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A PASSAGE OF ISOCRATES ON THE BACK OF A PROTOCOL  
(PVINDOB G 39977)

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A PASSAGE OF ISOCRATES ON THE BACK OF A PROTOCOL  
(PVINDOB G 39977)\*

PVindob G 39977 is a roughly square piece of papyrus (10.9 x 10 cm) written on both sides in faded black ink. One side bears part of what to all appearances was a protocol (see pp. 129–131 below); the other a passage from paragraph 19 of Isocrates' speech *Nicocles*<sup>1</sup>. Although both texts run parallel to the fibres, and no *kollesis* survives, so it is impossible on purely technical grounds to establish which side was the *recto* and which the *verso*, the nature of the two texts leaves little doubt that the Isocrates passage (a school exercise) was written on the back of the document we suppose to be a protocol, perhaps detached for this purpose from the roll to which it belonged<sup>2</sup>. In accordance with what must have been common practice in schools, the student was provided with a second-hand piece of papyrus, which he may then have had to turn over and rotate so as to write his work along the fibres<sup>3</sup>.

Eight lines of the original exercise are preserved, the first in the scantiest of traces. If, as seems probable, the beginning of the exercise and the beginning of paragraph 19 of Isocrates' speech coincided, then two whole lines must be missing at the top. In any event, not much more can be lost, since the margin of the right-hand side of the protocol written on the *recto*, which corresponds to the top of the exercise, is already sufficiently wide (4 cm) and cannot have extended much further (beyond 6 cm). The broad right-hand margin (2.2–3.8 cm), too broad to be an intercolumnium, and the amount of space left under the last line (2–3.5 cm), moreover, strongly suggest that the exercise did not carry on beyond this point and that therefore the student stopped writing in mid-sentence. Instances of interrupted exercises are not unusual among the surviving fragments of school texts<sup>4</sup>. The left-hand margin is narrow and measures 0.9 cm<sup>5</sup>.

That the Isocrates passage was in fact written as a school exercise appears certain. The hand clearly belongs to a student, and spelling mistakes – some of them quite serious – abound. The frequency and type of these errors moreover point rather to a dictation, in which the student was not wholly successful

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<sup>1</sup> Fragments of Isocrates continue to appear at an impressive rate. To F. Mitthof's recent list of new accessions (*WS* 113 [2000] 107 n. 1), updating Lenaerts and Mertens's catalogue of 1989 (*CE* 64 [1989] 216–30), can now be added, besides the papyrus published by Mitthof himself (PVindob G 29823 *verso*: *Nic.* 1, 5), and the present piece, PHeid inv. G 2136 (*Evag.* 80), edited by D. Hagedorn in *ZPE* 129 (2000) 274, PSI inv. 1925 (*Paneg.* 58–9), edited by P. Pruneti (forthcoming in *Studi M. Cataudella*), and PNarm inv. 66.298a (*Archid.* 35–7), edited by C. Gallazzi (forthcoming as PBingen 6). For a list of the Isocrates papyri belonging to the Viennese collection, cf. Mitthof, 109 n. 8. Isocrates, with 84 texts, according to the *LDAB* 1998, still trails far behind Demostenes, with 161.

<sup>2</sup> This, according to the editor, is what has happened in the case of POxy XVI 1928, which preserves Psalm 90 written on the back of a protocol (cf. intro.). Instead, for examples of protocols still attached to their original deeds cf. PSI I 62, dated to 27 September 613 (reproduced in Norsa, *SD*, tav. XXV) and PKöln III 157, dated to July 589 (Taf. XXVIII).

<sup>3</sup> According to R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, Atlanta, Scholars Press, 1996 (= *American Studies in Papyrology* 36), 57 (cf. also 69), papyrus was the most commonly used material in schools, both by students and teachers. But see the objection voiced by W. A. Johnson on this point in his review of the book (*CPh* 93 [1998] 277), who points out that tablets would have been used many times over. For the rotation of pieces of papyrus in order to write in the direction of the fibres, which may have served as guides, cf. Cribiore, *Writing*, 61–2. Did pupils do this out of choice or were they perhaps instructed to do so by their teachers?

<sup>4</sup> Cribiore, *Writing*, 60 n. 28 assembles some examples of blank space due to the interruption of an exercise before completion and she later (72) refers to a student's "typically" interrupting his work.

<sup>5</sup> Students' inability to predict just how much room their work would require frequently resulted in the erratic distribution of space and in unsymmetrical margins, on which see Cribiore, *Writing*, 59–60, 103.

in representing sounds by signs, than to an exercise in copying from a teacher's written model. It is quite inconceivable that a teacher should have written *ετιοις* (l. 6) and *πλεωναης* (l. 10), for example, or that a student read those words in place of *ιδιοις* and *πλεονακις*<sup>6</sup>. The downward-sloping lines, and the imperfect alignment on the right, betraying scarce attention for basic details of layout, are also in keeping with the idea that the text is a product of the classroom. Lectional aids, often associated with school work, are, however, totally lacking and so are signs of punctuation.

Closer analysis of the script brings out features characteristic of school hands and confirms the impression that the passage of Isocrates was in fact penned by a student. The constituent strokes of the individual letters are traced separately, with the result that their number, direction and order are clearly visible. Often their component parts fail to meet (cf. e.g. the *δ* of *επιδαν* in l. 7, the *θ* of *συελθωσι* in l. 9 and the *ς* of *τις* in l. 10) and the letters stand open or, on the contrary, the strokes extend beyond their junction, giving rise to superfluous appendages (cf. e.g. the *δ* of *δε* in l. 8 or the *ν* of *συλεδρια* in ll. 8–9). Difficulty in keeping the same letters of uniform size, a sure sign of a school hand at work, is everywhere in evidence. As might be expected, however, an effort to achieve a calligraphic style, which manifests itself in the absence of inclination, is noticeable. Only in a very few instances does the writer slip into cursive forms (contrast the *π* of *επει* in l. 5 with that of *πλεικτων* in ll. 4–5 or the *α* of *τατριβουσιν* in ll. 6–7 with that of *επιδαν* in l. 7). *ε*, with lengthened crossbar, and *ν* are made in three movements; the second vertical of *π* is markedly curved; and irregular rightward-pointing hooks appear on *ι*, *ρ* and *τ*. For similarities in general appearance and in the *ductus* of single letters, cf. Criboire nos. 389 (Pll. LXXIII–IV, III–IV AD, perhaps later), 403 (Pll. LXXV–VI, IV–V AD) and 410 (Pl. LXXX, VI–VII AD)<sup>7</sup> as well as Cavallo–Maehler, *GB* 34b (589, loan of money). On the basis of these parallels, it seems reasonable to suppose that the exercise was written in the sixth century<sup>8</sup>.

This is the first time for certain we find the *Nicocles* written by a student<sup>9</sup>, but the choice of author at least comes as no surprise, Isocrates being a favourite in the schools of antiquity<sup>10</sup>. The moralistic

<sup>6</sup> Criboire, *Writing*, 92–3 is critical of the nonchalance with which some editors infer dictation from phonetic errors, offering self-dictation on the part of the student as an explanation for their occurrence, but the deviations in spelling in this exercise are so numerous and such as to exclude, in our opinion, their being accounted for in this way. There is, however, no sign of the student's actually having misunderstood the passage in question, which for Criboire would constitute proof of dictation.

<sup>7</sup> Criboire assigns the script of these three texts to the class of “the evolving hand”, which she characterizes as follows: “This is the hand of a pupil who uses it every day and does a conspicuous amount of writing with it. The clumsy and uneven look and the difficulty in maintaining an alignment are still present, but the hand can be moderately fluent and proceeds at a good pace. ...” (112). This is Hand 3 of her fourfold typology, based on the ability and maturity of the student, of which the other three classes are (Hand 1) “the zero-grade hand”, (Hand 2) “the alphabetic hand” and (Hand 4) “the rapid hand” (cf. 33, 111–2). Of the four types, it is “the evolving hand” that is most used for “Longer Passages” (cf. 133), and this fact, together with the length and content of our exercise, point to its belonging to that category in Criboire's classification of school exercises and educational levels (cf. 31, 47–9).

<sup>8</sup> Other possibly sixth-century pieces of Isocrates are PSI I 16 (*Nic.* 47–51), POxy XV 1812 (*Ad Dem.* 40–5) and PSI VIII 973 (*Ad Dem.* 50).

<sup>9</sup> The published *Nicocles* papyri are now six in number: PSI I 16 (§§ 47–51, 6th cent.); PRainCent 22 (§§ 53–7, 4th or 5th cent.); PErl 10 (§§ 60–4, 3rd cent.); PMilVogl inv. 1203 (§§ 62–3, 1st cent. *ex.* or 2nd cent. *in.*), ed. by C. Gallazzi, *StudPap* 21 (1982) 97–101; PKell III 95 (§§ 1–53, 4th cent.); PVindob inv. G 29823 *verso* (§§ 1 and 5, 3rd cent.), ed. by F. Mitthof, WS 113 (2000) 107–11. These will soon be joined by three Oxyrhynchus papyri now being prepared for publication by D. Colomo. Quite unlike our school exercise, all the published fragments show clear signs of coming from books, which may however have had some connection with the school context, perhaps being the texts of the teachers themselves, as K. A. Worp and A. Rijksbaron (edd.), *The Kellis Isocrates Codex*, Oxford, Oxbow Books, 1997 (= Oxbow Monograph 88/Dakhleh Oasis Project: Monograph 5), 28 suppose might have been the case with the wooden Kellis codex.

<sup>10</sup> For Isocrates' role in the classroom cf. Criboire, *Writing*, 49. Two of his works, in particular, seem to have enjoyed especial popularity: the *Ad Demonicum* and the *Ad Nicoclem*, which significantly appear in company with the *Nicocles* in the Kellis codex. See further P. Pruneti, “L'Ad Demonicum nella scuola antica: esempi di utilizzazione”, *Munus Amicitiae, Scritti in memoria di Alessandro Ronconi*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1986, 211–19; and F. Maltomini–C. Römer, “Noch einmal ‘Ad Demonicum’ auf einer Schultafel”, *ZPE* 75 (1988) 297–300 (with Taf. X).

content and tone of certain of his speeches made them particularly appropriate for dual-purpose exercises aiming not only to teach the skills of reading and writing, but at the same time to inculcate social values. The *Nicocles*, a central theme of which is the superiority of monarchy to other forms of government, must always have recommended itself during the Byzantine empire, and the particular passage in question, which contrasts the crippling, individualistic behaviour of the democratic and oligarchic politicians with the day-and-night devotion of monarchs (and their counsellors) to the state and their power to take immediate action, will have seemed well suited for generating the right attitudes in the minds of the young. The same passage of the *Nicocles* was excerpted by Stobaeus a century or so earlier in a work compiled for the instruction (and edification) of his son.

Though coming from the schoolroom, the fragment is not completely devoid of interest from a text-critical point of view. The medieval tradition of Isocrates is, as is well known, split between a single early codex on the one side (Γ = cod. Urbinas 111, saec. IX/X) and a group of manuscripts (including Θ = cod. Laurentianus LXXXVII 14, saec. XIII ex.; Λ = cod. Vaticanus 65, a. 1063; Π = cod. Parisinus 2932, saec. XV) on the other, which all descend from a lost exemplar and are often referred to collectively as the “vulgate”<sup>11</sup>. The papyri which have come to light over the last century or so, however, show no such division, agreeing now with one branch, now with the other of the later tradition. The paragraph of the *Nicocles*, of which part has been preserved in our school exercise, has also survived in the wooden codex recently discovered at the Dakhleh Oasis (PKell III Gr. 95 = Ψ), containing paragraphs 1–53 of the speech, as well as in one of the several excerpts taken from the same oration by Stobaeus in the sixth chapter (ὄτι κάλλιστον ἡ μοναρχία) of the fourth book of his *Anthology*<sup>12</sup>. Though the text of our fragment does not diverge at any point from the rest of the tradition, contributing no readings heretofore unattested, it does cover a section of text where several variants have been transmitted<sup>13</sup>. If our reconstruction of line 2 is correct, then the papyrus likely agrees with Γ in ὑστερίζουσιν against PKell III Gr. 95, ΛΠ and Stobaeus, which all have ὑστεροῦσι. With Γ (and Stobaeus) the papyrus has a δ’ (unelided in the pap. and Stob.) after ἐπειδάν, where the conjunction is absent (in this position) in the Kellis codex (επειδιανις) and ΛΠ. Where PKell has ελθωσι, possibly a mere error of haplography, the papyrus and the rest of the tradition have συνέλθωσι(ν). τακκυνλεδρια of the school dictation represents an intermediate stage between the correct neuter τὰ συνέδρια of the other manuscripts and the erroneous τας συνεδριας of the text found at the Dakhleh Oasis, where the superfluous c appended to the article induced the feminine plural ending of its noun. In all cases of difference, therefore, the papyrus always sides with Γ, but the amount of text surviving is so meagre that it would be hazardous to make much of this.

In view of the frequent orthographical deviations, it seemed advisable to supply both a literal transcript and a reconstructed version.

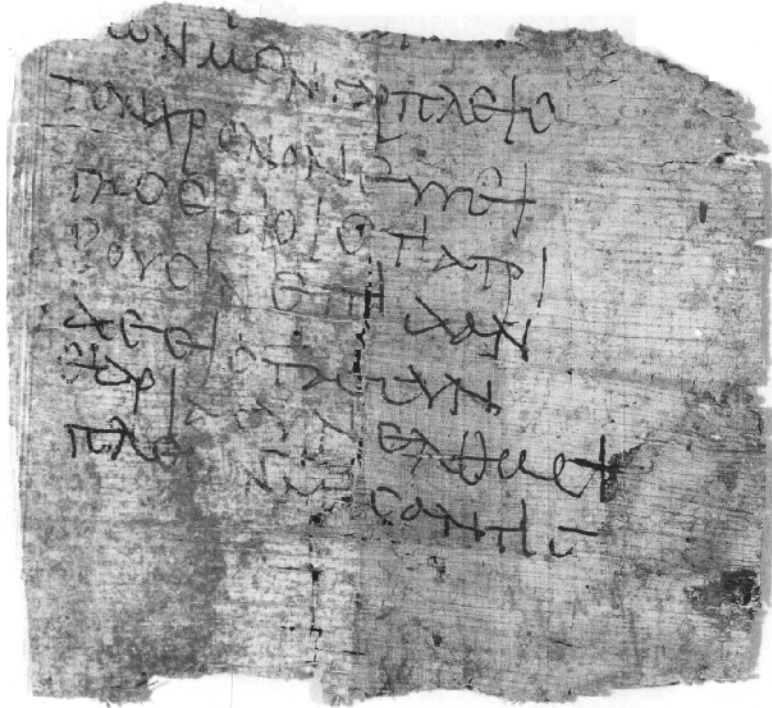
→	1	[.....]	[ἔπειθ’ οἱ μὲν]
	2	[.....]	[ὑστερίζουσιν]
	3	[...] . [...] . . . .	[τῶν π]ρ[αγμ]άτων·
	4	[.]ωνμενγαρπλεις	[τ]ὸν μὲν γὰρ πλεῖς-

<sup>11</sup> For this account of the manuscript tradition of Isocrates we have consulted the Praefatio of E. Drerup, *Isocratis opera omnia*, Vol. I, Lipsiae, Dieterich, 1906; G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1952<sup>2</sup>, 294–302; and Worp–Rijksbaron, *The Kellis Isocrates Codex*, 141–50, who caution against overrating the readings of the Urbinas manuscript, held by many editors, since its discovery by Bekker in the early nineteenth century, to represent the best tradition.

<sup>12</sup> In the same chapter Stobaeus also quotes from paragraphs 15–8, 20–2, 55.

<sup>13</sup> In the following collation, we derive our information about the readings of the manuscripts from the critical apparatuses of Drerup, *Isocratis opera omnia*; G. Mathieu and É. Brémond, *Isocrate. Discours*, Tome II, Paris, «Les Belles Lettres», 1987<sup>6</sup>; and Worp–Rijksbaron, *The Kellis Isocrates Codex*.

5	τονχρονονεπει	τον χρόνον ἐπὶ
6	τηχειτιοιστιατρι	τοῖς ἰδίοις διατρί-
7	βουσινεπιδαν	βουσιν, ἐπειδὴν
8	δεειτασσυν	δ' εἰς τὰ συν-
9	εδριασυνελθωσι	έδρια συνέλθωσιν,
10	πλεωναησαντις	πλεονάκις ἂν τις
	Margin	Margin



1–2 If, as seems likely, the schoolmaster started his dictation at the beginning of paragraph 19, then four words are missing above the remnants of the first line in part preserved. Since the length of the surviving lines ranges from 11 to 15 letters for an average of 13 letters per line, two lines must be lost, of which the first can only have contained *επειθ* (or better *επειτα*, both in light of the unelided *δε* in l. 8 and line-length?) *οι μεν* and the second in all likelihood *υπεριζουσιν* rather than the shorter variant *υπερουσι*. That all four words were squeezed into one line (for a minimum of 19 letters) can be ruled out.

2 [ὑπερίζουσιν] Γ: ὑπεροῦσι Ψ ΛΠ Stob.

3 ]. the lower end of the tail of ρ with distinctive right-facing hook; ]... the loop of α, after which the lower half of the stem of τ with hook directed rightwards, then three minimal traces of the bottoms of the arcs of ω, and then (at a relatively short distance from one another) the lower tip of the first vertical of ν and the junction of the ends of its diagonal and second vertical.

4 [ ]ων: for the interchange ο > ω cf. Gignac, *Gram.* I 277.

5 *επει*: for the interchange ι > ει cf. Gignac, *Gram.* I 190.

6 *της*: for the interchange οι > η cf. Gignac, *Gram.* I 266; *ειτιοις*: for the interchange ι > ει and intervocalic δ > τ cf. Gignac, *Gram.* I 190 and I 82.

6–7 *τιατριβουσιν*: for the interchange initial δ > τ cf. Gignac, *Gram.* I 80.

7 Traces of faded ink in the left-hand margin in front of β. *επιδαν*: for the interchange ει > ι cf. Gignac, *Gram.* I 189.

8 Triangle open on right to the left of δ: the student started writing δ, but having noticed its incorrect alignment, broke off before completing the letter and started afresh in the right place. *τας*: for the doubling of the c, cf. Gignac, *Gram.* I 159. *ἐπειδὴν δ' εἰς* Γ Stob: *επειδιαντις* Ψ: *ἐπειδὴν εἰς* (*pro* *ἐπεὶ δ' ἂν εἰς*?) ΛΠ.

9 *συνελθωσι*: For the absence of ν-movable *in pausa*, cf. Gignac, *Gram.* I 114. *συνέλθωσιν* codd.: *ελθωσι* Ψ.

10 *πλεωναης*: for the interchange ο > ω, the omission of the κ and the interchange ι > η cf. Gignac, *Gram.* I 277, 75 and 237.

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The *recto* of the fragment whose *verso* was used for the passage from Isocrates preserves the ends of four lines of writing along the fibres. To the right extends a wide margin (4 cm ca.), which must have been somewhat broader if, as seems highly likely, the passage from paragraph 19 of the *Nicocles* was written starting from its beginning (see above 125). The outward appearance of the surviving text suggests that it belonged to a protocol similar to that found in POxy XVI 1928 (Pl. III). The texts of the two papyri are penned in large-sized, legible hands; in both plenty of space is left between the lines, and the words are abbreviated using similar signs. An important difference, however, lies in their scripts: whereas POxy 1928 (like PCairMasp III 67316) is written in a chancery hand, with its letters large, flowing and closely connected, the Vienna fragment exhibits letters which are stiff and well separated, and is in consequence more legible.

Unfortunately, the impossibility of supplementing some of the words in part surviving and the inevitable uncertainties of reading mean that our suggestion that the fragment comes from a protocol can be at most a mere hypothesis. If in fact the fragment did derive from a protocol, it would be one similar to POxy 1928 (dated to 5 October 533 AD)<sup>14</sup> and PCairMasp 67316 (Pl. VIII, 533–536 AD ca.)<sup>15</sup>. These documents are set out in five lines and cite the names, titles and *dignitates* of two officials. The main official is the *comes sacrarum largitionum* and the subordinate official is his representative in Egypt (at this time the *dux*), who in his turn was stood in for by an anonymous *scriniarius et tabularius*. The last line contains the date of manufacture of the roll, indicated by the Egyptian month and indiction. None of this, as has been pointed out, is to be recognised in the Viennese fragment, and it was above all external considerations (the type and size of the handwriting) that led to our supposition. But what we have here might very well turn out to be one of a different kind of protocol (ἄλλην τινὰ γραφήν) to which Justinian seems to be alluding in *Nov.* 44<sup>16</sup>. In use at the beginning of his reign, this type represents an intermediate stage in the evolution of protocols between those of the fifth century (up to 491/2 AD) and the so-called “Byzantine” ones. The latter are characterized by the familiar illegible “perpendicular” lettering, traced with a broad-nibbed pen, and begin to make an appearance around 570 to continue into the seventh century<sup>17</sup>.

The fragment of the protocol in question was reused in a schoolroom context for a passage from Isocrates. The reuse of protocols from every period, both for other kinds of documents<sup>18</sup> and for literary, Christian<sup>19</sup> and school texts<sup>20</sup>, is well attested.

<sup>14</sup> Republished as n° 18 and re-interpreted by J. Diethart, D. Feissel and J. Gascou, “Les prôtocolla des papyrus byzantins du V<sup>e</sup> au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Édition, prosopographie, diplomatique”, *Tyche* 9 (1994), 9–40: 19–21.

<sup>15</sup> Republished as n° 19 by Diethart-Feissel-Gascou, “Les prôtocolla”, 21–2.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Diethart-Feissel-Gascou, “Les prôtocolla”, 30: “La même loi [*Novella* 44] laisse entendre qu’à cette époque les rouleaux pouvaient être munis de timbres de contenu différent du type précédent (ἄλλην τινὰ γραφήν). On en attend toujours l’illustration documentaire, à moins que Justinien n’ait eu en vue des timbres irréguliers ou factices.”

<sup>17</sup> Diethart-Feissel-Gascou, “Les prôtocolla”, provide a complete analysis of all of the protocols hitherto discovered among the papyri, both of the earliest ones, which were the last to come to light, and of the most recent ones, which were the first to be known, as they were found in large numbers among the papers of the notary Dioscorus. And Dioscorus occasionally reused the protocols for other texts: cf. PCairMasp II 67178, 67186, 67187 and 67316.

<sup>18</sup> Like the Sekundärtexte published by Diethart-Feissel-Gascou, “Les prôtocolla”, 37–40 or like PSI III 200 and PHamb III 216, two similar receipts written on the back of pieces cut from a protocol (cf. PHamb III 216 introd. and, on p. 99, the re-edition of PSI III reproduced in Taf. XI). Further examples are CPR V 21 (Taf. 20), a business letter from the fourth century AD, PLaur IV 179 (tav. 116), PPrag I 84 (tav. 73), both receipts of the seventh century AD, and PBerol inv. 11843, containing a protocol on the *recto* and a document datable to the sixth century AD on the *verso* (mentioned by L. Migliardi Zingale, “Ancora su to kaloumenon protokollon di Nov. Iust. 44.2”, *AnPap* 1 [1989] 19 n. 16).

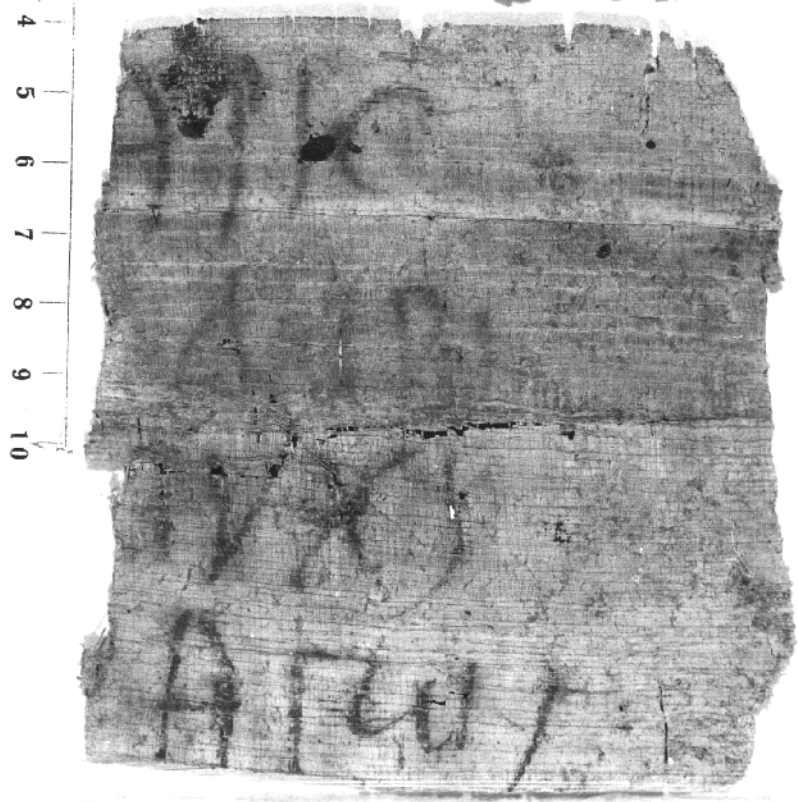
<sup>19</sup> Like PSI I 65 (= van Haelst 1174), an unidentified Christian text written on the back of a late protocol (cf. R. Pintaudi, “Una nota a PSI I 65”, *ZPE* 56 (1984) 137–8, Taf. VIII), PSI VI 719 (= van Haelst 423), a Christian amulet penned on the back of a protocol in perpendicular writing (cf. R. Pintaudi, “Per la datazione di PSI VI 719”, *AnPap* 2 [1990] 27–8)

- — —
- 1 ]αριϛ  
 2 ]δῆβ)  
 3 ]θυχ(  
 4 ]ραγω)
- — —

- 1 It is possible, though not certain, that this is the first line of the text, because the unwritten area above all of the letters is just a little greater than the space normally left between the lines. After *c* there is no sign of abbreviation, so either the word is complete as it stands or continues into the following line. Since, on our hypothesis, the original right-hand margin was substantially wider than the surviving one, and since it would not make much sense to break the word when so much space was available, it seems more likely that the word is in fact complete. Various possibilities can be distinguished.

1. The letters are what remains of the final part of a proper name in the nominative case: e.g. Ἀπολλινᾶρις, Βελισᾶρις (for a list of proper names ending in *-ις* for *-ιος* cf. Gignac, *Gram.* II 25–6). If so, given that the width of the sheet before damage could have reached about 30 cm (cf.

POxy 1928, PCairMasp 67316, POxy LXIII 4394, 1–5<sup>21</sup>), the problem is to explain how a proper name in the nominative came to find itself at the end of the line. Only by supposing several names (at least two) is it possible to



and BKT IX 136 (Taf. 60), a Christian text dated to the fifth or sixth century. Likewise Psalm 90 (= van Haelst 183) was written on the back of POxy 1928, already referred to here several times, to act as an amulet.

<sup>20</sup> PKöln VIII 352 (Taf. XXI a and b), PRainUnterricht 104 (Taf. 39), 113 (Taf. 52) and 184 (Taf. 82) are all written on the backs of protocols. A special case of reuse is attested in CPR III 370, where, according to the editor, a strip from an Arabic protocol was glued as reinforcement on a piece of papyrus written in Greek on both sides. This papyrus, whose *recto* bears the date 26 July 631 AD, has been published as PRainUnterricht 108 (Taf. 44). Without a photograph, we cannot express an opinion about the protocol claimed to be written on the *verso* of BKT IX 148 (Pl. 62), a bilingual Greek-Latin text, dated to the second or third century AD.

<sup>21</sup> The protocol belonging to this contract was edited in advance of publication in the official Oxyrhynchus series as n° 17 by Diethart-Feissel-Gascou, “Les protocolla”, 17–18.



overcome this difficulty. On the other hand, the presence of a proper name in the nominative in the first line would be in keeping with the type of protocol dating from the reigns of Anastasius and Justinian<sup>22</sup>.

2. The letters are what remains of the initial part of a proper name: e.g. Ἀρίστων, Ἀριστόμαχος, Ἀριστόνικος etc. In this case, the name may have stood in the genitive (e.g. διὰ Ἀριστομάχου, for which cf. POxy 1928, 3 or PCairMasp 67316, 3), though the idea of a proper name divided between the lines (unparalleled among the surviving fragments of protocols) is not without its difficulties, especially because, as has been pointed out above, there was plenty of room still available in the line.

3. The letters are what remains of the final part of a Latin or Greek noun ending in -αριος, reduced, as is occasionally the case, to -αρις: e.g. χαρτυλάριος, δουλκάριος, σκρινιάριος, ταβουλάριος and the like (for other examples of this phenomenon cf. Gignac, *Gram.* II 27). But it would be unlikely for the spelling to be inexact in a protocol and for the word to be in the nominative and written in full, as lines 4 of POxy 1928 and PCairMasp 67316 show.

- 2 It is not clear whether the traces between δ and β belong to one or two letters and whether they are the remains of actual letters (as opposed to signs) at all. It might just be possible to read (with great uncertainty) ]νδ]ιβ] to interpret as ]νδ(ικτίωνος) ιβ] (cf. POxy 1928, 5). But the date is normally to be found in the last or second last line of protocols<sup>23</sup>.
- 3 Probably an abbreviated proper name.
- 4 The high curved trace makes ρ an attractive possibility; that it is what remains of the right-hand part of the loop of a φ appears less probable. A reading ]ρατω(), which might suggest προκου]ρατω(ρ), carries less conviction.

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<sup>22</sup> Cf. Diethart-Feissel-Gascou, “Les prôtocolla”, 17–23.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Diethart-Feissel-Gascou, “Les prôtocolla”, nos. 5, 6, 7, 11, 16, 17 and 18.