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P.MATR. INV. 47:

A NEW HEXAMETER FRAGMENT FROM THE FUNDACIÓN PASTOR

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The Papyri Matritenses or “Photiadès Fund” is a small collection of papyri currently housed at the Fundación Pastor de Estudios Clásicos (Madrid, Spain). The collection originates from a generous gift from Pénélope Photiadès, who donated part of her private collection¹ to Professor Manuel Fernández-Galiano around 1961.² In 1989, the papyri were deposited in the Fundación Pastor, when Fernández-Galiano was president of the board of trustees. The collection was first entrusted to Esther Ortuño Parra around 1988 and later to María Victoria Spottorno (CSIC-Madrid); after their careful work of conservation, the papyri have required no further intervention and are, to this day, all mounted between two sheets of glass. The collection has a total of 348 papyri and one parchment from Egypt. Their exact provenance is unknown. Pénélope Photiadès stated in her own edition of P.Matr. inv. 16 that that papyrus came from Beni Hasan,³ but it is not clear whether she meant that she bought it there along with the remainder or that this was the supposed provenance she was told the papyri had. Some of the documentary papyri edited by Sergio Daris in 1990,⁴ for example, have been shown to come from Oxyrhynchus or the Oxyrhynchite nome.

As is the case with most collections acquired through purchase, the bulk of the papyri are written in Greek and about one third is written in Coptic. There are no papyri written in Demotic or Hieratic, and there may be some written in Latin.⁵ Most of the papyri are documentary. Ten of them were published in 1990 by Daris⁶ and several others were published by other scholars, including Pénélope Photiadès herself, in several journal articles.⁷ There are also paraliterary⁸ and literary texts, the most significant being the so-called Ezekiel papyrus (P.Matr. inv. 1), which consists of 20 pages containing part of the book of Ezekiel and was originally part of Biblical Codex 967 (TM 61933, LDAB 3090).⁹ Two more literary papyri have been identified, a small fragment of the work *Agésilus* by Xenophon and the one being the object of this article.¹⁰

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¹ According to information provided by P. Schubert, P. Photiadès probably acquired her private collection, of which some papyri are now housed in the Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire (Genève), in Cairo around 1960: see P. Schubert, *Les Papyrus de Genève. Troisième volume, n° 118–146. Textes Littéraires et Documentaires*, Genève 1996, 21. See also E. Crespo, Los papiros matritenses, in τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί; *Lo que hay entre tú y nosotros. Estudios en honor de María Victoria Spottorno*, Córdoba 2016, 87–93, esp. 92–3.

² See P. Photiadès, Un papyrus documentaire de la collection de Madrid, *Emerita* 29 (1961), 117–9; Fr. J. Oroz Reta, Notas y comentarios, *Helmantica* 13 (1962), 362; M. Fernández Galiano, Información científica, ‘Papyrologica’, *Estudios Clásicos* 36 (1962), 597; V. Herrero, Los estudios papirologicos y la papirología española, in *Introducción al estudio de la filología latina*, Madrid 1965, 59–60; M. Fernández Galiano, Diez años de papirología literaria, *Estudios Clásicos* 84 (1979), 240, n. 8.

³ Photiadès, *op. cit.* (n. 2).

⁴ S. Daris, *Dieci papyri matritenses*, Madrid 1990.

⁵ P.Matr. inv. 28 (TM 942918) and 134 (TM 942937), hitherto unpublished and still awaiting scrutiny.

⁶ Daris, *op. cit.* (n. 4).

⁷ In addition to P.Matr. inv. 16, mentioned above, see e.g. P. Photiadès, Lettre concernant la propriété d’une hétaire, *Studia Papyrologica* 1 (1962), 39–42 and D. Hagedorn, P.Matrit. 78, *ZPE* 88 (1991), 125–8.

⁸ See e.g. P.Matr. inv. 46^r, published by A. Mihálykó, P.Matr. inv. 46: Hymn to Mary, *ZPE* 207 (2018), 41–6 and P.Matr. inv. 44–9, by G. Kádas and J. Rodríguez Somolinos, A New Mime Script (P. Matr. inv. 44 + 119), *ZPE* 211 (2019), 79–85.

⁹ Pages of this manuscript are kept in the John H. Sheide Collection at Princeton University, the University of Cologne, the Chester Beatty Collection in Dublin and the Roca-Puig Collection at Montserrat Abbey. Owing to its exceptional significance, the Madrid fragment is housed in the National Library of Spain: see <https://www.bne.es/es/colecciones/manuscritos/rollo-codice/profecias-ezequiel>. It was edited by M. Fernández-Galiano, Nuevas páginas del código 967 del A. T. griego (Ez 28,19–43,9), *Studia Papyrologica* 10 (1971), 7–77.

¹⁰ See R. Martín Hernández, A New Papyrus of Xenophon’s *Agésilus*: P.Matr. inv. 285, *BASP* (forthcoming).

P.Matr. inv. 47 consists of three fragments, plus one very small fragment which bears no legible writing and is not reproduced here. The larger one (4.5 × 6 cm) preserves ten lines of a hexameter text written across the fibres. Two additional small strips of papyrus, written by the same hand as the larger fragment, contain no more than a couple of letters per line. The back of the two strips is blank, while the hexameter text on the larger fragment is written on the back of a document. Only a few words of this are legible: 1 ?πυρ[οῦ and 5 ὀλύρης. These words were likely followed by a noun indicating weight or value and a number.¹¹ However, as neither of the strips has writing on the recto side, they cannot be placed to the right of this larger fragment and, consequently, cannot represent the left-hand portion of the hexameter poem. They could, in principle, have been placed (non-contiguously) to the left of the main fragment, thereby extending the left-hand margin of the document, but looking at the verso side there appears to be no continuity of sense or fibres.

The poetic text is written in a fairly large, round, upright capital, generally regular, but with no pretence to calligraphy; it is rapidly written and admits occasional ligatures. It can be compared with P.Oxy. X 1235 = *GMAW*² no. 44 (Hypotheses to Menander) or PSI XVII 1668 (Glossary to the *Iliad*), both assigned to the second century AD. Notable letters are κ with the upright occasionally ending in a loop on the line of writing (see l. 3 βηκ, 5 ικ, 6 εκ); ι, whose lower extremity curls sometimes to the left, sometimes to the right; α with long pointed nose extending below the line of writing; υ with extended upper arm and long upright protruding below the baseline. Decorative finials are also inconsistently placed at the lower extremity of an upright; contrast, for example, μ and ν in fr. 1.9 μενητιν with the same letters in fr. 1.1, .4, and .8. *Iota mutum* is expressed in l. 8 πατρῶιον, though not in l. 9 μενητι(ν) (assuming that was a dative plural μενητι(ν) and not a genitive singular μενης ιν-).

The text is an adespoton in hexameter verse. The word breaks visible in fr. 1.2–6, .8, and .10 correspond to the main *caesurae*.¹² The main fragment mentions something flowery (2); evils (3); someone referring to him-/herself in the first person as staying (ἔμεινα), awaiting (ἀν)έμεινα, or standing his/her ground (ὕ)πέμεινα, 5); someone else sending an order ((ἐ)κέλευε, 6); a river (7); an ancestral entity or something belonging to a father, or perhaps inherited from him (πατρῶιον, 8); and either a kingdom or a queen (β)ασιλε[ι]αν or β)ασιλε[ι]αν, 10).

Fr. 1

— υ —]ομ̣ε̣ε̣ζ̣ . [υ — υ — υ — υ
 — υ — υ] . []ε̣ εὐ̣α̣ν̣θ̣ε̣[υ — υ — υ
 — υ — υ β̣έ̣]β̣η̣κε̣ κα̣κῶ̣ν [υ — υ — υ
 — υ — υ]ν̣έ̣φ̣ε̣υ̣γ̣ον̣ ο̣μ̣[— υ — υ — υ
 05 — υ — υ]ε̣μ̣ει̣να̣ κα̣ι̣ ι̣κ[υ — υ — υ
 — υ — υ]ε̣κ̣έ̣λ̣ε̣υ̣ε̣ πο[— υ — υ — υ
 — υ — υ ε̣]κ̣ πο̣τα̣μο̣ῖ̣ο [υ — υ — υ — υ
 — υ — υ] πα̣τρ̣ῶ̣ι̣ον̣ . [— υ — υ — υ
 — υ — υ] με̣νη̣τι̣νε̣ . [— υ — υ — υ
 10 — υ — υ β̣]α̣σι̣λε̣[ι]αν̣ ε̣ς[— υ — υ — υ

¹¹ Cf. e.g. ἀρτάβας in *BGU* XVI 2566 and P.Flor. III 379^r, ἄρουραι in P.Erl. 50 and δραχμαί in P.Oxy. XLIX 3455. After ὀλύρης traces of a diagonal stroke descending from left to right may have been part of a number, a numerical symbol, or an abbreviation.

¹² Placing the extant verses after the main *caesura* entails infringing Hermann's bridge twice, in fr. 1.3 βέ]βηκε ν κακῶν and .4]νέφευγον ν ομ[. In addition, a placement of 1.3 in the fifth and sixth sedes would leave only one syllable to be filled after κακῶν. For methodological observations on the placing of small hexameter fragments, see M. L. West, *The Metrical Placing of Small Papyrus Fragments*, in *Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of Papyrologists (Oxford, 24–31 July 1974)*, London 1975, 341–7.

Fr. 2

] [

] , υ [

] τ α [

] μ . [

 05] α . [

] υ ν [

] υ [

Fr. 3

] , c [

] π . [

] ε [

] ρ [

 05] υ [

] . . [

] ε [

] . π [

The metrical placement of εὐανθε[(Fr. 1.2), not attested in this sedes before Dionysius Periegetes (see below); the articulation of πατρῶιος (1.8) as — — υ, not attested in this form in hexameter poetry before Oppian (see below); and the strong preponderance of the feminine over the masculine *caesura* (8/9 instances),¹³ point to a Hellenistic or Imperial poem.

Given the scanty textual remains and the lack of mythological or geographical references, considerations on content are bound to be inevitably speculative. The following references, however, when taken altogether, may be interpreted as converging on the story of Odysseus:¹⁴

- Penelope could be called Ἴκ[αρίοιο θύγατρα (fr. 1.5), or the like (cf. Hom. *Od.* 1.329 etc.), as well as β]ακίλ[ε] [ι]αν (1.10, cf. *Od.* 16.337, 17.583).
- the word πατρῶιον (1.8) may, in principle, refer to Odysseus' patrimony (cf. *Od.* 17.80, *LfrgE*, s.v. πατρώιος).
- ἐ]κ ποταμοῖο (1.7) occurs in *Od.* 5.462 with reference to the river through which Odysseus transits before reaching the coast of Scheria after the storm is stirred by Poseidon.
- the name of Poseidon himself could be supplied at the end of fr. 1.6, e.g. (ἐ)κέλευε Πο[σειδάων ἐνοσίχθων.
- a son of Euanthes (cf. 1.2 εὐανθε[), Apollo's priest Maron, is mentioned at *Od.* 9.197 as responsible for a gift of wine to Odysseus.

A line-by-line commentary with some points of detail follows.

Fr. 1

1] : No more than a dot at line level, but κ is what we would expect: κ]ομῆεξκ[, τρ]ομῆεξκ[, or βρ]ομῆεξκ[.
 2 If not a personal name, a form of either εὐανθήε/εὐανθεμοε or the verb εὐανθέω. Neither would be attested in hexameter poetry in this sedes before D.P. 999. εὐανθήε occurs in *Od.* 11.320 εὐανθεῖ λάχνηι, of Otus and Ephialtes.

¹³ Assuming, again, a dative plural μενητιν and not a genitive singular μενης ιν-.

¹⁴ Other examples of hexameter *adespota* on Odysseus are discussed in M. Perale, P.Ryl. III 487. Ethopoea on Odysseus, in R. Berardi, S. Coen, G. Iovine (eds.), *Liber Amicorum Daniela Colomo*, APF Behefte, Berlin–Boston, forthcoming.

3 If a compound, ἀμφιβέ]βηκε or προβέ]βηκε would be admissible, with κακῶν governed by a word lost in the lacuna, e.g. ἡ δὲ πόδα προβέ]βηκε κακῶν [τ' ἐξήλυθε πάντων. Before the second κ of κακῶν, a dot at top level, probably accidental.

4]ν ἔφευγον,]νε φεῦγον, ἀ]νέφευγον or κυ]νέφευγον. Either compound would be novel in hexametric poetry. Is this first person singular or third person plural? ἔμεινα at 5 suggests the former, which could be construed with e.g. ὄμ[οκλήν 'I was fleeing the threat'. If the latter, then e.g. κυ]νέφευγον ὄμ[αρτήσαντες or ὄμ[ιλαδόν 'they were fleeing together all at the same time' or 'in crowds'. But ομ[may also go with a lost word at the end, e.g. ὄμ[οφροσύνην παρέχοντες or ὄμ[οφραδέες δ' ἐγένοντο.

5 καιῖκ Ϝ. 'Inorganic' trema marks word separation: Turner, Parsons, *GMAW*², p. 10. *Correptio epica* of καιῖ after feminine *caesura* is not uncommon in Hellenistic or later poetry.¹⁵ For correption of καιῖ before long syllable ικ-, see D.P. 609, Nonn. *D.* 47.134, Cyr. *A.P.* 15.11.9 κ. Ἰκαρ-; Nonn. *D.* 3.150 κ. ἰκμαλέης ἀπὸ ῥοῆς; Nonn. *D.* 8.369, 24.22, *P.* 15.64 κ. ἰκεσι-.

6]θε κέλευε (third-person epic imperfect or second-person imperative) or]θ' ἐκέλευε, followed by the subject giving the order or the person receiving it.

7 ἐ]κ or ὑπέ]κ.

8 πατρῶιον Ϝ. The adjective was spelled as — — υ (as in Nonn. *D.* 20.120, 23.1, 24.201, 33.243, all in this sedes), not as πατρώϊον (as in Homer), which is consistently placed after the main *caesura* in hexameter poetry and would have been presumably written out by the scribe as πατρωῖον (cf. 5 καιῖκ, and possibly 9 below). We expect a vowel after πατρῶιον, which would precede a feminine *caesura* (a consonant would make the hexameter bipartite, which would be unlikely). The form πατρῶιος for πατρώϊος is not attested in hexameter poetry before Oppian (*Hal.* 4.530). Then ε[, υ[, or less likely Ϝ[.

9 μνητικν ε . [or μνητικν νε . [(less likely, μνητικν ἔν' ε . [). Before μνητικν(ν), traces of an upright followed by a dot just above the line of writing. The latter can be interpreted as the second dot of a diaeresis (e.g. ἐκτ[μνητικν) or the upper extremity of the arm of ν (ὀρν]υμένητικν, ἐκκ]υμένητικν, ὀλλ]υμένητικν). If the form did end with a movable ν, then -ε]ι[, ε]ν[, ε]π[ι, ε]γ[would be possible before the break. ε]κ[does not fit the traces.

Fr. 2

2] . : ο, ρ, φ, or ω.

4] . [: the top right quadrant of a round letter.

5]α . [: either α]ν or α]μ.

Fr. 3

2] . [: the upper half of an upright.

6] . . [: the left-hand part of a round letter, then τ or ψ.

8] . : indistinct traces of writing at top level and a dot at mid level.

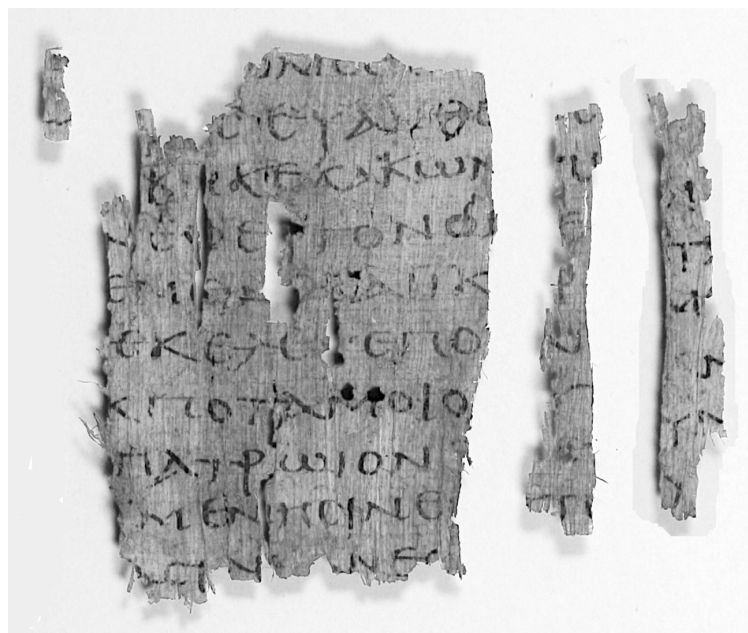
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¹⁵ A. S. Hollis, *Callimachus. Hecale*, Oxford 2009², 22.



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