

AUFSÄTZE

A Peripatetic Dialogue in P.Oxy. LIII 3699: A New Edition Based on New Joins

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Abstract: This article presents a new edition with a translation and a commentary of P.Oxy. LIII 3699. By examining the originals I have been able to join the fragments, which were published as separate pieces in the editio princeps. The text is a philosophical dialogue dealing with education and probably belongs to the Aristotelian Peripatos.

Keywords: philosophy, Peripatos, dialogue, P.Oxy. LIII 3699, new edition

DOI 10.1515/apf-2015-0002

1. Introduction

P.Oxy. LIII 3699 preserves part of an anonymous philosophical dialogue.¹ Haslam edited it for the Oxyrhynchus Papyri series, and Luppe discussed

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¹ For this article, I studied the original papyrus under a microscope in the Papyrology Room of the Sackler Library in Oxford during the Hilary and Trinity terms of 2013 and the Michaelmas term of 2014. Together with Dr Daniela Colomo (the curator of the Oxyrhynchus collection), I unglased the papyrus to rearrange and join the pieces. I am grateful to her for helping me with this work and for commenting on my paper. I also thank Prof. Willy Clarysse, who pointed out the join between Haslam's fr. (b) col. i and fr. (a) col. iii; he suggested me to study the papyrus more closely and commented on earlier drafts of this article as well. Further thanks go to Dr Paul Ellis for proofreading my English text and to

it in two brief notes.² Haslam's edition distinguished five pieces (see Figure 1 and 2). Fr. (a) contains the upper parts of four consecutive columns: col. i only preserves some scanty line ends; col. ii treats the mythical example of Alcmeon; col. iii discusses the uneducated man (*ἀπαίδευτος*); col. iv deals with strength (*ῥώμη*). Fr. (b) is a small fragment with two columns: col. i mentions a wretched life (*μοχθηρός*), whereas col. ii is almost illegible (save for]δοξο[, probably [ἐν]]δοξο[, [εὖ]]δοξο[or [ἄ]]δοξο[). Fr. (c) has two columns that belong to the lower part of the papyrus roll: only the first column provides a legible text about the unprofitable and harmful life (*ἀλυσίτελής καὶ βλαβερός*). Fr. (d) contains the lower parts of two columns: col. i introduces the concepts of reputation, strength and beauty (*δόξα, ῥώμη, κάλλος*), while col. ii quotes a Euripidean diatribe against athletes (F 282 Kannicht). The small fr. (e) is nearly illegible (save for διαφε[).

Although Haslam suggested a possible order of the fragments, he concluded that they defied any definitive placement and therefore edited them as separate pieces.³ However, a close examination of the fragments reveals several joins, which show the exact position of fr. (a), (b), (c) and (d). Their placement in turn allows us to read the papyrus as a more or less continuous text and restore some damaged sections. This article therefore presents a study of the papyrus with a new edition based on these joins.

2. The order of the pieces

The order of the pieces can be determined thanks to three joins. A first join is found between Haslam's fr. (b) col. i and fr. (a) col. iii. The top of the latter fragment reads ληκκαιβλαβεροκοβι, while the bottom of fr. (b) has αλυσίτε[[- -]βι. Combined, they read the text which Haslam reconstructed for the two pieces separately:⁴ ἀλυσίτελής καὶ βλαβερὸς ὁ βίος ἐστίν. This join was brought to my attention by Willy Clarysse. Thanks to him, fr. (b) was already attached to fr. (a) in the new online image of the papyrus.

the Egypt Exploration Society and Imaging Papyri Project, Oxford for granting me permission to reproduce the new image of P.Oxy. LIII 3699 in this article. This research was possible thanks to travel grants awarded by the FWO – Flanders and KU Leuven.

² Haslam (1986); Luppe (1986); (1988).

³ Haslam (1986: 15).

⁴ Haslam (1986: 18; 21).

A study of the other fragments has revealed two additional joins. Haslam's fr. (c) col. ii reads τ[in the upper and κ[in the lower line. However, the first letter is probably not τ but π, as is indicated by the leftward curling foot at line level, a trace of the left leg of π. The two letters match the final two lines of fr. (d) col. i. The joins π//αθιας and κ//αι thus confirm Haslam's conjectures ἡδὺ|[π]αθιας and [κ]αί.⁵ This placement is also confirmed by several horizontal fibres that continue from fr. (c) into fr. (d).

Another new join is between Haslam's fr. (a) col. iii and fr. (d) col. i. At the beginning of the latter fragment, the concepts of reputation, strength and beauty are introduced (δόξα, ῥώμη, κάλλος). Money was probably part of this chain as well, since the subsequent text of fr. (d) col. i discusses χρήματα. This missing word is actually found at the end of Haslam's fr. (a) col. iii, which reads χρ[.]μα, not λημα, as Haslam claimed.⁶ Since there is a gap of two letters before δόξα, this part can be supplemented as χρ[ή]μα|[τα]. *Pace* Haslam, the text of fr. (a) col. iii perfectly continues in fr. (d) col. i, which provides the *apodosis* for the *protasis* in fr. (a): καὶ γὰρ εἰ καθ' ἕν τις | ἔφη ζητοῖ|[η], χρ[ή]μα|[τα] δόξα ῥώμη κάλλος | [πάντ]α ταῦτά γε εἰ ὁῖόν τ' εἰπεῖν ἀλυσίτελή ἐστιν | τῶι [τ]ο[ι]ούτῳ 'Indeed, he said, if one examined it one by one, money, reputation, strength and beauty, all these things are so to speak unprofitable for such a man.'

The three joins fr. (b) col. i + fr. (a) col. iii, fr. (a) col. iii + fr. (d) col. i and fr. (d) col. i + fr. (c) col. ii prove that the correct order of the pieces is as follows:

col. I	col. II	col. III	col. IV
fr. (a) col. i	fr. (a) col. ii	fr. (b) col. i fr. (a) col. iii	fr. (b) col. ii [6 lines lost] fr. (a) col. iv
[12 lines lost]	[4 lines lost] fr. (c) col. i	fr. (d) col. i + fr. (c) col. ii	[1 line lost] fr. (d) col. ii

Since the text of fr. (c) col. ii continues in fr. (b) col. ii, I am able to give a new reading for the end of col. III: Haslam identified the words as κα[ῖ]

⁵ Haslam (1986: 19).

⁶ Haslam (1986: 22).

ἄλλοι- (a form of ἄλλοῖος ‘of another kind’),⁷ but the new order of the pieces indicates that the word is continued at the top of col. IV, which begins with π. Therefore, I supplement κα[ῖ] τὰ λοιπ[ά] ‘et cetera’, which closes the list of temptations, consisting of luxury (ἡδύπραθία), dice games (κύβ[ου]c) and women (γυνάικας).

The harmful possessions (χρήματα, δόξα, ῥώμη, κάλλος) are thus discussed in the order in which they are first listed: the lower part of col. III = fr. (d) col. i + fr. (c) col. ii discusses χρήματα, the upper part of col. IV = fr. (b) col. ii mentions reputation ([δοξο]), and the mid-part of col. IV = fr. (a) col. iv deals with ῥώμη. The quotation from Euripides’ diatribe against the athletes (F 282 Kannicht) in the lower part of col. IV = fr. (d) col. ii is probably additional ‘evidence’ to reject strength for the uneducated man. The only concept that does not recur in the fragments is κάλλος, which was probably discussed in the lost section following col. IV.

With this order, the text moves from one thought to the next. At the bottom of col. II = fr. (c) col. i, the unprofitable and harmful lifestyle is mentioned (οὗ ἔφη ὁ βίος ἀλ[υσιτε]λῆς καὶ βλαβερὸς ἐστ[ι]ν) ‘a man, he said, whose life is unprofitable and harmful’. This is called a wretched life at the beginning of col. III = fr. (b) col. i + fr. (a) col. iii (οὗ οὖν ἔφη | [ὁ βίος] μοχθηρὸς ἐστίν, | [ἐκεῖνο] οὐκ ἀλυσίτελῆς καὶ βλαβερὸς ὁ βίος ἐστίν; ‘so a man whose life is wretched, he said, is his life not unprofitable and harmful?’). In this context, the main interlocutor introduces (or probably re-introduces) the uneducated man (οὐκοῦν | ἔφη παντὸς τοῦ ἀπαιδεύτου μοχθηρὸς ὁ | βίος καὶ αἱ πράξεις εἰς τὴν | [γ] ἢ οὐ; ‘so, he said, the life and actions of every uneducated man are wretched, right?’) and asks what possessions are profitable for him (τί ἂν οὖν ἔφη [τ]ῶι τοιούτῳ [α]λυσίτε[λε]ς ὑπάρ[χ]οι;). With this discussion, the speaker tackles the question ‘what possessions are profitable’, introduced in II 26–27 (ἐ[κε]ῖ- νῶι τί λυσιτελεῖ[ε] ὑπάρχειν). He mentions χρήματα, δόξα, ῥώμη and κάλλος and claims that such things are harmful to him ‘like a knife to a child’ (χρεδὸν | γὰρ ὥσπερ πα[ιδί] μά[χ]αιρα γίνεται ἀπαιδῆ[ς] [τ]ῶι ἀνθρώπῳ [τ]ῶν | [τοιούτων] τι).

Only the place of Haslam’s fr. (e) cannot be fixed. Since it preserves the upper part of a column, it may belong to the top of col. I, II, III or IV or another lost column. The attribution to one of the extant columns is more probable. Since all four columns are damaged at the top and fr. (e) is extremely fragmentary, it remains uncertain where it fits. It cannot belong

⁷ Haslam (1986: 19).

to the lost column following col. IV, because that column would continue the quotation from Euripides (F 282 Kannicht), with which the letters $\delta\alpha\varphi\epsilon$ of fr. (e) are incompatible. A placement in col. IV also seems unlikely, since the fibres on the back of col. IV are brighter than those on the back of fr. (e). The fragment is also difficult to fit into the top of col. III, since the letters and traces of fr. (e) do not form a plausible word with the letters of the top of col. III. Moreover, the top of col. III has a distinctive dark fibre running between the first and second line, which is not seen in fr. (e). For these reasons, the top of col. I or II (of which the first two lines are lost) is the most likely place.

At the end of this article, I reproduce a new image of the papyrus with the new joins (Figure 3). Fr. (e) is found as a separate piece to the left of the large papyrus fragment.

3. Description of the papyrus

The fragment is part of a roll. With the new order of the pieces, the papyrus fragment is 26.5 cm wide and 26 cm high. It preserves part of the upper margin (2.2 cm) in col. I and fr. (e) (2.4 cm) and the lower margin (max. 5.0 cm) in col. II, col. III and col. IV. The intercolumn is generally about 2.0 cm wide. The number of letters per line varies from 15 to 21 with an average of 16. The columns are about 5.0 cm wide and 17.8 cm high and count 29 lines each. The back is blank.

The papyrus is written along the fibres in a sloping, medium-sized informal version of the formal round hand and is roughly bilinear, except for Φ , P and B. The writing is fast, with adjacent letters often touching each other: e.g. E frequently extends its horizontal mid-stroke; B often has a horizontal stroke at line level connecting it with the subsequent letter. The letters E Θ O C are round, although E is sometimes more narrow. The mid-stroke of E is occasionally detached from the curve. A has a loop, which is sometimes flattened. M has a deep, curved middle stroke. Ξ has the form of a thunderbolt. Y has a curved and sometimes flat top and frequently has a foot. Iota is written adscript, although it has sometimes been added by a corrector (II 26; III 27). On the basis of these features, the papyrus can be assigned to the second century AD, as Haslam proposed.⁸ The hand can be compared to PSI IX 1062 = Norsa (1939) 11b (more

⁸ Haslam (1986: 15).

upright than P.Oxy. LIII 3699 but similar; the text is a document of AD 104/105) and BKT I = Schubart, *PGB* 20 (dated to the late first or early second century AD; smaller but otherwise close to P.Oxy. LIII 3699). An additional indication is the spelling $\iota\omicron\iota\theta\iota\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota$ (IV 21), which is found in papyri until the second century AD (see my commentary below).

The layout and script indicate that this was a well-written manuscript. The papyrus shows the tendency of luxurious manuscripts to favour wide intercolumns (i.e. at or slightly above 2.0 cm)⁹ and narrow columns (i.e. between 4.7 and 7.1 cm).¹⁰ As in other better written manuscripts, the columns are not tall (i.e. over 21.0 cm); the papyrus falls into Johnson's category of 'middling heights' (i.e. 16–21 cm). Interestingly, such columns appear to be rare in the third century AD.¹¹ The papyrus also confirms the preference observed by Johnson for narrower columns in the second century AD as opposed to the preference for wider columns in the third century AD.¹²

The iotacistic spelling $\epsilon\iota$ for $\bar{\iota}$ is found in $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ (III 22), $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\text{[}\acute{\mu}\acute{\epsilon}\text{]}\nu\eta\varsigma$ (IV 11–12) and $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron\nu\iota$ (IV 22) but not in $\acute{\eta}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ (II 27). Another iotacism recurs in $\acute{\eta}\delta\upsilon\text{[}\pi\alpha\theta\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ for $\acute{\eta}\delta\upsilon\pi\alpha\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ (III 27–28). The text shows additions and corrections by a corrector, who is also responsible for most (if not all) reading signs. Punctuation is marked by a high stop (·)¹³ or a middle stop (·).¹⁴ These indicate both short pauses (i.e. the equivalent of the modern comma) and period ends (i.e. the equivalent of the modern full stop or colon).¹⁵ Speaker change is indicated by a paragraphus combined with the dicolon (:) inserted inside the line.¹⁶ The paragraphus furthermore indicates the end of a sentence in II 13 and perhaps also in IV 14 (the text is too fragmentary to be sure). Most

⁹ See Johnson (2004: 112–113).

¹⁰ See Johnson (2004: 103).

¹¹ See Johnson (2004: 123–124).

¹² Johnson (2004: 108).

¹³ II 6 (between $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ and $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu$); III 4 (after $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$); III 15 (between $\upsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\text{[}\rho\text{]}\chi\omicron\iota$ and $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota$); III 20 (between $[\tau\omicron\text{[}\iota\text{]}\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota$ and $\sigma\chi\epsilon\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu$); III 24 (between $\tau\iota$ and $\chi\rho\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\text{[}\tau\omicron\nu\text{]}$); IV 12 (between $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\text{[}\acute{\mu}\acute{\epsilon}\text{]}\nu\eta\varsigma$ and $\beta\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota\omicron\iota$); IV 14 (between $\text{[}\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\iota$ and $\kappa\alpha\text{[}$).

¹⁴ II 10 (between $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma$ and $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$).

¹⁵ See Turner (1987: 9).

¹⁶ II 27 (dicolon between $\upsilon\text{[}\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$ and $\acute{\eta}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$); III 7 (dicolon between $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ and $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}\varsigma$); III 8 (dicolon between $\acute{\xi}\phi\eta$ and $\sigma\upsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu$); III 12 (dicolon between $\sigma\upsilon$ and $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota$); III 12 (dicolon after $\acute{\xi}\phi\eta$ and paragraphus at the start of l. 13). In III 3, only the lower dot of the dicolon is visible between $\text{[}\xi\tau\omicron$ and $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$, but the context shows that there is a speaker change here.

punctuation signs are crammed in between the letters, which suggests that they were added at a later stage (although the ink is the same). One forked paragraphus is found in IV 1. Since that section is fragmentary, it is difficult to determine its meaning. Because the preceding section discusses χρήματα and the beginning of col. IV seems to treat δόξα, it probably marks the transition to a new section.

Deletions are marked by a combination of a cancel stroke with an expunging dot (II 26 λυσιτελεῖ[̄]; III 12 [̄] ἢ οὐ; III 14 [̄]λυσιτε[̄]λε[̄]). Corrections are added in superscript (II 26; III 18; 27; IV 22); in III 11 the movable *ny* of εἰcίν seems to have been added later, since it is slightly smaller than the other letters. In III 28, the corrector includes a variant reading, καὶ μ[̄]λλο(v) for κα[̄] ἤδη (see my notes below). The *diple* (>) is used near the end of the text to indicate the quotation from Euripides' *Autolycus I*. A line filler (>) is used in III 16 and III 27. A peculiar sign is the horizontal breathing sign (⊖) with an arc at the end, probably indicating a circumflex (οῦ in III 3 and probably also in II 24). Since the sign is not found in ὀϊόν (III 18), it is probably used in οῦ to distinguish it from the negation οὐ.

4. Authorship

The text is a philosophical dialogue in reported form (see ἔφη in II 24; III 3; 8; 9; 12; 13; 16). The identity of the main interlocutor is unknown. The other speaker merely replies with token yes answers (III 7–8 ἀλυσιτελεῖς | μὲν οὐν ἔφη; 12 καὶ μ[̄]λλα ἔφη). Haslam considered identifying the text as Antisthenes' *Protrepticus*.¹⁷ However, the Peripatos is more likely. The text is reminiscent of a fragment of Aristotle (F 57 Rose³ = F 76.1 Gigon), probably from his *Protrepticus*. That fragment is quoted by Stob. 3.3.25 p. 200–201 Hense and is also preserved in P.Oxy. IV 666. Aristotle argues that for people with an ill-disposed soul wealth, strength and beauty are bad possessions (τοῖς γὰρ διακεμένοις τὰ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν κακῶς οὔτε πλοῦτος οὔτε ἰσχυρὸς οὔτε κάλλος τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐστίν). This recalls the rejection of χρήματα, δόξα, ῥώμη and κάλλος as profitable possessions for the uneducated man in P.Oxy. LIII 3699.¹⁸ Both Aristotle and the

¹⁷ Haslam (1986: 16). Antisthenes' *Protrepticus* is attested in *SSR V A* 63–64.

¹⁸ A similar group of possessions that the majority of people seek to obtain is found in Arist. *Pol.* 7.1.3.1323a: wealth, money, power and reputation (πλούτου δὲ καὶ χρημάτων καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης).

anonymous dialogue discuss the topic of ἀπαιδευσία. Moreover, in P.Oxy. IV 666 (which is a bit longer than Stobaeus' excerpt) Aristotle cites the proverb μὴ παιδὶ μάχαιραν 'no knife to a child', which is explained as an instruction not to give power to ordinary people (l. 158–160: τὸ μὴ τοῖς φ[αύ]λοισι τὴν ἐξου[σί]αν ἐγχειρίζε[ιν]).¹⁹ The dialogue in P.Oxy. LIII 3699 alludes to the same proverb in a similar context in III 20–24: money, reputation, strength and beauty are to the uneducated man like a knife to a child (cχεδὸν | γὰρ ὅσπερ πα[ιδί] μά[χ]αιρα γέινεται ἀπαιδ᾽ἐ[τ]ῶι ἀνθρώπῳ[ι] τῶν | [το]ιούτων τ[ι]).

Aristotle and the Peripatetics were indeed interested in proverbs.²⁰ Theophrastus and Clearchus wrote works *Περὶ παροιμιῶν* 'On Proverbs',²¹ Aristotle a work entitled *Παροιμίαι* 'Proverbs'²² and Demetrius of Phalerum a collection of maxims of the Seven Sages.²³ A paroemio-graphical interest is also seen in other writings. Aristotle quoted proverbs and sayings in many of his philosophical works²⁴ and in numerous

¹⁹ See also Ps.-Diogenian. 6.46, Recensio Bodleiana B 648 Gaisford = V 2.72 Schottus and Phot. *Lexicon* M 412 Theodoridis = Suid. M 971.

²⁰ See Kindstrand (1978: 74–76; 78); Lelli (2006: 16–22); Curnis (2009); Fortenbaugh (2014: 195–207).

²¹ Thphr. F 737–738 FHS&G; the title is also found in the list of Theophrastus' writings in D.L. 5.45; Clearch. F 63–83 Wehrli². Some of the fragments included under *παροιμίαι* in Wehrli's edition of Clearchus might belong to another work (e.g. *Περὶ βίων*). The title *Περὶ παροιμιῶν* is cited in F 63 I, F 64, F 66a, c, F 73, F 75, F 78, F 80, F 81 and F 83 Wehrli².

In F 69d Wehrli² (= PSI IX 1093, 33–41), the supplement [ἐν τοῖς] *Περὶ* | [*παροιμιῶν*] can be doubted: see Dorandi (2014) and Verhasselt (forthcoming). Clearchus is probably identical with the man who erected a stele with the Delphic maxims in the sanctuary of Cineas in Aï Khanoum. On this inscription, see my discussion in Verhasselt (forthcoming) with further literature.

²² The work is listed among Aristotle's works in D.L. 5.26 and *Vita Aristotelis Menagiana* n° 127 p. 15 Rose³ = p. 87 Düring = p. 27 Gigon (with the error *προομιῶν* for *παροιμιῶν*). Isocrates' pupil Cephisodorus (ap. Ath. 2.56.60d–e = Arist. F 464 Gigon [deest in Rose³]) criticised Aristotle's collection of proverbs in *Against Aristotle*. For this reason, Moraux (1951: 128–129; 334–336) considered the *Proverbs* a work by the young Aristotle, probably when he was still a member of Plato's Academy.

²³ Dem. Phal. F 87 SOD.

²⁴ Arist. *EE* 7.2.14.1236a; 7.2.46.1238a; 7.12.13.1245a; *EN* 5.1.15.1129b; 7.2.10.1146a; 8.3.8.1156b; 8.9.1.1159b; 9.8.2.1168b; *HA* 7.28.606b; 8.5.611a; *GA* 2.7.746b; *Metaph.* 1.2.13.983a; 1.2.16.983a; 2.1.2.993b; *Mete.* 2.6.364b; *Pol.* 1.2.22.1255b; 2.2.4.1263a; 5.9.6.1314a; 7.13.17.1334a; *Pr.* 26.20.942b; 26.27.943a; 26.29.943a; 26.45.945a; *Rh.* 1.6.22.1363a; 1.11.25.1371b; 1.12.20.1372b; 1.12.23.1373a; 1.15.14.1376a; 2.21.12–14.1395a; 3.11.14.1413a. In the *Protrepticus* fragment, Aristotle also cites the proverb

fragments of his *Constitutions*.²⁵ His pupil Dicaearchus cited proverbs in his works on cultural history and musical competitions.²⁶ Theophrastus quoted sayings in *On Dispositions*, *On Pleasure* and *On the Ludicrous*.²⁷

Another Peripatetic feature is the use of a poetic quotation to support a philosophical argument: the writer of the dialogue quotes part of Euripides' satyr play *Autolycus I* in IV 19–29.²⁸ This approach is also seen, for instance, in the fragments of Clearchus' *Περὶ βίων* and *Ἐρωτικά/Ἐρωτικοί*²⁹ and in the fragments of Theophrastus' *Περὶ ἠθῶν*, *Περὶ μέθης* and *Περὶ εὐσεβείας*.³⁰ Indeed, the lives and writings of poets were studied in the Peripatos, especially by Aristotle, Chamaeleon, Aristoxenus, Dicaearchus, Phaenias, Praxiphanes, Hieronymus of Rhodes, Hermippus and Satyrus.³¹

τίκται κόπος ὕβριν 'satiety leads to insolence'. Mirrored on this proverb, he creates a new saying: ἀπαιδευσία μετ' ἐξουσία ἄνοιαν (sc. τίκται) 'a lack of education combined with power leads to foolishness'.

²⁵ Arist. F 505 Rose³ = Titel 143.1.39 Gigon = Heraclid. Lemb. *Pol.* 71; Arist. F 513 Rose³ = F 518.1–4 Gigon; F 523 Rose³ = F 529.1–3 Gigon; F 545 Rose³ = F 551.1–6 Gigon = Heraclid. Lemb. *Pol.* 11; Arist. F 557 Rose³ = F 565.1 Gigon; F 558 Rose³ = F 566 Gigon; F 571 Rose³ = F 589.1–4 Gigon = Heraclid. Lemb. *Pol.* 30; Arist. F 574 Rose³ = F 591.2–3 Gigon = Heraclid. Lemb. *Pol.* 34; Arist. F 593 Rose³ = F 610.1–3 Gigon.

²⁶ Wehrli (1967: 74), (1968: 533) assumed a collection of proverbs by Dicaearchus, but there is no evidence for such an independent work. F 56a and F 57 Mirhady (on alimentary changes in early man's diet) are derived from the *Βίος Ἐλλάδος*. F 75 Mirhady (on Xerxes' invasion of Greece) probably belongs to the same work. The same may hold true for F 68 Mirhady (on Heracles). F 91 Mirhady (on music at symposia) and F 97–98 Mirhady (on the piper Tellen) may be derived from *Περὶ μουσικῶν ἀγώνων*.

²⁷ Thphr. F 529a–b FHS&G (*On Dispositions*); F 549 FHS&G (*On Pleasure*); F 710 FHS&G (*On the Ludicrous*).

²⁸ According to Ath. 10.5.413c (who quotes the same lines), the quotation was derived from the first *Autolycus*. The existence of two Euripidean plays entitled *Autolycus* is confirmed by a papyrus *hypothesis* (MPER N.S. III 32 = P.Vindob. G. inv. 19766 = *TrGF* V.2 (15)–(16) iib, which mentions *Αὐτόλυκος α'*.

²⁹ For *Περὶ βίων*, see Clearch. F 41 Wehrli² (Sappho), F 41–42 Wehrli² (an epigram of Parrhasius), F 57 Wehrli² (Philoxenus) and F 60 Wehrli² (Anaxilas). For *Ἐρωτικά/Ἐρωτικοί*, see Clearch. F 22 and F 24 Wehrli² (Lycophronides).

³⁰ For *Περὶ ἠθῶν*, see Thphr. F 529a FHS&G (Theognis). For *Περὶ μέθης*, see Thphr. F 574 FHS&G (Empedocles). For *Περὶ εὐσεβείας*, see Thphr. F 584a FHS&G (Hesiod, Empedocles) and F 584d FHS&G (Homer).

³¹ Arist. *Po.*; F 70–76 Rose³ ~ F 14–22 Gigon (*On Poets*); F 142–179 Rose³ ~ F 366–404 Gigon (*Homeric Problems*); F 618–630 Rose³ ~ F 415–462 Gigon (*Didascaliae*); Chamael. F 15–47 Martano; Aristox. F 113–116 Wehrli² = *FGrHist* 1012 F 10; F 13; Dicaearch. F 92–95; F 99–110 Mirhady; Phan. Hist. F 32–33 Wehrli²; Praxiphanes F 10; F

Moreover, the rejection of ἡδονπάθεια (in III 27–28) seems to be connected with the Peripatetic ideal of temperance (ἐγκράτεια).³² In fact, the text uses the Aristotelian word ἀκρασία (III 27) instead of ἀκράτεια, which is found in other writers but recurs only three times in the corpus Aristotelicum, viz. in the pseudo-Aristotelian *On Virtues and Vices*.³³

An attribution to the late fourth century BC is also supported by the vocabulary: ἀλυσιτελής (in II 24–25; 28; III 5–6; 7; 19) is first attested in Plato (*Cra.* 417d) and Isocrates (8.31);³⁴ ἡδονπάθεια is found from Xenophon (*Lac.* 7.3; *Cyr.* 7.5.74; *Oec.* 5.1) onwards (although it is absent in Aristotle);³⁵ the parenthetical construction εἰ οἶόν τ' εἶπεν 'if I may say so' is first found in Demosthenes (16.18; 32.11; 54.15). The only word that gives a 'late' impression is κακοδαμονίζειν (in II 15–16), which is first attested in Philodemus (*Mort.* 4. P.Herc. 1050 col. 33, 27).³⁶ However, the word may have been formed on the basis of its cognates εὐδαίμων/εὐδαμονίζειν, attested from Euripides onwards.³⁷

The foregoing arguments make an attribution of the dialogue in P.Oxy. LIII 3699 to the Peripatos likely. Given the parallel with Aristotle's *Protrepticus*, the work could be a similar Προτρεπτικός, also attested for Theophrastus, Demetrius of Phalerum and Chamaeleon.³⁸ Aristotle's own *Protrepticus* is less likely, since in this case the dialogue³⁹ would be strikingly repetitive: it would twice list dangerous possessions for the uneducated man (χρήματα, δόξα, ῥώμη, κάλλος in P.Oxy. LIII 3699 and

24–31 Matelli; Hieronymus Rhodius F 41–43 White; Hermipp. Hist. *FGrHist* 1026 F 55; F 84; Satyr. F 3–7 Schorn.

³² See especially the discussion of self-restraint (ἐγκράτεια) and intemperance (ἀκρασία) in Arist. *EN* 7. See Rorty (1981), Robinson (2010) and Uszkai (2012).

³³ Ps.-Arist. *VV* 1.4.1250a and 3.5.1250a. The text treats the Platonic theory of the three parts of the soul with their corresponding virtues and vices. Plato indeed uses ἀκράτεια. In the Platonic corpus, ἀκρασία is found only in the pseudo-Platonic *Definitions* (416a).

³⁴ See Haslam (1986: 21).

³⁵ See Haslam (1986: 22).

³⁶ Not Philo Mechanicus (third/second century BC), as Haslam (1986: 21) claimed, who confused the abbreviation Ph. (= Philo Iudaeus) in LSJ s.v. κακοδαμονίζω with Ph. *Bel.* (= Philo Mechanicus).

³⁷ See Haslam (1986: 21).

³⁸ See the list of Theophrastus' writings in D.L. 5.49; 50 and of Demetrius' writings in D.L. 5.81; Chamael. F 4 Martano.

³⁹ Modern *communis opinio* considers Aristotle's *Protrepticus* a public letter, like Isocrates' *Antidosis*: see e.g. Gigon (1987: 222) and Flashar (2004: 261). However, recently Hutchinson and Ransome Johnson have again defended the nineteenth century view of the *Protrepticus* as a dialogue. See <http://www.protrepticus.info/>.

πλοῦτος, ἰσχός, κάλλος in Arist. F 57 Rose³ = F 76.1 Gigon) and would twice refer to the proverb μὴ παιδὶ μάχαιραν. Although this repetition could be explained as the result of one interlocutor repeating certain thoughts of another, it is unlikely that two interlocutors would use similar devices to argue the same point. A work entitled *Περὶ παιδείας*, attested for Aristotle, Theophrastus and Clearchus,⁴⁰ could be considered as well. Indeed, the central issue of the anonymous dialogue is slightly different from that of Aristotle's *Protrepticus* fragment. Aristotle's conclusion is clearly protreptic: τὴν δὲ φρόν[ησιν] | ἅπαντες ἄν ὁ[μολο]γῆσαι εἰς τὸ [μαν]θάνειν γίνεσθ[αι ἢ] | ζητεῖν, ὧν τὰς [δυ]νάμεις φιλοσοφ[ία] | περιεῖληφεν. ὅ[ς]τε πῶς οὐκ ἀπ[ρο]φασίτως φιλο[σο]φητέον ἐστί,⁴¹ 'Everyone would agree that intelligence exists for the sake of learning or inquiring. So surely we must practise philosophy without hesitation' (P.Oxy. IV 666 l. 161–170). In P.Oxy. LIII 3699, this explicit *protrepsis* is absent; the fragment instead focuses on the uneducated man.

The echo with Aristotle's *Protrepticus* makes the attribution of the text to one of his pupils rather than to the master himself more plausible. A likely candidate is Theophrastus. In F 465 FHS&G, he discusses *παιδεία* and laments that most people value living in the most famous city (πόλιν μὲν ἄν ἔλοιοντο τὴν ἐνδοξοτάτην) and playing dice games (κυβέδοντες) but do not care about the best life. This may recall the rejection of δόξα and χρήματα (which results in the uneducated man playing dice games) in P.Oxy. LIII 3699. In F 472 FHS&G, Theophrastus is also negative about beauty: he compares handsome uneducated men to perfume vases holding vinegar. In P.Oxy. LIII 3699 too, beauty is considered a bad thing for an uneducated man. Moreover, Theophrastus seems to have cited the proverb μὴ παιδὶ μάχαιραν: Ath. 5.52.213f–214a (= Thphr. F 607 FHS&G) mentions it in connection with the dogmas of Aristotle and Theophrastus (τὰ Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Θεοφράστου δόγματα). Clearchus could also be considered as the author of the dialogue, although there are no parallel fragments to support this.

⁴⁰ Arist. F 63 Rose³ = F 72 Gigon; Clearch. F 13–15 Wehrli². Theophrastus' work is mentioned in the catalogue of his writings in D.L. 5.50. The full title is *Περὶ παιδείας ἢ περὶ ἀρετῶν ἢ περὶ σωφροσύνης*. In Ibn-an-Nadīm (= F 3a FHS&G) and Zawzanī (= F 3b FHS&G), the work is simply called 'On Education'. In the library catalogue in P.Ross. Georg. I 22 col. 1, 10, it is called *Περὶ σωφροσύνης*.

⁴¹ I quote the text after Vendruscolo (1989: 276).

5. Edition

I	[. .]
	[]ονεις
	[]υτον
	[]πνων
5	[] .ε[.]ε .
	[]ενης
	[]ναν .
	[]νον
	[]
10	[]
	[] . . . ω
	[] . ποσθε ε
	[] .
	[]
15	[] .
	[] .
	[] .
	[12 lines lost]
II	[]
	[]
	[c. 5] . ονα . . [c. 4]
	κίαγ δ'λην α[c. 5]
5	τον ποιῆσαι ἔ[νε]κεν ἀργυρίου· πάλιν τε ὁ [Ἀλ-] κμέων ὡς παρακεκο- φός τις καὶ οἰόμενος
	χαρ[ι]ε[ί]θαι τι ἢ τῶι πα- [τρὶ ἢ τοῖς] θεοῖς, τὴν
10	μητέρ[α] ἀποκτεῖνας κ . . . [.] . . εμεν ἐπι- θυμῆν ἀποκτεῖναι·
	ὑστερον δὲ ποιήσας
15	μεταμέλεσθαι καὶ κα- κοδαμονίζειν αὐτὸν καὶ μαίνεσ[θαι c. 5]
	των ουκ[c. 10]
	[]

20 []
 []
 []
 πολλ[c. 12]
 οὐ ἔφη ὁ βίος ἀλ[υσιτε-]
 25 λῆς καὶ βλαβερός ἐστ[ι(ν)]
 ἐ[κε]ίνω ἴ τί λυσιτελεῖ [c] ὑ-
 πάρχειν; — ἥδιόν τε τοῦ
 [βίω]ν ἀλυ[σιτε]λεῖ οὐκ κα[ὶ]
 [βλαβερ]οῦ οὐ τοῦτα
 III [c. 5] . α . [. . .]ων λ .
 [c. 6] εἰν[. .]υκε
 [c. 4] ἔτο. — οὐ οὖν ἔφη
 5 [ὁ βίος] μοχθηρὸς ἐστίν,
 [ἐκείνο]ν οὐκ ἀλυσιτε-
 λῆς καὶ βλαβερὸς ὁ βί-
 ος ἐστίν; — ἀλυσιτελῆς
 μὲν οὖν ἔφη. — οὐκοῦν
 10 ἔφη παντὸς τοῦ ἀπαι-
 δεύτου μοχθηρὸς ὁ
 βίος καὶ αἱ πράξεις εἰς
 [γ] ἢ οὐ; — καὶ μ[άλα] ἔφη. —
 τί ἂν οὖν ἔφη [τ]ῶι τοι-
 ούτωι [α]λυσιτε[λε]ῖς ὑπάρ[ρ-]
 15 χου; καὶ γὰρ εἰ καθ' ἓν τις
 ἔφη ζητοῖ[η], χρ[ή]μα->
 [τα] δόξα ῥώμη κάλλος
 [πάντ]α ταῦτά γε εἰ ἴσ' ὅτι τ' εἰ-
 πεῖν ἀλυσιτελῆ ἐστίν
 20 τῶι [τ]ο[ι]ούτωι· σχεδὸν
 γὰρ ὥσπερ πα[ιδί] μά-
 [χ]αιρα γίνεταί ἀπαιδ' εὐ-
 [τ]ῶι ἀνθρώπῳ[ι] τῶν
 [τοι]ούτων τι χρημά-
 25 [των] μὲν γὰρ ὑπαρξάν-
 [τ]ων ἀφορμὴν ἔχειν
 [τ]ῆι ἀκρασίᾳ εἰς ἡδύ->
 παθίας κα[ὶ] ἥδη καὶ μ[α]λλο(ν) κύβ[ου]c
 καὶ γυναῖκας κα[ὶ] τὰ λοι-

IV	— π[ὰ] τα .[.]α[c. 7] δοξο[c. 8] τι .[c. 10] [] [] [] [] [] []
5	[] [] [] [] []
10	καὶ ῥώμης τῆς .[c. 2] μένης ἐγγεινο[μέ-] νης, βίαιοι θραξ[εῖς] ρι .[c. 13] νομοὶ κα[c. 5] βε- βιωκέναι [c. 6] εἰν ἀσκοῦσιν [c. 4] πι .[c. 9] []
15	> .[c. 12] ἰκα- > ἰκῶν γὰρ ὄντων μυρί- > ὡγ ἰκαθ' Ἑλλάδα / οἰϋθῖέν- [>] κὰκ ἐλίον ἐστιν ἀθλη- > τῶν γέγονους. / οἱ πρῶ- > τον οἰκεῖν ἰοῦτε μαῖν- > θάγουσιν εὔ / ἰοῦτ' ἂν ἰδύ- > ναιτο· πῶς γὰρ ἰόστις > ἔστ' ἀνήρ / γνάθου τε δοῦ- > λος νηδύος θ' ἠῆττη- > μένος / κτήταιτ' ἂν
20	> ἰκαθ' Ἑλλάδα / οἰϋθῖέν- [>] κὰκ ἐλίον ἐστιν ἀθλη- > τῶν γέγονους. / οἱ πρῶ- > τον οἰκεῖν ἰοῦτε μαῖν- > θάγουσιν εὔ / ἰοῦτ' ἂν ἰδύ- > ναιτο· πῶς γὰρ ἰόστις > ἔστ' ἀνήρ / γνάθου τε δοῦ- > λος νηδύος θ' ἠῆττη- > μένος / κτήταιτ' ἂν
25	> ἰκαθ' Ἑλλάδα / οἰϋθῖέν- [>] κὰκ ἐλίον ἐστιν ἀθλη- > τῶν γέγονους. / οἱ πρῶ- > τον οἰκεῖν ἰοῦτε μαῖν- > θάγουσιν εὔ / ἰοῦτ' ἂν ἰδύ- > ναιτο· πῶς γὰρ ἰόστις > ἔστ' ἀνήρ / γνάθου τε δοῦ- > λος νηδύος θ' ἠῆττη- > μένος / κτήταιτ' ἂν

Fr. (e)

top
] . διαφε[
] [

- - - - -

The supplements are those of Haslam's edition, unless specified otherwise.

I 4 [τερ]πνῶν Haslam comm.

II 3 α . . : ἀλλ[ά] Luppe **3–4** [τὴν οἰ]κίαν Haslam comm. **4–5** ἀ[νάστα]τον Rea ap. Haslam **12** καθ'ἃ διέθεμεν Luppe **28** [βίο]υ ἀλυ[σι]τελοῦς κα[ί] Haslam comm. **29** [βλαβερ]οῦ οὔτοσ Verhasselt

III 2 (-)εἶν[αι ο]ὐκ ἐ[c. 5]ετο Haslam comm. -εἶν[αι ο]ὐκ ἐ[νομί]ζετο Luppe: perhaps -εἶν [πέφ]υκε Verhasselt **4** [ὁ βίος] Haslam comm. **12** καὶ μ[άλα] Verhasselt against Haslam: καὶ μ[άλα'] Haslam comm. **14–15** λυσιτ[ελ]ξ̄ ὑπ[ά]ρχοι Haslam comm. **16** ζητο[ί]η Haslam comm. **16–17** χρ[ί]μα[[τα] Verhasselt against Haslam **18** [πάντ]α Haslam comm. **18–19** εἰ ὀϊόν τ' εἰπέιν Luppe **26** Perhaps ἔχει{v} Verhasselt **28** κα[ί] ἤδη: κα[ί] [η]δή Haslam comm. **29–IV 1** κα[ί] τὰ λοιπ[ά] Verhasselt

IV 1–2 [έν]δοξο[or [εὐ]δοξο[or [ἀ]δοξο[Verhasselt **10–11** τῆς λ[εγο]μένης Rea ap. Haslam **13** ῥιψ[οκίνδουνοι] Haslam **13–14** [ἀ]νομοι Haslam: perhaps [παρά]νομοι Verhasselt **15–16** [civ: perhaps [φρα]civ or [λέγου]civ Verhasselt **16–17** [Εὐρι]πιδ[-] Haslam comm.

Fr. e 1 διαφε[ρ-, perhaps διαφε[ρόντως] Verhasselt

Palaeographical notes

I 1 A small trace at line level, followed by a mid-high horizontal stroke with a stain at line level and traces of the upper and lower part of an upright, perhaps εἰ (γῆ or τῆ according to Haslam). **5**] . : a stain roughly at mid-height. | After the second ε, a small circle is written and over this circle a small c; perhaps the scribe first wrote o, which he corrected to c. **7** A smaller letter consisting of two upright strokes, perhaps η added later. **11**] . . . : lower part of a circular letter (o or θ), then a left-hand arc (compatible with ε or c), followed by the remains of an upright stroke at maximum height, possibly with the beginning of a connecting horizontal stroke and a small stain at line level (perhaps belonging to η). | : the first trace is a stain at the upper part of the writing space, probably the left part of a letter (perhaps τ or υ); the second is a stain at mid-height followed by an upright stroke (perhaps v); the third is part of a horizontal stroke at maximum height and an upright with a curl at the top (probably η); the fourth is an upright stroke with part of a connecting descending stroke at the bottom (perhaps v); the fifth is another upright at the edge; the sixth preserves part of an upper left-hand arc (ε, c or o). **12**] . : a stain at maximum height. | : after θε either ω or μ, followed by scanty traces of probably two

abraded letters, then a horizontal stroke at mid-height (perhaps part of ε). **13** Two slanting uprights, perhaps belonging to η (oi according to Haslam). **15** Trace of a horizontal stroke at line level. **16** Right part of an oval, perhaps o or ω. **17** An upright with a curl at the bottom and a trace of a horizontal stroke at maximum height (probably η).

II 3] . : trace of a horizontal at maximum height touching o. | . . [: four connecting oblique strokes (either λλ or γ). **12** . . [: after κ, the upper parts of possibly three letters are seen (the tip of an upright, a letter top and the tip of an upright). |] . . : after the lacuna, there is part of small right-end arc, followed by the remains of a curve approaching a horizontal; then the remains of a stroke slightly slanting to the left, followed by a thick horizontal slightly above mid-height and, finally, the remains of an upright.

III 1] . : a stain at line level followed by a curved stroke (perhaps remains of η, μ or ν). | . [: a horizontal crossbar at maximum height (belonging to τ or π). | The trace following λ is a stroke at line level that could be a sloping upright or a diagonal. **12** [γ] : perhaps τ.

IV 1 The lower part of an upright and a speck at the top-left side (perhaps τ or υ). **3** A horizontal crossbar at maximum height (belonging to π or τ). **10** The lower part of a slanting vertical stroke. **13** A small left-hand arc at the edge in the upper part of the writing space and a trace of an upright at maximum height (φ or ψ). **17** A trace of a horizontal stroke at line level (perhaps δ). **19** A slightly curved upright stroke with a horizontal bar in the middle (compatible with ε or θ).

Fr. e 1 A loop at line level (perhaps ε or c). **2** The first trace is the upper part of an upright; the second trace is that of a descending oblique (probably λ) with a dot above it (perhaps accidental); the third trace is a triangular top (probably α); the fourth trace is a loop at maximum height and a horizontal stroke at line level (probably β); the fifth trace is a round letter (perhaps o); the sixth trace is a stain at maximum height with a horizontal stroke and connecting upright and another scanty trace at maximum height. Haslam suggested]ιλϱβϙ[.

Translation

(I) (untranslatable)

(II) ‘... acted for the sake of money. Alcmeon in his turn, like a deranged man and thinking that he would do either his [father or the] gods a favour, killed his mother ... desired to kill. But later he regretted doing so, cursed himself and went mad ...

(4 lines lost)

‘... A man whose [life] is unprofitable and harmful,’ he said, ‘what is useful for him to possess?’ ‘This man ... something more pleasant than the unprofitable and harmful life ...’

(III) ‘So a man whose life is wretched,’ he said, ‘is his life not unprofitable and harmful?’ ‘Unprofitable indeed,’ he said. ‘So’, he said, ‘the life and actions of every uneducated man are wretched, right?’ ‘Yes indeed,’ he said. ‘What then would be profitable for such a man? Indeed, if one examined it one by one, money, reputation, strength and beauty, all these things are so to speak unprofitable for such a man. For surely to an uneducated man any of such things becomes like a knife to a child. For if he has money, his lack of self-control prompts him to luxury, as well as / and even more so to dice games, women and so on.

(IV) ‘... reputed (?) ...

(6 lines lost)

‘and when the ... strength is present ... violent, insolent ... lawless (?) ... are said (?) to have lived ... they practise ...

[‘For of the countless evils that are found in Greece]

none is worse than the breed of athletes.

First, they neither learn how to govern well,

nor would they be able to this. For how could [a man who] is

a slave of his jaws and subjected to his belly

acquire (...)?’

(Fr. e) (untranslatable)

6. Commentary

II 3 Luppe identified the oblique strokes at the end as λλ and therefore supplemented ἀλλ[ά].⁴² If the papyrus piece is tilted to the left, the letter seems to be ν, as Haslam read it.⁴³

5–17 ποιῆσαι (...) ἐπιθυμεῖν (...) μεταμέλῃσθαι καὶ κακοδαιμονίζειν αὐτὸν | καὶ μαίνεσθαι. Infinitives are used where indicatives are expected. Since these infinitives are combined with nominatives (ὁ [Ἄλ]κμέων ὡς παρακεκοφός τις καὶ οἰόμενος (...) ἀποκτείνεσθαι (...), a construction with λέγεται ‘is said to’ probably preceded.

5–6 ποιῆσαι ἕ[νε]κεν | ἀργυρίου. Although the identity of the person doing something for the sake of money is unclear, the myth of Alcmeon

⁴² Luppe (1986: 16).

⁴³ Haslam (1986: 17).

suggests that his mother Eriphyle is meant.⁴⁴ She was bribed with a golden necklace to secure her husband Amphiaraus' participation in the expedition of the Seven against Thebes. According to Hyg. *Fab.* 73, she also revealed where Amphiaraus was hiding: see also Mythogr. 1.152. Mai = 1.149 Kulcsár. According to Ps.-Apollod. 3.60–62 and D scholia Hom. *Od.* 11.326, she always made the final call in case of a conflict between Amphiaraus and her brother Adrastus and was bribed to side with the latter (D.S. 4.65.6–7 too follows this version but omits the bribery). See also D.S. 4.66.3 and Philostr. *VA* 4.38.3. Eriphyle was later also bribed with a robe to send her children on the expedition of the Epigoni: see D.S. 4.66.2–3, Ps.-Apollod. 3.81.

9–10 ἢ τῶι πα[τρὶ ἢ τοῖς] θεοῖς. Alcmeon (spelled Ἀλκμέων or Ἀλκμαῖών) was one of the famous mother-killers of antiquity, along with Orestes. There are two versions about his matricide. According to one version, Alcmeon's father Amphiaraus gave the instruction: see D.S. 4.65.6–7, Ps.-Apollod. 3.60–62, D scholia Hom. *Od.* 11.326, Hyg. *Fab.* 73, Philostr. *VA* 4.38. This story also recurred in Euripides (F 69 Kannicht). According to another version, the matricide was ordered by an oracle of Apollo: see D.S. 4.66.2–3, Ps.-Apollod. 3.86–88. The author of the dialogue is apparently familiar with both versions. In the tragedian Astydamas (*TrGF* I 60 F 1b), Alcmeon commits the crime out of ignorance.

12 Haslam suggested [τό]τε μέν, corresponding to ὕστερον δέ at l. 14, but this is inconsistent with the traces.⁴⁵ Luppe's reading καθὰ διέθεμεν 'as we set forth', however, is plausible.⁴⁶

12–13 ἐπιθυμεῖν is one of the suggestions in Haslam's commentary.⁴⁷ His other conjectures (ἐπιθυμῶν, ἐπιθυμηῆσαι, ἐπιθυμίαι) are inconsistent with the traces: after υ there are traces at maximum height (identified here as μ), followed by a trace of an upright at line level (probably part of ε, which can be narrow); the trace before υ is the lower part of a slanting upright.

17 μαίνε[θα]. The story that Alcmeon became mad after killing his mother also recurs in Antiph. F 189.9–11 Kassel/Austin, *Anacreont.* F 9.4–6 West, Ephor. *FGrHist* 70 F 96, D.S. 4.65.6–7, Ps.-Apollod. 3.87, D

⁴⁴ See Haslam (1986: 20).

⁴⁵ Haslam (1986: 20).

⁴⁶ Luppe (1986: 16).

⁴⁷ Haslam (1986: 20–21).

scholia Hom. *Od.* 11.326, Hyg. *Fab.* 73, Oenom. ap. Eus. *PE* 6.7.13 and Eust. *Od.* 11.520 vol. 1 p. 432 Stallbaum. The philosophical context in which the example of Alcmeon's matricide and subsequent madness is cited in P.Oxy. LIII 3699 is uncertain. According to Haslam, the story shows that someone who cannot control his desires leads an unhappy life.⁴⁸

23 When I unglased the papyrus, the right-hand piece, originally separated from the left part by a lacuna and transcribed by Haslam as [.]λ[, proved not to be attached to the papyrus. Thanks to the careful work of Daniela Colomo, I was able to attach it closer to the upper left part of Haslam's fr. (c). This placement is confirmed by two fibres of the left part that continue into the right part. Consequently, there is no lacuna between the two parts (as Haslam had assumed). The letters are πολλλ[, probably some form of πολύς or an adverb (πολλάκις, πολλαχοῦ, πολλαχῆ).

24 Between l. 23 and 24 there is a small circular trace, which should probably be identified as a breathing sign with a circumflex for ου, as in III 3 (also for οῦ).⁴⁹

29 Haslam supplemented [βλαβεροῦ τ]οιοῦτος,⁵⁰ which is too long. The traces identified by him as οι can also be read as ου. Thus, [βλαβερ]οῦ οῦτος is a more likely supplement.

III 2 ειν[.]υκε. Haslam suggested (-)εἶν[αι ο]ῦκ ἐ[,⁵¹ which Luppe expanded into -εἶν[αι ο]ῦκ ἐ[νομί]ζετο.⁵² Both scholars thought that the subject was Alcmeon, but given the new order of the pieces – fr. (c) col. I now precedes fr. (b) col. i – this is unlikely. Alternatively, it could also be an infinitive in -ειν, followed by [πέφ]υκε, although the latter word might be a bit long for the lacuna.

4 Haslam's supplement [ὁ βίος]⁵³ seems certain, given the new order of the pieces. The subsequent section argues that the life of the uneducated man is wretched (l. 9–11: παντὸς τοῦ ἀπαιδευτοῦ μοχθηρὸς ὁ | βίος).

11–12 εἰςιν | [ν]. The crossed-out part seems to be *ny*. According to Haslam, the scribe first wrote the final *ny* of εἰςιν at the beginning of l. 12, but the corrector later crossed out *ny* at l. 12 and added the letter at the end

⁴⁸ Haslam (1986: 20).

⁴⁹ Haslam (1986: 18) merely spoke of a breathing sign.

⁵⁰ Haslam (1986: 21).

⁵¹ Haslam (1986: 21).

⁵² Luppe (1986: 16).

⁵³ Haslam (1986: 21).

of l. 11, where it is smaller than the other letters.⁵⁴ The horizontal bar extending to the right of the deleted letter is indeed probably a cancel stroke, and there also seems to be a cancel dot above it. However, a supposed erroneous word division εἰδί|ν is unlikely, since the scribe nowhere else makes such a syllabification error. Instead, he probably misread εἰδὲν ἦ as εἰδὲ νή. Alternatively, the deleted part might also be τι. Since τί is the first word of l. 13, the scribe's eye may have jumped from l. 11 to l. 13. This would also explain the initial absence of the movable *ny* at the end of l. 11, since τί has no vowel in *Anlaut*, although the scribe may have also written *ny* at l. 11 smaller because the line already protrudes more than the other lines in col. III.

12 καὶ μ[άλα]. The speaker's reply merely consists of an affirmative 'yes', for which καὶ μ[άλα] is the only plausible conjecture. *Pace* Haslam, there seems to be enough space for the supplement. Alternatively, καὶ μ[άλ'] could be supplemented with Haslam.⁵⁵ However, the papyrus usually shows *scriptio plena*: see II 6 τε ὀ and III 18 γε εἰ, although elision recurs once in III 18–19 ὀϊόν τ' εἰ|πεῖν and also in the quotation of Euripides in IV 25 οἰύτ' ἄν, 27 ἔστ' ἀνήρ and 28–29 θ' ἡ|ττη|μένω.

16 ζητοῖ[η] was suggested by Haslam.⁵⁶ He translated the verb as 'seek', but the context (*viz.* the individual discussion of the four possessions that are harmful for an uneducated man) instead suggests the meaning 'examine': see LSJ s.v. ζητέω I, 4.

16–17 χρ[ή]μα|[τα] was rejected by Haslam, who preferred λήμ-<μ>α|[τα], assuming a writing error μ for μμ, thus violating the *Lex Youtie*.⁵⁷ However, χρήματα is palaeographically more sound and is the topic in the rest of col. III (see l. 24–26: χρημά|[των] μὲν γὰρ ὑπαρξάν|[των]). The trace at the end of l. 16 is probably a line filler instead of the extended tail of *alpha*, as Haslam thought.⁵⁸

18–19 εἰ ὀϊόν τ' εἰ|πεῖν 'if I may say so', 'so to speak' was suggested by Luppe.⁵⁹ Although the parenthetic construction is mainly found in prose from the Roman period onwards, it is already attested in Demosthenes (16.18; 32.11; 54.15).

⁵⁴ Haslam (1986: 18; 21).

⁵⁵ Haslam (1986: 21).

⁵⁶ Haslam (1986: 22).

⁵⁷ Haslam (1986: 22).

⁵⁸ Haslam (1986: 18).

⁵⁹ Luppe (1988).

26 ἔχειν. The infinitive does not seem to be ruled by any finite verb. It might be an error for ἔχει.

27–28 After ηδϋ, there is an angular sign, probably a line filler (>).

28 κα[ι] ἦδη `καὶ μ[α]λλο(ν)'. The words `καὶ μ[α]λλο(ν)' are written above κα[ι] (ν is abbreviated as a horizontal stroke above ο). Since the *iunctura* καὶ ἦδη καὶ μάλλον is unattested, `καὶ μ[α]λλο(ν)' is probably a *varia lectio*, as Haslam suggested. Since the first η of ἦδη shows a stain in the middle, which might be a cancel stroke, the actual reading may be κα[ι] δὴ instead of κα[ι] ἦδη.⁶⁰

29–IV 1 κα[ι] τὰ λοιπ[ά]. The speaker lists examples of possible temptations if the uneducated man has money: luxury (ἡδϋ|παθίαια), dice games (κύβ[ου]α) and women (γυναίκαα). Haslam read the subsequent words as κα[ι] ἄλλοι-, i.e. a form of ἄλλοῖος 'of another kind'.⁶¹ However, the first trace after the lacuna is the lower part of an upright stroke with a foot, perhaps τ, which occasionally has a finial at the bottom. The subsequent trace is a loop at line level (perhaps a narrow α), followed by λ. Moreover, the new order of the fragments shows that the text is continued in col. IV (formerly fr. (b) col. ii). The first trace at the beginning of that column consists of two upright strokes with a curl at the foot (probably π). The appropriate reading therefore seems to be κα[ι] τὰ λοιπ[ά] 'et cetera', an idiomatic expression to close an enumeration.

IV 2]δοξο[. This is probably a form of the adjective ἔνδοξος or εὐδοξος 'famous' or – if the text argues what the uneducated man should be – ἄδοξος 'without fame'.

10–11 τῆς [c. 2] μένης. After ς, the lower part of a slanting vertical stroke is seen. Haslam in his commentary mentioned Rea's conjecture τῆς λ[εγο]μένης 'the so-called'.⁶² Haslam's alternative conjecture τῆς λ[ε-λεγ]μένης, however, seems too long.

13 The letter after ρ has a small left-hand arc at the edge in the upper part of the writing space and a trace of an upright at maximum height (φ or ψ). Haslam supplemented ῥψ[οκίνδουνοι] 'reckless'.⁶³

⁶⁰ Haslam (1986: 22).

⁶¹ Haslam (1986: 19).

⁶² Haslam (1986: 22).

⁶³ Haslam (1986: 19).

14]νομοι. Since two other adjectives (in nominative plural) precede which seem to describe the vices of strong people (βίαιοι and θραξ[εῖς]),]νομοι is probably an adjective as well rather than the substantive νόμος ‘law, custom’, e.g. [ἄ]|νομοι⁶⁴ or [παρά]|νομοι ‘lawless’.

16]ειν. Perhaps [φα]|ειν or [λέγου]|ειν ‘they say’, ‘it is said’ as the verb that rules the infinitive [βε]|βιωκένοι (l. 14–15).

17 After ι there is a trace of a horizontal stroke at line level (perhaps δ). Haslam suggested [Εὐρι]|πιδ[.]⁶⁵ The new order of the papyrus pieces indeed shows that the quotation from Euripides immediately follows.

19–29 The author quotes a fragment of Euripides’ *Autolycus I* (F 282 Kannicht). The same fragment is also found in Ath. 10.5.413c and in Gal. *Adhortatio ad artes addiscendas* 10 (a shorter version than Athenaeus’).

21 ιοιϑ̄θ̄ένι. Galen and Athenaeus have οὐδέν. In papyri, the spelling οὐθεῖς/οὐθέν predominates in the Ptolemaic period but becomes less common in the Roman period and is rare after the second century AD.⁶⁶ In Attic inscriptions, the form is attested from the early fourth century BC onwards; it is the standard spelling from the late fourth century BC until the first century BC and likewise disappears in the late second century AD.⁶⁷

23–24 πρῶ|τον οἰκέιν. The papyrus agrees with Galen against Athenaeus’ πρῶτα μὲν ζῆν. According to Musso, the reading οἰκέιν ‘govern’ is more appropriate than ζῆν ‘live’, since athletes are described as slaves of their bellies, i.e. people that are unable to govern but instead are themselves governed.⁶⁸ The horizontal trace below *tau* is probably no *paraglyphus* – this is not the end of a sentence, nor is there a speaker change – but instead the foot of *tau*.

24 ιοιϑ̄τε μαινι|θάγουειν εὖ ιοιϑ̄τ’ ἄν. The papyrus agrees with Athenaeus against Galen’s οὐδὲ μαν<θάν>ουειν εὖ ὄταν.

⁶⁴ See Haslam (1986: 19).

⁶⁵ Haslam (1986: 22).

⁶⁶ See Mayser (1970: 148–149); Gignac (1976: 97).

⁶⁷ See Threatte (1980: 472–476).

⁶⁸ Musso (1988: 206–207).

28–29 ἡ|ττη|μένoc. The supplement is *exempli gratia*. Galen reads ἡττημένoc and Athenaeus ἡccημένoc. Since the papyrus contains no other instance of -ττ-/-cc-, it is uncertain which spelling it preferred.⁶⁹

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⁶⁹ Attic inscriptions generally have -ττ-, although the Koine spelling -cc- becomes frequent in the Roman period: see Threatte (1980: 537–541). In papyri of the Roman period, forms in both -ττ- and -cc- are found: see Gignac (1976: 145–154).

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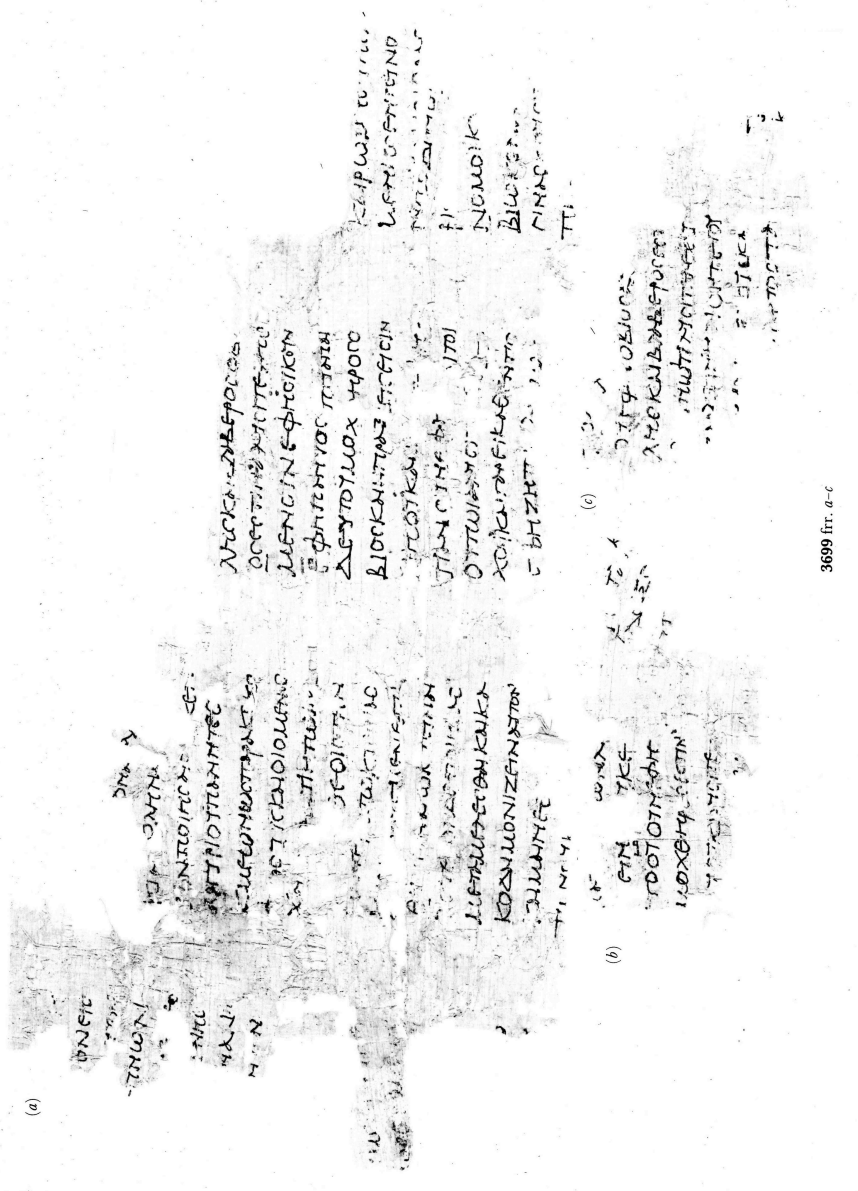


Figure 1. P.Oxy. LIII 3699 fr. a-c: original image. Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

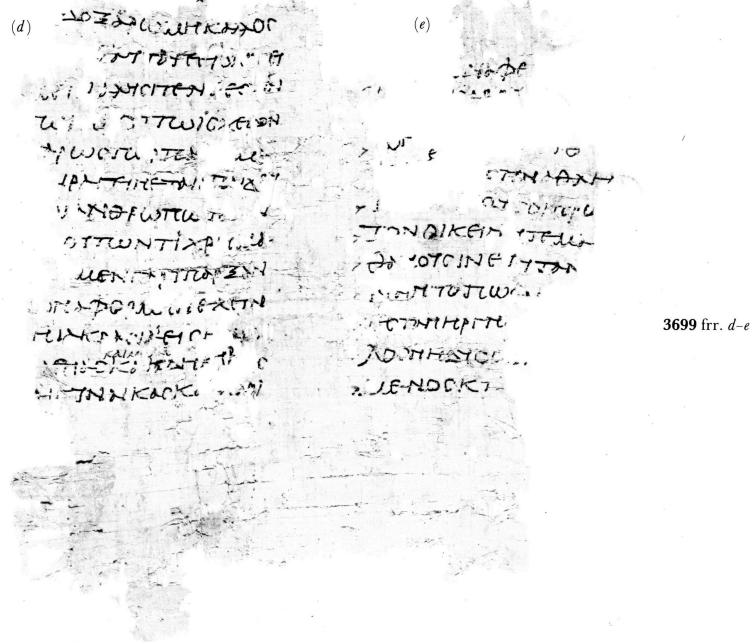


Figure 2. P.Oxy. LIII 3699 fr. d-e: original image.
Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.



Figure 3. P.Oxy. LIII 3699 (Papyrology Room, Sackler Library, Oxford):
new image with joins.
Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society and Imaging Papyri Project, Oxford.