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ERIC G. TURNER

PTOLEMAIC BOOKHANDS AND LILLE STESICHORUS *

In June 1977 Messrs G. Ancher, B. Boyaval and Cl. Meillier gave the *editio princeps* of two remarkable papyrus manuscripts of Greek literature¹. They were written on cartonage recovered from

* The following abbreviations have been used:

BGU = *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. Griechische Urkunden*, Berlin I 1895 (XII 1974).

BKT = *Berliner Klassikertexte*, I-VII, Berlin 1904-23.

GLH = C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands 350 B.C. - A.D. 400*, Oxford 1955.

GMAW = E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, Oxford and Princeton 1971.

MPER = *Mitteilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, I-VI, Vienna 1887-97.

Norsa = M. Norsa, *La scrittura letteraria greca dal secolo IV a. C. all'VIII d. C.*, Florence 1939.

NPS = New Palaeographical Society - *Facsimiles of ancient manuscripts*, ed. E. M. Thompson, G. F. Warner, F. G. Kenyon, J. P. Gilson, London 1903ff.

Pack² = Roger A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*, Ed. 2, Ann Arbor 1965.

Pal. Soc. = *Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions*, ed. E. A. Bond, E. M. Thompson, G. F. Warner, London 1873-94.

P. Graec. Berol. = W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, Bonn 1911.

Schubart, *Pal.* = W. Schubart, *Griechische Paläographie*, Munich 1925.

Seider = R. Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri*, Bd. II, Stuttgart 1970.

UPZ = *Urkunden der Ptolomäerzeit (ältere Funde)*, ed. U. Wilcken. I, *Papyri aus Unterägypten*, Berlin-Leipzig 1922-7; II, *Papyri aus Oberägypten*, 1957.

VBP = *Veröffentlichungen aus den badischen Papyrus-Sammlungen*, ed. W. Spiegelberg, F. Bilabel, G. A. Gerhard, I-VI, Heidelberg 1923-38.

Wilcken, *Chr.* = L. Mitteis - U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde. Erster Band: Historischer Teil. Zweite Hälfte: Chrestomathie*, von U. Wilcken, Leipzig-Berlin 1912.

1. CRIPEL (= Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille) No. 4 (1976) [pub. 1977] pp. 257-351. These texts have been the subject of a remarkable reedition and commentary by P. J. Parsons in ZPE 25 (1977) pp. 1-50 (Callimachus), ZPE 26 (1977) pp. 1-36. Cf. further B. Boyaval, Cl. Meillier

Ptolemaic mummy cases through the skill of A. Fackelmann, working under the general direction of J. Vercoutter. This particular case was the final one of the mummies transported to Lille by P. Jouguet, and assigned to Lille for publication. It was one of those found on the joint expedition of P. Jouguet and G. Lefebvre in 1901 and 1902 at Magdola and Ghoran². The two texts are (1) parts of a long lyric poem arranged in triads about events in Thebes during the War of the Seven, a relatively complete section being an appeal by Jocasta to her sons to reconcile their differences. Like everyone else I believe it to be by Stesichorus. (2) a text and commentary on a section of Callimachus' *Aitia*, securely identified by quotations and overlaps with known papyri, and forming part of an *Epinikion* to celebrate a victory for Berenice adopted daughter of the Theoi Adelphoi. It quotes the poem line by line and intersperses the quotation with jejune comments.

Both finds are exciting as pieces of recovered lost literature. They are also handsome pieces of handwriting, the Callimachus in particular being the most beautiful piece of Ptolemaic calligraphy I have ever seen. Moreover an exact establishment of the date at which they were copied makes an important contribution to intellectual history. The mixture should chime well with the aims of a review with the title *Scrittura e civiltà*. We are informed that further texts are to be expected from this mummy.

Prudently the original editors noted about the date³: 'The handwritings will require detailed examination. Provisionally it may be laid down that they are not later than the second century before Christ, and the latter part of the third century is not to be excluded [there is a reference here to Nos. 51-4 in my *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (hereafter GMAW)]. The question requires examination in the framework of an analysis of the totality of literary handwritings'.

To give that analysis for the first part of the Ptolemaic period is the object of this study. I shall proceed to compile a list of papyrus manuscripts offering comparative material and analyse them. I should like at the outset to thank M. Claude Meillier for much assistance. He has

ZPE 26 (1977) pp. 1-6, Cl. Meillier ZPE 27 (1977) pp. 65-67. I do not follow the bibliography further.

2. BCH 25 (1901) pp. 380-411 offers a preliminary account.

3. CRIPEL 4 p. 257.

sent me photographs (including some taken with infra-red filters) of all the published literary pieces from this mummy, and I have had the help of Mr. Eric Hitchcock of University College London in converting them to facsimile size (Plates 1-3 were supplied by M. Meillier; Mr. Hitchcock has produced prints for Plates 1 and 2). M. Meillier has also sent me notes and photographs of the unpublished literary pieces from this mummy. These help to make up for the fact that I have not inspected the originals. No one regrets this omission on my part more than I do. I have not seen photographs of the documentary fragments taken from this mummy.

It may help the reader if I anticipate my conclusion. I believe the Stesichorus was copied before the middle of the third century B.C. and the Callimachus in the second half of the third century. A similar conclusion has been reached independently by M. W. Haslam⁴. I did not become aware of his views till September 1978. I had formed my own opinion in May 1977 shortly after receiving good photographs of the originals from M. Meillier. In June 1977 I circulated a short memorandum to both M. Meillier and Mr. P. J. Parsons. The latter, who originally favoured a second century date for the Stesichorus and somewhat reluctantly conceded that a late third century date for the Callimachus was possible, has found my arguments convincing and said so in print⁵. I hope in this study to make out a cogent case for the third century date.

To assign a palaeographical date to a Greek literary papyrus is a hazardous undertaking. The hazard is especially marked for the Ptolemaic period. In *GMAW*⁶ I refused to offer any analysis of the development of handwriting styles during this era on the ground that the material was inadequate. Securely datable handwritings are notably rare. I doubt whether there are as many as 20 pieces of literary handwritings of the second century B.C. for which there is some slight objective evidence; and many of those are of types not relevant to the comparison at present being instituted. But the picture is not quite so bleak for the fourth and early third centuries before Christ. In these centuries the archaeological record offers some supporting evidence. That evidence may be of two kinds. The

4. M. W. Haslam, 'The Versification of the New Stesichorus', *GRBS* 19 (1978) pp. 29-57. Esp. p. 30: 'The manuscript was written in the second half of the third century B.C. - as early as could be hoped. The evidence for that date is part archaeological, part palaeographical: I would argue that the second century date that has been assigned is decidedly too late'. Haslam does not in fact offer the detailed evidence he seems to promise.

5. *ZPE* 28 (1978) p. 287; cf. M. L. West, *ZPE* 29 (1978) p. 3; and *GRBS* 19 (1978) p. 30 n. 3.

6. p. 24.

first kind is a date supplied by an excavation context or a known provenance. For instance the finds on the Saqqara necropolis are either relatively early — fourth and third centuries B.C. (Timotheus 1 from the cemetery at Abusir; No. 3 from the Serapeum itself; nos. 4, 5, 10, are the Greek papyri found during excavations conducted by the Egypt Exploration Society between 1966 and 1973 on the sacred animal necropolis) — or else are associated conspicuously with Ptolemy son of Glaukias and his friends in about 160 B. C. The chieftain's grave at Derveni in Macedonia, among the rubbish from the pyre of which 2 was recovered, cannot be later than the fourth century B.C. 9 was found in a jar at Elephantine serving as wrapper to documents dated to 311 B.C. and 285 B.C. The second kind of evidence may be the range of dates of dated or datable documents found inside one and the same mummy case as literary texts. Since it is from a mummy case that the Lille finds were produced it is desirable to set the matter out in more detail.

For a relatively short time only, confined practically to the Ptolemaic period, does it seem to have been the custom for mummifiers to utilize used papyrus (i.e. papyrus already carrying writing, waste paper in fact) for the manufacture of cases to apply to human bodies. I do not know of any general study of the background to the practice involved and am therefore incapable of answering the questions that are bound to rise in the reader's mind. Was waste paper employed only for the poorest class of mummy burials? Or was it so employed only at certain (possibly peripheral) places? Why did the custom die out? — I suppose it did die out, and that the absence in the Roman period of examples of written papyrus obtained from mummy cartonage is not due to the accidents of excavation? Was it considered ritually impure or possibly dangerous to utilize papyrus already carrying writing?

Whatever the underlying reasons, it seems an empirical fact that the practice of utilizing used papyrus was a short-lived one. It is possible empirically to draw up a table showing the earliest and latest dates of documents from mummy cartonage recovered in different centres. The rough and ready tabulation I offer here is one made *ad hoc* for the purpose of the present enquiry. I would have preferred to construct it systematically by reading all the texts; but I have not had the time. I hope someone else will do the task systematically, for I may easily have overlooked important evidence.

Gurob	Petrie Jouguet	P. Petrie, P. Gurob
El-Lahun	Petrie Jouguet	
Tebtunis	Grenfell and Hunt	P. Teb. Crocodile mummies Teb. I Mummies of persons Teb. III
El-Hibah	Grenfell and Hunt Egyptian Antiquities Market F. Bilabel (P. Grenfell I and II)	P. Hib. I, II Hib. I earliest 285 BC, latest 222 BC Hib. II latest 225 BC
Ghoran Magdola	P. Jouguet	VBP P. Lille P. Enteuxeis P. Sorbonne Lit. Texts P. Lille I 1-4, Earliest 260/59 BC, Latest 215/214 BC Earliest 259/8 BC (Ghoran), latest 219/8 BC (Magdola) Earliest 266 BC, latest 215 BC (Ghoran)
Herakleopolis		BGU X and elsewhere
Abusir-el-Meleq		BGU IV late 1st cent. BC - Augustus BGU VI 1216 before 110 BC BGU VIII 1st cent. BC

Other sites: Aphroditopolis, Panopolis, Thebes.

Many collections have valuable papyrus cartonnage of unknown provenance (but probably one or other of the sites just mentioned). So for instance Copenhagen, Strasbourg, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Manchester (John Rylands).

This table will give certain basic information to the paeo-archaeologist. He will see that if a given text is mummy cartonnage and its provenance known (e.g. El-Hiba or Magdola) its date is likely to lie between the extreme dates of the tabulation. The proviso must be added that an undated literary text may be even older than the earlier of the two dates. The length of life of a literary text (i.e. before it is discarded as waste paper) cannot be known. But it is likely to have been longer than that of a document. The extreme dates can sometimes be further reduced if the particular mummy is identifiable and well recorded. The document bearing the latest date in that mummy may be taken as the *terminus ante quem* for the rest. That terminus is not necessarily the date at which the mummy was made. Similarly not all scrap writing material found in that mummy has to be as old as its oldest dated or datable text. I should like to emphasize by repetition that when documents and literature are mixed it is a reasonable presumption that the literary scrap may have had a longer reading life than the documentary texts.

For the Lille papyri only a single mummy is in question. Apart from the Stesichorus, Callimachus, an as yet unedited hexameter poem on Heracles and a prose work, that mummy is stated to have produced a group of documents with dates between 258/7 B.C. and 251/0 B.C., as well as a second group datable to the reign of Philopator. I can only repeat this information⁷ at second hand. I have seen no photographs of this material and can offer no judgment on it. And, unfortunately, as will appear below p. 35, the general utility of an established range of dates for mummies from Ghoran is undermined in the case of this mummy by a few scraps which seem to belong to a date later by a century than the great bulk of the material. I say « seem to belong »: the case rests on an apparent identification of persons in these scraps with persons known from other sources. But these chronological results, if correct, must undermine confidence in the general principles enunciated on pages 22-25, on which some of my own results are based. The long chronological span involved seems implausible in itself. There is an anomaly involved, and it is important that it should be either definitely established or else removed. Only inspection of the originals and the publication of good plates can contribute to a solution of this problem.

7. CRIPEL 4 p. 257. But see my *Postscriptum* pp. 39-40 below.


These preliminary remarks will facilitate the use of the comparative material I shall put forward in the form of an analytical list of literary hands. The list is selective. I know I have omitted a great deal from it. But I hope it is neither capricious nor unrepresentative. It will become obvious to those who study it that a general theory of the development of Greek handwright styles lies behind the choice. But I have included, not excluded, those texts the date of which is particularly controversial and may bear on the investigation in progress. The condition of a text and its legibility, the question whether or not it can be appreciated in a photograph is another element which has influenced my choice. I have tended to give preference to texts for which there is some external evidence for dating, even if it is only slight. The list totals 45 texts. By the generosity of its editors plates of thirteen of them are included in the review.

GROUP A

This is formed of the oldest known Greek literary texts written on papyrus (i.e. fourth and early third century B.C.). The handwriting is usually a capital of 'epigraphic' type. Bilinearity is usually observed. Some of the hands are largish and somewhat coarse (so 1; and many of the handwritings used for writing book texts in the Ptolemaic period follow in this tradition and are so large that the word 'bookhand' comes hesitantly to mind in describing them: see e.g. P. Ryl. III 490; and the hands of Group E). Other hands are tiny and impeccably made (2) and they also have their successors. Letter forms found are (frequently) square E; ζ in form I; ξ in form Ξ ; sigma is sometimes four-barred; ϑ is usually a circle with a central dot; omega appears in an adaptation of Ω to cursive writing, not yet ω; M is made in four movements, the second vertical of ν is often raised.

8. See especially P. Lille 61 A-C, B. Boyaval, CRIPEL 3 (1975) p. 269; more details in *idem*, CRIPEL 5 (1977 [pub. 1979]) pp. 341-349. No plates are given of the supposed second century hands.

9. They are noticed in CRIPEL 3 (1975) pp. 269-270 under the numeration P. Lille 65 A-G, and described in much greater detail by B. Boyaval ZPE 28 (1978) pp. 186-193, where only P. Lille 65 E-G are said to offer a handwriting of second century date, and to belong to the archive of Pancrates archisomatophylax (known to belong to c. 145 B.C.); P. Lille 65 A/D, though probably of the same archive, are said to be written in a hand that could easily be assigned to the reign of Philadelphus. Again there are no plates to help us.

- 1 Timotheus, *Persians*. Pap. Berol. P9875. Ed. Von Wilamowitz, 1903. Pack² 1537. Found in a wooden sarcophagus in the cemetery of Abusir. c. iv B.C. Before Alexander the Great (archaeological date). H. 18.5 cm. 26-29 lines per column. Small upper and lower margins. Roughly made large capitals, thick pen. Roughly bilinear. Bird 'coronis' in middle of poem. P. Graec. Berol. 1, NPS I 22, Norsa I 1, Seider No. 2. Complete photographic facs.
- 2 Commentary on a cosmogonic hexameter poem. P. Thessaloniki. Unpub. (selections, see bibliography GMAW 51). Found in material from funeral pyre *outside* a chieftain's burial at Derveni, Macedonia. c. iv B.C. H. 8 plus cm. (lower part of column lost), 15 plus lines. Tiny hand, finely cut pen, strict bilinearity. Paragraphus separates lemmata (whole hexameter lines). (Note that plate in GMAW 51 is reduced to less than original size: measurement by me 20.v.1979 shows that text should be enlarged 8/7.) Seider 1. GMAW 51.
- 3 Prayer of Artemisia. Vienna, Nat. Lib. Pap. I 494. Masterly discussion by U. Wilcken, UPZ I p. 97. c. iv B.C. Probably found in Serapeum. H. 14.8 cm., 18 lines. Large letters. Roughly bilinear. Pal. Soc. II 1.141, Norsa I 2.
- 4 Order of Peukestas. Saqqara inv. 1972 G.P.3. E. G. Turner, JEA 1974, pp. 239-242 with plate reduced. Found by G. Martin 1972/3 in sacred animal necropolis at Saqqara. c. 330 B.C. H. 13,4 cm., B. 35,8 cm. 4 lines written with a rush, not bilinear. Note K with tall and deep first vertical, small obliques clustered at its centre point,  with cross-bar angled and bowed (hereafter 'lapidary A'). Plate JEA 1.c.
- 5 Documentary account of daily expenses. Sak. inv. GP 9 No. 5676. E. G. Turner, 'Four obols a day men at Saqqara', *Le Monde grec: Hommages à Claire Préaux*, 1976, pp. 573-577 with plate. Sacred animal necropolis Saqqara, found by G. T. Martin, H. S. Smith 1971/2. c. iv B.C. (acrophonic numerals). Rough capitals written with a rush. Roughly bilinear. H 11.3 cm, B 13.0 cm. 16 plus lines. Plate X in ed. pr.
- 6 Fragment of Comedy. Brit. Lib. pap. 1824. P. Hib. I 6. Pack² 1666. Hibeh cartonage, Mummy A 10. Early c. iii B.C. H 12.7 cm., 23 lines per column. Paragraphus, dicola. P. Hib. I pl. IV, GLH 2a. P. Hamb. 120 (Inv. 656), Plate II in ed. pr., is so similar a hand that I propose to examine elsewhere whether it is by the same scribe and part of the same roll. Also New Comedy, 12 cm. high, square E, ω of transitional form, 21 lines.
- 7 Fragment of Logic. Brit. Lib. pap. 2957. P. Hib. II 184. Pack² 2645. Mummy 126. Early c. iii B.C. H 18.5 cm. Bilinear. 24 lines per column. Paragraphus, rudimentary coronides. Upper and lower margins. P. Hib. II pl. II.

- 8 Anon. Tragedy. Brit. Lib. pap. 1822. P. Lit. Lond. 80, GMAW No. 52. Pack² 1708. Cartonage from El Hiba, Mummy A. Early c. iii B.C. H 11.8 cm. plus. Written with a fine pen. Bilinear. Largest piece has 18 plus lines in column. Paragraphus. A 'transitional' piece, leading on to groups C and D. Plate in GMAW I.c.

GROUP B

Early transitional type in which archaic forms (e.g. square E) are in process of adaptation to a rounder style more suitable to the pen. Letter size still large.

- 9 Scolia, Elegies. Pap. Berol. P 13270. BKT V 2 p. 56. Pack² 1924. Found at Elephantine (wrapper in a jar for P. Elephantine 1-4, documents with dates ranging from 311 to 284 B.C.). Early c. iii B.C. H 25 cm., B 33 cm. Fair-sized upper and lower margins, 21 lines. Paragraphus after scolia, elegiac couplets *en eisthesei*. Large hand. E usually rounded, but sometimes square. BKT V 2 Taf. VIII, P. Graec. Berol. 3.
- 10 Plate IV Pseudo-epicharmea. Sak. inv. 71/2 GP 6 5673. E. G. Turner and E. W. Handley, Wiener Studien n.f. 10 (1976) pp. 48-60. Found in sacred animal necropolis by G. T. Martin 1972/3. Assigned to early c. iii. H 21.3 cm. 25 plus lines. Rounded ε; ω, δ high in line, lapidary α, M in four movements. Plate in ed. pr.

GROUP C

In the first half of the third century B.C. (say by 270 B.C.) a well-defined rounded capital style begins to emerge. It is usually upright and bilinear, but often the letters do not sit well in relation to each other; a frequent characteristic is the contrast between broad letters (often A, Γ, Δ, H, K, M, N, Π, T) and narrow letters (ε ϑ ο c); δ with central dot is often found, but is not an essential element in this group.

- 11 Plate VII Pseudepicharmea. Brit. Lib. pap. 1821. P. Lit. Lond. 56, P. Hib. I 1. Pack² 363. Hibeh cartonage, Mummy A, c. 280-240 B.C. H 16.9 cm, B 14.0 cm. 26 plus lines. Upright rounded partly serifed hand. ρ, τ, υ often (ρ not always) reached below line, φ very little below, but considerably above upper line. Contrast of broad and narrow letters. ω tends to be raised, proud A in triangular form, often lapidary. Letter forms like Lille Stesichorus (but note τ with long cross bar and serif pointing right, not left, υ, narrow β). 26 plus lines, upper margin. P. Hib. I 1, GLH 2b.

- 12 Plate VIII Euripides, *Hippolytus*. Brit. Lib. pap. 2652B. P. Lit. Lond. 73. Pack² 397. Came to British Museum with a package of Zenon papyri and usually supposed to be part of that archive, therefore *terminus ante quem* 240 B.C. Not cartouge. Informal rounded upright hand, rare left-pointing serifs (ν), ζ in form I, M in three movements but high, ρ, τ, υ, φ well below lower line, second vertical of ν sometimes raised, high unfinished ω. H 9.5 cm. plus, B 11.5 cm. plus. Column originally 27 lines. P. Lond. Lit. Pl. IV, GLH 3a.
- 13 Plate V Private letter Artemidorus to Panakestor, Zenon archive. Cairo inv. not known. P. Cair. Zen. V 59816. Dated 26 Dec. 257 B.C. The handwriting is not that of a literary copyist, but of an educated private individual or else his educated secretary. (Probably this Artemidorus is not the man of that name who was personal physician to Apollonius.) Larger size than a literary hand (the plate is reduced in size: the same applies to P. Petrie II 11.1, c. 260 B.C., (TCD II 42H2, Wilcken, *Chr.* 223), autotype II 2, and Schubart, *Pal. Abb.* 2, letter of Polycrates to his father Cleon, which has many similar features but is more generously serified). H 32.5 cm., B 16 cm. 14 long lines. Apart from being larger, the hand is more diffuse than P. Lille Stesichorus and Callimachus, stance of letters is less regular, but there is a similar attempt at bilinearity (note ρρ in ερρωκο), examples of lapidary A, second limb of ν is sometimes higher than first, and a contrast of narrow and broad letters. Differences in κ (obliques are at centre point of tall vertical as in 4 and in most of texts in Group D.) P. Cairo Zen. V pl. III.
- 14 Plate VI Letter from Menon to Zenon. Brit. Lib. pap. 2666. P. Lond. VII 2041 ed. T. C. Skeat. Not dated, but as part of Zenon archive must be c. 260-240 B.C. T. C. Skeat gives size as H 15.6 cm, B 9.5 cm. The thick cross-bars of τ and π show this is not a literary hand. But many other letters show considerable closeness to literary hands in this section. Stress on the upper horizontals and relative indifference to the projection of vertical below the lower line is an anticipation of the hands in group E. Not illustrated anywhere. [Many other texts from the Zenon archive could figure in this list. The reader may care to look at GLH 4b (NPS II 96B), P. Cair. Zenon II 59092, *ibid.* IV 59535 = GLH 4c.]
- 15 Plate IXa Fragment of dating clause of a loan of money. Brit. Lib. pap. 2944. P. Hib. I 88. 263/2 B.C. H 9.8 cm. Ends of 14 lines. Small upright capitals carelessly made compared with book-hands but forms are interesting. Rounded ε, ω rounded and also in form found in texts of Group A, ζ in form I, μ in four movements, both μ and ν have upper link strokes, κ with obliques bunched at centre of vertical. P. Hib. I pl. X.
- 16 Mythological fragment, including hexameters. Heidelberg inv. 1891 recto. G. A. Gerhard, VBP 6 no. 176, E. Siegmann, *Lit. gr. Texte d. Heidelb. Papyrussammlung* (1956) No. 10. Pack² 2460. Said to

have been acquired with texts from Zenon archive, i.e. *terminus ante quem* is 240 B.C. Gerhard dates earlier than 270, perhaps rightly. Cf. 9 for a general impression of the style. I should be inclined to suggest a slightly later date c. 270-260. Round ε (but some examples of transitional square E, ζ in form I, ω high in line and second limb trails horizontally, upright triangular α (both narrow and broad), M in four movements. H 11.2 cm. 16 plus lines, part of upper margin. Dicola. Offsets of ink wrongly interpreted as accents in the transcripts. VPB vi Tafel I, Seider No. 8.

- 17 Thucydides I 2. Hamb. Staats u. Univ. Bibliothek 646. P. Hamb. 163. Reedited and redated E. G. Turner, JHS 76 (1956) pp. 96-8, GMAW No. 54. Pack² 1504. Cartonage of unknown origin. Fragments of elegiacs (?), Pack² 1770, dated by original editors c. iii/ii B.C. on back. Date depends on argumentation. I argue for 250 B.C. H 9.0 cm. plus. 33-4 lines per column. Well made upright serified hand, scale and letter forms like Lille Stesichorus (except for τ, υ), and the similarity extends to opposition of narrow and broad letters and the uneasy relative placings of the letters. GMAW No. 54.
- 18 Menander, *Dyskolos*. P. Oslo III 168, identified by J. Lenaerts, Pap. Brux. 13, *Papyrus Littéraires grecs* No. 7. Small upright well-made serified hand. No dating evidence; I agree with Lenaerts' suggested date of c. iii B.C. Lenaerts Pl. 1.
- 19 Anthology containing Euripides, *Phaethon*. Pap. Berol. P. 9771. BKT V 2 p. 79. Pack² 444. Bought at Hermoupolis, no independent dating evidence; I agree with Schubart's assignment to c. iii B.C. Upright rounded tiny capitals (note ω high in line, high thick cross-bars of ξ, π, τ). H 10.5 cm., 20 plus lines. Paragraphi, unexplained marginal signs, upper title. P. Graec. Berol. 4b.
- 20 'Tragic Songs' Papyrus. Strasbourg WG 307. Fr. A in GMAW No. 30. Pack² 426. Papyrus cartonage of unknown provenance. c. 250 B.C. H 21 cm. plus, 23 plus long lines in fr. A. Paragraphus and dash in line. Large somewhat coarsely written, of interest (e.g. form of μ) for dating Lille unpub. texts. GMAW No. 30.
- 21 Poetical Onomasticon. Brit. Lib. pap. 2945. P. Hib. II 172. Pack² 2129. Hibeh, purchased 1903. Not cartonage. Early to middle c. iii B.C., an assigned date based on letter forms. H 13 cm. plus, 25-27 plus lines per column. Upright well-formed plain rounded capital. Rounded and narrow εδοc, ϑ may have central dot, ζ in form I, broad η, bilinear but τ, ι, ρ and υ descend below line, narrow β, κ with central obliques small and placed at centre point of tall vertical. Paragraphi. General similarity to both Lille papyri. P. Hib. II pl. I.
- 22 Euripides, *Orestes* with musical notation. P. Vindob. G. 2315. K. Wessely, MPER v (1893) pp. 65-73, E. G. Turner JHS 76 (1956) pp. 95-6. Pack² 411. No external evidence for dating, but my sug-

gestion of 200 B.C. has been accepted widely (e.g. by Hunger, Pöhlmann, Irigoin). H. 9.2 cm. plus, 7 plus lines (note: the supposition that it was colometrized is a false inference from the printed lay-out in GMAW. In fact I believe the run of the lines is irreconcilable with a colometrized system). Large lettering with thick pen, square E in musical notation. GMAW No. 35; Wien. Stud. 75 (1962) p. 76.

- 23 Plates I, II Stesichorus P. Lille will be discussed below.
- 24 Plates IIIa, IIIb Callimachus P. Lille will be discussed below.
- 25 P. Lille ined. (hexameter poem) 25, 26 now published in CRIPEL 5 [1979], which I have not yet had time to study.
- 26 P. Lille ined. (prose work).

I shall argue that 23, 24 and probably 26 should be included in this group, but shall reserve the argumentation till the listing is completed.

GROUP D

Bookhands of mid-third century B.C. written in a quite different type of bookhand. Almost miniature writing, regular, upright, done with a fine pen. No doubt the type derives from 2 and 8, but one is little aware of bilinearity since unexpected letters can take on longer or taller forms than usual and project above and below others — e.g. β , ν , π as well as κ , ρ , τ , υ , ϕ , ψ in 28, or the descenders of κ ρ υ ϕ are unnaturally long considering the general scale. I offer six examples. More could be shown.

- 27 Plato, *Phaedo* 68bff. Brit. Lib. pap. 488. P. Petrie I 5-8. Pack² 1388. Cartonage from Gurob, first half of 3rd cent. B.C. (? c. 270 B.C.). Square E alongside rounded ϵ , high ω a compromise with form in Group A (for both cf. 16), narrow tall and deep β , obliques of κ at centre point of tall first vertical. Paragraphi. H 21.5 cm., column 22 lines 14.5 cm. H. Upper margin 3 cm., lower 4 cm. P. Petrie I Autotypes, Pal. Soc. 2nd ser. II 2 no. 161; Schubart, *Pal. Abb.* 67.
- 28 Plate IX Euripides, *Antiope*. Brit. Lib. pap. 485. P. Petrie I 1-2. P. Lit. Lond. 70. Kambitsis, Eurip. *Antiope* (Athens 1972). Pack² 433. Cartonage from Gurob. ? c. 250 B.C. Hand less even than 27. H 21.7 cm., upper margin 3.6 cm., lower 3.5 cm. 36 or 37 lines per column. Paragraphus.
- 29 *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*. Bodl. Ms. Gr. class. d 80 (P). P. Hib. I 26. Pack² 88. Cartonage from Hibeh ('Mummy A'). c. 285-250 B.C. Grenfell and Hunt. H 12.8 cm., 21-24 lines per column. Small upper and lower margins. Tiny hand, last stroke of ω projects well

- above line, Ω in form used in Group A. Paragraphus and space. P. Hib. I Pl. III.
- 30 Anthology of Euripidean Pieces. Brit. Lib. pap. 2952. P. Hib. II 179. R. Kannicht, ZPE 21 (1976) 117-133. Pack² 1740. Hibeh cartonage (Mummy A). c. 280-240 B.C. E.G.T. H 15.5 cm. 30 lines per column, small upper and lower margins. Minute hand, high ω with last limb unfinished. P. Hib. II Pl. III (fr. i only).
- 31 Euripides, *Erechtheus*. Sorbonne Inv. 2328. C. Austin, *Rech. de Pap.* IV (1967) 11-67; Paolo Carrara, Euripide, *Eretteo* (Pap. Flor. III) Florence 1977. Cartonage from Ghoran, Mummy 24. ? 250-220 B.C. H 16/17 cm., 18-21 lines per column, upper and lower margins 2 cm. Upright hand much larger and coarser than any of 27-30 and anticipating type of 33. Palimpsested roll. Complete facsimile in ed. pr.
- 32 Euripides, *Alexandros*. Strasbourg inv. pap. gr. 2342-44. W. Crönert NGG 1922 pp. 1-17. E. G. Turner, article to appear in *Scriptorium* 1979 * redates to c. 250 B.C. Pack² 432. Cartonage of unknown origin. Small hand comparable with 30 but larger and taking more space in a lateral direction. H 16.5 cm. plus (much more if certain joins are accepted), at least 22 lines per column. Paragraphus, coronis. Complete photographic facsimile (not to scale) in R. A. Coles, B.I.C.S. Suppl. No. 32. Partial facsimile in E. G. Turner op. cit.

GROUP E

In the last half of c. iii B.C. there appears a largish, rounded flowing hand derived from good documentary writing. Used for copying books, and is one of most influential types in c. ii B.C., yet it hardly gives the impression of being calligraphic.

- 33 Menander, *Sikyonios*. Sorbonne inv. 2272-3. A. Blanchard, A. Bataille, *Rech. de Pap.* III (1965) pp. 103-176. Pack² 1656. Ghoran mummy 24. c. 240-220 B.C. Palimpsested roll. H 16 cm., 22 verses per column. Rounded, roughly bilinear hand, size and position of letters allowing of wide variations. Thick pen. Complete photographic facsimile in ed. pr. GMAW No. 40.
- 34 *Schoolmaster's Text Book*. Cairo inv. 65445. O. Guéraud and P. Jouguet, *Un Livre d'Écolier* (1938). Pack² 2642. Purchased roll. No external evidence for date, but C. H. Roberts stresses that an otherwise unrecorded epigram on Ptolemy Philopator is likely to be contemporary with the books' compilation, i.e. late 3rd century B.C., which suits the palaeographical indications. Clear running capital of fair size and regularity (much more so than 33). Greatest surviving height c. 10.5 cm., perhaps originally 25 lines per column. Paragraphi,

* *Miscellanea codicologica F. Masai dicata*, Ghent 1979, 1-5.

coronides, early and late columns placed in 'arcades'. Complete photographic facsimile in ed. pr. GLH 5a and b (reduced).


- 35 Petition in hypomnema form to the strategus Daimachus. Berlin P. 5034. BGU X 1907 ed. W. Müller. Cartonage from Thebes. 178/7 * B.C., dated by persons involved. H 15.3 cm. plus. Largish clear round upright capital. Hand in itself undistinguished, included here as a specimen of a typical second century descendant of 33 and 34. Left-pointing serifs on many verticals (κ μ ρ τ ϕ), flat serif on ν , high link strokes from second vertical of ν and from cross-bar of τ , χ . Usually broad δ , η , ϑ . Plate ed. pr. Tafel II.

GROUP F

In this group I list three papyrus manuscripts which have been assigned by their editors to the second century and which show some at any rate of the characteristics of my group C and might be quoted in support of a second century date for the Lille papyri. My analysis will show that I do not rate that support high.

- 36 Plate X Chrysippus *On Negative Propositions*. Louvre N. 2326. P. Paris 2 (ed. princeps M. Letronne, *Journal des Savans* 1838 pp. 309-317; 321-328). Pack² 246. Part of the Serapeum find associated with Ptolemy son of Glaukias. Back contains dream of Nektembes (UPZ I 79) and accounts (UPZ I 90 and 101), with date 159 B.C. 159 B.C. it should be noted is the *terminus ante quem*. The Chrysippus might have been copied as much as 50 years earlier, indeed within the lifetime of Chrysippus (d. 207 B.C.), and I am inclined to suppose it was. Wilcken (UPZ I p. 112) is right in asserting that the copyist of this text was a professional copyist (I do not know what M. Norsa p. 8 means by saying it is not an 'edizione di lusso'). It is of much higher quality than most second century 'book hands'. A later example of the style appears in P. Merton I 1, Homer *Odyssey* VI. H 19 cm. 28 lines per column, upper and lower margins. Hand is a small rounded capital with a slight slope to the right (note leaning α , δ , λ , μ). μ in 4 movements, but is rounded off. Mainly bilinear (ϕ slightly below lower line, much above upper). Note heavy cross stroke of τ . Serifs often on κ , ν , ρ , τ , ϕ . Incipient link strokes on second vertical of ν . Θ with line. Two halves of κ occasionally come apart. Large broad σ , c . Paragraphi, spaces in line, rough coronis $\overline{\text{S}}$ to mark quotation. Pal. Soc. II 180, Norsa 3, GLH 6a.
- 37 Plate XII Homer *Odyssey* IV, V. Univ. California Berkeley. P. Teb. III 697. Pack² 1056. Tebtunis mummy 77 (many fragments of II.

* For the date see T. C. Skeat, *JEA* 59 (1973) 171-2.

VI, P. Teb. III 899, have also been recovered from this mummy, and are dated to after 150 B.C. by their editors). Date assigned by editors c. ii B.C. H 17 cm. plus, 38 plus verses per column. There is considerable variation in the style of handwriting, and the editors canvass the possibility of two different scribes. To me as to S. West, *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer* pp. 198ff, it seems certain that there was more than one scribe. Col. iii (shown in plate) is well-made, rounded and upright and is the closest second century parallel that can be cited for the Lille hands. It gives an impression of early date, which is at once contradicted by the other hand(s), which I should certainly place in c. ii B.C. In any case A.S. Hunt's authority as palaeographer is not to be challenged lightly. Fine pen. Mainly bilinear hand, ρ, τ, υ, φ below lower line, β sits astride both lines. Some left-pointing serifs. A tends to be supported by its first stroke rather than stand as an upright triangle, ζ in form Z, sizeable well-rounded ε, ϑ, c but o usually small. M in 4 or 3 rounded movements, τ usually in form  P. Teb. III 1 Pl. II.

- 38 Homer *Iliad* I. Sorbonne inv. 542. P. Sorbonne 1 ed. H. Cadell. Cartonage from El-Lahun, assigned date. H 7.7 plus cm. Scrap written in a medium to small upright rounded capital. Tall triangular A, M in 4 movements, some serifs. Form of T, tendency of K to come apart confirm date suggested. P. Sorbonne 5 also probably rightly assigned to c. ii B.C. Plate I in ed. pr.

GROUP G

Rounded capital writing assignable to c. ii B.C. This is a far from exhaustive list of such hands. I have not included any handwriting descended from Group E (i.e. the great bulk of 'book hands' assigned to this century).

- 39 Plate XIb Sophocles *Inachus*. Univ. California Berkeley 1058. P. Teb. III 692. Pack² 1475. TGF³ F 269c-g. Cartonage from Tebtunis, mummy 15 (documents from this mummy assigned to c. ii, e.g. Teb. III 783, 893, 961 possibly to 139 B.C.). (fr. 1) 8.5 cm. 16 plus lines, 1 cm. upper margin. Tiny upright decorated capitals written with a thick pen. Letters taller than they are broad, thick upper finials, incipient link strokes on second vertical of μ, left-pointing serifs. α, β often project above and below line, ρ, τ, υ, φ, ψ well below. Two halves of χ tend to come apart, M in 4 movements or 3. The hand of P. Lond. 222 II p. 7, Album No. 2, probably mid c. ii has a number of points in common. Cf. also 41 below. For an upright semi-capital of slightly larger size cf. P. Teb. III 811 (Pl. IV) dated 165 B.C. Paragraphi, some accents, critical marks, lyrics inset. Plate P. Teb. III 1 pl. I.

- 40 Fragments of records of loans. P. Lond. 223 (II p. 3; Plates volume II 2). New text by T.C. Skeat in GLH 7b (where read ii 1.3 εωc του ιϛL εLη[). Date 179/8 B.C.? Clear upright rounded capital, every letter made separately, but not a book hand. Capital and cursive α, narrow β in mid-line, ρ τ υ well below lower line, φ ψ well below and above. BM Plates Album II 2, GLH 7b.
- 41 Eight fragments of Deuteronomy. C. H. Roberts, *Two Biblical Papyri*, Manchester 1936. Idem, P. Ryl. III 458, Van Haelst No. 57. Cartonnage of unknown provenance. C. H. Roberts argues convincingly for a date c. 150 B.C. On back documentary account or memorandum carrying date, year 2 (Soter? = 116/115 B.C.). Fr. (a) H 10.7 cm. plus, 16 plus lines per column. Fr. (b) has upper margin of 3.5 cm. Small upright bookhand, finely-cut pen, heavily serifed and finialled. Bilinear, ρ, τ, υ slightly below line. Upright triangular A, narrow κ may fall into two halves, M in 4 movements. Plate in ed. pr. and GLH 7a.
- 42 Homer *Iliad* II. Univ. California Berkeley 2390. P. Teb. I 4. E. G. Turner, GMAW No. 12. Pack² 632. Tebtunis crocodile mummy (Crocodile no. 4. In GMAW I confused crocodile mummies and mummies of persons. The 'mummies' of P. Teb. III 1 and 2 are all of persons and only of persons. Therefore the supposed documentary *terminus ante quem* for a date about 150 B.C. does not exist). Later part of the 2nd century B.C. Description of the hand in GMAW l.c. Letters upright and rounded, uneven in size and in position relative to each other. H 11.3 cm. plus, plus or minus 25 verses per column. Critical signs. Plate in ed. pr. and GMAW No. 12.
- 43 Ibycus, *Poem for Polycrates*. EES. P. Oxy. XV 1790, J. Barron, B.I.C.S. 16 (1969) pp. 119-149. Pack² 1237. No external evidence for date. Later 2nd century (so in GMAW) on basis of comparison with the strongly stylized 3rd hand in VBP II pp. 2ff, plate Seider I No. 15, dated to 130 B.C. H 20 cm., wide upper and lower margins, 20 lines per column. Strongly stylized upright round hand. Stops, critical signs, accents, coronis, long comment in lower margin. Plates in ed. pr.; Schubart, *Pal. Abb.* 75; GMAW No. 20; Barron, l.c. plates 5-6.
- 44 Anthology. Univ. California Berkeley. P. Teb. I 1. Pack² 1606. Tebtunis crocodile mummy, crocodile 28.5. Verse is preceded by a column of writing containing copy of a decree issued in 118 B.C., i.e. 118 is *terminus post quem*. Late c. ii B.C. Medium to large size rounded capital, some cursive forms especially ε, slightly sloping to right; mainly bilinear, but φ well above and below line, ι, τ, ρ, υ not infrequently below. Tiny ο. A few serifs. H 30.5 cm., 19 long lines in column. P. Teb. I Plate I, GLH 7c.
- 45 Plate XIII Hypereides *In Athenogenem*. Louvre 9331. E. Revillout, *REG* 2 (1889) pp. 1-16; *Corpus Papyrorum Aegypti* III 1 (1891);

Pack² 1235. Purchased in Egypt 1888, said to have come from Panopolis. No objective evidence for date: except that on back of 4 out of 14 columns are accounts in demotic Egyptian of Ptolemaic date (Revillout). Usually dated c. ii B.C., I have wondered whether iii/ii (i.e. c. 200 B.C.) might not be a good dating (note heavily inked horizontals sometimes of τ , sometimes base of δ , ξ in three bars usually (not always) linked by vertical). But perhaps 200-150 B.C. is safer. H 23 cm. (? originally 26 cm.), upper margin perhaps original 2.0 cm., lower one only 1.5 cm., 25-28 lines per column, beginning slews to left at foot (Maas' law), tendency for first letter in line to be enlarged, and last letters to be small. Upright regular and beautiful capital, serifs rare; style apparently unadorned but observe frequent graceful undulant κ , υ , χ . Not strictly bilinear, though first impression is that it is. ω , ψ project well above and below, so occasionally also ρ , τ , υ ; some letters (especially α , ε , ϑ) usually sit between the lines, but intermittently rise above and below them. δ usually (α , λ occasionally) has lengthened oblique projecting upward to left. Cf. the δ in P. Merton I 1. M usually in 4 movements. K can normally be inscribed in a square and two halves tend to come apart. Paragraphi, spaces in line, line fillers, no stops. Scriptio plena. Complete facsimile in Revillout, *Corpus* etc. III 1; Schubart, *Pal.*, Abb. 70. Now that the survey has been concluded, it is time to attempt an analogous palaeographical description of the Lille hands:

- 23 Plates I, II Stesichorus: medium to small upright round capitals (a very few linkages, $\gamma\varepsilon$, $\varepsilon\nu$). Some letters have left pointing serifs (ρ τ), υ has a flat 'base' serif. Letters somewhat uneasily placed in relation to each other and not always made in the same manner. Except for φ , strict adherence to bilinearity (note way in which tails of ρ , τ , υ are docked so as to retain them within the line). The hand is laterally compressed, and there is also a contrast between narrow ε ϑ \omicron (but broad c) and broader letters, e.g. α γ η κ (when laterally extended) M ξ . ϑ is a circle with central dot, M in four but also in three rounded movements. The second vertical of υ tends (but not consistently) to rise higher than the first. The last member of ω droops.
- 24 Plates IIIa, IIIb Callimachus: upright, well-rounded regular serified calligraphic capitals of medium size, written with a finely cut pen. The most beautiful example of a Ptolemaic book hand that I know. Absolutely bilinear except for φ and ψ ; even φ is mainly above the upper line, its flattened serif usually more or less resting on the lower line. Lower part of κ ρ τ υ confined within lower line. Well rounded ε , \omicron , c . Broad α , often taking the lapidary form; the cross-bar and vertical of η are occasionally made in one movement, M is in four movements, υ has a broad angular cup, ζ in form I. For the note at the foot of 76 d ii I should be reluctant to offer a date.

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On the morphological and other analogies already noted in my analysis of the other hands, I should without hesitation place both 23 and 24 in my group. C. 23 Stesichorus finds detailed analogies in 11 12 13 15 16 17 21. 24 Callimachus finds them in 12 13 15 17 21. The Callimachus is the harder to pin down precisely because of its outstanding regularity and attractiveness: no single parallel contains all its qualities together.

The positive comparison may be fortified by considerations of a negative character. 23 and 24 have nothing to do with my groups A and B or with D and E. 24 Callimachus has some points of similarity with Group F, especially 36 and 37. But the similarity is only apparent. 36 has a slope to the right and differences in individual letter forms; as against 37 the Callimachus has 'lapidary' α and ζ in archaic form I.

This is the moment at which I should have liked to play as trump card the undoubted fact that the Lille mummy has produced fragments of documentary texts some of which bear dates as early as years 32 and 33 of Philadelphus, i.e. in the fifties of the 3rd century B.C. But I cannot produce this trump card. For it appears that at least four scraps and perhaps more from the same mummy must belong to a documentary archive of a century later, namely of c. 145 B.C. I can offer no explanation for the unparalleled * range of life of the texts in this mummy. But it means that a palaeographical analysis of the handwritings is the only cogent evidence available to us to situate 23 and 24 in time. True, the back of part of 23 has itself been used for a documentary text. On the basis of the reduced plate in CRIPEL 4, which is all that I have seen, I can do no more than guess at the date of this document, but I think it is of the third century. My conclusion therefore rests on palaeographical analysis alone. It is that 23 Stesichorus belongs to the middle of the third century B.C., and I would suggest a range of say 270-230 B.C. for it; and that 24 Callimachus is also of the middle of the third century B.C., perhaps a little later, say 250-210 B.C.

Nothing in the format of these two rolls is against this conclusion. The Stesichorus is 23 cm. high with an upper margin of 2.5 cm., a lower margin of 3.0 cm., and about 34 lines to the

* See my POSTSCRIPTUM pp. 39-40 below.

column. The Callimachus is 23.5 cm. high, with upper and lower margins roughly the same, but 40 lines to the column.

Now it is quite true that many literary papyri of early date are in a smaller format:

	Height	Lines to column
2 Derveni papyrus	8 plus cm.	15 plus
6 Comedy	12.7 cm.	21-23
29 Rhet. ad Alexandrum	12.8 cm.	21-24
30 Euripides Anthology	15.5 cm.	30
31 Euripides <i>Erechtheus</i>	16.5 cm.	18-21
21 Onomasticon	13 plus cm.	26 plus

but there are adequate parallels for taller rolls of early date which have more lines to the column:

11 Pseudepicharmea	16.9 cm. (incl. upper margin)	26 plus
10 Pseudepicharmea	21.3 cm.	25 plus
20 Euripides Tragic Songs	21 cm.	23
28 Euripides <i>Antiope</i>	21.7 cm. (3.5 cm. upper and lower margin)	36-37
12 Euripides <i>Hippolytus</i>	—	[27] (by calculation)
32 Euripides <i>Alexandros</i>	16.5 cm. plus	22 plus
45 Hypereides	23 cm.	25-28
Homer, Odyssey P. Hib. I 23 (handwriting of my group D)	19 cm. plus	31 plus

Paragraphi are employed in the Lille Stesichorus to separate parts of the triad; but no coronis or asteriscus is found. In early Ptolemaic papyri, as I have noted, paragraphi are used with various functions (e.g. to mark off lemmata, to mark changes of speaker). The purpose of the coronis in 32 is obscure.

The wider consequences of this redating can only be indicated, not explored. We do not know in what town in Egypt the owners of these texts were resident. It is not a necessary conclusion that they were the villagers of Ghoran or Magdola¹⁰. But they were

10. H. Cadell, P. Sorbonne I p. 57 on no. 14 enumerates examples of such texts which concern the Heracleopolite nome. Many of the documentary texts in the Hibeh Papyri concern the Oxyrhynchite nome. Presumably the same inference may be drawn about the literary texts.

Greeks with a pride in their heritage and a catholic taste in literature to have possessed copies of Stesichorus, a shadowy poet of the sixth century, as well as Callimachus. There is no palaeographical reason why the copy of Callimachus should not have been made in Callimachus' own life time. The paradox of this copy is: how did so beautiful a scribal hand come to be used for a copy which also included so much mediocre comment? The hand at least is worthy of the poet.

The dating of the Stesichorus to c. 270-230 B.C. raises a more serious question. Its verse text is colometrized. Yet in the scholarly tradition it is Aristophanes of Byzantium of at least a generation later who is credited with first dividing lyric poetry into metrical *cola*. R. Pfeiffer has accepted that tradition: 'Aristophanes' lyric texts were distinguished from all the previous ones by a prominent new feature; they were not written in continuous lines like prose but divided into shorter metrical $\kappa\tilde{\omega}\lambda\alpha$ '¹¹. If the Lille Stesichorus was copied before Aristophanes had begun his colometrized divisions, then the traditional description cannot stand. Possibly what Aristophanes did was to systematize and/or improve the colometry he found already in use¹². The Derveni papyrus has already revealed that the writing of hypomnemata on what were presumed to be the Alexandrian pattern was practised as early as the fourth century. Has there been a general postdating of the Greek movement towards scholarship?

11. A History of Classical Scholarship I (Oxford 1967) p. 185.

12. P. Lille does not use the asteriscus or the coronis in its marking of triads. M. L. West's way out (hinted at in ZPE 29 (1978) pp. 3-4) is the suggestion that Aristophanes himself should be updated.

POSTSCRIPTUM October 1980 (see pp. 23, 24, 36):

I have let the last paragraph of p. 24 stand as originally written, but I no longer believe it to be true. Further examination of mummy cartonnage in general and the Lille mummy in particular (helped by photographs, information and ocular inspection provided generously by M. Bernard Boyaval) convince me that the Lille mummy presents no anomaly. Adhering too uncritically to the printed judgements of my predecessors, I attempted to lay down a general law which unjustifiably narrows the range of dates of a batch of documents reused to make mummy cartonnage. In some mummies the range may well fall inside the time span of 40 years claimed by Grenfell and Hunt for their Hibeh « Mummy A » (actually a metaphysical construct, not a physical object); a 60 year span may well hold for Gurob and the remaining Hibeh mummies. But no universal law can be inferred from these examples. The time-span may exceed 100 years. Each mummy requires separate assessment. I should like here to make three points:

1) *The Lille mummy*: when writing p 23 I had overlooked the statements in CRIPPEL 2 p. 9 and CRIPPEL 3 p. 269 that the Greek fragments derived from the mummy mask inv. Ghoran 2271, and that the plastron inv. 2276 only furnished demotic texts. For the Greek pieces, it is therefore a matter of indifference whether the mask and the plastron are of the same mummy. In addition M. Bernard Boyaval has very kindly sent me photographs of all the documentary pieces listed as P. Lille 65 a-g. I must make amends to him here for my mis-statement that no photographs of this text are available; reproductions of 65 a-c are published in ZPE 28 (1978) Tafel XVI. Every one of the pieces Lille 65 a-g I should be willing to assign to the middle of the second century B.C. on *paleographical grounds*. These grounds have been recorded in B. Boyaval's paper ZPE 37 (1980) 271-2 (note also the possibility that the Phantias of 1.9 could be the well-known strategos of 140-137, Prosop. Ptol. 340). Regarding the date of these pieces, there is therefore no conflict between the paleographical and the prosopographical indications, a point which had troubled M. Boyaval.

2) The chronological range of the Lille mummy mask inv. 2271 can be paralleled from other mummies, for instance Teb. III mummy 9. From this mummy derive 749, 937-9, letters circulating among a group of persons datable to about 245 B.C. (see P. Yale 35, introd.); but 980 seems to belong to 151 B.C., 839 and 935 to 162 or 161 B.C.

3) Of many collections of papyri dismantled from cartonnage only selections have been published, and no inventories are generally available. Conclusions may therefore be based on a limited portion of the evidence,

not its totality, and be erroneous. It should also be remembered that many datings given in these documents are of the form 'Year x, month y', no sovereign's name being stated. The precise editorial date may itself stem from a belief that 'year x' should be accommodated in the third century before Christ. P. Lille I ii 21-3 (from El-Lahoun mummy 3) exemplify both these dangers. These three texts are dated 'Year 26', Tybi or Phamenoth, and in the *ed. princ.* the year was taken to be 26 Euergetes I and interpreted as 221 B.C. Wilcken, Bataille, the Prosop. Ptol. accepted this date. But it has recently been successfully disputed by W. Clarysse, C d É 51 (1976) 158-160, who gives as date 155 or 144 B.C., 26 Philometor or Euergetes II. Clarysse's arguments are cumulative: paleographical, calendrical, prosopographical and archival and are supported by successful search for additional pieces from the same mummy. They are accepted by H. Hauben, Actes XV^e Congrès Int. Pap. (Pap. Brux. 19) 70-2, and I am willing to accept them. To the best of my knowledge, the pieces of this mummy belong to the 150s or 140s of the second century, and are not dispersed over a wide span of time. But Clarysse's alertness suggests the need for systematic examination of all cartonnage dating.

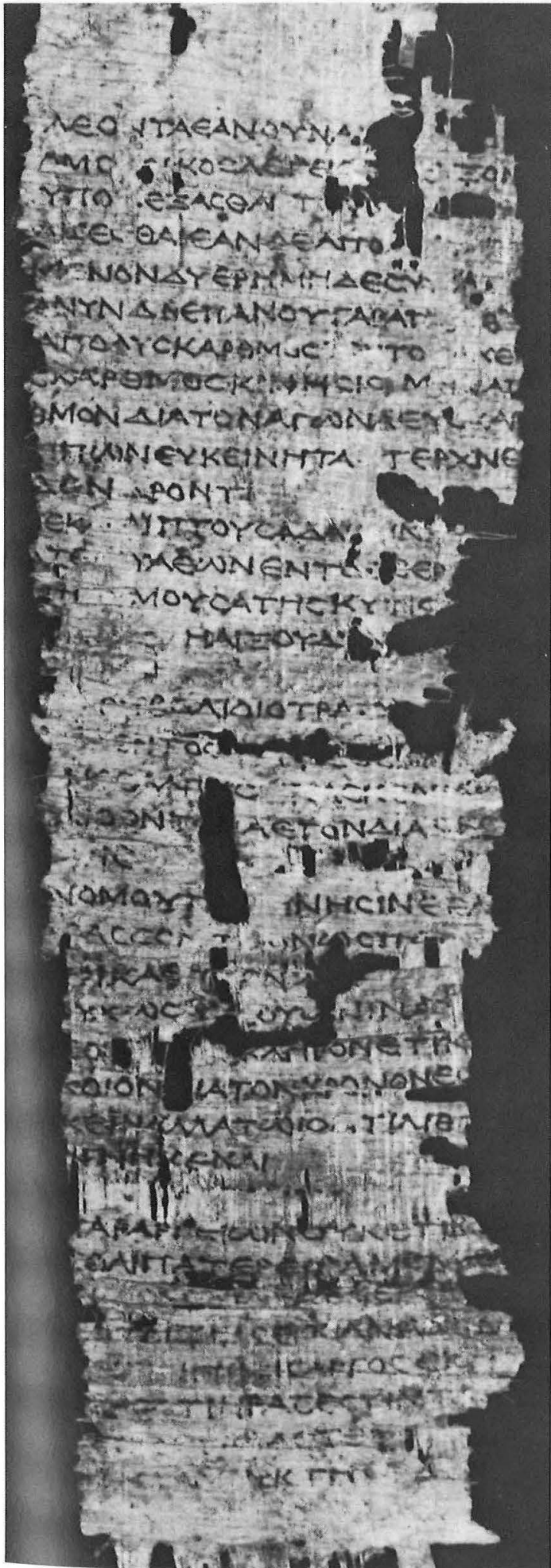
In conclusion I should note the result for my own thesis if a wider range of dates is allowed for the documents and literary pieces in one and the same mummy. My groups A and B are untouched; in Group C, the dating of 13, 14, 15 is unaffected, but more weight than I previously allowed must be given to analogical argument for the dates of 12, 17-22, 23-26; the early dating of all bookhands in Group D depends on the security of a narrow date-range for Hibeh and Gurob cartonnage; Group E can stand unchanged; Groups F and G are interpretative rather than guaranteed. I have no wish to change any of my stylistic assessments, or my reconstruction of the developments of Ptolemaic bookhands. I believe that I have set out a coherent view of that development. But I must clearly admit that I have not demonstrated that the Lille Stesichorus must belong to 250 B.C. or earlier, I have made out a plausible case.



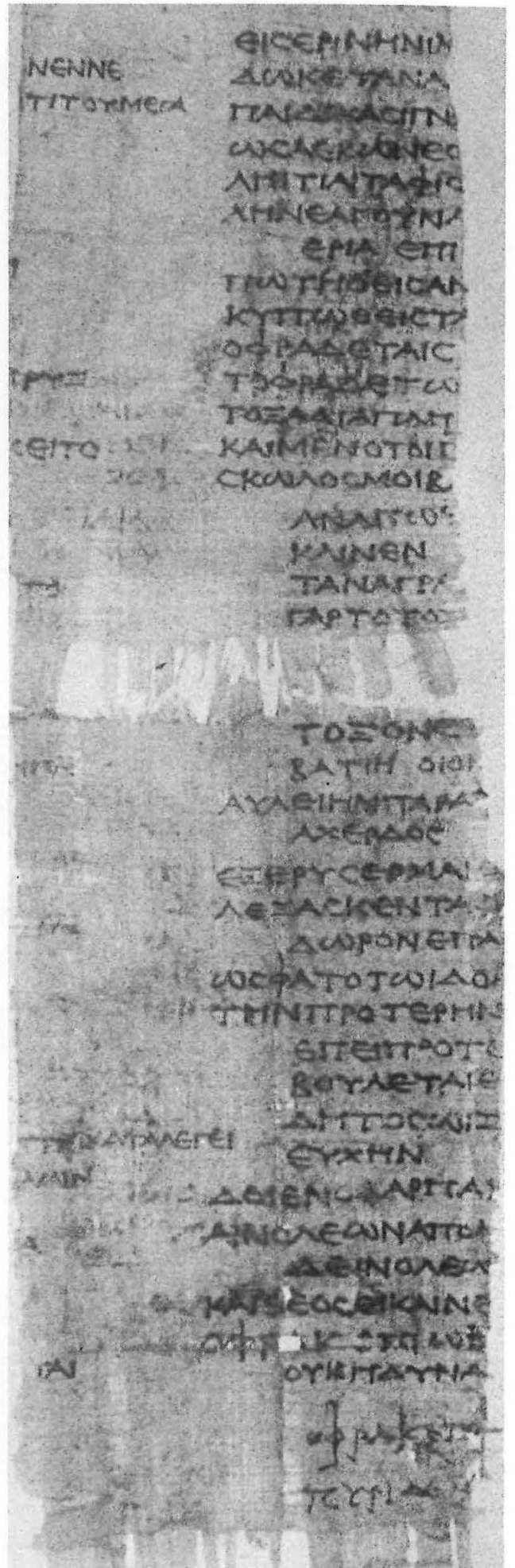
Pl. I - Stesichorus P. Lille inv. 76a = 23

ΠΑΛΓΕΣΙΛΗΧΑΜΕΤΡΑΕΠΟΣΙΝΕΡΩΜΗΑΣ
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 ΝΕΙΚΟΣ ΕΜΡ. ΕΛΑΜΒΡΟΤΙΣΙΝ
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 ΔΥΚΕΘ. ΕΝ ΜΕΤ. ΡΟΙΝ. ΣΑΤΙΝ ΔΑΣ
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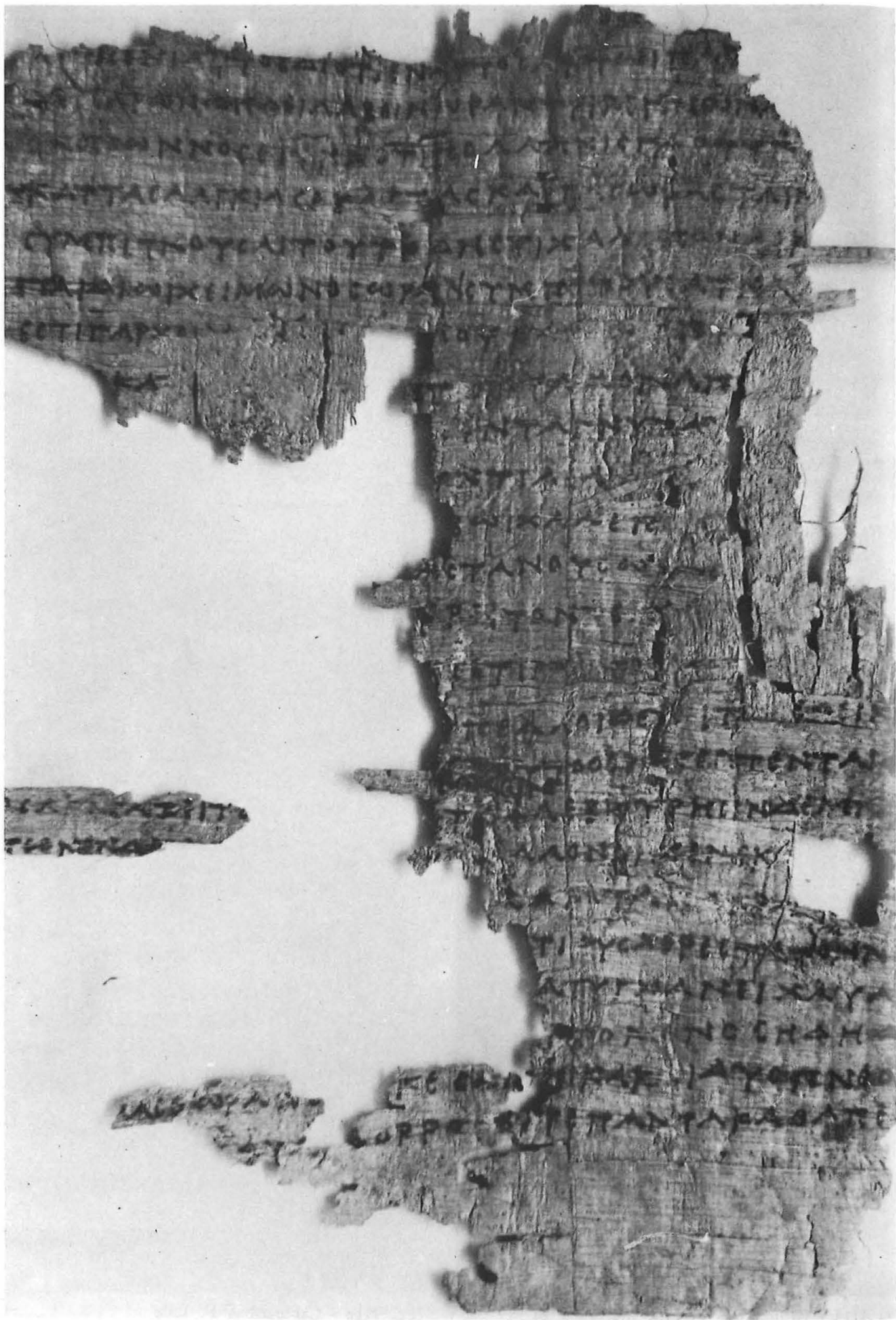
Pl. II - Stesichorus plus inv. 73 (infra-red) = 23



Pl. IIIa - Callimachus P. Lille inv. 79 = 24



Pl. IIIb - Callimachus P. Lille 76d (infra-red) = 24



Pl. IV - Pseudepicharmea P. Sak. inv. 71/2 GP 6 = 10

ΠΡΑΝΑΚΕΣΤΟΡΙΧΑΙΡΙΝΠΑΡΤΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΥΜΟΥΕΓΡΟΥΒΑΣΤΟΥΧΕΙΜΕΝ
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 ΕΡΡΩΟ ΗΚΟ

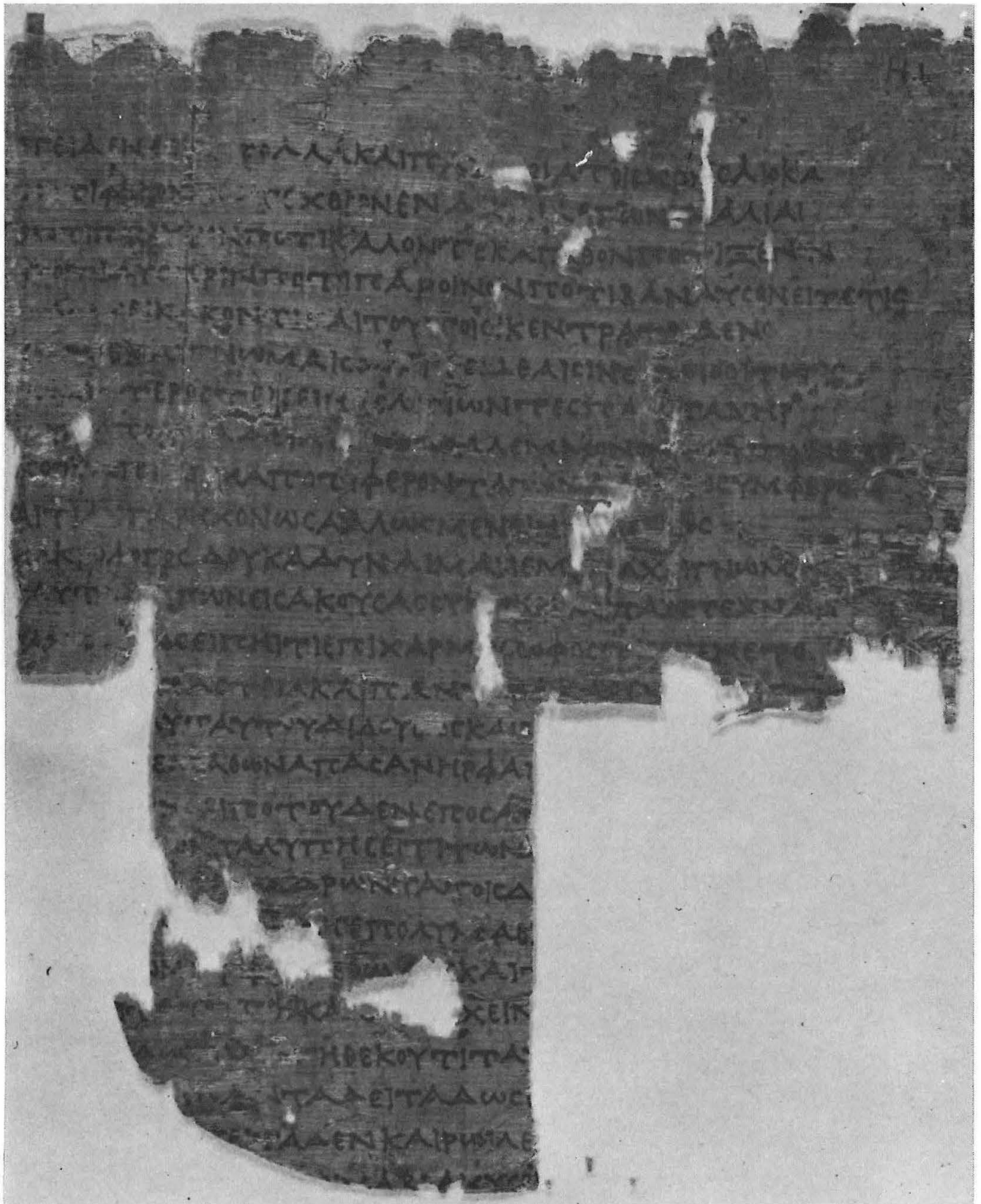
Pl. V - Private letter, P. Cairo Zenon V 59816 = 13 (Reduced from original size)

2666

ΣΗΚΩΝΗ^η ΧΛΗΡΗΝ ΜΕΝΩΝ ΟΙΔΑ
ΜΕΝΑΥΤΟΝ ΤΡΟΤΟΝ ΤΑ ΕΡΓΑ
ΥΠΕΛΩΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΚΤΕ ΤΩΣ
ΣΥΝΤΕΛΩΣ ΤΕΡΑΚΟΜΙΔΕ ΚΑΙ
ΕΤΙΒΕΛΤΙΟΝ ΤΕΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΔΙΕΙΟΥΝ ΔΟ
ΚΕΙΟΙΣΥΝ ΤΑ ΣΟΝ ΔΟΘΗΝΑΙ ΜΟΙ
ΓΛΕΥΚΟΥΣ ΜΕ ΤΡΗ ΤΗΝ ΟΣ ΤΩΣ
ΥΠΕΡ ΤΕ ΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΚΟΛΛΩΝ ΗΟΥ
ΣΤΕΡΕΩ ΤΩ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙ ΤΟΥ ΧΩ
ΡΙΟΥ ΘΟΣ ΔΕ ΣΤΙΝ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΣ ΤΑΝ
ΤΑΧΟΥ

ΕΥΤΥΧΕΙ

PL. VI - Private letter, P. Lond. VII 2041 = 14
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Pl. VII - Pseudepicharmeria, P. Lond. inv. 1821 = 11
(Reproduced by permission of the British Library)



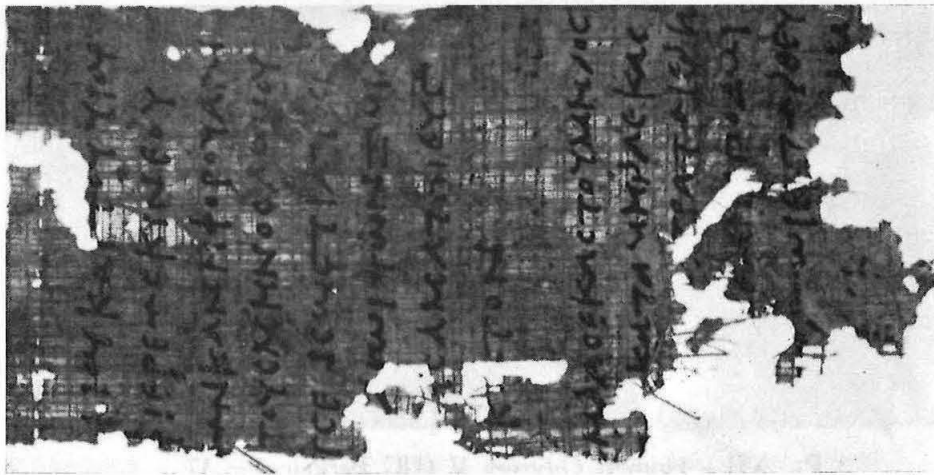
Pl. VIII - Euripides, *Hippolytus*, P. Lond. inv. 2652B = 12
(Reproduced by permission of the British Library)



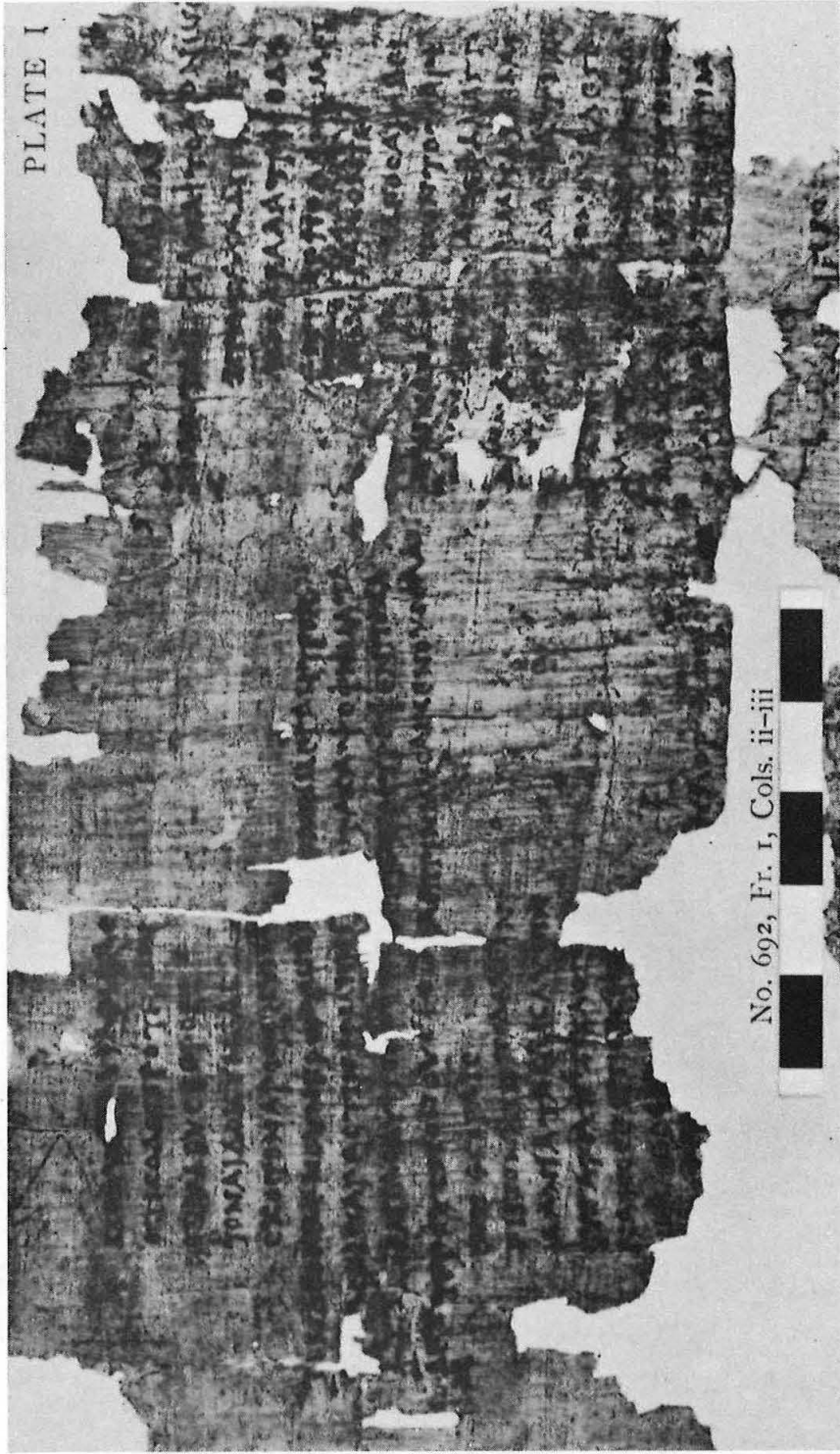
Pl. IX - Euripides, *Antiope*, P. Lond. inv. 485 = 28
(Reproduced by permission of the British Library)

ΜΟΝΕΙΝ	ΦΑΣΚΕΝΟΥΚΕΦΑΛΗΝΑΧΙΛΗ	ΝΑΙ ΟΥΔΑΚΑΝΟΠΟΙΗΤΗΣ	ΤΙΘΕΩΔ
ΜΑΚΑ	ΙΧΟΛΩΣΕΙΝΑΚΙΜΟΝΗ	ΟΥΤΩΣΑΤΕΦΑΙΝΕΤΟΥ	ΤΑΤΕΦ
ΚΕΣΤΙΝ	ΤΟΡΩΔΕΛΛΑΔΕΚΤΑΓΛΩΣ	ΚΗΣΑΝΗΡΑΓΡΟΙΚΟΣΟΥΔΕ	ΘΕΩΔΥΟ
ΥΔΑΙ	ΕΤΣΕΙΜΑΛΛΑΜΟΙΦΙΛΟΣΤΗΝ	ΣΚΑΙΟΣ ΕΙΟΥΤΩΣΑΤΟ	ΕΙΣΑΤΕΦΩ
ΤΙ	ΔΕΙΣΜΑΕΣΤΙΝΚΕΦΑ	ΦΑΙΝΟΙΤΑΝΤΙΣΔΕΥΤΕΛ	ΦΑΣΚΕΝΟ
ΥΤΑ	ΛΗΝΑΧΙΛΗΙΧΟΛΩΣΕΙΝΑ	ΤΕΔΟΣΕΙΜΙΟΥΔΑΣΤΟΙΣΙ	ΩΔΥΟΜΟΙ
Σ	ΚΙΜΟΝΗΤΟΡΩΔΕΛΛΑ	ΣΤΡΟΣΗΝΗΚΣΟΥΔΑΚΡΕ	ΓΤΑΕΣΤΙ
ΟΥΣ	ΛΕΚΤΑΓΛΩΣΕΤΣΕΙΜΑ	ΩΝΟΥΤΩΣΑΤΕΦΗΝΑ	ΤΙΚΟΝΑ
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ΚΑ	ΟΥΔΕΙΩΜΕΣΤΙΝΚΕΦΑ	ΜΙΟΥΔΑΣΤΟΙΣΙΣΤΡΟΣΗ	ΔΟΤΤΙΘΕΩ
	ΛΗΝΑΧΙΛΗΙΧΟΛΩΣΕΙΝΑ	ΝΤΕ ΝΑΙ ΟΥΟΥΤΩΣΑ	ΝΟΝΑΜΑ
ΟΥΣ	ΚΙΜΟΝΗΤΟΡΩΔΕΛΛΑ	ΦΑΙΝΟΙΤΑΝΤΙΣΑΤ	ΤΙΝΤΙΚΑΤ
ΤΩΣ	ΛΕΚΤΑΓΛΩΣΕΤΣΕΙΜΑ	ΤΕΛΟΣΤΕΔΟΣΕΙΜΙΟΥ	ΔΕΙΣΜΑ
Κ	ΑΜΟΙΦΙΛΟΣΤΗΝ ΝΑΙ	ΔΑΣΤΟΙΣΙΣΤΡΟΣΗΝΗ	ΝΟΝΤΙΟ
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Ε	ΑΤΕΦΑΣΚΕΝΟΥΚΕΦΑ	ΤΩΣΑΤΕΦΗΝΑΤΟΥΔΟΥ	ΣΤΑ
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	ΔΕΣΚΑΙΟΣΚΑΤΑΦΑΣΚΟΙΑΝ	ΚΑΤΑΤΑΕΙΣΙΝΑΜΦΙΘ	ΚΑΤΑΦΑΤΙΚΟΝ
	ΤΙΣΚΗΣΑΝΗΡΑΓΡΟΙΚΟΣ	ΛΟΙΔΙΜΕΚΤΟΙ ΝΑΙ ΟΥΕ	ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΝ
	ΟΥΔΕΣΚΑΙΟΣ ΝΑΙΟΥ	ΕΙΝΑΜΦΙΒΟΛΟΙΔΙΔΕΚΤΟΙ	ΚΕΙΘΟΝΑΝΕΜΩ
	ΚΑΤΑΦΑΣΚΟΙΑΝΤΙΣΚΗΣ	ΝΑΙ ΟΥΣΑΤΕΦΩΟΥΤΩΣΑ	ΑΝ ΝΑΙ ΟΥ
Α	ΑΝΗΡΑΓΡΟΙΑΚΟΣΟΥΔΕΣΚΑΙ	ΕΤΑΦΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΗΟΥΚΟΥ	ΚΑΤΑΤΑΤ

Pl. X - Chrysippus, Louvre N. 2326 = 36

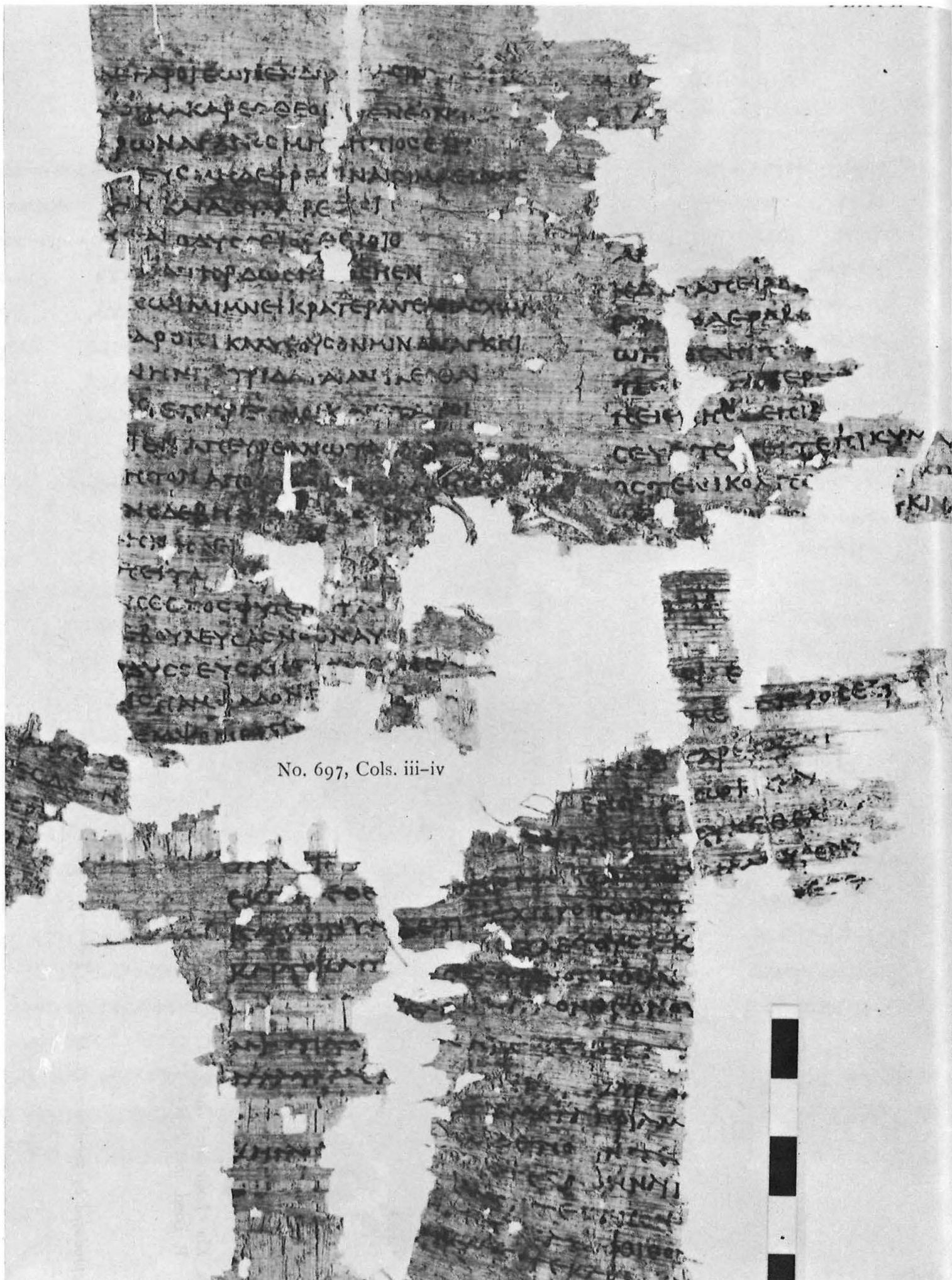


Pl. XIa - Loan dated 263/2 B.C.,
P. Lond. inv. 2944 = 15



No. 692, Fr. I, Cols. ii-iii

Pl. XIIb - Sophocles, *Inachus* (UC Berkeley 1508) = 39



No. 697, Cols. iii-iv

ΜΑΤΩΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΠΡΟΣΒΑΚΗΣΜΕ ΠΕΙΘΕΣΤΥ
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 ΑΝ ΤΟΝ ΝΟΤΗΝ ΤΑ ΜΑΤΕΙΟΝ ΤΕΙ ΗΑΝ
 ΚΑΙ ΕΝΟΝΤΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΕΜΕ...
 ΔΑ... ΡΩΠΩΝ...
 ΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΠΡ... ΑΤΟ...
 ΕΑ... ΟΥΣ Ο ΛΟΓΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΝΕ...
 ΤΗ... ΟΝ ΚΕΛΑΤΟΝ...
 ΑΝΑΤΙΟΔΙ...
 ΘΑ... ΠΟΙ...
 ΤΟΝ ΕΣΥΜΑΣ... ΑΤΑ...
 ΜΕ... ΟΥΝ ΥΜΕΙ... ΙΤΑ...
 Ο... Ν...

Pl. XIII - Hypereides, in Athenogenem, Louvre 9331 = 45