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A NEW PAPYRUS OF A DIOSCORIAN POEM

AND MARRIAGE CONTRACT

P.Berol. Inv. No. 21334

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Among the unedited papyri in the Ägyptisches Museum SMPK (Berlin), Herwig Maehler discovered two fragments of a papyrus whose verso contains iambic trimeters written by Dioscorus of Aphrodito's hand. Dr. William Brashear generously allowed me to examine and edit the papyrus, providing photographs and preliminary transcripts of both recto and verso; he has also compared my finished transcripts against the original.

The recto contains part of a statement of debt, probably for a *donatio propter nuptias*.¹ It was written in a compressed cursive against the fibers (*transversa charta*); it does not seem to match any of Dioscorus's known handwriting styles.² It was possibly not a rough draft (as is *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67310) but a copy of the final agreement written by a clerk for Dioscorus's records.³ Dioscorus's other surviving documents show that he composed marriage and divorce contracts while in Antinoopolis (c. A.D. 567-573); this document too was probably composed there.⁴ Later, either while still at Antinoopolis or after his return to Aphrodito, he used the verso

¹ For discussions of the early Byzantine *donatio propter nuptias* in the Egyptian papyri, see especially Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, 224-30; Bell, comment to *P.Lond.* V 1708.115, pp. 123-24; G. Scherillo, "Studi sulla donazione nuziale," *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano* 2 (1929): 457-506; L. Anné, "Les rites des fiançailles et la donation pour cause de mariage sous le Bas-Empire" (Ph.D. diss., Université de Louvain, 1941), 410-17; R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri, 332 B.C. — 640 A.D.*, 2nd ed. (Warsaw, 1955), 128-29. For the Coptic papyri in particular, see A. Steinwenter, *Das Recht der koptischen Urkunden* (Munich, 1955), 21-22.

² Aside from brief remarks by several editors, no analysis of Dioscorus's handwriting has been published, and thus no standard classifications for Dioscorus's several handwriting styles exist. Two of the most comprehensive statements are by Bell and Maspero. Bell states (intro. to *P.Lond.* V, p. iv note 2): "Dioscorus wrote sometimes in uncials and sometimes in cursive, but the general character of both is the same, and not infrequently he mixed the two styles." See also his intro. to *P.Lond.* V 1674, pp. 55-56. Maspero wrote ("Un dernier poète grec d'Égypte: Dioscore, fils d'Apollôs," *REG* 24 [1911]: 454): "L'écriture des différentes pièces n'est pas absolument identique; on y distingue deux types: une onciale légèrement penchée en avant, et une écriture droite, moins régulière, comportant quelques ligatures." L. MacCoull, in her articles and monograph on Dioscorus, makes several casual comments. For an example of the elegant uncial hand of some of the poetry, see *P.Lond.Lit.*, plate 7.

³ Compare, for example, the testament for Flavius Phoebammon, *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151; although the rough draft was probably composed and written by Dioscorus, this copy of the final agreement was written by the hand of a clerk and was found without signatures in Dioscorus's archive. Dioscorus later used the verso for his poetry. See Maspero, intro. to *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151, p. 87.

⁴ Although there is no evidence for its place of composition, I have placed the writing of the recto at Antinoopolis because of close similarities to *P.Lond.* V 1710.11-12, where the bridegroom is a *singularis* [τάξεως δουκικῆς ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς] λαμπρῶς Ἀντινοέων π[όλεως]. See the discussion below.

For Dioscorus's possible appointment as νομικός on the ducal staff in Antinoopolis, see Bell, intro. to *P.Lond.* V 1674, p. 56; idem, "An Egyptian Village in the Age of Justinian," *JHS* 64 (1944): 34; L. MacCoull, "Dioscorus and the Dukes: An Aspect of Coptic Hellenism in the Sixth Century," *Byzantine Studies* 13 (1986): 32; eadem, *Dioscorus of Aphrodito, His Work and His World* (Berkeley, 1988), 12, 31, 77, 79.

for his poetry.⁵ It was Dioscorus's practice to write what may have been drafts of his poetry on the backs of documents for which he no longer felt a need.⁶

On the recto, the scribe has once squeezed in letters above the line (line 5) and elsewhere left spaces in order to keep words from running over the right-hand edge and to avoid the problems of syllabification. There are 5 cm. of empty space between the last word of the final sentence (τοῦτο) and the right-hand edge. Because there is also a margin of 1.7 cm. between the last line of the text and the bottom edge and there is no evidence of a join, the recto of the fragment was probably the bottom right-hand corner of a separate sheet or roll-end.

Several factors suggest that the Berlin papyrus originally belonged to *P.Lond.* V 1710. The London recto forms the upper left-hand corner of a sheet, while the Berlin recto forms the bottom right-hand corner; the contents of the rectos would flow smoothly from one to the other. The hexameter verses on the verso of the London papyrus (= *P.Lond.Lit.* 101) were written by Dioscorus along the fibers and upside-down in relation to the recto. The verses on the Berlin papyrus were written by Dioscorus along the fibers and upside-down in relation to the recto; these may have been the iambic prologue to the hexameter verses. Dioscorus wrote iambic prologues for at least two other hexameter encomia — a common practice in this genre.⁷ An examination of photographs of the London and Berlin papyri, however, has left the possibility of a match doubtful, especially since the papyrus in London appears darker than that in Berlin. H. I. Bell entertained the possibility ("it seems not impossible") that *P.Lond.* V 1710 belongs to *P.Flor.* III 294.⁸ The Berlin papyrus probably does not belong to the Florence papyrus; the

Dr. James Keenan has pointed out to me that there is no specific evidence that Dioscorus was a νομικός on the ducal τάξις. This theory developed, in part, from the mention of a νομικός in verse 32 of poem *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67131 verso A; cf. Maspero's comment to this verse. The rest of the evidence is circumstantial: Dioscorus was engaged in para-legal activities, such as writing contracts and petitions, arbitrating family disputes, etc., sometimes for dignitaries. See, for example, the wills of Flavius Phoebammon (*P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151, 67152) and Flavius Theodorus (*P.Cair.Masp.* III 67312).

⁵ The general consensus is that he wrote most of his surviving poetry in Antinoopolis. This opinion is based both on the dates of some of the documents written on the same papyri as the poetry, and on the assumption that his poems were addressed to dukes and members of their staffs. Cf. Maspero, "Un dernier poète grec d'Égypte," 467, 469-70, 479-80; Bell, "An Egyptian Village in the Age of Justinian," 28-35; MacCoull, "Dioscorus and the Dukes," 32, 35-36; eadem, *Dioscorus*, 12-14, 63ff.; A. Saija, "Neoformazioni linguistiche in Dioscoro di Aphrodito," *Analecta Papyrologica* 1 (1989): 43 note 1.

⁶ For example, the encomium to Callinicus (*P.Cair.Masp.* III 67315 verso [= H. 5]) was written on the back of the third copy of a contract. *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67160 (correct Maspero's "67158" in vol. III, p. 101) and 67159 are the other two copies. For brief discussions about Dioscorus's practice of writing poetry on the versos of documents, see Maspero, "Un dernier poète grec d'Égypte," 426, 454; Bell, intro. to *P.Lond.* V 1674, p. 57; idem, "An Egyptian Village in the Age of Justinian," 29; G. Malz, "The Papyri of Dioscorus: Publications and Emendations," *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni*, vol. 2 (Milan, 1957): 349; B. Baldwin, "Dioscorus of Aphrodito: The Worst Poet of Antiquity?" *Atti del XVII congresso internazionale di papirologia*, vol. 2 (Naples, 1984): 327-28.

Twenty-eight Dioscorian poems have been collected by Ernst Heitsch in volume one of *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*, 2nd ed. (Göttingen, 1963), 127-52. All references to this volume will be labeled with an H, followed by the poem number and the verse number in his collection. In volume two (Göttingen, 1964), poem S 10 was also written by Dioscorus.

⁷ For a detailed analysis of iambic prologues in verse encomia—including those by Dioscorus—see T. Viljamaa, "Studies in Greek Encomiastic Poetry of the Early Byzantine Period," *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum Societas Scientiarum Fennica* 42 (1968): 68ff.

⁸ See intro. to *P.Lond.* V 1710, p. 137.

statement of debt in both is similar and was probably not repeated. The versos of the four Florence fragments contain no poetry.⁹

I The Marriage Contract

The papyrus consists of two fragments. The smaller fragment extends all the way to the right-hand edge of the sheet but only half as far to the left as the larger. On the smaller fragment, only the bottoms of several letters of line one are visible. The writing continues all the way to the bottom edge of the fragment; and it begins at the top edge of the larger fragment. The edges between the two fragments do not match; and although no traces remain, one line was probably lost in the break between the fragments (see the discussion of lines 4-5 below).

The document consists of part of a statement of debt for six gold solidi. One distinctive element here is the promise that the amount will be paid to the creditor not at a specific time but whenever the creditor wishes (ὀπόταν βουληθῆς). One element which is common in other statements of debt but which is not evident here (although it may be contained in a missing fragment) is a statement of interest. The most noteworthy feature of this statement, however, is that it matches almost verbatim the statements of debt found in *P.Lond.* V 1711.23-26, *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67310.6-8, and *P.Flor.* III 294.25-28. These three documents from Dioscorus's archive are not simply statements of debt; they are marriage contracts. Marriage contracts from the Byzantine period in Egypt are few.¹⁰ From the fourth and fifth centuries no marriage contracts have survived. From the sixth century, thanks especially to Dioscorus, there have survived at least eight.¹¹ In four of these — *P.Lond.* V 1711; *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67310 (an early draft of the former); *P.Flor.* III 294; and *P.Lond.* V 1725 + *P.Monac.* 3 (from Syene) — there appears an agreement in which the bridegroom declares his debt to the bride for a *donatio propter nuptias*.¹² He pledges all of his and his family's possessions to her as security for its payment.¹³ There is no promise to pay interest; but there is a clause that payment will be made on demand (ὀπόταν βουληθῆς; in the Florence papyrus, this clause is probably lost in a lacuna). *P.Berol.Inv.No.* 21334, because of its close similarity to the statements of debt in the three marriage contracts from Dioscorus's archive, is therefore probably a statement of debt for a *donatio propter nuptias*.¹⁴

⁹ They appear blank. I am grateful to Dr. Rosario Pintaudi for generously supplying me with photographs of the Florence papyrus and for diligently examining the original for me.

¹⁰ For an extensive bibliography on marriage and divorce contracts in Egypt from the Ptolemaic to the Byzantine period, see O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia: ristampa riveduta e corretta con addenda* (Milan, 1988), 206-07; cf. Taubenschlag, 101-03.

¹¹ Scherillo's list includes (*RSDI* 2 [1929]: 473): *CPR* 30; *P.Cair. Masp.* I 67006, III 67340; *P.Lond.* V 1710, 1711; *P.Lond.* V 1725 + *P.Monac.* 3; and *P.Flor.* III 294. *P.Berol.Inv.No.* 21334 can now tentatively be added to the list. Cf. Bell, intro. to *P.Lond.* V 1710, p.137; Taubenschlag, 119-30.

¹² For an extensive bibliography on engagement and marriage gifts in the late Roman and early Byzantine periods, see Anné, xiii-xxiv.

For a discussion of the imperial laws which concerned early Byzantine marriages and especially the *donatio propter nuptias*, see M. Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht*, 5th ed., part two: *Die nachklassischen Entwicklungen* (Munich, 1959), 134-41, with a bibliography at 134 note 1. The sixth edition (1968) — available in English translation by R. Dannenbring — does not incorporate changes significant for the present discussion. See also Scherillo, *RSDI* 3 (1930): 69-95; Anné, 293-471.

¹³ See Bell, intro. to *P.Lond.* V 1711, p. 139. For similar pledges as security for other promises in Egyptian and Greek marriage contracts, see Taubenschlag, 125-26.

¹⁴ For other statements of debt (not for *donationes propter nuptias*) from Dioscorus's archive, see *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67125-67130. Concerning the London papyri from the same archive, Bell said: "None

To help date this document, I have accepted Bell's argument that *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67310 was written as a rough draft for *P.Lond.* V 1711, and that both were composed during Dioscorus's stay in Antinoopolis (intro. to *P.Lond.* V 1711, pp. 138-39). Although 1711 was composed on the verso of an inheritance arbitration that was written by Dioscorus's hand (*P.Lond.* V 1708), neither 1711 nor *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67310 appears to be in his handwriting. The Berlin contract too seems not to be in his handwriting; since it contains formulae similar to *P.Lond.* V 1711 and *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67310, and with these two belonged to Dioscorus's archive, it is likely that this contract also was composed and written in Antinoopolis.

Diplomatic Transcription

cf. Tafel II

↓ -----
]ιϛταυτην
 3]ενειαχρυσουνομισματιωνεξ
]υγκαισταθμωδημοσιω

 5]μουγι/ χρ/^οΝ ϛ []υταετοιμωϛ
 ηϛ
]τησηευγενειαοποτανβουληθηδιδιχαπασηαγνωμοσυν
 7]σεωκινδυνωκαιπορωκαιτιμηματατησημηυποστασεωϛ
]ιδικωστηκαιυποκειμενηςσοιειςτουτο *vacat.*

Restored Transcription

Aphrodito

21.5 x 8.5 cm

c. A.D. 567-573

↓ -----
 ε]ιϛ ταύτην
 3 [καθ' ἣν ὁμολογῶ χρεωστῆν τῇ σῆ εὐγ]ενείᾳ χρυσοῦ νομισματίων ἔξ
 [δεσποτικῶν ἐκάστου παρὰ κεράτια . . ζ]υγῶ καὶ σταθμῶ δημοσίῳ
 [ὑπὲρ τῶν σῶν γαμικῶν ἔδνων τῶν συμπεφωνημένων καὶ συναρεσάντων]
 5 [μεταξύ σου καὶ ἐ]μοῦ ὃ γί(νεταί) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισματίων) ϛ
 [π/ λ . ζ]] σταθμ]δημ] — καὶ τα]ῦτα ἐτοίμως
 [ἔχω παρασχεῖν] τῇ σῆ εὐγενείᾳ ὅποταν βουληθῆς δίχα πάσης ἀγνωμοσύνης
 7 [καὶ ὑπερθέ]σεως κινδύνῳ καὶ πόρῳ καὶ τιμήματι τῆς ἐμῆς ὑποστάσεως
 [γενικῶς καὶ] ἰδικῶς τῆς καὶ ὑποκειμένης σοι εἰς τοῦτο. *vacat.*
 5 γι/ χρ/^οΝ Pap 8 ἰδικῶς Pap

of the documents from Aphrodito is certainly an actual contract of loan"; intro. to *P.Lond.* V 1699, p. 104. See, however, the documents 1699 and 1700. For more information regarding debts and loans in the papyri, see Montevicchi (1988), 225-29.

Translation

- 1 [t]o this (sc. agreement)
 [by which I agree to become indebted to Your Gr]ace for six solidi of gold
 3 [(imperial) minus . . . carats from each] according to the public scale and standard,
 [for your wedding gift, which was agreed upon and found mutually pleasing]
 5 [between you and] me. It equals 6 . . . solidi of gold [minus . . . carats according
 to the public scale and standard (abbr.). And I am] ready
 [to hand th]ese over to Your Grace whenever you want, free from all malice
 7 [and procr]astination, at my own hazard and liability, and at the cost of my
 [family and] personal possessions, which are given as security to you for this.

Commentary

- 1 [ε]ἰς ταύτην: only the bottoms of the letters are visible. It is possible that the debtor (husband) was referring to the written agreement: ὅθεν εἰς ταύτην ἦκω τὴν ἔγγραφ[ον] ἀσφάλειαν (*P.Lond.* V 1711.18-19; cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67310.3-4).
- 2-5 In *P.Lond.* V 1711, the amount of the *donatio propter nuptias* (six solidi minus thirty-six carats) was written out in full and then repeated in ciphers and abbreviations (lines 21-23); it was probably a copy of the final agreement. In *P.Lond.* V 1725, the amount (three solidi) was probably written out in full and then abbreviated (lines 13-14); in line fifteen the amount was again written out in full, but this time as the object of the verb in line one of *P.Monac.* 3: [έτο]ίμ[ως ἔχω] παρ[ασχεῖν]. Because the latter was dated (6 March 580), it too was probably a copy of the final agreement. In contrast, probably because it was a rough draft, the amount in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67310 was written only in ciphers and abbreviations. The parties' names and the date were not included.¹⁵ In the Berlin papyrus, the amount was written out in full and in cipher; thus it was possibly not a rough draft but a copy of the final contract for Dioscorus's records.
- 2 [καθ' ἣν ὁμολογῶ χρεωστῆν τῇ σῆ εὐ]γενείᾳ: one similar appearance of this formula is in *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67127.9-12: Ὁμολογῶ ὀφείλειν καὶ χρεωστῆν τῇ σῆ τιμότητι. This formula had many variants. The most common was the use of a pronoun instead of a title of respect; cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67128.11-13, 67129.7-9, 67130.9-10; *P.Lond.* V 1699.6-7. Often one of the infinitives was changed or deleted, such as: [ὁμολογῶ χρεωστῆν τῇ σῆ ἀ]δελφότητι (*P.Lond.* V 1700.3; cf. *P.Lond.* V 1721.1-2, 1725.10-12); because the lacuna in this papyrus was not big enough for both infinitives, Bell restored only one (see his commentary to the line, p. 106). The restoration of the line in the Berlin papyrus is based on the first example above and *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67310.4 (cf. *P.Lond.* V 1711.19): καθ' ἣν ὁμολογῶ ὀφείλειν καὶ χρεωστῆν ὑπὲρ τῶν σῶν γαμικῶν ἔδνων etc.
- This line and the line below end about 2.0 cm. short of the right edge; thus there are fewer letters than in lines 5-7.
- 3 [ἐκάστου παρὰ κεράτια . . .]: it is possible that the beginning of this line contained an amount in carats to be deducted from the six gold solidi. See *P.Lond.* V 1711(d).22: ἔξ

¹⁵ The amount in *P.Flor.* III 294 (six solidi) is written out in full, which is then followed by a lacuna: χρυσοῦ ν[ομισμάτια] ἔξ εὐσταθμα ζυγῶ δημοσίῳ αντ[. . .] καὶ ταῦτα ἐτοίμως ἔχω παρασχ[εῖν] . . . Vitelli restored the lacuna as Ἄντ[ινόου - - -]; see "Aggiunte e correzioni," *P.Flor.* III, p. x. How much more was lost by the lacuna could not be determined with certainty; intro. to *P.Flor.* III 294, p. 13. The bridal couple are named (lines 2, 37, etc.).

ἐκά[στ]ο(υ) παρὰ κε[ράτια ἔξ] ζυγῶ καὶ σταθ[μῶ]; cf. *P.Lond.* V 1711(d).23; *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67310.6.

[ζ]υγῶ καὶ σταθμῶ: cf. *P.Lond.* V 1711(d).22. δημοσίῳ: cf. *P.Flor.* III 294.24.

4-5 [ὑπὲρ τῶν σῶν γαμικῶν ἔδων τῶν συμπεφωνημένων καὶ συναρεσάντων | μεταξὺ σου καὶ ἐ]μοῦ: the amount of debt written out in full was usually followed immediately by the amount written out in abbreviations and ciphers (cf. the list of documents relating to debts in the discussion of γι/ χρ/ below). Thus one would expect that line three be followed immediately by line five. The content of the verses on the verso of the papyrus, however, makes it likely that one verse was lost in the break (leaving a few traces).¹⁶ Since the handwriting on the recto is smaller than that on the verso, it is probable that here too one line is missing.

The *donatio* had originally been called a *donatio ante nuptias*, because it was given immediately prior to the wedding (unlike the *arrha sponsalicia*); at that time, the bridegroom gave or promised money or chattels to his future wife.¹⁷ There developed a variant, by which the *donatio* was not given until *after* the consummation of the marriage. Justin I and Justinian supported this variant, freed it from the stipulations forbidding gifts between husband and wife, and changed the name from *donatio ante nuptias* to *donatio propter nuptias*, the new term incorporating both those presents given before and those presents given after the consummation of the marriage. The imperial laws do not make clear the reasons *why* sometimes a man gave the *donatio* before the wedding (as in *CPR* 30)¹⁸ but sometimes after (as in *P.Lond.* V 1711).¹⁹ Yet whether the gift was given before or after the wedding, the documents show that if not always, at least sometimes the amount had been agreed upon by the bridegroom and the bride (and/or her guardian); see *P.Lond.* V 1711.19-21, 1725.12-13; *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67310.4-6; *P.Flor.* III 294.14-16; cf. *CPR* 30.12-14; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67006 verso 31-34. In the Berlin papyrus, the break between lines three and

¹⁶ Perhaps the fragments should be about .7 cm. further apart than shown in the photographs; see the introduction to part two, **The Verse Encomium**.

¹⁷ The *donatio ante nuptias* (and the *donatio propter nuptias*) does not appear in Greek marriage contracts from Egypt until the early Byzantine period. In the Roman-Byzantine legal system, it seems to have made its first appearance in the law codes of Theodosius II, and it received further legal support from Justin I and Justinian; see Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht* (1959), 134-41.

¹⁸ In line fifteen, Christodote is referred to as a παρθένος.

¹⁹ *P.Lond.* V 1711.18: ἀσφαλῆ παρθενείαν εὐρῶν διηκόρευσα. Justinian's *Institutiones* 2. 7. 3, which changed the legal name of the practice in order to incorporate both *ante* and *post nuptias* presents, does not offer much help in answering the question why; but it does throw some light on the general practice. This statute states that the *donatio ante nuptias* had been a recent development: *veteribus quidem prudentibus penitus erat incognitum, postea autem a iunioribus divis principibus introductum est*. There had been a tacit condition in the *ante nuptias* agreement that the agreement would not take effect until after the ceremony: *et tacitam in se condicionem habebat, ut tunc ratum esset, cum matrimonium fuerit insecutum*. And it was Justin I who had first allowed the *donatio* to be made (or, at least, increased) even when the marriage was in effect: *sed primus quidem divus Iustinus pater noster, cum augeri dotes et post nuptias fuerat permissum, si quid tale evenit, etiam ante nuptias donationem augeri et constante matrimonio sua constitutione permisit*. One might speculate that the imperial sanction of a deferment was to allow for a subsequent improvement in the financial situation of the husband. Yet *P.Lond.* V 1711 (and *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67310), which was composed after the wedding, gives no indication of such an improvement. Scherillo has argued that no matter how the imperial laws may be interpreted, the papyri show that in Egypt the *donatio* was a *pretium pudicitiae*; see his summary at *RSDI* 2 (1929): 503-06; and the intro. to the second part of his study, *RSDI* 3 (1930): 69. This argument, however, still does not offer a reason why sometimes the gift was given *ante* and sometimes *post nuptias*.

five and the lacuna at the beginning of line five may have contained a statement referring to such an agreement.

- 5 [μεταξύ σου καὶ ἐ]μοῦ: after the lacuna at the beginning of the line, the papyrus is very worn and the letters difficult to decipher; thus this reading is not absolutely certain.

γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) . . . νο(μισματίων): there is a small hole here in the papyrus, and the letters which surround the lacuna have been almost completely rubbed away. The matching phrase in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67310.6 is γι/ χρ/ νο δεσπ/ δοκ/ followed by the amount of debt in cipher. There is no abbreviation between χρ(υσοῦ) and νο(μισματίων). This same sequence (χρ/ νο) is found also in the marriage contract *P.Lond.* V 1725.14 and in other documents concerning debts (see, for example, *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67127.13, 67128.24; *P.Lond.* V 1736.12, 1737.9; cf. 1661.13-14, 1721.6, 1722.32). Thus there is no good comparison to help guide a restoration of the Berlin papyrus. Three possibilities are an abbreviation of δοκίμου, of κεφαλαίου, or of both (cf. *P.Lond.* V 1721.4, 1723.10; *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67162.15; SB 5112.40, 41; *P.Gen.* I 12.13, 27). Other possibilities are an abbreviation (or abbreviations) of δεσποτικῶν, δοκίμων, διζώδων, εὐστάθμων, etc. See Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, vol. III, section 17, s.v. νομισμάτιον, χρυσός.

[π/ λ . ζ]] σταθμ] δημ]]: see the discussion of the restoration of line three. Cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67310.6 (and possibly *P.Lond.* V 1711[d].22-23): γι/ χρ/ νο δεσπ/ δοκ/ ζ π/ λ ζ]] σταθμ] Αντι/.

- 5-8 [καὶ τα]ῦτα . . . ἰδικῶς: cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67310.6-8.

- 8 τῆς καὶ ὑποκειμένης σοι: cf. *P.Monac.* 3.4. εἰς τοῦτο: cf. *P.Lond.* V 1711 (e).26.

The τῆς καὶ ὑποκειμένης σοι here offers the possibility of a more accurate restoration in *P.Lond.* V 1711. (*P.Cair.Masp.* III 67310, used to restore much of *P.Lond.* V 1711, ends the sentence at γενικῶς καὶ ἰδικῶς) Bell, having τη[σ]η on the verso of a small loose fragment, inserted it before ὑποκειμένης and ascribed the resulting τῆ σῆ ὑποκειμένης to a scribal error (*P.Lond.* V 1711, p. 141 comment to line 26). This placement of the fragment suits the recto well (*P.Lond.* V 1708), and it seems likely that the position of the fragment is correct; but perhaps the restoration should be τῆ[ς] καὶ ὑποκειμένης (with καὶ compressed).

Likewise, τῆς καὶ ὑποκειμένης σοι perhaps makes possible a slightly more accurate restoration in *P.Flor.* III 294. Vitelli at lines 27-28 offered this restoration:

πόρω καὶ τιμήματι τῆς ἐμῆς ὑποστά[σεως — ἀπο- ?]
κειμένης σοι εἰς τοῦτο . . .

At Bell's suggestion ("Aggiunte e correzioni," *P.Flor.* III, p. x), Vitelli then restored:

πόρω καὶ τιμήματι τῆς ἐμῆς ὑποστά[σεως γενικῶς καὶ ἰδικῶς ὑπο-]
κειμένης σοι εἰς τοῦτο . . .

On the basis of both the Berlin and Munich papyri, however, a more accurate restoration might be:

πόρω καὶ τιμήματι τῆς ἐμῆς ὑποστά[σεως γενικῶς καὶ ἰδικῶς τῆς καὶ ὑπο-]
κειμένης σοι εἰς τοῦτο . . .

Vitelli was unable to determine how much text was missing on the right side (intro. to *P.Flor.* III 294, p. 13).

II The Verse Encomium

The writing is upside-down in relation to the writing on the recto. Thus the verses are written along the fibers; and as can be inferred from the description of the recto, the left and bottom edges of the papyrus are jagged, the top and right edges are generally smooth, and the smaller fragment lies below the larger. The smaller fragment continues as far to the right as the larger, but only half as far to the left. Between the text and the right edge of the papyrus there is a margin of at least 5 cm. (at line 4) but not more than 10 cm. (at line 8). There are several small lacunae in the text. The mixture of uncial-cursive letters—broadly spaced, carefully written, gently-sloping—is similar to the handwriting of many of Dioscorus’s poems, especially the poems of *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67097 verso.²⁰

Seven of the eight verse fragments (there are no complete verses) correspond to verses in other Dioscorian poems (see the *Commentary*).²¹ Because Dioscorus often repeated entire verses with no or only minor variations, an attempt has been made to reconstruct these seven verse fragments according to their corresponding verses.²² The restored poem shows the logical and emotional continuity of a normal Dioscorian encomium (or prologue to an encomium).

It is almost certain that the smaller fragment does not contain the verses immediately following verse five of the larger. On the larger fragment, because of the break, there remain only the tops of a few letters from the middle of verse six. On the smaller fragment, there is a space between the top edge and the final word of the verse διπλώματι; nothing else remains of the verse. It is possible, therefore, that the tops of the letters do not belong to the verse ending with διπλώματι, but that they belong to a previous verse, the rest of which was lost in the break. This possibility is strengthened by the content of verse seven: the persona has shifted from using verbs in the second person, whose subject is the addressee, to using a verb in the third person, whose subject is not identified. Although Dioscorus was not averse to abrupt transitions, the transition between verses five and seven is especially harsh. In three of Dioscorus’s other poems a verse identical to verse seven is anticipated by a verse describing the new subject (see below); it is likely, therefore, that verse seven was similarly anticipated. If this conclusion is accurate, then the fragments should be about .7 cm. further apart than shown in the photographs.

The iambic trimeters on this papyrus are encomiastic, but an addressee cannot be identified. The verses contain good examples of three important features of Dioscorus’s poetic style: borrowings from comedy, a ring structure, and assonance and alliteration.

Diplomatic Transcription

cf. Tafel III

→ 1]ρειησεικυριαμοφορονχρονον
]αλλωνευτυχωνημωνερον
3]ρνωνακριβωστηνολκαδα
]μφελικτοντηνκαληνεπαρχιαν

²⁰ Dr. Keenan has generously provided me with photographs of this complex papyrus. For photos of section E and part of F, see Montevecchi (1988), plate 101; *P.Cair.Masp.* I, plates 28-29.

²¹ Dioscorian encomia, predominantly in hexameters, often contain iambic trimeters; cf. H. 3.1-23, H. 5.40-62, and all of H. 12A, H. 9, H. 11, and H. 17.

²² Despite the important role which repetition plays in the Dioscorian corpus, no one has studied this characteristic. For several brief remarks by Maspero, see “Un dernier poète grec d’Égypte,” 474, 479. MacCoull has only casually remarked: “Dioscorus was like Handel: he stole from himself very often”; “Dioscorus and the Dukes,” 36.

5]ι̣ε̣λε̣η̣μ̣ω̣νε̣ς̣τ̣[
]δα̣κ̣[

 7]δι̣π̣λω̣μα̣τι
]χο̣υ

Restored Transcription

Aphrodito

21.5 x 8.5 cm.

c. A.D. 567-585

- 1 [χαίρων χο]ρείης εἰς μυριάμορον χρόνον,
 [- - - θ]άλλων, εὐτυχῶν ἡμῶν ἔρον·
 3 [ἀεὶ κυβε]ρνῶν ἀκριβῶς τὴν ὀλκάδα,
 [ἀστυ]μφέλ' ἴκτον τὴν καλὴν ἐπαρχίαν,
 5 [καὶ εὖ σκοπε]ῖς ἐλεήμων ἐς τ[οὺς ἀθλίους].
 [ὁ γράψας ἠδέως] δακ[τύλῳ δύο πλάκας]
 7 [καὶ σοῦ χαράξει τοὺς χρόνους] διπλώματι.
 [Θήβη πᾶσα χόρευσον, εἰρήνην δέ]χου.

Translation

- 1 [Rejoicing, may you da]nce for a time ten-thousand amphoras full,
 [. . . fl]ourishing, prospering in our love!
 3 [Always pil]oting precisely the merchantman—
 [unsh]aken your handsome command—
 5 [you keep a sharp look o]ut, showing mercy to t[he wretched].
 [He Who wrote delightfully with His] fin[ger the two tablets]
 7 [Will inscribe even your times] on the folded sheet.
 [All of Thebes dance! re]ceive [peace]!

Commentary

- 1 Cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67097 verso F 29: χαίρων χορείης εἰς μυριάμορον χρόνον; *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67317.19 + *P.Berol.* 10580.22 (=H. 3.22): [χαί]ρων χορείης εἰς [μυριάμορο]ν χρόνον.

[χαίρων χο]ρείης: note the similarity between this phrase and the phrase in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* 981: χαρέντα χορείαις.

μυριάμορον: the only appearance of the word μυριάμορος — outside of Dioscorus — is in Aristophanes' *Pax*: πόθεν ἂν λάβοιμι ῥῆμα μυριάμορον / ὅτῳ προσείπω σ'; (verses 521-22).²³ Here, Trygaeus is joyfully giving praise to one of the handmaids of Peace, who

²³ There are only three appearances of this word in Dioscorus's poetry: at the conclusion of his *chairetismos* (*P.Cair.Masp.* I 67097 verso F 29); in the iambic prologue of an encomium to John (H. 3.22); and here on the Berlin papyrus. MacCoull singled out the word μυριάμορος in her discussion of

has just been restored to the world. The allusion by Dioscorus to Aristophanes' drama is probably intentional. It introduces in verse one the concept of peace, which together with the image of dancing forms a ring structure with verse eight. Dioscorus made frequent use of ring structures to organize his poems. Another example can be found in poem *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67097 verso F. There, the first verse of the first part of the poem (Ἄει θέλω χορεύειν) forms a ring structure both with the last verse of the first part (ἀεὶ τὰς πόλεις σαώσαι verse 16) and with the last verse of the second part (χαίρων χορείης εἰς μυριάμορον χρόνον verse 29); two motifs from verse one are repeated in verse twenty-nine: *dancing* and *eternity*.

The appearance of μυριάμορος in Dioscorus's poetry suggests that he borrowed directly from Aristophanes' vocabulary. In addition to direct borrowings, reminiscences of Aristophanes are evident in Dioscorus's poetry. In *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67097 verso F, *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67317, and the Berlin papyrus appears the phrase χαίρων χορείης, mentioned above. Also in 67097 verso F appears a litany of Aristophanes-like compound epithets.²⁴ Although elements of Athenian comedy were used by other encomiasts of the early Byzantine period and appeared in rhetorical handbooks,²⁵ Dioscorus's inspiration may have been received first-hand from his own texts of the comedies.²⁶

- 2 [- - - θ]άλλων: although the ink is dark, the letters' shapes and ligatures make it difficult to decipher the word. This reading was suggested by Dr. Keenan; compare the omega here with the rounded omega of βαρβάρων at *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67097 verso E 93 (see Montevicchi [1973], plate 101; *P.Cair.Masp.* I, plate 28). In poem 67097 verso B, verses 17 (θάλλε) and 23 (άλλά) show alpha and lambda ligatures similar to those seen here. Another close parallel is visible in one of Dioscorus's prose pieces, the signed document *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67097 verso A: Ἀπολλῶτος (line 1).

The restoration in the Berlin papyrus is based upon θάλλε μοι, εἴσεται θάλλοις (H. 2.29, 4.12, 5.3, 12B.9). If this restoration is correct, one must note the many active participles in the Berlin poem—[χαίρων], [θ]άλλων, εὐτυχῶν, [κυβε]ρνῶν—which give the first three verses a special liveliness.

The use of assonance and alliteration (in this verse, omega-nu) is a frequent and often significant feature in Dioscorus's poetry. Compare this assonance and alliteration with that

the Coptic culture: "When Shenoute uses *ϢΥΝΤΕΧΕΙΑ* or *ΠΑΡΑΦΥΓΙΣ*, when Dioscorus uses *μυριάμορος* ... one's reaction is sheer delight" (*Dioscorus*, 158); but she does not explain why.

²⁴ For a linguistic analysis of these compound words, see Saija, "Neoformazioni linguistiche in Dioscoro di Aphrodito," 61-64.

²⁵ For the influence of Aristophanes and Menander (Comicus) on the iambic prologues of encomiastic poetry of the early Byzantine period, see Viljamaa, 88-97. For the influence of Menander (Comicus) on Dioscorus's poetry in particular, see *ibid.*, 87-88 (cf. E. Vogt, "Ein stereotyper Dramenschluß der Νέα," *RhM* 102 [1959]: 192).

²⁶ In Dioscorus's archive were found part of a codex of five comedies by Menander and fragments of comedies by Eupolis and Aristophanes. See Bell, "An Egyptian Village in the Age of Justinian," 27; G. Lefebvre, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: No. 43227 Papyrus de Ménandre* (Cairo, 1911). The *editio princeps* of the Menander codex was by G. Lefebvre, *Fragments d'un manuscrit de Ménandre* (Cairo, 1907); in 1911 Lefebvre updated this edition and added the fragments by the other comedy writers (cited above). For a history of the scholarship on this Menandrian codex, see A. Gomme and F. Sandbach, *Menander: A Commentary* (Oxford, 1973), 46; see also 3, 42ff. For a photoreproduction of this codex, see L. Koenen et al., *The Cairo Codex of Menander* (London, 1978). For a more recent edition of the fragments of Eupolis, see C. Austin, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris Reperta* (Berlin, 1973), 84-92.

of χ and ρ in verse one and κ in verse three. In verses two and four, every word ends in a v . Even if the restorations in the Berlin poem are not completely correct, the verses upon which the restorations are based show Dioscorus's emphasis upon assonance and alliteration. In the verse which guided the restoration of verse six (*P.Cair.Masp.* II 67131 verso 17 = H. 10.17), [ὁ γ]ράψας is echoed by δύο πλάκας; and the middle of the verse emphasizes δ 's: ἡδέως δακτύλω δύο. In the verse which guided the restoration of verse eight (see the citations below), Θήβη is echoed by εἰρήνην. In *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67315 verso 39 (= H. 5.39), which helped support the restoration of verse seven, Dioscorus wrote: διπλόον ἀμφ[ι]βόητον ὅσον χρόνον ὑμι χ[αρ]άσσει. Note the two omicrons in each of the first four words, the two mu's in the fifth word, and the two alphas and sigmas in the sixth word; these double letters develop the verse's motif of double time. Note also the five omicron-nu's.

εὐτυχῶν: cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67131 verso B 4, 10 (=H. 10B.4, 10): εὐτυχέστερον βίον ... πανευτυχέστερος βασιλικῆς; *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67315 verso 50 (=H. 5.50): τὸ σὸν κλέος πανευτυχέστερον.

ἡμῶν ἔρον: ἔρος (acc. ἔρον) is the poetic form of ἔρωσ; cf. Homer *Il.* 1.469, 14.315; *Od.* 18.212; Hesiod *Th.* 910; Sophocles *El.* 197; Euripides *Hipp.* 337; etc. Here, the accusative is the object of the participle εὐτυχῶν; the accusative with εὐτυχεῖω is a common construction (cf. Herodotus 1.65, 3.40; Sophocles *OT* 88; etc.).

Dioscorus often used ἔρωσ and ἔρωσ-related terms to describe his feelings for the addressee of a poem. Compare, for example: ὦ βαθέης σοφίης πολυήρατον εὐχος ἐρώτων (H. 12B.2; cf. 12B.4); στρατηγὸν νέον ἔραμαι (H. 28.13).

- 3-4 Cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67097 verso E 108-09 (= H. 9.18-19): ἀεὶ κυβερνῶν ἀκριβῶς τὴν ὀλκάδα, / τὴν ἀστυμφέλικτον καλὴν ἐπαρχείαν.
- 3 [κυβε]ρνῶν: in addition to the verses quoted above (H. 9.18-19), Dioscorus used a κυβερνάω-related term as a political metaphor in verse nine of the same poem: οἷ καὶ κυβερνήται μέγιστοι πελα{σ}τικῶν (H. 9.9). The comparison of a political leader to a ship pilot goes back at least as far as Alcaeus's famous political allegory, Campbell fr. 208 (= Snell 46A).²⁷ Dioscorus took what had already become a cliché metaphor and through alliteration, assonance, and placement of accents, created a charming phrase: [κυβε]ρνῶν ἀκριβῶς (with the kappa alliteration continuing in ὀλκάδα).
- 4 [ἀστυ]μφέλ' λ'ικτον: the mu is very uncertain. ἀστυμφέλικτον with a mu, however, is attested in Dioscorus and only in Dioscorus (H. 9.19, 3.85).²⁸ At *P.Berol.* 10580.85 (= H. 3.85), the editors considered ἀστυμφέλικτον a *Schreibfehler* and corrected it to the commoner form *metri gratia*, which is dactylic. The author of the poem, however, was not then known to be Dioscorus; because of his predilection for flagrant violations of metrical conventions, the original spelling should probably be restored.²⁹ In *P.Berol. Inv.No.* 21334,

²⁷ A part of this poem was found on a papyrus at Oxyrhynchus (*P.Oxy.* XXI 2297 fr. 5 abc); another part was quoted by Heraclitus (*Alleg. Hom.* 5).

²⁸ Saija, "Neoformazioni linguistiche in Dioscoro di Aphrodito," 59-60.

²⁹ For Dioscorus's unusual metrics, see A. Saija, "La metrica di Dioscoro de Afroditopoli," *Studi in onore di Anthos Ardizzoni* 2 (Rome, 1978): 825-49; Viljamaa, 86-88; Maspero, "Un dernier poète grec d'Égypte," 476-79. At H. 9.19 (τὴν ἀστυμφέλικτον καλὴν ἐπαρχείαν), Dioscorus was treating the accented short vowel as long; this was a common practice in Late Antique and early Byzantine poetry. See M. West, ed., *Carmina Anacreontea* (Leipzig, 1984), xiv. By adding the mu, the verse's meter was made a little more "incorrect."

Despite some evidence to the contrary, Maspero insisted (pp. 478, 480) that Dioscorus's verses were not forerunners to the paroxytone twelve-syllable line, which was refined by George the Pisidian (first

however, the Dioscorian variant fits the verse's iambic meter better than the regular ἀστυφέλικτον (short upsilon). And yet, by clearly doubling the lambda here (but not in H. 3.85 and 9.19) Dioscorus was obviously making a conscious effort to avoid a regular iambic verse.

ἐπαρχίαν: this word does not denote only a *province*, but also the *government* of that province (see LSJ, s.v. ἐπαρχία). I have translated the word as “command,” because this English term not only conveys the *governing* idea, but also supports the pilot metaphor of verses 3-5. The sense *command* is even more prominent in verse H. 3.85, which is closely related to the present verse: ψῆ[φο]ν ἐνὶ γραφίδεσ[σι] καὶ ἀστυφέλικτον ἀνωγήν.

5-7 Cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67131 verso 16-18 (= H. 10.16-18):

[καὶ] εὖ σκοπεῖς ἐλεήμων εἰς τοὺς ἀθλίους.
[ὁ γ]ράψας ἠδέως δακτύλῳ δύο πλάκας
[κ]αὶ σοῦ χαράξει τοὺς χρόνους δι[π]λώματι.

Dioscorus repeated not only single verses but also sequences of verses (sometimes with minor variations). Compare, for example, H. 3.9-11, which is repeated (with no variations) at H. 5.53-55, 10.1-3, 11.1-3, and partially repeated at H. 9.1-2.

6 [ὁ γράψας ἠδέως] δακ[τύλῳ] δύο πλάκας]: only the very tops of several letters are visible. They are enough, however, to suggest a restoration based upon the sequence of verses in *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67131 verso 16-18 (= H. 10.16-18; quoted above). Compare H. 12A.17-18 (= *P.Lond.Lit.* 98 i 16-17 + *P.Rein. Inv. No.* 2070):³⁰

[ἀ]γίως ὁ γράψας ποτὲ τοὺς δύο πλάκας
[κ]αὶ σοῦ χαράξει τοὺς χρόνους διπλώματι.

Compare also *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67279 verso 12-13 (= H. 11.13-14):

[ὁ] γράψας καὶ πάλαι λ[ι]χᾶς [- - -]
καὶ σ[ο]ῦ χαράξει τοὺς χρόνους διπλώματι.

In addition to the delta alliteration in the restored verse, there appears a chiasmic assonance of the accented vowels: ἄ ἐ ὑ ὑ ἄ. The epsilon interrupts the continuity; but it was Dioscorus's general practice to avoid obvious regularity.

7 [καὶ σοῦ χαράξει τοὺς χρόνους] διπλώματι: for the restoration of this verse, cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67131 verso 18 (= H. 10.18; quoted above); H. 12A.18 (quoted above); and *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67279 verso 13 (= H. 11.14; quoted above). Cf. also *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67315 verso 39.39 (= H. 5.39): διπλόον ἀμφ[ι]βόητον ὅσον χρόνον ὕμμι χ[αρ]άσσει.

While verse six probably concerns the Old Covenant, of which the two tablets written by God's hand were a testimony (Ex. 31:18), verse seven probably concerns the New Covenant. Literally it means: *Even your times he will carve on the double-thing*. The δίπλωμα can refer to anything which is double (cf. LSJ). It would make no sense for the term to refer to the two tablets containing the laws given by God to the Hebrews. Here it may denote a passport, which was folded (cf. *Cic.Att.* 10.17.4, *Fam.* 6.12.3; see also Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.). It does not make sense, however, that the addressee's *times* were written on the passport, rather than his name (unless the reference is to a date of birth). The ambiguities on the literal level compel a reader to look for the metaphorical significance. If the biblical allusion of verse six is continued in verse seven, δίπλωμα may refer metaphorically to the Book of Life. Those

half of the seventh century) and which became the most popular form of iambic trimeter during the Byzantine period.

³⁰ See P. Collart, “82. Poème de Dioscoros d’Aphroditô,” *BIAO* 39 (1940): 19-22.

whose names are inscribed on this roll will not suffer the second, permanent death (Apoc. 21:8, 27); thus their lifetime can be said to be “two-fold” and the roll can be referred to as a *double-thing* (its contents guarantee a second life). Cf. ἄλλο βιβλίον ... ὃ ἐστὶν τῆς ζωῆς (Apoc. 20:12; cf. 21:27); also βιβλίον γεγραμμένον ἔσωθεν καὶ ὀπίσθεν (Apoc. 5:1). Combining the literal and metaphorical meanings, the δίπλωμα becomes a passport to a second lifetime. In his other poems, Dioscorus’s allusions to the Apocalypsis Joannis seem to help create an allegorical level. This allegorical level (and the elements of Athenian comedy) in Dioscorus’s poetry will be discussed in my Loyola University of Chicago dissertation.

- 8 [Θήβη πάσα χόρευσον, εἰρήνην δέ]χου: only the final three letters are visible, but they are clearly visible. Several considerations suggest this restoration. The restored verse is one of Dioscorus’s favorite verses, appearing at least five times in Heitsch’s collection (H. 3.9, 5.53, 9.1, 10.1, 11.1); and in the surviving Dioscorian corpus, it is the only iambic trimeter verse which ends with -χου. The verse was so important to Dioscorus, that in three of his poems it was placed as the first verse. Here, it is in keeping with the ship pilot imagery (verses 3-5) that the verse comes later; the jubilant mood recalls the rejoicing crowds upon a dock when a merchantman sails in. The verse also completes the persona’s gradual distancing of himself from the addressee: in the first five verses, the addressee is the subject; in the next two verses, the subject changes, but the persona has not lost sight of the addressee ([καὶ σοῦ]); and in the final verse, the persona turns away completely from the addressee to a personified Thebes, whom the persona invites to dance.³¹ Finally, the restored verse unites with verse one (where the addressee is invited to dance) to form a ring structure, one of Dioscorus’s favorite devices.

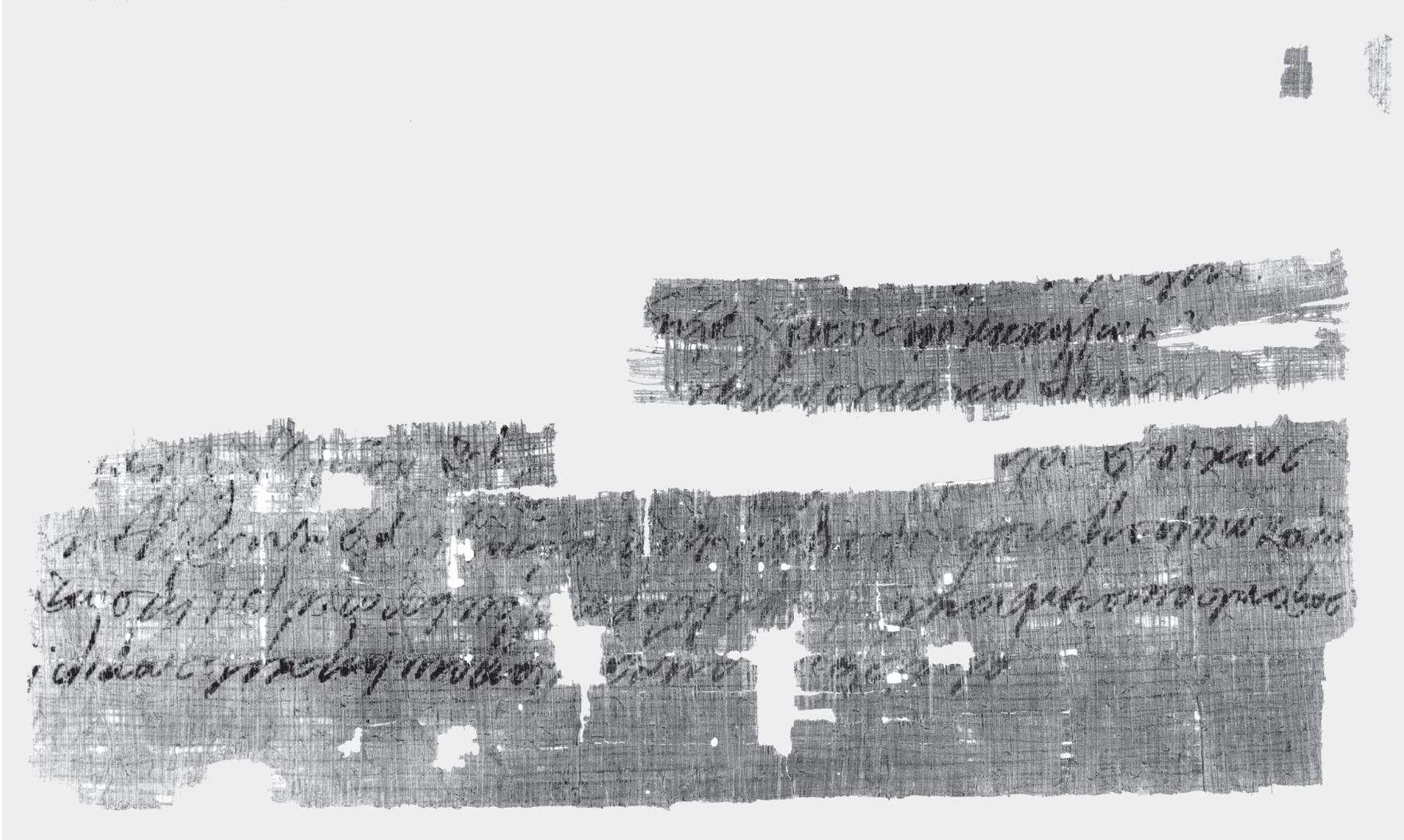
If all the restorations are correct, the main elements of the chiasmic ring structure of the Berlin poem are:

- a) verse 1: dancing ([χο]ρείης)
- b) verse 1: eternity (εἰς μυριάφορον χρόνον)
- c) verse 3: pilot ([κυβε]ρνῶν ἀκριβῶς τὴν ὀλκάδα)
- c) verse 5: pilot ([εὖ σκοπε]ίς)
- b) verse 7: eternity ([τοὺς χρόνους] διπλώματι)
- a) verse 8: dancing ([χόρευσον])

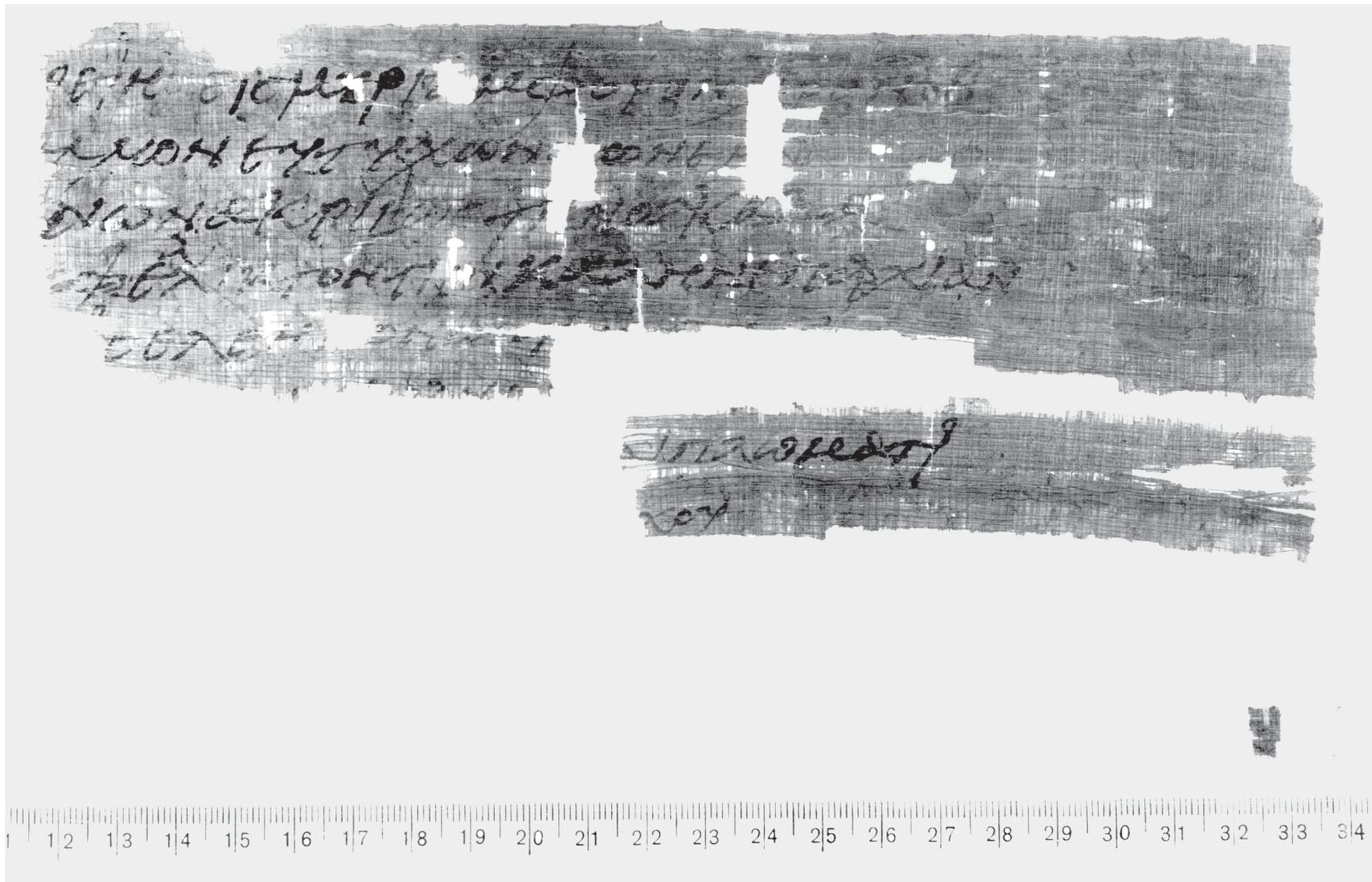
The motif of peace, discussed above, strengthens the connection between verses one and eight. This ring structure suggests that the Berlin papyrus contains an independent iambic poem. Yet it is equally possible, especially since the name of the addressee cannot be found in the surviving fragments, that these iambic verses formed a prologue to an hexameter encomium. There are other encomia from Dioscorus’s archive, however, which do not specify an addressee. Regardless if these eight verses form an independent poem or a prologue, the ring structure indicates that they form a complete unit.³²

³¹ Εἰρήνη is possibly a metaphor for the addressee.

³² I am indebted to Dr. James Keenan for his help and encouragement in preparing this article, and to Dr. William Brashear and Dr. Dieter Hagedorn for carefully reading an earlier draft of this article and making many helpful suggestions.



Heiratsvertrag (P.Berol.Inv. 21334 recto)



Iambisches Enkomion in der Hand des Dioskoros (P.Berol.Inv. 21334 verso)