

LUDWIG KOENEN – WOLFGANG LUPPE – VICTORIA PAGÁN

EXPLANATIONS OF CALLIMACHEAN AITIA

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Explanations of Callimachean αἴτια

P. Mich. inv. 6235
Plate IV

fr. 1 18.5 cm x 7.3 cm
fr. 2 3.2 cm x 2.5 cm

II-III AD
Provenance unknown

P. Mich. inv. 6235 frs. 1 and 2 comprise a subliterary text. The pieces are the right side of one column; a lower margin of 2 cm is preserved in fragment 1. The writing runs against the fibers and may be compared in the formation of its letters to *P. Oxy. 3229*, Hesiod *Erga* which is dated to the middle or later second century AD; but the handwriting of the Michigan papyrus is smaller and less well executed. The letters are regular, formal rounded capitals. The papyrus has no diacritical marks, perhaps with one exception: there seems to be a high stop at the end of line 15 (see note *ad loc.*).¹ Horizontal strokes function as line fillers at the end of lines 5 and 10 of fr. 1 and line 2 of fr. 2.

The utmost right margin of both fragments is slightly thicker than the rest of the papyrus, and there are indications that here was collesis. On the front of the papyrus where the writing runs parallel to the fibres no such indications exist; they would have appeared to the right of the extant fragments.

The text is on the back of a documentary papyrus which yields no information for the date of the piece. But since it preserves a broad upper margin, it may be concluded that the extant first line of the subliterary text on its back is the first, or perhaps the second line of the column. Certainly the back was written in a much more skilled hand than the front; since it is written along the fibers, it is safe to assume it was written first. It is not uncommon that subliterary texts are written on the backs of documents.

I. The Text

fr. 1

		— — — — — — — —
↓	1	]θεν
		] και αλ
		].. απολ
	4	]με[...].ανα
		]μενο[.]ολλω—
		]παρει[.]ιδασφα
		]τιος εγενετο
	8]
		]ν αθηνης εχον
		]λατος απο αιτι—

¹ There might also be a high stop at the end of line 7 (see p. 159, *ad loc.*); but it appears above the line and could be splash of ink.

12	]νεσ επορευοντο]ερ της ελενης]ν αγαμεμνονα]ρους της αρκαδι]ρης ουκ ολιγης·
16	]ν στρατευειν α]ηνα δεκηλσε]νθη φιλω αυ []και μη εως α []ακτων [.]πιτ[
20	]ασεινα[]ον μη[]ν αρκα[
24	]ωτου ξ[(margin)
fr. 2	-----
1	]ανηα]ιου—]εκει
4]... (.)

If fr. 2 belongs provides the line ends for 21-24 (see above), these line ends should be arranged as follows:

24]ασεινα[...]ανηα]ον μη[...]ιου—]ν αρκα[...]εκει]ωτου ξ[...]... (.) (margin)
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fr. 1

3.] . . : of the second letter an oblique stroke is extant; probably]ογ (τ)ὸγ 'Απόλι[λωνα?].

4: the first letter after the lacuna is a vertical stroke;]ίαν is possible.

5: after the lacuna, the rest of the letter before ο suits the second part of π, hence 'Α]πρόλλω[ν-. The line filler after ω shows that the last syllable of this word follows in the next line. The dative -νι, probably also the accusative -να, would have fitted in the space now filled by the line filler, particularly since the last letters could be written in smaller writing (see line 11). Hence -voc rather than -να. The space between]μενο[and 'Α]πρόλλω[ν- would suit]μενο[ν or]μενο[ν.

6: from the letter after ε (rather than θ) the foot of a vertical stroke near to the previous letter is preserved. The letter after the small gap is a vertical stroke. παρει[ς]ι or παρει[α]ι seem to be the most evident possibilities. Thereafter the letters must be divided δ' ἀκα[λ-.

7: one of the obvious possibilities for]τιος is αἴ]τιος. After εγενετο there is a small ink mark well above the line, maybe a high stop. If this could be established, there would be no doubt that a clause, whether

main or subordinate, ends here. Such a dot occurs in only one other instance in this text, and in this case it appears in a clearly lower position at the upper part of the line. In line 7, however, the dot could be a splash of ink.

8: whether this was simply a short line concluding the previous section or a vacant line by which this and the following section are separated, is difficult to decide. See also the preceding note on the possibility of a period at its end.

9-24: Ἀθήνης is an epic form, probably the end of a hexameter (see p. 160); the continuation is again in prose. The implications for the understanding of the nature of the fragment and, in particular, for the interpretation of lines 9-24 will be discussed below (sect. II). There is no punctuation or blank indicating the transition from the quotation of a line of poetry to prose.

10:]λατος or]ματος. Perhaps θεή]λατος (see sect. II, *ad loc.*).

11. επορευοντο: το is written by the same hand in smaller letters indicating either a correction or the scribe's wish to fit the entire word into the line.

13.]γ:]αἰ is also possible.

15]ζη: of the first letter only the right upper part is preserved. At line end, there appears what looks like *τιγμή ἄνω*; see above on line 7.

17.]ηνα δε: (ἦ) Ἀθ]ηνᾶ δ(ἐ) P. van Minnen. After the following κη appears the upper left part of an oblique stroke stretching from the upper right to the lower left; in the lower right part the foot of the same letter is extant: a minute vertical stroke turning, at the bottom slightly to the right. These distinct traces suit λ; cf. the λ of 12 ελενης, where the left leg descending diagonally to the lower left, at the bottom turns slightly to the right (actually, the stroke may have been drawn from the lower left to the upper right); the resulting curve gives the illusion of a short vertical stroke. δ should, however, not be excluded (see 14 αρκοδι, damaged and not very clear).

18:]νθη: aorist passive. After αυ appears what deceptively looks like a blank; it could easily be the space beneath the left horizontal of τ (now broken off). See below sect. II.

19. εωc: above the ε appears what, if it is ink, is of slightly different color than the original scribe's ink and could be interpreted as an acute accent.

20.]ακτων: not ἄν]ακτων, as this is a poetic word; probably ἄγαν]ακτων, then [ἐ]πὶ τ[.

21: probably εἶνα[ι.

fr. 2

Since traces of what seems to have been collesis appear on the right edge of fragments 1 and 2 (see above, p. 157), both should come from the same column. The placement of fragment 2 containing the end of lines at the top of the extant column (fr. 1) is precluded by the fact that the surface color of the two fragments in this area is quite different. Moreover, the writing on the front side of fr. 2 should not be placed where the front side of fr. 1 displays a broad upper margin (see p. 157). Fr. 2 could, however, fit in the right lower corner of the column where, in fr. 1, a piece with the text of the line ends is broken off (21-24). In the area, the matching color of the papyrus is also persuasive too.

1: This could be an ending of an hexameter]α νῆα, but]ανη ᾶ- (ἐφ]ᾶνη?), or]αν ῆ ᾶ- are possible word divisions no less convenient.

2:] ιου: the first letter is either α or λ. This is surely the ending of a word.

3: Perhaps ἐκεῖ, or ἐκεῖ[-.

II. Kallimachos' Aitia and Athena's Statue in Theuthis

At fr. 1.9 a new section begins in which first a hexametric line ending with Ἀθήνης, a lemma, is quoted and then followed by what seems to be a prose explanation or commentary. Any further restoration depends on knowing the length of the lines.

As it is, we have only the right portion of a column. But there are some clues at least: at line 10-11 we read ἀπὸ αἰτί[α]. In the next line, οἱ Ἑλλη]νες ἐπορεύοντο is sure. The imperfect shows that the action is on-going, therefore this is probably part of a subordinate clause. In the context of the following mention of Helen and Agamemnon, the action of the main clause occurred, *when the Greeks were on their way to Troy*. ἀπὸ αἰτί[α] τοιαύτης may then be the beginning of an explanatory story.² If this is right, then we can approximate the length of lines 11-12:

ἀπὸ αἰτί-
α· τοιαύτης· ἐπειδὴ οἱ Ἑλλη]νες ἐπορεύοντο
ἐπὶ Τροίαν πολεμήκοντες ὑπ]ὲρ τῆς Ἑλένης

The length of these lines would then be 34 or 35 letters, with 22 and 23 letters broken off at the left of the extant text. This line length approximates that of a hexameter. For instance, the two hexameters of the *Iliad* ending with -ν Ἀθήνης (*Iliad* 10.497 and 15.412) have 32 or 33 letters. Therefore we suppose the lemma ending with -]ν Ἀθήνης was a complete hexameter. After the deduction of the four following letters (εχονι) from the total line length of 34 or 35 letters, the hexameter quoted in the lemma would contain about 30 letters. Since, however, ekthesis of the lemma is likely, the line should contain even one or two letters more, and thus come very close to the line length of the hexameters just mentioned.

Athena (in the lemma and probably again in line 17 in the expected Attic form), Helen (12), Agamemnon (13), the land of the Arcadians (14 and 23), and the occurrence of the verb στρατεύειν (line 17) all indicate an episode broadly situated at the time when the Greeks set out for Troy. The only extant story combining these elements is told by Pausanias (8.28.4-6):

- 4 Τῆ χώρᾳ δὲ τῆ Θεικόᾳ προσεχῆς κώμη Τεῦθίς ἐστι· πάλαι δὲ ἦν πόλις ἡ
Τεῦθίς. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἴλιῳ ἰδίᾳ παρείχοντο οἱ ἐνταῦθα
ἡγεμόνα· ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῷ Τεῦθιν, οἱ δὲ Ὀρνυτόν φασι εἶναι. ὡς δὲ τοῖς
Ἑλλήσιν οὐκ ἐγένετο ἐπίφορα ἐξ Αὐλίδος πνεύματα, ἀλλὰ ἄνεμος σφᾶς
5 βίαιος ἐπὶ χρόνον εἶχεν ἐγκλείσας, ἀφίκετο ὁ Τεῦθίς Ἀγαμέμνονι ἐς ἀπέχθει-
αν καὶ ὀπίσω τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ὧν ἦρχεν ἀπάξειν ἔμελλεν ἐνταῦθα Ἀθη-
νᾶν λέγουσι Μέλανι τῷ Ὀππος εἰκασμένην ἀποτρέπειν τῆς ὁδοῦ Τεῦθιν τῆς
οἴκαδε· ὁ δὲ, ἅτε οἰδοῦντος αὐτῷ τοῦ θυμοῦ, παίει τὴν θεὸν τῷ δόρατι ἐς
τὸν μηρόν, ἀπήγαγε δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Αὐλίδος ὀπίσω τὸν στρατόν. ἀναστρέ-
ψας δὲ ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν, τὴν θεὸν ἔδοξεν αὐτὴν τετρωμένην φανῆναί οἱ τὸν
6 κᾶδων τοῖς ἐνταῦθα οὐκ ἀπεδίδου καρπὸν οὐδένα ἢ γῆ. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστε-
ρον ἄλλα τε ἐχρήσθη σφίσι ἐκ Δωδώνης, ὅποια δρῶντες ἰλάσασθαι τὴν θε-

² For the expression ἀπὸ αἰτίας τοιαύτης, see Ps.-Plut. *de fluviis* 19.3.1 and Eustath. *ad B* 732 (van der Valk 1.517.9).

plain why there is no punctuation or space after the lemma and before the explanation (see sect. I *ad loc.*). Then the subject of the lemma must be the Arcadians (suffering hunger), and the object of ἔχοντες may be ἀκαρπίαν or φθοράν. Perhaps in this verse the story of the statue made in honor of Athene was told, as elsewhere Kallimachos referred to Athena's statue in Lindos (fr. 100.3 quoted above, p. 161). Thus we propose ἔχον[τες ἀκαρπίαν· φθορὰ γὰρ ἦν θεή]λατος, with 24 letters supplemented.

13-15:]ης looks like the ending of a feminine participle, and οὔ]ης seems to be the simplest and best solution. Probably at this point the home town of the special Arcadian contingent under the leadership of Teuthis/Ornytos was mentioned and described in terms similar to what we read in Pausanias (8.24.4, quoted above, p. 161).

It seems that after τῆς Ἀρκαδί[α an appositive to Τευθίδος follows: τῆς Ἀρκαδί[α - - πόλεως οὔ]ης οὐκ ὀλίγη. According to Pausanias one expects to find a remark that the town was *once* not small. τῆς Ἀρκαδί[α ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ πόλεως οὔ]ης οὐκ ὀλίγη gives 24 letters before the η of οὔ]ης standing under the ν of Ἑλλη]γες (see above, line 11). The name of the town therefore was placed in the previous line, evidently in connection with a mountain (ὄ]ρους). Anything like Τευθίς ὑπὸ—name of the mountain—ὄ]ρους seems possible. The leader's name may have stood at the beginning of line 13, corresponding with Pausanias' ἀφίκετο ὁ Τευθίς Ἀγαμέμνονι ἐς ἀπέχθειαν and connecting his name with the place. Thus we propose: [Ἵ]ορνυτός τις ἀπήχθετο πρὸς τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα | [ἐκ Τευθίδος ὧν ὑπὸ - - - ὄ]ρους. There are 24 supplemented letters in line 13, and 16 letters plus about 8 letters for the name of the mountain in line 14. Of course the name of the leader could also be here Τευθίς, identical to the name of the town, as in Pausanias. We should expect the article before Ἀγαμέμνονα |, given τῆς Ἑλένης (line 12).

16f.: The infinitive στρατεύειν, respecting Pausanias' καὶ ὀπίσω τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ὧν ἤρχεν ἀπάξειν ἔμελλεν, will depend on an expression for "refuse". This verb of refusal probably immediately followed the infinitive. Hence, the verb was probably compound, beginning with α. These criteria can be met by, e.g., ἀν[ή]νετο, possibly followed by something like μετὰ τῶν ἐτέρων. The verb may have been preceded by a further reference to Ornytos/Teuthis' anger, e.g. καὶ τούτου ἡγουμένου μηδέ]ν στρατεύειν ἀν[ή]νετο, with 22 letters supplied in line 16. Or, if the author construed the infinitive depending on ἀν[ή]νετο without negation, he could have stressed the fact (implied in the story and mentioned by Pausanias) that Ornytos/Teuthis was not a common person refusing to participate in the war, but a leader of the town's contingent: e.g. [καὶ σὺν τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν ὧν ἤρχε]ν, with 23 supplemented letters.

17f.: ἐκήληξε is the only prosaic verb that suits the traces and renders sense, although Pausanias does not mention the detail of Athene "beguiling" the soldiers of Ornytos/Teuthis: τοὺς ὑπ' Ἵ]ορνύτῳ (at the beginning of the next line). She tried, however, ἀποτρέπειν τῆς ὁδοῦ Τευθίν τῆς οἴκαδε.

18f.: Since Pausanias tells that Athene appeared, it seems very probable that]νθη at this particular point is part of ἐφάνθη. The regular Attic prose form in the intransitive sense would be, of course, ἐφάνη and this differentiation of the two passive aorists continued in the koine (see also *ad* 21). But sometimes we find the -θη formation instead of -η, for example in the case of a appearance of a goddess in *PGM* 11a.14 (ca. 4th cent.): εὐχαριστῶ [co]ι, κυρία, ὅτι μοι ἐφάνθης. The fact that Athene appeared could not happen *after* she beguiled the soldiers. It is therefore impossible to connect this clause with δὲ or καί. The best solution is a parenthetical γάρ clause: e.g. - - - γὰρ ἐφά]νθη.

Pausanias gives only the name of the man whose guise Athene assumed: Μέλανι τῷ Ὠπὸς εἰκασμένην, without explaining his relationship to Ornytos. The latter, however, is important for the story, and it evidently appears in our text: e.g. φίλω ἀν[τοῦ εἰκασμένη (for ἀν[τ- see sect. I *ad loc.*). It is appropriate that Ornytos/Teuthis should have been opposed by a friend: this would account for his anger all the more. On the other hand, we would also expect the name of this friend of Ornytos/Teuthis. If the name was mentioned, the only space available is before ἐφά]νθη: Μέλανι γὰρ ἐφά]νθη (this would bring the restoration of line 18 to 24 letters). Admittedly, the phrase is ambiguous as the reader will have to connect this dative with εἰκασμένη. But there would be no real ambiguity since the author has made it already clear that Athene spoke to the soldiers and, therefore, has appeared to them.

lines 19f.:]καὶ μὴ ἕως ἄν ["and (she is advising?) not to do before". What Ornytos/Teuthis and his soldiers should not do is to return now, before the conquest of Troy. But as καὶ μὴ shows, she is not only dissuading them, but persuading them, namely, to remain with the rest of the army. The Greek words giving the required length may be ὁμονοεῖν λέγουσα] καὶ μὴ ἕως ἄν [Τροίῃ ἀλω(τι) ἐπανελθεῖν, with altogether 22 letters supplemented in the left part of line 19.

20f.: ἀγαν]ακτῶν (see sect. I *ad loc.*), easily falls in with the story told by Pausanias: ὁ δὲ ἄτε οἰδοῦντος αὐτῷ τοῦ θυμοῦ – – –: *e.g.* ὁ δ(ὲ) ἀγαν]ακτῶν [ἐ]πὶ τ[ῷ (or τ[ῆ] – – –, with about 22 letters altogether supplemented at the beginning of this line. The dative, of course, then refers to the opponent's action, for example: [ἐ]πὶ τ[ῆ] περιεργίᾳ (with the word separation respecting the length of the lines).

21: We know from Pausanias that Ornytos/Teuthis does not realize that the counsellor is really Athene; If fr. 2 provides the end of the line, εἶνα[ι depends on ἐφ]άνη, i.e. the goddess appears to be something what she is not. This leads to the following suggestion: 20f. [ἐ]πὶ τ[ῆ] περιεργίᾳ ταύτης ἢ αὐτῷ Μέλα]α εἶνα[ι ἐφ]άνη (on the left, a supplement of 21 letters). The mention of Melas presumes that his name occurred earlier in the story (see *ad* 18f.).

21f.: Pausanias does not tell us which of Athena's thighs, and precisely where it was wounded (παίει τὴν θεὸν τῷ δόρατι ἐκ τὸν μηρόν). 22 seems to be μη[ρόν. This leaves little room before]_ιου of fr. 2; λ]αῖοῦ is promising: *e.g.* ἀ[κοντίῳ ἔπαιεον εἰς τὸν δέξι]ον μη[ρόν λ]αῖοῦ | [ἐκ μέρος (the first part of 23 is thus filled with 22 letters).

23f.: the mention of Ἄρκα[δίαν indicates that the story now turn to the return of the troops of Ornytos/Teuthis to Arcadia: καὶ ὅπῃ εἰς τὴν Ἄρκα[δίαν] ἐκεῖ[νον ἀπήγαγεν (this brings the supplement of the first part of 23 to 21 letters).

To sum up, we provide here our *exempli gratia* restoration in toto:

		]θεν
		] καὶ ἄλ-
	[λ-	τ]ὸν Ἄπολ-
4	[λωνα	]με[...]ίαν ἀ-
		]μένο[υ Ἄ]πόλλω-
	[νοσ ( ?)	] παρει[]ι δ' ἀσφα-
	[λ -	αἴ]τιος ἐγένετο·
8	[]
		]ν Ἀθήνης ἔχον-
	[τες ἀκαρπίαν· φθορὰ γὰρ ἦν θεή]λατος ἀπὸ αἰτί-	
	[ασ τοιαύτης· ἐπειδὴ οἱ Ἑλλη]νες ἐπορεύοντο	
12	[ἐπὶ Τροίαν πολεμήσοντες ὑπ]ὲρ τῆς Ἑλένης,	
	["Ορνυτός τις ἀπήχθετο πρὸς τὸ]ν Ἀγαμέμνονα	
	[ἐκ Τευθίδος ὦν ὑπὸ -name- ὄ]ρους τῆς Ἀρκαδί-	
	[ακ, ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ πόλεως οὐ]ς οὐκ ὀλίγη	
16	[καὶ τούτου ἡγουμένου μηδὲ]ν ⁴ στρατεύειν ἀν-	
	[ήνετο μετὰ τῶν ἐτέρων. ἢ Ἀθ]ηνᾶ δ' ἐκλή]ψε	
	[τοὺς ὑπ' Ὀρνύτῳ—Μέλανι γὰρ ἐφά]νθη φίλῳ αὐ[τοῦ εἰ-]	

⁴ For an alternative suggestion based on Pausanias' text see above, p. 159 *ad loc.*: *e.g.* [καὶ σὺν τοῖς Ἄρκακιν ὦν ἦρχε]ν,

20 [κακμένη—όμονοεῖν λέγουσα] καὶ μὴ ἕως ἂν [Τροί-]
 [α ἀλῶ ἐπανελθεῖν. ὁ δ' ἄγαν]ακτῶν [ἐ]πὶ τ[ῆ] πε-
 [ριεργία ταύτης ἢ αὐτῶ Μέλ]ακ εἶνα[ι ἐφ]άνη ἀ-
 [κοντίῳ ἔπαισε εἰς τὸν δέξι]ον μη[ρὸν λ]αίου
 24 [ἐκ μέρους καὶ ὀπίω εἰς τῆ]ν Ἄρκα[δίαν] ἐκεῖ-
 [νους ἀπήγαγεν.]ωτου ξ[.....]... (.)

The narration, of course, did not end here. We know from Pausanias that after the return of Teuthis' citizens, devastating disease and suffering from famine followed. Then an oracle from Dodona was delivered to them telling how to appease the goddess: they were to make an image of Athene with a wound in the thigh.

Most likely the lemma told that the inhabitants of Teuthis made such a statue (see above), just as in fr. 100.3 f Pf. (*Aitia*): ὦδε γὰρ ἰδρύνοντο θεοὺς τότε· καὶ γὰρ Ἀθήνης ἰ ἐν Λίνδῳ Δαναὸς λιτὸν ἔθηκεν ἔδος. The verse referring to the statue will have stood at the end of the episode which Kallimachos begins at *SH* 276.12-15 (see above). Only when Kallimachos mentions the statue, does the commentator explain its aition. Thus he will doubtless have repeated what Kallimachos himself had already told.

It is also astonishing that in the previous chapter of our papyrus a story about Apollo is told; however, we do not find anything of this in the 12 verses preceding the passage on the statue of Athene. One solution would be to accept that our papyrus is not a line by line commentary of the *Aitia* but restricts its scope to lines mentioning an αἴτιον. Accordingly, the expressions αἴτιος ἐγένετο and ἀπὸ αἰτί[α]ς τοιαύτης are welcome restorations. If this proposal is right, then individual lemmata may come from different and, even if the commentator followed the order of the poem, separated locations. Thus Kallimachos may have told the αἴτιον of the Apollo episode before *SH* 276; but it also possible that the Apollo story in some way was intertwined with Athene/Teuthis. Be that as it may, it is clear that the new lemma ending]ν Ἀθήνης belongs to the part of the *Aitia* covered by *SH* 276.

Ann Arbor
 Ann Arbor and Halle
 Ann Arbor

L. Koenen
 Wolfgang Luppe
 Victoria Pagán

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CORRIGENDUM

ZPE 88,1991,164, Z.21 des Texts: die eckige Klammer am Ende der Zeile ist zu tilgen.



P.Mich.inv.no. 6235: explanations of Callimachean $\alpha\acute{\iota}\tau\iota\alpha$