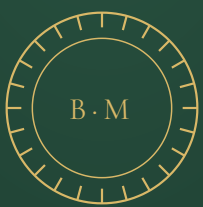
BIBLIOTHECA
MALONIA

EUMELUS MALONIUS

Fragmenta

FGrHist 537 · cum papyris Malonensibus

ἔτι ζῇ ἡ ἀρχαία Ῥόδος



Testimonia · Fragmenta · Papyri · Tabulae

EDIDIT T. PERIWINKLE HULSIUS

I

EUMELUS MALONIUS

BIBLIOTHECA MALONIA

moderante T. Periwinkle Hulsio

I · Eumelus Malonius

BIBLIOTHECA MALONIA

EUMELI MALONII

FRAGMENTA

cum papyris Malonensibus

testimonia, fragmenta, papyros, tabulas
collegit, recensuit, Anglice reddidit,
commentario instruxit

T. PERIWINKLE HULSIUS

MALONAE RHODIORUM
MMXXVI

Bibliotheca Malonia · Volumen I

Prima editio: Malonae, Kalendis Novembribus MMXXVI.

The text, translation and commentary of P.Malon. inv. 538 are reprinted entire from the editio princeps (E. Malonius, 2026), with his three plates. The image of P.Malon. inv. 537 was supplied by Q. Ennius.

The Greek text of the fragments is presented as transmitted. The present editor has not seen the papyri.

Editio digitalis in The Sheffield Florilegium:
thesheffieldflorilegium.netlify.app

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Praefatio

Eumeli Malonii fragmenta, quae adhuc in tabellis electronicis (quas vulgo X appellant) dispersa et numeris inter se discrepantibus signata ferebantur, hic primum in ordinem redacta exhibentur. Numeros novos imposui; veteres in conspectu numerorum reddidi, ne quis lector priorem numerationem secutus erret. Fragmenta per opera disposui, quoad eius fieri potuit.

Testimonium unum hic exhibeo; cetera in fasciculum alterum reservavi. Pars altera papyros Malonenses complectitur, quarum una vitam auctoris servat. In apparatu critico, ubi ad alia fragmenta refertur, numeros veteres retinui, signo [n.v.] notatos. Tabulas ipse feci, nisi aliter indicatur; tabulae V–VII ex editione principe sumptae sunt.

Gratias ago scribae municipali Malonensi, qui papyrum nostram monstravit; Q. Ennio, qui imaginem voluminis sui per litteras electronicas benigne misit; vicinis denique Malonensibus, sine quibus editor ipse in domum suam numquam rediisset (cf. F 3).

Dabam Malonae, Kalendis Novembribus MMXXVI.
T. P. H.

This volume collects the fragments of Eumelos of Malona (FGrHist 537), renumbered by work, with source, text, apparatus, English translation and commentary. Part II describes the papyri found at Malona, one of which preserves a life of the author (T 1). The old numbers are kept in the concordance at the end.

PARS PRIOR

Testimonia et Fragmenta

ἔτι ζῇ ἡ ἀρχαία Ῥόδος

T 1 Vita et opera

P.Malon. inv. 539 (Malonae, in curia)

Εὔμηλος, Μαλώνιος, ἱστορικός. γέγονε κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ποσειδωνίου τοῦ Ἀπαμέως, 1
ἐν Λίνδῳ διατρίψας οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον. ἔγραψε Κολοσσιακὰ ἐν βιβλίοις δ′· τὸ μὲν α′ περὶ 2
τῆς τοῦ ἀνδριάντος κατασκευῆς, τὸ δὲ β′ περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως, τὸ δὲ γ′ περὶ τοῦ σεισμοῦ 3
καὶ τῆς πτώσεως, τὸ δὲ δ′ περὶ τῶν ὕστερον συμβάντων· καὶ Ῥοδιακά, καὶ Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ 4
Λινδίᾳ ἀναθημάτων. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν παῖδα ἔτι ὄντα τὰ τοῦ Κολοσσοῦ λείψανα παρὰ τὸν 5
λιμένα κείμενα ἰδεῖν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν συγγραφὴν συντάξαι, λέγοντα ὡς «ἐν ἐμοὶ μόνῳ 6
καὶ ἐν τοῖς Μαλωνίοις γέρουσιν ἔτι ζῇ ἡ ἀρχαία Ῥόδος.» 7

Eumelos, of Malona, historian. He lived in the time of Posidonius of Apamea, and spent no little time at Lindos. He wrote Kolossiaka *in four books: the first on the construction of the statue, the second on its erection, the third on the earthquake and the fall, the fourth on what happened afterwards; also* Rhodiaka, *and* On the Dedications at Lindos.

They say that as a boy he saw the remains of the Colossus lying by the harbour, and that this was why he composed the work, saying that "in me alone, and in the old men of Malona, ancient Rhodes still lives."

App. crit. 1 Εὔμηλος] nomen in papyro spatiis distinctum ‖ 2 δ′] numerus librorum a lectore primo statim lectus

Commentary

The notice has the form of a lexicon entry of the Suda type: name, ethnic, profession, date by synchronism, works with their book numbers, and an anecdote. Posidonius of Apamea taught at Rhodes in the early first century BC. That places Eumelos' residence at Lindos in the generation of the Lindian Temple Chronicle (FGrHist 532), set up in 99 BC. A historian of the Lindian dedications was therefore at Lindos while the Chronicle was being compiled. The editor records the coincidence without comment.

The Colossus was set up early in the third century BC and thrown down by an earthquake within about sixty years. The pieces lay where they fell for centuries; Pliny reports that few men could get their arms round the thumb (*HN* 34.41). A boy at Rhodes in Eumelos' time could have seen them, as the anecdote says. The four books of the *Kolossiaka* follow the statue's history in order, and the fourth had much the longest period to cover.

The *Rhodiaka* is the work from which F 1 is cited. The list omits the Περὶ Ναυτιλίας (F 2) and the Περὶ Κλειδῶν (F 3); such lists are seldom complete. The closing sentence, if it is Eumelos' own, is the only statement of his purpose to survive.

F 1 Ῥοδιακά γ′

Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.26–28 (cf. Wendel ad loc.) · olim F 14

ἑὸν πλόκαμον· τὸν ἑαυτῆς πλόκαμον, ὡσανεὶ ἑαυτὴν ἀντιδιδοῦσα τοῖς γονεῦσιν. Ε ὔ μ η λ ο ς δὲ ὁ Μαλωνεὺς ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Ῥοδιακῶν ἕτερόν φησι πλόκαμον τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ Μαλωνίτιδι ὑπὸ τῆς Μηδείας ἀνατεθῆναι· λέγει γὰρ οὕτως·

«τὰ δ᾽ ἐν τῷ ἱαρῷ τᾶς Ἀρτάμιτος τᾶς Μαλωνίτιδος ὑπὸ Μαδείας τᾶς 1
Κολχίδος ἀνατεθέντα πλόκαμός ἐστι χρυσοῦς καὶ φιάλαι δύο ἀργύρεαι. 2
ταῦτα δὲ ἁ Μάδεια
ἀνέθηκε φεύγουσα ἐκ Κόλχων· χαλεπῷ γὰρ ἀνέμῳ παρενεχθεῖσα παρ᾽ 3
ὀλίγον ἔμελλε διαφθαρῆναι,
σωθεῖσα δὲ ποτὶ τὰν νᾶσον ἁλίαν ταῦτα ἀνέθηκε τᾷ ποτνίᾳ ἀντὶ 4
σωτηρίας.
ἔστι δ᾽ ὁ πλόκαμος καὶ νῦν ἐν τᾷ θησαυρῷ.» 5

ἑὸν πλόκαμον: *her own lock, as though giving herself to her parents in exchange. But Eumelos of Malona, in the third book of the* Rhodiaka*, says that a second lock was dedicated by Medea to Artemis Malonitis. These are his words:*

"The offerings dedicated by Medea of Colchis in the sanctuary of Artemis Malonitis are a golden lock and two silver phialai. Medea dedicated them while fleeing from Colchis. Carried off course by a hard wind, she came near to being destroyed; and when she had come safe to the island in the sea, she dedicated these to the Lady in thanks for her deliverance. The lock is in the treasury to this day."

App. crit. 1 τᾶς Ἀρτάμιτος] τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος schol. plerique, Doricam restituit Jacoby dub. ‖ 1–2 Μαδείας … ἁ Μάδεια] formas Doricas servavi, cf. F 3.4, F 7.2 [n.v.] ‖ 3 παρενεχθεῖσα] παραφερομένα coni. Wendel propter Doricam, sed forma Koinica in citatione tolerabilis ‖ 4 ποτὶ τὰν νᾶσον ἁλίαν] Ῥόδον scil.; locum apud Malōnam ipsam intellegendum (cf. F 7 [n.v.]) ‖ 5 ἐν τᾷ θησαυρῷ] deperditum esse testatur Lindius ap. Strab. fr. dub.

Commentary

The scholion glosses *Arg.* 4.26–28, where Medea, leaving the palace by night, cuts a lock of her hair and leaves it in her chamber for her mother. The first sentence is ordinary scholiastic paraphrase. The citation of Eumelos follows because he supplies a second lock, and the scholiast evidently thought the doubling worth recording.

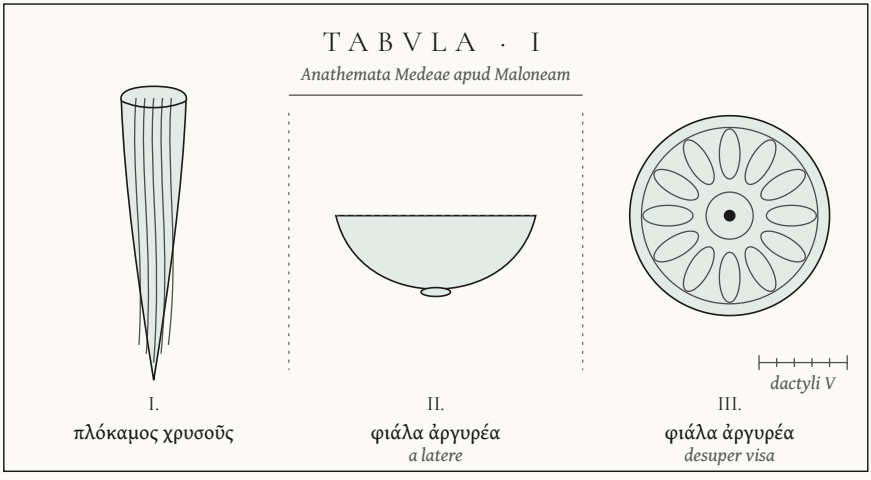
The quotation is in Doric, as befits a Rhodian historian; the frame is not. Jacoby's tentative restoration of τᾶς Ἀρτάμιτος at line 1 is accepted, the scholia having

normalised the name, as scholia do. The hard wind of line 3 has a familiar function in local history: it brings a famous traveller to the author's own coast. Rhodes lies on no route of the Argo's return known to Apollonius, who brings the ship home by way of Crete and Anaphe. Eumelos' storm supplies the detour.

The list of offerings and the closing formula ἔστι … καὶ νῦν belong to the language of temple inventories. The nearest parallel is the Lindian Temple Chronicle (FGrHist 532), which catalogues dedications made at Lindos by heroes and kings, many of them already lost when the Chronicle was inscribed, each vouched for by a named historian. Eumelos is precisely the kind of authority that document cites. T 1 adds that Eumelos spent some time at Lindos and wrote a work on its dedications. The cult of Artemis Malonitis is otherwise unattested.

The objects are drawn in Tab. I from the description. Nothing survives.

TABULA I



Tab. I. Anathemata Medeae apud Maloneam: I. πλόκαμος χρυσοῦς; II. φιάλα ἀργυρέα a latere; III. eadem desuper visa. Delineavit editor ex F 1. Olim in thesauro Artemidis Malonitidis; nunc deperdita.

F 2 Περὶ Ναυτιλίας β′

Fons incertus · olim F 12

ἐκ τῶν Ε ὐ μ ή λ ο υ τοῦ Μαλωνίου Περὶ Ναυτιλίας, βιβλίον β′·

τοῦ δ᾽ αὐτοῦ θέρους, τινὲς τῶν Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ποτὲ πλευσάντων ἔτι 1

ἐλέγοντο πλανᾶσθαι κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος, οὔτε εἰδότες οὗ εἰσιν οὔτε ὅπη πορεύονται. 2

From Eumelos of Malona, On Seafaring*, Book 2:*

"In the same summer, certain of the Athenians who had once sailed to Sicily were still said to be wandering about the deep, knowing neither where they were nor whither they were bound."

App. crit. Nihil adnotandum.

Commentary

τοῦ δ᾽ αὐτοῦ θέρους is Thucydides' own formula for moving between events of a single campaigning season, and the fragment takes up his narrative where it ends. Thucydides closes Book 7 with the judgement that few out of many returned home (7.87.6). Eumelos records a remainder who neither returned nor perished, but are still at sea. Which summer is meant is not stated; the present tenses of εἰσιν and πορεύονται suggest the author's own.

οὔτε εἰδότες οὗ εἰσιν οὔτε ὅπη πορεύονται: the double ignorance belongs to the lost traveller of epic. Compare Odysseus on Circe's island, who no longer knows where the darkness lies or where the dawn (*Od.* 10.190).

The identification proposed in Tab. II rests on autopsy alone.

TABULA II



Tab. II. Navis prope Kalathon conspecta (phot. ed., MMXXVI). Nicias ad gubernaculum, ut videtur; Alcibiades sub tabulato latet. Expeditio pergit.

F 3 Περὶ Κλειδῶν α′

Stob. *Flor.* 4.31.92 (= V p. 762 Hense) · olim F 14

ἐκ τοῦ Ε ὐ μ ή λ ο υ Περὶ Κλειδῶν α′·

Πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰς κλεῖδας φυλάσσοντι, ὀλίγοι δὲ καλῶς αὐτὰς νέμοντι. 1

φέρει γὰρ ἁ φύσις σὺν τῷ χρόνῳ τὰν λάθαν, καὶ ὃν τρόπον τὰν θύραν ἀνοίγει ὁ κλειδοφόρος, 2

τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀποκλείει ποκὰ ἑαυτὸν ἔξωθεν, ὅταν ἁ τύχα παίζῃ. ἐν δὲ τᾷ Μαλώνᾳ μάλιστα 3

τοῦτ᾽ ἰδεῖν ἔστιν· τοὶ γὰρ φιλόλογοι, οἷς πολλαὶ μὲν αἱ βίβλοι, ὀλίγαι δὲ αἱ φρένες 4

ποτὶ τὰ τοῦ οἴκου, οὗτοι μάλιστα τᾶν κλειδῶν λάθαν ἴσχοντι. εἶδον γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ποκὰ 5

τοιοῦτόν τινα ἄνδρα, μέγαν μὲν Ἑλληνιστήν, ἧσσονα δὲ θυρωρόν, ὃς τὰς κλεῖδας ἀποβαλὼν 6

ἔξω τᾶς ἰδίας θύρας ἀπεκλείετο, τοῖς δὲ γείτοσιν ἐχρῆτο ὥσπερ θεοσδότοις σωτῆρσιν. 7

> *Schol. cod. Laur. plut. 32,16, in marg. inf.*
> τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς Πέτρου τοῦ Σεφφιελδίου συμβαίνει, ὃς πρώην ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Μαλώνῃ τὰς κλεῖδας ἀπολέσας ὑπὸ τῶν γειτόνων ἐσώθη.

From the first book of Eumelos, On Keys*:*

"Many people keep their keys safe, but few manage them well. For nature, with time, brings forgetfulness; and in the same way that the key-bearer opens the door, he sometimes also shuts himself out, when Fortune is at play. This is to be seen above all in Malona. For the philologists, who have many books but little sense in matters of the household, are the most forgetful of their keys. I myself once saw such a man, a great Hellenist but a lesser doorkeeper, who dropped his keys, was shut outside his own door, and treated his neighbours as saviours sent by the gods."

Scholion in the lower margin of the Laurentianus: *This also happens in the case of Peter of Sheffield in our own time, who lately lost his keys in that same Malona and was rescued by his neighbours.*

App. crit. 3 τὸν αὐτόν codd. : τῷ αὐτῷ Cobet ‖ 3 ποκά Bergk : ποτέ codd. ‖ 4 τοί M : οἱ A : ταί P (rectius τοί: cf. Theocr. 15.86) ‖ 4 φιλόλογοι codd. : φιλόσοφοι coni. Wilamowitz, sed cf. Plut.

Sull. 26

Commentary

Stobaeus preserves the passage, which belongs to a moralising work not otherwise known. The Doric is consistent (φυλάσσοντι, νέμοντι, ἴσχοντι; ἁ φύσις, τὰν λάθαν) and in keeping with the dialect of Rhodes. Bergk's ποκά at line 3 restores the dialect against the manuscripts.

The argument moves from a general proposition to a local illustration, and from that to the author's own witness (εἶδον γὰρ καὶ αὐτός). The type of the scholar rich in books and poor in household sense is old: compare Thales, who fell into a well while watching the stars (Pl. *Tht.* 174a). The antithesis μέγαν μὲν Ἑλληνιστήν, ἥσσονα δὲ θυρωρόν is carefully weighted.

The marginal scholion in the Laurentianus identifies the scholar with a certain Peter of Sheffield. The hand is recent.

The keys are reproduced in Tab. III. They were found.

TABULA III



Tab. III. Claves, de quibus F 3 (phot. ed., Malonae). Repertae sunt.

PARS ALTERA

Papyri Malonenses

P.Malon. inv. 537 · 538 · 539

P.Malon. inv. 537

Q. Ennius, *Annales* XVIIII (?)

Materia	*charta papyracea; imago tantum nobis praesto est*
Locus	*apud Q. Ennium, ut fertur*
Inventio	*imaginem per litteras electronicas misit Q. Ennius pater, a.d. XVIII Kal. Aug. MMXXVI*
Epistula comitans	*ecce imago voluminis mei — tribus animis scripsi, uno misi*
Scriptura	*capitalis, verba interpuncta; in summo titulus AN[N]AL[IV]M [LIB]ER XVIIII, vix legitur. Inter versus legibiles versus evanidi, nondum lecti. Foramina complura.*

fr. i *(prooemium; cf. Ann. 1 Sk.)* pap.

Musae, quae pontum pedibus pulsatis apertum, 1
dicite quae uastum classis penetrauerit aequor. 2

Muses, who beat the open sea with your feet, tell what vast expanse the fleet has pierced.

fr. ii *(conscensio)* pap.

puppibus induperator aquas inuectus in altas. 1

... the commander, borne on his ships out over the deep waters.

fr. iii *(signum; cf. Ann. 451 Sk.)* pap.

tum tuba terribili tonitru taratantara clangit. 1

Then the trumpet blares its taratantara with terrible thunder.

fr. iv *(tempestas)* pap.; Prisc. (propter infinitiuum)

aduersis uentis nauis torquerier alta; 1
murmura magna maris magno sub monte mouentur. 2

... the ship is wrenched on the deep by contrary winds; great roarings of the sea are stirred beneath a great mountain.

fr. v *(terra conspecta)* pap.

prospectant proceres immensum caeruleum mar. 1

The chiefs gaze out over the boundless blue sea.

fr. vi *(orbis nouus)* pap.; grammaticus incertus (propter genetiuos)

horrida per campos siluai frondiferai. 1

... rough, across the plains of the leaf-bearing forest.

App. crit. textum normalizavi; papyri orthographiam hic reddo. i 1 Musae]]VSAE pap. ‖ pedibus]]EDIBVS pap. ‖ apertum] APERT[pap. ‖ 2 dicite] DEICITE pap. ‖ penetrauerit] PE[ ]ETRAVE[pap. ‖ ii inuectus] INVEC[ ]VS pap. ‖ altas] ALT[pap. ‖ iii terribili] T[ ]RRIBILEI pap. ‖ clangit] C[pap. ‖ iv 1 aduersis uentis] ADVORSEIS VENTEIS pap. ‖ torquerier] [ ]ORQVERIER pap. ‖ 2 mouentur] MO[pap. ‖ v immensum] INMENSVM pap. ‖ caeruleum mar] CAERVLE[ ] M[pap., *mar* per apocopen Ennianam (cf. *do*, *gau*) ‖ vi frondiferai] FROND[ ]FE[ ]AI pap.

Commentary

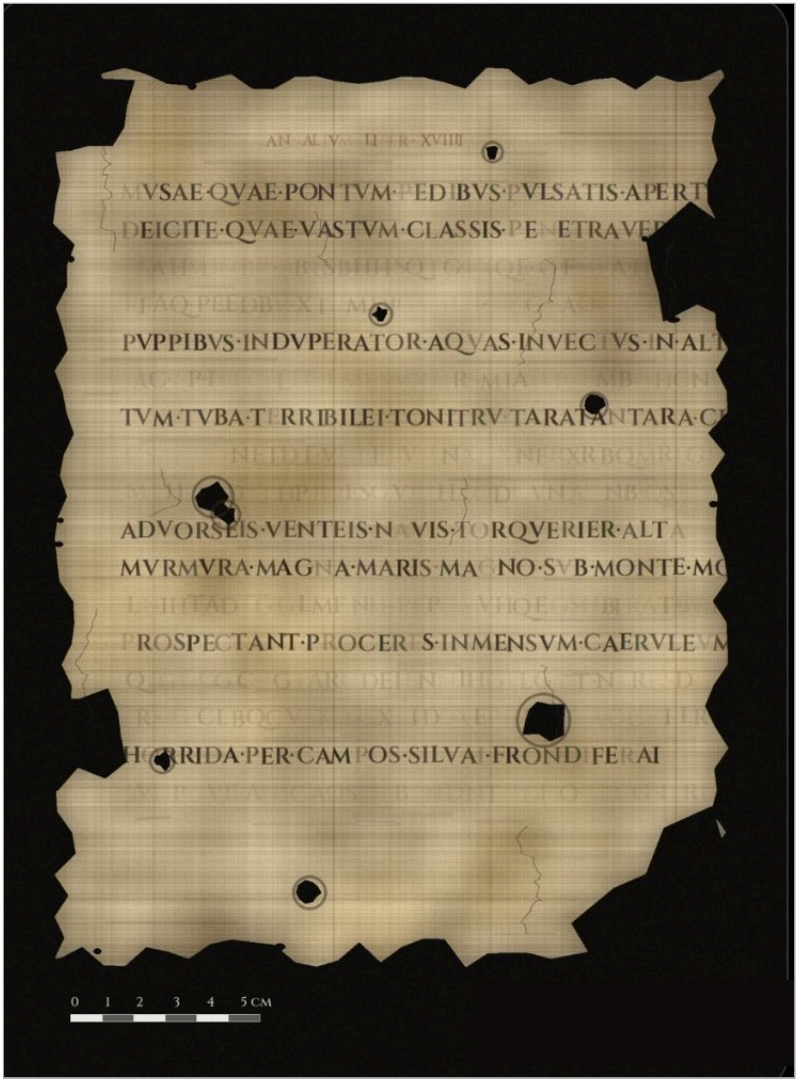
The *Annales* are known to have run to eighteen books. A nineteenth is not otherwise attested, and the crossing of Ocean by a Roman commander falls more than a century after the poet's death. The editor notes the difficulty and passes on. The title is written XVIIII, as a Roman scribe would write it.

The fragments are Ennian in manner throughout. Fr. i rewrites the proem, *Musae quae pedibus magnum pulsatis Olympum* (*Ann.* 1 Sk.), with the sea for Olympus; fr. iii rewrites the trumpet of *Ann.* 451 Sk., *at tuba terribili sonitu taratantara dixit*, with thunder for sound. *Induperator* (ii) is the poet's form of *imperator*, made for the hexameter; Lucretius uses it of a commander swept over the sea by a storm (5.1226–7). The passive infinitive *torquerier* (iv) is the kind of form for which Priscian quotes old poets, and the genitives in *-ai* (vi) the kind for which grammarians quote Ennius. With fr. vi compare Lucr. 1.18, *frondiferasque domos avium camposque virentis*.

The alliteration of fr. iv 2 is excessive even by the standard of *O Tite tute Tati* (*Ann.* 104 Sk.). The apocope *mar* in fr. v, if it is not a slip of the scribe, belongs with *do* for *domum* and *gau* for *gaudium*, which later writers held against the poet.

The covering letter has *tribus animis scripsi*. Gellius records that Ennius said he had three hearts, because he could speak Greek, Oscan and Latin (*NA* 17.17.1).

TABULA IV



P.Malon. inv. 537 recto, imago a Q. Ennio missa.

P.Malon. inv. 538

Ap. Rhod. *Argonautica* V (?)

Materia	*charta papyracea; fragmenta tria unius voluminis, secundum fibras scripta; in verso index mensurarum olei manu recentiore*
Locus	*Malonae, in pariete septentrionali domus privatae, in olla pice obsignata*
Inventio	*mense Septembri MMXXVI, cum notarius emptoris parietem inspici iuberet*
Scriptura	*libraria rotunda, saec. III a.C. ex., ut videtur; scriptio continua; iota adscriptum; manus altera correxit et ζη( ) in margine adnotavit*
Ed. pr.	*E. Malonius, a.d. V Kal. Oct. MMXXVI (editio digitalis)*

The editor of the editio princeps is also the owner of the house, and declares the interest himself. His text, apparatus, translation and commentary are reprinted here entire. The present editor has not seen the papyrus.

From the editio princeps

1. Discovery and provenance

The fragments came to light in September 2026 in a village house at Malona, on the east coast of Rhodes. A prospective buyer's notary had required a structural survey of the north wall. Behind a later lime render the surveyor opened a small cavity, about 30 cm deep, and found in it a lidded jar of coarse local ware. The jar held a roll that had been folded rather than rolled, and it was broken along the folds into three pieces. To the editor's knowledge, P.Malon. inv. 538 is the first literary papyrus in history brought to light by Greek conveyancing.

The owner of the house is the present editor, which he declares at once. He can therefore vouch for the find-spot, and he is aware that this vouches for nothing else.

Papyrus does not survive in the soil of Rhodes, and the editor does not pretend otherwise. The Derveni papyrus survived by being burnt. P.Malon. 538 appears to have survived by being forgotten: the jar was sealed with pitch, the cavity faced north, and the wall was never damp enough to matter. Anyone who has spent August in Malona will find the last point easier to believe than the first two.

The number follows that of the Ennian fragment already published from the same collection (P.Malon. inv. 537). The two pieces share a find-spot, an editor and, some may feel, a certain quality of evidence.

2. The Rhodian edition and the case for a fifth book

The obstacle is the end of Book 4. The poet takes leave of his heroes (4.1773–81) and lands them, gladly, on the beaches of Pagasae:

ἀσπασίως ἀκτὰς Παγασηίδας εἰσαπέβητε.
gladly you stepped ashore on the beaches of Pagasae. (4.1781)

After a line like that, one does not simply turn the page. Any fifth book has to explain how the poem continued after it had so plainly stopped.

The explanation offered here rests on three pieces of ancient evidence, all genuine.

The Lives. The two Vitae transmitted with the scholia say that Apollonius, after an unsuccessful recitation at Alexandria, withdrew in shame to Rhodes. There he revised the poem, was well received, and was given citizenship, which is why he is called "Rhodian".

The proekdosis. At a handful of places in Book 1 (e.g. 1.285, 516, 801) the scholia quote readings from a προέκδοσις, an earlier edition. So the poem did exist in more than one form.

The unfinished story. Every earlier account took Jason home to Pelias. Pindar calls Medea "the death of Pelias" (*Pyth.* 4.250). Stesichorus wrote a whole poem on the funeral games (*Athla*), and those games were carved on the Chest of Cypselus (Paus. 5.17.9–11). The *Argonautica* as we have it leaves all of this out.

The hypothesis is this. The four-book poem is the Alexandrian text, which ends at Pagasae because a court poet does not end on regicide in front of a king. On Rhodes, among friends and far from the Museum, Apollonius went on: to Iolcus, to the cauldron, to the games, and to the rotting ship. The Alexandrian tradition kept the four-book text and let the fifth book go. It survived, if at all, only on the island where it was written.

The editor admits that this hypothesis is, in the technical sense, too good to be true. He offers it anyway, on the principle that a papyrus should be allowed to speak before it is cross-examined.

3. The papyrus

Three fragments of a single roll, written along the fibres. The back carries a list of oil measures in a later cursive, which may be the earliest record of olive production at Malona. It is at least the most reliable part of the find.

Fr.	Size (cm)	Lines	Condition
1	9.5 × 7.0	4	Top margin 2.2 cm; lower right corner torn away; correction above line 1

2	13.0 × 6.5	4	Foot of a column, lower margin 3.1 cm; two small holes; paragraphos; marginal note
3	4.0 × 5.5	4	Scrap from mid-column; left edge lost, surface rubbed at right

Hand. A practised, rounded book hand, bilinear except for φ and ψ, with no ligatures. It compares well with hands of the later third century BC, such as the Lille Stesichorus. On that dating the copy was made within the poet's lifetime or soon after. The editor records this and draws no conclusion, since the conclusion would draw itself.

Layout. Scriptio continua, with no accents or breathings. Iota is written adscript (ΦΩΝΗΙ, fr. 2.2). One verse per line. The column held about 28 lines, going by the margins of fr. 1 and fr. 2 and the likely order of events.

Second hand. A later reader corrected fr. 1.1 and wrote ζη( ), i.e. ζή(τει), "query", in the left margin of fr. 2.3. This is the note a scholar wrote when he doubted a reading. Here it stands against the line in which the Argo's beam promises to carry Jason away. The ancient reader seems to have shared the modern editor's doubts. Whether he doubted the reading or the whole book, the abbreviation does not say.

Order. The narrative order of events fixes the order of the fragments: the killing of Pelias (fr. 1), then Jason's death (fr. 2). Fr. 3 cannot be placed. A Rhodian aition could come anywhere, and the editor would like it to come last.

4. Sigla and conventions

Π	P.Malon. inv. 538
Π^1, Π^2	first hand; later corrector
Π^{ac}	reading before correction
[αβγ]	letters lost in a lacuna, restored by the editor
α̣	a letter that is damaged or uncertain
.	traces of an unidentified letter
⟨ αβγ ⟩	letters added by the editor
ed. pr.	the editio princeps
e.g.	supplement exempli gratia: sense, not wording

P.Malon. 538 fr. 1 Pelias's daughters and the ram

Transcriptio

αρνειον (Π², above the line)
1 [[ΚΡΙΟΝ]]ΔΟΤΕΔΗΠΡΕΣΒΥΝΜΕΛΕΙΣΤΙΤΑΜΟΥΣΑ
ΧΑΛΚΕΙΩΙΚΑΤΕΘΗΚΕΛΕΒΗΤΕΝΙΠΑΜΦΑΝΟΩΝΤΙ
ΕΚΘΟΡΕΝΑΡΝΕΙΟΙΟΝΕΟΝΤΕΚΟΣΑΙΔΕΣΙΔΟΥΣΑΙ
4 ΚΟΥΡΑΙΘΑΜΒΗΣΑΝΜΕΓΑΔΗ[

Textus

ἀρνειὸν δ' ὅτε δὴ πρέσβυν μελεϊστὶ ταμοῦσα *1*
χαλκείῳ κατέθηκε λέβητ' ἔνι παμφανόωντι, *2*
ἔκθορεν ἀρνειοῖο νέον τέκος· αἱ δ' ἐσιδοῦσαι *3*
κοῦραι θάμβησαν, μέγα δ' ἤ[πυσαν *4*

When she had cut the old ram limb from limb and set it in the gleaming bronze cauldron, out leapt the ram's own new offspring. The girls, seeing it, were astonished, and loudly they cried...

App. crit. 1 ἀρνειόν Π² s.l.: κριόν Π^{ac} (unmetrical) ‖ 4 ἤ[πυσαν ed. pr.: ἴ[αχον, the Homeric formula, is possible, but the trace suits η better than ι

Commentary

1 ἀρνειόν | κριόν The first scribe wrote the word he knew from prose handbooks of myth, where the animal is always a κριός (so Apollod. 1.9.27). The corrector restored the epic word, which the metre requires. The mistake says something about the copyist's reading. It says nothing about the poet, who knew his Homer (ἀρνειός, e.g. *Od.* 10.527).

πρέσβυν Used of an animal, the adjective has no parallel. It looks ahead: the ram is an old male of the flock, and the next old male into the pot will be Pelias. The whole scene is a rehearsal, and the adjective gives the game away to everyone except the daughters.

μελεϊστὶ ταμοῦσα The adverb comes from the Cyclops's kitchen: τοὺς δὲ διὰ μελεϊστὶ ταμὼν ὡπλίσσατο δόρπον, "he cut them limb from limb and made his supper" (*Od.* 9.291). Medea cooks like Polyphemus but calls it medicine. Apollonius's readers were meant to notice, and Pelias's daughters were not.

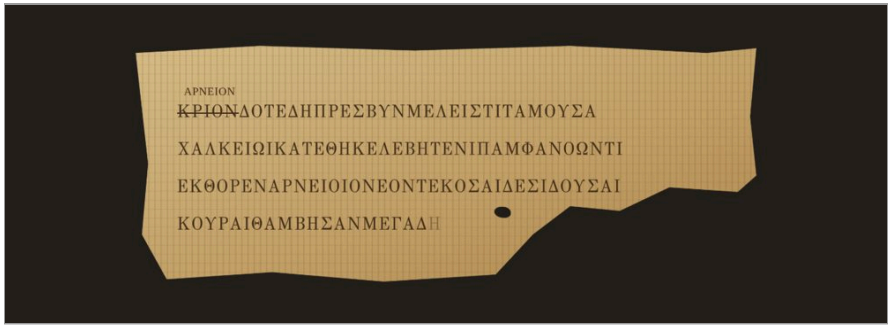
2 λέβητ' ἔνι παμφανόωντι In epic, a gleaming cauldron is above all a prize at funeral games (*Il.* 23.259, 267). If the fifth book went on to describe Pelias's games, as

Stesichorus did, the cauldron may well have turned up again as a prize, scoured. The editor offers this in a spirit of hope.

3 ἀρνειοῖο νέον τέκος The ram comes out of the pot as its own offspring: father and son in one animal, and the generation gap closed by boiling. Ovid gives the same moment more space, and a lamb that skips off looking for an udder (*Met.* 7.312–21). Apollonius gives it three words and a genitive.

4 κοῦραι The daughters are not named, and the reason is metrical: Πελιάδες starts with three short syllables and cannot stand in a hexameter. The anonymity nevertheless suits them. The poem will not name women who are about to be tricked into killing their father. Later tradition excuses one of them, Alcestis, who is said to have held back, but this fragment offers no exceptions.

TABULA V



P.Malon. inv. 538, fr. 1 recto. Correctio manus alterius supra v. 1.

P.Malon. 538 fr. 2 The death of Jason

Transcriptio

1 ΑΛΛΟΤΕΔΗΠΡΥΜΝΗΣΥΠΟΔΟΥΡΑΤΙΚΕΚΛΙΤΙΗΣΩΝ
ΔΗΤΟΤΕΔΩΔΩΝΙΣΦΗΓΟΣΠΑΛΙΝΕΚΛΑΓΕΦΩΝΗΙ
—— (paragraphos)
ΣΧΕΤΛΙΕΚΑΙΝΥΝΑΥΤΙΣΕΓΩ[ζη( ) in left margin, Π²
4]ΥΣΤΑΤΟΝΗΜΑΡ
(lower margin)

Textus

ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δὴ πρύμνης ὑπὸ δούρατι κέκλιτ᾽ Ἰήσων, 1
δὴ τότε Δωδωνὶς φηγὸς πάλιν ἔκλαγε φωνῇ· 2
«σχέτλιε, καὶ νῦν αὖτις ἐγὼ [σὲ κομίσσομαι αὐτός 3
εἰς Ἀΐδαο δόμους, ἐπεὶ ἦλυθεν] ὕστατον ἦμαρ.» 4

But when Jason lay beneath the timber of the stern, then the Dodonian oak cried out once more: "Wretch, even now I myself will carry you again, [to the house of Hades, since] your last day [has come]."

App. crit. 2 paragraphos below the line, marking the start of speech ‖ 3 ζη( ) in the left margin, Π² ‖ 3–4 σὲ κομίσσομαι … ἦλυθεν e.g. ed. pr. (space for about 30 letters) ‖ 4 ἦλυθεν: ἤνυσεν also possible, but see the commentary

Commentary

1 πρύμνης ὑπὸ δούρατι In the version found in later handbooks, Jason dedicated the Argo at the Isthmus and was lying asleep beneath it when a piece of the stern fell and killed him. Medea predicts exactly this at Eur. *Med.* 1386–7: Ἀργοῦς κάρα σὸν λειψάνῳ πεπληγμένος, "your head struck by a relic of the Argo". The fragment keeps the setting and gives the relic a voice.

κέκλιτ(ο) The pluperfect of κλίνω means "lay". It is the ordinary word for resting, and also for the laying-out of the dead. Here Jason is doing the first and about to need the second.

2 Δωδωνὶς φηγός … πάλιν Athena built into the keel a beam from the oak of Dodona (1.526–7). The ship cried out once at the launch (1.524–5) and spoke with a human voice in Book 4 (4.580–91). πάλιν, "once more", points back to those occasions. The poem's only oracle is also its only piece of furniture that talks, and it gets the last word on the hero.

ἔκλαγε φωνῇ κλάζω is used of birds, dogs and prophets: of anyone, in fact, who makes a sharp sound that the listener would prefer not to hear. Iota adscript in ΦΩΝΗΙ is correct and is one of the few things in this edition that the editor will defend without reservation.

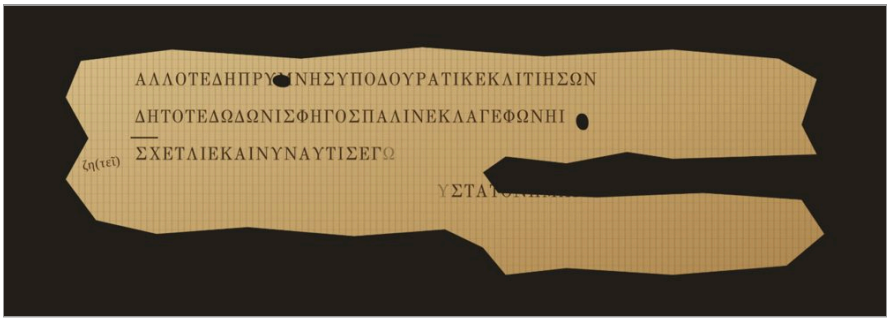
3 σχέτλιε A rebuke: "wretch", "you stubborn man". The beam blames Jason as it kills him. He broke his oaths to Medea, and in Book 4 the same beam spoke of the wrath of Zeus.

κομίσσομαι Read as a short-vowel aorist subjunctive with future sense, a Homeric usage (cf. ἐρύσσομεν, *Il.* 1.141). The verb means both "carry" and "carry off". The ship that carried Jason out now carries him off. This line is the one that bears the marginal query. The ancient reader's doubt could concern the form, the pun or the whole book, and the editor shares it at every level.

4 εἰς Ἀΐδαο δόμους, ἐπεὶ ἤλυθεν The supplement is exempli gratia. It fills the space, scans as a line of five dactyls (quick, like a falling timber), and supplies the sense the line needs. ἤνυσεν, "has run its course", would also fit. ἤλυθεν is preferred because the day comes to Jason as he sleeps; he does nothing to bring it on.

ὕστατον ἦμαρ The column ends here, and on the evidence so far so does the hero. The lower margin is blank.

TABULA VI



P.Malon. inv. 538, fr. 2 recto. Pes columnae; paragraphus sub v. 2; in margine ζη(τεῖ).

P.Malon. 538 fr. 3 Lindos and Malona

Transcriptio

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1 ]ΡΗΣΙΝΕΠΑΚΤΗΙ[
  ]ΝΛΙΝΔΟΙΟΚΟΛΩΝ[
  ]ΑΙΜΑΛΩ .[
4 ]ΑΡΗΙΣΙΒΟΟΣ[
```

Textus

]ρῃσιν ἐπ’ ἀκτῇ[1
]ν Λίνδοιο κολων[2
]αὶ Μαλω[ν 3
]ἀρῇσι βοὸς[4

... [rock]s on the shore ... / ... of the hill of Lindos ... / ... and Malona ... / ... with curses ... of an ox ...

App. crit. 1 πέτ]ρῃσιν e.g. ed. pr. ‖ 2 κολων[αῖς vel κολών[ης ‖ 3 Μαλώ[νη- ed. pr.: μᾶλ’ ὤ[(Doric μᾶλα, “apples”) a sceptic: κ]αὶ μάλ’ ὤ[another sceptic, with more reason ‖ 4 ἀρῇσι: ΑΡΗΙΣΙ Π, with iota adscript

Commentary

2 Λίνδοιο κολων[Lindos, with its acropolis on a hill above the sea. Together with the curses and the ox in line 4, the name points to only one story. Heracles came ashore at Lindos, took an ox from a ploughman, and ate it while the owner stood by and cursed him. The Lindians afterwards sacrificed to Heracles Bouthoinas (“ox-feaster”) with curses instead of prayers (Callim. *Aetia* frr. 22–3 Pf.; Apollod. 2.5.11). Callimachus told this story in the *Aetia*. If Apollonius retold it in an edition revised on Rhodes, he was retelling his rival’s Rhodian story on Rhodes. That would be either an act of homage or an act of war. With Apollonius and Callimachus there is seldom any third possibility.

Heracles left the Argonauts in Book 1, so the story cannot be part of the voyage. It is best taken as the poet speaking in his own person, perhaps in a closing sphragis, where he signs the poem from his new home. This is why the editor would like the fragment to stand last.

3 Μαλώ[νη- If this is right, it is the first attestation of the village of Malona, some 2,200 years before the next one. The ancient name of the place is otherwise unknown. The reading therefore cannot be checked, and the editor finds this a great convenience.

Two sceptics have come forward. The first reads μᾶλ’ ὤ[, with Doric μᾶλα, “apples” (epic μῆλα). This gives Malona an etymology that nobody has proposed before. It also

has a certain local truth, since μῆλον came to cover the citron (μῆλον Μηδικόν), and Malona lives by its citrus groves. The second sceptic reads κ]αὶ μάλ' ὤ[, "and indeed, O …", the dullest reading available. It is also the most probable. The editor rejects it on grounds of sentiment and says so.

4 ἀρῇσι βοός ἀρή is the epic word for a curse. The curses of the Lindian ploughman became, by a characteristically Greek piece of logic, the correct liturgy. Anyone who has tried to buy or sell a house on Rhodes will recognise the principle.

TABULA VII



P.Malon. inv. 538, fr. 3 recto. Margo uterque deperditus.

P.Malon. inv. 539

Vita Eumeli (= T 1)

Materia	*charta papyracea, ut videtur (aspectu tantum iudicatum)*
Locus	*Malonae, in curia*
Inventio	*ostendit scriba municipalis, a.d. III Kal. Iun. MMXXVI*
Lectio prima	*Petrus quidam, qui in litore totum postmeridianum libellos virides et rubros legere solet*
Contenta	*vita Eumeli cum catalogo operum; textum vide T 1*

The document was shown in the town hall at Malona by the Town Clerk, who asked whether a reader of the little green and red books could make it out. The first reading was made on the spot. Nothing is known of its history before it reached the town hall.

Conspectus numerorum

Num. nov.	Num. vet.	Opus	Fons	Tab.
F 1	F 14	Ῥοδιακά γ′	Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.26–28 (cf. Wendel ad loc.)	Tab. I
F 2	F 12	Περὶ Ναυτιλίας β′	Fons incertus	Tab. II
F 3	F 14	Περὶ Κλειδῶν α′	Stob. *Flor.* 4.31.92 (= V p. 762 Hense)	Tab. III

Index fontium

Fons	Locus
Fons incertus	F 2
P.Malon. inv. 539	T 1
Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.26–28 (cf. Wendel ad loc.)	F 1
Stob. Flor. 4.31.92 (= V p. 762 Hense)	F 3

Opera Eumeli

Opus		Locus
Κολοσσιακά	*Colossiaca*, libri IV	T 1
Ῥοδιακά	*Res Rhodiae*	T 1; F 1
Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Λινδίᾳ ἀναθημάτων	*De donariis Lindiis*	T 1
Περὶ Ναυτιλίας	*De re navali*	F 2
Περὶ Κλειδῶν	*De clavibus*	F 3

Bibliotheca Malonia · I

Typis descripsit Bibliotheca Malonia, Malonae Rhodiorum, MMXXVI.
Litteris Gentium et Cormorant expressum.

Editio digitalis: thesheffieldflorilegium.netlify.app/eumelus-malonius.html

Τ Ε Λ Ο Σ

BIBLIOTHECA MALONIA · I

Eumelos of Malona, historian of Rhodes, wrote of the Colossus, of the dedications at Lindos, of seafaring and of keys. His fragments are here collected for the first time, renumbered, translated and explained.

With them come the Papyri Malonenses: a nineteenth book of Ennius, received by email; a fifth book of the *Argonautica*, found in the wall of a house for sale; and a life of the author, produced by the Town Clerk.

«ἐν ἐμοὶ μόνῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Μαλωνίοις γέρουσιν ἔτι ζῇ ἡ ἀρχαία Ῥόδος»

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B · M