	κ αν ειπεν [
	Fr. 13.	Fr. 14.	Fr. 15.
	]τρ[	]λα ταγμ[	270]νναδο[
	]κοσμ[	265 π]ρωτον [	] Αιδου υ[
260	]ν αλλ . [	]αν λαβο[	Οδ]υσσευς . [
	]οι ημερ[	]ουτω α . [	]τησω . [
	]ον ποτ[	]ωνιδου[	]ος· κα[
	]πο των [	ον[
	end of col.	]ω[. .]η . [
			Fr. 16.
			]ησω[
			φη ?]σι δε [περι?
			]ης Ἰων [
			]λην τι[
			]ντ[

	Fr. 17.	Fr. 18.	Fr. 19.	Fr. 20.
280	[Θεοδεκ ?]τ[η]ς δ εν Ορεστη[]περι? . . .]ατίας φησιν] . θην υπο]ιδ[.]μος δ[.	]θνον[285]περσ[] επι τη[]ν κ[end of col.	]τ . υ[] καθ ηγ[290]αβια . []αμας της [end of col.	]αιοι . []ουκ[]οιε[295] . .]ωμ[

	Fr. 21 + 22.		Fr. 23.	Fr. 24.
	]η . []ς δε]ο 300] . υ Α]υσιπ πος εν—] ουτως]γτρ[.	]η πρι 305]ειλη] πυρ]κος]τα end of col.?	] . [ 310]υλ[]α[]υ[]ων[]ου[315]στ[	]αιλ[]αισο[]κεμ[] . μ[320]ει . []κμη[

	Fr. 25.	Fr. 26.	Fr. 27.	Fr. 28.
325	[. . .] υπαλ[[. . .]ετρον [πανον και υ[τ εγγη[εν τοις [end of col.	]ας επ[]ουτ[] β κρ[330]ο γαρ . [] . ουλε[end of col.	] . [ ] . . [ ]ντ[335]ηθ[]τριτ[]νια[	τα[]ρωι π[]ν τη [[.] . [340]του γ . . []ται λιρ[end of col.

	Fr. 29.	Fr. 30.	Fr. 31.	Fr. 32.
345	] . σε[]προ . []ωδ[]ν κ[	top of col. 346] ιππολ[]λω . στ[]αμ[]ασ[	ως 350] . τα . [ε]πιφα[]δοτ[]υ . τω[	]αιο[355] . ωρ[]ατακ[ε]πιχ . [end of col.

	Fr. 33.	Fr. 34.	Fr. 35.	Fr. 36.
360	] . [ ]μαφυ[] . απο[]σ[	]δ[]οσ[]στει[365]τ[η]	top of col. 366]ς εκ[] . ης τ[]υ[	]εως φ[370] Πτολεμ[αι]στισ[370. τ of Πτολ. inserted.

Fr. 37.	Fr. 38.	Fr. 39.	Fr. 40.	
372 ε . [	375]φ α [	] α ι μ [	381] δ ε σ [
π [	] α υ [	] . α ι . [	] φ ο ρ ο [
ν [	] θ [	380] σ [	] α π ε ρ [
Fr. 41:	Fr. 42.	Fr. 43.	Fr. 44.	
] . ι π ρ ο [	] ι ν π ρ [	] ν [	396] ν λ η [
385] . [.] ν ε . [	] . γ α ρ υ π ε ρ [	] μ ε ν [	] σ τ ο [
] . υ . . τ α [	390] ο υ ν ο σ τ [	] π ε ρ [	] ν τ α [
] . [	] . [	395] ω π [] . . [
Fr. 45.	Fr. 46.	Fr. 47.	Fr. 48.	Fr. 49.
400] τ ο	] . [	406 ] . [	] δ [	411] σ
] ν α [	] ν α λ [	] ο υ λ [	410] η τ ρ ι . [	] ε ι
] . τ ο . [	405] α ι [	] ο [ . ] . [	end of col.	] ε σ
Fr. 50.	Fr. 51.	Fr. 52.	Fr. 53.	
] . τ ε ι [	416] . δ ο θ [	418] . [.] ε [	420] ν [.] . [
415] α ν ω [	] α ν ν [	] ο τ ο λ ο [	] . τ ε σ ω ω [
end of col.	end of col.	end of col.	end of col.	
Fr. 54.	Fr. 55.	Fr. 56.	Fr. 57.	Fr. 58.
422] η [	] ν ρ ε ξ [	426] τ ω ν [	428] υ ρ . [	430] θ ε λ [
] φ υ [	425] μ . [	] λ ε [	] τ ε ι δ [	] λ λ ι [
Fr. 59.	Fr. 60.	Fr. 61.	Fr. 62.	Fr. 63.
432] . π α λ [	] ν ξ [	436] ν	438] κ [	440] . π ο ι . [
] α ρ τ ω [	435] ω . . [	] κ α τ] . . [] . [
Fr. 64.	Fr. 65.	Fr. 66.	Fr. 67.	Fr. 68.
442] υ α ι . ο [	443] . . ξ α [	444] υ σ ι [	445] . σ [	] ν π α τ [
end of col.	end of col.		] χ α [	450] μ ο ι γ [
			] α κ α [	] ε ι λ [
			] α ι σ [

29-37.]ς ἀντι[. . . .]ι[. . .]ν νῦν σ. ερα. 'ἡμᾶς δὲ ὄντας τέτταρ[α]ς καὶ τοὺς κριτὰς', δηλον οὕτως τετταράκοντα, Λύσιππ[ο]ς δ' ἐν Βάκχαις ἐ, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Κρατίνος ἐν Πλούτοις λέγει.

' . . . "us being two, and the judges four", thus evidently forty; but Lysippus in the *Bacchae* says that they were five, and so does Cratinus in the *Πλούτοι*.'

38-97. [ὅ]τι τὸ παρὰ Θεοφράστῳ λε[γόμενον ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ βασιλείας περὶ τοῦ Καινεύς δόρατος τοῦτο· 'καὶ οὗτος ἐστὶν ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ τῷ σκήπτρῳ βασιλεύων, ο(ὐ) τῷ δόρατι καθάπερ ὁ Καινεύς.' ἀξι(ῶ)ν γὰρ [κρα]τεῖν ὁ Καινεύς τῷ [δόρ]ατι, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τῷ σκῆ[π]τρῳ καθάπερ οἱ π[ο]λλοὶ βασιλεῖς, [ἐσφάλη?] οὐ [γὰρ] ἐδύνατο π[ρὸς τ]ὴν [ὑπ'] 'Ἀκουσιλάου [τοῦ] 'Αργείου καταλ[εγομένης] ἱστορίας ἀπολύσα[ι]. λέγει γὰρ περὶ Καινεά οὕτως· 'Καινῆ δὲ τῇ 'Ελάτου μίσγεται Ποσειδ(έ)ων. ἔπειτα, οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἱερὸν παῖδας τεκὲν οὐτ' ἐξ ἐκείνου οὐτ' ἐξ ἄλλου οὐδενός, ποιεῖ αὐτ(ῆ)ν Ποσει(δέ)ων ἄνδρα ἄτρωτον, ἰσχὺν ἔχοντα [με]γί[σ]τ[η]ν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν τότε, καὶ ὅτε τις αὐτὸν κεντοίῃ σιδηρῷ ἢ χαλκῷ, ἠλίσκετο μάλιστα χρημάτων. καὶ γίγνεται βασιλεὺς οὗτος Λαπιθέων καὶ τοῖς Κενταύροις πολεμέσκει, ἔπειτα στήσας ἀκού[τιον ἐν ἀγορᾷ τούτῳ] κελεύει θύειν? θεοῖ[σι] δ' οὐκ ἦε. [. . . .], καὶ?] Ζεὺς ἰδὼν αὐτ[ὸν] τα[ύ]τα ποιοῦντα ἀπειλεῖ καὶ ἐφορμᾷ τοὺς Κενταύρους, κἀκείνοι αὐτὸν κατακόπτουσιν ὄρ(θ)ιον κατὰ γῆς καὶ ἄνωθεν πέτρην ἐπιτιθείσιν σῆμα καὶ ἀποθνήσκει.' τοῦτ' εἰ[σ]τιν γὰρ ἴσως τ(ὴ) τῷ δόρατι ἔρχειν τὸν Καινεά. δύναται δὲ διὰ τούτου καὶ τὸ παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ ἐν 'Αλκμέωνι τῷ διὰ Κ[ο]ρίνθου λεγόμενον ὑπὸ θεοῦ

'κἀγὼ μὲν ἄτεκνος ἐγενόμην κείνης ἄπ(ο),
'Αλκμέωνι δ' ἔτεκε δίδυμα τέκνα παρθένος.'

εἰάν τις ζητῆ πῶς ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ μείζις ἀγνοῦς ἐστίν, διὰ τοῦ προκειμένου . . .

'That what Theophrastus says in the second book *Concerning Kingship* about the spear of Caeneus is as follows. "And this is the king who really rules by his sceptre, not by his spear like Caeneus." For Caeneus claiming to govern by his spear, not by his sceptre as is the fashion of most kings, failed, because he had no power, according to the story related by Acusilaus the Argive, to release. He describes Caeneus as follows. "Caene daughter of Elatus was united to Poseidon; afterwards, since it was impious for them to have children either by him or by any one else, Poseidon made her an invulnerable man, possessing the greatest strength of any person then living, and when any one stabbed him with iron or bronze, he was conquered most certainly of all. So Caeneus became king of the Lapithae, and waged war with the Centaurs. Afterwards he set up his javelin in the market-place and bade people sacrifice to it. But this was not (pleasing?) to the gods, and Zeus seeing him doing this, threatened him and stirred up the Centaurs against him; and they cut him down upright below the ground, and put a mass of rock above as a tomb; so he died." That is apparently what is meant by Caeneus ruling by a spear, and it also explains what is said by the god in Euripides' *Ἀλκμέων ὁ διὰ Κορίνθου* "And I was without child by her, but she bare to Alcmaeon twin children, a virgin." If the inquiry is made how union with a god is without offspring, (it is shown) through the aforesaid . . .'

101-20. ὅτι οὐχ [.]δη καὶ? Πολέμων ἐν τῷ [·] Περὶ ἀκροπό[λ]εως δ[·] ἀναγραφ[·] τὸν Μελησίον [υἱόν, Στε]φάνου δὲ τοῦ Κο[α]λέμου (καλου)- μένου πατέρα, [οὔτοι?] δὲ τὸν συγγραφε[ῖ]α μὲν φασιν 'Ολόρου υἱόν, τρί[?]τον δὲ τὸν Φαρσ[α]λίον.] περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ [τοῦ Στε]φάνου πατρὸς κ[αὶ] Πλά[των] φησὶν ἐν τ[ῷ] Μέ[νωνι] οὕτως· '[ὅτι] Θεου]κυδίδης δύο [υἱ]οὺς ἔθρε]ψεν Μελησία[ν] καὶ Στε[φάνου]· τούτοι[ς] ἐπαίδευ[σεν].' καὶ 'Ερμιπ[πος] ὁ ποι[η]τῆς ἐν 'Ἰαπε[τῷ] λέγει . . .

'That . . . and Polemon in the [·] book *Concerning the Acropolis* do not . . . Thucydides . . . the son of Melesias and father of Stephanus called the Stupid; but they say that the historian was the son of Olorus, and a third was the Pharsalian. With regard to the father

of Stephanus Plato also says in the *Meno* "That Thucydides brought up two sons, Melesias and Stephanus; these he educated". And Hermippus the poet in the *Iapetus* says . . .

121-30.] ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἰωνο[ς Ὀμφ[άλῃ κατ' ἀρχὴν λεγόμε[ν]ος Ἡρακλέους βόρειος [ἴπ]πος οὕτως
 ' ὄρων μὲν [ἦ] ἢ Πέλοπος ἐξέλαυ[νο]μεν,
 ' Ἐρμῆ, βόρειον [ἴπ]πον· ἄ[ι]νετα δ' ὁδός.'

[διαλ]έλυκε δ' αὐτὸ Μνα[σέας ὁ?] Παταρ[εὺς ἐ]ν τῷ [Περὶ χ]ρησμών[ν . . .

' . . . the northern horse of Heracles mentioned at the beginning of the *Omphale* of Ion thus: "At length from the boundaries of Pelops we drive forth, O Hermes, the northern horse, and the road is finished." Mnaseas of Patara in his work *Concerning Oracles* has solved the difficulty . . .

146-52. ' . . . καὶ ?] σύ, γύναι, τίνας ἔ[κ]γονος εὐχ[ε]αι εἶμι ;'
 καὶ τ[ὶ] ἔξῃς, καὶ ὡς ἐκτίθετ[αι] Ἀρκτ[ί]νος ὄλον αὐτῆ[ς τὸν] θάνατον. καὶ ὁ [. . .]δης δὲ τὸν
 τρ[ο] . . .] . . . ἐν] τ[ῷ] ἐ' [.]α[.]α[. . .

' " . . . and thou, lady, from whom dost thou boast thy descent?" and so on, and that Arctinus relates her death in full, and des in the 5th book of . . .

160-76.] γαῖς Φ[ρ]ύ[ν]χιος] ἀφηγο[ύ]μεν[ος] ' Πα[λ]λάδα περσέπολιν κλήξ[ε]ω
 π[ο]λεμαδόκο[ν] ἀγνάν π[α]ῖδου Διὸς μεγάλου δ[α]μάσιπ[ον] οὕτω παρα[ποιεῖ] ?] διαφοροῖσι γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγοι
 π[ε]ρὶ τ[οῦ] γων, κα[θ]άπερ Χαμαιλέον, πύτερόν ποτε Ση[σί]χρον ἐστίν ἢ Λαμπροκλ[έ]ους, κ[αί] π[ε]ρ τοῦ
 [Φρυν]ίχου Λαμ[προκλέ] μα[θη]τῆ[ς] Μίδωνος ?] προσσέμνον[τος]. καὶ ? Ἀ]ριστοφάνης [δὲ ? παραπ]οιεί λέγων
 ' Παλλάδα] π[ε]ρ σ[ε]π[ο]λιν δεινάν' . . .

' . . . Phrynichus relating . . . "To Pallas destroyer of cities I call, to the sustainer of war, the pure, the child of great Zeus, the horsetamer" thus introduces (?) it. For not a few, like Chamaeleon, are in doubt whether this was formerly written by Stesichorus or by Lamprocles, though Phrynichus attributes it to Lamprocles the pupil of Midon (?). Aristophanes also introduces it saying "To Pallas destroyer of cities, the terrible" . . .

219-28. . . . Νάξ[ιοι] ? ἐν με]ταχ[μίω] ?] τὰ τῶν Θρα[κῶν]
 μεθ[ῆ]καν. ἀ[ποκομισάμ] ?] εἰοι δὲ τὸν Ἀ]ριστό ?] δῆμον εἰς τὴν Π[άρον] ?] ἠτιῶντο περὶ τούτ[ων] οἱ Πάριοι,
 καὶ εἰς δι[κα]στήριον εἰσαγαγόν[τες] ἀπέκτειναν.

' . . . the Naxians . . . is a disputed frontier . . . the Thracians . . . released him. The Parians carried off Aristodemus to Paros and censured him for this, and after bringing him to trial put him to death.'

23-7. Fr. 26, where in l. 329] β̄ κρ[ι]ται can be restored (cf. ll. 31-2), is perhaps to be placed at the bottom of Col. i, as Allen suggests.

29.]ς αντι[: the division of these letters is uncertain. η can be read instead of ι.

30.]ν: εν can equally well be read. All that is visible before ν is a spot of ink in about the middle of the line.]αν is impossible, and other vowels are improbable.

ε . ερα . : except in ρα, only the bottoms of the letters are preserved. The first seems to be ε or σ and [ι] may be lost between it and the second, which is rather more like ε, θ, or σ than e.g. γ or ι, and does not come below the line as far as τ usually does in this hand. The third must be ε, ο, or σ, and the last can be γ, η, ι[ς], κ, μ, ν, or π. Cf. the next n.

ημας: the first person is not found elsewhere in 1611, and ημας δυνοντας can hardly be right, though possibly the participle is to be corrected to λνοντας or δ(ιαλ)νοντας: cf. l. 128 [δια]λέλυκε. The present active of δύνειν is very rare outside epic poetry. μα suits the vestiges very well; the lacuna between these two broken letters could take [ι], but not [ερ]. As was suggested by Prof. Rostowzew, it is better to divide δυ(ο)ντας and regard ημας . . . κριτας as

a quotation from a comedy. The preceding words can also be an iambic line, ending *νν σε οραν*. Cf. also ll. 23-7, n.

35. ε: for 5 judges at contests of comedies cf. Schol. Ar. *Birds* 445 ἔκριναν κριταὶ τοῖς κωμικοῖς. οἱ δὲ λαμβάνοντες τὰς ε΄ ψήφους εὐδαιμόνου, Hesych. πέντε κριταὶ τοσοῦτοι τοῖς κωμικοῖς ἔκρινον οὐ μόνον Ἀθήνησιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν Σικελίᾳ, Zenobius, *Cent.* iii. 64 ἐν πέντε κριτῶν γούνασι κείται . . . πέντε κριταὶ τοῖς κωμικοῖς ἔκρινον, ὡς φησι Ἐπίχαρμος, which is copied by Suidas. The difficulty is that 4 judges (l. 32) at contests of comedies are not attested at any period, and what '40' refers to is very obscure. Apart from the references quoted concerning Comedy, the question of the number of judges at dramatic contests and the method of selection is not yet very clear; cf. Müller, *Lehrb. d. griech. Bühnenalt.* 368-72. In Plut. *Cimon* 8 the ten strategi appear as judges in a contest at which Sophocles won the first prize; but it is generally supposed that there were normally 5 judges for tragedies as well as for comedies, and these were in both cases selected by lot from a larger body of 10, i.e. 1 for each tribe, this body of 10 having been chosen by lot from a much larger number, of which the size is unknown. But it is not satisfactory to identify the '40' with the largest body. The number '5' in connexion with contests of comedies might also refer to the contending poets, of whom 5 are attested in the time of Aristophanes and in the second century B.C. (cf. Müller, *op. cit.* 321), and these might be connected with του?]; αντι[in l. 29 and be contrasted with ημας δυ οντας, not with τεσσαρας και τους κριτας. Owing to the loss of the beginning we are unable to suggest a satisfactory explanation of the passage; but in view of (1) the common use of κριταὶ in connexion with dramatic contests in particular, and (2) the two references to Old Comedy, it remains probable that contests of comedies are in some way meant. Of the *Bacchae* of Lysippus, which seems to have been his most popular play, six fragments are known, and of Cratinus' *Πλοῦτοι* nine.

38. [ο]τι: cf. l. 101. The papyrus is not broken, but no trace of ο is visible; it has more probably been obliterated than omitted by mistake. τι might be the beginning of a section of a work in the style of Aristotle's *Problems*, but does not suit τουτο in l. 42; cf. the next n.

42. τουτο, we think, refers to the following quotation, like ουτως in ll. 56 and 115. There is no marginal indication of the beginning of a quotation here, as there is commonly elsewhere (cf. p. 129); but και ουτος is unintelligible as part of our author's commentary. Where the Theophrastus quotation ends is not quite clear. It might stop after *καυεις* in l. 46, or *απολυσο[ι]* in l. 54, or *αποθνησκει* in l. 83, where the Acusilaus quotation in any case ends and there are strokes in the margin, or even after *καυεα* in l. 85. That ll. 85-100 belong to Theophrastus is very unlikely, their subject being irrelevant to his treatise. We adopt l. 46 as the dividing-point between the Theophrastus quotation and our author's comment. If Theophrastus had quoted the long Acusilaus extract, which is not in itself likely, an allusion to the latter would rather have been expected at the beginning of the section, and below l. 46 a paragraphus or other critical sign may have been lost.

46. αξιον is a mistake for αξιων. Cf. p. 130.

49-52. The ends of these lines are on a fragment which was originally separate, but is very suitably placed here, though there is no external indication that it belongs to the top of a column. α[λλο]ι is inadmissible in ll. 49-50. π[ρος] της in l. 51 is not at all satisfactory in the apparent sense of *κατά* with the accusative, but π[ερι] is no improvement, and a preposition is required. μ and ν are the only alternatives to π, δ[ια] being thus excluded and μ[ετα] being also unsatisfactory.

53. ι can equally well be read in place of the τ of κατα[εγομενης], but και αλ[λων] (with του instead of νπ in l. 52) makes l. 53 much shorter than the preceding lines, though not much shorter than l. 54 if απολυσα[ι] there is right. απολυσα[σθαι] is possible as far as the size of the lacuna is concerned, but would make l. 54 unusually long.

55. *Kauea*: or *Kauew[s]*.

56. ✕ in the margin, marking the beginning of the quotation, probably, as Allen suggests, means *χρ(ῆσις)*, i.e. 'passage'; cf. Dion. Hal. *De rhet.* 4 and Apoll. Dysc. *De synt.* i. 119. It also occurs in *Anecd. Oxon.* ii. 452. 19 ✕ Ἀριστοφάνους (= *Birds* 1180), and in the *Anecd. Parisinum de notis* (Bergk, *Zeitschr. f. Alter.* 1845, 88) along with the obelus, which occurs in l. 116 of the papyrus, also apparently to indicate a quotation, for which the usual sign in papyri is the dipole, e.g. in 405 (Part iii, Plate i). The obelus is explained in the *Anecd. Paris.* in accordance with its usual sense of indicating an error; of ✕ the writer says *chi et ro: haec sola vix ad voluntatem uniuscuiusque ad aliquid notandum ponitur*.

Kauei: *Kaueis*, not *Kauei*, is the feminine form of *Kaueus* elsewhere; cf. Phleg. Fr. 34 οἱ αὐτοὶ (sc. Hesiod, Dicæarchus, Clearchus, Callimachus and others) ἰστοροῦσι κατὰ τὴν Λαπιθῶν χώραν γενέσθαι Ἐλάτω τῷ βασιλεῖ θυγατέρα ὀνομαζομένην *Kaueida* ταυτῇ δὲ Ποσειδῶνα μιγέντα ἐπαγγελισθαι ποιήσειν αὐτὴν ὃ ἂν ἐθέλῃ, τὴν δὲ ἀξιώσαι μεταλλάξαι αὐτὴν εἰς ἄνδρα, ποιῆσαι τε ἄτρωτον. τοῦ δὲ Ποσειδῶνος κατὰ τὸ ἀξιωθὲν ποιήσαντος μετονομασθῆναι *Kaueia*. Ovid, who describes at considerable length Caeneus' death in *Metam.* xii. 172 sqq., also has *Caenis*. Acusilaus' work was largely based on Hesiod, and the story of Caeneus may have been derived from the poet, though in the extant remains of Hesiod Caeneus is mentioned only in *Scut.* 179 among the list of the chiefs of the Lapithæ. Homer also has only one mention of him, A 264 *Kauea* τ' Ἐξάδιόν τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Πολύφημον, on which Schol. A remarks ὁ *Kaueus* Ἐλάτω μὲν ἦν παῖς, Λαπιθῶν δὲ βασιλεὺς, πρότερον ἦν παρθένος εὐπρεπής, μιγέντος δὲ αὐτῇ Ποσειδῶνος, αἰτησαμένη μεταβαλεῖν εἰς ἄνδρα ἢ νεάνις ἄτρωτος γίνεται, γενναϊότατος τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ὑπάρξας. καὶ δὴ ποτε πήξας ἀκόντιον ἐν τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς θεὸν τοῦτο προσέταξεν ἀριθμῆν. δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἀγανακτήσας ὁ Ζεὺς τιμωρίαν τῆς ἀσεβείας παρ' αὐτοῦ εἰσπράξατο. μαχόμενον γὰρ αὐτὸν τοῖς Κενταύροις καὶ ἄτρωτον ὄντα ὑποχείριον ἐποίησε· βαλόντες γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ προειρημένοι δρυσὶ τε καὶ ἐλάταις ἤρρισαν εἰς γῆν. μέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν τοῖς Ἀργοναυτικοῖς (i. 59), λέγων οὕτως· *Kaueia* γὰρ δὴ πρόσθεν ἐτι κλείουσιν αἰδοὶ Κενταύροις ὀλέσθαι, ὅτε σφείας οἷος ἀπ' ἄλλων ἦλασ' ἀριστήων· οἱ δ' ἔμπαλιν ὀρμηθέντες οὔτε μιν ἀγκλίνα προτέρω σθένον οὔτε δαΐζει, ἀλλ' ἄρρηκτος ἄκαμπτος ἐδύσατο νεῖοθι γαίης, θεινόμενος στιβαρῆσι καταγῆν ἐλάτῃσιν. Eustathius' comment on the verse is very similar ὁ δὲ μῦθος φύσει ἄτρωτον αὐτὸν εἶναι φησι, πλατῶν καὶ ὅτι παρθένος εὐπρεπής ποτε γεγόνοι, καὶ Ποσειδῶνος αὐτῇ μιγέντος, αἰτησαμένη ἀνὴρ γενέσθαι καὶ ἄτρωτος μέναι, ὧν ἤθελεν ἔτυχε. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὑπερφρονῆσαι. ἀκόντιον γάρ, φασιν, ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέση πήξας εἰς ὄρθον θεὸν τοῦτο προσέταξεν ἀριθμῆν. ὅθεν ἡ δίκη ποιῆν αὐτὸν ἀσεβείας εἰσπραττομένη πεποίηκεν ὑπὸ τοῖς Κενταύροις, οἱ δρυσὶ τε καὶ ἐλάταις εἰς γῆν ἤρρισαν ἄρρηκτον καὶ ἄκαμπτον δύντα ὑπὸ γῆν, θεινόμενον στιβαραῖς καταγῆν ἐλάταις, ὧς φησιν Ἀπολλώνιος. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 59 has μυθολογοῦσι δὲ τὸν *Kaueia* πρότερον γεγοῖναι γυναῖκα, εἶτα Ποσειδῶνος αὐτῇ πλησιάσαντος μεταβληθῆναι εἰς ἄνδρα. τοῦτο γὰρ ἦτησε καὶ ἄτρωσίαν. ἤρρισε δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ ἐνίκηθη. οὗτος ἔκελευε τοὺς παριόντας ὀμνῆσαι εἰς τὸ δῶρον αὐτοῦ· ἔνθεν ἡ παροιμία τὸ *Kaueios* δῶρον. τινὲς δὲ φασιν *Kaueia* συμπλεῖσθαι τοῖς Ἀργοναυταῖς, οὐ Κόρωνον. ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος παρὰ Πινδάρου εἴληφε λέγοντος, ὁ δὲ χλωρῆς ἐλάτῃσι τυπέις ἄχετο *Kaueus* σχίσας ὀρθῶ ποδὶ γῶν (= Pind. Fr. 167 Schroeder). τοῦτο δὲ αὐτῷ συνέβη διὰ τὸ μήτε θύειν μήτε εὐχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ δῶρατι. διὸ Ζεὺς ἐφορμᾷ αὐτῷ τοὺς Κενταύρους, οἵτινες κατὰ γῆν αὐτὸν ὠθοῦσιν. Agatharchides' description (*De mari Eryth.* 7) is ἐτι *Kaueia* τὸν Λαπίην τὸ μὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι παρθένον καὶ γυναῖκα, ἡβήσαντα δὲ εἰς ἄνδρα μεταστῆναι, τὸ δ' ἔστατον εἰς τὴν γῆν ὑπὸ τῶν Κενταύρων καταδῶναι ταῖς ἐλάταις τυπτόμενον, ὀρθόν τε καὶ ζῶντα. The connexion between some of these passages and the Acusilaus extract is very close, especially in the earlier part of Schol. A on A 264 (followed by Eustathius), and the later part of Schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 59, where Acusilaus is either slightly paraphrased or reproduced. Evidently Acusilaus was the chief authority for the Caeneus legend, though e.g. the details about the request to be made into a man, which are absent in Acusilaus and are elaborated in Schol. Luc. *Gall.* 19 somewhat differently, are probably derived from another mythology.

59. *ιερων*: a diaeresis above *ι* may be lost. Acusilaus' remark seems very naïve in the light of the number of legends about children of the gods by mortals; and it is not surprising that in ll. 85-100, the union of gods and mortals is further discussed by our author with a parallel from Euripides.

τεκέιν: most of the fourth letter has disappeared in a lacuna; but after *κ* is part of a stroke which suits the beginning of *ε*, and the end of a horizontal stroke joining the middle of *ν* survives, which excludes *τεκειν*, the ordinary Ionic form, found e. g. in Hdt. vi. 131, but of course with a circumflex accent. *τεκέειν* is an altogether impossible reading, though parallels for such a form are not wanting in Hdt.; cf. Smyth, *Ionic Dialect*, § 602. *τεκέειν* is just possible as a reading, but much less probable than *τεκέιν*, because (1) the lacuna is not large enough for *εε* with cross-bars as long as that in the *ε* after *τ*, (2) the accent, with the reading *εε*, would really be on the second *ε*, not the first, where it ought to have been placed, (3) though the Ionic second aorist infinitive in *εῖν* is ultimately derived from *-έειν* (cf. Smyth, *l. c.*), that form of the infinitive is not found in either Hdt. or Ionic inscriptions, any more than in the MSS. of Homer, so that Acusilaus, though a writer of considerable antiquity, is not at all likely to have used the form *τεκέειν*, nor would the corrector of the papyrus have been likely to ascribe it to him by error. *τεκέιν* is a Doric form, parallel to *έξελέν*, *άγαγέν*, &c. (cf. Kühner-Blass, *Gramm.* i. 2, p. 58), and, the present extract being the sole authority for Acusilaus' dialect, does not require to be altered to *τεκεῖν*, especially since Dorisms tend to occur in Ionic, and the corrector has put the right accent on the form, not merely omitted *ι*.

εκεινου: i. e. Poseidon, as is clear from *εξ άλλου ουδενος*, in spite of the confusion of genders in l. 61. Cf. also Plut. *Thes.* 20 *τεκεῖν ἐκ Θησέως Ἀριάδην Οἰνοπίωνα*.

61. *αυτον*: l. *αυτην*.

63. [μ]ε[γ]α[σ]τ[η]ν: cf. *γεναιότατος τῶν καθ' αὐτόν* in Schol. A quoted in l. 56, n.

66. *κεντοιη*: στ *κεντοι η*. Herodotus avoids optatives in *-ιη* and does not contract *-εοι* after a consonant, so that Acusilaus' usage was in any case not parallel to his. *φοροίη* occurs in Homer *ι* 320, *πλουτοίη* in Tyrtaeus, *συμμαρτυροίη* in Solon, *δοκοίη* in Heraclitus, while Hippocrates prefers *-οιη* to *-εοι*. On the other hand Theognis has *φιλοῖ*, and 'even in prose there is ample support for *οι* after consonants as well as after vowels' (Smyth, *op. cit.* p. 531; cf. § 651).

67-8. *μαλιστα χρηματων*: the lexicons do not afford any parallels for this expression.

73-4. For the suggested restoration of these lines cf. the scholiasts quoted in l. 56, n.

75. The letter following *ηε* can be *ν*. *σι δ ου και ε* . [is inadmissible, *ει* being the only alternative to *η*. No word meaning 'worshipped' seems suitable, and *θει]σι δ κτλ.* is apparently to be connected with what follows rather than with the preceding sentence, so that a word meaning 'pleasing' would be appropriate (*ηεν [ηδυ?*).

80. *ορειον* is evidently a mistake for *ορθιον*, as remarked by Allen; cf. *ορθῶ ποδῖ* in the Pindar fragment and *ορθόν* in Agatharchides, both quoted in l. 56, n. The Ionic form of *ορειον* would be *ουρειον*, and that word is quite inappropriate here.

84. *τι* is for *το*.

85-6. A predicate for *δυναται* would be expected in place of *δια τουτου*, e. g. *τουτο ορ ισον*.

87-93. Of Euripides' *Ἀλκμέων ὁ διὰ Κορίνθου* only three fragments are known with certainty (Frs. 74, 75, 77 Nauck), but the argument of it is described by Apollodorus iii. 7. 7, who calls the children in question (Amphilochus and Tisiphone) *παῖδας δύο*, not twins as in l. 92. Their mother (the *παρθένος* of l. 93) was Manto, daughter of Tiresias, and the *θεός* of l. 89 is evidently Apollo; cf. Apollod. iii. 7. 4 *πέμπουσιν Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τὴν Τειρεσίου θυγατέρα Μαντώ*, and *Ép.* 6. 3, where in a different legend Mopsus is called the son of Apollo and Manto.

97. The verb in the apodosis may well have been *δηλοῦται*, as Rostowzew suggests.

101-11. The restoration of ll. 102-3 *Πολέμων . . . ἀκροπό]λεως* is due to Stuart Jones; cf. int. and Marcellinus, *Vita Thuc.* §§ 16-17 *ὅτι γὰρ Ὀλορός ἐστὶν ἢ στήλη δηλοῖ ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ κειμένη, ἔνθα κεχάρακται Ἰουκνυδίδης Ὀλόρου Ἀλιμοῦσιος* (in § 55 the inscription is quoted on the authority of Antyllus). *πρὸς γὰρ ταῖς Μελιτίσι πύλαις καλουμέναις ἐστὶν ἐν Κοίλῃ τὰ καλούμενα Κιμώνια μνήματα, ἔνθα δεικνύνται Ἡροδότου καὶ Θουκυδίδου τάφος. εὐρίσκεται (δὴ?) δῆλον ὅτι τοῦ Μιλτιάδου γένους ὦν ξένος γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐκεῖ θάπτεται. καὶ Πολέμων δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἀκροπόλεως τούτοις μαρτυρεῖ, ἔνθα καὶ Τιμόθεον υἱὸν αὐτῷ γεγενῆσθαι προσιστορεῖ*, and § 28 *ἐγένοντο Θουκυδίδαι πολλοί, οὐτός τε ὁ Ὀλόρου παῖς καὶ δεύτερος δημαγωγός, Μελησίου, ὃς καὶ Περικλεῖ διεπολιτεύσατο· τρίτος δὲ γένει Φαρσάλιος, οὗ μέμνηται Πολέμων ἐν τοῖς Περὶ ἀκροπόλεως, φάσκων αὐτὸν εἶναι πατὴρ Μένωνος*. There were four books of the *Περὶ ἀκροπ.* according to Strabo ix. p. 396. The letter following *δη* in l. 102 is very uncertain, only a spot of ink at the bottom of the line being preserved, which indicates an angular letter (*α* or *λ*) or else one beginning with a vertical stroke (e. g. *μ*, *ν*, or *π*) rather than a round letter such as *σ*. *ἀναγραφ[* in l. 105 (*ψ* is the only alternative for *φ*) suggests an inscription about Thucydides son of Melesias and father of Stephanus, parallel to that apparently mentioned by Polemon in the same work with reference to the historian; and in fact Athen. vi. 234 d states that Polemon *γράφας περὶ παρασίτων φησὶν οὕτως*. . . *ἐν Κυνοσάργει μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ στήλῃ τίς ἐστίν, ἐν ἧ ψήφισμα μὲν Ἀλκιβιάδου, γραμματεὺς δὲ Στέφανος Θουκυδίδου*. . . This stele may well be identified with or connected with the *ἀναγραφὴ* here, especially since the paternity of Stephanus seems to the point with which our author is most concerned (cf. ll. 112 sqq.); but the Athenaeus quotation is generally assigned to Polemon's *Περὶ ὀνομάτων ἀδόξων ἐπιστολή* (Athen. ix. 409 d), and Polemon was there clearly concerned with the meaning of *παράσιτος*, not with Thucydides, so that in any case our author's reference to Polemon *Περὶ ἀκροπόλεως* was not to the passage quoted by Athenaeus. For *Κο[α]λεμον* in l. 107 (suggested by Allen) cf. Plut. *Cimon* 4 *Κίμων δὲ . . . καὶ τῷ πάππῳ Κίμωνι προσεικῶς τὴν φύσιν, ὃν δι' εὐθελίαν φασὶ Κοάλεμον προσαγορευθῆναι*, and Aeschines Socraticus quoted by Athen. v. 220 b *Ἰππόνομικον μὲν τὸν Καλλίου Κοάλεμον προσαγορεύει*. The *ο* is nearly certain, but it is necessary to suppose the omission of *καλου* owing to homoioteleuton. Upon the restoration of the end of l. 108 depends the sense of the whole passage. Starting from the fact that Polemon according to Marcellinus mentioned both Thucydides the historian and Thuc. the Pharsalian (a proxenus of the Athenians in 411 B. C.; cf. Thuc. viii. 92) in the *Περὶ ἀκροπ.*, we think that *φασὶ* in l. 110 includes Polemon (l. 102), and therefore in ll. 101-2 the name of another author is to be supplied, to which *δη* [in l. 102 may belong, [*ουτοι* in l. 108 referring to both names. For *τρι]τον* in l. 110 cf. Marcellinus § 28 quoted above. The general sense of ll. 101-11 seems to be that Polemon *Περὶ ἀκροπ.* and another author referred to not one Thucydides only (*ἓνα* or *ἐνικῶς* may have followed *οὐχ* in l. 101) on the evidence of an inscription (? *δὲ*], or *ἐξ*], *ἀναγραφ[ων* in ll. 104-5), but to three in all. A mention of Thucydides by name is expected before l. 106, and *Θουκυδιδ[*] *δην* can well be restored in ll. 101-2 (in which case there is room for only a very short name after it before *καὶ*, and *τον* in l. 106 is probably *αυ]τον*), or *Θουκυδιδην] | τον* can be read in ll. 105-6; but a restoration of the whole passage is scarcely possible. The hypothesis that *ουχ* qualifies the whole sentence and the point is that Polemon did not mention (*δηλ[οι* could be read in l. 102) the son of Melesias, but only the other two persons called Thucydides, is unsatisfactory, for though Marcellinus does not refer to Polemon in connexion with the son of Melesias, Polemon of course knew about the politician, and *ἀναγραφ[* does not at all suggest that *ουχ* is to be connected with a verb meaning 'mentioned'. A different sense would be obtained by restoring [*αλλοι* in l. 108 as the subject of *φασὶ*, contrasted with *Πολέμων* in l. 102, who would then stand by himself. To get rid of the supposed author coupled with Polemon is an advantage, but with *τρι]τον* in l. 110 the passage would then produce a marked conflict with Marcellinus' statements that

Polemon referred to the historian and the Pharsalian in the *Περὶ ἀκροσ.* This difficulty could be somewhat lessened by restoring *του]τον* instead of *τρι]τον* in l. 110, and supposing the general sense to be that Polemon identified a certain Thucydides with the son of Melesias, while others maintained that he was the Pharsalian. But the reference to the son of Olorus then becomes rather pointless, especially in view of the circumstance that Polemon is known from Marcellinus to have produced evidence for the ancestry of the historian.

113-19 Cf. *Μενο* 94 c *ἐνθυμήθητι ὅτι Θουκυδίδης κτλ.* One MS. (F) has *ὁ Θουκ.*, which is possible here, and before *τουτους* in l. 118 the MSS. insert *καί*. A similar passage occurs in the Pseudo-Platonic *Περὶ ἀρετῆς* 378 a, where it is stated with regard to Melesias and Stephanus *τὸν γ' ἕτερον μέχρι γῆρας βιοῦντα, τὸν δ' ἕτερον πόρρω πάντ.* Melesias is a character in the *Laches*, but nothing more is known about Stephanus, except the inscription discussed in the preceding n. For the obelus against l. 116 cf. l. 56, n.

119-20. *Ερμιππος ο ποιητής*; the title is added to distinguish him from the philosopher, *ὁ Καλλιμάχειος*. The poet was older than Eupolis and Aristophanes according to Suidas. The titles of nine of his comedies are known, but not the *Iapetus*.

121. *Ιωνο[s Ομφ]αλη*: the *Omphale* was a satyric drama, of which sixteen fragments are known. Another quotation from it perhaps occurred in ll. 277 sqq.

123. *(υφ) Ηρακλεους* should perhaps be read, Heracles being then the speaker of the two lines; cf. l. 89 *λεγομενον υπο θεου*. As the text stands, the subject of *εξελευ[νο]μεν* may be the satyrs, not Heracles. With *βορειος [ιπ]πος* (so Allen) cf. Homer *Υ* 221 sqq. *τοῦ τρισχίλιαι ἵπποι . . . τῶν καὶ Βορέης ἠράσατο βοσκομενάων*. Perhaps *Βορειος* should be written.

124-5. *ορων . . . Πέλοπος*: cf. Fr. 24 (Nauck) of the *Omphale* καὶ Σαρδιανὸν κόσμον εἰδέναι *χροὸς ἄμεινον ἢ τὸν Πέλοπος ἐν νήσῳ τρόπον*. The scene of the *Omphale* was laid in Lydia (cf. Frs. 22, 23, 27). Possibly Heracles had been sent by Omphale to fetch one of the horses sprung from Boreas which belonged to Pelops; cf. the legend of the capture of the horses of Diomedes, which Heracles gave to Eurystheus (Apollod. ii. 5. 8). But the plot of the *Omphale* is very obscure.

127. *αίνεται*, which would mean 'is winnowed', is obviously an error for *ἀνεταί*: cf. e.g. Homer *Κ* 251 *μαλὰ γὰρ νύξ ἀνεταί*.

128. *[διαλ]ελυκε δ*: on the analogy of the preceding lines two letters before *λελυκε* would be preferable, but probably the column sloped away a little to the left, though *ο* in l. 129 can be omitted. *[καί] λλελυκε δ* is also possible, the simple verb as well as *διαλέω* being used for solving difficulties. Cf. for *καί . . . δέ* ll. 174-5, n.

128-9. *Μνα[σείας ο?] Παταρ[ε]υς*: cf. int. and Susemihl i. 679. 1611 agrees with the scholia on Hesiod, Pindar, and Lucian in giving Patara (in Lycia) as his birthplace, while the MSS. of Athenaeus and Photius call him *ὁ Παταρεὺς*, i.e. from Patrae in Achaea, but in the light of 1611 are to be emended to *ὁ Παταρεὺς*. With regard to the title of his work on oracles Schol. Pindar, *Ol.* ii. 70 calls it *Περὶ χρησμῶν*, while Schol. Hesiod, *Theog.* 117 calls it *ἢ τῶν Δελφικῶν χρησμῶν συναγωγή*. 1611 seems to agree with the former, but *τη] τῶν χ]ρησμο[ν συναγωγῆ* is a possible reading.

135-43. The coronis after l. 138 probably indicates a following quotation (cf. l. 115 and int. p. 129), to which *θαρσει* in l. 141 may well belong. Allen suggests *Πενθε[σ]ιδεῖα . . .* in l. 139 and *θαρσει Πενθεσιδεῖα* in l. 141, i.e. a quotation from the *Aethiopis* of Arctinus, which is perhaps cited in ll. 145-50; cf. ll. 148-9, n. But *ος* (probably *ος*) in l. 142 does not suit this hypothesis, and the colour of Frs. 3 and 4 is different, so that a connexion between them is unlikely. Lines 136-8 might also be hexameters, as Allen remarks, e.g. *ον πα[ε]ρα κλησασ(α) ὁ δε θε[ο] . . .*

146. *εγγονος*: this spelling of *ἔκγονος* occurs in Attic inscriptions down to 300 B.C. and in Ptolemaic inscriptions and papyri (cf. Mayser, *Gramm. d. griech. Pap.* p. 228); but is not legitimate in hexameters.

148-9. Αρ[κτι?]νος : [Αχ?]αιος can equally well be read, or possibly [.]αιος. Achaeus wrote tragedies entitled Ἄδραστος, Ἀζάνες, Ἄθλα, Ἀλφεισίβοια, Θησεύς, Κύκνος, Μοίραι, Μῶμος, Οἰδίπους, Πειρίθους, Φιλοκτήτης, and Φρίξος, one of which may have described the death of the woman in question; but if the author mentioned in l. 149 also wrote the hexameter verse quoted in l. 146 (which is probable, but not clear), he is not likely to have been Achaeus. With Αρ κτι]νος (Allen) the quotation would come from the *Aethiopsis*, the woman being Penthesilea and the speaker presumably Achilles; cf. ll. 135-43, n. εκτιθε]ται may, however, end l. 148.

150-2. It is not possible to restore Σιμωνιδης . . . τ[ω] ε] [πα]ια]νων.

154. Not more than one line, if any, is lost before the top of the column, twenty-four lines being accounted for, if Fr. 43, which is referred to the middles of ll. 160-2 a, is rightly placed, as is practically certain. That Fr. 5 belongs to the upper part of the column of which Fr. 6. i is the bottom is indicated by the colour of the verso besides the suitability of the resulting restoration.

158-9. κα]θα]περ φησιν Ερατοσθε]νης (Allen) can be restored; cf. ll. 162-5, n. and int.

160. Φ[ρ]υ]ν]ι]χος : cf. l. 171. εν] ταις Φ[ρ]υ]ν]ι]χου ωδαις | αφηγο]υ]μεν[ου] is unlikely on account of the verb in l. 165 (παρα]ποιει?).

161. Perhaps αφηγο]υ]μεν[ος ουτως.

162-5. Cf. Ar. *Clouds* 967 ἢ Ἰαλλάδα περσέπολιν δεινάν ἢ ἑτλήπορον τι βόαμα, where Schol. RV have ἀρχὴ ἄσματος Φρυνίχου, ὡς Ἐρατοσθένης φησὶν (φη. ὡς Ἐρ. Φρυν. V). Φρύνιχος (δὲ V, om. R) αὐτοῦ τούτου τοῦ ἄσματος μνημονεῖ ὡς Λαμπροκλέους ὄντος Παλλάδα περσέπολιν κλήζω πολεμαδόκον ἀγνὰν παῖδα Διὸς μεγάλου, and Schol. Ald. has . . . Λαμπροκλέους εἶναι φασὶν Ἀθηναίου, τοῦ Μίδωνος υἱοῦ. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως Παλλάδα περσέπολιν κτλ., as in Schol. RV, but adding δαμάσιππον ἀφετ μεγάλου. ἄλλως, οὕτως Ἐρατοσθένης Φρύνιχος αὐτοῦ τούτου τοῦ ἄσματος μέμνηται ὡς Λαμπροκλέους ὄντος τοῦ Μίδωνος υἱοῦ ἢ μαθητοῦ ἔχει δὲ οὕτως Παλλάδα περσέπολιν δεινὴν θεὸν ἐγρεκίδοιμον ποτικλήζω πολεμαδόκον ἀγνὰν παῖδα Διὸς μεγάλου δαμάσιππον, καὶ κατὰ Λαμπροκλέα ὑποτίθησι κατὰ λέξιν. Schol. Aristid. 217 Dindorf (in reference to the Aristophanes line) has εἶδος τοῦτο ἄσματος καὶ ἀρχὴ τὸν δὲ ποιητὴν αὐτοῦ Ροῦφος καὶ Διονύσιος (time of Hadrian) ἱστοροῦσιν ἐν τῇ Μουσικῇ (sc. ἱστορίᾳ) Φρύνιχόν τινα, ἄλλοι δὲ φασὶ Λαμπροκλέα ἢ Στησίχορον. τὸ δὲ ἑδαινὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ κλήσω κείται παρὰ τῶν κωμικῶν τὸ γὰρ ἄσμα οὕτως ἔχει Ἰαλλάδα περσέπολιν κλήσω πολεμαδόκον ἀγνὰν παῖδα Διὸς μεγάλου δαμάσιππον (δαμνηπλον or δαμνηπωλον MSS.) ἄιστον (corrupt) παρθένον. These passages are discussed by Wilamowitz, *Textgesch. d. griech. Lyr.* 84-5. There were evidently at least two versions of the hymn. 1611 agrees with the version in the first note in Schol. Ald., which is really the same as that of Schol. RV and Schol. Aristid., the former scholium merely omitting δαμάσιππον and the latter having κλήσω for κλήζω and adding two words at the end. This, the shorter of the two versions, was that of Phrynichus, as is clear from 1611, and was rightly stated by Schol. RV and Schol. Aristid., whereas the first note in Schol. Ald. wrongly assigned it to Lamprocles. The longer version, i. e. that of Lamprocles, with which Aristophanes' citation, so far as it goes, agrees, was given in the second note in Schol. Ald., where the authorship is not clearly indicated. None of the scholia makes it clear which Phrynichus is meant. The lyric and tragic poet was formerly supposed to be indicated, but now the Phrynichus in question whether understood or not by the scholiasts (cf. Wilamowitz, *l. c.*), is generally considered to be the comic poet. 1611 also makes no clear sign on this point, but the way in which Phrynichus and Aristophanes are coupled (παρα]ποιεῖ is apparently used with regard to both; cf. the next n.) favours the identification with the comic poet. The brief statements in Schol. RV may be derived from our author's fuller discussion, if he was reproducing Eratosthenes or, as is possible but not likely (cf. int.), was Eratosthenes himself. The other scholia do not seem to be specially connected with 1611.

165. παρα]ποιεῖ : cf. l. 175 παρα]ποιεῖ. The word can mean either 'imitate' or 'introduce'.

168. Χαμαιλεων: cf. p. 129. His work *Περὶ κωμῳδίας* is cited by Athen. ix. 374 a.

171. The omission of the superfluous *ι* is indicated by both a dot above it (cf. e.g. 1624) and a stroke through it.

172-3. *μα[θη(τη)] | Μιδωνος?*: *μα* may be at the end of the line, but *μα[[θητη]* does not fill the lacuna and is unintelligible. The suggested restoration is very doubtful, but brings the passage into connexion with Schol. Ald. on Ar. *Clouds* 967 (quoted in ll. 162-5, n.) *Μιδωνος υἱοῦ ἧ μαθητοῦ*, and there is no objection to *μα[θη]*, if the last two letters were written small, as often happens at the end of a line. Schol. Plat. *Alcib.* i. 387 makes Lamprocles the pupil of Agathocles and teacher of Damon. *μα[* can hardly be an adjective of place, for Lamprocles was an Athenian.

174-5. For *και . . . δε* cf. ll. 128, n., 150-1, 228-9.

183. *λαθ[*: or *λαθ[*.

195. *πυρ*: cf. l. 306. But Fr. 7 does not belong to the same column as Frs. 21-2.

202. *γνη* is perhaps *γνη[σιος]* in some form. *γιγνη[[ται]* cannot be read, *ρ* or *ν* being the only alternatives for *τ*.

212-14. *Ελλαμ[ικος δ εν [ταις Εθνων?] κτισσει*: the restoration is due to Allen. The works variously entitled *Περὶ ἐθνῶν*, *Ἐθνῶν διομασίαι*, *Κτίσεις*, *Κτίσεις ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεων* (Hellan. Fr. 109 from Steph. Byz.; 1611 seems to have had *ἐθνῶν* or *πόλεων* alone), and perhaps *Περὶ Χίου κτίσεως*, are all considered to be identical by Gudeman in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.* viii. 136-7.

216. *κ'* for *κ(αι)* occurs as early as the end of the first century in the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* papyrus.

218-28. Cf. int. p. 129.

222-3. *μεθικαν α[ποκομισα[μ?]ενοι δε*: the vestige of the letter following *καν* is too slight to be a real clue, but suggests *α* or *λ* more than a letter beginning with a vertical stroke, or round. *μεθ(ε)ικαν* = *μεθήκαν* is much more likely than *μεθ ικαν*. [(i. e. some part of *ικανός*), for there is hardly room for a substantive in l. 222 as well as the beginning of a participle. In Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.* 55. 6, *ἀφείκεν* is apparently a mere variation of spelling for *ἀφῆκεν*, which occurs in l. 13, not a perfect, as regarded by Mayser, *op. cit.* p. 331.

223. The correction is by the first hand; cf. p. 130. The reading of the letter after *τον* is very doubtful, but *α* or *λ* suits better than any other letter.

224. *Π[αρον]*: cf. l. 226. But *η, κ, μ, ν* or *γ*. [or *ι*. [can be read in place of *π*.

228-9. Cf. ll. 174-5, n.

231. If the paragraphus is rightly placed (cf. however ll. 90-1, where it is not), *αριστα[* is not to be connected with ll. 232 sqq., so that *Αριστυ[ρχος]* is not very likely. *Αριστο[φανης]* cannot be read.

245. *εσχατοι[*: the second letter might be *γ* or *ι*, the third *α* or *λ*, the last *ν*.

247. *ο δε Ασση[*: no personal name beginning thus is known, but there might be a reference to the places *Ἀσσηρη* or *Ἀσσηρός* or adjectives derived from them. Neither *Ασσις* [nor *Ασσιο[ς]* is admissible; *Ασσυ[αρος]* (a river in Sicily so spelled in Thuc. vii. 84) is possible, but seems too long, even with *ε[ι στρατενοι]* in l. 248, while *Ασσυ[αρο]ν [σ]τρατενοι*, which is possible as a reading, gives no construction. The division *ασ ση[* (or *συ[*) does not suggest any suitable word.

268. Perhaps *Σμ[ωνιδον]*.

270. *]νυαδο[*: the third letter could be read as *λ*. The division *πα?]νυ αδο[* is more probable than *]ν υαδο[*.

278. Possibly *Ομφα]λην*: cf. l. 121, n.

280. *[Θεοδεκ]τ[η]ς*: the tip of a vertical stroke below the line suits *τ*, and is inconsistent with the terminations of *Καρκίνος*, *Εὐριπίδης*, or *Τιμησίθεος*, who are the only other tragic poets known to have written an *Orestes*. Of Theodectes' play with that title only one line is extant.

281. ε above the line is cursively written; cf. p. 130.
 283.]ιδ[.]μος δ[.: *να* is possible in place of *ιδ*, and *α* or *λ* instead of *δ* after]μος.
 Δ]ιδ[.]μος δ[ε can be restored, but this line may belong to the quotation from the *Orestes*; cf. int. p. 129.
 301. Λυσίπ[πος: cf. l. 34.
 303.]υτρ[.: Frs. 21 and 22 join here, the tail of the ρ being on Fr. 22.
 306. πυρ: cf. l. 195, n.
 327-31. Cf. ll. 23-7, n.
 339. After τη is an erasure with perhaps one or two letters above it.
 341. λιρ[is more likely to be connected with λείριον than with λιρός. It does not seem possible to read αιρ[.
 359.]μαφ[.: possibly Ερ]μαφρ[οδιτ.
 369-70. Allen suggests βασιλ]εως Φ[ιλοπατορος] (or Φ[ιλαδελφου] Πτολεμ[αιου]: but if so the order of the words is unusual.
 392-5. Fr. 43 has been assigned to ll. 160-2 a.
 442. There is no other instance in 1611 of a stop in the middle position, and it is very doubtful whether Fr. 64 belongs to this papyrus.

1612. ORATION ON THE CULT OF CAESAR.

28.2 x 12 cm.

Third century.

This papyrus, which was found with 1606-8, &c., and concludes the publication of the first of the three large finds of literary papyri in 1905-6 (cf. 1606. int.), belongs to a speech of a novel character, the subject of it being the cult of a Roman Emperor, who is called simply 'Caesar'. One column of forty lines is fairly well preserved, and there are beginnings of lines of a second column, besides a small detached scrap, which does not seem to belong to Col. i. The handwriting is a not very elegant specimen of the sloping oval third-century type. The beginnings of the lines, which contain 15-20 letters, slope away to the left in a marked degree, and the ends are decidedly uneven. Paragraphi and frequent high stops occur. ι adscript is written in l. 27, but in l. 11 its insertion is doubtful. A correction in l. 12 is in a different hand, which used lighter ink, but seems to be not appreciably later than the first. In ll. 22-5 apparent corruptions have not been altered.

The main purport of the oration, so far as it can be ascertained, was the opposition of the speaker to the cult of Caesar as practised in his own city (l. 26 ἐνθάδε), or rather to certain extensions of it or novelties (cf. l. 1, n.) proposed by his adversaries. To Caesar-worship in general he does not seem to have been opposed, for in ll. 22 sqq. he expressly deprecates ἀσέβεια towards Caesar, and disclaims any wish to deprive him of the 'glory of immortality'. In addressing his audience he habitually used the second person plural (ll. 30 sqq.),

while his opponents are also spoken of in the plural (l. 11 *φασί*); but in l. 10 [*β*]ούλοιτο a single adversary seems to be indicated, and in l. 1 the second person singular is apparently used, with reference to an opponent more probably than to himself in an objection placed in the mouth of an adversary. The first six lines are too incomplete to be restored: a new sentence began in l. 7, as is shown by the paragraphus. The speaker refers to the rites performed in honour of Caesar, and strongly asserts his satisfaction that these were not invented by his fellow countrymen (*ἡμεῖς*), but at Nicaea by an individual whom he declines to describe (ll. 9-17). His argument is that this cult ought to be left to the Nicaeans, and that the observance of it at his own city would be as impious to Caesar as the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries at any other city than Athens would be to Demeter (ll. 17-29; this interpretation rests on two rather violent alterations in the text, which are, we think, absolutely necessitated by the context; cf. l. 22, n.). Evidently conscious that he was treading on dangerous ground, the orator then declares his intention of proving that his own views were not really derogatory to the immortality of Caesar (ll. 30-5); but the text becomes fragmentary at this point, a contrast being apparently drawn in ll. 35-40 between the previous and the existing cults at the city in question. From Col. ii nothing of importance can be gleaned.

The boldness of the speaker in dealing with so delicate a topic as Caesar-worship is striking, and one would gladly have learnt more of his views on this interesting subject. As the fragment stands, it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to reconstruct the background of the situation with any approach to certainty. The first questions to arise are (1) what place was meant by *ἐνθάδε* in l. 26, and (2) which, if any particular emperor was meant by 'Caesar'? The reference to Nicaea as the starting-place of the cult to which the speaker objected suggests a connexion with the well-known description of the origin of Caesar-worship in Dio Cassius li. 20 *Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ* (sc. 29 B.C.) *τά τε ἄλλα ἐχρημάτιζε καὶ τεμένη τῆ τε Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἥρωα αὐτὸν Ἰούλιον ὀνομάσας ἐν τε Ἐφέσῳ καὶ ἐν Νικαίᾳ γενέσθαι ἐφήκεν. αὐταὶ γὰρ τότε αἱ πόλεις ἐν τε τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ προετετίμηντο. καὶ τούτους μὲν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐποικοῦσι τιμᾶν προσέταξε· τοῖς δὲ δὴ ξένοις ("Ἕλληνας σφᾶς ἐπικαλέσας) ἑαυτῷ τινα, τοῖς μὲν Ἀσιανοῖς ἐν Περγάμῳ, τοῖς δὲ Βιθυνοῖς ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ τεμενίσαι ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκέλευεν ἀρξάμενον καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων αὐτοκρατόρων οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀκούει ἐγένετο.* Dio's statement that the temples at Pergamum and Nicomedia were dedicated to Augustus alone requires modification, since it conflicts with the statements of Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 37, that the temple at Pergamum was dedicated to Augustus and Rome, and of Suetonius, *Aug.* 52, that Rome was regularly associated with Augustus in the provincial cults; cf. Kornemann,

Klio, i. 98. The correspondence between the papyrus and Dio would be made most exact by supposing the speaker in 1612 to be a Roman (which is in any case probable), and 'Caesar' to be Julius throughout. ἐνθαῦδε, with which Nicaea is so vehemently contrasted, might well be Nicomedia; for the two cities were long engaged in feud on the question of the headship of Bithynia, and the dispute was sufficiently important to be the subject of an oration by Dio Chrysostom (no. 38), recommending his compatriots of Nicomedia to come to terms with Nicaea. The hypothesis that the speaker in 1612 was a Nicomedian would also accord very well with the reference in ll. 24-8 to Demeter; for that goddess appears on the coins of Nicomedia (Wroth, *Catal. of Greek coins of Pontus, &c.*, pp. 181, 183, 186), and Arrian, the most famous citizen of Nicomedia (cf. Steph. Byz. s. v.), was perpetual priest of Demeter and Core there (Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.* ii. 1230). With this interpretation of 1612, which is based upon the identification of 'Caesar' with Julius and the existence of a close connexion with Dio, the oration was presumably delivered during the reign of Augustus, when Caesar-worship of any kind was still a novelty. But there are several other possible modes of interpretation. The references to 'Caesar' in 1612 do not necessarily indicate that he was dead at the time when the oration was delivered (though cf. l. 31, n.), and if he was alive, 'Caesar' must be Augustus or one of his successors, not Julius. The date of the papyrus practically excludes the possibility of a later emperor than Severus Alexander being meant (Diocletian, who made his residence at Nicomedia, is quite out of the question); but, especially in view of the rather compromising character of the contents of 1612, it would be more satisfactory to diminish the interval between the supposed date of composition and that of the papyrus, which if 'Caesar' is Julius or Augustus seems to be about 200 years. Caracalla and Heliogabalus both wintered at Nicomedia, and festivals in honour of Commodus and the brothers Caracalla and Geta are mentioned in the coins of Nicaea (Wroth, *op. cit.* pp. 162, 166). It is also just possible that in ll. 35-6 there is a reference to 'Caesars' in the plural, and that these are the reigning emperors. Not only is the hypothesis that the scene of the speech was Bithynia quite compatible with the identification of 'Caesar' with a much later emperor than Augustus, but the provenance of the papyrus rather suggests Egypt as the scene, though 1612 is hardly parallel to e.g. 471, a speech before an emperor directed probably against a praefect of Egypt, which is also arranged in literary form, with punctuation, &c. Against, however, the advantages to be gained by making 'Caesar' throughout a second or even third century emperor has to be set the consequent impossibility of connecting the reference to Nicaea with the passage quoted from Dio Cassius. If 'the Nicaean' was the author of the proposal mentioned by Dio, as the

coincidence with regard to the place-name suggests, Κα[ίσα]ρι in l. 11 ought to be Julius, and there is no indication that in ll. 9, 24, and 32 a different Caesar is meant. Moreover the use of the present tense ἐστίν in l. 15 in place of ἦν, though explicable as a mere piece of rhetoric, rather indicates that the Nicaean in question was still alive, and if so he cannot have been a second or third century individual, unless the circumstances alluded to in ll. 14-16 were quite different from those described by Dio.

A third line of interpretation was proposed by Sir W. M. Ramsay, who, taking Caesar as 'the Emperor' in the widest sense, i.e. including the dead as well as the living, suggests that 1612 deals with the degradation of true Caesar-worship, as expressing Roman patriotism, by superstitious admixture, as e.g. the Nicaean cult of the βροτόπους ἵππος illustrated by the coins of that city (cf. Drexler in Roscher's *Lex. d. griech. u. röm. Mythol.* ii. 2693-6), and regards the papyrus as a speech made in opposition to some such proposed degradation in the second or early third century. The horse with human feet figured in Nicaean coins of Antoninus Pius and Gordian is generally supposed to be connected with the horse possessing *humanis similes pedes* in the equestrian statue of Julius Caesar before the temple of Venus Genetrix at Rome (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 155; cf. Suetonius, *Julius* 61); but whether the rider represented on the coins, who seems to be the god Men, was also identified with Julius Caesar, is more doubtful, and there are no indications in 1612 that the superstitious element to which the speaker objected was concerned with a horse.

On the whole we are disposed to regard 'Caesar' throughout 1612 as Julius, not Augustus or a later emperor, whether dead or reigning; but the mention of 'the Nicaean' seems more likely to refer to some unknown innovation connected with the worship of Julius, than to either the establishment of that worship at Nicaea as recorded by Dio or the cult of the βροτόπους ἵππος. In view of the date of the papyrus the speech was probably composed and delivered (or supposed to be delivered) not earlier than the second century, and it is safer to make the scene of it Egypt (i.e. Alexandria) than Bithynia. The author may well have been a sophist of the age of Aristides or a little later, objecting to the introduction of some new kind of Oriental cult into the worship of Julius; but such a speech might also occur in a historical work in the style of Dio Cassius.

Fr. 1. Col. i.	Col. ii.
σου δε νεα τ[.]	[
ταυτα ὑπ[.]	Ἡ[
και τουτοι[.]	γ[ε]

και μεταπ[.
 5 αν εχ[ε]ι αυ[. ου
 κ ευσεβ[ε]ς ουδε ?
 οσιον [. . . .] . [. . . .]ν μ[ε] ?
 τα το τ . [. . .] ποιητεον
 ταυτα [Και]σαρα και σεμνυ
 10 νειν αυ [β]ουλοιτο· λεγω
 δε α τω Κ[α]ι[σ]αρι φασι τε
 λειν· ^{κα'ι} [[ο]] γαρ ε[ξ] αρχης ουχ ευ
 ρομεν ημεις αυτα καλωσ
 ποιουντες· αλλα Νικα
 15 ευσ εστιν ο πρωτος κα
 ταστησας· οποιος μεν αν
 θρωπος ου δει λεγειν· ε
 στω δ ουν εκεινου και
 παρ εκειν[ο]ις τελεισθω
 20 μονοις· ωσπερ παρα τοις
 Αθηναιοις τα των Ελευ
 σεινιων· ει βουλομε[θ]α
 αυτον ασεβειν τ[ο]ν
 Καισαρα· ωσπερ αν και τη[ν]
 25 [Δ]ημητραν σεβ[ο]υμεν
 [α]ν ενθαδε τελουντες
 [α]ντη την εκει[σ]ε τελε
 [τη]ν· ου γαρ εθελει ανει
 [να ?]ι των τοιουτων ουδεν·
 30 [οτι] δ ουκ αφαιρησεσθ[ε]
 [την] δοξαν της αθαν[α]
 [σιας] του Καισαρος εα[ν] ε
 [μοι ?] πεισθητε παραδε[ι]
 [γμα ν]μιν ερω το νυν τ[ο]
 35 [. . . .] τα γαρ των κ[α] . . .]ε
 [. ν] ετελ[ο]υμεν
 [. κ]αι τ[ο]υτω[?]ν ουθεν

ου . [
 45 ξα[
 λου[
 γου[
 δητ[
 φερε[
 50 ασοι[
 ερει . [
 σθαι . [
 καιο . [
 [.]ον . [
 55 ον εχ[
 ρ αυτ[
 αφ . [
 μεν[
 γαρ τ[
 60 χ[
 λ[
 α[
 [
 [
 65 [
 [
 [
 [
 οιμα[ι ?
 70 του δ[
 τουτο[
 ρουντ[
 ιερευς [
 στολη[
 75 προσα[
 ζει ωσ[
 μεταυ[

Fr. 2.
 81 ι ?]ερεα[
]ηρ[
]τοι[

[.]κκ . [. . .] αρχαία	ξ . σ[. .]ετ[
. τιν' τοὺς θεοὺς	μειν .]τα
40 [.]να . αν	80 . ον . μ[

8-37. . . ποιητέον, ταῦτα [Καί]ταρα καὶ σεμνύνειν ἂν [β]ούλοιτο, λέγω δὲ ἅ τῶ Καίσαρι φασὶ τελεῖν. κα[ί] γὰρ ἐ[ξ] ἀρχῆς οὐχ εὗρομεν ἡμεῖς αὐτά, καλῶς ποιούντες, ἀλλὰ Νικαεὺς ἐστὶν ὁ πρῶτος καταστήσας. ὁποῖος μὲν ἄνθρωπος, οὐ δεῖ λέγειν· ἔστω δ' οὖν ἐκείνου καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις τελεῖσθω μόνους, ὡσπερ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὰ τῶν Ἐλευσινίων, εἰ (μὴ) βουλόμ[ε]θα αὐτὸν ἀσεβεῖν τῷ[ν] Καίσαρα, ὡσπερ ἂν καὶ τῷ[ν] Δημήτρην (ἀ)σεβ[ο]ί[μ]εν {[ἀ]ν} ἐνθάδε τελοῦντες [α]ὐτῇ τὴν ἐκεί[σ]ε[ν] τελε[τῆ]ν· οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλει ἀνεί[να]?) τῶν τοιοῦτων οὐδέν. [ὅτι] δ' οὐκ ἀφαιρήσεσθ[ε] τὴν] δόξαν τῆς ἀθαν[ασίας] τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐᾶ[ν] ἐμοί; πεισθήτε, παράδειγμα ὑμῖν ἔρω τὸ νῦν τ[.] τὰ γὰρ τῶν κ[. . .]ε[.]ν ἐτελ[οῦ]με[ν] [.] καὶ τ[οῦ]τ[α] οὐδέν . . .

' . . he would wish these (?) really to magnify Caesar, I am referring to the rites which they say that they perform to Caesar. It was not we who originally invented those rites, which is to our credit, but it was a Nicaean who was the first to institute them. The character of the man need not be described: in any case let the rites be his, and let them be performed among his people alone, as the Eleusinian rites are among the Athenians, unless we wish to commit sacrilege against Caesar himself, as we should commit sacrilege against Demeter also, if we performed to her here the ritual used there; for she is unwilling to allow any rites of that sort (?). As a proof that you will not be depriving Caesar of the glory of immortality, if you listen to me, I will tell you . . .'

1. *συ δε νεα* τ[]: the use of the second person singular creates a slight, but by no means insuperable difficulty; cf. int. *συ* might of course be e. g. *ημι]συ*, and *δ εν ελπ[ι . . .* could be read; but *νεα* suits the context (cf. l. 38 *αρχαία*), referring to the rites in question.

3. *τουτοι[]*: the last letter can also be *γ, μ, ν, or π*.

4. *μεταπ[]*: *ογ μεταγ[]*.

7-8.]ν μ[ε]ρα: the vestige of a letter following *ν* is too slight to afford a real clue, and after it nothing may be lost.

8. *το τ . [. .]*: *τ* and *ν* sometimes closely resemble each other in this hand, and *τουτ[. .]* is just possible, but *το τ* followed by *η, ι, or ν* is preferable. There may have been a high stop after *ποιητεον*, the surface of the papyrus being damaged at that point. In any case *παντα* seems to be the subject of *σεμνύνειν*, not the object of *ποιητεον*, though the construction of ll. 7-10 is not clear. The sentence may have begun with *εἰ*.

10. *αν [β]ούλοιτο*: the vestige of the supposed *ν* is very slight, and there would be room for another letter in the lacuna, for *ν[β]* occupies the same space as *Καισ* in ll. 9 and 11. *δ* is possible in place of *α*, but *αν* seems necessary for the optative.

11. *τω Καίσαρι*: *ορ τωι Κ[αισ]αρι*. Cf. *[α]υτη* in l. 27.

14. *Νικαεὺς*: cf. int.

16. *άνθρωπος* may receive either a rough or a smooth breathing.

22. *ει βουλόμ[ε]θα*: the insertion of a negative is required both here and in l. 25 to give sense to the argument. *σεβ[ο]ύμεν* there is evidently a mistake for *ασεβοίμεν*, and here either *ει* is to be altered to *ον*, or *μη* is to be inserted.

26. *α[ν]*: *ν* is almost certain, *ω* or *α*, which are the only other possibilities, being much less suitable. The repetition of *ἂν* is not necessarily wrong, but probably there was a mistake of some kind, possibly the incorrect division *σεβ[ο]ύμεν[η]ν* (sc. *ασεβοίμεν*).

28-9. The subject of *εθέλει* is not clear, but is more likely to be Caesar or Demeter

than the Nicaean. The next word is presumably an infinitive ending in $[\alpha]ι$ or $[\sigma\theta\alpha]ι$ or perhaps $[\alpha]ν$ or $[\epsilon]ν$. The last letter is more like ι than ν , and no alternative is possible. ν before ϵ is almost certain, η being the only alternative. The first letter must be α , γ , δ , λ , μ , ν , π , or τ : a spot of ink between this and ν probably, if the first letter is α , belongs to that, not to a distinct letter, and is in any case inconsistent with a broad letter or one coming below the line. $\alpha\nu\epsilon[\nu\alpha]ι$, 'to allow', is difficult, but suits the vestiges better than $\alpha[\rho]ν\epsilon[\sigma\theta\alpha]ι$. In $\tau\omega\nu$ certainly, and possibly in $\tau\omega\iota\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$ also, the ω is closed at the top, as if the scribe intended to alter it to o ; but he certainly did not write $\tau\omega\nu\tau\omega\iota\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$ originally, and is more likely to have intended $\tau\omega\nu\tau\omega\iota\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$. $\sigma\upsilon\delta\epsilon\nu$ suits the vestiges better than $\sigma\upsilon\theta\epsilon\nu$ (cf. l. 37). The supposed stop after it is uncertain; the surface of the papyrus is damaged and $\sigma\upsilon\delta\epsilon\nu\alpha$ is a possible reading.

31. $\alpha\theta\alpha\iota[\alpha\sigma\iota\alpha\varsigma]$: cf. Dio lii. 36 $\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau' \epsilon\dot{\iota}\pi\epsilon\rho \acute{\alpha}\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma \acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omega\varsigma \epsilon\pi\iota\theta\upsilon\mu\epsilon\dot{\iota}\varsigma \gamma\epsilon\acute{\nu}\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ in the speech of Maecenas to Augustus. Lines 30-2 seem more appropriate to a dead than to a living Caesar, who did not become technically $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ till his death; cf. int. p. 150.

34. The letter following $\nu\nu\nu$, if not τ , is probably γ or π .

35-6. It is rather tempting to read $\tau\omega\nu\kappa[\alpha\iota\sigma]a[\rho\omega\nu]$ (cf. p. 150); but the letter at the end of l. 35 is much more like ϵ than α .] ν might be the end of $\pi\rho\omicron\tau\omicron]ν$.

1613. LIST OF EARLY ATHENIAN ARCHONS.

4.6 × 4.4 cm.

Second century.

This small fragment from the middle of a column belongs to a list of the earliest Athenian archons with the numbers of their years of office, like the lists in Eusebius (Schöne, Euseb. *Chron.* i. 188 and App. 1 a. 11), Jerome (*op. cit.* App. 1 b. 31), the Excerpta Latina Barbari (*op. cit.* App. 6. 217), and Syncellus (ed. Dindorf i. 368, 399); cf. v. Schoeffer in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.* ii. 582-3. Such lists were no doubt common in Egypt; cf. the chronological list of Olympic victors in 222, and A. Bauer's *Alexandrinische Weltchronik* (*Denkschr. d. Wien. Akad.* li). The handwriting is a small uncial of the Roman period, probably of the second century. After the abolition of the Athenian monarchy archons according to tradition were appointed at first for life, afterwards for ten years, and from 683 B.C. onwards annually. The change from archons for life to decennial archons began according to the Exc. Lat. Barb. with Alcmaeon, but the other authorities make him the last of the first category. The papyrus contains the name of Alcmaeon (l. 5) with the names of his four predecessors and six successors in the best supported order (cf. ll. 3-4, n.); but the numbers of the years of office are missing throughout, and there is nothing to show which view was taken with reference to the chronology of Alcmaeon. One name is quite corrupt (l. 6, n.) and another is misspelled (l. 8, n.). Only one more name after l. 11 is required to complete the list of decennial archons: before l. 1 eight names of archons for life are probably lost; cf. ll. 3-4, n.

	<i>Αρειφ[ρων]</i>	ετη [. .
	<i>Θεσπι[ε]υς</i>	ετη [. .
	<i>Αγαμηστωρ</i>	ετη [. .
	<i>Αισχυλος</i>	ε[τη] . .
5	<i>Αλκμεων</i> [	ετη . .
	<i>Χαιος</i> [	ετη . .
	<i>Αισιμιδ[ης]</i>	ετη . .
	<i>Κλεοδικ[ος]</i>	ετη . .
	<i>Ιππομ[ενης]</i>	ετη . .
10	<i>Λεωκρα[της]</i>	ετη . .
	<i>Αψανδ[ρος]</i>	ετη . .

1-3. That the originally separate fragment containing ετη (three times) is correctly assigned to these lines is not quite certain.

3-4. Between Agamestor and Aeschylus the Exc. Lat. Barb. insert Thersippus, who is placed by the other authorities (cf. int.) 4th in the list of archons for life, Ariphron (l. 1) being 9th, as he presumably was here.

5. *Αλκμεων*: cf. int.

6. *Χαιος*: l. *Χαροψ*. From this point onwards the figure lost was presumably ι in each case; cf. int.

8. *Κλεοδικ[ος]*: so also Syncellus; but Eusebius has <κ>λειδικος or *Klidikus*, Jerome *Elidicus*, and Exc. Lat. Barb. *Celdicus*. κλειδικος is the correct form; cf. Paus. i. 3. 3.

III. FRAGMENTS OF EXTANT CLASSICAL AUTHORS

1614. PINDAR, *Ol.* i, ii, vi, vii.

28.8 x 27.2 cm.

Fifth or sixth century.

The lost poems of Pindar occur in several papyri, chiefly from Oxyrhynchus, Dithyrambs in 1604, Paeans in 841 and P. S. I. 147, Partheneia in 659, odes of uncertain character in 408 and possibly 426; but the extant epinician odes have not hitherto been represented in Egyptian finds, so that a special interest attaches to this fragment of a codex of the Olympian odes. It consists of a single sheet forming two leaves, the first of which contains i. 106-ii. 45 (when complete i. 104-

ii. 50), the second vi. 71–vii. 20 (when complete vi. 68–vii. 26). The lines are for the most part short, being divided much as in the extant MSS., and of the four columns two (i and iii) are fairly well preserved, but the other two have only the ends of lines. The upper margin is not preserved anywhere, but in Col. iii l. 150 (= *Ol.* vi. 95) is the last. 20 more lines corresponding to vi. 96–105 are required to complete the ode, but these must have been omitted in Col. iv, for l. 158 (vii. 6) is at the back of l. 111 (vi. 72), and that the number of lines lost at the top of Col. iv did not exceed 7 is clear from the size of the corresponding interval between the last extant line of Col. i (l. 51 = ii. 17) and the first of Col. ii (l. 57 = ii. 21). How the 5 missing lines were distributed between Cols. i and ii is not quite certain, for, as far as Col. i by itself is concerned, there is room for 1 or 2 more lines at the bottom. But if, as seems not improbable, Ode vii began at the top of Col. iv, the top of Col. ii can be made fairly even with the top of Col. iv only on the hypothesis that l. 51 was the last of Col. i. Otherwise, if e. g. there are only 3 lines instead of 5 lost at the top of Col. ii, there will certainly not be room at the top of Col. iv for the first few lines of Ode vii, especially since the writing in Cols. iii–iv is by a different scribe from that of Cols. i–ii and less compact. Neither scribe employed a formal uncial, the hand of the first being rude and irregular, while that of the second tends to become cursive, particularly in ϵ at the ends of lines. Black ink was used by the first scribe as far as l. 67, brown ink by him in ll. 68–95 and by the second scribe, whose pen was thinner. Iota adscript was rarely written. Both scribes inserted marks of elision and diaeresis and occasional stops (high points), the second also occasional breathings and an apostrophe after $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ in l. 144; but a breathing in l. 37 in brown ink was not written, originally at any rate, by the first hand. That is the only trace of a subsequent revision apart from corrections clearly due to the two scribes themselves. The date of the papyrus is certainly fifth or sixth century, more probably the former, but the Byzantine documents found with it have not yet been unrolled.

The MSS. of Pindar's epinician odes are divided into two families, called the Ambrosian and the Vatican. Of the first group the chief representatives are A (13th cent.), C (late 14th cent.), N (13th–14th cent.), V (late 13th cent.); of the second B (12th cent.), D and E (14th cent.). In *Ol.* i this classification has to be modified, since A there combines with the Vatican group, D with the Ambrosian. The archetype of both families is assigned to the second century, to which the extant scholia are also referred. The text is generally thought to have been preserved with considerable care owing to the efforts of grammarians, and to have undergone comparatively little corruption since the second century, before which, as is shown by quotations, it was far from being fixed. This view is borne out

by the papyrus, which carries back the evidence some seven centuries and is very close to the text of the best MSS., agreeing sometimes with the Ambrosian family (ll. 79, 112, 116-17, 121, 146, 169), somewhat oftener with the Vatican (ll. 8, 24, 30, 36, 59, 82, 85, 92, 95, 126, 175). The difficulty in ii. 6 (ll. 32-3, n.) and the interpolation in ii. 29-30 (ll. 70-1, n.) recur. A number of slips are found, as is usual in Byzantine texts; cf. e.g. 1618. Of the new readings the most interesting occur in ii. 39 and vi. 77; cf. ll. 88 and 119, nn.

Col. i (Fol. 1 verso).

	3 lines lost		Ολυμπιαδα δ' εσ[τα	
	θε̅ι̅ς̅ επιτροπος	i. 106	σεν Ηρακληης	
5	ε̅φ̅ων̅ ᾗ̅[̅ε̅αι̅σι̅ μ̅η̅δε̅ται̅		ακροθινα πολεμου [
	ε̅χ̅ων̅ [̅το̅]υ̅[̅το̅ κ̅η̅δος̅ Ι̅ερ̅ων̅	30	Θηρωνα δε τετρασ[ριας	ii. 5
	με̅ρι̅μι̅[̅αι̅]σι̅ν̅[̅·̅]̅ ε̅ι̅ δ̅[̅ε̅ μ̅η̅ τα̅χυ̅ λι̅ποι̅		ε̅νε̅κα̅ ν̅ικαφορου	
	ε̅τι̅ γ̅λυ̅κυ̅τε̅ραν̅ κ̅[̅ι̅]εν̅ ε̅λ̅πο̅μαι̅		γε̅γ̅ων̅η̅τε̅ον̅ ο̅πι̅	
	ξ̅υν̅ αρ̅μα̅τι̅ θ̅ω̅α̅ κ̅λ̅[̅ει̅	110	δικαιον ξεινον	
10	ξ̅ει̅ν̅ επικουρον ε[υρων		ε̅ρει̅σμ̅'̅ Α̅κρα̅γαν̅τ̅ος̅	
	ο̅δ̅ον̅ λ̅[̅[̅ε̅]̅]γ̅ων̅ πα̅[̅ρ̅ ε̅υ̅δει̅ε̅λον̅ ε̅λ̅θ̅ων̅	35	ευωνυμων δε πατε[ρων	
	Κ̅ρ̅ον̅ι̅ον̅·̅ ε̅μο̅ι̅ μ̅εν̅ [̅ων̅ Μ̅ο̅ι̅σα̅ καρ̅τε̅ρω̅		α̅ω̅τον̅ ο̅ρθ̅ο̅πο̅λι̅ν̅	
	τα̅τον̅ β̅ε̅λο̅ς̅ α̅λ̅κ̅αι̅ τ̅ρ̅ε̅φ̅ει̅?̅ α̅λλ̅ο̅ι̅		κα̅μ̅ον̅τε̅ς̅ ο̅ι̅ πο̅λλα̅ [̅θυ̅μ̅ω̅	
	σι̅ δ̅'̅ α̅λλ̅ο̅ι̅ μ̅ε̅γα̅λο̅ι̅·̅ το̅ δ̅ ε̅σ̅χα̅το̅[̅ν̅ κο̅		ϊ̅ε̅ρον̅ ε̅σ̅χ̅ον̅ ο̅ικ̅η̅μα̅ [	10
15	ρυ̅φ̅ου̅ται̅ βα̅σι̅λευ̅σι̅·̅ μ̅η̅κε̅τι̅		ο̅φ̅θα̅λ̅μ̅[̅ο̅]ς̅·̅ αι̅φ̅[̅ν̅ δ̅ ε̅φε̅	
	πα̅π̅ται̅νε̅ πο̅ρ̅σι̅ον̅		πε̅ μο̅[̅ρ̅σι̅]μ̅[̅ο̅ς̅ π̅λου̅τον̅	
	ει̅η̅ σε̅ γε̅ του̅τον̅	115	τε̅ και̅ χα̅[̅ρι̅ν̅ α̅γ̅ων̅	
	υ̅ψ̅ου̅ χ̅ρο̅νον̅ πα̅τει̅ν̅ ε̅με̅		γ̅νη̅σι̅α̅[̅ι̅ς̅ ε̅π̅ α̅ρε̅ται̅ς̅	
	τε̅ το̅σ̅σα̅δε̅ ν̅ικαφοροις		α̅λλ̅'̅ ω̅ Κ̅[̅ρο̅ν̅ι̅ε̅ παι̅ Ρ̅ε̅ας̅	
20	ο̅μι̅λει̅ν̅ προ̅φαν̅τον̅ σο̅φ̅[̅ια̅ καθ̅ Ε̅λ̅	45	ε̅δος̅ Ο̅λ̅[̅υ̅μ̅που̅ νε̅μ̅ων̅	
	λα̅νας̅ ε̅ον̅τα̅ παν̅τα̅		α̅ε̅θ̅λω̅[̅ν̅ τε̅ κο̅ρυ̅φαν̅	
̄̅	̄̅ ̄̅ ̄̅ ̄̅ ̄̅ ̄̅ ̄̅ ̄̅ ̄̅ ̄̅ ̄̅ ̄̅ ̄̅ ̄̅		πο̅ρ̅ο̅ν̅ [̅τ̅ Α̅λ̅φ̅ε̅ου̅	
	Θ̅η̅ρω̅ν̅ι̅ Α̅α̅κ̅ρα̅[̅γαν̅τι̅νω̅ αρ̅μα̅τι̅?		ι̅α̅[̅ν̅]θ̅ε̅[̅ι̅ς̅ αι̅ο̅ι̅δ̅αι̅ς̅	15
	α̅να̅ξ̅[̅ι̅]φ̅ο̅ρ̅μ̅ι̅γγ̅ε̅[̅ς̅ υ̅μ̅νοι̅	ii. 1	ε̅[̅υ̅φ̅ρ̅]α̅[̅ν̅ α̅ρου̅ραν̅ ε̅τι̅ πα̅	
	τι̅να̅ θ̅[̅]ε̅ον̅ τι̅ν̅'̅ η̅[̅]ρω̅α̅		30	τ̅ρ̅[̅]ια̅ν̅ σ̅φ̅ι̅σι̅ν̅ κο̅μι̅σον̅
25	τι̅[̅α̅ δ̅']̅ α̅ν̅δ̅ρα̅ κ̅ε̅λα̅δ̅η̅σο̅με̅ν̅		λ̅[̅ο̅ι̅πω̅ γε̅ν̅ει̅ των̅ δε̅ πε̅π̅ρα̅γ̅με̅νων̅	
	η̅τοι̅ Π̅ι̅σα̅ μ̅εν̅ Δ̅ι̅[̅ος̅			

Col. ii (Fol. 1 recto).

[εν δικά τε και παρα δικαν]	75 [μετα κοραισι Ν]ηρεος	
[αποιητον ουδ αν]	[αλαις βιοτον] αφθιτον	
[Χρονος ο παντων πατηρ]	[Ινοι τεταχθαι] τον ο	
55 [δυναίτο θεμεν εργαων τελος]	[λον αμφι χρ]ονον ητοι	
[λαθα δε ποτμω σύν ευδαιμονι γενοιτ αν]	ii.20 [βροτων γε κε]κριται	
εσλων γαρ υπο χαρματ]υ [	80 [περας ου τι θαν]ατου	
πημα θνασκει πα]λιγκοτον δαμασθεν	[ουδ ασυχιμον] αμεραν	35
οταν θεου Μοιρα] πεμπη	[οποτε παιδ'] αλιου	
60 [ανεκας ολβον υψ]ηλον	[ατειρει συν α]γαθω	
[επεται δε λογος ευ]θρονοις	[τελευτασομ]εν	
Καδμοιο κουραι]ς·] επαθον	25 85 [ροαι δ αλλοτ'] αλλαι	
[αι μεγαλα] πενθος δε	[ευθυμιαν] τε μετα και	
πιτ]νει βαρυ	[πονων ες α]νδρας εβαν	
65 [κρε]σσονων προς αγαθων	[ουτω δε Μοιρ'] α τε πατρωιαν	
[ζω]ει μεν Ολυμπιοις	[τωνδ εχει τον? ε]υφρονα ποτμον	40
[αποθ]ανοισα βρομω	90 [θεορτω σ]υν ολβω	
[κερα]ννου ταννε	[επι τι και π]ημ['] α]γει	
[θειρα Σεμελ]ια φιλει	[παλιντραπελον αλ]λω χρ[ονω	
70 [δε νιν Παλ]λας αιαι φιλε	[εξ ουπερ εκτεινε Λαον μοριμος] υιος	
[οντι δε Μ]οισαι	[συναντομενος εν δε Πυ]	
[και Ζευς πα]τηρ μαλα φιλει	30 95 [θωνι χρ]ησθεν παλαιφατον] τελεσσειν	
[δε παις ο κισσο]φορος	9 lines lost	
[λεγοντι δ ε]ν κ[α]ι θαλασσα		

Col. iii (Fol. 2 recto).

5 lines lost	γλωσσᾶν ἀκόντας λιγυρας	
2nd hand εξ ο]ν πολυκλειτον καθ Ελλανας vi. 72	ἂ μ' εθελοι[τ]α προσ[ε]ρ]πει	
111 γενοσ Ι]αμιδαν	καλλιροαι[σι]ν πνοαις ματρομα[
ολβος αμ' εσπε[τ]ο τ]ιμωντες δ αρετας	τωρ εμα Στυμφαλις ευανθης Με[τ]ωπα	
εσ φανεραν οδον [ερχονται τεκμαι	135 πλαξίππον ἂ [Θηβα]ν ετι	85
ρει χρημ' εκαστον μω]μος δ εξ	α	
115 αλλων κρεμαται φθονε]οντων	κεν τες ερατ[εινον] υδωρ	
τοις οισ ποτε πρωτοις περι [δωδεκατον	75 πιομαι ανδρ[ασιν α]χμ[ατα]ι[σι] πλεκων	
δρομον ελαννοντεσσιν α]ιδοια ποτι	ποικιλον υμ[νον ο]τρυ[νον] νυν ε[ταιρους]	

	σταξη Χαρῖς ευκλεα μορφ[αν		Αἰνεα· πρω[τον μ]εν Η	
	ει δ' ετυμωσ ὑπο Κυλλανασ ορος		140 ραν Παρθενια[ν κελα]δησαι	
120	Αγησια ματρωεσ ανδρεσ		γνωμαι τ['] επει[τ' αρχαι]ογ [ο]γ[ε]ιδοσ	
	ναιεταοντεσ εδωρησαν θεων		αλαθεσι λογοισ	90
	καρικα λ[[ε]]ιταισ θυσιαισ		[ει] φευγομεν Βοι[ωτιαν νν	
	πολλα δη πολλαισιν Ερμαν ευσεβε[ωσ		εεσι γαρ' αγγελοσ ο[ρθοσ	
	οσ αγωνασ· εχει		145 η[υ]κομων σκυτ[αλα Μοισαν γλυκυσ κρατηρ	
125	μοιραν τ' αεθλων Αρκαδιαν	80	αγαφθεγκτων αιοιδαν	
	τ' ενανορα τι		146 ειπον δε μεμνα[σθαι Συρα	
	μ[αι]· κ[ι]νοσ ω παι Σωστρατον		κουσσαν [τε] κ[αι Ορτυγιασ	
	συν βρυγδουπωι πατρι		ταν Ιερ[ων καθαρω σκαπτω διεπων	
	κραινει σεθεν ευτυχ[[ε]]ιαν		αρτια μ[η]δομενοσ φοινικοπεζαν	
130	δοξαν εχω τιν' επι		150 αμφ' επ[ει Δαματρα	95
			end of column	

Col. iv (Fol. 2 verso).

	7 lines lost		[νμνεων παιδ Αφροδι]τας	
	[νιν ζαλωτον ομοφρονοσ ευν]αξ	vii, 6	[Αελιοιο τε νυμφαν]	
	[και εγω νεκταρ χυτον Μοισα]ν		[Ροδον ευθυμαχαν]	15
160	[δοσιν αεθλοφοροισ]		175 [οφρα πελωριον ανδρ]α παρ Αλφειωι	
	[ανδρασιν πεμπων γλυκυν] καρπον		[στεφανωσαμενον]	
	[φρενοσ ιλασκομαι]		[αινεσω πυγμασ αποινα] και	
	[Ολυμπια Πυθοι τε νικω]ν	10	[παρα Κασταλια]	
	[τεσσιν ο δ ολβιοσ ο]γ []		[πατερα τε Δαμαγητον α]δοντα Δικα []	
165	[φαμαι κατεχο]ντ' αγασθαι		180 [Ασιασ ευρυχορου]	
	[αλλοτε δ αλλον] εποπτενει Χαρῖσ		[τριπολιν νασον πελ]ασ	
	[ζωθαλμοσ α]δυμελει		[εμβολω ναιοντ]ασ Αργειαι [σ]υν α[ι]χμα]ι	
	[θαμα μεν φορ]μιγγι παμφω		[εθελησω τοισιν] εξ	20
	νοισι τ εν εντε[σι]ν αυ]λων		[αρχασ απο Τλαπολ]εμου	
170	[και νυν υπ αμφοτερ]ων·		10 lines lost	
	συν Διαγορα κατεβαν· ποινοντιαν			

8. The second ν of γλυκυτεραν is corr. from ε: i. e. the scribe began to write γλυκερω-
τεραν, which is found in DN.

κ[εν]: so ABE; all that remains is the tip of a vertical stroke, which would also be

reconcilable with τ[ε], as proposed by Schr(oeder), but not with ε[λπομαι, the reading of CDN.

9. ξυν: this form is not certainly attested in Pindar; cf. 1604, II. 13, n.
 κλ[ει]ξειν: so CE, Schr.; κλειζειν BADN.
13. αλκᾶι: so most MSS. rightly; ἀλκάν DE.
- 13-14. ἀλλοι[σι]: this passage is corrupt in the MSS., which all have ἀλλοισι against the metre, except V (ἐν ᾧ). The Byzantine correctors read ἐπ' ἀλλοισι, but Schr. conjectures ἀμφ' ᾧ.
17. σε γε: σέ τε MSS., except V (om. τε). The scholl. remark ὁ νοῦς· εἴη δὲ σέ μὲν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον . . . ἄλλως· ἀλλ' εἴη σέ τοῦτ. τ. χ. κτλ., from which it has been supposed that there was a reading σέ δέ. τε, which connects with τε in l. 19, seems preferable to γε, but may have arisen from the second τε.
18. υψου: so MSS. except D (ύψοῖς).
19. τε: δέ DN. Cf. l. 17, n.
22. 1. Ακρο[γαντιω. If αρματι, which is usually added by the MSS. after it, was written, the end of this line projected very considerably; but cf. l. 145.
24. θ]εον: θεῶν EV.
- τιν' η[ρωα: τίνα δ' ἦρωα AE against the metre.
25. τυ[α δ'] ανδρα: so ABE; τίν' ανδρα CD against the metre.
29. ακροθινα: so ABDN², Schr.; ἀκροθίνα CN¹, Zenodotus; ἀκροθίνιον E.
30. δε: ε is corr. from ο (?). The word is omitted by A, which has τετραωρίαι.
- 32-3. οπι δικαιον ξενον: so MSS. (mostly ὀπί, but a few ὀπι). The second syllables of οπι and ξενον ought to be long, and Schr. follows Hermann in reading ὀπι (= ὀπιδι) δικαιον ξένων. The division between the corresponding lines 68-9 comes a syllable earlier.
36. ορθοπολιν: ὀρθόπολιν against the metre ADN.
41. μο[ρσι]μ[ος] πλουτον: so MSS.; μ. ὁ πλοῦτον (Hermann) or μ. ἐπ' ὄλβον (Heyne) has been suggested on metrical grounds.
- 52-7. These lines are restored so as to correspond to ll. 89-94. The traces of the supposed ν in l. 57, which comes above the second α of δαμασθεν in l. 58, are very doubtful, and the first syllable of εσ(θ)λων, the reading of the MSS. in l. 57, is against the metre; there is also an uncertainty about l. 94; cf. n. *ad loc.* The reason for the assignment of all ll. 52-6 to Col. ii is explained in int.
59. πεμπη: so most MSS., Schr.; πέμψη A.
62. επαθον: πάθον A. The word corresponds to Δι[ος] | Ο- in ll. 26-7.
65. ο of [κρε]σσουω is corr. from ω.
66. μ of μεν is corr. εν has been omitted by mistake after it; cf. l. 169, n.
70. αιαι: 1. αιει.
- 70-1. φιλε[οντι δε Μ]οισαι: a superfluous verse which was athetized by Aristophanes, but is found in all MSS. except those of Triclinius.
75. Ν]ηρεος: so CE; Νηρέως ABDN; Νηρήος, required by the metre, occurs above the line in CDN.
79. [βροτων γε: γε, which is omitted by B, must have been written.
80. Considerations of space make the unmetrical form περας, found in all ancient MSS., more probable than πειρας, which was introduced by the Byzantine correctors.
82. αλιον: so BE; ἀελίον against the metre ACDN.
85. αλλαι: ἀλλοῖαι against the metre C²DN.
88. α τε πατρωιαν: ᾧ τε πατρώϊον MSS., which is generally retained by edd., though Hermann conjectured ᾗτε (or ᾗ τὰ) πατρώϊα, and Mommsen ᾗ τὸ πατρώϊον from the schol. κατέχει τὸν εὐφρονα πότμον ἢ τύχη καθάπερ τὸ πατρώϊον κατέσχε. πατρωιαν must be wrong, but two other scholia οὔτω δὲ ἐπὶ τούτων . . . ἢ πατρικὴ μοῖρα κακὸν φέρει . . . and οὔτω δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων . . . ἢ

πατρώα κακὸν ἄγει μοῖρα would be compatible with an ancient reading πατρώια, of which πατρωϊαν might be a corruption, due to εβαν at the end of the previous line. The last syllable of l. 88 can be either long or short. It seems, however, more likely that, as suggested by Lobel, the scribe has omitted an elision-mark and πατρώι' ἄν was really meant, ἄν belonging to ἔχειν. ἀνέχειν 'support' is more suitable here than the simple verb; cf. *Pz.* ii. 89 θεὸν . . . ὃς ἀνέχει τότε μὲν τὰ κείνων τότε αὐθ' ἑτέροις ἔδωκεν μέγα κῦδος and *Nem.* vii. 89 εἰ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ θεὸς ἀνέχοι, and κατέχει in the schol. quoted above. πατρώι(a) would be an adverbial accusative or in apposition to τὸν εὐφρονα πότμον. This reading is probably right.

89. 8-10 letters would be expected in the lacuna, where the ordinary reading of the MSS. gives 12, and perhaps there was an omission. εχι may well have been written; cf. l. 127.

92. ἀλ[ω χρ[ον]ω: ἄλλος χρόνος A.

93. Considerations of space favour the correct forms λαον (i. e. Λῆον) and μορισμος (a v. l. in the scholia and introduced by the Byzantines) against Λαῖον and μορσιμος which are found in the MSS.

94. This line, if written, must have been rather cramped, for υιος in l. 93 presents the appearance of belonging to the line immediately above τελεσσειν (l. 95).

95. τελεσσειν: so B rightly; τέλεσειν ACD; τελέσας E; om. N.

112. ολβος ἀμ': so ACD¹; ὄλβος δ' ἄμ' the rest against the metre.

114. μω[μος δ' εἶ: 1614 may of course have omitted δ, which is found in the MSS., but was deleted by Boeckh on metrical grounds.

116. πρωτοις: so AC²DE, Schr.; πρῶτον BC¹N.

117-18. ποι]σταξη: so CD (-ξει), Schr.; ποιστάζει ABE.

119. ορος: so Calliarges (Rome, 1515), as is supposed, from the scholia (e. g. in D; cf. also Homer, B 603 ὑπὸ Κυλλήνης ὄρος αἰπύ); ὄροις ABCE; ὄροις DE (lemma); ὄρέων conj. Schr. The objection to ὄρος is that the second syllable is expected to be long here.

121. ἐδωρησαν: so AB² rightly; δῶρησαν the rest.

126-7. τιμαί: so MSS. except A (τιμάν).

131. γλώσσαί: the accent ought to have been paroxytone. Editors generally place no stop after γλώσσα, explaining ἀκόνας λιγυράς as a genitive of quality. The papyrus agrees with Boehmer, who connected ἀκ. λιγ. with πνοαῖς.

132. προσ[ερ]πει: so most MSS. and edd.; προσέρποι D; προσέλκει Triclinius.

133. καλλιροα[σι]ν: the ν ἐφέλκυστικόν is wrong; cf. l. 142, n.

135-6. ετικεν: l. ετικεν. τες is merely an error.

142. αλαθεσι: so ABD; l. αλαθεσιν with EN.

144. εεσι: ἐσσι MSS.; ἔστι Wilamowitz, objecting to the poet's address to his poem, and avoiding the three predicates without a connecting particle. The second letter of εεσι was not corrected, but the third was not σ originally, being corrected from a letter with a tail, probably ι or ρ.

146-7. Συρα]κουσσαν: Συρακοσῶν (BDE) is the form preferred by edd. The division of these lines does not correspond to that in ll. 110-11, where there are two more syllables in the earlier line.

149-50. Cf. ll. 113-14, where there is a syllable more in the earlier line.

150. On the omission of the end of Ode vi see int.

165. αγασθαι: l. αγαθαι.

167. That 1614 had ζωθυλιμος with most MSS. rather than ζωφθαλιμος with CNO¹ is not certain.

169. Considerations of space favour the insertion of εν which is omitted by BDE before εντε]σι]ν.

170. The stop after αμφοτερ]ων is misplaced.

171. ποννοντιαν: l. ταν ποιτιαν with the MSS. The scholia mention a v. l. ποντίας.

175. Αλφειωι: so most MSS.; Ἀλφεῶ(ι) A. Schr.

1615. SOPHOCLES, *Ajax*.

4.2 × 3.9 cm.

Fourth century. Plate IV
(recto).

This small fragment from the middle of a leaf of a papyrus codex of Sophocles, containing the beginnings of ll. 694–705 and ends of 753–64 of the *Ajax*, was found with a number of other literary pieces which date from the third or fourth century. The writing is a small sloping uncial with a tendency to cursive forms and to exaggeration of the final letter of a line, and there is little doubt that it belongs to the fourth century, probably to the earlier half of it. Breathings, accents, marks of elision and quantity, and high stops were freely inserted by the scribe himself. The circumstance that this is the first papyrus fragment of the *Ajax* to be discovered gives it a certain interest, but it is too short to be of very serious value. A new variant in l. 699, which has apparently left a trace in Suidas, is likely to be right, as is another new reading in l. 756, and the quality of this text seems to have been distinctly high. The division of lines in the choric passage is the same as that in the Laurentianus (L).

Recto.

ιω ιω Παν [Παν
 695 ᾠ Πᾶν Πᾶ[ν αλιπλαγκτε Κυλ
 λᾶνίας χί[ονοκτυπου
 πετραίας [απο δειραδος φανηθ ω
 θεῶν χρο[ροποι αναξ οπως μοι
 Μύσια Κ[νωσι ορχηματ αυτοδαη
 700 ξὺνᾶν [αψης
 νυν γ[αρ εμοι μελει χορευσαι
 Ικαριων [δ υπερ πελαγεων
 μιλων αναξ Απολλων
 ὁ Δᾶλιος [ευγνωστος
 705 εμοι ξι[νειη δια παντος ευφρων

Verso.

753 [ειρξαι κατ ημαρ τουμφαν]εξ [το νυν τοίε
 [Αιανθ υπο σκηναισι μηδ] αφ'έντ' εᾶν
 755 [ει ζωντ εκεινον εισιδε]ιν θέλοι ποτε·
 [ελα γαρ αυτον τηνδ εθ] ημεραν μονην·
 [διας Αθανας μηνις ως] εφη λεγων·

[τα γαρ περισσα κανονητ]α σωματα
 [πιπτειν βαρειαις προς θ]εων δυσπραξίαις
 760 [εφασχ ο μαντις οστις ανθ]ρωπου φυσιν
 [βλαστων επειτα μη κατ] ανθρωπ[ο]ν φρονη̄ι·
 [κεινος δ απ οικων ευθυσ] εξορμώμενος
 ανους καλως λεγοντος] ευρεθη πατρος·
 [ο μεν γαρ αυτον εννεπει τε]κν[ο]ν δορι

699. *Μύσια*: *Νύσια* MSS., a reading which seemed appropriate enough in view of the close connexion between Pan and Dionysus. But, as was observed by Mr. A. C. Pearson, *Μύσια* is probably right. Pan was the cult-companion of the Mother of the gods (Schol. Pind. *Py.* iii. 137), and in Strabo 466 the Curetes are connected with *ιερουργίας* . . . *περί τε τήν τοῦ Διὸς παιδοτροφίαν τήν ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ τοὺς τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν ὄργασμοὺς ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἰδην τὴν Τρωικὴν τόποις*. The region of Trojan Ida was in Mysia (Jebb on *At.* 720), and *Κνωσία* in l. 699 is no doubt rightly referred to the Curetes. In the scholia on l. 699 as quoted by Suidas s.v. *Νύσια* is the following note: *Νύσια ὄρχήματος εἶδος. τῶν γὰρ ὄρχήσεων ἡ μὲν Βερεκυντιακὴ λέγεται, ἡ δὲ Κρητικὴ, ἡ δὲ Παρικὴ (l. ἡ καὶ πυρρίχη with L). Νύσια οὖν τὰ Βερεκύντια· Νυσίας γὰρ ἔστιν ἡ Βερεκυντιακὴ, Κνωσία δὲ ἡ Κρητικὴ. ἐν Μυσίᾳ γὰρ καὶ Κνωσσῶ ἐπιμελής ἡ ὄρχησις. Μυσία there has been corrected to *Νυσία*, but in the light of 1615 *Νύσια* and *Νυσίας* are to be corrected to *Μύσια* and *Μυσίας*, for what has Nysa to do with the Berecynthian Mother? If Nysa and Dionysus are got rid of, everything fits together, and Sophocles is brought into line with Strabo; cf. also Virg. *Aen.* ix. 619 *buxus* . . . *Berecynthia Matris Idaeae*, and Lucr. ii. 611 sqq. *Idaeam vocitant Matrem*, etc., the Curetes being mentioned in l. 633.*

754. *αφ'έντ'*: the supposed elision-mark and breathing are uncertain.

755. *θελοι*: so L; *θέλει* the recentiores.

756. *τηνδ εθ] ημεραν μονην: οτ τηνδε γ] ημ. μ.; τηδεθ' ημέρα L; τηδέθ' ημέραι* the recentiores; some editors, objecting to the crasis of *τῆ ημέρα* in Tragedy, write *τῆδ' ἔθ' ημέρα* or *τῆδ' ἐν ημέρα: τῆδε θῆμέρα* Jebb. The accusative is quite as good as the dative, but whether the scribe understood the passage is doubtful, for no stop is required after *μονην*.

759. *βαρειαις προς θ]εων δυσπραξίαις*: so MSS.; but whether the supposed traces of *is* are really ink is not quite certain, especially as the preceding *a* is rather large, so that *βαρεία* . . . *δυσπραξία* may possibly have been the reading, at any rate originally.

761. *φρονη̄ι*: so originally L, corr. by a later hand to *φρονε̄ι*, the reading of the recentiores. Jebb prefers *φρονῆ̄ι*.

1616. EURIPIDES, *Orestes*.

4.2 × 7.8 cm.

Fifth century.

A fragment from the middle of a leaf of a codex of Euripides, containing parts of *Orestes* 53-61 and 89-97, written on thin vellum with brown ink in a round calligraphic uncial hand of probably the fifth century. Elision-marks and high stops at the ends of lines are probably due to the first hand: a corrector, who used black ink, has altered the reading in ll. 60 and 91 and added occasional

accents and stops (in l. 56 in the middle position). This is the fifth fragment of the *Orestes* which has been obtained from Egypt; cf. 1370. int. It is too short to have much bearing on the divergences of the MSS., but has a new reading which may be right in l. 61. The verso is in much worse condition than the recto. 1623 was found with 1616.

Recto.

- 53 [ηκει γὰρ [ε]ις γ[η]ν Μενελεως Τροιας απο
[λιμ]ενα δε Να[υπλιειον] εκπληρων πλατη
55 [α]κταϊσιν ορμει δαρων εκ [Τροιας χρονον
[ά]λαισι πλαγχθεις· την δε δ[η] πολυστονον
Ελενην φυλαξας νυκτα μη [τις εισιδων
μεθ' ημεραν στείχουσαν [ων υπ Ιλιω
πα[ιδ]εσ τεθνασιν εις πέτ[ρων] ελθη βολας
60 [πρ]ουπεμφε' εις δωμ' ημε[τερον] εστιν δ εσω
[κλαιουσ α]δελφ[ην] συμφορας τ[ε] δωματων

Verso.

- 89 [εξ ουπερ αιμα γενεθλιον κατ]ηγγ[ισεν]
90 [ω μελεος η τεκουσα θ ως διωλ]ετο·
[ουτως εχει ταδ ωσ]τ' απειρηκεν κακοις·
[προς θεων πιθο]ι' αν δητα μοι τι παρθενε·
[ως ασχολος γε συγγο]ργου προσεδρια·
[βουλει ταφον μοι] προς κασιγνητης μολλ[ε]ι[ν]
95 μητρος κελειεις τ[η]ς εμης τινοσ χαρι[ν]
κομης απαρχασ κα[ι] χοασ φερουσα εμασ
[σοι δ ουχι θεμι]τον προς φιλ[ω]ν στειχ[ειν] ταφον

53. [ε]ις: ες edd., as in l. 59 and 60.

58. The supposed accent on στείχουσαν is somewhat uncertain, being really over the χ: but in l. 59 the accent on πέτ[ρων] (which is also not quite certain) is above the τ.

59. πέτ[ρων]: πέτρων Cod. Parisinus 2713; πετρων other MSS.; πέτρων edd. Cf. l. 58, n. Whether 1616 had ελθη with most MSS. or ελθοι with Vat. is of course uncertain.

61. συμφορας: συμφοράν MSS. Cf. int.

91. The first hand may have written 3 letters where ηκ was substituted by the corrector. The MSS. vary between απείρηκεν (so 1616 corr., the Marcianus and edd.), απείρηκα, and απείρηκ' έν, but the original reading here seems to have been different.

97. φιλ[ω]ν: the MSS. vary between φίλων and φίλον: φίλων edd. ω suits the size of the lacuna here better than ο.

1617. ARISTOPHANES, *Plutus*.

23.5 × 16.7 cm.

Fifth century.

Part of a sheet containing two leaves of a papyrus codex of Aristophanes, one of which has most of the first 60 lines of the *Plutus*, a play not hitherto represented in papyri, while of the other leaf only a small fragment is preserved, which is insufficient for purposes of identification. The script is a mixture of uncial and cursive in a style resembling that of 1599, but somewhat later in date, and probably belongs to the fifth century, like most of the extant fragments of Aristophanes upon papyrus. The breathings and most of the accents, which are fairly numerous, are by the original scribe, who used brown ink; but some accents were added in black ink, presumably by a different person. The stops, consisting of double dots marking a change of speaker or single high points, are, except at the end of l. 35, by the first hand, as are probably the name of the speaker against l. 22, the glosses on ll. 34, 39, and 51, the iotas adscript, which were usually omitted in the first instance, and all the corrections except perhaps that in l. 13 and the correction or gloss in l. 17. An omission of two lines after l. 19 seems to have been made good by an addition at the bottom.

The corrected text is fairly accurate, and shows the same tendency as that observable to a marked degree in 1374 (*Wasps*) to support the Venetus (ll. 17, 22, 32, 33, 40) rather than the Ravennas (ll. 38, 43, 51, but all points of minor importance). In two places (ll. 4 and 50) it agrees with the Parisinus (A) against both R and V. The only new variant occurs in l. 49, ταῦθ' for τοῦθ', which makes no difference to the sense. The difficulties in ll. 17, 46, and 48 are not affected, the reading of the MSS. being apparently confirmed in each case. The circumstance that the *Plutus* begins at the top of a page suggests that this play was the first of the codex, as in R and V: the same argument applied to 1371-4 made the *Clouds* the first play of that collection; cf. 1371. int.

Fol. 1 recto.

ὡς ἀργαλέον πρᾶγμα[[α]] ἐστὶν ᾧ Ζεῦ κ[αὶ θεοὶ
δοῦλον γενέσθαι παραφρονοῦν[τος δεσποτου
ἦν γὰρ τὰ βέλτισθ' ὁ θεράπων λεξ[ιας τυχη
δοξῆι δὲ μὴ δρᾶν ταῦτ' ἰὼ κεκτ[ημενω
5 μετεχειν ἀνάγκη τον θεράποντ[α των κακων
του σώματος γὰρ οὐκ εἶ τον κυριογ[ι
κρατεῖν ο δαιμων ἀλλα τον εων[ημενον
καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δη ταῦτα τῷ δ[ε] Λο]ξ[ια

- 10 *ος θεσπιωδεῖ τρίποδος εκ χρυ[σηλατου*
μέμψιν δικαίαν μεμφομαι τ[αυτην] οτι
ιατρος ων και μαντις ως φασιν [σοφος
μελανχολῶντ' απέπεμψεν μο[υ] τον δεσποτην
οστι[ς ακ]ολ[ουθε]ι κα[[ι]]τό[[ιτ]]ιν[[α]] ανθ[ρωπου] τυφλου
 15 *τ[ουναντιον] δρων η] προσήκ αυτω [ποιειν*
[οι γαρ] βλεποντες] τοις τυφλοις ή[γουμεθα
ο[υτος] δ ακολουθει κ[α]μέ προσβι[αζεται
]. αι
κ[αι] ταύτ αποκρino]μενου το παρ[απαν] ουδε γρυ
εγ[ω] μεν ουν ουκ] εσθ οπ[ως] σιγησομαι
 19 *τ[ην] μη φρασης] ο [τι] τωδ ακολουθουμεν ποτε*
 22 *Χρεμ[α] Δι' αλλ αφε[λ]ων τον σ[τεφανον] ην λυπης τι με*
ινα μαλλον [α]λγη[ς]. λή[ρος] ου γαρ πανσομαι
πριν αν φρασης μοι τι[ς] ποτ εστιν ουτοσι
 25 *[ευνους] γαρ ων] σοι [πυνθανομαι] πανυ σφοδρα*
 6 lines lost

Fol. I verso.

- 32 *[επερησο]μενος ουν ωιχόμεν ὡς τον θεον*
[τον] εμον] μεν αυτου του ταλεπωρου σχεδον
ηδη νομιζ[ω]ν] εκτετοξενυσθαι βιον·
 35 *[τον] δ υιον] ὅσπερ ὦν μονος μοι τυγχάνει·*
[πενσομε]νος ει χρη μεταβαλόντα του[ς] τροπους
[ειναι] παν]ουργον· αδικο[[υ]]ν ὑγιές μηδε ἐν
[ως] τω βι]ω τουτ' αὐτο νομίσας συμφερειν :
 40 *[τι] δητα Φο]ιβος ελακεν εκ τῶν στεμματων·*
[πενσει] σαφ]ως γαρ ὁ θεος ειπε μοι ταδι·
[ο]τω ξυ]ναν τησεμι πρῶτον ἐξιῶν
[εκελευσε] το]υτου μη μεθιεσθαι μ' [[ημ]] ἐτι·
[πειθειν] δ] ε]μαυτω' ξυ]νακολουθεῖν οικαδε[.]
[και] τω ξυ]ανταῖς] δητα πρῶτω' : του[τ]ω' :

εκβεβλ[ησ]θαι ἀπο
 λελοιπέναι

- 45 [εἰτ ου ξυνί]εις την επι[νοϊαν του θεο]υ
 φραζουσα]υ ὦ σκαιότατ[ε σοι σαφεστάτα
 [ασκειν του] ὕιον τον επι[χωριον τροπον
 [τωι τουτο κρι]νεις: δηλ[ον οτιη και τυφλ]ω
 γνωναῖ ^{ταιθ'} δοκ[εῖ] ως σφοδρ [εστι συμφερο]υ
 50 [το μηδεν ασ]κεῖν υ[γιες εν τω νυν] χρόνωι[:
 [ουκ εσθ οπως ο] χρησμος εις τουτο ρέπει φερ[εται
 [αλλ εις ετερον τι με]ρίζον: ην δ ημιν φράσμη
 [οστις ποτ εστιν ο]υτοσῑ και τ[ο]υ χαριν
 [και του δεομενος] ηλθε μετ[α] νωγ εν[θαδε
 55 [πυθοιμεθ αν τον χ]ρη[σμον] ^{ημων} ο τι [νοει
 [αγε δη συ ποτερον σαυτον οσ]τι[ς ει] φ[ρασεις
 4 lines lost

Fol. 2 verso.

11 lines lost

72 α . [

17 lines lost

Fol. 2 recto.

10 lines lost

100] λ . [. . .

] . . . τ ε . . φ . . ε .

17 lines lost

4. ταυτά: the accent is due to the corrector. ταυτά A; τ' αὐτὰ U; ταῦτα RV.

12. ἀπέπεψεν: l. ἀπέπεψε.

17. ἀποκρινο]μενου: or ἀποκρινο]μενοι, which is equally difficult; ἀποκρινομένη R; ἀποκρινομένου VAU; ἀποκρινόμενος Bentley. The interlinear writing does not seem to refer to the termination of the word and may be a gloss, as in l. 39; but it is not certain that anything was written before αι, and, as Dr. R. T. Elliott remarks, αι may be merely a variation of spelling of ε; cf. ll. 33, 41.

19. The partly obliterated sign against this line seems to be distinct from the abbreviation of Χρεμ(ύλος) immediately below and to refer to the omission of ll. 20-1, which were presumably supplied in the lower margin.

22. ἀφε[λ]ων: so VAU; R. adds γε.

32. ὦς: so VAU; πρὸς R.

33. τοῦ: so VAU; om. R.

34 marg. Similar but not verbally corresponding notes on ἐκτετοξεῖσθαι occur in the extant scholia.

37. There was possibly a stop (one or even two dots) after εν, but none is required.

38. αὐτο: so RAU (αὐτό): ωὐτῶι corr. from αὐτῶι (?) V.

συμφερειν: so RV; ξυμφ. AU. Cf. l. 43, n.

39. εἶπεν is an explanation of ελακεν, not a variant. Double dots are expected at the end of the line, and perhaps the lower one has been effaced.

40. ταδι: so V; τοδί RAU.
 42. Whether the papyrus had εκελευσε with VAU or εκελευε with R is uncertain.
 43. ξυνακολουθείν: so RAU; συνακ. V. Cf. l. 38, n.
 45. ξυνί]εις: so RV; ξυνίης AU.
 46. φραζουσα]ν: so MSS.; φράζοντος Cobet. The traces of the last letter suit ν, but not σ.
 48. τυφλ]ω: so MSS.; τυφλός Hemsterhuys. The reading of the vestiges is very uncertain, and possibly there was a stop at the end of the line.
 49. ταυθ: τοῦθ' MSS. ταυθ' would be more likely to become τοῦθ' in view of the following συμφέρων than vice versa.
 50. χρόνωι: so AU; βίωι R; ἔτει (with γρ. γένει καὶ χρόνωι in the marg.) V.
 51. εις: so RAU; ἐς V.
 51 marg. For φερ[εται (a note on ρέπει) cf. Schol. Junt. φέρεται, ἀποβλέπει κτλ. But the vestiges are very doubtful.
 52. μέ]ζον: : R also marks a change of speaker here, assigning ἦν δ' ἡμῖν κτλ. το θερ(άπων), i. e. Καρίων, and l. 56 originally to Χρ(εμύλος).

1618. THEOCRITUS, *Idyls* v, vii, xv.

Fr. 7 24.4 × 24 cm. Fifth century. Plate IV (Col. x).

These fragments of a papyrus codex of Theocritus, originally about 40 in number, combined with the exception of a few minute scraps, which are not printed, to form parts of four leaves, of which two containing *Id.* v. 53–end and vii. 1–13 are successive, and a third (vii. 68–117) is only separated from the second by an interval of one leaf, while the fourth (xv. 38–100) may have come much later. A narrow selis of the third leaf (Cols. vii–viii) was joined so that the verso corresponds to the recto of the rest of the leaf. All the leaves are much damaged, especially the first, of which the recto is barely legible anywhere owing to the discolouration of the papyrus, and the second, which is in almost the last stage of decay, so that decipherment is sometimes precarious. The script is a good-sized somewhat irregular uncial with a tendency to cursive forms, especially in α and λ, and resembles the Cairo Menander Plates D and E and 1369 (*Oedipus Tyrannus*; Part xi, Plate vii): it most probably belongs to the fifth century rather than the early part of the sixth. Iota adscript was generally omitted. The height of the column varies from 32 lines in Col. ix to 25 in Cols. vii–viii. The first hand was responsible for a few corrections, for the marks of elision throughout, and in *Id.* vii for a number of accents and breathings, besides a breathing in v. 114. Elsewhere in *Id.* vii, i. e. in Col. viii frequently and more sparsely in Cols. iv and vii, accents and breathings were inserted by a corrector, who was not appreciably later than the first hand and revised *Id.* v and vii (not always very intelligently; cf. vii. 101, n.), but apparently not xv, altering a number of readings and adding a few interlinear glosses (vii. 110) and stops (vii. 77).

The published fragments of Theocritus from Egypt have hitherto been very exiguous, being limited to 694, which contains parts of xiii. 19-34 (2nd cent.), some tiny vellum scraps of *Id.* i, iv, v, xiii, xv, xvi, xxii (Wessely, *Wiener Stud.* 1886, 220 sqq. and *Mittheil. Pap. Rain.* ii. 78 sqq.; 5th or 6th cent.), and of xi and xiv (*Berliner Klassikertexte* v. 1, p. 55; 7th? cent.), and a small piece of scholia on v. 38-49 (*op. cit.* v. 1, p. 56; 1st or 2nd cent.), all of them being practically worthless. Hence, pending the publication of the nearly contemporary and very much longer fragments of a Theocritus codex found by Johnson at Antinoë, 1618 is in spite of its lamentable condition the first papyrus contribution of any value for the text of that author. The Greek Bucolic poets are thought to have been collected two centuries after Theocritus by Artemidorus, whose son Theon edited Theocritus alone with a commentary. Additions to the collection were made by other grammarians down to the second century, and in the fifth and sixth centuries the Bucolic poets were much studied, but afterwards they suffered a long period of neglect. When in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries MSS. of them make their appearance, the collection of Artemidorus had been reduced to a nucleus of poems of Theocritus (*Id.* i, iii-xiii) accompanied by varying additions. The leading position in the MSS. is assigned to K (13th cent.), which contains *Id.* i, vii, iii-vi, viii-xiv, ii, xv, xvii, xvi. . . . Other important MSS. or groups of MSS. are (1) B, a lost codex which was the basis of the edition of Callierges and the Juntine (both 1516), and apparently had i-xvii in nearly the same order as K; (2) PQT (all 14th cent.), which have the order i, v, vi, iv, vii, iii, viii-xiii, xv, xiv, ii. . . .; (3) H (13th-14th cent.) with the order i-xv, xviii. . . .; S (14th cent.) with the order i-xiv, ἐπιτάφιος Βίωνος, xv-xviii; (4) M (13th cent.), considered to be the second-best MS. for the earlier poems, with the order i-xvii; (5) V (late 14th cent.) and Triclinius (c. 1300) with the same order as PQT up to xiii, followed by ii, xiv, xv. . . .; (6) AEU (all 14th cent.) with the order i-xviii; (7) O (12th cent.; the oldest MS., but still imperfectly collated) containing only v. 62-viii, allied to AE. In *Id.* xv, where the divergences of the MSS. are much greater than in v and vii, L (14th cent.), containing v. 55-xv. . . . but imperfectly collated in the earlier poems, supports V Tricl.

1618, as would be expected from its comparatively late date, does not present a very correct text; cf. 1614. Apart from the usual difficulties arising out of the dialect and minor errors such as μετ' for μεγ' in vii. 100, ωστ for οστ' in vii. 103, ου for ου in xv. 54, αυτας for αυται or αυτα in xv. 67, more serious corruptions occur in vii. 73 τα Ξαυες for τας Ξευεας, xv. 99 φθελξει [τι] σφ' for φθελξειται τι σαφ'. In v 1618 tends to support K against M (ll. 111, 115-16, 118, 148; 57 and 146 are doubtful); but in vii the opposite tendency is just as noticeable (ll. 79, 90, 109; against ll. 81-2, 85, 112), and in general the eclecticism of the papyrus is evident.

In v and vii new readings are rare, being confined to vii. 75 αἴτ' ἐφύοντο for αἴτε φύονται and vii. 112 Ἐβρω παρ ποταμῶ for Ἐβρον παρ ποταμῶν (both easier than the reading of the MSS.), and vii. 92 ἐν ὄρεσι for ἀν' ὄρεα, which makes no difference to the sense. The difficulties in v. 118 and 145 recur, though in v. 116, where all the MSS. except S have gone astray, 1618 has the right reading. In xv, however, where the text of Theocritus is in a much more unsettled condition, there are several novelties of importance. Chief of these is [πέρυ]σιν in l. 98, confirming a generally accepted conjecture of Reiske for the corrupt σπέρχιν or πέρχην of the MSS. Other valuable readings are ὄχλος ἀλαθέως in l. 72, which seems to account for the variants of the MSS., and ὁ κήν Ἀχέροντι φιληθείς which removes a difficulty in l. 86; but in l. 38 κατεῖπες does not solve the problem of that corrupt passage. μὴ ἀποπλαγχθῆς for μὴ τι πλανηθῆς in l. 67 is also attractive, and εἶθε for εἶ τι in l. 70 may be right, as possibly λαλεῦσαι for λαλεῦμες in l. 92. Considering the fragmentary condition of Cols. ix-x, the gains are not inconsiderable, and 1618 as a whole is an interesting specimen of a text which stands apart from the existing families of MSS. and seems to have been at least as good as that of K. That in the later poems, from xiv onwards, the condition of the text has suffered considerably since the fifth century is now probable, but the earlier poems do not seem to have undergone much change between the fifth and thirteenth centuries. On this subject, however, much fresh light may be expected from the Antinoë papyrus, which does not overlap 1618, and consists largely of the later poems.

With regard to the order of the *Idyls*, the placing of vii immediately after v is without parallel in the later MSS., but the arrangement in the contemporary vellum fragments published by Wessely, in which v followed iv and xxii followed xiii, xv being also represented, was possibly identical. The occurrence of fragments of xv in conjunction with v and vii suggests that xv occupied an earlier position than usual, but the absence of revision in xv supports the natural presumption that this poem followed, not preceded, v and vii, whether the interval was large or small.

Col. i (Frs. 1-2 recto).

- v. 5,3 [στασω δε κρατηρα μεγαν λευκοιο γαλακτος
[ταις Νυμφαις στασω δε και αδεος] αλλον ελαιω
55 [αι δε κε και τυ μολης απαλαν πτερι]ν ωδε πατησεις
[και γλαχων ανθευσαν υπεσ]σειται δε χιμαιραν
[δερματα ταν παρα τιν μαλακωτερα πολ]λακισ αρνων
[στασω δ οκτω μεν γαυλως τω Παν]ι γαλακτος

[οκτω δε σκαφιδας μελιτος πλεα κηρ]ι' εχοισας
 60 [αυτοθε μοι ποτερισδε και αυτοθε βουκο]λια^σδευ
 [ταν σαυτω πατεων εχε τας δρυας αλλα τ]ις αμμε
 [τις κρινει αιθ ενδοι ποθ ο βουκολος ωδε] Δυκω^σπας
 [ουδεν εγω τηνω ποτιδευομαι αλλα τον αν]δρα
 [αι λης τον δρυτομον βωστρησομες ος τας ερε]ικας
 65 [τηνας τας παρα τιν ξυλοχιζεται εστι δε Μορσ]ων
 . 15 lines lost

Col. ii (Frs. 1-2 verso).

81 Δαφνι^ν εγ[ω] δ' αυταις χ[ιμαρωσ δυο πραν ποκ εθυσα
 και γαρ εμ Ωπολλων [φιλει μεγα και καλον αυτω
 [κρι]ον εγω βοσκω [τα δε Καρνεα και δη εφερπει
 πλαν δυο τας λι]πιπας διδυματοκος αιγας α]μελγω
 85 και μ' α παις π[οθορευσα ταλαν λεγει αυτος] αμελγεισ
 φευ φευ Λακα^ν τοι ταλαρωσ σχεδον εικατι πληροι
 τυρω και τον [ανηβον εν ανθεσι παιδα μολυνει
 βαλλει και μά]λοισι τον αιπολον α Κλεαριστα
 τας αιγας πα[ρελωντα και αυν τι ποππυλιασδει
 90 κημε [γαρ ο Κρατιδας τον ποιμενα λειοσ υπαντων
 εκμαι]νει λιπαρα δε παρ αυχενα σειει εθειρα
 αλλ' ου συ[μβλητ εστι κυνοσβατοσ ουδ ανεμωνα
 προς ρ]οδα των ανδηρα παρ αιμασαιισι πεφυκει
 15 lines lost

Col. iii (Frs. 3-6 recto).

1 line lost

110 τοι τεττι^γε[σ ο]ρ[ητε τον αιπολον ωσ ερεθιζω
 [ουτω]ς χυμες θην ερεθισδετ[ε τωσ καλαμευτας
 [μισε]ω τας δασυκερκοσ αλ[ωπε]κασ αι [τα Μικωνοσ
 [αιει φοι]τωσαι τα προ[θεσπερα ρ]αδοντι^{ηισ}
 [κα]ι γαρ εγω μισε[ω τωσ κανθ]αροσ οι τα Φιλ[ωνδα
 115 [συ]κα κατατρωνοντες υπανεμιοι φορεονται
 [η ο]ν μεμνησ' οτ' εγων τυ κατ'ηλασα και τυ σεσαρ[ωσ]

[εὐ] π^οτεκιγκλιζεν και τας δ^ρυος η^χεο τη^να^ς
 τ^ουτο μεν ου μεμναμ[ο]κα μ^αν πο^κα τειδε τυ δ^ησ^ας
 Ε^υμα^ρα^ς εκαθη^ρε κα^λω^ς μα^λα τ^ουτο γ' ι^σα^μι
 v. 120 [η^δη] τις Μο^ρσ^ων πι^κρα^ινε^ται η ου^χι πα^ραι^σθη^ν
 [σ^κιλλ]α^ς ι^ων γ^ραι^ας απο σα^μα^το^ς αυ^τικα τιλλ^λειν
 [κ^ηγω μ^αν κ^ν]ει^ξω Μο^ρσ^ων τ^ινα και τ^υ δε λε^υσσει^ς
 4 lines lost

127 [α παι]ς α^γθ υ^δα^το^ς τα κα^λπι^δι κ^ηρια βα^ψαι
 [ται με]ν ε^μαι κυ^τισον τε και αι^γιλον αι^γε^ς ε^δον^τι
 και σ^χοι^νον π^ατε^ντι και εν κο^μα^ρο^ισι κ^εον^τι
 130 [ται]σι δ' ε^μαι^ς [οι^εσσι πα^ρε^στι με^ν α με^λι^τει^α
 [φε]ρ^βε^σθ^{αι} [πο^λλο^ς δε και ω^ς ρο^δα κ^ισ^θο^ς επ^ανη^ι
 [ου]κ ε^ραμ' Α^λκι^ππ^ας ο^τι με π^ραν ου^κ ε^φι^λη^σε
 [τ^ων ω^των κα^θε^λο^ισ' ο^κα οι τ^αν φα^σσαν ε^δω^κα
 αλλ ε^γω Ε^υμη^δε^υς ε^ρα^μαι με^γα και γ^αρ ο^κ αυ^τω
 135 τ^αν συ^ριγγ [ω]ρ^εξα κα^λον τι με καρ^τ ε^φι^λη^σεν
 ου θε^μι^τον Δ^ακ^ων πο^τ α^ηδο^{να} κ^ισ^σα^ς ε^ρι^σδ^{ει}ν
 ουδ' ε^πο^πα^ς κ^υκ^νο^ισι τυ δ' ω τα^λαν ε^σσι φι^λε^χθ^ης

Col. iv (Frs. 3-6 verso).

1 line lost

[δω^ρειται Μο^ρσ^ων τ^αν α^μν^ιδα και τυ] δε θυ^σα^ς
 140 [ται^ς Νυ^μφ^{αι}ς Μο^ρσ^ωνι κα^λλο^ν κ^ρε^ας αυ^τικα πε^μψο^ν
 [πε^μψω ναι τον] Π^ανα φ^ρι^μασ^σ[ε]^ο π^ασα τρα^γι^σκ^ω
 [ννυ αγ^ελα] κ^ηγω^ν γ^αρ ιδ' ω^ς με^γα [του^το] κα^χα^ξω
 [κα^ττω Δ^ακ^ωνο^ς τ^ω ποι^με^νο^ς ο^ττι πο^κ η^δη
 [ανυ]σα^μαν τον α^μνον ε^ς ω^ρα^νον [υ^μμ^ιν] α^λε^υμαι
 145 αι^γε^ς ε^μαι θα^ρσ^ει^τε κ^ερ^υχι^δε^ς αυ^ριο^ν υ^μμ^ε
 πα^σα^ς ε^γω λου^σω Σ^υβα^ρι^τιδ^ος εν^δοθ^η λι^μνας
 αυ^το^ς ο λε^υκι^τα^ς ο κο^ρι^πτι^λο^ς ει^τι ν' ο^χε^ν σ^ει^ς
 τ^αν αι^γων φ^λασ^σω τυ π^ριν η γ' [ε]με κα^λλ^ιε^ρη^σαι
 τ^{αι}ς Νυ^μφ^{αι}ς [τ^αν α^μνον ο δ' αυ πα^λιν αλλ^α] γε^νο^ιμ^ε
 150 αι μ^η τυ φ^λασ^σαι^μι Με^λαν^θιο^ς α^γτι Κο^μα^τα
 (sic)

3 lines lost

- vii. 4 [κ Αντιγενης δυο τεκνα Λυκωπεος ει τι πε]ρ [ε]σθ[λον
 5 [Χαων των ετ ανωθεν απο Κλυτίας τε] και αυτω [
 6 [Χαλκωνος Βουριναν ος εκ ποδος αννε] κранаγ
 7 [εν γ ενερεισαμενος πετρα γονυ ται] δε παρ αυ[ταν
 6 [Χαλκωνος Βουριναν ος εκ ποδος αννε κ]ραναγ [
 8 [αιγειροι π]τελ[εαι τε ευσκιον αλσος έ]φα[ι]ν[ον
 [Χλωροισι]ν π[εταλοισι κατηρεφεις κομ]ωσαι
 10 [κουπω] ταν [μεσαταν οδον ανυμες ου]δε το σαμα
 [αμιν το Β]ρασι[λα κατεφαινετο και το]ν οδιταν
 ε[σθλον συ]ν Μ[οισαισι Κυδωνικον ευ]ρομ[ε]ς άνδρα
 ουν[ομα] με[ν Λυκιδαν ης δ αιπολος ουδε] κ[ε] τις μιν

Cols. v-vi lost

Col. vii (Fr. 7 recto).

- 68 [κνυζα τ]’ ασφοδελ[ω τε πολυγμαπτω τε σελινω
 [και πιό]μαι μαλακως μεμημηένος Αγερακτος
 70 [αυταισ]ιν κυλικ[ε]σ[σι και ε]ς τρυγ]α χείλος ερειδων
 [αυλησ]εῖντι[ν] δε μοι δύο [π]οιμεν[ε]ς εἰς μεν Αχαρρηνῶς
 [εις δε] Λυκωπίτας [ο] δε Τιτυρο[ς εγγ]υθ[ε]ν αι[σει
 [ως πο]κα τα Ξανές ηράσσατο [Δα]φνις ο βουτας
 [χως] ορος αμφ’ επονείτο και ως δρύες αυτον εθρ[η]ν[ε]ν
 75 [Τ]με[ρ]α αιτ’ εφύοντο παρ όχθαισιν ποταμοῖο
 εντε χιῶν ως τις κατετάκετο μακρὸν ὕψ’ Αἴμ[ον
 η Αθω· η Ροδόπαν η Καύκασον εσχατόω[ν]τα
 ασει δ’ ως ποκ’ [έ]δεκτο τον αιπόλον ευρεα λάρναξ
 ζῶν εντα κακ[α]σιν ατασθαλίησιν ανακτος
 80 ως τε γιν αι σιμ[αι λ]ειμωνόθε φερβον ἴοσαι
 κεδρον ες αδειαν [μαλ]ακοις άνθεσι μέλισσαι
 ουγεκα γλυκὴ Μοισ[α] κατα [στ]όματος χέε νέκταρ
 [ω] μακαριστε Κομάτα τυ θην ταδε τερπνὰ πεπονηθ[ε]ις
 [κα]ὶ τὸ κατεκλάσθης ες λα[ρ]νακα και τυ μελισσῶν
 85 [κ]ηρια φερβόμενος έτος [ωρ]ιον εξεπόνθησας·
 [αιθ επ] εμοι ζωῖς εναρ[ιθ]μιος ώφελξ ημεν
 [ως τοι εγ]ῶν ενόμενον αν ώραε τας καλας αιγας

[φωνας ει]σαίων τυ δ' υπο δρυσίν η γ' υπο πευκα[ις
 [αδν με]λισσοδόμε[ν]ος κατεκ[ε]κλ[[ε]]ισο θ[ε]ιε[ι] Ε[ο]μ[α]τ[α]
 vii. 90 [χω μεν] τοσσ' ειπων απεπαύσατο [τον δε] με[ε]τ] αυ[θ]ις
 [κηγων τ]οι εφ[α]μα[ν] Λυκίδα φίλε πολλα [μ]εν αλ[λα
 [Νυμφ]αι κημ' εδιδ[α]ξα[ν] εν ώ[ρ]εσι βουκ[ολ]εοντα

Col. viii (Fr. 7 verso).

[εσθλα τα που κα]ι Ζ[α]νο[ς] ε[π]ι [θ]ρόν[ο]ν άγαγε φαμα
 [αλλα του εκ] πα[ν]των μεγ' υπειροχον οττι γ' αείδειν
 95 [αρξεν]μ[ι] αλλ[η] [υ]πακο[υ]σον επε[ι] φ[ι]λ[ο]ς επλ[ε]ο Μοισαις
 Σιμιχιδαι μεν Ερωτες επέπτарον· ή γαρ [ο δειλος
 [τοσσ]ον[τα] [ερα Μ]υρτους ο[σον] είαιρος αίγες ερα[ν]τι
 Αρατος δ' ο [τα] πάντα φιλαίτατος ανερι τήνω
 παιδος υπο σπλάγχνοισιν εχει πόθον οιδεν [Αριστις
 100 εσθλος ανήρ μετ' αριστος ον ουδέ κεν αυτος αειδ[ε]ιν
 Φοίβος συν φόρμιγγι παρα τριπόδεσσι μετ[ά]ροι
 ως εκ παιδος Αρατος ὕπ[ο] οστ[ε]ον αιθ' -ετ' έρωτι
 τον μοι Παν Ομόλας ερατ[ο]ν [π]έδον ώστε λέλογχας
 άκλητον κέ[ι]νο[ιο] φίλας ε[ι]ς χ[ε]ιρας ερείσαις
 105 ειτ' εστ' αρα Φιλίνος δ' μαλ[θ]α[κ]ος είτε τις αλλος
 κει μεν ταυθ' έρδοις ω Π[αν] φίλε μη τι συ παιδες
 Αρκαδικοί σκίλλα[ι]σιν ὕπο πλευρας τε και ωμ[ο]υς
 [τ]ανίκα μαστίζοιεν οτε κρέα τυτθ[ά] παρείη [
 ει δ' άλλως νευσαις κατα μεν χροά παντ' [ου]νεσσι
 εν ακαληφαις
 110 δακνόμενος κνα[σαιο] και εν κνίδαισι [καθ]ευδοις
 [ει]ης δ' Ηδ[ω]νων με[ν] εν ώρεσι χείματι μεσσω
 [Εβ]ρω πα[ρ] ποταμω τ[ε]τραμμένο[ς] εγγυθεν αρκτου
 εν δε θέ[ρ]ε[ι] πυματοισι [π]α[ρ] Αί[θ]ι[ό]π[ε]σσι υ[ρο]μοινοις
 πετραι [υ]πο Βλεμύων όθεν ουκέτι Νε[ι]λος ορατος
 115 υμμε[ι]ς δ' Υ[ε]τιδος και Βυβλιδος αδ[ὸ]ν λιποντες
 [να]μα και Οικε[ν]τα ξαι[θ]α[ς] [ε]δος αιπύ Δί[ων]ας
 [ω] μάλο[ι]σιν Ερωτε[ι]ς ερε[υ]θομέν[ο]ισιν ομο[ι]οι

Some columns lost

Col. ix (Frs. 8-16 recto).

- xv. 38 [αλλα κατα γ]νωμαν απ[εβα τοι το]υτο κατ'ειπ[ες
 [τωμ]πεχ[ο]νον φερε μοι κ[αι ταν] θολιαν κατα [κοσμον
 40 [αμφ]ιθες ουκ αξω τυ τεκν[ον μο]ρμω δακν[ει ιππος
 [δα]κρνε [ο]σσα θελεις χωλον [δ ου δ]ει τυ γεν[εσθαι
 [ερωμει]ς Φρυγια τον μ[ικκον παι]σδε λαβ[οισα
 [ταν κυν' ε]σω καλεσον τ[αν αυλειαν] α[ποκλαξο]ν
 [ω θεοι οσσο]ς οχ[λ]ος πω[ς και ποκα το]υτο π[ερασαι
 45 [χρη το κακο]ν μυρμα[κες αναριθ]μοι κ[αι αμετ]ρο[ι
 [πολλα τοι ω Πτ]ολε[μαιοι πεποιηται καλα εργ]α
 [εξ ω εν αθανατοις ο τεκων ουδεις κακοεργ]ος
 3 lines lost
- 51 α[δι]στα [Γοργοι τι γεινομεθα τοι πολεμισται
 ἵππο]ι τ[ω] β[ασιληος ανε]ρ φιλε μη με πατησης
 [ο]ρθος α[ν]εστ[α ο πυρρος ιδ] ως αγριος κυνοθαρσης
 α[]
 Ευνο σν φε[υξη διαχρησειται τον αγωντα
 55 ωνα[θ]ην μεγαλωσ οτι μοι το βρεφος μενει ενδον
 θαρ[σει Πραξινο]α και δη γεγενημεθ οπισθεν
 τοι δ [εβαν εσ χωραν καυτα συναγειρομαι ηδη
 1 line lost
- [εκ π]αι[δος σπενδωμε]σ οχλος πολυσ αμμιν επιρρ[ει
 60 [εξ] αυλ[ασ ω] μα[τερ] εγ[ων ω τεκνα παρενθε]ι[ν]
 ευμαρε[ς] εις Τροιαν π[ειρωμενοι ην]θον Αχαιοί
 [κα]λλισται παιδων π[ειραι θην παντα] τελειται
 [χρησ]μωσ α π[ρεσβυτι]σ απωιχετο θεσ[πιξασα
 [παν]τα γυνο[ικεσ ισαντι και ωσ Ζευ]σ αγ[άγεθ' Ηραν
 65 [θασα]ι Πρ[αξινο]α περι τασ] θυρ[ασ οσσο]σ ομιλος
 [θεσπεσι]οσ Γοργοι δοσ] ταν χερα μ[ει λα]βε και τυ
 [Ευνοα Ευτυχι]δοσ ποτ'εχ' αυτασ μη [α]ποπλαγχθησ
 [πασαι αμ] εισενθωμεσ] απριξ εχευ Ε[υ]νοα αμων
 [οιμοι δειλαια δι]χα μεν] το θεριστριον η[δ]η

Col. x (Frs. 8-16 verso). Plate iv.

- xv. 70 [εσχιστ]αι Γοργοι ποτ-[τω Διος ε]ιθε γενοιο
 [ευδαιμω]ν ανθρωπε [φυλασ]σεν τ' ονπεχονο[ν μ]ευ [
 [ουκ επ ε]μιν μεν ομ[ως δε] φυλαξομαι οχλος αλαθεω[ς
 [ωθενυθ] ωσπε[ρ υεσ θαρσε]ι γυναι εν καλω εμεις
 [κεις ωρα]ς κηπε[ιτα φιλ α]νδρων εν καλω ε[ιης
 75 [αμμε περιστ]ελ[λ]α[ν χρηστου κ]οικτειρμονος α[νδρος
 [φλιβετ]αι Ευν[οα αμμιν α]γ' ω δειλα [τ]υ βι[αζεν
 [κ]αλλι[σ]τ εν[δο]ι πασαι ο ταν ν[υ]νον ει[π]' α[ποκλαξ]ας
 [Πρ]αξι[νοα] πο[ταγ] ωδε τα ποικ[ι]λα πρατο[ν] αθηρσον
 [λε]πτα [και ως χαριεντα θεων περον]α[ματα φασει]ς
 80 [πο]τ[υ]ν[ι] Αθηναια ποιαι σφ επονασαν εριθοι
 3 lines lost
 [αυτος δ ως θαητος επ αργυρεας κατακειτ]αι
 85 [κλισμω πρατον ιουλον απο κροταφων] κ[ατα]βαλλω
 [ο τριφιλητος Αδωνι]ς ο κην Αχερον[τι φ]ιληθεις
 [παυσασθ ω δυστανοι ανανυτα κωτιλλ]οισ[α]ι
 [τρυγονες εκκναισειντι πλατειασδοισα]ι α[παν]τα
 [μα ποθεν ανθρωπος τι δε τιν ει κωτιλαι ειμε]ς
 90 [πασσαμενος επιτασσε Συρακοσιαις επιτασ]σεις [
 [ως ειδης και τουτο Κορινθιαι ειμες ανωθεν]
 [ως και ο Βελλεροφων Πελοποννασιστι λαλ]εσαι [
 [δω]ρισθ[εν δ εξεστι δο]κω τοις [Δ]ωρ[ι]ε[ε]σσι
 μη φυη Μ[ε]λιτωδες ος αμων] καρτερο[ς] ειη
 95 πλα[ν] εν[ος ουκ αλεγω μη μοι κενεα]ν απομαξης
 σ[ι]γη Πρ[αξι]νοα μελλει τον Αδωνι[ν] αιειδ[ειν]
 α τας Αργ[ε]ιας θυγατη]ρ [πολυιδρι]ς α[ο]ιδος
 ατις και [περυ]σιν τον ἰαλ[ε]μον αριστευσε
 φθεγξ[ει] [τι] σφ' οίδα καλο[ν διαθρυπτεται ηδη
 100 δεσποιν' [α] Γολγως τε και Ι[δαλιον ε]φιλησας

v. 53. The vestiges of ll. 53, 56, 58, 60-2, and 65 are too slight to give a real clue.

57. πολ[υ]λακίς: so KH²AF. (and O according to Wilamowitz, who, however, elsewhere states that this MS. begins at l. 62); τετράκίς MPQΓH¹. There are fairly distinct traces of λ, but possibly it was corrected from or to ρ by the first hand.

87. τυρω: the ω seems to have been corrected from αν.

111. χυμες: so K; κ' ὕμες or χ' ὕμες the rest.
 ἐρεθισθε[ε: so most MSS.; ἐρεθίζετε KMP.
114. εγω: so MSS.; ἐγών edd. since Brunck. Cf. l. 116, where 1618 has εγω, but most MSS. and edd. ἐγώ.
115. φορευονται: so KOHA; ποτέονται MPQTV, v. l. in schol.
116. [η ο]ν: η is omitted by OPTQ¹ Tricl., but must have been written here.
 μεμνησ': so KP (μεμνασ') according to Hiller; but according to Wilamowitz KP have μέμνα like ΜΗΑΕ, others reading 'μέμνασ'.
- στ': so MSS.; σκ' Tricl., edd. For εγω cf. l. 114, n.
117. ηχο: l. ειχο.
118. μαν ποκα: so K γρ. (ὄκα μάν ποκα τίν τοι δήσας) M²PQT¹H²S² Tricl.; μάν the rest; μάν τοι Wilamowitz.
- τειδε: so K; τείνδε P; τήνδε Q; τήδε MOAS.
121. [σκιλλ]ας ἴων: the reading is uncertain, but no variant is known.
129. σ]χοινον: so ASL; σχίνου other MSS., edd.
144. τον: so MSS. except K² (τάν; so edd.).
145. κερουχιδες: so MSS. κερουλίδες and κερουλκιδες are vv. ll. in the scholia; κερούτιδες Ahrens.
146. λιφ[νας: so MAE; but the vestiges are too slight to decide with certainty between this and κρο[νας (KOP).
148. η γ' [ε]με: so KO &c.; ἦ ἐμὲ M¹PQ Tricl.; ἦ γέ με Schaefer. Cf. vii. 88, n.

vii. 5-6. The ν of αυτω[has a stroke through it in the black ink used by the corrector, and it is not clear whether he rewrote that letter or was making a flourish at the end of κραναν when inserting l. 6 in its proper place. Line 7 was placed before l. 6 by the first hand. The final letter of κραναν is not much like ν in either place, but no variant is known.

8. ἔφανον is the reading of the MSS., corrected to ὕφανον by Heinsius, comparing Virg. *Ecl.* ix. 42 *lentae lexuui umbracula uiles*. All that survives in the papyrus is an accent by the corrector (as is that in l. 12) and traces which are reconcilable with φα and ν.

10. The first hand apparently wrote σημα.

12-13. It is not certain that the fragment containing ε[and ου[at the beginnings of lines is correctly placed here.

13. μιν: apparently corr. from νιν, rather than vice versa. μιν MSS.; νιν edd.

69. The first hand perhaps wrote Αγιακτος like P.

70. αυταισ]ν: so (or αυταισι) MSS.; αυαισιν Schaefer; αυταις εν Valckenaer. The traces of a letter preceding ν do not suit ε.

71. The ν of αυλησ]ενντι seems to have been corrected or added by the second hand, which crossed out the superfluous ν at the end.

73. τα Ξανés: l. τας Ξενéας (or ξενéας) with KMO &c.; ξενίás PS; a v. l. ξανθás (i. e. Ξάνθας) is recorded by the scholia.

74. αμφ' επονειτο: so Ahrens; ἀμφεπονείτο Wil. with KPH; ἀμφοπολείτο OSQAE Tricl.; in M ν is corr. from λ. The apostrophe does not necessarily imply that the scribe regarded αμφ and επονειτο as two words; cf. e. g. v. 116 κατ'ηλασα.

75. αυτ' εφύοντο: αυτε φύοντι MSS. The intransitive use of φύω is very rare in early writers, but occurs again in Theocr. iv. 24 καλὰ πάντα φύοντι (where, however, HS read φύονται) and in Mosch. iii. 108. αυτ' εφνοντο removes a difficulty, but may be only an emendation or a slip due to the other imperfects; cf. xv. 86, n.

78. The first hand wrote αισει and seems to have omitted ξ of λαπραξ.

79. ατασθαλίσιν: so M; ἀτασθαλίαισιν KP.

80. λειμωνόθε: λειμωνιώθεν KP; λειμωνοθί M; λειμωνόθε the rest (?). Above the *vo* the corrector has apparently crossed out a grave accent by the first hand, which at the end of the line seems to have written *ιονσαι* like P.

81. άνθεσι: so K; l. άνθεσσι.

82. [στ]όματος χέε: so KP &c.; στόμα εγχεε M.

83. Κομάτα: the MSS. wrongly accentuate this paroxytone.

πεποιθε[ις: *ουτε* is very doubtful, and *πεπετ* . . might be read; but no variant is known.

85. εξεπόνησας: so most MSS. (*εξεπόνασας*); *εξετέλεσας* OM and v.l. in the scholia.

86. εμοι: so most MSS.; *έμευ* P, edd.

88. η γ' υπο: η̄ υπό MSS. There is room for two letters between η and υ, and γ' is uncertain; but cf. v. 148.

90. απεπαύσατο: so most MSS., edd.; *ανεπαύσατο* K.

92. κημ' εδιδ[αξα]ν: κήμ' έδίδαξαν MSS. apparently.

εν ώ[ρ]εσι: αν' ώρεα MSS., a reading which may well be due to the proximity of αν' ώρεα in l. 87. Cf. int.

94. οτι γ' αιδειν: so O Tricl. and v.l. in the scholia. The vestiges are very faint, but do not suit ω τυ γεραιε(ι)ν, the ordinary reading.

96. ή: l. ή.

98. Αρατος: so KMPQA¹; "Ωρατος SA² Tricl.

100. μετ': l. μεγ'. Cf. the next note.

101. μεταροι: μεγαίροι MSS. except P (*μεγαίρει*). Probably the first hand wrote *μεγαιροι*, and the corrector altered it wrongly, being apparently under the influence of the incorrect *μετ'* in l. 100. The τ is clear; *με-γαιροι* (cf. l. 102, n.) cannot be read.

102. The first hand had divided wrongly *αιθ' ετ*, which the corrector altered by a stroke connecting θ and ε; cf. xv. 70, n.

103. Ομόλος: so KM; *όμόλου* HO; *όμόλου* with ω suprascr. P; Μαλέας Ahrens.

ώστε: l. *δστε*.

104. κε[ίνο]ιο: so KMP &c.; *τήνοιο* H. Above the κ is a superfluous accent added by the corrector.

ερείσαι: the corrector apparently added an accent above ερ, but crossed it out, adding one over ισ, though that is really more like a rough breathing.

105. ειτ' εστ' αρα Φιλίνος: so MSS. except S (*εΐτε Φ. ἄρ' εστίν*). 1618's accent on Φιλίνος should have been circumflex.

106. κει: so S, edd.; *κήν* the rest.

ταῖθ': so H &c.; *ταῖτ'* KMP.

έρδοις: so KMP²; *έρδεις* HSE¹.

συ: so K²; τυ most MSS. and edd.

108. μαστίχοιεν: μαστισδοιεν MSS. apparently.

109. νεύσαις: so most MSS.; *νεύσεις* K; *νεύσοις* PS. What the first hand wrote instead of *αλλως* is obliterated.

110. With the gloss on εν κνιδαισι cf. schol. κνίδη ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἀκαλήφη δὲ ὑπ' Ἀττικῶν.

111. ώρεσι: οὔρεσι, KMP &c.

112. [Eβ]ρω πα[ρ] ποταμῶ: a new reading. The first hand wrote [Eβ]ρον πα[ρ] ποταμον. *εβρον παρ ποτ.* S; *εβρον παρ ποτ.* KMOPHA. Cf. int.

τ[ε]τραμμένο[ς]: so most MSS.; *κεκλιμένος* K γρ. MPTQ¹; *τετραμμένον* some late MSS. The corrector at any rate must have read *-μένος*, not *-μένον*.

113. The first hand wrote *Αι[θι]οποισι*.

116. Οικευ[ρ]τα: so S and schol.; *οικεύντας* O; *οικεύντες* the rest; *οίκουντα* Hecker.

38. τοῦτο κατ'επιφ.ες: τοῦτο κα ε. KL; τ. καλὸν ε. PHS²AE; τ. καλ' ε. some late MSS.; τοῦ τόκα ε. οἱ ναὶ καλὸν εἴπας the old edd. Cf. int.

41. [δα]κρυε: so MSS.; δάκρυ' edd.

[ο]σσα θελεις: so KP &c.; ὄσσο' ἐρέλεις HS. θ is corr. from λ or π by the first hand.

42. παι]σδε: so most MSS.; παῖδα K.

54. Εὐνοα συ φει[υξη: Εὐνόα οὐ φειξῆ MSS. It is possible that ο was added above the line after α], but the σ of συ was not corrected.

59. επιρρ]ει: these two letters are on a separate fragment of which the position is uncertain.

60. εγ[ων ω τεκνα παρενθε]ιν. The supposed ι is represented by the tip of a stroke above the χ of Αχαιοί in l. 61, which suggests ι or ρ. The MSS. vary between τέκνα εἴτα π. H¹SW Tricl., ὦ τέκνα εἴτα π. AEL, and ὦ τέκνα π. KPH². The objection to the restoration of either of the first two readings is that παρενθε]ιν would not come at the right point and with παρ]ενθην the last letter or two would be expected to be visible, whereas a vestige of ink at the end of the line is too near the supposed ρ to be the final ν of ενθει]ν and seems to be the accent of Αχαιοί.

62. [κα]λλισται: so D and another Paris MS. according to Ahrens, and a Venetian MS. according to Ziegler; κάλλιστε P; καλλίστα K &c., Wil.

64. Ηραν: so KP; *Ηρην most MSS.

67. αυτας: αὐτά(ι) οἱ αἰτά MSS.; αὔτα Wil.

μη [α]ποπλαγχθης: μή τι (οἱ τυ) πλωηθῆς MSS. ἀποπλαγχθῆς, an aorist often found in Homer, may well be right. For the hiatus cf. e.g. the reading of the MSS. in vii. 88.

68. εχεν: so most MSS.; εχε KH.

αμων: so most MSS. rightly; δωμά K; δμωίς P.

70. Γοργοι: so most MSS.; Γοργῶ KE. For the stroke connecting ποτ and τω (by the first hand) cf. vii. 102, n.

ει]θε: εἴ τι MSS. Cf. int.

71. φυλασ]σεν: so S; φυλάσσειο the rest.

τ' ονπεχονε]ν: l. τῶμπεχονε]ν.

72. φυλαξομαι: so MSS.; φυλαξοῖμαι the ancient editions.

αλαθεα]ς: ἀθέως K; ἀθρόως PA; ἄθρως M; ἀθρόος (sometimes after ἄχλος) other MSS.; ἀθαρῶς Ahrens. αλαθεως accounts satisfactorily for the reading of K and the attempts to emend it. The traces suit s a very well.

77. εν]δοι: if εν]δειν, the usual form in the MSS., had been written, part of the ν would have been expected to be visible; but this is not certain.

86. Αδωνος ο κην Αχερον]τι φ[ιλ]ηθεις: *Αδ. ὁ κῆν 'Αχ. φιλείται most MSS. apparently (φιληται K); *Αδ. ὁς κῆν 'Αχ. φιλείται PV; *Αδων ὁς κῆν 'Αχ. φιλείται Ahrens; *Αδωνος ὁ κῆν 'Αχ. φιλητός Reiske, which comes near the reading of the papyrus. ὄ for ὄς relative, though common in Homer, seems to be very rare, if found at all, elsewhere in Theocritus; but φιληθείς would be a natural emendation to some one who misunderstood ο . . . φιλείται. Cf. int. and vii. 75, n.

92. λαλ]ενσαι: λαλεῖμες MSS. Cf. int.

94. ειη: οἱ ειη.

96. σιγη: so K; σίγα other MSS.

98. [περ]σιν: so Reiske for σπέρχιν or πέρχην (K). The restoration is fairly certain, for though ε (but no other letter) might possibly be read instead of σ, there is not room for five letters in the lacuna, and the traces suit σ better. Cf. int.

99. φθειξει [τι] σφ': φθειξεί τι σάφα P; φθειξείται τι σάφ' other MSS. rightly.

100. Γολγως: so K; γολγῶ or γολγόν the rest.

1619. HERODOTUS iii.

Fr. 10 10.8 × 13.5 cm. Late first or early second century. Plate V (Fr. 10).

These portions of a roll containing the third book of Herodotus belong, like 1092 (fragments of the second book in a different hand), to the large find of literary papyri made in 1906 which produced 1082-3, 1174-6, 1231, 1233-5, 1359-61, 1610-11, &c. About 40 pieces, subsequently reduced by combinations to 25, have been identified; but several of the still more fragmentary texts accompanying the Herodotus were written in hands so similar that small pieces of the various texts can hardly be distinguished, and two of these MSS., Homer, N-Ξ and a tragedy (?), seem to have been actually written by the scribe of the Herodotus: we have therefore ignored for the present a large number of unidentified scraps. Parts of about 220 lines scattered over chs. 26-72 are preserved, the earlier columns being better represented than the later. The hand is a well-formed round uncial of medium size, of the same class as P. Brit. Mus. 128 (Homer Ψ-Ω; Kenyon, *Class. Texts*, Plate viii, there dated too early), 8 (Alcman?; Part i, Plate ii), and the Berlin Alcaeus (Schubart, *Pap. Græcae*, Plate xxix b), and no doubt belongs to the period from A. D. 50 to 150. Some documents of the Domitian-Trajan period, e. g. 270 (A. D. 94; Part ii, Plate viii) and P. Fay. 110 (A. D. 94; Plate v), are written in practically uncial hands of a similar type, and the care with which iota adscript is inserted also supports a late first-century date. K is written in two pieces separated by a space, and T is y-shaped. The columns had 39-40 lines, and the beginnings of lines tended to slope away slightly to the left. The lines range from 21-6 or 27 letters, with an average of 23-4. The common angular sign is used for filling up short lines. Punctuation was effected by short blank spaces and paragraphi, which in the case of longer pauses are combined with a coronis, as e. g. in the British Museum Bacchylides papyrus. A few stops (in the middle and low positions) which occur (ll. 177, 332, and 410) are not due to the original scribe; but he was responsible for the breathings in ll. 180 and 434, the occasional diaereses over initial *ι* or *ν*, as well as for the insertion above the line of an omitted word (l. 446), and probably for the corrections or alternative readings added above the line between dots in ll. 143, 327, and 380. The MS. has undergone considerable revision, for at least two cursive or semiuncial hands, which are different from that of the main text but approximately contemporary with it, can be distinguished in various notes in the upper margin or between the columns, either correcting or explaining the text (ll. 69, 131, 355, 379, 410, nn.).

1619 is nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ times as long as 1092, which is much the longest Herodotean papyrus published hitherto; the others, most of which also come from Oxyrhynchus (18, 19, 695, 1244, 1375, P. Munich in *Archiv*, i, p. 471, Ryl. 55, Brit. Mus. 1109 in Viljoen, *Herodoti fragmenta in papyris servata*, p. 44; cf. also the lemmata in P. Amh. 12), are quite small. Since 1619 is also the earliest or one of the earliest authorities for the author (P. Munich is ascribed to the first or second century, the rest to the second or third), it is of considerable value for the history of the text. The mediaeval MSS. are divided into two groups known as (a) the Florentine, headed by A (tenth century) and B (eleventh century), and (β) the Roman, headed by RSV (all fourteenth century): C, an eleventh century MS. of group (a), P (fourteenth century; mixed) and E (excerpts only; thirteenth century) and other late MSS. are unimportant. Stein gave a decided preference to (a), regarding unsupported readings of (β), which had been preferred by Cobet and other scholars, as in most cases conjectures. Hude puts the value of the two families almost on an equality, with a slight preference for (a). 1619 bears practically the same relation as 1092 to the two groups, the agreements with (a) being nearly twice as numerous as those with (β). A similar relation is traceable in two of the other Herodotean papyri (19 and 1244; the others, so far as they go, support (a), except P. Amh. 12); and the evidence is now sufficiently extensive both to afford a substantial justification of the eclectic method pursued by Hude before the appearance of 1092, and to confirm the natural superiority on the whole of the older group. The tendency to attest the antiquity of suspected interpolations, which is so often exhibited by papyrus texts and is already traceable in regard to Herodotus (cf. Viljoen, *op. cit.* p. 59), is illustrated by 1619 in ll. 28 and 69, where τῶν κακῶν probably and καλεομένων certainly occurred, though in both cases bracketed even by Hude, who is more conservative in this respect than his predecessors. Other passages in which the text of the mediaeval MSS. is confirmed against changes introduced by modern scholars are ll. 17, 147, 168, 333, and 411. Here the traditional reading can generally be defended without much difficulty, but not in l. 168, nor perhaps in l. 333. With regard to new readings, in l. 108, a passage in which the repetition of the same word σκύλαξ had caused a difficulty, 1619 omits the word in the third place in which it occurs in the MSS., while modern editors have proposed to omit it in the second, and in l. 267 the redundancy of the expression οὐ πολλῶ μετέπειτα χρόνῳ ὕστερον is remedied by the apparent omission of ὕστερον. The addition of τῆς before ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ in ll. 383-4 may well be right, but the omission of ὦν after τούτων in l. 320 may be merely a slip. The solution of the crux in l. 319, where the MSS. are corrupt and 1619 had a shorter reading, is barred by a lacuna; cf. ll. 443-4, n. The other new readings concern the dialect,

in which respect **1619** is not conspicuously more correct than the MSS., as is shown by e.g. the forms *ἐδικαιεύντο* (l. 19), *κρίσει* (l. 175), and *σφε* (l. 344). *πρήχμα*, an alternative reading in ll. 327 and 380, though not found in the MSS., is known in the fifth century B.C. from a Chian inscription; cf. Smyth, *Ionic Dialect*, § 350. For *Καμβύσην*, a new form of the accusative as far as Herodotus is concerned, see l. 176, n. Regarded as a whole, the text of **1619** is free from scribe's errors (one seems to have occurred in l. 374, another in l. 131 to have been corrected subsequently) and generally sound, presenting not many novelties, but combining most of the good points in both the families (*a*) and (*β*). Of an alternative recension with great variations, such as that indicated in **1092**. ix. there is no trace.

Before the discovery of Herodotean papyri the origin of the two lines of tradition represented by the MSS. was naturally not the subject of much discussion. Editors of Herodotus from Wesseling to even Hude were content to assume the existence of an archetype of the two families, and to aim at reconstructing it without much regard for the question whether it was Alexandrian, Roman, or Byzantine. In 1909 Aly (*Rhein. Mus.* lxiv. 591 sqq.) put forward the hypothesis that (*a*) mainly represented the Alexandrian text as edited by Aristarchus, (*β*) the pre-Alexandrian vulgate in a redaction of the time of Hadrian; but this view, which would cut the ground from the archetype-theory, has not gained much acceptance, and is controverted by Jacoby in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencycl.* Suppl. ii. 516-17. **1619** certainly does not lend it any support. Jacoby himself is also sceptical about the validity of the current archetype-theory, and is disposed to regard the two families as quite ancient recensions, parallel to the papyri. But the most natural inference to be drawn from the eclectic character of **1092** and **1619** is that these first-second century papyrus texts were older than the division of the families (*a*) and (*β*), which seems to have taken place not earlier than the fourth century; cf. **1092**. int. and Viljoen, *op. cit.* p. 56. By the first century the text of Herodotus had reached a condition which is only slightly better than the text recoverable from a combination of (*a*) and (*β*).

Frs. 3, 7, 10, and 20 are from the tops of columns, Fr. 14 from the bottom, the rest from the middles. The point of division of lines is quite uncertain in Frs. 1, 2, 13, 23, and 24, and the proposed arrangement of Frs. 9, 20, and 25 is only tentative.

Col. i (Fr. 1).		Col. iii (Fr. 2).	
αγωγο]υς	α[πικομενοι	26	6
ε]ισι ε[ς		επ]ιφ[α]ε]νεσθαι	27
		] τοτε παντ[εσ	

εχο]υσι μ[ειν
 Αισχριωνι ης φυλης
 5 απεχου]σι

Col. iv (Frs. 3-6).

10 [ριων αξιος μεν γε Αιγυ]πτιων 29
 [ουτος γε ο θεος αταρ τοι] υμεις
 [γε ου χαιροντες γελωτα] εμε θη
 [σεσθε ταυτα ειπας ενε]τειλατο
 [τοισι ταυτα πρησσουσι του]ς μεν
 15 [ιρεας απομαστιγωσαι Αι]γυπτι
 [ων δε των αλλων τον αν λ]αβω
 [σι ορταζοντ]α κτειν[ειν ορ]τη μεν
 [δη διελελυ]το Αιγυπτιω[ισι] οι δε
 [ιρεες εδικαι]ενιτο ο δ[ι]ε Απ[ις]
 20 [πεπληγμε]νος τον μη[ρον εφθι
 νε [εν τωι ι]ρωι κατακ[ειμενος
 και [τον μεν] τελευτησ[αντα εκ
 του τ[ρωματο]ς εθαψα[ν οι ιρεες
 λαθρ]ηι Καμ]βυσε[ω Καμβυσης 30
 25 δε ως [λεγουσι Αιγυπτιοι αυτικα
 δια τ[ουτο το αδικημα εμανη
 εων [ουδε προτερον φρενηρης
 και π[ρωτα μεν των κακων εξερ
 [γασατο τον αδ]ελφε[ον Σμερδιν ε
 30 [οντα πατρος και] μητ[ρος της αυ
 [της τον απεπε]μψε [εσ Περσας
 [φθονωι εξ Αιγυ]πτου ο[τι το τοξον
 [μουνος Περσεω]ν οσον [τε επι δυο
 15 lines lost

κεχαρη]κοτες ορτα[ζοιεν
] ο Καμβυ]σης

Col. v (Frs. 7-8).

[βασ]ηλιοι δικαστα[ι
 30 [τοτατος αποκτενεοντ]α μιν ο 30
 [δε αναβας ες Σουσα α]πεκτεινε
 [Σμερδιν οι μεν λεγο]υσι επ α
 γρην εξαγ]αγοι[τα οι δε ες] την Ε
 [ρυθρην θα]λασσαν πρ[οαγαγον
 55 [τα κατ]αποντωσαι πρω[τον μεν 31
 [δη λεγ]ουσι Καμβυσηι τ[ων κα
 [κων αρ]ξαι τουτο δευτε[ρα δε ε
 [ξεργα]σατο την αδελφε[ην επι
 [σπομε]νην οι ες Αι[γυ]πτου τη
 60 [και συνοικε]ε και η[ν οι απ αμ
 [φοτερων αδε]λφεη [εγημε δε αυ
 [την ωδ]ε ουδαμ[ως γαρ εωθε
 [σαι προ]τερον τ[η]σι αδε[λφεη]σι
 [συνοικε]ειν Περσαι ηρα[σθη
 65 [μης τω]ν αδελφειων Καμβυση[ς
 [και επει]τα βουλομενος αυτην
 [γημαι οτι ο]υκ εωθοτα επενοε
 [ε ποιησειν ειρε]το καλεσας
 [τους βασιληιους κα]λεομενους
 70 [δικαστας ει τις εστι κ]ελευων νο
 [μος τον βουλομενον α]δελφε[η
 [συνοικειν οι δε βασιλη]οι [δι
 About 16 lines lost

Col. vi (Fr. 9).

About 15 lines lost
]καμει[ου δε του σκυλακος αδελ 32
 105]φρον αυ[του αλλον σκυλακα απο
 ρ]ηξαντα [τον δεσμον παραγε

ν]εσθαι οι δ[δυο δε γενομενους ου
 τ]ω δη επι[κρατησαι του σκυμ
 νου κα]ι τον [μεν Καμβυσην ηδε
 About 18 lines lost

Col. vii (Frs. 10. i, 11). Plate v

- 128 [κα εμιμησαο τον Κυρου] οικον
[αποψιλωσας τον δε θυμ]ωθεν
- 130 [τα εμπηδησαι αυτηι εχου]σηι
[εν γαστρι και μιν εκτρω]σαν α εκτρωσασ[
[ποθανειν ταυτα μεν] ες τους οι
κ[ε]ι[λοτατους ο Καμβυ]σης εξεμα
νη ειτ[ε δη δια τον Απι]ν ειτε και
- 135 αλλως οια [πολ]λα [εωθε] ανθρω
πους καταλαμβα[νει] και γαρ τι
να και εκ γενεης [νουσο]ν μεγα
λην λεγεται ε[χειν ο Καμβυση]ς
[τ]ην ἴρην ονο[μαζουσι τινες ου
140 νυν τοι αιικε]ς ουδεν ην του σω
ματος νουσον [μεγαλην νουσειον
τος μηδε τας φ]ρενας υγαινειν
— ·δε·
ταδε ες τους α[λλους Περσας εξ
εμανη λεγετ[αι γαρ ειπειν αυ
145 [τ]ον προς Π[ρηξασπεια τον ετιμα
τε μαλ[ιστα και οι τας αγγελιας
εφορεε ο]υτος τουτου τε ο παις
οινοχοο[ς ην τωι Καμβυση]ι τι
μη δε και α[υτη ου σμικρη ειπειν
150 δε λεγεται τα]δε Πρηξασπες
κ[ο]ιον [με τινα νομιζουσι Περ
16 lines lost

Col. x (Fr. 12. ii).

19 lines lost

- 266 Κ[αμβυσης τον Κροισον ου πολ
λοι μ]ετεπειτα χρονωι και οι θε
ραπο[ιτες μαθοιτες τουτο ε]πηγ
γελλ[οντο αυτωι ως περιειη
>
270 Καμβυσης δε Κροισωι μεν συνη

Col. viii (Fr. 10. ii). Plate v

- 32 168 ναι προς τον [πατερ]α τελεσαι Κυ 34
ρον οι δε αμ[ειβοντο] ως ειη α
170 μειων του [πατρο]ς τα τε γαρ ε
κεινου παντ[α εχει]ν αυτον και
προσεκτησθαι Αι[γυ]πτον τε και
την θαλασσαν Π[ε]ρσαι μεν ταυ
τα ελεγον Κροισος δε παρεων
175 τε και ουκ αρεσκομενος τη κρι
σει ειπε προς τον Καμβυσην τα
δε εμοι μεν ν[υ]ν ω παι Κυρου.
>
ου δοκεεις ομοιος ειναι τωι πα
[τρι ο]ν γαρ κω τοι [εσ]τι υιος οιον
180 [σε εκει]νος κατε[λιπετο η]σθη
[τε ταυτα ακουσα]ς ο Καμβυσης
26 lines lost

Col. ix (Frs. 10. iii, 12. i). Plate v.

- 208 οντ[α Πρηξασπεια δε ορωντα] 35
αν[δρα ου φρενηρεα και περι ε
210 ω]τωι δειμαινοντα ειπειν δε
>
σπ[οτα ουδ αν αυτον εγωγε] δο
κε[ω τον θεον ουτω αν καλω]ς
βα[λλειν] τοτε μεν ταυτα εξερ
γασ[ατο] ετερωθι δε Περσειων
215 ομ[οιους τοισι πρωτοι]σι δυωδε
κα [επ ουδεμ]ιη αιτιη αξιο
χρ[ε]φ[ι] ελων ζωνοντας επι κεφα
7 lines lost
- 36 225 [τυ δε κτεινεις μεν ανδ]ρ[ας σε] 36
[ωτου πολι]τητας επ[ουδεμ]ιη
[αιτιη αξιο]χρεωι ελ[ων] κτει
[νεις δε παι]δας ην δε[πολλ]α τοι
[αυτα ποιη]ς ορα οκω[ς μ]η σευ

About 15 lines lost

230 [αποστησονται Περσαι ε]μοι δε
[πατηρ σος Κυρος ενετελλε]τ[ο]

About 15 lines lost

Col. xii (Fr. 13).

286 βοηθεοντ]α[ς 39
] κρατη]σας
ταφρο]ν περι

Col. xviii (Fr. 14).

About 28 lines lost

317 κεν [της αιτης νυν δε αιει επει 49
τε εκτισ]αν την νησον εισι αλλη
λοισι διαφ]οροι του
320 των ει]κεν απεμνησικακε
ον τοισι Σ]αμιοισι οι Κορινθιοι ε
πεμπε δε [εσ Σαρδισ επ εκτομη
Περιανδρ]ος των πρωτων Κερ
κυραιων [επιλεξας τους παιδας
325 τιμωρει]μενος προτεροι γαρ οι
Κερκυρα]ιοι ηρξαν εσ αυτον πρη
·χ·
γμα α]τασθαλον ποιησαντες ε

Col. xx (Fr. 15).

328 η]ισι συμ]π[επτω]κοτα [οικτειρε 52
υπ]ει]ς δε της [ορ]γης η]ε [ασσον
330 και ελεγε ω παι κοτερα τ]ουτων
>—
αιρετωτερα εστι ταυτα τ]α νυν
[εχ]ων πρησσει· η τη]ν τυραννι
[δα κ]χι αγαθα τα νυν εγ]ω εχω ταυ
[τα ε]ντα τωι πατρι επ]ι]τηδεον
335 [παρ]αλαμβανειν οσ εω]ν εμος
[τε π]αισ και Κορινθου τη]ς ευδαι
[μονος βα]σιλευσ αλητη]ν βιον ει
[λευ αντι]στατεων τε κ]αι οργη
[χρωμεν]ος εσ τον [σ]ε ηκ]ιστα εχρην
340 [ει γαρ τι]ς συμφορη [εν αυτοι
[σι γεγоне] ε]ξ ησ υποψιην εσ

Col. xxii (Fr. 16-17).

342 [σειν] και [τον οικον του πατροσ δι 53
[αφορ]ηθεντα μα]λλον η αυτος
[σφε α]πελθων ε]χειν απιθι εσ τα
345 [οικι]α πανσαι [σεωυτον ζημι
[ων φι]λοτιμιη [κτημα σκαιον
[μη τωι] κακωι τ]ο κακον ιω πο
[λλοι] των δι]καιων τα επiei[κεστε]ρα [προτιθεισι πολλοι δε
350 ηδη τα μη]τρωια διζημενοι
τα πατρωι]α απεβαλον τυραν
[ν]ις χρημα [σφαλερον πολλοι δε
[α]ντης ε]ρασται εισι ο δε γερων τε η?
[δ]η και π[αρη]θηκωσ μη δωισ τα

Col. xxiii (Frs. 18. i, 19. i).

355 [επι της ραχιοσ ε]πι του α 54
5 lines lost κ ρωτηρ:ου
361 [σπομεινοι εκτει]νον ει με]ν 55

Col. xxiv (Frs. 18. ii, 19. ii).

γ]αι σφι τους δε δεξαμενους 56
370 ουτω δη απ]αλλασσεσθαι ταυ
την πρωτην [στρατιην εσ την

- [ινν οι παρεοντες] Λακεδαιμ[ο] 55
 ριων ομοιοι εγιν[ο]ντο ταυτην[ι]
 [την ημερην Αρχι]ηι τε και Λυκω
 365 [πη αιρεθη αν Σαμ]ος Αρχ[ι]ης
 [γαρ και Λυκωπη]ς μ[ο]νον[ι] συ[ν]
 [εσπεσοντες φευγου]σι ε[ς] το
 [τειχος τοισι Σαμιοισ]ι [και απο
 Ασινη Λακεδαιμ[ονιοισι Δωριε
 ες εποιησαντο [οι δε επι τον Πο 57
 λυκ[ρ(ατ)εα σ]τρατε[υ]σαμενοι Σαμ
 4 lines lost
 ... δ[ι]εοντο τα δε των Σιφνιων πρη
 380 γ[μα]τα ηκμαζε τουτον τον χρο
 ν[ον] και νησιωτεων μαλιστα ε
 π[λου]τεον ατε εοντων αυτοισι

Col. xxvi (Frs. 20-1).

- σαν ες το ιρο]ν της Αθηναιης τη[ς] 59 406 [πηγης αρχιτεκτων δε τ]ου ορυ[60
 εν Αιγινη ταυτα δε] εποιησα[ν
 385 εγκοτον εχον]τε[ς] Σαμιοισι Αιγ[ι
 ινηται προ]τεροι γαρ Σαμ[ι]οι επ Α
 μφικρατεος] βασιλευοντ[ο]ς εν
 About 18 lines lost
 410 [στι δευτερον δε περι λι]μενα. π' λιμ...
 [χωμα εν θαλασση βαθος] κατα λ[.]...
 About 10 lines lost

Col. xxix (Fr. 22).

- 422 στρα[τευ]εσθαι επι τον μαγον και 64
 οι αν[αθ]ρωισκοντι επι τον ιππον
 του [κολευου του ξιφεος ο μυκης
 425 απο]πιπτει γυμνωθεν δε το
 ξ[ι]φ[ο]ς παιει τον μηρον τρωμα

Col. xxxv (Fr. 24).

- 430 παραγιν]ετα[ι] 70
 Υστ]ασπεος [
 τουτ]ων γαρ δη η[ν]
 υπαρχ]ος επει ων [
 ἐ]ξ των Πε]ρσεων
 435 Δαρ]ιον προ]σεταιρισασθαι
 συνελ]θοντες [
 ε]διδουσαν
 ε]πε[ι]τε

Col. xxxiii (Fr. 23).

- 427 τη]ν αυτη]ν 68
 το]τε ο μαγ[ο]ς
 συν]οικεε και [
 68

Col. xxxvii (Fr. 25).

- πωι περησο]με[ν] αμει]βεται Δαρει 72
 440 ος τοισδε] Οτανη πο]λλα εστι
 τα λογωι μ]εν ουκ οια τε [δηλωσαι
 εργαυ δε αλ]λα δε εστι τα [λογωι μεν
 οια τε ερ]γον δ ουδε[ν] λαμπρον
 απ αυτων ? υ]μεις δε ι]στε φυ]λακας
 445 τας κατεστ]ρωσας εουσας ο]υδεν
 χαλεπας πα]ρελθειν τουτο [γαρ η
 μ[ει]

μεων εοντω]ν τοιωνδε ουδ[εις οσ
 τις ου πα]ρησει τα μιν κο[υ κατα
 δεομενος] ημεας τα δε κ[ου και
 450 δειμαινω]ν τουτο δε εχ[ω αυτος
 σκηψιν ευπ ρεπεισ[ατην τημ

7. παντ[ες: om. R.

15. The size of the lacuna favours απομαστιγωσαι (ABC) rather than απομαστιγνωσειν (RSV).

17. ορ]τη: (ή) όρτη Schaefer, Hude. There is certainly not room for η in the lacuna.

19. εδικαι]ενιτο: a 'hyper-Ionic' form due to false analogy; cf. Smyth, *Ionic Dialect*, § 690. εδικ]ενιτο (so RSV) is unlikely.

21. ι]ρωι: so RSV, edd. There is room for ι]ρωι, but cf. l. 139 ι]ρημ.

28. 1619 probably agreed with the MSS. in having των κακων, which is bracketed by Stein and Hude; but ll. 29-33 are on a separate fragment of which the exact position is not certain.

31. [ες Περσας: om. S. The size of the lacuna makes it certain that 1619 agreed with the other MSS.

49. Cf. l. 69, n.

54-5. προ]αγαγον]τα (R, edd.) is slightly preferable on grounds of space to προ]σαγαγον]τα, the ordinary reading.

58-9. επι]σπομε]σην: so R, Hude; επι]σπομένην SV. ε]σπομε]σην (ABP, Stein) is too short.

69. The two strokes after κα]λομενους presumably refer to the marginal note (l. 49), where they may have been repeated at the beginning of the line; cf. 1620. ii. καλομένους, which is omitted by ABP and apparently erased in C, is omitted by Stein and bracketed by Hude; but if the corrector wished to omit it, βασ]ιληιους δικαστα[s, not βασ]ιληιοι δικαστα[ι, would be expected in the note. Probably one or more words are lost before βασ]ιληιοι and the note is explanatory, like that in the margin of l. 355, which is in the same hand. That the note refers to l. 72, where βασιληιοι δικασται occurs in the text (1619 is defective at this point), is unlikely in view of the critical mark against l. 69.

103-4. νι]κωμεν]ου: νικωμένου BR.

105. αυτ[ου αλλον σκυλακα: so ABC, edd.; άλλον αιτου σκ. PRSV; om. άλλον σκ. Naber; cf. the next n.

108. After δη the MSS. have τους σκύλακας, but 1619 is probably right in its omission; cf. int. and l. 105, n.

131. The cursive marginal note εκτρωσισ(αν) is possibly by the writer of the scholium on l. 410, but is certainly not due to the writer of notes on ll. 69 and 355, and seems not to be by the first hand. The size of the lacuna suits the hypothesis that the first hand had omitted σσ.

132-3. οικ[ε]ι[στατους: οικ]η]ι[ους (ABCP, edd.) is too short.

135. [εωθε]: so RSV [εωθεν]. edd.; [εωθεε] (ABC) is too long.

136. καταλαμβο]ν[ειν]: before this edd. insert κακά with RSV.

137. και: om. ABC, edd.

143. ABC agree with the original reading τὰ δὲ ἐς, while RSV rightly have τὰδε δ' (or δέ?) ἐς, agreeing with the superscribed reading.

147. εφορεε: so MSS., Stein; ε(σε)φάρεε Naber, Hude. εσ]εφορεε is unsatisfactory, for the supplement in l. 146 is already long enough.

149. και: om. P.

150. δε: Krüger's conjecture δῆ is not supported.
168. τελεσαι: so ABRSV; om. E; καλεσαι (= -εὔσαι?) C; εικάσαι? Stein. Hude brackets this inappropriate word.
172. προσεκτησθαι: προσκτήσασθαι RSV.
175. τη κρίσει: τῇ γινόμενῃ κρίσει RSV.
176. Καμβύσην: Καμβύσεια MSS. here as elsewhere in Hdt., though in the other cases the word belongs to the first declension, and the Attic accusative is of course Καμβύσην. With regard to Ξέρξης, Ὀτάνης, and some other proper names in -ης both forms of the accusative are found in MSS. of Hdt.; cf. Smyth, *op. cit.* § 438.
- 176-7. ταδε: om. RSV.
181. ακουσ]ι[s: om. ABCE.
231. Whether ενετελλ]ε[το] (ABCE) or ενετειλα]το (RSV) is to be read is not certain. There is no reason for supposing that in 1619 ὁ was inserted before σός, as suggested by Bekker.
267. μ[ε]τεπειτα χρονωι: μετέπ. χρ. ὕστερον MSS., which is too long. The vestige of a letter following λωι suits μ very well, but χ[ρονωι] followed by μετεπειτα or υστερον could be read. ὕστερον is superfluous; cf. vii. 7 χρόνω μετέπειτα.
- 268-9. επηγ]γελλ[οντο αυτωι: ἐπήγγελλον τὸ αὐτὸ (V), ἐπήγγελλον αὐτῷ (S), ἐπήγγελλον αὐτῷ (Schweighauser) are all unsuitable.
- 286-8. The position assigned to this fragment is far from certain, περι in l. 288 being doubtful. ν or [ο]ι can be substituted for π, and η, ι, ν, or π for ρ.
319. διαφ[οροι : the MSS. are corrupt, having διάφοροι εόντες ἐνωτοῖσι (ἐνωτοῖ RSV). Krüger suggested ἐρίζοντες for εόντες, Reiske supplied οἰκῆμοι before εόντες, Valckenaer συγγενεῖς after ἐνωτοῖσι. 1619 was clearly shorter, and the sentence may have ended with διαφ[οροι, for in l. 320 ὧν, which occurs in the MSS. after τούτων, is omitted, and the new sentence may have begun ὧν του]των εν]εκεν. A connecting particle is, however, not necessary with τούτων (cf. e.g. l. 13), and the absence of a paragraphus below l. 319 suggests that ll. 317-21 may have formed one sentence in the papyrus, though the scribe is not very regular in the use of paragraphi.
320. For the omission of ὧν after του]των, which may be merely a slip, cf. the previous note. RV have ἐνεκεν for εν]εκεν.
- 321-2. ε]πεμπε: there is not room for απε]πεμπε (ABC, edd.), unless οι before Κορινθιοι was omitted.
325. τιμωρει]μενος: τιμωρεόμενος RSV. Cf. Smyth, *op. cit.* § 684. 2. The restoration προτεροι (πρότερον RSV) is supported by the parallel in l. 380; cf. n.
- 326-7. For the alternative form πρήγμα, which is ignored by the MSS. of Hdt., see int.
328. [οικτειρε: so MSS.; [οικτιρε, the form preferred by edd., would be long enough.
333. αγαθα τα: so MSS.; (τὰ) ἀγαθὰ τὰ edd. since Aldus.
339. ες: εἰς AB less correctly. At the end of the line, where the supplement is rather long, producing a line of 27 letters, the division was perhaps ε]χρην, but only 8 or 9 letters are expected in the lacuna at the beginning of l. 340.
344. σφε, the reading of the MSS. corrected by edd. to σφεα, is rendered certain by the size of the initial lacuna. απιθι suits the space better than απελθε (RSV).
346. φι]λοτιμη: for η φι]λοτιμη (RSV, edd.) there is not room, if, as is probable, there was a space after ὧν.
351. Either απε]βαλον or μετε]βαλον (ABC) can be restored.
353. The supplement, based on AB, is rather long, producing a line of 27 letters, and perhaps either η- should be omitted with R (SV om. ηδη), or τε, or even both.
355. The marginal note is in the same hand as that in l. 49.
- 361-2. RSV have ἐκτείνοντες instead of ἔκτεινον . . . παρειόντες.
363. εγνο]ιτο: or εγενο]ιτο (ABS, Stein).

365. *αιρεθη αυ Σαμιος*: *αιρέθησαν Σαμίους* RSV.
 370. *δη*: om. RSV.
 372. *Λακεδαιμωνιοισι* (PRS; -*ησι* V) suits the size of the lacuna better than *Λακεδαιμωνιοι* (AB, edd.).
 373-4. *Πολλυκ[ρ(ατ)εα σ]τρατ.*: the lacuna ought not to exceed 4 letters, but the omission may have been supplied above the line, as in l. 446.
 378-9. *ε]δ[εοντο*: the supposed vestige of *δ* may belong to a paragraphus. In the margin are traces of a note, which might refer to ll. 361-2, but is nearer to col. xxiv.
 379-80. For the alternative spellings *πρη]γ[ματα*, *πρη]λ[ματα* cf. l. 327 and int.
 383: *τη]ς*: om. MSS. But cf. e. g. v. 82 *τη] 'Αθηναίη τε* (*τε* om. SVU) *τη] Πολιάδι*, vii.
 43 *τη] 'Αθηναίη τη] 'Ιλιάδι*.
 386. *προτ]εροι*: *πρότερον* RSV.
 406. *του ορν[γματος τουτου*: *τούτου του ὄρ.* RSV.
 410. The supposed stop after *λι]μενα*, which is not wanted, might be the bottom of a critical sign referring to the marginal note, which begins *π(ερι) λιμ(ε)να* and seems to be of an explanatory character. In the second line *ωσει π[* or *π[* (i.e. *παρά*) or *ωσ ει[αι* can be read; the third line does not seem to be *λ[ι]με[ν]* . . . The ink is lighter than that of the main text and the marginal note on l. 131, and the hand certainly different from that of ll. 49 and 355 marg.
 411. *κατα*: so MSS., which continue *εἴκοσι ὀργυρίων*. Stein and Hude follow Eltz in reading *καί* for *κατά*, which is not satisfactory. As Lobel remarks, *κατά* would be expected here to mean 'about', especially since most of the dyke was under water; cf. the frequent examples of *κατά* with numerals quoted by Schweighauser, *Lex. Herod.* ii. 10. Hence the mistake may well lie in *ὀργυρίων*, for which we suggest *ὀργυρίας*, unless there was a substantive *εἰκοσιόργυριον*, meaning a 'length of 20 fathoms'.
 423. *οι*: om. C.
 427-8. 1619 no doubt had *δη ταυτην ειχε* (om. RSV) between *αυτ[ην* and *το]τε*.
 430. *παραγιν]ετι[ι*: or possibly *ε]ς τα [Σουσα*.
 434. Of the supposed breathing over *ε]ξ* only the tip of a horizontal stroke is left, which might be interpreted as belonging to a paragraphus. Lines 433-4 would then begin *[χ]ος* and *[σι ε]ξ*, but this arrangement does not suit ll. 432 and 435-6 very well, and *εξ* is a very natural word on which to place a breathing; cf. l. 180.
 438. *ε]πε[ιτε* or *επει]τε[* can be read.
 440. *Οτανη*: 'Οτ. ἢ AB, edd.; 'Οτ. ἢ C.
 443-4. *ῥργον δε ουδεν απ' αυτων λαμπρον γινεται* MSS. 1619 was shorter and presumably omitted *γίνεται* or *απ' αυτων* rather than *λαμπρόν*.
 445. *κατεστ]εωσας*: *κατεσ]τωσας* (RSV) can equally well be read, but is somewhat less suitable to the supposed length of the initial lacuna.
 446. *μ[εν*, inserted above the line by the first hand, is read by all the MSS.
 447. *τοιωνδε*: so Hude with RSV; *τοιων* ABCP, Stein.

1620. THUCYDIDES i.

14 × 14.3 cm. Late second or early third century.
 Plate VI.

This fragment consists of the upper portion of two columns and a few letters from the beginnings of lines of a third column of a roll containing the first book of Thucydides, and covers chs. 11-14 with considerable lacunae.

The script is a medium-sized uncial of a second-third century type, resembling **843** (Part v, Plate vi) and **1175** (Part ix, Plate iii). That it is more likely to have been written before A. D. 200 than after is indicated by the notes referring to alternative readings, which have been added later in the upper margin by a different and cursive hand. These notes are very like those in **1234** (Part x, Plate iv), of which the main text is not dissimilar in style to that of **1620**, though in a larger hand, and suggest a date not later than the reign of Caracalla. The main text may therefore well be ascribed to the reign of Commodus or even M. Aurelius. The columns are rather tall, containing about 54 lines of 18-22 letters. High stops accompanied by paragraphi (which are to be restored after ll. 3, 10, 14, and 21) are frequent, and there are occasional diaereses, but no breathings or accents. Iota adscript was written in l. 13, but apparently not in l. 62. An omission in l. 3 is supplied by the original scribe, who also superscribed a variant in l. 67; but a slip in l. 8 is corrected by the writer of the marginal notes, which seem to be variants obtained from a different and older MS., not corrections; cf. ll. 67-8, n. Critical signs are placed against the notes and the corresponding line of the text, four different signs being found in Col. ii.

The relation of the papyri of Thucydides to the vellum MSS., which are divided into two families, CG and BAEF, M approximating to a middle position, is discussed at length in **1376**. int.; cf. also Hude, *Bull. de l'acad. royale de Danemark*, 1915, 579-85. Of the five best papyri the first century specimens tend to support C, those of the second century B, especially in the later books. In the chapters covered by **1620** both C and F are defective, the lost portions having been supplied by later hands, in both cases from MSS. of the C family (c and f), so that F and f represent different families. **1620**, a careful and elaborately revised text, agrees with B against cG four times, and with the C family against B twice. **1621**, however, which is about a century later than **1620**, inverts the relationship to the two families, agreeing five times with C, twice with the B group. **1622**, which is about fifty years earlier than **1620** and agrees twice with either group, and **1623**, which is three or four centuries later and agrees twice with the B group, once with CG, are both too short to show their real character. But the customary eclecticism of papyri in relation to the mediaeval MSS. is apparent throughout the four Thucydides fragments in the present volume, and the division of the MSS. into two families is no doubt later than the papyrus period; cf. the parallel case of the MSS. of Herodotus discussed in **1619**. int.

New readings in **1620** occur in ll. 1, 73-4, 76, and side by side with the traditional readings in ll. 61, 67-8, 72 (cf. also Col. i. marg., ll. 58, 109, 112, nn.).

Some of these are concerned with trivial differences, such as the omission of the article or the order of words; but in l. 67 the traditional participle is no better than the hitherto unrecorded infinitive, and, especially since the marginal readings tend to be superior to those of the main text, the new reading proposed in the marginal note on ll. 67-8 may well be right. A tendency to smooth slight irregularities and roughnesses of style is traceable throughout 1620-3, especially in 1621, which confirms two modern emendations; and, although some of the novelties can be explained as editorial improvements, and omissions may be merely due to accident, the four new fragments seem to represent texts of rather high quality, and distinctly support the impression gained by a survey of the longer Thucydidean papyri such as 16 and 1376, that without resorting to the drastic changes proposed by Rutherford there are many improvements to be made upon the tradition of the mediaeval MSS.

Col. i.	Col. ii.
ἐλεῖ και ἀλ(λα)	[X]
	[> τα περὶ τας [ναυς
	↳ [τέ]σσαρας και ταυτα ε[τη] εστι
	μαλιστα και ἀλ(λα)
	5 ὠ παλαιατη
[α]πο[ν]ωτερον Τροϊαν ει 11. 2	55 βασιλειαι· ναυτικα τε ἐξη[ρ] 13. 1
[λ]ον [αλ]λα δι αχρηματιαν 3	τυετο η Ελλας και της θα
^{τε}	λασσης μαλλον αντειχον
[τ]α προ, τουτων ασθενη ην·	× το· πρωτοι δε Κορινθις[ι]
[κ]αι αυ[τ]α γε δη ταυ[α] ο]νομα	λεγονται εγγυτατα του
5 [στ]οτατα των πριν γ[ε]νο	60 νιν τροπου μεταχειρι
μ]εια· δηλουται τοις ε[ρ]γοις	> σαι τα περι ναυς και τριη
[υ]ποδ[ε]εστερα οντα τ[η]ς φη	ρεις πρωτον εν Κορινθω
^{ου}	της Ελλαδος ναυπηγη[ι]
[μη]ς και τ[[ων]] νυν περι	θηναι[·] φαινεται δε και 3
[αυτ]ων δια τους ποιητας	65 Σαμιο[ι]ς Αμεινοκλης Κο
10 [λογ]ου κατ[ε]σ[χη]κοτος[·] επει 12. 1	ρινθ[ιο]ς ναυπηγο[ς] ναυς
[και μετα τα Τρω]ϊκα [[ηδη]]	^{·5·}
[η Ελλας ει] μετ[αν]ιστατο	↳ ποιησαι τετ[τ]α[ρας]· ε[τη]
[τε κ]αι κατωικιζετο ωστε	δ εστι μαλιστα[α] τρια[κοσια]
[μη ηουχασ(ασ)]αγ αυξηθηναι[·]	[ε]ς την τελευτην τ[ο]υδ[ε]
· 15 [η τε γαρ] αναχωρησις των 2	70 του πολεμου οτε Αμει
[Ελλην]ων ἐξ Ἰλιου χροσι	νοκλης Σαμι[οι]ς ηλθε· γ[αυ] 4
[α γενομ]ενη πολλα ενεω	

[χμωσε] και στασεις εν ταις 12. 2	μ[αχ]ια τε παλα[ι]οτατη 13. 4
[πολεσιν] ως επι το πολ[υ]ε]γ[ι	ω[ν] η[δ]η ισ[μ]ε]ν η Κοριν
20 [γνοντο α]φ ων εκπειπτον	θια[ν] γ[ι]ν[ε]τ[αι] προς Κ[ε]ρ
[τες τας] πολεις εκτιζον·	75 κυρα[ιο]υ[ς] ετη δε μα[λ]ι
[Βοιωτοι] τε γαρ οι νυν εξη[3	στα δ[ιακο]σ[ι]α ε]ξη[κ]ον[
32 lines lost	τα ε[στι] μ[ε]χ[ρι] του αυτου
	31 lines lost

Col. iii.

× [ους εποιησατο και Ρηνει 13. 6 115	[τωτατα γαρ ταυτα των ναυ
110 α[ν] ελων ανεθηκε τωι Απο	τικ[ων] ην φαινεται δε 14. 1
[λ]λ[ων]ι τωι Δηλιωι Φωκαεις	και τ[αυτα] πολλαις γενε
ο] τε [Μασσαλιαν οικιζον	α[ι]ς υστερα γενομενα των
τε[ς] Καρχηδονιους ενι	Τ[ρωικων] τριηρεσι μεν
κω[ν] ναυμαχουντες δυνα	3 lines lost, traces of 8 lines,
	and 32 lines lost

Col. i. marg. και αλ(λα) 'and so on' recurs in the third marginal note at the top of Col. ii. The preceding word apparently does not occur anywhere in the known text of ll. 1-54, and an unknown variant seems to be indicated; cf. ll. 67-8, n.]ε αιει or]κασι or]κλει can be substituted for]ελει.

1. Τροϊαν: τήν Τροίαν MSS. Cf. ll. 58, 61, 73-4, nn.

3. τε, supplied by the first hand, is in all the MSS.

π[ρο] τουτων: so A²cF²GM, edd.; π[ρος] τ. (A¹BEF¹) is unsuitable to the size of the lacuna.

4. γε: om. cfG.

8. των, the reading of the first hand, is a mere error.

11. ηδη, which has a line above it to indicate deletion, is not known as a variant here.

14. [μη ησυχασ(ασ)]αν: the traces of α are very slight, but ν is fairly certain, and there is not room for more than 7 or 8 letters in the lacuna. μη ἡσυχάσασα cf¹, Hude; μη ἡσυχάσασαν ABEMf², Stuart Jones.

17-18. ενεα[χμωσε]: so AEM; εἰεόχμωσε Bcf, edd.

19. επι το πολ[υ]: so cEf, Hude; om. τὸ ABM, Stuart Jones.

21. τας] πολεις: so MSS., Stuart Jones; νέας (Madvig, Hude) does not suit the size of the lacuna.

22. Gertz wished to omit γαρ.

Col. ii. marg. Cf. ll. 58, 61, 67-8, 72, nn., and for και αλ(λα) Col. i. marg. n.

58. Which word or words in this line were referred to in the lost marginal note at the top of Col. ii is uncertain. The only clue afforded by the MSS. is the circumstance that in E the ι of πρώταις is by a later hand, perhaps indicating πρώτων as the original reading; cf. πρώτων in l. 62. If not πρώτων, the lost variant may have been οι Κορνήιοι; cf. ll. 1, 61, 73-4, nn.

61. *navs*: τὰς ναῦς MSS., agreeing with the reading in the second marginal note. *τριήρεις* immediately following has no article, and τὰς can be dispensed with; but the omission may be due to the accidental collocation of ναῦς and *τριήρεις* which belong to different sentences. Cf. ll. 1, 58, 73-4, nn.

62. *πρωτων εν Κορινθω*: so BcEf, Hude; ἐν Κ. πρ. AGM, Stuart Jones. Cf. ll. 73-4, 76-7, nn.

63. *ναυπηγηθηναι*: so ABEGM, Stuart Jones; ἐνανπ. cfG suprascr, Hude.

67. *ποιησαι*: ποιήσας MSS., agreeing with the superscribed reading. The infinitive makes the statement less definite and is quite appropriate.

τεττ[α]ρας, with the marginal variant [τε]σσαρας: cf. the superscribed σσ in the case of 16. i. 4 εφυλαττον and 38 ηττηθειεν.

67-8. ε[τη] δ εστι *μαλιστα*: so all MSS.; the marginal variant *και ταυτα ε[τη] εστι μάλ.* is unknown here, but at l. 76, where 1620 like ABEGM has *ετη δε μα[λι]στα*, cfG add. have *ετη δε μάλ. και ταύτη* and Bekker's N *ετη δε μάλ. και ταῦτα*. The most probable explanation of this duplicate set of variations is that the original reading was that of 1620. marg., but *και ταυτα* was omitted, δ being inserted in its place (so 1620. 67, ABEGM); *και ταυτα* was, however, supplied in the margin, from which the words were restored to the text in the wrong place (as in N), resulting in the subsequent emendation of *ταῦτα* to *ταύτη* (cfG add.). If the reading of the later MSS. (G is 13th cent.; cf are later than CF), which editors have hitherto adopted, be supposed to be original, it is almost inexplicable that neither the scribe nor the corrector of 1620 knew of the reading *και ταύτη* in l. 76, and that the corrector should make matters worse instead of better. The source of the marginal variants in 1620 is probably older than the main text, and may well have been a Ptolemaic papyrus or at any rate as old as the archetype of 1620. In view of the great antiquity of the reading *και ταῦτα* and the very late character of the evidence for *και ταύτη* we much prefer to explain the variations in the light of their chronological arrangement, and to regard the readings of (α) 1620. 67 and the older MSS. and (β) N as intermediate steps in the process by which the reading preserved in 1620. marg. became corrupted into that of cfG add.

71. *ηλθε*: so MSS.; ἦλθεν edd. The earlier papyri of Thucydides as a rule omit *ν εφέλευστικόν* at the end of a sentence; cf. e.g. 1622. 81, 84.

72. *παλα[ε]ισταη*: so some of the deteriores; the earlier MSS. have *παλαιάτη* here, as has the marginal note, but in e.g. ch. 1. 1 *παλαιότερα* occurs.

73-4. ω[ν] η[δ]η *ισ[μ]εν η Κορινθιω[ν] γ[ι]α[ε]τ[αι]*: *ων ἴσμεν γίγνεται Κορ.* MSS. (G at first inserted *γίγνεται* before *ων ἴσμεν*, but erased it). *ισ* is fairly certain, and the preceding letter can be η, μ, or ν, while the letter after *ισ[μ]εν*, if not η, must be ν: the traces of *εν* and of a letter after ω[ν] are very slight and indecisive. *[ε]τμ[ε]ν Κορ.* might be read, but before it *ων [η]μεις* is not long enough and *ων [η]μεις* is inadmissible. *η[δ]η* is not very satisfactory, but preferable to ω[ν] *σ[ν]μισ[μ]εν*. The insertion of the article before *Κορινθιω[ν]* may be right (cf. ll. 1, 58, 61, nn.); the loss of it may be due to the hiatus created when *γίγνεται* was placed before instead of after *η Κορινθίων*. That 1620 had the form *γ[ι]α[ε]τ[αι]* (with cf) is uncertain, for *γ[ι]α[ε]τ[αι]* can be read.

75-6. *μα[λι]στα*: μάλ. και ταύτη cfG add., edd.; cf. ll. 67-8, n.

76-7. *δ[ια]κο[σι]α ε[ξ]η[κ]οντα*: *έξήκ. και διακ.* MSS. The traces suit *δ[ια]κο[σι]α* very well, but in l. 77 *μ[ε]λ[ρι]* is quite uncertain.

109. To what the critical sign refers is uncertain. The only variants in the MSS. at this point concern the spelling *Ῥήνεια* or *Ῥηίαν* (in other authors spelled *Ῥήνεια* or *Ῥηναίαν*), except for the ditography *Ῥήνεια ἀνελών* in cf.

112. The critical sign perhaps refers to a variant concerning the spelling of *Μασσαλίαν* (*Μεσσαλίαν, Μασαλίαν, Μασσιλίαν, or Μασσαλίαν* MSS.).

1621. THUCYDIDES ii (*Speeches*).

14.3 × 11.4 cm.

Fourth century. Plate V
(verso).

This leaf of a vellum codex is of a somewhat novel character, since it belongs to a collection of the speeches in Thucydides. The fragment contains the conclusion of the speech of Archidamus at the beginning of the war (ii. 11) and the beginning of the funeral oration of Pericles (ii. 35). There are 21 lines on a page and 20–5 letters in a line. Traces of the pagination are visible on both sides, but the figures are illegible. The hand is a calligraphic uncial of the same type as the Codex Sinaiticus, and the fragment has a special palaeographical interest, for some omissions by the first hand (ll. 18 and 26) have been supplied in darker brown ink by a cursive hand. These cursive additions are not later than the fourth century, and the main text is likely to belong to the early or middle part of that century. Stops occur in the high, middle, and low positions, but are partly due to the corrector. A stroke for punctuation (l. 2) and occasional diaereses and elision-marks are due to the original scribe, a breathing to the corrector. Iota adscript was generally written: where omitted, it has been supplied in at least one place (l. 16) and perhaps two others (ll. 10 and 15), apparently by the corrector.

The text as corrected is on the whole a good one and has several interesting novelties, which are in most cases superior to the readings of the MSS. The omission of the unsatisfactory *οὔτω* in l. 4 confirms a conjecture of Madvig, though confidence in the omissions in 1621 is somewhat shaken not only by the two mistaken omissions of the first hand, which are supplied by the corrector, but by a third (l. 36), which has escaped his notice. *ἰμῖν* for *ἡμῖν* in l. 25 confirms the conjecture of Hude already substantiated by 853. vii. 15, the confusion between these words being of course common. *ἀμύνασθαι* for *ἀμύνεσθαι* in l. 4 and the omission of *τῶν* before *ἄλλων* in l. 19 may well be right. C is supported against B five times, B against C twice; cf. 1620. int.

Recto.

χοταται α[ν] ε[ι]εν. προς τε το ε 11. 5
 πιχειρεισ[θ]αι ασφαλεστατοι[ι]
 [η]μεις δε ουδ επι αδυνατον 6
 [α]μυνασθαι πο[λ]ιν ερχομεθα
 5 [αλλ]α τοις πασιν αριστα παρεσκ[ευ
 [α]σμενην. ωστε χρη και πανυ

Verso.

αυτων οραν. ως [ου]ν επι τοσαυ[9
 την πολιν στρατευοντες και
 μεγαισ[η]ν δοξα[ν] οισομενοι
 25 τοις τε προγονοις και υμιν α[ν
 τοις επ αμφοτερα επεσθε [ο
 εκ των αποβαι[νοντων

- [ελ]πιζειν δια μαχης ἵεναι αυτο[υς
 [ει] μη και νυν ωρμηνται εν ω[ι?]
 ουπω παρεσμεν· αλλ' οταν εν
 10 τη^ς γηι ορωσιν ημας δηουντα[ς
 τε και τα εκεινων φθειροντα[ς
 πασι γαρ εν τοις ομμασι· και εν τ[ω γ
 παραυτικα οραν πασχοντα^ς
 τι αηθεσ οργη προσπιπτει[ι
 15 και οι λογισμωι ελαχιστα [χρ]ω
 μενοι θυμωι πλειστα ες ε[ρ]γῶ
 καθιστανται· Αθηναιους δε 8
 και πλειον των αλλων εικοσ
 τουτο δρασαι· οι αρχειν τε αλλῶ
 20 [α]ξιουσι· και επιοντες την τῶ
 πελασ δηουν μαλλον η των
 πη αν τις ηγηται· κοσμι[ν
 και φυλακην περι παντος π[οι
 ουμενοι· και τα παρ[αγ]γελλ[ο
 30 μενα οξεωσ δεχομεν[ο]ι· καλ
 [λ]ιστον γαρ τοδε και ασφαλεστ[α
 τον πολλουσ οντασ ἐνι κοσμωι
 χρωμενουσ φαινεσθαι·
 επιταφιοσ
 35 ο[ι μ]εν πολλοι των (εν)θαδε ηδη 35. 1
 ειρηκοτων επαινουσι τον
 προσθεντα τωι νομωι τον λο
 γον τονδε ωσ καλον επι τοις [
 εκ των πολεμων θαπτομε[
 40 νοις αγορευεσθαι αυτον· εμ[οι
 δ' αρκουν αν εδοκει ειναι αν[

4. [α]μννασθαι: ἀμύνεσθαι οὔτω MSS., Stuart Jones; ἀμύνεσθαι omitting οὔτω Hude, following Madvig. For other variations between ἀμύνεσθαι and ἀμύνασθαι cf. e. g. i. 96. 1.

11. τα εκεινων: so C; τὰ κείνων A; τὰ κείνων BEFM, edd.

12-13. και εν . . . οραν is deleted by Hude, who alters πάσχοιτας to πάσχοσι.

14. τι: τε C.

15. Usener wished to delete οι.

18. τι, supplied by the corrector, is in all the MSS.

19. αλλων: τῶν ἄλλων MSS.; but τῶν ἄλλων has just occurred in l. 18 and αλλων is quite defensible.

21. των: τήν MSS., rightly. It is certain that των was first written, but the second half of the ω is incompletely preserved, and ω may have been corrected to η.

22. αυτων: αὐτῶν C, Hude, Stuart Jones; ἐαυτῶν ABEFM³. αὐτῶν was probably meant by the papyrus and is likely to be right.

22-3. τωσαν|την: so CEG marg. B γρ. F¹ γρ. M⁴f ex corr., edd.; τήν ἄλλην ABFM³; τοιαύτην some late MSS.

24. οισομενοι: οἰόμενοι B.

25. υμιν: so 853; ἡμῖν MSS. Cf. int.

35. ε[ι μ]εν: so ABEFM with Tiberius, Syrianus, Dionysius, Castor, and Max. Plan. Hude (but not Stuart Jones) formerly carried his preference for CG to the length of reading μὲν οὖν, but now (ed. maior²) brackets οὖν.

35-6. ηδη ειρηκοτων: so CG (ἤδη add. G¹), schol., Syrianus, Max. Plan., edd.; εἰρηκότων ἤδη ABEFM; om. ἤδη Tiberius, Castor. The MSS. of Dionysius vary between ἤδη εἰρ. and εἰρ. ἤδη.

39. πολεμων: πόλεων ABF.

40. Dobree wished to omit αυτον.

41. δ': δέ CG, edd. αρκουν αν: ἂν ἀρκοῦν M.

1622. THUCYDIDES ii.

17.5 × 21.2 cm. Early second century. Plate IV.

The chief interest of this much damaged fragment, which consists of the lower halves of two columns and a bit of the column preceding, and contains parts of chs. 65 and 67 of Thuc. ii, is palaeographical, for on the verso is part of a contract for loan dated in Mecheir of the 11th year of Antoninus Pius (A. D. 148), so that the recto must have been written before 148, probably in the reign of Hadrian, and is an unusually well dated specimen of second-century uncial writing. Other papyri which more or less approximate to it in style and date are 9 (Part i, Plate iii, which was there dated somewhat too late), 841 (Part v, Plate iii), 1233 (Part x, Plate iii), and 1619 (Plate iv). A >-shaped sign is used for filling up short lines, and pauses are indicated by occasional blank places, paragraphi, and stops chiefly in the middle position (the high stop at the end of l. 51 is not certain). A mark of quantity occurs in l. 53, and a correction of spelling, possibly in a different hand, in l. 81. The column contained 29–30 lines of 16–22 letters. Iota adscript was written. 1622 agrees with C twice and with the other family twice; cf. 1620. int. The only new reading occurs in the very compressed sentence beginning in l. 84, of which the end is not preserved. Here the text of 1622 is apparently corrupt as it stands, but is perhaps nearer the original than the reading of the MSS., which may be only an emendation; cf. n. *ad loc.*

Col. i.

17 lines lost and traces of 7 lines	[διως] πε[ρ]ιγεγεμ[ε]σθαι τ[η]ν
25 [σουτον τωι Περικλ]ει επε 65. 13	[πολ]ιυ Π[ε]λ[ο]ποννησι[ο]
[ρισσευσε τοτε] αφ ων αυτος	30 [ων αυτων] τωι πολεμωι
[προε]γ[ν]ω [κ]αι [πα]νυ αν ραι	

Col. ii.

16 lines lost

[κ]αι το[ν] α[ν]του θερου]ς τελευ 67. 1
τωντος Αριστ[ευ]ς Κοριν
θιος και Λακεδ[α]μο[ν]ιων
50 πρεσβεις Ανηριστος και Νι
κολαος και Πρατοδαμος
και Τεγεατης Τιμαγορας
και Αργειος ιδιαι Πολ[λ]ις

Col. iii.

16 lines lost

μ[ο]νο]ς π[α]ρα τωι Σιταλκηι 67. 2
πε[ι]θουσι τον Σαδοκον
τον γεγενη[μ]ενον Αθ[η]
80 να[ι]ον Σ[ι]ταλκου υιον. τα[υ]ς
ε
ανδρας εγχιρισαι σφισι. [ο
πως μη διαβαντες ως β[α]

<p>πορεύομενο[ι ες] την Ασι 55 αν ως βασιλεια [ει π]ως πει σειαν αυτον χ[ρ]ηματα τε παρεχ[ε]ν και ξ[υ]μπολε [μ]ειν· αφικνου[τ]αι [ως] Σ[ι] [τ]αλκην πρωτον τ[ο]ν Τ[η] 60 [ρ]εω ες Θραικη[ν] βου]λομη Fr. 2.</p>	<p>σιλεια την εκεινου πολιν [το μερος βλαψωσι ο δε > 85 π[ε]ισ[θ]ει[ς] πορευομενου[ς] αυτους δια της Θραικης ε πι το πλοιον εμελλε > τον [Ε]λ[λ]ησποντον πε[[ρ]αιω[σειν] πριν ε[σ]βαινειν]. ο . [</p>
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28-9. τ[η]ν [πολ]ιν: so CG, Aristides, edd.; τῶν ABEFM.

51. Πρατοδαμος: so M, edd.; Πρατόδημος CEFG; Στρατόδημος AB.

57. παρεχ[ε]ν (AB corr. EFM) suits the vestiges much better than παρασχ[ε]ν (CGB¹?, edd.).

79. τον: om. CG.

80. υιον: υίων A; υόν Hude.

81. σφισι: for the omission of ν ἐφέλκυστικόν cf. l. 84 and 1620. 71, n.

84 sqq. For εμελλε in l. 87 the MSS. have ᾧ ἔμελλον, making περαιώσειν intransitive contrary to the customary usage of the passive in this sense, as was noticed by Thomas Magister (early fourteenth century). ἔμελλε may be merely a blunder due to some one who wished to make περαιώσειν transitive and ignored ξυλλαμβάνει, which follows εσβαίνει (l. 89) in the MSS. and governs πορευομένους αὐτούς. The loss of the end of the sentence in 1622 is unfortunate, for the construction was not quite clear. After ξυλλαμβάνει the MSS. continue ἄλλους δέ (so CG; δὴ Hude; om. ABEFM, Stuart Jones) ξυμπέμφας μετὰ τοῦ Λεάρχου τοῦ Ἀμεινιάδου καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἐκείνοις παραδοῦναι. ἔμελλε cannot be defended as long as the subject of it is Sitalces, who, as the context shows, had no intention of allowing the Spartan envoys to cross the Hellespont; but with the correction (ὁ) ἔμελλε (sc. the ship) the difficulty arising from the intransitive use of περαιώσειν would be removed, since a second accusative for that verb could easily be understood from πορευομένους αὐτούς: cf. Polyb. iii. 113. 6 τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐξαγαγῶν . . . καὶ περαιώσας κατὰ διττοὺς τόπους τὸ ρεῖθρον. ᾧ ἔμελλον would on this theory represent an attempt to emend the text as found in 1622.

Fr. 2. This fragment was adhering to the top left-hand corner of the papyrus, but apparently by accident. If it really belongs to ll. 19-21, it may refer to προσγε[νο]μ[ε]νοι οἱ Πελο[πο]νησιοι.

1623. THUCYDIDES iii.

14.7 × 5.5 cm.

Fifth or sixth century.

This fragment of a leaf of a vellum codex contains part of Thuc. iii. 7-9, with fairly numerous stops (in all three positions), paragraphi, accents, breathings, and diaereses. The only correction preserved, the insertion of a ν ἐφέλκυστικόν in l. 45, is due to the original scribe, who wrote a good-sized upright oval uncial hand of the fifth or sixth century. Iota adscript is omitted once and written once. Traces of ruling are discernible on the recto, which is the hair side. The text in spite of its comparatively late date stands somewhat apart from the

mediaeval MSS., agreeing once with CGM, probably twice with the B group (cf. 1620. int.), and presenting several new readings. Of these the omission of τῶν νεῶν in l. 1 and τὸ πεζόν for τὸν π. in l. 11 are quite defensible. More interesting is the variant ἀνέ[πλευσε for ἔπλευσε in l. 8, where the simple verb was rather ambiguous. The precise nature of the variation in ll. 19-20 is obscured by lacunae. 1616 was found with 1623.

Recto.	Verso.
[πλειους α]ποπεμπει παλι[7. 3	δευτερον ενικα [και επει 8
[επ οικου] ὁ Ἀσώπιος· αυτος 4	δη μετα την ε[ορτην κα
[δ εχων δ]ωδεκα αφικνεῖ	35 τεστησαν ες λο[γους ειπον
[ται ες Ναυ]πακτον· και υστε	τοιάδε· το μεν [καθεστος 9. 1
5 [ρον Ακαρ]νάνας αναστη	τοῖς Ἑλλησι νο[μιμον ω αν
[σας πανδη]μεί. στρατευει	δρες Λακεδαι[μονιοι και
[επ Οινιαδας] και ταις τε ναυ	ξυμμαχοι ἴσμεν τους
[σι κατα? τον Αχ]ελῶον ανε	40 γαρ αφιστα[μενους εν τοις
[πλευσε και ο] κατα γην στρα	πολεμοις κ[αι ξυμμαχιαν
10 [τος εδηιου τη]ν χωραν·	την πριν [απολειποντας
[ως δ ου προσεχ]ῶρουν. το με 5	οἱ δεξαμε[νοι καθ οσον μεν
[πεζον αφησιν] αυτος δε	ωφελουν[ται εν ηδονη
[πλευσας ες Λευκ]αδα και από	45 εχουσιν· νο[μιζοντες δ ει
[βασιν ες Νηρικο]ν ποιησα	ναι προδ[οτας των προ του
15 [μενος αναχωρω]ν διαφθει	φιλων χ[ειρους ηγοννται
[ρεται αυτος τε κα]ι της στρα	και ουκ α[δικος αυτη η αξι 2
[τιας τι μερος υπο τ]ων αυτό	ωσις εστ[ιν ει τυχοιεν προς
[θεν τε ξυμβοθησ]αντων	50 αλληλ[ους οι τε αφιστα
[και φρουρων τινων?] ων υστ[ερῶ] 6	μενοι κ[αι αφ ων διακρι
20 [υποσπονδους τους] νεκρους	νοιντο [ισοι μεν τη γνω
[αποπλευσαντες οι] Αθηναῖ	μη ογ[τες και ευνοια
[οι παρα των Λευκα]διῶν	αντι[παλοι δε τη παρα
10 lines lost	10 lines lost

1. πλειους α]ποπεμπει: πλ. ἀποπέμπει τῶν νεῶν MSS. Since αἱ νῆες occurred in the previous sentence, the repetition is unnecessary.

8-9. ἀνέ[πλευσε: ἔπλευσε MSS. ἀναπλεῖν occurs only once in Thuc. i. 104. 2 καὶ ἀναπλεύσαντες ἀπὸ θυλάσσης ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον, where it implies sailing up stream. If this was also implied here, ναυ[σιν ες τον Αχ]ελῶων αν. may have been the reading; but ἀνέ[πλευσε may simply

mean 'sailed out', in which case it hardly differs from the simple verb and *κατά* means 'in the direction of' or 'off' or perhaps even 'on'. Oeniadae was situated near the mouth of the Acheloüs, surrounded in winter by marshes into which the Acheloüs flowed (Thuc. ii. 102. 2), and of which one connected with the Gulf of Corinth according to Strabo, p. 459. The ships may therefore have been taken a little way up the river. A compound verb has this advantage over the simple one that it is not open to the interpretation 'he sailed down the Acheloüs', which is inadmissible here; cf. iv. 25. 8 *ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶ περιπλεύσαντες κατὰ τὸν Ἀκεσίην* (in Sicily) *ποταμὸν τὴν γῆν ἐδήουν*. That *ἀνέπλευσε* here means 'sailed back' (Asopius had already passed Acarnania on his way up the gulf to Naupactus) is less likely.

11. *το*: τὸν MSS. Thucydides uses both the masculine and neuter of *πέζος* substantively

18-19. *αυτό*[[θεν (ABEFM, edd.) suits the length of the lacuna better than *αυτό*[[θι (CG). The supposed accent is very doubtful.

19-20. *τινων*?) *ων υστερον* [[*υποσπονδους*: *τινῶν ὀλίγων καὶ ὕστερον ὑπ.* MSS. There is certainly not room for both *τινων* and *ολιγων* and there is no trace of *και*, but *ων* instead of being *ων* might be the termination of *τιν*]ων or *ολιγ*]ων with *δ* before *υποσπονδους* in l. 20, though the supplement there is quite long enough. *υ* and *ερ* of *υστερον* are fairly certain; the *στ* is cramped and seems to have been corrected, probably from *π*, and *ο* is not a very satisfactory reading. *ων* is not in accordance with Thucydidean usage in this context, *καὶ ὕστερον ὑποσπόνδους* being common.

37-8. *αν*]δρες: so ABEFM; om. CG, edd.

41. *πολεμοις*: so CGM, edd.; *πολεμίους* ABEF.

1624. PLATO, *Protagoras*.

Fr. I 10.5 × 17 cm.

Third century. Plate VI
(Cols. lxiii-iv, lxvi).

These scanty remains of a roll containing the *Protagoras* originally consisted of about 100 pieces, of which nearly three-quarters have been placed and some very minute scraps ignored. The identified fragments, which amount to about 230 lines in all, are scattered over the latter part of the dialogue from pp. 337-57, representing 23 out of the last 71 columns, but none at all completely. The upper margin is partly preserved in Cols. ii, xx, xxxv, xxxvii, xlv, lxi, lxiii-v, the lower in Cols. i, xvi, and lxiii, showing that each column contained 37 or 38 narrow lines of 10-17 letters, usually 12 or 13. The writing is a handsome specimen of the now well-known third-century type of uncials approximating to that of the early biblical codices; cf. 1365. int. Like 1017 (*Phaedrus*), 1624 is remarkable for the presence of many corrections or alternative readings, which have been inserted in a different and cursive hand. These seem to have been written somewhat later in the third century than the scholia in 1241, but to be contemporary with the scholia in P. Grenf. ii. 12, the main text in those two papyri being in hands very similar to the first hand of 1624, which is probably not later than the middle of the century. Iota adscript was written,

so far as can be judged. Paragraphi were employed by the first hand, but in the four places in which they occur have been placed in brackets by the corrector. Stops in all three positions occur, besides double dots marking a change of speaker, but in many cases are due to the corrector, who was apparently responsible for a breathing in l. 169 and accent in l. 285. Wedge-shaped signs for filling up short lines, occasional diaereses over *ι* and *υ*, and probably the accent in l. 16 and elision-mark in l. 227 are due to the first hand. The corrector's omissions, apart from the bracketing of paragraphi mentioned above, are indicated in ll. 114, 272, 589 by a stroke, elsewhere by dots, above the letters in question.

Papyri of Plato are now fairly numerous, 1624 being the 19th known; but no fragments of the *Protagoras* have been discovered previously. For this dialogue the chief MSS. are B (the Clarkeanus), T (the Marcianus), and W (Vindobonensis 54); but 1624 happens to cover very few passages in which they differ seriously. A mistake of BT is avoided (l. 360), but in ll. 629 and 663 the papyrus apparently supports BT against W. In ll. 319 and 435 the first hand agrees with the reading of W, the corrector with that of BT (in l. 435 not exactly). Some agreements between 1624 and Vaticanus 1029 are noticeable (ll. 435, 592, 632, nn.) and the text of Stobaeus is supported in l. 396, so that with regard to the existing tradition there is no reason to suppose that 1624 was less eclectic than the longer Plato papyri from Oxyrhynchus, 843 and 1016-17. In the new readings, which are frequent, the first hand and the corrector usually took different views, the only instance in which they agreed upon a hitherto unrecorded variant being the insertion of the article before *μέρει* in l. 288. In ll. 6, 594, 632, and 637 the corrector has restored the ordinary reading of the MSS. by inserting words omitted either intentionally or by inadvertence by the first hand; cf. also ll. 176-7, n. The first hand was not a very accurate scribe, to judge by several apparent repetitions of syllables; cf. l. 114, n., and 843 (*Symposium*), which has numerous mistakes of this character. The most striking of the new readings rejected by the corrector is the addition of *αι* before *ἴσαι* in l. 589, a reading which had been generally adopted by modern editors from a conjecture of Heindorf, but is hardly rendered more convincing. More often it is the first hand, not the corrector, who agrees with the MSS.; cf. ll. 15, 431, 481, 486, 490, 590, 592, 640, 665, 666, 672, nn. In several of these places there is an obvious difficulty in the ordinary reading, and in l. 672 the corrector's reading had already suggested itself to some of the Renaissance editors of Plato as an improvement, while in ll. 15 and 640 his readings seem to be superior; but the changes proposed in ll. 592 and 666 are of more doubtful value. The other novelties are all of the nature of omissions from the ordinary text, in revising which the corrector, presumably on the authority of a different

MS., exhibits an unwonted and perhaps exaggerated tendency to solve difficulties by excisions. His text is, however, as a whole distinctly better than that of the first hand, and interesting as a specimen of a recension which was probably due to some Alexandrian grammarian, and possibly connected with the corrector's text in 1017. A proneness to omissions of words found in the traditional text is one of the characteristics of the *Phaedo* and *Laches* papyri of the third century B. C., but these of course differ from the ordinary text much more widely than 1624.

Col. i (Frs. i. i, 2).		Col. ii (Frs. i. ii, 3-4).	
<p>[μι]ν η [ξυν]ου[σ]ια γιγνοιτ[ο]. υμε[ι]ς τε [γ]αρ οι λεγοντες μα λιστ αν ουτως εν η 5 μιν τοις ακουου [σι]ν ευδοκιμοιτε· και [ουκ] επαινοισθε· ευ μεν δοκιμειν τε γαρ εσ τι παρα ταις ψυ 10 χαις των [ακ]ουον των αν[ευ] απα τ[η]ς επαι[ν]εισθαι [δε] εν λογωι πολλα [κι]ς παρα δοξαν ον 15 [ψε]υδομενων· η [με]ις τ αυ οι ακου [ου]τε[ς] μαλιστ αν [ου]τως ευφρα[ι]νοι 16 lines lost 3.5 [δε] τ[ον] Προδικον Ιππ[ια]ς ο σοφος ει πεν [ω] ανδρες ε</p>	<p>337 b</p> <p>337 c</p> <p>337 e</p>	<p>φη [οι παροντες η γυ[υ]μαι εγω υμας ξ 40 συ[γγενεις τε και οικ[ειους και πο]λι [τας απαν]τας ειναι [φυσει ο]ν νομοι· [το γαρ] ομοιον τωι 45 ο[μοιω]μι φυσει ξυγ γευ[ε]ς εστιν ο δε νομ[ο]ς τυραννος ων των ανθρω πω[ν] πολλα πα 50 ρα τη[ν] φυσιν βια ζετ[αι η]μας ουν [—] αισχ[ρον] την μεν φυσιν τ[ων] πρα γματων· ει δε[ν] αι· 12 lines lost 67 του] τ[ο]υ αξιωμα τος] αξιον α[ποφη]ν[ασ]θαι· αλλ [ωσπερ 70]του[ς] φαυλο[τατους]των ανθρω[πων δια]φερεσθα[ι αλ ληλο]ις· ε[γω] μεν 2 lines lost</p>	<p>337 d</p> <p>337 e</p>

Col. iii (Fr. i. iii).

	10 lines lost		90 τας η[ν]ιας τοις λο
86	τ[ο] κατα βραχυ λι	338 a	γοις [ινα μεγαλο
	αν [ει μη ηδυν Πρω		πρε[πестεροи και
	ταγ[ο]ραι αλλ εφει		ευσχ[η]μονεστε
	ν[α]ι κ[αι] χαλασαι		About 20 lines lost

Col. ix (Fr. 5).

	[[υσ[τερον]] ουκ ορθως	339 d
115	λεγ[ει] ειπων ουν	
	[τ]αυ[τα] πολλοις	

Col. xvi (Fr. 6).

	About 36 lines lost	
153	πειν· ε[ι] βουλει λα	341 e
	βειν μ[ο]υ πειραν	

Col. xvii (Fr. 7).

	12 lines lost	
167	ν[υ] και οι αλλοι εγω	342 a
	[]	
	το[ινυν] ην δ εγω	
	α γ εμ[οι] δοκει περι	
170	του α[ισμα]τος [του	
	του περι[α]σομ[αι]	
	υμιν δι[ε]ξελεθειν	
	φιλοσοφια γαρ εσ	
	τιν παλαιοτατη	
175	τε και πλειστη [των	
	Ελληνων [[κα[ι]] εν	
	Κρη[τ]ηι και εν [Δα	342 b
	κεδα[ι]μονι· κα[ι] σο	
	φισται πλειστοι	
180	γης εκει εισιν· α[λλα	
	εξαρνονται κα[ι]	
	σχηματιζοντ[αι]	
	αμαθεις [ει]ναι· ι[
	να μη καταδη	
185	λοι ωσιν [οτι σο	

About 7 lines lost

Col. xix (Fr. 8).

	About 30 lines lost	
223	[τιστης ω]στε [φαι	342 e
	[γεσθαι τ]ον π[ροσ]δι[α	
225	[λεγο]μενον πα[ι	
	[δος μη]δεν βελτει	
	[ω του]τ' ου[ν] αυτο	
	[και των νυν] εισιν	
	[οι κατα]νενο[η]κα	
230	[σι και των π]αλ[αι] ο	

Col. xx (Frs. 9-10).

231	[τι το λακ]ωνιζε[ιν]	342 e
	[πολυ μα]λλ[ο]ν εσ	
	[τι φιλοσο]φε[ιν] η	
	[φιλογυμν]ασι[τειν]	
235	[ειδοτες ο]τι τ[οι]	
	About 33 lines lost	

Col. xxiii (Fr. 11).

269 τ[ουτο γε φανειη 343 c
 270 αν [και ου Σιμω
 υιδου [[.]]
 [[το[. . .]] αλλ υπερ
 βα[τον δει θειναι
 [ε]ν τ[ωι αισματι

Col. xxxv (Fr. 13).

280 [ο]ντε ψαλτρ[ι]ας· αλλ[α 347 d
 [α]ντους εαυτοις ι
 κανους οντας ξυν[
 [ε]ι
 [.]]ναι ανευ των λη
 [ρ]ων τε και παιδι-
 285 ων τουτων δια
 της εαυτων φω
 νης λεγοντας τε
 και ακουοντας εν τω[ι
 μερει εαυτων κο
 290 [σ]μωσ· [κ]α[ν] πανι
 [πολ]ι[ν] οιωσ[ιν] πιω
 About 26 lines lost

Col. xlvi (Frs. 18-19).

[απο τε]χνης γ[ι]γνε 351 a
 395 [ται α]νθρωποις· και
 [απο θυμο]ν γε και
 [απο μαρια]ς [ωσ]

Col. lix (Fr. 21).

About 27 lines lost

428 ταδ[ηλον εσται ε 355 b
 αν μ[η] πολλοις ο

Col. xxxi (Fr. 12).

275 [μος] τ[ων γαρ ηλι 346 c
 θιων [απειρων γε
 νεθλ[α ωστ ει τις
 χαιρε[ι ψεγων εμ
 πλησ[θειη αν ε

Col. xxxvii (Fr. 14).

318 [ποιειν ο]υκ εθε 348 b
 [λων ειτε δ]ωσει[[ν]] [λο
 320 [γον ειτε] μη δ[ια
 [σαφειν ε]μοι [γ]α[ρ
 About 34 lines lost

Col. xlv (Frs. 15-17).

356 γαρ [ει] ουτ[ω μετιων 350 d
 εροιο με· ε[ι ισχυροι
 [δ]υνατοι ε[ισι φαι 350 e
 [η]ν αν[·] επ[ε]ιτα
 360 [ει] οι επισταμ[ενοι
 [π]αλαιιν δυ[να
 [τωτ]εροι εισι τω[ν
 [μη επισταμ]ε[ν]ων
 About 30 lines lost

Col. lvii (Fr. 20).

398 κο]υσι[ν εφη ο 354 d
]Πρω[ταγορας αλ
 400 λο] τ[ι ουν παλιν

Col. lxi (Fr. 23).

477 [μι]ν. των αγαθων 355 d
 [τ]α κακα· η αξιω[ν]
 φησομεν δηλον ο

430 νομα[σι χρωμεθα
 [[αρα]] ηδξ[ι τε και α
 νιαρωι [και αγαθωι
 και κα[κωι αλλ ε
 πειδη [δυο εφανη

435 ταυτα δ[υοιν ονο
 [[ονο]]μα[σι προσαγο
 ρε[υωμεν αυτα
 π[ρω]τ[ον μεν αγα

Col. lx (Fr. 22).

5 lines lost

[μεν οτι γιγν]ωσ 355 c

445 [κων ο ανθρωπος
 [τα κακα οτι κ]α
 About 30 lines lost

Col. lxi (Fr. 24).

About 20 lines lost

535 νο]ν κ[αι ηδεος και 356 a
 λ]υπηρ[ου μων α
 λ]λωι τω[ι φαιην
 α]ν εγωγ[ε η ηδο

About 13 lines lost

Col. lxiv (Fr. 25. ii). Plate vi.

και αι φωναι [[αι]] ἴ 356 c
 590 σαι εγγυθεν [[μεν]]
 μειζους πορωθεν
 ελαττους
 δε σμικροτεραι[[:]] φαι

[—] εν αν: ει ουν εν του 356 d

[—] ημειν ην
 [[του]]τ[ωι] το εν πρατ

480 τι αποκρινόμενοι
 [[[οτ]ι]] ουκ αξιων ον
 [τω]ν ου γαρ αν εξη
 [μα]ρτανεν ον φα
 [με]ν ηττω ειναι

485 [τω]ν ηδονων: κα
 [τα τι] δε φησει [[ἴσως]]
 [ανα]ξια εστι ταγα
 [θα τω]ν κακων η
 [τα κα]κα τω[ν α]γα

490 [θων] [[η]] κα[τ αλλ]ο τι
 [η οταν] τα [μεν] μει
 [ζω τα δε σμικροτ]ε

About 22 lines lost

Col. lxxiii (Frs. 25. i, 26). Plate vi.

552 [δεα ιστηις]. τα μει 356 b
 [ζω αι και] πλειω
 [ληπτεα εα]ν δε

555 [λυπηρα προ]ς λυπη
 [ρα τα ελαττ]ω και
 [σμικροτερα] εξα]ν
 About 22 lines lost

580 [κριν]ασθε φη[σω 356 c
 [φαιν]εται ὑμ[ιν
 τη] οψει τα [αυτ
 [μεγεθ]η εγγυθεν
 [μεν μειζω, πορ

585 [ρωθεν] δε ελατ[τω
 [η ου φ]ησουσι: κ[αι
 [τα παχ]εα και τ[α

595 [τειν ε]ν τωι τα μει

[μεγαλ]α μηκη [

[και πρατ]τειν [και

About 28 lines lost

[πολλα] ^σωαυτως

Col. lxxv (Frs. 27, 28. i, 29-32).

626 πι τωι α[λ]ηθει κα[ι] 356 e

εσωσεν [αν] τον βι[ον]

[αρα αν ο]μολογοι

[εν ανθρ]ωποι προς

630 τα υτα η μ[α]ς την

[με]τρητ[ικ]ην σω

[ζει]ν τεχν[η]ν η αλ

λην τ[η]ν μετρη

[τικη]ν ω[μολογει]:

635 [τι] δ ει εν τ[η]ι του πε

[ρο]ιττου κα[ι] αρ[τιου]

αιρεσει η[μ]ιν η σω

τηρια [του βιο]υ ο

[ποτε το πλεον ο]ρθως

640 εδει ελεσθαι ^η και ο

ποτ[ε το ελατ]τον η

αυτο προς ε[α]υτο η

τ[ο ε]τερον π[ρο]ς το

[ε]τερον· ειτ [ε]γγυς

645 [ειτ]ε πορρω [ει]η τι

About 17 lines lost

Col. lxxvi (Fr. 28. ii). Plate vi.

663 [π]ειθ[η] δε ηδουης 357 a

τε κα[ι] λυπης εν ορ

665 θηι [[τ]η[ι]] αιρεσει εφα

νη η[μ]ιν η σωτη

ρια το[υ] βιου ουσα

του τ[ε] πλεονος και

ελατ[το]νος και μει

670 ζονος [και σμικρο

τερου] και πορρω

τερω[ι] και εγγυτε

ρωι· αρ[α] πρωτον

μην ο[υ] μετρητι

About 25 lines lost

Fr. 33.

700]υτ[

]θαι· [

]. ηδη· [

]λα... [

]ω ουν [

705]... α[

Fr. 34.

707]α

]μ

Fr. 35.

711]α

]θε

Fr. 36.

715]·

]μ·

Fr. 37.

719]·

720]αι·

Fr. 38.

722]λυπ[

]επ[

	]νε[	]Χ·[	]·η.	γ	]ουτ[
710	]ν π[	]τ[	]ηε	]το[
Fr. 39.		Fr. 40.	Fr. 41.	Fr. 42.	Fr. 43.
725	]ην[	728]π·[	731]ν[	]τα·[	736]λη
	^α[	]·δ[	]ου[	^γ	]κη·
	]του[	730]υτ[	]ρα[	735]τα[
	]η·[
Fr. 44.		Fr. 45.	Fr. 46.	Fr. 47.	Fr. 48.
738	]σ·[	740 ]·[	742]η και·[	]ν·[	746]·ω[
	]κη[	]σθα[	]···[	745]οσι[	]μα·[

6. και: so MSS.

7. επαυοισθε: so B, edd.; επαυείσθε with superscribed οι T.

8. μεν: so MSS.; τε, the reading of the first hand, is probably due to a reminiscence of l. 2. It is not quite certain that he wrote [δε] rather than [τε] in l. 13.

15. [ψε]υδομένων: so MSS. except Vat. 1029 (ψευδομένω). The corrector's reading ψευδόμενον, which is passive, not middle, and refers to the subject of the infinitives, brings out the antithesis between εὐδοκιμῆν and επαυείσθαι more clearly, and is likely to be right.

40. σι[γγενεις so BT. Elsewhere (ll. 45 and 282) the first hand uses the ξ-form, which the corrector preferred here.

69-71. The fragment containing]η,]τοι[, and]τω[is not certainly placed here, and the division of lines is doubtful throughout ll. 67-73.

89. κ[αι χαλασαι: these words were bracketed by Cobet.

114. [υσ[τερον]: this word is in the MSS. and can hardly be dispensed with. It may well have been omitted here by the corrector because it was written twice over (cf. ll. 271-2, 436, 593-4, nn.); but the preceding words are corrupt in BT (ήγοίτο πρότερον instead of ήτοι τὸ πρότερον) and may have been equally corrupt in 1624, in which case the omission of υστερον is possibly part of an extensive alteration.

169. γ εμ[οι: so some edd. since Bekker; but γε μ[οι (BT, Burnet) can of course be read equally well.

173-4. εσ]τι: so T; εστιν B, like the corrector.

176-7. [[κα[ι] εν| κρη[τ]ηι: εν K. τε MSS. The corrector may have added τε after εν.

180. α[λλα makes the line rather long, but the division αλλ' | εξαρν. would be unusual.

Cf. l. 280.

223-4. Fr. 45 might be placed here, [τισ]τη[ς and [νε]σθα[ι being possible.

271-2. The MSS. have nothing between Σιμωνιδου and αλλ'. Possibly αλλ υπερβατον was written twice by mistake; cf. l. 114, n.

281. εαντοις: αυτοίς BT. Cf. l. 286, n.

283. The letter before ναι is almost entirely lost, but has clearly been crossed through, and there seems to be a letter above the line, so that it is not satisfactory to suppose that the corrector simply altered the division ξυ|ειναι, which is legitimate but rather unusual, to ξυνει|ραι. No variant is known here.

286. εαυτων: αυτων B, edd.; αυτων T. Cf. l. 281, n.

288-9. εν τα[ι] μερι: om. τωι MSS. The article is sometimes inserted, sometimes

omitted, in this phrase by Plato; cf. *Gorg.* 462 a ἐν τῷ μέρει ἐρωτῶν τε καὶ ἐρωτώμενος with 496 b ἀλλ' ἐν μέρει οἶμαι ἐκότερον καὶ λαμβάνει καὶ ἀπολλύει.

319. δ]ωσει[ν]: δώσει BT rightly; δώσειν W.

357. ισχυροί (B) suits the probable length of the lacuna better than οἱ ισχυροί (T, edd.).

360. [εἰ]οι: so t, edd.; οἰει B; οἷει T.

396. γε: so Stobaeus, Burnet; τε BTW, Schanz. Cf. ἀπὸ μανίας γε καὶ θυμοῦ a few lines before l. 394, where Wt Stobaeus have γε, and BT τε.

397. [ἀπο μανία]ς: the s is fairly certain, and the length of the lacuna does not suit the restoration [μανίας ω]σ[τε, omitting ἀπο in accordance with Naber's conjecture.

398-400. The division of lines in this fragment is quite uncertain.

431. [[α]ρα]: ἄρα BTW; ἄμα a corrector of the Coislinianus, Burnet. The difficulty is caused by the late position of ἄρα in the sentence.

435. εἰ[νοιν]: so W, Vat. 1029; BT agree with the corrector in adding καί, but place it after instead of before δυοῖν. BT's order seems preferable.

436. [[ono]μο]σι: probably ono had been written twice by the first hand; cf. l. 114, n.

436-7. προσαγο]ρε[νωμεν: so edd.; προσαγορεύομεν BTW. Line 437 is already rather short (11 letters), and the substitution of o for ω, though possible, is not satisfactory. ρε[νωμεν αὐτα προ]τ[ον] μ[ε]ν is inadmissible, for, though τ could be read instead of π, the only alternatives to the τ of π[ρω]τ[ον] are γ and π.

444-6. The position assigned to this fragment is far from certain.

481. [[σ]τ]ε: the corrector omitted this word, which is in the MSS., presumably because (δηλον) οτι had occurred in ll. 479-80; cf. int.

486. [ἴσως]: this word is in the MSS., but can be dispensed with.

490. [η]: the omission of this word is distinctly an improvement, if ἦ (so MSS. and edd.) was meant. This question simply supplies the answer to the preceding one κατὰ τί δὲ κτλ., and does not introduce a fresh alternative of any kind. If η is retained, ἦ seems preferable to ἦ.

535-8. The division of lines in this fragment is uncertain.

582. [τ]ηι: so MSS.; there would be room for two more letters in the lacuna.

588. ωσαντ[ως: the σ above the line does not seem to be due to the ordinary corrector, but it is not quite certainly by the first hand.

589. [[αι]: ai is not in the MSS., but Heindorf's insertion of it has been accepted by practically all editors. The absence of ai can however be defended by supplying οὔσαι with ἴσαι (cf. Ast's note), and it is not at all clear that the first hand was right, even though there is a doubt about the deletion. ai has had dots placed above it, but through these is a horizontal stroke, such as is used in ll. 114 and 272 to indicate the deletion of the letters below. Seeing that in l. 592 the corrector has eliminated double dots marking a change of speaker not by running his pen continuously through them, but by crossing them out separately, we prefer to suppose that the corrector in l. 589 substituted one mode of expressing deletion for another (possibly for the sake of clearness, owing to the presence of a diaeresis by the first hand over the following ι of ἴσαι), rather than that he changed his mind about the omission of ai and meant to cross out the dots indicating deletion and let ai stand, or that this was the meaning of a possible second corrector. The bracketing of the paragraphi below ll. 51, 167, 592, and 593 may have been due to a desire on the part of the corrector to avoid confusion between paragraphi and horizontal strokes indicating deletion.

590. [[μὲν]: nothing seems to be gained by the omission of this word, which is in the MSS., but is not essential. Since the following word began μει, the intrusion or omission of μεν would be easy.

592. μικροτεραι: so MSS. except Vat. 1029, which has ἐλάττους καὶ μικρ., a conflation

of the alternative readings found here. The corrector's reading ἐλάττους is in accordance with μείζω . . . ἐλάττω in ll. 584-5.

593-4. The MSS. have εἰ οὖν ἐν τούτῳ ἡμῖν ἦν τὸ κτλ., except Venetus 184, which places οὖν after τούτῳ. ἡμῖν can be dispensed with, but hardly ἦν. του[τῶι ἦν] may have been the reading of the first hand, but this restoration, even if ἦν had dots placed above it by the corrector, fails to account satisfactorily for the position of the insertion ημειν ἦν, and του[τῶι γε] is less probable than a mistaken repetition of the syllable του: cf. ll. 114, 436, nn., and for the omission of ἦν after ἡμῖν l. 637, n.

596-7. The lacuna after μηκη is not very adequately filled by a wedge-shaped sign. If μηκη [και] be read, in the absence of any known variant for μήκη καὶ πράττειν the simplest course would be to suppose a mistaken repetition of και: cf. the preceding n.

627-8. βί[ον] ἀρα ἀν ὁμολογοί: or possibly βί[ον ἀρ ἀν ὁμ.

629. ἀνθρ]ωποι: so BT (ἀνθ.); οἱ ἄνθρ. W, Vat. 1029, Burnet. ἄνθρωποι may have been meant if the first hand omitted οἱ, which, though probable, is not quite certain. The ω of ἀνθρ]ωποι apparently projected slightly to the left of the μ of ὁμολογοί in l. 628 and a of ημ]ας in l. 630.

632. ἀν: so BT; om. Vat. 1029 like the first hand. ἄν is necessary in view of ἔσωσεν ἄν (l. 627) and ἔσφραξεν ἄν (lost in l. 646).

637. ἦν: so BT. ἦν is indispensable; cf. ll. 593-4, n.

640. και: so BT. The corrector's reading η, i. e. ἦ, seems to suit the argument better.

662-3. ε[π]ειδ[η] δε: so BT; ἐπι δὲ δὴ W, Vat. 1209; ἐπει δὲ δὴ Burnet, following Adam. The vestige before ιδ suits ε better than π.

665. [τη[ε]]: τῆ Bt; πῆ T. Vat. 1029 omits ἐν in l. 664, and possibly the first hand or the corrector differed there from the ordinary reading ἐν ὀρθῆι (e. g. by having τη ὀρθῆι or ἐν τη ὀρθῆι). The mere omission of τη in l. 665 is however more probable. The article can easily be dispensed with.

666. η[μ]ιν: so MSS. The corrector's reading ὑμῖν gains some support from the proximity of εἶεν, ὃ ἄνθρωποι (l. 662), which introduces the summing-up of the argument, and the constant use of the second person plural throughout the dialogue with imaginary objectors in pp. 353 sqq. ἡμεῖς, however, not ὑμεῖς, is used in the previous steps of the argument (e. g. in ll. 594, 637), and the theory that good and evil ultimately meant pleasure and pain is not the starting-point of the opponents of Socrates in this part of the *Protagoras*, but on the contrary is forced upon them by him, so that there was no need for Socrates to dissociate himself from his opponents just at this point.

671-3. πορρω]τερω[ι] και ἐγγυτε]ρωι: so T, and with the omission of the final iotas B and modern edd.; πορρωτέρου καὶ ἐγγυτέρω Ald. (1513); πορρωτέρου καὶ ἐγγυτέρου Basileensis 1 (1534), agreeing with the corrector. Stephanus objected to the coupling of the adverbs without an article to the preceding adjectives, but his criticism has been answered (e. g. by Stallbaum and Ast) by citing (1) numerous parallels in Plato for the omission of the article in enumerations after the first noun, (2) instances of the coupling of adverbs with adjectives in e. g. *Protag.* 356 a ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ μείζω τε καὶ μικρότερα γινόμενα ἀλλήλων καὶ πλείω καὶ ἐλάττω καὶ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον, *Philēb.* 41 e τίς . . . μείζω καὶ τίς ἐλάττων καὶ τίς μᾶλλον καὶ τίς σφοδρότερα λύπη. The objection to πορρωτέρου and ἐγγυτέρου here is that these adjectival forms are in general post-classical. Thucydides, however (viii. 96), has δι' ἐγγυτάτου ἐθορύβει, while Xenophon frequently uses ἐγγύτερον adverbially, and there is an obvious advantage in substituting adjectives for adverbs at this point, so that the corrector's reading is not lightly to be rejected on philological grounds alone.

700-6. It is not quite certain that this fragment belongs to the *Protagoras*.

740-1. Cf. ll. 223-4, n.

1625. AESCHINES, *In Ctesiphontem*.

32.5 × 25 cm.

Second century.

This fragment of a roll consists of three incomplete columns and a few letters from a fourth, covering §§ 14–27 of Aeschines' oration against Ctesiphon, written in a clear cursive hand of the second century, probably not later than the reign of Hadrian or Antoninus, to which a document found with 1625 belongs. There were 51 or 52 lines in a column, and 24–30 letters in a line. Iota adscript was regularly written, and elision generally avoided. Punctuation was effected by paragraphi and high stops. Diaereses are sometimes placed over initial *ι* and *υ*; accents, breathings, and marks of quantity are rare (ll. 53, 63, 111). That the syllable inserted above the line in l. 53 is in a different hand is not quite certain, and a still greater doubt attaches to the supposed distinction of hands in l. 21. Seven other fragments of Aeschines from Egypt are known, of which three (457, 703, and Hartel, *Vortrag über die Griech. Pap. Erz. Rainer*, 45 sqq.) belong to different parts of this oration, two (458 and 440; cf. Blass, *Archiv*, iii. 293) to the *De falsa leg.*, and two (Nicole, *Textes grecs inéd. de Genève*, pp. 5–12 and P. Halle 6) to the *Contra Timarchum*.

The MSS. of Aeschines number about 27, and fall into three main families, called by Blass A, B, and C. In this oration A consists of ekl, B of agmn Vat. Laur. Flor., C of dfq Barb. h generally supports A rather than C, p usually agrees with B. d (10th century) is the only MS. older than the thirteenth century, but C, the family to which it belongs, has generally been regarded as inferior to the other two, of which A is now usually considered superior to B. The untrustworthy character in general of the MSS. has been clearly shown by the papyri, most of which present a number of new and better readings, not infrequently establishing conjectures. 1625, which is much longer than 457 and 703 and much older than Hartel's vellum fragments, is a carefully written papyrus, and naturally does not fail to make several improvements upon the ordinary text. The chief of these is in § 20, where two of the three families have an omission and the third, A, is corrupt. Here the papyrus confirms the simpler emendations of Lambinus, another early scholar (probably Scaliger), and Wolf against the more elaborate changes proposed by later editors (ll. 81–2). A gloss which had found its way into the text of all the MSS. in § 15 can now be detected and explained with the help of the scholia (l. 19), and a gloss found in B and C, but not in A, in § 24 was absent from 1625 (l. 154, n.). Hamaker's conjecture *ιερὰ* for *γέρα* in § 18 is confirmed (l. 61), and Cobet's objection to the repetition *λέγει . . . φησί* in § 21 is justified, though by the omission of *φησί*, not

λέγει, as he proposed (ll. 94-5). A passage in § 19, in which the variation between present and past participles had caused difficulties, is probably set right (ll. 69-70). The other new readings mainly concern the order of words (ll. 3-4, 58-60, 97-8, 144-5), a lacuna having obscured a variant of some magnitude in ll. 135-6. In numerous instances evidence is provided for words which recent editors have wished to delete, generally in order to avoid hiatus, about which 1625 (and probably Aeschines) was not more particular than the MSS. The general relation of 1625 to them is very similar to that of most other Aeschines papyri. A is on the whole supported more frequently than B and much more frequently than C, especially in important points of divergence, there being at least 6 agreements with A (or 2 of the 3 MSS. composing it) against BC (ll. 24, 77, 81-2, 93, 116, 154 sqq.), 1 or 2 with AB against C (ll. 78, 134?), and 3 or 4 with AC against B (ll. 25, 70, 117; cf. ll. 92-3, where most of the B group and one member of A are on the wrong side). On the other hand 1625 agrees with B against AC in l. 73, with isolated members of B against all the other MSS. in ll. 62 and 131, and with BC against A at least 5 times (ll. 22 twice, 52, 53, 120, 187?). C thus comes off the worst of the three families in relation to 1625, since it gains no support for any of its peculiar readings; but when C is in combination with A or B its relationship to 1625 is much the same as that of B in combination with A or C, 1625 agreeing with the majority in about half the instances in either case, whereas A in combination with B or C is confirmed in 6 out of 7, or (if ll. 62 and 131 are included) 9, instances.

Col. i.

[ται τας χειροτο]ν[ητας φησι]ν αρχας 14
 [απασας ενι περι]λ[αβων ονο]ματι
 [ο νομοθετης κα]ι προ[σειπων απ]ασας
 [αρχας ειναι α]ς ο δη[μος χειροτ]ονει
 5 [και τους επιστα]τας φη[σι των δη]μοσι
 [ων εργαων εσ]τιν δε ο [Δημοσθε]νης
 [τειχοποιος ε]πιστα[της του μεγα]στου
 [των εργαων κ]αι πα[ν]τα[ς οσοι διαχειρι]
 [ζουσι τι των τη]ς πολ[εως πλεον η τρι]
 10 [ακοντα ημερ]ας· και οσοι λαμβανου
 [σιν ηγεμονια]ς δικαστη[ριων οι δε
 των εργαων ε]πισταται πα[ντες ηγε]
 [μονιαι χρωντ]αι δικαστηρ[ιου τι του

(Col. ii.)

και κοινη τα γενη Ευμολπιδας και
 65 Κηρυκας και τους αλλους απαντας[·] πα 19
 λιν τους τριηραρχους υπευθυνους ει
 ναι κελευει ο νομος[·] ο[υ] τα κοινα δια
 χειρισαντας ουδ απο των υμετερων
 προσοδων πολλα μεν υφηρημενους
 70 βραχεια δε καταθεντας επιδιδοναι
 [δ]ε φασκοντας αποδιδοντας δε υ
 [μι]ν [τα υμε]τερα· αλλ ομολογουμε
 [νωσ τας πα]τ[ρωι]ας ουσιας εις την προ[ο]ς
 [υμας ανηλωκοτ]ας φιλοτιμιαν· ου τοι
 75 [νυν μονον οι τριηραρχ]οι αλλα και τα με
 [γιστα των εν τ]η[·] [πολει συνε]δριων

[τους κελυει] ποιειν· ου διακονειν 15
 1.5 [αλλ αρχειν δο]κιμασθεντας εν [τ]ωι
 [δικαστηριωι ε]πειδη και αι κληρ[ωτ]αι
 [αρχαι ουκ αδο]κιμασ[τ]οι· αλλα δοκιμασ 80
 [θεισαι αρχουσι κ]αι λογον και ευθυ
 [νας εγγραφει]ν προς τους [[.]] λογισ
 20 [τας καθαπερ κ]αι τας αλλας αρχας
 [κελυει οτι δε] αληθ[^ηεσ ?]] λεγω τους νο
 [μους αυτους υ]μιν αναγνωσεται·
 [νομοι
 [οταν τοιουν ω ανδρε]ς Αθηναιοι 16
 2.5 [ας ο νομοθετης αρχας] ονομαζει
 26 lines lost

Col. ii.

[φ]εροντα· εν γαρ τα[υ]τηι [τ]ηι π[ολ]ει ου 17
^{αι}
 [τω]ς αρχαι ουση και τηλικαυτη[ι τ]ο με
 γεθος ουδεις εστιν ανυ[π]ευθυνος
 55 των και οπως προς τα κοινα προσ
 εληλυθοτων· διδαξω δε υ[μ]ας πρωτον 18
 επι των παραδοξων· οιον τους ιερεις
 και τας ιερειας υπευ[θ]υνους ειναι ο νο
 μος κελυει· και συλληβδην παντας·
 60 και χωρις εκαστους κατα σωμα· και τους
 τα ι[ε]ρα μονον λαμβανοντας και τας
 ευχας τας υπερ ημων προς τους θεους
 ευχομενους· και ου μονον ιδιαι αλλα

Col. iii.

ουδε αλλα [πολλα· ενι δε λογωι ενε
 χυραξε]ι ο] υ[μο]θετης τας ουσιας των
 105 υπευθυνων εως [αν λογον αποδωσι
 τη πολει· ναι α]λλ εστι τις ανθρωπος ος 22
 ουτε ειληφε[ν ουδεν των δημοσιων 145

[υπο την των δικ]αστων ε[ρχε]ται ψη
 φον πρωτον μεν] γαρ τη[ν βου]λην την 20
 [εν Αρειωι παγωι] ε[γ]γραφ[ειν] προς τους
 80 [λογιστας ο νομο]ς κελ[ευε]ι λογον
 [και ευθυνας διδοναι] και τον εκ[ει] σκυθρω
 [πον και των] μεγιστων [κυριο]ν αγει
 [υπο την υμετεραν ψηφον ου]κ α[ρ]α σ[τ]ε[φα
 [νωθησεται η βουλη η εξ Αρειο]υ παγου
 85 [ουδε γαρ πατριον αυτοις εστιν] ουκ α
 [ρα φιλοτιμουνται πανυ γε αλλ ουκ αγ]α
 [πωσιν εαν τις παρ αυτοις μη αδικη]ι
 [αλλ εαν τις εξαμαρτανηι κ]ολαζου
 [σιν οι δε υμετεροι ρητορες τ]ρυφω
 90 [σι παλιν την βουλην τους πευ]τα
 [κοσιους υπευθυνον πεποιη]κεν ο νο
 [μοθετης] και ουτ[ως ισχυρω]ς απισ 21
 [τει τοις υπ]ευθυνοις ωστε ευθυς αρ
 [χομενος] των νομων λεγει· αρχην
 9.5 [υπευθυνον μη απο]δη[μει]ν ω Ηρακλεις
 [υπολαβοι αν τις οτι ηρξα μη α]ποδη
 [μησω ινα γε μη προλαβων τη]ς πο
 [λεως χρηματα η πραξεις δρα]σ[μωι
 [χρησηι παλιν υπευθυνον ου]κ ε
 100 [αι την ουσιαν καθιερον ουδε ανα]θη
 [μα αναθειναι ουδε εκποιητον] γε
 [νεσθαι ουδε διαθεσθαι τα εαυ]του

προφασιου[ν]ται μεχρι δευρο ειρησθω
 μοι· [ο]τι δε οντως ην υπευθυνος ο Δη
 μοσθει[νης] οτε ουτος εισηνεγκε το
 ψηφι[σμα] αρχων μεν την αρχην την ?
 145 επι τωι θεωρικωι αρχων δε την

ουτε αναλωκ[ε προσηλθε δε προς
 τι των κοινω[ν και τουτον αποφερειν
 110 κελουει λογ[ον προς τους λογιστας
 και πως ο γε μηδεν λαβων μηδε ανα
 λωσας αποισ[ει λογον] τη[ι] π[ολει] αυτος 150
 υποβαλλει κα[ι] διδα[σκ]ει ο νομος α χρη
 γραφειν κελ[υει] γαραυτο τ[ουτο] εγ[γρα]
 115 φειν οτι ου[τε] ε[λαβ]ον ουθ[εν] των της
 πολεως [ουτε] α[ναλω]σα ανυπευθ
 [υ]ον [δ]ε και αζητητον και ανεξετα[σ]
 το[υ] ουθεν εστιν των εν [τη]ι πολει· ο
 τι δε αληθη λεγω αυτων ακουσατε
 120 των νομων[·]
 $\bar{\nu}\mu\omicron\iota$
 οταν τοιουνν μαλ[ι]στα θρασυνηται 23 185
 Δημοσθενης λεγ[ω]ν ως δια την επιδο
 σιν [ου]κ εστιν υπευ[θυνος] εκεινο αυ
 125 τω[ι] υποβαλλετε· ου[κ] ου[ν] εχρην σε·
 ω Δημοσθενες εασ[αι τον] τ[ω]ν λογισ
 των κηρυκα κηρ[υ]ξα[ι] το π[α]τρ[ι]ον και
 εννομον κηρυγμα τ[ουτο]· τ[ι]ς βουλε
 ται κατηγορειν· εασ ον αμ[φισβη]τησαι
 130 σοι τον βουλομ[ενον των] π[ολι]των
 ως ουκ επιδε[δωκας] αλλ απο] πολ
 λων ων εχει[ς] εις την των τειχω[ν]
 οικοδομ[ιαν] μικρα κατεθηκας δεκα τα
 λαντ[α] εις ταυτα εκ της πολεως ειλη
 135 φως· μη [αρπαζε την φιλοτιμιαν
 λον· μη[δε] εξαιρου των δικαστων τας ψη
 φους εκ τ[ων] χειρων μηδε εμπροσθεν
 των νομ[ων] αλλα υσπερος πολιτευου·
 ταυτα γα[ρ] ορθοι την δημοκρατιαν· προς 24
 140 μεν ουν τ[ας] κενας? προφασεις ας ουτοι

των τει[χο]ποιων ουδετερας δε πω
 των αρχ[ων] τουτων λογον υμιν ου
 δ ευθυ[νας] δεδωκως ταυτ ηδη πει
 ρασομαι [υμας] διδασκειν εκ των δη
 μοσιων γραμματων· και μοι αναγνω
 θι επι τινος [αρχουτος και ποιου μηνος
 και εν τινι ημεραι και εν ποιαι εκκλη
 σιαι εχειρο[τονηθη] Δημοσθενης
 την αρχην [την] επι τωι θεωρικωι

Col. iv.

28 lines lost

ψα[ι] στεφανωσαι· ως τοιουνν και την 27
 τω[ν] τειχοποιων αρχην ηρχεν οθ ου
 185 το[ς] το ψηφισμα εγραψε και τα δημο
 σια [χρηματα] διεχειριζε και επιβο
 λα[ς] επεβαλλε καθαπερ οι αλλοι
 αρχ[οντες] και δικαστηριων ηγεμο
 18 lines lost

3. ο νομοθετης, which must have stood in the lacuna, was bracketed by Weidner

and Blass. Whether 1625 had προ[σειπων with most MSS. and edd., or προ[ειπων with dnq, is uncertain. Cf. § 17, where BC have προσειπεῖν, A rightly προειπεῖν.

3-4. απ[σας | [αρχας : ἀρχὰς ἀπάσας MSS. Probably 1625 is right, and the reading of the MSS. is due to the influence of ἀρχὰς ἀπάσας in ll. 1-2.

6-7. [Δημοσθε]νης was bracketed by Schanz and Blass, while after τειχοποιός Halm inserted ὄν, for which there is not room here.

8. πα[v]τα[s : so most MSS. and edd. ; but πα[v]τε[s could be read with e.

18. και ευθυ[νας was bracketed by Dobree and Blass.

19. προς τους [ι.] λογισ[τας : πρὸς τὸν γραμματέα καὶ τοὺς λογιστὰς MSS. ; cf. Schol. B (on the margin of a printed book ; source unknown) γραμματέα λέγει τὸν εἰωθότα ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τὰ τοῦ δήμου γράμματα ἀναγνώσκειν, and Schol. gm Vat. Laur. λογιστῆς ἐκάστης φυλῆς εἷς. γραμματέα δὲ ἕκαστοι εἶχον. λέγει οὖν νῦν τὸν τῶν λογιστῶν. ἄλλως ἄρχοντες ἦσαν δέκα ἡρημένοι καλούμενοι λογισταί . . . The omission of τὸν γραμματέα καὶ in 1625 brings this passage into line with ll. 79-80 ε[γ]γραφ[ειν] προς τους [λογιστας and 109-10 αποφερειν] κελυει λογ[ον] προς τους λογιστας, where the MSS. equally ignore the γραμματεύς. The scholia do not really support the longer reading. The logistae no doubt had γραμματεῖς, but the order of the words and the use of the singular γραμματέα show that these are not meant here, while the explanation of Schol. B is not at all convincing, for the γραμματεύς who read the laws, &c., in the assembly was quite a different kind of official from the λογισταί, and not likely to have been specially concerned with εὐθύναι. A comparison of l. 22 ἀναγνώσεται (sc. ὁ γραμματεύς) with § 124, where most MSS. have ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν ὁ γραμματεύς (ἀνάγνωθι Blass with e), indicates that Schol. B has been misplaced, and really refers to l. 22, while τὸν γραμματέα καὶ in the MSS. at l. 19 is a corruption arising out of this very scholium or one like it owing to a mistaken idea that τὸν γραμματέα occurred in the text about this point, the accusative case suggesting l. 19 as a suitable point for the insertion of the words with καὶ to restore the construction. With regard to the deletion before λογιστας there were, as the scholium states, 10 of these officials ; but it is unlikely that a second-century scribe would place a diaeresis instead of a stroke above ι (which is fairly certain), if it meant 10, and he seems to have written or begun to write another letter after ι, though it is not clear how much ink belongs to a stroke of deletion.

21. κελυει, which must have stood here, is deleted by several editors, but not by Blass.

αληθη : of the supposed η above the line only a vertical stroke remains, and the correction may be due to the first hand : the nature of the original reading is still more doubtful.

22. αυτους v]μιν : so BC ; ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς A, Blass.

αναγνωσεται : so BC, Blass ; ἀναγῶτε A. Cf. l. 19, n.

23. νομ]οι : so most MSS. and edd. ; νόμος a ; om. ep Vat.¹

24. ανδρέ]ς : so A, Blass ; om. BC.

25. ας ο νομοθετης αρχας] ονομαζει | [ουτοι : so AC, Blass ; ὁ μὲν νομοθ. ἀρχὰς ὑνομάζει οἱτοι δὲ B. Schultz.

52. εν : εὐ kl.

53. αρχαιαι : so MSS. ; ἀρχαία (τ') Blass, to avoid hiatus.

τηλικαυτη]ι : so BC, Blass ; τοσαύτη A.

55. και : om. lp Vat. προς : εἰς p.

57. οιον : οἷς p. ἱερεῖς : so MSS. ; ἱερέας edd.

58-9. ο νομος κελυει : κελ. ὁ νομ. MSS. Cf. ll. 66-7, n.

59. παντας : ἅπαντας MSS.

60. και τους : om. και MSS.

61. ἱ[ε]ρα : so Hamaker ; γέρα MSS., Blass. The top of the ι is lost, but one of the two dots is visible. ἱερά is no doubt right, the point being that priests got no public money.

- The confusion was easy; cf. the spellings *Ιεμη* and *Γεμη* for the same Oxyrhynchite village (1285. 98 and 1444. 34) and *εγερον* for *ιερον* in P. Weil vi. 6.
- μονον: so most MSS., Blass; *μόνα* ag. Vat., Laur.
62. τας: om. MSS. ημων: so a; ὑμων the rest, Blass.
64. τα: so most MSS., Blass; κατὰ hm γρ.
- 65-6. παλιν: καὶ πάλιν q.
- 66-7. ειναι κελυει: κελεύει εἶναι p Vat. Cf. ll. 58-9, n.
- 67-8. διαχειρισαντας: the last a is corr. from ε. διαχειρίζοντας some edd., but cf. ll. 69-70, n.
69. προσοδων was bracketed by Bake and Blass.
- 69-70. υφρημενους . . . καταθεντας: ὑφαιρουμένους . . . καταθέντας AC; ὑφαιρουμένους . . . κατατιθέντας B, Blass. Probably 1625 is right, and the reading of B is an emendation of that of AC, which is a corruption of the papyrus text.
- 70-1. επιδιδοναι [δ]ε: so MSS.; οὐδ' ἐπιδιδόναι μὲν Blass.
73. τας πατ[ρωι]ας: so B, Blass; for τοὺς τὰς πατ. (AC, except d) there is not room.
77. δικ[αστων]: so kl; δικαστηρίων the rest, Blass.
78. την: so AB, Blass; om. C.
81. διδοναι, which must have stood here, was deleted by Cobet, but not by Blass.
- 81-2. και τον εκ[ει] σκυθρω[πον και των] μεγιστων [κυριο]ν αγει: so Orelli, Baiter and Sauppe, Simcox (τὸν . . . σκυθρωπὸν Lambinus and marg. Bern.; ἄγει Wolf); κ. τῶν ἐκεῖ σκυθρωπῶν κ. τ. μεγ. κύριον ἄγειν B; om. AC; κ. τὴν ἐκ. σκυθρωπὸν . . . κυρίαν ἄγει Wolf, Reiske, Bekker, and, with ἄγων instead of ἄγει to avoid hiatus, Blass; cf. int. There is not room for [κυρια]ν in l. 82, even if τον in l. 81 did not require [κυριο]ν.
84. η βουλη η εξ Αρειο]ν παγου was bracketed by Blass to avoid hiatus.
- 92-3. απιστει τοις υπ[ε]θυντοις: so Cahkl Vat. γρ., edd. ἀπαιτεῖ τοῖς ὑπευθίνοις egmmp Laur. Vat.
93. ευθυς: so A, Blass; εὐθέως BC.
94. λεγει: this was deleted by Cobet, the MSS. having after ὑπεύθυνον in l. 95 φησί, which was clearly omitted in 1625 and is not necessary.
- αρχην: this was deleted by Hamaker, while Dobree preferred ἀρχῆς.
- 97-8. The MSS. have προλαβὼν χρήματα τῆς πόλεως ἢ πράξεις, from which 1625 clearly varied in regard to the position of τῆς πόλεως and χρήματα, and possibly by the insertion of τά after προλαβὼν.
- 103-4. ενε]χυραζει[ι]: so B; ἐνεχυριάζει A; ἐνεχειράζει or -ρίζει C.
104. ο] νομοθετης τας ουσιας των: so A; τὰς οὐσίας ὁ νομοθέτης τὰς τῶν BC, Blass; om. ὁ νομοθέτης Cobet. τ[ας ουσιας] can be read in place of ο] νομοθετης, but the insertion of τας before των would make the line too long, while the omission of ο νομοθετης would leave it too short, so that A's reading is the most probable, especially since 1625 shows no tendency to avoid hiatus.
105. The supplement is rather short, and perhaps 1625 had ἀποδίδωσιν with c; ἀποδῶσι most MSS., Blass; ἀποδώση hq Bern., ἀποδώσει Vat. Laur.
- 113-14. ο νομος α χρη] γραφειν was bracketed by Hamaker and Blass.
116. ανπειθυ[ν]ον: so A; ἀνεύθυνον BC, Blass.
117. αζητητον και ανεξετα[σ]το[ν]: so AC, Blass; ἀνεξ. καὶ ἀζήτ. B.
120. των νομων: so BC, Blass; τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει A.
121. νομοι: so most MSS.; νόμος l; om. agp Vat.
- 124-5. αυτα[ι]: so most MSS.; αὐτὸ glm; om. Blass on account of hiatus.
127. κηρυκα: κύριον g.
131. επιδ[ε]δωκας: so g; ἀπέδωκας q; ἐπέδωκας the rest, Blass. απο, which must have stood in the lacuna, is omitted by ek.

132. εχει[s: so MSS., Blass; εἶχες (Bake) is inadmissible.

134. εἰς ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως is restored from most MSS., but C omits εἰς and el have πολιτείας for πόλεως, while Blass omits ἐκ, and Bekker reads ἐκ τῶν τῆς. The length of the lacuna favours the presence of both εἰς and ἐκ, but not τῶν as well.

135-6.|λου: α and μ are the only alternatives to λ, and the lacuna may be 2 or 3 letters shorter than as printed, but hardly any longer. The MSS. have nothing between φιλοτιμίαν and μηδέ. An imperative either preceded by μή or governing ἀρπάξειν (instead of ἄρπαξε) seems most likely, but ἐ|λοῦ is not satisfactory.

140. Whether 1625 had κοινὰς with the MSS. or κενὰς, the generally accepted correction of Stephanus, is uncertain.

144-5. τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ?] | ἐπι τῶ[ι θεωρικῶι: τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θ. ἀρχὴν (MSS., except h ἐπὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν) does not suit. τὴν before ἀρχὴν can be omitted from the restoration, but cf. l. 154. Blass proposed ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν in both places, comparing § 25 and avoiding hiatus in l. 145; most MSS. in l. 154 have τῶν θεωρικῶν (which may of course have been the reading of 1625 in both places), but cdq have τῷ θεωρικῷ.

146. δε is omitted by df, πω by Ap Vat., and it is not certain that both these words should be restored.

153. The restoration is rather short, containing only 16 letters compared with 21 in the two lines above (l. 154 may be short for special reasons; cf. n.); and ο may be inserted before Δημοσθενῆς. The loss of it would be easy owing to the hiatus.

154. After τῶι θεωρικῶι (οἱ τῶν θεωρικῶν; cf. ll. 144-5, n.) BC proceed ὅτι μεσοῦντα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔγραψεν αὐτὸν στεφανοῦν ἀναγίνωσκε (ἀναγινώσκετε some MSS.) διαλογισμὸς τῶν ἡμερῶν. (διαλ. τ. ἡμ. om. B), while of the A group e has only ψήφισμα (so Blass) and kl omit the title as well as the preceding sentence. ὅτι . . . ἀναγίνωσκε was deleted by Bekker and subsequent editors as a gloss, but some retain διαλογισμὸς τῶν ἡμερῶν as the title. Allowing for a title at the top of Col. iv corresponding to l. 121, there is certainly not room for more than 27 lines of continuous text, and there may have been only 26, so that it is practically certain that the gloss was omitted by 1625, as in A.

187. The papyrus may have had καθαπερ και οι αλλοι with C, but is unlikely to have omitted αλλοι with A.

INDICES

(Π = the papyrus in question.)

I. NEW THEOLOGICAL FRAGMENTS.

- ἄβελ 1600. 22.
 ἄγγελος 1603. 12.
 ἄγειν 1600. 57.
 ἄγιος [1601. 4.]
 ἀδελφός 1600. 22?; 1602. 29.
 ἀθεράπευτος 1603. 21.
 αἰδεῖσθαι 1603. 17.
 αἶμα 1600. 38.
 αἰώνιος 1602. 29.
 ἀκούειν 1602. 1.
 ἀλλά 1600. 16.
 ἄλλος [1600. 31.]
 ἀλλόφυλοι 1602. 9, 15.
 ἄν 1602. 31.
 ἀναβαίνειν 1601. [2], 8.
 ἀναίδης 1603. 15.
 ἀναιρεῖν 1602. 24-5.
 ἀναρίθμητος 1601. 11.
 ἀνδριώτατος 1603. 4.
 ἄνεν [1601. 9.]
 ἀνήρ 1601. 24.
 ἀνομία 1602. 27.
 ἄνομος 1602. 2, 7.
 ἀνοσιώτερος 1602. 8.
 ἀντί 1601. 34.
 ἀντίδικος 1601. 13.
 ἀνύδρος 1602. 17.
 ἀπό 1602. 5.
 ἀποβλέπειν 1600. 17, 21, 33.
 ἀπολλύναι 1601. 19.
 ἀποτέμνειν 1603. 11.
 ἀπώλεια [1601. 5.]
 Ἄραδ (αδαρ Π) 1602. 9.
 ἀριθμός 1601. 9.
 ἀρνίον 1600. 56.
 ἀτιμάζειν 1603. 14?;
 αὐτός 1601. [8], 19, 24;
 1602. 5, *et saep.*; [1603.
 19.]
 ἀφιστάναι 1602. 5, 25.
 βασιλεύς 1602. 8.
 βούλεσθαι 1600. 19.
 γάρ 1600. 12, [41]; 1601.
 4, 11; 1602. 6; 1603.
 15.
 γῆ 1601. 3; 1602. 13, 37.
 γινώσκειν 1600. 21.
 γράφειν 1601. 32.
 γραφή [1600. 39.]
 γυνή 1601. 29; 1603. 1, *et*
saep.
 Δαυεῖδ [1600. 48.]
 δέ 1600. 6; 1601. [12], 20,
 27; 1603. 11, 19.
 δεσμεῖν 1603. 9.
 δῆ 1600. 4.
 δηλοῦν 1600. 7?; 1601. 21.
 διά 1600. 6, 18, 22?, 39;
 1603. 2, *et saep.*
 διάβολος 1601. 14.
 δίδοναι 1602. 11.
 δίκαιος 1601. 26.
 δισός 1603. 20.
 διώκειν 1603. 8.
 δόσις 1600. 19?
 δύναμις 1602. 39.
 εἶν 1600. 16; 1601. 32;
 1603. 19.
 ἔαντοῦ 1602. 36.
 ἐγώ 1601. 23, 30. ἡμεῖς
 [1600. 8; 1601. 7];
 1602. 20, 36.
 ἐδαφίζειν 1603. 6.
 ἐθνικός 1601. 34.
 ἔθνος 1601. [2], 6, [12], 33.
 εἰ 1600. 19.
 εἶναι [1600. 12; 1601. 7];
 1602. 7, 37.
 εἰς 1600. 17, 22-34, [47,
 56].
 ἐκ, ἐξ 1600. 3, 5; 1601. 33;
 1602. 2, 6, 12.
 ἐκκλησία 1601. 33.
 ἐκπέμπειν 1602. 19.
 ἐκτιθέναι 1600. 29.
 ἐμπροσθεν 1600. 44.
 ἐν 1600. [8], 34; 1601. 21,
 26; 1602. 16; 1603. 9.
 ἐξουσία 1601. 6.
 ἐπαγγέλλειν 1602. 13.
 ἐπέι 1602. 10.
 ἐπί 1601. 3, 24-5, 30; 1602.
 18, 39.
 ἐπιθυμ() 1601. 33.
 ἐρεῖν [1603. 11.]
 ἔρημος 1602. 16.
 ἔσχατος 1602. 39.
 ἔτι 1602. 11.
 εὐδοκία 1602. 34.
 ἔχειν 1603. 19.
 ἕως 1602. 31.
 ζῆν 1602. 26.
 ζητεῖν 1601. 15.
 ζωή 1600. [43], 48.
 Ἡλεί 1603. 6.
 ἡμέρα [1600. 46.]
 Ἡσαίας [1600. 34.]
 θεός 1600. 18; 1601. 27;
 1602. 3, 10.

θρημῖν 1601. 23, 25, 27.
θρημῖν 1601. 28.

ἱερέυς 1603. 6, 16.
Ἰησοῦς 1602. 21, 35.
Ἰσραήλ 1602. 3.
ἰσχυρός 1601. [3], 8.
ἰσχύς 1602. 12.
Ἰωάννης 1603. 11.
Ἰωσήφ 1600. 26; 1603. 9.

καθῆσθαι [1601. 30.]
καινός 1600. 10, 12, 15, 18.
καιρός 1602. 40.
κάκιστος 1603. 18.
κακόν 1603. 20.
κακοπαθεῖν 1602. 23.
κακώς [1600. 32.]
καρπός 1602. 12.
κατά 1600. 14, 16; 1601.
11; 1602. 21, 26.
καταβάλλειν 1603. 12.
καταπίνειν 1601. 15.
κεραυνεῖν 1601. 18.
κηρύσσειν 1602. 20.
κληρονομία 1602. 28.
κλήρος 1602. 22.
κόσμος [1601. 6.]
κρεμαννύναι 1600. 44.
κύριος 1600. [5], 13, 20.
40; [1601. 3]; 1602. 4,
20, 33.
κυροῦν 1602. 32.

λαμβάνειν 1602. 22, 35.
λαός 1602. 24.
λέγειν 1600. 49; 1601. 11,
25, 29.
Λευίτης 1603. 16.
λέων 1601. 13.
λογίζεσθαι 1600. 58.
λόγος 1602. 38.

μακρός 1600. 3, 5.
μέν 1600. 14, [41]; 1601.
31.
μένειν 1602. 30-1.
μερισμός 1602. 22.
μετά 1601. 22; 1602. 9, 16.
μέχρι 1602. 3.

μή 1601. 30, 34.
μυστήριον 1600. 13, 20, 40.
Μωύσης 1600. 28, 42; 1601.
32.

νηστεύειν 1601. 28.
νικητής 1602. 30.
νομίζειν 1600. 11.
νόμος 1600. 15.
νοῖς 1601. 2.
νῦν 1602. 29.
νύξ 1600. 46.

ξυρεῖν 1603. 5.

ὁδούς 1601. 13.
ὁμοίως 1600. 24-32.
ὕπλον 1602. 34.
ὄραν 1600. 18, 43.
ὄς 1601. 10, 25; 1602. 4.
ὄσος 1602. 16.
ὄσπερ 1601. 21.
ὄστις 1602. 21.
ὅτι 1594. 15; 1600. 1;
1601. [2, 13], 28, [30],
31-2; 1602. 39.
οὐ, οὐκ 1600. 47; 1602. 5;
1603. 16, 17. οὐ μή 1601.
30. οὐχ ὅτι 1594. 15.
οὐδεῖς 1603. 15.
οὐρανός 1603. 7.
Οὐριος 1603. 1?
οὗτος 1601. 6, 11-12, 22, 34;
1602. 18.
οὕτω(ς) 1600. 4; 1602. 37.
ὀφθαλμός 1600. 45.

πάθος 1600. 5.
παλαιός 1600. 10, 12, 14.
πάλη 1601. 8.
παντοπ[αθής? 1603. 10.
παράβασις 1603. 3.
παράγειν [1603. 3.]
παραλαμβάνειν 1602. 38.
παρέχειν 1602. 18.
πᾶς 1603. 13-14, 17-18.
πίσχειν 1600. 32.
πατάσσειν 1600. 36.
περί 1600. 38.
περιπατεῖν [1601. 14.]

περιτιθέναι 1601. 20.
πιπράσκειν 1600. 27.
πιστεύειν 1600. 47.
πίστις 1600. 2.
πλοῦτος 1603. 19.
πνεῦμα 1602. 23, 26, 39.
πνευματικός 1601. 7.
πολύς [1600. 37.]
πουηρέα 1603. 19.
πουηρός 1603. 18.
πορνεύειν 1601. 29, 30.
ποσάκις 1602. 1.
πρόβατον 1600. 35.
πρός 1600. 3?; 1601. 23;
1602. 4, 10, 33; 1603. 3.
προσέλευσις 1602. 32.
προφήτεῖν 1600. 42.
προφήτης 1602. 19; 1603.
17.
προφητικός 1600. 39.
πρῶτον 1601. 31.

ρίπτειν 1601. 18.
ῥέεσθαι 1602. 3.

σάκκος 1601. 24.
Σαμφών [1603. 4.]
σήμερον 1600. 7.
Σολομών 1603. 3.
σοφάτατος [1603. 2.]
στρατιώτης 1602. 1.
σύ. ἡμεῖς 1600. 43, 45, 48;
1601. 14; [1603. 11.]
σύμφυτος 1602. 33.
συνεργεῖν 1603. 20.
σφαγή [1600. 56.]
σφάζειν 1600. 35.
σφάλλειν 1602. 27.
σώζειν 1600. 37; 1602. 6.

τάξις 1602. 21.
ταπεινοφροσύνη 1599. 42.
τελειοῦν 1600. 8?
τέταρτος 1601. 10.
τηρεῖν 1602. 4, 11.
τιμᾶν 1603. 16.
τίς 1603. 11.
τοῖνον 1600. 19.
τυγχάνειν 1600. 8; 1601. 9.

τύπος 1600. 6, 17.	Φαραώ 1602. 6.	ψυχή 1601. 4, 5.
τυφλοῦν 1603. 5.	φείδεσθαι 1603. 15?	
υἱός 1601. 5; 1603. 6.	φονεύειν 1600. 23; 1603. 14.	*Ὦγ 1602. 8.
ὑπέρ 1602. 36.	φύειν 1602. 36.	ὤς 1600. [34], 56; 1601. 34;
ὑπό 1602. 24.	φυλακή 1603. 9.	1602. 37.
ὑπομένειν 1602. 31.	Χαριναῖοι 1602. 14.	᾿Ωσηέ 1601. 29.
ὑποτάσσειν 1602. 14.	χάρις 1600. 1, 16.	
φάναι 1601. 4.	χείρ 1602. 2, 6.	
	Χριστός 1602. 1, 21, 23, 35.	] . ὄξειω 1600. 25.

II. NEW CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS.

(a) 1604 (PINDAR, *Dithyrambs*).*(Large Roman numerals refer to the different poems; sch. = scholium.)*

*Αβας I. 9.	βλώσκειν I. 19.	Ἑλλάς II. 25.
ἄγειν [II. 28?]	βρισάρματος II. 26.	ἐν I. 7; II. 8, 10, 12, 15, 20.
ἄγελα II. 23.	βρομιάς I. 11.	ἔνθα II. 27.
ἀγνοεῖν I. 6; sch.	βρόμιος II. 6, [21].	Ἐννάλιος II. 16.
ἀγρότερος II. 21?	βροτός I. 15.	εἰός I. 20 and sch., 34.
ἀέξειν I. 14.		ἐξ I. 20 sch.
αἰγίς II. 17.	γαμετά II. 27.	ἐξαιρέτος II. 23.
αἰθόμενος II. 10.	γάρ I. 15.	ἐπί I. 23 sch.
ἀκναμπτεῖ III. 12.	γαίτων III. 10.	ἐπιδορατίς III. 13 sch.
ἀκούειν II. 29.	γενεά [II. 30.]	ἐπίμαχος I. 23 sch.
ἀλαλά II. 13.	Γοργόνες I. 5.	ἔπος II. 24.
ἀλκείης II. 17.		ἐρατός I. 8.
ἄλμα I. 16.	Δανα[I. 1.	ἐρίγδουπος II. 12.
ἀμπνείν II. 15.	δᾶς II. 11.	ἔρκος I. 16.
ἄναξ I. 3.	δέ I. 6 and sch., 15; II. [4],	ἔρπειν II. 1.
ἄνθρωπος II. [3], 30.	10, 12, 15, 19, 22-3, 29.	ἔρχεσθαι III. 9, 25?
ἀνιστάναι II. 25.	δή III. 9?	ἔτι I. 14.
ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) III. 7 sch.	διαπετάννυσθαι II. 4.	εὐάμπυξ I. 13.
ἀντιστροφή I. 20 sch.	διθύραμβος II. 2.	εὐδαίμων I. 11.
ἀνιδά I. 14; [II. 1]; III. 17.	Διονυσιακόν I. 10 sch.	εὐδοξος II. 30.
ἀπό I. 1; [II. 3].	Διόνυσος II. 31.	εὐχεσθαι I. 15; II. 26.
ἀπ . . ο() I. 20 sch.	διο() I. 6 sch.	
ἄρα I. 6?	δόμος I. 8.	ζευγνύναι I. 8; II. 20.
*Ἄργος I. 7.	δράκων II. 18.	Ζεύς II. 7, 29.
Ἄρμονία II. 27.		
*Ἄρτεμις II. 19.	ἔ I. 6 and sch.	ἦ II title.
ἄσπασίως I. 31?	ἔγχος II. 17.	Ἡρακλῆς II title.
αὐτός I. 6 sch.	ἐγώ II. 23.	ἠρινός III. 19?
αὐχὴν III. 14.	εἰδέναί II. 5.	
	εἶναι I. 6 sch.	θάλλος I. 14.
Βάκχιος II. 21.	εἰς I. 6 sch.	θάνατος I. 36.

θῆβαι [II. 26.]
 Θηβαῖοι II title.
 θῆρ II. 22.
 θοῖνα I. 11.
 θρασύς II title.
 ἰέναι ('go') II. 19.
 ἰρός [II. 4.]
 ἰσάναί II. 8.
 Κάδμος II. 28.
 καί I. 16; II. 3, 7, 22, 30;
 III. 11.
 καλλιχόρος II. 25?
 κἄρυσ II. 24.
 κατέρχειν II. 8.
 κεδνός II. 28?
 κεν I. [34] and sch.
 κεραυνός II. 15.
 Κέρβερος II title.
 κεχλαδέναι II. 10.
 κηλεῖν II. 22.
 κίβδαλος [II. 3.]
 κινεῖν II. 16.
 κίσσινος III. 7.
 κλαγγά II. 18.
 κλόνος II. 14.
 κόρη I. 17 sch.
 κορυφά I. 12.
 κοῦρη [I. 17.]
 κρεμαννύναί III. 12.
 κρόταλα II. 10.
 κρόταφος III. 8.
 κυανοχίτων III. 5.
 κύκλος II. 4.
 Κύκλωψ I. 6, 10 sch.
 λαγχάνειν [II. 28?]
 λέγειν I. 2, 15, 23 sch.
 λείβεσθαι I. 4.
 λέων II. 21.
 μανία II. 13.
 μάτηρ II. 9, 32.
 μέγαρο II. 8.
 μέγας I. 7; II. 9.
 μέλας I. 16.
 μελίξειν III. 6.
 μέν II. [1], 8; III. 3.
 μεταγράφειν I. 6 sch.

Μοῖσα II. 25. Μοῖσαι I. 14.
 μυρίος II. 18.
 Ναϊάδες II. 12.
 ναίειν I. 35.
 νέος II. 5.
 νιν I. 16.
 νῦν [II. 4.]
 ξανθός II. 11.
 ξενίζεσθαι I. 10 sch.
 ὄ I. [10] and sch., 34 sch.;
 II. 3, 15, [16], 22.
 ὄ I. 6 sch.
 οἰοπόλος II. 19 and schol.
 οἶος II. 6.
 ὄλβος II. 26?
 ὄμφά II. 29.
 ὄργή II. 20.
 ὀρίνεσθαι II. 13.
 Οὐρανίδαί II. 7.
 οὔτος I. 6 sch.
 οὔτως I. 6 sch.
 ὄφει II. 18 sch.
 παγκρατής II. 15.
 Παλλίς II. 17.
 πάρ II. 9. παρά II. 7, [30].
 πατήρ I. 5, 17.
 πέλειν III. 15.
 πεμισσός I. 34 sch. πεμισσώς
 I. 20 sch.
 πέταλον III. 19.
 πεύκη II. 11.
 πλεκτός III. 7 sch.?
 πλόκος III. 7.
 πόλις. πολέα III. 9. πτόλις
 I. 6.
 πόνος III. 16.
 ποτέ II. 27.
 πούς III. 4.
 πραπίδες II. 28.
 πρέπειν I. 11.
 πρίν II. 1.
 προσάγειν I. 20 sch.?
 πρύτανις III. 10.
 πτόλις I. 6. Cf. πόλις.
 πύλη II. 4.

πῖρ II. 16.
 ῥίμφα II. 19.
 ῥίψαύχην II. 13.
 ῥόμβος II. 9.
 ῥύεσθαι III. 14.
 σάν II. 3.
 σεμνός II. 8.
 σκάπτων II. 7.
 σκόπελος III. 10.
 σολοικισμός I. 6 sch.
 σοφός II. 24.
 στάσις III. 3.
 στέφανος III. 7.
 στολ[III. 24.
 στόμα [II. 3.]
 στοναχά II. 12.
 στρατιά III. 11.
 σύ. ὕμμι [I. 15.]
 σύγγονος I. 17.
 σύν II. 14.
 σχουσιτενής [II. 1.]
 ταμίης III. 23.
 τε I. 19; II. [1], 10, 13,
 [16], 17, [26]; III. 10,
 12-13, 17.
 τελετα I. 33; II. 6; III. 6.
 τεός III. 6.
 τιθέναι I. 13.
 τίκτειν II. 30.
 τύ{μ}πανα II. 9.
 ἰπό II. 11.
 ἰψαύχην II. 13.
 ἰψηλός II. 28.
 φάμα II. 27.
 φεύγειν I. 16.
 φθογγάζεσθαι II. 18.
 φίλος III. 9.
 Φόρκος I. 17.
 φῦλον II. 21; III. 18
 χάρμα III. 13.
 χορεύειν II. 22.
 χορός III. 16.
 ἄς I. 6 sch.

(b) OTHER CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS.

(1600 is to be supplied before the figures in thick type. The extant portion of 1608 is not indexed, except the proper names.)

- ἀγαθός 5. 48.
 ἄγαμήστωρ 13. 2.
 ἀγανακτεῖν 6. 507, 543.
 ἄγνός 11. 163.
 ἄγονος 11. 95.
 ἀγορά [11. 73.]
 ἀδελφή 7. 283.
 ἀδελφιδούς 10. 86.
 ἀδελφός 6. 7, [161]; 10. 143?
 ἀδικεῖν 6. 115, 117.
 ἀδίκως 6. 429.
 ἀδύνατος 7. 59.
 ἀθανασία 12. 31.
 Ἀθηναῖοι 6. 176; 10. 73, 201; 12. 21.
 Ἄιδης 11. 271.
 αἰρεῖν 10. 45, 75, 267?
 Αἰσιμίδης 13. 7.
 Αἰσχύλος 13. 3.
 αἰτιᾶσθαι 11. 225.
 ἀκόντιον 11. 72.
 ἀκούειν 5. 46; 6. 129, 136, 143, 147, 379,
 496; 7. 250; 9. 15.
 Ἀκουσίλαος 11. 52.
 ἀκρόπολις. Περὶ ἀκ. 11. 103.
 ἀλγηδών 11. 247?
 ἀληθώς 11. 43.
 ἀλίσκεσθαι 10. 106; 11. 67.
 Ἀλκιβιάδης 8. 50.
 Ἀλκμέων (α) 11. 87, 91; (β) 13. 5.
 ἀλλά 6. 83, [233], 245, 502, 705; 7. 44,
 126, [161], 164; 8. 36; 9. 11; 10. 163;
 11. 198; 12. 14.
 ἄλλος 6. 223, 259, 535; 11. 60.
 ἀλλότριος 6. 179.
 ἄμα 6. 352; 10. [123], 125.
 ἀμαρτάνειν 6. 544.
 ἀμάρτημα 6. 180.
 ἀμαρτη[8. 81.
 ἄμουσος 8. 9, 14.
 ἀμφιβητεῖν 6. 547, 604.
 ἀμφότερος 7. 115.
 ἄν 6. [114], 118, 123, [234], 235, 260, 504,
 536; 7. 40, 63, 228; 8. 37, (48); 9. 18;
 10. 242?; 11. 240; 12. 10, 24, 26.
 ἄν = ἐάν 6. 340?
 ἀνάγειν 5. 34.
 ἀναγκάζειν 6. 254, 353.
 ἀναγκαῖος 8. 8, 12; 10. 4.
 ἀνάγκη 6. 181, 293, 295, 482.
 ἀναγράφειν 11. 105.
 ἀναίσχυιτος 6. 736.
 ἀνάκλασις 9. 11.
 ἀνακοινοῦσθαι 10. 128.
 ἀνιλαμβάνειν 7. 87.
 ἀναμνήσκειν (αναμνησκείν Π) 6. 178.
 Ἀνάσχετος 7. 218.
 ἄνειν 11. 127.
 ἀνὴρ 6. 98?, 935; 10. 75, 268?; 11. 62.
 ὦ ἄνδ. δικασταί 6. 77, 114, 220, 368, 377,
 859; 7. 221. ἀνδράσι 6. 330.
 ἄνθρωπος 6. 225; 7. 16, 42, 195; 8. 8, 29,
 52; 11. 64; 12. 16.
 ἀνείναι 12. 28?
 ἀνόητος 6. 357.
 ἄνοια 8. 41.
 ἀνόμως 6. 159.
 ἀντέχεσθαι 7. 172.
 ἀντί 6. 171; 11. 29?
 ἀντιδικός 6. 133.
 ἀντιπράττειν 7. 90.
 ἀνωθεν 11. 81.
 ἄξιος 6. 659.
 ἀξιούν 6. 11, 78, 320, 326; 7. 193; 10. 24;
 11. 46.
 ἀπαιτεῖν 6. 264.
 ἀπαίτησις 6. 273.
 ἀπειλεῖν 11. 77.
 ἀπιέναι 9. 18.
 ἀπό 5. 35; 9. 19; 10. 94. ἀπο 11. 91.
 ἀπογιγνώσκειν 8. 29.
 ἀποδεικνύναι 6. 533.
 ἀποδημῖν 7. 285.
 ἀποδιδόναι 6. 14, 31-2, 46-7, 370, 381-2.
 ἀποθνήσκειν 10. 104; 11. 83.
 ἀποικίζειν 10. 59.
 ἀποκηνύττειν 8. 39.
 ἀποκομίζεσθαι 11. 222?
 ἀποκτείνειν 6. 9; 11. 228.
 ἀπολαμβάνειν 6. 217.
 ἀπολέγειν 7. 28, 58?

- Ἄπολλόδωρος 8. 34.
 ἀπολλύναι 6. 83.
 ἀπολογεῖσθαι 8. 36.
 ἀπολογία 8. 28.
 ἀπολύειν 11. 54.
 ἀπορία 6. 317; 10. 109.
 ἀπορροή 9. 18.
 ἀποστερέειν 6. 117, 162, 253, 508, 949.
 ἀποφέρεσθαι 6. 12?
 ἀποψηφίζεσθαι 6. 221.
 ἄπρατος 6. 41.
 ἀπρεπής 7. 180.
 Ἄργεῖος 11. 52.
 ἀργύριον 6. 264, 283, 296, 341, 345.
 ἄριστα 6. 210; 11. 231?
 Ἄ[ριστό?]δημος 11. 223.
 Ἄριστοφάνης 11. 174.
 Ἄριφρων 13. 1.
 Ἄρκτιος 11. 148?
 Ἄρταξέρξης 10. 122.
 ἀρχαῖος 12. 38.
 ἄρχειν 11. 84.
 ἀρχή 11. 122; 12. 12.
 ἀσεβείν 12. 23, 25?
 ἀσθενῶς 7. 82.
 Ἄσια 8. 99.
 ἀσπίς 6. 20, 66.
 Ἄσση[11. 247.
 ἄτεκνος 11. 90.
 ἀτιμάζειν 10. 20.
 ἄτρωτος 11. 62.
 αὐτός 6. 8, 85, 90, 148, 169, 182, 191, 202,
 227, 232, [268], [272], 294-5, 299, 326,
 379, 503?, 532, 534, 536; 7. 20, 26, 61,
 99, 103, 192, 206, 394; 8. 79, 82; 10.
 9, 74, 85, 96, 100, 116?, 123; 11. 59, 61,
 65, 76, 79, 128, 149; 12. 13, 23, 27.
 αὐτοῦ 10. 49?
 ἀφαιρεῖν 6. 10; 12. 30.
 ἀφανίζειν 6. 32.
 ἀφηγεῖσθαι 11. 161.
 ἄφιππος 8. 11, 15.
 ἄφρων 6. 360.
 Ἄχαρνεύς 6. 89.
 Ἄψανδρος 13. 11.
 ἀψιμαχία 7. 26.
 Βάκχαι 11. 35.
 βαρβαρικός 10. 72.
 βασιλεία 10. 124; 11. 40.
 βασιλεύειν 11. 44.
 βασιλεύς 10. 51, 87, 132; 11. 50, 69.
 βέβαιος (βεβαιούν?) 6. 493, 602.
 βελτίων 6. 132, 141, 148, 204.
 βία 6. 227.
 βίος 6. 353.
 βόρειος 11. 123, 126.
 βούλεσθαι 6. 138, 441; 10. 33, 125?; 12.
 10, 22.
 βουλεύεσθαι 6. 498?
 βούς, ὁ 6. 336.
 βραχύς 10. 135.
 Βυζάντιον 10. 41.
 γάρ 6. 17, 113?, 122, 152, 157, 183, 242,
 329, 538, 553, 595; 7. 19, 42, 63, 73, 98,
 187, 224, 228; 8. 21, 40, 151; 9. 10;
 [10. 50?]; 11. 46, [51], 55, 58, 84, 166,
 239, 389; 12. 12, 28, 35.
 γε 7. 59, 162; 8. 42, 100?; 11. 190.
 Γέ(τας) 5. 35 marg.
 γέφυρα 10. 11?
 γῆ 6. 43; 11. 81.
 γίγνεσθαι 6. [156], 205, 262, 359, 378; 7. 25,
 63; 8. 2?, 10; 10. 30, 90; 11. 69, 90.
 γιγνώσκειν 6. 535; 8. 82.
 γονεύς 8. 2, 5, 45, 50.
 γυνή 11. 146.
 δαμάσιππος 11. 164.
 δανείζεσθαι 6. 320, 327, 444.
 δέ 6. [7], 13, 41, 47, 85, 116, 143, 155,
 [163], 175, 181, 186, 189, [216], 224,
 246, 251-2, 255, 257, 261, 266, 295, 319,
 324-5, 336, 494, 505, 558; 7. [72], 80,
 84, 186, 288, 455; 8. 7, 34, 37, 49, 57;
 9. 9, 14, 31-2, [34], 37; 10. 8, [12], 16,
 [32], 38, 70, 74, 106, 125, [237], 249?;
 11. 34-5, 56, 75, 86, 92, 107, 109, 111,
 127-8, 137, 151, [175], 213, 215, 223,
 229, 232, 247, 276, 280; 12. 1, 11,
 18, 30.
 δεδιώς 10. 126?
 δεῖν 6. 249, 361; [7. 100]; 9. 14; 12. 17.
 δεινός 6. 113?, 422?
 δέισθαι 6. 143, 219, 318, 335.
 Δεκέλεια 6. 186.
 δέσποινα [7. 102.]
 δεύτερος 11. 39, (figure) 329.
 δῆ 6. 417; 7. 102; 8. 48; 10. 101.

- δήλος 6. 152, 193, 803; 11. 32.
 δηλοῦν 7. 24.
 Δημήτηρ 12. 25.
 Δημόκριτος 9. 16.
 δῆμος [6. 217.]
 διά 6. 56?, 203, 239; 8. 28; 10. [16?], 21,
 108; 11. 86, 88, 96.
 διαβάλλεσθαι 8. 51?
 διαβολή 7. 211.
 διαγανακτεῖν 6. 84.
 διάγεσθαι 6. 559.
 διακίεσθαι 7. 82.
 διακόσιοι 5. 32; 10. 66.
 διαλέγεσθαι 7. 97.
 διαλύειν 6. 333, 560; 11. 128.
 διαπορεῖν 11. 166.
 διαπράττεσθαι 8. 25.
 διαρρήδην 7. 128.
 διατελεῖν 10. 93.
 διατιθέναι 6. 242?
 διαφέρεισθαι 7. 23, 62, 100.
 διαφθείρειν 7. 194; 10. 73.
 διαφορά 6. 262; 8. 42.
 δίδοναι 5. 37; 6. 25?, 228, 248, 252, 271,
 273, 474; 7. 107?; 10. 213.
 δίδυμος 11. 92.
 δικάζειν 6. 17, 254, 871; 7. 159.
 δίκαιος 6. 553? δικαιοτάτος 10. 28? δίκαιως
 6. 118, 506, 536. δικαιότερον 6. 130.
 δίκαι[6. 416, 495.
 δικαστήριον 11. 226.
 δικαστής 6. 77, 114, 221, 369, 378, 384,
 859; 7. 222.
 δίκη 6. 103?, 184, 248.
 Διονύσια 6. 330.
 διορτύτειν 7. 14, 23, 30, 40, 92.
 Διόξικπος 7. 285.
 δοκεῖν 6. 144, 479?, 510; 8. 7, 13; 9. 9.
 δολιχός 10. 134?
 δόξα 12. 31.
 δόρυ 11. 41, 45, 48, 84.
 δραχμή 6. 23, 167, 332; (symbol) 9. 31,
 [37-8].
 δύνειν 6. 250, 355.
 δύναμις 6. 348.
 δύνασθαι 6. 16, 34, 538; 11. 51, 85.
 δύνω 6. 169, 297, 440; 11. 31, 116.
 δυστυχέστερος 6. 226.
 δυστυχία 6. 158.
 δωρεά 6. 172.
 εἶν 6. 47?; 7. 101; 11. 94; 12. 32.
 εἶναυτοῦ (αὐτοῦ) 6. 16, 80, 168, 177, 345, 358;
 8. 5, 45.
 ἐβδομήκοντα 6. 30.
 ἔβδος (figure) 11. 232.
 ἔγγονος 11. 146.
 ἐγώ 6. 256, 260, 269, 296, 315?, 335?, 337,
 419, 442, 495. 510; 8. 13, 49, [82]; 11.
 90; [12. 32]. ἡμεῖς 6. 261; 11. 30?;
 12. 13.
 ἐθέλειν 6. 552; 12. 28.
 ἔθνος. [Ἐθνῶν] κτίσεις 11. 213.
 εἰ 6. [115], 123, 224, 226, 230, 250, 296,
 301, 351, 355, 494, 502; 7. [73], 187,
 194; 8. 57; 11. 190; 12. 22.
 εἶδέναι 7. 46.
 εἶδωλον 9. 14.
 εἰκός 6. 252, 322, 344.
 εἶναι 6. [114], 124, 141, 145, 149, 154, 168,
 174, 194, 201, 244, 246, 251, 256, 277,
 284, 327?, 337, 344, 356, 426, 480,
 562; 7. 18, 54, 72, 221, 236, 341, 465;
 8. 9, 49, 53, 57; 9. 32; 10. 5, 59, 87, 93,
 100; 11. 31, 43, 58, 75, 83, 96, 147,
 170, 188; 12. 15, 17.
 εἴπερ 10. 33.
 εἰς 5. 31; 6. 93?, 165, [234], 260, [330],
 346, 354, 480; 7. 284; 8. 42; 9. 13;
 10. 6; 11. 224, 226.
 εἰς 7. 191; [10. 238.]
 εἰσάγειν 11. 227.
 εἰσιέναι 6. 234.
 εἶτα 6. 201?
 εἰωθέναι 7. 95.
 ἐκ, ἐξ 6. 186, 285; 7. 194; 10. 41, 58; 11.
 59, 60; 12. 12.
 ἕκαστος 6. 476; 9. 19.
 ἐκατόν 10. 74.
 ἔγγονος (εγγονος II) 11. 146.
 ἐκδιδόναι 10. 34?
 ἐκεῖ 9. 9; 10. 103.
 ἐκεῖνος 6. 63?, 704; 7. 27, 45, 68, 80, 228,
 396; 8. 36; 9. 10; 10. 18, 21, 31, 194?;
 11. 59, 79; 12. 18-19. Cf. κείνος.
 ἐκείσε 12. 27.
 ἐκπλεῖν 5. 47?; 10. 40.
 ἐκτίθεσθαι 11. 148.
 ἐκτίνειν 6. 249, 300.
 ἔκτισις 6. 490.
 ἐκφεύγειν 6. 7.

- Ἐλατος 11. 57.
 ἐλάχιστος 6. 157.
 ἐλευθε[ρ] 7. 344.
 Ἐλευσίνα 12. 21.
 Ἐλλάνικος 11. 212.
 Ἑλλάς 10. 59.
 Ἑλληνας 8. 127; 10. 24, 108, 192.
 ἐλπ[ί]ς 6. 198.
 ἐμ[ό]ς 6. 258, 322.
 Ἐμπεδοκλῆς 9. 17.
 ἐν 6. 11, 120, [370]; 9. 13; 10. [88], 105;
 11. 34, 36, 39, [73], 87, 103, 114, 120-1,
 129, 213, [219], 229, 232, 280, [302].
 ἐναντίος 6. 274, 534.
 ἔνεκα 7. 71. ἐνεκεν 7. 17, 98.
 ἐνθάδε 12. 26.
 ἐνοχλεῖν 6. 263.
 ἐντεύθεν 6. 343.
 ἐξαίφνης 6. 351; 10. IIII?
 ἐξελαύνειν 11. 125.
 ἐξετάζειν [6. 343]; 7. 223.
 ἐξῆς 11. 147.
 ἐξουσία 7. 45.
 ἐπαινεῖν 8. 26.
 ἐπεὶ [6. 163].
 ἐπειδὴ 6. 13, 34, 155; 7. 419.
 ἔπειτα 11. 58, 72.
 ἐπί 6. 82, 146, 184, 188, 199, 337, 508;
 7. 29, 50; 9. 10-11; 10. 43; 11. 286.
 ἐπιδεικνύειν 6. 348.
 ἐπίκουρος [6. 164].
 Ἐπίκουρος 9. 16.
 ἐπιμένειν 6. 156.
 ἐπιπίπτειν 10. IIII?
 ἐπιπλεῖν 6. 372.
 ἐπιστολή 7. 289, 337.
 ἐπιτήδειος 6. 658.
 ἐπιτιθέναι 10. 144?; 11. 82.
 ἐπιτρέπειν 6. 135, 350.
 ἐπιτροπή 6. 267.
 ἐπίτροπος 6. 244.
 ἐπιτυγχάνειν 8. 52?
 ἐργάζεσθαι 6. 207, 719?
 ἔργον 5. 31; 10. 17.
 ἐρεῖν 6. 224, 329; 7. 66-7; 9. 14; 10. 36;
 12. 34.
 Ἐρμῆς 11. 126.
 Ἐρμῆπος 11. 119.
 ἐρυθρός 11. 235.
 ἔρχεσθαι 6. 60, 347.
 ἔσχατος 6. 346; 11. 245.
 ἑταῖρος 6. 246, 257.
 ἕτερος 6. 297-8, 302, 313, 322, 327, 338;
 7. 233?
 ἔτος 6. 440; 13. passim.
 εὐδαιμονεῖν 6. 153.
 εὐδαιμονέστερος 6. 229.
 εὐεργεσία 6. 178, 217.
 εὐεργ[ε] 10. 255.
 εὐλαβεῖσθαι 8. 47.
 εὐνοῦχος [10. 130].
 Εὐριπίδης 11. 87.
 εἰρίσκειν 6. 83; 8. 48; 12. 12.
 εὐσεβής 12. 6.
 εὐτυχία 6. 200.
 εὐφημεῖν 8. 6.
 εὐχεσθαι 11. 147.
 ἔφοδος 10. 96.
 ἐφορμᾶν 11. 78.
 ἔχειν 6. 41, 198, 232, 297, 504, 553; 7. 44,
 59, 177, 221; 8. 79, [83]; 9. 31?, [37];
 10. 44; 11. 63; 12. 5.
 ἔχθρα 7. 71; 8. 43.
 ἔχθρός 6. [190], 258, 320, 349, 359.
 ἕως 6. [10], 152.
 Ζεὺς 5. 33; 7. 108, 216; 11. 76, [163].
 ζηλότυπ[ος] 5. 29. ζηλοτύπως 8. 83.
 ζῆν 10. 106.
 ζητεῖν 11. 94.
 ζωγραῖν 10. 75.
 ἦ 6. [196], 228, 298-9, [360], 362; 7. 65, 68;
 8. 10, 12; 9. 16-17; 11. 67, 170, [246].
 ἡγείσθαι 6. 276, 506.
 ἡγεμονία 10. 26?, 34?
 ἦδη 6. 982; 11. 125.
 ἡδονή 11. 246.
 Ἡϊών 10. 43.
 ἦκεν 6. 13?; 8. 41.
 Ἡλείος 6. 168.
 ἡλικία 6. 204.
 ἥλιος 6. 250, 355.
 ἡμέρα 6. 33, 93?
 ἡμέτερος 6. 142.
 ἡμισυς 6. 78, 822; (symbol) 9. 36.
 ἦν ('I said') 8. 37, 49.
 ἦπειρος 10. 95.
 Ἡρακλῆς 11. 123.
 ἡσυχία 7. 248.

- θάνατος 11. 150.
 θαρσύν 11. 141.
 Θεμιστοκλῆς 8. 3, 38, 84-5; 10. 7.
 Θεοδέκτης 11. 280?
 Θεοζοτιδῆς (θεοδοτιδῆς Π) 6. 249, 300.
 Θεόμνηστος (α) 6. 240, 247, 255, 342; (β) 7. 219.
 θεός 11. 89, 95. θεοί 11. 74?; 12. 39.
 θεράπεινα 6. 238; 7. 60, 96, 472.
 Θεσπιεύς 13. 2.
 θησαυρός 6. 81.
 Θουκυδίδης 11. 115.
 Θράκες 11. 221.
 θρασύς 7. 64.
 Θρασωνίδης 5. 25.
 θύειν [11. 74.]
- Ἰαπετός 11. 120.
 ἴδιος 7. 70.
 ἱερεύς 12. 73, 81?
 ἱερός 11. 59.
 ἱεσθαι 7. 181.
 ἴνα [6. 144]
 ἱππικός 8. 12.
 Ἰπποθέρης 6. 74?, 137, 147, 237.
 ἱππιδ[11. 346.
 Ἰππομένης 13. 9.
 ἵππος 11. 124, 127.
 ἰσάναί 7. 241; 11. 72.
 ἰστορία 11. 54.
 ἰσχύς 11. 63.
 ἰσχι[6. 886.
 ἴσως 11. 84.
 Ἴων 11. 121, 277?
- καθαρεῖν 6. 197.
 καθάπερ 7. 95, 336?; 11. 45, 49, 167.
 καθιστάναί 8. 46; 12. 15.
 κάθοδος 6. 165.
 καί, κ' = καί 11. 216. καὶ γάρ 7. 187; 12. 12. καὶ μὴν 7. 58.
 Καυεύς 11. 41, 46-7, 55, 85.
 Καινὴ 11. 56.
 καίπερ 11. 171.
 Κάϊταρ 12. 9, 11, 24, 32.
 καίτοι 6. 118, 321.
 κακός 5. 17.
 καλεῖν 6. 483; 10. 57; 11. 107.
 καλῶς 5. 27, 50; 7. 220; 8. 34; 12. 13.
 Καρχηδών 6. 370.
 κατά 7. 81, 171, 192; 9. 16; 11. 80, 122.
 κατάγειν 6. 190.
 καταγιγνώσκειν 7. 160.
 καταδικάζειν 7. 215.
 κατακοιμιστής 10. 131.
 κατακόπτειν 11. 79.
 καταλέγειν 11. 53.
 καταλείπειν 10. 102.
 κατασκευάζειν 6. 268; 7. 397.
 καταφρονεῖν 6. 419; 7. 109.
 καταφυγή 10. 230?
 κατεπίγεσθαι 7. 30, 43.
 κατέρχεσθαι 6. 12, 38, 42, 45, 115, 175.
 κατέχειν 10. 123?
 κατηγορία 7. 224.
 κατοπτρίζειν 9. 19.
 κάτοπτρον 9. 10.
 κείνος 11. 91.
 κελεύειν 6. 38, 235; 7. 21, 214; [11. 74.]
 Κένταυροι 11. 71, 78.
 κεντεῖν 11. 66.
 κηδεστής 7. 217.
 Κίμων 10. 38, [62].
 κινδυνεύειν 10. 71.
 κίνδυνος 6. 346; 7. 72.
 Κλειδικός (κλεοδικός Π) 13. 8.
 κλήζειν 11. 162 a.
 κλήρος 6. 487, 491.
 Κούλεμος 11. 107.
 κόγχη 9. 30.
 κοινωνίς 6. 379.
 κομίζεσθαι 6. 16?, 43, 173.
 Κόρινθος 11. 88.
 κρατεῖν 11. 47.
 Κρατῖνος 11. 36.
 κρίσις [6. 139.]
 κριτής 11. 32.
 Κρίτων 7. 220.
 κτᾶσθαι 6. 44.
 κτίσις 11. 214.
 κύαθος 9. 27-8, 33-4.
 Κύπρος [10. 65.]
 κυριεύειν 7. 85.
 κύριος 7. 119?
- Λακεδαιμόνιοι 8. 103.
 λαμβάνειν 6. 79, 227, 298, [302], 339; 11. 266.
 Λαμπροκλῆς 11. 170, 172.
 Λαπίθαι 11. 70.

λέγειν **5.** 30?, 41?, 43-4; **6.** 79, 131, 182, 340; **7.** 47, 95, 193, 290, 336?; **8.** 4, [84]; **10.** 7; **11.** 37, 39, 55, 89, [120], 122, 175, 240; **12.** 10, 17.
 λειτουργεῖν **7.** 20.
 Λεωκράτης **13.** 10.
 λόγος **7.** 335.
 λογχοφόρος **10.** 120?
 λοιπός **6.** 146, 149.
 Λυκί **11.** 251.
 Λυκομήδης **10.** 50.
 Λυκόφρων **7.** 28, 106, 160, 287.
 λυπεῖν **6.** 176.
 Λυσίας **6.** 36, 79, 136, 150, 211, 216?, 222.
 Λύσιππος **11.** 34, 301.
 μαθητής **11.** 172?
 μάλιστα **11.** 67.
 μαρτυρεῖν **6.** 371.
 μαρτυρία **7.** 217.
 μάρτυς **6.** 253, 272, 367, 374, 376, 380, 436, [438], 477, 700-1, 828, 850.
 μέγας **6.** 328; **8.** 78; **9.** 29, 30, 33; **10.** 25, 269?; **11.** 138, 164. μέγιστος **6.** 218; **8.** 44; **10.** 23; **11.** 63.
 μεθιέναι **11.** 222.
 μείξις **11.** 95.
 μείων **6.** 194?
 Μελησιός (*α*) **11.** 106; (*β*) **11.** 117.
 μέλλειν **7.** 85.
 μεμνήσθαι **6.** 222.
 μέν **6.** 11, 39, 115, 122, 149, 152, 174, 184, [227], 256, 301, 322, 338, 377, 502, 554; **7.** 73, 80, 170; 183, 194, 288; **9.** 12; **10.** 8, 19, 58, 71, 84, 102, 123; **11.** 90, [109], 112, 124; **12.** 16.
 Μένων **11.** 114.
 μέρος **6.** 157; **9.** 35.
 μετά **6.** 18, 35-6, 76, 187, 206; **10.** 42; **12.** 4, 7?
 μεταίχμιον **11.** 219?
 μεταμέλησαν **6.** 203.
 μέτοικος **6.** 154.
 μή **6.** 124, 225, 230, 243, 251, 296, 311, 487; **7.** 88, 103, 222, 415; **10.** 126.
 μηδέ **7.** 447.
 μηδείς **6.** 545; **7.** 43.
 μηκέτι **7.** 31.
 μὴν **7.** 58.
 μηνύειν **6.** 319.

Μίδων [11. 173?]
 Μιθριδάτης **10.** 130.
 μικρός **9.** 34. Cf. μείων.
 Μιλτιάδης **10.** 39.
 μίσγεσθαι **11.** 57.
 μισθός **6.** 332?
 μῆ **6.** 248; **9.** 36.
 Μνασείας **11.** 128.
 μόνος **10.** 137; **12.** 20. μόνον **6.** 230, 243, 277, 536; **7.** 163; **11.** 197.
 μουσικός **8.** 10.
 Μύσιος **15.** 699.
 ναί **5.** 45.
 Νάξιοι **11.** 219?
 ναυμαχία **10.** 10, 13.
 ναῦς **6.** 369, 387; **10.** 73, 98, 267?
 νέος **12.** 1.
 νῆ Δία **5.** 33; **7.** 108, 216.
 νῆσος **10.** 46.
 Νικαεύς **12.** 14.
 Νικόστρατος **6.** 17.
 νομίζω **8.** 49; **10.** 94.
 νόμος **6.** 128.
 νῦν **5.** 30; **6.** 181; **7.** 80; **11.** 30; **12.** 34.
 νυνί **6.** 13, 194, 233, 257, 804.
 νύξ **10.** 105, 115?
 Ξενοκ[λῆς] **6.** 18.
 ξένος **6.** 168; **11.** 236.
 ὁ. τὰ εἰς τὸν Τίμαιον **9.** 13. πρὸ τοῦ **6.** 256.
 ὄγδοος **9.** 35.
 ὀδός **11.** 127.
 Ὀδυσσεύς **11.** 272.
 ὄθεν **7.** 28; [10. 36.]
 οἶεσθαι **6.** 193; **8.** 37; **12.** 69?
 οἰκείος **6.** 337.
 οἰκία **6.** 44; **7.** 57, 84.
 οικοδομῆν **6.** 195.
 οἶος **6.** 430; **9.** 15; **10.** 26. οἶός περ **8.** 3.
 οἶχεσθαι **6.** 11, 36, 61, 163, 185.
 ὀκνεῖν **6.** 317, 335.
 ὀλίγος **6.** 361; **11.** 166.
 Ὀλορος **11.** 110.
 ὄλος **7.** 224; **11.** 149.
 Ὀλυμπία **7.** 284.
 ὀμλία **7.** 16.
 ὄμοιος **6.** 198. ὁμοίως **7.** 33 **11.** 35.

ὁμολογεῖν 6. 95, 685; 7. 186.
 ὀμφάλη 11. 121.
 ὀνειδίσειν 6. 180.
 ὀποῖος 12. 16.
 ὀπότερος 6. 138, 140.
 ὄπου 10. 109.
 ὄπως 7. 247.
 ὄραν 6. 266; 7. 81; 9. 11 12; 10. 197; 11. 76.
 ὄργή 6. 870.
 ὄργιζεσθαι [6. 119].
 ὄρεστης 11. 280.
 ὄρθιος (ορειος II) 11. 80.
 ὄρμασθαι 6. 186.
 ὄρος 11. 124.
 ὄς 5. 30; 6. 31, [45], 184, 207, 233, (536);
 7. 90, 184?, 220, 334; 8. 46; 10. [9],
 25, 46, 120; 12. 11. Cf. οὐ.
 ὄς, ἢ δ' ὄς 8. 37.
 ὄσιος 12. 7.
 ὄσος 6. 234; 10. 58; 11. 184.
 ὄσπερ 7. 79.
 ὄστις 6. 357, 360, 363; 7. 21; 8. 42.
 ὄστισι 6. 260. Cf. οὐδοσιῶν.
 ὅτε 6. 271, 329; 7. 230; 11. 65.
 ὅτι 6. 149, 194, 481; 7. 24; 8. 83; 10. 8,
 [33]; 11. 38, 101, [115]; [12. 30].
 οὐ, οὐκ, οὐχ 5. 28, 40; 6. 83, 325, 378, 501,
 504, 552-3, 603; 7. 40; 8. 37; 9. 9,
 14; 11. 45, 50, 58, 101, 166, 197, 239?;
 12. 5, 12, 17, 28, 30.
 οὐ 10. 101.
 οὐγκία (symbol) 9. 37.
 οὐδαμῶς 7. 17.
 οὐδέ 6. 14, [157], 172, 198, 203, 264, 294,
 919; [12. 6?]
 οὐδέις 6. [123], 171, 175; 7. 465; 11. 60;
 12. 29, 37.
 οὐδέποτε 7. 54, 56, 112.
 οὐδεπώποτε 6. 202.
 οὐδέτερος 7. 115; 8. 20.
 οὐδοσιῶν 8. 22.
 οὐκέτι 5. 24.
 οὐκουν 7. 91.
 οὐκοῦν 8. 15.
 οὐν 6. 220, 475, 493; 7. 212, 341; 8. 82;
 9. 33. δ' οὐν 12. 18. μὲν οὐν 6. 149?,
 338; 9. 12; 11. 112.
 οὐσία 6. [9], 29, 245, 268.
 οὕτε 6. 32, 43-4, 177, 179, 263; 7. 18, 24,
 92, 94, 237, 239; 8. 21, 27; 11. 59, 60.

οὔτος 6. 5, 32, 43, 76, 81, 135, 140, 144, 171,
 223, 225, 229, 259, [261], 340, 354, 383,
 489, 555, 558, 596?, 848; 7. 14, 56, 62,
 65, 67, 69, 79, 83, 89, 93, 99, 125, 214,
 230; 8. 53; 9. 13; 11. 42, 69, [73], 76, 83,
 86, [108], 118, 167, 225; 12. 2, 3, 9, 37?
 71. οὔτω(ς) 5. 39; 6. 242, 349, 357, 360,
 418; 7. 63; 8. 48; 11. 33, 56, 115, 124,
 165, 302.
 οὐχί 11. 48.
 ὀφθαλμός 7. 86.
 παιδάριον 8. 46.
 παιδεύειν 11. 118.
 παιδίση 6. 492.
 παῖς 5. 28?; 11. 59, 163.
 πάλιν 6. 368.
 Παλλάς 11. 162, [176].
 παντελῶς 6. 151?
 παρά 6. 79, 173, 216, 296, 298, 302, 315,
 318, 327, [338], 537; 7. 45, 47, 65-8,
 205; 10. 210; 11. 38, 87; 12. 19, 20.
 παρὰ 6. 21, 532; 10. 211.
 παράδειγμα 12. 33.
 παραθαλάττιος 10. 56.
 παραλαμβάνειν 6. 91.
 παράνομα 6. 458?
 παραποιεῖν 11. 165?, 175.
 παρασιωπᾶν 7. 69.
 παρασκευάζειν 6. 358.
 παρατίσσειν 10. 69.
 παραχρῆμα 10. 60.
 παρεῖναι 5. 22?
 παρεκβαίνειν 10. 37.
 παρέργως 7. 223.
 παρέχειν 6. 166, 170, 464.
 παρθένος 11. 93.
 Πάριοι 11. 226.
 παριστάται 6. 473?
 παροιμίον 11. 243?
 παροινεῖν 7. 413?
 Πάρος 11. 224?
 πᾶς 6. 193, 241, [299?]; 7. 21, 421.
 πάσχειν 6. 351, 354; 7. 88.
 Παταρεύς 11. 129.
 πατήρ 8. 39; 11. 108, 113.
 πάτριος 6. 508.
 πατρίς 6. 188.
 πείθειν 6. 169, 257; 12. 33.
 Πειραιεύς 6. 11.

- Πελαγοί 10. 228.
 Πέλοψ 11. 125.
 πέμπειν [6. 165]; 7. 289.
 πέμπτος 11. 152.
 πενθε[11. 139.
 πέντε 11. 35.
 πενήκοντα 6. 22; 10. 66.
 περ. οἶος περ 8. 3.
 περί 6. 140-1, 177, 179, 182, 230, 233,
 334, 336, 352, 649; 7. 401, 451; 8. [1],
 4; 9. 12; 10. 6, 10, 12, 64; 11. 40-1,
 55, [103], 112, [130], 167, 215?, 225,
 248, [281].
 περιεῖναι 9. 21.
 περίεργος 6. 276.
 περιστάναι 6. 947?
 περιουῖν 6. 345.
 περιπίπτειν 10. 107.
 Πέρσαι 10. 44, [64].
 περσέπολις 11. 162, 176.
 πέρυσσι 6. 690?
 πέτρη 11. 81.
 πιθανός 7. 18, 94, 173, 236.
 πιπράσκειν 6. 40.
 πίστις 6. 472?
 Πλάτων 11. 113.
 πλήθος 6. 37.
 πλησί 6. 823.
 πλουσιώτατος 6. 153, 725.
 Πλούτοι 11. 36.
 πόθεν 7. 41.
 ποιεῖν 6. 64, 192, 219, 275?, 287, 442; 7.
 49, 392; 11. 61, 77; 12. 8, 14.
 ποιητής 11. 119.
 πολεμαδόκος 11. 162 a.
 Πολέμαρχος [6. 8.]
 πολεμῖν 11. 71.
 πολέμιος 6. 187, 503; 10. 97.
 πολέμων [11. 102.]
 πόλις 6. 142, 189; 7. 287; 8. 58; 10. 19,
 21, [57].
 πολίτης 6. 191, 201.
 πολύς 6. 33, 71, [162], 206, 265, 544; 7.
 86; 10. 70-1, 101, 106; 11. 49. πλείων
 6. 470.
 πόρρω 8. 40.
 Ποσειδέων 11. 57, 61.
 ποτέ 6. 858; 10. 2; 11. 169.
 πότερον 8. 7, 11; 11. 168.
 πρῆγμα 6. 139, 286, 433; 10. 126?

- πράξις 6. 851; 10. 22, 194.
 πράττειν 6. 137, 231, 259; 7. 230, 242.
 πρᾶσθαι 6. 511.
 πρῖν 6. 250, 261.
 πρό 6. 256; 7. 86.
 προαγγέλλειν 10. 12.
 προαιρέεσθαι 7. 405?
 προήκειν 6. 354.
 προθυμῖσθαι 6. 145.
 προθύμως 7. 22.
 προκείσθαι 11. 96.
 πρὸς 6. 86, 237, [241], 338, [389], 457,
 460, 563; 7. 15, (19), 25, 61, 69, [98],
 [209], 394; 8. 45, [83]; 10. 31, 50, 67,
 98, 129; 11. 51?
 προσεύχεσθαι 5. 38.
 προσήκοντα 6. 148?
 προσνέμειν 11. 173.
 προσφέρεσθαι 7. 103.
 πρότερον 7. 19; 8. 10, 14.
 προτίθεσθαι 7. 79?
 πρόχειρος 7. 71
 πρώτος 12. 15. πρώτον 6. 121; 11. 265.
 Πτολεμαῖος 11. 370?
 πυνθάνεσθαι [10. 62.]
 πῦρ 11. 195, 306.
 πυρός 10. 116?
 πωλεῖν 6. 19, 123.
 πώποτε 6. 175.
 πῶς 5. 41; 6. 321, 344, 538; 7. 173;
 11. 94.
 ῥῆμα 5. 42.
 σαφής 5. 49?
 σεαυτοῦ 8. 2.
 σεμνύνειν 12. 9.
 σῆμα 11. 82.
 σίδηρος 11. 66.
 σκηνή 10. 88.
 σκήπτρον 11. 44, 48.
 σκοπεῖν 6. 384.
 Σκῦρος 10. 46.
 σοφώτατος 10. 27?
 σπεύδειν 7. 238?
 σπουδάζειν 10. 15.
 Στέφανος 11. 106, 112, 117.
 στεφανοῦν 7. 286.
 Στησίχορος 11. 169.
 στάλος 10. 64.

- στρατεία 6. 574.
στρατεύειν 6. 189; 11. 248.
στρατηγείν 10. 39.
στρατηγός 10. 85.
στρατιώτης 10. 114?
στρατ[10. 136.
Στρυμών 10. 44.
συγγνώμη 6. 231.
συγγραφεύς 11. 109.
συγκείσθαι 6. 94.
συκοφαντείν 6. 32, 205; 7. 331?
συλλαμβάνειν 6. 28.
συμβάλλειν 6. 486?
σύμμαχος 10. 42.
συμπείθειν 10. 61.
συμπολιτεύεσθαι 7. 210.
σύ 8. 8; 11. 146; 12. 1. ὑμεῖς 6. 35, 134,
143-4, 150, 152, 173, 207, 220, 228, 234,
241, 328, 342, 371, 373?, 537, 554, 923;
7. 159; 12. 34.
συμφορά 6. 80, 121, 155, 200.
συνειδέσθαι 6. 316?
συνεκιδιδόμην 6. 323.
συνθήκη 6. 39, 45, 127.
συνοικ[7. 118.
συντάσσειν 10. 65.
σφάλλειν [11. 50.]
σφόδρα 6. 349, 419.
σχεδόν 6. 241.
Σωκράτης 8. 6, 93, 156.
σῶμα 6. 352; 7. 32, 76?
Σωσιίδης 6. 92?, 737?, 781?
σωφρονεῖν 7. 162, 185.
τάλαντον 6. 30, 170.
τάξις 7. 60.
τάχα 6. 475.
τε 6. [167], 259; 7. 110; 10. 10.
τείχος 6. 195.
τεκμήριον 6. 328; 7. 212.
τέκνον 11. 93.
τελείν 12. 11, 19, 26, 36.
τέλεος 6. 201?
τελετή 12. 27.
τελευτ[6. 577.
τέλος 6. 170.
τετ(άρτη) 9. 31.
τετρακόσιοι. οἱ τετ. 6. 184.
τετταράκοντα 10. 68; 11. 33.
τέτταρες 11. 31.
τέως 7. 288.
τηλικούτος 7. 53.
τίκτειν 11. 59 (τεκέν), 92.
Τίμαιος 9. 13.
τιμή 6. 14, 78; 10. 23.
τιμωρία 7. 89.
τίς 5. 26?; 6. 225, 228, (349), 357, 360,
362, 417; 7. 63, 97-8?, 105, 212; [10.
16, 237]; 11. 146.
τις 6. 351, 477, 494, 499, 694; 7. 89, 187;
10. 229; 11. 65, 84, 94.
τοῖνον 6. 34, 76, 301, 368, 377, 383.
τοιούτος 6. 120, 174, 183, 505; 8. 28, 42-3,
173; 9. 15; 12. 29.
τοῖχος 7. 15, 30, 41, 93.
τόκος 6. 312, 314.
τολμᾶν 6. 260, 432.
τόπος 10. 135, 138.
τοσοῦτος 6. 347; 10. 16.
τότε 6. 197, 231; 10. 6; 11. 65.
τουτέστι 8. 53.
τρέπεσθαι 10. 110.
τρέφειν 11. 116.
τριάκοντα 6. 247. οἱ τρ. 6. 82, 122, 160.
τριακόσιοι 6. 164.
τριηραρχ[6. 724.
τρίτος 11. 110?
τρόπος 6. 506.
τυγχάνειν 6. 142, 681; 10. 121, 178.
τύχη 6. 350.
υἱός 11. [106], 110, [116].
ὑμέτερος 6. 37, 120, 158, 192, 199, 510.
ὑπέρ 6. 238, 555; 7. 184, 333; 8. 35;
11. 389.
ὑπερβολή 7. 81, 171?
ὑπερήμερος 6. 251, 356.
ὑπέχειν 7. 90.
ὑπό 6. [160], 182, 258, 313, [358]; 7. 412;
8. 38; 10. 19, 23, 102; 11. [52], 89,
282.
ὑπολαμβάνειν 7. 111; 10. 32, 99.
ὑπομένειν 7. 22.
ὑπομιμήσκειν 10. 8.
φαίνεσθαι 5. 36; 6. 239; 9. 9.
φάναι 5. 45; 6. 302, 493-4?; 8. 6; 9. 18;
11. 110, 114, 276?, 281; 12. 11.
φανερός 7. 330.
Φαρσάλιος 11. 111.

- φάσκειν 6. 298, 339, 440?, 466, 561, 703.
 φαῦλος 8. 35, 40, 56.
 φέρειν 6. 86, 537.
 Φερενδάτης 10. 86.
 φεύγειν 6. 35, 163, 174, 183, 185, 427;
 10. 98.
 φίλιος 10. 101.
 φίλος 6. 256.
 φιλοφρονέστερον 7. 101?
 φόβος 10. 112?
 φρονεῖν 6. 195.
 φροῦτι[6. 546.
 Φρύνιχος 11. 160, 171.
 φύλαξ 10. 104.
 φωνεῖν 6. 660.

 χαλεπῶς 6. 86.
 χαλεπώτατος 10. 30.
 χαλκός 11. 67.
 Χαμαιλέων 11. 168.
 Χάριππος 7. 283.
 χάρις 6. 172, [216].
 Χάροψ (Χαιος Π) 13. 6.
 χίλιοι 6. 331.

 χορηγεῖν 6. 329.
 χρεία 7. 27.
 Χρέμης 7. 57?
 χρῆ 6. 343.
 χρῆμα 6. 161, [167], 488; 11. 68.
 χρῆσθαι 7. 213, 215.
 χρ(ῆσις) 11. 56 marg.
 χρησμός 11. 130.
 χρηστός 6. 145.
 χρόνος 10. 70.
 χροῦ[6. 762.
 χάρα 10. 214.

 ψηφίζεσθαι 6. 139, 235, 388.
 ψηφ[6. 791.

 ᾧ 6. 77, [114], 220, [368], 377, 383, [859];
 7. 221; 8. 6, [50].
 ὠνεῖσθαι 6. 15, 40, 73, 119, 123?
 ὡς 6. 115, 117, 325, 369, [377], 659;
 7. 19, 339; 9. 17; 11. 43, 148.
 ὥσπερ 6. 81, 252; 12. 20, 24.
 ὥστε 6. 193, 243, 355, 420; 7. 64, 463;
 8. 24, 51; 10. 94; 11. 187?

III. SUBJECTS DISCUSSED IN THE INTRODUCTIONS AND NOTES.

(The numbers refer to pages.)

(a) ENGLISH AND LATIN.

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| Abas 30, 38. | Anaschetus 78, 87. | Artaxerxes 99, 102, 106,
118-19, 124-5. |
| abbreviations 22, 95, 97, 129-
30, 147, 189. | Andreas 109. | Asclepiades of Myrlea 130. |
| Academic school 94. | Apollo 128, 143. | Athenians 107, 126. |
| Achaeus 146. | Apollodorus 90, 93. | Augustus 150-1. |
| Acrocorinthus 32. | Arad 25. | |
| Acusilaus 127-8, 141-3. | archons 154. | Bacchylides 27-9. |
| Aeschines 209-10. | Arctinus 128, 145-6. | Barbari Excerpta Latina
154-5. |
| Aeschines Socraticus 88-90,
118. | Argives 27, 30, 102. | Bellerophon 45. |
| Agatharchides 111, 142. | Aristarchus 129, 131. | Bithynia 150-1. |
| Alcibiades 88-90. | Aristides 151. | Boges 120. |
| Alcmaeon, archon 154. | Aristodemus 101, 107, 112,
118-19, 122. | book-form in papyri 6, 8, 10,
12, 15, 19, 21, 155-6, 162,
165, 168. |
| Alexandria 151. | Aristophanes 128-9, 146, 165. | Boreas 145. |
| Alexandrian librarians 130-1. | Aristophanes of Byzantium
130-1. | Bucolic poets 169. |
| Alexion 132. | Artabanus 102, 112, 118,
124-5. | |
| amnesty in 403 B. C. 50. | | |

III. SUBJECTS DISCUSSED IN INTRODUCTIONS AND NOTES 231

- Byzantium 100, 120.
 Cadmus 31.
 Caeneus 127-8, 130-3, 142.
 Caesar-worship 148-51.
 Callisthenes 105, 107, 122-3.
 Callistratus 132.
 Caria 100-1.
 Carthage 51.
 Cerberus 28, 31.
 Chamaeleon 129, 147.
 Charippus 75, 87.
 Charon of Lampsacus 99.
 Cimon 99-102, 107-8, 110, 112, 120-1, 126.
 Clidicus, archon 155.
 Clitarchus 105, 118.
 comedy 127, 130-2, 140-1.
 contractions 1, 3, 7, 8, 10, 15, 19, 22, 24-5.
 Corinth 27, 32, 45.
 Crantor 95.
 Cratea 46.
 Cratinus, Πλοῦτοι 127, 141.
 Cratippus 105, 109, 112.
 critical marks 90, 129, 167, 187, 190.
 Criton 78, 87.
 Ctesias 105, 112, 125.
 Cyprus 100, 102, 104, 106-7, 112, 122.
 dactylo-epitritic metre 28, 31-2, 41-3.
 Decelea 70.
 Demeter 149-50.
 Democritus 94-6.
 dialect, Doric 128, 143, 169, 177-9; Ionic 95, 127-8, 143, 181-2, 187-9.
 Didymus 129, 132, 148.
 digressions 107, 110, 112-13, 118.
 Dinon 99, 105, 118, 125.
 Dio Cassius 149-51.
 Diodorus 98-113, 118-25.
 Dionysius ὁ μουσικός 132.
 Dionysus 27, 29-31, 39, 40.
 Dioxippus 75, 87.
 dithyrambs 27-9.
 drachmae 97.
 Eion 100, 107, 109, 112, 120.
 Eleusinian mysteries 149.
 emendations confirmed (1) Aeschines 209; (2) Hermas 15; (3) Plato 200; (4) Theocritus 170; (5) Thucydides 191, 194.
 Empedocles 94-6.
 Ephorus 99-102, 105-13, 118-25.
 Epicurus 94-6.
 Eratosthenes 129-32, 146.
 Euboea 100-1, 126.
 Eudorus 95.
 Euripides, Ἀλκμέων ὁ διὰ Κορίνθου 128, 143; *Orestes* 163-4.
 Eurymedon 100-2, 106, 110-12, 122.
 Eusebius 154.
 festival at Olympus 31.
 Frontinus 101, 107, 112, 122.
 Geta 45-6.
 Gorgons 30, 38-9.
 Harmonia 31, 44.
 Harpocraton 48, 51, 73, 77.
 Hellenicus 129, 147.
Hellenica Oxyrhynchia 109-13.
 Helots 102.
 Heracles 28, 40, 145.
 Heraclides 105, 107, 118.
 Hermas papyri 15.
 Hermippus, *Iapetus* 128, 130, 145.
 Herodicus 132.
 Herodotus 100, 109, 112-13, 119-20, 181-2.
 hiatus 107, 120, 179, 210, 213-15.
 Hippocrates 97.
 Hippolytus 19.
 Hippotheres 48-50.
 homilies 21-5.
 homoioteleuton 7, 15, 18.
 horse-worship 151.
 Hyperides 75-8.
 Ion, *Omphale* 128-9, 145.
 Isocrates 108.
 Jerome 154.
 judges at contests 127, 141.
 Julius Caesar 150-1.
 Justin 102, 107, 109, 112, 120, 124.
 Lamprocles 129, 131, 146-7.
 Lasus 27, 41-2.
 Latin versions 2, 4, 6, 10-12, 15.
 liquid measures 95, 97-8.
 loan, action concerning 51.
 logaedic metre 28, 30.
 Lycia 129.
 Lycomedes 100, 121.
 Lycophron 75-7, 86.
 Lycurgus 75-6, 101.
 Lysias 48-50.
 Lysippus, *Bacchae* 127, 129, 141.
 Lysithides 118, 126.
 Manto 143.
 Marcellinus 128, 144-5.
 Men 151.
 Menander 45-6.
 metres 28, 30-3, 41-3.
 metrology 95, 97-8.
 Miltiades 108.
 mina 95, 98.
 mirrors 94-5.
 miscellanies 132.
 Mithridates 124-5.
 Mnaseas 128, 130-1, 145.
 Muses 30.
 Naxians 129.
 Nepos 118, 122.
 Nicaea 149-51.
 Nicomedia 150.
 Odysseus 129.
 Oeniadae 199.
 Olympia 87.
 Olympus 31.
 Omphale 145.
 Orestes 147.
 Orthagoridae 109-13.

Pallas, ode to 128-33.
 Pamphila 132.
 parents and children 89.
 Parians 129.
 Passion, the 19.
 Paul, epistles of St. 12.
 Pausanias 100.
 Pelasgians 100, 120-1, 126.
 Pelops 145.
 Pentecontaëtia 98-113.
 Penthesilea 128, 145-6.
 Perseus 30, 38-9.
 Persians 99-102, 105-6,
 121-5.
 Phania 118.
 Phanodemus 101, 105.
 Pherendates 101, 106, 123.
 Phorcys 30, 38.
 Phrynichus 129, 131, 146.
 Pindar, *Dithyrambs* 27-32;
Olympian odes 155-7.
 Plato 88, 90, 94-5, 199-201.
 Plutarch 43, 89, 99, 100-1,
 105-7, 109, 112, 118,
 120-2.
 Polemarchus 49, 68.
 Polemon 128, 130-1, 144-5.
 Pollux 77.
 Polyaeus 102, 107, 111-12,
 122.
 Polybius 107.
 Poseidon 127.
 Ptolemaeus 129.

recensions, Tobit 1-6; Acts
 10; Plato 199-201;
 Thucydides 190.
 Rufus 133.

schema Pindaricum 42.
 scholia on Pindar, *Dith.* 29;
 Aristophanes, *Plutus* 165,
 167-8; Herod. iii 180,
 187-9.
 Scyros 100, 106, 120, 126.
 Seleucus 132.
 Semele 31.
 Sicyon 109.
 sigma in lyrics 41-2.
 Simonides 27, 129.
 Socrates 88-90.
 speeches in Thucydides ii
 194.
 Stephanus son of Thucydides
 128, 144-5.
 Stesichorus 28, 129.
 Stobaeus 95, 200.
 Strabo 41-2, 131.
 Suidas 77, 130-2, 162-3.
 symbols 95, 129.
 Syncellus 154.

Thebans 27, 31.
 Themistocles 88-9, 99,
 106-7, 110-11, 118-20,
 125-6.
 Theocritus 169-70.

Theodectes, *Orestes* 129, 147.
 Theomnestus (1) 48, 50-1,
 73; (2) 75, 87.
 Theophilus 76.
 Theophrastus 127, 130, 141.
 Theopompus 105, 107-9,
 111-13, 122-3.
 Theozotides 51, 71, 73.
 Thersippus, archon 155.
 Theseus 100, 107, 121, 126.
 Thirty tyrants 49-50.
 Thracians 129.
 Thrasonides 45-6.
 Thucydides (1) the historian
 98-100, 102, 106-7, 109-
 13, 118-22, 128, 144-5,
 190-1, 194, 196-8; (2)
 the politician 128, 144-5;
 (3) the Pharsalian 128,
 144-5.
 Tithraustes 123.
 Tobit 1-4.

vellum codices 1, 23, 163,
 194, 197.

women 25.

Xenophon 113.
 Xerxes 99, 102, 106-7, 118-
 19, 126.

Zeno of Citium 131.

(b) GREEK.

ἀθανασία 154.
 ἀκναμπτεῖ 28, 45.
 ἀλαλαμπάνειν 86.
 ἀραμνημίσκων 70.
 ἀνείναι 154.
 ἀνέχειν 161.
 ἀπέπασθαι 76.
 ἀπολελυμένα 28, 31.
 ἀφείκεν 147.

γραμματεὺς 213.

διαγόμενος 74.
 διαλέγεσθαι 77.
 διορυχή 86.

ἔγγονος 145.
 ἐγενήθη 76, 86.
 ἐδικαιεῦντο 182, 187.
 εἶδωλι 94-6.
 εἰσαγγελία 75-6.
 ἐκκολλᾶν 18.
 ἔρκος ἄλμυς 39.
 ἐτηροῦσαν 25.
 εὐάμπυξ 28, 39.

Καινὴ 142.
 Καμβύσην 182, 188.
 κάρυον 98.
 κατοπτριζομένων 96.

κεντοῖή 143.
 κεραυνεῖν 23.
 κίβδαλος 41.
 Κοάλεμος 144.
 κόγχη 95, 97.
 κοχλιάρμιον 97.
 κύαθος 97.

λογισταί 213.

μεθ(ε)ῖκαν 147.
 μεταμέλησαν 71.
 Μῦσια ὀρχήματα 163.
 μύστρον 98.

III. SUBJECTS DISCUSSED IN INTRODUCTIONS AND NOTES 233

ὄ 179.	πρήγμα 182.	τεκέν 143.
οἶ, οἶ 38.	πύλαι 42.	τετάρτη 97.
ὀπτάνεσθαι 4.		τύπανον 43.
οὐχ ὅτι 3.	ρίψαύχην 43.	
παρανόμων 73.	σάν 41-2.	φάμα (ἔστι) 44.
παρασιωπᾶν 76.	στάσις 44.	φύντα 25.
Παταρεύς 145.	σύμμικτα 132.	φύοντι 177.
πατέρων 40.	σχοινοτένεια 28, 41.	Φόρκος 38.
περαιώσειν 197.	σῶμα 76-7.	χάρμα 45.
πλόκος 44-5.		χρῆμα 143.
πολέα 45.	ταπεινοφροσύνη 19.	χρῆσις 142.

IV. PASSAGES DISCUSSED.

	PAGE		PAGE
Acts xxvi. 7-8, 20 = 1597.		Deuteronomy xxviii. 66 = 1600.	43-8.
Aelian, <i>Var. hist.</i> ii. 12	93	Dio Cass. li. 20	149
Aeschines <i>In Ctes.</i> 14-27 = 1625.		iii. 36	154
Aeschines Socrat. Fr. 1 Krauss =		Dio Chrys. xviii. p. 283	108
1608. 84 sqq.		Diodorus iii. 12-48	111
Fr. 2 = 1608. 82-4.		v. 1	107, 110
Frs. 3, 4	88, 90	xi. 17	119
Agatharchides, <i>De mare Eryth.</i> 7	142	19. 5	119
<i>Anecd.</i> Bekker p. 97	77	30. 4-5	102, 125
<i>Anecd. Oxon.</i> ii. 452	142	54. 4	127
<i>Anecd. Parisinum de notis</i>	142	56. 7	126
Apollodorus iii. 7. 4, 7	143	56. 8	118
Aristides i. 325 Dindorf	94	57. 3	125
ii. 292	88-90, 94	57. 7	126
ii. 369	88-9	58. 4-59	111
Aristodemus 10	118-19	59. 1	126
ii. 2	122	59. 2	99, 103, 119, 125-6
Aristophanes, <i>Clouds</i> 967 = 1611. 176.		59. 3	99, 102-3, 119-20, 125
<i>Plutus</i> 1-56 = 1617.		59. 4	99-100, 103, 120
Athenaeus v. 220 b	144	60. 1-2	99-100, 103, 120, 126
vi. 234 d	144	60. 4	101, 103, 121
viii. 331 d, &c.	145	60. 5-6	100-3, 121-2
x. 448 c, 455 b-c	41	61. 1-2	123, 126
xi. 467 a	41	61. 3	101, 103, 106, 123
Bacchylides xiv	28	61. 4-6	101-2, 104, 123-4
Barbari Excerpta Latina (Schöne,		62. 1	121
Euseb. <i>Chron.</i> App. 6)	154-5	62. 3	101-2, 122, 126
Catullus, <i>Atys</i> 9	42-3	63. 7	126
Censorinus 9	28	65. 4	126
Cicero, <i>Brut.</i> 204	107-8	68	108
<i>Hortens.</i> Fr. 12	107	69. 1	102, 104, 124-5
Ctesias Frs. 29-30	125	69. 3-4	124-5

	PAGE		PAGE
Diodorus xi. 71. 1	124	Lysias Fr. 122 Sauppe	48, 69
xii-xiv	111	123	48, 69, 73
xiv. 9	109	310	51, 73
11	108	<i>περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐνεργειῶν</i>	70
Exc. Vat. viii. 24	109	Marcellinus, <i>Vit. Thuc.</i> 16-17	144
Dionysius Halic., <i>De comp. verb.</i> 14	41	28	144
Ecclesiasticus i. 1-9 = 1595.		Menander, <i>Μισοῦμενος</i> 26	47
Ephesians vi. 12	23	Fr. 11 Koerte	46
Ephorus Frs. 107, 109-10, 124, 126	108	14	47
115	99, 106, 118	<i>Περικειρομένη</i> 408-9	47
116	101, 106, 121-3	P. Berlin	46
FHG iv. 642	108	Metrologici Scriptores (Hultsch) i. 75-6,	
Euripides, <i>Orestes</i> 53-61, 89-97 = 1616.		235, 238, 256	97
Eusebius, <i>Chron.</i> i. 188 Schöne	154-5	i. 234, 243	98
Eustathius, Homer A 264	142	ii. 198-9	98
1335. 52	41	Nepos, <i>Themist.</i> 1	93
Frontinus, <i>Strateg.</i> iv. 7. 45	101, 122	9	118
Genesis vi. 1	26	<i>Cimon</i> 2	122
Hebrews xi	25	Nonnus, <i>Dionys.</i> iv. 28 sqq.	44
Hermas, <i>Shepherd, Sim.</i> viii. 6. 4-8. 3		Numbers xxi. 1-3	25
= 1599.		Papyri, P. Brit. Mus. 128	180
Herodian ii. 2	94	P. Oxy. 12	106
Herodotus iii. 26-72 = 1619.		1012	132
vii. 107	100, 120	1076	1-4
viii. 75, 110	119	1241. ii. 15	131
Hesychius, <i>πέντε κριταί</i>	141	1376	109-11, 113
Homer A 264	142	<i>Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad.</i> 1918	46
Υ 221 sqq.	145	1 Peter v. 8	23
Horace, <i>Odes</i> iv. 2. 10	28	2 Peter ii. 4	26
Hosea iii. 3	21, 23	Phlegethon Fr. 34	142
Hyperides, <i>ὑπὲρ Λυκόφρονος</i>	75, 77, 86-7	Photius, <i>Πύθου</i>	145
<i>συνηγορικός</i>	77	Pindar, <i>Ol.</i> i-ii, vi-vii = 1614.	
Fr. 171 Blass	77	<i>Py.</i> ii. 80	39
Inscriptions, Brit. Mus. G.I. 1004, 1074	25	Fr. 71 Schroeder	27
C.I.A. ii. 804, 807.	78, 87	74 b	31
O.G.I. 55. 6	147	75	27-8, 40, 42
Ion, <i>Omphale</i> Fr. 24 Nauck	145	79 a = 1604. II. 1-3.	
Isaiah liii. 7	21	79 b = 1604. II. 8-11.	
Jerome (Schöne, Euseb. <i>Chron.</i> App. 1b)	154-5	80	42
Joel i. 6, 8	21, 23	81	31, 40
John vi. 8-22 = 1596.		167	142
Justin iii. 1	124	168-9	40
ix. 1	100	208 = 1604. II. 13-14.	
Lucretius ii. 611	163	249	31, 40
Lycurgus, <i>Contra Leocratem</i> 72	122	254	39
Lysias xii. 17	69	284	38
63	70-1	Plato, <i>Hipp. maior</i> 283 d	93
xxviii	76	<i>Meno</i> 74 c = 1611. 115-19.	
		<i>Philebus</i> 62 d	86

	PAGE		PAGE
Plato, <i>Protag.</i> 337 b-357 a = 1624.		Schol. Pindar, <i>Ol.</i> ii. 43	161
<i>Rep.</i> 335 c	93	70	145
<i>Timaeus</i> 71 b, 72 c	96	77	161
Pliny, <i>Nat. Hist.</i> viii. 155	151	<i>Py.</i> ii. 80	39
Plutarch, <i>Themist.</i> 2	89, 93	Plato, <i>Alcib.</i> i. 387	147
12	119	Sophocles, <i>Ajax</i> 694-705, 753-64 =	
27	118	1615.	
28	119	Stobaeus, <i>Ecl.</i> ii. 46	95
<i>Cimon</i> 4	144	Strabo x. 466	163
7	120, 126	469	41-2
8	121, 141	Suetonius, <i>Iul.</i> 61	151
12	101, 121-3	<i>Aug.</i> 52	149
13	123-4	Suidas, <i>Μνασείας</i>	130
<i>X orat.</i> 835 c	68	<i>Νύσια</i>	163
835 f	69-70	<i>Πολέμων</i>	130
849 d	77	<i>Σέλευκος</i>	132
<i>De Mus.</i> 10	28	Syncellus i. 368, 399 Dindorf	154-5
Polemon (FHG. iii) Fr. 4	144	Tacitus, <i>Ann.</i> iv. 37	149
47-8	131	Theocritus, <i>Id.</i> v, vii, xv = 1618.	
78	144	Theopompus Fr. 28 Grenfell-Hunt	111
Polyaenus, <i>Strateg.</i> i. 34. 1	102, 122	90	105
Polybius iii. 113	197	217, 283	108
xii. 28	107	i Thessal. iv. 13-2 Thess. i. 2 = 1598.	
Psalm ii. 1 = 1600. 49-55		Thucydides i. 11-14 = 1620.	
xliii. 22	21	98	107, 120, 126
Schol. Aeschines, <i>De fals. leg.</i> 18	77	100	122
<i>In Ctes.</i> 15	213	137	118-19
Apollon. Rhod. i. 59	128, 142	138	126
Aristides 217 Dindorf	128, 146	ii. 11, 35 = 1621.	
Arist. <i>Birds</i> 445	141	65, 67 = 1622.	
<i>Clouds</i> 967	128, 146-7	iii. 7-9 = 1623.	
Hesiod, <i>Theog.</i> 117	145	Tobit xii. 14-19 = 1594.	
Homer A 264	128, 142	Virg. <i>Aen.</i> ix. 619	163
Lucian, <i>Gall.</i> 19	142	Zenobius, <i>Cent.</i> iii. 64	141
Pindar, <i>Ol.</i> i. 115	160		

ΝΟΜΟΥΣ
 ΚΟΑΤΕ Η
 ΔΙΚΑΝΟΤΕ
 ΝΤΑΡΑΕ
 ΟΣΑΤΙΟΥΣ
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