

*P. OXY. 2330: A NEW COLLATION**(Supplementum Epigraphicum Mediterraneum 34)*

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In 1954 E. Lobel and C. Roberts published *P. Oxy. 2330*¹, which they ascribed to Ctesias of Cnidus, an author of the 5th/4th centuries BC². The identification was made possible by a reference by Demetrius, *De Elocutione* (= *On Style*), 212-4. Demetrius writes about repetition in order to make a greater impression. Subsequently he describes the situation and then quotes the relevant sentence as written by Ctesias: “Ἐγὼ μὲν σὲ ἔσωσα, καὶ σὺ μὲν δι’ ἐμὲ ἐσώθης...”. These same words we also find on the papyrus, lines 7-8. Up to the present day, this fragment is nearly the only surviving part of Ctesias’ *Persica*³. In 2003 Rosa Giannattasio Andria made a new collation, but preparing my forthcoming edition of Ctesias’ *Persian History* (Stronk 2010), I made a collation as well (cf. www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk, online database *sub* authors a-z > Ctesias).

P. Oxy. 2330:

transcription		text
[.α.σ...λε.]απα[γψτεξδ..].	1	[.α.σ...λε.]απα[γψ.τεξ δ' ἐσ]
τινοτιαγ[.]σενελειπες οδει	2	τιν ὅτι ἄγ[ο]ς ἐνέλειπες. ὁ δ' εἶ-
πενφερετογουνπρωτον	3	πεν· φέρε τὸ γοῦν πρῶτον
[.]ραμματ[α.]ραψωπροσζαρει	4	[γ]ράμματ[α γ]ράψω πρὸς Ζαρει-
ναϊαν·καίγραφει·στρυαγ	5	ναϊαν· καὶ γράφει· Στρυαγ-
γαϊοςζαρε[.]αιιουτωλεγει	6	γαῖος Ζαρε[ιν]αῖα οὕτω λέγει·
εγωμενσεεσωσακαικυδιε	7	ἐγὼ μὲν σὲ ἔσωσα, καὶ σὺ δι' ἐ-
μεε[.]θηρ·εγωδεδιασεα	8	με ἐσ[ώ]θης. ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ σὲ ἀ-
πω[.]μηγκαιεπεκτεινα	9	πω[λό]μην, καὶ ἀπέκτεινα
αυτοσεμαυτον·ουγαρμοιευε	10	αὐτὸς ἐμαυτόν· οὐ γάρ μοι σὺ ἐ-
βουλουχαρ[.]σασθαι·εγωδεταυ	11	βούλου χαρ[ί]σασθαι. ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦ-
τατα[κακ]ακαιτονερωτατον	12	τα τα [κακ]ᾶ καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα τόν-

¹ Lobel/Roberts 1954.² See, *i.a.*, Stronk 2004-05, Stronk 2007, and Stronk 2010.³ There are also some other sentences preserved in Demetrius, *On Style*, 215-216.

δεουκαυτοσειλομηναλλα	13	δε οὐκ αὐτὸς εἰλόμην, ἀλλὰ
μεερωσαπωλεσεν·οδεθεος	14	με ἔρωσ ἀπώλεσεν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς
ουτο[.]εστινκοινοςκαικοικαι	15	οὗτό[ς] ἐστιν κοινὸς καὶ σοὶ καὶ
απασιανθρωποισιν·οτωι	16	ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποισιν. ὅτω
μεγρυνειλεως[.]λθηπλει	17	μὲν οὖν εἴλεως [ἔ]λθη, πλεί
ςταςγε ἡδονὰς δ[ι δ]ωσινκαιαλ	18	στας γε ἡδονὰς δ[ι δ]ωσιν, καὶ ἄλ-
λαπλεισταγαθαε[.]οιησεναυ	19	λὰ πλεῖστα ἀγαθὰ ἐ[π]οίησεν αὐ-
[τ]ον·[ο]τα[ν]δεοργιζομενος	20	[τ]όν. [ὄ]τα[ν] δὲ ὀργιζόμενος
[ε]λθηω[.]περεμοιουνπλει	21	[ἔ]λθη ὅ[σ]περ ἐμοὶ νῦν, πλεῖ-
στακ[.....]γασαμε[ν]οστοτελευ	22	στα κ[ακὰ ἐρ]γασάμε[ν]ος τὸ τελευ-
ταιο[νπ]ροριζον[απ]ωλεσεν ρρ	23	ταῖο[ν π]ρόρριζον [ἀπ]ώλεσεν
καιε[.ετ.]ενεν· τ[ε]κμαιρομαι	24	καὶ ἐ[ξέτρ]ηεν. τ[ε]κμαιρομαι
δετ[ω]εμ[ω]ιθαν[α]τωι[.]γω	25	δὲ τ[ὼ ἐμ]ῶ θαν[ά]τω. [ἐ]γὼ
γαρσοι[κατ]αρασομαιμενου	26	γάρ σοι [κατ]αράσομαι μὲν οὐ-
δεν·[επ]ευξομαιιδεσοιτ[ην]	27	δέν.[ἐπ]ευξομαι δέ σοι τ[ὴν]
δικαιο[...]ην[ε]υχην·ειμ[ε]ν	28	δικαιο[τάτ]ην [ε]ύχην· εἰ μ[ε]ν
συεμε[...]ιαε[π]οιησασπολ	29	σὺ ἐμε [δίκαι]α ἐ[π]οίησας πολ

The fragment is part of the Median history, discussed in books 4-6 of Ctesias' *Persian History*. The main characters of the fragment are Zarinaea, the queen of the Sacae, and Stryangaeus, a Mede (who is in love with the queen). From the fragments of Ctesias preserved by Nicholas of Damascus (*FGrH* No. 90 F. 5) we know that Stryangaeus has declared his love to the queen, but that she declined his proposal, very kindly but very clearly as well. It leads to the following translation, from the end of line 2: "He said: 'Now, first of all, I will write a letter to Zareinaea'; and he wrote: 'Stryangaeus speaks to Zareinaea as follows: I saved you and you were saved by me, but I have perished because of you and I kill myself, since you did not wish to be kind to me. I myself did not choose this evil fate nor this love, but love has destroyed me. This god is common to you as well as to all mankind. Whomever he approaches favourably, he gives the utmost pleasures and contrives for him very many other benefits, but whomever he comes to in anger, as he does now with me, he finally turns him out and causes his complete breakdown and reduces him to nothing. I come to this conclusion from my own death. I will not curse you in any way, but I will address the most righteous prayer to you: if you did right things towards me many beautiful and good things may occur to you, but if you treated me wrongly, ...>".

The text is written on a piece of papyrus of medium brown colour, measuring max. c. 16 cm x max. c. 8 cm. It appears to have been a complete column (σελίς), in width as well as in length, of a text, which continued further on the sheet. The last letters of the column, "πολ", suggest the continuation in the following one like: "λὰ καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ σοὶ γίνονται, εἰ δὲ ἀδίκια ..." κτλ. (cf. also the text of Nicholas of Damascus: *FGrH* No. 90 F 5), which has already

been implemented in the translation above. Neither above nor under the text of the column traces of writing are visible, showing a rather broad upper and lower margin, perhaps suggesting an origin as part of a literary scroll. The margin is clearly discernable to the right, to the left is somewhat more damaged, though the completeness of the sentences is obvious. The signs of wear which are visible look at least partly consistent with the mechanical damage caused by frequent unrolling and rolling up of the scroll on the so-called umbilicus (ὀμφαλός: cf., e.g., Hunger 1975, 43 *sq.*). The writing is to be dated to the second century AD, most likely the second part. The papyrus is, as stated, quite worn, but generally well legible. Problems occur in line 1, which is badly damaged. The ink of lines 17 and 18 is somewhat less well preserved compared with that of the rest of the text.

1. In line 2 a clear space is visible between the closing sigma of ἐνέλειπες and the following pronomen personale ὁ: it is unclear whether an ‘*ano teleia*’ had been written in this space. Rosa Giannattasio Andria (2003, 16, note 12) suggests that this space might indicate the beginning of a new paragraph.
2. In their collation of this text Lobel and Roberts [= LR](1954) read, in lines 4-5 and 6 the proper name Ζαρεϊναία. I completely agree with Giannattasio Andria (2003) that the text is unmistakably clear and reads Ζαρεϊναία.
3. In lines 13-4 LR omit the phrase ἀλλὰ με ἔρωσ ἀπώλεσεν.
4. In line 20 LR read ὅτω in stead of ὅταν. The former reading would stylistically be thoroughly possible (reiteration, and the construction ὅτω μὲν ..., ὅτω δὲ ...), but the τ and the α are very clear and therefore ὅταν is the appropriate reading.
5. In line 21 LR give οἶονπερ in stead of ὥσπερ: given the space available and the slightly varying width of the letters in the writer’s hand both options are possible. The damage to the first letter, moreover (visible is the lower left part of the letter: a stroke of the pen, rounded at the bottom side; the upper side of the letter has disappeared in a gap, which continues to the right; it is not to be determined whether the next penstroke would have been the finishing of the omicron or the omega), is such that the reading of an ο or an ω are equally possible: I however, like Giannattasio Andria, prefer the latter option, if only because of the clarity of the meaning of the sentence. Stylistically it fits in with the remarks of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (D.H. *Comp.* 10) and Photius (Phot. *Bibl.* [72] 45a5-7) regarding Ctesias’ simple style.
6. The text in the void of line 22 can be supplemented by the intended contradiction between this sentence and line 19: there Stryangaeus writes about ἀγαθὰ, so κ[ακὰ appears the appropriate suppletion for the first part of the void and ἐρ the logical suppletion for]γασάμενος.
7. In the right margin of line 23 a correction is indicated for πρόριζον to be changed into πρόρριζον.
8. For line 24 Lenfant proposes to read ἐξέτριψεν in stead of ἐξέτρεψεν, though the relevant ε is perfectly clear on the papyrus. In the context, however, the verb ἐκτρίβω makes more sense than ἐκτρέπω: hence I support her suggestion

and will use it in the text. After the ‘*ano teleia*’ after ἐξέτριψεν→ἐξέτριψεν appears before τεκμαίρομαι another space, though less wide than the one in line 2. One may wonder, like Giannattasio Andria (2003, 16, note 12) does regarding line 2, whether this space here, too, may indicate the beginning of a (another) new paragraph in Stryangaeus’ letter.

9. The void of four letters in line 29 can be supplemented by the context and looking at Ctesias’ style: especially his characteristic to repeat central notions makes, after δικαιοσύνην in line 28, [δικα]ια a suppletion logical in context and meaning (especially after the preceding μὲν in line 26: after δὲ [ἀδικ]ια would have been the obvious choice).

Though it is only a relatively small fragment, it offers – certainly comparing it with texts transmitted by others, regarding this fragment especially Diodorus of Sicily (2.34.3-6) and Nicholas of Damascus - valuable information regarding style and aims of Ctesias.

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