As is well known, the fragments of ancient manuscripts unearthed in Egypt (and elsewhere) preserve, in addition to works of literature, texts which in one way or another depend on and revolve around works of literature. And just as the fragments of ancient manuscripts transmitting Homer by far exceed in number those transmitting any other poet or prosewriter, so the “Homeric” by far surpass the texts pertaining to the works of any one other author. The “Homeric” moreover are not only numerous, they are also diverse. In an article published for the first time in 19841, Franco Montanari made a major contribution to the sorting of these texts. His classification, based on external and internal criteria, distinguishes the following types: hypomnemata (or commentaries), alphabetical lexica, Homeric anthologies, mythographic histories, hypotheses (or book-summaries), scholia minora and paraphrases2. Since, however, some of the “generi” differ more in form than in actual substance, and since there was a continuous flow of material back and forth across their boundaries (a process which Montanari aptly terms “osmosis”), it can on occasion be a problem to determine which of the “generi” a particular piece belongs to, especially in the case of small and/or badly damaged fragments. I am now going to consider one such case.

P.Vindob. G 26221 measures 14.5 centimetres in width by 10 centimetres in height and comes from the lower part of a leaf of a papyrus codex (for a photo, see p. 417f.; for an edition, Appendix: 1)3. The text is penned in an elegant Alexandrian majuscule datable to the sixth century A.D.4. The recto, written along

I am most grateful to Guido Bastianini for discussing the topic of this paper with me on a number of occasions. Without the generous support of the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung, I should not have been able to compose the piece and, without that of the Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli», to deliver and revise it.


3 Cf. 71, 81 and 82.


5 The still moderate modular contrast between narrow and wide letters favours its placement in this century rather than later. Standard bibliography on this type of handwriting includes J. Irigoin, L’uncialee greque de type cope, JÖByz 8 (1959) 29–51, G. Cavallo, Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica, Firenze 1967 (Studi e Testi di Papirologia 2), 113–117 and id., Γραμματα Α’κεζενθρια, JÖByz 24 (1975) 23–54. Succinct treatments are provided both by Turner, Parsons, GMAMW5, p. 22 and description of plate 47 (p. 67), and Cavallo, Maehler, GB, pp. 2, 5 and comments on plates 8, 22, 37, 47, 51 and 52. A. Porro, Manuscr1 in maiuscola alessandrina di contenuto profano. Aspetti grafici, codicologici, filologici, S&C 9 (1985) 169–215, examines, from various angles, a set of fifteen manuscripts written in Alexandrian majuscule and containing works of Greek literature, with a view to elucidating their common features. Problems of chronology have been dealt with specifically by S. Bernardinello in two notes: Cronologia della maiuscola greca di tipo alessandrino. Contributo paleografico, Scriptorium 32 (1978) 251–255 and Nuove prospettive sulla cronologia del Pap. Grenf. II 112, Scriptorium 34 (1980) 239–240. In the second of these he reverts to Cavallo’s palaeographical dating of P.Grenf. II 112 to 557, which he had previously rejected in favour of 672. Further examples of Homer manuscripts penned in the developed form of this script are P.Cair. JE 45620 + P.Oxy. XV 1820 (Odyssey 17–18), joined by C. Gallazzi (CE 66 [1991] 193–197), P.Vindob. G 3085 = P.Pisa Lit. 16 (Iliad 1) and P.Vindob. G 26744 (Iliad 4), discussed in detail by Porro, 187–188.
the fibres, preserves, in a first column, remnants of verses 601 and 602 of the first book of the Iliad, and, in a second column, the initial letters of the last two lines of a facing translation of the Homeric text. In line 5 between the columns has been inserted in slightly smaller letters by the same hand a translation of ἐδεύετο, ἔνδειξις ἢ. On the verso, written against the fibres, only the last nine lines of the second column survive, more or less completely, containing a translation of part of verse 609 and the whole of verse 610. But for the line containing the first word of verse 602 (recto 3) and that containing the translation of the first words of verse 610 (verso 5), made to project out by one letter, the alignment in both columns is otherwise maintained. Elision (in the Homeric text) is marked by the apostrophe (recto 3 and 4), and a trema appears over the medial iota of ἐσις (recto 7, organic use) and over the initial upsilon of ὑπνος (verso 8, inorganic use). The low points after the Homeric ἐδεύετο and the corresponding translation ἔνδειξις ἢ in recto 5 serve rather as separators between textual components than as real punctuation marks, which are nowhere else in evidence. Both the type of handwriting and the format — the surviving lower margins measure 6 and 5 centimetres respectively — suggest a high-quality product of the ancient book industry.

But what exactly is this text? From the surviving portions of the verses on the recto and of the translations on the verso, it is quite evident that every single word and every single expression of the Homeric text covered was dealt with. The rendering of the Homeric ὁτε μὲν (verso 7, in lacunae) with ὁτὲ εὑρέων, moreover, shows that not only were everyday words such as ordinary conjunctions translated, but also that they could be translated with themselves. Both editors have spoken of paraphrase in connection with the text, the second editor positively labelling it as such, and in light of these features, their identification seems well-founded.

The conclusion of the editors, however, appears not to have won universal acceptance. Though noting that coverage of the surviving verses is complete, Lucia M. Raffaelli nevertheless includes the fragment in her Repertorio di scholia minora, that is glossaries translating, in the order of their occurrence and with varying degrees of selectivity, words and phrases taken from the Homeric text. She provides no explicit arguments against the identification of the editors, but the piece does share at least two main features with the scholia minora which might be adduced to justify her decision. In the first place, like the scholia minora, the text is set out on two facing columns (or sub-columns), the first containing the Homeric verses broken up into their single component words and word-groups, the second the translations of each of these. Such a layout and such fragmentation are foreign to the other examples of Homeric paraphrases transmitted in the ancient and medieval manuscripts. These can be independent of the text of Homer altogether or, if

6 Porro, Manoscritti (s. n. 5), 201–202, 204, 208, draws attention to the generally high editorial standard of books written in Alexandrian majuscule.
7 Cf. L. M. Raffaelli, Repertorio dei papiri contenenti scholia minora in Homerum, in: Ricerche di filologia classica (s. n. 1), 139–177 and, in particular, 165 with n. 43 and 174 with n. 64.
8 C. Galluzzi, P.Cair. J.E. 45612: scholia minora, o paraphrasi, a Homerus, Ilias A 43–5 e 48–50, ZPE 64 (1986) 2–6, and J. Spooner, Nine Homeric Papyri from Oxyrhynchus, Firenze 2002 (Studi e Testi di Papirologia NS 1), 20–22, discuss the problem of classification posed by P.Vindob. G 26221, without committing themselves to one position or the other.
9 The majority of Homer glossaries present this layout. There is however a small group of (space-saving) specimens whose text runs continuously from one entry to the next. To this group belong P.Achm. 2, P.Berol. 10577 (ZPE 7 [1971] 252–253), P.Oxy. XLIV 3158 + P.Yale II 127, P.Kön IX 362 and three wooden school tablets: P.Berol. 10508, 10509 and 10511 (Aegyptus 2 [1921] 306–309). On this kind of arrangement, see Raffaelli, Repertorio (s. n. 7), 172–175.
accompanying it, either inserted between the lines\textsuperscript{11} or contained in a facing column, but without textual segmentation.

In the second place there is the intercolumnar ἐνδείχες ἡν in recto 5. This might be taken as a further gloss of ἐδεύετο, squeezed into the space between ἐδεύετο and its first translation, now in lacuna. Multiple interpretations, normally absent from the paraphrases, are not unusual in the scholia minora, where two (or more) alternative or complementary definitions of a single lexicon may be provided\textsuperscript{12}.

If the Vienna fragment is to contain scholia minora, however, the fact that it translates the text of Homer in its entirety needs to be explained. Appeal might be made to the late date of the piece and the proximity of the passage handled to the beginning of the poem. And indeed the study of the scholia minora shows that the later a glossary is and the closer the passage glossed comes to the beginning of the poems, the more thorough is the treatment of the Homeric text\textsuperscript{13}. An unpublished Sorbonne papyrus (inv. 2088), datable to the fifth century A.D., appears to offer a case in point\textsuperscript{14}. Held to preserve scholia minora, this papyrus apparently translates all, or almost all, of lines 45–57 of Iliad 2.

I should now like to deal with these points one at a time working backwards. An examination of a photocopy of the unpublished Sorbonne papyrus, supplied to me by Alain Blanchard, and the study of a transcription of it made by Franco Montanari, lead me to suspect that it does not contain a glossary at all, but a paraphrase. The piece has suffered severe damage, but I have been unable to find a single instance where a Homeric word or phrase has been demonstrably omitted. If I am right, then the papyrus from the Sorbonne should not be added as evidence that the Vienna fragment contains scholia minora. Quite the contrary. The Sorbonne papyrus concerned book two of the Iliad, but even the fragments of Homeric glossaries on the very first lines of the poem, one of which is rather late (fifth century), are selective, omitting words and expressions felt to require no translation. To illustrate this point, under numbers 2, 3 and 4 in the Appendix, I have indicated in bold the words glossed by the three surviving fragments of scholia minora on the first ten or so lines of the Iliad. In 2 and 3, I have further underlined the words omitted in the translation to distinguish them more clearly from those in Italics, which may or may not have been dealt with. Material damage prevents verification of this. I have admittedly come across several cases in the scholia minora on passages later in the Iliad and Odyssey, where each and every item has received a gloss, but such cases are few and far between, and the verses in question are composed entirely, or almost entirely, of unusual words\textsuperscript{15}.

Coming now to the presence of multiple interpretations as a sign of scholia minora (and back to P.Vindob. G 26221), I do not believe that ἐνδείχες ἡν should be regarded as a second gloss of ἐδεύετο at all. What I suppose has happened is this (and here I am indebted to Guido Bastianini, who suggested this explanation to me). Evidently the scribe first copied out the text of the Iliad to be paraphrased in the left-hand column, perhaps a verse at a time, and only then supplied the translation in the facing column. The translation of σωδ' ἐπὶ θυμός (recto 4) was too long for the line reserved for it and was continued into the following line, thus displacing the one and only translation of ἐδεύετο to the space between the two columns\textsuperscript{16}.

\textsuperscript{11} A ninth-century manuscript made known by L. Politis, \textit{Nouveaux manuscrits grecs découverts au Mont Sinaï. Rapport préliminaire}, Scrip torium 34 (1980) 5–17 (description on p. 14, photograph in plate 8b) affords a striking parallel for PSI XII 1276, datable to the first century B.C., and attests the continuance, over a thousand years, of a particular form of continuous interlinear paraphrase on an extended scale. In both manuscripts one line of Homer is followed by one line (in the case of PSI XII 1276) or by one or more lines (in the case of the Sinai manuscript) of literal translation written in the same hand. On the discovery, content and text of the surviving leaves of the codex (inv. MT 26), see now M. J. Apthorp, \textit{New Light from Mount Sinai on the Text of the Iliad}, ZPE 127 (1997) 141–148, with bibliographical references.

\textsuperscript{12} Cf. Montanari, \textit{Gli Homerica} (s. n. 1), 80.

\textsuperscript{13} Cf. Raffaelli, \textit{Repertorio} (s. n. 7), 164–166.

\textsuperscript{14} P.Sorb. inv. 2088 = Raffaelli 022, Homer and the Papyri h33, Mertens-Pack\textsuperscript{1} 1170 and LDAB 2157.

\textsuperscript{15} P.Palau Rib. Lit. 8 has entries for οἰνοβιβρεῖς, κοινὸς ὄματι ἔχων and κραδίθεν θ' ἔλθων in Iliad 1.225; P.Amst. 6 for ἠόες μὲν, κροκόπεπλος, ἐκδύνητο καὶ πάσην ἐπὶ ηὔνεν ἐν Iliad 8.1; P.Alex. inv. 28759 (CE 43 [1968] 114–121) for ἀργυρῶν, χρυσέοιου, ἀθρόηυσαν καὶ ὀρυθᾶς in Iliad 11.31; P.Amth. II 18 for εὔβοτος, εὔημος, οἰνοπλήθης καὶ πολύτρων in Od. 15.406.

\textsuperscript{16} Gallazzi, \textit{P.Cair. J.E. 43612} (s. n. 8), 5 n. 9, offers a slightly different explanation of the phenomenon, arguing that the interpretation inserted between the columns does not belong to the primary text: “Però le due equivalenze, se davvero comparivano, non valgono a dimostrare che il frammento serba scholia minora, giacché εὔδευτο ἡν è stato inserito in mezzo alla riga, in lettere più piccole, quando il resto dello scritto già era stato steso e per εὔδευτο era stata proposta una sola corrispondenza”. 
If this account sounds implausible, there is actually some evidence that, with texts so laid out, scribes copied vertically rather than horizontally and were led by this method into similar such straits. The list of the τὰ τοῦ δρόμωτος πρόσωπα following the Hypothesis and didascalic information to Menander’s Dyseclus in P.Bodm. IV provides an example (see Appendix: 5)\(^{17}\). The text is arranged, like that of the Vienna fragment, in two parallel sub-columns, the first for the names of the characters, the second for their roles. Having written out the names of the characters and then finding himself without room on the line for the extended description of the role of Γυργίας (οὐδὲν τρόφος ἀδελφός) (col. 2, l. 2), the scribe continued into the interline in slightly smaller script what he was unable to fit onto the line. Admittedly the parallel is not perfect, if only because there is a considerable difference in the quality of execution of the two works, but I do think it gives some support for the explanation I am advancing.

In response to the contention that P.Vindob. G 26221 exhibits the kind of layout and fragmentation characteristic of Homer glossaries, I should like to point to two details which in my view stand in the way of this identification. To begin with, the completeness of the Homeric text is suggested by the device of writing the first word of a fresh verse in ekthesis\(^{18}\). What would be the point of such a device were the text not quoted in its entirety? In the second place, there was elision. Not only elision within the word-groups (οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἰμακός, in recto 4), without importance for our purposes, but, elision between the lines themselves. There is only one verifiable case (δισταυρόντα in recto 3), but this one case is highly significant, for it, in conjunction with ekthesis, shows that the text was treated as a continuous whole. The contrast with the scholia minora could not be sharper, where as a rule the elided vowels of the lexeis are supplied\(^{19}\).

P.Vindob. G 26221 may not be the only instance of the continuous Homeric paraphrase set out in the manner of scholia minora. There are in fact two other fragments which share a number of significant features with it: the Sorbonne papyrus, referred to above, and P.Cair. JE 45612, published some fifteen years ago and dated by the editor Claudio Gallazzi to the fifth or sixth century A.D. (see Appendix: 6)\(^{20}\). Like P.Vindob. G 26221, both these papyri segment the entire Homeric text on separate lines into its single constituents and provide a complete translation of it in a facing column. Not only do all the words and expressions appear to have been translated (the most common ones included), but in some cases there is, or may well have been, identity of the Homeric text and its translation\(^{21}\). Furthermore, just as the device of ekthesis points to the completeness of the Homeric text in the Vienna fragment, so does the employment of the paragraphos between the line containing the last word of one verse and that containing the first word of the following verse in the Sorbonne and Cairo fragments (verso 10–11 between Iliad 1.49 and 50). One difference between the Cairo fragment and the other two pieces, however, cannot be disregarded. Whereas the Vienna and Sorbonne papyri exhibit elision in the Homeric text, an indication of its continuousness, the Cairo papyrus adheres to the rule of glossaries by supplying the elided vowels (δὲ and γένετο in verso 3 and 8). How much weight should be attached to this fact I do not know. The Cairo papyrus may simply have taken over another characteristic of scholia minora without losing its basic identity. In view of their many significant similarities, therefore, would it be stretching the evidence to suggest that the three fragments together represent formal and informal versions of a well-defined type of Homeric paraphrase on papyrus current in late antiquity?

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\(^{17}\) M. van Rossum–Steenbeek, *Greek Readers’ Digests? Studies on a Selection of Subliterary Papyri*, Leiden, New York, Köln 1998 (Nmemosyne Suppl. 175), briefly discusses this initial material (= Pap. 27) on pp. 43–44 and re-edits it on 244.

\(^{18}\) The fact is observed by Raffelli, *Repertorio* (s. n. 7), 174, but she draws no inference from it.


\(^{20}\) Gallazzi, *P.Cair. J.E. 45612* (s. n. 8), pp. 1–9. P.Cair. JE 45612 = Homer and the Papyri h10, Mertens-Pack 3 1161.11, LDAB 2208.

\(^{21}\) Another indication that at least the Vienna and Cairo fragments are in fact paraphrases is, as Spooner, *Nine Homeric Papyri* (s. n. 8), 20–21 with nn. 105 and 106, has shown, the combinability of their single interpretations into an acceptable continuous literal translation of the Homeric text. In this they differ from the facing word-for-word Latin-Greek translations of the Aeneid found in some late fragments, whose equivalents cannot be joined so readily (cf. Spooner, 21–22).
Appendix

1. P. Vindob. G 26221 (Sixth cent.) ²²

Recto (→)

1. ε[ς ηέλιον
2. καταδιντ[α
3. A 602 δ[α[νυντ’[  
4. ουδ’ ἐπι θ[υμος
5. εδευετο. ενδ[ες ην. [  
6. δαίτος τη[ς ευθχιας
7. εύσης τη[ς

margin 6 cm

Verso (↓)

1. προς ον λεχος  ]  
2. η[  
3. Ὀλυμπιος ο επι το Ο[υμπο οικον
4. αστεροπητης ο[ τας ασ[τραπας] ποιων
5. A 610 ενθα παρος ο[που προ τουτον  
6. κοιμαθ’ ] εκοιματο  
7. οτε μιν ] οτε αυτον
8. γλυκς ύπνος ] ο γλυκς ύπνος
9. ικανοι ] καταλαμβανοι

margin 5 cm

²² The text reproduces Bastianini’s edition (s. n. 4).
2. P.Berol. 5014 (Fifth cent.)

Μήνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηλημάδεω 'Ἀχιλῆς, οὐλομένην, ἡ μυρὶ’ Ἀχιλεὺς ἀληγε’ ἔθηκεν, πολλὰς δ’ ἱσθίμιους ψυχὰς Ἀδιὶ προάψεν ἤρων, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐλάφια τέυχε κύνεσσιν οἰονοισὶ τε πάσι, Δίως δ’ ἐτελείτο θοιλῆ, εξ οὐ δὴ τα ἀπότα διαστήσει ἐχρίσαντε Ἀτρείδης τε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν καὶ Δίος Ἀχιλλεὺς.

3. P.Mich. inv. 1588 (First–second cent.)

Μήνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηλημάδεω 'Ἀχιλῆς, οὐλομένην, ἡ μυρὶ’ Ἀχιλεὺς ἀληγε’ ἔθηκεν, πολλὰς δ’ ἱσθίμιους ψυχὰς Ἀδιὶ προάψεν ἤρων, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐλάφια τέυχε κύνεσσιν οἰονοισὶ τε πάσι, Δίως δ’ ἐτελείτο θοιλῆ, εξ οὐ δὴ τα ἀπότα διαστήσει ἐχρίσαντε Ἀτρείδης τε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν καὶ Δίος Ἀχιλλεὺς.

23 Since the papyrus is broken after διαστήσει (6) and the first word glossed on the other side is θεῶν (8) it is impossible to say whether all or only some of the intervening text was glossed.
4. P.Achm. 2 (Third–fourth cent.)

Mηνιν ἀείδε, Θεά, Πηληπίδεω 'Αχιλής, οὐλομένην, ἢ μυρί 'Αχιοὺς ἀλγε' ἔθηκεν, πολλὰς δ’ ἵσθίμους νυφας "Ἄδη προϊόμενη ἤρων, αὐτοῖς δὲ ἐκλύα τεῦχε κύνεσσιν

οἰωνοῖσι τε πάσι, Διὸς δ’ ἐτελείωτο βουλῆ, εξ οὐ δὴ τὰ πρώτα διαστήμην ἔρισαν τε 'Ἀτρείδης τος ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν καὶ διὸς Ἀχιλλεὺς,

τίς τάρ σφών θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέψακε μέχρεθαι; Λητοὺς καὶ Διὸς υἱός· ὁ γὰρ βασιλεύ χωλοθείς

νῦσον ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὄρσε κακήν, ὀλέκτοντο δὲ λαοί, οὔκεκα τὸν Χρύσην ἠτίμασεν ἀρητῆρα 'Ἀτρείδης· ὃ γὰρ ἠλθε θοᾶς ἐπὶ νῖτας Ἀχιλλῶν ...

5. P.Bodm. IV: Menander, Dyscolus

(Names of Characters and Roles)

6. P.Cair. JE 45612 (Fifth–sixth cent.)

Recto  (↓)

1 A 43 ας φατο : ου]τοις ε]πε
2 ευχομενοι : ±? [υχοι[]
4 εκλευ : [. ηκουε
5 Φοιβος Απολλων : ο] καθεπ[οες και
6 αμιοντος]ς Απο[λλανω[ν
7 44 βη δε : ε]περεμθη δε
8 κατ Ουλομπο]ο] καριναι : [απο
9 των ακρωτηρι]ων του Ουλομπου
10 χωμενοι : [ογης]μενοις[ς
11 κηρ : τη]υ νυχη
12 45 τοξα : τοξα[ν]
13 ομιοισιν : ±? τοις] ομιοις[ς
14 εξων : ±? [ν

P.Bodmer IV: Mendander, Dyscolus

24 The text is that of Gallazzi's edition (s. n. 8).
versed (→) 1 A 48

απελαυθέντε

νεφών : το[ν

με]τα δέ : []

τον : ] βελος

ε]ηκεν [

6 49 δεινὴ δέ : [

7 κλαμμὴ : [

8 γενετο [:] ε]γενετο

9 αργορέσιο

10 βιοιο : [

11 50 συρησάς μ]εν

12 πρωτον : [

13 ε]ποξε[το

14 και κυναζ

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