FRANCESCA SCHIRONI

From Alexandria to Babylon

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Sozomena

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From Alexandria to Babylon

Near Eastern Languages
and Hellenistic Erudition
in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary
(P.Oxy. 1802 + 4812)

Walter de Gruyter · Berlin · New York

A Enrico, in ricordo di P. e P. M.

Preface

In 2004, Dirk Obbink offered me the opportunity to work on some new fragments belonging to the glossary preserved in P.Oxy. 1802. It was then that I became fascinated with the document's peculiar Near Eastern words and quotations from many Hellenistic historians and ethnographers. An enthusiastic curiosity gave me the courage (or the foolhardiness) to plunge into the most varied and challenging topics, from ancient Greek lexicography to Iranian dialectology, from Aristotelian scholarship to Aramaic script. After finishing the edition of P.Oxy. 4812, I decided to continue studying the entire glossary and to prepare this edition with commentary. I am sure that further improvements will be necessary, especially in the areas furthest from my background – in particular, points related to Akkadian and Persian languages and civilizations. Still, I hope that this new edition with commentary will be a first step towards encouraging an interest in this unique document that provides evidence for cultural exchange between Greeks and the Near East during the Hellenistic age.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Dirk Obbink, not only for giving me the opportunity to work on such an interesting text, but above all for his guidance and help throughout these years – with this papyrus, with other papyri, and with many other aspects of academic life.

I am also indebted to many other scholars for their help with different aspects of this research. Stephanie Dalley and John Huehnergard helped me immensely with Akkadian and with many problems related to Semitic linguistics. Elizabeth Tucker and Oktor Skjaervo were indispensable in explicating Persian and Iranian languages and culture. Many of the entries in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary would have been left with no commentary had these four scholars not patiently dealt with my continual naïve questions. Albert Henrichs, Monica Negri and Trevor Evans read the entire manuscript and gave me very useful suggestions. Adrian Bivar, Paul Kosmin, Anna Morpurgo Davies, Nino Luraghi, Greg Nagy, Filippomaria Pontani, Philomen Probert, and Giuseppe Ucciardello made helpful comments on specific points. Sabine Vogt, the editor at Walter de Gruyter, was always ready to help and suggest improvements throughout

I dedicate this book to Enrico. He has been wonderfully close, supportive, and patient in a way I would have never thought possible. I thank him for this, and for all the rest.

F.S.   Cambridge, MA, November 2008

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1. Introduction

Lexicography and glossography were among the fields developed at Alexandria by the philologists working in the Museum. But they were not invented there. The interest in γλῶccαι, difficult words, and especially in the γλῶccαι used by Homer, was already present in the classical period, as shown by the famous fragment of the *Banqueters* of Aristophanes (fr. 233 PCG), in which a father asks his son to explain Ὁμήρου γλῶτται to him.[1] The need to explain Homeric γλῶccαι was due to the fact that Homer was at the basis of the Greek *paideia* but at the same time a poet who wrote in a very obscure (and archaic) Greek that no one in the fifth century BC was used to anymore. The theorization of γλῶccαι as a characteristic part of poetic language is found in Aristotle, who in the *Poetics* states:

> Arist. *Poet.* 1457b1–5: ἅπαν δὲ ὄνομά ἐcτιν ἢ κύριον ἢ γλῶττα ἢ μεταφορὰ ἢ κόcμος ἢ πεποιημένον ἢ ἐπεκτεταμένον ἢ ὑφῃρημένον ἢ ἐξηλλαγμένον. λέγω δὲ κύριον μὲν ᾧ χρῶνται ἕκαcτοι, γλῶτταν δὲ ᾧ ἕτεροι· ὥcτε φανερὸν ὅτι καὶ γλῶτταν καὶ κύριον εἶναι δυνατὸν τὸ αὐτό, μὴ τοῖc αὐτοῖc δέ.

> Every noun is standard, or a γλῶccα, or a metaphor, or an ornament, or invented, or lengthened, or reduced, or altered. I define a standard noun as what everyone uses; a γλῶccα as what others use. Thus it is clear that it is possible for the same word to be a γλῶccα and a standard noun, but not for the same people.

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1 Ar., fr. 233 PCG: [A] πρὸc ταύταc δ᾽ αὖ λέξον Ὁμήρου γλώτταc· τί καλοῦcι κόρυμβα (*Il.* 9.241); /... τί καλοῦc᾽ ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα (*Od.* 10.521,536, 11.29,49); / [B] ὁ μὲν οὖν cόc, ἐμὸc δ᾽ οὗτοc ἀδελφὸc φραcάτω· τί καλοῦcιν ἰδύουc (Solon; cf. Eust. 1158.20); /... τί ποτ᾽ἐcτὶν ὀπύειν (Solon; cf. Hsch. β 466); [A: 'Now, in addition to these ones (i.e. prob. glosses), tell me some Homeric glosses: what do they call κόρυμβα? … And what do they call ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα? [B] Well, your son, my brother here, will tell you; what do they call ἰδύουc? … And what is ὀπύειν?']. All the translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

By defining the gloss as typical of the poetic language, Aristotle also sets out the interpretation of the γλῶσσαι as one of the most important tasks of the exegete. The Aristotelian approach to the poetic language was later taken over by the Alexandrians, who re-founded the study of γλῶσσαι on a more systematic basis. They not only prepared glossaries on specific authors like Homer and Hippocrates, but also developed collections of dialectal words.[2]

Some of these dialectal glossaries served an important role in literary exegesis, since many literary genres in Greece were characterized by the use of a particular dialect, such as the Doric of choral lyric or the Ionic of Hippocrates. There was also, however, an interest in strange words *per se*: words which were not part of any poetic language but were rather typical of a particular region. This kind of glossography has its roots in the ethnographical tradition started by Ionic periegetes and logographers and then developed by Herodotus. In the Hellenistic period this interest in non-literary γλῶσσαι was boosted by the globalization brought about by the conquests of Alexander the Great. In the third and second century BC Greeks came into close contact with many different peoples, in Asia as well as in northern Africa. In such a cosmopolitan environment it was probably natural (if not necessary) to develop an interest in the 'others', the so-called βάρβαροι, in their culture and their language. Most of the dialectal and ethnographic glossography that resulted from the new 'enlarged' Hellenistic world is unfortunately lost. Only later sources, such as the lexicon of Hesychius (fifth/sixth century AD), that of Suidas (ninth century AD), or the Byzantine *Etymologica* (ninth to thirteenth century AD) preserve fragments of the original Hellenistic glossaries. Moreover, there are very few papyri that testify to an interest in foreign languages and faraway dialects. In light of this, the text presented here, preserved by several papyrus fragments kept in the Sackler Library in Oxford, acquires an extraordinary importance as a unique example of this 'ethnographic' and dialectal glossography.

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2   For an overview of Greek lexicography, see Chapter 6.1.

The Oxyrhynchus Glossary[3] that is the object of the present study was previously published by Arthur S. Hunt as P.Oxy. 15.1802.[4] Additional fragments were identified as part of the same manuscript by Edgar Lobel, who joined some of them with those already published. Lobel, however, never published these new fragments, which were given to me by Dirk Obbink to be published as an addendum of P.Oxy. 15.1802. I started working on these new fragments and on Lobel's notes in the spring of 2004, and they were published as 'P.Oxy. 4812 Glossary (more of XV 1802)' in volume LXXI of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.[5] For the sake of brevity and clarity, throughout the present work I will refer to this glossary as the 'Oxyrhynchus Glossary', and this will include both P.Oxy. 15.1802 and the addenda that were published as P.Oxy. 71.4812 (here republished with corrections).

While working on these new fragments and studying the entire Oxyrhynchus Glossary, I realized the true importance of this text. First, considering the renewed interest in technical literature and, in particular, in texts dealing with grammar and lexicography, the Oxyrhynchus Glossary becomes an extremely attractive document. This glossary on papyrus is an excellent example of ancient scholarship and of a kind of glossography that is scarcely represented in any other of our sources, either in papyri or later codices.

Second, the interest that the Oxyrhynchus Glossary shows for the 'others', the non-Greeks, is in itself very important for scholars inter-

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3   Since lexicographical terminology can be puzzling and confusing, I need to clarify how I will use some key terms in the present work. I use the term 'glossary' to denote a collection of 'exotic', rare words; a glossary can also be a collection of difficult words in an author, often following the order these words appear in that author's work, as for example in the *Scholia Minora* to Homer, which are glossaries that follow the Homeric text. I will apply the term 'lexicon' (or 'dictionary') to the works that show an attempt, however successful, at developing a complete list of the words in a given author or language. 'Lemma', 'gloss' and 'γλῶccα' will be used as synonyms to indicate the words collected in a glossary/lexicon and followed by the 'explanation' or 'translation' (in the case of glosses from other languages or dialects, as in the present glossary). The entire text made up of the gloss/lemma with the explanation will be called an 'entry'.

4   In Grenfell & Hunt 1922, 155–162. On this papyrus see also Crönert 1922, 425–426; Schmidt 1924, 13–15; Körte 1924. I have also made use of Hunt's personal annotations and of a letter written to him by T. W. Allen that can be found in Hunt's personal copy of volume XV of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* now at the Sackler Library in Oxford.

5   Cf. Schironi 2007.

ested in the cultural relations between Greeks and other populations dur-
ing the Hellenistic period. In this respect, the Oxyrhynchus Glossary,
with its Persian, Babylonian and 'Chaldaean' words transcribed into the
Greek alphabet and translated into koine Greek, is of parallel importance
with and is in fact comparable only to the so-called 'Graeco-Babyloniaca',
clay tablets with Akkadian and Sumerian texts written in Greek letters.[6]

These two aspects of the Oxyrhynchus Glossary have never been
fully appreciated. The text was first published in 1922, when the interest
of scholars was, understandingly, focused above all on new discoveries
of Greek lyric poetry and Attic drama in papyri. Since this glossary deals
with obscure words that do not appear in literature, it could not arouse
much interest at the time. As a result, the Oxyrhynchus Glossary has been
almost completely neglected for more than 80 years. In this work, I have
re-analyzed the entire manuscript and prepared a new edition with full
commentary. I publish it here in its entirety for the first time, placing it
within the larger context of Hellenistic glossography and erudition.

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6   On the 'Graeco-Babyloniaca' see Sollberger 1962; Black & Sherwin-White
     1984; Maul 1991; Knudsen 1989–90; Knudsen 1990; Knudsen 1995.

2. The Manuscript

The text is written across the fibers of a roll, which has a history of Alexander on the front (P.Oxy. 15.1798). The scribe wrote with black ink and in an irregular cursive, roughly bilinear (ι and ϱ reach below the line, o is tiny), which shows affinities with the semi-severe style. α sometimes has a spiked triangular loop, sometimes a more rounded one; it is often in ligature with ι. ε has a projecting middle stroke, often joining the following letter. ω is quite broad and flat-bottomed; the two bowls are not always clearly distinguished. β is bigger than the other letters. η, κ, μ, ν are broad. μ is drawn in three or four movements and is quite shallow. ϱ projects below the line and has a tiny loop. τ has a rather long flat top; υ has the two arms well defined, forming a V shape. Close parallels with papyri dated with certainty are: P.Mich. inv. 3, dated to the second half of the second century AD, before 192/193 AD,[1] and P.Oxy. 5.842, also dated to the second half of the second century AD.[2] P.Oxy. 17.2096, P.Oxy. 22.2312, P.Oxy. 30.2509, all dated to the middle of or to the late second century, also offer interesting parallels. The paleographical characteristics of the Oxyrhynchus Glossary and the parallels with other manuscripts suggest a date around the second half of the second century AD.

No accents or punctuation marks are in evidence. Lemmata are set in *ekthesis* followed by a blank space and then by the explanation, which generally extends from one (e.g. fr. 3, ii, 17) up to seven lines (e.g. fr. 3, ii, 1–7). Iota adscript is always omitted (e.g. μελωδια in fr. 3, ii, 15; τω τρωικω in fr. 5, 3) and trema is sometimes added to iota (fr. 3, i, 13 and 3, ii, 10) and to upsilon (fr. 3, ii, 12 and fr. 3, iii, 12). Final ν is sometimes written as a horizontal stroke above the preceding letter (fr. 3, i, 12). Many itacistic errors are present: πολειτεία (fr. 2, i, 4. 8; fr. 3, i, 21; fr. 3, iii, 7); Φοινείκης (fr. 10a, 6); γείνεται (fr. 3, ii, 12); μεικϱόν (fr. 3, iii, 2).

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1 Cf. R. Flemming and A. E. Hanson in Andorlini 2001, 9–35 (no. 2), who (*ibid.*, 11–12) redate the verso at 192/3 instead of 190/1, as previously suggested by Roberts 1955, 15, no. 15c.

2 Cf. Roberts 1955, 17, no. 17b.

Spelling errors occur with the dentals: ζ for δ in Ζείνων instead of
Δείνων (fr. 3, ii, 17); τ for θ in ξενιϲτεῖϲαν instead of ξενιϲθεῖϲαν (fr. 3,
ii, 3),[3] in Ϲκυτικόν instead of Ϲκυθικόν (fr. 3, ii, 8), and in ἐντοϲτιδίων
instead of ἐντοϲθιδίων (fr. 10a, 7); perhaps also τ for δ in [Ἡγήϲ]αντροϲ
instead of [Ἡγήϲ]ανδροϲ (fr. 3, i, 12). An example of a misspelling in-
volving vowels is μιέϲτηρ instead of μιάϲτωρ (fr. 3, iii, 8). A paleo-
graphical confusion (ψ for υ), by contrast, is the origin for the incorrect
μέρου instead of μέροψ (fr. 3, ii, 21).

Both sides of the manuscript contain learned material, and the glos-
sary was in all probability the last text to be written on the papyrus. It was
probably not completed; many of the minor fragments of P.Oxy. 15.1798
are blank on the back. In the *History of Alexander* of P.Oxy. 15.1798
the columns are of the same width and well spaced, with wide margins.
The handwriting on the front is very similar to that of the glossary, but
probably not the same. The glossary itself, when compared with similar
works, shows a particular care in the way the lemmata are set in *ekthesis*
and in the way the columns are designed and placed in the roll. All these
features point to a roll made for an erudite collection. Unlike many lexica
and glossaries on papyrus, the Oxyrhynchus Glossary does not seem to
be made for school teaching, as neither its content nor the non-standard
version of the history of Alexander on the other side[4] would seem to suit
school pupils' interests or needs. The Oxyrhynchus Glossary looks in-

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3   In his copy of P.Oxy. 1802 at p. 160 Hunt annotated as a parallel for ξενιϲτεῖϲαν
     (for ξενιϲθεῖϲαν) the form ϲυνταϰτείϲῃ (for ϲυνταχθείϲῃ) in P.Oxy. 12.1470 at
     line 13.

4   The text, by an unknown author, seems to follow in part Curtius Rufus against
     Arrian and Plutarch and portrays Alexander in a less than favorable light. The
     most extensive fragment in the papyrus (fr. 44) deals with the battle of Issus
     (cols. ii-iv); here (fr. 44, iv, 9–17) the figure for the Macedonian losses (1,000
     infantry and 200 cavalry) is more than twice the figure given by Diodorus
     17.36.6 (300 infantry and 150 cavalry), whereas the Persian losses (not less than
     50,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry) are half of those in the other historians (in
     Diodorus, *ibid*., and Arrian, *Anab*. 2.11.8: 100,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry,
     whereas Plutarch, *Alex*. 20, speaks of 110,000 Persians altogether). Moreover,
     the papyrus agrees with Curtius Rufus against Arrian and Plutarch in mentioning
     a bribe offered to the physician Philip by Darius (fr. 44, i, 1–16) and also in hint-
     ing at the circumstance that Alexander suffered by a nerve attack the day before
     the battle of Issus (fr. 44, ii, 6–16). Thus, either the author of the text in P.Oxy.
     1798 was known to Curtius Rufus or they had a common source. See Hunt in
     Grenfell & Hunt 1922, 122–135.

stead more like a private copy belonging to someone interested in more eccentric and erudite topics. Of course the identity of its owner is impossible to discover, but we have evidence of the existence of a very rich library with literary as well as more technical texts at Oxyrhynchus.[5] This text could come from this collection.

5   See Funghi & Messeri Savorelli 1992.

3. Content

3.1 Dialects and Foreign Languages

Lemmata from κ, λ, and μ are preserved. These are arranged in a strict alphabetical order, a feature seldom found among ancient lexica and glossaries, as we shall see. This text is a collection of γλῶσσαι in the true sense of the word, i.e. exotic and strange words as envisaged by Aristotle in the passage from the *Poetics* quoted above. This time, however, the lemmata are not taken from poetic or literary texts. Some are peculiar words, mostly quite rare (μελῳδία), cult related (μέλισσαι, Μῆτις, μάστωρ), or ethnic (Μινύαι, Μιτυληναῖοι). Another group consists of names of animals, supported by the authority of Aristotle (μέροψ, μῆτραι). The largest group of entries deals with glosses taken from a Greek dialect or a Near Eastern language. We can thus distinguish the following groups, according to how the lemmata are defined in the explanation provided on the papyrus itself. I have enclosed within quotation marks those linguistic labels that are more problematic from a modern linguistic point of view. In brackets I have reported the geographical/linguistic definition given in the papyrus:

GLOSSES FROM GREEK DIALECTS:

μέροπες → Euboean (ὑπὸ Εὐβοέων)
μεσοτέλεστον → Aetolian (Αἰτωλούς)
μινῶδες → Rhodian (παρὰ Ῥοδ[ίοιϲ?])

GLOSSES FROM NON-GREEK LANGUAGES:

μερμνάδαι → Lydian (παρὰ Λυδοῖϲ)
μελύγιον → Scythian (Ϲκυθικόν)
μενεμανι → Persian (παρὰ τοῖϲ Πέρϲαιϲ)
Μίθρας → Persian (παρὰ Πέρϲ[αιϲ])
μιληχ → 'Albanian' (ὑπὸ Ἀλβανίων)[1]

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[1] The ancient Albania was not the same as modern Albania, but was rather a region near the Caspian Sea. The language spoken there had surely nothing to do with modern Albanian (another Indo-European language) and it was probably a Caucasian language. This gloss, however, sounds Semitic (see below, at pp. 106–107).

μιθοργ → 'Chaldaean' (παρὰ Χαλδαίοις)
μινοδολόεσσα → 'Chaldaean' (παρὰ Χαλδαίο[ις])
μισαι → 'Chaldaean' (παρὰ Χαλδαίοις)

GLOSSES WHICH COULD BE EITHER FROM GREEK DIALECTS OR
FROM NON-GREEK LANGUAGES:

μῆτραι → from Soli and Tarsus in Cilicia (ἐν Ταρσῷ καὶ Cόλοις)[2]

The rest of the papyrus, moreover, shows a particular interest in Near East-
ern glosses; though lemmata are missing there, there are many references
to works on Asia (fr. 3, i, 10; 17–18) and on Phoenicia (fr. 10a, 6), as well
as phrases such as παρὰ Πέρσαις (fr. 5, 13) or παρὰ Χαλδαίοις (fr. 5, 6).
Berossus' *Babyloniaca* are also quoted twice (fr. 5, 20; fr. 10a, 9–10).

3.2. References and Quotations

The second element of interest in this glossary is its rich store of learned
quotations from ancient authors (historians, ethnographers, antiquarians,
lexicographers, etc.). Almost every entry is supported by a quotation or
a reference to some ancient work. Here is a list of the authors and works
quoted with possible identifications:

ANONYMOUS AUTHORS:

A … from Rhodes (fr. 11, 3)

ANONYMOUS WORKS (ONLY TITLE PRESERVED, NAME OF THE
AUTHOR IN LACUNA):

Γεωργικά (fr. 18, 5; and perhaps fr. 17, 3)
A work κατὰ Βαβυλῶνα (fr. 3, iii, 14–15; fr. 3, iii, 20); the *Babyloniaca*
by Berossus?
A work κατὰ Ἀσίαν (fr. 3, i, 10 and 17–18)
A work κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην(?) (fr. 5, 10)
A work *On Rivers* (fr. 3, iii, 16–17)
A work *On Scythians* (fr. 3, i, 1).
A *Thessalian Constitution* (fr. 2, i, 8); by Aristotle or Critias?

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2   Μῆτραι is problematic; it is not obvious that it is a Greek word, given that Tarsus
     and Soli were a very complex linguistic area (see below, at pp. 99–101).

Authors (names securely attested with possible identifications):

Andron, *War Against the Barbarians* (fr. 3, ii, 18–19)

Historian of Halicarnassus, fourth century BC (FGrHist 10). He composed a work entitled Συγγένειαι or Ἱστορίαι on the genealogical relationships among Greek cities, which was used by Apollodorus.

Other (less likely) possibilities: Andron of Theos, fourth century BC (FGrHist 802), who wrote a Περὶ πόντου (or Περίπλους), or Andron of Alexandria (FGrHist 246), who wrote a history of Alexandria.

Antenor (fr. 2, i, 5)

Antiquarian from Crete, second century BC (FGrHist 463).

Anticlides (fr. 3, i, 5)

Historian from Athens, third century BC (FGrHist 140). He wrote a Περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, Δηλιακά, and Νόστοι.

Apollodorus (fr. 3, ii, 1).

Of Athens, he lived in the second century BC and was a pupil of Aristarchus. He worked at Alexandria, was in contact with Pergamum and eventually went back to Athens. The fragment probably comes from the Περὶ θεῶν (FGrHist 244, F 89).

Aristotle, *Constitution of Soli* (fr. 3, iii, 6–7), fourth century BC.

Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* (fr. 3, ii, 22; fr. 3, iii, 4), fourth century BC.

Asclepiades (fr. 3, i, 6). Various possible identifications:

Asclepiades of Myrlea, second/first century BC (FGrHist 697); he seems the most likely candidate. Among his works there was a treatise on Bithynians, which would be in line with the ethnographical interests shown by our glossary.

Asclepiades of Cyprus, first century BC(?) (FGrHist 752), author of a Περὶ Κύπρου καὶ Φοινικῆς. Also a good candidate, given the title of his work.

Asclepiades of Tragilos, fourth century BC (FGrHist 12), author of a Περὶ τραγῳδουμένων, a work collecting myths taken from tragedies. He seems less likely that the other two, but the mythographical quotation from Apollodorus in fr. 3, ii, 1, shows that myths too were among the topics of our glossary.

There are also two physicians with this name: Asclepiades of Bithynia (second to first century BC) and Asclepiades the Younger (first to second century AD), but given the ethnographic and antiquarian interests of the Oxyrhynchus Glossary, they do not seem to be very likely candidates.

AUTOCLIDES (fr. 3, iii, 9)
Athenian antiquarian, who wrote an Ἐξηγητικόν on Athenian rituals (cf. Ath. 9.409f; 11.473b-c). Autoclides is not dated securely, but he certainly lived after the fourth century BC, probably in the third century BC (FGrHist 353). He is often confused with Anticlides of Athens (in Ath. 11.473b-c); see below, at pp. 77–78.

BEROSSUS, *Babyloniaca* (fr. 5, 20; fr. 10a, 9–10)
He dedicated his work on Babylon (FGrHist 680) to Antiochus I Soter (281/0–262/1 BC).

CALLIMACHUS, *Commentaries* (Ὑπομνήματα) (fr. 3, ii, 15–16)
He flourished under Ptolemy II (282–246 BC).

D(E)INON, *Persica* (Περσικά) (fr. 3, ii, 17)
Historian of Colophon (fourth century BC). His name is variously spelled Δείνων or Δίνων. He wrote Περσικά in at least three books. Father of Clitarchus of Alexandria, he was used by Posidonius and is the *trait d'union* between Ctesias and the Alexander Romance (FGrHist 690).

DIONYSIUS (?) (fr. 3, ii, 20).
The name of the work is in lacuna; therefore any identification of this author is impossible.

DIONYSIUS ITYKIOS (fr. 3, i, 13).
Cassius Dionysius of Utica (first century BC) wrote a work *On Agriculture*, which was a translation (with additions) from the Carthaginian Mago. He also wrote a pharmacological work entitled Ῥιζοτομικά, used and quoted by Pliny.

ERASISTRATUS, *On Cookery* (Ὀψαρτυτικόν) (fr. 10a, 7–8)
The famous physician who worked in Antiochia, Athens, and Alexandria (acme in 258/7 BC).

GLAUCUS, *Exegesis* (fr. 3, ii, 8–9)
Hunt suggested Glaucus (FGrHist 674), author of an Ἀραβικὴ ἀρχαιολογία in four books, a periegesis with historical and ethnographi-

cal interests, and whose fragments are preserved by Stephanus of Byzantium. His dating is uncertain; Jacoby suggests between ca. 140 BC and 200 AD but distinguishes this Glaucus of the Oxyrhynchus Glossary from the author of the Ἀραβικὴ ἀρχαιολογία. The Glaucus quoted in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary is listed by Jacoby as FGrHist 806 F 1.

Hegesander (fr. 3, i, 12 quoted from his Ὑπομνήματα; fr. 3, iii, 21)

From Delphi (middle of the second century BC). He collected anecdotes in at least six books (known as Ὑπομνήματα) dealing with the kings of Macedonia and Syria (FHG 4, 412–422).

Heraclides, *Foreign Language* (Ξένη φωνή) (fr. 3, iii, 13).

Various possible identifications; among the most likely:

Heraclides Lembus, grammarian and historian. He lived and worked at Alexandria in the second century BC. He wrote Ἱστορίαι and other historical works. He also prepared a compendium of the *Politeiai* and the Νόμιμα βαρβαρικά of Aristotle.

Heraclides ὁ κριτικός. Geographer, author of a *Periegesis* of Greece (third century BC).

Heraclides of Cymae (FGrHist 689), author of Περσικά and probably to be identified with the Heraclides Ἀλεξανδρεύς, author of Περσικὰ ἰδιώματα quoted by Diog. Laert. 5.94. He probably worked during the reign of Philip II and his work was perhaps used by Callimachus (fr. 278 Pfeiffer). Since the papyrus quotes him as author of a Ξένη φωνή, it is not impossible to suppose that this work on 'Foreign Language' is to be identified with the Περσικὰ ἰδιώματα; if so, he would indeed be the ethnographer from Cymae.

Hestiaeus, *On Phoenicia* (Περὶ Φοινικῆς) (fr. 10a, 5–6).

We do not know much about him. His work *On Phoenicia* is used by Josephus, a fact that provides a terminus *ante quem*. The name is transmitted as Ἱστιαῖος and Ἑστιαῖος (FGrHist 786).

Homer (fr. 11, 5).

The passage quoted is not identifiable.

Panaetius (?) (fr. 12, 3), ca. 185–110 BC.

His name is only a suggestion (see at p. 126).

Xenophon (fr. 5, 21), fourth century BC.

The passage quoted is not identifiable, but comes from the first book of one of his multi-book treatises.

4. Dating and Origin

There is no other glossary so full of learned quotations (see below, Chapter 6.3). The works quoted are lexicographical, historical and ethnographical, and, as far as we can see, do not go beyond the first century BC (with Cassius Dionysius of Utica). They are mostly dated to the fourth century BC (Xenophon, Aristotle, Andron of Halicarnassus, Heraclides of Cymae, D(e)inon), the fourth and third centuries BC (Autoclides, Callimachus and Berossus), the second century BC (Apollodorus, Heraclides Lembus, Antenor and Hegesander), and the second and first centuries BC (Asclepiades of Myrlea).[1] This evidence suggests that we are dealing with a work whose core is quite ancient. Everything (learned content, interest in glosses, dialectal entries, quotations from learned literature) seems to point to the Hellenistic period.

We would expect this kind of work to be put together in an important cultural center where there was interest in such words and where a large library was available. Whereas Aristotle, Homer and Xenophon were probably quite easy to find in any average Greek or Hellenistic city, all the other historians and antiquarians would not have been the kind of authors a small provincial town would have considered worth struggling to have for its own library. Since our glossary points to a cultural center with an extremely rich library, the most likely candidates are of course Alexandria and Pergamum.[2] In trying to assign this work to one of these two centers there are many considerations to take into account.

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1   The only one that is outside this time range would be Asclepiades the Younger (first/second century AD), who however is a very unlikely candidate. Glaucus' dating is unknown and ranges between 140 BC and 200 AD. The same holds for Hestiaeus, who must be dated anywhere before Flavius Josephus (first century AD), who uses him.

2   Athens instead does not seem to be a good candidate, as in the Hellenistic period it was less of a cultural center than Alexandria and Pergamum, and its library was not as rich as those of these other two cities.

4.1 The Pergamene Hypothesis

The hypothesis of Pergamum as the center where this glossary was put together is suggested by its content. This is not a glossary intended to aid in the interpretation of any specific author of Greek literature: apart from Homer and Xenophon (cf. fr. 11, 5 and fr. 5, 21), there is no other literary author quoted or referred to, and none of the lemmata recur in any work of literature that has reached us. The choice of the lemmata in our papyrus seems to point towards an interest in dialectal and non-Greek words, specifically from Greek dialects or other languages present in Asia Minor (Rhodian, Lydian) and in the Near East. Pergamum's scholars do seem to have taken more interest in this kind of antiquarian and ethnographical approach than their colleagues in Alexandria. One of the reasons was surely the geographical proximity of Pergamum to these 'exotic' places. The glossographers working at Pergamum could have had a quicker access to glosses from Lydia, or Babylon or Rhodes. And we know that at Pergamum scholars did indeed produce works on the geography of the surroundings areas, such as those of the Trojan area by Demetrius of Scepsis and Polemo of Ilium. Polemo worked on many other periegeses testified to by Suidas π 1888, where he is called ὁ κληθεὶς Περιηγητής.[3] A specific interest in non-Greek dialects and languages is also found in Pergamum scholars: Sch. Ap. Rhod. 1.1123b, commenting on the lemma χεράδες, tells us that Demetrius of Scepsis thought it was a word from the dialect of Apollonia in Pontus.[4] A peculiar interest in the Chaldaeans is attested in the work of Crates[5] and of his pupil Zenodotus of Mallus, who believed that Homer himself was a Chaldaean.[6]

Nevertheless, of all the *auctoritates* quoted in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary, the only one who is linked more or less directly with Pergamum is Apollodorus, quoted verbatim in one of the longest entries of the glossary. Apollodorus had some contacts with the court at Pergamum (he dedicated his *Chronica* to Attalus II, 158–138 BC), but there is no clear

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3   Cf. Pfeiffer 1968, 234–251, in particular 246–251.
4   Sch. Ap. Rhod. 1.1123b χεράδες λέγονται οἱ cωροὶ τῶν μικρῶν λίθων. φηcὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Cκήψιος (fr. 70 Gaede) τὴν διάλεκτον Ἀπολλωνιατῶν εἶναι τῶν ἐν Πόντῳ.
5   Cf. Wachsmuth 1860, 41; Helck 1905, 7–15; Broggiato 2001, 180–182, fr. 21; Schironi 2004, 124–130, fr. 12. Moreover, Crates is known for his tendency to quote minor authors (cf. Broggiato 2000, 368), as our papyrus does.
6   Cf. Sch. AT *Il.* 23.79b (ex.). Cf. Wachsmuth 1860, 28; Pusch 1890, 150–151; Maass 1892, 187; Helck 1905, 7.

evidence of his settling there. Instead he spent a long time working with Aristarchus at Alexandria and then probably moved back to Athens.[7]

4.2 The Alexandrian Hypothesis

In favor of an Alexandrian origin is the obvious fact that our papyrus comes from Egypt. Furthermore, a comparison with the preserved lexica and glossaries of late antiquity and the Byzantine era shows that our glossary has striking similarities with Hesychius, who, via Diogenianus-Vestinus-Pamphilus, can be seen as a *summa* of Alexandrian glossography. Leaving aside for the moment the problem of authorship, which will be addressed in Chapter 7, there are other elements that point towards an Alexandrian origin.

The Library of Alexandria was surely the richest in antiquity; hence it is the place where all the authorities quoted in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary could most likely have been found. In this regard, the most interesting of the authors quoted here is Berossus, a figure relatively unknown in ancient sources.[8]

Berossus, a Babylonian priest of Bel-Marduk, dedicated his work on Babylon to Antiochus I Soter (281/0–262/1 BC), probably in 281 BC. The title of his work is transmitted under different names: Βαβυλω-νιακά, Χαλδαικά, or Χαλδαικὴ Ἀρχαιολογία and it was divided in three books. Book One described the geography of Babylon and contained mythical accounts of the creation of the world and of how the fish-man Oannes civilized humankind. Book Two told of the ten kings before the flood, the story of Xisuthros and the flood itself, and the post-diluvian kings. Book Three recounted the history of Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and Persian kings and ended with Alexander the Great. Berossus' fragments are preserved through indirect tradition, especially by late authors such as Josephus, Eusebius and Georgius Syncellus.[9]

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7   Cf. Schwartz 1894, 2856.
8   On Berossus see Burstein 1978 and Kuhrt 1987.
9   The work of Berossus was first epitomized in the first century AD by Alexander Polyhistor. Alexander's work too is not preserved, but was used by Eusebius of Caesarea in the first book of his *Chronica* (fourth century AD). Excerpts from Alexander Polyhistor were also made by Josephus (first century AD) and by Abydenus (second century AD). Thus the main sources for Berossus are Josephus, Abydenus (also preserved by Eusebius) and Eusebius himself. Eusebius' *Chronica* is preserved in Greek only in excerpts in the Ἐκλογὴ χρονογραφίας

In general, Berossus did not enjoy much popularity; Greek historians followed the chronology of Ctesias for the Babylonian kings. Where could a copy of Berossus' *Babyloniaca* be found outside the Seleucid court? Even though the *Babyloniaca* might have been available in the Library of Pergamum, the Library of Alexandria is surely the most likely place. During this period a policy of systematic book acquisition was pursued by the Ptolemaic court, as indicated by many sources.[10] It is likely that the 'exotic' *Babyloniaca* were acquired by the Alexandrian librarians, since they had an interest in books dealing with other cultures, as demonstrated for example by the historical works of Manetho or by the translation of the Hebrew Bible.[11]

The verbatim quotation of Apollodorus of Athens in our glossary (fr. 3, ii, 1) also seems to point to Alexandria. As already noted, Apollodorus spent most of his life at Alexandria working in the circle of Aristarchus, whereas his presence in Pergamum is uncertain. Copies of Apollodorus' works were certainly present in the Library of Alexandria.

But there is more in favor of the Alexandrian hypothesis. The quotations from Aristotle are particularly interesting in this regard. Aristotle is here quoted three (or perhaps four) times, and in two cases[12] the work quoted is the ninth book of the *Historia Animalium* (*HA* 9.13, 615b25 and *HA* 9.41, 627b33). The papyrus, however, always quotes it as ἐν ῆ Περὶ τῶν

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of Georgius Syncellus (ninth century AD) and in an Armenian translation. Apart from these, which are the main sources for Berossus' fragments, mentions of him are also to be found in Vitruvius, Seneca and Pliny the Elder. On Berossus' sources, see Burstein 1978, 6, 10–11.

10 Cf. Fraser 1972, vol. 1, 325–330.

11 Flavius Josephus visited Alexandria and seems to have been acquainted with Alexandrian Judaism. This evidence, however, cannot be used to support the thesis that he made direct use of Berossus at Alexandria (or at Rome, for that matter), because Josephus probably knew Berossus through Alexander Poly-histor. Cf. Hölscher 1916, 1965, and Burstein 1978, 11. The quotation of Beros-sus by Apollodorus preserved by Georgius Syncellus (Georg. Sync. *Ecl. Chron.* 40.5 = FGrHist 244 F 83 b) cannot be used as evidence that Apollodorus knew and used the *Babyloniaca* either, since Apollodorus' Χρονικά were limited to Hellenic history and this quotation of Apollodorus by Georgius Syncellus was, among others (FGrHist 244 F 83–87), falsely attributed to Apollodorus of Athens. Cf. Jacoby, ad loc.

12 In fr. 3, ii, 22 Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν ῆ Περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις μορίω[ν] and in fr. 3, iii, 4 Ἀρι[c]τοτέλης ἐν ῆ Περ[ὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις μορίωⁿ].

ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις μορίων, 'in Book Eight of *On the Parts in Animals*'. What seems to be a mistake at first sight – we do have a work entitled Περὶ ζῴων μορίων, but it has only four books and none of the quotations of the glossary comes from this work[13] – can instead be easily explained in terms of different editions of Aristotle's corpus. Far from committing a mistake in his quotation, our author is referring to an edition of Aristotle's works different from the one that we now have and that was organized by Andronicus of Rhodes (ca. 40–20 BC).[14]

As for the lack of correspondence with our text of the *Historia Animalium*, where the two passages quoted belong to the ninth book and not to the eighth, the problem is easily explained. In the ancient editions of the *Historia Animalium*, what is now Book Seven used to be placed after Book Nine, so what is now Book Nine was then Book Eight. This ordering of the books of the *Historia Animalium* (1–6, 8, 9, 7) is found in our medieval manuscripts and, according to Düring,[15] was the basis for both the Alexandrian edition and that of Andronicus. According to Düring's reconstruction, in antiquity there were three editions of the *Historia Animalium*:

1. An edition in which the *Historia Animalium* was split into two treatises: Περὶ ζῴων μορίων (Books 1–6) + Περὶ ζῴων ἠθῶν (Books 8–9); perhaps Book Seven may have existed as a separate treatise entitled Περὶ γενέσεως.

2. The Alexandrian edition in nine books, in this order: 1–6, 8, 9, 7, the same as found in our medieval manuscripts. The title was Περὶ τῶν ζῴων ἱστορία or Περὶ ζῴων. This edition was used by Aristophanes of Byzantium for his epitome.

3. The edition of Andronicus: Περὶ τῶν ζῴων ἱστορίαι in nine books (in the same order as the Alexandrian one: 1–6, 8, 9, 7) plus a tenth book by Andronicus.

As for the title of what is now the *Historia Animalium*, two titles are attested: Περὶ τῶν ζῴων ἱστορία, which is used by Alexander of Myndus

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13   Among the zoological works of Aristotle, the *Historia Animalium*, as we have it, has ten books (and probably the tenth book is an addition by Andronicus); the *De Partibus Animalium* has four books.

14   This discrepancy and its solution were first suggested by Crönert 1922, 425; cf. also Keaney 1963, 53–54, and Funghi & Messeri Savorelli 1989, 336. On Andronicus of Rhodes' edition of the zoological works of Aristotle, see Düring 1950, esp. 67–70.

15   Cf. Düring 1950, 50.

(ca. 50 AD) and Harpocration (second century AD), and Περὶ ζῴων μορίων, which is the title normally used by Athenaeus to refer to the *Historia Animalium*.[16] Düring thought that this title Περὶ ζῴων μορίων indicated an edition of only the first six books of the *Historia Animalium* (see at no. 1 in Düring's reconstruction), while at Alexandria the edition was called Περὶ τῶν ζῴων ἱστορία and included all nine books.

Keaney, however, has argued for an Alexandrian edition entitled Περὶ ζῴων μορίων in nine books.[17] And indeed the evidence that this edition Περὶ ζῴων μορίων comprised at least eight books (and not only six) is provided by our glossary, which quotes an eighth book of this work. According to Keaney,[18] Aristophanes of Byzantium himself refers to *Historia Animalium* Book One, chapters 6–17 (491a.24–497b.2) as ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Τῶν μορίων (Ar. Byz. *Epit.* B 5, p. 36.17 Lambros = Gigon 1987, 454.12).[19] It thus seems quite certain that at Alexandria the *Historia Animalium* was also known as a Περὶ … μορίων.

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16   Cf. for example Ath. 2.63b Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν ε περὶ ζῴων μορίων φησίν (*HA* 544a23) …; 7.306f Ἀριστοτέλης δ᾽ ἐν πέμπτῳ ζῴων μορίων (*HA* 543b14); … The work περὶ ζῴων μορίων by Aristotle is quoted twenty-one times by Athenaeus with this title. It is worth noting that, with the exception of one case, all the quotations come from Book Five. Even when Book Two is mentioned (Ath. 7.304c Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν δευτέρῳ ζῴων μορίων τοὺς ἱππούρους φησὶν ᾠὰ τίκτειν and 7.312c Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ ζῴων μορίων), the exact reference is still to Book Five of the *Historia Animalium* (*HA* 5. 543a22 and 543a19). This situation is moreover complicated by the circumstance that sometimes Athenaeus shows awareness of the edition of Andronicus. On the quotations of *Historia Animalium* in Athenaeus, see Düring 1950, 40–48.

17   Keaney 1963, esp. 53–58. On the highly problematic history of Aristotle's biological writings, see also Lord 1986, 152–157.

18   Keaney 1963, 56.

19   This is at least the reading of the manuscript, emended by Lambros 1885, ad loc., into Ἱστοριῶν. It must be noted, however, that this title does not occur elsewhere in the epitome of Aristophanes. On the other hand in Ar. Byz. *Epit.* B 178, p. 79.5 Lambros = Gigon 1987, 458.34, a passage from Book Eight of the *Historia Animalium* is referred as λέγει (sc. Aristotle) δὲ ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ τῆς Ἱστορίας. If the real title of the *Historia Animalium* as known to Aristophanes of Byzantium is thus open to question, Keaney 1963, 56, is right when he points out that Aristophanes' epitome Περὶ ζῴων is not the title of Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* as known at Alexandria, but rather a description of the subject matter of his epitome. This is demonstrated by the fact that Aristophanes in his epitome collects material not only from the *Historia Animalium* but also from the *Partes Animalium* and the *Generatio Animalium*, as the index of Lambros' edition (Lambros 1885, 266–272) clearly shows. This contradicts Lord's reconstruction (Lord 1986, esp. 142–144), according to which the library of Aristotle was split:

As for the missing part of this title, the Oxyrhynchus Glossary gives an extremely important detail. The glossary, as far as the only complete entry allows us to conclude, does not quote it as Περὶ ζῴων μορίων, as Athenaeus does, but as Περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις μορίων (fr. 3, ii, 22 Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν η̄ Περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις μορίω[ν]). This way of referring to the work of Aristotle as Περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις μορίων is extremely interesting and, in my view, even more 'Alexandrian' than Περὶ ζῴων μορίων. 'Περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις μορίων' is actually the *incipit* of the *Historia Animalium*: Τῶν ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις μορίων τὰ μέν ἐστιν ἀσύνθετα, …, τὰ δὲ σύνθετα … This way of quoting a book by the *incipit* is typical of the Alexandrians, especially in the *Pinakes* by Callimachus.[20]

The quotation from the epitome of Aristophanes of Byzantium does not in fact contradict this hypothesis, because the reference ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν μορίων does not tell us whether that work was known to him as Περὶ ζῴων μορίων (as in Athenaeus, who was in any case using Alexandrian material)[21] or as Περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις μορίων (as in our glossary).

Περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις μορίων for the *Historia Animalium* seems thus indeed the most Alexandrian way of referring to this work: by the *incipit* and according to the book numbering that was common in antiquity.

Our glossary thus is quoting these two passages from Book Nine of the *Historia Animalium* correctly, but according to a different arrangement of the books and according to a different title, which corresponds to the *incipit* of the treatise itself. This practice was common in antiquity, and in particular at Alexandria. This would further support the idea of an Alexandrian origin of our glossary.

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part of it was kept by Neleus at Scepsis (and then purchased by Apellicon who brought it back to Athens) and part was sold to Ptolemy II Philadelphus (cf. Ath. 1.3b). According to Lord 1986, 155, the *Partes Animalium* and the *Generatio Animalium* were among Neleus' books, whereas the *Historia Animalium* reached Alexandria. The epitome of Aristophanes of Byzantium seems however to have drawn from all these works, which were thus all present at Alexandria.

20 On the Πίνακες cf. Pfeiffer 1968, 127–131.
21 On Athenaeus, his Alexandrian background, and especially his knowledge of Alexandrian scholarship, see Thompson 2000; Jacob 2000; Sidwell 2000, 139–140.

5. Near Eastern Glosses
and the Problem of their Acquisition

One of the greatest problems presented by the Oxyrhynchus Glossary is that of the Semitic and Persian glosses, because most of them are not attested in these non-Greek languages.[1] For many fragments, moreover, only the explanation is preserved without any remnant of the lemmata. We may try to guess some lemmata (as in fr. 10a; see below, at pp. 120 and 123–124), but any attempt of this kind must remain purely hypothetical. The major difficulty found in working on this glossary is that some of the 'foreign' glosses do not sound phonetically compatible with the languages they are said to be derived from. This means that whoever collected these glosses did not transcribe them correctly and consistently misspelled them. Therefore, in any attempt to restore an original form, there are two problems to address. First, the question of which language the gloss comes from. Second, the question of how these glosses were acquired by the Greeks who transcribed them.

5.1 The Languages of the Oxyrhynchus Glossary

In our glossary, some glosses are defined as 'Persian', others as 'Babylonian', others as 'Chaldaean'. What did the Greeks actually mean by these terms? Were these terms used as synonyms or were they actually used to define different languages, as we use them? If we are dealing with three different types of languages, 'Persian', 'Babylonian' and 'Chaldaean' would correspond to the following modern linguistic definitions:

For 'Persian' we can easily suggest Old Persian, attested from the sixth to the fourth century BC and written in cuneiform.[2] Less likely is

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1   The problem of Semitic words in Greek has been studied by Lewy 1895 and then by Masson 1967. Cf. also Hemmerdinger 1970 and Braun 1982, 25–26. On Persian influences on Greek see Schmitt 1971 and now Brust 2005.

2   Persian is divided into Old Persian (attested from the sixth to the fourth century BC and written in cuneiform), Middle Persian or Pahlavi (ca. 240 BC – 650 AD), and Neo-Persian or Farsi. Although Old Persian was the language attested in the

Middle Persian, attested in the Parthian inscriptions of the Parthian / Arsacid Empire (ca. 240 BC-224 AD) and then in the Persian inscriptions of the Sasanian Empire (224–651 AD). Both Parthian and Middle Persian are written in alphabetical scripts derived from the imperial Aramaic alphabet.[3]

For 'Babylonian', we can assume Akkadian, which was written in the cuneiform alphabet.[4]

The label 'Chaldaean', however, is ambiguous, since this term does not normally refer to a language, but to a cultural identity. One possibility would be to identify the Chaldaean language with Aramaic, which in the period of the Achaemenid Empire (ca. 550–330 BC) had become the official language of the imperial administration in place of Akkadian (the so-called Imperial or Official Aramaic).[5] Furthermore, Aramaic (written in the Aramaic alphabet) was the lingua franca of the Near East for many centuries, until Arabic took its place in the seventh century AD. On these grounds we might suggest that the Greeks by 'Chaldaean' meant Aramaic, thus equating the oriental lore of the Chaldaeans with the lingua franca spoken there.

Achaemenid inscriptions, it was never the administrative language or the lingua franca of the Achaemenid Empire, which used mainly Aramaic for this purpose. Cf. Schmitt 2004, 717, and Creason 2004, 392. Elamite too was used in the Achaemenid Empire, both in royal inscriptions and in bureaucratic records. Cf. Stolper 2004, 63. Until recently, Old Persian was thus believed to have been used only in royal inscriptions from Darius I (522–486 BC) to Artaxerses III (359/8–338/7 BC). The recent (May 2007) discovery in the Persepolis Fortification Archive of an administrative tablet in Old Persian, written in Old Persian cuneiform script, might change this picture, however. See Stolper & Tavernier 2007.

3   Cf. MacKenzie 1971, x-xi.
4   Akkadian is divided into three dialects. Old Akkadian, the oldest, is the language of the Sargon dynasty (ca. 2500–2000 BC). Old Akkadian is itself divided up into two major dialects, Babylonian, spoken in southern Mesopotamia, and Assyrian, spoken in northern Mesopotamia. Babylonian is divided into Old Babylonian (ca. 2000–1500 BC), Middle Babylonian (ca. 1500–1000 BC), Neo-Babylonian (ca. 1000–600 BC), and Late Babylonian (ca. 600 BC-100 AD). Assyrian is divided into Old Assyrian (ca. 2000–1500 BC), Middle Assyrian (ca. 1500–1000 BC), and Neo-Assyrian (ca. 1000–600 BC). Cf. Huehnergard & Woods 2004, 218–219, and also Walker 1990, 26–29.
5   Aramaic is divided into Old Aramaic (ca. 950–600 BC), Imperial or Official Aramaic (ca. 600-200 BC), Middle Aramaic (ca. 200 BC-200 AD), Late Aramaic (ca. 200–700 AD), and Modern Aramaic (ca. 700 AD to the present). Cf. Creason 2004, 391–392.

Another solution, however, is possible: 'Chaldaean Dynasty' is a synonym for the Neo-Babylonian Dynasty in the historial terminology; thus 'Chaldaean' in our glossary could indicate the Neo-Babylonian language.[6] The equation of Chaldaean with Babylonian seems also to be supported by the fact that the work of Berossus is often referred to by later historians as a work 'on the culture of the Chaldaeans'.[7] The connection between the Chaldaean language and the people living in Babylon is moreover obvious in at least two passages in our papyrus, in fr. 3, iii, 14–15, which reads μινοδολόεϲϲα: ἀριθμῶν ϲύνταξιϲ παρὰ Χαλδαίο[ιϲ …] | κατὰ Βαβυλῶνα, and again in fr. 3, iii, 19–20, which reads μιϲαι: {ὁ} παρὰ Χαλδαίοιϲ ἡ τῶν μελλόντων πρόγνωϲι[ϲ …] | τῶν κατὰ Βαβυλῶνα. Thus Chaldaean seems to be a synonym of Babylonian, i.e. Akkadian, rather than of Aramaic (a meaning which is nowhere attested).[8] It seems clear, at any rate, that whether it is Akkadian or Aramaic, Chaldaean indicates a Semitic language.

We must also not rule out the possibility that these divisions, i.e. Persian, Babylonian and Chaldaean, meant the same language, at least for Greek people of the Hellenistic era. In the end, the linguistic strata of

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6 Neo-Babylonian is well preserved, especially through documents written during the Chaldaean Dynasty (625–539 BC).

7 Cf. Georg. Sync. *Ecl. Chron.* 14.22 Βήρωϲϲοϲ ὁ τῆϲ Χαλδαϊκῆϲ ἀρχαιολογίαϲ ϲυγγραφεύϲ (FGrHist 680 T 8 b); Josephus *AJ* 1.107 καὶ γὰρ καὶ Μανεθὼν ὁ τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν ποιηϲάμενοϲ ἀναγραφήν, καὶ Βηρωϲϲὸϲ ὁ τὰ Χαλδαϊκὰ ϲυναγαγών (FGrHist 680 T 8 a. F 14); Georg. Sync. *Ecl. Chron.* 17.12 ἐπίπλαϲτόϲ ἐϲτιν ἡ τούτων ἐπίνοια ἀμφοτέρων, ὡϲ προείρηται, τοῦ τε Βηρώϲϲου (cf. FGrHist 680 T 10) καὶ τοῦ Μανεθῶ (FGrHist 609 T 11 c), τὸ ἴδιον ἔθνοϲ θέλοντοϲ δοξάϲαι, τοῦ μὲν τὸ τῶν Χαλδαίων, τοῦ δὲ τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων.

8 Cf. Schmitt 1992, 32: 'Χαλδαικόϲ meint ja nichts anderes als 'babylonisch''. In this very interesting article Schmitt analyzes the meaning of the Greek expressions: Ἀϲϲύρια γράμματα, Ϲύρια γράμματα, Περϲικὰ γράμματα, Χαλδαικὰ γράμματα. His conclusion is that these expressions generally indicate the cuneiform script and that the usage of the adjective is often due to the context: if the Greek writers speak of Sardanapalus they would use Ἀϲϲύρια or Ϲύρια γράμματα, for an inscription of Cyrus they would use Περϲικὰ γράμματα. Ἀϲϲύρια / Ϲύρια γράμματα is however also used to mean the Aramaic script, as for example in Thuc. 4.50.2 (οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰϲ μὲν ἐπιϲτολὰϲ μεταγραψάμενοι ἐκ τῶν Ἀϲϲυρίων γραμμάτων ἀνέγνωϲαν). In this light Ἀϲϲύρια / Ϲύρια γράμματα would have a broader meaning, that of 'oriental script'. On this passage of Thucydides, cf. also Momigliano 1975, 9; Harrison 1998, fn. 19. 'Syria' and 'Assyria' are used as synonyms also in the Hieroglyphic Luwian and Phoenician bilingual inscription from Çineköy: see Rollinger 2006.

those regions were so complex that a Hellenistic Greek might not have been able to draw a clear distinction between all these different languages, especially because they were spoken by the same people in the same area (with many reciprocal influences in terms of lexicon). In addition, they would probably all sound equally barbarian to Greek ears.

5.2 Acquisition and Transcription of the Glosses

Even if we assume that for the Greeks there was a clear distinction between Persian and Babylonian/Chaldaean, another problem arises: how were these glosses acquired? By listening or by reading? And if by reading, in which format/script were they read?

In view of the document we are dealing with, a glossary dating back probably to Hellenistic/early Roman times, we must first distinguish between two subjects in our enquiry:

1. The author of the glossary, i.e. the glossographer working (in Alexandria or, as is less likely, in Pergamum) between the first century BC and the first century AD.

2. The authors of the works from which our glossographer took his material, i.e. the periegetes, erudites and antiquarians who collected the glosses by autopsy.

As for our primary author, our glossographer, the problem is quite easy to solve, since we can safely conclude that he did not read any of these glosses anywhere else than in the library.[9] This glossary shows clearly that it is a product of extensive reading of various erudite works from the Classical and Hellenistic periods. The works are all by Greek authors (or authors who wrote in Greek, like Berossus) who transcribed the 'foreign' words into Greek. Thus what our glossographer read were words already written in the Greek alphabet. Naturally these words did

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9 In the glossary there is no trace of direct acquisition of a gloss through spoken language or official documents. This is normally the case in ancient lexicography, but there are a few exceptions. There is evidence that Aristophanes of Byzantium used official documents for his *Lexeis*, as a quotation of a letter of the Aetolian league to the Milesians confirms (fr. 25c Slater). Tryphon (first century BC) also quotes a letter of the king Antiochus in order to exemplify a Hellenistic usage of ὣc as a temporal conjunction (cf. Eust. 1214.41).

not mean much in Greek, being merely transcriptions from foreign languages. From a purely phonetic point of view, however, our glossographer arguably did not have any sort of problem. He had just to read all his sources, collect all the odd words, and transcribe them with their 'translations'. The only mistakes he could make were the usual scribal mistakes, but nothing more, since he was working within the Greek writing system.

The question then concerns his sources: the historians, periegetes, and erudites who collected these words from native speakers or original written records. When they transcribed these Semitic or Iranian words, how had they acquired them? This is an old and much-discussed problem, starting with Herodotus, whose eagerness in transmitting local words in his ethnographical sections has sparked a huge debate among scholars.[10] It is generally accepted that Herodotus and the Greeks of the Classical period did not know any local language, let alone any local script.[11] After Alexander the Great, however, the Greek world expanded and came into much closer contact with the so-called *barbaroi*, potentially altering the situation with regard to the acquisition of foreign words.

The problem of the sources of this glossary is therefore related to the great and still unresolved question of the monolingualism of the Greeks and their interest in Eastern cultures during the Hellenistic era. To a large extent, the thesis of Momigliano,[12] according to which the Greeks never had command of any languages other than Greek itself, still holds. But we must allow that the Greeks living in Asia Minor, an area surrounded by Semitic or Iranian people, might not have been completely ignorant of these languages in their daily life. This seems especially true for Aramaic, which was the lingua franca in those regions. The 'Graeco-Babyloniaca', clay tablets from between the second and the first century BC, which are inscribed with an Akkadian or Sumerian text both in cuneiform and in the Greek alphabet, are evidence of the contacts be-

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10   A good survey of the debate is Harrison 1998. Cf. also Armayor 1978.

11   Cf. Harrison 1998 with the bibliography quoted at notes 12 and 20. Dalley 2003, however, has argued that Herodotus was certainly able to converse in and perhaps also to read Aramaic. On the knowledge and interest of the Greeks in foreign languages see Lejune 1948; Rotolo 1972; Werner 1983; Werner 1992.

12   Momigliano 1975, esp. chapters 1 and 6 (for the relationship with the Iranian people), and Momigliano 1977.

tween Greeks and Semitic people, at least at the scribal elite level, in the late Hellenistic era.[13]

Even assuming a superficial knowledge of other languages by some Greeks, the problem of these Near Eastern glosses is still open. How would these historians and ethnographers in the Hellenistic period get these glosses? Were they able to read them in their original script? Or was it a case of pure oral transmission? If we suppose that some of these erudites were able to read an original script (a very unlikely possibility, in my view), it is still unclear whether the Greek transcription of a Semitic or Persian word is to be trusted. Were the vowels present in the written form available to the Greek antiquarians? As is well known, certain alphabets, such as the Phoenician, do not write vowels. Cuneiform script, partly syllabic and partly logographic, did write vowels, however,[14] and this was probably the script in which the Babylonian or Chaldaean words – if they are Akkadian – as well the Persian ones, were originally written.[15] But by the time our glossary was composed the dominant alphabet in the Near East was the Aramaic script,[16] and even though this alphabet sometimes uses certain consonants such as *h*, *w* and *y* to represent long vowels, it does not usually write them.[17] We can easily rule out the possibility that these Greek antiquarians were able to read cuneiform script. As regards Aramaic, given that it was the lingua franca in Asia

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13 Cf. Sollberger 1962; Black & Sherwin-White 1984; Maul 1991; Knudsen 1989–90; Knudsen 1990; Knudsen 1995. Most of these tablets (eight out of nine tablets of which both front and back surfaces are preserved) have the same text written on one side in Greek script and on the other in cuneiform; only one, an Ashmolean Museum tablet (inv. 1937.993), has only the Greek script (see Black & Sherwin-White 1984, 132). On the relationship between Greeks and local population in the Seleucid Reign, cf. Sherwin-White & Kuhrt 1993, 141–187.

14 Some problems do arise; for example, signs that contain /e/ are often not distinguished from signs that contain /i/, and often vowel length is unexpressed in the script though it is relevant in the language. On the cuneiform script, cf. Walker 1990 and Huehnergard & Woods 2004, 220–229.

15 It must be clarified that, apart from the fact that the signs are composed of wedges, Old Persian cuneiform is in no sense a continuation of the earlier cuneiforms employed for Sumerian, Akkadian, Hurrian, Urartian, Elamite languages. It is a simpler system, which was invented in the sixth century BC and was used only in the royal inscriptions of the Achaemenid Empire until the fourth century BC. Cf. Schmitt 2004, 718–723.

16 Cf. Walker 1990, 56.

17 On Aramaic alphabet, cf. Healey 1990, 201–207, 225–229, and Creason 2004, 393–395.

Minor, in principle at least some Greeks living in those areas might have been able to read it. But, even if they could, many mistakes could still arise in the process of transcription because vowels were either not written at all or were written in a way that could have been confusing for non-native speakers.

It seems much more likely that the sources of Greek periegetes were oral. Inscriptions and written records of these exotic languages were probably not the kind of evidence which Hellenistic antiquarians were interested in. Their *modus operandi* seems instead to have been much more along the lines of the Herodotean ἱστορία. They relied mainly on spoken communication; they used to travel and make their inquiries among local people about their traditions and their languages. We can imagine these Greeks going to 'Chaldaean' or 'Babylonian' priests and, probably with the aid of interpreters,[18] listening to them, gathering information and glosses by ἀκοή. If this is the case, these words, regardless of the writing systems and their writing conventions, were only 'heard', and oral transmission can of course easily corrupt the original word.

The risk of misspelling foreign glosses is thus present in both cases, whether we suppose that the Greek source read the words or, what is more likely, heard them. When a foreign word was only listened to, the question is whether the transcription of a word acquired by ἀκοή was actually faithful to the sounds they heard. This is of course a question whenever a person tries to reproduce the sounds of a language which is not his own. In this regard, a study of the kind of mistakes a Greek native speaker was more prone to commit when speaking or transcribing other 'barbarian' languages would be very welcome.[19]

In addition to this, there is also another possible source of errors. If, thinking in terms of oral transmission, we imagine the Greek periegete traveling in these distant regions and asking local people about 'names' of various objects, it is likely that most of the communication (with or without the help of an interpreter) would have been carried out by means of gestures. The Greek, for example, could have pointed with his fingers to an object whose local name he wanted to know. This procedure would have increased the possibility of committing mistakes, because the local

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18   On interpreters in the Greek world, see Franke 1992.

19   The only systematic work to my knowledge on Greek transcriptions of foreign words is by R. Schmitt, who has extensively studied Persian names in Greek writers: see Schmitt 1967; Schmitt 1978; Schmitt 1979; Schmitt 1983; Schmitt 1984; Schmitt 2002.

people could have misunderstood what he wanted to know. A good example in our glossary could be the case of μενεμανι (fr. 3, ii, 17), which is said to mean 'water' in Persian but for which no Iranian word is known that would both fit the meaning and have linguistic similarities to the Greek transcription (see the commentary below on fr. 3, ii, 17, at pp. 89–90). We might imagine D(e)inon, the source of the gloss, asking some local Persians for their word for 'water' by pointing at a basin containing water and asking what they called it. The Persians might have thought that they were being asked about the name of the container, the basin, and not the content, the water. Thus their reply would have been the word used to indicate 'basin' or that particular kind of container, rather than the word used for 'water'.[20] If something like that happened, there would have been no way for our curious D(e)inon to realize the mistake and for us to go back to the original Persian word.

It is sufficient for our purposes to have shown that, whatever process of transmission we imagine, there is ample margin for errors and misspellings of the glosses, which is exactly what we find. Producing a philologically correct text of the Oxyrhynchus Glossary thus poses a great challenge to the editor. In addition, we have to take into account that many other misspellings (even of Greek words) are usually present in papyri; this obviously increases the possibility that many of the 'exotic' words here lemmatized will be wrong in many respects.

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20   I owe this example to Oktor Skjaervo.

6. The Oxyrhynchus Glossary and Greek Glossography

6.1 Glossography and Dialectology in the Hellenistic Period

A brief survey of Hellenistic glossography will help us to assess the value of this text.[1] Among the main products of Hellenistic scholarship were lexica and glossaries on specific authors, especially Homer and Hippocrates, but glossaries and lexica collecting dialectal words were also written. They derived in part, of course, from literary authors whose works were written in different literary dialects, but many dialectal words were to be found elsewhere, for example in the ethnographical works that, since Herodotus, were popular among the Greeks (and probably even more so in the expanded Hellenistic world). Within the Peripatetic school, works like Aristotle's *Constitutions* or the botanical studies of Theophrastus also were rich in local words. It was from texts like these that the first lexicographers interested in dialectal glosses took their material.

I will now review the evidence for the collection of glosses not from various literary authors but from the everyday spoken language, with a particular focus on dialects. The first name of Hellenistic glossography is Philitas of Cos (ca. 340–285 BC) who in his Ἄτακτοι γλῶσσαι collected Homeric, lyric, technical and dialectal words (we have evidence of Aeolian, Argive, Boeotian, Cyprian, Cyrenean, Lesbian, Megarian, Sicyonian and Syracusan glosses). The exact meaning of the title Ἄτακτοι γλῶσσαι is debated; one hypothesis is that it meant that these γλῶσσαι were not listed following the alphabetical or any other order.[2] Callimachus' Ἐθνικαὶ ὀνομασίαι collected names of fish, and perhaps also of winds, months and birds. Zenodotus of Ephesus, the first librarian at Alexandria, wrote Γλῶσσαι in which he might have collected poetical glosses. A work entitled Ἐθνικαὶ λέξεις, where Arcadian, Dorian, and Si-

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1   The best survey on Hellenistic dialectal glossography is still Latte 1925. See also Tolkiehn 1925; Degani 1987; and Alpers 1990.
2   Cf. Spanoudakis 2002, 347–400, in particular 384–392.

cyonian words were mentioned, is also attributed to him.[3] It was probably not an independent work, but a 'dialectal' section within the Γλῶσσαι.[4]

The great lexicographer of Alexandria was Aristophanes of Byzantium (ca. 257–180 BC) who arranged his Λέξεις in thematic sections such as Περὶ ὀνομασίας ἡλικιῶν or Περὶ συγγενικῶν ὀνομάτων. Although Philitas, Callimachus and Aristophanes of Byzantium may be the most famous lexicographers of Hellenistic times, we have plenty of evidence that they were not alone. Dionysius Iambus, the teacher of Aristophanes of Byzantium, wrote a Περὶ διαλέκτων (surviving in only one fragment, preserved by Ath. 7.284b), and a work entitled Φρύγιαι φωναί was written by Neoptolemus of Parium in the third century BC. Among the authors who took an interest in local terms, Philemon of Athens (third century BC) wrote a Περὶ Ἀττικῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ γλωσσῶν and Amerias, in his Ἐθνικαὶ γλῶσσαι, was concerned in particular with Macedonian glosses. After Aristophanes, Parmenion of Byzantium (second/first century BC) wrote a Περὶ διαλέκτων; in this work he probably started from a term in koine and then gave the different local varieties. Clitarchus of Aegina (between the second half of the second century and the first century BC) wrote Γλῶσσαι; in his fragments words from Ambracia, Aeolia, Aetolia, Ionia, Clitoria in Arcadia, Cyprus, Cyrene, Sparta, Rhodes, and Thessaly are mentioned as well as some from Phrygia and Soli (on this cf. below, at pp. 44–45). He was an important source for later lexicographers and is quoted by Epaphroditus, Didymus, and Pamphilus. Collections entitled Ἀττικαὶ λέξεις are attested for Istrus, a pupil of Callimachus (third century BC) and for Demetrius Ixion (middle of the second century BC), who wrote also a Περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων διαλέκτου, thus recognizing the existence of a dialect of Alexandria of Egypt.

More specific and thorough works on dialectology are attested only from the first century BC onwards. In the next generation of Aristophanes' pupils (from the beginning of the first century BC), Diodorus wrote Ἰταλικαὶ γλῶσσαι, Artemidorus of Tarsus a Περὶ Δωρίδος, Ermenonactes Κρητικαὶ γλῶσσαι, Moschus an Ἐξήγησις Ῥοδιακῶν λέξεων.

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3   Cf. Gal. *Explicatio* 19.129.1 K. πέζαι … Ζηνόδοτος μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς ἐθνικαῖς λέξεσι πέζαν φησὶ τὸν πόδα καλεῖν Ἀρκάδας καὶ Δωριεῖς and *ibid.* 19.129.7 K. πέλλα: … Ζηνόδοτος δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἐθνικαῖς λέξεσι Σικυωνίους φησὶ τὸ κιρρόν, πέλλον ὀνομάζειν.

4   As suggested by a quotation of a dialectal gloss from Zenodotus' "Γλῶσσαι": Sch. Ap. Rhod. 2.1005–1006a στυφελήν: τραχεῖαν καὶ σκληράν· οὕτως Κλειτόριοι λέγουσιν, ὥς φησι Ζηνόδοτος ἐν Γλώσσαις, Κυρηναῖοι δὲ τὴν χέρσον. Cf. Nickau 1972, 39–43.

Attic *lexeis* were collected between the first century BC and the first century AD by Heracleo of Ephesus, Theodorus (used by Pamphilus; cf. Ath. 15.677b), and Crates of Athens.[5] The most important grammarian writing about dialects in the first century BC is Philoxenus of Alexandria, who composed a Περὶ τῆς τῶν Συρακουσίων διαλέκτου (only the title remains), Περὶ τῆς Λακώνων διαλέκτου (only the title remains), Περὶ τῆς Ἰάδος διαλέκτου (frr. 290–310 Theodoridis), Περὶ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτου (frr. 311–329 Theodoridis), where he treated Latin as a form of Aeolic. The other important figure of dialectology is Tryphon, of the Augustan era. He wrote a Περὶ πλεονασμοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Αἰολίδι διαλέκτῳ βιβλία ζ and a Περὶ τῆς Ἑλλήνων διαλέκτου καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Ἱμεραίων καὶ Ῥηγίνων καὶ Δωριέων καὶ Συρακουσίων (cf. Su. τ 1115).

As for works on foreign languages, the only evidence we have is that concerning Dorotheus of Ascalon, who probably lived during the reign of Augustus and Tiberius and who wrote a Περὶ τῶν ξένως εἰρημένων λέξεων κατὰ στοιχεῖον.

These, however, are all just names, since most works of ancient glossography have not reached us. We actually posses only some scattered fragments, especially of Aristophanes of Byzantium and Philoxenus; as for dialectal glossography, we have the so-called Γλῶσσαι κατὰ πόλεις, a list of one hundred words divided by geographical areas.[6] From this material it is very difficult to draw a clear picture. What we have comes from later lexica, such as that of Hesychius, that arguably have incorporated older material.

6.2 Glossography and Dialectology on Papyrus

The richest and oldest evidence of ancient glossography comes from papyri dating from the third century BC to the seventh century AD.[7] A complete analysis of all the lexica and glossaries preserved on papyrus[8] has

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5   The Crates author of this Περὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς διαλέκτου is disputed. He might be not the obscure Crates of Athens (author of a work on Athenian sacrifices; FGrHist 362) but rather Crates of Mallus. See Broggiato 2000.

6   First published by Bekker, AG 3, 1095–1096, and then by Bowra 1959. Cf. also Latte 1925, 136–147.

7   On lexica and glossaries on papyri, cf. Naoumides 1969.

8   I have used the online databases of CEDOPAL (Centre de Documentation de Papyrologie Littéraire de l'Université de Liège), under 'Glossaires et listes de

led me to identify the following list of papyri as somehow comparable to the Oxyrhynchus Glossary. Lexica or glossaries limited to one author (e.g. papyri of Apollonius Sophista's *Lexicon Homericum* and the *Scholia Minora* or glossaries to Homer and to other authors like Callimachus in P.Oxy. 47.3328 or Alcman in P.Oxy. 24.2393 or Harpocration's lexicon in P.Ryl. Gr. 3.532) have been excluded. Bilingual glossaries[9] have also not been taken into consideration since, although they are of course linguistic tools, they do not betray any speculative interest in other idioms but have the more practical purpose of helping to communicate with people speaking another language. The same holds for *onomastica*, lists of words without explanations, since they do not provide any proof that whoever collected the words classified them as proper to a particular dialect or language. I have also excluded P.Oxy. 45.3239 and O.Claud. 2.414, which are not proper glossaries, but tables of isopsephisms. The ἰσόψηφα are pairs of words or phrases which have the same numerical value when the letters of which they are composed are treated as numerals and added together. They are therefore a very peculiar kind of text that looks like a glossary (as the first editor of P.Oxy. 45.3239 thought, when he labeled the text as 'Alphabetic glossary'[10]), but whose function is actually not linguistically oriented. What follows is a table of all the lexica and glossaries comparable to the Oxyrhynchus Glossary.[11] The twenty-three documents are arranged chronologically according to the dating of the papyrus.

Abbreviations:

NA = data not available
N = no alphabetical order
Y, 1 = alphabetical order limited to the first letter

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mots' which gave 74 results, and of LDAB (Leuven Data Base of Ancient Books), under 'Lexicography' as genre and 'Greek' as language, which gave 147 results. From these results, I removed the categories discussed in the main text as well as P.Heid. inv. 3069v, a glossary with words in ηλ- and ηρ-, and P.CtYBR inv. 2080 n, a list of words in κ-, since they are listed in the CEDOPAL database as 'inedited' and therefore it was not possible to study them. The data were all collected in October 2006.

9   On bilingual glossaries, see Kramer 1983 and Kramer 2001.
10   The real nature of this text was recognized by Skeat 1978.
11   The full bibliographical references for the editions of these papyri is given in the bibliography at the end (under 'papyri').

Y, 2 = alphabetical order limited to the first two letters
Y, 3 = alphabetical order limited to the first three letters
F = full alphabetical order

Name	Date	Content	Order	Quotations	Non literary dialectal or non-Greek words
P.Hibeh 2.175[12]	ca. 260–240 BC	List of words, some from Homer and one from Antimachus. Lemma and translation.	Y, 2	No	No
Berlin Ostrakon 12605[13]	3rd BC	Ostrakon with three poetic words with translation and quotations.	F[14]	Hom., Antim., Hippon.	No[15]
P.Berol. inv. 9965	3rd /2nd BC	List of words starting with βη-, βι-, βλ-, βο-, with brief translation. Words from Homer, tragedy, Hellenistic poetry.[16]	Y, 2	No	Perhaps, but none defined as such
P.Heid. Gr. 1.200	3rd /2nd BC	Words in o-, some of which are Homeric, followed by explanation (almost entirely lost).[17]	Y, 2	No	No
P.Hamb. 2.137[18]	3rd /2nd BC	Various words illustrated by quotations of Homer.[19]	N	Hom.	No
P.Oxy. 15.1801[20]	Middle of 1st AD	Two columns of rare words beginning with β- with quotations from comedy and satyr play.[21]	Y, 2	Eup., Cratin. Hermipp., Ar., Alex., Soph., Phylarch.	Libyan (l. 7)? Laconic (l. 42)?, but none defined as such

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12 Earliest example of glossography, perhaps from Philitas (with P.Hibeh 2.172, a poetical *onomasticon*).
13 Cf. West 1967, 260–263.
14 Fully alphabetical for the three lemmata there attested (εἴϲατο?, coῦϲα, ὧϱοϲ).
15 I consider coῦϲα a literary word, if correct, since it occurs in Antimachus (fr. 68 Matthews) and as a variant reading at *Od.* 21.390; see West 1967, 261–262.
16 Much overlap with Hesychius, with only one exception.
17 Some overlap with Hesychius, Photius, and Suidas.
18 Cf. West 1967, 59–62.
19 The connection between the glosses is not clear; according to Merkelbach 1956, the papyrus might contain a commentary on an unknown poetic text. West 1967, 59, suggested also the possibility that here the glosses are gathered to compare the language of some later poet with that of Homer.
20 Cf. Luppe 1967.
21 All the words appear in Hesychius except one, which is in Suidas. The treatment, however, is fuller than in Hesychius, especially for the citations. According to Hunt, the glossary shows similarities with Artemidorus' *Synagoge* (cf. Sch. Ar. *Vesp.* 1169b). Though there may be words not explained with a quotation from comedy or deriving from literary texts, the glossary is a literary one. It is moreover scarcely alphabetized.

Name	Date	Content	Order	Quotations	Non literary dialectal or non-Greek words
P.Oxy. 22.2328	1st/2nd AD	Three short columns of words with translation. Νηλείτης is Homeric, ἀπεϲκολυμμένουϲ ϲυκοτραπέζῳ perhaps from iambic poetry.[22]	N	No	No
P.Berol. inv. 11647v	2nd AD	List of poetic words followed by explanations.	N[23]	No	No
P.Mich. inv. 9	2nd AD	Words with brief translation. All seem to be epic and many of them are Homeric words, but only one lemma is fully preserved.[24]	N	No	No
P.Berol. inv. 13360	2nd AD	Two literary lemmata, with translation and quotations from Herodotus and New Comedy (Teleclides).[25]	F[26]	Hdt., Telecl.	No
P.Yale 2.136	2nd AD	Words in ν- with brief translation. Some words are Homeric, but non-Homeric and non-poetic words are also present.	Y, 1	No	No
P.Oxy. 17.2087[27]	2nd AD	Three columns with rare words beginning with α-, taken from prose authors.[28]	Y, 2	(Aeschin. Socr.), Arist., Dem., Hdt., Pl., Thuc.	No
P.Sorb. 1.7	2nd/3rd AD	List of words beginning with χ-, ψ- and ω- with explanation. All the words with the exception of χρεψιθέαθρον are attested in comic authors (Magnes, Cratinus, Pherecrates, Hermippus, Eupolis, Aristophanes, Theopompus and Eubulus).[29]	Y, 2	No	No

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22 Some overlap with Hesychius. West 1992, 24–25, includes it in the *Adespota iambica* (frs. 43–48).

23 If what we can see of the beginning of col. ii is the beginning of the lemmata, which do not follow any alphabetical order; in col. i the beginning of the lemmata is not preserved.

24 Some overlap with *Scholia Minora* and Apollonius Sophista but also with Hesychius.

25 The entries are quite long, more similar to those in running commentaries than in glossaries.

26 Fully alphabetical for the two lemmata there attested.

27 Cf. also Körte 1932 and Esposito 2005.

28 Much overlap with later lexica (Harpocration, Phrynicus, Suidas, EM, etc.), and in particular with Hesychius, who has all of the lemmas of P.Oxy. 17.2087 but one (αιδ(ε)ϲιϲ in line 13; cf. Esposito 2005, 79).

29 All the lemmata but one are in Hesychius or/and Suidas. The glossary is close to P.Oxy. 15.1801 and P.Oxy 15.1803.

Name	Date	Content	Order	Quotations	Non literary dialectal or non-Greek words
P.Oxy. 45.3221	2nd/3rd AD	Words beginning with χα-, χε-, χη- on a very narrow strip of papyrus.[30]	Y, 2	NA	NA
P.Oxy. 15.1804	3rd AD	Glossary of rhetorical terms, starting with π-, ϱ- and c-.[31]	Y, 1	Aeschin., Din., Dem., Hyp.	No
P.Monac. 2.22	3rd AD	Rare, non-literary words, in ι- and κ-; almost all the explanations are lost.[32]	Y, 2	No	No
Bodl. Libr. inv. Gr.cl.f.100 (P), fr. 1	3rd AD?	Words beginning with πα- and πϱ-. None of the lemmata is fully preserved and all the explanations are lost. Hence it is impossible to say whether the glosses come from literary texts or not.	Y, 1	No	No
P.Oxy. 3.416r	3rd AD	Words beginning with cτ-, followed by a short explanation.[33]	Y, 2	NA	NA
P.Oxy. 47.3329	3rd/early 4th AD	Words in cα-, followed by translations (but not much preserved). Some words are from comedy, but other are not exclusively comic; other lemmata may or may not be from comic authors like Eupolis.[34]	F	Rhinth.	Perhaps (Cretan in fr. 1v, 3?), but none defined as such.
PSI 8.892	4th AD?	Four columns of words in φυ- followed by translations (but not much preserved). Entries quite long (two lines and even five lines).[35]	F	No	Perhaps, but none defined as such.

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30 The text is not edited, and I rely on what has been noted in the edition of P.Oxy. 45.3221, which contains Hesiod, *Erga* 93?–108 (the glossary is on the back).

31 Much overlap with Harpocration, Photius, and EM but above all with Lex. Rhet. (which, however, omits quotations of authorities, present in P.Oxy. 15.1804).

32 The same lemmata are found in Photius, Suidas, EM, EGud., etc., and in particular in Hesychius.

33 The text is not edited and I rely on what has been noted in the edition of P.Oxy. 3.416v, which contains a fragment from a romance (the glossary is on the back).

34 Strong affinity with Hesychius. The full alphabetization has been considered supporting evidence for Diogenianus.

35 Much overlap with Hesychius.

Name	Date	Content	Order	Quotations	Non literary dialectal or non-Greek words
P.Oxy. 15.1803	6th AD	Words in ς-, from prose (Demosthenes, Thucydides, Xenophon), Old and New Comedy (Eupolis, Aristophanes, Menander).[36]	Y, 1	Ar., Dem., Eup., Men., Thuc., Xen.	No
P.Vindob. inv. G 29470	6th/7th AD	Words in αν- and αχ-, followed by short explanation. A lemma from Homer.[37]	Y, 3	No	No
P.Ness. 2.8	7th AD	Glossary contained in a codex (pp. 1–22). Miscellaneous words with short explanations.[38]	Y, 1	No	Persian (l. 91)

In order to be able to better assess the value and characteristics of the Oxyrhynchus Glossary, I would like to focus on the following characteristics of the comparable lexica and glossaries:

1. The order of the glosses, whether it is alphabetical and, if so, until which letter this order is respected.
2. The presence of quotations or reference to works and authors commenting on or attesting the lemma.
3. The presence of non-literary words from Greek dialects or foreign words.

The analysis allows the following conclusions:

1. ALPHABETIZATION. The only thoroughly alphabetized glossaries on papyrus are:[39]

- P.Oxy. 47.3329 (third to early fourth century AD)
- PSI 8.892 (fourth century AD?)

The other lexica and glossaries instead are normally either not alphabetically ordered at all,[40] or, if they are, the order is preserved only for the

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36 Some overlap, with Photius, Harpocration, Suidas.
37 Overlaps with Hesychius' entries derived from the *Lexicon* of Cyrillus.
38 With few exceptions, all words are to be found in Hesychius and Suidas.
39 Also Berlin Ostrakon 12605 and P.Berol. inv. 13360 show a strict alphabetical order, but having only three or two lemmata, they have not been considered as a significant evidence.
40 P.Hamb. 2.137 (ca. 250 BC); P.Oxy. 22.2328. (first/second century AD); P.Berol. inv. 11647v (second century AD); P.Mich. inv. 9 (second century AD).

first letter,[41] for the first two letters[42] or, in one case only, for the first three letters.[43] The order according to the first two letters seems to be by far the most common since there are nine papyri from the third century BC to the third century AD showing such order.

2. QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES. Normally glossaries on papyrus tend to have only short explanations without any reference or quotation; some texts, however, do offer external references to classical or Hellenistic authors:

- Berlin Ostrakon 12605: Homer, *Odyssey* 11.311, 21.390; Antimachus, fr. 68 Matthews; Hipponax, fr. 67 Degani.
- P.Hamb. 2.137: Homer, *Iliad* 2.848a. 5.746. 9.230–231. 13.505. 14.349–350; *Odyssey* 8.186–187.
- P.Oxy. 15.1801: Citations come from comedy or satyr plays (Eupolis, Cratinus, Hermippus, Aristophanes, Alexis, and Sopholces). The only prose writer is the historian Phylarchus, FGrHist 81, F 4.
- P.Berol. inv. 13360: Herodotus, 1.60.1, 5.116; Teleclides, fr. 48 PCG.
- P.Oxy. 17.2087: Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 54.2 (1–10); Aristotle, *HA* 9.40.14 (or *id*., Περὶ δικαιοσύνης I, fr. 84 Rose = 7, 1–4 Gigon);[44] Demosthenes, *c. Boëtum* 10, *c. Meid.* 43; Herodotus 5.74 and 6.12 (or Aeschines Socraticus, Περὶ πλούτου 22); Plato, *Leges* 747d, 672c;[45] Thucydides 3.49.4, 6.80.4.[46]
- P.Oxy. 15.1804: Aeschines, *Fals. Leg.* 158; Dinarchus, *c. Polyeuctum*; Demosthenes, *c. Phorm.* 9, *In Philippum* VII; Hyperides, *c. Autoclem.*
- P.Oxy. 47.3329: Rhinthon, fr. 23 Kaibel.

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41 P. Yale 2.136 (second century AD); P.Oxy. 15.1804 (third century AD); Bodl.Libr. inv. Gr. cl. f. 100(P), fr. 1 (third century AD?); P.Oxy. 15.1803 (sixth century AD); P.Ness. 2.8 (seventh century AD).

42 P.Hibeh 2.175 (ca. 260–240 BC); P.Berol. inv. 9965 (third/second century BC); P.Heid. Gr. 1.200 (third/second century BC); P.Oxy. 15.1801 (middle of the first century AD); P.Oxy. 17.2087 (second century AD); P.Sorb. 1.7 (second/third century AD); P.Oxy. 45.3221 (second/third century AD); P.Monac. 2.22 (early third century AD); P.Oxy. 3.416r (third century AD).

43 P.Vindob. inv. G 29470 (sixth/seventh century AD).

44 Cf. Esposito 2005, 83–84.

45 But quoted as *Phaedo* in the papyrus.

46 The quotations tend to be loose.

- P.Oxy. 15.1803: Aristophanes, *Eq.* 655–656 and *Geras*; Demosthenes, *In Dionysod. 7*; Eupolis, *Chrysoun Genos*; Menander (*Enchiridium, Georgos, Phanium, Philadelphoe, Synaristosae)*; Thucydides 7.60; Xenophon, *Anab.* 2.1.6 (and perhaps *Anab.* 5.4.29)

3. DIALECTAL OR FOREIGN NON-LITERARY WORDS. Since a dialectal gloss may come from a literary author, distinguishing non-literary words taken from everyday speech from literary glosses requires a more precise criterion than the simple presence of a dialectal 'varnish'. A better method is to see whether the glosses, apart from belonging to a certain dialect, are also not explained with quotations or references to literary authors and/or are not found in literary authors. Of course, even if a glossary contains dialectal words neither found in any literary work nor explained with literary references, the possibility remains that the lemma is still a quotation from a lost work. With this important caveat in mind, in these glossaries we find that no lemma is explicitly associated with a dialect in the explanation. Most of them are literary words, and presumably their dialectal origin is not the reason for the interest in them. Only a few lemmata are found nowhere else, or only in other glossaries and therefore might be pure dialectal words:

- P.Berol. inv. 9965: possible dialectal words might be βληχος (at line 30) which is unattested; βλύδιον (at line 22), attested in Hsch. β 757 (βλύδιον· ὑγρόν. ζέον) and Zon. 394.1 (βλύδιον· ὑγρόν); and βου-πρειό[νες] (at line 31), which probably stands for βουπρηόνες, attested only in Hsch. β 957 (βουπρηόνες· κρημνοὶ μεγάλοι, καὶ λόφοι).

- P.Oxy. 15.1801: two possible dialectal or foreign words: [βείρακες] or, better, [βάρβακες][47] = [ἱ]έρακες (at line 7), attested only in Hsch. β 461 (βείρακες· ἱέρακες) for which also a possible Libyan origin has been proposed on the basis of Hsch. β 216: βάρβαξ· ἱέραξ, παρὰ Λίβυσι.[48] The second possible word is Βέλ[βιν]α (at line 42), defined as κώμη τ[ῆς Λα]κων[ικῆς]; the name is to be found also in Hesychius β 478 and Stephanus of Byzantium 161.12 = β 59, who both say it is a place in Laconia; hence it could be a Laconic toponym.

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47 βείρακες in the edition of Hunt; βάρβακες in Luppe 1967, 107. See Luppe 1967, 104.

48 Luppe 1967, 107.

- P.Oxy. 47.3329: much overlap with Hesychius. One possible dialectal word: [cαννάδαc] in fr. 1 verso, 3, only attested here, in Hesychius (Hsch. c 171), and in a papyrus commentary on Hipponax (P.Oxy. 18.2176, fr. 1, i, 5–6). The latter attributes it to the Cretan dialect (Κρ[ῆτ]αϲ δὲ τὰϲ ἀγρίαϲ αἶγαϲ λέγειν καννάδαϲ παρίϲτηϲιν Πολέμων …). Ϲάννοροϲ, 'dull', in fr. 1 verso, 7, defined as 'Tarentine' by Hsch. c 175 (<ϲάννοροϲ>· μωρός, παρὰ Ῥίνθωνι. Ταραντῖνοι) is a 'pure' dialectal gloss but rather a literary one, used by Rhinthon (fr. 23 Kaibel).

- PSI 8.892: much overlap with Hesychius. Possibly dialectal words, only attested here and in Hesychius, who seems to perceive them as not belonging to the koine: φύππα[ξ] in verso ii, 83 (cf. Hsch. φ 1019 <φύππαξ>· ὅπερ ἡμεῖϲ <βόμαξ>) and [φ]ωραυ[τίϲ?] in verso ii, 85 (Hsch. φ 1022 φυραυτίϲ>· ὃ ἡμεῖϲ φύραν).

Though these cases are interesting, in none of these papyrus glossaries are the possible dialectal or foreign glosses actually defined as such. Only one other papyrus gives secure proof of the presence of non-Greek words:

- P.Ness. 2.8, 91: [cαράβαρα: Π]ερϲικὰ βρέκια (leg. βράκια). Ϲαράβαρα are the typical Persian and Parthian loose trousers. The word is attested in various sources that define it as belonging to the Persian language (Hsch. c 190. 896; Su. c 109; Phot. ii.146.1 Naber; EGud. 496.19 Sturz). The word cαράβαρα is also attested in the comic poet Antiphanes (fr. 199 PCG). So, in principle, the lemma may be part of a commentary on Antiphanes' play rather than a work of purely linguistic content.[49]

From this analysis it is clear that there is extremely scarce evidence for glosses that come from Greek dialects or foreign languages without being attested in literary works. Glossaries on papyrus thus do not show any interest in dialects and languages *per se*, but only in connection with literary evidence.

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49 For a discussion of cαράβαρα and its Iranian parallels, see Brust 1999 and Brust 2005, 584–587.

6.3 The Unique Value of the Oxyrhynchus Glossary

If we consider late Hellenistic and Roman glossography as attested by these papyri, four main points of contrast will show the uniqueness in this context of the Oxyrhynchus Glossary:

1. STRICT ALPHABETICAL ORDER. Normally in Hellenistic times, non-literary glosses were ordered according to semantic categories, as in Callimachus and Aristophanes of Byzantium. The glossaries of Zenodotus and of Neoptolemus of Parium might have been ordered alphabetically,[50] but the first unambiguous evidence of an alphabetical order (limited to the first two letters) is in P.Hibeh 2.175 (260/240 BC). Although this demonstrates that already in the third century BC such an arrangement was used, it also makes clear that the alphabetization did not go beyond the first or second letter of the word. Among all the glossaries on papyri we analyzed the only completely alphabetized ones are the Oxyrhynchus Glossary (second century AD), P.Oxy. 47.3329 (third to early fourth century AD) and PSI 8.892 (fourth century AD?). Even in lexica of the Byzantine period the alphabetical order is respected only for the first four or five letters.[51] A full alphabetical order in glossaries is found only in Galen's Τῶν Ἱπποκράτους γλωσσῶν ἐξήγησις (although it might not be original), and in later texts such as Stephanus of Byzantium's *Ethnica* (sixth century AD), and Hesychius' *Lexicon* in the form that has reached us, which is not the original one.[52] In this sense, the Oxyrhynchus Glossary is the earliest testimony of a pure alphabetical order.

2. REFERENCES AND QUOTATIONS OF SOURCES. In order to address this question, I will introduce some terms that, though not standard in lexicographical studies, can be helpful to describe the different ways an author or a work can be quoted or referred to in a lexicon or a glossary.

When in a lexicon or glossary a reference is given, distinctions can be drawn in terms of 'quantity' and in terms 'quality'.

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50 For Zenodotus see Sch. M *Od.* 3.444: Ζηνόδοτος δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ δ Γλώσσαις τίθησι τὴν λέξιν. Cf. Tosi 1994, 151–155.

51 On alphabetization cf. Naoumides 1969, 187–189, Daly 1967, and Alpers 1975.

52 Cf. Daly 1967, 34–35, 66–67, 95.

In terms of 'quantity' we can distinguish between:

a. **Simple reference**: when only the author and the passage are given; e.g. word 'x' means 'y' as happens in Homer, '*Iliad* Book', 'Line Number'.
b. **Quotation**: when a full quotation of the text is added to the reference.

In terms of 'quality' instead we can distinguish between:

a. A quotation from or a reference to a ***locus classicus***, i.e. a literary passage where the gloss at issue is found and used, while the lexicon/glossary provides the explanation.
b. A quotation from or a reference to a **technical work** where the gloss is not only reported but also explained. The strange word was thus analyzed in the quoted text as a curiosity or an erudite detail.

If we apply these distinctions to the Oxyrhynchus Glossary, the result is quite unique. In terms of 'quantity', the Oxyrhynchus Glossary tends to have mere references to the sources of the glosses, apart from the two long verbatim quotations from Apollodorus (fr. 3, ii, 1–7) and Glaucus (fr. 3, ii, 9–14). What is remarkable is the 'quality' of these quotations/references. Only a few of the glossaries on papyrus we considered consistently mention the sources of the glosses; when they do so, moreover, the sources are all very well-known literary authors, such as in P.Oxy. 15.1804 and P.Oxy. 17.2087, the richest in references. This is generally valid also for the lexica and glossaries preserved by the medieval tradition; only Hesychius seems to quote some of the sources of the glosses, as the parallels with some lemmata in our papyrus show (I shall come back to this point later). The tendency is thus to quote the *locus classicus* where the word under consideration is found; this of course proves that these are lexica and glossaries gathering literary words and that they are intended as a tool for reading 'literature'. Very rarely do we find quotations of more technical works, by antiquarians, periegetes, ethnographers, and the like, that apparently contained the explanation of that gloss; this happens constantly in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary. Once in P.Oxy. 15.1801, 21–27, the Aristophanic gloss βέλεκκοι, the name of a plant, is explained through what is probably a direct quotation of an unknown technical author.[53] In

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53 For a discussion of the problems involved with the restoration of these lines, see Luppe 1967, 95–96.

the same papyrus, we also find for Βέλβινα, the Laconic for κώμη (in a rather damaged entry at lines 42–44), a reference to Phylarchus (FGrHist 81, F 4), a historian who wrote a history of Pyrrhus, and who was probably quoted as an *auctoritas* to explain this toponym, likely found in a comic play. The rest of the glossary, in any case, is dedicated to comic words and the entries are rich in references to comic plays. In the case of the Oxyrhynchus Glossary, the procedure is the exact opposite: apart from the names of Homer (fr. 11, 5) and Xenophon (fr. 5, 21) in entries difficult to reconstruct, the rest of the quotations/references are all of the second type, i.e. the excerptor of the glossary does not himself give the explanation of the gloss but instead finds it in reference works, which are quoted as a source both for the gloss and for the explanation.

3. DIALECTAL GLOSSES. Though we have plenty of evidence of glossaries/lexica of words from or treatises on Greek dialects, none of these works has reached us, apart from the Γλῶσσαι κατὰ πόλεις, which contain only literary words, mostly used by Homer (85 out of 100).[54] Papyri are also unrevealing in this regard. P.Berol. inv. 9965, P.Oxy. 15.1801, P.Oxy. 47.3329, and PSI 8.892, the only ones containing what might be non-koine glosses, do not offer any unambiguous evidence. They present words that are not attested elsewhere or only in Hesychius and other erudite sources that normally collect dialectal glosses; these words, however, are not explicitly attributed to a particular dialect in any of these glossaries on papyrus. In the Oxyrhynchus Glossary, by contrast, all dialectal words are attributed to a particular dialect.

4. FOREIGN GLOSSES. The evidence for glossaries gathering foreign words is much more limited than that for works on dialects. In the third century BC Neoptolemus of Parium wrote about Phrygian glosses, but nothing has survived; of Clitarchus of Aegina (second/first century BC) one gloss from Phrygia and one from Soli is preserved by Athenaeus; of Dorotheus of Ascalon (first century AD) we know of a lost Περὶ τῶν ξένως εἰρημένων λέξεων κατὰ στοιχεῖον. The best preserved evidence is the lexicon of Hesychius, which derives most of its material from Pamphilus (first century AD). If we do not take into account the bilingual glossaries, we are left with

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54 With the exception of one word, the Clitorian ἔςτιοι, which however might have recurred in a work now lost. Cf. Bowra 1959, 46.

Luppe's hypothesis of a Libyan gloss in P.Oxy. 15.1801, 7–8: βάρβακες = ἱέρακες on the basis of Hsch. β 216: βάρβαξ· ἱέραξ, παρὰ Λίβυσι.[55] A better example comes from P.Ness. 2.8, 91, where an explanation Π]ερσικὰ βρέκια (leg. βράκια) makes the supplement cαράβαρα quite certain as demonstrated by the comparison with Hsch. c 190. 896; Su. c 109; Phot. ii.146.1 Naber; EGud. 496.19 Sturz. This is indeed interesting evidence, but it is quite isolated and not comparable with the wealth of foreign words in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary.

These four characteristics (strict alphabetical order, rich references to or quotations of the sources of the glosses, dialectal and foreign words) make our glossary unique. In particular, the fact that each gloss is explained through the quotation of the erudite source is unparalleled in the rest of the lexicographical tradition. Actually this was probably the norm in the Hellenistic period, when these glossaries were compiled by erudites who worked in libraries where they could always check their references and who probably took pride in demonstrating their wide reading by quoting their sources. But during the process of epitomization that characterized the Christian era, the first element to be cut out and discarded was the source of the gloss. The fact thus that in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary the constant pattern of the entries is: lemma, translation, and quotation of the source – which is not, and it must be stressed, another lexicon or glossary, as happens in later medieval products, but rather an antiquarian or historical work which was the original source of the gloss – is therefore the most interesting and valuable aspect of the glossary. All of this, and in particular the presence of the sources (all dating to or before the first century BC) suggest that we are dealing with a glossary that somehow preserved its original form up through the time when it was copied on this papyrus. Thus we can also look at this papyrus as a unique document from a historical point of view, as an example of Hellenistic dialectal glossography.[56]

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55 Luppe 1967, 107.
56 On dialectology and linguistics studies in ancient Greece see Hainsworth 1967; Cassio 1993; Morpurgo Davies 2002.

7. Authorship

The problem of attribution is indeed difficult to address, because most of the materials that could serve as *comparanda* to establish authorship are lost. These are the most important features of the Oxyrhynchus Glossary:

1. The glossary is arranged in a strict alphabetical order.
2. The glossary does not seem concerned with literary authors, but rather with rare words taken from religion, everyday life, zoology, and ethnography.
3. The words lemmatized are all nouns.
4. The lemmata are often taken from Greek dialects and languages other than Greek.
5. The glossary almost always quotes the sources for the glosses.
6. None of the identifiable authors quoted in the glossary is dated later than the first century BC and the majority of them are dated between the fourth and second centuries BC.
7. Many of the quoted authors are relatively unknown antiquarians, often (and sometimes only) mentioned by Athenaeus.
8. The title Περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις μορίων for Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* by the Oxyrhynchus Glossary has parallels in Aristophanes of Byzantium and in Athenaeus (who quotes it as Περὶ ζῴων μορίων). Moreover, 'περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις μορίων' is also the *incipit* of Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* and thus sounds like a typically 'Alexandrian' title.
9. There is not much overlap with other glossaries or lexica preserved either on papyri or by the medieval tradition. Only Hesychius shows a quite striking similarity with some of the entries of the Oxyrhynchus Glossary (see below at pp. 45–46).

As already pointed out, all these characteristics suggest Alexandria, between the first century BC and the first century AD, as the place and the date of composition of our glossary.

The question of attribution must be addressed starting from the overlap that our glossary shows with the (scarce) remnants of glossography and lexicography from the Hellenistic or early Roman period. Among the

authors we mentioned in the section on glossography (cf. Chapter 6.1), the most obvious candidate would be Clitarchus of Aegina, author of Γλῶςϲαι in at least seven books. He was active between the second half of the second century BC and the first century BC, and the fragments we have show a wide interest in Greek dialects and also foreign words.[1]

In particular, one of the non-Greek words Clitarchus analyzes is μήτρα, a gloss from Soli, in an entry preserved by Hesychius: Hsch. μ 1291 μήτρα· … καὶ ὁ κλῆροc ὑπὸ Cολέων, ὡc Κλείταρχοc. This gloss overlaps with our papyrus (fr. 3, iii, 5) where the same lemma occurs in the plural: μῆτραι: ἐν Ταρϲῷ καὶ Cόλοιϲ τὰϲ δέλτουϲ ἐν αἷϲ ἀπ[ογράφονται τὰϲ]| οἰκίαϲ μήτραϲ προϲαγορεύεϲθαι, ἃϲ καὶ δημ[οϲίαϲ. Ἀριϲτοτέ]|ληϲ ἐν τῇ Cολέων πολιτείᾳ. The overlap, in its uniqueness, is indeed striking. This, together with Clitarchus' interest in dialects and the fact that Clitarchus is often mentioned by Athenaeus, may suggest a possible attribution. If this is correct, we should assume that Hesychius, recopying the text of Diogenianus, kept this entry as he found it there, so that ὁ κλῆροc ὑπὸ Cολέων, ὡc Κλείταρχοc was the gloss of Pamphilus/Diogenianus. In this case, the longer entry in our papyrus, which does not make mention of Clitarchus but instead quotes the first source, Aristotle, seems to suggest that our papyrus preserves the work of Clitarchus himself. That Clitarchus was used by Pamphilus to compile his huge lexicon is demonstrated by the fact that Athenaeus, who preserves most of Clitarchus' fragments and also uses Pamphilus as main source, twice (Ath. 2.69d and 11.475d) quotes the opinion of Pamphilus together with that of Clitarchus, and, at least in one case (Ath. 11.475d), it is clear that Pamphilus knew Clitarchus' view and was arguing against it.[2] According to this reconstruction, Pamphilus thus incorporated Clitarchus' gloss on μήτρα and then was in his turn copied by Diogenianus and Hesychius.

Arguing against this interesting hypothesis, however, are some chronological problems. Clitarchus is dated between the second half of the second century BC and the first century BC. Among all the recognizable authorities quoted in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary, most are to be placed between the fourth and the second century BC. But Cassius Dionysius of

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1   On Clitarchus, see Latte 1925, 169–171. His fragments were collected by M. Schmidt, *Clitarchi reliquiae*, Berlin 1842 (which I could not find to consult).

2   It seems thus likely that Athenaeus had access to Clitarchus via Pamphilus. Clitarchus is quoted also by Didymus (Sch. A *Il.* 23.81a) and Epaphroditus (EM 221.32).

Utica, quoted in fr. 3, i, 13, dedicated his translation of Mago in twenty books to the praetor P. Sextilius who was governing the province of Africa in 89–88 BC. Cassius Dionysius became soon an authority and was among the sources of Varro's *Res Rustica* (cf. Varro *R. R.* 1.1.10).[3] In theory, Clitarchus too could quote the work of Cassius Dionysius just after it was published, especially if we suppose that Clitarchus put together his lexicographical work by the end of his life. A similar problem arises with Asclepiades in fr. 3, i, 6. The two most likely identifications are with Asclepiades of Myrlea (second/first century BC) or with Asclepiades of Cyprus (first century BC?). If so, we again would have to allow for an almost contemporary knowledge and reference to their works by Clitarchus. This is not *per se* impossible. The works of the Pergamean School, for example, were available at Alexandria just after their 'publication', as seems to be demonstrated by the fact that Aristarchus knows Crates' readings and exegesis of Homer and replies to them. But there is another problem in attributing the Oxyrhynchus Glossary to Clitarchus and this is probably more difficult to overcome: if Latte's hypothesis is correct, Clitarchus' work had a 'sachliche Anordnung'[4] rather than an alphabetical order as in our glossary.

If we reject Clitarchus as the author, we must examine more closely the similarities that our glossary exhibits with that of Hesychius. The Oxyrhynchus Glossary and the lexicon of Hesychius show the following parallel entries:

μέλιccαι ≈ Hsch. μ 719 (D)
μελύγιον ≈ Hsch. μ 733 (D)
μερμνάδαι ≈ Hsch. μ 884 (D)
μέροψ ≈ Hsch. μ 886 (D)
μῆτραι (1) and μῆτραι (2) ≈ Hsch. μ 1291 (D)
Μίθραc ≈ Hsch. μ 1335
μινοδολόεccα ≈ Hsch. μ 1391 (D)
Μινύαι ≈ Hsch. μ 1396 (D)
μινῶδεc ≈ Hsch. μ 1417 (D)

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3   Varro (who died in 27 BC) composed his *Res Rusticae* in 55–50 BC. Cf. Heurgon 1978, xxi–xxvi. On Varro's use of Mago through Cassius Dionysius, see Heurgon 1978, xxxii–xxxvi.
4   Cf. Latte 1925, 169.

A comparison with Hesychius leads to the following conclusions:

1. All the parallel glosses from Hesychius come, according to Latte's
    edition, from Diogenianus (D), whose work supplies the core of the
    lexicon and is its oldest source.
2. In the whole lexicon of Hesychius there are fourteen occurrences
    of the word Χαλδαῖος and derivatives. In ten of them 'Chaldaean'
    is used as a linguistic definition as in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary; in
    the other four entries, 'Chaldaean' is used either as a geographical
    term to translate 'Assyria' (in Hsch. α 7802. 7803. 7958), or by itself
    as lemma (in Hsch. χ 40, where Χαλδαῖοι are translated as 'magoi').
    Far more numerous are the lemmata defined as Persian (about eighty
    occurrences), though the only one overlapping with our glossary is
    Μίθρας. An interest in Near Eastern and especially in 'Chaldaean'
    glosses is not so common in other glossaries and lexica preserved on
    papyri or by the medieval tradition.[5]
3. Hesychius normally does not quote any authority as the source of the
    gloss and the explanation, whereas our glossary consistently does so.

This close relationship between Hesychius and our glossary, together
with the lack of any significant overlap with other lexical traditions (apart
from one gloss in Photius and one in the *Etymologicum Magnum*), sug-
gest that this is the tradition that the Oxyrhynchus Glossary comes from.
But the glosses in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary, though similar to those of
Hesychius, are definitely richer, particularly since they offer the original
source of the gloss, which Hesychius, in epitomizing his predecessors,
has cut out. This suggests that both our glossary and the Hesychian text
come from the same tradition, the tradition of Pamphilus-Vestinus-
Diogenianus.

    As is well known, Hesychius' lexicon is basically the result of the
epitomization of three successive lexica. The lexicon of Pamphilus in
ninety-five rolls was first epitomized by Vestinus (the numbers of rolls is
unknown) in the second century AD. Iulius Vestinus' work was in its turn
epitomized, also in the second century AD, by Diogenianus, who pro-

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5   A search in the TLG E Disk among the main byzantine lexica (Et.Or., EGen.,
    EM, EGud., Zon.) has shown that the stem Χαλδ- never recurs in Et.Or. and
    EGud.; it recurs twice in Zon. and EGen. (in what is published) but only as a geo-
    graphical definition; EM uses it four times, but only twice as a pure linguistic
    definition.

duced a lexicon in five rolls.[6] It is worth exploring this tradition in more detail in order to see whether any of these three lexicographers can be the author of the glossary in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary.

Diogenianus worked during the time of Hadrian. Suidas mentions his Λέξις παντοδαπή in five books and clarifies that it was an epitome of Pamphilus' collection of λέξεις.[7] In the prologue to his lexicon, Hesychius refers to Diogenianus' Περιεργοπένητες as his main source.[8] It is thus likely that the Λέξις παντοδαπή and the Περιεργοπένητες are the same work under two different titles.[9] What seems to make Diogenianus a very good candidate is the strict alphabetical order of the Oxyrhynchus Glossary. The fact that the Περιεργοπένητες was organized alphabetically is mentioned by Hesychius himself in his preface:

> Hsch. *Ep. Eulog.* 1.5 Διογενιανὸς δέ τις μετὰ τούτους γεγονὼς ἀνὴρ σπουδαῖος καὶ φιλόκαλος, τά τε προειρημένα βιβλία καὶ πάσας τὰς σποράδην παρὰ πᾶσι κειμένας λέξεις συναγαγών, ὁμοῦ πάσας καθ' ἕκαστον στοιχεῖον συντέθεικε· … προέθηκε δὲ κατ' ἀρχὴν ἑκάστης λέξεως τριῶν ἢ τεσσάρων στοιχείων τάξιν, ἵν' οὕτως εὐμαρεστέραν ἔχοι τὴν εὕρεσιν ἧς ἐπιζητεῖ τάξεως ὁ τοῖς βιβλίοις ἐντυγχάνειν προαιρούμενος.

> A certain Diogenianus who lived after those men [i.e. Apion, Apollonius, Theon and Didymus, mentioned in the preceding lines], a hard-working man, fond of elegance, having collected the above-mentioned books and all the words that are attested here and there in all the authors, also had ordered all of them according to each letter … he ordered the three or four letters of each word [starting] from the beginning so that one who chooses to read these books can more easily find what he is looking for.

Indeed the only other two glossaries on papyrus in strict alphabetical order and that show similarities with Hesychius, P.Oxy. 47.3329 and PSI 8.892, have both been attributed to Diogenianus on the basis of these two characteristics by their editors. It must be pointed out, however, that what Hesychius says is that Diogenianus had ordered his glosses in alphabetical order 'until the third or fourth letter'. This is not a strict alphabetical order, as

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6   Cf. Wendel 1949, 337–342; Alpers 2001, 200. Cf. below, p. 49 footnote 14.

7   Cf. Su. δ 1140 … Λέξις παντοδαπὴ κατὰ στοιχεῖον ἐν βιβλίοις ε· ἐπιτομὴ δέ ἐστι τῶν Παμφίλου λέξεων βιβλίων ε καὶ τετρακοσίων καὶ τῶν Ζωπυρίωνος.

8   Cf. Hsch. *Ep. Eulog.* 1.15 καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὅσας οἷός τε ἦν παροιμίας εὑρεῖν, οὐδὲ ταύτας παρέλιπεν, ἐπιγράψας τὰ βιβλία Περιεργοπένητας.

9   On Diogenianus, see Cohn 1903a; Latte 1953, XLII–XLIV. Some scholars, like Welker and Weber, instead think that Περιεργοπένητες and the Λέξις παντοδαπή are in fact two different works.

P.Oxy. 47.3329, PSI 8.892 and the Oxyrhynchus Glossary attest. For this reason, I question the attribution to Diogenianus of even P.Oxy. 47.3329 and PSI 8.892, and I will certainly not use this passage by Hesychius as evidence for attributing the Oxyrhynchus Glossary to Diogenianus.

With Diogenianus we in fact have other, more substantial problems. First the dating of our papyrus: the Oxyrhynchus Glossary has been dated to the second half of the second century. We must thus assume that the lexicon of Diogenianus was recopied in this papyrus just after its composition and that this is basically the oldest copy of his work. Of course this is possible but not likely, considering that this papyrus comes not from Alexandria, but from Oxyrhynchus, a more marginal area, where probably the 'new' literature took some time to arrive. This chronological difficulty is not present in the case of the other two glossaries on papyrus that have been attributed to Diogenianus, because they were written later: P.Oxy. 47.3329 is dated to the third or early fourth century and PSI 8.892 is (doubtfully) dated to the fourth century. Their late dating makes it perfectly possible from a chronological point of view that they were copies of the epitome of Diogenianus.

Furthermore, as Hesychius explains, the Περιεργοπένητες of Diogenianus contained many literary lemmata:

> Hsch. *Ep. Eulog.* 1.8 λέγω δὴ τάς τε Ὁμηρικὰς καὶ κωμικὰς καὶ τραγικάς, τάς τε παρὰ τοῖς λυρικοῖς καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ῥήτορσι κειμένας, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ⟨τὰς⟩ παρὰ τοῖς ἰατροῖς τάς τε παρὰ τοῖς ἱστοριογράφοις.

> I mean the Homeric words, the comic and the tragic ones, the words used by the lyric poets and by the orators, and not only those words, but also those used by the physicians and those used by the historians.

Literary words, however, are not present among the lemmata of the Oxyrhynchus Glossary.[10] Moreover, from what Hesychius says, we cannot assume that Diogenianus included dialectal words taken from the spoken language,[11] as the Oxyrhynchus Glossary seems to.

Similar problems are to be faced in the case of Iulius Vestinus, who also produced an epitome of Pamphilus.[12] He is described as ἀρχιερεύς

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10 P.Oxy. 47.3329 does have words from comedy; PSI 8.892 is not well preserved and in what remains there is no reference to any source, either literary or else.

11 Cf. Bowra 1959, 48.

12 Cf. Su. ο 835: Οὐηστῖνος, Ἰούλιος χρηματίσας, σοφιστής. ἐπιτομὴν τῶν Παμφίλου Γλωσσῶν βιβλία ςδ […].

of Alexandria and ἐπιστάτης of the Museum and the Greek and Roman libraries during the reign of Hadrian.[13] He too is thus incompatible with our glossary from a chronological point of view. Moreover, if we can trust a scholium to Gregory of Nazianz, Vestinus' epitome of Pamphilus was entitled Ἑλληνικὰ ὀνόματα.[14] This title makes it clear that the intended audience was Roman, but perhaps also that Vestinus had eliminated from his works on 'Greek words' all the non-Greek words that he found in Pamphilus. If this was the case, the Ἑλληνικὰ ὀνόματα of Vestinus was a totally different lexicon from that preserved in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary.

Apart from the chronological problem and the possible difference in terms of content (Diogenianus had a lexicon that also contained literary words, Vestinus perhaps had selected only purely Greek words), there is another characteristic of the Oxyrhynchus Glossary that makes the identification of it with the lexica of Diogenianus or of Vestinus unlikely. It is the fact that in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary the sources for the glosses are always quoted with care. This goes against the hypothesis that we are dealing with an epitome such as that of Vestinus or Diogenianus. For the latter, furthermore, we have the explicit testimony of Hesychius who, after having praised Diogenianus for his excellent job, goes on as follows:

Hsch. *Ep. Eulog*. 1.23 ἐβουλόμην δὲ αὐτὸν μήτε τὰς πλείους τῶν παροι-μιῶν ψιλῶς καὶ ἄνευ τῶν ὑποθέσεων τεθεικέναι, μήτε τὰς ἐζητημένας τῶν λέξεων οὐκ ἐχούσας τά τε τῶν κεχρημένων ὀνόματα καὶ τὰς τῶν βιβλίων ἐπιγραφὰς ἔνθα φέρονται, τάς τε πολυσήμους αὐτῶν παρα-δραμεῖν καὶ ἀσαφεῖς παραλιπεῖν, δέον δὲ καὶ ἐν ταύταις ἑκάστης διαφόρου διανοίας τὴν παράστασιν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν χρησαμένων μνήμης παρασχεῖν. […] ταῖς παροιμίαις ἀποδέδωκα τὰς ὑποθέσεις· καὶ τῶν πλειόνων λέξεων καὶ σπανίως εἰρημένων οὐ μόνον αὐτῶν τῶν χρησαμένων τὰ ὀνόματα προσγέγραφα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς

13 On Iulius Vestinus, cf. Kroll 1917 and Van't Dack 1963, 178.

14 Cf. Piccolomini 1879, 241 (Sch. no. 71, ad *Or.* 18.6): ἐκ τῶν Διογενιανοῦ τῆς ἐπιτομῆς τῶν Οὐηστίνου Ἑλληνικῶν ὀνομάτων and now in Erbse, apparatus ad Sch. A *Il.* 23.269a1. On this scholium see Piccolomini 1879, xxviii–xxx, xxxii–xxxiii; Tolkiehn 1925, 2448–2449; Wendel 1949, 341. From this scholium it becomes also clear that Diogenianus did not excerpt directly from Pamphilus, but rather from Vestinus, so that we have the chain: Pamphilus-Vestinus-Diogenianus-Hesychius. A similar note but without the mention of Vestinus (so: ἐκ τῶν Διογενιανοῦ τῆς ἐπιτομῆς Ἑλληνικῶν ὀνομάτων) is to be found in Sch. *B *Il.* 5.576, edited by Bekker 1825/27, vol. 1, 166.51–167.10; Dindorf 1877, 261.9–17; and Erbse, apparatus ad Sch. A *Il.* 23.269a1.

πάντων μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀντιγράφων προστιθείς, οὐδαμοῦ δὲ πονεῖν παρ-
αιτησάμενος, ὡς ἂν μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς μέμψιν ὀφλήσαιμι δικαίως τινά, καὶ
οἷς ἐγκαλῶ Διογενιανῷ πεπτωκὼς φανείην.

However, I would have wished that he (i.e. Diogenianus) had not simply
quoted the majority of the proverbs without giving the context; nor that he
had quoted the glosses without the name of those who used them or with-
out the title of the works where they recur; nor that he had run over those
of them which have many meanings and leave them indistinct, since it is
necessary even with these words to exhibit each different meaning by
mentioning those who used them. […]. I gave the context of the proverbs,
and, for the majority of the words, even those used rarely, I gave not only
the names of those who used them but also the titles of all [the works
where these words recur], adding them from the editions, without ever
shirking hard work, so that I myself would not rightly deserve some blame
and appear to have fallen [into the same faults] I blame in Diogenianus.

This passage is very interesting, in that it tells us what the lexicon of
Diogenianus looked like. Apparently, though very complete and rich in
words taken from literature of many different genres, it did not offer the
source of the glosses. Nor did Diogenianus distinguish between homo-
graphs. These two characteristics are, however, present in our glossary,
which almost always gives the source of the gloss and explicitly differ-
entiates between homographs, as the case of the two entries on μῆτραι
(cf. fr. 3, iii, 4 and 5–7) clearly shows. This is, in my view, sufficient
proof to exclude Diogenianus as author of the Oxyrhynchus Glossary.

We are thus left with the last candidate, Pamphilus (first century AD).[15]
He wrote a Περὶ γλωσςῶν καὶ ὀνομάτων (transmitted also as Περὶ
γλωσςῶν ἤτοι λέξεων) in ninety-five rolls. It was used by Athenaeus;
from the fragments preserved there and elsewhere, the lemmata seem to
have been names of birds, fish, plants, meals, drinking vessels, hetaerae,
house furniture, etc. This interest in *realia* or words from daily life was
accompanied by an interest in glosses from dialects (Athenaeus pre-
serves Pamphilus' fragments from Attica, Achaia, Cyprus, Laconia, Pa-
phos, Rome). The Oxyrhynchus Glossary thus seems to share some of the

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15 Cf. Su. π 142: Πάμφιλος, Ἀλεξανδρεύς, γραμματικὸς Ἀριστάρχειος. ἔγραψε
    Λειμῶνα· ἔςτι δὲ ποικίλων περιοχή, Περὶ γλωσςῶν ἤτοι λέξεων βιβλία ςε· ἔςτι
    δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ε στοιχείου ἕως τοῦ ω· τὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ α μέχρι τοῦ δ Ζωπυρίων
    ἐπεποιήκει. εἰς τὰ Νικάνδρου ἀνεξήγητα καὶ τὰ καλούμενα Ὀπικά, Τέχνην
    κριτικήν, καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖστα γραμματικά. He is defined as Ἀλεξανδρεύς and as
    γραμματικὸς Ἀριστάρχειος, which means that he worked at Alexandria, in the
    same line as Aristarchus. On Pamphilus, cf. Wendel 1949 and Tosi 2000.

most typical features of Pamphilus' Περὶ γλωσσῶν καὶ ὀνομάτων: the interest in *realia* or words from daily life and the interest in dialects.[16] In Pamphilus, moreover, the interest in literary words was not preeminent, with literary authors taken into consideration only when offering evidence of particular dialectal words. In addition, the fragments of Pamphilus (especially those preserved by Athenaeus) show that he would quote the original source of the gloss.[17] Indeed, his work was not an epitome like those by Vestinus or Diogenianus, but a huge lexicon collecting all the antiquarian erudition of Alexandria. And, even though Pamphilus' work was epitomized at least twice in the second century AD, his original work was still available in that period, as is demonstrated by the direct use made of it by Athenaeus and Herodian. This was the period when our papyrus was written.

A case of correspondence between Hesychius and a dialectal glossary is to be found in the Γλῶccαι κατὰ πόλεις. Bowra concluded that Hesychius and this collection of glosses had the same source, which, according to Bowra, was Pamphilus.[18] The Oxyrhynchus Glossary could be a third glossary that made use of him. The only problem here is that we do not know much about the ordering principle of Pamphilus' lexicon. According to Suidas (π 142), letters α-δ were compiled by Zopirion, ε-ω by Pamphilus and this seems to suggest a lexicon ordered alphabetically.[19]

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16   These features may, of course, be due to the source that has preserved most of Pamphilus' fragments, i.e. Athenaeus, who was interested primarily in 'sympotic' topics such as food, table furniture and vessels. It is nevertheless meaningful that, when dealing with these topics and in need of a 'lexicographical' *auctoritas*, Athenaeus chose Pamphilus, who was thus surely exceptional in collecting this kind of material.

17   Cf. Ath. 11.487b ΜΑCΤΟC. Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Κυρηναῖος, ὡς Πάμφιλός φηςι, Παφίους τὸ ποτήριον οὕτως καλεῖν; Ath. 14.642e Ἀπίων δὲ καὶ Διόδωρος, ὥς φηςι Πάμφιλος, ἐπαίκλειά φηςι καλεῖcθαι τὰ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον τραγήματα. That Pamphilus was more complete and used to give the primary sources of the gloss, omitted in Hesychius, is proved by an analysis of parallel glosses in Hesychius and in Athenaeus and Aelian. Both Athenaeus and Aelian use Pamphilus directly and often mention the antiquarian source (e.g. Alexander of Myndus, Chrysippus of Soli, Clearchus), as is clear from the examples collected by Wellmann 1916, 59–63.

18   Bowra 1959, 48–49.

19   This seems the general view (cf. Tolkiehn 1925, 2448; Degani 1987, 1176; Tosi 2000, 215), though Wendel 1949, 339–340, 341, argued for a (primarily) thematic arrangement.

In any case, we can safely conclude that the Oxyrhynchus Glossary is part of Pamphilus' tradition, more or less contemporary with Diogenianus but not identical with him.[20] Also, it exhibits a great similarity with the original form of Pamphilus with regard to the layout of the entries.

20   According to Latte 1953, XLIII, fn. 1, the Oxyrhynchus Glossary contains fragments of a lexicon that was used by Diogenianus.

8. Edition

Abbreviations:

Allen = suggestions communicated to A. S. Hunt by T. W. Allen by letter (now in the Papyrology Room in the Sackler Library, Oxford) and annotated by Hunt in his own copy of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. 15 (London 1922), 155–162 (now in the Papyrology Room in the Sackler Library, Oxford).

Crönert = W. Crönert, Review of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. Vol. 15, ed. B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, London 1922, *Literarisches Zentralblatt* 73 (1922): 425–426.

Esposito = E. Esposito, 'P. Oxy. XV 1802, fr. 3 c. II 21s.', *Eikasmos* 17 (2006): 307–310.

Funghi & Messeri Savorelli = M. S. Funghi & G. Messeri Savorelli, 'HA IX 13, 615b25; 41, 627b–628a', CPF 24. 34T (Firenze 1989): 335–336; '*Respublica Soleorum*', CPF 24. 50T (Firenze 1989): 372–373.

Hunt = A. S. Hunt, 'P.Oxy. 1802', *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. 15 (London 1922): 155–162.

Hunt² = A. S. Hunt's annotations in his own copy of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. 15 (London 1922): 155–162 (now in the Papyrology Room in the Sackler Library, Oxford).

Lobel = notes by E. Lobel on the new fragments, addenda to P.Oxy. 1802 (now P.Oxy. 4812).

Pap. = Oxyrhynchus Glossary

Schmidt = K. F. W. Schmidt, Review of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. Vol. 15, ed. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, London 1922, *GGA* 186 (1924): 13–15.

Critical signs:

.. = traces of letters
αβγ = doubtful letters
[...] = lacunae
[αβγ] = supplements
(αβγ) = resolution of symbol or abbreviation
⟨αβγ⟩ = addition of letters omitted by the scribe
{αβγ} = deletion of letters written by the scribe
⌐αβγ¬ = corrections of letters written incorrectly by the scribe

Itacistic misspellings have been corrected in the text but are not signaled
with brackets. Iota adscript, always omitted by the scribe, has been sys-
tematically reintroduced (as iota subscript) in the text without signaling
the change in the text or the apparatus.

Fr. 1

```
          ................
      ]   [
      ]       [
      ]         [
      ]      ϰ[
5     ]         [
      ]      ϰ̣[
      ]     [
      ]      ϰ[
      ]      ϰ[
10    ]        [
      ]      ϰ[
      ]        [
          ...............
```

Fr. 2 i   **Fr. 2 ii**

....
].νϲε̣.υ[ ].[...............
φι]λοπονίαν [   ]..[
]   [
]ν πολιτείᾳ   λα[
5   ].ϲ Ἀντήνωρ   [
]   [
]   λα[
Ἀριϲτοτέληϲ? ἐν τῇ Θεϲϲ]αλῶν πολιτεί^α   λα[
].εϰ[   ].[
10   ]‾.τ[...............
]υ[
....

Col. i
1].ν ϲε[...Hunt   **2** ?φι]λοπονίᾳ[...Hunt   **4** ἐ]ν Hunt   πολειτεια pap.
5]οϲ Hunt   **8** Ἀριϲτοτέληϲ ἐν? propos. Hunt in comm.   πολειτει^α pap.
9]αιϰ[Hunt

Col. ii
2 λα[Hunt

Fr. 2 i

industry …

(in the) *Constitution of the …*
Antenor

(Aristotle?) in the *Constitution of the Thessalians*

(in Book?) … (of)

Fr. 3, i

         …………………………

        ἐν] γ̄ Cκυ[θικ]ῶν

       ]νων ἀρχη[…].ητρ[.]

       ]α ποιοῦντε[c ἐ]γθουσιά-

    ζουcι? παρ᾽ ἑτ]έροιc Μάρδοι κ[α]λοῦνται

5   ὡc δ]ηλοῖ Ἀντικλε[ίδη]c

       Ἀcκλ]ηπιάδηc ἐν [.].π̣.[.]α

       ]

       ]οικουcιν ηρα.[…..]c

       ]

10   ] Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ἀcίαν α-

       ]

      Ἡγής]αν⌜δ⌝ροc ἐν Ὑπομνήμαcι(ν)

       ] Διονύcιοc ὁ Ἰτυκαῖοc

          ]

15   ]

       ]

       ] ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ἀcί-

     αν   ]

      ] ὀνομαcιῶν

20   ]ἐ̣

       ]..ικῇ πολιτείᾳ

         ]ιc   [

         ]cω εὐρυχωρία [

         ]   [

25   ].ικηνατ[

         ]   [

         ]ρθοι πρ[.].[

         ] ι̣.θ̣..[

     ………………………………………

1 Μαργιανοὶ? ἐν] γ̄ Cκυ[θικ]ῶν Hunt   **3–4** [ἐ]γθουcιά|[ζουcι?] propos.
Hunt in comm.   **5**]ηλοι Ἀντικλε[ίδη]c Hunt: δηλοῖ Ἀντικλε[ίδη]c propos.
Hunt in comm.   **6** ἐν [.] ἐπιγ[ρ]α Hunt: ἐν [¯] ἐπιγ[ρ]α|[μμάτων] dub.
Hunt in comm.: ἐν [τῷ] ἐπιγρα|[φομένῳ] Crönert: ἐν [τῇ (vel τῷ)] ἐπιγρα|
[φομένη(vel -ῳ)] propos. Allen **8** Ἡρακ[λείδη]c Hunt   **12** Ἡγής]αν⌜δ⌝ροc
scripsi sec. Lobel:]αντροc pap.   υπομνημαcῑ pap.   **13** ϊτυκαιοc pap.
21 πολειτεια pap.   Θεccαλικῇ πολιτείᾳ propos. Allen   **25**]δικην ατ[
Hunt   **27** ?Πά]ρθοι Hunt: ὀ]ρθοί propos. Hunt in comm.   **28**]ιcθε[Hunt

In Book Three of the *Scythiaca*

… acting, (they are possessed by the god?);
by other people they are called Mardoi
as Anticlides demonstrates.
Asclepiades in the …

they live (?) …

(in the work) *On the (people?) in Asia*

Hegesander in the *Commentary*
Dionysius from Utica

(in the work) *On the (people?) in Asia*
of names

(in?) the … *Constitution*

open space

Fr. 3, ii

[μ]έ[λισσαι αἱ] τῆς Δήμητ[ρος ἱέρει]αι. ἢ αὐτ[ὸς] ὁ Ἀπολλ[όδωρος]
ἐν τῇ α̅· "ἐπ[αγου-]

σαν δὲ τὸν κάλαθον ταῖς Νύ⌜μ⌝φαις σὺν τῷ ἱστῷ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τῆς Περ-
σεφόνης, α̅ μὲν παραγένεσθαι εἰς Πάρον καὶ ξενισ⌜θ⌝εῖσαν παρὰ
τῷ βασιλεῖ Μελίσσῳ χαρίσασθαι ταῖς τούτου θυγατράσιν οὔσαις ἑξή-

5   κοντα τὸν τῆς Φερσεφόνης ἱστὸν καὶ πρώταις αὐταῖς ἀναδοῦναι
τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν πάθη τε καὶ μυστήρια. ὅθεν καὶ μελίσσας ἔκτοτε
κληθῆναι τὰς θεσμοφοριαζούσας {κληθῆναι} γυναῖκας."

μελύγιον πομάτιόν τι Σκυ⌜θ⌝ικόν. Γλαῦκος ἐν α̅ Ἐξηγής[ε]ως τόπων
τῶν κει-

μένων ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοῦ Πόντου μέρη· "συνκαταθεμ[έ]νων δὲ τῶν ἐλα-
10   τῶν ἔλυσε τὸν σύλλογον, καὶ ἀπολυθέντες ἕκαστο[ς] ἐπὶ τὰ ἴδια παρ-
εσκεύαζον τὸ μελύγιον. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ πόμα μεθ[ύ]σκει μᾶλλον τοῦ
οἴνου, γίνεται δὲ ἑψομένου τοῦ μέλιτος μεθ' ὕδατος καὶ βοτά-
νη[ς] τινὸς ἐμβαλλομένης. φέρει γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ χώρα πολὺ τὸ μέ-
λι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ ζῦτος, ὃ ποιοῦσιν ἐκ τῆς κέγχρου."

15 **μελῳδία** ἡ τραγῳδία τὸ παλαιὸν ἐλέγετο ὡς Καλλίμαχος ἐν Ὑπο-
μνήμασιν.

μενεμανι τὸ ὕδωρ παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις. ⌜Δ⌝είνων ἐ[ν α̅ Περσι]κῶν.

μερμνάδαι οἱ τρίορχοι παρὰ Λυδοῖς. Ἄνδρων ἐ[ν α̅ Περὶ τοῦ πολέ-
μου τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους.   [

20 **μέροπες** οἱ ἄφρονες ὑπὸ Εὐβοέων. Διονύσιος ἐν [

μέρο⌜ψ⌝ εἶδος ὀρνέου ὅπερ ἀντεκτρέφει τοὺς κ[ειμένους ἔνδον τοκ-
έας (*vel* γονέας)]

Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν η̅ Περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις μορίω[ν

μεσ[ο]τέλεστον τὸ ἡμιτέλεστον Αἰτωλούς .[

[   ].ασιν [ ]
25 [   ]ικ[...]υ[....].οισα . [
……………………………………………………………………

1 [αἱ] τῆς Δήμητ[ρος ἱέρει]αι. ἢ αὐτ[ὸς] ὁ Ἀπολλ[όδωρος] ἐν τῇ α̅   scripsi: αἱ
τῆς Δήμητ[ρος ἱέρει]αι. ἡ αὐτὴ Ἀπολλ[ωνία?] ἐν τῇ α̅   Hunt: αἱ τῆς Δήμητ-
[ρος ἱέρει]αι. ἡ αὐτὴ Ἀπολλ[ωνὶς?] ἐν τῇ α̅ propos. Hunt in comm.: αἱ τῆς Δήμητ-
[ρος ἱέρει]αι, ἡ αὐτὴ Ἀπολλ[οδώρου] sc. σύνταξις or Βιβλιοθήκη Crönert:
αἱ τῆς Δήμητ[ρος ἱέρει]αι ἦ αὐτή (sic). ὁ Ἀπολλ[όδωρος] ἐν τῇ α̅ Schmidt
2 νυφαις pap. **3** ξενιστεισαν pap., iam corr. Hunt in comm. **6** θυγατράσι
Hunt   **7** {κληθῆναι} del. Hunt   **8** Σκυτικον pap., iam corr. Hunt in comm.
Ἐξηγήςεως Hunt   **10** ἰδια pap.   **11** μεθύσκει Hunt   **12** γεινεται pap.
ὕδατος pap.   **15** καλλιμαχος pap.: Καλλίμαχος Hunt   **17** μεδεμανι? prop.
Schmidt   ζεινων pap.: Δείνων Crönert: Ζήνων Hunt in comm.   ἐ[ν α̅ Περσικ]ῶν

Melissai: the priestesses of Demeter. Otherwise Apollodorus himself (suggests) in Book One (of *On the Gods*?): "when bringing to the Nymphs the basket together with the loom and the works of Persephone, (Demeter) first went to Paros, and having been entertained in the palace of the king Melissus, she granted to his sixty daughters the loom of Persephone and delivered first to them her sufferings and mysteries; whence the women who take part in the Thesmophoria were thereafter called Melissai".

Melugion: a Scythian beverage. Glaucus in Book One of the *Description of Places Lying Towards the Left of the Black Sea* (says): "when the drivers agreed he dismissed the assembly, and going back each to his own home they prepared the melugion. This drink makes people more drunk than wine and is made of honey boiled with water with the addition of a certain herb; their country produces much honey and also beer, which they make out of millet".

Melodia: tragedy was so called in antiquity, as Callimachus (says) in the *Commentaries*.

Menemani: water among the Persians. D(e)inon in Book … of the *Persica*

Mermnadai: hawks among the Lydians. Andron in Book … of *On the War Against Barbarians*.

Meropes: foolish men by the Euboeans. Dionysius in …

Merops: a type of bird that in return feeds its own parents, who lie inside. Aristotle in Book Eight of *On the Parts in Animals*.

Mesoteleston: half-finished the Aetolians [accusative] …

Crönert: ε[ν ⁻…..]. ων Hunt: ἐ[ν ⁻ Μεδι]κῶν vel ἐ[ν Περσι]κῶν Hunt²: ἐ[ν ἐθνικ]ῶν Schmidt   **18** Ἄνδρων ἐ[Hunt: Ἀνδρώνι[κος (pro Ἀνδρόνι[κος) propos. Hunt in comm. ('possible but not attractive')   **18–19** ἐ[ν ⁻ τοῦ πολέ]ιμου τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους Hunt **20** Διονύσιος ἐν [Γλώσσαις] Crönert **21** μερου pap., iam corr. Hunt in comm.   ὅπερ: ε corr. ex ο   κ[ειμένους ἔνδον] scripsi sec. Esposito: κ[ευθομένους] vel κ[ειμένους ἔνδον] Esposito 309–310: κ[αταμένοντας ἔνδον] Maehler in Esposito, 309: κ[αταγηράσκοντας] (sc. γονέας) propos. Funghi & Messeri Savorelli (34T): κ[ηδεμόνας] propos. Hunt in comm. ('hardly satisfactory'): κ[ομίσαντας] Schmidt   τοκέας (vel γονέας) scripsi: πατέρας prop. Esposito, 310   **23** μεσοτέλεστον Hunt   **24** [……]μασιν Hunt: [ὑπομνή]μασιν Hunt²   **25**]ικα[…]υ[.]κοισα . [Hunt

Fr. 3, iii

[Μ]ῆ[τις] ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ. καὶ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Χαλκ[ιοίκου Λακεδαιμονί-
ων ἔcτι μικρὸν Ἀθηνάδιον καὶ ἐπιγε[γράφθαι φαcὶν αὐτῷ
'τὴν Μῆτιν'.
μῆτραι εἶδοc μελιccῶν. Ἀρι[c]τοτέληc ἐν η̅ Περ[ὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖc ζῴοιc μορίων.
5 **μῆτραι** ἐν Ταρcῷ καὶ Cόλοιc τὰc δέλτουc ἐν αἷc ἀπ[ογράφονται τὰc
οἰκίαc μήτραc προcαγορεύεcθαι, ἃc καὶ δημ[οcίαc. Ἀριcτοτέ-
ληc ἐν τῇ Cολέων πολιτείᾳ.
μι[ά]cτ[ω]ρ ὁ εἰδὼc ἑαυτὸν μὴ καθαρὸν αἵματο[c
δεῖ καὶ μιαίνων. Αὐτοκλείδηc ἐν τῷ ἐπιγρα[φομένῳ Ἐξηγητικῷ.
10 **μιθοργ** γένοc τι ἁρ[μ]ονίαc παρὰ Χαλδαίοιc περ[
Μίθραc ὁ Προμηθεύc, κατὰ δ' ἄλλουc ὁ ἥλιοc παρὰ Πέρc[αιc.
μιληχ γεν[να]ῖον ὑπὸ Ἀλβανίων τῶν ὁμορούντω[ν
ὡς Ἡρακλείδηc ἐν α̅ Ξένηc φωνῆc.
μινοδολόεccα ἀριθμῶν cύνταξιc παρὰ Χαλδαίο[ιc   ἐν ¯ Τῶν
15 κατὰ Βαβυλῶνα.
Μινύαι οὐ μόνον Ὀρχομένιοι ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ Μάγνη[τεc   Πε-
ρὶ ποταμῶν.
μινῶδεc ἄμπελοί τινεc οὕτῳ λέγονται παρὰ Ῥοδ[ίοιc?
μιcαι {ὁ} παρὰ Χαλδαίοιc ἡ τῶν μελλόντων πρόγνωcι[c   ἐν ¯
20 Τῶν κατὰ Βαβυλῶνα.
Μιτυληναῖοι κάπηλοι, ἀπ[.....]. ὡς Ἡγήcανδροc [
......ι μ.[± 22   ]οριαχ[
] .cε[

…………………………………………………………………………

1–2 Χαλκ[ιοίκου Λακεδαιμονί]|ων Hunt sec. Lobel: Χαλκ[ιοίκου εἰcιόντι ἐκ
δεξι]ῶν Crönert   **2** μεικρον pap.   **4** η̅ π corr. ex τοι   **5** ἀγ[ογράφουcι? τὰc]
Hunt Schmidt: ἀπ[ογράφουcι τὰc] propos. Hunt in comm.: ἀπ[ογράφονται κατ']
Funghi & Messeri Savorelli (50T)   **6** α.. καὶ Hunt: αἱ καὶ propos. Hunt in
comm.   δημ[οcίαc Funghi & Messeri Savorelli (50T): δημ[Hunt: δημ[οcιοῦc-
θαι] Schmidt   **7** πολειτεια pap.   **8** μιεcτηρ pap., iam corr. Hunt in comm.
8–9 αἵματο[c καὶ ἐλθών, ἵνα μὴ] δεῖ Hunt (ex Phot. μ 441) **9** ἐν τῷ ἐπιγρα[φομένῳ
Ἐξηγητικῷ] Crönert: ἐν τῷ ἐπιγρα[φομένῳ] Allen: ἐν τῷ ἐπιγρά[μματι?] Hunt
10 αρχονιαc pap., iam corr. Hunt in comm.   Περ[ιγένηc ἐν] Schmidt
12 γεν[να]ῖον scripsi: γενειον pap.   ὗπο pap.   τῶν ὁμορούντω[ν τοῖc Ἴβηρcι
vel Ἀρμενίοιc] propos. Hunt in comm.: τῶν ὁμορούντω[ν τοῖc Ἀρμενίοιc]
Schmidt   **14–15** Χαλδαίο[ιc …. ἐν ¯ Τῶν] | κατὰ Βαβυλῶνα Hunt: Χαλδαίο[ιc
τοῖc οὖcι] | κατὰ Βαβυλῶνα propos. Hunt in comm.: Χαλδαίο[ιc Περιγένηc ἐν ¯
Τῶν] | κατὰ Βαλυλῶνα Crönert   **16–17** […. ἐν τῷ Πε]|ρὶ ποταμῶν Hunt
19 {ὁ} delevi   πρόγνωcι[c …. ἐν ¯ Hunt: πρόγνωcι[c Περιγένηc ἐν ¯ Crönert
21 ἀπ[ατηλοί] Schmidt   **21** Ἡγήcανδροc [ἐν Ὑπομνήμαcι?] Hunt   **22** μ
.[..].ι Hunt   με[Hunt   ]οριακ[Hunt

Metis: Athena. Also, in the temple of Athena Chalkioikos (of the Spartans) there is a little statuette of Athena, and they say that the name 'Metis' is inscribed upon it.

Metrai: a type of bees. Aristotle in Book Eight of *On the Parts in Animals*.

Metrai: in Tarsus and Soli writing tablets on which they register houses are called 'metrai', and they (are) also public. Aristotle in the *Constitution of Soli*.

Miastor: one who is aware of not being pure of bloodshed … and is polluted. Autoclides in the (book) entitled *Exegetikon*.

Mithorg: a kind of harmony among the Chaldaeans …

Mithra: Prometheus, according to others the sun among the Persians.

Milech: noble by the Albanians, those who are neighbors of …, as Heraclides in Book One of *Foreign Language*.

Minodoloessa: a numerical system among the Chaldaeans … (of the work?) *On Babylon*.

Minyans: the inhabitants not only of Orchomenus but also the Magnetes … *On Rivers*.

Minodes: certain grape-vines are so called among the Rhodians(?)

Misai: the fore-knowledge of the future among Chaldaeans … (in Book …) of the work *On Babylon*.

Mitylenians: (retail)-dealers … as Hegesander …

Fr. 4

```
              ] [
              ].ṭ.[
              ]τοπ[
              ].cουτ[
5             ].εφε[
          ] περιcτ[
          ] περτο[
          ]cειν  τ̣[
          ]μητρο[
10        ]α̣ λι.[
            ]ηει[
        ………….
```

2]ειγε.[Hunt   **4**]εc ουτ[Hunt   **5**]ρεφε[Hunt   **7** περ το[Hunt
8] μητρο[Hunt   **10**]α λι.[Hunt

Fr. 5

```
            ]τοῦ βασιλέως [
            ]ογικων            [
          ] ἐν τῷ Τρωικῷ [
          ]δροϲο . . . ιοχευϲ [
5         ]        [   ]         [
          ] βλέφα[ρα] παρὰ Χα[λδαίοιϲ?
         ].ανθιϲ[. .]οταν πλ[
        ]λοιϲ μοιχ[. ].ον . [
        ]ιϲ                   [
10      ] κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην  [
        ]ενοιτρο. . [   ]ωι δι . [
        ]ωγ                  [
      π]αρὰ Πέρ[ϲ]αιϲ ἐπ[ὶ τοῦ?
        ]          [  ]        [
15      ]          [  ]        [
        ]διουϲφ . [  ] . [  ].[
        ]               [
        ] Μακεδών [
        ]. μμ…[
20   Βή]ρωϲοϲ ἐγ γ̄ Βαβυλω[νιακῶν
        ].ϲ Ξεν[ο]φῶν ἐν ᾱ Π[ερὶ
        ]α δύ[ο το]ίχουϲ τεθυρ[ωμένουϲ
                 ].[  ]…[
      ………………………
```

1] τοῦ βαϲιλέως Hunt:] τοῦ βάϲιν ὧϲ propos. Hunt in comm.: [τοῦ πρώ]του βαϲιλέως Allen   **2** λ]ογικων Hunt: [ἐν … ἀντιλ]ογικῶν dub. propos. Allen   **3** ἐν τῷ Τρωικῷ [διακόϲμῳ] propos. Allen: [Δημήτριοϲ] ἐν τῷ Τρωικῷ [διακόϲμῳ] Crönert   **4**]δροϲ ὁ Ἀντιοχεύϲ Hunt: [Ἀλέξαν]δροϲ ὁ Ἀντιοχεύϲ propos. Allen   **7**]ανθιϲ[. . . .]νπλ[. Hunt   **8**]. .ϲ μοιχ[. Hunt   **12**]οϲ Hunt   **20**].ϲοϲ. . .βαβ. . .[Lobel   **22** τοί]χουϲ τεθυρ[ωμένουϲ propos. Hunt

of the king

in the Trojan …

eyelids among the Chaldaeans (?)

adulterer (?)

in Libya

among the Persians (for?)

the Macedon

Berossus in Book Three of the *Babyloniaca*
Xenophon in Book One of *On* …
two walls furnished with doors

Fr. 6

```
                ……….
                    ]．[
                    ]．．[
                ]ọειọ[
            ]μαδιτ[
5           ]εγα．．．[
            ]εοικεν[
            ]οιϲ φι．[
            ]εν και[
            ]οιϲ λ[
10          ]．．ν[
             ]γ̣[
        …………
```

2]λ̣[Hunt   **3**]δειọ[Hunt   **4**]．αδιτ[Hunt   **5**]εναιϲ．[Hunt
7]οιϲ φιλ[Hunt   **8**]υ̣ν και[Hunt   **10**]λ̣ιγ̣ [Hunt   **11**]ε[Hunt

Fr. 7

```
            ………
            ]．．．αμ[
            ]τιμ[
            ]．[
            ……….
```

1]．．πα[Hunt

Fr. 8

·········
]εμ̣[
·········

Fr. 9

·········
] α[
·········

Fr. 10a

………………………
```
        ]ν              .[    ]  [
     Φ]οινίκων κν ... ϲοϲ [
   ]..[    ἑ]ρμηνεύεται πυροῦ [θηϲαυρὸϲ?
   δ]ιὰ τὸ τὸν πυρὸν ἐνταῦθα τοὺϲ
```
5
```
   Φοίνι]κας ὑποθηϲαυρίζειν ὡϲ Ἑϲτιαῖ- [
   οϲ ἐν ]�França Περὶ Φοινίκηϲ.                    [
   ]ων ἐντος ⌈θ⌉ιδίων τι ὡϲ Ἐραϲίϲτρα- [
   τος ] ἐν τῷ Ὀ[ψαρ]τυτικῷ.              [
   ] θάλαϲϲα κατὰ Πέρϲαϲ. Βήρωϲϲοϲ [
```
10
```
   ἐν] ᾱ Βαβυλωνιακῶν.              [
   ] τοὺϲ τὰ πρὸϲ τὴν τροφὴν .. [
              ] ....β . ϲ   [
```
……………………………………………

Fr. 10b

…………………
```
        ].ν[
        ]   [
      ].       [
    ]ρ .. [
```
…………………………

2 [Φ]οινίκων Lobel   και ϲ . γ[Lobel   **3** [θηϲαυρὸϲ?] prop. Lobel
4 [δ]ιὰ Lobel   **5** [Φοίνι]κας Lobel   **6** φοινεικηϲ pap.   **7**]ων
ἐντος ⌈θ⌉ιδίων τι Lobel:]ωνεντοϲτιδιωντι pap.   **9** βηρωϲϲ .. [Lobel
12]... υκ[ ]ϲ [Lobel

Of the Phoenicians …
… it is interpreted as magazine(?) for the corn
because the Phoenicians preserve the corn there, as Hestiaeus
in Book … of *On Phoenicia.*
… some of the … entrails, as Erasistratus
in the (book) *On Cookery.*
the sea according to the Persians. Berossus
in Book One of the *Babyloniaca.*
those in charge of the provisions

Fr. 11

        ].c καὶ διηνεϰ[
        ]**cιоc**   λιθ[
        ] ὁ Ῥόδιος ἐν $\overline{α}$ Π[ερὶ
        ]   οἱ ἀπὸ τῆ[c
5   ] καὶ Ὅμηρο[c?
        ]ται λαοὶ ωc.[
        ]   αντ[
        …………………

  1]ιc Lobel   .[Lobel **2**].ιοc Lobel   **3** $\overline{α}$.[Lobel

    … and continuously(?)

    (lemma):   stone(?)
    the Rhodian in Book One of *On* …
             those from the …
    and Homer
    … people …

Fr. 12

```
……………………
 ]. [ ]κατạμ[
 ]ωτω ἐν δι[
 ]ων Παναί[τιος?
παρ]ὰ Κρηϲὶν ạ[
```
5
```
         ]αϲ Κρήτ[
 ]. .ηϲ      [
  ].νοναι[
 ].[..].ερ[
 …………………
```

7].ονạ.[Lobel

… in ….
… Panaetius(?)
among the Cretans …
Crete(?)

Fr. 13

```
…………
]κ.[
].υκα[
……………
```

2 [Ἰ]τυκα[ῐ-] propos. Lobel

Fr. 14

```
……………
] . . . . [
]υκεξ̣[
  ]. .[
……………
```

3] κ[Lobel

Fr. 15

....
].κρησφ.[
]νιερεις[
]   [
]εκατιλ[
....

4]εκα. ιλ[Lobel

Fr. 16

....
 ]ανεις[
]μαρδ.[
]   ος[
] [ ]ζ.[
]μ.[.]η[
....

2]μαρδ[Lobel   **3** . . [Lobel   **4**]μ.[ ]ζ[Lobel   **5**].[Lobel

Fr. 17

....
].πο.[
]του.[
Γ]εωργικ[ῶν?
....

1].πικ[Lobel   **3** [Γ]εωργικ[ῶν?] propos. Lobel (cf. fr. 18, 5)

of the work *On Agriculture*(?)

Fr. 18

```
        ………………
         ]Δ[
         ].[…].[
        ]            [
        ]            [
5       ἐ]ν γ̄ Γεωρ[γικῶν
          ].αιδιαυ[
          ]. ι̣[  ]   [
            ]εχ.[
        …………………….
```

5 ἐ]ν γ̄ Γεωρ[γικῶν Lobel   **7**]ι̣[Lobel

in Book Three of the work *On Agriculture*

Fr. 19

```
        ………
         ].α̣[
        ]α̅ρ[
         ] [
        ]αο.[
        ……….
```

Fr. 20

> ⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯
>].[
>]ριο[
>].οιαπα[
>].co..[
> 5   ].ι .[
>]ακωγ[
>].[
> ⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯

2]ρ.ο[Lobel   **3**]οιαπα[Lobel   **4**].coιψ[Lobel   **5**]. [Lobel
6]ακω.[Lobel

Fr. 21

> ⋯⋯⋯⋯
>]…[
>]ερ.[
>]ηρ.[
>]ν[
> ⋯⋯⋯⋯

2]εργ[Lobel   **3**]ηρε[Lobel

Fr. 22

> ⋯⋯⋯⋯
>]ιδε[
>]υμ[
>]ρεθ[
> ⋯⋯⋯⋯

3].ε.[Lobel

Fr. 23

.   .   .   .
]πα ̣ με[
]κα ̣ ει[
] . . . [
.   .   .   .

2]κλ ̣ε ̣ [Lobel

Fr. 24

.   .   .   .
]ων [
]ην [
]   [
].οι   [
.   .   .   .

1] ̣ν [Lobel   **2**] ̣ν [Lobel

Fr. 25

.   .   .   .
] ̣μα[
] ̣θ[
.   .   .   .

Fr. 26

.   .   .   .
]   [
] ̣ ọ[
]   [
.   .   .   .

9. Commentary

Fr. 1

Only the initial letters of the column are visible. That they are all *kappas* and that they do not appear on each line but only at lines 4, 6, 8, 9, and 11 suggests that these are the beginning of lemmata starting with *kappa* and placed in *ekthesis*. The fragment surely precedes fr. 2, which in column ii contains lemmata beginning with *lambda* and in column i shows (perhaps) the transition from the letter *kappa* to the letter *lambda* (see below, at p. 76). Whether fr. 1 is to be placed just before fr. 2 or whether there were other columns in between containing other portions of the glossary covering letter *kappa* is impossible to say.

Fr. 2, i and ii

The fragment seems to contain the transition from lemmata beginning with *kappa* to lemmata beginning with *lambda*. Column ii has lemmata starting with λα-. In column i no remnants of lemmata are visible, but there seems to be a break after line 5 or 6. Here perhaps was the end of entries under *kappa*. If so, lines 1–5 in column i should cover entries with lemmata beginning with κυ- or κω-, and lines 8–11 in column i should contain entries with lemmata beginning with λα-.

Fr. 2, i

2 **[φι]λοπονίαν [.** This might be the explanation of a lemma related to or meaning 'industry'.
4 **]ν πολιτείᾳ.** On the basis of fr. 3, iii, 6–7: [Ἀριστοτέ]|λης ἐν τῇ Coλέων πολιτείᾳ all the instances of πολιτείᾳ in the fragments (fr. 2, i, 4; 2, i, 8; fr. 3, i, 21) have been restored as datives depending on the preposition ἐν. The author of the glossary is here quoting the source of the gloss, at the end of the entry (all the cases of πολιτείᾳ occur at line end). Between ἐν and πολιτείᾳ there could be either a genitive plural of the people whose consti-

tution was treated in the work, or an ethnic adjective ending in -ικος, as in fr. 3, i, 21 where one reads]ͺικῇ πολιτείᾳ. Here]ν on edge suggests that πολιτείᾳ was probably preceded by a genitive plural. If the work quoted was a 'consitution' by Aristotle, the list of candidates for the name of the city is long, because constitutions of at least 158 states were attributed to Aristotle.[1] A possible supplement would be a matter of guesswork.

5 Ἀντήνωρ. Antenor is an antiquarian from Crete (FGrHist 463, F 3) active in the second century BC.

6–7 Both lines, as far as they are preserved, are blank. The first half of line 6 might have concluded, well before the line-end, the entry beginning in line 5. Line 7, however, must have been left blank, because it seems that the entries beginning with κ- reached an end in line 6 and, after one blank space, the first entry of λ- was placed in line 8.

8 [Ἀριστοτέλης? ἐν τῇ Θεσσ]αλῶν πολιτείᾳ. There is no other possibility than reading ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλῶν (or Θετταλῶν) πολιτείᾳ, since to my knowledge there is no other work ending with -αλῶν πολιτεία. A *Constitution of the Thessalians* by Aristotle is mentioned by Sch. Eur. *Rhes.* 311 (vol. 2, p. 334 Schwartz = Arist., fr. 498 Rose = 504.1 Gigon) and by Ath. 11.499d (Arist., fr. 499 Rose = 503 Gigon).[2] Harpocration

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1   Cf. Diog. Laert. 5.27 Πολιτεῖαι πόλεων δυοῖν δεούσαιν ϱξ· κατ᾽ ἰδία⟨ν⟩ δημο-κρατικαὶ ⟨καὶ⟩ ὀλιγαρχικαὶ καὶ ἀριστοκρατικαὶ καὶ τυραννικαί. Forty titles are quoted by grammarians and lexicographers, which in part overlap with the forty-four titles preserved by the epitome of Heraclides. On the question of Aristotle's *Politeiai*, see Rose 1886, 258–367 (testimonia and fragments); Dilts 1971, 7–9 (on Heraclides' epitome); Gigon 1987, 561–722 (discussion, testimonia, and fragments). As an example, the edition of Rose has the following titles (Arist., frs. 381–603 Rose): Ἀθηναίων, Αἰγινητῶν, Αἰτωλῶν, Ἀκαρνάνων, Ἀκραγαντίνων, Ἀμβρακιωτῶν, ⟨Ἀντανδρίων⟩, Ἀργείων, Ἀρκάδων, ⟨Ἀτραμυτηνῶν⟩, Ἀχαιῶν, Βοττιαίων, Γελῴων, Δελφῶν, Δηλίων, ⟨Ἐπιδαυρίων⟩, Ἠλείων, Ἠπειρωτῶν, Θετταλῶν, ⟨Θηβαίων⟩, ⟨Ἰασέων⟩, Ἰθακησίων, Ἱμεραίων, Κείων, Κερκυραίων, Κιανῶν, Κολοφωνίων, Κορινθίων, ⟨Κρητῶν⟩, ⟨Κροτωνιατῶν⟩, ⟨Κυθηρίων⟩, Κυθνίων, Κυμαίων, Κυπρίων, Κυρηναίων, Λακεδαιμονίων, Λευκαδίων, Λοκρῶν, Λυκίων, Μασσαλιωτῶν, Μεγαρέων, Μεθωναίων, Μηλιέων, ⟨Μηλίων⟩, ⟨Μιλησίων⟩, Ναξίων, Νεοπολι-τῶν, Ὀπουντίων, Ὀρχομενίων, Παρίων, Πελληνέων, ⟨Ῥηγίνων⟩, ⟨Ῥοδίων⟩, Σαμίων, Σαμοθράκων, Σικυωνίων, ⟨Σινωπέων⟩, ⟨Σολέων⟩, ⟨Συβαριτῶν⟩, Συρακοσίων, Ταραντίνων, Τεγεατῶν, Τενεδίων, ⟨Τηνίων⟩, Τροιζηνίων, Φωκαιέων, ⟨Χαλκηδονίων⟩, ⟨Χαλκιδέων⟩.

2   Cf. also Phot. *Bibl.* 104b.38 ὁ δὲ δωδέκατος αὐτῷ λόγος συνήθροισται ἐξ ἄλλων τε διαφόρων, καὶ […] καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους πολιτειῶν, Θετταλῶν τέ φημι καὶ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Παρίων, Λυκίων τε καὶ Κίων, καὶ ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἁπλῶς ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς αὐτοῦ διαλαμβάνει. Cf. Rose 1886, 258.12.

s.v. τετραρχία (p. 288.1 Dindorf) quotes the opinion of Aristotle ἐν τῇ κοινῇ Θετταλῶν πολιτείᾳ (Arist., fr. 497 Rose = 502 Gigon). Critias also wrote a work of the same title (Critias, 88 B 31 D-K).[3] Aristotle, however, is more likely to be cited as an authority here. Among Aristotle's fragments, fr. 499 Rose = 503 Gigon (from Ath. 11.499d) is particularly interesting: Ἀριστοτέλης δ᾽ ἐν τῇ Θετταλῶν πολιτείᾳ θηλυκῶς λέγεcθαί φησιν ὑπὸ Θετταλῶν τὴν λάγυνον. Athenaeus here quotes Aristotle in commenting on the word λάγυνος, 'flask'. If the lemma was taken from the same passage as quoted by Athenaeus, a lemma λάγυνος would respect the alphabetical order of the glossary. Λάγυνος would be the first word of the letter λ and would be preceded by a blank space in line 7, to divide the end of κ and the beginning of λ.[4]

10].̄ τ[. The traces (a vertical stem with a horizontal flat top) suggest a τ and not π since the horizontal line extends to the left beyond the vertical stem. The horizontal stroke above the uppermost line of writing on the left suggests a numeral, probably a book number followed by the title beginning with τ (the article τοῦ, τῆς or τῶν?).

Fr. 2, ii

Lemmata beginning with λα.

Fr. 3, i

1–5 The lines could all pertain to one entry dealing with Scythians. The lemma could be Μαργιανοί, as already suggested by Hunt on the basis of the Mardoi mentioned in line 4 (see below at lines 3–4).
1 [ἐν] γ̄ Cκυ[θικ]ῶν. There are many authors of works on Scythians (*Scythiaca*) like Hellanicus of Lesbos (fifth century BC, FGrHist 4,

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3 Cf. Ath. 14.663a ὁμολογοῦνται δ᾽οἱ Θετταλοὶ πολυτελέστατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων γεγενῆcθαι περί τε τὰς ἐcθῆτας καὶ τὴν δίαιταν· ὅπερ αὐτοῖς αἴτιον ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπαγαγεῖν τοὺς Πέρcας, ἐζηλωκόcι τὴν τούτων τρυφὴν καὶ πολυτέλειαν. ἱστορεῖ δὲ περὶ τῆς πολυτελείας αὐτῶν καὶ Κριτίας ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ αὐτῶν (88 B 31 D-K). Cf. also Ath. 12.527b ὡμολόγηνται δ᾽ οἱ Θετταλοί, ὡς καὶ Κριτίας φηcί, πάντων Ἑλλήνων πολυτελέστατοι γεγενῆcθαι περί τε τὴν δίαιταν καὶ τὴν ἐcθῆτα· ὅπερ αὐτοῖς αἴτιον ἐγένετο κατὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπαγαγεῖν τοὺς Πέρcας.
4 As proposed by Keaney 1980. Cf. also CPF 24. 51T, pp. 373–374.

F 64–65, 185–187), Mnesimachus of Phaselis (fourth/third century BC?, FGrHist 841), Timonax (fourth/third century BC?, FGrHist 842), Agathon of Samos (second century BC, FGrHist 843), Ctesippus (second century BC, FGrHist 844). The works of Timonax, Agathon and Ctesippus were all in at least two books.[5]

3–4]α ποιοῦντε[ς ἐ]γθουσιά|[ζουςι? παρ᾽ ἑτ]έροις Μάρδοι κ[α]λοῦνται. The Mardoi were a people from the area of the Black Sea who lived by piracy.[6] The name Μάρδοι can perhaps be read also in fr. 16.2 (see below, at p.127). Strabo, who is one of our sources concerning this people, attests that another name for Μάρδοι was Ἄμαρδοι[7] and mentions Ἄμαρδοι, Μαργιανοί and Σκύθαι as closely connected.[8] The connection of the Mardoi with the Scythians suggests that line 1 might be part of the same entry introducing the third book of a work on Scythians as the source for the explanation. As for the lemma, which is lost, Hunt's suggestion of Μαργιανοί is very interesting and supported by Strabo. Hunt also proposed to read [ἐ]γθουσιά|[ζουςι] in lines 3–4. With this solution, Μαργιανοί would be connected with μάργος, 'mad'. The 'lexicographical' link of [ἐ]γθουσιά|[ζουςι] with the adjective μάργος finds a parallel in Hesychius, who glosses the verb μαργάω with ἐνθουσιάω: Hsch. μ 264 μαργᾷ· μαργαίνει. ὑβρίζει. ἐνθουσιᾷ, μαίνεται. ὑβριστικαὶ γὰρ αἱ μάργαι.

5 [ὡς δ]ηλοῖ Ἀντικλε[ίδη]ς. According to Hunt's suggestion, the reference here would be to Anticlides, an Athenian historian active during the early third century BC (FGrHist 140). The restoration is plausible, though to read [ίδη] we should allow for rather tightly squeezed letters. Anticlides was the author of a *History* of Alexander, of Δηλιακά, and Νόστοι. Athenaeus 11.473b-c mentions also an Ἐξηγητικόν, on

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5 For a list of works on Scythians see Jacoby, FGrHist IIIC, 927–931.

6 Strabo 11.13.6 Νέαρχος δέ φηςι τεττάρων ὄντων ληςτρικῶν ἐθνῶν, ὧν Μάρδοι μὲν Πέρςαις προςεχεῖς ἦςαν; Steph. Byz. 432.15 Μάρδοι, ἔθνος Ὑρκανῶν. Ἀπολλόδωρος περὶ γῆς δευτέρῳ (FGrHist 244 F 316). ληςταὶ δ᾽ οὗτοι καὶ τοξόται; Su. μ 191 Μάρδοι· ἔθνος τὸ πᾶν ληςταί.

7 Cf. Strabo 11.13.3 καὶ Μάρδοι (καὶ γὰρ οὕτω λέγονται οἱ Ἄμαρδοι).

8 Strabo 11.8.1 προςοικοῦςι δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰ προςάρκτια μέρη πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ Γῆλαι καὶ Καδούςιοι καὶ Ἄμαρδοι, καθάπερ εἴρηται, καὶ τῶν Ὑρκανίων τινές, ἔπειτα τὸ τῶν Παρθυαίων ἔθνος καὶ τὸ τῶν Μαργιανῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀρίων καὶ ἡ ἔρημος, ἣν ἀπὸ τῆς Ὑρκανίας ὁρίζει ὁ Σάρνιος ποταμὸς πρὸς ἔω βαδίζουςι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ὦχον. καλεῖται δὲ τὸ μέχρι δεῦρο ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρμενίας διατεῖνον ἢ μικρὸν ἀπολεῖπον Παραχοάθρας. ἔςτι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ὑρκανίας θαλάττης εἰς τοὺς Ἀρίους περὶ ἑξακιςχιλίους ςταδίους· εἶθ᾽ ἡ Βακτριανή ἐςτι καὶ ἡ Σογδιανή, τελευταῖοι δὲ Σκύθαι νομάδες.

Athenian rituals, but he is probably confusing Anticlides with Autoclides (FGrHist 353), who certainly wrote a work of that title on religious terms and usages.[9] This Autoclides is quoted also in fr. 3, iii, 9 (FGrHist 353 F 6) at the lemma μιεςτηρ (i.e. μάςτωρ). If the mention of the 'enthusiasmos' ([ἐ]νθουςιά|[ζουςι]) in lines 3–4 has a ritual sense, one could wonder whether Αὐτοκλείδης and not Ἀντικλείδης might be the correct reading here too. Still, it is difficult to find a link between the barbaric Mardoi and the Athenian rituals, which was supposedly the topic of the work by Autoclides.

6 [Ἀςκλ]ηπιάδης ἐν [.] . π . . [.]α. Ἀςκληπιάδης, suggested by Hunt, is a very likely supplement. As for the rest of the line, Hunt (hesitantly) mentioned ἐν [⁻] ἐπιγρα|μμάτων. This would be a reference to Asclepiades of Samos, the epigrammist of the third century BC, but there are a few difficulties with this reading. First, the division ἐπιγ[ρ]α|[μμάτων is against the rule of syllabic division in Greek. Second, there is no evidence that the epigrams of Asclepiades were organized in numbered books. Third, the reading]επ is possible, but a ιγ after the π is difficult. A tick upright is joined at mid-height by a horizontal stroke, which would suggest η, if one letter, or ιτ, if two, rather than ιγ. A possible reading would be thus ἐν [.] ἐπιτ[.]α. For the same reason, Allen's suggestion to read ἐν τῇ (vel τῷ) ἐπιγρα|φομένη (vel -ῳ) cannot, in my view, be accepted. In addition to this and against Allen's suggestion, the space between ἐν and ἐπιγρα- does not seem wide enough to accommodate an article τῇ or τῷ, as already pointed out by Hunt in reply to Allen.

If we exclude, as seems necessary, the poet Asclepiades, we know of many historians and ethnographers of the same name. In the fourth century BC Asclepiades of Tragilos (FGrHist 12) wrote Τραγῳδούμενα, a treastise on myths that served as subject matter for tragedies. Between the second and the first century BC the grammarian and historian Asclepiades of Myrlea (FGrHist 697) was the author of Βιθυνιακά and, according to Strabo, of a Περιήγηςις ἐθνῶν τῶν ἐν Τουρδητανίᾳ (on the geography and local history of Turdetania, a region of sourthern Spain). Later on, between the first century BC and the first century AD, Asclepiades of Cyprus (FGrHist 752) wrote a Περὶ Κύπρου καὶ Φοινικῆς. There are also two physicians with this name: Asclepiades of Bithynia (second/first century BC) and Asclepiades the Younger (first/second

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9   And in fact the reading Αὐτοκλείδης instead of the transmitted Ἀντικλείδης is
     restored by Gulick, ad loc.

century AD). The best candidates, in keeping with the historical and anti-
quarian interests of the glossary, are the historians, in particular Ascle-
piades of Myrlea, whose interests in foreign peoples is testified to by his
treatises on Bithynians and on Turdetania. Asclepiades of Cyprus, who
wrote about Cyprus and Phoenicia, is also a good candidate. Asclepiades
of Tragilos and his Τραγῳδούμενα are also a possibility given that the
glossary also shows some interest in mythography.

To read [Ἀσκλ]ηπιάδης ἐν ̣[̣] ̣π ̣ ̣[̣]α or, as suggested above,
[Ἀσκλ]ηπιάδης ἐν [̣] ἐπιτ[̣]α on the basis of these possible titles is,
however, difficult. In the lacuna after [Ἀσκλ]ηπιάδης ἐν there was prob-
ably a numeral indicating the book number of the work of Asclepiades;
the best hypothesis is to have a genitive of the title come next. The alter-
native form for introducing a quotation (περὶ + genitive) can probably be
dismissed, because the traces do not accomodate περί. None of the titles
suggested (Βιθυνιακά, Περιήγησις ἐθνῶν τῶν ἐν Τουρδητανίᾳ, Περὶ
Κύπρου καὶ Φοινικῆς or Τραγῳδούμενα) seem to suit the faint traces.
The only, if unsatisfying, conclusion is to suppose either that in the glos-
sary these works were referred to in a different way (not unlikely with
vague titles such as Περιήγησις or Τραγῳδούμενα), or that the work
quoted here is not among those suggested. For the former hypothesis, one
could suggest reading ἐν [̄] Ἐπιτ[ρ]α|[γῳδουμένων]. Ἐπιτραγῳ-
δούμενα as a variant title for Asclepiades of Tragilos' Τραγῳδούμενα
is unattested, but the verb ἐπιτραγῳδέω has a very similar meaning to
τραῳγδέω. Otherwise, if we think of a new title, one could speculate
about ἐν [̄] Ἐπιταγμάτων, 'in Book … of the *Orders*' (or '*Commands*',
'*Demands*'), where [̄] would be a numeral indicating the book number.
But such a title is not found elsewhere; moreover, with this reading we
would have to allow for two letters more in the lacuna Ἐπιτ[αγμ]-
ά|[των], for which there is no space.[10]

8]οικουσιν ηρα ̣[̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣]c. Hunt suggested Ἡρακ[λείδη]c. If correct,
this could be the same Heraclides, author of a work entitled Ξένη φωνή,
as is quoted in fr. 3, iii, 13 (see below, at pp.107–108, for a discussion).
There are a few authors with this name: the ethnographer Heraclides of
Cymae, fourth century BC (FGrHist 689), who wrote a history of Persia
(Περσικά); Heraclides the geographer, third century BC, author of a

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10   The alternative reading ἐν [̄] Ἐπιτα[γμάτων] must be excluded for at least two
     reasons: 1) there should be no letter in the lacuna, hence the τ should be ex-
     tremely stretched out, which is unlikely; 2) such a division is, again, against the
     syllabic division.

Periegesis of Greece (Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πόλεων);[11] and Heraclides Lembus, a grammarian and historian of the second century BC, who produced an epitome of Aristotle's *Constitutions*.[12] All three authors would be possible candidates here, since whoever composed the Oxyrhynchus Glossary was interested in Persian usages as well as in rather marginal areas of Greece, and also quoted works on constitutions (Πολιτεῖαι), either by Aristotle or other authors.

10] Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ἀσίαν. Cf. also below at lines 17–18:] ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ἀσί|[αν]. The work Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ἀσίαν, quoted twice in the papyrus, is unknown. Athenaeus twice (2.67a; 10.442b) quotes a work by Ctesias of Cnidus entitled Περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν φόρων (FGrHist 688 F 53–54) – it is not clear whether it was part of the Περ-σικά or an independent work.[13] Such a title, however, cannot be restored here, because the traces (] Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ἀσίαν α[) suggest a title beginning with α (a name in the genitive depending on τοῦ?). Such a title could be a periphrasis and could indicate any kind of work about Asia: a *periplous*, or a historical or ethnographical work on that region.

12 [Ἡγής]αν⌈δ⌉ρος ἐν Ὑπομνήμασι(ν). The papyrus reads]αν-τρος, but there is no proper name ending in -αντρος. The only solution seems to read Ἡγήσανδρος, as already suggested by Lobel. Hegesander is also quoted in fr. 3, iii, 21. The exchange between δ and τ is very frequent in the Roman and Byzantine periods, especially when these sounds come after ν.[14] Hegesander was from Delphi and lived in the middle of the second century BC. His collection of anecdotes about Hellenistic kings and the kingdoms of Macedonia and Syria was known as Ὑπομνήματα (FHG 4, 412–422).

13] Διονύσιος ὁ Ἰτυκαῖος. Dionysius of Utica is mentioned by Ath. 14.648e and Sch. Luc. 46.3.6 (p. 193.18 Rabe) as the author of Γεωργικά, a translation of the work on agriculture by the Carthaginian Mago. His translation probably dates back to 88 BC; it became a standard work on agriculture and was used by Varro (cf. Varro *R. R.* 1.1.10). He also wrote Ῥιζοτομικά, an herbal treatise, mentioned by Steph. Byz. 342.3 and Sch. Nic. *Ther.* 520a.[15]

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11 Cf. Daebritz 1912a. His fragments are edited by Pfister 1951.
12 Cf. Daebritz 1912b, 490–491; Gigon 1987, 564. The fragments of Heraclides' epitome are edited by Dilts 1971.
13 Cf. Jacoby 1922, 2039–2040.
14 Cf. Gignac 1976, 80–83.
15 Cf. Wellmann 1899.

17–18] ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ἀϲί|[αν]. See above at line 10.

21] ̣ ̣ιϰῇ πολιτείᾳ. The *Politeia* here quoted is probably another work on constitutions. Allen suggested reading (ἐν τῇ) Θεϲϲαλικῇ πολιτείᾳ but I am not sure that such a reading could indeed fit the faint traces in the papyrus. Before the ending -ιϰῇ there are at least two or three letters: first, a spike of ink which belongs to a top of a letter on edge; second, an upright (ι?), unless the two traces are from the same letter, in which case an η would be possible (but probably not an α); third, a curved top of the upper end of a stroke descending to the right (λ, υ?).

It seems unlikely, however, that, even if correct, the restored reading could refer to the *Thessalian Constitution* by Aristotle or by Critias. Among the fragments 'on constitutions' of both Aristotle and Critias, there is not a single case of a πολιτεία quoted using an adjective to indicate the ethnic group. In particular, in all the quotations of Aristotle's *Constitutions* that are signalled with the phrase ἐν τῇ … πολιτείᾳ, the ethnic group is always designated with a genitive plural, with only one exception, in Sch. Ap. Rhod. 1.916–918b (Arist., fr. 579 Rose = 596 Gigon), where we read: ὡϲ ἱϲτορεῖ Ἀριϲτοτέληϲ ἐν Ϲαμοθράκηϲ πολιτείᾳ. And in fr. 2, i, 8 a work with the title ἐν τῇ Θεϲϲαλῶν πολιτείᾳ is quoted with the genitive of the ethnic group. Athenaeus, who always quotes Aristotle's constitutions in this way, uses the adjective for a comparable work by the Stoic Persaeus, pupil of Zeno (Ath. 4.140e = SVF 1, fr. 454 and Ath. 4.140b = SVF 1, fr. 455): Περϲαῖοϲ … ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ πολιτείᾳ. Su. α 3254 speaks of τῇ Περϲικῇ πολιτείᾳ, which would suit the 'Persian' interests of our glossary, but the reference is not to a particular work that is quoted but rather to a 'man that is honored according to (or by) the Persian constitution'. None of these options, at any rate, seems to fit the traces. The example of the 'Laconian constitution' written by Persaeus only shows that there were cases where the adjective was used instead of the genitive plural. But titles of this type are not attested for Aristotle, who thus cannot be the authority quoted here.

In conclusion, (ἐν τῇ) Θεϲϲαλικῇ πολιτείᾳ might be a possibility – perhaps a treatise on the same subject but not by Aristotle or Critias? However, since the traces before -ιϰῇ on the manuscript are not so clear, the suggestion has not been printed in the text.

27]ρθοι πρ[̣] ̣[. Hunt suggested reading [Πά]ρθοι, which may indeed be right, given the interests of our glossographer.

Fr. 3, ii

1 [μ]έ[λιϲϲαι αἱ] τῆϲ Δήμητ[ροϲ ἱέρει]αι. I adopt the reading sug-
gested by Hunt, because it at least makes sense and is grammatically cor-
rect. From a purely paleographical point of view, however, I cannot see
any traces of the article αἱ at the beginning, although Hunt's edition
printed: [μ]έ[λιϲϲαι αἱ τῆϲ Δήμητ[ροϲ ἱέρει]αι. If the article αἱ was in
fact written, we would have to allow for an unusually small space be-
tween the lemma and the explanation in this entry. From a paleographical
point of view the article would seem to have been omitted, but Greek
grammar (as followed by the author of the glossary) needs it. I have
therefore decided to keep it in the text but as a supplement rather than
simply dotted, because no traces of α or ι are visible.

1 ἢ αὐτ[ὸϲ] ὁ Ἀπολλ[όδωροϲ] ἐν τῇ ᾱ. The supplements suggested
by Hunt: ἡ αὐτὴ Ἀπολλ[ώνια] ἐν τῇ ᾱ and by Crönert: ἡ αὐτὴ
Ἀπολλ[οδώρου] sc. ϲύνταξιϲ or Βιβλιοθήκη[16] are both to be rejected.
Hunt's ἡ αὐτὴ Ἀπολλ[ώνια] ἐν τῇ ᾱ presupposes a mysterious female
writer Apollonia, mentioned nowhere else. Crönert's reading ἡ αὐτὴ
Ἀπολλ[οδώρου] sc. ϲύνταξιϲ or Βιβλιοθήκη is certainly better in that it
suggests that the authority quoted may be Apollodorus, who seems to be
the most likely candidate. However, the additions ϲύνταξιϲ or Βιβλιοθήκη
which, according to Crönert's suggestion, must be understood in the
phrasing, are problematic. The expression ἡ αὐτὴ … ϲύνταξιϲ + genitive
to introduce a quotation seems very odd and without parallel. Ϲύνταξιϲ
can indeed mean 'treatise', 'composite work', and is used in this sense to
refer to the work of D(e)inon (see below, at p.91, footnote 45). Ϲύνταξιϲ
thus might indicate one of the works of Apollodorus. Still, a phrase like ἡ
αὐτὴ Ἀπολλ[οδώρου] ϲύνταξιϲ ἐν τῇ ᾱ does not sound right. Rather, if
ϲύνταξιϲ really meant 'treatise' here, one would expect Ἀπολλόδωροϲ
ἐν τῇ ᾱ ϲυντάξει. As for the other suggestion, Βιβλιοθήκη, Jacoby
rightly points out that, if this is indeed a fragment of Apollodorus, it
would come not from the *Library* but from the Περὶ θεῶν.[17] In any case,
the most compelling reason for rejecting the suggestions of both Hunt

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16 Crönert 1922, 425. Cf. also Körte 1924, 246.

17 Cf. Jacoby, FGrHist 244 F 89, and his comment 'Zuweisung an A., auch abge-
sehen von der unsicheren ergänzung, nicht one bedenken; aber die 'Bibliothek'
oder eine ihrer vorstufen (Croenert), ist schwerlich gemeint'. In the *Library*
attributed to Apollodorus there is nothing like that. Moreover, the *Library* is a
work probably composed in the first/second century AD and the first to quote it
as by Apollodorus is Photius in the ninth century AD.

and Crönert is simply that their reading αὐτή, with the ending -η, is not in the papyrus. The line is much damaged and scarcely readable, but one can read without doubt ηαυ, followed by a top horizontal (fitting the top of τ) and a speck of ink at the bottom-line (suggesting the stem of τ); τ thus seems certain. After the τ the papyrus is broken; the lacuna covers two or three letters (very small ones in the latter case). On the edge of the lacuna there is a clear trace of the right-hand of a circle, which suggests ο. In any case it cannot be the right stem of η, as Hunt and Crönert suggested. A comparison with other instances of η in the papyrus shows clearly and beyond all doubt that the right stem of η is never curved towards the inside of the letter, but rather towards the outside (see for example the clear η a few letters before on the same line). Thus an η cannot fit here. My reading is thus ἢ αὐτ[ὸς] ὁ Ἀπολλ[όδωρος] ἐν τῇ ᾱ, 'otherwise Apollodorus himself [suggests] in Book One'. This is the solution that suits best in terms of meaning. The particle ἤ is used to introduce an alternative solution,[18] and indeed what follows is a different analysis of the word μέλισσαι by Apollodorus himself (αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος): according to Apollodorus, the Melissai were not the priestesses of Demeter but rather the women celebrating the Thesmophoria. The only difficulty raised by the restoration ἢ αὐτ[ὸς] ὁ Ἀπολλ[όδωρος] may be that the first lacuna might be too short for [ὸς]. However, since both ο and ς can be very tiny in this hand (see for example these letters in the line below), this restoration, which otherwise makes perfect sense, seems possible.

The last part ἐν τῇ ᾱ cannot be interpreted as anything other than the number of a book, from which the quotation is taken. The feminine ἐν τῇ ᾱ can be understood in different ways: ἐν τῇ ᾱ (βύβλῳ) or ἐν τῇ ᾱ (πραγματείᾳ) are the most likely, but perhaps ἐν τῇ ᾱ (συντάξει) is also possible. Whichever noun (βύβλος, πραγματεία, σύνταξις) we supply, the formula ἐν τῇ + numeral and the title of a work (in the form περὶ + genitive) is used elsewhere to quote passages by Apollodorus.[19] As for having an infinitive clause without any *verbum dicendi* introducing it after ἐν τῇ ᾱ, this does not seem to be a problem if the solution adopted for the lemma

18 As it is common in *scholia*; see for example Sch. A *Il.* 1.175a (Ariston.) ⟨οἵ κέ με τιμήσουσι:⟩ ὅτι περισσὸς ὁ κέ σύνδεσμος, ἢ τὸ τιμήσουσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ τιμήσειαν. Sch. bT *Il.* 1.201b (ex.) φωνήσας: προσκαλεσάμενος, ἢ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς εἰπών.

19 Cf. Sch. Soph. *OC* 56 Ἀπολλόδωρος (FGrHist 244 F 147) γράφει οὕτως ⟨ἐν⟩ τῇ περὶ θεῶν γ· 'συντιμᾶται δὲ καὶ …' and Sch. Soph. *OC* 489 καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος (FGrHist 244 F 101) δὲ ἐν τῇ περὶ θεῶν ιζ περὶ τοῦ τῶν Ἡσυχιδῶν γένους καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς … φησι.

μῆτραι (fr. 3, iii, 5–7) is correct: μῆτραι: ἐν Ταρϲῷ καὶ Cόλοιϲ τὰϲ δέλτουϲ ἐν αἷϲ ἀπ[ογράφονται τὰϲ]| οἰκίαϲ μήτραϲ προϲαγορεύεϲθαι, ἇϲ καὶ δημ[οϲίαϲ. Ἀριϲτοτέ]|ληϲ ἐν τῇ Cολέων πολιτείᾳ. There too we have an infinitive clause without the *verbum dicendi*; in fact, the phrasing must be understood in this way: "Metrai: Aristotle in the *Constitution of Soli* (says that) in Tarsus and Soli writing tablets on which they register houses are called 'metrai', and (that) they (are) also public". This kind of brachylogical syntax is typical of lexicography; in the process of excerpting from the primary source (Aristotle in the case of μῆτραι, and Apollodorus in the case of μέλιϲϲαι), the glossographer has thus changed the direct speech of the author he is quoting into an infinitive clause but without introducing it by a main clause with a *verbum dicendi*.

Apart from the uncertainties of this first line, the content of the gloss is pretty clear. If the name there is indeed Apollodorus (and it is hard to see any other possible alternative), we are dealing here with a rather long verbatim quotation from this author. No title is given for the work referred to; only the number of the book is mentioned, as if it were a well-known work or a canonical reference for such matters (it is most likely the Περὶ θεῶν). This extremely concise way of quoting (to the point of obscurity) is particularly striking if we compare it with the rest of the learned quotations, which are all very complete: they all mention the name of the author, the number of the book and the full title of the work. This way of quoting can perhaps be explained if Apollodorus was a well-known author and a very familiar one to our glossographer: a colleague and fellow-scholar (in the Library of Alexandria?) could perhaps quote Apollodorus in this way. Indeed, the phrase introducing Apollodorus' opinion – i.e. αὐτ[ὸϲ] ὁ Ἀπολλ[όδωροϲ], 'Apollodorus himself', 'the famous Apollodorus' – seems to support this reconstruction. Apollodorus, the author of the Περὶ θεῶν, was such a celebrity in mythological matters that it was even superfluous to specify the title of his work. An alternative solution is to assume that the same work of Apollodorus was quoted in the glossary in an earlier entry that did not reach us, and that here our glossographer limited himself to mentioning only the book number. A similar case is in fact attested in Sch. Ge *Il.* 21.472, which quotes Apollodorus' Περὶ θεῶν with only the book number: ⟨ἑκάεργε:⟩ … Ἀπολλόδωροϲ ἐν ιγʹ (FGrHist 244, F 97)· «καλεῖται δ᾽ οὕτωϲ ἀπὸ τῆϲ ῥιπῆϲ …», because the same book from the Περὶ θεῶν had already been quoted in full a few lines earlier: Sch. Ge *Il.* 21.446–449 … Ἀπολλόδωρόϲ φηϲιν ἐν ⟨ι⟩γʹ Περὶ θεῶν (FGrHist 244, F 96).

1–7 [μ]ἑ[λιϲϲαι ----- γυναῖκαϲ. The note concerns the Melissai, defined as priestesses of Demeter. Apollodorus is cited here as a source for an alternative explanation, according to which the Melissai are not the priestesses of Demeter but rather the women who participate in the Thesmophoria. Even if the Thesmophoria were women's festivals in honor of Demeter that were celebrated all over Greece,[20] it remains open whether here Apollodorus meant 'rituals in honor of Demeter' or, more properly, the 'Athenian Thesmophoria'. Indeed, his Attic origin would make it possible that he was concerned with an etiological myth for a local Attic institution. The etiological myth is that of Demeter arriving at Paros at the court of the king Melissus, whose sixty daughters she rewarded with the loom of Persephone and the mysteries. From these daughters of Melissus, called evidently Melissai, came the term 'Melissai' for women taking part in the Thesmophoria.

The Melissai are referred as priestesses of Demeter by many sources.[21] This tradition seems to be also present in the *Hymn to Apollo* by Callimachus (*Hymn* 2.110–112: Δηοῖ δ᾽ οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδωρ φορέουϲι μέλιϲϲαι, / ἀλλ᾽ ἥτιϲ καθαρή τε καὶ ἀχράαντος ἀνέρπει / πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγη λιβὰς ἄκρον ἄωτον), where the Melissai perform a ritual in honor of Deo, probably Demeter.[22] As for the story about the king Melissus and his daughters, this entry in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary is unique in presenting this etiological myth. The closest parallel is in Lactantius, who quotes Didymus' Pindaric exegesis:

> Lactant. *Div. Inst.* 1.22.19: *Didymus in libris Ἐξηγήϲεωϲ Πινδαρικῆϲ ait Melissea Cretensium regem primum diis sacrificasse ac ritus nouos sacrorumque pompas introduxisse; huius duas fuisse filias, Amaltheam et Melissam, quae Iouem puerum caprino lacte ac melle nutrierint – unde poetica illa fabula originem sumpsit apes aduolasse atque os pueri melle complesse –; Melissam uero a patre primam sacerdotem Matri Magnae constitutam, unde adhuc eiusdem Matris antistites Melissae nuncupentur.*

> Didymus, in the books of the *Exegesis of Pindar*, says that Melisseus, the king of Crete, was the first to sacrifice to the gods and to introduce new rituals and public sacred processions. (And he says that) he had two daughters, Amalthea and Melissa, who nourished the infant Zeus with goat milk

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20 Cf. Hopkinson 1984, 36; Versnel 1993, 235–260.

21 Cf. Hsch. μ 719 μέλιϲϲαι· αἱ τῆϲ Δήμητρος μύϲτιδεϲ; Porph. *Antr. Nymph.* 18.6 καὶ τὰϲ Δήμητρος ἱερείαϲ ὡς τῆϲ χθονίαϲ θεᾶϲ μύϲτιδαϲ μελίϲϲαϲ οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐκάλουν; Sch. Pind. *P.* 4.106c μελίϲϲαϲ δὲ τὰϲ ἱερείαϲ, κυρίως μὲν τὰϲ τῆϲ Δήμητρος, καταχρηϲτικῶϲ δὲ καὶ τὰϲ πάϲαϲ, διὰ τὸ τοῦ ζῴου καθαρόν.

22 See however the discussion in Williams 1978, 92–94.

and honey – this episode gave origin to the poetic tradition that the bees
had flown by and filled the mouth of the child (Zeus) with honey. And in-
deed her father made Melissa the first priestess of the Great Mother;
whence the priestesses of this Mother are even now called Melissae.

The *aition* is similar to the entry in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary, inasmuch
as the origin of the priesthood of the Melissai is connected with the
daughters of the king Meliss(e)us. Some important differences must be
highlighted, however. First, Lactantius uses this myth to explain that the
Melissai are the priestesses of Demeter/Great Mother, whereas for Apol-
lodorus the myth explains why the Melissai are the women celebrating
the Thesmophoria, rather than the priestesses of Demeter. Second, the
gods involved in the *aition* are different: Demeter in Apollodorus, and
Zeus in Lactantius. Third, and probably more importantly, the two kings
seem to be two different characters who became at a certain point con-
fused: in Lactantius the king is called Melisseus, he lives in Crete, and
has two daughters, whereas in Apollodorus he is called Melissus, he lives
in Paros, and has sixty daughters.

    Thus we seem to face here a conflation of two different traditions
about the Melissai.[23] One, transmitted by Apollodorus, probably in the
Περὶ θεῶν, concerned the cult of Demeter (the mention of the mysteries
as well as of the κάλαθος belongs to this myth) and Paros, which was
famous for its cult of this goddess.[24] The other, transmitted by Didymus
in his *Exegesis of Pindar*, concerned the daughters of Melisseus, the
nymphs who nourished Zeus in Crete.[25] Lastly, there is also the possibil-
ity that Lactantius is misinterpreting Didymus. Bees pouring honey into
the mouth of a child can be found in the biographical tradition of Pindar,
dating back to Chamaeleon; the image is there used to explain Pin-
dar's poetic ability (cf. *Vita Ambrosiana* 1.6–11 Drachmann; *Vita
Metrica* 8.11–13 Drachmann). Since this passage comes from Didymus'
Exegesis of Pindar, it may be possible that the *puer* was Pindar, and not

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23   On the Melissai cf. also Hsch. μ 1294; EM 577.39; Sch. Eur. *Hipp.* 73 (vol. 2,
     p. 14.18 Schwartz). For a discussion of the Melissai, see Cook 1895.
24   Cf. HDemet. 491; Steph. Byz. 507.5; Sch. Ar. *Av.* 1764; Paus. 10.28.3.
25   Cf. Ps. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.1.6 ὀργισθεῖσα δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ῥέα παραγίνεται μὲν εἰς
     Κρήτην, ὁπηνίκα τὸν Δία ἐγκυμονοῦσα ἐτύγχανε, γεννᾷ δὲ ἐν ἄντρῳ τῆς
     Δίκτης Δία. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν δίδωσι τρέφεσθαι Κούρησί τε καὶ ταῖς Μελισσέως
     παισὶ νύμφαις, Ἀδραστείᾳ τε καὶ Ἴδῃ. αὗται μὲν οὖν τὸν παῖδα ἔτρεφον τῷ
     τῆς Ἀμαλθείας γάλακτι, οἱ δὲ Κούρητες ἔνοπλοι ἐν τῷ ἄντρῳ τὸ βρέφος
     φυλάσσοντες τοῖς δόρασι τὰς ἀσπίδας συνέκρουον, ἵνα μὴ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς
     φωνῆς ὁ Κρόνος ἀκούῃ.

Zeus, and that Lactantius is responsible for this additional misinterpretation.[26]

8–14 μελύγιον: πομάτιόν τι Cκυ⌐θ⌐ικόν ----- ἐκ τῆς κέγχρου. Cf. Hsch. μ 733 μελύγιον· πόμα τι Cκυθικὸν μέλιτος ἑψομένου cὺν ὕδατι καὶ πόα τινί and EM 578.8 (≈ Zon. 1348.3) μελύγειον: πομάτιον Cκυθικὸν γινόμενον ἐκ μόνου μέλιτος μεθ' ὕδατος, βοτάνης τινὸς ἐμβαλλομένης. The glosses in the papyrus as well as in Hesychius and EM connect this Scythian beverage with μέλι, 'honey'. The drink may or may not be mead.[27] What is certain is that for a Greek speaker μελύγιον would naturally be interpreted as deriving from μέλι. Assuming that, in the definition, Cκυθικόν indeed refers to what we now mean by Scythian, i.e. a language of the Iranian branch of Indo-European, closely related to Persian,[28] we are probably dealing with a popular etymology, because in Iranian there is no word derived from IE *meli(t)-.[29] Therefore either this is not a real Scythian word, but a Greek word for a Scythian beverage (with honey), or it is indeed an Iranian word, but not derived from the IE *meli(t)- for 'honey'. For the latter hypothesis, we should consider the stem to be μελυγ- (with -ιον as a typical Greek nominal suffix). The form μελυγ- / *melug-* could indeed be connected with Iranian roots, as Oktor Skjaervo suggested and Elizabeth Tucker clarified to me. If one reconstructs a Proto-Iranian word *madu-ka-* it is possible that this developed into *maluk* or *malug* in a Scythian dialect. Evidence for such a Proto-Iranian form can be found in Sogdian, where in addition to *mδw* 'wine' (which could be derived from a Proto-Iranian *madu; cf. Sanskrit *mádhu-*), there is also (in the Ancient Letters) *mδ'k* 'wine' formed with the suffix *-ka. If this is correct, μελύγιον could be identified with an Iranian (Scythian) noun *maluk* or *malug* related to Greek μέθυ-, Sanskrit *mádhu-*,[30] and English 'mead', but whose first syllable *mal-* has been replaced by μελ- because of a false etymological connection on the part of the Greeks with their own word for 'honey'.

8–9 Γλαῦκος ἐν ᾱ Ἐξηγής[ε]ωc τόπων τῶν κει|μένων ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοῦ Πόντου μέρη. Glaucus might be either a geographer, otherwise unknown (so Jacoby, FGrHist 806) or the author of an Ἀρα-

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26 I would like to thank Monica Negri for this suggestion.

27 As maintained by Tafuro 2003.

28 On Scythian, cf. Schmitt 1989, 92–93.

29 Cf. Brust 2005, 457–459.

30 Sanskrit, like Iranian, does not have the IE *meli(t)- word but uses *mádhu-* for 'honey, sweet drink, Soma'. I owe this clarification to Elizabeth Tucker.

βικὴ ἀρχαιολογία (FGrHist 674), used by Stephanus of Byzantium, as suggested by Hunt.

15–16 μελῳδία: ἡ τραγῳδία τὸ παλαιὸν ἐλέγετο ὡς Καλλίμαχος ἐν Ὑπο|μνήμαϲιν. Callimachus, fr. 462 Pfeiffer. The Ὑπομνήματα by Callimachus are also quoted in a *scholium* to Apollonius Rhodius (fr. 464 Pfeiffer),[31] by Eustathius (fr. 461 Pfeiffer),[32] and by Harpocration (fr. 463 Pfeiffer).[33] It is not clear what kind of work this is. In frs. 461, 463 and 464 Pfeiffer, the Ὑπομνήματα seem to be concerned with mythographical and geographical topics. Here, on the other hand, we have a sort of 'history of literature'. For this reason, I wonder whether here it is not in fact the Πίνακεϲ that are meant. The word μελῳδία seems to be used as a generic term for music, especially by later authors. The only passage which puts μελῳδία in connection with drama, and tragedy in particular, is from the *Chronographia* of Johannes Malalas, quoted by Pfeiffer as a parallel:

> Jo. Mal. *Chron.* 5.38 (p. 111.5 Thurn) ἐν τοῖϲ χρόνοιϲ δὲ τοῖϲ μετὰ τὴν ἅλωϲιν τῆϲ Τροίαϲ παρ᾽ Ἕλληϲιν ἐθαυμάζετο πρῶτοϲ Θέομιϲ ὀνόματι· ἐξηῦρε γὰρ οὗτοϲ τραγικὰϲ μελῳδίαϲ καὶ ἐξέθετο πρῶτοϲ δράματα. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Μίνον, καὶ μετὰ Μίνωνα Αὐλέαϲ τραγικοὺϲ χοροὺϲ δραμάτων ϲυνεγράψατο. καὶ λοιπὸν τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνον ἐξ αὐτῶν Εὐριπίδηϲ εὑρὼν πολλὰϲ ἱϲτορίαϲ δραμάτων ποιητικῶϲ ἐξέθετο, ὡϲ ὁ ϲοφώτατοϲ Θεόφιλοϲ ϲυνεγράψατο.

> In the time after the sack of Troy, a man called Theomis was first admired among the Greeks. For he discovered the tragic chants and first set out dramas. And, after him, it was Minon and, after Minon, Auleas who wrote tragic choruses of dramas. And later on, after these things, Euripides discovered and set out many dramatic stories in poetry, as the learned Theophilus has written.

According to Johannes Malalas, a man called Theomis, just after the sack of Troy, would have invented τραγικαὶ μελῳδίαι and composed the first δράματα, followed by Minon, Auleas and Euripides. The account is totally different from that given by Aristotle in the *Poetics* 1448b34–1449a31

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31 Sch. Ap. Rhod. 1.1116 καὶ πεδίον Νηπήιον: …. Ἀπολλόδωροϲ (FGrHist 244 F 175) δέ φηϲι Νηπείαϲ πεδίον ἐν Φρυγίᾳ. ὁ δὲ Καλλίμαχόϲ φηϲιν ἐν Ὑπομνήμαϲι Νέμεϲιν εἶναι τὴν τὸ πεδίον κατέχουϲαν.

32 Eust. 1714.34 καὶ Καλλίμαχοϲ οὖν ἐν Ὑπομνήμαϲι τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ἐπιξενωθῆ-ναι φηϲὶν Ἐφέϲῳ υἱῷ Καΰϲτρου, ἐκβαλλομένην δὲ ὑπὸ τῆϲ γυναικὸϲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μεταβαλεῖν αὐτὴν εἰϲ κύνα, εἶτ᾽ αὖθιϲ ἐλεήϲαϲαν ἀποκαταϲτῆϲαι εἰϲ ἄνθρωπον, καὶ αὐτὴν μὲν αἰϲχυνθεῖϲαν ἐπὶ τῷ ϲυμβεβηκότι ἀπάγξαϲθαι, τὴν δὲ θεὸν περιθεῖϲαν αὐτῇ τὸν οἰκεῖον κόϲμον Ἑκάτην ὀνομάϲαι.

33 Harp. s.v. Ἄκη (19.1 Dindorf): … καὶ Καλλίμαχοϲ ἐν τοῖϲ Ὑπομνήμαϲι τὴν νῦν Πτολεμαΐδα καλουμένην φαϲὶν εἶναι.

and far less persuasive. Nevertheless, if Bentley was right in considering Theomis, Minon and Auleas, names otherwise unattested for dramatists, as mistakes for the 'real' developers of the tragic genre Thespis, Ion and Aeschylus,[34] then Johannes Malalas' account would be more accurate and square with this note from Callimachus' Ὑπομνήματα. According to this analysis, μελῳδία was a word applied to the original stage of tragedy.[35]

17 μενεμανι : τὸ ὕδωρ παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις. Surely here we are dealing with a reduplicated root. But it is impossible to suggest an actual word. If we assume an Iranian origin, it is very difficult to find a solution, as both Elizabeth Tucker[36] and Oktor Skjaervo have concluded. Brust assumes a reduplicate form like *men-(e)-man(i)* and suggests tentatively a Proto-Iranian **mada-na-* > **mai-na-* derived from **mada-* 'intoxication',[37] and hence meaning 'wine', 'alcholic beverage' (cf. Pahlavi *may*, 'wine').[38] As he himself recognizes, however, this would be possible only if the Greek ὕδωρ could also mean 'alcholic drink', a meaning which is unattested.[39]

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34 Cf. Sandys 1921, 391. Bentley read Θέμις and Μίνως, which are the readings of the Cod. Barocc. 182, followed by Dindorf 1831, 142.21: ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις δὲ τοῖς μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν Τροίας παρ᾽ Ἕλλησιν ἐθαυμάζετο πρῶτος Θέμις ὀνόματι· ἐξηῦρε γὰρ οὗτος τραγικὰς μελῳδίας καὶ ἐξέθετο πρῶτος δράματα. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο Μίνως καὶ μετὰ Μίνωα Αὐλέας τραγικοὺς χοροὺς δραμάτων συνεγράψατο. καὶ λοιπὸν τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνον ἐξ αὐτῶν Εὐριπίδης εὑρὼν πολλὰς ἱστορίας δραμάτων συνεγράψατο. The readings Θέομις and Μίνων are preserved in the Slavic translations of the *Chronographia*, and restored in the text by Thurn.

35 As already suggested by Hunt in Grenfell & Hunt 1922, 161, for whom the term μελῳδία "may have been applied to tragedy in its germinal dithyrambic stage".

36 Elizabeth Tucker wrote to me: "I don't recognize this word, but the normal Old Iranian word for 'water' is *āp-* and it is feminine in gender. The feminine nominative sg. of a high proportion of Old Iranian adjectives ends in -*ī*, and so possibly this might represent an epithet or name of 'water', which in the earliest Iranian religious traditions was the subject of invocations, hymns, etc.", and, in a later communication, referring to the Old Avestan liturgy: "*Yasna Haptaŋhāiti* 38.4, which is addressed to the waters and says 'Thus, with the names, which Ahura Mazda gave to you, you good ones, when he made you givers of good, with these we worship you ….'. This passage might indicate that there were a number of cultic names for 'waters' in the oldest Iranian religious traditions, and μενεμανι just might represent one which has not been transmitted in any native Iranian source".

37 This **mada-* 'intoxication' (cf. Old Avestan *mada-*, Younger Avestan *maδa-*, Sanskrit *máda-*) is different from **madu-* 'sweet drink, honey', which was perhaps at the basis of μελύγιον.

38 MacKenzie 1971, 55, s.v.

39 Brust 2005, 459. Hunt in Grenfell & Hunt 1922, 161, reports that according

Another possibility would be to assume a confusion between Persians and Babylonians. As Stephanie Dalley has pointed out to me, the nominative for water in Akkadian is *mû*, whose accusative (and a commonly used form by this time) would be *mê*.[40] This stem can perhaps be detected in μενεμανι, which might be divided as *mê* (water) + *nemani**; the meaning of the latter is a matter of pure guesswork.

17 Δείνων ἐ[ν ˉ Περσι]κῶν. The papyrus reads Ζείνων, which is no doubt a misspelled form. Two solutions are possible. We can read Ζήνων as Hunt (followed by Schmidt) did. Zeno is of course a very common name. Hunt suggested Zeno from Myndus (first century AD, age of Tiberius), a grammarian who worked on the exegesis of classical authors.[41] Perhaps the Persian gloss could come from a lexicon or a glossary, a typical product of a grammarian. We do not, however, have any evidence for an interest in glossography on the part of Zeno from Myndus; he seems to have worked only on the exegesis of classical authors, and this gloss does not seem to come from literary exegesis. Moreover, Zeno of Myndus is quite late compared to the other authorities quoted in this papyrus. Among the other personalities named Zeno, there are many philosophers: Zeno of Elea (who can be easily excluded); Zeno of Citium (the founder of Stoicism, who also wrote on Homeric problems and on poetics); Zeno from Sidon (another Stoic philosopher); Zeno of Tarsus (a pupil of Chrysippus) and another Zeno from Sidon (an Epicurean, living in the second century BC; among his works there are Περὶ γραμματικῆς, Περὶ λέξεως, Περὶ ῥητορικῆς). A philosopher, however, does not seem the best candidate for a Persian gloss. A much more likely candidate would be Zeno of Rhodes (FGrHist 523), a historian working between the end of the third century and the beginning of the second century BC, used (and much criticized) by Polybius (16.14–20). He wrote a Χρονικὴ σύνταξις, a history of Rhodes organized in an annalistic way, starting from primitive periods and continuing down until contemporary times (though the end date is unknown). Rhodes was under Persian rule between the sixth and the fifth century BC and therefore Zeno may have mentioned a Per-

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Mr. R. Levy *maya* is the Aramaic word for water and it was used in Pahlavi. According to Oktor Skjaervo this is not right, because the Pahlavi arameogram in question is *my* ' (MYA), which was however pronounced *āb* in Middle Persian (cf. Old Persian *āp*-).

40 Cf. CAD, vol. 10, part 2, 149–156, s.v. *mû* (A). The form *mê* can also be found as nominative when it occurs with a genitive, 'water of …'.

41 No titles have been preserved; EM 590.44 has a quotation from his work on Aristophanes.

sian gloss in his history. Thus, if we want to read Ζήνων in our papyrus, I suggest identifying him with the historian from Rhodes.

There is, however, a much better solution, first suggested by Crönert,[42] which is to read Δείνων. The exchange between δ and ζ is among the most common mistakes from a linguistic point of view[43] and this would make our restoration extremely easy. Moreover, the name Δείνων is misspelled as Ζήνων in the Armenian text of Eusebius, *Chron.* 28.28 Karst (FGrHis 690 F 8). D(e)inon is in fact the perfect candidate for a Persian gloss.[44] He was a historian from Colophon who lived in the fourth century BC. He wrote Περσικά, the most natural source for a Persian gloss. Furthermore, the supplement ἐ[ν Περσι]κῶν suits perfectly the traces in our papyrus, where part of the upper stroke of the kappa before the ending -ῶν is also visible.[45] The fragment is accepted with some reservations by Jacoby (FGrHist 690 F *29).

18 μερμνάδαι: οἱ τρίορχοι παρὰ Λυδοῖς. The same explanation of μερμνάδαι as a kind of hawk can be found in Hsch. μ 884 μέρμνης: τρίορχος. This is also the name of the family of Croesus according to Herodotus (1.7.1 and 1.14.1), and it might be that μερμνάδαι were actually the totemic animal for the Lydian royal clan.[46] If so, μερμνάδαι could be indeed a Lydian word.[47]

18–19 Ἄνδρων ἐ[ν � Περὶ τοῦ πολέ]|μου τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους. Andron is a historian of Halicarnassus (FGrHist 10) who lived in the fourth century BC. He wrote Συγγένειαι or Ἱστορίαι on the genealogical relationships among Greek cities. His work was used by Apollodorus and the explanation of μερμνάδαι could very well come from

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42 Cf. Crönert 1922, 425.

43 Cf. Gignac 1976, 75–76.

44 Cf. Schwartz 1903a.

45 The title of his work is variously transmitted. Athenaeus, who is one of the main sources for D(e)inon's fragments, often quotes him simply as Δ(ε)ίνων ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς (cf. Ath. 4.146c; 13.556b; 13.560f; 14.633d; 14.652b). Once he mentions Δ(ε)ίνων ἐν τῇ Περσικῇ πραγματείᾳ (Ath. 2.67b). The work of D(e)inon had surely at least three books (cf. Ath. 11.503f Δίνων ἐν γ Περσικῶν). There is, however, another way of quoting the work of D(e)inon, as divided into three treatises, three συντάξεις; cf. Ath. 13.609a Δίνων δ' ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν Περσικῶν τῆς πρώτης συντάξεώς φησιν; Sch. Nic. *Ther.* 613 Δίνων δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς τρίτης συντάξεως.

46 Cf. Fauth 1968.

47 Cf. Gusmani 1964, 275. Lydian is a language of the Anatolian branch of Indo-European, closely related to the earlier attested languages Hittite and Luvian, and later Lycian. Cf. Watkins 2004, 551, and Melchert 2004, 591.

it.[48] It is likely that the Cυγγένειαι were about the Greek cities in Asia Minor, the area where Andron came from. He might have discussed their reciprocal bonds as well as the relationships with their 'barbarian' neighbors. As Herodotus testifies (1.26), Croesus attacked Ephesus and then the cities of the Ionians and the Aeolians. Andron, following his fellow citizen, may have treated Croesus' war against the Greek cities of Asia Minor. The narration of this episode, from a Greek point of view, could easily have been called Περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους. This title given in the glossary may be thus a section of the Cυγγένειαι, concerning the war that the Greek cities of Asia Minor fought against Croesus. When introducing Croesus, then, Andron perhaps wanted to explain his family name and thus connected it with some real word used by the Lydians. For a king who was the first to submit the 'free' Greeks to a tribute (cf. Hdt. 1.6.2), a family name connected with the rapacious hawks, regardless of the linguistic truth of such an explanation, was certainly a 'speaking name' for a Greek.

The other possibilities, that the historian mentioned here is Andron of Theos (FGrHist 802) or Andron of Alexandria (FGrHist 246), seem thus far less likely. Jacoby does not acribe the fragment to any of these historians, but lists it under Λυδιακά (FGrHist 768 F 3).

20 μέροπες: οἱ ἄφρονες ὑπὸ Εὐβοέων. As already noted by Hunt, this sense of μέροπες as ἄφρονες is not attested elsewhere. Generally μέροπες is understood to be a synonym for mortals (cf. *Il*. 18.288). The etymology given by the ancient grammarians was from μείρομαι and ὄψ, so: 'those who are able to divide, i.e. articulate, the voice'.[49] I wonder whether μέροπες in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary could be explained as an extension of the idea of mortality and the frailty of mortals (μέροπες), who are also by default ἄφρονες, 'senseless', as is common in Greek poetry – for example, in Semonides 1.[50] Mortals are also often defined as νήπιοι,

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48 Cf. Fowler 2000, 48.

49 Cf. Ap. Soph. 111.22 μερόπων τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν μεμερισμένην τὴν ὄπα ἐχόντων, ἔναρθρον, παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα ζῷα. Hsch. μ 886 μέροπες· *ἄνθρωποι· διὰ τὸ μεμερισμένην ἔχειν τὴν ὄπα, ἤγουν τὴν φωνήν (*Il*. 2.285). See also Su. μ 643; EM 580.36; EGud. 388.1 Sturz; Sch. bT *Il*. 18.288.

50 Semonides 1, 1–5 ὦ παῖ, τέλος μὲν Ζεὺς ἔχει βαρύκτυπος / πάντων ὅσ᾿ ἐστὶ καὶ τίθης᾿ ὅκῃ θέλει, / νοῦς δ᾿ οὐκ ἐπ᾿ ἀνθρώποισιν, ἀλλ᾿ ἐπήμεροι / ἃ δὴ βοτὰ ζόουσιν, οὐδὲν εἰδότες / ὅκως ἕκαστον ἐκτελευτήσει θεός [Boy, loud-thundering Zeus controls the outcome of everything there is and disposes it as he wishes. There is no intelligence among men, but they live like grazing animals, subject

which comes from the same semantic field as μέροπες, that of language ability. Νήπιος, however, expresses the opposite concept, since it means 'incapable of speaking', hence 'child', and, by extension, 'without foresight', 'fool'. In fact, like μέροπες in our glossary, the lemma νήπιοι is 'translated' with ἄφρονες in Σ ν 85 νήπιοι: ἄφρονες, ἀνόητοι and in Su. ν 325 νήπιος: ἄφρων, ἀνόητος [...]. On the basis of this evidence, the link between μέροπες ('mortals' because 'capable of articulating the voice') and ἄφρονες ('senseless', 'foolish') could derive from a confusion of the three semantic fields involved, which in part overlap: the semantic field of foolishness (ἄφρονες, νήπιοι), that of mortality (μέροπες, νήπιοι) and that of language skills (νήπιοι, μέροπες). The equation μέροπες = ἄφρονες would have also found some support in a common topos of Greek literature, whereby mortals (μέροπες), like children incapable of speaking and unaware of the reality around them (νήπιοι), are often blamed for their lack of (self-)knowledge (ἄφρονες). All this makes enough sense; still, the mention of the Euboeans in the entry remains unexplained.

Otherwise, one could start from the fact that, according to the ancient sources, Μέροπες was an alternative name for the inhabitants of Cos.[51] This can be read, for example, in Steph. Byz. 446.11 Μέροψ· Τριόπα παῖς, ἀφ᾿ οὗ Μέροπες οἱ Κῷοι καὶ [ἡ] νῆσος Μεροπίς,[52] and in a parallel gloss in Hesychius: Hsch. μ 886 μέροπες· [...] ἢ ἀπὸ Μέροπος, τοῦ πατρὸς Φαέθοντος, Κῴου. λέγονται δὲ καὶ Κῷοι Μέροπες· [...]. The name Μέροπες for the inhabitants of Cos derived from the king Merops, son of Triopas.[53] From these glosses, one could perhaps speculate whether this lemma μέροπες in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary is not derived from this name of the ancient inhabitants of Cos, also called Μέροπες, who at a certain point acquired a reputation for 'stupidity' among the Euboeans.

20 Διονύσιος ἐν [. Hunt suggested that this Dionysius could be Dionysius Thrax, but this cannot be right since Dionysius Thrax never

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to what the day brings, with no knowledge of how the god will bring each thing to pass (transl. by Gerber 1999, 299, adapted)].

51 Indeed Koller 1968 analyzes μέροπες in the sense of 'mortals' as a derivative of this ethnic denomination for the inhabitants of Cos.

52 Cf. also Steph. Byz. 402.12, s.v. Κῶς.

53 In his entry Hesychius is probably confusing Merops, the legendary king of the Meropides, inhabitants of Cos, with the other Merops, the legendary king of Ethiopia, who was the husband of Clymene, who bore Phaethon from the Sun (cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.750–779). The two figures are often confused in our sources. See Stoll 1894/97: 2840 (nos. 1 and 2); Kruse 1931, 1065–1066 (nos. 1 and 2).

wrote a treatise on γλῶσσαι.[54] Other more likely possibilities would be
Dionysius Iambus, teacher of Aristophanes of Byzantium, and author of
a Περὶ διαλέκτων, or Dionysius of Chalcis (fourth century BC), author
of Κτίσεις in five books, used by Demetrius of Scepsis and Alexander
Polyhistor.[55] The fact that Dionysius of Chalcis was originally from
Euboea makes him a very good candidate since the entry is concerned
with a particular meaning 'among the Euboeans'. Otherwise one could
connect the name with Dionysius son of Tryphon, author of a Περὶ
ὀνομάτων.[56] If so, however, our glossary must be dated a bit later than
the Hellenistic period, because Dionysius lived in the time of Augustus.

**21–22 μέρο⌜ψ⌝: εἶδος ὀρνέου ὅπερ ἀντεκτρέφει τοὺς κ[ειμένους
ἔνδον τοκέας (*vel* γονέας)] ⏐ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν ῑ Περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις
μορίω[ν].** Cf. Hsch. μ 886 μέροπες· […] καὶ ὄρνεά τινα, ὡς Ἀριστο-
τέλης (*HA* 9.13, 615b25). The parallel with Aristotle is interesting:

> Arist. *HA* 9.13, 615b25 φασὶ δέ τινες καὶ τοὺς μέροπας ταὐτὸ τοῦτο
> ποιεῖν, καὶ ἀντεκτρέφεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκγόνων οὐ μόνον γηράσκοντας
> ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐθὺς ὅταν οἷοί τ' ὦσιν· τὸν δὲ πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα μένειν
> ἔνδον.

> But some say that the bee-eaters[57] also do the same, and that they are fed in
> return by their offspring not only when they get old but also straightaway,
> as soon as the young ones are fit, and that the father and the mother stay in-
> side.

It is clear that the entry in the glossary is related to this passage by Aris-
totle, which is also at the basis of Aelian *NA* 11.30, Pliny *NH* 10.99, Sch.
Bern. Verg. *Georg*. 4.14 (p. 286 Hagen) and Sch. Ar. *Av*. 1357.[58] As for
the supplement in the last part of line 21, something is clearly needed
indicating the 'parents' whom the merops feeds instead of being fed by
them. Among the various possibilities proposed, κ[ηδεμόνας], 'their
care-takers', by Hunt and κ[ομίσαντας], 'those who take care of them' by
Schmidt[59] seem less likely, especially in terms of line length (they are too
short). Maria Serena Funghi and Gabriella Messeri Savorelli in CPF 24.
34T suggested κ[αταγηράσκοντας (γονέας)], 'the aging parents'. With

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54 Linke accepts it among Dionysus' doubtful fragments (fr. *35), but does not
    attempt any explanation 'wegen des schlechten Überlieferungszustandes des
    Fragmentes'. Cf. Linke 1977, 24, 58–59.
55 Cf. Schwartz 1903b.
56 Cf. Cohn 1903b.
57 This is the name of the bird, otherwise known as *Merops apiaster*.
58 See Esposito 2006, 308–309.
59 Schmidt 1924, 14.

this supplement, however, the entry would contradict Aristotle's account, which specifies that these birds maintain their parents not only when they are old, but right from the beginning. Esposito has suggested other possibilites like κ[ευθομένουϲ πατέραϲ], 'the fathers who lie hidden', or κ[ειμένουϲ ἔνδον πατέραϲ], 'the fathers who lie inside', which are good in terms of meaning and also suit the number of letters per line. Among the lines containing an entry in *ekthesis*, in fr. 3, ii, line 8 has fifty-six letters and line 15 has forty-nine. Other lines, which are not fully preserved but whose supplements seem fairly certain, are: line 17 in fr. 3, ii, which has forty-six letters; line 1 in fr. 3, iii, which has forty-five letters; and line 4 in fr. 3, iii, which has fifty-six letters (plus a smaller ν *supra lineam*). Thus we have an average of fifty-one letters per line, with a minimum of forty-five and a maximum of fifty-six, a figure respected by both κ[ευθομένουϲ πατέραϲ] (fifty-three letters) and κ[ειμένουϲ ἔνδον πατέραϲ] (fifty-six letters). Nevertheless, I find κευθομένουϲ less satisfactory than κειμένουϲ ἔνδον, and πατέραϲ less apt than τοκέαϲ or γονέαϲ to indicate 'parents' of both sexes. The other very good supplement, suggested by Maehler and reported by Esposito, κ[αταμένονταϲ ἔνδον τοκέαϲ (*vel* πατέραϲ)], works in terms of content but would give a longer line than expected, since with τοκέαϲ (or γονέαϲ) there would be fifty-eight letters in the line and with πατέραϲ there would be fifty-nine letters. For this reason, I propose to read κ[ειμένουϲ ἔνδον τοκέαϲ (or γονέαϲ)], '(its own) parents, who lie inside (i.e. in their nest)', which would suit the required meaning and give a better figure of fifty-five letters in the line.

20–22. These two entries, on μέροπεϲ (οἱ ἄφρονεϲ ὑπὸ Εὐβοέων. Διονύϲιοϲ ἐν [ ]) and on μέροψ (εἶδοϲ ὀρνέου ὅπερ ἀντεκτρέφει τοὺϲ κ[ειμένουϲ ἔνδον τοκέαϲ (*vel* γονέαϲ)] | Ἀριϲτοτέληϲ ἐν η̄ Περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖϲ ζῴοιϲ μορίω[ν]), are conflated in Hesychius:

> Hsch. μ 886 ⟨μέροπεϲ⟩· *ἄνθρωποι· διὰ τὸ μεμεριϲμένην ἔχειν τὴν ὄπα, ἤγουν τὴν φωνήν (*Il.* 2.285) ASvg. ἢ ἀπὸ Μέροποϲ, τοῦ πατρὸϲ Φαέθοντοϲ, Κῴου. λέγονται δὲ καὶ Κῷοι Μέροπεϲ· καὶ ὄρνεά τινα, ὡϲ Ἀριϲτοτέληϲ (*HA* 9.13, 615b25)

23 μεϲ[ο]τέλεϲτον: τὸ ἡμιτέλεϲτον Αἰτωλούϲ .[. The gloss is quite clear in its meaning. For the equivalence μέϲοϲ = ἡμι-, cf. Hsch. μ 955 μεϲόψηρον· ἡμίξηρον. I have not found any evidence, however, that μέϲοϲ was used instead of ἡμι- by the Aetolians. Aristophanes of Byzantium also took an interest in Aetolian, as attested by fr. 25c Slater, in

a gloss taken from an official letter of the Aetolian league to the Milesians. The interest in Aetolian glosses at Alexandria during the Hellenistic period may also be explained by the heavy presence of Aetolian mercenary forces among the troops of the Ptolemies.[60]

Fr. 3, iii

1–3 [Μ]ῆ[τις]: ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ. καὶ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Χαλκ[ιοίκου Λακε-δαιμονί]|ων ἔςτι μικρὸν Ἀθηνάδιον καὶ ἐπιγε[γράφθαι φαςὶν αὐτῷ] | 'τὴν Μῆτιν'. The temple of Athena Chalkioikos at Sparta was famous.[61] The statue of Athena in the temple is mentioned by Paus. 3.17.2: ὕςτερον τόν τε ναὸν ὁμοίως καὶ ⟨τὸ⟩ ἄγαλμα ἐποιήςαντο Ἀθηνᾶς χαλκοῦν. An interesting mention of the temple of Athena Chalkioikos is to be found in Philodemus, *De Pietate*, Pars 2, col. 228, ll. 6023–6029.[62] Here Philodemus is taking a stance against the Stoic allegorical reading of myths, in particular those involving wounds and violence among the gods. The source of these myths and their allegorical interpretation is Apollodorus, as Philodemus himself explains in *De Pietate*, Pars 2, col. 316, 8656–8664. The reference to the temple of Athena Chalkioikos occurs when Philodemus is talking about the violent birth of Athena, which involved Hephaestus[63](or, according to other traditions, Palamaon,[64] or Hermes,[65] or Prometheus[66]) splitting open Zeus' head with an axe. This episode, Philodemus adds, was represented by sculptors (δημιουργοί), as for example in the temple of Athena Chalkioikos. We must thus assume that in this temple there was a statue depicting the birth of Athena with Hephaestus

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60 Cf. Scholten 2000, 23, 110, 182.

61 See Thuc. 1.128–134; Paus. 3.17.2 and 10.5.11; Eur. *Hel*. 228 and 245; Ar. *Lys*. 1300. On this temple see Wide 1893, 16, 49, 134–135, 369–370 (no. 2).

62 For this reference to Philodemus, *De Pietate*, Pars 2, and all the comments on it I am relying on the new edition by Dirk Obbink (Obbink, forthcoming), whom I warmly thank for allowing me to use it. Cf. also Henrichs 1975, 22 and fn. 102 (the passage is in N 433 IV, 12ff).

63 Cf. Pind. *O*. 7.35–37; Chrysipp., SVF 2, fr. 908, p. 256 (= [Hes.] fr. 343); Ps. Apollod. *Bibl*. 1.3.6; Philodemus, *De Pietate*, Pars 2, col. 228, ll. 6014–6017.

64 According to the author of the Eumolpia (= Musaeus, 2 B 12 D-K). Cf. Sch. Pind. *O*. 7.66a.b; Philodemus, *De Pietate*, Pars 2, col. 228, ll. 6017–6021.

65 According to Sosibius, FGrHist 595 F 22. Cf. Sch. Pind. *O*. 7.66a.b; Philodemus, *De Pietate*, Pars 2, col. 228, ll. 6021–6022.

66 According to ἔνιοι. Cf. Sch. Pind. *O*. 7.66a.b; Ps. Apollod. *Bibl*. 1.3.6.

(or Palamaon, or Hermes, or Prometheus) splitting Zeus' head. The entry in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary adds another piece of information to this. Here the reference is to a statue of Athena in the temple of Athena at Sparta that had the name 'Metis' written on it. This detail is, at first, puzzling since Athena is never identified with Metis in our sources. In the traditional narrative, Metis is the mother of Athena, whom Zeus swallowed in fear, with the result that he gave birth to Athena, after Hephaestus (or one of the other mythical characters mentioned above) had opened up his head.[67] Thus, since Zeus first swallows Metis and then produces Athena from his head, it follows that in some sense Athena 'is' Metis. In short, it was as if, inside of Zeus, this goddess was Metis and, outside of Zeus, she was Athena. In the temple of Athena Chalkioikos there was probably a group of sculptures representing the birth of Athena, and this seems confirmed by Pausanias 3.17.3: ἐπείργασται δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶς γένεσιν. From Philodemus and the Oxyrhynchus Glossary we may suggest that there was a representation of Hephaestus (or Palamaon, or Hermes, or Prometheus) splitting open the head of Zeus (this on the basis of Philodemus), and also a little statue of Athena with the name of 'Metis' inscribed on it (this on the basis of the Oxyrhynchus Glossary).

These two pieces of information, gathered from two different sources, Philodemus and the Oxyrhynchus Glossary, come ultimately from the same source, Apollodorus. The interest in the gods and their epithets (Athena and Metis in this case) is typical of Apollodorus' Περὶ θεῶν. This may be part of Apollodorus' polemic against the Stoic allegorical reading of myths, which would have identified Athena with Metis. In this way Athena was ultimately identified with an abstract concept (as the Stoics wanted) and also with another goddess, as is typical of the Stoic συνοικείωσις that Apollodorus was fighting against.[68] Hence Apollodorus might have wanted to explain the myth (Zeus mated with Metis, then swallowed her, and then gave birth to Athena out of his

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67   Cf. Hes. *Th.* 886–900 and 924–926 (but without the mention of Hephaestus) and Ps. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.3.6 μίγνυται δὲ Ζεὺς Μήτιδι, μεταβαλλούςῃ εἰς πολλὰς ἰδέας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ συνελθεῖν, καὶ αὐτὴν γενομένην ἔγκυον καταπίνει φθάσας, ἐπείπερ ἔλεγε γεννήσειν παῖδα μετὰ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐξ αὐτῆς γεννᾶσθαι κόρην, ὃς οὐρανοῦ δυνάστης γενήσεται. τοῦτο φοβηθεὶς κατέπιεν αὐτήν· ὡς δ' ὁ τῆς γεννήσεως ἐνέστη χρόνος, πλήξαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν πελέκει Προμηθέως ἢ καθάπερ ἄλλοι λέγουσιν Ἡφαίστου, ἐκ κορυφῆς, ἐπὶ ποταμοῦ Τρίτωνος, Ἀθηνᾶ σὺν ὅπλοις ἀνέθορεν.

68   Cf. Pfeiffer 1968, 262–263; Obbink 1996, 17, fn. 2. But see Henrichs 1975, 15–16.

head) in order to contrast it with the 'simplistic' identification of Athena with Metis, 'intelligence', as carried out in the allegorical interpretation of the Stoics. If so, what remains in the glossary would be part of the Stoic argument in favor of such an identification (cf. [M]ῆ[τιϲ]: ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ). The Stoics might have also adduced the evidence of the statuette of Athena at Sparta with the name Metis written on it to support their identification.

4 μῆτραι: εἶδος μελιϲϲῶν. Ἀρι[ϲ]τοτέληϲ ἐν ͞η Περ[ὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖϲ ζῴοιϲ μορίων]. In ἐν ͞η Περ[ὶ, τοι was originally written after ἐν but was then corrected into ͞η π̣. This confusion can be explained by the repetition of ἐν in the rest of the quotation (i.e. ἐν τοῖϲ ζῴοιϲ). The passage referred to is from *Historia Animalium* 9.41 627b33ff (for this quotation in relation to Aristotle's corpus, see above, Chapter 4.2, pp.16–19):

> Arist. *HA* 9.41, 627b33 τίϲ δ᾽ ἡ φύϲιϲ τοῦ ἐργάτου καὶ τῆϲ μήτραϲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερωτέρων ἔϲται δῆλον. ἔϲτι γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἡμέρων ϲφηκῶν γένη δύο, οἱ μὲν ἡγεμόνεϲ οὓϲ καλοῦϲι μήτραϲ, οἱ δ᾽ ἐργάται. εἰϲὶ δὲ μείζουϲ οἱ ἡγεμόνεϲ πολὺ καὶ πραότεροι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐργάται οὐ διετίζουϲιν, ἀλλὰ πάντεϲ ἀποθνήϲκουϲιν ὅταν χειμὼν ἐπιπέϲῃ (φανερὸν δ᾽ ἐϲτὶ τοῦτο· τοῦ γὰρ χειμῶνοϲ ἀρχομένου μὲν μωροὶ γίνονται οἱ ἐργάται αὐτῶν, περὶ τροπὰϲ δ᾽ οὐ φαίνονται ὅλωϲ), οἱ δ᾽ ἡγεμόνεϲ οἱ καλούμενοι μῆτραι ὁρῶνται δι᾽ ὅλου τοῦ χειμῶνοϲ καὶ κατὰ γῆϲ φωλεύουϲιν· ἀροῦντεϲ γὰρ καὶ ϲκάπτοντεϲ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι μήτραϲ μὲν πολλοὶ ἑωράκαϲιν, ἐργάταϲ δ᾽ οὐθείϲ.

> The nature of the worker (ἐργάτηϲ) and of the mother-wasp (μήτρα) will be apparent for the tamer wasps. For among the tame wasps there are also two kinds: the leaders, who are called mothers (μῆτραι), and the workers (ἐργάται). The leaders are much bigger and milder. And the workers do not live more than one year, but they all die when winter comes (and this is easy to see, for at the beginning of the winter their workers become sluggish, and around the winter solstice they are not seen at all). But the leaders, those called mothers (μῆτραι), are seen throughout the winter and lurk in holes underground. For while ploughing and digging in the winter, many men have seen mothers, but none workers.

An entry similar to that in our glossary is in Hsch. μ 1291 μήτρα· εἶδοϲ ϲφηκόϲ. The Oxyrhynchus Glossary agrees with Hesychius in defining the μῆτραι as an εἶδοϲ and not a γένοϲ; the latter, instead, is the definition of Aristotle. On the other hand, both Aristotle and Hesychius define μῆτραι as wasps (ϲφῆκεϲ), whereas the glossary considers them a type of bees (μέλιϲϲαι). This can be explained by recalling another passage of the *Historia Animalium* by Aristotle, where he explains that some call queen bees 'mothers':

Arist. *HA* 5.21, 553a25 τῶν δ᾽ ἡγεμόνων ἐστὶ γένη δύο, ὁ μὲν βελτίων πυρρός, ὁ δ᾽ ἕτερος μέλας καὶ ποικιλώτερος, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος διπλάσιος τῆς χρηστῆς μελίττης· καὶ τὸ κάτω τοῦ διαζώματος ἔχουσιν ἡμιόλιον μάλιστα τῷ μήκει, καὶ καλοῦνται ὑπό τινων μητέρες ὡς γεννῶντες.

There are two kinds of leaders: the better one is red-colored, the other is dark and rather dappled. Their size is twice that of the worker-bee. The leaders have the section below the waist about one-and-a-half times as long as the rest and are called 'mothers' (μητέρες) by some because they produce offspring.

5–7 μῆτραι : ἐν Ταρςῷ καὶ Cόλοις τὰς δέλτους ἐν αἷς ἀπ[ο-γράφονται τὰς] |οἰκίας μήτρας προσαγορεύεςθαι, ἃς καὶ δημ[ο-ςίας. Ἀριστοτέ]λης ἐν τῇ Cολέων πολιτείᾳ. That Aristotle wrote a *Constitution of Soli* was attested before now only in a couple of manuscripts of the *Vita Arati* IV.2–3:[69]… ἐκ Cόλων τῆς Κιλικίας. ὠνόμαςται δὲ ἡ πόλις ἀπὸ Cόλωνος τοῦ Λινδίου, ὥς φηςιν Ἀριστοτέλης. ἔςτι δὲ ἡ νῦν Πομπηιούπολις. Rose and Gigon had included the fragment among the doubtful ones (fr. 582 Rose = 587 Gigon). The entry of the Oxyrhynchus Glossary is therefore important in that it confirms the existence of such a work among the Aristotelian Πολιτεῖαι.[70]

The Soli mentioned here can be only the Soli in Cilicia, and not the one in Cyprus, because it is mentioned in close connection with Tarsus.[71] It is not easy to determine which language μήτρα is taken from. Soli was originally a Phoenician city, but was then colonized by the Rhodians. In the fifth century BC, Soli was under the Persians and after Alexander's conquest was ruled by the Seleucids. Tarsus also has a Semitic origin, notwithstanding efforts by Greeks to attribute its foundation either to the Argive Perseus or the Dorian Heracles.[72] The inscriptions found in Tarsus are written in the Hellenistic κοινή, but cuneiform tablets have been found there as well.[73] Moreover, there are at least two Aramaic inscrip-

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69 Cod. Par. Gr. 2403 and Cod. Est. α T 9 14, according to Martin, app. ad *Vita Arati* IV.3. Rose 1886, 358 (ad fr. 582), mentions also the Cod. Par. Gr. 2726.

70 CPF 24, 50T, pp. 372–373.

71 On Soli, cf. Ruge 1927. On Tarsus, cf. Ruge 1932, esp. 2415–2418, and Dalley 1999.

72 Cf. Dio Chrys. *Or.* 33. 1, 45, 47; Su. μ 406.

73 Cf. Goetze 1939 and now Dalley 1999, 76–77, who has redated them between the end of the eighth century BC and the middle of the seventh century BC.

tions of the fifth or fourth century BC from near Tarsus,[74] and there are examples of coins from Tarsus inscribed both in Greek and Aramaic.[75] Thus in both Soli and Tarsus there was a strong Greek element together with a Semitic and perhaps a Persian background. Thus 'metrai' could be a local name in Hellenistic koine but could also be a Semitic or Persian word, perhaps having already passed into the local Greek vocabulary. Indeed, the campains of Sennacherib in Cilicia (696 BC) and his building works at Tarsus make the currency of an Akkadian administrative word at Tarsus not *per se* impossible.[76] I have not found, however, any word in Akkadian related to land administration that could lead to a Greek μήτρα.[77]

If we instead hypothesize an Indo-European origin, there are interesting parallels. The μήτρα indicating 'register' in Soli could be derived from the inherited Indo-European word for 'mother' (*māter-*), just like μήτηρ and Latin *matrix*. In the latter example, this double meaning, that of 'mother' and that of 'register', is particularly evident, since *matrix* can mean both 'female', 'breeding-animal' and 'womb' but also 'public register', 'roll'; the diminutive *matricula* always has the latter meaning.[78] Otherwise, μήτρα as 'registration tablet' could also be derived from the Indo-European root, **mē-* (or **meh₁-*), 'to measure', or from another Indo-European root with the same meaning **met-*, as in Sanskrit *mātrā-,* 'measure', Greek μέτρον, and Latin *metior*.[79] If we

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74 Cf. Donner & Röllig 1966–69, no. 258 (a fifth century BC inscription from Kesecek Köyü, 35 km northeast from Tarsus) and no. 259 (a fifth/fourth century BC inscription, from Gözne, 20 km north from Mersin).

75 Cf. Hill 1900, 166, no. 22; pl. XXIX, 6; SNG, France 2, Cilice, nos. 208. 239. 240. Many coins from Tarsus are of course in Aramaic only: cf. Hill 1900, 162–173, and SNG, France 2, Cilice, nos. 199–371 (passim). On the coins of Tarsus see also Kraay 1976, 278–284.

76 Cf. Dalley 1999, who (*ibid.*, 78) concludes: "Not only did Sennacherib bring Assyrian administration through cuneiform Akkadian writing to Tarsus, but also Mesopotamian scholarship, including incantations and the prestigious practices that went with them".

77 The closest parallel I could find was *mātu* which means 'country' (as political unit), 'land' (as opposed to sea), 'population of a country'; cf. CAD, vol.10, part 1, 414–421, s.v. *mātu*. It is difficult, however, to explain how *mātu* or a similar word could be transcribed as μήτρα since the -ρ- would be left unaccounted for. Moreover, this time an IE origin seems far more plausible.

78 Cf. Ernout & Meillet, DELL, 389–390, s.v. māter, -tris; Pokorny, IEW, 700–701.

79 Cf. Pokorny, IEW, 703–704. On the disputed etymology of μήτρα see Chantraine, DELG, 692, s.v. μέτρον.

are dealing with an Indo-European root, μήτρα could be either Greek or Persian.[80]

Whatever this word might originally have been, it seems quite likely that Aristotle considered it as a Greek word, and not only because μήτρα 'sounded' Greek and was attested (with another meaning) in Greek, as shown in the previous entry. For a long-time resident of Athens like Aristotle the word μήτρα would have recalled the similar word Μητρῷον. This was the temple of Cybele (i.e. the temple 'of the Mother') at Athens that contained the depository of the state archives. The name Μητρῷον is in fact derived from μήτηρ, and could obviously be considered as the Athenian equivalent of the Solean μήτρα.

4–7. The two entries on μῆτραι in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary match one in Hesychius, who has again conflated various entries that were probably presented as different items in Pamphilus and/or Diogenianus:

> Hsch. μ 1291 μήτρα· εἶδος σφηκός. καὶ τῶν ξύλων τὸ ἐντός, ὃ καρδίαν τινές, ἢ ἐντεριώνην καλοῦσι. καὶ ὁ κλῆρος ὑπὸ Σολέων, ὡς Κλείταρχος. καὶ ἡ τῆς γυναικός.

8–9 μι⌈ά⌉ϲτ⌈ω⌉ρ: ὁ εἰδὼς ἑαυτὸν μὴ καθαρὸν αἵματο[ϲ ….]|δει καὶ μιαίνων. The correction of μιεϲτηρ, as transmitted by the papyrus, into μι⌈ά⌉ϲτ⌈ω⌉ρ is assured by the parallel in Phot. μ 441 μιάστωρ· ὅταν τις αὐτὸν μὴ καθαρὸν εἰδὼς παρέρχηται ἵνα μὴ δεῖ, μεμιγμένος.[81] The word μιάστωρ is attested only in the tragedians: Aeschylus (*Cho.* 944, *Eum.* 177), Sophocles (*OT* 353, *El.* 275. 603) and Euripides (*Med.* 1371, *Andr.* 615, *El.* 683, *Or.* 1584). Apart from these occurrences, the word occurs almost exclusively in *scholia* to the tragedians and in lexica; the entry by Photius is the closest to the Oxyrhynchus Glossary.[82] The ex-

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80 As Elizabeth Tucker wrote to me: "It might possibly represent an unattested Old Iranian word *mātrā-, which would be the cognate of Sanskrit *mātrā-* 'measure'. Greek -τρ- could represent Old Iranian -θr- as e.g. in the word 'satrap' (Old Iranian *xšaθrapā-). However, it cannot represent a genuine Old Persian form but must have been taken from another Old Iranian language because a consonant cluster -θr- < Indo-Iranian *-tr- is not possible in Old Persian (here *θr developed to a sort of sibilant). A non-Persian Old Iranian origin is not a problem because we do not know from what Old Iranian language many of the words labelled 'Persian' in Greek sources were taken: some (like 'satrap' or 'paradise') clearly show non-Persian features".

81 For a similar mistake of ε instead of α cf. Crönert 1902–03, 476–477, fn. 12: χιεϲμός for χιαϲμός. The reference was annotated by Hunt in his copy of P.Oxy. XV, at page 162.

82 Cf. Theodoridis, ad Phot. μ 441.

planation of the lemma in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary, however, makes no reference to these literary usages but is instead focused on the religious context and significance. There is, moreover, no reference at all to any of the tragic passages where this word occurs; the authority quoted is rather Autoclides, who wrote on Athenian religious costumes and rules (see below at line 9). The reference to Autoclides makes it clear that the point of interest for the glossographer was not the tragic diction but the religious language.

9 Αὐτοκλείδης ἐν τῷ ἐπιγρα[φομένῳ Ἐξηγητικῷ]. What we know about Autoclides agrees with this entry, which can be found among his fragments (FGrHist 353 F 6). Autoclides wrote on Athenian rituals and ritual rules; an explanation of the meaning of μιάστωρ would be taken from this work, which is known as the Ἐξηγητικόν (cf. Ath. 11.473b-c); thus Crönert's supplement ἐν τῷ ἐπιγρα[φομένῳ Ἐξηγητικῷ] is certainly correct.[83] In his copy of P.Oxy. 15.1802, Hunt commented that the similar suggestion by Allen ἐν τῷ ἐπιγρα[φομένῳ] "implies a long lacuna". Indeed the lacuna implied with this reading is longer than with Hunt's suggestion ἐπιγρά[μματι] (a reading not particularly satisfying, since we do not have any evidence of an Autoclides who wrote epigrams). The number of the letters per line, however, confirms Crönert's reading Αὐτοκλείδης ἐν τῷ ἐπιγρα[φομένῳ Ἐξηγητικῷ]. With this reading, line 9 has forty-nine letters. Though column iii in fr. 3 is not complete, the reconstruction of the explanations in line 2 and in line 6, where there is no *ekthesis*, gives forty-six and forty-eight letters per line respectively. This number is confirmed also by comparison with the preceding column (fr. 3, ii) which is complete and shows an average of fifty or fifty-two letters per line (without the *ekthesis*). Thus forty-nine letters in line 9 is not a problem but is rather in accord with the average number of letters per line in the rest of the papyrus (without the *ekthesis*).

10 μιθοργ: γένος τι ἁρ⌈μ⌉ονίας παρὰ Χαλδαίοις περ[. Hunt[84] reported the opinion of Sayce that here μιθοργ might represent the *incipit* of a Sumerian hymn. Professor Langdon, quoted again by Hunt, suggested =*me ta-ra-ga*. Sumerian, however, was probably a remote and forgotten language by this time. More interesting is the possibility of the Akkadian *mithurtu*, suggested to me by John Huehnergard. In terms of

83   Cf. Ath. 9.409f where Stiehle read Ἀντικλείδης ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἐξηγητικῷ instead of the transmitted, and wrong, Κλείδημος. The correct reading is, however, Αὐτοκλείδης.

84   Cf. Hunt in Grenfell & Hunt 1922, 162.

spelling, in Akkadian T and H are separate letters, not directly comparable to Greek θ. But Akkadian H is often omitted in the Greek transcription of the 'Graeco-Babyloniaca' tablets[85] and T is often rendered with Greek θ.[86] If *miṭḫurtu* is indeed the word behind μιθοργ, the only problem is to explain why the ending -T(U) has turned into a γ, since γ never corresponds to a T in the 'Graeco-Babyloniaca' tablets.[87] In the absence of a better explanation, this might simply be due to a misunderstanding; the endings of words are certainly the most prone to mispellings in oral transmission. Surely the hypothesis that the lemma here might be *miṭḫurtu* is intriguing, since *miṭḫurtu* in Akkadian means either 'conflict' or 'correspondence'.[88] This second meaning[89] can parallel the Greek ἁρμονία of the explanation in the glossary, and indeed in the *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* of Wolfram von Soden (Wiesbaden 1972, II 662), the lemma *miṭḫurtu* is transalted as 'Zusammentreffen, Harmonie'. We are thus dealing not with the 'musical' sense of the Greek word, but with its more primary meaning of 'agreement', which is used by Homer (*Il.* 22.255 μάρτυροι … καὶ ἐπίσκοποι ἁρμονιάων). In light of this, it is interesting to find that Hesychius glosses the lemma ἁρμονία along the same lines, as a synonym of 'convention', 'agreement' (συνθήκη) and 'treaty' (σπονδή).[90] Moreover, this entry finds an exact match in Photius, who adds that it comes from Diogenianus: Phot. α 2846 ἁρμονίας· συνθήκας, σπονδάς. ἡ λέξις Διογενιανοῦ (fr. novum). Again, in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary we find a Semitic gloss with parallels in Hesychius/Diogenianus; this confirms our analysis in Chapter 7.

The suggestion by Schmidt and Crönert to read Περ[ιγένης ἐν] here (as well as in lines 14 and 19 below) may be a possibility but cannot be proved. Περιγένης is a proper name and it might be the *auctoritas* quoted here for the explanation followed by the title of the work where the ex-

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85 Cf. Maul 1991, 103, and also Black & Sherwin-White 1984, 136.

86 Cf. Maul 1991, 106 and 107, and also Black & Sherwin-White 1984, 135.

87 Cf. Maul 1991, 107.

88 Cf. CAD, vol. 10, part 2, 137–138, s.v. *miṭḫurtu*.

89 This second meaning, since it is so different from the first one, has also been connected with *mitḫartu*, which means 'square'. Cf. CAD, vol. 10, part 2, 135, s.v. *mitḫartu*.

90 Hsch. α 7322 ἁρμονίας· *συμφωνίας vgASn συνθήκας. σπονδάς. Cf. also Hsch. α 7323 *ἁρμονιάων· ἁρμονιῶν συνθηκῶν (*Il.* 22.255) S and Hsch. α 7324 ἁρμονίης· συζεύξεως, which are the only other two entries on this word and seem to pertain to the same semantic field. They, however, do not derive from Diogenianus but from the Homeric scholia and Gregory of Nazianz.

planation was found. We know, however, of no historian, antiquarian, or other author who bears this name.[91]

11 Μίθρας: ὁ Προμηθεύς, κατὰ δ' ἄλλους ὁ ἥλιος παρὰ Πέρϲ[αιϲ]. Cf. Hsch. μ 1335 μίθρας· ⟨ϲτέφανοϲ ἢ⟩ ὁ ἥλιος, παρὰ Πέρϲαιϲ; and Hsch. μ 1336 Μίθρης· ὁ πρῶτος ἐν Πέρϲαιϲ θεός.[92] Though the glosses in Hesychius and in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary are very similar,[93] the identification of Mithra with Prometheus is new. Normally Mithra is equated with Apollo, Helios, and later also Hermes,[94] but never with Prometheus.[95] This identification may be due to the demiurgic functions of both these divinities. In the Iranian tradition, Mithra is also often associated with fire.[96] In addition, one might wonder whether the equation Mithra = Prometheus could have originated from the role of Mithra as the mediator (μεϲίτηϲ) between knowledge and ignorance, as attested in Plutarch:

> Plut. *De Isid. et Os.* 369d19 νομίζουϲι γὰρ οἱ μὲν θεοὺς εἶναι δύο καθάπερ ἀντιτέχνους, τὸν μὲν ἀγαθῶν, τὸν δὲ φαύλων δημιουργόν· οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν [γὰρ] ἀμείνονα θεόν, τὸν δ' ἕτερον δαίμονα καλοῦϲιν, ὥϲπερ Ζωροάϲτρηϲ ὁ μάγος, ὃν πεντακιϲχιλίοιϲ ἔτεϲι τῶν Τρωϊκῶν γεγονέναι πρεϲβύτερον ἱϲτοροῦϲιν. οὗτος οὖν ἐκάλει τὸν μὲν Ὡρομάζην, τὸν δ' Ἀρειμάνιον· καὶ προϲαπεφαίνετο τὸν μὲν ἐοικέναι φωτὶ μάλιϲτα τῶν

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91 This name is attested for some Hellenistic political figures, a bishop, some sculptors, an actor, and a physician. See Lippold, Schoch & Enßlin 1937; Lippold 1956; Bonaria 1965; Michler 1968.

92 Cf. also Ps. Nonn. *Comm. in Or. iv, hist.* 6.1 ὁ τοίνυν Μίθρας νομίζεται παρὰ τοῖϲ Πέρϲαιϲ εἶναι ὁ ἥλιος καὶ θυϲιάζουϲιν αὐτῷ καὶ τελοῦϲί τιναϲ τελετὰϲ εἰϲ αὐτόν.

93 The 'translation' of Mithra given by Herodotus 1.131.3 is different because he thinks that Mithra is a female divinity: καλέουϲι δὲ Ἀϲϲύριοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Μύλιττα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ Ἀλιλάτ, Πέρϲαι δὲ Μίτραν.

94 Cf. Russell 1987, 265, who observes that Mithra is called 'Mithras-Apollon-Helios-Hermes' at Nemrut Dağ.

95 The closest example to this identification of Mithra with Prometheus is a passage from Julian the Apostate (Julian. *Or.* 9.3.1). Julian connects Prometheus with Providence (πρόνοια), which, according to him, is ultimately Helios, the sun, the *demiourgos* and generator of intelligence. In this passage by Julian, however, there is no mention whatsoever of Mithra (but the identification of Mithra with Helios is common and well attested). Cf. Bidez 1930, 392, fn. 11, and Turcan 1975, 119–120.

96 Cf. Russell 1987, 262, 272 and Boyce 1992, 54; it has also been suggested that in a pre-Zoroastrian myth Mithra performed the first sacrifice (cf. Boyce 1992, 57). Vermaseren 1963, 106–108, mentions representations of Cronos-Saturn giving Jupiter the thunderbolt and the scepter; could the handing over of the lightning be seen as the counterpart of the gift of fire to men by Prometheus?

αἰcθητῶν, τὸν δ᾽ ἔμπαλιν cκότῳ καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ, μέcον δ᾽ ἀμφοῖν τὸν Μίθρην εἶναι· διὸ καὶ Μίθρην Πέρcαι τὸν μεcίτην ὀνομάζουcιν.

For some believe that there are two gods and that they are like rivals in art, the one being the creator of good, the other of evil; others call the better one a god and the other a daemon, as did Zoroaster the magician, who, according to their records, lived five thousand years before the Trojan War. This man called the one Horomazes and the other Areimanius. He showed also that, among the objects of perception, the former was especially similar to light, the latter to darkness and ignorance, while Mithra was in between the two. For this reason, the Persians call Mithra the 'mediator'.[97]

This identification is attested only here, and is therefore not particularly significant, all the more since it does not seem to fit what we know of the real Mithra.[98] This interpretation of Mithra as the mediator, however, is transmitted by a Greek writer, which could suggest that among certain Greek circles Mithra was indeed understood as having some mediating functions. From this (Greek) interpretation, perhaps, the other identification of Mithra with Prometheus followed.

11 παρὰ Πέρc[αιc] and 12: τῶν ὁμορούντω[ν]. Here the line-ends show a blank space after Πέρc[in line 11 and ὁμορούντω[in line 12. The supplements are, however, fairly certain in both cases: παρὰ Πέρc[αιc] and ὁμορούντω[ν]. There are no missing fibers here; therefore the blank space can be explained in two ways. The scribe might have wanted to avoid an uneven surface. Thus he 'skipped' that part of the papyrus, writing the rest of these two words in the following, smoother, part, which is now lost. Indeed, the papyrus here offers quite a big vertical fiber that could have represented a problem for a scribe who wanted to write on it. The annoying fiber, however, does not extend as far as the space left blank, which could have contained the rest or part of the missing letters. The other possibility is that the scribe did not write the ending of the words, but rather abbreviated them. This is surely valid for the ending -ων of the genitive plural where scribes often put a dash above the omega, but as for the ending of the dative plural -αιc this is more difficult to accept, at least in papyri. It must be noted, however, that no signs of suspension or abbreviation are in evidence at line 11 or 12.

12 μιληχ: γεν⌜να⌝ῖον ὑπὸ Ἀλβανίων τῶν ὁμορούντω[ν]. For the ancients, Albania was not the modern region on the Adriatic Sea (which

97 Cf. Cumont 1956, 127–129, and Russell 1987, 266.

98 Not even the later Mithra identified with the Third Messenger in Manichaeism; cf. Boyce 1962.

was called Illyria), but a region near the Caspian Sea, which was prob-
ably 'discovered' by the Greeks during the expedition of Alexander the
Great.[99] Albania bordered on Iberia, the region near the Black Sea (Steph.
Byz. 69.15 = α 196), Armenia (Strabo 11.7.1), and Colchis; the Amazons
were believed to live there (Strabo 11.5.1).[100] Therefore we are dealing
with another Eastern gloss, more in keeping with the interests of our
glossographer than one from Illyria. This hypothesis is furthermore
strengthened by the *Wortlaut* of the explanation, ὑπὸ Ἀλβανίων τῶν
ὁμορούντω[ν], 'the Albanians those who are neighbors of …'. As many
of the ancient sources demonstrate, it was common to mention the Alba-
nians in the same breath as the other peoples living close to them. Hunt
thus suggested the supplements τοῖς Ἴβηρσι or Ἀρμενίοις.

We do not know much about the language of the Albanians; it was
probably a Caucasian one.[101] But our gloss for once seems to have a rec-
ognizable Semitic root; the most obvious parallel would be the Semitic
MLK, *m(e)lēk*, 'king' in Aramaic. The Arsacids (ca. 240 BC–224 AD)
and later the Sasanians (224–651 AD) used *MLK* as a logogram for
'King'.[102] That a Semitic word could be labeled as 'Albanian' can be ex-
plained by the circumstance that in Colchis and Iberia (and thus arguably
also in Albania) the lingua franca was Aramaic from the sixth century BC
until the third century AD.[103] If the original lemma was the Aramaic
m(e)lēk, μιληχ is certainly a good transcription of it.[104] Of course there is
the problem of the 'translation' that we read in the papyrus: γένειον,
'chin', does not make sense if we suppose that the gloss is indeed the
Aramaic *m(e)lēk*. But a very suitable translation would be γενναῖον (or
rather γενναῖος), 'high-born', 'noble', which could be easily corrupted
into γένειον by the omission of one ν and an itacistic error.[105] Another

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  99 Cf. Arr. *Anab*. 3.8.4; 3.11.4; 3.13.1, who mentions the Albanians as fighting with
     the Persians in the battle of Gaugamela.
100 On ancient Albania, also called Caucasian Albania, see Bais 2001.
101 Cf. Bais 2001, 10, 25–32, 63–65.
102 This title was also used on the drachmas issued by Mithridates IV (ca. 140 AD)
     and by other later Parthian monarchs; cf. Sellwood 1980, 263–264, 268, 278,
     286, 290.
103 Cf. Tuite 2004, 967.
104 In the 'Graeco-Babyloniaca' tablets, μ renders both Sumerian and Akkadian M,
     ι both Sumerian and Akkadian E, λ both Sumerian and Akkadian L, η Akkadian
     Ē and χ both Sumerian and Akkadian K: cf. Maul 1991, 107. In the Greek
     sources we find μέλιχ or μέλεχ, which probably derive from the Hebrew form
     mélech.
105 For αι > ει cf. Gignac 1976, 260.

solution could be γέραιος/-ον, 'old man', in the sense of the 'venerable man' among the Albanians. The neuter or accusative masculine γενναῖον is certainly problematic, because we would expect a nominative γεν-ναῖος. The line, however, is not complete, and we do not know what was following. The neuter adjective γενναῖον could have been dependent on a neuter noun, for example προσαγόρευμα, 'appellation', 'title'. In this case, we could perhaps suggest something like μιληχ: γεν⌐να⌐ῖον ὑπὸ Ἀλβανίων τῶν ὁμορούντω[ν ῎Ιβηρϲι προϲαγόρευμα].[106] The hyperba-ton between the adjective and the noun is quite extreme, but the peculiar syntax of our glossary might tolerate it. With this suggestion, the line, which is in *ekthesis*, would have a total of fifty-four letters (the papyrus has γενειον with one letter less than γενναῖον) and this length would match our calculations at p. 95.

13 ὡϲ Ἡρακλείδηϲ ἐν ᾱ Ξένηϲ φωνῆϲ. The grammarian Heraclides, author of a work with the title Ξένη φωνή, is unknown. Among the various candidates with this name the most likely seems to be Heraclides of Cymae (fourth century BC), author of Περϲικά, who is probably to be identified with the Heraclides Ἀλεξανδρεύϲ who wrote on Περϲικὰ ἰδιώ-ματα.[107] Heraclides' *Persica* were perhaps used by Callimachus (fr. 278 Pfeiffer),[108] and, if this is true, this would be evidence that his work was known and available in the Library of Alexandria, where our glos-sographer could have used it. The identification of the work on *Foreign Language* with that on the Περϲικὰ ἰδιώματα would imply either that this word μιληχ was considered a Persian gloss or that Heraclides in his work on Persians discussed this Semitic term. Anyway, whether or not Heraclides was aware that 'μιληχ' was a Semitic word, he had every

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106 A similar phrasing (lack of a main verb, at least in the preserved text, with ὑπὸ and the genitive) is attested in fr. 3, ii, 20: μέροπεϲ: οἱ ἄφρονεϲ ὑπὸ Εὐβοέων.

107 These two Heraclides are instead (wrongly?) distinguished by Diog. Laert. 5.93 γεγόναϲι δ᾽ Ἡρακλεῖδαι τεϲϲαρεϲκαίδεκα· … τρίτοϲ Κυμαῖοϲ, γεγραφὼϲ Περϲικὰ ἐν πέντε βιβλίοιϲ· … ἕκτοϲ Ἀλεξανδρεύϲ, γεγραφὼϲ τὰ Περϲικὰ ἰδιώματα· …. On Heraclides of Cymae see Jacoby 1912.

108 The fragment is taken from EM 247.41 Δανάκηϲ: νομίϲματόϲ ἐϲτιν ὄνομα βαρ-βαρικὸν πλέον ὀβολοῦ, ὃ τοῖϲ νεκροῖϲ ἐν τοῖϲ ϲτόμαϲιν ἐτίθεϲαν. Καλλίμαχοϲ: "Τοὔνεκα καὶ νέκυεϲ πορθμήϊον οὔτι φέρονται / μούνη ἐπιπτολίων ὅτε θυμιονηϲέμεν· ἀλλουϲάνοιϲ / ἐκ ϲτομάτεϲϲι νεὼϲ Ἀχερουϲίαϲ ἐπὶ βάθρον / δανάκηϲ". ἀχερουϲία δέ ἐϲτι λίμνη ἐν ᾅδου· ἣν διαπορθμεύονται οἱ τελευ-τῶντεϲ, τὸ προειρημένον νόμιϲμα διδόντεϲ τῷ πορθμεῖ. εἴρηται δὲ δανάκηϲ, ὁ τοῖϲ δαναοῖϲ ἐμβαλλόμενοϲ. δαναοὶ γὰρ οἱ νεκροί, τουτέϲτι ξηροί. δανὰ γὰρ τὰ ξηρά. Ἡρακλείδηϲ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περϲικῶν.

reason to collect it among the Περσικὰ ἰδιώματα because the Semitic *MLK*, *m(e)lēk*, 'king', was used in the official terminology of the Persian Empire.

Another possibility is Heraclides Lembus (second century BC), whose compendium of the *Politeiai* of Aristotle also contained chapters from the Νόμιμα βαρβαρικά, from which this fragment could come. Heraclides the periegete (third century BC), on the other hand, does not seem to be a likely candidate, because he worked exclusively on Greece (we know of a *Periegesis* of Greece). No matter who this Heraclides really is, the note is precious because the title it furnishes suggests interest in foreign languages, a topic that, as we have seen in Chapter 6.1, was very rarely dealt with in antiquity.

14–15 μινοδολόεϲϲα: ἀριθμῶν ϲύνταξιϲ παρὰ Χαλδαίο[ιϲ …. ἐν ⁻ Τῶν] | κατὰ Βαβυλῶνα. A similar explanation can be found in Hsch. μ 1391 μινδαλόεϲϲα· ἀριθμῶν ϲύνταξιϲ. καὶ τὰ περὶ ⟨τὰ⟩ οὐράνια … Βαβυλώνιοι. This is of course the same entry, although the lemma has been transmitted in two different ways: μινοδολόεϲϲα in the papyrus and μινδαλόεϲϲα in Hesychius. Which one is the original form is difficult to decide. As for a possible derivation, the ending -εϲϲα is probably a Greek suffix. As for μινοδολο-/μινδαλο-, the meaning 'numerical system among the Chaldaeans' could be related the Akkadian verb *manû*, 'to count'.[109] Among nouns derived from *manû* there are: 1) *minītu*, which, in addition to the various meanings related to counting ('normal size of an object', 'normal number', 'normal length of time', 'measure'), means also 'amount', 'number';[110] and 2) *minûtu*, which means 'amount', 'number', and also 'counting'.[111] If the lemma μινοδο(λο)-/μινδα(λο)- is to be linked with *minītu* or *minûtu*, we should allow for an Akkadian T to be transcribed as a Greek δ.[112] Otherwise, the sequence μινοδο/μινδα might have a 'phonetic' parallel in Akkadian *mindu*, which means 'measurement', 'measured amount'; it comes from the root MDD, whose infinitive is *madādu*, 'to measure', with a nasalization of the DD.[113] Still, in both reconstructions, the syllable -λο- before the ending -εϲϲα remains

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109 Cf. CAD, vol. 10, part 1, 221–223, s.v. *manû*, meaning (1).

110 Cf. CAD vol. 10, part 2, 86–89, s.v. *minītu*, in particular meaning (1.e).

111 Cf. CAD, vol. 10, part 2, 98–99, s.v. *minûtu*.

112 The transcription of T into δ occurs for Sumerian but not for Akkadian in the 'Graeco-Babyloniaca': cf. Maul 1991, 106, 107. See also Black & Sherwin-White 1984, 135.

113 Cf. CAD vol. 10, part 2, 85, s.v. *mindu* (A) and CAD, vol. 10 part 1, 5–9, sv. *madādu* (A).

difficult to explain. For the supplement [ἐν ¯ Τῶν] | κατὰ Βαβυλῶνα, see the discussion below at lines 19–20.

16 Μινύαι: οὐ μόνον Ὀρχομένιοι ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ Μάγνη[τες]. Cf. Hsch. μ 1396 Μινύαι· οἱ Ὀρχομένιοι, καὶ Μάγνητες. The entry is concerned with the Minyans, a people who lived in Boeotia near Orchomenus, known through myth and genealogical accounts,[114] and who are mentioned in Homer's catalogue of ships (*Il*. 2.511–512: Οἳ δ᾽ Ἀσπληδόνα ναῖον ἰδ᾽ Ὀρχομενὸν Μινύειον / τῶν ἦρχ᾽ Ἀσκάλαφος καὶ Ἰάλμενος υἷες Ἄρηος).

The Oxyrhynchus Glossary and Hesychius both specify that the Minyans were not only the inhabitants of Orchomenus in Boeotia but also the Magnetes. The latter were a Thessalian tribe living in the mountains near Ossa and Pelion. Homer mentiones them too in the catalogue of ships (*Il*. 2.756–759),[115] but he does not connect them with the Minyans. A connection of the Magnetes with the Minyans can be found in later sources. Strabo says that some Minyans emigrated from Orchomenus to settle in Iolcus in Thessaly and that the Argonauts were their descendants.[116] The Thessalian Iolcus was also considered to be the area of the Magnetes, as is attested by a scholium to Pindar *N*. 4.88.[117] In *N*. 4.89–91 Pindar says that Peleus, having conquered Iolcus near the foot of Pelion (Πηλίου δὲ πὰρ ποδὶ … Ἰαολκόν), gave it to the Haemones. The scholiast explains that this Iolcus mentioned by Pindar is that 'of Magnesia', the area near Mount Pelion. Therefore Iolcus, founded by the Minyans of Orchomenus, was inhabited by the Magnetes. Hence the Magnetes could be considered Minyans as descendants of the Orchomenian Minyans who settled in their land.

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114 Cf. Paus. 9.36.4–6. On the Minyans, see Stier 1932; on the genealogy of Minyas and his son Orchomenus see West 1985, 64–66.

115 *Il*. 2.756–759: Μαγνήτων δ᾽ ἦρχε Πρόθοος Τενθρηδόνος υἱός, / οἳ περὶ Πηνειὸν καὶ Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον / ναίεσκον· τῶν μὲν Πρόθοος θοὸς ἡγεμόνευε, / τῷ δ᾽ ἅμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαιναι νῆες ἕποντο. On the Magnetes and Magnesia in Thessaly cf. Stählin 1928.

116 Strabo 9.2.40 ἑξῆς δ᾽ ὁ ποιητὴς μέμνηται τοῦ τῶν Ὀρχομενίων καταλόγου, χωρίζων αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Βοιωτιακοῦ ἔθνους. καλεῖ δὲ Μινύειον τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν ἀπὸ ἔθνους τοῦ Μινυῶν· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἀποικῆσαί τινας τῶν Μινυῶν εἰς Ἰωλκόν φασιν, ὅθεν τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας Μινύας λεχθῆναι.

117 Sch. Pind. *N*. 4.88a Πηλίου δὲ πὰρ ποδὶ λατρείαν Ἰαωλκόν: τὴν δὲ κειμένην Ἰωλκὸν πρὸς τοῖς κάτω μέρεσι τῆς Θεσσαλίας ὁ Πηλεὺς πορθήσας διὰ τὴν Ἀκάστου ἐπιβουλὴν δούλην παρέδωκε τοῖς Θεσσαλοῖς, τουτέστιν ὑπήκοον. ἔστι δὲ ἡ Ἰωλκὸς τῆς Μαγνησίας, ἥτις πρὸς τοῖς τέρμασι τοῦ Πηλίου ὄρους κεῖται.

16–17 [Πε]|ρὶ ποταμῶν. A work 'on rivers' to explain a lemma Μινύαι can perhaps be explained by the existence of a river Minyeius, mentioned by Homer,[118] which Strabo connects with the Minyans:

> Strabo 8.3.19 […] Ἀρήνην, ὅπου καὶ ὁ παρακείμενος Ἄνιγρος ποταμός, καλούμενος πρότερον Μινύειος, […] ἔχει δ᾽ ἡ ἐτυμότης καὶ ἄλλας ἀφορμάς, εἶτ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν μετὰ Χλωρίδος τῆς Νέστορος μητρὸς ἐλθόντων ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ τοῦ Μινυείου, εἴτε Μινυῶν, οἳ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν ἀπόγονοι ὄντες ἐκ Λήμνου μὲν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐξέπεσον ἐντεῦθεν δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Τριφυλίαν, καὶ ᾤκησαν περὶ τὴν Ἀρήνην ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ νῦν Ὑπαισίᾳ καλουμένῃ, οὐκ ἐχούσῃ οὐκέτι τὰ τῶν Μινυῶν κτίςματα.

> Arene (acc.), where the river Anigrus is also nearby, which was once called Minyeius … but the meaning of the word (i.e. Minyeius) has other origins: it is either from those who went with Chloris, the mother of Nestor, from Minyan Orchomenus; or from the Minyans, who were descendants of the Argonauts and who were driven out from Lemnus to Lacedaemon and henceforth to Triphylia; they settled down around Arene in the region now called Aipasia, which no longer has the buildings of the Minyans.

Here there is no mention of the Magnetes, but Strabo does mention two groups of Minyans, one from Orchomenus and the other linked with the Argonauts. The latter Minyans are thus the inhabitants of Iolcus, near Mount Pelion, the land of the Magnetes, as demonstrated above. A similar account, mentioning the Minyans from Orchomenus and the Minyans from Magnesia and connecting them to the river Minyeius, was probably the source of our gloss, which is said to derive from a work Περὶ ποταμῶν.

Callimachus is the most famous author of a work on rivers (frs. 457–459 Pfeiffer),[119] but others wrote on the same topic. The pseudo-Plutarchean treatise *De Fluviis* mentions works entitled Περὶ ποταμῶν by Agathon, Agathocles, Archelaus, Aristotle, Chrysermus, Ctesias, Demaratus, Demostratus, Leon, Nicanor, Sostratus, Timagoras, and Timotheus.[120] Unfortunately, the name of Callimachus does not fit in the papyrus, because the space is too short for any but a very brief name. Among

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118 Cf. *Il.* 11.722–724: ἔστι δέ τις ποταμὸς Μινυήϊος εἰς ἅλα βάλλων / ἐγγύθεν Ἀρήνης, ὅθι μείναμεν Ἠῶ δῖαν / ἱππῆες Πυλίων, τὰ δ᾽ ἐπέρρεον ἔθνεα πεζῶν.

119 Cf. Pfeiffer 1968, 135.

120 Cf. Schneider 1870–73, vol. 2, 326–327.

the names of writers of a Περὶ ποταμῶν the shortest is Ctesias (Κτησίας), which also does not seem to fit.[121]

18 μινῶδες: ἄμπελοί τινες οὕτω λέγονται παρὰ Ῥοδ[ίοις?]. Cf. Hsch. μ 1417 μινῶδες· εἶδος ἀμπέλου. Apart from these entries in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary and in Hesychius, the word is unattested.

19 μισαι: {ὁ} παρὰ Χαλδαίοις ἡ τῶν μελλόντων πρόγνωσι[ς]. The article ὁ at the beginning of the explanation is to be deleted. Hunt doubtfully suggested that something could have dropped out. As the entry stands, however, a masculine nominative singular does not seem to make any sense, since the definition with a feminine nominative singular follows on the same line.

Hunt[122] quotes Sayce's suggestion of the Sumerian *me-zu*, 'to divine', as a parallel for μισαι. This is not very likely according to Stephanie Dalley and John Huehnergard, since the only possible way of having a Sumerian word would be to have a term that was borrowed by Akkadian and there used with the meaning of 'divining'. Such a verb does not exist in Akkadian. The closest parallel I could find was *mēsū*, which means 'cultic rites', 'rituals'.[123] This *mēsū* might have been interpreted as 'divination' or 'foreknowledge of the future' by some Greeks who linked the Chaldaean religion with divinatory practices. As for the transcription, an Akkadian Ē could indeed be transcribed as a Greek *iota*.[124]

19–20 [.... ἐν ⁻]‖ Τῶν κατὰ Βαβυλῶνα. The expression τῶν κατὰ Βαβυλῶνα could be the title of a work on Babylon as the τῶν before κατὰ Βαβυλῶνα seems to suggest. But it could also mean: 'of the people living in Babylon', i.e. the Babylonians. Given the layout of this glossary, however, whereby the end of the entry normally has a quotation of an authority, the former hypothesis seems more likely. This is why [ἐν ⁻] has been restored in the text following the suggestion of Hunt. The same might also be valid for the κατὰ Βαβυλῶνα in line 15.[125] As for the

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121 The attribution of a work Περὶ ποταμῶν to Ctesias is probably a mistake by the author of *De fluviis* 19.2 (see Jacoby 1922, 2036). In principle, however, the same false attribution could be present in our glossary.

122 Cf. Hunt in Grenfell & Hunt 1922, 162.

123 Cf. CAD vol. 10, part 2, 35, s.v. *mēsū*.

124 Cf. Maul 1991, 103 and 107.

125 Hunt suggested this solution in both places. In particular, Hunt, who had printed at lines 14–15 the supplement Χαλδαίο[ις .... ἐν ⁻ Τῶν] | κατὰ Βαβυλῶνα, suggested the alternative Χαλδαίο[ις τοῖς οὖσι] | κατὰ Βαβυλῶνα in the commentary. However, he gave the preference to the former solution "in consideration of this compiler's fondness for giving authority".

author of such a book, τῶν κατὰ Βαβυλῶνα, Berossus would be the first choice, but in the other two cases where he is quoted (fr. 5, 20; fr. 10a, 9–10), his work is quoted with the genitive Βαβυλωνιακῶν. It seems unlikely that in the same glossary, presumably going back to the same author, the very same work would be quoted in two different ways. The problem is similar to that encountered in fr. 2, i, 8 and in fr. 3, i, 21 with a *Thessalian Constitution*. Crönert, followed by Schmidt, suggested the name of Perigenes (Περιγένης) as the author of this work on Babylonia. For a discussion of this (unlikely) hypothesis see above at pp. 103–104.

21 Μιτυληναῖοι: κάπηλοι, ἀπ[. . . . .] . ὡς Ἡγήσανδρος [. The meaning of the explanation is uncertain. Hegesander is the historian from Delphi (middle of the second century BC), whose name has also been restored in fr. 3, i, 12 (because of the mention of his Ὑπομνήματα). As for the definition of Mitylenians as (retail)-dealers (κάπηλοι), an interesting parallel was offered by Schmidt:[126] Martial *Ep*. 7.80.9, where Martial invites Faustinus to send his little book to Marcellinus and have a *'Mitylenaei roseus mangonis ephebus'*, a rosy boy of a Mitylenian slave-dealer, to carry it.[127] It seems that the Mitylenians are here mentioned by Martial as 'slave dealers' *par excellence*. If these two mentions of the Mitylenians, in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary and in Martial, have some source in common, it seems better to take κάπηλοι in its more positive sense of 'retail-dealer', 'huckster', i.e. as someone selling various types of items (and slaves too). Schmidt's suggestion to read κάπηλοι ἀπ[ατηλοί], i.e. 'cheating deceivers', would definitely give a negative view of the Mitylenians, which does not seem necessarily implied by Martial's text. At any rate, the papyrus is much too damaged here to offer any firmer solution.

22 . . . . . .ι   μ.[± 22   ]οριαχ[. This is the beginning of a new entry, whose lemma started with *mu* and probably ended with *iota* (the superior half of upright is clearly visible). The space between the end of the lemma and the beginning of the explanation is blank. The explanation begins with μ. The traces of the second letter (a curved top) are compatible with ε, ο, or (less satisfactorily in connection with a preceding μ) with c.

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126 Schmidt 1924, 15, fn. 1.
127 Mart. *Ep*. 7.80.5–10: *sed si parua tui munuscula quaeris amici / commendare, ferat carmina nostra puer, / non qualis Geticae satiatus lacte iuuencae / Sarmatica rigido ludit in amne rota, / sed Mitylenaei roseus mangonis ephebus / uel non caesus adhuc matre iubente Lacon.*

Fr. 4

Line 2 is probably the first of the column, since an upper margin is visible, though not much of it is preserved and it could also be a very wide interlinear space.

The fragment seems to come from the part of the column covering the end of lemmata and the beginning of the explanations. This is suggested especially by line 8 (]ϲειν τ[) where the first four letters (]ϲειν) are followed by a blank space and then by traces compatible with τ (a horizontal stroke suggesting the top of τ is clearly visible). The placement of the letters in this line suggests that]ϲειν is the end of the lemma in *ekthesis* followed by a blank space and then by the explanation. The two preceding lines, 6 and 7, confirm this, since in both cases the visible letters are preceded by a blank space:] περιϲτ[in line 6, and] περτο[in line 7. These are certainly part of the explanations of lemmata that were placed on the left, in the missing part. Lines 1–5 do not have blank space but only written text; here however the papyrus is abraded and part of the left margin is missing. So what we see is part of the explanations. Line 9 may show another lemma (] μητρο[), whereas not much is preserved of line 10 (but there might be traces of a lemma on the left margin and the beginning of the explanation on the right) and line 11 is too poorly preserved to say whether what we see is just explanations or part of the lemma as well.

8]ϲειν τ[. The ending of the lemma (]ϲειν) suggests a Greek verb. Nevertheless, given the high amount of foreign words here collected, this could be any part of speech. Moreover, since in the rest of the glossary all the lemmata are nouns, it is perhaps more likely that here too a noun is the word at issue. The τ[that begins the explanation could be the beginning of an article, probably τό or τά to introduce the 'translation'.

Fr. 5

1]τοῦ βαϲιλέωϲ [. T. W. Allen suggested reading [τοῦ πρώ]του βαϲιλέωϲ and thus referring the note to Attalus I (241–197 BC). Attalus I wrote a geographical work, quoted by Strabo 13.1.44, where he described the region of the Beautiful Pine in the Troad (περὶ δὲ τῆϲ Καλῆϲ Πεύκηϲ Ἄτταλοϲ ὁ πρῶτοϲ βαϲιλεύϲαϲ οὕτωϲ γράφει· τὴν μὲν περίμετρον εἶναί φηϲι ποδῶν τεττάρων καὶ εἴκοϲι, …). This is the only evidence we have of Attalus' activity as a writer, though we know that he

was fond of intellectuals and counted the Academic Arcesilaus and Antigonus of Caristus among his friends.[128]

2]ογικων. Allen's suggestion of reading ἐν … ἀντιλογικῶν can be neither proved nor rejected, given the scantiness of the remnants. Nonetheless, a reference to a work on the 'art of disputation', as the supplement ἀντιλογικῶν would suggest, does not seem to fit in a glossary which constantly quotes ethnographic, antiquarian or historical sources.

3] ἐν τῷ Τρωικῷ [. This seems to be a quotation of a work on some aspect of Troy. One possibility would be to read ἐν τῷ Τρωικῷ | [διακόcμῳ], 'in the *Trojan Battle-Order*', i.e. a citation from the work by Demetrius of Scepsis on the arrangement of the Trojan forces as described in the catalogue of the Trojans in the *Iliad*. Such a work is quoted for example by Sch. Ap. Rhod. 1.1165 Δημήτριος ὁ Cκήψιος ἐν Τρωικῷ διακόcμῳ.[129] Demetrius, though never closely linked with the Library of Pergamum,[130] used Crates as a source for his writings and was in turn used by Apollodorus.[131] Allen, who also thought of reading ἐν τῷ Τρωικῷ [διακόcμῳ], went further and supposed that here Demetrius of Scepsis was referring to or quoting the work on geography by Attalus I, whose name Allen wanted to restore in line 1 where we read]τοῦ βαcιλέως [(see above, at line 1). The possibility cannot be excluded that Demetrius (ca. 205–130 BC), in composing a work on the geography of the Troad, could have used the work of Attalus I (241–197 BC). The arrangement of the text in the papyrus, however, makes it clear that line 1 and line 3 do not pertain to the same entry. This is now clear, since fr. 5 is the result of joining together two new fragments with what in Hunt's edition (the one Allen examined) were fr. 6 and fr. 9. Thus it is now possible to confirm that the column does not end where it breaks off at the end of lines 1–3, but is wider, as lines 6 and 7 now demonstrate. Therefore the end of line 2 with]ογικων, followed by a rather wide blank space, must be the end of an entry. A new entry starts in line 3, where perhaps Demetrius of Scepsis 'ἐν τῷ Τρωικῷ διακόcμῳ' was quoted.

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128 Cf. Wilcken 1896, 2168.

129 Cf. also Ath. 3.80d Δημήτριος δ᾽ ὁ Cκήψιος ἐν τῷ ιε τοῦ Τρωικοῦ διακόcμου; Ath. 3.91c, etc.

130 The Library of Pergamum was founded by Eumenes II, the successor of Attalus I. On Demetrius of Scepsis, see Schwartz 1901; Pfeiffer 1968, 249–251.

131 Cf. Strabo 8.3.6 Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ διδάcκων ὃν τρόπον ὁ ποιητὴς εἴωθε διαcτέλλεcθαι τὰς ὁμωνυμίας, …. ταῦτα δ᾽ οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Cκηψίου Δημητρίου λεγομένοις, παρ᾽ οὗ μεταφέρει τὰ πλεῖcτα.

Another possibility would be to read ἐν τῷ Τρωικῷ [καταλόγῳ]. This could, of course, refer to the catalogue of the Trojans in Book Two of the *Iliad*, but a reference to a Homeric passage would be almost unique in the glossary (see below pp.125–126). Alternatively, the phrase ἐν τῷ Τρωικῷ καταλόγῳ might still refer to the work by Demetrius of Scepsis on the battle arrangement of the Trojans in *Iliad* 2.816–877. Although such an expression is never used for Demetrius' work in our extant sources, it is not impossible that our glossographer quoted Demetrius' commentary on *Iliad* 2.816–877 with the phrase 'Demetrius in the *Catalogue of the Trojans*'.

Also possible are ἐν τῷ Τρωικῷ [πολέμῳ], 'in the Trojan war', or ἐν τῷ Τρωικῷ [πεδίῳ], 'in the Trojan plan', both common expressions, though perhaps less satisfactory here since we do not have evidence of such titles.

4]δροϲο ... ιοχευϲ [. Hunt read ὁ Ἀντιοχεύς, which would suit the traces. Allen suggested privately to Hunt [Ἀλέξαν]δροϲ ὁ Ἀντιοχεύϲ. According to Allen, this was a reference to the Alexander of Antiochia mentioned in Pseudo Appian, Παρθική, pp. 93 and 96 Schweighäuser. During the Parthian War in 36 BC this Ἀλέξανδροϲ ὁ Ἀντιοχεύϲ, an acquaintance of Marcus Antonius, acted as an interpreter between Marcus Antonius and a certain Mithridates, because he knew the Syriac language.[132] Plutarch, *Ant.* 46.4–5 and 48.1–2, also makes reference to the same episode and mentions Alexander of Antiochia. It is from Plutarch that the Byzantine anonymous author of the spurious Παρθική derived these two passages.[133]

The reference to the Syriac language and the Parthians would be in keeping with our glossary's 'exotic' interests as well as with Hunt's supplement [Πά]ρθοι in fr. 3, i, 27. This Alexander of Antiochia, however, mentioned only in these two passages from Plutarch, is a very obscure character, for whom there is no evidence of any literary activity. He

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132 Cf. Smith 1890, vol. 1, 112.

133 In the work of Appian, there was indeed a section dedicated to Parthia. This was in Book Eleven, which dealt with the Syrians (the Seleucids) and Parthians. Only the first part of this book on the Syrians, entitled Συριακή, is original and preserved; the second part on the Parthians was probably never finished (Appian announces his plans for a Παρθικὴ συγγραφή in *Syr.* 260.1 ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ἐντελῶϲ ἐν τῇ Παρθικῇ συγγραφῇ λέξω). What we have under the title of Παρθική is a later Byzantine product derived from excerpts of Appian (*Syr.* 257–259) and Plutarch (*Crass.* 15–33 and *Ant.* 28–53). Cf. Schwartz 1895, 217; Brodersen 1993, 343–344.

could hardly be quoted as an *auctoritas* for an explanation of a Syriac or Parthian lemma in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary. Even if Ἀλέξανδϱος ὁ Ἀντιοχεύς was indeed the name written in the papyrus and this was indeed the person known from Plutarch, there may be other reasons for the glossary's reference, which escape us because of the fragmentary evidence. This solution remains entirely hypothetical, and thus Allen's suggestion [Ἀλέξαν]δϱος ὁ Ἀντιοχεύς has not been restored in the text.[134]

6] βλέφα[ϱα] παϱὰ Χα[λδαίοις?]. If the reconstruction is correct, we must suppose that the lemma was an Akkadian word for 'eyelids'. In Akkadian 'eye' is *īnu*,[135] which admittedly does not seem to be the best translation for βλέφαϱα, which are the 'eyelids'. If *īnu* were the lemma behind our entry, however, it would fit in with what remains of the glossary in terms of alphabetical order. In this case, the fragment should be placed first, because it would be in the group of lemmata starting with ι. A closer Akkadian parallel for βλέφαϱα might be *elīt īni*, 'the outer (or upper) part of the eye',[136] or *šu'ru* or *šūr īni*, 'eyebrow'.[137] But none of these options can be accomodated within the alphabetical order of this portion of the glossary, which shows lemmata starting with ϰ, λ, and μ.

If the lemma is actually an Iranian word, there are possibilities beginning with μ-, since Middle Persian has *miǰ(ag)* for 'eye-lash' and 'eyelid'.[138] Among other Iranian languages, Manichaean Sogdian has *mz'* for 'eyelash', Buddhist Sogdian has *nymz'y* for 'winking' (with the common Iranian prefix *ni-*), and Baluchi has *mičǎč* for 'eyelid'.[139] A lemma beginning with μ- would suit perfectly the alphabetical order, but I cannot suggest any recontruction for it. The other Iranian terms for 'eye' do not

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134 The only other Alexander of Antiochia I have been able to find was a sculptor, the supposed author of the Aphrodite of Melos, first dated to the third century BC; cf. Robert 1894. This Alexander has been later identified with the Alexander in Kirchner 1894, and his date has been adjusted to the first century BC: cf. Robert 1903.

135 Cf. CAD, vol. 7, 153–158, s.v. *īnu*.

136 Cf. CAD, vol. 4, 99, s.v. *ēlītu*, meaning (6.c).

137 Cf. CAD, vol. 17, part 3, 366, s.v. *šu'ru*. See also CAD, vol. 7, 156, s.v. *īnu*, meaning (2'.c), where other words connected with 'eye' and 'parts of the eye' are mentioned. None of them, however, seem to suit the meaning of βλέφαϱα, except those mentioned.

138 Cf. MacKenzie 1971, 113, s.v. eye-lash, -lid.

139 Cf. Bailey 1979, 184, s.v. *nämäśdi*. These words seem to go back to an IE root **meigh-/*meik-*, meaning 'blinking', 'winking', cf. Pokorny, IEW, 712–713, where the roots **meigh-* and **meik-* are defined as "flimmern, blinzeln; dunkel (vor den Augen flimmernd)".

seem to offer better alternatives. They are: 1) *aši-* in Avestan and *aš* in Middle Persian; yet an α does not seem a likely beginning; 2) *dōiθra-* in Avestan and *dōysar* in Middle Persian, but a first letter *d-* would also be unlikely, and 3) *cašman-* in Old Persian and *cašm* in Middle Persian; this initial */c/* is an affricate and in proper names is normally transliterated in Greek by τ as in Τείϲπηϲ, Τριτανταίχμηϲ, Τιϲϲαφέρνηϲ.[140] T also seems unlikely to be beginning of a lemma in our glossary. On the other hand, the possibility that here the reference is not to the eyes or to the eye-lids *strictu sensu*, but to the more famous 'eyes of the king', as the satraps were called in the Achaemenid Empire, does not seem plausible, since Herodotus (1.114.2) uses the word ὀφθαλμοί and not βλέφαρα.[141]

8]λοιϲ μοιχ[.] . ον . [. The sequence μοιχ seems to suggest that we are dealing with a form of μοιχεύω, 'commit adultery', or of μοιχικόϲ, 'adulterous'. The gloss thus could be a word related to adultery. Attempts to restore the beginning of the line are purely conjectural because of the faintness of the traces:]λοιϲ μοιχ[seems to be the most likely, but perhaps]λ.α μοιχ[could also fit here. In addition, it is difficult to determine whether or not there was a letter in the gap after μοιχ[, which could be just a break in the sheet of papyrus. If there was a letter in the gap (and if so, it must be a narrow letter), one could read μοιχ[ι]χον, 'adulterous'; after the gap a thick upright is clearly visible, and this could be part of the *kappa*. The narrow space in the gap could indeed be occupied by an *iota*.

9]ιϲ. This is the end of an entry.

10] κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην [. It is either a quotation from a work about Libya (cf. Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ἀϲίαν in fr. 3, i, 10 and 17–18), part of the explanation of a Libyan word, or an explanation having something to do with Libya.

12]ων. This is the end of an entry.

13 [π]αρὰ Πέρ[ϲ]αιϲ ἐπ[ὶ τοῦ?]. If the restoration is correct, the lemma is a word 'found among the Persians' (παρὰ Πέρϲαιϲ). The explanation deals with what the word is used for, i.e. what it means (ἐπὶ τοῦ + genitive, where the supplement τοῦ is *exempli gratia*).

14, 15, and 17. Nothing is visible. The explanations in these lines were probably short. The fragment thus preserves the far right part of the original column.

140 Cf. Schmitt 1967, 121, 127, and Schmitt 1978, 45.
141 Cf. Schmitt 1967, 140.

18] Μακεδών [. This ethnic adjective was either part of the expla-
nation (a Macedonian word?) or, more likely, it was part of the name of
the *auctoritas* quoted: an antiquarian, ethnographer, or historian 'from
Macedonia'. In this case, the article ὁ should be restored in the lacuna, as
in fr. 11, 3] ὁ Ῥόδιος ἐν ᾱ Π[ερὶ].

20 [Βή]ρωσος ἐγ γ̄ Βαβυλω[νιακῶν]. Lobel could not accept the
name Berossus here,[142] but a closer look with the microscope shows that
all the letters we need are there. This is the first of the quotations from the
Babyloniaca by Berossus (FGrHist 680). The book number is not clear:
a horizontal top joining an upright can fit Γ, Ζ, Ξ, and Τ. From other quo-
tations of and references to Berossus' *Babyloniaca*, however, only three
books are known to have existed (cf. FGrHist 680 T 2: Βηρωςὸς ἀνὴρ
Βαβυλώνιος, ἱερεὺς τοῦ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς Βήλου, κατ᾽ Ἀλέξανδρον γεγο-
νώς, Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν τρίτῳ τὴν Χαλδαίων ἱςτορίαν ἐν τριςὶ
βιβλίοις κατατάξας). Thus, the only possible reading is γ̄, i.e. the third
book, which has been restored in the text.

21]. ς Ξεν[ο]φῶν ἐν ᾱ Π[ερὶ]. If the letter after the numeral ᾱ is a
γ or a π (the only letters that suit the traces), we must find a work by Xeno-
phon beginning with one of these letters; there are not many options.
Γ is excluded because there are no works of Xenophon beginning with
this letter. If the letter is a Π, it could be either Περὶ ἱππικῆς or Περὶ
προςόδων (the other title for the *Poroi*), but none of these treatises have
more than one book. However, it could be a paraphrase of the title in the
form of 'the work on x', and in this case (with περὶ + genitive) it could
be any of the works by Xenophon. On the basis of the glossary's interest
in Babylonian and Persian glosses, a quotation from the *Cyropaedia*
(Περὶ τῆς Κύρου παιδείας?) or perhaps from the *Anabasis* (Περὶ τῆς
Κύρου ἀναβάςεως?) seems the most likely hypothesis.

22]α δύ[ο το]ίχους τεθυρ[ωμένους]. The meaning is 'two walls
with doors'. The verb θυρόω, 'furnish with doors', is not common and is
never used in connection with τοῖχος. Probably this line is part of the
same entry as the previous one; therefore we may assume that the quo-
tation of Xenophon continues here. An analysis of the works of Xeno-

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142 As he writes in his note: "Comparison with fr. 12, 9seq [= fr. 10a, 9ff] leads to the
       suggestion Βηρω(ς)ςος εν ¯Βαβυλωνιακων, but I cannot accommodate the first
       sign, the upper part of an upright, to any of the spellings of Berosus; I cannot
       make any shot at what was written between ςος and βαβ, but εν and a number
       looks too short; υλω[does not seem unacceptable, if one supposes that the left-
       hand stroke of ω was unusually upright".

phon for the words τοῖχ- and θυρ- has shown that, whereas there are not many occurrences of the word τοῖχος and its derivatives, the word θύρα and its derivatives occur (perhaps not surprisingly) very frequently, particularly in the *Cyropaedia*, where θύρα is often used to indicate the gate of the city. Thus, as a hypothesis, δύ[ο το]ίχους τεθυρ[ωμένους] could come from a passage of that work describing city walls with gates built into them.

Fr. 6 and **Fr. 7**

In fr. 6 and in fr. 7 it is not possible to recognize any word. The two fragments do not show any blank space; no lemmata or ends of entries are in evidence.

Fr. 8 and **Fr. 9**

Fr. 8 and fr. 9 are now lost. Thus I am reporting the transcription of Hunt (fr. 10 and fr. 11 in his edition of P.Oxy. 1802), which consists of only few letters. The] α[in fr. 9 may be the beginning of a lemma or of an explanation, if preceeed by a blank space.

Fr. 10a

1]ν   ̣[   ] [. This is, beyond doubt, the end of an entry ( ]ν). The trace that is visible at the end of the fragment (.[) is probably a spot of ink.

2–6 [Φ]οινίϰων ----- Περὶ Φοινίϰης. These lines seem to belong to the same entry, discussing a Phoenician word probably meaning 'corn-store', as the explanation suggests ([ἑ]ρμηνεύεται πυροῦ [θηςαυρός?]). The lemma itself cannot be determined with certainty. It seems that it was a word in Phoenician whose etymology was connected to its function: storing corn ([δ]ιὰ τὸ τὸν πυρὸν ἐνταῦθα τοὺς | [Φοίνι]ϰας ὑποθηςαυρίζειν). Lobel mentioned the example of πυραμίδες in the following entry of Stephanus of Byzantium:

> Steph. Byz. 540.14 πυραμίδες, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ϰτίςμα … ὠνομάςθηςαν δὲ πυραμίδες ἀπὸ τῶν πυρῶν, οὓς ἐϰεῖ ςυναγαγὼν ὁ βαςιλεὺς ἔνδειαν ἐποίηςε ςίτου ϰατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον.

> Pyramids, a building in Egypt … They were called pyramids from the corn (πυρός), which the king collected there, thus creating a lack of food in Egypt.

The etymology given for the pyramids (ἀπὸ τῶν πυρῶν, οὓς ἐκεῖ συναγαγὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔνδειαν ἐποίησε σίτου κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον) is the same as the one furnished in our glossary, i.e. from πυρός, 'corn', 'grain'. It is, however, hard to restore πυραμίδες as the lemma for this entry; π would probably be too far alphabetically speaking from the rest of the preserved part of the glossary, where there is no evidence of lemmata beginning with letters after μ. Moreover, a lemma beginning with π would be problematic for the entry at lines 9–10, for which the possibilities are either a lemma beginning with θ or with ο (cf. below at lines 9–10).

As for a Phoenician word meaning 'corn store', 'granary', one possibility is ꜤQRT, found in the bilingual inscription of Karatepe (Phu/A I 6 = Pho/B I 4' = PhSt/C I 10; middle or second half of the eighth century BC).[143] As a mere hypothesis, we could imagine that this was indeed the word behind the definition in our glossary. The next step would be to try to find out how a Greek would have transcribed such a word. One of the most likely solutions is that he would have transcribed the initial ayïn (Ꜥ) as an *omicron*; therefore the word ꜤQRT would have appeared as οκρθ or οκρτ.[144] A lemma in οκ- here would fit well with the hypothesis of a lemma starting with ομ- at lines 9–10 (see below, at pp.123–124).

It is unlikely, moreover, that here Φοίνικες does not mean Phoenicians but is in fact misused to indicate other populations, such as the Persians, and

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143 Cf. Çambel 1999, 50–51 (Phu/A I 6), 54–55 (Pho/B I 4'), 58, 62 (PhSt/C I 10). On this inscription see also Gibson 1982, 41–64, in part. 47 and 57.

144 Cf. Healey 1990, 252–253; Woodard 1997, 134, 136. As for the rest of the transcription, a Semitic Q corresponds to Greek κ; cf. Lewy 1895, who offers many examples of this: e.g. *ibid.* 9 (κεῖρις), 20 (δάκτυλος; cf. Phoenician *diqlat*), 22 (κόττανον), 23 (συκάμινος), 36 (κιττώ), 37 (κασία, κιννάμωμον), 43 (ἀμάρακος), 65 (κοττάνα), 80 (νέκταρ), 88 (κεκρύφαλος), 97 (κύβηνα), 99 (κάννα), 115 (κάβος), etc. In particular Phoenician Q corresponds to Greek κ in the cases of σίκλος and Punic *šql* and of κάννα and Punic *qn'* analyzed by Masson 1967, 36–37, 48. The sound T in Semitic languages can be rendered both with Greek θ and τ, but θ seems to be used especially when T occurs in the final syllable; cf. Haupt 1918, 307–309. Masson 1967 gives examples of Phoenician (or Punic) T transcribed into Greek τ (*ibid.* 29, 54, 64–65, with *ktn* and χιτών, *lbnt* and λιβανωτός, *dlt* and δέλτος respectively) and into Greek θ (*ibid.*, 104: *Mrt* and Μάραθος). Also in the 'Graeco-Babyloniaca' tablets, Akkadian and Sumerian T are rendered with Greek θ and Akkadian Q with Greek κ: cf. Maul 1991, 105, 106, 107.

that therefore the word under consideration is Persian.[145] The Phoenicians were too well known by the Greeks to be 'confused' with other people.

3 [ἑ]ρμηνεύεται. The word is typical of Christian exegesis to explain lemmata and expressions; in the *Zonarae Lexicon*, in particular, there are sixty-seven cases of ἑρμηνεύεται, and almost all of them are used for Biblical and in general Hebrew or Semitic lemmata (in particular proper names). The same usage of ἑρμηνεύεται is to be found in Hesychius (ten occurrences) and in the Byzantine *Etymologica*. Ἑρμηνεύεται means not only 'explain', but also 'interpret foreign words', hence 'translate into Greek', as in Steph. Byz. 340.14: ὑπὸ δὲ Φοινίκων Κέλλα ῥαφσάθ, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται ἱςτὸς νεώς or, in the form μεθερμηνεύεςθαι, in Georg. Sync. *Ecl. Chron.* 30.6 quoted below (p.122). Therefore ἑρμηνεύεται seems to be a technical expression used to 'translate' Semitic, or at least foreign, words into Greek. It is interesting to note that here too we are dealing with a Semitic lemma.

5 ὑποθηςαυρίζειν. The verb ὑποθηςαυρίζειν is a hapax; the closest parallel is ἀποθηςαυρίζειν in late writers.

5–6 ὡς Ἑςτιαῖ[ος ἐν] ⁻ Περὶ Φοινίκης. After ὡς, between ε and α, no ink has survived with the exception of a dot near the bottom angle of α. Among the authors that wrote Φοινικικά[146] only Hestiaeus has a name beginning with ε, unless we also count Herennius Philon of Byblos (FGrHist 790), who however is normally referred to by sources as Φίλων Βύβλιος. In any case, given the traces on the papyrus the only solution is to read Hestiaeus (Ἑςτιαῖος), by restoring ςτι and having thus Ἑςτιαῖ|ος. Hestiaeus (FGrHist 786) wrote a work on Semitic history or ethnography and was one of the sources of Josephus, who mentions him together with Berossus: *AJ* 1.107 καὶ γὰρ καὶ Μανεθὼν ὁ τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν ποιηςάμενος ἀναγραφήν (FGrHist 609 T 6a), καὶ Βηρωςςὸς ὁ τὰ Χαλδαϊκὰ συναγαγών (FGrHist 680 T 8a, F 14), Μῶχός (FGrHist 784 F 3a) τε καὶ Ἑςτιαῖος (FGrHist 786 F 2), καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος Ἱερώνυμος, οἱ τὰ Φοινικικὰ συνταξάμενοι, συμφωνοῦςι τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεγομένοις. Josephus' sources parallel those of our glossary, especially since both of them use Berossus and Hestiaeus (or at least writers of works *On Phoenicia*, Φοινικικά).

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145 The Old Iranian for 'corn' is **yava-* (Avestan has *yauua-*, New Persian has *jav*; cf. also Sanskrit *yáva-* 'barley, corn'), Middle Persian has *jōrdā*. On the basis of the word for 'corn', starting with y- in Old Iranian, and with j- in Middle and New Persian, we should expect a lemma beginning with ι- in Greek.

146 Cf. Jacoby, FGrHist IIIC, 788–833.

7–8]ων ἐντος⌜θ⌝ιδίων τι ὡς Ἐραϲίϲτρα|[τος] ἐν τῷ Ὀ[ψαρ]-
τυτικῷ. The quotation is a new fragment of the physician Erasistratus.
A work *On Cookery* (Ὀψαρτυτικόν) is quoted by Athenaeus twice, in
Ath. 12.516c, for καρύκ(κ)η (fr. 290 Garofalo), and in Ath. 7.324a, for
ὑπόϲφαγμα (fr. 291 Garofalo).[147] Lobel suggested reading ἐντοϲθιδίων,
'entrails' (where the papyrus has εντοϲτιδιων), a term used by physicians
like Hippocrates, Soranus, and Dioscurides; the]ων before it could be
part of τῶν or the ending of an adjective in agreement with ἐντοϲθιδίων.
We are left with τι which could be part of the definition: 'some kind of …
entrails'.

As Lobel already observed, if the supplements at the beginning of
lines 5, 6, and 8 are complete, the width of this column will be consider-
ably narrower than that of fr. 3 ii and iii. Unfortunately, apart from this
poorly preserved column and those in fr. 3, we do not have any evidence
of other columns; a variation in terms of width might not be impossible in
a text like this, but cannot be proved.

9–10] θάλαϲϲα κατὰ Πέρϲας. Βήρωϲϲος [| ἐν] ᾱ Βαβυλωνιακῶν.
If the lemma is Persian, the Old Persian word for 'sea' is *drayah*,[148] but a
lemma starting with δ- is difficult to accomodate in the alphabetical order
of the entries preserved in the glossary.

It seems thus more likely that the gloss refers to an Akkadian word,
especially in light of another fragment of Berossus (FGrHist 680 F 1 b
(6), p. 370.21):

> Georg. Sync. *Ecl. Chron.* 29.22 γενέϲθαι φηϲὶ χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ πᾶν
> ϲκότος καὶ ὕδωρ εἶναι, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ζῷα τερατώδη, καὶ εἰδιφυεῖς τὰς
> ἰδέας ἔχοντα ζωογονεῖϲθαι […] 30.4 ἄρχειν δὲ τούτων πάντων γυναῖκα
> ᾗ ὄνομα Ὀμόρκα·[149] εἶναι δὲ τοῦτο Χαλδαϊϲτὶ μὲν Θαλάτθ, Ἑλληνιϲτὶ
> δὲ μεθερμηνεύεϲθαι θάλαϲϲα.

> He [i.e. Berossus] says that there was a time when everything was dark-
> ness and water, and prodigious creatures with peculiar forms were then
> alive … [He says that] over them all ruled a woman whose name was
> Omorka; and that this in Chaldaean is Thalatth, and in Greek it is trans-
> lated as 'Thalassa'.

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147 Cf. Garofalo 1988, 57–58.

148 As Elizabeth Tucker writes to me: "The attested Old Persian word for 'sea' is
drayah-, (neuter), *zrayah-* in Avestan (Middle Persian *drayā* and *zrēh,* New Per-
sian *daryā).* Although it is clear that this is the normal word for 'sea' in Iranian,
it's impossible to be certain whether something that is labeled κατὰ Πέρϲας
would be the form beginning *d-* or *z-*".

149 Not Ὀμόρωκα, as in Syncellus. Cf. FGrHist 680 F 1 b, p. 371.26 (apparatus).

This quotation, taken from Georgius Syncellus' Ἐκλογὴ χρονογραφίας, expressly says that the story is taken from the first book of the *Babyloniaca* by Berossus (cf. Georg. Sync. *Ecl. Chron.* 28.21). This reference is perfectly in keeping with what we find in our papyrus, which quotes Βήρωσσος [| ἐν] α̅ Βαβυλωνιακῶν.

The lemma is more problematic. On the basis of the fragment of Berossus transmitted by Georgius Syncellus, we would expect a lemma Θαλάτθ or Ὀμόρκα, which Ἑλληνιστί is θάλασσα. Both could work, as the beginning letters of both names are close enough to the letters preserved in the glossary (κ-μ) for these lemmata to respect the alphabetical order of the glossary and not be placed too far from the preserved fragments. Θαλάτθ is clearly a calque from the Greek θάλασσα, probably originating in a misunderstanding of the Akkadian Tiamat. If so, Θαλάτθ must not be original, i.e. by Berossus, since the priest of Bel-Marduk, trained in the scribal education, hence fluent in Akkadian religious texts, and also a resident of Babylon, would probably not have committed such a mistake. Rather, Θαλάτθ sounds like a sort of hypercorrection due to a Greek native speaker who thought that he recognized in this passage of the *Babyloniaca* a name he was familiar with, and changed the text (whether on purpose or unconsciously, we cannot know). Since this 'Hellenized' form also recurs in the Armenian translation of Eusebius of Cesarea (which has *thalattha* in E and *thaladda* in GN),[150] the mistake must have originated in the text of Eusebius himself or even in that of Alexander Polyhistor. Berossus himself would have surely used the correct Akkadian form. If the form was Tiamat, the name transcribed into Greek would have resulted in something like Τιαματ. But a lemma starting with T would be too far removed from the rest of the letters covered by our glossary. The form used by Berossus for this mythological character, however, is disputed; one solution is 'Thamte', which in Greek would be transcribed as Θαμτε.[151] A lemma starting with *theta* would fit in terms of the alphabetical order of our glossary, with a gap of just one letter (ι) before the first preserved lemmata of the glossary that start with κ. This suggestion relies, however, entirely on a hypothetical reconstruction.

At this point, Ὀμόρκα seems to be a better solution. Omorka is the name of a woman, who, according to Berossus, ruled over the first living beings (monsters and men with wings or more than one head, with bodies

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150 Cf. FGrHist 680 F 1 b, p. 372.7 (apparatus).
151 For a discussion on these names, see Haupt 1918 and Burstein 1978, 14, nn. 14 and 15.

of goats, horses etc).[152] This Omorka ('Tiamat' in Chaldaean and 'Sea' in Greek)[153] was cut in half by Bel; one half was turned into heaven, the other into the earth.[154] Ὀμόρκα might indeed be the lemma to which the explanation here refers. First of all, this is a foreign word, a Chaldaean word that, according to Berossus, meant 'sea' in Greek. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, a lemma beginning with *omicron* would be in keeping with the hypothetical reconstruction of the previous entry, for which we suggested something like οκρθ. With this hypothetical reconstruction, we would have two lemmata, the first (meaning 'corn-store', 'granary' among the Phoenicians) beginning with οκ-, the second (meaning 'sea' among the Chaldaeans) beginning with ομ-. This reconstruction could fit the alphabetical order of the glossary if we allowed a gap for the letters ν and ξ after the columns in fr. 3, where lemmata starting with μ are preserved.

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152 This is the complete fragment: Georg. Sync. *Ecl. Chron.* 29.22 = Berossus
     FGrHist 680 F 1 b (6) γενέσθαι φηςὶ χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ πᾶν ςκότος καὶ ὕδωρ
     εἶναι, καὶ ἐν τούτοις ζῷα τερατώδη, καὶ εἰδιφυεῖς τὰς ἰδέας ἔχοντα ζωογο-
     νεῖςθαι. ἀνθρώπους γὰρ διπτέρους γεννηθῆναι, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ τετραπτέρους
     καὶ διπροςώπους· καὶ cῶμα μὲν ἔχοντας ἕν, κεφαλὰς δὲ δύο, ἀνδρείαν τε καὶ
     γυναικείαν, καὶ αἰδοῖα δὲ διccά, ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ· καὶ ἑτέρους ἀνθρώπους
     τοὺς μὲν αἰγῶν cκέλη καὶ κέρατα ἔχοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἱππόποδας, τοὺς δὲ τὰ
     ὀπίςω μὲν μέρη ἵππων, τὰ δὲ ἔμπροςθεν ἀνθρώπων, οὓς ἱπποκεντaύρους τὴν
     ἰδέαν εἶναι. ζωογονηθῆναι δὲ καὶ ταύρους ἀνθρώπων κεφαλὰς ἔχοντας καὶ
     κύνας τετραcωμάτους, οὐρὰς ἰχθύος ἐκ τῶν ὄπιcθεν μερῶν ἔχοντας, καὶ
     ἵππους κυνοκεφάλους καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἕτερα ζῷα κεφαλὰς μὲν καὶ cώ-
     ματα ἵππων ἔχοντα, οὐρὰς δὲ ἰχθύων, καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ζῷα παντοδαπῶν θηρίων
     μορφὰς ἔχοντα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἰχθύας καὶ ἑρπετὰ καὶ ὄφεις καὶ ἄλλα ζῷα
     πλείονα θαυμαcτὰ καὶ παρηλλαγμένας τὰς ὄψεις ἀλλήλων ἔχοντα· ὧν καὶ
     τὰς εἰκόνας ἐν τῷ τοῦ Βήλου ναῷ ἀνακεῖcθαι. ἄρχειν δὲ τούτων πάντων γυ-
     ναῖκα ᾗ ὄνομα Ὀμόρκα· εἶναι δὲ τοῦτο Χαλδαϊcτὶ μὲν Θαλάτθ, Ἑλληνιcτὶ δὲ
     μεθερμηνεύεcθαι θάλαccα.
153 Komoróczy 1973, 131–133, connects Omorka in Berossus with the Akkadian
     e-ma-ru-uk-ka (in the *Enūma Eliš*), derived from the Sumerian *a-ma-ru*, 'flood
     water' (and the flood is the water of the primeval chaos, i.e. Tiamat).
154 Georg. Sync. *Ecl. Chron.* 30.7 = Berossus FGrHist 680 F 1 b (7) οὕτως δὲ τῶν
     ὅλων cυνεcτηκότων ἐπανελθόντα Βῆλον cχίcαι τὴν γυναῖκα μέcην, καὶ τὸ
     μὲν ἥμιcυ αὐτῆς ποιῆcαι γῆν, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἥμιcυ οὐρανόν, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ζῷα
     ἀφανίcαι. ἀλληγορικῶς δέ φηcι τοῦτο πεφυcιολογῆcθαι. ὑγροῦ γὰρ ὄντος
     τοῦ παντὸς καὶ ζῴων ἐν αὐτῷ γεγεννημένων, τοῦτον τὸν θεὸν ἀφελεῖν τὴν
     ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλήν, καὶ τὸ ῥυὲν αἷμα τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς φυρᾶcαι τῇ γῇ, καὶ
     διαπλάcαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· δι᾽ ὃ νοερούς τε εἶναι καὶ φρονήcεως θείας
     μετέχειν.

11] τοὺς τὰ πρὸς τὴν τροφὴν ֺ.[. This is the explanation of a lost lemma, which indicated the 'people in charge of the provisions'. This is the translation chosen in this edition and is particularly apt for a military context. But since the rest of the entry is lost, the phrase could also mean 'those in charge of preparing the food', if the context is a domestic one (the word would then indicate the slaves who work in the kitchen), or 'those in charge of the rearing', if τροφή here indicates more broadly the upbringing or even the education of children or students (thus the word would perhaps indicate the tutors or the pedagogues).

Fr. 11

The beginnings of three explanations are visible in lines 2, 4, and 7, but the lemmata are missing except for the ending -ϲιοϲ in line 2.

1]ֺϲ καὶ διηνεκ[. Probably it is a derivative of διηνεκής.

2]ϲιοϲ: λιθ[. The lemma may be the name of a stone, as the beginning of the explanation (λιθ-) seems to suggest. The ending -ϲιοϲ is one of the most common in Greek and therefore it is impossible to propose any solution for the lemma.

3 ὁ Ῥόδιοϲ ἐν ᾱ Π[ερὶ]. It is clear that the quotation from an authority 'from Rhodes' pertains to the same entry as line 2. There are many authorities (historians, antiquarians and '*docti*' in general) from Rhodes who could be meant here. Strabo 14.2.13 lists several ἄνδρεϲ μνήμηϲ ἄξιοι who were or were described as Ῥόδιοι: to name but a few, Apollonius Rhodius (see below at line 5), Panaetius (cf. below, at p. 126, fr. 12, 3), Andronicus, and also Dionysius Thrax, who taught there once he left Alexandria.[155]

4] οἱ ἀπὸ τῆ[ϲ]. This is the beginning of an explanation ('those from the …') whose lemma is lost. The entry continues in lines 5 and 6.

5] καὶ Ὅμηρο[ϲ?]. The alignment makes it clear that this line pertains to the explanation that starts in the previous line. The form of the nominative Ὅμηρο[ϲ] has been restored *exempli gratia*. This is the only quotation from Homer in our glossary, which, as already pointed out in the introduction (Chapter 3.1), does not seem interested in explaining Homeric or poetic diction in general. In this entry, a rare Greek word, or a word from a particular dialect, or perhaps even a foreign 'Eastern' word, indicating some kind of people ('οἱ ἀπὸ τῆ[ϲ] …' in line 4) was presum-

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155 For a full list of Rhodian intellectuals, see Mygind 1999.

ably explained by recourse to Homeric usage. All the other authorities quoted in the glossary are historians or antiquarians (see Chapter 3.2). An exception would be Apollonius Rhodius, if his name can be restored above in line 3, but, if so, Apollonius too was probably invoked more as a source of the explanation than as literary attestation. The same would probably apply to the quotation of Homer here. He is quoted not because the lemma is taken from the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* as something to be explained, 'glossed', in order to be understood by a reader, but rather because in his poems Homer used the dialectal or foreign word at issue (see below at line 6). The perspective of this glossary is profoundly different from that of, say, Apollonius Sophista's *Homeric Lexicon*.

6 ται λαοὶ ωc ̣**[.** Reading -ται λαοὶ ὣc seems possible, especially in the context of the citation of Homer in the previous line. Λαοί is indeed the Homeric word for 'people', but this is not a quotation from Homer, because there are no lines from the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* where the sequence -ται λαοὶ ὣc occurs. It could be a paraphrase of a Homeric passage, as happens in the rest of the entries, where historians and antiquarians are not quoted verbatim but rather paraphrased. If here Homer was not quoted literally, it would indeed confirm the hypothesis suggested at line 5 that Homer was cited not because the lemma was a poetic word, but because he could serve as an example of the use of a dialectal or foreign word. Since the glossographer's interest in Homer would not lie in Homer's poetic diction but rather in his use of just one word, there would be no need to quote the Homeric hexameter exactly, nor even to report the entire line. If this is the case, Homer here would be equated to the other authorities quoted to explain a lemma, or even to the Eastern people who used those foreign words.

7]   αντ[. This is the beginning of another explanation whose lemma was on the left hand side, in the lost part of the fragment.

Fr. 12

2]ωτω ἐν δι[. The preposition ἐν here may introduce a title of a work, the source of the explanation, perhaps preceded by παρά and the name of the author in the dative (]ωτω?).

3]ων Παναί[τιοc?]. The supplement Παναί[τιοc] is attractive, as it is in keeping with the rest of the learned quotations of this glossary and also with the other Rhodian source quoted in fr. 11, 3. Still, a reading]ων πᾶν αι[cannot be ruled out.

4–5 [παρ]ὰ Κρησὶν α[... | ...]ας Κρήτ[. The entry seems to deal with a Cretan gloss. The repetition of the root Κρήτ- makes it likely that both lines are part of the same entry.

6]ͺ.ͺης. This is the end of an entry, perhaps the same entry as in lines 4–5.

Fr. 13

The papyrus fragment is missing, thus I have provided Lobel's transcript.

2]ͺυκα[. Among other possibilities, one can read, as Lobel suggested, [Ἰ]τυκα[ῖ-]. If this is the case, this would be another quotation from Dionysius of Utica as above in fr. 3, i, 13 (] Διονύϲιοϲ ὁ Ἰτυκαῖοϲ).

Fr. 15

1]ͺκρηϲφͺ[. Is this another Cretan gloss? If so, one should read]ͺ Κρὴϲ φ.[.

2]νιερειϲ[. One can perhaps read]νι ερειϲ[or, more likely,]ν ἱερεῖϲ[, as suggested by Peter Parsons.

In line 3 there is no trace of writing. Perhaps this line was shorter than the previous ones because the entry reached an end here. If so, the sequence]εκατιλ[in line 4 pertains to another entry.

Fr. 16

2]μαρδ ͺ[. The word may be Μάρδο[ι] (mentioned in fr. 3, i, 4) or derivatives. Since the word is set in *ekthesis* with respect to lines 3 and 4, this is probably the lemma.

3] οϲ[. The space marks it as part of an explanation, either referring to the previous lemma or, less likely, to another lemma.

4] [ ]ζ ͺ[. Though before ζ the papyrus is partly missing, there are no traces of ink. On the left of the lacuna the papyrus is blank. So ζ (whether or not preceded by another letter in lacuna) is part of an explanation. Again this explanation can refer either to the lemma]μαρδ ͺ[in line 2 or to a different one, which could have been placed in line 3 or 4. Based on the alignment of the fragment, the most likely hypothesis is that lines 2–4 pertain to the same entry whose lemma was probably Μάρδοι in line 2.

5]μ . [.]η[. This is again the beginning of another entry, probably starting with μ.

If this fragment contained words in μ, as it appears from lines 2 and 5, it would be a good guess that this scrap belonged to fr. 3, i. There is support for this view in the fact that the other sides (front) of both display tops of columns. Moreover Μάρδοι are mentioned in fr. 3, i, 4, which could suggest that this scrap belongs to that column (and perhaps is part of the same entry). It is not possible, however, to join this fragment with fr. 3, i, at lines 3 or 4, unless we assume a gap in between.

Fr. 17

3 [Γ]εωργικ[ῶν?]. Lobel's suggestion to read [Γ]εωργικ[ῶν] is good. It would thus be a citation from a work Περὶ γεωργικῶν. A parallel expression is to be found in fr. 18, line 5. The quotation might come from Dionysius of Utica, already cited in fr. 3, i, 13. According to the Sch. Luc. 46.3.6 (p. 193.18 Rabe), which quotes Διονύςιος ὁ Ἰτυκαῖος ἐν πρώτῳ Γεωργικῶν, his translation of Mago's Γεωργικά contained more than one book. Thus a genitive Γεωργικῶν depending either on the book number (so: ἐν ⁻ Γεωργικῶν) or on περί still preceded by the book number with ἐν (so: ἐν ⁻ Περὶ Γεωργικῶν) could be meant here.

Fr. 18

The handwriting appears slightly different from that of the other fragments: ω has the same flat and large bowl, but α has a more rounded loop than usual. This however might be due to a change or sharpening of the pen. The content, in any case, is in line with that of the rest of the glossary.

1–2]Δ̣[|] . [. .] . [. What seems to be a capital Δ is followed right below in line 2 by a triangular shape, which is quite large and shallow (in the transcription of line 2 it is the first] . [ ). This triangular shape might be another capital Δ and in this case, if this fragment is part of the glossary, the only possibility is that here the beginning of the letter Δ started. A capital letter at the beginning of the group of entries starting with that letter is a common feature in lexica and glossaries from late antiquity preserved in medieval manuscripts. The repetition of the letter could be ornamental, as happens in beginning- or end-titles of Homeric books in pa-

pyri.[156] If instead the shape in line 2 is not a capital Δ but a drawing, it could still be part of the ornamentation placed at the beginning of the entries starting with Δ. The two blank spaces in lines 3 and 4 seem to confirm that after lines 1 and 2 there is a sort of caesura in the text. The letters in line 5 would thus belong to the first entry of lemmata beginning with *delta*.

The problem with this hypothesis is that a portion of the glossary dealing with words beginning with *delta* would be considerably detached from the rest of the fragments, which deal with words beginning with *kappa*, *lambda*, *mu* and, perhaps, *omicron*. The problem could be solved if what we see in lines 1 and 2 were not letters at all but simply drawings with a triangular shape that the scribe added here for some reason, but which have no connection whatsoever with the alphabetical ordering of the entries in the glossary. If so, the lemmata contained in this fragment could start with any letter.

5 [ἐ]ν γ̄ Γεωρ[γικῶν]. Probably it indicates the third book of a work dealing with γεωργικά. A similar work, or at least something connected with the root γεωργικ-, is quoted in fr. 17 (and perhaps also in fr. 3, i, 14, in the lacuna, after the reference to Dionysius of Utica at line 13).

6] ̣αιδιαν[. One possibility is to read] καὶ δι᾽ αὐ[τό].

Fr. 19

According to Lobel this is the top of column, as may be inferred from the other side. Nothing of the upper margin, however, can be seen above] ̣α[in line 1.

2]ᾱρ[. The first letter is a numeral, presumably a book number, as in other entries. Only in fr. 3, ii, 3 is ᾱ used to indicate an adverb, πρῶτον or πρῶτα, 'at first'. It cannot be excluded that the same happens here, but from the structure of the glossary, in which each entry presents the source of the explanation, it seems more likely that ᾱ indicates a book number, the first book of a work quoted as a source for the gloss. After a number we would expect the title of the work, normally quoted as περὶ + genitive.

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156 See for example the passage from *Iliad* 12 to *Iliad* 13 in the Morgan Homer, a papyrus codex of the third/fourth century AD. The end of *Iliad* 12 has an elaborated end-title: ΙΛΙΑΔΟC MM. Below, the beginning of *Iliad* 13 is marked by two capitals: NN. Cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff & Plaumann 1912, 1209–1210, and Schironi (forthcoming), papyrus no. 43.

Here, however, reading a π instead of a ϱ after α can be excluded, since the loop of the ϱ is visible beyond doubt. With a ϱ, the title here would be given in the genitive, as happens in Ath. 4.158d: Λυсίμαχος ἐν τρίτῳ Νόстων or in Ath. 9.384e: Ἀντικλείδης δ᾽ ἐν η Νόстων. Possible titles would be: Ῥητορικῆс (Τέχνης), Ῥωμαίων Ἱсτορίας, Ῥωμαικῆс Ἀρχαιολογίας, and the like.

Fr. 20

4]˙co˙˙[. After co two uprights with traces of ink at mid-level are visible. If it is one letter, η is the only possibility. If the letters are two (which is more likely), they are an *iota* followed by an upright, which could be γ, π, ι, or ϱ.

5]˙ι˙[. This is probably the end of a lemma followed by the beginning of the explanation, if the speck of ink on the right edge of the fragment belongs to this line and is indeed a remnant of a letter, not just a spot of ink. Otherwise, if there is no writing after]˙ι, the *iota* is the end of the explanation.

Fr. 23

2]κα˙ει[. One could perhaps read] καλεῖ[ται], a verb used to introduce a lexical explanation.

Fr. 24

A blank space is visible after]ων in line 1, after]ην in line 2, and after]˙ου in line 4. In line 3 there is no trace of writing. Since in lines 3 and 4 the fragment extends considerably beyond what is preserved in lines 1 and 2 and is blank, it is clear that lines 1, 2 and 4 show the ends of explanations, whereas in line 3 the explanation ended before, on the left, and is lost.

Fr. 25

1] ̣ μα[. On the left edge of the fragment there is a curving upright with traces of the horizontal mid stroke projecting on the left; perhaps]ημα[.

2] ̣ θ[. Before θ there is a triangular shape, suggesting α or λ

Fr. 26

The little fragment shows blank space above and below line 2. Line 2 might thus come from the end of an explanation.

10. Conclusions

For the first time, the Oxyrhynchus Glossary has been fully edited and provided with a commentary. The fragments, with unavoidable lacunae, include lemmata beginning with κ, λ and μ, and allow us to reconstruct the original layout of the glossary. Each entry consisted of (1) a lemma, (2) an explanation, and, almost always, (3) a quotation of an antiquarian or erudite source where the explanation of the gloss was found. This glossary is certainly the product of a great library, most likely of Alexandria, where all the ethnographical, historical and antiquarian works cited in the text would have been available in the same place. Since none of the works quoted by the Oxyrhynchus Glossary, as far as we can identify them, go beyond the first century BC, the glossary was most likely written between the first century BC and the first century AD. This dating, together with the striking (and almost unique) similarities with Hesychius, has led to the hypothesis that the Oxyrhynchus Glossary is related to the tradition of Pamphilus. Although it was probably not written by Pamphilus himself, the Oxyrhynchus Glossary is most likely a by-product of his huge lexicon, like the work of Diogenianus and the Γλῶccαι κατὰ πόλεις.

10.1 Problems in Editing the Oxyrhynchus Glossary

The Oxyrhynchus Glossary is of great importance for the study of Hellenistic scholarship. The interest that the author of this text shows not only in Greek dialects but also in other people and other languages makes it a unique witness to the contacts between Greeks and non-Greeks in the post-Alexander world. These characteristics also make the Oxyrhynchus Glossary a challenge to edit because of the difficulty of reconstructing its text. The problems encountered in working with these foreign γλῶccαι are many. We need first of all to understand what the author or his sources meant by labels such as 'Persian', 'Babylonian', and 'Chaldaean'. This issue is complicated by the fact that in the Near East the succession of empires (Hittite, Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian) had created a very peculiar situation in which Indo-European languages (like Persian and Hittite)

and Semitic languages (like Akkadian, Assyrian, Babylonian and Aramaic) were spoken in the same areas and often by the same people. The way these languages were written was also confusing. On the one hand, the cuneiform script, invented for a Semitic language, was adopted (in a different version created almost *ex novo*) by the Persians to write an Indo-European language. On the other hand, the Aramaic alphabet became more and more common in those regions and was probably the dominant script by the time our glossary was composed.

This particularly difficult linguistic situation could be in part responsible for the other great problem we face with the Oxyrhynchus Glossary: the fact that most of the supposedly Persian, Babylonian, and Chaldaean words cannot be recognized as part of the language they are said to belong to. With only one exception, μιληχ (fr. 3, iii, 12–13), which can reasonably be interpreted as *MLK*, *m(e)lēk*, 'king' in Aramaic, the origins of the non-Greek γλῶccαι are all a matter of guesswork. In some cases we are not even able to advance any hypothesis. Some additional problems emerge with the entries discussing words 'among Persians'. First, we do not know what stage of Persian the glosses reflect (Old or Middle?). Second, it is impossible to know whether in the glossary 'Persian' means any Iranian language or only the language that was characteristic of South West Iran (the Fars province). Both of these factors have a significant impact on the Iranian forms that we can attempt to identify behind the glosses that are labeled as 'Persian'.

Thus most of the lemmata do not yield any useful information about the original languages and can only be testimony of the author's interest in the 'others'. They also demonstrate the problems that Greeks faced when hearing or transcribing words from different languages.

10.2 The Oxyrhynchus Glossary and Greek Glossography

If the Oxyrhynchus Glossary does not testify to the ability of the Greeks to learn new languages (a fact that does not surprise us), it is nonetheless an excellent example of Hellenistic glossography. This is clear when the Oxyrhynchus Glossary is compared to the rest of ancient lexicography and glossography that has reached us, either on papyrus or through the medieval tradition. This glossary stands out among similar texts for the following reasons:

1. Strict alphabetical order.
2. Lack of interest in poetic language.
3. Interest in words from Greek dialects and 'foreign' languages.
4. Richness of direct quotations from antiquarians, historians, and eth-nographers in order to explain the lemmata.

All these characteristics are present together only in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary. These stylistic peculiarities, however, are not the only features of the Oxyrhynchus Glossary that make it so special. To properly assess the real importance of this document it is first necessary to understand the attitude of the author towards the glosses collected. Does this glossary demonstrate genuine interest in dialects or foreign languages? Can the Oxyrhynchus Glossary be considered a unique and ancient example of 'linguistic' studies during the Hellenistic era?

To answer these questions, it is worth looking at the phrasing of this glossary and at the structure of the entries. In most of the entries the lemma is followed by the 'translation', which usually also gives the origin of the γλῶσσα. The way this is done is almost always the same: lemma X παρὰ + dative (παρὰ Πέρσαις, παρὰ Λυδοῖς, παρὰ Χαλδαίοις, παρὰ Ῥοδ[ίοις?]). Twice a *verbum dicendi* in the passive form is added: [παρ᾽ ἑτ]έροις Μάρδοι κ[α]λοῦνται (fr. 3, i, 4) and οὕτω λέγονται παρὰ Ῥοδ[ίοις?] (fr. 3, iii, 18). Less frequently, the gloss is introduced with ὑπό and genitive: μέροπες: οἱ ἄφρονες ὑπὸ Εὐβοέων (fr. 3, ii, 20) and μιληχ: γεν῾να῾ῖον ὑπὸ Ἀλβανίων (fr. 3, iii, 12). On one occasion we find κατά with accusative: θάλασσα κατὰ Πέρσας (fr. 10a, 9) and once ἐν + dative and a *verbum dicendi* (or, better, *nominandi*): ἐν Ταρσῷ καὶ Σόλοις τὰς δέλτους … προσαγορεύεσθαι (fr. 3, iii, 5–6). The entry ends almost in-variably with the quotation of the sources for the gloss.

This pattern is revealing of the glossographer's attitude towards the words he was collecting and explaining. In the way its entries are struc-tured and phrased, the Oxyrhynchus Glossary does not betray any sense that the objects here collected are indeed words 'uttered' by living beings. We never find expressions like: οὕτως λέγουσι/φασι οἱ Χαλ-δαῖοι, οἱ Πέρσαι, οἱ Ῥόδιοι ('the Chaldaeans, the Persians, the Rhodians say …'),[1] but always παρὰ τοῖς … or κατὰ τοὺς … and, with very few

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1   The only possible case of an active construction might be in fr. 3, ii, 23: μες[ο]τέλεστον: τὸ ἡμιτέλεστον Αἰτωλούς .[. Here Αἰτωλούς could be the sub-ject of an active infinitive of a *verbum dicendi* as for example μες[ο]τέλεστον: τὸ ἡμιτέλεστον Αἰτωλούς φ[ησιν ὁ δεῖνα καλεῖν]".

exceptions, this phrase is not even followed by a passive form of the *verbum dicendi*. This is a nominal construction, presupposing only a form of εἶναι (ἐϲτί or εἰϲί), so that the phrasing is: 'among the Chaldaeans, the Persians, the Rhodians there is this word'. It is worth noting that this is not the normal style in the rest of the grammatical literature. In other works concerned with language, linguistic analysis and glosses, the use of active verbs denoting the idea of 'utterance' (e. g. λέγουϲι) and pronunciation (e. g. ὀξύνουϲι, ψιλοῦϲι, δαϲύνουϲι) is well documented.[2] Though minimal, this syntactic change in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary is revealing of the attitude of our glossographer: the glosses are here seen as 'objects' found in a particular geographical area, as if they were strange items, local traditions, unfamiliar objects from daily life, or unusual architectural styles. Words are just seen as curiosities worth noting; something that a traveler would write in his notes. Later on, his notes would sit in a library waiting for a scholar to rediscover them and put them in his erudite books. These γλῶϲϲαι are not utterances or speech-acts. Rather, they are seen as something fixed and permanent, hence collectable. They do not seem to have a history or an evolution, in accord with the inner nature of languages, which constantly transform themselves. The Oxyrhynchus Glossary is thus a collection of words not 'spoken by some people', but rather 'read in some books'. It is a bookish collection, written by someone who has read widely but has never been in touch with the original sources.

To clarify this point, it is important to understand that such a collection of linguistic *mirabilia* presupposes two steps. First, there is a sort of 'field research', the autopsy, the ἱϲτορία. A historian or, more likely, a curious periegete travels in a particular region. He collects curiosities and anecdotes from the area he is exploring, as well as words. These words are probably collected not with a personal knowledge of the local lan-

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2   See, for example, Ap. Dysc. *Pron*. 111.17 τὴν ἡμέτεροϲ, κατὰ τὸν κτήτορα οὖϲαν πληθυντικήν, διχῶϲ λέγουϲι Δωριεῖϲ· ἁμέτεροϲ γὰρ καὶ ἁμόϲ, καὶ ὑμέτεροϲ καὶ ὑμόϲ. Ap. Dysc. *Synt*. 54.2 οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Ἕλληνεϲ δαϲύνουϲι τὰ ἐν τῇ λέξει φωνήεντα, Αἰολεῖϲ δὲ μόνον ψιλοῦϲι. Ath. 2.56a ΕΛΑΑΙ. Εὔπολιϲ (fr. 338 PCG)· 'ϲηπίαι δρυπεπεῖϲ τ' ἐλᾶαι.' ταύταϲ Ῥωμαῖοι δρύππαϲ λέγουϲι. Hsch. α 391 Ἄγγελον· Ϲυρακούϲιοι τὴν Ἄρτεμιν λέγουϲι. Choerob. *In Theod. Can*. 1.326.12 καὶ τὸ τραχύτηϲ καὶ κουφότηϲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὀξύνουϲι τραχυτήϲ καὶ κουφότηϲ λέγοντεϲ. Choerob. *In Theod. Can*. 2.44.22 οἱ γὰρ Αἰολεῖϲ ψιλωτικοὶ ὄντεϲ τὰ δύο ρρ ψιλοῦϲιν. *Ep. Hom*. ο 99 (p. 575.58 Dyck) τὸ δὲ ὅτε οἱ Αἰολεῖϲ ὅτα λέγουϲι, Λάκωνεϲ δὲ ὄκα. EM 314.57 ἰϲτέον δὲ ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ ἐγώ ἔγωγε λέγουϲι.

guage or dialect, but rather through the help of interpreters. In this process, the Hellenistic Greek periegete learns a local word in the same way he collects a local tradition: they are both curiosities, and in his eyes there is no difference at all between, for example, a local ritual, a local food, and a word of the local language. The word is not inserted in the wider context of the language or of the dialect but remains an isolated peculiarity of the people he is interested in.

The second step is the collection of all these γλῶccαι in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary. The person who composes the glossary has the same attitude as the periegete, that is, he too is not particularly sensitive to the linguistic nature of the material he is dealing with. Another level of remove is added because the glossographer works in his library, far from the actual places and people, with the result that exotic words become an intellectual curiosity dissociated from their origins. The library, however, has the advantage of allowing the author of the glossary to access information from many different places all around the new Hellenistic world, information that a single traveler could not collect even in a lifetime. In a large library, the glossographer can systematically read the entire antiquarian and erudite literature at his disposal, select all the strange words that attract his attention, and finally order all these 'linguistic' *mirabilia* alphabetically. Indeed, the strict alphabetical order is probably the most 'linguistically oriented' feature of the Oxyrhynchus Glossary. But the interest that led our glossographer to collect them is the same as that of the periegete: interest in 'other' realities, in θαύματα from more or less faraway places.

In brief, the scholar who collected the words in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary was an 'armchair' glossographer, working in a library. He took these glosses from books: collections of *mirabilia*, histories, periegeses, and in general the erudite literature that flourished in the Hellenistic period. There is not a single case where the gloss seems to be derived from the personal experience of the glossographer, from direct contact with people speaking the language under consideration. Instead, he is collecting and recording curiosities read in various learned books. The presence of a very rich library is thus essential for the making of the Oxyrhynchus Glossary. This is why Alexandria seems the most likely candidate.

Perhaps as a consequence of this attitude, the Oxyrhynchus Glossary does not seem to distinguish between dialects and languages. When giving the linguistic origin of the lemma, our glossographer does not seem to care whether a word is Greek – even though it might be Euboean, a var-

iety of Ionian Greek – or not Greek, such as 'Babylonian' or 'Chaldaean'. The fact that a word might be Greek (and therefore not 'foreign') or belong to a different language with different phonetics and sounds does not seem to bother him. Here Persians are considered on the same level as Rhodians or Aetolians. The criterion followed by the author of our glossary is geographic (or ethnographic) but not linguistic.[3] This is confirmed by the fact that, together with words that belong to a Greek dialect or a foreign language, the Oxyrhynchus Glossary also includes glosses that, while they indicate unfamiliar objects or animals, are themselves purely standard koine Greek. In this sense, from the Hellenistic glossographer's point of view, there is no linguistic difference at all between μενεμανι, allegedly 'water' in Persian, μινῶδες, the name of grape-vines in Rhodian dialect, a variety of Doric, and μελῳδία, a koine Greek word. There seems to be no awareness that the first is from a different language and the second from a Greek dialect, while the third is just an unusual word from normal koine Greek. The glosses are gathered together here only because they are interesting for what they mean and the relationship between signified and signifier is not obvious.

The lack of differentiation between, say, Persian and Rhodian, together with the fact that there is no sense that these glosses are actually part of spoken languages, used by real people, seems to lead almost to a cancellation of the very concept of language differentiation. Thus the 'translation' is needed not because of the difference of language but because of difference of context. A very good example of this is the gloss μῆτραι (fr. 3, iii, 5–7). When Aristotle (and our glossographer) said that 'metrai' meant writing tablets on which houses were registered at Tarsus and Soli, were they conscious that the word might not have been Greek? Or did they consider μήτρα just a Greek word used in a technical sense, in the administration of a faraway (Greek) city – a word like, for example, ἔφορος at Sparta? The question is legitimate because there is indeed a word μήτρα in Greek, which is moreover present in our glossary in the preceding entry (fr. 3, iii, 4). This μήτρα means a type of bee, and there too Aristotle is the authority quoted. Aristotle had thus encountered the word μήτρα used in at least two different senses. Did Aristotle and

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3 Although the Greeks distinguished between Greek dialects on the one hand, and non-Greek languages on the other, a lack of precise taxonomic distinction between dialects (of languages) and languages (as such) among the Greeks, at least before the first century BC, has been noted by many scholars. Cf. Hainsworth 1967, Morpurgo Davies 2002, 161–163, 169, and Harrison 1998.

our glossographer think that the one Greek word simply had these differ-
ent two meanings, a bee in mainland Greece and administrative docu-
ments in Tarsus and Soli? Or did they wonder whether the second might
have been a transcription of a totally different non-Greek word? This is
the question that someone with a genuine linguistic interest would have
asked himself.

Another important point is that Hellenistic glossography, as examplified
by the Oxyrhynchus Glossary, seems to be interested mainly in 'nomen-
clature'.[4] The difference between languages and dialects is perceived
here as a difference between nouns, since none of the lemmata of the
Oxyrhynchus Glossary is a verbal form,[5] or an adverb, or any other
grammatical category. They are all nouns.[6] This may be unsurprising,
since we are dealing with a glossary that, by default, collects γλῶccαι,
'exotic ὀνόματα' according to the definition given by Aristotle in *Poet.*
1457b1–5. In this case, however, the interest in nouns goes beyond this,
because in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary these glosses are somehow 'ab-
stracted' from grammatical categories; they become 'objects', detached
from any spoken context, collected not because of a conscious interest in
a different language, but rather out of a curiosity for 'exotic' objects. This
view is in fact in keeping with the Aristotelian definition of a γλῶccα: a
γλῶccα is what the 'other people' use, as opposed to the normal usage in
the reality close to the author (Artist. *Poet.* 1457b3 λέγω δὲ κύριον μὲν ᾧ
χρῶνται ἔκαστοι, γλῶτταν δὲ ᾧ ἕτεροι). In other words, in Aristotle the
focus is not on the linguistic aspect of the word but on the people who use
(or not) a certain word.

The lack of a developed sense of dialects and linguistic differentia-
tion in our papyrus and, I would contend, in early glossography as a
whole does not mean that the Greeks in the Hellenistic period had no con-
cept of dialects and linguistic differences at all. Of course they did, but
this is not reflected in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary. This glossary is a col-
lection of erudition and curiosities, not a treatise on languages or lin-
guistic sensitivity.

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4   Cf. Hainsworth 1967, 69–70, and Harrison 1998.
5   The only doubtful case could be at fr. 4, 8, but only the ending (]ϲειν) is pre-
     served, and it could well be a foreign noun.
6   And adjectives like μεϲ[ο]τέλεϲτον (fr. 3, ii, 23), which were counted as nouns
     in the Greek grammatical terminology. Cf. Matthaios 1999, 210–211, 240–241.

As for the Greek dialects, the real beginnings of dialectology are to be found in the exegesis of poetry, rather than in glossaries such as the Oxyrhynchus Glossary. Since different literary genres in Greece were often characterized by different dialects, it was almost necessary for anyone who wanted to work on them as a philologist to know about the dialects they were written in. To produce an edition of or a commentary on Sappho without knowing the peculiarities of Aeolic is simply impossible. The Hellenistic scholars thus became interested in Ionic, Aeolic, or Doric dialects because they read Homer, Sappho, and Pindar and wanted to prepare good editions of these authors. That this was the process that led to dialectology is confirmed by P.Bouriant 8, which is dated in the second century AD and is the oldest evidence of dialectology on a papyrus. *Prima facie* it is a treatise on Aeolic, but all the examples are taken from Sappho and Alcaeus, not from the spoken dialect. Thus it is probably only because Greek literature was written in different (literary) dialects that Greek grammarians took an interest in dialects at all.

The question is different for foreign languages. The ancient Greeks never really mastered other people's languages, because the only language worthy of the name was Greek. The others just 'mumbled', ἐβαρ-βάριζον. Probably the best example of the attitude towards 'foreign' languages among Greek grammarians is that of Philoxenos, working at Rome in the first century BC. He wrote a treatise entitled Περὶ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτου (frr. 311–329 Theodoridis), the main point of which was to show how Latin was in reality a form of Aeolic. The best compliment a Greek φιλόλογος could make to a foreign language was indeed that of promoting it to the level of a Greek dialect, thus rendering it worthy of some scholarly attention. The Oxyrhynchus Glossary testifies to the same attitude: it shows a superficial interest for other languages. The Chaldaeans, Babylonians, and Persians were βάρβαροι. They did not have an articulated language worth studying and their words were never seen as belonging to independent and legitimate languages. Yet these linguistic 'objects' were interesting for the Hellenistic periegetes and historians. They were θαύματα from the Near East, marvelous curiosities that the Oxyrhynchus Glossary has preserved for us.

Old and New Numeration of the Oxyrhynchus Glossary Fragments

P.Oxy. XV 1802 (Hunt in Grenfell & Hunt 1922)	P.Oxy. LXXI 4812 (Schironi 2007)	Oxyrhynchus Glossary
Fr. 1		Fr. 1
Fr. 2, i and ii	Fr. 2, i and ii (+ new fr.)	Fr. 2, i and ii
Fr. 3, i, and Fr. 5	Fr. 3, i + 2 new fr. + Fr. 5	Fr. 3, i
Fr. 3, ii		Fr. 3, ii
Fr. 3, iii		Fr. 3, iii
Fr. 4		Fr. 4
Fr. 6 and Fr. 9	Fr. 6 + 9 (+ 2 new fr.)	Fr. 5
Fr. 7		Fr. 6
Fr. 8		Fr. 7
Fr. 10		Fr. 8 (missing at revision)
Fr. 11		Fr. 9 (missing at revision)
	Fr. 12a	Fr. 10a
	Fr. 12b	Fr. 10b
	Fr. 13	Fr. 11
	Fr. 14	Fr. 12
	Fr. 15	Fr. 13 (missing at revision)
	Fr. 16	Fr. 14
	Fr. 17	Fr. 15
	Fr. 18	Fr. 16
	Fr. 19	Fr. 17
	Fr. 20	Fr. 18
	Fr. 21	Fr. 19
	Fr. 22	Fr. 20
	Fr. 23	Fr. 21
	Fr. 24	Fr. 22
	Fr. 25	Fr. 23
	Fr. 26	Fr. 24
	Fr. 27	Fr. 25
	Fr. 28	Fr. 26

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Indices

1. Greek Words in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary

References are to fragment number, column, and line.
Square brackets indicate that a word has been substantially restored.

Ἀθηνᾶ Fr. 3, iii, 1
Ἀθηνάδιον Fr. 3, iii, 2
αἶμα Fr. 3, iii, 8
Αἰτωλός Fr. 3, ii, 23
Ἀλβάνιος Fr. 3, iii, 12
ἄμπελος Fr. 3, iii, 18
Ἄνδρων Fr. 3, ii, 18
Ἀντικλείδης Fr. 3, i, 5
Ἀπολλόδωρος Fr. 3, ii, 1
ἀριθμός Fr. 3, iii, 14
ἀριστερός Fr. 3, ii, 9
Ἀριστοτέλης [Fr. 2, i, 8]; Fr. 3, ii,
    22; Fr. 3, iii, 4; [Fr. 3, iii, 6–7]
ἁρμονία Fr. 3, iii, 10
Ἀσία Fr. 3, i, 10; Fr. 3, i, 17–18
Ἀσκληπιάδης Fr. 3, i, 6
Αὐτοκλείδης Fr. 3, iii, 9
ἄφρων Fr. 3, ii, 20

Βαβυλών Fr. 3, iii, 15; Fr. 3, iii, 20
Βαβυλωνιακός Fr. 5, 20;
    Fr. 10a, 10
βάρβαρος Fr. 3, ii, 19
βασιλεύς Fr. 3, ii, 4; Fr. 5, 1
Βήρωσος Fr. 5, 20
Βήρωσσος Fr. 10a, 9
βλέφαρον Fr. 5, 6
βοτάνη Fr. 3, ii, 12–13

γενναῖος [Fr. 3, iii, 12]
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γεωργικός Fr. 17, 3; Fr. 18, 5
Γλαῦκος Fr. 3, ii, 8
γυναῖκες (θεσμοφοριάζουσαι) Fr.
    3, ii, 7

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δέλτος Fr. 3, iii, 5
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δημόσιος [Fr. 3, iii, 6]
Διονύσιος Fr. 3, ii, 20
Διονύσιος (ὁ Ἰτυκαῖος) Fr. 3, i, 13

εἶδος Fr. 3, ii, 21; Fr. 3, iii, 4
ἐντοσθίδια Fr. 10a, 7
ἐξήγησις Fr. 3, ii, 8
ἐξηγητικόν (βιβλίον) [Fr. 3, iii, 9]
ἑξήκοντα Fr. 3, ii, 4–5
ἐπιγράφεσθαι [Fr. 3, iii, 2];
    Fr. 3, iii, 9
Ἐρασίστρατος Fr. 10a, 7–8
ἔργον (τῆς Περσεφόνης) Fr. 3, ii, 2
Ἑστιαῖος Fr. 10a, 5–6
Εὐβοεύς Fr. 3, ii, 20
εὐρυχωρία Fr. 3, i, 23

ζῦτος Fr. 3, ii, 14
ζῷον Fr. 3, ii, 22; [Fr. 3, iii, 4]

Ἡγήσανδρος [Fr. 3, i, 12];
    Fr. 3, iii, 21
ἥλιος Fr. 3, iii, 11
ἡμιτέλεστος Fr. 3, ii, 23
Ἡρακλείδης Fr. 3, iii, 13

θάλασσα Fr. 10a, 9
θεσμοφοριάζουσαι (γυναῖκες) Fr.
    3, ii, 7
Θεσσαλός [Fr. 2, i, 8]
θησαυρός [Fr. 10a, 3]
θυγάτηρ Fr. 3, ii, 4

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φωνή Fr. 3, iii, 13

Χαλδαῖος Fr. 3, iii, 10; Fr. 3, iii, 14;
    Fr. 3, iii, 19; [Fr. 5, 6]
Χαλκίοικος (ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ) Fr. 3, iii, 1

2. Non-Greek Words in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary

References are to fragment number,
    column, and line.

μελύγιον Fr. 3, ii, 8; Fr. 3, ii, 11
μενεμανι Fr. 3, ii, 17

μερμνάδης Fr. 3, ii, 18
μιθοργ Fr. 3, iii, 10
μιληχ Fr. 3, iii, 12
μινοδολόεσσα Fr. 3, iii, 14
μισαι Fr. 3, iii, 19

3. Ancient Titles Quoted in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary

References are to fragment number, column, and line.
Square brackets indicate that a title or author's name has been substan-
tially restored.

Βαβυλωνιακά by Βήρως(σ)ος: Fr.
    5, 20; Fr. 10a, 9–10.
Γεωργικά: [Fr. 17, 3]; Fr. 18, 5
Ἐξήγησις τόπων τῶν κειμένων ἐπ'
    ἀριστερὰ τοῦ Πόντου μέρη by
    Γλαῦκος: Fr. 3, ii, 8–9
Ἐξηγητικόν by Αὐτοκλείδης: Fr. 3,
    iii, 9
[Θεσσαλῶν] πολιτεία: Fr. 2, i, 8
Ξένη φωνή by Ἡρακλείδης: Fr. 3,
    iii, 13
Ὀψαρτυτικόν by Ἐρασίστρατος:
    Fr. 10a, 7–8
Περὶ … by Ξενοφῶν: Fr. 5, 21
Περὶ … by ὁ Ῥόδιος …: Fr. 11, 3
(Περὶ θεῶν?) by Ἀπολλόδωρος: Fr.
    3, ii, 1
Περὶ ποταμῶν: Fr. 3, iii, 16–17
Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ἀσίαν: Fr. 3, i, 10;
    Fr. 3, i, 17–18

Περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς
    βαρβάρους by Ἄνδρων: Fr. 3,
    ii, 18–19
Περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις μορίων
    by Ἀριστοτέλης: Fr. 3, ii, 22;
    [Fr. 3, iii, 4]
Περὶ Φοινίκης by Ἑστιαῖος: Fr.
    10a, 5–6
Περσικά by Δείνων: Fr. 3, ii, 17
… πολιτεία: Fr. 2, i, 4; Fr. 3, i, 21
Σκυθικά: Fr. 3, i, 1
Σολέων πολιτεία by Ἀριστοτέλης:
    Fr. 3, iii, 6–7
Ὑπομνήματα by [Ἡγήσανδρος]:
    Fr. 3, i, 12
Ὑπομνήματα by Καλλίμαχος: Fr. 3,
    ii, 15–16

Possible titles:
Τῶν κατὰ Βαβυλῶνα (?): Fr. 3, iii,
    14–15; Fr. 3, iii, 20
(Τῶν) κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην (?): Fr. 5, 10

4. Non-English Words Discussed

(Words discussed in the Introduction, the Commentary, and the Con-
clusions)

5. Ancient Sources and Papyri

(Quoted in the Introduction, the Commentary, and the Conclusions)

Adespota iambica
    Frs. 43–48 West 33 n. 22

Aelian
    De Natura Animalium 11.30
        94

Aeschylus
    Choephoroe 944 101
    Eumenides 177 101

Apollodorus of Athens
    FGrHist 244 F 83–87 16 n. 11
    FGrHist 244 F 83 b 16 n. 11
    FGrHist 244 F 89 10, 82 n. 17

FGrHist 244 F 96 84
FGrHist 244 F 97 84
FGrHist 244 F 101 83 n. 19
FGrHist 244 F 147 83 n. 19
FGrHist 244 F 175 88 n. 31
FGrHist 244 F 316 77 n. 6

Apollonius Dyscolus
    De Pronominibus 111.17
        135 n. 2
    De Syntaxi 54.2 135 n. 2

Apollonius Sophista
    Lexicon Homericum 111.22
        92 n. 49

6. Subjects Index

(Subjects discussed in the Introduction, the Commentary, and the Con-clusions)

Plate 1

Fr. 1 (P.Oxy. XV 1802, fr. 1), cm 1.7 × 6.8

Fr. 2, i and ii (P.Oxy. XV 1802, fr. 2, i and ii + new fr.), 4.5 × 5.1

Plate 2

Fr. 3, i, ii, and iii (P.Oxy. XV 1802, fr. 3, i, ii, iii + fr. 5 new fragments), cm 34.3 × 16.9
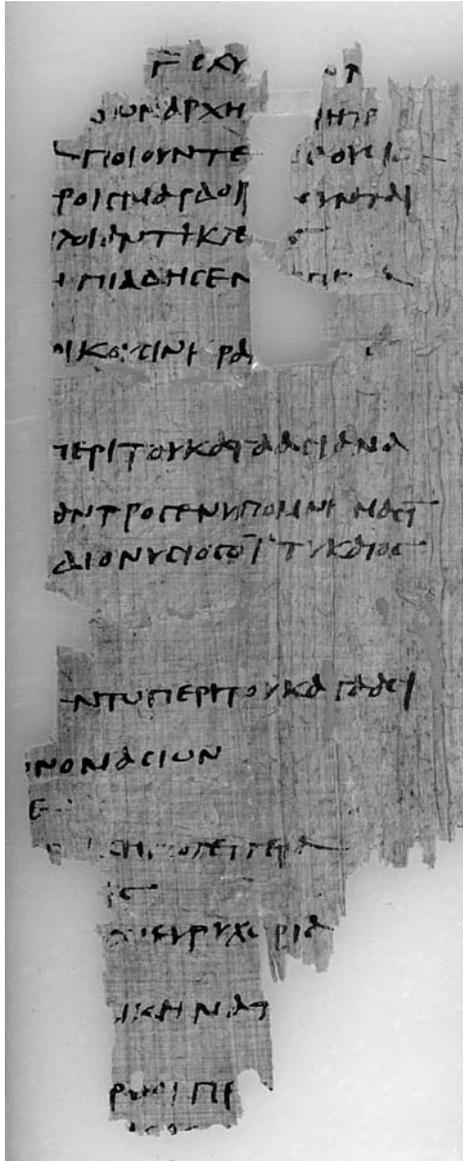
Plate 3

Fr. 3, i (P.Oxy. XV 1802, fr. 3, i + fr. 5 + 2 new fragments), cm 5.8 × 14.4

Plate 4

Fr. 3, ii (P.Oxy. XV 1802, fr. 3, ii), cm 15.9 × 12.4
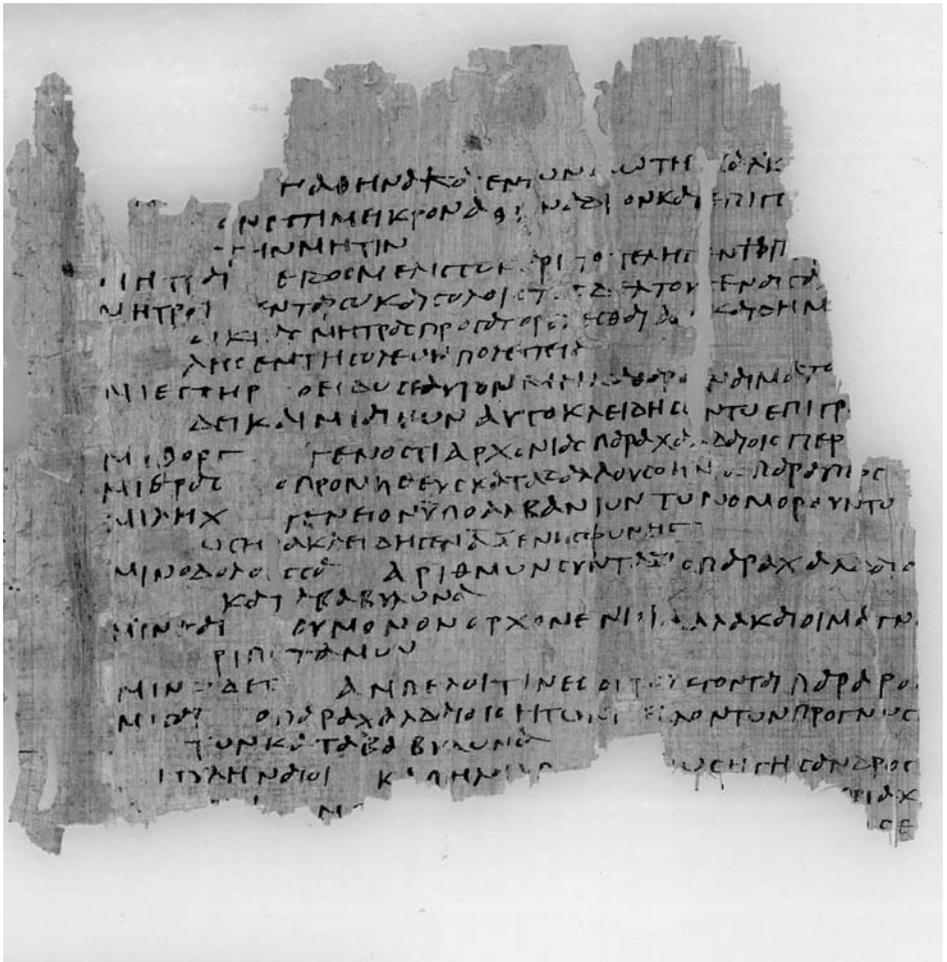
Plate 5

Fr. 3, iii (P.Oxy. XV 1802, fr. 3, iii), cm 13.2 × 11.8

Plate 6

Fr. 4 (P.Oxy. XV 1802, fr. 4), cm 2.1 × 5.4

Fr. 5 (P.Oxy. XV 1802, fr. 6 + fr. 9 + 2 new fragments), cm 3.8 × 11.7

Plate 7

Fr. 6 (P.Oxy. XV 1802, fr. 7), cm 1.8 × 4.0
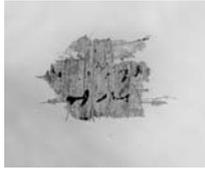
Fr. 7 (P.Oxy. XV 1802, fr. 8), cm 1.6 × 1.5
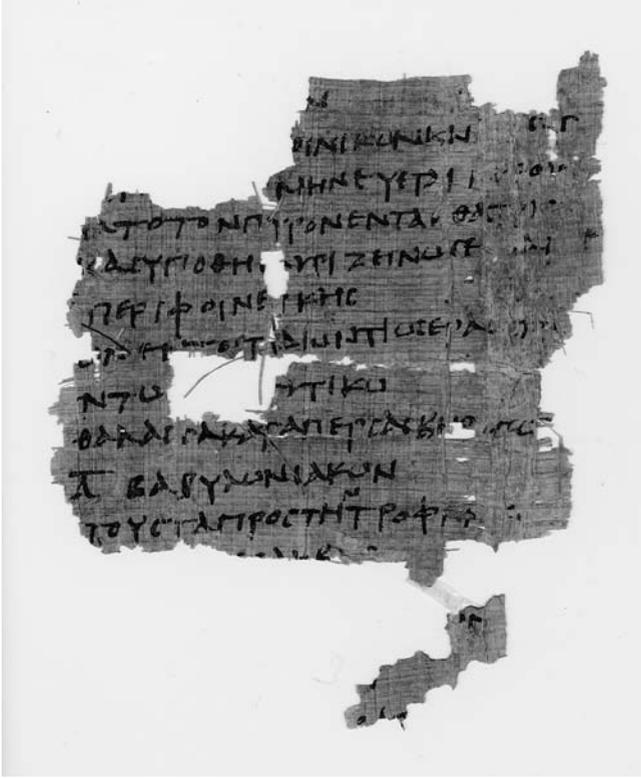
Plate 8

Fr. 10 a and b (P.Oxy. LXXI 4812, fr. 12 a and b), cm 7.4 × 8.8
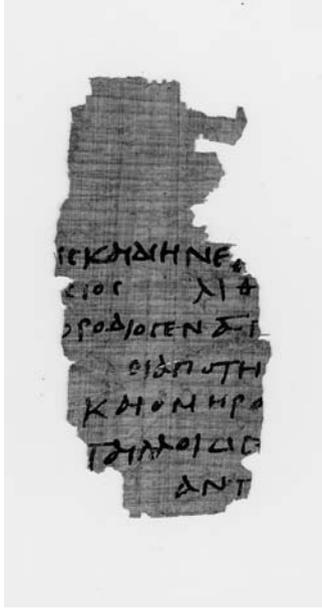
Plate 9

Fr. 11 (P.Oxy. LXXI 4812, fr. 13), cm 2.8 × 5.8
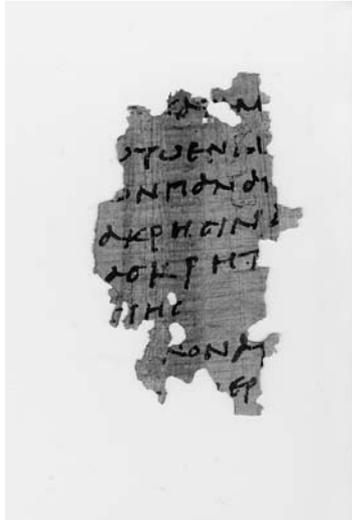
Fr. 12 (P.Oxy. LXXI 4812, fr. 14), cm 2.7 × 4.5

Plate 10

Fr. 14 (P.Oxy. LXXI 4812, fr. 16), cm 1.4 × 1.1

Fr. 15 (P.Oxy. LXXI 4812, fr. 17), cm 1.7 × 2.3

Fr. 16 (P.Oxy. LXXI 4812, fr. 18), cm 2.0 × 2.4

Plate 11

Fr. 17 (P.Oxy. LXXI 4812, fr. 19), cm 1.3 × 1.6

Fr. 18 (P.Oxy. LXXI 4812, fr. 20), cm 2.1 × 3.4

Fr. 19 (P.Oxy. LXXI 4812, fr. 21), cm 0.7 × 2.1

Plate 12

Fr. 20 (P.Oxy. LXXI 4812, fr. 22), cm 1.8 × 2.7

Fr. 21 (P.Oxy. LXXI 4812, fr. 23), cm 0.7 × 1.6


Fr. 22 (P.Oxy. LXXI 4812, fr. 24), cm 1.0 × 1.7

Plate 13

Fr. 23 (P.Oxy. LXXI 4812, fr. 25), cm 2.8 × 1.5

Fr. 24 (P.Oxy. LXXI 4812, fr. 26), cm 1.6 × 3.0

Fr. 25 (P.Oxy. LXXI 4812, fr. 27), cm 1.2 × 1.1

Fr. 26 (P.Oxy. LXXI 4812, fr. 28), cm 0.5 × 1.1