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P. Oxy XVII 2099 : evidence of an early split in the tradition of Herodotus' text?

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Tekst jest udostępniony do wykorzystania w ramach dozwolonego użytku.

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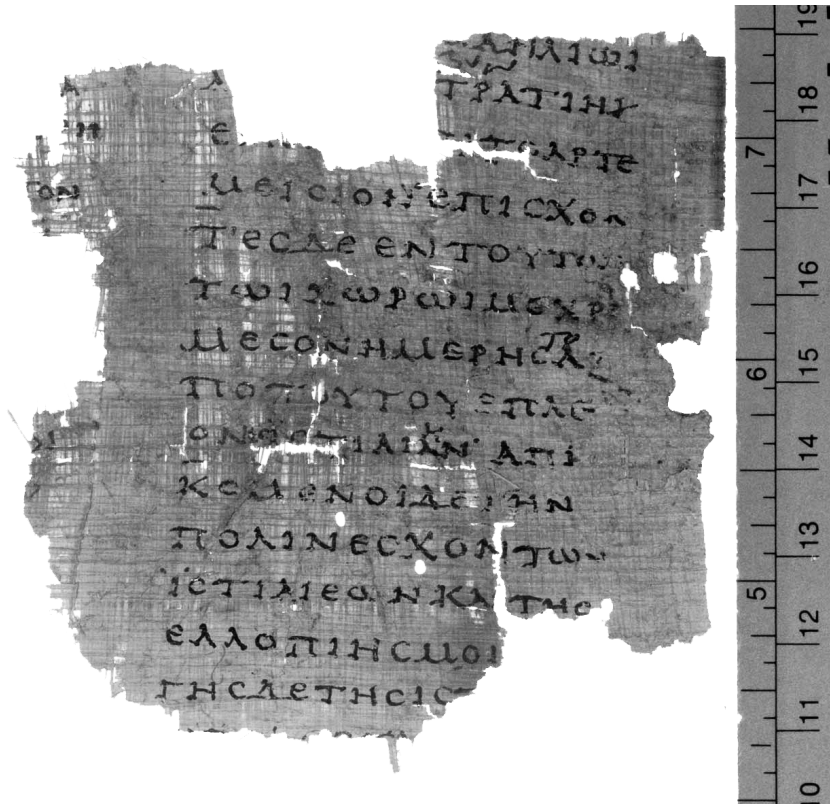
**P. OXY. XVII 2099:
EVIDENCE OF AN EARLY SPLIT IN THE TRADITION
OF HERODOTUS' TEXT?**

ONE OF OUR EARLIEST HERODOTEAN PAPYRI,¹ *P. Oxy.* XVII 2099² deserves far greater care and attention than it received in the past. It contains endings of a few lines belonging to *Histories* VIII 22, 2, as well as fifteen lines (complete or lacunose) that belong to VIII 23. As many as five readings unattested in the medieval manuscripts of Herodotus appear in this small space. All of them have been regarded by the editor of the papyrus as mere scribal errors, and this opinion has been accepted by other scholars, in particular by editors of Herodotus. However, it seems to me that we are not dealing with trivial lapses, but with sensible variants that should be discussed in a serious manner. It is true that three

* I am grateful to Professor Benedetto BRAVO for his criticism and advice.

¹ About the Herodotean papyri, see P. MERTENS, A. STRAUSS, 'Les papyrus d'Hérodote', *ASNSP* s. III, 22/4 (1992), pp. 969–978; A. BANDIERA, 'Per un bilancio della tradizione papiracea delle Storie di Erodoto', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, Beiheft 3, 1997, pp. 49–56; Stephanie WEST, 'The Papyri of Herodotus', [in:] D. OBBINK, R. RUTHERFORD (ed.), *Culture in Pieces*, Oxford 2011, pp. 69–84.

² Published by Arthur. S. HUNT in 1927. Re-edited without any major changes by A. H. R. E. PAAP, 'De Herodoti reliquiis in papyris et membranis Aegyptiis servatis', *P. L. Bat.* IV (1948). For a very good photograph see <<http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/Poxy>>.



P. Oxy. xvii 2099

(image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society
and Imaginig Papyri Project, Oxford)

of them are accompanied by corrections made by a second hand and that the text resulting from the corrections conforms to the text we know from the medieval tradition. However, these interventions of a corrector do not prove that the scribe mistakenly departed from a model whose text was identical with that of the medieval tradition. It is possible and, in my opinion, likely that the person who made the corrections collated the copy of which our papyrus is a fragment with a copy that had differ-

ent readings. If so, this papyrus should be regarded – because of both the variants and the corrections made by a second hand – as an important piece of evidence on the history of Herodotus' text in Antiquity.

P. Oxy. xvii 2099 is a fragment of a roll (maximum dimensions: 8.2 cm width, 8.6 cm height). The text is written on the recto along the fibres. The back is blank. The hand is a round uncial. The carefulness, regularity and elegance of the writing, the ornamental *apices*, the sloping of the column to the left (conforming to the so-called Maas' law) indicate that the book from which this fragment comes was written by an excellent professional scribe and was a luxury product.

According to the editor, Arthur S. Hunt, this bookroll can be dated to the beginning of the 2nd century AD. If so, this is one of the six earliest papyri of Herodotus published thus far. It bears a close resemblance to *P. Oxy. xi 1375*, which is more or less contemporary and contains a fragment of book VII of Herodotus: the hand and format details are very similar.

The corrections made by a second, cursive hand are not easy to date, but – as Tomasz Derda pointed out to me – the *omega* in]ενω (col. II, between lines 1 and 2) has a shape suggesting a rather early date. The corrections might have been made soon after the copyist had finished his work. In any case, they are not later than the 2nd century AD.

The papyrus contains remnants of the upper part of two consecutive columns. The beginning of col. II is likely to have been the first line of this column. This I infer from the fact that the word [σκιδναμ]ενω, which was added by a second hand to ηλιω, is written under ηλιω, not above it.³

Taking into account the positions that the endings of some lines of col. I (1, 2, 3, 8, 9) occupy in respect of to each other, I suspect that *scriptio plena* occurred in the lost part of l. 2 (ἀ|πὸ ἡμέων), l. 5 (ἀπὸ ὑμέων), and l. 10 (ἐπὶ ἀμφοτέρα). Take for example l. 2: the last letter of this line is above the penultimate letter of l. 3; since l. 3 must have had 14 letters, it is likely that in l. 2 there was [ποημεωνγεγον]α rather than [πημεωνγεγον]α.

³ Cf. *P. Oxy. v 814* (very similar in appearance), where a correction of a word in the first line was added on the side margin (and not above the line like everywhere else).

column I		column II	
[μεμνημενοι οτι α]	VIII 22,2	[ουτω δη α] _{[εκιδναμ]ενω} ηλιω	VIII 23,1
[πο ημεων γεγον]α		α[πασα ης]τρατιη[[ι]]	
[τε και οτι η εχ]θρη		επλ[εε ε]πι το Αρτε	
[αρχηθεν προς] τον	4	<u>μ</u> εισιον· επισchon	
[βαρβαρον απο] υ̇		τες δε εν τουτωι	
[μεων ημιν γεγο]		τωι χωρωι μεχρι	
[νε· Θεμιστοκλε]		μεσον ημερης α>	
[ης δε ταυτα εγρα]	8	πο τουτου επλε	
[ψε δοκειεν εμ]οι		<u>ο</u> ν' ες' Ἰστιαϊαν ^η · απι	
[επι αμφοτερα]>		κομενοι δε την	
.		πολιω εσχον των	
	12	Ἰστιαϊων και της	
		Ελλοπιης μοι[ρης]	
		γης δε της Ιστ[ιαϊ]	
		ωτιδος τα[ς παρα]	
		

After l. 5 of col. I Arthur S. Hunt marked a lacuna consisting of four full lines. This is a mistake (repeated by Anton H. R. E. Paap). The lines entirely lost here were three, not four. This can easily be established if we observe that every partially preserved line of col. I is on the same level as a line of col. II. This observation is confirmed by the following calculation: the height of the lacuna is *ca.* 1.84 cm; the height of a line in this papyrus is *ca.* 0.6 cm; therefore, there is enough space for three lines, not more.

In col. I, ll. 3–5, the reconstructed text [ἡ ἔχ]θρη | [ἀρχῆθεν πρὸς] τὸν | [βάρβαρον] is practically certain. It diverges from that of all our codices except one (T = *Laurentianus* LXX 6) in word order: the Florentine family (ABC) has ἀρχῆθεν ἡ ἔχθρη πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, and the Roman family (DRSV) has ἀρχῆθεν ἔχθρη πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον. Scholars have considered

the word order of the papyrus strange and unacceptable. Only Bruno Snell⁴ was uncertain as to this not being the genuine reading: he noticed that in the sequence ἡ ἔχθρη ἀρχῆθεν there is a hiatus, which is absent from the sequence ἀρχῆθεν ἡ ἔχθρη; therefore, he suspected that the latter reading could have been an innovation, made in order to avoid the 'ugly hiatus'.

I think that the reading ἡ ἔχθρη ἀρχῆθεν is not unacceptable and that Snell's suspicion was justified. Studying the papyri of Herodotus I came across other cases in which the text of a papyrus has a hiatus that is absent from the text of all the medieval codices or of a whole family of them, for example in II 98 *P. Ryl. Gr.* I 55 has μέντοι Αἰγύπτιον γε contrary to μέντοι γε Αἰγύπτιον of all codices; in III 60, 3 *P. Oxy.* XIII 1619 has τοῦ ὀρύγματος τούτου ἐγένετο (so ABCP, editors) in opposition to τούτου τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἐγένετο in codices DRSV.

Benedetto Bravo points out to me further reasons for accepting this reading. First, it is possible that Herodotus wanted to emphasize the word ἡ ἔχθρη and put it in a position that seems strange to us. Second, if we suppose that the reading ἡ ἔχθρη ἀρχῆθεν is a lapse, we must admit that the man who wrote *P. Oxy.* XVII 2099 and the man who wrote the codex T⁵ made the same lapse independently from one another; however, this is not likely, for the word order ἡ ἔχθρη ἀρχῆθεν πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον is not what a copyist would normally have expected. Being both sensible and rather surprising (*lectio difficilior*), the reading of the papyrus should be preferred to that of the medieval manuscripts.

In col. II, ll. 1-4 the scribe certainly wrote⁶ (as A. S. Hunt restored): [ἄμα] ἠλίω(ι) | ἄ[πασα ἡ σ]τρατιή[[ι]] | ἔπλ[εε εἰ]πὶ τὸ Ἄρτεμείσιον. This makes good sense: 'at sunrise the whole army sailed to Artemision'. The

⁴ B. SNELL, 'Bericht über Herodot', *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumwissenschaft*, 220 (1929), p. 4 (*non vidi*).

⁵ On this codex, written in AD 1318, see B. HEMMERDINGER, *Les manuscrits d'Hérodote et la critique verbale*, Genoa 1981, pp. 106-121.

⁶ The width of the gap in l. 2 is 2.2 cm, and ἄ[πασα ἡ σ]τρατιή ideally suits the space (the supplemented letters would have occupied 2.14 cm). The reconstruction suggested by A. CORCELLA ἄ[λῆς ἡ σ]τρατιή is clearly impossible; these five hypothetical letters would have occupied ca. 1.46 cm, leaving a large space empty, ca. 0.74 cm.

medieval manuscripts have a different text: ἄμα ἠλίωι σκιδναμένωι πᾶσα ἡ στρατιῆ ἔπλεε (or ἐπέπλεε A, or ἔπλωε D) ἀλῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄρτεμίσιον. It was this text that was before the eyes of the man who added [σκιδναμ]ένω in the space between l. 1 and l. 2.

The wording ἄμα ἠλίωι σκιδναμένωι is clumsy and not attested anywhere else.⁷ The usual Herodotean expressions for daybreak are: with a participle ἄμα ἠλίω ἀνιόντι (III 85, 87, VIII 64, see also Homer Σ 136), ἄμα ἡμέρη διαφωσκούση (IX 45), and without a participle ἄμα ἡοῖ (VII 219, see also Thucydides I 48; II 90; III 77; IV 42, 106; V 58; VI 30, 64, 65, 101; VII 72), ἄμα ἡμέρη (IV 201,2). Eustathius noted⁸ that ἄμα ἠλίω σκιδναμένω is based on Homeric τοῦ δ' (or σὸν δ') ἦτοι κλέος ἔσται ὅσον ἐπικίδναται ἠώς (H 451, 458). Other similar phrases are ἡμος δ' Ἐωσφόρος εἰσι φόως ἐρέων ἐπι γαῖαν, ὃν τε μέτα κροκόπεπλος ὑπεῖρ ἄλα κίδναται Ἡώς (Ψ 226-7) and Ἡὼς μὲν κροκόπεπλος ἐκίδνατο πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν (Θ I = Ω 695).

However, B. Bravo pointed out to me that there is a significant difference between these Homeric passages and ἄμα ἠλίω σκιδναμένω: in Homer the light of dawn gradually spreads over the sea or land from the east to the west. In ἄμα ἠλίω σκιδναμένω there is no such indication. I suspect that the variant in the main text of the papyrus is the authentic one: ἄμα ἠλίω makes sense and is attested in other Greek texts.⁹

Also the reading ἄπασα ἡ στρατιῆ (ἔπλεε ἐπὶ) seems to be a better one: firstly – on the grounds of analogy: in Herodotus' *Histories* ἄπασα ἡ στρατιῆ occurs three times (I 191, 2, VII 131, VII 158,4), whereas πᾶσα ἡ στρατιῆ ... ἀλῆς would be attested only in this passage. Elsewhere he has πάντες ἀλέες and πάντας ἀλέας, but the analogy is not perfect (VII 225: ἕζοντο πάντες ἀλέες; IX 85: ἔθαπτον πάντας ἀλέας). Secondly, the rule 'the shorter reading the more probable' could apply in this instance: ἄπασα properly

⁷ Commentators note (ὠρμήθη πρὶν) σκεδασθῆναι θεοῦ ἀκτῖνας of Aeschylus, *Pers.* 502 – but the resemblance is minimal.

⁸ A commentary on H 451 (II 498, 22): ἰστέον ... ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ὅσον ἐπικίδναται ἠώς (sc. H 451, 458) λαβὼν Ἡρόδοτος ἔφη τὸ ἄμα ἠλίω σκιδναμένω.

⁹ Agatharchides, *De mari Erythraeo* I 51; Aristoteles, *Metereologica* 341a; Theophrastus, *Historia plantarum* IV 8, 10; Polyaeus, *Strategemata* I 2, 3, 7; Aelius Aristides, *Πρὸς Δημοσθένη περὶ ἀτελείας* 437; Septuaginta, *Esdras* II 17, 3.

expresses the idea of the whole fleet (without anyone left behind). I suspect that someone wanted to improve the text, possibly thinking that two words would better emphasise the unity of the army.

In col. II, ll. 6-7 μέχρι μέσον ἡμέρης, the accusative μέσον at first sight seems to be a trivial lapse of the scribe; the reading of all codices μέχρι μέσον ἡμέρης conforms to the normal usage of μέχρι: as a preposition, μέχρι (like ἄχρι) normally governs the genitive. However, another Ionian text, the book V of the Hippocratic *De morbis popularibus* (v 1, 91), attests the same expression as in our Herodotean papyrus: ἡ φωνὴ ἴσχετο νύκτα ὄλην μέχρι μέσον ἡμέρης.¹⁰

The preposition μέχρι followed by an accusative is also found in: [Hippocrates], *De morbis popularibus* 1 3,13 μέχρι τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτην;¹¹ Appianus, *BC* II 8,54 μέχρι καὶ τὴν πρώτην τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέραν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ διατρῦσαι; Herodotus III 21, 3 as *varia lectio*¹² μέχρι δὲ τοῦτο. Also μέσφα or μέστα, a preposition with the same meaning as μέχρι, is sometimes followed by the accusative, although it usually governs the genitive:¹³ Theocritus, *Id.* II 144 ἀπεμέμφατο μέσφα τό γ' ἐχθές; Callimachus, *Cer.* 128 μέσφα (or μέστα) τὰ τᾶς πόλιος πρυτανήια.

In the light of the above-mentioned examples, the reading μέχρι μέσον ἡμέρης can be authentic (for sure it is the *lectio difficilior*).

In col. II, l. 9 the scribe wrote ἀπὸ τούτου – which means ‘from this place’. A second hand added τό before ἀπό. The reading τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου agrees with all codices and means ‘from this point onwards (all the time)’. In our passage this meaning is inappropriate: the city the Greeks are sailing to is nearby (ca. 15 km¹⁴) – but τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου suggests that their jour-

¹⁰ This is the reading of all codices according to the edition of É. LITTRÉ, *Œuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*, Paris 1846.

¹¹ However, the reading is preserved only in a part of the codices.

¹² This is a correction of τοῦ. The hand is contemporary with the scribe of the codex (in the opinion of Leo WEBER, ‘Analecta Herodotea’, *Philologus*, Supplement band XII, 1912, p. 143).

¹³ It is noteworthy that the instances are in the Dorian dialect.

¹⁴ L. CASSON, ‘Speed under sail of ancient ships’, *TAPHΑ* 82 (1951), pp. 136–148, at p. 139 writes, that under favourable winds ‘a speed of between 4.5 and 6 knots could be realised’

ney was very long ('they stayed there till midday, and from this moment all the time they sailed to Histiaia'). Much better is ἀπὸ τούτου: 'they stayed there till midday, and from this place they sailed to Histiaia', cf. VII 42, 1 ἀπὸ Καΐκου ὀρμώμενος. Assuming that τό in this passage is not genuine, the innovation could have been caused by the fact that after μέχρη very often one finds τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου.

In col. II, l. 9 the correction Ἰστιαίην made by a second hand agrees with the medieval tradition. This form is consistently given in Herodotus' *Histories* (VIII 23, 2; 24, 2; 25, 3; and 66, 1), but it is not attested outside of his work.¹⁵ The last *alpha* in Ἰστιαίαν in the main text of our papyrus can be understood as a short vowel – Ἰστιαίαν – as in Homer (*B* 537), Strabo (XI 3 and 5).

The textual tradition of to Herodotus provides other proper names oscillating between the ending -αία and -αίη: in VIII 126 *P. Harris* I 40 and the Florentine family (ABC) have Ποτειδαίαν (so editors), but the Roman family (DRSV) has Ποσιδαίην; usually there is Φώκαια and Φώκαιαν, but three times the medieval tradition gives Φωκαίην (I 80, 164–165).

Anton H. R. E. Paap¹⁶ and Herbert W. Smyth¹⁷ think that the true Ionic form is Ἰστιαίην – which is accepted by the modern editors. However, a long time ago Wilhelm Dindorf¹⁸ conjectured Ἰστιαίαν in all these four passages of Herodotus, and our papyrus indicates that he could be right.

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If I am right in my view of the five places in *P. Oxy.* XVII 2099 that diverge from the corresponding readings found in the medieval manuscripts, and of the corrections made by a second hand, I think we can ven-

– which means that our journey would take maximally 2 hours (1 knot = 1.85 km per hour). Under oar a speed of even eight knots could be realised, see Livy XLV 41.

¹⁵ However, two inscriptions from Eretria of the 3rd cent. BC (*IG* XII.9, 214, line 2; and 244, line 7) have Ἰστιαίηθεν.

¹⁶ PAAP, 'De Herodoti reliquiis' (cit. n. 1), p. 83.

¹⁷ H. SMYTH, *Sounds and Inflections of Greek Dialects: Ionic*, Oxford 1894, § 179.

¹⁸ This I know from H. STEIN'S commentary (Herodotos, erklært von Heinrich STEIN, Berlin 1856). Stein has accepted this conjecture.

ture the following conclusions: this papyrus proves that in the 2nd century AD the transmission of the text of Herodotus was divided into at least two branches. One of them – to which the main body of our papyrus belongs – carried a more genuine text than the one given to us by the medieval tradition. The other – the one that is represented in our papyrus by the corrections made by a second hand – was at that time already the dominant version (the ‘vulgate’), from which our medieval codices derive.¹⁹

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¹⁹ As to the question of how and when this version arose, I have no steady opinion. I well know B. Bravo's idea, according to which the medieval tradition of the Herodotean text derives from an edition made in the first half of the 1st century AD by a dishonest, superficial and not very learned man: see his paper ‘Pseudo-Herodotus and Pseudo-Thucydides on Scythia, Thrace and the regions “beyond”’, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* s. IV, 5/1 (2000), pp. 21–112, as well as other papers by him, in the same journal ‘Erodoto e Pseudo-Erodoto sulla sterminata antichità degli egiziani’, s. V, 5/1 (2009), pp. 623–648, and in ‘Racconti di Erodoto sui Pelasgi, i Dori, la scoperta dei nomi degli dei e altre antichità. Per l'interpretazione e la critica del testo’, *Palamedes* 4 (2009), pp. 27–78. However, I cannot bring myself to either to reject or to accept this hypothesis.