JOHN D. DILLERY – TRAIANOS GAGOS

P. MICH. INV. 4922: XENOPHON AND AN UNKNOWN CHRISTIAN TEXT WITH AN APPENDIX OF ALL XENOPHON PAPYRI

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Provenance unknown   Fr. A: 8.00 x 13.00 cm   I/II A.D. and IV/V A.D.
Pl. VI 1a and b (front of page only)   Fr. B: 4.30 x 10.70 cm

This intriguing, light brown papyrus survives in two fragments of fair size which once belonged to the same roll; the two pieces were acquired together in 1926/27. Throughout this paper, the description of the papyrus considers the text written first (Xenophon) as the standard point of reference. Both fragments are mutilated on all sides, except for the bottom, where there is a substantial margin of 3.00 cm (fr. A) and 4.00 cm (fr. B). Fragment A preserves the lower segment of two columns of text; the intercolumnar space measures roughly between 2.00 cm to 2.5 cm, depending on the length of the lines in column I. Fragment B contains only one column. The missing portion between cols. I and II of fragment A is approximately 16 lines, calculated on an average of 14 letters per line. This means that the original columns must have consisted of about 34 lines. If we assume that the top margin was more or less equal to the bottom one, then the height of the original roll must have measured around 25-26 cm.[1] Between the two fragments about 24 columns are lost. It is just possible to detect a *kollesis* on the back of fragment B, at a distance of ca. 1.3 cm off the left edge, running across the back, where the fibres are now slightly disjointed. Note also the regular cut of the papyrus on the right hand side of the front which could simply indicate the end of this particular *kollema*.

The papyrus contains two texts: portions of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (II 1.10-11; II 1.11-12; II 2.19-20), and an unknown Christian text. The Xenophon text records a hitherto unknown reading at *Cyr.* II 1.1, although this may not be what Xenophon wrote. The handwriting of this text runs parallel to the fibres on both fragments, which is sufficient proof that it was written in a roll form. The writing of the Christian text, however, presents a variety of angles and, apparently, it formed neither a roll nor a codex. In fragment A the second script runs parallel to the fibres on both sides, but on the front it does so in an order opposite to Xenophon's text. On fragment B this script runs across both the fibres and the Xenophon text on the front, and parallel to the fibres of the back, but at a 180 degree angle to the back of fragment A (for further discussion see I 1).

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Format of the Papyrus

The most striking feature of the papyrus is the coexistence of the two different texts on the front side of both fragments; it would be unjustified, however, to label it as a palimpsest, for there is no indication of any attempt to wash away either of the texts.[2] Had there been a text which was washed away, it is likely it would have been the Xenophon text which was written first on the papyrus.

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[1] In the Roman period papyri of about 28-30 cm are of "good height", see E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early* Codex (Princeton 1977) 43-54, esp. 44, and also *Id.*, *The Terms Recto and Verso. The Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll*, Papyrologica Bruxellensia 16 (1978) 61-62. Cf. also N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford 1974) 56-57 and note 31.

[2] For the significance and the application of the term palimpsest, see e.g. E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri* (Oxford 1980) 6 (with note 23 on p. 181) and 199, and, especially, C.H. Roberts and T.C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (Cambridge 1983) 16-18.

That the Xenophon text was written first on the papyrus, a few centuries before the Christian text, emerges from the paleographical considerations of the papyrus. The hand responsible for the *Cyropaedia* belongs to an earlier period and, although this particular style survives through the third century of our era or even later, the script cannot be later than the second century (see I 2). Additionally, whereas the first scribe has arranged the text into regular columns, with the script running parallel to the fibres and the back left blank (that is to say he has used a proper roll), the second scribe has fitted his writing into the spaces left free by the original scribe, on both the back and the front, thus exploiting to the full the margins and the interlinear space of the original layout.

Surprisingly enough, the Christian scribe appears to accommodate his text in an unprecedented and, to our knowledge, unparalleled manner (but see now the addendum below); additionally, his arrangement and the distribution of the script lack any uniformity. This feature deserves further description and elaboration. On the front of fragment A, the writing, which occupies the entire lower margin and intermingles also with the Xenophon text (insofar as this fragment has arrived to us), runs with the fibres, but inverse to the original text. The scribe tries to avoid almost any overlapping with the Xenophon text by inserting his script in the interlinear space of the Xenophon text. On the back of the same fragment the scribe writes also with the fibres, i.e. at an angle of 90 degrees to the Christian text on the front. On the front of fragment B, however, the Christian script does not occupy any interlinear space. Only the lower margin is extant, and it is here that the Christian text appears, running across the fibres and vertical to the Xenophon text. It is likely that the upper margin was also occupied by the Christian text, less likely that the intercolumnia were used too. On the back the Christian text runs again with the fibres, but at an angle of 180 degrees to the text on the back of fragment A.

What emerges with certainty from the survey of the arrangement of the two texts is the fact that the second scribe did not use the papyrus as a roll. It is indeed hard to conceive how the papyrus was manipulated at such a variety of angles, but in all likelihood the second scribe either cut separate pieces himself or found the pieces already cut, and he used primarily the back, with the script running always in a sequence parallel to the fibres on that side. As was pointed out above, the text on the back of the two fragments presents an angle of 180 degrees opposite to each other. This inconsistency can be explained by the assumption—and it goes a long way towards proving— that the second scribe was using pieces that were cut from the original roll. In doing so, however, and in order to find the fibres of the back running horizontally, he had to choose one of the following two options: either to write at 90 degree angle to the Xenophon text on the front or to turn the back completely upside down. It is exactly these two opposite angles that are attested on the back of our fragments.

It is hard to see the rationale, if any, behind preserving both these texts on the same papyrus. To palimpsest a papyrus requires very elementary utensils (a sponge and water), and it seems that there were no technical difficulties which prevented the second scribe from scraping away the original script. However, there is one factor that we should consider seriously, namely, the length of the original roll. If we suppose that the roll contained a substantial portion of the *Cyropaedia*, a rather lengthy work, to scrape away the entire text would be both very time consuming and difficult. The second scribe may have needed writing material im-

mediately and so did not have time to wash the papyrus, a process which would have rendered it unusable for a day or two.

The fact that the second script is found on both sides of the fragments places this papyrus in the category of opisthographs. According to E.G. Turner, the term 'opisthograph' refers to "single sheets or rolls of papyrus, the content of which begin on the front, and then continued on the back."[3] What makes our papyrus even more exceptional is the fact that opisthographic papyri are very rarely attested in Christian, non-Biblical literature, as space for the annotation of the sacred text is provided in the broad margins of the codex:[4] so Roberts and Skeat count only 3 examples out of 35 with opisthographic material.[5] This suggests that Christian literature did not favor this form of papyrus. A most intriguing example, and in some ways analogous to the present one, is *P. Ryl.* III 466 of the VII century A.D. It consists of a single sheet (which is not a codex leaf) with both sides palimpsested. The front contains a hymn in 19 lines, followed by two lines of numbers. On the same side there are traces of an earlier Greek text which are still visible. On the back, upside down relative to the front, there is a second hymn in 11 lines and, at right angles to it, 7 lines of a third hymn whose lower part is missing. The second hymn on this side is written upside down over an Arabic text.[6]

It is impossible to reach a certain conclusion about the manipulation of the Michigan papyrus. The original scribe, as was suggested above, used a roll. But what was the form of book that the second scribe produced?[7] It can be neither roll nor codex, since it presents such a variety of angles. It looks like a hasty but competent transcription of a preexisting text. The papyrus may also have been a draft or a set of notes, but this is less likely (see also below, part II B end). Although very little can be said with confidence, the format of the Christian text gives us an insight into a practice which is common in our era, but very little, or almost nothing is known with certainty about this practice for late antiquity.

2. Paleography of the Xenophon Text

The hand responsible for the Xenophon text is elegant and practised. The script belongs to a style which is known from the early Ptolemaic period up to the third century A.D. and can be classified as type I, under the rubric "Formal round" of E.G. Turner.[8] The letters are of

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[3] *The Terms Recto and Verso*, 60 and cf. 25, 44; see also *id.*, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World,* ed. P.J. Parsons, BICS Suppl. 46 (1987) [=*GMAW*[2]] 14 note 71. The terminology with its applications and examples of opisthographs have been discussed exhaustively by M. Manfredi, *La Parola del Passato* 38 (1985) 44-54, but his understanding of this class of papyri is narrower than Turner's.

[4] See E.G. Turner, *The Typology* [n.1], 84.

[5] *op. cit* [n. 2] 43; their statistical information derives from the divisions Apocrypha, Patristica, Liturgica, Hagiographica and Miscellaneous in J.van Haelst, *Catalogue des Papyrus littéraires Juifs et Chrétiens* (Paris 1976).

[6] For a photograph see *ed. princ*.; for a more complete description see van Haelst, *op.cit.* [n. 5], nos. 978 and 979. A photo and a description is also included in G.Cavallo and H.Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period (A.D. 300-800)*, BICS Suppl. 47 (1987) no. 53a

[7] There are certain instances of codices which were cut from already written documentary—but not literary— rolls, see E.G. Turner, *The Typology* [n.1], 50 and 5, note 17.

[8] Here we follow Turner's classification in *GMAW*[2], 121 in contrast to W. Schubart's bleak "Zierstil", the decorated style, discussed in his *Griechische Paläographie* (München 1925) 111 ff.

medium size, upright and rounded capitals, written with care and almost entirely bilinear (except for φ and ψ, which protrude above and below). There are rather well marked serifs, with an oblique angle facing to the left, on the feet of letters such as ι, υ(Y), γ, ρ, τ. The letter μ is written in three movements and is deeply looped. a is rather narrow and rounded on the left. The scribe uses no accents. There are a few critical signs. A linear *paragraphos* (—) is visible at the left margin between lines II 8 and 9 of fr. A, and a *diple obelismene,* a linear *paragraphos* with an oblique dash (⸖) *ibidem*, between lines 14 and 15. The former marks the end of a small section; the latter the end of Cyrus' speech, and hence the end of a more significant section.[9] Punctuation is effected with the use of upper and middle *puncta*, to denote period end and subdivision inside the period. The scribe, as usual, is not consistent, so that punctuation appears to be given or omitted in a rather arbitrary way (cf. e.g. note to fr. A I 12).

To establish a date for this particular type of hand on paleographical grounds is difficult. As was pointed out above, the style to which this hand belongs is current from the early Ptolemaic period up to the third century A.D. The presence of serifs, used once by Schubart and his successors stylistically to derive dates, have no value in the present context.[10] On the other hand, the usage of upper and middle *puncta*, as well as the similarity of the script with *P. Lond.* II 141 (p.181) of A.D. 88 (reproduced in the atlas to *P. Lond.* II, no. 31, and partially in C.H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, no. 12a) and *P. Oxy.* XXXII 2618 of the first century A.D. (in Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri* II [Stuttgart 1976] Abb. 20 Taf. XI) leads us to conjecture a date around the end of the first and the beginning of the second century A.D.[11] Our papyrus also presents some similarities with *PSI Congr. XVII* 8 which dates from the end of the first century A.D.; the editors, however, classify it under a different type of hand (see introduction to the papyrus).

3. Paleography of the Christian Text

The script of the Christian text is a "sloping majuscule" which could be classified under Turner's "formal mixed" hands, with the note, however, that it shows a slight tendency for informality (*GMAW*[2], 22). The text is written rather hastily and the letters are bold, medium to large capitals written with a slight slant to the right (ligatures are infrequent and only in αι and ει). o is very small and ι, ρ, υ, φ and χ come well below the line. α is written fast in a single stroke and δ has a big case. The lower right corner of ν and the top of π are rounded.

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[9] This sign appears for instance in *P. Oxy.* XXXI 2537 to mark the end of each epitome of Lysias' speeches. For the general usage of the *paragraphos* and the *diple obelismene* (or forked *paragraphos*), see E.G. Turner, *GMAW*[2], 12 with notes 60-61. For another early papyrus (II AD) of the *Cyropaedia* (IV 5.41-44) with the *diple* and *paragraphos*, see J.G. Milne, *APF* 5 (1913) 378. Cf. also V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie, Das Buchwesen in Altertum und im Byzantinischen Mittelalter* II (Leipzig 1911) 411-412.

[10] See E.G. Turner, *GMAW*[2]·, 21 and, in particular, G. Menci, *Scrittura e Civiltà* 3 (1979) 23-53 [non vidimus].

[11] The scholarly opinion that only two stops were in use until the time of Hadrian, was challenged by E.G. Turner, *GMAW*[2],9 and note 39, but his evidence is not very strong; cf. also L.Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* I [Phonology] (Berlin 1980) 85: "it is in the second century and particularly the time of Hadrian in which the use of punctuation becomes widespread."

There are *tremata* over an initial υ in fr. A , front 2, 7 (ὕπο) and fr. B, front 3 (ὕδατα) and back 6 (ὕδωρ).[12]

The hand can be compared with *P. Oxy.* XXVII 2459 (second half of IV A.D.) and *P. Egerton* 5 (first half of V A.D.), both reproduced by G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period*, BICS Suppl. 47 (1987) nos. 11a and 14b respectively. A later date is equally plausible.

II. THE TEXTS

Part A: Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* II 1.10-11, 11-12; II 2.19-20

As a number of new papyri have been published since the second edition of Pack and A.H.R.E. Paap's, *The Xenophon Papyri. Anabasis, Cyropaedia, Cynegeticus, De Vectigalibus*, P. Lugd.-Bat. XVIII, Leiden 1970, we have collected the material anew and list it in the Appendix that follows this article.[13]

The relationship between the text of P.Mich. 4922 and the MSS of the *Cyropaedia* corresponds roughly to that described by Paap for the other papyri of the *Cyropaedia* (p. 83). The deviations from the *textus receptus* which are recorded in our papyrus do not seem to support the long held view that the papyri are closer to the **y** family;[14] however, it would be a mistake to think that the MS families had "crystallized" by the time P. Mich. 4922 was written,[15] since it is one of the earliest papyri to record the *Cyropaedia* (I/II A.D.). On the whole, in our view, the papyrus preserves readings which are better on stylistic and idiomatic grounds than the ones accepted by Marchant and Gemoll (see the notes to fr. A I 7-8, II 11-12, and the commentary to fr. A II 3-6 and 8). The parts of the *Cyropaedia* recorded on P. Mich. 4922 have not appeared before on a papyrus. We have collated the text both with Marchant's OCT edition and Gemoll's Teubner edition whose *app. crit.* is slightly more up to date.

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[12] Cf. E.G. Turner, *GMAW*², 10-11 and L. Koenen-C. Römer, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex*, *Abbildungen und diplomatischer Text*, PTA 35 (Bonn 1985) XX.

[13] Lists of papyri that appeared later are to be found in *WS* N.F. 14 (1980) 30-31 note 8 and more recently in *APF* 29(1983) 103ff.

[14] The MSS of the *Cyropaedia* fall into three groups: **C** (Paris 1640 xiv) and **E** (Etonensis xv) = group **x**; **D** (Bodleianus Canon. 39 xv) and **F** (Erlangensis 88 xv) = group **y**; and **A** (Paris 1635 xiv), **G** (Guelferbyt. 71,19 xv), and **H** (Escorialensis T III 14 xii) = group **z**. See E.C. Marchant, *Xenophontis Opera Omnia* IV , *Institutio Cyri* (Oxford 1910) vii; W. Gemoll, *Xenophon Insitutio Cyri* (Leipzig 1912) v; H. Erbse, "Überlieferungsgeschichte der griechischen klassischen und hellenistischen Literatur," in *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur* I (Zürich 1961) 269-270. The correspondences of significant deviations in P.Mich. 4922 and **y** are ἔν]θα δὴ λέγει (fr. A I 7-8, there is no room for ἐνταῦθα) and ἀ[λλὰ] καὶ τῶν ἀρχομέν[ων] (fr. A II 11-12); between P. Mich. 4922 and **z**: ἡμέτε[ρον] (fr. A II 8). For endorsements in support of the view that the papyri of the *Cyropaedia* support the **y** family, see K. Wessely, *Mittheilungen Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* 6 (1897) 85; Grenfell and Hunt, *P. Oxy* IV, p. 146; F. Blaß, *APF* 3 (1906) 489; K. Fuhr, *PhW* 24 (1904) 1511; A. Persson, *Zur Textsgeschichte Xenophons*, *Lunds Unviversitets Årsskrift* 10.2 (1915) 26, 166; Paap, *The Xenophon Papyri* 82-83. For the indirect traditions, Persson notes (p.166) that Caecilius, Aristides, Pollux, Athenaeus, and Stobaeus support **y**, and the Constantinian excerptor and the Suda tend to reflect **z**.

[15] Paap [n.14] 83 is only the latest to caution against the use of papyri for the support of later MS families. Wilamowitz, *GGA* 166 (1904) 675, led the way in demonstrating that the early division of the tradition of the *Cyropaedia* into stable groups was dangerous; see also Blaß [n.14] 490, Persson [n.14] 28, and Erbse [n.14] 270.

1.Text and Notes

Fragment A

Col. I (*Cyr.* II 1.10-11)   Col. II (*Cyr.* II 1.11-12)

— — — — — — —

→   [cώματα μ]ὲν ἔχ[οντεc]
    [ἀνδρῶν ἥ]κετε [οὐ]
    [μεμπτὰ · ὅ]πλα δ[ὲ]
 4 [ἔcται] α[ω]ὐτοῖc [. .]
    [. . . . ὅ]cα ἐγὼ [προ]-
    [είρη]κα · τὰc μέ[ντοι]
    [ψυχὰc θ]ήγειν αὑ[τῶν]

— — — — — — —

→   [το δὲ ὅπλα τὰ π]ρ[οει]-   8 ἡμέτε[ρο]ν ἔργον. [ἄρ]-
    [ρημένα. καὶ] cχεδὸν   χοντ[ο]c γάρ ἐcτι[ν οὐ]-
    [ἑτοῖμα ἦν κα]ὶ τῶν   χ ἑα[υτὸν] μόνον [ἀγα]-
 4 [Περcῶν οἱ ὁμ]ότι-   θὸν π[αρ]έ[ι]χε`ι´ν, ἀ[λλὰ]
    [μοι παρῆcαν] ἔχον-   12 καὶ τῶν ἀρχομέ[νων]
    [τεc τὸ . . . Περ]cῶν   ἐπιμελεῖcθαι ὅ[πωc]
    [cτράτευμα. ἔν]θα δὴ   ὡc βέλτιcτοι ἔc[ονται.]
 8 [λέγει ὁ Κῦροc cυ]ναγα-   ὁ μὲν οὕτωc ε[ἶπεν ·]
    [γὼν αὐτούc. ἄν]δρεc   16 οἱ δὲ ἥcθηcαν μὲ[ν]
    [φίλοι, ἐγὼ ὑμᾶ]c ὁ-   πάντεc, νομίζο[ντεc]
    [ρῶν αὐτοὺc] μὲν κα-   μετὰ πλειόνω[ν ἀγω]-
12 [θωπλιcμέ]νουc
          (margin)   (margin)
─────   ─────
12 -θωπλιcμέ]νουc·   8 εργον·   11 -χ(ε') ν.

Fragment B: *Cyr.* II 2.19-20

— — — — — — —

→   [cιν] εἶναι, ὥcτε δ[ια]-   8 [ελθ]ὸν ὥcτε μὴ ἴ[cων]
    [τάτ]τοντα ἐμὲ τ[οὺc]   [ἕκα]cτον τυγχάνε[ιν, ἀλ]-
    [ἐπι]cτάταc οὐδὲ[ν οἷ]-   [λὰ [κ]αὶ `[το]ὺc´ κρατίcτουc κ[αὶ τι]-
 4 [μαι ἀ]δικεῖν νομ[ίζου]-   [μαῖ]c καὶ δώροιc πλε[ο]-
    [cιν.] ἦ καὶ ο`ἴ´ει, ἔφη ὁ [Χρύ]- 12 [νεκ]τεῖν; ἔγωγ', ἔφη [ὁ Κῦ]-
    [cαν]ταc, ψηφίcαcθ[αι]   (margin)
    [ἂν τ]ὸ πλῆθοc cυ[ν]-   ─────
                                       12 -κ]τειν·

Fragment A, Col. I

1: the rho is very uncertain. However, if the trace is to be read as a pi, then the end of the line was very crowded, for which cf. next line.

3: the estimated number of missing letters is ca. 10. For lack of space we assume that τε was omitted by the scribe as in **x**.

5: the chi of ἔχον- appears to have been corrected from a letter which is now illegible; there are traces of ink at the lower part of the left downstroke (not a serif) and some very faint traces at the intersection point (ν?).

6f. τὸ ⟨.⟩ Περ]cῶν [cτράτευμ: τὸ ἀπὸ Περcῶν cτράτευμα **y** : τὸ τῶν Περcῶν cτράτευμα **x** : τῷ Περcῶν cτρατεύματι **z**. The papyrus agrees either with **y** or with **x**.

7-8 ἔν]θα δὴ [λέγει: ἔνθα δὴ λέγει **y** : ἐνταῦθα δὴ εἰπεῖν λέγεται **x z**. The estimated number of missing letters in conjunction with the remnants on the papyrus can be in accordance with the reading of **y** only. The shorter version of the phrase found in the papyrus and the **y** family may be correct. Both Marchant and Gemoll print the longer version; however, a small search in the Xenophontic corpus has shown that the construction εἰπεῖν λέγεται preceded by either ἔνθα or ἐνταῦθα is extremely rare. Furthermore, Xenophon prefers the shorter adverb in association with verbs of speaking.

8: the supplement is 1 letter longer than in the surrounding lines; a letter, perhaps the ὁ, may have been omitted, or the writing was a bit more compressed.

11-12: the middle *punctum* after καὶ[θωπλιϲμέ]νουϲ divides clauses and functions like a modern comma; see also fr. A, II 11.

Col. II

4-6: see the discussion in II 2 (Commentary). The reading of the deleted omega in line 4 is very diffi-cult. The scribe seems to have crossed out this letter, but to have used part of it in forming the upsilon.

6: the codices read γε before μέντοι, which is certainly omitted here.

7 θ]ήγειν αὐ[τῶν]: θήγειν αὐτῶν **x z** : αὐτῶν θήγειν **y** (wrongly).

8 ἡμέτε[ρο]ν: The first letter is very damaged, but the few traces that survive suit eta, not upsilon. ἡμέτερον **zF** : ὑμέτερον **xD** (thus **y** is split). On the implications see II 2 (Commentary)

8-14 [ἄρ]χοντ[ο]ϲ γάρ ἐϲτι[ν - ἔϲ[ονται]: οὐ]χ ἑα[υτὸν] μόνον [ἀγα]θὸν π[αρ]έ[ι]χε`ι´ν, ἀ[λλὰ] καὶ τῶν ἀρχομέ[νων] ἐπιμελεῖϲθαι ὅ[πωϲ] ὡϲ βέλτιϲτοι ἔϲ[ονται] : οὐκ αὐτὸν μόνον (μ. *transp post* ἀγαθὸν **F**) ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἐπιμελεῖϲθαι ὅπωϲ ὡϲ βέλτιϲτοι ἔϲονται **y** : οὐχ ἑαυτὸν μόνον ἀγαθὸν παρέχειν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ (δὴ **G**) καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἐπ. κ.τ.λ. **x z**. the variety of read-ings the manuscripts present in this part of the text seem to result from a failure to understand the contstruc-tion of the two infinitives as dependent upon the expression ἄρχοντοϲ γάρ ἐϲτιν. The papyrus agrees with **xz** in the first clause, and with **y** in the second. Taking the two clauses together, the reading of the papyrus is bet-ter than those of the MS families. The reading ἀλλὰ καὶ is supported by both a general tendency in Greek not to divide ἀλλὰ καί following οὐ μόνον (see the examples in Kühner-Gerth II 2.257, Denniston, *Greek Particles*[2] 3) and Xenophon's rhetorical style evident in this passage (cf. H. Schacht, *De Xenophontis Studiis Rhetoricis* [Diss. Berlin 1890] 53). The insertion of δεῖ obscures the parallel construction of the two clauses (a *parison*) ending with an infinitive. Given that the clause without δεῖ is more economical, emphatic, and therefore better Greek, future editors of the *Cyropaedia* should perhaps reevaluate the inclusion of δεῖ at II 1.11.

11 π[αρ]έ[ι]χε`ι´ν: The script of the Christian text interferes slightly with the Xenophon text in this line, but there is hardly any doubt that the scribe wrote at first the third person singular of the Imperfect; con-sequently he blotted the iota and added a very small one at the top of the epsilon, in a manner similar to that of the iota in ὁ`ι´ει of fr. B 5. L. Koenen suggests the possiblity that the insertion of the iota in both cases might have been done by a second scribe.

For the use of the middle *punctum* (here before ἀλλά) see fr. A I 12.

Fragment B

1-4: a small strip of fibres runs vertically across the ends of the first four lines, apparently implanted during the manufacture; the added part runs directly between tau and epsilon of line 1 and mu and epsilon of line 2, whereas delta of line 3 and part of the mu in line 4 have been written on the vertical strip. The presence of the strip is either a defect or the repair of damage. For the treatment of defective papyri and rolls during manufacture, see Pliny, *Natural History* XIII 81 and the interpretation of the passage by N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford 1974) 63-64 with note 42.

3 οὐδέν: thus most codices; οὐθέν **AH**. The interchange of delta and theta is very common from the Hellenistic period onwards

5 οˋ ἴ ῾ει: the iota was clearly added later in the form of a very short vertical bar on the right of the omicron in a manner very similar to that in παρέχειν (fr. A II 11). The use of the first letter of a diphthong instead of the entire diphthong is very common.

8 ἴ[cων]: we adopt the correct reading of most MSS. (ἴcον **CD**, i. e. the common spelling of o for ω or vice versa).

10: apparently, the scribe was about to skip a colon when he noticed and corrected the mistake. The incorrect καί is most likely the one preceding τιμαῖc.

2. Commentary

Fr. A II 3-6 and 8

It is impossible to reconstruct the precise wording of lines 3-6; line 5 ἐγώ and line 6]κα indicate that the reading of the papyrus is not extant in the MSS. This is not surprising because the MSS themselves show significant variation.

The context is as follows. *Cyr.* II 1.11 presents an address by Cyrus to the Persian "peers" or ὁμότιμοι. We know from Cyrus' conversation with Cyaxares (II 1.9) and from Xenophon's own remarks earlier about the ὁμότιμοι, that they are heavily armed troops. We know, furthermore, that Cyrus has persuaded Cyaxares (II 1.10) to arm all of the Persians in the same manner as the ὁμότιμοι (II 1.9: the δῆμος τῶν Περcῶν are peltasts, slingers, and archers, I 5.5; cf. II 1.16). Specifically, each soldier should have a θώραξ, a γέρρον to be carried in the left hand, and a κοπίc or cάγαριc in the right hand (II 1.9; cf. II 1.16 and already I 2.13). When Cyrus speaks to the "peers" he says that, although they are well equipped for battle (καθωπλιcμένουc), and ready in their hearts (ταῖc ψυχαῖc παραcκευαcμένουc) to face the enemy, the men following them (τοὺc δὲ ἑπομένουc ὑμῖν Πέρcαc) are only prepared for long-range fighting (προcωτάτω ταχθέντεc μάχεcθαι), and he fears that the ὁμότιμοι will be overwhelmed in combat by superior numbers. Then follows the problematic passage:

ἔδειcα μὴ ὀλίγοι καὶ ἔρημοι cυμμάχων cυμπίπτοντεc πολεμίοιc πολλοῖc πάθοιτέ τι. νῦν οὖν, ἔφη, cώματα μὲν ἔχοντεc ἀνδρῶν ἥκετε οὐ μεμπτά· ὅπλα δὲ ἔcται αὐτοῖc ὅμοια τοῖc ἡμετέροιc· τάc γε μέντοι ψυχὰc θήγειν αὐτῶν ὑμέτερον ἔργον. ἄρχοντοc γάρ ἐcτιν οὐχ ἑαυτὸν μόνον ἀγαθὸν παρέχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ (see above on fr. A II 8-14) τῶν ἀρχομένων ἐπιμελεῖcθαι ὅπωc ὡc βέλτιcτοι ἔcονται.

There is some confusion in the textual tradition as to whose task it is to whet the men's hearts for battle. Marchant in his edition (OCT 1910), and Gemoll in his (BT 1911), print ὑμέτερον ἔργον, following **xD**, whereas **zF** and our papyrus have ἡμέτερον ἔργον. It should be noted that confusions involving the pronoun ὑμεῖc and ἡμεῖc and the pronominal possessive adjectives ὑμέτεροc and ἡμέτεροc are common (iotacism).[16] Furthermore even if the scribe meant ἡμέτερον, Cyrus may have been trying to say, "I as well as you," as he includes himself among the ὁμότιμοι, when he talks to the soldiers (II 1.15-20). But as van

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[16] See F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, I *Phonology* (Milano 1975) 262-265.

Herwerden and Marchant suggested,[17] the reading ὑμέτερον may make better sense in light of the response by an anonymous member of the ὁμότιμοι following Cyrus' address (II 1.12): it is "our job" to whet the men's hearts for battle (II 1.13: ἀπεῖναι μέντοι οὐδὲ τὰ ἡμέτερα χρή, ἀλλὰ παντὶ τρόπῳ δεῖ τῶν ἀνδρῶν θήγειν πάντως τὸ φρόνημα), not Cyrus'. These remarks echo Cyrus' speech (II 1.11: τάς γε μέντοι ψυχὰς θήγειν). There are also indications elsewhere in the *Cyropaedia* and in Xenophon's corpus as a whole that it was one of the specific functions of subordinate officers to rouse their men's spirits for war.[18] Consequently it is perfectly reasonable for Cyrus on the one hand to refer to "our armor" (he was himself educated as a ὁμότιμος, I 3.1 and I 5.1), and at the same time to consider that there were duties assigned specifically to his lieutenants.[19]

The phrase ὅπλα δ[ὲ] ‖ [ἔσται] α[ω]ὐτοῖς [.] ‖ [. . . ὅ]σα ἐγὼ [προείρη]κα reiterates II 1.10 ὅπλα τὰ προειρημένα and refers to the list of weaponry and armor to be given to all soldiers (II 1.9 and II 1.16, and earlier at I 2.13), but put directly into the mouth of Cyrus so as to read ὅ]σα ἐγὼ [προείρη]κα. It is not unusual in Xenophon for a speaker to recapitulate in the course of a speech.[20] The rest of the restoration remains uncertain. We suggest e.g. either α[ω]ὐτοῖς [τοιcαῦτα ὅ]σα (cf., for example, *Cyr*. V 2.12 χρήμαθ' ἕξει τοσαῦτα ὅσα δίδως)[21] or α[ω]ὐτοῖς [καὶ ‖ ἡμῖν ὅ]σα, thus again stressing the equality of the armor which the ὁμότιμοι have and the ordinary troops will receive.

The fact, that in this passage the wording of the papyrus deviates from the manuscript tradition may cast some doubts on the transmitted text of the passage, but the deplorable state of preservation of the papyrus makes it difficult to evaluate the virtue of its reading. ὅ]σα ἐγὼ

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[17] H. van Herwerden, "Critica et epicritica ad Cyropaedian," *Mnemosyne* n.s. 18 (1890) 110, Marchant, critical note *ad loc*., line 2.

[18] See *Cyr*. III 3.53, where it is argued that officers must show the soldiers how, and accustom them to be excellent. Cf. *Mem*. III 3.7, where Socrates implies that one of the duties of a hipparch is to steel his men for battle (θήγειν δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἱππέων). Some of the features of Cyrus' speech to the ὁμότιμοι closely parallel Xenophon's speech to the λοχαγοί at *Anab*. III 1.15ff. There too Xenophon expresses the need for the officers to raise the morale of their soldiers: note esp. III 1.41-42, and the observation that if the officers turn the men's minds then success will be theirs because victory comes to troops bold in spirit—ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐρρωμενέστεροι ἴωσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους (III 1.42).

[19] The way in which the Persian forces are levied suggests that a chain of command extends from the 200 ὁμότιμοι whom Cyrus selects, to the 800 whom the 200 pick, and then to the tens that each of the ὁμότιμοι altogether (1000) select (*Cyr*. I 5.4). Compare *Hipparchicus* II 2: τούτων δ' ἐγώ φημι χρῆναι πρῶτον μὲν δεκαδάρχους σὺν τῇ τῶν φυλάρχων ἑκάστου γνώμῃ καταστῆναι ἐκ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων τε καὶ φιλοτιμοτάτων καλόν τι ποιεῖν καὶ ἀκούειν. Cf. also *Anab*. III 1 38-39 on the need to give the 10,000 a chain of command after the murder of the generals by Tissaphernes, and also Arrian *Anab*. III 9.6 (Gaugamela).

[20] Most notably Xenophon at *Anab*. III 2.10, following an ominous interruption (a sneeze). Cf. also *Cyr*. I.2.9 where Xenophon recalls in the course of his narrative a remark he made earlier about Persian boys sleeping around public buildings: κοιμῶνται μὲν τὰ ἀρχεῖα ὥσπερ προειρήκαμεν (=I 2.4). J. Tatum, *Xenophon's Imperial Fiction* (Princeton 1989) 86 and 258 n.19, discusses the related phenomenon of Xenophon's recollections in the *Cyropaedia* of details he has not mentioned before, particularly in Cambyses' discussion with Cyrus: e.g. I 6.3, I 6.6, I 6.8, and I 6.12.

[21] Xenophon frequently uses πάντα ὅσα, a phrase common in Greek at all periods; this would leave room for a short word before πάντα (at the end of line 4). α[ω]ὐτοῖς [δὴ ‖ πάντα ὅ]σα would lend force to αὐτοῖς and thus stress the contrast between the ordinary troops and the ὁμότιμοι; but this turn of phrase would then change the direction of the argument which aims at Cyrus' request to provide the troops with all the weaponry and armor that is traditionally carried by the ὁμότιμοι. Moreover, Xenophon never uses δή after an oblique case of αὐτός (for the collocation see Denniston, *Greek Particles*[2] 210).

[προείρη]κα may be a conversion of an explanatory *glossa*, but there is also nothing in the phrase which could not have been written by Xenophon.[22]

Part B: An unknown Christian Homily

The text comments on a sequence of three connected events told in *Exodus*: the Israelites crossing the Red Sea (14-15.22: fr. A front and back, fr. B back, lines 3-4), the bitter springs of Merra (15.22-23: fr. B, back, lines 5-6), and the twelve springs and seventy palms which they found at Aelim (15. 27: fr. B front). Three preliminary conclusions may be drawn: (1) the sequence of the fragments is the same for the Christian text as it is for Xenophon; (2) the back of fr. B precedes the front; (3) the treatment of the crossing of the Red Sea extends through the back of fr. B. Since about 24 colums are missing between frs. A and B in the Xenophon text, the treatment of the crossing of the Red Sea may have been substantial, even though the actual amount of text per space of one column of the Xenophon text is relatively small. But it is, of course, not known whether the scribe of the Christian text still had the full Xenophon roll at his disposal or whether columns had disappeared after the roll had been cut into pieces.

That the scribe first wrote on the empty back of fr. B before he continued on the front already filled with the text of Xenophon (above, I 1 and II, part A) is a likely procedure. But a caveat is needed. It is not absolutely certain that the text followed the order of the story, and the order of front and back is even more uncertain. On the front, the drowning of the Egyptians is still in the future, on the back the events are in progress. This would indicate that in this fragment the front side preceded. However, the back simply tells the story, while the text of the front side engages in an eschatological explanation of the crossing of the Red Sea. On the back of fr. B, the text may be mainly concerned with typological interpretation (line 2 οἱ νεόφυτοι , see below). Thus the order of the fragmentary text seems to have been A back – A front – < > – B back – B front (see also I 1). We will present the texts in this order, but the reader should be forewarned of the tentative nature of this arrangement.

As has just been indicated, the text tells the story of the crossing of the Red Sea and the following events (involving "historical" interpretation) and proceeds to eschatological and typological interpretations, which in Alexandria were called κατ’ ἀναγωγήν.[23] The text also quotes from scripture (fr. A, front, line 4 and commentary). It is either a commentary on *Exodus* or a homily, either exegetical or dogmatic. Alternatively, it may well have served catechetical purposes.[24] We learn from a description of the education of neophytes in the Holy

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[22] Another *Cyropaedia* papyrus (*MPER* 6, pp. 81-97 [n.14 and Appendix]) records variant readings in the margin and interlinear spaces. This fact suggests that already in the second century A.D., to which the Rainer papyrus dates, scholars had observed problems in the transmission of the *Cyropaedia*. It is possible that the reading of our papyrus in the above mentioned lines forms part of the earlier tradition which the scholars of the time found suspect.

[23] K.J. Torjesen, *Hermeneutical Procedure and Theological Method in Origen's Exegesis*, PTS 28 (Berlin-New York 1986); W.A. Bienert, *'Allegoria' und 'Anagoge' bei Didymos dem Blinden von Alexandria*, PTS 13 (Berlin-New York 1972); N.R.M. deLange, "Origen and Jewish Bible Exegesis", *JJS* 22 (1971) 38f.

[24] A comparable homiletic text would be Origen, *Homilia in Exodum*; a comparable catechetical text would be John Chrysostom's eight *Catecheses ad illuminandos*. For a discussion of the popularity of homiletic and sermon literature during the period of our papyrus (IV/V A.D.) , see O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte*

Land in ca. AD 385 that they were educated in the law, *sic inchoans [episcopus] a genese per illos dies quadraginta percurret omnes scripturas, primum exponens carnaliter, et sic illud solvens spiritualiter.*[25] From the point of view of Christian education, the crossing of the Red Sea foreshadowed Christian life, and the catechumen, or the recently converted, seeks to live out the message of *Exodus*. Reference to the crossing of the Red Sea, sometimes in connection with the baptism of catechumens, was part of Eastern liturgies;[26] and in the Roman rite, the Easter Night, in which the Easter candle and the holy water are blessed, is the night in which God led the children of Israel through the Red Sea.[27] Similar interpretations are found in the Church Fathers: e.g. Athanasius, *Hom. in ss. Patres et Prophetas* PG 28.1064.33C: ἵνα ὁ Φαραὼ cὺν τῷ διαβόλῳ καταποντιcθῇ εἰς τὸ πέλαγος τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάccης. ὑμεῖς δὲ ὁ νέος Ἰcραὴλ μετὰ Μωcέως ᾄδωμεν τὴν ἐπινίκιον ᾠδήν. Moses' victory song is replaced by the new victory song: Didymus the Blind, *Cat. in Ps.* 95.1-2:[28] οἱ τῇ παλαιᾷ διαθήκῃ προcανέχοντες ὑπὲρ αἰcθητῶν cυμβαινόντων πραγμάτων ᾄδοντες ᾆcμα παλαιὸν ᾖδον. τοῦ γὰρ Φαραὼ τοῦ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τυράννου καταποντιcθέντος ᾄδει Μωυcῆς μετὰ πάcης τῆς Ἑβραϊκῆς πληθύος ᾠδὴν – – –. οἱ δὲ ἀποcτάντες τῆς παλαιότητος τοῦ γράμματος – – – καινὸν τῷ κυρίῳ ᾄδουcιν ᾆcμα καταργηθέντος τοῦ τὸ κράτος ἔχοντος τοῦ θανάτου διαβόλου καὶ ὑποβρυχίου γενομένου τοῦ τῆς νοητῆς Αἰγύπτου τυράννου – – –.

To sum up, the fragmentary text seems to proceed in an orderly manner and in accordance with expectations, whether it is a commentary on *Exodus* or a homily; it seems to be aimed at the education of Christians and presumably at the education of new members of the church;[29] as far as we can tell, spelling and language are correct, and the handwriting is perhaps no beauty, but smooth, although slightly informal (above, I 2): this is a well trained scribe. But the impression of purpose and arrangement of thought stands in stark contrast to the physical arrangement of the text on the papyrus. The scribe took pieces of papyrus from a dismantled roll of Xenophon and wrote his text wherever he found space (usually for ease of

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der altkirchlichen Literatur 3 (Freiburg im B. 1923) 22-23. For a reconstruction of the use of catechetical literature, see A. Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome Huit catéchèses baptismales inédites* , SC 50 (Paris 1957) 66-104.

[25] S. Silviae Aquitanae peregrinatio ad loca sancta (J.H. Bernard, ed.), *Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society* vol. I [London 1891], p. 133, § 72.

[26] See, for example, the Syrian Rite (F.E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, I [Oxford 1896]18 and 76-77; the Byzantine Rite of John Chrysostom (Brightman 364); the Liturgy of Palestine (Brightman 467).

[27] In the Roman liturgy of Holy Saturday, in which the night is celebrated as: *Haec nox est, in qua primum patres nostros, filios Israel, eductos de Aegypto Mare Rubrum sicco vestigio transire fecisti. haec igitur nox est, quae peccatorum tenebras columnae illuminatione purgavit. haec nox est, quae hodie per universum mundum in Christo credentes a vitiis saeculi et caligine peccatorum segregatos reddit gratiae, sociat sanctitati.*

[28] E. Mühlenberg, *Psalmenkommentare aus der Katenenüberlieferung* II, PTS 16 (Berlin-New York 1977) 200; ibidem (p. 320) on *Ps.* 135.13-15 πρὸς δὲ διάνοιαν ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος πολλάκις – – – εἴρηται θάλαccα, ἥνπερ κυμάτων καὶ πολλῆς ἁλμυρότητος καὶ ταραχῆς πεπληρωμένην διοδεύcιμον ἡμῖν ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος παρέχει, ἀναcτελλόμενος καὶ διιcτῶν τὰς ἐκ παθῶν ἐπιθεμένας τρικυμίας ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναξηρανθέντων τῶν παθῶν πάcης τῆς ὑγρότητος αὐτῶν ὑπὸ θεοῦ κωλυομένης διοδεύcιμον ἡμῖν γενέcθαι, καταποντιζομένων ἐν αὐτῇ τοῦ νοητοῦ Φαραὼ καὶ πάcης τῆς ἐκ δαιμόνων καὶ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων – – –. John Chrysostom *Catecheses* III 23: ἐξῆλθες ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, μηκέτι πάλιν Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὰ Αἰγύπτου ζήτει κακά.

[29] Fr. B back 2 and cf. the passages from Origen quoted in the commentary to this line.

writing), choosing a direction along the fibres. He turned the sheets of papyrus around as it pleased him (above, I 1). There are no indications that these are notes taken in a lecture or a draft for a sermon. In the former case we expect abbreviations, in the latter corrections. Most likely, this is a private copy of a homily for which the person used whatever papyrus he had available.

1. Text and Notes

Fragment A Back

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

→   ] . . . . . . ρει . . . . . ελευθε (faint traces of ca. 8 letters)

ἀπεκα]λύφθη ἡ ξηρὰ καὶ διά (faint traces of ca. 10 letters)

]την . λ . . κα (traces)

4   καταπο]ντίςαι τὸν Φαραὼ καὶ παρ[

]καὶ τῆς ϲυν[ ] traces

]ειαν διά traces ο[

] (traces) τους φ . [

(spurious traces of 1 line)

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

4 τόν, the nu seems to be a correction from a rho.

Fragment A Front

→   ] . . . αο[. . .] . κ . [

]χειν ἵνα ὁδηγηθῇ ὑ[πὸ ὺ

]θεν ἤρξατο διὰ προςευχῆς . [

4   ]θον ϲοφίαν καὶ ἐπιφέρει καὶ ὁ λ[

οὐκ] ἀγνοητέον δὲ ὅτι περὶ τ . [

] . τῇ ϲυντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶν[ος ὺ

]δι . αι . ι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ . . [

8   ]εχθ . [.]ν καὶ τὴν ἀν . [

]ηςαντι[.] . ἔναϲ καὶ γι . [

κατα]ποντιϲθ[ή]ϲονται . . ροι ἀπ[

]νυξ ε . [

12   ]ϲυν μ[

]ϲη . [

] . . [

————— — — — — — — — — — — — —

2 and 7 ϋ[πο

1] . . . αο[: ο could be the beginning of a new word; before that the papyrus perhaps has ινα (ἵνα?), but the traces are very uncertain.

3]θεν: ἔνθεν, ἐντεῦθεν, ὅθεν *vel sim.* or a neuter passive aorist participle are equally possible at the beginning of the line.

6] . : the first letter looks very much like an o; the reading at the end is dubious, but finds good parallels (see comm.).

7]δι ̣ αι ̣ ι: δίκαιαι, δίκαιοι, or δικαιοῖ are all likely.

8]εχθ ̣ [̣ ̣]ν: ἀπ]έχθε[ια]ν is very attractive.

9 γι ̣ [: there is a bar over γι at the end of the line, an abbreviation mark, perhaps, but these two letters do not form an obvious *nomen sacrum*. Because of the poor state of the papyrus, we cannot confirm whether this stroke is indeed a bar or simply a dark fibre.

11]νυξε ̣ [: νύξ may be attractive because of the context of the story (see II 2).

Back   **Fragment B, Front**

— — — — — — — — — — —   — — — — — — —

→   ] ̣ ̣ [↑   [̣ ̣ ̣ ̣] ̣ ων ̣ ̣ ρων

      ] ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ςωςι οἱ νεόφυτοι ὅτι *vac*   παρενέβαλεν παρὰ

] τοὺς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ κατεπόντισεν του[τὰ ὕδατα τῶν ῑβ̄

4] διὰ ξηρᾶς ἐν μέςῳ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλά[ςςης   4   [π]ηγῶν ὁρῶντες ̣

]ὅτι πρὸς δοκιμαςίαν οὐκ εὗρον ὤ[ςτε πεῖν   τὰ ō̄ ςτελέχη

οὐκ ἠδύναν]το πεῖν ὕδωρ ἐκ [Μέρρας   [τ]ῶν φοινίκων

                                                                  [̣ ̣]α ̣ ομενω(ν)
—————

— — — — — — — — — — — —   — — — — — —

5 read οὐχ   6 read πιεῖν   ὕδωρ   3 ὕδατα   7 -μενῶ

2. Commentary

Fragment A Back

1ff: unfortunately, this side of the papyrus is very badly damaged and the script is faded. The beginning of the lines corresponds to the lower margin of the Xenophon text on the front, so that either there is nothing missing in front of the printed text of ll. 1-3 or very little, perhaps one to two letters. The text as printed is only *exempli gratia*. On the right hand side the lines slope downwards.

From the little that survives, it appears that the discussion focuses, as in fr. B, back, on the the passage of the Red Sea in *Exodus*, but the general context in which this paradigm is used cannot be confirmed. The finite verb in line 2 may indicate that the story of the crossing of the Red Sea is told ("historical" interpretation).

2: one should expect something like ἀπεκα]λύφθη ἡ ξηρὰ καὶ διὰ [ταύτης ἐπορεύθηςαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰςραήλ *vel sim.*; cf *Ex.* 14.21-22: ἐξέτεινεν δὲ Μωυςῆς τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλαςςαν – – – καὶ ἐποίηςεν τὴν θάλαςςαν ξηράν, καὶ ἐςχίςθη τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ εἰςῆλθον οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰςραὴλ εἰς μέςον τῆς θαλάςςης κατὰ τὸ ξηρόν, and a few lines later (14.29): οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ Ἰςραὴλ ἐπορεύθηςαν διὰ ξηρᾶς ἐν μέςῳ τῆς θαλάςςης.

4 καταπο]ντίςαι: cf. front 10 κατα]ποντιςθ[ή]ςονται and fr. B, back, line 3. The verb occurs in Moses' ode (*Ex.* 15.4), at least in the vast majority of MS: ἅρματα Φαραὼ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ ἔρριψεν εἰς θάλαςςαν, ἐπιλέκτους ἀναβάτας τριςτάτους κατεπόντιςεν ἐν ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάςςῃ.[30] The verb

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[30] The Codex Alexandrinus and most MSS, including Rahlfs 1219 (The Wash. Freer II in H. Sanders, *The Old Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection*, Univ. of. Mich., Humanistic Series 8 [New York 1917] p. 349) and possibly 2036, 2119 (P. Vindob. K 8706 in W. Till and P. Sanz, *Eine griechisch-koptische Odenhandschrift*, Mon. bibl. et eccl. V [Rome 1939], p. 48; the reading is damaged, see pl. 1 in the edition); all other papyri have the word in lacuna, and offer both κατεπόντιςεν or κατεπόθηςαν, the latter being the reading found in the Vaticanus and a few other MSS (see the app. of Brooke and McLean (Cambridge 1909), which is closer to 𝔐 (טבע; see Gesenius, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon* [Boston 1906] 371 and Hatch and Redpath, *Conc. to the Sept. sv*) . For κατεπόντιςεν see also Orig., *Hom. Ex.* VI.3: *quadrigas Pharaonis et exercitum eius proiecit in mare, electos adscensores, ternos statores demersit in rubrum mare*; *PsT* 247.15 (M. Gronewald, *Didymos der Blinde, Psalmenkommentar* V, PTA 12 [Bonn 1970], p. 232); ZaT 256.10 (κατεποντώ θηςαν) and 401.23 (*Didyme l' Aveugle, Sur Zacharie* II and III, ed. L. Doutreleau, SC 84 and 85, pp. 754 and 1058 and the texts quoted above in the introduction to II with n. 28).

was frequently used to describe the destruction of Pharaoh and the Egyptians: in Philo *Legum allegoriarum* 2.103, *de vita Mosis* 1.179, and the Church Fathers, Origen *Contra Celsum* 4.34, *de principiis* 3.1.14, Eusebius *Eccl. Hist.* 7.21.4, John Chrysostom *Catecheses* III 24, where the Pharaoh equals the devil (cf. *Ez.* 29.3 and 32.2; H. Rahner, *Symbole der Kirche* [Salzburg 1964] 294f.); its use in other passages of the scriptures (mainly *Ps.* 54.10; 68.4 and 16; *Eccl.* 10.12; *Matth.* 18.6) determined the 'anagogic' interpretation of the *Exodus* passage. As the passage from John Chrysostom shows, the verb is also used in connection with baptism, whereby evil (demons, the devil, the beast, etc.) is destroyed: see e.g. John Chrysostom *Exp. in Psalmos* (PG 55) 210, *in Martham, Mariam et Lazarum: et in Eliam prophetam* [sp.] (PG 61) 708, and esp. Chrysippus of Jerusalem, *Encomium of St. John the Baptist* 8 (A. Sigalas, *Des Chrysippos von Jerusalem Enkomion auf den hl. Johannes den Täufer*, Texte und Forschungen zur byzantisch-neugriechischen Philologie 20 [Athens 1937] 40): βάπτιcόν με, ὦ Ἰωάννη, ἵνα τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐχθρὸν καταποντίcω ἐν τῷ θείῳ μου βαπτίcματι καὶ φυγαδεύcαc εἰc τὴν ἄβυccον ἀποκλείcω. These passages may also support the reading ἀπ]έχθε[ια]ν in front, line 8 (above).

Fragment A Front

2 ἵνα ὁδηγηθῇ ὑ[πό: cf. *Ex.* 15.13 – – – ὡδήγηcαc (of God); the verb that seems to be preferred in *Exodus* is ἐξάγειν, e.g. *Ex.* 3.11-12. The subject of ἤρξατο διὰ προcευχῆc in the next line is probably either Moses or the people of Israel (λαόc; see n. on line 3); also in fr. B, front 2 the singular is used for an action of the Israelites (παρενέβαλεν, the LXX has παρενέβαλον). Hence, also in fr. A, front, line 2, both Moses and the Israelites are the main candidates for the subject of ἵνα ὁδηγηθῇ, ὑ[πὸ θεοῦ. In other contexts, the passive of ὁδηγέω is frequently employed by the Fathers in connection with the Holy Ghost; from the several examples see e.g. Athanasius *ep. Marcell.* 27.45,37-38: οὕτωc τοῖc ψαλμοῖc, τὸν μὲν ἐν ἑκάcτῳ νοῦν ὁδηγούμενοc ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματοc καταλαβεῖν δυνήcῃ, and Basil *Enarr. in proph. Isaiam* [dub], p.1, 25-27: – – – καὶ μὴ παραcτοχάζεcθαι τῆc διανοίαc τῶν λεγομένων, ἀλλ' εὐθυβόλωc ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὁδηγεῖcθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκονομήcαντοc Πνεύματοc γραφῆναι τὴν προφητείαν – – –. But the Holy Ghost does not belong in the story.

3: Note that the *Exodus* begins when the cry of the sons of Israel (a prayer?) is heard by god: *Ex.* 2.23 καὶ κατεcτέναξαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰcραὴλ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων καὶ ἀνεβόηcαν, καὶ ἀνέβη ἡ βοὴ αὐτῶν πρὸc τὸν θεὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων. καὶ εἰcήκουcεν ὁ θεὸc τὸν cτέναγμον αὐτῶν. Similarly, Moses cries to God when the Egyptians pursue the Jews: 14.13 εἶπεν δὲ κύριοc πρὸc Μωυcῆν· τί βοᾷc πρόc με; Hence, we may expect something like ὅ]θεν ἤρξατο διὰ προcευχῆc ἀ[ναβοῆcαι πρὸc θεόν. For διὰ προcευχῆc cf. e.g. Didymus the Blind, *HiT* 248.5ff. (III, p. 70) εἰ γὰρ καλέcαντοc μου διὰ προcευχῆc – – – ὑπακούcῃ, *ZaT* 192.9f. τὸ διὰ λιτῶν καὶ ἁγίων προcευχῶν ἐκζητεῖν ἐπιφάνειαν κυρίου παντοκράτοροc, and 193.14f. ἐκζητῆcαι αὐτὸ δι' εὐπροcδέκτων προcευχῶν καὶ ζητήcεωc. For the use of ἄρχομαι in connection with prayer, see e.g. *TobS* 3.1, 1-3: καὶ περίλυποc γενόμενοc τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ cτενάξαc ἔκλαυcα καὶ ἠρξάμην προcεύχεcθαι μετὰ cτεναγμῶν; also *ibid.*8:5, 1-2 and cf. Hermas, *Pastor* 1:3,6-4,1: διαβὰc οὖν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐκεῖνον ἦλθον εἰc τὰ ὁμαλά, καὶ τιθῶ τὰ γόνατα καὶ ἠρξάμην προcεύχεcθαι τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ ἐξομολογεῖcθαί μου τὰc ἁμαρτίαc· προcευχομένου δέ μου ἠνοίγη ὁ οὐρανόc. It should be noted, however, that in all these instances the verb is used with the Infinitive and not with the noun προcευχή. W. Bauer, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*[6] (Berlin and New York 1988) 360 *sv* διά III 1.a, states that διά + noun denoting an activity is a hebraism. Cf. 1 Cor. 14.9, εὔcημον λόγον διδόναι διὰ τῆc γλώccηc. The collocation is, however, not unusual: see Basil, *Asceticon magnum, Quaestiones* (PG 31) 1257, Gregory of Nyssa, *In inscriptiones Psalmorum* (*Opera*, ed. Jaeger [Leiden 1960]) V. 76, 79, 82, Origen, *de Oratione* 13.4.

4 καὶ ἐπιφέρει καὶ ὁ λ[: a very common function of ἐπιφέρω in the Christian writers is to introduce a brief citation (see LSJ *sv* 9: "adduce", cite"; cf. also Stephanus, *ThLGr* cols. 1875 D.18-1877 A.2); e.g. *HiT* 33.31ff. (I, p.112) ἐπιφέρει γὰ[ρ καὶ] μετὰ τὸ προcκυνῆcαι· "γυμνὸc [ἐξῆ]λθον – – – (*Job* 1.21).

5 ἀγνοητέον: this word is always preceded by the negative particle οὐκ (LSJ *s.v*); e.g. *HiT* 17.28 οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοητέον, and note 1 Cor. 10.1, where Paul specifically mentions the crossing of the Red Sea: οὐ θέλω γὰρ ὑμᾶc ἀγνοεῖν.

6: despite the extensive damage at the end of the line, it is almost certain that there is a reference here to the day of "consummation". The expression οὕτως ἔςται ἐν τῇ ςυντέλειᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος, followed by prophetic forecasts, is found already in *Matthew* 13.40, 2-3 and 13.49, 1-3, and is in common usage in the Fathers (see the examples listed in Lampe, *Lexicon sv* ςυντέλεια B2). The meaning is discussed in Origen *or.* 27 (p.374.10ff; PG 11.520C): ὥςπερ ςυντέλεια τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὁ τελευταῖός ἐςτι μήν, μεθ' ὃν ἀρχὴ μηνὸς ἑτέρου ἐνίςταται· οὕτω μήποτε, πλειόνων αἰώνων – – – ςυμπληρούντων ςυντέλειά ἐςτιν ὁ ἐνεςτὸς αἰών, μεθ' ὃν μέλλοντές τινες αἰῶνες ἐνςτήςονται, ὧν ἀρχή ἐςτιν ὁ μέλλων. Seeing that the remark is clearly eschatological, it is interesting to note *Apoc.* 15.3, where the song of Moses, understood to be *Ex.* 15.1ff (the celebration of the crossing), is sung by the ones who have conquered the beast.[31]

7 δι αι ι: this may read οἱ δίκαιοι, a designation which may correspond to the "sancti" in a possibly similar work, Rufinus' Latin translation of Origen's *Homiliae in Exodum*:[32] see esp. *Hom.* VI 4, where the "peccatores" are said to be heavy with their sins and sink in the water, whereas the "sancti" do not sink, but walk upon it. Lampe 369, *sv* δίκαιος B6c, notes that Origen uses the term specifically of those who live well after baptism, citing *Hom. in Iesu Nave* IV.2.[33]

8]εχθ [ ]ν: for ἀπ]έχθε[ια]ν see back, line 4 (at the end).

10 κατα]ποντιςθ[ή]ςονται: for the implications of the use of this word in *Exodus* see n. on front, line 4.

11]νυξ ε [: Moses and the Israelites crossed the Red Sea by night (*Ex.* 14.21), when a dark cloud, in the shape of a column, kept the Egyptians in darkness, but, on its other side, gave light to the Israelies (*Ex.* 14.19-20). The symbolism of the night had a lasting influence on the tradition (see n. 27). νὺξ ἐγ[ένετο?

Fragment B Back

2] . . . . ςωςι οἱ νεόφυτοι ὅτι: this is a crucial line in the Christian text for it connects this text with newly converted and baptized Christians (Lampe p.905 *sv* νεόφυτος B),[34] although it seems not to have been spoken or written specifically for νεόφυτοι (-ςωςι). The νεόφυτοι may be used as example in a more general homily or in a commentary. Already Paul saw the crossing of the Red Sea as a symbol for the refusal of paganism, the Jewish equivalent to Christian baptism: οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν πάντες ὑπὸ τῆς νεφέλης ἦςαν καὶ διὰ τῆς θαλάςςης διῆλθον καὶ πάντες εἰς τὸν Μωυςῆν ἐβαπτίςθηςαν. καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πνευματικὸν βρῶμα ἔφαγον, καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πνευματικὸν ἔπιον πόμα (1 *Cor.* 10.1-4). Origen furthermore cites Paul as an authority for this association at *Hom. Ex.* 5.1.[35] For Origen, baptism as represented by the crossing was the first step in the mystical purification of a person seeking spiritual perfection.[36] This line of intepretation is present in his homilies on *Exodus*, and is clearly and economically stated at *Hom. in Lib. Iesu Nave* 4.1 (GCS 30, 308-309) where he addresses new members of the church (*cum catechumenorum aggregatus es numero*): *et ne aestimes quod haec in prioribus gesta sunt, in te vero, qui nunc auditor es, nihil tale geratur: omnia*

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[31] See the marginal note at *Apoc.* 15.3 (Nestle-Aland).

[32] On Rufinus' translation of Origen's *Homilia in Exodum* and the indirect transmission, see W.A. Baehrens, *Origenes' Werke* 7, GCS 29 (Leipzig 1920) xxii-xxvi, and more recently, M. Borret, *Origène Homélies sur l'Exode*, SC 321 (Paris 1985) 403-404; see also K. Torjesen, *op. cit.* [n. 23] 14-18 for a discusssion of the reliability of the Latin translations.

[33] W.A. Baehrens, *Origenes Werke* 7, GCS 30 (Leipzig 1921) 310. IV.1 of the same work is cited below, n. to line 1 of fr. B, back.

[34] Cf. Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies* 583, *sv* neophyte: νεόφυτος, νεοφώτιςτος..., νεοτελής...one newly baptised.

[35] See F.J. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum* II (Münster 1930) 63-69, P. Lundberg, *La typologie baptismale dans l'ancienne eglise*, Acta seminarii neotestamentici Upsaliensis 10 (Leipzig and Uppsala 1942) 116-135. It should be noted that Origen defends the Bible from Celsus' charge that it cannot be interpreted allegorically with, among other things, the example of the crossing of the Red Sea, baptism, and Paul at 1 *Cor*. 1. 10ff: *Contra Celsum* IV 49.

[36] See W. Völker, *Das Vollkommenheitsideal des Origenes*, Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 7 (Tübingen 1931) 63; Lundberg 117; M. Harl, *Origène et la fonction révélatrice du verbe incarné* (Paris 1958) 300; H. Crouzel, *Origène et la connaissance mystique* (Toulouse 1961) 240.

complentur in te secundum mysticam rationem. etenim tu, qui cupis nuper idolatriae tenebris derelictis ad audientiam divinae legis accedere, nunc primum Aegyptum derelinquis. Cum catechumenorum aggregatus es numero et praeceptis ecclesiasticis parere coepisti, digressus es mare rubrum et in deserti stationibus positus ad audiendum legem Dei et intuendum Moysei vultum per gloriam Domini revelatum cotidie vacas. Origen, in his description of the Christian's progress towards spiritual perfection also allegorizes the Aelim episode and the bitter water of Merra (see above, introd. to II, Part B): e.g. *Hom. Ex.* VII 1ff (Merra),[37] *Hom. Num.* VII 11 (Aelim).

3-4: The surviving text on the back paraphrases *Ex*. 15.19-23: καὶ ἐπήγαγεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς (the Egyptians) κύριος τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς θαλάccης· οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ Ἰcραὴλ ἐπορεύθηcαν διὰ ξηρᾶc ἐν μέcῳ τῆς θαλάccης (οἱ - θαλάccης also *Ex*. 14.27). Hence, one may expect something like *καὶ ἐπήγαγεν ὁ κύριος τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς θαλάccης ἐπὶ]* τοὺς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ κατεπόντιcεν τού[τους· *οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ Ἰcραὴλ ἐπορεύθηcαν]* διὰ ξηρᾶc ἐν μέcῳ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶc θαλά[ccης – – –

5-6: God tests the Israelites (πρὸc δοκιμαcίαν; cf. e.g. Didymus the Blind, *HiT* 172.12 and 21 [II p. 158 and 61] and 264.5 [III p. 110], referring to Job's sufferings), by letting them not find any water in the desert of Sour for three days; and when they found water in Merra, it was bitter: καὶ ἐπορεύοντο τρεῖc ἡμέραc ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ οὐχ ηὕριcκον ὕδωρ ὥcτε πιεῖν. ἦλθον δὲ εἰc Μέρραν καὶ οὐκ ἠδύναντο πιεῖν ὕδωρ (ὕδωρ add. A) ἐκ Μέρραc, πικρὸν γὰρ ἦν. Correspondingly one might expect: *ὅτι πρὸc δοκιμαcίαν οὐκ εὗρον ὥ[cτε πεῖν ὕδωρ.. τότε γὰρ οὐκ ἠδύναν]το πεῖν ὕδωρ ἐκ [Μέρραc.* In this reconstruction we have assumed roughly the same number of letters missing between lines 4 and 5 as are needed for our suggestion between lines 3 and 4.

Fragment B Front

The surviving portion of the front is a very close paraphrase of *Ex*. 15.27. After crossing the Red Sea and the desert Sour: καὶ ἦλθοcαν εἰc Αἰλίμ, καὶ ἦcαν ἐκεῖ δώδεκα πηγαὶ ὑδάτων καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα cτελέχη φοινίκων· παρενέβαλον δὲ ἐκεῖ παρὰ τὰ ὕδατα.

APPENDIX
The Surviving Xenophon Papyri From the Ancient World[38]

From the following table (see also the addendum) it is evident that the majority of papyri have been dated on paleographical grounds to the second and third centuries A.D. There are two reasons for this phenomenon. (1) As S.R. Slings has shown, there is a marked tendency on the part of editors to date literary papyri to this period.[39] (2) However, Xenophon was a popular author during the later Roman Republic and Empire, so that Slings' argument may not be fully descriptive of the chronological distribution of the Xenophon papyri: see K. Münscher, *Xenophon in der griechisch-römischen Literatur*, Philologus Supp. 13.2 (Leipzig 1920) 70-213.

The best represented text of Xenophon in the papyri are his philosophical works; this pattern accords well with the Roman evaluation of Xenophon as primarily a philosopher and only secondarily an historian: see Quintilian X.1.75, discussing writers of history, *Xenophon non excidit mihi, sed inter philosophos reddendus est*. Cf. Münscher p. 90.

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[37] See N.R.M. De Lange, "Jewish Influence on Origen," in *Origeniana*, Quaderni di vetera Christianorum 12 (Bari 1975) 237-238.

[38] The list contains also parchments and other materials that record text of Xenophon. Glossaries and Quotation lists are not included in the main table, but are mentioned in the footnotes, where appropriate for each individual work. Each entry in our table contains the following items in order of appearance: a) text of the particular work recorded on the papyrus in square brackets, b) publication number, c) number in Pack, d) number in Paap, e) provenance, and f) date and format of the papyrus, if necessary.

[39] *Mnemosyne* 43 (1990) 189-190 (review of E.G Turner-P.J Parsons, GMAW[2] [see n. 3]).

	III BC	II BC	I AD	I/II AD	II AD	II/III AD	III AD	III/IV AD	IV AD	Later	Total
Agesilaus[1]											0
Anabasis[2]		[VI 5.12-15] *PSI* XI 1196 (Pack 1542; Paap 2) Oxy				[VI 6.9-24] *POxy.* III 463 (Pack 1543; Paap 3) Oxy	[VII 1.40] *POxy.* IX 1181 (Pack 1544; Paap 4) Oxy				3
Apol. Socr.					[25] *POslo* III 170[3]						1
Cyneget.					[XIII 5.8-14] *PRein.* II 78 (Pack 1562)						1
Cyropaedia[4]				[II 1.10-11; II 2.11-12; II 2.19-20] *P.Mich.* inv. 4922 (provenance?)	**1** [IV 5.41- 44] *PHawara 15*, in *APF* 5 (1913) 378 (Pack 1550; Paap 12); Hawara **2a** [V 2.3-4, 6-7, 22, 24-25, 28; 3.1-9, 12, 17, 19-26] *PVindob. G* 26010 in *MPER* 6, 81-97 (Pack 1551; Paap 13); Herm. Magna **2b** [V 3.12-19] *MPER* 6, 92ff+ *PVindob G.* 29283+29782 in *WS* 14 (1980) 29-37[5] **3** [V 2.15] *PGenova* I 5 (provenance ?)[6]	I 6.3-12; II 1.30] *POxy.* IV 697 (Pack 1546; Paap 8) date: ca 200; pap. codex; Oxy	**1** [I 6.27-29] *POxy.* VII 1018 (Pack 1548; Paap 10); date: first half III; Oxy **2** [I 6.45, 46; II 1.1] *POxy.* IV 698 (Pack 1549; Paap 11); date: begin. III; Oxy **3a** [I 6.6-8, 9-10; IV 5.41-42, 47-48; V 2.35; 3.2-3] *PVarsov.* 1 (Pack 1547; Paap 9a) Ars.? codex **3b** [VII 2.6-8, 12-15] *PRyl.* III 549 (Pack 1547; Paap 9b); Ars.?[7] codex	[I 1.1-2] *POxy.* XXXVI 2750 (Paap 5); Oxy[8]	**1** [I 4.15, 16, 17-20; V 6.3] *POxy* XVII 2101 (Pack 1545; Paap 7); Oxy[9] **2** [II 4.22-23; 26-27] *PBerol* inv. 16355, in *Miscellanea Papyrologica*, 287-288; parch. codex		11

[1] Of this work only 6.8 is quoted in P. Oxy. VII 1012 (Pack 2289; III A.D), which contains also a quotation from the Hellenica; see below note 10.

[2] In addition to the papyri listed here, P. Oxy. XV 1803 (Pack 2126; Paap 1), is a glossary which among others quotes Anab. II 1.6 and perhaps also V 4.29 (fol. 2, recto, lines 38ff.), but the latter cannot be established with certainty due to the mutilation at the bottom of the sheet.

[3] The papyrus was identified only recently by M. Gronewald, *ZPE* 86 (1991) 3-4.

[4] Apart from the papyri listed in this section which record exclusively Xenophon material, we should also mention P. Vat. Gr. 11 (ed. M. Norsa and G. Vitelli; Pack 455; Paap 6), from Marmarica, Libya. This papyrus, among other authors, lists Cyropaedia I 2.8 (col. XX) and I 4.11 (col. XXV)

[5] The two fragments in this entry have been identified as belonging to the same roll with entry 2b in the same column, that is cols. X and XI in *MPER* 6. The papyrus contains a number of marginal and interlinear comments.

[6] The first edition of this papyrus is by L. Migliardi, *Maia* 22 (1970) 269ff.

[7] Entries 3a and 3b are part of the same codex; see the introduction to the Rylands papyrus.

[8] In the Oxyrhynchus volume Paap assigned this papyrus to the latter part of the second century, but in his collection and study of The Xenophon Papyri, which came out in the same year, to the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century. For this date he claims the authority of E.G. Turner (no. 5, n. 1). Turner, however, states that the credit given to him by Paap "rests on a misunderstanding" (see P. Oxy. XXXVI 2750, p. 19, n. 1). After studying plate III (in the Oxyrhynchus volume) we (i) do agree that the hand belongs to the category known as "Biblical" and prefer to date it to the end of the third/beginning of the forth century, but we (ii) cannot agree with Paap that this papyrus belongs to the same roll as P. Oxy. 2101 (no. 1 of the Cyropaedia papyri; above in the IV century col.), the IVth cent. date of which he claims was suggested to him by Turner. Indeed, there are many similarities between the two hands (they both belong to the same "style"), but they are far from being identical. As for P. Oxy. 2101, we prefer to date it to the second part of the IV century, as suggested by Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla majuscola biblica*, p. 65 (and Plate 42); cf. Paap, op.cit., no. 5 intro. The first editor had this papyrus dated to not later that ca. 250.

[9] For the date of this papyrus see preceding note.

	III BC	II BC	I AD	I/II AD	II AD	II/III AD	III AD	III/IV AD	IV AD	Later	Total
Epistulae											0
De Eq. Rat.											0
De Eq. Mag.											0
Hellenica[10]			[VI 3.5-6] *PSI Congr.* XVII 8; date: end I; Oxy	[VI 5.7-9] *POxy.* II 226 (Pack 1556); Oxy	**1** [III 1.3-7] *POxy* I 28 (Pack 1554); Oxy **2** [V 4.13-16] *PYale* II 100; date: late II; provenience? **3** [V 4.43-44, 47-54; VI 1.11-13] *PSI* XI 1197 (Pack 1555); Oxy		**1a** [I 1.27-28, 28] *PVindob. G* 257 and 29781, in *Mnemosyne* 31 (1978) 351-359; date: begin. III[11] **1b** [I 2.2-5, 8 with lacunae] *PVindob.* G 24568 in *MPER* 6, 97-113 (Pack 1552) Sokn. Nesos or Karanis	**1a** [VII 2.9-10] *PMich.* inv. 6650, in *WS* 79 (1966) 190-191; provenance? **1b** [VII 2.10] *PKöln* VII 305; probenanve?	[I 6.30, 34, 36-38; 7. 30,32] *PPrinc.* III 112 (Pack 1553); parch. codex; provenance?		9
Hiero											0
Memorab.	[I 3.7-13] PHeid. Siegmann inv. 206, in *Studia Jachman* 157-162 (Pack 1557); date: ca 280 BC; provenance?			[II 1.5-16] *PSI* II 121 (Pack 1559); Oxy	**1** [I 2.4 *passim*] PBerol. inv. 21108 in *MusHelv.* 24 (1967) 73-77 and *ZPE* 3 (1969) 88-94; Herm[12] **2** [IV 2.1-4] *PLond* V 1814(b), descr.; *PLit.Lond.* 150 (Pack 1561); provenance?			[I 3.15, 4.1-3] *PGrenf.* II 13; *PLit.Lond.* 149 (Pack 1558); provenance?[13]	[III 1.4-7] *PCairo* inv. 45612, in *Ann. du Serv.* 26 (1926) 207-208 (Pack 1560); parch. codex; Oxy		6
Oeconom.				[VIII 17-IX 2] *POxy* II 227; *PLitLond* 151 (Pack 1563); Oxy			[XVIII 9] *PTebt.* II 682 (Pack 2905)[14]				2
Resp. Ath.											0

[10] Apart from the papyri listed here Hellenica I 6.5 is quoted also in P. Oxy. VII 1012; see also above n. 1.

[11] These fragments were identified as belonging to the same papyrus with 1b of the same column.

[12] The text in the *ZPE* volume contains new fragments which were not identified when the papyrus was originally published in *Mus. Helv.*

[13] The papyrus was published in the Grenfell volume, but it was not identified by the first editor as belonging to the works of Xenophon. The first to identify it was H. Diels, *Sitzb. Berl.* 1897, 144. The complete text is given also by Milne in *P. Lit. Lond.*

[14] This papyrus was identified only recently by J. Lenaerts, *Chron. Eg.* 49 (1974) 354-355.

	III BC	II BC	I AD	I/II AD	II AD	II/III AD	III AD	III/IV AD	IV AD	Later	Total
Resp. Lac.					[I 3-4] *PSI Congr.* XVII 9; Oxy						1
Symposium					[IV 51-52, 64(?), V 1-3] *PAntin.* I 26 (Pack 1564); date disputed; parchment roll; Antin.[15]	[VIII 6-9, 15-18] *PLond.* II 184 (descr.); *PLitLond.* 152+*PGiss.* I 1 (Pack 1565); provenance?[16]	[III 9-10] *PMünch.* II 42; Melâwi[17]				3
De Vectical.					[I 5-6] *PMünch.* II 41 (Pack 1566; Paap 15); Ars.[18]						1
Total[19]	1	1	1	4	13	3	7	3	4	0	38

[15] According to the editor, Roberts, "this is the first indisputable instance of a parchment roll used for a work of Greek literature in Egypt"; also that "both format and script point to 26 having been imported into Antinoopolis from outside Egypt." Roberts dates the papyrus on paleographical grounds (but not without hesitation) to the second part of the second century. J. Bingen, however, argues that "ce secteur de fouille semble avoir fourni un contexte de documents et de papyrus littéraires datant au IIIe au VIe siècle" (Chron . Eg. 37 [1962] 334 with n. 4). The hand does indeed invite a later date, but due to lack of external evidence, we retain the suggestion of Roberts; cf. also, E.G. Turner, *GMAW*[2] (above, n. 3) p. 134 and note.

[16] The publication of the London piece and the identification with its Giessen counterpart (first edition by Kornemann, *Philologus* 67 [1908] 321-324) was made by Milne, *Aegyptus* 4 (1923) 41-42; cf. *APF* 2 (1903) 368. For further discussion of the piece, see J. Bingen, *Chron. Eg.* 37 (1962) 334 with notes 2-3.

[17] The first editor of this piece, Tanja Luzzato, in *Papiri letterari greci* (ed. A. Carlini, et *alii*)**,** Biblioteca degli Studi Classici e Orientali 13. Pisa, Giardini, 1978 (no. 31), failed to identify the author. The identification was made independently by Lenaerts, *Chron. Eg.* 53 (1978) 131-132 and by J. O'Callaghan, *Stud. Pap.* 18 (1979) 133-136.

[18] Originally published by U. Wilcken, *APF* 1 (1901) 473-475.

[19] We have excluded all together from our calculations Pack 2087 (a list of titles of Xenophon's works) and Pack 317 (a suspected reference to the *Respublica Lac.*).

ADDENDUM

The recent publication of *P. Köln* VII produced *P. Köln* 305 in M. Gronewald's edition. The arrangement of two texts on this papyrus shows features that are comparable to P. Mich. 4922 (see above sect. I 1). The original text appearing on the front of the Cologne papyrus is Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* VI 8.65.2-3 (4th cent.). An unidentified Christian text has later been added in a hand similar to the later text of P. Mich. inv. 4922; it is written (a) on the margin of the text of Clement in a 90° angle to this text and (b) on the back, in the same direction as the Clement text (across the fibres). While both texts of the Cologne papyrus seem to refer to γνῶϲιϲ (the reading in the later text is uncertain), the editor believes that the later text is unrelated to the Clement texts (p. 38). Thus the situation of the texts found in P. Mich inv. 4922 is similar to that of *P. Köln* 297. The details of the arrangements are different, but in both cases the scribe used the empty back of an earlier text and continued (?) on the margins of the front and, in the Michigan papyrus, even in the interlinear spaces of the original text. In both instances it can be assumed that the portion of the text added on the back of the original text precedes the portion added on the front.

Ann Arbor   John D. Dillery
                                                                                 Traianos Gagos
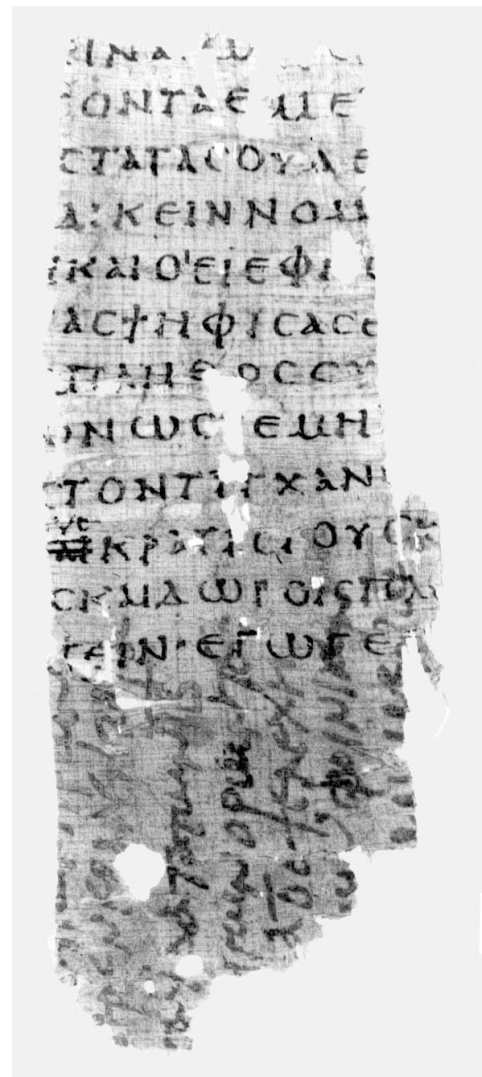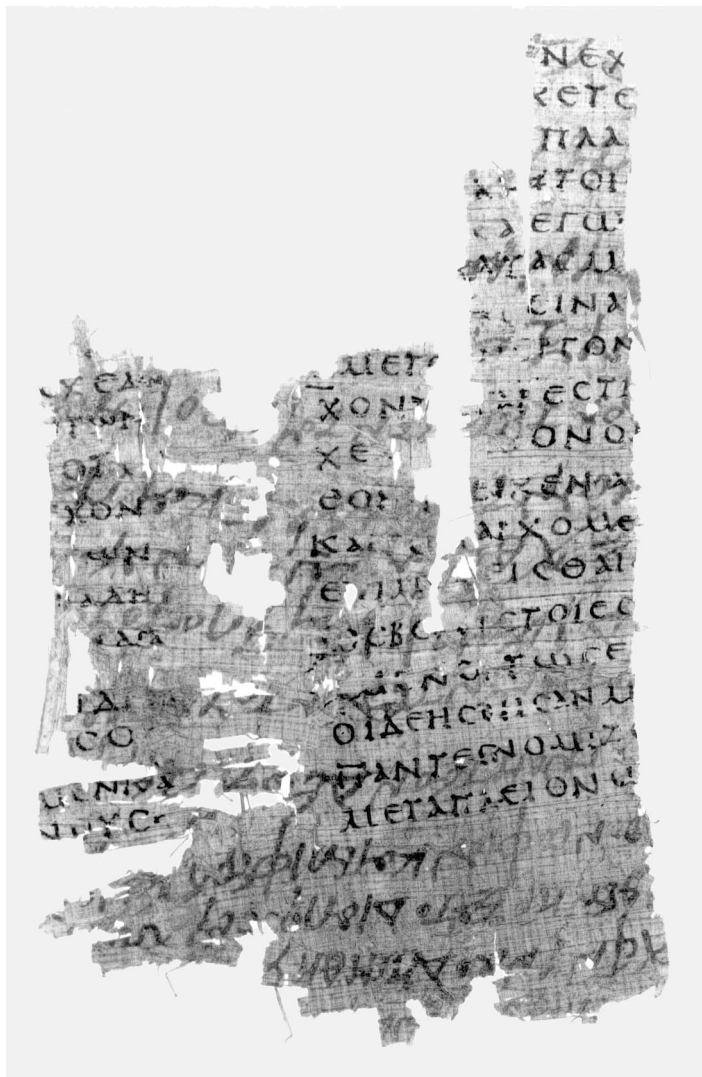
P.Mich. Inv.Nr. 4922 A and B: Xenophon and an unknown Christian text