

# The Robinson-Cologne Papyrus of Achilles Tatius

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IN 1968 six larger fragments of a papyrus roll containing on the recto (the verso being uninscribed) parts of chapters 17 to 21, 23 and 24 of Book III of Achilles Tatius' novel *Leucippe and Cleitophon* were identified among the Cologne papyri (P.Köln inv. 901) and published by Albert Henrichs.<sup>1</sup> These fragments had been bought from a dealer in the mid 1950's. From a different dealer in 1955 the noted archaeologist David M. Robinson acquired a group of some 200 quite small literary fragments in a dozen hands. Half of these were written in a distinct informal bookhand (P. Rob. inv. 35), which a search of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* instantly revealed to derive from the same chapters of Achilles Tatius as the Cologne fragments. On seeing photographs of the Robinson fragments, Ludwig Koenen at once recognized the hand to be the same as that of the Cologne, of which no photographs had been published. Clearly the two sets came from the same roll. As is the case for most literary papyri, its provenience is unknown. But certain of the other fragments mixed in the same lot clearly came from the Thebaid, possibly Panopolis.

Again by the aid of the machine readable TLG text, it was relatively easy to align the Robinson fragments on the computer screen so as to determine their relation to one another, and thus to assemble the numerous small pieces into thirty substantial fragments.<sup>2</sup> These larger groupings proved in turn to fill many of the gaps between the Cologne fragments, and so to provide an almost continuous running text of Book III chapters 17

<sup>1</sup> "Achilleus Tatios, aus Buch III (P.Colon. inv. 901)," *ZPE* 2 (1968) 211-26.

<sup>2</sup> The procedures are described in my report, "Identifying and Editing a Papyrus of Achilles Tatius by Computer," in *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia I* (Naples 1984) 163-66.

through 25 (Π<sup>4</sup>).<sup>3</sup> The Robinson fragments supplement all but ten of the 80 broken lines preserved on the Cologne fragments and contribute 103 additional lines for a combined total of 183. Few of the lines are complete, however, and of some only a few internal letters survive. Altogether the combined fragments preserve fifty per cent of the original text of these chapters, twenty per cent supplied by the Cologne fragments and thirty per cent by the Robinson. Through the good offices of Reinhold Merkelbach it has been arranged that the Cologne fragments are placed on indefinite loan to the Duke University Library, where they have been rejoined and photographed (PLATES 1–4).

As joined together the combined Robinson and Cologne fragments constitute a substantial part of the last five columns of Book III, and possibly also of the roll since the fifth column is distinctly narrower and shorter than its four predecessors. In depth of column, cols. i, iii and iv have 44 lines each, col. ii only 42; but the surviving fragment of col. v preserves the middle of its first nine lines, and Book III could have been completed in five more lines for a total of fourteen, not counting a probable colophon. In length of line, cols. i, ii and iv average 48 letters, col. iii 51 letters, but col. v only 41. Possibly the scribe saw that he was about to run out of space at the end of his roll. It is also possible, however, that estimating that the remainder of Book III would not require a column of full width, he may have narrowed col. v to conserve space and may have continued thereafter with Book IV.

Since the lower margin of col. i is preserved (1.6 cm.) and the full upper margins of cols. ii and iv (1.7 cm.; the frayed upper margin of col. iii measures 1.0 cm.), the height of the roll can be calculated as 29.1 cm.—tall but within normal limits. The average written width of cols. i–iv is 10.5 cm., and intercolumnar margins vary from 1.5 to 2.1 cm. The average width of these columns including an adjoining intercolumnar margin is thus 12

<sup>3</sup> The sigla Π<sup>1</sup>, Π<sup>2</sup>, and Π<sup>3</sup> are those assigned by E. Vilborg in his critical edition, *Achilles Tatius, Leucippe and Clitophon* (Stockholm 1955). The sigla Π<sup>4</sup>–Π<sup>7</sup> were designated by J. N. O'Sullivan in his *A Lexicon to Achilles Tatius* (= *Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte* 18 [Berlin/New York 1980]). Though his Π<sup>4</sup> signifies only the Cologne fragments, I extend the siglum to include the Robinson fragments as well. When he compiled his lexicon he could not yet know that Π<sup>1</sup> and his Π<sup>6</sup> derived from the same roll (see *infra*).

cm. At an average 433 words per column one may estimate that the entire vulgate text of Book III would comprise thirteen such columns and would therefore fill a roll 1.55 meters in length,<sup>4</sup> only a fraction of the usual roll-length ranging from 7 to 10 meters (23 to 33 feet).<sup>5</sup> At the same ratio if the roll contained the first three books together it would have measured about 5 m. (16.7 feet), still short of the length of an average roll. The whole of the novel, on the other hand, would have occupied about 100 columns or a roll of 12 m. (40 feet), rather beyond ordinary size; or two such rolls of, respectively, 6.5 m. (21 feet) and 5.75 m. (19 feet), each somewhat shorter than average.

The joined Robinson and Cologne papyrus constitutes the most extensive ancient text of Achilles Tatius yet found, and one of the two earliest copies. To its rapid informal quasi-literary hand sloping slightly to the right and admitting frequent ligatures I have found no close parallels among either literary papyri or documents. The more formal features somewhat resemble the hand of the final columns of the Vatican Favorinus (*P. Marm.* 1 = M. Norsa, *Scrittura letteraria graeca* pl. 13, or C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands* pl. 18b-c), dated to the late II or early III century, presumably before A.D. 215. The cursive letter-forms and ligatures are near *BGU* I 356 (= W. Schubart, *Griechische Palaeographie* Abb. 48), dated A.D. 213, and in some cases near *P. Wisc.* I 5 pl. II, dated A.D. 186. I should therefore assign the papyrus to the early III century.<sup>6</sup> Somewhat earlier still, perhaps, is *P. Mil. Vogl.* III 1244 (Π<sup>3</sup>), a small fragment of a papyrus codex having parts of lines from Book VI chapters 14-17, which A. Vogliano (with Schubart's approval) assigned to the II century;<sup>7</sup> but the compression of its hand sloping to the right and its codex form suggest a later date just before or after A.D. 200. In any case, to the Milan codex leaf, now

<sup>4</sup> The calculations in this paragraph are based on a computer word-count of the eight books of Achilles Tatius in Vilborg's edition recorded by TLG: I, 5175 words; II, 7287; III, 5577; IV, 4670; V, 6503; VI, 4160; VII, 3940; VIII, 6128; total, 43440.

<sup>5</sup> W. Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*<sup>3</sup> (Heidelberg 1961) 52f.

<sup>6</sup> Henrichs, citing the Favorinus but also adducing Schubart Abb. 52 (*P. Ryl.* II 117, A.D. 269), which seems to me not so close as Abb. 48, and Abb. 90 (*Iliad* 14, P. Berl. inv. 11910), a literary hand of a rather different style, suggested a date of the end of the III century.

<sup>7</sup> A. Vogliano, "Un papiro di Achille Tazio," *SIFC* ns. 15 (1938) 121-30.

reinforced by the Robinson-Cologne roll, belongs the distinction of compelling a reassignment of Achilles Tatius from the V or VI century to a date no later than the middle of the II.

Four other papyri of Achilles Tatius have come to light, all later. The first to be recognized was *P.Oxy.* X 1250 (Π<sup>1</sup>) from a papyrus roll of the III (Schubart) or IV (Grenfell and Hunt) century, containing part of Book II chapters 2–3 and 7–9, to which now may be added *P.Oxy.* LVI 3837 (Π<sup>6</sup>) from the same roll, a fragment of Book VIII chapters 6–7. *P.Schub.* 30 (Π<sup>2</sup>), apparently lost, was a fragment of a papyrus codex dated to the III century, bearing lines from Book II chapters 2 and 14, now known only from Schubart's collation. *P.Oxy.* VII 1014 (Π<sup>7</sup>) from a IV-century roll, published originally as an unattributed historical fragment, was subsequently recognized by M. Gronewald to be a fragment of Book IV chapter 14.<sup>8</sup> Now in the most recent volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* P. J. Parsons has published parts of three columns from a second roll (*P.Oxy.* LVI 3836, Π<sup>5</sup>) of Book III chapters 21–23 dated to the IV century, which though fragmentary overlaps an appreciable stretch of the text covered by the Robinson-Cologne papyrus. The papyri of Achilles Tatius now outnumber those of any other work of this genre, three from rolls, three from codices, and all from the late second through the fourth centuries.

Our scribe, despite the informality of his hand, wrote with commendable care. In only three instances was he guilty of uncorrected orthographical errors: *χρησ(ι)μων* at ii 5 (marked by a corrector with a slash in left margin), *μηχαν(ημ)ατος* at iii 30 and *ροδο(ι)ς* at iv 37 (in lines of which the left margin is not preserved); and one probable error (*παρ'* for *γὰρ* at i 20) which may confirm a lucky emendation. For dative singular endings of first- and second-declension forms (though never internally) he writes *iota*-adscript correctly in 25 cases, omitting it in only four. He regularly writes a trema over initial *iota* and *upsilon* and the apostrophe as divider to separate double or cognate consonants (i 26,30; ii 14; iii 1,16,41; iv 12,30,33,43). Only once (ii 30) does he write -σσ- (with the codices) for Attic -τ'τ-. In the only two cases of short lines where the right margin is preserved (50 of 183 lines) he writes a space filler (ii 2,4).

<sup>8</sup> "Ein verkannter Papyrus des Achilleus Tatios," *ZPE* 22 (1976) 14–17.

Insignificant orthographic alternatives and phonetically equivalent spellings are fairly frequent: there are eight instances of iotacism (i 19; ii 41; iii 6,9,19; iv 15,22,44), two of -ε- for -αι- (i 9; iv 6 with Π<sup>5</sup>). Seven times *nu*-movable is followed by a consonant (i 15,19; ii 1,32; iii 9,26; iv 4 with Π<sup>5</sup>). Twice adjacent consonants are not assimilated (i 27, ii 2). Once the scribe writes *scriptio plena* where the codices show crasis (i 32), once he elides where the codices do not (i 44). All such deviations are common in the papyri and of course do not qualify as either errors or variants.

The text has received the attention of a corrector, but in what cases he is the original scribe or a *diorthotes* is difficult to determine. In the five instances where interlinear variants are written, three of the scribe's unique original readings point to the probably correct text (ii 4,11,27); in the other two (ii 12, iv 42) the corrector offers a better choice as reflected in the mediaeval codices (see commentary *ad locc.*). Beside three of these lines there is no marginal slash; at the remaining two the left margin is lost. In two cases the scribe, apparently, entered a variant reading above the line without further marks (ii 4,11). In two other cases (ii 12,27) the corrector encloses the variant between dots, in the prior instance offering the reading of all the codices, in the latter recording a false variant found in no other source. In the fifth case (iv 42) the scribe's unique and conceivably right syllable has been stricken through and surmounted by the vulgate reading but in the wrong case. In addition to the instance of error mentioned above (at ii 5), a corrector has marked with a marginal slash two lines containing a gap in the scribe's text: in the first case (ii 29) a space of about 9 letters is crossed by a horizontal stroke extending a preceding final *sigma*, though here the codices show no loss; the second (iii 5), where a gap of about 12 letters is left unfilled, is discussed below and in the commentary.

As usual, the text of Π<sup>4</sup> does not align itself with any one or any family of the mediaeval codices,<sup>9</sup> for the earliest of these (W, *Vat.Gr.* 1349) is dated XII-century, and their hypothesized archetypes would have been copied some six centuries later than the papyrus. Generally the text of one or more of the

<sup>9</sup> For a list of these and their assigned sigla (drawn from the edition of Ebbe Vilborg [Stockholm 1955] xv-xxxii) see *infra* at the beginning of the commentary.

codices agrees with that of the papyrus but none predominantly so.<sup>10</sup> In 63 cases not counting transpositions or obvious errors, however, no codex has preserved the reading of Π<sup>4</sup>, and in at least 41 of these the papyrus may well have the sounder text. In eight cases Π<sup>4</sup> confirms an editor's conjecture (Commelini in *ed.pr.* at iii 32; Castiglione at i 20; Cobet at ii 4, iv 3 and iv 22; Wifstrand at ii 26; Hercher at iii 28; Jacobs at iii 42). Several times Π<sup>4</sup> has an Attic form (ii 26, iii 1,6,7,8,16) or construction (ii 4, iv 1,39) where the vulgate substitutes a late or trivialized equivalent; at i 23, iii 19,27, iv 7,18,20 the papyrus has a rarer classical word, the codices a commoner and weaker. There are fourteen instances of transposed word order, for at least some of which the papyrus seems more classical.

In nine lines Π<sup>4</sup> shows a longer lacuna than the vulgate text can fill: either a word or two had dropped out or, less likely, the scribe of Π<sup>4</sup> had skipped a short space as at ii 29. The lines in question are i 12,24,25,37,44, iii 15 and iv 28–30. Conversely, in five lines (i 10,23,28 twice, iii 7 and iv 33) the lacunae appear too short to hold the received text. A larger omission occurs at ii 13–14, where the codices seem to have padded the text unnecessarily. From the supplements in the following transcription I have omitted as superfluous short words not required by the context. Otherwise, where context and lacuna space permit, the supplements generally retain the vulgate text of the Vilborg edition. Noteworthy exceptions occur at iii 24–25 (22.1) where editors print both the competing phrases καλὸς ὁ κίνδυνος (αF and probably Π<sup>4</sup>) and γλυκὺς ὁ θάνατος (β), though no manuscript has more than one; and at iii 14 (21.5), where the agreement of Π<sup>4</sup> and Π<sup>5</sup> in κάτεισιν confirms Henrichs' restoration of ἀναβαίνειν against the codices.

But the most striking contributions of the papyrus are those where it has a quite different text extending through two or three lines. One of these (iii 4–6, at 21.3), mentioned above, is a passage clearly corrupt in the codices, for which editors have

<sup>10</sup> Where family α stands alone, there are three agreements with Π<sup>4</sup>; family β alone, seven agreements; F (family φ) alone, none. Where families α and β agree against F, there are five agreements with Π<sup>4</sup>; but where family α and F agree against β, there are eleven; family β, F, and Π<sup>4</sup> agree only once against α. W and F together against both α and β share three readings with Π<sup>4</sup>. If later alignments are ignored, the family α codices preserve 20 readings of Π<sup>4</sup>, family β 14, F 15. Once Commelini's *editio princeps* uniquely preserves a Π<sup>4</sup> variant.

suggested a variety of unsatisfactory solutions. Unfortunately our scribe has interrupted his text with a space of some twelve letters, presumably because he could not read or did not trust his antigraph. In any case the incomplete text of  $\Pi^4$  is nearer the truth than are the codices, and from it a persuasive emendation may emerge. The other notable cases are at ii 10–11 (20.1) where the papyrus'  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\pi\omicron\iota\nu\alpha$  and distribution of verbs and participles give the better text; at iii 27–28 (22.2) where the codices have abbreviated and trivialized the text; at iii 32–34 (22.3) where  $\Pi^4$  agrees with neither the codices nor  $\Pi^5$ ; at iv 8–9 (23.3) where the first of three parallel cola was lost in the codices' archetype but may be confidently restored from  $\Pi^4$ ; and at iv 18–21 (24.1) where the text of  $\Pi^4$  is more graphic and doubtless right. In the second and third of these passages lacunae impede a restoration, but in all of them the papyrus promises a sounder, more precise and vivid text than the vulgate.

For the first time we have a rare opportunity to collate two ancient copies of a significant amount of text. While  $\Pi^4$  and  $\Pi^5$  agree with each other and with all the mediaeval manuscripts nineteen times, once (iii 20) they agree with  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  against F, twice they share insignificant orthographical features (*nu*-movable before consonant, -ε- for -αι-) against all codices, and only once do they agree in a right reading ( $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\nu$  at iii 14) against all codices.  $\Pi^4$  opposes  $\Pi^5$  nine times: once  $\Pi^4$  agrees with the codices against  $\Pi^5$  (iii 22); once (at iv 6)  $\Pi^4$  agrees with  $\beta$  (though transposed) where  $\Pi^5$  agrees with  $\alpha$  and F; once  $\Pi^4$  has  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  (iv 5) where  $\Pi^5$  with  $\alpha$  and F have  $\delta\grave{\epsilon}$  and  $\beta$  is asyndetic; and once  $\Pi^4$  reads  $\delta\grave{\eta}$  (iv 7),  $\Pi^5$  reads  $\mu\grave{\epsilon}\nu$   $\omicron\upsilon\nu$ , and the codices simply  $\omicron\upsilon\nu$ . Four times  $\Pi^4$  stands alone against  $\Pi^5$  and the codices (iii 15, 20, iv 1, and iv 3 confirming a Cobet conjecture), in all of which  $\Pi^4$  is probably right. In only one passage (22.3) does each of the three sources have a markedly different text from one another. The codices, in some disarray, have lost a few words here, and  $\Pi^4$  (at iii 32–34) and  $\Pi^5$  (at col. ii lines 12–16) are both too lacunose to provide a solution or help for each other. In any case it is clear that the two papyri, while occasionally differing from each other, are closer to the author's original than the archetype of the codices. Of the two,  $\Pi^4$  more often has the sounder text. Altogether, where variants occur its style is more precise, clearer and more classical than that of the vulgate.

For details of these variants the reader is referred not only to the line-by-line commentary following the text but also to

Henrichs' excellent notes on that portion of Π<sup>4</sup> available to him in 1968 (n.1 *supra*) and Parson's on Π<sup>5</sup> in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* LVI (1989) pp.64–66.

## TEXT

P.Rob. inv. 35 + P.Köln inv. 901 [= Π<sup>4</sup>]

(The text of P.Köln is underlined, that of P.Rob. is not.)

[ἐγὼ δὲ ἄνδρας ἰδὼν] 3.17.2

col. i

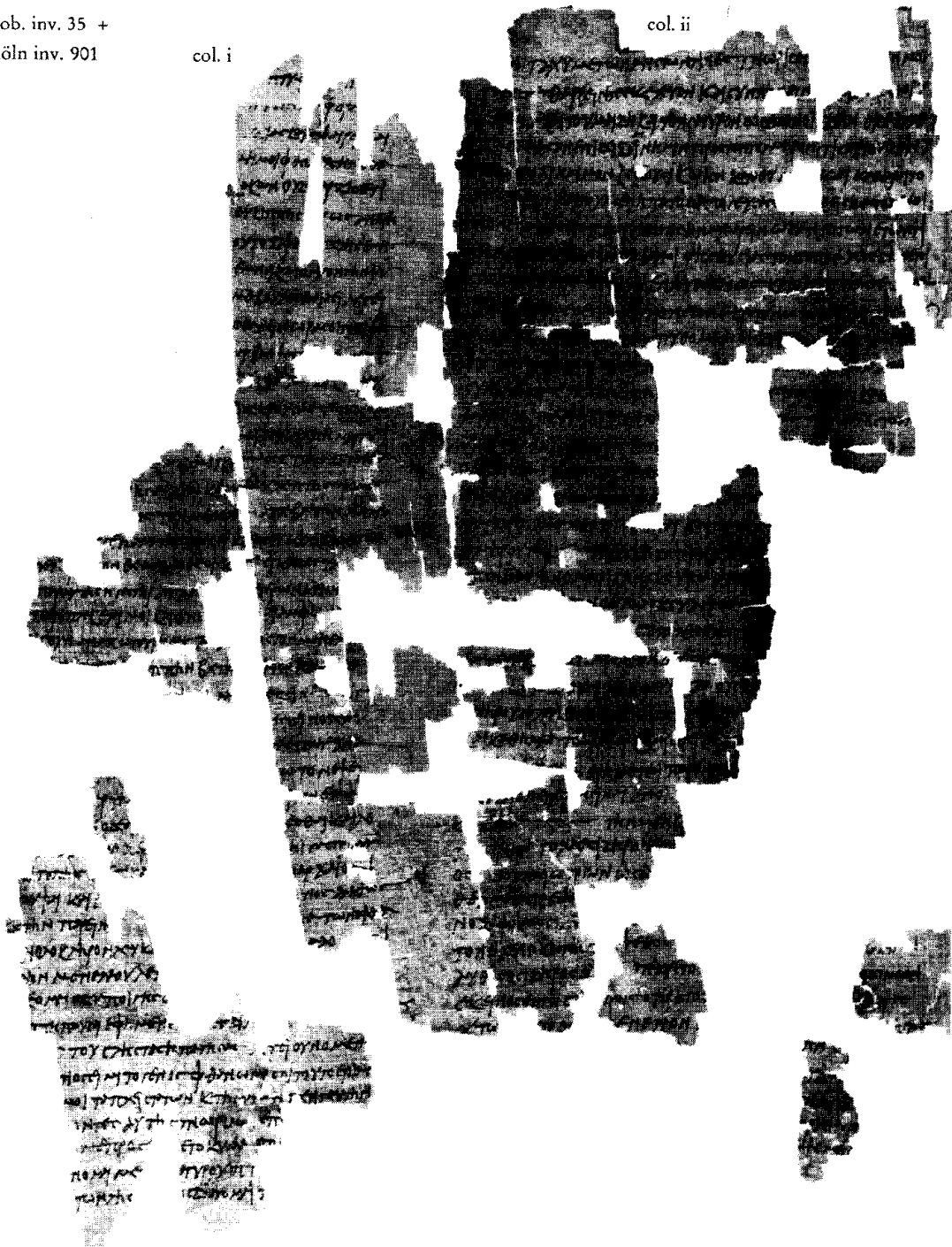
- 1 [ἐκ παραλόγου ζῶντας καὶ φίλους οὔτε περιε]πτυξ[άμ]ην [οὔτε]  
 [ἐξεπλάγην ὑφ' ἡδονῆς. τοσοῦτον ἢ λύπ]η τῆς συμφορᾶ[ς με]  
 [ἐξεκώφησε. λαμβάνονται δὴ μου τῆς] δεξιᾶς καὶ ἀφαιρεῖ[σθ]αι 3  
 [ἐπεχείρουν τὸ ξίφος. ἐγὼ δέ, Πρὸς θεῶν,] μὴ μοι φθονήσητε θανά-  
 5 [του καλοῦ, ἔφην, μᾶλλον δὲ φαρμάκου τῶν] κακῶν· οὐδ[ὲ γ]ὰρ  
 ζῆν ἔτι  
 [δύναμαι, καὶ ἐὰν νῦν με βιάσησθε, τῆς Λ]ευκίπτης [οὔ]τως  
 ἀνηρη-  
 [μένης. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἀφαιρήσεσθέ μ]ου τὸ ξίφο[ς, τ]ὸ δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς 4  
 [λύπης ξίφος ἔνδον καταπέπηγε καὶ τ]έμνει κατ' ὀλίγον τὴν ψυ-  
 [χὴν. ἀθανάτωι σφαγῆι ἀποθνήσκειν] με βούλεσθαι αἰεὶ; λέγει  
 10 [Μενέλαος· Ἄλλ' εἰ διὰ τοῦτο θέλεις ἀπ]οθανεῖν, ὥρα σοι τὸ ξίφος  
 [ἐπίσχεῖν. Λευκίππη δὲ σοι ἀναβιώσε]ται. βλέψας ο[ὗν] πρ[ὸς]  
 αὐτ[όν], 5  
 [Ἔτι μου καταγελαῖς, ἔφην, ἐπὶ τ]ηλικούτωι κακῶι; εἰ  
 [γε, Μενέλαε, Ξενίου μέμνησαι Διός.] ὁ δὲ κρούσας τὴν σορόν,  
 [Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἀπιστεῖ Κλειτοφῶν,] ἔφ[η,] μοι, Λευκίππη, μαρτύ-  
 15 [ρησον εἰ ζῆς. ἅμα δὲ εἶ]πε καὶ δῖς μου καὶ τρις ἐπάταξεν τὴν 6  
 [σορόν, καὶ κάτωθεν φωνῆς ἀκούω καὶ πάνυ λεπτῆς. τρόμος  
 [οὖν εὐθὺς ἴσχει με καὶ πρὸς τὸν Μενέλαο[ν] ἀπέβλεπον, μάγον  
 [εἶναι δοκῶν. ὁ δὲ ἦνο]ιγεν ἅμα τὴν σορόν καὶ ἡ Λευκίππη  
 κάτω- 7  
 [θεν ἀνέβαι]νεν, φ[ο]β[ερ]ὸν θέαμα, ὃ θεοί, κ[αὶ] φρεικω-  
 δέστα[τον.]  
 20 [ἀνέφκτο μὲν] παρ' αὐτῆς ἡ γαστήρ ἅπασα [καὶ ἦν ἐν]τέρων  
 κενή. [ἐπι]-  
 [πεσοῦσα δὲ] περιπλέκεται μοι καὶ συνέφουμεν] καὶ ἄμφω  
 κ[ατεπέ]-  
 [σομεν. Μό]λις οὖν ἀναζωπυρήσας λέγω [πρ]ὸς τὸν Μενέλ[αον].



P. Rob. inv. 35 +  
P. Köln inv. 901

col. i

col. ii



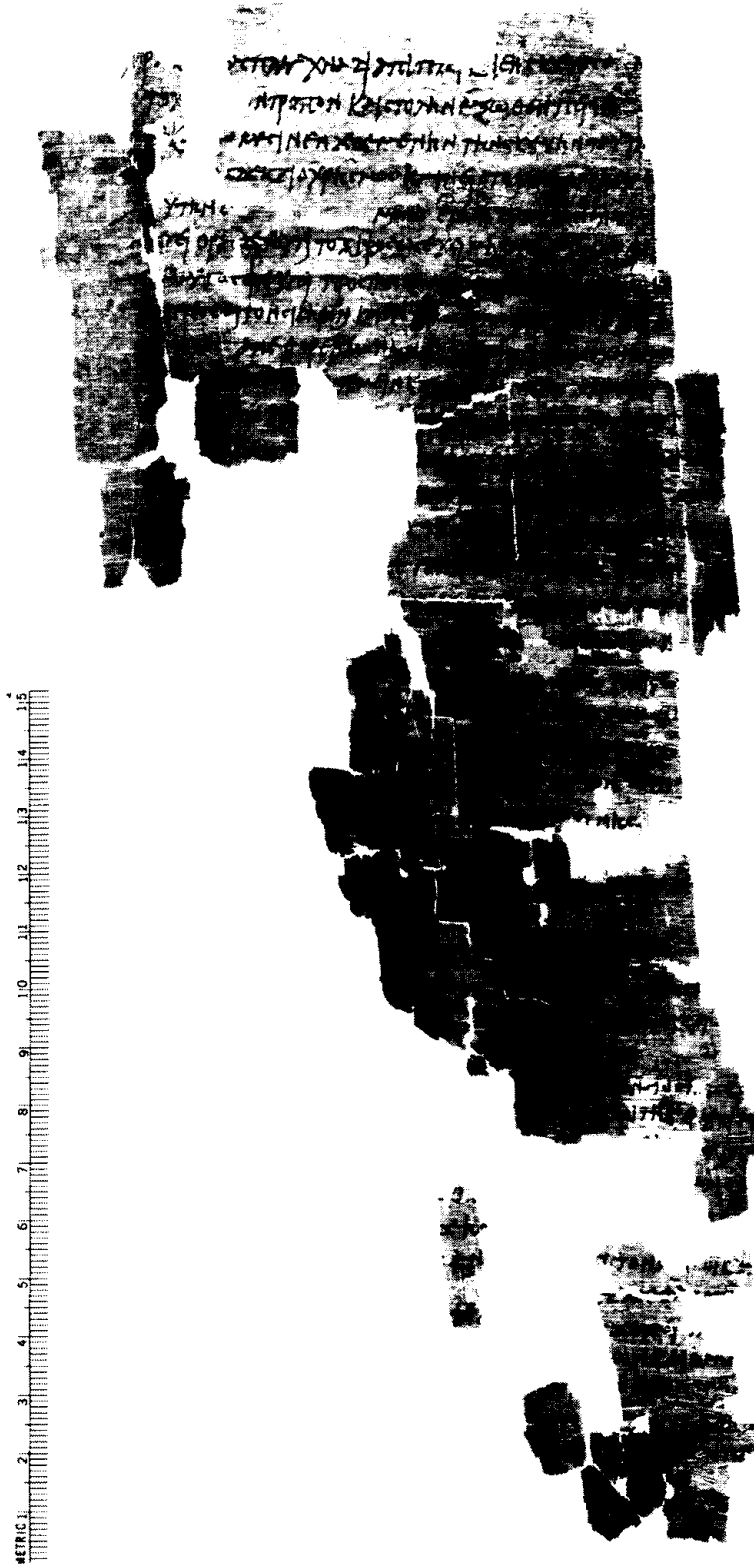
P.ROB. INV. 35 + P.KÖLN INV. 901, COLUMNS i AND ii

(reduced to 55%)

PLATE 2 WILLIS

P. Rob. inv. 35 +  
P. Köln inv. 901

col. iii



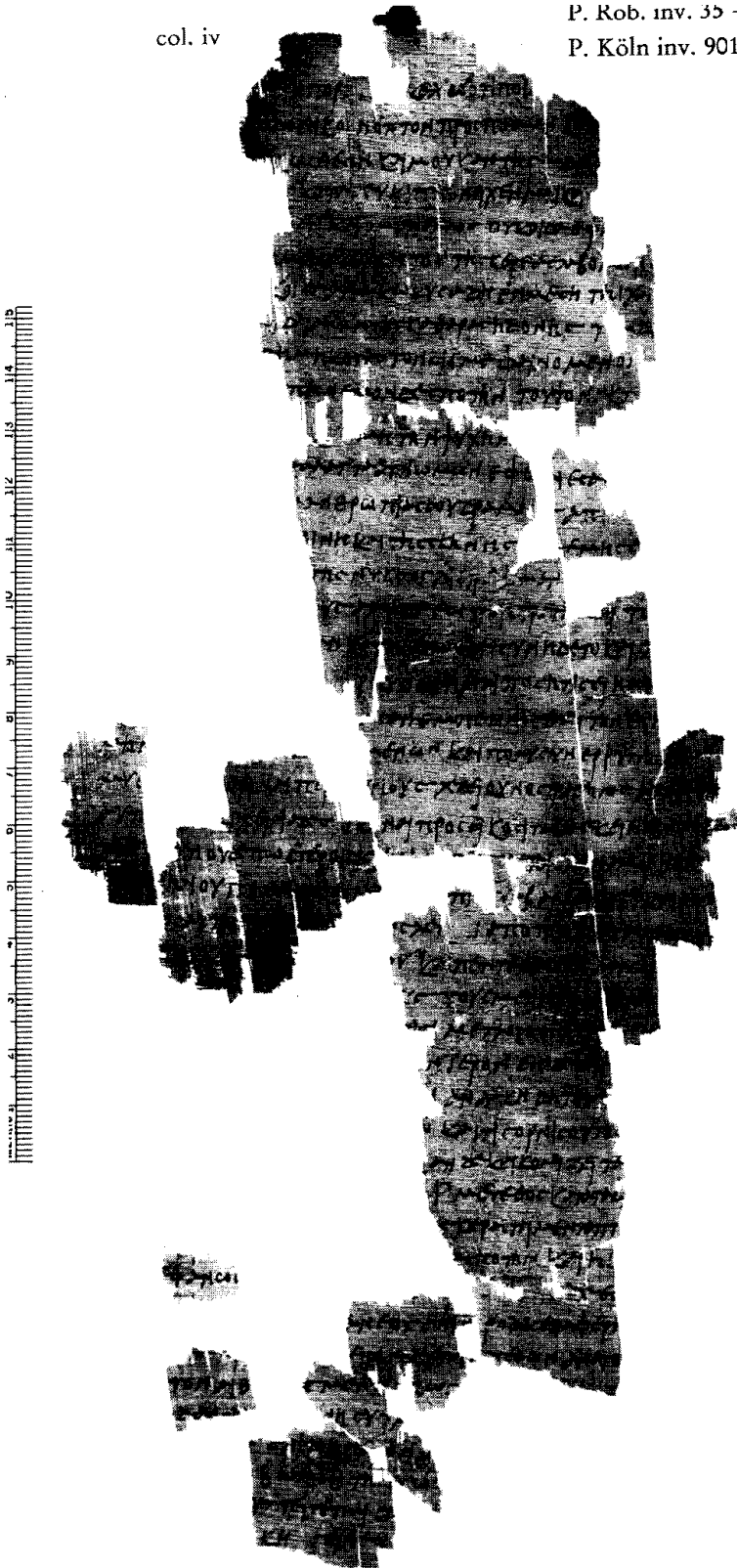
P.ROB. INV. 35 + P.KÖLN INV. 901, COLUMN iii  
(reduced to 64%)

WILLIS PLATE 3

col. iv

P. Rob. inv. 35 +

P. Köln inv. 901



P.ROB. INV. 35 + P.KÖLN INV. 901, COLUMN iv  
(reduced to 64%)



col. v

P. Rob. inv. 35e



P.ROB. INV. 35 + P.KÖLN INV. 901, COLUMN V  
(*actual size*)

- [Οὐκ] 18.1  
 [ἔρεῖς μοι τί ταῦτα; οὐχὶ Λευκίππην βλέπω; [οὐ κρ]ατῶ καὶ  
 ἄ[κο]ύω  
 [λαλούσης; ἃ οὖν χθὲς ἔθεασάμην, τίνα ἦν; ἢ γὰρ ] ἐκεῖνά  
 ἐστίν  
 25 [ἢ ταῦτα . ἀλλ' ἴδου καὶ φίλημα ἀληθινὸν καὶ ζῶν ἐκεῖνό τε  
 Λευ - 2  
 [κίππης γλυκύ. Ἄλλὰ νῦν μὲν, ὁ Μενέλαος ἔφη, καὶ] τὰ  
 σπλάγ'χνα  
 [ἀπολήψεται καὶ τὰ στέρνα σ]υμφ[ύσεται, καὶ αὐτὴν ἄτ]ρωτον  
 ὄψει.  
 [ἐπικάλυσαι τὸ πρόσωπον· καλῶ γὰρ τήν Ἐκάτην ἐπὶ τὸ] ἔργον.  
 ἐγὼ 3  
 [δὲ πιστεύσας ἐνεκαλυψάμην]. ὁ δὲ ἄ[ρχεται τερατεύ]εσθαι καὶ  
 λό-  
 30 [γον τινὰ καταλέγειν. ἅ]μα λέγων περ[ιαιρεῖ τὰ ἐπὶ τ]ῆι γαστρὶ  
 μαγ' -  
 [γανεύματα τῆς Λευκίππης κ[αὶ] ἐπικα[τέστησεν εἰς τ]ὸ ἀρχαῖον.  
 [λέγει δέ μοι, Ἄποκ]άλυψαι. καὶ ἐ[γὼ μόλις καὶ φοβούμε]νος  
 (ἀληθῶς 4  
 [γὰρ ὄμην τὴν Ἐκάτην παρεῖνα[ι], ὅμως δ' οὖν ἀπέστη]σα τῶν  
 ὀφθαλ-  
 [μῶν τὰς χεῖρας κ]αὶ ὀλόκληρον Λευκί[ππην ὄρω. ἔτι μᾶ]λλο[ν  
 οὔ]ν 5  
 35 [ἐκπλαγεῖς ἐδεό]μην Μενελάου λέγ[ων, ὦ φίλτατε Μενέλαε, εἰ  
 διάκο]-  
 [νός τις εἶ θεῶν, δ]έομαί σου ποῖ γῆς εἶμι καὶ τί ποτε ταῦτα]  
 [ὄρω; καὶ ἡ Λευκίππη, Παῦσαι, ἔφη, Μενέλ[αε,] δεδιτ[τόμενος ]].  
 [αὐτόν. λέγε δὲ πῶ]ς τοὺς ληστὰς ἠπάτησας. λέγει οὖν ὁ  
 Μενέ[λα]- 19.1  
 [ος. Οἶδας ὡς Αἰγύπ]τιός εἰμι τὸ γένος· φθάνω γὰρ σοι τοῦτο εἰπὼν  
 40 [ἐπὶ τῆς νεῶς. ἦν οὖν] μοι τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν κτημάτων περὶ ταύτην  
 [τὴν κώμην καὶ οἱ ἄρχ]οντες αὐτῆς γνώριμο[ι]. ἐπε[ὶ οὖν τῆι  
 ναυα]- 2  
 [γίαι περιεπέσομεν, εἶτ]ά με προσέ[ριψ]ε τὸ κῦμα τοῖ[ς τῆς Αἰγύ]-  
 [πτου παραλίοις, λαμβ]άνομαι μετ[ὰ Σ]ατύρου πρ[ὸς τῶν ταύτην]  
 [ παραφυλαττό]ντων λησ[τῶν.] ὡς δ' ἄγομαι π[ρὸς τὸν  
 λή]σταρ]-









- [ὁ λήσταρχος φθάσας κατὰ δαίμονα,] Νόμος [ἡμ]ῖ[ν], ἔφη, [τ]οὺς  
 πρῶ-  
 [τομύστας τῆς ἱερείας ἄρχε]σθαι [ μ]άλιστα  
 [ὅταν ἄνθρωπὸν τινα καταθύειν] δέη. ὦ[ρα τοίνυν εἰς αὐρι]όν [σοι  
 πα] - .4
- 35 [ρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς τὴν θυσι]άν· [δεήσει δὲ κ]αὶ τὸν σ[ὸ]ν  
 οἰκέτ[ην]  
 [ἅμα σοι μυθῆναι. Καὶ μάλα, οὐ]τ[ρος ἔφη, προθυμη]σόμεθα  
 μηδ[ενός]  
 [ὑμῶν χεῖρους γενέσθαι. στεῖ]λαι δ[ὲ ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦ]ς δεήσει τῆ[ν  
 κό]- .5
- [ρην ὡς ἀρμοδίως πρὸς τὴν ἀνατομήν. Ὑμῶν αὐ]τῶν, καὶ ὁ  
 λῆσ[ταρ]-  
 [χος ἔφη, τὸ ἱερεῖον. στέλλομεν δὴ τῆ]ν κόρ[ην τ]ὸν προειρ[ημένον] .6
- 40 [τρόπον καθ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ θαρρεῖν παρε]κελευσ[άμεθ]α, διεξελ-  
 θόν[τες]  
 [ἕκαστα, καὶ ὡς μένειν εἴσω τῆς σοροῦ] χρή, κἂν θᾶτ'τον ὁ ὕπνος  
 [αὐ]-  
 [τὴν ἀφῆ, τὴν ἡμέραν ἔνδον μένειν. Εἰ δέ τι ἡ]μῖν ἐμποδῶν  
 [γέ]νη[ται,]  
 [σῶξε σαυτὴν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. ταῦτα εἰπόντε]ς ἐξάγομεν  
 αὐ[τὴν]  
 [ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν· καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ οἶδας. ὡς οὖν ἦκ]ου[σα,] παντο-  
 δ[απός] 23.1
- col. iv
- 1 [ἐγιγνόμην κ]αὶ διηπόρουν [οὐ]κ ἔχων ὅ τι ποιή[σω πρὸς τὸν  
 Μενέλα]-  
 [ον ἀντάξιον.] τὸ δ' οὖν κοινότατον προσπεσῶν κατη[σπαζόμεν  
 καὶ]  
 [προσεκύν]ουν ὡς θεόν, καὶ μου κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς [ἀθρόα κατεχεῖτο]  
 [ἡδονή. ὡς δὲ τ]ᾶ κατὰ Λευκίπην εἶχέν μοι καλ[ῶς, Ὁ δὲ  
 Κλεινίας] .2
- 5 [εἶπον, τί γέγο]νεν; καὶ ὁ Μενέλαος, Οὐκ οἶδα, ἔφη· [μετὰ γὰρ  
 τὴν]  
 [ναυαγίαν εἶδ]ομεν εὐθὺς αὐτὸν τῆς κερέας λαβόμενο[ν, ὅποι δὲ]  
 [κεχώρηκεν οὐ]κ οἶδα, ἀνεκώκυσα δὴ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ χαρ[αί· ταχὺ  
 γὰρ] .3
- [ἐφθόνησέ μ]οι δαίμων τῆς καθαρᾶς ἡδονῆς, τ[ὸ]ν δι' [ἐμέ εἰς Αἴ]-  
 [γυπτον ἀποδε]δημηκότα, τὸν δι' ἐμέ φαινόμενον [οὐδαμοῦ, τὸν  
 μετὰ]

- 10 [τὴν Λευκίπ]πην ἐμὸν δεσπότην, τοῦτον ἐκ π[άντων κατέσχευ ἢ]  
 [θάλαττα,] ἴν[α] μὴ τὴν ψυχὴν [μόνον ἀπολέσῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν]  
 [ταφὴν. ὦ] θάλατ'τα ἀγνώμων, ἐφθ[ό]νεσας [ἡμῖν ὀλοκλήρου] .4  
 [τοῦ τῆς φι]λανθρωπίας σου δράματ[ο]ς. ἄπιμε[ν οὖν εἰς τὸ στρα]-  
 [τόπεδον κ]οινῆ καὶ τῆς σκηνῆς [τῆ]ς ἐμῆς ε[ἴ]σω παρελθόντες]
- 15 [τὸ λοιπὸν] τῆς νυκτὸς διειτρεῖν[α]μεν· [καὶ τὸ πρᾶ]γ[μα οὐκ ἔλαθε]  
 [τοὺς πολλο]ύς. ἅμα δὲ ἔω τῶι στρατηγῶι τὸ[ν Μενέλαον  
 ἄγω] 24.1  
 [καὶ τὸ π]ᾶν καταλέγω. ὁ δὲ συνήδετο καὶ τ[ὸν Μενέλαον  
 ποιεῖ]-  
 [ται φίλον, καὶ] πυνθάνεται πόση τις εἴη δύ[ναμις τοῖς ἑναν]-  
 [τίοις. ὁ δὲ ἔλεγε] π[ᾶ]σαν ἐμπεπλήσθαι τὴν ἐξῆ[ς] κ[ώ]-  
 20 μιν [ἀνδρῶν ἀπ]ογέ[νο]σθαι καὶ πολὺ συνερρυθέναι  
 μύσ[ος ὡ]ς εἶναι περ[ὶ] μ[υ]ρίους. λέγει οὖν ὁ στρατηγός, 'Ἄλλ' ἡμῖν 2  
 αὐτ[ὰ] [εἰ]σ[ι]ν αἰ χεῖλιάδες ἰκ[α]ναὶ πρὸς εἴκοσι τῶν ἐκείνων.  
 ἀφίξον-  
 ται δὲ [ὄ]σον οὐδέπω ἕτεροι δισχιλίοι πρὸς τούτοις τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸ  
 Δέλτ[α]  
 καὶ τὴν Ἡλίου πόλιν τεταγμέ[νων ἐ]πὶ [το]ύς βαρβάρους. καὶ ἅμα  
 [λέ]- 3
- 25 [γον]τος αὐτοῦ παῖς εἰστρ[έχει τ]ις, λέγων ἀπὸ τοῦ Δέλτα  
 πρόδρομ[ον]  
 [ἦκειν] τοῦκείθεν σ[τρατοπέδ]ου καὶ πέντε ἔλεγεν ἄλλων [ἡμε]-  
 [ρῶν δι]ατρίβειν [τοὺς δισχιλί]ους· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ βαρβάρου[ς]  
 [τοὺς κατατρέχοντας] πεπαῦσ[θαι, μελλούσης δὲ ἦκειν [τῆς]  
 [δυνάμεως τὸν ὄρνιν] αὐτοῖς τὸν ἱερὸν ἐπιδεδημ[ῆσαι,]  
 30 [φέροντα τοῦ πατρὸς] τὴν ταφὴν· ἀνάγ'κη δὴ πᾶσ[α τὴν]  
 [ἔξοδον ἐπισχεῖν τοσοῦτων ἡμερῶ]ν. Καὶ τίς ὄρνις οὗτος, [ὅστις] 25.1  
 [τοσαύτης, ἔφην, τιμῆς ἠξίωται; πο]ίαν δὲ καὶ κομίζει τα[φὴν;  
 Φοῖ]-  
 [νιξ τὸ μὲν ὄνομα, τὸ δὲ γένος Αἰθίο]ψ', μέγεθος κατὰ ταῶ[να· τῆι]  
 [χροιαὶ ταῶς ἐν κάλλει δεύτερος. κ]εκέρασται μὲν τὰ πτ[ερά  
 χρυσῶι] 2
- 35 [καὶ πο]ρφύραι. αὐχεῖ δὲ τὸν Ἥλιον δ]εσπότην, καὶ ἡ κ[εφαλή  
 μαρτυ]-  
 [ρεῖ· ἐστ]εφάνωσ[ε γὰρ αὐτὴν κύκλος εὐφυή]ς. ἡ[λ]ί[ο]υ δὲ ἐσ[τιν ὁ]  
 [τοῦ κύκλου στέφανος εἰκῶν. κυ]άνεός ἐστιν, ῥόδο[ς] ἐμπερή[ς,  
 εὐει]- 3  
 [δῆς τὴν θεὰν ἀ]κτίσι [κομᾶι, καί] εἰσιν αὐτὰι πτερῶν ἀνατο[λαί.  
 με]-

- [ρίζονται δὲ αὐτὸν Αἰθί[οπε]ς μὲν τὴν ζωή[ν, Αἰγύπ]τιοι δὲ [τὴν  
 τε]-
- 40 [λευτήν. ἐπει]δὲν γὰρ [ἀποθά]νη (σὺν χ[ρόνωι δὲ τοῦτο πάσχει  
 μακρῶι,)] .4
- [ὁ παῖς αὐτὸ]ν ἐπὶ τὸν Νεῖλον φ[έρει, σχεδιάσας αὐτῶι καὶ τὴν  
 ταφήν.]
- [σμύρνης γὰρ] βῶ[[μον]]λος/ τῆς εὐωδ[εστάτης, ὅσον ἰκανὸν πρὸς  
 ὄρνι]-
- [θος ταφήν, ὄρ]ύτ'τει τε τῶι στόματι [καὶ κοιλαίνει κατὰ μέσον,]  
 [καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα θή]κη γίνεταί τῶι [νεκρῶι. ἐνθεις δὲ καὶ  
 ἑναρμόσας] .5
- col. v
- 1 [τὸν ὄρνιν] τῆι σορῶι κ[αὶ εἰς τὸ χάσμα γήινωι χῶμα]-  
 [τι, ἐπὶ τὸ]ν Νεῖλον οὔ[τως ἵπταται τὸ ἔργον φέρων.]  
 [ἔπεται] δὲ αὐτῶι χορὸς ἄ[λλων ὀρνίθων ὥσπερ]  
 [δορυφό]ρων, καὶ ἔοικεν ὁ ὄ[ρνις ἀποδημοῦντι βασιλεῖ]
- 5 [καὶ τὴν] πόλιν οὐ πλανᾶται τ[ὴν Ἥλιου· ὄρνιθος αὕτη] .6  
 [μετοικία ν]εκροῦ. ἔστηκέν οὐ[ν ἐπὶ μετεώρου σκοπῶν]  
 [καὶ ἐκδέχεται τοὺς] προπόλ[οὺς τοῦ θεοῦ. ἔρχεται δὴ]  
 [τις ἱερεὺς Αἰγύ]πτιος, βιβλίον [ἐξ ἀδύτων φέρων, καὶ]  
 [δοκιμάζει τὸν ὄρνιν] ἐκ τῆς γραφῆ[ς].
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## COMMENTARY

In the following notes the text of Π<sup>4</sup> is collated with codices cited in the Vilborg edition as follows:

Family α:

W (*Vaticanus gr.* 1349), XII cent.

M (*Marcianus gr.* 409), XIII cent. (or earlier?)

A (*Anglicanus* 16 D.xviii), XVI cent. (copied from M)

D (*Vaticanus gr.* 914), XIV cent. (excerpts)

Family β:

V (*Vaticanus gr.* 114), XIII cent.

R (*Vaticanus gr.* 1348), XVI cent.

E (*Ambrosianus gr.* 394), XV(I) cent.

ε = R and E when in agreement

G (*Marcianus gr.* 607), XV cent.

Family φ:

F (*Laurentianus conv.soppr.* 627), XIII cent.

col. i [17.2–19.2]

1. καὶ del. Cobet
2. ]η τῆς συμφορᾶ[ς Π<sup>4</sup> : λύπη με τῆς συμφορᾶς codd. : με om. G. Π<sup>4</sup> has room for με at the end of the line, which would be short without it.
3. ἐξεκώφησε Hemsterhuis : ἐξεκούφισε codd. : ἐξεκώφωσε Salmasius
- 3–4. καὶ ἀφαιρεῖ[σθ]αι [ἐπεχείρουν τὸ ξίφος or τὸ ξίφος ἐπεχείρουν Π<sup>4</sup> : καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἐπεχείρουν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι G : καὶ ἐπεχείρουν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὸ ξίφος rell., Vilborg
- 4–5. θανάτου καλοῦ rell. : τοῦ καλοῦ F
5. The lacuna of line 4 will not accommodate the text of the codices, while that of line 5 requires a short additional word. I have therefore transposed ἔφην from its position in line 4 after θεῶν in the codices to line 5 after καλοῦ.
6. καὶ ἐὰν script.plen. Π<sup>4</sup>? : κᾶν codd. Even so the received text lacks 4–5 letters of filling the lacuna; I therefore insert τῆς before Λευκίπης. || βιάζεσθε G : βιάσησθε rell.
- 7–8. τὸ δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς λύπης ξίφος om. M
8. καταπέπληγε G : καταπέπηγε rell.
- 8–9. τ]έμνει κατ' ὀλίγον τὴν ψυ[χὴν Π<sup>4</sup> recte : τὴν ψυχὴν om. codd. omn. : τεμεῖ μετ' ὀλίγον Schmidt
9. ἄρ' ante ἀθανάτω Nabers || βούλεσθαι ἀεὶ Π<sup>4</sup> : βούλεσθε codd. No doubt -αι for -ε, phonetically equivalent; I take ἀεὶ to modify ἀποθνήσκειν.
10. οὖν ὁ Μενέλαος codd. Since the lacuna is 3–4 letters too short for the received text, I omit οὖν ὁ as the least essential words.
11. σοὶ ἀναβιώσεται MR : σοὶ νῦν ἀναβιώσεται rell. The lacuna will scarcely accommodate νῦν. || πρὸς Π<sup>4</sup> α F : εἰς β || The final letter visible in the line is *tau*, which would entail a highly unusual word division. But to its lower right a small triangle of surface is lost, possibly (though doubtfully) enough to have accommodated *ov*; or the scribe may have neglected to complete the final syllable in a line already full.
12. The lacuna requires a space or word of about 5–6 letters not preserved in the codices, possibly an adjective modifying μου: cf. Cruceius' translation (1554), "tantis (conflictatum) malis irrides."
13. A short line; perhaps a word of 3–5 letters in the lacuna was lost.

14. ἀπιστεῖς F : ἀπιστεῖ rell. || ἔφ[η] μοι Π<sup>4</sup> : ἔφη σύ μοι codd. The small second lacuna has no space for σύ; it might have been written above the line or in the first lacuna just before ἔφη.
15. μου Π<sup>4</sup> : που codd. || τρίς VεF : τρεῖς αG || ἐπάταξεν Π<sup>4</sup> : ἐπάταξε codd.
16. κάτωθεν φω]νῆς ἀκούω καὶ πάνυ Π<sup>4</sup> : κάτωθεν ἀκούω φωνῆς πάνυ codd.
17. εἶχε G : ἴσχει rell. || ἀπέβλεπον Π<sup>4</sup>α : ἐπέβλεπον F : ἔβλεπον β
- 18–19. ἦνοιγεν (μου add. W) καὶ ἀνέβαινε V ε mediis omissis: ἀνέβαι]νε Π<sup>4</sup> alone, which otherwise supports the β tradition.
19. φρικωδεστα[ Π<sup>4</sup> : φρικωδέστατον codd.
20. παρ' αὐτῆς ἢ γαστήρ ἅπασα Π<sup>4</sup> : αὐτῆς ἢ γαστήρ πᾶσα codd. : ἢ γαστήρ αὐτῆς πᾶσα F : (γὰρ) αὐτῆς Castiglioni, apparently supported by the papyrus' error παρ || ἐντέρω G : ἐντέρων rell.
21. περιπλέκεται μοι Π<sup>4</sup> : μοι περιπλέκεται (ἐμπεριπλέκεται G) codd. || καὶ συνέφουμεν καὶ ἄμφω κατεπέσομεν om. W : καὶ ἄμφω κατεπέσομεν om. F : κατεπέσαμεν M
23. βλέπω Π<sup>4</sup> : ὀρῶ codd. || Λευκίππην κρατῶ; ταύτης οὐκ (?) ὀρῶ transp. G || ante οὐ κρατῶ hab. α F ταύτην, β ταύτης : om. Π<sup>4</sup> || οὐκ post καὶ add. M
24. λαλούσης αF : λεγούσης β || οὖν rell. : γοῦν G || ἂ οὖν χθές ἐθεασάμην, τίνα ἦν; ἢ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα codd. : ]να ἦν ἢ γα[ Π<sup>4</sup>. Spacing of the fragments requires a word of ca 4 letters between γὰρ and ἐκεῖνα. ἐνύπνια here, though apparently too long, would provide more idiomatic word order, but its transposition would require a word of similar length in line 25.
25. ταῦτα ἐνύπνια codd. For the lacuna of Π<sup>4</sup>, see the preceding note.
- 25–26. ζῶ]ν ἐκεῖνό τε Λευ[κίππης Π<sup>4</sup> : ζῶν ὡς κάκεινο τὸ τῆς Λευκίππης β, τῆς om. α F. The τε of the papyrus and apparent omission of ὡς make the awkward text of the codices even more difficult. One must suppose either an error or a substantially different text in the preceding and following lacunae. The papyrus' ΤΕΛΕΥ may be part of τελευτάω or a derivative, in antithesis to ζῶν.
26. Ἄλλὰ νῦν μὲν ὁ Μενέλαος ἔφη M : μὲν om. rell. The length of the lacuna requires at least μὲν, preferably an even longer supplement.

27. στέρνα **α β** : στέρεα **F** || ]νφ[ Π<sup>4</sup> : συμφύσεται codd. || και ἄτρωτον ὄψει codd. Both the sense and the lacuna require supplement, for which I suggest αὐτήν preceding ἄτρωτον.
28. ἀναφαίνω post ὄψει add. **G** || ἀλλ' ἐπικάλυψαί σου τὸ πρόσωπον codd. Since the lacuna requires a shorter text, I omit ἀλλ' and σου as least essential.
30. <καὶ> ante ἄμα Hercher, for which the lacuna allows no room. γὰρ post ἄμα **G** || τὰ ἐπὶ τῆι γαστρὶ μαγ' [γανεύματα Π<sup>4</sup> recte : τὰ μαγγανεύματα τὰ ἐπὶ τῆ γαστρὶ codd.
31. ἐπικα[τέστησεν Π<sup>4</sup> : ἀποκατέστησεν **α R G** : ἀπεκατέστησεν **V E F**
32. δὲ **β** : om. **α F** : τε Hercher || και ἐ[γὼ Π<sup>4</sup> : κἀγὼ codd. || The codices' text is too long for the second lacuna; I therefore omit μὲν after μόλις.
33. ἀπέστησα codd. : ἀπέσπασα Mehler
34. τὴν ante Λευκίπην add. codd. : om. Π<sup>4</sup>
35. τοῦ ante Μενελάου **V G**
36. θεῶν **G V<sup>ms</sup> R<sup>ms</sup>** : om. cett. || ποῖ Π<sup>4</sup>**α V ε F** : πῆ **G** : ποῦ Jacobs || τί ποτε **α F** : τί **β** : τίνα ποτὲ Cobet || At the right margin the papyrus preserves two elongated strokes not characteristic of a letter in this hand; possibly it is an irregular extension of a final *sigma*. The lacuna would accommodate an additional word not preserved in the codices.
38. λέγε δὲ **α F** : ἀλλ' ἤδη λέγε **β** || λέγει οὖν ὁ Μενέ[λαος Π<sup>4</sup> : ὁ οὖν Μενέλαος λέγει codd.
39. τοῦτο Π<sup>4</sup> : ταῦτα codd.
40. οὖν μοι Π<sup>4</sup> rell. : μοι οὖν **F**
41. κόμην rell. : πόλιν **V** || οὖν rell. : γούν **G**
- 41–42. ναυαγία rell. : ναυμαχία **E**
42. περιεπέσομεν **β F** : περιεπέσαμεν **α** || προσέρριψε codd. : προσε[...]ε Π<sup>4</sup>, presumably failing to double the *rho* || τῆς om. **G**
43. τοῦ Σατύρου rell. : τοῦ om. Π<sup>4</sup>**G F** || ταύτην codd. : ταύτη Jacobs
44. The traditional text lacks 5–8 letters of filling the lacuna required to account for the vertical alignment of the syllables surviving from lines 43 and 44. Vilborg (comm. *ad loc.*) suggested τὴν κόμην or τὴν χώραν only to reject them, but one of these probably stood here. || παραφυλαττόντων **W F** : παραφυλασσόντων **M** : φυλασσόντων **β** || δ' Π<sup>4</sup> : δὲ codd. || ἄγομαι Π<sup>4</sup>, cett. : ἔρχομαι **F**

col. ii [19.2–21.2]

1. ]ιν μου Π<sup>4</sup> : λύουσί μου V ε : μου om. rell.
2. συνπονείν Π<sup>4</sup> : συμπονείν codd.
3. δὴ om. V ε || ἐμὸν οἰκέτην Π<sup>4</sup> : οἰκέτην om. codd.
- 3–4. ὅπως Π<sup>4</sup>, Cobet : ὅμως codd. The papyrus thus vindicates the conjecture of Cobet, who proposed also to read ἐπιδείξεις in line 4, the Attic construction (independent ὅπως + fut. indic.) equivalent to an imperative (Smyth 2213), as at 6.4.2.23 and 6.13.3.1. But the scribe of Π<sup>4</sup> uniquely wrote ἐπιδείξειν, above the final syllable of which the same hand (apparently) wrote the alternative ending -αι, whether as aorist active infinitive (so W F) or aorist middle imperative (so M). Presumably the latter interpretation gave rise to the ἐπίδειξον of the β family. With the early loss of the future tense, the now useless ὅπως was 'corrected' to ὅμως as all the codices attest.
4. ἔφασαν α GF : ἔφησαν V ε || ἐπιδείξειν Π<sup>4</sup> a.c., \αι/ p.c. : ἐπιδείξεις Cobet : ἐπίδειξαι M : ἐπιδείξαι W F : ἐπίδειξον β || πρῶτον τολμηρὸν τι σαυτοῦ Π<sup>4</sup> : σεαυτὸν (ἐαυτῶν F) τολμηρὸν πρῶτον codd.
5. Lacunam post τούτῳ conj. Cobet || χρήσιμον Π<sup>4</sup> vitiose : χρησὸν codd. || καθᾶραι Π<sup>4</sup>, rell. : καθῆραι GF. A slanting stroke in the left margin marks the line as containing the error χρῆσ{ι}μον. Cf. ii 29 and iii 5 and notes *ad locc.*
6. καὶ om. W
7. σορῶ om. β || ἀναχωρεῖν Π<sup>4</sup> rell. : ἀναχωρῆσαι F
8. ὑπερβάλλοι Π<sup>4</sup> W F : ὑπερβάλοι M V R : ὑπερβάλη E G || τὸν τόπον Π<sup>4</sup> A : τὸν τρόπον α F : ὁ τρόπος β : τὸ ἄτοπον Jacobs
9. ὁ σὸς γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν λόγος Π<sup>4</sup> : σὸς γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν ὁ λόγος codd.
10. δὲ Π<sup>4</sup>, codd. : δὴ Richards || ἐβαδίζομεν Π<sup>4</sup> recte : βιαζόμενος codd. || ἔκλαιον Π<sup>4</sup> W F : (καὶ) ἔκλαιον Koenen (*ap.* Henrichs) : ἔκλαιον M β || δέσποινα Π<sup>4</sup> : δέσποτα codd. Satyros here addresses not Clitophon but Leucippe, who is not only present but it is she who has requested this long account for Clitophon's edification.
11. περὶ τῆς/ Λευκίππης Π<sup>4</sup> : τῆς om. M : περὶ τῆς Λευκίππης rell. || πυθόμενος Π<sup>4</sup>, rell. : πειθόμενος G || δεόμενος Π<sup>4</sup> : ἐδεόμην codd.
12. ἡμῶν ἀγαθ[ος] Π<sup>4</sup> a.c., ἡμῖν ἀγ. p.c. : ἀγαθὸς ἡμῖν W V ε F : ἀγαθὸς ἐν ἡμῖν M : pron. om. G. The corrector writes *iota* be-

- tween dots immediately above the *omega*; cf. line 26 *infra* and note.
13. προτέρα **α** : προτεραία **β**F, Vilborg. The length of lacuna supports the reading of the **α** group.
- 13–14. καθ[εζό]μενοι τῆι θαλατ'τηι περι τού[των σκοποῦν]τες  
Π<sup>4</sup> : καθεζόμενοι πρὸς τῆ θαλάττη (θαλάσση **β**) λυπούμενοι  
καὶ περι τούτων σκοποῦντες **α** F. Here the codices appear to have padded the text.
15. ἴδοντες Π<sup>4</sup> || πλανηθεῖσαν *rell.* : πλέουσαν F || ἐπ' *cett.* : ἐς F
16. νεὼς Π<sup>4</sup>, **α** F : νηὸς **β**
17. φθά[νου]σιν αὐτοῦ[ς Π<sup>4</sup> : αὐτοὺς *om. codd.*
- 18–20. ἦν *post* αὐτοῖς *add. codd.* || τὰ Ὀμήρου *cett.* : τὰ τοῦ Ὀμήρου M || τῶι στόματι Π<sup>4</sup>, *codd.* : *secl. Mitscherlich* : τῶ σχήματι Berger || [*ca* 6] | τῆς νεὼς Π<sup>4</sup>, *om. codd.* Accepting the codices' ἦν after αὐτοῖς in line 18, Cobet added οὖν after Ὀμηρικὴν to rationalize the two apparently paratactic but asyndetic clauses. As it stands, the received text is ungrammatical. Before τῆς νεὼς one should expect ἐπὶ. To fill the lacuna and rectify the grammar, I suggest ὦν following θεάτροις (without punctuation), replacing the codices' ἦν (line 18) and obviating the need for Cobet's οὖν.
21. οὕτω Π<sup>4</sup> **α** G : οὕτως VεF || ἐπεχείρει **β** : ἐπεχείρουν **α** F || πρὸς *cett.* : περι G
22. πρώτους EG : πρώτως *rell.*
25. τις ἐκτραπ[εῖσα Π<sup>4</sup> : ἐκτραπεῖσά τις *codd.* || τῶι ναυαγίω [Π<sup>4</sup>], *codd.*, to be construed with ἐκτραπεῖσα, not with κομισθεῖσα as by some editors. The lacuna does not afford room for Wifstrand's insertion of ἐν before τῶι ναυαγίω.
26. καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς Π<sup>4</sup>, confirming Wifstrand's addition of καὶ, which all codices omit. || τῶι ῥῶι *suppl. vel emend. supra lineam* · πόρρω· Π<sup>4</sup> : τῶ ῥοί **β** : τῶ ῥέει **α** : τῶ ῥεῖθρῳ W<sup>mg.</sup> : lacuna *ca* 7 *litt.* F. Π<sup>4</sup> alone offers the Attic contracted form ῥῶι for Ionic ῥοί 'flow, tide'. As at line 12 *supra*, immediately above τωρωι apparently the same hand writes ·πορρω· without expunging or striking through the words below (contrast the 'correction' in iv line 42, where the corrector, probably a second hand, strikes through the rejected syllable and writes its replacement above without dots). It is probable, therefore, that the scribe uses the dots to signify an alternative reading drawn from another manuscript. Palaeographically similar, πόρρω might be a false emendation advanced by a scribe who failed to recognize τῶι ῥῶι. In any case, it is unique. || κομι-



σθεισα Π<sup>4</sup>, codd. : κυλισθεισα G || KA[ om. codd. The lacuna affords room for a word or short phrase beginning κα- which is not preserved in the received text. Appropriate sense would be provided by either of two phrases used by the author, κατὰ τύχην (2.7.3.2, 21.4.1, 31.4.1; 5.15.1.1) and κατὰ δαίμονα (3.22.3.4 and 5.2.1.1), although either would yield an excessively long line. Professor Henrichs persuasively suggests καιρίως, 'opportunistically'; though not appearing elsewhere in Tatius, it occurs at Chariton 1.14.8.1 and Heliodorus 1.32.2.5.

27. παρόντος ἅμα κάμοῦ cett. : παρόντος ἐμοῦ F
28. τὴν cett. : τὸ F
29. A slanting stroke extends into the left margin, apparently to mark the vacant space of 9 letters across which the scribe has extended the top stroke of the *sigma* of ξίφος (*cf.* line 5 *supra* and esp. col. iii line 5 *infra*); no erasure or cancellation of an earlier text is apparent, nor do the codices record any alternative reading here. || ἔχον παλαιστῶν MVEF : ἔχων παλ. WG : ἀνὰ παλ. ἀνὰ R : ὅσον Hirschig || The length of the lacuna indicates the loss of up to 10 letters before παλαιστῶν, preserved in no codex. ὅσον alone would seem too short: perhaps, e.g., τὸ μῆκος ὅσον (or ὅσην), as I have printed.
30. τεσσάρων Π<sup>4</sup>, codd. Only here does Π<sup>4</sup> show -σσ- instead of Attic -ττ-. || βραχύτατον cett. : τραχύτατον M
31. ὅσον cett. : ὅσων W. Π<sup>4</sup> could have had either. || οὐ Π<sup>4</sup>, cett. : οὐπω V || οὐ πλείω del. Hercher
- 31-32. ἔλα]θεν Π<sup>4</sup> : ἔλαθε codd.
32. κατὰ WF : καὶ cett. || τοῦ om. β
- 32-33. τὸ μικρὸν ἐκεῖνο ξίφος cett. : om. V
- 33-34. τοσοῦτον ὅσον εἶχεν codd. : τοσοῦ]τον εἶχεν Π<sup>4</sup>. Evidently Π<sup>4</sup> inverted the order of the correlatives, since without ὅσον the lacuna of line 33 would be *ca* 4 letters short. The word order assumed for Π<sup>4</sup> is more Attic, that of the codices more colloquial.
34. τοῦμπαλιν cett. : τὸ ἔμπαλιν F
35. κατεδύετο Π<sup>4</sup>, codd. : καταδύεται M || Since the received text is too long for the second lacuna, possibly the papyrus omitted either ἄρα or ὡς εἰκόσ.
37. νῦν β : om. cett. In the lacuna Π<sup>4</sup> has room for νῦν.
38. συναγωνίσηται cett. : συναγωνίσασθαι G : συναγωνιεῖται Cobet

40. The vertical alignment of the surviving fragment suggests that Π<sup>4</sup> may have omitted the codices' ὅτι. || ῥαδινώτατον cett. : ῥαδινώτερον G || For συρράψομεν see *infra* on line 42. || σχῆμα cett. : χῶμα F || The first lacuna appears to be 3–5 letters too short to hold the received text.
41. θ]ηρίων Π<sup>4</sup> : θηρείων codd.
42. ῥάψομεν Π<sup>4</sup> : ῥάψομεν codd. Having the future indicative here instead of the codices' hortatory subjunctive, Π<sup>4</sup> probably had also συρράψομεν in line 40 and ἐπικρύψομεν at the end of the sentence. || The first lacuna seems to afford space for an additional short word.

col. iii [21.2–23.1]

1. ῥάϊο[v] Π<sup>4</sup> : ῥαδίαν F : ῥαδίως cett. || διαπίπτοι Π<sup>4</sup> α F : διεκίπτοι V ε : διεκίπτειν G || τῆ κόρη α F : τὴν κόρην β
2. τὸν om. F
3. ζώμασιν Π<sup>4</sup> β : ζώμασιν α F || ἐνδεδεμένην Π<sup>4</sup> ε G : ἐνδεδυμένην α V F : ἐνδεδεμένη Hercher || For [ἐπικρύψομεν] instead of the codices' ἐπικρύψομεν see *supra* note on col. ii line 42.
- 4–6. ὁ σίδηρος γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐσταλμένην διὰ ταύτης (-την F) ἀνατμηθῆναι μέσων (μέσον F) τῆς ἐσθῆτος λέγει ὁ χρησμός codd. : ὁ χρησμός γὰρ - - - λέγει anon. ap. Schaefer (Θ?) : [ ? ] | / αὐτὴν ε *vacat ca* 12 μενη στολη διὰ ταύτην ἀνατμη[ ? ] λέγει Π<sup>4</sup>. The text of the codices is corrupt, differently also that of the papyrus, for (as Henrichs noted) line 5 is marked in the left margin with the sign /; *cf.* note on col. ii line 29 *supra*. In any case, Π<sup>4</sup>'s στολη obviates a need for the codices' τῆς ἐσθῆτος (for which the lacuna affords insufficient space), and the papyrus might be in part emended to read [ὁ μὲν γὰρ] αὐτὴν ἐ[σταλ]μένη(ν) στολῆ διὰ ταύτη(ς) ἀνατμη[θῆναι μέσων] λέγει. Although the scribe usually writes *iota*-adscript in dat. sing., he omits the *iota* at line 10 and col. iv lines 7, 15 and 16. Thus ταύτη(ς) would refer to στολῆ, on which the codices' τῆς ἐσθῆτος is a gloss. For the codices' meaningless ὁ σίδηρος, T. W. Lumb (CQ 14 [1920] 148) proposed the palaeographically ingenious ποδήρει accepted by Vilborg. Hercher proposed ὀλοκλήρως accepted by some editors. But Jacobs reports the variants (mentioned above) found in Schaefer's copy of the *ed. princ.* (now lost) which are assumed to have come from the lost *Codex Thuanus* (Θ), for which see Vilborg I p. xxxi. Either

- ⊕ may have had the same text here as Π<sup>4</sup> or the Schaefer marginalia are astute emendations. The sentence may have begun ὁ χρησμός γάρ, or alternatively, may have begun simply ὁ μὲν γάρ (resuming the subject of the preceding sentence), and σίδηρος may have been intruded by a later copyist who did not perceive the referent. By this episode is fulfilled Panthea's dream at 2.23.5, where μέσην ἀνατεμεῖν τῆ μαχαίρα τὴν γαστέρα anticipates the present passage and may offer further clues for its restoration.
6. ὄρας δὲ τοῦτι Π<sup>4</sup> : ὄρας τοῦτο codd. || ἐρίσ[η Π<sup>4</sup> : ἐρείση codd.
  7. κολεόν Π<sup>4</sup> : κουλεόν codd. The papyrus has the Attic form, codices the Ionic. || The lacuna has no room for the codices' ὀρώντες preceding δοκοῦσι.
  8. βαπτισθαι Π<sup>4</sup> : βαπτίζεσθαι codd. While erroneous omission of -ζε- is possible, the scribe of Π<sup>4</sup> (and the author) may well have written the Attic and more precise βεβαπτίσθαι, which the archetype of the codices then trivialized.
  9. ἀνέθορεν Π<sup>4</sup> : ἀνέθορε cett. : ἀνέδραμε F || καταλίπει Π<sup>4</sup> : καταλείπει cett. : καταλιπὼν G || ὄσον Π<sup>4</sup> β : ἐς α : εἰς F
  10. γαστέρα ταύτ[η]ν Π<sup>4</sup> : ταύτην om. codd. || τεμεῖν Π<sup>4</sup> β : τεμὼν α F
  11. τς Π<sup>4</sup>, cett. : om. G
  - 11–12. καταρρεῖ codd. The scribe of Π<sup>4</sup> sometimes writes single rho for double (cf. col. i line 42).
  12. ἀνακο[ Π<sup>4</sup>, ]ακουφ [ Π<sup>5</sup> : ἀνακουφίζεται codd. From this point to col. iv line 8 the fragments of P.Oxy. LVI 3836 (Π<sup>5</sup>) overlap those of Π<sup>4</sup>; all surviving readings of Π<sup>5</sup> are cited hereinafter.
  13. ]ρον καὶ τὸν [ Π<sup>5</sup> || τρόπον τοὺς ὀρώντας Π<sup>4</sup>, codd., ]ν τοὺς ὀρων[ Π<sup>5</sup>
  - 13–14. δοκεῖ γὰρ τοσοῦτον codd. : ] γὰρ τ[ Π<sup>4</sup>, ]οκεῖ γὰρ το[ Π<sup>5</sup>
  14. καταβαίνειν codd. : καταβῆναι (έν) Cobet : ]αινειν τῆς Π<sup>5</sup> || ἐ]κ τῆς σφαγῆς Π<sup>4</sup> : τῆς σφαγῆς β : τῆ σφαγῆ α F || κάτεισιν Π<sup>4</sup> Π<sup>5</sup> : ἀνεισιν codd. Since the envisioned motion of the blade is reversing, Π<sup>4</sup> and Π<sup>5</sup> doubtless had ἀναβαίνειν in the preceding clause, as Henrichs proposed (*supra* n.1 : 225).
  15. μηχ[ Π<sup>4</sup>, ]νης του[ Π<sup>5</sup>, μηχανῆς τούτων codd. || οὖν οὔτ]ως Π<sup>4</sup> : οὔτως om. codd. : the lacuna of Π<sup>5</sup> has not room for both οὖν and οὔτως, so presumably agrees with the codices. || ἴδοιεν Π<sup>4</sup> M, in lac. Π<sup>5</sup> : εἴδοιεν W : εἶδοίεν F : εἶδειεν β || λη-σται codd., λησ[ Π<sup>4</sup>, ]ησται Π<sup>5</sup>

16. ἀποκεκρύψεται Π<sup>4</sup> : ἀποκέκρυπται codd.
17. προπηδήσεται β (προσ- R) : ἀποπηδήσεται α F || ἐπὶ om.  
M
- 17–18. θύσομεν A G : θήσομεν M V ε F : θήσωμεν W || τὸ  
Jacobs : τότε codd. : desunt MG
18. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς codd. : ἡμεῖς om. Π<sup>4</sup>. In the second lacuna there is  
no room for ἡμεῖς.
- 18–19. καὶ --- καταθήσομεν om. M G, a clear case of  
haplography.
19. καταθήσομεν cett. : καταθήσωμεν W || ἀκήκοα δὴ Π<sup>4</sup> :  
ἀκήκοα codd. || οὐκ ante ἀκήκοας add. G || μεικ[ρῶι Π<sup>4</sup> :  
μικρῶ codd.
20. δεῖν cett. : δεῖ G || τι om. M || τολμ]ηρότατον Π<sup>4</sup> : τολμηρὸν  
codd. : ]ολ[ Π<sup>5</sup>, with lacuna apparently too small for the su-  
perlative || ἐπιδείξασθαι Π<sup>4</sup>, cett., ]ξασθαι Π<sup>5</sup> : ἐπιδείξαντες F
- 20–21. ὥστε ἔστι codd., ]στε ἔστι [ Π<sup>5</sup>
21. ]ν αὐτῶ[ ] [ ca 11 ]αι ταύτην Π<sup>5</sup>
22. ταῦτα Π<sup>5</sup>, codd. || ἐδεόμην Δία codd., ]μην Δία Π<sup>4</sup> : ]ην  
Με[νελάου Δία Ξέ]νιον κα[ Π<sup>5</sup>
- 22–23. [ ca 8–12 | ca 10–14 τ]ραπέζης καὶ κοινῆς Π<sup>4</sup> : ἀναμιμ-  
νήσκων --- κοινῆς om. M : τραπέζης om. F : ἀναμιμνήσκων  
τραπέζης καὶ χρηστῆς καὶ κοινῆς cett. The first lacuna of line  
23 no doubt held καὶ χρηστῆς, which the codices have  
transposed to follow τραπέζης, giving rise to confusion and  
conjecture. I should reconstruct : κοινῆς [ἀναμιμνήσκων  
καὶ χρηστῆς τ]ραπέζης καὶ κοινῆς ναυα[γίας.
- 24–25. ἀποθανεῖν Π<sup>4</sup> : ἀποθανεῖν δεήση (δεήσει M) codd. : cf.  
κἂν ἀποθανεῖν δεήση vel δέη Xen. Eph. 2.7.5, 4.5.3 || κα[ Π<sup>4</sup> :  
καλὸς ὁ κίνδυνος α F : γλυκὺς ὁ θάνατος β : ambo retinent  
edd. || Here in the lacunae of lines 24–25 there was clearly a  
different text. There seems to be no proper place for the  
δεήση omitted after ἀποθανεῖν : either it (or δέη) stood at the  
end of line 24 after κα[λὸς or it was omitted altogether either  
by error or by the rare construction (cf. Soph. *El.* 1483)  
wherein an obvious subjunctive introduced by κἂν is  
omitted (Smyth 1766.b). If the following κα[ began the  
phrase καλὸς ὁ κίνδυνος as attested by the α codices and F,  
the line remains ca 4–7 letters short at the right margin and  
line 25 3–4 letters short at the left, but insufficient room is  
given for the rival phrase γλυκὺς ὁ θάνατος. If κα[ intro-  
duced some different word, there would be space for either  
phrase but not for both. For καλός with κίνδυνος there are

many parallels, from the *locus classicus* at Plato *Phaedo* 114D6 onward to Heliod. 7.1.1 and Charit. 1.1.4, 1.10.6, 5.3.1; for γλυκὺς with θάνατος only Ach.Tat. 2.26.3 and *Anth.Gr.* 14.36.2, so far as I can ascertain. If, however, an original καλὸς ὁ θάνατος (which one would expect) gave rise to an amplification, there are even more parallels, including Ach. Tat. 3.17.3 and 6.2.10. I find no occurrence of γλυκὺς with κίνδυνος. After καλὸς there would be room for δέη or the missing δεήση, but its position there would be awkward and unparallelled.

25. ἔφην β : ἔφη α F || τε post ἡ add. codd. : del. Hercher, Vilborg. The surface of Π<sup>4</sup> is broken away here above a *kollesis*. || κόρη cett.: om. M

25–26. πυθομένω cett. : πειθομένω F

26. εἶπε ante καταλιπεῖν transp. F || παρὰ Π<sup>4</sup>, cett. : περὶ V

27–28. Here Π<sup>4</sup> had a radically different text from the codices' amplification of the context, οἱ δὲ τῶν ληστῶν πρὸς τὸν λήσταρχον ἐκφυγόντες ἔλεγον (πρὸς F) (μὲν E) πάντας (μὲν VRG) τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰλημμένους τὴν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον μάχην ἐκπεφευγέναι—a loose style not characteristic of Tatius, and not consistent with 3.13.7. To fill the lacunae one might consider, e.g., [ ... τὸν λήστα]ρχον, πάντας διεκπαῖσαι ζῶντας τ[οὺς δεσμώτας | εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. ὥστε ἀ]ποκείσεται σοι, which would satisfy the required sense and fill the lacunae, "the bandit-chief, that all the captives without loss of life had broken through to (the safety of) the army camp"; I cannot guess what governed λήσταρχον, and it is of course fruitless to supplement lacunae so large. I take διεκπαῖσαι as infinitive continuing the *oratio obliqua* of the preceding clause; in Josephus, Pausanias, and Philostratus the verb is intransitive, in Appian and Plutarch transitive. It is a relatively rare word (*cf.* its synonym διακόπτομεν at 3.13.5) not occurring elsewhere in the romances and apparently unfamiliar to the scribe of the codices' archetype.

28. αὐτῶι Π<sup>4</sup>, cett. : αὐτῶν G || χάρις Π<sup>4</sup> : ἡ χάρις codd. : del. Hercher

29. ἐλεῆσαι codd. : ἐρύση Jacobs

29–30. The few letters surviving at the margins of Π<sup>5</sup> accord with the vulgate text (ed. n. *ad loc.*).

30. οὖν cett. : om. V || περὶ β : παρὰ α F || μηχανήματος codd. : μηχανατος Π<sup>4</sup>. Anticipatory omission of -ημ- is one of the

- few certain errors of the scribe of Π<sup>4</sup>. || σκεύην cett. : παρασκευήν G
31. μέλλοντος cett. : λέγοντος F
- 32–34. The vulgate text of these lines condenses that documented in the fragments of Π<sup>4</sup> and Π<sup>5</sup>, which in turn evidently differed from each other.
32. κατὰ δαίμονα codd., in lac. Π<sup>4</sup>: ]αιμονα δ[ Π<sup>5</sup> || Νόμος ἡμῖν ἔστιν α F : ἡμῖν V ε : Νόμος [ἡμ]ῖ[ν] Π<sup>4</sup> : Νόμος ἦν G : in lac. Π<sup>5</sup>
- 32–33. ἔφη τοὺς πρωτομύστας Commelini *ed. pr.* (from C?), ἔφη [τ]οὺς πρω[ Π<sup>4</sup> : ]φη τοὺς τ[ Π<sup>5</sup>, where the editor thinks the crossbar of τ extends too far left for π to be read : που vice τοὺς α : ἔφη, πρωτομύστας cett. : transp. G
33. τῆς ἱερείας (ἱερουργίας F W<sup>ms.</sup>) ἄρχεσθαι, μάλιστα α β : ]σθαι [ ca 15 μ]άλιστα Π<sup>4</sup> : τ[ ca 11 ]ης ἱερ[ ca 12 ]ας ἀπὸ | τ[ ca 10 ἄ]ρχεσ[θ]αι | μάλιστα Π<sup>5</sup>, for which the editor suggests as possible restorations τ[ῆς τοιαύτ]ης ἱερ[είας πρωτομύστ]ας or τ[ὸ πρῶτον τοῦτο τ]ῆς ἱερ[είας μετέχοντ]ας ἀπὸ | τ[ῆς θυσίας ἄ]ρχεσ[θ]αι. Neither Π<sup>4</sup> nor Π<sup>5</sup> offers help for the restoration of the other.
34. ὅταν ἄνθρωπον καταθύειν δέη codd. : ] δέη Π<sup>4</sup> : ἄν]θρωπόν τι[να καταθύειν δ]έη Π<sup>5</sup> ed. || εἰς cett. : ἐς G || αὐρίον σοι (σὺ W) codd. : αὐρ]ιόν | σο[ι Π<sup>5</sup>, ]ον [ Π<sup>4</sup>
- 34–35. παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς codd. : ]εσθαι π[ Π<sup>5</sup>, in lac. Π<sup>4</sup>
35. θυσίαν· δεήσει codd. : ]ιαν δεήσε[ι Π<sup>5</sup>, ]ιαν [ Π<sup>4</sup> || καὶ τὸν σὸν οἰκέτην codd., κ]αὶ τὸν σ[ὸ]ν οἰκέτ[ην] Π<sup>4</sup>, οἰκέ]ιτη[ν Π<sup>5</sup>
36. μάλα cett. : μάλιστα G. By lacuna space Π<sup>4</sup> and Π<sup>5</sup> support μάλα. || οὗτος α F : οὕτως β || προθυμησόμεθα cett. : προθυμηθησόμεθα M F : ]σόμεθα Π<sup>4</sup>, ]ιθυ[ Π<sup>5</sup>
37. ὑμῶν cett. : ἡμῶν F : ἡμῖν G || ἡμᾶς cett. : ὑμᾶς VR || αὐτοὺς om. F || δὲ post αὐτοὺς add. W
38. ἀρμοδίως α F : ἀρμοδίους β || ὑμῶν β : om. α F. Vertical alignment with the preceding line leaves a space for ca 5–7 letters additional in the lacuna to the left : apparently Π<sup>4</sup> had [... ὑμῶν αὐ]τῶν, reflecting ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς of the preceding sentence.
39. στέλλομεν cett. : μέλλομεν F || προειρημένον Π<sup>4</sup>, cett. : εἰρημένον G
40. ἑαυτοὺς cett. : αὐτοὺς WF
- 41–42. θᾶτ'τον ὁ ὕπνος [αὐτήν Π<sup>4</sup>, β : θᾶττον αὐτήν ὁ ὕπνος α F

42. εἰ codd. : ἦν Hercher || τι Cobet : τας codd. || ἡ]μῖν ἐμποδὼν Π<sup>4</sup>, Jacobs : ἡμῶν ἐκποδὼν codd.  
 43. τὸ cett. : om. F || αὐτὴν Π<sup>4</sup>, cett. : τὴν κόρην M  
 44. βωμόν· καὶ codd., ]μον· καὶ Π<sup>5</sup> || οἶδας α F : εἶδες β, ]ιδες Π<sup>5</sup>  
 || οὖν cett. : γοῦν G || ἤκούσα παντοδαπὸς codd., ]ου[σα]  
 παντοδ[ Π<sup>4</sup>, ]υσα παντοδα[ Π<sup>5</sup>

col. iv [23.1–25.5]

1. ἐγγνόμην (ἐγιν- G, ἐγεν- R) καὶ διηπόρου α Vε F : ]ινόμην καὶ δι[ Π<sup>5</sup> || [οὐ]κ ἔχων Π<sup>4</sup> : οὐκ ἔχων om. codd. et Π<sup>5</sup> in lac. || ὅ τι ποιήσω codd., ὅ τι ποιη[ Π<sup>4</sup>, ] τι ποιήσω Π<sup>5</sup>  
 1–2. πρὸς τὸν Μενέλαον codd., π[ ca 7 M]ενελα[ Π<sup>5</sup>, in lac. Π<sup>4</sup>  
 2. τὸ δ' οὖν Π<sup>4</sup>, codd. : τὸ γδ/οὖν Π<sup>5</sup> (n. *ad loc.*) || κοινότατον προσπεσὼν Π<sup>4</sup>, codd. : ]τόν προπεσω[ Π<sup>5</sup> || κατησπαζόμεν καὶ codd., κατη[ Π<sup>4</sup>, ]σπαζόμεν καὶ [ Π<sup>5</sup>  
 3. προσεκύνουν ὡς θεόν codd., ]ικυνῶν ὡς θ[ Π<sup>5</sup>, ]ουν ὡς θεόν Π<sup>4</sup> || καί μου κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς Π<sup>4</sup>, conj. Cobet : καί μου κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν codd., ] μου κατὰ τὴν ψυχ[ Π<sup>5</sup>  
 4. ἡδονή. ὡς δὲ τὰ (τὸ Vε) κατὰ Λευκίπτην codd., ἡδ[ονή]|| ὡς δὲ τὰ κατὰ Λευ[κίπ]την Π<sup>5</sup>, τ]ὰ κατὰ Λευκίπτην Π<sup>4</sup> || εἶχέ μοι καλῶς codd. : εἶχέν μοι καλῶ[ Π<sup>5</sup>, εἶχέν μοι καλ[ Π<sup>4</sup> || ὁ δὲ Κλεινίας Π<sup>5</sup>, codd.  
 5. εἶπον τί γέγονεν codd., [εἶ]πο[ν] τί γέγονεν Π<sup>5</sup>, ]νεν Π<sup>4</sup> || καὶ ὁ Μενέλαος Π<sup>4</sup> : ὁ Μενέλαος β : ὁ δὲ Μενέλαος Π<sup>5</sup> cett. || οὐκ οἶδα ἔφη (ἔφην G) codd., Π<sup>4</sup>, Π<sup>5</sup> || μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Π<sup>5</sup>, codd.  
 6. [ναυαγίαν εἶδ]ομεν εὐθύς Π<sup>4</sup> : ναυαγίαν εὐθύς εἶδομεν β : ναυαγίαν εὐθύς εἶδον μὲν Π<sup>5</sup> α F || αὐτὸν τῆς Π<sup>4</sup>, codd., α[ὐ]τὸν τῆς Π<sup>5</sup> || κερίας Π<sup>4</sup> Π<sup>5</sup> : κεραιίας codd. || λαβόμενον codd., λαβόμενο[ν Π<sup>4</sup>, λαβ[ό]μενον Π<sup>5</sup> || ὅποι δὲ Π<sup>5</sup>, cett. : ὅπου δὲ F : ὅπη δὲ G  
 7. κεχώρηκεν οὐκ οἶδα codd., κεχ[ώ]ρηκ[ε]ν οὐκ οἶδα· Π<sup>5</sup>, οὐ]κ οἶδα Π<sup>4</sup> || ἀνεκώκυσα δὴ Π<sup>4</sup> : ἀν[ε]κώ[κ]υσα μὲν οὖν Π<sup>5</sup> : ἀνεκώκυσα (ον F *suprascr.*) οὖν (γοῦν G) codd. || ἐν μέσῃ τῇ χαρᾷ codd., ἐ[ν μέσ]ῃ τῇ χαρᾷ Π<sup>5</sup>, ἐν μέσῃ τῇ χαρ[ᾷ] Π<sup>4</sup>  
 7–8. ταχὺ γὰρ ἐφθόνησέ μοι codd. : ταχ[ὺ | γὰρ ἐφθόνη]σέν μ[οι Π<sup>5</sup>, which breaks off here : ]οι Π<sup>4</sup>  
 8. τις post δαίμων add. codd.  
 8–9. τ[ὸ]ν δι' [ἐμὲ ca 5 | ca 5 ἀποδε]δημηκότα Π<sup>4</sup>, om. codd.  
 The lacuna doubtless began with ἐμὲ, making explicit the reason for its repetition in line 9 and the codices' omission of

- the phrase by haplography; Henrichs' supplement appears to be confirmed by the added Robinson fragment.
9. ἐμὲ Π<sup>4</sup>, cett. : ἐμοῦ V
10. δεύτερον post Λευκίπτην add. F || ἐκ π[άντων Π<sup>4</sup>, rell. : om.  
β
11. θάλασσα codd. || μόνον α : μόνην β F
12. ὦ θάλασσα ἀγρία ante ὦ add. G || θάλατ'τα Π<sup>4</sup>, θάλαττα α F : θάλασσα β (cf. col. ii lin. 14) || ἀγνώμων Π<sup>4</sup> : ἄγνωμον Jacobs : ἀγνώμων codd. || ἐφθ[ό]νεσας Π<sup>4</sup> : ἐφθόνησας codd. Here Π<sup>4</sup> writes the later orthography : cf. LSJ s.v.
13. σου Π<sup>4</sup>, cett. : τοῦ G : om. F
14. σκηνῆς [τῆ]ς ἐμῆς ε[ Π<sup>4</sup> : σκηνῆς εἶσω παρελθόντες τῆς ἐμῆς transp. codd. To fill the lacuna at the right margin, Π<sup>4</sup> must have read σκηνῆς τῆς ἐμῆς εἶσω παρελθόντες.
15. διετρίψαμεν Π<sup>4</sup> : διετρίψαμεν codd.
16. ἔφ τῶι στρατηγῶι τὸ[ν Π<sup>4</sup> : ἔφ ἄγω (προσάγω Jacobs) τὸν Μενέλαον τῶ στρατηγῶ transp. codd. The papyrus must have had τὸν Μενέλαον ἄγω in the right-hand lacuna.
17. [καὶ τὸ ? π]ᾶν καταλέγω Π<sup>4</sup> : καὶ πάντα λέγω α F : καὶ (om. G) ἅπαντα λέγω β
18. καὶ] πυνθάνεται πόση τις εἴη δύ[ναμις Π<sup>4</sup> : πυνθάνεται δὲ πόση (πῶς ἢ W) δύναμις ἐστὶ codd. In Π<sup>4</sup> πυνθάνεται must have been introduced by καὶ or ἔπειτα δὲ *vel sim.*, and εἴη here (optative after historical present) was replaced by the codices' ἐστὶ : "And (then) he enquired how large a force the enemy had."
- 20–21. συνηρρηκέναι μύσ[ος ὡ]ς Π<sup>4</sup> : συνηθροῖσθαι ληστήριον codd. For the vivid and uncommon phrase "a great abomination has streamed together" the codices substitute the weak "a great robber-camp has collected."
22. αὐτα[...].αι Π<sup>4</sup> : αὐται πέντε codd. : <αί> ante πέντε suppl. Cobet. Apparently αὐτα[ί εἰς]ι[ν] αἶ without a number: "we have these thousands adequate against those twenty." || χειλιάδες Π<sup>4</sup> : χιλιάδες codd.
23. οὐδέπω Π<sup>4</sup>, cett. : οὐπω M || ἕτεροι δισχίλιοι πρὸς τούτοις Π<sup>4</sup> : πρὸς τούτοις ἕτεροι δισχίλιοι transp. codd.
24. Ἡλίου πόλιν G : Ἡλιούπολιν cett. After Ἡλίου Π<sup>4</sup> shows a slight space, like the space this scribe often leaves between words.
26. τοῦκεῖθεν Π<sup>4</sup>WV : τοῦ κεῖθεν cett. || ἔλεγεν Π<sup>4</sup> : λέγειν M G, edd. : λέγων cett.



28. τοὺς del. Cobet || κατατρέχοντας cett. : κατέχοντας G
- 28–30. Vertical alignment indicates either that 5–7 letters are lost from the first lacunae of each of these lines, possibly leaving an open square of *ca* 2 cm. inset from the left margin or (so as not to interrupt phrases) within the column, as shown. It is hard to imagine that each of the lines lost some word of the same length at the same relative position. Perhaps the papyrus had a fault which the scribe had to avoid; or perhaps he left space for a small drawing of the Phoenix, for ancient copies of romances were sometimes illustrated (*cf.* K. Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination* [Cambridge (Mass.) 1972] 52 and fig. 38a), though I know no parallels either for an original hole in a literary roll or for a single small vignette inset in such a text.
30. τὴν ταφήν cett. : τάφον V || ΑΝΑΓ'ΚΗΔΗΠΑΣ[ Π<sup>4</sup> : ἀνάγκη (aut ἀνάγκαι?) δ' ἦσαν codd. : ἀνάγκαι δ' ἦσαν *ed.pr.*, Hirschig : ἠναγκάσθησαν Goettling : ἀνάγκη(ν) δὲ πᾶσα(ν) Jacobs : ἀνάγκην δ' εἶναι Hercher : ἀνάγκη δέησαν Lumb : ἀνάγκη δ' ἦν Vilborg. Among these only Jacobs comes close to the original reading of Π<sup>4</sup> : did he find it in Schaefer's notes from cod. Θ (see note on col. iii line 2)? The ΔΗ of Π<sup>4</sup> might be interpreted δῆ, δ' ἦ, or δ' ἦ, though a verb is not required here.
- 30–31. τὴν ἔξοδον ἐπισχεῖν τοσοῦτων ἡμερῶν cett. : τοσοῦτων ἐπισχεῖν τὴν ἔξοδον ἡμερῶν M
31. τίς ὄρνις Π<sup>4</sup>, WF : τίς ὁ ὄρνις cett. || ὅστις cett. : ὅς G
32. ἔφην ante τοσαύτης F, post τιμῆς G || κομίζει Π<sup>4</sup>, cett. : κολάζει G
33. Φοῖνιξ μὲν ὁ ὄρνις ὄνομα codd. For this the first lacuna is too short; the suggested restoration better balances the following τὸ δὲ γένος Αἰθίοψ and preserves the chiasmus. The codices' ὁ ὄρνις is probably a gloss.
- 33–34. τῇ χροιά cett. : τὴν χροιάν MG
34. ἐν κάλλει del. Hercher. The length of the lacuna requires these words. || μὲν τὰ Π<sup>4</sup>, cett. : μὲν γὰρ τὰ D
36. ἐστεφάνωσε Π<sup>4</sup>, codd. : ἐστεφάνωκε Jacobs || εὐφύης codd. (Eustath.) : εὐφαῆς Wifstrand : εὐφεγγῆς Cobet
37. ΡΟΔΟΣ Π<sup>4</sup> vitiose : ῥόδοις codd.
- 37–38. ῥόδοις --- κομᾶ om. M
39. αὐτὸν Π<sup>4</sup> : αὐτοῦ codd. The scribe of Π<sup>4</sup> evidently understood αὐτὸν as dir. obj. of μερίζονται, ζώην and τελευτήν as acc. of respect, while the codices take these nouns as dir. obj.

limited by the gen. αὐτοῦ : “The Ethiopians have possession of him in his life, the Egyptians in his death,” *cf.* LSJ *s.v.* μερίζω II.1.

41. αὐτῷ β : οὕτω α F

42. βῶλον codd. : βῶλος corr. e βωμὸν Π<sup>4</sup>. While βῶλον is more graphic and doubtless the right reading, βωμὸν in the sense ‘tomb’ is at least possible. Unlike the variants recorded between dots at col. ii lines 12 and 26, the syllable -μον is cancelled, and above it an apparently different hand has written -λος, nom. for acc.

44. γίνεται Π<sup>4</sup> : γίνεται codd. || τῷ νεκρῷ cett. : τῶν νεκρῶν F || δὲ cett. : γὰρ V

col. v [25.5–.6]

1. καὶ εἰς codd. : καὶ κλείσας Hercher : κλείσας τε Jacobs : κλείσας Castiglioni : καὶ βύσας Hirschig || γίνω codd. : συμρνίνω Jacobs. Averaging 39 letters, the lines of col. v are some 20% shorter than those of the preceding columns. The probable length of the second lacuna would accommodate the text of the codices better than that of the emenders.

3. The received text gives a line 3–4 letters shorter than average. Perhaps ἀλλοίων for ἄλλων?

4. δορυφόρων G : δορυφορῶν cett. || ὁ ὄρνις Π<sup>4</sup>, cett. : ὁ om. V

5. πλανᾶται α F, prob. Π<sup>4</sup> : πλανᾶ β || <ζητῶν> vel <προσιπτάμενος> post πλανᾶται Richards. The papyrus has no room for either.

6. σκοπῶν V, edd. : σκοποῦ cett.

7. προπόλους cett., prob. Π<sup>4</sup> : προσπόλους G

[10–17]. The rest of the received text of Book 3 would have occupied five additional lines, not including a colophon.