

FINAL REPORT / PUBLISHABLE SUMMARY

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The project provides a bibliographical catalogue and new critical editions with English translation, critical apparatus and commentary of the extant anonymous hexameter texts on papyri and parchments from Graeco-Roman Egypt. The corpus includes 215 papyri housed at various collections worldwide. The goal of the project is twofold: i.) to gather, classify and order the material, currently scattered in hundreds of different scientific journals, edited collections and other repositories; ii) to improve the text of these papyri, reviewing previously published transcriptions and suggesting textual emendations and new supplements, with a view to offering a reliable text for scholars and a fresh interpretation of the material at stake. Hexameter texts of uncertain or unknown attribution (referred to as ‘hexameters *adespota*’) were never assessed as a group, which made the project particularly challenging and its output much in demand. The papyrus texts covered by the project were found in various places in Egypt between the third century BC and the sixth century AD, including Panopolis, Tebtunis, Oxyrhynchus, the Memphites, Hermoupolis, Antinoupolis, and the Arsinoites nome. These and other cities in Egypt present a microcosm of the hellenized culture of the Ptolemaic and the Roman Empire; therefore, reading and understanding these texts gives an extraordinary insight on the cultural milieu of Egypt during the Ptolemaic and Roman empire. The study of ‘unattributed’ texts in particular allow us to shed light on ‘uncanonical’ literature that was read, produced and copied during the Hellenistic, Roman and Late Antique times. *Adespota* tell us how readers were interested not only in authorities like Homer, Hesiod, Apollonius Rhodius and Theocritus - traditionally the most popular hexameter poets copied on papyri and parchments. It shows, instead, that a whole range of authors, the name of whom we ignore, were copied and annotated for centuries in Egypt both under the Ptolemies and the Romans; studying *adespota* enables us to know more about the preservation and canonization of literature within a given timeframe from a different angle. Furthermore, the extensive literary corpus examined in this book, which goes beyond ‘lost’ texts from authors read and canonized at Alexandria, shows exactly to what extent ‘ephemeral’ hexameter compositions like encomia, funerary poems and rhetorical exercises were produced in the Imperial age throughout the Late Antiquity by local poets for a distinctively local audience.

Of all metrical patterns, the hexametric verse has the broadest application in that it is used in a variety of different genres. Unlike other traditional stichic metres (i.e. poems consisting of only one type of verse repeated one after the other), which define the genre they were written for (iambic trimeter and trochaic tetrameter for Attic drama, the choliamb for satiric poetry, etc.), successions of hexameter verses can be seen in religious poetry (hymnic, philosophical, or cosmogonic) as well as epic (historical epics, mock-epics, and foundation poems), encomiastic (both dedicatory and funerary) and technical or didactic poetry (astronomical, astrological, or other). With this in mind, material was gathered and classified using the labels of ancient genres and titles: hymns, astronomical and astrological poetry, didactic poems, titanomachies and gigantomachies; epics on the Trojan war (or material related to); epics on the Theban saga (or material related to); Odyssey-based texts; epics on Heracles; *argonautica*; *katabaseis* (descents to the Underworld); historical epics; *epyllia* (short epics); idylls and pastoral poems; *epithalamia* (wedding poems); *encomia* (panegyric poetry); *epicedia* (funerary poems); *patria* (foundation poems); *ethopoeae* and *eidolopoeae* (first-person speeches written in the voices of well-known mythological characters or ghosts); animal epics & Homeric parodies; *paignia* (‘jests’) and mock hexameters; Homeric centos; *sententiae* (aphorisms); grammatical papyri containing hexameter quotations; school exercises. A generic definition proved unsuitable to small scraps of papyri of uncertain content, where the portion of text preserved was too small for the fragment to

be classified into generic categories. A specific category has therefore been created for ‘fragments of uncertain genre and content’. These fragments in particular had been largely overlooked, which resulted into a substantial number of texts being left out of online repositories and searchable corpora such as the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu>) and relegated into scholarly oblivion.

The project has made new revised editions of texts (in many cases published a long time ago and no longer attainable from the publisher) available to scholars all over the world. These editions will constitute a new starting point for future, more solid and accurate interpretations of the material at stake. The project’s output will be the first volume of a planned three-volume set of ‘*Adespota Papyracea Hexametra Graeca*. Hexameters of Unknown or Uncertain Authorship from Graeco Roman Egypt’ (W. De Gruyter, ‘SOZOMENA. Studies in the Recovery of Ancient Texts’, planned publication: May 2016 - <http://www.degruyter.com/view/product/184993>). The book will feature a series of plates containing high quality reproductions of papyri otherwise unavailable to inspect. It will thus be possible to use these images to establish new matches and joins with newly or previously published material or use these images to establish palaeographical parallels with similar papyrus hands. Fragmentary texts not included in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* will be made available to the TLG team for future use. This project will also create synergies with a number of online projects, including the Cedopal Project (Université de Liège, <http://web.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/>) and the Leuven Database of Ancient Books (LDAB), which currently host records of Greek, Latin, Coptic, and Demotic literary texts (<http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/>) and provide an updated bibliographical catalogue of all existing literary papyri. My project will contribute crucially to a more complete updating of the Cedopal and LDAB entries.

Critical editions with English translation and commentary of texts listed under categories ‘A’ to ‘F’ in the appendix below have been prepared. The most important results of the book consist in the arrangement and classification of the material illustrated above (please see ‘appendix’ for details) and the presence of new readings, supplements and conjectures made by the researchers and other scholars around the world that have read and commented on the researcher’s typescript. These are: Peter Parsons, University of Oxford; Filippomaria Pontani and Francesco Valerio, Ca’ Foscari, University of Venice; Enrico Magnelli, University of Florence; Claudio De Stefani, Seconda Università di Napoli; Claudio Meliado’ and Giuseppe Ucciardello, University of Messina; Paul Schubert, University of Geneva. The critical apparatus also records unpublished conjectures by A.S. Hunt and Winfried Bühler. The most significant of these new readings and conjectures are listed below.

BKT IX 70, Hymn to Bacchus and Persephone: 8 πυ]ρσαῑς: flames used in the secret rites, 19 μα]νίας (Dionysiac frenzy). | P.Harr. I 6: reconstruction of the scribal error in ll. 1-2. | P.Berol. inv. 9779, Hymn to Sarapis: 7-8 e.g. θε̄ια δὲ θῆ̄κα]ς ἐμοὶ ... ἰδ[ρυσθέντι / παρ̄ τεμένωι· cὺ δὲ πα]ύε χόλου. | P.Köln I 6, Hymn to the *Propator*: identification of the god with Sarapis. | P.Ross. Georg. I 11, Hymn to Dionysus: 16 [ὡς εἶδεν φλεγέ]θοντα μετ’ ἀστεροπαῖς Διόνυσον, cf. Nonn. *D.* 36.321-3. | P.Oxy. 670, Hera enchained on her throne: 14 μη[ρίνθ]ων σε τεὸς ‘your (son will not free) you from (these) ropes (unless ...)', 16 καὶ [καλ]έουσα φίλο[ν τέκος, οἶον ἔειπες] / [καὶ φρε]cὶ χωόμε[νο]ν καὶ μέ[ρμερα μηδόμενόν περ]: (you will not set yourself free) ‘by calling your dearest son the way that you did, since he is both angered in his mind and plotting evil things’. | P.Ryl. 494, Demeter: parallels with *Hom. Hymn.* 2.384-5. | PSI 844, Hymn to Isis ὡς τε Προς<ε>ιδάων ἔλαχεν κυαν [αυγέτω ἔδρην, cf. Orph.Hymn. 23. | PSI 1482.1-4 [τείνειν] / [εὖ]χομαι ἀπταίστωι ἀπ[α]λῶν καλὰ ἱ[στὶ] ἀοιδῶν / ὡς δὴ μὴ κούφαις Ζε[φ]ύρου πνοιαῖσι μι[γ]εῖ[σ]ται / ἐς πόντον κύρωσι βαθὺν τρηχεῖαι ἄλλα[ι], 11 ὑμνήσαι γάρ

ἐκεῖνας ἐπαίρομαι, 13 Ἄρα σαλπίζ<ο>υσι βοῆ<ι>σι, cf. Nonn. *D.* 22.227-8. | P.Oxy. XV 1822, On Comets: fr. 1.6 ῥαδιῶ[ς τ]ε καρῆ[ναι], 7 ἐθειραῶν [τε] γενείω[ν] ('bearded stars', vd. Aristot. *Mete.* 344a); fr. 2 col. i 18 οὔνο[μα φημί]ξαντο. | P.Oxy. XX 2258, *Coma Berenices* 3 τὴν ἄρα πανν[υχίην] (*scil.* Ἄμαξαν) μὲν ἀεὶ κ(ά)τ(α)κείμενον (*scil.* ἄστρον), 5-6 ζῆ[μ'] εἶδεται ὤμων / Παρθένου. | P.Oxy. 2521, The Demiourgos, 3 [γηθεὶ δ' ἄλ]λοτε μὲν τε δι' οὔνοπα πόντον ἰάλλων | P.Ryl. 488, Astrological poem: 16 οὔν[ε]κα τῆμ[ος, 25 ἦ]ν δὲ τυχ[ή]σι(ς), 36 κ[λί]σι. | PSI III 157 - Astrological computation and Lunar configurations: 2 ἡματί τοι λογιῆ ἐπὶ δώδεκα καὶ μίαν [ἡώ], 13 μάρτυς (*scil.* κλήρος) ἐ[π]ε[ν]χομέ[ν]ω ν ἀγαθῶν ἐπίδη[μιος ἀνδρῶν], 17 δε[σ]ποτίσι τ[ι] (ε), 20-21 τ[α]ύτης μητρὴ ἀποχρήσεται [ἡ]δ' ἰδί[ο]ις[ιν] / [ἡ]δ' ἐκασίνοις ὕβρι[ν] τεύχουσιν (dat.pl.) ἐφήβο[ις], 40 [.(.)] φ[λ]εγεθ' ὄν τελέσει. | P.Vindob. G 29788 A-C no. 1, Encomium Zenonis (?) ↑16 π[ό]ρρες, →9 πᾶσι μὲν εὐνομίης τανύσας (for ἀνύσας), 11 κελᾶδοιο (for θαλάμοιο), 27 θάρσέ' δεσ[π]όζων ?; no. 2.5 πανήμερο[(for τανύπ]τερο)]; no. 3 Song of the day: 30 ἀτ[ρά]σι φωσφορέ[ου]σα ... ἔρν[ε]σι, 55 ἦλασεν ὑψίκρημον ἐς ἄβροχον ἀ[σ]σον ἐρίπνης, 153 ἀνάρ[μ]ε[ν]ος (for ἀν' ἄσ[τ]α[τ]ον), 181-2 ἀλωομένην δὲ τιθήνη[ν] / τλή[μον] ἐποπτεύουσαν εὐπ[τό]ρθων παλιούρων, 203 ἐξ Ἐλ[ικωνίδος] αὐλή[ς]; no. 4, title τοῦ Σ (= αὐτοῦ) εἰς τὸν Πατρικ[ι]ον Θεαγένη, 2 πανδη[μιος] ἦρως (for ὀλβος), 15 γ[αί]ης (for φύτης) ὑμετέρης. | P.Lit. Goodspeed 2, no. 2.14 μερόπ[ων] γένος. | P.Ant. III 117, The Malady of Love, 4,6 ἐνεπ[ρ]ήσατο θυμ[όν]. | P.Grenf. II 5 fr. 1.3 ἀδι[ν]ῆς ἄτερ ἄτης, fr. 2.3 ἄλγεα δε[ν] [ἀ. | P.Köln II 62, Destruction scene, 3-4 φέ[ρε]σκον ... ἀπειλάς, 17 (ἐπ)ουρ[αν]ίοιο. | P.Köln X 403, Apollo, 2 Διδύμη, 6 ἐπέτ[ε]λλεν. | P.Laur. III 56, Laocoon or Jason, 1 κ[ρα]ναῶν (for οὐ[ραν]ίων) τε πολυτίκτων [τε, 9 ἔφερ]πε πελώριον. | P.Mich. III 139 - The Awakening of the Nymphs, 3 [ἔ]θα παρὰ οὐ ἔθα δὲ παρ τεμέ[ν]ει, 7 [ἡ]μασι χειμερί[ν]οις, 9 [οὐ]κέτι δ' ἔγκεινται κεκαλυμμένα. | P.Oxy. 672, The Nereids, 7 ὠ[σ]εὶ τάφον ἀντιάσειεν, 8 σπιν[θ]ήρ ὅσον ἐξεδίδαξε[ν], 9 διχάσις (διχασίς Ψ) πολυπόικιλ[ον] εἶμα. | P.Vindob. 29333b Euadne on Capaneus' pyre? 4-6 [ὄ]ϛ ϛ' (for πύρ) ἐπὶ πυρκα[ϊήν ...] / [ἔ]το, λευκαν[ί]η (for ν[υ]πολευκαν[ν]) / [ἔ]μπεξεν. | P.Oxy. 2515 Poseidon fr. 1.3 ἀλάζονος (De Stefani) ὕβρι[ν] ἐ[ρ]ύκων (Parsons). | PSI 1385, Pyrene the huntress, fr. 2.2]λιχμῶντο[(for αἰχμῶν τ[ι]). | PSI 1469 the Paean, 10 αὐτοῖσιν ἐφίγω (for αὐτοῖς ἵνα φήσω) | P.Vindob. 29479 --> 3 ἔξ]οχα τ' ἡμβρ[ο]σ (for Ἐκάτην β[.]).

Appendix. The corpus of papyri

A) HYMNS.

BKT IX 70* (to Bacchus & Persephone?); P.Harr. I 6 (to Demeter or the 'Mother of the Gods'); P.Ryl. III 494* (to Demeter); P.Köln Gr. I 6 (to a Universal God, possibly Serapis); P.Berol. inv. 9779 (to Serapis); P.Köln Gr. VI 242 (to Aphrodite); P.Oxy. IV 670 (to Dionysus); P.Ross. Georg. I 11 (to Dionysus); PSI VII 844 (to Isis); PSI XV 1482 (to Eirene)

B) COSMOGONIES

P.Strasb. 481, P.Berol. inv. 9564, P.Oxy. XXXVII 2816, P.Lond.Lit. 178

C) ASTRONOMICAL AND ASTROLOGICAL POETRY

P.Oxy. XV 1822, XXX 2521, XX 2258 fr. 1 ('back') marg. 29-33, P.Ryl. III 488, PSI II 157

D) DIDACTIC POEMS

P.Oxy. XV 1796^V (Egyptian Plants), L 3536 (Glass-blowing)

E) MISCELLANEOUS

P.Lit. Goodspeed 2, P.Vindob. G 28788 A-C

F) UNCERTAIN GENRE OR CONTENT:

P.Aberdeen 114, P.Amh. II 16r, P.Ant. II 57, P.Ant. II 58, P.Ant. II 59, P.Ant. III 116, P.Ant. III 117, P.Berol. 9780 col. xiv 17-8 = BKT I, p. 67, P.Berol. inv. 13873, P.Berol. inv. 16352, P.Berol. inv. 17024, P.Berol. inv. 17050, P.Berol. inv. 1969 = BKT V2, p. 145-6, P.Berol. inv. 21123 = BKT IX 23, P.Berol. inv. 21139v = BKT IX 40, P.Berol. inv. 21214 col. ii (= BKT IX 118), P.Berol. inv. = BKT V2, p. 147(b), P.Freib. I 1 B 15-20, P.Gen. inv. 96, P.Got. 98, P.Grenf. II 5, P.Hamb. II 123, P.Haun. I 4, P.Köln Gr. II 63, P.Köln Gr. X 403, P.L. Bat. XXV 1, P.Laur. III 56, P.Lond. Lit. 252, P.Lond.Lit. 37, P.Mich. III 139, P.Mich. inv. 4926a, P. Mich. inv. 1261, P.Mil. Vogl. II 45.14-6 + VI 262.12, P.Münch. II 20, P.Oslo III 175, P.Oxy. 2509, P.Oxy. 2515, P.Oxy. 2523, P.Oxy. 2526, P.Oxy. 2812 fr. 1 (a) col. ii 24-36, P.Oxy. 2817, P.Oxy. 2818 (+ P.Oxy. LXXVII 5103), P.Oxy. 2819, P.Oxy. 4713, P.Oxy. 4848, P.Oxy. 4850, P.Oxy. 672, P.Oxy. LXXII 4852, P.Oxy. XIX 2221 (+ P.Köln V 206) col. ii 19r, P.Oxy. XXXIX 2886 fr. b col. I 4-5, 7-10, 12-14, 16, PSI XIV 1385, PSI XIV 1389, PSI XV 1469, PSI XV 1501, P.Vindob. G 29409v, P.Vindob. G 29479, P.Vindob. G 29809, P.Vindob. G 29833 b, P.Vindob. G26768b, P.Zen. Pestm. 16 col. I 2-14 (Zeus?)

Vol. 2

G) TITANOMACHY & GIGANTOMACHY

P.Harris I 3; P.Oxy. LXIX 4714

H i) EPICS ON or RELATED TO THE TROJAN WAR

P.Berol. inv. 10584, P.Berol. inv. 13239, P.Berol. inv. 21222, P.Bingen 15, P.Hibeh I 8, P.Hibeh I 9, P.Köln VIII 328, P.Köln X 402, P.Oxy. XIII 1611 fr. 4 ii 145-7, P.Oxy. XXX 2510, P.Oxy. XXX 2514, LXXII 4846(*), LXXII 4847, LXXII 4849, P.Oxy. LXVI 5094 fr. 1 and 4, P.Princ. inv. AM 14601A, P.Vindob. G26762, P.Vindob. G 29327, P.Yale II 124r, PL III/277, PSI XIV 1386(*); P.Princ. inv. AM 14601A

H ii) EPICS ON or RELATED TO THE THEBAN SAGA

P.Ant. II 56, P.Berol. inv. 5226(*), P.Berol. inv. 17060, P.Berol. inv. 13239, P.Berol. inv. 13267-8(*), P.Hamb. II 122(*), P.Oxy. VI 859(*), P.Oxy. XXX 2519(*), P.Berol. inv. 5226 (*), P.Vindob. 26768a(*)

H iii) ODYSSEY-BASED TEXTS

PSI XV 1467; P.Oxy. XV 1821 + P.Oxy. ined.; P.Berol. inv. 10584 = P.Schubart 8; P.Berol. inv. 21212

H iv) EPICS ON HERACLES

P.Berol. 9870(-1) + P.Ryl. I 32; P.Berol. inv. 17071, P.Coll. Youtie 1.1 (= P.Köln III 126 col. ii 45-iii 85), P.Lille inv. 71+126, P.Lond.Lit. 41

H v) ARGONAUTICA

P.Oxy. III 422, P.Oxy. LXIX 4712, P.Oxy. XXX 2513 + LIII 3698, P.Oxy. LXXIX 5190

H vi) KATABASEIS

P.Bon. 4; P.Ibscher (Minyas)

H vii) HISTORICAL EPICS

P.Oxy. XXX 2520; XXX 2522 (A, B); XXXVII 2814; XXXIX 2883; L 3535; P.Michael. Gr. 5 col. i 9-28 + ii 1-8; P.Gen. inv. 326

I) EPYLLIA

P.Berol. inv. 10566 (Diomedes); P.Lond. Lit. 39 (Telephus); P.Oxy. XV 1794 (Lament of an old woman); P.Ryl. III 486 (Hero and Leander; BKT IX 153 (Hero and Leander)

J) IDYLLS AND PASTORAL SHORT POEMS

P.Hamb. II 121 col. I 1.36, P.Oxy. LXXVII 5102, P.Vindob. G 29081

Vol. 3

J) EPITHALAMIA

P.Hal. 2, PSI VII 845, P.Lond. Lit. 38, P.Oxy. III 423, P.Ryl. I 17

L) ENCOMIA

- of Antinoos: P.Oxy. L 3537^v, LXIII 4352; P.Berol. inv. 17044 (*)

- of Roman generals: P.Berol. inv. 9799 + 21154; P.Vindob. G29788a + 29776; P.Berol. inv. 5003 + P.Gen. inv. 140 + P.Phoib. fr. sel.

- of Roman emperors: PSI III 253, P.Strasb. 480, P.Oxy. LXXVII 5105 (Apotheosis of Poppea Sabina), LXIII 4352

- of citizens or officials: P.Oxy. VII 1015, PSI II 149^v, P.Vindob. G 42850r(*), P.Harr. II 175

K) EPICEDIA

P.Berol. inv. 10559B, P.Berol. inv. 21248, P.Heid. I 188(*), P.Oxy. III 434(*), P.Oxy. LXXIII 4939, P.Wash. Univ. 70^f col. ii 1-2/3; P.CtYBR inv. 4688

L) *PATRIA* (FOUNDATION POEMS)

PSI XV 1466 (Rhegion), P.Strasb. 481 (Hermoupolis = section B), P.Vindob. G 29805 (*, Thasos); P.Louvre II 93 (*, Rome); P.Oxy. XXX 2524 (*, Lesbos?)

M) ETHOPOEAE and EIDOLOPOEAE

P.Ant. I 17; P.Flor. III 390; P.Graves; P.Heid. inv. 1271v; PSI VI 722; P.Oxy. IV 671; XLII 3002; L 3537^T; P.Ryl. III 487 - T.Cairo s.n. (= section S)

N) ANIMAL EPICS & HOMERIC PARODIES

P.Mich. inv. 6946; T.Kellis in. D/2/46

O) PAIGNIA and MOCK HEXAMETERS

P.Berol. inv. 6987^V, P.Cair.Zen. inv. 59535, PSI XV 1481.16 (*, if a parody of *h. Ven.* 5.30-31)

P) HOMERIC CENTOS

P.Oxy. XXX 2512 + P.Köln Gr. III 127, P.Oxy. XLII 3001

Q) SENTENTIAE

P.Hibeh II 224 col. II 2-8, PSI IX 1093, col. I 1-23

R) GRAMMATICAL PAPYRI CONTAINING HEXAMETER QUOTATIONS

P.Berol. inv. 9734.5-6, 8-11r = BKT V², pp. 140-2; P.Berol. inv. 21276^V = BKT IX 181

S) ADESPOTA IN TABULIS, MEMBRANIS PAPYRISQUE SCHOLASTICIS REPERTA (exercises, exhortations to write well, chalinoi, palindromoi)

Columbia apis.348 (c); O.Claud. I 182 (c); O.Mon.Phoib. 40 (c); O.Petrie Mus. 59 (c); P.Mich. inv. 4953 (exe.); P.Oxy. XXXI 2604 (c); P.Oxy. LXVIII 4669 (exe.); P.Pintaudi 59.1, 3, 4, 5 (c); PSI XII 1293 fr. a 1 (c); PSI XII 1293 fr. b 6 (exe.); PSI XV 1481.14, 16 (p, c); P.Bad. IV 111 (exh.); T.Phoebe Hearst Museum inv. 6-21416 (exh.); T. Varie 24-25 (exe.)