

GREEK TEXTS AND COMMENTARIES

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CLA ACTA ALEXANDRINORUM II-1
**THE ACTS OF
THE PAGAN MARTYRS**

ACTA ALEXANDRINORUM

EDITED WITH COMMENTARY
BY
HERBERT A. MUSURILLO



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THE ACTS OF
THE PAGAN MARTYRS

ACTA ALEXANDRINORUM

EDITED WITH COMMENTARY

BY

HERBERT A. MUSURILLO, S.J.

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AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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I. THE TEXTS

I

PSI 1160: The 'Boule-Papyrus'

col. i

(Traces of ends of about 15 lines)

] ἀνδρὶ 16

(About 4 lines)

]·ρον 21

] τὴν σὴν

ἢ]μεῖς

col. ii

μ κβ

ἀναγκαῖον ἐπὶ ποσὸν εἰπεῖν. φημὶ γὰρ ταύτην φρ[ο]γτιεῖν ἵνα
μή τι τῶν μελλόντων τινὲς λαογραφεῖσθαι, τοῖς κατ' ἔτος ἐφήβοις
συνεγγραφόμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν δημοσίαν γρα[φήν, τὴν] πρόσδοον
ἐλασσῶσι καὶ τὸ π(ο)λίτευμα τῶν Ἀλεξανδρείων ἀ[κ]έραιον ὑπάρ- 5
χον ἄθρεπτοι καὶ ἀνάγωγοι γεγονότες ἄνθρωποι μολύνωσι· εἰ δέ
τις κατα{βαρ}βαροῖτο παρὰ λόγον πραττόμενος ἢ ὑπὸ 'Ιδί[ο]υ
Λόγου ἢ

τινος πράκτορος ἀνθρώπου·ς' διασεύοντος, συνερχομένη ἡ βου-
λή πρὸς τὸν σὸν ἐπίτροπον συνεπισχύη τοῖς ἀσθ[ε]ροῦσι, καὶ μὴ 9
δι' ἐρημίαν βοηθείας τὰ σοὶ τηρεῖσθαι δυνάμενα ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων
ἀνθρώπων διαφορηθῇ. ἔτι δέ, εἰ δέοιτο πρεσβείαν πρὸς σὲ πέμ-
πειν, αὕτη προχειρίζεται τοὺς ἐπιτηδεύουσ, καὶ [μήτε ἀσε-]
μνός τις ἐκπορεύσθαι [μήτε εὐθετός τις] μήτε ἐξυθετός τις]
ὦν φεύγει τὴν τῆς πατρίδος ὑπηρεσίαν. ἀξιοῦμ[εν οὖν ἐξεῖναι]

τὴν βουλὴν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν γίνε[σθα]ι καὶ με[τὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν] 15
 εὐθύνας διδόναι τῶν διαπεπρα[γμένων] c. 17]
 τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς καλὸν [c. 19 τὸν]
 προσοριζόμενον χρόνον εἰ c. 27]
 διδομένην τὸν χρόνον τοῦτο[ν] c. 24]
 γίνεται τῶν νόμων, δέσπο[τα] c. 25] 20
 — Καῖσαρ εἶπεν· [blank?
 περὶ τούτων διαλήμψο[μαι]
 εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρε[ιαν]

Col. ii

3. γρα[φὴν, τὴν] (Bell) seems almost certainly right.
 5. From the traces ἀ[κ]ήρατον seems more likely; although ἀ[κ]ήρατον, as the editors suggest, is not impossible. 7. κατα[βαρ]βαροῖτο Oliver.
 8. (τοὺς) ἀνθρώπους W(ilcken). 11. ὑπὸν p.
 11. διαφορηθῇ is the editors' correction for διαφορησῇ (p); but although the last η was made haltingly, I do not agree with the editors that it was corrected from αι. διαφορηῖται Oliver. 12 f. ἀσε[μ]νός suppl. S(chubart).
 13. ἐκπορεύσεται corrected from εὐπορεύσεται. In the parenthesis which follows, ἀσθενής had been corrected to εὐθετος. At the end, suppl. edd.
 14. The editors suggest ἀξιοῦμ[εν οὖν? κελεύσαι], the κελεύσαι having been proposed by S. But the suggestion adopted in the text, I feel, is less awkward.
 15. με[τὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν] W. με[τ' ἐνιαυτὸν τὰς] S.
 16. [τῷ σῶ ἐπιτρόπῳ καί] W., but many other supplements are, of course, possible.
 19. διδομένη so p. -μενη edd. -μενη η (= ἡ or ἦ), W.

TRANSLATION

'... It is necessary for us to speak at some length. I submit, then, that the Senate will see to it that none of those who are liable to enrolment for the poll-tax diminish the revenue by being listed in the public records along with the ephebi for each year; and it will take care that the pure (?) citizen body of Alexandria is not corrupted by men who are uncultured and uneducated. And if anyone be unreasonably burdened by taxes exacted by the *Idiologus* or by any other tax-agent who may be oppressing the people, the Senate, in assembly before your Prefect, might lend support to the weak and prevent the income that could be preserved for you from being plundered by anyone at all, simply through lack of a remedy. Again, if there should be need to send a diplomatic mission to you, the Senate might elect those who are suitable, so that no one ignoble (?) might make the journey

and no one who is capable might avoid this service to his native city.

'We ask, then, that it be permitted for the Senate to convene annually, and at the end of each year to submit a report of its transactions. . . .'

Caesar said: 'I shall come to a decision about these matters. . . .'

II

P. Oxy. 1089: The Interview with Flaccus

col. i

να	αν	ν	
ερασ	ηρ	μω	24
μαι	ατοι	..	24a
α	ου	15	b
ν	ωα	..	c
κει	δωσ	ν	d
υν	οιμεν	ι	e
μο	α	ν	f
βου	ε	20	g
.	ρισ	ορ	h
ε	υ	.	i

col. ii

	[ἀνέρχεται]	24j
οὖν ὁ Φλάκκος εἰς τὸ Σ]αραπεῖον κε-		25
λεύσας ἐν κρυπ[τῶ ἐτοιμ]άζεσθαι 'τό' χρήμα.		
ἀνέρχεται δὲ κ[αί] ὁ 'Ισίδωρος σὺν τῇ Ἀ-		
φροδισία κα[ί] τῷ Διονυσίῳ, ἐντὸς δὲ		
τοῦ νεῶ εἰ[ς]σελθόντες {δε} ὁ 'Ισίδωρος		
καὶ ὁ Διονύσιος προσεκύνησαν. καὶ		30
τότε ἔριπφεν ἑαυτὸν [ὁ γ]εραῖός, γονυ-		
κλινῆς δ' ἐχ[ό]μεν[ο]ς [τ]οῦ Δ[ι]ονυσίου		
λέγων, ἰδοῦ, δ[έ]σπ[ο]τα Διονύσιε, ἀν-		
τικρὺ τοῦ Σα[ρά]πι[ο]ς ὁ γεραῖός· μὴ βι-		35
άζου πρὸς τὸ[ν] Φλ[ά]κκον, ἀλλὰ σὺν		
τοῖς γέροσιν [κα]θ[έ]ξ[αν]ε. ἡ σοῦ πορευ-		
θέντος η..ε.ατρ..φ.μεν; μετα-		

νόησον, τέκ[νον] Δ[ι]ονύσιε. ὁ δὲ ἀντεῖ-
 πεν· εὐθεῖς, [ἀλλὰ ἐμ]ε δεύτε[ρ]ον μὴ
 40 βούλει ἀρνήσασθαι τὸν Φλάκκον; εἰ
 δεῖ τῇ νέᾳ σ[ε]λήνῃ σ]ὺν αὐτῷ εἶναι,
 εἰμ[ε] ἐλε[υθ]ε[ρί]ως. ἐ]πήλθεν ὁ Φλάκ-
 κος κα[ί] ἰ[δ]ὼν τὸν 'Ισ[ί]δ[ω]ρον εἶπεν·
 τὸ μὲν [χρῆ]μ[α] ἔτοιμ[ό]ν ἐστιν. τίς
 λοιπὸν ἡμῶ[ν]....]....ε.ευειν
 ὁ μὴ ε...[.....].ε..ν ὁ προκα-
 θήμενο[ς] εἶπεν..]λ[.].ω οὖν σὲ τ[ό]ν
 [κ]ύρ[ιο]ν Σάρ[απιν] μηδὲ]ν κακὸν ποι-
 [εῖν] 'Ισιδ[ώ]ρω καὶ Διο]νυσίῳ. ὁ μνη-
 50 [ω σ]οῖ τ..[.....]α.αἰ ἐμέ τῷ σῶ.
 [ὁ] δὲ Διον[ύσιος] εἶπεν·] μηδέποτε
 [...]ογπρ[.....]....εν αὐτὸν εἰς
 [...].[.....].[.].[.] ἐμαυτὸν ὅς
 [c. 14 τ]ὸ[ν] 'Ι[σ]ίδ[ω]ρον οὐδὲ
 [Φλάκ]κος [...].[.....].[.....] τὴν τῆς τη-
 55 [...].[.....] ἀλ[λ]ήθειαν δω[σ]..[.....] ὑπὲρ τοῦ ε-
 [...].[.....]ως τάλαντα πέντ[ε] ὅλ[α] ἐν χρυσῷ
 [ἐξα]ριθμῆσαι τα[ύ]τα [π]ροθέμενοι κα-
 [τὰ μέ]σον τοῦ ἱεροῦ .[.....]. σοῖ ὁ 'Ισίδωρος
 60 [...].[.....] ἡθη παρακ[.....]. τὸν τόκον
 [...].[.....] ἀλλὰ ο...[.....] κατέρχε[...]
 [c. 18]. τὸν 'Ισιδ[ω]-
 [ρον c. 18]ν[.....]
 [c. 21].[.....]κ[...]

col. iii

α[	65	. δια[
τ[		[.]ησω[
[		[.]ερπ[
[		[.]εισν[
[.]ε[		[.]τ[
κετ[	70	

Unlocated Fragments

Frag. a

Frag. b

]. [

]. [

]. [

]πν[

]. [

]νη[

]. σ. [

]οντ[

]ν[

5

]ε[

Frag. c

]ο. [

]. [

]τ. [

]α[

Ll. 24a-i not transcribed by GH.

24j. Suppl. Wilcken.

27. The mark like a circumflex accent over the initial α of Ἀφροδισία (p) probably indicates that the α is the beginning of a word to be finished on the following line.

34. η of μή corrected.

36. [κα]θ[ι]αν R. On the basis of GH's reading, [..]θ[ι]αν, I had suggested [κα]θ[ι]αν, but there is obviously a trace after]αν, and the ν seems certain. At the end of the line, τ' σοῦ, the reading accepted in the text of GH, is not as good (I think) as their second suggestion, η σοῦ.

37. After -θεντος, η or θ; and between the η and the final μεν there were about 11 or, granting a bit of wrinkling in the papyrus, 12 letters. For the ending R. has suggested προδιδομεν. Perhaps we may read θῆτε[ρ]α προδιδομεν?

39. εὐθεῖς (l. εὐθεῖς) GH. But εὐθεῖς[ω] ἀλλ' ἐμ[ε] is also possible and, I think, better.

41. τῇ νέῃ (sc. Aphrodisia) σ[ήμερον] von P.

42. εἰς[υθ]ε[ρ]ω von P.

44. Suppl. von P.

45. ε. ευειν. GH: 'between ε and ευειν two upright strokes which would suit π or μ; or the doubtful ε may be read by the help of one of these strokes as θ, θεωειν, ει, ετ, or η are possible in place of the preceding εσ.' It may be added that the papyrus is wrinkled here, and there may be space for two letters before ευειν. But γαμμεύειν seems excluded.

47. 'Apparently not κελεύω' GH.

48. [κ]ύρ[ω]ν Σαρ[R. [..]ν.ον Σαρ[GH. μηδ[ε]ν suppl. H.M.

49. Ἰριδ[ω]ρω καί R.

52.]οντ[R.]επ[ο] GH.

56 f. ἔ(κ)[πλο]ps von P.

57.]ως R.]ος GH.

δλ]α suppl. von P.

58. [έ]ξα]ριθμησαι von P.

73. τ[ε]ρπ[ι]ν (?), connecting perhaps with Frag. b, 2.

TRANSLATION

(Ll. 25 ff.) Flaccus went then to the Serapeum, after giving orders that the business be arranged secretly. Isidorus also went up to the Serapeum with Aphrodisia and Dionysius, and entering

the sanctuary, Isidorus and Dionysius made a reverence to the god. Just then the old man threw himself down, and clinging to Dionysius on bended knee, he said:

'Dionysius, my lord, behold me an old man in front of Serapis. Do not try to struggle against Flaccus, but sit down in counsel (?) with the elders. . . . Change your mind, Dionysius, my son.'

Dionysius replied: 'You counsel well (?); but surely you do not want me to refuse (?) Flaccus again. If I (?) am to meet him by the full moon (?), I shall go, and willingly.'

Flaccus came up, and seeing Isidorus, he said: 'Well, the affair is all arranged (?). . . .'

III

P. bibl. univ. Giss. 46: The 'Gerousia Acta'

TRANSCRIPT

col. i

]οσ..[
]. προκαθε
]. ιτομ[.....] καταστας
]. σν. [.....] ντηπατρι
]. ..[.....] πανσαστα
]. ..[.] ετ[.....] γραψασε[
]τι[.] ερισκαισαρτημε
]εισ[.] αδεθεωρησαι
]. ..[.] συμνεται μεν
]. ..[.] δεκατηγορον
]τουαφαμενοσειπε
]. ααλεξανδρεων ο
]ριεαντοκρατωρ πο
]. ισ απο ρογ γερο[...]
]εκακαιοκτω μυριαδα[.]
]. ηθη τοδεειπε[.]
]. περιτουτων..[.]
]. ο. αρι..[....]
]. ακ[.] ..[....]
]. εαν[c. 9]

(Probably about 15 lines lost)

col. ii

[c. 8]. ..ροσειπεν πλεετ[
 [c. 8] νκυρι[.] επλευσαν[

[c. 7] ρογ δια τους ρογ καιευλ[
 [c. 6] θονεισωστιαν[.] ειθενκε[
 α[.....] σαν οντωνμ. [.] ιων ιη η[5 (25)
 δευ[.] ρωμηνη καταβα[.] λουσιγε[
 απροντισιων συνην[.] ..ενια[
 ρκουτωνιτησιβεριυν[.] δε....[
 νοιαντορηρωτωντιδ[...]
 κυρι[
 ειπεντελος εχει ε[c. 15] 10 (30)
 τρο. εφη γαίος γερα[c. 15]
 και που εστιν εφη[c. 17]
 [...]
 ευεται οιδε[c. 17]
 [...]
 σερχομενου α. [c. 17]
 [...]
 εγτιγενοιτροκυριε... [c. 9] 15 (35)
 [...]
 τιστογητονειστο. [c. 9]
 [...]
 ντιστηχλ ενιαυτουσ[c. 9]
 [...]
 ..[.] επιτωγ[c. 14]
 [...]
 ντωνπ[c. 16]
 [...]
 ην. [.] ηεπι[c. 9] 20 (40)
 [...]
 αχθομαι οτικατη[c. 6]
 [...]
 εμε[.] οιακουσομ[c. 6]
 [...]
 α[.] ι. [.] σ L χλ εκα[c. 6]
 [...]
 προση[.] τωπραιτω[c. 6]
 [...]
 σιν κυριεχαιρεαξενοκ[c. 6] 25 (45)
 [...]
 ευλαλεχαιρεκαισα[c. 8]
 [c. 17] ν οκατη[c. 7]
 [c. 17] διατιτα[c. 6] εν
 [c. 17] περ πατ[c. 7]
 [c. 13] πο[.] νουκαπηριτ[...]
 [c. 11] ε. ρκατηγορουμαιτουτεστιν
 [c. 10] τεστηγαρτυχηουχενι με
 [c. 9] αρειοσειπεν κυρ[.] εχαιρε
 [c. 17] χαρισμε[.] αλεξαν
 [c. 10] ετα[...]. ησυνειοτ[.] υκοσμου 35 (55)
 (margin)

col. iii

Frag. c
von P.

Frag. e
von P.

]καιε[
]αντ[
]αρμ[
]ουτο[
]σουτου.[
].νησεναλε[
]υξεκεινων[
]ε..υμεινου.[
]ε.υμοσελ[
]ισκαλω[
].ονδηλο.[
]ηγλ.[
].θεατρο[

5 (60)

10 (65)

(About 6 lines lost here)

.οσειπεν[c. 12]γ[c. 8] 20 (75)
ειπεν ιδ[.]ηξεν[...].γαρμαλ[c. 5]
λαβωνπο[.]ειτειαν α[...].πογαφο[c. 5]
ξω ωστεαπεδειξεν[...].ηκατηγορ.[c. 5]
καιον γαιοςκαισαρεκ[.]λευσεντο[c. 5]
.ηγορον καηναι εγραψενολ[c. 5] 25 (80)
πιστολη[c. 7]τ[.]ιαυτην [c. 5]
[.]αιοςκαι[c. 12]αλεξαν[c. 5]
ων χα[c. 12]επιπα[c. 5]
.ωσ α[c. 15][...].π[c. 5]
νον....[c. 12]ευερ[c. 6] 30 (85)
[...].τ[...].εγν[c. 12]μαστ.[c. 4]
λεμοναιτια[c. 14]εμο.[c. 2]
...ξε.ι..ε.[c. 14]βο[.]εν ισι
.ωρουλεξ[c. 14]ο[...].υ[....].γμη
εχετωσανμ[...].εαρετησσεφ[.]νον 35 (90)

(margin)

col. iv

(Lines 1-16 missing)

[c. 12]..οτρ[c. 14-18?
[c. 11]εκρα..
[c. 11]υ[
[....]καιαν[....]οστ[20 (110)
[...].οιδεε[...].ροντεστ[
[...].ραμον[...].θοπολλουα[
[...].νλημ[...].θηναι καιτ[
[...].εκεφαλισεν οιδε[
[....].νητησα[25 (115)
[...].εκαλε[
[...].ισεμε[
[...].ων..
[...].ν[
[...].αγαντομ[30 (120)
[...].στ[
χαρισα[...].μουτην[.....
[...].[...].εσ.ιερ[
[...].σζ[...].αν[
.....
δ

Frag. d
von P.

35 (125)

(margin)

col. v (Frag. a+b)

-επιζησαστησ[c. 12].ασκαισαρ[c. 5?
κρατειδεκα[c. 14].κατηγ[
νοστελευτη[c. 14]αλλααρ[
παντωναν[c. 12]λογιαντ[5 (130)
εγενετοηγεμ[c. 12]αλεξαν[
υποτουδιαδεχ[c. 12]μονιαν
[...].[...].[...].ερ[c. 12]...[
[...].[...].[...].[...].
Frag. f
von P.

Unlocated Fragments

c	d	e	f
τη. και	ντο. [	.πρ[	να[
σιαλεξ[	ψασαδει[	ρρ[	..[
αττ. [	ειαντ[	..[	..[
ποτ. [	..[		
ποζεισ[			
ατηγο[			
.ττο[			

TEXT

col. i

		οσ..[	
		.προκαθε-	
		.ιτομ[.....] καταστὰς	
		.συ. [.....] ἐν τῇ πατρί-	
δι		..[.....] παυσας τὰ	5
		..[.] ετ[.....] γραψας ἐ-	
[πιστολὴν?		] Τι[β]έριος Καῖσαρ· τῇ με(ν)	
		]εις. [..] αδε θεωρήσαι	
		]. . . [.] συμφνεται [μεν]	
		]. . . . δὲ κατήγορον	10
		αὐ] τοῦ ἀψάμενος εἶπε(ν)·	
		. α. Ἀλεξανδρέων ο	
		κύ] ριε αὐτοκράτωρ, προ-	
		. ις ἀπὸ ρογ γερό[ντω]ν	
		δ] ἑκα καὶ ὀκτὼ μυριάδα[ς]	15
		. . ηθη, τότε εἶπε[ν]	
		 περὶ τούτων . . [.]	
		 ον ἀριθμ[όν.]	
		. . . τὰ κ[α]τα[....]	
		. εαν. [c. 9]	20

(Probably about 15 lines lost)

col. ii

[c. 8]	. . ρος εἶπεν· πλέετ[ε		
[.....]	τὸ]ν κύρι[ο]ν. ἔπλευσαν [οὖν		
[c. 7]	ρογ διὰ τοὺς ρογ καὶ Εὐλα[λον		
[c. 4 ἡλ]	θον εἰς 'Ωστίαν. [ἐκ]εῖθεν κε[		
	α[.....]σαν ὄντων μυ[ρ]ίων ἡ[	5	(25)
	δευ[τέ]ρω μηνὶ καταβά[λ]λουσιν ε[		
	ἄπρον. Τισίων συνήν[τ]ησεν ια[		
	ὁ κοιτωνίτης Τιβερίον. [οἱ] δὲ ἀσπα[σάμε-]		
	νοι αὐτὸν ἡρώτων· τί δ[ρᾶ] ὁ κύρι[ος]; ὁ δὲ		
	εἶπεν· τέλος ἔχει ε[c. 15]	10	(30)
	τότ' ἔφη Γαῖος γερα[ιοῖς· c. 12]		
	καὶ ποῦ ἔστιν; ἔφη [c. 17]		
	[...] εὐεται· οἶδε[c. 17]		
	[εἰ]σερχομένου αὐ[τ c. 16 εἰ-		
	[π]εν· τί γένοιτο, κύριε ... [c. 9]	15	(35)
	[...] τιστον ἢ τὸν εἰς το. [c. 9]		
	[φρ]οντίστη χλ̄ ἐναυτοῦς [c. 9]		
	[.....]. [.] ἐπὶ τῷ γ[c. 14]		
	[.....]. ντων π[c. 16]		
	[.....]ην. [.] ἡ ἐπι[c. 9]	20	(40)
	[.....] ἀχθομαι ὅτι κατη[γορ...]		
	[.....] ἐμε[.] οἱ ἀκουσομ[.....]		
	[.....]. [.] α[.] ι. [.] s L χλ̄ εκα[.....]		
	[.....] προσῆ[ν] τῷ πραιτω[ρίω...]		
	[.....]σιν, κύριε, χαῖρε α {ε} εὐοκ[ᾶτος	25	(45)
	[.....] Εὐλαλε, χαῖρε. Καῖσα[ρ.]		
	[c. 17] ν ὁ κατή[γορος...]		
	[c. 17] διὰ τί τα[.....] ἐν		
	[c. 17] ὑπὲρ πατ[ρίδος...]		
	[c. 13] πο[....]ν οὐκ ἀπήρτ[ησα]s	30	(50)
	[c. 11] ε. ο κατηγοροῦμαι, τοῦτ' ἔστιν		
	[c. 10] τες· τῇ γὰρ τύχη οὐχ ἐν με		
	[c. 9] Ἀρειος εἶπεν· κύρι[ε], χαῖρε		
	[c. 17] χάρις με[ν] Ἀλεξαν-		
	[δρέων.] ετ[α[....]. η σὺ εἰ ὁ τ[ο]ῦ κόσμου	35	(55)

col. iii

(Frag. c)

[σω]τήρ καὶ [εὐεργέτης?]] καὶ ε[
]σι Ἀλεξ[ανδρε-]]αν π[
]αττ.]αρμ[
]ποτ.]οὔτο [
 [δεσ]πότης [το]σούτου. 5 (60)
 κ]ατηγορ []. νησεν Ἀλε[ξανδρε-
]. ττο[]νν ἐκείνων [
]ε.. ὑμῶν οὐ. [
]ε. υμος Ἐλ[λην?
]εἰσκαλῶ [10 (65)
].ον δηλο. [
] ἡ γλῶττα
 τ]ὸ θέατρο[ν

(About 6 lines lost)

.ος εἶπεν[c. 12]γ[c. 8] 20 (75)
 εἶπεν· ἴδ[ε] δὴ ξεν[κός] γὰρ μᾶλ[λον κατα-]
 λαβὼν πο[λ]ιτείαν ἀ[να]πόγραφο[ν c. 5]
 ξω ὥστε ἀπέδειξεν [τὸ]ν κατήγορο[ν οὐ δι-]
 καιον. Γαῖος Καῖσαρ ἐκ[έ]λευσεν τὸ[ν] κα-
 τήγορον καῖνα. ἔγραψεν οἱ[.... ἐ-]
 πιστολή[ν τῇ πόλει (?)] τ[ο]ιαύτην. [blank?]
 [Γ]αῖος Καῖ[σαρ τῇ πόλει τῶν] Ἀλεξαν[δρέ-]
 ων χα[ίρειν.....] ἐπιπα[c. 5]
 .ως α[c. 15].. π[c. 5]
 νον....[c. 12] εὐερ[γε-....] 30 (85)
 [..]τ[..]εγν[ω.....]νμαστ.[....]
 λεμου αἰτία[c. 14].εμο.[..]
 ...ξε.ι.ε.ε.[c. 14]βο[μ]εν Ἰσι-
 δώρου λέξ[αντος.....].ο[...].ν μὴ
 ἐχέτωσαν μ[ή]τε ἀρετῆς στέφ[α]νον 35 (90)

col. iv

(Lines 1-16 missing)

[c. 12]. .οτο[c. 14-18?]
 [c. 11]εκρα. .
 [c. 11]ν[
 [...].καιαν[....]οσπ. 20 (110)
 [...].οιδε ε[μπε]σόντες τ[
 [-έδ]ραμον [με]θ' ὁ πολλοὺς [
 [...].ν λημ[φ]θῆναι καὶ τ[
 [ἀπ]εκεφάλισεν. οἱ δὲ [
 [...].νητησα[25 (115)
 [...].εκαλε[σ-
 [...].ισεμε[
 [...].ων. .
 [...].ν[
 [...].αν αὐτομ[30 (120)
 [...].στε[
 χαρίσα[ς] μου τῇν[
 [..].[.]. εσ.ιεν. [
 .s ζ[η]μίαν[
 35 (125)
 δ

col. v

(Frag. a)

(Frag. b)

-ἐπιζήσας τῆς [c. 12]. as Καισαρ[c. 6?]
 κρατεῖ δὲ καὶ [c. 14]. κατηγ[ορούμε-]
 νος τελευτη[c. 14] ἄλλα αρ[
 πάντων ἀνε[c. 9 ἀπο]λογίαν τ[(130)
 ἐγένετο ἡγεμ[ῶν Αἰγύπτου καὶ] Ἀλεξαν[δρείας 5
 ὑπὸ τοῦ διαδεχ[ομένου τὴν ἡγε]μονίαν [
 .σ[...].[...].ερ. [c. 12]...[

Col. i

1. Most probably the first line of the column. Judging from cols. ii-iii, we may reckon an average of 29-34 letters per line.

3.]στμ[von P., but this is possibly a misprint (in Eberhart's transcription). The first letter may possibly be ϖ, but hardly ϑ; the fourth letter may also be π.
 6. There are probably no letters at the end of this line.
 9. *συμμεται*: so, too, von P. (for α[συμνηται], but the μ is very odd, and, if we should read it at all, the copyist may possibly have begun to write ν. R(ober)ts suggests *συλινεται*. 10. *περι δέ* von P.
 12. *Και]σαρ* von P., but judging from the facs., there is no trace of ρ.
 14.]ας ἀπό von P., but]α is hardly likely. 16. *εὐπε[* von P.
 18. *ἔργον ἀριθμ[όν]* (von P.) is not impossible. 19. Suppl. von P.

Col. ii

1.]υρος [δ]ξ *εἶπεν* von P. From ll. 1 to 9 there are about 2-4 letters lost at the right side of the column.
 3. After *Εὐλ* traces of what seems to be λ, but may well be α.
 5. μ[ρρ]ίον von P. 6 f. *ἐ[ργον οὐκ] | κτλ.* von P.
 7. *Τισίων* (l. *Τεισίων*), von P.'s second suggestion, would seem more probable from the facs. than *Πισίτων*, the reading adopted in his text. At the end of the line he would restore *λα[τρός]*.
 11. *τῶτ'*: the presence of the paragraphus makes the ending -*τῶις* perhaps unlikely. Von P.'s *π[ροσε]φή* seems not only too long, but does not suit the traces.
 17.]σι: *τιστη* may also be read (R.); certainly not *κτιστη*, and before *γτιστη* possibly ϑ. Perhaps *εὐκατα[φρ]ογτιστη* or the like?
 23. [πρὸ]ς [β]α[σ]ί[λεις] von P., but the letter before α is hardly β.
 24. The reading in the text is due to R. *προση[ει] ἡ πραι[ωρία]* von P. Possible also is *προση[σ]αν πραιω[ι]* (R.).
 25. Perhaps I. ὁ {ε} *εὐοκ[άτος]*. 31. *ἐγὼ* (l. *ἐγώ*) von P.
 32.]τες τῇ:]τε *χρη* is also possible (R.); but von P.'s *τελε[ι]ται* would seem to be entirely excluded by the facs.
 32. *οὐχ ἐν* (= *ἐνεστι*) R. *οὐδενί* is just barely possible, the fibres being slightly out of line at this point. *οὐχ ἐνί* von P.

Col. iii

- The position of ll. 1-13 are due to Ibscher's reconstruction on the basis of the alignment of the fibres. Von P.'s joining of Frag. c is very plausible; but I cannot be certain of his suggestion with regard to Frag. e (see the transcript). Thus von P. joins the three fragments along iii. 2 as follows: *οὐτω]σὶ Ἀλεξ[ανδρέων λαμ]πράν π[ό]λιν*.
 8. *ε[ὐθ]υμειν* von P., but the trace of a diaeresis (*υμειν*) would seem to exclude this.
 9. *ἐ[τ]υμος Ἐλ[λην]* von P., but *εθυμος* (R.) seems more likely from the facs.
 11. *αὐ]τόν δηλο[ι]τ* von P., who restores: *ξένον γὰρ αὐτ[όν] δηλο[ι]τ τό | τε βαρβαρικὸν σχῆμα καὶ ἡ γλ[ω]σσοα*. 21. *ἰδ[ε] δὴ ξεν[ικός]* von P.
 23. *κατηγορ[ίαν οὐ δέ]καιον* von P.; but from the facs. *κατήγορο[ν]* would seem more likely. 25. *[ὁ]μως* von P., does not suit the traces.
 26 f. Suppl. von P. 28. *ἐπιπα[]* von P. *ἐπιγ[ούς]*.
 29. At the beginning of the line, probably *πῶς*.
 29. π^α: l. *πα(ρά)* Kalbfleisch. *πα[ραβαλ]λον[τες]* von P.
 31. *θα]υμαστο[]* is possible.
 31 f. Von P.'s *τ[οῦ πο]λ[έμου αἰτία[ν]* is not unlikely, but other restorations are possible. 33. *κατελά]βο[μ]εν* von P.

Col. iv

21. *οὐδε* offers various possibilities. Suppl. Kalbfleisch.
 21 f. von P. restores: *με]θ' ὁ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκέλευ[σε]ν λημ[φ]θῆναι καὶ τ[οῦτων πλείους] ἀπ[ε]κεφάλισεν*.
 30. *δι]ὰ τί αὐτομ[όλησας]* von P. (departing, however, from Eberhart's transcription). 34. ϑ probably corrected from ι. Suppl. von P.
 36. The δ here in the lower margin possibly indicates the number of this column (4).

Col. v (col. x, von P.)

- Kalbfleisch joined the two fragments with a lacuna of about 12 letters (von P. allowing only 9); we follow his reconstruction of ll. 5-6, which form the clue to the join.
 7. After σ[], von P. here inserts Frag. f, with the following restoration: *[στρατι]α[ς Να]υ[ί]ον [Σ]ερ[τωρίου Μάκρωνος . . .]*.

IV

Acta Isidori

Recension A (Chrest. 14)

col. i

['Ισιδ]ωρον. Ταρκύνιος
[συνκλητικὸς ... Καίσα]ρι ἀναστὰς
[]τον ὅλην τὴν
[]ον ποιήσεις
[]πὲρ πατρίδος
[]μεν ὑπὲρ
[]ἡγω]νίζετο, δίκαιον ἦν
[]ἀναστὰς δὲ Ἀουϊόλαος συνκλη-
[]τικὸς ἐστ]ιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ
[]ἀγω]νίζετα[ι]. διὸ ἐρωτῶ
[]τω τοῦτο τὸ ἄπαξ
[]τοῦ τηλικούτου
[]πολὺ προσηκούσης
[]ς, εἰ μὴ οὗτοι παρε-
[]ν συμβουλίῳ
[]ἐκάθισεν. ἐκλήθησαν
[]Ἀλεξανδρέων πρέσ]βεις, καὶ μετετάξατο
[]ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ εἰς αὐ]ριον ἀκοῦσαι αὐτῶν.
[]ιγ Κλαυδίου Καίσα]ρος Σεβαστοῦ
[] Παχῶν ε.

col. ii

ἡμέρα [δε]υτ[έ]ρα· Παχῶ[ν 5].
ἀκούει Κλαύδιος Καίσα[ρ τὸ τοῦ 'Ισιδώρου]
γυμνασιάρχου πόλεως Ἀ[λεξανδρέων]
κατὰ Ἀγρίππου βασιλέω[ς ἐν τοῖς
λιανοῖς κήποις, συνκα]θημένων αὐτῶ[]

5 (25)

συνκλητικ[ῶ]ν εἴκο[σ]ι, π[ρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις]
ὑπατικῶν δέκα ἕξ, πα[ρουσῶν δὲ καὶ]
τῶν ματρωνῶν εἰς.[] τὸ τοῦ]
'Ιο[ι]δώρου. 'Ισιδωρ[ο]ς ἐν πρ[ώτοις ἔλεγεν·]
κύριέ μου Καῖσαρ, τῶν γονά[των σου δέομαι] 10 (30)
ἀκοῦσαί μου τὰ πονοῦν[τα τῇ πατρίδι].
ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ· μερίσω σο[ι ταύτην τὴν]
ἡμέραν. συνεπένευ[σαν καὶ οἱ συν-]
καθήμενοι [π]άντες σ[υνκλητικοὶ]
εἰδότες ὁποῖός[ς ἐσ]τιν ἁ[νὴρ ὁ 'Ισιδωρος.] 15 (35)
Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ· μηδὲν
κατὰ τοῦ ἐμοῦ [φίλου εἴπης· ἄλλους γάρ]
μου δύο φίλ[ους ἀνέφηκας ἤδη·]
Θέωνα ἐξηγη[τὴν καὶ Ναύιον ἑπαρχον]

col. iii

[...]ε πρέσβεια[.....] ἡ πατρίς. (40)
[Λά]μπων τῷ 'Ισιδώρῳ [...] ἐφεῖδον
[ἤδη] τὸν θάνατ[ον Κλαύ]διος Καῖσαρ·
[πολ]λοὺς μου φίλους ἀπέκτ[ει]νας, 'Ισιδωρε.
['Ισι]δωρος· βασιλέως ἤκουσα τοῦ τότε 5
[ἐπ]ιτάξαντος. καὶ σὺ λέγε τίνας θέλεις (45)
[κα]τηγορήσ'ω'. Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ· ἀσφαλῶς
[ἐ]κ μουσικῆς εἶ, 'Ισιδωρε; 'Ισιδωρος·
[ἐγ]ὼ μὲν οὐκ εἰμι δοῦλος οὐδὲ μουσικῆς
[υἱ]ός, ἀλλὰ διασήμου πόλεως [Ἀ]λεξαν- 10
[δρ]εῖ[ας] γυμνασιάρχος. σὺ δὲ ἐκ Σαλῶμη[ς]
[τ]ῆς 'Ιουδα[ίας υ]ιὸς [ἀπό]βλητος. διὸ 'καὶ' ἀπο[.] (50)
[.]εας ἐπ[.]ατη[.]ως. ἔφη Λά[μπ]ων
[τ]ῷ 'Ισιδώρῳ· τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἔχομεν ἢ παρα-
[φ]ρονοῦντι βασιλεῖ τόπον διδόναι; 15
[Κ]λαύδιος Καῖσαρ· οἷς προεκέλευσα (55)
[τ]ὸν θάνατον τοῦ 'Ισιδώρου καὶ Λάμπων[ος]

Col. i (BGU 511)

1. Ταρκύ(τ)ιος von P. 1 f. Suppl. Re(inach).
3. Before τον, o or ω rather than α W(icken).

6. Perhaps εἰ μὲν (so too, von P.). 7. [πατριδος Re.
8. ἀναστὰς] δέ von P.]δε. W. Perhaps Μουτολα[ος] or δς H.M.
9. ἐστ]εν Re.
10. ἀγω]μ[ι]ζ[ε]τα[ι] von P., after Schubart's revision of the original ('Vor eta
entweder ζ oder ξ, vorher, durch kleinen Raum getrennt, eine Spur, die z. B.
ρ sein könnte. Die Lesung ζeta oder ξeta zwingt zu der Annahme, dass in
einem Riss, der auf a folgt, ein ι verschwunden ist. . . . Das Ganze also:
]ρ[.]ζeta[ι]. . . . Selbst ἀγων]ιζ[ε]τα[ι] ist möglich' (AM, pp. 22 f.).
11. Perhaps [σε, κύριε (so too von P.). Before τω, possibly ο, not υ: W.
15. ε]ν W. 16. [δ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπὶ βήματος] von P.
17. [οἱ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων πρέσ]βεις W.
18. Suppl. Re. [Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ W. and von P.
19. The year was probably abbreviated L (W.); it is restored, with von P.,
in accordance with the generally accepted date.
20. Von P. accepts [Γερμανικοῦ]. Perhaps also [Σαρματικοῦ Γ.]?

Col. ii (BGU 511)

2. [Σεβαστὸς Ἰσιδώρου] W. 3. Suppl. W. Ἀ[λεξανδρείας] Re.
4 f. Λουκουλ]λιανοῖς W.; Σερονι-] R.; Λολ-] or Στατι]λιανοῖς von P.
5. Suppl. Re.
6. Suppl. R.; τ[ούτων δέ?] Bell; τ[...., ἐν τούτοις] W.
7. Suppl. Bell, comparing P. Lond.; πα[ρούσης Σεβαστῆς μετὰ] W.
8. After εισ, not α W. Perhaps εισθ[εῖσθαι H. M.
9. ἤρξατο λέγων] Bell, but I think this too long for the lacuna.
10-11. Suppl. Bell. 12. Suppl. Re. μερισω corr. from μερίζω.
13. Suppl. Bell (following Re.); δέ κατ] suppl. W.
15. Bell's reading and supplement.
16. μηδὲν ὑπερθετικόν (?) Bell; ὑπὲρ Θέωνος Crönert.
17 ff. Suppl. Bell.

Col. iii (P. Cairo Inv. 10448)

1. Perhaps [ἐμ]ὲ πρέσβεια [ἐχειροτόνησεν] ἡ π., or the like. G. D. Kilpatrick
has privately suggested [πέντ]ε πρέσβεια[s], but since the more common form of
the acc. plur. seems to have been (at this time) πρέσβεις, the sing. is perhaps
more likely.
2. The best restoration of this and the following line is perhaps (cf. Wilcken,
Antis.): ἐγὼ μὲν ἐφείδον | [ἦδη] τὸν θάνατ[όν μου. L. ἐφείδον. θάνατ[όν σου
Weber.
8. Ἰσίδωρε; interp. H. M. The supplements [ἀνευ] μουσικῆς and [κεν]ός
(l. 10), originally adopted by W. (Antis.), following Re., have since been
abandoned by all who have examined the original. 11. ἐξαλωμη[s] p.
12. υ]ἱός [ἀπό]βλητος or even [ὑπό]βλητος, Bell, after a revision of the original.
Earlier conjectures had been: ὦ]ς [ἀπό]βλητος Re.; εἰ ὑπό]βλητος Weber, and
after him, υἱός]ς [ὑπό]βλητος Lietzmann (who, like von P., wrongly attributes
this suggestion to Reinach). ἡμῖ]ν [διά]βλητος (von P.) is very unlikely.
12 f. The reading is according to de Ricci (Chrest. 14). At the end of l. 12,
ἀπ' ο[ι]κ[ι]είας (l. οικίας) von P., after which Re. suggested ἐπικρατήσεως. I
suggest, with all reserve, the exclamation καὶ ἀπω]λείας ἐπικρατήσεως! But see
the Commentary.
15. διδοναι corr. from διδεναι.

Recension B (P. Lond. Inv. 2785)

col. i

[.....-λια]νοῖς [κῆ]ποις συν[καθη-]
[μένων αὐτῶ σ]υνκλητικ[κῶ]ν κ, ὑπατι-
[κῶν δέκα ἕξ ὁμ]ιλουσῶν δὲ ματρωνῶν
[εἰς.....] τὸ τοῦ Ἰσιδώρου.—
[ὁ δὲ Ἰσίδωρος πρ]ῶτον λόγον ἤρξατο, λε- 5
[γων· κύριέ μου Καῖσαρ, τῶν γονάτων σου δέ-
[ομαι ἀκοῦσαί μ]ου τὰ ποιοῦντα τῇ πα-
[τρίδι. Κλαύδιος] Καῖσαρ· μερίζω σοι τὴν ἡ-
[μέραν. συνεπένευσα]ν καὶ οἱ συνκαθήμενοι
[πάντες συνκλητικοί,] εἰδότες οἷός ἐστιν ἀνὴρ 10
[ὁ Ἰσίδωρος. Κλαύδι]ος Καῖσαρ· μηδὲν ὑπερθε-
[..... τοῦ ἐμοῦ] φίλου εἵπης. καὶ γὰρ ἄλλους
[..... μου δύο φί]λους ἀνήρηκας· Θέων[α]
[γὰρ ἐξηγητὴν καὶ Να]ῖνιον ἑπαρχον Αἰγύπτου
[τὸν καὶ ἡγεμονεύ]σαντα τῆς Ῥώμης τῆς 15
[παρεμβολῆς ἤδη ἀν]ήρηκας, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν
[ἄνδρα διώκεις. Ἰσίδ]ωρος· κύριέ μου Καῖσαρ, τί
[μέλει σοι ὑπὲρ Ἀγρίπ]που Ἰουδαίου τριωβολεῖου
[.....]λαι. Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ· τ[ι]
[φῆς; αὐθαδέστατος] εἰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων 20
[c. 18 ε]κείνη εἰρηκέναι.—
[Ἰσίδωρος·.....] οὐκ ἀρ[ι]σταίμαι κα-
[c. 20]ν ἡσυχάζει—
[c. 20]εβ τύψας εἰχ[
[c. 20] Ὀλύμπιε Καῖ- 25
[σαρ,]σου
[]ης

col. ii

[
σω[
Ἰσίδωρ-

π[
 εἶπεν[
 τὸν καὶ πρ[
 περὶ τὸν Σεβαστ[όν
 ἐπάγομαι γυμνασίαρχος Ἀλεξανδρείας,
 ἐτῶν ν̄ς, Ἑλλ[ην- ο
 ῥήτωρ τῇ δεξι[ᾳ
 τὸ ἱμάτιον ἔρριψεν
 καὶ εἶπεν· οὐ δεῖ ε.[
 Κλαύδιος Καῖσα[αρ· Ἰσι-
 [δ]ωρε, ἐπὶ τὸν Θέ[ωνα
 μήτε Ῥώμην μή[τε Ἀλεξανδρείαν
 Ἰσίδωρος· ἐπὶ το[γυ-
 μνασίαρχος Ἀλεξ[ανδρείας
 χη τῇ φύσει τι[
 ἐπὶ τὰ Σεβαστεία τ[
 σας οὐκ ἔσ[ω]ν με δι[ἀπα-
 γόμενον ἐν σχ[ήματι γυμνασιαρχικῷ
 [Κλα]ύδιος Καῖσαρ· [
 Ἰσίδωρε, Ἰσίδω[ρε, κατὰ τοῦ
 ἐμοῦ φίλου εἴπη[ς
 [...].]η κ[α]ταλαβ[

Supplements are by Bell, unless otherwise noted.

4. Perhaps here [εἰσθεῖσθαι] or the like; cf. *Chrest.* 14. ii. 8.

5. L. λόγων (Bell).

6. The first ν of γονάτων has been remade.

7. The continuation of the tail of the α at the end of the line with the decorative hook is probably merely a filling-in stroke, as Bell rightly surmised.

8. μερίζω: as Bell notes, there is a 'long spur from the top horizontal stroke [of the ζ] downwards . . . and I am by no means certain that it was not the intention to correct it to σ'.

11 f. Bell restored μηδὲν ὑπερβε[ῖ] [τικὸν κατὰ κτλ.]; ὑπὲρ θέ[σιν] H. J. M. Milne; Crönert's suggestion, ὑπὲρ Θέ[λωνος], seems to me somewhat more likely; but see Commentary.

18. τριωβολέ[αι]ον Bell.

20. Bell's supplement here was [φῆς; ἀναιδέστατος].

21. Perhaps [αὐτοκράτορι παρρησίᾳ ἐκείνῃ, κτλ.

24. The ν of τυψας corrected, possibly from ε; or possibly τυ is corrected from π (Bell).

32. πρ[ότερον (?)] Bell.

35. Ἑλλ[ηνικοῦ γένους. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δ] Bell; but see Commentary.

45. ἐπὶ τὰ Σ. is possible (Bell).

46. ἔσ[ω]ν με δι[δάσκειν] Bell; instead of εσ[ω]ν, one could also read ετ[ι] (Bell).

49. Bell again restored here [μηδὲν ὑπερθετικόν (?)].

Recension C (P. Berol. 8877)

col. i

]σιναρχα
 (ὁ δεῖνα) ?]
]ετ[ι, ὅτι ἀπο
 ᾗλλο τι νῦν
]. ετο
 (ὁ δεῖνα) ?]-
]αῖς γενα-
]ρης κατε-
]ν φασιν
] αὐτοῦ πόλει
 ε]ισεκλήθησαν
] ἀπο τινος
] ἔθνος τὸ
 Ἰουδαϊκὸν (?) Ἀλεξ[ανδρέων
 τ]ελοῦσι τοῦ
 -ειλ]κύκασι ᾧ
 Π]ρσειδῶνι

col. ii

— Ἰσίδωρος —

κ[αλὰ] λέγει, κύριε Σέβαστέ, Β[αβυλλος],
 [περὶ τ]ῶν σῶν πραγμάτων. τ[οὐναντίον]
 [σοὶ δέ,] Ἀγρίππα, πρὸς ᾧ εἰρη[γεῖ] περὶ Ἰου-
 [δαίων] ἀντικαταστήσομαι. ἐνκ[αλῶ] αὐτοῖς
 [ὅτι κ]αὶ ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην [θέλousi]
 [ταράσ]σειν. δεῖ δὲ τὸ κατ' ἑκα[στον . . .]
 [σκοπ]εῖν τὸν ὄχλον. οὐκ εἰσιν Ἀλ[εξανδρεῖσιν]

20

25

ὁμοιοπαθεῖς, τρώψω δὲ Αἰγυπτ[ίων]]

οὐκ εἰσι ἴσοι τοῖς φόρον τελ[οῦσι;]

— Ἀγρίππας —

[Αἰ]γ[υπτ]ίοις ἔστησαν φόρους [ο]ἱ ἄρχ[οντες]

[. . .] . [. . .] ν' τοῦτοις δὲ οὐδεῖς.

— Βάλβιλλος —

ἴδε ἐπὶ π[ηλ]ικὴν τόλμην ἢ θε[ὸς] αὐτοῦ ἦ]

1.]συναρχα: perhaps the vocative of a noun like γερουσιάρχης.
2. Here and in l. 6 (as UG suggested), most probably the names of the speakers.
6. Perhaps [Βάλβιλλος].
8. Suppl. H. M.
11. Here (or in the following line) perhaps [(οἱ) πρέσβεις].
14. [Ἰουδαίων] suppl. UG.
16. Less probably]κυρᾶσιω (UG). UG suggested some form of the verb κυκάω (ἰῶ, 'you mix with poison?'). ω is very doubtful (UG). But the perfect of ἔλκω would be more likely; movable ν is most likely omitted.
- 19-32. Supplements by UG unless otherwise noted.
20. τ[οῦναντίον] R.
22. ενκ[]: κ is more likely than μ (UG).
23.]με:]σι is also possible (UG). I prefer [θέλουσι] to UG's [ἐπιχειροῦσι].
24. ταράσ]σεν:]σεν very doubtful, but better than]σεν or]χεν (UG).
- κατ' ἑκαστον (or ἑκαστα) is possible: H. M. ἑκα[στον παρέντα] UG.
26. ὁμοῖοι] UG; ζῶσι] R.
30. At the beginning of the line probably a gen. plur., but not Ἀλεξανδρέων, Ἰουδαίων or Ῥωμαίων (UG). I suggest Αἰγυπτίων.
32. ἴδε UG. For]κην,]μην is also possible (UG).

TRANSLATION

Col. i. 16 ff. The Alexandrian envoys were summoned and the emperor postponed their hearing until the following day. The fifth day of Pachon, in the (thirteenth?) year of Claudius Caesar Augustus . . .

Col. ii. The sixth day of Pachon: the second day. Claudius Caesar hears the case of Isidorus, gymnasiarch of Alexandria, *v.* King Agrippa in the . . . gardens. With him sat twenty senators (and in addition to these) sixteen men of consular rank, the women of the court also attending . . . Isidorus' trial.

Isidorus was the first to speak: 'My Lord Caesar, I beseech you to listen to my account of my native city's sufferings.'

The emperor: 'I shall grant you this day.'

All the senators who were sitting as assessors agreed with this, knowing the kind of man Isidorus was.

Claudius Caesar: 'Say nothing . . . against my friend. You

have already done away with two of my friends, Theon the exegete and . . .'

Col. iii. Lampon to Isidorus: 'I have looked upon death . . .'

Claudius Caesar: 'Isidorus, you have killed many friends of mine.'

Isidorus: 'I merely obeyed the orders of the emperor at the time. So too I should be willing to denounce anyone *you* wish.'

Claudius Caesar: 'Isidorus, are you really the son of an actress?'

Isidorus: 'I am neither slave nor actress's son, but gymnasiarch of the glorious city of Alexandria. But you are the cast-off son of the Jewess Salome! And therefore . . .'

Lampon said to Isidorus: 'We might as well give in to a crazy Emperor.'

Claudius Caesar: 'Those whom I told (to carry out) the execution of Isidorus and Lampon . . .'

Recension B (P. Lond. 2785)

Col. i. . . . in the . . . gardens. With him sat twenty senators, sixteen men of consular rank, women of the court also attending . . . Isidorus' trial. Isidorus began by saying

'My Lord Caesar, I beseech you to hear my account of my native city's sufferings.'

The emperor: 'I grant you this day.'

All the senators who were sitting as assessors agreed with this, knowing the kind of man Isidorus was.

Claudius Caesar: 'Say nothing . . . against my friend. You have already done away with two of my friends, Theon the exegete and Naevius, prefect of Egypt and prefect of the pretorian guard at Rome; and now you prosecute this man.'

Isidorus: 'My Lord Caesar, what do you care for a twopenny-halfpenny Jew like Agrippa?'

Claudius Caesar: 'What? You are the most insolent of men to speak . . .'

Recension C (P. Berol. 8877)

Isidorus: 'My Lord Augustus, with regard to your interests, Balbillus indeed speaks well. But to you, Agrippa, I wish to retort in connexion with the points you bring up about the Jews. I accuse them of wishing to stir up the entire world. . . . We must consider the entire mass. They are not of the same temperament as the Alexandrians, but live rather after the fashion of the

Egyptians. Are they not on a level with those who pay the poll-tax?

Agrippa: 'The Egyptians have had taxes levied on them by their rulers. . . . But no one has levied taxes on the Jews.'

Balbillus: 'Look to what extremes of insolence either his god or . . .'

P. Oxy. ined.: Acta Diogenis

col. i

[	c. 12	]	ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῶν	
[	c. 12	]	ἡ ἐτῶν Νερῶνος	
[	c. 11	γ]	έγονεν ζῶντος	
[	αὐτοκράτορος Ν	]	ερῶνος πρὸς γυ-	
[	μνάσιον	]	ἡ ἀθλητῶν	5
[	c. 13	]	ἄνδρας ..[	
[	c. 12	]	ἄλλαις παρα	
[	c. 11	]	εἴκοσι οὐκ ἐ-	
[	c. 12	]	ωνι καταβαι-	
[	ν- c. 11	]	ς εἰς τὸ γυμνά-	10
[	σιον τὸν ἐπι	]	στάτην ἐρεν-	
[	νᾶ	]	ἡν οὕτως τι	
[	c. 12	]	ρε[	
[	c. 10	]	εισ[	

col. ii

Διογένης, μήτε τότε μεμφά-	15
μενον μήτ' ἄρτι μεμφόμενον.	
ἔδει μὲν γὰρ ἴσως ἐκδικηθῆναι	
φθαρέντα καὶ τοῦτον. ἀλλὰ πίστευ-	
σον αὐτοῦ τῇ νῦν σιωπῇ. πρὸ	
δώδεκα ἐτ(ῶν) ἄρ' οὐκ ἐμέμφατο	20
Καίσαρα, ἔχων δικαστὴν ὀργιζό-	
μενον ἡδέως, εὐφυνῇ κατὰ	
πλουσίων, εὐπαροξυντὸν	
ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅπως δὴ ποτε εὐσχή-	
μο[vas]; οὐκ ἐμέμφατο Καίσαρ[α]	[;] 25

ε[....] εἰπεῖν προ[...].εκας. τί
[δὲ οὐ]δὲν ἐλάλεις; .[c. 9]
[.....]εἰκη.ε[...].φ[c. 9]

col. iii

οὐκ ἔχων, πάντα ταῦτα παθών,
οὐ πάρεστιν, οὐ πέπλευκεν,
ἴν' ἐκεῖθεν ἔξωθεν μακρό-
θεν ἀπεστραμμένος κλαύση.
εἰ γὰρ ἔδει μόνον ἐκδικήσαν-
τα τὴν ὕβριν εὐθὺς ἀπολέσθαι,
μόνον ἀκολουθήσαι μέχρι
τῆς κολάσεως, ἰδεῖν ἀποπνε-
ῖν· εἰ (γὰρ) δύνατον ἦν μισθῶσαι
δῆμ[ι]ον αὐτόν. ἀλλὰ σοὶ μένει
καὶ τό[τ]ε ἐκείνος αὐτός .[
[..... π]έπονθε καὶ τ[....]

col. iv

[(?) κύριε, τὴν σὴν]
ἡρωῖδα ψυχὴν, εὐκαίρησον
εἰς ταύτην τὴν διάγνωσιν·
ὁ σὸς λοιδορεῖται βιός, ὁ σὸς
ἐνκαλεῖται [θ]ρόνος. οὐ δεῖ ζῆν
τὸν ἐπὶ σοῦ ταῦτα ψευδόμε-
νον. οὐκέτι σου τιμῶμεν
τὰς ἀκοάς, οὐδ' εἰ φευδόμεθα
σου τῆς τῶν ἡθῶν ἀρχαιότη-
τος'. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἐκείνοις τοῖς
ἀνωτέρω προσητεύχθης
[...].ρον[...].ονδ[...].ροσαν[...].
[c. 14] .εψω[...].
[c. 14] ἥθου[...].

col. v

ἀργύριον ἀπολεύσθαι .[
ἐγκλημα διπλοῦν
τῶν ὁπρι[...].[...].χ.ε[
θε[.....]επ[
δὲ τῶν ἐλυ[...].[
μεῖζον ἀκόλο[υ]θον [..].μ.[
πρῶτον καὶ ἀμ[...].]ασει.[
τὸ πρῶτον ἵνα τύχη καὶ [
τῆς ἀκολουθεία.ε[...].ρ[
δε μὲν ζῆν μα[...].[
ε[...].σ[.....].[

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40a

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1. We may estimate a lacuna here of about 12 letters, since the average line seems to be about 21 or 22 letters, in spite of a good deal of variation.

9. ἀγ[ώνι], or perhaps σὺν Νερ[ών].

13. Before ρε there appears to be a slight space, and R. suggests Νε[ρών]. 19 ff. For the punctuation of these lines see the Commentary. In l. 20 R. would read ἐτ(ῶν γ)άρ, ending in l. 25 with a full stop instead of a question mark. It would appear that after δώδεκα in l. 20 the copyist wrote ἔτη by mistake, and after deleting the final letter forgot to make the correction.

21. It is just possible that we should transpose the words as follows: δικαστὴν εὐφυῆ | ὀργιζόμενον.

26. At the end of the line .εκα ξτι is also possible.

38. αὐτόν: an error for αὐτοῦ?

39. After αὐτός traces of one letter, then part of a high transverse stroke before the lacuna.

44. R. at first read χρόνος, and the slight trace of ink perhaps favours this reading; but θρόνος is not impossible and gives a better sense.

46 ff. R. takes this as a question.

49. The marks at the beginning of the line may indicate a sense division or (at least those in the margin) corrector's symbols.

50. After προσ, perhaps a τ erased.

51. If δ is right, then τ]όνδ[ε suggests itself.

52. Not σ]τεψω; the first letter would appear to be μ or π.

56. Instead of]χ, λ is also possible.

58. Instead of ἐλυ[...], perhaps ερυ[...].

62. ἀκολουθεῖ or possibly ἀκολουθεία (l. ἀκολουθία). The trace following it would hardly suit s.

TRANSLATION

(ll. 15 ff.) '... Diogenes, neither criticizing then nor criticizing now. Perhaps he too should have been punished and put to death. But believe in his present silence. Twelve years ago, did

he not criticize Caesar, though he had in him a judge of kindly disposition, easily angered against the wealthy, readily aroused against those who were in any way of noble rank? Did he not criticize Caesar . . . ?

(ll. 29 ff.) ' . . . Bereft, after suffering all this, he is not present; he has not sailed—in order that there, afar off, beyond the bourne, he might mourn in his retreat (?) Would that he could have punished his pride and straightway died! Would that (we) could have accompanied him to his execution and seen him breathe his last! If only it were possible to hire his very executioner! But even then for you there remains . . .

(ll. 41 ff.) ' . . . (my Lord,) your heroic spirit; turn your mind to this consideration: it is your life that is being attacked; your throne (?) that is being indicted. The man who thus tells lies about you should not continue to live. For no longer do we honour your reputation—even if we excuse you for your old-fashioned ways. But if you had met those of earlier times (?) . . .

V_B

P. Fouad 8

We append here the text of P. Fouad 8, with some of the latest readings suggested by P. Jouguet in *Mélanges Ernout*, Paris, 1940, pp. 201 ff. Although the text is relevant, there is no convincing reason for thinking that it is part of the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. Perhaps a fragment from an oration, it appears to belong to an account of Vespasian's reception at Alexandria.¹

το[
]ρι^ο Ἀλεξάνδρ
]. βωμα[
]στον . κ[
]σαντω[ν . . .]οις συνη[
]στ . . α . των
]
εὐθ[ὺς] ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ μ[
]εῖς] τῇ πόλιν τῶν ὀχλ[ων]

5

¹ Compare the poetic piece celebrating the accession of Hadrian, P. Giss. 3 (*Chrest.* 491) in the edition of G. Manteuffel, *De opusculis graecis Aegypti*, Warsaw, 1912, n. 12. Cf. also the various directives for such celebrations, e.g. P. Oxy. 1021 and BGU 646.

α[?]τ ὄλον τὸν ἱππόδρομον [
] ὅτι ὑγιαίνων, κύριε Καῖσα[ρ
Οὐεσπ]α[σ]ιανὸς εἰς σωτήρ καὶ ἐνεργέτης
]ο . . . ος σ' ἀνατέλλων ε[
]α φύλαξον ἡμεῖν αὐτ[όν] (?)
κύρι]ε σεβαστέ, ἐνεργέτα, Σάρ[απ]ις 15
] . . Ἀμμωνος υἱὸς καὶ ἀπλ[
]εὺ]χαριστοῦμεν Τιβερίω [
] . Τιβέριος ἠπ[.]τισε[
] θεὸς Καῖσαρ ε[.] . ὅτι ὑγια[ιν
] . θεὸς Καῖσαρ Οὐ[ε]σπασιανὸς 20
]ις, κύριε σεβαστέ Ο[ὐ]εσπασιανέ (?)

Supplements by the editors (Jouguet and Guéraud).

2. Τιβε[ρ]ι[ο]ς? The edd. presume that the name occurs here.

8. μ[ε]τέβη ἐκ Σχεδίας J (Jouguet).

9. Before τῶν a space.

10. ἐνέπλησ[α]ν] (θ') ὄλον J.

11. Perhaps [βασιλεύοις] or the like: H. M.

13. Perhaps]δ ὄχλος J. εἰς θεούς? J.

18. ἦπ[εν] = εἶπεν J. Possibly ἠπ[ήρ]τισε (= ἀπήρτισε)? H. M.

19. εἰπ[εν] J.

VI

P. Rendel Harris: Acta Hermiae(ed. C. H. Roberts, *JRS* xxxix [1949], pp. 79 f.)

] ἀρχόντων
] ν Ἀλεξανδρείας
 Τίτος] Καίσαρ· ἀλλὰ κοινῇ
 διακρίνω τὰ πάντα
] .κα, μάλιστα δὲ ἐμὸς 5
] .τα. Ἑρμίας· κύριε
] ἀπολογεῖσθω Κ[]
] Τίτος Καίσαρ· []
] ιε, ἀπολογοῦ. Κυ[]
 κύριε,] οὐκ εἰμι ἔτοιμ[ος] 10
 [ποιεῖσθαι τ]ήν [ἀ]πολογία. Τ[ίτος]
 [Καίσαρ·] τόπον πεποιή[μαι]
] ιον καὶ Οὕηστε[ίνου]
 κ]αὶ τούτου θεί[]
 μάρ]τυς τοῦ μέλλ[ον-] 15
 [τος] .εσθαι· π'λὴν κ[]
] του[]

Supplements by Roberts, unless otherwise noted.

3. Suppl. H. M. 5. Before κα, α is possible.

6. 'The missing letter at the beginning of the line is probably ι or ο': R.

9. *κν[p. The asterisk was undoubtedly, as the editor suggests, used to indicate the omission of the double point.

11. 'Perhaps τήν ἐμὴν The supplement at the end is speculative; . . . π (e.g. ποι[εῖσθαι]) could be read for τ': R.

12. So R. Skeat privately suggested ἔργον ἀ]τοπον πεποιή[ται]; and Bingen τοῦτο κτλ. πεποιή[μαι] ('I considered this absurd').

14. 'Or -αυτον (termination of a proper name). The last two letters of the line were either smudged or half-heartedly erased': R.

16. 'The initial letter is either κ or χ': R.

VII

Acta Maximi(P. Oxy. 471 + *Griech. lit. Pap.* n. 42)*Acta Maximi I* (P. Oxy. 471)

col. i

Faint traces of the ends of lines

col. ii

καὶ [τῶν] ἀρχαίων ἀπο[στε-]
) ρεῖτ[αι. δι]ὸ [π]ροσθήσω τι, κύριε,
 περ[ὶ οὗ] θαυμάσεις, οἶμαι, καὶ
 ἀπι[στήσ]εις ἕως ἂν τὰ γράμ-
 μ[ατα ἀνα]γνώμεν. τόκον κα-
 τέκρινεν ὕ[περ] οὗ μηδέπω χρό-
 νου λαβόντες ἔνιοι τὸ δάνει-
 ον ἦσαν. τί φησιν; ἀποδη-
 [μοῦν]τες ἠγνοήσατε τὰς
 [π]ερὶ τούτων γεγραμμέ-
 νας ὑμ[εῖν] ἐπιστολάς; ἄμει-
 νον δ' αὖται καὶ σαφέστε-
 ρον τὴν περὶ τοῦτο ἀκρί-
 βειαν καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν
 Μαξίμ[ου] δηλώσουσιν.
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ τελευταῖος ὑπο-
 μνημα[τ]ισμὸς [ἐ]πισφρα-
 γίζει τὴν σπουδὴν αὐτοῦ
 καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν πρὸς
 τὸ μειρά[κι]ον. θλιβομέ-
 νων γὰρ (ἡμῶν), ἐπειδὴν ἀπαλ-
 [λ]αγῇ τῆς ἐ[π]αρχείας, εἴτα

[.....] τοὺς τόκους
 [.....].ετα[.] παντὸς
 [.....].[...]
 [.....]νο[.] ὑπο
 [.....]ν διαδο-
 [χ-.....].ερ διατάσ-
 [σει τὰς γυμνα]σιάρχιας
 [ἐπι]τηρητα[ί]ς· εἰς μὲν
 [τὸ] ἐν[νεακαίδ]έκατον
 [ἐ]τος τ[οῦ] κυρίου Βερνεικια-
 [...].αλ...γείας...τω τῶν πάποτε
 [....].[.] κ[αὶ] γ[υμνασιάρχων καὶ γρα-
 [μα]τ[έω]ν κ[αὶ] τῶ]ν τῆς γ[υμ]νασιάρχιας
 [ἐπιτηρητῶν].[...].[...]

col. iii

νὸς ἐ[σται] γυμνασίαρχο[ς],
 τὸ δὲ ἑνατον καὶ ἐ[ικο-]
 στὸν Ἀνείκητος [γυμνα-]
 σιάρχῃσει. ταῦτ[α δὲ ἐκ]
 τίνος αἰτ[ί]ας σ[εσίγη-]
 κας; ἐξαπατηθ[ῆναι]
 ἢ καὶ δωρεά[ς λαβεῖν]
 φήσεις; συνφέ[ρει τοί-]
 νυν τοῦλαττο[ν μόν]ον
 ὁμολογεῖν. ἡμεῖς δ' οὐ-
 κ εἰληφέναι σε μισθὸν
 [ἀλλὰ δε]δωκέναι φαμέν.
 τ[ί] γάρ; ἐπτακαίδεκαετῆς
 [π]αῖς πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ἐδεί-
 πνει παρὰ σ[οί]. τούτων
 ἕκαστος ὁσάκις ἡξιώθη
 μεταλαβεῖν ἐστιάσεως—
 [ο]ὐδὲ γὰρ ῥαδίως ἐκβασι-
 λισθεῖς ἅπαξ τὰ τοιαῦ-

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τα ἐχαρίζου—τὸν παῖδα
 ἐώρακεν ἐν τῷ [σ]υνποσί-
 ωι καὶ μετὰ τοῦ π[α]τρὸς
 καὶ μόνον. ἐώρακε δὲ καὶ
 [βλ]έμμα ἀναίσχυντον
 καὶ διαπομπὰς ἀναισχύν-
 του(ς) ἐραστῶν δασείων.
 τί δέ; πᾶσαν ἡμέ[ρ]αν ἡ-
 [σ]πάζετο. μαρτύρονται,
 κύριε, τὴν σὴν τύχην,
 [εἰ] μὴν ἀναμενόντων
 αὐτῶν τὸν ἀσπασμὸν
 (Traces of 4 lines in cursive)

60

65

col. iv

καὶ θυραυλούντων, ἐκ τ[οῦ]
 κοιτῶνος ἐξίοντα τὸν
 παῖδα ἐωρακέναι μόν[ον]
 [[ον]] σύνβολα δεικνύντα
 τῆς πρὸς τοῦτον ὁμι-
 λίας. ἅπαξ γὰρ ἐν ἔθει τῆς
 α[ίσ]χύνης γενόμενον,
 εὐμορφὸν καὶ πλούσιον
 μεираκίον ἐθρύπτετο
 καὶ ἐξύβρι[ζ]εν, ὥστε ἀντι-
 κρυς ἀπάντων συνπαί-
 ζειν καὶ ἐ[ξ]ηρητῆσθαι τῶν
 χειρῶν [Εὐ]τύχου τοῦ κοι-
 τωνίτου καὶ γέλωτα
 πολὺν καὶ ἀνειμένον
 ἐν μέσοις τοῖς ἀσπαζο-
 μένοις γελᾶν. ἦν δὲ οὐ-
 κ ἀσύνετον, ὥστε καὶ

75

80

85

ἡξιώθη παρ[

των τοιούτ[ων

σιων αφ[

κρείνειν .[

αὐτῶι θαρ[

τὴν ἐπιστ[ήμην

κε τὴν σή[ν

της ἐπ[

ἐργο[

[.]ξ[

[.].[

[.].[

155

160

All supplements by GH, unless otherwise noted.

2. δι[ό] suppl. Crönert (*Stud. Pal.* iv. 92 ff.).

6. ου (p) = ὑ(πέρ) οδ Wilcken, followed by GH in P. Oxy. v (1908), p. 314 (= GH²).

18. δουλην GH; δουδην (p) = σπουδην GH², following a suggestion of S. de Ricci.

21. ἡμῶν Crönert, followed by GH².

24. παντός Crönert, followed by GH². 28 f. Suppl. Crönert.

33. ἀλαζονείας (Sherwin-White) seems very likely.

41 f. Suppl. Fuhr, *Berl. phil. Woch.* xxiii (1903), 1484.

49. τί γάρ; interp. H. M.; cf. 63 and 129.

62. δαρείων Musschl, *Hermes*, lxi (1926), 111 (= δασέων). δο[λ]είων Wilcken, followed by GH².

63. τί δέ; interp. H. M.

67. αυτων corr. from ημων.

74 f. μόν[ον] | [[ου]] GH; μόν[ον] | οὐ or μόν[ον] οὐ | [[ου]] Crönert. But there is hardly room after μόν[ον], and οὐ (75) is certainly deleted—possibly through a mistake of the corrector.

89. ὥστε p.

122. After]ε three heavy dots, p.

128 f. [εἰ]]πετο Wilcken, Crönert.

129. τί οὖν; interp. H. M.

131. Suppl. Wilcken, followed by GH².

142 f. Ο[ύ]αλε[]ριος Wilcken, followed by GH².

144. Suppl. H. M. φιλ[ο]σόφων GH.

145 ff. Wilcken suggested καὶ τὴν τ[ῶν] ἐκεῖ | ἀρχιδικαστῶν ἀρχ[ὴν] ἐτη δέ[] κα

ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ τε καὶ ἐπὶ | ἐμπειρίᾳ.

148. δὲ [οὐδενὸς] δευτέρως Crönert.

149. οὐκ [ἀμόρφω] Crönert.

151. παρ' [αὐτοῦ] περ[ὶ] (Wilcken, Crönert) is very likely.

152 f. συμπο[]σίω Crönert; ἀφροδι[]σίω Wilcken.

153-7. Crönert suggested α φ[αῖνοιτο] λέγειν. ὁ δέ[] | κρείνειν ο[ὐ] θέλων μάλισ

ἐπεν | αὐτῶν θάρ[ρων], κύριε, διὰ | τὴν ἐπιστ[ήμην]..... | κε τὴν σή[ν] ἐρώ

τησω (?). But it is to be noted that after κρείνειν (l. κρίνειν) (154) perhaps

κ[α] (GH²); in ll. 155 f., ἐπεν | αὐτῶν θάρ[ρει] is not unlikely.

160-2. After these lines (not transcribed by GH) the papyrus breaks off.

Acta Maximi II (Griech. lit. Pap. n. 42)

col. i

(About 35 lines missing)

col. ii

(margin)

]. α γὰρ

]. ιστο

14

]ον

(About 10 lines missing)

25

τ[

τ[

κ[

κ[

[

τ[

30

τ. [...]κα[

τω[

τ[

ρων κει[

σοῦ τὴν φ[

ω λυποῦ[

γορικον [

35

col. iii

Ηραϊος

ὅτι μὲν βλεπόμενος ἄξιός ἐστι

τῆς πρεσβείας, ὡ[ς] ἐν ποταπῶι

κούφωι ἀνοσμος οἶνος οὐκ αἰ-

σθ[άν]ε[ι] μετὰ τὴν κολακείαν.

[νῦν δ' εἰς] ἔλεγξιν μετέβημεν

[ἐξ ἐναντι]ώσεως.

[.....]λιος Διόδωρος γυμ[να]σίαρχος.

[.....] κύριε, βραδύτης πε-

[ριεγένετ' ἂν,] εἰ μή τι ἔβλαψεν

[αὐτὸν ἢ ἐνα]ντίωσις Ἡραίου.

[.....]

[.....]πρε[σβ]εύεις, ἄνθρωπε,

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45

50

(Possibly 2 or
3 lines missing)

[.....][...]. τῶν οὐσῶν
 [...καὶ ἡμι]σέας· καλῶ γὰρ
 [.....]αι τόπον ἔχεις
 [.....]ρητα[.....]ς ὑποθέσεις.
 Εὐδαίμω[ν] ἀρχιδ(ικαστής).
 ἐ[γὼ π]εριττῶς ὀφείλω Μαξι-
 μου κατηγορεῖν, ἐπεὶ δοκεῖ >
 ἐπ' ἐμ[οῦ] κεκελε]υκέναι ἀλεί-
 φειν τ[οὺς νέους] ἕως ᾧρας ἐν-
 δεκάτη[ς, ὧν καὶ ὁ υἱός] μου Θέ-
 ων ἐγ[έμετο ἀ]λλ' ἐπεὶ
 ἡ ὠφέλ[εια.....]λιαν ἐ-
 ...πρ[ο] c. 17]
 []
 εἰς ὑπ[c. 12 ἡ] συχῇ
 ε[]

col. iv

επ[
 τῆς [
 τὸν [
 τροφ[
 τῶν ['Ρω-]
 μαίω[ν
 ἐξ οἱ[κ-
 νηα[
 εἰαντ[κυ-]
 ρίου π[
 ἀργυρ[ι-
 δόσε[
 πρεσ[βε-
 σικ.[
 εσθα[ι
 πυρ[ι]

The supplements in the text are by S(chubart), unless it is otherwise stated.

5. βλα]βερόν or φο]βερόν: S. 6. Possibly αἰ]τίαι.
 10. τῇν suppl. H. M. 13.] εἰς τό? 31 f. Perhaps οὐ]τῶ.

36. Possibly φ̄ λυποῦ]νται or the like.
 36 f. κατη]γορικόν ('informer'), or the like.

40. φ[s] ἐν. S. originally read ὁ [δ] ἐν, on the basis of which Roberts suggested α[τδ]εν (followed by a stop). Later, however, in a private communication, Schubart agreed that perhaps φ[s] could be read. Before it, therefore, there must be some sort of punctuation.

41 f. αἰ]σθ[άν]ε[ι] very doubtful: S. It may be that αἰ]σθ[άν]ε[ι] is a possible alternative. 44. [ἐξ ὑποθ]έσεως is also possible: S.

45. 'Ιού]λιος or Κλαύ]διος, but not Αὐρή]λιος: S.

46. Perhaps [ἀλλὰ ἡ σή,] κύριε.

47. Suppl. S. πε[ριέμεινεν ἄν] is perhaps too long.

49. Obviously a name is missing here, possibly *Ηραῖος.

50. Possibly [ἔρα σύ] here, introducing a question.

52. '[Zahl καὶ ἡμι]σέας': S. γαρ^o or, more probably, γαρ': p. As S. suggests, the stroke is most probably that used from about the end of the second century to separate double consonants within a word; hence here it may have been used in error, the following word having begun with ρ.

53. Not κ]αί; but ἐλέγξ]αι is possible: S.

54. τὰ[s ἐμά]ς would be too short for the lacuna: S. Perhaps we may supply τὰ[s αὐτὰ]ς.

57. Perhaps <ε>δόκει.

58. κεκαλ]υκέναι is also possible: S. 74. Perhaps νῆα[s].

75. The supplement (S.) is probably right; but before it we should perhaps add the more usual τοῦ.

78. δόσε[ως]: S. Many other supplements are possible, as e.g. ἐπι][δόσε[is].

79. πρεσ[βεία: S.

80. Perhaps there is some form of σικχάνω or μνησικακῶ here. Before -εσθαι, most probably a vowel.

TRANSLATION

A. Max. I (P. Oxy. 471)

'... And he is deprived of his property. Wherefore I shall bring forward an additional point, my Lord, which will undoubtedly arouse in you disbelief and scepticism, until we read the documents. He forced people to pay him interest even for a period in which, in some cases, they had not as yet even received the loan. And what is his reply? That you were absent at the time and hence were unaware of the letters that had been written you on the matter. But these will demonstrate quite clearly Maximus' craft and cunning in this connexion.'

'Now the last document clearly sets a seal on the devotion and love he felt for the boy. While we are being oppressed, whenever he leaves the province (?) ... "Berenicianus is to be

¹ At this point various letters and documents are read.

gymnasiarch up to the Emperor's nineteenth year, and Anicetus up to the twenty-ninth year". Why have you been silent about this? Will you reply that you were misled, or that you received bribes? Surely it would be more advantageous for you to admit the lesser crime. But my contention is not that you accepted bribes but that you offered them.

'Further, a seventeen-year-old boy used to dine with you every day. Everyone of these men here, whenever they were invited to partake of a banquet (and you did not share these favours easily, once you had attained your regal rank)—everyone of these men would see the lad at your drinking-party, sometimes with his father and sometimes alone. They would see, too, the shameful glances and shameful behaviour of these male lovers.

'Again, he used to pay his respects to the prefect every morning. These men testify by your *genius*, my Lord, that while they would be outside his door awaiting his greeting they would see the boy coming out of his bed-chamber, all but bearing the signs of his familiarity with him. For once this handsome, wealthy youth had become familiar with shame, he became more and more depraved and insolent: so much so that before everyone he used to sport with Eutychus the chamberlain and cling to his hands, and burst into loud and unrestrained laughter right in the midst of Maximus' clients. And far from being innocent, he used to give an exhibition to Maximus' debtors of what he had been doing.

'And you, with your severe bearing and austere looks, why did you not try to stop him? No, but if a beggar in poor clothing petitions you, you confiscate his property with that of his wife and friends. And the man that sat in the theatre without white garments you condemned to death. Yet this beardless and . . . , yes, and handsome boy you kept in the Palace every day and would no longer send him to school or to those exercises which are proper for the young. How much more you would have blamed his father—and justly—for not training him in this respect! . . .

'You travel about the whole of Egypt in this lad's company. Why, even in the seat of justice at the public Assizes this seventeen-year-old child was with you! Yes, and at Memphis and Pelusium and wherever you went, he was your companion. All the rest of us shun (?) your official tours and the Assizes, so that . . .'

A. Max. II (Griech. lit. Pap. n. 42)

(Ll. 38 ff.) Heraeus: 'For obviously you are worthy of the

embassy; like odourless wine in no matter what jar it is kept (?), you do not show emotion (?) after flattery. But now we have passed from prosecution to refutation. . . .'

Diodorus, the gymnasiarch: 'Your patience would have prevailed, my Lord, if he had not been checked by the opposition of Heraeus (?).'

(Ll. 55 ff.) Eudaemon, the archidicastes: 'I especially ought to make an accusation against Maximus, for during my term he has been known to order (?) the young boys to be trained in the gymnasium until their eleventh year, and one of these was my Theon. . . .'

VIII

P. Oxy. 1242: Acta Hermaisci

col. i

. [c. 22] β[.] ρ[...]. []
 ξ[c. 21] μος[...]. υ-
 σμεν[.....] α.[...] Διονύσιος ὁ ἐν
 πολλαῖς ἐπιτροπαῖς γενόμενος, καὶ
 Σαλούτιος, Ἰούλιος Σαλούτιος, Τεμαγένης,
 Πάστωρ γυμνασίου, Ἰούλιος Φανίας,
 Φιλόξενος ἀποδεξιγμένος γυμνασίου-
 χος, Σωτίων γυμνασίου, Θέων,
 Ἀθηνόδωρος, Παῦλος Τύριος τῷ γένει
 αὐθαίρετος συνήγορος ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξαν-
 δρέων. ταῦτα μαθόντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι,
 καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ ἰδίου ἔθνους προχειρίζον-
 ται πρέσβεις, χειροτονοῦνται δὲ Σίμων,
 Γλαύκων, Θεύδης, Ὀνίας, Κόλων, Ἰάκουμ-
 βος, καὶ Σώπατρος Ἀντιοχεὺς τῷ γένει
 συνήγορος ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων. ἀνάγον-
 ται μὲν οὖν τῆς πόλεως, ἕκαστοι βαστά-
 ζοντες τοὺς ἰδίους θεοὺς, Ἀλεξανδρεῖς

col. ii

[c. 13] ρ[c. 11] τι[...]. [...]
 [.....] ισ[.....]. [...] δω[...]. συν[
 [.....]. [...]. ο[...]. ι[...]. γ[...]. μεταδίδωσ[ι] τοῖς σὺν
 αὐτοῖς λόγῳ, καὶ λήξαντος τοῦ χειμῶνος
 ὁρμίζον[αι εἰς] τὴν Ῥώμην. ἔμαθεν ὁ αὐτοκρά-
 τωρ ὅτι πάρεσι πρέσβεις Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἀλεξαν-
 δρέων, καὶ ἐτάξα[ν]το τὴν ἡμέραν ὅτε ἀμφοτέρων
 ἀκούσεται. [ἡ] δὲ Πλωτεῖνα ἀπαντᾷ τοὺς συνκλη-

τικοῦ[ς] π[αρ]αγενέσθαι κατὰ Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ
 τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις βοηθῆσαι. καὶ πρῶτοι εἰσελθόν-
 τες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀσπάζονται τὸν αὐτοκρά-
 τωρα Τραιανόν· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ εὐμενέστατα αὐ-
 τοὺς ἡσπ[ά]στο, καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη προπεπεισμέ-
 νος ὑπὸ [τῆς] Πλωτεῖνης. μετ' αὐτοὺς εἰσέρ-
 χονται Ἀλεξανδρέων πρέσβεις καὶ ἀσπά-
 ζονται τὸν αὐτοκράτορα· ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀπηντή-
 σατο, ἀλλ' [εἰ]πεν· χαιρετίζετέ με ὥς ἄξιοι τυγ-
 χάνον[τες] τοῦ χαίρειν, τοιαῦτα χαλεπὰ πολ-
 μήσαντε[ς] Ἰουδαίοις; ἀλλὰ πορεύεσθαι καὶ

col. iii

[.....] ισ[c. 26]
 [.....] ὄν Ἰουδαί[αι.....]. [.....] ησ[
 [.....] μελε[τ]ᾶς τὸ θανεῖν καταφρο[ν]ήσ[ας] τοῦ θανάτου
 ὥστε ἅμοι αὐθάδως ἀποκρινόμενος. Ἑρμαῖσκος εἶπ[εν]
 ἀλλὰ λυπούμεθα ὅτι τὸ συνέδριόν σου ἐπλήσθη τῶν
 ἀνοσίων Ἰουδαίων. Καῖσαρ εἶπεν· ἴδε δευτέρον σοι
 λέγω, Ἑρμαῖσκε· αὐθάδως ἀποκρίνη πεποιθὺς τῷ
 σεαυτοῦ γένει. Ἑρμαῖσκος εἶπεν· τί αὐθάδως ἀποκρί-
 νομαι, μέγιστε αὐτοκράτωρ; δίδαξόν με. Καῖσαρ εἶπεν·
 ὅτι τὸ συνέδριόν μου Ἰουδαίων ἐποίησας. Ἑρμαῖσκος·
 οὐκ οὐκ χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῶν Ἰουδαίων; ὀφεί-
 λεις οὖν πάλι τοῖς σεαυτοῦ βοηθεῖν καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἀνοσί-
 οῖς Ἰουδαίοις συνηγορεῖν. ταῦτα λέγοντος Ἑρμαῖσκου
 ἡ τοῦ Σαράπιδος προτομή ἦν ἐβάσταζον οἱ πρέσ-
 βεις αἰφνίδιον ἴδρωσεν, θεασάμενος δὲ Τραιανὸς
 ἀπεθαύμασ[εν]· καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον συνδρομαὶ ἐγένον-
 το εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, κραυγαί τε πανπληθεῖς ἐξεβο-
 ῶν[το] καὶ πάν[τες] ἔφηναν εἰς τὰ ὑψηλὰ μέρη τῶν λό-
 φων

col. iv

[...]. τ[
 καὶ τ[

ποτ[
 κλυ[
 σου[
 ναι τ[
 ..ξ[
 δεσ[
 ..[
 τεσ[
 ωσ[
 απ[

 η[
 μ[
 αλλ[.].η καὶ τηλικαύτη[
 τας. Κλαύδιος Ἀθηγ[
 ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ Κλαυδίου [
 λέγει· ἀνάξιοι μὲν εἰ[
 σφουσιν γὰρ αἰὰν λοιδορ[
 πων εἶναι κατ[.].τ[
 ον τῆς ὀψεως [...].ξ[
 σεβεῖς ὄντες [

Unlocated Fragments

Frag. i

. . .
]κ[
]π[
 . . .

Frag. ii

. . .
]ε[
]ν[
].[
 . . .

Frag. iii

. . .
]σ[
]τ[
 . . .

Frag. iv

. . .
]θ[
]ν[
 . . .

1. [ἀρα]β[ἀ]ρ[χ]η[ς], Hunt's conjecture (in a marginal note written in his own copy), is not unlikely.
 2 f. Probably [ἡ]γν[σμέ]ος or the like. πεπυσμένος or ἐφευσμένος are too long for the available space.
 10. αυθαιπετος corr. from αυθεπετος.
 18. After this line (presumably at the head of col. ii), Schmidt would restore [μὲν τὴν Σαράπιδος προτομήν, Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ | τὰ ἱερὰ βιβλία, or the like.
 25. ἡμέραν. The original reading of GH, χώραν, is rightly corrected by Milne, *Cat. Lit. Pap.* n. 117. <δ>τε is probably the best emendation for the superscript τε. On the basis of the original reading, GH had suggested <ωσ>τε... ἀκούσεσθαι: Wilcken τῇ: Schmidt <καὶ δ>τε.
 28. α of βοηθῆσαι corr. from ε. ω of πρῶτοι corr. from ο.
 31. ἡσπ[ά]στο, interp. H. M. καὶ αὐτός, ἦδη GH.
 32. εισερ- corr. from εισερ-. 37. GH: l. πορεύεθε, but see Commentary.
 40. At the end of this line, as well as 42, there are lacunae in the papyrus, but there were probably no more letters.
 41. GH: probably ἀποκρίνεσθαι. After it, probably a question-mark.
 48. GH accent οὐκοῦν, but see Commentary.
 71. GH: Ἀθηγ[ό]δωρος (?). 73. αναξιοι corr. from αναξειοι.
 74. Probably l. εἰν. 76 f. [ἀ]σεβεῖς GH.
 77. ὄντες corr. from ὄντος.

TRANSLATION

(Ll. 3 ff.) . . . Dionysius, who had held many procuratorships, and Salvius, Julius Salvius, Timagenes, Pastor the gymnasiarch, Julius Phantias, Philoxenus the gymnasiarch-elect, Sotion the gymnasiarch, Theon, Athenodorus, and Paulus of Tyre, who offered his services as advocate for the Alexandrians. When the Jews learned this, they too elected envoys from their own group, and thus were chosen Simon, Glaucon, Theudes, Onias, Colon, Jacob, with Sopatros of Antioch as their advocate. They set sail, then, from the city, each party taking along its own gods, the Alexandrians (a bust of Serapis, the Jews . . .).

(Ll. 21 ff.) . . . He conversed with their companions; and when the winter was over they arrived at Rome. The emperor learned that the Jewish and Alexandrian envoys had arrived, and he appointed the day on which he would hear both parties. And Plotina approached (?) the senators in order that they might oppose the Alexandrians and support the Jews. Now the Jews, who were the first to enter, greeted Emperor Trajan, and the emperor returned their greeting most cordially, having already been won over by Plotina. After them the Alexandrian envoys entered and greeted the emperor. He, however, did not go to meet them, but said:

'You say "hail" to me as though you deserved to receive a greeting—after what you have dared to do to the Jews! . . .'

(Ll. 40 ff.) [Trajan:] 'You must be eager to die, having such contempt for death as to answer even me with insolence.'

Hermiscus said: 'Why, it grieves us to see your Privy Council filled with impious Jews.'

Caesar said: 'This is the second time I am telling you, Hermiscus: you are answering me insolently, taking advantage of your birth.'

Hermiscus said: 'What do you mean, I answer you insolently, greatest emperor? Explain this to me.'

Caesar said: 'Pretending that my Council is filled with Jews.'

Hermiscus: 'So, then, the word "Jew" is offensive to you? In that case you rather ought to help your own people and not play the advocate for the impious Jews.'

As Hermiscus was saying this, the bust of Serapis that they carried suddenly broke into a sweat, and Trajan was astounded when he saw it. And soon tumultuous crowds gathered in Rome and numerous shouts rang forth, and everyone began to flee to the highest parts of the hills. . . .

IX

*Acta Pauli et Antonini**P. Lond. i Recto*

col. iv (Wilcken)

[c. 15] Καῖσαρ· καὶ οὐ[.]
 [c. 15]ων Θέων ἀνέγγ[ω]
 [τὸν ὑπομνηματι]σμὸν Λούπου ἐν [ὧι ἐ-]
 [κέλευε παραδοῦναι] τὰ ὄπλα καὶ ἀναχ[ω-]
 [ρεῖν Καῖσα]ρ· ποίας ἔσχεν ἀφο[ρ-] 5
 [μὰς]ν ἀπαιτεῖν ὑμᾶς
 [c. 15]α εἶχατε· θέλετε
 [c. 15]νομένους στρατι-
 [ώτας πραιτ]ωριανούς καὶ η· [
 [c. 13]έρωτήσω ὃ τινες 10
 [c. 15] περὶ τοῦ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς
 [καὶ ἐκ μίμου βασιλέω]ς ἀ[[πε]]κριβέστε-
 [ρον c. 15] καὶ Κλαυδιανοῦ
 [ε . . . ντω[
 [. . .] 15

P. Louvre

col. i

[Πα]ῦλος περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν[.]
 [.]ο ὡς προήγαγον καὶ ἔτοσα[.]
 [.]ο ἀνγγ[όρ]ευσε, καὶ Θέω[ν
 περὶ τούτ[ο]ν διάταγμα' ἀνέγνω [τοῦ?]
 Λούπου, ὡς προάγειν αὐ[τ]οὺς 5 (20)
 [ἐ]κέλευε χλευάζων τὸν ἀπὸ
 [σ]κηνῆς καὶ ἐκ μίμου βασιλέα.
 [ο]ὔτως ἡμῶν, καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ
 [ἐ]σχε[ν] διάσεν εἰπὼν πρὸς

[II]αὐλον καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους
 [τ]ὰ ταῖς τ[ο]ιαύταις πα-
 [ρα]τάξεσ[ι] γίνεται ἐμοὶ .η
 [..] ἐν τῷ Δακικῷ πολέμ[ω]ι [..]
 [..]ατοσ[..]θυλει τις τῶν πε[...]
 [..]ρων [..]ων ἐκεῖ ατον[...]
 [..]κεν[..] ἀνδρας ξ τὸν [ἀριθ-
 μὸν .[.]. ελεσι μόνοις [...]
 [..]ξιου. [..]ας τι σχεῖν ἀντ[...]
 [..]υ ἐκ. [..]σα αὐτο[...]
 [..]θγι [..]και κα[...]
 [πε]μπε[ι] [..] ἐξ[...]
 [..]ειλε. [..]ποσο[...]
 [..] τότε [ἀ]νδρ[...]
 [..]αι κ[c. 17]
 [ἐγ]γγυ[ν (?) c. 17]
 [..]ων. [c. 17]
 [..]ωσ. [c. 17]
 [..]αυ[c. 17]

(Probably 1 or 2 more lines)

Col. ii

ἀ[πεκρίνατο] Καῖσαρ Ἰουδαίοις· ἔμαθον
 [.....]ου τω θονημαρχῇ τῆς (45)
 [.....] καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἤρξεται
 [.....]· ὀλίγα καὶ πε[ρ]ὶ τοῦ Ἀνθίμου
 [.....] ἀπ[ε]δείχθη τῷ κυρίῳ ἐφ' οὗ 5
 [..] ὁ πόλεμ[ος] ἐκινήθη, ὅτι καὶ με-
 [τ.....] ἀποδημίαν ταῦτα ἐγένετο. (50)
 Ἰουδαῖοι· ἐκ[] κωστωδίας ἤρπασαν καὶ
 [σ.....]τας ἐτραυμάτισαν.
 Καῖσαρ· περὶ τῶν πάντων συνέγνω· 10
 [οὐ πᾶσιν (?) Ἀλε]ξανδρεῦσι ἀλλὰ τοῖς ποιή-
 [σασι ταῦτα] δεῖ ἐ[πε]ξέρχεσθαι. (55)

[Ἰουδαῖοι·.....] ἀνόσ[ια] Θεῶν ἐμ-
 [φαίνει (?).....] αὐτοκράτωρ, χάρις σου
 [c. 14 χ]ρόνον· ἀ περὶ τοὺς 15
 [c. 15]· μᾶλλον αὐτῶν
 [c. 13 γίν]ωσκε ὥς πιστευ- (60)
 [c. 15] ἡμῖν περὶ ὧν ἐ-
 [c. 15]ειν φθονων
 [c. 17 ἀγ]αθοὶ ὀλί- 20
 [γ- c. 18]ψε.
 (slight space)
 [Ἀντωνεῖνος (?)· κύριε, Ἀλε]ξανδρεῖς (65)
 [οὐκ c. 18] τοῖς
 [c. 17 κατα]κριθέν- 25
 [τες ἦσαν ἐξήκοντα Ἀλε]ξα[νδρεῖς]
 [καὶ οἱ τούτων δοῦλοι, καὶ οἱ] μὲν
 [Ἀλε]ξανδρεῖς]τιου[(70)
 [c. 23]θ[

(One or possibly 2 lines lost)

col. iii

ἢ τὸ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις [διδόμε-]
 νον δάκρυ προπεμ[ψάντων]·
 ὥστε εἰ τινας ἔδε[ι ἐκβλη-] (75)
 θῆναι ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρε[ίας ...]
 οὐδὲ ἦττον καὶ οὐ[χ ὑφ' ἡμῶν]
 5 ἀρπασθέντας, ὥς [φασιν, ἀλλὰ]
 ὑπὸ τούτων ἡρπάγησ[αν]
 εἰς ἡμετέραν συκο[φαντίαν].
 80 ὅσοι μὲν τελέως δια[σωθησό-]
 λ[]μενοι πρό[ς] τοὺς κυρί[ους κατέ-] 10
 85 φυ[γ]ον, αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ αὐτ[ῶν προ-]
 παρεστάθησαν καὶ [ἐκολάσθη-]
 σαν.
 [Ἰουδαῖοι· κύριε, ψεύδον[ται λέγον-] (85)
 15 τες, οὐδ' ὅσοι ἦσαν ἄν[δρες ἴσασι.]

Καῖσαρ Ἰουδαίοις· φανε[.....]
 ατους οὐ δύνασθε δε[.....]
 μ' εἰσιν Ἀλεξανδρεῖς [.....]
 νες Ἀλεξανδρεῖς εὐχ[ονται ..]
 πεποιηκέναι ἢ ἄλλου[.....]
 ὁ ἔπαρχός μου ἐν ᾧ ἔ[γραψε δια-]
 τάγματι δηλοῖ δυνα[.....]
 μων εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ τρ[.....]
 ἁμαρτάνοντας δού[λους....]
 εἰκός· πάντας γὰρ κα[.....]
 Ἕλληνες καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς [.....]
 [τ]οὺς ἀχρεῖους δούλους [.....]
 [.]χωι περὶ τῶν κω[.....]
 [τ]αῦτα, καὶ πόσοι εκη[.....]
 [..]ς πεποιηκότες ἐκολ[άσθησαν]
 [δι]ότι [ἐ]κολάσθησαν [.....].

(An unknown number of columns lost)

col. vi

[Π]αῦλος· ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τάφος μοι
 μόνος πεφρόντισται, ὃν νο-
 μίζω καταλαβεῖν. ἐπὶ τοῦτον
 δὲ πορευόμενος οὐ δειλιά-
 σω σοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰπεῖν.
 οὕτως ἄκουσόν μου, Καῖσαρ, ὥς
 μεθ' ἡμέραν μηκέτ' ὄντος.
 [Α]ντωνεῖνος· κύριέ μου Καῖσαρ,
 μὰ τὴν σὴν τύχην ἀληθῶς
 λέ[γ]ει ὥς μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν
 μηκέτι ὦν. εἰ γὰρ τοσούτων
 ἐπι[σ]τολῶν σοι πε[μ]φθεῖσάν
 ἐπειγόντων ἡμᾶς ὥς διέτα-
 ξ' ἀνοσίους Ἰουδα[ί]ους προσ-
 κατοικεῖν οὐ οὐ παραβόλως
 ἔσχον ἀναπίπτειν καὶ πο-

λεμῖν τὴν εὐπρ[ο]σώνυμο-
 ν ἡμῶν πόλιν, περὶ τούτων
 οὐδεμίαν ἐπιστολὴν ἐ-
 δέξω εἰς τὰς εὐερ[γ]εσίας
 σου χεῖρας, ἐξ ᾧ φανερόν
 ἐστὶν περὶ τῶν αἰδεσμάτων
 σου λόγων. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι
 καὶ τοῦτο πεποίηται κατὰ σοῦ
 μηδεμίαν ἀπόδειξιν ἔ-
 χων τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς γε-
 γενημένων π[ημ]άτων.
 Καῖσαρ· Παῦλος [μὲν ἀ]φείσ-
 θω, Ἀντων[νεῖνος] δ[έ]

(120)

20

(125)

25

(130)

col. vii

δεθήτωι [.....] π[ροσπ]ηδ[ω]σιν
 ἡμᾶς τοῖς [.....] τοῖς [.....] κατὰ
 τὸ παρὸν [.....] Ἀντων[νεῖνον] δ[έ]θεντος,
 αἱ σεβασ[ταὶ] ἀρχαὶ κε[λεύ]ουσιν τοῖς πρὸς
 τοὺς δε[σμίους] τὸν Ἀντων[νεῖνον] κο-
 λάζειν κα[ὶ] κρεμάσασθαι ὑπὸ ξύλον
 καὶ ὑποκα[λεῖν] πυρὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ὀστέα κα[ὶ] βα-
 σάνεισιν [.....] μ[ορ]σο Ἰουδαῖον
 τοῦτον φ[.....] ριν ἀλλουτρίου
 πρὸς ἀν[.....]ος πρέσβεια γε-
 γενημ[ένον] [.....] κα[ὶ] φανερός ἐστιν
 ἀνόσια π[οιήσας] [.....] ἄρξας κα-
 θ[.....] c. 16 [.....] ψ[.....] φ[.....] σμα κατὰ
 Ἰο[υδαίων] (?) c. 15 [.....] τῶν
 Ἀ[λεξανδρέων] (?) c. 10 [.....] ἐν στό-
 μ[ατι] c. 20 [.....] ἐμψατο
 τ[.....] c. 18 [.....] σε[βαστο]ς
 κ[.....] c. 26 [.....]

(135)

5

(140)

10

(145)

15

(Probably about 10 lines lost)

col. viii

ταῦτα τ[	ἐ-	(150)	[...].α[	
πυγνούς [			[...].ω[	15
γεγεννημ[έν-			Π[αυ]λος [	(165)
Ἀντωνε[ιν-			θ[εο]σεβ[	
ἀναιρέθη[	5		ν[...].ειν[	
μέλλωι .[	(155)		σ[...].μοι.[	
με βλέπ[			[...].στ[ιν] [	20
σως ε[			[...].θεο[	(170)
τοῖς ορ[			[...].φσα[	
διαταξ[	10		[...].μοφ[.	
ται εν[	(160)		[...].ξ φ[	
κινδυ[ν-			[...].επα[	25
δ[...].σο.[			[...].α[ε[	(175)

(Probably about 3 lines lost)

(An unknown number of columns lost)

P. Lond. Inv. 1 Verso

col. v (Wilcken)

			[αν[...].εγ....	
			]ρ εἰς οἶαν	
			Ῥάμ]μει, θήσον-	
[ται			.ντο δυσι	
			]ς ἐάσω	5 (180)
			]ς ὑποφε-	
			]ν[...].η καὶ	
			μεθ' ἡ]μέρας θ.	
			πε]μφθεῖς ὑπὸ	
			ἐ]ναντίας νει-	
(?) Τραιαν]οῦ Καίσαρος·		10 (185)		
			ἀ]νθρώποις	
			] πολλάκις [η] καὶ	

]αφέρονται

] ταῖς καθ' ἡμῶν

15 (190)

]ναβᾶσεν.[...]

].κῶ[.....]

Col. iv (P. Lond. Inv. 1, recto)

1. οὐ[δε] Milne.

2. εν[corrected.

4. αναχ[is quite possible; hence Milne's supplement.

7. εργατε Milne. There is probably nothing lost at the end of the line.

9.]ωριανους seems more likely than]οριανους. In the lacuna after θέλετε, probably no letters lost.

10. Perhaps ο(ι)τινες?

Col. i (Wilcken = W.)

2. For [...].ο, το is quite possible. Weber suggested ἐν[έθε|τ]ο.

2 f. ἐτωθά[σαν|τ]ο von P., after Weber and Vollgraff, but in this case it is very difficult to explain the corruption. It is to be noted that at the end of ll. 2-4, unless they were exceptionally short, there are lacunae of about three letters.

7. μειμον p.

9. χ of]σχενδιασεν appears to have been remade.

11. After ταῦτα, a space; the following ε is made larger.

12. εμου.η W.; but the ο is not closed at the top and is joined to the following letter, which might thus be ι instead of υ.

14. Possibly]ατοε[(so W.). Perhaps we should read α(ὐ)τός (14) and α(ὐ)τόν (15).

17. Possibly κ[αί]. Before ελεσι, remains of the bottom of two oblique strokes, close together, which would suit ν, π, or even μ.

18. Possibly no letters before ξιου, as traces of the ξ are below μ of previous line. After ξιου a short high horizontal stroke, possibly τ, but hardly ν in this hand, and at the end of the line αντ[is also possible.

19. The traces suit ἐκ[ε]νσα better. ἐκ[ε]νσα W.; but ο after κ is very unlikely, and before σα, almost certainly υ.

20. Before θηι, a high oblique stroke; though one would expect a more curved stroke, ε or even χ is not unlikely.]και (W.) is the most likely; hence [αί]σαι (von P.) is unsuitable.

21. The entire line is very much abraded.]μπε[...].εξ[W.; but for the first four letters Reinach had read]ωνει[.

23. Before τωτ possibly α.

25. This line, left unread by W., is very faint. The traces might even suit]τηρ[.

28.]την[is also possible.

Col. ii

Judging from the lacuna in l. 10, this column has slightly longer lines than the preceding and varies from about 28 to 31 letters.

2. Before ου, τ and λ seem unlikely, but π is very possible. Hence von P.'s Πλ]ούτω seems excluded. Although I had once thought that there was a corruption here for τῶ εὐθηνιάρχῃ, I feel now that the lines should be restored as follows: ἐμαθον | [ἀπὸ τοῦ Λοῦ]που πόθεν ἦι ἀρχὴι τῆς | [ταραχῆς τε] καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἡρξάτο· | [ἐγραφέ μο]ι ὀλίγα, κτλ.

9. [σαρκασθέν]τας von P., but, e.g., [στασιασ]τάς is possible; so also BGU 341, 3 below.

- 9 ff. Spaces at the end of ll. 9 and 12 possibly indicate the end of a speech;
 l. 13 probably began farther to the left. 10. α of πάντων corrected.
 17. Before σκε, possibly ι or ω, and after it perhaps α or ω, but not ι. Hence
 my supplement.
 27.]τιου. W. read].ου.]ηου is less likely but possible.

Col. iii

7. τούτων apparently corr. from ταύτων. 9. μ of μέν corr.
 10 f. Traces in the right margin are probably not letters, although they do
 resemble λ/[ε].
 16. After φανε, possibly σ. ι and ρ seem definitely excluded.
 17. L. α(ὁ)τούς?
 19. W. and von P. read *Μαξανδρείς* (sic), but the form of the second α is
 not clear and may well be the more cursive ε written somewhat carelessly.
 In fact, from this line down the hand becomes more cursive in character.
 23. At the end, τρ[or even τρ[is not impossible. But τρ[ύτους τοὺς] would
 seem a trifle long for the line.
 28. Possibly κωφ[ταδιῶν]? 29. ἐλήφ[θησαν] is also possible.
 31. κ of]κολασ- corr. There were perhaps no letters in the lacuna after it;
 and although the papyrus breaks off, there were probably no more lines.

Col. vi

The hand on the verso is at times definitely less cursive than that of the recto,
 but it seems undoubtedly that of the same copyist.

7. μηκέτι ὄντος W., but though there is a tear in the papyrus I could see
 no trace of ι, τ being in ligature with ο.
 12. ο of ἐπιστολῶν apparently corr. from ω.
 18. From this line to the bottom of the column we have an instance of
 separation of syllables within the same word, possibly due to vertical defects
 in the papyrus at this point.
 27. π[ημ]άτων suppl. von P.; though the lacuna would seem to demand
 three letters, the μ may have been broad or the syllables somewhat separated.

Col. vii

The lacuna down the centre of this column represents the verso of the
 8-10-letter lacuna in col. ii. 1-12.

1. Suppl. von P. 2. Before τοις, α, λ, σ, possible.
 5-6. Suppl. H. M.
 8.]μοσο (left unread by W.) is odd; but σο is certain.
 9. Possibly]ερν, hardly]πριν. L. ἀλλαστρίου.
 12. Perhaps]τιω or]ετω.]νω (W.) is less likely.
 13. Traces here make ψ[ή]φ[ι]σμα likely.
 14. The numeral before τῶν would seem to be ξ corrected apparently from μ.
 15. Before εν, σ is just possible.
 17. τρ[or τρ[is possible.
 18. At the end of the line, an upright stroke which would fit ι, η, or ν.

Col. viii

6. τ[or τ[. 9. After ορ, ω, or κ possible.
 13. After σο, ι or υ is possible; hence perhaps δ[ιὰ] σοῦ.

17. The slight stroke before θ is probably a slip of the pen, due to the
 indentation.

18 ff., not transcribed by W., are very badly rubbed. Possible readings are
 also: 20]σην; 22]ησα; 23]ωφ. In l. 23, perhaps [οὐ δ[ι]μόφ[ι]λοι. Cf. Philo, *Leg.*
 45-355, CK, p. 220 (where Isidorus applies this adjective to the Jews).

Col. v (P. Lond. Inv. 1 verso)

It had occurred to me that col. v might really be a broken-off part of
 col. viii, in such wise that v. 1-7 could be placed along the right edge of
 viii. 8-24. Two joins are plausible: v. 3 θήσον[ται] (viii. 11), and v. 4 δυοί |
 κανδύνοις? (viii. 12); and the space at the end of v. 8 fits well with the indenta-
 tion of viii. 16-17. However, I do not yet see how v. 10 νε[ι]- can be followed
 by viii. 18 ν[...].

1. Perhaps nothing lost in the lacuna after αν; hence ἀνέγων or the like is
 not impossible.
 2. οἶαν is very doubtful. Skeat had privately suggested ὄλον. In any case,
 ο and ν seem fairly clear. 4. Before ντο, perhaps α.
 5. ἔασω. Here Skeat has suggested κἀγώ. Although the line is much abraded,
 it seems clear that the σ (if it be a σ) is slightly angular—which does, however,
 occur in this hand. The first letter, if it be κ, is very odd. Kenyon had originally
 read].αγισαί (?). 6. Milne's reading here,]νε[ι]ν, is very dubious.
 10. νε[ι]. If not the beginning of a name—perhaps Νέριουα—this might
 possibly be νε[ι]κη (l. νίκη).
 11. Τρασαν]οῦ after Wilcken's suggestion. The high point at the end of the
 line, unusual in this papyrus, may be merely a drop of ink.
 13.]αλλα...οι καὶ Kenyon.
 14. Milne ἐμφέρονται, but I do not think it likely.
 16. Or possibly]νακαρεν. Kenyon had read]νακατε[...]; Milne's ἀγα]νακτεῖν
 must be due to an error. 17. Possibly even] ἔασω.

TRANSLATION

Col. i

Paulus (spoke) about the king, how they brought him forth
 and (mocked him?); and Theon read the edict of Lupus ordering
 them to lead him forth for Lupus to make fun of the king in the
 stage-mime. After we had thus (testified?), the emperor took
 occasion to remark to Paulus and our people as follows: 'During
 such disturbances . . . during the Dacian war . . .'

Col. ii

Caesar answered the Jews: 'I learned . . .'

The Jews: 'They seized them from the prison and . . . wounded
 them.'

Caesar: 'I have investigated all these matters (?), and not
 (all?) the Alexandrians but only those who are responsible should
 be prosecuted. . . .'

Col. iii. 5-15

‘... so that if some were to be exiled from Alexandria, they were nonetheless not seized by us, as they allege, but by them, and this occasioned a false accusation against us. Now all (the slaves) who had fled to their masters intending to secure complete safety were brought to justice by them and punished.’

The Jews: ‘Sir, they are lying: they do not know how many men there were.’

Cols. vi-vii

Paulus: ‘My only concern is for the grave in Alexandria which I expect to have. Advancing as I am towards this, I shall have no fear of telling you the truth. Listen to me then, Caesar, as to one who may not live beyond the morrow.’

Antoninus: ‘My Lord Caesar, I swear by your *genius* he speaks the truth as one who may not live another day. For when we were in such pressing circumstances and so many letters had been sent you saying that (the prefect) had ordered the impious Jews to transfer their residence to a place from which they could easily attack and ravage our well-named city—if not a line on this matter fell into your beneficent hands, then the reason for your august words is clear. It is obvious that this has been perpetrated against you, to prevent you from having any evidence of the woes that have befallen us.’

Caesar: ‘Let Paulus go; but have Antoninus bound. . . .’

Acta Pauli, Recension B: BGU 341 (IX B)

παύσασθαι σιωπῆσαντ[
]των ἐνίστασο-μ[
]των ἐκ κωστω]δίας ἤρπασαν καὶ σ[.....]τας ἐτραυμάτισαν. Καὶ-
[σαρ· συν]έγγνων· οὐκ Ἀλεξ[ανδρεῦσι πᾶσιν (?), ἀλλὰ τοῖς ποιήσασα
ταῦτα δεῖ]
[...] πολ[λ]άκις ἐπεξέρχεσθ[αι Ἀντωνεῖνος (?).] 5
[αὐτο]κράτω[ρ], Ἀλεξανδρεῖς οὐκ .[
[πολ]λοὶ κατ[α]κριθέντες ἦσαν ἐξ[ήκοντα Ἀλεξανδρεῖς καὶ οἱ
τούτων]
[δο]ῦλοι, καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀλεξανδρεῖς [ἐξεβλήθησαν, οἱ δὲ δοῦλοι
αὐτῶν ἀπ-]
[εκ]εφαλίσθησαν, μηδενὸς τῶν α[

[...]. ἀντων αὐτῶν εἰ τὸ πᾶσιν δ[ιδόμενον ἀνθρώποις δάκρυ πρὸς-] 10
[πεμ]ψάντων· ὥστε εἴ τις εἴδει [ἐκβληθῆναι ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας οὐ-]
[δέ]ν γὰρ δὲ ἦττον, ὡς φασιν, τοὺς ἀρπασ[θέντας οὐχ ὑφ’] ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ
[ὑπὸ] τούτων ἠρπάγησαν εἰς ἡμετέρα[ν συκοφαντίαν. ὅσοι μὲν τε-]
[λέω]ς δ[ι]αφωτισόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἰδί[ους κατέφυγον, αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ
αὐ-]

[τῶν] π[ρο]παρεστάθησαν καὶ ἐκολάσθησαν 15
[.....] ἐν[ι]οι (?) περιπ[.....]ο[.....].

1. σιωπῆς. ἀντ[εῖπον δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι: von P.

2. Perhaps l. ἐπίστασο? H. M. 3. σα or σε[W. σαρκασθέντας von P.

4. δεῖ here, von P. πᾶσιν (?) H. M.

5. [ὡς] πολ[λ]άκις von P. In the lacuna at the end, Wilcken and von P. both supply Ἀντωνεῖνος (?).

6. οὐχ ἤρπασαν W. οὐκ ἔρ[or π[: Schubart-Plaumann. Hence οὐκ ἔρ[ἤνεγκον βίαν von P.

7. [...]ο... κριθέντες W. The text is that of von P., based on a private communication from Schubart, supplying the missing letters, adding: ‘Der erste Buchstabe kann λ, χ, κ, allenfalls auch μ sein.’ (Hermes, loc. cit. 289.)

10. πᾶσιν δ[νθρώποις W. But Schubart-Plaumann read δ[or λ[. Suppl. von P.

12. καὶ οὐχ ὑφ’ ἡμῶν ἀλλ’ Wilcken. οὕτως κακῶς, αὐτοὶ von P.

15. π[ρο]- suppl. von P.

16. ὁρ[W. οἱ or, better, ορ: Schubart-Plaumann.

IX C

PRUM (‘Torbidī Giudaici’)

col. ii. 28

]ε πῦρ καθ’ ἡμῶν

col. iii

έτοιμ[ά]ζου[σι] καὶ σίδηρον. οἶδα ὅτι
εἰσὶν [ὀ]λίγοι· ἀλ[λ’] ἐχφέρουσιν αὐτοὺς [οἱ] πλε[ί]-
ονες [κ]αὶ τρέφουσιν οἱ κρείσσον[ε]ς, ἀγοράζον-
τες τὸ μὴ λουδορεῖσθαι, τὸ μὴ διαρπάζεσ-
[θ]αι· τὸ ἐν ὀλίγο[ι]ς μεινόμεν[ο]ν ο[ὗ]κ ἀδί-
[κ]ως ὅλης πόλεως ἐστὶν ἐκκλημα. οἶδα

[[4]]

ὅτι ἐν τούτοις πλείονες εἰσιν δοῦλοι· διὰ
τοῦτο οἱ δεσπότες λουδοροῦντα[ι]. πᾶσιν
οὖν ἐγὼ παραγγέλλω μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι
ὀργὴν ἐπιθυμ[ί]α κέρδους. γεινωσκέτωσαν

10

ὅτ[ι] οὐκέτι αὐτοῦς ἀγνοοῦμεν. μὴ πιστενέ-
 τωσάν μου τῇ εὐπτεία μηδὲ ταῖς . . ταις
 ἡμέραις . . [. . .] τον ἐβιασάμην . .] ρειν ὅσα
 εὐθέως ἐδυ[νάμην] ν ε[. .] λειν . . δειν . [15
 κατ[η]γορεῖν θ[ε]λεῖ τ[ι]νός, ἔχει δικαστή[ν]
 ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐπὶ τοῦτο πεμφθέντα. οὐ-
 δὲ γὰρ ἡγεμόσιν ἔξεστιν ἀκρίτους ἀ-
 πο[κ]τείνειν, ἀλλ[λ]ὰ καὶ κρίσις ἴδιον ἔχει
 χρόν[ο]ν, ἴδιον τόπον ὡς ἴδιον τύπον
 κόλα[σ]ις. παυσάσθωσαν οἱ τε ἀλη- 20
 θῶς οἱ τε ψευδῶς τραυματίας ἑαυ-
 τοὺς εἶναι λέγοντες καὶ βιαίως ἅμα
 καὶ ἀ[δίκω]ς ὁ[δ]ί[κην] ἐπαιτοῦντες. μὴ τραυ-
 ματίζεσθαι γὰρ ἐξήν. τινὰ τῶν ἀ-
 μαρτημάτων ἴσως ἀπολογίαν ἔχειν 25
 ἐδύνατο πρὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων

col. iv

π[ρ]ὸς Ἰουδαίους μάχης. νῦν
 δὲ μά[ταια] κ[ριτή]ρια, ἃ καὶ
 πρότερον οὐκ ἐξήν.
 L ἰθὺ Τραυματοῦ Φαῶφι ιζ 30

Col. iii

2. Cazzaniga: ἀρεχφέρουσιν . . [δ] [δ]όν [ε]στιν, τρέφουσιν. The text adopted is that of Skeat (JEA xxv. 79). L. ἐκφέρουσιν.

5. L. μισούμενον.

6. After ἐνκλημα, a point of interrogation: Préaux.
 7. The second ε in πλείονες has been corrected from α; above it α or ε has been deleted.

12. μου τῇ εὐπτεία would seem to be the only plausible restoration (and Cazzaniga informs me that Schubart had already suggested it to him privately in 1938). Schubart had also suggested ταῖς ῥηταῖς or λιταῖς, of which I should prefer the latter.
 13. Perhaps ὅτ[ι] πρῶτον?

13 f. ἐβιασάμην τη]ρεῖν ὅσα . . ἐδυ[νάμην] ἐχ[βα]λεῖν Schubart. Instead of Cazzaniga's ἐ]ρεῖν, εὐ]ρεῖν is also possible; but Schubart's restoration would seem practically certain.

14. . . δειν[. .] Cazzaniga. Skeat suggested (εἰ τις); Schubart (privately, to Cazzaniga) [ἀλ]λ' εἰ [τις]. The traces (from the facts) are very ambiguous, and perhaps we should read: [ἀλ]λ' εἰ[ς] τ[ις] / . . . θ[ε]λεῖ (= θελή).
 15. θ[ε]λεῖ τ[ι]νός; Skeat, Schubart.
 25. ἀπολογίαν (ἀν)? Collart. 28. Suppl. Cazzaniga.

Col. iv

2. Suppl. Paribeni.

4. Τραυματοῦ Schubart and Bell in private communication to Cazzaniga, and from the facts, this would seem more likely than Ἀθριανοῦ.

X

P. Oxy. 2177: Acta Athenodori

TEXT

Frag. 1

col. i

[.] πό]λεως κ[. . .]ων
 πέριξ κυκλαμ[ι]ν] (ν)
 [.] ἐν[. . .] υρίας ἀνδ[ρ]είας.

Καῖσαρ· ὑμεῖς τῆς ἀλλοτρί-
 as πρεσβευταί ἐστε. Ἀθάμα[ς]. 5
 οὐκ ἐσμεν ἀλλοτρίας πόλε-
 ως πρεσβευταί ἀλλὰ ἰδία[ς].
 καὶ γὰρ συγγενῆς ἡ πόλις.

Καῖσαρ· Ἀθηνόδωρόν μοι
 τις καλεσάτω. Ἀθηνόδω- 10
 ρος· πάρειμι, κύριε, ἰδίας
 ἀκούων ὑποθέσεως. Καῖσαρ·
 τοῖς γὰρ αὐτοῖς νόμοις χρῶ(ν)-
 ται Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἀλεξά(ν)-
 δρεῖς; Ἀθηνόδωρος· πάν- 15
 [των] γὰρ νόμων ἰσχυρότε-
 [ροι] ὄντες τὴν εὐκρασία(ν)
 [τῆς] φιλανθρωπίας ἔχουσι(ν).
 [. . . Ἀθην]όδωρος τέκνα ~
 [.] τα δημόφ[ι]α τεσ- 20
 [.] ο δοξα[. . .] τρος
 [.] [. .] ν[.]

[c. 16]πρ[.]
[c. 18]φ

col. ii

κα[.]ελ[c. 14]
ἐπιστολῆς [c. 10]
ἀντιβαλὼν [c. 10]

ἐπιστ[ολή] Τραιανοῦ

Αὐτοκρά[τ]ωρ [Καῖσαρ Τραι-]
ανὸς Σεβα[σ]τῶ[ς] Γερμανικὸς
Δακικὸς[ς] τοῖς [c. 11]
τοῖς εἰδόσι τὰ [διατεταγμέ-]
να εὐχερὲς ἦν [c. 11]
θρασυτολμίαν [..... ἀλ']
λ' ὥσπερ ὑπὲρ [..... πόλε-]
ως ἐπρεσβεύ[σασθε]
λου [λ]ογιωτάτου [.... οὐ-]
κ ἂν ἔσχον ὑμ[..... (?) εὖ-]
νοϊαν ἐλέγξα[ι]
φιλόλογοι ἐγρά[ψατε. ἔγνω-]
σται μὲν ἡ ἐμ[ῇ] ἀνεξι-]
κακία, καὶ ὑμε[ῖν] σημείον δί-]
δωμι τῆς εἰς ὑμ[ᾶς] φιλαν-]
θρωπίας καὶ οὐ[c. 9]
μα[...]. ὑμῶν τα[c. 8]
πα[...]. ν. τούτου μ[c. 6]
[.... εὐσε]βεῖς [c. 6]
[.....]. ν. καὶ [c. 6]
[.....]. α [c. 8]

Frag. 2

col. i

col. ii

](ν) 50 ἱπα[c. 13 τοὺς] 55
]. παρ' ἡμῖν εὐγενεῖς οὐ[δ' ἐρ-]
].ει ρωμένους ἡμῖν ἀπό[στει-]
]ιμα λον· Ἡραίου γάρ εἰσιν ἐνα[γείς]' μα[θη-]
]κα ταί. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀναγνο[ύς]
τὴν γραφεῖσαν ἐπιστο[λήν,] 60
μετακαλεσάμενος ἐπ[...]
[συν]κλητικοὺς καὶ τοὺς [ιδί-]
[ου]ς φίλους, ἐκέλευσε [...]
[.....]την καὶ Ἀθάμαν[τα]
[ἀχθ]ῆναι καὶ ἔφη αὐτ[οῖς·] 65
[τόδε τὸ] βιβλίδ[ι]ον ἡ πόλ[ις]
[ἔπεμ]ψεν ἢ οἱ ..τριτηπ[...]
[συλλα]βόντες; Ἀθάμας· ν[...]
[.....]μνε[...]. νηπ[...]
[.....]ν· δ[...]. ντη[...]
[.....]νετ[.....]ι ιν[...]
70

Frag. 3

Frag. 4

].οι αρ[]ο[
] γὰρ ἡμ[]ατοῖς ψ[
πε]ρὶ τούτου ν[]υς το[
]πνυθα[ν- 75]τυχοῦσι[
] ξιν οὐ πρα[80
κατ[ηγορεῖτ[
θά]γατο[ν (?)
]..ν[

Supplements by R(oberts) unless otherwise noted.

1. Perhaps κ[ρατ]ῶν.

2 f. Possibly [σημεῖον] [τ]οῦ[των] κυρίως.

8. Καῖσαρ (A. H. M. Jones): καιγαρ p.

18. [διά] or [ἐκ] S(chubart).

19. τεκμα- less likely (R.). 20 f. τέσ[σαρα S.
 31. [Ἀθηναίους] rather than [Ἀλεξανδρεῖς] (R.). [ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ] S.
 32. Suppl. O. M. Pearl. 33. [καταγνώναι] S.
 35. [ιδίᾳ πόλει]ως (R.) seems most likely.
 36 f. Παύ[ου] most likely, as perhaps below, l. 46 Πα[ύλου]. S. suggests διὰ
 Παύ[ου] (τοῦ) [ἀ]ποστολ[ῆ]τος.
 38 f. εὐνοίαν, διὰνοίαν are possible; ἀγχινοίαν S.
 40 f. ἔγραψαν ὡς ἔ[στι]ν S. 42. ὑμεῖν, λόγον δὲ δι- S.
 56. οὐ[δ'] ἐρ- suppl. Welles.
 58. εὐα[γεῖς] H. M.; εὐα[γεῖς]? εὐα[γαγοί]? S.
 61. Perhaps ἐπ[εῖτα] (R.) ἐπ[τά] S.
 67. Perhaps οἱ ἐπιτρί[π]τη π[όλει]. 68. Suppl. H. M.

TRANSLATION

(Ll. 4 ff.)

Caesar: 'You are ambassadors of an alien city.'

Athamas: 'Not of an alien city, but of our own. For the city is akin (to ours).'

Caesar: 'Have someone summon Athenodorus for me.'¹

Athenodorus: 'Here I am, my Lord, to answer my own charge.'

Caesar: 'Is it true that the Athenians have the same laws as the Alexandrians?'

Athenodorus: 'It is; and they are stronger than all other laws, having a happy admixture of clemency.'

(Ll. 58 ff.)

'. . . Send these men of noble birth back to us, even if they be unwell; for they are the blameless (?) disciples of Heraeus.'

Caesar read the letter they had written, and after summoning some senators and his own friends, he ordered . . . and Athamas to be brought before him and said to them:

'Was it the city that sent this petition, or . . .?'

¹ Perhaps at this point Athenodorus is brought in.

XI

Acta Appiani

P. Yale Inv. 1536

col. i

col. ii

ἔ]δωκε	Ἀππιανὸς εἰπεν·	c. 16	] (15)
]μενον	ασι ὅπως ρ[	c. 19	] (15)
]ντες	χονται, οἷτι[νες π]υρρόν [		
]μαν δὲ	πεμπόμενοι εἰς τὰς ἐτέρας πό[λεις]		
]ενος τι	τοῦ τετραπλοῦ πωλοῦσι ἵνα σώσω[σι]	5	
]σι. ν. α.	ἃ ἐδώκασι. αὐτοκράτωρ εἶπεν· κα[ὶ]		(20)
]τι προσ	τ[ίς] ἐσ[τ]ιν ὁ τὰ χρήματα λαμβάνων;		
]ων	Ἀππιανὸς εἶπεν· σύ. [αὐτ]οκράτωρ·		
]...επω	καὶ τοῦτο πέπεισαι; Ἀππιανὸς· οὐ, ἀλλ'		
]ω...	ἠκούσαμεν. αὐτοκράτωρ· καὶ πρὸ τοῦ	10	
ἐπ]εμπε με-	σε πεισθῆναι οὐκ ὤφιλας τοῦτον τὸν		(25)
εἰ]πεν	λόγον ἀποφύνασθαι. σπεκουλάτωρ.		
] αὐτοκράτ[ο-]	Ἀππιανὸς ἀπαγόμενος καὶ ἰδὼν νε-		
]αν[	κρὸν εἶπεν· ὦ νεκρέ, γενόμενός		
(margin)	μου εἰς τὴν χώραν λέγω Ἡρακλειανῶ	15	
	(margin)		

P. Oxy. 33

col. i

[π]ατρί μου καὶ [...][...] ὅτι	(30)
μήτε χρεῖαν [...][...]αι	
[...]σ...δεῖσ[...][...]υπε	
[...]...αμε[...][...]νοσ[...][...]εν κα-	
γὼ γὰρ κα[...][...]αὐτοῦ	5
γε ταῦτα λέγον[το]ς, στρ[α]φείς καὶ	(35)
ἰδὼν Ἡλιόδωρον εἶπεν· Ἡλιό-	
δωρε, ἀπαγομένου μου οὐδὲν	

[[α]]

λαλεῖς; Ἡλιόδωρος εἶπεν·
καὶ τίνι ἔχομεν λαλῆσαι μὴ ἔχον-
[τ]ες τὸν ἀκούοντα; τρέχε, τέκνον,
τελεύτα. κλέος σοὶ ἐστίν
ὑπὲρ τῆς γλυκυτάτης σου πατρί-
δος τελευτῆσαι. μὴ ἀγωνία·

10

(40)

col. ii

καὶ [.....] καὶ [..]as σε διώκω
ἐκ π[.....]ανω αὐτοκράτωρ με-
τεκ[α]λέσατο αὐτόν. αὐτοκράτωρ εἶπεν·
γῆν οὐκ οἶδας τίνι [λα]λεῖς; Ἀππιανός·
ἐπίσταμαι. Ἀπ[πι]ανὸς τυράννω.
αὐτοκράτωρ [οὐκ,] ἀλλὰ βασιλεῖ. Ἀππια-
νός· τοῦτο μὴ λέγε· τῷ γὰρ θεῷ
Ἀντωνεῖνω [τ]ῷ π[ατ]ρί σου ἔπρεπε
αὐτοκρατορεῦεν. ἄκουε, τὸ μὲν
πρῶτον ἦ[ν] φιλόσοφος, τὸ δεύτερον
ἀφιλάργυρος, τ[ὸ] τρίτον φιλάγαθος· σοὶ
τούτων τὰ ἐναντία ἔνκειται, τυραν-
νία ἀφιλοκαγαθία ἀπαιδία. Καῖσαρ ἐ-
κέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀπαχθῆναι· Ἀππι-
ανὸς ἀπαγόμενος εἶπεν· καὶ τοῦτο

(45)

5

(50)

10

(55)

15

col. iii

ἡμῖν χάρι[σ]ται, κύριε Καῖσαρ.
αὐτοκράτωρ· τί; Ἀππιανός· κέλευ-
σόν με ἐν τῇ εὐγενείᾳ μου ἀπα-
χθῆναι. αὐτοκράτωρ· ἔχε.
Ἀππιανὸς λαβὼν τὸ στρόφ[ε]ιον
ἐπὶ τῆς κεφα[λ]ῆς ἔθηκεν, καὶ τὸ
φαικάσ[ιο]ν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας θείς ἀνε-
βόησεν [μ]έσης Ῥώμης· συνδράμε-

(60)

5

(65)

τε, Ῥωμ[α]ῖοι· θεωρήσατε ἓνα ἀπ' αἰῶ-
νος ἀπαγόμενον γυμνασίαρχον καὶ
πρεσβευτὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων. ὁ ἡβο-
[κάτο]ς εὐθὺς δραμῶν παρέθετο
[τῷ] κυρίῳ λέγων· κύριε, κάθη; Ῥωμαῖ-
οι γονγύζο[υσ]ι. αὐτοκράτωρ· περὶ
τίνος; ὁ ὑπατος· περὶ τῆς ἀπάξεως

10

(70)

15

col. iv

τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως. αὐτοκράτωρ·
μεταπεμφθήτω. Ἀππιανὸς
εἰσελθὼν εἶπεν· τίς ἤδη τὸν δεύ-
τερόν μου ἄδην προσκυνοῦντα ~
καὶ τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ τελευτήσαντας,
Θεῶνά τε καὶ Ἰσίδωρον καὶ Λάμ-
πωνα, μετεκαλέσατο; ἄρα ἡ
σύνκλητος ἢ σὺ ὁ λήσταρχος;
αὐτοκράτωρ· Ἀππιανέ, (ε)ἰώθα-
μεν καὶ ἡμεῖς μαινομένους καὶ
ἀπονεοιμένους σωφρονίζειν·
λαλεῖς ἔφ' ὅσον ἐγὼ σε θέλω λα-
λεῖν. Ἀππιανός· νῆ τὴν σὴν τύ-
χην οὔτε μαίνομαι οὔτε ἀπονενό-
ημαι, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ εὐγε-

(75)

5

(80)

10

(85)

15

col. v

νείας καὶ τῶν ἐ[μοί] προσηκόντων]
ἀπαγγέλλω. αὐτ[οκράτωρ]· πῶς;]
Ἀππιανός· ὡς εὐγ[εν]ῆς καὶ γυμνασί-]
αρχος. αὐτοκράτωρ[ρ· φ]ῆς οὖν ὅτι ἡμεῖς]
ἀγενεῖς ἐσμεν; [Ἀππιανός· τοῦτο μὲν]
οὐκ ο[ἶ]δα· ἐγὼ [ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ]
εὐγενείας καὶ τῶν [ἐμοί προσηκόν-]
των ἀπαγγέλλω. αὐτοκράτωρ·]
νῦν οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι [c. 12]

(90)

5

(95)

Ἀππιανός· τοῦτο μ[ἐν εἰ ἀληθῶς οὐκ οἶ-] 10
 δας, διδάξω σε. π[ρῶτον μὲν Καῖσαρ ἔ-]
 σωσε Κλεοπάτρ[αν c. 10] (100)
 ἐκράτησεν βασι[λείας, καὶ ὡς λέγου-]
 σί τινες, ἐδανεί[σατο c. 8]

P. Yale, col. i

(Supplements by Welles.)

6. 'At the beginning, possibly *ογ* better than *σι*. What looks like *ν* at the end is more probably *α*. The *ν* is certain.' (Welles in a private communication.)

11. *π[εμπέμε]*-Welles; but unless we may read *π[εμπόμε]*||*ν*-, I prefer the word-division of the text.

13. *αὐτοκρατ*-Welles; but there is a small lacuna in the text, and the copyist is usually careful about syllable-division.

Col. ii

3. Welles has suggested *πάπ[υρον]*.

6. Perhaps *ἀ <δ>εδώκασι*.

9. At the end of this line there would seem to be (from the facs.) a slight horizontal continuation stroke. It is just possible that it is the tail of an *α*, and that we should read *ἀλλ[α]*.

14. Perhaps *ι. γεναμένου*.

P. Oxy. 33, col. i

1. *καὶ [...]* GH; instead of *ι*, it would seem that *χ* is also possible.

9. The *α* above *λαλεῖς* may be abraded, but it would seem to have been erased. These superscript *α*'s (i. 9, ii. 14, iii. 3, v. 13) present a problem, and in only one place (iii. 3) does one appear to be associated with a correction. It is not impossible that it is a corrector's symbol, e.g. *ἀ(νέγνω)*.

Col. ii

4. *[νδ]ν οὐκ* GH.

Col. iii

3. *ν* of *ἐν* corrected from *υ*.

5. *στροφεῖον* GH; the present form is also adopted by Lietzmann.

13. *κάθη*; as a question, is better here.

Col. iv

3. Wilcken would correct to *τὸ δεύτερον*.

Col. v

The supplements adopted are from the edition of GH. For von Premerstein's see the Commentary.

6. Before *ἐγώ* (which is written with a larger *ε*), a space. GH would place the stop after *ἐγώ*.

9. *[ἀγενεῖς ἔσμεν]* GH. *[ἀφιλάργυροὶ ἔσμεν]* von P. (and Lietzmann). *[βασιλεῖς ἔσμεν]* Reinach.

14. Suppl. Schultess (and Wilcken). GH: *ἐδάνει[σε]*.

TRANSLATION

P. Yale ii. 3 ff.

Appian: '... who sending the wheat (?) to the other cities, sell it at four times its price, so as to recover their expenses.'

The emperor said: 'And who receives this money?'

Appian said: 'You do.'

The emperor: 'Are you certain of this?'

Appian: 'No, but that is what we have heard.'

The emperor: 'You ought not to have circulated the story without being certain of it. (I say,) executioner!'

As Appian was being taken off to execution he noticed a dead body and said: 'Ah, dead one, when I go to my country, I shall tell Heraclianus

(P. Oxy. 33)

my father and ...' And while he was saying this, turning around he saw Heliodorus and said: 'Have you nothing to say, Heliodorus, at my being led to execution?'

Heliodorus said: 'To whom can we speak, if we have no one who will listen? On, my son, go to your death. Yours shall be the glory of dying for your dearest native city. Be not distressed; ...'

The emperor (then) recalled Appian. The emperor said: 'Now you know whom you are speaking to, don't you?'

Appian: 'Yes, I do: Appian speaks to a tyrant.'

The emperor: 'No, to an emperor.'

Appian: 'Say not so! Your father, the divine Antoninus, was fit to be emperor. For, look you, first of all he was a philosopher; secondly, he was not avaricious; thirdly, he was good. But you have precisely the opposite qualities: you are tyrannical, dishonest, crude!'

Caesar (then) ordered him to be led away to execution. As Appian was being taken, he said: 'Grant me but one thing, my Lord Caesar.'

The emperor: 'What?'

Appian: 'Grant that I may be executed in my noble insignia.'

The emperor: 'Granted.'

Appian (then) took his fillet and put it on his head, and putting his white shoes on his feet, he cried out in the middle of Rome: 'Come up, Romans, and see a unique spectacle, an Alexandrian gymnasiarch and ambassador led to execution!'

The *evocatus* immediately ran back and reported this to the

emperor, saying: 'Do you sit idle, my Lord, while the Romans murmur in complaint?'

The emperor: 'What are they complaining about?'

The consul: 'About the execution of the Alexandrian.'

The emperor: 'Have him brought back.'

When Appian had come in, he said: 'Who is it this time that called me back as I was about to greet Death again and those who died before me, Theon and Isidorus and Lampon? Was it the Senate or you, you brigand-chief?'

The emperor: 'Appian, I am accustomed to chasten those who rave and have lost all sense of shame. You speak only so long as I permit you to.'

Appian: 'By your *genius*, I am neither mad nor have I lost my sense of shame. I am making an appeal on behalf of my noble rank and my privileges.'

The emperor: 'How so?'

Appian: 'As one of noble rank and a gymnasiarch.'

The emperor: 'Do you suggest that I am not of noble rank?'

Appian: 'That I know not; I am merely appealing on behalf of my own nobility and privileges.'

The emperor: 'Do you not know then that . . .?'

Appian: 'If you are really not informed on this matter, I shall tell you. To begin with, Caesar saved Cleopatra . . . (and then he) got control of the empire and, as some say borrowed . . .'

DUBIOUS AND UNIDENTIFIED FRAGMENTS

XII

BGU 588

[	.σ.[.....]σασθε σω-	
[	π]αρ' ὑμῖν φιλτάτων με[	
[	]ν πορθοῦντες ὑμᾶς· οἱ γὰρ	
[	] καὶ ἔργον καὶ πάθος ἔχειν ἑμα-	
[	με]ταφοράν, τὰ ναυτικά	5
[	ἀ]πὸ λιμένος οὔτε ἀνθρω-	
[π-	] παροξυνθεὶς εἰς τὴν ὑμε-	
[τέραν	ἀνθ]ρωπον μάλλον ἢ τὸ δίκαιον	
[	]ν, ἀλλ' οὐκέτι ἀπειλῆς λοι-	
[	Ἀλεξ]ανδρεὶς βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων	10

4 f. Perhaps ἑμα[θον] or the like.

5. Suppl. H. M. ναυτικ[αταπ]a Schubart-Plaumann in *BL* i. 54; ναυτικά [τα] πα- Wilcken.

6. [καταπα- (?)] suppl. Schubart-Plaumann.

8. [τὸ φιλάνθ]ρωπον?

10. After Ἀλεξ[ανδρεὶς], a full stop: Wilcken. There would appear to be a margin after l. 10.

XIII

P. Fayum 217

col. i		col. ii	
]μένους γείτονας ἀν[α]κα-		[	10
]ας εισόδους καὶ ἐξόδους		[	
ἀπ]αιτούντων γερόντων		[	
] βραδέα ζητήματα		σ[	
]έρχεται Καῖσαρ π[ρ]οσαπο-	5	η[	
? ἐκ] νηπίου.		[	15
] τοῦ βίου τέρμα δ[ι]καίως		ρ[	
]ις αὐτοκράτορι χρηστῷ		η[	
]καγ[.]τι		[	

- 1, 3. Suppl. B(ingen). 3.]ητουντων with]αιτουντων possible, B.
 5. Perhaps a stop after ἔρχεται.
 5 f. Perhaps Καῖσαρ π[ρ]οσαπο[λογου] R.
 6. Suppl. H. M. The space following suggests a new speaker or a new narrative paragraph in the next section. 8. λοιδορε]ις? R.

XIV

P. Erlangen n. 16

]	ο[.]σὺ ποδ[	
]	γεκρ[ο]πολε[	
]	το δεδώκασιν[	
]	ἡ [	
]	τοῦ καλουμ[ένου	5
(Traces of 4 lines)		
]	μενη[	10
]	τητου πρ[	
(Traces of 1 line)		
]	νομεν.[	
(Traces of 5 lines)		
]	οναιτιοκ[	
]	...τι...[	20
]	ἀδ]ελφός τὸ σὸν .[	
]	. παρεῖναι .[	
]	δειγμα[	
]	 ἔναρχος εἰπ(εν) . οὐδερ[	
]	 νοσι, εἰ προδῶι...[	25
]	 καὶ ἄκουσον ὧν λεγ....[	
]	 ωσοι κἂν μὴ τοῖ[	

1. σὺ ποδ[or ο[υ]ς ὑποδ[S(chubart).
 3. Perhaps τοῦ]το. 13. Perhaps κρι]νομεν.[?
 19. S. divides]ον αἰτιοκ[, but, e.g., διδ]όναι τι ὁ κ[ύριος? is also possible.
 21. τόσον is also possible: S. 23. δειγμα or δέδειγμα[ι S.
 24. Before ἔναρχος, apparently not γυμνασίαρχος: S.
 25. Perhaps χειρόνοι? 26. ὧν λέγ[ω? S.

XV

P. Aberdeen 136

κ]υρίω[
].ου γὰρ[ρ
]οντες το[
] τοὺς Ἰουδ[αίους
]των τῆς [
].[...].[

1.].ριω[Turner, suppl. Roberts.

4. ἰουδ[p.

XVI

P. Bowriant 7

col. i

col. ii

5
]. ἐκ
]νομε-
]πρα οὐ
] 'Ρουβρίου
] ἀκου- 5
]ν ἐκ τῶν
 ν]όμων
]ην κε-
 γ]ραφήν

[A]ἰγυπτίων [
 ...τ[.]γρας[οὐ-] 10
 [δ]ὲν ἦσσαν τῶν [
 τιμίων καὶ φιλανθρώπων
 κωλυθέντος περὶ τοῦ [
 πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς τὸν ἑπαρχον 15
 στον, κρίναντος το[.
 ρου τὸν {π} τόδε δηλώσαντα τὸν
 ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ [
 νικοῦ γένους μόνον τε[
 (margin)

Supplements by C(ollart), unless otherwise noted.

5. Before ακου a space.

6.]ν ἐκ τῶν C.; πλεο]νεκτῶν seems excluded by the space before των.

7. Suppl. H. M. 11. τ[ι]ρας C. 13. Suppl. H. M.

15. Suppl. H. M. τὸν ε[C. 15 f. Μόδε[στον? R.

16 f. Ἰσιδῶ[ρον Körte. 17. τὸν] suppl. H. M.

18. Suppl. H. M.; there are perhaps no other letters to be restored in the lacuna.

XVII

P. Oslo. 170

. . .
].[
].ριαν[
]εωι ζω[
]ον έργ[
].να ταν[τ-
] σὺν ὀπλ[οις (?)
]. ἀναμ[
 πό]λεως γυ[ν-
].υτοι οἱ [
]ξαι τιτ[
].ευτα.[
]. ἐθαν[μα-
]δοκε[
].[

2.]δριαγ is possible.

3. The edd. divide]εω ιζω[; but there is probably some form of ζάω here.

5.].ναπις[edd. But the τ seems certain. ταν[R.

6. So R. συμπα[edd.

9. ο]υτοι edd. But before υ, hardly ο, perhaps ν. Possibly πι]υτοι.

10. After]ξαι it is just possible that there is a slight space; the following initial τ, unlike others in the text, has a slight hook (τ). Perhaps we should restore Τίτ[ος. 11. So R. ειτα[edd. After τα, not ι, possibly τ.

XVIII

'Acta Heracliti' (Ét. de Papyrol. vii. 17 ff.)

col. i

]. . ἀναγε[ι]νώσκω τὰ ὑπομνήμ[ατα]υσει
]αντα πῶς ἔκαυσεν τὸν λοιπ[οροῦντα καὶ βιά]ζοντα
]α τοῦ φιλοῦντός σε Σαράπιδ[ος]ραπισ
 ἀ]ντεχῶσιν ἔν' Ἡράκλειτος []α ποιη-
] δεινὸς ἐκατόνταρχος ὁ τὸ γράμ[μ]α πεπιστευμένος 5
]λλαι εἰκόνες κεῖνται ἐν τοῖς [ἐργ]αστηρίοις εἰς τὰ δώδεκα
 ἐν] Κανώβω ἔξω τῶν ἐργαστηρ[ίων] ἐνθα εἰσὶν εἰκόνες
]ν καὶ μεγάλαι εἰκόνες· Ἡράκλειτος εἶπεν· ἐνήσαν
 Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς εἶπεν· ἐκέλευσας οὖν [.] . . . γαι ἢ οὐ· Ἡράκλει-
 τος εἶπεν· οὐκ ἐκέλευσα]ναι, ἀλλὰ μετε[]τοῖς ἐντοττοῖς . . 10
 Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστ[ὸς] εἶπεν· ἀπεκ[] c. 10 Ἡράκλειτος εἶπεν· οὐκ ε.
 Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστ[ος] εἶπεν· Ἡράκλειτος εἶπεν·
] Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς εἶπεν· αχη εἴ[σο] 'σας'
 αὐτὰς
]πον Ἡράκλειτο[ς] εἶπεν· ἐργ]ατεία [] ἦσαν αὐ-
 Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστ[ὸς] εἶπεν· ἕτεροι γὰρ [] . . . προσέθη. α 15
 τ]ο πεπληρωμένον α. [] Ἡράκλειτος εἶπεν·
] Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς [] εἶπεν· Ἡράκλει-
 τος εἶπεν σουτ. ακ. Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς εἶπεν·
 ὅ]πόμνημα Ἡραρχος α[] 20
]ον τοὺς ἐργολάβους π[]
]ον καὶ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν []
]ν ἀναγκαίως ἐμ[]
]αρα Ἰταλικὸς ἦρ[]
]ου ἀναγνωσθ[έν]τος?
 Ἡρ]αρχος ἀνέγνω τ[ὰ] ὑπομνήματα? 25
] πρόσελθε· Ἀντων[ίνος] Σεβαστὸς εἶπεν·
 ἐκέλε]υσεν τῷ ἀρχιερεὶ κ[]
 ἐ]ξουσίας οὐκ ἐπέζητ[]
 ἰε]ροσυλία γίνεταί τηλικ[αὶ] αὐτῇ]ος
 Ἀντωνίνος] Σεβαστὸς εἶπεν· ἀκο[] . . . 30
 ἐκατ]όνταρχοι ὠφειλο[] . . . [] . .
 Ἀ]ντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς [] εἶπεν· ἐκατον[ταρ]χο[] .

col. ii

κ' πρὸς ἄγειν πρὸς σέ π[άντας] το]ὺς οὐ τριάκον[τα]
]κλ. χωρὶς ὑπομ[νημάτων]ν· Ἀντωνίνο[ς] Σεβαστὸς εἶπεν·
 (?) ἐκ κατασκευ-

άσματος αὐτὰ π[....]ατα λέγουσιν καὶ .[(35)
 νον. Ἡράκλειτο[s εἶπε]ν· διὰ τί δούλους [
 ἀναγνωσθέν[τ. . Ἀ]ντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς εἶπεν· 5
 λεγα διὰ τί δραπ[έτας]; Ἡραρχος εἶπεν· [
 ας δραπετῶν [....]ριον· Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς εἶπεν·
 ἡγέμων οὐκ ἂν οὕτως ἔκρινεν· Ἡ[ραρχος (?) εἶπεν· (40)
 σκολασα. εὐρήσεις αὐτοκράτωρ Ἀ[ντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς
 εἶπεν·
 τις ἐν Ἀλεξ[αν]δρείᾳ σήμερον χρηματ[10
 [.]ιον ἢ τι ἄλλο; Ἡραρχος εἶπεν· προ[κε-]
 φαλαίου ἄκουσον ἵνα μαθῇς ὅτι φο[
 Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς εἶπεν· ἄλλο .[(45)
 νες πρεσβεῦσαι καὶ στασιάζειν ἔπα·[
[. ἔ]γραψα αὐτῷ ὅτι εἰ μὲν ἐνεκ[15
 [.]....[.....] αὐτοὺς ἔτι ἂ ὕστερον ἐγρ[αψ
 σ·[] πάντων πρεσβεῖαν ἀπο[
 με[] πρεσβεύειν ἦσαν δ.·[(50)
 π[]·[
 [20
 ε·[
 ε·πρωσσ·α[
 ἀπ[ό]ρρητον πρε[σ]βε[ί]αν (55)
 ο[.]αν ἀναγνωσθέντος· Ἀντων[ί]νος Σεβαστὸς εἶπεν·
 ομ. .ου τότε γενομένου καὶ ἀπο[25
 πυνθάνομαι μηδὲν ἀγαθὸν γε[
 ἂ δεῖ μαθεῖν παρὰ πᾶσιν εἰ οὖν δ[
 εἶδ βουλευσασθαι αἱ μὲν γὰρ πληρωσά[μεναι ἔ-] (60)
 μελλεν πληροῦν. ἐγδικήσω τὴν .[
 καὶ ὑπέστητε τότε εἰσελθεῖν εἰπόμενες ἀ-]
 πόρρητον ἡμῖν πρεσβεῖαν ἐνεξ[31

Note: The notes are by the editors, unless otherwise stated.

Col. i

1.]εις (?) rather than]ησ. There is a diaeresis above initial ν (as in ii. 16; and initial ι in i. 21, 23).

2. I have printed the supplement λοιπ[ο]ροῦντα, κτλ., from the editors' suggestion.

6. -δεκα extends beyond the ordinary length of the line; it is an addition apparently by the same hand that inserted the marginal annotations at col. ii. 1 f.

7. Perhaps supply [ἔρα, [Σεβαστεία, or the like: H. M.

9.]...ραι:]ρεμαι is possible.

10. [οὐκ ἐκέλευσα]: H. M. The editors note the presence of a number of dots over ἀλλὰ με. L. ἐνδοτέροις.

11. The editors suggest here a form of ἀποκρύπτω.

13. Perhaps]λαχη or [δι]δάχη.

14. Perhaps ἐργ[ά]λεια (Bell).

14 f. Possibly αὐ[ταί] (sc. εἰκόνες): H. M.

15. Perhaps]λαι προσέθη. α; the second last letter has been corrected.

16. α[.]: perhaps απ, ατ, or just possibly αρτ[.

18. The editors suggest here γισσιν or ανσιν followed by ἂ κἀχῶ (or ἀκλήν?).

24. Perhaps [ὑπομνηματισμ]οῦ: H. M.

25. Suppl. H. M.

31. At the end,]αι (?).

Col. ii

1 f. Margin: according to the editors, the traces do not suit the obvious K(αῖσαρ) πρὸς [Ἡρά]κλειτ[ου], but one feels that something like this was in the text.

2 f. I have printed the editors' suggestion ἐκ κατασκευ[ῆ] άσματος.

3. Perhaps π[ρά]γμα[τα]. π[λά]σμη[τα]: edd.

6. λεγα: the editors suggest δου[λεί]α. Possibly there is an error here for λέγε.

7. The editors print αἰ[ριον] and (ll. 10 f.) suggest αἰ[ρ]ιον.

8. After ἔκρινεν, a space. The supplement, not printed by the editors, would appear very probable.

14. At the end, perhaps (though very doubtfully) ἐγραψ[.]; in any case, after α, a stroke which could belong to φ or ψ, unless perhaps it is actually part of a ρ, φ, or ψ following ἄλλο of the preceding line: so edd.

15. At the beginning, almost certainly κ.ε. ., the second letter being α (?) rather than λ.

16. At the beginning, perhaps]αι. .[.

18. με[rather than μο[.

22. πρω may perhaps be του, and before α, perhaps σ (?): so edd. Possibly we should read εἶπω σὺ σεα[υτ]-? 25. Apparently not ομ(ε)ιλου. Perh. ὁμιλιον?

XIX

P. Ryl. 437

. . . .
].[
 σετ[αι?
 space [
 ἐὰν ο[ὗ]ν χρο[
 νεσιν εὐπρακ[τ
 κρίσιν λέγῃς .[
 ὠφελῆθῃσετ[αι
 ἐὰν κακοποιῶ[σι
 καὶ ἄπρακτα τ[
 εἰς πλοῖον ἐλ[θ
 εὔην δὴ καὶ εἰ [

11. 1-2, 10 were not transcribed by the edd.

2. Most probably the ending of a future tense; this would fit in with the rest of the fragment. The space following suggests a change of speaker (whose name may have been indented, as in P. Berol. 8877, above).

3. οὖν seems the only likely supplement. 4. εὐπρακ[τα edd.

5. λεγῃ[edd. 7. κακοποι[edd.

10. The optative is unexpected here; perhaps ἄν in the previous line. εὔην very doubtful and perhaps written over a correction.

XX

P. Rendel Harris ined. (a)

(margin)

]ν πᾶν παρουσ[
]της πρὸς τὸν Ἰμε[ρον?
 αὐτοκρ]άτορα καὶ κύριον [
].[.]γον θεοῦ πρὸ γ[ἐτῶν?
]ε Ἀρχίας γενέ[μ]ε[νος
 σεβ]αστοὶ προστ[

5

5

10

1. πᾶν apparently corrected from πᾶς. At the end, ε[is more likely than ι[.

4.]γον. Certainly not ἱε]ρον. At the end, the prolongation of the top of the γ suggests that a word beginning with προγ- is less likely.

5. γένη[ται could also be read.

6. προστ[άται is a tempting possibility.

XXI

P. Rendel Harris ined. (b)

<i>Recto</i>		<i>Verso</i>
].ες τ.[		]εημ[
] πασα[		]τομο[
]σαι γρα[		]νησε-
] κοιτων[		]κη
] .ν.σκαω[	5	].....[
] ήγεμών[		]ιανον
]οις μὲν [		]κο...[
]στω τεκ[		? Φαμ]ενώθ [
διατ]άγματα [		]σδιστ[
]ναι παρ[	10	τ]ῶ θεῶ [
]μενος κ[		

Recto

4. A form perhaps of κοιτωνίτης.

5. Just possibly γ]νύσκαω, although the space between ν and σ seems too narrow for either ω or η. Better perhaps is νε]αν]σκαω[.

8. τεκ[ν- or τεκ[μ- suggest themselves.

II. COMMENTARY

I

PSI 1160: The 'Boule Papyrus'

THE TEXT

THIS large papyrus, measuring 16.5 × 23 cm. and written in an early Roman hand, was first edited by G. Vitelli and M. Norsa in *BSAA* n.s. vii (1930), pp. 9-12 (with a collotype reproduction) and later in *PSI* x (1932), n. 1160.¹ Its provenance is unknown; acquired originally from an Egyptian collection in 1930, it is now in Florence in the collection of the *Società Italiana*.

The text consists of remains of two columns written in a narrow, upright, semi-cursive hand. On the recto (of col. ii)² are some accounts of apparently uncertain date. The editors inclined to date the text to the first century B.C. But in such texts where there is an apparent attempt to imitate the standard bookhand, dating can be very difficult, and in the case of *PSI* 1160 doubt has been expressed in many quarters. Bell, for example, felt that the writing was 'hardly earlier than Tiberius', and in this I should incline to agree with him. If we compare the hand with other examples from about the end of the first century B.C.,³ I think that we may reasonably date *PSI* 1160 later—say, in the first half of the first century A.D.

¹ See also *SB* 7448 and Norsa, *Scrittura documentaria*, Rome, 1933, tav. 11a.² The sheet on which col. i was written had been glued to that of col. ii in such a way that the writing of col. i is along the fibres and that of col. ii across the fibres. Bell has suggested that this second sheet, probably the last, may have been the *protocollon* of a roll: *JEA* xxx (1949), pp. 167-9.³ Cf., for example, Norsa, *Scrit. letteraria*, Florence, 1939, tav. 7a, 4 B.C.; P. Merton 8, pl. 11, of A.D. 3/4. Both Wilcken and Schubart had expressed the opinion that the hand of *PSI* 1160 could belong to the time of Claudius.