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## **Three Homeric *Descripta* from Karanis**

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## 1. P.Fay. 141 descr. (II. 1.273–362)

- §1 P.Fay. 141 descr. (TM 60315; LDAB 1436; MP3 596) was unearthed by Said Achmet at Kom Aushim on 3 January 1896, towards the end of the first phase of Bernard P. Grenfell and David G. Hogarth's pioneering excavations for the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF).<sup>1</sup> Hogarth's daybook records the discovery as follows: "In chamber next (E.) of plastered room Said Achmet found fragments of Homer. Abdullah just S. of pylon, nothing. Mahmud to W. of him a red vase... All these at floor level."<sup>2</sup> The plastered room which provides the reference point is described in previous daybook entries as a chamber to the southeast of the temple, full of wood, twigs, and remains of mats,<sup>3</sup> where "two oatmeal boxes full" of papyrus scraps had previously been discovered.<sup>4</sup> In his daybook, Hogarth elsewhere remarks upon that room's rough frescoes and "large remains of roof."<sup>5</sup> Homer was not the last of the papyri found in this part of the temple precinct; in the final days of the season, there emerged "a few more inscribed sherds & bits of pap."<sup>6</sup> as well as "a tax-receipt & a good deal of Byzantine pap. fragments."<sup>7</sup>
- §2 A collation of Hogarth's notes, the plan of the temple precinct he published (Figure 1), and the plan of the precinct subsequently produced by the University of Michigan excavations (Figure 2) indicates that the structure which yielded the *Iliad* papyrus was the *deipneterion*, whose lintel bore an inscription from the reign of Vespasian identifying it as such.<sup>8</sup> That doorway is labelled 'Gate of Vespasian' in Figure 1: in the nomenclature of the Michigan dig, the *deipneterion* is T4.<sup>9</sup>

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- 1 On the 1895/6 EEF excavations at Kom Aushim, which ran in two phases (24 December 1895–4 January 1896 and 23–29 February 1896), see Davoli 1998: 74–76, Montserrat 1996, Sampson 2022, and Sampson 2023: 442–445. Arthur S. Hunt arrived only on 16 January 1896: see Hogarth and Grenfell 1895–6: 18. The EEF was renamed in 1919 as the Egypt Exploration Society (EES). Although Hogarth and Grenfell employed workers from el-Lahun who had been trained by Petrie, it does not appear that Said Achmet was one of them: the name is absent from the lists assembled by Quirke 2010: 227–234.
- 2 Daybook for 3 January 1896 (P452/ARC/3/3). Cf. the slight chronological discrepancy recorded in David G. Hogarth to Laura V. Hogarth, 4 January 1896: "But all know it's papyrus we want. Today a bit of Homer rewarded us. Yesterday it was a bit of some attic orator." P452/PER/2/2/2. Cf. Hogarth and Grenfell 1895–6: 16 and P.Cair.Cat. 10217 descr., which specifies the date and acquisition as "1896 (Hogarth-Grenfell)."
- 3 Daybook for 1 January 1896 (P452/ARC/3/3).
- 4 Daybook for 27 December 1895 (P452/ARC/3/3). Cf. Daybook for 29 December 1895 (P452/ARC/3/3): "Put two onto papyrus chamber, but nothing more found, & evidently only in top rubbish."
- 5 Daybook for 2 January 1896 (P452/ARC/3/3). Cf. the entry for 28 February 1896, which refers back to these frescoes in describing a house on the north side of the *kōm*: "One chamber had rude fresco of Christ with two bulls supporting, & two female? saints below. very bad art & colour, & rather like the frescoes near entrance of Temple. Must try tracing them tomorrow. Little or no 'avsh' in these chambers & no pap. so useless to continue."
- 6 Daybook for 27 February 1896 (P452/ARC/3/3).
- 7 Daybook for 28 February 1896 (P452/ARC/3/3); see also P.Fay.: p. 31. The tax receipt is more likely to be P.Fay. 143 than P.Fay. 69 or P.Fay. 70; the edition of P.Fay. 69 indicates that it was found together with P.Fay. 70.
- 8 The inscription is I.Fayoum 87. Early entries in Hogarth's daybook refer to the Vespasianic Gate (as does P.Fay.: Plate II): the inscription's date was evidently legible, even though text otherwise proved a challenge. The daybook entry for 29 December 1895, for example, includes the remark "Squeezed Vespasian erasure" (P452/ARC/3/3).
- 9 See Boak 1933: 41.

PLATE II

TEMPLE OF PNEPHEROS AND PETESUCHOS  
AT KOM USHIM

SCALE: 1:460

MAGNETIC

SEBACH MOUND

HIGH SEBACH MOUND

LONGER SEBACH MOUND

BRICK WALL

STONE WALL

STONE CORNICHE

ENTRANCE

GATE OF PNEPHEROS

GATE OF GLANDIOS

REMAINS OF PYLON

STREET

HOUSES

Figure 1: Hogarth's Plan of the Temple Precinct (P.Fay. Plate II).





Figure 3: The east facade of the temple with gateway T3, forecourt T2 and the entrance to T4 (Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, neg. no. 5.3311).



Figure 4: Dec. 31 1929. Stone gateway to T4. View looking south. (Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, neg. no. 5.3399).

- §3 That Hogarth's daybook does not immediately describe the structure as a *deipneterion* is no obstacle to this conclusion; the dedicatory inscription is badly damaged, especially in the third and fourth lines

where the structure's function is mentioned.<sup>10</sup> Only later in the 1895/6 season, evidently, was it fully analyzed.<sup>11</sup> To the *deipneterion*'s immediate west lay a chamber that was indeed notable for the plaster on its wall. When the University of Michigan excavations returned to the South Temple precinct in 1929, they designated this chamber T7, and recorded that one of its niches preserved no less than eighteen layers of plaster.<sup>12</sup> Given the decades-long interval following the conclusion of Grenfell and Hogarth's 1895/6 season, during which time the structure was not backfilled but remained exposed to the elements, the plaster's preservation is remarkable.

§4 Grenfell and Hunt described the papyrus' hand as a "good-sized round uncial", and we may more accurately categorize it as a formal round of the rounded majuscule (or 'Roman uncial') type. Decent parallels are *P.Oxy. 8 1090* (late I) and especially *P.Oxy. 5 844* (mid I–mid II; see *Figure 6*).<sup>13</sup> To a lesser extent, classic second-century examples of rounded majuscule such as *P.Oxy. 1 20* or the famous Hawara Homer (*TM 60571*) are also appropriate. The Karanis papyrus shares with the latter three parallels an elegant variation in the thickness of penstrokes. As in the parallel rolls, serifs adorn the bases of upright strokes on the Karanis papyrus, but the spacing of both its lines and especially the letters within them is somewhat compact. The letters' ratio of width-to-height (i.e., their 'modulus') is also less uniformly square: alpha, lambda, and delta are somewhat upright and narrow. Of particular note is the ductus of epsilon, whose upper arm curves around clockwise to the point of touching the rightmost edge of the elevated middle arm, forming an eyelet and thereby hazarding confusion with theta. The script is on the whole less refined than classic examples of rounded majuscule and therefore probably earlier: Grenfell and Hunt assigned it to the first or second century, which we would revise slightly to the *late* first or second century.

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<sup>10</sup> See P.Fay.: p. 33.

<sup>11</sup> Hogarth's daybook does not specifically mention a "dipniterion" until 27 February – the dig's antepenultimate day of work (*P452/ARC/3/3*).

<sup>12</sup> *Boak 1933*: 38–39. On the archaeology of T7 see most recently *Shields 2023*: 34–43.

<sup>13</sup> On the assignment of this papyrus to a date earlier than that published in *P.Oxy. 5* ("earlier decades of the second"), see *Cavallo 1967*: 214.

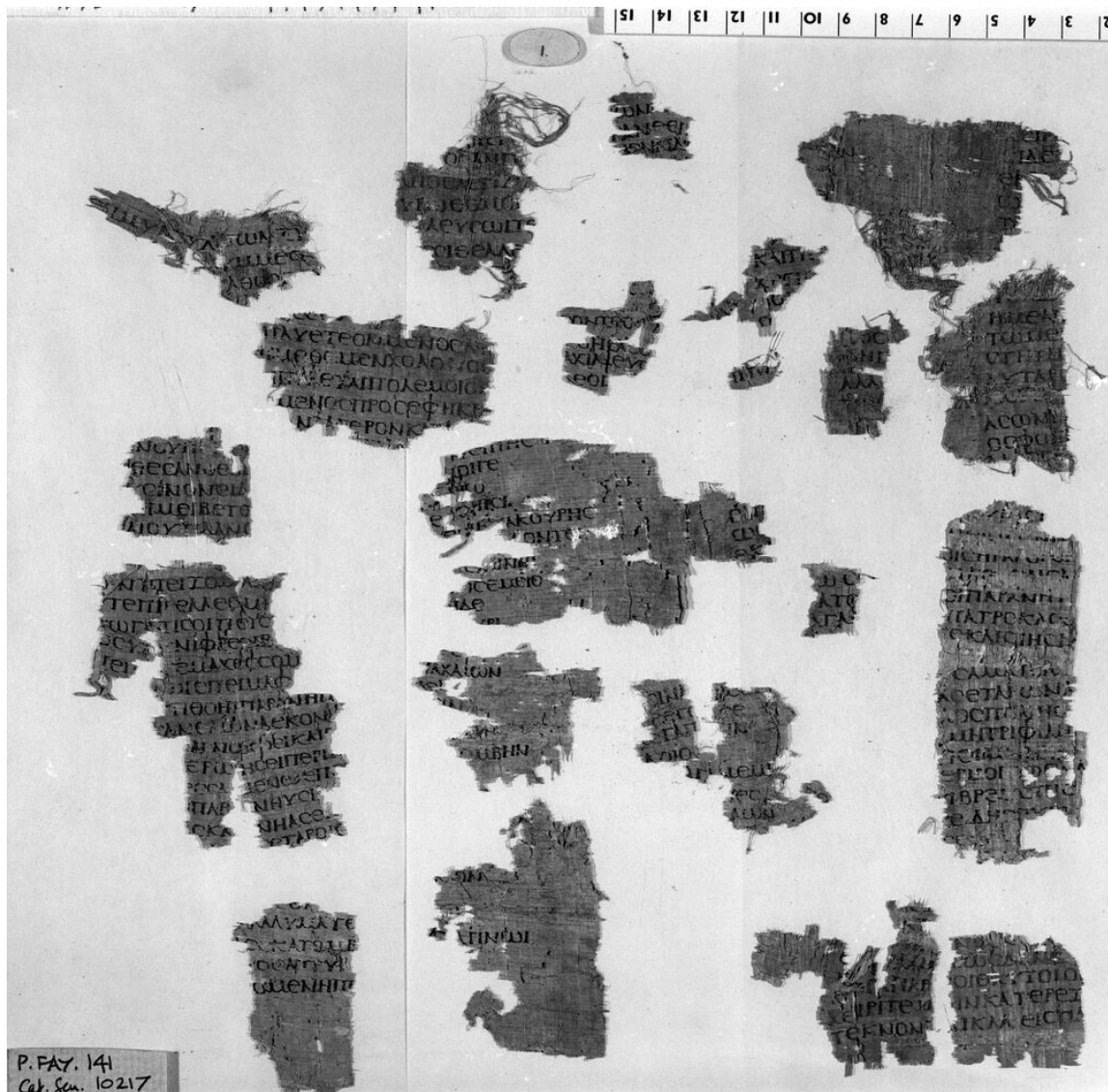
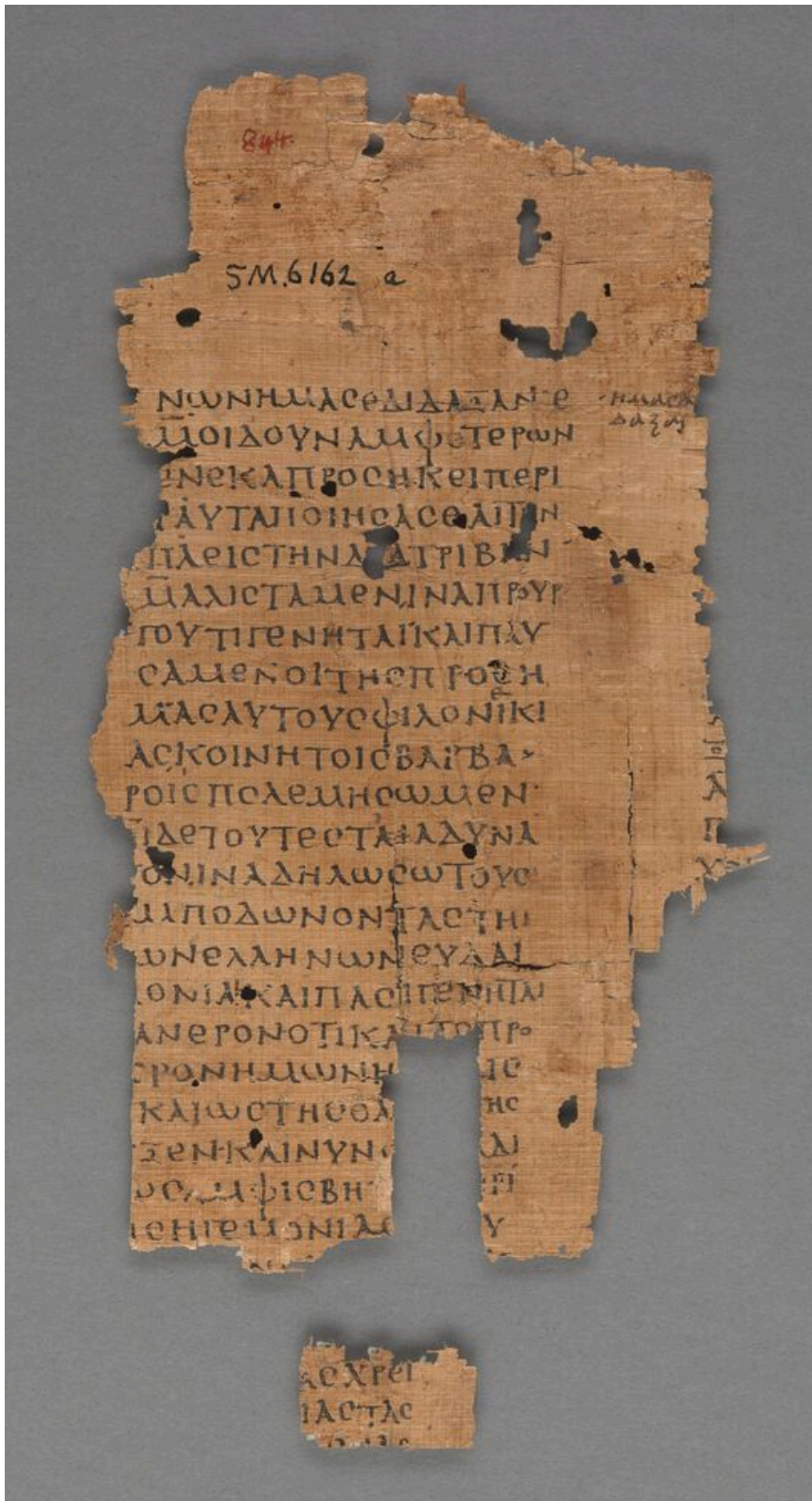


Figure 5: P.Fay. 141 descr.



Harvard University, Houghton Library, ms\_gr\_sm6162a-METS

Figure 6: P.Oxy. 5 844 (MS Gr SM6162a. Houghton Library, Harvard University).

- §5 The papyrus survives in ca. 20 fragments preserving two partial columns from a roll of *Iliad* 1.<sup>14</sup> Each of the extant columns almost certainly preserved forty-five lines of text: only a trio of lines from the vulgate are wholly lacunose, none of which are omitted in the mss. tradition. On the assumption that previous columns contained a similar number of lines, and allowing for the occasional omission or addition of lines, these were evidently the seventh and eighth columns of the roll: they begin with *Iliad* 1.273 and 1.318, respectively. Apart from a single orthographic variant in the first extant line – μν for μεο – the text is unremarkable. There are no scribal diacriticals, punctuation, or paratextual additions except for a possible scribal apostrophe in vii.5. With a single exception at the end of vii.22, iota adscript is written. Supplements to the text are drawn from the Teubner edition.<sup>15</sup>
- §6 After it was described by Grenfell and Hunt, the papyrus was returned to Cairo by the EEF, along with a great many others from both its Fayum season as well as the first three volumes of Oxyrhynchus papyri.<sup>16</sup> It was inventoried as P.Cair.Cat. (= CG) 10217, but was subsequently transferred to the Antiquities Museum of the Bibliotheca Alexandrina, where it now has the serial number 0520.

P.Fay. 141 descr. (= CG 10217)

14.4 (h) × 13.3 (w)

Late I – II

Bibliotheca Alexandrina Antiquities

Karanis

Museum Serial 0520

[ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk](http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk)

vii

- [καὶ μ]έν μν βουλέων ξύ[νιεν πείθοντό τε μύθωι·]  
 [ἀλλὰ πίθεσθ]ε κ[α]ὶ ὑμμες, ἐ[πεὶ πείθεσθαι ἄμεινον·]  
 [μήτε σὺν τόνδ' ἀ]γαθός περ [ἐὼν ἀποαίρεο κούρην,]  
 [ἀλλ' ἔα, ὥς οἱ πρ]ῶτ[α δ]όσαν γέ[ρας υἷες Ἀχαιῶν·]  
 5 [μήτε σὺν] [Πηλείδ]ῃ ἥθελ' ἐριζέ[μεναι βασιλῆϊ]  
 [ἀντιβίην, ἐπεὶ ο]ὔ ποθ' ὁμοί[ης ἔμμορε τιμῆς]  
 [σκηπτούχος βασ]ιλεύς, ᾧ τε [Ζεὺς κῦδος ἔδ]ωκεν.  
 [εἰ δὲ σὺν καρτερός] ἐσσι, θεὰ δέ [σε γείνατο μήτη]ρ,  
 [ἀλλ' ὅδε φέρτερ]ός ἐστ[ιν], ἐπε[ὶ] πλε[ό]ν[εσ]σιν ἀ[νά]σσει.  
 10 [Ἀτρεΐδῃ, σὺν δὲ] παῦε τεδὸν μένος· αὐ[τ]ὰρ ἐγὼ γε  
 [λίσσομ' Ἀχιλλ]ῆϊ μεθέμεν χόλον, ὃς μέγα π[ά]σιν  
 [ἔρκος Ἀχαιοῖσιν] πέλεται πολέμοιο κ[α]κοῖο.  
 [τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβ]όμενος προσέφη κρ[ε]ῖων Ἀγαμέμν[ων·]  
 [ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε π]άντα, γέρον, κατὰ [μοῖ]ραν ἔειπες·  
 15 [ἀλλ' ὅδ' ἀνὴρ ἐθέλει περ]ὶ πάν[των ἔμ]μεναι [ἄ]λλων,  
 [πάντων μὲν κρατέειν ἐθέλ]ε[ι], π[ά]ντεσσι δ' ἀνά[σσει]ν,

<sup>14</sup> The papyrus has evidently deteriorated in the interval between its description by Grenfell and Hunt (which states that there are fourteen fragments) and the photography conducted by the International Photographic Archive of Papyri (IPAP), upon which our edition is based. On the genesis and conduct of IPAP's work, which includes blanket permissions for the publication of *descripta* it photographed, see Riad and Koenen 1973.

<sup>15</sup> West 1998.

<sup>16</sup> P.Cair.Cat. p. viii.

- [πᾶσι δὲ σημαίνειν, ἅ τιν' οὐ πεί[σ]εσ[θαι] οἶ[ω].  
 [εἰ δέ μιν αἰχμητὴν] ἔθεσαν θεοὶ [αἰὲν] ἑόντες  
 [τούνεκά οἱ προθέο]υσιν ὀνειδ[εα μ]υθήσασθ[αι];  
 20 [τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑποβλήδη]ν ἡμείβετο [δῖος] Ἀχιλλεύς·  
 [ἦ γάρ κεν δειλός τε] καὶ οὐτιδανὸ[ς κα]λεοίμ[ην,]  
 [εἰ δὴ σοὶ πᾶν ἔρ]γ[ο]ν ὑπείξομαι ὅ[ττι κε]ν εἴπης.  
 [ἄλλοισιν δὴ τα]ῦτ' ἐπιτέλλεο, μὴ [γὰρ ἐ]μοί γε  
 [σήμαιν'· οὐ γὰρ ἐ]γὼ γ' ἔτι σοὶ πείσ[εσθα]ι οἶ[ω].  
 25 [ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέ]ω, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βά[λλ]εο σῆισι·  
 [χερσὶ μὲν οὔ τ]οι ἔγωγε μαχέσσομ[αι] εἵνεκα κούρης,  
 [οὔτε σοὶ οὔτε τω]ι ἄλ[λ]ωι, ἐπεὶ μ' ἀφ[έ]λεσθέ γε] δόντες·  
 [τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἅ μοι ἐ]στὶ θεῶι παρὰ νηὶ μελαίνῃ,  
 [τῶν οὐκ ἄν τι φέροι]ς ἀνελὼν ἀέκοντος ἐμείο.  
 30 [εἰ δ' ἄγε μὴν πείρησαι] ἵ]να γνῶωσι καὶ οἶδε·  
 [αἰψά τοι αἶμα κελαινὸν] ἐρωήσῃ περὶ δ[ο]υρί.  
 [ὣς τώ γ' ἀντιβίοισι μαχ]εσσαμένω ἐπέε[σιν]  
 [ἀνστήτην, λῦσαν δ' ἀγορῇ]ν παρ[ὰ] νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.  
 [Πηλεΐδης μὲν ἐπὶ κλισί]ας καὶ νῆας ἔϊσα[ς]  
 35 [ἦ'ιε σύν τε Μενoitιάδῃ καὶ] οἶ[ις] ἐτάροισιν·  
 [Ἀτρεΐδης δ' ἄρα νῆα θεὸν ἄλαδε προέρυ]σσαν,  
 [ἐν δ' ἐρέτας ἔκρινεν εἰκοσιν, ἐς δ' ἑκατ]όμβην  
 [[ --- --- --- ]]  
 [εἶσεν ἄγων· ἐν δ' ἀρχὸς ἔβη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύ]ς.  
 40 [οἱ μὲν ἔπειτ' ἀναβάντες ἐπέπλεον ὕγρα κέλευ]θα,  
 [λαοὺς δ' Ἀτρεΐδης ἀπολυμαίνει]σθα[ι ἄνωγεν.]  
 [οἱ δ' ἀπελυμαίνοντο καὶ εἰς] ἄλα λύματ' ἔ[βα]λλον,  
 [ἔρδον δ' Ἀπόλλωνι τεληέσσ]ας ἐκατόμβ[ας]  
 [ταύρων ἠδ' αἰγῶν παρὰ θῖν' ἀ]λὸς ἀτρυγέ[τ]οι[ο·]  
 45 [κνίσῃ δ' οὐρανὸν ἵκεν ἐλισσ]ομένη πε[ρὶ] καπνώι.

viii

ὡς οἱ μὲν τὰ πένοντο κατὰ στρατόν· οὐδ' Ἀγαμέμνων]  
 λῆγ' [ἔριδος, τὴν πρῶτον ἐπηπείλησ' Ἀχιλλῆϊ,  
 ἀλλ' ὅ [γε Ταλθύβιόν τε καὶ Εὐρυβάτην προσέειπεν,]

- τὼ οἳ ἔσαν κήρυκε καὶ ὀτρυνὸν θεράποντε·  
 [[ --- --- --- ]]  
 χειρὸς ἐλόντ' ἀγέμεν Βρισηίδα καλλιπάρηον.]  
 εἰ δέ κ'ε μὴ δώησιν, ἐγὼ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἔλωμαι  
 ἐλθὼν [σὺν πλεόνεσσι, τό οἱ καὶ ῥίγιον ἔσται.]  
 ὦ[ς εἰπὼν προΐει, κρατερὸν δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλεν.]  
 10 τὼ [δ' ἀέκοντε βάτην παρὰ θῖν' ἀλὸς ἀτρυγέτοιο,]  
 Μ[υρμιδόνων δ' ἐπὶ τε κλισίας καὶ νῆας ἰκέσθην.]  
 τὸν δ' εἵ[υρον παρὰ τε κλισίῃ καὶ νηὶ μελαίνῃ]  
 ἤμενον[ν· οὐδ' ἄρα τὼ γε ἰδὼν γήθησεν Ἀχιλλεύς.]  
 τὼ μὲν [ταρβήσαντε καὶ αἰδομένω βασιλῇα]  
 15 στήτη[ν, οὐδέ τί μιν προσεφώνεον οὐδ' ἐρέοντο·]  
 αὐτὰρ ὃ [ἔγνω ἦισιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ φώνησέν τε·]  
 χαίρετε [κήρυκες, Διὸς ἄγγελοι ἡδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν,]  
 ἄσπον ἦ[ν· [οὐ τί μοι ὕμμες ἐπαίτιοι, ἀλλ' Ἀγαμέμνων,]  
 ὃ σφῶϊ π[ροΐει Βρισηίδος εἵνεκα κούρης.]  
 20 ἀλλ' ἄγε, δ[ιογενὲς Πατρόκλεις, ἕξαγε κούρην]  
 [[ --- --- --- ]]  
 πρ[ὸς τε θεῶν μακάρων πρὸς τε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων]  
 καὶ πρὸ[ς] τοῦ βασι[λῆος ἀπηνέος, εἴ ποτε δὴ αὐτε]  
 χρειῶ [ἐ]μ[εῖο γένητ[αι ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀμῦναι]  
 25 τοῖ[ς ἄλλοις. ἦ γὰρ ὅ γ' ὀλ[οιῇσι φρεσὶ θυίει,]  
 ο[ὐδέ τι] οἶδε [ν]οῆ[σαι ἅμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω,]  
 ὅπ[πως οἱ παρὰ νηυσὶ σόοι μαχεοίαντ' Ἀχαιοί.]  
 ὥς [φ]άτο, Πάτροκλος [δὲ φίλῳ ἐπεπείθεθ' ἐταίρῳ,]  
 ἐκ δ' ἄγαγε κλισίης Βρ[ισηίδα καλλιπάρηον,]  
 30 [δῶκ]ε [δ' ἄγειν. τὼ δ' αὖτις ἵτην παρὰ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν,]  
 [ἦ δ' ἀέκο]υσ' ἅμα τοῖσι [γυνὴ κίεν. αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς]  
 [δακρύσ]ας ἐτάρων ἄ[φαρ ἔξετο νόσφι λιασθείς]  
 [θῖν' ἔφ' ἅλ]ος πολιῆς, [ὀρώων ἐπὶ οἶνοπα πόντον·]  
 [πολλὰ δ]ὲ μητρὶ φίλῃ [ἠρήσατο χεῖρας ὀρεγνύς·]  
 35 [μῆτερ, ἐ]πεὶ μ' ἔτεκ[ές] [γε μινυνθάδιόν περ ἐόντα,]  
 [τιμὴν π]έρ μοι ὄφελλ[εν Ὀλύμπιος ἐγγυαλίζαι]

- [Ζεὺς ὕψιβρεμέτης· [νῦν δ' οὐδέ με τυτθὸν ἔτισεν.]  
 [ἦ γάρ μ' Ἀτ]ρείδης εὐρὺ [κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων]  
 [ἠτίμη]σεν, ἐλὼ[ν γὰρ ἔχει γέρας αὐτὸς ἀπούρας.]  
 40 ὦ[ς] φάτ[ο δά]κρυ χ[έων, τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε πότνια μήτηρ]  
 ἡ[μένη] ἐν βένθεσ[σιν ἀλὸς παρὰ πατρὶ γέροντι.]  
 [κα]ρπαλίμως δ' ἀνέδ[υ πολιῆς ἀλὸς ἡὺτ' ὀμίχλη,]  
 καί ῥα πάροιθ' αὐτοῖο κ[αθέζετο δάκρυ χέοντος,]  
 χειρὶ τέ μιν κατέρεξ[εν, ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε·]  
 45 τέκνον, τί κλαίεις; τί δ[έ σε φρένας ἵκετο πένθος;]

## 2. P.Vindob. G 19768 (II. 8.436–461)

- §7 On the handwritten inventory card Carl Wessely made for the catalogue in Vienna, **P.Vindob. G 19768** (= TM 60326; LDAB 1447; MP3 832) is described as follows: “Papyrus. Stammt aus den Funden Grenfells in Karanis, wurde 1896 von Wessely um je 1 £ Sterling (und einen Band Corpus Papyrorum Raineri I) für jedes Fragment gekauft, hierauf der erzherzoglichen Sammlung geschenkt. Unciale Schrift”.<sup>17</sup> It is not immediately clear which *Funde* yielded the fragment. Given the date, one thinks immediately of the recently concluded 1895/6 EEF excavations at Kom Aushim (**discussed above**), but it would have been uncharacteristic of Grenfell to distribute papyri that were not from his personal collection. Unless Wessely’s inventory records an inference on his part as opposed to the provenance supplied by Grenfell,<sup>18</sup> I assume rather that Grenfell acquired this papyrus on another occasion – either on his 1894 survey of the Fayum or during the April 1896 visit he paid to the site with Arthur S. Hunt, prior to their departure from Egypt at season’s end.<sup>19</sup> The only evidence that the papyrus might have derived from the EEF excavations at Karanis is Hogarth’s passing reference in an article for *The Times* to the “many scraps of Homer” they found there, which is incongruent with the fact that P.Fay. 141 descr. is the only Homeric papyrus from Karanis published in *Fayum Towns and their Papyri*.<sup>20</sup> As part of the same 1896 Grenfell lot, Wessely purchased for the Vienna collection additional fragments of Homer at the same price.<sup>21</sup>
- §8 Palaeography indicates that this papyrus originates in the same roll of *Iliad* 8 as **P.Grenf. 1 2 + P.Flor. 2 109**, whose hand we date, with Gallazzi, to the first century CE.<sup>22</sup> Grenfell noted the archaic form of his fragment’s zeta but assigned a date in the first or second century, while Comparetti posited a

vii.1 *l. μeo*

vii.5 δ' papyrus

or [Πηλεί]δη θέλ'

17 Cf. **Gerstinger 1926**: 90, #11, which is evidently based on Wessely’s inventory.

18 If Wessely’s report is indeed an inference on his part, we must also admit that the assigned provenance to Karanis is subject to doubt.

19 On Grenfell’s previous survey, see Hogarth’s daybook for 28 February and 23 March 1894 ( **P452/ARC/3/1**); it is also mentioned by **Hogarth and Grenfell 1895–6**: 14. I owe the detail regarding Grenfell and Hunt’s April 1896 visit to Nick Gonis.

20 D.G. Hogarth (1896) “Dead Cities of the Fayûm” *The Times* (7 April), transcribed in **Montserrat 1996**: 171–175. For the quote see **Montserrat 1996**: 173.

21 See further, below, and especially **fn. 32**, where a date in the month of July is recorded.

22 Gallazzi 1988: 61–62.

range between that of the Herculaneum papyri and the first half of the second century.<sup>23</sup> An excellent parallel which also features the archaic zeta and which justifies a somewhat earlier assigned date is *PSI 15 1478* (mid I BCE–mid I CE; see *Figure 8*).<sup>24</sup> Like *P.Fay. 141 descr.*, the Vienna papyrus’ script can be classified as an early example of what would become the rounded majuscule or ‘Roman uncial’ type.<sup>25</sup> Several palaeographical peculiarities (including the broad horizontals of epsilon, theta, and alpha, the arms of kappa that do not touch the letter’s hasta, and the diagonal of nu that begins above and beyond its left hasta) are all shared by the various fragments. Hypsilon is written in two straight diagonal strokes, like the lower-case letter ‘y’ in English. Gallazzi argued that the bookroll included both *Iliad* 7 and 8,<sup>26</sup> to which point we would add only that the testimony of the Vienna papyrus, whose column ends with *Iliad* 8.461, indicates that most of the ten columns separating it from the Oxford and Florence fragments contained thirty-three instead of thirty-four lines (barring further omissions). The testimony of Vienna’s inventory card is sufficient grounds for locating all of the fragments in Karanis.

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<sup>23</sup> See *P.Grenf. 1* 2, p. 6; *P.Flor. 2* 109, p. 7: “La scrittura è una unciale piuttosto grande, ben formata e di mano assai buona ma libera e fluente fino a legare colla seguente, pel tratto mediano, le A, E, Θ. Non vedrei ragione per assegnare una data di molto posterior ai papiri ercolanesi; si può pensare all prima metà del 2° sec.” For another related, but less regular hand, cf. also *P.Tebt.Tin 01* (I BCE – I CE).

<sup>24</sup> While the hand of the Vienna papyrus closely resembles that of *PSI 15 1478*, we do not feel the same way regarding the parallels Pernigotti cites to justify the I BCE – I CE date he assigns to that papyrus (i.e., *P.Oxy. 21 2303*, *P.Oxy. 24 2387*), and we are therefore reluctant similarly to extend our assignment into the first century BCE.

<sup>25</sup> Although the letter forms are not especially regular, I would not label the hand as “informale rotunda”, as *Gallazzi 1988*: 62.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Gallazzi 1988*: 60–61.



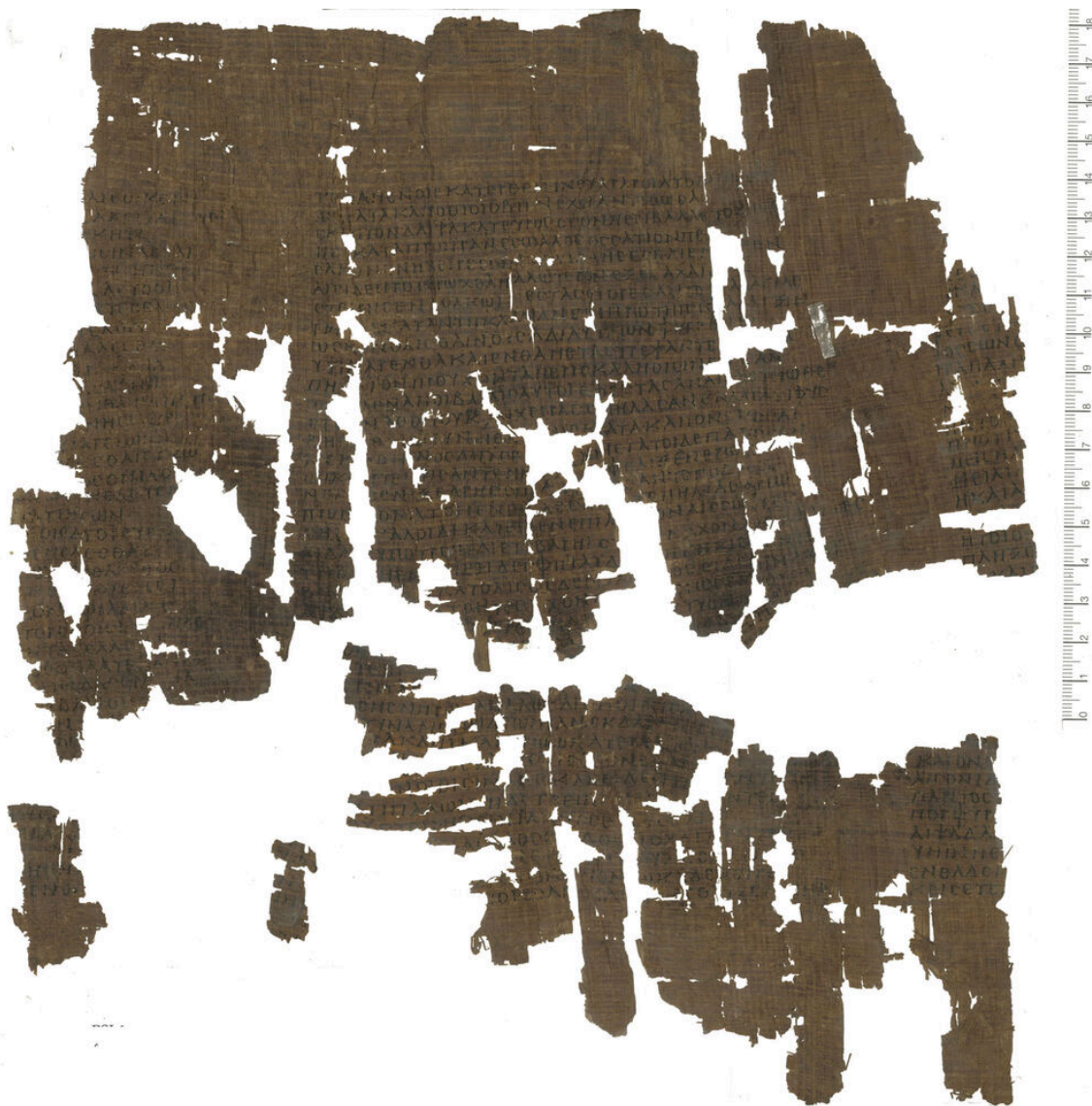


Figure 8: PSI 15 1478 (Florence, Istituto Papirologico ‘G. Vitelli’).

- §9 The various fragments constituting this roll are all ‘early’ acquisitions. The Oxford portion (P.Grenf. 1 2) is among the earliest of Grenfell’s purchases after arriving in Egypt – Hogarth probably saw it in the spring of 1894<sup>27</sup> – while the Florentine papyrus (P.Flor. 2 109) was bought in 1903.<sup>28</sup> As was previously noted, Wessely purchased the Vienna fragment edited here directly from Grenfell in 1896. It is admittedly curious that different fragments from this palaeographically distinct roll passed through Grenfell’s hands on separate occasions, but that conclusion appears inescapable. The alternative hypothesis, that they were acquired together during Grenfell’s 1894 survey of Kom Aushim, requires that Grenfell either failed to connect (and publish) them immediately or somehow misplaced a fragment, only to rediscover it years later. Neither alternative seems particularly likely. It is preferable, then, to

<sup>27</sup> “Drove back with N. at 4.30 & after tea with him at Shepherd’s went with Grenfell to see latter’s papyri: (bits of Homer, & a Greek codex of Gospels ? bought of Faragh.” Daybook entry for 27 Mar. 1894 ( P452/ARC/3/1). See further Sampson 2022: §13, n. 40. A viewing by Hogarth in the spring of 1894 is compatible with the Preface of P.Grenf. I, dated 13 December 1895: “The papyri published in this volume were obtained by myself in the last two winters...” On Grenfell’s arrival in Egypt in January 1894 and his apprenticeship under Petrie, see Mazza 2022: 232–234.

<sup>28</sup> So Gallazzi 1988: 60: “Nel 1908, entro il I fascicolo di P.Flor. II apparvero al nr. 109 due esigui frammenti di rotolo con Ilias Θ 62–5 e 106–14, i quali erano stati comprati cinque anni prima, al Cairo oppure a Gizeh, nell’ambito di una serie di acquisti compiuti da Vitelli, Schiapparelli e Breccia.”

suppose that they were distinct acquisitions. Grenfell failed to recall a familiar hand for the simple reason that he was reading vast numbers of papyri in these years; yet another fragment of Homer was less likely to catch anything more than his passing attention, a supposition consistent with his willingness to part with it without first publishing the text, which was otherwise his typical practice.

- §10 The Vienna fragment is notable for a few textual peculiarities. In **line 10**, the scribe assimilated the final vowel of οὐδέ τι to οὐδέ τε, and (more unusually), appears to have written [οὔ]θω in **line 12**, whose false aspiration violates Grassman's law. Although Gignac notes the frequent interchange of theta and tau in the papyri, a sigma typically precedes;<sup>29</sup> his examples of false aspiration in composition, meanwhile, all involve prepositional prefixes.<sup>30</sup> The only parallel known to us is **P.Lond. 3 991.22**, where οὔθως is perhaps explained as a slip in anticipation of ὀρθῶς, which follows in the formula. Here, [οὔ]θω may similarly be attributed to the influence of τίφθ', which immediately precedes. Iota adscript is written in **line 8**, as elsewhere in the roll's other fragments. Like **P.Sorb. 1 3** and **P.Mich. inv. 5694d (TM 66091)**, the papyrus omits *Iliad* 8.458. No scribal accents or punctuation can be discerned, which is consistent with the testimony of the roll's other fragments, which preserve a mere trio of diareseis. Supplements to the text are drawn from the Teubner edition.<sup>31</sup>

P.Vindob. G 19768  
data.onb.ac.at

16.8 (h) × 2.5 (w)

I CE  
Karanis

[ --- --- ]

[ -ca.?- ] . . . . . [ -ca.?- ]

[μίγδ'] ἄλλοισ[ι θεοῖσι, φίλον τετιημέναι ἦτορ.]

[Ζεὺς δ]᾽ ἐπατή[ρ Ἰδηθεν εὐτρόχον ἄρμα καὶ ἵππους]

[Οὔλυμ]πόνδ' ἐδ[ίωκε, θεῶν δ' ἐξίκετο θώκους.]

5 [τῶι δ]᾽ καὶ ἵππ[ους μὲν λῶσε κλυτὸς Ἐννοσίγαιος,]

[ἄρματ]α δ' ἄμ β[ωμοῖσι τίθει, κατὰ λίτα πετάσσας.]

[αὐτὸς] δὲ χρύσε[ιον ἐπὶ θρόνον εὐρύοπα Ζεύς]

[ἔζετ]ο, τῶι δ' ὑπ[ὸ ποσσὶ μέγας πελεμίζετ' Ὀλυμπος.]

[αἶ δ' οἶ]αι Διὸς ἀμ[φὶς Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ Ἥρη]

10 [ἦσθην,] οὐδέ τέ μ[ιν προσεφώνεον οὐδ' ἐρέοντο.]

[αὐτὰρ δ] ἔγνω ἦ[ισιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ φώνησέν τε.]

[τίφθ' οὔ]θω τετ[ίησθον, Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ Ἥρη;]

[οὐ μὲν] θην κάμ[ετόν γε μάχη ἐνὶ κυδιανείρῃ]

[ὀλλῶσ]αι Τρῶα[ς, τοῖσιν κότον αἰνὸν ἔθεσθε.]

15 [πάντ]ως, οἶ[ο]ν [ἐμόν γε μένος καὶ χεῖρες ἄαπτοι,]

[οὐκ ἄν] με τρέ[ψειαν, ὅσοι θεοὶ εἰς' ἐν Ὀλύμπωι.]

[σφῶϊν] δὲ πρίν πε[ρ τρόμος ἔλλαβε φαίδιμα γυῖα,]

29 Gignac, *Gram.*: I.63–64, 84.

30 Gignac *Gram.*: I.136–137.

31 West 1998.

- [πρὶν πό]λεμόν τ<ε> ἰδ[εῖν πολέμοιό τε μέρμερα ἔργα.]  
 [ὧδε γάρ] ἐξερέω, τ[ὸ δέ κεν τετελεσμένον ἦεν·]  
 20 [οὐκ ἂν ἐ]φ' ὑμετέρ[ων ὀχέων πληγέντε κεραυνῶι]  
 [ἄψ ἐς Ὀλ]υμπόν ἵκ[εσθον, ἴν' ἀθανάτων ἔδος ἐστίν.]  
 [ὧς ἔφαθ'·] αἱ δ' ἐπέ[μυξαν Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ Ἥρη.]  
 [ἦτοι Ἀθ]ηναίη ἀ[κέων ἦν οὐδέ τι εἶπεν,]  
 [σκυζομ]ένη Διὶ π[ατρί, χόλος δέ μιν ἄγριος ἦρει·]  
 25 [ -ca.?- ] [ -ca.?- ]  
 [ --- --- --- ]

### 3. P.Vindob. G 19791 + 19794 (II. 10.41–57, 10.76–100, 10.103–112)

- §11 In addition to the previous item (G 19768), Wessely also acquired further fragments of Homer from Grenfell in July 1896.<sup>32</sup> They derive from a single roll ( **TM 60366**; LDAB 1487; MP3 853), but were inventoried separately as P.Vindob. G 19791 and G 19794. The latter item consists of eight individual fragments. Their text is written against the fibers in a bilinear script which aspires to the Alexandrian majuscule.<sup>33</sup> Particularly distinctive is the alpha in two strokes, with an elaborately capped diagonal that tends to bow gently as the penstroke descends toward the baseline. The letter's oblong belly is drawn separately at the midpoint of that diagonal. Some letters – especially alpha, delta, lambda, mu, nu, pi, tau, and chi – are notably wider than they are tall. Reasonable palaeographical parallels are **P.Lond.Lit. 8** (II–III), **P.Oxy. 50 3527** (early III), **P.Ryl. 3 527v** (III). Oellacher's assessment – “Die Schrift des Homertextes ist unausgeglichen und ungemein zaghaft, also ein Schülerelaborat”<sup>34</sup> – is unduly harsh: the verses are simply stacked quite closely atop one another and, in places, wavy, as though the notional lines containing them were not strictly ruled.
- §12 The fragments' obverse preserves documents whose primary hand is a cursive characteristic of the second or third centuries, written with the fibers. A kollesis is visible to the left of the text on G 19791. Blank space on either side of that kollesis is suggestive of margins, and that these were originally separate sheets, pasted together into a composite roll which was subsequently reused to receive the text of *Iliad* 10 on its verso. The appearance of a subscription in a second, unpracticed hand at the bottom of the principal column of G 19794 is consistent with this inference, but we note that no such kollesis is discernible to the left of that column. The obverse texts are in any event helpful for establishing a date: although only traces of the first line of G 19794 survive, its legible portion begins τῷ καὶ Ἀρποκρ[ατί]ωνι σῆρ(ατηγῶ) Ἀρσι(νοίτου) | Ὁμίστ(ου) καὶ Πολέμω(νος) μερίδων [Μᾶρ] | κος Αὐρήλιος Θέων ἀπάτωρ [μη]|τρὸς Θεανούτος ἀπὸ κώμης Πτολ[ε]||μαίδος Μελισσουρχῶν τῆς

<sup>10</sup> papyrus : τί mss.

<sup>12</sup> papyrus : οὐτῶ mss.

<sup>32</sup> So **MPER N.S. 1 3** (= II.–III.b): “Der Papyrus stammt aus den Ausgrabungen in Karanis und wurde 1896 von B. P. Grenfell um den Preis von 1 £ an unsere Sammlung verkauft”; see also **MPER N.S. 3 1**: “Der Papyrus wurde im Juli 1896 durch C. Wessely von B. P. Grenfell, der ihn in Karanis ausgegraben hatte, für die Sammlung angekauft.” These remarks correspond to Wessely's handwritten inventory cards: “Papyrus, gekauft und der Sammlung geschenkt von Wessely (1896 von Grenfell aus dessen Ausgrabungen in Karanis). Preis 1 £ Sterling” (G. 19791) and “Papyrus, gekauft um 1 £ Sterling von Wessely aus den Ausgrabungen von Grenfell in Karanis 1896” (G. 19794).

<sup>33</sup> On this script, see especially **Cavallo 1975**.

<sup>34</sup> **MPER N.S. 3 1**.

Πολέμω|νος μερίδος. ὁ[μνύω] τὴν Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου | Σεουήρου Ἀν[τωνί]νου Παρθικο[ῦ] | μεγ[ί]στου  
Βρε[ταννι]κοῦ μεγίστου.<sup>35</sup> The strategos to whom this oath was addressed is Calpurnius Isidorus  
alias Harpocraton, who held office in the Arsinoite between 214–216.<sup>36</sup> The ‘twenty-fourth year’ [κδ  
(ἔτος)] mentioned in G 19791.7 allows for further precision, and is moreover reassuringly compatible  
with the testimony of G 19794: the twenty-fourth year of Caracalla’s reign was 215/216. The Homer  
text written against the fibers may therefore be dated to the third century, post 216.

- §13 G 19794 survives in eight individual fragments that were reassembled into a single column of text:  
both the upper and the lower margin are visible. Portions of 35 lines survive, and only two lines  
from the mss. tradition (*Il.* 10.101–102) are entirely lost.<sup>37</sup> fully reconstructed, in other words, the  
column plausibly contained 37 lines. Assuming that the roll in question contained only *Iliad* 10, G  
19791 preserves its second column, and the fragments of G 19794 its third. At the time the papyrus  
was glazed and imaged, the placement of two small fragments of G 19794 had not been definitively  
established, but our closer analysis – confirmed by the ÖNB – has established their position.<sup>38</sup> The  
first, upside down in the picture, contains a few letters of *Iliad* 10.88–91. Its right edge does not in  
fact preserve a margin (as it might appear); instead, the ink there has been abraded. The other small  
fragment contains letters from the beginnings of *Iliad* 10.87–91. The text includes occasional ortho-  
graphical variants, corrections, scribal punctuation, and apostrophes (noted below), but is otherwise  
unremarkable. Supplements are drawn from the Teubner edition.<sup>39</sup>

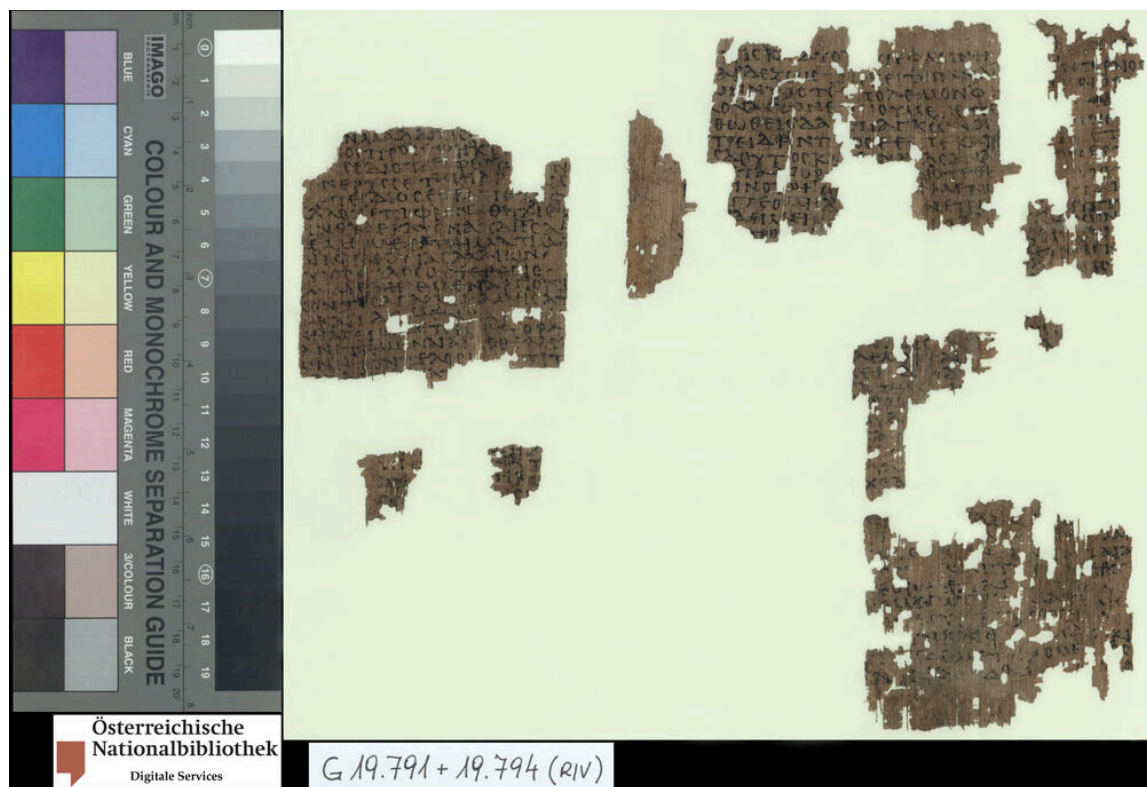


Figure 9: P.Vindob. G 19791 + 19794 verso (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Papyrussammlung).

<sup>35</sup> The recto texts will be fully edited elsewhere.

<sup>36</sup> See, e.g., *P.Köln* 10 416; *P.Oxy* 45 3243; *P.Oxy* 45 3263. In *P.Oxy* 38 2876 (212–214) and *P.Oxy.Hels.* 23 (213), he is strategos in the Memphite nome. See further the commentary to *P.Oxy* 38 2876.14–16; *Bastianini and Whitehorn* 1987: 47.

<sup>37</sup> *P.Ant.* 3 161, *PSI* 12 1274 and an Oxyrhynchite ineditum ( *TM* 68310) all preserve *Il.* 10.101–102, as does the mss. tradition unanimously.

<sup>38</sup> New photography, when completed, will be available via the [ÖNB catalogue](#)

<sup>39</sup> *West* 1998.

G19791

ii

- [ --- --- ]  
[νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίην]· μάλα τις θρ[ασυκάρδιος ἔσται.]  
[τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμε]νος προσέφη κρε[ίων Ἀγαμέμνων·]  
[χρεὼ βουλῆς ἐμὲ κ]αὶ σέ, διοτρεφεὺς ὦ [Μ]εν[έλαε,]  
[κερδαλέης, ἥ τίς κ]εν ἐρύσσεται ἡδὲ [σα]ώσ[ει]  
5 [Ἀργείους καὶ νῆα]ς, ἐπεὶ Διὸς ἐτράπετο φ[ρήν.]  
[Ἑκτορέοις ἄρα μ]ᾶλλον ἐπὶ φρένα θῆχ' ἱερ[οῖσιν.]  
[οὐ γάρ πω ιδόμ]ην, οὐδ' ἔκλυον αὐδῆσαν[τος,]  
[ἄνδρ' ἓνα τοσσά]δε μέρμερ' ἐπ' ἡματι μῆ[τίσασθαι,]  
[ὅσος Ἑκτωρ ἔρρεξε] διίφιλος υἱὰς Ἀχαιῶν  
10 [αὐτῶς, οὔτε θεᾶς] υἱὸς φίλος οὔτε θεοῖο.  
[ἔργα δ' ἔρεξ' ὅσα φη]μὶ μελησέμεν Ἀργίοισι  
[δηθά τε καὶ δολι]χόν· τόσα γὰρ κακὰ μήσατ' [Ἀχαιοὺς.]  
[ἀλλ' ἴθι νῦν Αἴαντ]α καὶ Ἰδομενῆα κάλεσ[σον]  
[ρίμφα θεῶν παρὰ] νῆας· ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ Νέστορα [δῖον]  
15 [εἴμι καὶ ὀτρυνέω] ἀνστήμεναι, αἳ κ' ἐθέλη[σιν]  
[ἐλθεῖν ἐς φυλάκ]ων ἱερὸν τέλος ἡδ' ἐπιτ[εῖλαι].  
[κείνου γάρ κε μάλι]στα π[ιθο]ί[ατ]ο· τοῖο γὰρ υἱὸς]

G19794

iii

- [ἀσ]πὶς καὶ δύο δ[ο]ῦρε φαεινὴ τ[ε] τρυφά[λεια].  
[π]ᾶρ δὲ ζωστήρ κείτο παναί[ολος, ὦι] ῥ' ὁ γεραιός  
[ζ]ώννυθ', ὅτ' ἐς πόλεμον φθ[εισήνο]ρ[α] θωρί[σσοιτο]  
[λ]αὸν ἄγων, ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν ἐπέ[τρεπε] γ[ή]ρα[ι] λυγρῶι.  
5 [ὀρ]θωθείς δ' ἄ[ρ]' ἐπ' ἀγκῶνος, [κεφαλ]ῆν ἐ[παείρας,]  
[Ἀτ]ρεΐδην προσέειπε καὶ ἐ[ξερεε]ί[ν]ετ[ο] μύθῳι·  
[τί]ς δ' οὗτος κατὰ νῆας ἀνὰ σ[τρατ]ὸν ἔρχ[εαι] οἶος  
[νύ]κτα δι' ὀρ[φναίην], ὅτε θ' εὐ[δουσι] βροτ[οὶ] ἄλλοι,  
[ἡέ] τιν' οὐρήω[ν] διζ[ήμενο]ς, ἢ τιν' ἐ[ταί]ρων;  
10 [φθέ]γγεο, μηδ' [ἀκέω]ν ἐπ' ἔ[μ] ἔρ[χε]ο. τ[ί]πτ[ε] δέ σε χρεώ[ς];

- [τὸ]ν δ' ἡμείβε[τ' ἔπε]ιτα ἄ[ναξ ἀ]νδρῶν [Ἀγαμέμνων·]  
 [ὦ Νέ]στο[ρ] Νηλ[ηϊάδῃ, μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν,]  
 [γνώσε]αι Ἀτ[ρεΐδῃ]ν Ἀγ[αμέμνονα, τὸν περὶ πάντων]  
 [Ζεὺς ἐνέ]ηκε [πόνοις]ι δι[αμπερές, εἰς ὃ κ' ἀϋτμή]
- 15 [ἐν στήθ]εσσι [μένῃ] καὶ μ[οι φίλα γούνατ' ὀρώρηι.]  
 [πλάζομαι ὦ]δ', [ἐπεὶ οὗ] μοι [ἐ]π' ὅμ[μασι νήδυμος ὕπνος]  
 [ἰζάνει, ἀλλὰ μέλει πό]λεμος καὶ [κῆδε' Ἀχαιῶν.]  
 [αἰνῶς γὰρ Δαναῶν] περ[ι]δ[ε]ῖδ[ια, οὐδέ μοι ἦτορ]  
 [ἔμπεδον, ἀλλ' ἀλαλ]ύκτῃμ[αι, κ]ραδίῃ δέ μοι ἔξω]
- 20 [στηθέων ἐκθρώισκει,] τρομέ[ει δ' ὑπὸ φαίδιμα γυῖα.]  
 [ἀλλ' εἴ τι δραίνεις, ἐπεὶ] οὐδ[ὲ σέ γ' ὕπνος ἰκάνει,]  
 [δεῦρ' ἐς τοὺς φύλακας] κατ[αβείομεν, ὄφρα ἴδωμεν,]  
 [μὴ τοὶ μὲν καμάτῳ ἀδ]ηκό[τες ἡδὲ καὶ ὕπνῳ]  
 [κοιμήσωνται, ἀτὰρ φ]υλα[κῆς ἐπὶ πάγχυ λάθωνται.]
- 25 [δυσμενέες δ' ἄνδρες σ]χεδ[ὸν εἵεται, οὐδέ τι ἴδωμεν,]  
 [2 lines missing]  
 [Ἀτρεΐδῃ] κύ[διστε, ἀν]αξ ἀν[δρ]ῶ[ν Ἀγάμεμνον,]  
 [οὗ θην Ἑκτο]ρι [πάντα] νο[ήμ]ατ[α μῆ]τίετα Ζεύς]
- 30 [ἐκτελέει, ὅσ]α πο[ύ] νυν [ἐ]έλπεται· ἀ[λλὰ μιν οἶω]  
 [κῆδεσι μοχ]θῇ[σειν] καὶ πλ[ε<ί>]ο[σιν, εἴ κε]ν Ἀχιλλεύς]  
 [ἐκ χόλου ἀργα]λέοιο μετασ[τ]ρέψῃ[ι φί]λον ἦτορ.]  
 [σοὶ δὲ μάλ' ἔ]ψομ' ἐγώ· προ[τὶ] δ' αὖ καὶ ἐ[γείρομεν ἄλλους,]  
 [ἡμὲν Τυδείδ]ην δουρικλυτὸν εἰ[δ'] Ὀδ[υσ]σῆα]
- 35 [ἡδ' Αἴαντα ταχ]ὺν καὶ Φυ[λ]έος ἄλκιμον υἱόν.]  
 [ἀλλ' εἴ τις καὶ] τούσδε μετοιχόμε[ν]ος [καλέσειεν,]  
 [ἀντίθεόν τ' Αἴ]αντα καὶ Ἰδομέ[ν]ηα ἄν[ακτα·]

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G19791.ii.6 θῆχ' papyrus

θῆχ' papyrus

G19791.ii.8 corr. ex απ

G19791.ii.9 Ἀχαιῶν papyrus

G19791.ii.11 Ἰ. Ἀργείοισι

G19791.ii.12 corr. ex τ σα

G19794.iii.3 Ἰ. θωρή[σσοιτο]

G19794.iii.10 μηδ' papyrus

μηδ' papyrus

G19794.iii.34 Ἰ. ῆ[δ']

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