P. Oxy. LXXVII 5105: Apotheosis in Hexameters

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Abstract
Fragment de poème grec sur l’apothéose de Poppaea Sabina

Reference
καταθνητός ἔοικεν / ἄνδρες φορέειν, ἀλ' ἀθανάτοιο· ἔοικεν. But it is at least possible that ἔντεα does not refer specifically to fighting gear. It can also be used more generally of ‘furniture, appliances, tackle’ in various contexts (LSJ s.v. ).

13–14 The caesura presumably follows the first preserved syllable in each of these lines.

fr. 2

1]βλο[;
]α,[
]εα,[

2]β[ on the edge, the right-hand arc of a circle low in the line, with a thin cross-stroke on the line extending to the right to touch λ; [1, the top of an upright above the level of the top of a, and below the line, an abraded trace 3]ε, only the upper parts [], an abraded trace at mid-line level and a speck on the line below its left-hand end

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5105. Apotheosis in Hexameters

A papyrus leaf with 42 lines of text on each side. From close examination of damaged areas, it appears that the papyrus is composed of two sheets glued together, with the fibres of the internal surfaces running at right angles to each other. A similar physical situation is found in L 3536 (hexameters on glass blowing), but there the literary text is confined to the verso of one of the original sheets, while the other three writing surfaces, including those glued together, have been used for documentary texts. The papyrus used was already in poor condition when the text was written: for example, towards the end of 25 and neighbouring lines, the text runs over a strip of vertical fibres that is turned back on itself, while at 58, the scribe writes on the vertical fibres where the horizontal fibres are missing. This papyrus may be assumed to come from a codex, since the text runs on both sides. On the back, there are remains of a top margin (1.2 cm) and a left margin (0.9 cm), and on the front the lower margin reaches a depth of 1.3 cm. The dimensions of a complete page may have been c.13 × 26 cm, which would place the codex in Turner’s Group 8 (breadth half the height; see The Typology of the Early Codex 20). The relative order of front (on vertical fibres) and back (on horizontal fibres) is indicated by the outline of the narrative. No sheet-join is visible.
HEXAMETERS

The text is written in a small upright informal hand, showing little cursive tendency. This small, sloppy script might suggest that we are dealing with a private copy. The hand is fairly close to that of LXVIII 4647 (second/third century), but especially to that of LXIII 4352 (c.285), including some later features, like the long vertical strokes of φ and ρ. The general level of proficiency of the scribe is comparable with what is to be found there. The hand of LXIII 4352 was compared by the editor with that of the fourth-century codex edited by A. Guida, Un anonimo panegirico per l'imperatore Giuliano (1990). The hand of that text, however, is much more regular than what is to be found here.

Diairesis is found in several places (7, 19, 24 (× 2), 43, 50, 53, 61, 62, 63, 67, 74, 79), as well as apostrophe (2, 3, 5, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 25, 26, 31, 39, 49, 54, 55 (× 2), 56 (× 2), 57, 58 (× 2), 59, 66, 70, 82, 84), an acute (4) and three circumflex accents (6, 10, 37); rough breathings (31, 47, 55). Iota adscript is written consistently (5, 15, 19, 25, 39, 50, 51 (× 2), 58, 59, 65, 68, 73, 81). Horizontal strokes are considerably extended at the ends of some lines (7, 9, 13, 22). The scribe has corrected the text in several places by adding letters between the lines (5, 15, 19), and by crossing out letters (6, 15).

The papyrus preserves a narrative in hexameters. A terminus post quem for the composition is given by references to Nero (16, 21, 41, 71), whose significance is further discussed below. The narrative begins with a procession (1–10), which includes fawnskins (presumably worn by Maenads), Naiads (or Bacchae?), lynxes, Arimaspeans, and griffins. The last would suit either Apollo or Dionysus, but the general setting seems to favour Dionysus: see C. Delplace, Le Griffon de l'archaïsme à l'époque impériale (1980) 365–85, on the gradually increasing role of Dionysus in relation to griffins, starting in the fourth century bc. Aphrodite—presumably associated with this procession—rides her chariot to the dwelling of a young woman (11–14). She finds her heavily pregnant (15–17). She addresses her, saying that she will be established in heaven, where she will be looking after her children (18–22). Nero is mentioned twice in this context (16, 21). The woman must reluctantly leave her mortal husband (23–6) and addresses him in a farewell speech (27–37), before leaving (38–9). At the point where the narrative becomes again understandable, the woman is ascending through heaven. She passes several sublunary bodies (50–31), then the Moon and the Sun (52–4), before crossing the path of the planets: Mercury, Venus, Mars, then Jupiter and Saturn (54–6). She arrives at the fixed stars (57) and reaches her destination, which seems to be the abode of the gods, where she is greeted by a musical performance (58–60). She is seated among the gods (62–4). She takes pleasure in watching a performance put on by the stars (67–8). After another reference to Nero, her journey continues to the northern pole, from which she looks out for her husband (72–4). The remains of the last lines are too scanty to allow a reconstruction of the narrative.

The ascension through heaven follows the arrangement of celestial bodies
given in the summary in Ps.-Eudoxus’ Ars astronomica, col. vii.5–9 (see F. Blass, Eudoxi Ars astronomica qualis in charta aegyptiaca superest [1887], repr. in ZPE 115 [1997] 79–101): οὐρανίου κόσμου τάξις. κόσμος νοεῖται ἐκ τε γῆς καὶ σκληρῆς καὶ ἡλίου καὶ πέντε πλανητῶν ἀστέρων καὶ ἀπλανῶν καὶ τοῦ περιέχοντος τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς ἁδέως. ‘Disposition of the celestial order. The universe is understood as being made of the Earth, the Moon, the five planets, the fixed stars, and the air surrounding Heaven and Earth.’ On the order of the planets, see also below, notes on 50ff. and 55.

Catasterisms are not uncommon, but there is no exact parallel to this narrative in classical mythology. It displays some similarity with the story of Callisto (possibly named at 80), who was turned into a bear and placed in heaven as a constellation, and with that of Queen Berenice Π, whose lock found its place among the stars. Heracles also lives among the gods after his death. Dike (also called Astraea, or the Virgin) lives on Earth until the crimes of men force her back to heaven; see esp. Eratost. Cat. 9 and Arat. Phaen. 96–136. Several other parallels must be explored, all of which are subject to the limitation of the papyrus’ date: the palaeographical dating sets a terminus ante quem for the writing of the poem to the third century AD.

The literary and ideological context can be traced back to the reign of the Ptolemies. The Dionysiac procession, and especially the role of Aphrodite in the process of catasterism, are reminiscent of the deification of Berenice Π, Ptolemy Ι Soter’s last wife. In his encomium of Ptolemy Π Philadelphus (17.34–52), Theocritus states that she did not pass Acheron, but that Aphrodite took her away (48 ἀρπάξασα), set her in her temple, and shared with her some of her honours (50 ἐὰν δ’ ἀπεδάασα τιμὰς); see G. Weber, Dichtung und höfische Gesellschaft (1993) 215–16. Compare Theoc. 15.106–7 Κύπρι Διωναία, τῷ μὲν ἀθανάτῳ ἀπὸ θνατῶς, / ἀνθρώπων ὡς μῦθος, ἔσοὶς καὶ Βερενίκαν. On the establishment of Berenice’s cult, see G. Hölbl, Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches (1994) 87; on the role of Dionysus in the dynastic cult of the Ptolemies, ibid. 91. Berenice was not only awarded divine status, but became loosely assimilated to Aphrodite herself; see Asclepiades (?), App. Plan. 68 = ep. 39 G.–P.; Weber, op. cit. 252–4. The close link between an Egyptian queen and Aphrodite was perpetuated in the next generation, with the cult of Arsinoe Zephyritis; see P. M. Fraser, Ptolemaic Alexandria (1972) 197.

Unlike the lady in our poem, Berenice seems to have survived her husband, if we follow the rather speculative argument of K. J. Beloch, Griechische Geschichte iv.2 (1927) 181. This assumption relies on the testimony of SIG 3 I 390 (a decree passed by the cities of the Aegean islands) and Athen. 5.203α (Callixenus’ account of Philadelphus’ procession). In the former, which dates from the early reign of Ptolemy Π, Ptolemy Ι appears alone in the context of the penteteric festival of the Ptolemaia. In the latter, both spouses are honoured together ‘with three portraits, carried on golden chariots, and with precincts at Dodona’. Thus Berenice may have died between the first and second Ptolemaia.
Another difference lies in the fact that we are dealing with a young and heavily pregnant woman (τέκνον; ἔδρε δ᾿ ἀνασσαν ἐπὶ γαστέρος δύκου / . . . μὲν ηπιών). In this respect, she is unlike Berenice at the end of her life. Arsinoe II is closer, and she died before Ptolemy Philadelphus, but the couple remained childless, Arsinoe II adopting the children of Arsinoe I, Philadelphus’ first wife. It should be stressed however that throughout the Ptolemaic dynasty, queens were strongly associated with, and often assimilated to, Aphrodite or her Egyptian counterpart Isis, down to the reign of Cleopatra VII; see Hölbl, op. cit. 97–99, 265–6, and 278. Cleopatra also stressed the Dionysiac character of her rule; see R. A. Hazzard, *Imagination of a Monarchy: Studies in Ptolemaic Propaganda* (2000) 152–3.

While our apotheosis does not relate directly to a Ptolemaic queen, Berenice, Arsinoe and their successors provided a model that could have been later applied to the wife of a Roman emperor or of another man of high standing in Roman Egypt.

The lady in our poem apparently dies while she is still young, but is also heavily pregnant. Her death precedes that of her husband, and she is granted apotheosis. An important clue is found in the references to Nero (16, 21, 41, 71). These suggest that the woman is one of Nero’s wives. We would thus be dealing with a form of official apotheosis (consecratio; see L. Koep and A. Hermann, ‘Consecratio ii’, *RAC* 3 [1957] 284–94). The Julio-Claudian dynasty had already started the process with Julius Caesar himself, whose statue had been erected in the temple of Venus Genetrix, which he had built. On the apotheosis of Julius Caesar, see Ov. *Met.* 15.745–870, esp. 843–51, where he is turned into a comet, the sidus Iulium; see E. Gee, *Ovid, Aratus and Augustus* (2000) 158–74. Thus the role of Aphrodite in the Ptolemaic dynasty was in a way taken over by the ruling family of Rome.

Nero’s first wife, Claudia Octavia, was first repudiated by Nero on the charge of sterility, and later killed on the emperor’s orders; a tragedy under the title Octavia was—falsely—ascribed to Seneca. Claudia Octavia would hardly fit the figure of the pregnant woman granted apotheosis in this fragment. Poppaea Sabina on the other hand looks like a more suitable candidate. She also appears in the *Octavia*, where she recalls her prophetic dream (712–39). According to Tacitus (*Hist.* 1.22), Poppaea Sabina was keen on astrology and entertained numerous astrologers; see also F. H. Cramer, *Astrology in Roman Law and Politics* (1954) 128–30. Nero married her in AD 62 but allegedly killed her four years later in a fit of temper by kicking her in the belly while she was heavily pregnant; see Suet. *Nero* 35, 5; Tac. *Ann.* 16.6; Dio 62.27, 5; R. Mayer, *Historia* 31 (1982) 248–9; F. Holztrattner, *Poppaea Neronis Potens: die Gestalt der Poppaea Sabina in den Nerobüchern des Tacitus* (1995) 130–31.

A kick in the belly of a pregnant woman is a literary topos, used especially of tyrants: see e.g. Hdt. 3.32.4, where Cambyses is said to have killed his pregnant wife with a kick; Chariton 1.4.12, where Chaereas thinks he has killed Callirhoe in that way; Diog. Laert. 1.94, where Periander allegedly gives a fatal kick to his pregnant
A P O T H E O S I S I N H E X A M E T E R S

wife’s belly; Philostr. Vit. Soph. 555 OL, where Herodes Atticus kills his pregnant wife, also with a kick in the belly. That Nero killed Poppaea in this way is likely to be a posthumous invention. Tacitus says that other accounts claimed that Nero had poisoned her. It is a fact, attested in inscriptions, that after Poppaea’s death, the Senate honoured her with consecratio; Nero was offended by Thrasea’s not attending the funeral (Tac. Ann. 16.21).

Directly after the passage of our poem where the woman is told that she will be carried to heaven (19), we learn that she is given a reward apparently greater than marriage, and that she will be guarding their children for a long time, presumably while her husband is still alive (21–2). Poppaea Sabina had a daughter by Nero in AD 63, Claudia Augusta; see Tac. Ann. 15.23.1. The college of the Arval Brothers fulfilled the vows voted on the occasion of the child’s birth; see J. Scheid, Commentarii Fratrum Arvalium qui supersunt (1998) no. 29 cols. i 19–21 and ii 11–12. The girl, however, died in the fourth month of her life (Tac. Ann. 15.23.3). After her mother’s death in 65, Nero praised Poppaea Sabina for having given birth to a divine child (Ann. 16.6.2 quod divinae infantis parens fuisset). She was pregnant at the time of her death, which makes for a second child that was never born. Nero’s loss for having no live offspring would have been compensated by the fact that Poppaea Sabina, in heaven, would be taking care of their two children. In 66, both Poppaea Sabina and Claudia Augusta are seen to receive a divine cult from the Arval Brothers (Scheid no. 30 col. i cd 26–7).

If such an interpretation fits our poem, it remains to ask under which circumstances it was written. There are two main possibilities: either it was composed shortly after the death of Poppaea Sabina and continued being copied till the third century, or it is a later composition, written as an exercise on a given topic.

Following the first hypothesis, it should be noted that, just over ten years before Poppaea Sabina’s death, Seneca wrote his Apocolocyntosis, in which he ridiculed Claudius’ death and deification. The wittiness of the Apocolocyntosis can be understood only against the background of a practice of serious celebration of an apotheosis, which could presumably have included compositions in verse. Although Seneca in his Apocolocyntosis relies on the genre of the Menippean satire, he also parodies the epic tradition in several places by inserting some short passages in hexameters (Apocol. 2.1, 2.4, 4.1). If we are to retain the identification of Poppaea Sabina, it seems that such a poem could have been written between the time when the Senate voted the consecratio for Nero’s deceased wife and the time of Nero’s death (June 68). After the emperor’s death, Suetonius (Nero 57) mentions a few people who still supported the memory of the deceased emperor, but his bad reputation seems to have prevailed—together with the damnatio memoriae. The process of deification of Ptolemaic queens, especially Berenice I and Arsinoe II, would have provided the poet with a literary model. Such a poem could in turn belong to the genre that supplied Seneca with a model when he wrote his Apocolocyntosis. The
main difficulty in such an argument lies in the dating of the papyrus: if this was a poem celebrating the apotheosis of Poppaea Sabina, it seems rather surprising that it would have continued being copied as late as the third century.

A later date of composition, on the other hand, would fit well the style of the writing. But then how can we explain the choice of a later poet to write on such a remote topic? Poppaea Sabina’s death took place two centuries before the text was copied on this papyrus, and the story does not qualify in any way as a popular one in Greek literature: she is mentioned in passing in Plutarch’s *Life of Galba* (9.3 and 19.4), and a few times by Flavius Josephus. She is also addressed in an epigram by Leonides of Alexandria (AD; *AP* 9.355 = Page, *FGE* 1982–5), where she receives a celestial globe as a birthday present, and is called ‘Zeus’ bedfellow’ (Δίό Εὐπερφύσει). Nero being equated with Zeus. In 4352, we find a poet (perhaps Soterichos of Oasis; see E. Livrea, *ZPE* 138 [2002] 17–30) who uses the figure of Antinous around 285, i.e. a century and a half after the youth’s lamented death. One should consider, however, that Antinous had become a fixed item in the ideological discourse on imperial power in Egypt. Such is not the case with Poppaea Sabina. Many stories of catasterisms which a poet could still read and use as models in the third century have since been lost; see A. Cameron, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World* (2004) 103. In any case, this woman seems to have been depicted following a tradition that goes back to the apotheosis of the queens of the Ptolemaic dynasty.

Another point remains unclear: are we dealing with a continuous and coherent narrative, or do we have to reckon with some sort of description embedded within a main narrative? For instance, the description of the procession could belong to an *ekphrasis* of some sort. One should consider the possibility of a poem of circumstance, for instance on the occasion of the death of a high official’s wife in Egypt. The story of Poppaea Sabina may have been brought into the narrative as an *exemplum* illustrating how even the emperors find consolation after their spouse’s death. This fragment may also belong to a longer poem of astrological contents which included a catasterism. Astrologers had a strong influence at the court of Roman emperors throughout the imperial period; see Cramer, *Astrology in Roman Law and Politics*, esp. 145.

As regards formal matters, the poet’s style and vocabulary are quite unremarkable. The text shows frequent parallels with a later poem, Nonnus’ *Dionysiaca*, which can probably be explained by the similarity of topic, but also by the fact that Nonnus’ technique was already prevalent in the early Roman empire.

The text is sufficiently preserved to allow a few remarks on the metre. Feminine caesura predominates over masculine, being present in 86% of cases where the choice can be determined (44 feminine versus 7 masculine caesurae), a figure which can be compared with Callimachus’ 74%, Quintus’ 81%, and Nonnus’ 82%; see M. L. West, *Greek Metre* 177. Contraction of the second biceps (35%, i.e. 19 versus 35) is close to the figures found in Quintus (31%) and Nonnus (33%). One
can note a slight tendency to use it in pairs of two consecutive verses (9/10, 16/17, 54/55, 59/60/61). Contraction of the fourth biceps (16%) is close to Quintus (14%), whereas Dionysius Periegetes has 21%, Oppian’s *Halieutica* 20%, Triphiodorus 27%, and Nonnus 29%. Again, contraction of the fourth biceps tends to appear in clusters (57/58, 65/66). Meyer’s First Law (West, *Greek Metre* 38, 155) is breached in 21 -σην /ςιγαλουνεθσ /ςιγαλουνεθσ (where however the breach is mitigated by the enclitic) and 74 παπνα /ςιγαλουνεθσ. The poem does not seem to be affected by accentuation, as is common in Nonnus and his followers: in contracted bicipitia, there is no bias in favour of accented (44%) over unaccented (56%) long syllables. In short, it seems that this poet displays a good command of the rules of later hexameter poetry, and more specifically of the kind practised in the Imperial period, but before the changes introduced by Nonnus.

The papyrus was examined on the original, but also using infrared images made by Prof. A. Bülow-Jacobsen. It was restored in many places by Dr Ruey-Lin Chang; high-definition images were made after this process was completed. Several loose fragments were correctly placed by Dr. W. Benjamin Henry. Suggestions made by Dr M. L. West are marked MLW in the commentary; those made by Professor P. J. Parsons, PJP; those made by Dr Chang, RLC; those made by Dr E. Magnelli, EM; those made by Dr Henry, WBH.
ΑΠΟΤΕΛΕΣΜΑ ΣΤΗΝ ΧΕΞΑΜΕΤΡΟ

Τύχη δ' ἑξεχύπτων οὐδὲν ἄλλο...
HEXAMETERS

[φατολυςεδεθαιρουν]
[ονας-αμφιδ’ανατζη]

[ναμμαξιδ’αηρ]
[ανο. γηδενρων]
[λ. ...] ναυοναδι. 

Back

[ωνιτινυ]
[ιν’ καισερμονεομμθ]

[χειμωνακαλευ]
[aιφ[...]. ...]
[ιχαουναδι]

κυπριεντ’η/νεπαρεπεροναλλ’ὁ/ζωνηντ’αιγη/νθαδιοτεδια/

πατρεεδη·φοι

68

2 Hexameters.indd   68
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APOTHEOSIS IN HEXAMETERS

5105. A PO T HEOS I N HE X A M E T E R S

[ φάτο, λύε δε θαιροίς [ ]
Λονσες ἀμφὶ δ` ἀνάςῃ[ ]
].ν, ἀρμασε δ` ἀήρ [ ]
].νοε. ἕ δε Νέρων[−]
].λ...[,]ν Αὐσονα δῖο[ν]

Back

].ων ἵνε [ ]
].καὶ τέρμονες ὅμβ[ρ]
].χειμώνα καλε[θ]
].καὶ φαν...[,]]
].χάνου [,ν ἄλοκες[ ]
].ἡρος εὐθαμ...[,]]

Συμφερ[ ,[,]...] ὁς παθαρακ [ ,κα.
].ις ταστι δοκ[δις] τε μυ[ν]θάδιος τε διά[κοχων]
.ἥχι πίθα τε [ ,[,]...], φρέαρ ἦχι τε λα[μπάδες]
.ἔ...[,]... ὑπερ..., γ[λακύπιδος ἀντι] ε[λήνης]
.Ηλίου τ` ἀφίδα κ[αὶ ἀστέρα Κ]ν[λ]ήφαινον

Κύπρις ἔον τ` ἡλαύνη παρ' Ἑ[σπερον] ἀλλ` ὅτ` Ἀρη
.ζώνην τ` Ἀιγιόχοιο κ[αὶ ἀτέρα Κ]ν[λ]

]...[,ας` αi δ` ἀφ[ζ]ς[ν] ολη δ` ἥειον ἀσ[αντες]
]., ὡς α μέγαν β[λάκτ]'/ς[σ]έεν ἑσπερ' νέφους ε[ξ]
.ο[φρανίας εἰς[ ,[,]...] ἀρχίς[σ]ον, ἀμφὶ δ` μίτρη[ν]
.χειτο..ρῇ[ ,[,]...], ον ἕπι βρονον άιε µωδ[]
.δεξιτερή[ν παντες] δ` γεγυθότες ζανον ἀ[μφις]
.διάμονες` ο[δ]ὲ τε τετρόαν ἐλείπετ[ο]ν, νε.,[ ]

πατρὸς ἐδή` φοιοῖ μὲν ἀποθρώυκοντε[ς]
.ἀστέρες, ἀ[δ] δόικας δ` ἀξιων ἀλλιθανείν Ἀρ[γ]
.ὁ δ` χορὸν μακάριον καθαρίς ὑπένερθ[ε]
.[,][,]µένη θηεῖτο, δόκευε δ` µή τε ἀκοίτη[ν]
....]... δεµο[,]... ν εὔχετο µέσσα κ[.]
]

]...[,]...[.,]π[.,]να` ω` θεόν ἀλλ` ἐνεῖκυ[ρε-]
].κ.ικ...[,]...τι Νέρωνοσ επει[,]...]
.ἐστε µὲν ηκ[,]... λαυθ ν ε[θα]`,[ ]
ἐν[δ]έδεται Βορέη πέρας ἄξονος ἐνθεν [ ]
70

HEXAMETERS

. . . ]ταυνοικει[. ]υαινυποκνεφας[. ]
. . . ]και[. ]ιπαλωνο[. ]κα[. ]
. . . ]κοτα[. ]καυσελα[. ]]
. . . ]αστρομερ[. ]κα[. ]ασιρωτ[. ]]
. . . ]μαξωνο[. . . ]πλα[. ]]
. . . ]ιτεωσβορε[. ]]
. . . ]πυταδεκαλλι[. ]]
. . . ]υωοικονοιο[. ]]
. . . ]κωκετισφ[. . . ]]
. . . ]σγοναιτηςιουτ[. ]]
. . . ]ξειςδ’a. a. . . ]

1 foot of vertical below line level, then two traces at line level; \( p \): low descending stroke; then low and mid-level specks 2 right part of curved letter, perhaps \( \sigma \); end, an upright 3 right part of curved letter, perhaps \( \omega \) 4 speck between \( \lambda \) and right edge of papyrus, \( \chi \) possible instead of \( \lambda \) 6 mid-level thick speck; over following \( \gamma \), horizontal stroke and trace shaped like a grave accent; at end of line, remains of vertical stroke 7 \( \nu \): horizontal ending in a loop, joined to vertical stroke; after gap, low speck; then lower part of curved letter; bottom of two vertical strokes joined at top to horizontal; then lower part of vertical stroke; \( \epsilon \): upper curve missing; the cap of \( \zeta \) is extended; an unexplained trace resembling the right-hand side of \( \eta \) touches the extended cap towards the end of the preserved part 8 vertical stroke crossed at mid-level by horizontal, then small break 9 the left-hand end of an oblique ascending from left to right, e.g. \( \lambda \) or \( \mu \); after gap, right part of loop at mid-level; after \( \chi \) (damaged in centre), remains of a vertical stroke 10 tiny mid-level speck before \( \epsilon \) 11 left part of slightly curved letter on edge of gap; after gap, high loop open at top; at end of line, remains of vertical stroke, followed by smear; then \( \lambda \) 12 high trace of ascending oblique stroke 13 high horizontal stroke joined to following \( \sigma \); after \( \alpha \mu \lambda \), remains of vertical stroke lost in crease 14 low trace on edge of break 15 after \( \pi \alpha \), to which \( \pi \sigma \) seems an acceptable alternative, abraded traces compatible with the left-hand side of \( \eta \); \( \epsilon \rho \omega \): lower left part of curved letter, with upper right speck, then top of small round letter with traces of long descender, then two mid-level large dots 17 instead of \( \chi \), \( \lambda \) also possible 18 low speck, and another speck above left end of following \( \pi \), perhaps \( \epsilon \); after gap, the top of an upright; the end of a high cross-bar touching \( \xi \) 19 \( \eta \eta \) now represented only by the upper right-hand corner of \( \eta \) and the upper parts of both uprights of \( \eta \), but given as certain in a partial transcript made by E. Lobel 20 \( \pi \sigma \): perhaps \( \pi \alpha \), although this oval-shaped letter looks very much like the \( \sigma \) of \( \lambda \iota \sigma \iota \) (19); \( p \): traces along edge of papyrus 21 \( c \): lower part of curve, traces above suggest that scribe may have added a letter above the line; \( \epsilon \): bottom right part of curve, with right end of mid-level horizontal and high speck at right; \( \gamma \): high descending oblique joined to low ascending oblique; much of \( \epsilon \rho \omega \) together with the end of the cap of the final sigma of 22 preserved on a loose fragment present in a photograph but currently missing 22 speck of ink above first \( \sigma \); \( c \): mid-level horizontal sticking out on right of narrow gap; then vertical stroke, joined to mid-level horizontal, itself joined to curve; after \( \sigma \gamma \), mere speck followed by another long descending vertical, another speck, then lower part of curved letter; then mere traces of two letters 24 space between \( \sigma \) and \( \eta \) 25 right part of small curved letter 26 base of a round letter 27 after \( \phi \gamma \), only two traces at line level; \( \chi \): large high curve with thick dot underneath and trace of base 28 after \( \eta \mu \), small gap followed by remains of vertical stroke; after \( \epsilon \), ascending curve followed by
descending curve, perhaps α; then remains of three vertical strokes, then high horizontal with remains of two vertical strokes underneath (π?); after ε π, mere traces; ψ; mid-level horizontal, with vertical starting in the middle, and traces underneath; after θ α, low trace; after σ, descending curve attached to top of short vertical stroke, then another vertical stroke and tiny traces before break 29 after κ, mere smudge; ζ: rounded letter with horizontal stroke in middle, ε also possible; after λ, remains of small circle (perhaps ο or ρ), then thick dot, vertical stroke, two mid-level dots; after τ ο, lower part of curved letter; after gap, high dot; after Δ, smudge; at end of line, small rounded letter (perhaps φ), then small loop with descending stroke underneath (perhaps π), then smudge with long stroke descending from the right 30 μ: beginning of ascending curve attached to preceding λ; after Δ ζ, small ascending curve, followed by long vertical stroke, perhaps Φ or Ψ; χ: only right ends sticking out of damaged papyrus; ε: top of curve missing; at end of line, top of small rounded letter, then mid-level trace, then remains of long vertical stroke 31 mid-level horizontal joined to following η; γ: ascending oblique, followed by scanty remains of mid-level horizontal with apostrophe and dot at line level; second γ: remains of V-shaped letter; then mid-level speck; after ι, traces suggesting an upright, then rubbed traces, perhaps ι or ι', then a long vertical stroke along break; after ι ο, trace of a mid-level loop, with long low vertical stroke, perhaps ι; after, vertical stroke joined to sharply descending stroke 32 after ι, short high vertical stroke, each end attached to a short stroke so as to form a small triangle, point of which touches top left end of following γ; after ι, short vertical followed by two specks; before ι, perhaps ι rather than ι ι' 33 after μ, smudge; ν: two vertical strokes 34 after gap, remains of mid-level horizontal stroke with speck below, either π or τ; at end of line, τ much erased; after e, an upright and the left-hand end of a cross-stroke on the line 35 two high traces, the second the left-hand side of a loop; above λ, small thick round letter 36 upper remains of two vertical strokes joined to a mid-level horizontal (perhaps ι or ο), then mid-level horizontal joined to following ε; after gap, high horizontal joined to following ι; after φ, mere trace of one letter 37 right edge of narrowly curved letter 40 ], a high trace 41 , faint traces on damaged surface, ι perhaps not excluded 42 ], a cross-stroke on the line and a high trace 43 , perhaps ς or ς; an upright joined to a cross-bar at its top end and closely followed by another upright 44 , a high speck 45 upright 46 high trace linked to following α; after φ, traces at letter-top level followed by the lower parts of about four letters 47 the presumed rough breathing is attached on the right to the base of a circle 48 low traces; before ι ι', mere speck 49 mere traces; after gap, bottom right part of α; after restoration, ιι readable; at end of line, perhaps top left part of η 50 α: high loop; then high speck, possibly ς; φ: small rounded letter, damaged in centre; then upper part of vertical stroke
51 high specks; after gap, mid-level speck; on right edge, after λ, lower left part of a curve, perhaps α
52 high speck, then high loop, vertical stroke, descending oblique, high speck; after ε, vertical stroke;
before καιρός, high trace joined to top of curved letter
53 scattered traces; after γεροντός, low and high part of curved letter followed by short vertical stroke; at end of line, mid-level speck
54 after ἀγαθος, bottom left part of curve (presumably λ), then vertical stroke joined to ascending oblique, possibly Κ; after gap, mere trace; λ: descending oblique
55 ο: only bottom part of curve; after Π, vertical stroke, slightly curved rightwards, then smudge; at end of line, a low and a high speck, followed by two low specks
56 Υ: ascending oblique; mid-level speck on right edge of papyrus
57 top of two vertical strokes, then hooked top of letter, followed by two obliques joining at top (Δ, Λ, Λ), then a vertical stroke and illegible traces; after ΑΠ, a cross-bar on vertical fibres; ΚΑ, the lower part of the loop of A written on vertical fibres where the top layer is missing; end of line, high trace
58 a low speck, then feet and top right part of Η, then smudge; horizontal stroke of Τ barely visible; at end of line, end of long vertical stroke under line level
59 after gap, unidentified letter joined to a small circle, probably top of Ρ; after ι, top left part of curved letter, followed by top of vertical stroke, perhaps ΤΙ
60 upper left part of curve, then mere smudge; small circle remaining from Ρ, then top half of Η; at end of line, low hook with oblique stroke above
61 ΤΙ: end of two strokes joining at angle; after Τ, low hook with mid-level horizontal, then more high specks; after gap, gently descending stroke joined to cross-bar of Ε; at end of line, a low and a high speck
62 low traces; after ΑΙ, ascending oblique curve, possibly Λ, then mid-level trace; after Π, two high traces
63 Β: low curve and trace of mid-level horizontal; Τ: traces of vertical stroke
64 λ smudge, then curved letter, part of high horizontal, mere trace; after Λ, low and mid-level speck, followed by bottom part of curved letter; at end of line, the lower part of an upright on the edge
65 short vertical at mid-level
66 high speck on edge of break; of Α, only top remains, followed by a high trace
67 indistinct high traces; after ΜΟ, mere traces; after gap, tiny speck, followed by mid-level horizontal; end, perhaps base of Ε
68 (first), low traces, the second of a stroke gently ascending
69 (second), a high cross-bar; traces suggesting two uprights with vestigial remains of a cross-bar on the edge in between, close to Α, a high cross-bar, then a descender
70 perhaps Ν: a trace at mid-line level; an apex; perhaps Α
71 high and low traces on edge of papyrus; after Κ, long vertical stroke with high traces on either side; after Κ, scattered traces; high point over next Ι, perhaps as punctuation; ονομα: cap of C much extended; after επει, roof-shaped letter; Α or left part of Μ; then traces
72 before Ι, faint remains of rounded letter; after Ι, high trace; before and after καιρός, mere traces
73 low trace close to Ε; before Π, high trace; end of line, vertical stroke
74 end, the upper left-hand arc of a circle
75 two vertical strokes; after gap, two horizontal strokes joined to a vertical; end, before Ο, confused traces, the last of the letters represented being joined to Ο at its base; after Ο, perhaps Π or Π
76 end of descending oblique, perhaps Α; after ΑΙ, top of curved letter, perhaps Ε; then high horizontal, top of curved letter, high speck
77 low part of curved letter, perhaps Α; after Π, low traces
78 Ζ: undulating low horizontal stroke, top of letter damaged; before break, low and mid-level traces
79 at end of line, top of roof-shaped letter, perhaps Α
80 high horizontal joined to top end of Ε, but for most part broken off, with low remains of vertical, perhaps Τ; then low part of curved letter
81 top ends of vertical and ascending strokes, then ascending curve joined at mid-level to horizontal, presumably ΚΕ; at end of line, two high thick specks, with trace of low curve underneath
82 an oblique ascending from left to right joined at its left end by an oblique ascending more steeply, with traces suggesting another oblique parallel to the first at a higher level; the lower arc of a circle with above it a long oblique ascending from left to right; perhaps Ε
83 ΤΙ, the left-hand end of the cross-bar and traces at letter-top level and mid-line level of the upright
84 , an upright; perhaps another upright
85 specks; abraded traces including an upright, followed by a low trace
A P O T H E O S I S I N H E X A M E T E R S  73

... of a fawn, and deep...
... when they are upon (? ...)
... one of the... lynxes ...
... Arimaspean...
... griffins followed...
... shining gold dust...
... with the... of the curb-chain she restrained the white...
... lighted by the full-moon... cheeks...
... when night blazes in response to far-seeing day.

(She stood) in the porch...
... Cyprus-born (Aphrodite) alone... the (fourfold) Seasons
... and no one else ever set foot on the chariot
Eros pushed back (the bolt), but she alone went through towards the... court;

she found the lady... over the swelling of her belly;
... month, she accomplished for Nero
the... with respect; she instilled oblivion of wailing
and said: "My child, stop crying and hurry up: with all their heart,
Zeus' stars welcome you and establish you on the moon

whence... ruler: Fate has made
you more... than marriage, you blessed one; your children for Nero
you will guard for eternity..."
Having thus spoken, (Aphrodite) led her by the hand; she was downcast and did not
rejoice in the offered (favour). For she was leaving her husband, (a man) equal
to the gods, and she moaned loudly from her longing. Standing on the rooftop, she spoke
her last words, and brought pleasure about the house:
"I did not burden the... throne, my husband, if I protected you

... sovereignty...
... bedroom... I pressed... door...
... wife... heaven...
... utter... you did... jet (?)...
... shining... opens...

unpleasant (?)... child...

... you... staying.

... she spoke, and she opened the doors...
... for the sake (?) of the lady...
... and the air... chariot
... , and she... Nero
... noble Auson
... the rim of... storm...
... call winter...

... expanse... haloes...
... air...
... powdery...
HEXAMETERS

50 . . . meteors stand with the short-lived shooting-star
where (there are?) jar-shaped comets, a . . . well and where meteors
. . . boundless (?) . . .
. . . in place of the green-gazed moon
the Sun's orbit and the Cyllenean star (= Mercury)

55 Cypris (went beyond?), and drove past her Evening star (= Venus); but when she passed Mars,
and the belt of the Aegis-bearer (= Jupiter) and Rhea's bedfellow (= Saturn),
she met the fixed stars and Themis spread out . . .
. . . they stepped down, and all sang in complete
harmony, and the Muses joined them, nor . . .

60 . . . he put forth a large . . . when, out of a divine cloud,
. . . with heavenly checks, and around her girdle
poured . . . sat her on a throne . . .
on the right, and (all) the gods rejoicing sat (round about);
nor was anything delightful left behind: . . .

65 the father's abodes: the bright stars springing away . . .
and (Mars) slipped under compulsion to the west.
Under a clear (moon), the dance of the blessed (gods)
she viewed . . . , but watched in case some . . . her husband
. . . prayed until . . .

70 . . . but . . .
. . . Nero . . .
until . . . came . . . where . . .
the pole is fixed for Boreas, from where (the lady)
looking around for her husband under the darkness . . .

75 . . . sweet . . .
. . .
. . . stars . . . first . . .
breast, . . .
young . . . Boreas (? . . .)
small . . . most beautiful . . .

80 that . . . Sidonian . . .
. . . will know . . .
. . . will ask . . .
. . . and you will . . .'

Front
The space available in the missing portion of papyrus on the left in the upper part allows for
supplements in most lines of 4–6 letters, or the equivalent of 2–3 syllables. On the basis of
the likeliest supplements (e.g. 11, 18, 25, 26), other proposals for filling gaps work as cumulative evidence.

2 νεβρεῖα. The νεβρί̻, 'fawnskin', is worn by Maenads; see M. P. Nilsson, Geschichte der griechi-
schen Religion i (31967) 570; I. Krauskopf and E. Simon, 'Mainades', LIMC VIII.1 (1997) 798 and ill.
'Mainades' 38. A link between Aphrodite and Dionysos or a Dionysiac procession is not altogether
surprising; see e.g. Eur. Bacch. 224–5; Anacreontea 4, 14–21. Dionysos and Aphrodite are frequently pic-
tured on the same vase, one side showing Aphrodite in the Judgment of Paris, and the other display-
ing Dionysos with Maenads. A more interesting parallel, however, is to be found on a vase of Attic
style from Italy, dated to the fourth century BC, where Aphrodite appears with a second individual on
a chariot drawn by two Erotes, surrounded by Maenads, Satyrs and Erotes; see Beazley ARV² 1447.1
505. APOTHEOSIS IN HEXAMETERS

1. The word division is warranted by the presence of an elision sign on the papyrus. We cannot restore the following word and therefore cannot determine which confusion the scribe was trying to avoid.

2. Either \( \text{Νηϊάδων} \) is to be found only in Nonnus' Dionysiaca, or the reading \( \text{Μαινάδων} \) is not allowed by the metre. Naiads belong to the broader category of Nymphs, who are often associated with Dionysiac processions, together with the Maenads (see \( \text{κέντορι Βακχιάδων} \)). In epic poetry, the two cannot be restored, as a goddess, perhaps Hera.

3. Either \( \text{οὐρανίαι} \) is nominative singular, the presence of a circumflex accent on \( \text{γύα} \) would not fit the traces of the damaged letter, where the right loop of \( \text{ε} \) is visible. At the beginning of the line, perhaps \( \text{λευκὸν} \) lends support to the conjecture of G. Hercman (ed.), \( \text{Ὀρθία} \) (1805) 106–7; or better \( \text{Ἀριύα̻πά̻τ', Ἀριύα̻πά̻ τ' ἔθνη} \), see Clem. Alex. \( \text{Προνομαίοι} \). The second individual has been tentatively identified as a goddess, perhaps Hera.

4. \( \text{οὐρανίαι} \) is the neuter plural form in Nonnus' Dionysiaca (10 occurrences, of which 5 at the beginning of the verse). For \( \text{Βακχιάδων} \), see Nomn. D 36.494, at the beginning of the verse. \( \text{Βακχιάδων} \) is common in Nonnus' Dionysiaca, with 30 examples at the beginning of a hexameter. It is not attested elsewhere in epic, but cf. Call. fr. 743 Pt. κέντορι \( \text{Βακχιάδων} \).

5. \( \text{Ἀριύα̻πά̻' καθαφάνη} \). The one-eyed Arimaspeans are a mythical people mentioned by Herodotus in his description of the Scythians (3.116.1, 4.134, 4.271; cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. \( \text{Ἀριύα̻θα̻} \)). The presence of the Moon and of cheeks together in the same verse could be explained in several ways: the moon could be shining on the horse's cheeks; or it could be shining on the goddess' cheeks. See also 51. In the absence of the Moon and of cheeks together in the same verse could be explained in several ways: the moon could be shining on the horse's cheeks; or it could be shining on the goddess' cheeks. See also 51.

6. Beginning, perhaps \( \text{διὰ πόθεν Βακχιάδων} \). A play by Plato (the comic poet) bore the title \( \text{Προνομαίοι} \). The use of \( \text{Ἀριύα̻πά̻ τ'} \) as an adjective is unnecessary in itself; cf. e.g. [Aesch.] \( \text{ΠΤ} \) 2 \( \text{Σκύθων} \) \( \text{καὶ σάμων} \).

7. \( \text{ψάλιον} \). A reading \( \text{ψφυμή} \) would not fit the traces of the damaged letter, where the right loop of \( \text{ε} \) is visible. At the beginning of the line, perhaps \( \text{χρυ̻οφυλακο/upsiloncfleζι} \). For the forms of the name cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. \( \text{Ἀριύα̻πά̻τ', Ἀριύα̻πά̻ τ' ἔθνη} \), see Clem. Alex. \( \text{Προνομαίοι} \). The second individual has been tentatively identified as a goddess, perhaps Hera.

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10. Beginning, perhaps \( \text{διὰ πόθεν Βακχιάδων} \). A play by Plato (the comic poet) bore the title \( \text{Προνομαίοι} \). The use of \( \text{Ἀριύα̻πά̻ τ'} \) as an adjective is unnecessary in itself; cf. e.g. [Aesch.] \( \text{ΠΤ} \) 2 \( \text{Σκύθων} \) \( \text{καὶ σάμων} \).
purpose of the accent here may be to indicate that this word is to be taken not as the nominative τηλεύτης but rather as the genitive τηλεύτης of an otherwise unattested τηλεύτης, similar in construction to τυπλόβης, gen. τυπλοβίστωκ ‘blind-eyed’. The sense may be either passive, ‘seen from afar’, or active, ‘far-seeing’: for the latter, cf. Ὠφρ. Αἰγ. 900 τηλεύτης ἀνασκεῖ, ‘la Souveraine qui voit au loin’ (Vian).

[άντιφ]βλέπει νές ἠφ. τὸν μὲν γάρ τινα δὲ κἂν οὐκ θαύμασην, ἀλλὰ διὰ σκιάς ἀποφθέγματος ἐπικόου καὶ ἔσπερας ἄθροιμοι ἀντέθηκε Μήνα ‘the half-moon with its golden chariot made its whole eye shine back in the evening’.

10. δ’ ἐπερή̻εν ἐ̻ αὐλά̻ (Od. 1.319) cannot be ruled out altogether. The singular, however, would better suit linked to Aphrodite in Hes. 5.749 and 8.393, where Hera and Athena leave on a chariot. See also Nonn. 25.364 and 41.184 (πετάξαντες Ξυρί). In Nonn. 9.9.12, they watch over the birth of Dionysus (δεχόμενος . . . Ξυρί). On the multiple roles of the Seasons, see F. Chuvin (ed.), Nonnus de Panopolis: Les Dionysiaques ii (1976) 141–2, note on 3.195. The fourfold aspect of the Seasons, as well as their function in overseeing birth, is probably associated with the four parts of the sky, or κόσμοι, used in horoscopes (ἀρακόπτοις / μεσομένοι / δήσει / όπάγοις). See also Nonn. 12.169 τετάρτην κόσμον.

11. δ’ ἐπερή̻εν ἐ̻ αὐλά̻ (Nonn. 1.46; 7.271) or ξυράς Ξυρί (Nonn. 6.6.12). The verb ἀνέκοπτε, however, needs an object, which is probably lurking in the gap at the beginning of the verse: cf. Od. 21.47 ἐν δὲ κλήρῳ ἔσπερας δ’ ἀνέκοπτον ἄγγελον. One could thus restore either μηχανήν or κλήθρον. For the use of μηχανής in the singular in the epics, see e.g. Od. 9.382 οi μὲν μηχανῆς ὠλντες ἵλουν; for a similar use of κλήθρον, h. Ἄρ. 146 μεγάρω ἓν διὰ λίθρου ἔδωκεν (Hermes) slipped in through the lock of the house”. This leaves us with the slight difficulty that there is no connective.

12. τετάρτην κόσμον (Nonn. 7.271) or δέκατην κόσμον (Nonn. 3.2.51 Ἡλείου μετάκρομαι ἀιθοσας ἀδελάς. Although ‘shining’ is more obviously suited to the gates of the Sun’s palace, it would not seem out of place in the case of a royal house.

13. ἀδελάς. The word ἀδελάς is used of queens, especially in an Oriental setting; see e.g. Aesch. Pers. 155 and Isocr. El. 72. In OGIS I 50.111, we find Βερενίκη ἀνάκτης παρθένων. It is used also of a Ptolemaic queen in Call. fr. 112.2 fr. Here, it could presumably be applied to a member of the emperor’s family.

14–15. ἐπὶ κλήρος δὲ κληρον . . . αἰσθάνεται. See [Plut.] Vit. Hom. 3 αἰσθάνεται τὸ κομμαὶ διὰ τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς γυναικοῦ, where a girl from Ios is made pregnant by a follower of the Muses (γένομεν ὑπὸ τους δαίμονας τῶν εὐχρηστῶν ταῖς Μοῦσαις ἐγκίνησαν) she eventually gives birth to Homer.

16. Μὲν τειρούντας Τιτιουκατενάθεντος . . . άτομον παρθένον. τυφλώπος (WBH) seems possible. Then Νέρων seems difficult to escape: see also 21, 41, 71. n is certain; of e, the lower left part of a curve is preserved; the top of the curve of p is preserved, together with the lower end of a long descending stroke. ο seems a little narrow in comparison with other omegas, but the general shape of the remains nevertheless suggests that letter: n and t are secure. There is too much room for an alternative reading with a vocative νεών.
If one were to take the letter before the second 'childbirth' or something similar.

17 ἵνα. Most probably a noun, object of ἐπέλεξε, therefore a word in -άξ or -ιξ meaning 'childbirth' or something similar.

18 δόκειον [τε] ἤτοι ΠΠ. For ἐπέλεγο (always in the same position in the metre), see AR 3.512 and 1059; Nonn. D. 11.13; 18.220; 38.262.

παρτή . . . θυμ[αί]. See e.g. Pind. Pyth. 9.96; Nem. 5.31; Aesch. Ag. 233; Eur. 738; the combination is not found in epic.

19 καθιδρύσατα[ι τέ εἴτε] ήπιης. For the middle cf. Eur. IT 148 οὐ καθιδρύσασθαί τε εὐτυχός βρέτας. See also DH Ant. Rom. 6.17.3 ναοῖς ταύτα καθιδρύσαεθα καὶ θείαις καταστήσαθας. καθιδρύσατα[ι τέ εἴτε] ήπιης (WBH) seems to fit the gap; τε would be easily lost after ταί and before τε. Cf. Tatian, άθανάτον πὸς δὲ ὁ τεθνεὼν Αντίνοον ιαίνω ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ καθίδρυται; with LXIII 4352 fr. 5 ii 11 m.

20 start, παρθήνος ἄνευ ἀνακτί πο[θ' ἤκεο may be considered. This implies that the maiden is actually returning to the gods' abode after an earthly existence. πο[θ' ἤκεο (EM) would explain why the lady, who is heavily pregnant, can be called a maiden here: this refers to a past situation. However, the supplement imports a metrical anomaly, since it leaves the line without a proper caesura.

21 ἀνεπέρρ. Fate has made the young lady greater than mere marriage, e.g. θεοτέρην ότε ε-μυοτέρην (ΠΠ; ό λαμπροτέρην ότε κόροι)τέρην (EM).

22 start, perhaps εἰ δὲ[ ] τοὺς αἰναν. The speck of ink above α, which presumably belongs to τ, seems to exclude εἰ μακροτάτους αἰνας (Hierocles ap. Stob. 4.24a.14 [4.605.12 W–H.]; see also Aesch. Suppl. 528, Eur. Med. 428, etc.). The wording εἰ τούς αἰνας is found frequently but almost exclusively in biblical texts. The use of the article would be somewhat surprising in a hexameter text.

23 δε γὰρ [φανε]ρὰ χερῶς θέτῃ. This is a relatively loose use of the genitive, for which see P. Chantraine, Grammaire homérique ii §63; LSJ s.v. χεῖρ p.3. δρα[ψτ]ην χερὸς χερῶς could also be considered, but it would deprive us of a formulaic closure at the end of Aphrodite’s speech. On the other hand, the supplement printed may be rather on the short side.

24-5 μῦθος διδακτή | [‒ κο] γάνθειαν. At the beginning of 24 one expects a word such as ‘favour’, ‘honour’, ‘privilege’, in the dative. It could be a dactylic word ending in -οι, with correction before long i. Perhaps φαρδότατου (WBH), ‘not cheered/healed by the remedy offered’: see LSJ s.v. λαίνω it for the sense ‘heal’, with examples in QS, of which 4.402 is also a parallel for the correction. Long initial i in λαίνο is to be found already in Od. 20.59, but mostly in later poets, e.g. QS 4.402 and 7.340.

24-5 έκοι άκοινον | [δηθανατάτοι] MLW. See Sapph. 31.1–2 άρα αἰνετά μοι κύνων άκοι θεσιν / ἐμμενον δῆμηρ; also 68a.3; 111.5; 44.21; Eur. El. 67 έγὼ c’ έκοι άκοινον ήγορεύμαι φίλον.

26 εὐτάς δ’ ἄμων MLW.

27 εἰσφόλαζα seems inadmissible, as the verb εἰσφόλαζα is attested only much later in ΣΤι Aristoph. Eq. 1173.

ποίει. The vocative ‘husband’ rather than ποιεί ‘with my feet’.

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HE X A M E T E R S

28 start, ἐξῄσκε perhaps likeliest; alternatives include περιἐφός and προεἰφός (all WBH).
34 παῦσε rather than ἀπαῦσε, which would give a breach of Hermann's Bridge.
37 μένεως. The high dot between 6 and 8 seems out of place; perhaps a mere spot on the surface of the papyrus.
38 ἐφό. There is no single formula for ἐφάσι at this place in the verse, where the verb occurs frequently (although seldom with the end of a clause after ἐφό; see however Il. 24.353; Od. 4.370).

Back
43 ὁν ἦν [...]. Perhaps ἄτραρχῳ ἦν (EM). See Nenn. D 2.700 ἢ ἀτραρχῷ ἦν ἄτραρχῳ.
47 ἀλωει. The function of the supralinear addition cannot be determined; perhaps a correction of some kind was intended.
49 εὐφήριο [...]. εὐφήριο ηὲ of RLC.
50ff. Apophidite and the lady travel outwards from Earth, pass the sublunar celestial bodies (50–51: comets, shooting stars etc.) as well as the sun and moon (52–4), cross the path of the planets (54–6), and pass the fixed stars (57) before reaching heaven. The location of the comets can be explained by the Aristotelian view that they are exhalations from the earth exploding in the atmosphere; see Aristotle, Meteor. 1.4 (344b1–344a333); D. R. Dickens, Early Greek Astronomy 209. The placing of the planets rests on the geocentric notion that they belong to a structure of imbribed spheres of varying orders. See Bouché-Leclercq, L'Astrologie grecque 106–7, who mentions among others the sequence found in Plato's Timaeus: Moon – Sun – Venus – Mercury – Mars – Jupiter – Saturn. The so-called Pythagorean order is Moon – Sun – Mercury – Venus – Mars – Jupiter – Saturn. This is the order followed here, assuming that Mars is correctly restored at the end of 55.
50 The marginal dot is unexplained.

51 ἔχασθε τε [...]. φεράπ ἔχασθε τε λαμπάδες. Before φεράπ, probably an adjective; βαθή seems too short for the space left. At the end of the verse, perhaps λαμπάδες εἰς. On πῦθον, see [Aristotel.] Harm. 395b10–13 πῦθον δὲ καὶ ἀλλαὶ φαντασίας ἵπποι θεωροῦνται, λιμπάδες τε καλούμεναι καὶ δοκίδων καὶ πῦθον καὶ βάθυναι, κατὰ τὴν πρόνοια ὑμώποντα ὀδὸ προογονοθείσαι, 'many other phenomena are to be observed, the so-called torches, comets, jars, and pits, which owe their names to their resemblance to these things'. The πῦθον are called πυθίαι by Seneca (quest. nat. 1.14.1), who gives a brief description of their nature: sunt pithaee, cum magnitudo vasta rotundique ignis dolor similis vel fertur vel uno loco flagrat, 'jars are formed when a large and round mass of fire, in the shape of a jar, is either moving or burning at the same place'. φεράπ is not used elsewhere of a celestial body. It can however be compared with the βάθυναι ('pits') mentioned by Aristotle and Seneca (see above). Seneca also lists chasmata 'wide openings'. Meteors (λαμπάδες) are also mentioned by [Aristotle]; see above.
53 γὲ λαμπάδες ἀντὶ εἰς ἐκλάνη MIW. On the usage of ἐκλάνη for the Moon, see Ap.Rh. 1.1201 and Ἐρυπιδῆς (fr. 1009 Kannicht) ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκλάνης ἐφέσατο γυναικότης τε εὐρύτερα μύεν ἐπὶ τοὺς τοὺς ἐκλανότοις. See also Emped. 31 B 42.2–3 ἄπεκτονεῖς δὲ γαίης / τόκου δὲν τ’ εἶνας γυναικότοις ἐπίετε μύεν. In the narrative of Arisioe's ektheros (Call. fr. 228.6 Fr.), the queen is snatched away and passes the moon: κλεπτομένη παρέθε πελάγη.
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54 ἀετέρα K[κ][λ][ως][ν] RLC. The Cyllenean star is Mercury; i.e., Hermes born on Mount Cyllene in the Peloponnesus. See Arat. Phaen. 597 Ἀφρι... Κυλληνίος; Dorothe. Append. III, fr. iii a (Pingree p. 433) Ἐμπρὼ... Στέφαιος, Ἀρειπόφης, διάκτωρ, Κυλληνίος, ἄξος, πινυτός, ὠκύς, φαιδρός; and esp. Maneth. 4.206–7 ἐπίθην δ’ ἑτεροίουν ἀοτρία / ἑτεροίουν καλοβοέν 'the fourth is the Light-giver, Aphrodite’s planet; its colour is white. It is the largest of all these celestial bodies, and it is called both the Evening star and the Light-giver.' See also Theo Sm. De utilitate mathematicar. p. 131.1–3 Hilier ψευδόρος, ὀς ψευδόρος τὸν ἅγιον καὶ ἐτεροίουν ἀοτρίον.

55 Ἐσπερον. In his list of the five planets known at his time, Eratosthenes (Cat. 2.43) says of Venus: ὀς ὤκτυρσιος ὅρφορος, Ἀφροδίτης, λευκός τῷ ἁγνωστῷ. πάντων δὲ μέγιστος ἠτότων τῶν ἄστρων, ἐν καὶ Ἐσπερον καὶ Φωφόρον καλοβοέν 'The fourth is the Light-giver, Aphrodite’s planet; its colour is white. It is the largest of all these celestial bodies, and it is called both the Evening star and the Light-giver.' See also Theo Sm. De utilitate mathematicar. p. 131.1–3 Hilier ψευδόρος, ὀς ψευδόρος τὸν ἅγιον καὶ ἐτεροίουν ἀοτρίον ἀνομίῳ.

56 ἄλλ’ ἤτ’ [Ἀφρ. (WBH), giving the expected reference to Mars (see above on 50 ff.). For ἄλλ’ ἤτ’ at this point in the line, cf. Opp. Hal. 4.297, 5.483, ζην. 2.50.

57 Θεμές ᾐ ἢπλωεν... [. The newcomer is taken in by the goddess Themis, presumably because the latter oversees matters relating to the order of the gods. Perhaps Θεμές ᾐ ἢπλωεν ἐαυτὴν 'she spread herself out'; see e.g. Joh. Moschus, Passion spirituelles 202 (PG 87(3):392B) and ως ἄγγελος, ἢπλωεν ἅρτον ἑ τοις πόθοις αὐτοῦ; Timotheus, Εὐσφρον εἰσὶ δεμελαίδος 5 ἐκ ἄναλοτον - ὃ τε ἐκνσα ἕαυτην ἀντίθετον ὡς κεκράμεν ἐν ἐρήμῳ τάσσων.

58 ἄνεβεν RLC. Presumably Aphrodite and the lady climb off the chariot after they have reached the gods’ abode. 58–9 For ἀγομένη cf. Pl. Laws 7.802e, Diod. Sic. 3.58.3. The supplements in this and the following sentence were proposed by WBH.

60 ἰγε. a μέγαν. Before μέγαν, one should assume a masculine noun.

61 ἀλλάζεσθαι. The verb ἀλλάξεσθαι is attested in a causal sense, ‘to produce, bring forth’, in Nonn. D. 36.355–6 ἄτοκε... ἐξαλλάσσεται; see also LSJ s.v. ήνθ; DGE s.v. ήν. An alternative ἀλλάζεσθαι does not seem to make sense in the context.

60–61 Reading proposed by RLC: οἱ διβάνιας... προμήθεις ΠΡΠ. Cf. 9; for the expression compare [Bion], Epith. Abel, 19. Nonn. D. 43.38.

61–2 ἀμφότεροι ὀ προτείνει | χεῖρο. The form χεῖρο is a loan. For parallels to ἀμφότεροι ὀμνμόριν at end of verse, see Nonn. D. 48.461, and esp. 35.210–11 ἀμφότεροι ὀμνμόριν / ἀμφλαφάγρας κυκλοφόρον γαστέρος ὀλιγῶν, ἀρότρων ὀ προτείνει | χεῖρο. Originally used by Homer to describe a piece of military equipment designed to protect the belly. Originally used by Homer to describe a piece of military equipment designed to protect the belly. The latter serves also as a belt or headaddress by women (Theoc. 27.55) and goddesses (Call. Hymn. 1.21). See R. Hurschmann, ‘Mitra,’ NP 3 (2000) 292–3. In Call. Hymn. 4.222, Leto looses her belt to give birth to Apollo and Artemis on the island of Delos: Λητώ τοι μῖμην ἀναλάμψαι ἐν δύο φίλοις. It is possible that, in our passage, the young woman is also giving birth to the child she is carrying. This child would then belong to the gods even before living among mortals, since it would have died together with its mother.

63 Supplements proposed by WBH.

64 end, e.g. (WBH) ἐξ[ἀ]θ[ε] ὀ[δ]ι, followed by a verb with παρθένος ὀπιθή (65) as subject, e.g. ἐκαλαμα (for the personification, cf. e.g. Aesch. fr. 58 Radt).

65 end, perhaps ἐκαλαμα (unless the verb is correctly restored at the end of the previous line). For ἐκαλαμα preceded by a participle, see QS 7.226 ἐκαλαμήσεσθαι μεγάτερα ‘flying stars. The stars are leaping (with joy?) because of the new arrival.

66 Αργ[ε?] WBH.

68 δόκειν δὲ μὴ τις ἀκοίτητι. See Nonn. D. τ.ο.252–3 εἰκ δόειν ἄμμα τίτανεν ἐκ ἥρα λοχά δοκεῖν, / μὴ Ζεφύρου πλεῖσσει πᾶλιν θυατηφόρος αὖρη. Perhaps she is watching in case one of the stars should strike her husband.

70 θεόν, or possibly ἄθρεόν.

End, ἐνέκροτον or ἐνέκροτος (both WBH).

72 ἀξιλοθητον, ἣθα δὲ RLC.

73 πέρας ᾠδονος RLC. This phrase is not attested elsewhere in epic poetry. ἠδονος refers to the axis of the celestial sphere, of which the end (πέρας) is the pole.

End, e.g. [=νακετ (WBH).

74 εἰρεν (WBH) here of the male, as at AP 5.120.1 (Philod. epigr. 26.1 Sider) and elsewhere: see further LSJ.

76 σελα[ probably represents σέλαιοι in some case. Alternatives include some form of σελαγέω or σελαγίζω.

80 καλλιεργ. Perhaps a reference to Callisto, who was turned into the constellation of the Bear.

81 Σελανος. For the spelling "Selano" (instead of "Selano"), frequent in hexameter poetry, see e.g. ll. 6.289–90 γνωσικόν Selanou; Call. fr. 384.50 Pf. Κυπρὸθε Selanou με κατηγορεῖν ἐνθάδε γαλάξα. Supplement by WBH. The switch to the future tense is noteworthy.

84 ξει. Presumably second person singular future, to judge from the futures in the two preceding lines.

P. SCHUBERT

5106. Exhortation in Hexameters

50.4B.34/D(-2)b

fr. 1 6 x 16.7 cm

Early third century

Plate III

One large and two small fragments. Left margin c.1.4 cm (fr. 1) and c.3 cm (fr. 2). Frt. 1 and 2 are both broken at the top and bottom; they could belong to the same column. The margin tends to drift towards the left, following Maas’s law. No sheet-join is visible. In fr. 1.2–5, a defect of the papyrus produced an oblique ridge on which the scribe could not write, leaving a short space in the middle of some words. On the back, upside down in relation to the front, the papyrus has been recycled into a land register; note references to ἐπι(αρύενη). This is quite unusual though not unparalleled; cf. LXXI 4818.

The text is written along the fibres. It is written in a small and informal but regular hand, sloping slightly to the right. Epsilon sometimes takes a cursive shape, although it is often written in two half-loops. The hand can be placed in the early third century; see Seider, Pal. Gr. II 38 and 42; GMIW2 31 and 66. Although we are dealing with a practised scribe, he is apparently not a professional copyist. This could be either an amateur copy of an existing poem or an amateur poet’s autograph draft. The absence of corrections (see e.g. VII.1015) rather suggests the former, but there could have been some corrections in the part now lost. The script on the back is a cursive of more generous size, comparable in many respects with