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SOPHOCLES WITH MUSIC?

Ptolemaic Music Fragments and Remains of Sophocles (Junior?), *Achilleus*

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(Pls. IX–XII)

Among the unpublished papyri in the Ashmolean Museum are four folders (inv. 89B/29–33) containing a multitude of cartonnage scraps, partly crumpled or compacted, with literary text written along the fibres, in most cases accompanied by musical notation. They are published here (in so far as I can read them) by kind permission of the Egypt Exploration Society.

It is not clear whether all the fragments come from the same roll or are all in the same hand, but they may be. They date from the third to second century BC. Their provenance is not recorded but is assumed to be somewhere in the Fayûm. Seven of the fragments in folders 31 and 33 have on the reverse (↓) side remains from a tragedy, identified by a subscription as Ἀχιλλεὺς | Σοφοκλέους; there are also four fragments of the tragedy with nothing on the → side.

Of the seven music fragments with tragedy on the other side, five look as if they are themselves tragic lyric, the other two being too small to give any clue. But of the music fragments with nothing on the other side, none is obviously tragic, and some are clearly not: C4 is of a distinctly and elaborately lyric character; in C13–15 we see some kind of erotic verse in the left-hand column, and in the right a citharodic *sphragis* with literary-critical comment, followed by the start of a new poem which seems to allude to a festival and torches. There is also a difference between the two groups in the character of the music. In the ‘tragic’ group, much the most frequent note is N (25 times), followed by M (7), Υ (7), Π (5), Τ (4), and Λ (3), whereas in the other group the most frequent notes are Λ (73), Π (72), Υ (56), Μ (47), and N trails behind with 20. The note Θ, which implies a special form of tuning, as will be explained later, is not found in the ‘tragic’ group, but five times in the other.

There is a possibility that the ‘tragic’ lyrics of the first group belong to the play from which iambic and anapaestic verses are preserved on the reverse of the same fragments. In P. Köln 241, which is also an Achilles tragedy from Ptolemaic cartonnage (but not in the same hand as ours), there stands at line 28, between two iambic episodes, the note ἄλλα ὀπίσω χοροῦ μέλος, ‘more on the back: choral song’, suggesting that the text at least (if not the music) of the omitted ode had been supplied on the verso of the roll.¹ If the same practice was followed by the copyist of the play in the Ashmolean papyrus, we could treat the music fragments of the first group as additional fragments of that play, Sophocles’ *Achilleus*. This is obviously far from certain. The possibility, however, exists, and makes it inadvisable completely to separate discussion of the music fragments from discussion of the drama. I shall therefore first discuss the non-musical fragments of the drama (those on the ↓ side), then the music fragments associated with them, and then the rest of the music fragments.

A. Fragments of Sophocles, *Achilleus*

The play is identified by the subscription in fr. A12: Ἀχιλλεὺς | Σοφοκλέους. The first omicron in the poet’s name may give more the impression of ε; either it is (unlike the second) curiously squashed, or an accidental ink-stroke has created the appearance of a crossbar. But the other letters seem clear enough to leave little doubt about the name. It is uncommon for the name of the work to precede that of the author, but Dirk Obbink draws my attention to the subscriptions in P.Oxy. 3000 ΕΡΜΗC | ΕΡΑΤΟCΘΕΝΟΙΥC and 3715 ΦΟΙΝΙCΚΑΙ | ΕΥΡΠΙΠΠΙΔΟΥ.

The title Ἀχιλλεὺς is not attested for the famous Sophocles. It may have been an alternative or nonce title for a play better known under another name; the only suitable candidate would seem to be

¹ See M. Gronewald’s note in *Kölner Papyri* 6 [1987], 20.

the *Aithiopes* or *Memnon* (probably already a play with two known titles). Or – perhaps likelier – this may be the younger Sophocles, the grandson, who according to the *Suda* ‘produced forty dramas, or as others say, eleven’; they may have included a trilogy *Telepheia* (TrGF I, Did B 5.8), but none of their individual titles is recorded. There is nothing improbable about a play by him still being copied in Egypt around 200 BC.

Plays entitled Ἀχιλλεύς are attested for Aristarchus, Astydamos and Carcinus the younger, Cleophon, Diogenes of Sinope, Euaretus, and Iophon; there were also the Ἀχιλλέως ἔρασταί of Sophocles (thought to be satyric) and the Ἀχιλλεύς Θεριστοκτόνος of Chaeremon.

Discussion of the play’s content must start from the closing anapaests in A12. If I have understood rightly, they refer to certain persons’ souls flying off to enjoy a happier existence elsewhere. Who are the dead individuals referred to? In a play entitled *Achilleus*, it is natural to suppose that Achilles himself is one of them. The other might be Memnon, whose fate was balanced against Achilles’ in (?pseudo-)Aeschylus’ *Psychostasia*. One might also think of Antilochus, whom Memnon had killed shortly before (*Aethiopsis*, cf. Od. 4. 187 f.); for the association of Achilles and Antilochus in death cf. Proclus on the *Aethiopsis* (line 196 Severyns), ἔπειτα Ἀντίλοχόν τε θάπτουσι καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως προτίθενται. καὶ Θέτις ἀφικομένη σὺν Μούσαις καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς θρηνεῖ τὸν παῖδα.

There is one possible pointer to Memnon’s involvement in the play. If B5 belongs to it, the proposed reading there τάλαν μοι βαλλήν would imply lamentation by a chorus for their king, and since in both its two previously known occurrences (Aesch. *Pers.* 657; Soph. fr. 515) βαλλήν is used by an Asiatic chorus of an Asiatic king, we must suppose that the oriental character of the title was generally felt. In a play which climaxed in Achilles’ death, an Asiatic chorus lamenting its king could hardly be other than an Ethiopian chorus lamenting Memnon. We know of a play by Sophocles, the *Aithiopes*, which had such a chorus, and it is generally assumed to have been identical with the *Memnon* mentioned in the Argument of the *Ajax* as one of Sophocles’ plays based on subject matter from the Trojan War. Very probably it dealt with Memnon’s death, and if so, his Ethiopian cohorts certainly lamented him.

This may seem to agree nicely with our inference from B5. But a play called *Memnon* can hardly also have contained the death of Achilles, as if that were a subsidiary matter, and borne the alternative title *Achilleus*. So the fragments before us cannot, I believe, be identified with that play of Sophocles. We do not know of any other play of Sophocles that would accommodate them, and we seem to have a more or less complete list of all the plays of his that were known to Hellenistic scholars. I conclude, therefore, that the *Achilleus* was probably a work of the younger Sophocles. Just as his grandfather had taken the Memnon theme from Aeschylus,² so he (if indeed it had a place in the *Achilleus*) took it from his grandfather, but, with the later tragedian’s taste for including more event within the compass of a play, he made Memnon’s death (as in the Cyclic *Aethiopsis*) the prelude to a greater catastrophe, the death of Achilles.

It would not have been appropriate for an Ethiopian chorus to lament Achilles; but the playwright could easily overcome that problem by bringing on a secondary chorus of Nereids, led by Thetis.³ She, or they, probably spoke the final words of consolation; such a positive affirmation about the destiny of souls could only come from a divine source.

An extra complication is raised by the apparent presence of Philoctetes in a dialogue scene (A10 ii 4, 8). According to the *Little Iliad* and other accounts, he did not arrive at Troy until after Achilles’ death, and indeed after the suicide of Ajax that followed the ὄπλων κρίσις. In some of Euripides’ later plays we see a tendency to open vistas towards events that were to follow after those covered in the

² There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of Aeschylus’ *Memnon*, even if (as I shall argue elsewhere) the *Psychostasia* was the work of his son Euphorion.

³ A Nereid chorus had appeared on the stage in Aeschylus’ *Nereides*, which I think was the third play of the Achilles trilogy, not the second as generally supposed. There too, I believe, the Nereids lamented Achilles’ death.

drama; compare also the interpolated ending of Aeschylus' *Septem*, which prepares the ground for the Antigone story. Perhaps our Sophocles, in a similar spirit, brought Philoctetes into view before the end of his *Achilleus* in order to foreshadow the eventual Greek success in the war. Admittedly it is hard to imagine how this could have been done without great awkwardness.

Here are the fragments.

A1 (31 fr. b). A piece from the top right-hand portion of a column. The first line reads]γρπατ . λαβειν: of the next six lines there are only illegible faded traces, then in successive lines]ανοϛ [,]κλ[,] [

A2 (31 fr. v). A small scrap, illegible.

A3 (33 fr. a)

	]	τ . ϛ[
		]ιν . [
		]αρω[
		] . ωτ[
5		] . αξ[
		]ιλλ[
] . [
		]φα[
		]αγας . [
10		] . αικαλ[
		] . μαλ . [
		]μακκαραι[
		] . εχθυοντ[
		]οινοπαθε . ι[
15		] . τυψαιαι[
		] rubbed [
		] . . . . ε . ϛεπα[
		] . παπαιπαπα[
		] . ωνεκτος . [
20		] . αριναιγεν[
		foot

6 Ἀχιλλῆ? 12 ι: or νι, μι μάκαιρα(ι)? Cf. A12.10 14 κ]οινοπαθέσι? 15 Perhaps ἔτυψ', αἰᾶ, cf. 18 παπαῖ παπαῖ 19 ἐκτός, ἐκ τόσων? 20 α: or δ, λ αιγ: or αγ, making possible ἵνα γεν[.

A4 (33 fr. b)

	]	αποτρ . [
		]αυσολλ[
		]μηλιν . [
		]αλλαταπ[
5		]φερνησιλ[
		]ησοδυσομ[
		] . ιβλεπ . [

If it were not for line 5, we might take these lines to be trochaic tetrameters. 6 Above ης is written a correction τϵ. If these are combinable to make two syllables, we can then consider Ὀδυσσ-. But there are other possibilities such as ὁ δυσόμελος.

A5 (33 fr. c)

.
] . . . τε[
 δ[] λε . . . [.
 εἰπηπ . . . [.
 εταλ . . [.
 5 ποσο . [.

Questions and answers? (3 εἶπ', 5 πόσο-; but ποσο also possible).

A6 (33 fr. d)

.
] α[
 ω . ερτε . [.
 δα [.
 • αλ[

2 ὦ μήτηρ or ὦ πάτερ is not excluded.

A7 (33 fr. e). Parts of two columns.

.
] ελ[
] ιοῖσεπιγ . ιοῖς . . . [.
] β . υτοῖεγναυα] περα[
] . γατραπεις] εταλ[

i 4 Probably ἀνατραπείς ii 3 e.g. πέρριαινε, cf. Eur. *Med.* 701, *I.T.* 781, *Ion* 362, 1348, *Or.* 1118; Trag. adesp. 631a.23
 4 ἔτ' ἄλλ-?

A8 (33 fr. f)

.
] [.
] αει[
] ατειν[
] απ . . θυ[

2-3 A curious-looking layout. There may be letters lost before those printed, but I see no traces.

The following fragments have nothing on the → side.

A9 (33 fr. g). Possibly to be placed at the top of the next fragment, so that 9.4 ιδε[= 10 ii 1.

· · · · ·
 [.
 ανδρο[
 ηκων[
 ιδε[.
 · · · · ·

4 Above and to left of ι, traces as of a rising diagonal.

A10 (33 fr. h). Parts of two columns.

· · · · ·
 . [.
]ετο κ[
]ε επι[.]μαγωδε[
 5] . χετο ποιαν[]τοσυιετ[.
] . ε κακαςγαρανκα[
] ψυχηγαρηθελα[
] βαλλεικολ . ρογ[
]ασαι ποιαντοσυιογηθ . [.
] . []ρατα[
 · · · · ·

ii 3 e.g. ἐπισ[χε] μάν (cf. Denniston 331 f. for μάν with imperatives in drama), ὃ δε[ινὸν εἰρηκῶς ἔπος (cf. Soph. *Phil.* 1402, Ar. *Av.* 174) 4 Apparently Ποίαντος υἱέ 5 κακὰς γὰρ ἂν καίκοι γε –οιεν τύχας vel sim.? 6 ψυχή γὰρ ἦθελ', ἀλλά? 7 βάλλ' εἰς ὄλεθρον seems likely 8 Ποίαντος υἱόν.

A11 (33 fr. j) Detached from under-layer of A12.

· · · · ·
]τ[.
]πραταν[
]δευσε[
]αναμ[
 5]το[.
 · · · · ·

A12 (33 fr. k)

· · · · ·
] [.
]τ[. []πιτα[
] [] . ο[] . ανι[.
] [] [] []
]οσε[]]ανιη[.] . οπι[
 5]υτ[] .]εαμ[.] .]ε[
] . ε[]υρει[.] .]χο[
]δαμυρμιδων[
]αντροπτομεγα[
]ινασανακεσματ[
 10]ιμ[]κ[]ιραι [.

] [
] [
] ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥ[
] ΣΟΦΟΚΛ[

2 The first part of the line apparently blank 3 An apparently blank line apart from the obscure remains of one character, probably marking the beginning of the closing anapaests. It is not clear whether the anapaests were set out in dimeters, a practice which seems to have begun at about the time when this manuscript was written. In P. Hib. 1. 24(a), 25 and 2. 179 i 4 ff. they are written as prose. However, in 7–9 anapaestic sequences are in fair vertical alignment, and in 10 the paroemiac ends where we should expect given dimeter layout 4 ἀντη[ρ-? 5 εα: or θα 7]δα: or perhaps]τογ. If]δα, perhaps πε]δὰ Μυρμιδόνων; there are not many other possibilities, as the metre requires that]δα be part of a pyrrhic word 8 I suppose προπτόμενα], the participle of προπέτομαι, ‘flying forth’. υποπτ-, which I had read, is palaeographically less good, though it would have been easier metrically, with e.g. ὑπὸ γὰλῶν before it: προπτ- will require a monosyllable preceding it to satisfy the requirements of normal anapaestic technique; μάν or πάν is a possible reading. Forth or under, either kind of flying at the close of a tragedy seems most likely to have been predicated of the souls of dead persons; μάλ]καιρα in 10 lends colour to this idea. In 9 there was evidently a mention of healing, most naturally taken as a reference to death as a healer of all afflictions; see Pearson on Soph. fr. 698. Before the statement about souls we need a reference to burial: ‘their bodies we/you will proceed to bury, while their souls . . .’. For the programmatic statement about the buried bodies and freed souls cf. Eur. *Erechtheus* fr. 370.67 ff. There, as in the epitaph for the fallen at Potidaea, we find the famous antithesis ‘bodies to earth, souls to the sky’.

An exempli gratia restoration of 7–10 might run:

καὶ σώματα μὲν πε]δὰ Μυρμιδόνων
 κτεριῶ: ψυχὰ] μάν προπτόμενα
 πλάκας αἰθερ]ί(γ)ας ἀνάκεσμα τύχης
 θνητῆς ἕξουσι μάλ]καιρα.

Another possible reading of 8 may be] . αγ γὰρ ὀπυόμενα], which would set off a quite different line of reasoning.

B. The Tragic Lyrics

I will preface this section with some general remarks on the music fragments in B–C. The notation is in principle the well-known vocal system. In reading it, it may be helpful to remember that a letter later in the alphabet represents a lower note; adjacent letters in succession (e.g. Λ Μ) normally represent notes a semitone apart (but other intervals cannot be calculated on this basis). Three features of the notation are characteristic of Hellenistic as against later texts:

(i) When successive syllables are to be sung on the same note, it is normally written over the first only.

(ii) When a long vowel or diphthong is to be divided between two notes, this is indicated by writing it double, not (as in the Roman period) by a double point and/or bracket in the notation: C15 i 3]ελειει, ii 6 ιωω, 16.2 εκροιβδουουμεναγ, 18.1 αξιειει, 25.1 δηη. It may be accidental that no example appears in the B group; the *Orestes* fragment shows that this mannerism is not alien to tragic song.

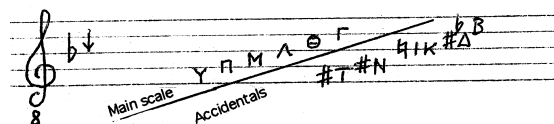
(iii) Certain notes sometimes appear with a bar above them (\bar{M} , \bar{N} , once \bar{T}) or through them (¥). This is paralleled only in P. Zeno 59533 (Pöhlmann, *Denkmäler* no. 35), where the forms \bar{N} and ¥ appear. The phenomenon is discussed by Pöhlmann, pp. 111 f. His conclusion (following Gombosi) that the bar is the diseme sign can no longer be maintained, as in the new fragments the barred symbols appear above short syllables in several places, as well as above the second element of the divided long vowel in εκροιβδουουμεναγ. I have no new explanation to offer, but make two observations which any hypothesis must take into account: firstly that the barring seems to be limited to the three or four notes mentioned, and secondly that whereas repeating notes are in principle written only once, so that we do not expect successions such as N N, we do find M \bar{M} , \bar{M} M, M \bar{M} M, N \bar{N} , \bar{N} N, implying that the bar signifies some real modification. It can hardly be a modification of pitch, since the alphabetic system provides sufficient other resources for denoting fine intervals. I suppose the bar to mean that the same note is sung, but in a different way, or with some difference in the instrumental accompaniment.

The music is set in a baritone register, spanning no more than a diminished seventh, from Υ (approximately *f*) to Β (approximately *e'* flat), and in fact it is for the most part confined within a narrower compass than that, as it seldom rises above Λ (*b* flat). All the fragments except C53 (see ad loc.) appear to be notated in the same key, in which the degrees of the basic scale are represented by the notes Υ Π Μ Λ Θ Γ. (The higher note Β, which occurs once, should perhaps be treated not as a regular scale degree but as an ‘accidental’.) Except for the Θ (which appears only in the C fragments) this series corresponds to a segment from two conjunct diatonic tetrachords from the Dorian or Phrygian systems; they could be described as Hypodorian Diezeugmenai + Hyperbolaiai, or as Phrygian Mesai + Synemmenai. The latter alternative has the advantage that it contains a Mese (M), which is supposed to be the cardinal point of a tuning. However, M is not the most frequent note in our fragments, and does not stand out as being of especial importance in the melodies. We should attempt to evaluate the music on its own terms, without assuming that the choice of notation-key is more than arbitrary. From the musical point of view the effective tetrachord seems to be Υ Π Μ Λ, cutting across the theoretical semitone–tone–tone tetrachords of the Phrygian scale system and showing a tone–tone–semitone structure.

Above Λ, the anomalous Θ takes the place of an expected Η, at least in the C fragments. Once again the Zeno papyrus provides a precise parallel: there too the lowest note is Υ, and the scale runs Υ Π Μ Λ Θ (no higher note appears in the fragment). The Θ in place of Η must represent a slightly flattened note, giving an interval above Λ of something like three-quarters of a tone instead of a full tone.⁴ The interval Θ Γ is then $1\frac{1}{4}$ tones. This arrangement of intervals in the tetrachord Μ–Γ, $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{3}{4} + 1\frac{1}{4}$ tones, is one recognized by Aristoxenus, who calls it ‘soft diatonic’ (διάτονος μαλακός, *Harm.* 2.51), and it resembles what Ptolemy calls ‘tense chromatic’ (χρῶμα σύντονον, *Harm.* 1.15 and 2.14, pp. 35.7 and 72.4 Düring: ratios 22:21, 12:11, 7:6, i.e. 81 + 150 + 267 cents). The combination of this in the upper tetrachord with the regular ‘tense’ diatonic in the lower seems to be prohibited by Aristoxenus, but it is recognized by Ptolemy: it is incorporated in the kithara tuning that he calls τρόποι and the lyra tuning that he calls μαλθακί.⁵

There is a certain amount of use of non-scalar notes, especially T and N, which must represent the semitones between Υ and Π and Π and Μ respectively, but occasionally also K (in group B) or I (in group C) for a note between Λ and Θ, and Δ for one between Θ and Γ.

The accompanying diagram shows the notes in their places on a modern staff.



Although we cannot follow any melodic line very far – the longest uninterrupted note-sequence is of thirteen notes – some observations may be made. Melodic intervals seldom exceed a major third: rising fourths appears in C1, 6, 15, 45, and 53, rising and falling fifths in C43, rising sixths in C28 and 44 (diminished), and a falling sixth in C45. There is a tendency to oscillate between two notes separated by a semitone (C13, 15, 16, 44), a tone (B3, C13, 14, 55), a minor third (B1, C19, 27, 38, 41, 42), a major third (B3), a flattened fourth (C4), or a fifth (C43). Once we find the four notes of the effective tetrachord in descending sequence (C14: Λ Μ Π Υ, if Μ may be treated as M), but otherwise we do not find even three successive scale degrees together. More typical is a ‘pentatonic’ type of progression, in which one of the inner notes of the tetrachord is passed over, as in C1 Λ Μ Υ; 2, 13, 19, 48 Λ Π Υ; 19 and 46 Υ Π Λ; in C15 cyclically Υ Λ Π Υ Λ Π Υ, and again after the coronis Π Λ Υ Π Λ Υ ... Υ Π Λ ... Λ Π Υ Λ Π Υ.

⁴ Not a semitone, because I and K also appear as ‘accidentals’ between Λ and Θ. In the Zeno papyrus the sequence Θ I K must represent successive quarter-tones, trisecting the $\frac{3}{4}$ -tone scalar interval. The transcription in my *Ancient Greek Music*, 196 and 287, requires correction.

⁵ See *Ancient Greek Music*, 171 f.

The ‘accidentals’ are mainly used to create semitone or minor third intervals that vary the basic structure of the tetrachord. As noted above, the exharmonic N is especially prominent in the B fragments. In B1 it alternates insistently with Υ (minor third), but appears also next to Π (semitone); in B3 it alternates with Λ (minor third), and with the exharmonic T (tone, as it were *f# g#* in the key of F). In C6 again we find minor thirds (T M, Υ N Υ); so too in C13 and 16 (M T oscillating), 29, 38, 41 (N Υ N, resolving with a rising semitone to M); in C8 and 41 descending semitone slides (Π T Υ [also in the Zeno papyrus], Λ M N); descending semitones also in C21 (T Υ), 28 (Γ Δ), 37 (Π T), 40 (N Π). The leap from Υ to Δ (diminished sixth) in C44 is exceptional.⁶

Not much can be said about the relationship between melody and accent, as the identification of words is often uncertain. There is reasonable agreement in B1, so far as it goes,⁷ and in C13 i 4; 14; 15 ii 6(?); 42.2; on the other hand there appear to be clashes in C1 i 4; 4. 1; 6. 7; 13 ii 2; 15 i 3; 16.2; 43.2. A large measure of disagreement should be an indication of strophic composition. I have sometimes referred to the rise or fall of the melody as a criterion for choosing between different possibilities for accentuation or word division, but it is clearly not a very dependable one.

Here now are the fragments of the ‘tragic’ group.

B1 (31 fr. b: verso of A1). A piece of unmistakably tragic character. The insistence on the two notes N Υ and the interval of a minor third is remarkable.

	top
	]Υ Ν Υ Ν̄ Ν Ν [
	]νε ωιμοι εε αξιοντογερατ[
	]Ν Υ Ν Υ Ν [
	]οδε ωποποιωσδα[
	] Υ Ν [
	]μαντη.[
	] Ν Π [
	]πος.[
	] Ν [
5	]ηπαισ[
	]Ν Ν [
	]δετ[

1–2 Word-spacing as shown. Typically tragic exclamations: δύστη]νε (?), ἰώ(ι) μοι, ἔ ἔ ... ἰὼ πόποι, sung as follows:

ἰ - ὼ μοι, ἔ ἔ . . . ἰ - ὼ πό - ποι

So far as I know, the spelling ἰώι is not found elsewhere, though ὠι μοι is well attested. The letters ερατ are turned under. ἄξιον τὸ γέρας not excluded 2 Perhaps τῶδε 3 e.g. ὀλοῖ|μαν, ἐ|μάν τ' 5 παῖς? Thetis lamenting Achilles? A space after; line-end?

⁶ Perhaps it resolved to Γ; cf. the sequence Υ Γ Δ in C28.

⁷ ‘Agreement’ is shorthand for the code set out in *Ancient Greek Music*, 199.

B2 (31 fr. v: verso of A2)

· · ·
]πην[
] Μ [
]σοφῶν[
] . [

2 ὄφῶν?

B3 (33 fr. a: verso of A3)

· · ·
]κ . . . γ . [
] Ν . . . [
]τνειαθ[
] . [
]λυα[] [
] . Π [
]ταμ[
] Μ [
 5]νεοντυρογ[
] Ν Ν [
]ειχηπροσθα[
] Μ Μ [
]μαιωκαλεα[
] Ν [
]υφρονεισοσ[
] Μ Τ Ν Τ [
] . ιρλαιδααπ . ενι[
] Ν Τ Μ [
 10]χηλαταιδεδα . [
] ΥΜΥ Μ Λ [
]εναισωνα[]ε[
] Ν Λ Ν [
]κυκειηρατον[
 foot

5 Cheese? Young cheese? I cannot find another likely epithet for cheese ending in -νεον. But it may have been a verb, e.g. ἔκλνεον, 'I/they grated'; cf. *Il.* 11.639 ἐπὶ δ' αἴγειον κνή τυρόν, where an ancient grammarian read κνέε, though analogous forms of κνήν are not otherwise found: see *JHS* 118 (1998), 190–7 ὠκαλέαι? The word is attested only in Hesychius (neuter singular) 8 εἰλῶ-, εἰλῶ, οἰλῶ, σῖλῶ, πολῖλῶ, etc., then (-)φρονεῖς, φρόνεις, -φρον εἰ(ς), then ὄσοι, ὄς οἶ, ὄ σοί, etc. 9 ι: or υ λ: or χ; Ἀχαιίδα cannot be read 10 τρο|χηλάται 11 αἰσῶν 12 Perhaps κρουκτη.

B4 (33 fr. b: verso of A4). This and the three following fragments all have dialogue on the ↓ side

· · ·
]δυ[] . . [
] Ν Ν [
]δεφυσια[
] Ν Ν [
] . ειδενα . [

] $\bar{\tau}$. [
] χρυσεακ[
] . . [
 5] τ [
 . . .

2 δ' ἔφυς, -δε φύς, (ἐ)φυσία? Cf. below on B7 3 The bar over each N is uncertain.

B5 (33 fr. c: verso of A5)

. . .
] . [
] αιπατηρμει[
] . [] Π Π [. [
] φυ ταλανμοι βαλ[
] . Μ Π Λ Π [
] . χορευεδ' ρ' [. .
] . [
 . . .

1 πατήρ 2 ἔφυ? The interjection φύ 'Poo', used in the presence of stinks, smoke, etc., is unlikely to be appropriate; it is not to be confused with φεῦ τάλαν μοι 'my poor ...' calls for a following noun; perhaps βαλλίην, a word used by Aeschylus' Persians (657) and Sophocles' Idaeon shepherds (fr. 515). (βασιλεῦ does not suit the traces.) τάλαν μοι βαλλίην will make a dochmiac 3 The second rho added above the line. One thinks first of χόρευε, then perhaps δίομοι corrected to δρόμοι. But the melodic pattern is strange if this is astrophic verse, with the higher note on -ε and then a lower one again. So one might consider e.g. χόρευ' ἔδρανα. But reference to dancing seems strange in the apparent context of lament.

B6 (33 fr. d: verso of A6)

. . .
] ΚΠ . . [
] ετρεαδε . . [
 . . .

If K is rightly read, it is isolated among these fragments, which otherwise have I as the accidental between Λ and Θ (the Zeno papyrus, to be sure, has both side by side); and the ditone interval to Π is not a typical product of chromaticism in these pieces. We should entertain the possibility that this fragment comes from a passage notated in a different key from the rest (cf. below on C53): in chromatic Dorian, Hypoionian, or Aeolian, or diatonic Hyperdorian or Hypoaeolian, Κ Π would be normal notes of the scale.

B7 (33 fr. e: verso of A7)

. . .
] τιμεχειφρυαγμο . [
] Γ [
] . . [.] . ει [
] [
 . . .

1 e.g. ἄρτι μ' ἔχει φρυαγμός, but I should have preferred περί με or ἀμφί με. The phrase suggests a scene like that in the parodos of Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* (cf. 84, 123, 151–3; 245 καὶ μὴν ἀκούω γ' ἰππικῶν φρυαγμάτων); less likely to be relevant, I suppose, is Call. Hymn. 5.2 τῶν ἵππων ἄρτι φρυασσομενῶν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐσάκουσα. Cf. B3.10 τροχληλάται, and perhaps B4.2 φυσία (*Il.* 16.506 ἵππους φυσιῶντας). Aeschylus' Memnon was κωδωνοφθαλαρόπωλος (*Ag. Ran.* 962).

B8 (33 fr. f: verso of A8)

κ[
 πε[
 π[

1 and 3 may be notation

C. The Other Music Fragments

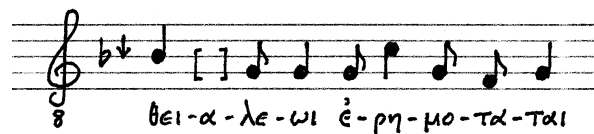
If the blank-backed C fragments come from the same roll as the tragedy-backed B set, a fair length of it must have been left empty on the ↓ side after the final column of the *Achilleus*. The scribe then wrote the C texts on the verso of this blank portion, which was the left-hand part of the reversed roll (as it was not inverted). He left a gap of at least a column’s width between the C and the B texts, since the last lines of the play have nothing on the back. If the C texts do not come from the same roll as the tragedy, it is still the case that the copying of the B texts did not begin at the beginning of the roll, but a blank area preceded them. This fact may lend a little additional colour to the possibility that the B texts were supplementary to the *Achilleus* manuscript and belonged at different points along its length.

There is no certainty that the C texts themselves all come from one roll, though it is to be remembered that they are all written along the fibres. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, we will take it as a working hypothesis that we are dealing with one music manuscript.

As musical compositions tended to be restricted in length, we should expect such a manuscript to have contained a number of different items, and this is confirmed by the presence in two places of a paragraphos accompanied by a coronis. Most of the fragments are too exiguous to reveal anything about the nature of the texts. But we might expect them to be citharodes’ repertoire, either excerpts from tragedies or citharodic nomes or dithyrambs. As noted at the beginning of the article, some of them do show clear signs of a lyric character, and C13 + 15 appears to contain remains from the end of a citharodic poem with a literary-critical *sphragis*. Perhaps the poems were all the work of one author.

C1 (29 fr. a, top layer + 31 fr. d, top layer). The fragment from folder 29 contains ends from one column and beginnings from the next, with upper margin; the one from folder 31 has middles from six lines, also with upper margin, and has every appearance of belonging to the right of the other. Both pieces are stuck on top of an under-layer (C2). The first two verses in col. i seem to lack musical notation; the rest have it, or at least are spaced to allow for it.

29 fr. a		31 fr. d
64444444744444448	6447448	
	top	top
]αρογκεαρ	Ϝ Λ [	]Υ [
] . . . [] νμηπωσ	βαρυ . [	]ορεντε[
]	Υ [	]ΠΤ(,) Λ[
] . . . []θε . ν	θρυπτο[	] αμελακ[
]Λ Μ Μ	[	]Μ Λ Υ[
]γιδαμινατιζει	α . ραι	]ταναιχ[
] Λ Μ	Π Λ [	]Υ [
	. . χ. η. [	] αμελοδι



top

] Λ [] Π Θ Π Υ Π
 . . .] αι α [] θειαλεωιερημ . ταται π
 . .] τεναλ . [] οιγαποτιπλαζεταιορμοις . [.
] τανηρ [] ψαλλος ηρενατροφον
] ζοναιδανθρωπωνελικιτενεαι
 5] γαχλωροναμφ . ιγοι [.
 . . .] αυχεναβαλ [] . [] κισσουκαιελισσομε ΑΙ [.
 _ γανταφυλαν ερικυμοσιφορβαδων f [.
 αιγωντοκοιιτερπομενονκαιακρατωι [.
] . [. . . . [] ις

1–2 The letters preceding [] in these lines are on a detached piece which someone has affixed here but which I am not sure belongs. 1 Apparently ἐρημόταται (the melody favours this rather than dative -τάται, though the higher note on -ρη- is anomalous). 2 After λ the tip of a descender below the line, e.g. ι. Perhaps οἶνα; then ποτιπλάζεται ὄρμοις, ‘The vine straggles close with its festoons’? 3 Conceivably e.g. ὀδόν τ’ ἀνήρ[ε]ψ’, ‘and makes a roof over the path’; ἀνήρ[ε] also a possible reading. But I am baffled by what follows: ψ; or φ. λλ; or δα etc. ς; or θ. ε; or ω, ο. ἄλλος ἦρεν ἄτροφον? 4]ζ:]μ is another possibility; there may be others. ναιδ; or perhaps ναικ. ἑλικί τε νέαι. 5 χλωρόν, perhaps agreeing with a noun lost before the break rather than with ἀυχένα, e.g. κατ’ ἀμπελεῶνα; then just possibly ἀμφ’ ἄγρου[κον] ἀυχένα βάλ[λ]ε[ι]ν, ‘garlands the rustic round the neck with the young tendril of ivy and curling grape-clusters’. But it is difficult to make the υ at the end of 5 into a rho. I have also considered ἀμφ’ ἐλίνοι[σιν], but there is little space for ελ, and it is not easy to fit in the personal object presupposed by 8 τερπόμενον. 6–8 κισσοῦ καὶ ἐλισσομε|νάν σταφυλᾶν, then after a space of three letters ἐρικύμοσι φορβάδων αἰγῶν τόκοισι τερπόμενον καὶ ἀκράτωι, ‘as he enjoys (the meat of) the fecund offspring of grazing goats and the neat wine’; cf. Hes. *Op.* 592. ἐρικύμων comes from Aesch. *Ag.* 119; here it appears to be transferred from the mother goats to their young. There is a paragraphos after 7. To the right of 7–8: ΑΙ[over a paragraphos and coronis, presumably marking a new beginning in the following column. The ΑΙ[if not a title such as (Timotheus’) Αἴας ἐμμανής, might represent αἰολιστί (abbreviated?); cf. P. Vindob. G 29825a/b recto 6 (Pöhlmann, *Denkmäler* no. 22), where a new section of the music is marked (in mid line) by a large chi with the word φρυγιστι above it. But below this, blank papyrus where text would be expected.

The content of the above piece may recall Antiphanes’ criticism of contemporary dithyrambists, whom he compares unfavourably with Philoxenus (fr. 207.7–9 K.–A.):

οἱ νῦν δὲ κισσόπλεκτα καὶ κρηναῖα καὶ
 ἀνθεσιπότατα μέλεα μελέοις ὄνομασι
 ποιῶσιν ἐμπλέκοντες ἀλλότρια μέλη.

C5 (29 fr. m). Stuck on the back of the above piece.

] . Υ [.
] λεινωσγα[
] . Λ Π [.
] . ιτερπνουπ[
] . [.

1 κλεινωῶς γὰρ, βαλεῖν ὥς, etc. α[: or λ[2 τερπνοῦ

C6 (29 fr. d)

]μελισει []... [

]... [] M Υ [

]... []εε... [

about four lines stripped, then

]... [

]Υ M Υ Λ M M [

 7]υμοιεγκαθεδραιεινελαγχασοιω []... [] κ [

]Π Τ Μ Λ Μ Λ Υ [

]μενονμελο [

] Υ Ν Υ Λ [

]... []... υτα [

1 λι: or λυ 7 Apparently ἐν καθέδραισιν (or -αις ἴν'), preceded by an adjective in agreement (e.g. ἡδύμοις, εὐονύμοις), but I cannot make sense of what follows. Not ἐλαγχαν-. The χ could be κ, sc. ἔλ' ἀγκάς 8]μένον μέλοισ?

(The melodic line would indicate a perfect rather than a present participle.)

C7 (29 fr. e, top layer). Parts of seven lines of text, largely illegible. In line 3 I see]υ . αρπιπτενε [, in line 6] . αιτεχνηγηλ [with the note M̄ above the χ; 7 is completely illegible, but a note M can be made out.

C8 (29 fr. e, under-layer)

top

]Π M̄ [

] . α . ιδικατ [

] . M I [

] . οισαδιοκ [

] Π M [

] . ντε . πε [

] Π Τ Υ [

] . λεσ . . . [

] . . . M [

 5] [

] Λ M [

] [

] . . . [

C9 (29 fr. h). A scrap without notes.

] . . . ισεκω [

] . χ . . πε [] . . φ [

] . . τε . . σαλμ []εχρησφιλοισιν [

3 ἔχρησ 'you lent to your friends'? Or τεχνησ

Διονύσου. There seem to be too many notes over λαμπράς, if the faint Λ and Μ are both real. Then perhaps ἄν (sc. the pine torch) ἔταμ' Ἴδης τέμπεσι. Ida, whether the Cretan or the Phrygian mountain, would suggest a Corybantic scene.

The melodic sequences in i 2–3 and ii 5–6 may be transcribed thus:

], ων. δρό-μον ἔ-πί-κρο-ταν . . . ? ὄξυβ]ε-λεῖ κα-νει μ' ἔ-ρω-τι

τ.. νῦν ὄ-δ' ἔ-γώ, νῦν δαί.. . . . ἔ-ορ-τήν.

ἰ-ώ, λαμ-π]άς, ἄν ἔ-τα-μ' Ἴ-δης τε[

C16 (30 fr. d). Parts of two columns.

. ας [

] Λ Π Μ Τ Μ π[

] . . . εκροιβδουουμεναν [

] — Π Υ Υ Μ Λ . . . ς[

.

i 2 Apparently ἐκροιβδουμέναν, with the second syllable doubled.

C17 (30 fr. e). A scrap extending across two columns. The only legible letters are in col. i]αχοιτειμε[(τιάχος ἔτε ἔτε is just possible, but does not look convincing) and in col. ii δατερα . . . [and in the next line a ζ. If this was a note, a different tonos from the prevailing Phrygian is implied, e.g. Lydian or Aeolian.

C18 (30 fr. g). Hyperphrygian.

.

] Λ Π Τ[

] γαξειειε, ελε[

] . . . Θ [

] αβδα, λαβδα [

] . . . Υ Υ [

] . [

.

1 ι,; or γ If ειε, probably melodic doubling of ει; any accent will have been circumflex (descending tone) 2 Presumably λάβδα λάβδα. Possible references: (1) Labda the mother of Cypselus (Hdt. 5.92; but why doubled?); (2) some word or name spelt out (cf. Eur. fr. 382, Achaeus TrGF 20 F 33, Agathon 39 F 4, Theodectas 72 F 6, Callias ap. Ath. 453c–4a); (3) a sexual allusion (cf. Ar. *Eccl.* 920 with Ussher's note). There might be a connection with the erotic context of 15 i.

C19 (30 fr. h)

] α τδ ηγ[]...[
]...[Λ Λ Π Υ Υ[
]... λιπαπαδεσι...[
] Λ Υ Π Λ Π[
]τ... λε επιτ...[

2 ιπ: or ιτ

C20 (30 fr. j)

]...[αμοννεω[
] Μ Μ Λ []
] ςαξ αλααι αγ[
] Π[]...[

2 ς: perhaps π αλααί, apparently, but a context for blind women is hard to imagine, and one may think of ἀλαλααί.

C21 (30 fr. k)

]...[
] Ν []
] ενβοατευβοα... ςιυ []
] ΤΥ []
]τα... αξυ...]...]ετ... ξ[

2 βοάτ' εὔ? But after the second βοα apparently a round letter ς: or ε

C22 (30 fr. l). A scrap with one line of text:

] Ν]
] αυλακουκεδα[

On the back of the fragment is another, with no text surviving but the note-sequence Λ Μ Λ Π.

C23 (30 fr. m)

] Π]
] ρποσιωνακ... α[]
] Ν []
] ρειξεινονα... τα[]
] Θ Μ [] Π []]
] οκρυοεντιδεχα[]
] Π [] Υ []

1 Perhaps (οἶνος) ... πρόποσις ὧν ἄκρατος 2 -όεις or εἰς ξείνον 3 was folded under, and it is possible that one or more lines has been lost from the turned edge, between 2 and 3 ὀκρυόεντι.

C24 (30 fr. q)

· · · · ·
] . . . [· · · · ·
] Λ Μ [· · · · ·
] οἰκρε[· · · · ·
] Υ [· · · · ·
 · · · · ·

C25, 26 (30 fr. s/t). Two scraps stuck back to back.

· · · · ·	· · · · ·
] Λ Μ Υ Λ [	] Γ [
] δηκαμνωμ[	] αλλατο [
] Π [	· · · · ·
· · · · · [. . .] [υ δ . . . [	· · · · ·
· · · · ·	· · · · ·

s 1 -δη or δῆ with melodic doubling, such as also occurs in the emotional erotic context of 15 i, with which this fragment may have a connection. Then κόμνω (not -ων with assimilation of the nu to a following labial, as the note-placing indicates that μ[begins a new syllable).

C27 (30 fr. u). Traces from two lines of text (no letter legible), and between them the note-series Λ Π Λ Π Λ Π Ν.

C28 (30 fr. v)

· · · · ·
 Π Υ Γ Δ [· · · · ·
 βουλειειδε[· · · · ·
 · · · · ·

βουλεγει does not seem to have been written. If this is another melodic doubling, for βουλει, the large rising interval Υ Γ (a sixth) might suggest oxytonesis and thus an adverb, [ἀ]βουλεί or the like, rather than the verb-form βούλει. But a division βούλει· εἰ δὲ is also possible.

C29 (30 fr. w)

· · · · ·
] α κυθ[· · · · ·
] Ν Υ [· · · · ·
] λιππα λ[· · · · ·
 · · · · ·

C30–4. Five other scraps from folder 30 (f, n, o, p, r) with only a few letters apiece and no musical notes. One has an apparent mention of Orpheus: r 3] . . . υπορφε[.

C35 (31 fr. a). Five or six lines of text without notation, then (after a gap) a line with it, presumably the beginning of a new section or excerpt. This and the next fragment have a similar layout and appearance and may have stood at the same level in the same column, but I cannot match up the fibre patterns.

.

] . [.
] υ ν α ι κ ω γ γ α ρ ο [.
] . . ι ρ ε ι δ α . . [.
] ε α ρ ρ ε ν ο . [.
 5] τ ω ν δ ε [.
] κ α π [.

] . Δ [.
] κ ε π [.

2 γ]υναικῶν γὰρ, with the nu assimilated to the velar 4 ἄρσεν(ο-) 6 This does not join up with fr. c 5 as κἄπνοῦ.

C36 (31 fr. c). Five lines of text without notation, then four lines with it.

.

] ο ι π ρ ι γ κ . [.
] . ε γ θ ε . . ε α [.
] ρ η π ε π [.
] ε θ α σ π α ν . [.
 5] π ν ο υ δ ε . [.
] . . . [.
] . γ α . . [.
] . Δ Μ [.
] π ο ν τ ι ω [.
] . Π [.
] . ε ι ν α [.
] . . [.
] . . [.

1 i.e. πρὶν κ.[4 μέθας παν-, -μέθα σπαν-?

C37 (31 fr. e, top layer)

.

] . [.
] Π [.
] . λ ε τ ο [.
] Π [.

C37 bis (31 fr. e, under-layer)

.

] [.
] . ν α τ . [.
] a b r a d e d [.
] λ ι ν ε [.
] Π [.
] α μ ε ι . [.
] Π . [.

C38 (31 fr. f)

top

] N N̄ Υ N Υ[
] . . . εξαπαογ[

C39 (31 fr. h). Traces of about six lines, only a few letters legible. Visible notes in successive lines are Π (twice) and perhaps T.

C40 (31 fr. j)

.

]μελλο[
] []Δ[
] . επ[
]N Π [
] . λιπ[

C41 (31 fr. k). Parts of two columns. Line 3 with its notation is turned under. In view of the festive content of col. ii, one may conjecture that the piece stood somewhere below C15.

<p style="text-align: center;">.</p> <p>]ρατο</p> <p>]</p> <p>]ψει [</p> <p>]</p> <p>]</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">.</p> <p>NNNY N M[</p> <p>ιτωιτωκωμοσς [</p> <p>] Λ M N [</p> <p>εισαμβασινται [</p> <p>Π Λ Π Λ Π [</p> <p>] . . δ [. . . .] . . τ . [</p> <p style="text-align: center;">.</p>
--	--

ii 1 Broken off immediately above the notes, so that any N may have been N̄. N N̄ N, for example, would avoid the written repetition of consecutive identical notes, which is avoided in these early texts ιτω ιτω κωμος. ιτω ιτω has ritual connotations; see passages cited by Diggle on Eur. *Phaethon* 101 2 εις αμβασιν, then perhaps ται δε.

C42 (31 fr. l). Line-ends from the top of a column.

top

] Λ [

]ιδαλλο [

] M N̄ -[

]οπετραν [

] . N N̄ [

]νοιτω[

]Λ Π Λ[

.

1 δ' ἄλλο 2 πέτραν On the right edge, level with the notation, the tip of a horizontal; perhaps a paragraphos in the next column, as there are no remains at the same longitude in the two preceding lines.

C43 (31 fr. m)

.
] [.
] Π Γ Π [.
] ατιει δεινογ[.
] Μ Μ̄ Μ[.
] χ[] ιλ[.

2 τίει, άτίει? Then presumably δεινόν, but if so, the melodic fall of a fifth goes against the accent.

C44 (31 fr. n)

.
 Λ Μ Λ[.
 ευηπ. ξ[.
 Υ Δ [.
] [.

C45 (31 fr. o)

.
] . αν[.
] . Μ . . [.
] εγολλυγαιηδ . . . [.
] . Λ Γ Υ Δ . [.
] τιςπα . . . [.

2 (έν)ολλύναι? 3 If interrogative τί or τίς, the high note is appropriate; see *Ancient Greek Music*, 286 (the *Iphigeneia* papyrus), 314 (P. Mich. 2958. 2), 322 (P. Oxy. 3161 recto 3).

C46 (31 fr. p). A scrap on which the only legible letters are]α[[δα]]ιτο[(with αυ written underneath [[δα]]) and for the next line the note-series ΝΥΠΛ.

C47 (31 fr. q). A line-beginning υι . τα[and below it the notes ΥΛΝ.

C48 (31 fr. r). A mid-line fragment]ινχαλιφ[(χαλιφ[ρον-?]) and below it the notes ΛΠΥ.

C49 (31 fr. s)

.
] [.
] Λ Μ [.
] δειενντε [.

2 ώδειενν, εύδειν έν, etc.

C50 (31 fr. t)

.
]
] Π Λ
]

C51 (31 fr. u). Traces of two lines, only a few letters legible; between them the notes Λ Π Λ.

C52 (32 fr. a). A few letters from the beginning of the first line in a column; above the second line the note N.

C53 (32 fr. b). No text; consecutive notes (all uncertain) Μ Ρ Θ̄. If these are correctly read, they suggest a different notation-key from the other fragments, namely Hypophrygian (Diezeugmenai–Hyperbolaiai) or Lydian (Mesai–Synemmenai). The barred theta is also significant in this regard, as in the other fragments the only barred notes are Μ Ν Τ Υ.

C54 (32 fr. c)

.
] ο τ ε
] μ α θ ε ι π

C55 (32 fr. d)

.
] Μ
] ρ π ο ρ ε ζ α

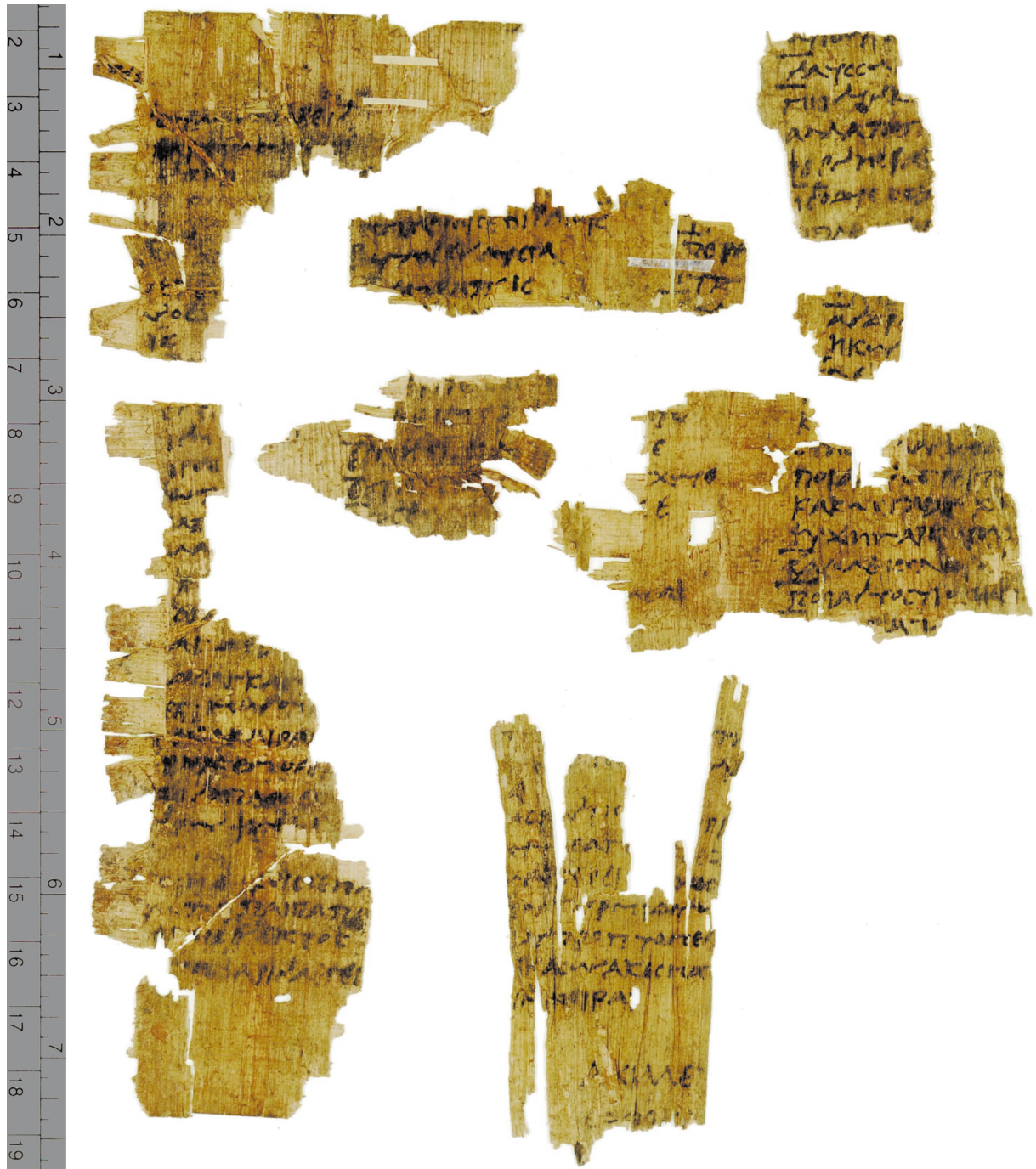
The notes on the right are faint, and appear to have no text below.

C56 (32 fr. e)

.
] θ ε ι π ι κ ρ ο
]
]
 stripped
] π
]
] χ ε ι μ
] Λ
 5] τ ε ς δ

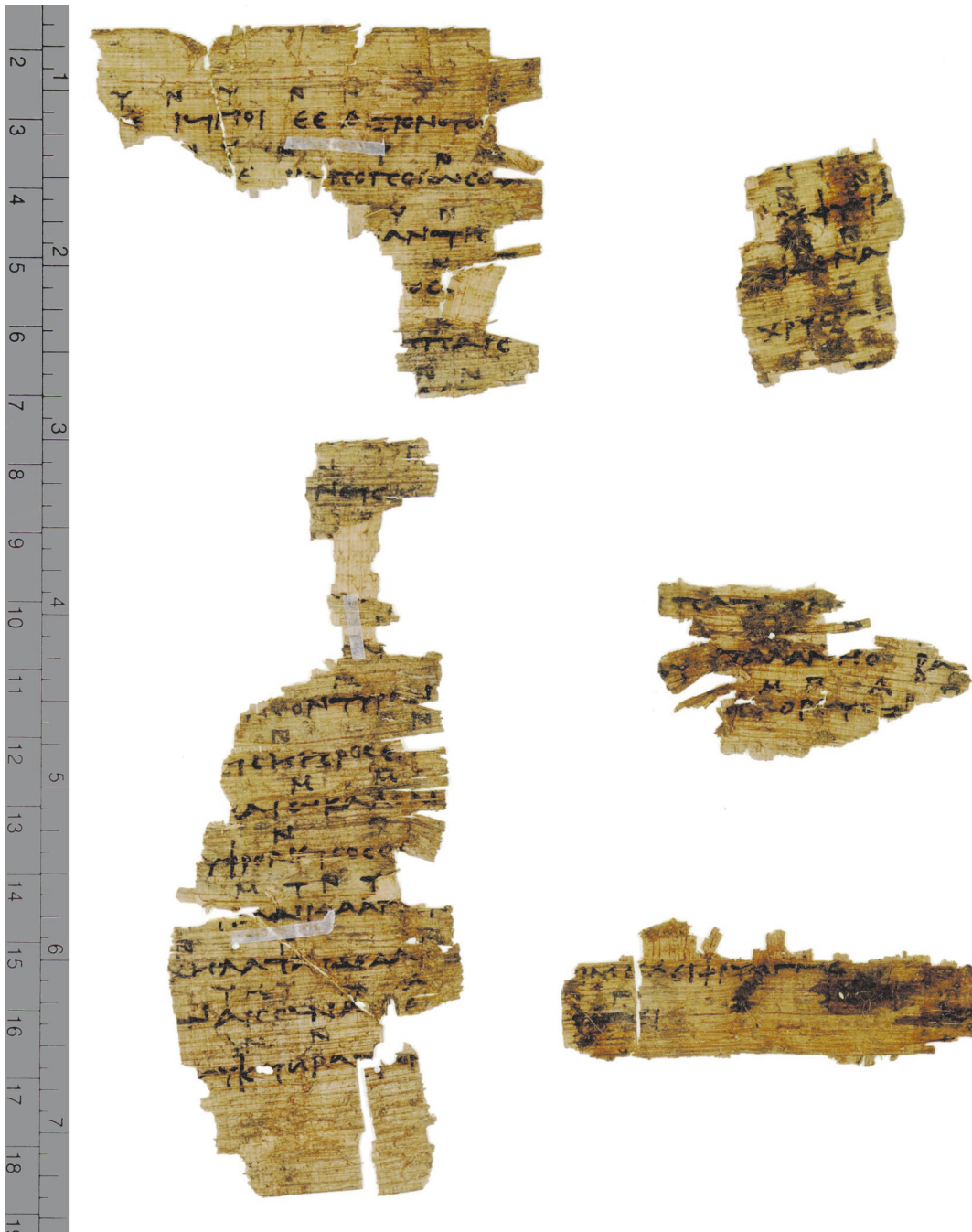
1 Probably πικρόν

Folder 32 contains eight other illegible scraps.

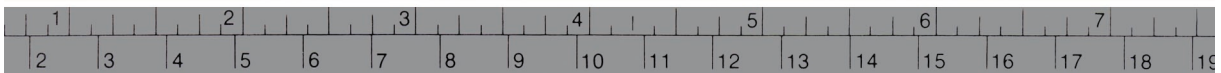
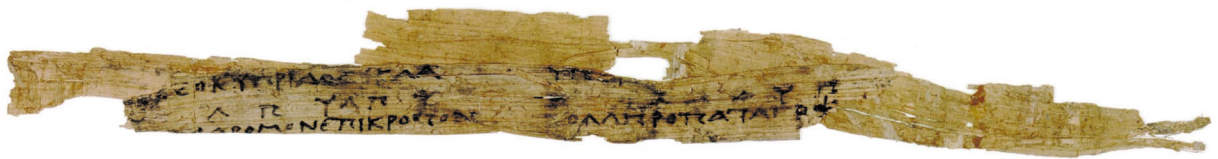


Ashmolean Museum Inv. Nos. 89B/31 and 33, fragments A1+3+4+5+7+9+10+12;
M. L. West, pp. 43-65

TAFEL X



Ashmolean Museum Inv. Nos. 89B/31 and 33, fragments B1+3+4+5+7; M. L. West, pp. 43–65

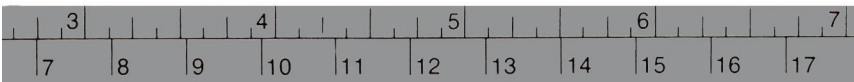


Ashmolean Museum Inv. Nos. 89B/29 and 30, fragments C13+15



Ashmolean Museum Inv. Nos. 89B/30 and 31, fragments C14+15; M. L. West, pp. 43–65

TAFEL XII



Ashmolean Museum Inv. No. 89B/29, fragment C4; M. L. West, pp. 43–65