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**P. OSLO INV. 1487:
A HERODOTEAN PAPYRUS RE-EDITED***

FORTY-SIX PAPYRI¹ of Herodotus' *Histories* have been published hitherto. They are mostly dated to the second to third century AD (in one case the dating is doubtful²) and almost all of them³ were originally part of professionally made scrolls. Nearly half of them (39%) contain frag-

* I am extremely grateful to Professors Benedetto BRAVO and Tomasz DERDA for their criticism and advice.

¹ About Herodotean papyri cf. P. MERTENS, A. STRAUSS, 'Les papyrus d'Hérodote', *Ann. Scuola Norm. Sup. Pisa*, s. III, 22/4 (1992), pp. 969–978; A. BANDIERA, 'Per un bilancio della tradizione papiracea delle Storie di Erodoto', [in:] *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses = ArchPF. Beiheft* 3, I, Stuttgart – Leipzig 1997, pp. 49–56; S. WEST, 'The Papyri of Herodotus', [in:] *Culture in Pieces*, ed. D. OBBINK, R. RUTHERFORD, Oxford 2011, pp. 69–84.

² P. Duke inv. 756 (*BASP* 39) + P. Mil. Vogl. Inv. 1358 (*BASP* 42) – the editor of the first scrap (R. HATZILAMBROU) suggests 1st/2nd cent. AD, but the publisher of the second part of that roll (A. SOLDATI) assigned it to 150–50 BC.

³ There is a possibility, according to S. WEST in 'The Papyri of Herodotus' (cit. n. 1), pp. 73–74, that *P. Palau.-Rib. Lit.* 10 (5th–6th cent. AD) written on both sides of a parchment, may be a single sheet with two different excerpts on two sides – so it may not be a fragment of a codex (as the editor, J. O'CALLAGHAN, had assumed). She also suggests (in the same article, p. 74) that *P. Ross.-Georg.* I 15 could be an excerpt as well (and not a fragment of an opisthograph roll).

ments of the first book of *Histories* (the structure of this book is special: it includes a number of well-known autonomous stories that were interesting and easy to read, also for didactic purposes⁴).

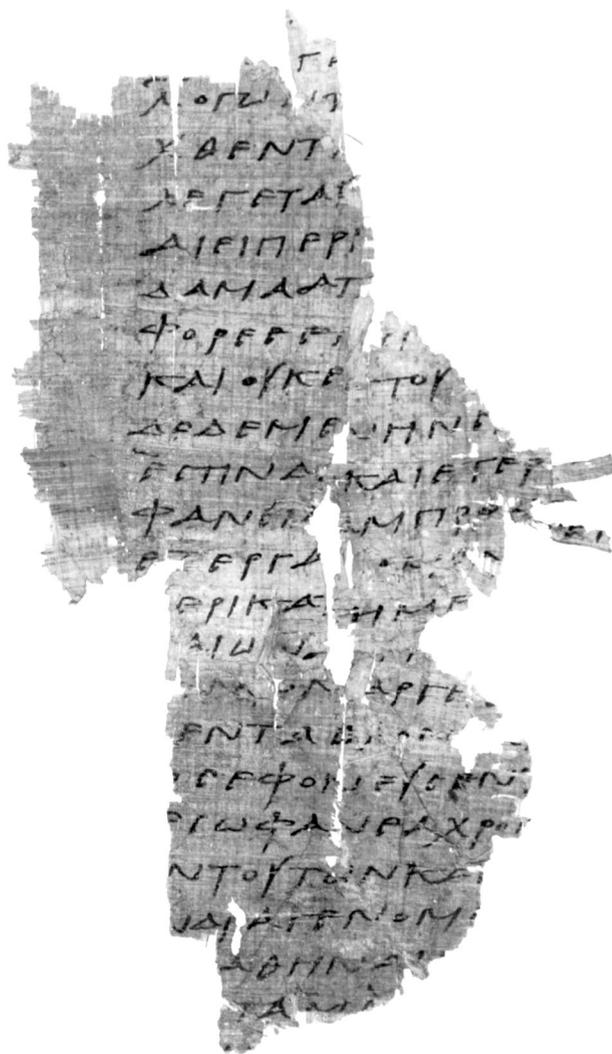
P. Oslo inv. 1487 is the only published⁵ papyrus from the ninth book of Herodotus. Its provenance is unknown – it was purchased in Cairo by the University of Oslo Library in 1934. It is a fragment of a column (max. 13 cm in height and max. 7.4 cm in width), containing parts of IX 74,2 and 75. The upper and lower margins are not preserved. The left *intercolumnium* measured 1.66 cm at its widest. The text is written on the *recto*, along the fibres. The script is a slightly sloping ‘formal mixed’ uncial. There is no doubt that the papyrus came from a professional *scriptorium*, as indicated by the neat script, the intervals between letters, the equal distance between the lines (leading is *circa* 0.6 cm), and the similar number of letters in each line (from 16 to 20, usually 18). Also, one can see that the column is slightly tilted to the left (Maas’s law), which is a common phenomenon in the book roll industry.

The editor assigned this papyrus to the 2nd/3rd cent. AD. In the internet database <www.trismegistos.org> it is dated AD 150–250. Among the papyri of Herodotus, one finds a resemblance between the hand of our papyrus and the hand of *P. Oxy. XVII 2096 + XLVIII 3374* (2nd/3rd cent. AD). In my opinion, the script also shows a considerable similarity to that of *P. Oxy. XLVIII 3376* (2nd cent. AD), but it is not exactly the same.

As far as punctuation is concerned, the scribe uses ἄνω στιγμαί (high dots) sometimes combined with a παράγραφος. He writes a νῦ ἐφελευστικόν (but not consistently), and once it also appears before a consonant – a rare sight in Herodotean papyri (cf. conclusions at the end of my article). In the preserved text no *iota adscriptum* appears. On the left margin, at the level of line 11, where the modern chapter 75 starts, there is a noticeable dot (like, for example, in *P. Oxy. LXVIII 3376*, which has

⁴ So M. BOWIE in the *praefatio* to Herodotus, *Histories VIII*, ed. M. Bowie, Cambridge 2007, p. 31

⁵ A. MARAVELA-SOLBAKK, ‘Fragments of Literary Papyri from the Collection of the Oslo University Library, I: Herodotus 9. 74-75¹’, *Symbolae Osloenses* 79 (2004), pp. 102-108



P. Oslo inv. 1487.
Photo: courtesy of the University of Oslo Library

similar dots in the *intercolumnium*). This dot was probably written by another hand, as the ink seems different.

.....		
[...]κ[		[διω]κ[ειν ουτος μεν ου]	
[..]λ[.]γ[ε]		[τω] λ[ε]γ[ε]ται ο δ ετερος των]	
λογωντ[		λογων τ[ωι προτερον λε]	
χθεντι[	4	χθεντι [αμφισβατεων]	
λεγεται[		λεγεται [ως επ ασπιδος]	
αιειπερι[		αιει περι[θεουσης και ου]	
δαμαατ[		δαμα ατ[ρεμιζουσης ε]	
φορεεπ[.]ζη[	8	φορεε επ[ι]ση[μον αγκυραν]	
καιουκεκτου[		και ουκ εκ του [θωρακος]	
δεδεμενηνσι[		δεδεμενην σι[δηρην]	
• εστινδεκαιετερ[		εστιν δε και ετερ[ον Σω]	IX 75
φανειλαμπρονερ[	12	φανει λαμπρον ερ[γον]	
εξεργα[.]ομεν[		εξεργα[ζ]ομεν[ον οτε]	
[.]ερικατημε[		[π]ερικατημε[νων Αθη]	
[.]αιωνα[.]χι[		[ν]αιων Α[ι]χι[ναν Ευρυβ (2-3 letters)]	
[.]ηητοναργειο[	16	[.]ηη τον Αργειο[ν ανδρα]	
[.]ενταθλον[.]κ[		[π]ενταθλον [ε]κ [προκλη]	
[..]οσεφονευσεν·α[		[σι]ος εφονευσεν· α[υτον]	
[.]εσωφανεαχρον[		[δ]ε Σωφανεα χρον[ωι υστε]	
[..]ντουτωνκατ[	20	[ρο]ν τουτων κατ[ελαβε]	
[.]νδραγενομε[		[α]νδρα γενομε[νον αγα]	
[...]αθηναι[		[θον] Αθηναι[ων στρατη]	
[....]τα ^α μα[		[γεον]τα ^α μα [Λεαγρωι τωι]	
[...]υκ[	24	[Γλα]υκ[ωνος αποθανειν]	
.....		

Editio princeps:

1. [διω]κ[ειν ουτος μεν ουτος]; 2. [λεγε]τα[ι ο δ ετερος των]; 13. εξεργασμεν[ον οτε]; 18. [σι]ος εφονευσεν [2-6 letters]; 23. [γεον]τ αμα [Λεαγρωι τωι].

Commentary

5. Above the line and after *λεγεται*, there is a trace of ink, perhaps a remnant of an interlinear variant or correction.

8. *επ[ι]ση[μον]* – here the text of the papyrus agrees with the manuscripts of the so-called ‘Roman family’ (codices DRSV). This word is omitted by the so-called ‘Florentine family’ (codices ABC) and by the codex *Parisinus* 1633 (referred to with the *siglum* P).

The adjective *ἐπίσημος*, -ον means ‘having a mark, inscription or device on it’ – for instance when talking about silver or gold (for example, cf. Herodotus I 51,3: *ἀναθήματα οὐκ ἐπίσημα*; Thucydides II 13,3: *ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου ἔξακισχιλίων ταλάντων*). The noun *τὸ ἐπίσημον*, which denotes ‘a distinguishing mark, device, badge’, is found in Herodotus I 195: *ἐπ’ ἐκάστῳ δὲ σκήπτρῳ ἔπεστι πεποιημένον ἢ μῆλον ἢ ῥόδον ἢ κρίνον ἢ αἰετὸς ἢ ἄλλο τι ἄνευ γὰρ ἐπισήμου οὐ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ ἔχειν σκήπτρον*; and VIII 88: *καὶ τοὺς φάσαι, σαφέως τὸ ἐπίσημον τῆς νεὸς ἐπισταμένουσ.* It can be associated with another noun and have a predicative function: see for instance: Euripides, *Phoen.* 1124–5: *ἐπ’ ἀσπίδι ἐπίσημα πῶλοι δρομάδες ἐσκίρτων*; Plutarchus, *Theseus* 6,2: *Ποσειδῶνα γὰρ Τροιζῆνιοι σέβονται διαφερόντως, καὶ θεὸς οὗτός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς πολιοῦχος, ᾧ καὶ καρπῶν ἀπάρχονται, καὶ τρίαίωαν ἐπίσημον ἔχουσι τοῦ νομίσματος*; *Aprophthegmata Laconica* 230F: *Λάκων ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος μυῖαν ἔχων ἐπίσημον καὶ ταύτην οὐ μείζω τῆς ἀληθινῆς*; *De Pythiae oraculis* 408 B2: *μάχη κρατηθεὶς ἔπεσεν ὑπὸ Νεοχώρου Ἀλιαρτίου ἀνδρὸς ἀσπίδα φοροῦντος ἐπίσημον ὄφιν ἔχουσαν*; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* XII 470: *ἀσπίδα γοῦν εἶχεν ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος πεποιημένην, ἐφ’ ἧς ἦν ἐπίσημον Ἔρωσ κεραυνὸν ἠγκυλημένον.*

The reading of our papyrus and of the manuscripts of the Roman family can be interpreted as follows: ‘on the shield ... he bore an anchor as a device, and he did not bear an iron one attached to a breastplate’.

Another interpretation would perhaps be possible: *ἐπίσημον* could be taken as an adjective, which would be a counterbalance to *σιδερέην*. However the meaning would practically be not very different.

In any case, I am convinced that in IX 74,2 *ἐπίσημον* is necessary and without it the text is obscure. With *ἐπίσημον* in the sentence, the description becomes clearer. In his edition with a commentary,⁶ H. Stein chose the variant of codices DRSV, similarly H. Rosén⁷ and A. Corcella.⁸ Their decision, correct in my opinion, is now supported by our papyrus.

⁶ Herodotos erklärt von Heinrich STEIN, dritter Band, Berlin 1859.

⁷ Herodotus, *Historiae*, ed. H. ROSÉN, Bibliotheca Teubneriana, 1987.

⁸ Erodoto, *Le Storie*. Volume IX, a cura di D. ASHERI, testo critico di A. CORCELLA, Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, 2006.

13. ἐξεργα[ζ]ομει[ον]: ἐξεργασμένον is the reading preserved in all codices. The author of the *editio princeps* ignored the fact that the space between the *alpha* and the *mu* is remarkably large (too large for just one narrow letter *sigma*) and she did not notice that the traces before *mu* could not have belonged to a *sigma* (there is clearly something resembling a small *omikron*, like in line 9 in οὐκ, for example). She admits, however, that if the papyrus had ἐξεργασμένον, the line would be shorter than usual (only 15 letters – the average is 18), so there could have been a sign > filling the free space at the end of the line. It seems to me clear that the scribe wrote a longer form, probably ἐξεργαζόμενον – which makes no sense. This is obviously an error.

15–16. [Ευρυβ (2 or 3 letters)]|.ην: in the Florentine family (ABC) and in codex P the reading is Εὐρυβάτην, whereas the Roman family (DRSV) has Εὐρυβιάδην. In the *Histories* of Herodotus there are two different persons: an Εὐρυβάτης and an Εὐρυβιάδης. If we compare this passage to a similar one, VI 92,2 Εὐρυβάτης, ἀνὴρ πεντάεθλον ἐπασκίσας (so ABCP: πένταθλον DRSV), for which all codices, as well as Eustathius, give only one reading: Εὐρυβάτης, it becomes clear that in our passage the only correct reading is Εὐρυβάτην. We do not know what was in the papyrus: the spacing allows both supplements.

17. [π]ενταθλον: πεντάεθλον is the reading in all codices. As I have said above, in the very similar passage VI 92,2 the Roman family (DRSV) gives the variant πένταθλον. A similar contraction is also found in V 8 ἀθλα (in codices ABC) and in IX 33,2 πένταθλον (in the Roman family DRSV). Our papyrus shows that the contracted readings appeared already in antiquity. It is interesting that πένταθλον is always contracted in the Roman family (DRSV). Forms ἀθλον, ἀθλος and similar are also found alongside non-contracted ἄεθλον/-ος (88 times) in Homer (but that contraction is conditioned by the metre): ἀθλεύω H 453, O 30, Ω 734, ἀθλόφορος I 124, 266, A 699, ἀθλον θ 160, ἀθλητής θ 164.

18–19. ...εφονευσεν α[υτον] | [δ]ε Σωφανεα χρον[ωι is the reading in all important codices. However, according to the editor these lines read as follows (I supply the accents and breathings): ... ἐφόνευεν τ[ούτων] | [δ]ε Σωφάνεα χρόν[ω]. Her idea is based on the variant in codex *Mutinensis Estensis* 221 (*siglum* M in the edition of Rosén): ἐφόνευσε δὲ Σωφάνεα τούτων χρόν[ω and on IX 105,2 τούτων δὲ τὸν Ἐρμόλυκον κατέλαβε ὕστερον τούτων. According to her reading, all traces that can be seen after ἐφόνευεν belong to a *tau*. Noting the absence of an article before the name, she conjectures the reading ... ἐφόνευεν τ[ὸν] | [δ]ε Σωφάνεα χρόν[ω ..., implying that the scribe wrote δέ in the next line (19) because he wanted to discriminate between τὸν δέ and the demonstrative pronoun τόνδε. However, the vestiges that the editor attributes to a *tau* (she claims to see a similar *tau* in τῶ in line 3, but the resemblance is minimal) are not of this letter. Evidently first there is a high dot (to the editor, I assume, it was the upper left part of the letter *tau*) and it is followed by the left lower part of the letter

alpha, which is written in a very distinctive manner (resembling a stretched-out triangle).

22–23. [στρατηγεον]τα ἀ'μα: the scribe wrote [στρατηγεον]ταμὰ. The reading preserved in all medieval manuscripts is στρατηγέοντα ᾗμα. The editor not only ignored the grave accent on the second *alpha* in αμὰ, but also failed to see that something was inserted above the line between *TA* and *MA* (the correction is probably made by the second hand – the ink is lighter). I am not absolutely sure what was added, but I suspect a slightly deformed *alpha*. This letter corresponds well to this place: [στρατηγεον]τα ἀ'μα [Λεαγρωι τωι] – the addition makes the reading of the papyrus conform to all the codices. I have to admit that the vestige is somewhat similar to a rough breathing (◌̣) written with a single stroke (cf. *P. Oxy.* XXII 2321, fr. 1, line 8: ὕνα). However, this mark is placed immediately before the *mu* and quite far behind the *alpha* (to which it would be assumed to apply if it were a breathing). Therefore, I think that the addition is the letter *alpha*.

The grave accent in αμὰ informs the reader that the marked syllable should not be accentuated. This is a common practice in Antiquity; see, for example, *P. Oxy.* XXII 2321: πολλοι.

*

In conclusion I would like to draw attention to several points: our papyrus, the oldest manuscript that contains the reading ἐπίσημον (in Hdt. IX 74,2), increases the importance of this variant. Also, it is the oldest witness to the contracted form πένταθλον in Hdt. IX 75 (this contraction can be found as a *varia lectio* in other passages in the medieval codices of Herodotus). It is interesting that P. Oslo inv. 1487 is one of very few Herodotean papyri containing a νῦ ἐφελκυστικόν and not only before a vowel (line 18 ἐφόνευσεν · αὐτόν, where the *nu* ‘closes’ the sentence and is followed by a high dot), but before a consonant as well (ἔστω δὲ in line 11) – although the *nu* was not used regularly (cf. line 8 ἐφόρεε ἐπὶ). In other Herodotean papyri we find νῦ ἐφελκυστικόν in *P. Oxy.* VIII 1092 (2nd/3rd cent. AD) once, in *P. Oxy.* XVII 2096 + XLVIII 3374 (2nd cent. AD) three times – but later in two places the *nu* is cancelled. In *P. Oxy.* LXVIII 3380 (1st/2nd cent. AD) νῦ ἐφελκυστικόν was later inserted twice above the lines

(in all the places where it could be added). In *PSI X 1170* (2nd cent. AD) the *nu* appears seven times in an irregular manner, also once before a consonant. Lastly, the elision of a vowel (*στρατηγέοντ' ἄμα* in line 23 – unless it was just a lapse because of two *alphas* in a row and the scribe wrote it just once) is a unique phenomenon in Herodotean papyri.

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