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AN OXYRHYNCHUS FRAGMENT OF HOMER, *ILIAD* 23  
IN THE THOMAS FISHER RARE BOOK LIBRARY, TORONTO

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*P.Oxy.* III 560 *descr.*  
toronto.apis.36

5.8 × 18.4 cm

Oxyrhynchus III CE

This papyrus<sup>1</sup> of *Iliad* 23, which is currently housed in the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library in Toronto with the inventory number “Oxy. 560 (51 E1)”, was described briefly in *P.Oxy.* III (London 1903) by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt. It was subsequently listed in R. A. Pack’s 1952 inventory as #784 and Mertens–Pack<sup>3</sup> as #1010, in *LDAB* as #1856, and in a few publications throughout the last century.<sup>2</sup> Yet no transcription or full discussion of it has ever been published, although the papyrus offers one very interesting new reading, most probably authentic ([υ]περπτατο in Ψ 847), and a completely unique feature: a vertical ruling-line running through the first letter of each verse in column II (not mentioned by Grenfell and Hunt).

The fragment<sup>3</sup> (width<sup>4</sup> 18.4 cm at its widest, height 5.8 cm at its highest), consists of two columns of text written on the *recto* along the fibres (the *verso* is blank), and preserves endings of Ψ 775–786 and large parts of Ψ 834–848. The inter-columnar space varies from 3.8 cm at its widest to 1.4 cm minimally. Leading<sup>5</sup> measures ca. 0.5 cm, the line-spacing<sup>6</sup> ca. 0.2 cm. The width of col. II measures 12.2 cm at its widest, and the width from column to column is ca. 13.6 cm – which falls within the average dimensions for rolls with hexameter verse provided by W. A. Johnson. Upper and lower margins are not extant. A column had ca. 59 lines<sup>7</sup>, and the written area was ca. 29 cm in height (W. A. Johnson gives only one example of such a long column, from the second half of the third century CE).<sup>8</sup> Book 23 would have occupied 15 columns and ca. 204 cm in length, with wider side-margins ca. 215–220 cm. Given that there is writing on the *recto* only, we can be fairly confident that the fragment was part of a bookroll, although there are no signs of a *kollêsis*.

A noteworthy feature of this papyrus is that the left margin of the second column is ruled vertically in black ink, creating strict justification. A close examination of the ductus suggests that the scribe is starting his initial stroke from that ruling line (drawn before the text was copied). Since the initial stroke of certain letters does not always begin at the farthest left point (thereby allowing some letters to cross the vertical ruling), “justification” here needs to be qualified on these grounds. The horizontal fibres of the papyrus run perpendicular to the ruling, which indicates that the direction of the writing climbs quickly (cf. the plate). As is well known, scribes of literary papyri rarely ruled their lines and margins, although W. A. Johnson has recently identified a number of examples of literary papyri from Oxyrhynchus containing vertical dots

<sup>1</sup> We are grateful to Ms. Anne Dondertman, Acting Director of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto, for granting permission to publish this papyrus fragment here. We wish to thank (alphabetically): Prof. Benedetto Bravo for his assistance; Prof. William A. Johnson, who kindly examined the papyrus and confirmed the feature of the ruling line; Prof. Klaas Worp for his very insightful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> F. Blass, *Literarische Texte mit Ausschluss der christlichen*, *APF* 3 (1906), no. 173 (262); C. H. Oldfather, *The Greek Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt* (University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History 9; Madison 1923), no. 653; P. Collart, *Les papyrus de l’Iliade* (1er article), *Revue de philologie*, series 3 (1932), no. 28 (320).

<sup>3</sup> For a photograph see: <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/dlo?obj=toronto.apis.36&size=300&face=f&tile=0>.

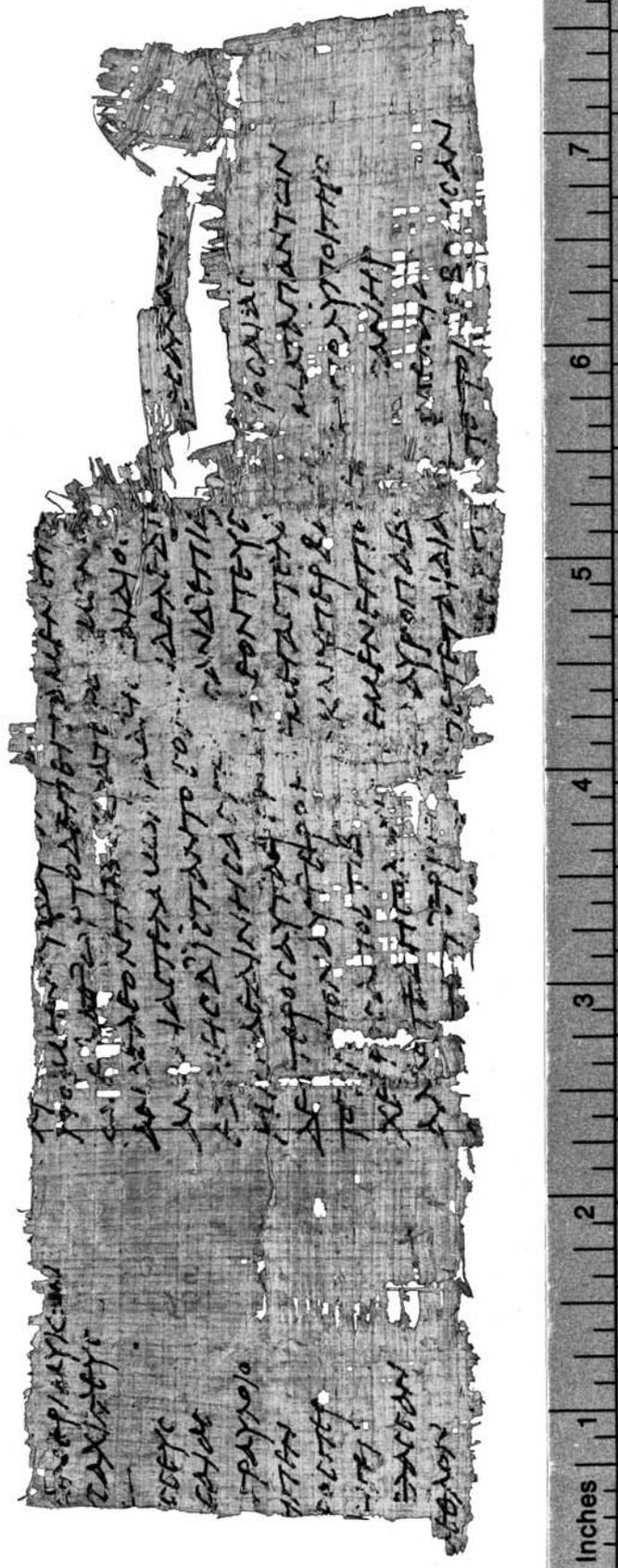
<sup>4</sup> According to Grenfell and Hunt width 18.8 cm.

<sup>5</sup> “The vertical space between lines of text, measured from base to base line”, W. A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto 2004), 342.

<sup>6</sup> Leading minus letter height.

<sup>7</sup> Lines in both columns are almost on the same level (col. I, l. 2 is opposite col. II, l. 2; col. I, l. 3 is opposite col. II, l. 3 etc.), so since the last completely preserved line in col. I is Ψ 785 (l. 12) and this line is opposite l. 11 in col. II, Ψ 844, therefore 844 – 785 = 59.

<sup>8</sup> Johnson, *Bookrolls*, 120–121.



P.Oxy. III 560. Courtesy of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto

that were apparently used for column alignment.<sup>9</sup> It is remarkable to find such a clear and unique<sup>10</sup> example in our papyrus.<sup>11</sup>

The hand is quick, roughly bilinear<sup>12</sup> (except for ι, ρ, τ, υ, φ, ψ), written without serifs in medium-sized uncials characteristic of the Formal Mixed or Severe Style<sup>13</sup> (i.e. narrow ε, θ, ο, c versus broad μ, ν, τ, ω), with cursive elements (e.g. α in Ψ 779). The first two strokes of α form an acute angle. The right-hand oblique stroke of δ projects over the apex. The right stroke of λ is occasionally formed by extending the stroke horizontally in the direction of the writing (see Ψ 776 and 784). μ in three movements, with a deep, rounded middle element. ξ as one zig-zag. ο is small and high. ψ as two strokes at a right angle. ω flat, its vertical hasta being almost non-existent. The initial letters of each line in column II are slightly enlarged. The manuscript carries marks of elision (Ψ 836, 839, 840, 841, 842, 844, 845, 847), punctuation (high dots – Ψ 777, 780, 783, 786, 840), acute accent (Ψ 841), rough breathing (line Ψ 841) and trema (Ψ 839) – all due to the scribe, who also corrects a few spelling errors by superimposition (see notes).

The hand may be compared to *P.Oxy.* II 223 (*Iliad* 5, late second/early third century CE),<sup>14</sup> although the stylus responsible for producing the text of this comparandum was sharper and the hand is overall more rapid than the one in our papyrus. *P.Oxy.* III 560 may also be compared to *P.Oxy.* III 541 (*Iliad* 2, third century CE; michigan.apis.1265),<sup>15</sup> which betrays many similarities in the letter-forms as well in the degree with which the letters slope. *P.Oxy.* III 534 (*Iliad* 1, third century CE; columbia.apis.p1328)<sup>16</sup> is also strikingly similar to our papyrus (note the following letters: ω, α, c), except that, in the former, the slope of the letters is slightly less pronounced and the spacing between letters is greater. Apart from the finials, the hand of *P.Oxy.* XXVII 2452 (Sophocles, late second/early third century CE),<sup>17</sup> Johnson's scribe A24, is also very similar; note here the low, almost absent vertical hasta of ω. Cf. also *P.Giss.* 3 (Libretto, 117 CE),<sup>18</sup> *P.Oxy.* VII 1016 (Plato, early third century CE).<sup>19</sup> These and other comparanda suggest that our papyrus is best situated in the third century CE, and probably in the earlier half of that century.

Based on Willy Clarysse's database, *LDAB*,<sup>20</sup> and *Homer & the Papyri*,<sup>21</sup> the other ancient manuscripts overlapping with the text of our papyrus (Ψ 775–85, 834–47) are (chronologically): *P.Lond. Lit.* 27 (Ψ 402–897; I BCE–I CE; West's *siglum* Ϝ<sup>13</sup>), *P.Ashm.* inv. 100/7(d) (Ψ 827–52; III CE; Ϝ<sup>1529</sup>), *P.Ashm.* inv. 97/1(a) (Ψ 834–47; III–VII CE; Ϝ<sup>1528</sup>), *Ambros. gr.* F 205 inf. (1019) (Ψ 765–78; V/VI CE; Ϝ<sup>9</sup>).

We compared our transcript to the edition of M. L. West, in which our papyrus is no. 28 (see the *sigla* in vol. 1, xxxix).<sup>22</sup> In the *lacunae* we provide his text and in the commentary we use his *sigla*. We print lectional signs following the scribe's practice (i.e. as they occur in the papyrus).

<sup>9</sup> Johnson, *Bookrolls*, 93–97; for more examples cf. “Addenda and corrigenda”, 251 sqq.

<sup>10</sup> We have not found a similar example of a vertical ruling-line.

<sup>11</sup> E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Oxford 1987) (= *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>), 6. “Nor can I point to an example of vertical ruling.”

<sup>12</sup> The direction of the writing considered.

<sup>13</sup> Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, 26–27.

<sup>14</sup> C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands 350 BC–AD 400*, Oxford 1956 (= *GLH*), no. 21a.

<sup>15</sup> [http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/i/image/getimage-idx?cc=apis&entryid=X-1265&viewid=C0\\_VIR.TIF&quality=large](http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/i/image/getimage-idx?cc=apis&entryid=X-1265&viewid=C0_VIR.TIF&quality=large).

<sup>16</sup> <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/dlo?obj=columbia.apis.p1328&size=300&face=f&tile=0>.

<sup>17</sup> Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, no. 27.

<sup>18</sup> Roberts, *GLH*, no. 15a.

<sup>19</sup> Roberts, *GLH*, no. 20a.

<sup>20</sup> [www.trismegistos.org](http://www.trismegistos.org).

<sup>21</sup> <http://www.stoa.org/homer/homer.pl>.

<sup>22</sup> *Homerus, Ilias, vol. II*, ed. M. L. West (*Lipsiae et Monachii* 2000).

## column I

	1	. . . . . ] [ . ] [ ]
Ψ 775		τηι ρα βοων κεχυτ ονθος αποκταμεν]ων εριμυκων ουc επι Πατροκλωι πεφνεν ποδαc ωκ]υc Αχιλλευc εν δ ονθου βοεου πλητο cτομα τε ρινac τε 5 κρητηρ αυτ αναειρε πολυτλαc διoc Οδ]υccευc ωc ηλθε φθαμενοc ο δε βουν ελε φαιδιμο]c Αιαc Ψ 780 cτη δε κεραc μετα χερcιν εχων βοoc] αγραυλοιο· ονθον αποπτωων μετα δ Αργειοcιν ε]ειπεν ω ποτοι η μ εβλαψε θεα ποδαc η το πα]ροc περ 10 μητηρ ωc Οδυccηι παριcταται ηδ επαρ]ηγει· ωc εφασ οι δ αρα παντεc επ αυτωι ηδυ γ]ελαccαν Ψ 785 Αντιλοχοc δ αρα δη λοιcθηιον εκφερ] αεθλον Ψ 786 μειδιοων και μυθον εν Αργειοcιν εειπ]ε[ν]· . . . . . [47 lines lost <sup>23</sup> ]

## column II

Ψ 834	1	χρ[εωμενοc ου μεν γαρ οι ατεμβομενοc γε ciδηρου
Ψ 835		ποιμην ουδ αροτηρ ει]c εκ πολιν αλλα παρεξει ωc εφασ' ωρτο δ επειτα μενεπτο]λεμοc Πολυποιτηc αν δε Λεοντηoc κρατερογ μενοc [αντιθειο 5 αν δ Αιαc Τελαμωνιαδηc και διoc [Επειοc εξειηc δ' ιcταντο cολογ δ ελε διoc Επ]ειοc] Ψ 840 ηκε δε δινηcασ γελαccαν δ' επι π[αν]τεc Αχαιοι· δευτεροc αυτ' αφη]κε Λεοντεύc [οζοc] Αρ]ηροc] το τριτον αυτ' ερριψε μεγαc Τελα[μων]ιοc Αιαc 10 χειροc απο cτιβαρηc και υπερβα]λε cηματα παντων αλλ' οτε δη cολογ ει]λε μενεπτολεμ]ο]c Πολυποιτηc Ψ 845 ο]cc]ογ τιc τ' ερριψε κα]λυροπα βου]κολο]c ανηρ [η δε ελι]c]ο]μ]ενη πετεται δια [βο]υc αγελαιαc [τοccον παντοc αγωνοc υ]περπτατο τοι δ' εβοηcαν Ψ 848 15 [ανcταντεc δ εταροι Πολυποιταο κρατερο]ι]ο . . . . .

Commentary<sup>24</sup>

## Column I

1. ] [ . ] [ ]. Only a few, non determinable specks of ink, first perhaps the lower tip of the shank of a letter descending below the line (γα]ρ[ of Ψ 774?).

2. αποκταμεν]ων. Above ω two strokes at a right angle, a clumsy grave accent or more probably a shadow of the image.

13. εειπ]ε[ν]. The high dot is well preserved, but of the ε only part of the upper horizontal survives (however the traces are doubtful).

<sup>23</sup> Assuming the transmitted text.

<sup>24</sup> West's *sigla*: Ω = codices A (X AD), D (X), B (XI), C (XI–XII), E (XI; these three last codd., BCE, have a common ancestor, *b*), F (XI), T (AD 1059), Y (fragments, XI), R (XII), W (XII), G (XIII); so-called *h* family: M (XIII AD), N (XII–XIII), P (XIV); and codd. H (XIII), O (XIII), V (XIII), X (fragments of Δ), Z (lemmata and scholia<sup>p</sup>, IX).

## Column II

2. ουδ. The δ seems to be crossed out by mistake, οὐδ' (so the tradition) is needed.

3. εφρατ'. The τ corrected from an oval letter (θ).

7. επι. It cannot be determined if the scribe read ἔπι, as  $\mathfrak{P}^{13}$  and perhaps codex B<sup>ante corr.</sup> (preferred by West) or ἐπι (or ἐπι) as the medieval tradition (Ω).

8. δευτερος. So  $\mathfrak{P}^{13}$  and all the important medieval codices (Ω; so edd.), probably rightly; cf. H 248, Φ 169, 596, Ψ 729. Some late MSS. give δεύτερον, probably because of τὸ τρίτον in l. 9. Similar *variae lectiones* in E 855, K 283.

αφέηκε. Above ε faint traces, compatible with a rough breathing, perhaps even with an acute accent. A rough breathing above ε also in  $\mathfrak{P}^{13}$ .

10. This line, present in the papyrus and in the whole paradosis, was athetized by Aristarchus, because there should be 'ἀμφοτέρων' not 'πάντων', since only two persons throw. He suspected that the verse was borrowed from θ 192, where it belongs.

απο. So  $\mathfrak{P}^{13}$ . It cannot be determined if the scribe read ἀπό, as the medieval tradition (Ω and A<sup>lemma</sup>) or ἄπο, as conjectured by Wolf (and accepted by West).

παντων. So  $\mathfrak{P}^{13}$  and the majority of the medieval tradition (Ω\*, G<sup>supra scr.</sup>). Codices M N P (so called 'h' family) and W G give πάντα – probably to 'improve' the text, since πάντων does not suit here, as only two persons throw; similar *variae lectiones* in θ 192.

11. δη. So  $\mathfrak{P}^{13}$  and the vast majority of the tradition (A<sup>lemma</sup> A<sup>supra scr.</sup> Ω\*), cf. e.g. ἀλλ' ὅτε δή in A 483, Γ 216. Codex A in the main text has μέν.

Πολυποιητῆς. The η corrected from a letter that is not clear.

12. ο[cc]ογ. Read ὄccov. Codex A reads ὄccόν.

14. υ]περπτατο. The papyrus offers a completely new and correct reading (preferred by West), cf. θ 192 τὸ (i.e. δίκκος) δ' ὑπέρπτατο σήματα πάντων, N 413 = χ 280 τὸ (i.e. ἔγχος) δ' ὑπέρπτατο.  $\mathfrak{P}^{13}$  and the whole medieval tradition (Ω) have ὑπέρβαλε, however ὑπερβάλλειν is always followed by the accusative in Homer.

Grenfell and Hunt read υπ]ερπτα[α]το, but traces of the initial π are clearly visible on the papyrus. Moreover, there are traces of ink to the right of the *lacuna* that can be taken as the back stroke of α.

δ' εβοησαν. So the vast majority of the tradition (Ω\*); cf. P 607 and Λ 15, θ 92, 305 (= ω 537), ι 403. Only codex G gives δὲ βόησαν (preferred by Leaf).  $\mathfrak{P}^{13}$  has δεβοησαν.

15. κρατερο]ι[o. Only the top of an upright stroke can be seen – the vertical alignment of letters suggests that it belongs to ι of κρατεροῖο of Ψ 848.

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