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DIVINATION, PYROMANCY, HESIOD: P. GEN. INV. 161 HAS MORE TO OFFER

aus: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 203 (2017) 1–23

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DIVINATION, PYROMANCY, HESIOD: P. GEN. INV. 161 HAS MORE TO OFFER

Following the appearance of *Reading the Liver. Papyrological Studies in Greek Extispicy* (W. Furlley/V. Gysembergh, Tübingen 2015) the Geneva text inv. 161 was brought to our attention, which seems to have something to do with divination, perhaps specifically extispicy. With the help of new digital scans we decided to take a fresh look at the fragments first published by André Hurst in 1998,¹ to which a number seem to have been added in the meantime by the keepers in Geneva, who have assimilated fragments with the same handwriting. V. Gysembergh examined the papyrus in November 2016 with the help of P. Schubert. Hurst was concerned in the *ed. pr.* to publish a minimalistic text of what could be read, without bold conjectures. We have the opposite intention here, namely to tease the maximum sense possible from these badly preserved fragments, consistent with the evidence, however faint, and aided by the background we have gained from *Reading the Liver*. Quite late in the preparation of this article a new citation from Hesiod, no less, revealed itself in fr. 5; whether genuine or spurious, is at present impossible to say.

According to Hurst, Claude Wehrli was responsible for the order of the fragments as they appear in the *ed. pr.* However, this order appears to be more or less arbitrary, as content does not permit arranging the fragments in a logical sequence, and there is no discussion of the physical appearance of the fragments (colour, fibres etc.) in the *ed. pr.* The order of the fragments as they appear in the online photograph provided by the Bibliothèque de Genève serves merely to fit them all into one frame, and therefore tells us nothing about the original book-roll.² As already stated, some new fragments have been assimilated with those in the original publication by the Genevan librarians and their publication here is therefore *ed. pr.*³

The papyrus is a nicely written text datable to the second century AD⁴ with writing in Turner's formal round style. It is carefully bilinear, only phi and psi have long, sometimes extravagantly long, verticals. Rho is easy to mistake with iota, having only a small top loop. Some letters are somewhat oversized: omega and nu typically. Epsilon is only minimally distinct from theta. The writer carefully adds serifs to many letter forms, but not always consistently. As is typical with prose, the text is written in 'Blocksatz' with approximately twenty letters to the line on the 'good' side of the papyrus, parallel to the fibres. *Paragraphus* appears at various points, according to our view, to mark new sentences or sense units. Colon appears occasionally as a punctuation mark, for example to mark the new 'Hesiod' fragment in fr. 5. Diction is that of Attic prose except possibly in fr. 1.16 where we seem to have Ionic κείνων for ἐκείνων. Mistakes in spelling (as far as we can judge) are rare, with possible cases in frr. 1.5, 1.14, 7 col. ii.31, 10 col. ii.5. We find several cases where nu is not assimilated: frr. 5.8, 11.10. This was a good piece of work, indicating that the content was considered valuable. Where the writing is well preserved it is like a printed document; that is, however, rarely the case. Below we give a restored text, then a commentary aimed primarily at explaining our readings but also treating some pressing questions of interpretation. We retain the original numbering of the fragments for clarity's sake, only reversing 3 and 4,⁵ and following on from them with the new unedited fragments (9, 10 etc.).

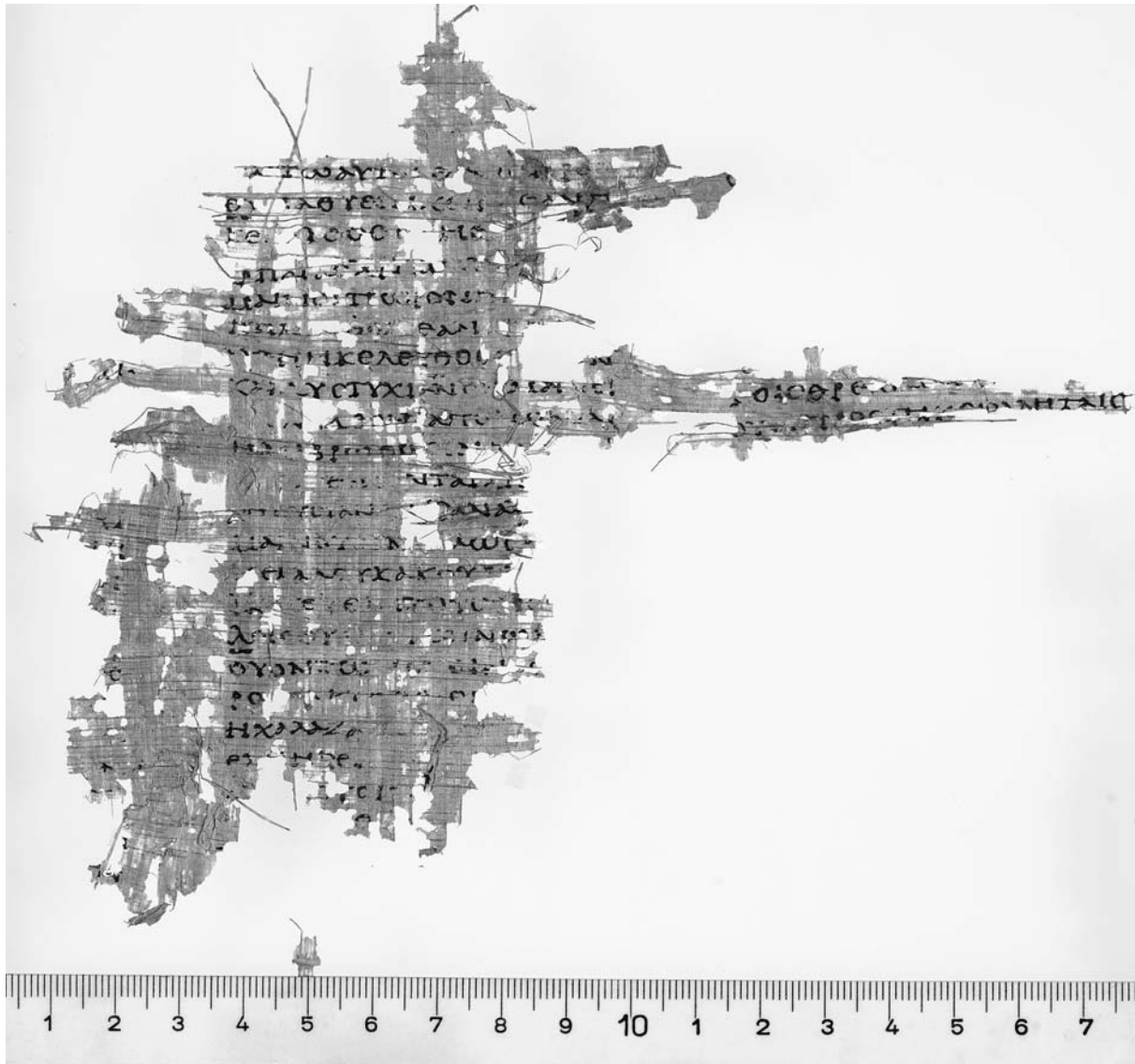
¹ *Ed. pr.* André Hurst, Le papyrus de Genève inv. 161 (Bibliothèque publique et universitaire), *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia, Firenze 1998*, Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli», Firenze 2001, 669–679.

² <http://www.ville-ge.ch/musinfo/imageZoom/?iip=bgeiip/papyrus/pgen161-1ri.tif>.

³ Permission to publish these fragments was kindly given by P. Schubert. All references to 'the Genevan librarians' in this article may be understood to refer to Paul Schubert assisted by Christelle Fischer, Sarah Gaffino and Isabelle Jornot (online credits).

⁴ Confirmed now again by P. Schubert.

⁵ As these appear to represent respectively the end and beginning of a section from one Eudemos' work on Καλλιερεῖν, *Favourable Signs*.



Bibliothèque de Genève, P. Gen. inv. 161, fragment 1
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fragment 1+6 col. ii

Column i consists of just a few line endings with single letters.

Column ii

καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ θεῷ ἢ προ-	
θυ[μ]ία θύειν κει[μ]ία ἐὰν ἢ	
κέλευθος ἐφῆ, ἐ[πει]δὴ	
ἀρπαγὰς χρημάτων ση-	
μαίνει, πωρον η.	5
ἢ τι χαλεπὸν ἐὰν.ν.[
αὕτη ἢ κέλευθος π[όν]ον	
καὶ δυστυχίαν σημαίνει.	
[1-2]...δε ἐὰν ἀπόλωνται	
ἢ διαβρωθῶσιν η.[...].	10
.....ενφονται, χρη[τ]οῖς	

ἀπουσίαν τοῦ θανάτ[ου ση-]
 μάινουσιν, [ὀ]μῶς τ[ε] καὶ
 μεγάλου κακοῦ πα[ντοίου,
 ἵκετεύειν τοὺς θεοῦ[ς] μεγά- 15
 λου[ς] θύμασι. κείνων [δὲ ἀκ-
 ούντων ο.οινος [
 ρο[.].κ...ο.[
 ἢ χάλαζα[v] ...[
 ἐλεήσει[v] 20
 ..[.].οτοι..[
 [.....]ο[
 .[

App. crit.⁶

5 πορον Π: πόρον Raffaella Criboire in disc. 6 χαλεπόν: χ VG, al. WF 9 ἀπόλωνται VG post
 ἀπολλώνται WF 11 in. [ἀποστ]ενώνται e.g. VG τοῖς WF: ἐπεὶ VG 12 τοῦ VG

Translation⁷

‘ ... and the inclination/willingness to sacrifice to the same god is given if the Way/journey demands it, as it points toward robbery of money, [? distress] or some difficulty, if ... this Way/journey points toward [trouble] or misfortune. If ... are damaged or eaten through or ... , it is necessary to imprecate the gods with large offerings which point toward the absence of death and of any other great evil. If they listen ... ’

1 This seems to be the first line of this column, with a clear top margin above. But it is not necessarily the first line of a section. First four words relatively clear, although the last two letters of θεω are ghostly. There is no indication in the text below which god is meant: the god of divination, Apollo, or the god of travel, Hermes? Then a mysterious trace followed by, probably, προ connecting with θυ.ια in the following line as προθυμία (possibly in dative case). The trace of the pi should be compared with the pi in ἀπραγία (4) to show that this is how the scribe did the left descender. Before this probably the definite article ἡ, of which one can see something of the left descender. After προ there is an indefinable trace, probably not a letter at all. The rare word προθυρέα, door-keeper (here perhaps προθυρέα, acc.), is ruled out by date and context.

2 After ἡ προθυ[μ]ία, θύειν follows as an objective infinitive, ‘enthusiasm (or ‘willingness’, ‘inclination’) to sacrifice’. The last two letters are damaged. Sense, and the ink traces, then suggest κείτ[ε]ται, ‘occurs’ or ‘is given’. The sentence continues with conditions according to which ‘the willingness to sacrifice is given’. They are given by conditional clauses with ἐάν and subjunctive, ‘if so-and-so is the case’. Under -υ[μ]ία at line beginning there is the first of the *paraphrasi* which feature sporadically in this papyrus. It seems to mark syntactical units, here the comma after κείτ[ε]ται, followed by a number of conditions (ushered in by ἐάν).

2–3 ἡ κέλευθος: Hurst took this to refer to some ‘journey’ the diviner was divining about. Salvatore Costanza, P. Gen. inv. 161: un trattato di ieroscopia, *Analecta Papyrologica* 16–17 (2004–2005), 37–46,⁸ argued that the term was in fact that familiar from the extispicy texts, a Way (line) on the liver of deep significance. In Furley–Gysembergh I 51 we find κέλευθος used in combination with ὁδός (ὁδός κέλευθος,

⁶ In this and the following *apparatus* AH = André Hurst (*ed. pr.*), WF = William Furley, VG = Victor Gysembergh; all new readings compared to the *editio princeps* by AH are by WF unless specifically attributed to others.

⁷ Elements of the translation are, of course, as tentative as the readings on which it is based.

⁸ Cf. *id.*, *Manuali su papiro di observationes divinatorie e diffusione del sapere magico*, in: Magali de Haro Sanchez (ed.), *Écrire la magie dans l'antiquité. Actes du colloque international (Liège, 13–15 octobre 2011)*. *Papyrologica Leodiensia* 5, Liège 2015, 173–185.

‘Path-Way’ perhaps). Other instances are ἡ ἀντικέλευθος (I 54, 99, II 19, 20), κέλευθος alone I 58. In this or the other fragments of P. Gen. 161 there are, however, no explicit references to the liver or its lobes, such as we find in the extispicy papyri. In fr. 7 col. iii.3 there is another instance of *χημαίνει*, this time apparently with *δίδοδος*, ‘passageway’ (?), as subject. The meaning again might be literal or symbolic. Another instance of κέλευθος in fr. 9 col. ii.17 is clearly literal, ‘way’, ‘journey’. Perhaps there is a further possibility here beyond either literal ‘journey’ or technical-symbolic ‘Way’ (line on the liver). κέλευθος may be a symbolic term in another area of divination which we do not know about. In favour of the symbolic interpretation of κέλευθος here is the general similarity of sentence structure (so-and-so signifies x,y,z) with other divinatory manuals, hieroscopic and palmomantic, which we possess.⁹ Moreover, in the latter section of this fragment (lines 9ff.) the probability is that the symbolic language continues. For if κέλευθος in lines 3 and 7 is meant literally as ‘journey’, what can be the subject of the verbs ‘if [? ?] is damaged or eaten through or [? ?]’? It does not seem possible to supplement a literal subject here, whilst some divinatory token might well be ‘damaged or eaten through’. Against the symbolic reading of κέλευθος here one might object that it is illogical to say ‘enthusiasm to sacrifice to the same god exists, if the Way [sc. on the liver] demands it’ as one has already sacrificed in order to inspect the Way. But there are ways round that difficulty. Inspection of the Way may come from an initial sacrifice, the results of which then demand sacrifice to a particular god. For lack of further context we must leave the interpretation of κέλευθος an open issue.

3 ἐφῆι, ‘demands’, ‘incites’, ‘requires’, from ἐφίημι with an understood infinitive (θύειν) (LSJ s.v. I 2). Initial epsilon is likely – only that and theta match the traces. Middle phi is as good as absent. Eta is clear. Other verbs are possible: ἐπῆι (> ἔπειμι), ἐνῆι (> ἐνεμι or ἐνήμι), ἔληι (αἰρέω), but we think less likely.

Of ἐ[πει]δῆ only the first and last letters are legible. The gap looks about right for this supplement. One needs some conjunction to begin the clause of which *χημαίνει* is the verb in the indicative.

4 ἀρπαγὰς is certain, *χημαίνω* in context very plausible, although by no means obvious palaeographically. The first three letters look most like *χιτ-* but any form of *χιτών* or *χιτώνιον* is ruled out for other reasons. The κέλευθος, either literal ‘journey’ or symbolic ‘Way’ (see note on lines 2–3) indicates a ‘pressing need’ to sacrifice as it is beset by highway robbers. One may compare in the Moscow extispicy text (Furley–Gysembergh I 121–123) καὶ χεῖρες ἔξωθεν ἐπὶ κεφαλῆν τείνουσαι διαρπα[γὴν] χημαίνουσι, ‘And Hands which stretch on the outside (sc. of the liver) towards the Head [indicate] robbery’. Clearly the danger of robbery was one which the diviner anticipated with trepidation. For the expression ἀρπαγὰς χημάτων cf. Isokr. *Panath.* 259.3, Dionys. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.41.1.

4–5 [χη-]μαίνει is not the only possible supplement; we also considered *δειμαίνει*, ‘fears’, but this is poetical and we would need a human subject for that, which, on the whole, does not fit. *χημαίνει*, moreover, clearly parallels other instances: in this fragment line 9, fr. 7 col. iii.3.

5 πῶρος is puzzling. The dictionaries define πῶρος as a ‘stone used in building’ that is, a ‘block of stone’. But lexicographers and scholia also gloss πῶρος as πένθος, πάθος vel sim., and πωρεῖν, πωρητύς, and ταλαίπωρος presuppose such a noun. Divination might be held to foretell ‘misery’, ‘grief’ on a journey, and such a rare and possibly archaic word as πῶρος might have been used to describe it. Thus, we seem to have here the first attestation in context of a noun with this meaning, which should be added to dictionaries as πῶρος 2. (A line from Antimachus of Colophon’s *Thebaid* (fr. 54 Matthews) is adduced in some ancient sources for the occurrence of πῶρος, but the original text almost certainly read πωρητύς, see Matthews ad loc.) Interestingly, the *Et. Gudianum* defines Πῶρος πένθος κληροῦν καὶ λίθος, ‘πῶρος, an intractable grief and a stone’, as if the hardness of stone might stand for a type of grief. The difficulties vanish, of course, if we read πόρος, as Raffaella Cribiore suggested in discussion (3.11.16 Parma), but the scribe does not elsewhere confuse quantities. η.]: Probably eta, not pi, after πῶρος.

6 Hurst read the first three letters as ηπλ. which might give ἡ πλοῦν, for example (a voyage requiring propitiatory sacrifice?), but tau looks more likely in second position followed by iota. The remaining traces are at least concordant with ἡ τι χαλεπόν, ‘or something difficult’, or (less likely) ἡ τί χαλεπόν; ητι might conceivably

⁹ *χημαίνει* e.g. Furley–Gysembergh I 66, or an equivalent verb such as I 54 προαυδαί, I 57 δείκνυσι.

be the end of a feminine noun (e.g. κληρότητι). After χαλεπόν, ἐάν, but the sentence structure is not clear as the next verb form (in line 8) is indicative, ζημαίνει. A subjunctive form must have lurked in one of the gaps. 7 ἀντή (or οὔτη) ἢ κέλευθος is clear, despite Hurst's cogitations. True, initial alpha is truncated, but it can hardly be anything else. π[όν]ον: Just a guess, suggested by the legible nu at the end, the ghost of what might be pi initially, and the coordinating καί of the next line. Presumably some unwanted and troubling thing stood here. Perhaps a repetition of the mysterious πωρον from before (πῶρον?).

8 Also read thus by Hurst. The iota of καί is strangely formed, but can hardly be anything else. It seems similar to the iota of προθυ[μ]ία in line 2. The deformity results from the wish of the scribe on occasion to add quite sizable upper and lower serifs to the downstroke.

9–10 Here the sense goes unfortunately lost although the (third?) ἐάν sentence starts with two relatively solid readings: ἀπόλωνται ἢ διαβρωθῶσιν, 'if (some things) are lost/perish or are consumed/eaten through'. The subject of both verbs (masculine or feminine plural), and probably a third in the gap in line 11, is unfortunately lost. ἐάν is badly damaged on the surface of the papyrus, but plausible. Before that δε is clear, preceded by approximately 4–5 letters whose traces are indistinct. Presumably the subject of the three (?) verbs stood in this small gap. δε might be the particle, or part of a noun such as κελίδες, 'columns of writing', or κανίδες, 'tablets'. For the worm-holes in livers which were a feature in divination see Furlley–Gysembergh I 40–52 with commentary (especially notes on 40, 47, 48–50). One might also think of worm-holes in papyrus or wood κλήροι in kleromancy.

11 .ενονται, -ονται, or -εινται: Perhaps another subjunctive form in -ονται following ἢ after διαβρωθῶσιν in the previous line.

χρη: After rho a descender. The traces match those above commencing χρημάτων (4), but here we might have χρη going with the infinitive in 15 ἵκετεύειν. [τοῖς] going with ζημαίνουσιν and μέγαλοις θύμασι in 16: 'it is necessary to imprecate the gods with great imprecations which signify the absence of death and of any other great evil'. The idea would be that given the misfortune described in lines 10–12, it is necessary to take efficacious counter-measures (no doubt through prayer and sacrifice). An alternative to τοῖς might be τίνι, 'with some [rites] signifying ...'. Anything like ὅσοις or οἷςτις can be ruled out as then we would expect ζημαίνει (3rd person sg.) with the neuter θύμασι.

12 ἀπουσίαν is clear. After that θανατ[, possibly in the genitive ('absence of death'). Between the two words some unidentifiable traces which do not match e.g. τοῦ very well. Gysembergh, on inspecting the papyrus, thought τοῦ a possible reading. Or καί?

At line end [χη] suggests itself with μαίνουσιν in the next line, but Hurst rejected that, saying there were traces at the end of line 12 which could not be χη-. But on the photograph which we have, and in the casing, the line end is lost. In the internet a composite photograph shows a fragment abutting the main fragment here which does indeed offer traces of a line ending for 12. But the margin of this does not line up with the margin elsewhere and we suspect that this small fragment must belong elsewhere. Nevertheless, there is a *caveat* here. If ζημαίνουσιν is correct (there are other verbs such as δειμαίνουσιν or πημαίνουσιν which might fit), it is dative plural neuter of the participle, with [τοῖς].

[ὄ]μω: The right half of mu in second (or third?) position is clear. The supplement must be considered speculative.

14 μέγαλου κακοῦ, 'of a great evil', is clear, in the genitive, nothing else.

15–16 ἵκετεύειν τοὺς θεοὺς [μεγά-]/λοῖς θύμασι, 'to beseech the gods with large offerings'. Although dots are rife, the reading is probable. But what is the construction before the infinitive ἵκετεύειν? Possibly χρη in line 11. There seems to be some correspondence between the 'large evil' and the 'large offering' to appease the gods. θύμα is an alternative word for θυσία; it can mean specifically 'victim', 'sacrificial offering', but not necessarily here. After θυ the writing is very rubbed. At the end of the sentence (if such it is) one would expect θύμασιν, which the scribe is otherwise careful to observe (e.g. in 10). Perhaps the following kappa put him in two minds, whether to write nu or gamma, and he left it out.

16 κείνων [δὲ ἄκ-]: Probably a new sentence begins here, marked by the *paragraphus* left. ‘If they hear’ (sc. the entreaties of the previous sentence). κείνων, if correctly read, is an Ionic form, Attic prose preferring ἐκείνων. Perhaps this is a sign of the influence of Ionic prose here, as in Hippocratic writings.

17 ο.οινοϚ: Probably the definitive article ὁ followed by either a noun or adjective (κοινός, δεινός?) on -οινοϚ or -εινοϚ. Whatever came after seems to have run on to the next line with a termination -πο[Ϛ]. A convincing supplement eludes us. It would seem that if this sentence truly begins with a genitive absolute (with gods the subject), one might expect what follows to indicate something like ‘the fear is less’. Perhaps -πο[.] at the beginning of 18 is the ending of a comparative.

19 ἢ χάλιαζα[v], ‘or hail’, or ἡ χάλιαζα nom. The case ending is unknown, but accusative seems more likely. Real hail or symbolic hail of some sort? Costanza *loc. cit.* 43–44 discusses the question with reference to a notice in Hesychius that χάλιαζα was also ‘a sign in sacrifice’ (σημείον θυτικόν).

20 ἐλέγει[iv: Tentative reading. After lamda perhaps epsilon or theta (ἐλθ-?) followed by trace of a vertical after gap; just a dot remaining of iota. Nevertheless one may guess the sense: the gods will (under some circumstances) ‘pity’ humans more (or less!).

col. iii (= fr. 6)

Ϛ[ὐ]ν θυσία τοῖϚ .[
	].ικαι τοῖϚ [
	]. τοῖϚ δᾶ..[
ἐὰν δὲ μηδεὶϚ ἦ τ[
το...[.]ημοϚ γ[	5
	]...[.Ϛθ..]
.[	τοῖϚ]
ϚοῖϚ θρέμμαϚι[
ου.. πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ ταῖϚ	9
1 cὺν θυσία nos: cυνουσία AH	4 μηδεὶϚ ἦ VG
7–8 τοῖϚ σοῖϚ VG	

This column follows on from fr. 1, col. ii. But this does not help much with establishing the drift. Line 1 is top of the column.

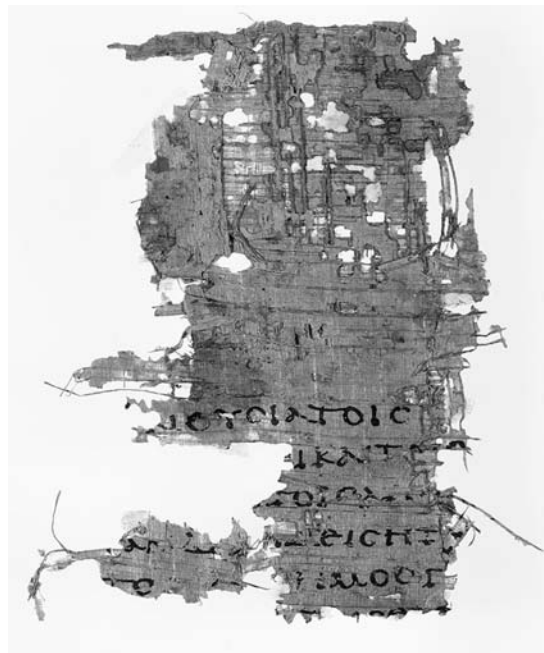
1 Ϛ[ὐ]ν θυσία: Initial sigma (or omikron, see below) is a trace from col. iii abutting col. ii (= our frag. 1). Nu after the gap is clear. The following letter was read by AH as omikron (cυνουσία) but inspection of the papyrus (VG) shows traces of a crossbar, making theta much more likely; hence θυσία with cὺν before: ‘with sacrifice’. Alternatively, ο[ὐ]ν θυσία/θυσία.

2].ικαι: Either .ι καὶ or an adjective ending -και.

4 μηδεὶϚ ἦ, ‘if there is no one’ (VG). Or one could articulate ἐὰν δὲ μὴ δείχη ‘But if he does not fear ...?’ Since this fragment follows on from fragment 1 the subject might be the traveller here and things (or reasons why) he does not fear.

5 ...[.]ημοϚ: There are adjectives with such terminations, e.g. εὔχημοϚ, but there are of course also proper nouns (e.g. Philodemos!). The first trace would suit delta, so a guess would be διάχημοϚ, eminent, distinguished. The construction might be τὸ διάχημοϚ γενέσθαι.

7–9 Not on photograph. These letter traces are still attached to column ii (= fragment 1). See photograph on p. 2.



Bibliothèque de Genève, P. Gen. inv. 161, fragment 6
(© Bibliothèque de Genève)

7 .[: Probably sigma.

8 ζοῖς θρέμμασι: The first letter has been partially obscured. Sigma seems most likely, with the beginning of a paragraphus underneath. If so, probably τοῖς at the end of the previous line. θρέμμασι: Probably just ‘animals’, as opposed to humans. The ending of θρέμμασι is anything but clear; our supplement depends on the previous word which seems in any event to be a dative plural.

9 ου...: Perhaps οὐδὲ or οὗ τι.

πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ ταῖς: This was read by AH as προσετι χ..λληταις, where he recognized a form ἄλληται and believed we might here have a common point with palmomantic texts (divination by jerks or jumps of muscles in the body). But the reading we give is certain, nothing to do with ἄλλομαι. πρὸς with the dative usually means ‘in addition to’, but it can mean something like ‘next to’.

ταῖς probably marks line end: sigma is the twentieth letter.

fragment 2

fragment 2

.στ...[ἐ-]
 πὶ ξύλα [ἀ]μπέλι[να ἐπὶ τῆς
 ἐστίας καὶ μαλάβαθρον
 καθαρὸν καὶ..[
 ὑποθέτην δε δ[5
 ἄλλην ἔχης, δαῖτε χέας [τὰ
 [δρ]υὸς φύλλα καὶ δάφνης
 καὶ πυροὺς καὶ κριθὰ[ς καὶ ἔ-
 λαιον ἐπιχέας ἐπιτίθει
 τὸ μελλοκτέρει[μα καὶ
 τούτου τὴν καρδί[αν ἐπι-
 σκεψάμενος καὶ [τὰς χεῖ-
 ρας αὐτῆς εἴ εἰσιγ [10
 ἀλὶ ἐπιτίθει ἔαν [αὔται
 καθαραὶ ἢ μέλαι[ναι ὧσι
υχας ε[
[.....]ο.[
 ...].[
]...[

7 iam AH in comm. 8 κριθὰς VG
 8–9 ἔλαιον AH 10 μαλλοκουρία
 G. Bastianini ap. AH in comm., vix recte
 11–12 ἐπισκεψάμενος iam AH 14 ἀλὶ AH
 in comm.



Bibliothèque de Genève, P. Gen. inv. 161, fragment 2
 (© Bibliothèque de Genève)

Translation¹⁰

‘... on vine branches on the hearth and pure albiflorum and ... [if] you have anything else as substrate, kindle [the fire] scattering the leaves of oak and laurel and wheat and barley, and, having poured on olive oil, place the burned offering on top and observe the Heart of this and its Hands, whether they are [? ?], with salt lay on [? ?] if these are clear or black ... ’

¹⁰ Elements of the translation are, of course, as tentative as the readings on which it is based.

1–2 ἐπί ξύλα [ἀ]μπέλιν[να: Much is uncertain here. The reading implies that something is to be laid on vine branches (ἐπί with the accusative). The adjective ἀμπέλινος is found applied to wine itself, leaves and the wooden stems of vines (LSJ). There is also ἀμπελικός with the same meaning, also a possibility here. Instead of [ἐ-]πί we also considered the reading γη (e.g. γῆ) at the beginning of line 2, but small things tell against that, in particular that there is no trace of a cross-bar between the two visible descenders which eta would need. The split of ἐ-πί over the line is irritating to us, but corresponds to ancient practice for prose blocksatz.

2–3 [ἐπὶ / τῆς] ἐκτίας, ‘round the hearth’. Clearly there is to be a fire and the elaborate preparations described here apply to a fire which is to be lit. Note ἐκτίας and not βωμόσ: this seems to be a private hearth rather than a public altar. The vine branches are to be laid upon (ἐπί) the hearth and then something placed on them.

3 μαλ[ἀβαθρον, leaf of Cinnamomum Tamala or Albiflorum, *Peripl. M. Rubr.* 56, 65, *Dsc.* 1.12, *Gal.* 12.66, *Plin. HN* 12.129; malobathrum *Hor. Od.* 2.7.8. This is a guess based on a search for neuter words of appropriate length meaning some kind of plant to parallel the vine branches mentioned before. But only the first three letters exist and alternatives cannot be ruled out.

4 καθαρὸν: A common meaning of καθαρός is ‘clean’ in the sense of ‘pure’, ‘unsullied’, without any admixture of anything else (LSJ s.v. 2). We take it that whatever substance is named in line 3 beginning with μαλ[is to be placed pure around the hearth. Hurst read καθοδον, inexplicably. The rho is quite clear.

5 ὑποθέτην δε δ[ι: First three, and last three, letters very indistinct (except the last epsilon). The omikron before theta of ὑποθέτην is likely rather than iota. δεδ[ι might be articulated δε δ[ι or e.g. δεδ[ο as a form of δίδωμι. But the traces are tantalizing and a plausible reading eludes us. If correct, ὑποθέτην (from ὑπόθετος) seems to fit the context of laying a ‘substrate’ of leaves and twigs for the fire. ἐπιθέτην or ἀποθέτην would also be possible.

6 ἔχης: It seems reasonably certain that this is the correct word division, hence that this is an address to a person in the second person rather than a third person description. The second person address suits the type of text we think this is, a prescription for private offerings. The ending here is subjunctive, indicating perhaps an ἐάν lost somewhere above (‘if you have’). ἄλλην: Unfortunately what the ‘you’ might have is lost: another what? If ὑποθέτην in 5 is the correct reading, it might link up with ἄλλην here (acc. fem. sg.) and the sense behind it may be ‘or if you have different material (ἄλλη?) as a substrate’. The practitioner might not have the substances first mentioned in the prescription, and might fall back on others which he has. We find such fall-back alternatives in magical prescriptions, e.g. *PGM* V.370–446 olive can be used instead of laurel in a magical spell.¹¹

δαίε: The traces suggest this word in context, but it cannot be considered certain. If correct, this is the point in the prescription at which the fire is lit. The next two lines mention a number of things which are probably to be placed on the burning flames.

χέας, ‘scattering’, a common meaning of χέω, see LSJ s.v. II. An instance in the *Iliad* is with leaves, φύλλα, as here: φύλλα ἄνεμος χαμάδις χέει (*Il.* 6.147), ‘the wind scatters leaves to the ground’. The tense of χέας is here aorist as in ἐπιχέας in 9 of the olive oil. Probably the sense is ‘kindle the fire by scattering leaves ...’. That is, they are the kindling. There is space after χέας for one, possibly two, letters at line end: τά perhaps, with the φύλλα of the next line (VG).

7–8 [δρ]υὸς φύλλα καὶ δάφνης καὶ πυρὸς καὶ κριθά[ς, ‘oak and laurel leaves and wheat and barley’. These are all inflammable when dry and make good kindling. [δρ]υὸς, ‘of oak’. Although the reading springs to mind, there might be an alternative tree/plant with genitive in -ος and long enough to require 1–2 letters in line 6. We have not, however, found one. The choice of oak and laurel might point in the direction of Apollo, although oak was said to be sacred to Hera by Apollodorus of Athens (*Σ Apollon. Rh.* I.1124).

καὶ πυρὸς καὶ κριθά[ς: One is familiar with these grains as οὐλοχύται in Homeric sacrifice (J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge 1908, 86; H. von Fritze, *OYΛAI, Hermes* 1897, 235–250). Also called προχύτας in *Eur. El.* 804. They are normally thought to have been scattered over the sacrificial animal’s head before it was killed. Here they seem to be scattered over the flames of the fire,

¹¹ Thanks to Ljuba Bortolani (Heidelberg) for this and other references to the magical papyri.

where they would no doubt have crackled and popped as they burned. Eustath. ad *Il.* i.449 #132, 23 says εἰς δὲ οὐλοχύται ... τὰ προθύματα ... οἱ οὐλοχύται οὐλαὶ ἦσαν τουτέστι κριθαὶ μετὰ ἄλων ἅς ἐπέχεον τοῖς βωμοῖς πρὸ τῆς ἱερουργίας. That seems to fit the context here well, except that wheat is also mentioned, not only barley. Since it seems that the author is here prescribing an act of pyromancy, the sight and sound of the grain burning may have contributed to the effects which the rite was intended to produce; cf. Theocr. 2.24 χάς αὐτὰ λακεῖ μέγα καπυρίσασα, ‘as this (sc. laurel) crackles loudly when it is burnt ...’. Generally, Simaitha’s rite in Theocr. 2.18–28 bears some similarities to the rite described here: grains of barley are heated in fire, then sprinkled, to the utterance ‘I sprinkle the bones of Delphis’. This is followed by burning of laurel and bran. 8–9 [ἔ]λαιον ἐπιχέας, ‘pour on olive oil’. This is the last stage before placing the burnt offering on the flames. It is no doubt intended to make the fire burn fiercely.

9 ἐπ[ιτίθει: Although only the first two letters ἐπ- survive, some verb is required here meaning ‘lay on’ if our reconstruction generally can stand. This is the point at which the offering is placed on the flames and the practitioner is to observe how it behaves in the fire (pyromancy).

10 τὸ μελλοκτέρι[μα: Although the word is not to be found in any dictionary, the reading is nearly certain. We take it to mean ‘sacrificial offering’ (sc. to be burnt). It joins a large number of words beginning μελλο- meaning ‘to-be’, e.g. μελλόγαμβρος, ‘brother-in-law-to-be’, μελλόνυμφος, ‘bride-to-be’, μελλόποσις, ‘husband-to-be’. The second element -κτεριμα is documented in the plural form κτερίματα, Soph. *OC* 1410, *El.* 434, 931, Eur. *Supp.* 309, *Tr.* 1249, *Hel.* 1391, equivalent to κτέρεα, which are funeral gifts burned with the dead (LSJ). κτερίζω is mainly an epic verb (but cf. Soph. *Ant.* 204) with the sense ‘bury’, whereby the form of burial implied is the cremation which is lavishly described in the case of Patroklos. We think this justifies the sense for μελλοκτέριμα as ‘that which will be burned as an offering’. That the word is singular here is guaranteed by the article τό before it. If this offering has a heart (11 καρδί[αν) whose behaviour in the fire is to be observed, the offering must, it would seem, be a living creature. A cadaver of an animal is to be laid in the fire and burned, it would seem. In the magical papyri models of animals and people are made and sometimes burned (e.g. *PGM* IV.296–466, two clay figures, one male, one female; *PGM* IV.2359–2372, wax figurine of Hermes): that is conceivable here, that the μελλοκτέριμα is an artificial offering, with a model heart. On the whole the rest of the legible text of this papyrus does not point in the direction of magic, but rather private religion.

11 τούτου τὴν καρδί[αν, ‘and the heart of this’ (sc. the μελλοκτέριμα). The reading is as good as certain. As pointed out in the previous note this means that we are either dealing with a real animal whose heart has been excised prior to this fire ritual, or a model of some sort with a model heart. Normally one hears in such rituals of how the bladder, or the tail, of the animal reacts in the flames (by bursting, e.g. Eur. *Phoin.* 1255, or curling up respectively) but here the author is clear it is the heart and its ‘hands’ which are to be examined. Magical rites (πρόξειε) commonly thematize the heart of the model being manipulated to achieve the magician’s ends so we have here a similarity to magic; e.g. *PGM* III.127; III.424–466 heart of a hoopoe; IV.3086–3124 heart of a cat.

11–12 [ἐπι]κκεψάμενος: The participle of the simple verb is certain here, we add following ΑΗ ἐπι- to fill the space at the end of 11 but it is not necessary for the sense. The verb tells us that the practitioner should examine the behaviour of the heart and its Hands in the fire to see if they exhibit a certain quality – which quality is lost at the end of line 13.

12–13 καὶ [τὰς χεῖ]ρας αὐτῆς, ‘and its hands’. At the beginning of line 13 rho (-ρα) is more likely than iota (-ια) and is confirmed by inspection (VG). The ‘hands’ of certain organs are named in the extispicy texts which we studied: I 76 (‘let there be Hands on it [the Table] and, being of good colour, let them stretch up to the Head’), I 121 (Hands of the liver should be a good colour); Hephaestion in his astrological work describing the parts of the liver talks about a ‘heart’ of the liver which has ‘ears’ and ‘hands’ (p. 255 Pingree). In *Reading the Liver* (*comm. ad* I.76, 121) we argued that these ‘hands’ are most likely to refer to visible blood vessels of the liver; here, then, by analogy, the ‘Hands’ should also be the blood vessels leading to and from the heart (which are large and conspicuous!).

13 εἴ εἰσιν [, ‘whether they are –’. This reading suggests itself although the letters are badly preserved. We would have here a short indirect question following ἐπισκεψόμενος, ‘examining whether ...’. What appearance should be watched for is lost in the gap. In 14 and 15, however, the author says that one should add salt (sc. to the flames) ‘if they (fem. pl. so presumably these ‘Hands’) are pure (in colour) or black’. This still does not allow us to supplement line 13 with any confidence. Conceivably we could also have here εἰσιν in an absolute sense: ‘examine the Hands if there are (any)’. Then we could add an object to ἐπιτίθει at the end of 13, ‘put on [? ?] with salt’. This, however, seems less good than to take εἴ εἰσιν [] as part of an indirect question after ἐπισκεψόμενος.

14 ἀλλὶ ἐπιτίθει, ‘add with salt’. The dative is surprising as the construction can hardly take in the end of 13 as well (‘add something with salt’), since a word is required to complete the previous clause (‘whether they are –’; see previous note). One wonders whether the author has made a mistake here, writing ἀλλὶ for ἄλλα, or perhaps ἄλλο (‘ample’, suggested by A. Vergados). In the same line he has made another mistake which he corrects by inserting iota at the end of ἐπιτίθει. He seems to have been a little distracted during this line. But we are reluctant to emend. For salt in sacral ritual cf. Menander *Phasma* 31; Eustath. ad *Il.* i.449 #132, 23, quoted above on line 7. No doubt the salt is intended here to give the flames a lively and interesting colour. Cf. now Bernard Moinier, Olivier Weller, *Le sel dans l’Antiquité, ou les cristaux d’Aphrodite*, Paris 2015.

15 καθαροὶ ἢ μέλαι[ναί: The reading is almost certain. But we are not sure about the construction. ‘Pure’ and ‘black’ might seem to us like opposites, particularly when applied to flames (‘clean’ or ‘sooty’), but the sentence seems to be saying ‘add salt if [they] are either clean or sooty’, as if both qualities demanded the same treatment. But perhaps that is right: in both cases salt would change the appearance to colourful.

16 υχαc: The traces before upsilon seem, on inspection, to be compatible with ε/θ/c so perhaps we have εὐχάc here. This would be a suitable moment for the prayers which are likely to have accompanied the rite: the hearth has been prepared, the fire is lit with the offering on it, now is the time for prayers. There is something which looks like a very short accent (acutus?) over the sigma.

fragment 4 (1. col.) = col. iv

fr. 4 = col. iv

Εὐδήμο[υ	
Κ]αλλιερεῖν [θεοῖc	
[vac.]	
[vac.]	
]..ει αὐτ[	5
]ν κα[
εὐδοξίαν κ[αὶ	
ἐπίκτητιν.[
νομοδοκ[
.ον ἔχον[τ]α .[	10
την· οὐδὲ θ[ε-	

1 This is highly likely to be the name Eudemos, although AH thought the first letter was theta, in which case one might think of [Εὐ]θουδήμο[υ. But there are no visible ink traces before the epsilon (or theta), so the following text is likely to be an excerpt from the work *On Favourable Omens* by Eudemos. Eudemos is (probably) the author of one section of the Moscow extispicy papyrus (Furley–Gysembergh I 71–123 *Περὶ Ἐμποριῶν, On Mercantile Endeavours*), in which the author describes the signs of the liver relating to business endeavours. The Amherst extispicy papy-



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rus (Furley–Gysembergh II) fr. 1 line 2 talks of signs from extispicy ‘proving auspicious’ (ἐφ’ ᾧ τε τὰ μεταβεβηκότα σημεῖα καλλεῖ[ι]ερεῖν, ‘on condition that the accompanying signs are auspicious’), which gives an indication of the verb’s use. The verb is widely used by prose authors meaning ‘obtain favourable signs through sacrifice’ (LSJ): e.g. Xenophon *Kyr.* 6.4.12, *An.* 5.4.22, Hdt. 7.113. Suda (and other ancient lexicographers) defines as follows: “Ἕλληνας δὲ τότε καλλιερεῖν νομίζουσιν, ὅταν δαίμονι τινι θύσαντες αἰκίων ἐπιτύχῳι σημεῖων ἐν τῷ ἥπατι τοῦ ἱερείου, ‘The Greeks believe a sacrifice is successful whenever in the course of sacrifice to a god they obtain propitious signs in the liver of the victim.’ LSJ distinguish a sense ‘obtain good omens’ from ‘give favourable omens’ (of the offering). The formulation of Eudemos’ title suits the first sense better, with an implied human agent ‘obtaining favourable omens’ from sacrifice. The work will probably have given instructions for the due execution of sacrifice and prayer *in order* to obtain favourable omens. The work will presumably also have described and enumerated the signs from sacrifice and extispicy which were considered favourable, in the manner of the liver extispicy papyri (Furley–Gysembergh). Since this appears to be a heading whilst fr. 3 gives the end (κολοφών) we have reversed the order of these fragments, whilst retaining their numbers. We do not know which (if any) of the remaining fragments belong between 4 and 3, i.e. come from Eudemos’ work. A Eudemos is mentioned by Philodemos *Pragmateia* (P.Herc. 1418) 18 Obbink; for others see our note in *Reading the Liver* p. 48. Also intriguing is Eudemus of Cyprus, a familiaris of Aristotle who, in the eponymous dialogue, is connected with oneiro-mancy (Cicero, *De div.* I 25, 53 = fr. 1 Ross = fr. 56 Gigon).

2 We supplement the line on the basis of fr. 3 col. ii which contains this formula. It implies that the present text contains excerpts from works, among them *On Favourable Omens* by Eudemos. There seems to be no writing for approximately the next two lines, indicating that in 1–2 we do indeed have a title.

6]ν κα[: Perhaps divided like this but elsewhere the scribe does not assimilate nu before a guttural, so]νκα[(e.g. ἀνάγκη) is quite possible.

7–8 These lines at least contain positive things (‘Renown’, ‘Growth’) which seems to accord with the subject of this excerpt: favourable omens.

10 νομοδοκ[: Perhaps νόμου δ’ οὐκ but not enough survives to construe the sentence.

11 Perhaps τὸν ἔχον[τ]α, but the first three letters need not constitute a word by themselves (one might also consider e.g. λό-γον ἔχον[τ]α).

12 There is a high dot after την, but οὐδὲ, which follows, is an unusual beginning for a Greek sentence. End of column.

fragment 3 = col. i, ii, iii

col. i

].....
δ]ιαβολῆς
]..

col. ii

[θε-
ακάμενον τοῖς αὐτοῖς
ἀπὸ Καλλιερεῖν θεοῖς καὶ



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ii 2 ἀκάμενον, surely the end of a participle such as θεακάμενον, but many other things possible.

There is a small forked sign like an inverted διπλή (>) at line end after sigma. This seems to mark the end of a section.¹² The next line is surely an end-title (κολοφών) ‘from Favourable Divine Signs and –’. It is a little difficult to see how the title might have continued after καί. Perhaps ἥρωσι? The full title might have read Καλλιερεῖν θεοῖς καὶ ἥρωσιν Εὐδήμου [patronymic]. Fragment 4 is, then, the beginning of this section which ends with frag. 3.

col. iii

Nothing can be read, only traces.

fragment 5 = col. iii

frag. 5 = col. iii

[.....].ων δ[
].ν[.]ερων διεπ.[
]ων χαλεπῶν δ.[
 ἐ]ντέλειαν ἔεσθ[αι, ὥς
 φησι]ν Ἡσίδοσ· ἐσθλ[5
]. ἀ[έ]θλοισι χερειον[
] ἱεροῖς θεῶν ὄντων .[
 [...].αι ἐπεπυγμέ[ναι
 [ἔσθ]νται ἐνκληματ..[
 (minimal traces of three more lines)



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2]ν[.]ερῶν: If nu is right, we might have νοερῶν here, a philosophical term for ‘intellectual’ or ‘spiritual’. Or ἐντέρων, with initial epsilon plausible. After that perhaps a form of διέπω, ‘manage’, which is found in prose e.g. Arist. *Mu.* 399a18, Plut. *Lyc.* 3. Lines 2–4 might, with the exception of ἐντέλειαν, be hexametric, as Hurst pointed out.

4 ἐ]ντέλειαν: Unfortunately the first letter is lost and the next two are very uncertain. If the restoration is correct we have the surprisingly rare word ἐντέλεια, ‘completeness’: A.D. *Synt.* 186.15. The future infinitive ἔεσθαι, on the other hand, is clear. We seem to have some kind of acc. with infinitive construction.

5]ν Ἡσίδοσ:: Probably something similar to ὥς φησιν Ἡσίδοσ, ‘as Hesiod says’, introducing the quote in the next two lines (see note). There is a high stop after the name. The trace before eta of Ησίοδοσ is at least compatible with, but hardly indicative of, nu.

6 As AH already recognized, this is a verse quotation, as both words are epic forms. Now we can see that it claims to be a quote from Hesiod, otherwise unknown. The fragment of epic which follows is, then, a new, or perhaps spurious, fragment of Hesiod. ἐσθλ[in 5 is the epic adjective ἐσθλόσ in some case. It is the first word of the quote, as there is punctuation before it. AH suggests that -τέλειαν ἔεσθαι (4) would also fit an hexameter, but it looks unlikely that this line belongs to the quote, given the positioning of ‘as Hesiod says’. The quotation seems to be finished by line 7, where the diction is prosaic again. The quote might contain a thought such as ‘the Good are not worse through trials’, e.g. ἐσθλοὶ δ’ οὐ χαλεποῖς ἀέθλοισι χερειόνεσ εἶσιν, whereby A. Vergados points out that -θλ- universally make position in Hesiod, creating a metrical problem. This might be an indication that the ‘quote’ is late and spurious, but much is conjectural anyway in the e.g. reconstruction. Vergados suggests a sense such as ‘it is through (hard) contests that good men

¹² C. Römer told us by email that she thought the sign was merely a line filler. That is possible, but it seems to us a strong indication that the sign is in fact placed at the end of a section.

prove themselves superior to the χερείονες, but does not suggest a Greek verse. Xenophon (*Mem.* 1.2.20) has an anonymous epic quote (μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ὅ τε λέγων) which says that the good may lose their excellence if they mix with bad people:

Ἐσθλῶν μὲν γὰρ ἅπ' ἐσθλὰ διδάξεαι ἦν δὲ κακοῖσι
 συμμίγησι, ἀπολεῖς καὶ τὸν ἕντα νόον,

χερειον[could be almost any case except nom. sing. If the quote is a generalized piece of popular philosophy the forms are likely to be in the generalizing plural ('good men' ... 'lesser men').

8 ἐπεπτυγμέ[ναι: As Costanza recognized (*loc. cit.* 45) we have a form here of the verb ἐπιπτύσσω, seemingly future perfect (perhaps fem. with the ending -αι in the same line): ἐπεπτυγμέ[ναι ἔσο]γται, 'they will have been folded back'. For Costanza this was a word from extispicy, describing an appearance of the liver with a lobe folded over (cf. Furlley–Gysembergh II 16 ἐπιπτυχὴ μικρὰ [γε]γομένη with note, a small fold sc. in the lobos of the liver). It strengthened his argument that the whole papyrus was concerned with divination through inspection of the liver. Here a reading in the technical sense does not square so easily with the following word ἐγκλήματ[, 'complaints'. One might rather suspect a sense such as 'the letters (δέλτοι, ἐλίδες?) will be sealed up containing complaints'. In Ps.-Luc. *Demosth. enc.* 61.3 we find ἐπιτύξασ τὸ γραμματεῖον, 'having closed the written paper'. It cannot, however, be categorically ruled out that here we have a sign from extispicy. If ἔσονται is correctly restored, we might have a left edge in the epsilon. Otherwise in the preceding lines it is difficult to make out a left edge.

9 ἐνκληματ.[: This cannot be ἐν κλήμασι (pl.) but it might conceivably be ἐν κλήματι. More likely the writer has not assimilated the nu to the guttural, and we have a plural form of ἔγκλημα, 'formal complaint' or 'accusation'. After ἐνκληματ. the bottom of a long descender is visible, perhaps phi of φησί.

This fragment gives the best sample of the scribe's hand, but unfortunately continuous sense is not to be had. In particular, the Hesiodic quote cannot be definitely restored.

fragment 7 = coll. 1, 2, 3

col. i

]..
three lines empty	]εσοῦνται
]υ..ουσιγ
]σε
three lines empty]πι
]α[
]..
]ε
]α
]υσι
]δε
]να
]η.α
vacat]..ι
]υσαι
]ωπ.
	τ]ὸ ἡγεμόν
]ἐράτο η



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]τῆν
].[.]υαῦ
]εις.ε
]εστε
]ω.
]εβη

col. ii
 μ.[.]τ...[.].
 λο[ι]πα[ι ..].ο[]
 εἶδη..τ.[...].[.] ἀρχ[η]μα
 πη...[...]. ἐνὸς δε.
 εὐχῆ[...].[] 5
 κυμμετρο[...].υαγγοῦπο.
 τὸ ἐ[π]ώνυμ[ον κ]αὶ θεὸς ἀκο-
 λουθ[εῖ] ..[.] τῶι δεξι[ῶι
 μέρει.....[.]ς. φς.[]ἐ-
 σταλμεν.....ο ἐάν 10
 δεκανα..α.ς.....[.]ν
 δυ[[ω]] ὄ θεός κα.....[δ]έκα .
 ..ο τροπαὶ ...[]ε.ω
 α.α.α.α.α.α.[] [] ο.π
α.α.[]α.θ.τ... 15
 ἐάν δα.[..]νχ[...].σευ...
[...].ενα[±3-4]όμενα
 κα[]..ο.υ
 χ[...].[] []..[.]ομε
]...[]... 20
]α[...].[]...[]...[]
 χ[] [] []...[]
 πο[]π[]
 του..[]
 τ.[...].[] [] 25
 μ..[]
 ὁμοίως.[]
 καθολικά []μέ-
 λανι κακ.[]
 ὁμοίως κα[] 30
 ἀ[μ].[δρ].εχο.[]
 .[] [] []δ.[]
 α.η.τ.αιλ.τ[]
 (end of column)

5 εὐχῆ VG 7 θεός VG 19 post hunc v. Hurst inser. [-18-] quae non videmus 28 καθολικά VG

col. iii
 θεοῦ το.
 ...[]...[]
 σημαίνει δι[ί]οδος
 νηται ἐντροπ[...].[]

ροναπ[	5
μ.α.[]..	
(three lines empty)	
.ανα[	10
..]αιο[
.]μπ[
].[

It is a great shame the text of column ii is so rubbed, as where glimmers of sense still shine through, the content seems to be of high theological interest. In lines 7–8 the talk seems to be of the god’s name or perhaps epiklesis which is said to be συμμετρο[, ‘fitting’, ‘matching’. This may have been an interesting remark on divine names somehow reflecting the powers they are attached to. At any rate, the individual words which can be made out point clearly to theological or cultic context. The names of gods were of particular interest to Apollodorus of Athens in his *Περὶ Θεῶν*, but the aetiological bent of Apollodorus is not visible here. In col. iii line 3 we get another instance of *χημαίνει* apparently with *δίοδος* as subject.

6 υσαγουπο.[: Perhaps something like -ουσα γ’ οὔποτε, with a feminine participle in -ουσα perhaps agreeing with εὐχή in the previous line. All very tentative.

7 ἐ[π]ώνυμον, not Hurst’s ὁμώνυμον, as the first position is either epsilon or theta (θεώνυμον?) but the sense is unfortunately lost.

11 δεκανα: This could be articulated in various ways, but a form of δεκανοί, ‘decans’ (36 gods of the zodiac), does not look possible, as alpha suits the traces after nu best. Otherwise one might articulate δέκανα or δὲ κανα.

17 ενα[±3–4]όμενα: A reasonable guess here would be ἐναγιζόμενα, ‘[those] being slaughtered’, although the gap is a little too long unless zeta is drawn very widely.

18–19 ο.υχ: One could connect up the traces here to make a form of ὄνυξ, -χος.

28 καθολικῶ [seems to be from καθολικός, general.

28–29–30 It is slightly odd that all of these lines have *paragraphus*. Elsewhere it is our opinion that the scribe uses *paragraphus* to mark syntactical breaks (new sentences).

28–29 [μέ-]λανι, dative singular of μέλας, is one possible articulation. No case of the name [Ἐλ]λανικός e.g. fits the traces.

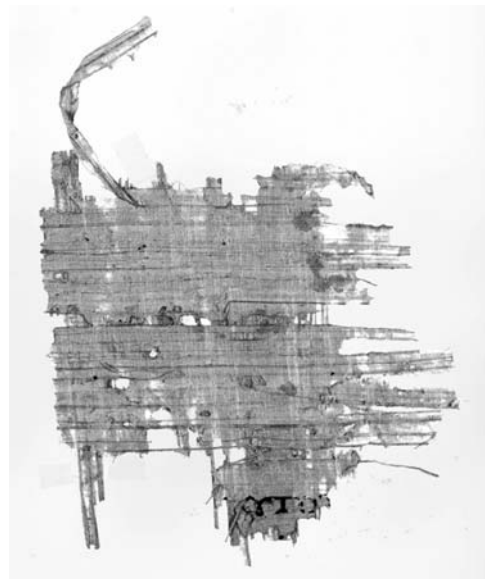
31 ἀ[μ.]δρ[ε]χο.[: There is a hole in the papyrus between initial alpha and mu, perhaps large enough to cover a letter. After the rho there is another hole, barely large enough to cover a missing letter. It is hard to see how the letters combine. One might try δρεχο- as a misspelling of τρεχο-, particularly since other tenses have delta (ἔδραμον). If so perhaps αἶμα or ἄρμα before that. A form of ἀμυδρός, ‘dim’, ‘faint’, ‘obscure’, at line beginning, however tempting, seems ruled out.

33 ρ[θ]ήρεθ[α]: Future infinitive passive of ρήζω, if correct. The match of traces is quite good.

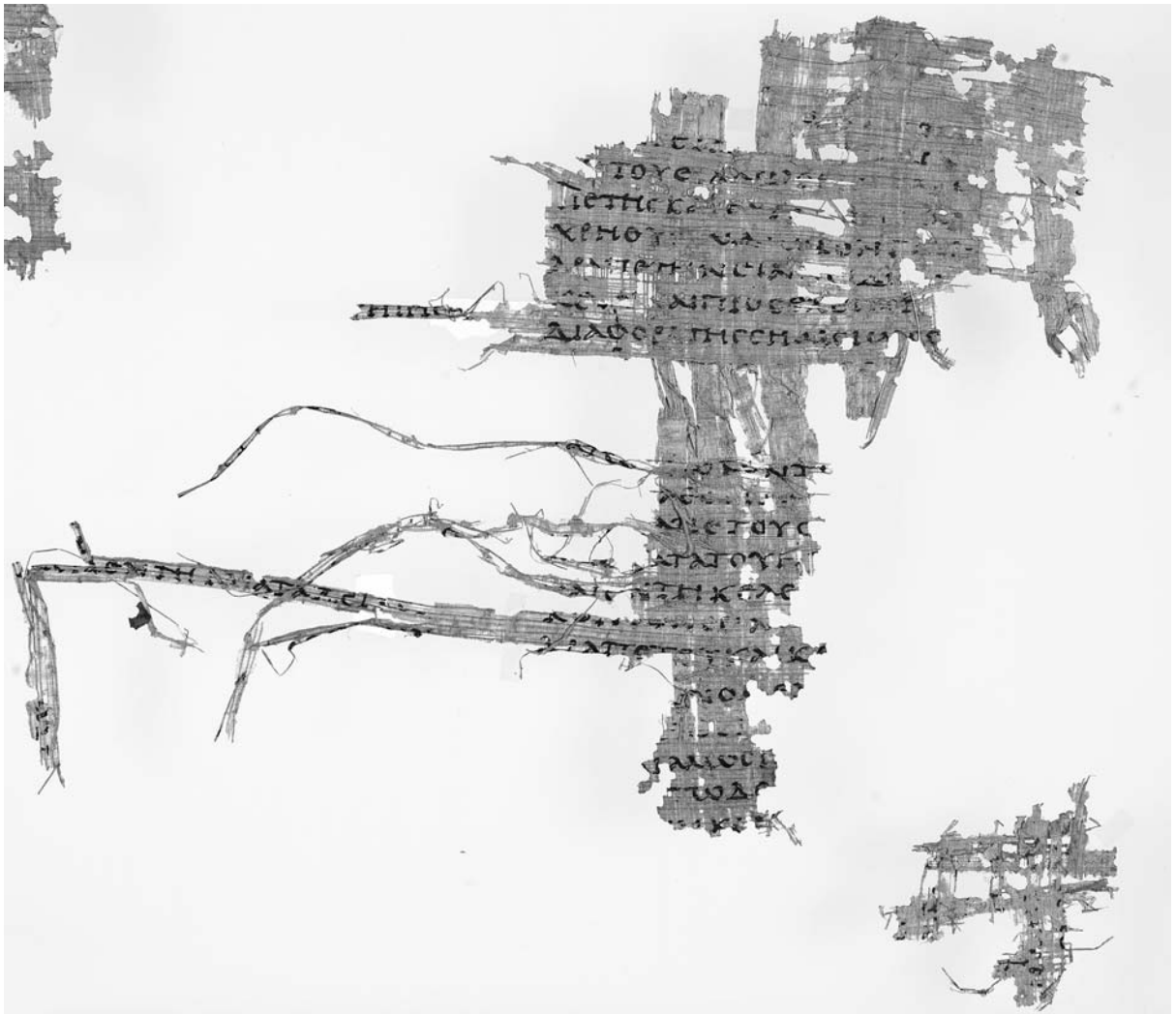
fragment 8

Small fragment with the top of a column.

]αυτου [
].[



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fragment 9 (= 1. ined.)

col. i

]η τῆι ζη-

(gap of approx. 9 lines)

].....ο

...εια ἐν τῆι ἰδίᾳ τάξει κε.

4 εια: Letter before this perhaps a delta (e.g. ἀθάδεια?).

ἐν τῆι ἰδίᾳ τάξει or ἐν τῆι διατάξει, depending on whether the iota after εντη represents an iota subscript or not. Since the copyist usually does not write iota subscript, the former reading is probably the more likely: 'in its own order'. τάξις does not necessarily indicate a military context. On the other hand the next column is dealing with runaway slaves, or possibly deserters from battle formation.

κε. Last letter not iota, so not e.g. κει-μεν-.

col. ii

],[

]ο...

]..εἰδ[].....[

αυτοῦ εἰ ἀλώξε[ται ὁ] δρα-	
πέτης καὶ εὐρεθή[σεται]	5
χρη̄ θύειν, διώκοντα δὲ	
δραπέτην, εἰ αἰνεῖ, δι[α]δο-	
κεῖν καὶ προσέχειν τ[ῆι]	
διαφορῶ τῆς σημειώσε[ως]	
].....[	10

τα τῶι διώκοντι[
]αε...[
δρ]απέτου ο[	15
...ξατατου η τ[
καὶ ἐν τῇ κελε[ύθωι	
κο...εγαλ[
δραπέτου και κο[
.....].νο.ε.[	20
]....[
]ι ἀλωσιμ[-	
]τωδε[
]γκο.[

6 διώκοντα VG

col. ii

3–9 If our reconstruction can stand, a most interesting section of text in which divination is discussed in the case of runaway slaves or deserters (δραπέτης). It seems that the writer recommends sacrifice (χρη̄ θύειν 6) to see whether the runaway slave will be recaptured (εἰ ἀλώξε[ται] 4), and then again when one is pursuing the runaway slave to see if the omens ‘agree’ (εἰ αἰνεῖ 8) presumably with the first sacrifice. The reading of 8–9 is certain, containing as it does the explicit statement that one should ‘pay attention to the difference in significance’ (sc. [we think] of the two sacrifices). This is not the only occasion on which we hear of divination repeated to confirm an earlier result. In the Moscow extispicy text (Furley–Gysembergh I 102ff.) it is clear that the merchant should divine before and after his business venture to see whether the omens agree (see our notes there). Julia Lugovaya (Heidelberg) reminds us of a passage in Lukian’s *Alexander the False Prophet*, 24, in which mention is made of the oracle’s alleged ability to help find runaway slaves: “Ἦδη δὲ τινὰς καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλλοδαπὴν ἐξέπεμπεν, φήμας ἐμποιῶντας τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μαντείου καὶ διηγησομένους ὡς προεῖποι καὶ ἀνεύροι δραπέτας καὶ κλέπτας καὶ ληστὰς ἐξελέγξειε καὶ θησαυροὺς ἀνορύξει παράχοι καὶ νοσοῦντας ἰάσαιο, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ ἤδη ἀποθανόντας ἀναστήσειεν, ‘And he sent envoys abroad with the intention of spreading the word among the foreign peoples about the oracle, *that it had predicted and located runaway slaves, uncovered thieves and robbers, enabled [people] to dig up [buried] treasures, healed the sick and even in some cases restored those already dead to life.*’ She also refers to reports that unpublished oracles from Dodona have queries about runaway slaves, cf. e.g. Esther Eidinow, *Oracles, Curses, and Risk Among the Ancient Greeks*, Oxford 2007, 101, or Stephen Hodkinson/Dick Geary (eds.), *Slaves and Religions in Graeco-Roman Antiquity and Modern Brazil*, Cambridge 2012, 263.

5 εὐρεθή[σεται]: The dots indicate the uncertainty of this reading but some traces, as well as the sense, are conducive to this guess, cf. introductory note on Lukian. If it is correct, there is, strictly, *hysteron proteron*, as the deserter must be found (εὐρεθή[σεται]) before he can be captured (ἀλώξε[ται]), but perhaps this is not fatal to the reconstruction.

6 χρη̄ θύειν: We think the construction goes with an indirect question beforehand, ‘sacrifice [sc. to see] whether he will be taken’.

διώκοντα: Gysembergh's decipherment is plausible: 'and when one is pursuing' or 'in pursuit of'.

7 εἰ αἰνεῖ, 'whether it agrees'. Unfortunately the letters here are quite indistinct and the reading should be considered tentative, although it is difficult to see what else it could be.

7–8 δι[α]δοκεῖν, a divinatory reading. Only the pluperfect passive of διαδοκέω, is attested in Josephus *Vit.* 11 (διεδέδοκτο, 'it had been determined'). If correct, διαδοκεῖν must mean 'decide', 'determine'. Otherwise we considered διαδρακεῖν from διαδέρκομαι, 'see one thing through another', but the verb is poetic.

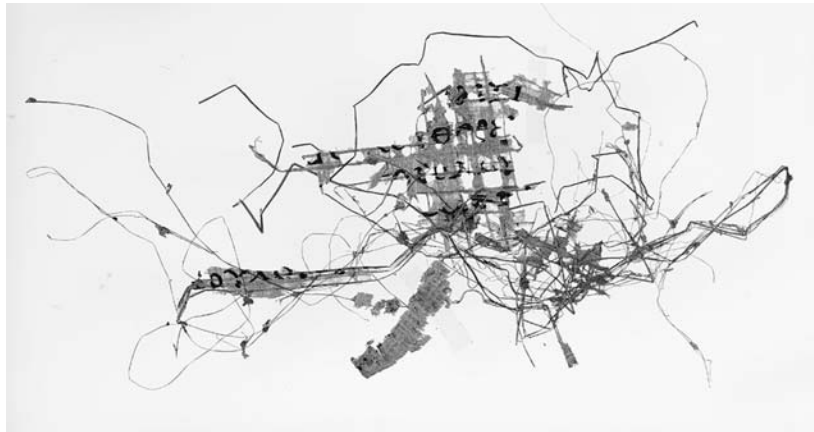
9–10 As stated, the decipherment is clear. *χημείωσις* is one of the long, technical-sounding words beloved by 'scientific' writers. An abstract noun formed from *χημείω* clearly cognate with *χημαίνω*. A work by Philodemos was entitled *Περὶ χημειώσεων*, in which the word featured largely. One may translate this sentence 'And one should sacrifice when pursuing a runaway slave and discern (by comparison) whether (the signs) agree and pay attention to any difference in the signs obtained'. It seems that the diviner should pay minute attention to the difference between the omens he obtains now and those previously (before beginning his pursuit of the slave?). One might compare the underlying thought with that of the mariner who, not so long ago, took a compass bearing on a certain point, then another to check the first (it has all changed with GPS).

17 καὶ ἐν τῇ κελελεύθῳ: Unlike in fr. 1 κέλευθος here seems clearly to have its literal meaning, 'way', 'route'.

fragment 10 (= fr. ined. 2)

Small, damaged fragment of approximately four lines. A cobweb of papyrus fibres at the edges.

γυ]γαξι
 τ]αῖς [ἐ]λευθέραι]ς
]...]τοῖς δού[-
 [± 6] δούλους το[ύ] μὲν
 1–4 leg. VG adiuv. WF



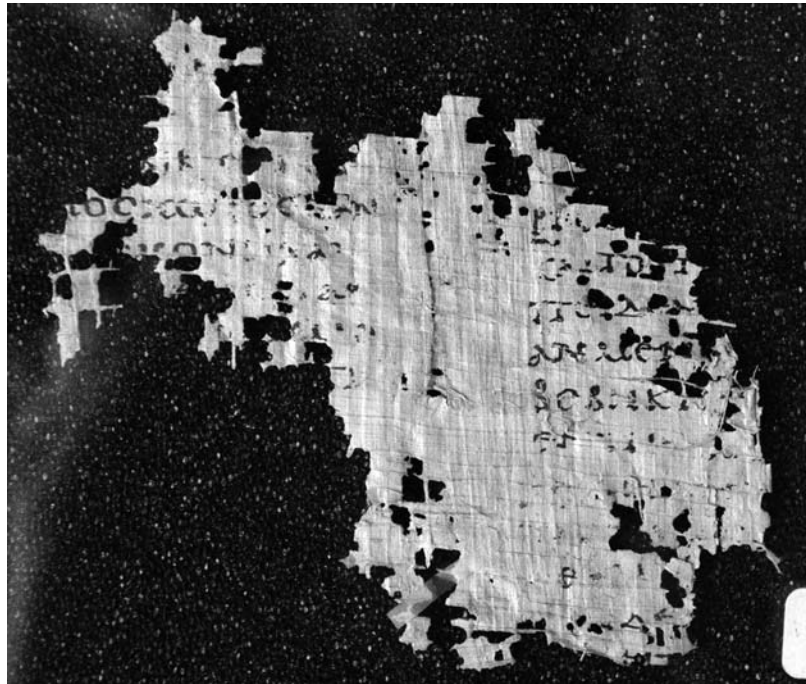
Bibliothèque de Genève, P. Gen. inv. 161, fragment 10 (© Bibliothèque de Genève)

1 There does not seem to be more ink after the iota of γυ]γαξι, so probably line end.

2 [ἐ]λευθέραι]ς: The end -αις is damaged but iota has traces.

4 Counting twenty letters to the line, a supplement [λοις] at line beginning would leave space for 1–2 letters before a probable δούλους (or δούλοισ) following that. These letters ..δουλο...[are on a piece of papyrus which seems to belong to line four according to horizontal fibres of papyrus. It itself is considerably lower than line 4 as mounted in the frame, so there is some doubt whether the line can be connected up in this manner.]μεν could, of course, be articulated differently, e.g. π[ε]π[υ]σμεν[-.

fragment 11 (= fr. ined. 3 = P. Gen. inv. 485)



Bibliothèque de Genève, P. Gen. inv. 161, fragment 11 (© Bibliothèque de Genève)

The Genevan librarians¹³ are of the opinion that this fragment belongs to our roll on the strength of the hand.

col. i

]νκο...[].
 χαλε]πὸς χῶρος ἐάν [
].σον η χαλ.[
].[]ρ..α.
]..ως 5
].

If the supplement of line 2 is correct, this fragment may bear on the question of ‘difficult terrain’ which is also the subject in frag. 1.

2 χῶρος: The Genevan librarians read these letters as Κοιτος, ‘of Cos’, believing that a name preceded this. But the chi is securely read, and the putative iota may easily be rho, so χῶρος is the easier reading. χαλε]πὸς is, of course, a guess. fin. ἐάν, supplemented on the pattern of frag. 1, where several ἐάν-sentences are found.

col. ii

χω-]
 ρις.[
 καὶ τοπ[
 πειδεα.[
 αν μὲν.[
 βεβηκη.[5
 ἐν τῆι.....[
 (five more lines with only single letters legible)

¹³ See above n. 3.

2 τοπ[or τὸ π[: If τόπ-, the word supports χῶρος in the previous column. The writer is discussing (probably difficult) terrain.

3 πει: Perhaps the end of σκόπει, ‘consider’.

5 βεβηκη.: Eta most likely after kappa, which is not without difficulties. Only the older forms of the pluperfect are formed with eta, and subjunctive forms e.g. βεβήκη are more commonly formed with the participle: βεβηκῶς ἦ. Might the scribe have miswritten infinitive βεβηκηῖναι?

fragment 12 (= fr. ined. 4)

]	..	
	]	ειδ[
	]	αι[
	]	...[ἀπό-	
λωνται	δοῦλ[	οι.....	5
η.....	ντ[...]	[πο-]	
νοῦσιν	πόδες	κατα[]	
..]	κωλύουσι	πελτ[
..]	[ς καὶ περι[.]	ς[
τρύοι	ἐνπόδι	μ[α	10
..]	κι.ολ....	[
.....]	θο.....	[

4–5 [ἀπό]λωνται vel [ἔ]λωνται VG 10 VG post τρύοιεν ποδας WF

There is nothing in this fragment to indicate cultic or divinatory content. The talk seems to be about (not?) losing servants (4–5), feet aching (twice 6–7, 10) and possibly a reference to shields or fighters with shields (8 πελτ[). If anything the lines seem to be discussing problems of soldiers in the field (sore feet, shields etc.). It is hard to see how sacrifice or divination might fit in here, although e.g. Xenophon and Onosander (see Furley–Gysembergh app. B) show how important divination was for the ancient military commander.



Bibliothèque de Genève, P. Gen. inv. 161, fragment 12 (© Bibliothèque de Genève)

4–5 ἀπό]λωνται δοῦλ[οι: The construction might be final ('so that slaves do not die') or temporal/conditional (ἐάν, ὅταν etc.). δοῦλ[οι or perhaps δοῦλ[εῖαι, 'in servitude'. VG suggests an alternative ἔλωνται.

6–7 [πο]νοῦσιν, 'suffer'. A guess from context (10) but there are many verbs ending -νοῦσιν. But 'feet' have to be a plausible subject.

8 πελτ[ι]: A πέλτη is a (small) Thracian shield, carried by a πελταστής.

10 τρύοι, 'irritate', 'distress'. The optative ending seems certain (potential optative?). ἐνπόδιμ[α], 'impediment, hindrance'. If correct, it seems the nu is not assimilated, as in fr. 5.8 ἐνκληματ-. The sense 'the impediment distresses' seems compatible with line 7. One might guess that the author is discussing some complaints of soldiering.

12 θο: Not such a common letter combination: perhaps ἀγα]θόν?

fragment 13 (= fr. ined. 5)

...τ[ι]
 ..] ξενούν θεοῦ[ς
 μὲν εὐμενεῖ[ς
 καὶ τοῖς σοῖς δοχὰς θελ[.
 ὅταν δὲ περὶ ἑορτ[ῶν 5
 ποιοῦμε[ν] ἀπὸ τ[ι]
 μεν τάχα λ[ι]
 ..ς. θέλωμεν [ι]
 καὶ[.....]μ[ι]
].[10

Although little can be read here, the context, we would guess, is sacrifice made in connection with formal celebrations (4–5 δοχὰς, περὶ ἑορτ[ῶν]).

2 [..]ξενούν θεοῦ[ς: We seem to have a reference here to θεοξενία, the entertaining of gods or heroes with a sacred meal. What came before ξενούν is difficult to say: εὐ? or perhaps a composite εὐξενούν? (not attested). There is *paragraphus* beneath previous line, so perhaps this is the beginning of a section.

3 εὐμενεῖ[ς: See previous note.



Bibliothèque de Genève, P. Gen. inv. 161, fragment 13 (© Bibliothèque de Genève)

4 *δοχάα*: When we first deciphered this word we were strongly tempted to think we had here one of the key words in extispicy, *δοχή*, referring to a mark or indentation on the liver, which plays an important role in the Moscow extispicy text (Furley–Gysembergh I 81). But here the word is clearly accusative plural, which is difficult to accommodate if the sign in extispicy is meant. Moreover in the next line we hear of ‘festivals’ (5 *ἑορτ[ῶν]*) so it seems more likely that *δοχάα* here means ‘receptions’ for one’s own family (4 *τοῖα κοῖα*).

θελ.: Probably a second person singular form of the verb going with *κοῖα*.

6 *πο.ουμ.*: Perhaps *ποιουμέν*.

7 *μεν*: Not necessarily *μέν*, possibly end of *-ομεν*, *-ωμεν* etc.

8 *θέλωμεν*, ‘[if] we want’. Inspection shows first letter not tau (so not *τελώμεν* vel sim.).

fragment 14 (= fr. ined. 6)

Small, damaged fragment of approximately eight lines. Nothing readable, only traces and a couple of individual letters.

To sum up: the fragments of P. Gen. 161 seem to come from a bookroll on the general subject of sacrifice and divination. The work seems to have consisted of excerpts from technical treatises on these subjects. We have two instances of what looks like a title *Καλλιερεῖν Θεοῖς*, ‘Favourable Divine Omens’, in one instance preceded by *ἀπό*, indicating that the text above is an excerpt. If this was the format, it is exactly comparable to the Moscow extispicy papyrus (Furley–Gysembergh I) which contains a series of excerpts from technical treatises on reading omens from the liver of a sacrificed animal. Such a work appears to have presented a compendium of knowledge on a particular subject, excerpts from technical monographs. For that reason it is perhaps less surprising that the now legible sections of P. Gen. 161 touch on a variety of subjects and contexts. Fragment 1 appears to deal with divination of an unspecified type; fragment 2 gives a detailed recipe for a pyromantic ritual; 3 and 4 are the end and beginning respectively of a section of Eudemos’ *On Favourable Omens*; fragment 5 contains a new fragment, perhaps spurious, of Hesiod; fragments 9 (= fr. ined. 1) and 11 (= fr. ined. 4) relate to sacrifice and divination in the context of runaway slaves or deserters. This last seems to confirm the practice of comparing the results of one sacrifice with another, a kind of empirical testing of evidence. But apart from the interest and novelty of some of the fragments the text contains new or little-known words of interest to lexicographers: first, the very interesting word *μελλοκτέριμα*, which we take to mean ‘that which will be consigned to the fire’, or ‘burned offering’; and *πῶρος* which may be an old word for ‘misery’ or ‘bane’. The register of language in which these technical treatises were written is educated and (pseudo-)scientific. This is evidenced by such high-faluting words as *σημείωσις* for ‘signification’, abstract nouns such as *εὐδοξία* and *ἐπίκτησις* in fragment 4. We should imagine a scenario in which technical knowledge was passed from seer to seer through such works as these, to be offered to clients wanting advice on such undertakings as journeys, recovering runaway slaves (fr. 9), celebrations in the family (fr. 12) and no doubt public and military life (fr. 11) generally. If the papyrus dates to the second century AD, the works excerpted must be earlier, probably Hellenistic treatises, the great age of scientific and pseudo-scientific knowledge.

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