

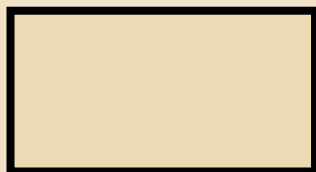
PROCEEDINGS OF THE 27TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PAPYROLOGY

WARSAW | 29 JULY – 3 AUGUST 2013

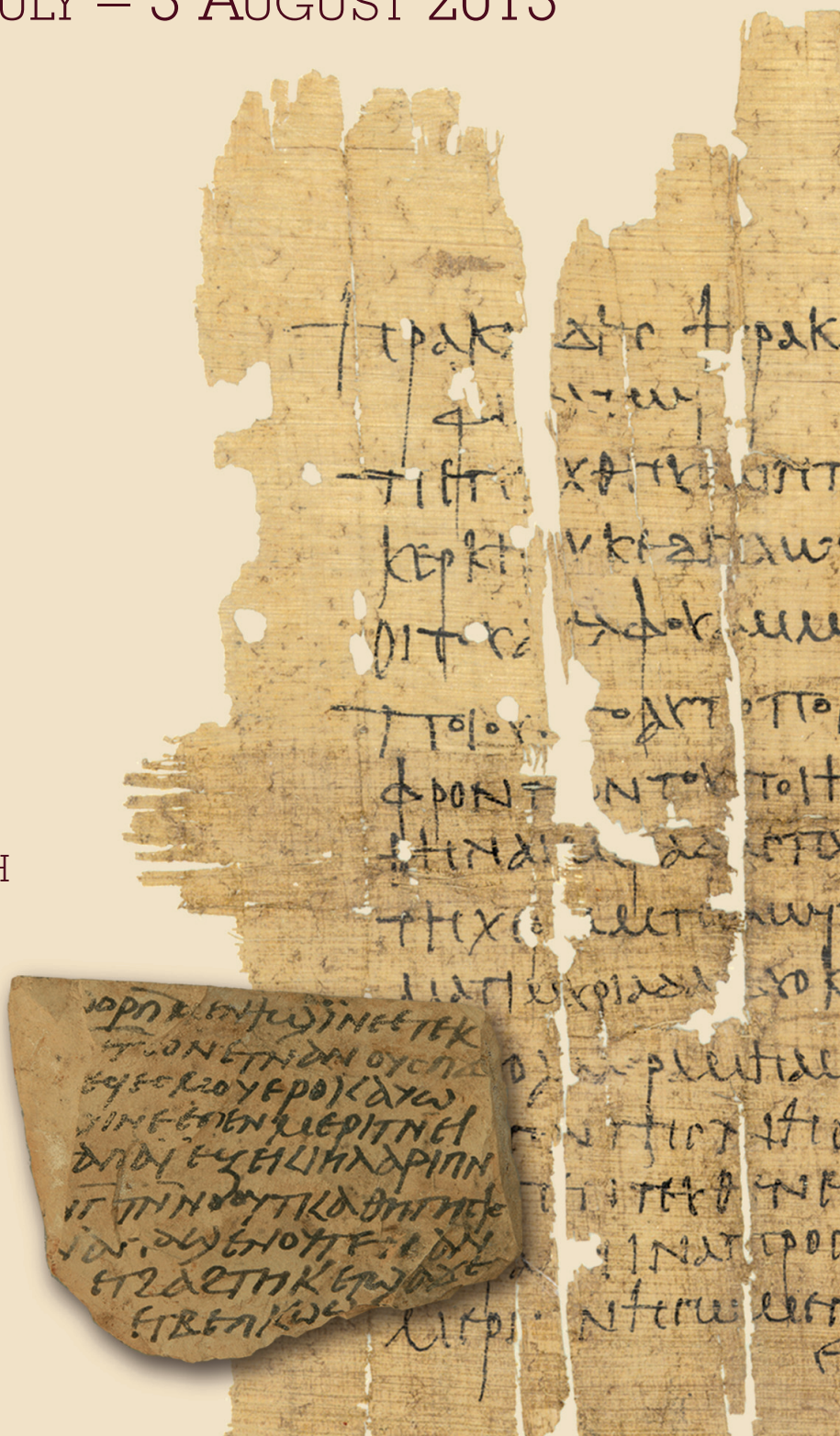


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WARSAW 2016





UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW
FACULTY OF LAW AND ADMINISTRATION
CHAIR OF ROMAN AND ANTIQUE LAW



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INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY
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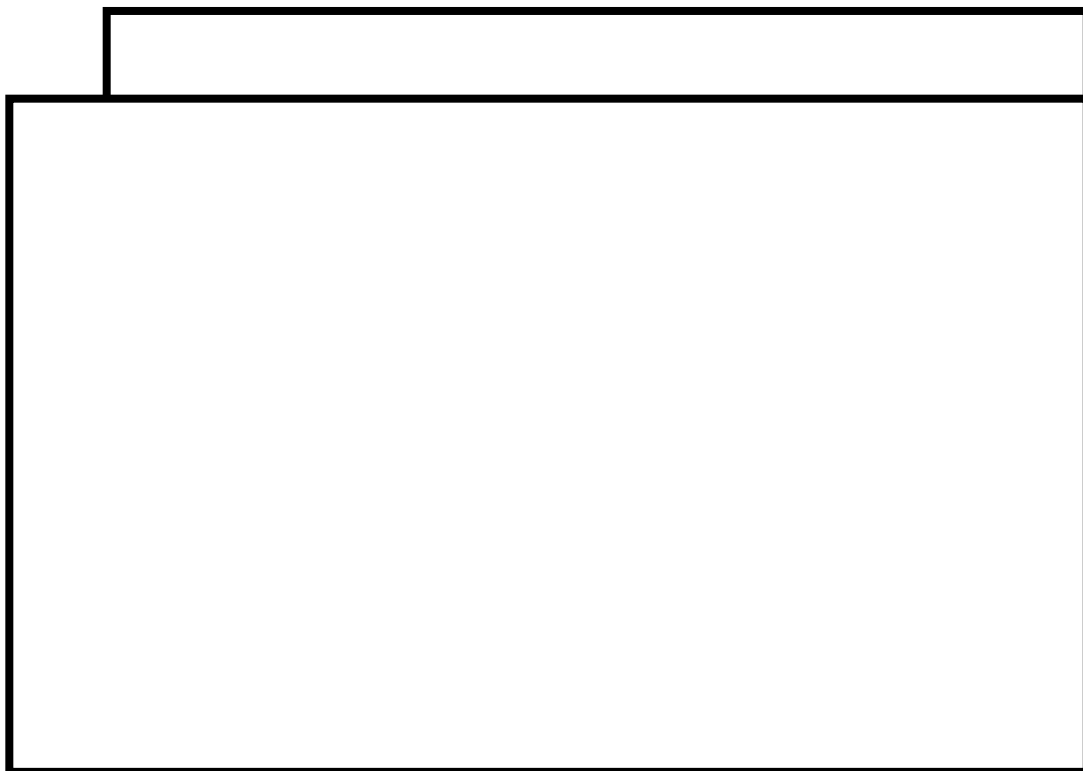
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Enrico Emanuele Prodi

**TITLES AND MARKERS OF POEM-END
IN THE PYPYRI OF GREEK CHORAL LYRIC***

GREEK ‘CHORAL LYRIC’ IS WIDELY REPRESENTED at all stages of the papyrological record from Egypt.¹ According to the *Leuven Database of Ancient Books (LDAB)*,² the six ‘canonical’ authors – Alcman, Stesichorus, Ibycus, Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides – account for some

* I am deeply indebted to the original audience in Warsaw, especially Michael HASLAM, and to the expertise and advice of Daniela COLOMO, Lucio DEL CORSO, and Giuseppe UCCIARDELLO.

¹ I use the label ‘choral lyric’ purely for the sake of convenience, as a traditional and easily understandable way of referring to this kind of poetry, while being fully aware that it is artificial and problematic: see e.g. M. DAVIES, ‘Monody, choral lyric, and the tyranny of the hand-book’, *The Classical Quarterly* NS 38 (1988), pp. 52–64. It is on this understanding that in the rest of the paper I shall dispense with the inverted commas around it.

² <http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/>. Other shorthands that will be used in the rest of this paper are:

MP³ – for the online Mertens–Pack catalogue of literary papyri (<http://promethee.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/>)

P. Oxy. Online – for the repertory of images of the Oxyrhynchus papyri now in the Papyrology Rooms of Oxford’s Sackler Library (<http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/>)

PSI online – for the similar repertory of the *PSI* at the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (<http://www.psi-online.it>)

GMAW – for E. G. TURNER, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, second edition revi-

eighty-three published papyri, many of which can be shown actually to comprise multiple manuscripts produced in a matching format. Several *adespota* recognisably pertaining to the genre increase the tally, and a substantial number of papyrus *hypomnemata* also testify to the currency of this kind of poetry in Greek-speaking Egypt.

A bibliographical and editorial history of choral lyric in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt has yet to be written,³ and would require a monograph of its own. While the world – no doubt – waits with bated breath for a dauntless hero to rise to the challenge, the present contribution will concentrate on one recurrent locus in the lyric book-roll: the place where a poem ends and (or) another begins. For this purpose, it will attempt to illuminate two distinct but interrelated aspects: the presentation of the titles of individual poems, and the use of marginal signs to mark divisions between poems, in the surviving papyri of Greek choral lyric.⁴

The signs employed in this connexion – regularly placed in the margin to the left of the column – are the *paragraphos*, a short horizontal line usually straddling the margin and the column of writing; the *koronis*, which comes in a variety of shapes but is ‘essentially a paragraphus with an elaborate structure of decorative curly lines above and below’;⁵ the forked

sed and enlarged, edited by P. J. PARSONS [= *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* supplement 46], London 1987.

Editions of papyri are cited according to the *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, <http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist.html>.

³ I borrow the description from Laura LULLI’s study of elegy, ‘Appunti per una storia grafico-editoriale del genere letterario dell’elegia in età ellenistico-romana’, *Scripta* 2 (2009), pp. 135–157.

⁴ Earlier, more selective treatments of both these topics can be found in E. LOBEL, ‘2442. Pindar, Ὑμνοί, Παιάνες, ἄλλοι κείμενα’, *P. Oxy.* XXVI (1961), pp. 31–78, at p. 42; *GMAW*, pp. 12–13; G. B. D’ALESSIO, ‘Osservazioni e parolipomeni ad una nuova edizione dei frammenti di Pindaro’, *Rivista di filologia e istruzione classica* 119 (1991), pp. 91–117, at 110.

⁵ *GMAW*, p. 12. On the *koronis* and its history and uses, see Gwendolen M. STEPHEN, ‘The coronis’, *Scriptorium* 13 (1959), pp. 3–14 and pll. 1–2, including a more analytical description of its various attested shapes at pp. 3–4; Francesca SCHIRONI, *Τὸ μέγα βιβλίον. Book-ends, End-titles, and Coronides in Papyri with Hexametric Poetry* [= *American Studies in Papyrology* 48], Durham NC 2010, pp. 16–18 and *passim*.

paragraphos,⁶ a *paragraphos* with either something resembling a major sign tacked on to its left edge ('form 1' in this paper) or a leftward descender starting from near its middle ('form 2'); and the *asteriskos*, a horizontal and a vertical line intersecting at right angles in the middle with a small circle floating in each of the four sectors ('form 1') and sometimes also a fifth in the middle of the 'cross', with the perpendicular lines formed by four distinct strokes of the pen ('form 2').⁷

One known ancient text sets out to describe the use of such signs with specific reference to books of lyric poetry: Hephaestion's *Περὶ σημείων* (*On Signs*) 2–3, pp. 73–74 Consbruch.

(2) Παρὰ μὲν τοῖς λυρικοῖς, ἂν μὲν μονόστροφον τὸ ἄσμα ἦι, καθ' ἑκάστην τίθεται στροφὴν ἢ παράγραφος, εἴτα ἐπὶ τέλους τοῦ ἄσματος ἢ κορωνίς. εἰ δὲ κατὰ περικοπὴν τὰ ἄσματα ἦι γεγραμμένα, ὥστε εἶναι στροφὴν καὶ ἀντίστροφον καὶ ἐπωιδόν, ἢ παράγραφος ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ τέλει τῆς τε στροφῆς καὶ ἀντιστροφῆς κεῖται, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἐπωιδῷ ἢ κορωνίς· – καὶ οὕτως ἢ παράγραφος, ἢ διορίζει τὰ τε ὅμοια καὶ τὰ ἀνόμοια· – ἐπὶ μέντοι τῷ τέλει ὁ ἀστερίσκος τίθεται, γνώρισμα τοῦ τετελέσθαι τὸ ἄσμα, ἐπεὶ ἢ κορωνίς ἐπὶ πασῶν τίθεται τῶν ἐπωιδῶν.

(3) Καὶ μάλιστα εἴωθεν ὁ ἀστερίσκος τίθεσθαι, εἰ ἄλλομετρον ἦι τὸ ἄσμα τὸ ἐξῆς· ὃ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ποιημάτων τῶν μονοστροφικῶν γίνεται Σαπφοῦς τε καὶ Ἀνακρέοντος καὶ Ἀλκαίου· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀλκαίου ἰδίως κατὰ μὲν τὴν Ἀριστοφάνειον ἔκδοσιν ἀστερίσκος ἐπὶ ἑτερομετρίας ἐτίθετο μόνως, κατὰ δὲ τὴν νῦν τὴν Ἀριστάρχειον καὶ ἐπὶ ποιημάτων μεταβολῆς.

(2) In [books of] the lyricists, when the song is monostrophic, the *paragraphos* is placed after every stanza, then, at the end of the song, the *koro-*

⁶ I favour this term over the common (and ancient) but potentially misleading synonym *διπλῆ ὠβελισμένη*, as the sign bears no actual relation to either the *διπλῆ* or the *ὄβελος*, both of which, moreover, are written next to a line, not between two as a divider; see also SCHIRONI, *Τὸ μέγα βιβλίον* (cit. n. 5), p. 10. On the ancient term – which the sources relate to drama, not to lyric – see M. ERCOLES, 'La *διπλῆ ὠβελισμένη* nel P. Louvre E 3320 (Alcm. PMGF 1)', *Eikasmos* 20 (2009), pp. 47–59 (especially the 'Appendice', pp. 56–59).

⁷ On the *asteriskos* and its history and uses, see G. NOCCHI MACEDO, 'Formes et fonctions de l'astérisque dans les papyrus littéraires grecs et latins', *Segno e testo* 9 (2011), pp. 3–33, especially pp. 17–20 (on lyric papyri) and the table of its occurrences and attested shapes at 30–33.

nis. When, on the other hand, the songs are written in sections,⁸ so that there are strophe, antistrophe, and epode, the *paragraphos* lies at the end of the strophe and antistrophe, and after the epode [lies] the *koronis* – and so the *paragraphos*, which distinguishes both parts that are similar and parts that are dissimilar;⁹ – and at the very end is placed the *asteriskos*, as a mark that the song is finished, since the *koronis* is placed after every epode.

(3) And the *asteriskos* is habitually used especially if the song that follows has a different metre, as also happens with the monostrophic poems of Sappho and Anacreon and Alcaeus; but in Alcaeus' case, peculiarly, in Aristophanes' edition the *asteriskos* was used only to mark a difference of metre, while in the current one – Aristarchus' – [it is used] also to mark a change of poem.

Hephaestion presents a neat division. Monostrophic poems, which have no triads and only need a sign for stanza-end and another for poem-end, use the *paragraphos* and the *koronis* respectively; triadic poems, which have a further level of articulation to be marked, use the *paragraphos* at the end of each stanza, the *koronis* at the end of each triad, and the *asteriskos* at the end of the complete poem. The next paragraph offers, at least indirectly, an explanation for this usage: if the *asteriskos* had a particular connexion with a change of metre, it was very much at home in books containing triadic poems, each of which typically had a different metre from those before and after it.

As we shall see, the evidence provided by the papyri is not quite so neat, although it confirms Hephaestion's account to a considerable

⁸ On *περικοπή*, see Josefa URREA MENDEZ, *El léxico métrico de Hefestión*, Amsterdam 2003, pp. 493–495, esp. 495: '[s]egún Hefestión estamos ante una estructura en perícopa cuando las estrofas independientes – *ευστήματα* – no se corresponden entre sí pero sin embargo forman un grupo que se corresponde con las que siguen'. I am grateful to Ilaria Andolfi for checking this useful publication on my behalf.

⁹ STEPHEN, 'The *koronis*' (cit. n. 5), p. 13 translates 'whose function is to divide like from unlike'. However, given the use of the *paragraphos* just described, I prefer to take Hephaestion to be saying that the sign separates both parts that are like one another (strophe and antistrophe) and parts that are unlike one another (antistrophe and epode, epode and strophe).

extent. Conversely, in the surviving Greek documentation there is no comparable account of the titles of lyric compositions and of the principles that governed their use; for these we must rely exclusively on the primary evidence.

In the following pages I shall present the twenty-seven items that constitute the evidence for our inquiry (twenty-four rolls or sets of rolls and three codices, all on papyrus), in roughly chronological order, before venturing some generalisations and interpretations in the concluding part of the paper. Unsurprisingly, Pindar has the lion's share with seventeen items, but Bacchylides' presence is sizeable too (five or more probably six, depending on the authorship of 24);¹⁰ the evidence for Simonides, although limited to two relevant papyri,¹¹ accords quite well with Pindar and Bacchylides. Although represented by only one relevant manuscript each and despite having a much less perspicuous editorial history than the three authors just mentioned, I have chosen not to neglect Alcman and Ibycus, whose papyri can usefully contribute to our understanding of how editions of the various choral lyricists marked poem-end. I have, on the other hand, disregarded Stesichorus, for whom we have no clear evi-

¹⁰ In the catalogue, for ease of reference, the papyri of Pindar and Bacchylides will also be identified with the *sigla* employed by the standard editions of the respective authors: *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis* post B. SNELL edidit H. MAEHLER, I–II, Leipzig 1987⁸–1989⁸ (II followed by an apical numeral), and *Bacchylides*, edidit H. MAEHLER, Munich – Leipzig 2003¹¹ (a Roman letter in bold fount). Among the Bacchylidean papyri I do not count *P. Oxy.* VIII 1091 = *P. Lond. Lit.* 47, where the title of *Dithyramb* 1 originally written on a *sillybos* stood for the title of the book, not of the individual poem, and was later erased to make way for the unambiguous *Βακχυλίδου | Διθύραμβοι* (see J. M. EDMONDS, 'Mr. Lobel and *Lyra Graeca*: a rejoinder', *The Classical Review* 36 [1922], pp. 159–161, at 160).

¹¹ Given the different genre, I have not included one potentially relevant papyrus of Simonides' elegies, *P. Oxy.* XXII 2327 (by the same hand as our no. 7: 'scribe #A19' in W. A. JOHNSON, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus*, Toronto – Buffalo – London 2004, pp. 23–24), fr. 7 of which displays a *paragraphos* and *koronis* followed by a slightly wider line-spacing, most probably marking the break between an elegy and the next. Nor have I included *P. Strasb. inv.* 1406–1409 (*PMG* 921[b]), attributed to Simonides' *Epimicasts for runners* by B. SNELL, *Euripides Alexandros und andere strassburger Papyri mit Fragmente griechischer Dichter* [= *Hermes Einzelschriften* 5], Berlin 1937, p. 98, as they really have nothing to do with Simonides: see G. UCCIARDELLO, 'New light on *P. Strasb. gr.* 1406–1409: an early witness of Secundus' *Sentences*', pp. 251–257 of these *Proceedings*.

dence of poem-divisions within books or of individual poem-titles as distinct from book-titles, which pose a different set of questions from those that concern us here. With some misgivings I have also excluded *hypomnemata* – some of which relate the titles of the lyric compositions they treat – on account of the different bibliological genre (so to speak) that they constitute.

In the descriptive catalogue that follows, dates are those assigned by the first editor(s) unless otherwise stated. I had originally planned to include detailed bibliological and palaeographical descriptions, which would have been useful – indeed arguably necessary – in order fully to contextualise the signs and titles within the economy of the individual manuscript; but this would have made the article impossibly long for these *Proceedings*. Fortunately, many of the papyri have satisfyingly thorough first editions, and most are easily available in high-quality photographs. Under each entry, the reader is referred in the first instance to any relevant images that can be found in the respective *editio princeps*, in *GMAW*, or online; photographs printed in other publications can easily be found from each manuscript's entry in the *LDAB*. Identified scribes are indicated by their number in William A. Johnson's catalogue.¹² The indication that a title is inset in the column will be understood to imply that it is by the hand of the main scribe, no contrary example being known to me.

*

1. *P. Oxy.* XV 1790 + XVII 2081(f)

LDAB 2434 = MP³ 1237

Ibycus, unknown book.

Location: Oxford, Sackler Library

Photograph: edition (XV), plate III; *GMAW*, plate 20; *P. Oxy. Online*.¹³

¹² JOHNSON, *Bookrolls and Scribes* (cit. n. 11).

¹³ Infra-red images can be found in J. P. BARRON, 'Ibycus: *To Polycrates*', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 16 (1969), pp. 119–149, at plates V–VI.

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus (excavated 1905/6).
 Date: late second or early first century BC.¹⁴
 Format: roll, written on the *recto* (*verso* blank).

The end of the ‘Polycrates Ode’ *PMGF* 282, and of the book, in the third column (fr. 2+3 col. ii) is marked by a *paragraphos* level with the base of the final verse, whose first letter it intersects, and a *koronis* whose pointy top bends rightwards, almost touching the first letter of the penultimate line of the text. Metrical articulations within the poem are not marked. There is no book-title to follow, either below the column or in the *agraphon* next to it.

2. *P. Oxy.* IV 659 = *P. Lond. Lit.* 44 (*IT*¹⁰)

LDAB 3742 = *MP*³ 1371

Pindar, *Partheneia*.

Location: London, British Library pap. 1533.

Photograph: edition, plates III–IV.¹⁵

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus (excavated 1903).

Date: second half of the first century BC.¹⁶

Format: roll, written on the *recto* (on the *verso*, *P. Oxy.* IV 662).

¹⁴ Assigned to ‘the middle or latter half of the first century’ by A. S. HUNT, ‘1790. Ibycus’, *P. Oxy.* XV (1922), 73–84, at 73; antedated to ‘c. 130 BC’ by E. TURNER in BARRON, ‘Ibycus: To Polycrates’ (cit. n. 13), p. 119 with 144 n. 3 (but simply ‘ii BC’ in *GMAW*, p. 48); the date given here is that proposed by G. CAVALLO, ‘La scrittura greca libraria tra i secoli I a.C. – I d.C. Materiali, tipologie, momenti’, [in:] D. HARLFINGER & C. PRATO (eds), *Paleografia e codicologia greca. Atti del II Colloquio internazionale (Berlino – Wolfenbüttel, 17–21 ottobre 1983)* [= *Biblioteca di Scrittura e Civiltà* 3], Alessandria 1991, I pp. 11–29, at 20–21, [reprinted in] *Il calamo e il papiro. La scrittura greca dall’età ellenistica ai primi secoli di Bisanzio* [= *Papyrologica Florentina* 36], Firenze 2005, pp. 99–122, at 115, but see now IDEM, *La scrittura greca e latina dei papiri. Una introduzione*, Pisa – Rome 2008, p. 47 (comparing *P. Köln* IV 186, ‘di poco posteriore al 170–168’ BC).

¹⁵ Better reproductions appear in L. LEHNUS, ‘Pindaro: il *dafneforico per Agasicle* (Fr. 94b Sn.–M.)’, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 31 (1984), pp. 61–92, at plates 5–7.

¹⁶ So B. P. GRENFELL & A. S. HUNT, ‘659. Pindar, *Παρθένειον* and Ode’, *P. Oxy.* IV (1904), pp. 50–60; simply first century BC according to *GMAW*, p. 50; mid-first century BC ‘o solo poco oltre’ for CAVALLO, ‘La scrittura greca libraria’ (cit. n. 14), p. 21 [p. 115 of the reprint];

Triad-end is consistently marked by *paragraphos* and *koronis*, the latter projecting roughly a line-height and a half up and down from its centre. The scribe skipped a *paragraphos* after iii.12 (52) and misplaced the one before it three lines up, after iii.4 (44). At the end of *Partheneion* 1 the left margin is lost, but the lacuna spared the unmistakable left side of an *asteriskos* (form indeterminable as its centre is lost) roughly level with the first two verses of *Partheneion* 2.¹⁷

Even more interesting is a hitherto unnoticed trace just to the right of the foot of the *asteriskos*:¹⁸ a small triangular shape formed by a thicker stroke rising sharply to the right and two black specks level with its foot, the second of which may or may not belong with the other two. It cannot be a part of the *asteriskos*, and it is unlikely to be the foot of the *koronis* that must have stood between the *asteriskos* and the column.¹⁹ It can, however, be the left half of a small triangular letter, α or δ , the beginning of a word written beside the foot of the *asteriskos* and below the *koronis*. As Luigi Lehnus has shown, the notional title of *Partheneion* 2 is likely to have been Ἀγαδικλεῖ Ἐθβαίωι , perhaps followed by the specification δαφνηφορικόν (or δαφνηφόρωι).²⁰ Our traces would be compatible with this restoration,

late first century BC or early first AD in G. CAVALLO & H. MAEHLER, *Hellenistic Bookbands*, Berlin – New York 2008, p. 126.

¹⁷ The *asteriskos* was recognised by L. LEHNUS, ‘Da una nuova ispezione di P. Oxy. IV 659 (Pindaro, Partheneia)’, *Museum philologum Londiniense* 2 (1977), pp. 227–231, at 227, see also IDEM, ‘Pindaro: il *dafneforico*’ (cit. n. 15), pp. 65, 78; called only ‘a symbol’ by GRENFELL & HUNT in *P. Oxy.* IV, p. 58.

¹⁸ It is very hard to spot on pl. III of the *editio princeps*, but its left-most part is clearly visible in LEHNUS, ‘Pindaro: il *dafneforico*’ (cit. n. 15), pl. 5. The considerations that follow derive from my own inspection of the papyrus at the British Library.

¹⁹ No *koronis* in this papyrus reaches down for two whole line-widths from the *paragraphos* at its centre (unless ours was written one line lower than it ought to have been, which admittedly would sit well with the position of the *asteriskos*), and more importantly, an ascender of this inclination is not expected in a *koronis* at this distance from the column of writing: the others have either a sharply ascending foot nearer to the column or – those near the bottom of coll. ii and iii, which extend roughly as far to the left as our trace – a tail that starts off horizontally, or indeed with a slight curve downward, and rises more softly as the pen moves rightward.

²⁰ LEHNUS, ‘Pindaro: il *dafneforico*’ (cit. n. 15), p. 78.

if it was split over two (or three) lines of one word each. It would also be compatible with the second line of $\tau\hat{\omega}\iota \mid \alpha[\upsilon\tau\hat{\omega}\iota$, if the editor of the standard edition of Pindar construed the poem as dedicated to the same person as the one before – which, however, cannot be confirmed from the surviving text of *Partheneion* 1.²¹

3. *P. Oxy.* XI 1361 = *P. Lond. Lit.* 48 + *P. Oxy.* XVII 2081(e) (P)

LDAB 436 = MP³ 179

Bacchylides, ‘*Encomia*’.²²

Location: London, British Library pap. 2443.

Photograph: edition (XI), plate III.

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus (excavated 1906).

Date: second half of the first century BC or early first AD.²³

Format: roll, written on the *recto* (*verso* blank).

²¹ LEHNUS, ‘Pindaro: il *dafneforico*’ (cit. n. 15), p. 88 n. 32 argues that the ‘coincidenza dei *laudandi* delle due odi, la famiglia di Eolada tebano’ tells against the presence of a title accompanying *Partheneion* 2, but two objections are in order. First, in order for this to work, the coincidence would have to be exact, with the individual dedicatee being the same in the two odes, not merely belonging to the same family. Secondly, the Alexandrian editions of Pindar and Bacchylides appear consistently to have prevented the repetition of identical titles by replacing the second with $\tau\hat{\omega}\iota \alpha\upsilon\tau\hat{\omega}\iota$ ($\tau\omicron\iota\iota\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\iota\varsigma$, etc.), not by omitting it altogether: see E. E. PRODI, ‘*P. Oxy.* 2448 (Pi. fr. 215 Sn.–M.) and Pindar’s *Prosodia*’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 185 (2013), pp. 53–59, at 57.

²² The title of the book is not known with certainty; for the sake of simplicity I adopt the current practice of borrowing ‘*Encomia*’ from Pindar, although between inverted commas. See further G. B. D’ALESSIO, ‘Bacchylides’ banquet songs’, [in:] Vanessa CAZZATO, D. OBBINK & E. E. PRODI (eds), *The Cup of Song. Studies on Poetry and the Symposion*, Oxford 2016, pp. 63–84. Marialuigia DI MARZIO, ‘Bacchilide e Sparta: il fr. 20A Maehler’, [in:] M. VETTA & C. CATENACCI (eds), *I luoghi e la poesia nella Grecia antica. Atti del Convegno, Università ‘G. D’Annunzio’ di Chieti-Pescara, 20–22 aprile 2004*, Alessandria 2006, pp. 199–212, at 200, suggests that the fragments of this papyrus may come from more than one book of Bacchylides’ works, but see D’Alessio’s contrary arguments.

²³ Dated to the first century AD by B. P. GRENFELL & A. S. HUNT, ‘1361. Bacchylides, *Scolia*’, *P. Oxy.* XI (1915), pp. 65–83, at 65; antedated by G. CAVALLO, ‘Lo stile di scrittura ‘epsilon-theta’ nei papiri letterari: dall’Egitto ad Ercolano’, *Cronache ercolanesi* 4 (1974), pp. 33–36, at 36 and n. 20, [reprinted in] *Il calamo e il papiro. La scrittura greca dall’età ellenistica ai primi secoli di Bisanzio* [= *Papyrologica Florentina* 36], Florence 2005, pp. 123–128, at 127–128 and n. 21, and CAVALLO, ‘La scrittura greca libraria’ (cit. n. 14), p. 16 [pp. 109–110 of the reprint].

As the first editors noted, the text is not internally articulated with metrical signs.²⁴ It is unknown even whether and how divisions between poems were marked, as no relevant margin is preserved. Above the first letter of the first verse of fr. *20C Maehler = 5 Irigoin (top of column vi)²⁵ there is a small sign resembling a reversed forked *paragraphos* of form 2, with the oblique rising, rather than descending, leftward. This can easily be taken as marking the beginning of the poem, but the top of a column is a fairly unexpected place for a sign such as this; it would normally have been written at the bottom of the previous one. Moreover, there is no similar sign atop column iv, where likewise a new poem begins (fr. *20B Maehler = 3 Irigoin).

Another oddity is that, in its original state, the manuscript may not even have had titles to accompany the beginning of poems. One has a very strong impression that the title of fr. *20C Ἰ]έρωνι Cυ]ρακοσίωι, neatly written just to the left of its opening verse, is by a much later hand which would easily be placed in the second or even third century AD. Giambattista D'Alessio has recently voiced doubts whether what is commonly regarded as the title of fr. *20B Ἀλεξά]ν[ιδρωι] | Ἀμύντ]α is a title at all.²⁶ The position of the writing appears to support these doubts, and the surviving traces are so scanty as to preclude certainty either way.

4. *P. Oxy.* XV / XXVI / XXXVII 1792 + *P. Berol.* inv. 11677 + 21114 (IT)
LDAB 3721 = MP³ 1363
 Pindar, *Prosodia*.²⁷

Location: Oxford, Sackler Library (*P. Oxy.* 1792); Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung (*P. Berol.* inv. 11677 + 21114).

²⁴ GRENFELL & HUNT in *P. Oxy.* XI, p. 65.

²⁵ I borrow the conventional column-numbers from the Teubner editions of Snell and Maehler, to whom much of the assemblage work of the smaller fragments is due.

²⁶ Seminar held at King's College, London, which I cite with his kind permission. The restoration as a title is due to GRENFELL & HUNT, *P. Oxy.* XI, p. 69.

²⁷ See G. B. D'ALESSIO, 'Pindar's *Prosodia* and the classification of Pindaric papyrus fragments', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 118 (1997), pp. 23–60, at 25–27.

Photograph: edition (*P. Oxy.* XXVI), plates XIX–XX; *P. Oxy. Online*.

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus (excavated 1905–6).

Date: first or early second century AD.²⁸

Format: roll, written on the *recto* (*verso* blank).

As fr. 8,²⁹ 47, and 84 show, the division between consecutive poems was marked by a gap in the column, in which one or more *asteriskoi* of form 2 were written. The height of the gap is variable: roughly equivalent to one blank line in fr. 84, slightly narrower in fr. 8, and broader in fr. 47. In fr. 8, whose text is independently known (*Paeans* 14–15 = S3–4 Rutherford), the *asteriskos* comes around eight letter-widths into the column. If fr. 84 represents the last verse of *Paeon* 21 and the first of the next poem,³⁰ there the *asteriskos* is written only four letter-widths into the column. The position of the *asteriskoi* within the dividing blank suggests that titles were not inset in the column; as Edgar Lobel notes, they will have been written in the margin, if present at all.³¹ None can be identified on the surviving fragments.

5. *P. Paris* 71

LDAB 179 = MP³ 78

Alcman, book 1.

Location: Paris, Musée du Louvre E 3320.

²⁸ '[T]he first half of the second century' according to A. S. HUNT, '1792. Pindar, *Paeon*?', *P. Oxy.* XV (1922), pp. 86–98, at 86, but I cannot bring myself to exclude a slightly earlier date: compare for instance *P. Oxy.* II 216, found together with documents from the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius, and *P. Berol.* 6926, which has accounts of AD 100/1 on the *verso* (C. H. ROBERTS, *Greek Literary Hands 350 BC – AD 400*, Oxford 1955, plates 10a, 11a); note also how GRACE IOANNIDOU, '14. P. 21114 + P. 11677', [in:] EADEM (ed.), *Catalogue of Greek and Latin Literary Papyri in Berlin (P. Berol. inv. 21101–21299, 21911)* [= *Berliner Klassikertexte* 9], Mainz am Rhein 1996, pp. 23–24, at 23, compares *P. Amst.* I 90, assigned to the first or second century AD.

²⁹ Following E. LOBEL, '1792. Pindar, *Paeans*; ? other books', *P. Oxy.* XXVI (1961), pp. 13–25, at 13–17, I use bold figures to denote the fragments that result from his joining of smaller scraps previously published by Hunt.

³⁰ LOBEL, *P. Oxy.* XXVI, pp. 13, 19. The identification is called into question by D'ALESSIO, 'Pindar's *Prosodia*' (cit. n. 27), pp. 35–36 n. 79, precisely on the ground of the different placement of the *asteriskos*.

³¹ LOBEL, *P. Oxy.* XXVI, p. 42.

Photograph: *Commentaria et lexica Graeca in papyris reperta (CLGP)*, pars I vol. 1 fasc. 2/1: *Alcman* curavit Cornelia RÖMER, Berlin / Boston 2013, plates I–VII.

Provenance: Saqqara (found 1855).

Date: mid-first century AD.

Format: roll, written on the *recto* (*verso* blank).

The only remainder of column iv is the sign that is usually understood as marking the end of *PMGF* 1 = fr. 3 Calame four lines from the top of the column. All the most recent editors regard it as a *koronis*, although Friedrich Blass called it an *asteriskos*.³² The sign does not particularly resemble either of these. It appears to be centred around a horizontal; above, on the left a trace resembling a reversed number 6, and on the right – on the edge of the papyrus – an upright-looking speck; below, three dots, and below these, two circlets like those of an *asteriskos*.³³ There is no visible alignment between the traces above the horizontal and those below it. Cornelia Römer remarks its similarity to the rather mysterious sign found below the *paragraphos* after line 87 in column iii (a large δ with three dots underneath it and one to its left),³⁴ but I am not sure that ours is the same sign: even assuming that the trace at the top left is an overblown circlet, there are too many dots and circlets underneath the horizontal, and it does not seem to me that the horizontal and the speck above it may have been parts of a δ . Römer argues that the sign does not indicate the end of

³² F. BLASS, ‘Das ägyptische Fragment des Alcman’, *Hermes* 13 (1878), pp. 15–32, at 16. For the interpretation as a *koronis*, see for instance D. L. PAGE, *Alcman. The Partheneion*, Oxford 1951, p. 1; *Poetae melici Graeci* edidit D. L. PAGE, Oxford 1962, p. 5; *Alcman*, fragmenta edidit, veterum testimonia collegit C. CALAME, Rome 1983, p. 311; *Poetarum melicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, I: *Alcman Stesichorus Ibycus* post D. L. PAGE edidit M. DAVIES, Oxford 1991, p. 28; G. O. HUTCHINSON, *Greek Lyric Poetry. A Commentary on Selected Larger Pieces*, Oxford 2001, p. 76.

³³ A close-up of the sign can be found in C. RÖMER, *CLGP* I.i.2/1 (cit. under ‘Photograph’), plate VI(a). I am grateful to Marco Ercoles and Giuseppe Ucciardello for a fruitful exchange on this subject, and to the Musée du Louvre for allowing me to see the papyrus in person.

³⁴ Römer *CLGP* I.i.2/1 (cit. under ‘Photograph’), pp. 108–109. The meaning of that sign is also uncertain. Michael Haslam (quoted *ibid.* p. 109) suggests a scholarly abbreviation for Didymus or Dionysius, but its position to the left of a column – not to its right, where annotations typically are – would be quite perplexing.

the poem, which may have continued further. The matter remains uncertain; in any case, our sign is not quite a normal *asteriskos*, even less a normal *koronis*.

6. *P. Oxy.* III 408 = *P. Yale* I 18 (*IT*¹¹)

LDAB 3798 = *MP*³ 1373

Pindar, unidentified work.³⁵

Location: Yale, Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscripts Library inv. 44.

Photograph: <http://brbl-media.library.yale.edu/PAPYRUSIMG/size4/DO213/4202808.jpg>.³⁶

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus (excavated 1897).

Date: late first or early second century AD.

Format: roll, written on the *recto* (on the *verso*, *P. Oxy.* 408 *vo. descr.*)

On fr. (b), frs. 140a and 140b Snell–Maehler = G8 and G9 Rutherford are separated by a long, thin *paragraphos* intersecting the middle of a *koronis* in the left margin; there is no interruption in the sequence of the verses. There does not seem to have been an *asteriskos* further to the left.

Next to the *koronis* there are the ends of four lines, the first written just above the *paragraphos*, the others just below it.³⁷ Their position is most

³⁵ The papyrus overlaps with 17 fr. 97 and must, therefore, represent one of the books that are represented amongst the fragments of 17: *Paeans*, *Prosodia*, or *Hymns* (the *Pythians* are obviously excluded). If the third line contained a reference to Apollo, the *Paeans* become an unlikely candidate, inasmuch as their titles do not appear to have included a reference to the deity (see 7 fr. 13(b), 9 col. xxii, and I. C. RUTHERFORD, ‘Paeans by Simonides’, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 93 (1990), pp. 169–209, at 172).

³⁶ I am grateful to the Beinecke Library for providing a higher-quality photograph for closer study.

³⁷ I. RUTHERFORD, *Pindar's Paeans. A Reading of the Fragments with a Survey of the Genre*, Oxford 2001, p. 379, prints the first line as a scholion to the last line of fr. 140a Snell–Maehler but acknowledges on p. 383 that it could be the first line of the title of fr. 140b. The hand of these lines is difficult to determine: the two λ in line 4 are clearly compatible with the hand of the text; likewise the final ς in lines 2–3, if need be; but if the second trace in line 1 represents α, it is written differently from elsewhere in this papyrus.

naturally interpreted as that of the title of fr. 140b: they would have to be a very long marginal note indeed to reach all the way across the column for four consecutive lines. The traces of the first line, as revisited by Giambattista D'Alessio, are compatible with the expected dative plural: if he is right to read] . α . ο ι c,³⁸ then the hand appears to be different from that of the verses, but there is too little text to judge. I cannot confirm the reading of the second and third line,³⁹ but the fourth clearly reads] λ λ (), which has been taken with some plausibility as a reference to Apollo.⁴⁰

7. *P. Oxy.* XXV 2430

LDAB 3913 = *MP*³ 1910

Simonides, *Paeans* and *Epinicians for equestrian contests*.⁴¹

Location: Oxford, Sackler Library.

Photograph: edition, plates V–IX; *P. Oxy. Online*.

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus.

³⁸ G. B. D'ALESSIO in RUTHERFORD, *Pindar's Paeans* (cit. n. 37), p. 379. See already B. P. GRENFELL & A. S. HUNT, '408. Odes of Pindar', *P. Oxy.* III (1903), pp. 13–17, at 17 (glossing their reading] μ α c): 'the doubtful μ in the first line might be δ or λ preceded by another letter, and the doubtful α might be ο, while a narrow letter such as ι may have been lost between them.' The first two traces together do resemble the main scribe's μ rather more than the second in isolation resembles α, but μ is quite difficult to square into a sensible supplement. The first trace in isolation does not obviously suggest β or ν (for the two instinctive supplements Θηβαίους or Αθηναίους), but certainty is impossible on the basis of a photograph.

³⁹ GRENFELL & HUNT, *P. Oxy.* III, p. 15, read] . c |] κ η and annotate '[i]nstead of κ η [...] και is possible' (p. 17).

⁴⁰ '[T]he last word may be Απὸ] λ λ (ωνι)', GRENFELL & HUNT, *P. Oxy.* III, p. 17; RUTHERFORD, *Pindar's Paeans* (cit. n. 37), pp. 382–383, conjectures the more attractive Απὸ] λ λ (ωνα). In this connexion it is worth noting that εἰc does not seem an impossible reading in the second line.

⁴¹ Authorship conjectured by E. LOBEL, '2430. Choral lyric in the Doric dialect (?Simonides)', *P. Oxy.* XXV (1959), pp. 45–87, and established by him in '3. Simonides', [in:] *P. Turner*, pp. 21–23, at 22. The identification of an epinician and a paean among the fragments is likewise due to him, but see also RUTHERFORD, 'Paeans' (cit. n. 35). On the added specification 'for equestrian contests', see n. 57 below. Given how many fragments are represented in this papyrus and how few are identified with any certainty, nothing excludes that more than one book of Simonides' epinician poetry may be represented among the fragments.

Date: late first or second century AD.⁴²

Format: probably two rolls, written on the *recto* (*verso* blank).

Scribe: #A19.

The surviving titles are inset in the column and spaced away from the preceding poem by as much space as a further verse would have taken, but not more than a normal line-interval from the poem that they introduce: *Ἀνδρίοις εἰς Πυθῶ* on fr. 35(b) (*PMG* 519 fr. 35(b) = fr. 101 Poltera, probably a paean), *κέλη]τι Ἀθηναίωι Δ[ἀκωνι (?)*⁴³ on fr. 120(b) (*PMG* 519 fr. 120(b) = fr. 8 Poltera, an epinician). In neither case does the margin survive, but the title on fr. 35(b) was indented considerably further to the right than any other certain instance in our sample; there is a possibility that titles were meant to be centred, although this cannot be verified. The possibility must be mentioned that also]*κυωνι*[on fr. 115 (*PMG* 519 fr. 115 = fr. 30 Poltera) is part of a title, if one supplies] *κυωνι*[*ωι*, but neither the supplement nor the interpretation as a title can be substantiated.⁴⁴ How poem-end was marked in these manuscripts is doubtful.

No margin survives that is unambiguously associated with a title, or with a blank line which one can connect with a title. There are small marginal *asteriskoi* to the left of *koronides* on fr. 13(b) and 25.ii (at least the first of form 2), which on a first impression would suggest that this was the scribe's way to signify the end of a poem;⁴⁵ but while fr. 13(b) is indecisive due to no text being preserved, the *paragraphos* next to the *koronis* on fr. 25.ii separates two successive lines, without the blank line that should have preceded the title or the blank line-beginning where the title should have

⁴² LOBEL, *P. Oxy.* XXV, pp. xi, 46, correcting his previous dating of the same hand to the second century in '2327. Early elegiacs', *P. Oxy.* XXII (1954), pp. 67–76, at xi, 67.

⁴³ On the title and its restoration, see LOBEL, *P. Oxy.* XXV, pp. 80–81. Less certain is his contention that the blank space above the title covered a short verse as well as a blank line slightly shorter than on fr. 35(b): the spacing seems just about suitable for a blank line of the usual height.

⁴⁴ See O. POLTERA, *Simonides Lyricus. Testimonia und Fragmente* [= *Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft* 35], Basel 2008, p. 345.

⁴⁵ So LOBEL, *P. Oxy.* XXV, pp. 51–52.

stood. This state of things is perplexing. On the one hand, I know of no other example in a papyrus of Simonides, Pindar, or Bacchylides in which an *asteriskos* signifies anything other than poem-end; on the other, the assumption that the *asteriskos* retained its usual meaning here demands not only that the second poem had no title, at least on this manuscript, but also that our otherwise seemingly careful scribe additionally skipped the blank line that should have separated the two poems – all the more necessary a visual clue to their separation if the second poem was indeed without a title.⁴⁶ A scribal error due to an outright failure to recognise and represent poem-end is not impossible. Interestingly from the vantage point of editorial history, it would suggest the antigraph (or one of its ancestors) presented the verses in a continuous flow and only had titles in the margin, if at all; the oversight is harder to explain otherwise. If so, however, the *asteriskos* (and perhaps a marginal title?) would have to be a later addition, which I am unable to prove.⁴⁷ The question remains open.

⁴⁶ Note, for what it is worth, that our scribe highlights the division between two poems with a slightly wider line-spacing (although not quite as wide as here) also in *P. Oxy.* XXII 2327 fr. 7.

⁴⁷ In this connexion one must remark the note οὐκ ἦ(ν) ἐν τ(ῶ)ι ἀγτιγ(ράφω)ι written next to the *koronis* at fr. 1.ii and with all likelihood referring to the *koronis* itself (LOBEL, *P. Oxy.* XXV, p. 47, see also Kathleen McNamee, *Annotations in Greek and Latin Texts from Egypt* [= *American Studies in Papyrology* 45], New Haven CT 2007, p. 359). Puzzlingly, the note does not seem to be by the main scribe (risky as it is to compare a book-hand with an annotator's cursive), while the *koronis* is, judging from the similar ones on fr. 5(b), 10, 13(b), 25. But the *koronis* in *P. Oxy.* XXII 2327 fr. 7 – a manuscript written by the same scribe as ours – is visibly different, so there is a concrete possibility that either this or those on our papyrus are by a second hand; more probably the former. McNamee suggests that the notes found below the *asteriskoi* of both fr. 13(b) and 25 ('note b' in both cases) are titles. This is not impossible; however, both identifiable titles in this manuscript have a distinctly different format, as seen above, and there is no internal element in either of these notes that compellingly suggests a title. One may also doubt whether the three lines of 'note b' on fr. 25 really constitute a unity: the first line]λλωνι (intersecting the tail of the *koronis* half-way through the ν) seems to me to be written in a distinctly different style, not ligatured and semicursive like the next two lines, but formal and upright, very like the hand of the text and the main scribe's own interlinear corrections (cf. e.g. fr. 56.3). As the main scribe does not seem to have written annotations otherwise, one could suppose that he is remedying his own failure to note the end of a poem and the title of the next, or perhaps that somebody else is doing so with a similar lettering to that of the text (a common trait of marginal titles in our sample). But why squeeze it so close against the margin, so much as to run right across the *koronis*?

8. PSI XII 1277 (II²²)LDAB 3712 = MP³ 1355Pindar, *Olympian Odes*.

Location: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (no inventory number).

Photograph: *PSI Online*.

Provenance: unknown; purchased on the antiquarian market.

Date: early second century AD.⁴⁸Format: roll, written on the *recto* (*verso* blank).

The margin, together with any signs marking the end of *Olympian* 6, does not survive. The title of *Olympian* 7 was certainly not inset: if present, it was written in the margin. There is no extra spacing between the two poems.

9. *P. Oxy.* V 841 = *P. Lond. Lit.* 45 (II⁴)LDAB 3713 = MP³ 1361Pindar, *Paeans*.

Location: London, British Library pap. 1842.

Photograph: none relevant published to date.⁴⁹Provenance: Oxyrhynchus (excavated 13 January 1906).⁵⁰Date: early second century AD.⁵¹Format: two rolls, written on the *verso* (on the *recto*, *P. Oxy.* VI 984 *descr.*).⁵²

⁴⁸ So D. PIERACCIONI, 'Un nuovo papiro pindarico della raccolta fiorentina', *Maia* 1 (1948), pp. 287–288; see also G. UCCIARDELLO, 'Ancient readers of Pindar's *Epinicians* in Egypt: evidence from papyri', [in:] P. AGÓCS, C. CAREY & R. RAWLES (eds), *Receiving the Komos: Ancient and Modern Receptions of the Victory Ode* [= *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* supplement 112], London 2012, pp. 105–140, at 110 n. 33.

⁴⁹ I am grateful to the Dover Fund of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies for funding my purchase of the necessary images from the British Library.

⁵⁰ The census register on the front (*P. Oxy. Census*) comes from Lycopolis, as established by Orsolina MONTEVECCHI, 'La provenienza di *P. Oxy.* 984', *Aegyptus* 78 (1998), pp. 49–76, at 50–54, correcting R. S. BAGNALL, B. W. FRIER & I. C. RUTHERFORD, *The Census Register P. Oxy. 984: The Reverse of Pindar's Paeans* [= *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 29], Bruxelles 1997, pp. 22–26, 56. It is unknown whether the document was reused for the *Paeans* when it was still in Lycopolis or after it had found its way into Oxyrhynchus.

⁵¹ A *terminus post quem* is the census register on the *recto*, dated to AD 91/2 by BAGNALL, FRIER & RUTHERFORD, *The Census Register* (cit. n. 50), pp. 20–22 (see already B. P. GREN-

The best-preserved papyrus of Pindar displays poem-division at two points: between *Paeans* 5 and 6(a) on col. xxii, and – much more poorly preserved – between *Paeans* 6(a) and 6(b) on col. xxx.⁵³ In the former case, the end of *Paean* 5 = D5 Rutherford is marked by a *paragraphos*, a curvy *koronis* of little over two lines' height, and to their left a large *asteriskos* of form 2 with the central circlet suspended in between the four arms; the left side of col. xxx is very poorly preserved, but the foot of a *koronis* is easily distinguished, and a horizontal to its left is to be interpreted as the right arm of an *asteriskos* rather than as an extravagant part of the *koronis* itself.⁵⁴

In each case, a title is written underneath the *asteriskos* and *koronis*: that of *Paean* 6(a) Δεληφοῖς | εἰς Πυθῶ, and that of *Paean* 6(b) – which was also transmitted in the first book of the *Prosodia*, as a marginal annotation tells us – Αἰγ[ωνήτα]ις | εἰς Αἰα[κός]υ | πρὸς[ὁ]δῶ[ο]ν.⁵⁵ Both titles appear to have

FELL & A. S. HUNT, '841. Pindar, Paeans', *P. Oxy.* V (1908), pp. 11–110, at 13, and '984', *P. Oxy.* VI (1908), pp. 321–322, at 322.

⁵² *P. Oxy.* VI 984 *descr.* consists of two documents: in sections A–C, a census register (*P. Oxy. Census*) published by BAGNALL, FRIER & RUTHERFORD, *The Census Register* (cit. n. 50); in section D, a land survey which is still awaiting publication. On the four sections that constituted the two rolls, see GRENFELL & HUNT, *P. Oxy.* V, pp. 12–13; on their order, see G. B. D'ALESSIO, 'Sulla struttura del libro dei *Peani* di Pindaro', [in:] Maria CANNATÀ FERA & G. B. D'ALESSIO, *I lirici greci. Forme della comunicazione e storia del testo*. Atti dell'Incontro di Studi, Messina 5–6 novembre 1999, Messina 2001 [but 2002], pp. 69–86, showing the correct sequence to be CD or DC (*Paeans* 7d–8a, 9–10, first roll), BA (*Paeans* 7a–7c, 1–7, second roll). On the manuscript and its scribes, see also GRENFELL & HUNT, *P. Oxy.* V, pp. 12–16; S. L. RADT, *Pindars zweiter und sechster Paian. Text, Scholien und Kommentar*, Amsterdam 1958, pp. 1–11; RUTHERFORD, *Pindar's Paeans* (cit. n. 37), pp. 139–143.

⁵³ The data for the ancient division of our *Paeian* 6 into two – which I call 6(a) and 6(b) for simplicity's sake – are presented by I. RUTHERFORD, 'For the Aeginetans to Aeacus a prosodion: an unnoticed title at Pindar, *Paeian* 6, 123, and its significance for the poem', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 118 (1997), pp. 1–21. For further treatment of the question, the patient reader is referred to my doctoral dissertation *Pindar's Prosodia. Introduction, Text, and Commentary to Selected Fragments* (University of Oxford 2013), which I hope to publish in the not too distant future.

⁵⁴ Recognised as an *asteriskos* by RUTHERFORD, 'For the Aeginetans' (cit. n. 53), p. 4.

⁵⁵ Recognised as a title and correctly restored by RUTHERFORD, 'For the Aeginetans' (cit. n. 53), pp. 3–6.

been penned by a corrector's hand ('H2' in Grenfell and Hunt's *sigla*),⁵⁶ different both from those of the two scribes who copied the text and, as far as one can judge, from those of the annotators. The evidence that the two titles are in the same hand is more circumstantial than direct.⁵⁷

10. *P. Oxy.* XXV 2431

LDAB 3916 = MP³ 1911

Simonides, *Epinicians for equestrian contests*.⁵⁸

Location: Oxford, Sackler Library.

Photograph: edition, plate X; *P. Oxy. Online*.

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus.

Date: second century AD.

Format: roll, written on the *recto* (*verso* blank).

The only surviving title stands at the top of a column (possibly the first of a section of the roll)⁵⁹ on fr. 1: *PMG* 511 = fr. 7 Poltera κέλητι | τοῖς Αἰα-
τίου παισίν. The size and spacing of the letters is the same as in the text, but the two lines are spaced very slightly further apart from each other and from the text than its verses are from one another. The second line of the title is indented by some five letter-widths, the first – which may have served as a sort of repeated section-heading if all the epinicians for race-horse victors were grouped together – by around eight. Like 7, the effect appears to be one of centring, although the exact position cannot

⁵⁶ GRENFELL & HUNT, *P. Oxy.* V, p. 15.

⁵⁷ RUTHERFORD, 'For the Aeginetans' (cit. n. 53), pp. 4, 20, *contra* GRENFELL & HUNT, *P. Oxy.* V, p. 15, suggests that the hand is not identical; the case is difficult to adjudicate either way, due especially to the poor state of preservation of the title in col. xxx.

⁵⁸ On the title of the book – since it is virtually certain that there was more than one book of *Epinicians*, articulated by contest or group of contests – I accept Lobel's argument in '2431. Simonides, *Epinicians?*, *P. Oxy.* XXV (1959), pp. 87–91, at 89, although the details of the partition of individual contests into books remain unclear on the limited evidence that is available.

⁵⁹ As tentatively suggested by D'ALESSIO, 'Pindar's *Prosodia*' (cit. n. 27), p. 53 n. 175, based on a possible alphabetical ordering of the odes by victor(s). It is also possible – although not obviously likely – that the poem was the first of the entire roll.

be confirmed due to the loss of the right margin. No metrical signs survive that are relevant to our investigation.

II. *P. Oxy. XXVI 2441* (*IT*⁹)

LDAB 3719 = *MP*³ 1370

Pindar, *Prosodia*.⁶⁰

Location: Oxford, Sackler Library.

Photograph: edition, plate II; *GMAW*, plate 22; *P. Oxy. Online*.

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus.

Date: mid-second century AD.

Format: roll, written on the *recto* (*verso* blank).

Scribe: #A29.

Fr. 1 provides an excellent illustration of how poem-end is marked according to Hephaestion. In col. ii, ‘*Paeans*’ 14 and 15 = S₃ and S₄ Rutherford are separated by a rather minimalist *paraglyphos* just above the first letter of 15; in the left margin, just clear of the text, rises a slim and curvy *koronis* little over four lines high, flanked in turn by a plump *asteriskos* of form 2 which floats roughly level with the last verse of ‘*Paeon*’ 14 and the interlinear space just below it. There is no extra spacing between the two poems. The title of ‘*Paeon*’ 15 *A*[ι]γινῆταις | εἰ[ς] *Αἰακόν* is written in smaller letters, split over two lines, both reaching into the nook left by the base of the *asteriskos* and the left side of the *koronis*. The hand is that of the main scribe.

Fr. 3 is best treated separately. It preserves no text, only an *asteriskos* of form 1 and beside it an evidently marginal title *τοῦ ἀβ[ε]λοῦ*. It has been argued that the hand of this title is different from that in fr. 1;⁶¹ it is hard to be certain, but when combined with the shape of the *asteriskos* and the reciprocal position of *asteriskos* and title, both of which are different from

⁶⁰ Attribution suggested by E. LOBEL, ‘2441. Pindar, uncertain category (?*προσόδια*)’, *P. Oxy. XXVI* (1961), pp. 25–30, at 29, and demonstrated by D’ALESSIO, ‘Pindar’s *Prosodia*’ (cit. n. 27), pp. 34–35, 37–38.

⁶¹ A. PARDINI in D’ALESSIO, ‘Pindar’s *Prosodia*’ (cit. n. 27), p. 38 n. 94.

fr. 1, this possibility does suggest some caution in treating this fragment in conjunction with (the rest of) 11.⁶² However, given the *asteriskos* and the title, it is nonetheless relevant to our inquiry.

12. PSI II 147 (IT³)

LDAB 3711 = MP³ 1362

Pindar, *Paeans*.

Location: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana inv. 10016.

Photograph: *PSI Online*.⁶³

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus (excavated 1910).⁶⁴

Date: second century AD.⁶⁵

Format: codex.

At the end of *Paeon* 6(b)⁶⁶ (fr. VI¹) the left edge of the column is not preserved: it is not possible to see what sign(s) marked the end of the poem beside the *paragraphos* that is visible underneath where the first letter of its last verse would have stood. Just below, the title of *Paeon* 7 Θηβαίους

⁶² I had already expressed much the same misgivings in PRODI, 'P. Oxy. 2448' (cit. n. 21), p. 57 and n. 27.

⁶³ The reader may also wish to refer to plates I–II of G. B. D'ALESSIO & F. FERRARI, 'Pindaro, Peana 6, 175–183: una ricostruzione', *Studi classici e orientali* 28 (1988), pp. 159–180, which include only some of the fragments but – unlike the photographs on *PSI Online* – arrange them in the correct reciprocal position as established in the same article.

⁶⁴ The *editio princeps* by G. VITELLI, '147. Frammenti di Peani di Pindaro', *PSI II*, pp. 73–79, at 73, mistakenly indicated Hermopolis Magna; the oversight was corrected by R. PINTAUDI, 'PSI II 147: provenienza e statistiche', *Analecta papyrologica* 7 (1995), pp. 31–33.

⁶⁵ So VITELLI, *PSI II*, p. 74, a dating endorsed by E. G. TURNER, *The Typology of the Early Codex*, Philadelphia 1977, pp. 89, 113; early second century according to L. DEL CORSO in the file on *PSI II 147* on the CD-ROM *Papiri letterari della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, Cassino 2002; second or early third according to J. VAN HAELST, 'Les origines du codex', [in:] A. BLANCHARD (ed.), *Les débuts du codex. Actes de la journée d'étude organisée à Paris les 3 et 4 juillet 1985 par l'Institut de Papyrologie de la Sorbonne et l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes* [*Bibliologia* 9], Turnhout 1989, pp. 13–25, at 25, and G. CAVALLA, 'Codice e storia dei testi greci antichi. Qualche riflessione sulla fase primitiva del fenomeno', *ibidem*, pp. 169–180, at 172.

⁶⁶ See above, n. 53.

ἐ[ῖ]c --- | πρoσoδ[ιακός (?)⁶⁷ is inset in the column and divided over two lines, which are easily construed as the title ‘proper’ and a subtitle.⁶⁸ These two lines are indented by little over two and three letter-widths respectively and spaced very slightly further apart than the verses of the Pindaric text. No other markers of metrical articulation are discernibly preserved on the extant fragment; the expected *paragraphos* after *Paeon* 6.143 on fr. IV^f (end of a strophe) was not written.⁶⁹

13. *P. Lond. Lit.* 46 + *PSI XII* 1278 (A)⁷⁰

LDAB 438 = *MP*³ 175

Bacchylides, *Epinicians* and *Dithyrambs*.

Location: London, British Library pap. 733 (*P. Lond. Lit.* 46); Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (no inventory number) (*PSI XII* 1278).

Photograph: *The Poems of Bacchylides. Facsimile of Papyrus DCCXXXIII in the British Museum*, Oxford 1897 (*P. Lond. Lit.* 46); edition, plate V (*PSI XII* 1278); *PSI Online*.

Provenance: near Meir (purchased 1896).⁷¹

⁶⁷ As supplemented by VITELLI, *PSI* II, p. 77 (ἐ[ῖ]c) and G. B. D’ALESSIO & F. FERRARI, ‘Pindaro, Peana 6’ (cit. n. 63), p. 169 n. 29 (πρoσoδ[ιακός]). Alternatively, in the second line one may supplement πρoσoδ[ιον] on the model of *Paeon* 6(b) (see under 9), as suggested by RUTHERFORD, ‘For the Aeginetans’ (cit. n. 53), p. 5 n. 17, after U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, *Pindaros*, Berlin 1922, p. 187.

⁶⁸ So already VITELLI, *PSI* II, p. 77.

⁶⁹ There is also no *paragraphos* after *Paeon* 7.12, but Schroeder’s contention that the poem’s first strophe ended there (*Pindari carmina recensuit* O. SCHROEDER, exemplar editionis quintae autotypice iteratum nova appendice auctum, Leipzig – Berlin 1923, p. 540), an interpretation carried over in the Teubner editions of Pindar up to and including Maehler’s latest (cit. n. 10), goes against the evidence of the text: see already *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis* edidit A. TURYN, Cracow 1948, p. 262.

⁷⁰ First published by (respectively) F. G. KENYON, *The Poems of Bacchylides from a Papyrus in the British Museum*, Oxford 1897, and Medea NORSIA, ‘Due frammenti fiorentini del papiro di Bacchilide P. Brit. Mus. 733’, *Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Lettere, Storia e Filosofia*, serie II, 10 (1941), pp. 155–163 and plates I–II (after p. 170).

⁷¹ E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, *By Nile and Tigris. A Narrative of Journeys in Egypt and Mesopotamia on Behalf of the British Museum between the Years 1886 and 1913*, London 1920, vol. II, p. 346; the fuller narrative of Wallis Budge’s purchase, dismantling, and smuggling of the papyrus is at pp. 345–355.

Date: late second century AD.⁷²

Format: one or two rolls, written on the *recto* (*verso* blank).⁷³

⁷² The handwriting had been assigned to ‘about the middle of the first century B. C.’ by KENYON, *The Poems of Bacchylides* (cit. n. 70), p. xviii; B. P. GRENFELL & A. S. HUNT, ‘XXVI. Demosthenes, προοίμια δημηγορικά, 26–29’, *P. Oxy.* I (1898), pp. 53–56, at 53 n. 1, rightly remarked its similarity with later hands and downdated it ‘to the first or second century AD’, and consensus slowly settled towards the endpoint of the time span they suggested: see W. SCHUBART, *Griechische Paläographie* [= *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* I iv 1/1], München 1925, p. 127 (‘die zweite Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts’); Medea NORSÄ, *La scrittura letteraria greca dal secolo IV a.C. all’VIII d.C.*, Florence 1939, p. 21 (‘agli ultimi anni del sec. II ovvero ai primi del sec. III^P’); *GMAW*, p. 22 (‘a date not earlier than the second third or the middle of ii A.D.’); H. MAEHLER, *Die Lieder des Bakchylides*, I: *Die Siegeslieder*, 1: *Edition des Textes mit Einleitung und Übersetzung* [= *Mnemosyne* supplement 62], Leiden 1982, pp. 37–38 (‘erst zu Anfang des 3. Jhs.’).

⁷³ KENYON, *The Poems of Bacchylides* (cit. n. 70) consistently assumes that he is dealing with a single roll (*passim*, esp. xv–xxvi), and WALLIS BUDGE, *By Nile and Tigris* (cit. n. 71), p. 346 explicitly mentions ‘a roll of light-coloured papyrus’ which he saw still rolled. The hypothesis that the two books were preserved by two distinct rolls was first proposed by Blass (*Bacchylidis carmina cum fragmentis* edidit F. BLASS, Leipzig 1898, pp. iv–vii) and quickly became the received opinion, which it appears still to be. This view was challenged by J. IRIGOIN, ‘Prolégomènes à une édition de Bacchylide’, *Revue des Études Grecques* 75 (1962), pp. 45–64, at 46–8, ‘Accidents matériels et critique des textes’, *Revue d’histoire des textes* 16 (1986), pp. 1–36, at 26–8, and *Bacchylide. Dithyrambes – Épinicies – Fragments*, texte établi par J. IRIGOIN et traduit par Jacqueline DUCHEMIN et L. BARDOLLET, Paris 1993, pp. xxviii–xxxii. Irigoïn argues that (i) recurring damage on the lower edge of the entire papyrus, ‘trace d’un accident qui s’est produit alors que le volume était roulé’, indicates that we are dealing with a single roll containing *Epinicians* and *Dithyrambs* in this order (on the principle, see G. B. D’ALESSIO, ‘Danni materiali e ricostruzione di rotoli papiracei: le *Elleniche di Ossirinco* (POxy 842) e altri esempi’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 134 [2001], pp. 23–41, and *IDEM*, ‘Sulla struttura’ [cit. n. 52], pp. 73–81), and (ii) the sequence of *kolleseis* shows that while the first *Epinician* probably began at the beginning of a *kollema*, the first *Dithyramb* did not, as it arguably should if it had begun a roll (but see F. MALTOMINI, ‘Appunti in margine alla nuova edizione di Bacchilide’, *Studi classici e orientali* 43 (1993), pp. 13–31, at 16–17). As an alternative, G. BASTIANINI, ‘Tipologie dei rotoli e problemi di ricostruzione’, [in:] M. CAPASSO, *Atti del V seminario internazionale di papirologia, Lecce 27–19 giugno 1994* [= *Papirologica Lupiensia* 4], Galatina 1995, pp. 21–42, at 36–41 tentatively suggested that two separate rolls may have been rolled one over the other. D’ALESSIO, ‘Danni materiali’ (cit. above in this note), pp. 37–38 n. 47 does not commit to a definite choice between the two hypotheses but endorses their point of contact, ‘l’inserimento in una sola sequenza di volute’ (emphasis original). My use of the singular in the rest of this section should not be taken to imply outright acceptance of Irigoïn’s conclusions, attractive though they are especially in view of Kenyon’s and Wallis Budge’s testimonies.

By some distance the best-preserved lyric manuscript on papyrus, *P. Lond. Lit.* 46 offers an unrivalled wealth of examples relevant to our investigation, although these are not quite as consistent as one might have expected. As noted by the first editor, metrical articulation within individual poems is not always marked.⁷⁴ As far as one can see, poem-end is always marked, but not always in the same way. Col. ii/E6⁷⁵ sees the end of ode 1 marked by a forked *paragraphos* of form 1 (with a characteristically small, curved left stroke) and a slim, upright *koronis* of roughly four lines' height. The end of ode 2 further down the same column is signalled by a forked *paragraphos* with an oversized upper left arm intersecting a *koronis* similar to the one above it. The end of ode 3 in col. v/E9 is marked by a simple forked *paragraphos* similar to the upper one in column ii; similarly marked are the end of odes 4 (col. vi/E10) and 5 (xii/E16) and the end of individual triads, when marked, throughout the section (or roll) of the *Epimichians*. At the end of odes 6 (xii/E16) and 8 (xiv/E18), next to the forked *paragraphos* floats a small *asteriskos* of form 1, with the circlets so tight as to resemble dots. The end of odes 10 (xix/E23), 11 (xxii/E26), and 13 (xxix/E35) are once again marked only with a forked *paragraphos*. The section (or roll) of the *Dithyrambs* presents an interesting change: like the end of individual triads, the end of odes 16 (xxxii/D3) and 17 (xxxvi/D7) is signalled by a *paragraphos* joined to a very small *koronis* hardly two lines tall.⁷⁶ The same goes for the end of ode 18 (xxxviii/D9), although the *koronis* is visibly different, taller and more disconnected. With the end of ode 19 (xxxix/D10) we are back to the familiar forked *paragraphos* not accompanied by a *koronis*.

⁷⁴ KENYON, *The Poems of Bacchylides* (cit. n. 70), p. xx; for a complete list, see *Bacchylides. The Poems and Fragments* edited with introduction, notes, and prose translation by Sir R. C. JEBB, Cambridge 1905, pp. 140–141.

⁷⁵ I give both the original column-numbers of KENYON, *The Poems of Bacchylides* (cit. n. 70) (in Roman numerals), which are essential for reference to the facsimile, and the more commonly used column-numbers of the Teubner editions up to Maehler's latest (cit. n. 10) (in Arabic figures, preceded by 'E' for the roll of the *Epimichians* and 'D' for that of the *Dithyrambs*).

⁷⁶ As in several other cases where *paragraphos* and *koronis* are physically joined, it is hard to determine whether the curved stroke at the centre of the *koronis* was meant to be part of the *paragraphos* or not, that is, whether the *paragraphos* was meant to be plain or forked. But I doubt ancient scribes and readers would have lost much sleep pondering this question.

The treatment of titles displays similar, although seemingly unrelated, inconsistencies. The main scribe does not appear to have written any titles, at least in the surviving parts of the papyrus. Most were added in the left margin (and that of ode 15, the first of the *Dithyrambs*, in the upper margin) by two correctors, whose conventional denomination as A² and A³ does not reflect any actual evidence for their relative chronology. The title of ode 5 was not supplied, with the mere forked *paragraphos* in the margin leaving the break between odes 4 and 5 all but unnoticeable at first sight. A² wrote the titles of odes 2 τῶι | αὐτῶι (ii/E6), 19 Ἴω | Ἀθηναίοις (xxxviii/D9), and 20 Ἴδακ | Λακεδαιμονίοις (xxxix/D10); A³ those of odes 3 Ἰέρωνι | Κυρακοσίωι | ἴπποις | [Ῥολύ]μπια (ii/E6), 4 τῶι αὐτῶι | Πύθια (v/E9), 6 Λάχωνι | Κεῖωι σταδιεῖ Ῥόλυμπ(ια) (xii/E16), 7 τῶι αὐτῶι (*ibid.*), 9 Ἀυτομήδῃ | Φλιασίωι | πεντάθλωι | Νεμέα (xiv/E18), 11 Ἀλεξιδάμωι | Μεταποντίωι | παιδὶ παλαιστῆι | Πύθια (xix/E23), 12 Τισίαι | Αἰγινήτῃι | παλαιστῆι | Νεμέα (xxii/E26), 14 Κλεοπτολέμ[ωι] | Θεσσαλῶι | ἵπποις | Πετραῖα (xxix/E35), 15 Ἀντ]ηγορίδαι | ἢ Ἐλένης] ἀπαίτησις (xxx/D1), 17 ἠἴθεοι | ἦ] Θησεύς (xxxii/D3), and 18 Θησεύς (xxxvi/D7). The title of ode 7 is written over three erased lines which the first editor restored as Λάχωνι | Κεῖωι σταδιεῖ Ῥόλυμπ(ια), the title of ode 6 written next to the wrong poem and subsequently corrected.⁷⁷

14. *P. Oxy.* XXVI 2440 (I²⁸)

LDAB 3720 = MP³ 1366

Pindar, *Paeans*.

Location: Oxford, Sackler Library.

Photograph: edition, plate II; *P. Oxy. Online*.

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus.

Date: late second century AD.

Format: roll, written on the *recto* (*verso* blank).

The end of *Paeon* 7a = C1 Rutherford on fr. 1 is marked by what seems to be a forked *paragraphos* of form 1 intersected by a sprightly *koronis* of little more than four lines' height. As the papyrus breaks off at the very left

⁷⁷ KENYON, *The Poems of Bacchylides* (cit. n. 70), p. 65.

edge of the *koronis*, it is impossible to ascertain whether there also was an *asteriskos* to its left or not. The title of *Paeon* 7b = C2 Rutherford, of which only the initial π [survives,⁷⁸ is inset in the column, indented by slightly more than the width of four letters and not significantly spaced away from either block of verses.

15. *P. Oxy.* XXVI 2447 (*II*³²)

LDAB 3718 = *MP*³ 1374

Pindar, *Threnoi*.⁷⁹

Location: Oxford, Sackler Library.

Photograph: edition, plate XIII.

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus.

Date: late second century AD.

Format: roll, written on the *recto* (*verso* blank).

The end of fr. 128a–b Snell–Maehler = 4–5 Cannatà Fera on fr. 4(b) is marked by a forked *paragraphos* of form 1 with a very short horizontal, flanked by a *koronis* which has a characteristically flattened top and reaches one line up and two lines down from its centre. Since the papyrus breaks off a very short distance to the left of the *koronis*, there may have also been an *asteriskos*, now lost. The same set of forked *paragraphos* and *koronis* also occurs directly above, in fr. 4(a), but there is no indication that it marks poem-end rather than triad-end:⁸⁰ there is no trace of a title to signal the beginning of a new poem, as instead we have on fr. 4(b) next to the beginning of fr. 128c Snell–Maehler = 56 Cannatà Fera.⁸¹ In the lat-

⁷⁸ See also n. 95 below.

⁷⁹ E. LOBEL, '2447. Pindar, $\Theta\rho\eta\nu\omicron\iota$ (?)', *P. Oxy.* XXVI (1961), pp. 109–130, at 109, cautions that the fragments may represent more than one roll and, consequently, more than one genre.

⁸⁰ Rightly D'ALESSIO, 'Osservazioni e paralipomeni' (cit. n. 4), p. 110, objecting to B. SNELL's assumption to the contrary (*Pindari carmina cum fragmentis*, II: *Fragmenta. Indices*, Leipzig 1964³, p. 105); already Lobel, *P. Oxy.* XXVI, p. 114, was clearly assuming that there was no break there.

⁸¹ That fr. 128c was the beginning of a poem had already been realised, on its indirect tra-

ter case, the only surviving letter of the title – a] ν ending just clear of the *koronis* – is written slightly smaller than the text, but there is no obvious indication that it is by a different hand.⁸² Once again there is no physical break between poems in the column itself.

16. *P. Oxy.* XIII 1604 (*II*⁹) + XXVI 2445 (*II*³⁰)

LDAB 3715 + 3716 = *MP*³ 1367 + 1368

Pindar, *Dithyrambs*.⁸³

Location: Oxford, Sackler Library.

Photograph: edition (1604), plate I; edition (2445), plates X–XI; *P. Oxy. Online* (both).

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus (excavated 1905/6).

Date: late second century AD.

Format: roll, written on the *recto* (*verso* blank).

Scribe: #A20.

Only *P. Oxy.* 1604 fr. 1 is relevant to our inquiry. The division between *Dithyrambs* 1 and 2 in col. ii is clearly marked by a *koronis*; its upper half and the text next to it do not survive, but knowing as we do from the indirect tradition where exactly *Dithyramb* 2 began, it can be seen that the *koronis* extends for almost two lines down from its centre. Due to the lacuna to the right of the *koronis*, any *paragraphos* that may have accompa-

dition alone, by F. W. SCHNEIDEWIN, ‘Ueber ein neuentdecktes Bruchstück eines Pindarischen Threnos’, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 2 (1834), pp. 110–121, at 112–113.

⁸² D’ALESSIO, ‘Osservazioni e paralipomeni’ (cit. n. 4), p. 110, understands both the] ν and the tiny cursive note squeezed between the *koronis* and the column as a title (‘dove con una forma di $\alpha\delta\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ si indicava, forse, l’identità di committenza rispetto al componimento precedente’), but this is not obvious, given the stark difference in format; the position of the cursive note would also be most unusual for a title.

⁸³ That the two sets of fragments – only the first of which is safely ascribed to Pindar’s *Dithyrambs* through the indirect tradition – come from the same manuscript was recognised by A. S. HUNT, ‘1788. Alcaeus?’, *P. Oxy.* XV (1922), pp. 46–60, at 47; see also E. LOBEL, ‘2445. Pindar, *Dithyrambs* (?) (and other categories?)’, *P. Oxy.* XXVI (1961), pp. 86–101, at 86, with the *caveat* that the fragments of *P. Oxy.* XXVI 2445 need not all come from the same roll.

nied it is now lost (but there is none after *Dithyramb* 2.18, end of the first strophe). Four traces at the very top of the fragment, which have been hitherto regarded as the (problematic) first word of the title of *Dithyramb* 2,⁸⁴ are in fact the bottom half of an *asteriskos* written above the title, next to the last few lines of the preceding composition.⁸⁵

If this is so, the title is the simple (and expected) *Ἡρακλῆς | ἡ Κέρβερος | Θηβαίους*, written just below the *asteriskos* and to the left of the *koronis* in a smaller cursive script. The editor suggests that the hand is different from that of the main text and the annotations, although roughly contemporary with them, but it is also possible that it is the annotator's hand.⁸⁶

17. *P. Oxy.* XXVI 2442 (I²⁶) + LXXV 5039

LDAB 3747 = MP³ 1360 + 1355.21

Pindar, *Hymns, Paeans, and Prosodia* (2442); *Pythian Odes* (5039).⁸⁷

Location: Oxford, Sackler Library.

⁸⁴ *Κ]ατά[βασις* (with *Ἡρακλέου[ς* in the next line) *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis* edidit B. SNELL, Leipzig 1953, p. 236; *Θη]βαίους* F. FERRARI, 'Contributi al testo dei *Ditirambi* di Pindaro', *Studi italiani di filologia classica* III 9 (1991), pp. 3–8, at 3–4. See also Maria Johanna Helena VAN DER WEIDEN, *The Dithyrambs of Pindar. Introduction, Text and Commentary*, Amsterdam 1991, p. 61.

⁸⁵ Inspection of the papyrus with the microscope clearly shows the lower vertical of the *asteriskos*, with the foot slightly curving to the left, and the two circllets on either side of it; a speck at the very edge of the fragment above the left-hand circllet (already associated with an *asteriskos* in *Pindari dithyramborum fragmenta* edidit S. LAVECCHIA, Roma – Pisa 2000, p. 33) would then be the leftmost tip of the horizontal. Given the relative height of the latter, the horizontal-looking trace at the top of the surviving vertical represents the bottom of the middle circllet more probably than the horizontal itself, thus an *asteriskos* of form 2 rather than 1; but this cannot be confirmed conclusively.

⁸⁶ Different hand: B. P. GRENFELL, '1604. Pindar, *Dithyrambs*', *P. Oxy.* XIII (1919), pp. 27–45, at 29. Same hand as the annotations: G. W. HOUSTON, *Inside Roman Libraries. Book Collections and their Management in Antiquity*, Chapel Hill 2014, p. 169.

⁸⁷ The fragments of *Hymns, Paeans, and Pythians* were identified by LOBEL, *P. Oxy.* XXVI 2442, p. 31; those of the *Prosodia* – whose presence among the fragments of *P. Oxy.* 2442 had already been conjectured by Lobel (*ibid.*), although on questionable grounds – by D'ALESSIO, 'Pindar's *Prosodia*' (cit. n. 27), pp. 35–37 (see also 41–43).

Photograph: edition, plates III–VIII (2442); *P. Oxy. Online* (both).

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus (excavated 1905/6).

Date: late second or early third century AD.⁸⁸

Format: at least four rolls, written on the *recto* (*verso* blank).⁸⁹

Scribe: #A30.⁹⁰

P. Oxy. 5039 preserves no titles or metrical markers relevant to this inquiry. In 2442, poem-end is marked by *paragraphos* and a slim *koronis* some two lines high on fr. 14(a).ii, 23, 19.ii, 65.⁹¹ Although the other three fragments are indecisive, it is apparent from fr. 14(a).ii that no *asteriskos* accompanied the *koronis*. In none of these examples is the title of the next poem actually preserved, but the presence of a blank space below the verse followed by the *koronis* leaves no doubt that a poem ended and another one began: contrast the *koronis* marking triad-end at fr. 32.ii. Several other fragments do preserve parts of poem-titles. They are written in the column and indented, but only sometimes – and inconsistently – spaced away from the rest of the column. There is a space both before and after the title of ‘*Paean*’ 22(h) = Z23 Rutherford (or *Paean* 6(b)?)⁹² *Αἰγι-*

⁸⁸ JOHNSON, *Bookrolls and Scribes* (cit. n. 11), p. 26; third century according to the *editor princeps* LOBEL, *P. Oxy.* XXVI 2442, p. viii, cf. the dating of *P. Oxy.* 1787 (written by the same scribe) by B. P. GRENFELL & A. S. HUNT, ‘1787. Sappho, book iv’, *P. Oxy.* XV (1922), pp. 26–46, at 26, and H. MAEHLER, ‘5039. Pindar, *Pythian Odes* I 6–9, 32–5, III 101–3, IV 39–43, 58–66, 72–80, 134–7, 256–7, VI 9–16’, *P. Oxy.* LXXV (2010), pp. 68–72, at 68.

⁸⁹ That the presence of fragments of different books is to be explained with reference to multiple rolls was plausibly concluded by LOBEL, *P. Oxy.* XXVI 2442, p. 31; JOHNSON, *Bookrolls and Scribes* (cit. n. 11), p. 26, suggests an anthology as a possible alternative explanation, but the sheer number of poems represented in the surviving fragments does not favour this hypothesis.

⁹⁰ JOHNSON, *Bookrolls and Scribes* (cit. n. 11), pp. 26–27, rejecting the identification with scribe #A20 – who wrote, among other manuscripts, our item 16 – proposed by Serena FUNGHI & Gabriella MESSERI SAVORELLI, ‘Lo ‘scriba di Pindaro’ e le biblioteche di Ossirinco’, *Studi classici e orientali* 42 (1992), pp. 43–62.

⁹¹ Note that in the photograph on *P. Oxy. Online* (although not in plate V of the edition) fr. 19 is mistakenly rotated ninety degrees counterclockwise.

⁹² See D’ALESSIO, ‘Pindar’s *Prosodia*’ (cit. n. 27), p. 37 n. 92, and PRODI, ‘*P. Oxy.* 2448’ (cit. n. 21), p. 54.

νῆ[ταις on fr. 86, but the likely Π]αρίους [on fr. 16 (the title of fr. 140a Snell–Maehler = G8 Rutherford?)⁹³ is slightly spaced away only from the poem which it introduces, not the one that precedes it. Likewise, the blank line-beginnings that follow the *koronides* on fr. 19 and 65 are closer in height to the single spacing of fr. 16 than to the double one of fr. 86. Conversely, the title of ‘*Paean*’ 18 = S7 Rutherford Ἀ]ργείοις ἐ[[τὸν]ς Ἥλεκτρούω[νος παῖδας (?)⁹⁴ on fr. 7 has no extra spacing either above or below it. In this last case, indentation seems to have stood at around three letter-widths; that on fr. 86 will have been similar if the poem that starts there is *Paean* 6(b). Any spacing and indentation of the title of *Paean* 7b = C2 Rutherford] .. [..]αῖς εἰς Δῆλο[ν on fr. 14(a).i cannot be assessed with exactitude, but the line protrudes so far to the right that, unless the indication of the commissioning community (]αῖς) was either multiple or uncommonly long, it may have been indented more than usual.⁹⁵

The case of fr. 94 (Z27 Rutherford) is less clear, due to an interlacing of text and (multiple) annotations at different alignments which leaves one in some doubt as to what is doing what exactly. However, as far as the text is concerned, there is a first line that must have begun at or before the left edge of the fragment, followed by a full line’s spacing and an indented line beginning with λελ[immediately followed in turn by another line which must have begun further to the left than the previous one, although it cannot be ascertained whether it was aligned with the first. The only explana-

⁹³ So B. SNELL, ‘Pindars 8. Paian über die Tempel von Delphi’, *Hermes* 90 (1962), pp. 1–6, at 5.

⁹⁴ See D’ALESSIO, ‘Pindar’s *Prosodia*’ (cit. n. 27), p. 41 (alternatively suggesting Ἥλεκτρούω[νίδα), and IDEM, ‘Argo e l’Argolide nei canti culturali di Pindaro’, [in:] Paola ANGELI BERNARDINI (ed.), *La città di Argo. Mito, storia, tradizioni poetiche*, Atti del Congresso Internazionale (Urbino, 13–15 giugno 2002), Rome 2004, pp. 107–125, at 109–110.

⁹⁵ Π[αλλ]ηνί[τ]αῖς, conjectured by SNELL, *Pindari carmina* (cit. n. 81), p. 34, would demand just such an extraordinary indentation – or perhaps that the scribe initially omitted the title and supplied it to the right of the text using the same lettering as normal. However, this supplement is very dubious on linguistic grounds: the demotic of Pallene is Παλληνεύς, not Παλληνίτης. The latter is only attested in two duplicate inscriptions from late Hellenistic Euboea, IG XII/9 1189 and SEG XXXIV 909, and would make a rather hazardous conjecture.

tion that suits this set of data appears to be that the second line is a title ($\Lambda\epsilon[\text{ov}\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma?]$),⁹⁶ spaced away from the preceding ode but not from the one following it, and indented by a somewhat greater distance (four letter-spaces as a minimum) than at least some others in this papyrus.

18. *P. Oxy.* XXIII 2361 (U) + 2362 (Q)⁹⁷

LDAB 445 + 449 = MP³ 180 + 181

Bacchylides, 'Encomia'.⁹⁸

Location: Oxford, Sackler Library.

Photograph: edition, plate V; *P. Oxy. Online*.

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus.

Date: late second or early third century AD.

Format: roll, written on the *recto* (*verso* blank).

One instance of poem-break is evident on *P. Oxy.* 2362 fr. 3 (fr. *20E(a) Maehler = 8(a) Irigoin), where a short forked *paragraphos* of form 2 and a slim *koronis* extending for the height of about three and a half lines (further downward than upward) precede a blank space corresponding to the height of a line of text before the verses resume; contrast fr. 6 (fr. *20F–G Maehler = 9–10 Irigoin), where a *paragraphos* and a *koronis* mark

⁹⁶ LOBEL, *P. Oxy.* XXVI, p. 69, argues that it is the beginning of a poem, but this notion is hard to entertain in view of the indentation.

⁹⁷ That the two papyri were written by the same scribe was suggested by E. LOBEL, '2361. Bacchylides, 'Ἐρωτικόν?', *P. Oxy.* XXIII (1956), pp. 19–20, at 19; the inference that they also belonged to the same volume was drawn by Irigoin in IRIGOIN, DUCHEMIN & BARDOLLET, *Bacchylide* (cit. n. 73), p. xxxvii. For a fuller argument in support of this view, see D'ALESSIO, 'Bacchylides at banquet' (cit. n. 22).

⁹⁸ On the title of the book, see n. 22. Marialuigia DI MARZIO, 'Un'ipotesi di interpretazione di Bacch. fr. 20D Maehler', [in:] Oliva MENOZZI, Marialuigia DI MARZIO & D. FOSSATARO (eds), *SOMA 2005. Proceedings of the IX Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Chieti (Italy), 24–26 February 2005* [= *BAR International Series* 1739], Oxford 2008, pp. 5–9, argues that *P. Oxy.* 2361 was a papyrus of the *Dithyrambs* (see already EADEM, 'Bacchilide e Sparta' (cit. n. 22), pp. 200–201, 211), but see the contrary arguments of D'ALESSIO, 'Bacchylides' banquet songs' (cit. n. 22).

the end of a triad with no intervening space.⁹⁹ Since the fragment breaks off only a few millimetres to the right of the line-beginnings, it is impossible to ascertain whether there was an inset and indented title, but the lack of a title in the margin encourages this conjecture.¹⁰⁰

19. *P. Oxy.* XXIII 2363 (L)

LDAB 444 = MP³ 176

Bacchylides, *Epinicians*.

Location: Oxford, Sackler Library.

Photograph: edition, plate VI; *P. Oxy. Online*.

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus.

Date: late second or early third century AD.

Format: roll, written on the *recto* (*verso* blank).

The break between odes 14A and 14B is marked by a slightly wider inter-linear space and, straddling the notional edge of the column, a sign resembling a tall, gaping *diple*; I am unsure whether it is to be interpreted as a minimalist *koronis* or as a forked *paragraphos* without a *paragraphos*. As the fragments breaks off a short distance to the left, the presence of an *asteriskos* in the area now lost cannot be excluded altogether. In the margin underneath the sign just described survives the end of two lines in the same hand and size as the main text, only a little closer together:]α | – – –] α, with the final α of the second line in suspension and thus presumably indicating an abbreviation.¹⁰¹ It must have been a title, although it is difficult to reconcile with the information ostensibly offered by the text on the name and nationality of the victor.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ D'ALESSIO, 'Bacchylides' banquet songs' (cit. n. 22), p. 80, rightly disputing Snell's assumption of poem-end (*Bacchylidis carmina cum fragmentis* post F. BLASS et G. SUESS septimum edidit B. SNELL, Leipzig 1958, p. 104).

¹⁰⁰ 'inscriptio novi carminis ἐν ἐκθέσει', Snell (cit. n. 99), p. 104.

¹⁰¹ The end of the second line can be read]πα,]χια, or]τα: E. LOBEL, '2363. Bacchylides, *Epinicians*', *P. Oxy.* XXIII (1956), pp. 28–30, at 29.

¹⁰² Maehler in his edition (cit. n. 72), p. 136 suggests Ἀριστοτέλει Α]α[ρκαίωι ἐπ]πά(ρρηι), on the attractive hypothesis that, since the ode was at (or near) the very end of the book,

20. *P. Oxy.* XXIII 2366 (H)

LDAB 446 = MP³ 1914

Bacchylides, *Hymns* (?).¹⁰³

Location: Oxford, Sackler Library.

Photograph: edition, plate IV; *P. Oxy. Online*.

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus.

Date: second or third century AD.

Format: roll, written on the *verso* (unpublished document on the *recto*).

The end of fr. 1A Maehler = 1 Irigoïn is marked by a short forked *paraglyphos* of form 1. As the papyrus breaks off immediately to its left, it is not possible to ascertain which other signs, if any, were employed. The title of fr. 1B = 2 Irigoïn, of which only the opening εἰ[ε survives,¹⁰⁴ was

it may have been an extravagant composition like Pindar's *Nemean* 11 rather than an epinician: see his discussion *ibid.*, part 2: *Kommentar*, pp. 304–305. But the abbreviation has an odd feel to it: how many readers could have been expected to expand *ιππα()* correctly? When reviewing Maehler's commentary, C. CAREY, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 103 (1983), pp. 165–166, at 165, suggested Ἀριστοτέλει Α]α[ρῖαίωι] πα[λαίετῆι Πύθια. However, this would produce an awkward alignment of the lines of the title, as shown by D. FEARN, 'Oligarchic Hestia: Bacchylides 14B and Pindar, *Nemean* 11', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 129 (2009), pp. 23–38, at 24–26. Fearn favours Maehler's restoration, but a certain amount of doubt remains. A more natural interpretation in this context might be the more common]πα(ιδί), the name of the contest being lost in lacuna; it need not be too much of a stretch to suppose that a παῖς had already won the Pythian games four years earlier (or possibly carried the prize in two different disciplines on the same occasion, as his fellow countryman Hippocleas did according to the *inscriptio* to Pindar's *Pythian* 10, p. II 242 Drachmann). LOBEL, *P. Oxy.* XXIII, p. 29 rightly excludes that]πα() is itself a reference to the Pythian games, but this need not exclude that the ode is a Pythian, if the abbreviated word did not indicate the games. But Irigoïn in IRIGOÏN, DUCHEMIN & BARDOLLET, *Bacchylide* (cit. n. 73), p. 207 may be right that the ode would not have been placed so near the end of the book if it had celebrated a Pythian victory.

¹⁰³ Identified by E. LOBEL, '2366. Bacchylides, "Υμνοί?", *P. Oxy.* XXIII (1956), pp. 40–41, at 40, with a fragment known to be Bacchylidean thanks to a scholion to Apollonius of Rhodes 3.467 p. 233 Wendel but whose attribution to the *Hymns* is a conjecture by U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF (in *Bacchylidis carmina cum fragmentis* post F. BLASS et G. SUESS sextum edidit B. SNELL, Leipzig 1949, p. 95). See also G. UCCIARDELLO, 'Osservazioni su Bacch. fr. 1A–B Snell–Maehler', *Analecta Papyrologica* 13 (2001), pp. 69–72, at 71–72.

¹⁰⁴ E. LOBEL in SNELL, *Pindari carmina* (cit. n. 99), p. 82, further supplements εἰ[ε Ἐκάτην.

inset in the column, indented by the width of about three letters, written in the same lettering as the verses, and not spaced away from them.

21. *P. Oxy.* LVI 3822 (II⁴⁵)

LDAB 3728 = MP³ 1366.01

Pindar, *Paeans*.

Location: Oxford, Sackler Library.

Photograph: edition, plate I; *P. Oxy. Online*

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus.

Date: second or third century AD.

Format: roll, written on the *recto* (*verso* blank).

No relevant margins, with the attending metrical signs, are preserved. Two titles survive: that of *Paeon* 8b(a) = G7 Rutherford $\pi\alpha\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta$ [on fr. 1, and that of *Paeon* 8 = B2 Rutherford $\Delta\epsilon\lambda\eta\phi\acute{o}\hat{\iota}\zeta$ [$\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta$ $\Pi\nu\theta\acute{\omega}$ (?)¹⁰⁵ on fr. 5. They are both ornamented with dots: in fr. 1 they are visible above and below the π and above the ν and the ϵ , in fr. 5 above and below the ζ . If one supposes that a dot was either accidentally omitted or lost below the ν of $\pi\alpha\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu$, the scribe may have ornamented poem-titles with dots placed above and below the first and last letter of each word – a handy visual cue that the lines in question are titles, given the lack of extra spacing before or after them. As the beginning of *Paeon* 8 is independently known from 9, the indentation of its title can be calculated at about two letter-widths, but if the supplement $\pi\alpha\iota\hat{\alpha}\nu\alpha$ at *Paeon* 8b(a).4 is correct, then the title that followed it must have been indented by at least four.

22. *P. Oxy.* 5042

LDAB 128969 = MP³ 1355.31

Pindar, *Pythian Odes*.

Location: Oxford, Sackler Library.

Photograph: *P. Oxy. Online*.

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus.

¹⁰⁵ As supplemented by MAEHLER, *Pindari carmina* (cit. n. 10), p. 40.

Date: early third century AD.

Format: roll, written on the *recto* (*verso* blank).

The end of *Pythian* 10 is marked by a slim but tall *koronis* which reaches up to the fourth-to-last line of the poem. Its bottom three quarters are lost in lacuna, but it does not seem possible that an *asteriskos* was lost too, unless it was exceedingly small (which the size of the *koronis* does not suggest) or oddly placed. The title of *Pythian* 11 Θρ[α]κυδ[αίωι is written in the margin, in smaller letters but apparently by the same hand as the text, and slightly further up than expected, roughly level with the base of the last verse of the previous poem. This also suggests that there was no extra spacing between poems. It cannot have been the complete Θρακυδαίωι Θηβαίωι παιδὶ σταδιεῖ as transmitted by the medieval manuscripts, but either Θηβαίωι or σταδιεῖ may have been written below the first word (which would also account for its slight misalignment with the opening of the text) and entirely obliterated by the lacuna.

23. *P. Oxy.* LXXV 5043

LDAB 128970 = MP³ 1355.121

Pindar, *Nemean Odes*.

Location: Oxford, Sackler Library.

Photograph: *P. Oxy. Online*.

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus.

Date: third century AD.

Format: roll, written on the *recto* (*verso* blank).¹⁰⁶

Fr. 15, at the top of col. xxxviii, preserves a morsel of the title of *Nemean* 10, Θ(ε)λαίωι Ἀργείωι π]αλαικτῆ[ι, which does not survive in the medieval transmission of the ode and is only now confirmed by a manuscript.¹⁰⁷ It is inset in the column and written in normal-sized letters. One line-

¹⁰⁶ For a reconstruction of the roll and the placement of the surviving fragments, see H. MAEHLER, '5043. Pindar, *Nemean Odes*', *P. Oxy.* LXXV (2010), pp. 77–87, at 77–78.

¹⁰⁷ MAEHLER, *P. Oxy.* LXXV, p. 83.

height, or very slightly more, is left blank before the first verse of the ode; the probable reconstruction of the format of the roll entails a generalised use of blank lines preceding any titles that were not situated at the top of a column.¹⁰⁸ Unless the scribe skipped Ἀργείωι and indented Θε(ι)αίωι by the corresponding width (which would be a remarkable coincidence), the alignment between the surviving portions of title and first verse suggests that the title was not indented. As no relevant margin survives, it is unknown which signs marked poem-end in this manuscript.

24. PSI X 1181

LDAB 3921 = MP³ 1908

Bacchylides (?), *Dithyrambs*.¹⁰⁹

Location: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana inv. 19969.

Photograph: *PSI Online*.

Provenance: Oxyrhynchus (excavated 1928).

Date: third century AD.¹¹⁰

Format: roll, written on the *verso* (on the *recto*, PSI XIV 1441).

The end of the first poem (fr. 60 Maehler = 7 Irigoin) is marked by a forked *paragraphos* of form 2 and a very assertive *koronis* that spans the height of

¹⁰⁸ MAEHLER, *P. Oxy.* LXXV, p. 77.

¹⁰⁹ Tentatively so attributed by the the *editor princeps* A. VOGLIANO, 'Frammenti di poemetti lirici', *Papiri Greci e Latini* 10 (1932), pp. 169–179, at 172; Simonides according to J. A. DAVISON, 'The authorship of the 'Leucippides' papyrus', *The Classical Review* 48 (1934) pp. 205–207 (see already C. M. BOWRA, *The Classical Review* 47 (1933), p. 240, suggesting also that the poems are *partheneia*). The attribution to Bacchylides is commonly accepted, probably correctly; see now G. B. D'ALESSIO, 'The name of the dithyramb. Diachronic and diatopic variations', [in:] Barbara KOWALZIG & P. WILSON (eds), *Dithyramb in Context*, Oxford 2013, pp. 113–132, at 126; Theodora HADJIMICHAEL, 'Bacchylides fr. 60 M. and the *Kassandra*', *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 51 (2014) pp. 77–100, at 81–85.

¹¹⁰ Second or third century according to VOGLIANO, 'Frammenti' (cit. n. 109), pp. 169–170, but the document on the *recto* – which must have been written earlier than the lyric text – mentions a person known to have been alive in AD 226, and the hand of the *verso* suits a third-century date (*addendum* by G. VITELLI, *Papiri Greci e Latini* 10 (1932), p. xviii).

eight lines and reaches down almost to the bottom of the column. The title of the next poem, *Λευκιππίδες* (fr. 61 Maehler = 8 Irigoín), is inset in the column, written in somewhat larger letters, indented by some three letter-widths, and spaced away from the poetic text, very slightly from the text of the second poem but more substantially – nearly a whole line-height – from the first. The visual effect is highlighted by the very short verse that concludes fr. 60, leaving a much broader blank space separating the two poems. Two *asteriskoi* of form 1 flank the title symmetrically on either side, the one on the left protruding slightly into the margin.

25. *P. Tebt.* II 684 *descr.* (II⁴³)

LDAB 3730 = MP³ 1355.1

Pindar, *Olympian Odes*.¹¹¹

Location: Berkeley, Bancroft Library UC 2341

Photograph: <http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/cgi-bin/apisdb/image/hires/AP00788a>

Provenance: Tebtunis, house T435 (excavated 1899–1900).

Date: late third century.

Format: roll, written on the *recto* (*verso* blank).

The left margin does not survive, whence the loss of any signs marking the end of *Olympian* 9.¹¹² The title of *Olympian* 10 was certainly not inset: if present, it was written in the margin. The verses come in one continuous block of text, with no spacing between the two poems.

¹¹¹ Identified by W. S. Barrett according to H. MAEHLER in F. UEBEL, 'Literarische Texte unter Ausschluss der Christlichen', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 24/25 (1976), pp. 191–251, at 247; text published by F. MONTANARI, 'P. Tebt. 684 Pindaro, Ol. 9,109 – 10,12', *La parola del passato* 38 (1983), pp. 20–28 (with photographs at 22–23).

¹¹² MONTANARI, 'P. Tebt. 684' (cit. n. III), pp. 24, 26–27 reports a 'short horizontal stroke', possibly indicating the separation between the two poems. However, the high-resolution colour image on the Berkeley website does not seem to show any ink there. The position of the supposed stroke, over a third of the way into the verse, would also be anomalous for a *paragraphos* (though not necessarily so for some other, less canonical kind of ornamentation).

26. *P. Oxy.* LXXV 5038
 LDAB 128966 = MP³ 1355.101
 Pindar, *Olympian Odes*.
 Location: Oxford, Sackler Library.
 Photograph: *P. Oxy. Online*.
 Provenance: Oxyrhynchus.
 Date: fourth century AD.
 Format: codex.¹¹³

On the *recto*, the beginning of *Olympian* 10 is at the very edge of the fragment: neither the margin nor the preceding text survive, thus precluding direct verification of which signs may have been employed to mark the end of *Olympian* 9 or of where the title of *Olympian* 10 may have stood. Nonetheless, this papyrus deserves inclusion in our sample in that the editor's calculation of the position of the extant fragment within the codex (from its twenty-second leaf) sits well with the assumption that titles were not inset, and cannot easily be squared with the hypothesis that they were. On the existing evidence, it seems that poem-titles in this codex were written in the margin, if at all.¹¹⁴

27. *P. Oxy.* XIII 1614 (*IT*¹)
 LDAB 3740 = MP³ 1352
 Pindar, *Olympian Odes*.
 Location: Cambridge, University Library Add. Ms. 6366.
 Photograph: *GMAW*, plate 23.
 Provenance: Oxyrhynchus (excavated 1905/6).
 Date: fifth or sixth century AD, 'more probably the former'.¹¹⁵
 Format: codex.

¹¹³ For a reconstruction of the codex and the placement of the surviving leaf, see H. MAEHLER, '5038. Pindar, *Olympian Odes* x 1-11, 24-35', *P. Oxy.* LXXV 75 (2010), pp. 66-69, at 66-67.

¹¹⁴ MAEHLER, *P. Oxy.* LXXV, pp. 66-67.

¹¹⁵ B. P. GRENFELL and A. S. HUNT, '1614. Pindar, *Ol.* I, ii, vi, vii', *P. Oxy.* XIII (1918), pp. 151-161, at 156; G. CAVALLO & H. MAEHLER, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine*

The end of *Olympian* 1 at col. i.21 of this rather poorly written manuscript is marked by a thunderbolt-shaped sign that should probably be regarded as a sort of *koronis*, lolling downward and leftward from the bottom left corner of the text-block rather than (roughly) symmetrically centred on a *paragraphos* marking the division between poems, as is the norm. There is no *paragraphos* here, nor is there any to mark strophic divisions after i.8, 36, 50, iii.11 (120), 25 (134, where we would also have expected a *koronis* for triad-end), or 36 (145).

Immediately below, with minimal additional spacing, the column is briskly realigned to the right, with the title of *Olympian* 2 further indented by little over one letter-width and decorated above and below with (respectively) a row of squiggles each resembling a squat number 2, and a sequence of short horizontal lines, both of which start from the left edge of the column rather than from the beginning of the title itself.

*

This exploration shows that a variety of concurring and complementary practices were available to scribes who set out to copy a manuscript of choral lyric. There was no one way to mark the end of a poem, nor one standard layout for the title of the next. At the same time, the evidence falls quite neatly into relatively few classes, showing that the picture is one of competing models and tendencies rather than of scribal discretion pure and simple. It is with a few comments on these tendencies that the third and final section of this paper is concerned.

A preliminary *caveat* is in order. A sample of twenty-seven papyri, not all of which offer a clear answer to all the questions at hand, is a very small one, and any statistics based on it can easily be tipped over by a single new find or publication. Our sample is also very limited geographically, in

Period: AD 300 – 800 [= *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement* 47], London 1987, p. 48 assign it '[o]n balance' to the second half of the fifth century despite suggesting that the hand of the second leaf may be 'roughly contemporary' to a document of around AD 426–446, P. Berol. inv. 21840.

that it is entirely Egyptian, and at least twenty-two of its twenty-seven components hail from Oxyrhynchus.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, what we have in the vast majority of cases is not a representative body of evidence even within individual manuscripts, but a few disconnected examples, all too often only one: there is a certain amount of risk in assuming that every manuscript will have treated titles and signs consistently (contrast 13, a clear example of the contrary). As a result, whether any data thus extracted are truly representative of the bibliography of lyric manuscripts in the broader Roman empire, or even in Egypt herself, is very much open to question – and bound to remain so for the foreseeable future. Only with this in mind will we attempt to tease out a few, tentative conclusions from the evidence that is available at present.

The data concerning the two main points of divergence between manuscripts – whether poem-end was marked by an *asteriskos* (or more) or not, and whether titles were inset in the column of writing or written in the margin – can be summarised in table form as follows:

	<i>asteriskos</i>	<i>no asteriskos</i>	<i>uncertain</i>	<i>total</i>	
inset titles	24	17, [18], ¹¹⁷ 27	7, 10, 12, 14, 20, 21, 23	11 [10]	
marginal titles (same hand)	11	22	19	3	
marginal titles (different hand)	9, (13), ¹¹⁸ 16	3, (13)		4	14 [10]
marginal titles (uncertain)	2, [4]	6	[8], 15, [25], [26]	7 [2]	
uncertain		1	5 [?]	2	
total	6 (7)	7 (8)	13		

¹¹⁶ For the purposes of a conservative reckoning I exclude 9, which may have been copied in Lycopolis (where the *recto* had been written, see n. 50) and only subsequently brought to Oxyrhynchus; however, it too may have been copied in Oxyrhynchus, as indeed may 8.

¹¹⁷ Numbers printed within square brackets represent those papyri of Pindar and Bacchylides which only provide indirect evidence regarding the position of the title: in other words, papyri whose titles can be conjectured to have been marginal because they were certainly not inset, or the other way around. As twenty of the twenty-five relevant papyri of Simonides *lyricus*, Pindar, and Bacchylides verifiably had titles, while none verifiably had not, it is a reasonable supposition that most or all of the other five aligned with the majority (I have nonetheless not included 5, since there is no certainty that Alcman's odes

We are thus able, first of all, to qualify Hephaestion's statement on the use of the *asteriskos* to mark poem-end. The *asteriskos* is in fact used only in a minority of cases, though a substantial minority: it occurs in six papyri *versus* the seven in which it certainly does not. (The high number of indecisive papyri, and the case of 13, which can be seen to use the sign erratically, suggest that these figures too are less firm than they might otherwise appear.) It is usually placed in the left margin, where the other metrical signs are. In these cases it invariably occupies the leftmost position, as signs marking larger units proceed from the text outward. Only in two cases in our sample it is removed from that 'unmarked' position and transferred into the column of writing, interrupting the flow of the verses and in one case decorating an inset title at both ends (4, 24).¹¹⁹

Interestingly, the *asteriskos* seems to be distinctly more at home with marginal than with inset titles, five or six examples to one.¹²⁰ Speculating, this may be due to the banal consideration that an inset title – often also highlighted as such by other means such as indentation, spacing, or (as in the case of 24) assertively larger lettering – is enough of a marker of poem-break on its own, with no need for a special sign besides. However, while the presence of the *asteriskos* appears to be closely associated with marginal titles, its absence is not similarly associated to inset titles, with an almost even split (three papyri versus three or four). Nor is the presence of marginal titles very strongly associated with the use of the *asteriskos*, as the proportion is only five to three (excluding 13, which has it

had individual titles at all). However, the conjectural status of this conclusion should be borne in mind, and the 'totals' boxes on the right also give the more conservative estimate between square brackets.

¹¹⁸ 13 appears in both boxes since it uses the *asteriskos* only occasionally and, it would seem, erratically; whence the double figures in the 'totals' boxes below. I regarded all its titles as marginal because that of Bacchylides 15, despite not being written in the left margin, is nonetheless located in the upper margin, not inset in the column.

¹¹⁹ The decorative function of the *asteriskoi* in 24 – which is arguably related to their anomalous position – was rightly remarked by NOCCHI MACEDO, 'Formes et fonctions de l'astérisque' (cit. n. 7), p. 20.

¹²⁰ LOBEL, *P. Oxy.* XXVI, p. 42, was mistaken to suggest that the *asteriskos* was 'perhaps never' employed with inset titles (24 was already published at that time), but he had seen correctly the general trend in the evidence.

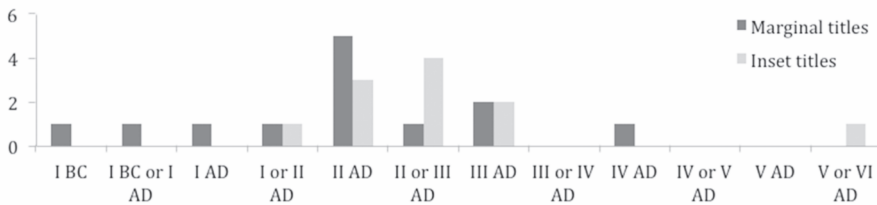
both ways). Papyri with inset titles show some aversion towards the *asteriskos* (three examples to one, in which moreover the *asteriskoi* are removed from their usual place and endowed with a clear ornamental function), but the sample is tiny: unsurprisingly, some two thirds of the papyri that present inset titles – evidence for which often comes from the middle section of a column – are indecisive with regard to the accompanying marginal signs.

Another way in which Hephaestion's description deserves qualification is the use of the forked *paragraphos* as an alternative to the combination of *paragraphos* and *koronis*. The sign is so used in 20 and frequently, although not consistently, in 13. Some doubt surrounds the exact nature of the sign marking the end of Bacchylides 14A on 19, but it appears to be something halfway between *koronis* and forked *paragraphos*. (The sign above fr. *20C Maehler on 3, despite also resembling a forked *paragraphos*, is too dubious on other grounds to be reckoned here.) It is curious that all these are papyri of Bacchylides; there is no comparable example in published papyri of Pindar, far more numerous though they are. From a graphic standpoint, it would be easy enough to explain this phenomenon by considering the forked *paragraphos* as a minimalist fusion of *paragraphos* and *koronis*, although – despite exceptions such as 19 – generally the two sets of signs tend to be clearly differentiated. However, there are examples in both Bacchylides and Pindar of a forked *paragraphos* combined with a *koronis*, thus only substituting the *paragraphos*: 14, 15, 18, and 24, plus (occasionally) 13. Notably, these two groups account for all six relevant papyri of Bacchylides, while for only a small minority of papyri of Pindar. An attempt to answer the question whether the forked *paragraphos* was especially used in connexion to Bacchylides would necessitate a comprehensive review of metrical signs in the papyri of Bacchylides and thus fall outside the remit of the present paper.¹²¹

¹²¹ Note the difference with the practice observed by SCHIRONI, *Tò μέγα βιβλίον* (cit. n. 5), pp. 19–20, in papyri of hexameter poetry: in papyri of choral lyric the forked *paragraphos* can be used as a substitute either of the combination of *paragraphos* and *koronis*, or of the plain *paragraphos* when combined with a *koronis*, but never of a *paragraphos* that would have stood on its own.

Including those cases in which the position of the title can only be determined negatively (that is, to some extent, conjecturally),¹²² we have fourteen papyri that present titles in the left margin, and eleven that carry them inset in the column of writing. If only the certain examples are counted, the two classes account for ten papyri each. The visual effect is starkly different, of course. As noted above, an inset title creates a visible break between the two poems almost from within the text, especially if the title is indented or spaced away from either or both blocks of verses. By contrast, a marginal title marks the discontinuity from outside, firmly but discreetly: in nine of the eleven cases where a judgement can be made, there is no physical interruption in the flow of the verses from one poem to the next. (The two contrary examples are 4, where the break is emphasised by inseting the *asteriskos*, and 19).

The use or otherwise of the *asteriskos* shows no appreciable variation over time. However, with a view on following up scribal tendencies and their histories, it is expedient to compare the use of marginal and inset titles over time:



Once again, compiling statistics by breaking down a sample of twenty-five into a dozen slots is a tricky business, one whose results – even more than in the case of the overall figures – a single new publication can overturn. However, on this admittedly precarious evidence, the earliest few titles are all marginal: the first surviving inset titles (those of 7) date from the late first or even the second century AD, and the practice

¹²² See n. 117.

appears only to become widespread with the papyri in the ‘severe style’ from the late second century onwards. This is the only period in which papyri with inset titles form a clear majority, at least until the lone Byzantine example of 27. Nowhere more than here can we see how the different treatment of these paratextual materials was to an appreciable extent a matter of trends – even of fashion, one might say.

However, it is important to remark that trends appear largely to concern individual elements, rather than several in one package, as it were. No single feature is predictive of any other beside a more or less loose correlation for which at least one arguable counter-example can be found. This also applies within individual classes of writing styles, where we might otherwise have expected a greater degree of uniformity. Of our ten papyri copied in the severe style (13–21 and 23, the single largest class of writings in our sample), six have inset titles, four do not; two certainly did not use the *asteriskos*, one certainly did, with 13 standing in between and as many as six indecisive.

Our breakdown by century of the evidence for titles beckons the question of their status within the respective editions. Were they an invariable fixture of manuscripts of choral lyric? How did their transmission operate, and how did this operation change over time? While the evidence is far from being conclusive, some tentative answers can be sketched, and it is to these that the last few paragraphs will be devoted.

Apparently, titles were indeed a constant in the manuscripts of those authors whose poems were – consistently, as far as the evidence goes – given individual titles in the respective standard Alexandrian edition. No verifiably title-less papyrus of Pindar, Bacchylides, or Simonides *lyricus* has been published to date, and at least nineteen (and probably twenty, including 2) of their twenty-five papyri in our sample verifiably did have titles. This creates a strong presupposition that in most if not all the indecisive cases too titles will have been present originally, albeit now lost. Arguably, the fact that a specific marker of poem-end such as the *asteriskos* could so frequently be dispensed with also implies the established presence of titles as a means of recognising divisions between poems, which otherwise would be practically unrecognisable. However, the picture is complicated by two factors. The first is that over half of the sur-

viving titles are written in the margin, that is, in a visibly paratextual location. The second and more important is that, although only one in two marginal titles is preserved to a sufficient extent for the hand to be identified, in four out of seven such cases the hand appears to be different from that of the scribe who copied the text. Were titles, then, at least in some cases, a subsequent addition to a text of which they did not constitute an original component?¹²³

There is certainly one case that necessitates a positive answer, namely 3. Judging from the surviving fragments, there is no indication that poem-titles were part of the original conception of the manuscript; at least one was subsequently added, but only one or two centuries after Bacchylides' text had been copied. Still, as Wilamowitz may or may not have quipped, 'einmal heißt keinmal':¹²⁴ so long as the papyrus is unique, it can be argued to constitute an unrepresentative exception. Other elements may support this view. 3 also appears entirely to lack markers of metrical articulation within poems, such as the *paragraphos*, which is another uncommon feature although attested at a comparably early age (e.g. 1).¹²⁵ Although its evidence ought not to be lightly dismissed, it is not sufficient to bear out any conclusions on its own.

In the other papyri where titles were added by hands different from that of the main scribe, no title is visibly so much later than the main text; all three appear to be roughly contemporary to it. Nonetheless, this does not remove the problem of their transmission: were they simply copied from the antigraph like the text, only by a corrector's hand and a short

¹²³ It must be stressed that 'original' in this context refers to the editions of which our manuscripts are copies, not to the poems themselves. There is a consensus that titles are wholly or largely editorial products that do not go back to the authors or their time. However, there is a difference – both from the text-historical and the bibliological point of view – between an editorial product that becomes integral to the authors' text and follows its same vicissitudes over history, and one that is recreated or reformulated more or less independently by a variety of readers if and when needed. It is this difference that this portion of the paper is concerned with exploring.

¹²⁴ See W. M. CALDER III, 'Once never; twice ever', *The Classical Journal* 77 (1981), p. 48.

¹²⁵ A further similarity between the two manuscripts is that 1 too continued to be annotated until the first (HUNT, *P. Oxy.* XV, p. 73) or even second century AD; see also Barron, 'Ibycus: *To Polycrates*' (cit. n. 13), pp. 119–121.

while later? The fact that the various titles in 13 (and perhaps 9) were penned by two different correctors *prima facie* suggests otherwise: if these titles were integral parts of the original design of the manuscript and were merely left for the corrector to copy, one would expect them to have been copied by a single corrector in one go, rather than (as is the case at least for 13) in two separate stages. Some of the corrections made by A³ to the text of 13 suggest that he used one or more manuscripts other than the exemplar used by the main scribe A.¹²⁶ If this is truly the case, it is an attractively economical hypothesis that the titles he wrote may have the same provenance, although there is nothing to deny that he may have used the original exemplar too. Bruno Snell contends that A², by contrast, only corrected conjecturally, without recourse to another copy of the work.¹²⁷ If true, this would be the only certain case in our sample of titles supplied conjecturally, but compelling evidence for Snell's contention is lacking.

The example of 13 thus shows that titles could occasionally be supplied through collation, more probably of a second manuscript than of the original antigraph. How widespread this practice may have been is difficult to assess. It was certainly far more common for titles to be written directly by the main scribe (fourteen certain or likely examples *versus* four of the opposite), thus probably part and parcel with the text – certainly so in the case of inset titles – and copied from the same exemplar.

¹²⁶ As KENYON, *The Poems of Bacchylides* (cit. n. 70), p. xviii, remarks, the fact that A³ was able correctly to supply missing verses proves beyond doubt that he had access to manuscripts other than 13 itself; but the several false corrections he made to authentic readings of A suggest that his exemplar was not (or not only) the same as that used by A, unless we are to suppose that A several times hit upon the right correction *suo Marte* (or accidentally) when his antigraph had gone astray. Alternatively, if MAEHLER, *Die Lieder des Bakchylides* (cit. n. 72), I pp. 38–41, is right to conjecture that the exemplar of A was in a Ptolemaic cursive of the second century BC, then one can explain both the omissions and the corrections (whether correct or not) of A and A³ with their variously successful attempts at deciphering the unfamiliar handwriting of that sole manuscript; if so, the titles need not have come from collation. (I am grateful to Lucio Del Corso for bringing this point to my attention.)

¹²⁷ SNELL, *Bacchylidis carmina* (cit. n. 103), p. *10. The argument would become untenable if, as envisaged by KENYON, *The Poems of Bacchylides* (cit. n. 69), pp. xviii, xx, A² was in fact the same hand as A¹, *i.e.* the main scribe himself. No evidence in his corrections proves otherwise, but I am not sure that Kenyon's suggestion – which not even he fully endorsed – is palaeographically commendable.

Furthermore, some of the titles that were added by correctors may also derive from the original antigraph, which will presumably have been an in-house *diorthotes*'s first port of call. While it may be tempting to suppose that titles written by hands other than the first must result from the subsequent collation of a second manuscript, due in turn to the absence of titles in the exemplar (why not copy them straight from there otherwise?), the papyri without titles that this supposition forces us to postulate are conspicuously absent from our actual record: even **3** – the closest example known to date – was supplied with (some) titles eventually. Postulating the existence of such title-less papyri behind those we have is not obviously more economical than, say, ascribing correctorial titles to the conscious pursuit of a graphic or editorial mannerism, or to some scribes' habit of leaving titles to be taken care of at copy-editing stage. On the other hand, while the move from a hypothetical phase in which several papyri had no titles to one in which practically all had them appears surprising, it can also be seen (if necessary) as a component of the gradual incorporation of titles into the body of the text that the emerging fashion for inset titles also exemplifies.¹²⁸

Be this as it may, it must be borne in mind that even second-hand titles (so to speak), despite being visually differentiated from the text, nonetheless can often be seen to have a quasi-textual status. On **9** and perhaps **16** they were added by a corrector, not by one of the annotators who wrote the other marginalia; all the more obviously so on **13**, which lacks annotations altogether (compare **2**, although the title there may have been in the main scribe's own hand). Whereas it cannot be proved that all of these titles derive from collation, not conjecture, nonetheless it appears to be the case that at least by the second century titles were felt to be a necessary part of the manuscript – their lack a lacuna to be remedied – rather than an extra to be added at a reader's leisure.

This is not to deny that marginal titles – and seemingly only these, although not only those written by further hands – could share important features with the more clearly paratextual elements. In **13** and **16** they are

¹²⁸ See also the possible argument speculated at p. 1152 with reference to **7**, although I do not believe it to be correct.

written not only by a different hand, but also in a distinctly less formal style than the lyric text. In 6, 13 (col. xii/E16), and 19 the end of the last word is abbreviated, which would be highly unexpected in the text proper and is unattested so far in an inset title. Their transmission too was not always exact (the title of *Pythian* II on 22 was not complete), although by and large it seems to have been correct.

Et de hoc satis. A proper inquiry into the background, transmission, status, typology, and function of poem-titles within the ancient editions of the choral lyricists would have to extend far beyond the strictly papyrological aspect and greatly exceed the remit of these *Proceedings*. Accordingly, my attempt at such an inquiry will be published elsewhere.¹²⁹ For the time being, I hope that this survey may have shed some further light on a central aspect of the lyric book-roll.

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¹²⁹ E. E. PRODI, 'Poem-titles in Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides', [in:] B. G. F. CURRIE and I. C. RUTHERFORD (eds), *The Reception of Greek Lyric Poetry 600 BC – 400 AD: Transmission, Canonization, and Paratext* [= *Proceedings of the Network for the Study of Archaic and Classical Greek Song* 3], Leiden, forthcoming.