

# A Hesiodic *Heldendämmerung*: Some Textual Problems and Reconstructions

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**Abstract** This chapter examines the ending of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (204.94-180 M.-W. = 155.94-180 Most = 110.94-180 Hirschberger). Based on fresh collations of the papyri, it proposes a hypothetical reconstruction of a papyrus roll of the fifth and final book of the poem, as well as several readings and suggestions.

**Keywords** Hesiodic Catalogue of Women. Papyrology. Eschatology. Early Greek hexameter poetry. Hesiod.

**Summary** 1 Introduction. – 2 A Reconstruction of a Book Five Roll. – 3 Textual Notes on Hes. 204.94-180 M.-W.

## 1 Introduction

Towards the end of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, Helen bears Hermione, and Zeus suddenly decrees the end of the Heroic Age.<sup>1</sup> Zeus devises ‘wondrous deeds’ (204.96 M.-W., cf. also [Hes.] Sc. 34), which apparently involves the destruction of a great number of the

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<sup>1</sup> Hes. 204.94-180 M.-W. = 155.94-180 Most = 110.94-180 Hirschberger. Studies on Hes. 204 M.-W.: Schubart, Wilamowitz 1907, 31-44; Merkelbach 1958, 48-55; West 1961, 130-6; Stiewe 1963; Beck 1980; Heilinger 1983; West 1985, 119-20; Koenen 1994, 26-34; Clay 2003, 169-73; Cingano 2005, 2009; Most 2008; González 2010; Ziogas 2013, 20-7; Ormand 2014, 202-16; Clarke 2020, 139-43. My thanks to Dr Marius Gernhardt for his hospitality and assistance in examining *P.Berol.* 9739 and *P.Berol.* 10560. Digital images of both papyri are available at <https://berlpap.smb.museum/?lang=en>.



human race (204.98-9). The aim is to separate mortals and immortals and to prevent further intercourse (in all forms) between them. Humans will be limited to e.g. sacrifice, *theoxenia*, cult-songs etc. The *Catalogue* offers a narrative to its readers and audiences why humans no longer interact with gods in the way that they do in myth. Unfortunately, the key part of this tantalizing text (204 M.-W.) is lacunose. This chapter explores the way that this separation is described and explained in the *Catalogue* in comparison with other Greek poetry, philosophy, and mythography. It examines Hes. 204.94-181 M.-W., in particular the episode's place within the *Catalogue*, and how this ending explores the relevance and scope of Zeus's supremacy in the evolution of divine and human history, a central theme of early Greek hexameter poetry. Based on a re-examination of the papyrus, I offer some readings and a reconstruction of a hypothetical Book Five roll that integrates *P.Berol.* 9739 (196-200 M.-W.) and *P.Berol.* 10560 (= Hes. 204 M.-W.).

## 2 A Reconstruction of a Book Five Roll

M.-W. placed the catalogue of Helen's suitors in the fifth and final book of the *Catalogue of Women*.<sup>2</sup> The placement of this episode makes sense for ending the poem given the topic and its importance in mythological and historical time. There are two papyri in the Berlin collection that preserve extended passages from this book: *P.Berol.* 9739 (= Hes. 196-200 M.-W.) and *P.Berol.* 10560 (= 204 M.-W.). These two papyri record the list of Helen's suitors, the oath of Tyndareus, Helen's marriage to Menelaus and the birth of their daughter Hermione, followed by an abrupt transition to the destruction of the heroes until the text trails off. Other fragments assigned to Book Five are Hes. 202 M.-W. = 156 Most, a testimonium (*ap.* ΣΤ Hom. *Il.* 19.240 Erbse) recording that Lycomedes was from Crete. His name may have been in the lacunose section of 204.63-77 M.-W. as Idomeneus, the king of Crete, is the preceding suitor (204.56 ff.).<sup>3</sup> Hes. 203 M.-W. = 249 Most = \*25 Hirschberger is about the descendants of Amythaeon, the fa-

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<sup>2</sup> Tsagalis 2009, 170 fn. 177 notes "it is clear that with this section, the *CW* reaches its *telos*, i.e. both its end and its purposes"; cf. also Ziogas 2013, 20-1 and Ormand 2014, 182-3. See Hes. T1 Most and Antimachus 103 Matthews on the existence of a fifth book with Traversa 1952. The *Catalogue of Women* was divided into five books and was several thousand lines long. Schwartz 1960, 618-21 suggests 6,000/7,000 lines and West 1978, 78 with fn. 2 suggests 3,000 lines.

<sup>3</sup> Given the size of the lacuna it is likely that Lycomedes was not the only figure mentioned, and another suitor, e.g. Tlepolemus of Rhodes, was in the lacuna, see the apparatus at 204.65 M.-W. and West 1985, 117-18; or there was a reference to Odysseus' suggestion of an oath to Tyndareus, see Cingano 2009, 127.

ther of the seers Bias and Melampous, as the first among the Greeks with prophetic skill, but this fragment may not come from this part of the *Catalogue* or is from the *Megale Ehoiai* or elsewhere.<sup>4</sup>

The two Berlin papyri remain the most important extant witnesses. *P.Berol.* 9739 (196-200 M.-W.) consists of five columns, but only the upper parts are preserved (col. i = 10 lines, col. ii = 11, col. iii = 11, col. iv = 11, col. v = 11).<sup>5</sup> The number of lines per column cannot currently be proven, but it is possible to calculate the likely lines per column.<sup>6</sup> Col. i (= 196 M.-W.) seems to start with the beginning of the competition for the hand of Helen and the succeeding columns list several of Helen's suitors. West has stated that *P.Berol.* 9739 col. i.1 (= 196.1 M.-W.) is the very beginning of Book 5.<sup>7</sup> While it is very likely that col. i comes from the beginning of the episode and of a catalogue entry, it is by no means certain that it is from the very beginning of the Book Five.<sup>8</sup> Ettore Cingano has rightly raised objections to this assumption as to start so abruptly such an important catalogue and episode seems out of place, and some sort of preamble or invocation to the Muses would be expected.<sup>9</sup> Therefore it is likely that at least one column preceded *P.Berol.* 9739 col. i (= 196 M.-W.) in order to set the stage for the Catalogue of Helen's suitors and probably the ending of the poem as a whole.<sup>10</sup> I refer to this preceding column as *P.Berol.* 9739 'col. 0' [tables 1, 3]. The narrative of *P.Berol.* 9739 was continued in *P.Berol.* 10560 which contains the end of the catalogue of Helen's suitors. *P.Berol.* 10560 col. 1.1-col. ii.8 (204.41-ca. 93 M.-W.) concludes the narrative of *P.Berol.* 9739 (= Hes. 196-200 M.-W.) and probably of *P.Oxy.* 2491 fr. 2 (= Hes. 201 M.-W.). The

<sup>4</sup> Hirschberger 2004, 484 also proposes the *Precepts of Chiron*. Rzach includes this fragment among his *incertae sedis* (his fr. 205). Some of the descendants of Melampous were apparently set out in Book 2 (136 M.-W.) following his marriage to a daughter of Proitos.

<sup>5</sup> See table 3. *P.Oxy.* 2491 fr. 2 (= 201 M.-W.) could contain lines from the missing lower parts of the columns of *P.Berol.* 9739, but it cannot be assigned to any particular column. *P.Oxy.* 2491 fr. 1 = Hes. 198.6-16 M.-W. overlaps with *P.Berol.* 9739 col. iii.6-11, which adds 5 more lines to the passage. *P.Oxy.* 2492 (= Hes. 200.1-5 M.-W.), lines 2-5 overlaps with *P.Berol.* 9739 col. v.2-5, and *P.Oxy.* 2492.1 contains a part of the missing *P.Berol.* 9739 col. v.1.

<sup>6</sup> See Johnson 2004, 10-13.

<sup>7</sup> West 1985, 115.

<sup>8</sup> West makes this assumption because (a) Wilamowitz 1900, 841 had thought that the 196.1-3 M.-W. was probably a reference to the first suitor followed by a description of Helen herself (196.4-8 M.-W.), which is the most detailed extant description of her in the extant fragments of the *Catalogue*, and so suits the beginning of a catalogue; and (b) 196.1-2 M.-W. is the beginning of a catalogue entry, and (c) a likely join between *P.Berol.* 10560 col. o.8(?) = 204.3 M.-W. (] [ . ] κ [ . ] ζ) and *P.Berol.* 9739 col. v.9 = F199.9 (γυ]γαῖκός), which I discuss further below.

<sup>9</sup> Cingano 2009, 122. Heilinger 1983, 21 likewise objected.

<sup>10</sup> I discuss the implications of this construction further below.

rest of the papyrus then describes the results of the union of Helen and Menelaus (*P.Berol.* 10560 col. ii.9ff. (= 204.94ff. M.-W.). The gap between *P.Berol.* 9739 col. v.11 (= 200.11 M.-W.) and *P.Berol.* 10560 col. i.1 (= 204.41 M.-W.) is likely not very large as the episode of the suitors of Helen concludes at *P.Berol.* 10560 col. ii.8 (= 204.93 M.-W.).

**Table 1** A reconstruction of *P.Berol.* 9739 (24/25 lines per column)

‘col. 0’	col. i	col. ii	col. iii	col. iv	col. v
<b>Beginning of Book 5(?)</b>	196 M.-W.	197 M.-W.	198 M.-W.	199 M.-W.	200 M.-W.

*P.Berol.* 10560 (= 204 M.-W.) consists of four extant columns, the last three are more or less complete (col. i is 45 lines, col. ii is 47 lines, and col. iii is 47 lines).<sup>11</sup> The preceding fourth column survives only as traces in the upper part of the left margin of col. i and these traces are nearly all the final letters of the lines. Schubart-Wilamowitz 1907 referred to this column as ‘col. 0’, which I also use here. M.-W. also have ‘col. 0’ as 240.1-40 M.-W. at 40 lines long and *P.Berol.* 10560 col. i.1 as 240.41 M.-W.. While they print *desunt versus fere* 25 for the lower part of ‘col. 0’, their 240.1 M.-W. starts at what would be ‘col. o.3’ or ‘col.0.4’ on the papyrus itself, which means that the currently used numbering of this fragment needs to be renumbered in a future edition. *P.Berol.* 10560 col. i consists of two fragments with no clear join between them: as a result there would seem to be a lacuna starting at *P.Berol.* 10560 col. i.25 (= 204.65 M.-W.), although there are traces of letters for the next two lines. Schubart, Wilamowitz 1907, 33 and Merkelbach 1958, 50 posit a lacuna of 6 lines starting at col. i.25 which gives them a column of 47 lines, whereas M.-W. do not seem to indicate a lacuna but the line-numbering, following West 1961, 131, rightly indicates there is a lacuna of no more than four lines and column of 45 lines. While the extant columns of *P.Berol.* 10560 are of the same measured length, col. i has fewer lines than cols ii-iii.<sup>12</sup> By aligning the last line of the fragment of the lower half of col. i with the last lines of cols ii-iii, the length of col. i is 45 lines.

Most importantly, *P.Berol.* 10560 col. ii contains a stichometric beta at col. ii.9 (= 204.94 M.-W.) indicating line 200 of the roll/book;

<sup>11</sup> Schubart, Wilamowitz 1907 and M.-W. have three columns of 47 lines. West 1961, 131 rightly has col. i at 45 lines. The Berlin website has col. i (41 lines), col. ii (29 lines), and col. iii (42 lines) which seems to be based on the number of legible lines. At the bottom of col. iii there is a possible trace of another line, but it is unclear as some of the top layers have been stripped away, therefore col. iii may be 47 or 48 lines long, but I would incline towards 47 lines. Another papyrus overlaps with *P.Berol.* 10560: *P.Oxy.* 2504 = Hes. 204.128-30 M.-W. = *P.Berol.* 10560 col. ii.43-5.

<sup>12</sup> West 1961, 131.

therefore *P.Berol.* 10560 col. i.1 is line 147 of the roll/book.<sup>13</sup> The implication of this stichometric sign is that 146 lines preceded *P.Berol.* 10560 col. i.1. Based on this number of preceding lines and on the lines per column of this papyrus, it is likely that three columns preceded *P.Berol.* 10560 col. i, one column of 48 lines and two of 49 lines ( $48 + 49 + 49 = 146$ ).<sup>14</sup> It cannot be determined which one of these three preceding columns was 48 lines long and which two were 49 lines. I refer to these columns as 'col. -2', 'col. -1', and 'col. 0'. Therefore I propose that if *P.Berol.* 10560 was a roll of Book Five of the *Catalogue*, then this copy of the poem was at least 6 columns long at 45-49 lines per column. In the 146 lines preceding *P.Berol.* 10560 col. i.1; *P.Berol.* 9739 (+ *P.Oxy.* 2491 fr. 1) and *P.Oxy.* 2491 fr. 2 (= 201 M.-W.) preserves 63 of those lines. The text and columns of *P.Berol.* 9739 can be mapped onto a hypothetical papyrus book roll based on the dimensions of *P.Berol.* 10560 and the size of the gap between the end of *P.Berol.* 9739 col. v (= 200 M.-W.) and *P.Berol.* 10560 col. i.1 (= 204.41 M.-W.) can be calculated. Reconstructions have been made on the complete size and column length of *P.Berol.* 9739. For example, West proposed that:

33 lines is the maximum possible, because at least four of these columns and eleven lines of a fifth (F 200.2-<12>) must precede F204.41 = line 147 of the book. It follows that the column-length was just about 33 lines, and that the five preserved columns were the first five of the book.

F 196 = Book 5.1-11  
F 197 = Book 5.34-42  
F 198 = Book 5.67-82

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**13** Schwartz 1960, 416 first proposed that the beta corresponded to line 200 of the papyrus, and West 1985, 115 further suggested that the beta referred to line 200 of Book 5. Heilinger 1983, 26-34 placed the long fragment on Helen's suitors in Book 1. Schubart, Wilamowitz 1907, 41 and Traversa 1952, 3 fn. 3 had understood that the beta as a marker for the beginning of the second book of the *Catalogue*, which seems very unlikely due to the surviving papyri of the poem containing episodes from those books.

**14** There are papyri of epic poetry of the same or a similar length of lines per column: *P.Oxy.* 2091 (*Hes. Op.*) is 42-3 lines per column; *P.Oxy.* 2639 (*Hes. Theog.*) is 49 lines; *P.Oxy.* 2641 (*Hes. Theog.*) is 47 lines; *P.Oxy.* 2695 (Ap. Rh. Book 1) is 45 or 51(?) lines; *P.Oxy.* 3323 (*Il.* 15-16) is 50 lines; *P.Berol. inv.* 21109\* (*Il.* 11) is 49.3 lines; *P.Schub.* 1 (*Od.* 11) is 44 lines; *P.Harr.* 1.36 + *P.Lit.Lond.* 251 (*Il.* 12) is 45.4 lines. Johnson 2014, 57 notes that the more columns that survive, the greater the variation in lines per column increases and Schubart 1921, 62 notes there can be a variation of 2.5-4 lines in lines per column, although his dataset was much smaller than examples that are available today. For papyri of epic poetry with a variance of 4 lines or more in the lines per column, cf. *P.Oxy.* 445 (*Il.* 6) which has 43-47 lines per column; *P.Tebt.* 3.899 (*Il.* 6) has 36-41 lines; *PSI* 12.1274 (*Il.* 10) has 30-36 lines; *P.Heid.Lit.* 2 + *P.Hib.* 1.22 + *P.Grenf.* 2.4 (*Il.* 21) is 27-33 lines; *P.Lit.Lond.* 27 (*Il.* 23, 24) is 38-42 lines; *P.Tebt.* 3.697 (*Od.* 4.5) may be 36-42? lines; *P.Berol.* 21107 (*Hes. Op.*) is 38-42 lines.

F 199 = Book 5.99-110

F 200 = Book 5.132-42

F 199.9 is therefore line 108, and this tallies almost exactly with the stichometry of F 204, by which, if just 25 verses are missing between 204.15 and what we numbered as 204.41 (but we said 'desunt versus fere 25', 204.3 comes out as line 109.<sup>15</sup>

As noted above, it is not so clear cut that 196 M.-W. is the very beginning of Book Five, as although there are five extant columns, it is very likely that at least one column preceded it (my 'col.0'). West's reconstruction of four columns of 33 lines (4 × 33) and eleven lines of the fifth indicates the gap between *P.Berol.* 9739 col. v and *P.Berol.* 10560 col. i is not very small. West's proposal equals 143 lines, which is shorter than West's previously noted missing 146 lines above.<sup>16</sup> However, as *P.Berol.* 9739 likely consisted of at least six columns, such calculations produce a higher number, 176 lines if the number of lines per column is kept [(5 × 33) + 11]. This is too large for the gap: therefore, it is likely that *P.Berol.* 9739 had columns with fewer lines per column. I would propose that *P.Berol.* 9739 had six columns of 24/25 lines with four columns of 24 lines and two columns of 25 lines (146/146 = 24.333) [table 3].<sup>17</sup> As with *P.Berol.* 10560, how many lines per column each column had cannot currently be ascertained.

If then *P.Berol.* 9739 'col. o', was the opening of Book 5 and the columns are 24/25 lines per column, one can integrate *P.Berol.* 9739 into the 146 lines that preceded *P.Berol.* 10560. In the hypothetical Book 5 roll based on the size of *P.Berol.* 10560 at 45-49 lines per column, broadly speaking two columns of *P.Berol.* 9739 would fit into one column of *P.Berol.* 10560 [tables 2, 4].

**Table 2** A reconstruction of a Book Five roll based on the dimensions of *P.Berol.* 10560 with *P.Berol.* 9739 integrated into the preceding columns

'col. -2'	'col. -1'	'col. 0'	col. i	col. ii	col. iii
<i>P.Berol.</i> 9739 'col. 0'	197 M.-W.	199 M.-W.	204.41-85	204.86-132	204.133-180
196 M.-W.	198 M.-W.	200 M.-W.	M.-W.	M.-W.	M.-W.
197 M.-W.?	199 M.-W.	204.1-40 M.-W.	202 M.-W.?		

<sup>15</sup> West 1985, 116. Hirschberger and Most print these numbers in their editions (*P.Berol.* 9739, col. i = 34 lines, col. ii = 35 lines, col. iii = 33 lines, col. iv = 33 lines) without comment. Wolfgang Müller in West 1985, 116 suggests the number of lines per column could be higher; I argue it could be lower (see below).

<sup>16</sup> West 1985, 116 says that 204.41 M.-W. is line 147 of the book, and so the missing gap is 146 lines.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *P.Oxy.* 223 + *P.Köln* 5.210 (*Il.* 5), *P.Oxy.* 1815 (*Il.* 1), *P.Oxy.* 2226 (*Call. Hymn* 6) for papyri of hexameter poetry at 25/26 lines per column.

Based on these parameters [table 4], 196 M.-W. would start at *P.Berol.* 10560 col. -2 lines 25/26 due to the likely *P.Berol.* 9739 'col. 0' preceding it; 197 M.-W. would start at *P.Berol.* 10560 col. -2.49 or col. -1.1; 198 M.-W. would start at *P.Berol.* 10560 col. -1.24/25; 199 M.-W. would start at *P.Berol.* 10560 col. -1.48/49; and 200 M.-W. would start at *P.Berol.* 10560 col. o.23/24.<sup>18</sup> The last two columns of *P.Berol.* 9739 likely would overlap with *P.Berol.* 10560 'col.0'.<sup>19</sup> Crönert proposed an overlap between  $\text{[ ] } \kappa \text{[ ] } \zeta$  (*P.Berol.* 10560 col. o.8(?) = 204.3 M.-W.) and  $\gamma \upsilon \nu \alpha \iota \kappa \acute{o} \varsigma$ , the final word of *P.Berol.* 9739 col. iv.9 = 199.9 M.-W..<sup>20</sup> The latter line is an abnormally long (likely 40 letters) and so juts out into the intercolumnial space, which makes such a join probable.<sup>21</sup> The hand of *P.Berol.* 10560 likewise writes long lines into the intercolumnial space, e.g. *P.Berol.* 10560 col. ii.31-2, 37, 39, 42-3, 46-47. If *P.Berol.* 9739 col. iv.9 (= F199.9) = *P.Berol.* 10560 col. o.8(?) (= 204.3 M.-W.), then 199.1 M.-W. would begin on the last line of the previous column (*P.Berol.* 10560 col. -1.48/49).

In sum, if the reconstruction of a Book Five roll based on the dimensions of *P.Berol.* 10560 is correct and the stichometric is recording the line-number for a roll of Book Five, then the gap between the end of *P.Berol.* 9739 col. v.24/5 and the beginning of *P.Berol.* 10560 col. i.1 would be two or three lines. As West 1961 noted long ago 204 M.-W. needs to be renumbered and the numeration of M.-W. and Schubart, Wilamowitz needs to be replaced, for example, 204.41 M.-W. = *P.Berol.* 10560 col. i.1 would in fact be 204.47/8? M.-W. have *P.Berol.* 10560 col. o at 40 lines long, however this numbering is based on starting their line one from the first extant letters at *P.Berol.* 10560 col. o.6, and so the line-numbering of M.-W. should be adjusted by around 6 lines. Based on these figures and the reconstructions presented, it is very likely then we have most of the opening, if not a majority, of Book 5 preserved in these two rolls.

<sup>18</sup> Hes. 196 M.-W. = *P.Berol.* 10560 col. -2.25/26-35/36 = [Hes.] *Cat.* 5.25/26-35/36; 197 M.-W. = *P.Berol.* 10560 col. -2.49/col. -1.1-col. -1.8/9 = [Hes.] *Cat.* 5.49/50-58/59; 198 M.-W. = *P.Berol.* 10560 col. -1.24/25-39/40 = [Hes.] *Cat.* 5.73/4-89/90; 199 M.-W. = *P.Berol.* 10560 col. -1.48/49-col.0.9/10 = [Hes.] *Cat.* 5.98/99-109/10; 200 M.-W. = *P.Berol.* 10560 col. o.23/24-33/4 = [Hes.] *Cat.* 5.122/23-133/4. See table 4.

<sup>19</sup> West 1985, 115.

<sup>20</sup> Crönert 1907, 610. West 1985, 115 remarks that "this identification does not fall far short of being certain". The other traces of *P.Berol.* 10560 'col. o' are too paltry to offer any support.

<sup>21</sup> Johnson 2004, 12 states that a rough average of the letters per line of a papyrus of Homer and Hesiod are at letters per line where adscript is written, 35.5 where it is not.

### 3 Textual Notes on Hes. 204.94-180 M.-W.

**204.94-123** The birth of Hermione, who is the offspring of a mortal man and a direct descendant of Zeus, triggers strife and discord among all the gods. Zeus then announces the destruction of a large portion of the human race and to put an end to the generation of further heroes/ἡμίθεοι, a *Heldendämmerung*. In lines 102-103, as Schwartz 1960, 43 first noted, Zeus' purpose is to separate mortals and immortals, and he will put an end to the age of social and sexual intercourse between gods and mortal women. For a similar binary division of history of gods and mortals, see Catullus (64.397-408) with Pontani 2000. Zeus' decision will provoke further discord among the gods (e.g. *Iliad* and *Odyssey*). Zeus establishes pain upon pains (105) for both immortals and mortals and a number of humans will be slain in war and sent to the Underworld (118-19, π]ολλὰς Ἀἴδηι κεφαλὰς ἀπὸ χαλκὸν ἰάψ[ει]ν | ἀν]δρῶν ἡρώων ἐν δηϊοτήτι πεσόντων· 'and] the bronze was going to send to Hades many heads of men, heroes falling in battle-strife', cf. also Aesch. *Ag.* 1465-1466; Eur. *Hec.* 21-22, *Hel.* 51-22; Soph. *El.* 1127). According to the *Cypria* (F1 PEG, cf. Eur. *Or.* 1639-1642, *Hel.* 36-41; [Apollod.] *Epit.* 3.1) and Hesiod's *Works and Days* (159-173) Zeus and the other gods devised the Trojan War to put an end to the heroes. Line 104-119 may be in accord with this tradition which may summarize the war. Cf. Hes. 141.15-31 M.-W. = 90.15-31 Most, which hints at Sarpedon's fate at Troy, and Hes. 169, 177-179 M.-W. = 118, 121-122 Most (with West 1985, 94-7, 114-24) on the descent of the Trojans from Electra, daughter of Atlas, possibly as a precursor to the Trojan War. The separation of immortals and mortals is described in a similar way to the *Works and Days* describing the resettlement of the heroes to the Islands of the Blest (*Op.* 156-173). West 1978, 193 notes that lines 99-103 (πολλὸν ἀϊστοῦσαι σπεῦδῃ, πρ[ό]φασιν μὲν ὀλέσθαι | ψυχὰς ἡμιθέω[v.....] ...]. [...]οισι βροτοῖσι | τέκνα θεῶν μι[...]. [...]ο. [ὀφ]θαλμοῖσιν ὀρῶντα | ἀλλ' οἱ μ[ε]ν μάκ[α]ρες κ[.....]ν ὥς τὸ πάρος περ | χωρὶς ἀπ' ἀν[θ]ρώπων [βίοτον κα]ῖ ἤθε' ἑχῶσιν) are almost similar to *Op.* 167 (δίχ' ἀνθρώπων βίοτον καὶ ἤθε' ὀπάσσας) and it is likely a reference by the *Catalogue* poet to the *Works and Days*, and not the other way around. However, this does not necessarily mean that the *Catalogue* poet described the same exact outcome for the heroes as Hesiod did, the poet may have just used similar sounding language to convey the importance of the events being narrated. See Coward 2016, 23-38 on the forms of interaction in Greek poetry in a song-performance culture.

Different sources stress continuity or a sudden break between heroes and later humanity, likewise different texts provide divergent afterlives for the heroes. Here, however, explanation is given as to why Zeus has a plan to separate the demigods from mortals and how



he intends to keep the gods from continuing to produce demigods.<sup>22</sup> No extant Greek text explicitly explains why the gods stopped having relations with mortal women, but there is an understanding in Greco-Roman chronography and mythology that there was a time when gods and mortals interacted and a present time when that no longer occurs.<sup>23</sup> Ephorus (*BNJ* 70 T8) distinguished between mythical time and historical time and began his account of the latter with the return of the Heraclidae (*BNJ* 70 T10); and for Varro (fr. 3 *Fracaro*) the first Olympiad marked the end of ‘mythical’ times and the beginning of ‘historical’ time.<sup>24</sup> The end of the heroes became the beginning of the historical age leading to Greek settlements all over the Mediterranean (e.g. Lycoph. *Alex.*; [Apollod.] *Epit.* 6.15-16; cf. also Verg. *Ecl.* 4.34-36 for a warning of a cyclical re-run of the mythical age). Simonides in a *thrēnos* (523 *PMG* = 245 *Poltera*) remarks τοῦδε γὰρ οἱ πρότερόν ποτ’ ἐπέλοντο, | θεῶν δ’ ἔξ ἀνάκτων ἐγένονθ’ υἷες ἡμίθεοι, | ἄπονον οὐδ’ ἄφθιτον οὐδ’ ἀκίνδυνον βίον | ἐς γῆρας ἐξίκοντο τελέσαντες†. (for not even those who lived in the elder days demi-gods, sons born from the gods, our lords arrived at old age having completed a life without toil, decline and danger). When the heroes of the *Iliad* talk about the past they typically speak of a former generation, superior to the present (e.g. the Lapiths (*Il.* 1.250-252, 260-272); the Argive Seven against Thebes (*Il.* 4.405); and Heracles (*Il.* 5.636-637), see Most 1997, 121-2. In early Greek hexameter poetry, there are several accounts of the afterlives of the heroes. In the Homeric epics, the demigods, including Heracles (*Il.* 18.117-119), die just like other mortals, see Griffin 1977, 1980. In Hesiod’s *Works and Days* (162-172), some of or all the heroes (the meaning of the Greek is the object of discussion) go to the Islands of the Blest.<sup>25</sup> In the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, Zeus makes Aphrodite intensely desire Anchises because of her incessant boasting about the gods’ affairs

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**22** See Ormand 2014, 202-16. In the *Catalogue*, the will of Zeus is unclear to humans (10a.97; 43a.52, 75-8; 303 M.-W.).

**23** Culler 2015, 351 notes that “Poets who made that world [i.e. a world before the flight of the gods], poets who gave the Greeks their gods. Society is always confronted with the problem of how matter is endowed with spirit or meaning, and poetry is one of several forces that at once makes this happen and explicates it”.

**24** On Ephorus’ methodological innovations (among which were the introduction of book-divisions and, in consequence of a re-negotiated set of boundaries between mythical time and historical time, see Schepens 1977, 95-118 and Clarke 2008, 96-109. In Varro’s scheme ‘mythical’ time, beginning with Ogygus and his flood, is so called because *multa in eo fabulosa referuntur* and ‘historical’ because *multa in eo fabulosa referuntur*; see Cole 2004, 419-22; Piras 2017, 13-15.

**25** See West 1978, 191-4; Currie 2012; Scodel 2021. In the *Works and Days*, Hesiod avoids making Zeus responsible for destroying the heroes; whereas the silver generation is put away by Zeus; the Bronze destroy themselves, and Zeus will destroy the race of Iron. Zeus does not destroy the race of Gold.

with mortals (48-52) so that she will no longer mock the other gods. Some scholars have understood that the *Hymn* explains the end of the heroic age as the gods have been embarrassed about their numerous affairs.<sup>26</sup> The *Hymn* however makes no reference to the end of the heroic age, and Zeus seeks only to end Aphrodite's boasting, not the gods' sexual relations with mortals.<sup>27</sup> Both the *Homeric Hymns to Demeter* and *Aphrodite* focus on how Zeus's control of female deities establishes his cosmic order, as Zeus determines the extent to which Demeter and Persephone can play the roles of eternal mother and daughter, and curbs Aphrodite's (sexual) power, see Allan 2006.

**94** ἦ τέκεν Ἑρμιόνην καλλίσφυρ[ο]ν ἐν μεγάροισιν. Stiewe 1963, 12-14, following a suggestion of Merkelbach, believes that this line is an interpolation and replaces it with another line (<ἦ Πάριδι ξὺν ἔφευγε κακὸν Τρώεσσι φέρουσα>), containing a reference to the true 'unforeseen' cause of the Trojan war, i.e. Paris' rape of Helen. Stiewe however is trying to syncretise the *Catalogue of Women* to the more substantial Trojan Cycle. It is just as possible that the *Catalogue* can allude or hint at the forthcoming Trojan War without narrating it, drawing on the knowledge of the audience or reader to fill in the gaps accordingly, much like how the *Iliad* alludes or hints at the forthcoming sack of Troy without narrating it. Reinach inserts Hes. 175 M.-W. = 248 Most = \*9 Hirschberger (ἦ τέκεθ' Ἑρμιόνην δουρικλειτῶι Μενελάωι· | ὀπλότατον δ' ἔτεκεν Νικόστρατον ὄζον Ἄρηος) as the first line is very similar to 204.94 M.-W., which Merkelbach rightly dismissed. ὀπλότατον suggests Nikostratos (and Hermione) were from the end of several listed offspring and 175 M.-W. may well come from another Hesiodic poem (*Megalai Ehoiai*?), which easily provided an occasion for interpolation and variation of a formulaic line. See Hirschberger 2004, 59-62 for examples where the *Catalogue* poet uses words, phrases and whole lines found in the main Hesiodic poems.

**95-107** Interpretations of these lines have been hindered by attempts to forge orthodoxy from heterodoxy by forcing a cohesive narrative across the Hesiodic corpus e.g. West 1961; Stiewe 1963; Koenen 1994; Clay 2005. As Parsons notes of trends in scholarship (2002, 49): "All intellectual advance, clearly, consists in making patterns; and though as human beings we know that experience is tangled and complex, we seek as scholars for simple schemata." The *Theogony* (535-564, cf. Heraclit. *Alleg.* 41) has the separation of humans and mortals at Mekone (cf. also Callim. 119 Harder, Σ Pind. *Nem.* 9.123 Drachmann). While indeed humans and gods are to be separated, it is not indicated in the extant papyrus if the separation is at

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**26** See van der Ben 1986, 31-2; Clay 1989, 132-3; Olson 2012, 28-9. Faulkner 2008, 14-18 is more doubtful. Richardson 2010 is silent.

**27** Scodel 2021, 180.

a particular place. The *Works and Days* has the Myth of Ages with periodic destructions, see Currie 2012, Scodel 2021. In the *Works and Days*, one human species is replaced by another, and in Ovid, the original human race, followed a flood, is replaced by the ancestors of the current one following a flood (cf. Pind. *Pae.* 9.17-21; *Orph.* 320 F PEG). West 1985, 56 rightly observed that the narrative of the *Catalogue* does not know about the Myth of Ages, or rather it does not utilise such a scheme. For comparative studies of the ‘destruction motif’ from the wider Indo-European and Indo-Iranian traditions see Mayer 1996, Koenen 1994, and Hirschberger 2004, 414-20.

**95-98** πάντες δὲ θεοὶ δίχα θυμὸν ἔθεντο | ἔξ ἔριδος· δὴ γὰρ τότε μῆδετο  
θέσκελα ἔργα | Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης, †<νεῖκος> κατ’ ἀπείρονα γαῖαν |  
τυρβάξει† (And all the gods were at variance in strife; for truly he  
was devising, wondrous deeds, high-thundering Zeus, in order to stir  
up <quarrel> on the boundless earth). The papyrus transmits τογε  
(96), which Schubart, Wilamowitz 1907, 34 believed was a spelling  
error and corrected to τότε, however González 2010, 395 suggested  
to keep the transmitted text as τό γε to emphasise that strife is the  
outcome of Zeus’ plan (‘for indeed *this* he was devising’). González  
2010, 395 fn. 72 supplies examples of τό γε (Hom. *Il.* 1.120, 3.308  
(~ *Od.* 14.119), 5.827 (~ 14.342), 5.853 (~ 11.238), 6.167 (= 6.417, ~  
14.191, 15.212, *Od.* 21.126), 7.281, 17.408, 22.301, 23.332, 24.52; *Od.*  
1.370, 16.302, 17.401). However, are there examples of δὴ γὰρ and  
γε together and what are the functions of these particles in isolation  
and paired together? δὴ γὰρ...γε usually has a negative with it (ex-  
cept Soph. *Ant.* 46 and *OC* 110), see Denniston 1954, 243-4. Instanc-  
es of δὴ γὰρ are largely found in Homer, along with three instances  
in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (76, 148, 159), once in Hesiod (*Op.*  
417) and here in the *Catalogue*. Most instances of δὴ γὰρ in Homer  
present insight into the feelings of a character or personal viewpoints  
(Hom. *Il.* 13.516-518, 17.546, 625; *Od.* 10.160 (Odysseus as narrator),  
13.30, 18.154) with one exception (*Il.* 24.351); see Bonifazi, Drum-  
men, de Kreij 2016, II.3 §62 and II.4 §19. The use of δὴ as an intensi-  
fier is mainly limited to direct speech, see Bonifazi, Drummen, de  
Kreij 2016, II.3.3.2-3.3.3. Here δὴ γὰρ likewise introduces the think-  
ing of Zeus. Examples of δὴ γὰρ τότε are very few (Hom. *Il.* 16.810  
(an Aristarchan reading of the vulgate ποτε, see Σ Hom. *Il.* 16.810a  
Erbse); Hes. *Op.* 417; Callim. *Hymn* 3.201), and there is one example  
of δὴ γὰρ...γε in epic (Hom. *Il.* 18.153) as part of an unparalleled for-  
mulaic phrase. Generally, δὴ will occur with a temporal marker (i.e.  
τότε, the exceptions being Hom. *Il.* 12.331-333; *Od.* 5.276), and to a far  
lesser extent act as an intensifier (Bonifazi, Drummen, and de Kreij  
2016, II.3.§1). Therefore, while González’ reversion to the transmit-  
ted text (δὴ γὰρ τό γε) is attractive, the emended δὴ γὰρ τότε seems  
more likely based on examples of the combination of proposed par-  
ticles and their functions.

In their apparatus, M.-W. emended τυρβάξας to τυρβάξει as they think that μεῖξει is an intrusive gloss of τυρβάξει that replaced the object of τυρβάξει, which they suggest was something like πόλεμον (cf. *Cypria* 1.5 PEG/GEF; cf. also Soph. 838 *TrGF*<sup>1</sup>) or γενεάς. Koenen 1994, 28 further suggested <νεῖκος> or the less likely and Iliadic <μῆνιν>, though without parallels. Of the proposed supplements, I, like González, favour <νεῖκος> as it suits the discord of the gods at this moment in the narrative, but it also can mean ‘fight’ which are about to come (see 118-119). Cf. Hom. *Il.* 13.122 = 15.400 (δὴ γὰρ μέγα νεῖκος ὄρωρεν, ‘for a great fight has arisen’) where Poseidon (disguised as Calchas) and Patroclus rally the Greeks and Euryplous respectively against the onslaught of Hector at the battle of the ships.

**98-100** ἦδη δὲ γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων | πολλὸν ἀϊστώσαι σπεῦδε, πρ[ό]φασιν μὲν ὀλέσθαι | ψυχὰς ἡμιθέω[ν.....] [...] [. . .] ἰοῖσι βροτοῖσι (for he was already eager to annihilate most of the race of speech-endowed human beings, to avowedly destroy the lives of the semi-gods... to/from xxx mortals). Elsewhere in the *Catalogue*, Zeus comes to kill Salmoneus (30.15 M.-W.) and Asclepius (51.2 M.-W.); cf. also 54a+57.4-7 M.-W. where Zeus wants to cast Apollo down from Olympus to Tartarus. That Zeus is the overseer of all things is a widespread motif, e.g. Hom. *Od.* 13.213-214, 17.485-488; Hes. *Op.* 267-269; Archil. 177 *IEG*; Alc. 200.10-11 Voigt; Sol. 13.17 *IEG*; Bacchyl. 15.51; Aesch. *Eum.* 1045; Soph. *El.* 175; Ar. *Ach.* 435; *Adesp.* F482 *TrGF*<sup>2</sup>. Several proposals have been made, mostly based on parallel accounts in epic poetry, about the scale and purpose of Zeus’ intentions here: (i) Stiewe 1963 and Koenen 1994 understand that πρ[ό]φασιν is purely rhetorical and that Zeus only purportedly wants to destroy the heroes and instead relocate them to a better life per Hes. *Op.* 167-173 (cf. also Clarke 2020, 138-43), although there is no surviving reference to such an event here; (ii) Thalmann 1984 states that Zeus plans to destroy the demigod race (cf. Hes. *Op.* 180 and the destruction of the Silver generation); (iii) Cerutti 1998, 146-54 argues that Zeus wants to destroy the heroes as a pretext (πρ[ό]φασιν) of relieving the burden on the earth (per the *Cypria* and wider IE tradition); (iv) Allen 1932, following Rzach’s construction (τῶν δὲ πρ[ό]φασιν for σπεῦδε, πρ[ό]φασιν), interprets that Zeus provokes the Trojan War in order to relieve the earth of its burden, and for this reason the demigods must be destroyed; and (v) Hirschberger 2004, 417 surmises that the turmoil caused by Zeus leads to the death of many people and thus provide an opportunity for the death of the heroes in armed conflicts (vv. 100, 118-119). There is probably no ‘overpopulation motif’ here; but West 1997, 481 notes that if πολλόν (204.99 M.-W.) means ‘multitudinous’ this may indicate that Zeus thought the world had become overpopulated. The interpretation of these verses essentially depends on how one understands the meaning of πρ[ό]φασιν μὲν ὀλέσθαι (‘a pretext to destroy’ or ‘to purportedly destroy’?) and whether πολλόν

(204.99 M.-W., cf. Hom. *Il.* 19.262, 302) is an attribute of γένος (98) meaning ‘the abundant race’ or adverbial with ἀϊστῶσαι (99) meaning ‘to decimate’ or ‘to annihilate most’.

The beginning of the *Catalogue* (1 M.-W.) presents a more general closeness between gods and mortals at an earlier time, but no extant part of the poem explains why Zeus chose to make this change.<sup>28</sup> As González 2010, 382 notes ‘the destruction of the demigods is a pretext; only, that it is not Zeus’s ultimate purpose.’ Zeus does not announce his ultimate purpose, but he does announce the end of the heroes, hence πρ[ό]φασιν here can be understood in the context of an intended action rather than a pretext. Furthermore, whichever way the function of πολλὸν is, Zeus does not destroy *all* of humanity in the *Catalogue* and will not destroy *all* the heroes, rather a sizeable number will be annihilated, and some will survive repurposed (see 120-124). Cf. [Aesch.] *PV* 232-233 (ἀϊστῶσας γένος τὸ πᾶν) where Zeus planned to destroy one whole iteration of humanity and replace it with another, cf. also [Aesch.] *PV* 152, 232, 668; *Pl. Prt.* 321a. In Homer, the active ἀϊστόω is used in the sense of ‘make someone disappear’ [literally ‘invisible’] or ‘destroy’ and suggest a violent act: see *LfrgE ad loc.* The destruction of ψυχᾶς ἡμιθέω[ν] here does not mean their complete destruction, for as the wider mythographical tradition attests (e.g. the *Odyssey*, *Nostoi*, Lycophron’s *Alexandra*, the *Aeneid*) a number of ‘heroes’ survive. On the continuity of humanity after the ending of the mighty Trojan saga appears also at Hom. *Il.* 6.146-149, 12.10-35, 20.300-308 and Verg. *Aen.* 3.97-98 with Heyworth, Morwood 2017, 112-13.

While there is a line of thought of a tripartite division of gods, heroes, and ‘ordinary’ humans in ancient thinking (Pind. *Ol.* 2.2; Xen. *Symp.* 8.28.2; Antiph. 1.27; Isocr. *Evag.* 39; Antiphan. 204 *PCG*<sup>2</sup>; Theophr. 708 *FHS&G*; Plaut. *Aul.* 371-87); it is not the only tradition. Here there seems to be a division between humans and gods and a separation of human and divine realms, see González 2010. γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων (98) is clearly a reference to humans, and used in the context of the (potential) destruction of mankind here and elsewhere (Hes. *Op.* 109, 143, 180; *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 310). See Currie 2012, 41-2 for further examples. ψυχᾶς ἡμιθέω[ν] (100), in poetry, ἡμιθεοί can be applied to the generation before the well-known mythological heroes (e.g. Callin. 1.19 *IEG*, presumably Simon. 11.18 *IEG* with Clay 2001, 523 *PMG* = 245 *Poltera*) or, more specifically, to the warriors before the Trojan War (e.g. Alc. 42.13 Voigt; our passage here; Bacchyl. 13.155, Fr. 20b.31? Maehler; Eur. *IA* 172-173), the Seven against Thebes (Bacchyl. 9.10, 11.62), heroes during funerary games (Ibyc. S176 *PMGF*), the Argonauts (Pind. *Pyth.* 4.12, 184, 211, cf. also Ak-

<sup>28</sup> Scodel 2021, 180.

ous. 30 *EGM*) and less significant individual heroes, like one of the Hippocoontids (Alcm. 1.7 *PMGF*). There are also heroines known as *Hemithea* (Hecat. 1 F139 *BNJ*; 533 F11 *BNJ*; Diod. Sic. 5.62.1-63.3). In these examples from early Greek poetry, there is no thematization that ἡμίθεος is the actual offspring of a god and a mortal, and the meaning ‘intermediate category between gods and mortals’ is not found until Isocrates (3.42, 9.39, though cf. Pind. *Ol.* 2.2). These observations support Verdenius’ suggestion (1985, 99) that originally ἡμίθεος does not so much mean literally ‘semi-divine’, which does not apply to many of the Homeric warriors, but rather ‘almost divine’. In this light, we can read ψυχὰς ἡμιθέω[ν] as referring to a group of humans who are direct offspring of the gods and a couple of times removed, cf. Callin. 1.12-13 *IEG*; Simon. 523 *PMG* = 245 Poltera; Pind. *Ol.* 2.28-34, *Pyth.* 4.58. Likewise ἀνδρῶν ἠρώων (119) refers to human beings who fall in war, cf. Hom. *Il.* 12.10-23 (with Scodel 1982, 2021); Hes. *Op.* 159-160, the war-dead at Thebes and Troy are seen as ἡμίθεοι. ἦρως nowhere comes even close to any hint of religious significance or the cult of the dead in early Greek poetry rather it is a label used to indicate the hero’s outstanding qualities and status as much as their birth, see Bremmer 2006, 17-18 with fnn. 25-31.

It is also unclear in the scholarship whether the τέκνα θεῶν (101) and μάκ[α]ρες (102) who are to be kept apart far from mortals are the demigods or the gods (102-3). Gods: Thalmann 1984, 105-7, Cerutti 1998, 166-7, Clay 2005, González 2010; demigods: West 1985, 120, Koenen 1994, 29 fn. 67, 40. See Hirschberger 2004, 418-19. I favour the latter, per Clay 2005 and González 2010, that μάκ[α]ρες are the gods based on the use of the word in early Greek hexameter poetry, cf. Hes. *Theog.* 33, 101, 128, 881; *Op.* 136, 139, 718, 730; [Hes.] *Sc.* 79, 247, 328, 476; 14.6, 25.31, 30.24, 176.4, 211.7, 280.17, 309.1, and 10a.6 M.-W.; Hom. *Od.* 10.299; Hes. *Op.* 106; *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 303; *Hom. Hymn Ap.* 315; *Hom. Hymn Aphr.* 92.195; *Hymn. Hom.* 12.4, 29.8; Antimach. 131.2 Matthews. τέκνα θεῶν (101), was understood as referring to the heroes because of synonymous phrases such as Hom. *Il.* 16.449 (υἱέες ἀθανάτων) but the phrase itself (τέκνα θεῶν) only appears elsewhere is used for Libyan Nymphs/goddesses, who are also Ἠρωῖσσαι, in a Hellenistic epigram (Nicaen. 1.3 *HE*). Here, τέκνα θεῶν refers to the gods since they separated from ]οἰσι βροτοῖσιν (100) and χωρὶς ἀπ’ ἀν[θ]ρώπων (103), and will no longer be able to interact with humans as they had before (ὥς τὸ πάρος περ (102) cf. Hom. *Od.* 2.305, 10.240, 13.358, 20.167; Hes. *Op.* 104; *Hom. Hymn Ap.* 345; Antimach. 189 dub. Matthews).

**100** ψυχὰς ἡμιθέω[ν].....]οἰσι βροτοῖσιν (Hirschberger; Most). M.-W. and Stiewe 1963 do not print the final nu of βροτοῖσιν, even though it is present in the papyrus. Wilamowitz proposed two supplements for the end of the lacuna, either μὴ ἐπιχθονί]οἰσι βροτοῖσι or ἵνα μὴ δειλ]οἰσι βροτοῖσι. The former was inspired by Hom. *Od.* 8.479,

*Il.* 1.266, 272; ‘Hom’ *Epig.* 10.3 Markwald and the latter by Hom. *Il.* 22.31, 76, 24.525; *Od.* 11.19, 12.341, 15.408; Hes. *Op.* 686; Thgn. 837; *Orac. Sib.* III.631, 662, 759, V.103, 429. Crönert 1907, 611 preferred the former, while Stiewe 1963, 3 followed the latter with the re-collated ἵνα μὴ δ]εῖ[λο]ῖσι. Stiewe notes that ]εῖ[ is shadowy, however, I could see traces of letters in the same space, and traces of the omicron are clear as well. The lacuna between Stiewe’s ]εῖ[ and ]οῖσι is however at least two or three letters, which makes δειλ]οῖσι less probable. This collation also makes Kretschmer’s θνητ]οῖσι, West’s μὴ ὄμοῦ θνητ]οῖσι and González’ ἵνα μὴ θνητ]οῖσι less likely. The line reads to me then as ψυχὰς ἡμιθέω[v.....] ..[...]. ἰ[... ]οῖσι βροτοῖσιν. Based on these traces, the sorrowful ]ῶῖ[ζυρ]οῖσι βροτοῖσιν may be a potential candidate (cf. Hom. *Il.* 13.569; *Od.* 4.197) given the context of the passage about the destruction of a number of humans.

**102** κ[αὶ ἐς ὕστερο]ν Rzach, cf. Hes. *Op.* 351 *et* Stiewe (*fort.* κ[ἄς ἐς ὕστερο]ν); κ[αὶ κάρτερ]οι (*sic susp.* Koenen (cf. Hom. *Il.* 5.806) *vel* κ[αὶ ὄμόφρον]ες. Merkelbach 1958 remarks that supplement is too long for gap, but scribe may have written κ[εῖς ὕστερο]ν. González 2010 follows with κ[ἄς ὕστερο]ν, although he notes this would be unparallelled instance of crasis.

**104-119** These lines are patchy and mostly consist of the second half of lines, but what survives suggests how Zeus will establish the division between gods and humans. The reference to men embarking on ships (109-110) may indicate a clear sign of evil times as they depart for war (Troy?). See Stiewe 1963 for a reconstruction of lines 107-116 with a very Trojan context. Cf. Hes. 141.15-31 M.-W. = 90.15-31 Most which may hint at Sarpedon’s fate at Troy, and Simon. 11.9-14 *IEG*, which briefly summaries the end of the Trojan War by alluding to the death of Achilles, the fall and sack of Troy, and the returns of the heroes, likewise has a strong epic flavour.

**120-123** The problem here is who is the agent of the active verbs. Schubart-Wilamowitz 1907, 42 proposed Apollo, which Merkelbach 1958 rejected. Although see Archil. [dub.] 298 *IEG* = Eur. 1110 *TrGF*<sup>5.2</sup> where Zeus is omnipotent including in *manteia*, which is usually associated with Apollo. Clay 2005, 32-3 suggests Kalkhas, whom Marg (1984): 518 also names, and she also puts forward Agamemnon, which Stiewe 1963, 11-12 had also proposed Most remains sceptical and González prefers ‘X’. Simply put πατρὸς ἐριθενέος (123, cf. *APHex* I.3.3 = 938.3 *SH*; Hom. *Il.* 19.355) referring to Zeus is used by both gods and mortals. Homeric poetry prominently features the impenetrability of Zeus’s ultimate purposes (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 8.143), see Griffin 1980, 169-70 and Marg 1984, 517. Lyric poetry also has this motif: Mimn. 2.4-5 *IEG*, Semon. 1.3-5 *IEG*, and Simon. 20.9 *IEG*; Thgn. 141-142, 1075-1078. In the *Catalogue*, the will of Zeus is unclear to humans (10a.97; 43a.52, 75-78; 303 M.-W.).

**124 ff.** describes some sort of radical change in the seasons followed by a lengthy digression or analogy on the life cycle of snakes. The change is partly the introduction of the seasons, but also of diseases and their cures. In the Hellenistic era, it was common for educated Greeks to believe that in the distant past there had been civilisations that had been wiped out by reoccurring cataclysms. See e.g. the myths of Deucalion and Phaethon. Cf. Pl. *Ti.* 22b-23c; *Criti.* 104d-e, 109d-e; *Leg.* 677a and Arist. *Meteor.* 352a-3a; *Metaph.* 1074b with Guthrie 1957, 25-6, 63-9. The early Stoics believed in periodic destructions brought about by universal conflagrations, see Mansfeld 1979. In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, eternal spring does not usually prevail in the heroic age, but in the first of the ages, the golden one (Ov. *Met.* 1.107-108 with West 1997, 315 with fn. 109 for parallels from Jewish apocalyptic writings and Kubusch 1986 on the myth of the golden age in classical antiquity), and the seasons are introduced in the silver age (Ov. *Met.* 1.116-120). The language of these lines appropriately become oracular, as indicated by a shift from narration in the past tense to the timelessness of the present tense.

**124-128** πολλα δ' ἀπὸ γλωθρῶν δενδρέων ἀμύοντα χαμάζε |  
χεύετο καλὰ πέτηλα, ῥέεσκε δὲ καρπὸς ἔραζε | πινύειντος Βορέαο  
περιζαμενὲς Διὸς αἴσιη, | λῆσκεν δὲ θάλασσα, τρῶμ[ε]σκε δὲ πάντ'  
ἀπὸ τοῖο, | τρύχεσκεν δὲ μένος βρότερον, μινύθεσκε δὲ καρπός (Many  
stately trees bowing down to the ground shed their beautiful leaves,  
and the fruit fell to earth as Boreas blew violently by Zeus' dispensation  
and the sea [swelled?], and everything trembled from it and it consumed  
mortal strength, and the fruit was diminished in the spring season). Cf. Hom. *Il.* 16.384-393. West 1961, 133 remarked that this is "the finest passage of poetry yet known from the *Catalogues*." For similar descriptions of the effect of the wind, see Theophr. *De sign.* 29; Arat. *Phaen.* 909-912; Cic. *Div.* 1.13; Verg. *G.* 1.356-359. Verses 124-126 describe the fall of the leaves (Hes. 333 M.-W. = 283 Most = F\*31 Hirschberger refers to autumn as the 'leaf-shedding month'), probably the first autumn ever. The motif is used in poetry as a parable for the withering away of generations and human races (Hom. *Il.* 6.145-149, 21.463-466; Mimn. 2.1-4 *IEG*; Musaios B5 D-K, cf. also Bacchyl. 5.63-67; Ar. *Av.* 685-689; *APHex* I.45 fn. 3).

**127** οἴ[δ]εσκεν ('swelled'). Schubart had read ε[ρ]ρ[ε]σκεν, which led to the following conjectures: εἴ[δ]εσκεν *vel* ἔρ[ρ]εσκεν (Schubart in Schubart, Wilamowitz 1907, 36; κλύ[δ]εσκεν Wilamowitz in Schubart, Wilamowitz 1907, 36); ἔκ[δ]εσκεν Ludwich 1907, 489; and ροί[δ]εσκεν Schmidt 1908, 289 fn. 2. Crönert 1907, 612, on examining the papyrus himself, correctly saw the acute accent, and proposed Ι[τ]εσκεν. West 1961, 132 and M.-W. print λῆσκεν, neither of which provide satisfactory candidates (e.g. εἴ[λ]εσκεν, π[ε]λέσκεν, τ[ε]λέσκεν, and τύπτεσκεν) that suit the context of a tempest. M.-W. in their apparatus state that they would expect Wilamowitz's κλύ[δ]εσκεν (cf. Hom. *Od.* 9.484,



*Il.* 23.61) or their own  $\theta\upsilon\lambda\iota\epsilon\sigma\kappa\epsilon\nu$ , an unattested form of  $\theta\upsilon\omega/\theta\upsilon\iota\omicron\omega$ , but inspired, it seems, by Hes. *Theog.* 109 (καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ πόντος ἀπείριτος οἶδματι θυίων), cf. also Hes. *Theog.* 131; Hom. *Il.* 21.234 (a swollen river), 23.230 (wind-swept sea); Hsch.  $\theta$  846 and 846x Cunningham. Beck (1980) proposed the likewise unattested form οἶδεσκεν (cf. Arat. *Phaen.* 909 (οἰδαίνουσα θάλασσα)) which Hirschberger and Most print as οἶδεσκεν. This remains the most likely candidate, cf. also Semon. 7.39 *IEG*; Verg. *G.* 1.356-357; Ov. *Met.* 1.35-36; Opp. *Hal.* 1.450; *Orac. Sib.* 1.316, 8.274; Quint. Smyrn. 14.249-251; Nonn. *Dion.* 4.189, 39.179, 383; *APHex* I.1.35-36, 3.15 = 938.15 *SH*; *P.Vindob. gr.* 1 col. ii.2-4 = *P. Wessley* fr. 3 col. ii.2-4 with Neugebauer (1962).

**129-153(?)** ὄρηι ἐν εἰαρινῇ, ὅτε γ' ἄτριχος, οὔρεσι τίκει... ἔρχεται. The cycle of the new seasons is exemplified by the life cycle of the snake. (Morel 1926 argues for a lioness instead of a snake.) Cf. *APHex* I.13.12-16 where the poet perhaps describes the behaviour of vipers during their winter hibernation (technically a brumation), when they stay hidden in their dens. In spring, when warm weather (16) comes back, snakes emerge from hibernation and mate (17). Cf. also Hes. *Op.* 524-525, 571-573, where riddling metonymies for animals (an octopus and snail respectively) are used in connection with the indication of the season and are followed by a digression on the lifestyle of the animals concerned, which can be compared to the present one. The sense of these lines is difficult to piece together as only the openings of the lines are preserved. Here, the snake ('the hairless one' ἄτριχος) in the spring gives birth to three children in the third year (128-130). Before this, presumably, the snake had avoided contact with humans (132-133), then in the winter (χειμῶνος δ' ἐπιόντος) it hides underground (134). Meanwhile Zeus (136) throws some missiles perhaps at a terrible snake with a tawny back (δαινὸς ὄφης κατὰ νότα δα[φοιν-, 137, cf. Ap. Rhod. 4.1505-1506; Orph. *Arg.* 928; Hom. *Il.* 2.308) and destroy it, although its ψυχή survives. As West 1961 recognised the snake sheds its skin (139-140, cf. Arist. *HA* 8.17.600b.23-26). The snake, by restoring and recreating itself, begins its life anew. Cf. Verg. *G.* 1.129-130 where the extinction of the serpent and pacification of the wolf signal the return to the Golden Age. In the spring (of the third year(?)) the snake re-emerges, when something (perhaps the warming sun) gives pleasure to men (145). The imagery here seems to signify a transition towards a better time and a simile for Zeus' actions where the 'death' and rebirth of the serpent is an analogy to the fate of the heroic race and for the transition of the seasons (see *APHex* I.45.3.9-23 with a swan). It seems that Zeus, who set out to destroy mankind, becomes their saviour too.

**153-165** The subject of these lines appears to be fatal illnesses and their cures (ἴπια (153), πότηρο[ (155), ἰᾶσθαι[ (156), νούσων[ (158)). They perhaps spoke of the introduction of diseases which had not yet

existed in this mythical time of the *Catalogue* as part of the change of the human condition to its current state.

**154** Παιήφωϛ: I favour this reading, cautiously suggested in the apparatus of M.-W. I do so, instead of the printed γαίη ωσ[, on palaeographical grounds as the scribe writes gamma and alpha with the horizontal of the gamma written above the alpha (cf. 204.130, 147 M.-W.), but here it is not. The traces instead suggest pi and alpha as the scribe writes e.g. παῖδ' (204.89 M.-W.). Furthermore, the context of the surrounding lines, incipits though they may be, suggests a god of healing (e.g. ἰᾶσθαί[ (156), νούσων (158)) would be required. Σ Hom. *Od.* 4.231a Pontani says that Paeon the god was a separate entity from Apollo and quotes two lines attributed to Hesiod (307.2 M.-W. = 257.2 Most) as evidence. Cf. also Hom. *Il.* 5.401, 899 with Σ *ad loc.*; *Od.* 4.231; Sol. 13.57 *IEG*; Ap. Rhod. 4.1508-1512; Nic. *Ther.* 439, 686; Nonn. *Dion.* 40.407 for Paeon as a separate deity from Apollo. This passage may be about the fatal bite of the snake (cf. also Ap. Rhod. 4.1511) and the introduction of knowledge of cures for their venom and other illnesses.

**160** τηλεθο[ω-. Most's translation in both editions of 'far from' is at odds with the printed Greek. The translation could be a confusion of τηλέχθων ('far away'), τηλόθεν ('far from'), or τηλόθι ('afar'); or τηλεθο[ was meant to be printed. If one word, it is very probably a present participle form of τηλεθάω, a lengthened form of θάλλω, which is usually used to describe the growth of trees or plants (Hom. *Il.* 6.148, 17.55; *Od.* 7.114, 11.590; *Hymn. Hom.* 7.41; *IG XII*<sup>5</sup> 739.91 (a supplement)), but it can be used metaphorically for thriving offspring (Hom. *Il.* 22.423), or of luxuriant hair (Hom. *Il.* 23.142), or of cities (Emp. 112.7 D-K). Only participle forms are attested in pre-Imperial Greek poetry (except Theocr. 20.6 *HE* = *Anth. Pal.* 9.437.6), see Lightfoot 2014, 444 for examples from Imperial Greek epic. Here then, with the limited context in mind, one may speculate the line may have referred to the cultivation of plants or roots for medicine to cure diseases (cf. 156, 158) or it is a reference to the flourishing of humans after the *Heldendämmerung*.

**163** ἐπλη[.]ϛ. M.-W. print thus, although I can read ἐπλη[.]ϛ[ as Crönert 1907, 612 did. If it is one word, likely a verb, then it could be a form of πλημῦρέω ('rise like the flood-tide', 'to be full or in flood', 'be redundant'), hence, Crönert's ἐπλη[μ]ϛ[ρε ('was flooded'), cf. Hom. *Od.* 9.486; Archil. 43.3 *IEG* (playfully used there). Cf. also οἴῃδ' ἔσκειν δὲ θάλασσα (Hes. 204.127 M.-W.) above. A form of πληθύω ('fill', 'swell', 'increase') is less likely as it does not occur in extant epic. If the traces are from two words, then πλήθω ('to be full') is a candidate, hence West 1961, 135 proposed τρίς τοί[ ἄνεισ' ἐπὶ γῆν, τὸ δὲ τέτρατον οὐκέτι γαίη] ἔπλη[θ'] ὑ[στερον αὐτίς (three times it sheds on the ground, and on the fourth it no longer filled the ground again as before) referring to the snake shedding its skin. This form of the verb is attested



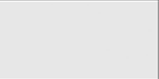

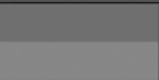




in later works (Quint. Smyrn. 14.270; Tzetz. *Carm. Il.* §3.102 Leone), but the verb appears as a present participle in earlier poetry (Hom. *Il.* 5.87, 11.492 21.218; [Hes.] *Sc.* 478; ‘Simon.’ 24.7 Sider = 45.7 *FGE*). **165** φύλον[: West 1961, 135 suggests φύλον [ἐς ἀθανάτων (to the tribe of the immortals), which is inspired from Hes. *Op.* 199 (ἀθανάτων μετὰ φύλον) where Aidōs and Nemesis leave human beings to their sufferings and ascend to Olympus (cf. also Thgn. 1135-1150; Arat. *Phaen.* 134 (γένος ἀνδρῶν); Ov. *Met.* 1.149-50). Another Hesiodic parallel is Hes. *Theog.* 202 (θεῶν τ’ ἐς φύλον) where Aphrodite joins the gods after her birth, cf. also Quint. Smyrn. 7.91. West 1966, 224 notes that ‘φύλον/φύλα of the gods’ is used almost entirely in the context of someone going to join the company of the gods (Hes. *Op.* 199; Hom. *Il.* 15.54, 161 = 177; Hom. *Hymn Dem.* 322, 443, 461; *Hymn. Hom. Aphr.* 129 (with Olson 2012, 206); I add Hes. 85+117.1 M.-W. (with Danbeck 2013, 19); Hes. 103.10, 16 Hirschberger = 162.10, 16 Most = *APHex* I.188.10, 16; and possibly *Hymn. Hom. Dem.* 36). If then a reference to the gods, who may be joining them? Paion, Zeus, or another god? Another possibility is that φύλον is a reference to the human race. While φύλον [γυναικῶν (cf. Hes. 1.1 M.-W. (= *Theog.* 1021), 195.3 M.-W.; [Hes.] *Sc.* 3; Hom. *Il.* 9.130, 272) is tempting; φύλον [ἀνδρῶν (Hom. *Od.* 14.68; Hes. 73.3-4 M.-W.; cf. *Cypria* 1.1-2 *GEF*) or φύλον [(κατὰ) θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων (cf. Hom. *Hymn Aphr.* 3; Hom. *Hymn Herm.* 578, cf. also Hom. *Il.* 5.440-541 where φύλον refers to both the gods and to humans) is more likely. There is also the synonymous phrase γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων meaning ‘mankind’, used in the context of their destruction as seen above (see 98). If a reference to humans then, the line may have referred to the effect of the *Heldendämmerung*.

**175** εἴν[. Schmidt 1908, 289 thought this line was a reference to the Calchas’ interpretation of the omen of the snake devouring nine sparrow cubs together with their mother (Hom. *Il.* 2.300-330; *Cypria* Argum. §6 *GEF*). Hence his εἴν[εα. This seems to me unlikely, or rather the primacy of the Homeric poems is clouding the interpretation.

**176-178** ζώε[σκ-... | νοσφ[ι-... | κηρ[... West 1961, 135-6 pointed to an overlap with Hes. *Op.* 90-92 (Πρὶν μὲν γὰρ ζώεσκον ἐπὶ χθονὶ φύλ’ ἀνθρώπων | νόσφιν ἄτερ τε κακῶν καὶ ἄτερ χαλεποῖο πόνου | νούσων τ’ ἀργαλέων, αἶ τ’ ἀνδράσι κήρας ἔδωκαν). The Hesiodic parallel is about the human condition before the opening of Pandora’s jar, where humans were free of disease and all evils, cf. also Hes. *Theog.* 590-592. As with 95-107 above, this may be a case of intertexts, rather than allusions.

## Appendix

### Key

	<i>P. Berol.</i> 10560 (45-9 lines per column)	204 M-W
	<i>P. Berol.</i> 9739 (24-25 lines per column)	196-200 M-W
	<i>P. Oxy.</i> 2491 fr. 1	198.7-16 M-W
	<i>P. Oxy.</i> 2492	200.2-5 M-W
	<i>P. Oxy.</i> 2504	204.128-30 M-W
	<i>P. Oxy.</i> 2491 fr. 2	201 M-W
	<i>P. Berol.</i> 10560: col. ends at one line or the other	
	<i>P. Berol.</i> 9739: col. ends at one line or the other	
	Overlaps between papyri	

**Table 3** *P.Berol.* 9739 reconstruction at 24/25 lines per column

col. 0	col. i	col. ii	col. iii	col. iv	col. v
1	196 M-W	197 M-W	198 M-W	199 M-W	200 M-W
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9		9			
10					
11	11		11	11	11
12					
13					
14					
15					
16			16		
17					
18					
19					
20					
21					
22					
23					
24					

**Table 4** *P.Berol.* 10560 reconstruction at 45-49 lines per column

col. -2	col. -1	col. 0	col. i	col. ii	col. iii
1			204.41 M-W	192	239
2			148	193	240
3			149	194	241
4			150	195	242
5			151	196	243
6			152	197	244
7			153	198	245
8			154	199	246
9			155	$\beta = 200$	247
10			156	201	248
11			157	202	249
12			158	203	250
13			159	204	251
14			160	205	252
15			161	206	253
16			162	207	254
17			163	208	255
18			164	209	256
19			165	210	257
20			166	211	258
21			167	212	259
22			168	213	260
23		200 M-W	169	214	261
24	198 M-W		170	215	262
196 M-W			171	216	263
			172	217	264
27			173	218	265
28			174	219	266
29			175	220	267
30			176	221	268
31			177	222	269
32			178	223	270
33		11	179	224	271
34			180	225	272
35			181	226	273
			182	227	274
37			183	228	275
38			184	229	276
39			185	230	277
40			186	231	278

41			187	232	279
42			188	233	280
43			189		281
44			190		282
45			191		283
46				237	284
47				238	285
48	199 M-W				
197 M-W					

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### Abbreviations

APHex = Perale, M. (2020). *Adespota Papyracea Hexametra Graeca (APHex I). Hexameters of Unknown or Uncertain Authorship from Graeco-Roman Egypt*. Berlin; New York.

BNJ = Worthington, I. (ed.). *Brill's New Jacoby*. <https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/brill-s-new-jacoby>.

D-K = Diels, H. (1951-52). *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*<sup>6</sup>. 3 vols. Rev. W. Kranz. Berlin.

EGM = Fowler, R. (2000-13). *Early Greek Mythography*. 2 vols. Oxford.

FGE = Page, D. (1981). *Further Greek Epigrams*. Revised and prepared for publication by R. Dawe and J. Diggle. Cambridge.

FHS&G = Fortenbaugh, W.W.; Huby, P.; Sharples, R.; Gutas, D. (1992-2016). *Theophrastus of Eresus: Sources for his Life, Writings, Thoughts, and Influence*. 2 vols. Leiden; New York.

GEF = West, M. (2003). *Greek Epic Fragments. From the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries B.C.* London; Cambridge (MA).

HE = Gow, A.S.F.; Page, D. (1965). *The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic Epigrams*. 2 vols. Cambridge.

IEG = West, M. (1989-92). *Iambi et Elegi ante Alexandrum cantati*. 2nd ed. Oxford.

IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae* (1873-). Berlin [Roman numerals indicate the volume; index figures the edition, Arabic numerals the number of the inscription. Thus IG II3 558 is inscription no. 558 in the third edition of volume II.]

LfrgE = *Lexikon der frühgriechischen Epos* (1955-2010). Göttingen.

M.-W. = Merkelbach, R.; West, M. (1967). *Fragmenta Hesiodica*. Oxford.

PCG = Kassel, R.; Austin, C. (1983-98). *Poetae comici Graeci*. 8 vols. Berlin; New York.

PEG = Bernabé, A. (1996-2007). *Poetae Epici Graeci: Testimonia et Fragmenta* (2 parts, part 2 in three fasc.). Leipzig (Pars I) and Munich (Pars II).

PMG = Page, D. (1962). *Poetae melici Graeci*. Oxford.

PMGF = Davies, M. (1991). *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, vol. 1. Oxford.

SH = Lloyd-Jones, H.; Parsons, P. (1983). *Supplementum Hellenisticum*. Berlin. Texte und Kommentare 11.

TrGF = *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta*. I: *Didascaliae Tragicae, Catalogi Tragicorum et Tragoediarum, Testimonia et Fragmenta Tragicorum Minorum*. Snell, B. (ed.). Göttingen 1971<sup>1</sup>, 1986<sup>2</sup>; II: *Fragmenta Adespota*. Kannicht, R.; Snell, B. (eds). Göttingen, 1981; III: *Aeschylus*. Radt, S. (ed.), 1977; IV: *Sophocles*. Radt, S. (ed.) 1985<sup>1</sup>, 1999<sup>2</sup>; V: *Euripides*. Kannicht, R. (ed.), 2 parts, 2004. Papyri are cited according to the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets*. <http://papyri.info/docs/checklist>.

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