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192. Abbot Isaias, Discourse IV

Inv. 553 recto
Pl. 1

30.5 x 52.5 cm.

Fayum

Published: E.R. Hardy, *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 7 (1944) 127-136 (Van Haelst 673)

The papyrus was purchased in 1932, when H.I. Bell reported that it originated in the Fayum, probably at Philadelphia. A cogent argument for a provenance in the Fayum is the fact that all of the individuals mentioned in the fragmentary sale of land on the back, which is published in this volume as 244, pertain to Arsinoe. Both texts were written in single columns running the length of the papyrus. This *transversa charta* format is common for Byzantine documents but rare for literary texts even during that period.¹ In antiquity the papyrus was folded—or rolled and then crushed—in such a way that the lower edges of both texts were on the inside of the packet. The papyrus is currently missing its upper portion, which has broken away along a line of fold. In addition, the strip containing lines 1-4 of the Isaias text has separated from the main surviving part of the papyrus along the next fold line. Another fold line just below line 28 coincides with a kollesis.

Both its cursive hand and its contents place the sale document in the sixth century. The Isaias text is written in a practised, serviceable, sloping book hand distinguished by few ornamental features except for the ζ, the bottom of which is drawn out into a huge, descending S-curve. Palaeographical parallels suggest a date in the sixth century for this hand also, but in any case more than a few years may well have elapsed

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between the copying of the Isaias and the re-use of the papyrus for the document.\(^2\)

The text consists of an exhortation directed toward monks of the Egyptian and Near Eastern type who customarily lived in solitary cells in the desert. The subjects covered include proper behavior toward fellow monks, the need to confide in one's elders, the avoidance of heretical thoughts, the subduing of passions, and the proper way to pray to God. The whole has a very practical character which makes it typical of a gradually evolving corpus of λόγια or instructive discourses, as well as apophthegmata, attributed to a certain Abbot Isaias and circulating under his name from the early Byzantine period onward. The original Isaias in question seems to have been Isaias of Scete in Egypt, who at some time in his life headed a monastery in the Wadi Natrun and who probably flourished around the year 400. That he was actually the same as the monk Isaias of Gaza, who died around 488 and to whom some modern authorities have attributed the Isaias corpus, seems unlikely. In any case the discourses and sayings attached to the name of Isaias took on a life of their own and were eventually translated into a variety of languages including Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, Arabic, and Latin.\(^3\)

Only one other papyrus of the Isaias corpus has come to light. This is a piece of a fourth or fifth century codex in Florence published by S.G. Mercati in Aegyptus 32 (1952) 463-471 (Van Haelst 1221) and containing a passage from Discourse XXI.

In the course of a few centuries or even generations following the original composition, widely differing Greek texts of the Isaias discourses came into circulation. The differences are often much greater than variations among manuscripts of, say, classical Greek authors. The commentary below, in which variant versions have been cited rather extensively after Draguet, illustrates well this phenomenon.\(^4\) Draguet distinguishes two branches of the Greek textual tradition:

1. \(\Gamma\) an older layer represented for this passage by \(\lambda = \text{ Cod. Par. Coisil. 283 (sae. XII)}\)

2. \(\beta\), a more recent layer represented by \(\lambda = \text{ Cod. Ven. Marc. 132 (sae. XIII)}\)

3. \(\gamma = \text{ Cod. Par. Coisil. 123 (sae. XI)}\)

4. \(\kappa = \text{ Cod. Oxf. Bodl. Cromwell. 14 (sae. XIII)}\)

5. \(\xi = \text{ Cod. Muscov., Musée Hist., 320 (sae. XII)}\)

Within \(\Gamma\), \(\beta\), and \(\gamma\) form distinct subgroups. The \(\gamma\) branch shows strong affinities with \(\Sigma\), a Jerusalem codex written in 1769. \(\Sigma\) formed the basis of an edition published in 1911 by the monk Augustinos and reprinted as S. Schoina, Τοῦ θείου πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἄββα 'Ἡσαύριον λόγιον κβ' (Volos 1962), which it has not been possible to consult here.

As may be seen from the commentary, the papyrus supports \(\Gamma\) against \(\Gamma\) almost constantly throughout this part of the work. This prejudice extends to the inclusion of three passages which \(\Gamma\) either omit entirely or place elsewhere in the discourse (see notes on 3-4, 6-9, 22-23). Within its preference for \(\Gamma\), the papyrus on occasion offers entirely new variants, as apparently in the fragmentary line 1 and again in 6 ἐνέλεγα. More frequently, the papyrus shows a preference for the reading of one or more manuscripts of \(\Gamma\); often this is \(\beta\). On one occasion, however, \(\Gamma\) is preferred.

In the commentary reference has also been made to \(\Theta\), the Latin version of a now-lost Greek manuscript which was made by the Veronese Pietro Zini in 1574 (see Migne, Patrologia Graecae 40, 1103ff.). It would appear that this manuscript followed \(\Gamma\) for the most part.

The educated Koine of the discourse shows two features which are worthy of special mention and which occur frequently in the Isaias texts transmitted in manuscript. One of these—also well paralleled in other patristic works as well as in documentary papyri—is a sporadic confusion in the use of moods in the protases of conditions: ἐδού with indicative in 23, el apparently with subjunctive in 25. The other is a penchant for using

2 G. Cavallo/H. Mischler, Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period = BICS, Suppl. 47 (1987), nos. 32a (ca. A.D. 560-575) and 32b (A.D. 571) illustrate the type to which the Isaias hand belongs. Compare the following, all assigned to the same century: Schabari: Palographie Abb. 63, first hand; Schabari: P. Graec. Berol. 44b (cf. plausibly: "For a generation or two it served for the instruction of nobles and other and used for the business document now on the verso.")

3 For a very full discussion of the sources on the two individuals named Isaias, as well as for painstaking analysis of the development of the Isaias corpus, see R. Draguet, Les sources de l’Alexandre typique d’Abba Isaias (Louvain 1968), vol. 3, 11-126. Cf. also primary goal an edition of the Syriac version of the discourses, its treatment of the Greek versions, makes it the only comprehensive work on the Isaias corpus to date.

4 Cf. previous note. For the parallel Greek versions printed by Draguet, see vols. 3-

5 In the latter, Beltram could of course be just an inaccurate spelling of the future. In

4 The portion of the Greek Discourse IV given by the papyrus corresponds to the Syriac Discourse XI, sections 60-75; see vol. 3, 174-182.

5 In the latter, Beltram could of course be just an inaccurate spelling of the future. In
the present tense in a futuristic sense, especially to describe the results of proper behavior in the eyes of God. The example in 6–8 is characteristic: κακίων κατά τοῦ ἀδέλφου σου, ἔπειτα σεαυτόν ἄπαθές, ἐν ἀποκαλυφθεῖν. Minor spelling variants of the sort usage in 27, are discussed in the notes. Occasional diacreses and word-dividers assist the reader. Nomina sacra are abbreviated in the customary way. All of these features are noted in the critical apparatus.

... ψευτρέψεις [ca. 13] [...]. 6 νεσαυτή ἄλλο κελλίου ... μὴ ἀμορτίσσης εἰς θεόν. ἔτε τῇ ἔσωτο προσεύχεσθε λόγων τῆς ἀνομορίας[.] ἀδόξος εἰς τε καὶ σκεπή λογος ἐν ἄτυχτο καὶ ἀπλάσσετο, ἀτύχτο καὶ εὐσεβείας ἀπὸ κελλίου, μὴ εὐσεβείας ἄτυχτον, ἐν ἀτύχτο διὰ ἀδόξου του, τιμώντα, καὶ ὁ θεός εἰς οὐκομομείς σε ὅπως ἦν ἄτυχεος[.] αὐτήν ἐν ἄτυχτο διὰ ἀδόξου του, τιμώντα, καὶ ὁ θεός εἰς οὐκομομείς σε ὅπως ἦν ἄτυχεος[.] αὐτήν 

4 παντα τούτων παλαιαμνώντα σε μὴ ἀνεκμαρτήθης εἰς τούτων μείζονας σου, καὶ κομπατώντας ὑπὸ σου χαράν γάρ ἀλλην οὐκ ἔχουσαν τὸ πνεύμα τοῦ ἐν εἰς ἑαυτὸν συμπλώτον εἰς τῶν ὄντων διασυμμείρων αὐτοῦ εἶται καλοί εἰσιν εἶτε κακοί.

8 σεαυτόν μεταλαμβάνων τῆς προσφορὰς τῶν μυστηρίων μὴ σχεῦν κακίων κατά τοῦ ἀδέλφου σου, ἐπεὶ σεαυτόν ἄπαθες, ἐν ἀποκαλυφθεῖν. σοι οἱ λόγοι τῆς γραφῆς τοῦ ἀληθεύοντος αὐτοῦ[.] τῆς ἀληθεύοντος. φύλαξον δὲ σεαυτόν μὴ καταφθήσεαι τῷ γράμμα, ἵνα μὴ πιστεύσης τῇ νοωῆς σου ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας γραφῆς σου ἱερότα μὴ ἔσται ἐν ἀριθμών αἱρετικῶν καὶ πλαστή ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀριθμοῦ πίστεως, ἐν ἐπιστρέφει μὴ ἐξουθενίσθης αὐτοῦ.

12 οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἰδίῳ θελήματι τούτῳ ἐποίησαν. φύλαξον σεαυτόν τοῦ διαλεγομένου. μὴ εἰς εὐσεβείας σε, ἐν ἀριθμῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ πλαστή ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ μὴ πυκνοῦ συνελεύσης τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ἀριθμῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ πλαστή ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ μὴ πυκνοῦ συνελεύσης τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ἀριθμῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ πλαστή ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ μὴ πυκνοῦ συνελεύσης τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ἀριθμῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ πλαστή ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ μὴ πυκνοῦ συνελεύσης τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ἀριθμῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ πλαστή ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ μὴ πυκνοῦ συνελεύσης τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ἀριθμῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ πλαστή ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ μὴ πυκνοῦ συνελεύσης τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ἀριθμῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ πλαστή ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ μὴ πυκνοῦ συνελεύσης τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ἀριθμῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ πλαστή ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ μὴ πυκνοῦ συνελεύσης τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ἀριθμῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ πλαστή ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ μὴ πυκνοῦ συνελεύσης τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ἀριθμῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ πλαστή ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ μὴ πυκνοῦ συνελεύσης τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ἀριθμῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ πλαστή ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ μὴ πυκνοῦ συνελεύσης τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ἀριθμῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ πλαστή ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ μὴ πυκνοῦ συνελεύσης τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ἀριθμῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ πλαστή ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ μὴ πυκνοῦ συνελεύσης τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ἀριθμῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ πλαστή ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ μὴ πυκνοῦ συνελεύσης τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ἀριθμῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ πλαστή ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ μὴ πυκνοῦ συνελεύσης τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ἀριθμῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ πλαστή ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ μὴ πυκνοῦ συνελεύσης τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ἀριθμῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ πλαστή ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ μὴ πυκνοῦ συνελεύσης τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ἀριθμῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ πλαστή ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ μὴ πυκνοῦ συνελεύσης τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ἀριθμῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ πλαστή ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ μὴ πυκνοῦ συνελεύσης τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ἀριθμῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ πλαστή ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ μὴ πυκνοῦ συνελεύσης τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ἀριθμῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ πλαστή ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ μὴ πυκνοῦ συνελεύσης τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ἀριθμῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ πλαστή ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ μὴ πυκνοῦ συνελεύσης τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ἀριθμῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ πλαστή ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ μὴ πυκνοῦ συνελεύσης τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ἀριθμῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ πλαστή ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ μὴ πυκνοῦ συνελεύσης τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ἀριθμῶν α_userdata.png
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1. See comm.; σαυτῷ ed. pr. 2. See comm.; ὅγιον.; Βαβελον.; ἐπιστολ.: καθήμενος ed. pr.; ἐπιστάτας (ίσως pap.)
2. αὐτῷ.; 3. See comm.; ἀλλ.; ἐπιστόλος; ἐπιστάτας ed. pr. 5. ἐπιστάτας.; ἐπιστόλος.; ἐπιστάτας ed. pr.
4. See comm.; ἐπιστόλος.; ἐπιστάτας ed. pr.; καὶ εἰς corr.
5. ἐπιστόλος.; ἐπιστάτας ed. pr.; καὶ εἰς corr.
6. ἐπιστόλος.; ἐπιστάτας ed. pr.; καὶ εἰς corr.
7. ἐπιστόλος.; ἐπιστάτας ed. pr.; καὶ εἰς corr.
8. See comm.; ἐπιστόλος.; ἐπιστάτας ed. pr.; καὶ εἰς corr.
9. See comm.; ἐπιστόλος.; ἐπιστάτας ed. pr.; καὶ εἰς corr.
10. See comm.; ἐπιστόλος.; ἐπιστάτας ed. pr.; καὶ εἰς corr.
11. See comm.; ἐπιστόλος.; ἐπιστάτας ed. pr.; καὶ εἰς corr.
12. See comm.; ἐπιστόλος.; ἐπιστάτας ed. pr.; καὶ εἰς corr.
13. See comm.; ἐπιστόλος.; ἐπιστάτας ed. pr.; καὶ εἰς corr.
15. See comm.; ἐπιστόλος.; ἐπιστάτας ed. pr.; καὶ εἰς corr.
16. See comm.; ἐπιστόλος.; ἐπιστάτας ed. pr.; καὶ εἰς corr.
17. See comm.; ἐπιστόλος.; ἐπιστάτας ed. pr.; καὶ εἰς corr.
18. See comm.; ἐπιστόλος.; ἐπιστάτας ed. pr.; καὶ εἰς corr.
19. See comm.; ἐπιστόλος.; ἐπιστάτας ed. pr.; καὶ εἰς corr.
20. See comm.; ἐπιστόλος.; ἐπιστάτας ed. pr.; καὶ εἰς corr.
21. See comm.; ἐπιστόλος.; ἐπιστάτας ed. pr.; καὶ εἰς corr.
22. See comm.; ἐπιστόλος.; ἐπιστάτας ed. pr.; καὶ εἰς corr.
23. See comm.; ἐπιστόλος.; ἐπιστάτας ed. pr.; καὶ εἰς corr.
24. See comm.; ἐπιστόλος.; ἐπιστάτας ed. pr.; καὶ εἰς corr.
If you find a book said to belong to the heretics, do not desire to read it, lest in some way it fill your heart with deadly poison. But hold fast to that into which you were baptized; neither add to nor take away from it.

Beware of knowledge falsely so called, which is contrary to the sound teaching, as the Apostle said.

If you are young and have not as yet ended the slavery of evil passions of the body, and you hear about great and lofty virtues of the elders, do not desire to attain to them without effort. For they do not come to you unless you first perform their service; but if you accomplish their labor they come to you of themselves.

Beware of discouragement, for it destroys every profit of the monk. If you struggle against passion do not be remiss, but cast yourself on God saying, ‘Help me in my misery, for I can do nothing against it’; and he helps you speedily.

If you are resisting the hostile power by ascetic discipline and see that it has weakened before you and has fled in retreat, do not let your heart rejoice, because the wickedness of the spirits is behind them. For they prepare a war worse than the first and leave it behind the city and order it not to move; and if you resist and combat them, then they flee from you deceptively; and if you are proud and confident because of your strength and leave the city to pursue after them—if they see that you have left the city, some offer resistance in front and some rise up behind, and they surround the miserable soul in their midst, having nowhere to flee. Now the city is the constant casting of oneself on God. If therefore one always casts himself down before God with whole heart, he helps him in every temptation and saves him from all the onslaughts of the enemy.

CROSSED OUT: If you pray to God about temptation, that he take it from you, and he does not hear you, do not be discouraged; for he knows what is to your advantage more than you. But if you pray about every request of yours in time of struggle, do not say “Take this from me” or “Give me this,” but pray saying thus: “Lord Jesus, you are my rescuer, I am in your hands. You know what is to my advantage. Help me, do not allow me to sin against you.”

1 E.g. καὶ εἰ] ύποστρέψεις, μὴ ἐκβάλλεις αὐτοῦ (σκ. τὸν ἄλλου ἄδελφον) ἃλλα εἰρεσίαν σεαυτῷ ἄλλο κελλίον. The traces representing εἰρεσίᾳ are not at all distinctive, but the second aorist form built on a first aorist stem would be very much at home in the Koine (Gignac, Grammar 335-345; Jannaris, Grammar 200, 202). ἐὰν...ὑποστρέψεις μετὰ καμάρου εἰς τὸν τόπον, μὴ ἐκβάλεις αὐτοῦ, ἄλλα (ὑπερηφανον σεαυτῷ ἄλλο κελλίον Γηκῆς κελλίου ἄλλο ἔτος; sim. Z; μὴ ἐκβάλεις [sic] τὸν ἄδελφον ἐκ τοῦ κελλίου Ga. See Draguet III, 63* on the text of this and the following line. The situation being discussed here is that of the monk who has temporarily abandoned a cell which he has built but has then returned to find it occupied by another monk.

At the beginning, ώσ looks slightly more probable than καὶ. ὦκο μὴ ἀμορτίσεις εἰς θεὸν G(γῆς; ξ ἡ ἀμορτίσεις, κ ἡ ἀμορτίσεις); sim. Z; καὶ ἀμορτίσεις εἰς θεὸν Ga; sim. Z.

2-3 εἰ τε...ἄλλος εἰ...ἄλλος εἰ...ἄλλος εἰ...ἄλλος εἰ...ἄλλος εἰ...ἀνάκελλεν ἀπό τοῦ κελλίου, ἄθροις εἰ GGa; sim. Z; Draguet notes that ἄθροις have προαιρετικοί and that γάρ can προαιρετικοί in place of it but does not give other details of G's text.

εἰ...ἁπλόοι: On the mood see introd.

1-3 εἰ τε καὶ...παρ' αὐτῶν: So G; sim. Z; om. Ga.

If of the words printed with dotted letters in 5, all but μὴ offer at least some letters which may be read even without context; the ed. pr., however, printed only dots preceding ἄλλος: (βλέπε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἡμῶν ἡ λάβη τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ sugg. Draguet). Reading the papyrus is assisted by a comparison with the version of the whole section given by GGa: ἐὰν ἐξέβλεψαν ἀπὸ κελλίου, βλέπε μὴ λάβης τὸς σελεύς τὸς ἐν αὐτῷ, ἄλλα ἄθροις δι' ἄλλου ἄδελφον πεπλωκόν, καὶ τὸν θεὸν οἰκονομεῖ σε (ἀφοντικές δι' σα G) ὑπονόμου ἀπέχει; sim. Z.

5 ἡμέρας: In earlier passages of this discourse is used in the singular to refer to the daily food necessary to sustain the monk and in the plural to describe unspecified necessities which he must buy. Z has "quaec in ea (sc. cella) sunt usui necessaria."

6 ὑπονόμου: The word occurs from time to time in Christian literature and in Byzantine papyri, but it does not seem to be attested before the third century (Dio Cas. Pr. 109.21).

πάντα λογισμῶν: Taking the noun as it stands, rather than as a spelling error for λογισμοὺ (the reading of GGa), would allow for a plural subject to be understood in the case of καθεξής. The genitive construction with πάντα is paralleled by Dio Chr. 3.70 τῶν γε ἀνθρώπων πάντες; cf. [Xen.] Ath. 3.3, Diod. Sic. 36.4.3, Dion. Hal. 6.74 (B).

9-10 πάντα...κακὸν: So G; sim. Z; πάντα λογισμοὺς πολεμεῖται σε μὴ παθίσχοις ἀνοικοδόμησιν τῶν πατέρων καὶ ἔσοπε: ὡστε ἐστὶ γὰρ χαρὰ τῶν δαμάσκων εἰ μὴ τι ἀνθρώπων κρυπτάσην τοὺς ἐμνημεύοντος Ga (but placed earlier in the discourse; cf. Draguet, ad loc.).
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27-28 φύλαξον... μουσαχοῖ: So γκβ; sim. Z; om. ζ; φύλαξον σαυτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς κοίας: αὕτη γὰρ ἀπώλεσα πάντα καρπὸν μουσαχοῦ Ga.

28-30 εἰ... τάχει: So G (γκβ have ἀποκλύσει instead of βοσκεῖ); εἰ ἄγωντες εἰ πρὸς πάθος, μὴ ἐγκακήσεις, ἀλλὰ προσπελέτῃ τῷ θεῷ ἐν δόλῳ καρδίας σου λέγων ἵνα οὐδέν δῦνομαι, καὶ βοσκεῖ ἐν τάχει Ga; Si cum animi perturbationibus et vitius pugnas, ne desce, sed te ipsum propter coram Deo, "non possum" inquirens in toto corde tuo "per me resistere. Tu mihi misero, Domine, fer auxilium." Et superabis Z.

30 δῶματα: On thematic forms of this verb in Koine, see Gignac, Grammar II 384-385; Janaris, Grammar 198, 234, 258.

31 The wedge-shaped paragraphs at 31 signals clearly the beginning of a new section, which consists of a striking and rather elaborate passage likening the attacks of the pνεύματα upon the soul to those of an enemy upon a city, itself a metaphor for submission to God. Immediately before it, however, G(γκ)/Ga (sim. Z) include another, rather extensive one which inveighs strongly against sexual passion; G(β) like the papyrus omit the passage but insert it at a later point in the discourse (see Draguet ad loc.).

31-42 ἐὰν... ἐξήρω: So G (γκβ have ἀνάλευκοι instead of ἐν πανούργῳ); εἰ ἄγωντες εἰ πρὸς πάθος, μὴ ἐγκακήσεις, ἀλλὰ προσπελέτῃ τῷ θεῷ ἐν δόλῳ καρδίας σου λέγων ἵνα οὐδέν δῦνομαι, καὶ βοσκεῖ ἐν τάχει Ga; Si cum animi perturbationibus et vitius pugnas, ne desce, sed te ipsum propter coram Deo, "non possum" inquirens in toto corde tuo "per me resistere. Tu mihi misero, Domine, fer auxilium." Et superabis Z.

33 πόλεμοι: "A battle force" Hardy; "una guerre" Draguet, based on the Syriac. Is this a concretization, a personification, or both? Zini's Latin expands the sentence, probably to address this problem.

43 ὁ θεοποιήτης: Gignac, Grammar I 142-145 lists no documentary examples of -pp/por- spelled in such a fulousm manner.
are in an irregular, unpracticed school hand which could fit into the second or third century; indicative of this general period is part of a single line of writing in a good documentary hand which survives on the recto. The piece was reused for the school text at a time when a section of the verso fibers of the papyrus had already stripped away. Sectional signs are entirely lacking. There are no real textual variants, although a spelling interchange has produced ὄο for ὄος in 160.

The evidence of the papyri shows clearly that all of the books of the Homeric epics, Iliad I was the one most frequently read or used for study purposes. The lines represented in our fragment occur also in the following published papyri:

P. Bibl. Bodl. MS. gr. class. g 16(P) descriptum, Lameere, Paléographie homérique 004 = Pack 581 (III; roll) - Verses 159-166.
P. Oxy. IV 749 = Pack 582 (II; roll) - Verses 160-167.
P. Univ. Giss. IV 56 = Pack 583 (ca. 100 B.C.; roll) - Verses 163-167.
P. Berol. inv. 9613 descripud, BKT V.1 p. 4 = Pack 584 (II/III; roll) - Verses 164-167.
P. Berol. inv. 6869 + 21158, APF 24-25 (1976) 6-12 (II/III; roll) - Verses 159-164 (no overlap).

9 For the hand of the Homer text compare Turner, Greek Manuscripts, no. 5 (II/III, assigned); Roberts, Literary Hands nos. 20b (206) and 20c (mid-III, assigned) are professional hands which provide some general points of comparison. Lack of attention to the verticality of the left margin by the writer of the Columbia papyrus, as well as fluctuating letter size and spacing, must be responsible for the fact that, although according to the received text lines 160-161 have 37-38 letters apiece, they do not project as far to the right as one would normally expect (contrast especially verses 166-167, with 39 letters apiece, in the photograph).

10 For the sake of completeness, in this list and in the similar lists for the other eight Columbia Homeric fragments all papyri which contain any part of the verses in question are given. However, a papyrus which because of its state of preservation and that of the relevant Columbia papyrus (for example, if the one papyrus preserves only line ends and the other only line beginnings) shows no sexual overlap at all with the portions of verses contained in the Columbia text under discussion, is annotated with "no overlap." If actual overlap concerns only some of the verses, the fact is ignored. Of course, it is often not possible to verify such particulars for papyri which were published only as description.