

Brill's New Jacoby

Anonymous, *Encheiridion* (P. Ryl., 1, 22)

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English

Ancient Greek

BNJ 18 F 1

FGrH

P. Rylands 22 (Pack² 2457)

Source genre: Literature, ancient

Fragment subject: Mythology, Trojan cycle

Source date: 1st century AD

Historian's date: unknown

n.a.

Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ Διομήδης εἰσελθόντες εἰς Εἴλιον / ὅπως ἐκκλέψωσιν] τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς οὐράνιον / ἄγαλμα, τοῦτο Ἑλένου πάλιν αὐτοῖς εἶπαν[τος,/ ἀποκτείνουσι]ν Κόροιβον τὸν Μύγδο[νος / τὸν ἐκ Φρυγίας] ἐληλυθότα ἐπὶ συνμα[χί/αν τοῖς Τρωσίν] καὶ ἄλλους αὐτοῦ ἐταίρο[υς / τῶν φυλασσόντων]· καὶ σώζονται πρὸς τοῦ[ς Ἑλληνας ἔχοντες] τὸ Παλλάδιον. εἶτα γε[ίνε/ται τοῦτοις μὲν] χαρά, τῶν δὲ Τρώων [...10/.....] τροπὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγεν[η/μένοις. Ὀδυσσεὺς] δὲ καὶ Φοῖνιξ πλε[υ/σάμενοι εἰς τὴν] Σκῦρον ἄγουσι τὸν Ν[εο/πτόλεμον ἤδη, κα]ὶ ἀποδίδωσιν αὐτῶι [Ὀδυσ/σεὺς τὰ ὄπλα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. Ἀ[χιλλεὺς 15/ δὲ αὐτῶι φαντάζε]ται παρὰ τ[ῶι τύμ/βωι. καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐ]τὸν καιρὸν [Εὐρύπυ/λος ὁ Τηλέφου υἱὸς] ἐκ τῆς Μυ[σίας πα/ραγίνεται βοηθῶν] τοῖς Τρωσ[ι/..... Πριά]μωι(?). εἶτα ..|[.....20/..... γίνε]ται μάχη [.....

Translation

[Odysseus and Diomedes] enter Ilium [in order to steal] the heavenly [statue] of Athena, [Helenos having] again suggested this to them. [They kill] Koroibos son of Mygdon, who had come [from Phrygia] as an ally [of the Trojans] and others of his companions [who were on guard duty?]; and they return safely to the camp of [the Greeks, with] the Palladion. As a consequence, there is great joy [among them], but among the Trojans . . . change after these events.

[Odysseus] and Phoinix sail to Skyros and bring Neoptolemos right back, and [Odysseus] gives him back [the weapons of his father]. [But Achilles appears to him] beside the [tomb, and on the same] occasion [Eurypylos the son of Telephos] arrives from Mysia [to help] the Trojans [- -] to Priamos? Then . . . there is a battle...

Commentary on the text

The narrative preserved by this papyrus concerns mythical events following the death of Achilles, but preceding the fall of Troy. The events narrated in F 1 were treated in the *Little Iliad* of Lesches or Lescheos, for which we possess summaries by Proklos, *Chrestomathia* 206 Seve. = A. Bernabé, *Poetae Epici Graeci* 1 (Leipzig 1987), *Iliades Parvae Argumenta* 1, and Pseudo-Apollodoros, *Epitome* 5.6-16. While the main elements remain the same, the events are not related in the same order: according to Proklos and Pseudo-Apollodoros, the stealing of the Palladion by Odysseus and Diomedes occurred after the arrival of Neoptolemos from Skyros and after the arrival and death of Eurypylos, immediately before the fall of the city (the same order is presupposed in the list of tragedies deriving from the *Little Iliad* in Aristotle, *Poetics* 23, 1459b 5-7).

P. Rylands 22 is not unique in antedating the stealing of the Palladion: there are other traces of a version in which the capture of the Palladion was placed earlier. Thus, in Pseudo-Euripides, *Rhesus* 497-502, as well as in Antisthenes, *Ajax* 3, 6 and *Odysseus* 3, the Palladion was stolen before the dispute between Odysseus and Ajax over the armour of Achilles, before the arrival of Neoptolemos at Troy; similarly in Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 13.1-381; in Tzetzes, *Posthomerica* 509-17, the stealing of the statue followed immediately upon the death of Ajax. The sequence of events offered by these authors is analogous to that of the papyrus. However, it is impossible to pinpoint the ultimate source of this form of the story (an idiosyncratic version is for instance offered by Diktys, *Chronicle of the Trojan War* 5. 8-9 and 5.14: the Palladion is handed over to the Greeks by Antenor after the arrival of Neoptolemos, just before the fall of Troy, but Ajax and Odysseus quarrel not over Achilles' armour but over the Palladion). We may choose to consider these as versions (or variants) of the story narrated in the epic poem known as *Ilias parva* (and working on the hypothesis of one *Little Iliad* only, A. Severyns, *Le Cycle épique dans l'école d'Aristarque* (Liège 1928), 475, thought the version of P. Rylands 22 preferable to those of Pseudo-Apollodoros and Proklos). On the other hand, we may admit the existence of at least two archaic epic poems treating the fall of Ilion, one by Lesches, the other one variously attributed to Testorides, Kinaithon or Diodoros of Erythrai. The latter solution has been recently and forcefully advocated by A. Bernabé, '¿Más de una *Ilias Parva*?', *Apophoreta philologica E. Fernandez Galiano a sodalibus oblata, Estudios clásicos* 87 (1984), 141-50; it would account for the differences in the order of events and for other puzzling features of the tradition concerning the *Little Iliad*. In Bernabé's hypothesis, P. Rylands 22 (and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 13.1-381) would follow an epic poem on the fall of Troy, a *Little Iliad* different from that of Lesches. P. Oxy 2510 (= Bernabé, *Poetae Epici Graeci Iliades parvae* fragmentum dubium 32), narrating an episode of the fight for Achilles' body in which Odysseus, rather than, as usual, Ajax, carries away the body of the fallen hero, might also have preserved a fragment of it. Accordingly, Bernabé prints the text of Proklos and of P. Rylands 22 side to side, as *Poetae Epici Graeci Iliades Parvae argumenta* 1 and 2. See now A. Kelly, 'Ilias parva', in M. Fantuzzi and C. Tsagalis (eds.), *The Greek Epic Cycle and its Ancient Reception: A Companion* (Cambridge 2015), 328-329, who concludes that 'the papyrus' source treats the *Ilias parva* much as that poem treated its forebears, recomposing through recombination': as already noted by Jacoby, Koroiubus here is modelled

on the character of Eurypylos (in the *Ilias parva*) and Othryoneus and Rhesus in the *Iliad* (Kelly, '*Ilias parva*', 329 and n. 63).

Whatever the case, F 1 has further peculiarities that, when combined, render it impossible to give a neat and simple picture of the source situation; it is also worth emphasising that the singularities of F 1 are paralleled by others in F 2. Thus, in P. Rylands 22 Koroibos (the papyrus has the variant spelling Korybos, attested also in *Etymologicum Magnum* 577.33: see Jacoby's apparatus) is killed in the course of the expedition for the Palladion, before the arrival in Troy of Neoptolemos. In the rest of the tradition however Koroibos either goes unmentioned (so Proklos and Pseudo-Apollodoros) or dies in the course of the sack of Troy, and the identity of his killer varies. Thus, Pausanias 10.27.1 affirms that Lesches differed from the common account in attributing the death of Koroibos to Diomedes rather than to Neoptolemos; Quintus of Smyrna, *Fall of Troy* 13.168-70, concurs with Lesches in giving as the killer Diomedes, while Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.424-5, names Peneleos.

Likewise, according to the papyrus Phoinix accompanied Odysseus to Skyros. This version is attested also on an Attic red-figured volute krater of c. 470 (Ferrara 44701, ARV² 536), in Sophokles, *Philoctetes* 343-56 and in Pseudo-Apollodoros, *Epitome* 5.11 (Pindar F98f S-M speaks only of 'messengers'). In Proklos' summary of the *Little Iliad*, as in Homer, *Odyssey* 11.506-9 and Tzetzes, *Posthomerica* 523-34, Odysseus alone is mentioned; but it might be excessive to infer from the silence of Proklos that in the *Little Iliad* Phoinix did not accompany Odysseus. There were however other possibilities: in Philostratos Junior, *Imagines* 2, Phoinix goes alone; Dares Phrygius 35 mentions only Menelaos; finally, according to Quintus of Smyrna, *Fall of Troy* 6.57-114 and 7.169-430, Diomedes was the companion of Odysseus on this occasion.

As for the apparition of Achilles to his son, the restoration at l.15 finds a parallel in the summary of Proklos cited above. In the rest of the tradition (beginning with Euripides, *Hecuba* 37-39; cf. e.g. Quintus of Smyrna, *Fall of Troy* 14.179-222) the apparition of Achilles to Neoptolemos is connected to his request that Polyxena be sacrificed, and takes place after the fall of Troy.

Commentary on F 1

The papyrus (Pack² 2457) comes from Behnesa (Oxyrhynchos) in Egypt; the mythological narrative is written on the back of accounts of the end of the first century BC. The first editor, A.S. Hunt, *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester* 1: *Literary texts* (Manchester 1911), 40-2, dated the writing to the first century AD; G. Cavallo, *Il calamo e il papiro. La scrittura greca dall'età ellenistica ai primi secoli di Bisanzio* (Firenze 2005), 111-112 has refined the date to the first half of the first century AD. Beginnings and ends of lines are lost throughout, which means that the restorations are uncertain; the average line length is 35 letters.

Periodically updated information on both this fragment and F 2 is to be found in M. Huys et al., *Catalogue of Paraliterary Papyri*, n° 14 (<http://cpp.arts.kuleuven.be/index.php?page=closeup&id=0014>), as well as in the *CEDOPAL* (*Base de données expérimentale Mertens-Pack³ en ligne*, <http://cipl93.philo.ulg.ac.be/Cedopal/MP3/displayMultipleNotices.aspx?selId=512961984>), and in the Leuven Database of Ancient Books (LDAB), no. 4329 (<http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/text.php?quick=4329>). Both the LDAB and the CPP feed

into the Trismegistos database, where P. Ryl.1, 22 and P. Yale inv. 420 (F 1 and 2) are registered under the number 63125 (www.trismegistos.org/text/63125).

FGrH: not in Jacoby

P. Yale inv. 420

Edition: S. Stephens, *Yale Papyri in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library 2* (Chico 1985), no. 110, 105-6,
<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Pq40rgEACAAJ&dq>

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].....[.] . [/ ...]σὺν αὐτῆι¹ ..[/ ?καὶ² ἐ]τράφη παρὰ Χείρω[νι - - -³/ ψωμισζόμενος σφλάγχνα
[λεόντων καὶ μυέλους 5/ ἄρκ<τ>ων καὶ συῶν⁴ ἀγρείων. τρ[εφόμενος δ' οὕτως⁵ / καὶ
ὠνομάσθη [[ὄ]] Αχιλλεὺς δ[ιὰ τοῦτο, ὅτι⁶ τὰ χεῖ/λη μαστῶι οὐ προσήνεγκε[ν. εἰς Σκῦρον δ'
ἐνθὲν⁷/?δ?ε ἤχθη ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ ἔ[τει. Θέτις γὰρ εἰδυῖα, ὅτι⁸ / ἐστρατ[ευμένος] κ[ατ'] Εἴλιον
ἀπολείται, ἐπεμψε(ν)⁹ 10/ Ἑρμῆν πρὸς τὸν Χείρωνα τ[ὸν υἱὸν ἐκεῖσε οἴσοντα.¹⁰ / μετὰ δὲ τὸν
Πηλέως καὶ [Θέτιδος γάμον δι' Ἑριν¹¹ / αἰ θεαὶ ἐν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ ἤρ[ιζον πρὸς ἀλλήλους / περι
κάλλους. Ἑρμῆς δ' αὐτὰ[ς ἐντεῦθεν Διὸς κε¹²/λεύσαντος εἰς τὴν Εἶδην [πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον
κατ¹³ 15/ ἤγ]αγε καὶ¹⁴ ἢ μὲν Ἥρα ἐ[- - - - -¹⁵/τ[ὸ]ν¹⁶ εἰς τὸν Ὀλυμπ[ον, εἰ - - -

Translation

... /...With her..[/ ? and ? he was] brought up by Chiron [place name?] / being fed intestines
[of lions and marrow] of bears and wild boars. [Having been brought up in this way] he
received the name of Achilles [for this very reason, because] he did not put his lips to the
breast. [Thence] he was brought in his tenth [year to Skyros; for Thetis, knowing that] if he
joined the expedition [against Troy he would die, sent] Hermes to Chiron [to carry her son
there]. After the wedding of Peleus and [Thetis, ?through Eris?] / the goddesses in Olympos
quarrelled [among themselves] / about beauty. Hermes, on the order[of Zeus, brought them
thence] to the mount Idas, [to Alexandros], and Hera [announced to him that she would bring
him?] to the Olympos, if . . .

Apparatus Criticus

I have retained, following W. Luppe, 'PYale 110', *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 1 (1992), 267-71
(and in F 1 following Jacoby), the vulgar spellings and wrong adscript iotas of the papyrus;
the text here given of F 2 includes restorations proposed *exempli gratia* by Luppe. While on

points of detail they may be criticised, they are certainly very close to the general meaning of the text.

¹ Luppe: υναλληι Stephens

² Luppe: ...ἐ]τράφηι Stephens (adding in the commentary: either παῖς or ἥρωος would fit initial traces).

³ placename? Luppe: τῶι κενταύρωι Stephens

⁴ Stephens: αρκων και συν P

⁵ Luppe : τη.[Stephens

⁶ δ[ιὰ τοῦτο, ὅτι Luppe : ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ? Stephens

⁷ Luppe : προσήνεγκε[v --- Stephens

⁸ restoration of the line by Luppe: .ει..[. .] . ν τῶι δεκάτω[ι ... Stephens

⁹ restoration of the line by Luppe: εστ . α . [.....] κε[- - - Stephens

¹⁰ Luppe: Ἐρμῆν πρὸς τὸν Χείρωνα τ[--- Stephens

¹¹ Luppe: μετὰ δὲ τὸν Πηλέως καὶ [Θέτιδος γάμον αὐτῶι Stephens

¹² Luppe: Ἐρμῆς δ' αὐτὰ[ς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἦγεν καὶ Stephens, longius spatio

¹³ Luppe: ἐλθόντες εἰς τὸν Εἶδην [- - - Stephens

¹⁴ Luppe:σαι· Stephens

¹⁵ ἐ[παγγείλατο αὐτῶι ἄξειν αὐ- Luppe

¹⁶ Luppe: ... Stephens

Commentary on the text

F 2 relates events from the birth and youth of Achilles to the judgment of Paris; the allusive l. 11 shows that the wedding of Peleus and Thetis had already been narrated (the restoration at l. 2, 'with her', assumes a reference to Thetis: Luppe, 'PYale 110', 268). The matter covered is generally presented in fairly close agreement with the accounts of handbooks such as Pseudo-Apollodoros' *Library*, or of the summaries of the Cyclic poems (as pointed out by Stephens, *Yale Papyri*, 106, most of the material recounted here was central to the story of the *Kypria*). There are however some divergences, the main one being the presence of Hermes in connection with Chiron at l.10.

At l. 3, Stephens' restoration does not fill the line; Luppe suggests that a locality, such as the Pelion, may have been indicated. Lines 3-7 find a close comparison in Pseudo-Apollodoros,

Library 3.13.6 (3.172 W): κομίζει δὲ τὸν παῖδα πρὸς Χείρωνα Πηλεύς. Ο δὲ λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἔτρεφε σπλάγγχοις λεόντων καὶ συῶν ἀγρίων καὶ ἄρκτων μυελοῖς, καὶ ὠνόμασεν Ἀχιλλέα (πρότερον δὲ ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ Λιγύρων) ὅτι τὰ χεῖλη μαστοῖς οὐ προσήνεγκε ('and Peleus brings the child to Chiron. The latter receiving him brought him up on intestines of lions and wild boars and the marrow of bears, and called him Achilles (before his name was Ligyron) because he had not put his lips to the breast'). For a slightly different interpretation of the name of Achilles, see e.g. *Etymologicum magnum* 181.24, s.v. Ἀχιλλεύς, and Eustathios, *Commentary on Homer's Iliad* 1.1, 14, whose point is that Achilles did not touch any milk or vegetable food with his lips.

Lines 8-10: as pointed out by Stephens, the word δεκάτωι in l. 8 suggests a supplement like ἔτει (the tenth year) or βιβλίωι (the tenth book). The restoration printed here is based on the parallel account of Pseudo-Apollodoros, *Library* 3.13.8 (3.174 W): ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο ἐνναετῆς Ἀχιλλεύς, Κάλχαντος λέγοντος οὐ δύνασθαι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ Τροίαν αἰρεθῆναι, Θέτις προειδυῖα ὅτι δεῖ στρατευόμενον αὐτὸν ἀπολέσθαι, κρύψασα ἐσθῆτι γυναικεῖα ὡς παρθένον Λυκομήδει παρέθετο ('when Achilles reached nine, Kalchas said that Troy could not be taken without him, and Thetis, knowing that it was his destiny to die if he went to the war, disguised him with female garments and entrusted him as a maiden to Lykomedes'). The presence of Hermes in this context finds no parallel in the other known versions of the story; it can however be explained by his role as messenger of Zeus.

Line 11: Cf. schol. D *Iliad*. 16.140 = A. Bernabé, *Poetae Epici Graeci* 1 (Leipzig 1987), *Kypria* F 3: κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Πηλέως καὶ Θέτιδος γάμον οἱ θεοὶ συναχθέντες εἰς τὸ Πήλιον . . . ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τῷ τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσαντι ('For at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis the gods gathered on the Olympos to feast... the story is in the author of the *Kypria*').

Lines 12-15: restored by Stephens, *Yale Papyri*, 108, and Luppe, 'PYale 110', 270, on the basis of comparison with Pseudo-Apollodoros, *Epitome* 3.2, and *Papyrus Grecs de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* inv. 320, I^v/II^r, edited by J. Schwartz, *Etudes de papyrologie* 7 (Paris 1948), 93-109 = Pack² 2644 (quoted by Luppe, 'PYale 110', 270). While the exact wording seems difficult to recover, the overall sense of the passage is clear: the goddesses are accompanied by Hermes to the Ida, where Alexandros will decide on the quarrel. As pointed out by Luppe, 'PYale 110', 270, the construction with the genitive absolute at ll. 12-13 (Διὸς κελεύσαντος) finds a good parallel in P. Rylands 22 (F 1), 3 ('Ἐλένου ... εἶπαντος).

The first goddess to speak is Hera, and the lacuna must contain her offer to Alexandros; however, at l. 16 we find a mention of the Olympos. To explain this, Luppe has suggested that in ll. 15-16 Hera promised to Alexandros to take him to the Olympos (and thus to give him immortality?). As Luppe, 'PYale 110', 270-1, himself remarks, this is unexpected, as traditionally Hera promises power to Alexandros (thus in the summary of Kratinos' *Dionysalexandros*, POxy 663 = Kassel-Austin, *Poetae Comici Graeci* 4, p. 140; a *tyrannis* over Europe and Asia in Euripides, *Trojan Women* 927-8; see also Isokrates 10.41, Pseudo-Apollodoros, *Epitome* 3.2, and the already mentioned P. IFAO 320, II^r/^v). Thus, the restoration of these lines must remain hypothetical.

What was the overall character of this text? The relatively elegant writing (cf. the careful description by L. Lulli, 'Un'altra strada per l'epos: l'opera di Dionisio il Ciclografo e alcune sintesi mitografiche di età ellenistica e imperiale su papiro', *Aegyptus* 93 (2013), 81) and the lack of corrections render the hypothesis of a school text, tentatively advanced by Stephens,

Yale papyri 106, and accepted in the LDAB database (<http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/text.php?quick=4329>; see also J. Debut, ‘Les documents scolaires’ *ZPE* 63 (1986), 270 no. 369, who classifies P. Ryl. 1.22 among literary exercises, specifically paraphrases), unlikely. We have noted how F 1 distances itself from the more commonly accepted version of the events close to the fall of Troy. The case of F 2 is similar: the role attributed to Hermes in bringing Achilles to Skyros is unparalleled, just as Hera’s offer to Alexandros to reside on the Olympos would be, if Luppe is right in his proposed restoration of l.16. All these deviations from the common tradition do not point to a mythological handbook, but rather to an epitome (see also Lulli, ‘Un’altra strada per l’epos’, 84-85). The original roll contained probably one or more epitomes of poems from the Trojan cycle, a conclusion agreed upon by both Stephens, *Yale Papyri* 106, and Luppe, ‘PYale 110’, 271. Solely on the basis of F 1, Jacoby in *FGrH* had already reached the same conclusion, even though he gave this entry the heading ‘Anonymes Handbuch’ (Anonymous manual, *Encheiridion*): in *FGrH* 1a, 496, he commented that it ‘sieht mehr wie nacherzählung eines gedichtes als nach eigentlichem handbuch aus’ (‘looks more like the retelling of a poem than a manual’).

Commentary on F 2

P. Yale inv. 420 consists of two non-joining fragments written across the fibers on the back of accounts. Their relative position is impossible to determine, and only the first one (printed here as F 2) yields a continuous narrative¹. Its first editor, S. Stephens, *Yale Papyri in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library* 2 (Chico 1985), no. 110, 105-6, has shown that the Yale fragments come from the same roll as P. Rylands 22 (F 1), because the handwriting is identical, and because the accounts written on the front of the papyrus are similar. Moreover, the line length is also about 35 letters, as the very likely restoration of l.4 shows. The Yale fragments refer however to events which are much earlier than those recounted in the Rylands papyrus; they may have been fairly distant in the roll. For further details see, besides the first edition, W. Luppe, ‘PYale 110’, *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 1 (1992), 267-71.

Periodically updated information on both F1 and F 2 is to be found in M. Huys et al., *Catalogue of Paraliterary Papyri*, n° 14 (<http://cpp.arts.kuleuven.be/index.php?page=closeup&id=0014>), as well as in the *CEDOPAL* (*Base de données expérimentale Mertens-Pack³ en ligne*, <http://cipl93.philo.ulg.ac.be/Cedopal/MP3/displayMultipleNotices.aspx?selId=512961984>), and in the Leuven Database of Ancient Books (LDAB), no. 4329 (<http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/text.php?quick=4329>). Both the LDAB and the CPP feed into the Trismegistos database, where P. Ryl.1, 22 and P. Yale inv. 420 (F 1 and 2) are registered under the number 63125 (www.trismegistos.org/text/63125).

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A. Bernabé, ‘¿Mas de una Ilias Parva?’, *Apophoreta philologica* E. Fernandez Galiano a sodalibus oblata, *Estudios clásicos* 87 (1984), 141-50

¹ Here is the text of the second Yale fragment: - - - - /]γην . [/] . ρον[/]ελεσο[/] . ημα[/] . λεσθ . [/]5]στονο[/]α[/ - - - - Stephens suggests, for l. 6, the restoration ει]ς τὸν Ὀλυμπον.

L. Lulli, 'Un'altra strada per l'epos: l'opera di Dionisio il Cicografo e alcune sintesi mitografiche di età ellenistica e imperiale su papiro', *Aegyptus* 93 (2013), 65–104

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