

PATROCLUS UNDRESSED:
A YALE PAPYRUS WITH *HOMERICA* ON *RECTO* AND *VERSO*¹

Mark de Kreijl *Radboud University Nijmegen/Oriel College,
University of Oxford* and
Daniela Colomo *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri Project, University of Oxford*

Abstract. — Edition of P.CtYBR inv. 4673, a set of unpublished fragments from the Yale papyrus collection. The text on the *recto* is a paraliterary work with quotations from the *Iliad* on the topic of Achilles' armour, while on the *verso* are remains of a glossary to *Iliad* 5. Since the hands look to be roughly contemporary, both sides of the roll were in use in the same period, suggesting it was used in some kind of educational context.

Introduction

P.CtYBR inv. 4673 is an unpublished papyrus from the Yale collection, whose five fragments we have been able to reconstruct into a set of three pieces, two of which may in fact belong together. The fragments have writing on both sides, in different hands that can both be assigned to the second or third century CE. The writing along the fibres is a paraliterary work on the *Iliad*, while on the *verso* there are remains of a glossary to *Iliad* 5.² The discussions that can be made out on the *recto* concern Achilles' armour and Patroclus' death, more likely part of a thematic treatise than a running commentary.

Despite the damaged and fragmentary nature of the papyrus, we have been able to reconstruct enough of it to get an idea of its function. The two texts formed part of what appears to have been a double-use roll, with *Homerica* suited to different levels of education on the two sides.

¹ An early draft of this edition was presented at the international colloquium “Il commento ai testi greci. Problemi, metodi e tendenze dell'erudizione antica e bizantina” at Università Ca' Foscari, Venice (29–30.01.2015). We thank Prof. Ettore Cingano for the invitation and the participants for their valuable insights. A later draft of this paper was read by Prof. Filippomaria Pontani (Venice) and Prof. Giuseppe Ucciardello (Messina), for whose comments we are very grateful. We also thank the two anonymous reviewers and Timothy Renner for their comments.

² We would like to thank the Yale Papyrus Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, for providing the digital images and Dr Dobbin-Bennett for her conservatorial assistance throughout the process of editing the papyrus.

Content and Context

The papyrus adds two further witnesses to the large number of texts gathered under the catch-all term *Homerica* on papyrus. Since the number of published *Homerica* is constantly growing, the following statistics serve more to give an impression of the relative numbers of the different kinds of Homeric papyri. Excluding texts of the Homeric epics, there are around 181 published papyri that engage in one way or another with Homer. Out of the 181 papyri we have gathered, four are school exercises, six are too fragmentary to be more precisely categorised, and the others are enumerated in this paragraph. Of these, around half are glossaries of sequential lemmata (93),³ like the text on our *verso*, or lexica of lemmata in alphabetical order (7). Another group are hypophyses to individual books (14), other summaries (3), and prose paraphrases (13), sometimes accompanied by lemmata or even the full text. A small set of papyri (8) contain mythographical discussions of selected passages. The remaining texts can be gathered under ὑπομνήματα, commentaries (26 papyri, dating from the second century BCE to the fifth/sixth century CE),⁴ and συγγράμματα, treatises (6 papyri, dating from the first century BCE to the third century CE).⁵

³ In the online version dated November 2012 (www.trismegistos.org/dl.php?id=14) Lundon lists 99 papyri with scholia minora of which 12 are marginal or interlinear notes in copies of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. Texts to be added to this list include PL III/997 (R. Pintaudi and L. Del Corso, “Isocrate [Contra Loch. 2–15] e un glossario omerico in un papiro laurenziano [PL. III/997],” *AnPap* 26 [2014] 13–26), P.Berol. inv. 11647 (E. Esposito, “P.Berol. inv. 11647: scholia minora al V libro dell’*Iliade*,” in A. Casanova, G. Messeri, and R. Pintaudi [eds.] *E sì d’amici pieno. Omaggio di studiosi italiani a Guido Bastianini per il suo settantesimo compleanno* [Firenze 2016] 1.207–215), CUL Plumley 3 (L. Tagliapietra, “Scholia Minora to *Iliad* 2.212–225 and 272–295,” *BASP* 54 [2017] 9–30), and P.Lips. inv. 1397 (D. Colomo, “Glossary to *Odyssey* VIII in a New Papyrus Fragment from the Leipzig Papyrus- und Ostrakasammlung,” in M. Ercoles, L. Pagani, F. Pontani, and G. Ucciardello [eds.] *Approaches to Greek Poetry: Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, and Aeschylus in Ancient Exegesis* [Berlin and New York 2019] 61–79), PSI 17.1667 and 1668. See also the online database constructed by P. Ascheri and D. Muratore under the direction of F. Montanari (<http://aristarchus.unige.net/it-IT>).

⁴ The reader will note that the number is not the same as that in Lundon 2011, who lists 23 commentaries. We believe that P.Berol. inv. 9960, which Lundon includes, is rather a paraphrase, while we include *P.Oxy.* 3.418 (borderline mythographical), *P.Oxy.* 29.2888, and *P.Hamb.* 3.199; Lundon’s *BKT#* has now been published as *BKT* 10.12, and *P.Oxy.* 76.5095 is a new addition. Finally, Lundon lists *P.Oxy.* 8.1086 and 65.4451 as separate entries, but we have grouped them as part of the same commentary; cf. M.W. Haslam *P.Oxy.* 65.4451 intr., pp. 27–28 and J. Lundon, “La scrittura di *P.Oxy.* VIII 1086 e *P.Oxy.* LXV 4451,” *AnPap* 10–11 (1998–1999) 17–32. We also exclude the recently published *P.Cair.Mich.* 2.4, tentatively categorized by C. Römer as a commentary to *Iliad* 1; cf. L. Pagani, “Explanation of Homeric Glosses in *P.Cair.Mich.* II 4 (Socrates Archive?),” in J.K. Gannakis, C. Charalambakis, F. Montanari, and A. Rengakos (eds.), *Studies in Greek Lexicography* (Berlin and New York 2019) 291–307.

⁵ See J. Lundon, “Homeric Commentaries on Papyrus: A Survey,” in S. Matthaios, F. Montanari, and A. Rengakos (eds.), *Ancient Scholarship and Grammar: Archetypes, Concepts and Contexts* (Berlin and New York 2011) 159–179 for a recent discussion of the terminology.

The text on the *recto*, with comments on quotations from *Iliad* 16 (fr. 1) and 18 (fr. 2), could be either a commentary or a treatise. The fact that both fragments happen to concern scenes about the armour of Achilles – first Apollo taking it off Patroclus and then Thetis procuring new armour for her son from Hephaestus – may suggest that we are dealing with a treatise. We have such treatises, one analyzing the term οὐρανός in Homer,⁶ another concerning the *realia* of the topography of Troy and Achilles' chase of Hector around the city.⁷ Another parallel is *P.Reinach* 2.83, a treatise about resignation in the face of adversity with extensive quotations from the *Iliad*.⁸ The form of the text, too, would fit this interpretation. For a commentary it would be remarkable that in fr. 1 the lemma appears to have been woven into the discussion: if our reading is correct, the author introduces the content of the quotation (the disarming of Patroclus) before quoting it. In fr. 2, if this is the correct reading (see fr. 2, l. 2 n.), the fact that Achilles was fed gall (χολή) rather than milk by his mother, a reference to *Il.* 16.203, is adduced in a discussion of Thetis' warning to her son at 18.134–135. It is pertinent that the discussion found in our text has no direct parallel in the extant scholia, although this comment about gall is echoed in Eustathius (see below). What little we can discern of the style in fact resembles that of Eustathius, who tends to quote verses as they become relevant to his argument. This arrangement of analysis interwoven with quotation is also what we find in the *περὶ-Literatur*, of which *P.Oxy.* 2506 is a good example.⁹

⁶ Royal Museum Brussels E 7162, ed. M. Hombert and C. Préaux, “P. Bruxelles Inv. E 7162: extraits homériques relatifs aux lieux célestes,” in *Mélanges Émile Boisacq* 1 (Bruxelles 1937) 493–497; see also A. Körte, *APF* 14 (1941) 139–140; F. della Corte, “Il frammento cosmologico brussellese,” *RFIC* 67 (1939) 36–42; M.S. Funghi, “P. Brux. inv. E. 7162 e *P. Med. Inv.* 71.82. Due discussioni su ‘Olimpo,’” *PP* 38 (1983) 11–19; F. Schironi, “L'Olimpo non è il cielo: esegesi antica nel papiro di Derveni, in Aristarco e in Leagora di Siracusa,” *ZPE* 136 (2001) 11–21, esp. 11 with n. 8 and 14 with n. 29.

⁷ P.Nicole inv. 72, ed. J. Nicole, “Fragments inédits d'un commentaire de l'*Illiade*,” *RPh* 17 (1893) 109–115; see for a new edition A. Trachsel and P. Schubert, “Une description de la topographie de Troie dans un papyrus de Genève (Pack 1204): réédition,” *MH* 56 (1999) 222–237 and for further improvements W. Luppe, “Ein Nachtrag zum Genfer Topographie-Papyrus Pack 1204,” *MH* 57 (2000) 237–239.

⁸ Thanks are due to an anonymous reviewer for pointing out this parallel.

⁹ For a recent discussion of *περὶ-Literatur* see S. Schorn, “Chamaeleon: Biography and Literature *Peri tou deina*,” in A. Martano, E. Matelli, and D. Mirhady (eds.), *Praxiphanes of Mytilene and Chamaeleon of Heraclea: Text, Translation, and Discussion* (New Brunswick and London 2012) 411–444; for *P.Oxy.* 2506 see A. Porro in *CLGP* 1.1.1, p. 198 and M. de Kreij, “Dark Sappho. *P.Oxy.* XXIX 2506 in the Biographical Tradition,” in E. Cingano (ed.), *Commentaries on Greek Texts: Problems, Methods, and Trends of Ancient and Byzantine Scholarship* (Rome, forthcoming 2019).

One problem with the interpretation of the papyrus as a treatise is the reading of fr. 2. The first part of the fragment may concern Achilles' wish to rejoin the war, even without armour, but the verse that is next introduced (*Il.* 18.149) has no obvious connection with the topic. The passage concerns Hector's shout scaring off the Greek fighters in the struggle over Patroclus' body. If the lines were indeed part of a treatise, for example about Achilles' armour, the present scene could be discussed as part of the fight over the armour.

Bibliological Features

The *verso* contains exiguous remains of what appears to be a glossary on *Iliad* 5, written in a different hand, but around the same time as the *recto*. The *Homeric* on both sides were likely used in parallel. Nonetheless, the papyrus is not *stricto sensu* an opisthograph roll, i.e. one whose *verso* contains the continuation of the text written on the *recto* usually in the same hand,¹⁰ since the texts of the two sides are clearly different. P.CtYBR inv. 4673 belongs to the small group of literary and paraliterary rolls whose *verso* contains a text related to the text on the *recto* on the basis of content, purpose, paleographical features and intended readership. The glossary, as far as we can establish, is a typical example of a basic word list, which would have served the beginning reader of Homer.¹¹ The treatise on the *recto*, however, provides an analysis of the Homeric text more geared towards the advanced student.¹² A papyrus of this nature would have been of obvious use in an educational context, to be used by students in different stages of their schooling.

The closest parallel is *P.Hamb.* 3.199 and 200, a second-century roll written on both sides: the *recto* transmits a commentary on selected lemmata

¹⁰ Examples of such opisthographs are: *P.Yale* 2.103, Isocrates' *Helena* and *Plataicus* (= *CPF* 4.2**, nos. 65 and 98); *P.Oxy.* 76.5093, Rhetorical *Epideixeis* (see esp. introd. p. 84 with bibliography); *P.Schubart* 30, Achilles Tatius (re-ed. Chr. Savino, *ZPE* 168 [2009] 107–111, esp. 107, n. 6); *PL* II/909 (see G. Messeri Savorelli and R. Pintaudi, *ZPE* 104 [1994] 233–240, esp. 233 with n. 1); *P.Ashm.* inv. 89 B/31, 33, Sophocles Iunior's *Achilles* with musical notation (ed. M.L. West, *ZPE* 126 [1999] 43–65; see also E. Pöhlmann and M.L. West, *Documents of Ancient Greek Music* [Oxford 2001] no. 5 and *Gammacurta*, *op. cit.* 163–174).

¹¹ See R. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind* (Princeton 2001) 207.

¹² Cribiore (n. 11) 195 notes that there is no evidence that the second half of the *Iliad* was read by inexperienced students, only “[t]he most advanced students continued to read the *Iliad* to its end.”

of *Iliad* 1, while the *verso* contains a glossary on *Odyssey* 4 written upside down in respect to the *recto* and apparently by a different hand.¹³ Another interesting case among *Homerica* is *P.Lit.Giss.* 2.8 (= *P.Iand.* 2): the *recto*, written in an elegant bookhand of the mid-first century BCE, contains a commentary on *Iliad* 11; the *verso*, written in a much more informal but roughly contemporary hand, preserves remains of scholastic explanations on the same book and on book 18. For other *Homerica* in multi-use educational papyri, compare *PSI* 1.18 and 19, two leaves from the same papyrus codex, a “libretto d’uso scolastico” of the fifth century, one containing Dionysius Thrax’ *Techne* and the other a set of question-answer pairs about the *Iliad*. *P.Oslo* 2.12 and 13 are *recto* (*Iliad* glosses) and *verso* (grammatical treatise) of the same second century roll, each written by a different student hand.¹⁴ Similarly, *P.Mich. inv.* 1588 contains glosses to *Iliad* I on the *recto*, carefully written in a documentary hand of the first or second century CE, while on the back there is a very damaged grammatical text with examples from poetry (still unpublished), written in an “evolving” student hand.¹⁵

Wax tablets that mix *Homerica* with other educational materials form a less direct analogy, but they attest to the practicality of combining different kinds of educational text. *P.Bingen* 8 is a fragmentary polyptych with a glossary to *Iliad* 1 on two sides. The other texts – including an iambic trimeter repeated various times and verb conjugation tables – show a teacher’s hand as well as student hands in different stages of development.¹⁶ *P.Berol. inv.* 10508–10512, assigned to the second century, contain glosses to *Iliad* 10, 11, 13, 14, and 15 and passages from a grammatical treatise, written in multiple, relatively advanced student hands.¹⁷

¹³ The *editores principes* B. Krämer and D. Hagedorn (pp. 25 and 35) state that the two texts were written by the same hand, an informal capital script: although this cannot be completely ruled out, we think that they were more probably written by a different but contemporary hand. In any case it is worth noting that the script of the *verso* is less carefully executed.

¹⁴ Cf. R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta 1996) nos. 330 and 362; A. Wouters, *The Grammatical Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt: Contributions to the Study of the “Ars Grammatica” in Antiquity* (Brussels 1979) no. 9.

¹⁵ See *ed. pr.* T. Renner, “Three New *Homerica* on Papyrus,” *HSCPh* 83 (1979) 313–321; cf. Cribiore (n. 12) nos. 325 and 359.

¹⁶ See *P.Bingen* 8, esp. 31–32.

¹⁷ See F. Montanari, D. Muratore, and F. Reiter, “Die Berliner Wachstafeln P. 10508–10512: *Scholia Minora* und grammatikalische Passagen,” in *Actes du 26^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (Geneva 2010) 549–557.

Bodl. Inscr. Gr. 3017 has a paraphrasis of *Iliad* 4 on one side and text with glosses of the same book on the other.¹⁸ Finally, P.Berol. inv. 11626,¹⁹ a wooden tablet covered with white plaster and written on both sides, contains the text of *Il.* 5.265–317 and a glossary to *Il.* 5.265–289.

A number of non-Homeric rolls with texts on both sides also most likely had an educational purpose. *P.Oxy.* 60.4017, for example, contains Euripidean hypotheses on the *recto* written in a rather clumsy semi-cursive script of the second century CE, with on the *verso* quotations from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The text on the *verso* is written in an informal and rather ungainly hand in short lines as prose, possibly as part of a commentary.²⁰ A comparable case is *P.Oxy.* 81.5283 (second cent. CE), an extensive roll of hypotheses of Euripides' *Bacchae*, *Dictys*, *Danae*, and other plays, whose back preserves a narrative on Heracles' labours,²¹ written in a different but similar hand. Traces of more advanced rhetorical education can be seen in *P.Oxy.* 50.3537 (third/fourth cent. CE). On the *recto* it has a hexametric *ethopoia* on Hesiod and on the *verso* an *encomium* of Hermes and Antinous, also in hexameters. The sides are apparently by two different hands, although the similarities between the scripts do not rule out the possibility that a single scribe was at work.

Another set of texts may have been produced and used outside the school context. P.Mich. inv. 3250 and 3498 may have been a poet's possession, with a set of lyric and tragic incipits on the *recto* (in a hand of the second cent. BCE),²² and apparently a lyric text belonging to the so-called New Music genre on the *verso* (third-second cent. BCE).²³ The

¹⁸ Cf. M. Hombert and C. Préaux, "Une tablette homérique de la Bibliothèque Bodléenne," in *Mélanges Henri Grégoire* 3 (Bruxelles 1951) 161–168.

¹⁹ *Editio princeps* in L. Raffaelli, "P.Berol. 11636: Omero E 265–317 + *Scholia minora* a E 265–286," *APF* 36 (1990) 5–12.

²⁰ The *verso* is still unpublished, but a full edition is being prepared by Chiara Meccariello.

²¹ This text is being prepared for publication by Chiara Meccariello.

²² See C. Borges and C.M. Sampson, *New Literary Papyri from the Michigan Collection: Mythographic Lyric and a Catalogue of Poetic First Lines* (Ann Arbor 2012), esp. 3–8 (note that fr. 3250a verso contains segments of text by both hands; see *ibid.* 130–131).

²³ More loosely connected are the texts in *P.Hibeh* 1.7 and 14, a poetic anthology (iambic and lyric) on the back of Lysias' *Against Theozotides*, *P.Oxy.* 30.2525 and 56.3832, Euphron and a glossary to *Iliad* 2, respectively, and *P.Oxy.* 3.413, a Charition mime and a farce with musical indications; see T. Gammacurta, *Papyrologica scaenica. I copioni teatrali nella tradizione papiracea* (Alessandria 2006) 7–32. See further P.Strasb.gr. 2374 (N. Lewis, "Greek Literary Papyri from the Strasbourg Collection," *Études de Papyrologie* 3 [1936] 46–48), *P.Schubart* 3, PL III/997 (Pintaudi and Del Corso [n. 3]), P.Strasb. W.G. 304–307

medical text *P.Lit.Lond.* 165 (first cent. CE), the so-called *Anonymus Londinensis*, is another relevant example: its *recto* contains a compilation of medical doxographies, which continues on the *verso*. In addition, the *verso* has a medical recipe and a copy of an imperial letter granting privileges to victors of the sacred games at Ephesus, probably medical doctors.²⁴ Finally, consider an Oxyrhynchus papyrus containing two very different texts written by the same informal round hand, which can be assigned to the first-second century CE: on the *recto* (published as *P.Oxy.* 78.5162) there is a bilingual Graeco-Latin thematic glossary, including lists of gods's names, stars and winds, while the *verso* (*P.Oxy.* 80.5231) contains a medical text, a commentary to Hippocrates' *Epidemiae*. This item is probably a private copy illustrating the range of cultural interests of a well-educated individual.²⁵

These double-use rolls form a corpus that has as yet received no synthetic scholarship, even though it testifies to a particular attitude towards the bookroll. A reasonable number of literary texts were written on the backs of documentary texts, illustrating the tendency to re-use papyrus when the written side had lost its relevance.²⁶ In addition, we know of a number of proper opisthograph rolls, where one and the same text continues from the *recto* onto the *verso*.²⁷ As for the set of papyri listed above, a cursory examination reveals that a relative majority of them contain paraliterary texts, but no other patterns present themselves. The phenomenon is attested in papyri of varied provenance and in the period ranging from the third century BCE to the fifth century CE. A further study of these rolls as representative of different prevalent attitudes towards the papyrus roll is a *desideratum*.

(see M. Fassino, "Revisione di P. Stras. W.G. 304–307: nuovi frammenti della *Medea* e di un'altra tragedia di Euripide," in *ZPE* 127 (1999) 1–46).

²⁴ See A. Ricciardetto, *L'Anonyme de Londres. Un papyrus médical grec du I^{er} siècle* (Liège 2014) lii–lix; *Idem*, *L'Anonyme de Londres. P.Lit.Lond. 165, Brit.Libr. Inv. 137. Un papyrus médical grec du I^{er} siècle après J.-C.* (Paris 2016) cxviii–cxxxviii.

²⁵ Cf. another Oxyrhynchus roll, whose front contains a Graeco-Latin thematic glossary, including vegetables and fish (published as *P.Oxy.* 33.2660), written in a serified bookhand of the first-second century CE, while the back (*P.Oxy.* 33.2659) contains a list of comic poets and plays, written in a different, rather cursive, but contemporary hand; cf. R. Otranto, *Antiche liste di libri su papiro* (Rome 2000) no. 6.

²⁶ Cf. M. Lama, "Aspetti di tecnica libraria ad Ossirinco: copie letterarie su rotoli documentari," *Aegyptus* 71 (1991) 55–120.

²⁷ Note also *P.Var.* 5 v^o, a library inventory which refers to opisthograph rolls of oratorical works; cf. E. Puglia, *Il libro e lo scaffale. Opere bibliografiche e inventari di libri su papiro* (Naples 2013) 77–83.

The Issue of Provenance

P.CtYBR inv. 4673 was acquired from Galery Nefer in Zurich in 1997, at that stage a set of five fragments, as part of “one lot of papyri from Egypt.” The only extant document pertaining to the sale is an invoice addressed to Robert Babcock, then curator of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, containing the following text: “I confirm that these papyri are genuine antiquities of over 1000 years of age. F. Nussberger.” The statement may be attributed to Frieda Nussberger-Tchacos, the now-infamous antiquities dealer implicated in a number of disputed deals, including the sale of the so-called Tchacos codex of gnostic Coptic texts.²⁸ The lack of further details about the provenance of this lot does not inspire confidence in the legality of the papyrus’ journey from Egypt to Yale. However, it appears that the Tchacos codex was offered to Babcock in 2000, but “Yale’s lawyers vetoed the purchase of the codex because of its uncertain provenance.”²⁹ Could this suggest that there is no reason for concern with respect to this particular lot of papyri? Or was it only the greater significance of the codex fragments that inspired vigilance in Yale’s legal team?

Since the papyrus is now owned by a public institution, and the digital image is publicly available online, we believe that publication will be beneficial to the scholarly community, without leading to any increase in the object’s value, since it is not on the market. Nevertheless, we would urge Yale University to repatriate any papyri of unclear and possibly illegal provenance, as has been promised (if not yet done) in the case of the Tchacos codex.³⁰

Edition

After our reconstruction, P.CtYBR inv. 4673 consists of three fragments, fr. 1 (with frustula 4 and 5 attached)³¹ measuring 6 × 4.1 cm, fr. 3 measuring

²⁸ See, e.g., J. Brankaer and H.-G. Bethge (eds.), *Codex Tchacos: Texte und Analysen* (Berlin 2007); R. Kasser, M. W. Meyer, and G. Wurst, *The Gospel of Judas: Together with the Letter of Peter to Philip, James, and a Book of Allogenes from Codex Tchacos* (Washington, DC 2007).

²⁹ N. Brodie, “The Lost, Found, Lost Again and Found Again Gospel of Judas,” *Culture Without Context* 19 (2006) 17–27, quotation from p. 20.

³⁰ See also R. Mazza, “Papyri, Ethics, and Economics,” *BASP* 52 (2011) 113–142, esp. 121 with n. 35.

³¹ Henceforth referred to as simply fr. 1.

5 × 4.2 cm, and fr. 2 measuring 4 × 2.7 cm.³² Shape and fibres of frr. 1 and 3 suggest that they might have aligned horizontally, but their relative positions cannot be established with certainty. See the introduction to palaeographical notes on fr. 1 for a few comments on the possibilities. All fragments are broken on all sides, but part of the top margin may be preserved in fr. 1 (see fr. 1.1 n.). Altogether, we have remains of at least three columns written along the fibres; the intercolumnium is preserved in fr. 3, measuring 2.1 cm at its narrowest point. The text comments on quotations from *Iliad* 16 and 18.

The backs of frr. 1 and 3 show a large hand, badly abraded, written upside down with respect to the *recto*. The back contains a glossary³³ to *Iliad* 5; there is a text and commentary of the *verso* at the end of this edition.

The hand of the *recto* can be ascribed to the severe style and assigned to the second or third century CE through comparison with the following papyri assigned to this period on the basis of criteria independent from palaeography:³⁴ *P.Oxy.* 42.3005, 52.3673, 61.4093, 67.4560, and 69.4736.³⁵ Among papyri belonging to the category *Homerica*, it shows a very close similarity to *P.Oxy.* 67.4635 (glosses to *Iliad* 2.308–493), assigned to the same period.

The hand of the *verso* may be compared with the following documents: *P.Oxy.* 63.3100 (225), *P.Lips.* 1.9 (233), and *P.Oxy.* 38.2854 (248). On the basis of the paleographical features and the content (both *recto* and *verso* concern *sensu lato* exegesis on Homer) we may plausibly think that the *verso* was written not much later than the *recto* if not in fact roughly in the same period.

³² In the latest image taken after attachment of frr. 4 and 5, a new frustulum is now labelled 4. It shows the slightest trace of ink on the *recto*, but its position cannot be established. Since the left-most piece of fr. 3 (see image) was originally displaced and attached to the top of the same fragment, this frustulum may also have come loose when this piece was detached and moved to its correct position. It may therefore have originally been in the same area, to the left of fr. 3 seen from the *recto*.

³³ We use the term glossary to denote a word list following the order of a certain work, as opposed to *scholia minora* (glosses in the margin of a literary text) and lexis (alphabetic word lists to a certain work or author); cf. *CLGP* 1.1.1, pp. VII–VIII.

³⁴ The items here listed are written on the back of documentary texts containing precise dates or at least historical elements that allow us to assign them to a specific span of time, or written in a datable documentary script. Each date can be used as the *terminus post quem* to assign the literary text to a specific period, if the documentary text is the first use of the papyrus (i.e. it is written on the *recto*, as in the case of *P.Oxy.* 3005 and 4093). In the opposite case, i.e. when the papyrus has been used first for the literary text (written on the *recto*) and later for the document (written on the *verso*), the date of the document gives the *terminus ante quem* for the literary script (as in the case of *P.Oxy.* 3673, 4560, and 4736).

³⁵ See see L. Del Corso, “Lo ‘stile severo’ nei P.Oxy.: una lista,” *Aegyptus* 86 (2006) 81–106, esp. 95–99.

→ fr. 1 *Diplomatic Transcript*

5] . . η
] ο . [] . [
] . [] . ρο . . [] . [] ςκα . [
] ροκλ[.] . . [] . . . α . . ε . . . [
] . αρεν[.] οϊαχιλ λ ξωροσπ[
] ταναποβαλη . [] νψευ . . [
] . . ται . . ωτοναυτουτ . . [
] . . [.] αχ . . [.] εασε[[]] υληκεν . [.] . . [.]
] . . . απο . . νκρ . [



Palaeographical Notes

In the image we have placed fragments 1 and 3 in horizontal alignment. Considering the close match of the fibers, we expect that fr. 3 should be placed to the right of fr. 1, and that the distance between the fragments was limited. Nevertheless, it is unclear whether the traces were part of the same column. The distance between lines of writing is consistent between the two fragments. The exact distance between the two fragments cannot be established, but see the comment *ad* fr. 3.3 for one possible reconstruction taking the traces as parts of the same column. If frs. 1 and 3 do indeed form part of the same column, then the column will have been at least 8 cm wide.³⁶

1] . . η, first, tiny indeterminate trace just above mid-line; second, tip of upright 2] ο . [, trace at line level; foot of slanting upright?] . [, indeterminate trace at mid-height 3] . [] . ρο, first, trace high on the line on a narrow strip of papyrus (φ or ψ?); second, two traces in upper part of writing space in diagonal alignment ascending from left to right; short horizontal trace touching upright of following rho at line level (κ or χ?) . . [, first, upright extending below line level: distance from ο suggests υ rather than ι or an intervening narrow letter; second, bottom of letter (ε or c?) at line level] . [, indeterminate trace at line level] ρκα . [, c looks most likely, but ε cannot be excluded; lower half of slanting upright 4 λ[, only ascending diagonal survives] . . , first, vertical trace in lower part of writing space; second, part of lightly descending diagonal apparently touching following upright (v or υ) [] . . . , first, horizontal joining thick upright at top of writing space, with a rightwards flourish at its foot; second, upright extending below line level with remains of ascending stroke extending from the middle: ρ? ; third, apparently *omicron* in the form of a spiral open at the top α . . ε, first, upright; second, remains of upright? . . . [, first, remains of horizontal high on the line joining upright extending below line level; second, indeterminate trace just above line level; third, vertical trace at line level 5] . , horizontal high on the line joining α: γ or τ 6 . [, remains of slanting upright; lacuna may hold the rest of this letter or another narrow letter . . [, first, left-hand vertex of triangular letter at line level and trace of descender at top of writing space (α or δ?); second, lower half of upright with diagonal ascending from foot (ε or c) 7] . . , first, trace at line level, followed by remains of two parallel horizontals lying at mid-height and at the top of the line respectively; second, trace at mid-height on damaged surface . . ω, first, upright with horizontal departing from tip: γ or π; second, slightly curved trace at top height and traces of upright extending below line level φ, larger than usual and open or damaged at bottom right, with a smudge of ink at its top (see commentary *ad loc.*) . . [, first, bottom arc lying in lower half of writing space; second, remains of horizontal or descending diagonal high on the line 8] . . [. [, first, trace high on the line; second, trace at mid-height of what might be a descender followed by abraded space which may have held a narrow letter . . [. [, first, tiny traces in vertical alignment at mid-height; second, beginning of ascending diagonal: α or λ [[ι]], upright with ascending stroke dissecting it near the foot: either a deleted ι or an attempt to change ι to c [, first, central part of left-hand arc at edge; second, blurred trace high on the line; third, thin curve high on the line reminiscent of circumflex accent, not consistent with

³⁶ *P.Oxy.* 8.1086 shows that columns in commentaries might have been as much as 16 cm wide.

any standard letter of this script, but perhaps an ε or c with round top (cf. line 6, final ε); fourth, (trace on fold visible on the *verso*) apparent rounded trace at top of writing space 9] . . . , first, remains of top arc; second, tops of descending and ascending diagonals joining in the middle: χ or υ; third, remains of upper half of descender . . . v, first, trace of upright at edge of lacuna; second, slight trace at line level and trace touching v at mid-height . . . , slightest trace at line level (foot of diagonal?)

Articulated Text

] (.) . η
] ο . [] vacat [] . []
] . [] . ρο . . [] . [] ρκα . []
 Πάτ]ροκλ[ο]γ [.] . . . α . . ετ . . []
 5] γὰρ ἐν [τ]οῖς Ἀχιλλέως ὅπ[λοισις
 ὅ]ταν ἀποβάλῃ . [.] ν ψευδε[]
] ξίται πρῶτον αὐτοῦ το . []
] . . [.] αχ . . [.] εα σε(ς)ύληκεν . [.] ε . []
 τ]οῦ δ' ἀπὸ μὲν κρατὸς (Il. 16.793)

Iliad 16.787–793

ἔνθ' ἄρα τοι Πάτροκλε φάνη βιότοιο τελευτή·
 ἦντετο γάρ τοι Φοῖβος ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὑεμίνη
 δεινός· ὃ μὲν τὸν ἰόντα κατὰ κλόνον οὐκ ἐνόησεν,
 ἦέρι γὰρ πολλῇ κεκαλυμμένος ἀντεβόλησε· 790
 τῇ δ' ὀπιθεν, πλῆξεν δὲ μετάφρενον εὐρέε τ' ὤμω
 χειρὶ καταπρηγεῖ, στρεφεδίνηθεν δέ οἱ ὄσσε.
 τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ μὲν κρατὸς κυνέην βάλε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων·

Commentary

In the image, fr. 1 and 3 are aligned horizontally, so that fr. 1. 3 aligns with fr. 3.1. The close match of horizontal fibres suggests that the distance between the two fragments was not too great. Fr. 3 col. 1 is most likely either the continuation of the column in fr. 1, or a consecutive column.

1 The η looks about half the size of the letter elsewhere in the text, but the hand seems to be the same. It could be a note in the top margin, or it might be a column number: (.) . η (i.e. . 8; see *GMAW*², p. 16).

The two separate traces before η taken together match υ or (less likely) μ, which would translate to 48 or 38.³⁷ One can compare *PSI* 13.1284, *P.Oxy.* 3.412, and *PSI* 12.1292 + *P.Oxy.* 4.657 for the placement of a column number at a similar distance from the main text. The column number ιζ preserved in *P.Oxy.* 65.4453, fr. 1, a first-century commentary on the *Odyssey*, is written in a different hand from the main text and placed at a greater distance from the column. If the traces in our papyrus represent a column number, we may assume that it was placed roughly over the middle of the column, as is the rule. Because of the shape of the fragment, that does not aid much in estimating the size of the column, unless fr. 3 col. 1 does indeed contain the line ends of this column. If so, it suggests a line length of around 14 cm minimum, depending on how much is missing between fr. 1 and fr. 3.

2]ο . [: the trace looks thicker than elsewhere. The rest of the line shows no signs of writing, except at the very end, but this may be the result of damage to the surface of the papyrus.

3 The papyrus is heavily abraded in the middle, but the traces left and right suggest that there was writing on the entire line.

–] . ρο . . [: Most likely]κρου . [or]χρου . [.

–]εκα . [: Less likely but not impossible is]εκα . [; the putative missing central stroke of epsilon would be above the visible traces, as in the final ε of line 4.

4 Πάτ]ροκλ[ο]υ looks almost inevitable, although -ου is palaeographically not impossible.

– [] . . . α . . ε . . . [: This string of letters is lacunose and quite abraded, but []πρῶταιρειτ . [is likely the best reading.³⁸ The main problem is the fact that the vertical of the second *iota* of the sequence appears to go down too far, suggesting rather ρ or υ, and the following letter does not easily match τ. But the script is quite irregular and it might be that the ligature with the preceding *epsilon* pushed the *iota* down (though cf. fr. 2.4 ηγερ). An option that would better fit the traces is προαιρετα[ι, but this would presuppose a mistake of -εται for -ειται.³⁹ The sense would

³⁷ The possibility of] . ιη is not excluded, but would yield a very high column number.

³⁸ We thank Prof. Claudio Meliadò for suggesting this reading.

³⁹ Although there is a verb προαίρω, it occurs only rarely, and never in the middle form *προαίρεται. προαίρέω, conversely, is a common verb, and spelling variation with regard to contract verbs is not unheard of, cf. Gignac 2.365–368.

be something like “he first picks out/removes Patroclus,” possibly with Apollo as its subject, but the present tense makes it more likely that it refers to Homer.

A further alternative is to read the προαιρετή[ν, in apposition to Patroclus, to mean “steward” or “place-holder,” perhaps as a gloss on θεράπων. Thus far, however, the word is only attested in the technical expression προαιρέτης βιβλιοθήκης, archive keeper at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Arsinoe: *BGU* 2.362, fr. 1.19, col. 2.13 (suppl.), col. 4.18, etc. (215 CE); *SB* 24.16000 I 24 (early fourth cent. CE); *Stud.Pal.* 20.123 r° 29 (445 CE); *P.Princ.* 2.74.14 (ca. 300 CE); we find the same meaning though without the genitive βιβλιοθήκης in *P.Lips.* 1.123.20 (136 CE).⁴⁰

5] γὰρ ἐν [τ]οῖς Ἀχιλλέως ὄπλοισι. This formulation recalls ancient sources dealing with Patroclus using Achilles’ armour. See the following: Ps.-Apollodorus *Bibl.* 4.6 ὥς δὲ εἶδεν Ἀχιλλεὺς τὴν Πρωτεϊλάου ναῦν καιομένην, ἐκπέμπει Πάτροκλον καθοπλίσας τοῖς ἰδίοις ὄπλοισι; Lib. *Prog.* 8.3.18 κοσμήσας [sc. Achilles] τὸν Πάτροκλον τοῖς ὄπλοισι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ; Eust.⁴¹ 1050.27–29 on *Il.* 16.140–144 διὸ τὸ μὲν δόρυ ἀπόθετον ὁ ποιητὴς φυλάσσει τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ παρὰ ταῖς ναυσί, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ὄπλα περιθέσθαι τῷ Πατρόκλῳ δίδωσιν, ἵνα κυλευθέντος αὐτοῦ ἢ μετὰ ταῦτα ὅπλοποιῖα ἔχη πιθανὴν ἀφορμήν; schol. *Pind. Ol.* 10.22 ὥσπερ Πάτροκλος τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ. τοῖς γὰρ ὄπλοισι ἠρίστευσε τοῖς ἐκείνου.

6 ὅ]ταν ἀποβάλη . [.]ν ψευδεῖ: The subjunctive gives a future value here, with a moment in the story as a point of reference. The meaning can be “... when he would throw off ...”, perhaps with Apollo as the subject, or “lose”, with Patroclus as its subject.

The final letter before the edge of the fragment can really only be ε or c, and it is unclear what construction we are looking at. The construction must either be (1) [ἐ]ν ψευδεῖ (or -ε[σιν] a construction that occurs late in Atticist prose (Ael. *Ar. Pl.* 77.9) or (2) τ[ὸ]ν ψευδεῖ- where the second word is a masculine compound with ψευδ- to mean “disguise” or something similar; there is not enough space for τ[ῇ]ν (which would allow the unattested *ψευδεῖ[ικόνα]).⁴²

⁴⁰ See also F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie. Studien zur ptolemäischen und kaiserlichen Verwaltung Ägyptens* (Leipzig 1917) 411.

⁴¹ References to Eustathius concern his commentary to the *Iliad*, unless explicitly noted otherwise.

⁴² Cf. Eust. 1059.63 on *Il.* 16.278–80 δόξα ψευδής and 1082.53–55 on *Il.* 16.713 καὶ ὅρα οἷα κακὰ τοὺς Τρῶας ὁ ψευδαχιλλεὺς Πάτροκλος διέθετο, εἰπεῖν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως, ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς διὰ τοῦ βλεπομένου μετώπου τῆς αὐτοῦ κόρυθος.

7]εῖται: perhaps ποι]εῖται. Cf. schol. *Il.* 16.64 διὸ κατασχὼν Ἀχιλλέα προαπόμενός τινά διὰ Πατρόκλου ποιεῖται (sc. Homer).

– πρῶτον: Correction of *omicron currente calamo*. Apparently the scribe corrected an initially too-small *omicron* by re-writing it lower than normal on the line with an oval shape.

– τὸ . [: Of the final letter before lacuna there are indeterminate traces at the top and bottom, they may be the top of a wide upright or the left end of a cross-bar.

We may supplement e.g. ποι]εῖται πρῶτον αὐτοῦ τὸν [ἀφοπλισμὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, “he [*scil.* Homer] first relates his [*scil.* Patroclus] undressing by Apollo”; cf. Eust. 1102.46–47, where he paraphrases *Il.* 17.205–206 ἀλλὰ τοῦ Φοίβου τὸν Πάτροκλον ἀφοπλίσαντος, cὺ δῶρον εἶλου αὐτὰ ἢ καὶ ὡς εὔρημα, and schol. *Il.* 16.793–804a quoted in l. 8 n. below. The noun ἀφοπλισμός is rare, but it occurs twice in Eustathius (391.11, with regard to *Il.* 3.111–115 and *Comm. in Od.* 1660.40 on *Od.* 10.431).

An alternative supplement is αὐτοῦ τὸ κ[ράνος], which would strongly suggest that Apollo is the subject of the verb ending in -εῖται, and we would need something meaning “to strike off.” For use of πρῶτον referring to the actions of characters, cf. schol. *Il.* 11.660 ὁ Τυδεΐδης ἴσως πρῶτον καταλέγει [sc. Nestor] τὸν Διομήδη ὡς πολέμιον.

8] . . [.]αχ . . [.]εα: Ἀχιλ[λ]έα looks likely; for the rather flat diagonal of the λ, cf. the first λ of fr. 2.5. It is not immediately obvious why Achilles would be an object here, in what appears to be a discussion of Apollo’s disarming of Patroclus. We may also consider that it was a mistake for Ἀχιλ[λ]ε[ι]α. In fact, the ι might actually have been added between ε and α; there are the faintest of traces that might just form an upright, possibly in different ink: Ἀχιλ[λ]ε[ι]α. The preceding traces are not incompatible with ὅ]πλ[α]; cf. Philostr. *Vit. Soph.*, ch. 1, p. 536 and Is. Comn., *Praef. Hom.*, l. 118 δοῦναι τούτῳ τὰ Ἀχιλλεῖα ὅπλα.

– σε(ς)ύληκεν: Regarding the context of the fragment, σε(ς)ύληκεν “took off his armour” is an attractive reading. Although κυλεύω is the more typical prosaic word, κυλάω does occur in the scholia: schol. *Il.* 13.203c1 ὁ δὲ Ἑλλήν οὐ μόνον τὰ ὅπλα ἀπεκύληκεν τοῦ Ἰμβρίου and schol. *Il.* 23.398 διατὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς θανόντα διασύρει τὸν Ἑκτορα; καὶ λέγομεν, οὐ δι’ ὁμότητα, ὅς γε καὶ Ἡετίωνα φονεύσας οὐκ ἐκύληκεν, ἀλλὰ cὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὅπλοις ἔθαψε. The object of κυλάω can be both the person being disarmed and the armour itself.

Palaeographical Notes

Col. 1.1] . . [, first, apparent lower part of upright protruding far below line level; second, remains of curved stroke approaching horizontal 2] . . . , first, remains of ascending diagonal in lower part of writing space; second, horizontal joining upright roughly at mid-height (considering previous traces, possibly α or ε in ligature with ι); third, part of upright in lower half of writing space with trace of short diagonal ascending from foot . . [, first, upright intersected by curving stroke approaching horizontal: possibly ψ somehow awkwardly written, or ι with deletion stroke; second, left-hand arc that fills the line (ε or c?)] . . , first, two parallel uprights, the left slightly curved, the right curving leftwards at the foot; second, thick foot of upright at line level 3] . , trace at top of line . [, slightest trace of horizontal ligature starting from the middle of o and thick trace at top of line, possibly tip of upright] . , right-hand arc, either large o or ω 4] . , tiny trace at mid-height, possibly on slightly displaced fibres 5] . [, trace of upright at line level] . . , parallel horizontals at mid-height and top line, followed by upright (ει?) 7 π . , blurred tiny stains at mid-height

Col. 2.2 . [, thick rounded shape in intercolumnium (perhaps stain or accidental ink?) 3] . . . [, first, blurred diagonal ascending from left to right; second, tiny traces slightly above line level; third, short horizontal trace at mid-height 4 . [.] . . . , first, lightly descending horizontal at top line and foot of upright at line level; second, tiny trace at mid-height at edge; third, tiny trace at mid-height; fourth, lightly descending diagonal at mid-height . [, tiny trace at top line 5 . [, left-hand tip of crossbar] . [.] . . . , first, tiny trace (of upright?) at line level; second, trace of upright at line level and mid-height, followed by a lightly descending horizontal at top line, touching following letter; third, small circle of o or ρ; fourth, horizontal at top line 6 . . . [, traces belonging to two or three letters: first, trace at line level; second, upright meeting horizontal at top line; third, trace of central part of upright?

Articulated Text

] . . [
] [. .] . . . [.
] . κ ο . [. .] . ν] . . . [
] . δ è π ε ρ ι ε - . [.] . . . ρ . [
 5] . [] ε ι c > . [. .] . [.] . . . [
] δ α c . . . [
] π . τ ε [

Commentary

2] [: Penultimate traces are reminiscent of a lopsided ψ, but might rather be a tall upright with a deletion stroke.

3] . κο . [. .] . ν: κοῖ[ν]ῶν, with a wide ν, or -κοῖ[c τ]ῶν would fit the traces. It is possible, as noted above (under *Edition*, p. 000), that this line is the continuation of fr. 1.5. If so, the traces could be read as an adjective qualifying Achilles' armour mentioned there: [τ]οῖς Ἀχιλλέως ὅπ[λοισι παγγά]λκοι[c.⁴³ The expression is paralleled in Eur. *Phoen.* 1242 (with schol.) and *Or.* 444 (cf. the explanation in schol. *Or.* 383). In this context it is worth noting that in its two Homeric instances (*Od.* 18.378 and 22.102) πάγκαλκος is used with κυνέη, which is part of the line quoted in l. 9; see below.

4] . δὲ περιε-: Considering the context, this may concern the phrase ἥερί πολλῇ κεκαλυμμένος (*Il.* 18.790), and it might have read e.g. [νεφέλ]ῃ δὲ περιελ[χόμενος].

If we seek to construct this verb with the start of fr. 1, l. 7, an imaginable construction might be ἐπειδ[ὴ] δὲ περιελ[γέμετο τῶν ἄλλων, ποι]εῖται πρῶτον αὐτοῦ τὸν [... “since he (*scil.* Patroclus) is superior to the others, first he [*scil.* Homer] relates the [...” In other words, to make it possible for Patroclus to be beaten by his lesser opponents, he needs to be disarmed by Apollo first. This *exempli gratia* construction would connect the two verbs which cannot have been far apart if indeed they belonged to the same column. Compare perhaps (depending on how one reads περιόντος) schol. *Il.* 17.125a: οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Ἑκτώρ ὁ κυλεύσας τὸν Πάτροκλον, ἀλλ’ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ περιόντος ἀφείλετο τὰ ὅπλα αὐτὸς Ἀπόλλων, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν γυμνὸν ἔτρωεν.

5]εῖc>: Perhaps a nominative noun, adjective, or participle. Alternatively, it could be a compound continuing on the next line.

6]ῃac: Likely readings are a noun ending in -ῃac or a form of διδάσκω, frequently used of the poet in the Homeric scholia: cf. schol. *Il.* 1.33 διδάσκει δὲ ὁ ποιητής etc. The latter would produce a word division with the sigma at line-end, which is not the standard way to divide consonant clusters beginning with c. Two different rules are attested in ancient sources: one prescribes that the sigma goes with the preceding syllable, the other that the sigma goes with the following syllable; cf. Sextus Empiricus, *Adversos Mathematicos* 1.173–174; Mayser 1.45–46. This divergent word division is well-attested, however, for example in *BKT* 9.190.1.35–36 Δοριςκον; *P.Kellis* 3.95, *Ad Nicoclem*, p. 109, lines 221–222 (συγγινωcκcεic);

⁴³ For the material of Greek armour, cf. Apoll. *Lex. Hom.* 166.17–22 and Hesych. s.v. χάλκεα; cf. also *Il.* 20.102 οὐδ’ εἰ παγγάλκεος εὔχεται εἶναι (*scil.* Achilles).

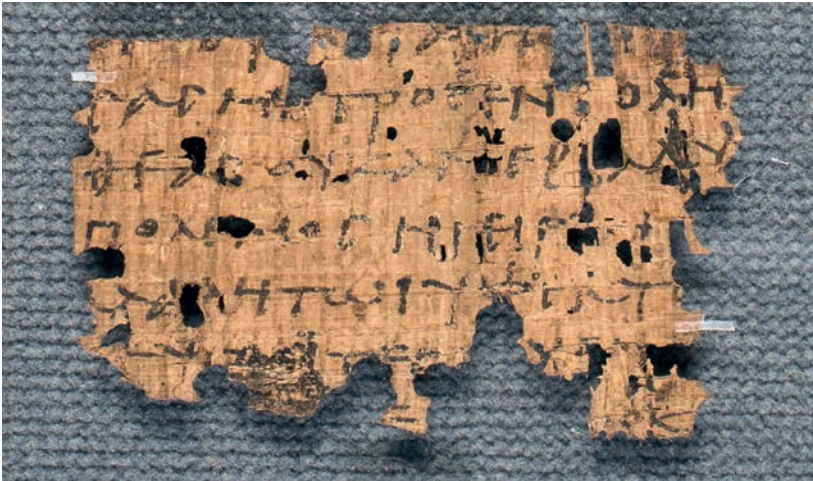
P.Chic. 1.11–12 (= CPF 1.2*.21.23; κκοπειν); *P.IFAO PSP* 234 (= *Recherches de papyrologie* 1 [1961] 37–39), col. 2.15–16 (φακκοντας); *P.Vat.Gr.* 11 v^o, col. 1.44–45 (διδακκαλους), col. 12.42–43 (αναμιμνηκκουα); Philodemus, *De Pietate*,⁴⁴ col. 43.1197–1198 (γινωκκειν). Cf. also the following exercises in syllable division: *P.Cairo* inv. JdE 65445,⁴⁵ line 96 (ακ : κα : λα : φος); *P.Vat.Gr.* inv. 54 (= *Pap.Flor.* 18, no. 6), side A, col. 2.4 (Δι ος κω ρος); note also *T.Louvre* inv. MNE-912 (= *Pap.Flor.* 18, no. 36), tablet no. 7, line 2 (πυρ γι[ε] κκος).⁴⁶

7]π . τε: more likely -]ποτε than simple ποτε.

→ Fr. 2

Diplomatic Transcript

] . ε . ου[]α[.] . α . . . ε[. .] . . [
]σαμ . τροθεν ολη[
]θεαζουκαγεβ[.]αδυ[
]πολεμοσηγειρ . γ . [
 5]αλαλητωιυφεκτο[
] . . υγο . τεζ . [] . . . τ[
] . . [.]ε[] . οκ[



⁴⁴ In the edition of D. Obbink, *Philodemus, On Piety* (Oxford 1996).

⁴⁵ *Editio princeps* in O. Guéraud and P. Jouguet, *Un livre d'écolier du III^e siècle avant J.-C.* (Le Caire 1938).

⁴⁶ The correction, made by the same hand, shows that originally the sigma was joined to the preceding syllable, then erased and written together with the following syllable.

Palaeographical Notes

1] . ε . , first, bottom right of small curved letter (ο?); second, indeterminate trace at mid-height] . , upright extending below line level and indeterminate trace at mid-height . . ε, first, indeterminate traces of possibly a rounded letter smudged by excess ink (a correction?); second, an upright meeting a horizontal at the top (γ or τ)] . . [, first, trace of a horizontal touching an upright at mid-height (η?); second, indeterminate traces; the papyrus is discoloured and there are traces below the line (see below) 2 μ . , foot of an upright at line level, followed by indeterminate traces at mid-height v . , the surface layer of the papyrus is stripped λη, over the λ there are two almost horizontal strokes, with traces of uprights at both ends, like so | _ |, but with the uprights touching the horizontals, function unclear (correction?) 3 δ, the δ appears to be dissected by a thick line of ink, function unclear 4 . υ . [, first, a trace high on the line almost touching the bowl of the rho, and a tiny trace at mid-height; second, horizontal or rounded trace at the top of writing space, possible tiny trace at line level 5 φε, after φ a trace which might be the foot of the ρ in line 4, or an elision mark 6] . . , first, a rounded trace at mid-height; second a long horizontal at mid-height φ . , indeterminate traces covered by the excess ink, followed by an upright , first, a small trace at the top of the writing space; second, a slight trace at mid-height and the top of an upright; third, top of ascending diagonal meeting an upright; fourth, part of upright followed by slightly curved stroke at top of writing space 7] . . [, space of about two letters covered by excess ink] . , trace of a horizontal at mid-height and indeterminate traces at line level

Articulated Text

] . ε . ου[.]α[.] . α . . ε[. .] . . [
]αα μητρόθεν . ολη[
]θεαα οὐκ ἄν ἐβ[ρ]αδυ[ν-
]πολεμος ἤγειρεν . [
 5] ἀλαλητῶι ὕφ' Ἔκτο[ροα (Il. 18.149)
] φεύγοντες . [] . . ζτ[(Il. 18.150?)
] . . [.]ε[] . οκ[

Iliad 18.134–135 and 148–152

ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν μὴ πῶ καταδύσσο μῶλον Ἄρηος
 πρὶν γ' ἐμὲ δεῦρ' ἐλθοῦσαν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδῃαι·
 (...)
 Τὴν μὲν ἄρ' Οὐλυμπόνδε πόδες φέρον· αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ
 θεσπεσίῳ ἀλαλητῶι ὕφ' Ἔκτορος ἀνδροφόνου
 φεύγοντες νῆάα τε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἵκοντο.
 οὐδέ κε Πάτροκλόν περ ἐϋκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοὶ
 ἐκ βελέων ἐρύκαντο νέκυν θεράποντ' Ἀχιλλῆος·

Commentary

The quotation in line 6 is *Il.* 18.149, possibly continuing in the following line (see below). The preceding discussion relates to the dialogue between Achilles and Thetis concerning his return to the war (*Il.* 18.70–148). Thetis implores her son not to return before she has brought him his new armour. *Il.* 18.149 is not quoted in the scholia or in Eustathius.

2 -]ϰαϰ μητρόθεν . ολη[: The space after ν is damaged, and it is unclear whether there was ever ink there. If there was, θηλά]ϰαϰ μητρόθεν χολή[ν is an attractive reading, considering *Iliad* 16.203 χέτλιε Πηλέος υἱέ, χόλω ἄρα σ' ἔτρεφε μήτηρ, and Eustathius' comments on that passage (1054.48–49): χολήν ἐθήλαζεσ ἀντὶ γάλακτος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κοὶ ἐκ χόλου οἶον τὸ σῶμα συμπέπηκται, and later, 1054.64 ὁ δὲ χόλω μητρόθεν τραφεὶς κύμυτον ἔχει διὰ βίου τὸ κακόν.

The story is likely to have been adduced in the context of the dialogue between Achilles and his mother Thetis, as an explanation of why the hero is so eager to return to war. Eust. 1133.60–1134.15 has a discussion on χόλος in *Il.* 18.108, but he does not refer to *Il.* 16.203 there. Instead, he notes how the passage is famous among ancient scholars, who argue that Plato took his cue for the tripartite soul from these lines (cf. schol. *Il.* 18.113b).

If the space after ν did not have a χ, this may have been a different comment concerning the same passage in the *Iliad*. Achilles had just been told by his mother to stay put, and perhaps the commentator goes on: ὅλη[ν (δὲ) τὴν νύκτα ἔμεινεν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ. In that case, the traces before ο might represent a dicolon used to separate different sections of the commentary, as in Alcman's Louvre Papyrus (E. 3320/R56).⁴⁷

3]θεαϰ: We can read θεᾶς, e.g. as the complement to a verb like ἀκούω, or as part of a genitive absolute. If the latter, it would have to be an intervening participial clause within a construction like [εἰ μὴ ...] οὐκ ἂν ...; cf. schol. *Il.* 12.37a1 and Eust. 1248.44. See below for suggested supplements.

– ἄν ἐβ[ρ]αδύ[ν- A form of βραδύνω, “to delay, to tarry”; the verb occurs rarely in the running text of Homeric scholia, but it is given as a gloss on more than one occasion (e.g. for δῆθυνεν at *Il.* 5.503; for παρέμμυνεν

⁴⁷ Cf. K. Tsantsanoglou, “The Scholia on Alcman's *Partheneion*,” *Ελληνικά* 56 (2006) 16.

at *Od.* 2.297b; for διατρίβωμεν at *Od.* 2.404g).⁴⁸ If transitive (e.g. “he would not have delayed [his return]”) we have to supply an active ending, if intransitive (e.g. “he would not have tarried [in returning to war]”) the ending may have been active, middle, or passive (cf. LSJ s.v.).

The topic appears to be Thetis’ advice to Achilles that he should not rush into battle before she has brought him new armour. In *Il.* 18, 126 Achilles says μηδέ μ’ ἔρυκε μάχης (...) οὐδέ με πείσεις and later Thetis entreats him to wait (134–135 ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν μὴ πῶ καταδύεο μῶλον Ἄρηος / πρίν γ’ ἐμὲ δεῦρ’ ἐλθοῦσαν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδῃαι). Cf. Eust. 1134.28–30 καὶ ἡ μήτηρ εὐμεθόδως λαλοῦσα συγχωρεῖ μὲν τοῖς τοῦ υἱοῦ λόγοις, ἐπέχει δὲ τῆς ὁρμῆς διὰ τὸ ὅπλον εἶναι. (...) τῷ δ’ αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἐπέχειν ἐθέλει τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ πολέμου.

4 [πολεμος: This may be the noun, but in the nominative it is hard to imagine what the construction might have been. More attractive, perhaps, is to read a compound adjective like φιλο]πόλεμος or ἐμπειρο]πόλεμος. Consider schol. *Il.* 18.125a, a discussion of why Achilles says he has been away from war for a long time, when in fact it has only been about two weeks. The scholiast argues that to Achilles it feels like a long time, because he longs to fight: φιλοπόλεμος γάρ ἐστι. The clause could be e.g.: ἦν γὰρ φιλο]πόλεμος.

Another option, illustrated in the *exempli gratia* reconstruction below, is that it is an adjective that goes with Hector; e.g. as a kind of gloss to ἀνδροφόνιοι, cf. schol. *Il.* 1.242 ἀνδροφόνιοι· ἀνδροφόνου, πολεμικοῦ.

– ἦγειρεν . [⁴⁹ (alternatively ἦγειρε ν .)]: the following traces are difficult. Even if we read ἦγειρε, the following word need not start with a vowel; the irregular use of the movable ν is commonplace in this period (cf. Gignac 1.114).

It is not clear what ἐγείρω should refer to; looking forward to the next quotation, it could mean Hector “stirring up [the fight]”. The fact that in fr. 1 there is talk of “stripping armour” (σεκύληκεν) in the line before the relevant Homeric line shows that the author weaved quotations into his text. If the verb is to be taken more literally, it may refer to Iris’ rousing of Achilles (18.166–201): the goddess begins her speech with ὀρεο (170) and later says ἀλλ’ ἄνα, μηδ’ ἔτι κεῖκο (178).

⁴⁸ It also occurs in Eustathius, e.g. 659.55 and 787.23.

⁴⁹ We thank Prof. Giambattista D’Alessio for suggesting this reading.

5] ἀλαλητῶι ὑφ’ Ἑκτο[ρος: The extant scholia do not discuss (this part of) 18.149, they only offer (at *Il.* 2.149 and 2.208) the gloss (cὺν) θορύβῳ for ἀλαλητῶ, and the D scholion to *Il.* 4.436 gives ἀλαλητός: θόρυβος κατὰ ἀντίφρασιν. In schol. *Il.* 13.797b we find θείῳ for θεσπεσίῳ. Similar glosses appear in the D scholia (ad *Il.* 1.591 θεσπεσίῳ· θείου, θαυμάστου; cf. 2.367, 2.457, 2.600, 9.2, 13.797, 15.637, and P.Köln 2281v + P.Palau Rib. inv. 147 v^o,⁵⁰ col. 6.16 θεσπεσίῳ· θείου; P.Berol. inv. 11634 v^o,⁵¹ col. 2.10 θεσπεσίῳ· νυν θείῳ). Finally, ἀνδροφόνιοι leads to discussion at *Il.* 1.242 about this choice of epithet for Hector. Eustathius (1136.1) comments about 18.149: ὅτι πολεμικὸν φράζει θόρυβον τὸ “αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ θεσπεσίῳ ἀλαλητῶ ἔφευγον.”

Because of the construction it is likely that αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ θεσπεσίῳ was part of the quotation, but it is impossible to establish whether these words would have been written on this line or the preceding one; see l. 6 n.

6 φ]εῦγοντες: The reading looks certain, assuming correction and/or extra ink, and it is possible to read and supply the following two words of 18.150 νῆας τε[ε. The c and τ look likely, but there is a problem with the traces before the putative *sigma*. The papyrus is abraded and apparently torn or folded.

φεύγοντες νῆας τε are the first words of verse 150, but it is hard to imagine how the words quoted in line 6 can be a continuation of the quotation in line 5, since only one word of 18.149 ἀνδροφόνιοι would intervene between the two. It is clear from the fact that the α of ἀλαλητῶι and the φ of φεῦγοντες are too far to the left compared with πολεμος, even allowing for Maas’ law, that the left edge of the fragment does not coincide with the line beginnings. In other words, ἀνδροφόνιοι would have to be divided between lines 5 and 6, e.g. as follows:

]θεαζουκανεβ[ρ]αδυ[ν
]πολεμοσηγειρεν . [c. 6 θεσ
 5 πεσιωι]αλαλητωιυφεκτο[ροανδρο
 φονιοι]φευγοντες νηατ[ε

⁵⁰ See J. Lundon, “P.Köln inv. 2281v + P.Palau Rib. inv. 147v: un glossario al primo libro dell’*Iliade*,” in G. Bastianini and A. Casanova (eds.), *I papiri omerici. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Firenze, 9–10 giugno 2011* (Firenze 2012) 195–211.

⁵¹ G. Poethke, „Homer-Präparation für den Schulgebrauch auf einem griechischen Papyrus aus Ägypten,” *FuB* 8 (1967) 105–110.

However, if the column were this size, there would be no space for αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοί in l. 4, which would definitely be expected as the grammatical subject of the two lines.

Even if it would be attractive to supplement the lines as above and establish the width of the column, we need not assume that either line 18.149 or 18.150 was quoted fully and/or continuously. As a consequence, this passage can give us little information about possible column width. We can only conclude that there were two quotations, one containing ἀλαλήτῳ ὑφ' Ἑκτορος, and the other φεύγοντες νῆάς τε (καὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἴκοντο). Between these two quotations not very much explanatory text will have fit, so perhaps we may compare the kind of construction that we find in Eust. 28.18–20 about *Il.* 1.22–23: διὸ ἐνταῦθα εἰπὼν ἔπευφήμησαν πάντες Ἀχαιοί' ἐπάγει τί ἦν τὸ ἐπευφήμησαν αἰδεῖσθαι τε ἱερέα καὶ ἄποινα δέχεσθαι'.

7] . οκ[: These letters may suggest Patroclus, and the exiguous traces before *omicron* neither exclude nor confirm ρ. The traces would allow, but do not necessitate, reading οὐδ]έ [κε Πάτ]ροκλ[όν περ (*Il.* 18.151).

If we accept that the quotations in ll. 6–7 were not continuous, we may consider the following *e.g.* reconstruction of fr. 2, ll. 2–5:

]cac μητρόθεν. ὅλη[ν οὖν τὴν νύκτα
ἔμεινεν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ.
εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἦκουσε τῆς] θεᾶς, οὐκ ἂν ἐβ[ρ]αδύ[νετο ἐπ' ἀνέρχεσθαι
εἰς τὴν μάχην.
ἔπειτα δὲ Ἑκτωρ ὁ φιλοπόλεμος ἤγειρεν τ[οὺς Τρῶας, οἱ δὲ
Ἑλλήνες⁵² ἔφυγον.
5 αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ θεσπεσίῳ] ἀλαλήτῳ ὑφ' Ἑκτο[ρος ἀνδροφόνιοι

P.CtYBR inv. 4673 verso

As with the *recto*, fr. 1 and fr. 3 are aligned horizontally in the image. The layout and textual remains of especially the *verso* of fr. 1 show that this is a glossary to *Iliad* 5. In lines 2 and 3 there is a blank space between words, serving to separate the lemma from its corresponding gloss; the gloss in line 2 matches one found in the D scholia to *Iliad* 5.489.⁵³ There

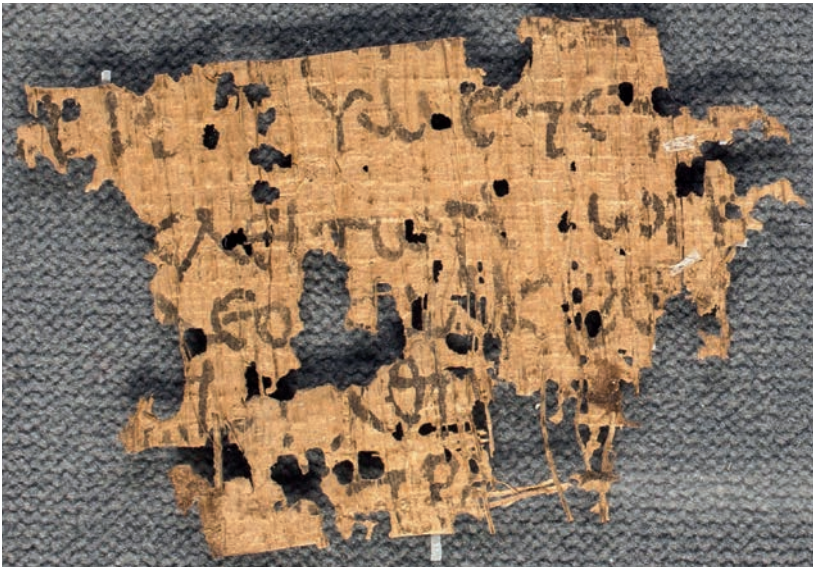
⁵² Cf. schol. *Il.* 1.127 αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοί] οἱ δὲ Ἑλλήνες.

⁵³ Ten other papyri preserve parts of glossaries to *Iliad* 5, but none of them cover these lines. The papyri are P.Mich. inv. 2720 (G.W. Schwendner, *Literary and Non-Literary*

are remains of one column on fr. 1, and two columns on fr. 3. The traces on the back of fr. 2 are practically illegible. Taking into account the possibility that we have an upper margin on the *recto*, these fragments would be near the bottom of the column on the verso. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that lines 4–6 are much closer together than 1–3, suggesting that the scribe starts to squeeze his writing near the bottom of the roll.

↓ Fr. 1

] [.] . . [
] . γ υμετερ . . [(Il. 5.489?)
] κλειτων ων . [(Il. 5.491?)
] λεο[] . . . κρᾱ . . [
 5] θη[] . . . [
] φ
] . [(.)] ετρα[.] . [(Il. 5.495?)



Papyri [diss. University of Michigan 1988] no. 11), *P.Ryl.* 3.537, *P.Strasb.* inv. Gr. 1015 (O. Plasberg, *APF* 2 [1903] 196–206, no. II 1), *P.Harris* 2.177, *P.Berol.* inv. 11636 (see above p. 000 with n. 19), *P.Amst.* 1.5, *P.Oxy.* 44.3158 + *P.Yale* 2.127, *P.Lond.Lit.* 177, *P.Aphrod.Lit.* 2 (= *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67331), and the recently identified *P.Berol.* inv. 11647 (see n. 1).

Palaeographical Notes

1] . . . [, first, lower extremity of upright protruding below line level; second, trace at line level at edge; third, foot of upright; fourth, curve as part of bottom arc or rightwards hook] . . [, confused and blurred traces: perhaps lower quadrant of left-hand arc, curve below line level as rightwards hook of upright or bottom arc, part of curve possibly belonging to left-hand arc followed by blurred ink 2] . γ , first, vertical trace at edge in lower part of writing space, followed by slight trace of horizontal at mid-height, then an upright with rightwards hook at lower extremity and thick tip; second, two uprights with traces of descending diagonal in between at mid-height (connected with second upright), suggesting ν ρ . . [, first, small trace (of descending diagonal?) in lower part of writing space; second, indeterminate traces 3 γ . [, two tiny traces in horizontal alignment in upper part of writing space; on their right remains of lower part of upright, followed by further trace at height of horizontal traces, τ possible 4] . . . , badly damaged area: first, remains of horizontal in upper part of writing space, then lower on the line diagonal trace descending from left to right, followed by a slight high trace; second, upper part of diagonal descending from left to right; below remains of horizontal stroke; third, blurred remains of triangular letter κ ρ α . . [, first, remains of upright: from its tip downwards remains of curving diagonal descending from left to right; second, two traces in diagonal alignment from left to right lying at mid-height and in upper part of writing space respectively; the higher trace is in vertical alignment with short vertical trace at line level 5] . . . , first, tiny trace in upper part of writing space, remains of crossbar touching upright: the complex suggests η or ει in ligature; second, thick trace in lower part of writing space, perhaps bottom arc; third, upright protruding below line level; scanty traces on edge on its right suggest crossbar . θ , diagonal descending from left to right; lower part of diagonal ascending from left to right (triangular letter possible, χ not excluded) . . . [, scanty traces of 2 or 3 letters on damaged area: first, traces in vertical alignment on a thread-like strip; second, horizontal trace at mid-height; third, blurred ink (trace of horizontal?) covered by dirt 6] . [, horizontal trace in upper part of writing space . [, on damaged area stroke approaching horizontal; in vertical alignment with its middle short vertical trace below line level

Il. 5.489–495

οἱ δὲ τάχ' ἐκπέρσουσ' εὖ ναιομένην πόλιν ὑμήν.
 coī δὲ χρῆ τάδε πάντα μέλειν νύκτας τε καὶ ἤμαρ 490
 ἀρχοὺς λιττομένῳ τηλεκλειτῶν ἐπικούρων
 νολεμέως ἐχέμεν, κρατερὴν δ' ἀποθέσθαι ἐνιπὴν.
 ὣς φάτο Καρπηδών, δάκε δὲ φρένας Ἑκτορι μῦθος·
 αὐτίκα δ' ἐξ ὀχέων σὺν τεύχεσιν ἄλτο χαμᾶζε,
 πάλλων δ' ὀξέα δοῦρα κατὰ στρατὸν ὄχρετο πάντη 495

Commentary

2] . γ υμετερ . . [: The traces suggest ὑμ]ήν υμετέραν [, cf. D schol. *Il. 5.489* ὑμήν· υμετέραν.

3] κλειτων ωγ . [: a gloss on τηλεκλειτῶν in *Il. 5.491*; cf. Hesych. s.v. τηλεκλειτοί· πόρρω ἐνδοξοί, D schol. ad loc. τῶν πόρρωθεν

κεκλημένων; P.Berol. inv. 11518, col. 2. 47–48 *ad Il.* 3.451 reads κλειτῶ]ν· κλέος [ἐχόντῶ]ν, ἐνδόξων. The construction could be like schol. *Il.* 18.505b ἡεροφώνων: ὧν ἡ φωνὴ μέχρι τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἰκνεῖται.

4]λεο[. . . κρᾱ . . [: The traces suggest κ]λέος μακράν] . [. For μακράν as a gloss for τῆλε, cf. D schol. *Il.* 2.863, 4.455 etc.; Eust. *Comm. in Od.* 1396.3–4 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς τῆλε καὶ μακράν, βοήν, ἥτοι μάχην συνίστων. ἢ καὶ ὥς εὐρύφωνοι καὶ τῆλε τουτέστι μακράν; Hesychius τῆλε· μακράν (τ 753, τ 758, etc.); Gennadius Schol. *Grammatica* vol. 2 s.v. τη⁵⁴: τηλοῦ ἀντὶ τοῦ μακράν, ἀφ’ οὗ Τηλεβόας καὶ τηλεκλειτός.

5] . . . θη: These traces are difficult. The first traces are compatible with . ι or η, followed by what may be a bottom arc (ε/θ/c?) and then an upright that suggests a τ. The traces preceding θ suggest λ, α, or perhaps χ. Although a string like εγχθη is possible, the preceding ει or η would not yield understandable Greek. ἐτᾱθη is the only sensible reading that we have been able to come up with. To complete the construction we may consider κ]λέος μακράν] . [ι .] (.) . . ἐτᾱθη, as a continuation of the explanation of τηλεκλειτῶν, in the sense: “whose fame was spread far away.” Perhaps we can read ἀ]νετᾱθη, but the traces preceding the putative ε do not easily allow ν.

6]φ : There is what looks like an ω between lines 5 and 6, but since the text directly above and underneath is damaged or missing, its meaning cannot be ascertained.

–] . [(.)] τρᾱ[.] . [: Before putative ς, the papyrus is abraded, and it is unclear whether the papyrus was left blank, or a letter has been lost; hence the bracketed underdot. If the space before ς was empty, this should be the start of an explanation after a lemma. ςτρᾱ[τ]ο[is possible, although the final trace appears to be too low to be part of an *omicron*. If the space before ς contained a letter now lost, this might have been a lemma followed by a comment: *Il.* 5.495: κα]τ[ᾱ] τρᾱ[τ]ο[ν κατὰ | τὸ τρᾱτόπεδον; cf. D schol. *Il.* 1.229, 1.318.

Reconstruction

We may reconstruct the first column as follows; about lines 2–4 we are quite confident, while lines 5–6 cause more problems. Note that in l. 4, where the gloss continues on the following line, we assume *eisthesis*,

⁵⁴ In L. Petit, X.A. Sideridès, and M. Jugie, *Γενναδίου τοῦ Σχολαρίου ἅπαντα τὰ ἐβρι-σκόμενα. Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios* (Paris 1928–1936) 8.489.

on the basis of numerous examples from glossaries; see, *e.g.*: *P.Oxy.* 67.4631, 4633, 4636 and CUL Plumley 3⁵⁵ [to *Il.* 2]; *P.Amh.* 2.18 + *P.Strab.* gr. 162⁵⁶ [to *Od.* 15]; *P.Colon.* inv. 236⁵⁷ [to *Od.* 16].

	ὕμ]ήν ὕμετέραν [	<i>Il.</i> 5.489
	τηλε]κλειτῶν ὧγ τ[ὸ	<i>Il.</i> 5.491
	κ]λέος μακράν . [	
5	.](.) . ἑτάθη [] . . . [	
	ω	
	] . [(.)]ετρα[] . [	

↓	Fr. 3	
	Col. 1	Col. 2

	] . [	
	]εριπυρ . . [	
	] . ςτ[.]μωμε .	. [
	] . χετ[.]	. [
5	] . . [	



⁵⁵ See Tagliapietra (n. 3) 10–11 with n. 5.

⁵⁶ *P.Strab.* gr. 162 was edited by O. Plasberg in *APF* 2 (1903) 206–208, no. II 2.

⁵⁷ *Ed. pr.* A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 12 (1973) 17–23, Taf. Ia.

Palaeographical Notes

1] . [, trace at edge as foot of upright 2 ρ . . [, first, upright; second, vertical trace at edge at top height 3] . ςτ, left-hand arc embracing scanty and faded traces in horizontal alignment at mid-height (ε likely) 4] . χετ, small trace of a horizontal at line level, touching upright in lower part of writing space 5] . . , first, blurred stroke approaching horizontal at top line; second, upper part of stroke slightly slanting to right, very close to left-hand half of top arc; below thick horizontal trace at mid-height Col. 2.3 . [, thick vertical trace in middle of writing space at edge 4 . [, horizontal in upper part of writing space

Commentary

2]εριπυρ . . [:]ερι πυρῖ . [or]ερι πυργ . [(? π]ερί πυργ- is an attractive reading, but we have not managed to find a passage in *Il.* 5 to which this explanation could have been applied.

3] . ςτ[.]μωμε . [: The ε is strongly cursive, and in ligature with μ; perhaps]μωμε^y – an abbreviation for ξετ[ο]μωμέν(ο),⁵⁸ a gloss of κεκορυθμένον, which occurs in *Il.* 5.562 and 681; cf. D schol. *Il.* 3.18 κεκορυθμένα: ἠκονημένα, ἔστομωμένα. See also below *ad* 4.

4] . χετ[.]: ῥχετ[ο]? If so, it may continue the explanation from the preceding line. *Iliad* 5.562 and 681 both read βῆ δὲ διὰ προμάχων κεκορυθμένον αἴθοπι χαλκῷ. For the use of ῥχετο in explanatory scholia, see e.g. schol. *Il.* 17.700b and schol. *Od.* 11.564.

The rest of the text, including the few traces on the back of fr. 2, is too damaged and lacunose to allow firm reconstructions.

⁵⁸ In CUL Plumley 3, col. 1.6 διετραμμένον, to save space, -voc is written over -με.

