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a cura di Rosario Pintaudi

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per il suo settantesimo compleanno

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## LYRIC TEXTS ON A MICHIGAN PTOLEMAIC PAPYRUS

### 1. *Greek Lyric Poetry in Ptolemaic Papyri: range, layout and format.*

The recent publication of a Ptolemaic papyrus from the collection of the University of Michigan (P.Mich. inv. 3498+3250b and 3250a and c, *recto* and *verso*) provides a very noteworthy new document for our understanding of the use and the circulation of lyric poetry in Hellenistic Egypt. Part of the texts preserved in this papyrus had already been published: the *recto* of 3498 (as a list of *incipits* of lyric poems) by Reinhold Merkelbach in 1973<sup>1</sup>, and the corresponding portion of the *verso* in 1974 by Denys Page<sup>2</sup>, as a fragment of lyrical verse. Since then, fragment 3498 was joined to 3250b in 1999, and subsequently 3250a and c were identified as parts of the same roll<sup>3</sup>. It was only in 2012, though, that all the relevant fragments were properly published by C. Borges and C. M. Sampson<sup>4</sup>. Closer analysis of the fragments has shown that the *recto* is a palimpsest, and that the text currently readable must have been written after the text of the *verso*<sup>5</sup>.

The texts on both sides are of great interest for the study of the transmission of Greek Lyric poetry in early Ptolemaic Egypt. The one on the *verso* is an important addition to the small number of Greek papyri preserving late-classical narrative lyric texts. Our knowledge of this poetry, popular among audiences and readers during the late 5<sup>th</sup> and most of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, is extremely fragmentary<sup>6</sup>. There is little evidence that many of these texts enjoyed an autonomous circulation after the end of the Hellenistic period. The majority of later quotations are demonstrably second-hand (often mediated by Peripatetic sources). A small number of Ptolemaic papyri preserve more or less substantial fragments that can plausibly or arguably be attributed to this kind of production, but we have no clear sign that any of these authors underwent the same editorial process as the canonical lyric poets, whose texts at least from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE onward were laid-out in what is now currently known as *colometry*, i.e. in short lines reflecting an interpretation of their metrical sequences<sup>7</sup>.

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\* The kernel of this text goes back to the Research Seminar on Greek Fragmentary Texts held at the Department of Classics at KCL in autumn 2014. I am grateful to the students who attended the seminar for their comments, and to L. Battezzato, D. Colomo, P. Parsons, L. Prauscello, F. Schironi, and G. Ucciardello for comments on various drafts, discussions on ideas here proposed and/or practical help with checking papyri and locating bibliography.

<sup>1</sup> *Verzeichnis von Gedichtanfängen*, ZPE 12 (1973), p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> *A New Fragment of Lyrical Verse: P.Mich. Inv. 3498 Verso*, ZPE 13 (1974), pp. 105-9: the fragment was also inserted in his *Supplementum Lyricis Graecis*, Oxford 1974, as S 477 and is included in M. Campbell's *Loeb Greek Lyric*, vol. 5, as fr. 931 P.

<sup>3</sup> In this article I refer to 3498+3250b as fr.1 and to 3450c as fr. 2. Since my focus is on the main text on the *verso*, 3450a, whose *verso* has a different text, is not referred to here as fr. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *New Literary Papyri from the Michigan Collection. Mythographic Lyric and a Catalogue of Poetic First Lines*, Ann Arbor 2012.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. below, p. 441.

<sup>6</sup> For a recent survey, cf. P. LeVen, *The Many-headed Muse: Tradition and Innovation in Late Classical Greek Lyric Poetry*, Cambridge 2014.

<sup>7</sup> For possible exceptions, see below, n. 37. The only ancient occurrence of the term (actually from late antiquity)

Earlier papyrus circulation of songs that broadly fall in this category is attested not only by the famous 4<sup>th</sup>-century papyrus with Timotheus's *Persians* (P.Berol. 9875, 791 *PMG*) but also by P.Grenf. 2.8a + P.Baden 6.178 (925 *PMG*, 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE, from al-Hiba), preserving several fragments of an *Odyssey*-related narrative lyric song that has also been attributed to Timotheus. In a chapter on 'transmission' in her recent survey on 'New-Music' Lyric poetry Pauline LeVen strangely describes this papyrus as a group of 'quotations', and considers the *Persians* the only case of direct transmission<sup>8</sup>. There is no doubt, though, that this too is a case of direct transmission, and of a (possibly self-standing) copy of narrative song of this kind. A further case, unmentioned in LeVen's survey, that has some chances of falling in this category (that is, if it is not an anthology of dramatic choral sections)<sup>9</sup> is P.Schubart 17 (= P.Berol. inv. 13428, F \*692 Snell-Kannicht, 1023 *PMG*, 3<sup>rd</sup>, or rather 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, from Abusir al-Melek), with a lyric text in 'Euripidean' style. To these should now be added the new Michigan Ptolemaic papyrus, bringing the possible cases of early Hellenistic papyri with 'New Music' verses and/or Lyric in 'Euripidean' style to at least 4.

As it happens for the other three cases mentioned above, the text is written as prose, without signs of colometrical arrangement. The format, date and content of this papyrus, as well as its lack of a colometrical layout invite some comparative considerations. On the last issue, F. Pordomingo offers a good starting point with her useful recent survey of Ptolemaic papyri with and without colometry<sup>10</sup>. Her list, though, is not entirely complete and is open to possible objections under some other respects. An important omission among the texts without colometry is that of 925 *PMG*, one of the four 'New Music' papyri listed above. Some of the early papyri that Pordomingo considers colometric, moreover, involve simple anapaestic sequences (e.g. P.Hib. 176, F 629 Snell-Kannicht, where lines 1-2 are followed by a blank space of one line, and there is no way to say if they are colometric; lines 4-11 are anapaestic sequences, but editors have argued that not every line-end coincides with actual end of metre: cf. Snell and Kannicht ad loc.) or lines used *κατὰ τρίχρον*, or *κατὰ δίττιχρον*, as in the case of P.Köln 429 inv. 21351+21376, the Cologne Sappho (3<sup>rd</sup> BCE). Further candidates that could be added to this category are P.Köln 6.242, an anthology with a 2<sup>nd</sup>-century BCE copy of a poem in catalectic anapaestic tetrameters also transmitted in P.Fackelmann 5 (1<sup>st</sup> century BCE) = F adesp. \*646a Snell-Kannicht, the Philicus papyrus *PSI* 1282, *SH* 678-80, and P.Mich. inv. 3499, with archebouleians used *κατὰ τρίχρον* (*SH* 992, on which more below). All of these are clearly not good examples of colometry for *polymetric* lyric sequences. The fact, for example, that in P.Köln 429-430 inv. 21351+21376 (on which more below) the text of Sappho is divided *κατὰ τρίχρον* (or, rather, *κατὰ δίττιχρον*) while the following, metrically more complex, lyric text does not follow a colometrical layout does not depend probably only on the different status of the two texts (canonical vs. non-canonical).

A differently questionable case is that of P.Sorb. 2328 (Euripides, *Erechtheus*, 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE) listed by Pordomingo among the earliest papyri with colometry. In this papyrus the two short sequences of lyric (mainly dochmiac) lines (mostly so badly preserved that judgment is very difficult) have more or less the same width as the surrounding iambic trimeters, with line-end coin-

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is in the biographical entry on Eugenios of Augustopolis in *Sud. s.v.*, who produced a *colometry* for 15 dramas of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides under Anastasius I. On the evidence on the origin of the standard and of concurrent colometries particularly for Pindar, cf. G.B. D'Alessio, *Pindar's Prosodia and the Classification of Pindaric Papyrus Fragments*, *ZPE* 118 (1997), pp. 23-60, cf. L. Battezzato, *Colometria antica e pratica editoriale moderna*, *QUCC* n.s. 90 n. 3 (2008), pp. 137-158.

<sup>8</sup> LeVen, *Muse* cit., p. 39: the *Persians* papyrus "is the only surviving example of a late classical text preserved in papyrus form... The Hibe papyri (dated 280–240 BC) contain six quotations (*PMG* 925) on the topic of Odysseus' meeting with his mother in the underworld, which have been connected to Timotheus' *Elpenor*". It is not clear to me why the separate fragments are described as "papyri", as if they were from different rolls. Anyway, these are not quotations but a copy of the song itself (and there seems to be no reason to suppose that they represent more than one song).

<sup>9</sup> Assuming that the two blank lines after col. 1.8 imply that we are dealing with at least two different songs, or excerpts.

<sup>10</sup> *La colométrie dans les papyrus ptolémaïques*, *AevAnt* n.s. 5 (2005), pp. 179-202.

ciding with word-end, and all recent editors agree in seeing the articulation of the lines in the papyrus as non-colometric<sup>11</sup>. Under the circumstances, the fact that isolated lines may lend themselves to a metrical interpretation (while others do not) does not per se indicate a colometric layout, and this papyrus, under this respect, is not different from, for example, the Petrie papyrus with the *Antiope* (that Pordomingo herself, 186, consider non-colometrical), where (mainly dochmiac) lyric sequences are surrounded by iambic trimeters of approximately the same length.

If we accept, as I am inclined to do, with G. Cavallo and W. Clarysse<sup>12</sup>, a 2<sup>nd</sup>-century date for the Stesichorus Lille papyrus, all cases of polymetric lyric with colometric arrangement seem to date to or after the turn of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Two of these (the very fragmentary P.Mil.Vogl. 7, late 3<sup>rd</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> century, and 40, actually more probably 1<sup>st</sup> century)<sup>13</sup> involve very simple aeolic stanzas, whose articulation and interpretation would not have requested the work of a specialist. The dactylo-epitrites of the Lille Stesichorus are an undoubtedly more complex case, though belonging to a fairly easily recognizable category. The cases of the *Encomium to Polycrates* of Ibycus in P.Oxy. 1790 (2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE) and, especially, that of P.Louvre E 7734 (Pindar, first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE?)<sup>14</sup>, to stay within lyric poetry proper, present a higher level of complexity. Even accepting, as I think we should, that Aristophanes of Byzantium was not single-handedly responsible for producing the colometry of all 'canonical' lyric poetry, the evidence provided by the papyri confirms that the practice gained ground roughly in a period coinciding with his activity as a scholar, confirming the idea that he might have been instrumental for its diffusion.

Both the Berlin Timotheus and the al-Hiba 'New Music' papyrus (925 *PMG*) have fairly long lines: in the region of 40/45 letters per line in the case of the former (with single lines even longer than 60 letters<sup>15</sup>; column 6 is substantially narrower, around 30 letters, but this is probably due to the fact it was the last column, and, even with its narrower lay-out, it counts only 4 lines), while in the latter incomplete lines with up to 40 and more letters are preserved. This is comparable to the average length we find in the *Fragmentum Grenfellianum* (P.Dryton 50, after 174/3 BCE.), with, on average, more than 40 letters per line<sup>16</sup>. In the lyric anthology preserved in a famous 3<sup>rd</sup>-century BCE Berlin papyrus from Elephantine there are also lines longer than 60 letters<sup>17</sup>. The lyric anthology preserved in P.Tebt. 1 (around 100 BCE) is comparable too, with lines generally longer than 50 letters (with a maximum of 57)<sup>18</sup>. There is at least one Ptolemaic lyric papyrus without colometrical lay-out with even longer lines, P.Strasbourg WG 305-7 (first half of 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE?), an anthology of songs and dramatic Euripidean lyrics, with lines of up to 69 plus or minus 5 letters<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. e.g. M. Sonnino, *Euripides. Erechthei quae extant*, Florence 2010, p. 318.

<sup>12</sup> G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Hellenistic Bookhands*, Berlin-New York 2008, n. 50, p. 84; W. Clarysse, review of B. Boyaval, *Album de papyrus documentaires de Lille*, Lille 1990, in *Chronique d'Égypte* 65 (1990), p. 354.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Cavallo and Maehler, *Hellenistic* cit., p. 8. On P.Mil.Vogl. 7 cf. A. Malnati, *P.Mil.Vogl. I 7*, in M. Capasso (ed.), *Papiri letterari greci e latini*, Lecce 1992, pp. 321-3, on 40 cf. A.F. Moretti, *Revisione di alcuni papiri greci letterari editi tra i P.Mil.Vogl.*, *AnPap* 7 (1992), p. 23.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. G.B. D'Alessio, *Tra gli dèi ad Apollo, e tra gli uomini ad Echecrate. P. Louvre E7734+ 7733 (Pind. fr. dub. 333 S.-M.)*, in *Poesia e religione in Grecia. Studi in onore di G. Aurelio Privitera*, Naples 2000, pp. 233-262.

<sup>15</sup> For more details: Pordomingo, *colométrie* cit., p. 184 n. 30.

<sup>16</sup> For an interpretation of lay-out and metre, cf. L. Battezzato, *The Fragmentum Grenfellianum: Metrical Analysis, Ancient Punctuation and the Sense of an Ending*, in J.R. Cousland and J.R. Hume (eds.), *The Play of Texts and Fragments. Essays in Honour of Martin Cropp*, (Mnemosyne, Suppl. 314), Leiden-Boston 2009, pp. 403-20, with previous bibliography.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. F. Ferrari, *P.Berol. inv. 13270: i canti di Elefantina*, *SCO* 38 (1988), pp. 181-227; F. Pordomingo, *Antologías de época helenística en papiro*, Florence 2013, pp. 163-8.

<sup>18</sup> Pordomingo, *Antologías* cit., pp. 171-80.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Kannicht on F \*\*953m. For a more detailed description, cf. M. Fassino, *Revisione di P.Stras. WG. 304-307: Nuovi frammenti della Medea e di un'altra tragedia di Euripide*, *ZPE* 127 (1999), p. 4; on the provenance of this papyrus from al-Hiba, cf. M.R. Falivene, *Greek Anthologies on Papyrus and their Readers in Early Ptolemaic Aegypt*, in T. Gagos (ed.), *Proceedings of the XXV Interantional Congress of Papyrology (July 29-August 4, 2007, University*

In some Ptolemaic papyri with copies of Euripidean plays, however, lyric lines tend to be shorter: P.Tebt. 3.691 has lines at least 40-letter long; in P.Sorb. 2328 (3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE, on which see above, p. 438f.), a copy of Euripides's *Erechtheus*, lyric lines are around 35-letter long, roughly corresponding to the average length of hexameters, and only slightly longer than the trimeters that surround them; the parodos of Euripides's *Phaethon* anthologized in P.Berol. inv. 9771 (3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE) is arranged in irregular lines of 35-40 letters (oscillating between a minimum of 31 and a maximum of 43)<sup>20</sup>; the copy of Euripides's *Antiope* preserved in P.Petrie 1 and 2 = P.Lit.Lond. 70 (3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE), has dochmiacs occupying roughly the same width as the surrounding iambic trimeters; in a copy of Euripides's *Cresphontes* preserved in P.Mich. inv. 6973 (2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE) too the lyric lines are of a length roughly comparable to that of the trimeters<sup>21</sup>. In a further papyrus of the same play too, also dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, P.Köln 398, the parodos is arranged in lines of more or less the same length as the preceding iambic trimeters<sup>22</sup>.

In fr. 2 col. 1 *verso* of the new Michigan papyrus with lyric the lines, when entirely preserved, are substantially shorter (up to 25 letters, with only line 10 projecting a few letters to the right)<sup>23</sup>, while fr. 1 col. 2 (where only a few letters might be missing at the right-hand side) had (apparently slightly?) wider lines (up to 33 letters, but the exact figure is made uncertain by the state of preservation). A possible comparison might be provided by the lyric text that follows a sequence of Sapphic poems in P.Köln 430 inv. 21351+21376: the right-hand margin is not preserved, but editors have assumed that as little as a single letter might be missing at the end of the first line, where 28 letters are preserved. In this case, the lay-out might have been influenced by that of the preceding Sappho's text (P.Köln 429, written by a different scribe), articulated in 15-syllable lines κατὰ δόκτιχον. It is possible, though, that more is missing<sup>24</sup>, bringing the line-length of the poem closer to the average one in Ptolemaic lyric papyri. Another parallel for a lay-out with shorter lines is perhaps to be found in P.Tebt. 2, where apparently the same scribe of P.Tebt. 1 produced a less formal copy of a lyric anthology, largely overlapping with the former (see above), but with narrower lines (up to 36 letters). On the whole, however, the closest comparison is clearly provided by P. Schubart 17 (also with 'Euripidean' lyric verses, see above, p. 438), preserving two consecutive 11-line columns, with lines apparently not exceeding 30 letters<sup>25</sup>.

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*of Michigan, Ann Arbor 2007*), Ann Arbor 2010, pp. 207-16; Pordomingo, *Antologías cit.*, pp. 80-93. M. Fassino, *Avventure del testo di Euripide nei papiri tolemaici*, in L. Battezzato (ed.), *Tradizione e ricezione letteraria antica della tragedia greca. Atti del convegno. Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa 14-15 Giugno 2002*, Amsterdam 2003, p. 49f. argues that the extraordinary length of these columns, comparable to that of some papyri with musical notations (with reference to W.A. Johnson, *Musical Evenings in the Early Empire: New Evidence from a Greek Papyrus with Musical Notation*, JHS 120 (2000), pp. 66-8), is an element in favour of the interpretation of this papyrus as a copy used by a professional singer for performance. L. Battezzato, *Techniques of reading and textual layout in ancient Greek texts*, CCJ 55 (2009), pp. 13f. has shown how this makes sense for texts *with* musical notation. It is less clear what the advantage would be for text without musical notation.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Kannicht on F 773.19-58; cf. Pordomingo, *Antologías cit.*, pp. 59-64.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Kannicht on F 448a.73-93: 10 lines with 27-30 letters, 3 with 31-6 or 24-6. Two blank spaces in mid-line have suggested possible knowledge of the colometry attested in P.Oxy. 2458 (3<sup>rd</sup> century CE). A proper *editio princeps* is now available in K. Lu Hsu, *P. Mich. 6973: the text of a Ptolemaic fragment of Euripides Cresphontes*, ZPE 190 (2014), pp. 13-30. K. Lu Hsu, *P. Mich. 6973: an interpretation of a Ptolemaic fragment of Euripides Cresphontes*, ZPE 190 (2014), pp. 45-8 offers a colometrical interpretation of the layout that I find largely unconvincing: looking at the photograph it seems to me that the scribe's main aim was that of producing lines of roughly the same width as the surrounding trimeters while avoiding word-breaks.

<sup>22</sup> F 453 Kannicht, in the *addenda*, pp. 1161-163, with reference to the (then forthcoming) *editio princeps*. The end of the strophe and the beginning of the antistrophe are written in a single line, with a blank space in between.

<sup>23</sup> According to Sampson: 36, the columns are "unusually wide". If anything, comparison with other Ptolemaic Lyric papyri would suggest the opposite.

<sup>24</sup> M. Gronewald and R.W. Daniel, *430. Lyrischer Text (Sappho-Papyrus)*, in *Kölner papyri*, Band 11, Paderborn 2007, p. 17, write: that at the end of the first line "fehlen nur wenige Buchstaben (ca. 5)" without explaining the rationale behind this. I suspect they base their guess on the length of the lines in Sappho's text.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Kannicht and Snell *ad loc.* Caution is unavoidable but, though the right-hand margin of the second column

Also the format of the new Michigan papyrus deserves particular attention. The text currently readable on the *recto* was written after the *verso*, and after a previous layer of writing had been wiped out<sup>26</sup>. It preserves both upper and lower margins, to a maximum height of 8.8 cm. The *verso*, on the other hand, has lost the upper margin and part of the written text for a height that cannot be easily determined. The editors argue that the extant height might represent only half or even a third of the original one<sup>27</sup>, but there are elements suggesting that very little was actually lost. The editors have nothing to say about this, but col. 1.1 in 3250a *verso* is preceded by a blank space clearly taller than the interlinear one (around 5 mm judging from the photograph), corresponding in width at least to the first two letters of line 1. The rest of the margin is not preserved well enough to establish that all the space above the line was blank<sup>28</sup>. It must follow though, that line 1 was either the top of a column or was preceded by an indented line (for which we have no parallels in the extant text). Col. 1 and the first 4 lines of col. 2 of 3250a *verso* are written by the same hand as the rest of the *verso*. Based on all appearances, they are part of a text other than the ‘Euripidean Lyric’ (my impression is that this was a mime)<sup>29</sup>, but the *recto* clearly belongs together with the other fragments and there is no reason to think that it was part of a different roll. If this is the case, the *verso* too might have been not much higher than it is now. This is confirmed also by the blank space above the first line of fr. 2 *verso* col.2: in this case the height alone (reaching up to more than 3 mm above the first preserved letter) would not be by itself sufficient to determine that it was not immediately preceded by another line. The combination of height and width (more than 2 mm in height for a width of 6 mm with two very narrow slits) of the blank space over the first 4 preserved letters, however, is such that it cannot be paralleled in any other interlinear space in the column, and, again, suggests that line 1 was probably the first of the column. The resulting format with a maximum height of 8.8 cm or just over (be it that of the papyrus at the time of the second writing of the *recto*, or, as I think it is the case, that at the time of the writing of the *verso*) is very unusual but can be compared to that of P.Mich. inv. 3499 (*SH* 992, see above, p. 438 and 440), where the upper margin is clearly visible, and enough of the horizontal fibres of the bottom is preserved to suggest that line 11 was the last of the column, that reached a total height of just ca. 9.5 cm<sup>30</sup>, and, even more clearly, to that of P.Schubart 17 (on which see above, p. 438), which preserves both margins (though not up to the original complete edges) for an height of 8.4 cm. It is interesting that all three papyri in this format preserve ‘lyric’ texts and date to the early Ptolemaic period<sup>31</sup>.

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is lost, there are a few lines that can be reconstructed with reasonable certainty supposing that only around (2/3) letters have been lost. On the height of the column of this papyrus see below, p. 441.

<sup>26</sup> The writing of the text on the *recto* must be later than a) the restoration on the back of fr. 1 col. 1. where a strip with horizontal fibres was glued on the *verso* before the text was written and b) the further damage that created a gap on the surface of the *verso* to the right of the reinforcement strip, which took place after the *verso* text was written: cf. Borges and Sampson, *New ... Papyri* cit., pp. 4f.

<sup>27</sup> *ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>28</sup> I am grateful to F. Schironi for checking this on the original.

<sup>29</sup> The editors’ idea that the *recto* hand continued the column (leaving no extra space at all) decades later with a text that had nothing to do with the one written by the *verso* hand sounds particularly implausible to me. The fact that almost no single word can be said to be reconstructed with any degree of certainty in the first 4 lines makes speculations about the content of its column particularly precarious. The “mixture of lexical registers” (Borges and Sampson, *ibid.*, p. 132) suggests much more easily a mime than a commentary (as the editors are inclined to think, without mentioning the possibility of a mime). Note, incidentally, that the form Παφίη (col. 2.5, in the section written by the *recto* hand), is not “attested exclusively in epigrammatic contexts by the time of this fragment” (*ibid.*, p. 142 n. 17): cf. τὸ Παφίη in the mime 3.13 Cunningham (2<sup>nd</sup> or 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE) and here προστάγματ(α) ... Παφίη.

<sup>30</sup> Once again I am grateful to F. Schironi for checking this on the original (no indication to this regard are provided in the various editions of this papyrus). The editors of the newly published papyrus attribute the hand of 3499 (on which see above, p. 438) to the same hand of the *recto* of the our papyrus (unconvincingly, in my opinion) but do not discuss the issue of the format, which, in the case of the new papyrus, they only define in their introduction as “unusually short for a standard roll” (p. 3).

<sup>31</sup> Neither example is quoted by A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus*, Toronto 2004, p. 337f. (with

The remarkably small height of these papyri might have come handy if they were meant as an aid in sympotic performance. Similarity of hand, format and 'lyric' content, as well as proximity of inventory number in the Michigan collection might suggest that the new papyrus (which includes the inventory number 3498) and 3499 might have shared the same provenance, belonging to the same milieu, and serving the same purpose. If my hypothesis that the *verso* was not cut down in height but is simply damaged at its bottom is correct, it would have been fairly easy to use both sides of this short roll, by simply turning it around its lower margin, especially if one takes into account that the top of the *verso* corresponds to the bottom of the *recto*, making the operation very simple.

Dating the very informal hands of the Michigan papyrus, as is the case with most literary Ptolemaic papyri, presents substantial margins of doubt. My impression is that the semi-cursive heavily ligatured writing on the *verso* probably belongs to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE: omicron are mostly small and high on the line and most omega tend still to hang in the upper part of the line: both features can be paralleled well into the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century<sup>32</sup>, but are much more common at an earlier date. The hand on the *recto* cannot be much later if it is true, as the editors argue, that 3250 *verso* has the same hand as the rest of the *verso* up to col. ii.4, while lines 5-9 have been added by the *recto* hand, without any sign that a different text or portion of texts has begun (no blank space, no *paragraphos*: there is a blank space in the middle of line 4, but the hand following it is supposed to be the same as in the previous lines). This looks as a plausible interpretation but the state of the preservation of the fragment invites caution. I agree with editors that lines 5-9 are due to a different hand, similar, in its lack of elegance, to the hand of the *recto*, but I am less sure that a case for a positive identification can be made. I disagree with the editors' idea that this second hand completed column 2 at a much later date with an entirely unrelated text<sup>33</sup>.

An interesting interim-conclusion based on this survey, is that, leaving aside papyri with mu-

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previous bibliography, and p. 338 n. 2, where he refers to his only four known parallels for "bookrolls with column height near 10 cm": these are P.Hib. 6, cm 10.5, and P.Duke inv. F1984.1, cm 9.5/10, both Ptolemaic, with unidentified comedies, P.Hib. 26, Ptolemaic, oratory text written in a tiny hand, and the later P.Oxy. 2944, 10.5 cm). The London Herodas papyrus (written column 8 cm high) is later, and less pertinent for its content. In his survey of papyri from *cartonnage* A. Blanchard, *Les papyrus littéraires grecs extraits de cartonnages: études de bibliologie*, in M. Maniaci and P. Munafò (eds.), *Ancient and Medieval Book Materials and Techniques*, Vatican City 1993, pp. 26f. inserts in his group D (the one with the shortest columns) papyri that originally had columns 13 cm high. Of the poetic rolls described as "miniature" in the *LDAB* (apart from the Herodas) only the first really qualifies: *BKT* V.1 75-76 + V.2 146 (*LDAB* 212, 1<sup>st</sup> century CE), epigrams (only 4/5 cm!); the actual height of P.Oxy. 662 (*LDAB* 2445, 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE: Pindar's *Partheneia* on the *recto*, epigrams on the *verso*) is in fact uncertain (cf. RFIC 119 (1991), pp. 106-8); P.Oxy. 2654 + P.Köln 4 (*LDAB* 2621, 1<sup>st</sup> century CE: Menander, *Karchedonios*), is 16 cm high; in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus with Opiian, *Halieutica* 4.683-93, Oxford, Sackler Library, Papyrology Rooms 19 2B 79/C(1-2)a (*LDAB* 128463, 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE), the blank space following the last line is due to the fact that this was the end of a book (see F. Schironi, *TO META BIBAION. Book-ends, end-titles, and coronides in papyri with hexametric poetry*, Durham, North Carolina 2010, pp. 158 f.); I do not have enough information regarding the Oxyrhynchus papyrus with *Iliad* 2.86-94, Oxford, Sackler Library, Papyrology Rooms 66 6B 2/M(7-8)c, listed as papyrus 826 in West's edition (*LDAB* 9331, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century CE), to judge why it is described as "miniature?"

It is possible, of course, that the two papyri discussed above are not fragments from a long continuous roll, but from single (or shorter sequences of) sheet(s): in P.Mich. inv. 3499 (*SH* 992) a single column is preserved and the text is in such a bad state that it is impossible to understand if anything is missing at the end but, if the general gist of the first two lines has been reconstructed correctly (end of a speech by Poseidon), it must have been preceded by at least another column, and, since the single partly preserved column is 14.5 cm wide, the whole must have involved more than a single *kollema*; P.Schubart 17 has at least two columns, and there is no sign that the second was the last one of the series. Both texts are written on the *recto* of what does not seem to be recycled papyrus: the *verso* of P.Schubart 17 is in demotic, while P.Mich. inv. 3499 has only stray ink. The new Michigan papyrus itself is unlikely to have been a very long roll.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. e.g. plate 53 in Cavallo and Maehler, *Hellenistic cit.* (P.Dion. 25: 104 BCE; otherwise not particularly comparable).

<sup>33</sup> See above, n. 29.



sical notation and *ostraka*<sup>34</sup>, most Ptolemaic lyric papyri without colometry are: a) copies of plays, or extracts from plays, of Euripides; b) copies of lyric pieces belonging to the so-called ‘New Music’ or, anyway, ‘Euripidean’ style; c) short ‘Hellenistic’, non-canonical (mainly, but not only banquet-) songs (in the case of the *Fragmentum Grenfellianum*, arguably a mime). We may be justified to infer that these papyri are indicative of the taste of readers and performers in early Ptolemaic Egypt. Sappho appears in a 3<sup>rd</sup>-century anthology (followed by a text probably belonging to category c), and one 2<sup>nd</sup>-century BCE *ostrakon* (PSI 1300), as well as in one or two papyri (P.Mil. Vogl. 7, attributed also to Alcaeus, and 40: the former dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, the latter recently down-dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE (Morelli), both with colometrical layout). Apart from Sappho, and with the contested exception of the Lille Stesichorus<sup>35</sup>, papyri of the canonical lyric poets appear from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century onward. The data, of course, are too scanty to draw any wide-ranging conclusion, but one may legitimately wonder whether this may reflect a shift from papyri mainly meant for the transmission of performable pieces of poetry to papyri meant for reading in a context not related to performance. The onset of the colometrical arrangement, as well as the increasing number of the canonical lyric poets might arguably be connected to the influence of scholarly activity at Alexandria. This may also roughly coincide with a shift from anthological collections, or copies of one-off pieces, to proper ‘editions’.

Texts belonging to category a) appear also in later colometrical copies. Texts belonging to category c) and later songs appear from the late second century onward also to have been, at least occasionally, arranged colometrically, a circumstance that shows how that this practice was not limited to canonical, classical texts. Here I limit myself to mention only, as possible examples and without aiming at a complete list, P.Oxy. 675= 1035 *PMG* (a mid 1<sup>st</sup> century CE copy of a Hellenistic paean), the *Hymn to Tyche* in P.Berol. 9734 verso, dated 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE by all editors, but very clearly 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE/ 1<sup>st</sup> century CE (LV in Heitsch, *GDRK*)<sup>36</sup>, and, much later, a lyric ode of the Greco-Roman period, preserved in P.Oxy. 5191 (3<sup>rd</sup> century CE?)<sup>37</sup>. Other later ‘low-brow’ lyric texts, however can be copied without colometrical layout even well into the Greco-Roman period, as is the case, for example, of the monody in P.Oxy. 5187 (1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE)<sup>38</sup>, and of the mime of P.Oxy. 5188 (1<sup>st</sup> century CE). Texts belonging to category b) seem to disappear altogether from our papyrological records<sup>39</sup>. This must, to a certain extent, be due to coincidence, as we know that Timotheus, for example, enjoyed a long performance tradition at least until the first centuries of the Imperial period<sup>40</sup>. It is possible, though, that ‘New Music’ and similar late classical texts did not undergo the same editorial process as the canonical Lyric poets, which entailed a colometrical lay-out, which, as we have seen, is occasionally found also for other post-classical lyric poetry. And this may very well have had an impact on their book-circulation, and on the availability of their copies in schools and libraries.

Going back to the Michigan papyrus, it represents a new important document for the understanding of the ways lyric poetry was used and circulated in the early Ptolemaic period. We find, in the same milieu, a lyric text in ‘Euripidean’/ ‘New Music Style’, on the *verso*, plus, perhaps, a mime<sup>41</sup>, along with, on the *recto*, a selection of *incipits* of ancient and not so ancient songs or of

<sup>34</sup> Taking into account these too, however, would not modify the picture substantially.

<sup>35</sup> For its more likely 2<sup>nd</sup>-century date, see above, p. 429.

<sup>36</sup> Revised text in W. Furley, *Hymns to Tyche and related abstract entities*, *Paideia* 65 (2010), pp. 161-80.

<sup>37</sup> I hope to deal with these papyri, that differ from each others under many respects, in greater detail in a work in progress on the transmission of post-classical lyric poetry. A more uncertain case, to which G. Ucciardello, who means to deal with it elsewhere, has drawn my attention, is that of P.Oxy. 2879 (S 460 *SLG*, 931J Campbell), a descriptive piece in plain dactyls, reminding of Stesichorus, but on all appearances “rather later” (so Lobel).

<sup>38</sup> For its metrical interpretation see P.J. Parsons *ad loc.*, p. 19.

<sup>39</sup> But see P.Oxy. 2879, above, n. 37, if Ucciardello’s interpretation of this text as post-classical is correct.

<sup>40</sup> See e.g. L. Prauscello, *Singing Alexandria. Music between Practice and Textual Transmission*, Leiden-Boston 2006, pp. 111-5.

<sup>41</sup> See above, p. 441.

dramatic lyric pieces. These include 'canonical' authors, such as Alcaeus (34? and 308 V.), and Anacreon (the oldest witness so far)<sup>42</sup>, but also a number of unattributed texts<sup>43</sup>, some of which sound decidedly post-classical<sup>44</sup>, as well as songs from drama. It is interesting, again, that, apart from the tentative, but very dubious attribution of fr. 2 *recto* col. 2.7 to Ae. *Pe.* 623 (with the equally dubious alternative of E. *El.* 988)<sup>45</sup>, all the sections that can be positively identified belong to late Euripidean plays: *Or.* 140, 1246 and (probably) 317, *Ba.* 519? and 64. This corresponds very well with the circumstance that the only early (non-colometrical) papyri with lyric sections from drama are all Euripidean. None of the *incipits* is preceded by an indication of its author. The editor takes in consideration the hypothesis that these (along with the list of *incipits* of epigrams from the late P.Oxy. 3724) may be "notes for bigger projects, indices of personal libraries, or similar apparatuses for scholars at any level who wish to organize their readings" (14), and advances cautious comparison with Callimachus's scholarly catalogical enterprise<sup>46</sup>. Borges also explores the possibility that this might have been a school text (p. 16f.). My discussion of the bibliographical parallels, and the list's contextual link to the text on the *verso* (especially if both hands were indeed active together on the *verso* of 3250a) rather suggests that this papyrus may have been meant as a tool for lyric singing, most probably in a sympotic context. The texts on the *verso* were librettos for singing performances, and/or, perhaps for following such performances (the one on the *verso* of 3250a perhaps from a mime; the rest from a 'New Musical' text): within the same milieu somebody reused the papyrus in order to prepare a draft of *incipits* for a sympotic anthology, i.e. a list of performable poems<sup>47</sup>. As such this papyrus is representative of a taste and of a practice preceding and/or independent from the scholarly approaches to lyric and dramatic poetry that were to have such a strong impact on their manuscript transmission starting from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, by which time 'canonical' standard editions with colometrical lay-out are first attested.

## 2. *A troubled speech: on the text and the interpretation of fr. 1 verso.*

The new 'Euripidean' text presents considerable difficulties. Sampson, with the collaboration of a number of excellent advisors, has done a very good job. But there is room for disagreement, and, perhaps, for improvement. These verses will require careful scholarly dedication of several readers in order to yield all their potential interest. A point on which both editors might have usefully provided further information is a proper description of the *kollemata* that can be identified in the preserved portion. They only draw attention to the problematic *kollesis* in inv. 3498 (Borges and Sampson, *New... Papyri* cit., p. 5) but provide no further data, nor do they comment about the possible impact these data might have on the reconstruction of the sequence of the fragments. The main unsolved problem is that of the relative position, and distance of the two main

<sup>42</sup> Cf. H. Bernsdorff, *Notes on P.Mich. inv.3498+3250b recto, 3250a and 3250c recto (list of lyric and tragic incipits)*, APF 60 (2014), pp. 3-11 (I had come independently to the same interpretation of the *incipit* of fr. 2 *recto* col. 2.1).

<sup>43</sup> Whatever hides behind the enigmatic heading at 3250a *recto* 4-5, τῶν συμῶ[ ] ἀρχαί, the following *incipits* do not sound Simonidean (Borges), nor parts of tragic *stasima* (West ap. Bernsdorff, *ibid.*, p. 4 n. 5).

<sup>44</sup> Possible parallels for some of them can be found in the likes of the poems anthologized in P.Tebt. 1 and 2.

<sup>45</sup> See C.J. Geißler, *Anmerkungen zu einer List mit lyrischen und tragischen Gedichtanfängen*, APF 60 (2014), pp. 17f.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. also Borges, in *New... Papyri* cit., p. 17 "an unparalleled source for the ways in which the sort of information technology exemplified in the *Pinakes* of Callimachus was implemented by ordinary readers for their own bibliographical purposes". I would rather see the scholarly activity of cataloguing and collecting texts as deriving (also) from non-scholarly interest in anthologization for practical purposes.

<sup>47</sup> For surveys of possible 'sympotic' anthologies, see C. Pernigotti and F. Maltomini, *Morfologie ed impieghi delle raccolte simposiali: lineamenti di storia di una tipologia libraria antica*, MD 49 (2000), pp. 53-84, Pordomingo, *Antologías* cit., pp. 155-180, L. Del Corso, *La lettura nel mondo ellenistico*, Bari 2005, pp. 117-121.

fragments (fr. 1= 3498+3250b and fr. 2= 3250c), each of which preserves (entirely or fragmentarily) two columns of the text on the *verso*. The sequence chosen by the editors assume that the two fragments were consecutive, possibly with no significant interval between them<sup>48</sup>. Based on what I can see from the available reproductions, this reconstruction looks possible, but not more than this. The nature of the list on the *recto* is of no great help in settling the issue, at least until further progress is made in its interpretation. The coherence between the two fragments on the *verso* is, therefore, to be taken more as a working hypothesis than as a matter of fact.

The two columns in the first fragment preserve the direct speech of a character addressing the Greeks. The speech begins at least after the *dicolon* at 1.5 and continues until the bottom of column 2. The sequence of imperatives at 1.9, 2.4, 5, 7, 8, 11 suggests that no big lacuna should be posited between the bottom of col. 1 and the top of col. 2, confirming my considerations based on the material appearance of the papyrus (*contra* the first editors). The first column of the second fragment preserves what looks like the end of a direct speech (lines 1-5), apparently followed by at least another short section formulated in the first person (ll. 7-8) that might belong to another character, rather than to a narrator: textual uncertainties preclude definitive conclusions about this. Lines 5b-7a and 9b-11 seem to belong to a narrator. Lines 5b-11 seem to contain the description of the reaction of the Greek soldiers to the speech that ends at 5a. The idea that this narrator focalizes a Trojan point depends on the interpretation of *αὐτῶν* at 6, and remains therefore somewhat uncertain. Sampson has examined at length the possible contexts of the speech and the possible identities of the speaker<sup>49</sup>. His cautious conclusion (following a suggestion of Martin Cropp) is that the speaker is probably Helenus inviting the Greeks to cut down the trees for the construction of the Trojan horse, but does not rule out the alternatives of Odysseus, Epeius, Calchas, Athena and Cassandra, all giving instructions for the construction of the Horse. A further possibility might, and perhaps should have been mentioned, that is that the speaker is Cassandra, not in the unattested role of advising the Greeks about how to build the horse, but in her famous one of exhorting the Trojans to destroy it. In this case, we should suppose that in the fragmentary lines between fr. 1 col. 1.9 and 2.2 the address shifted from the Greeks (invited to go somewhere in column 1), to the Trojans, incited to destroy the horse (referred to, via a cryptic synecdoche, through the various trees out of which it was built), and to throw it into the streams of the Scamander<sup>50</sup>. This interpretation would have two obvious advantages compared to the ones envisaged by Sampson. In the first place, it would explain the strong and emphatic aggressive overtones of the imperatives in col.2: the addressees are invited to deal with the trees with a violence which would be difficult to explain if their purpose were only that of providing the building material for the horse<sup>51</sup>. This solution would also provide a more satisfactory explanation for the fact that the speaker addresses his/her interlocutors with the vocative ὦ μέλαιοι, “o unhappy ones”. Sampson (again, following a suggestion of Cropp) correctly points out that this kind of apostrophe is typical of prophetic speeches. Its pathos, however, would be far more effective if it were addressed to the Trojans, about to be slaughtered or made captive, rather than to the Greeks involved in the construction of the Horse. It is particularly interesting that in Triphiodorus 376 this apostrophe (in one of its only 9 occurrences in the entire extant Greek literature)<sup>52</sup> is used exactly by Cassandra in her attempt to persuade the Trojans to destroy the horse, and that the Latin equivalent *o miseri* is used in this very same context by Laocoon in Virg. *Aen.* 2.42.

There are also obvious difficulties if we assume that the speaker is Cassandra addressing the

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Borges in Borges and Sampson, *New... Papyri* cit., p.10, and Sampson, *ibid.*, pp. 36-39.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Sampson in Borges and Sampson, *ibid.*, pp. 62-75, and 70-75 more precisely on the speaker's identity.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. the route taken by a minor work of Epeius, his wooden statue of Hermes carried away by the fury of the Scamander in Callimachus, *Iambus* 8.13-15.

<sup>51</sup> Sampson in Borges and Sampson, *ibid.*, p. 89 thinks that the enterprise is described “as a kind of mock-heroic battle”, but it is difficult to understand the point of such a stylistic choice.

<sup>52</sup> Omitting repetitions of the same text. A tenth occurrence, in the *Sibylline Oracles* 4.162, has ἄ μέλαιοι.

Trojans. The fact that in the first part of her speech she would be addressing the Greeks is not a serious obstacle, as an apostrophe of evoked absent individuals or entities would not be out of place in an agitated prophetic speech, and, as matter of fact, is a frequent trope in Cassandra's prophetic utterances in tragedy and elsewhere (they are ubiquitous, for example, in Lycophron's *Alexandra*)<sup>53</sup>. The use of the apostrophe with ἴτε at 1.9 can be compared with the use of the same imperative at E. *Tr.* 338, where Cassandra invites the Trojan women to perform a wedding song for her, an injunction entirely ironical (as we should assume it was in our passage if we accept this reconstruction). The main difficulty lies rather in the possibility of understanding fr. 2 within the same interpretative frame. Based on all appearances, this fragment preserves the end of a speech and the description of the reaction of the Greek encampment to this speech. If this is correct, and if the second fragment follows immediately the first one, the first one cannot be understood as a prophetic speech uttered by Cassandra in Troy before the Wooden Horse. On the other hand, as we saw above, the second assumption, regarding the sequence of the fragments, is not certain, and, until progress is made under this respect, the hypothesis sketched above deserves to be taken in serious consideration.

Be it as it may, I think that some progress can be achieved in the reconstruction of a crucial point in column 1 of the first fragment. The apostrophe to the Greeks starts with the *anadiplosis* Δαναΐδαι, Δαναΐδαι following the *dicolon* at 1.5, and goes on with more specific mentions of various Greek groups at lines 7-9<sup>54</sup>. The text of line 6 represents a stumbling block in this fairly clear sequence. Sampson transcribes the text as ]δονηϰαλγαμυλο[.]. His interpretation of this text as ἠ]δονηϰ ἄλγα μυλο[.] is problematic from several points of view: the form ἠ]δονηϰ would be the only one in the preserved text with a Ionic-Attic vocalism, and the form ἄλγα would be paralleled only by the Hesychian entry ἄλγας· ἀλγηδόνας. The mention of “pleasure” and “pain” sounds obscure in the middle of a series of vocatives of Greek ethnic groups. The final sequence μυλο[.] also defies interpretation. The reading itself, though, is very questionable. The second letter after the gap is printed without any sign of doubt but both the colour photograph and the multi-spectral photographs (the image below is from the one taken at 550 nm) show a letter rounded in its lower part and more angular in its upper one linked through a diagonal stroke descending from its top to the following letter<sup>55</sup>. It looks much more easily compatible with an alpha than with an omicron, which is never ligatured in such a way with a letter shaped as the following ny.

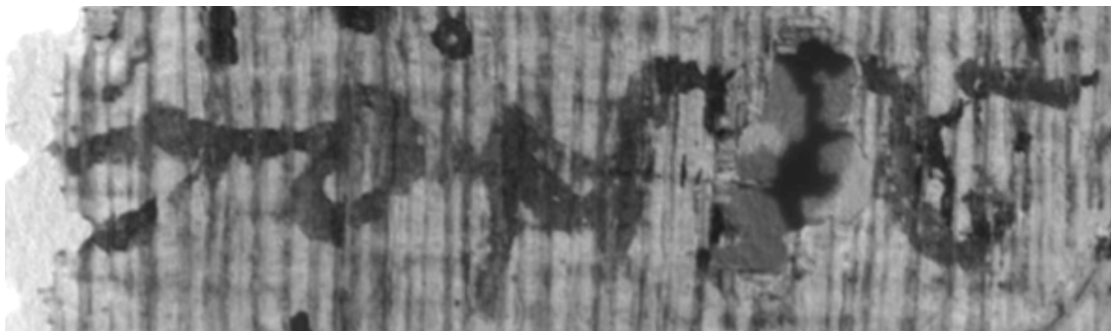


Fig. 1: detail of fr. 1 col. 1.6, from the 550 nm multispectral image.

<sup>53</sup> In tragedy, to quote just a single example, cf. her visions in her lyric utterances in Ae. *Ag.*, and her address to Agamemnon at E. *Tr.* 446f.

<sup>54</sup> After examining the colour and multispectral photographs available online I have no doubt that the reading Κρητες at line 8 is correct (so Page, κρητες Sampson: the fibres are twisted, but the traces are discernible clearly enough), and that at line 9 we should read Βοιωτοι with Janko (suggested by the width of the gap containing the penultimate letter).

<sup>55</sup> Cf. <http://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/p15999coll4/id/37618/rec/1>



Fig. 2: alpha from fr. 2 col. 2.9<sup>56</sup>, for comparison.



Fig. 3: detail of fr. 1 col. 1.6, from the 550 nm multispectral image.

I would transcribe the sequence as ἰδανῆς and interpret it in this context as Ἄπιδανῆς, the contracted form of Ἄπιδανῆς, a term attested in Rhianus fr. 13.3 as referring to the inhabitants of Peloponnesian Argos, but more frequent in Hellenistic and later poetry from Callimachus (*hy.* 1.14) onward in relation to the Arcadians<sup>57</sup>. This word would be very much at its place within a list of Greek ethnic groups.

A further reading in this line requires correction. In reading the sequence αμυλοῖ Sampson neglects a clear vertical sign following the alpha reaching well below the line, visible both on the colour photograph and on the multispectral images, which can only be part of an iota, and had been rightly identified as such by Lobel and transcribed already by Page (who read αἰ. υ. ι.).

A more precise transcription would, therefore, be αμυλοῖ, providing also a more attractive possible interpretation of the sequence as the beginning of the adjective αἰμύλος, or one of its compounds<sup>58</sup>. Since the Ithacans clearly appear as the first partly preserved word in the next line, and the adjective is applied to Odysseus a handful of times in tragedy, it is possible that here too it qualified the leader of this ethnic group (if not, by extension, all of his fellow-countrymen)<sup>59</sup>. The list of ethnics in 7-8, however, seems to be asyndetic and up to at least the end of 8 no further intervening modifier (adjective or other) is visible: it is possible, therefore, that the adjective qualified all the following groups. Whenever it is applied to Odysseus αἰμύλος has clearly negative connotations, and it could be argued that it characterizes the speaker as hostile to the Greeks, providing yet another element in favour of its attribution to Cassandra<sup>60</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> Sampson prints this as uncertain, but there is no real alternative.

<sup>57</sup> This contraction for an -εως noun is not problematic in 'Euripidean' lyrics: cf. *El.* 876, *Tr.* 100; *Ae. Pers.* 24, 44, *Ag.* 230; *S. Ai.* 189, 390, 959 (as well as a few cases in trimeters, including ethnic names). In the manuscripts of Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Ἄπια, the form is spelled as Ἄπιδων-, and the form in alpha is restored from parallel sources and so, theoretically, this interpretation would be possible with Sampson's reading too. I think, however, that the form with alpha has been correctly restored in Stephanus (it is the only one attested in poetry), and I am convinced that alpha is decidedly a much better reading in the papyrus. Several sources, some of which earlier than our text (including Euripides in a list of the Greek destinations of Trojan slave women at *Hec.* 453), mention a river Apidanos in Thessaly, but the ethnic is not attested in this sense. Stephanus omits the Thessalian river, but lists further ones from different regions.

<sup>58</sup> There seems to be space for no more than (around) 3 letters at the end of the line. End of lines in this text tend to coincide with word-ends, favouring the supplement of the simple adjective, but, for exceptions, cf. col. 2.5-6 and 9-10.

<sup>59</sup> *S. Aj.* 389, *E. Telephus* F 715.1, [E.] *Rhes.* 498 f., 709. Cf. also probably the *adespoton* F 564d Snell-Kannicht. The fact that Cassandra uses the adjective for the Spartans in Lycophron (*Alexandra* 1124), provides a further, in my opinion less likely, alternative.

<sup>60</sup> Helenus, too, with his troubled psychological attitude (he is described as either a captive or a deserter), might



Fig. 4: detail of fr. 1 col. 1.6, from the 550 nm multispectral image.

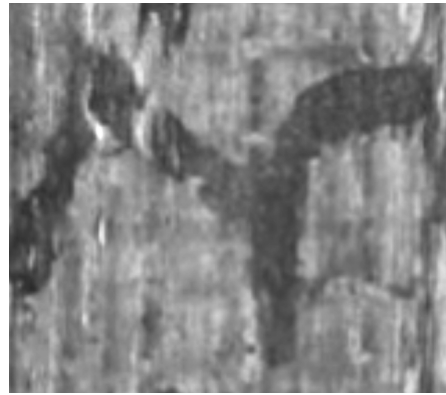


Fig. 5

Fig. 6

A last point should be raised regarding the intervening letters (fig. 4).

If the scribe really meant to write  $\alpha\lambda\gamma$  no plausible interpretation comes to mind. Page's reading  $\alpha\lambda\iota$  does not produce satisfactory sense and the option of attributing the result to a scribal mistake (as well as being palaeographically implausible), printing  $\alpha\lambda\gamma$  between *crucis* sounds desperate. A better alternative can be obtained interpreting the supposed sequence  $\lambda\gamma$  not as two letters but as a single  $\mu\upsilon$ . Useful comparisons for this interpretation are provided by the way this letter is drawn at fr. 2 col. 1.9 ( $\mu\epsilon\nu$ , fig. 5), and fr. 2 col. 1.11 ( $\alpha\mu\iota$ , fig. 6).



We should probably read  $\acute{\alpha}\mu'$ , which could be understood either as an adverbial form, or as a preposition governing a following dative. What remains of the line can therefore be interpreted as  $\text{Ἄπι]δανῆς ἄμ' αἰμυλο[.].}$  I am fairly confident that this is the right solution for the central *crux*. The element of uncertainty regarding this word, anyway, should not affect the corrections of the readings and the interpretations proposed above, that allow a more promising understanding of the passage, as well as, arguably, a more precise characterization of the speaker of this troubled speech.

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have been conceivably described as having mixed feelings toward the Greeks. But the point of the choice of this adjective here would remain somewhat obscure. On the other hand, its use by Cassandra, who wishes to persuade her audience that the Greeks are trying to deceive them, would have a much stronger point.

Direttore responsabile: Dott. Marco G. Manetti