

WILLIAM FURLEY – VICTOR GYSEMBERGH

A NEW EDITION OF *P.ROSS.GEORG. I 21*

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A NEW EDITION OF *P.ROSS.GEORG. I 21*

This article is, unfortunately, to put the cart before the horse, or, more accurately, the horse behind the cart. When we published *Reading the Liver. Papyrological Texts on Ancient Greek Extispicy* we regretted that we had been unable either to locate one of our key textual witnesses, *P.Ross.Georg. I 21*, or to obtain a photo of it. Since then, we have been able to rectify that situation. V. Gysembergh visited St. Petersburg in summer 2017 and was able to find, examine and photograph the papyrus in question. It is to be found under the inventory number 13432 at the Hermitage Museum.¹ This paper presents the results of our re-examination of the papyrus helped by autopsy and, in the case of William Furley, by Gysembergh's photographs. At a number of points in the text we have been able to obtain improved readings; some whole new words have emerged, many more minor points of detail have been added, too. Our strategy here is to repeat our text from Tübingen 2015, with those places given in bold type where changes have been made. To save space we do not print a transcript followed by a corrected text, but rather we try to kill two birds with one stone; that is, we give an exact transcript of the papyrus, including mistaken orthography, combined with all the accents and punctuation of a modern text. The whole apparatus from 2015 has likewise been repeated, with new items or elements set on a new line and given an asterisk before each. This leads to a rather jagged appearance but the reader's eye will perhaps more easily find the new entries like this. It should be said here that the overall sense of the piece remains the same; but some quite major, and many minor, improvements to the sense have been achieved.

The papyrus, as can be seen from the illustration, consists of a single, rectangular, fragment from a papyrus roll. The remains of three columns are preserved, whereby the first column is torn through the middle and hence defective. The format of the fragment might fit the hypothesis that the roll had been cut in half by the discoverers before sale. The line count for all three columns is 40, 41, 41, the physical height of the columns approximately 21 cm. The letter count per line is approximately 20,² physical width 6–6.5 cm. The writing is Turner's round formal, and it is along the fibres (recto). Bilinearity is observed except for beta, phi, psi and (marginally) rho, all of which are higher or lower (or both). Sections, that is, excerpts from various longer works, are marked by titles which are inset from the left margin and by the marginal mark διπλῆ ὀβελισμένη. In addition there are little crescent lines at beginning and end of lines belonging to a title: shallow bowl-shaped above and upturned below. Further, the first line of a new section in column two is outset (ἐκθεσις) approximately two letters wide from the left margin. There is a wide bottom (5.5 cm) and top margin (4.5 cm) whose width is approximately ten lines. Letter shapes are all quite conventional without idiosyncrasies. Sigma is very nearly joined up, making it, where faint, quite difficult to distinguish from omikron or the left side of omega. Mu is of the spread-out type. There are no diacritical signs apart from dihaeresis (*trema*) above initial iota and upsilon. There is occasional use of *iota adscriptum*. There seems no reason to doubt the opinion of the first editors that the writing is to be dated to the 2nd c. AD. On the verso are recipes datable to the 4th c. It seems, then, that our text enjoyed currency until then.

Text

	ἐπ' αὐτῶ] κόνιον, ἔσσεσθαι	
	χαλεπήν τ]ῆν ἀποδημί[α]ν	Col. i
	αὐδῶ, λυ]σιτελή δέ· ἐᾶ[v] δὲ	
]εν μὴ ἐπιγένη-	
5	ται] δὲ ὁδὸς φανῆι	
].σε.α ἴδια.	

¹ Our thanks go to Mariam Dandamaeva, who helped Gysembergh locate and read the papyrus.

² Zereteli counts between 16 and 22 letters. Zereteli also notes the sign > as a filler at the right hand end of a line with few letters.



P.Ross.Georg. I 21 (Photo taken by and copyright of Victor Gysembergh)

Ὑπὲρ εὐπραξίας] καὶ
 δυσ]πραξίας τῶν ἐ-
 νεσ]τώτων καιρῶν
 10 Ὅ]γάσου Κυπρίου
 Ὑπὲρ εὐπ]ραξίας καὶ δυσπρα-
 ξίας τῶ]ν ἐνεστώτων
 καιρῶν· εἰ] καὶ ἐπὶ τόπου ἢ
 ἐπ' ἀλλο]δαπῆς καρδία γυ-
 15 μνή πρ]ακ[τι]κὸν ἐπὶ τό-
 που] . . . α.ης ἐργαστι-
 κὸν καὶ οἰ] χρόνοι ἐνδε-
 λεχεῖς, σ]υνιοῦσα ἐνπρα-
 κτικὸν ἐ]πὶ τῶν τόπων
 20 καὶ ἐπὶ ξέ]νης· ἀγτιστάτης
 δ' ὁδὸς δυσ]πρακτικὸν πά-
 ντως, ἂν δ'] ἐπὶ τόπῳ ἀντισ-
 τάτης πῆρ]ωσιν ἢ δεσμὸν
 ἢ] ἢ λάβη, χαλεπόν·
 25 κἂν εὐ]ρη κ]όνιον ἐπὶ λο-
 βού ὁ ἱερέ]ων ἔξω τοῦ ἰδί-
 ου τόπου ἢ ἐ]πὶ ξένης, δ]υσ-
 πρακτικὸν] καὶ τῶν τόπων
] τῶ]ς ἰδίους τό-
 30 ποῖς] τῶν τόπων
 ἐπ' ἀλ]λοδαπῆς οὐ
 πρ]ακτέον δ' ἐ]άν
 λο]βῶν ἢ τῶν
 ἐ]άν τε ἐν χώ-
 35 ραι] παθοῦντα
 τ]ὰς πράξεις>
 ἐπ'] ἀ]γαθῶι ἢ ἐ-
 πὶ κακῶι . . . ἐ]πὶ τόπου
] κακίας ἐ]άν
 40] . . . , τύλαι
 δὲ δύο κεκοσμημένα· κἂν
 τρεῖς καλαῖ κα[ί] πρακτικ[αί]
 κἂν τις αὐτῶν κατ' ἰδίαν
 δεθῆ καὶ ἐπὶ ξένης καὶ ἐ-
 45 πὶ τόπῳ, πρακτικά· κἂν
 {κἂν} πᾶσαι δεθῶσιν ἐπὶ τό-
 πων, πρακτικά· ἄτυλα λεί-
 αν κωλυτικά καὶ ξενειτεί-
 ας τάφος πραχθεῖσιν ἐπιγε-
 50 νόμενος ἄπρακτος ποιεῖ·
 ὁδὸς κέλευθος ἐπὶ τάφοσ[[ι]]
 φέρουσα τοὺς χρό[νο]υς ἀπρά-
 κτους καὶ κινδ[υ]ν[ώ]δεις
 προαυδῶ, ἢ τε ἀντ[ικ]έλευ-
 55 θος τοῦτο παθοῦ[σα π]ρὸς τὴν

Col. ii

ἐνεστῶσαν πρᾶ[ξιν] μει-
 κρῶς ἐνπράκ[το]υ[ς] δ]εῖκνυ-
 σι τοὺς χρόνους· κέλευθος
 φέρουσα ἐπὶ γλυκεῖαν, ἂν ἢ
 60 γλυκεῖα κεκοσμημένη «ἦ»,
 ἐνπράκτους τοὺς χρόνους
 παρέξεται· ἐὰν ὑπέρμε-
 στος, πεπραγμένους· ἐὰν
 δὲ ἀπόκενος ἢ χολή, οὔτε
 65 λείαν ἐνπράκτους οὔτε
 λείαν ἀπράκ[το]υ[ς] σημαί-
 νει· ἐὰν δὲ προπέιπτη
 ἢ γλυκεῖα ἐπὶ ξένης, ἐν->
 πρακτοτέρα γαίνεται τῶν
 70 ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπ[ο]υ.

Ἐγγορι[ῶ]ν Εὐδ[ή]μου

Περὶ δὲ [ἐ]νπο[ρ]ι[ῶ]ν κα[ὶ] παν-
 τὸς κέ[ρ]δους θυομένωι
 καὶ κεφ[α]λή ἔστω ὑγ[ι]ή[ς], ὦ-
 75 μοι παχεῖς, τράπεζ[α] λ[ε]ί[α]
 καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς χεῖρες ἐπέστω-
 σαν καὶ εὐχροοὶ ἐπ' ἄκραν
 τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀϋξάνουσαι
 καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα τοῦ ἥ[πα]τος ὑ-
 80 ψηλὸν καὶ ἀνένκοιλον,
 καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἡ δοχὴ ε[ὔ]ση-
 μος· εὔσημος δέ, ὅταν >
 ἔχη τὴν φύσιν ἀνθρώπου
 καθεύδοντος φλεφάρο[ις]
 85 πα[ρ]απλησίαν μῆτε λείαν
 β[α]θύνουσα μῆτε ἐπιπό-
 λαιος], καὶ ὅταν δίκρα[νο]ς
 γένηται, καὶ τὸ δίκρανον
 ἐπὶ τ[ρ]άπεζαν βλέπηι, ἀφ'
 90 ἡ[ς] κ[έ]ρδη μαντεύεται,
 καὶ ὅταν στέαρ ἔχη ἐν αὐτῇ
 καὶ ὅταν ἡ ὁδὸς λελυμένη
 κα[ὶ] πύλαι ἀνεφωγμένοι καὶ
 χο[λ]ή εὐχρους καὶ πλήρη[ς],
 95 ὑπ[ο]δεδουκῖα τὸ ἥπαρ οὐ-
 δὲ [π]αυρίδι, οὐδὲ προβάλλου-
 σα τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐπ' ὀλίγον, οὐδὲ
 γὰρ δ[ί]δωσι τὴν ἔξοδον.
 ἔστω δὲ καὶ ἀντικέλε[υ]θος
 100 ἐποῦσα
 γ[...]. ἱερεὺς - 9-10 -
 .[...]. ἐ[π]αγε..φ[...].
 καὶ [...]. καὶ τ[ὸ] πᾶν ἢ εὔσημ-

Col. iii

- *78 ἀύξάνουσαι WF: ἀνατείνουσαι Z–K (qui leg. ανατινουςαι Π): ἀχλύνουσαι Be
 80 ἀνέγκοιλον Z–K: ἀνιέν κορυφήν Be
 *81 καὶ leg. suppl. WF: ἐάν Z–K
 *82 post μοσ sign. interpunct.
 *83 ἀνθρώπου Π, corr. Z–P
 *84 φλεφαρο[ις] Π, βλεφάροις corr. edd.
 *90 κ[έ]ρδη μαντεύεται leg. suppl. WF: κ[ρ]άδην ἀντέ[χ]εται Z–K
 *95–96 οὐ/δέ [π]αυρίδι leg. suppl. dub. WF: οὐ / κ[. δ]υσιν leg. Z–K: οὐ[δέ.]/...αυσιαί Be
 97 τὸ ὑγρόν Z–K: τοῦτον Be
 99 ἀντικέλευθος Z–K: ἐπικέλευθος Be
 *100 ἐποῦσα leg. suppl. WF: ἐπ' ἔ[σχ]ατο[v] dub. Z–K
 *101 ἱερεῦς leg. suppl. WF
 101 πορευομένη WF: πορευο[με]ν[] leg. Z–K 102 ἐπανελθοντ- (sc. -όντος vel -όντι) WF: ε.αποδ.. leg.
 Be: ε[.]αν[.]ο[....] leg. Z–K
 *103 εὔσημ- valde incertum
 104–105 στρι/φνόν Z–K: στρει/φνον Π: στρυ/φνόν Be
 113 ἐ[τέρ]α δ' αἶρα cj. WF: [ἄλλη δ'] αἶρα olim WF: ἐ[πὶ τῆ] αἶραι tent. Be 114 ὁμολογεῖ Be
 122 τινουσαι Π.

Translation

... a speckled appearance [on it], [this signifies] that the journey will be [difficult], but profitable; if, however, ... does not appear [...] and the Way appears [.....] individual.

*On the auspiciousness or inauspiciousness of present moments
 by (?) [On]asos of Cyprus*

Column I 7: Concerning the auspiciousness or inauspiciousness of present moments, a naked Heart [of the liver], whether on the familiar side or on the other, is beneficial on the familiar side, on the alien side conducive to action and the times [are] ideal (reading ἐντελεχεῖς for ἐνδελεχεῖς Π); in conjunction(?) it (the Heart) is favourable on the familiar sides and on the alien side. But an opposite [Way] is absolutely unpropitious, [and if] an opposite [Way] on the familiar side shows a (?)malformation or a fibrous attachment or [...], it is problematic. And if the [sacri]ficer finds speckles on the lobe outside the familiar side or on the alien side, [that is] inauspicious ...]
 [... lines 28–40 are too damaged to translate ...]

... [if there] are two well-formed pustules; and if [there are] three fine and propitious ones. Column ii
 And if one of them is attached separately, whether on the alien side or the familiar side, they are propitious. And if they are all attached on the familiar sides, that is efficacious. Defunct pustules are very unfavourable and a Grave of Foreign Occupation has a negative effect on things [already] done. A Way leading to a Grave predicts that the times are unsuitable and dangerous. An opposing Way which has this nature indicates faintly that the times are right for the impending action. A Way leading to the Sweetness (= gall-bladder), if the Sweetness is well filled, will make the times favourable. If it is overfull, [it shows the times] are over and done with. And if the gallbladder is empty, it shows the times as neither very propitious nor unpropitious. If the Sweetness has a proclivity to the alien side, it is more propitious than those [inclining] to the right.

On Business by (?) Eudemos

Column II 32: For the person sacrificing (or 'in the animal sacrificed') for mercantile dealings and all profit the Head should be sound, the Shoulders thick, the Table smooth and, extending from it, the Hands should be of good colour, increasing (or 'proliferating') toward the top of

the Head, and [let the] Bastion of the liver be high and uncollapsed, and the Impression (δοχή) on (or ‘over’) them be propitious; it *is* propitious when it has a shape like the eyelids of a sleeping person, neither excessively concave nor protruding and when it is twin-pointed and the branching looks toward the Table, from which Gains/Profits are prophesied; and (sc. the *doché* is propitious) when it has hard fat in it and when the Way is free and the Gates are open and the gallbladder is of good colour and full, and is not sunk into the liver one little bit, neither emitting nor discharging fluid even slightly, for it does not permit discharge. And let there be an opposite Way on it [...sc. when the merchant sets off ? ...] when he returns [...] [and if/when] the whole is auspicious and well-proportioned and firm, and the Heart is seemly, smooth and of good colour, having Ears and an unfatty Table, and the same well-sized Weapon, and with hard fat over the whole Heart, that signifies profits. And when hard fat appears on the liver but the Weapon is different to (sc. that on the first) liver, if the liver [sc. otherwise] matches the other liver, the merchant stands to gain.

The inauspicious signs of the liver are: a damaged Head of the liver indicates loss, as do thin Shoulders, and Hands which extend on the exterior to the Head [signify] robbery.

Notes

2 χαλεπήν is e.g., but satisfies the required number of letters in the line (approximately 19).

3 αὐδᾶ, likewise e.g. In line 54 we have προαυδᾶ.

After λυ]σιτελή δέ we now read a (mid-) point, and δὲ at line end.

4–5 ἐπιγένη/[ται] can stand, but ἐπιπέσηι for example, or ἐπιτελήι would also be possible.

6 Probably not αἰδία, eternal, as the dihaeresis usually marks initial iota in this hand.

10 Salvatore Costanza, P.Ross.Georg. I 21 col. i l. 10, e l’origine della ieroscopia greca da Cipro, *ZPE* 200, 2016, 435–442 (here 437) has now suggested supplementing the traces]ιασου as Ὀνάσου (nom. Ὀνασος), citing forms of this name (Ὀνασος, Ὀνασις, Ὀνασᾶς) occurring in Cyprus in the 4/3rd c. AD, see Fraser, P. M., Matthews, E. (eds.), *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. I: *The Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica*, Oxford, 1987, p. 349f. This seems a promising possibility, although one expects 2–3 letters before the break. A wide nu preceded by omikron might be considered sufficient to fill the gap.

16 α.ης: One might expect a reading here such as ἐπ’ ἀλλοδαπῆς or ἐπὶ ξένης but the traces do not support either.

17–18 ἐνδε[λεχεῖς]: The proper reading, in our opinion, should still be ἐντελεχεῖς (see *app. crit.*), but in the main text we leave the word as written by the scribe.

18 We now read]νιουσα instead of Z–K ἐνίστε δ’, which is palaeographically vulnerable, and dubious in sense, as it seems to partly contradict or repeat what has already been said. We seem to have a participle, nominative feminine singular, probably agreeing with καρδία in line 14, and somehow providing an opposite or alternative to καρδία γυ[μνή], the latter word plausibly supplemented by Z–K on the strength of γυ[in line 14. We have considered κονίουσα ‘is speckled’ (from κονίω but the intransitive meaning required ‘be dusty’ or ‘speckled’ is not properly attested) or συνιοῦσα, ‘going with’ or ‘in conjunction’ (LSJ s.v. II.4) or ‘contracted’ (LSJ s.v. II.3). On the whole this latter looks to be the most plausible guess. The ink trace before nu is at least compatible with the upper right corner of upsilon.

26 ὁ ἱερέ]ων: Earlier editors supplemented ὁ θύ]ων here but ἱερέ]ων receives some support from the new reading ιερευ- in 101, and has the virtue of filling the line after putative -βοῦ.

27–28 δ]υσ/[πρακτικόν], ‘counter-productive’: There is space for three letters after ξένης and the last two traces suit upsilon-sigma. Moreover, the context here may be taken to be negative rather than positive; accordingly we suggest δ]υσ/[πρακτικόν] as in 21, without any assurance, however.

38 ἐ]πὶ: There is little ink to read, but ἐπὶ seems to be more or less required.

41 κεκοσμημένα: In *Reading the Liver* we took this as complement of a condition. Now it appears better to take the participle as attribute of the pustules, likewise in the following clause. We have adjusted the translation accordingly.

45–46 The scribe has repeated κῶν at the end of 45 and the beginning of 46.

51 At the end of the line the scribe seems to have written ταφοσι possibly with the final iota crossed out. What we need is τάφον, accusative, and it is hard to know what crossed the scribe's mind. One might postulate τάφοις, perhaps, but it would be palaeographically groundless.

55 π]ρὸς: On closer inspection, π]ρὸς τὴν, rather than earlier editors' εἰς τὴν, shows itself as preferable. What had been taken for the left parts of epsilon is almost certainly rho (too high for epsilon).

60 The papyrus has at line end κεκοσμημενη. The previous line ended with η, which might be the definite article with γλυκεῖα in the following line, or it might be ἦι, subjunctive, after ἔν in 59 (as we thought in *Reading the Liver*). Now, however, it seems preferable to read ἦ / γλυκεῖα and κεκοσμημένη ἦι at line end (haplography).

78 ἀύξάνουσαι, 'growing', or 'getting more' (towards the Head), said of the χεῖρες, 'Hands', on the surface of the liver. After initial alpha the traces are difficult; upsilon is faint but discernible, xi and second alpha are mere shadows, before one reaches the 'dry land' of nu. Nevertheless it is fair to say, we think, that the supplement is supported by the traces. Z–K postulated ἀνατινουσαι on the papyrus, which they interpreted as ἀνατείνουσαι, 'stretching up' (sc. toward the Head). It is true that τίνουσαι is written like that in line 122, but here there is not even room for -νατι- in the gap, which can accommodate maximally three letters. The correct orthography, entailing -νατει- in the gap (five letters), is out of the question. Accordingly we postulate ἀύξάνουσαι, which has three letters between the initial alpha and the nu. The 'Hands' would be said to 'increase' or 'grow more' (sc. abundant) towards the Head of the liver. In light of our hypothesis in *Reading the Liver*, p. 48–49 that χεῖρες are (capillary) blood vessels around the Head, i.e. the *processus caudatus/pyramidalis*, proliferation makes good anatomical sense (see the picture on p. 25 of *Reading the Liver*). We noted there (p. 66) that the number of veins around the Head of the liver was considered relevant, cf. *Sen. Oed.* 361–364.

ἀύξάνω has intransitive meaning 'grow', 'increase', in later usage, LSJ s.v. III.

81 καὶ which can now be read, gives much better sense to the sentence. The words in 81–82 (το-μος) are not a condition (ἐάν) for everything which had gone before from 72–80 but another sign added (καὶ) to the list in 72–80. This considerably relieves the burden of interpretation which we had felt in *Reading the Liver*.

87–88 δίκρα[vo]ς, 'bifurcated', and τὸ δίκρανον, 'the Forking', or 'the Fork'. Branches (Bab. *larû*) are a prominent feature of many parts of the liver in Mesopotamian extispicy. Often considered as significant are the direction of the *larû*, the side it is on and the part of the liver to which it points. See e.g. the commentary text in U. Koch-Westenholz, *Babylonian Liver Omens. The Chapters Manzāzu, Padānu and Pān tākalti of the Babylonian Extispicy Series, Mainly from Aššurbanipal's Library*, Copenhagen, 2000, 42:50–51, giving a series of protaseis without apodoseis, illustrated by a diagram: 'If the right side of the Path has a Branch upwards and this Branch points to the Seat to the left of the Path. If the middle of the Path has a Branch upwards and this Branch points to the Seat to the left of the Path. If the base of the Path has a Branch upwards and this Branch points to the Seat to the left of the Path. If the left side of the Path has a Branch downwards and this Branch points to the Seat to the left of the Path. If the middle side of the Path has a Branch downwards and this Branch points to the Seat to the left of the Path. If the left side of the Path has a Branch downwards and this Branch points to the Seat to the left of the Path.' In this text we have an analogous case of a branching of the δοχή where the Branch points to the Table (the *lobus caudatus*; *Reading the Liver*, p. 50). If this is so, it would be a further indication that the Impression, δοχή, is the groove on the *lobus sinister* called *manzāzu*, 'Presence', and *naplastu*, 'Glance, Eye', in Mesopotamian extispicy, which we considered with caution in *Reading the Liver*, p. 51–53. There, our main reticence was the use of δοχαί in the plural, yet this could simply refer to the (quite usual) presence of several grooves on the *lobus sinister*. What's more, the fact that the δοχή looking like a sleeping man's eye is deemed propitious (l. 82–85), may be construed as a trace of its alternative designation as the 'Glance', thus providing yet another argument for the identification of δοχή as the equivalent of *manzāzu/naplastu*. There being no equivalent to the Table in Mesopotamian terminology, it is not possible to compare the hermeneutics of this given omen.

90 κ[έ]ρδη μαντεύεται: The reading of μαντεύεται is relatively clear, but the previous word has a gap of two letters between kappa and delta, with a slight letter trace before the delta, making the reading a matter of guesswork. κ[έ]ρδη stands a good chance of being correct, as the trace before delta suits the bottom tip of rho, and the context of profits to be achieved in business – mentioned in lines 73 (in the heading) and 111 – supports the conjecture here. The writer is considering the circumstances under which the Doche (an important line on the liver for prophetic purposes) is propitious, one of which is ‘when the Dikranon (branching fork of the Doche) points toward the Table’, to which the writer adds ‘from which Profits/Gains are prophesied’, meaning that such a configuration is propitious. In later Greek the active μαντεύω, ‘prophesy’, is found (*LSJ*), so that the passive here ‘is/are prophesied’ is intelligible. One might add that τράπεζα also meant ‘money-changer’s table’ *et sim.* thus underpinning the diviner’s reading.

95–96 οὐδὲ [π]αυρίδι ‘not even seldom’ = ‘hardly at all’: Perhaps the most difficult of the new readings. Previous editors had not been able to make sense of it, and we offer the new decipherment with caution. παυρίδιος is a diminutive of παῦρος, ‘little, small’. We might posit here an adverbial use of the neuter plural, as the neuter plural παύρα is used adverbially, ‘seldom’, in Hes. *Th.* 780, Ar. *Peace* 764; Hes. *W & D* 133 has παυρίδιον ζώεσκον ἐπὶ χρόνον, ‘they lived only for a very short time’. As uncertain as this reading is, the individual letters – with the exception of rho – are mostly clear. The letter trace after the hole looks more like the bottom right hand corner of delta, but the scribe sometimes adds a serif to the diagonal of alpha, and this may be the case here.

97 οὐδὲ (*iam* Bekshrem): There are traces after upsilon which can be interpreted as very cramped, or miniature, δε. Anyway, the traces do not look like the scribe’s usual place-filler >. We would guess that the little letters delta-epsilon, if such they are, were added by the scribe as an afterthought.

100 ἐποῦσα, ‘on it’: A relatively clear decipherment, but unfortunately it does not help us with the remainder of the line.

101 ἱερεὺς, ‘priest’, or ‘sacrificer’: Or possibly a form of the verb ἱερεύω such as ἱερεύων or ἱερεύοντος. The last arc could be the remainder of any circular letter form, c, o, ω, not likely ε, as there is no trace of the cross-bar. There is only scanty evidence regarding the integration of liver diviners in the clergy of Greco-Roman Egypt or elsewhere in the Greek world. In Greek literature they are generally termed μάντις, not ἱερεῖς (see e.g. Xenophon, Plutarch, Polyaeus and Arrian apud Blecher, *De extispicio capita tria*, Giessen, 1905, p. 3 ff.). However, there are rare instances of them being considered as ἱερεῖς: Porph. *de Abst.* II 50 groups together οἱ τῶν τῆδε ἱερεῖς καὶ ἱεροσκοποὶ as being concerned with the same ritual prohibitions; Gal. *In Hipp. de vict. acut.*, p. 128, 15–129, 11 Helmreich, argues that Hippocrates and Homer sometimes used ἱερεὺς in the sense of ‘entrail diviner’. Indeed, this meaning was suggested by the common term ἱερά/ἱερεῖα for the entrails to be inspected; see further Hesychius, ι 283: ἱεράται: ἱεροσκοπεῖ (*LSJ* s.v. ἱεράομαι only indicates “to be a priest or priestess”).

102 ἐ[π]αγε..ω[: ἐπανελθοντ- (sc. -όντος vel -όντι) or perhaps ἐπανελθών, ‘when he returns’, remains possible, even likely, as we thought in *Reading the Liver*.

113 ἐ[τέρα δ'] ἀῖρα. Previously we had guessed [ἄλλη δ'] but this does not fit the gap adequately, and the initial traces suit epsilon better than alpha. The meaning remains the same.

121 Following our new reading at 78, what makes the Hands bad here is the fact that they point towards the Head from the outside. But what is the outside? The parallel in Lucan *Phars.* 1.621–622 gives a clue: *venasque minaces / hostili de parte*, ‘the threatening veins from the foreign side’. It seems we should understand ἔξωθεν in a technical sense: from outside of their expected or assigned place. Compare ἔξω τοῦ ἰδίου τόπου (26–27).

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