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# A New Fragment from Herodas' *Mimes* and a Snippet of Homer (P.CtYBR inv. 457)

By Rodney Ast, Heidelberg

Abstract: The fragment of Herodas Mime 2.69–83 published here is the second and earliest witness to these lines and the third known papyrus containing verses by the Hellenistic poet. The text as it stands on the papyrus diverges in a couple of places from the standard edition and in one passage (line 71f.) makes us reconsider an important scene in the poem. The Homeric text on the back of the fragment (Iliad 6.232–248), which was described in P. Yale I 8 and partially published elsewhere (see below n. 2), is also edited here in full.

A transcription of P.CtYBR inv. 457 recto first appeared under the publication number P.Yale I 8 (p. 27–28) where the editors mistakenly described the verses as unidentified hexameters. It turns out that the lines are neither hexameters nor unknown: they are the ends of Herodas *Mime* 2, lines 69–83, from a roll of indeterminable original length. Whether this roll contained all the *Mimes* or only a selection is impossible to say. On the papyrus' verso are remains of *Iliad* 6.232–248, written against the fibers in a round bookhand dated to the Augustan period.<sup>2</sup>

Our understanding of Herodas' *Mimes* depends for the most part on a single papyrus, Brit. Mus. Pap. 135 = P.Lond. Lit. 96 (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD).<sup>3</sup> It was first published in 1891 by F.G. Kenyon in a volume of literary papyri from the British Museum in which the Herodas papyrus, now kept in the British Library, holds pride of place.<sup>4</sup>

- \* I wish to express my gratitude to R. Babcock for granting me permission to publish a photo of the Herodas fragment and to E.C. Schroeder for arranging, on very short notice, for me to inspect the original. I also thank C. Römer, J. Lougovaya and an anonymous reader for helpful comments.
- 1 Not every piece of literature preserved on papyrus came from a book roll, but there is nothing in this papyrus that might lead us to believe that it was part of, for example, a simple sheet with poetic excerpts.
- 2 G. Cavallo and H. Maehler provide a partial transcription (lines 2–10) and photo of the Homeric text in *Hellenistic Bookhands* (Berlin 2008) no. 72. The recto text corresponds to Leuven Database of Ancient Books (LDAB) no. 6805 and Mertens-Pack<sup>3</sup> no. 1981.3; the verso is LDAB 2330 and Mertens-Pack<sup>3</sup> 785.1.
- 3 LDAB 1164 = Mertens-Pack<sup>3</sup> 485.
- 4 Classical Texts from Papyri in the British Museum, Including the Newly Discovered Poems of Herodas (London 1891). Additional pieces belonging to the London papyrus were published later in F.G. Kenyon, "Some new Fragments of Herodas", Archiv für Papyrusforschung 1 (1901) 379–387. The London papyrus shows the hand of at least one corrector, and probably more. For an extensive bibliography covering the late 19th and first three quarters of the 20th c., see I.C. Cunningham's Teubner edition, Herodas Miniambi (Munich/Leipzig 2004) XIII–XXV. For more recent bibliography, see the new edition with translation and commentary by G. Zanker, Herodas

Since publication of the London papyrus, one other Herodas fragment has come to light, P.Oxy. XXII 2326 ( $2^{nd}$  c.AD) (= Mime 8.67–75). The papyrus offered here thus represents the third known witness to the poet's work.

P.CtYBR inv. 457r has unfortunately suffered from significant abrasion and darkening, and the fibers are stripped in places, with legibility decreasing markedly in the bottom half of the fragment. Bottom, left, and upper margins are absent, and 20–25 letters are missing in each line to the left of the break. There are no lectional signs. The text is written along the fibers in a relaxed bookhand that is earlier than the hands of both the London and Oxford papyri. The editors of P.Yale I 8 assign it to the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, and this assignment is supported by comparison with the scripts of a couple other 1<sup>st</sup>-century papyri, P.Lond. II 354, p. 163, a document dated between the years 7 and 4 BC, and P.Herc. 1676 cr. 4 (= LDAB 3606) (1<sup>st</sup> c. BC).<sup>7</sup> A date in the early 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD also cannot be excluded.

The fact that the verso contains a literary text unrelated to that on the recto and written also in a practiced hand arouses interest. As a rule, papyrus rolls with literary texts were not reused. When they were, they were more likely used for documentary texts than for unrelated works of literature. Exceptions exist, of course, as seen for example in the reuse of a third-century papyrus containing an epitome of Livy for a copy of the "Epistle to the Hebrews" Homer appears on the verso of an unidentified prose text in P.Oxy. III 448 (= LDAB 10690 = Mertens-Pack 1148) (3rd c. AD) where the prose, however, has been thoroughly expunged; and Hesiod is written on the back of P.Tebt. III 696 (= LDAB 2338)

Mimiambs (Oxford 2009) 240–248, and Mertens-Pack³ 485. There are a number of commentaries on the Mimes: in addition to Zanker's, there is the classic edition of W. Headlam, Herodas: The Mimes and Fragments (ed. by A.D. Knox, Cambridge 1922), as well as I.C. Cunningham, Herodas Mimiambi (Oxford 1971) and the two-volume Italian edition by L. Di Gregorio, Eronda Mimiambi, vol. 1: I–IV; vol. 2: V–XIII (Milan 1997, 2004). Further bibliography related to the poet, which has been compiled by Martine Cuypers, can be found in electronic form at http://sites.google.com/site/hellenisticbibliography/hellenistic/herodas (accessed February 2012).

- 5 This fragment was described as "Scazons in Ionic Dialect" in the *ed. pr.* A. Barigazzi identified it as a fragment of Herodas in "Un nuovo frammento di Eroda", *Museum Helveticum* 12 (1955) 113–114 (LDAB 1163 = Mertens-Pack<sup>3</sup> 486).
- Few references to Herodas's poetry survive in ancient authors. For treatment of all known witnesses, see Cunningham, op. cit. (1971, above n. 4) 1-3 and 17-19.
- A picture of P.Lond. II 354 is printed in Cavallo/Maehler, op. cit. (above n. 2) no. 88. For an image of part of P.Herc. 1676 cr. 4 see GMAW<sup>2</sup> (= E.G. Turner/P.J. Parsons, Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World [2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London 1987]) no. 78. In particular, upsilon and eta show similarity to the Herculaneum papyrus, other letters less so. The narrow forms observed in the Herculaneum text and discussed in GMAW<sup>2</sup> no. 78 are absent from our papyrus, as one would expect for a text from Egypt dating to this period.
- 8 For more on the subject, see T.C. Skeat, "Was Papyrus Regarded as 'Cheap' or 'Expensive' in the Ancient World?", Aegyptus 75 (1995) 82-85, repr. in J.K. Elliott (ed.), The Collected Biblical Writings of T.C. Skeat (Leiden 2004) 94-98.
- 9 P.Oxy. IV 668 + PSI 12.1291 = LDAB 2574 = Mertens-Pack<sup>3</sup> 2927.
- 10 P.Oxy. IV 657 + PSI 12.1292 (late 3rd or early 4th c.) = LDAB 3018 = Van Haelst 537.

= Mertens-Pack³ 1022) (2nd c. BC), a fragment of *Odyssey* 1.81–102.11 What we more commonly encounter are literary works containing subliterary or other "casual" texts on the back, frequently in less practiced bookhands or in more cursive scripts. 12 In these cases, the papyri were probably private copies recycled out of personal need and no longer of commercial value. 13 This also appears to have been true for documents that were recycled in order to accommodate literary texts on their versos. A teacher, for instance, might give his pupil an old account so that the aspiring scribe could practice copying a passage from, for example, the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* on the blank verso. While by no means representing a norm, there in fact survive a surprisingly large number of Homeric texts on the backs of documents, which were probably copied for personal use, whether because of limited access to papyrus, the frugality of the owner, or some similar reason. 14 Who that owner might have been – whether teacher, student, average bibliophile, etc. – and the precise circumstances surrounding the copying of the text are in most cases impossible to determine.

A scenario in which the papyrus was recycled out of personal need can perhaps also be postulated for the Yale papyrus. The Herodas text was copied first. This conclusion is supported by what appears to be a slightly earlier hand on the recto and by the fact that the Homeric text was written on the back against the fibers. Why the papyrus was reused for another literary text is as unclear here as it is in the cases discussed above. Perhaps a teacher or advanced student (the hand is too practiced for a neophyte) had no other blank sides available. Whatever the reason, the fact that the papyrus was reused does not necessarily

- 11 The Hesiod text corresponds to P.Tebt. III 690 (= LDAB 1279 = Mertens-Pack<sup>3</sup> 524).
- 12 See P.Oxy. LXIX 4738, p. 174.
- 13 This may not be the case with P.Oxy. III 448, where the recto text was entirely removed. The Hesiod papyrus, however, does not appear to be in a fine bookhand. For discussion of the Hebrews text, see P.M. Head and M. Warren, "Re-inking the Pen: Evidence from P. Oxy. 657 (P<sup>13</sup>) Concerning Unintentional Scribal Errors", New Testament Studies 43 (1997) 469–473; A.M. Luijendijk, "Sacred Scriptures as Trash: Biblical Papyri from Oxyrhynchus", Vigiliae Christianae 64 (2010) 251–252.
- Here are a few examples of documents that were reused for Homeric texts: P.Oxy. III 536 (= LDAB 1996 = Mertens-Pack³ 579) (3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD); P.Oxy. III 540 (= LDAB 1995 = Mertens-Pack³ 664) (3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD); P.Oxy. IV 753 (= LDAB 2043 = Mertens-Pack³ 722) (3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD); P.Tebt. II 425 (= LDAB 1556 = Mertens-Pack³ 600) (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD); P.Tebt. II 427 (= LDAB 1768 = Mertens-Pack³ 698) (late 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD); P.Tebt. II 680 (= LDAB 4532 = Mertens-Pack³ 848.013) (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD). The reuse of papyri for literature is not a topic that has, as far as I know, gained much attention, and no attempt has been made to study it systematically here. Skeat, op. cit. (above n. 8) cites some figures for reused literary papyri relying on data provided to him by Paul Mertens, who at the time was preparing a new edition of R.A. Pack, The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Ann Arbor 1965), which is now available online as Mertens-Pack³. At the moment, however, it is not possible to call up such data easily in Mertens-Pack³ (last accessed October 2012), although a forthcoming update to the website should make this type of search request easier to perform (I thank Gabriel Nocchi Macedo for this information). For the time being one can consult Pack², passim, where it is noted, for example, when a literary text appears on the back of a document.

mean that Herodas' poetry had ceased being of interest to the owner. There are no external signs, such as erasure or other kinds of destructive interference, that would signal this type of devaluation.

What follows is a diplomatic transcription of the Yale papyrus along with a reconstructed text supplemented for the most part by Kenyon's edition of Brit. Mus. Pap. 135. Lectional signs appearing in Brit. Mus. Pap. 135 have not been reproduced and no attempt has been made to collate the reconstruction against other editions of the London papyrus. Places where the Yale papyrus differs from Kenyon's edition (Pap. 135) are noted in the *app. crit.*, while relevant interpretations found in other editions are considered in the discussion that follows.

#### 1. Herodas 2.69-83

P.CtYBR inv. 457(B) Recto Provenance unknown  $9.4 \times 4.8$  cm

1st c. BC - early 1st c. AD



#### Diplomatic Transcription of 2.69–83:

	]αιανωθε				
	]ούτος	70			
	]κειηι				
	]εφυσησεν				
5	] ρι γκος				
	]αρνευμαι				
	]τιχωπα[ ]	75			
	]μβρισκος				
	]εκηταλκης				
10	]ιη				
		80			
	lov				
	]ιμ[ ]ν				
15	]κωςχρηζεις				
Reconstructed text:					
	συτος   κειπι   εφυςησεν   ηι γκος   αρνευμαι   τιχωπα[ ]   ημβρισκος   εκηταλκης   ο   εξει[ ]   ον   εξει[ ]   εξει[ ]   εξει[ ]   εξει[ ] ε				
συτος   κειπι   εφυτησεν    5   πι γκος   αρνευμαι   τιχωπα[					
[εξει ]   ]   ]   ]   ]   [ ]   ]   [ ]   [ ]   ]					
5					
συτος   κειηι   εφυςησεν      οριστος   σριστος      οριστος   σριστος      ορισταλ κης      ον   εξει[ ]   ον   εξει[ ]      ον   ιμ[ ]ν      15   κωσχρηζεις      Κατιλματ αυτης και κατωθεν κ,αι ανωθε   ως λια ταυτ ετιλλεν ωναγης, ουτος   οθ ιλκεν αυτην καβιαζετ, [ca. 2] κειηι   τσοι θυετω επ   τον μαν εξιεφυσησεν      ωσπερ φιλ   εν Σαμωι κοτ, ο βρι[ε] γκος   γελαις κιν[αι]δ[ος] ειμι και ουκ απ,αρνευμαι   ικαι Βατταρος μοι τουνομ εσ,τι χω πα[ππος]   ιην μοι Σισυ[μ]βρας χω πατηρ Σισυ,μβρισκος   ικηπορνοβοσ[κ]ευν παντες αλλ, εκητ αλκης      θαρσεων λε [ ] [ ] οιμαν ι Θα,   ιη   ιεραις συ μεν ισω[ς] Μυρταλης ουδ,εν δ[ειν]ον   ιεγω δ επυρεον ταυτα δους εκιν, εξει[ς]					
		75			
10					
		80			
	the company of the co				

ιεμβυσον εις την χιρα Βα[ττ]αριωι τιμ[η]ν 15 ικαυτο[ς] τα σαυτου θλη λαβων οικώς χρηζεις

1 κανωθεν Pap. 135 3 ω γηρας Pap. 135 5 ο βρεγκος Pap. 135; ο βρε $[[\epsilon]]$ γκος: bowlshaped concave stroke at bottom of letter preceding *rho* consistent with *omicron*, *theta*, and *beta*; to right of *epsilon* is a horizontal bar perhaps from a deletion mark (see discussion below) or, albeit less likely, the upper left handle of *upsilon* or *tau* 10λ. [λεγ-] οιμ αν ι Kenyon suppl.; traces do not contradict Θαλης ιηι, the reading of Pap. 135, nor are they clear enough to confirm them 12 εξις Pap. 135

The Yale papyrus offers several new readings of varying interest and significance. Noteworthy are those that appear in lines 3 and 5. In 3, where the London text has  $\gamma \hat{\eta} \rho \alpha \varsigma$ , we find ]κειηι instead, probably the end of the word  $\alpha i$ ]κείηι, the dative singular of  $\dot{\eta}$  αἰκείη (Attic  $\dot{\eta}$  αἰκία), "violence" or "injury". This word offers a new and not unreasonable interpretation of a difficult passage in this *Mime* and deserves closer attention, even if it brings with it its own set of ambiguities. Here is the text of 2.68–72 according to Cunningham's Teubner edition:

όρῆτ' ἄνδρες, τὰ τίλματ' αὐτῆς καὶ κάτωθεν κἄνωθεν ώς λεῖα ταῦτ' ἔτιλλεν ώναγὴς οὖτος, ὅτ' εἶλκεν αὐτὴν κάβιάζετ' – ὧ γῆρας, σοὶ θυέτω ἐπ[εὶ] τὸ αἶμ' ἂν ἐξεφύσησεν ὅσπερ Φίλιστος . . .

70

"Look men,

at her hairs above and below how smooth he was plucking them, this good-for-nothing, when he dragged her and forced her – Old Age! thanks to you, since otherwise he would have spewed blood, like Philistos...."

At this point in the *Mime* the speaker, a brothel owner named Battaros, presents the prostitute Myrtale before a jury and argues that Thales the ship captain physically abused her by, among other things, plucking out her hairs. In Cunningham's text, Battaros states that had it not been for his old age, whom he proceeds to invoke, he would have given Thales a thrashing to punish him for the offense. The appeal to old age  $(\hat{\omega} \gamma \hat{\eta} \rho \alpha \varsigma)$  is introduced in a sharp anacoluthon that is notably absent from the Yale papyrus, where we find  $]\kappa \epsilon i \eta i$  in its place. Reading  $\alpha i ]\kappa \epsilon i \eta i$  instead of  $\hat{\omega} \gamma \hat{\eta} \rho \alpha \varsigma$ , we understand something different:

ότ' είλκεν αὐτὴν κάβιάζετ' αἰκείηι

"... when he dragged her and forced her with violence." While one might argue that  $\hat{\omega}$   $\gamma\hat{\eta}\rho\alpha\varsigma$  represents the *lectio difficilior* and should therefore be preferred, it seems worth while to determine if sense can be made of the text at hand, particularly since  $\alpha i \kappa \epsilon i \eta \iota$  fits the context reasonably well.

This is not the first time that we encounter the word αἰκείη in this poem. Earlier, as Battaros is laying the groundwork for his charge against Thales of

<sup>15</sup> On the spelling of the word, see Cunningham, op. cit. (1971, above n. 4) 89–90.

<sup>16</sup> The joke here turns on the fact that depilation was very common among prostitutes, see Cunningham, op. cit. (1971, above n. 4) ad loc.

unprovoked abuse, he asks the court clerk (γραμματεύς) to read out formally the νόμος τῆς αἰκείης  $^{17}$  which, as we learn, asserts the following:

ἐπὴν δ' ἐλεύθερός τις αἰκίσηι δούλην ἢ ἔ⟨λ⟩κων ἐπίσπηι, τῆς δίκης τὸ τίμημα διπλοῦν τελείτω<sup>18</sup>. (46–48)

"Should any free man do violence to a female slave or dragging her, should he abuse her, let him pay twice the penalty for his crime."

Against this background, it is not surprising to find in our papyrus Battaros' assertion that Thales has contravened this law by doing Myrtale forcible violence (ἐβιάζετο αἰκείηι). It is left to the jury (as well as the reader) to conclude that Thales should pay double the penalty for his crime, as stipulated by the νόμος τῆς αἰκείης recited some twenty lines earlier.

In addition to altering the meaning of line 71, αἰκείηι also forces a reinterpretation of the next line, where we find in Cunningham's text, σοὶ θυέτω έπ[εὶ] τὸ αἶμ' ἄν έξεφύσησεν Ι ὤσπερ Φίλιστος . . . . Previous editors have seen in this an expression of thanks to old age couched in a threat to Thales, "Old Age! thanks to you, since otherwise he would have spewed blood like Philistos." But if we substitute αἰκείηι for ὧ γῆρας, as the Yale papyrus compels us to, we must look elsewhere for an antecedent to ooi in order to make sense of the passage. The choices are few: Myrtale, Thales and the jury. Jury members, however, seem unlikely, since they are addressed throughout the poem in the plural, not the singular. Thales is also difficult to understand as the antecedent, because it would leave us with no clear subject of the phrase  $\dot{\epsilon}\pi[\epsilon\dot{\iota}]$  τὸ  $\alpha\dot{\iota}\mu$  αν  $\dot{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\phi\dot{\iota}$ οησεν, which seems most naturally to be Thales.<sup>20</sup> Thus, Myrtale appears to be the only remaining option. But why would Battaros be thanking her? Is he saying that had she not been present he would have made Thales spew blood? Both the language used here and the scenario itself are not unprecedented. We see Herodas employ a similar technique at the beginning of Mime 6, when a woman named Korrito refrains from becoming physically abusive with her female slave because of the presence of her friend Metro. Korrito says to the slave:

<sup>17</sup> καίτοι λαβών μοι, γραμματεῦ, τῆς αἰκείης (αἰκίης pap.)/τὸν νόμον ἄνειπε (41–42), "Go ahead, clerk, take the 'law of abuse' out and read it for me."

<sup>18</sup> τελιτω pap. The text provided here is that of Cunningham op. cit. (2004, above n. 4). For discussion of ἔ(λ)κων, see Cunningham, op. cit. (1971, above n. 4) ad loc.

<sup>19</sup> For the language of the law, cf. Plato, Leg. 880e: πατρὸς γὰρ ἢ μητρὸς ἢ τούτων ἔτι προγόνων ὅστις τολμήσει ἄψασθαί ποτε βιαζόμενος αἰκία τινί, κτλ.

We could conceivably take Myrtale as subject and understand Thales as the recipient of thanks ("Thanks to you, Thales, she could have spewed blood"), but the irony inherent in this interpretation is not present in the parallel passage from *Mime* 6 discussed below.

### θθέ μοι ταύτηι

έπεὶ σ' ἔγευσ' ἄν τῶν ἐμῶν ἐγὰ χειρέων. (6.10-11)

"Go ahead and thank this woman (scil. Metro), for otherwise (i.e. had she not been here) I would have given you a taste of my fists."21

Perhaps it was little more than a Herodean convention for a character to explain his or her restraint by the fact that somebody else had been present.

Or can one go further and suggest that Myrtale was not the victim that Battaros wanted the jury to believe she was? This is never stated explicitly, but we discover in lines 79f. that Battaros' own motive for bringing charges against Thales is his desire for payment, not any injury that Thales has inflicted, ἐρᾶις σὺ μὲν ἴσω[ς] Μυρτάλης; οὐδὲν δεινόν Ι ἐγὼ δὲ πυρέων ταῦτα δοὺς ἐκεῖν' ἔξεις ("So perhaps you are in love with Myrtale? There's no wonder there. But I'm in love with bread; so you give me that and you will get what you want.") The claims of violence and victimization are merely a pretense for his financial demands.

The threat lodged by Battaros against Thales in Mime 2.72 is followed in line 73 by an enigmatic simile that is meant to underscore the gravity of the threat. The London papyrus is damaged and likely corrupt in this line, which adds to its obscurity, and our papyrus does little to clarify the passage. In what follows I will briefly survey readings in various editions. The ed. pr. has ωσπερ φιλ εν Σαμωι κοτ ο βρεγκος, and a range of explanations for the line have been proposed. O.A. Danielsson, for example, suggests reading a personal name, such as Φιλ[ητας], and takes ὁ Βρέγκος as a synonym for the fish ὁ βρίγκος.<sup>23</sup> Headlam/ Knox (op. cit., above n. 4) print (without any regard for papyrological editorial convention) ώσπερ Φίλιππος έν Σάμφ κοτ' ὁ Βρεθκος and argue in the commentary that Philippos was the victim of the proverbial long-haired boxer of Samos (ò èv Σάμω κομήτης). Βρεῦκος (or Βροῦκος) is understood as a synonym for ἀττέλεβος, "locust," used pejoratively. Cunningham (op. cit. 1971, above n. 4) understands the simile in a similar way but prints ισσπερ Φίλι[π]πος ἐν Σάμφ κοτ' ὁ †βρεγκος.In the commentary he speculates that it might be the boxer's patronymic, the genitive of a previously unattested Βρέγξ, and in his Teubner edition Cunningham (op. cit. 2004, above n. 4) goes a step further, removing the dagger and printing Βρεγκός. Zanker (op. cit., above n. 4) follows Di Gregorio (op. cit., above n. 4) in reading Φίλιστος instead of Φίλιππος and understanding Βρέγκος as a nickname of uncertain meaning borne by Philistos.

<sup>21</sup> The similarity between this passage and 2.72 was noted already in O. Crusius, *Untersuchungen zu den Mimiamben des Herondas* (Leipzig 1892) 43–44.

<sup>22</sup> For detailed discussion of the line, see Di Gregorio (op. cit., above n. 4) comm. ad loc.

<sup>23 &</sup>quot;Zu Herondas' Mimiamben. I." Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie (1891) 1325.

The Yale fragment unfortunately offers no obvious solution to the problem posed by the end of this line. It is clear that the word on the papyrus ends in κος, but what precedes these three letters is difficult to decipher. Just before kappa appears to be the letter gamma, although at the top left of the vertical shaft there are traces of a curved, slightly bowl-shaped stroke that does not conform to gamma. If this stroke belongs to the letter that resembles gamma, we might in fact be dealing with an upsilon, though the right horizontal seems too straight for upsilon. Another possibility is that the curved line belongs to a cancellation stroke or dot intended to signal a deletion of either the letter in question or the apparent epsilon that precedes it.24 Prior to this epsilon, we find a vertical line that looks like an *iota*, or possibly part of a *rho*, although the shaft is probably too short and close to the following epsilon for rho. The letter rho does, however, seem to have been written before iota, giving us the following combination of letters: PIE ΓΚΟΣ. I find it impossible to read beta instead of rho, but before the putative *rho* is the bottom of a concave stroke from either *beta* or *omicron*. Taken together, we are left with two possible readings of the word, OPIE  $\Gamma$ KO $\Sigma$  or BPIE  $\Gamma KO\Sigma$ . If the stroke to the left of gamma is intended to mark deletion (an idea that I favor but am not entirely convinced of), then I think a case can be made for reading ]  $\beta \rho i [\epsilon] \gamma \kappa \sigma \varsigma$ , "just as Phil[] the fish once upon a time on Samos." What the fish is supposed to highlight in the context of the simile remains as unclear as ever.

In addition to these variants, the Yale papyrus offers a minor discrepancy from the London papyrus: in line 1 (= 2.69) we find the last two words in *scriptio plena* ( $\kappa$ ] at  $\alpha v\omega\theta\epsilon$ ), unlike  $\kappa\alpha v\omega\theta\epsilon v$  of the London papyrus.

On the use of strokes and dots to indicate deletion, see GMAW<sup>2</sup>, op. cit. (above n.7) p.16. Other examples of epsilon look different, but it is hard to see what other letter it could be, unless it is a sigma that has been crossed out.

## 2. Iliad 6.232–249

P.CtYBR inv. 457(A) Verso Provenance unknown late 1st c. BC-early 1st c. AD



The papyrus is published as P.Yale I 8, but neither the text nor a photograph is printed under that number, hence I offer the following brief description and full transcription, which has been collated against M.L. West's Teubner edition. The script is a round and slightly unsteady capital, somewhat reminiscent of P.Oxy. IV 659 (late 1st c. BC–early 1st c. AD; LDAB 3742 = Mertens-Pack³ 1371) and LXI 4099 (late 1st c. BC–early 1st c. AD; LDAB 6828 = Mertens-Pack³ 2451.04). Letters are strictly bilinear except for  $\varphi$  ( $\psi$  is not attested); the bases of lines are emphasized by pronounced serifs (see, e.g., the letters  $\alpha$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\pi$ ,  $\rho$ ,  $\tau$ ). No lectional signs are discernible. The papyrus is II 583 in West's edition. The lines overlap to varying degrees with the following papyri: P.Tebt. III.2 899 (2nd–1st c. BC, with lines missing; LDAB 2336 = Mertens-Pack³ 773), BKT 9.2 (2nd c. AD; LDAB 1528 = Mertens-Pack³ 784.1), P.Köln I 27 (2nd c. AD; LDAB 1612 = Mertens-Pack³ 782.2), PSI XV 1456 (2nd c. AD; LDAB 1571 = Mertens-Pack³ 783.1), J. Schwartz, *BIFAO* 46 (1947) no.8 (2nd–3rd c. AD; LDAB 1554 = Mertens-Pack³ 785). P.Oslo II 7 (3rd c. AD; LDAB 2006 = Mertens-Pack³ 783).

	]τεκαθιπ[	φωνησα]τε, καθ ιπ[πων	
	]νλαβετηνκα[	αλληλω]ν λαβετην κα[ι	
	]ωκρονιδηςφρ[	Γλαυκ]ω Κρονιδης φρ[ενας	
	]διομηδεατε[	] Διομηδεα τε[υχε 235	,
5	]νεκατομβοιε[	χαλκειω]ν εκατομβοι ε[ννεαβοιων	
	]αςτεπυλαςκαι[	Σκαι]ας τε πυλας και [	
	]ωναλοχοιθεο[	Τρω]ων αλοχοι θεο[ν	
	]cτεκαcιγνητ[	παιδα]ς τε κασιγνητ[ους	
	]ιταθεοιςευχε[	επε]ιτα θεοις ευχε[σθαι 240	)
10	]λληιςιδεκηδ[	πο]λληισι δε κηδ[ε	
	]οιοδομονπε[	Πριαμ]οιο δομον πε[ρικαλλε	
	]ιςιτετυγμεν[	αιθουση]ισι τετυγμεν[ον	
	] cανθαλαμοιξ[	ενε]σαν θαλαμοι ξ[εστοιο	
	]νδεδμημε[	αλληλω]ν δεδμημε[νοι 245	5
15	]μοιοπαραμν[	Πρια]μοιο παρα μν[ηστηις	
	]θενεναντιο[	ετερω]θεν εναντιο[ι	
	]αλαμοιξεςτοι[	θ]αλαμοι ξεστοι[ο	
	] [ca. 9] [	] [ca. 9] [	
		3-1 3-1	

 $1 \alpha \theta \iota \pi$  is clearly distinguishable; traces at line beginning are characteristic of the horizontal base of *tau* seen elsewhere 13 the serif at the base of *tota* joins the bottom of *ksi* 15 right vertical of mu at line beginning bends back forming a bow

<sup>25</sup> A photo of the fragment and transcription of lines 2–10 can be found in Cavallo/Maehler, op. cit. (above n. 2) no. 72.

<sup>26</sup> See GMAW<sup>2</sup>, op. cit. (above n. 7) no. 21, and Cavallo/Maehler, op. cit. (above n. 2) nos. 71 and 84.

15 (246) παρὰ μνηστῆις ἀλόχοισι is written here instead of παρὰ αἰδοίηις ἀλόχοισι found in some witnesses, such as P.Oslo II 7; see West  $app.\ crit.$  and G.S. Kirk,  $The\ Iliad: A\ Commentary\ II\ (Cambridge\ 1990)\ ad\ loc.$ 

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