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POxy XXX 2513: IPHIGENIA IN THE CORINTHIACA OF EUMELUS

Abstract

In a previous essay (Debiasi 2003) I perused an epic fragment, preserved in *POxy* LIII 3698, containing hexameters of Argonautic subject, which I argued to be early, by providing some pieces of evidence for an attribution to the *Corinthiaca* of Eumelus of Corinth. *POxy* LIII 3698 presents both an appearance and palaeographic characteristics corresponding to those of *POxy* XXX 2513 (edited by Lobel 1964, 13-15) similarly consisting of remnants of hexameters featuring an Homeric tincture. *POxy* LIII 3698 proves to be “written in the same hand as XXX 2513 and apparently from the same manuscript... the physical appearance of the two fragments is so similar as to leave little doubt that they are parts of one and the same manuscript, one would guess from the same vicinity” (Haslam 1986, 10-15).

POxy XXX 2513 has been investigated by Janko 1982, who recognized in the fragment a scene of the sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis and traced it back tentatively to the cyclic epic *Cypria*. Such ascription needs to be revised in the light of the apparent belonging of the lines in *POxy* LIII 3698 to the *Corinthiaca*: from this perspective an equal attribution of *POxy* XXX 2513 to Eumelus’ epic is the most economical and advisable approach by far. The figure of Iphigenia fits very well in the genealogical frame informing the *Corinthiaca*, in which the daughter of Agamemnon and Clytaemestra must be a descendant of the ruler of Corinth Sisyphus, since in Eumelus’ poem Sisyphus’ son Glaucus is Iphigenia’s great-grandfather, being the natural father of Clytaemestra’s mother Leda (Eum. fr. 7 Bernabé = *Cor.* fr. 8 Davies = fr. 25 West). The Trojan saga, with its premises and developments turns out to be meaningful for Eumelus, who cannot have neglected it in his ‘Corinthian Epic Cycle’ (West 2002; cf. Debiasi 2004 and 2005). Based on some textual parallelisms with passages from Euripides’ *Iphigenia in Aulis* and *Iphigenia in Tauris*, as well as from Lycophron (*Alex.* 183-201) and Nonnus of Panopolis (*Dion.* 13.104-119), a reading of *POxy* XXX 2513 will be offered, which considers not only the episode of Iphigenia at Aulis but also the development where Iphigenia moves to Tauris and becomes a priestess sacrificing strangers. I will also point out a few analogies, both formal and thematic, between *POxy* LIII 3698 and *POxy* XXX 2513, as well as some parallelisms and common denominators – first of all the Pontic background, of paramount interest to Eumelus – between the Argonautic saga involving Medea and Jason and the vicissitudes of Iphigenia and Orestes.

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1) *POxy* XXX 2513 (tabulation by R. Janko, *ZPE* 49, 1982, 28-29; emphasis on the median caesura):

4 || Πηληλιάδη[˘˘ — —
 * * *

7 ||]θεοὺς π[˘˘ — ˘˘ — —
 8]c || θρη(ι)κῶ[ν ˘˘ — ˘˘ — —
 * * *

11 — ˘˘ — ˘˘ —]δε || μελαιν[— — ˘˘ — —
 12 — ˘˘ — ˘˘ —]εν || αγαιομ[˘ — ˘˘ — —
 13 — ˘˘ — ˘˘ —] || ὁ μὲν εὐφ[ημι — ˘˘ — —
 14 — ˘˘ Ἴφιγέ]νεια || βαρ(ε)ί[. [— — ˘˘ — —
 15 — ˘ ἐ]ϋπλ[όχ]αμος || δολιχ[
 16 — ˘˘ — ˘˘]ἦετ[ο || ἄν]αξ ἀνδροῶ[ν Ἄγαμέμνων
 17 — ˘˘ — ˘˘]ηνδ[ε || χ]ιτωνα[ς . [˘˘ — ˘˘ — —
 18 — ˘˘ — ˘˘]βών[. .]μήτ' ἀκα[— ˘˘ — —
 19 — ˘˘ —]. νηλ[ῆ]c || ταμ[ί]ης π[ολέμοιο ˘ — —
 * * *

22 — ˘˘ —] γαίηι || δυ[ς]χειμέρω[ι — ˘˘ — —
 23 — ˘˘ — ˘˘ —] . . ον || ἔμαρψ[ε] φιλ[— ˘˘ — —
 24 — ˘˘]εσ cῖτον || . . . [.] . cιτι[ς — —
 25 — ˘ κασίγ]νητοι || σφέτε[ρ]οι δ[˘˘ — ˘˘ — —
 26 — ˘˘ — ˘]πνοη[ι || καὶ Ἄρ]γείη[
 27 — ˘˘ —]ν μεθ' ὄμιλον || [
 * * *

29 — ˘˘ —]. κεφαλήν || ςυν[
 30]γ [] .ε || πεσεῖν ε[
 31 || ἡ]γήτορες ἠδ[ὲ μέδοντες
 32 || c]τιβαρῆς ἐχο[— ˘˘ — —

Further remarkable readings:

- 3 χέρ]νιβα(c?) Janko
- 6 ἐν] πυρ[Lobel

2) *Schol. ad Apoll. Rhod.* 1.146-149a = *Eum. fr.* 7 Bernabé = *Cor. fr.* 8 Davies = fr. 25 West

Γλαύκου δὲ αὐτὴν (Leda) τοῦ Κιεύφου εἶναι πατρὸς ἐν Κορινθιακοῖς λέγει Εὐμηλος καὶ Παντειδυίας μητρός, ἱστορῶν ὅτι τῶν ἵππων ἀπολομένων ἦλθεν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ὁ Γλαῦκος καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐμίγη Παντειδυία· ἦν ὕστερον γήμασθαι Θεστίῳ φασὶ (v.l. φησὶ) (καὶ τεκεῖν) τὴν Λήδαν, γόνῳ μὲν οὖσαν Γλαύκου, λόγῳ δὲ Θεστίου.

3) *Favorin. Corinth.* 14 = *Eum. fr.* 8 Bernabé = *Cor. fr.* 12 Davies = fr. 22* West

καὶ γὰρ τοὶ καὶ ἀγῶνα πρῶτον ἐνταυθοῖ τεθηγαί φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν δύο θεῶν, καὶ νικῆσαι Κάστορα μὲν ἐτάδιον... πυγμὴν Πολυδεύκης...

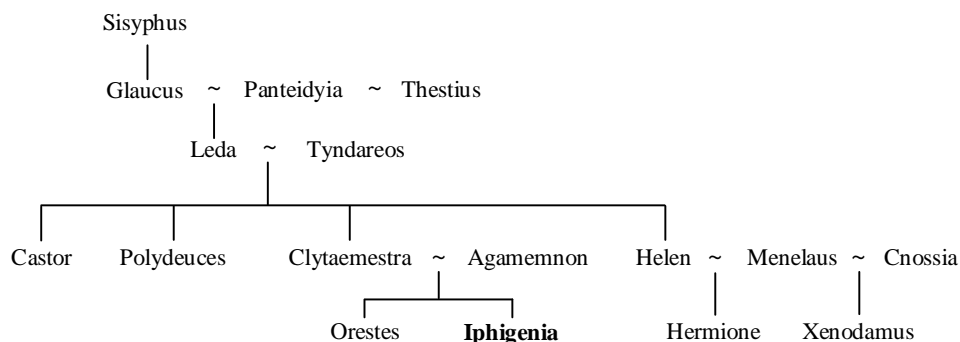
4a) *Apollod. Bibl.* 3.11.1 = *Eum. fr.* 9 Bernabé = *Cor. fr.* 9 Davies = fr. 33 West (*incertae sedis*)

Μενέλαος μὲν οὖν ἐξ Ἑλένης Ἐρμιόνην ἐγέννησε... ἐκ Κνωσσίας δὲ νύμφης κατὰ Εὐμηλον Ξενόδαμον.

4b) *Apollod. epit.* 3.3

ἐφ' ἡμέρας δ' ἑννέα ξενιθεῖς (Alexander/Paris) παρὰ Μενελάῳ, τῆι δεκάτῃ δὲ πορευθέντος εἰς Κρήτην ἐκεῖνου κηδεῦσαι τὸν μητροπάτορα Κατρεά, πείθει τὴν Ἑλένην ἀπαγαγεῖν σὺν ἑαυτῷ.

Genealogical Table



5) Pind *Ol.* 13.49-60

ἐγὼ δὲ ἴδιος ἐν κοινῶι σταλείς
50 μῆτιν τε γαρῶν παλαιγόνων
πόλεμόν τ' ἐν ἡρωϊαῖς ἀρεταῖσιν
οὐ ψεύσομ' ἀμφὶ Κορίνθωι, Cίκυφον
μὲν πυκνότατον παλάμαις ὡς θεόν,
καὶ τὰν πατρὸς ἀντία Μή-
δειαν θεμέναν γάμον αὐτᾶι,
ναὶ κώτειραν Ἄργοϊ καὶ προπόλοισ·

55 τὰ δὲ καὶ ποτ' ἐν ἀλκᾶι
πρὸ Δαρδάνου τειχέων ἐδόκησαν
ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω μαχᾶν τάμνειν τέλος,
τοὶ μὲν γένει φίλωι σὺν Ἄτρειος
Ἑλέναν κομίζοντες, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ πάμπαν
60 εἴργοντες·...

6) *Schol.* Pind. *Ol.* 13.74f = Eum. fr. 3, 6-8 Bernabé = *Cor.* fr. 2, 6-8 Davies = fr. 17, 6-8 West

Αἰήτης δ' ἄρ' ἐκὼν Βούνοι παρέδωκε φυλάσσειν,
εἰς ὃ κεν αὐτὸς ἴκοιτ' ἢ ἐξ αὐτοῖό τις ἄλλος,
ἢ παῖς ἢ υἱωνός· ὃ δ' ἴκετο Κολχίδα γαῖαν.

7) *Schol.* Apoll. Rhod. 2.946-954c = Eum. fr. 10 Bernabé = *Cor.* fr. 7 Davies = fr. 29 West

πόλις τοῦ Πόντου ἢ Cινώπη, ὠνομασμένη ἀπὸ τῆς Ἄσωποῦ θυγατρὸς Cινώπης, ἣν ἀρπάσας Ἄπόλλων ἀπὸ Ἑγρίας ἐκόμισεν εἰς Πόντον... ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς Ἄρεως καὶ Αἰγίνης γενεαλογεῖται, κατὰ δέ τινας Ἄρεως καὶ Παρνάσσης, κατ' Εὐμηλον καὶ Ἀριετοτέλην Ἄσωποῦ.

8) Eum. fr. 17 Bernabé = fr. dub. 2 Davies = fr. 35 West

ἀλλ' Εὐμηλος μὲν ὁ Κορίνθιος τρεῖς φησὶν εἶναι Μούσας θυγατέρας Ἄπόλλωνος· Κηφισοῦν, Ἄπολλωνίδα, Βορυσθενίδα.

9) Lycophr. *Alex.* 183-201:

οἱ δ' αὖ προγεννήτειραν οὐλαμωνύμου
βύκταιι χειρὶψαντες ὤμηται πόριν,
185 τοῦ Κυρίου δράκοντος ἔντοκον λεχώ,
ἦν ὁ ξύνεννος Καλυμδησίας ἀλός
ἐντὸς μαντεύων, Ἑλλάδος καρατόμον,
δαρὸν φαληριῶσαν οἰκῆσει επίλον
Κέλτρου πρὸς ἐκβολαῖσι λιμναίων ποτῶν,
190 ποθῶν δάμαρτα, τήν ποτ' ἐν σφαγαῖς κεμάς
λαιμὸν προθεῖσα φαργάνων ἐκ ῥύρεται.
βαθὺς δ' ἔσω ῥηγμῖνος αὐδηθήσεται
ἔρημος ἐν κρόκαιι νυμφίου δρόμος,
στένοντος ἄτας καὶ κενὴν ναυκληρίαν
195 καὶ τὴν ἄφαντον εἶδος ἠλλοιωμένην
Γραῖαν σφαγείων ἠδὲ χειρὶβων πέλας
Ἄιδου τε παφλάζοντος ἐκ βυθῶν φλογὶ
κρατῆρος, ὃν μέλαινα ποιφύξει φθιτῶν
σάρκας λεβητίζουσα δαιταλουργίαι.
200 Χῶ μὲν πατήρει χῶρον αἰάζων Κυθήν,
εἰς πέντε που πλειῶνας ἰμείρων λέχους.

Cf. *Alex.* 323-325:

σὲ δ' ὠμὰ πρὸς νυμφεῖα καὶ γαμηλίους
ἄξει θυηλὰς στυγνὸς Ἴφιδος λέων,
325 μητρὸς κελαινῆς χέρονιβας μιμούμενος.

10) Nonn. *Dion.* 13.104-119:

οἷ τ' ἔχον ἀγρομένων ξεινηδόκον οὔδας Ἀχαιῶν,
105 Αὐλίδα πετροήεσσαν, ἐδέθλιον Ἰοχεαίρης,
ἦχι θεὰ βαρῦμητις ὄρεσσανύλωι παρὰ βωμῶι
δέκτο θυηπολίην ψευδήμονος Ἰφιγενείης,
καὶ κεμάς οὐρεσίφοιτος ἀμεμφεῖ καίετο πυρσῶι,

- ἀρπαμένης νόθον εἶδος ἀληθέος Ἴφιγενείης,
 110 ἦν Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐκόμισσε δολοπλόκος ὡς Ἀχιλλῆος
 ἐσσομένην πρὸ μόθοιο παρευνέτιν, ἔνθεν ἀκούει
 Αὐλὶς ἀνυμφεύτοιο γαμοστόλος Ἴφιγενείης,
 ὀλκάκι δ' Ἀργείων ἐπεκύρισε πομπὸς ἀήτης
 ἄψοφα μαστίζων ἐχενήιδος ἄκρα γαλήνης,
 115 νεβροφόνω βασιλῆι φέρων παλινάγρετον αὖρην,
 κούρη δ' ὄψε μολοῦσα μετάρσιος ἐς χθόνα Ταύρων
 φρικτὰ κακοξείνων ἐδιδάσκετο θεσμὰ λεβήτων,
 ἀνέρα δαιτρεύουσα, καὶ ἀνδροφόνω παρὰ βομῶι
 γνωτὸν ἀλιπτοίητον ἀνεζώγησεν Ὀρέετην.

11) Hyg. *fab.* 261:

Iphigenia... cognovit fratrem Orestem, qui... cum amico Pylade Colchos petierat

For Hyginus drawing on Eumelus cf. Hyg. *fab.* 183 = *Titan.* fr. 7 (II) Bernabé = fr. 4^B Davies = Eum. fr. 11 West; *fab.* 275.6 = Eum. fr. 1 (II) Bernabé; *fab.* 150, on which, see West 2002, 113; *fab.* 273.10-11, on which, see Debiasi 2005, 54-55.

Some notes on POxy XXX 2513

3 χέϛ]νιβα[(c?) Janko, based on Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 1568-1569 (sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis)

ὁ παῖς δ' ὁ Πηλέως ἐν κύκλωι βομὸν θεᾶς
 λαβὼν κανοῦν ἔβρεξε χέρνιβάς θ' ὁμοῦ.

But cf. also Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 622 and 644-645 (Iphigenia sacrificing among the Tauroi: dialogue with Orestes)

- 622 οὐκ, ἀλλὰ χαίτην ἀμφὶ σὴν χερνίφομαι
 644 κατολοφύρομαι σὲ τὸν χερνίβων
 ῥάνιαι μελόμενον αἵμακταῖς..

Lycophr. *Alex.* 196 and 325 (Iphigenia sacrificing among the Tauroi)

- 196 σφαγαίων ἠδὲ χερνίβων πέλας
 325 μητρὸς κελαινῆς χέρνιβας μιμούμενος

4 Πηληλιάδη[(c?) Janko (tentatively, since “Ἰαδη[will admit numerous supplements” and Πηληλιάδης is always genitive in Homer).

Cf. the pivotal motif of the wedding between Achilles and Helen in Eur. *Iph. Aul.* and *Iph. Taur.*; Nonn. *Dion.* 13.110-112; and especially Lycophr. *Alex.* 186-194 and 200-201 (wanderings of Achilles searching in vain Helen through Scythia and the Black Sea).

6 ἐν] πυρ[Lobel

Janko refers to Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 1606 (sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis)

ἐν Ἡφαίστου φλογί,

and *Iph. Taur.* 16 and 26 (sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis)

16 ἐς ἔμπυρ' ἦλθε

26 ὑπὲρ πυρᾶς

But cf. also Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 625-626 and 1154-1155 (Iphigenia sacrificing among the Tauroi)

625 (Ορ.) τάφος δὲ ποῖος δέξεταιί μ' , ὅταν θάνω;

(Ιφ.) πῦρ ἱερὸν ἔνδον χάσμα τ' εὐρωπὸν πέτρας

1154-1155 (Θόας) ... ἤδη τῶν ξένων κατήρξατο;

ἀδύτοις ἐν ἀγνοῖς σῶμα λάμπονται πυρί;

Lycophr. *Alex.* 197-198 (Iphigenia sacrificing among the Tauroi: boiling cauldron)

Ἄιδου τε παφλάζοντος ἐκ βυθῶν φλογὶ

κρατῆρος...

8 Θρη(ι)κῶ[ν

Winds from Thrace? Janko, thinking of the sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis.

But cf. also the wider meaning of Thrace/Thracian = Scythian, Pontic; see Lycophr. *Alex.* 186-187

ἦν ὁ ξύνευνος Καλυδονίης ἀλός

ἐντὸς μαντεύων...

and *schol. ad loc.*: Καλυμνησὶ δὲ ποταμὸς Θρᾷκης.

Cf. G.W.Mooney *ad loc.*: “The Salmydesian sea was the W. part of the Euxine, here the Euxine generally”.

11 δεμελαιν[“ought to contain part of μέλαινα, but whether this refers to black fate or black sea is uncertain” (Janko).

But cf. also Lycophr. *Alex.* 198 and 325 where Iphigenia (sacrificing) is defined μέλαινα, and κελαινὴ respectively.

Cf. the archaic assimilation of Iphigenia with Hecate: Hes. fr. 23b M.-W.; Stesich. *PMG* fr. 215 Page = *PMGF* p. 209 Davies.

22 δυ[ε]χειμέρω[ι Lobel.

“In the context, we need... Tauri, to which this epithet could certainly apply” (Janko).

Cf. Herod 4.28 (land of the Scythians/Tauroi) δυσχείμερος δὲ αὐτῆ ἢ καταλεχθεῖσα πᾶσα χώρα οὕτω δὴ τί ἐστι...

23]..ον ἔμαρψ[ε] φιλ[η]ς (ἀπὸ πατρίδος αἴης)?

“Of Iphigenia’s transfer to a barbarous land?” (Janko).

25 κασίγνητοι φέτε[ρ]οι δ.[Lobel.

Janko: “There seems no place for these brothers in the apotheosis of Iphigeneia”.

If our text belongs to the *Corinthiaca* the apotheosis of Iphigenia (mentioned in the *Cypria*) is not longer a requirement.

In such a context the κασίγνητοι may be

- either Iphigenia and Orestes (cf. Hes. fr. 280.21 M.-W.: Peirithous and Persephones κασίγνητοι: brother/sister); cf. Nonn. *Dion.* XIII 119
- or Orestes and Pilades: cf. κασίγνητος = “cousin” in more general sense (M. Schmidt, s.v. κασίγνητος, in *LfgreE* XIV 1991, 1340-1344).

26 πνοη(ι)αι καὶ Ἀργείη-

Janko: “Winds and Argive Ships?”.

Cf. also Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 1394-1395 (and 1412-1413)

δεινὸς γὰρ ἐλθὼν ἄνεμος ἐξαίφνης νεῶς
ὥθεϊ παλίμπρουμν’ ἰστί’...

concerning the “Hellene ship” (*Iph. Taur.* 1292, 1345, 1424-1425) used by Orestes, Pilades, and Iphigenia fleeing the land of the Tauroi.

Cf. *POxy* LIII 3698.8 πνοιῆι ὑπ’ αἰζηῶϊ

Possibly a mention of an adverse wind impeding the sailing of the ship Argos (cf. *POxy* LIII 3698.25: γῆα εὐ[cc]ελμον and 30: νη]ὸς ἐπ[ὶ γ]λαφυρῆς), with Mopsus revealing the measures necessary to achieve a cessation:

cf. *Apoll. Rhod.* 1.1092 ff. (drawing likely from Eumelus)

- 1092 Αἰκονίδη, χρεῖά σε τόδ’ ἱερὸν εἰκονιόντα
Δινδύμου ὀκρῖόντος ἐύθρονον ἰλάσασθαι
Μητέρα συμπάντων μακάρων, λήξουσι δ’ ἄλλαι
ζαχρηῖς...
- 1098 ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἄνεμοί τε θάλασά τε νειόθι τε χθὼν
πᾶσα πεπεῖρανται νιφόν θ’ ἔδος Οὐλύμποιο.

29 κεφαλὴν

Likely the head of the victim.

Cf. *Herod.* 103.1-2 (description of Taurian sacrificial rituals) κατάρα εὐξάμενοι ῥοπάλοι παίουσι τὴν κεφαλὴν... τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυροῦσι

Eur. Iph. Taur. 621 and 623 (Orestes asking Iphigenia)

- 621 αὐτὴ ξίφει θύουσα θῆλυς ἄρκενας;
623 ὁ δὲ σφαγεὺς τίς, εἰ τὰδ’ ἴστορεῖν με χροί;

Lycophr. Alex. 187: Iphigenia Ἑλλάδος καρατόμον.