A LATE HELLENISTIC FRAGMENT OF A TRACTATE ON CLASSICAL AND POST-CLASSICAL (?) LITERATURE: NEW INFORMATION ON ARISTOPHANES’ DAIKILES?1

Abstract: This article offers the first edition of a late Hellenistic papyrus fragment from Egypt that preserves information on classical and possibly also post-classical Greek literature as well as on Greek history of the second half of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth centuries B.C. The authors discuss the various potential interpretations of the highly fragmentary text, including the exciting possibility that it offers new information on Aristophanes’ lost Daitales.

Keywords: Ptolemaic papyrus, Greek literature, history

Papyri of Hellenistic date that discuss classical and postclassical literature are extremely rare. In this article, we offer the first edition of a fragment of a text from the second half of the Ptolemaic period that apparently discusses aspects of classical and perhaps also early Hellenistic dramatic literature as well as classical history. Although it seems more likely to us that we are dealing with a formal work, the possibility that this text is merely from private notes, which is suggested by the cursive handwriting, cannot be ruled out completely.

1) Papyrological literature is abbreviated in accordance with the conventions laid down in J. F. Oates et al., Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets, available at http://papyri.info/docs/checklist. However, in a small number of cases we use fuller abbreviations for the benefit of non-papyrologist readers. We would like to thank Professor Dr Bernhard Palme, Director of the Papyrus Collection of the Austrian National Library, for permission to publish this text. A. Papathomas wishes to thank the Austrian Science Foundation (FWF) for financial support for research on this papyrus. We are very grateful to Professors Peter J. Parsons and Bernhard Zimmermann for valuable comments on an earlier draft of this article. All dates are B.C.
In what follows, we provide a papyrological description of the text, three possible interpretations for this work, a diplomatic transcription with a hypothetical reconstruction, an English translation and a detailed line-by-line commentary that reflects the three alternative interpretations we offer.

Our papyrus is a medium brown fragment, roughly the right half of which has a slightly lighter colour. The fragment contains the upper middle portion of a column of text without any margins on either side or at the bottom being preserved. The upper margin is 2.5 cm wide. This is well within the range common for literary texts, although closer to the lower end of the scale, and is more typical for informal and cursive texts; see W. A. Johnson, Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus, Toronto 2004, 77–82, 132–135 and 185–200. Most of the surviving parts of lines 6 and 13 are left blank. This suggests that the text was divided into shorter sections. In this case, the shorter lines may be either the end of the last line of a section or the heading of a new section (see further below).

The papyrus is inscribed in black ink. The script runs against the fibres. The style of the handwriting may be defined as a semi-cursive documentary hand which writes fast and with a tendency to use abbreviations (for parallels, see our discussion of the dating below). Roughly in the middle of the column, there is a collesis of approximately 1.6 to 1.9 cm running parallel with the fibres and against the script on the verso and having a slightly darker colour than the right-hand portion of the fragment.

The papyrus sheet is broken on three sides and so we can only speculate about the width of the column. If our supplements in l.1 and ll.14–15 are correct, not much of the column is missing on either side. In addition to the loss of text on either side, another source of difficulty in calculating the width of the column is the frequent use of abbreviations by the scribe. If we assume that no words in the unpreserved parts of lines 14 and 15 were abbreviated, we estimate the width of the column to have been not much more than 7 cm: in l.14, 3.9 cm of space contain 11 letters, meaning that for our proposed reconstruction of the line (18 letters in total) approximately 6.38 cm of space would be required; in l.15, 3.9 cm of space contain 11 letters, meaning that for the proposed reconstruction (20 letters in total) 7.09 cm of space would be needed. According to the same method of calculation, 8.8 cm of
space would be required for our reconstruction of line 1 (22 letters in total), which is significantly more than the space required for lines 14 and 15. This suggests that the word supplemented at the end of l. 1 was probably abbreviated; cf., for example, the abbreviations \( \text{ɣo}\text{νοι}\text{μέ(νος)} \) in l. 3 and \( \piο\text{η(τής?)} \) in l. 12. The abbreviation \( \text{κωμοί(δο(ποιός)} \) is an attractive supplement as it would yield 6.8 cm for the length of the whole line and as the scribe abbreviates words at a vowel (see also the commentaries on ll. 1 and 2 below). Our calculation that the width of the column was not much more than 7 cm is well within the expected range of column width for prose literary texts: see Johnson, Bookrolls, 66–73, 100–108, 152–155, 162–174 and 208–212. However, we must bear in mind that our text is a late Ptolemaic informal copy written in a semi-cursive hand on the verso of a document and does not therefore necessarily conform to the conventions of formal literary papyri, which Johnson predominantly used to produce his statistics. In addition, we are fully aware of the difficulties involved in the reconstruction suggested above in that some lines could easily be expanded (see, for example, the commentary on ll. 14–15 below) and that a narrower column would make it more difficult to reconstruct a continuous text rather than mere notes or a list.

Lines 6 and 13 are much shorter than the average width of the inscribed column and the writer leaves most of these lines blank. There are two possibilities for interpreting these short lines, either as the last words closing the sections or as short headings immediately preceding the entries that follow. In the latter case, the question whether these headings were marked by indentation or exdentation is impossible to answer because of the loss of the left-hand side of the sheet. The first possibility seems to be very slightly more likely to us for the following reason: in the preserved part of the text we seem to be dealing with two sections of similar length (section 1: ll. 1–6, and section 2: ll. 7–13) and the beginning of a third section. The upper margin seems to suggest that l. 1 is the beginning of a section and this section has no title as one would expect on the latter hypothesis.

The dating is based on two considerations. First, this text was written on the verso of a document, a piece of official correspondence, published a few years ago as Corpus Papyrorum Raineri XXVIII 13, which is dated to the “mid- to late II century
BC (120/119?)” on both paleographical and internal criteria. As with most versos, we are assuming that the verso of our papyrus was inscribed subsequently to the recto after a relatively short period of time, as the paleography of our text suggests. Secondly, the parallels to this hand point towards the late second century and the first half of the first century B.C.; cf. Sammelbuch XIV 11626 (= P. Med. 31 = R. Seider, Paläographie der griechischen Papyri, Vol. III.1: Text. Erster Teil. Urkundenschrift I, Stuttgart 1990, II Abb. 85, pp. 344–345; 125 B.C.) and Papiri greci e latini X 1097 (= R. Seider, ibid., II Abb. 108, pp. 402–403; 54/53 B.C.). If the supplement and identification of Menander with the most famous exponent of Attic New Comedy and the identification of Timotheos with one of the two Athenian comedy writers is correct (see further below), then our text is only about two centuries, perhaps even less, later than some of the authors it discusses.

There are no internal indications as to the provenance in the text of the recto. However, H. Loebenstein offers the information that inventory numbers G 13000–15999 of the Papyrus Collection of the Austrian National Library originate from the Hermopolite nome.2 In addition, Wessely’s handwritten catalogue states clearly that the papyrus comes from Hermupolis Magna. Although in some cases the information provided by Loebenstein and Wessely has turned out to be incorrect,3 the nature of our text suggests an urban centre with sophisticated Greek culture as its provenance. Given these pieces of information, the capital of the Hermopolite nome appears to be the most likely place of origin for our text.


3) See, for example, Corpus Papyrorum Raineri XXV, p. X and 2–3.
P. Vindob. G 14990 verso 16 x 5.9 cm mid-II to mid-I c. BC
Provenance unknown (Hermopolis Magna?)
Diplomatic transcription

1]στοφάνης κωμώ[ 
2]ὑτερονλήναια[ 
3]. νηγωνισμε vac. [ 
4]. κομωδιανποιητ[ 
5]γατ. δύο δα...[ 
6]. κ vac. 
7]. ςφρηνημ, ε[ 
8]ανδροσφειδι,[ 
9]αιπροτερφηνη[ 
10]. νειουφειε[ 
11]. φοσσειτρφεφω[ 
12]τιμοθεοκοποιη[ 
13]. ζι vac. 
14]ενοπαυσανη[ 
15]σιλεωκεπτρ[ 
16]...ε...ω...[

Hypothetical reconstruction

1]Αρι]στοφάνης κωμώ[δο(ποιός?) 
2]δε]ὑτερον Λήναια [ 
3][c. 3?]. ν ηγωνισμε(νος) [ 
4][c. 3?]. κ κομωδίαν ποιητ[ 
5][c. 3?] γατ. δύο δα...[ 
6][c. 3?]. κ. 
7][c. 3?]. σφραφ(ν) νη μ. ε( ) [ 
8][c. 3?] ανδρος όνειδι.[ 
9][c. 3?] αι πρότερον νη[ 
10][c. 3?]. ν εις φρέαρ εμ[ 
11][c. 3?]. φος ό επιτροπεφω[ν 
12][c. 3?] Τιμόθεος ό ποιη(τής?) .[ 
13][c. 4?]. αι. 
14][Κλεομι]ένη(ζ), ό Παυσαν[πο 
15][τού βα] σιλεως επίτρ[οπος 
16][c. 5?]. ...εδήμ(σεν?)...[ 

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Aristophanes, comedy writer (?) ... second / for the second time (?) ... Lenaia ... having competed ... comedy ... poet (?) ... two ... virtuous / Sophron ... unmanly / Menander ... reproach (?) ... earlier ... into a well ... -aos being the guardian ... Timotheos, the poet (?) ... Kleomenes, the guardian of King Pausanias ... ravaged (?)

As our text is short and highly fragmentary, it allows a variety of interpretations and supplements. One possibility (A) is that the preserved part of the text comes from a literary treatise mentioning a number of famous stage authors: Aristophanes of Athens and a poet called Timotheos, and probably also Menander of Athens and Sophron of Syracuse. Whilst Aristophanes’ identification in the text is beyond any doubt, there is some uncertainty about the identification of the other three. There are at least three candidates for the identification of Timotheos: Timotheos of Miletus, who died towards the middle of the fourth century B.C. (some time between 366/5 and 357/6 according to the Marmor Parium, FGrHist 239 A 76), Timotheos of Athens, a representative of the Middle Comedy, to whom the Suda (test. 1 K.-A.) attributes four titles,⁴ and, finally, the Attic comedy writer Timotheos who achieved second prize at the Dionysia of perhaps 192 B.C. (Timoth. II test. 1 K.-A.).⁵ Further, the first half of Menanders’ (?) name is lost in a lacuna. Although the context could suggest that we are dealing with the most famous exponent of Attic New Comedy here, a different reconstruction of this personal name cannot be ruled out completely. On this general hypothesis (A) the identification of Sophron seems to be more certain. There appears to be only one author with this name known from the history of Greek literature: Sophron of Syracuse, a contemporary of Euripides, who was the main exponent of the so-called Syracusan mime and who lived in the second half of the fifth century B.C. Despite the various possible identifications for Timotheos and Menander (?), the majority of indications seems to suggest that this treatise discussed comedy

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and mime writers specifically. If this inference is correct, then either of the two Athenian comedy writers is more likely to have been meant here than their Milesian namesake. However, at the end of the preserved part of the papyrus, we also find references to two famous Spartan characters of Greek history of the second half of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century B.C. This suggests that our text did not discuss comedy and mime exclusively.

Another possibility (B) would be to assume that we are dealing with a fragment of a literary treatise or, more specifically, with a biography of authors. Our dating of the papyrus would make the text an early example of literary biography. A common theme running through such a work that could bring together Aristophanes, Menander and Timotheos in this fragment could be criticism (cf. l. 8: ὀνειδί [ ] of various aspects of their early works. Literary criticism and reproach as a literary theme in general are, of course, very well attested in Greek antiquity. We know that Aristophanes was criticised and even prosecuted for his attacks on Cleon in the Babylonians (nevertheless, he continued his attacks on him in Knights – [δε]ύτερον in l. 2 might refer to this). It further seems possible that Menander was criticised in our fragment because of his use of the topos of falling into a well in his earliest surviving comedy Dyscolus (on this topos, which occurs in numerous other examples of New Comedy, see further the commentary on l. 10). Finally, it fits the theme of criticism that Timotheos writes in his Persians that in Sparta he was reproached for his musical innovations (Pers. 206–212: ὁ γὰρ μ’ εὐγενέτας μακραίον Σπάρτας μέγας ἀγεμὸν | βρύων ἄνδεισιν ἡβας | δονεῖ λαὸς ἐπιφλέγων | ἐλλα τ’ αὐθοπι μόμωι, | ὅτι παλαιοτέραν νέοις ὕμνοις μούσαν ἀτιμω).

The third alternative (C), which the majority of indications seems to favour, is to assume that the arrangement of the text is chronological and that we are dealing with an early example of the well-known genre of ‘Zeittafel’ (cf. the Marmor Parium, for instance). There are two indications that suggest that the preserved part of the text dealt with the year 427 B.C., providing important literary and historical information about this year. First, we know that Cleomenes (l. 14) led the Peloponnesian invasion of Attica in

6) See, for example, Thucydides and Plutarch on Herodotus or the general literary trope of criticism of women; cf. Stobaeus, 4.22g.
summer 427 B.C. Secondly, in this year Aristophanes’ first play, the *Daitales*, won second prize,⁷ to which [δε]ύτερον in line 2 could refer. We further know that Aristophanes and Timotheos the lyric poet were near contemporaries, which fits in well with the assumption of a chronological arrangement for this text. If these conclusions are indeed correct, then our text supplies important new information (a) for the plot of *Daitales* and (b) for the life or, more specifically, the literary career of Timotheos in the year 427 B.C. As to the plot of *Daitales*, we know that the play involved two youths, one σώφρων, the other καταπύγων, as Aristophanes himself writes (Clouds, 529: ὁ σώφρων τε χῶ καταπύγων = test. vi). In this case, ὄνειδι, [ in l. 8 could refer to criticism of the dissolute young man and ἀνδρός might be reconstructed as ἄν]ἀνδρος in reference to him. A tempting possibility for the reconstruction of this part could be that the σώφρων is praised whereas the dissolute youth ὃς ἄν]ἀνδρος ὄνειδι[ζεται. Lines 9–11 would then offer entirely new information about the plot of *Daitales*, including the information that a well and an epitropos (?) played some role in the comedy. Although the hypothesis that lines 1–11 concern Aristophanes’ *Daitales* seems at first sight to be undermined by the shortness of line 6, this is not necessarily the case as the short line may merely end one subsection on the same topic and the following line may start a new subsection offering new information, for example, on the plot of the play. In addition, the letter-string σώφρων does not begin the line, as might be expected if it were a poet’s name starting a new entry. As to the life of Timotheos, it is likely that his victory over Phrynis (PMG 802), presumably at Athens, and the first performance of his *Persians*, both only approximately dated, represented peaks of his poetic career.⁸ As the approximate date of the *Persians* is too late, it would not be impossible that his victory over Phrynis is what is mentioned in this passage. If Timotheos was


a young man and Phrynis was old by that time, 427 B.C. does seem possible for the date of this contest.

An alternative interpretation of lines 7–11 within the overall framework of a chronological arrangement would be to assume that these four lines refer to Sophron the mime writer and to Menander the playwright. Then ὄνειδι[,] could refer to some criticism of Menander. A wide range of grounds for criticism of Menander could be considered including the motif of falling into a well already mentioned above (see B) and his mixing in his language of Attic Greek and Hellenistic Koine elements. In this case, line 10 could refer to Knemon in Dyscolus and might be reconstructed as Κνήμη[ων (or γέρ]ων) εἰς φρέαρ ἐμ[πεσόν.

Commentary

1 [Ἀριστοφάνης κωμῳδοποιός?): For the supplement and the proposed abbreviation, see the introduction above. However, if we assume a wider column, a broader range of possibilities for the supplement offer themselves, such as [Ἀριστοφάνης κωμῳδοποιός ἐδίδαξε or εἰσήγαγε.

For the word κωμῳδοποιός used in reference to Aristophanes, see Chronicon Paschale, p. 319,8–9: ... καὶ Σύμμαχος καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης κωμῳδοποιός ἐγνωρίζοντο κτλ. For the supplement and the proposed abbreviation, see, in addition to the introduction above, the commentary on l.2 below. The word κωμῳδός employed in reference to comic poets appears to be Roman period usage (LSJ9 s.v. 3) and is therefore unlikely here.

2 [δε]ὑτερον: [πρ]ὑτερον cannot be ruled out completely, but [δε]ὑτερον is preferable palaeographically. Further, the reading of the penultimate letter is uncertain. The area is damaged and the remaining traces seem to be compatible with either an o or an a. If we assume that the traces to the right of the narrow vertical break in the sheet are alien ink imprinted on this surface from elsewhere, then an o seems to be preferable. But if we assume that these traces belonged to the letter originally, then the reading of an a is possible. However, this would be a rather small a and the way the scribe

9) See Men. test. 119 K.-A.
writes the letter combination αν at the end of the word κομῳδίαν in l. 4 is entirely different. If indeed we should read an α here, the suggested supplement at the end of l. 1 would need to be changed to a feminine noun such as κομῳδίαν to agree with [δε]ύτερον. The supplement κομῳδίαν would agree well with the hypothetical column width reconstructed in the introduction. This supplement would require a verb or a participle, which may have stood at the end of l. 2 or at the beginning of l. 3. It is tempting to consider a form of the verb εἰσάγω, which is well attested in dramatic contexts. However, such a construction would raise a number of problems, for example, the lack of a preposition before Λήναια or the asyndeton before ἡγονισμεν (νος).

Theoretically, there seem to be three ways of understanding this line: (1) that Aristophanes took the second prize at a festival, which could be either the Lenaia (Daitales, 427; Wasps, 422) or probably the City Dionysia (cf. Pax, 421; Birds, 414), in which case we would need to assume the loss of a reference to the festival concerned in the unpreserved part of line 1; (2) that he was successful at the Lenaia for the second time (Knights, 424); or (3), perhaps least likely, that the second version of a comedy by Aristophanes is mentioned here (e. g. Αἰολοσίκων δεύτερος and Πλούτως δεύτερος).

If our reconstruction of the column width is correct (see the introduction above), the lack of space available to supplement a noun to go with [δε]ύτερον seems to favour the second possibility. Aristophanes won the dramatic contest at the Lenaia at least three times (Acharnes, 425; Knights, 424; Frogs, 405), possibly four (Proagon, 422). On one or possibly two occasions he came second at the Lenaia, with the Wasps and the Daitales, which interpretation seems to be favoured by hypothesis C (see the introduction). For Aristophanes’ record at the Lenaia, see H.-G. Nesselrath, Der Neue Pauly, Vol. 1 (1996) 1122–30 s. v. 3 (esp. 1123); B. Zimmermann, Die griechische Komödie, Frankfurt am Main 2006, 61–62; id. (ed., with assistance from A. Schlichtmann), Handbuch der griechischen Literatur der Antike I. Die Literatur der archaischen und klassischen Zeit (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, Abt. 7.1), Munich 2011, 767, 769, 770, 772, 775, 778 and Z. P. Biles, Aristophanes and the Poetics of Competition, Cambridge 2011, 120–21.

Λήναια: The diagonal stroke of the second α is slightly prolonged to the right, which could be due to the fact that this is the
last letter of the word or it might indicate that a break follows. On this Athenian festival, at which both comedies and tragedies were performed by the 430s at the latest, see e.g. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, The Dramatic Festivals of Athens, second edition revised by J. Gould and D. M. Lewis, reissued with supplement and corrections, Oxford 1988, 25–42 and 359–361.

3  [ c. 3? ] v: The supplement δια (άλλαριν) might at first sight seem to be tempting here (cf. test. vi. Tzetz.) but the trace between the edge of the lacuna and the first v does not appear to be compatible with it; cf. the letter combination ων in the following word. In addition, see Daet. test. v where only Kallistratos is named as Aristophanes’ collaborator on the production of the piece.

ήγονισετι(νος) [: After the raised ε an empty space follows, which could indicate either that the text of the entry ended here or that the writer deliberately left a blank space for the purpose of punctuation.

4  ποιητ: A τ is more likely palaeographically than a σ.

5  ἰγατ. δῶο: A small letter such as an α or an ο may have been lost in the narrow lacuna between the τ and the δ. Might δῶο refer to the two youths who figured in Daitales and who might be described in lines 7–8 below (see the introduction above and the line commentary below)?

δα... [: The traces after the α are damaged and difficult to interpret. The first letter after the α could be either a ν or, more likely, an τ followed possibly by an ο. In the latter case we might consider words such as δαίζ and δαίω. In the first case, a form of a word such as δανείζω, δάνειον, δανειστής vel sim. appears to be possible. These words seem to suit what we know about the plot of Daitales.

7  Only the right-hand side edge of the first letter survives. It has a round shape suggesting a large ο, the head of a ρ or of a φ. Above the line we can see a thin horizontal stroke rising slightly to the right. If this was a letter, we might interpret these traces as the genitival ending -ον.

σώφρων(ν): This word is either an adjective (σώφρων) or a personal name (Σώφρων); cf. the general introduction above (C and A respectively). On Sophron of Syracuse, see, for example, PCG I 187–253; A. Körte, RE, Vol. 3A.1 (1927) 1100–04; W. D. Furley, Der Neue Pauly, Vol. 11 (2001) 736–37 s. v. 1; Zimmermann, Handbuch, 666–670 and the short remarks by K. Bosher in: M. Revermann
At the end of the preserved part of the line, we prefer to read an ε written with two strokes rather than a lunate c raised above the line in abbreviation, as its shape is similar to the raised ε at the end of l. 3 and as the scribe tends to abbreviate words at a vowel (ll. 3, 12, 14). Since no Greek word starts with the letters Ṗ̑Ṭ, it seems probable to us that the first two letters should be understood as Ṛ̑Ƭ or, less likely, as Ṛ̑."
10 [ c. 3? ]. ν εἰς φρέαρ ε̆μ[ ὰ]: The letter preceding the ν is connected to the ν through a horizontal stroke at the top of the line. An α, an ε, an ω or, less likely, an η seems possible here. The last two surviving letters (ε̆μ[) probably come from a form of a verb such as ἐμπάινο, ἐμβάλλω or ἐμπίπτω. We may suggest the reconstruction Κνήμιον (or γέριον) εἰς φρέαρ ε̆μ[πεσών, for which see the introduction above as well as the hypothesis of Dyscolus, l. 7: ἐμπεσών δὲ Κνήμιον εἰς φρέαρ. It seems that we are dealing with a comic literary topos, that of falling into a well, which might also appear in some plays by Alexis (fr. 85 K.-A.), Anaxippos (fr. 8 K.-A.) and Diphilos (fr. 84 K.-A.) where the word φρέαρ figures as prominently as in the titles.

11 ], αος: This is most probably the ending of an individual’s name who acts as ἐπίτροπος to a minor or a woman. The reading ], ος is also possible, but palaeographically less plausible given the angle of the two strokes. In the first case, a personal name ending in -λαος (e.g. Ἀρχέλαος, Μενέλαος) could be reconstructed (see Bechtel, ibid. 281–85), which the trace at the edge of the lacuna would conform to. Although in a Menandrean context the reconstruction ],Δος is tempting and although palaeographically it cannot be ruled out completely, the immediately following context (ὁ ἐπίτροπες[ν] makes it unlikely. In the second case, names ending in -φιλος present tempting possibilities for the supplement (see Bechtel, ibid. 449–50).

ἐπίτροπες[ν]: The surface of the papyrus is badly damaged after the π and so it is difficult to read anything with any degree of certainty. This reading is suggested by the shape of the letter after the ρ, which is more likely to be an ο than an ε, ruling out the alternative reading ἐπίτρέπων. After the π, traces compatible with a large ε seem to be visible, followed by traces suggesting an ο and possibly an ω.

12 ποιη(τῆς?): For the construction of the poet’s name followed by the definite article and the noun ποιητῆς, cf. Athenaeus, III 95c: κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Μιλήσιον Τιμόθεον τὸν ποιητήν κτλ. The supplement ποιή(σας) seems less probable here. For the identification of Timotheos, see the introduction above.

13 ], αι: The traces at the edge of the lacuna might belong to a τ, which would open up a range of interesting possibilities for reconstruction, such as the plural nominative ending (e.g. ποιηταί)
or the verbal ending -ταί (cf., for example, in a dramatic context, ἀγωνίζεται or γνωρίζεται).

The short thin stroke above the ι appears to be alien ink or a scribal mistake rather than an abbreviation as most of the line is left blank by the scribe.

14–15  [Κλεομένη(ς), ὁ Παυσανίδου | [τοῦ βα]σιλέως ἐπίτρο[πος]: The clear mention of the name Pausanias (l. 14) and of the noun ‘king’ (l. 15) point to the Spartan king with this name of the Agiad line, who ruled in the second half of the fifth and at the beginning of the fourth centuries B.C. During his father Pleistoanax’s exile (445/4–427/6 B.C.) he was king for the first time under the guardianship of his uncle Cleomenes,10 and then again between the death of his father in 408/7 and 395/94 B.C.11 These historical circumstances appear to be reflected in this passage of our fragment as well. At the beginning of l. 14 the clear νη(τ), preceded by a trace which could conform to an ε, leads one to assume the name Cleomenes, all the more so as the letters επίτρ-, suggesting the supplement ἐπίτρ[οπος, are entirely clear to read at the end of l. 15. These readings and supplements, together with the virtually certain βασιλέως, rule out the possibility that in our text the Spartan regent Pausanias, who played a key role in the Persian wars,12 or that the homonymous Athenian individual who appears as κομματίς συναγωνιστής and representative of the Athenian corporation of τεχνίται in Delphi around 97 B.C.,13 is meant. The latter individual is also ruled out by his chronological closeness to our text. If we assume a broader column, we might consider a longer supplement such as [Κλεομένη(ς), ὁ Παυσανίδου τοῦ Πλειστοάνακτος τοῦ τῆς (?) Σπάρτης βασιλέως ἐπίτρο[οπος].

10) See Thuc. 3.26.2: ἢγείτο δὲ τῆς ἑσβολῆς ταύτης Κλεομένης ὑπὲρ Παυσανίδου τοῦ Πλειστοάνακτος νιός βασιλέως οῦντος καὶ νεατέρου ἑτεροφορίας ὑπὸν.

11) For further information on our Pausanias, see K.-W. Welwei, Der Neue Pauly, Vol. 9 (2000) 443–44 s. v. 2 with the previous literature cited there.

12) Welwei (above, n. 11) 442–43 s. v. 1.

16 In this line only the upper part of a string of characters is preserved, of which the first three seem to be tall letters protruding into the space between the two lines. Only the ϕ seems to be raised above the line in abbreviation.

As it seems likely that the author of our text had Thucydides 3.26.1–3 as his source for this part and as the verb ἐδήσασαν occurs in this Thucydidean passage, the supplement ἐδήσω(σεν) is tempting; cf. Thuc. 3.26.1–3: Τὸν δ’ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ... αὐτοὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐσέβαλον, ... ἤγείτο δὲ τῆς ἐσβολῆς ταύτης Κλεομένης ὑπὲρ Παυσανίου τοῦ Πλειστο-άνακτος υἱὸς βασιλέως ὁντος καὶ νεωτέρου ἐτὸς, πατρὸς δὲ ὀδελφὸς ὁν. ἐδήσωσαν δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς τὰ τέρατα τετυμημένα εἰ τι ἐβεβλαστήκει καὶ ὁσα ἐν ταῖς πρὶν ἐσβολαῖς παρελέιποτο.

The traces of the last letter in the line could conform to a π or a τ.

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Amphilochos Papathomas