Greek Mythography in the Roman World

Alan Cameron

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For Carla

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Preface

Despite an extraordinary surge of interest in Greek mythology over the last few decades, there has been no corresponding interest in our sources of information about the myths. Books on mythology have been appearing at an alarming rate in most modern languages, but not a single comprehensive study of the mythographers. Of course, we know many famous episodes in the great mythical sagas direct from the classics (Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, the Attic tragedians), not to mention monuments of archaic and classical art. But any alert reader who has tried to follow up earlier or later stages of even the most familiar stories in a carefully documented handbook like Timothy Gantz's indispensable *Early Greek Myth* (1993) must be aware that countless details we take for granted are first mentioned not by Homer or Aeschylus or even Callimachus but by some anonymous Roman or even Byzantine hack. Where did they get their information, and how reliable is it?

Those who teach Greek mythology in American colleges usually assign their students the *Bibliotheca* ascribed to Apollodorus, a convenient survey of most of the main stories. It is indeed a handy, well-arranged, comprehensive manual, with many virtues. But what are its credentials? A precise date is out of reach, but it is not likely to be earlier than the first century of our era and might be as late as the third. In the *Bibliotheca*'s defense, critics often confidently assert that it is "drawn from excellent sources," a claim based on its frequent direct citation of specific texts from archaic and classical poets and mythographers, citations we can in one or two cases actually verify ourselves. That is to say, the writer gives the *appearance* of an easy, firsthand familiarity with the entire range of relevant texts. But this is an illusion. In all probability he came by most of his citations at second (or third) hand and had never even seen an original copy of many of the texts he quotes (Ch. V. 3). The same will usually apply to the scholiasts, however much we might like to think that some particular scholion bristling with plausible details and

archaic citations was copied directly from one of the great Hellenistic critics, working in the library at Alexandria surrounded by books.

Apollodorus is probably the only mythographer most students (or scholars for that matter) have ever looked at. There is a handy (if misguided) old Loeb by J. G. Frazer, and the recent annotated translation by Robin Hard with useful tables and indexes (Oxford 1997) is especially helpful.[1] Some may also have dipped into Parthenius, who made a rather furtive entry into the Loeb series, as an appendix to *Daphnis and Chloë*. My own point of departure into this murky field of study was a Latin text, the *Narrationes,* a series of summaries of the successive stories in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The few scholars who have paid this work any attention at all have dismissed it as late (sixth century, if not medieval) and utterly lacking in value. It is indeed of little help to readers of the *Metamorphoses*. It is not the Ovidian text it illuminates but the needs of Ovid's less cultivated early readers.

In the first place, it can be dated much earlier than generally assumed. No one has noticed that it draws on a work that can be dated before 300 AD and may well be earlier still (Ch. I. 3–5). It is in fact a compilation of the second or (at latest) third century. But what first caught my attention was a number of similarities between the *Narrationes* and a sequence of summaries of the successive stories told in the various poems of Callimachus, called by what is after all the Greek for *Narrationes*, *Diegeseis*, in particular the way both give occasional source references (Ch. I. 1 and III. 3). These source references are reminiscent of both Apollodorus and Parthenius, and I soon discovered that they are one of the most characteristic features of early imperial mythographers. The few scholars even to notice the citations in the *Narrationes* derived them from an otherwise entirely lost ancient commentary on the *Metamorphoses.* But there is no evidence that any such commentary ever existed (Ch. I–II). The source references come in fact from earlier mythographers. The *Narrationes* turns out to be a typical mythographic work of the early empire.

Further investigation revealed more such parallels and more such works, texts that I have called "mythographic companions," the most substantial and important being a companion to all three poems of Vergil, partially preserved in the Servian corpus (Ch. VIII). *Diegeseis* and mythographic companions constitute a hitherto unidentified group of nonphilological aids to the reading of classical texts (both Greek and Latin) in the Roman ages: Cliffs Notes to the Classics. They illustrate, in fact, how people with only a modest literary culture were able to navigate difficult classics like Callimachus and Aratus, full of often obscure mythological allusions (Ch. VII).

There is a reason these works have hitherto passed under the radar of literary historians. Over and above the fact that most are anonymous, they are also derivative and undistinguished, for all their parade of learned source references not

1. The utility of the extensively annotated French translation by Jean-Claude Carrière and Bertrand Massonie (Paris 1991) is much reduced by the lack of an index.

based on genuine research, at best preserving otherwise unknown stories or otherwise unknown details of familiar stories, of uncertain authority. Their interest and importance lie in their sheer number rather than any individual specimen of the genre. Almost all date from the first two centuries of the empire. Their authors are not interested in the sort of questions about the meaning and function of myth that have exercised most modern students—and many ancient writers. The mythographic companions are not even interested in how the poet they are explaining used the myth in question. They just tell the stories, where possible with that evidently all-important learned reference.

I devote much space (especially Ch. V–VI) to the question of this elaborate and often very precise documentation (titles and even book numbers), the more intriguing in that so much of it is derivative, and not a little actually bogus. Critics have long been uncomfortably aware that the engaging mixture of mythology, history, and fantasy offered, complete with extensive and elaborate source citations, by Ptolemy the Quail (Chennos) and Ps-Plutarch's *Parallela minora* and *De fluviis* is unreliable, but few have been hard-hearted enough to admit that it is pure fiction, sources and all (Ch. VI). Ptolemy and Ps-Plutarch belong with the *Historia Augusta* in an as yet unwritten chapter of the history of forgery. Even more or less honest compilers like pseudo-Apollodorus clearly try to give the impression they have directly consulted texts they only know at second hand. Despite strong evidence to the contrary, scholars have often been tempted to believe that Proclus produced his summary of the Epic Cycle directly from the original text on the basis of his claim that it survived to his own day. T. W. Allen was outraged at the assumption of German sceptics that Proclus had "deceived his public."[2] No contemporary would have taken such a claim seriously.

Yet by no means all the strange variations on familiar tales found in unlikely places are fabrications. Some are genuine local versions that simply chance to be first recorded in some late text. For example, the people of Xanthos (in Lycia) and Ephesos believed that Artemis was born at Xanthos and Ephesos, respectively, not (as most of the poets said) on Delos. Improbably enough, the Ephesian version is first reported by Strabo and Tacitus. The student of classical poetry can happily ignore such curiosities, but not the social historian of Greco-Roman Asia Minor. A great many probably quite ancient mythological traditions are only attested by the coinage of some small city or an entry in the *Ethnica* of Stephanus of Byzantium.

It is a commonplace that ancient writers in general eschew precise documentation, above all historians. Arnaldo Momigliano underlined the importance of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* in attributing "a new importance . . . to documentary evidence." Paul Veyne objected that Eusebius did not so much cite sources as transcribe excerpts, as Porphyry, Diogenes Laertius, and others had done before him. By carefully arranging his excerpts in chronological sequence, Eusebius certainly produced something closer to history than his predecessors, but he was not

2. *Homer: The Origins and the Transmission* (Oxford 1924), 56.

systematically footnoting a narrative of his own.[3] Yet arguably this is just what the mythographers purported (or pretended) to be doing. We have here an overlooked chapter in the history of footnotes (see appendix 4). It is a curious irony that systematic documentation should begin in so disreputable a corner of ancient literature.

By late antiquity these early imperial mythographers were heavily drawn on by those who compiled the scholia we find in medieval manuscripts of the classics (Ch. V). It has hitherto been taken for granted that the mythological material in our scholia derives from the same sources as the rest of their material, that is to say (ultimately, at any rate) the learned commentators of the Hellenistic world. But if (as I argue) much of it comes from mythographers, learned citations notwithstanding, it is much less likely to reflect the views and arguments of those commentators accurately.

Another insufficiently recognized source of mythographical information is marginal notes in surviving ancient books, mostly codices but even rolls (Ch. VII). It is typical of modern scholarly biases that so-called scholars' texts offering textual variants have been exhaustively studied; and all marginalia citing unknown texts have been dutifully entered in the appropriate collections of fragments. But a great many marginalia (sometimes no more than glosses) in ancient books that simply explain mythological allusions have been dismissed as trivial and ignored. Yet trivial and unoriginal as they are, such notes would have provided welcome assistance to poorly prepared readers of allusive classical texts.

The significance of mythographic handbooks, companions, and scholia lies in the way they document the importance (and the difficulty) of acquiring a working knowledge of the basic stories of classical mythology in the Roman period. Anyone with any pretensions to literary culture, that is to say any member of the elite, had to be able to identify mythological allusions in the literature he read and the oratory he listened to, as well as mythological scenes in wall paintings, mosaics, silver plate, and other media. Greek mythology was the cultural currency of the Greco-Roman world. The mythographers are documents as much of social as of literary history.

It would no doubt have been more useful if I had written a systematic history of Greco-Roman mythography. But over and above my reluctance (and lack of competence) to trespass on Robert Fowler's territory, mythography is not a subject that readily lends itself to systematic treatment. Its early stages have to be reconstructed on the basis of its later representatives, who (as we have seen) are unreliable witnesses. If asked to name a "typical" mythographer, most scholars would probably come up with Apollodorus. Yet the *Bibliotheca* is the only comprehensive mythographic work of its age. Most other mythographers of the

3. "Though we may have learnt to check our references from Eusebius," A. Momigliano, *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography* (Oxford 1977), 124; see 145; P. Veyne, *Did the Greeks Believe in Their Myths?* (Chicago 1983), 12–3. As Tony Grafton pointed out in a recent lecture (New York Public Library, April 2003), the lost *Chronographia* of Eusebius must in effect have been a series of footnotes defending the decisions made in the text of his *Chronici Canones*.

Hellenistic and Roman period either have a specialized purpose of one sort or another (genealogical lists, love stories, stories of metamorphosis or catasterism); or else they provide mythographic companions to specific ancient texts (Homer, Aratus, Callimachus, Apollonius, Vergil), limiting themselves to the stories alluded to in those poems. All the works included in my own (fairly generous) definition of mythographer (Ch. I. 6) share two common features: they offer a *narrative*, not an interpretation of the stories they deal with; and they all cite classical or Hellenistic *sources*. I have left out of account all texts that offer allegorical and philosophical interpretations of the myths, already studied in a variety of modern works, (notably Félix Buffière, *Les mythes d'Homère et la pensée grecque* [Paris 1956]). Those that simply repeat the stories, usually in a "bald and unconvincing narrative," have hitherto seemed unworthy of any extended treatment or analysis. Geoffrey Kirk dismissed Hellenistic and Roman mythographers as "arid" and "sterile."

Like most of my books, this is not one I had planned to write. When Richard Tarrant sent me a copy of his 1995 paper on the textual transmission of the *Narrationes*, I at once jotted down a few similarities to the Callimachean *Diegeseis* (Ch. III. 1). Those observations might have remained a handful of marginalia in an offprint but for an invitation from Pat Easterling to participate in the Laurence Seminar on ancient scholia at Cambridge in June 2000. It was this invitation that provoked me to take a closer look at this all but completely neglected text and unearth its various links to little known but in their day widely circulating Hellenistic predecessors. I was increasingly drawn away from my major project of the moment (*The Last Pagans of Rome*) to the mythographers, though the book has benefited from studies in the Latin scholia of late antiquity originally undertaken in connection with *The Last Pagans*. It is more than half a century now since Eduard Fraenkel drew attention to the Hellenistic roots of both the methods and the learning we find in the Vergil scholia, and yet very little has been done to extend his approach to the scholia on other Latin poets.

It was not till I had completed an early draft that I learned of three useful tools that would have eased my first steps in unfamiliar terrain: Monique van Rossum-Steenbeek's *Greek Readers' Digests? Studies on a Selection of Subliterary Papyri* (Leiden 1998); Jane Lightfoot's *Parthenius of Nicaea* (Oxford 1999); and above all Robert Fowler's plan to collect and comment on "the fragments of Greek mythography from its beginnings to the early fourth century [BC]." Fowler's first volume (*Early Greek Mythography* i, Oxford 2000) contains a meticulously constructed text (a distinct improvement on Jacoby), a brief but helpful introduction, and very full indexes, of Greek words as well as names. Since my coverage does not begin till the late Hellenistic period and is mainly concerned with works of the first and second centuries AD, it might seem that our projects complement each other rather than overlap. Yet Fowler's main authors are also the main authorities quoted by the Roman mythographers and Byzantine scholiasts. That is to say, a great many of the quotations of his fellows come from my fellows. To be sure, a student of early Greek mythography is concerned with *what* Acusilaus,

Pherecydes, & Co. say, whereas I am simply concerned with the *transmission* of their views. Nonetheless, I much regret that I was unable to profit from Fowler's commentary volume, still in preparation. Another tool that will ease the task of future researchers in this field is Marc Huys's new website on mythographical papyri (http:/cmp.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/searchform.html).

Those familiar with the flood of recent books on Greek mythology will notice (I hope with relief) that this one does not offer yet another tedious account of the multitude of (often misguided and invariably unsatisfactory) modern attempts to define myth. I would point out instead that by the Roman age there was one (by implication) universally accepted definition of mythology: a corpus of stories every educated person was expected to know. Greek mythology had become a central element in the literary culture of the age, Greek and Latin alike (Ch. IX). It was carefully studied in school, and the main purpose of the mythographic writings we now know from the papyri to have been widespread throughout the Hellenistic and Roman world was to help people acquire this knowledge.

I have never been much exercised by the spelling of classical names in English, and I normally follow my regular practice of using the familiar Latinized forms (Achilles rather than uncouth monstrosities like Akhilleus). Less familiar names are more of a problem. Those from Greek texts I transliterate (more or less), those from Latin texts I leave in the original Latin form. But problems inevitably arose when I was faced with quoting Greek sources for texts written in Latin, or citing Greek texts for stories about Neptune or Latin sources for stories about Zeus. Under the circumstances it might seem uncharacteristically purist of me to have insisted on "pseudo-Apollodorus" for the author of the *Bibliotheca*. I do so, first because it was both relevant and necessary to distinguish between the *Bibliotheca* and the various works of the scholar Apollodorus of Athens of the second century BC, a major source of the learned citations in both the *Bibliotheca* and other mythographers of the Roman period. And second because there are good grounds for believing that the author of the *Bibliotheca* was not just another person called Apollodorus but was quite specifically misidentified as Apollodorus of Athens by Byzantine scholiasts (Ch. V. 3).

A number of scholars have answered queries and provided help of various sorts: Alessandro Barchiesi, Nichola Chiarulli, Frank Coulson, Philip Hardie, Andrew Feldherr, Michael Herren, Raffaelle Luiselli, Peter Knox, Jim O'Hara, Giovanni Ruffini, Gareth Williams. I am particularly grateful to Katy MacNamee for giving me the benefit of her vast knowledge of annotated papyri in revising Ch. VII. Gregory Hays and Bob Kaster made very helpful comments on the version (now much expanded and refined) that I first submitted to the APA Monographs Series. Marilyn Skinner and Donald Mastronarde were kind enough to help with the proofs. Finally, I would like to repeat my thanks to Pat Easterling for the invitation to write the paper that turned into this book, and to Bob Fowler for reading the entire manuscript in a nearly final version.

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Abbreviations

There seems little point in listing all the books and articles quoted in the often extensive footnotes, since they would not constitute a bibliography of the subject. Instead I simply list works frequently cited in abbreviated form. For periodicals (e.g. *CP* for *Classical Philology*) and editions of papyri (e.g. *P. Oxy.* for *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*) I follow the standard abbreviations, as listed (for example) in *Oxford Classical Dictionary* 3rd. ed., 1996 (itself cited as *OCD*[3]), xxix–xliv, though I use F rather than fr. for fragment. When citing a work several times in the same chapter, I normally give full details the first time and then author's last name plus date. To save space, I do not normally give titles of journal articles cited for details. Where necessary, I give full details of editions of ancient texts used where they are cited.

Cameron 1995	Alan Cameron, *Callimachus and his Critics* (Princeton 1995).
CGL	G. Goetz, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* i–vii (1888–1923).
FHG	C. Mueller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* i–v (Paris 1841–70).
FGrH	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin and Leiden 1923–58), 15 volumes plus continuation by various hands; usually cited by author and fragment number (e.g. *FGrH* 244 F 88).
Forbes Irving 1990	P.M.C. Forbes Irving, *Metamorphosis in Greek Myths* (Oxford 1990).
Fowler, *EGM*	Robert L. Fowler, *Early Greek Mythography, volume 1: Text and Introduction* (Oxford 2000).
Gantz 1993	Timothy Gantz, *Early Greek Myth. A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources* (Baltimore 1993; paperback reissue in two volumes, Baltimore 1996). Has the great merit of following

	each story through both literary and artistic sources in chronological order.
Henrichs 1988	Albert Henrichs, "Three Approaches to Greek Mythography," in J. Bremer (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London 1988), 242–77.
Herzog/Schmidt	Reinhart Herzog and Peter Lebrecht Schmidt, *Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike*, 1 (Munich 2002); 4 (1997); 5 (1989); cited by volume and paragraph numbers (e.g. 4 § 492. 3).
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, 16 volumes (Zürich 1981–99).
Lightfoot 1999	J. L. Lightfoot, *Parthenius of Nicaea. Extant works edited with introduction and commentary* (Oxford 1999).
RE	Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*.
Roscher	W. H. Roscher (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig 1884–1937). By far the most comprehensive reference work for individual mythological characters; still indispensable, though individual entries vary greatly in quality.
SH	Hugh Lloyd-Jones and Peter Parsons (edd.), *Supplementum Hellenisticum* (Berlin 1983).
Van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998	Monique van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests? Studies on a Selection of Subliterary Papyri* (Leiden 1998).

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1

An Anonymous Ancient Commentary on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*?

1: THE PROBLEM

> When you were a boy, I think you read the commentaries of Asper on Vergil and Sallust, Vulcatius on the speeches of Cicero, Victorinus on his dialogues; my own teacher Donatus on Terence's comedies and Vergil; and others on other works: Plautus, Lucretius, Flaccus, Persius and Lucan.

Perhaps the most conspicuous omission from Jerome's well-known list of ancient commentaries[1] on the Latin Classics is Ovid. Naturally it would be unwise to assume the list comprehensive, but it is in fact a pretty good guide—so long as we bear in mind that, though writing in 401, Jerome is referring to the period of his schooldays in the 350s. This would explain why he mentions Aelius Donatus rather than Servius (ca 420) on Vergil, and says nothing of commentaries on Statius and Juvenal, both of which probably date from the early fifth century.[2] That the omission of Ovid, Juvenal, and Statius at any rate is not casual is suggested by the fact that, while Jerome quotes from or alludes to most of the writers on his list freely and often, only three allusions to Ovid have been found, four to Juvenal, and none at all to Statius.[3] The equally well-read Augustine seems not have known either Ovid or Statius.[4] Another such list of school authors in a bilingual text of perhaps

1. *Puto quod puer legeris Aspri in Vergilium ac Sallustium commentarios, Vulcatii in orationes Ciceronis, Victorini in dialogos eius, et in Terentii comoedias praeceptoris mei Donati, aeque in Vergilium, et aliorum in alios, Plautum videlicet, Lucretium, Flaccum, Persium atque Lucanum* (Jerome, *Apol*. i.16).

2. No trace of commentaries on Plautus and Lucretius has come down to us, but both were much admired during the archaizing period. Lucretius was extensively quoted by Arnobius and Lactantius (H. Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics* [Göteborg 1958], 9–88; L. Holford-Strevens, *Aulus Gellius* (London 1988), 157–61), but neither poet could compete with the revival of Silver Age poets that came to dominate fourth-century literary taste. There seems no reason to doubt that commentaries on both existed relatively early but failed to survive. I shall be discussing the Statius and Juvenal scholia elsewhere.

3. For Ovid, Hagendahl 1958, 283; Neil Adkin, *Augustinianum* 40 (2000), 78; for Juvenal, Adkin, *CP* 89 (1994), 69–72.

4. So J. J. O'Donnell, "Augustine's Classical Readings," *Recherches Augustiniennes* 15 (1980), 162. Poets like Ausonius, Claudian, and Prudentius knew him well, of course, but my point is that Ovid does not seem to have been a school author in the fourth century.

the early fifth century is in general agreement with Jerome's: Cicero's speeches, Vergil, Persius, Lucan, Statius, Terence, and Sallust.[5] But the best evidence that Ovid was not a school author during Jerome's schooldays is the fact that he is cited so seldom in the Vergil and Horace scholia (notably the early fourth-century Porphyrio and mid-fourth-century Donatus).[6]

There are only two sets of Ovidian scholia with any pretensions to ancient learning: those to the *Ibis*, where the pretensions are largely fraudulent—almost (but not quite) all the many citations of ancient authors are bogus—and the subject of this study, a sequence of summaries of every transformation story in the *Metamorphoses* entitled *Narrationes*, each equipped with a heading (*titulus*) of its own.[7]

The work is variously ascribed in late manuscripts and early printed editions to Donatus grammaticus, Fulgentius, Lutatius, Luctatius, or Lactantius Placidus. None of these ascriptions deserves to be taken seriously, least of all the last, despite its precarious but nonetheless tenacious hold in the scholarly literature. In the ordinary way a cautious "Pseudo-Lactantius" might seem the simplest solution, if it did not suggest the Lactantius Placidus to whom some manuscripts attribute the scholia on Statius's *Thebaid*, a work that (as we shall see) has significant points of contact with the *Narrationes*. In the circumstances it will be less confusing to avoid the name altogether, the more justifiably in that the two works are certainly by different authors,[8] *neither* of whom was called Lactantius Placidus. In fact no such person ever existed.[9] For the convenience of a personal name for reference purposes, I propose to call the compiler of the *Narrationes* Narrator.

The *Narrationes* have come down to us in three forms: (1) as scholia in the margins of copies of the *Metamorphoses*; (2) interspersed story by story in the text of copies of the poem; and (3) as a continuous commentary separate from the poem. In addition, some manuscripts of the poem carry just the headings of individual summaries (*tituli*). Since the *Narrationes* must originally have circulated separately as an independent work (Ch. IV. 3), it might seem tempting to derive the continuous version from the original independent text. Some scholars have indeed argued that, despite the lateness of the manuscripts that preserve it, this is the more authentic version.

5. *Actiones Tullianas*, *Maronem*, *Persium*, *Lucanum*, *Statium*, *duo bella*, *Terentium*, *Sallustium*, ed. A. C. Dionisotti, From Ausonius's Schooldays, *JRS* 72 (1982), 100, with 113 and 122. With P. L. Schmidt, *Traditio Latinitatis: Studien zur Rezeption und Überlieferung der lateinischen Literatur* (Stuttgart 2000), 106, I would date this fascinating text a couple of generations later than the age of Ausonius. Dionisotti plausibly suggests that *duo bella* is displaced and refers to Sallust's two monographs.

6. Silke Diederich, *Der Horazkommentar des Porphyrio im Rahmen der kaiserzeitlichen Schul- und Bildungs-tradition* (Berlin 1999), 327; for comparative figures, Mario Geymonat, in P. Knox and C. Foss (eds.), *Style and Tradition: Studies in Honor of Wendell Clausen* (Stuttgart 1998), 36.

7. On the *Ibis* scholia, see Ch. VII. 2.

8. As shown in detail by Franz Bretzigheimer, *Studien zu Lactantius Placidus und der Verfasser der Narrationes fabularum Ovidianarum* (Würzburg 1937).

9. For more details, see appendix 1.

This was the view of Ursula Hunt, who published a complete transcription of one such copy, Burney 311 in the British Museum, dated to 1462.[10] The Juvenal and Statius scholia are likewise transmitted both in the margins of copies of the two poets and separately in the form of a continuous commentary. In both cases no one is in any doubt that the continuous version was recomposed, probably in Carolingian times, from marginal scholia,[11] and the same is surely true of the continuous version of the *Narrationes*. It may still preserve a better text here and there, but brings us no closer to the original independent work than the marginal scholia.

Given the popularity and importance of the *Metamorphoses*, the *Narrationes* has attracted remarkably little scholarly attention. No separate edition has ever been published, and those by Magnus (1914) and Slater (1927) do not even supply a separate index of proper names.[12] No more than three modern studies of any substance deserve to be mentioned: those by Brooks Otis (1936),[13] Franz Bretzigheimer (1937),[14] and Richard Tarrant (1995).[15] This lack of interest is linked to the presumed date of the work. No classical scholar wants to date so seemingly trivial a compilation any earlier than the sixth century,[16] and medievalists, impressed by links between the *Narrationes* and medieval allegorists of Ovid (Ch. IV. 4), take an early medieval date for granted.[17] The general consensus is that, though not ancient in its present form, it incorporates, however vestigially, the remains of an ancient (presumably late antique) commentary on the *Metamorphoses*.[18] Thus all that has any value or interest in the work is ascribed to this lost commentary.

10. Ursula D. Hunt, *Le sommaire en prose des Métamorphoses d'Ovide dans le manuscrit Burney 311 au Musée Britannique de Londres* (Paris 1925), xv–xvi; D. A. Slater, *Towards a Text of the Metamorphosis* [*sic*] *of Ovid* (Oxford 1927), 38; R. J. Tarrant, "The *Narrationes* of 'Lactantius' and the Transmission of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*," in O. Pecere and M. D. Reeve (eds.), *Formative Stages of Classical Traditions: Latin Texts from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Spoleto 1995), 88.

11. P. Wessner, *Scholia in Iuvenalem vetustiora* (Leipzig 1931), xii; R. D. Sweeney, *Lactantius Placidus in Statii Thebaida commentum* i (Stuttgart 1997), ix.

12. Hugo Magnus, *P. Ovidi Nasonis Metamorphoseon libri XV; Lactantii Placidi qui dicitur Narrationes fabularum Ovidianarum* (Berlin 1914), 627–721; and as an appendix (unpaginated) in Slater, 1927.

13. Otis, "The *Argumenta* of the So-called Lactantius," *HSCP* 47 (1936), 131–63.

14. Bretzigheimer, 1937.

15. Tarrant 1995, 83–115, citing much new MS material. There are also some valuable remarks in G. Senis, *Maia* 42 (1990), 167–78, and Adrian Hollis, "Traces of Ancient Commentaries on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*," *Papers of the Leeds International Latin Seminar* 9 (1996), 159–74. Frank T. Coulson and B. Roy, *Incipitarium Ovidianum. A Finding Guide for Texts in Latin related to the Study of Ovid in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Turnholt 2000) 37–40, § 52, list 45 MSS of the *Narrationes* and a further 11 that carry the *tituli* only. For a useful earlier summary, E. Martini, *Einleitung zu Ovid* (Vienna 1933; reprint, Darmstadt 1970), 40.

16. So Hollis 1996, 159; for earlier views, see Martini 1933/1970, 40 ("frühestens 5., vielleicht aber erst 8. Jh.").

17. Leonard Barkan, *The Gods Made Flesh* (New Haven 1986), 114.

18. The fullest statement of this assumption is Hollis 1996; the only scholar to query this approach is Ralph Hexter, *Mediaevalia* 13 (1987), 66–7.

Ursula Hunt's collation of Burney 311 revealed that it lacked a number of what she identified as superfluous details present in what we may call the vulgate text, the text offered by the manuscripts that formed the basis of Magnus's edition. Taking it as axiomatic that the *Narrationes* was no more and no less than a straightforward résumé of the *Metamorphoses*, she insisted that it "should be stripped of every repetition and irrelevant detail."[19] Accordingly she argued that details not found in Burney 311 were interpolations in the vulgate text. That there are *some* interpolations in a text of this nature is likely enough; that every detail missing in so late and careless a copy as Burney 311 is an interpolation is (as we shall see) out of the question. The truth is that these additional details are by far the most interesting thing about the *Narrationes*.

It was early noticed that the *Narrationes* is characterized throughout by a substantial amount of material that goes beyond mere summary. This material was divided by Otis into three categories: (1) extra mythological detail, often going beyond or actually diverging from the Ovidian text that they purport to be summarizing; (2) occasional brief explanatory phrases; and (3) occasional source references for particular stories or details. This additional material has traditionally been held to derive from a lost ancient commentary on the poem. At the same time the fact that the summaries are so often unsatisfactory and inaccurate as summaries has seemed to support the assumption that the *Narrationes* itself is a late and incompetent compilation.

Let us take a closer look at these additions. First, *mythological prosopography*. There are countless examples (many cited in passing in later chapters), and the merest handful must suffice. At *Met*. 3.126 Ovid names only one of five earthborn giants he mentions. Narrator (3.1) names all five, the same five names we find in Hyginus (*Fab*. 178.6). In 3.1 he adds several details omitted by Ovid in his account of Cadmus's founding of Thebes, again all to be found in Hyginus (178.3–6). In *Narr*. 5.4 (quoted below) Narrator describes Proserpina picking flowers together with Diana and Minerva. Ovid himself says nothing about Diana and Minerva, but Hyginus does.[20] At *Met*. 4.4 Ovid refers to an unidentified *sacerdos* who bids the people of Thebes celebrate a Dionysiac festival. Narrator (4.1) identifies the priest as *Tiresias Everi filius*, the exact style we find in three passages of Hyginus (68.4; 75.1; 128). While Ovid refrains from naming Cadmus's wife, Narrator gives her name and parentage in full (*Harmonia, Martis et Veneris filia*, 4.16). Where Ovid names two sisters of Phaethon (Phaethousa and Lampetië) and refers to a third he does not name, Narrator (2.2) cannot resist naming the third, Phoebe. In fact this is probably not what Ovid intended. Lampetië and Phaethousa, born to Helius by Neaira, go back to the *Odyssey*, and the scholion on another *Odyssey* passage adds Aegle (but names their mother as Rhode, daughter

19. Hunt 1925, xv.

20. *Proserpina dum flores cum Venere et Diana et Minerva legit* (*Fab*. 146.1); following Ovid, Narrator had already mentioned Venus at the beginning of the story.

of Asopus).[21] Narrator offers Phoebe, who appears on the longer list in Hyginus (Merope, Helie, Aegle, Lampetië, Phoebe, Aetherië, and Dioxippe), presumably not this time Narrator's source, since it lacks Phaethousa.

Hyginus was certainly not his only source for such additional details. For example, at 2.9 Narrator supplies a name for Nyctimene's father, Nycteus (also known from the Statius scholia), while Hyginus offers a completely different name, Epopeus.[22] At 3.1 Ovid tells how Agenor (whom he does not name) sent his son Cadmus to search for Europa. Narrator claims that Agenor (whom he names) also sent Cadmus's brothers Cilix and Phoenix, the founders and eponyms of Cilicia and Phoenicia, respectively. Hyginus too mentions the despatch of all three brothers but sends Cilix to Africa, whence *Afri Poeni sunt appellati* (*Fab*. 178.3). Narrator's version is reflected in Ps-Apollodorus (iii.1.1), presumably deriving from the prologue of Euripides's lost *Phrixus*.[23] At 5.1 Narrator lists by name 45 people turned to stone by Perseus, only five of whom he found in Ovid. This time neither Hyginus (*Fab*. 64) nor Ps-Apollodorus (ii.4.3) nor any other source I have been able to trace give any of the other 40-odd names. Long lists of names are one of the hallmarks of mythographic texts (Ch. IX. 6), and since it is unlikely that Narrator invented all of them himself, we are bound to conclude that his list derives from some (ultimately Greek) source now lost.[24] A careful study of proper names in the *Narrationes* would probably reveal one or two other otherwise unattested items of this nature.

Why does Narrator include all this information? Mere carelessness, according to Tarrant, a failure to check his mythographic sources against the Ovidian text.[25] In some cases perhaps so. For example, a major participant in the hunt for the Calydonian boar in *Met*. 8 is the maiden Atalanta. Not the more famous Atalanta, daughter of Schoeneus (the girl who liked to race her suitors) but Atalanta of Tegea, daughter of Iasion, as Ovid makes clear (8.317). Narrator nonetheless calls her daughter of Schoeneus (8.4). But when he comes to the other Atalanta in book 10 he calls her too daughter of Schoeneus (10.11). This might seem no more than a perfectly understandable slip (how many modern scholars know there were two different Atalantas?) were it not for the fact that Hyginus makes it twice as well.[26]

21. Od. xii.132–3; Schol. *Od*. xvii.208; Hyg. *Fab*. 154; Roscher i.1983 (missing Anon. Flor.)

22. Schol. Stat. *Theb*. iii.507; Hyg. *Fab*. 204.

23. Eur. F 819 N2; the relevant lines are quoted by the scholia to Eur. *Phoen*. 6.

24. The new names are listed in a detachable sentence introduced by *item*, no doubt added from some mythographic source, but not necessarily by someone other than the original compiler. This is the list as given by Magnus (naturally the various manuscripts offer many variants): *Astyages*, *Rhoetus*, *Indus Athis*, *Phorbas*, *Amphimedon*, *Actorides Erytus*, *Polydaemon*, *Abaris*, *Lycetus*, *Helix*, *Phlegyas*, *Clytus*, *Idas*, *Clymenus*, *Prothoenor*, *Hypseus*, *Lyncides*, *Emathion*, *Chromis*, *Broteas*, *Telames*, *Epytus*, *Lampetids*, *Pedasus*, *Lycormas*, *Pelates*, *Corythus*, *Abas*, *Menaleus*, *Dorylas*, *Halcyoneus*, *Clytius*, *Clanis*, *Aethion*, *Agyrtes*, *Molpeus*, *Echemmon*. In favor of a Greek source is the presence of one ethnic and one patronymic, suggesting an originally much fuller list that gave both for all names.

25. Tarrant 1995, 93.

26. *Fab*. 173.3, 244.1; at 185 he has the daughter of Schoeneus correctly as the sprinter.

This seems to be a clear case where Narrator followed his mythographic source rather than the text of Ovid.

More often (I suspect) he knew exactly what he was doing. As Henrichs has observed, "names and genealogies of the countless heroes and heroines of Greek mythology are a main component of Greek mythography."[27] But Ovid was a poet, writing in the first instance for cultivated readers who did not need to be told (say) the name of Cadmus's wife or all Phaethon's sisters. No artist wants to clutter his narrative with scores of obscure names that will play no further part in his story. But Narrator saw it as part of his job to supply these details, not in the form of scholarly notes but simply in the course of his summary. The poet who specified five earth-born giants and then only named one of them was virtually challenging well-informed readers to name the rest. It is perhaps the clearest single proof that Narrator constantly consulted mythographic handbooks that it is precisely names and genealogies that he most consistently adds to the data supplied by Ovid.

Second, brief explanatory phrases (cited by page number in Magnus, with the Ovidian lemma in square brackets):

1. 638.12: Eridanus, 3.324] quem quidam Padum vocant.
2. 643.21: Nymphae Nyseïdes, 3.314] quae Nysam montem Indiae perfrequentarent.
3. 647.6: urbem, 4.58] Babyloniae.
4. 648.13: Clytie] in herbam . . . quae . . . heliotropium diceretur.
5. 649.3: qui duplici figura Hermaphroditus vocatur.
6. 649.21: seroque tenent a vespere nomen, 4.415] in volucres conversae sunt quae vespertiliones vocantur.
7. 668.15: Pelion umbrosum] et in montem Parnasum qui est altissimus.
8. 671.9: aconiton, 7.407] (Graeci aconas nominant) aconiton a cane nomen accepit.
9. 672.8: Myrmidonasque voco, nec origine nomina fraudo, 7.654] formicae enim Graece myrmices appellantur.

Once more, many further examples could be cited. Some of these glosses may indeed be interpolations. For example, on this occasion it may be more than coincidence that Burney 311 omits (7) (*et . . . altissimus*). But assuming that most are authentic, they are useful enough notes, yet very elementary, not at all the sort of material we need to derive from a scholarly commentary. There is no need to postulate anything more learned than the countless similar parentheses and explanatory phrases in Narrator's mythographic sources. For example, with (1), the glossing of Eridanus with Padus, we have an exactly similar gloss in Hyginus (*Fab.* 154.2), when Phaethon *in flumen Padum cecidit (hic amnis a Graecis Eridanus dicitur*). And note (9) on the Myrmidons might have come straight from Hyg. 52.3: *Iuppiter formicas in homines transfiguravit, qui Myrmidones sunt appellati, quod Graece formicae myrmices dicuntur*.

27. Henrichs 1987, 248.

Third, and (as we shall see in later chapters) most instructive of all, source references.

1. 1.1 (631.16): ut Hesiodus indicat volumine quod deorum originem continet
2. 1.1 (632.3): ut idem Hesiodus ostendit
3. 1.1 (632.4): auctoritate Varronis
4. 2.2 (638.9): ut Hesiodus et Euripides indicant
5. 2.5 (638.17): Phanocles in Cupidinibus auctor
6. 2.6 (639.8): ut auctor Hesiodus indicat
7. 2.6 (639.8–9): ut alii, quoting anonymous verses on Callisto
8. 4.5 (648.10): hoc Hesiodus indicat
9. 7.5 (668.13): Hesiodus docet (variant reading, discussed later)
10. 11.4 (692.4): sic enim cum Hesiodo consentit Ovidius
11. 13.3 (701.10): ut Hesiodus vult

It is these features that are collectively held to be the remnants of a commentary. Yet none of this material exists in the form of isolated, independent notes such as we find in the Vergil or Statius scholia. None of it can plausibly be identified as (in Otis's words) "marginal scholia which have crept into the text" of what would otherwise be "mere" summaries. In every case it is directly (even syntactically) integrated into the text of the summaries. In the first two categories it is only by a minute collation of Ovidian narrative against summary that these additional details can be identified. If this material was abstracted from a traditional commentary, it was skilfully reworked and unobtrusively grafted on to the summaries with masterly economy of expression.

2: THE LOST COMMENTARY

Such a commentary is a convenient postulate, but there is little reason to believe that anything of the sort ever existed. We have no Carolingian manuscripts of the *Metamorphoses*, but the earliest we do have (from the eleventh century on) carry a variety of unidentified scholia, mainly devoted to questions of mythology and grammar. If a learned ancient commentary existed, it has left no trace in these scholia. For grammar they quote Servius's Vergil commentary, for myth (significantly enough, as we shall see) Hyginus and the Vatican mythographers.[28] With Arnulf of Orléans (ca 1180) begins the long series of allegorical commentaries on the *Metamorphoses*.[29] Their starting point is the *Narrationes* (Ch. IV. 4), not an ancient commentary. Then there is the more literary "Vulgate" commentary of around 1250, known from a large number of manuscripts and excerpts. Over and

28. Frank T. Coulson, *The "Vulgate" Commentary on Ovid's Metamorphoses: The Creation Myth and the Story of Orpheus* (Toronto 1991), 4.

29. For a brief survey, Kathryn McKinley, "The medieval commentary tradition 1100–1500 on *Metamorphoses* 10," Viator 27 (1996), 117–49, and *Reading the Ovidian Heroine: "Metamorphoses" Commentaries 1100–1618* (Leiden 2001).

above the usual gloss and allegory, the commentator discusses style, structure, literary technique, and characterization.[30] He quotes Horace, Vergil, Lucan, Statius, and Juvenal and several late antique writers popular in the Middle Ages (Calcidius, Macrobius, Martianus Capella, Fulgentius, Boethius).[31] Yet nothing he says implies knowledge of an ancient commentary.

Here we may contrast the case of Lucan and Persius. The fourth-century commentaries mentioned by Jerome have not survived, not even (like the late antique Statius and Juvenal commentaries) in the form of marginal excerpts. It is now generally agreed that the surviving scholia to Lucan and Persius derive from Carolingian compilations. Nonetheless, they do preserve, in however garbled a form, a certain amount of genuine ancient erudition, no doubt mediated by marginal scholia in fifth- and sixth-century copies drawn on by Carolingian scholars but now lost.[32] It is hard to believe that, if an ancient commentary on so popular a poem as Ovid's *Metamorphoses* ever existed, it disappeared without leaving any trace—except in the *Narrationes*.

If Narrator worked (as often assumed) in the sixth century, this postulated ancient commentary would presumably still have been available. Some of the arguments adduced in favour of a commentary as his source will be considered in Ch. II, but readers should bear in mind that those who propounded them did not so much argue the case as simply take it for granted that such a work existed.

A precise date is out of reach for a text like the *Narrationes*. Scholia were regularly both abridged and interpolated by successive readers, and there are some indications that we do not have the *Narrationes* in its original form. What I hope to show is that this original form was not post-antique, nor even late antique. Whether or not Narrator himself knew Greek, his work is nonetheless influenced by the traditions of Hellenistic scholarly exegesis. Indeed it is in many ways a typical product of the Greco-Roman world of the early empire.

3: DATE

What are the grounds adduced for the assumption that it is no earlier than the sixth century? According to Otis, the *Narrationes* "seem to cite verbatim passages from the commentary on Statius's *Thebais*, from the *Scholia Danielis*, Hyginus (*Fabulae*), and the *Mythographi Vaticani,*" though a few pages later he allows that the Vatican Mythographers may depend on Narrator rather than vice versa. Tarrant

30. Frank T. Coulson, "The Vulgate Commentary on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*," *Mediaevalia* 13 (1987), 29–61; see his partial publication: The *"Vulgate" Commentary* (1991); and for a complete list of manuscripts, Coulson and Roy 2000, 123–5, § 421.

31. "Above all, the presence of material from Fulgentius or Martianus is a hallmark of Carolingian, rather than ancient learning," J. E. G. Zetzel, *Medievalia et Humanistica* 10 (1981), 22.

32. J. E. G. Zetzel, *Latin Textual Criticism in Antiquity* (New York 1981), 192–9; D. Robathan and F. E. Cranz, in *Catalogus Transl. et Comm.* iii (Washington 1976), 212–43 (Persius), with Zetzel, as cited in the preceding note; Shirley Werner, *The Transmission and Scholia to Lucan's Bellum civile* (Münsteraner Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie Bd. 5) Hamburg 1998.

judiciously states that, so far as he can judge, the *Narrationes* "are nowhere directly derived" from any of these texts, but relegates the issue to a footnote without argument.[33]

Parallels with the *Fabulae* of Hyginus prove nothing. In some form this work (as we shall see) was fairly clearly one of Narrator's sources, though not in the form we have it, a miserably abridged, interpolated, and generally debased version of a work published no later than the second century.[34] For on 11 September 207 a shadowy figure known faute de mieux as Ps-Dositheus copied out some excerpts from what he calls the *Genealogiae* of Hyginus.[35] If it was (as Ps-Dositheus claims) a work "known to all," it must have been published some while before 207.[36] No one would wish to date the *Narrationes* any earlier than this. As for the Vatican Mythographers, now that at last we have a critical edition for the first two (and two editions for the first), it is possible to see that some corruptions in the text of the Mythographers derive from corrupt readings in manuscripts of the *Narrationes*, not vice versa.[37] The latest and most thorough investigation of the sources of the first and second Mythographers rightly takes the priority of the *Narrationes* for granted.[38] It should be added that the first was written some time between 875 and 1075, and the second uses the first.[39]

Parallels with the *Scholia Danielis*, otherwise known as Servius auctus or Danielis (DS) and generally identified with Servius's principal source, the lost commentary of Aelius Donatus, are equally unhelpful.[40] There can be no question that Donatus took most of his material from a long line of earlier commentators, of whom the best known is the second-century Aemilius Asper.[41] Paradoxically enough, it is easier to prove dependence on Servius, since he often drastically abridged the material he found in Donatus. On this basis there can be little doubt that some chapters in our text of Hyginus (*Fab*. 258–61) are interpolated from Servius, since they reflect the abridged text of Servius, not the fuller

33. Otis 1936, 134 and 137; Tarrant 1995, 96 n. 43.

34. For the most part our text depends on Micyllus's editio princeps: see the preface to P. K. Marshall's Teubner (1993), and M. D. Reeve in *Texts and Transmissions* (1983), 189–90. For the sake of simplicity, I cite the work as Hyginus rather than Ps-Hyginus or "Hyginus."

35. G. Goetz (ed.), *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana* (*Corp. Gloss. Graec*. iii) Leipzig 1892, 56. 30; Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Literatur* iv. 1 (Munich 1914), 179; Carlotta Dionisotti, *JRS* 72 (1982), 89–90.

36. The arguments for identifying him as C. Julius Hyginus the scholarly freedman of Augustus are slender, not to say frivolous: e.g., A. Le Boeuffle, "Recherches sur Hygin," *REL* 43 (1965), 275–94.

37. Peter Kulcsár, *Mythographi Vaticani I et II* (CC xci. C), Turnhout 1987; N. Zorzetti and J. Berlioz, *Le premier mythographe du Vatican* (Paris 1995), xix.

38. N. Zorzetti, *Ricerche sulla tradizione manoscritta e sulle fonte del secondo mitografo vaticano* (Trieste 1993); Zorzetti and Berlioz 1995, xix.

39. Zorzetti and Berlioz 1995, xi–xii; see too now Philippe Dain, *Mythographe du Vatican* I (Paris 1995), iv–v, and *Mythographe du Vatican II* (Paris 2000), 8–9.

40. For detailed discussion of the sources of Servius, see Ch. VII.

41. P. L. Schmidt in Herzog/Schmidt 4, § 443.

Servius Danielis. The *Narrationes* show a few similarities to Servius Danielis, but there are no close or extended parallels with genuinely Servian scholia.[42]

The only one of the texts Otis cites that might provide the required evidence is the probably fifth-century scholia on Statius's *Thebaid*. Let us examine the most widely cited example, an undeniably close parallel between *Narr*. 5.4[43] and a note on *Thebaid* 5.347. Here as occasionally elsewhere in the following pages, I do not include a translation of these extracts, despite their length, because my concern is less with their content than the relationship between them, which can only be perceived in the original:

Schol. Stat.: Cyane nympha in Sicilia est. Venus indignata, quod Proserpina suum numen contemneret coniugia spernens, <Plutoni>, qui territus viribus Typhoei evomentis Aetnam, cui subiectus erat, cum ab inferis emersisset, intulit amorem, ut Proserpinam *circa cacumen Aetnae* flores legentem eriperet, qua compressa cum properaret curru fugere, Cyane nympha, quam dilexerat Anapus amnis, intercedente tardatus est. at ille incensus ira morae intercedentem ut rumperet sceptro percussit. praecepsque in inferna demersa est et in liquorem conversa. cuius lacus contiguus est Arethusae (v. 347).

Narrationes: Venus indignata, quod *et Diana* et Proserpina, Cereris filia, numen suum coniugiaque adspernaretur, Ditem, qui territus viribus Typhonis, moventis Aetnae crepidinem, cui subiectus a dis erat, cum ab inferis emersisset, impulit in amorem, ut Proserpinam *circa Pergum lacum* Hennae flores legentem *cum Minerva atque Diana*, raperet. qua rapta, cum properanter curru fugeret, a Cyane nympha, quam dilexerat Anapus amnis, intercedente tardatus est. at ille incensus ira propter moram intercedentis reiecto sceptro inter stagna discussit undam, praecepsque mari mersus Cyanen currui obsistentem in liquorem sui nominis vertit. cuius lacus contiguus Arethusae videtur (5. 4).

These two passages are closely related. But which derives from which? In cases of fluid texts like scholia, it is often impossible to prove direct derivation, and a common source can seldom be excluded. But in this case it should be obvious that the note was composed as a comment on the passage of Ovid in question (*Met*. 5.346–437), not the passage of Statius (*Theb*. 5.347).

While purporting to tell the tale of Ceres and Proserpina, as so often Ovid passes from one transformation to another with bewildering rapidity, evoking in passing (for example) the story of the River Anapis's love for the nymph Cyane in a line and a half. He begins unexpectedly with the burial beneath Sicily of the giant Typhoeus, who tosses and turns so violently that Pluto himself in the underworld gets worried, and goes for a drive across Sicily. Venus catches sight of him, and tells Cupid to make him fall in love, angry that, like Minerva, Diana, and Proserpina, he is still single. Cupid lets fly an arrow at Dis, and straightaway he carries off Proserpina while she is picking flowers near a pool called Pergus near

42. The two or three verbal coincidences adduced by W. A. Baehrens, *Studia Serviana* (Gent 1917), 1–5, are much too brief to prove direct dependence.

43. For a photo of this section in a tenth-century manuscript of the *Metamorphoses*, see p. 79.

Henna. The nymph Cyane tries to stop him as he drives away, Pluto strikes her pool with his scepter, it opens up, and he plunges straight through it back to the underworld. Cyane weeps uncontrollably until she melts away into her pool.

Nowhere else are all these stories tied together into one narrative—not even in Ovid's own fuller account of the Ceres/Proserpina story in *Fasti* iv. 393–620. Yet every one is mentioned in *Narr*. 5.5. Abandoning Ovid's sequence in a long sentence with a succession of subordinate clauses, Narrator begins with Venus's anger and links Proserpina with Diana as marriage-haters; then comes Pluto's fear of the eruptions of Aetna caused by Typhoeus, Lake Pergus, and Proserpina gathering flowers. The closing summary of the Cyane story includes her love for Anapis, a story not known from any other source and quite possibly invented by Ovid himself. There can be no question that *Narr*. 5.5 was originally composed to summarize the precise combination of mythical tales we find in *Met*. 5.346–437.

What of the Statius passage, *Theb*. 5.347? Not one detail in the note fits it, not even the Cyane story, the peg on which it purports to be hung. Statius is talking about the Argonauts arriving at the Symplegades, which he calls *Cyaneae*, the "Gloomy Rocks" (τὰς Κυανέας καλευμένας already Herodotus):[44]

> illis in Scythicum Borean iter, oraque primi
> *Cyaneis* artata maris

> They were making for Scythian Boreas, and the mouth of the primeval sea made narrow by the Cyanean <rocks>.

The Cyanean rocks that guard the entrace to the Black Sea have nothing whatever to do with the Sicilian nymph Cyane. Even granted that he confused the two, there was still no reason for the Statius commentator to include details like Venus's anger, Typhoeus, the eruption of Aetna, and the river Anapis in the story of Cyane. The only place all these details are found together is *Met*. 5.346–437 and Narrator's summary.

Narrator's priority is further confirmed by the few differences between the two versions. There is no way of judging between *cum properanter curru fugeret* and *cum properaret curru fugere*,[45] but the final sentence in the Statius scholion makes nonsense of the story. Whereas in both Ovid and Narrator Pluto strikes the pool with his staff, opening up a passage for himself back into the underworld, in the Statius scholion it is Cyane he strikes and she who descends into the underworld. The Statius commentator has either misunderstood his source or used a corrupt text of the *Narrationes*.

There can be no serious doubt about the priority of the *Narrationes*. It would be nice if we could go further and regard the date of the Statius scholia (ca 450,

44. Herod. iv. 85; also Hecataeus F 18b = *EGM* i.132.23.

45. While *circa Pergum lacum* in *Narr*. must be the original reading in the light of Ovid's *lacus . . . nomine Pergus* (*Met*. 5.385–6), the rare name is variously corrupted in the manuscripts, and *circa cacumen Aetnae* may well have stood in the Statius commentator's copy.

in my view) as a terminus ante quem for the *Narrationes*, and I myself believe we probably can. But there is always the possibility that the misguided note on *Theb*. 5.347 is an interpolation in the Statius scholia. Most sets of scholia suffered both interpolation and abridgment over the years, and in this case the immediately preceding note correctly identifies Statius's *Cyaneis* with the Symplegades, appropriately enough citing the second line of the *Medea* as a parallel.[46] It might be argued that the author of so sensible and succinct a note would not go on to add the very detailed but entirely irrelevant note on Cyane. But scholia often include two (or more) contradictory notes on the same passage. Whether the author of this note was the original commentator or a later interpolator, it was undoubtedly Narrator he drew on, not vice versa.

4: VIBIUS SEQUESTER

Two texts new to the discussion converge to narrow the termini. First a curious little dictionary compiled by the otherwise unknown Vibius Sequester: a list of rivers, fountains, lakes, groves, mountains, and peoples mentioned by the poets. Vibius collected his material from Vergil, Silius (book 14 only), Lucan, and a brief passage of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (15.273–358).[47] In addition to listing the names (in alphabetical sequence), he added a few words of explanation or description, often taken from a commentary of some sort. The only value the work has is the occasional otherwise undocumented detail it preserves from such commentaries. And as his most recent editor, Remo Gelsomino, saw, there are clear similarities between some of Vibius's Ovidian entries and Narrator.[48] Three seem to me decisive.

Where Ovid says (*Met*. 15.322–3) that anyone who drinks from the Clytorius "flees from wine" (*vina fugit*), Narrator turns the idea around so that the fountain, when drunk from, makes wine hateful: *Clitorius fons potus vinum in odium adducit* (15.21). Vibius (168) does the same in the very same words: *Clitor Arcadiae, qui potus vinum in odium adducit*. Again at 15.329–31, where Ovid says that whoever drinks even moderately of the Lyncestius staggers about as though he has drunk unmixed wine (*haud aliter titubat quam si mera vina bibisset*), Narrator (15.22) paraphrases in much simpler language: *aquam eius bibentes ebrii fiant*. Vibius (94) has *cuius aquam bibentes ebrii fiunt*. Where Ovid uses the elevated phrase *minimos cum luna recessit in orbes* (312) of the crescent moon, Vibius (192a) has *tenuata luna*, as does one version of *Narr*. 15.16 (another has *defecta luna*, less likely to be correct since it describes the absent rather than crescent moon). It is obviously most unlikely that two different writers would paraphrase Ovid in

46. *Symplegadas, ut asserit Euripides* (i.361.739 Sweeney).

47. Vibius's procedure and sources are usefully described in R. Gelsomino, *Vibius Sequester* (Leipzig 1967), xl–li.

48. For more detailed discussion see his separate study *Le fonti ovidiane di Vibio Sequestre, questioni delle narrationes fabularum Ovidianarum attribuite a Lattanzio Placido* (Bari 1962). The relevant passages are cited in full in the testimonia to his edition.

exactly the same words independently three times. The priority of Narrator is clear. It is impossible to believe that here alone Narrator turned to Vibius for the 11 rivers and fountains he included from less than one hundred lines of Ovid.[49]

Oddly enough, taking a sixth-century date for the surviving *Narrationes* for granted, Gelsomino simply assumed that Vibius drew not on Narrator but on his source. But the verbal parallels prove that this hypothesized source must at the very least have included a set of summaries of stories from the *Metamorphoses*, summaries more or less identical to the surviving *Narrationes*. If so, what are the grounds for distinguishing two such sets? The moment we question the assumption that the surviving *Narrationes* are no earlier than the sixth century, the natural assumption is that only one set ever existed, compiled early enough to be Vibius's source.

Unfortunately, Vibius's date cannot be closely pinned down. He has often been dated as late as the fifth century simply because a work of this nature is held to be characteristic of late antiquity.[50] But in his innumerable notes on Vergilian names there is no unmistakable trace of Servius. No one likes arguments from silence, but this one is stronger than most. A scholiast who consults a commentary for some two hundred passages of Vergil and yet seems to draw on Servius's sources, never Servius himself, is not likely to be writing as late as the fifth century.

Three illustrations. First, § 166, on the river Clanius (from *Geo.* ii.22, *vacuis Clanius non aequus Acerris*): *Acerrae, in Campania, qui cum creverit pestem terrae meditatur*. Servius explains *vacuis*, and Servius auctus says that when the river floods it turns the fields into swamps (*agros paludes facit*), but none of the surviving commentaries says anything about pestilence. Why would Vibius have invented such a detail? He must have found it, like other minor details, in a now lost, earlier commentary. Second, § 77, on the river Hypanis, where he quotes the only line of Gallus known before the recent papyrus find,[51] obviously from a better informed commentary than Servius. Third, § 114, on Oaxes (from *Buc*. i.65, *rapidum cretae veniemus Oaxen*), Vibius writes: *Cretae, a quo et civitas Oaxus. Varro hoc docet: "geminis cupiens tellurem Oeaxida palmis."* That is to say, he takes *cretae* to refer to Crete rather than clay (*creta*), and supports it with a quotation from Varro Atacinus.[52] Servius quotes another line and a bit of Varro, enough to make it clear that he is translating Apollonius (*Arg*. i.1129–31) and referring to Crete. But the fact that Crete could be called *tellus Oeaxis* (γαίης Οἰαξίδος in Apollonius) proves nothing about the location of a river called Oaxes. Like most modern scholars,[53] Servius firmly rejects Vibius's Cretan location, insisting that Vergil's Oaxes

49. The elder Pliny ascribes the same properties to these bodies of water, but in quite different words.

50. So explicitly H.-I. Marrou, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique*[4] (Paris 1958), 136; Schanz-Hosius-Krüger, *Gesch. d. röm. Literatur* iv.2 (Munich 1920), 121.

51. F 1 in Courtney, *Fragmentary Latin Poets* (Oxford 1993), 263.

52. F 5 in Courtney 1993, 240–1.

53. See the long notes by Coleman (1977) and Clausen (1994), and Geymonat's apparatus.

is in Mesopotamia or Scythia. The Varro quotation comes at the end of his note, in support of an opinion ascribed to the otherwise unknown Philostenes (variously emended and identified)[54] on a Cretan town called Oaxes, with no mention of the river. Vibius could not have written as he did if he had had Servius in front of him.

It was long ago pointed out that none of the place names in Vibius are later than the age of Trajan, and Gelsomino also noted that he uses the name Macedonia for a province renamed Epirus Nova after Diocletian.[55] While conceding that this proved nothing about the date of Vibius himself, he felt that it proved the Lucan scholia he drew on pre-Diocletianic. But up-to-date information on place names is simply not to be expected in commentaries on the poets. There is in fact one pointer to the fourth rather than third century: two of the four poets Vibius drew on are Lucan and Silius, poets of the Silver Age out of fashion between the second and fourth centuries. But the fourth-century revival of interest in Silver Age literature began early in the century. Both Lucan and Silius were known to Juvencus, who wrote under Constantine, and Lucan to two other Constantinian writers, Lactantius and the author of the tenth of the Panegyric Latini (321). Jerome lists Lucan as one of the authors he and Rufinus had read commentaries on in the 350s, which presupposes that he was now a school author. By the end of the fourth century both poets were well known to educated members of the elite.[56] A number of small details in Vibius strongly suggest that he drew on a commentary of some sort on Lucan.

Perhaps the clearest single illustration is § 21 on the annual washing of the image of the Mother of the Gods in the Almon, a tributary of the Tiber, on 27 March: *ubi Mater deum VI Kalendas Apriles lavatur*. This picturesque ritual is often mentioned, especially by the poets, but the only other sources to specify the exact date are the Calendar of 354 and Ammianus Marcellinus.[57] Late antique commentators on the poets regularly comment on details of Roman cult in this way, and those who wrote before the banning of pagan cult acts in 391 always do so in the present tense.[58] In Donatus, for example, who wrote around 350:[59] "the double toga, in which the *flamines* sacrifice" and "the knife . . . which the *flamines* . . . and *pontifices* use for sacrifice" (DS on *Aen*. iv.262). But Servius, who wrote ca

54. On this shadowy Greek mythographer, below p. 194.

55. M. Kiessling, *Berl. Phil. Woch*. 1910, 1474; Gelsomino, *Helikon* 1 (1961), 653–4; ed. (1967), xlix.

56. For late fourth-century readers of Silius, E. L. Bassett, *Catal. Transl. et Comm*. iii (Washington 1976), 345; for the influence of Silius on Claudian, M. Dewar, *Mnemosyne* 47 (1994), 349–72. For full documentation on the fourth-century Silver Age revival, my forthcoming *Last Pagans of Rome*, Ch. 9.

57. For a full list of sources, Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2] (Munich 1912), 319.

58. As of course do earlier writers. Gellius's chapters on Vestal Virgins and the Flamen Dialis (*NA* i.12; x.15) and countless entries on cult details in the dictionary of S. Pompeius Festus, both of the second century, are written throughout in the present tense. The next two paragraphs summarize a more fully documented statement in my forthcoming *Last Pagans of Rome*.

59. I am assuming that the DS additions to Servius derive ultimately from Donatus (see p. 197).

420 and drew on Donatus, regularly turns these presents into imperfects. The note on *Aen.* xii.170 is a particularly clear example: Servius has the imperfects *sacrificabant* and *immolabant*, while the additional DS material that he omitted has the present tense (*quam pontifices . . . vocant*). On *Aen.* viii.641 Servius has an imperfect ("a pig used to be employed for this sort of sacrifice" (*ad hoc genus sacrificii porcus adhibebatur*) while the parallel DS note on xii.170 has a present ("some say that it is customary to sacrifice a pig, not a sow when making treaties").[60] Note particularly *Aen.* iv.57: "it used to be [*erat*] the custom to pick perfect sheep for sacrifices," where a few lines later in the note there is an uncorrected present, "those that are [*sunt*] suitable for sacrifice." This last present is the more striking in that Servius repeats the whole phrase on vi.39 (with a cross-reference back to his note on iv.57), verbatim—except that the second time he remembered to change present to imperfect. Clearly the original note he was reproducing gave presents throughout, and his intention was to substitute imperfects throughout.

Servius was by no means the only commentator to change presents to imperfects in cult references (though given the fact that sacrifice was banned in the course of his lifetime, he may have been the first). The Horace scholiast conventionally known as Pseudo-Acro[61] routinely changed the presents in the third-century Porphyrio to imperfects.[62] For example, on *Odes* iii.8.1, where Porphyrio wrote "to this very day the first of March is the festal day for married women," Pseudo-Acro dropped the *hodieque* and changed *est* to *erat*. According to Porphyrio's note on i.36.1 (essentially repeated on iii.11.6), "everyone knows they use lyre-players for sacrifices at Rome";[63] according to Pseudo-Acro, "they used to [*consueverant*] use lyre-players for sacrifices." Where Porphyrio refers on i.37.2 to the priestly banquets the Salii hold [*faciunt*] Ps-Acro has *faciebant*.[64]

Many other examples could be cited. What is the explanation? At one level, pagan teachers would not want to antagonize their—by around 400—mainly Christian pupils. But we should not assume that all commentators on the classics were pagans.[65] If there had been any real risk, it would have been simpler and safer just to omit such details. Pseudo-Acro dropped much of the erudition he found in Porphyrio (notably on Horace's Greek sources), just as Porphyrio abridged what he found in the second-century commentary of the real Helenius

60. *non nulli autem porcum, non porcam in foederibus adserunt solere mactari*. We find the same variation between present and imperfect in DS and Servius on xii.169. It was C. E. Murgia who first drew attention to Servius's use of imperfects: for a full list of such passages, see his "The Dating of Servius Revisited," *CP* 98 (2003), 45–69.

61. Known mainly from marginal notes in Par. lat. 7900 of s. IX/X: Tarrant, in L. D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmissions* (Oxford 1983), 183, 186; for the other MSS, G. Noske, *Quaestiones Pseudoacroneae* (Munich 1969), summarized by M. J. McGann, *CR* 86 (1972), 110.

62. On Porphyrio's date, P. L. Schmidt in Herzog/Schmidt 4, § 446.

63. *fidicines hodieque Romae ad sacrificia adhiberi* [*adh. consueverant, Acro*] *sicut tibicines nemo est qui nesciat*.

64. For further examples, see both commentaries on *Odes* i.5.12; ii.16.14; iii.15.10; iii.18.9; iii.28.16; *Epodes* 17.58.

65. The Juvenal scholiast, with many such imperfects, was almost certainly a Christian.

Acro.[66] Yet significantly enough Pseudo-Acro did not omit the pagan cult references he found in Porphyrio, despite the fact that, given his date, he must have been writing for Christian readers. The seventh-century compiler who replaced several score such Donatan references that the pagan Servius had omitted was likewise a Christian.[67] The answer is that, while the banning of sacrifice stopped the cults themselves, it did not stop people wanting to read about and understand the many picturesque but now puzzling references to cult practices in the classical poets. To give an obvious example, in order to understand the opening of Horace, *Odes* iii.8 (*Martiis caelebs quid agam Kalendis*?), it is essential to know that 1 March was the beginning of the Matronalia. Countless passages in Vergil are practically unintelligible without such knowledge. The accepted compromise was for commentators to keep the information but change the tense, making it clear that these were practices of a now closed chapter in the continuing story of Rome.

Seen in this context, Vibius's *Mater deum . . . lavatur* in the present tense makes it overwhelmingly likely that he wrote before the end of sacrifice. It is instructive to note that Ammianus, in all probability writing not long before 390,[68] likewise uses the present tense (*diem sextum Kalendas Apriles, quo Romae Matri deorum pompae celebrantur annuales*), though since he says that the image "is said" (*perhibetur*) to be washed in the Almo, it is clear that he had never himself seen the ritual.

Given that Vibius must also be dated after the revival of interest in Silver Latin poetry, the obvious compromise is to place him in the mid-fourth century. If so, then the *Narrationes* is fixed no later than the first half of the fourth century.

5: THE GERMANICUS SCHOLIA

This date can be taken back a few more decades to, at any rate, the beginning of the century by the ancient scholia to Germanicus Caesar's Latin translation of Aratus.[69] This text is not really a set of scholia as we usually understand the term—selected, often random and disconnected notes of the sort that positively invite both interpolation and abridgment. What for want of a better name we call the Germanicus scholia vetera is actually a clearly defined treatise in its own right. In the main it is a free Latin adaptation of the so-called *Catasterisms* of Ps-Eratosthenes, a mythological companion to Aratus, a brief account of the mythical origins of

66. This last point is difficult to gauge, since it is likely that what has been transmitted under the name of Porphyrio is itself abridged: C. O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry: the Ars Poetica* (Cambridge 1971), 38–9.

67. This compiler was writing so long after the end of sacrifice that no one was likely to suspect him of paganism for adding either the material or Donatus's original present tenses.

68. Ammianus xxiii.3.7; for the date, John Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* (London 1989), 22–7.

69. Only Lactantius and Jerome ascribe the poem to Germanicus Caesar, and even if we accept the ascription, there are several possible candidates: for a balanced discussion, B. Baldwin, *Quad. Urbin*. 7 (1981), 163–72.

the constellations included by Aratus, following their number and sequence in Aratus (more on this later).[70]

In the very first section, on Callisto, the scholiast remarks that "Ovid says she was changed into a bear by Juno because of her whoring" (*ob pelicatum in ursam transfiguratam*).[71] This is indeed what Ovid says, though Ovid did not use the unpoetical (and unmetrical) words *pelicatus* and *transfigurare*. But Narrator did (*paelicatus eius incensa . . . in ursam eam transfiguravit*).[72] Recalling that Ovid told the story of Callisto, but not sure where in so long a poem, the scholiast took the easier route of checking the well-indexed *Narrationes* rather than the *Metamorphoses* itself. Martial twice makes a joke of the possibility that readers might just read the titles of his epigrams:[73]

> addita per titulos sua nomina rebus habebis;
> praetereas, si quid non facit ad stomachum.
>
> You will find each item identified by its title; if anything is not to your taste, just skip it.
>
> lemmata si quaeris cur sint ascripta, docebo;
> ut, si malueris, lemmata sola legas.
>
> If you ask why headings are added, I'll tell you; so that, if you prefer, you may just read the headings.

Many readers must have done just this when looking for particular passages in long and diffuse works. As we shall see in the course of this book, almost all surviving mythographers are provided with tables of contents for ease of consultation, as are technical works like the medical writers and (to take a more familiar example) Pliny's *Natural History*.[74]

Thanks to the fortunate fact that Lactantius quotes the Germanicus scholia three times, twice at some length, they can be dated with certainty before ca 300.[75] It will suffice to cite a single illustration, the chapter on the constellation Aquila (§ 30). The Germanicus scholion is an abbreviated translation of Ps-Eratosthenes § 30, a chapter more fully and accurately translated by Hyginus

70. Carl Robert's still basic edition of these texts (*Eratosthenis Catasterismorum Reliquiae*, Berlin 1878) sets out Ps-Eratosthenes, Hyginus's *De astronomia*, and the Germanicus and Aratus scholia in parallel columns.

71. A. Breysig, *Germanici Caesaris Aratea cum scholiis* (Berlin 1867), p. 58. 18; A. Dell'Era, *Gli scholia Basileensia a Germanico* (Rome 1979), 317 (§ II. 12).

72. Dell'Era 1979 cites the Ovid reference (*Met*. ii.466–84) but not Narrator (2.5).

73. Martial xiii.3.3–4; xiv.2.3–4, with Shackleton Bailey's translation. Clearly Martial himself provided headings in these books at least, but many of the surviving headings in other books are demonstrably late guesswork (W. M. Lindsay, *Ancient Editions of Martial* [Oxford 1903], 34–55). The tables of contents to (e.g.) Pliny's *Natural History* and many other hard-to-consult works are undoubtedly authentic and original.

74. On Pliny's elaborate tables of contents, see appendix 4.

75. J. Martin, *Histoire du texte des Phénomènes d'Aratos* (Paris 1956), 41.

(*De astron*. ii.16). A comparison of the three versions makes it clear that Lactantius's source was not Hyginus but the Germanicus scholion, which he transcribed practically verbatim:

Hyginus:	*Schol. Germ*:	Lact. *Div. Inst*. i.11.64:
Aglaosthenes autem qui Naxica scripsit, ait Iovem Crete subreptum Naxum delatum et ibi esse nutritum. qui postquam pervenerit ad virilem aetatem et voluerit bello lacessere Titanas, sacrificanti ei aquilam auspicatam; quo auspicio usum esse et eam inter astra conlocasse.	Aglaosthenes dicit Iovem cum ex Naxo adversus Titanas proficisceretur et sacrificium faceret, aquilam ei in auspicio apparuisse, quam bono omine acceptam tutelae suae subiecisse.	Caesar quoque in Arato refert Aglaosthenem dicere Iovem cum ex insula Naxo adversus Titanas proficisceretur et sacrificium faceret in litore, aquilam ei in auspicium advolasse; quam victor bono omine acceptam tutelae suae subiugarit.

The possibility that Lactantius was the source of the Germanicus scholion is excluded by two considerations. First, here as throughout, the scholiast's source is known beyond question to have been Ps-Eratosthenes. Second, Lactantius directly names his source, *Caesar*, by which he means Germanicus (similarly in one of the two other passages he cites his source as *ii qui Phaenomena scripserunt*).[76] There cannot be the slightest doubt that Lactantius knew the Germanicus scholia in more or less exactly the form in which we have them.

To return to the one Ovid quotation, as so often with scholia we are bound to allow for the possibility that it is a later interpolation. Carl Robert bracketed the entire sentence and, more recently and cautiously, Peter Schmidt allowed the possibility.[77] Yet the latest editor, Antonio dell'Era, included it as genuine. The compiler reinforced his Ps-Eratosthenic material with a number of excerpts from the *Sphaera graecanica* of the Republican polymath Nigidius Figulus, amounting to perhaps a quarter of the whole. The authenticity of this Latin material is put beyond doubt by its close similarity to a number of passages in the *Liber memorialis* of Ampelius, likewise presumed to derive from Nigidius Figulus.[78] There seems no reason to doubt that it goes back to the original version of the scholia.

The scholiast's section on the Callisto story offers several differing versions of her transformation into a bear and catasterism, citing two sources, Hesiod and the comic poet Amphis.[79] (1) She was made pregnant by Jupiter while one of Diana's band of virgin huntresses; Diana was furious when she found out, and turned her into a bear. (2) Jupiter raped her disguised as Diana; she then

76. *Div. Inst*. i.21.28 ~ *Schol. Germ*. 12. The third passage is Lact. i.21.39 ~ *Schol. Germ*. 14.

77. P. L. Schmidt in Herzog/Schmidt 4, § 445. 4.

78. See the detailed discussion by A. Swoboda, *P. Nigidii Figuli opera* (Vienna 1889), 36–61 and 110–27; on Ampelius, P. L. Schmidt, in Herzog/Schmidt 5, § 530.

79. § II, p. 58 Breysig = pp. 51–2 Robert = p. 317 Dell'Era.

blamed Diana, who once more turned her into a bear. (3) She was found wandering in the mountains by some shepherds and taken to her father, where she and her son Arcas (for some reason now hunting her) were turned into constellations by Jupiter to save them from punishment for violating one of his temples. All this is fairly closely translated from Ps-Eratosthenes (except that the Amphis version is missing from the text of Ps-Eratosthenes as we have it, though now known in Greek from scholia to Aratus).[80] Then the writer adds his Ovid citation: *Ovidius a Iunone ob pelicatum in ursam transfiguratam eam scribit*. This is an entirely different version. While Ovid borrowed the idea of Jupiter taking the form of Diana from Amphis,[81] his Callisto does not blame Diana, who is overshadowed by the introduction of the jealous Juno.[82] It is both understandable and appropriate that any scholiast familiar with the Ovidian version should feel that it was sufficiently different and distinctive to be worth adding—and at precisely this point.

There can be no objection in vocabulary or style (*transfigurare* is the scholiast's regular term for changing shape), or in the lack of an adversative particle, given the lack of a particle introducing the Amphis version a few lines earlier: *Amphis comicus poeta refert Iovem Dianae effigie transfiguratum in venatione Callisto conpressisse*. Here we may contrast the one indisputable interpolation in the scholia.[83] In § 41, after a citation from Aristotle directly translated from Ps-Eratosthenes, all manuscripts offer a reference to Isidore of Seville: *ut Aristoteles dicit in eo libro qui de bestiis scribitur* [*item Isidorus in naturalibus id est physicis memoriae tradidit*]. Not to mention the date of Isidore, the *item*, *id est*, and lack of grammatical connection combined unmistakably brand these words as a marginal note subsequently copied into the text.[84]

I can find no valid objection to ascribing the Ovid citation to the original compiler of the scholia. If it be asked why the compiler included just the one citation from a Latin poet who wrote at such length on metamorphosis, there is a simple answer. The purpose of the Germanicus scholia was to *amplify* the star lore in Germanicus's *Aratea*. There is very little star lore in the *Metamorphoses*. In fact the Callisto story is perhaps the only case where Ovid adds a different version to the ample, well-documented material provided by Ps-Eratosthenes, supplemented by

80. J. Martin, *Scholia in Aratum Vetera* (Leipzig 1974), 90. 13; for the complicated story of the various versions of the story, Henrichs 1987, 258–67 and 274–7.

81. Probably indirectly through some lost poet or mythographer.

82. Ovid's actual source or sources are unknown: see Otis 1970, 379–88; Henrichs 1987, 262–3.

83. It is true that § 34 (p. 359 Dell'Era = pp. 95–7 Breysig) is borrowed (with minor modifications) from Hyg. *De astron*. ii.33 in its entirety (so Bursian, *Jahrb. f. class. Phil*. 1866, 766 n. 13; Robert 1878, 14; Dell'Era 1979, 304), but this must be to replace a missing or illegible page, since the relevant section of the *Scholia Strozziana*, based on the early scholia, preserves an Aristotle citation from the relevant section of Ps-Eratosthenes (Robert 1878, 172–3). The original § 34 must have been based on Ps-Eratosthenes, like the rest of the work.

84. So already Robert 1878, p. 16 and p. 188 btm.

Nigidius Figulus.[85] There are only two other stories included in the Germanicus scholia that are also told in the *Metamorphoses*, the Perseus-Andromeda saga and Ariadne's Crown (viii.177–82). Ovid gives exactly the same version of the latter as Ps-Eratosthenes, and though he treats the Perseus saga at some length,[86] he never mentions any of its catasterisms.

Catasterisms are a well-represented category of metamorphosis, but Ovid evidently decided that their place was in his *Fasti*;[87] he regularly includes them where their risings and settings place them in the calendar.[88] Unlike the metamorphosis of a human into a tree, pool, cow, swan, spider, or whatever, the transformation itself offered little opportunity for the vivid description that is so characteristic a feature of the *Metamorphoses*. However different the stories that led up to them, all catasterisms, seen as a process, are essentially the same, and most such stories in the *Fasti* are brief and formulaic (at least as regards the actual catasterism). Furthermore, since he was planning to end the *Metamorphoses* with the catasterisms of Caesar and Augustus, Ovid may also have felt that he did not want to overuse the motif earlier in the poem.

It is no coincidence that Callisto's catasterism is one of the only two that Ovid included in the *Metamorphoses*. Not only because the Great Bear "has always been the best known of the stellar groups, appearing in every extended reference to the heavens in the legends, parchments, tablets and stones of remotest times,"[89] but also because there is a neat aetiological story that *follows* the catasterism. Juno was so furious when she learned that Callisto had become a constellation that she begged Tethys and Ocean to renounce "stars that have reached heaven at the price of shame, and not to let that harlot bathe in your pure stream":

> sideraque in caelo stupri mercede recepta
> pellite, ne puro tinguatur in aequore paelex. (ii.529–30)

Who could resist explaining why the Great Bear never sets? The Callisto story was the scholiast's only real opening for citing Ovid.

85. Nigidius's own main source was Ps-Eratosthenes, but he seems to have drawn on other sources as well: see A. Swoboda, *P. Nigidii Figuli Operum Reliquiae* (Vienna 1889), 49–53.

86. *Met*. iv.604–803 and v.1–241; see now the useful commentary by W. S. Anderson, *Ovid's Metamorphoses: Books 1–5* (Norman 1996), 478–519.

87. Eighteen of them, according to Friz Graf, in Philip Hardie (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Ovid* (Cambridge 2002), 115–6. On the catasterisms in the *Fasti*, see now Emma Gee, *Ovid, Aratus and Augustus: Astronomy in Ovid's Fasti* (Cambridge 2000), esp. Ch. 6.

88. Ovid's knowledge of the constellations is in fact distinctly shaky. According to Elaine Fantham, he was liable to "confuse their rising with their setting, or a morning appearance with one in the evening, or mention them quite out of season," *Ovid Fasti Book IV* (Cambridge 1998), 36; on these mistakes, Gee 2000, 205–8. Ovid had already produced his own version of Aratus's *Phaenomena*, of which five lines are quoted in scholia: text and a few comments in E. Courtney, *Fragmentary Latin Poets* (Oxford 1993), 308–9.

89. Richard Hinckley Allen, *Star Names, Their Lore and Meaning* (London 1899; reprint, New York 1963), 419.

Thus the *Narrationes* is definitely earlier than the Statius scholia (ca 450) and Vibius Sequester (ca 350), and (if I am right) also earlier than the Germanicus scholia, which were known to Lactantius (ca 300).

There is no trace of them in the Vergil scholia. A particularly clear negative illustration is provided by the detailed 12-line summary of the Pyramus and Thisbe story in Serv. Dan. on *Buc*. vi.22. Narrator's summary of the story (4.4) runs to 13 lines, but the two versions could hardly be more different both in vocabulary and syntax (they even use different words for lioness). But this falls well short of proving the Vergil scholia earlier. The core of the scholarly material in the Vergil scholia goes back to the second century (perhaps to Asper). Donatus may have made some additions, but (except for the Silver Latin quotations added by Servius) the surviving scholia represent an abridgment of this core. More specifically, in Ch. VIII we shall find reason to assign the greater part of the mythographic notes to a work there dated to (probably) the first half of the second century. So if the *Narrationes* is as late as around 200, it is not likely to have been among the mythographic sources of the Vergil scholia.

There is nothing in Narrator's language, style or (largely quantitative) prose rhythm that points later than this—providing we allow (as we must in any case) for occasional interpolation or interference by later hands. For example, consider the altogether disproportionate interpretative digression on Arachne's weaving (6.1–2).[90] Much has been based on the claim that Prometheus made man *ad dei similitudinem et imaginem* (1.2 on *Met*. i.83), which has a distinctly Christian ring. Indeed it echoes Genesis i.26, *faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram*. This was unproblematic so long as the *Narrationes* was assumed to be a medieval product. But it is hard to reconcile with even a late antique date. Many of the grammarians and commentators of late antiquity were Christians, but they do not normally reveal their religious beliefs in their professional work. This passage purports to paraphrase Ovid's claim that the "son of Iapetus" (Prometheus) "moulded [man] into the form of the all-controlling gods" (*finxit in effigiem moderantum cuncta deorum*, i.83). It is not likely to be a deliberate Christianization. While a pious Christian scholar might (like Priscian) declare his faith in a preface, why would he falsify the Ovidian text by paraphrasing it in the words of Genesis? The Christianization must be unconscious, but by whom? It does not seem likely that Narrator himself, even unconsciously, would slip into Christian terminology when self-consciously composing his summary. I suspect that Narrator's original words were something like *ad imaginem deorum*, and that a Christian copyist, struck by the general similarity to the biblical formula, unconsciously substituted the words with which he was so familiar.

According to a recent analysis by Tarrant, diction, phrasing, and prose rhythm "while unmistakably post-classical, suggest a date at which knowledge of 'good'

90. See p. 71n.5 below.

classical models and a desire to display that knowledge were still to be found."[91] On this basis he suggests the late fourth rather than sixth century. But there is no sliding scale of decline. To my mind, the relative simplicity and correctness of the man's prose do not exclude an even earlier date for the *Narrationes* in its original form.

Some scholars have been attracted by Hunt's suggestion that Narrator's purpose was to provide a metamorphosis-free *Metamorphoses*, an inoffensive version of a dangerously pagan work for Christian readers.[92] Obviously such a hypothesis presupposes rather than argues for a late antique date. But the *Metamorphoses* is a work of fantasy rather than cult, nor is it obvious in what way the *Narrationes* is any less pagan. To be sure, it skips the details of the various transformations, so that they all tend to end with some such neutral formula as *ut in X (con)verteretur*. But the gods, goddesses, and nymphs who cause and undergo all these transformations are all still there. The narrative outline of the stories remains unaltered; it is only the detail, the wit, and the poetry that have been lost.

6: SOURCE CITATIONS

As for the assumption (which goes back to Heinsius) that the work is no more than the tattered remnants of a full-scale commentary, that is not at all the sort of impression it gives the unbiased reader. Despite the circumstances of its transmission, both the general shape of the work and its contents are remarkably stable. Its form is clearly defined: a sequence of brief summaries with occasional explanatory notes and source references. Tarrant identifies the writer's style and diction as "sufficiently consistent and distinctive to suggest that they are based on and largely preserve the work of a single hand."[93] A certain number of favourite words and phrases can be identified (notably *novissime* = last or finally). All this suggests a unitary work, not a series of excerpts.

Heinsius himself cited the parallel of the summaries (*argumenta*) of successive books of Lucan found in many Lucan manuscripts.[94] But it is by no means clear that these summaries ever formed part of an ancient commentary on Lucan.[95] Several manuscripts that carry *Thebaid* scholia also carry summaries of each book.[96] Even so, it is not clear that they were thought of as belonging with the scholia rather than the text. There are no such summaries in the only late antique commentary we have in its original form, Servius. In any case, the Lucan and Statius summaries are relatively brief, not more than a page and (in the case of Lucan) often much less. But the Ovidian *narrationes* offer a summary of every transformation story in the poem, no fewer than 230 in all.[97] Even when several are combined into one

91. Tarrant 1995, 96–100 (an excellent account of Narrator's style) at 99.
92. Hunt 1925, xiii; F. Ghisalberti, *Mem. Ist. Lombardo* 24 (1932), 192–3.
93. Tarrant 1995, 96.
94. Printed in I. Endt, *Adnotationes super Lucanum* (Leipzig 1909).
95. Shirley Werner, *The Transmission and Scholia to Lucan's Bellum civile* (Hamburg 1998), 134–35.
96. Printed in the editions of Sweeney and Jahnke.
97. On the reasons for this surprisingly high number, more below.

narrative, they are usually summarized separately, each with its own title, with the titles listed separately again in an index to each book.[98] The summaries to all 15 books fill 67 pages in Slater's edition, 90 in Magnus's. Some summaries of individual Ovidian stories are longer than those to entire books of Lucan or Statius. The Ovidian *Narrationes* is clearly on an altogether different scale.

The most promising line of inquiry (I suggest) is the learned source references.[99] The most recondite is the citation of Phanocles for the transformation of Cygnus into a swan out of grief for Phaethon (2.5). Ursula Hunt dismissed it as an interpolation, on the grounds that it is missing from Burney 311 and three early printed editions.[100] This is most unlikely. The postulated interpolation would have to be late antique at earliest, and where would this Latin speaker have come across even the name of a Greek poet known by only five quotations in Greek texts?[101] There are in fact two positive reasons for believing the citation basically authentic. First, there is the title *Cupidines*, a respectable Latinization for the only title attested for Phanocles, *Loves, or Beautiful Boys* (Ἔρωτες ἢ Καλοί). Second, Vergil's account of the transformation of Cygnus (*Aen*. x.188–93), while basically the same as Ovid's (*Met*. ii.367–80), lays much stronger emphasis on the erotic bond between Cygnus and Phaethon (*amor*, 188; *luctu Phaethontis amati*, 189).[102] The title alone of Phanocles's book makes clear that he must have represented Phaethon and Cygnus as lovers, and it is natural to infer that Phanocles was Vergil's source as well as Ovid's.[103] While (as we shall see) there is no need to derive it from a commentary, there is no cause to doubt that we have here, at however many removes, a genuine citation of Phanocles.

Phanocles is not the only casualty in Burney 311. Hunt seems not to have noticed that her manuscript omits no fewer than five more of the 10 citations that appear in the texts of Magnus and Slater: 632.1–7 Magnus (*ut idem Hesiodus ostendit . . . auctoritate Varronis*); 639. 8 (*ut auctor Hesiodus indicat*); 639.8–9 (*ut alii*, anonymous verses on Callisto); 701.10 (the entire sentence closing *ut Hesiodus vult*). No one will believe that all these citations are medieval interpolations. The obvious explanation is that the copyist of Burney 311 simply omitted them.[104]

98. More on the index below.

99. The fullest discussion I know (largely negative) is by R. Franz, in *Leipziger Studien* 12 (1890), 261–6.

100. *om. ABC bene*, Hunt, 1925, 126.

101. J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford 1925), 106–9: two in Clement (on whom more later), one each in Plutarch, Eusebius, and Stobaeus; Lloyd-Jones hesitantly suggested Phanocles as the author of *SH* 970 (see his *Greek Comedy*, *Hellenistic Literature*, *Greek Religion and Miscellanea* [Oxford 1990], 208–14), but there are stronger grounds for assigning it to Moero of Byzantium: see Cameron 1995, 384–6. Like Powell himself, I am setting aside F 7, on which see now M. Gioseffi, *Studi sul commento a Virgilio dello Pseudo-Probo* (Florence 1991), 199–203.

102. Whence Servius's disapproving comment: *Phaethontem amatum a Cygno aut pie aut turpiter accipiamus necesse est*.

103. So S. J. Harrison, *Vergil: Aeneid 10* (Oxford 1991), 119–20, pointing out an echo of Phanocles F 1.3–4 in lines 190–1 as well.

104. Or more likely its source, given the printed editions that also omit these passages.

Medieval copyists naturally tended to drop citations that meant nothing to them and added nothing to Ovid's stories. Note (for example) that at 692.3, where even Burney 311 offers *sic enim cum Hesiodo consentit Ovidius* with other manuscripts, the copy reflected in the Vienna edition of 1513 offers just *sic enim Ovidius*, dropping the unfamiliar Hesiod but keeping Ovid.

The probability is that the original text of the *Narrationes* contained more such citations, omitted by successive copyists. Where did all these Greek citations come from? According to Tarrant, they might tempt us "to place the composition of our commentary at a time when Latin scholarship was still healthy, i.e. the fourth or early fifth century AD."[105] It depends how we define "healthy." There is much Greek lore in Servius and Macrobius, and a modest amount in the Juvenal and Statius scholia. But few if any of their citations of classical and Hellenistic Greek texts are firsthand. Servius we shall be considering in detail in Ch. VIII. 2. Macrobius quotes from more than 60 different Greek authors in the *Saturnalia* alone. But the overwhelming bulk of these quotations is taken verbatim from a series of secondary sources. There can be no doubt that he was fluent in Greek and drew much of his erudition from Greek sources. But the number of Greek texts he knew at first hand was small, and most (perhaps all) were writers of the imperial age.[106] There is no unmistakable evidence that he knew *any* preimperial Greek literature (especially poetry) at first hand, not even Homer, from whom he cites some three hundred lines. For example, all 26 Homeric quotations in *Sat*. vii were lifted, complete with context, from surviving works of Gellius, Plutarch, and Alexander of Aphrodisias.[107] Not a single Homeric quotation can be ascribed to spontaneous reminiscence on the part of Macrobius himself.[108] We shall soon see that all the learned Greek quotations in Hyginus and the Germanicus scholia were likewise copied, unverified, from their Greek sources (which still exist to prove it), and the same is surely true of Narrator.

Some of the Hesiod citations look more plausible than others, and Bretzigheimer dismissed the less plausible as interpolations.[109] Implying as it does that some are authentic in a way others are not, this is not a helpful distinction. There is no objection in principle to the hypothesis that Narrator's citations from Greek texts might reflect the research of a late antique commentator. But they all share a feature that points to a different sort of source. All are cited as sources for details in mythical stories. Systematic citation of source references (as distinct from casual quotation)

105. Tarrant 1995, 96.

106. I suspect the same may be more true of the younger Pliny and Quintilian than we might like to think. After all, few modern scholars who read the literature on their field in other modern languages have either the time or the ability to read the classics in those languages.

107. J. Flamant, *Macrobe et le Néo-Platonisme latin à la fin du IVe siècle* (Leiden 1977), 298–301.

108. I am not (of course) suggesting that Macrobus had never read Homer at all. Anyone who learned Greek was bound to have struggled through a book or two of the *Iliad*. What I do doubt is that he knew Homer well enough to quote whole lines appropriately from memory.

109. Bretzigheimer 1937, 18.

seems to begin with the various technical writings of Callimachus.[110] As we shall see in detail in Ch. V, it was to become one of the hallmarks of early imperial mythographic literature.

It has not (I think) been fully appreciated quite how many mythographic texts of the late Hellenistic and early imperial period fall into this category. The following list makes no pretensions to completeness, and omits (for example) the (probably third-century) *Cycle* (Κυκλός) of Dionysius of Samos and various works of Dionysius Scytobrachion; the scholarly Homeric monographs of the second-century Apollodorus of Athens; and the poetic commentaries of Didymus and Theon in the late first century. Most obviously, I omit texts like the *Theologiae graecae compendium* (ἐπιδρομή) of Cornutus, more interested in allegorical and etymological explanation than narrative, which cites only Homer and Hesiod.[111] First the out-and-out mythographers:

1. The *Bibliotheca* of Ps-Apollodorus, much the longest and most systematic, offering a continuous mythical history from the creation to the return of Odysseus in 165 Teubner pages with more than 80 citations from more than 30 different authors.[112]
2. The *Catasterisms* of Ps-Eratosthenes, a catalogue of 44 catasterisms or transformations into constellations, with 40-odd citations from 20 different authors.[113]
3. The *Sufferings in Love* of Parthenius, dedicated to the poet Cornelius Gallus, with 29 often very recondite citations.[114]
4. The first- or second-century *Transformations* of Antoninus Liberalis, with more than 40 citations from 14 different writers, more than half from Nicander.[115]
5. Some 250 mythical stories with several hundred learned citations most fully preserved in the D-scholia to Homer, the so-called Mythographus Homericus (MH). Now that a selection of entries from this collection has turned up in almost a dozen papyri (the earliest no later than the

110. E. Stemplinger, *Das Plagiat in der griechischen Literatur* (Leipzig 1912), 181; if I am not mistaken, R. Pfeiffer's *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford 1968) never explicitly addresses this point (which is discussed further below).

111. No edition more recent than that of C. Lang (Leipzig 1881); see A. D. Nock, *RE* Suppl. 5 (1931), 995–1005; G. W. Most, "Cornutus and Stoic Allegoresis: A Preliminary Report," *ANRW* 36, 3 (1989), 2014–65.

112. R. Wagner in the Teubner *Mythographi Graeci* i^2 (1926); useful recent annotated translations by J.-C. Carrière and B. Massonie (Paris 1991) and R. Hard (Oxford 1997). The concluding Trojan section is unfortunately only known from excerpts.

113. C. Robert (1878) and A. Olivieri (*Myth. Graeci* iii.1, 1897). Both title and ascription are owed to the first editor, John Fell (1672), bishop of Oxford and subject of the famous adaptation of Martial i.32.

114. See now the elaborate new edition with invaluable commentary by Lightfoot 1999.

115. I. Cazzaniga, *Antoninus Liberalis: Metamorphoseon Synagoge* (Milan 1962); M. Papathomopoulos, *Antoninus Liberalis: les Métamorphoses* (Paris 1968).

first century), we know that these scholia originally circulated as an independent work at least as early as the first century.[116] Naturally we cannot be sure that *all* the mythographic entries in the D-scholia were included in this work, but clearly a substantial number were. Indeed the most recent papyrus find includes a story missing in the D-scholia, citing the authority of Theopompus.[117]

6,7. The *Parallel Stories* and *On the Naming of Rivers and Mountains* falsely ascribed to Plutarch, both in all probability by the same unknown author. *Stories* has 80 references to 38 authors and 57 different works; *Rivers* 64 references to 46 authors and 65 different works, 9 of them also cited in the other book. The fact that many, perhaps most, of these references are to bogus works by bogus authors (Agatharchides of Samos in bk. 2 of his *Persica*, Aretades of Cnidos in bk. 3 of his *Macedonica*, and the like)[118] merely underlines how essential a feature of the genre such source references were felt to be.[119]

8. The *Diegeseis* of Conon, 50 miscellaneous tales, like Ps-Plutarch mingling myth and (pseudo)-history, except for a second-century papyrus published in 1984, only known from the summary made by the patriarch Photius for his *Bibliotheca*.[120] For Conon's "many" sources, Ch. IV. 1.

9. The *New* or *Paradoxical History* of Ptolemy "the Quail" (Χένος), which boldly claims to expose the many errors in the versions of earlier mythographers. Like Ps-Plutarch, Ptolemy too cites bogus sources (discussed at length in Ch. VI).[121]

10. Ptolemy the Quail and Ps-Plutarch stand on the border between mythography and paradoxography. The collections of *paradoxa* and *thaumata* ascribed to Antigonus of Carystus, Apollonius, and Phlegon of Tralles include relatively little specifically mythical material but are

116. M. van der Valk, *Researches on the Text and Scholia of the Iliad* i (Leiden 1963),303–413; F. Montanari, in *Greek Literary Theory after Aristotle: a collection of papers in honour of D. M. Schenkeveld* (Amsterdam 1995), 135–72; P. Schubert, Oxy. Pap. LXI (1995), 15–46 (on P. Oxy. 4096); on the papyri see too van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998, 85–118 and 278–300 (nos. 48–54).

117. P. Oxy. 4096 F 1; Schubert, 1995, p. 18.

118. For the basic facts, K. Ziegler, *RE* 21 (1951), 865–9; for more on the "Schwindelautoren," F. Jacoby, *Mnemosyne* 3.8 (1940), 73–144 = *Abhandlungen zur griechischen Geschichtschreibung* (Leiden 1956), 359–422; briefly, W. Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum* (Munich 1971), 47. W. Nachstädt in his Teubner (1935) and F. C. Babbitt (Loeb vol. 4, 1936) unfortunately treated all the source references in *Stories* as authentic, following I. Schlereth, *De Plutarchi quae feruntur Parallelis Minoribus* (Friburg 1931).

119. For more on bogus citations, see Ch. V. 6.

120. *Bibl*. Cod. 186 p. 130b. 25: Jacoby, *FGrH* 26; P. Oxy. 3648 (with a fuller version of §§ 46 and 47). According to Henrichs 1987, 244–7, a "microcosm of Hellenistic mythography" but "the only Greek mythographer who adopted neither a uniform theme nor a recognisable principle of organisation for his work." See now M. K. Brown, *The Narratives of Konon* (Munich 2002).

121. Photius, Cod. 190; for a delightful characterization see G. W. Bowersock, *Fiction as History: Nero to Julian* (Berkeley 1994), 24–7.

linked to the mythographers by their systematic documentation (seemingly genuine, though, as with the mythographers, seldom verifiable).[122] The common appeal of these works is sufficiently illustrated by the fact that Antigonus, Apollonius, Phlegon, Ps-Plutarch, Parthenius and Antoninus Liberalis all survive in just one manuscript.[123]

11. An unidentifiable mythographic source drawn on by Clement of Alexandria with a learned source reference for virtually every story (Ch. II. 2).
12. The *Strange History* of Didymus, only known from a couple of citations in late texts, but presumably a substantial, learned, and influential work (Ch. II. 2).
13. An alphabetical dictionary of metamorphoses on a late second-century Michigan papyrus published by Timothy Renner: four stories more or less completely preserved, all equipped with learned citations.[124]
14. Peisandros, a mythographer cited seven times in the Apollonius and twice in the Euripides scholia for details in the saga of the Argonauts and Thebes, as well as by Ps-Apollodorus and a couple of mythographic papyri.[125] Four citations in the Apollonius scholia name him in lists of other, always earlier citations, suggesting that Peisandros himself quoted his sources.[126] His main claim to fame is being used by Vergil for book 2 of the *Aeneid* (Ch. X. 2).
15. Gorgos, priest of Apollo at Colophon and, according to his funerary inscription (dated to the first century BC), a learned man who excerpted the poets. Generally identified as a mythographer.[127]
16. Lysimachus of Alexandria, author of *Thebaica Paradoxa* in 13 books and *Nostoi* in at least 3 books, in (probably) the second century BC.[128] Cited in a variety of scholia, often in long lists together with many earlier mythographers. F 8 gives a direct quotation, which cites five authorities.
17. Theopompus of Cnidos, described by Plutarch as a "collector of myths" (συναγαγὼν τοὺς μύθους).[129] Though nothing is known about the

122. P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i (Oxford 1972), 771–2; G. Schepens, in O. Pecere and A. Stramaglia (eds.), *La letteratura di consumo nel mondo greco-latino* (Cassino 1996), 382–6; W. Hansen, *Phlegon of Tralles' Book of Marvels* (Exeter 1996), 2–16.

123. Heidelberg Pal. gr. 398 of mid s. IX; A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (Lancaster 1952), 3–10.

124. "A Papyrus Dictionary of Metamorphoses," *HSCP* 82 (1978), 277–93; van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998, no. 70, pp. 335–6.

125. *FGrH* 16, with addenda on pp. *10–11, with Jacoby's notes in the commentary volume, pp. 493–6 and 544–7.

126. F 1, 5, 7, and 8; note particularly F 7: τὸν δὲ Ἐνδυμίωνα Ἡσίοδος μέν . . . καὶ Πείσανδρος καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος καὶ Φερεκύδης καὶ Νίκανδρος ἐν δευτέρῳ Αἰτωλικῶν καὶ Θεόπομπος ὁ ἐποποιός (Schol. Apoll. iv.57).

127. *FGrH* 17; latest text, R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten* i (Stuttgart 1998), 363 (03/05/02).

128. *FGrH* 382, with Jacoby's commentary.

129. Plut. *Caes*. 48.

work, his connections to Caesar and Cicero serve to locate him very precisely in both time and place. The reference to "collecting" suggests a more or less scholarly activity.

18. In the second century BC, an otherwise unknown Menecles of Teos was honored by a decree of the city of Priansos in Crete for a "historical cycle on the gods and heroes of Crete, making a collection from many poets and historians" (κύκλον ἱστορημέναν ὑπὲρ Κρήτας κα[ὶ τ]ῶν ἐν [Κρή]ται γεγονότων θεῶν τε καὶ ἡρώων, [ποι]ησάμενο[ς τ]ὰν συναγαγὰν ἐκ πολλῶν ποιητᾶν καὶ ἱστοριογράφων).[130] The participial clause suggests that he quoted the sources on which he had based his *Cycle*.

Second, works that, while not primarily or explicitly mythographical, contain a good deal of mythological material. This is a fairly arbitrary selection, listing works that provide source citations and so omitting (for example) Strabo, who offers a great deal of mythological information but seldom cites sources (except for Homer, whom he cites passim, especially in book 1):

19. Part 1 of Philodemus's *On Piety* contains a mass of mythographic material together with long lists of poetic sources, much of it from (the real) Apollodorus's rationalizing treatise *On Gods* in 24 books. Variously abridged and expanded versions of these lists appear in a variety of later writers, from scholia on the classics to Christian apologists.[131]
20. Though not formally a mythographer, Diodorus of Sicily devoted the first six books of his history to the heroic age (both "barbarian" and Greek) down to the Trojan War, and at least one further book to the Trojan War itself and its aftermath. While acknowledging that its imprecise chronology caused problems, he felt it important to include the mythological past in his universal history (and the fact that books 1–5 survive complete and most of the others do not proves that his mythologizing found many generations of readers). While not citing sources systematically, it may be significant that Diodorus cites them far more often in his mythological books than in the later, historical books.[132]

130. Inscr. *Cret*. i, p. 280; *FGrH* 466.

131. Albert Henrichs, "Philodems "De pietate" als mythographische Quelle," *Cronache ercolanesi* 5 (1975), 5–38.

132. For example, not counting frequent citations of Homer, Dionysius Scytobrachion on Dionysus (iii.65–6); Timaeus on giants iv. 21; Timaeus on the Argonauts (iv. 56); Antimachus (iii.65.7); Aratus (iv. 80); Philistus (v. 6); Ephorus (v. 64 and 66); the Sicilian tragedian Carcinus for the rape of Kore (v.5); the Rhodian historian Zenon for the myths of Rhodes (v. 56); an inscription for the tomb of Idomeneus and Meriones in Crete (v. 79); for Cretan myths, Epimenides and three local Cretan historians (Dosiades, Sosicrates, and Laosthenidas; iv. 80; *FGrH* 457, 458, 461, 462, and 468). On Jason and Medea and Medea's killing of her children, his "they say" obviously refers to Euripides's play. On Diodorus's rationalizing, euhemeristic approach, P. Veyne, *Did the Greeks believe in their myths?* (Chicago 1983), 46–8.

21. In the same way, and presumably for the same reason, book 1 of Dionysius of Halicarnassus's *Roman Antiquities*, devoted to the mythical prehistory of Rome, cites sources far more frequently than the later books, notably some 30 different Greek writers, some cited many times.
22. In (probably) the fifties BC, Castor of Rhodes produced a *Chronological Epitome* going down to 61/60 BC that reintroduced the heroic age into the Eratosthenic system. It is natural to assume that Diodorus's attack on the imprecision of mythological chronology was directed at Castor.[133] Ps-Apollodorus quotes Castor on the genealogy of Io (ii.1.3), in a context that implies he cited sources. He was presumably drawn on by other mythographers trying to harmonize mythical chronology.
23. Though again he was not primarily a mythographer, there is an enormous amount of mythology, organized region by region, in the guide book of Pausanias. Pausanias too cites sources extensively for such material (Ch. IX).
24. The same is true of all three surviving works of Clement of Alexandria: *Paedagogus*, *Protrepticus*, and *Stromateis*. It has long been recognized that the hundreds of citations we find throughout Clement's oeuvre are derived from a variety of florilegia and secondary works,[134] though little attention has been paid in this context to mythographers as such (for one such work see item 11).
25. Dated precisely to 99 BC, the so-called Lindian temple chronicle, an inventory compiled by Timachidas of Rhodes that lists every dedication made in the temple of Athena at Lindos from mythical times down to the time of writing. The earliest section records dedications by the eponymous Lindos, the Telchines, Cadmus (a bronze cauldron), Minos (a silver cup), Heracles (two wicker shields), followed by dedications from various Trojan heroes, including Menelaus and Helen. The temples of Greece were full of dedications purporting to have been made by mythical heroes, but what is so striking about this case is the fact that Timachidas cites a whole series of written authorities for even the earliest. While for Cadmus's dedications he cites only book 4 of the *Histories* of Polyzalos, for Minos's silver cup he cites book 1 of the *Chronice syntaxis* of Xenagoras, book 1 of the *On Rhodes* of Gorgo, Gorgosthenes's *Letter to the Boule*, and Hieroboulos's *Letter to the Mastroi* (financial officials). For Heracles's wicker shields he cites not only all four of these names but four more as well, no fewer than eight in all.[135]

133. F*GrH* 250; K. S. Sacks, *Diodorus Siculus and the First Century* (Princeton 1990), 65–6.

134. H.-I. Marrou in Marrou and M. Harl, *Clément d'Alexandrie: Le Pédagogue*, Livre 1 (Paris 1960), 71–86.

135. Chr. Blinkenberg, *Die Lindische Tempelchronik* (Bonn 1915); F. Jacoby, *FGrH* 532, and his whole section on the local historians of Rhodes in III b (1955), Kommentar, 424–45; J. Forsdyke, *The Greeks before Homer* (London 1956), 44–6.

26, 27, 28, 29. The four surviving Latin examples: the *Fabulae* and *De astronomia* of Hyginus, the Germanicus scholia, and the *Narrationes*, discussed in detail in this and the following chapter; and the Ovidian *Narrationes*. All four cite Greek sources abundantly.

30. Finally, there are a great many papyrus fragments of early imperial date from unidentifiable mythographic narratives and catalogues (Ch. IX). Most must be fragments from otherwise unknown lost mythographic works, almost all of them copied (if not originally compiled) in early imperial Egypt.

The Lindian chronicle is dated to 99 BC; Parthenius between 52 and 26 BC; Didymus between 80 and 1 BC; Diodorus published around 30 BC; Conon in the age of Augustus; Ptolemy the Quail in the age of Trajan and Hadrian; Pausanias around 150 AD. Most of the others are assigned on very general grounds to the first or second century AD, as is the only comparable Latin mythographic text, the *Fabulae* of Hyginus. Since Hyginus is the closest surviving analogue to the *Narrationes* as well as its most likely surviving source, a close examination of his citations is called for.

2

The Greek Sources of Hyginus and Narrator

1

It is time to take a closer look at Hyginus. In addition to the *Fabulae*, he is also credited with another largely mythographic work entitled *De astronomia*, and on the basis of a number of verbal and thematic parallels it has been generally assumed that both works are by the same hand.[1] It is not in itself a serious objection that they sometimes offer differing versions of the same story, since this can be explained as a consequence of the two books being compiled at different times from different sources (both are of sufficiently low intellectual level to make it unlikely that the writer was committed to the "truth" of any particular version).[2] More telling is the one cross-reference. In a passage otherwise translated fairly literally from Ps-Eratosthenes, the writer cites book 1 of his own *Genealogiae* (*de quo in primo libro Genealogiarum scripsimus*) on the subject of the Graeae,[3] and we have already seen that Ps-Dositheus cites the *Fabulae* under the title *Genealogia*. Although the text of the *Fabulae* as extant is not divided into books, even its abridged state is much longer than the average ancient book, and the surviving chapters fall fairly clearly into three categories, the first of which is certainly genealogical. It is true that there is no such discussion of the Graeae in the surviving text of the *Fabulae*, but that is simply one more indication that the text we have is abridged. In view of its lengh, *De astronomia* was likewise presumably once divided into at least three books, though there is no trace in the many manuscripts of the four books in which they appear in printed editions.[4]

Despite many learned references to Greek sources, *De astronomia* is not an original work based on firsthand learning. Most of its mythological material is simply translated from Ps-Eratosthenes's *Catasterisms* (a somewhat fuller text than the one that has come down to us), from which it borrows almost all of its erudition. In *Astron*. ii. 1 Hyginus reports that Callisto was captured "by some Aetolians"

1. A. le Boeuffle, *Hygin: l'Astronomie* (Paris 1983), xxxiv–xxxvii; the closest single parallel is *Fab*. 130 (p. 116 Marshall) ~ *Astron*. ii.4.3 (p. 22 Viré). For more detail on all aspects of Hyginus's *Fables*, see Nichola Chiarulli, *Ricerche sulle "Fabulae" di Igino* (forthcoming).

2. For a full and balanced discussion, Chiarulli forthcoming.

3. *Astron*. ii.12.2 ~ Ps-Erat. 22, pp. 130–1 Robert.

4. Michael Reeve has confirmed for me that there are no book divisions in the many manuscripts.

(*a quibusdam Aetolorum*) and brought to Lycaon in Arcadia. What are these Aetolians doing in the Callisto story? Indeed what are they doing in Arcadia? The Greek original reveals that the true text here was ὑπὸ αἰπόλων τινῶν, "by some herdsmen." Obviously Hyginus either misread αἰπόλων as αἰτωλῶν, or this was actually the text of his copy of Ps-Eratosthenes. Either way, this is not an error than can be attributed to a later copyist; it must go back to the translator himself. Nor is it an error that reappears in the rest of the catasterismographical tradition. The Aratus scholia likewise offer ὑπὸ αἰπόλων τινῶν, and the Germanicus scholia, evidently an independent translation, *a quibusdam pastoribus*.[5]

No identifiable Greek source for Hyginus's *Fabulae* as a whole has survived, but it has always been clear that the work is heavily dependent on Greek sources.[6] H. J. Rose argued for just one, whereas most would now think a number of different Greek sources more likely. In 1957 J. Schwartz published a papyrus listing the winners at the funeral games in honor of Pelias that closely corresponds to the list in *Fab*. 273.[7] Schwartz himself at once identified the papyrus as the original Greek text of Hyginus. Then a few years ago another list of the winners at the same funeral games was published, similar but not identical to Schwartz's list.[8] Evidently Schwartz's thesis has to be qualified. As Albert Henrichs put it, the new papyrus "disproves the theory of a Greek Hyginus, while it reinforces the assumption of one or more Greek sources for the [lists] in Hyginus."[9] A number of other papyri published since have further reinforced this assumption (Ch. IX. 7). It is clear that much of Hyginus is little more than a Latin version of Greek mythographic traditions. We shall encounter further such (often remarkably close) Greek parallels in later chapters.

In some passages he seems to have found it difficult to put his Greek source into Latin. For example, at *Fab*. 7 he actually slips into Greek to explain the names of Antiope's two sons by Zeus, and the Latin gloss he adds would have been no help at all to a Greekless reader: *pastores pro suis educarunt et appellarunt Zeton*, ἀπὸ τοῦ ζητεῖν τόπον, *alterum autem Amphionem*, ὅτι ἐν διόδῳ ἢ ὅτι ἀμφὶ ὁδὸν αὐτὸν ἔτεκεν, *id est quoniam in bivio eum edidit*. This is in addition a revealing illustration of the shortcomings of Hyginus's Greek: δίοδος means no more than a passage or pass, not a place where two roads meet (*bivium*). Obviously he is confusing δι- with δυ-, like people nowadays who use words like "trialogue" on the mistaken assumption that a "dialogue" is an exchange between two people.[10] The notes in Rose's

5. All the relevant texts are set out in parallel columns in Robert 1878, 52–3; see too J. Martin, *Scholia in Aratum Vetera* (Leipzig 1974), 73.7.

6. So (e.g.) H. J. Rose, *Hygini Fabulae* (Leiden 1933), viii–xi and passim in his notes.

7. J. Schwartz, "Une source papyrologique d'Hygin le mythographe," *Studi in onore di A. Calderini e R. Paribeni* ii (1957), 151–6, with S. Daris, *Aegyptus* 39 (1959), 18–21.

8. P. Oxy. 4306 fr. 4–5, with Annette Harder's notes in *Oxy. Pap*. LXII (1995), 47. For full references to similar lists in other mythographic papyri see her commentary on P. Oxy. 4306–9, ib. pp. 22–70.

9. Henrichs 1987, 272 n. 47.

10. Trialogue is not in fact a modern solecism. Remarkably enough it is found as early as Thomas More (1532) and (in Latin) John Wycliffe (1394): J. Werner, *Philologus* 143 (1999), 365–6.

edition cite many other examples of supposed misunderstandings of Greek sources (not all equally convincing). A systematic study would be welcome.

Unfortunately, however many more papyri turn up, we shall never be able to establish their exact relationship to Hyginus, if only because it is not clear just what we mean when we talk about Hyginus. The surviving Latin text of the *Fabulae* was published by Iacobus Micyllus in 1535 from a single now lost manuscript in Beneventan script that he admits he found extremely difficult both to read and make sense of. The discovery of two sets of badly damaged fragments of this manuscript in 1864 and 1942 has confirmed that Micyllus treated it very freely.[11]

Obviously we cannot rely on his text. There are also two additional complications. First, the table of contents lists a number of items missing from the text itself; evidently it was compiled from a fuller text than what we now possess. Second, the excerpts copied by Ps-Dositheus diverge considerably from Micyllus's text, which is further disfigured by repetitions, doublets, and interpolations.[12] We also find somewhat different versions in passages in the Statius scholia that appear to derive from Hyginus.

It is not even as certain as usually assumed that the work was originally written in Latin. The evidence of the glossographer Ps-Dositheus is ambiguous:

Μαξίμῳ καὶ Ἄπρῳ ὑπάτοις πρὸ ᾿γ ἰδῶν Σεπτεμβρίων, Ὑγίνου Γενεαλογίαν πᾶσιν γνωστὴν μετέγραψα, ἐν ᾗ ἔσονται πλείονες ἱστορίαι διερμηνευμέναι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ. Θεῶν καὶ θεάων ὀνόματα ἐν δευτέρῳ ἐξεπλέξαμεν. Ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔσονται τούτων ἐξηγήσεις, εἰ καὶ μὴ πᾶσαι, τούτων μέντοι γε ὧν ἐν τοσούτῳ δύναμαι.	Maximo et Apro consulibus tertio Id. Sept. Ygini Genealogiam omnibus notam descripsi, in qua erunt plures historiae interpretatae in hoc libro. deorum enim et dearum nomina in secundo explicuimus. sed in hoc erunt eorum enarrationes, licet non omnes, eorum tamen quorum interim possum.

Editors have often assumed that *μετέγραψα/descripsi* is a straightforward claim to have translated Hyginus from Latin into Greek.[13] But both words mean "copy" or "transcribe," not "translate."[14] It is *διερμηνευμέναι/interpretatae* that means "translate." When the writer announces that "there will be translated stories in this book," the future tense makes it clear that he is referring to his own book. The next two sentences refer to the different contents of two further books (names

11. See the preface to P. K. Marshall's Teubner (1993), and M. D. Reeve in *Texts and Transmission* (1983), 189–90.

12. See Rose, 1933, xi–xv; J.-Y. Boriaud, *Hygin Fables* (Paris 1997), xviii–xxii.

13. So (for example) J.-Y. Boriaud's recent Budé, "la préface du pseudo-Dosithée est explicite: l'auteur a traduit (μετέγραψα) la "Généalogie" d'Hygin," Boriaud 1997, xxii; see Dionisotti, *JRS* 72 (1982), 89.

14. For *describo*, see particularly Myles McDonnell, *CQ* 46 (1996), 482–6; μεταγράφειν is found occasionally as "translate," but only with a qualifying phrase like ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν (Lucian, *Hist. conscr.* 21).

of gods and goddesses, and interpretations), again his own books.[15] But since both Latin and Greek versions refer to "translated stories," it is not clear which version was translated from which.

It has usually been thought self-evident that the Greek is Ps-Dositheus's own translation of his Latin excerpts. Yet on the evidence of the excerpts themselves the reverse seems more likely. The Latin excerpts cannot be the original version. Even the most cursory comparison reveals them as a clumsy and incompetent translation of the Ps-Dosithean Greek. Most of the excerpts are no more than isolated phrases and sentences, but even here we find gross errors and obvious translationese in the Latin (for example, δέ always rendered *autem*; περὶ Προμηθέως rendered *de Prometheos*, keeping the Greek genitive after Latin *de*).[16] There are only three chapters where the excerpts are substantial enough to allow a direct comparison between Micyllus's text and Ps-Dositheus's two versions at length (see appendix 2), and the Ps-Dosithean Latin is inferior to both the Greek and the more idiomatic and accurate text of Micyllus. The Latin excerpts give every appearance of being the glossographer's own ad hoc translation of his Greek excerpts.[17] If so, his base text must have been Greek.

It is not in itself inconceivable that Hyginus originally wrote in Greek. Whatever his own native language, the language of mythography, like the language of medicine, was Greek. The elder Pliny frequently mentions two Roman medical writers who wrote in Greek (e.g., *Sextio Nigro qui Graece scripsit, Iulio Basso qui item*).[18] On this hypothesis the surviving Latin version of Hyginus would have to be a translation. The occasional misunderstandings of Greek sources have usually been thought to illustrate Hyginus's own imperfect command of Greek. But they could in theory be ascribed to the Latin translator of a Greek original. Yet there are problems in supposing that the Ps-Dosithean excerpts reflect an original Greek Hyginus.

To take a single example, there are two pointers in § 138, which tells the story of the transformation of the Oceanid Philyra, who gave birth to Chiron the centaur after intercourse with Saturnus disguised at the time as a horse. First, according to the Ps-Dosithean Greek, Philyra was changed εἰς ὁμώνυμον δένδρον, to the tree named after her, namely a linden tree = φιλύρα. As we shall see in a later chapter, this is the standard Greek formula for metamorphosis into a tree or animal, whereas the Ps-Dosithean Latin version offers a rather clumsy translation (*in cognominatam arborem*), and Micyllus's Latin text substitutes paraphrase

15. There is frequent reference elsewhere in the *Hermeneumata* to the glossographer's three books: see Kalle Korhonen, "On the composition of the *Hermeneumata* language manuals," *Arctos* 30 (1996), at 109–13; Dionisotti 1982, 89–90.

16. Note *Corp. Gloss. Lat.* iii. 65. 27: ὡς Γλαυκὸς ὠνίδισεν Σαρπεδόνα κιμένον / *qui Glaucus inproperavit Sarpedonem iacentem*. More telling than the vulgar *improperare* for *improbare* (W. Heraeus, *Die Sprache des Petronius und die Glossen* [Leipzig 1899], 5) is *qui* for ὡς.

17. So by implication Dionisotti, *JRS* 72 1982, 89–90.

18. For Pliny's bibliographies (here for book 25), see appendix 4.

and gloss: *in arborem philyram, hoc est tiliam, commutata est*.[19] Second, according to Micyllus's text, when she saw she had given birth to *inusitatam speciem*, she begged Jupiter to change her into another shape. Ps-Dositheus's Latin offers *confusa propter invisam fili figuram*; his Greek αἰσχυνομένη διὰ τὴν ἀθεώρητον τοῦ τέκνου μορφήν. None of the three epithets (*invisam*, *inusitatam*, ἀθεώρητον) seems satisfactory. The context requires some reference to the unprecedented *appearance* of Philyra's offspring (half man, half horse). Marshall was surely right to print van Staveren's correction of Micyllus's *inusitatam* to *invisitatam*, "never before seen." It is true that, as Löfstedt pointed out with his usual wealth of examples, *inusitatus* is often found in the stronger sense "unheard of" rather than just "unusual,"[20] but in this case the emphasis clearly falls on Philyra's *sight* (*vidit*) of her offspring. Yet ἀθεώρητος is not found in the sense "unprecedented," only "not seen" or "not to be seen," both quite inappropriate in the context. It is surely a misunderstanding of *invisitatam*, on the assumption that it meant "unseen."[21]

If the original text was in Latin, Ps-Dositheus's Greek excerpts would have to have come from a Greek translation, though there is one other possibility. Hyginus himself might have published his book in both Latin and Greek. The Claudian medical writer Scribonius Largus may have done the same.[22] This would help to explain the sometimes surprising differences between the Micyllan text and the Ps-Dosithean Greek. In whichever language he wrote the original, the author was free to modify his own text in whatever way he liked. Galen quotes several remedies missing from the Latin text of Scribonius Largus. It may be that the Latin version included only a selection.[23] In the case of Hyginus, a Greek translation of a Latin original seems on balance the more likely alternative.

It might seem that there were enough Greek mythographers already without translating a Latin book based on Greek sources into Greek. Yet almost all the Greek mythographers we know of are "specialized" works, dealing with just one aspect of the field (genealogies, catasterisms, aetiologies, love stories, transformations). Hyginus may have seen an opportunity for himself in producing a comprehensive handbook, collecting together the results of a number of specialized Greek works, whether in Greek or Latin. The only comprehensive handbook in Greek we know of, the *Bibliotheca* of Ps-Apollodorus, may be later than Hyginus. While it has some (but not all) the lists that are one of the most characteristic features of Hyginus, it has no systematic treatment of metamorphosis or catasterism.

19. *CGL* iii.59.33; *Fab.* 138.

20. E. Löfstedt, *Coniectanea* (Uppsala 1950), 89–97 (unfortunately not considering this passage).

21. The Ps-Dosithean *invisam* is in turn a translation of ἀθεώρητον, in its less common sense "unseen." It would be worth conducting a systematic comparison of the Greek excerpts with the Micyllan text.

22. S. Sconocchia, *Scribonius Largus: Compositiones* (Leipzig Teubner 1983), vii-viii. Suetonius too wrote in both Greek and Latin, though never, so far as we know, the same book in both.

23. So M. Wellmann, *Hermes* 47 (1912), 2.

If the sources of both *Fabulae* and *De astronomia* are mainly Greek, both also draw on Latin sources: notably Cicero's *Aratea* (§ 2) and (like the Germanicus scholiast) Nigidius Figulus.[24] This supports the assumption of an original Latin version of both works. More important, the authorial voice of the Latin text as we have it is Latin. This is apparent in passages like "in avem Ortygiam commutata est, quam *nos* coturnicem *dicimus*" (53.2), and "Aegocerus est dictus, quem *nos* Capricornum *dicimus*" (196.2). It is also clear even from the abridged and incomplete Micyllan text that the Latin is more than just a translation. A modest attempt has been made to Latinize the book.[25] In addition to the examples just cited, there is "hecatombe Graece dicitur, cum centum armenta occiduntur" (118.2) or "Hyades, easdem latine Suculas vocant" (192.2). A handful of Roman stories have been added to some chapters. § 273, for example, on heroic games, has been expanded on the basis of *Aeneid* 5; and § 251, on those who returned from the underworld, includes Aeneas (from Vergil) and Hippolytus/Virbius (presumably from Ovid).[26] And there are a few explanations here and there where Latin readers might not know a Greek word.[27]

In combination, these features seem to go beyond the modifications to be expected from a Latin translator. And two are more substantial: ten lines from Cicero's *Aratea* on the ship Argo (14.33); and four from an unknown Latin poem cited as *Cretici versus* (177.2) on the transformation of Callisto into the Great Bear. These are surely not the work of a translator. Both quotations describe catasterisms, a subject Hyginus himself treated at length in his *De astronomia*. More significant still, *De astronomia* cites both Cicero's *Aratea* (twice) and the *Cretica* (3.29 and 4.3.3; 2.5.1).

2

I have singled out the two Latin catasterismographic quotations in Hyginus's *Fabulae* because they have a bearing on the sources of the *Narrationes*. The general assumption (as we saw in Ch. I) is that Narrator drew on a late antique commentary on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Hollis was impressed by *Narr*. 2.6, a passage that cites Hesiod for Callisto never dipping into the stream of Ocean (that is to say, the Great Bear never setting), and then a line and a half of otherwise unknown Latin hexameters for the same theme. If it had stood alone, this passage might indeed have seemed to point to a learned commentary on Ovid. But it does

24. For the latter, Le Boeuffle 1983, xviii–xxii.

25. See Rose's section "Num Hyginus de suo aliquid addiderit" (1933, xi–xii); and Boriaud 1997, xxiv.

26. Callimachus may have told the story first (F 190), but Ovid is a more likely source for Hyginus.

27. Apropos the sea-nymph Philyra turned into a lime tree (*φιλύρα*), where the Ps-Dosithean Greek offers *εἰς ὁμώνυμον δένδρον*, *Fab*. 138 has *in arborem philyram, hoc est tiliam*. The Ps-Dosithean Latin makes a feeble attempt to follow the idiom of its Greek model, *in cognominatam arborem*.

not stand alone. As Hollis himself was well aware, there is a closely parallel text in Hyginus, which quotes four more lines from what appears to be the same otherwise unknown poem. Here are the two texts, together with a third from Hyginus's *De astronomia*:

Narr. 2.6: A Graecis autem Helice, a nostris Septentrio nuncupatur et a Tethy et Oceano ob Iunonis iram non tinguitur, ut auctor Hesiodus indicat, vel ut alii, *sed lucet in astris Callisto renovatque suos sine fluctibus ignes.*	Hyg. *Fab*. 177: Septentrio appellatur. . . . Tethys enim Oceani uxor nutrix Iunonis prohibet eam in oceanum occidere. hic ergo Septentrio maior, de qua in Creticis versibus *tuque Lycaoniae mutatae semine nymphae, quam gelido raptam de vertice Nonacrinae oceano prohibet semper se tinguere Tethys, ausa suae quia sit quondam succumbere alumnae.*	Hyg. *Astron*. 2. 1: hanc autem Hesiodus ait esse Callisto nomine, Lycaonis filiam [ταύτην Ἡσίοδός φησι Λυκάονος θυγατέρα, Ps-Erat.] . . . hoc signum, ut complures dixerunt, non occidit et qui volunt alique de causa esse institutum negant Tethyn, Oceani uxorem, id recipere, cum reliqua sidera eo perveniant in occasum, quod Tethys Iunonis sit nutrix, cui Callisto succubuerit ut paelex.

The few critics who have devoted any attention to these verses are agreed that both quotations come from the same poem, with the Hyginus extract coming first.[28] Hollis assumes that the two quotations appeared together in the commentary on the *Metamorphoses* he postulates. On the basis of the puzzling title *in Creticis versibus*, the poem has usually been identified as the Κρητικά of Epimenides, not the legendary Cretan sage but either a homonym or a pseudonymous mythographer of the fourth century.[29] He is referred to obliquely by Ps-Eratosthenes as ὅ τε τὰ Κρητικὰ γεγραφώς and as *qui Cretica conscripsit* in the translation of this very passage in the *De astronomia* (2.5.1).[30] The Latin verses cited are usually identified as the postulated Ovidian commentator's own translation of Ps-Epimenides. But while writers like Cicero and Julius Valerius sometimes translate Greek quotations in works with literary pretensions, this is not the way of scholarly commentators. The lines are of high quality, and, in Hollis's judgment, their style "seems neoteric, or at least pre-Virgilian." On this basis he ingeniously suggests that they come from an *Epimenides* uncertainly attested for Varro Atacinus, a Latin version of Epimenides's poem.[31]

28. E. Courtney, *The Fragmentary Latin Poets* (Oxford 1993), 457–58; Hollis 1996, 166–7.

29. *FGrH* 457; Fowler, *EGM* i (2000), 79, under the name Epimenides Cres pseudepigraphus.

30. Ps-Erat. p. 5. 22 Olivieri; Ἐπιμενίδης ὁ τὰ Κρητικὰ ἱστορῶν, ib. 33.11; cf. too Diels-Kranz 3 B. 22; *FGrH* 457 F 18–9.

31. Hollis 1996, 167; *Brev. Expos*. on Verg. *Georg*. i. 397 (p. 265 Thilo-Hagen), with Courtney 1993, 244.

Hollis further argued that the reason the postulated Ovidian commentator quoted the two extracts from this poem was because it was Ovid's source in the passage he was commenting on. There are certainly some similarities between Ovid and the two extracts, and it may well be that he knew and imitated them. But while Narrator had an obvious motive to quote a poem Ovid imitated, Hyginus did not. The notion that Narrator drew his quotation from a commentary on the *Metamorphoses* is contradicted rather than supported by the parallel quotation in Hyginus.

In the first place, if the two quotations are (as all critics agree) connected, it follows that Narrator and Hyginus drew on a common source—for Hollis a commentary on the *Metamorphoses*. But the possibility that Hyginus used a commentary on the *Metamorphoses* is effectively ruled out by chronology alone. Hyginus wrote no later than the second century, and if a full-scale commentary on the *Metamorphoses* ever existed, it did not come into being till late antiquity, on the evidence of Jerome no earlier than the fifth century.

Second, if we consider *Fab*. 177 by itself, *why* would Hyginus turn to such a commentary? He is simply giving an outline of the catasterism of Callisto, which he documents, in the manner of mythographers, by a learned citation. As a recent discussion by Henrichs has shown,[32] the Callisto saga is an unusually complex tale with many alternative versions, documented in the mythographic tradition by an unusually large number of authorities, among them Hesiod and Ps-Epimenides.[33] It was from his catasterismographic researches that Hyginus learned about Ps-Epimenides's *Cretica*, no doubt at second hand via Ps-Eratosthenes (who cites the work twice for other catasterisms). In this context the natural explanation of the Latin verses in *Fab*. 177 is that Hyginus substituted a Latin translation (if Hollis is right, a published version by Varro Atacinus) of the Greek authority cited in his source. There are several parallels in Hyginus for such substitution. First, the 10 lines from Cicero's translation of Aratus on the Argo (14.33), surely substituted for a citation from Aratus in his source. Here we have an exact parallel in the *De astronomia*. At 4.3.3 the same Hyginus first quotes two lines of Aratus and then the corresponding lines from Cicero's translation; and at *Astron*. 3.29 a half-line from Aratus followed by Cicero's translation (*Aratus Graece* σύνδεσμον ὑπουράνιον, *Cicero nodum caelestem dicit*).[34] In addition, without actually quoting, he uses several phrases from Cicero's translation in the course of his own exposition.[35] The original text of this chapter in the *Fabulae* may likewise have quoted both Aratus and Cicero.

Second, the quotation from Lucretius 5.905 (*prima leo, postrema draco, media ipsa chimaera*) in *Fab*. 57, no doubt replacing the Homeric original (πρόσθε λέων, ὄπιθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δὲ χίμαιρα, Z.181) in his Greek source. Third and more dubious, Ovid's four names for the horses of the sun (*Met*. ii.153), added to

32. Henrichs 1987, 254–67.

33. For the various sources, Henrichs 1987, 260–1. On Epimenides's *Cretica*, see Fowler's commentary on Epimen. F 2–4 and 19 (*EGM* ii, forthcoming).

34. Arat. 61–2 ~ Cic. *Arat*. 10 Soubiran; Arat. 245 ~ Cic. *Arat*. 17 Soubiran.

35. See Le Boeuffle 1983, xvi–xvii.

the basic Greek citation from the archaic poet Eumelus (*item quos Ovidius*, *Fab*. 183).[36] Here Narrator's *consentit cum Hesiodo Ovidius* (11.4, discussed below) provides an exact parallel. In a (rather halfhearted) attempt to give his work a bit of Roman color, in the few cases where they existed Hyginus substituted Latin versions for (or supplements to) the Greek texts cited in his mythographic sources.[37] The seven pedestrian Latin hexameter apophthegms of the seven sages in *Fab*. 221 may be the author's own translation of the original Greek version preserved in the Anthology (*Anth. Pal.* ix.366).

It was surely Hyginus who introduced these Latin texts into the mythographic tradition. The likelihood that Narrator came across the same passage of this otherwise lost early Latin poem on the catasterism of Callisto independently of Hyginus is (so to speak) astronomical. If Narrator and the surviving abridgment of Hyginus go back to a common source, that source must be the fuller text of Hyginus's *Fabulae* we know to have existed. A subsidiary proof is provided by Narrator's *ut auctor Hesiodus indicat*. For in *Astron*. 2.1 Hyginus also cites Hesiod in connection with Callisto, taking his citation from Ps-Eratosthenes (see the third passage just quoted). It is true that Narrator cites Hesiod for the catasterism rather than (as Hyginus) the relationship to Lycaon, but since no one believes that the catasterism is as early as Hesiod,[38] it would be rash to press this detail. In all probability he simply placed the citation he found in his source in the wrong part of his sentence. Since he did not verify it, he had no way of knowing that it did not support the story as a whole but just one detail.

So far from this chapter of Narrator proving derivation from a late antique Latin commentary, on the contrary it is the clearest single link between Narrator and early imperial mythography. It is true that the mythographers are extensively quoted by the commentators (Ps-Eratosthenes in the Aratus scholia, Mythographus Homericus in the Homer scholia, and Hyginus in the Statius scholia), but that is a later development, late antique rather than early imperial. It would be an implausible and unnecessary multiplication of lost sources to postulate a late commentator who copied the original entry of Hyginus in full and was then copied by Narrator. We may surely assume that Narrator drew directly here on the original text of Hyginus.

3

Let us turn now to the other Greek sources drawn on by Narrator and Hyginus. In the Latin text of Hyginus as we have it there are four citations of Euripides,

36. Dubious, because the Ovid citation is so poorly integrated into the context that it is more likely a later interpolation. After citing Eumelus in some detail (two male and two female horses), the text continues: *item quos Homerus tradit . . . item quod Ovidius, Pyrois, Eous, Aethon, Phlegon*. Why *item* when the names are all different—and all masculine?

37. The reference to Ennius in the title to *Fab*. 8 (*Eadem* [*Antiopa*] *Euripidis quam scribit Ennius*) is generally assumed an interpolation, but it could be seen as part of Hyginus's attempt to give a Roman veneer to his work.

38. See Henrichs 1987, 261.

two of Hesiod, and one each of Eumelus, Pherecydes, and Apollonius of Rhodes.[39] These are all names we find time and again in the other mythographers. The *De astronomia* cites almost 50 different Greek authorities from the same range of texts, and it is a safe assumption that the original text of the *Fabulae* had as many. Yet the *De astronomia* is not nearly so learned a work as it appears to be. Much of it is translated more or less verbatim, complete with most of the earlier citations, from Ps-Eratosthenes's *Catasterisms*.[40] A single illustration will suffice:

Ps-Eratosthenes, *Catast*. 19 (p. 124 Robert; p. 23. 6 Olivieri): Κριός· οὗτος ὁ Φρίξον διακομίσας καὶ Ἕλλην· ἄφθιτος δὲ ὢν ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Νεφέλης τῆς μητρὸς· εἶχε δὲ χρυσῆν δοράν, ὡς Ἡσίοδος καὶ Φερεκύδης εἰρήκασιν.	Hyg. *Astr*. ii.20: Aries. Hic existimatur esse qui Phrixum transtulisse et Hellen dictus est per Hellespontum; quem Hesiodus et Pherecydes ait habuisse auream pellem (de qua alibi plura dicemus).

Almost all the nearly 180 odd surviving citations of Pherecydes occur in mythographers or mythographic scholia to the Greek poets. Not infrequently these citations include a line from or reference to Hesiod as well, and the explanation is obvious. The *Histories* or *Theogony* of Pherecydes were largely devoted to legendary genealogy,[41] and when later mythographers cited Pherecydes, they often cited as well the Hesiodic texts on which he had based his argument.[42] The combination under discussion had no doubt been transferred from book to book many times before ever it reached Ps-Eratosthenes, let alone Hyginus. H. J. Rose was prepared to believe that Hyginus consulted Hesiod direct,[43] but there was simply no need to go back to Hesiod. Every possible reference in every Hesiodic and pseudo-Hesiodic work had already been exploited by many generations of mythographers. Every ancient mythographic work scholarly enough to cite sources at all is full of references to Hesiod.[44] A vast mass of such material is conveniently assembled in J. Schwartz's *Pseudo-Hesiodeia* (Wetteren 1960).[45]

The most interesting discovery since Schwartz is Timothy Renner's publication of an alphabetical dictionary of metamorphoses on a late second-century

39. Marshall's Teubner of Hyginus lacks the index auctorum that should be compulsory in all texts of this nature.

40. The 21 direct citations give no idea of the extent of Hyginus's debt to Ps-Eratosthenes. But he seems to have used at least one other major Greek source as well.

41. F. Jacoby, *FGrH* 3; Rosalind Thomas, *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens* (Cambridge 1989), 161–73; Fowler, *EGM* i.272–364; see too his article in *Mnemosyne* 52 (1999), 1–15.

42. J. Schwartz, *Pseudo-Hesiodeia* (Wetteren 1960), 188; Ch. V. 1.

43. Rose 1933, ix.

44. I am not suggesting that Hyginus never read Hesiod at all; simply that he did not base his narrative directly on his own reading of Hesiod.

45. See especially pp. 105–98, and K. Sittl, "Die Glaubwürdigkeit der Hesiodfragmente," *WS* 12 (1890), 38–65; in detail, the testimonia and notes in R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, *Fragmenta Hesiodea* (Oxford 1967).

Michigan papyrus: five stories preserved, three of them complete with citations of Hesiod.[46] Later mythographers (Hyginus included) may occasionally have verified citations found in their predecessors, but the likelihood that they cited new texts on the basis of their own reading is remote.[47] I would guess that at least 99 percent of all Hesiod citations in Greek mythographic and scholiastic works of the Roman period had passed from one mythographer to another for centuries before being quoted in a work that happens to survive.[48]

Narrator's Hesiod citations, so far from being pointers to a learned commentary on Ovid, are a much more likely pointer to the mythographic compendia that (after all) are what he needed to explain Ovid's stories. We have already seen that the citation in 2. 6 can hardly be authentic. Let us briefly survey the rest.

On Ovid's account of Chaos (*Met*. 1.7–20), Narrator comments: *Chaos, ut Hesiodus indicat volumine quod deorum originem continet, fuit initio rerum confusio, quae postea in suas species distributa est* (1.1). Actually this is what Ovid says. Hesiod simply mentions Chaos, and then passes on at once to her daughter, wide-bosomed Gaia (*Theog*. 116–7). At *Met*. i.82 Ovid describes how the "son of Iapetus" molded man out of earth and water in the image of the gods; *ut idem Hesiodus ostendit*, adds Narrator (i.1). Actually Hesiod assigns Hephaestus this role; the tradition that Prometheus made man is no earlier than the fourth century.[49] But it is firmly established in the mythographic tradition, with Ps-Apollodorus (i.7.1) and Hyginus (*primus homines ex luto finxit*, 142). Neither cites Hesiod, though Hesiod (who does mention Prometheus prominently) was the obvious guess for any Greek mythographer anxious to bolster his text with a learned authority. But it was not a guess Narrator himself, who had surely never opened a text of Hesiod, was likely to make on the basis of his own reading. Note also that Narrator typically makes good Ovid's failure to identify Prometheus except by his patronymic.

At *Met*. xi. 106 Ovid calls Midas *Berecyntius heros* without further explanation. Narrator reports that Midas *fertur esse Matris magnae filius; sic enim cum Hesiodo consentit Ovidius* (11.4). Ovid says no such thing, though *Berecyntius* is certainly a common epithet of the Magna Mater. But Hyginus does say so, twice (*Midas rex Mygdonius filius Matris deae*, 191; *Midas rex Cybeles filius*, 274.6). He does not cite Hesiod,[50] nor is it likely that Hesiod ever mentioned Midas,[51] but it

46. "A Papyrus Dictionary of Metamorphoses," *HSCP* 82 (1978), 277–9; van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998, no. 70, pp. 335–6.

47. One of the Michigan Hesiod-citations has turned out to be important for the reconstruction of the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (M. L. West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* [Oxford 1985], 99), but that is simply a consequence of our ignorance.

48. Renner 1978 sensibly concludes (p. 279) that the new Michigan dictionary is "a copy, perhaps condensed or excerpted, of an already existing compilation."

49. Though it may go back much earlier: see Nan Dunbar's note on Aristophanes, *Birds* 686.

50. At any rate, not in our abridged text.

51. So Schwartz 1960, 106–7; the text is cited among the fragmenta dubia (352) in Merkelbach-West 1967.

is possible that some pseudo-Hesiodic poem was cited for a detail in the Midas saga by some lost mythographer.[52]

After summarizing Ovid's tale of the birds who rose out of Memnon's funeral pyre (*Met*. 13.600–619),[53] Narrator adds a tomb of Memnon erected by Priam in Phrygia *ut Hesiodus vult* (13.3). Strabo mentions a tomb of Memnon in the area (13.1.11), but no one will believe that Hesiod did. Yet Hesiod, like Narrator, did identify Memnon as *Tithoni et Aurorae filius* (Ovid does not name Tithonus), and once again the likeliest explanation is that Narrator misplaced a Hesiod citation in his mythographic source, not realizing how limited its reference was.

The same may apply to the Hesiod citation in 4.5, the story of Helius and Leucothoë, daughter of Orchamus, king of Persia. There is no reason to believe that this story appeared in the *Catalogue*, but Ovid does remark in passing that Orchamus was "seventh in line from ancient Belus" (*septimus a prisco numeratur origine Belo*, iv.213). As we have seen, mythographers liked to supplement or document genealogical details not given by the poet, and it must have seemed natural to identify this Belus with the Belus whom Hesiod (F 137) gives as father of Danaus and Aegyptus. Belus (i.e. Baal) was a stock Greek name for eastern gods or founders of Eastern dynasties.[54] If so, then once again Narrator may simply have mistaken a specific citation of Hesiod for this detail as a general citation for the whole story.

At *Met*. 7.353 Ovid briefly alludes to the transformation of Cerambus into a beetle during the flood. According to surviving manuscripts of the *Narrationes* (7.5–9), the poet (unnamed) tells (*docet*) this story. But Accursius's edition of 1486, which used manuscripts now lost, offers *Hesiodus docet*. Even if this is the true text,[55] hardly a genuine citation,[56] but since Nicander has a quite different version of the transformation of Cerambus,[57] it may be that Narrator found a citation for Ovid's version in a pseudo-Hesiodic poem—not of course at first hand in the poem itself but already cited in one of his mythographic sources.

Particularly instructive is *Narr*. 2.2, where we have another revealing parallel with Hyginus (*Fab*. 154):

52. Midas is cited as a figure of legendary wealth as early as Tyrtaeus (F 12.6 West), and there is even archaeological evidence (seventh century BC) linking the historical Phrygian king Midas to the cult of the Great Mother; (Lynn E. Roller, *In Search of God the Mother* (Berkeley 1999), 69). Bretzigheimer's hypothesis of interpolation implies deliberate insertion of a reference not present in the interpolator's source, at whatever stage of the transmission, whereas I have little doubt that a Hesiod citation was present somewhere in Narrator's source.

53. The Memnonides: D'Arcy Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford 1936), 200.

54. M. L. West, *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford 1997), 446.

55. The obvious assumption is that some copyist was misled by *docet* without a subject, but even so why supply *Hesiodus*? There are other examples where the unexpressed subject of this very verb is Ovid (e.g., 14.2).

56. The genuine Hesiod does not seem to know the flood story, in either *Theogony* or *Catalogue*: West, 1985, 55.

57. Cited from his *Heteroioumena* bk. i by Anton. Lib. § 22.

Narr. 2.2: sorores Phaethontis Phaethusa Lampetie Phoebe casum fratris dum deflent, deorum misericordia in arbores populos mutatae sunt. lacrimae earum, ut Hesiodus et Euripides indicant, in electrum conversae sunt.

Hyginus, *Fab*. 154. 4: harum lacrimae, ut Hesiodus indicat, in electrum sunt duratae; Heliades tamen nominantur. sunt autem Merope Helie Aegle Lampetie Phoebe Aetherie Dioxippe.

As we have already seen, the fact that Narrator adds Phoebe to the two Heliades identified by Ovid (following Homer) as Phaethusa and Lampetie proves that he consulted a mythographic source related to Hyginus.[58] It is now apparent that the same chapter of Hyginus cites Hesiod—and with the same verb, *indicat*—for the same detail about the tears of the Heliades. The title to *Fab*. 154—*Phaethon Hesiodi*—implies, falsely, that Hesiod is the source for the whole Phaethon story. There is indeed a fragmentary passage of the *Catalogue of Women* (F 150. 23–24 M–W) that links amber to the River Eridanus, but in all probability the Ovidian story of Phaethon the charioteer did not appear in Hesiod.[59] Whether or not either Hyginus or Narrator ever read Hesiod, this is undoubtedly a citation that both copied from some secondary source without consulting a text.

What about Narrator's additional citation of Euripides? In such a context it is not easy to believe it the fruit of his own reading. As we shall see again and again in the following pages, double citations are usually pointers to a secondary source, and the natural inference is that either the original text of Hyginus or their common source gave both references. Euripides would certainly be at home in Hyginus. Two of his *Fabulae* are expressly said to derive from Euripides: *Ino Euripidis* and *eadem* [i.e. *Antiopa*] *Euripidis* (4 and 8), and it was early realized that this implies hypotheses to these plays rather than the plays themselves. In fact scholars have been reconstructing lost plays of Euripides on the basis of plot summaries in Hyginus for the best part of two centuries.[60] The first direct confirmation of the assumption came in 1933, with the publication of a hypothesis to Euripides's *Skyrioi* on papyrus that was at once identified as the Greek original of part of Hyginus 96 on Achilles.[61] And *Fab*. 2–4 on the Ino-Phrixus saga seem to be translated (in part at least) from another hypothesis now attested by two papyri.[62] Many other examples have been alleged, most of them rejected in a detailed but scepti-

58. *Fab*. 154 ~ μ. 132; cf. too *Phaethusa et Lampetusa deorum miseratione in arbores commutatae sunt* in Servius on *Aen*. x.189.

59. J. Diggle, *Euripides Phaethon* (Cambridge 1970), 15–24; West 1985, 105; F 150.23M–W.

60. For the historiography of the question (and a critical assessment), M. Huys, "Euripides and the 'Tales from Euripides': Sources of the *Fabulae* of Ps-Hyginus?" *APF* 42 (1996), 168–78, and 43 (1997), 11–30, with very full bibliography.

61. C. Gallavotti, *Riv. di Filol*. 61 (1933), 179, 187; G. Zuntz, *The Political Plays of Euripides* (Manchester 1955), 136.

62. W. Luppe, *Philologus* 128 (1984), 43; Huys 1996, 173–4.

cal recent study by Marc Huys that perhaps goes too far in the other direction (more on this later).

On this basis we might be tempted to infer that Narrator's Euripides citation derives from a hypothesis to Euripides's *Phaethon*. But in all probability the *Phaethon* did not tell the story of the tears of the Heliades. Yet Euripides does mention them in passing in the *Hippolytus*.[63] As so often happens with these learned citations in mythographic works, the authority cited is not (as we might expect in a genuinely scholarly writer) the earliest or fullest version of the story in question. When we are in a position to check, often enough the text cited touches on a peripheral detail (more on this point later as well). A recent case is provided by the Michigan dictionary of metamorphoses: a hitherto unknown story of the transformation of the Aethyiae, seven daughters of Haliacmon the son of Haliartus, into shearwaters (αἴθυιαι), birds who are "crow-haters" (μισοκόρων[οι), according to Aeschylus.[64] At first glance it looks as if Aeschylus is being cited for the metamorphosis, but on closer inspection he is simply the authority for the phrase "crow-haters," presumably a glancing allusion, like the tears of the Heliades in Euripides's *Hippolytus*. Obviously the mythographers who introduced these citations into the mythographic tradition knew their Aeschylus and Euripides at first hand, but we should not make the same assumption about those who merely repeated them. Narrator's double citation of Hesiod and Euripides is entirely characteristic of the genre.

Hollis was also impressed by *Narr*. 2.4, the citation of Phanocles. Tarrant too felt that even a secondhand knowledge of so obscure a poet as Phanocles "would imply a relatively high level of learning."[65] But that is to overlook the ubiquity of remarkably obscure "learned" references in even the most commonplace mythographic texts. This is one of only six quotations of Phanocles in the entire surviving corpus of ancient literature, every one almost certainly at second or third hand. Despite the book title *Cupidines*, it is hard to believe that a Latin mythographer writing at the earliest in the second century consulted a text of Phanocles at first hand. It may be instructive to take a close look at two of the other citations. First the relationship between the three texts that comprise F 4, in Orosius, Jerome, and the early ninth-century *Chronicle* of George Syncellus:[66]

> Orosius, *Hist. adv. Pag*. i.12: "Nec mihi nunc enumerare opus est Tantali et Pelopis facta turpia, fabulas turpiores; quorum Tantalus, rex Frygiorum, Ganymeden Troi Dardaniorum regis filium cum flagitiosissime rapuisset, maiore conserti certaminis foeditate detinuit, *sicut Fanocles poeta confirmat*, qui maximum bellum excitatum ob hoc fuisse commemorat." Jerome, *Chron*. p. 51. 17 Helm: "ob raptum Ganymedis Troi patri Ganymedis et Tantalo

63. *Hipp*. 737–41; Diggle 1970, 5, 24.
64. Renner 1978, 289–91, with useful commentary.
65. Tarrant 1995, 95–6.
66. I have adapted Powell's format to harmonize with my own conventions.

> bellum exortum est, *ut scribit Fanocles poeta*"; cf. Syncellus, *Chron*. p. 305. 11 Dindorf = 189. 23 Mosshammer: Γανυμήδην ὁ Τάνταλος ἁρπάσας υἱὸν τοῦ Τρωὸς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατεπολεμεῖτο Τρωός, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δίδυμος ἐν Ἱστορίᾳ Ξένῃ καὶ Φανοκλῆς.

The improbable citation in Orosius evidently derives from Jerome's translation of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius. And the parallel citation in Syncellus not only makes it clear that Jerome simply translated his citation from Eusebius's Greek but also reveals Eusebius's source, the *Strange History* (Ἱστορία Ξένη) of Didymus. No one familiar with the practice will miss the implication of a double citation like Δίδυμος . . . καὶ Φανοκλῆς: Eusebius found the relevant passage of Phanocles already cited in Didymus. We may compare formulas like Εὔπολις . . . καὶ Δίδυμος, Δίδυμος καὶ Κρατερός, and *Didymus et Nicander* in the Apollonius, Aristophanes, and Vergil scholia, respectively, standard shorthand for passages of Eupolis, Craterus, and Nicander respectively quoted by Didymus.[67] This is a technique skilfully imitated in the bogus double citations of Ps-Plutarch.[68]

Didymus's Ἱστορία Ξένη is a work unknown even to most scholars (unfortunately omitted from Jacoby's fragments of the Greek historians).[69] It is quoted again by Syncellus for the story of Perseus and Andromeda in his very next paragraph, and a passage in the *Chronicle* of Malalas gives an obviously related account of the Tantalus and Ganymede saga on the authority of ὁ σοφώτατος Δίδυμος.[70] That is the extent of our direct knowledge, but any number of citations of unidentified works of Didymus in the various Greek scholia *might* come from the *Strange History*. M. Schmidt, followed now by M. Marcovich, identified one such in Clement's *Protrepticus*.[71] When Sextus Empiricus refers contemptuously to obscure allusions in the poets found in "strange histories" (τὰ ἐν ξέναις ἱστορίαις κειμένα), it may well be Didymus's book he had in mind.[72] Then there is Quintilian's story that Didymus once objected to a *historia* as silly, only to be reminded that it was included in one of his own books (i.8.20). The reference to the silliness of the story suggests the *Strange History*. In any case, given its probable date (no later than the age of the triumvirs),[73] it is natural to assume that a

67. *Schol. Apoll. Rhod*. i.1138; *Schol. Arist. Lys*. 313; Serv. *Aen*. iv.261; for other examples, Stemplinger 1912, 182.

68. In *Rivers* 17.4 (cf. 14.3 and 18.3 for other examples), after citing "Cleanthes in book 1 of his *On Mountains*," the author adds Sosthenes of Cnidos "for more detail" and then claims that Sosthenes was the source of Hermogenes. The implication that he directly consulted only the last named neatly distracts the reader's attention from the fact that all three are bogus!

69. If he included the Διηγήσεις of Conon (*FGrH* 26), why not Didymus's Ἱστορία Ξένη? The work is not registered in Pfeiffer; one footnote in F. Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur in der Alexandrinerzeit* ii (Leipzig 1892), 205 n. 325.

70. Sync. p. 190.1 Moss.; Mal. p. 360 Dindorf.

71. § 28.4, p. 42. 14 Marcovich; Schmidt 1854, 363 F 6.

72. § 278 = D. L. Blank, *Sextus Empiricus: Against the Grammarians* (*Adversus Mathematicos I*) (Oxford 1998), 56 and 296.

73. For Didymus's dates, Cameron 1995, 191 n. 33.

well-documented collection of strange mythical stories[74] by the celebrated Didymus was known to early imperial Greek mythographers—and in all probability to the Augustan poets as well.[75]

However this may be, we have tracked Orosius's Phanocles citation all the way back to Didymus. No less instructive is a citation of Phanocles in the *Protrepticus* of Clement of Alexandria (ii.38), one in a list of texts purporting to prove that the pagan gods were originally mortals:[76]

> There is a Zeus Agamemnon honored at Sparta, according to Staphylus [*FGrH* 269 F 8]; and Phanocles, in his *Loves, or Beautiful Boys*, says that Agamemnon the king of the Greeks set up a temple to Aphrodite Argynnis, in honor of his lover Arginnus [F 5, p. 108 Powell]. The Arcadians worship an Artemis called "the hanging goddess" [ἀπαγχομένην]," as Callimachus tells in his *Aetia* [F 187 Pf.];[77] and at Methymna another, a "boxing" [κονδυλῖτις] Artemis, is honored. There is yet another, a "gouty" [ποδάγρας] Artemis, with a shrine in Laconia, according to Sosibius [*FGrH* 595 F 13]. Polemon knows of a statue of the "yawning" [κεχηνότος] Apollo; and another of Apollo "the gourmet" [ὀψοφάγου], honored in Elis [F 71, *FHG* iii. 135].

All five writers cited existed and no doubt said (more or less) what they are reported as saying (the three historians are Polemo of Ilium, Sosibius of Sparta, and Staphylus of Naucratis). As already remarked, most of the learned quotations that fill Clement's seemingly erudite pages have been shown to derive from florilegia and handbooks.[78] It will be noticed that every example in this extract gives the origin of some quaint local cult or cult title. And Clement goes on to list several more: a Zeus who averts flies (ἀπομυίῳ) in Elis, a grave-robbing Aphrodite (τυμβώρυχον) in Argos, a coughing (χελύτιδα) Artemis in Sparta, a bald Zeus in Argos, an avenging Zeus in Cyprus, a fair-buttocked Aphrodite in Syracuse, and even Dionysus the "pussy-plucker" (χοιροψάλαν) in Sicyon. No more source references, but Athenaeus gives a detailed account of how two "fair-buttocked" sisters built a temple to Aphrodite in Syracuse, naming the iambic poets Cercidas and Archelaus

74. *fabulas obscuras abstrusas reconditasve*, M. Schmidt, *Didymi Chalcenteri grammatici Alexandri fragmenta* (Leipzig 1854), 356–63 at p. 357. For this sense of ξένος, compare Artemidorus, *Onir.* iv. 63 (cited by Schmidt), where readers are referred to "the *Alexandra* of Lycophron, the *Conversations* of Heracleides Ponticus and the *Elegies* of Parthenius" for ἱστορίαι ξέναι καὶ ἄτριπτοι, "strange and unusual stories." A new edition of the fragments of Didymus in the light of the Berlin papyrus and the discussion it provoked (Cameron 1995, 191–2) would be very welcome.

75. No mention of Didymus in the section on Parthenius's sources in Lightfoot 1999.

76. *Protr.* ii.38, p. 55 ed. M. Marcovich (Leiden 1995); for what else is known of these titles, see Marcovich's testimonia.

77. Pausanias (viii.23.6–7) tells the story of the hanging Artemis and Artemis Condylitis together, presumably from Callimachus.

78. Marrou, in H.-I. Marrou and M. Harl, *Clément d'Alexandrie: Le pédagogue* i (Paris 1960), 71–81. The main argument is that so many appear in much the same form in other writers of the age (notably Athenaeus) and florilegia like Stobaeus: see too H. Chadwick, *RAC* vii (1969), 1144–5.

as sources (554 C–E);[79] and a well-informed scholion on Clement cites Polemo's *Letter to Attalus* (F 72) for the "pussy-plucker." Athenaeus cites the same work of Polemo (only known from these two passages) for the "gourmet Apollo" Clement cites from Elis (346 B). Müller reasonably suggested that one or two other details in the passage might come from this work,[80] but clearly not all of them, given the four other very precise citations, two of them including book titles. No one will believe that so long a sequence of rather similar stories complete with such recondite citations simply popped into Clement's mind, however well stocked it was.

Clement certainly consulted mythographers. A few pages earlier (§ 36) there is a similarly documented diatribe on the weaknesses of pagan gods. According to Panyassis, Demeter, Hephaestus, Poseidon, and Apollo all served mortal men; according to Homer, Ares and Aphrodite were wounded; according to Polemon, Athena was wounded by Ornytus; according to Panyassis again, Helius and Hera were wounded by Heracles; according to Sosibius, Heracles was struck in the hand by the sons of Hippocoon.[81] Then there is § 39: according to Polemon, those who live in the Troad worship mice; according to Heraclides (in *The Founding of Temples in Acarnania*), at Actium people sacrifice an ox to flies; according to Euphorion, the Samians worship sheep. And § 42: according to the *Nostoi* of Anticleides, the Lyctians sacrifice people to Zeus; according to Dosiadas, the Lesbians to Dionysus; according to Pythocles, *On Concord* book 3, the Phocaeans to Artemis; according to Demaratus, *Tragodoumena* book 1, Erectheus sacrificed his daughter to Persephone; and according to Dorotheus, *Italica* book 4, Marius his daughter. The last three citations are more revealing than Clement himself realized, since they are all Ps-Plutarchan fictions!

There can be little doubt that Clement found at any rate all the strange cult titles together, complete with source references, in a variety of mythographical treatises (the fact that three of his citations can be traced to a specific surviving source proves that he drew on a plurality of such works). Just as Parthenius collected love stories and Antoninus Liberalis transformation stories, so this book collected and explained paradoxical cult titles. Apollodorus's *On Gods* discussed the titles of the gods at length, citing a wide range of sources, but papyrus finds of the last few decades have made it increasingly clear that his main focus was Homer.[82] None of the titles Clement cites have any bearing on Homer. Like Parthenius and Antoninus, Clement's source drew its material from Hellenistic poets and local historians. Given the strangeness of all these titles, it is tempting to identify this source as the *Strange History* of Didymus. Clement quotes Didymus five times, and we have already seen that Didymus quoted Phanocles.[83] But (as

79. F 14, p. 213 Powell and *SH* 131; Clement's own ἣν Νίκανδρος ὁ ποιητὴς καλλίγλουτόν που κέκληκεν looks like a gloss on the name rather than a source for the story.

80. C. Mueller in *FHG* iii.135. Polemo was not included by Jacoby; for the few scraps to be added to Mueller, H. J. Mette in *Lustrum* 21 (1978), 40–1.

81. Clem. *Protr.* 36, pp. 54–5 Marcovich (who identifies all the references).

82. On Apollodorus, see Ch. V.

we shall see in Ch. IX), there were a great many very similar such works in the first two centuries of the empire.

That Narrator found his citation of Phanocles in a mythographic source rather than a text of the poet is confirmed by its very format. Not a parenthesis (*ut Hesiodus indicat* or the like) but an independent sentence at the end of the story: *Phanocles in Cupidinibus auctor*. Compare Hyginus 183. 3: *huic rei auctor est Eumelus Corinthius* (183.3).[84] This recalls the two formulas with which successive stories in Mythographus Homericus close: "X tells the story" (ἱστορεῖ ὁ δεῖνα) or "the story is in X" ἡ δ' ἱστορία παρὰ τῷ δεῖνα, with or without a title and book number. We find one or other of these formulas in Parthenius and Antoninus Liberalis as well, again regularly as a separate sentence.[85]

Although there is no citation, consultation at some point in the tradition of a Hellenistic source is implied by *Narr*. 5.5. In the course of his account of the wanderings of Ceres in search of Proserpina, Ovid describes how an unnamed old woman gave her a drink of barley-water (an aetion for the ritual drink, κυκεών, consumed after fasting during the Eleusinian mysteries),[86] and an unnamed small boy mocked her as she drank (*Met*. 5.449–61). Ceres threw the dregs of her cup over the boy, and he was turned into a gecko. According to Antoninus Liberalis (§ 24), in a chapter said to derive from book 4 of the lost *Heteroioumena* of Nicander, the old woman was called Misme and the boy Ascalabos (ἀσκάλαβος = gecko). According to Otis, Narrator "seems to show a knowledge of Nicander—Ovid's probable source—which may be at first hand."[87] Hardly. For while Narrator calls the old woman Misme, he calls the boy Stele, obviously to lead up to his transformation *in stelionem*, into the *Latin* for a gecko. This reflects a deliberate modification of the story to make it intelligible to Latin-speaking readers.[88] It is unlikely that Narrator altered the story himself. He surely found it already adapted for Latin readers in a Latin mythographic source.[89] Since this source must have been Latin, quite possibly the unabridged Hyginus that must in any case be pos-

83. Clement also quotes Phanocles in *Strom*. vi. 2. 23, oddly enough for echoing a phrase of Demosthenes; for Didymus's extensive work on Demosthenes see (in addition to the Berlin papyrus), Schmidt 1854, 310–5. F 3 is quoted in Plutarch's συμποσιακὰ προβλήματα (671 BC), which must owe something to Didymus's συμποσιακά (Schmidt 1854, 368–84; J. Martin, *Symposion* (Paderborn 1931), 172–3) which Clement elsewhere cites by name.

84. Marshall could not identify a source here, but it is in fact Eumelus T 12 = *Titanomachia* F 7 (A. Bernabé, *Poetae epici Graeci* i (1987), 14 and 107. For a full discussion of this passage, J. Dörig and O. Gigon, *Der Kampf der Götter und Titanen* (Lausanne 1961), xviii–ix. Eumelus is cited three times in Ps-Apollodorus.

85. For much more on citations and the various formulas, Ch. V.

86. N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford 1974), 225, 344–8.

87. It is not clear whether ἀσκάλαβος was standard koine Greek for a gecko (see Dover on Aristophanes *Clouds* 170); the scholia on Nic. *Ther*. 484a gloss it ἀσκαλαβώτης and the allegedly Attic γαλεώτης.

88. Otis 1936, 140 n. 3.

89. The situation is further complicated by the fact that in his extant *Theriaca* (483–7) Nicander gives the mother her more traditional name Metaneira, as does Ovid in his other account of the wanderings of Demeter (*Fasti* iv.539).

tulated. But Narrator surely consulted any mythographic manual he could lay his hands on, Greek or Latin. After all, he was not compiling a general mythographic treatise himself but looking for information on a very specific range of stories, those treated in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, many of them not included in Hyginus.

Did Narrator himself directly consult Greek texts? Here I would draw a distinction that, self-evident though it seems once made, is surprisingly seldom drawn in cases like this. I find it hard to believe that Narrator could or did read difficult poets like Nicander and Phanocles, even if he worked in a library where copies were available. But, like Hyginus, he may well have had enough Greek to consult Greek mythographic manuals,[90] which were normally written in a much simpler language and style. He is clearly anxious to convey the impression that he knows Greek. For example, when summarizing the metamorphosis of Syrinx (i.12) he adds gratuitously that she was turned into the pipes "which are called syrinx in Greek from her name" (*fistula . . . quae nomine eius apud Graecos Syringa* [or perhaps even σῦριγξ in Greek characters] *nuncupatur*). When naming the bird into which Scylla's father Nisus was changed, he calls it "the bird which the Greeks call haliaeetos" (*quam Graeci haliaeeton* [ἁλιάετος = sea-eagle] *dicunt* (viii.1). There were so few Latin mythographers that it is hard to believe anyone who could not read Greek would embark on such a project at all. However shallow Narrator's firsthand Greek culture, most of the succinct additions and explanations he supplies are of Greek origin. The antecedents of the *Narrationes* are more Hellenistic than Roman.

90. Much as modern scholars consult works on their subject written in languages they can read (sometimes with difficulty) but not speak.

3

Mythological Summaries and Companions

1

Let us turn from sources to models. The fact that Narrator's learning is derivative does not deprive it of all interest. We have at any rate identified its affinities with a particular type of text, early imperial mythographic treatises. But the *Narrationes* is not itself a mythographic treatise. Unlike Parthenius and Ps-Apollodorus, it purports to be a guide to a single classical text. Whatever its shortcomings, its form is clearly defined and consistent: a sequence of brief narrative summaries with occasional explanatory notes and source references. Are there any parallels for such a literary form? There are indeed—several. The closest is the *Diegeseis* to Callimachus's *Aetia* and *Iambi*. The reason the closeness of the parallel was not recognized long ago is that the nature of the *Diegeseis* itself has never been fully understood.[1]

Five (perhaps six) papyri come into play.[2] The title *Diegeseis* is only attested for one of them, a Milan papyrus of 13 largely complete columns, with summaries of every aetion in the last book of the *Aetia*, all the *Iambi*, the *Hecale*, and the first two of the hymns.[3] Each summary begins by quoting the first line of its section. Paul Maas at once identified the Milan papyrus as part of the same work as another text published in the 1930s, PSI 1219, the misleadingly entitled *Scholia Florentina*,[4] consisting of similar summaries of the prologue and the first two aetia of book 1 of the *Aetia*.[5] Like the *Diegeseis*, this fragment begins by quoting the first line of each section. Its most notable feature is two solid pieces

1. I am here developing and expanding the interpretation of the Callimachean *Diegeseis* I briefly outlined, without reference to the *Narrationes*, in Cameron 1995, 123–6.

2. All five are printed in full in van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998, 259–78, nos. 43–7; for the sixth, below.

3. Originally published by M. Norsa and G. Vitelli; republished with useful introduction, notes, essays, and plates by A. Vogliano, with appendixes by L. Castiglioni and P. Maas in *P. Mil. Vogl.* 1 (formerly cited as *PRIMI*) (1937), 66–173. The title appears between the end of bk. iv of the *Aetia* and the first of the *Iambi*: τῶν δ´ Αἰτίων διηγήσεις. It is thus possible that only the *Aetia* summaries were so called, but since the nature of the work continues unchanged thereafter, there seems no good reason so to restrict the reference of the title.

4. To avoid scholiastic associations, I shall not be using this title. Pfeiffer more appropriately applied the same title to PSI 1094 (ii.xvi no. 19), a series of philological notes on the *Iambi* (F 191).

5. *Gnomon* 10 (1934), 437; P. Mil. Vogl. I [note 3] 155–6; cf. Pfeiffer ii. xxviii.

of erudition: the identification of the critics Callimachus depreciates as Telchines; and the citation of two learned fourth-century sources for the first aetion of book 1, the *Argolica* of Agias and Derkyllus,[6] and the *Parion Politeia* of Aristotle. Pfeiffer rejected the identification,[7] arguing that the briefer and simpler *Diegeseis* were just compiled from the Callimachean text while the more learned PSI 1219 (like the Ovidian *Narrationes*)[8] were excerpts from a much larger learned commentary.[9] At least two ancient commentaries on Callimachus are known to have existed, by the Augustan Theon and the late first-century Epaphroditus.[10] This has long been the standard view, largely (again) because no one has seriously considered alternatives.

Before we go any further, three other papyri need to be taken into account. The third, P. Oxy. 2263, was published in 1952, the end of one summary and the greater part of a second from later in book i, again beginning with the first line of the story.[11] The fourth was published in 1991 from the Michigan collection by L. Koenen, W. Luppe, and V. Pagán, the righthand part of a column that appears to tell a story known to have been treated in the *Aetia* (probably again in book i), the story of King Teuthis and a statue of Athena with bandaged thigh.[12] Badly damaged though the Michigan papyrus is, the summary begins with the remains of a hexameter line.[13] Oddly enough, despite the formal similarities, it did not occur to the editors to connect this scrap with the three other Callimachean summaries.[14] The fifth, in the seventh-century codex P. Oxy. 2258, like the hypotheseis to Greek tragedy (and indeed the *Narrationes*), has been transferred from a separate book to appear immediately before the text of the work it summarizes, Callimachus's *Hecale*. The similarities between these five texts are much closer than has hitherto been recognized.

6. For what is known of this unusual joint work, Jacoby, *FGrH* 305 (with notes) and addenda on p. 757; briefly, Fowler, *EGM* i. xxxiv, 31–36.

7. *SB Bayer. Akad.* 1934, 5–6; in 1953 he briefly withdrew his objections (ii. xxviii), but since his first thoughts have been more influential (L. Torraca, *Il prologo dei Telchini e l'inizio degli Aitia di Callimaco* (Naples 1969), 18–19), and the issue is central to my case, a full discussion is necessary.

8. Pfeiffer himself did not cite the Ovidian parallel.

9. As argued very emphatically by G. Vitelli, *PSI* xi (1935), 140 n. 1.

10. Pfeiifer ii. xxvii–viii; on Theon, A. Rengakos, *WS* 105 (1992), 57, and (on his dates) Cameron 1995, 191 n. 33; on Epaphroditus, L. Lehnus, *Sileno* 20 (1994), 369–73.

11. Most conveniently now read in Pfeiffer II. 108–112, but for the links with the Schol. Flor. see E. Lobel, *P. Oxy*. XX (1952), 125.

12. "Explanations of Callimachean αἴτια," *ZPE* 88 (1991), 157–64: P. Mich. inv. 6235 F 1. 9–24; see *SH* 276 with F 667, with Hollis, *CQ* 32 (1982), 117–20, not cited by Koenen, Luppe, and Pagán. L. Lehnus suggests (*ZPE* 91 [1992], 20) that the preceding aetion in P. Mich. concerned the Leucadian Diana: see too Hollis, ib. 92 (1992), 115 n. 2.

13. On the question whether there was enough room for an entire line, Hollis, *ZPE* 92 (1992), 116–7.

14. Whence their suggestions that it is not "a line by line commentary of the *Aetia* but restricts its scope to lines mentioning an αἴτιον" and that "the verse referring to the statue will have stood at the end of the episode" (p. 164).

1. There are clear links between P. Oxy. 2263 and PSI 1219. First, both close summaries by citing the same recondite joint history of Argos by Agias and Dercyllus as Callimachus's source, using almost exactly the same formula.[15] Second, both begin new sections by saying that the poet (not identified by name) "seeks the origin" (ζητεῖ τὴν αἰτίαν) of the story in question (twice in PSI 1219, once, partly restored, in P. Oxy. 2263). In the second P. Oxy. summary we find instead the formula δι' αἰτίαν ταύτην, with which we may compare ἀπὸ αἰτί[ας ταύτης . . .] in the second line of the Michigan fragment.[16]

2. As for the Milan *Diegeseis*, though lacking any learned citations, those to both the first and fifth *Iambi* do supply information not given in the text of the poem. According to the first, it is to the so-called Sarapideum of Parmenio that Hipponax summons the scholars of Alexandria. The fifth identifies the schoolteacher attacked in the poem. For the purposes of the point under discussion it is immaterial whether the identification is well founded or not. Brief though they are, the Milan summaries offer more than just summary.

3. There is also a telling link between the Milan summaries and PSI 1219, of no small importance for any assessment of Callimachus's response to his critics: the summary of *Iamb* 13 refers to critics of the *Iambi* in exactly the same words (τοὺς καταμεμφομένους αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πολυειδείᾳ ὧν γράφει ποιημάτων) that PSI 1219 applies to critics of the *Aetia* ([καταμε]μφομένοις αὐτοῦ τὸ κάτισ-[χνον τῶν ποιη]μάτων).[17]

4. Just as the PSI 1219 and P. Oxy. 2263 summaries begin with ζητεῖ τὴν αἰτίαν, many of the Milan summaries begin by describing how the poet (again unidentified) "says" or "narrates" what follows (φησί, ἱστορεῖ). The difference in formula may simply reflect the difference between the way individual aetia are presented in books i-ii and iii-iv. It was only in i-ii (where we do not have the Milan papyrus) that the poet *asked* the Muses for the explanation. In iii-iv, rather than beginning each section with a query about the origin of some surprising present-day practice (as in i-ii), Callimachus seems usually to have simply narrated his stories together with the aetion.[18]

We have no fewer than three other fragments of scholia on the beginning of the *Aetia*, papyri from London, Oxyrhynchus, and Berlin.[19] The London scholiast offers 60 lines of unconnected notes on a variety of details in the 46 lines of the prologue (line 27, οἶμον· πάτον ὁμοίως τὴν πλατεῖαν; line 48 cites a parallel from Alcman). The Oxyrynchus commentary offers an even longer series of similarly disjointed notes, starting with a dozen lines on the epithet three-cornered

15. τὴν ἱστορίαν ἔλαβεν παρὰ Ἀγίου καὶ Δερκύλου (Schol. Flor.) ~ ἔλαβε δὲ τὴν ἱστορίαν ὁ Καλλίμαχος παρὰ Ἀγία καὶ Δερκύλου (P. Oxy.), omitting a few brackets and underdots.

16. I restore ταύτης rather than the editors' τοιαύτης on the strength of the second P. Oxy. summary.

17. Again, first pointed out by Maas, *P. Mil. Vogl*. I. 167.

18. For this distinction, see Cameron 1995, 107–9.

19. Pfeiffer i. 3 and 7; ii. 100–6; i.19.

(τριγλώχιν) for Sicily, and then three successive koine glosses for poetical forms. And while the Berlin papyrus gives the sort of source reference under discussion (ἱστορεῖ ταῦτα Κλείδ[ημος ἐν] Ἀτθίδι), the point of the reference is to document a 20-line note on why Callimachus calls all Greeks Ionians (F 7. 29).[20]

The *Diegeseis* papyri have no notes of this sort at all. If they had been fragments of regular commentaries, we would expect to find a philological note somewhere in at least one of them. The argument from silence is particularly strong in the case of the Milan papyrus, with no philological notes in as many as 40 summaries. The Michigan papyrus consists of nothing but a summary of a single story, with no source reference, but then the summary breaks off before its end, where the citation usually comes. The P. Oxy. summary offers the last eight lines of one summary, closing with the citation of Agias and Dercyllus; and 20 lines of the next summary, breaking off before the citation.

In view of all these similarities, it seems natural to refer all five papyri to the same original work, though not necessarily the same redaction of that work. The shorter and less detailed summaries in the Milan papyrus may reflect a somewhat abridged version. There is in fact a specific pointer in this direction. The seventh-century P. Oxy. 2258 preserves the remains of a summary of the *Hecale* that can be compared with the summary in the Milan papyrus.[21] Despite its sorry state, there are sufficient verbal parallels to make it fairly clear that the two summaries are related. Yet it is the much later Oxyrhynchus summary that is fuller, presumably because it follows the original more closely than the somewhat simplified Milan summaries.

As with the *Narrationes*, the occasional explanatory notes are not just detachable chunks of erudition. In the first place, they arise naturally out of the summary. In the case of so allusive a piece of writing as the *Aetia* prologue, any competent summary was bound to incorporate a certain amount of interpretation. Just as Narrator identifies mythological characters left anonymous by Ovid, just so Diegetes (so to call the compiler of the *Diegeseis*) identifies both the critics pilloried as Telchines and the poets allusively evoked in lines 9–12.[22] The erudition is an integral part of the summary. Second, while the learned citations (Agias and Derkyllus and Aristotle) are indeed found in traditional commentaries (as we know them from late antiquity and Byzantine times), they are also one of the defining features of early imperial mythographic treatises. Diegetes uses the same

20. P. Berol. 11521 = Pfeiffer, *Callimachi fragmenta nuper reperta* (Bonn 1921), 12–14 = Pfeiffer i.19.

21. F 230 + add. on p. 506 Pf; better now in Hollis 1990, pp. 65–66, with commentary on pp. 135–6 pointing out all the parallels.

22. Notoriously opinions differ about the interpretation of the *Aetia* prologue, and many scholars have found it hard to believe that lines 9–12 compare the long and short poems of Mimnermus and Philitas (briefly, Cameron 1995, 307–20; the details are immaterial in this context). Convinced, therefore, that Diegetes had completely misunderstood the passage, they naturally saw no reason to query the standard assumption that PSI 1219 was simply an incompetent abridgment of a learned commentary. The moment we identify their primary function as summarizing the Callimachean text, so gross a misunderstanding becomes less plausible.

term, ἱστορία, for the "story" he has summarized as Parthenius, Antoninus Liberalis, and Mythographus Homericus. Among *contemporary* texts, in both subject matter (mythical stories) and literary form (summary followed by source citation) the affinities of the *Diegeseis* lie with the mythographers.

Since the Milan summaries are the earliest of the five papyri, late first or early second century, that would imply a considerably earlier date for the original *Diegeseis*, earlier than at any rate Epaphroditus and perhaps Theon too.[23] There is no reason to believe that the *Diegeseis* originated as late as the first century AD, as the commentary hypothesis requires.[24] They are by no means an isolated phenomenon.

Apart from the *Narrationes*, no exact parallel seems to have survived. One possibility, unfortunately lost, is an epitome of the elegy Callimachus himself so disliked, the *Lyde* of Antimachus, by the well-known second-century scholar Agatharchides of Cnidos, author of a number of other epitomes.[25] Why summarize a poem of legendary badness of which fewer than 10 lines survive? Given that it was evidently a storehouse of mythical love stories, a synopsis of all those stories must have served a primarily mythographic purpose. It is perhaps significant that almost all citations of the *Lyde* come in lists of authorities for various details of the Argonautic saga in the scholia to Apollonius, jostling with such telltale names as Hesiod and Pherecydes.[26] It may be that the scholia depend as much on Agatharchides's summaries as on a text of Antimachus, summaries equipped with citations of authorities, like the surviving mythographic writers.[27]

One especially intriguing case is provided by Eustathius, citing from the *New History* of Ptolemy the Quail what purports to be a summary of an elegy on the seven successive sex changes of Teiresias by an otherwise unknown Hellenistic poet called Sostratus. Study of this little-known text has been greatly facilitated by a remarkably comprehensive and learned recent paper by James J. O'Hara,[28] from whom I differ in only one particular. He thinks that Sostratus's elegy actu-

23. So Pfeiffer's second thoughts, even though still assuming that they drew "e commentario eruditionis pleno" (ii.xxvii).

24. See below for the possibility of a much earlier date.

25. ἐπιτομὴν τῆς Ἀντιμάχου Λύδης, Photius, *Bibl.* 213, p. 171. 24B; Jacoby on *FGrH* 86; P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i (Oxford 1972), 516–7, 550. Agatharchides's other epitomes were of descriptions of the Red Sea in one book; on the Troglodytes in five books; and another on those who wrote about the winds.

26. F 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 71 in B. Wyss, *Antimachi Colophonii reliquiae* (Berlin 1936).

27. In *Eranos* 60 (1962), 132–59 (and *Plutarco: narrazione d'amore* [Naples 1991], 7–14) G. Giangrande tries to derive the Greek novel from paraphrases of Hellenistic erotic elegy! Yet, other objections aside (their uniformly unhappy endings and extreme brevity: Lightfoot 1999, 256–63), Giangrande fails to distinguish between paraphrase as an (often elementary) school exercise and semischolarly summaries like the Callimachean *Diegeseis*, which bear no resemblance at all to novels, above all in their systematic documentation.

28. "Sostratus *Suppl. Hell.* 733: A Lost, Possibly Catullan-Era Elegy on the Six Sex Changes of Tiresias," *TAPA* 126 (1996), 173–219; see too the edition by Lloyd-Jones and Parsons (*SH* 733); and G. Ugolini, *Untersuchungen zur Figur des Sehers Teiresias* (Tübingen 1995), 100–110.

ally existed, whereas I regard it as an audacious forgery by Ptolemy himself (Ch. VI. 3). But for the purposes of this chapter it makes little difference. It was no doubt far beyond Ptolemy's powers to produce an actual poem that would pass muster as the sort of witty, learned Alexandrian elegy it purported to be. But there was nothing intrinsically suspicious in producing a prose summary instead.

One other obvious parallel is the plot summaries or hypotheseis[29] of Greek drama (mainly Euripides) found prefixed to individual plays in our medieval manuscripts and now known from the papyri to have circulated separately together in book form.[30] There are two basic types. The first (sometimes attributed to Aristophanes of Byzantium),[31] offer a one- or (at most) two-sentence summary, include (in their fullest form) a number of scholarly details: scene, chorus, actors, date, other plays presented, competitors, result, other treatments of the myth. The second type (attributed to Dicaearchus of Messene) is entirely devoted to a much more detailed summary of the plot.[32] Yet while dropping the scholarly details, the second type, like the *Narrationes* and the Callimachean *Diegeseis*, nonetheless identify characters left unnamed by the tragedian and devote almost as much space to the antecedents of the action as to the action itself. Richard Hamilton has well brought out their sheer inaccuracy as guides to the surviving plays.[33] A single illustration will suffice, the first few sentences of the hypothesis to the surviving *Hippolytus* of Euripides.

> Theseus was the son of Aithra and Poseidon, and king of Athens. He married Hippolyte, one of the Amazons, and sired Hippolytus, outstanding for his beauty and chastity. When his wife died, he brought a Cretan woman into his house, Phaedra the daughter of Minos the king of Crete and Pasiphaë. Having killed Pallas, one of his kinsmen, Theseus was exiled to Troizen, where it happened that Hippolytus was being brought up by Pittheus.

While useful enough background for any prospective reader, none of this information forms part of the action of the play. Nor is it true that Theseus cuts down the body of Phaedra (line 17) or that Artemis consoles him (line 23). Trivial though these inexactitudes are, if the play had not survived, scholars might have felt justified in relying on them in attempts to restore the fragmentary text offered by papyri. More serious, the hypothesis omits a key detail in the plot, the oath that prevents Hippolytus from defending himself.

29. LSJ s. v. ὑπόθεσις, II.3 = plot.

30. All surviving examples preserved on papyrus are quoted in full by van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998, 185–236, with discussion and bibliography at pp. 1–52. In *P. Oxy.* 68 (2003) she will be publishing two columns of a first- or second-century papyrus with stories about Theseus and Hippolytus that resemble Euripidean hypotheseis, but are more detailed in a way that does not quite suggest the action of plays. Perhaps rather a mythographic text based on tragic hypotheseis.

31. Probably mistakenly; A. L. Brown, *CQ* 37 (1987), 427–31.

32. For the distinction, G. Zuntz, *The Political Plays of Euripides* (Manchester 1955), 129–52; I am ignoring obvious Byzantine elaborations (Zuntz 131–2).

33. R. Hamilton, *AJP* 97 (1976), 65–70.

Like the *Diegeseis*, the tragic hypotheseis begin by quoting the first line of the text. As Turner observed when publishing a long sequence of Euripidean hypotheseis, "the method is analogous to that of the Callimachean *Diegeseis* and no doubt goes back to Callimachus' *Pinakes*."[34] So far it is only the second sort that has been found on papyrus. There are no source references, presumably for the simple reason that the play being summarized is usually the sole source for that particular version or detail of the myth in question.[35]

Hellenists understandably pounce on each new hypothesis recovered from the sands of Egypt for guidance in reconstructing lost tragedies. But the reason so many have turned up is testimony less to widespread enthusiasm for Greek tragedy than to their value as sources for Greek myth. The inventiveness of the tragedians made substantial additions to the traditional stories (whence their importance as a source for Hyginus). No one before Ptolemy the Quail invented more Greek mythology than Euripides. This was not lost on contemporaries.[36] It is striking that the earliest scholarly work on Greek tragedy we know of concerns their mythological plots.[37] As early as the fourth century we have Philochorus's five-book *On the Myths of Sophocles*;[38] Asclepiades of Tragilos's six-book *Tragodoumena*;[39] Dicaearchus's *Hypotheseis of the Myths of Euripides and Sophocles*;[40] Heraclides Ponticus's *On the Myths of Euripides and Sophocles*;[41] and Glaucus's *On the Myths of Aeschylus*.[42] If the last named is Glaucus of Rhegium, then this activity can be taken back into the fifth century. And if the Asclepiades addressed in the title to Philochorus's *Letter to Asclepiades*, cited for the story of Hecuba in the Euripides scholia,[43] is the Tragilan, that perhaps implies scholarly polemic, a sure sign of intellectual concern.

A useful synthesis by Jeffrey Rusten rightly linked the surviving Euripides summaries with mythography rather than scholarship, though I am less sure that he

34. *P. Oxy*. vol. 37 (1962), 33, echoed by Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford 1968), 195; that this was the format of the *Pinakes* seems established: see Pfeiffer 1968, 129 and R. Blum, *Kallimachos: The Alexandrian Library and the Origins of Bibliography*, trans. H. H. Wellisch (Madison 1991), 157.

35. The abundant earlier literature on the myths of the tragedians (Cameron 1995, 122) compared differing versions, a topic that would have taken the compiler far beyond the modest scope of his very brief summaries.

36. It is one of the many virtues of Timothy Gantz's *Early Greek Mythology* (1993) that he clearly distinguishes the contribution of the tragedians to successive myths.

37. Not mentioned in Pfeiffer's great *History of Classical Scholarship* (though see, briefly, Jacoby in *FGrH* IIIb Suppl. I (1954), 376), presumably because he did not consider these works philological enough to fit his definition of scholarship. At the very least, they provide early recognition of the ascendancy of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides over all other fifth-century tragedians.

38. *FGrH* 328 F 90 with IIIb Suppl. I (1954), 376.

39. *FGrH* 12.

40. Sext. Emp. *Adv. math*. 3. 3; F. Wehrli, *Dikaiarchos*[2] (Basel 1967), F 78–84 with pp. 68–71.

41. Diog. Laert. 5. 87; Wehrli, *Herakleides Pontikos* (Basel 1969), F 180, p. 122.

42. It makes no difference if we translate the word μῦθος in these titles "story" or even "plot." All these books must have been concerned with the mythological subject matter of the tragedians *Hyp. Aesch. Pers*. 1, with E. Hiller, *Rhein. Mus*. 41 (1886), 428–31; Jacoby, *RE* 7.1 (1910), 1418.

43. *FGrH* 328 F 91 (Schol. Eur. *Hec*. 1) with 3b suppl. I (1954), 376.

was right to date them as late as the first or second century AD. Zuntz, following Wilamowitz, suggested the first century BC.[44] The Sellios or Sillios Homeros credited with summaries (περιοχάς) of Menander is of unknown date, perhaps Hellenistic rather than Roman.[45]

Also relevant here is a private letter dating from around 170 AD in which an unidentified person asks his correspondent to have certain books copied for him: "books 6 and 7 of the *Characters in Comedy* (Κωμῳδούμενοι) of Hypsicrates" and "the epitomes in prose of the *Tragic Myths* of Thersagoras" (λόγῳ ἐπιτομὰς Θερσαγόρου τῶν τραγικῶν μύθων).[46] Whether or not this otherwise unknown Thersagoras was responsible for all or any of the surviving tragic hypotheseis, the letter nicely documents the demand for such summaries on the part of a man of scholarly inclinations.

By far the best documented set of hypotheseis to survive is those of Libanius to all 61 speeches of Demosthenes.[47] Though much later than the poetic summaries under discussion and not (of course) mythological in content, they deserve mention in this context for a number of reasons. In the first place, they survive in their entirety, unabridged and uninterpolated. Second, they were compiled by a teacher (indeed a distinguished teacher) and dedicated to a high-ranking official. Third, they are fairly closely datable, since the dedicatee, Montius Magnus, was proconsul of Constantinople between around 345 and 350.[48] Fourth, though originally published as a separate work, individual ὑποθέσεις (as they are regularly styled) were subsequently inserted before the relevant speech in copies of Demosthenes. And finally, though succinct, they are well informed and scholarly, discussing questions of authenticity, occasionally citing critics, and devoting much space to the historical context and purpose of each speech.[49] Thus they serve much the same purpose, *mutatis mutandis*, as the tragic hypotheseis and Callimachean *Diegeseis*.[50]

Another set of summaries that, in the absence of the poems themselves, is familiar to every student of early Greek epic is the so-called *Chrestomatheia* ascribed to Proclus. Byzantines had no doubt that this was the celebrated fifth-

44. J. S. Rusten, *GRBS* 23 (1982), 366–67; Zuntz 1955, 138–9.

45. Van Rossum-Steenbeek 1997, 40; Cameron 1995, 123. Aulus Gellius's teacher Sulpicius Apollinaris wrote metrical summaries of the comedies of Terence.

46. P. Oxy. 2192; Turner and Parsons, *GMAW*[2] no. 68.

47. They are transmitted both as a corpus (best in Marc. gr. 416 of s. X) and broken up in front of individual speeches: R. Foerster, *Libanius* viii (1915), 575–681.

48. *PLRE* i (1971), 535, 1056.

49. For a full recent discussion, Craig A. Gibson, "The Agenda of Libanius' Hypotheses to Demosthenes," *GRBS* 40 (1999), 171–202.

50. Perhaps surprisingly, the *Periochae* to Livy are not found in manuscripts of Livy, where they would have provided a useful conspectus of the contents of successive books. Instead they seem to have reached the Middle Ages in the company of Florus, as shown by M. D. Reeve, "The transmission of Florus's *Epitoma de Tito Livio* and the *Periochae*," *CQ* 38 (1988), 477–91, and its sequel, ib. 41 (1991), 453–83 (with a stemma at 480).

century Neoplatonist, but while there are no solid grounds for disputing the assumption,[51] the name is not uncommon, and an early imperial grammarian seems a more likely compiler for so routine, not to say feeble, a product. The more so in that such summaries are known from the so-called Iliac Tablets and Homeric Bowls to have existed as early as Hellenistic times.[52] Indeed Aristotle credits an otherwise unknown Phayllus with what sounds very much like a summary of the Epic Cycle.[53] What survives (in both a longer and shorter form) is a sequence of summaries of the Epic Cycle.[54] There was also a prose version of the archaic epic *Corinthiaca* ascribed to Eumelus, perhaps as early as the fourth century, though just as possibly Hellenistic. Pausanias seems only to have known the work in this form.[55]

Naturally enough there are no source references in Proclus's summaries, but he does give the names and ethnics of the various poets, titles of the epics, and the number of books each ran to: Arctinus of Miletus, *Aethiopis* in five books and *Iliou Persis* in two books; Lesches of Mytilene, *Little Ilia*s in four books; Hagias of Troizen, *Nostoi* in five books; Eugammon of Cyrene, *Telegonia* in 2 books. This information is fairly dubious. As Wilamowitz pointed out long ago, our earliest sources for all these works regarded them as anonymous ("the author of the *Cypria*" and the like).[56] But mythographers wanted authors and titles. Remarkably enough, we find the same ascriptions (complete with titles) in the captions to representations in art (the Homeric Bowls and Iliac Tablets).

Modern students of the Epic Cycle have often been disconcerted to discover that Proclus's summaries sometimes disagree with actual fragments from those poems.[57] The explanation is presumably the same: the summarizers were more interested in the stories than the poems. Indeed the summaries that have come down to us are almost certainly based on earlier summaries rather than the actual poems. In all probability the person responsible for the Proclan summaries in their surviving form had never even seen an actual copy of the Epic Cycle.

Of course, there are many summaries (generally called *hypotheseis*) of the two Homeric poems, both on papyri and in medieval manuscripts.[58] They usually begin

51. Robert Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian* (Berkeley 1986), 177.

52. E. Bethe, *Der troische Epenkreis* (Stuttgart 1966), 59–61; K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*[2] (Princeton 1970), 36–41; J. J. Pollit, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge 1986), 200–4.

53. Arist. *Rhet*. iii. 16. 7, with the commentary of Cope and Sandys, iii (1877), 192.

54. For more details, Bethe 1966, 56–63; for an excellent brief summary, M. L. West, *OCD*[3] 531.

55. Fowler, *EGM* i. 105–9; West, *JHS* 122 (2002), 118 and *Greek Epic Fragments* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003), 28.

56. *Homerische Untersuchungen* (Berlin 1884), 328–51; for alternative ascriptions, West, *OCD*[3] 531.

57. Their inaccuracy was sharply criticized in an early work of Bethe, "Proklos und der epische Cyclus," *Hermes* 26 (1891), 593–633; they are regarded more indulgently by Malcolm Davies, *The Epic Cycle* (Bristol 1989), 6–7.

58. For a brief summary of the evidence, van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998, 53–74.

with the book number and then the first line of the book,[59] and the complete set of summaries (*periochae*) in Latin attributed (probably in error) to Ausonius follows the same pattern: book number and first line (first two lines for *Iliad* 1 and 2, followed by a Latin translation in hexameters).[60] Despite some differences, there are sufficient similarities to suggest that the "Ausonian" summaries are based on a set of Greek *hypotheseis*. There are considerable differences in both length and style between the various summaries. In so widely studied a text as Homer, the task of summarizing was evidently done many times over by different teachers. The fact that several are accompanied by glossaries shows that these ones at any rate were intended to help prospective readers of Homer rather than to be read independently for content.

Two long mythographic notes at the bottom of two columns of a third-century roll of Pindar's *Paeans*, one enriched with three otherwise unknown learned citations, may be an excerpt from a diegesis (for more details, p. 173). And a recently published papyrus looks like a mythographic summary of part of Hesiod's *Theogony* (p. 243).

The only διηγήσεις we can positively identify among the papyri are those to Callimachus. But there are several fragments carrying abbreviated snatches of narrative that might easily come from works of this nature. For example, a Michigan papyrus published nearly 20 years ago gives fragmentary details of a narrative in which a certain Pamphilus seems to infer from some clothing that his beloved, Eurydice, has been eaten by wild beasts. This looks like a version of the tale of Pyramus and Thisbe.[61] A recent paper by A. Stramaglia has identified it as a "διήγημα erotico" from a "compilazione mitografica."[62] Stramaglia himself wanted to date the papyrus to the first century BC, assuming that the postulated diegetes was a contemporary of Parthenius and Conon. This would suit my suggested date for the origin of the genre very nicely, but other palaeographers argue for a much later date.[63]

Most papyri of this nature containing scraps of narrative tend to be classified as fragments of romance. But one or two could equally come from mythographic summaries; for example, PSI 1220. I quote the paraphrase in Stephens and Winkler:[64]

> An infant named Staphulos ("Bunch of Grapes") is exposed in a vineyard, discovered and brought to the king, named Dryas ("Oak Tree"), who accepts him and rears him as the heir apparent. His mother, Hippotis ("Horse-

59. Van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998, nos. 29 and 34 (citing both first and last line of its book). Summaries transmitted with Homer in medieval manuscripts naturally drop the first line lemma.

60. R.P.H. Green, *The Works of Ausonius* (Oxford 1991), 677–95, with Green's comments on p. 677 and P. L. Schmidt in Herzog 1989, 290–91; van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998, 69.

61. P. Mich. inv. 3793, with Susan A. Stephens and John J. Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels: The Fragments* (Princeton 1995), 470, following up a suggestion by the first editor, T. Renner, *Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Papyrology* (Chico 1981), 93–101.

62. A. Stramaglia, "Piramo e Tisbe prima di Ovidio?" *ZPE* 134 (2001), 81–106 at 97.

63. Stramaglia 2001, 81–2. Susan Stephens tells me that she still accepts Renner's dating to the third century AD or even later.

64. Stephens and Winkler 1995, 429; second century.

> woman"), is from Sardis . . . where she apparently remains while the boy is growing up.

Compare too P. Oxy. 417, again as paraphrased in Stephens and Winkler:[65]

> In the span of twenty-four lines we learn that the child of a woman named Theano had been taken captive; she attempts to recover it, having been informed in a dream by "the goddess" what she should do. There are three or four characters named in the column.

In both cases far too much action seems to be compressed into the few surviving lines for them to be fragments of novels. Both look like summaries, and the talking names Dryas and Staphylus ("Oak" and "Grapes") in PSI 1220 suggest the possibility of an aetiological metamorphosis. Unsurprisingly enough, Staphylus appears often in various offshoots of the Dionysus saga.[66] Unfortunately, since all three narratives lack both beginning and end, we are prevented from seeing whether the hypothesis is confirmed by a line of verse at the beginning as lemma or a source reference at the end. My purpose is less to argue that they are in fact summaries of mythological poems than simply to show that they might be.

2

Though not epitomes, Mythographus Homericus and Ps-Eratosthenes fulfil much the same role as the Callimachean *Diegeseis* and the tragic and Demosthenic hypotheseis. In format MH was clearly conceived as a mythological commentary on Homer. Like the Callimachean *Diegeseis* and the tragic hypotheseis, the writer indicates the passage he is commenting on by citing it in full as a lemma—and then gives a brief summary of the myth on the basis of some later text, which he cites, sometimes with both title and book number. Curiously enough, despite these very precise citations, the writer almost never discusses variants or compares the Homeric version with the (often much later) version he summarizes, but it is clear nonetheless that his purpose was to illustrate Homer.[67]

We have already seen that Ps-Eratosthenes's *Catasterisms* is a sort of mythological companion to Aratus, divided into 44 chapters, following the number and sequence of constellations enumerated in Aratus. Aratus himself is only mentioned three times, but 20 other authorities are cited. Not surprisingly, the book was

65. Stephens and Winkler 1995, 438 (third century); R. L. Hunter, *A Study of Daphnis and Chloe* (Cambridge 1983); 17–8. Stephens and Winkler include both papyri among their "Ambiguous Fragments," with balanced discussion of the various possibilities.

66. For the many stories of transformations into trees and plants, Forbes Irving 1990, 128–38 and 260–83. For Staphylus stories, P. Chuvin, *Mythologie et géographie dionysiaques: recherches sur l'oeuvre de Nonnos de Panopolis* (Clermont-Ferrand 1991), 192–3; for the rather different story of the transformation of Dryope the daughter of Dryas, Forbes Irving, 263–4.

67. For more information about MH, see Ch. V.

cannibalized in the later scholia on Aratus—and adapted twice into Latin.[68] Last there is Antoninus Liberalis. While his *Metamorphoses*, like Parthenius's *Sufferings in Love*, is a thematic collection, wholly devoted to transformation stories, it comes close to being a companion to Nicander's *Heteroioumena*, with 22 references to all four of its books.

There was also a much earlier example, now lost: a monograph on the mythical stories in Apollonius's *Argonautica*. In the course of a long note on a reference in Apollonius to the Stymphalian birds (ii.1052–7), the scholia cite Chares, "a disciple of Apollonius himself, in his *On the Stories* (Περὶ ἱστοριῶν) *of Apollonius*."[69] So early a date would explain why the scholia include so much early material, Apollonius's own sources,[70] material unlikely still to have been easily available as late as the age of Theon. And a disciple would have known which works Apollonius had drawn on. It is surely from a work like this that many of the mythographic parallels between the scholia to the *Argonautica* and both Ps-Apollodorus and Hyginus's *Fabulae* ultimately derive.[71] H. J. Rose took it for granted that Hyginus simply drew on the scholia to the *Argonautica*.[72] Given his likely date, he could indeed have consulted Theon and possibly even Lucillus of Tarrha.[73] But given his shaky Greek, something less demanding and more directly relevant to his purpose like a mythological companion to the *Argonautica* is much more likely.

Another possible witness to this work is the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus. Valerius's main Greek source (not that he followed it slavishly) was (inevitably) Apollonius's *Argonautica*.[74] But he shows occasional knowledge of details and versions only known to us from the scholia to Apollonius.[75] For example, on Tiphys's death, four men were eager to take over the helm of the Argo (Apoll. iv.894–8). In

68. The close relationship between all these works can be most clearly grasped in C. Robert, *Eratosthenis Catasterismorum Reliquiae* (Berlin 1878), where all the Greek and Latin versions then known are printed in parallel columns.

69. Χάρης αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου γνώριμος ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἱστοριῶν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, *Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium Vetera*, ed. C. Wendel (Berlin 1935), p. 203. 12 (on ii. 1052–57a). For γνώριμος as "disciple" or "pupil" (especially common in later texts), LSJ s.v. 2b and Lampe s.v. 1. The context makes it clear that Chares was at least an acquaintance and so a contemporary of Apollonius.

70. Much of it listed in R. L. Hunter, *Apollonius of Rhodes: Argonautica Book iii* (Cambridge 1989), 14–21.

71. Documented by the testimonia (unfortunately not indexed) cited in Wendel 1935, especially for bk. i.

72. See his note to Hyg. 14: *hoc caput magna ex parte manufeste Apollonii Rhodii scholiastae debetur*.

73. C. Wendel, *Die Überlieferung der Scholien zu Apollonius von Rhodos* (Berlin 1932), 105–10.

74. Debra Hershkowitz, *Valerius Flaccus' Argonautica: Abbreviated Voyages in Silver Latin Epic* (Oxford 1998), 38f. and passim.

75. W. C. Summers, *A Study of the Argonautica of Valerius Flaccus* (Cambridge 1894), 15–7; For some less convincing, nonmythological cases, F. Bessone, "Valerio Flacco e l'Apollonio commentato: proposte," *MD* 26 (1991), 31–46; H. Fränkel, *Einleitung zur kritischen Ausgabe der Argonautika des Apollonius* (Göttingen 1964), 95–7.

Apollonius, Ancaeus was chosen, in Valerius, Erginus (v.63–6). According to the scholia (on ii.896), it was the early fourth-century mythographer Herodorus of Heraclea who said Erginus was chosen.[76] It is most unlikely that Valerius knew Herodorus at first hand, yet it can hardly be coincidence that he deserted Apollonius in his company on such a detail. Valerius mentions an Argive hero called Iphis among the Argonauts, fated not to return (i.441) and later refers to him as dead (vii.423). There is no such hero in Apollonius, but the scholion on iv.223–30a describes Aetes killing an Argive hero called Iphis, on the authority of Dionysius of Miletus.[77] Where Apollonius names Abarnis and Pityeia in the Propontis (i.932), Valerius has Pitya and Lampsacus with its festival of Priapus (ii.622–3). There is no mention of Lampsacus or Priapus in Apollonius, but the scholia say that Abarnis was a city of Lampsacus, home of Priapus, and that Lampsacus was formerly known as Pityeia. A parallel entry in Stephanus of Byzantium cites the Flavian scholar Epaphroditus and Deïochus of Cyzicus, a fourth-century local historian and mythographer otherwise only known to us from the Apollonius scholia.[78]

Some have been content simply to conclude that Valerius knew the Apollonius scholia, without inquiring in what form. Others have identified his source more precisely as Theon. Certainly his knowledge of all these recondite Greek writers was most likely acquired through a single Hellenistic intermediary. Valerius was not really a *doctus poeta* in the Apollonian tradition. More than one critic has examined the way he systematically eliminates or at least reduces Apollonius's characteristically Alexandrian learned digressions.[79] His main stylistic models are naturally earlier Roman poets. It has often been noted that he shows little knowledge of Greek poets other than Homer and Apollonius. Why would he have wanted a full-scale commentary on Apollonius, when a mythological companion would have given him the sort of information he wanted without the need to search for it amid a mass of textual and philological exegesis in which he had little interest? Since the illustrations here quoted all concern details of mythology, the natural assumption is that Valerius used a mythological companion, whether or not Chares's Περὶ ἱστοριῶν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου.

The very fact that Ps-Apollodorus and Ps-Eratosthenes are drawn on so extensively (often verbatim) for mythographic entries in the Byzantine Homer and Aratus scholia, respectively, suggests that there were no corresponding entries in the commentaries of the Roman age. And the fact that we now know from the papyri that Mythographus Homericus (MH) originally circulated as an (obviously very popular) independent work might be thought to militate against the assumption

76. *FGrH* 31 F 55.

77. *FGrH* 32 F 10.

78. *FGrH* 471 and Fowler, *EGM* i.73 (the name is variously spelled); 10 fragments, all save this one from the Apoll. scholia; on Stephanus's debt to the Apoll. scholia, see Wendel 1935, xxi.

79. Paola Venini, "Valerio Flacco e l'erudizione apolloniana: note stilistiche," *Rendiconti Istituto Lombardo* 105 (1971), 582–96; Hershkowitz 1998, 202–5, 212–8.

that contemporary Homer commentaries carried corresponding entries. MH was surely a complement to rather than simply an excerpt from contemporary commentaries. Whether or not Chares's Περὶ ἱστοριῶν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου was a major direct source of Theon's Apollonius commentary,[80] it would have been a more natural and convenient source for mythographers like Hyginus and Ps-Apollodorus. Just so mythographers surely turned in the first instance to the *Diegeseis* rather than the difficult, allusive text of Callimachus.

Hyginus's account (citing Callimachus) of the catasterism of the Lock of Berenice and Clement's story of the hanging Artemis surely derive from the relevant sections of the *Diegeseis* rather than the actual narrative of Callimachus.[81] Almost all known mythographic works (*Narrationes* included) are provided with separate titles for each story and a table of contents, with Ps-Apollodorus arranged chronologically by families and the Michigan dictionary of transformations alphabetically. Mythology would only have been one item in traditional commentaries, which were naturally unindexed and so much harder to search.

If Chares's Περὶ ἱστοριῶν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου was the work of a disciple of the poet himself, we are bound to wonder whether the Callimachean *Diegeseis* were compiled by one of Callimachus's many learned disciples. The two best known, Istrus and Philostephanus, are both known to have had mythological interests.[82] Istrus produced a sort of digest of the mythical history of Athens entitled Ἀττικά, based on the poets and Atthidographers.[83] On the wives of Theseus F 10 cites Hesiod, Pherecydes, and Kerkops of Miletus.[84] As for Philostephanus, he is cited at least four times as an authority in Mythographus Homericus.[85] An entry on Penelope cites Philostephanus and Pherecydes,[86] which (as we have seen) probably means Pherecydes as cited by Philostephanus.[87] Mythographus Homericus relates on the authority of "Philostephanus and Callimachus in the *Aetia*" how Daedalus, pursued by Minos because of his role in the Pasiphaë scandal, fled Crete and took refuge with King Cocalus of Camicus in Sicily, whose daughters killed him (Minos) with a bath of boiling water.[88] Fortunately an Oxyrhynchus papyrus has preserved for us what must be the passage of Callimachus in question, a single

80. According to Wendel (*RE* 15.2. 1363–4), his principal mythographic source was Mnaseas of Patara (on whom more below).

81. Naturally from a fuller version than we have in the Milan papyrus: so already (on the Lock) Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* i. 123; Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* ii (1972), 1021 n. 101. For more detail, Ch. VII. 2.

82. Pfeiffer 1968, 151; P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i (Oxford 1972), 511–2, 523–5.

83. F. Jacoby, *FGrH* 334, especially III b (Supplement) vol. i pp. 621–27.

84. *FGrH* 334 F 10, with vol. i p. 635 and vol. ii pp. 511–2.

85. F 35–38 Mueller = *FHG* iii.33–34; van der Valk, *Researches on the text and scholia of the Iliad* (Leiden 1963), 388–90.

86. F 40 Mueller = *FGrH* 3 F 129.

87. For another clear example, citing Hellanicus and Ps-Apollodorus (AD scholia on B. 494), see van der Valk 1963, 305.

88. MH on *Iliad* ii.145 = Philostephanus F 36 (*FHG* iii.34).

couplet evoking the "Cocalides pouring a boiling bath on the son of Europa."[89] While "Philostephanus and Callimachus" no doubt means "Callimachus as cited by Philostephanus," that need not mean that Philostephanus told the whole story. Which work of Philostephanus is meant?[90] Various guesses have been made,[91] but what if he was the author of the *Diegeseis*? The phrase ἱστορεῖ Φιλοστέφανος καὶ Καλλίμαχος ἐν Αἰτίοις would have been a natural enough way to refer to an epitome of Callimachus's *Aetia* by Philostephanus. Jerome (for example) cites "Pompeius Trogus *et* Justinus," implying that he had consulted two authorities when in reality he had used only Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus.[92]

Istrus and Philostephanus are no more than guesses, but who would have been better equipped for the task than disciples of Callimachus himself?[93] So early a date and so privileged a situation would certainly explain the confident identification of the Telchines, at least eight names, five unidentifiable but the other three known contemporaries of Callimachus.[94] We may well doubt whether Callimachus's playful polemic was really aimed at all these people, but the very obscurity of most of the names makes it unlikely that they are simply guesses. However misguided an interpretation of Callimachus's poetry, surely a well-informed list of his literary enemies.[95] So well-informed a Diegetes could have cited authorities for all the *Aetia*, and such of the *Iambi* and other poems as dealt with recondite mythical stories. Almost all the stories in the probably somewhat later Mythographus Homericus refer to at least one authority.

Istrus compiled *Eliaca* and *Argolica* as well as *Attica*, to judge from the fragments mainly concerned with the mythical period. Philostephanus collected aetiologies, paradoxa, and curious cults and customs arranged according to geographical areas: *On* (περί) *the Cities in Asia, On Islands, On Rivers, On Springs*. It was surely works like these that the late Hellenistic and early imperial mythographers turned to rather than commentaries on the poets.

In the Greek world the tradition of the mythographic companion continued as late as the sixth century. A curious text that follows essentially the same pattern is Ps-Nonnus's commentary on four speeches of Gregory Nazianzen, composed

89. F 43.48 Pfeiffer = F 50.48 Massimilla, with the latter's commentary (pp. 334–36).

90. Mueller's suggestion (repeated by Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* ii.754 n. 40) that P. also wrote an Αἴτια and that ἐν Αἰτίοις refers to the Αἴτια of both writers is based on a very uncertain reading in Ps-Probus on Verg. *Buc.* (not *Georg.*) x.18.

91. For example, his *Hypomnemata* and *On Islands*.

92. *Prol. Daniel* = *PL* 25.494.

93. Also in favour of an early date is the presence of explanatory paraphrases in the third-century Lille *Aetia* papyrus (see below).

94. F 1 p. 3 Pfeiffer; = p. 60 and 199–200 in G. Massimilla, *Callimaco: Aitia, libri primo e secondo* (Pisa 1996). For the form of the reference to the (unidentifiable) "two Dionysii," compare the *Apollonii duo* in a list of sources obviously taken from some Hellenistic predecessor by Celsus, *Med.* 7 pr.; and the δύο Πτολεμαῖοι in Diog. Laertius 10. 25, with Cameron, *AJP* 119 (1998), 114.

95. P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i (Oxford 1972), 748–9. If Diegetes had been guessing, he would surely have guessed Apollonius of Rhodes (Cameron 1995, 231), who cannot be squeezed into the papyrus.

around 500 AD. It is a work better known to art historians than classical scholars, since two illustrated copies survive.[96] Like several other works discussed in this chapter, it is basically a companion to four speeches of Gregory that are particularly rich in classical allusions. It claims to be a "collection and interpretation [ἐξήγησις, not διήγησις] of the ἱστορίαι mentioned by Gregory." Two of the speeches he deals with are identified by both title and opening words, the Callimachean format. While not providing the truly learned citations of earlier mythographers, Ps-Nonnus cites at least 15 different classical authors, most often Herodotus (7 times), Plato (8 times) and Homer (15 times).[97] The man is a Christian, yet he tells his stories in the dispassionate, neutral style of the mythographer, ignoring even the frequent depreciatory sneers in the text of Gregory he is explaining. It seems clear that he was trying to imitate the mythographic commentaries of the early empire.

3

There is also a third category of reading aid, the paraphrase. Here a couple of distinctions have to be made. I am not concerned either with paraphrase as a student exercise (rewriting some classical text in the student's own words to demonstrate comprehension and compositional skill); or with the sort of rhetorical paraphrase that was to become common in late antiquity, especially in the form of the rewriting of prose (often biblical) texts in epic verse.[98] But there are many examples obviously intended as reading aids for difficult (usually verse) texts, often accompanied by a certain amount of explanation in addition to paraphrase in simpler language. The prime beneficiary of what has been called "grammatical paraphrase" was naturally Homer. We now have a number of papyri offering line-by-line paraphrase in straightforward prose: μῆνιν ἄειδε θεά (for example) is rendered τὴν ὀργὴν εἰπὲ ὦ Μοῦσα.[99] Just as with the *hypotheseis*, there was probably never any one standard Homeric paraphrase. Individual teachers will have made their own–or used the one they got from their teacher. Statius happens to mention his father, a successful grammaticus, composing his own prose paraphrases of Homer, no doubt simply for use with his pupils rather than publication.[100]

96. The first real edition of this neglected work was published by Jennifer Nimmo Smith, *Pseudo-Nonniani in IV orationes Gregorii Nazianzeni commentarii* (Turnhout 1992); on the miniatures, see K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art*[2] (Princeton 1984), 3–92. See too now Nimmo Smith's annotated translation, *A Christian's Guide to Greek Culture: The Pseudo-Nonnus Commentaries on Sermons 4, 5, 39 and 43 by Gregory of Nazianzus* (Liverpool 2001).

97. See Nimmo Smith's list of Auctores. The author does not limit himself to Gregory's mythical allusions but deals with many other classical allusions (e.g. to ancient philosophers).

98. For both sorts, see Michael Roberts, *Biblical Epic and Rhetorical Paraphrase in Late Antiquity* (Liverpool 1985); for the first, briefly, H. Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric* (Leiden 1998), § § 1099–1103.

99. For examples, Roberts 1985, 38–44.

100. *Tu par adsuetus Homero / ferre iugum senosque pedes aequare solutis / versibus et numquam passu breviore relinqui* (*Silv*. v. 3. 159–61).

The most celebrated and scholarly we know of are those to a number of works of Aristotle by Themistius. Those to *De anima*, *Analytica posteriora*, and *Physics* have come down to us, and others have survived in Arabic and Hebrew. They rewrite Aristotle in simpler language, with both explanatory comment and frequent reference to the views of other philosophers, right down to Alexander of Aphrodisias and Porphyry.[101]

But the best parallel to the Callimachean *Diegeseis* is an explanatory paraphrase of perhaps the most obscure and allusive of all ancient poems, the *Alexandra* of Callimachus's contemporary Lycophron.[102] As well as giving the gist of the poem in simpler language, the writer systematically explains allusive phrases. To give a single illustration, where Lycophron refers obliquely to a "three-evening lion" (*Alex*. 33), the paraphrase says: "Heracles, lion because of his strength, three-evening because it took Zeus three nights to make love to Alcmene." In addition, again like the *Diegeseis*, it quotes a modest number of sources and illustrative texts:[103] Apollonius, Callimachus, Nicander, Herodotus, and (especially) Hesiod and Homer. In the form in which we have it, the paraphrase can hardly be earlier than the third century AD, since it quotes Dionysius periegetes and Triphiodorus, but Scheer believed that it went back to Theon, and Holzinger earlier still.[104] Since it is virtually unreadable on its own, it must have been compiled as an aid to reading Lycophron.

We also have a number of paraphrases to didactic poems. First, paraphrases to both surviving poems of another contemporary of Callimachus:[105] Nicander's *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaca*, both attributed to an otherwise unknown Eutecnius sophistes. Second, anonymous paraphrases to two early imperial poets, the *Halieutica* of Oppian and the *Ixeutica* of Dionysius.[106] All four are copied in sequence in one of the earliest and most famous Greek manuscripts to have come down to us, Vindobonensis medicus graecus 1, better known as the Vienna Dioscorides. Thanks to the celebrated portrait miniature of its dedicatee, the grande dame Anicia Juliana, builder of the recently excavated Church of St.

101. See F. M. Schroeder and R. B. Todd, *Two Greek Aristotelian Commentators* (Toronto 1990), 35–36; R. B. Todd, *Themistius on Aristotle's On the Soul* (Ithaca 1996), 2–7; John Vanderspoel, *Themistius and the Imperial Court* (Ann Arbor 1995), 21–2, 225–28.

102. In fact two paraphrases, the so-called *antiquior paraphrasis* and the *recentior*, a later, revised version of the *antiquior*. Both are printed beneath the text in vol. i of E. Scheer's edition (Berlin 1881), with his earlier discussion *Rh. Mus*. 34 (1879), 276–82.

103. For a list of texts quoted in the *antiquior paraphrasis*,see Scheer 1881, i.148.

104. E. Scheer, 1879, 459 (promising a more detailed discussion that never appeared); C. von Holzinger, *Berl. Phil. Woch*. 32 (1912), 521.

105. For the case in favor of attributing both poems to the older of the two Nicanders, see Cameron 1995, 194–205; against, Alexis d'Hautcourt, "Héraclée du Pont dans les *Alexipharmaca* de Nicandre de Colophon: un nouvel indice de chronologie?" *Studi ellenistici* 13 (2001), 191–8.

106. I. Gualandri, *Eutecnii paraphrasis in Nicandri Theriaca* (Milan 1969); M. Geymonat, *Eutecnii paraphrasis in Nicandri Alexipharmaca* (Milan 1976); I. Gualandri, *Incerti auctoris in Oppiani Halieutica paraphrasis* (Milan 1968); A. Garzya, *Dionysii Ixeuticon seu de aucupio libri tres in epitomen metro solutam redacti* (Leipzig 1963).

Polyeuctus in Constantinople, the book cannot be later than ca 512, and might have been copied up to a decade or so earlier still. Eutecnius's atticizing Greek and rhetorical style mark him as a figure of the first or second century AD at earliest, and the two anonymous paraphrases are probably no earlier.[107] There is in addition a paraphrase of Oppian's *Cynegetica* that has a different manuscript tradition, attributed to Eutecnius in one manuscript of the sixteenth century.[108]

Despite a few explanatory additions (some related to the surviving scholia),[109] all four seem to be the work of rhetoricians rather than grammatici and have literary rather than purely pedagogical aims. For one thing, there are no source citations. But there is one detail that fits perfectly into the subgenre that is the subject of this chapter: Eutecnius adds the odd detail to Nicander's mythological passages, occasionally even details that differ from the version Nicander himself is following.[110]

Modern scholars have understandably paid little attention to prose paraphrases of surviving poems, especially since all except the Lycophron paraphrase are too free to offer much help in interpreting or establishing the text when it is in doubt. Nonetheless, they do play a not insignificant role in the story of the reception of these very difficult poems. They had little to offer scholarly ancient readers, who would turn to the learned commentaries of Theon and others that survive in part in the form of scholia (at any rate to Lycophron and Nicander).[111] But they do help to explain how such obscure and allusive poems became minor classics and survived. Less dedicated and less well-equipped readers turned first to paraphrases. As in the case of the Lycophron paraphrase, it is natural to infer that Eutecnius had earlier, more exegetically oriented predecessors. Furthermore, the fact that the archetype of our manuscript tradition for the first four is a sumptuous illustrated volume commissioned by the richest and noblest woman in the Roman world shows that such paraphrases were owned and used by members of the social (if not intellectual) elite. The paraphrases of both *Theriaca* and *Ixeutica* are actually illustrated.[112]

107. See the various editors' prefaces (especially Gualandri 1968, 30–4), and (for the *Theriaca*, in an absurdly dismissive review of Gualandri's edition), Giangrande, *CR* 22 (1972), 102–3.

108. I know no edition more recent than O. Tüselmann, *Die Paraphrase des Euteknios zu Oppians Kynegetika* (Abhandl. Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl. IV. 1) Berlin 1900.

109. See Gualandri 1969, 13–4; but Geymonat 1976, 19, found little in the way of links to the *Alexipharmaca* scholia.

110. See Geymonat 1976, 18–19; Tüselmann 1900, 6.

111. See Cameron 1995, 192. In addition to the commentaries, there was an undatable *On the Theriaca of Nicander* by Diphilus of Laodicea.

112. K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*[2] (Princeton 1970), 145; see the five plates appended to Garzya's Teubner edition of the *Ixeutica* (1963).

4

Narrator and His Greek Predecessors

1

If we take a fresh look at the *Narrationes* against this context, some puzzling features may no longer seem so puzzling. For example, (1) the naming of characters left unnamed by Ovid, a conspicuous feature of both the Callimachean *Diegeseis* and (especially) the tragic hypotheseis. It is the raison d'être of MH and Ps-Eratosthenes to give a full version of stories only hinted at in Homer and Aratus, respectively. (2) In a number of his summaries Narrator introduces a story with the formula *refert* or *docet*, evidently meaning "Ovid tells."[1] The Callimachean Diegetes does exactly the same, introducing a dozen or more episodes with φησί,[2] evidently meaning "Callimachus says" (or perhaps "the poem says").[3] The more literary and self-conscious Libanius invariably supplies a subject for his third-person verbs, "Demosthenes" or (more allusively) ὁ ῥήτωρ. (3) The form of the citations of Greek sources follows the format of the Callimachean *Diegeseis* and the mythographers exactly, not least in the way the citation sometimes refers to a detail rather than the story as a whole (Ch. V).

(4) Another feature all these works share with the *Narrationes* is that (with rare exceptions) none of them makes any attempt to allegorize, rationalize, or otherwise interpret their myths. In an age when allegorical interpretation was commonly employed by serious pagans as a way of dealing with the often embarrassing content of much of Greek myth,[4] most mythographers treat them as nothing more than stories, ἱστορίαι, to be related on the authority of some ancient text. On the traditional date, Narrator was writing in the sixth century, the age of Fulgentius, if not later. Yet he seems to have no interest in allegorizing tales that in many cases

1. *refert*: 2.8, 4.14, 11.5; *docet*: 7.5–9, 14.2.

2. For the complete list, van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998, 76.

3. In contemporary English people often say of a text "it says here that . . ." For examples of impersonal *dicit* in a number of late Latin texts, E. Löfstedt, *Vermischte Studien* (Lund 1936), 130–6.

4. J. Pépin, *Mythe et allégorie*[2] (Paris 1976); R. Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian* (Berkeley 1986); D. Dawson, *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria* (Berkeley 1992).

lent themselves very well to such interpretation—and were indeed often to be so interpreted in the Middle Ages and later.[5]

(5) Last but certainly not least, there is the title, more problematic though ultimately (I suggest) more revealing than hitherto suspected. *Narrationes*, after all, is an exact Latin translation of διηγήσεις. But what is it supposed to mean, in either language? According to Henrichs, "The title *Diegeseis* . . . was . . . applied in antiquity to prose summaries of poetic works such as Homer's *Odyssey* and Callimachus's collected poems."[6] Apparently so, but why? Neither word actually *means* "summary" (for which the two standard Greek terms are περιοχή and ἐπιτομή).

The example Henrichs cites of the *Odyssey* is not, alas, ancient. It is a text printed by Westermann in 1843 as anonymous, a διήγησις (singular) of the wanderings of Odysseus in such near-perfect classicizing Greek that it took in even Pfeiffer.[7] The author of this piece is in fact known: Manuel Gabalas, also known as Matthew, bishop of Ephesus from 1329 to 1351. The only manuscript to carry it is an autograph collection of Matthew's own writings.[8] There is also an eighth- or ninth-century διήγησις about the building of Hagia Sophia.[9] The singular διήγησις was in fact to become standard in the titles of late Byzantine and post-Byzantine romances: on Achilles, Paris, Belisarius, even a "Tale of the Four-footed Beasts" (Διήγησις περὶ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, Διήγησις γενομένη ἐν Τροίᾳ, Διήγησις Βελισαρίου, Διήγησις τῶν τετραπόδων ζώων).

Not only is this Byzantine rather than Hellenistic usage. In every case of διήγησις in the singular as a title, the implication is clearly that the work in question was a single narrative, not a collection of separate stories. In Roman and Hellenistic usage alike, *narratio* and διήγησις in the singular are abstract nouns, narrative rather than a story. In rhetorical discourse, both designate the expository part of a speech,

5. "No other secular text . . . can match the opportunities for ingenious, even excessive interpretations offered by the *Metamorphoses*," R. Levine, "Exploiting Ovid: Medieval Allegorizations of the *Metamorphoses*," *Medievo romanzo* 14 (1989), 197–213 at p. 197; see particularly L. Barkan, *The Gods Made Flesh: Metamorphosis and the Pursuit of Paganism* (New Haven 1986). *Narr.* 6.1 tries to read a little more into Arachne's tapestry (Otis 1936, 138), but this might easily be a late embellishment. It may be significant that *Myth.* Vat. i.90 copies the beginning and end of Narrator's account more or less verbatim but entirely omits this section.

6. See Henrich's important essay "Three Approaches to Greek Mythography," in Jan Bremmer (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London 1987), at 268 n. 7.

7. Ἐπίτομος διήγησις εἰς τὰς καθ' Ὅμηρον πλάνας τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως: A. Westermann, *Mythographi Graeci* (1843), 329–44; Pfeiffer 1968, 195 n. 6; so too Lightfoot 1999, 225 n. 48.

8. H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* ii (Munich 1978), 61; A. Pignani, *Matteo di Efeso: Racconto di una festa popolare* (Naples 1984); briefly, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* ii (1991), 811–12. On Matthew's autographs, see D. Reinsch, in D. Harlfinger (ed.), *Griechischer Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung* (Darmstadt 1980), at pp. 636–9. Unlike earlier διηγήσεις, it is also an allegorical interpretation of Odysseus's wanderings.

9. Διήγησις περὶ οἰκοδομῆς . . . Ἁγίας Σοφίας, T. Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum* (Leipzig 1901), 74–108.

the part where the speaker lays out the issues in a narrative before getting down to the business of persuasion.[10] This has nothing to do with abridging or epitomizing, but the implied need for a straightforward, unadorned account of the facts may be relevant. An interesting recent study by Claudia Rapp has drawn attention to the fact that early Greek hagiographers regularly use διηγεῖσθαι and διήγησις of writing the lives of saints. In this context, she plausibly argues, the terms imply "brevity of content, simplicity of style, and attention to detail," as opposed to the rhetorical pretensions of a more formal, classicizing narrative.[11]

Apart from the Callimachean summaries, plural διηγήσεις as a title seems to be attested only three times: for the Augustan mythographer Conon, and for two works mistakenly ascribed to Plutarch. Conon's book consists of 50 miscellaneous mythical stories.[12] They are certainly brief, but then we only know them through the summary made by the patriarch Photius for his *Bibliotheca*.[13] A second-century papyrus has recently provided a slightly fuller but still fairly summary version of part of two of these stories.[14] And Photius's remark at the end of the third story, "why should I be virtually transcribing these tales? I ought to be much briefer," implies that his summaries (in this case 30 lines) are not much shorter than the original.[15] In their original form they were no doubt on much the same scale as the stories of Parthenius and Antoninus Liberalis. According to Henrichs, "Conon unfortunately never quotes the books which he consulted."[16] For Brown too his "greatest shortcoming as a mythographer . . . is his remissness in naming his sources."[17] If so, this would mark him off from Ps-Apollodorus, Parthenius, Antoninus Liberalis, Ps-Plutarch, MH—and the Callimachean διηγήσεις. But according to Photius, Conon's book contained 50 stories "from many ancient <writers>" (ἐκ πολλῶν ἀρχαίων), which surely implies that he *did* cite sources (which Photius would naturally have omitted from his summaries).[18] This assumption is further supported by the fact that most of his stories are, at least in the

10. See the full discussion in H. Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, transl. M. T. Bliss, A. Jansen, and D. E. Orton, ed. D. E. Orton and R. D. Anderson (Leiden 1998), §§ 289–347.

11. Claudia Rapp, "Storytelling as Spiritual Communication in Early Greek Hagiography: The Use of Diegesis," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6 (1998), 431–48 at 441. The importance of brevity is underlined by the (probably second-century) Theon, *Progymn*. 83.15: ἔσται καὶ σύντομος ἡ διήγησις ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς λέξεως . . . (ed. M. Patillon and G. Bolognesi, Paris 1997), 45.

12. M. K. Brown, *The Narratives of Konon* (Munich 2002).

13. *Bibl*. Cod. 186 p. 130b. 25: Jacoby, *FGrH* 26.

14. §§ 46 and 47: M. A. Harder, P. Oxy. 3648, in *P. Oxy* 52 (1984), 5–12; Lightfoot 1999, 227–9, 246–7; Brown 2002, 317–20.

15. οὕτω μὲν ἡ τρίτη διήγησις· ἀλλὰ τί μικροῦ μεταγράφειν ταύτας δέον πολλῷ κεφαλαιωδέστερον ἐπελθεῖν; Brown 2002, 67.

16. Henrichs 1987, 246.

17. Brown 2002, 31. Apart from citing the parallel of the Callimachean *Diegeseis*, Brown's section on the title (pp. 6–8) is unhelpful.

18. Just as he omitted most (though by no means all) of Ptolemy the Quail's source citations (Ch. VI. 3). The Epitome of Athenaeus omits most of the sources cited in the Marcianus and all the titles in the sources it does cite.

form he gives, otherwise unknown, surely come by as the result of a certain amount of research. Why else would Photius be prompted to mention Conon's sources, let alone specify that they were *ancient* sources?[19]

As for the Ps-Plutarchan works, first we have the διηγήσεις (traditionally Latinized as *Amatoriae narrationes*), a collection of five separate, brief love stories (barely 10 pages in all), set in classical times but entirely fictitious and so naturally not provided with source references.[20] The other work, the so-called *Parallela minora*, entitled Συναγωγὴ ἱστοριῶν (or Περὶ) παραλλήλων Ῥωμαϊκῶν καὶ Ἑλληνικῶν in surviving manuscripts, is listed in the Lamprias catalogue, generally supposed late antique,[21] as Διηγήσεις παράλληλοι, Ἑλληνικαὶ καὶ Ῥωμαϊκαί. Stobaeus cites an extract ἐκ τῶν Πλουτάρχου διηγήσεων (3.7.63). Whichever was the author's own title, it is instructive to find διηγήσεις and συναγωγὴ ἱστοριῶν treated as synonyms: "collection of stories." The book consists of 40 separate pairs of stories (Greek and Roman), all brief, all equipped with source references.

Paul Maas thought he had found another example in the διηγήματα (a sequence of brief, mainly mythological narratives) ascribed to Libanius, no doubt influenced by the fact that Westermann had included them in what remains the only comprehensive collection of Greek mythographers (1843) under the Latin title *Narrationes*.[22] Maas evidently took it for granted that διήγημα and διήγησις were interchangeable. But the rhetoricians distinguish the two terms sharply. According to Hermogenes, "διήγημα differs from διήγησις as ποίημα from ποίησις; for a ποίημα and a διήγημα concern a single action (πρᾶγμα), while ποίησις and διήγησις include many actions." The history of Herodotus (he continues) is a διήγησις, his account of the story of Arion a διήγημα.[23] Photius defines Conon's διηγήσεις as consisting of 50 διηγήματα. For the rhetoricians διήγημα is simply one category in the standard sequence of rhetorical exercises known as προγυμνάσματα: first myths (μῦθοι), second διηγήματα, third anecdotes (χρεῖαι), then gnomes, refutations, confirmations, commonplaces, and so on. A great many late antique and Byzantine rhetoricians published collections of

19. Egan 1971 (unpublished), 16–20, suggests that the book was a summary of stories in one particular earlier work, a possibility worth canvassing in view of the examples collected above, though I do not find his own tentative identification of this work as Theopompus's *Philippica* attractive. Photius's ἐκ πολλῶν ἀρχαίων most naturally implies a plurality of sources.

20. G. Giangrande, *Plutarco: Narrazione d'Amore* (Naples 1991), arguing (improbably) that they are authentic works of Plutarch.

21. F. H. Sandbach, in vol. 15 of the Loeb Plutarch (1969), 3–7, with no. 128.

22. A. Westermann, ΜΥΘΟΓΡΑΦΟΙ: *Scriptores Poeticae Historiae Graeci* (Brunswig 1843), 359–89. P. Maas, Exkurs I to Vogliano's edition of the *Diegeseis* (P. Mil. Vogl. I [1937], 155): R. Förster, *Libanius* viii (1915), 38–58.

23. Hermogenes, Προγ. 2, p. 4. 9–15 Rabe; G. A. Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian emperors* (Princeton 1983), 61; Hunger 1978, ii.96–98; briefly, Lausberg 1998, §§ 289 n. 1 (p. 137) and 1112. There is a very confused discussion in van Rossum–Steenbeek 1998, 74, citing Schol. Theocr. 14 as a "comparable text": ἐν τούτῳ τῷ εἰδυλλίῳ διήγησίς ἐστι καταστάσεως ἐρωτικῆς. But this clearly means no more than account of an erotic state, in no sense a title or technical term.

their progymnasmata, always in the same sequence, with a section of διηγήματα between μῦθοι and χρεῖαι.[24]

In a valuable article on the medieval influence of the Ovidian *Narrationes*, Ralph Hexter independently compared them to Libanius's διηγήματα, arguing that they "are clearly in the tradition of a particular form of elementary exercise employed in the . . . grammarian's schools, *fabula* or *narratio* in Latin, *diegema* in Greek."[25] Arguing from a very different standpoint, Alexandru Cizek has recently linked Hyginus's *Fabulae* and the Vatican Mythographers to the rhetorical *narratio*.[26] Hexter was certainly right to detect in Libanius's διηγήματα "just that sort of genealogical and geographical information that Otis confidently identified as scholiastic material intrusive in the purely summarizing *argumenta*" of the Ovidian *Narrationes*. We may also concede that the brief chapters on individual myths in Hyginus and Narrator do *look* like Libanius's brief mythical narratives, and Foerster's apparatus quite properly cites a number of parallels from Hyginus, Narrator, and other mythographers.

Given these resemblances, Libanius's διηγήματα arguably merit a place among the mythographers, if only because the many manuscripts that carry them helped to keep much arcane mythological lore in general circulation.[27] Yet for all their similarities of subject matter, the goals of rhetoricians and mythographers were very different. Libanius's διηγήματα are rhetorical exercises, model specimens of narrative that are supposed to exemplify (to quote Hermogenes again) clarity, brevity, plausibility, and purity of diction. Most of Libanius's do happen to be on mythical themes, though Hermogenes lists a wide range of other possible subjects.[28] But the goal of the mythographers was simply to tell the stories they chose, preferably with source references—the latter a feature naturally excluded from the work of the rhetoricians. They are usually brief but seldom clear and simple.

While rhetoricians might occasionally display their virtuosity on mythological subjects, mythographers were never rhetoricians. Narrator's style in particular is often clumsy and his diction banal and repetitious. The accumulation of subordinate clauses makes the chapter on the nymph Cyane quoted in full above (p. 12) hard to decipher at first reading. Parthenius explicitly renounces stylistic pretensions, calling his *Sufferings in Love* a "little notebook" (ὑπομνημάτιον).[29] Such

24. For a translation of some of the main texts with useful notes, see G. A. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Atlanta 2003). For a later example not included by Kennedy that is available in a modern edition, see Adriana Pignani, *Niceforo Basilace: progimnasmi e monodie* (Naples 1983), 20–2 with 79–100 for the text of his προγυμνάσματα.

25. *Mediaevalia* 13 (1987), 66–7.

26. A. N. Cizek, *Imitatio et Tractatio: Die literarisch-rhetorischen Grundlagen der Nachahmung in Antike und Mittelalter* (Tübingen 1994), 274–5.

27. See the lists on manuscripts in R. Foerster's prefaces to the various parts of the corpus of προγυ μνάσματα in *Libanius* viii (1915) passim.

28. For details, Hunger i (1978), 96–8.

29. See Lightfoot 1999, 263–97, for a careful analysis of Parthenius's style.

parallels as there are between Libanius and Narrator are adequately explained by their ultimate dependence on a common mythographic tradition. Ultimate, because the direct sources of the rhetoricians tend to be earlier rhetoricians rather than mythographers.[30]

Διηγήματα is not really a book title but a rhetorical category,[31] and has no bearing on titles like the Ps-Plutarchan Ἐρωτικαὶ διηγήσεις and Διηγήσεις παράλληλοι, works with few rhetorical or stylistic pretensions.[32] The explanation of plural διηγήσεις as a title may simply be that well-documented phenomenon, abstract nouns used in a concrete sense in the plural:[33] singular "narrative," plural "stories," "tales."[34] As a title, it naturally implies a collection of stories, and all works so titled do in fact consist of a number of separate stories.[35] Individual components in a collection of stories are naturally likely to be relatively brief, but the Ps-Plutarchan διηγήσεις (for example) are probably original compositions (however derivative), not abridgments or synopses of originally longer stories. There seems no reason why such a title should in itself imply synopses or summaries, still less why it should be applied to summaries of poems *as summaries*.

The dominant characteristic of the Ἐρωτικαὶ διηγήσεις is their extreme brevity. An immense amount of detail is breathlessly crammed into a couple of pages, nothing but the bare bones of a narrative. This is διήγησις in the sense identified by Rapp—straightforward, unadorned narrative. The answer (I suggest) is that the Callimachean διηγήσεις were so called because they were viewed less as summaries of Callimachus's poems than as brief mythological stories in their own right—"Callimachean stories," "Tales from Callimachus," like the tragic

30. See J. Jacobs, *De progymnasticorum studiis mythographicis* (Marburg 1899).

31. The heading διηγήματα for a schoolchild's copy of a Euripides hypothesis (R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* [Atlanta 1996], no. 301; van Rossum–Steenbeek 1998, 19) presumably bears the general meaning "exercise."

32. F. C. Babbitt writes of the "atrocious style" of the latter (Loeb Plutarch, v.253).

33. Kühner-Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* i3 (Hannover 1898), 15–9 (§ 348). Familiar examples are εὔνοιαι and χάριτες, both used in the plural for gifts, that is to say concrete expressions of goodwill or gratitude.

34. Though badly treated in lexica (missing from LSJ and Lampe), the meaning "stories" in the plural is amply attested in later texts. Here are a few examples found through TLG: διηγήσεις ἄλυποι καὶ μυθολογίαι ("inoffensive stories and fables"), Plut. *Mor.* 133 E; οὔτ' Αἰγυπτίων μύθους οὔτε ἀμαρτύρους Ἰνδῶν . . . ἢ Λιβύων διηγήσεις ("no Egyptian fables or undocumented stories of Indians or Libyans"), ib. 975 D; Athen. 602 F. It is common in Eusebius: τὰς μυθικὰς περὶ θεῶν διηγήσεις ("mythical stories about the gods"), *Praep. Ev.* 10.1.3; αἱ περὶ Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν διηγήσεις ("stories of the pagan gods"), ib. 13. pin. 4; cf. 13.4.1; 15.1.2; 15.22.68.

35. The original title of Lucian's book generally known as *True History* or *Vera Historia* is Ἀληθῆ διηγήματα. Why he chose διηγήματα rather than (e.g.) ἱστορία we cannot know, but it is worth pointing out that διηγήσεις as here defined would *not* have been appropriate, since the *True History* is a continuous narrative, not a collection of separate stories. A second-century papyrus entitles Chariton's novel διηγήματα περὶ Καλλιρόην (P3 in Goold's Loeb), where again διηγήματα (I suggest) implies successive items in a larger story (like Hermogenes's example of the story of Arion in Herodotus); διηγήσεις would have implied *separate* stories, again inappropriate in this case.

hypotheseis modern scholars have christened "Tales from Euripides."[36] In the same way the Ovidian *Narrationes* were seen as "Tales from Ovid" as much as summaries of Ovid's poem.

As far as Callimachus is concerned, the best illustration is the summary of the *Hecale*, at 1,000 lines or more[37] much the longest and most complex single piece of Callimachean narrative to be summarized in the surviving διηγήσεις:[38]

> After escaping the treacherous plot of Medea, Theseus was carefully guarded by his father Aegeus, to whom the lad had unexpectedly been restored from Troizen. Wishing to set out and overcome the bull that was ravaging the country around Marathon, and being detained, he secretly left his house in the evening. As an unexpected rainstorm broke out, he noticed a small farm at the foot of a mountain belonging to an old woman called Hecale, where he was entertained as a guest. He rose at early dawn, set out for the countryside, overcame the bull, and returned to Hecale. Unexpectedly he found her dead, and, sighing for expectations that were dashed, he did what he had promised he would do after her death to repay her hospitality. He established a deme which he named after her, and set up a sanctuary to Zeus Hecaleios.

The style is simple and repetitious (αἰφνίδιον for "unexpectedly" three times in less than a page). The summary is fairly skilful, but, as Hollis rightly remarks, it gives no more than "the bare outline of the story." For example,[39]

> the centre-piece of the *Hecale*, much admired by later generations, was the entertainment of Theseus in Hecale's cottage . . . during which she told her life-story in a speech of hardly less than 100 lines, and perhaps appreciably more. . . . The Diegetes passes over this whole episode in two words. . . . He is also not interested in digressions from the main theme, and so omits entirely the substantial interlude in which an old crow speaks for about 90 lines.

Not only does Diegetes omit major episodes; in all probability he restored to their correct chronological point in the narrative details the poet himself revealed in flashbacks and digressions later in the poem.[40] We have already seen how Narra-

36. A working title for the Euripidean hypotheseis that goes back to Zuntz 1955, 135; see too M. W. Haslam, *GRBS* 16 (1975), 150–56, and Rusten 1982. For reasons just given, we must reject the suggestion of Pfeiffer 1968, 195, that the original title of the Euripidean collection was διήγησις (singular). Unfortunately no papyrus has so far provided an ancient title (ὑποθέσεις or μῦθοι are obvious possibilities).

37. For the various estimates and arguments, A. S. Hollis, *Callimachus Hecale* (Oxford 1990), 337–40.

38. Trypanis's Loeb translation, somewhat adapted with the aid of Hollis's commentary.

39. Hollis 1990, 135.

40. According to Hollis 1990, "The *Diegesis* makes plain that Medea's plot against Theseus occurred immediately after the latter's arrival at Athens" (139). Perhaps so, but I suspect that this is just the sort of detail where we cannot rely on the Diegetes's sequence of events.

tor rearranges Ovid's account of the Cyane story. Compare too his summary of the Daphne and Apollo story (*Narr.* 1.9):

> Since Daphne, daughter of the river Peneus, was the most beautiful of all the maids in Thessaly, to the extent that she captivated even the gods with her loveliness, when Apollo caught sight of her he turned pale at her beauty. Since he could not get close to her with promises and entreaties, he tried to rape her. Wishing to get out of his sight by running, she called upon her father to rescue the virginity he had granted her. Hearing her prayers, with the aid of the gods he turned his daughter into a laurel tree to escape being raped.

Narrator restricts his summary to the bare bones of the story. As so often, Ovid himself began obliquely, with Apollo belittling Cupid's toy bow, and it is to get his own back on Apollo that Cupid transfixes him with one of his arrows. Narrator completely omits both this and the wonderful speech Ovid gives Apollo as he chases the reluctant Daphne (among other things promising to slow down if she slows down and regretting that she does not pay appropriate attention to her hair). This is the literary high point of the episode, but since it does not advance the basic narrative, Narrator omits it, just as Diegetes omits the speeches of Hecale and the crow in Callimachus.

As a summary of one of Ovid's most brilliant and characteristic episodes, *Narr.* 1.9 is both inadequate and inaccurate. Omissions aside, there is nothing in Ovid about Apollo "turning pale at her beauty" or Peneus being "aided by the gods." Daphne simply calls on Peneus, and the metamorphosis immediately follows. More interesting, there is nothing in Daphne's speech about Peneus granting her virginity. But this time the explanation is not carelessness. Narrator has transferred this detail from her earlier speech to Peneus before she met Apollo ("*da mihi perpetua, genitor carissime," dixit, / "virginitate frui," Met.* i.486–7), carefully indicating that it belongs earlier in the story with a pluperfect (*permiserat*). More generally, both this and the Cyane summary, like the Hecale summary, are characterized by sentences full of temporal and causal clauses and participles, insistently underlining the sequence of events. This care taken to extract a narrative outline at the expense of all other aspects of the stories is (I suggest) reflected in the titles Διηγήσεις and *Narrationes*. In fact "Narrative Outlines" would better bring out the link between the original stories of Ps-Plutarch on the one hand and the Callimachean διηγήσεις and *Narrationes* on the other.[41]

The modern reader naturally tends to feel that such summaries omit precisely those details that makes Ovid and Callimachus worth reading. It is easy to mock their failure to bring out the poetry in their poets. But their purpose was to tell the stories rather than describe their literary form and presentation. The charac-

41. For all we know, Conon's διηγήσεις might be summaries, whether of poems or accounts in local historians.

terization of Apollo and the speeches were simply irrelevant to this purpose. Inevitably, witty and ironic poets like Callimachus and Ovid suffer most from such an approach. It is important to bear this in mind when using such summaries to reconstruct lost texts.

2

In its original form the *Narrationes* must have been an independent work circulating on its own, like the Callimachean *Diegeseis*. But it was intended to be a companion to the *Metamorphoses*, and at some point it began to be copied into the same manuscripts as the poem. In the ordinary way it might seem natural to assume that this did not happen until the codex with its wider margins came into general use for literary texts, perhaps not until late antiquity.[42]

Exactly how were the *Narrationes* combined with the *Metamorphoses*? While many manuscripts include them in the margins like regular scholia, some of the earliest insert them into the text in blocks, preceding the portions of Ovid they summarize.[43] Fig. 1 illustrates one of a handful of leaves from a tenth-century manuscript in the British Library that carries *Met*. v.284–310, with *Narr*. 5.4 copied into the text between lines 293 and 294 (where the Cyane story begins) under the heading *iiii: Ciane in fontem*. The summary is clearly marked off from the Ovidian text by being slightly indented on the left and continued a little further on the right.

Here it is relevant to compare the scholia to Germanicus's *Aratea*. All manuscripts that carry these scholia insert them into the text in the same way, each chapter following the section of the poem dealing with the constellation in question.[44] We have already seen that, like the *Narrationes*, they are not really scholia at all but a self-contained mythographic companion to Germanicus's translation of Aratus, appropriately enough an adaptation of the Ps-Eratosthenic companion to Aratus. Regular scholia consist of notes on a variety of subjects, philological, historical, and mythological, some specialized, some elementary, not uniformly helpful to the general reader who simply wants to read (rather than study) a poem. Both *Narrationes* and the Germanicus scholia provide useful brief introductions in continuous prose to successive sections of the poems that are their respective subjects. It made sense to break them up into blocks and insert them into the body of the text. We are all of us familiar with modern editions of classics with similar introductory headings and summaries set between successive sections of the text. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in particular has always lent itself to this sort of format, with separate headings for successive episodes.

42. See Ch. VII for more discussion of marginal scholia.

43. For example: Par. lat. 12246 (s. IX^2); Brit. Mus. Add. 11967 (s. X); Haun. Bibl. Reg. Ny kgl. S. 56 (s. XII^2) (all three fragments); Marc. Flor. 225 (s. XI^2); Vat. Urb. 341 (s. XI^2). Information from the preface to W. S. Anderson's edition (Teubner 1977) and R. J. Tarrant in L. D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission* (Oxford 1983), 277–79.

44. Martin 1956, 38–9; A. Dell'Era, *Gli scholia Basileensia a Germanico* (Rome 1979), 301.

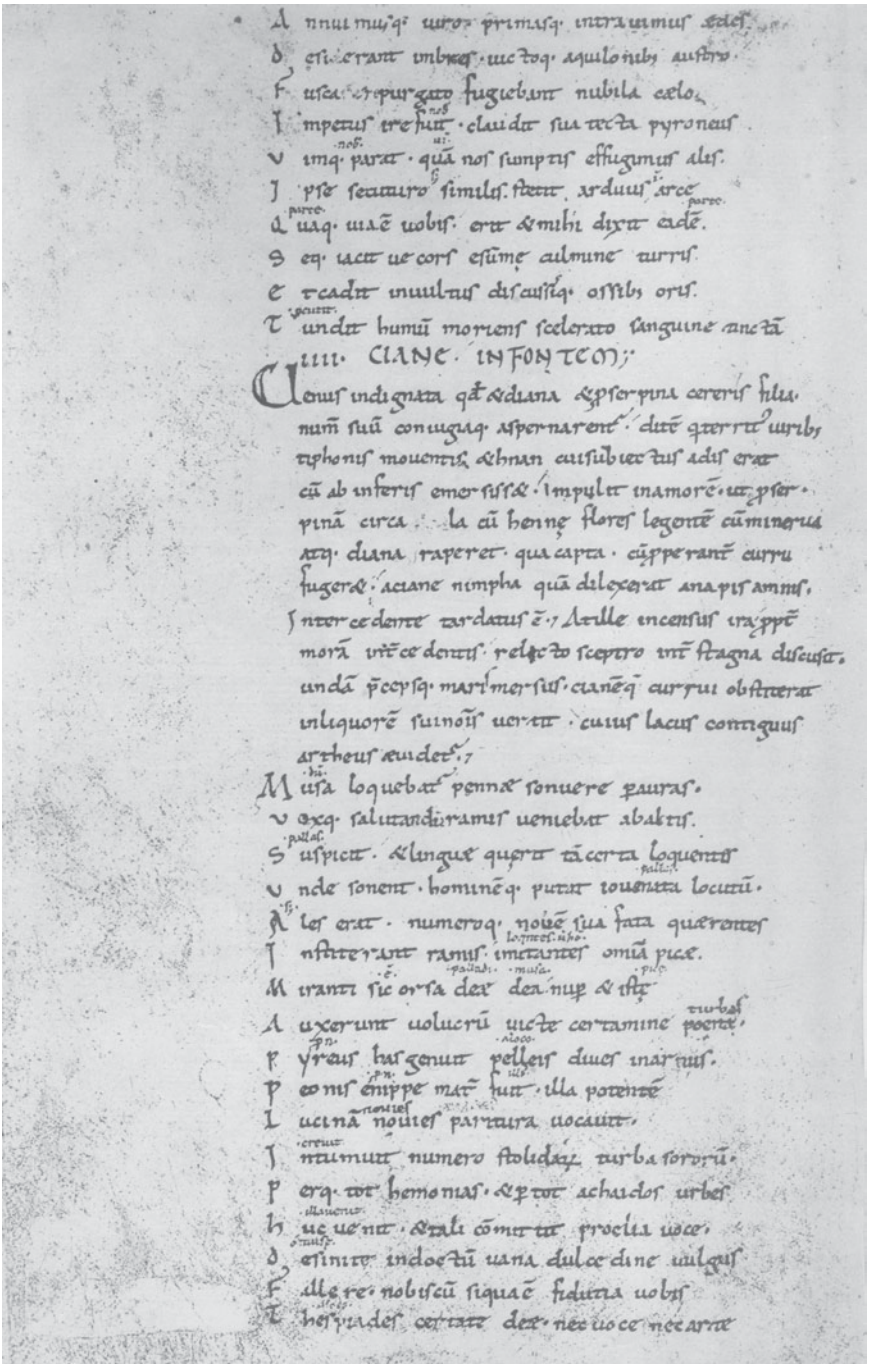

FIGURE 1 *Narrationes* v. 4, copied between *Met*. v. 293 and 294 under the heading *iiii: Ciane in fontem* (Lond. Brit. Mus. Add. 11967 of saec. X, f. 20ᵛ); scanned from E. Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques latins* (Paris 1884–1900), pl. 95, with permission from the British Library.

How far back does this format go? There are a few indisputable examples from the ancient world. First, the seventh-century Callimachus codex P. Oxy. 2258. The surviving leaves of this book are full of marginal scholia, but the summary of the *Hecale* immediately precedes the poem itself in the text (in the *Diegeseis* it had been included with the summaries of all Callimachus's other poems in a separate book). In medieval manuscripts tragic hypotheseis (where present) regularly precede their respective tragedies. There is no demonstrable example of a Euripidean hypothesis on papyrus preceding the tragedy it summarizes, but we do have two or three examples of hypotheseis to lost plays of Aeschylus added by the original scribe in the margin to a copy of the plays on a second- or third-century roll.[45]

There are also two cases of Menandrean hypotheseis preceding the text of the plays in questions: in the third-century Bodmer codex of the *Dyskolos* (together with a learned didaskalia notice) and in the fifth-century Cairo codex of the *Heros*.[46]

There is one clear Latin parallel, one sadly tattered page from a luxury fourth-century copy of Vergil's *Georgics* found in Antinoopolis.[47] Between the *incipit* of book 3 and the first line of the text stand 14 lines of what the editor calls an *argumentum*, a hypothesis. The text is so fragmentary that no connected sense can be made out except for the phrase *pecoris fructu* at line 11 of the *argumentum*, which suggests that it only covers the first main division of the book, on breeding stock (*Geo*. 3.1–94). If so, there was presumably a series of further *argumenta* to successive divisions of the book.

There is also a much earlier example, taking the format back to the age of the roll: the Lille Callimachus papyrus, of the late third century BC. Interspersed (indented three letters) at apparently irregular intervals in the text of book 3 of the *Aetia*, and in the same hand as the text of the poem, are brief passages of what editors describe as commentary—while conceding that there is no real parallel for such a format. This commentary, wrote Turner and Parsons, "is of the most jejune kind, and rarely goes beyond paraphrase."[48] In fact nothing suggests that it was intended to be what we would call a commentary at all rather than simply a paraphrase. On *SH* 254. 2, where Berenice is described as "sacred blood of the sibling gods" (κασιγνήτων ἱερὸν αἷμα θεῶν), the "commentary" identifies the sibling gods as Ptolemy and Arsinoë and then adds that "in reality she was the daughter of Magas the uncle of Euergetes" (ἦν δὲ ἐπ'] ἀληθείας θυγάτηρ Μ[άγα τοῦ θείου τοῦ Ε]ὐεργέτου). But this goes no further than the sort of explanatory identification we have already seen to be a feature of the *Diegeseis*. Moreover, the

45. P. Oxy. 2256 F 1–5; E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*[2] rev. P. J. Parsons (London 1987), 56 no. 25; van Rossum–Steenbeek 1998, 35–6, 233–5, nos. 20–1.

46. E. W. Handley, *The Dyskolos of Menander* (London 1965), 121–2; van Rossum–Steenbeek 1998, 243–5, nos. 27–8.

47. P. Ant. i. 29; C. H. Roberts, *The Antinoopolis Papyri* i (London 1950), 75–7.

48. Turner, 1987, 126 no. 75; Parsons, "Victoria Berenices," *ZPE* 25 (1977), 4; revised text in Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, *SH* 254–69.

fact that we find essentially the same note almost a millenium later in the codex P. Oxy. 2258 suggests that it is more than a casual remark by an owner/copyist in his own manuscript. Against a reference to Berenice's "mother Arsinoë" in the *Lock of Berenice* stands the note: "he spoke out of respect, since she was <actually> the daughter of Apama and Magas" (κατὰ τιμὴν εἶπεν, ἐπεὶ θυγάτηρ Ἀπάμας καὶ Μάγα).[49] It should be added that both this and the many other marginalia in P. Oxy. 2258 are also in the same hand as the text scribe. Despite the fact that the Lille papyrus is written in what Turner characterizes as "the most beautiful example of a Ptolemaic book-hand that I know," Parsons doubted "whether this elementary production really had a substantive history in the book-trade."

The only parallel Parsons himself cited ("a remote descendent of the type") is two columns from a first-century BC Homer with (indented) interlinear paraphrase in simpler Greek (καί for ἠδέ, θαλάσσης for ἁλός, and the like).[50] But this, like a number of other Homer paraphrases, often accompanied by glossaries, is a much more elementary production, designed to help a schoolboy unfamiliar with even the elements of poetic diction through the most basic of all Greek classics.[51] Explanatory paraphrase of a difficult poet like Callimachus is very different from verbal paraphrase of Homer. There are in fact a couple of parallels of a sort for other difficult poets.

P. Oxy. 2221, of the mid first century, was classified by Lobel as a commentary on Nicander's *Theriaca*.[52] Lobel refers several times in his publication of the papyrus to the "lemmata" quoted in the commentary. But the term *lemma* normally applies to no more than the quotation of the actual word or words in the text being explained. In this case the whole of *Theriaca* 377–95 appears in the two surviving columns, in blocks of six, one, five, four, and three lines. The text of Nicander is not set off from the commentary, or even divided up according to metrical lines, but anyone capable of identifying a hexameter could easily distinguish text from commentary. As for the "commentary," while it quotes Hesiod, Sophocles, Callimachus, and Nicander himself, most of it (as Lobel remarks) is simply paraphrase.[53] Rather similar is another Oxyrhynchus papyrus (4426) recently published under the heading "Commentary on Aratus."[54] The fragment is barely 15 lines, but it includes four lines of Aratus (452–5) quoted in full, and as

49. F 110. 45 Pf.; *Ox. Pap.* XX (1952), p. 84.

50. PSI 1276, with Bartoletti's useful introduction in M. Norsa and V. Bartoletti, *Papiri greci e latini* xii (Florence 1951), 114–9.

51. Van Rossum–Steenbeek 1998, 53–74; Cribiore 1996, 51–2.

52. E. Lobel, *Ox. Pap.* xix (London 1948), 57–60. There are no links between the papyrus and the medieval scholia; Annunciata Crugnola, *Scholia in Nicandri Theriaca* (Milan 1971) cites it without comment in her note on 377.

53. A. Carlini cited the Aratus papyrus as a parallel to the Lille Callimachus (*Maia* 32 (1980), 235), though without making the point that both provide paraphrase rather than commentary. Carlini also cites the Oyster papyrus (Parsons, *ZPE* 24 [1977], 1–12), but although commentary directly follows text, the text is a six-line epigram, and what follows a genuinely learned commentary.

54. R. Dilcher and P. J. Parsons, *Ox. Pap.* LXIV (1997), 111–4.

far as it goes the "commentary" is again simply paraphrase. Both papyri could in fact be classified as texts of Nicander and Aratus respectively, interspersed with blocks of paraphrase and (in the case of Nicander) occasional quotations. Yet another example is a Vienna fragment of Epicharmus, a single column from a first-century BC papyrus in which 10 lines of trochaic tetrameters are preceded by seven lines of paraphrase.[55]

There is at least one example of this format in a medieval manuscript, the earliest witness to the *Alexandra* of Lycophron: Coislianus graecus 345, of the tenth century. Just as in the Nicander and Aratus papyri, the text is broken up into short phrases (usually two per line) and glossed with paraphrase. Here are the first two lines of the poem as given in a modern edition:[56]

> λέξω τὰ πάντα νητρεκῶς, ἅ μ' ἱστορεῖς,
> ἀρχῆς ἀπ' ἄκρας· ἢν δὲ μηκυνθῇ λόγος . . .

> I will tell everything that you ask me truthfully,
> right from the beginning, and if the tale is prolonged . . .

Here is the text as we have it in the Coislianus, with metre and lineation broken up by the paraphrase just as in the Nicander and Aratus papyri:[57]

> λέξω τὰ πάντα· φράσω τὰ πάντα. νητρεκῶς· ἀληθῶς. καὶ γὰρ ἐπιτατικῶς νοοῦμεν τὸ η̄, ὡς τὸ νήχυτος καὶ νήδυμος. ἅ μ' ἱστορεῖς· ἅ με πυνθάνῃ καὶ ἐρωτᾷς. ἢν δὲ μηκυνθῇ λόγος, ἐὰν δ' ἐκταθῇ τὸ ἔπος.

The date of the paraphrase is unknown, but could easily be ancient rather than Byzantine. It is hard to think of any ancient poem that stands in more desperate need of paraphrase than the obscure and allusive *Alexandra*, and in the light of the Nicander and Aratus papyri, it is natural to infer that both paraphrase and format go back to the ancient world.

The format of the Germanicus manuscripts may also be ancient. Lactantius cites the Germanicus scholia as if they too were written by Germanicus.[58] J. Martin explained this as simply a consequence of the fact that they are anonymous. But it is hardly as natural as he implies to ascribe an anonymous commentary on a poem to the poet.[59] Yet if that commentary was copied in blocks in the text of

55. See now (with bibliography) Colin Austin, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta in papyris reperta* (Berlin 1973), no. 83, pp. 55–6, or Epich. F 97.7f. Kassel-Austin. The interpretation of both text and scholia is highly problematic; see particularly W. B. Stanford, *CP* 45 (1950), 167–9.

56. This and another, later paraphrase are both published beneath the text of the poem in E. Scheer, *Lycophron: Alexandra* i (Berlin 1881), with pp. v–ix of his preface and his article in *Rhein. Mus.* 34 (1879), 272–91; more in the preface of Scheer's second volume (1908), containing Tzetzes's scholia.

57. The gloss on the first phrase in line 2 has fallen out. There are in fact many such omissions in the manuscript, obviously facilitated by the breakup of the meter and lineation by the paraphrase.

58. *Caesar quoque in Arato refert*, Lact. *Div. Inst.* i. 11; Martin 1956, 41.

59. There may in fact be the occasional example, from Lycophron to T. S. Eliot: Cameron 1995, 224–5.

the poem, then it might well seem natural to assume that text and commentary alike were the work of the writer named in the title of the work.

In the light of these parallels, manuscripts that divide the *Narrationes* up into blocks inserted at intervals in the text of Ovid's poem may well preserve the original format for the combination of the two works. It was only later that they were transferred to the margins, when this had become the standard format for scholiastic material of any sort. At the earliest stage, when *Narrationes* circulated on their own, each summary may well have been preceded by a lemma of a full line, like the tragic hypotheseis and the Callimachean *Diegeseis*. But as soon as they were combined with the *Metamorphoses* this ceased to be necessary.

Interestingly enough, some early printed editions reinstated the practice of inserting the *Narrationes* into the text of the poem. Bonus Accursius (Milan 1475 and often reprinted) explicitly justified so doing on the grounds of the utility of such succinct summaries.[60] Raphael Regius (Venice 1493 and often reprinted) rejected the practice, objecting that the insertions broke up a narrative that Ovid himself had skilfully tied together.[61] On literary grounds the objection is unanswerable. But inexperienced readers, bewildered by Ovid's often concealed shifts from story to story, no doubt appreciated the guidance.

3

To the best of my knowledge *Narrationes* is nowhere else found as a title in Latin, whether ancient or medieval,[62] and given the obvious similarities between the Callimachean *Diegeseis* and Ovidian *Narrationes*, it is hard to resist the conclusion that *Narrationes* is simply a translation of Greek διηγήσεις. The fact that plural διηγήσεις as a book title seems to have enjoyed only a limited currency (the Callimachean *Diegeseis* may be Hellenistic, Conon is Augustan, and Ps-Plutarch no later than the second century) is further evidence in favor of an early rather than late imperial date for the original version. In view of similarities between the *Narrationes* and the Germanicus scholia, it is obviously significant that (as we have seen) the latter at any rate cannot be later than ca 300.

60. "Verum cum diligentius quaererem quae prisci scriptores litteris mandaverunt, incidi in . . . Lactantium Placidum . . . cuius ego ingenium non potui equidem non mirari. Nam incredibili quadam brevitate fabulam quanque complectitur et interpretatur. Quae omnia ita in hoc opere inserui ut nimiam pulchritudinem prae se ferant"; quoted by Grundy Steiner, *TAPA* 82 (1951), 228 (I have modernized the punctuation).

61. "Quarundam ineptiarum interpositione ea . . . separare conatus sit quae . . . tam eleganter fuerant copulata," in his note on *Met*. i.4, quoted by Steiner, *TAPA* 89 (1958), 218; Wheeler 1999, 124.

62. Assuming that the indexes to the three massive volumes of M. Manitius's *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* are a reliable guide. It is an odd coincidence that early editors hit on *Narrationes amatoriae* as the Latin title for Parthenius's Ἐρωτικὰ παθήματα: see the list of editions in Lightfoot 1999, 306.

How much late antique or medieval interference have the *Narrationes* suffered? A certain amount of interpolation but not (I suspect) much abridgment, especially if they were copied early into a more protected location in the text rather than in margins of copies of the *Metamorphoses*. We do in fact have a control of sorts here. The Vatican mythographers draw scores of stories from the *Narrationes*, often verbatim. They omit a few details, but there is no indication that they were faced with a fuller text than us.[63] It would be nice to think that the original version cited learned references for every story, but this would have been a tall order even for a scholar working in the library of Alexandria. Modern scholars can hardly ever identify a specific source for any given story in the *Metamorphoses*.[64] Ovid's versions so often differ from other versions we have that we can never be sure whether the result is due to additional sources or his own imagination—not that such scruples would have stopped Narrator stating baldly of (say) the story of Erysichthon that *huius rei auctores sunt Hesiodus et Callimachus*.[65]

We have surely lost some citations, perhaps a substantial number. We saw in Ch. I. 3 that one late manuscript in London omits no fewer than six of the ten surviving citations, and the Vienna edition of 1513 yet another. A Vergil scholion that cites either Nicander or the *Metamorphoseis* of Theodorus as Ovid's source for the story of Ceyx and Alcyone (Ch. V. 2) may have come from an earlier version of the *Narrationes*. We have no complete text earlier than the eleventh century, and many recondite names unfamiliar to medieval readers may already have been dropped by then. It is surely significant that the source citations we have cluster at the beginning and end, that well-known phenomenon of declining energy briefly reviving when the end is in sight. For what it is—a series of summaries—the work is relatively long and detailed as it is. Source references aside, it is unlikely that individual summaries were ever substantially longer.

4

According to Eduard Fraenkel, in his famous review of the Harvard Servius, "the commentators of a Latin poet were indebted to their Hellenistic models not only for a great deal of subject matter but also for the method and form of argumentation."[66] He was able to illustrate his claim by an impressive and instructive series

63. Not counting cases where they preserve the odd word omitted in *Narr*. manuscripts: eg. *Latona, Coei filia* (*Narr*. 6.3) ~ *L. Coei Gigantis filia* (*Myth*. i.184 Kulcsár = 2.85 Zorzetti).

64. For the main modern suggestions and possibilities, see Brooks Otis's still valuable appendix, "On the Sources used by Ovid," in *Ovid as an Epic Poet*[2] (Cambridge 1970), 375–423.

65. On the differences between the Ovidian and Callimachean versions of the Erysichthon saga, K. J. McKay, *Erysichthon: A Callimachean Comedy* (Leiden 1962), 5–33; Galinsky, *Ovid's Metamorphoses* (1965), 5–14; Solodow, *World of Ovid's Metamorphoses* (1988), 159–62.

66. *JRS* 38 (1948), 131–43 and 39 (1949), 145–54 = *Kleine Beiträge* ii (1964), 339–94 (quotation at 154/388). Fraenkel's approach was developed by M. Mühmelt, *Griechische Grammatik in der Vergilerklärung* (Zetemata 37), Munich 1965, with S. Timpanaro, *Riv. di Fil*. 94 (1966), 336–41.

of examples in the scholia to *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid*. This is in part because Vergil had so systematically imitated a series of Greek poets who had themselves all been the objects of a long tradition of scholarly exegesis. Inevitably any conscientious commentator on Vergil was bound to consult the scholarly commentaries and monographs on Vergil's models, above all the rich tradition of Homeric exegesis. At the same time the hostile reaction that Vergil's works provoked in some quarters on their first appearance encouraged these commentators to treat Vergil as the Roman Homer in other ways too. The polemic that was so notable a feature of early Homeric scholarship was transferred to Vergilian scholarship. The widespread early criticism of Vergil as a plagiarist was heavily influenced by the extensive Hellenistic polemical literature on plagiarism.[67]

Much of the material Fraenkel cited goes back to the earliest stratum of Vergilian exegesis. Macrobius and the Servian corpus have preserved for us a mass of material originally assembled in the first and second centuries by bilingual scholars who still had a firsthand acquaintance with a living tradition of Hellenistic exegesis.[68] But we must not imagine that the Latin commentators of late antiquity still consulted commentaries on Theocritus, Lycophron, Nicander, and Aratus—or even Homer.[69] Fraenkel did not cite any examples of this Greek influence in the scholia to any other Roman poets, and I doubt whether much is to be found. Not even in the case of Horace, perhaps the most favorable example outside Vergil, given that many of his *Odes* reflect Greek models (the commentary attributed to Porphyrio goes back to a much earlier date than any other surviving set of Latin scholia, Servius included).[70]

But on my date and interpretation, both the *Narrationes* and the Germanicus scholia are perfect examples of Greek method and form applied to the exegesis of a Latin classic. Not (of course) the detailed philological scholarship Fraenkel was considering, but a not negligible aspect of study of the classics in the early empire. Not only because they follow Greek models otherwise unknown in Latin (the annotated epitome and the mythological companion), but above all because Ovid's *Metamorphoses* are such a well-chosen text for this sort of treatment.

It is no chance that the *Metamorphoses* were singled out rather than (say) the *Thebaid* or *Pharsalia*, works with a continuous narrative that do not lend themselves to occasional, piecemeal consultation like the *Metamorphoses*. We have seen that, for all their popularity, none of Ovid's poems seems to have become school

67. Discussed further below, Ch. x.2.

68. The fifth-century so-called Verona scholia are also a valuable witness to the early stages of the tradition: see now the new edition by Claudio Baschera, *Gli scolii veronesi a Virgilio* (Verona 1999).

69. Greek quotations in the *Scholia Veronensia* are often reduced to gibberish (Baschera 1999, 47).

70. For a brief characterization, R.G.M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace Odes I* (Oxford 1970), xlvii–xlix. For more detail, see now Silke Diederich, *Der Horazkommentar des Porphyrio* (Berlin 1999), passim.

texts by at any rate the fourth century, in part no doubt because of their mainly erotic subject matter, but partly too because his masterpiece, the *Metamorphoses*, is not difficult in the way post-Augustan classics like Lucan, Statius, and Juvenal are difficult. There was not the same need for philological exegesis. But it was very long (15 books), and because of the immense number (almost 200) of different but often rather similar stories, not easy to negotiate. While it is simple enough to find (say) the sack of Troy or Anchises's funeral games in the *Aeneid*, it cannot have been easy to locate Orpheus, Pygmalion, or Pyramus and Thisbe in the *Metamorphoses*, especially when it was still circulating in 15 separate rolls. The *Narrationes* are an inventory of the stories in Ovid's poem, however briefly told. The fact that each transformation is given its own title, with all the titles of each book collected together at its beginning as a table of contents,[71] greatly increases its utility, a quick way of locating a particular story in a long poem.

In the circumstances, a mythographic companion that doubled as an index was just what many readers needed. As we have already seen, we can actually identify two readers who used it for this very purpose. First the Germanicus scholiast, who searched the *Narrationes* rather than Ovid to locate his version of the Callisto story. Second, Vibius Sequester, who searched a very brief section of the *Metamorphoses* (15.273–358) for his dictionary of rivers, fountains, and lakes mentioned by the poets. As it happens, no passage of comparable length in the poem mentions more rivers, fountains, and lakes. Was this just a lucky guess, or did he know the poem intimately? Probably neither. He just skimmed the lists of titles in the *Narrationes*, as proved by the fact that his Ovidian entries derive from the *Narrationes* (Ch. I. 2 above).

The decision to equip the *Metamorphoses* with a mythographic companion was made by someone familiar with works like the Callimachean *Diegeseis*. Like his Greek predecessors, Narrator did his best to supply names and details not spelled out in the Ovidian text, and (where possible) to cite learned sources. In addition to summarizing the actual text of the poem, he regularly consulted mythographic works, among them almost certainly a fuller version of the text we know under the name of Hyginus. The Germanicus scholiast likewise tells the mythical stories that, following Aratus, Germanicus himself had omitted from his poem, citing most of the learned Greek sources he had found in Ps-Eratosthenes, and, like Narrator,[72] adding a modest amount of Latin erudition as well.

That even in antiquity the *Narrationes* might have been conceived as a work of mythography rather than scholarship is no new suggestion. K. Sittl said as much in 1890, but he went too far in dismissing their link to Ovid's poem as superfi-

71. Every story in Hyginus also has its own title—usually a single word (*Daedalus, Pasiphae*), in the final section somewhat longer (*Matres quae filios interfecerunt*)—and at the beginning all 277 titles are gathered together to make a table of contents, or index. Parthenius and Antoninus Liberalis are likewise equipped with elaborate tables of contents.

72. The quotation from ? Varro Atacinus at *Narr*. 2. 6 and Varro in 1. 1.

cial.[73] Such an attitude is sufficiently refuted by the exaggerated comprehensiveness of the summaries. For example, the Io story in book 1 is dissected under five separate headings: "Io . . . in vaccam; Argus . . . in pavonem; Mercurius in pastorem; Syringa nympha in fistulam; Io supradicta in Isidem." The stories of Argus and Syrinx are among Ovid's neatest inset transformations, but Mercury's disguise as a shepherd and the eventual identification of Io as Isis are not transformations at all. The latter indeed is based on Io and Isis both being represented with horns and so reflects Io's original transformation rather than a new one.

Book 15 is particularly striking in this respect. Most modern readers would analyze lines 60–478 as a single if discursive section on the teachings of Pythagoras. The second half of the passage illustrates with a long series of examples the theme that all is in flux: former rivers that are now dry land, islands that are now mountains, and so on. There is an obvious sense in which these illustrations do indeed fit Ovid's overall theme of metamorphosis,[74] but Ovid himself would surely have been astonished to find every one classified as a separate transformation, all 38 of them, each with a separate title sometimes almost as long as the account in Ovid's text. To give a single illustration, two lines of text (*Met*. 15.287–8) have a line and a half of summary (*Narr*. 15.11) announced by a long title (*Antissa, Pharos et Tyros insulae in scopulos mutatae*), which is actually repeated in the index to the book. As a consequence, book 15 is subdivided, absurdly enough, into no fewer than 51 separate transformations, filling eight pages of text and two more of index.

Among many other major features of the poem (notably its wit and sheer narrative brilliance), such an analysis completely ignores the clever transitions with which Ovid himself sought to tie his tales together.[75] But it was an analysis that appealed to medieval readers. It was Narrator's divisions that formed the basis of works like the *Allegoriae* of Arnulf of Orleans (ca 1180), treating the poem as a series of transformations, each with its own set of hidden meanings.[76] Arnulf begins each book by listing these transformations (*mutationes huius libri sunt hae* . . .), and then gives the deeper meanings, under three headings (*quasdam allegorice, quasdam moraliter, quasdam historice*).[77] Arnulf does not follow Narrator's divi-

73. "Die Narrationes sind keine enarrationes der einzelnen Metamorphosen, sondern eine Sammlung von Fabeln, die man der ovidischen Dichtung oberflächlich angepasst hat," *WS* 12 (1890), 58; see too some sensible brief remarks on the *Narrationes* by K. J. Knoespel, *Narcissus and the Invention of Personal History* (New York 1985), 25–9.

74. A point much debated by modern commentators: e. g. Douglas Little, *Hermes* 98 (1970), 340–60; Solodow 1988, 162–8; Myers 1994, 133–66; Fabre-Serris 1995, 341–52.

75. Ovid's transitions provoked comment in antiquity (Quintilian 4. 177–8); for useful discussion, Solodow 1988, 26–8, 41–6.

76. F. Ghisalberti, "Arnolfo d'Orleans: un cultore di Ovidio nel secolo XII," *Memorie del Reale Istituto Lombardo* 24 (1932), 157–234, with the subdivisions of the *Narrationes* conveniently listed at the beginning of each book for comparison.

77. Ralph Hexter, "Medieval articulations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: from Lactantian segmentation to Arnulfian Allegory," *Mediaevalia* 13 (1987), 63–82; see too his paper on Pierre Bersuire in *Allegorica* 10 (1989), 51–84.

sions slavishly. In the Io story, for example, he sensibly drops "Io supradicta in Isidem," and in book 15 omits entirely Narrator's extravagant breakdown of Pythagoras's speech, ending up with only 9 transformations where Narrator had 51. But there can be no doubt that the *Narrationes* facilitated his approach to the poem. It was this that led Leonard Barkan to see Narrator as the first of the medieval commentators on Ovid.[78] Yet the last thing Narrator himself was interested in was deeper meanings. His goal was purely mythographic: all that he added to straightforward précis of Ovid was "factual" details Ovid had omitted.

Narrator was undoubtedly a poor reader of poetic texts; his summaries often ignore or misrepresent subtle details in Ovid's narrative.[79] Nonetheless there can be no question that he knew the *Metamorphoses* very well indeed. But he read it as a mythographic text rather than a poem.

78. Barkan 1986, 114–5, 188–9. The "Vulgate" commentator, by contrast, is keenly interested in Ovid's structural technique, particularly verbal echoes between stories: Coulson, *Mediaevalia* 13 (1987), 36–41.

79. For many examples, see the section "Ungenauigkeiten des arg.-Verf. gegenüber Ovid" in Bretzigheimer 1937, 52–4.

5

Historiae and Source References

1: THE PROBLEM

It is time to take a closer look at what is at once one of the most characteristic and yet most puzzling features of Greek mythographical texts of the early empire: the learned citations. We have seen how regularly the mythographers and paradoxographers cite authorities—so regularly that Ps-Plutarch and Ptolemy the Quail invented them to give their fictions some color of authenticity. Even so drastically abbreviated a text as the Michigan dictionary of transformations offers a classical citation for every entry, however brief. Here is one by now familiar entry in full.[1]

> The Aethyiae, daughters of Haliacmon the son of Haliartus, seven in number, while lamenting Ino were transformed by Hera into [birds, which is why] they are called "crow-haters" by Aeschylus.

There must have been a reason Hera did this, whether as punishment for the sisters' arrogance or in consolation for some more terrible fate. There must also have been some specific reason why they hated crows.[2] But not a hint in our text. In this case at least it seems that the abridger kept the learned citation in preference to central details of the story itself. And we have already seen that there is no reason to regard Aeschylus as the source for the story as a whole, merely for the detail about "crow-haters." The Aeschylean passage in question was presumably an allusion that *presupposed* (rather than told) the story about the crows and shearwaters.

Since few if any of these books are what we would ordinarily regard as works of scholarship, this insistent documentation demands more consideration than it has so far received. In the case of the paradoxographers, the rationale is straightforward. A wonder is more believable if it is reported on the authority of a repu-

1. Renner 1978, 289–91.

2. Aelian's chapter on animals hostile to one another (*De anim.* iv. 5) reports that the stork and corncrake (πελαργὸς καὶ κρέξ) were enemies of the αἴθυια but says nothing about crows. Elsewhere he lists eight different sorts of birds hostile to crows (ix. 609–10; xv. 5) but shearwaters are not among them. Two quite different stories of humans turned into αἴθυιαι are given by Ovid (*Met.* xiii.717–8: Mounichos) and Anton. Liberalis (§ 14: Hyperippe).

table scholar (Aristotle, Theophrastus, Callimachus). Like the mythographers, successive paradoxographers cite the same sources, taken over unverified from their predecessors.[3] Without a famous name to vouch for it, a wonder might be deemed simply incredible. But no one judged the probability of mythological stories by the authorities that attested them. Heroic saga was normally treated straightforwardly as early history.[4] Details might be found incredible but not the basic stories. Thus rationalizers might disbelieve the Wooden Horse or a mortal judging a beauty contest between goddesses, but not the Trojan War as a whole.[5] Indeed the Trojan war was the key date in ancient chronology.[6] Tales involving monsters and transformations were judged by their intrinsic probability, not by the authorities that attested them.

2: *HISTORIAE*

In both Greek and Latin, the word *ἱστορία/historia* first means "inquiry" or "research," then the findings of that research, and finally its embodiment in a written narrative, "history" as we use the word today. Much less familiar, despite being solidly documented in a wide variety of texts, is a technical meaning of grammatical analysis. In the language of the grammarian a *historia* (ἱστορία) is a matter of fact or subject matter in a classical text, as opposed to a detail of language or a rhetorical trope.[7] When listing the different areas of research required by the grammaticus, Quintilian distinguishes between *historiae*, *verba*, and meter. Donald Russell's note on the passage defines *historiae* as covering "historical, geographical, mythological, or even scientific information."[8]

It comes in the third of the six parts of grammar as defined by the late second-century Dionysius Thrax: "giving a ready account (πρόχειρος ἀπόδοσις) of glosses (γλωσσῶν) and subject matter (ἱστοριῶν)." It bulks rather larger in the first-century Asclepiades of Myrlea, who distinguished three sorts of ἱστορία, true, false, and as if true. Asclepiades allowed three types of "true history": "one is about the persons of gods, heroes and famous men, another about places and times, and the third about actions."[9] By "true history" he did not mean (as we might define the terms today) history as opposed to myth, but indifferently figures and events of

3. See Fraser 1972, 771–2.

4. P. Veyne, *Did the Greeks believe in their myths?* (1983).

5. For more on ancient rationalizing interpretations of myth, see Ch. VII.

6. Duris dated it to 1334/3, Eratosthenes to 1184/3, and so on: for a full survey of ancient dates, F. Jacoby, *Das Marmor Parium* (Berlin 1904), 146–9.

7. W. G. Rutherford, *A Chapter in the History of Annotation* (= *Scholia Aristophanica* iii) London 1905, 381–8; F. H. Colson's note on Quintilian i.8.18 (p. 114).

8. Quint. i.4.4, in D. A. Russell's splendid new Loeb edition (2001) in five volumes, with many helpful notes.

9. Our information on Asclepiades's definitions comes from the polemical account in Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. gramm*. 252–68; both text and interpretation are uncertain at some points. See the invaluable new translation (on which I gratefully draw) with introduction and commentary by D. L. Blank, *Sextus Empiricus: Against the Grammarians* (*Adversus Mathematicos I*) (Oxford 1998).

history proper and any traditional story that did not violate the laws of nature or probability. Thus he dismisses as "false myths" Pegasus sprung from the head of the Gorgon when her throat was cut, the companions of Diomede turned into sea birds, and Hecuba changing into a dog. In this he was following rationalizing mythographers like Palaefatus,[10] whose object was not to discredit the stories of mythical saga but to make them more believable by purging them of improbabilities like monsters and transformations.

In the usage of scholiasts and grammarians, a ἱστορία was (1) any subject matter in a classical text that required elucidation, and then (2) the elucidation itself. Thus in Aristophanes many ἱστορίαι concerned events and figures of fifth-century Athenian history. On *Knights* 438, for example, the Triclinian scholia tell the ἱστορία of Potidaea; on 783, of the battle of Marathon; on 785, of Salamis. On Thucydides i.13.6, for the ἱστορία of Polycrates the scholia refer to book 3 of Herodotus. In a sustained attack on what he saw as the lack of scholarly standards in their elucidation, Sextus Empiricus instances as "history of place" (ἱστορία τοπική) and "history of time" (ἱστορία χρονική) Brilesos, a mountain of Attica, and the date of Xenophanes of Colophon.[11] The *Argonautica* of Apollonius called for a lot of geographical elucidation. But since the works most studied in the class of the grammarian were the classical poets (Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, and the tragedians), as time passed the term came increasingly to refer to mythological allusions, and (more generally) simply to mean "mythical story."

As we have seen, the two standard formulas in Mythographus Homericus are ἡ δ' ἱστορία παρὰ τῷ δεῖνα, or (using its verbal equivalent) ἱστορεῖ ὁ δεῖνα, "X is the authority for this story or version." Both formulas appear in the marginal source citations in Parthenius, but only the latter in the citations to Antoninus Liberalis (for the slightly different formulas preferred by Ps-Plutarch, see § 4). Since the appearance of the papyri we know that these are authentic formulas of early imperial scholarship. In the Callimachean *Diegeseis* we find formulas like "he got the story from Agias and Dercyllus" (τὴν δ' ἱστορίαν ἔλαβεν παρὰ Ἀγίου καὶ Δερκύλου).[12] A first-century BC papyrus of Apollodorus's *On Gods* cites a text διὰ [δὲ] τὸ ἰδίωμα τῆς ἱστορίας, apparently meaning "because of its idiosyncratic version."[13] After telling the story of the Palladion, Clement of Alexandria offers, evidently from a mythographic source, what he characterizes as τὸν ἱστοροῦντα, in the context "my authority for this story," which turns out to be book 5 of the *Historical Cycle* of the Hellenistic mythographer Dionysius of Samos, otherwise known to us only from Athenaeus and the scholia to Pindar and Euripides.[14]

10. Further discussed in the following chapter.

11. *Adv gramm.* i.257.

12. Both P. Oxy. 2263 and PSI 1219.

13. P. Col. inv. 5604 col. II. 43; L. Koenen and R. Merkelbach, in A. E. Hanson (ed.), *Collectanea papyrologica: Texts published in honor of H. C. Youtie* i (Bonn 1976), 9.

14. See the fragments collected under *FGrH* 15.

This specialized meaning is by no means confined to scholiastic texts.[15] Since it will prove relevant in a different way in a later chapter, I quote in full an elegant squib on a bad pantomime dancer by the Neronian epigrammatist Lucillius:[16]

πάντα καθ' ἱστορίην ὀρχούμενος, ἓν τὸ μέγιστον
τῶν ἔργων παριδὼν ἠνίασας μεγάλως.
Τὴν μὲν γὰρ Νιόβην ὀρχούμενος, ὡς λίθος ἔστης,
καὶ πάλιν ὢν Καπανεύς, ἐξαπίνης ἔπεσες·
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς Κανάκης ἀφυῶς, ὅτι καὶ ξίφος ἦν σοι
καὶ ζῶν ἐξῆλθες· τοῦτο παρ' ἱστορίην.

You danced everything *according to the myth*, but by overlooking one key detail you caused great offense. When dancing Niobe, you stood like a stone; again, when you were Capaneus, you suddenly fell over. But in the role of Canace you were not so skilful, for you had a sword and yet left the stage alive. This was *against the myth*.

The point (of course) is that the pantomime's two correspondences to the myth were won inadvertently by his incompetence. He was so wooden a performer that he carried conviction as Niobe turned to stone, and so clumsy that, like Capaneus (struck by a thunderbolt climbing the walls of Thebes), he tripped and fell over on stage. His one failure was to survive dancing Canace, who was supposed to kill herself.

Martial produced a neat imitation about a condemned man playing Orpheus in the amphitheatre, killed by the beasts he was supposed to be charming:[17] "this one detail was not according to the myth" (*haec tantum res est facta* παρ' ἱστορίαν). The grammarian Tyrannion is accused of an error παρὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν in the A-scholion to *Iliad* ii.585; and a scholion on *Odyssey* 4.1 uses the phrase of an alleged geographical inexactitude.[18] We find the formula in an extended sense in Cicero's correspondence. Cicero reproaches Atticus for saying that he was the last consular left alive in June 45: *illud* παρὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν. Surely nothing so specific as "you make a historical slip" (Shackleton Bailey); simply "that's a factual error" or "that doesn't square with the facts." Similarly when he says, again to Atticus, *unum* ἱστορικὸν *requiris de Cn. Flavio*, perhaps not "you raise a historical query" (Shackleton Bailey) but just "you raise a question of fact."[19]

15. Many examples cited s.v. ἱστορία *fabula*, in *EGM* i.458.

16. *Anth. Pal.* xi.254; O. Weinreich, *Studien zu Martial* (Stuttgart 1928), 40–5, and *Epigramm und Pantomimus* (Sitz. Heidelberg 1948), 87–90.

17. *Lib. Spect.* 6 (5), with Housman's brilliant emendation for the transmitted *ita pictoria* (*CR* 15 (1901), 154 = *Classical Papers* ii (1972), 536–7. Housman must have known though oddly enough did not cite the Lucillius parallel.

18. Note too παρ' ἱστορίαν in Schol. Aristophanes *Knights* 791.

19. *Att.* 13.10 [= SB 318]. 1; vi.1 [115 SB]. 8.

In a number of examples in Latin literary texts the technical connotations have often passed unnoticed because a more general rendering will usually suffice.[20] For example, in Plautus, *Bacchides* 153–8, after some banter about Hercules, Linus, and Phoenix, the young man Pistoclerus says *satis historiarumst*. "Enough of your tales" (Loeb) and "Assez de contes" (Budé) are adequate translations, but in context the sense is really "enough of this mythology." In Propertius i.15.24, after citing three mythical examples of women who remained true to their lovers, the poet despairs of Cynthia ever becoming *nobilis historia* ("legend" rightly Goold in his new Loeb translation). In Horace, *Odes* iii.7.20, a woman tries to seduce her guest by telling him *peccare docentis . . . historias*. The two examples given are from Greek myth. In *Amores* ii.4.44, Ovid confesses that he is vulnerable to girls of every kind, modest, saucy, tall, short, black-haired Leda or Aurora with saffron locks: *omnibus historiis se meus aptat amor*. In effect "my love fits all the beauties of legend." At *Ibis* 57 Ovid announces that he will wrap up his poem *caecis . . . historiis*, in context obscure allusions (in this case to history as well as myth). In Apuleius (*Met*. ii.12), a soothsayer predicts that Lucius will become *historiam magnam et incredundam fabulam et libros*. Among recent translators, Kenney's "become a legend" catches the connotations of the first of the three phrases much better than Hanson's "long story" or Walsh's "subject of a lengthy story." Among Christian writers, note particularly Tertullian's *nominibus et imaginibus et historiis*, "names, images and legends" of the pagan gods.[21]

3: CITATIONS IN PS-APOLLODORUS

Two quite distinct questions are involved in any comprehensive study of source citations in the mythographers. Where did they find all these sources, and (more interesting and important) why did they repeat them so painstakingly? Only the first of these questions has received any attention, and that not carried very far. The most startling single case is an epigraphic text, the Lindian temple chronicle, which cites (to give only one example) no fewer than eight otherwise unknown authorities for the dedication of two wicker shields by Heracles (p. 31). At best the later texts can only have repeated the claim they found in the earlier texts, yet they are all cited, complete with titles.

The surviving mythographic works of the Roman age can be divided into two main categories according to the way they cite their authorities: those that mostly cite them where they belong in the text (Ps-Apollodorus, Ps-Eratosthenes, Hyginus); and those that give them as blanket references for the whole story at

20. The meaning is distinguished in *TLL* s. v. *historia* 2838.57–68, but with woefully inadequate documentation. For more examples, B. Dombart, "Historia," *ALL* iii (1886), 230–4, and J. H. Waszink, *Tertullian De Anima* (Amsterdam 1947), 301–2.

21. *De spect*. 10.13; for other examples from Tertullian, and Commodian, see Dombart, 1886, 232–3.

the close of a section (MH, Ps-Plutarch, many of the scholia) or in the margins (Parthenius and Antoninus Liberalis).

It is much easier to assess the appropriateness and accuracy of the citation when it is given in the text. To give a couple of illustrations, here is Ps-Apollodorus ii.1.3: "Castor, the author of the *Chronicles*, and many of the tragic poets claim that Io was a daughter of Inachus; while Hesiod and Acusilaus say that she was a daughter of Peiren." Or § 9 of Ps-Eratosthenes, on the constellation Virgo: "Hesiod says in the *Theogony* that she is the daughter of Zeus and Themis, and is called Justice; and Aratus, taking the story from him, says . . ."[22] Even when the texts are lost (Acusilaus, for example), we can at least see which details are being attributed to which sources.

But we must beware of assuming that even such plausible citations as these are based on direct consultation of the sources named. Frazer, for example, described Ps-Apollodorus's *Bibliotheca* as "compiled faithfully, if uncritically, from the best literary sources open to him."[23] A more learned and systematic study by M. van der Valk reached a similar conclusion.[24] Yet while there is no need to doubt that Ps-Apollodorus was familiar with Homer, Hesiod, and a fair amount of Attic drama, it is another matter altogether to assume that he directly constructed his narrative from a firsthand study of the texts he cites.

I begin with the first primary source we should expect to be laid under contribution for any such handbook, Hesiod's *Theogony*. Martin West has shown that, despite many points of agreement with Hesiod, Ps-Apollodorus's account of the early theogonies also differs from it in a number of details, details in which it seems to agree with the so-called *Orphic Rhapsodies* instead.[25] Obviously it is possible that the writer systematically collated both works. But quite apart from the general improbability of a mythographer working no earlier than the age of Augustus (and possibly a century or more later)[26] conducting firsthand research into archaic texts, there was simply no need. The job had already been done, more than once, the first time as early as Acusilaus (ca 500 BC).

The few surviving "fragments" of Acusilaus make this very clear. Those that deal with the subject matter of the *Theogony* regularly compare the Hesiodic and other versions. For example, F 6a (Plato, *Symposium* 178ab): "Hesiod . . . but Parmenides . . . Acusilaus agrees with Hesiod"; F 6d (Philodemus), quoting the *Titanomachia* and then " but Acusilaus . . ."; F 13 (Philodemus): "Hesiod and Acusilaus"; F 14 (Schol. Nic. 12a): "not in Hesiod, but Acusilaus . . ."; F 15 (Schol. Hes. 379): "Acusilaus says that, according to Hesiod, there are three winds"; F 19 (Philodemus):

22. Schaubach and Robert deleted ἐν Θεογονίᾳ, on the grounds that the reference is as much to *Works and Days* 256 as *Theog*. 901–2; but this presupposes that the writer was quoting directly from the texts.

23. J. G. Frazer, *Apollodorus: The Library* i (1921), xx.

24. "On Apollodori *Bibliotheca*," RÉG 71 (1958), 100–68.

25. M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford 1983), 121–6; Gantz 1993, 2.

26. Jean-Claude Carrière and Bertrand Massonie, *La Bibliothèque d'Apollodore* (Paris 1991), 9–12, are willing to descend as late as 200 AD, if not later.

"but Hesiod and Acusilaus . . ." No one will believe that Philodemus and the scholiasts had read and compared all these texts at first hand. Note particularly Menander Rhetor's recommendation to include genealogical allusions in speeches: "for example the stories told by Acusilaus, Hesiod and Orpheus in their theogonies."[27] Russell and Wilson suggest that Menander's source here is Plato (as quoted earlier), but Plato mentions only Hesiod and Acusilaus, not Orpheus. Menander can hardly be expecting students of rhetoric to track down texts of Orpheus and Acusilaus. What he has in mind is surely some much later mythographic compendium that cited all three. In fact all references like "Hesiod . . . but Acusilaus," or "Hesiod . . . with whom Acusilaus agrees"[28] in texts of Roman date are likely to derive from mythographic compendia, some of which may actually have purported to be the work of Acusilaus but were probably more recent abridgments or adaptations.[29] A compendium such as Menander implies would explain perfectly the combination of Hesiodic and Orphic elements in Ps-Apollodorus.

There might seem to be stronger grounds for deriving Ps-Apollodorus's heroic genealogies from the Hesiodic *Catalogue*. According to West,[30]

> it is an empirical fact, confirmed by papyrus after papyrus, that genealogical details given by Apollodorus are very often in accord with the [Hesiodic] *Catalogue*. Whole strings of names reappear there. Reconstructions of Hesiodic stemmata on the basis of Apollodorus have in several cases been vindicated by subsequent papyrus discoveries and never, I think, falsified.

Even so, this does not in itself prove "that Hesiod was one of his principal sources," if by source we mean a work directly consulted at first hand. The *Catalogue* was the inescapable point of departure for any account of early heroic genealogies, notably (once again) the earliest we know of, by Acusilaus. In a much quoted phrase Clement claimed that Eumelus and Acusilaus simply plagiarized Hesiod, while Josephus made the contrary (but complementary) claim that Acusilaus was always correcting Hesiod.[31] Many fragments link Hesiod and Acusilaus as sources for a variety of heroic relationships.[32] It is hard to doubt that every relationship attested by the *Catalogue* had long since been exploited by Acusilaus and his successors, complete with variant versions.

For example, on the parentage of Endymion the Apollonius scholiast cites the versions of Hesiod, Peisander, Acusilaus, Pherecydes, Nicander, Theopompus,

27. Men. Rhet. 338. 7, p. 16 Russell-Wilson.

28. For example, the case quoted above in which Ps-Apollodorus cites "Hesiod and Acusilaus" for Io as the daughter of Peiren rather than Inachus.

29. Acusilaus's Suda-entry (ϵ. 360 Adler) states that his supposed works were spurious (νοθεύεται): see Fowler, *Early Greek Mythography* (2000), 2 (De pseudepigrapho).

30. M. L. West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* (Oxford 1985), 44–5; R. L. Fowler, "Genealogical Thinking, Hesiod's *Catalogue*, and the Creation of the Hellenes," *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.* 44 (1999), 1–19.

31. *FGrH* 2 T 5–6.

32. For example, F 25, 26, 27, 28, 34, 36, 38, 42 Fowler.

the *Megalai Eoiai*, and Epimenides.[33] The probability is that every one of these citations was already present in the mythographic sources Theon consulted for his commentary on Apollonius as early as the age of Augustus. In the course of half a dozen pages Ps-Apollodorus himself links Hesiod and Acusilaus no fewer than four times.[34] It is true that, as we now know from the surprisingly large number of *Catalogue* papyri published over the past half century, the *Catalogue* was still in circulation well into the Roman period,[35] and it is certainly likely that a mythographer of the age had his own copy and read it for pleasure. But (to repeat) that is quite different from systematically collating it with other versions and building up his own composite narrative on that basis.

The clearest single illustration of the derivative character of the *Bibliotheca* is in the field of Cyclic Epic, the long lost poems that filled in the gaps in the Trojan saga left by the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The text of the *Bibliotheca* as it has come down to us breaks off before the Trojan war, but in 1891 Wagner and Papadopoulos-Kerameus independently published overlapping excerpts from the missing Trojan chapters. It was at once realized that there were many close parallels in both subject matter and verbal formulation between these excerpts and the Proclan summaries. The obvious inference is that Ps-Apollodorus and Proclus drew on the same prose summaries of the Epic Cycle.[36] We have already seen that the Proclan versions offer author names, titles and book numbers (Ch. III). We also saw that these same bibliographical details appear even in the captions to scenes from the Epic Cycle depicted on reliefs and the so-called Homeric Bowls,[37] a particularly striking illustration of the importance attached to source references. As a result, a seemingly learned citation like (for example) "Arctinus in the *Aethiopis*" might be the product not of a reading of the *Aethiopis* itself, or even of a prose summary, but of a caption to an illustration on a terracotta bowl!

Almost all Ps-Apollodorus's citations are to lost works that cannot be controlled. Of the few others, some at least are accurate. For example, Parthenopaeus was indeed killed by Periclymenus (rather than Amphidicus) "according to Euripides."[38] But that still does not prove that all or even most are firsthand. For example, West remarks (after many others) that the section on the Argonauts "is

33. See F 36 Fowler.

34. ii.1.1–ii.2.2 (pp. 50–58 Wagner), cited in full in Acusilaus F 25–28 Fowler.

35. The third edition of Merkelbach and West's text of the *Catalogue* (in the 1990 revision of the OCT Hesiod) represents an advance even on their *Fragmenta Hesiodea* of 1970.

36. So R. Wagner, "Proklos und Apollodoros," *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie* 146 (1892), 241–56, and in *Apollodori Bibliotheca* (Leipzig 1894), l-li, 238–46; E. Bethe, *Der troische Epenkreis* (Stuttgart 1966), 50–63; West 1983, 125.

37. Bethe, 1966, 59–61; K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*[2] (Princeton 1970), 36–41; J. J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge 1986), 200–04.

38. Ps-Apoll. iii.6.8 ~ Eur. *Phoen.* 1153f.

based on Apollonius Rhodius."[39] Certainly some details reflect and presumably derive from the Apollonian version. But many do not.[40] To give two illustrations, three different accounts are given of the monstrous Talos (οἱ μέν . . . οἱ δέ . . . οἱ δέ), and three different versions of his death (i.9.26). In each case only one comes from Apollonius. Most of the account of the pursuit of the Harpies by Calaïs and Zetes (i.9. 21) bears no relation to anything in Apollonius, and the one direct citation of Apollonius that concludes it is inaccurate:

> According to Apollonius, however, in the *Argonautica*, the Harpies were pursued as far as the Strophades, but they came to no harm after they had sworn an oath that they would stop persecuting Phineus.

Bethe long ago pointed out that this would be an odd way to introduce one's main source halfway through a narrative supposedly copied from him.[41] More important, it is not the Harpies who swear this oath but Iris on their behalf. This is quite clear in the text of Apollonius (ii.286–95) but might have been less so in (say) a prose summary.

Many of the most learned-seeming passages in the *Bibliotheca* reappear in much (sometimes exactly) the same words in the scholia to Euripides and Plato and (especially) the D-scholia to Homer (otherwise known as Mythographus Homericus). It has often been assumed that the scholiasts drew directly on the *Bibliotheca*, implying that they took it seriously as an authoritative work.[42] On the face of it, there might seem to be strong evidence in the case of the D-scholia. Six ἱστορίαι in the D-scholia not only have close verbal parallels with the *Bibliotheca*, but cite as their source Apollodorus books 1, 2, or 3. But (as Aubrey Diller saw) there are serious objections nonetheless.[43]

In the first place, the *Bibliotheca* is not divided into books in the manuscripts; the three books of modern printed editions were introduced by the first editor on the basis of these very citations in the D-scholia. Second, there are other D-scholia with similar parallel versions to the *Bibliotheca* that cite, not Apollodorus, but much earlier sources like Hellanicus, Euripides, and Callimachus. Third, there are other D-scholia that have no similarities at all with the *Bibliotheca* but nonetheless cite Apollodorus. In the third category there can be no reasonable doubt that the reference is to one or the other of the two learned monographs (*On Gods* and *Catalogue of Ships*) by the second-century BC scholar Apollodorus of Athens. Fourth, none of the other sources cited in the D-scholia are later than the Hellenistic age,

39. West 1985, 45.

40. Here at least I agree with van der Valk 1958, 114–7.

41. *Quaestiones Diodoreae Mythographae* (Göttingen 1887), 88–9.

42. Van der Valk 1958; see too his *Researches on the Text and Scholia of the Iliad* (Leiden 1963), 305–9.

43. A. Diller, "The Text History of the Bibliotheca of Pseudo-Apollodorus," *TAPA* 66 (1935), 296–313, especially 297–300; I am simply summarizing his arguments.

ranging from Hesiod and Hellanicus to Euphorion and Apollodorus of Athens. A derivative recent handbook like the *Bibliotheca* is not at all the sort of source we should expect to find cited alongside such "learned" references. There is an obvious alternative. *All* citations of Apollodorus in the D-scholia are (not necessarily at first hand) to the "real" Apollodorus, Apollodorus of Athens; and the explanation of the parallels between the D-scholia and the *Bibliotheca* is a common source. The fact that there are usually differences as well as similarities strongly supports this alternative explanation.

For example, a large part of *Bibl.* iii.4 on the story of Cadmus and the founding of Thebes is verbally identical to the D-scholion on *Iliad* ii.494, which cites "Hellanicus's *Boeotica* and Apollodorus book 3." But there are also a number of differences in detail, always to the advantage of the scholiast. Where they coincide, Ps-Apollodorus is generally assumed to offer a less accurate version of Hellanicus. Yet in the course of its narrative the *Bibliotheca* cites Pherecydes for what is represented as a variant about the Spartoi, a variant that is contradicted by another account citing Pherecydes in the Apollonius scholia.[44] F. Vian concluded that the D-scholion derived from a much better text of the *Bibliotheca* than the one that has come down to us.[45] It seems to me that the differences are too many (in so brief a passage) and too far-reaching to permit so simple an explanation. Nor is our text of the *Bibliotheca* elsewhere so inaccurate as, if Vian's explanation of this passage were correct, we should have expected. A common source from which each made a somewhat different selection is much more probable. As for the citation of "Apollodorus book 3," since *Iliad* ii.494 is the first line of the Catalogue of Ships, we are surely bound to assume that what the author of this common source had in mind was the multibook commentary on the Catalogue of Ships by Apollodorus of Athens. This would neatly explain the double citation: Hellanicus's *Boeotica* as mediated by Apollodorus. The Catalogue of Ships begins with the Boeotian contingent, and Apollodorus is bound to have consulted all the earliest local histories he could lay his hands on.

Two further illustrations. First, *Bibl.* ii.4.1 and the D-scholia to *Iliad* 14.319 on the parentage of Danaë (I offer no translations, since it is the verbal parallels that matter):

Bibl.: ταύτην μὲν, **ὡς ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, ἔφθειρε Προῖτος**, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ἐκινήθη· ὡς δὲ ἔνιοί φασι, Ζεὺς μεταμορφωθεὶς εἰς χρυσὸν καὶ διὰ τῆς ὀροφῆς εἰς τοὺς Δανάης εἰσρυεὶς κόλπους συνῆλθεν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ Ἀκρίσιος ὕστερον ἐξ αὐτῆς γεγεννημένον Περσέα, μὴ πιστεύσας

Schol.: αὕτη δὲ, **ὥς φησι Πίνδαρος καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, ἐφθάρη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατραδέλφου αὐτῆς Προίτου**, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς καὶ στάσις ἐκινήθη· ἔνιοι δέ φασι ὅτι Ζεὺς μεταμορφωθεὶς εἰς χρυσὸν καὶ διὰ τῆς ὀροφῆς εἰς τὸν Δανάης ῥυεὶς κόλπον συνῆλθεν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ Ἀκρίσιος ὕστερον ἐξ

44. F 22, *EGM* i.289–90.

45. F. Vian, *Les origines de Thèbes: Cadmos et les Spartes* (Paris 1963), 21–31.

ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐφθάρθαι τὴν θυγατέρα, μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς εἰς λάρνακα βαλὼν ἔρριψεν εἰς θάλασσαν.

αὐτῆς γεγεννημένον Περσέα, μὴ πιστεύσας ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐφθάρθαι τὴν θυγατέρα μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς εἰς λάρνακα βαλὼν ἔρριψεν εἰς θάλασσαν.

The two passages are virtually identical, except that where Ps-Apollodorus says only that "some authorities" (ἔνιοι) identified Danaë's seducer as Proitos rather than Zeus disguised as a shower of gold, the D-scholion ascribes this version to "Pindar and others," also adding that Proitos was her uncle. The scholion cannot be Ps-Apollodorus's source, since he continues with the story of Perseus for another page while the scholion breaks off after one more sentence; on the other hand, the reference to Pindar in the scholion cannot have come from Ps-Apollodorus. In cases like this, where each of two otherwise identical narratives has material missing from the other, the standard (and usually correct) conclusion is that both derive from a common source.Van der Valk, however, on the grounds that the D-scholiast often quotes the *Bibliotheca* "nearly literally," argued that it was his source here too; the scholiast, in van der Valk's view "a critic who must not be underestimated," *added* the reference to Pindar, having recognized on the basis of his own knowledge that the Proitos version was "peculiar to Pindar."[46] It is certainly possible that a now lost poem of Pindar gave this version, but three surviving poems allude to the standard version, one explicitly mentioning the shower of gold.[47] Gantz suggests that there may have been a version that Proitos seduced but did not impregnate Danaë.[48] But so down-to-earth an alternative for Zeus's most spectacular disguise has the ring of a rationalization (reinforced by its neat exploitation as the cause of the feud between Acrisios and Proitos mentioned a page earlier), in which case it may be much later than Pindar.[49] Whether or not Πίνδαρος is correct, the hypothesis that the scholiast himself added this reference to a version nowhere else attested on the basis of his own reading is not convincing.

Finally, Ps-Apollodorus iii.10.3. It should be said straightaway that many editors and translators have considered this passage an interpolation.[50] After claiming that Asclepius developed the art of healing to such a point that "he not only prevented some people from dying, but even raised them from the dead," the writer continues:

> I have found some who are said to have been raised by him, namely Capaneus and Lycurgus, according to Stesichorus in the *Eriphyle*; and Hippolytus, according to the author of the *Naupactica*; and Tyndareus, according to

46. Van der Valk 1958, 119–20.
47. *Pyth.* 12.17 ("born of free-flowing gold"); *Nem.* 10.11; *Dith.* 4.17 and 35.
48. Gantz 1993, 300–01.
49. For a different objection to the Proitos version, Gantz 1993, 300–1.
50. So Heyne, Wagner, Frazer, Carrière and Massonie 1991, and Hard 1997.

> Panyasis; and Hymenaeus, according to the Orphics; and finally, Glaucus, the son of Minos, according to Amelesagoras.

Nowhere else, claims Frazer, does the writer "speak of himself in the first person or indeed make any reference to himself."[51] We should hardly expect personal references in so dry a summary of innumerable names and facts, but there are in fact a couple of other examples.[52] One might add that interpolators do not often speak of themselves in the first person either. Nor does the passage significantly "interrupt the narrative,"[53] which continues: "But Zeus, fearing that human beings would acquire the art of healing from him . . . struck him down with a thunderbolt." It may well be that this list of people raised from the dead was added to the main narrative from another source, but that need not mean that it was added by someone other than the writer. Whether or not he had read at first hand all the archaic poets he cites, he surely drew on a number of different mythographers of more recent date, sometimes inserting material taken from one into a narrative based on another.[54]

A scholion on Euripides that offers a similar list cites four of these texts (omitting the *Naupactica*) plus four more: Pherecydes, Phylarchus, Telesarchus, and Polyarchus.[55] Once again, the obvious explanation of such a confrontation is a common earlier source from which both writers made a different selection. But van der Valk was less impressed by the scholiast's additional sources than by the fact that Ps-Apollodorus gives more detail on one of the sources they share (the name of Stesichorus's poem). He concluded that the scholiast drew on Ps-Apollodorus but added additional texts himself, being "a learned critic with a wide range of knowledge."[56] Quite apart from the general improbability of such an explanation, it fails to take adequate account of three other collections of citations on Asclepius's healing miracles, in Sextus Empiricus, the Pindar scholia, and Philodemus, all offering further selections from the same dossier.[57]

The following table lists the texts quoted in all five sources in alphabetical sequence:

51. Frazer 1921, ii.16 n. 3.

52. Not to mention δηλώσομεν and λέγωμεν at i.9.5 and ii.1.1; there is "About him [Pelasgus] I shall speak again later" (ii.1.2), followed up by: "Let us now return to Pelasgus" (iii.8.1).

53. So Hard 1997, xxx.

54. Anyone who has tried to insert new material into a finished narrative must have encountered the same problem of finding a point where the new material will not interrupt the original flow. My own work (including this book) is full of such "interpolations."

55. Schol. *Alcestis* 1, cited in full as Pherecydes F 35 in Fowler, *EGM* i.298.

56. Van der Valk 1958, 110.

57. Sextus Empiricus, *Adv gramm*. 260; Schol. Pindar, *Pyth*. iii.96; and two overlapping lists in Philodemus, *De pietate*, ed. A. Henrichs, *Cron. ercol*. 5 (1975), 8–9; Fowler, *EGM* 12–3. All three texts are cited in full as Panyasis F 26 in Bernabé, *PEG* i.184. It should be noted that, while the Pindar scholion offers only four names, it quotes three further examples of Asclepius's medical triumphs without the sources named in other lists.

Ps-Apollodorus	Schol. Euripides	Sext. Empiricus	Schol. Pindar	Philodemus
Amelesagoras	Amelesagoras	Panyasis	Orphics	Acusilaus
Naupactica	Orphics	Phylarchus	Pherecydes	Andron
Orphics	Panyasis	Polyarchus	Phylarchus	Euripides
Panyasis	Pherecydes	Staphylus	Stesichorus	Cinesias
Stesichorus	Phylarchus	Stesichorus		Hesiod
	Stesichorus	Polyarchus		*Naupactica*
	Telesarchus	Telesarchus		Panyasis
				[Peisan]dros
				Pherecydes
				Stesichorus
				Telestes

Improbably enough, van der Valk argued that these texts too drew on Ps-Apollodorus yet added extra texts on the basis of their authors' own research.[58] His only argument was that some of the "extra" texts concern healing the mortally wounded rather than raising from the dead, and so do not fit what he took to be the nature of the "original" list, namely the one in Ps-Apollodorus. Yet Ps-Apollodorus himself prefaces his list with the remark that Asclepius "not only prevented some people from dying, but even raised them from the dead." Van der Valk pointed out that, according to Ps-Apollodorus and the Euripides scholiast, Asclepius raised Hippolytus from the dead, whereas according to Sextus's quotation from the *Arcadian History* of Staphylus, he merely healed him. But this is to clutch at straws. On the common source hypothesis, all these writers were selecting and abridging from what was evidently a very detailed dossier. For example, where the Euripides scholiast just cites Polyarchus of Cyrene and Phylarchus, Sextus gives more precise information: the full title of Polyarchus's book and the book number of Phylarchus's *History*. *Ex hypothesi* all these writers were quoting their texts at second hand from a much fuller dossier that gave more information, complete with titles and book numbers. It is hardly surprising if in abridging they also misreported some details, not to mention the possibility that the original dossier included different versions of the same story from different sources.

That a common source is the only viable solution is put beyond doubt by a fact that van der Valk oddly overlooked: Philodemus's list must be *earlier* than the earliest possible date for Ps-Apollodorus. A comparison of the five lists reveals a number of suggestive points. (1) Three of Ps-Apollodorus's five texts already appear in the earlier list of Philodemus. This alone makes it unlikely that he found them independently in the course of his own research. (2) The two scholiasts both quote Pherecydes, missing from Ps-Apollodorus's list but already in Philodemus. So early and basic a text must have featured in the earliest version and so is unlikely to have been added independently by scholiasts. (3) Sextus and the Euripides scholiast both have the only known quotations from the *Argolica* of Telesarchus

58. Van der Valk 1958, 107–14.

and Polyarchus of Cyrene, *On the Origin of the Asclepiadae*,[59] both missing from the lists in both Ps-Apollodorus and Philodemus. It is out of the question that two writers of the Roman period came across two such obscure works of the early Hellenistic age independently. (4) The two scholiasts and Sextus have Phylarchus, missing from both Ps-Apollodorus and Philodemus. Phylarchus was somewhat better known (85 fragments, mostly from the Roman period) but even so unlikely to have been hit on independently by three different writers of so late a date. The only plausible explanation is that all five writers drew on a common source, a common source that included more texts on Asclepius than even Philodemus.

One other possible witness to an early version of this list is Propertius, who credits Asclepius with the otherwise unattested raising of Minos's son Androgeos from the dead (ii.1.61). Ps-Apollodorus and the Euripides scholiast both mention his resurrection of Glaucus, another son of Minos, on the authority of the (probably pseudonymous) Amelesagoras, a story also mentioned (ascribed to *nonnulli* unnamed) in Hyginus.[60] Elsewhere Glaucus falls into a vat of honey, and it is the seer Polyïdus who first locates the vat and then brings the boy back to life.[61] It looks as if it was Amelesagoras himself who arbitrarily substituted Asclepius, "whose list of restorations to life grows before our very eyes."[62] Since one of his only two other fragments mentions Androgeos, it is possible that Amelesagoras added him too to Asclepius's dossier.[63] But it is equally possible that Propertius just confused one son of Minos with another. Either way he surely got his information from a mythographical list that included Amelesagoras among its sources. None of the more or less obscure Greek sources cited in our five surviving lists are likely to have been familiar to a Roman poet at first hand.

Despite the fact that Philodemus's list is both the fullest and earliest we have,[64] it is unlikely to be the source of the later lists. Philodemus was by no means a mythographer. Indeed the goal of his *De pietate* was to expose the traditional gods and the stories told about them by the poets and historians to ridicule. "It is inconceivable," wrote Albert Henrichs in his study of the book, "that an Epicurean took the trouble to read in the original and systematically excerpt even a fraction of the poets, historians and mythographers cited in *De pietate*."[65] He did not need to. The job had already been done very thoroughly by scholars like Apollodorus of Athens, who took this sort of thing seriously.

59. See Jacoby on *FGrH* 309 F 2 and *FGrH* 37.

60. Hyg. *De Astron*. ii.14.5, otherwise based on Ps-Eratosthenes (§ 6, p. 68 Robert), which presumably once included this story.

61. See Gantz 1993, 270–71.

62. So Jacoby, on *FGrH* 330 F 2, in iii b Supplement I, p. 607.

63. Since it was to compensate for the murder of Androgeos that Minos made the Athenians send him seven youths and seven maidens to feed the Minotaur, a miraculous restoration to life would cause problems in the Theseus saga.

64. Since both passages in *De pietate* are fragmentary, we may well not have Philodemus's list in its entirety.

65. Henrichs 1975, 5 and passim.

The common source we are obliged to postulate is in fact almost certainly Apollodorus's *On Gods* (Περὶ θεῶν), which is known to have discussed Asclepius.[66] And here it is obviously relevant that the Euripides scholiast begins his note by citing Apollodorus (Ἀπολλόδωρος δέ φησι). Naturally van der Valk saw this as a reference to the *Bibliotheca*, but that is surely excluded by the fact that the scholion goes on to cite texts missing from the *Bibliotheca*.[67] As Diller suggested, it may well be that it was these six citations of the "real" Apollodorus in passages closely related to the parallel versions in the *Bibliotheca* that inspired the conjecture, in Byzantine times, that the *Bibliotheca* was the work of someone called Apollodorus.

If the common source hypothesis is accepted, the consequences for the evaluation of Ps-Apollodorus as a firsthand researcher are far-reaching. Not only would it follow that the passages in question were transcribed more or less verbatim from this common source,[68] it would also follow that all the sources quoted therein were likewise simply transcribed, not only unverified but in all probability unseen. Of course, it does *not* follow that he drew on only one such source. We have already seen that the list of Asclepius's miracle cures may have come from a subsidiary source. And it would be foolish to insist that *every* citation is derivative. "Castor, the author of the *Chronicles*," a much later text than most of his citations, may well be the fruit of the writer's own reading. But in view of the many shortcuts and secondary works available by the imperial age, it is natural to suppose that most of his citations are not.

Yet even if Ps-Apollodorus did little more than summarize earlier works (surely several such works rather than the single source assumed by some nineteenth-century critics), he apparently did so competently and conscientiously. Whatever his actual sources, though more recent than we might wish, they were evidently well informed. And no one would wish to deny that it is a well-organized, clear exposition of all the main mythical sagas, deservedly still in use as a basic textbook.

The Ps-Eratosthenic *Catasterisms* likewise preserves some very obscure citations: the *Naxiaca* of Aglaosthenes, the *Heracles* of Antisthenes the Socratic, the *Elegies on Love* of Artemidorus, the *On Justice* of Heraclides Ponticus, to name only a few. This erudition must go back to some well-informed Alexandrian scholar, possibly to an authentic work by the real Eratosthenes, though there is little solid evidence for this identification.[69] But whatever its origin, the text we have is sim-

66. R. Münzel, *Quaestiones mythographae* (Berlin 1883), 3–10; Jacoby on *FGrH* 244 F 138 (pp. 773–4); Henrichs 1975, 5–38; Carrière and Massonie 1991, 233–4.

67. Obviously another solution would be to argue that the *Bibliotheca* as we have it is an abbreviated version of an originally fuller text, but then all arguments based on the text as we have it would be subject to revision.

68. Not necessarily the same redaction of this postulated work as any of the other surviving lists.

69. The basic study remains C. Robert, *Eratosthenis Catasterismorum Reliquiae* (Berlin 1878); see too J. Martin, *Histoire du texte des Phénomènes d'Aratos* (Paris 1956); P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* ii (Oxford 1972), 597 n. 303; Henrichs 1988, 259–61.

ply an epitome, and Hyginus's *De astronomia* and the Germanicus scholia offer nothing more than the same citations translated into Latin.[70] While it is likely enough that all the texts cited did indeed say something about the catasterisms in question, we cannot be sure that their views are fully or accurately reported in these highly derivative citations.

4: CITATIONS IN MYTHOGRAPHUS HOMERICUS

It is even harder to assess blanket citations at the end of sections, especially when so many are from lost works that cannot be checked. Moreover, in the form in which we have them, the scholia on Pindar, Euripides, Apollonius, Theocritus, and the other poets are all Byzantine. The classic discussion of the source references in Mythographus Homericus, by E. Schwartz, dismissed them as mostly Byzantine guesswork.[71] The marginal source citations in Parthenius and Antoninus Liberalis have also been generally dismissed as late, possibly likewise Byzantine additions.

Montanari has recently attempted a reassessment of the documentation in Mythographus Homericus, disputing Schwartz's assumption that its compiler drew mainly on a "fairly late and low-level mythographical compendium" in favor of "high-quality learned commentaries of the Alexandrian age."[72] But this is to oversimplify the issues. In the first place, as we have just seen in the case of Ps-Apollodorus, learned citations need not imply a learned writer—or rather compiler. As Michael Haslam well put it on the publication of a new MH papyrus,[73]

> the particularity of the versions selected (source specified, no mythological variants acknowledged) might be thought to undermine any claim that the work might implicitly make to function as a provider of background information on the Homeric narrative. . . . [I]t afforded its users more distraction than elucidation vis-à-vis the Homeric text itself; it would have appalled Aristarchus.

In the second place, learned commentaries are hardly the place to look. It is true that, so far as we can grasp something of the nature and scope of their commentaries from the Byzantine scholia, both Didymus (ca 80–1 BC) and Theon (ca 50 BC–20 AD) included a fair amount of mythological material.[74] But the great Alexandrian critics did not spend their time on such unscholarly activities as compiling potted mythological biographies, biographies that were often very ill suited to the Homeric passage they were supposed to be explaining. Furthermore, MH

70. E.g. *hanc Hesiodus Iovis et Themidis filiam dixit, Aratus autem* . . . (Hyg. ii.25) is just copied from Ps-Erat. 9 (quoted above).

71. "De scholiis Homericis ad historiam fabularem pertinentibus," *Jahrb. f. class. Phil*. Suppl. 12 (1881), 441–5.

72. Montanari 1995, 166, 163.

73. *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 27 (1990), 31.

74. Wendel, *RE* 16. 2. 1359–64; for these dates as the approximate maximum termini for the lives of Didymus and Theon, Cameron 1995, 191 n. 33.

would hardly have continued to circulate as an independent work down into Byzantine times if it had simply duplicated current Homer commentaries.

More likely Didymus and Theon drew on the same sources as MH and the other surviving mythographers, learned monographs on the poets and early mythographic companions: Demetrius of Scepsis on Homeric topography (30 books); Apollodorus's *On Gods* (Περὶ θεῶν) in 24 books together with his *Catalogue of Ships* in 12 books; the Atthidographers; the various works of Istros and Philostephanos; Chares's Περὶ ἱστοριῶν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, the Callimachean *Diegeseis*, and Ps-Eratosthenes's companion to Aratus. We have seen that Didymus himself wrote a mythographic work, the *Strange History*, undoubtedly a book of great learning that must have been familiar to all early imperial mythographers.[75]

Thanks to a few lucky papyrus finds and a number of quotations, we now have a better idea of the nature and scope of perhaps the most learned and influential of these lost works, Apollodorus's *On Gods*. His goal was "the interpretation and etymologizing of the names and epithets of Greek gods, not from place names or aetiological myths, but from their nature."[76] His analysis was based on a wide selection of texts (especially poets), often quoted in full, but his focus was primarily Homer, whom he sharply distinguished (in the manner of his teacher Aristarchus) from "recent poets" (οἱ νεώτεροι). Indeed he seems to have quoted later texts mainly to criticize them for un-Homeric features.

A number of scholars have drawn attention to parallels between known or likely quotations from Apollodorus in the mythographers, scholiasts, and Christian apologists. Directly or indirectly, many of the more recondite citations in the mythographers must derive (as we have already seen in the case of Ps-Apollodorus) from scholarly works like this. For example, stories cited "in more recent poets" (παρὰ τοῖς νεωτέροις, on *Odyssey* 11.298) or "in the cyclic poets" (παρὰ τοῖς κυκλικοῖς, on *Iliad* 5.126). Yet Apollodorus was not himself a mythographer but a genuine scholar who discussed myths, sorting out versions and distinguishing between sources. The mythographers had much simpler goals (just telling the stories) and used Apollodorus's material without following his method. The real question is not where the mythographers found their citations but the use they put them to. Take MH. Despite its hundreds of learned references, it is by no means a work of scholarly pretensions, limiting itself as it did to one version of each story and often citing as authorities for Homeric mythology what Apollodorus would have called "more recent" texts.

Schwartz was right to be sceptical about mythographic source references. They are unreliable, but not because they are guesswork, whether Hellenistic, Roman, or Byzantine. Much of the mythographer's erudition was genuine enough in the sense that it derived ultimately from genuinely learned writers citing genuine

75. It is not even certain that MH postdates Didymus.

76. J. S. Rusten, *Dionysius Scytobrachion* (Papyrologica Coloniensia 10) 1982, 30–53 (quotation 32); R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford 1968), 261–3; Jacoby, *FGrH* 244, *Kommentar* 753–75.

documentation. But the mythographer used it in a different way from the scholar, for a different purpose. All MH wanted was one or two names to cite in support of a brief summary of a given story uncomplicated by variants. What was he to do if his learned source presented him with a series of quotations illustrating details of different versions? No single citation he selected was likely to be in any real sense the source of his own simplified summary, least of all the poetic citations, given the tendency of the poets to presuppose rather than narrate a given story, often obliquely and allusively. Add to this the fact that in most cases he knew no more of these texts than the words directly quoted in his learned intermediaries, and it will be clear that he did not control his citations.

5: THE MARGINAL CITATIONS IN PARTHENIUS AND ANTONINUS LIBERALIS

The citations in Parthenius and Antoninus Liberalis have often been identified as a special case. There are two reasons in particular why most modern critics have refused to believe that they go back to Parthenius and Antoninus themselves. One is the fact that they appear in the margins rather than the text of the single manuscript that carries both works. The second is a widespread belief that the texts cited are not really the sources of the stories in question; in short that they are guesswork by some later editor or annotator. But the fact that they appear in the margins may be less of a problem than generally supposed. There are ancient parallels for such a format (see appendix 4). And the fact that they are written in the same hand as the body of the text might equally be held to imply the opposite: namely that they are an integral part of the original text. It seems clear that the copyist of the mid-ninth-century Heidelberg manuscript[77] must have found them already in the margins of his (presumably late antique) exemplar. Furthermore, sceptics gloss over the highly significant detail that none of the Parthenius citations refer to works later in date than Parthenius, and none of the Antoninus citations to works later than Antoninus. Why would a later editor have made this distinction, and how much later are all these obscure Hellenistic texts likely to have been available?

One recent sceptic objects that phrases in the text of the two works like "some say" or "some say . . . but others . . ." would seem "surprisingly imprecise in comparison with the minute detail of the [citations] if both were by the same author."[78] But modern scholars regularly use phrases like "some scholars" in their text and then give precise details in a note. Anyone familiar with the ways of ancient (as of modern) commentators knows that *alii* and τινες sometimes address the views of one particular earlier critic.[79] No more impressive is the objection that in three

77. For this date, Aubrey Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (Lancaster 1952), 4–5; Lightfoot 1999, 303–4.

78. Lightfoot 1999, 248.

79. For τινες in the commentaries of Didymus, see Craig A. Gibson, *Interpreting a Classic: Demosthenes and his ancient commentators* (Berkeley 2002), 32–34.

cases (§§ 11, 14, and 34) the citations fail to mention sources that Parthenius quotes in the body of his text. Why should he waste space repeating in "footnotes" references already given in his text? And why should this hypothesized later annotator add references in the margin that differed from the sources already cited in the text of the work he was annotating?

We have seen that source citations are highly characteristic of early imperial mythography, and their form in Parthenius and Antoninus is exactly the style of many other early imperial mythographers and commentators, notably Mythographus Homericus (either ἡ δ' ἱστορία παρὰ τῷ δεῖνα or ἱστορεῖ ὁ δεῖνα).[80] Here it is relevant to add that the modern consensus about the inauthenticity of the Parthenius and Antoninus citations dates from a period when it was generally agreed (following Schwartz)[81] that the citations in Mythographus Homericus were Byzantine. Given their identical form, this seemed to provide strong support for the assumption that the Parthenius and Antoninus citations were likewise Byzantine additions. But since then 11 papyri have revealed that the MH citations go back to (probably) the first century. In nine cases the papyri offer the same citations as MH, in another three cases additional citations missing in the Homer scholia.[82]

So the form at least of the Parthenius and Antoninus citations is proved to be good early imperial usage. Furthermore, while we find both forms indifferently in the Parthenius margins, those to Antoninus use only ἱστορεῖ ὁ δεῖνα. This difference is most naturally explained in terms of a (no doubt unconscious) preference on the part of Antoninus himself. To account for it those who believe in editorial additions postulate two different editors—as if one were not improbable enough! There is nothing surprising in different writers using slightly different formulas. The Ps-Plutarchan *Parallela minora* and *De fluviis* are generally (and probably rightly) thought to have been written by the same writer,[83] but they too employ different formulas.[84] The favorite of the *Parallela* is ὡς with no verb (e.g. ὡς Θεότιμος ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἰταλικῶν), 62 times. Otherwise καθάπερ four times (three times with a verb, once without); and ὡς φησί once. The *De fluviis* never has ὡς without a verb. The favourite is καθὼς ἱστορεῖ (e.g. καθὼς ἱστορεῖ Κλειτώνυμος ἐν γ΄ τῶν Θρᾳκικῶν, iii.4), 51 times, with ὡς ἱστορεῖ three times.

To return to Parthenius and Antoninus, the systematic addition by a later editor of source references to a text written by someone else would not only be unparalleled and improbable in itself but would raise at least as many problems as it solves. Not least, what would be the source of all these learned citations? Lightfoot

80. The latter style is reflected in both Hyginus and Narrator: *huic rei auctor est Eumelus Corinthius* (Hyg. 183. 3); *Phanocles in Cupidinibus auctor* (*Narr.* 2.5).

81. "De scholiis Homericis" (1881), 405–63.

82. Montanari 1995, 150–1.

83. The arguments are summarized by C. Mueller, *Geographi graeci minores* ii (Paris 1861), lii.

84. Both works are ascribed to Plutarch as we have them–and as Stobaeus read them. But the author may have originally published them under two different names. Thus the different formulas may have been a calculated artifice.

postulated a single editor who consulted "some authoritative volume on the subject," conceding that it "would have to be an extraordinarily well-informed and detailed volume" (p. 253). In his early work Erich Bethe postulated a comprehensive mythological history like this as the common source of Diodorus, Ps-Apollodorus, the Proclan summaries of the Epic Cycle, and a good many other surviving works,[85] an extreme view he himself later abandoned. Most of the mythographic works we know of dealt with a single area of the field: mythical genealogies (Acusilaus, Hecataeus, Pherecydes); the stories of the tragedians (Philochorus, Asclepiades, Heraclides); Troica, Thebaica, Argonautica; metamorphoses; rationalizations; catasterisms. The truth is that there is no evidence for the existence of any such comprehensive ancient Roscher, Preller-Robert, or Gantz covering all mythological stories. Is this really a more plausible explanation than simply ascribing them to Parthenius and Antoninus?

The problem is only accentuated by the fact that, though allegedly guesswork, the sources cited have never yet been shown to be mistaken. For example, Parthenius § 7 is the story of a lover killing the tyrant of Heraclea in Italy for having designs on his boyfriend. The source cited is Phanias of Eresos. There was such a writer, a disciple of Aristotle who is known to have written two works on tyrants (*On the Tyrants in Sicily* and *On Killing Tyrants for Revenge*) where this story might well have found a place.[86] This would be an unlikely guess for a reader of the Roman period. Then there is the citation of book 15 of the *History* of Phylarchus for the metamorphosis of Daphne into a laurel tree (§ 11). Once again, a most improbable guess for a story of this nature, yet Plutarch expressly ascribes an account of the metamorphosis of Daphne to Phylarchus.[87] The note on § 28, the brief and obscure story of Cleite, cites Apollonius's *Argonautica* and Euphorion's *Apollodorus*. Apollonius's poem survives to bear this out (i.974–1069), and the scholia on the passage cite the otherwise little-known *Apollodorus* of Euphorion.[88] If they are guesses, these are remarkably well-informed guesses by a person with a wide and varied literary culture. The sort of culture, in fact, that we would more happily ascribe to Parthenius himself than some later annotator of a copy of his book.

The longstanding modern conviction that even so the texts cited in these marginal notes are not the true sources of the stories in question is based on a couple of cases on which new light was cast by the discovery of substantial fragments of Euphorion's *Thrax* in 1935.[89] According to the citations to Parthenius §§ 13 and

85. E. Bethe, *Quaestiones Diodoreae Mythographae* (Göttingen 1887); "Proklos und die epische cyclus," *Hermes* 26 (1891), 593–633. Contrast his remarks in *Der troische Epenkreis* (1966), 58–9.

86. See Lightfoot 1999, 407–8; Phanias (or Phainias) is now *FGrH* 1012, by Johannes Engels; see the notes on F 5 (IVA (1998), 304–5).

87. Plut. *Agis* 9; *FGrH* 81 F 32; Lightfoot 1999, 471–2.

88. Once again, see Lightfoot 1999, 522–4.

89. So E. Magnelli, *Alexandri Aetoli Testimonia et Fragmenta* (Florence 1999), 131; V. Bartoletti, *Riv. di Fil.* 26 (1948), 26–36; P. E. Knox, *PLILS* 7 (1993), 63–5; Lightfoot 1999, 446–51, 516–8; M. K. Brown, *The Narratives of Konon* (2002), 31. For the papyrus, Bartoletti, *PSI* xiv (1957), no. 1390, pp. 35–61.

26, the little-known stories of Harpalyce and Apriate were both told in this poem, in both cases with the identical formula: "Euphorion tells the story in his *Thrax*" (ἱστορεῖ Εὐφορίων Θρᾷκι). Both stories are indeed mentioned in surviving portions of the *Thrax* papyrus, but very briefly.[90] Neither passage could possibly be seen as the source for everything Parthenius says in these two chapters. The standard conclusion is that these two citations at any rate were added by some later reader or commentator—on the assumption that Parthenius himself would have supplied his actual sources.

But since the *Thrax* does indeed mention both stories, this is a curiously perverse conclusion. However unsatisfactory the citations as indicators of the actual source consulted, at another level they are undeniably accurate: not only the poet but the title of the poem in question. Can this really be just coincidence—a double coincidence? This undeniable (if limited) accuracy makes it most improbable that they are simply guesses by some later annotator. Such an explanation merely pushes the problem back a stage: why would a later annotator supply so unsatisfactory yet formally accurate a citation? Rather we should reconsider the assumption that the point of the citations is to identify the texts on which Parthenius's summaries are based.

For this combination of accuracy and unhelpfulness is by no means limited to the Parthenius and Antoninus citations. It is in fact common to more or less the whole later mythographic tradition. Here are two citations in different sets of scholia to a poem that happens to be fully preserved, the *Argonautica* of Apollonius. First the unusually authoritative Theocritus scholia, much of which probably derives from Theon.[91] In iii.43–5 Theocritus refers allusively to the story of the seer Melampus helping his brother Bias win the hand of his beloved Peiro. "The story is in Apollonius" (ἡ δὲ ἱστορία παρὰ Ἀπολλωνίῳ), say the scholia. So it is, but in the form of a similarly brief, allusive reference (i.118–21) to the same event, without explanation. Compare too the scholion to Dionysius Periegetes 388, on the tomb of Cadmus and Harmonia: "the story is in book iv of Apollonius" (ἡ δὲ ἱστορία παρὰ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐν τῷ δ΄). In iv. 517 Apollonius does indeed refer to the tomb, but in passing, in less than a single line (τύμβος ἵν' Ἁρμονίης Κάδμοιό τε).

These are particulary instructive examples. Inasmuch as they imply that Apollonius told both stories in detail, both scholia are certainly misleading. In the first case, the reader who is mystified by the allusion in Theocritus will fare no better with Apollonius. Apollonius too *presupposes* rather than tells the story of Bias and Melampus. Yet it is no explanation to dismiss either scholion as the result of guesswork or confusion. For there is an obvious sense in which both are accurate, in the second case correct to the very book number.

Two more examples of the same sort from MH. First a note on *Iliad* ii.547, telling the story of Hephaestus ejaculating on Athena's leg; Athena wiped the ejacu-

90. *SH* 413.12–6 and 415.12–8.

91. For a brief account, A.S.F. Gow, *Theocritus* i² (Cambridge 1952), lxxx–lxxxiv.

late off with a piece of wool, which fell to earth, where it produced Erichthonius. Verbal similarities show that MH's actual source here was Ps-Apollodorus (or his source),[92] but the text cited is "Callimachus in the *Hecale*" (ἱστορεῖ Κ. ἐν Ἑκάλῃ). The reference must be to the passage where Callimachus refers to Erichthonius as "seed of Hephaestus."[93] The other is the note on *Iliad* 18. 487, telling the story of Callisto, again on the authority of Callimachus (ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Κ.). Pfeiffer printed the passage as a separate fragment (F 632), but the reference is probably to *Hymn to Zeus* 41, where the Arcadians are identified as "grandchildren of the bear who was a daughter of Lycaon."[94] Van der Valk characterized both references as "perfunctory," but that is not at all the right word. Callimachus does not tell the stories, he simply *presupposes* them. Unles you already know them you will have no idea what to make of such baffling characterizations. The learned commentator who originally cited these passages cited them not as *sources* but as *parallels*, classic illustrations of the learned allusion that requires a very precise piece of mythological knowledge for its comprehension. It was the mythographer with his much simpler requirements who turned them into apparent source references.

A slightly different sort of illustration. A D-scholion on *Iliad* 14.325 (i.e. MH) gives a notice on the wooing and death of Semele that it ascribes to Euripides's *Bacchae*. In fact it appears to derive from the summary in Ps-Apollodorus (iii.4.3), not the *Bacchae* at all. So is the ascription simply a bad guess? Here Schwartz acutely noticed that the next sentence in Ps-Apollodorus repeats the claim made in the prologue to the *Bacchae* (26–31) that Semele's sisters spread it about that she had in fact been made pregnant by a mortal and was punished by Zeus for falsely blaming him.[95] We have only to suppose that this sentence was originally included in the Homer scholion with a parenthetical reference to Euripides ("According to Euripides in his *Bacchae*, her sisters . . ."), and we can assume the same sort of explanation. An original citation of the *Bacchae* for this one detail was carelessly generalized by a mythographer into his single source reference for the entire story. Two further points. First, Ps-Apollodorus, though giving the Euripidean version, did *not* actually cite the *Bacchae*. Once again, a common source is the obvious explanation. Ps-Apollodorus reproduced the story accurately but dropped the citation; the D-scholiast reproduced the citation but, not having verified it, dropped the only detail in the story to which it referred. Second, it is characteristic of the scholiast's technique to suppress the name of his direct source

92. Ps-Apoll. iii.188–9; Schwartz 1881, 444; van der Valk 1963, 306.

93. F 260. 19, δρόσον Ἡφαίστοιο (so Gomperz in 1893); no more than a couple of letters can now be made out (*SH* 288. 19; Hollis, *Callimachus Hecale* [Oxford 1990], F 70, pp. 96 and 226–9), but something of the sort must have stood here.

94. So van der Valk 1963, 349. Interestingly enough, Pausanias tells the story of Callisto in almost the same words as MH, citing "the story of the Greeks" (τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων, viii.3. 6; Pfeiffer on Call. F 632). In the case of a well-read man of letters like Pausanias, it is hardly necessary to find a source for so familiar a story, but it would not be surprising if he had nonetheless checked a mythographer to refresh his memory.

95. Schwartz 1881, 445.

(a handbook) in favor of the more remote, classical poet cited therein. We have already noted the misleading "Didymus and Phanocles" formula, implying consultation of two sources when in fact the more remote was already cited by the more recent.

The many sons of Hippocoön once killed the son of Heracles's uncle Licymnius in a dispute over a dog, and expelled Tyndareus, father of the Dioscuri, from Sparta. They were eventually killed in battle with Heracles, but first managed to wound him in the hand.[96] As one of his proofs that pagan gods were really no more than mortals, Clement of Alexandria cites Sosibius of Sparta for the wounding of Heracles. A scholion on the passage gives a fairly detailed account of the story, citing two authorities (presumably as cited by Sosibius): "Alcman in book 1 and Euphorion in the *Thrax* mention (μέμνηνται) <them>."[97] The Alcman reference is to the so-called *Partheneion* (*PMG* 1), which opens with a list of the sons of Hippocoön, evidently just killed. So the first of the two citations is certainly accurate as far as it goes (though there is no reason to suppose that Alcman told the rest of the story). But knowing what we now do about Euphorion's *Thrax*, we shall expect no more than a brief allusion, and for once the scholion reveals as much: "Euphorion in his *Thrax* mentions them *as rival suitors* [ἀντιμνηστῆρες]*to the Dioscuri*."[98] But for the preservation of this limiting detail, we should again have been misled about an allusion in this poem, cited so often by the mythographers (it seems) because it touched (however briefly) on so many different myths. It should also be noted that the scholiast suppresses mention of his immediate source (presumably a mythographer who cited Sosibius) in favour of two poetic texts he had probably never seen. Sosibius was the author of works on Spartan customs and festivals and a commentary on Alcman in at least three books.[99]

We shall see in Chapter VIII that half a dozen mythographic notes in Servius cite Euphorion. At *Aen*. iii.16–8 Aeneas describes how he and his men landed at a spot in Thrace to which he gave his own name. Oddly enough Servius (or rather his source) ignores the well-documented tradition (at least as old as Hellanicus) that it was Aeneia in Chalcidice that Aeneas founded.[100] To the alternative tradition (otherwise known from Pomponius Mela and a scholion on Lycophron) that it was Aenos in Thrace,[101] he raises the objection that Aenos

96. For a full account, Denys Page, *Alcman: The Partheneion* (Oxford 1951), 26–33; Gantz 1993, 217, 427–8.

97. *Protrepticus* 36.3, p. 54 and (for the scholia) 200 ed. M. Marcovich (Leiden 1995). This is the famous MS of Arethas Paris. gr. 451 dated to 914 and copied in the hand of Baanes; the scholia in question presumably derive from a late antique codex (N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* [London 1983], 125.

98. On the possibilities here, Page 1951, 32.

99. See Jacoby's commentary on *FGrH* 595.

100. For the details of these two traditions, J. Perret, *Les origines de la légende troyenne de Rome* (281–31) (Paris 1942), 13–23; on Aeneia, see especially now A. Erskine, *Troy Between Greece and Rome* (Oxford 2001), 93–8.

101. Mela ii.28; schol. Lyc. 1236 Kinkel; Perret 1942, 20–3.

is already mentioned in Homer, adding that, according to Callimachus and Euphorion, it was named after a friend of Ulysses buried there while on a foraging mission before the fall of Troy. By good fortune what must be one of the passages in question has survived on the Euphorion papyrus already mentioned (*SH* 416.3). It is actually concerned with an earlier name of Aenos, Poltymbria. This is underlined by a marginal scholion in the papyrus that cites Hellanicus for the naming of Poltymbria after its ruler Poltys.[102] According to a very abbreviated entry in Stephanus of Byzantium (s. v. Αἶνος), Apollodorus of Athens said Aenos was called Poltymbria. In the light of the Euphorion papyrus, this must mean that Apollodorus (the real Apollodorus, not the mythographer) said that it was *once* called Poltymbria,[103] evidently (as Jacoby saw) in his *Catalogue of Ships*, for it is in the Trojan catalogue (*Iliad* 4.520) that Homer mentions Aenos.[104] It was in his discussion of this passage (I suggest) that Apollodorus cited (no doubt along with various other references) Callimachus and Euphorion, in a discursive mythological history of the city that was later cannibalized by some mythographer, who concluded with the standard general acknowledgment: "the story is in Callimachus and Euphorion."[105] It is from some abridged version of this history that Servius's note repeats the acknowledgment to Callimachus and Euphorion, evidently unaware that Euphorion at any rate had said nothing about either Ulysses or Aeneas.

Another entry in MH (partially preserved here on papyrus as well as in the D-scholia) offers a detailed biography of the hero Caeneus, mentioned in passing at *Iliad* I.264. Caeneus, son of Elatos, king of the Lapiths, had previously been a beautiful maiden who, when raped by Poseidon, begged to be turned into a man. She became an invulnerable warrior, eventually punished by Zeus for an act of impiety and (because invulnerable) killed by being hammered into the ground fighting the Centaurs.[106] The source named is *Argonautica* i.59–64, quoted in full. But there is not a word in Apollonius about father, girl, invulnerability, or impiety, simply a detailed account of the warrior's death in battle. Despite the length of the passage cited, as documentation for the story as a whole it is useless. A real scholar like Apollodorus would at once have pointed out that, since Homer shows no knowledge of the sex-change part of the story, it would have been better not to include it in a companion to Homer, or at any rate not without a word of warn-

102. *FGrH* 4 F 197 bis, p. *6 of the 1957 reprint; F 197A in *EGM* i.227 (based on a fresh examination of the papyrus). Poltys is known from Ps-Apollodorus (ii.5.9) for hosting Heracles at Aenos, which would imply that it was Aenos before it was Poltymbria.

103. So too Strab 7.6.1 (ἥ τε Αἶνος Πολτυμβρία ποτὲ ὠνομάζετο).

104. See *FGrH* 244 F 184; this volume appeared in 1930, before the publication of the new information about Poltymbria in the Euphorion papyrus.

105. For one place Callimachus might have mentioned Aenos, see Pfeiffer's notes on F 188 and 697.

106. D-scholion to *Iliad* i.264; MH in van Rossum-Steenbeek 280. For a discussion of this strange story, Schwartz, *Pseudo-Hesiodeia* (1960), 476–83; Forbes Irving 1990, 115–6 and 155–62; Gantz 1993, 280–1.

ing.[107] In any case, since the formula employed is "Apollonius *also mentions* him" (μέμνηται δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ Α.), the citation is not misleading in quite the same way as the others. It does not explicitly purport to be the source for the entire ἱστορία. The learned work where the mythographer found it no doubt cited a number of different texts illustrating different aspects of Caeneus's life and death,[108] correctly using the μέμνηται formula, implying no more than a mention of or allusion to the story in question, not a full account (ἱστορεῖ). As usual, the mythographer selected just one, but this time he kept the original, limiting formula of his source.

More usually (I suggest), when citing a single authority for his ἱστορεῖ the mythographer *substituted*, as being more appropriate for his own purpose and context, one of the more sweeping general formulas: ἡ δὲ ἱστορία παρὰ τῷ δεῖνα or ἱστορεῖ ὁ δεῖνα. As a consequence, texts originally and properly cited by a learned scholar for details of a story, or as a clever or oblique allusion to the story, were often treated by the mythographer as though they documented the whole story. The shift from precise formulas, like μέμνηται δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ δεῖνα (originally intended to introduce a *supplementary* citation) or μέμνηται ὁ δεῖνα ὡς X or Y, to blanket formulas like ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τῷ δεῖνα may often have taken place in stages. Mythographers of the Roman period tended to treat all these formulas interchangeably. We should in fact always beware of the blanket ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τῷ δεῖνα formula, especially in citations of a poet. Poets rarely told mythical stories in full.

The author of the Ovidian *Narrationes* seems to have drawn on a source that mainly used parenthetic formulas inserted into the text ("X, or as Hesiod says, Y"). But not having checked the original texts, he did not realize that the reference of such formulas would vary according to exactly where they stood in the sentence. He simply assumed that they documented the whole story in which they appeared. Thus *ut Hesiodus vult* in 13.3 appears to refer to the location of Memnon's tomb in Phrygia rather than (as it should) his descent from Aurora and Tithonus (*Theog*. 984). At 2.2 he cites Hesiod and Euripides for the metamorphosis of the weeping Heliades, obviously unaware that Euripides merely said that "unhappy girls in lament for Phaethon drip the amber-gleaming radiance of their tears" (*Hipp*. 738–41), not even identifying the girls as Phaethon's sisters, much less describing how they were turned into poplars and their tears into amber. It is easy to see why some well-read Hellenistic scholar included so memorable an

107. The sex-change story is first attested, according to a third-century papyrus from an unidentifiable work, by Acusilaus (Fowler, *EGM* i.22 (pp. 15–7). Hesiod has been added on the basis of Phlegon, *Mirab*. 5.1, but caution is required here (West 1985, 71, is in fact cautious enough to write 'Hesiod'). In 4.1 Phlegon cites "Hesiod, Dicaearchus, Clearchus, Callimachus and others" for Tiresias's sex-change. In 5.1 he simply refers to "the same authors" for the Cainis/Caineus story. Obviously it is unlikely that *exactly* the same authors told both stories, and perhaps significant that Phlegon does not mention Acusilaus.

108. It is tantalizing that the papyrus breaks off before the citation: for the text, Montanari 1995, 154–6.

allusion in the Phaethon dossier, but it simply presupposes the transformation of the Phaethontiades. There is also considerable doubt as to how much of the story was told by Hesiod.[109]

Two conclusions may be drawn, one by now obvious, the other perhaps less so. First, what appear to be general source references in the mythographers must always be treated with caution. Not so much because they might be outright guesses or fabrications but rather because they are seldom if ever based on first-hand knowledge of the texts cited. For all their ostentatious parade of learned citations, most mythographers of the Roman period were not really scholars at all. They simply copied their citations at second or third hand, making no distinction between genuine sources and glancing allusions. Mythographus Homericus in particular, with its single versions of often complex stories, may unwittingly be citing authorities for a quite different version.

Second, the fact that these simplified and generalized citations are not limited to professed mythographers like Parthenius and Antoninus but also appear in the scholia to a number of classical poets, suggests that the surviving scholia may often derive this sort of material from mythographers rather than earlier commentators. As already remarked, there is no evidence that the great Hellenistic critics compiled the sort of elementary potted biographies of mythical figures that are such a notable feature of the Byzantine scholia (especially the Homer scholia). That (I suggest) is an innovation of the Roman period, influenced by the development of diegeseis, mythographic companions, and the early imperial vogue for mythography, developments of an age less familiar with the more obscure mythological stories than earlier times.

Much of the material preserved in at any rate the more authoritative scholia is probably by and large reliable, especially direct quotations from the poets (where meter is a useful control). But if I am right, we should be more cautious about straightforwardly mythographic scholia. While a couple of lines quoted from (say) a lost play of Euripides may be sound enough, a scholion citing the same play of Euripides for a version of a myth may be less so. While the former is a direct quotation deriving (even if at several removes) from a learned commentary, the latter may come from the latest in a chain of mythographers who had (1) successively eliminated variants in an originally complex narrative and (2) selected source citations in the haphazard way described in this chapter. In view of the sheer amount of mythological information that only survives in scholia, this is a rather disturbing conclusion.

Any attentive reader of a comprehensive and carefully documented handbook such as Timothy Gantz's invaluable *Early Greek Myth* (1993) must have noticed how often key details in this or that story are based on scholia to the poets rather than the poets themselves. There is (of course) a reason for this. The poets wrote for an audience that knew the stories and normally just alluded to one or two details

109. J. Diggle, *Euripides Phaethon* (Cambridge 1970), 15–24; Hes. F 150. 23 M-W.

relevant to their own context, *presupposing* the rest of the story. The scholiasts filled in the gaps as best they could, sometimes on the basis of good, early sources, sometimes not.[110] To give a single illustration from a notorious story, archaic and classical writers are curiously vague about both the crime and punishment of Tantalus. The scholia provide a variety of solutions.[111]

The point may be more vividly made by a couple of statistics. Of the 180-odd "fragments" of Pherecydes, the most important of the early mythographers included in Robert Fowler's *Early Greek Mythography* (2000), 140 come in their entirety from scholia, and in many others the evidence of Strabo, Plutarch, or Athenaeus is supplemented by a fuller account in scholia.[112] The scale of the problem is further underlined by the fact that more than 20 of the rest come (unsurprisingly enough) from mythographers of the late Hellenistic or Roman period (Ps-Apollodorus, Ps-Eratosthenes, and Hyginus). In many of these texts Pherecydes is cited in the course of a narrative for this or that detail, but in an ominously large number we simply have a blanket reference at the end: ἡ δὲ ἱστορία παρὰ Φερεκύδει or (ὡς) ἱστορεῖ Φερεκύδης. The fact that many supply a book number should not deceive us into taking these citations more seriously than the rest. Mythographers and scholiasts alike delighted in the aura of precision added to a reference by a title and book number (almost all the bogus citations in Ps-Plutarch are equipped with both).

While there is no need to despair of obtaining useful mythological information from scholia, it is essential to bear in mind that nothing of what they quote on the authority of such early sources as Pherecydes is likely to be closer than half a dozen removes from direct consultation of an original text. The general outline of the version given in a scholion may well derive (at any rate ultimately) from Pherecydes, but we can have little confidence about the details.

There are in addition two further caveats to be borne in mind when trying to identify the views of at any rate the earliest mythographers, over and above the possibility of simple error or confusion. First, the claim that Pherecydes (say) asserts that "X is the son of Y, not Z," cannot be assumed to imply that Pherecydes *explicitly* asserted that Y rather than Z was X's father. It need imply no more than that Pherecydes said (or was thought to have said) that Y was. He may never have mentioned Z at all.[113] Alternatively, he might have denied Z without asserting Y. Second, the claim that Pherecydes (say) "agrees with Hesiod" may mean no more than *either* that Pherecydes gave the same version as Hesiod,

110. Gantz's appendix of editions of ancient texts cited lists 14 sets of scholia on pp. 750–1; Fowler's index fontium (note 112) lists 24. Not only the scholia to Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Euripides, and Aristophanes but also those to Aratus, Theocritus, Apollonius, Lycophron, and even Vergil and Statius.

111. For full documentation, Gantz 1993, 531–6.

112. In fact well over a quarter of Fowler's index of sources is occupied by scholia.

113. This point was first made (it seems) by C. Luetke, *Pherecydea* (Göttingen 1893), 26, and restated by Fowler, *JHS* 116 (1996), 78, with several illustrations.

without explicitly citing him, *or* that Pherecydes cited Hesiod, without either agreeing or disagreeing. In both cases we may be dealing with no more than inferences by some later mythographer or scholiast looking in Pherecydes for answers to questions he did not ask. Of course, in many cases such inferences may in fact be correct. But it is easy to imagine others where Pherecydes (or whoever) has ended up being credited with a view he either never held or at any rate did not explicitly assert.

6: CITATIONS AND THE SCHOOLROOM?

What is the point of all these citations? But for their often surprisingly recondite citations, most of the early imperial mythographers seem to have had very modest scholarly ambitions. Have we been misreading them? Were they aiming for learned readers after all? The truth is that, citations notwithstanding, many of these books may well have been written for or at any rate regularly used in the schoolroom.

This is certainly the implication of three texts that have never been examined in detail together from this perspective. First Quintilian. After describing how the grammaticus should elucidate details of meter and prosody and figures of speech, Quintilian adds that he should also explain the *historiae* (*his accedet enarratio historiarum*):[114]

> This should be scholarly, but not overloaded with superfluous detail. It is quite enough to set forth the versions which are generally received or at any rate rest on good authority [*receptas aut certe claris auctoribus memoratas*]. But to ferret out everything that has ever been said on the subject by even the most worthless of men [*vel contemptissimorum hominum*], is a sign of tiresome pedantry or empty ostentation, and results in swamping the mind when it would be better employed in other matters. . . . And yet the grammarians' commentaries[115] are full of such impediments to learning.

It is clear from Quintilian's criticisms that some teachers devoted more attention than he considered appropriate to elucidating *historiae*. In his view all that was needed was the standard versions, those attested by *clari auctores*. These *auctores* are the authorities cited. So (for example) Hyginus 183. 3 (*huic rei auctor est Eumelus Corinthius*); Narrator 2.6 (*ut auctor Hesiodus indicat*); 1.1 (*auctoritate Varronis*); 2.5 (*Phanocles in Cupidinibus auctor*). Quintilian would limit the citing of *auctores* to the basic texts (presumably Homer and the tragedians). The "utterly worthless" texts ferreted out by the pedants he disapproved of are presumably obscure Hellenistic writers (Phanocles, Staphylus, and the like). Clearly teachers were expected to quote

114. Quint. i.8.18–21, slightly adapted from the successive Loeb translations of H. E. Butler (1920) and D. A. Russell (2001).

115. *commentarii*, which Butler and Russell both translate "commentaries." But the reference may just be to the notes from which the teacher lectures to his classes rather than to commentaries as we use the term today.

authorities when explaining mythological allusions. The only matter for dispute was which authorities, and how many.

The perfect commentary on this passage is Juvenal's evocation of the wretched lot of the grammaticus.[116] Parents expect his language teaching to be perfect, and also

> that he should read the stories [*historias*] and have all the authorities [*auctores*] at his fingertips, so that if someone happens to ask him, when he's on his way to the public baths or Phoebus's establishment, he may name Anchises's nurse, come out with the name and birthplace of Anchemolus's stepmother, say to what age Acestes lived, and how many jars of Sicilian wine he gave to the Phrygians.
>
> ut legat historias, auctores noverit omnes
> tamque ungues digitosque suos, ut forte rogatus
> dum petit aut thermas aut Phoebi balnea, dicat
> nutricem Anchisae, nomen patriamque novercae
> Anchemoli, dicat quot Acestes vixerit annis,
> quot Siculi Phrygibus vini donaverit urnas.

Both Quintilian and Juvenal are reacting to the same situation, but while Juvenal blames the parents, Quintilian blames the teachers (all of us who work in education are familiar with this mutual name-calling, when the real culprit is usually just social change). Why do parents make these seemingly absurd demands? Stripped of Juvenal's hyperbole, their demands are actually quite reasonable. They want their children to learn how to write Latin without solecisms and be able to identify the mythological allusions in Vergil. Not just the stories but also the authorities that attest them. Similarly in the sixth satire the man who marries a bluestocking is warned to stop her bombarding him with rhetorical figures and "knowing all the stories" (*nec historias sciat omnes*). The (for once) well-informed scholion on this phrase is "let her not read many authorities" (*non multos auctores legat*).[117] Naturally Juvenal exaggerates his point by picking four frivolous questions to which there could be no authoritative answers—and by insisting on *all* the authorities. But his rhetoric would have fallen flat if identifying mythological allusions and citing the relevant authorities had not formed an important part of the work of the Roman grammaticus.

The centrality of citing *auctores* in learning *historiae* is nicely illustrated by a chapter of Epictetus in which the grammarian is pictured quizzing his pupils:[118]

> "Who was the father of Hector?"
> Priam.

116. Juv. *Sat*. vii.231–6.

117. Juv. vi.450; *Schol. vet*. ed. Wessner p. 102.

118. Epict. *Diatr*. ii.19.7; the passage is completely misunderstood in W. A. Oldfather's Loeb; I have accepted Jacoby's correction and repunctuation (*FGrH* 4 T 25), to which Bob Fowler kindly referred me.

> "Who were his brothers?"
> Alexander and Deïphobus.
> "And who was their mother?"
> Hecuba.
> "Where did you learn this story (ἱστορία)?"
> From Homer. And I believe (δοκῶ) Hellanicus wrote about it as well, and one or two other fellows like that.[119]

This is not just a literary mise-en-scène dreamed up by Epictetus. We now have three copies of a very similar Homeric catechism in the form of actual exercises from Egyptian schools, papyri ranging from the second to the sixth century. And a fourth in the prolegomena to a late ninth-century manuscript of the D-scholia to the *Iliad*.[120] Here is an excerpt where all four overlap:

> "Which gods helped the Hellenes?" Hera, Athena, Hermes, Poseidon, Hephaestus. "Which gods helped the barbarians?" Ares, Aphrodite, Apollo, Artemis, Leto, Scamander. "*Who was the king of the Trojans?*" *Priam*. "*Who was their general?*" *Hector*. "Who were his counsellors?" Polydamas and Agenor. "*Who were their prophets?*" *Helenus and Cassandra, children of Priam*. "*Who were their heralds?*" *Idaeus and Eumedes, the father of Dolon; perhaps Dolon as well*.

Given the enormous chronological gap between the earliest and latest, it is eloquent of the conservatism of scholastic traditions that the italicized words appear in all four texts—including the curious claim, certainly not based on Homer, that Dolon was "perhaps" a herald (apparently on the grounds that his father was a herald).[121] It is reassuring to discover that not everyone took such rituals seriously. On the lines of schoolboy jokes such as "Who is buried in Grant's tomb?" some humorist scratched on a wall in Cyrene what, using the technical terminology, he solemnly characterized as a *zetema*: "Who was the father of Priam's children?"[122]

119. καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος τοιοῦτος; for this idiom, Kühner-Gerth, *Gramm. d. griech. Sprache* ii[3] (1904), 574.

120. Rom. Bibl. Naz. gr. 6 + Matrit. Bibl. Nat. 4626; F. Montanari, *Studi di Filologia omerica antica* i (Pisa 1979), 50, 57–64; P. Oxy. 3829; PSI I. 19; P. IFAO inv. 320, with J. Schwartz, *Études de Pap*. 7 (1948), 93–109 (all three papyri are quoted in full by Montanari 1979 58–60). See too Raffaella Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta 1996), nos. 405–6, and *Gymnastics of the Mind* (Princeton 2001), 209.

121. Many centuries later again we find the same claim in Eustathius's note on *Il*. x. 315, cited by L. Käppel in his note on P. Oxy. 3829 (p. 34).

122. G. Pugliese Carratelli, *Ann. Sc. Arch. At.* 39/40 (1961/2), no. 192 = J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Ep.* 1964, n. 573. See R. A. Kaster, in *Mnemos.* 37 (1984), 457–8, who cites a similar joke from the *Philogelos* (197 ed. Thierfelder): "the ignorant grammarian, when stumped by the question "What was the mother of Priam called," answered " Out of respect we call her Madam" (κατὰ τιμὴν κυρίαν αὐτὴν καλοῦμεν)." Not an easy question, in fact. Ps-Apollodorus offers three different names: Strymo, Placia, and Leucippe (the first can be traced to Hellan. F 124c; the last to Pherec. F 136c).

To return to Epictetus, evidently schoolboys were expected to name the literary sources for the genealogies of the heroes of myth.[123] It is important to appreciate the subtlety of the schoolboy's response. For so basic and uncontroversial a question as the mother and brothers of Hector, it should have been quite enough to cite Homer, undoubtedly the source of all later authorities. But the schoolboy is eager to show off and adds Hellanicus. No Roman schoolboy of the early second century AD is likely ever to have seen a copy of Hellanicus's *Troïca*,[124] and his "I believe" (δοκῶ) makes it clear that he is simply guessing, further underlined by his followup, "other fellows like that." In the context, a scholar would identify "other fellows like that" as (for example) Acusilaus and Pherecydes, but obviously our schoolboy did not even know the names, let alone the works.

The fact that some of the Proclan summaries of the Epic Cycle are prefixed to books of the *Iliad* in medieval manuscripts has often been connected with the needs of the schoolroom. In Bethe's words, "knowledge of the entire Trojan Cycle was always a prerequisite for the understanding of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and so important for school."[125] It may be a little overimaginative to claim (with Bethe) that a Homeric Bowl with the legend "after the poet Lesches, from the *Little Iliad*"[126] was a school prize, but it is likely enough that one of the questions Greek schoolboys were liable to be asked in class was "Who wrote the *Little Iliad*, and how many books did it have?"

7: LEARNED CITATIONS AND LITERARY CULTURE

But it was not only schoolboys who used these works and quoted these sources. We have seen how carefully Clement repeated the source references for the quaint cult titles he held up to ridicule, skilfully exploiting pagan learning to do down pagan cult. He had not (of course) checked these references any more than Epictetus's schoolboy. He knew no more about Staphylus of Naucratis, Sosibius of Sparta, or Phanocles than the words he had copied out of some mythographer.

At a rather different level we have an anecdote in Plutarch. In one of the fictitious dialogues that make up his *Table Talk*, he represents himself engaged in a debate about whether literary contests ought to be eliminated from the Pythian games. Plutarch himself championed contests for poetry, arguing at a dinner supposedly given by his friend L. Cassius Petraeus that they were of great antiquity.[127] Instead of quoting what he represents as hackneyed proof like the participation of Homer and Hesiod in the funeral games for Amphidamas, Plutarch cites the games held for the funeral of Pelias by his son Acastus, at which a Sibyl won the

123. There are no such citations in the catechisms just quoted, because all are based on a single text, Homer.

124. As can be seen from *FGrH* 4 F 23–31; most of the quotations come in scholia (except for F 31, in Dionysius of Halicarnasus).

125. Bethe, 1966, 59–60. The fact that the *Iliad* omits both the first nine years and the end of the Trojan war meant that knowledge of the content of the *Cypria* was especially desirable.

126. Two such are known: for details, E. Bernabé, *Poetae Epici Graeci* i (1987), 71.

127. On Petraeus, C. P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (Oxford 1971), 40.

prize for poetry.[128] Some of the guests present immediately demanded his authority for "so improbable and incredible a *historia*," and by good fortune (as he puts it) he remembered and quoted it: the *On Libya* of Acesandros. Since a work *On Cyrene* by Acesandros is cited half a dozen times for mythological details in the Pindar and Apollonius scholia,[129] there is no good reason to doubt this otherwise unknown *On Libya* (perhaps the same work under a different title), especially since a Libyan Sibyl is attested.[130]

Two details stand out in this context. First, dinner guests immediately demand Plutarch's authority for an unfamiliar *historia*; second, Plutarch deliberately cites the more obscure source, Acesandros rather than Hesiod. But acknowledging that Acesandros's book was not readily available, he follows up with a slightly less recondite citation: Polemo of Ilium *On the Treasures at Delphi*, for a gold tablet in the treasury of the Sicyonians deposited by the otherwise unknown Aristomache of Erythrae, twice victor in epic verse at the Isthmian games.[131] No one will believe that Plutarch just happened to recall either of these references from a reading of the original texts. Given the subject matter, the answer is surely that he came across them as citations in some mythographic source.[132] A long chapter of Hyginus lists the winners at a number of games in the heroic age, with Pelias's funeral games twelfth in the list (273.10–1); and we now have two papyri that give much the same list for Pelias's funeral games.[133] In the form in which we have them, none of these lists cite sources, but documented versions surely once existed. As for Sibyls, Lactantius quotes a list of 10 he claims to have taken from Varro, for several of whom he quotes a Greek authority: for the Persian Sibyl, the Alexander historian Nicanor; for the Libyan, Euripides; for the Delphian, Chrysippus; for the Samian, Eratosthenes; for the Erythraean, Apollodorus of Erythrae; and for the Hellespontine, Heraclides of Pontus. Pausanias adds Hyperochus of Cumae for the Cumaean Sybil.[134] The

128. We moderns would distinguish sharply between Hesiod's victory and the Sibyl's victory, but Plutarch and his peers did not separate history from myth in the same way.

129. *FGrH* 469 F 1–6; add the new fragment (complete with title) P. Oxy. 2637, F 5 col. 2; H. J. Mette, *Lustrum* 21 (1978), 29–30.

130. H. W. Parke, *Sibyls and Sibylline Prophecy in Classical Antiquity* (London 1988), 30, 37–8, 104–5; the Libyan Sibyl was the daughter of Zeus and Lamia the daughter of Poseidon. According to Pausanias (x. 12. 1) and Plutarch (*De Pythiae orac*. 9 = *Mor*. 389C), the daughter of Lamia was the first Sibyl to sing oracles at Delphi, which could be linked to the tradition of the Libyan Sibyl winning a poetry contest.

131. F 27 in *FHG* iii.123 (one of three fragments from this work). Copies no doubt existed in Delphi, and some of Plutarch's local friends may have been familiar with the work.

132. There was also much more or less scholarly writing about the games (Duris, Callimachus, and Istrus): see Pfeiffer's note on Call. F. 403.

133. Nos. 63 and 69 (lines 85–103) in van Rossum–Steenbeek 1998. The chest of Cypselus as described by Pausanias (v. 17. 9–11) gives a different list of winners.

134. Lact. *Div. Inst*. i.6.7–12 (for the Cimmerian Sibyl he cites two Latin sources, Naevius and the *Annals* of Piso); for Greek lists of Sibyls, H. Erbse, *Theosophorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Stuttgart 1995), 50–2, 57–63; on the source of these lists, R. M. Ogilvie, *The Library of Lactantius* (Oxford 1978), 50–5; Parke 1988, 28–31.

identity of Varro's source is unknown, but it must have been some impressively documented Hellenistic list.

The very next chapter in Plutarch's *Table Talk* provides another instructive illustration.[135] The subject for discussion is why the crown awarded at the Isthmian games was made of pine leaves. A guide called Praxiteles cites "the legend" (τὸ μυθῶδες) that the body of Melicertes was found cast up by the sea at the foot of a pine tree.[136] An unnamed rhetor objected that the pine was an innovation of "yesterday or the day before," claiming that the original crown was made of celery, citing Timaeus, a story about one of the Antigonids' and an anonymous skolion. The younger guests present were impressed by his erudition, but the host Lucanius smiled at Plutarch and pointed out that celery was the innovation, citing among other "proofs" (μαρτύρια) Euphorion on Melicertes and a passage of Callimachus describing how the Corinthians "removed from honor the pine that used to crown competitors in the games of Ephyra."[137] Plutarch then adds that he himself "seemed to recall reading in Procles's *On the Isthmia* that the first contest was held for a crown of pine, but that later, when the contest was made sacred, they adopted the celery crown from the Nemean games." The Apollonius scholia cite an *On the Isthmia* by the otherwise unknown Musaeus for the switch from pine to celery, again linking the games with the death of Melicertes.[138] Presumably all Plutarch's citations come from Procles, Musaeus, or (more probably) some more recent treatise on the Greek festivals. Whatever the facts about the switch from pine to celery and back again,[139] what most interests Plutarch is the *original* prize, and it is Callimachus and Euphorion who carry the day.

Learned citations were a highly visible indication of literary culture. It would be impossible to overestimate the prestige of erudition for its own sake in the world of the early Roman empire. Not however the single-minded erudition of scholars like Aristarchus or Didymus, often depreciated as pedants,[140] but the discursive, literary erudition of cultivated gentlemen like Aelian, Lucian, and Plutarch. A fair amount of work has been done on the literary culture of the second sophistic. Modern scholars have compiled long lists of quotations from classical texts in its leading representatives,[141] which others have drastically pruned, pointing out that

135. Plut. *Mor*. 675D–677B, with D. A. Russell, *Plutarch* (London 1973), 44–5.

136. Pausanias too links the pine crown with the death of Melicertes (viii.48.2 and ii.1.3), without quoting sources.

137. Euphorion F 84 Powell; Call. F 59 Pfeiffer; cf. too F 384.4.

138. Schol. Apoll. iii.1240; *FGrH* 455.

139. For an attempt to reconcile all the varying bits of evidence, Oscar Broneer, "The Isthmian Victory Crown," *AJA* 66 (1962), 259–63.

140. *Quattuor milia librorum Didymus grammaticus scripsit: misererer, si tam multa supervacua legisset. in his libris de patria Homeri quaeritur, in his de Aeneae matre vera. . . . et alia, quae erant dediscenda si scires*, Seneca, *Ep*. 88.37. One of Athenaeus's interlocutors cites other texts depreciating mere erudition, notably Timon, *SH* 794 (Athen. 610bc).

141. *F. W. Householder, Literary Quotation and Allusion in Lucian* (New York 1941); J. Bompaire, *Lucien Écrivain: Imitation et création* (Paris 1958), 382–404; W. C. Helmbold and E. N. O'Neill, *Plutarch's Quotations* (Baltimore 1959).

many come from the openings of famous works and many more from florilegia.[142] But is not easy to draw a sharp distinction between first- and secondhand familiarity with classical texts, given the very limited availability of books in the ancient world. When we find the same passage of Euripides quoted in Plutarch, Athenaeus, Stobaeus, and a couple of papyri, we are probably justified in concluding that Plutarch found it in a florilegium.[143] But that does not prove him a fraud. The fact that most of Lucian's direct quotations from Euripides are hackneyed need not (pace Anderson) lead us to doubt whether he "had ever read a single tragedy from cover to cover."[144]

The fifty-second oration of Dio Chrysostom provides a warning against excessive scepticism. Dio describes how one morning after breakfast, when staying at the villa of a friend, he read three tragedies one after another, all on the same subject (Philoctetes), by Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, respectively.[145] Evidently the friend had a well-stocked library. But not everyone had such easy access to a wide range of the classics. Plutarch and his peers took it for granted that many a choice passage from Euripides or Menander or early elegy could only (or at any rate most conveniently) be found in florilegia—including collections of excerpts and quotations made by themselves over the years.[146] What mattered was how skillfully and appropriately you used the material, not where or how you found it. Few ancient men of letters can have owned copies of more than a fraction of the books they had read or consulted over the years. Most took excerpts from the books of others as and when the opportunity arose, in libraries public and private everywhere they traveled. The only detailed account we have of the process is the younger Pliny's description of his uncle working with two slaves, one reading aloud while the other excerpted as ordered. Plutarch mentions searching his own notebooks (ὑπομνήματα) for appropriate quotations (presumably classified by subject).[147]

In the ordinary way no one in the age of Plutarch and Pausanias would have the means or opportunity to verify references to texts like Acusilaus or Sosibius or Staphylus. No one can really have expected every recondite citation he came across to be the the direct fruits of firsthand research. Certainly no one was likely to believe that the author of the Ovidian *Narrationes* knew Phanocles at first hand. Few Latin speakers of the Antonine or Severan age can even have heard of him. That is why the even later Orosius pounced on so deliciously obscure a name,

142. G. Anderson, "Lucian's Classics: some short cuts to culture," *BICS* 23 (1976), 59–68.

143. See H. Chadwick's entry "Florilegium" in *RAC* vii (1969), 1131–60.

144. Anderson 1976, 66.

145. See the fascinating chapter "The Wounded Savior" in Bowersock, *Fiction as History* (Berkeley 1994), 55–76. Obviously we should allow for the possibility that Dio has dramatized the occasion, but there can be no doubt that he had recently read all three plays when he wrote.

146. See the sensible and balanced chapter "The Scholar and his Books" in Russell 1973, 42–62. The elder Pliny compiled 160 *commentarii* of excerpts, for which he was offered 400,000 sesterces (*Ep.* iii.5.17). Moderns do this in a different way by xeroxing extracts from books they do not own.

147. Plut. *De tranqu. animi* 1 = *Mor.* 474 F.

guaranteed authentic by the reputation of Jerome (where he found it) and Eusebius (where he knew Jerome had found it).

It has long been realized that the manuscripts of Diogenes Laertius give what must be the wrong name in some of his many citations. In at least 20 cases the wrong name begins with the same letters as the right name (Xenocrates for Xenophanes, Heraclitus for Heraclides, and the like), and Jørgen Mejer plausibly suggests that Diogenes often misread the abbreviations in his own excerpts.[148] Almost certainly by the time he came to write his book he no longer had direct access to a great many of the works he had excerpted over the years. No modern writer would feel happy relying on notes and excerpts taken years before, in many cases by a succession of amanuenses. Any experienced researcher knows that verifying even one's own references, carefully collected at first hand, all too often reveals embarrassing miscopyings and occasional outright errors. In antiquity, verifying references to any but the most central and accessible texts was virtually impossible.

148. Jørgen Mejer, *Diogenes Laertius and His Hellenistic Background* (Wiesbaden 1978), 25–8, with a useful analysis of the practice of excerpting.

6

Bogus Citations

1: THE PROBLEM

The problem of verifying references brings us back to the baffling question of bogus sources. I am not here concerned with imaginary works like the unfinished poem of Solon in which Plato claimed to have found the story of Atlantis, or the inscribed dedication on the island of Panchaia where Euhemerus claimed to have learned the truth about King Zeus and his family,[1] or even the bronze tablets supposedly dug up by his father in the family house that Acusilaus cited as authority for his own *Genealogies*, the first prose work of Greek mythography.[2] And only marginally with the Trojan journal of Dictys of Crete, allegedly discovered (written in the original Phoenician script) in a tomb split open by lightning.[3] The devices of the long-lost manuscript and hidden tablets were to have a rich future in the history of fiction and forgery.[4] Though sometimes taken seriously by the gullible,[5] most such inventions can hardly have been intended (or expected) to deceive.

The pseudo-archaic novelistic *Troïca* published under the name Cephalon of Gergis is more of a problem. While two such critics as Demetrius of Scepsis and Dionysius of Halicarnassus seem to have taken it at face value as a work of history,[6] Athenaeus believed that it was actually written by the grammarian

1. *FGrH* 63 (main text Diod. v. 41–46); John Ferguson, *Utopias of the Classical World* (London 1975), Ch. 12.

2. Suda s.v. α 942 (i.87.20 Adler) = *EGM* i. 1); Jacoby argued that the bronze tablets come from a much later, pseudonymous work, but Fowler's forthcoming commentary rightly accepts them for the original work, probably in its preface.

3. The prologue and the translator's letter of dedication give slightly different accounts of the "find," as do Malalas and the Suda: see W. Speyer, *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike* (Göttingen 1970), 55–9.

4. The most celebrated example is the gold tablets containing the Book of Mormon in "reformed Egyptian" that Joseph Smith dug up in his garden. As early as 1833 it was claimed that Smith got the idea from an unpublished manuscript of a novel by Solomon Spaulding, but there are many problems with this hypothesis: see Appendix B in Fawn M. Brodie, *No man knows my history: The Life of Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet*[2] (New York 1971), 442–56.

5. As I pointed out in *CQ* 33 (1983), 81–91, it is only in modern times that people have taken the Atlantis story seriously; no one did so in antiquity.

6. See Jacoby on *FGrH* 45 (pp. 559–60).

Hegesianax of Alexandria Troas of the early second century BC.[7] Then there are the *Memoirs* of Damis that Philostratus claims to have drawn on for his biography of Apollonius of Tyana. While few now believe that Damis of "Old Ninos" actually existed, some have argued that he is less an outright fabrication than a literary device that alert readers would have recognized for what it was.[8]

Yet how far can we extend this sort of indulgence to Ps-Plutarch, Ptolemy Quail, and the *Historia Augusta*? In addition to 36 otherwise unknown source citations, the *Historia Augusta* cites hundreds of forged letters and other documents, not to mention the fact that the six author names among whom the work itself is apportioned are bogus, complete with the implied biographies attached to them.[9] Some of the source citations seem to be more jokes than serious attempts to deceive: to give one obvious example, the doubly Homeric Maeonius Astyanax cited for a certainly fictitious dialogue between two virtually fictitious characters.[10] Like Ptolemy and Ps-Plutarch, the writer cites most of his bogus sources only once or twice, but, like Ps-Plutarch with his 19 citations from the *Italica* of Aristides of Miletus, he had a favorite, Junius Cordus, whom he cites 27 times, mainly to disapprove of his triviality (that is to say, Cordus is in effect a device to excuse the writer's own excursions into triviality).[11] It is tempting to suspect that he was following here the example of Philostratus, who made similar use of Damis as authority for trivial or improbable claims, citing an unnamed critic who compared him to "dogs who eat bits of food dropped on the floor."[12] It was Damis (for example) who recorded (allegedly as an eyewitness) Apollonius's fight with a vampire in Corinth, and his ability to step out of leg-irons.[13]

It might well seem hard to credit that Ps-Plutarch really invented 50 odd bogus writers and more than one hundred bogus works. But those inclined to give these

7. Jacoby, *RE* vii. 2602–6 = his *Griechischer Historiker* (Stuttgart 1956), 238–40; *FGrH* 45, with the important addition to the 1957 reprint of the *Kommentar* pp. 561–2; Lightfoot 1999, 391–3.

8. For a spectrum of views, Maria Dzielska, *Apollonius of Tyana in Legend and History* (Rome 1986), 19–49; Graham Anderson in G. Schmeling (ed.), *The Novel in the Ancient World* (Leiden 1996), 614–5. "Old Ninos" should be identified as Hierapolis, not Nineveh, as shown by C. P. Jones, "Apollonius of Tyana's Passage to India," *GRBS* 42 (2001), 185–99, with a new perspective on the invention of Damis. For a recent parallel, compare the imaginary friend of Ronald Reagan cited as a "source" by Edmund Morris in his *Dutch: A Memoir of Ronald Reagan* (1999); not surprisingly, this device encountered much adverse criticism in what purports to be a serious biography of a living president.

9. For the source citations, A. Chastagnol, *Histoire Auguste: Les empereurs romains de IIe et IIIe siècles* (Paris 1994), cvii–cxii; Syme, "Bogus Authors," in *Historia Augusta Papers* (Oxford 1983), 98–108; T. D. Barnes, *The Sources of the Historia Augusta* (Brussels 1978). For a more detailed account of this puzzling compilation, see my forthcoming *Last Pagans of Rome*, Ch. 18.

10. *Tyr. trig*. 12. 1; for Macrianus and Ballista, Chastagnol 1994, 846–9.

11. For Cordus, Chastagnol 1994, cvii–ix; for a desperate attempt to salvage him, H. Peter, *Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae ii* (1906), clxxxxi–iiii, and for the "fragments," 132–40.

12. One is reminded of Gibbon's remark that "Dion speaks of these entertainments, as a senator who had supped with the emperor. Capitolinus [one of the SHA], like a slave, who had received his intelligence from one of the scullions" (*Decline and Fall*, ed. D. Womersley, i [1994], 123 n. 49).

13. i. 19 (triviality and bad Greek); iv. 25; vii. 38.

otherwise wholly unknown and highly improbable writers and books the benefit of the doubt have paid too little attention to the way Quintilian's long discussion of *historiae* concludes.[14] The abuses he deprecated were chiefly found, he says, in mythical stories (*in fabulosis*), and

> sometimes carried to ludicrous and even scandalous extremes. In such cases the more unscrupulous writers have such full scope for invention that they can lie to their heart's content about whole books and authors without fear of detection. For what never existed can obviously never be found, whereas if the subject is familiar the careful investigator will often detect the fraud.

It is worth dwelling on the final sentence. Quintilian's point (a good one) is that if I falsely cite (say) Homer or a play of Euripides as my authority, I may get away with it among the unlearned, but sooner or later someone willing to take the trouble to check such well-known and accessible texts will expose me. But if I cite, to take a couple of Ps-Plutarch's inventions, Agatharchides of Samos, *Persica* book 2, or Aretades of Cnidos, *Macedonica* book 3,[15] no one will be able to *prove* they don't exist. By the first century AD the overwhelming bulk of Hellenistic prose literature was irretrievably lost save for a few extracts and quotations, many works of undoubted authenticity among them. At the best of times it must have been hard to locate (to quote the most relevant example in the present context) the local historians so beloved by the mythographers. They are never likely to have circulated widely outside the areas that formed their subject.

Could anyone expect to get away with outright fraud of this nature, the modern critic is tempted to ask? But it depends what is meant by "getting away with." Some of the more alert early readers of Ps-Plutarch and Ptolemy Quail may have been sceptical, but evidently not all. We have already seen that Clement of Alexandria quotes three of Ps-Plutarch's stories one after another, in each case complete with source reference.[16] But we should not lightly accuse such readers of gullibility. Given the very limited availability of books (especially Hellenistic prose literature) it was simply out of the question for anyone in antiquity to verify more than a fraction of the citations he came across in his reading, whatever his suspicions. If challenged, Ps-Plutarch could no doubt have produced private collections of his own excerpts that included his forged names! This is all the proof that could really have been expected in the circumstances. What the success (if we may so style it) of Ps-Plutarch's bogus citations really proves is that, given the impracticability of verification, most people perforce took interesting citations they came across on trust.

Forging an entire text was another matter. Anyone who did this had to be prepared to explain where it came from and how it fitted into the known history of its purported period.[17] Even if he produced no more than a few sentences purport-

14. Quint. i.8.21 (following Butler rather than Russell).
15. *Par. min.* 2A and 11A.
16. C. Mueller in *Geogr. Graec. Min.* ii (1861), lii–iii.
17. Grafton 1990, 50.

ing to come from an imaginary text, he risked being exposed by some connoisseur of dialect, language, or style. Galen (for example) was able to distinguish between early and late Hippocratic writings on the basis of style.[18] The least risky route for the forger to take was to claim to be merely summarizing his imaginary text in his own words, with no more than a citation of the author's name and title.

There is also another factor. It is a commonplace in the literature on forgery that[19]

> any forger, however deft, imprints the pattern and texture of his own period's life, thought and language on the past he hopes to make seem real and vivid. But the very details he employs, however deeply they impress his immediate public, will eventually make his trickery stand out in bold relief, when they are observed by later readers who will recognize the forger's period superimposed on the forgery's. Nothing becomes obsolete like a period vision of an older period.

This is arguably as true of source citations as of other areas of literature and art. To the early imperial aficionado of mythography and paradoxography, it was not in the least suspicious to come across an unfamiliar source cited in support of a strange story. He was looking out for and positively relished new facts and new authorities. It is not just that contemporary readers lacked the libraries or reference works to verify such citations. It scarcely occurred to them to do so. But verifying footnotes is second nature to the modern academic. An unfamiliar name raises an instant red flag, and comprehensive reference works enable him to identify an otherwise unattested (and so automatically suspicious) work in a matter of moments.

2: PS-PLUTARCH

It is time to look more closely at Ps-Plutarch.[20] The *Parallela minora* begins with the following brief preface:

> The greater part of mankind thinks that tales of ancient events are inventions and myths because of the incredible elements which they contain. But since I have discovered that similar events have happened in this modern era, I have singled out crises of Roman history; and, to parallel each ancient happening, I have subjoined a more modern instance. I have also recorded my authorities [τοὺς ἱστορήσαντας ἄνδρας].

It will be noted that, having conceded that most people regard his subject matter as incredible, the writer goes out of his way to draw readers' attention to the authorities that supposedly lend it credibility. The *Parallela* offers 80 citations comprising 38 different authors and 57 different works, with 19 writers (and 33 works)

18. Grafton 1990, 20. For other ancient evidence on fraud detection, Speyer 1971, 112–28.
19. Grafton 1990, 67.
20. For an excellent brief account, K. Ziegler, *Plutarchos von Chaironeia* (Stuttgart 1949), 230–34 (= III. 10. f-g in *RE*), whence I take my statistics.

otherwise entirely unknown; *De fluviis* cites 46 authors with 65 different works, 25 of them otherwise entirely unknown and 9 more only known from the *Parallela*. The statistics speak for themselves.

It is certainly *possible* that, at least in some cases, the writer just repeated uncritically what he had read in unreliable sources. The editor of a recent Budé text of the *Parallela* argues that the lack of independent ancient testimony is not in itself sufficient reason to suspect either the works cited or the writers themselves, concluding that "there is no reason not to believe him when he implies in his preface that his work is based on reading many histories."[21] Yet the citations are by no means the only factor that arouses suspicion. For sheer triviality, gross ignorance, and irresponsible fabrication no other ancient work I can think of (not even the *Historia Augusta*) comes even close to the *Parallela*. Not to mention individual historical blunders,[22] most of the "modern" stories come from the regal period or early republic, not a few actually earlier than the Greek stories to which they supposedly lend credibility. Thus Lars Porsenna (ca 500 BC) is the "modern" pair of both Xerxes (490) and Philip II of Macedon (died 336 BC), Brutus consul in 509 BC of Darius III of Persia at the Granicus (334 BC).

Scarcely less damning than the many otherwise unknown writers is the much larger number of otherwise unknown works, almost all generic titles (*Italica*, *Sicelica,* and the like). It was easier to invent generic titles than writers' names complete with ethnics. For example, Callisthenes is credited with *Macedonica*, *Thracica,* and *Metamorphoseis* (all multibook works), presumably (at least in the writer's mind) to be identified with the Callisthenes of Sybaris credited in *De fluviis* (vi. 3) with a 13–book *Galatica*. Dorotheus is credited with *Italica*, *Sicelica,* and more *Metamorphoseis*. It is a little surprising to find two prolific historians both also writing *Metamorphoseis*. No less prolific are Dositheus with *Sicelica*, *Lydiaca*, *Italica,* and *Pelopidai*; and Sostratus with *Thracica*, *Tyrrenica,* and *Cynegetica* (again all supposedly multibook works). While it is not surprising that a single work by an obscure figure should be known (like many minor historians in Jacoby's collection) from only one text, the writers just listed would appear to be productive and versatile figures we might have expected to be better known. Among the historians the commonest title is *Italica*, a natural consequence of the fact that half the stories in the *Parallela* deal with early Roman history.[23] Yet who can believe in no fewer than 14 different multibook histories of Republican Italy by otherwise unknown Greek writers, with the *Italica* of Aristides running to at least 40 books?[24] Dionysius of Halicarnassus cites more than 30 Greek works on the pre-

21. J. Boulogne, *Plutarque: Oeuvres morales* iv (Paris 2002), 230–31 and 241.

22. Jacoby gives a devastating detailed commentary on 15 of Ps-Plutarch's "Schwindelautoren" in his notes on *FGrH* 284–96.

23. For all the "facts" about these writers, I. Schlereth *De Plutarchi quae feruntur Parallelis Minoribus* (Friburg 1931); 97–127.

24. Agesilaus, Alexander, Alexarchus, Aristides of Miletus (his favorite, with 19 citations), Aristobulus, Aristocritus, Chrysippus, Clitonymus, Dercyllus, Dorotheus, Dositheus, Pythocles, Theophilus, Thotimus. Not one is cited for fewer than two books, eight for three books.

history of Roman Italy in book i of his *Roman Antiquities*–but not one of Ps-Plutarch's authorities.

The most elaborate defense of Ps-Plutarch and his citations is a useful dissertation by J. Schlereth. His main line of argument was where at all possible to identify Ps-Plutarch's authors with any attested homonyms. For example, Aristides of Miletus, credited with *Italica*, *Persica,* and *Sicelica*, is identified with the notorious pornographer of that name.[25] Where necessary Schlereth assumed confusion of ethnics, identifying (for example) Agatharchides of Samos with the well-documented Agatharchides of Cnidus.[26] Jacoby with more justification stood the argument on its head, suggesting that one of the forger's devices was to pick names borne by established writers and change the ethnics.[27] One of the advantages of such a method would be that, if challenged, the forger could concede. Yes, perhaps he had confused ethnics, perhaps book titles as well. But that made it no easier to convict him of out-and-out fraud. By 100 AD the genuine writings of Agatharchides of Cnidus were reduced to a handful of excerpts (most of our own knowledge derives from a series of quotations in Athenaeus).[28] He too was little more than a name.

The subject matter of *De fluviis* is ostensibly quite different: how rivers and mountains got their names, and the powers of rare stones and plants that grow in or near them. It is, if anything, an even less scholarly work than the *Parallela*, since the writer clearly had little idea where many of his rivers and mountains were.[29] Most of the river stories tell how a person bearing the name of the river drowned in its waters out of grief, fear, or some other violent emotion. Thus there is much more mythology (most of it otherwise unknown) than the title would suggest. Despite the fact that a different source is cited for every story, the stories themselves are all astonishingly similar. The titles are also very similar, with 14 works called On Rivers (Περὶ ποταμῶν), 8 *On Stones* (Περὶ λίθων), and most of the rest (once again) *Persica*, *Phrygiaca,* and the like, almost all of them (like many of the plants and stones) otherwise unknown. As if this were not enough, as Rudolf Hercher acutely spotted, sources cited sometimes begin with the same syllable as one of the actors in the story. Thus Chrysermus is cited for stories about

25. Clement of Alexandria cites "Dorotheus in Bk i of his *Pandects*" for a story that the seer Mopsus "heard Alcyone and Corone" (*Strom*. i. 21). Since Alcyone and Corone were both mortal maids turned into birds, it is tempting (with Mueller, *Scriptores Rerum Alexandri Magni* [Paris 1846], 156) to identify this work with the *Metamorphoseis* ascribed to Dorotheus by Ps-Plutarch.Yet the different title is a problem, as is the fact that Clement elsewhere repeats bogus citations from Ps-Plutarch.

26. Followed by Boulogne 2002, 429 n. 17 ("sur cet historien peut-être originaire plutôt de Cnide . . .").

27. Schlereth 1931, F. Jacoby, *Mnemosyne* 3. 8 (1940), 73–144 = *Abhandlungen zur griechischen Geschichtschreibung* (Leiden 1956), 359–422.

28. For the details, see *FGrH* 86.

29. The most useful resource remains R. Hercher's edition of 1851; see too the preface to C. Müller's *Geographi Graeci Minores* ii (1861), lii–lvii.

Chrysorrhoë (7.1.4) and Chrysippe (1.1.5); Timagoras for Timander (21.1), and so on! Even Carl Müller, one of the book's more sympathetic critics, conceded that it all appeared to come "from the same tiny brain."[30] All he disputed, as more recently did Joseph Bidez,[31] was that *all* the sources were bogus, which I would happily concede. Why would the man write on so esoteric a topic as magic stones if he had no knowledge at all of the extensive ancient literature on the subject?[32]

Jacoby took a stern line. Failing independent confirmation (virtually never available), almost all Ps-Plutarch's citations were branded bogus. This perhaps goes too far. In some cases Schlereth may be right and Jacoby hypersceptical. But there are three objections to making such an assumption about the citations in the *Parallela* in particular as a whole. Though simple enough (and often implicitly applied to individual cases by Jacoby), these objections have never (it seems) been explicitly formulated in general terms.

First, in a great many cases either the Greek or (more often) the Roman half of these Greco-Roman pairs has manifestly been either rewritten or entirely fabricated to make the parallel. For example, to parallel the well-known Roman story of Brutus executing his son for treason, the writer claims that Darius III executed his son for treason the day after the battle of the Granicus (§ 11). Second, to parallel the Greek story of Erechtheus sacrificing his daughter in order to defeat Eumolpus of Eleusis[33] he claims that Marius sacrificed his daughter in order to defeat the Cimbri (on the authority of Dorotheus, *Italian History* book 2)! In the latter case the point is not just that the story is a total fabrication. More important, *why* would anyone have fabricated so utterly un-Roman a story *except* to parallel the Erechtheus story? And yet he always cites *different* sources for each half of his pairs.

One more illustration (out of many). The Greek story is the so-called Battle of the Champions for possession of the Thyreatis between three hundred Argives and Spartans around 545 BC, known from Herodotus.[34] According to Ps-Plutarch, citing as his source "Chrysermus in book 3 of his *Peloponnesian History*," two Argives survived and brought the news of their victory back to Argos. But the Spartan general, left for dead on the battlefield, recovered, stripped the 298 dead Argives of their shields, built a trophy, and inscribed on it, in his own blood, "to Zeus, guardian of trophies," whereupon the Amphictyonic Assembly awarded Sparta the victory.[35] The Roman story briefly summarizes the defeat of the Caudine Forks, adding the wholly unhistorical coda that Postumius Albinus, the Roman

30. "Ex eodem omnia cerebello tamquam ex fabrica prodiisse putaveris," Müller 1861, lv.

31. Bidez, "Plantes et pierres magiques d'après le Ps.Plutarque *De fluviis," in Mélanges . . . Octave Navarre* (Toulouse 1935) 25–38.

32. For an excellent brief account, C. Zintzen, *Der kleine Pauly* 3 (1975), 680–2; see now R. Halleux and J. Schamp, *Les lapidaires grecs* (Paris 1986).

33. For the story, Gantz 1993, 242–4.

34. *Par.* 3; Herod. i. 82–3.

35. The inscribing of the Spartan trophy in blood is an embellishment that goes back at least to Valerius Maximus (iii.2 ext. 4).

general, left for dead on the battlefield, recovered enough to strip the Samnite corpses of their shields and build a trophy, writing on it, in his own blood, "the Romans from the Samnites to Juppiter Feretrius." This time the source cited is "book 3 of the *Italian History* of Aristides." Not only is this pure and obvious fiction, but even as fiction it makes no sense *except* as a pair to the Greek story. And the detail in which it parallels the Greek story, the trophy built and inscribed by the miraculously revived general, is as obviously fictitious on the Greek as the Roman side.[36] No one who reads these pairs of stories together could have a moment's doubt that both halves were written together to balance each other, presumably by the same person. And yet in each case (and many others as well) Ps-Plutarch claims to have got them from two different sources, one a history (occasionally a poem or play) of Greece, the other a history of Italy.

The second objection is that, while allowing the existence of all these otherwise unknown writers evades one improbability, the allegation of wholesale forgery, it leaves another only slightly less serious, the silliness and (above all) *sameness* of all the stories reported on their authority. If we accept the authenticity of the citations, we are also obliged to accept the existence of literally scores of writers who filled multibook histories with remarkably similar stories, most of them making no sense except when paired (if Roman) with parallel Greek stories or (if Greek) with parallel Roman stories. And yet these writers apparently only ever told one half of these paired stories. The argument from the sheer *sameness* of the stories applies equally to *De fluviis*.

The third objection is that, if the citations are all authentic, the *Parallela minora* and *De fluviis* would have to be considered two of the most conscientiously researched ancient books to have come down to us,[37] at any rate judged in terms of source citations per page of text. Yet despite these apparent signs of research, both books have always impressed their few readers by their utter triviality. Frank Cole Babbit, editor of the Loeb *Parallela*, went so far as to summarize the case for ascribing both works to the same author in terms of the improbability "that *two* such fools as the author of each discloses himself to be could ever have lived."[38] How can we reconcile such triviality with such systematic conscientiousness in citing sources, sources unknown to even the most learned scholars of antiquity?

Yet despite the obvious literary and intellectual shortcomings of the *Parallela*, the preface implies that it was as a researcher that the writer expected to be judged. In fact he refined his technique as he progressed. In the *Parallela* he only once cites two sources for a single story (1B); in the (for this reason perhaps later) *De fluviis* he does it a dozen times. His usual formula for double citations is (e.g.) "as Pythermus records in book 80 [!] of his *Indica*; Archelaus provides more detailed information

36. It is nothing but embroidery on Herodotus's story that the lone Spartan survivor stripped the bodies of the Argive dead and carried their equipment to the Spartan camp.

37. Outside scholia and commentaries, that is.

38. The more serious arguments were produced long ago in R. Hercher's edition of *De Fluviis* (1851).

in book 13 of his *On Rivers*" (καθὼς ἱστορεῖ Χρύσερμος ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῶν· μέμνηται δὲ τούτων ἀκριβέστερον Ἀρχέλαος ἐν ιγ περὶ Ποταμῶν). It is hardly necessary to add that neither writer is known from any other source. But at § vi. 3 he introduces a subtle variation: "so Callisthenes of Sybaris records in book 13 of his *Galatica*, from whom Timagenes the Syrian has taken his material (παρ' οὗ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν εἴληφεν Τιμαγένης ὁ Σύρος). And at § 17.4 he adds a further refinement: "as Cleanthes records in book 1 of his *On Mountains*; Sosthenes of Cnidos gives more information, from whom Hermogenes has taken his material." Here he contrives to imply that he has consulted three separate books for just one story!

Cautious critics, understandably reluctant to believe in forgery on so grand a scale, have seldom fully appreciated the even greater improbabilities of the alternative. It is surely both simpler and ultimately more plausible to postulate just one unscrupulous writer rather than almost 50.

Konrat Ziegler, a severe critic of both works, was prepared to allow that a small number of the sources cited in the *Parallela* were "unobjectionable," that is to say, actual works we know to have existed. Yet that is far from proving that the citations are genuine in the fullest sense. For example, *Par*. 9 purports to summarize the plot of Eratosthenes's *Erigone*, but the summary bears little relation to anything we know from other sources about this celebrated poem.[39] And the very fact that the writer three times apparently cites plays of Euripides (*Erechtheus*, *Hecuba,* and *Meleager*, in 20, 24, and 26) might suggest skimming a set of hypotheseis rather than reading the plays. But there is in fact some doubt whether the Euripides citations are original. For while manuscripts of the *Parallela* give the source of § 20A as Euripides's *Erechtheus*, a fuller version of the same chapter quoted in Stobaeus cites book 3 of the *Tragodumena* of Demaratus instead. § 34A retells the plot of Euripides's *Hippolytus*, and while *Parallela* manuscripts offer no reference, the version in Stobaeus cites "book 3 of Zopyrus's *Theseïs*." § 14B follows the plot of the *Iphigeneia in Aulis* but instead of Euripides cites "book 1 of the *Boeotian History* of Menyllus." It may be that the Euripides citations are guesses by some later reader or copyist for chapters (like § 34A) that had lost their citations in his copy. Finally, while Alexander Polyhistor wrote many books on many subjects, there is no other evidence that he wrote an *Italica* (cited with circumstantial precision for book 3).[40] At best no more than a handful of these citations reflect genuine texts the writer had actually read himself at first hand.

39. The second sentence of 9B (p. 13. 3–9 Nachstädt) surely belongs in 9A. The citation is omitted from both J. U. Powell's *Collectanea Alexandrina* (1925) and Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, *SH* Though almost certainly worthless, it should at least have been mentioned.

40. The story of Cyanippus in 21A is essentially the story given in Parthenius § 10, and the source cited is in fact "Parthenius the poet." Yet Stobaeus and Apostolius, clearly drawing on this chapter of the *Parallela*, cite "book 2 of the *Cynegetica* of Sostratus" (for details, Lightfoot 1999, 428–9). It may be that the original citation was omitted in manuscripts that carry the *Parallela*, and that "Parthenius" is a guess by a copyist who had read the story in Parthenius (we have seen that a number of different mythographical works were often copied into the same codex; Parthenius immediately follows Ps-Plutarch *De fluviis* in the only manuscript that carries them).

Perhaps the most intriguing thing about Ps-Plutarch's "Schwindelautoren" (to use Jacoby's term), is that many readers not only did not question them but apparently looked on them as a key part of his stories. We have seen that Clement regularly included the citations along with the information they purported to provide. No fewer than 18 extracts from the *Parallela* are quoted at length in Stobaeus just as if they were verbatim excerpts from the invented writers in question, with no mention of the *Parallela*: thus § 2A, citing Agatharchides of Samos, *Persica* book 2, is transcribed (as often with a minor divergence) under the heading "Agatharchides of Samos, *Persica* book 4."[41] Since Agatharchides never existed, we need not take such divergences too seriously, but given the very poor state of the text offered by the manuscripts of the *Parallela*,[42] the Stobaean version should probably be preferred. Indeed we have just seen that Stobaeus sometimes preserves citations omitted in manuscripts of the *Parallela*.[43] Modern writers sometimes follow Stobaeus's example. How and Wells, for example, when commenting on the Battle of the Champions in Herodotus, cite "Chrysermus, a Corinthian writer of unknown date"[44] with no mention of the *Parallela* and its dubious credentials, a good example of the danger of citing lost texts from modern collections of fragments without reference to their ancient source. It is not as if even Ps-Plutarch claimed to be citing his texts verbatim.

The sixth-century antiquarian John the Lydian quotes six extracts very nearly verbatim from the *Parallela*, four of them in the same order, one after another, twice with the same citations, once (like Stobaeus) with a different one.[45] There can be no question that he drew directly on the *Parallela*. Yet Bidez thought the strongest single argument in favor of the source citations of *De fluviis* was the fact that the same John the Lydian cited two of these same sources for stories about stones: Dercyllus, and (repeated from the *Parallela*) Agatharchides of Samos. Bidez inferred that Ps-Plutarch and John drew on the same, genuine sources, and on this basis the new Budé edition of *Les lapidaires grecs* proclaims all eight of the

41. Stob. iii. 7. 64 (III. 330 Hense) ~ Plut. *Par*. 2a, in Nachstaedt's Teubner text (1935/1971, 4). Boulogne 2002 misquotes Stobaeus as giving book 2.

42. "hi codices ut fere omnes textum valde foedatum et inquinatum praebent ita haud pauci mutili sunt et lacunis laborant," Nachstädt 1935/1971, xxiii.

43. Boulogne 2002, 241, refuses to accept that the versions in Stobaeus and others derive from (a fuller version of) Ps-Plutarch, arguing that the "ressemblances" should be explained "par la fréquentations des mêmes écrivains." As a result his edition has little value even as a text of the *Parallela*, for which serious scholars will still need to turn to Nachstädt, who prints the Stobaean (and other) parallel versions in full in smaller type.

44. W. W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* i (Oxford 1912), 97, with a reference to *FHG* iv. 361.

45. *De mens*. 147 and 150 (pp. 165–8 Wuensch) ~ *Par. min*. 20A and B; 35A (with Aristides for Aristodemus) and 35B; 36B (citing the source Ps-Plut. cites for 36A). For § 35B, where manuscripts give book 19 of the *Italica* of Aristides, John offers "the Roman Varro." Either the original text quoted both or John added the reference to Varro—whom, surprisingly enough, he quotes often and seems to have had some firsthand knowledge of from his own reading: M. Maas, *John Lydus and the Roman Past* (London 1992), 55, 161n.22.

multibook "lapidary" treatises cited in *De fluviis* authentic.[46] In view of the fact that John directly copied source citations from the *Parallela*, obviously this argument now loses much of its force. In any case, what of all the otherwise unknown local historians cited on every page of *De fluviis* for otherwise unknown mythical stories? Dercyllus in particular is hardly the specialist in lore on magical stones Bidez claimed. He is one of Ps-Plutarch's most trusty workhorses. He is credited not only with an *On Stones* (*De fluv*. 19.4) and an *On Mountains* (1.4; 8.4) but also with *Foundations* (*Par*. 17A), *Italica* (38B), *Aetolica* (*De fluv*. 22.5), and even *Satyrica* (ib. 10. 3), all purporting to be multibook works. How is it that our knowledge of this remarkably prolific and versatile writer is confined to the most trivial scribbler to have come down from the ancient world?

Manuscripts of the *Parallela* abbreviate many stories, some drastically.[47] But they seldom omit the citations. § 14B is reduced to a single sentence: "Menyllus tells the same story about Iphigeneia at Aulis in Boeotia in book i of his *Bithyniaca*." Both halves of § 29 (where the only fact is Epona as the name of a (Gallic) goddess of horses) have suffered the same fate:[48]

> Aristonymus of Ephesus, son of Demostratus, hated women and used to consort with an ass; and in due time the ass gave birth to a very beautiful girl, Onoscelis by name. So Aristocles in book 2 of his *Strange Events*.
>
> Fulvius Stellus hated women and used to consort with a mare, and in due time the mare gave birth to a beautiful girl, and they named her Epona; she is the goddess concerned with the protection of horses. So Agesilaüs in book 3 of his *Italian History*.

Cases like this underline as perhaps nothing else could the importance attached to being able to support strange stories with a written authority.

3: PTOLEMY QUAIL

The case of Ptolemy Quail is not so clearcut. Most critics, from Hercher and Jacoby to Bowersock and Winkler, have taken it for granted that he was an out-and-out fraud. For Bowersock,[49]

> he told lies as easily as he breathed. . . . In the whole history of imperial fiction there is no personality who combines so fully the talents of deadpan

46. Bidez 1935, 26–9; R. Halleux and J. Schamp, *Les Lapidaires grecs* (Paris 1985), xxvi. J. Mély, editor of the earlier *Lapidaires grecs*, 3 vols. (1891) showed better judgment: "chez le Pseudo-Plutarque, tout est fictif" (*REG* 5 (1892), 330).

47. See Nachstädt 1935/1971, xxii–xxiv and 367. Nothing of this in Boulogne's 2002 Budé, despite its obvious relevance to the parallel versions in Stobaeus. Bidez found it improbable that (for example) John the Lydian might have had a fuller text of *De fluviis* than the one provided by the unique manuscript, but a glance at Müller's apparatus will reveal how unsatisfactory our text is.

48. G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2] (Munich 1912), 377; Keune, *RE* s.v. "Epona" 229). Stellus is not even a Roman name.

49. G. W. Bowersock, *History as Fiction* (Berkeley 1994), 24; "a liar on a grand, academic scale," J. J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire* (New York 1990), 144.

> mendacity, Homeric revisionism, and extravagant narration. The Quail is truly an embodiment of fiction.

But there have always been some who find his material so intriguing that they are reluctant to go so far. The basic work is now the rehabilitation attempted by K.-H. Tomberg.[50] Anxious to include in their *Supplementum Hellenisticum* some of the curious texts conjured up by Ptolemy, Lloyd-Jones and Parsons more than once express their conviction that, absurd as is most of Ptolemy's material, his source citations at any rate were vindicated by Tomberg.[51] But such a claim confuses two quite separate issues. To be sure Ptolemy did not fake *all* of his citations, but it is hard to doubt that he faked *some* of them. And how many sources does a scholar have to fake before his honesty is called in question?

One complication is the fact that (as with Conon) we do not have the complete text, just Photius's summary, 22 Budé pages to represent a seven-book work. Fortunately we also have parallel but fuller versions of 12 passages in the rambling Homer commentary of Eustathius, and a few other parallel versions in the Suda lexicon and John Tzetzes, all presumably deriving from a complete text of the work.[52] In the second place, Ptolemy undoubtedly had genuine scholarly pretensions. Of the other works besides the *New* or *Paradoxical History* ascribed to him, the *Anthomeros* (Ἀνθόμηρος: Anti-Homeros) in 24 books was presumably some sort of reply to or criticism of Homer.[53] There are many examples of Homeric revisionism of one sort or another in the *New History* as well.

Tomberg's main contribution was to set the *New History* in the social and literary context of its age. It is a collection of what we might now call believe-it-or-not material, bizarre etymologies, strange details of myth, history, and literature (especially Homer), *zetemata* and *lyseis*, questions and answers; in a word, symposium-literature.[54] We find much of the same sort of stuff in Aelian's *Historical Miscellany*, Plutarch's *Table Talk*, *Greek Questions* and *Roman Questions*, Athenaeus's *Deipnosophists* or (in Latin) Aulus Gellius's *Attic Nights*, curious stories or information that one could use to entertain guests at symposia. There is a mass of such material even in the more "sophistic" novels of the age, notably

50. Karl-Heinz Tomberg, *Die Kaine Historia des Ptolemaios Chennos. Eine literarhistorische und quellenkritische Untersuchung* (Bonn 1968).

51. "fidem Ptolemaei ab aliis saepe improbatam optime vindicavit K.-H. Tomberg," Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, *SH* 733 (see too 14 and 313); N. G. Wilson, *CR* 21 (1971), 135; J. J. O'Hara, *TAPA* 126 (1996), 199 n. 37.

52. For a text that intercalates the Eustathian (and other) parallel versions in parallel columns, see A. Chatzis, *Der Philosoph und Grammatiker Ptolemaios Chennos: Leben, Schriftstellerei und Fragmente* (Paderborn 1914). It is a major shortcoming of R. Henry's Budé text of the Photian excerpts that he does not make clear when we have fuller versions of the Photian text.

53. So Chatzis 1914, xx–xxi.

54. A. Hug, "Symposion-Literatur," *RE* 4. 1273–82; J. Martin, *Symposion* (Paderborn 1931), 167–289; Tomberg 1968, 54–62; for the continuance of the symposium and its literary concomitants in real life (rather than, as often believed, simply as a literary genre), see my *Callimachus and his Critics* (1995), 71–103.

Achilles Tatius's *Leucippe and Clitophon*.[55] The particular spin of Ptolemy's collection is that he provides a great many new and surprising answers to old questions, often in polemic with his predecessors.

We have seen how anyone hoping to impress people with his own answers to such questions was expected to produce supporting evidence, and for Ptolemy's answers to carry conviction, naturally he too had to do the same. The Photian summaries cite only a handful of source references, but the Eustathian parallel versions cite many more, and Tomberg not implausibly argued that the original text cited references for every answer or story. Nigel Wilson writes of Ptolemy being "at pains to cite his authorities, *whose existence is not open to suspicion*."[56] But Ps-Plutarch was also "at pains" to cite his authorities–all too obvious and suspicious pains. Tomberg himself barely mentions the possibility of Ptolemy faking sources, taking refuge in the seemingly reasonable assumption that his obscure and often foolish subject matter naturally came from obscure and foolish writers, who are, not surprisingly, otherwise unknown.[57]

To be sure he quotes a great many undoubtedly genuine texts (Homer, Herodotus, even Euphorion and Lycophron). For example, he explains a characteristically enigmatic allusion in Lycophron as a reference to Sirens killing Centaurs.[58] This is plausible and probably correct. It is in fact exactly what the scholia say. It seems clear that Ptolemy knew both Lycophron and his learned ancient commentators. But the fact that he sometimes quotes genuine material based on genuine texts and erudition does not mean that he always did. In the words of Ronald Syme, to "throw together the real and the fictitious is an old device of verisimilitude and deceit."[59]

Let us begin with Homer. Sophisticated Homeric games were fashionable among the cultivated circles of the age.[60] A particularly striking illustration is the Trojan oration of Dio Chrysostom (*Or*. xi), delivered before the people of early second-century Ilium, listing numerous "falsehoods" told by Homer about the Trojan War.[61] For example, it was Paris, not Menelaus, whom Tyndareus chose from Helen's suitors, and they were legally married. Hector killed Achilles, not the other way around. Troy did not fall, and, thanks to the intercession of Helen, the two sides eventually made peace. At a much lower literary level, according to

55 Shadi Bartsch, *Decoding the Ancient Novel: The Reader and the Role of Description in Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius* (Princeton 1989), 12 n. 12, lists the longer "descriptions," but (understandably) not the countless mythological references (for one of which, see p. 245).

56. *CR* 21 (1971), 135 (my italics).

57. See his brief statement on pp. 76–7.

58. *Alex*. 670; 151b 32.

59. R. Syme, *Emperors and Biography* (Oxford 1971), 265.

60. J. F. Kindstrand, *Homer in der zweiten Sophistik* (Uppsala 1973); for a brief account, see the section "Homeric Hilarity," in G. Anderson, *The Second Sophistic* (London 1993), 174–6.

61. The exact purpose of this oration is controversial: see Suzanne Said in S. Swain (ed.), *Dio Chrysostom: Politics, Letters and Philosophy* (Oxford 2000), 174–85; and Michael Trapp's forthcoming paper "Troy and the True Story of the Trojan War."

the "journal" of Dares the Phrygian, Agamemnon and Achilles never quarrelled, Hector was actually killed quite early in the war, and Priam tried to murder Aeneas, who eventually betrayed Troy to the Greeks.[62] A less familiar piece is Philostratus's *Heroïcus*, cast in the form of a dialogue between a Phoenician merchant and a vinedresser who is a close personal friend of Protesilaus, who (for reasons that are never made entirely clear) pays him regular visits to reminisce about the heroes he knew during his brief career at Troy.[63] Naturally he corrects Homer's mistakes. For example, it was not true that his house was only half built when he died;[64] Homer deliberately omitted the story of Palamedes in Odysseus's interest and simply made up the Cyclopes and Laestrygonians. It was not the famous Memnon, the Ethiopian, who killed Antilochus but a different Memnon, a Trojan. Idomeneus never went to Troy, and Thetis did not have new armor made for Achilles, because Patroclus died in his own armor. Though often worked out in enormous, deadpan detail, this revisionism involved a minimum of sheer fabrication. It presupposed an audience intimately acquainted with the Homeric version and so able to appreciate the skill (or downright perversity) with which the traditional elements were simply rearranged and reinterpreted.

Up to a point Ptolemy was simply playing the Homeric games of his age. But there is a difference. When Dio, Philostratus, and Dictys cite authorities for their "revisions" (Egyptian documents, Protesilaus, Ulysses, and Menelaus),[65] these are just literary devices, not meant to be taken seriously. But Ptolemy cites his texts as though they were real books he had consulted in person.

The most telling single proof of fabrication (an intriguing combination of scholarship and fantasy) is his elaborate list of *mnemones* (μνήμονες) of a number of Homeric heroes: Myïskos, a Cephallenian, for Odysseus; Noëmon, a Carthaginian appointed by Thetis, for Achilles; Eudorus for Patroclus; Dardanos the Thessalian for Protesilaus; Chalcon of Cyparissus the hypaspist for Antilochus; and Dares, author of a pre-Homeric *Iliad,* for Hector. These *mnemones* are clearly envisaged as mentors or bodyguards of some sort.[66] For example, Dares is said to have advised Hector not to kill Patroclus; and Chalcon was appointed by Nestor to protect Antilochus, on the grounds that he was fated to be killed by an Ethiopian (in the event Memnon). But Chalchon fell in love with Penthesileia and was killed by Achilles, whereupon the Greeks impaled him. Nowhere in all the abundant Homeric scholia that have come down to us is there any other reference to *mnemones*, nor are any of these names or stories known from any other source.

62. I am assuming an early imperial Greek original behind the late antique Latin version of Dares that is all we possess.

63. See now *Flavius Philostratus: Heroikos*, translated with an introduction and notes by Jennifer K. Berenson and Ellen Bradshaw Aitken (Atlanta 2001).

64. *Iliad* ii. 701, with *Her*. 12, p. 38 Maclean-Aitken.

65. On this point, see Said 2000, 176–7.

66. *LSJ* has a separate rubric for this one passage of Eustathius (s.v. μνήμων, II. 1), offering the meaning "counselor," "mentor."

No modern scholar (except T. W. Allen, who also believed that Dictys drew on genuine "extra-Homeric traditions") has ever believed that they are anything but pure fiction.[67] The only question is whether Ptolemy made them up himself or just "used very unreliable authors."[68]

He cites five different authorities: for Antilochus's *mnemon* Chalcon, Asclepiades of Myrlea; for Achilles's, Lycophron; for Protesilaus's, Eresios;[69] for Patroclus's, Timolaus of Macedon;[70] and for Hector's, Antipatros of Acanthos. Since Lycophron and Asclepiades of Myrlea are both authentic Hellenistic scholars, the unwary have been tempted to believe in the other three as well.

The only one of the five we can check is Lycophron. Fortunately we are in a good position to assess claims about Lycophron. Not only does the text of the *Alexandra* survive entire, but we also have both an explanatory paraphrase and very detailed and well-informed scholia. It is therefore the more significant that nothing in this extensive complex of texts lends any support to the story of Noëmon the Carthaginian. Here is what must be the passage in question:[71]

ὁ τλήμων, μητρὸς οὐ φράσας θεᾶς, μνήμων ἐφετμάς . . . / . . . θανεῖται.

The μνήμων evidently puzzled readers. Modern editors take it as an adjective in apposition to the subject of the sentence: "the wretch will die, not having spoken, mindful, the instructions of the goddess mother." But the paraphrase[72] and the scholia[73] took it as a proper name: "the wretched Mnemon will die, not having spoken the instructions of the goddess mother." According to the scholia, Thetis sent this Mnemon as a messenger to Achilles to *remind* him[74] not to kill Tennes (the eponym of Tenedos) because it was fated that Achilles would die by the hand of Apollo if he killed a son of Apollo. Mnemon forgot to deliver his message, and Achilles killed Tennes–and then Mnemon. Although only the Tennes part of the story is directly attested elsewhere,[75] Lycophron certainly implies a tradition that

67. Allen, Homer: *the origins and the transmission* (Oxford 1924), 130–76 (175 n. 1 on the *mnemones*).

68. Wilson 1971, 135.

69. Perhaps just an ethnic, "from Eresos," a city on Lesbos (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἔρεσος gives Ἐρέσιος as the ethnic), the actual name having got lost.

70. A Timolaus of Larissa in Macedon is attested by the Suda (see *SH* 849–51) for an *Iliad* in which he inserted a line of his own after every line in Homer. But since this Suda entry appears in essentially the same words in Eustathius (*Od.* 1379. 50), complete with the first six lines of the poem, I suspect that this too derives ultimately from the Quail, together with another piece of fanciful mythology attributed to a Timolaus in *Schol. Od.* iii. 267 (i. 144 Dindorf).

71. Lyc. *Alex.* 240–2.

72. ὁ ταλαίπωρος τῆς Θέτιδος ὁ Μνήμων, ὄνομα κύριον, τὰς ἐντολὰς Θέτιδος <οὐκ εἰπών> . . . ἀποθανεῖται (p. 23 Scheer); I have supplied the bracketed words from the revised, later paraphrase printed on the same page.

73. *Scholia vetera* on line 241, pp. 87–8 Kinkel; for the slightly different Tzetzes version, ii. p. 106 Scheer.

74. πρὸς τὸ μιμνήσκειν αὐτόν, *Schol. vet.*

75. Ps-Apoll. *Epit.* 3. 26; for more details, Carrière and Massonie 1991, 276–7; Gantz 1993, 591–2.

Thetis sent someone to tell Achilles not to kill Tennes; unfortunately the messenger forgot and was killed. Yet it is an unlikely irony for archaic epic that this forgetful messenger was actually called Mnemon. It seems that Ptolemy decided on a third approach, taking μνήμων as a title or office: "the wretched *mnemon* will die."[76] In the historical period *mnemon* was a common title of clerical officials in Greek cities,[77] and this is not in itself an impossible or absurd interpretation of the line taken by itself. Yet obviously there is nothing in Lycophron to justify assigning this *mnemon* the name and ethnic Noëmon the Carthaginian. And while it is not in itself impossible that Ptolemy found this information in another source, this is *not* what he says. While he cites other sources for each of the other *mnemones*, the only source he cites for Noëmon the Carthaginian is Lycophron. While we cannot exclude the possibility that someone before Ptolemy invented Noëmon the *mnemon*, Ptolemy was familiar with both Lycophron and his ancient commentators, and it is hard to resist the conclusion that it was Ptolemy himself who came up with this idiosyncratic interpretation of μνήμων in Lycophron 240 and simply invented a name and ethnic for the *mnemon* he had created.[78]

Whether or not Ptolemy himself invented one of these *mnemones,* where do the other four come from? There is no doubt a remote possibility that, despite the silence of surviving texts, *mnemones* were mentioned a number of times in some lost Cyclic epic; that Ptolemy misinterpreted Lycophron on this basis; and that Antipatros, Asclepiades, Eresios, and Timolaus each happened to select a different *mnemon* from this same archaic source to write about. Once again, however, this is *not* what Ptolemy says. If he had cited the same source for the whole bunch, we might have just accepted the notion of epic *mnemones*–or at any rate considered them a mare's nest dreamed up by one misguided ancient critic. But he cites *five* ancient critics. The only other one whose existence is beyond doubt is Asclepiades of Myrlea, a learned but unoriginal grammarian, commentator, and historian of the first century BC, somewhat prone to allegory, but scholarly enough to cite archaic sources, like the Cyclic *Thebaid*.[79] Hardly the man to fabricate the romantic saga of Chalcon and Penthesileia. To be sure there are some very unhomeric stories in the Epic Cycle,[80] yet can we really believe that an otherwise wholly unknown character played a major role in the Penthesileia story, ending with so barbarian a punishment as impalement?[81]

76. Tzetzes has something similar: ὅντινα ἡ Θέτις συνακόλουθον Ἀχιλεῖ δέδωκεν ὑπομιμνήσκειν αὐτῷ (p. 106 Scheer).

77. *LSJ* s.v. II. 3; F. Preisigke, *Fachwörter des öffentlichen Verwaltungsdienstes Ägyptens* (Göttingen 1915), 127.

78. Noemon is in fact a good epic name, with three different bearers of the name in Homer: see Roscher s.v.

79. A. Adler, "Die Commentare des Asklepiades von Myrlea," *Hermes* 49 (1914), 39–46; for the few fragments of his *Bithyniaca and Periegesis of Turdetania*, see *FGrH* 697.

80 . J. Griffin, "The Epic Cycle and the Uniqueness of Homer," *JHS* 97 (1977), 39–53.

81. For example, reserved for Persians in Herodotus: J. E. Powell, *Lexicon to Herodotus* (1938), s.v. ἀνασκολοπίζω and ἀνασταυρῶ.

The most suspicious single thing about the list as a whole is precisely the different source cited for each *mnemon*, especially given the fact that the only one we can actually check, Lycophron, said nothing of the sort. Even if we set Lycophron on one side, we are asked to believe that four different writers independently rediscovered epic *mnemones*, and that Ptolemy just happened to come across all four of them. The probability is that he invented all six *mnemones*, complete with names, biographies, and *source references*.

If Ptolemy falsified Lycophron and invented the otherwise unknown Eresios, Timolaus, and Antipatros, we are no longer entitled to accord him the presumption of innocence elsewhere in the *New History*. One of the most conspicuous features of the work is bizarre variants on well known mythical stories. Is this not exactly what Callimachus and Euphorion did, ask Tomberg and Ptolemy's other modern defenders.[82] Some of his stories may indeed have originated in obscure local histories, like the romance of Acontius and Cydippe that Callimachus rescued from Xenomedes's *History of Ceos*. But take his story of a beauty contest between Thetis and Medea in Thessaly, with Idomeneus the Cretan as judge.[83] Idomeneus gave the prize to Thetis, and Medea angrily exclaimed, anticipating Epimenides,[84] "Cretans are always liars" (Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται). Fortunately this is a case where the source survives, a double citation complete with titles and book numbers, on the model of Ps-Plutarch's finest efforts: "Athenodorus of Eretria in book 8 of his *Commentaries*," who had cited his source in turn: "book 2 of the *Legends of the City* [τῶν κατὰ πόλιν μυθικῶν] of Antiochus." It goes without saying that both writers are otherwise unknown.[85]

As for the story, I would submit that a beauty contest between Thetis and Medea is not just one more adventure that can be comfortably slotted into their mythological lives, like a new labour of Heracles or a new landfall for the Argonauts. The saga of Thetis is restricted in scope. Outside her dealings with Zeus, Peleus, and (of course) Achilles, we hear only that she nursed Hephaestus after his fall from heaven into the sea and Dionysus when he dived into the sea in fear once, in both cases natural and appropriate behavior for a sea-nymph.[86] Medea has a more varied career, but her adventures center on magic and murders.[87] She takes frightful revenge when betrayed or crossed, but it is to trivialize the motif of her wrath

82. So too Wilson 1971, 135; O'Hara 1996, 199.

83. Phot. 150a 38 = p. 32 Chatzis = Photius iii. 62–3 Henry.

84. Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί, Epimenides F 1 in Diels, *Vorsokratiker* i[7] (1954), 32.

85. Unless Antiochus is to be identified with the pseudonymous Antiochus-Pherecydes cited in Clement and the scholia to Aristides: see *FGrH* 57 and 29, with even more emphatic condemnation in the commentary on *FGrH* 333 (Antiochus-Pherecydes) in III b Suppl. I (1954), 613.

86. See the index in Gantz 1993, 872–3.

87. Which is not to say that there are not interesting complexities in the various treatments that have come down to us. See particularly the various essays in James J. Clauss and Sarah Iles Johnston, *Medea: Essays on Medea in Myth, Literature, Philosophy and Art* (Princeton 1997). For her mythical biography, F. Graf's contribution (ib. 21–43).

to have it inspired by losing a beauty contest—and then to take no more terrible a form than calling Cretans liars![88] Idomeneus's biography is otherwise confined to his wooing of Helen, his exploits at Troy, and one or two details of his nostos.[89] Nothing otherwise known takes him to Thessaly. It is tempting to guess that what suggested the link with Medea was the story of the adultery of his wife *Meda*.[90]

This is in fact is one of those stories where every detail leads up to the punch line. It is pure fiction, created by recombining familiar elements in a different way. The source of the beauty contest is obvious enough. Idomeneus as a dishonest judge comes from a strange but surely late tradition that the saying "Cretans are always liars" goes back to the time when he was appointed judge to decide who should get the spoils of Troy. After persuading the other heroes to abide by his decision, he assigned the lot to himself.[91] Whatever the date and source of this story, it was at any rate located, appropriately enough, during Idomeneus's Trojan period. While it is conceivable that this fabrication was the work of Athenodorus or Antiochus (if, improbably enough, they existed) rather than Ptolemy, it is suspicious in itself that he cites two authorities with such ponderous precision for so silly a story.

One of the Emperor Tiberius's favorite mythological questions was which name Achilles used as a girl on Scyros. The Quail comes up with no fewer than five possibilities: Pyrrha, Aspetos, Prometheus, Issa, and Kerkusera.[92] Pyrrha is found in Hyginus (*Fab*. 97), a respectable guess, in view of the alternative name Pyrrhus borne by his son and the descent from Achilles claimed by Pyrrhus King of Epirus. As for Aspetos, Achilles was honored at Epirus under that name, and the patronymic [ʼA]σπετίδης is found in a fragmentary poem found on papyrus.[93] But of course, like Prometheus, it is a man's name. As for Issa, Issus and Issa were *Latin* baby names or endearments, colloquial forms of *ipse/ipsa*![94] Prometheus is a mystery, and the bizarre Kerkusera surely a joke. Yet it is precisely for Kerkusera that a source is cited, Aristonicus of Tarentum.

A couple of pages later this same Aristonicus is cited again, for the claim (otherwise, not surprisingly, unattested) that the middle head of the Hydra was made of gold (147b22). Sources are several times cited for stories no less silly. Theodorus of Samothrace (152b.26) reported that Zeus laughed for seven days without stopping from the moment of his birth, which is why seven is regarded as a perfect

88. To be sure, Vergil writes eloquently of the effects of Juno's disappointment at losing a beauty contest (*manet alta mente repostum / iudicium Paridis spretaeque iniuria formae, Aen*. i. 26–7) but then that led to the 10 years of the Trojan War and its aftermath.

89. Gantz 1993, 565 and 697–8.

90. On which see Ps-Apoll. *Epit*. 6. 9–10, with Gantz 1993, 607–8. Compare the surprisingly early tradition that Medea had a son Medeus who became the eponymous hero of the Medes (Graf in Clauss and Johnston 1997, 37).

91. See the texts quoted in Pfeiffer's note on Call. *Hymn* i. 8, with the scholia ad loc., together with a fuller version in Zenobius IV. 62, s.v. κρητίζειν (*Paroemiographi graeci*, ed. Leutsch and Schneidewin i (1839), 101–2), with W. Bühler, *Zenobii Athoi proverbia* i (Göttingen 1987), 288.

92. Phot. 147a 18; the text here is not entirely secure: see Chatzis's notes, pp. 17–8.

93. Aristotle F 563 Rose; Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 1; *SH* 960. 4.

94. See *OLD* s.v. *isse*.

number. Achilles and Deiodameia had another son besides Neoptolemos, called Oneiros) (Dream), who was accidentally killed by Orestes in Phocis while putting up a tent. Once again Eustathius supplies the source, the (of course) otherwise unknown Demetrius of Ilium.[95] According to a certain Telles, Achilles was killed by Penthesileia before being raised from the dead to kill her in turn.[96]

Ptolemy also liked fanciful etymologies. Odysseus was so called because his mother gave birth by the roadside in a rain storm (ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὗσεν ὁ Ζεύς) The fuller version in Eustathius supplies the source: book 2 of the *Mythica* of Silenus of Chios, which Jacoby, for once apparently unaware of the ultimate source of the passage, was uncharacteristically content to accept as a genuine work.[97] Now it is true that fanciful etymologies of proper names are ubiquitous in Greek and Roman writers. Achilles was so called, according to Euphorion, because he did not taste cattle-fodder (ἀ-χιλός); according to Apollonius, because he did not suckle his mother with his lips (ἀ-χεῖλος); as we shall shortly see, Ptolemy himself produced a novel variation on the etymology of Achilles.[98] Many similar examples might be cited. Yet it is one thing to etymologize proper names, to suggest that at some level X was so called because his name means Y. This is a game people still play. But it is surely quite different to claim (with Ptolemy) that Odysseus was once actually called Outis because he had big ears; that Helen was once called Echo; that Heracles (according to Sotas of Byzantium) was called Neilos until he changed his name.[99]

Other obsessions of Ptolemy (unfortunately undocumented, at any rate in Photius's summary) are male lovers of epic heroes and lists of mythological homonyms. Adonis, Argos, Korydos, Nestor, Nireus, and Stichios are all claimed as lovers of Heracles. Helenus was the lover of Apollo; Patroclus of Poseidon; Polydeuces of Hermes; Dionysus of Chiron; and (on the authority of Eustathius) Paris of Apollo (who taught him archery).[100] As for homonyms, there was a list of women called Hecale;[101] and of famous bearers of the name Achilles, including the teacher of Chiron and the inventor of ostracism at Athens. The list concludes: "plus another fourteen, two of whom were dogs"![102] A number of women bore the name Helen,

95. Phot. 148a 22; Chatzis p. 25; *FGrH* 59.

96. Phot. 151b 29, with Telles added by Eustathius (p. 38 Chatzis).

97. *FGrH* 27 F 1 (two other late scholia as well as Eustathius). Jacoby included under this rubric two citations of a bare Silenus in Diog. Laertius and Silenus as "Unsicheres und zweifelhaftes" but did not query F 1.

98. James J. O'Hara, *True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay* (Ann Arbor 1996), 37 and 27, and passim for many other illustrations.

99. Source supplied by Tzetzes, Scholia on Lycophron, *Alex.* 1350; p. 21 Chatzis.

100. These items are not all listed together but occur at intervals; for the references, Hercher, *Jahrb. f. class. Phil.* Suppl. 1 (1855–56), 281.

101. 148a20; the heroine of Callimachus's famous poem is the only one otherwise known.

102. 152a30–b8; plausible enough. So far as I know, Achilles is not actually attested as a dog's name in antiquity, but it is certainly a name borne by racehorses and would have been an obvious enough name for a hunting dog. Much information on this subject in J.M.C. Toynbee, "Beasts and their names in the Roman Empire," *PBSR* 16 (1948), 24–37.

among them (all, of course, otherwise unattested), a daughter of Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus killed by Orestes; a maid who helped Aphrodite in her affair with Adonis; a daughter of the Faustulus who found Romulus and Remus being suckled by the wolf; a woman who ate three baby goats a day;[103] and at least 18 more, including the historian Helen plagiarized by Homer (below); a daughter of Tityros the Aetolian who almost killed Achilles in single combat (if he had not killed her first); and Helen the daughter of Timon the Egyptian, who painted a famous picture of the battle of Issus displayed in the temple of Pax under Vespasian. It is particularly sad that we lack the sources cited for this amazing catalogue.

The painting of Issus is an instructive illustration. It is well known that a number of famous works of art were displayed in Vespasian's temple of Pax, many of them, according to Pliny, collected by Nero.[104] Most of them Pliny assigns to well-known Greek painters, but in one case he admits that "we do not know the name of the craftsman responsible for the Venus dedicated by the Emperor Vespasian in the galleries of his temple of Pax, a work worthy of the old masters."[105] The painting of Issus was surely a genuine work by an unknown painter. Ptolemy's contribution was to identify this unknown master—one of his many famous Helens.

Lists of homonyms were not (of course) invented by Ptolemy. For the serious reader anxious to distinguish between different bearers of common names, a scholarly work like the *On Poets and Writers of the Same Name* by Cicero's friend Demetrius of Magnesia served a real purpose.[106] To accommodate chronological and other problems, rationalizing mythographers (notably Diodorus) distinguished a number of different bearers of the names Zeus, Dionysus, and Heracles.[107] At a lower level, Gellius describes his disappointment when a friend loaned him a collection of "learned" excerpts he had spent his life compiling, only to discover that it contained nothing but wonders (*mera miracula*): among them "the number of famous men named Pythagoras and Hippocrates."[108] Ptolemy's lists are on the same level as Philostratus's claim that it was not the famous Memnon who killed Antilochus but another man of the same name,[109] and the Helens at any rate suggest deliberate parody.

The theme of alternative or original names is omnipresent in the *New History*. The wife of Candaules, whose name Herodotus did not give,[110] was in fact called Nysia:[111]

103. Perhaps the most plausible item in the list. There were circus performers who ate gigantic amounts of food (roast boar, sucking pig, etc.) "and still looked hungry" (*et adhuc esuriens videbatur*): two examples quoted (under Nero and Alexander Severus) in the Chronographer of 354 (Mommsen, *Chronica Minora* i (1892), 144–5); B. Baldwin, *AJP* 98 (1977), 406–9.

104. For a list, Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Oxford 1929), 386.

105. Plin. *NH* xxxvi. 27.

106. For the fragments, J. Meyer, *Hermes* 109 (1981), 447–72; see too Cameron 1995, 423.

107. Briefly, Veyne 1988, 147 n. 154 (Engl. tr.).

108. Gell. *NA* xiv. 6. 3.

109. Phil. *Her*. 26. 16, p. 82 Maclean-Aitken.

110. i. 10; Plato, *Rep*. 360B, did not give the name either.

111. 150b. 18–28.

> Others say her name was Tudun [Τουδοῦν], others Clytia, while Abas says that she was called Abro. They say that Herodotus suppressed the woman's name because his lover Plesirrhoos was in love with a woman called Nysia, a Halicarnassian, and hanged himself when this hetaira rejected him. This is why Herodotus could not bring himself to mention the name Nysia, which was hateful to him.

This is a particularly intriguing illustration of Ptolemy's technique. To start with, the multiple citations are reminiscent of one of the favorite techniques of the author of the *Historia Augusta*: the spoof scholarly controversy on a nonexistent or inappropriate topic.[112] A nice example is the pseudocontroversy about the birthplace of the Emperor Carus:[113]

> There is such divergence among the various writers that I am unable to say where it really was. For Onesimus, who wrote a very thorough *Life of Probus*, maintains that he was born at Rome but of Illyrian parents. Yet Fabius Ceryllianus, who covered the *Times of Carus, Carinus and Numerian* with great skill, declares that he was not born in Rome but in Illyricum, but that his parents were Carthaginian, not Pannonian. I myself recall having read in a certain journal that he was born in Milan but enrolled in the senate of Aquileia.

This is an intriguing case, since it happens to be securely, uncontroversially, and abundantly documented that Carus was born at Narbonne in Gaul. If the writer was as interested in the topic as he claims, he must have known this, yet he chose instead to pretend that there was serious debate among a number of quite different alternatives. Not surprisingly, most of the *HA*'s fabrications concern events where little reliable information was available, but here we find him taking a solid fact for which genuine sources could easily have been cited and creating a nonexistent controversy on the basis of nonexistent authorities.[114]

To return to Candaules's wife,[115] Ptolemy gives her name as Nysia, and then adds that "others say her name was Tudun, others Clytia, while Abas says that she was called Abro." For Nysia we have a fuller version in Tzetzes, who provides the

112. Ronald Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta* (Oxford 1968), 98–9, pointed out how skilfully the writer parodies the formulas of genuine researchers; the passage cited is *Vita Cari* 4.4.

113. *SHA Car*. 4.4; for all details, see A. Chastagnol, *Histoire Auguste: Les empereurs romains des IIe et IIIe siècles* (Paris 1994), 1137–8.

114. Another illustration in the spirit of Ptolemy concerns the diet of the monstrous Emperor Maximin: "it is agreed that he often drank a Capitoline amphora of wine in a single day and ate 40 pounds of meat, or (according to Cordus) no less than 60 pounds. It is also agreed that he abstained wholly from vegetables." (*V. Max*. 4.1).

115. Two valuable papers by Kirby Flower Smith, "The Tale of Gyges and the King of Lydia," *AJP* 23 (1902), 261–82 and 361–87, and "The Literary Tradition of Gyges and Candaules," *AJP* 41 (1920), 1–37, collect all relevant literary sources, except (of course) for the Gyges tragedy papyrus published in 1950, on which see D. L. Page, *A New Chapter in the History of Greek Tragedy* (Cambridge 1951) and A. Lesky, "Das hellenistische Gyges-Drama," *Hermes* 81 (1953), 1–10.

source Photius omitted: the *Samian Tales* (Σαμιακοὶ λόγοι) of Aeneas,[116] where the form of the title is surely modeled on Herodotus's own use of Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι and Λιβυκοὶ λόγοι (i. 184; ii. 161.3). A writer called Abas is cited once by Servius for a *Troïca*, no more likely a source for the name of an Oriental queen than a book called *Samian Tales*.[117] Whether or not Ptolemy himself cited "some" and "others" unspecified for Tudun and Clytia or supplied author names and titles,[118] it seems that he presents Nysia as front-runner, and Tudun as simply one of many other possibilities. Yet Tudun (or Tudo) is in fact the only name attested by an authentic source, Xanthus of Lydia as summarized by Nicholas of Damascus.[119] As in the case of Carus's birthplace, if Ptolemy had really investigated the question at all, he must have known this. It is not likely that any amount of research would have come up with another name.[120] Yet rather than triumphantly produce a name unknown to Herodotus from a source earlier than Herodotus, just as with the five girl-names of Achilles, Ptolemy chose instead to create the impression of a scholarly controversy, with many possible answers—on the basis of invented citations. The fictional Greek name Nysia worked better as front-runner to lead into Herodotus's supposed motive for suppressing the name, the boyfriend who hanged himself because he was deserted by a woman called Nysia.

Ptolemy describes the queen as "having a double pupil (δίκορος) and being very sharpsighted, having acquired the serpent's stone (δρακοντίτης), which is why she spotted Gyges as he slipped through the door." As Kirby Flower Smith pointed out a century ago, this does not even pretend to be factual information collected from sources but answers to questions posed by rhetoricians. With or without his magical ring of invisibility, Gyges was one of the most popular themes in the schools of the Roman world.[121] A chapter in the handbook of Nicholas of Myra carries the heading "That the story of Candaules is not credible" and lists improbabilities (many of them frivolous) in the Herodotean version. If Gyges stationed himself behind the door, how could he have seen the queen? Did he use his ring, the most popular single motif in the story?[122] That, surely, is why she needed the serpent's stone as well as double pupils to spot Gyges. As Denys Page put it, the serpent's stone and double pupils are "nothing but a smooth answer to a silly question."[123] So if there is not one word of fact or truth in the

116. Quoted by Chatzis p. 33 from Cramer, *Anecd. Oxon*. iii. 351.

117. *FGrH* 46, described as a "Schwindelautor" by Jacoby.

118. ἄλλοι Τουδοῦν αὐτὴν καλεῖσθαι, οἱ δὲ Κλυτίαν, 150b 22.

119. τρυδωνου Μυσῶν βασιλέως, the only MS; Τουδὼ τοῦ Mueller, *FHG* iii. 384, on the basis of Ptolemy; now Nic. Dam. F 47. 6 in *FGrH* 90.

120. Since Aeschylus apparently designated Xerxes's mother simply Βασίλεια in his *Persae*, there is no good reason to suppose that the queen was given a name in the Gyges tragedy, which is in any case clearly based on Herodotus.

121. Smith 1920 quotes a large number of texts from the rhetoricians.

122. See particularly Theon 66. 18W, p. 10 Patillon-Bolognesi, with Smith 1920, 2–8.

123. Page 1951, 20. Indeed, as Smith 1902, 371 remarks, "the entire passage of Chennos appears to be nothing more than a series of comments on the version of Herodotus suggested by other literary sources."

entire chapter, why should we believe in its supposed sources, Abro and the *Samian Tales* of Aeneas?

Nor is this the only place where Ptolemy claims to supply names missing in Herodotus. A much-discussed passage (i.51.3–4) tells the curious story of a gold lustral basin at Delphi dedicated by Croesus but subsequently reinscribed by "a certain man of Delphi" to please the Lacedaemonians. Herodotus claims to know this man's name but refuses to give it. Surprise, surprise! Ptolemy knows it: Aithos.[124] But at 147b18, as if to say "You may feel, dear reader, that I have gone a bit too far in naming famous *anonymi*," he pointedly styles the fire-breathing giant from whom Heracles rescued Hera, uncontroversially elsewhere called Porphyrion, "anonymous"![125]

The game of attaching names to anonymous figures of myth and history is by no means Ptolemy's innovation. Herman Diels long ago drew attention to a striking link between Ptolemy and the Didymus Demosthenes papyrus.[126] In a discursive note on Demosthenes' claim that Philip of Macedon was wounded all over his body, Didymus cites a mass of sources for the king's loss of an eye at the siege of Methone, including Duris of Samos, who produced the name of the man who shot the arrow that did the damage: Aster. Ptolemy tells the same story in almost exactly the same words, but it is also told often elsewhere–not least in the *Parallela minora*.[127] What links Ptolemy specifically to Didymus is the sequel. Didymus goes on to describe how, shortly before Philip lost his eye, a group of famous flute players at a contest he had organized chanced to play the *Cyclops* of Philoxenus![128] This story Didymus gives on the authority of Marsyas of Macedon, a historian whom he had already cited a few lines earlier for Philip's wound.[129] Ptolemy immediately follows his account of Philip's wound with a story about the Marsyas of myth, inventor of the flute, who challenged Apollo and was flayed alive for his audacity. It is natural to suppose that it was Didymus's combination of the genuine historian Marsyas and Philip's flute-players that suggested the mythical flute-playing Marsyas to Ptolemy–just as Idomenus's wife Meda suggested his

124. 150a 6–9; on the modern controversy about this passage, most recently W. K. Pritchett, *The Liar School of Herodotus* (Amsterdam 1993), 144–6.

125. Τὸν ἀνώνυμον καὶ πυρίπνοον γίγαντα,147b 18; for the standard version, Gantz 1993, 449–50.

126. H. Diels and W. Schubart, *Didymos: Kommentar zu Demosthenes* (Berlin 1904), xxxv n. 1; Phot. 149a4–8.

127. For sources, Jacoby's note on Duris, *FGrH* 76 F 36 (p. 123); A. Riginos, "The Wounding of Philip II of Macedon: Fact and Fabrication," *JHS* 114 (1994), 103–19; for an excellent brief summary, Craig A. Gibson, *Interpreting a Classic: Demosthenes and his ancient commentators* (Berkeley 2002), 97 and 130–1.

128. Kol. 12. 50–62, pp. 57–59 Diels-Schubart. Didymus solemnly names all the flute-players: Antigeneides son of Philoxenus, Chrysogonus, son of Stesichorus, and Timotheus, son of Oeniades. For the *Cyclops* of Philoxenus, *PMG* 815–24, with M. L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford 1992), 367.

129. There were in fact *two* Macedonian historians of this name, Marsyas of Pella and Marsyas of Philippi: *FGrH* 135–6; see Jacoby's commentary (pp. 480–4) and L. Pearson, *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great* (1960), 253–4.

Idomeneus/Medea story. If so, this would be a wonderful illustration of Ptolemy's train of thought and method of composition. It is also striking to discover a supposedly learned commentary on Demosthenes offering the same sort of identifications and silly stories we find in Ptolemy or Aelian.[130]

Another recurring theme is pre-Homeric epics. We have already seen that Hector's *mnemon*, Dares, supposedly wrote a pre-Homeric *Iliad*. Ptolemy works the idea out in improbably precise detail in at least two other passages. A certain Phantasia of Memphis, daughter of Nicarchus, wrote both an *Iliad* and an *Odyssey*, which she deposited in the temple of Hephaestus at Memphis, where Homer got hold of copies from a temple scribe called Phanites and passed them off as his own. Once again Eustathius supplies the source reference: a certain Naucrates. Then there is Helen (not *the* Helen but one of her many homonyms), daughter of Musaeus the Athenian, who wrote a history of the Trojan War that gave Homer the idea for his poem (λαβεῖν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν). She also (he adds) had a bilingual lamb (δίγλωσσον ἀρνίον)![131] Odysseus took part in a contest for the flute in Etruria and won with Demodocus's *Capture of Troy*, which we are presumably meant to infer he stole while in Phaeacia.[132]

He may owe this particular motif to Dionysius Scytobrachion, who cited a series of pre-Homeric poems for the exploits of Dionysus among the Libyans. Here is Diodorus's summary of Dionysius's account of these sources (iii.67.4–5):

> Linus, they say, composed an account in Pelasgic letters of the deeds of the first Dionysus and of the other mythical legends and left them among his memoirs. And in the same manner use was made of these Pelasgic letters by Orpheus and Pronapides, who was the teacher of Homer and a gifted writer of songs. And also by Thymoetes, the son of Thymoetes, the son of Laomedon, who lived at the same time as Orpheus. . . . He composed the *Phrygian poem*, as it is called, wherein he made use of the archaic manner both of speech and letters.

Once again, the difference is that Dionysius's book was straightforward fantasy, a Euhemerist utopia.[133] Readers were no more expected to believe in these epics than in Solon's unfinished poem about Atlantis, Dictys's manuscript in Punic letters, or the memoir of Adso of Melk, on which *The Name of the Rose* purports to be based. But Ptolemy cites his pre-Homerica as he does his other sources as if they really existed.

We find the same claim about an *Iliad* by Dares the Phrygian, allegedly still extant, in Aelian, who also knew of two other pre-Homeric epics, by Oreibantius of

130. For serious reservations about Didymus's scholarly attainments, see Stephanie West, "Chalcenteric Negligence," *CQ* 20 (1970), 288–96.

131. 151a38 and 149b22.

132. Phot. 152b34–6.

133. John Ferguson, *Utopias of the Classical World* (London 1975), 123–4; J. S. Rusten, *Dionysius Scytobrachion* (Cologne 1982), 104–12.

Troezen and Melesander of Miletus.[134] Against this context we need not take very seriously Proclus's claim, so violently defended against what he denounced as baseless German scepticism by T. W. Allen, that the Epic Cycle was "still extant" (διασώζεται) in his own day–whenever that was.[135] It is worth underlining that this supposed epic of Dares the Phrygian cannot be identified with the surviving Latin *History of the Fall of Troy* ascribed to Dares the Phrygian.[136] The dedicatory letter by its supposed translator (who purports to be Cornelius Nepos addressing Sallust!) is clear that it was a *history* he had translated, not an epic poem. The Greek original (like Dictys's *Ephemerides*) was presumably likewise a journal or history rather than a poem.[137] The fact that Aelian agrees with Ptolemy about Dares being a poet suggests the possibility that he got his information from Ptolemy. Then there is the Suda-entry for Korinnos of Ilium (a local writer), crediting him with being the first to write a pre-Homeric *Iliad*, while the war was still in progress.[138] Korinnos is a portentously rare name,[139] presumably invented as a masculine counterpart to the Boeotian poetess Korinna.[140] Korinnos was a disciple of Palamedes and wrote in the Doric characters invented by Palamedes (recalling the Phoenician characters of Dictys's manuscript). He also wrote on Dardanus's war against the Paphlagonians, from which Homer took his subject matter (λαβεῖν ὑπόθεσιν, the same formula Ptolemy used of Homer's debt to Helen). At least two other Suda-entries probably derive from the *New History*,[141] and this one has all the hallmarks.

Before we leave pre-Homerica, one "genuine" source requires brief discussion. Nineteenth-century editors identified a series of otherwise unique details shared by Ptolemy and Dictys, particularly in their account of the gathering at Aulis.[142] Both say that it was by killing a she-goat (rather than hare or deer) that Agamemnon offended Artemis; and that when he refused to allow Iphigeneia to be sacrificed the army stripped him of his command and appointed Palamedes in his place.[143]

134. Aelian, *VH* xi. 2; for Oreibantius, Jacoby in *FGrH* 607 F 2.

135. Allen 1924, 56; more moderately, Jonathan S. Burgess, *The Tradition of the Trojan War in Homer and the Epic Cycle* (Baltimore 2001), 16.

136. *FGrH* 51; S. Merkle, in G. Schmeling (ed.), *The Novel in the Ancient World* (Leiden 1996), 572–80.

137. A. Beschorner, *Untersuchungen zu Dares Phrygius* (Tübingen 1992), has much useful material on Dares but is weak on the problem of the Greek original (pp. 231–54). The best argument is the writer's evident familiarity with the Homeric games of the Second Sophistic (Merkle 1996, 578), but why did the translator apparently substitute a new preface of his own?

138. See the entry K. 2091 (i. 3. 158 Adler).

139. Only one example, from fourth-century BC Boeotia, in all four volumes of Fraser and Matthews (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (iii B (2000), 243).

140. Though probably in fact Hellenistic, Korinna was generally believed to be early: D. L. Page, *Corinna* (London 1963), 71–3; M. L. West, *CQ* 20 (1970), 279; *antiqua Corinna*, according to Propertius ii. 3. 21.

141. See Suda s.v. πάν (a fish, the great Nile Perch), with 153b23; D'Arcy Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Fishes* (Oxford 1947), 193–4.

142. For a list, N. E. Griffin, *Dares and Dictys: An Introduction to the Study of the Medieval Versions of the Story of Troy* (Baltimore 1907), 109–10.

143. Dict. 1. 19 ~ Phot. 150b. 40; Dict. 1. 19 ~ Ptol. 150b.

A common source is unlikely, since this is an otherwise undocumented aspect of the early imperial rehabilitation of Palamedes. Both also say that Priam brought Andromache and her children with him when he came to ransom Hector's body from Achilles.[144] The ransoming of Hector's body is a favorite motif in ancient art,[145] but never a trace of Andromache and the children. This is surely one of Dictys's inventions. Hitherto it has been taken for granted that Dictys drew on Ptolemy. Yet it is surely the other way around.[146] It would be entirely in character for Ptolemy to draw on a source he knew to be outright fiction.[147] After all, he evidently knew the much inferior Dares, generally assumed a poor imitation of Dictys. Why otherwise would he have called one of his pre-Homeric poets Dares?

Another text we only know of from three citations (two together with Dictys) in the late sixth-century *Chronicle* of John Malalas purports to be the memoirs of Sisyphus of Cos: "this was written by Sisyphus, who was present at the war with Teucer; Homer later found his history and wrote the *Iliad*."[148] Malalas implies that, though a contemporary, Sisyphus wrote later than Dictys, and since the relevant part of the narrative is presented from Teucer's point of view, the natural assumption is that Sisyphys's book was based on Dictys but rewritten from the point of view of Teucer rather than Dictys's lord and master Idomeneus.[149] The *History* of Dares is another variation on the theme, a version from the Trojan point of view, with Dares himself apparently a retainer of Antenor. One peculiarity of the Trojan material Malalas claims to have taken from Dictys is that it contains very detailed physical descriptions of the various Trojan heroes. Cassandra, for example, "was short, round-faced, fair-skinned, with a masculine build, a good nose, good eyes with black pupils, curly fairish hair, a good neck, heavy breasts and small feet." Polyxena had black hair combed back, Achilles a long nose, while Aeneas was short and fat.[150] Though remarkable in such detailed application to figures of myth, the influence of physiognomonics is not in itself surprising in a work of the early empire.[151] Since there is no trace of these portraits in Septimius's

144. Dict. 1. 1–3 ~ Phot. 150b. 36; Dict. 3. 20 ~ Phot. 151b. 37.

145. See Anneliese Kossatz-Deissmann's entry "Achilleus" in *LIMC* i (1981), nos. 642–718.

146. It is also suggestive that, according to Ptolemy, Menelaus was sacrificing a hecatomb on Crete when Paris arrived in Sparta (Phot. 150b.38), given that Dictys also specifies *multarum hostiarum immolatione*, likewise on Crete (1.2).

147. Fiction, but nonetheless based on a number of sources other than Homer and his own imagination. It is time for a thorough study of Dictys's sources.

148. *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia* pp. 87. 80, 89. 52, 100. 96 Thurn (Berlin 2000) = p. 117, 119, and 132 Dindorf.

149. Elizabeth Jeffreys in E. Jeffreys, B. Croke, and R. Scott, *Studies in John Malalas* (Sydney 1990), 177 and 192; the relevant texts are quoted in *FGrH* 50; for earlier discussion of Sisyphus, Griffin, 1907, 60–81.

150. 76–9 Thurn = 103–7 Dindorf = pp. 51–56 trans. E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys, and R. Scott (Melbourne 1986).

151. E. C. Evans, *Physiognomonics in the Ancient World* (*Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc*. 59. 5) 1969; R. Browning, *Viator* 8 (1975), 28. There are similar descriptions in Dares.

Latin translation of Dictys, the most likely solution is that they were introduced by Sisyphus.[152] The implication that Homer plagiarized Sisyphus might seem to suggest Ptolemy again, except that Sisyphus enjoyed a more solid existence than a few bogus citations. Malalas clearly drew on an actual text (whether or not at first hand), from which he quotes a lengthy speech by Teucer.[153] Interest in pre-Homeric *Troïca* was widespread in the early imperial East, and the "discovery" of Dictys's memoirs seems to have started a fashion.[154]

Finally, let us look at what purports to be a summary of an elegy on the seven successive sex changes of Tiresias by an otherwise unknown poet called Sostratus. I gratefully make use of James O'Hara's recent translation with only one or two minor modifications:[155]

> *First change*: Sostratus in the *Tiresias*, an elegiac poem, says that Tiresias was originally born female, and was raised by Chariclo. At the age of seven she was wandering in the mountains, and Apollo fell in love with her, and taught her prophecy[156] as payment for sexual intercourse. But after being taught, the girl no longer gave herself to Apollo, and he changed her into a man, so that she would have experience of Eros.
>
> *Second change*: Having been changed into a man, he acted as judge for Zeus and Hera, as mentioned above. Having been changed back into a woman, she fell in love with Callon the Argive, by whom she had a son, who was called Strabo or "Squinter" because he was born with squinting eyes due to the anger of Hera.
>
> *Third change*: After this Tiresias laughed at the statue of Hera at Argos, and was changed into an unsightly man, and so called Pithon or "Monkey."
>
> *Fourth change*: Zeus pitied her and changed her back to a woman in the bloom of youth and sent her to Troezen.
>
> *Fifth change*: There a local man named Glyphius fell in love with her and assaulted her as she was bathing. But she was stronger than the young lad, and strangled him. Glyphius was the beloved of Poseidon, who turned the matter over to the Moirae for judgment. The Moirae turned her into Tiresias and took away her skill at prophecy.
>
> *Sixth change*: But he learned this again from Chiron, and dined at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. There a beauty contest was held between Aphrodite and the Graces whose names were Pasithea, Cale, and Euphrosyne. He acted as judge, and judged Cale most beautiful, and Hephaestus married her. This made Aphrodite angry, and she changed him

152. Michael and Elizabeth Jeffreys, in *Studies in John Malalas* (1990), 242–3.

153. 93–5 Thurn = 123–25 Dindorf.

154. For an uncritical collection of ancient sources on pre-Homeric writers of various sorts, Allen, 1924, 130–76.

155. James J. O'Hara, "Sostratus *Suppl. Hell.* 733: A Lost, Possibly Catullan-Era Elegy on the Six Sex Changes of Tiresias," *TAPA* 126 (1996), 173–219.

156. Reading μαντικήν for the μουσικήν of the MS (cf. O'Hara 1996, 184).

> into a poor old gray-haired woman. But Cale made her extremely attractive, and led her away to Crete. There Arachnus fell in love with her, and after lying with her he boasted that he had lain with Aphrodite.
>
> *Seventh change*: At this the goddess became angry and changed Arachnus into a weasel, and Tiresias into a mouse. He says this is why a mouse eats little, from having been an old woman, and has the power of prophecy because of Tiresias. That the mouse has prophetic powers is made clear both by the way their squeakings are a timely sign of a storm and by the way they flee and run away from houses that are in danger of collapse.

In the standard version, Tiresias was changed into a woman when he chanced to kill coupling snakes one day, and changed back again when confronted with the same sight years later. Since he had experienced sexual intercourse as both a man and a woman, Zeus and Hera asked him to say which sex enjoyed it most. When he said that women did, Hera blinded him, while Zeus compensated him with the gift of prophecy. In an alternative version (best known from Callimachus) he was blinded for stumbling on Athena bathing.

O'Hara's recent study has brilliantly illustrated how every change in "Sostratus" represents a reshaping of motifs from other mythical stories.[157] The breaking of the bargain with Apollo is borrowed from the Cassandra story; incurring Hera's wrath by laughing at her statue comes from the story of the daughters of Proetus; judging the beauty contest from the case of Paris; and boasting of sleeping with a goddess from the story of Anchises—though putting the boast in the mouth of a character called *Arachnus* must also be meant to recall the ill-fated boast of *Arachne*.

Little of this would be surprising as the technique of a learned but perverse Hellenistic poet. O'Hara himself sees it as evidence in favor of an authentic elegy. But it need prove no more than that, unlike the crude forgeries of Ps-Plutarch, Ptolemy's creations reveal a fair amount of genuine mythological knowledge and sophisticated literary technique. O'Hara argues that, while the story is certainly bizarre, it is "no more so than many of the obscure variants of myth found in Servius, Homeric scholia or even Euphorion or Callimachus." To me it seems fundamentally different from a mere "variant."

Like the beauty contest of Thetis and Medea, it is less a variant on a traditional story than a parody of that story. The two most powerful motifs in the traditional story are simply scrapped. Instead of a blind man who sees the future, we have a sighted Tiresias whose son squinted. Instead of a seer who has been both man and woman we have no fewer than seven successively more inconsequential sex changes, ending up with a mouse who forecasts the weather![158] Instead of a

157. O'Hara 1996, 173–219; see too G. Ugolini, *Untersuchungen zur Figur des Sehers Teiresias* (Tübingen 1995), 100–10; and Luc Brisson, *Sexual Ambivalence* (Berkeley 2002), 115–45.

158. Evidently an aetiology of the supposed ability of mice to sense coming storms (Aelian, *Nature of Animals* vii. 10). But even so a mouse that can forecast the weather is a *reductio ad absurdum* of Tiresias's prophetic powers. Brisson 2002, 130–3, treats this obvious joke with the ponderous solemnity and humorlessness of which only postmodernism is capable.

he-Tiresias surprising a goddess bathing, a she-Tiresias is surprised by some invented character–whom (utterly unlike the helpless victim of mythological rape) she strangles! And would even Euphorion have called a boastful male counterpart to Arachne Arachnus? Perversely enough, the Tiresian motif of the man blinded for seeing a naked goddess is transferred to the very next story. An otherwise unknown son of Apollo called Erymanthus stumbles on Aphrodite fresh from intercourse with Adonis, and she blinds him; Apollo in a fury changes himself into a boar and kills Adonis (147a1). Over and above the new version of the death of Adonis, the name Erymanthus and the boar are presumably intended to suggest a different origin for the story of the Erymanthian boar.

For whatever reason, Ptolemy was especially attracted by the motif of beauty and other contests. At 152b15 he offers a novel rationalization of the contest Paris judged: in reality, Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite had asked Paris to decide a quarrel about which of them should have Melos, son of Scamander, as her priest. The name Melos was subsequently misunderstood as a reference to an apple (μῆλον). After killing Pytho, Apollo held funeral games in his honor, with Hermes and Aphrodite as contestants. Aphrodite won and gave her prize, a lyre, to Paris, which is supposed to explain the reference to Paris's lyre in *Iliad* iii. 54.[159] Then there is the flute contest in Etruria that Odysseus won. In the "Sostratus" poem, Tiresias not only judges the dispute between Zeus and Hera but, learning nothing from past experience, proceeds to judge an otherwise unknown beauty contest between Aphrodite and the Graces.

In short, what is most striking about the technique of the "Sostratus" summary is how much it resembles the technique employed by Ptolemy himself throughout the *New History*. For this reason, among others, I cannot share the confidence of its latest editors in the authenticity of the following elegiac quatrain that Ptolemy ascribes to an otherwise unknown Agamestor of Pharsalus, alluding to the story that Thetis immersed the baby Achilles in fire to make him immortal:[160]

παιδνῷ δ' οὔνομα θῆκε Πυρίσσοον, ἀλλ' Ἀχιλῆα
  Πηλεὺς κίκλησκεν, χείλεος εἵνεκά μιν
κείμενον ἐν κονίῃ σποδιῇ τ' ἔνι πῦρ ἀπάμερσε
  χείλεος αἰθομένοι' ἀπροφάτως ἑτέρου.

[Thetis] gave the boy the name Purissoos [πυρί-σοος, "saved-from-the-fire"], but Peleus called him Achiles [with one lambda] because, while he lay in the dust and ashes, the fire unexpectedly deprived him of one lip [ἀ-χεῖλος] as it burned.

159. Phot. 153a1–5; there is of course nothing about this in the scholia on this line.

160. Phot. 152b29; Tzetz. on Lyc. *Alex*. 178 and *Iliad* p. 811. 31 Bachmann; *SH* 14. In its defense, Lloyd-Jones and Parsons refer to Tomberg 1968, 127, who merely cites texts on Thetis using fire to make Achilles immortal, which was never in question (Gantz 1993, 231).

Though certainly feeble, the poem is not in itself suspicious[161] or notably sillier than many another epideictic epigram of the early empire. What *is* suspicious is (1) the fact that, for all its brevity, the poem exemplifies *two* of Ptolemy's favorite motifs (original names and novel etymologies of names); (2) that an *epithalamium* for Thetis should deal with the different names Peleus and Thetis chose for their as yet unborn son; and (3) that the the poet's ethnic should proclaim him a citizen of Pharsalus, where (according to Pherecydes and Euripides) Peleus and Thetis lived after their wedding–and where the principal temple of Thetis stood in historical times.[162] Agamestor is portrayed as a local and a contemporary, who performed his epithalamium in person in front of the happy couple! The passage of Pherecydes is quoted in three sets of scholia, including those to Lycophron. And we have seen that Ptolemy was familiar with ancient commentaries on Lycophron.

This recombining of familiar elements in new ways and new stories runs right through Ptolemy's book. Innumerable individual motifs reappear again and again. It is hard to resist concluding that a single mind, perverse but ingenious and well read, is responsible. Yet on every page he systematically shifts the responsibility for all these startling new versions on to a host of unknown sources. The revealing truth is that, for all his ingenuity and erudition, Ptolemy fell into the same trap as Ps-Plutarch, betraying himself by constantly reusing the same fairly limited range of motifs (beauty contests, etymologies, original names, lists of homonyms, lovers of heroes, pre-Homeric epics) yet citing different sources for them. If accepting the sources in Ps-Plutarch's *Parallela minora* means accepting a whole school of historians who irresponsibly fabricated parallels between Greek and Roman history and mythology, accepting Ptolemy's sources means accepting a whole school of mythographers who invented remarkably similar bizarre new twists in mythology.

Nor is it just sources and texts cited by Ptolemy that are open to suspicion. Any version of a myth he offers that differs from the standard version needs to be treated with scepticism. In this context a single illustration must suffice: the detailed list of those who jumped from the White Rock of Leucas in the hope of being cured of a disabling love.[163] According to a fragment of Menander quoted by Strabo, Sappho was the first to make the jump, to cure her passion for Phaon the ferryman. It is (of course) most unlikely that Sappho did any such thing. Like other strange stories about Sappho, it is probably an invention of the comic poets (we know of at least six comedies called *Sappho*), no doubt a comic distortion of something she said in one of her poems.[164] The question has been much discussed,

161. The failure to identify Thetis as the subject of line 1 could be explained by a missing couplet, though the writer may just have assumed her as subject from his title.

162. Eur. *Androm.* 17–21; Pher. F 1 = Fowler, *EGM* i. 276; on the Thetideion at Pharsalus (mentioned as early as Euripides), see the further texts quoted by Roscher in Roscher v (1916–24), 792–3; so already Crusius in *RE* 1 (1893), 729.

163. Phot. 153a7–153b22, pp. 70–72 Henry.

164. Both Anacreon (*PMG* 376) and Euripides (*Cyclops* 163–8) write of falling ἀπὸ Λευκάδος πέτρης as a metaphor (apparently) of losing self-control (for discussion, R.A.S. Seaford, *Euripides Cyclops* [Oxford 1984], 134–5). How the phrase came to bear such a meaning is another question.

most elaborately in a wide-ranging paper by Gregory Nagy that relies for two key details on Ptolemy's account.[165] First, he finds it significant that Ptolemy does not mention either Sappho or Phaon. Second, he takes seriously Ptolemy's claim that it was Aphrodite who made the first jump, in order to get over her passion for Adonis. Nagy goes on to equate Adonis, Phaon, and Phaethon as lovers of Aphrodite.

In the ordinary way, given the length of his list of jumpers, it might seem entirely reasonable to infer that Ptolemy did not know the Sappho story, but it should by now be clear that we cannot just treat him as an ordinary (albeit unreliable) witness to genuine traditions.[166] His game was to give bold new twists to old stories. So when Ptolemy claims that someone was the first to do something, we have to consider the possibility that he is deliberately substituting a version of his own invention for the standard version. As for the Aphrodite version, he does more than simply credit her with making the first jump. He says that it was Apollo who advised her to jump. When she asked Apollo why, he replied that, being a prophet, he knew that Zeus, ἀεὶ ἐρῶν Ἥρας, used to sit on the rock and was freed of his love. What do the words left in Greek mean? Zeus being the most notorious adulterer in all European literature, hardly "always in love with Hera."[167] There can be little doubt that this is a case of ἀεί with present participle in the sense "at that time." This is a favorite usage of Herodotus, a favorite author of Ptolemy's.[168] What the phrase means is "whenever Zeus was in love with Hera." This is obviously a *joke*. What was a compulsive serial adulterer to do if he discovered that he was in love with his wife? On the rare occasions when this happened to Zeus, he sat on the Rock of Leucas and got over it, freeing him up to turn his attention to the latest nymph or mortal who had caught his roving eye.

Anyone who thinks that anything in this entire chapter is to be taken seriously need only continue down Ptolemy's list of jumpers. Xerxes's ally Queen Artemisia of Halicarnassus (another bit of Herodotean revisionism); Rhodope of Amisos, in love with twin bodyguards of Antiochus the Great called Cyrus and Antiphon (this sort of circumstantial detail is characteristic of Ptolemy, as of many forgers). Both Artemisia and Rhodope jumped to their deaths, but the otherwise unknown Makes of Buthrotum jumped successfully no fewer than four times. Nireus of Catania was lucky enough to be caught in the net of a fisherman who was lucky enough to catch a box full of gold in the same net. The ungrateful Nireus subsequently sued the fisherman for the gold! Finally, there is the otherwise unknown iambographer Charinus, in love with a eunuch wine-steward of Mithradates Eupator improb-

165. "Phaethon, Sappho's Phaon, and the White Rock of Leukas," *HSCP* 77 (1973), 137–77; slightly revised version in Nagy, *Greek Mythology and Poetics* (Ithaca 1990), 223–62.

166. Nagy 1990, 229 = 1973, 143 allows that we might question the "degree of historicity" in Ptolemy's account.

167. "toujours épris d'Héra," Henry; the French could also mean "still in love," but this makes no better sense.

168. The example usually cited is ὁ ἀεὶ βασιλεύων = "whoever was king at the time," in Herod. ii.98.1. J. E. Powell's *Lexicon to Herodotus* lists 17 examples of the usage.

ably called Eros. Charinus jumped to his death, but he managed to toss off one final set of choliambics as he lay there dying, cursing the White Rock and wishing Eupator similar success with Eros.[169] In the context, Eros must here bear a double meaning: Love—and Eros the wine-steward, with the implication that Mithradates had also been pursuing him.

Given its length and variety, this must be one of the better preserved chapters in Ptolemy's book: a nice mixture of false history, false mythology, and a bogus poem. One last detail. Strabo claims that, according to more reliable antiquarians (οἱ ἀρχαιολογικώτεροι), the first jumper was the Attic hero Cephalus son of Deioneus, driven by love for Pterelas.[170] Since this too by implication contradicts Ptolemy's claim about Aphrodite,[171] we must surely now abandon it. How much of Nagy's ingenious reconstruction can stand without it is another question.

The argument is inevitably cumulative. There is no single decisive case, no smoking gun. But then how could there be? It is in the nature of things that one cannot prove a negative, though for my money the Homeric *mnemones* and the names of Candaules's wife come close. But who can honestly say that he finds *nothing* suspicious about a single one of Ptolemy's source citations? There is in addition the parallel of Ps-Plutarch, with two different works on different subjects positively stuffed with forged citations. Most of those who defend Ptolemy have (at least implicitly) defended Ps-Plutarch as well. Since it was the same scholar, Rudolf Hercher, well known for a certain perversity,[172] who branded both writers as wholesale forgers, it was easy to dismiss both claims together as typical excesses of mid-nineteenth-century German scholarship.[173] But even if Jacoby sometimes pushed his scepticism too far, no one surely will wish to return to blanket belief in Ps-Plutarch's citations. Even closer in some ways (notably its tongue-in-cheek pseudo-scholarly manner) is the parallel of the *Historia Augusta*, not exposed for the forgery it is now acknowledged to be until long after Hercher's day.[174] Such controversy as still exists among students of the *HA* concerns its date

169. Solemnly printed as *SH* 313, with the desperate comment that it might at any rate have been written during Mithradates's lifetime.

170. Strabo x. 2. 9. For the various traditions (missing this one) about Cephalus, see Emily Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica* (London 1989), 177.

171. Note too that the *Epistula Sapphus* attributed to Ovid (*Heroides* 15) represents Sappho as about to make the jump at the time of writing, and (surprisingly) names only Deucalion as a previous jumper. See now the commentary on this poem in P. E. Knox, *Ovid Heroides: Select Epistles* (Cambridge 1995), 12–4, 278–315.

172. "überscharf," Wilamowitz, *Geschichte der Philologie*[3] (Leipzig 1927), 65; "captious" in the English translation, *History of Classical Scholarship* (Baltimore 1982), 145.

173. R. Hercher, *Plutarchi libellus de fluviis* (Leipzig 1851); "Über die Glaubwürdigkeit der Neuen Geschichte des Ptolemaeus Chennus," *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Suppl. 1 (1855–56), 269–3—the latter by no means the exemplification of perversity Schlereth, Tomberg, and others implied.

174. In fact by H. Dessau, "Über Zeit und Persönlichkeit der Scriptores Historiae Augustae," *Hermes* 24 (1889), 337–92, in many respects still the most comprehensive and convincing treatment of the problem.

and purpose,[175] not its hundreds of forged documents, poems, inscriptions, and otherwise unknown source citations.

It may be more than coincidence that Ptolemy was so interested in Herodotus. Though universally admired for his style and charm, Herodotus was notorious for what Cicero famously called his "fables."[176] Harpocration wrote a book on the lies of Herodotus, and many moderns have followed suit. Detlev Fehling cites a large number of passages "in which Herodotus' source-citations are demonstrably fictitious," beginning with what he calls "the principle of citing the obvious source." Paradoxically enough, Fehling found it particularly suspicious that "Herodotus consistently cites as his sources those that are the most probable and natural ones if we assume that the events recounted are fact and the story a genuine record of them."[177] So far as I know no ancient text directly accuses him of fabricating sources, but granted that Herodotus cites sources more freely than any other surviving ancient historian (most of them unnamed local informants), it must in practice often have been assumed that he did so. Herodotus was widely imitated by Greek historians of the high empire–and, more ominously, by the novelists of the age.[178] Many of Lucian's works are either devoted to exposing fiction and lies or play with these notions in one way or another, and not only the obvious works (*True History*, *How to Write History* and *Lover of Lies*). All are heavily influenced by Herodotus in a variety of ways. *On the Syrian Goddess* in particular skilfully cites or appeals to sources in the best Herodotean manner throughout.[179] A thorough study of the Quail would surely reveal further Herodotean influence. It is disturbing to reflect that he may genuinely have thought that he was following in Herodotus's footsteps.

More generally, even among its honest practitioners, this sort of literature enjoyed what we are bound to call lax standards of proof and credibility.[180] Another text that cries out for mention in this context is the *Phoenician History* of Herennius Philo of Byblus,[181] a work the author claimed to have translated from a Phoenician text by a certain Sanchuniathon of Berytus, who wrote (so Philo claimed) in the

175. On this question, see the full discussion in my forthcoming *Last Pagans of Rome*.

176. A. Momigliano, "The Place of Herodotus in the History of Historiography," in *Studies in Historiography* (London 1966), 127–42; F. Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus* (Berkeley 1988), 295–309.

177. D. Fehling, *Herodotus and his "Sources": Citation, Invention and Narrative Art* (Leeds 1989), 12. The most systematic repudiation of this approach is W. K. Pritchett, *The Liar School of Herodotus* (Amsterdam 1993).

178. Bowersock, *Riv. stor. ital*. 100 (1989), 724–38; and in *Fiction as History* (1994), 100–1.

179. Suzanne Saïd, "Lucien ethnographe," in A. Billault (ed.), *Lucien de Samosate: Actes du colloque . . . Lyon 1993* (Paris 1994), 149–70; and now J. L. Lightfoot, *Lucian: On the Syrian Goddess* (Oxford 2003), 91–184 and 595–6 (index s.v. Herodotus).

180. In general, M. Mazza, *Il vero e l'immaginato: profezia, narrativa e storiografia nel mondo romano* (Rome 1999); Bowersock 1994; E. Gabba, "True History and False History in Classical Antiquity," *JRS* 71 (1981), 50–62.

181. *FGrH* 790; full discussion of the fragments (mostly preserved in Eusebius) in A. I. Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos* (Leiden 1981).

age of Semiramis, before the Trojan War, and was the source of Hesiod's *Theogony*. Once widely denounced as a complete charlatan, Philo's reputation was substantially rehabilitated by the publication of genuine texts of the second millenium BC found at Ugarit in the 1930s. No one any longer believes that he simply fabricated his material. Most now accept that it contains "a kernel of genuine Phoenician mythological tradition" and "a series of specific, and largely reliable, interpretations of Phoenician names and concepts."[182] But as Philo presents it this material is nonetheless manifestly the product of a Greek milieu. Above all, Philo maintained that "the most ancient of the barbarians, especially the Phoenicians and Egyptians . . . considered as the greatest gods those who discovered things useful for life or who, in some way, benefited the peoples."[183] Some critics have treated this out-and-out Euhemeristic approach as "as if it were a veneer which can be easily peeled away, and under which one can find sources from ca 1000 BC." But Baumgarten in particular has shown that it is "extremely pervasive, extending to even very minor details of the work."[184] The mere fact that this supposedly Phoenician writer referred to Phoenicians as barbarians is revealing enough of itself![185]

However interesting and valuable Philo's material may be, his very precise claim, several times repeated, to have *translated* a work written before the Trojan War is plainly fraudulent.[186] To date an event before (say) World War II is by implication to date it to the 1930s. But to place a person or event "before the Trojan War" is not so much to date it before rather than after 1184/3 (Eratosthenes's date) as to assign it to prehistory. The fall of Troy was generally reckoned the first datable event, which is why Ephorus and Eratosthenes chose it as the starting point for their history and chronicle, respectively. Sanchuniathon looks like an authentic Phoenician name, which Philo may have come across in the Hellenistic sources he drew on. But we cannot take refuge in the assumption that Philo simply misdated him.[187] As presented in the pages of Philo, Sanchuniathon is in effect a bogus source. Furthermore, content aside, a pre-Homeric text in Phoenician obviously suggests Dictys, hardly reassuring company.

There are two specific links between Philo and the Quail. First, their polemical purpose. Both announce their intention of correcting errors in the traditional myths of the Greeks on the basis of new sources,[188] which they identify. Second,

182. M. L. West, *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford 1997), 286, and Fergus Millar, *The Roman Near East* (Harvard 1993), 278, respectively.

183. F 1.29; translation and commentary in Baumgarten 1981, 66f.

184. Baumgarten 1981, 263.

185. Bowersock 1994, 43–4. Dictys fell into the same trap, referring to the Trojans and their allies throughout as barbarians. It is now generally agreed that the Greek/barbarian antithesis does not antedate the Persian wars; Edith Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian* (Oxford 1989).

186. "It may solve some of the problems scholars find in the fragments to see Philo more as adaptor than translator, but this is not what Philo intended," Baumgarten 1981, 52.

187. See the scholars cited by Baumgarten 1981, 49–51.

188. F 2. 40 accuses Hesiod and the Cyclic poets of "defeating the truth."

Philo too wrote a *Paradoxical History*, in three books.[189] Baumgarten, apparently thinking of Philo primarily as a student of religion, suggested the translation *Nonconformist or Unconventional History*.[190] But the one fragment (cited with unusual precision from "the letter E in book 1") claims that the mythographer Palaephatus was Aristotle's boyfriend (παιδικά).[191] Obviously *Remarkable History, or History of Wonders*. The very fact that individual wonders were enumerated separately is enough to link it to the paradoxographers (every item in the collections of Antigonus, Apollonius, and Phlegon is separately numbered in the only manuscript, Palatinus graecus 398).[192] But only one other person (so far as we know) had used the exact title *Paradoxical History*, Ptolemy Quail. Ptolemy wrote a year or two before, Philo a few decades after 100 AD. Philo must have known Ptolemy's book.

The high empire was the golden age of paradoxography. If the paradoxographer does not strain accepted standards, he fails in his purpose. Most of the sources he cites exist yet seldom really document the wonder for which he cites them. His goal was to astonish, not explain, and he carefully removed anything in his source that set the wonder in a rational or intelligible context.[193] Collections of curious facts and anecdotes like Aelian's *Historical Miscellany* and *Characteristics of Animals* are much closer to out-and-out paradoxography than generally appreciated.[194]

None of the surviving paradoxographers, apart from Ps-Plutarch and Ptolemy Quail, seem actually to fabricate their citations, though there is one intriguing later case, an eighth-century Byzantine text oddly titled *Brief Chronological Notes*. It is a list of "sights" (θέματα) in medieval Constantinople, sometimes explicitly called and regularly presented as wonders.[195] The writer systematically cites sources for his sights, most of them bogus; some simply invented, but many genuine works cited for things they did not or could not have said.[196] While there is no sign that this person had any knowledge of ancient paradoxographers, or indeed any classical erudition at all, plainly he felt the need to support his claims with written documentation. To return to Aelian, while there is no indication that he actually invented sources, most of the sources he does cite, like the mythographers,

189. *FGrH* 790 F 12–3.

190. Baumgarten 1981, 82.

191. Φίλων ἐν τῷ εἶ στοιχείῳ τοῦ Περὶ παραδόξου ἱστορίας βιβλίου ά, F 13.

192. See the plate of a page from Antigonus's Ἱστρίων παραδόξων συναγωγή in A. Giannini, *Paradoxographorum Graecorum Reliquiae* (Milan 1965), 104; see too p. 9.

193. As illustrated by G. Schepens in O. Pecere and A. Stramaglia (eds.), *La letteratura di consumo nel mondo greco-latino* (Cassino 1996), 373–409, esp. 391–4.

194. A point explicitly made by A. F. Scholfield in his indispensable Loeb *Aelian on Animals* i (1958), xiii.

195. Averil Cameron and Judith Herrin (eds.), *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* (Leiden 1984) and G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire: Études sur le recueil des "Patria"* (Paris 1984).

196. Cameron and Herrin 1984, 38–45; Dagron 1984, 34–8. The largest category is ecclesiastical historians cited for the wrong period.

he came across at second or third hand. For example, he cites Aristotle more than 50 times in his *Characteristics of Animals*, always at second if not third hand. He certainly got no closer than the epitome of Aristophanes of Byzantium, if not (as Wellmann argued) the even less respectable labors of Alexander of Myndos.[197] Yet it is Aristotle alone he names as his source.

Like the mythographers again, he systematically suppresses the names of the handbooks and compilations from which he actually got most of his material and cites the classical and Hellenistic sources they cited, above all the poets.[198] When he claims on the basis of personal knowledge (οἶδα) that Dares's pre-Homeric *Iliad* was still extant (*Varia Historia* xi. 2), he was either taken in by an outright forgery or, despite his claim, merely parroting what he had read in a book he must have known he could not trust—perhaps the Quail himself. It is a matter of definition whether we call Aelian dishonest or just credulous and sloppy. But he was certainly in no position to denounce Ptolemy as a fraud, nor were his many readers.

Some readers may feel that I have gone too far. But in so puzzling a case as Ptolemy Quail, how far is far enough? One of the most striking features common to the *HA*, Ps-Plutarch and Ptolemy is the link between invented subject matter and invented sources. So much of the subject matter of Ptolemy's book is pure fiction that it is not easy to grasp the rationale of conceding that the subject matter is invented while nonetheless believing in the scores (in the original text perhaps hundreds) of sources he so insistently cites in its support. Nor is it necessary to call more than one or two of his sources into serious doubt to cast a shadow over the others. To repeat, how many sources does a scholar have to fake before we call his honesty in question?

4: CONCLUSION

I have discussed these two cases at such length in part because of their own intrinsic interest and importance, but more particularly because of their bearing on the wider question of source citations in mythographic literature in general. For while a prosecuting attorney would not hesitate to accuse both writers of deliberate, barefaced forgery, a more sympathetic critic might conclude that they were just pushing to a different level a tendency common to mythographers, paradoxographers, and collectors of curiosities like Aelian alike: citing sources they had not seen and knew no one would check.

One of the main results of this investigation is the discovery that the majority of source citations in *all* the mythographers are, if not bogus, at any rate something less than fully authentic. Even in the best case, Ps-Apollodorus, most of his citations were either copied, unverified, at second hand, or taken from summaries

197. For a useful summary of the sources of the *Characteristics of Animals*, Scholfield 1958, i. xv–xxv; of the *Historical Miscellany*, N. G. Wilson's Loeb (1997), 10–11.

198. It is one of the many virtues of Scholfield's *Characteristics of Animals* that (unlike most Loebs) he has an annotated index of authors cited (iii. 441–5).

of early works rather than original texts. As for the *Narrationes*, while Hesiod certainly existed, there is something amiss with all seven Hesiod citations. Merkelbach and West were right to classify them among their *Dubia* rather than *Spuria*. Narrator did not make them up, but for all the value they are as evidence for Hesiod, he might just as well have done so.

Or, to take a specific case, the lists of Asclepius's miracle cures—Amelesagoras, Panyasis, Staphylus, Stesichorus, Telesarchus and Co. likewise all existed. At some point in the last quarter of the second century BC, Apollodorus of Athens collected a thick dossier of references to Asclepius. But he was both the first and the last person to read the entire dossier in the original sources in context. All surviving witnesses to his catalogue (Philodemus, Propertius, Ps-Apollodorus, Hyginus, Sextus Empiricus, and various anonymous scholiasts) copied or selected from it at varying numbers of removes. Not even Philodemus, our fullest and earliest witness, read Apollodorus at first hand.[199] Since his purpose (like Christian writers in later centuries) was to ridicule such stories, it is unlikely that he bothered to check original texts, though (again like Christian critics of pagan myths) he did take care to quote all the references, to prove that he knew what he was talking about in criticizing such venerable traditions. There is no call to doubt that all these writers did indeed mention one or another of Asclepius's miracle-cures. But which ones represented him resurrecting the dead and which merely curing the sick? Which gave full accounts of these cures, which no more than glancing allusions (like, for example, the single line in Propertius)? None of the surviving witnesses knew because they simply transcribed their citations from whatever version of the list they happened to be using.

This is no doubt an extreme case because so many of the names on the list are so obscure. Yet it was the obscure names that attracted readers, complete (if possible) with titles and book numbers (the *HA* takes the prize here, giving a shelf number in the Ulpian Library for one forged document).[200] For all the difference it made to the readers of these lists, Amelesagoras and Staphylus and Telesarchus might just as well have been fictitious. No one was expected to check such references.

Photius's copy of Ps-Apollodorus was prefaced by an epigram addressing future readers:[201]

αἰῶνος πειρήματ' ἀφυσσάμενος ἀπ' ἐμεῖο,
  παιδείης μύθους γνῶθι παλαιγενέος,
μηδ' ἐς Ὁμηρείην σέλιδ' ἔμβλεπε μηδ' ἐλεγείην
  μὴ τραγικὴν Μοῦσαν μηδὲ μελογραφίην,
μὴ κυκλικῶν ζήτει πολύθρουν στίχον· εἰς ἐμὲ δ' ἀθρῶν
  εὑρήσεις ἐν ἐμοὶ πάνθ' ὅσα κόσμος ἔχει.

199. See Henrichs, *Cron. Ercol.* 5 (1975), 6.
200. *HA Tac.* 8. 1, *in Bibliotheca Ulpia in armario sexto librum elephantinum*.
201. For κυκλικῶν rather than the MS κυκλίων in line 5, see Cameron 1995, 396–9.

> Drawing the experience of Time from me, learn the tales of ancient culture. Look no more into the book of Homer, or in elegy, or the tragic Muse, or lyric poetry; do not look in the clamorous verse of the Cyclic poets. No, look in me; in me you will find every story in the world.

This intriguing poem has attracted very little attention. Its few editors[202] have accepted Salmasius's σπειρήματ' ("coils") in line 1 and punctuated after παιδείης in line 2. But Alan Griffiths has drawn attention to αἰῶνος πείρημα in a series of vocatives addressed to Christ in a poem of Gregory Nazianzen,[203] which would seem to guarantee the transmitted text (Gregory, who had an excellent knowledge of classical mythology, may well have known the *Bibliotheca*).[204] Griffiths further points out that the writer was clearly thinking of a poem by Antipater of Thessalonica on a pair of bowls that between them represented the celestial sphere, concluding as follows:[205]

> ἀλλὰ σὺ μηκέτ' Ἄρητον ἐπίβλεπε· δισσὰ γὰρ ἀμφοῖν
> μέτρα πιὼν ἄθρει πάντα τὰ φαινόμενα

> You need no longer look up your Aratus; drink double measure from the pair, and behold all the phenomena/*Phaenomena*.

Ps-Apollodorus's book, like Antipater's bowls, saved users the trouble of consulting the original sources. It is not certain that the poem was written by the author of the *Bibliotheca* (whoever that was), nor does it much matter. At the very least it is the work of someone who thought it a useful and comprehensive guide to the myths of epic, lyric, and tragic poetry. So useful, in fact, that it *superseded* the texts on which it drew. Reading the *Bibliotheca* will save people the trouble of looking up the original texts. But Ps-Apollodorus himself cites them just the same. Like the marginal citations in the unique manuscript of Parthenius and Antoninus Liberalis, they were intended less as proof of the writer's research or even as hints for further reading than simply as authenticating labels. At however many removes such references came, they were *ultimate* sources. To repeat them, even unverified, conferred a certain authority as well as cachet. They guaranteed a story found in one of the classics, a story and a source that a cultivated person ought to know. Remember Epictetus's schoolboy with his "Homer, and Hellanicus (I think), and one or two other fellows like that."

We might almost say that citations were one of the rules of the genre. This does not (of course) justify Ptolemy and Ps-Plutarch in taking the process to the next stage and simply inventing their citations. But it may help to explain what

202. The latest (it seems) E. Cougny, *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina* iii (Paris 1890), § III. 186; see my *Callimachus* (1995), 337–8.

203. Greg. Naz. *Carmina de se ipso* in *PG* 36. 1326 line 4. Griffiths also corrects παλαιγενέας to παλαιγενέος. For more details, A. H. Griffiths, "The epigram in Photios' copy of Apollodoros," forthcoming.

204. K. Demoen, *Pagan and Biblical Exempla in Gregory Nazianzen* (Turnhout 1996).

205. *AP* ix. 541. 5–6 = Gow and Page, *Garland of Philip* 311–12 (whence the translation).

they thought they were doing. They were not after all falsifying history in the interests of party or patron, still less (as was to become so common in the Christian world, giving rise to that ominous oxymoron "pious fraud") a religious cause. They were just producing collections of curious puzzles to entertain dinner guests. Do you know the story of . . . ? What was the original name of . . . ? Can you give a Roman parallel to the story of . . . ? When guests demanded your source for your own novel answer to an old question, naturally you had to satisfy their curiosity.

One of Athenaeus's interlocutors cites two examples of the sort of mythological question scholarly party-goers asked each other: which heroes were shut up in the wooden horse, and which of Odysseus's companions were devoured by the Cyclops? Another such question dealt with in the excerpts of Gellius's friend was which of Odysseus's companions were devoured by Scylla.[206] At best these are trivial questions, but they do at least have answers. Athenaeus cites Stesichorus and the *Iliupersis* for the wooden horse,[207] Homer himself tells us all we need to know about the Cyclops, and Pherecydes named the six unlucky victims of Scylla.[208] Genuine knowledge (of a sort). But the Emperor Tiberius's famous questions—which name did Achilles use as a girl on Scyros, who was Hecuba's mother, and what song did the Sirens sing?–are of a different order. No one could identify a song no one had ever heard, and surviving texts name at least six different mothers for Hecuba.[209] Questions like this could not be given definitive answers on the basis of genuine knowledge, and it is hardly surprising that the result was pseudo-knowledge. Not only did Ptolemy Quail outbid all competition with his *five* answers about the name Achilles used as a girl, he also had answers to questions no one else had ever thought to ask.

If we look at them from this perspective, I think we may draw an interesting distinction between Ptolemy and Ps-Plutarch. Where Ps-Plutarch is crude and silly, Ptolemy is learned, ingenious, and witty—occasionally hilarious. The explanation is surely that he was *parodying*[210] the genre of which Ps-Plutarch merely represents a debased and inferior specimen (even the titles of his invented sources are repetitive and unimaginative: *Galatica*, *Macedonica*, *Sicelica*, *Thracica*, and one *Italica* after another). Photius's excerpts are a useful guide to the general character and contents of the work but inevitably give little idea of its *tone*. A couple of pages of the original would have been enough to reveal if it was (as I suspect) a tongue-in-cheek satire of the proliferating, all but out-of-control mythographic literature of his age.[211]

206. Athen. xiii, 610 cd; Gell. *NA* xiv. 6. 3.

207. Ps-Apoll. *Epit*. 5. 14 suggests that the full text gave lists.

208. Pherec. F 140 = *EGM* i. 349; Waser in Roscher iv (1909–15), 1025.

209. Höfer in Roscher i (1884–90), 1878, assuming that this was the point of Tiberius's question. Plato fancifully ascribes the music of the spheres to the Sirens (*Rep*. 617b).

210. So in passing Diels in H. Diels and W. Schubart, *Didymos: Kommentar zu Demosthenes* (Berlin 1904), xxxv n. 1.

211. As Winkler put it, Ptolemy "was obviously familiar with a vast range of scholarship and has no compunctions about sending it up," *The Constraints of Desire* (New York 1990), 144.

For example, there were doubtless honest writers of such books who asked the question "What was the name of Candaules's wife?" and then gave the "correct" answer, Tudo, proudly citing Xanthus of Lydia (actually taken on trust at second hand from Nicholas of Damascus). Ptolemy came up with something better. Tudo was just one of many possibilities. The truth, believe it or not, is that she had the same name as the girlfriend of Herodotus's boyfriend, which has the advantage of explaining *why* he did not name her. Naturally no one could make a claim like that without citing a source. In a case like this no one was likely to take the source very seriously, but a name had to be given all the same. It is even possible that the citations themselves were part of the puzzle. Did this really come in the *Samian Tales* of Aeneas? Which of the following sources existed? Who could be sure anyway? By Roman times there was no longer any way to check even authentic texts like Polyarchus and Telesarchus.

Whether Ps-Plutarch really expected his readers to believe in the 40-book *Italica* of Aristides of Miletus and other such citations I would not venture to say. They were anodyne enough not to raise instant red flags. But when Ptolemy claims that Cadmus and Harmonia were turned into lions, not snakes, and that Heracles committed suicide when he was 50 because he could no longer string his bow; when he gives five different suggestions for Achilles's female alias; and when he adds to his account of Helen the pre-Homeric historian of the Trojan War that "she kept a bilingual lamb" and remarks that there were another 14 famous bearers of the name Achilles, two of them dogs, it was surely entertainment rather than conviction he was aiming at.

7

Myth in the Margins

1

When modern scholars speak of the scholia on (say) Homer or Aristophanes, what they normally have in mind is excerpts from ancient commentaries found in the margins of medieval manuscripts.[1] These ancient commentaries had long circulated as independent works, consulted alongside the texts they explained, before they began to be excerpted and incorporated in the margins of those texts. More recently, the term has been extended to all and any marginal annotations in texts preserved on papyrus, despite the fact that the latter seldom offer the sort of learned material we find in medieval scholia. Indeed, unless they offer alternative readings or unknown quotations, modern scholars tend to dismiss scholia in papyrus texts as trivial jottings by readers in their own copies. This chapter attempts a more balanced evaluation of this latter group of marginalia in the light of the themes of this book.

There has been much debate about when scholia (in the sense of learned extracts) started being copied into the margins of texts of the classics. Günther Zuntz insisted that it did not happen on a large scale till the ninth century, but most authorities would probably now revert to the older view that the practice began in late antiquity, facilitated by the much larger margins in codexes.[2] I am less con-

1. Among ancient texts the closest to modern usage are Lucian, *Vit. Auct.* 23, "collecting σχόλια from closely written books"; Plotinus's disciple Amelius made σχόλια from Plotinus's lectures (*Vit. Plot.* 3); Epiphanius uses the word repeatedly of extracts quoted for comment (*Haer.* 42 = *PG* 41. 727f.). Marinus describes how, in his anxiety to get his teacher Proclus to expound the Orphic Theology, he persuaded him to jot down his ideas in the margins (παραγράφειν τοῖς μετωπίοις) of his own teacher Syrianus's copy of the text. Proclus did not annotate the entire work but produced not inconsiderable σχόλια καὶ ὑπομνήματα (*Vita Procli* 27). Subscriptions in the sixth-century Marchalianus of the Septuagint use both σχόλια and σχολιογραφεῖν of Origen's marginal notes in his own copy of the Prophets (R. Devréesse, *Introduction à l'étude des manuscrits grecs* [Paris 1954], 138).

2. The older view Zuntz rejected was that of J. W. White, *The Scholia on the Aves of Aristophanes* (Boston 1914), lxii–lxxvii. For a summary of Zuntz's thesis see his *An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides* (Cambridge 1965), 272–5; for a brief account of arguments against, N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London 1983), 33–6. See too Wilson, "A Chapter in the History of Scholia," *CQ* 17 (1967), 244–56; Kenneth Dover, *Aristophanes Frogs* (Oxford 1993), 96–7; Kathleen McNamee, "Missing Links in the Development of Scholia," *GRBS* 36 (1995), 399–414 and "Another Chapter in the History of Scholia," *CQ* 48 (1998), 269–88.

cerned with the debate for and against Zuntz than with the two poles between which he framed the debate: either "full marginal commentaries of the classical Byzantine type" or "informal notes added in some papyri by readers."[3]

Zuntz was investigating the transference of (in effect) entire ancient commentaries into the margins of classical texts.[4] In 1965 he conceded that the ample scholia in the margins of the seventh-century Callimachus codex from Oxyrhynchus were a "missing link" but nonetheless no more than a "crude precursor," lacking the "classical balance between text and commentary," with the scholia "sadly squeezed by the—still dominating—text."[5] Inasmuch as marginal scholia on the Byzantine scale were virtually impossible before the development of minuscule script in the ninth century, on his own terms Zuntz can scarcely be refuted. It may well be that there were no exact ancient analogues to the Ravennas of Aristophanes or the Venetus A of the Iliad, but there are much closer analogues than Zuntz allowed. In the West, for example, we have the Bembine Terence and Verona Vergil, two early fifth-century manuscripts with copious marginal notes. For Zuntz, a key difference between ancient and medieval scholia was the fact that the latter consist of excerpts from a number of different commentaries. Yet the Verona Vergil quotes material from six different Vergil commentators, cited by name.[6]

Another key detail in the development of scholia is the size of the margins in which they were written. Following up an observation by Nigel Wilson, Kathleen McNamee has recently compiled a list of 27 annotated late antique codexes (none earlier than the fifth century) with unusually wide margins:[7]

> nine have at least one border measuring eight cm. or more, a size almost unheard of among annotated book rolls or conventional codices. Marginalia are often written with uncommon neatness and precision. What this group offers is a substantial body of texts in which, for the first time, large format is correlated with heavy and planned annotation.

More than half are legal texts, and three of the literary texts are Latin (Vergil, Terence, and Cicero); in many cases the annotations are in both Greek and Latin. McNamee plausibly suggests that this format may have originated in scriptoria associated with the Eastern law schools that rose to sudden prominence in the

3. Zuntz 1965, 274 n.

4. Note (for example) the subscription to Euripides *Orestes* identifying the scholia as ἐκ τοῦ Διονυσίου ὑπομνήματος ὁλοσχερῶς καὶ τῶν μικτῶν (Zuntz, 1965, 272), evidently meaning "Dionysius's commentary in its entirety, and selections from others."

5. Zuntz 1965, 274 n.‡. For more detail, see his basic study "Die Aristophanes-scholien der Papyri," in *Byzantion* 13 (1938), 631–90, and 14 (1939), 545–614, reprinted as a separate volume under the same title in 1975 (Berlin) with a brief Nachwort.

6. Claudio Baschera, *Gli scolii veronesi a Virgilio* (Verona 1999), 55–7; see Ch. VIII. 1.

7. K. McNamee, "An Innovation in Annotated Codices on Papyrus," *Akten des 21 Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Berlin 1995* (*APF* Beiheft 3) 1997, 669–78, developing a point made by Wilson 1967, 249.

fourth and fifth centuries, notably at Beirut.[8] One implication that McNamee herself does not spell out is that once the codex page began to be laid out with wide margins designed from the start for annotation, anyone planning really extensive annotation had only to adjust the size of his margins accordingly. Even before the development of minuscule, it was always possible to write marginalia in a much smaller script. McNamee tells me there are a number of examples of ancient parchment texts with annotations in script as small as or smaller than (say) the scholia in the Venetus or Ravennas.[9] The Verona Vergil comes close to exhibiting Zuntz's "classical balance." The first page of the *Aeneid* (fol. 256v) offers 13 lines of Vergil in large rustic capitals surrounded on three sides by 45 lines in much smaller mixed uncials of scholia, 13 lines in the upper (6.5 cm) and 7 in the lower (8 cm) margin.[10]

Codexes with margins capacious enough to hold extensive excerpts from ancient commentaries were certainly possible as early as the fifth century. As Wilson wrote in 1967, since "the surviving papyri come from country districts of Egypt, it is far from certain that they are representative of the ancient book trade as a whole, at least in the matter of books catering for the tastes of a highly literate and learned minority."[11] Books like the Ravennas and Venetus A must always have been rare, special commissions by learned and well-to-do patrons. But I am not here concerned with the tastes of a learned minority. It is no doubt natural enough that modern scholars, being scholars, should privilege the history of scholarly commentaries, dismissing as trivial most scholia in papyri. My concern is precisely with these supposedly trivial jottings.

In an earlier article, McNamee drew attention to an interesting distinction between the placing of long and short scholia in one of these wide-margined codexes: a sadly fragmentary page from a codex of Pindar's *Pythians* in which the notes appear to be out of sequence.[12] On the recto, for example, going down the page we have notes on *Pythian* i.50, 51, and 52, and then 46, 47, and two notes on 48. We find the same phenomenon in P. Oxy. 1371, a leaf from a fifth-century codex containing 20 fragmentary lines from the beginning of Aristophanes's *Clouds*: on the verso, notes on lines 5, 1, 2, and 10; on the recto lines 52, 41, 44, and 47. We find the same format in two leaves of the Oxyrhynchus Callimachus codex, with between 10 and 12 lines of scholia in the bottom margins on both sides;[13] and in late antique codexes of Aratus and Theocritus discussed further below.

8. McNamee 1997, 673–4.

9. She suggests that scripts on papyrus tend to be somewhat larger because of the bumpy surface.

10. I am grateful to Claudio Baschera for making a special trip to the Biblioteca Capitolare in Verona to measure the margins for me.

11. Wilson 1967, 248.

12. K. McNamee, "School Notes," *Proceedings of the XX International Congress of Papyrology* (Copenhagen 1993), 177–84.

13. P. Oxy. 2258 C F 1 and 2, in *Ox. Pap*. XX (London 1952), 84–91.

It is understandable that scribes should occasionally copy their notes out of sequence, but systematic carelessness of this nature is almost a contradiction in terms. As McNamee saw, there is in fact a very simple explanation: in every case the out-of-sequence notes are (1) much longer than the others, and (2) placed in either the top or bottom margin. In the light of all these examples, there can be little doubt that annotators regularly placed their longer scholia in the top or bottom margins where there was more room.

These longer scholia, where they are not just paraphrase, are mainly (as McNamee remarks) mythographic. In the context of this study I would lay even stronger emphasis on their mythographic content. For example, on the recto of the Pindar papyrus, the notes at the top of the page explain the parallel Pindar draws between the tyrant Hiero and the hero Philoctetes, while the marginal notes, though too damaged to reconstruct, are clearly much briefer comments. The long note on slaves at the top of the verso on the Aristophanes papyrus (closely related to a note in the medieval scholia) is, to be sure, not mythographic. Naturally enough, given the nature of Aristophanes's plays, there is relatively little mythology in these notes, but they are still what contemporary grammarians called *historiai*, details of fact or subject matter, not text or language (see Ch. V. 2). We have paraphrase and mythology combined in two double leaves from an Aratus codex in Berlin.[14] This is a case where there is a particularly clear distinction between scholia in top and side margins. At the top we find a combination of paraphrase of Aratus and mythographic explanations excerpted from Ps-Eratosthenes;[15] at the sides a few verbal glosses.

The most detailed illustration is the 16 well-preserved leaves of the late fifth-century Antinoë Theocritus papyrus.[16] Most of the abundant scholia in the side margins consist of gloss and paraphrase, but there are much longer mythographic notes in the top margin of fol. 3 verso and the bottom margins of fol. 1 verso, fol. 6 verso and recto, and fol. 7 verso. On fol. 7 verso there is also a long mythographic note in the side margin (the story of Comaetho pulling out the golden hair that gave her father Pterelaus immortality), but this is because the bottom margin was already used up. Particularly revealing is the misguided note on 14.26, telling (apparently from Parthenius) the story of King Clymenus of Argos, who had an incestuous relationship with his daughter Harpalice, who eventually served her own brother up to him for dinner.[17] The truth is that Theocritus was using the rare adjective κλύμενος, "famous" (here ironic "fine fellow"). Any such allusion

14. See Margaret Maehler, "Der 'wertloser' Aratkodex P. Berol. Inv. 5865," *APF* 27 (1980), 19–32. I am grateful to Raffaele Luiselli for first drawing my attention to the significance of this papyrus.

15. As Carl Robert showed in his edition of 1878, Germanicus and the mid-fourth-century Rufius Festus Avienius both read Aratus through the lens of Ps-Eratosthenes; that is the source of most of the additional material in their somewhat expanded Latin translations.

16. A. S. Hunt and J. Johnson, *Two Theocritus Papyri* (London 1930).

17. Hunt and Johnson 1932, 33 foot; Parth. § 13; see Lightfoot 1999, 446–51, for the various versions and linked stories (missing the scholion in the Antinoë Theocritus).

to the story of Clymenus and Harpalice would have made nonsense of the context. But the writer of this note was on the lookout for mythological allusions at any cost, whether or not they made sense in the context of the poem.[18]

Hunt and Johnson damned the Theocritus scholia for "ignorance or ineptitude," and Wilamowitz dismissed all the Aratus marginalia indifferently as "absolutely worthless." Even Margaret Maehler in her valuable reedition of the Aratus papyrus conceded that they were basically trivial.[19] To be sure they do not discuss textual variants or quote unknown (or even known) poetic fragments, the two standards by which scholars usually judge scholia. Nor do they reveal any intellectual penetration. Nonetheless the notes in all these papyri are of considerable interest as illustrating how those with only a modest literary culture tackled such classics in late antiquity.

In a recent book I questioned the widespread modern conviction that learned poets like Apollonius, Aratus, Callimachus, Nicander, and Theocritus worked in ivory towers, writing exclusively for a tiny, equally learned readership.[20] While it is certainly true that only the learned could appreciate such poets to the full, it is also beyond dispute that they became minor classics, widely read throughout the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine worlds.[21] How are we to explain this paradox? For there is no denying that they are indeed difficult, and must have become more difficult still as the centuries passed and their learned idiom became more and more remote from everyday speech.

We have already seen that part of the answer lies in companions and paraphrases. We have no fewer than five papyri of the Callimachean *Diegeseis*, a full (if abridged) text of the Ps-Eratosthenes companion to Aratus, and complete paraphrases of Lycophron and both surviving didactic poems of both Nicander and Oppian (Ch. III). The other half of the answer must lie in the sort of texts in which people read such poets. By the Roman period, there cannot have been many who were able to read and enjoy Callimachus (say) in bare, unannotated texts.

The few who did probably read with the aid of either (if serious students) a full-scale commentary (Theon or Epaphroditus) or else (if casual readers) a companion or paraphrase. Such nonphilological aids would have helped the less erudite to skim the text, perhaps skipping the truly hard bits altogether and yet ending up with a sketchy but nonetheless firsthand acquaintance with a difficult classic. But it was inconvenient to have to use two books; two rolls would require a reader or assistant (one thinks of Pliny the Elder and his assistants).[22] And companions

18. There is no trace of this misinterpretation in the medieval scholia.

19. Hunt and Johnson 1930, 29; Wilamowitz and Schubart, *Berliner Klassikertexte* v. 1 (Berlin 1907), 54; Maehler 1980, 21.

20. Cameron 1995, especially the first three chapters. Reviewers did not on the whole face up to this challenge.

21. It is true that only Callimachus's hymns (and a number of epigrams) survived complete, but we now have more than 70 papyri.

22. A reader for the Press anachronistically remarks that "a couple of paperweights would have served in a pinch." But so far as we know, people did not read books at a desk in the ancient world.

and paraphrases were not likely to supply the necessary help for individual difficult words or allusions.

As the need for such aids became more pressing with the passage of time and the growth of a more extensive but less cultivated elite in the Roman age, both sorts began to be incorporated into texts of the poems in one way or another (Ch. IV. 2), converting them into something approaching the equivalent of ancient Loeb or Budé texts. Modern scholars have tended to oversimplify the issue by operating with only two alternatives: either heavily annotated texts like the Ravennas of Aristophanes, incorporating substantial excerpts from entire ancient commentaries, or else bare texts with a few informal jottings added by readers. But over and above the expense and labor required to produce books like the Ravennas, they offered far more than the general reader wanted or needed.

It has been widely assumed that most of the scholia in the papyri were designed to serve the needs of the schoolroom. As Zuntz showed, the scholia in the Aristophanes papyri are often closely related to the much more detailed scholia that have come down to us in the medieval manuscripts—a much simplified version of the genuine erudition of the great Hellenistic critics.[23] McNamee gave her recent study of the scholia in the Pindar papyrus the title "School Notes," quite correctly emphasizing that Pindar's *Pythians* were a school text just like the restricted range of Aristophanic plays we find in late antique papyri. It is also certainly true that the watered-down excerpts of ancient erudition from the Pindar and Aristophanes scholia we find in the papyri provided the sort of help schoolchildren needed. Above all, the overwhelming emphasis on mythological lore fits the needs of schoolchildren (Ch. V. 6).

The case is most clearly and fully put by McNamee:[24]

> The cumulative impression of the marginalia in the *Pythian* text is that they were directed at an unsophisticated and not fully educated readership, presumably students. . . . If the notes here served the purposes of schools, who exactly was responsible for them? Marginal annotation from antiquity is nearly always informal in nature, and gives the impression that it came from the hands of readers. Here, as often in later books, it is neatly and methodically copied: frequent lemmata and marks of punctuation indicate that notes were reproduced carefully from a commentary. The orderliness inclines me toward seeing the book as a teacher's manual, although certainly a student or a paid scribe could have done as well at transcribing selected passages. *But annotation in antiquity was almost always done by the reader himself*, and the planning here suggests a teacher preparing commentary as an aid to memory during oral exegesis in the classroom.

23. Zuntz 1938 and 1939 = Zuntz 1975 passim; see too now the new fragment published by H. Maehler, *Hermes* 96 (1968), 287–93, with G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period: A.D. 300–800* (London 1987), no. 24c.

24. McNamee 1993, 182 (the first sentence quoted in fact stands in the following paragraph).

This is all plausible enough as far as it goes, but it is not the only possible interpretation of the facts. The restricted canon of texts read in the schools of the Roman period was also essentially the range of texts read by everyone else as well—by and large the texts that have survived. And if schoolchildren would find gloss, paraphrase, and brief mythological explanations useful, so too would most other potential readers, especially the less erudite among them. Rare forms and obscure allusions were the two main problems for any late antique reader trying to grapple with difficult poets like Pindar or Callimachus. The teacher/student hypothesis is not so much mistaken as overly restrictive.

Even if we allow that the Pindar papyrus is a teacher's text, is this likely to be true of all the other papyri in this group, the Callimachus and Aratus codexes, for example? Neither Callimachus nor Aratus were basic school texts.[25] Furthermore, the neat, methodical format of the scholia suggests professional copyists. On top of this, in the case of no fewer than three of the papyri in this group—the Callimachus, the Aristophanes, and the Antinoë Theocritus—text and scholia are written in the same hand.[26] McNamee herself makes the important point that the precision of both format and writing in the inner margins would have been impossible after the quires had been bound up into the finished codex.[27] Evidently text and scholia were written more or less simultaneously before binding.

In combination, these factors effectively exclude the possibility that the scholia in these books were subsequent additions by readers, whether teachers or students. The only way out would be to identify reader and original text scribe. And while this might be true of one out of three cases, it can hardly be true of all three. For while a number of Byzantine scholars of a much later age (Eustathius and Planudes, for example) copied and annotated entire books in their own hands, in late antiquity people of even modest status normally relied on professional scribes or amanuenses.[28] The way Jerome refers to having copied a text once in his own hand as a young man makes it clear that this was by no means his usual practice.[29] A remarkable passage of Augustine reveals that he did not even write his marginalia in his own hand: a secretary read the text aloud to him and then jotted

25. It is true that the fourth-century grammaticus Palladas of Alexandria, when (apparently) prevented by Christians from teaching, claimed to be selling his Callimachus and Pindar (Καλλίμαχον πωλῶ καὶ Πίνδαρον *AP* ix. 175.1). But Callimachus and Aratus must have been advanced fare.

26. See Hunt and Johnson 1930, 22; Gow, *Theocritus* i (Cambridge 1950), l (some notes are in another, contemporary hand). On the hand in the Aristophanes papyrus, Grenfell and Hunt on P. Oxy. 1371 and G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, 1987, no. 16a, p. 40. For all we know, this may also have been true of the Pindar papyrus; not a single word of text survives, but the scholia are neatly and methodically written. On the Callimachus papyrus, Turner/Parsons, *GMAW*[2] no. 47, with p. 67.

27. "Otherwise, the tightness of the binding and the curve of the writing surface would have introduced irregularities of the kind observable in notes added after the fact," McNamee 1997, 670.

28. Myles McDonnell, "Writing, Copying and Autograph Manuscripts in Ancient Rome," *CQ* 46 (1996), 474–7. Symmachus dictated letters to even so old and close a friend as the elder Flavian (*Ep.* ii. 31 and 35).

29. *mea manu ipse*, *Ep.* 5. 2; there is much on Jerome and his copyists in E. Arns, *La technique du livre d'après saint Jérôme* (Paris 1953).

down his comments. Of the thousand-odd books Augustine, a former teacher, left behind in his personal library, his biographer, cataloguer, and confidante of 40 years identified only one slim autograph of 16 pages.[30] Some of the scholia in Arethas's books are in the hand of one of his copyists.[31] Byzantines of status mentioned the fact if, exceptionally, they deigned to copy a few pages themselves.[32] It is true that we have a mass of documents and even a series of his own poems in the hand of Dioscorus of sixth-century Aphrodito, but his Homer and various other texts were copied by others, presumably professional scribes.[33]

Just how new a phenomenon are the scholia in this group of late antique wide-margined texts? Perhaps the most striking feature identified by McNamee is the correlation between long notes and top or bottom margins. Yet these particular codexes all have exceptionally wide *side* margins. This, surely, was the new feature of these texts. Even in the roll stage, many texts had a relatively wide margin above and below the column.[34] While top and bottom margins must always have offered more space, none of the scholia in this group are so long that they could not have been copied into three or four lines of side margin. The 10–12 lines in the bottom margins of the Callimachus codex are made up of two or three shorter notes, distinguished by lemmata. Long notes in the top and bottom margins cannot have been an innovation of these new wide-margined codexes. Rather they are a hang-over from the older narrow-margined codexes and even rolls, where there was normally no space for more than brief glosses in the side margins or between columns, and top and bottom margins were the only possible locations for notes of any length.

For example, P. Berol. 11629, part of two leaves from a mid-fourth-century papyrus codex of Callimachus's *Aetia*, carrying F 57–9 and F 23–4.[35] The top margins have densely written mythographic scholia of four to six full lines in the same hand as the text scribe, and a number of similar notes in the other margins.[36] Then there is P. Oxy. 4427, a new fragment from a single column in a first- or

30. *Retract*. ii. 58; *quaternio una quam propria manu sanctus episcopus Augustinus initiavit*, Possidius, *Indiculus* 10[3]. 15, ed. A. Wilmart, in *Miscellanea Agostiniana* ii (Rome 1931), 179; more generally, E. Dekkers, "Les autographes des Pères latins," in *Colligere Fragmenta: Festschrift Alban Dold* (Beuron 1952), 127–39.

31. P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantine* (Paris 1971) 214; note particularly the longer scholia in Moscow Greek 231, signed Ἀρέθα but in the hand of the scribe Stylianos (L. G. Westerink, *Byzantion* 42 [1972], 196–244). Modern attempts to determine whether this or that MS is or is not annotated in Arethas's own hand have paid too little attention to this fact.

32. Αὐτοχειρί or ἰδιοχείρως: for examples, my *Greek Anthology* (Oxford 1993), 130–1.

33. Jean-Luc Fournet, *Hellénisme dans l'Égypte du VIe siècle: La bibliothèque de Dioscore d'Aphrodité* (Cairo 1999), 9–237.

34. For example, three papyri illustrated in Turner/Parsons, *GMAW*[2]: no. 11 = P. Oxy. 2075 (Homer, s. III), top mg. 55 mm, bottom 75 mm; no. 15 = P. Oxy. 2387 (Alcman, s. I); no. 24 = P. Oxy. 2161 (Aeschylus, s. II), top mg. 55 mm, bottom 70 mm.

35. For an excellent photo, Cavallo and Maehler, 1987, 28–9, no. 10b.

36. Three other papyri may come from the same codex: for details and bibliography, Pfeiffer ii. xx–xxi, no. 32.

second-century *roll* containing book 3 of the *Aetia*. In the top margin are mythographic notes at least five and perhaps six lines long on Lygdamis and the River Parthenius, mentioned lower down in the column.[37]

Another good illustration is a second-century roll of Euphorion in Milan, equipped with a number of brief marginal notes, most too faint to decipher. Of the three that can be made out between the columns, one identifies a river, another the Phocian hero Panopeus, and the third an unidentifiable transformation into a bird (αὐτὸν εἰς ὄρνιθ[α . . .). Much more interesting is a longer note in the bottom margin on Poltymbria and Poltys, king of Aenos in Thrace, with an otherwise unknown citation of Hellanicus.[38] There are several cases of an "up" or "down" notation in the margin—ἄν(ω) or κάτ(ω)—to guide the reader to such scholia.[39]

No ancient poem stood in greater need of explanatory notes than Lycophron's *Alexandra*. We have already seen that it was early provided with both paraphrase and well-informed commentary. There are also two succinctly annotated papyri, one from the early third, the other from the second century.[40] Where lines 152–3 refer to Demeter riddlingly as "Ennaia Hercynna Erinys," a marginal gloss in the first of these papyri offers the single, abbreviated word "Demeter" (ἡ Δημή (τηρ)); at line 161, against "suitor-slayer," the solution Oenomaus (τὸν Οἰνό(μαον)); at line 162, against "son of Kadmilos," Myrtilus (Μυρτί(λος)).One-word glosses like this would have been enough to explain a good many riddling couplets in the closest Latin equivalent to the *Alexandra*, Ovid's *Ibis*.

A roll from the second century BC that preserves the longest surviving poem of Ibycus offers a single mythographical note in the bottom margin on Cyanippus, named in the poem as an Argive hero who went to Troy:[41]

> [. . .]limachus in his work on [. . .]rus says: Adrastus is grandfather of Cyanippus; thus he says that the poet has utterly refashioned this genealogy of his, allowing Aegialeus to be son of Adrastus, who marched against . . . [

Sources do indeed differ as to whether Cyanippus was son or grandson of Aegialeus, and Ibycus may well be the earliest source for the former. Fragments of two columns from Eratosthenes' poem *Hermes* on a papyrus from the late first-century BC are liberally equipped with explanatory notes.[42] The margins of a second-century roll of the *Meliambi* of Cercidas are also full of scholia, both

37. M. Richter and P. J. Parsons, *Ox. Pap*. LXIV (London 1997), 114–6; F 75. 25–7, where Pfeiffer's notes give the relevant information.

38. For the first three, see the notes to *SH* 414–6 (at pp. 200–1); for the longer note, p. 205, with *FGrH* 4 F 197bis (p. *6 of the 1957 reprint); Fowler, *EGM* i. 227, F 197A.

39. K. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca* (Chico 1981), 31 n. 34.

40. P. Oxy. 4428 and 3446.

41. For an excellent photo, Turner/Parsons, *GMAW*² 20. For the scholion, Davies, *PMGF* i. 245 and (with the translation quoted above) Campbell iii.224–5. There are one or two gaps and uncertainties, but the general drift of the note is clear. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* i. 498 supplements the opening proper name [Lys]imachus rather than [Call]imachus.

42. P. Oxy. 3000, with Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, *SH* 397.

explanatory and textual.[43] A first-century roll with bits of two columns of Callimachus's third hymn is equipped with three rather longer marginalia. On line 48 "Meligounis" is identified as Lipara; on 52 "Ossa" as a mountain in Thessaly; and the archaic τετύκοντο, "they were making," is glossed by the more up-to-date κατεσκεύαζον.[44] This combination of *historiae* and verbal gloss is just the sort of help the reader of Callimachus needed.

As in the Aratus codex, we have paraphrase and mythology combined in a scrap of papyrus with two long mythographic notes across the blank space at the bottom of two columns of a third-century roll of Pindar's *Paeans*. The first scholion deals with the fourth of the four mythological temples at Delphi, supposedly built by Trophonius and Agamedes the sons of Erginus. Here is the scholion:[45]

> . . . another oracle being given to Erginus as he was campaigning against Thebes. For he says, "But in this way you sent the oracle to Erginus who had drawn his sword against Thebes," instead of "who had campaigned"; "drawing" is used instead of "having drawn." . . . [Euphori]on says that Clymenus had been killed by Perieres, Hellanicus that he was killed by one of the Cadmeians while fighting around Onchestus. . . . Epimenides, however, in book 60 [?] of the *Genealogies*, says that he was killed by Glaucus as he was competing with the chariot. . . . There were two wars, one when Clymenus was killed, the other when Heracles mutilated those who came to fetch the tribute.

Tantalizingly enough we do not have the part of the text here discussed. Yet it is clear that the scholiast is explaining what appears to have been an unusual version of the story, with no fewer than three otherwise unknown learned citations. After a gap of a line there follows a separate scholion on the following poem:[46]

> When plague affected Sparta, the god told Menelaus to travel to the Teucrian land [i.e. Troy] and sacrifice to Lycus and Chimaereus. There he was entertained by Alexander [i.e. Paris], and together they went to the oracle again, the one to ask about having children, the other to ask about making off with Helen. [The oracle] answered each.

This appears to be a summary of the poem, or perhaps the background to the action of the poem. Once again we do not have this part of the actual text, but the best preserved section has Cassandra speaking when Paris is about to leave Troy for Greece. Of course, there were a great many learned Hellenistic commentaries on Pindar (more than 20 before even Didymus)[47] to help the serious reader, and there

43. P. Oxy. 1082; E. Livrea, *Studi cercidei* (1986).

44. P. Cair. inv. 47993b; see Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* i (1953), li, no. 39, and for the text, ib. 55.

45. P. Oxy. 2442 fr. 29 (pp. 48–50), with Pl. III. 29; Ian Rutherford, *Pindar's Paeans* (Oxford 2001), 213–4; Fowler, *EGM* i (2000), p. 81. I gratefully use Rutherford's translation of the scholia.

46. Rutherford 2001, 233–5.

47. See especially H. T. Deas, *HSCP* 42 (1931), 1–78; briefly, Cameron 1995, 190–1.

are also one or two heavily annotated papyrus texts.[48] But this copy seems to be limited to mythological guidance. It is tempting to wonder whether this is in fact a text of Pindar combined with a diegesis or mythographic companion.

Despite the large number of Homer papyri (1,500 for the *Iliad* alone),[49] very few are equipped with mythographic scholia. One striking example is a note in the top margin of a first-century roll on the reference to Hector in *Iliad* 24.729, citing two otherwise unknown works: Phileas in book 1 of something illegible, and Baton, *Chreia* 1.[50]

An example of extensive annotation of another difficult poet is the "very cramped scholia . . . sometimes overlapping with the text" in some badly damaged leaves from a third-century codex once identified as Callimachus's *Aetia* but now recognized as the *Arete* of Parthenius.[51] More scholia than text survive: on F 2 line 15, "Zephyrus, for Iris was married to him"; on F 3, a gloss on the rare word πίσυρον, "four," and "Cales is a river in Mygdonia, in the territory of Bithynia"; on F 5, "for the women who live there are called Sarmatides." All these notes are what contemporaries would have called *historiae*. A tantalizing fragment from a fourth- or fifth-century codex offers a classic mythographic note, explaining how Kronos mated with Philyra in the form of a horse and sired Cheiron the centaur. Unfortunately this is another case where we have only the margin, with no trace of the text it explains.[52]

Some fragments of an elegant second-century roll of Apollonius's *Argonautica* offer an interesting variation on the format.[53] The text is written on the recto of the papyrus, but on the verso of columns 4 and 5 there are at least three notes, in the form of lemma and explanatory material. On the righthand margin opposite two of these notes the word ἔσω, "inside," is evidently intended to direct the reader's attention to the portion of Apollonian text on the recto to which they refer. Only a few words of the first two can be deciphered, but the third (ll. 26–7) contains a geographical explanation complete with a precise source reference: "as Artemidorus <says> in book 1 of his *Geographica*" (ὡ[ς]'Αρτεμ[ίδ]ωρος ἐν ά γεωγραφικῶν). Artemidorus was a mythographic geographer of the first century BC, cited four times in the Apollonius scholia.[54] And if (with the editor) we read ἱστορεῖν 'Αντίγονον in line 14, ἱστορεῖν is the *vox propria* for reporting a story (ἱστορία). The editor suggests the third-century paradoxographer Antigonus of Carystus. But since the context is geographical, perhaps this is rather the second-century geographer Antigonus, author of a Μακεδονικὴ περιήγησις cited by

48. Notably P. Oxy. 841, now republished in Rutherford 2001.

49. M. L. West, *Homerus Ilias* i (Stuttgart 1998), xxxviii–liv.

50. P. Lit. Lond. 27 (Pack 998); Erbse, Schol. *Il*. v (1978), 507–9, with full discussion.

51. *SH* 606–14; Lightfoot 1999, F 2–5, pp. 100–4 and 135–45.

52. P. Berol. inv. 16984; R. Kannicht and B. Snell, *TrGF* ii. no. 734*b*.

53. *P. Oxy*. XXXIV (1968), 2694, ed. P. Kingston, with his earlier publication in *BICS* 7 (1960), 45–56.

54. See Wendel's index auctorum p. 332.

Stephanus of Byzantium in an entry almost certainly taken from a fuller version of the Apollonius scholia.[55]

This practice may not have been widespread, but there are a few other examples in literary texts: two ἔξω notations in the margin of a very fragmentary roll of Stesichorus; another in the margin of a Homer roll; and an ὀπίσω on a Herculaneum papyrus, all referring readers to a note on the other side of the roll.[56] Obviously there was plenty of room for quite lengthy scholia on the back.

A particularly striking case of systematic mythographic scholia between columns in a roll, as in the later codexes discussed earlier in the same hand as the text, is the second-century P. Oxy. 2080, the long fragment on the cities of Sicily from Callimachus's *Aetia*: Syracuse gets its name either from the wife of Archias, or from Syra and Cossa, his daughters, or from a lake called Syraco (28); Catana from the place where a ship of its oikist Euarchos hit a rock and lost a cheese-scraper, or κατάνη in Sicilian dialect (31–2); Selinus from a river of the same name (33); Eryx from Eryx the son of Butes (53–5); Zancle from ζάγκλον, which is Sicilian for a sickle (71); and a few others that cannot be deciphered. Though dismissed by Hunt as "not in themselves of much merit," there can be little doubt that these succinct notes derive from some well-informed commentary. No learned source references are given, but every one of these aetiologies is documented in one ancient source or another.[57] Since (unlike Aristophanes) the *Aetia* did not survive in medieval manuscripts equipped with excerpts from the ancient commentators, we cannot compare these scholia with their more detailed sources, but they appear to be competent abridgments of authentic mythographic lore.

Another early example of professionally copied scholia is a recently published second-century annotated fragment of Aristophanes's *Plutus*. According to the editor, "the marginal notes are written in a smallish book hand which may well be that of the original scribe," adding that the "formal handwriting of the *marginalia* is exceptional."[58] A learned note complete with lemma in a second-century roll containing scenes from Menander's *Kolax* identifies a name mentioned in the text as that of a famous pancratiast, Astyanax of Miletus, with a verbatim citation from Eratosthenes's *Olympionikai*, complete with book number:[59]

> Many comic poets mention Astyanax of Miletus. He proved himself the leading pancratiast of the day. He also competed at boxing. Eratosthenes, add-

55. See the schol. on *Arg*. iv.1174–5b, with Wendel's testimonia (p. 309); *FGrH* 775 (the papyrus would make a second citation).

56. *P. Oxy*. 2617, F 7. i. 3 and F 22. 2 = Page, *Suppl. Lyr. Graec*. (1974), S 27 and S 34; F. G. Kenyon, *Journ. Phil*. 22 (1894), 246; Cavallo, *Libri scritture scribi a Erculano* (1983), 19; see Turner/Parsons, *GMAW*² p. 14 n. 71.

57. A. S. Hunt, *Ox.Pap*. XVII (London 1927), 57–72 (with pl. II); Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* ii (1953), xvi, no. 18; for details on individual myths, see the notes in Pfeiffer (F 43) and Massimilla (F 50).

58. *P. Oxy*. 4521; N. Gonis, *Ox. Pap*. LXVI (1999), 166–72.

59. *P. Oxy*. 409, line 100, with Gomme and Sandbach, *Menander: A Commentary* (Oxford 1973), 427–8; see now W. G. Arnott's Loeb vol. ii (1996), 178–180; for the citation, *FGrH* 241 F 8.

> ing the date 316 BC in the [?] book of his *Olympionikai*, says "Astyanax of Miletus: six times [victor] in the four-year cycle [περίοδος] by a walkover."[60]

The note is written by the original scribe "in a smaller and more cursive hand in the bottom margin."[61] The fact that in all three cases scholia are in the same hand as text effectively excludes the possibility that they are readers' jottings.

What then is the purpose of scholia of this nature? Whether intended for students or the public at large, some at least of these books may have been produced from the start by professional copyists as annotated texts. There is no need to postulate any one standard edition with a fixed or agreed set of scholia. Indeed there need be no question of an "edition" of any sort. Not books with any scholarly pretensions at all but simply a few mythological glosses added to a text from a commentary—or even from a mythographic companion. The first such annotated text may have been no more than a private copy that its owner had equipped with brief notes for his personal use by a learned freedman.[62] Or it might have been some enterprising bookseller who hired a schoolteacher to do the job. Or both; the procedure I envisage is so elementary that it might easily have been done independently more than once for the same text.

Yet there is a certain continuity in such notes. Essentially the same explanation of Berenice's relationship to Ptolemy Soter is offered in both the seventh-century AD Callimachus codex from Oxyrhynchus and the third-century BC Lille roll. And a first-century roll of Bacchylides offers at the bottom of a column a version of a familiar note on the number of Niobe's children: "there is a dispute about the number. Homer says six sons and six daughters; Euripides seven and seven, Bacchylides and Pindar ten and ten."[63] A slightly fuller version is found in Gellius: "a strange and indeed almost absurd variation is to be noted in the Greek poets as to the number of Niobe's children. For Homer say that she had six sons and six daughters; Euripides, seven of each; Sappho, nine; Bacchylides and Pindar, ten." A learned Euripides scholion lists Sophocles, Aeschylus, and Aristophanes (seven of each), Pherecydes (six of each), Hellanicus (four boys and three girls), and Xanthus (ten of each). Ps-Apollodorus has Hesiod (ten of each), Herodorus (two boys and three girls), and Telesilla (one of each survived); and Aelian various further totals: Lasus (14), Hesiod (19), Alcman (10), and Mimnermus (20).[64] This is perhaps one of those questions schoolboys of the Roman age were liable

60. ἀκονιτί, a formula used when no other competitor registered or dared to fight: see L. Robert, *Arch. Ephem*. 1966, 110 and in *L'Épigramme grecque* (Entretiens . . . Hardt 14) 1969, 246–8.

61. Grenfell and Hunt in *Ox. Pap*. III (1903), 19.

62. For the literary services performed for patrons by highly educated freedmen, see (for example) Susan Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic* (Oxford 1969), 110–28.

63. The scholion has to be reconstructed from P. Oxy. 1361 and 2081*e*; see Snell's *Bacchylides*, fr. 20D (p. 102).

64. Gell. *NA* 20.7; Schol. Eur. *Phoen*. 159; Ps-Apoll. iii.45–6; Ael. *VH* xii. 36. Obvious as it might seem to posit a common source behind all these collections, this is the sort of case where individual commentators might easily have added examples they had found themselves.

to be asked, with extra marks if they could provide names (p. 191). The derivative nature of the Bacchylides scholion is illustrated by the fact that it includes Bacchylides himself in its list.

As for later copies of such annotated texts, some may have been made privately from a friend's copy, others made and sold by booksellers. We know all too little about the role played by booksellers in the circulation of books in the ancient world. A valuable study by Raymond Starr has rightly emphasized the importance of private copies (it is hard to believe that any bookseller stocked more than a fraction of the thousands of noncurrent books a scholarly reader might wish to consult).[65] But it would be wrong to draw too sharp a distinction even here. There must have been many freelance copyists who worked for both booksellers and private patrons. Anyone in search of a rare book is likely to have consulted booksellers as well as friends. Booksellers after all are likely to have been well informed about the holdings of local libraries, both private and public.

Very instructive in this connection is a private letter dating from ca 170 AD. In a postscript the (unfortunately unidentifiable) sender asks his addressee to have some books copied for him:[66]

> Make and send me copies of books 6 and 7 of the *Characters in Comedy* [Κωμῳδούμενοι] of Hypsicrates. For Harpocration says that they are among Polion's books. But it is likely that others, too, have got them. He also has prose epitomes of Thersagoras's work on the myths of tragedy.

Another hand (perhaps the addressee's) adds the information that "according to Harpocration, Demetrius the bookseller has got them," presumably meaning Hypsicrates and Thersagoras. There is no way of knowing whether Demetrius the bookseller simply happened to have the books in stock or Polion loaned his copies to Demetrius to be copied. Booksellers must often have filled private commissions.

The main reason little attention has been paid to the possibility of systematically (if fitfully) annotated ancient copies of the classics is an understandable reluctance on the part of modern scholars to take elementary verbal and mythological glosses seriously. However helpful to poorly prepared readers, they do not involve any serious scholarly endeavor. On the subject of mythology in particular many ancient critics would have agreed. In the course of a sustained attack on the methods of contemporary grammarians, Sextus Empiricus objected that no "scientific and universal theory" (ἐπιστημονικῆς τινος καὶ καθολικῆς θεωρίας) was required simply to report that "after Pelops's shoulder had been eaten by Ares or Demeter he had an ivory shoulder, or that Heracles's head

65. R. J. Starr, "The Circulation of Literary Texts in the Roman World," *CQ* 37 (1987), 213–23; A. F. Norman, "The Book Trade in Fourth-century Antioch," *JHS* 80 (1960), 122–6; E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* (Baltimore 1985), 43–44; M. E. Keenan, *The Life and Times of Augustine as Revealed in His Letters* (Washington 1935), 79–81; J.E.G. Zetzel, *Latin Textual Criticism in Antiquity* (New York 1981), 234–5.

66. P. Oxy. 2192; Turner and Parsons, *GMAW*[2] no. 68.

became bald, his hair falling out when he was swallowed by the sea-monster which was attacking Hesione."[67] Stuff like this was beneath the expertise of a serious professional scholar.

Quintilian would not perhaps have gone this far, but (like Juvenal) he disapproved of searching out unnecessary detail when explaining such allusions. The scholia amply illustrate and justify such an attitude. They seldom simply explain the allusion in a line of Callimachus or Theocritus, much less explain its function in context (why this myth, is the allusion passing and decorative, or does it play a structural role in the poem?). All too often the scholia just treat the allusion as a peg on which to hang the entire story in irrelevant detail, sometimes even the wrong version, laboriously citing authorities unknown to or actually later than the poet in question. The clearest illustrations of this tendency are Mythographus Homericus and (as we shall see in the following chapter) Mythographus Vergilianus. For all the mass of spuriously documented mythological detail they provide, they actually cast very little light on the way Homer and Vergil *use* myth.

But this is not a shortcoming limited to inferior practitioners. By the Roman period, it is common to the exegesis of the classics at every level. The widespread circulation of mythographic works of every sort in the early empire makes it clear that mythological guidance was one of the prime needs of would-be readers of classical texts. Of course, bare texts of even such difficult poets as Callimachus continued to circulate. Famous examples are P. Oxy. 2079 (the *Aetia* prologue) and 1011 (the story of Acontius and Cydippe), the first a second-century roll, the second a fourth-century codex. But they are outnumbered by texts with some sort of annotation, however sketchy and amateurish.

Papyrologists have compiled exhaustive lists of both school texts (elementary copying exercises)[68] and scholars' texts (texts collated against another copy, in some cases citing readings on the authority of the great Hellenistic critics).[69] But there is as yet no systematic collection and analysis of texts that carry no more than verbal glosses and occasional mythographic notes, though a long-awaited study by MacNamee will soon fill the gap. There are no doubt more cases not yet identified simply because no one was looking for anything so mundane.

2

Unfortunately we have no counterpart to our wealth of Greek literary papyri on the Latin side. There is little or no direct evidence for scholia of this nature in early Latin manuscripts to set alongside all this material from the papyri. But there

67. Sextus, *Adv. gramm.* 255 (Blank's translation).

68. Rafaella Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta 1996), with abundant high-quality illustrations.

69. E. G. Turner, "Scribes and Scholars of Oxyrhynchus," *Akten des VIII Intern. Kongr. für Papyrologie, Wien 1955* (*MPER* n. s. 5, Vienna 1956), 141–6; Kathleen McNamee, "Greek literary papyri revised by two or more hands," *Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Papyrology* (Chicago 1981), 79–91; J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit* (Frankfurt 1990), 133–5.

are at least two suggestive pieces of evidence. First, in his scholion on *Georgics* i.14, the fifth- or sixth-century Ps-Probus gives a summary account of how Aristaeus, the son of Apollo and the nymph Cyrene, rescued the people of the Minoan islands from a plague by building an altar to Zeus Ikmaios on Ceos, where his prayers were rewarded by the cool Etesian winds. The fullest known version of this story is Apollonius, *Argonautica* ii.498–527, with one or two further details in the ancient scholia and a passing allusion in Callimachus's *Acontius and Cydippe*.[70] The Ps-Probus scholion includes two details not in Apollonius. First, the plague is dated "after the death of Actaeon."[71] This is not something we can dismiss as scholiastic guesswork, since Diodorus likewise dates Aristaeus's visit to Ceos "after the death of Actaeon." It is in any case unlikely that a late Latin scholiast would be well enough informed to know that Aristaeus was the husband of Cadmus's daughter Autonoë and so the father of Actaeon. Second, the scholion lists the four cities of Ceos (Iulis, Carthaea, Poeessa, and Coressos). They are also listed by Pliny and Strabo, who both added that the latter two did not exist in their day. The inevitable poetic source is Callimachus (or his *Diegeseis*), who lists all four.[72] Ps-Probus's ultimate source must have been a mythographer who added these details to a summary of the account in Apollonius. The surviving ancient scholia on Apollonius do not mention Actaeon, but do identify Aristaeus's wife as Autonoë, Actaeon's mother. The obvious guess is that the ultimate source of Ps-Probus's information is a set of *Diegeseis* to Apollonius somewhat fuller on this point than the surviving scholia.

The interest of this particular case lies in the fact that Ps-Probus himself names what we are bound to identify as his direct source: "this story about Aristaeus is handed down in the *corpus* of Varro Atacinus's *Argonautae*" (*traditur haec historia de Aristaeo in corpore Argonautarum a Varrone Atacino*). Varro's *Argonautae*, a fairly close translation of Apollonius's *Argonautica*, was perhaps written in the forties BC.[73] But what does *corpus* mean here? Applied to books, the word is used in two different senses. First and most commonly, of different items collected in a single work;[74] second and much less frequently, of a physical volume, equivalent to Greek σωμάτιον, codex.[75] In fact the only unmistakable examples of the second I have found are three occurrences in the *Theodosian*

70. For more detail, Cameron 1995, 256.

71. *propter interitum Actaeonis,* MSS; as Courtney points out (*Frag. Lat. Poets* (1993), 141), we should correct to *post* on the basis of Diodorus iv. 82. 1 ("As for Aristaeus, after the death of Actaeon, we are told, he went . . . to Ceos").

72. Plin. *NH* iv. 63; Stra. x. 486; Call. F 75. 70–4.

73. E. Courtney, *Fragmentary Latin Poets* (1993), 236; for the fragments, ib. 238–43.

74. E.g. Ov. *Trist*. ii. 535: the most popular part *de corpore toto* of the *Aeneid* is bk. iv; Plin. *Ep.* 2.10.3: *hos versus nisis retrahis in corpus*, i.e. publish in a collected edition; Quint. 4 pr. 7: in his *Metamorphoses* Ovid collected *res diversissimas in speciem unius corporis*; Ulp. *Dig.* 32. 52. 2: *Homeri corpus*; more examples in *TLL* iv (1906–9), 1020–21 s.v. *corpus* IV. A and T. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen* (Berlin 1882), 36–43.

75. For a number of clear examples, see R. Devréesse, *Introduction à l'Étude des manuscrits grecs* (Paris 1954), 60.

Code dated to 392 and 438[76] and an epigram by an early fifth-century calligrapher describing the volume he had just finished copying as a *corpus*.[77]

Taken by itself, *corpus Argonautarum a Varrone* would most naturally mean "the whole of Varro's *Argonauts*," just as *corpus Homeri* means "the whole of Homer." Yet if Varro had mentioned the details in question in his poem, he would have done so in one or two specific passages, not in the poem as a whole. The form of the citation would have been simply *Varro in Argonautis*, with or without a book number. Ps-Probus must be referring to a particular copy of Varro's poem, a copy copied into a codex and (as Wilamowitz once suggested) equipped with scholia, scholia naturally based on the scholia to Apollonius.[78] No one has ever taken that suggestion seriously—not surprisingly, so as long as it was believed that learned marginal scholia were a medieval innovation. Yet we now know that mythographic notes in particular are found, at any rate spasmodically, in ancient texts, and it is difficult to see what else this scholion can possibly refer to. If Ps-Probus did find his material in such a text (or even in earlier scholia based on such a text), then some of the other learned mythographic notes in his commentary[79] might well derive from the same source.

In Ch. III. 1 we saw that Valerius Flaccus made use of material known to us from the scholia on Apollonius. Here too Wilamowitz suggested a text with marginal scholia.[80] A mythographic companion is perhaps more likely, but in the light of the texts assembled in this chapter, a copy of Apollonius with occasional mythographic scholia in the margins is at least a possibility.

The second piece of evidence is the scholia to Ovid's *Ibis*. It has long been obvious that the greater part of these scholia are absolutely worthless. Not only do they frequently "offer us explanations which we know to be figments, because we understand Ovid's allusions, which the scholiasts did not."[81] In addition, they quote a large number of fabricated verses (always, of course, Latin), which they attribute to a variety of Greek poets as well as to Roman poets like Tibullus and Propertius.[82] One name they quote a number of times is Callimachus, sometimes with, sometimes without bogus verses. Most of these citations can be ignored, but over a century ago a brief article of J. Geffcken drew attention to at least two cases where there were grounds to take the information offered more seriously.[83]

76. *Theodosiani libri xvi* I. 2 (Berlin 1905), p. 4. 4 and 7; *Cod. Theod.* 8.6.2, *in tractoriarum corpore . . . adscribatur* = "let it be written in the text of the travel warrants."

77. A. Riese, *Anth. Lat.* i.2 (1906), 783; for full discussion, Cameron, "Petronius Probus, Aemilius Probus and the transmission of Nepos: a note on late Roman calligraphers," in J.-M. Carrié and Rita Lizzi Testa (eds.), *Humana Sapit: Études d'antiquité tardive offertes à Lellia Cracco Ruggini* (Brepols 2003), 121.

78. "Eine ausgabe des Varro mit scholien," Wilamowitz, *Einleitung in die griechische Tragödie* (1889; reprint, Berlin 1907), 167.

79. On which see Ch. VIII. 2.

80. Wilamowitz 1907, 166.

81. A. E. Housman, *Clasical Papers* iii (1972), 1050.

82. On these verses, see A. La Penna, *Scholia in P. Ovidii Nasonis Ibin* (Florence 1959), xxviii–xxxiii.

83. "Die Kallimachoscitate der Ibis-scholien," *Hermes* 25 (1890), 91–6.

The scholion on 451–2 identifies Ovid's anonymous allusion as the story of Menedemus, killed at Troy, and the scholion on 477–8 as the story of Thasus, son of Anius, dismembered by dogs on Delos. Both scholia quote Callimachus by name, and Pfeiffer, accepting Geffcken's arguments, included them as fragments 663 and 664 of Callimachus. Though attractive, Geffcken's arguments were not compelling, but there is no need to reconsider them, since the publication of the *Diegeseis* in 1934 provided a number of much better proofs that the *Ibis* scholia do indeed preserve genuine (if somewhat garbled) citations from Callimachus's *Aetia*.

One clear example is the scholion on *Ibis* 467–8, where Ovid alludes to someone being stoned in Abdera. Until 1934 no one knew what to make of this couplet. But according to the *diegesis* now included by Pfeiffer as F 90, Abdera was purified by making a slave walk round the city wall before having stones thrown at him by the "basileus and others," evidently a scapegoat of some sort.[84] The scholia not only attribute the story to Callimachus but also have two details that could not have been inferred from the Ovidian text: the rite of purification, and the fact that the man stoned had to be a slave, *emptum hominem* in the scholion, ὠνητὸς ἄνθρωπος in the *diegesis*.

Ibis 335 refers to the daughter of Hippomenes suffering a new kind of punishment. The scholion identifies the daughter as Limone and the punishment as being locked in a room with a horse. Neither detail could possibly have been inferred from Ovid. One of the *diegeseis* to the *Aetia* (F 95) records that Hippomenes "shut up his daughter Limone, who had been seduced, in a chamber with a horse." The scholia identify the source as Clarius or Darius, long before 1934 identified as a corruption of Callimachus.

Ibis 621–2 tells the story of someone from the city of Isindos who was barred from an Ionian festival. Callimachus F 78 tells what is presumably the same story about Isindus (little beyond the word Ἰσίνδιον survives). The very next couplet (*Ibis* 623–4) alludes to the story of a certain Melantheus being killed by the aid of a light that his own mother carried. The same story is told in Callimachus F 102, though with a different name. The fact that these stories are consecutive certainly suggests that Ovid drew on Callimachus. But the scholia do not name him, nor do they offer any circumstantial details.

A recent find has added a new item to the dossier. *Ibis* 501–2 alludes to a story that a lioness killed a tyrant called Phalaecus. One scholion describes how "on the authority of Callimachus" (*auctore Callimacho*) "Pegasus" of Epirus, while laying siege to Ambracia, went hunting, picked up a lion cub, and was killed by its mother. Pfeiffer included it as F 665. The story is also told by Antoninus Liberalis, who says the lioness was sent by Artemis, citing Nicander and the otherwise unknown Athanadas.[85] But a new fragment of the *Diegeseis* published by Claudio Gallazzi and Luigi Lehnus confirms that it was also told in the *Aetia*.[86] There is

84. So W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley 1979), 64–6.
85. Anton. Lib. 4. 5; more briefly, Aelian, *Nat. An.* 12. 40.
86. "Due nuovi frammenti delle Diegeseis," *ZPE* 137 (2001), at 7–13.

no continuous text, but the words "lioness" and "Artemis" are clearly legible. The scholion has somewhat deformed the tyrant's name,[87] but the fact that it mentions both Epirus and Ambracia, neither named in Ovid but both in Antoninus, leaves no serious doubt that it reflects genuine erudition, not guesswork.

There are also a few other odds and ends of genuine erudition, most of it, like the "Callimachean" scholia, slightly corrupted and embroidered by guesswork in the surviving text of the scholia.[88] Where did this knowledge come from? How do we explain the survival of such a tiny proportion of genuine, indeed positively abstruse citations among so much unadulterated rubbish? It does not seem likely that these items are the lone survivors of a well-informed ancient commentary. If so, how did so little of it survive? If it were all concentrated on one brief passage we might postulate a single surviving page from such a commentary, but the notes are spread out over almost three hundred lines. Then there is the fact that the genuine material is all of the same type: no philological notes, just mythographical explanations, identifications of what Ovid himself called the *caecae historiae* of his poem. It is not easy to believe that any Latin scholiast had such a thorough knowledge of Callimachus's *Aetia*. Certainly Servius did not.

It was again Wilamowitz who came up with the simplest and most plausible explanation. There was no ancient commentary on the *Ibis*. These were occasional mythographic notes in the *margins* of a single copy that survived the Dark Ages.[89] Set in the context of the many Greek papyri with marginal notes of exactly this nature, this solution must surely now be accepted.[90]

Wilamowitz himself thought that they went all the way back to Ovid himself, in part at least because "such abundant learning belongs in the earliest period, hardly much later than Ovid."[91] Gareth Williams rightly objected that the "ordinary" reader, like Ibis himself (whether or not he existed), was meant to be overwhelmed by the nonstop torrent of allusions: "Ibis was surely never meant to have access to anything that would ease his task."[92] Wilamowitz was right to be impressed by the quality of the erudition, but the answer to his argument is surely that the scholiast responsible for these notes did not get his information from firsthand knowledge of the *Aetia*. Realizing that Ovid was bound to have drawn on so notoriously obscure and learned a poet, he turned to the *Diegeseis*, a quick and painless way of finding what he needed. This would also explain the disproportionate number of citations of Callimachus. Ovid must have drawn on a great many other sources as well, but they were not so conveniently available in a single volume. With the aid of the *Diegeseis* he could identify every Callimachean allusion in the *Ibis* in an hour or so. We have just seen that there are two papyri of

87. Other versions of the note offer Paphagus and Pegaseus.

88. Listed by Wilamowitz, *Hellenistische Dichtung* ii (Berlin 1924), 98–100.

89. Wilamowitz 1924, 98.

90. As it was by La Penna 1959, xxiii.

91. "Er war auch der beste, wenn nicht die Scholien zu schreiben, so doch schreiben zu lassen," Wilamowitz 1924, 100.

92. Gareth D. Williams, *The Curse of Exile: A Study of Ovid's Ibis* (Cambridge 1996), 97.

the closest Greek equivalent to Ovid's *Ibis*, Lycophron's *Alexandra*, equipped with succinct marginal identifications.

We now know from the papyri that the *Diegeseis* circulated fairly widely in Roman Egypt. The fact that Clement of Alexandria alludes to both the Menedemus and Anius story in the same breath[93] suggests that this is where he too found them.[94] This is surely also the source of Hyginus's brief account of the catasterism of Berenice's Lock,[95] citing *Conon Samius mathematicus et Callimachus* (no one who had got his information from the original Callimachean text would have cited Callimachus *and Conon* as sources).[96] It is hardly a coincidence that the very next paragraph in Hyginus adds, irrelevantly to his theme, that "some say with Callimachus that this Berenice bred horses and used to send them to the Olympic games."[97] There is no indication that Ps-Eratosthenes, Hyginus's basic source, quoted Callimachus at this point, and Hyginus may well have added both citations himself. No one will believe that so wretched a figure read Callimachus at first hand, and yet here he is apparently alluding to what we now know to be the opening poem of book iii and the closing poem of book iv of the *Aetia*. The obvious explanation is that he drew on the *Diegeseis*. We shall see later that in all probability it was from the *Diegeseis* that Ps-Apollodorus and Suetonius drew the story of Minos silencing the fluteplayers while sacrificing to the Graces on Paros.[98] And it was presumably from the *Diegeseis* again rather than the actual text of Callimachus that Conon and Ps-Apollodorus drew the obscure story of Apollo Aegletes that immediately follows Minos and the fluteplayers in Callimachus.[99]

Like all the major Augustan poets, Ovid himself certainly knew the *Aetia* at first hand. In his *Fasti* above all the narrator's persona of an earnest researcher quizzing Muses and other deities about puzzling practices is clearly indebted to *Aetia* i–ii. But suppose that, when writing the *Ibis*, he wanted to check the story of Limone and the horse. Suppose too that, in order to maintain his tone of mystification, he decided to conceal her name behind a patronymic (*Hippomeneïde*, 335) and so needed to know her father's name. He could always go direct to the *Aetia*, but that might take a while in a four-book poem that included scores of different stories in apparently random sequence. The obvious shortcut was to consult the *Diegeseis*, which might give him all he wanted in a matter of moments, and at the very least would tell him exactly where to look in the poem itself. Just so later readers of Ovid's own *Metamorphoses* would use the *Narrationes* to locate individual stories in a long and complex text. To repeat, a work like the *Diegeseis* would be a useful standby for even scholarly ancient readers of long and allusive mythological poems.

93. *Protr*. 40.2, p. 63 Marcovich.
94. For Clement's use of *diegeseis* and mythographers, Ch. II. 3.
95. Hyg. *De astron*. ii.24.1.
96. Conon is mentioned even in the very abridged summary in the Milan papyrus (i.123 Pfeiffer).
97. *De astron*. ii.24.2.
98. Suet. Tib. 70. 3; Ps-Apoll. iii. 15. 7; see p. 307.
99. Conon, *Story* 49 (Brown, *The Narratives of Konon* [2002], 339): Ps-ApoIl. i. 19. 26; Pfeiffer on Call. F 7. 19–21 (p. 17); G. Massimilla, *Callimaco: Aitia, libri primo e secondo* (Pisa 1996), 246–61.

8

Mythographus Vergilianus

1: A MYTHOGRAPHICAL COMPANION

In addition to mytholological paraphrase/companions for both Ovid and Germanicus, it has not (I think) been realized that we also have what amounts to another for Vergil, embedded in the various late antique commentaries, principally (of course) Servius. Given the enormous bulk of the various Vergil scholia (1,660 pages in the Thilo-Hagen edition, plus a further 270 pages of Hagen's *Scholia Bernensia*), most only consult it occasionally for specific passages, and fewer still dip into Filargirius and Ps-Probus. The few who have studied the corpus as a whole have usually been interested in its value either for the textual criticism of Vergil[1] or for the teaching of Latin in late antiquity.[2] Any one who has read more than half a dozen pages at length is likely to be aware that Servius devotes much space to explaining mythological allusions, but it is perhaps only medievalists who appreciate quite how much mythographic material he offers. The Servian corpus[3] is by far the fullest and most important source for those central medieval mythographic texts, the first and second Vatican mythographers—and for the medieval Latin West in general.[4]

In fact the Servian corpus offers a mythical "story" for almost every person, place, and even plant Vergil mentions. Many of these notes provide useful identifications and background information. But more often than not the information provided is both excessive and (for its professed purpose of explaining Vergil) unnecessary—sometimes altogether inappropriate. As we saw in Ch. V, Quintilian warned against superfluous detail (*supervacuus labor*) in the explanation of mytho-

1. Notably J. E .G. Zetzel, *Latin Textual Criticism in Antiquity* (New York 1981); see too now S. Timpanaro, *Virgilianisti antichi e tradizione indiretta* (Florence 2001).

2. R. A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley 1988); Anne Uhl, *Servius als Sprachlehrer: Zur Sprachrichtigkeit in der exegetischen Praxis des spätantiken Grammatikerunterrichts* (Göttingen 1998).

3. By which I mean all the various surviving late antique Vergil commentators, as listed below, pp. 197–8.

4. It is enough to consult the index of sources in P. Kulcsár, *Mythographi Vaticani I et II* (1987); 5 pages out of 12 are devoted to Servius. More generally, see the three papers of Michael Herren quoted on p. 310.

logical allusions,[5] and the Vergil scholia provide abundant illustration. To quote a couple of borderline illustrations, Servius's notes on *Aen*. i. 97 and 100 give more detail (especially genealogical) than is strictly necessary for Vergil's passing references to Diomede and Sarpedon, but it was appropriate to give some sense of the Homeric importance of these two heroes. And there is also some justification for giving detailed biographies of the three underworld sinners (Phaedra, Procris and Eriphyle) named at *Aen*. vi.445. In what follows I propose to use "unnecessary" without evaluative connotations simply to imply mythographic notes that go beyond this degree of relevance, notes that contribute nothing to the comprehension or illustration of the Vergilian text.

For example, as Aeneas begins to tell the harrowing story of the fall of Troy, he asks the rhetorical question "which of the Myrmidons or Dolopes, which soldier of cruel Ulysses could refrain from tears?" (*Aen*. ii.7) In the context, "Myrmidons" simply exemplify Greek warriors known, because of their leader Achilles, for their ferocity, the sort of people least likely to pity the Trojans. But Servius and (in more detail) Servius Danielis give several versions of the well-known story of ants (μύρμηκες) being turned into men ("they are called Myrmidons for the following reason: Aeacus, son of Jupiter and Aegina . . ."). In the context, Vergil cannot possibly have wanted readers to think of any of these stories. But the transformation of ants into Achilles's warriors was one of those stories cultivated people were expected to know, whether to recognize allusions in other classics or to help them fashion learned allusions in poems or speeches of their own. So the first mention of the Myrmidons in Vergil was treated as a peg on which to hang a detailed (and documented) account of the various versions. Mythographus Homericus similarly used the first mention of Myrmidons in the Iliad (i.180) to give an even more elaborate account that took 14 lines to reach the ants, going back even further into the prehistory of the saga ("having carried off Aegina, daughter of Asopus the river of Thebes, Zeus came to Phlius . . .").

Countless similar examples could be cited. When Aeneas sails the Tyrrhenian sea (*Aen*. i.67), we get a detailed account, once again entirely irrelevant in the context, of how Tyrrhenus came to give his name to that body of water. But perhaps the clearest examples concern trees, plants, and animals.

If Vergil mentions marjoram (*amaracus*, *Aen*. i.693), Servius tells the story of a prince of that name who dealt in spices; if cypress trees (*cyparissi*, *Aen*. iii.680), the story of Cyparissus, son of Telephus, the beloved of Apollo or, as some say, of Silvanus; if a hyacinth (*Aen*. xi.69), the story of Hyacinthus, son of Eurotas or, as some claim, of Oebalus;[6] if a lynx (*Aen*. i.323), the story of Lyncus, king of Scythia; if an owl (*bubo*, *Aen*. iv.402), Servius adds that Ascalaphus, son of Acheron or, as some think, of Styx was turned into this bird. No one's appreciation of any of these passages (and scores more could be cited) is enhanced by calling these stories to

5. Quint. i.8.18.
6. For the various versions, Preller-Robert, *Theogonie und Götter*[4] (Berlin 1894), 248 n. 2.

mind. The scholiast simply used the fact that Vergil happened to mention these plants and animals as a peg on which to hang his own mythological erudition. Just as one part of the commentary as we have it uses Vergil as a tool to instill the principles of good Latin, so this part uses Vergil to teach mythology. Anyone who takes the trouble to check may be surprised to discover how many otherwise unattested versions and details Servius offers.[7] To take only the examples cited in this paragraph, which were originally chosen at random, no other source gives Eurotas as the father of Hyacinthus, Styx as the mother of Ascalaphus, or Silvanus as the lover of Cyparissus. No other source mentions Amaracus at all, or mentions the lynx's spots as a feature of the transformation.[8]

Nor did commentators limit themselves to one such note per story. Vergil happens to mention cypress trees eight times, and we find notes about Cyparissus on no fewer than five of these passages. In two of the eight passages the cypress is mentioned for its well-documented funerary associations,[9] which, while not requiring, at least provide an opening to mention the Cyparissus story. But none of the others calls for any such explanation.[10] Remarkably enough, the notes vary considerably. In the basic version, Cyparissus accidentally kills a pet deer and is turned into a cypress tree by his lover so that he can grieve for ever.[11] Two notes mention only Silvanus as Cyparissus's lover (on *Buc*. x. 26; *Geo*. i.20); one only Apollo (*Aen*. iii.64); one Apollo and Silvanus (*Aen*. iii.680); and a DS addition to Servius's note on *Aen*. iii.680 adds Zephyrus. The note on *Geo*. ii.84 locates the affair on Chios, the note on *Aen*. iii.680 on Crete, and the Silvanus version is presumably set in Italy.[12] In the Cretan version, to preserve his chastity Cyparissus leaves Crete for Syria, where he undergoes an unexplained metamorphosis. And Ps-Probus on *Geo*. ii.84 comes up with an altogether different (and probably much earlier) story, deriving the tree from the grief of Boreas, king of the Celts, at the death of his daughter Cyparissia.[13] The lack of consistency is one factor that leaps to the eye, but more significant in the present

7. Observant readers will have noticed how often Servius is cited as the earliest or only source for a particular detail in the pages of Gantz's *Early Greek Myth* (1993).

8. Serv. on *Aen*. i.323 gives details missing in the very brief account in Ovid, *Met*. v. 650–61. Note that Hyginus, *Fab*. 259, sometimes cited as another version, is interpolated from Servius (except that Hyginus carelessly wrote *Sicilia* for *Scythia*).

9. See Nisbet and Hubbard, *Horace: Odes Book II* (Oxford 1978), 236.

10. *Geo*. i.20, where Silvanus is invoked carrying a young cypress by its roots (*teneram ab radice ferens, Silvane, cupressum*) might be argued to imply a special connection between Silvanus and the cypress, though more likely Vergil simply had in mind his regular representation in art carrying a tree branch, usually pine (Peter F. Dorcey, *The Cult of Silvanus* [Leiden 1992], 18–9, with pls. 1–10). The Silvanus version of the Cyparissus story may in fact derive from this line of Vergil (so Dorcey 15).

11. For a brief account of the various versions, Forbes Irving, 1990, 260–1; for some interesting speculations on the Hyacinthus and Cyparissus stories, Bernard Sergent, *L'homosexualité dans la mythologie grecque* (Paris 1984), 97–117.

12. While Ovid sets the scene on Ceos (*Met*. x.109).

13. The source cited is the fourth-century mythographer Asclepiades of Tragilos (*FGrH* 12 F 19).

context is the obvious importance attached to dinning at least one version into the heads of late Roman schoolboys.

Most mythographic notes are clearly marked off from the rest of the commentary by a series of formulas. The commonest beginnings are *fabula talis est* (*Aen*. iii.73; iii.113; vii.190); *de quo/qua fabula talis est* (i.505; iv. 402; iv. 469); *nota* (*autem*) *est fabula* (v. 241; Geo. iii.152); *fabula namque haec est* (vi.659); *namque hoc habet fabula* (i.67). Rather less often we find the Greek term *historia talis est* (iii.121; viii.635 DS; viii.652 DS); *historia hoc habet* (i.273; 443; 619; ii.201); *sicut historia habet* (i.259 DS; iv. 36). Often the word *sane* precedes one of these formulas: *sane de myrto fabula talis est* (iii.23); *sane de aquila est et alia fabula* (i.394); *sane Hyacinthus puer fuit* (xi.69); *sane alia Scylla* (iii.420). Unfortunately such notes are not so clearly delimited at the end as Greek mythographic notes, which regularly close with the source reference (ἡ δὲ ἱστορία παρὰ τῷ δεῖνα), normally (as we shall see) missing in Servius.

A particularly interesting feature of these formulas is the clear distinction between *fabula* and *historia*, a difference common to both Servius and Servius Danielis, and so at least as old as their common source, Aelius Donatus. Stories introduced as *fabula* involve something *contra naturam*, normally a transformation or a monster, whereas stories introduced as *historia* do not.[14] It should be emphasized that this has nothing to do with the modern distinction between myth and history but follows Servius's own distinction stated on *Aen*. i.235: "a *fabula* is anything contrary to nature, whether fact or fiction, like the Pasiphaë story: a *historia* is anything in accordance with nature, whether fact or fiction, like the Phaedra story" (*fabula est dicta res contra naturam, sive facta sive non facta, ut de Pasiphaë; historia est quicquid secundum naturam dicitur, sive factum sive non factum, ut de Phaedra*). It is not the truth or falsity of the stories that is at issue but their probability or believability in terms of the laws of nature. Thus it is not believable that a woman should mate with a bull and produce a monster like the Minotaur (Pasiphaë) but perfectly believable in itself that a woman should fall in love with her stepson (Phaedra). This distinction goes back to the early Hellenistic rationalizers but is not generally found in the surviving early imperial Greek mythographers.

Where did all this mythographic material come from? Who assembled it, and when? We know the names of some 20 Vergilian critics and commentators who wrote before Servius (ca 420),[15] and there were doubtless many more we can no longer identify. In his dedicatory letter to L. Munatius, Donatus claims to have

14. Much useful material in David B. Dietz, "*Historia* in the Commentary of Servius," *TAPA* 125 (1995), 61–97, though seemingly unaware either of the specialized use of *historia*/ἱστορία in the commentary tradition or of the derivation of Servius's *fabula/re vera* antithesis from Palaefatus and the Greek rationalizers. Altogether less useful is Caterina Lazzarini, "Historia/fabula: forme della costruzione poetica virgiliana nel commento di Servio all'Eneide," *Mater. e Discuss*. 12 (1984), 117–44.

15. See the list in Ribbeck, "De obtrectatoribus Vergilii," in *Prolegomena critica ad P. Vergili Maronis opera maiora* (Leipzig 1866), xxxi.

studied and excerpted all these writers, preserving in their actual words the "authentic voice of early authority."[16] We do not have the original text of Donatus's commentary, but much of its outline and general character can be grasped from the additional material in the longer version of Servius (DS) first published by P. Daniel in 1600. It is now generally agreed that the DS additions derive, directly or indirectly, from Donatus.[17] The fact that these "unnecessary" aetiologies are to be found indifferently in both Servius and the DS additions proves that they go back at least to Donatus (ca 350) and almost certainly much earlier.

In a useful survey of scholia dealing with transformation stories in the various Vergil commentaries, A. Leuschke concluded in 1895 that all derived from the same ultimate source (that is to say, the same Latin commentator).[18] This he inferred in part from their stylistic and thematic homogeneity but, more important, from the fact that we find the same "unnecessary" aetiologies in different commentaries on the same passages.

Remarkably enough, no more than occasional details ever come from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. We should not be misled by cases like the detailed summary of the Pyramus and Thisbe story in Servius Danielis on *Buc*. vi.22, which follows Ovid closely. No earlier source is known in either Greek or Latin; all references to the story in Latin derive from Ovid, and all Greek versions (much later in date) give a markedly different version.[19] But for stories deriving from Hellenistic sources, it is clear that Ovid was not regarded as a major or primary source. Though his name is sometimes attached to transformation stories as we have them in Servius, the version they give often differs in more or less significant details from Ovid's.[20] For example, we have just seen that half a dozen different versions of the Cyparissus story are scattered through the Servian corpus. The one version that is conspicuous by its absence is Ovid's. No first-century Latin writer who knew his Greek mythographers was likely to turn to Ovid as an *authority* in this area. It was later commentators who sometimes added Ovid's name to summaries of stories made famous in the *Metamorphoses* (the story of Leto and the Lycian herdsmen, discussed below, is a striking example), just as they occasionally added other names familiar to Roman readers. For example, a long note on Orion of ultimate Hellenistic origin cites Horace and even Lucan (*Aen*. x.486). Lucan may

16. "Inspectis fere omnibus ante me qui in Virgilii opere calluerunt . . . de multis pauca decerpsi . . . agnosce igitur saepe in hoc munere collaticio *sinceram vocem priscae auctoritatis* . . . maluimus . . . eorum etiam verba servare" (*Vitae Verg. Antiquae* ed. C. Hardie 1954, p. 1).

17. For a summary recent account, P. L. Schmidt in Herzog/Schmidt 5, § 527.3; G. Brugnoli, *Encicl. Virg*. IV (1988), 805–13; see too C. E. Murgia, *Philologus* 131 (1987), 289–99, and *HSCP* 91 (1987), 303–31; S. Timpanaro, *MD* 22 (1989), 123–82. The late P. K. Marshall pointed out to me that parts of the DS text were published by Robert Estienne in 1532: G. Ramires, *Riv. di Fil*. 124 (1996), 320.

18. *De metamorphoseon in scholiis vergilianis fabulis* (Marpurg 1895); the second word of his title refers to transformation stories in general, not the title of Ovid's masterpiece.

19. P. E. Knox, "Pyramus and Thisbe in Cyprus," *HSCP* 92 (1989), 315–28.

20. So in detail Leuschke 1895, 21–63.

have been a personal contribution by Servius himself, since it was Servius who introduced Lucan into the Vergilian tradition.[21]

As Leuschke saw, the basic original source of our mythographic scholiast must have been Greek—not only because the stories are all Greek but more specifically because the original Greek animal or plant name in most of the transformation stories has to be explained in Latin to make the story intelligible for Greekless readers. For example, the girl Chelone turned into a tortoise in punishment for missing Jupiter's wedding: *Chelonen in animal sui nominis vertit, quem nos latine testudinem dicimus*. We find the very same formula in many other such stories: Arethusa *in fontem sui nominis mutata*; Cygnus *in avem sui nominis conversus est*; Melus *in pomum sui nominis vertit* (μῆλον).[22] Just as in Hyginus and Narrator, the Latin equivalents were naturally supplied by the Latin scholiast. Leuschke assumed a single Greek source, but given the large number of late Hellenistic/early imperial Greek mythographers identified in these pages, it is more natural to postulate several different Greek sources. The many different versions of the Cyparissus story can hardly derive from a single source.[23] Among extant Greek mythographers, Palaephatus (p. 204) and Parthenius (p. 206) are both quoted, accurately and by title. There is no clear evidence that Antoninus Liberalis's *Metamorphoseis* was used, perhaps (if second century) because it appeared too late.

As for the scholiast's date, the main clue (I suggest) is his failure to use Hyginus. To be sure, users of the Harvard Servius might point to three passages in *Aen*. i (323, 568, and 570) where Hyginus is cited as source and where Servius appears to reproduce Hyginus's words exactly. But these are three of the four *fabulae* interpolated into the surviving text of Hyginus from Servius![24] By contrast Narrator, writing at latest in the third century, and the much later Statius scholia drew heavily on Hyginus, the obvious Latin source for Greek mythological stories. If Hyginus is no later than the second century (Ch. I.2), that places the Vergilian mythographic notes at latest in the first half of the second century.

The few scholars who have paid any attention at all to these mythographic notes as a corpus have taken it for granted that they derive from the same sources as all the other notes in the surviving Vergilian commentaries, that is to say earlier Vergilian commentaries. To be sure both commentary and mythography fell within the province of the grammaticus, but our sources nonetheless distinguish between the activities.[25] The first known formal commentary on Vergil was that of Aemilius

21. See my forthcoming *Last Pagans of Rome*, Ch. 9.

22. *Aen*. i.505; *Aen*. iii.694; *Aen*. x.189; *Buc*. viii.37 (DS); many more examples in Leuschke 1895, 14–5, 19.

23. The Silvanus version presumably derives from a Latin source, but the mere fact that it nonetheless uses the Greek form Cyparissus for the young man's name proves that it is modelled on a Greek version.

24. §§ 258–60 (see Marshall's notes); this did not escape E. Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge* ii (1964), 373–4.

25. See Quintil. i.8.18; according to Seneca (*Ep*. 88.3), the grammarian's business is with language; it is only the more ambitious who treat *historiae*.

Asper, of uncertain date but apparently no earlier than the second half of the second century.[26] Most earlier critics, like their Hellenistic predecessors, wrote monographs (Asper *Quaestiones Vergilianae* in addition to commentaries on Vergil and Sallust) or *commentarii* in the plural, *Notes* or *Jottings* (Hyginus, Cornutus). One well-documented category is treatises accusing Vergil of and defending him against the charge of plagiarism (the *Aeneomastix* of Carvilius Pictor, Asconius Pedianus's *Contra obtrectatoresVergilii*).[27] The later commentators naturally drew on all these monographs in the same way that they drew on the earlier commentators.[28] The Horace commentary ascribed to Porphyrio likewise refers more than once to scholars *qui de personis Horatianis scripserunt*, evidently monographs on limited topics, not comprehensive commentaries.

In the light of the texts collected in Ch. III, I suggest that one such monograph took the form of a mythographic companion to Vergil, or perhaps a sequence of three such monographs, not necessarily by the same authors, one for each of Vergil's poems. There was after all an obvious, inescapable model: Mythographus Homericus (MH), a work compiled no later than the mid–first century and so presumably known to the earliest Vergil critics and commentators.[29] MH tells at least 250 mythical stories from Homer (both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*), a great many of them likewise "unnecessary," in the sense that the reader does not need the information to appreciate the passages of Homer in question. Not a few, indeed, are more than unnecessary, in that they reflect versions based on much later texts, almost certainly not known to Homer. The explanation is presumably that the compiler's goal was less to explain Homer than to teach mythology to readers of Homer. Given the existence of this model, and given the fact that Vergil rapidly became the Roman equivalent of Homer in Roman culture, there was an obvious incentive to produce a Latin equivalent to MH, a work we might call Mythographus Vergilianus (MV). There is also a negative argument here. The very existence of MH suggests that late Hellenistic Homer commentaries did not yet include the sort of basic mythographic notes we find in MH. To be sure they regularly discuss mythological details, but that is not quite the same as systematically providing capsule biographies of mythological figures (however marginal) from birth to death, with that single telltale learned citation. If so, then we should not expect to find such biographies in the earliest Vergil commentaries either, modeled as they undoubtedly were on existing Homer commentaries.

26. A. Tomsin, *Étude sur le commentaire Virgilien d'Aemilius Asper* (Paris 1952), 22; P. L. Schmidt in Herzog/Schmidt 4, § 443.

27. O. Ribbeck, "De obtrectatoribus Vergilii," in *Prolegomena critica ad P. Vergili Maronis opera maiora* (Leipzig 1866), 96–113; H. Funaioli, *Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta* i (1907), 542–4; W. Görler, "obtrectatores," in *Encicl. Virg*. iii (1987), 807–13; Stemplinger, *Das Plagiat* (1912), 36.

28. For traces of the plagiarism literature, Ribbeck 1866, 103–13; on *Sat*. 6. 1–5, Jocelyn, *CQ* 14 (1964), 286–9, and 15 (1965), 135–9.

29. One papyrus and one ostracon from the late first or early second century, four papyri from the second (Montanari 1995, 137, 165, 168–9).

A careful comparison of the mythographic Vergil scholia and MH might well repay the effort. Indeed it is one of many aspects of these scholia that would probably repay systematic investigation with the aid of modern tools. But the major problem in conducting any such comparison has hitherto been the lack of anything even remotely resembling a modern edition of MH. Paradoxically (and tantalizingly) enough, they were not included in H. Erbse's magnificent seven-volume edition published under the title *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* (Berlin 1969–88).[30] In fact the last complete edition was also the first, that of Janus Lascaris (Rome 1517). Fortunately we now have van Thiel's online edition, which we may hope to see in print before too long.[31] Another problem is that we can never be sure that the text offered by the medieval manuscripts is identical to the text that circulated in the Roman period, given the readiness with which successive readers abridged and embellished scholia. Under the circumstances, a single albeit striking parallel will have to suffice.

We have seen that Servius used Vergil's casual reference to Achilles's Myrmidons (*Aen*. ii.7) as an excuse to tell the story of their transformation from ants. He goes on to dismiss it as a *fabula* "because Eratosthenes says the Myrmidons were so called from king Myrmidon, son of Jupiter and Eurymedusa."[32] At first sight this just looks like a typical case of the commentator correcting his predecessor. In fact it is the classic style of the rationalizing mythographer. First a story that violates the natural order, then the "truth," which is usually conceived in the same mythological terms but simply eliminates the transformation. If we combine the D-scholion on Homer's first reference to the Myrmidons (*Iliad* i.180) with Eustathius's note on *Iliad* ii.684, we get a rather abbreviated version of the same pattern: transformation story "according to the myth" (κατὰ μῦθον), followed by straightforward descent from Myrmidon son of Zeus.[33]

There is (of course) no way of proving that mythographic Vergil scholia originally existed as separate works, but then it never occurred to anyone that the mythographic scholia on Homer began life as an independent work until excerpts began to turn up on papyri. When Eduard Schwartz produced the first serious study of what we now call MH more than a century ago, he took it for granted

30. Except when they overlap or coincide with material in the various other scholia. There are various plans to publish the D-scholia to both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*: see H. van Thiel's useful recent survey, "Die D-Scholien der Ilias in den Handschriften," *ZPE* 132 (2000), 1–52.

31. Available online at: http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/vanthiel/scholiaD.pdf.

32. Not the Ps-Eratosthenes frequently mentioned in these pages (who is never cited under that name) but (at however many removes) the "real" Eratosthenes. Perhaps his *Geographica*: so Fraenkel 1964, 374. DS gives a rather fuller version of both versions, both citing Eratosthenes.

33. ἢ ἀπὸ μυρμήκων κατὰ μῦθον . . . ἢ ἀπὸ Μυρμιδόνος ἥρως υἱοῦ Διός, *Eustathii Commentarii* i (1971), 499. 10 van der Valk, with Erbse's note on both passages (i [1969], 69 and 324). Strabo offers a different rationalizing explanation of the Myrmidons' name: the Aeginetans were so called not because they were ants turned into humans but because they excavated the earth in the manner of ants (8.6.16, p. 375). For other traditions about Myrmidon, Tümpel in Roscher ii.2 (1894–7), 332–3; Myrmidon, son of Zeus, goes back to Hesiod (F 16.9 M-W): West, 1985, 163.

that it was a late compilation and that the characteristic source references were mainly worthless Byzantine guesses.[34]

If we take a close look at the Vergilian mythographic notes in the light of their Greek mythographic sources, one question no one has yet thought to ask leaps to the mind. What of that hallmark of early imperial Greek mythography, systematic source references to poets and local historians?

2: SERVIUS'S GREEK SOURCES

It has not (I think) been noticed that most citations of Greek authors in the Vergil scholia fall into one or the other of two categories:[35] the big names, deriving from what we might call the commentary tradition proper, and the lesser names, mainly Hellenistic poets and local historians, almost all found in mythographic notes.

Only a minority of the Servian Greek citations derive from the commentary tradition. For example, on *Aen*. iv.233 Servius comments on a Greek rhetorical schema for which he cites Demosthenes *De corona*, ostentatiously written in Greek (Ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφάνου). On i. 95 he says that from Pergama (Troy) all tall buildings came to be called *pergama*, "as Aeschylus says." The passage in question is presumably *Prometheus* 956, but that is not where the Latin commentator found his information. As Fraenkel saw,[36] this note is a slightly confused adaptation of a scholion on Homer (Δ. 508) most fully preserved in Eustathius: "Homer calls the acropolis of Ilion Pergamos (feminine), but later poets so designate all acropolises, and some write Pergama (neuter plural) as well, as Aeschylus in the *Prometheus*" (Ὅμηρος μὲν τὴν τῆς Ἰλίου ἀκρόπολιν Πέργαμον ὀνομάζει θηλυκῶς, οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι πάσας τὰς ἀκροπόλεις οὕτω καλοῦσι, οἳ καὶ οὐδετέρως τὰ Πέργαμά φασιν, ὡς καὶ Αἰσχύλος Προμηθεῖ). On *Aen*. x.738 (DS), *paeana carmen esse victoriae Aeschylus docet*, the reference is presumably to *Theb*. 635 and the source a note in some Greek commentary on the meaning of the word παιάν. The Servian part of the same note cites Pindar's *Paeans*, and we shall see later that the Verona scholion on the same line preserves some very abstruse Greek lore, apprently drawn from a Homer scholion.

The eight and ten citations of Pindar and Euripides respectively all seem to come from the commentary tradition. When Vergil says that a Fury has *nomina mille* (on *Aen*. vii.337), Servius cites an unnamed *tragoedia* of Euripides for a Fury calling herself by four different names,[37] adding that "Asper says so as well" (*ita*

34. "De scholiis Homericis ad historiam fabularem pertinentibus," *Jahrb. f. class. Phil*. Suppl. 12 (1881), 405–63.

35. My task would have been much easier if only Mountford and Schultz had provided their otherwise useful (if incomplete) index to Servius and Donatus with a separate index auctorum. Without such an aid I may well have missed a few examples in so long and complex a series of works. Nor do they include the "minor" scholia included in Thilo-Hagen or Hagen's *Scholia Bernensia* (1867), though the latter has its own index auctorum (pp. 337–8) and a brief index mythologicus.

36. Fraenkel ii 1964, 383.

37. The passage does not survive but may lie behind Dio Chrys. 64. 8; see Nauck² 1022; Horsfall on *Aen*. vii.337.

dicit etiam Asper). Despite the disingenuous *etiam* (common in late antique learned citations), there can be little doubt that he got his reference from Asper, probably his only source. All eight citations of Apollonius purport to document Vergil's debt to specific passages of the *Argonautica*, usually in the exaggerated form "this entire book (or passage or line) is translated from Apollonius."[38] The Servian note on *Geo*. iii.280 quotes Hesiod for the plant *hippomanes*, obviously a slip for Theocritus (2.48), no doubt an understandable slip for a Vergil commentator but nonetheless implying little firsthand familiarity with either. It is instructive to note that Ps-Probus preserves the Theocritus that must have stood in an earlier stage of the tradition. The DS note adds Theophrastus to Theocritus. The source of this material is undoubtedly the Theocritus scholia.[39]

But the great majority of Greek quotations in the Vergil scholia are source citations for details or versions of heroic saga. While there are a fair number of such mythographic citations in the Vergil scholia overall, there are surprisingly few in Servius himself. I begin with a handful of references to Hellenistic poets.

For indiscreetly revealing his liaison with Venus, Anchises was struck by lightning. Servius twice refers to a version (not followed by Vergil) that he was struck blind, for which he cites Theocritus.[40] The reference must be to Theocritus i.105, which does no more than allude obliquely to the liaison, saying nothing about Anchises being blinded. Gow assumed that Servius found the story "in the fuller version of the Theocritean scholia available to him."[41] But no scholiast with the text of Theocritus in front of him, however loquacious, would have ascribed this view to Theocritus himself. Not only would we have to postulate an otherwise undocumented "unnecessary" mythographic scholion to Theocritus but an intermediary who misunderstood it. It would be simpler to postulate an entry in some mythographer: "some say he was paralyzed, others that he was blinded," concluding with one of those characteristically vague citations, "the story is in Theocritus" (ἡ δὲ ἱστορία παρὰ Θεοκρίτῳ), meaning no more than that Theocritus mentioned the liaison. On any hypothesis, clearly the entry did not derive from direct consultation of Theocritus.

Next, half a dozen citations of Euphorion. (1) At *Aen*. ii.32–3 Vergil cites Euphorion for Thymoetes as the first Trojan to suggest bringing the wooden horse into Troy, perhaps by treachery (*dolo*). According to Euphorion (F 55), Servius claims, Priam had a son by Arisba who became a prophet. This prophet revealed that on a certain day a boy was born who might destroy Troy. As it happened, two boys were born that day, one to Thymoetes, the other to Priam himself and Hecuba. Priam had Thymoetes' son and wife put to death. (2) On *Aen*. ii.79 Euphorion is cited (F 69) for the story that Sinon and Ulysses were cousins (Sinon was the son

38. *Aen*. ii.490; iv.1; v.426; viii.19; xii.749, 754; also ii.490 and iii.209.

39. See Schol. Theocr. ii.48, with Wendel's testimonia (p. 280).

40. On *Aen*. ii.35 (*ut docet Theocritus*) and ii.687 (*contra opinionem Theocriti, qui eum fulmine caecatum fuisse commemorat*).

41. A. S. F. Gow, *Theocritus* ii (Cambridge 1950), 24.

of Aesimus, sister of Ulysses's mother Anticlia), which is alleged to explain why Sinon was deceitful and treacherous. (3) On *Aen*. ii.341 Servius cites Euphorion (F 71) for the stupidity of Coroebus, which is alleged to explain his remark *dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat*? at ii.390. (4) The note on *Aen*. iii.16 citing Callimachus and Euphorion has already been discussed in Ch. V. (5) Ancient commentators were uncertain whether *Phlegyas* at *Aen*. vi.618 was nominative singular, that is, father of Ixion, or accusative plural, that is, a people called the Phlegyans, according to Euphorion (F 115) an island race destroyed for their impiety by Neptune's trident.[42] Since there can be little doubt that Vergil intended the former, once again a misguided note. (6) On the puzzling detail that Laocoön was chosen Neptune's priest by lot (*Aen*. ii.201), Servius quotes Euphorion again for the information that the Trojans had stoned their last priest of Neptune for not preventing the arrival of the Greeks.

Euphorion was a precious poet, and a great many of the surviving fragments are quotations of rare words in the grammarians and lexicographers. Yet well over two dozen are (like these six Servian notes) mythographic scholia in which he features as a source reference (six more in MH alone). Vergil himself certainly knew Euphorion at first hand. The story about Neptune's priest may or may not be an authentic tradition he expected some at least of his readers to know,[43] and it is also possible that well-informed readers were expected to recall that Thymoetes was a man with a grudge against Priam. But Vergil's knowledge of Euphorion is an entirely separate matter from Servius's knowledge of Euphorion. The person who introduced these citations into the Vergilian commentary tradition surely found them in a mythographer.

On Vergil's mention of the River Oaxes (*Buc*. i.65), Servius quotes "Philistenes" for the claim that Oaxes was the son of Apollo and Anchiale, who founded a town in Creta that he named after himself. Accepting an emendation of Mueller, Jacoby hesitantly included this note among the fragments of the mythographer Philistides, known to Pliny (*FGrH* 11 F 4). Usener less plausibly conjectured Philostephanus.[44] Whatever the correct reading and identification, evidently a little-known Greek writer. The lines of Varro Atacinus that follow (F 5, p. 240 Courtney) may be the mythographer's own substitution of a Latin version of the allusion in Apollonius (*Arg*. i.1129–31), as several times in Hyginus.

That is all the mythographic source citations I have been able to find in Servius. Why so few? We have four other early imperial Latin texts for comparison: Hyginus's *Fabulae* and *De astronomia*, the Ovidian *Narrationes*, and the Germanicus scholia. Hyginus's *De astronomia* and the Germanicus scholia both have a substantial number of learned citations, while Hyginus's *Fabulae* and the *Narrationes* many fewer. The explanation, as we have already seen, must be that we have both the

42. B. A. van Groningen, *Euphorion* (Amsterdam 1977), 187–8 (= F 119).

43. See the classic discussion by R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*[3] (Leipzig 1915), 12–20 = Eng. trans. (Berkeley 1993), 9–14; Austin ad loc.

44. Funaioli, *Eseg. virg. antica* (1930), 385–6

latter works in abridged and simplified form. With the effective disappearance of Greek in the late antique West, it is hardly surprising that successive readers and copyists omitted many of these often elaborate citations (name, title, and book number) from obscure Hellenistic writers. The handful of Servian passages under discussion provides a further illustration. Four out of six passages lost their source references when they were incorporated in the Vatican mythographers.[45]

Is this the explanation in the case of Servius himself? Servius has something of a reputation as a Greek scholar, a Neoplatonist capable of reading Plotinus and Porphyry in the original.[46] There can be no question that he knew Greek, and his commentary contains a fair amount of Greek lore of one sort or another, from technical terms of grammar and rhetoric (very numerous) to quotations from Greek classics (much rarer). Yet there is little evidence that he had any *firsthand* knowledge of classical or Hellenistic literature, either verse or prose. He knew about Vergil's debt to Homer, Hesiod, Theocritus, Aratus, Euphorion, and Apollonius, of course, and he even cites a few other big names, like Pindar, Aeschylus, and Euripides. But when he says of *Buc*. vii that "almost the whole of this eclogue comes from Theocritus" (*ecloga haec paene tota Theocriti est*), it is obvious that he has never actually read a poem of Theocritus. He just knew the lines he found ready quoted in his Donatus or Asper, a handful of passages limited to the closest parallels between the two poets. On this basis alone a commentator might well infer that Vergil simply translated Theocritus.

As for Aratus, Servius is able to cite the first line of the poem on *Buc*. iii.60 (*ab Iove principium*), but no direct citation in another five mentions. Notoriously, the whole of the section on weather signs at *Geo*. i.351–463 is adapted from Aratus. All Servius has is a brief note on line 354 stating that "from this point also the weather signs are translated (*translata*) from Aratus, a few out of many."[47]

The same applies to his much discussed claim that Gallus "translated" (*transtulit*) Euphorion into Latin[48] and his demonstrably false and absurd claim that the whole of *Aeneid* iv was "translated" (*translatus*) from book iii of Apollonius's *Argonautica*.[49] David Ross (after many others) glosses *transtulit* here "that is, made use of," adding that there was no need to repeat the observation often made "that

45. Serv. *Aen*. ii.32 ~ MV i.209; Serv. ii.201 ~ MV ii.251; Serv. vi.14 ~ MV i.43; Serv. *Geo*. iii.115 ~ MV i.169.

46. P. Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers and their Greek Sources* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), Ch. 1; J. Flamant, *Macrobe et la néo-platonisme latin, à la fin du IVe siècle* (Leiden 1977), 662–7; A. Setaioli, "La discesa dell'anima in Servio," in *Atti dell'Accademia Romanistica Costantiniana* (Naples 1995), 629–49.

47. *etiam ex hoc loco prognostica sunt translata de Arato, pauca de multis*, on i.354; see Richard Thomas's commentary for the way Vergil "has completely reshaped Aratus' material" (*Virgil Georgics* i (Cambridge 1988), 127). L. F. Hackemann (*Servius and his sources in the commentary on the Georgics* (New York 1940), 32–33) sensibly doubted whether Servius had ever read Aratus.

48. On *Buc*. vi.72; x. 1 and 50.

49. For a brilliant and just appraisal of Servius's learning, G. P. Goold, *HSCP* 74 (1968), 134–9.

transtulit need not mean translated."[50] Those who have made this excuse for Servius have simply taken it for granted that he had a firsthand familiarity with such poets, and would therefore have been well aware that Vergil had *not* simply translated them, and must therefore have been making a different and more sensible point (though what point?). Once again, the truth is that Servius had probably never even seen an original text of Apollonius, Aratus, Theocritus, Euphorion, or indeed Callimachus. The mere fact that he can write so casually about Vergil translating extended passages from earlier poets reveals how little he knows or cares about these poets, and how little he has thought about the wider implications of so drastic a claim.

Take Callimachus. One of the most obscurely allusive phrases in Vergil is *pastor ab Amphryso* at *Geo*. iii.2. Servius quite correctly identifies the herdsman as Apollo, obliged to tend Admetus's herds for a year in Thessaly, home of the River Amphrysus.[51] The modern scholar knows that Vergil is alluding to Callimachus, *Hymn to Apollo* 47–9. It was Callimachus (it seems) who introduced this obscure Thessalian river into the story of Apollo's servitude, though in Callimachus the allusion is made clear by mention of both Apollo and Admetus. But what was the reader unfamiliar with Callimachus to make of *pastor ab Amphryso*, with no further clue in the immediate context? Servius's note evidently derives from a commentator who recognized the allusion,[52] but Servius himself simply repeats the explanation without betraying any knowledge of the text on which it was based.

Another illustration. Interpretation of *Buc*. vi was transformed for modern readers by the publication of the *Aetia* prologue in 1927, and it is hard to doubt that early commentators cited the passage, especially since the DS additions on *Buc*. x.12 quote Callimachus for Vergil's *Aonie Aganippe*, a fountain on Helicon we now know to have been mentioned by Callimachus a few lines later in the same poem.[53] The reason this much less significant Callimachean echo was able to keep its hold in the Latin exegetical tradition is simple: it was anchored by its direct relevance to a puzzling name in the Vergilian text. Students in the late Roman schoolroom were more likely to be asked "What is Aganippe?" than "What are the Hellenistic antecedents of the sixth *Bucolic*?" This is also why the commentators on the *Bucolics* mention Euphorion (of Chalcis) as often as they do. Not because Donatus or Servius had any direct conception of the nature of his influence on Gallus or Vergil[54] but because his existence directly explains *Chalcidico . . . versu* at *Buc*. x.50.[55] Students were liable to be asked "Why *Chalcidico*?" Similarly the citation of Sophocles on *Buc*. viii.10 is necessitated by Vergil's phrase *Sophocleo . . . cothurno*. Servius's banal and inappropriate comment, "Sophocles was a bom-

50. *Backgrounds to Augustan Poetry: Gallus, Elegy and Rome* (Cambridge 1975), 41.

51. See the commentaries of Thomas and Mynors ad loc.

52. There is a similar note in Vibius Sequester, *De fluminibus* 3, s.v. Amphrysus.

53. From P. Oxy. 2258: Pfeiffer ii.102–3.

54. Modern critics have of course made valiant attempts to extract what they can from these references: notably Ross, *Backgrounds* (1975), 40–5.

55. See the notes in the various commentaries on *Buc*. vi.72 and x.1 and 50.

bastic writer of tragedy" (*tragoediographus . . . altisonans*), makes it hard to believe he knew much about Sophocles. Servius Danielis adds that Sophocles was the first to use the *cothurnus*, which is false.[56]

In order to assess the nature both of Servius's own Greek culture and the Greek material he found in his sources, we need briefly to survey the other surviving late antique Vergil commentaries. First and most familiar are the Daniel additions (DS), which we may presume to reflect the commentary of Aelius Donatus (ca 350), Servius's own major direct source. By this I do not mean material *originated* by Donatus but simply anything included in what we know to have been an extensive variorum commentary. Then there are the original marginal scholia in the fifth-century Verona Vergil.[57] By great good fortune, the Verona scholiast indicated the ancient commentators from whom he drew his material note by note; 18 entries from Asper, 8 from Velius Longus, 6 from Cornutus, 5 from Haterianus, 3 each from Probus and Scaurus.[58] Much of this material may well have been included in Donatus, but the evidence of the DS additions suggests that in general Donatus incorporated the work of his predecessors anonymously. Apart from the deafening silence about views held by earlier commentators in both Servius and DS, we have a reminiscence of Donatus's only identifiable pupil, St. Jerome. When commenting in class on the Terentian line *nihil est dictum quod non sit dictum prius* (*Eun*. prol. 41), Donatus went on to make the immortal remark, repeated by many modern commentators down the centuries: "to hell with those who held my views before me" (*pereant qui ante nos nostra dixerunt*, *Comm. Eccl*. 1).

Given the bulk of the material that confronted him, he also drastically abridged, as can be nicely illustrated by one specific case. On *Aen*. x.738, the DS note, that is to say Donatus, says that "some" scholars unspecified distinguish Apollo from Paean (*quidam alium Paeana esse, alium Apollinem velint*). The Verona scholiast has much the same note but identifies the *quidam* in minute detail: "Zenodotus, in the book he called *A Paieonian History*, under the name Naucrates, makes the Aristarcheans maintain that Apollo is distinct from Paean; he himself argues that they were the same, at some length."[59] As we can see from a parallel if briefer note in the Homer scholia, the work in question must have been a dialogue in which Zenodotus of Mallos, a disciple of Crates of Mallos, debated this issue against the disciples of Crates' rival Aristarchus.[60] Evidently the Verona scholiast

56. Though Istros apparently claimed that Sophocles invented some sort of white shoe (*Vita Soph*. 6): A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*[2], rev. with new supplement by J. Gould and D. M. Lewis (Oxford 1988), 205.

57. Reedited by C. Baschera, *Gli scolii veronesi a Virgilio* (Verona 1999).

58. For a list of all these references, see Baschera 1999, 55–7; see too his companion study, "Ipotesi d'una relazione tra il Servio danielino e gli scolii veronesi a Virgilio," *Studi filologici veronesi* 1 (2000), 9–74.

59. *Zenodotus in eo quem inscribit* Παιηονίαν [*histo*]*riam, sub nomine Naucratis facit disser*[*ere*] *Aristarchios, qui putant alium Paeana esse, alium Apollinem; ipse eundem nec diver*[*sum*] *multis docet*.

60. An echo of all this is preserved in the T schol. on Homer O. 262; F. Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur in der Alexandrinerzeit* ii (Leipzig 1892), 14.

drew his note from some pre-Donatan commentary (which in this case, regrettably, he did not identify), here based on a Homer scholion.

Finally, three anonymous commentaries on the *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, known respectively as *Brevis expositio*, Ps-Probus,[61] and *Scholia Bernensia*.[62] The compiler of the Berne scholia cites his immediate sources, "the Roman commentators Titus Gallus, Gaudentius and especially Iunilius Flagrius [variously corrected to Filagrius or Philargyrius] of Milan," obscure fifth- or sixth-century figures who drew on the same exegetical tradition as Servius, Servius Danielis, and the Verona scholia.[63] Beneath much superficial confusion and corruption, we find unmistakable traces of, to quote Donatus himself, "the authentic voice of early authority." Ps-Probus in particular preserves, in however garbled a form, a substantial amount of Greek erudition omitted by both Servius and (it seems) Donatus.[64]

A comparison between Servius and these other commentators makes it clear that Servius dropped a great deal of the Greek material he found in his sources. This is not the place for a detailed discussion of Servius's Greek culture, but it may be helpful to look briefly at a group of notes that all have more detailed counterparts in book 5 of Macrobius's *Saturnalia*, a polemical defense of Vergil's knowledge of Greek poetry.[65] To a considerable extent these texts enable us to compare Servius with his sources.

In a long note on *Acheloïa . . . pocula* (*Geo*. i.8), used as a grandiose periphrasis for water, the long DS scholion gives a detailed mythographic note on Achelous and then quotes Orpheus, Aristophanes, and Ephorus for the use of *Acheloüs* = water in general. Macrobius's version of the same material (*Sat*. 5. 18. 2–11) cites the same texts in full in the original Greek and then goes on to cite "Didymus as well"[66]—and then cites Didymus again a few chapters later (5.22.10). These chapters of Macrobius (5.18–22) quote a large number of (often very obscure) Greek texts supposedly known to Vergil. Much of this material may indeed ultimately derive from Didymus, but since both Servius and Macrobius quote it to illustrate specific passages of Vergil, we are bound to infer that their direct source was a Latin treatise on Vergil—as is put beyond doubt by the fact that these chapters cite no fewer than four post-Didyman but pre-Donatan Latin critics.[67] Furthermore, while agreeing on Aristophanes and Ephorus, Macrobius omits Orpheus, and Donatus omits

61. Thilo-Hagen iii.2 (Leipzig 1902), 193–320 and 323–87, respectively, edited by Hagen.

62. Only available in Hagen's edition in *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Suppl. 4 (1867), 675–1014 (reprinted 1967).

63. Schanz-Hosius, *Gesch. d. röm. Literatur* ii[4] (Munich 1935), 108–9; G. Funaioli, *Esegesi virgiliana antica* (Milan 1930), 50, 60, 233, 242 and passim; M. W. Herren, in H. C. O'Briain, A. M. D'Arcy, and J. Scattergood (eds.), *Text and Gloss: Studies in Insular Learning and Literature Presented to Joseph Donovan Pheifer* (1999), 55–60.

64. See the fully documented discussion in Massimo Gioseffi, *Studi sul commento a Virgilio dello Pseudo-Probo* (Florence 1991), 35–78.

65. Discussed further in Ch. X.

66. *Tamen ultra progrediemur. Didymus enim . . . , Sat*.5.18.9.

67. Courcelle's rather simplistic discussion missed this basic point.

Didymus—the classic pointers to a common source. Three of the next four chapters in Macrobius contain a similar abundance of Greek lore, all paralleled by somewhat briefer summaries in DS Vergil scholia.[68] The natural assumption is that Macrobius and Donatus (or perhaps already Asper before him) drew on one or more learned Latin monographs treating Vergil's knowledge of Greek, which Macrobius copied more or less complete while the commentators naturally and appropriately selected and abbreviated what was relevant for notes on particular passages.

Three further illustrations. The first, analyzed in an instructive article by John Rauk, is a complex of linked notes (one Servius, two DS) arguing that the idea for Iris cutting Dido's lock so that she could die (*Aen*. iv.698–9) came from Euripides (*Alcestis* 74–6). There is a much more elaborate discussion of the passage in Macrobius, whence we learn that this was a polemical response to the mid-first-century critic Cornutus, who had claimed that Vergil originated the idea.[69] "I blush to think [claims Macrobius's interlocutor Eustathius] that so eminent a critic as Cornutus, and a man so learned in the literature of Greece, was unacquainted with Euripides's celebrated play *Alcestis*."[70] Macrobius's source evidently construed Cornutus's claim of Vergil's originality as casting aspersions on his knowledge of Greek literature.[71] On *Aen*. iii.46 Servius mentions the golden bough as another invention for which Vergil was criticized, and Macrobius reveals that it was also Cornutus who had identified the golden bough as a Vergilian invention.

A few pages later in Macrobius Eustathius is again astonished that Valerius Probus, that excellent man (*vir perfectissimus*), failed to identify Vergil's Greek source for a strange story about Pan charming the moon with a gift of wool (*munere . . . niveo lanae*).[72] According to Macrobius, the source was Nicander, whom Didymus, that most learned of grammarians, called *fabulosus*, which explains why Vergil adds the phrase "if it deserves belief" (*si credere dignum est*).[73] The ultimate source of this material may indeed be Didymus, but it was not Macrobius himself who made the connection, since Nicander is already cited in Donatus's note on the passage of Vergil in question, and Donatus wrote three quarters of a

68. The material is set out in parallel columns in P. Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers and their Greek Sources* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), 23–4.

69. Serv. on *Aen*. iii.46; DS on iv. 694 and 703; Macrob. *Sat*. v. 19. 2–5; Rauk, "Macrobius, Cornutus, and the Cutting of Dido's Lock," *CP* 90 (1995), 345–54.

70. Macrobius skilfully exploited the polemical tone of these early pro- and anti-Vergilian pamphlets by putting attack and response in the mouths of supposedly disputing interlocutors in his dialogue: see my *Last Pagans of Rome*, forthcoming, Ch. 8.

71. Actually the *Alcestis* passage in no way explains Vergil's implication that it was *necessary* for Dido's lock to be cut: see Rauk 1995, 351.

72. *Geo*. iii.391–2; Macr. *Sat*. 5.22.9. Some fresh light has been cast on the story by a magic papyrus: see the helpful discussion in P. Borgeaud, *The Cult of Pan in Ancient Greece* (Chicago 1988), 115 and 238–9.

73. This is not (of course) a formula that implies genuine disbelief: see T.C.W. Stinton's illuminating collection of examples and discussion, "*Si credere dignum est*: some expressions of disbelief in Euripides and others," *PCPS* 22 (1976), 60–89.

century before Macrobius. Once again, it is clear that Macrobius found this information in a Latin work defending Vergil against the accusation of ignorance of Greek literature, a work also drawn on by Donatus.

In fact we may well be sceptical about Probus's supposed ignorance of Nicander. Servius's note on the passage claims that "Vergil changed the story; for it was not Pan but Endymion who is said to have loved the Moon."[74] In all probability this is what Probus had argued: that in the original version in Nicander it was Endymion who charmed the Moon, and Vergil substituted Pan. As we have just seen, to the late antique critic the accusation of originality was tantamount to an accusation of ignorance. If this is the explanation, then it would follow that Macrobius did not even know Probus at first hand. This would fit the undeniable fact that, unlike his practice in the rest of this section of the *Saturnalia*, he does not quote the text of Nicander.

Third, a DS note on *Gargara* at *Geo*. i.102 refers to "many Greek writers, as Serenus Sammonicus records." Macrobius gives a fuller version of the same information, with no mention of Sammonicus but quoting nine classical and Hellenistic texts in full. Courcelle reasonably concluded that both texts drew on the Severan polymath Serenus Sammonicus, who had drawn in turn on Didymus.[75] At least two important conclusions follow. In the first place, Donatus was no closer even to Didymus, let alone his Greek citations, than third or fourth hand. Second, and more relevant to our immediate concern, all this Greek material must have been available to Servius, at several removes, in the source or sources he shared with the DS scholiast, chief among them the commentary of Donatus. Yet he dropped virtually all of it, contenting himself (on *Geo*. i.8) with the remark that "the ancients" (*veteres*), unspecified, used *Acheloüs* for water "as Orpheus shows" (*sicut Orpheus docet*), as if the reference of "Orpheus" were self-explanatory; and (on *Geo*. iii.391) with saying, without argument or reference to Nicander, that Vergil "changed the story."

The few Greek citations Servius kept are all famous names he could expect to be familiar (at least as names) to late Roman schoolboys: Euripides, Pindar, Apollonius, Eratosthenes, Euphorion, Theocritus. And in all probability he kept only a handful of even these citations. To give a single illustration, when alluding on *Geo*. i.366 to a detail that derives from Aratus (*Phaen*. 925), Servius dropped the "as Aratus says" (*ut ait Aratus*) transmitted in Servius Danielis. To be fair, it should be added that it was not just Greek material he dropped but many archaic Latin citations as well.[76] Nor should we explain either category of omission solely in terms of Servius's own limited literary culture. There was only so much time in the school day, and the bulk of Vergilian scholarship that had accumulated by 400 AD was overwhelming. Few of Servius's pupils knew Greek any more, and

74. *mutat fabulam; nam non Pan, sed Endymion amasse dicitur Lunam*, Serv. on *Geo*. iii.391.

75. On whom see E. Champlin, "Serenus Sammonicus," *HSCP* 85 (1981), 189–212.

76. As shown in detail by R. B. Lloyd, "Republican Authors in Servius and the Scholia Danielis," *HSCP* 65 (1961), 291–341 (the basic study).

those who did were more likely to read scripture than the classics. Above all, it is hard to believe that anyone in the fifth-century West could even have found copies of the recondite Hellenistic local historians cited at the end of every chapter in the Greek mythographers. It was a sensible decision to omit all that pretentious and derivative erudition from a school commentary, especially since Servius added a good deal of new material of his own (not least 250-odd citations from the newly fashionable Silver Latin poets).[77] We cannot fault Servius for producing a commentary that suited his age, but we may still be grateful that some of his lesser successors had so little sense of relevance that they solemnly copied out names and titles they had never heard of and could not have read in the improbable event that they stumbled across copies.

While none of the non-Servian commentaries cite mythographic sources systematically, most of them give occasional citations, enough to suggest that it was Servius who systematically omitted them. On *Aen*. viii.600 Servius offers several different origins for the Pelasgians. The DS addition, evidently a Donatan note dropped by Servius, cites the fourth-century Atthidographer Philochorus. It also cites Hyginus (meaning the Augustan freedman rather than the later mythographer) and Varro, probably the mythographer's own additions to his Greek source. Then there is a note in the Verona scholia on *Actias* = Athenian at *Geo*. iv.463, citing Callimachus (F 194.68) for Attica being originally known as Acte. Servius Danielis gives the same derivation but no citation.

The DS note on *Aen*. i.28 adds a garbled story about Ganymede being a descendant of Belus the Chaldaean, who prophesied the fall of Troy to Laomedon, citing *Theodotius qui Iliacas res perscripsit*. The name has been emended to Theodo<n>tius[78] or (more plausibly) Theodorus. Jacoby identified him with the undatable Theodorus of Ilium, author of *Troïca*. Certainty is unattainable, not least because the Latin compiler simply translated a reference to a Greek text he had never even seen, much less checked.[79] *On Aen*. vi.21, DS cites four classical texts complete with titles for the seven young men and women sent to the Minotaur each year: Plato *Phaedo* (58a), Sappho *Lyrica* (F 206 Voigt), Bacchylides *Dithyrambi* (17.1f) and Euripides *Heracles* (1326). The Latin compiler presumably found these names already collected in some more recent Greek intermediary, surely a mythographer rather than a commentary. A DS note on *Aen*. viii.330 cites Alexander for the Alban king Tiberinus, presumably Alexander Polyhistor. Jacoby plausibly assumes his Περὶ Ῥώμης (*FGrH* 273 F 110).

At *Aen*. iii.334 Aeneas meets Andromache in Epirus, now married to Helenus, "who called the plains [*campos*] Chaonian and the whole land Chaonia from

77. See my forthcoming *Last Pagans of Rome*, Ch. 9.

78. There was a medieval mythographer called Theodontius, whom Boccaccio claimed to draw on for his influential *De genealogia deorum*: C. Landi, *Demogorgone, con saggio di nuova edizione delle Genealogie deorum gentilium del Boccaccio e silloge dei frammenti di Teodonzio* (Palermo 1930), with Jacoby in *FGrH* III b Suppl. I (1954), 240–1 with II. 177 n. 166, and J. Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods* (Princeton 1953), 221–2.

79. *FGrH* 48, with comm. on p. 527 (1922) and 560 (1957).

Trojan Chaon [*Troiano a Chaone*]." According to the DS note,[80] a King Campus once ruled in Epirus, whence it became known as Campania, "as Alexarchus the Greek historian and Aristonicus report." As usual, no note from the Harvard editors. It might seem tempting to identify the first of these writers with the Alexarchus credited with *Italica* in at least four books (*FGrH* 829)—if the source were not Ps-Plutarch. And the mythographer Aristonicus of Tarentum (*FGrH* 57) might seem a good candidate for the second—were he not known only from Ptolemy the Quail. The note adds that, according to Varro,[81] King Campus had a daughter called Campa, whence the name of the province, later changed, *ut dictum est*, by Helenus to Chaonia after a brother (or companion) called Chaon he had accidentally killed on a hunt. The *ut dictum est* suggests that the story about Chaon came from one or the other of these obscure (and possibly bogus) Greek historians rather than Varro. So too the view he attributes to "others" that Campus had a daughter called Cestria who married Helenus, whence the place-name Campi, after his father-in-law. Traces of this version can be found in the scholia to Dionysius Periegetes (line 357) and Stephanus of Byzantium (*Ethnica* s. v. Καμμανία).

At *Aen*. ix. 264, where Vergil refers to the capture of Arisba (a city in the Troad or on Lesbos), Servius Danielis gives a brief account of the princess after whom it was named, Arisba, daughter of Merops or Macareus and first wife of Paris (*ab Meropis vel Macarei filia quam primum Paris in coniugio habuit*); "some say the story was told by Abas, author of *Troïca*." The curiously indirect formulation "some say . . . the story was told" (*quidam ab Abante, qui Troïca scripsit, relatum ferunt*) I would explain as a fusion of two standard features of mythographic narrative: "some say," introducing an alternative version, and the concluding citation "the story is in Abas, author of *Troïca*." The words quoted are exactly paralleled (except for the citation) in Eustathius's commentary on *Iliad* M. 96 (ἀπὸ ᾽Αρίσβης θυγατρὸς Μάκαρος ἢ Μέροπος ἣν πρῶτον ὁ Πάρις ἔσχεν). Stephanus of Byzantium (s. v. ᾽Αρίσβη) explains the two fathers in more detail: Arisbe was the daughter of Macar; "but Ephorus [*FGrH* 70 F 164] says she was descended from Merops, and the first wife of Alexandros the son of Priam." It looks as if all three texts go back to a mythographer who cited Abas for the first father and Ephorus for the second. Jacoby thought Abas a "Schwindelautor," and it is not reassuring that the only other text to quote him is Ptolemy the Quail, as the authority for one of four possible names for the wife of Candaules and Gyges.[82] But bogus or not, there is no reason to doubt that Abas and his *Troïca* stood in Mythographus Vergilianus.

Fraenkel saw all passages with parallels in the Homer scholia (including the Arisbe note) as "unmistakably . . . taken over from commentaries on Homer."[83]

80. Details are repeated in the notes on *Aen*. iii.293 (DS), 297 and 335 (DS).

81. F 384 Funaioli; this is one of almost a score of citations of Varro for place names in the Vergil scholia (F 377–406 Funaioli).

82. *FGrH* 46, with Jacoby's commentary (p. 526); for a contorted and implausible analysis of the three passages, W. A. Baehrens, *Studia Serviana* (1917), 53–7.

83. Fraenkel ii 1964, 381–7 (387 for the Arisbe passage).

For many of the notes he discussed (among them the *pergama* passage cited above) this is indeed the most likely explanation. But mythographic notes are in a different category. As already suggested, the fact that Mythographus Homericus circulated as an independent work till at any rate the fifth century implies that it was the Byzantines who first added these basic mythographic biographies to Homer commentaries.

On *Aen*. ii.211 the DS note cites Lysimachus (the second-century mythographer Lysimachus of Alexandria) for the serpents († *curifin et Periboeam*) who killed Laocoön's sons. A page earlier (on ii.204) DS tells us that Sophocles named the serpents in his *Laocoön*; and a page earlier again (on ii.201) that Bacchylides described Laocoön and his wife and the serpents that came from the Calydnae islands and turned into men.[84] It is natural to assume that all these details originally formed a single, more comprehensive ἱστορία, ultimately deriving (complete with the Bacchylides and Sophocles citations) from the *Nostoi* of Lysimachus. A new fragment published in 1967 has revealed that this work was in at least 11 books.[85] P. Oxy. 2812, published in 1971, has presented us with a fragment of Apollodorus's *On Gods* that cites some hitherto unknown verses of Nicander naming the serpents (Porkes and Chariboea).[86] Lycophron (*Alexandra* 347) has Porkis, and the scholia vetera to this passage add Peroiboea. It does not look as if the Servian account derives from this tradition, though Servius's *Thymbraei Apollinis sacerdos* is reflected in Nicander's description of Laocoön as ὁ Θυμβρα[ῖος] (*SH* 562. 9), and the Lycophron scholia place the killing of Laocoön's sons in the temple of Apollo Thymbraeus.

According to the final line of the DS note, a certain Thessandrus identified Laocoön's sons as Ethro (? Anthron or Aethion) and Melanthus.[87] The name has been variously emended:[88] by Carl Robert to Alexandros (Polyhistor), by Heyne to Peisandros, the archaic epic poet.[89] The latter is not attested as writing on the Trojan saga, but there was another Peisandros, a Hellenistic mythographer, who Macrobius claims to have been a source of Vergil's precisely for *Aen*. ii.[90]

Servius's notes on *Aen*. vi.286 and viii.293 reproduce the standard version that centaurs were the offspring of Ixion and a cloud (Nephele) in the form of Juno. Yet according to his note on *Geo*. iii.115, centaurs were simply the first horseback riders seen from a distance. They used to chase bulls on horseback and throw

84. *FGrH* 382 F 16 (with comm. on p. 172); Soph. F 343 N^2; Lloyd-Jones, *Sophocles Fragments* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), 198–9; R. C. Jebb, *Bacchylides* (Cambridge 1905), 431.

85. H. Hunger, *JÖBG* 16 (1967), 11; H. J. Mette, *Lustrum* 21 (1978), 27–8.

86. Now *SH* 562. 11: see the thorough and balanced discussion by J. S. Rusten, *Dionysius Scytobrachion* (Cologne 1982), pp. 46–7.

87. Nicander seems to have known only one son, whom he does not name, and Hyginus gives two quite different names, Antiphantes and Thymbraeus (*Fab*. 135).

88. The name itself is not unknown, though Thersandros is much commoner: P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* i (Oxford 1987), 219, s.v. Θέρσανδρος.

89. Carl Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage* iii.1 (= Preller/Robert, *Griech. Mythologie* ii.^{4} 3. 1) Berlin 1921, 1250 n. 4.

90. So Jacoby, *FGrH* 16 F 14, p. *11 of the 1957 reprint; see too p. 259.

spears at them and became known as centaurs because of the way they "stuck" the bulls (ἀπὸ τοῦ κεντᾷν τοὺς ταύρους). This explanation is taken directly from the opening chapter of the classic rationalizing treatise , *On Unbelievable Tales* (Περὶ ἀπίστων) by the late fourth-century Palaephatus.[91] Palaephatus himself is not named in either Servius or Servius Danielis but is directly cited by name and (correct) title in the Ps-Probus commentary on the same passage (*ut Palaefatus in libro* ἀπίστων *ait*), undoubtedly deriving from the same ultimate source as Servius.[92] Such radically different versions may well be a consequence of different authorship of the postulated mythographic companions to *Bucolics* and *Aeneïd*, respectively, though in their surviving form what they illustrate best is the carelessness and inconsistency that are such characteristic features of Servius's commentary (another illustration is the many different versions of the Cyparissus story). Since Servius is known to have written his *Aeneïd* commentary first, in this case it could be argued that it was not till later that he learned the "truth," though there is never any indication that he was in the least bothered by such contradictions between different parts of his commentary.

There are many other examples of rationalized myths in Servius.[93] On *Aen*. vi.14 Servius ends a long and largely irrelevant note on the story of Pasiphaë and the Minotaur with the claim that the "truth" was that Pasiphaë slept with a secretary of Minos called Taurus and gave birth to twins, one by Minos and one by Taurus. This too is essentially Palaefatus's version.[94] And again on *Aen*. i.619 (a DS note omitted by Servius): according to the *fabula*, Hylas was carried off by nymphs, while *ut veritas habet* he simply drowned in a deep pool. Or *Aen*. vi.288, on the Chimaera: *secundum fabulas* part lion, part goat, part snake, *re vera autem* a mountain in Cilicia, inhabited near the top by lions, lower down by goats, and infested with snakes at the bottom! This too comes from Palaefatus.[95]

In the course of a long note on the story of Daedalus's flight from Crete (*Aen*. vi.14), Servius Danielis cites the probably second-century Phanodicus (twice cited in the Apollonius scholia) for the rationalizing interpretation that Daedalus and Icarus simply took a boat.[96] He then cites the fourth-century Menecrates as claim-

91. For text (Festa's Teubner) and translation with helpful introduction and notes to this curious work, see now Jacob Stern, *Palaefatus Περὶ ἀπίστων: On Unbelievable Tales* (Wauconda 1996), together with his valuable supplement, "Heraclitus the Paradoxographer: Περὶ ἀπίστων, *On Unbelievable Tales*," in *TAPA* 133 (2003), 51–97; see too Jacoby, *Atthis* (Oxford 1949), 324 n. 37. Diodorus, a systematic euhemerizer, also mentions this explanation at iv.70 (though not in his detailed account of Heracles and the centaurs at iv.12.3–8).

92. It is an interesting illustration of the carelessness and inconsistencies that abound in Servius's commentary that in his notes on *Aen*. vi.286 and viii.293 he simply reproduces the standard version that the centaurs were the offspring of Ixion and a cloud (Nephele) in the form of Juno.

93. Many collected by Dietz in *TAPA* 125 (1995), 61–97, though attempting to explain them in terms of ancient historiographic rather than mythographic traditions.

94. See Stern 1996, 33; Palaefatus does not have the detail of the twins.

95. § 28, with discussion and other texts in Stern 1996, 58–9.

96. *FGrH* 397 F 3; see too Stern 1996, 44.

ing that the Icarian sea took its name from the fact that Icarus drowned in a shipwreck, a rationalization that again goes back to Palaefatus.[97] Phanodicus is even credited with a title and (now missing) book number: *Phanodicus Deliacon*, presumably reflecting (e.g.) Φανόδικος <ἐν α΄> Δηλιακῶν (as in Jacoby's F 1). The very irrelevance of these two citations proves that the commentator responsible was not really even trying to explain Vergil. He simply looked up Daedalus in some Greek mythographer. The ultimate source of all or most of these rationalizations was presumably Palaefatus.[98] But the Servian citations are more likely to derive at second hand from a later intermediary.

A long DS note on *Aen*. iii.80 cites Palaefatus for the claim that Anius the priest-king of Delos was a kinsman of Anchises. Oddly enough, neither Thilo nor the Harvard editors have any comment on this passage, nor did Fraenkel include it in his attack on the inadequacy of the testimonia provided in the Harvard Servius. Not the rationalizing Περὶ ἀπίστων, but we also have a handful of fragments from a *Troïca* in at least six books ascribed to a Palaefatus,[99] probably the same mythographer, since the rationalizing of the Περὶ ἀπίστων only extended to tales that offended against the laws of nature, so as to present a purified and believable legendary past.[100] There is another brief citation of Palaefatus in the DS note on *Aen*. iii.8. Vergil says that the Trojans set sail at the beginning of summer after the fall of Troy, but Palaefatus claimed that they waited for three years. Both passages surely derive, via some later mythographer, from the *Troïca*.[101]

Perhaps the most startling example is Ps-Probus on *Buc*. x.18, where Vergil mentions Adonis. Ps-Probus gives four possible genealogies,[102] citing Hesiod, Antimachus, and Philostephanus, the latter complete with book title. Since citation precedes information, on the basis of parallel Greek texts we should almost certainly supply a fourth name, as follows:

> <filius, ut> Hesiodus ait, Phoenicis Agenoris et Alphesiboeae;
> <ut Panyassis ait,> Thiantis, qui Syriam Arabiamque tenuit imperio;
> ut Antimachus ait, <Cinyrae qui> regnavit Cypro;
> ut et Philostephanus, libro quo quaestiones poeticas reddidit,[103] ex Iove sine ullius feminae accubitu procreatus.

The reconstructed text here cited (mainly after West) is intended to reflect some ideal earlier stage of the tradition rather than the actual text of Ps-Probus or even

97. *FGrH* 769 F 5; Palaefatus § 12, with Stern 1996, 44.

98. In its original form Palaefatus's work consisted of five books, not the single book that has come down to us: Stern 1996, 4–5 and 22–4.

99. *FGrH* 44 F 1–3 and (with more material than the original entry) addenda on pp. 15–9* of the 1957 reprint; Stern 1996, 1–4. Jacoby regarded all Παλαίφατοι as pseudonyms, but *LGPN* quotes examples of real bearers of the name.

100. So Stern 1996, 9; three of his purified tales actually concern the Trojan War (11, 16, 20).

101. So Jacoby in the addenda to *FGrH* 44, F 4–5, p. *17.

102. For the various genealogies of Adonis, Gantz 1993, 729–30.

103. So Hagen: *quaestionis poeticae reddidit causas*, editio princeps; see Gioseffi 1991, 203.

his source. The authenticity of the Hesiod reference is confirmed by Ps-Apollodorus iii.14.4, which also suggests the insertion of Panyassis: Ἡσίοδος δὲ αὐτὸν [Adonis] Φοίνικος καὶ Ἀλφεσιβοίας λέγει, Πανύασις δέ φησι Θείαντος βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων. A (heavily restored) passage of Philodemus cites Antimachus, Panyassis, and Hesiod on the subject.[104] Under the circumstances, there seems no good reason to cast doubt on Philostephanus, who is cited elsewhere in the Vergil, as in the Apollonius and Theocritus scholia.[105]

As already noted, Ps-Probus's note on *Geo*. iii.113–5 directly cites Palaephatus's (Περὶ) ἀπίστων on Lapiths and Centaurs. The note is a somewhat confused summary of § 1 of Palaephatus's book, which has also left traces in Servius's note.[106] Yet Servius dropped the citation. On *Buc*. iii.62 Ps-Probus cites Parthenius, complete with a respectable Latin version of his title (*in volumine quod ei de amantibus compositum est*), for the story of Daphne, and since he calls her daughter of Amyclas (as Parthenius does in § 15) rather than (with Ovid) daughter of Peneus, it is clear that his version does indeed, at however many removes, reflect Parthenius rather than Ovid.

Another rather surprising case is Ps-Probus on the story of Ceyx and Alcyone (*Geo*. i.399). Servius gives pretty much the Ovidian version of the story (*Met*. xi.267–748), as does the *Brevis Expositio*. But Ps-Probus's note is very different. Not only does he give two different versions, Ovid's and another to which Ovid alludes in passing in an earlier book (vii.401), but also he begins by saying that "there is a difference of opinion about the origin of these birds: according to one, Ovid follows Nicander, according to the other, Theodorus."[107] He then summarizes the two versions, beginning with the one followed by Ovid. According to Gow and Scholfield, this note "should" mean that the first version came from Nicander and the second from Theodorus[108] and Otis took it for granted that the first version is attributed to Nicander.[109] Yet however reasonable the inference, this is not what the text actually says. It simply records a disagreement about which of the two Greek poets Ovid followed, a perfectly reasonable uncertainty for a Latin commentator who had no firsthand knowledge of either. Whatever Ps-Probus made of it, there is clearly some genuine information here. Nicander's *Heteroioumena* is a likely source for Ovid, and Ps-Plutarch cites a *Metamorphoseis* of Theodorus for what is essentially Ovid's version of the story of Smyrna and Cinyras, though he says that she incurred "the wrath

104. Merkelbach and West, *Frag. Hes*. F 139; Antimachus F 102 Wyss and (especially) West, *IEG* ii² 42–3; Philostephanus F 14 Mueller (*FHG*. iii.31); Gioseffi 1991, 203. It was West who added <Cynirae qui>.

105. See Wendel's index auctorum to his editions of both the latter works.

106. For more details, Hilburn Womble, "The Servian corpus and the scholia of Pseudo-Probus," *AJP* 82 (1961), 384–6.

107. *Varia est opinio harum volucrum originis. itaque in altera sequitur Ovidius Nicandrum, in altera Theodorum* (Thilo-Hagen iii.2. 366).

108. *Nicander: the poems and poetical fragments* (Cambridge 1953), 208, F 64.

109. *Ovid as an Epic Poet*² 421–3, with a clear analysis of the various sources; add now col. II. 14–9 of the Michigan dictionary (Renner 1978, 291–2).

of Aphrodite,"[110] while Ovid insists that she was pursued by the Furies, and Cupid had nothing to do with it. The fact that Ps-Probus, while commenting on Vergil, treats the matter as a question of Ovid's sources rather than simply alternative versions of the Ceyx and Alcyone story, raises the possibility that the ultimate source of this note is a source reference for the story in a fuller version of the *Narrationes*, perhaps something like: *ut Nicander, vel ut alii volunt, Theodorus*. But whatever its ultimate source, it must have reached Ps-Probus in a Vergil commentary.

According to *Geo*. iii.267, Glaucus was eaten by the horses that drew his chariot. To the explanations given by Servius and DS, Ps-Probus adds that Glaucus used to feed them on human flesh, which ran out, and they ate him at the funeral games for Pelias, with a precise reference (title and book number) to the *Tragodumena* of Asclepiades (*in Tragodumenon libro primo*), an authentic mythographer of the fourth century BC.[111] And his note on the cypresses at *Geo*. ii.85 cites Asclepiades again, for an unusual variant on the Cyparissus story.[112]

At *Geo*. iii.19–20 Vergil alludes to the "groves of Molorchus" in connection with a Greek athletic festival. Servius briefly explains how the Nemean games were established after Hercules killed the Nemean lion as a favor to his humble host Molorchus. Ps-Probus explains in more detail, closing with the sentence: *sed Molorchi mentio est apud Callimachum in Αἰτίων libris*.[113] Since the publication of the Lille papyrus, we now know that the story of Molorchus and the Nemean games is the first poem in book iii of Callimachus's *Aetia*, an epinician Peter Parsons christened *Victoria Berenices*. Since there is a distinct possibility that Callimachus invented the otherwise unknown Molorchus, the probability is that the Ps-Probus entry is based on the summary of this episode in the Callimachean *Diegeseis*.[114] In its present form it certainly owes nothing to the actual text of Callimachus, concluding as it does with the refounding of the games in memory of Archemorus by the Seven against Thebes: "*but* Callimachus mentions Molorchus in the *Aetia*." The adversative implies that the Archemorus story was a later, competing version, not in Callimachus. We now know that Callimachus did allude to Archemorus, in a fragmentary line explained in the paraphrase of the Lille papyrus.[115]

Since Vergil himself undoubtedly knew the *Victoria Berenices* (significantly enough evoked at the beginning of book iii of his own poem)[116] this entry might derive from the commentary rather than the mythographic tradition. But there

110. According to Hyg. *Fab*. 58, her mother had boasted that she was more beautiful than Aphrodite. Ps-Plut. *Par. Min*. 22A; Stobaeus iv. 20b. 71 (iv. 472 Hense) gives a slightly abridged version of this very chapter under the heading "from the *Metamorphoseis* of Theodorus."

111. *FGrH* 12, nine pages of citations almost entirely in scholia to the poets.

112. See Jacoby's note on *FGrH* 12 F 19.

113. Thilo-Hagen iii.2. 376; all the ancient sources on the story are set out by Parsons, in *ZPE* 25 (1977), 1–4.

114. The *Diegeseis* are missing for all of book ii and the first half of book iii.

115. Ἀρχέμορος ἐκαλεῖτο, *SH* 255. 7, with Parsons, *ZPE* 25 (1977), 41.

116. R. F. Thomas, "Callimachus, the *Victoria Berenices* and Roman Poetry," *CQ* 33 (1983), 92–113, summarized in his commentary on *Geo*. iii.19–20 (Cambridge 1988).

is no hint in this note that Vergil was actually imitating Callimachus, no *totus hic locus de Callimacho translatus*. Instead we just have a detailed summary of the Molorchus story, not emphasizing the details Vergil himself drew from Callimachus but simply citing him at the end as source in the standard mythographic style.

There are no doubt a few examples I have missed, but the following list should suffice to establish two key points. First, most citations of Greek authors in the Vergil scholia occur in mythographic notes. Second, there is an obvious distinction between the major Greek authors cited from the commentary tradition and the minor, not to say often desperately obscure figures cited from the mythographic tradition.

Philistides (*Buc*. i.65)
Parthenius *in volumine quod ei de amantibus compositum est* (*Buc*. iii.62)
Hesiodus, <Panyassis>, Antimachus, Philostephanus (*Buc*. x. 18)
Nicander, Theodorus (*Geo*. i.399)
Asclepiades (*Geo*. ii.85)
Callimachus (*Geo*. iii.19–20)
Palaephatus *in libro* ἀπίστων (*Geo*. iii.115)
Asclepiades Τραγῳδούμενα (*Geo*. iii.267)
Callimachus (*Geo*. iv. 463)
Theodo<n>tius or Theodorus (*Aen*. i.28)
Eratosthenes (*Aen*. ii.7)
Euphorion (*Aen*. ii.32–33)
Theocritus (*Aen*. ii.35 and 687)
Euphorion (*Aen*. ii.79)
Euphorion (*Aen*. ii.201)
Bacchylides (*Aen*. ii.201)
Sophocles (*Aen*. ii.204)
Lysimachus (*Aen*. ii.211)
Thessandrus (*Aen*. ii.211)
Euphorion (*Aen*. ii.341)
Palaefatus (*Aen*. iii.8)
Euphorion (*Aen*. iii.16–8)
Palaefatus (*Aen*. iii.80)
Alexarchus and Aristonicus (*Aen*. iii.334)
Phanodicus *Deliacon* and Menecrates (*Aen*. vi.14)
Plato *Phaedo*, Sappho *Lyrica*, Bacchylides *Dithyrambi*, Euripides *Heracles* (*Aen*. vi.21)
Phylarchus (*Aen*. iv. 146)
Euphorion (*Aen*. vi.618)
Alexander Polyhistor (*Aen*. viii.330)
Philochorus (*Aen*. viii.600)
Abas, author of *Troïca* (*Aen*. ix. 264)

These examples suggest that mythographic notes in the earlier Vergil commentaries were often (if not systematically) equipped with source references to the usual range of Hellenistic poets, mythographers, and local historians, references that Servius normally dropped.

I close this section with a more general reflection about the usage of Ps-Probus. We have seen that Servius and Servius Danielis use *fabula* for stories that involve transformation, monsters and anything *contra naturam*; and *historia* for other mythical stories. We have also seen that Ps-Probus descends from the same general tradition as Servius and Servius Danielis. Yet Ps-Probus, like the Greek mythographers, always uses *historia*, even for stories of transformation. Here is the list: *vulgarem sequitur historiam*, on the transformation of Callisto into a bear

(*Geo*. i.138,); *contra historiam refert* = παρ' ἱστορίαν = "contrary to the standard version" of the story of Ceres and Proserpina, including the transformation of Ascalaphus into an owl (*Geo*. i.39); *haec historia de Aristaeo*, ending with his deification (*Geo*. i.14); *Ariadnes autem coronae talis historia traditur*, ending with her catasterism (*Geo*. i.221). There are two similar examples in *Buc*. x.18 (Adonis) and *Geo*. iii.146 (Io), both transformation stories.

It seems inconceivable that a fifth-century Latin grammarian would reject the terminology of his Latin sources in favor of that of Greek sources he had probably never seen at first hand. Perhaps the truth is that Ps-Probus has preserved the original terminology of Mythographus Vergilianus, modified as described above by Donatus or (more probably) some earlier commentator. It may be instructive that, when discussing the source of the obscure story of Pan's seduction of Luna at *Geo*. iii.391–3,[117] Macrobius refers to it as *hanc historiam sive fabulam* (*Sat*. v.22.9). And from the same Macrobius's discussion of the cutting of Dido's lock, it emerges that Cornutus too used the term *historia* where Macrobius himself a couple of sentences later used *fabula*.

3: SCAURUS AND MODESTUS

In two cases we can link these mythographic notes to specific, datable Vergilian commentators. In order to do so we must again turn to the post-Servian commentators. At *Georgics* i.378, among other signs of impending rain (fleeing cranes, sniffing heifers, and twittering swallows), Vergil mentions frogs croaking their "old complaint" (*veterem . . . querelam*) in the mud. Modern commentators are usually satisfied with drawing attention to the imitation of Aratus,[118] but ancient readers were more interested in the "old complaint." Here are four attempts to explain it, two of them credited to Modestus—that is to say the Flavian scholar Aufidius Modestus.[119]

Servius: fabula duplex est: nam Ovidius dicit, Ceres cum Proserpinam quaereret, ad relevandam sitim accessit ad quendam fontem. tunc eam Lycii rustici a potu prohibere coeperunt: et conturbantes pedibus fontem

Brev.Exp.: multi ambigunt, quae sit ranarum vetus querela. Modestus ait, Latonam, cum ageretur a Iunone, in Lyciam supervenisse et sitientem accessisse ad fontem, <a> pastoribus autem prohibitam. memorem autem iniuriae suae post

Schol. Bern.: Modestus ait: Lycios pastores qui Latonae sitienti aquam denegassent, in ranas conversos; et Ovidius ait: Ceres cum Proserpinam quaereret, ad fontem pervenisse, *et reliqua*. alii dicunt ranas per abundantiam aquae

Ps-Probus: in Lycia Latona aestu exhaustis uberibus educans Apollinem et Dianam infantes, accessit ad *Melam* fontem, et cum vellet bibere, prohibuit eam *Neocles* pastor. cum autem illa

117. See Richard Thomas's commentary on the passage.

118. *Phaen*. 946–7; Thomas ad loc.; L. P. Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Virgil* (Cambridge 1969), 238–9.

119. Not Julius Modestus the pupil of Augustus's freedman Julius Hyginus: see esp. R. A. Kaster, *Suetonius: De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus* (Oxford 1995), 213–4.

cum contra eam emitterent turpem naribus sonum, illa irata eos convertit in ranas, quae nunc quoque ad illius soni imitationem coaxant. sed non hoc est valde aptum: nam illa magis insultatio fuerat, quam querella, et poenam sacrilegii iuste pertulerant. unde magis Aesopus est sequendus, qui hoc dicit: cum Iuppiter reges omnibus animalibus daret et ranis dedisset colendum brevissimum lignum, illae questae et aspernatae sunt. tunc eis hydrum iratus Iuppiter dedit, qui vescitur ranis.

editum partum redisse in Lyciam et pastores in ranas vertisse, ut perpetuam eius fontis haberent custodiam, cuius potum Latonae denegassent. Ovidius dicit: Ceres cum Proserpinam quaesisset, ad bibendum accessit ad quendam fontem. tunc eam Lycii rustici a potatu prohiberunt, et conturbantes pedibus fontem cum contra eam emitterent turpem narium sonum, illa irata eos convertit in ranas, quae nunc quoque ad illius soni imitationem clamant. alii dicunt, ranas per abundantiam aquae extra paludes pelli et serpentibus cibo esse aut alioquin interire. inde igitur <ad> tempestatis adventum eas querelas excipere.

extra paludes pelli et serpentibus cibo esse aut alioquin interire. Gaudentius dicit: ranas namque dicunt ad tempestatis adventum querellam excipere.

pertinacior esset, prohibuerunt aqua. itaque deae numine mutati sunt in ranas.

These notes present a more intricate problem than has perhaps been appreciated. If we set Ps-Probus aside for the moment, the other three notes are obviously all related. There can be little doubt that a common source lies behind them. At first sight, it looks as if the Berne scholia and the *Brevis expositio* are citing Modestus and Ovid, respectively, for two different stories, one involving Leto and the other Ceres, only one of which is quoted by Servius. But on closer examination, Modestus's Leto story and Ovid's Ceres story turn out to be one and the same story.

According to all three commentators, Ovid tells of some Lycian herdsmen refusing to let Ceres drink at their pool. But there is no such story in Ovid. In Ovid, just as in the version credited to Modestus, it is Leto who turns the inhospitable herdsmen into frogs (*Met*. vi.337–81). There is also another false detail in the "Ovid" story. According to both Servius and the *Brevis expositio*, a key element in the herdsmen's transformation is their splashing and (especially) snorting. As often

happens in transformation stories, the transformation preserves in a different form the behavior that provoked it. In this case, snorting herdsmen become croaking frogs. Intriguingly enough, it was precisely on the basis of the snorting that Servius himself rejected this explanation. For the noise the herdsmen make "was an insult rather than a complaint [*querella*], and they deservedly paid the penalty for their sacrilege" (a number of ancient texts treat snorting as offensive and insulting rather than just bad manners).[120] Now Ovid mentions splashing, threats, and insults but not a word about snorting.

The explanation (I suggest) is that in its original form this note had nothing to do with Ovid. It was simply a version of the story of Leto and the Lycian herdsmen, an aetiology of the characteristic noise frogs make. At a later stage someone thought he remembered reading the story in Ovid, misremembering its subject as Ceres instead of Leto.[121] Some later commmentator, comparing different earlier commentaries (and obviously not verifying Ovid's actual words) assumed two different versions. The Berne scholiast and the author of the *Brevis expositio* copied out both, though the former realized he was repeating himself and simply wrote *et reliqua* when he got to *fontem*.

The original version was the work of the Flavian commentator Modestus, presumably drawing on some Hellenistic mythographer. Antoninus Liberalis offers a slightly different version (§ 35): as in Ovid but not Modestus, Leto arrives in Lycia with her children, but, as in Modestus but not Ovid, she returns to punish the herdsmen on a later occasion. Antoninus is less concerned with frogs than the naming of Lycia (a subplot about wolves, λύκοι) and the cult of Apollo. He also names the pool (Melite) and for sources cites Nicander and the *Lyciaca* of Menecrates of Xanthus, a local historian of the fourth century BC.[122] Ps-Probus also names the pool (Mela, reassuringly close to Antoninus's Melite) and adds a detail even Antoninus does not have, the name of the leader of the herdsmen (Neocles). These two precise local details both point to the original Greek source used by Modestus.[123] In view of the differences (not to mention the fact that Antoninus may have written after Modestus), this source may have been one of the many other Hellenistic works dealing with metamorphosis (Ch. X. 4).

The other case that can be linked to an identifiable commentator is one of the three notes in the Verona scholia attributed to Scaurus, that is to say Q. Terentius

120. Examples collected by Campbell Bonner, "A Tarsian Peculiarity," *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 35 (1942), 1–11; add to his dossier Synesius, *De prov.* 92B (Cameron and Long, *Barbarians and Politics at the Court of Arcadius* [Berkeley 1993], 343); Amm. Marc. 14. 6. 25 (*turpi sono fragosis naribus introrsum reducto spiritu concrepantes*); and this passage of Servius.

121. Possibly he was working not from Ovid but from the *Narrationes* (6.3), where *nulla eam errantem regio reciperet*, not justified by anything in Ovid, might have suggested Ceres searching for Proserpina. *Narr.* 6.3 also mistakenly states that it was Jupiter who turned the herdsmen into frogs.

122. *FGrH* 769 for the handful of fragments, all mythological; Fowler, *EGM* i.264–7.

123. A great many transformation stories center on local traditions and cults: P.M.C. Forbes Irving, *Metamorphosis in Greek Myths* (Oxford 1990), 26–7.

Scaurus, the Hadrianic grammaticus mentioned by Gellius.[124] On Vergil's mention of Cretans at *Aen*. iv.146, the scholiast tells an "irrelevant" story about Cretans who left Crete under a leader called Delphus and sailed to Phocis, where they called themselves Delphians. The source cited is the third-century historian Phylarchus,[125] three times named as a source for Parthenius's *Sufferings in Love* and a likely source for at least one other chapter.[126]

It seems clear that Modestus and Scaurus, one working a little before and the other a little after 100 AD, were illustrating the "stories" in Vergil in some detail. Both surviving examples fall into the category of what I have been calling "unnecessary." Both scholars drew on Greek mythographers, and Scaurus at any rate cited Greek sources. It is not likely that these were the only passages they illustrated in this way. There is at least a possibility that they are the scholars responsible for the mythological companion(s) I am hypothesizing. Since Modestus is cited for the *Georgics* and Scaurus for the *Aeneid*, it may be that each produced a separate companion to those poems. If nothing else, the two passages certainly suggest that mythographic notes on Vergil complete with learned citations existed as early as around 100 AD.[127]

This is also the implication of a much better known text, Juvenal *Satire* vii.234–6. Parents expect the grammaticus to have both *historiae* and *auctores* at his fingertips, so that even on the way to the baths he can identify

> nutricem Anchisae, nomen patriamque novercae
> Anchemoli, dicat quot Acestes vixerit annis,
> quot Siculi Phrygibus vini donaverit urnas.

> Anchises's nurse [and] the name and birthplace of Anchemolus's stepmother [and] state to what age Acestes lived and how many jars of Sicilian wine he gave the Phrygians.

The most relevant feature of this passage in the present context is that every one of the four questions concerns a mythological allusion in the *Aeneid*. It would be going too far to claim that Juvenal vii presupposes Mythographus Vergilianus, but it certainly implies a perceived need for a work of this kind.

IV: AVIENIUS

Two notes in Servius imply the existence of another such mythographic companion to Vergil, in verse, by the mid-fourth-century poet and antiquarian Postumius

124. *NA* 11.15; L. Holford-Strevens, *Aulus Gellius* (London 1988), 123–4; Viven Law, *Rhein. Mus.* 130 (1987), 67–89; P. L. Schmidt in Herzog/Schmidt 4, § 433.

125. *FGrH* 81 F 85; "ganz unsicher," according to Jacoby.

126. Parthenius §§ 15, 25, 31; and for 23 see Lightfoot 1999, 507.

127. If DS on *Geo*. ii.456 is compared to the schol. Stat. *Achill*. 238 (pp. 681–2 Sweeney), it seems that the second-century Asper treated the story of the death of Pholus the Centaur at some length; so Tomsin, *Étude sur le Commentaire Virgilien d'Aemilius Asper* (Paris 1952), 127.

Rufius Festus qui et Avienius, formerly known as Avienus.[128] At *Aen*. x. 272–3 Vergil mentions comets as a sinister portent (*si quando nocte cometae / sanguinei lugubre rubent*). Servius remarks that, according to the Stoics, there were more than 32 comets, whose names and effects were recounted (*memorat*) by Avienius, *qui iambis scripsit Vergilii fabulas*. There follows a very detailed summary of what Avienus had to say, 6 lines from Servius and 45 from Servius Danielis (this fact alone takes the information back to Donatus). In a later note Servius refers again to comets and what they portend, "a subject that Avienius goes into very thoroughly."[129] The account closes with a couple of source references, Campestris and Petosiris.[130] The pairing is characteristic of the genre: Petosiris is a pseudonymous Egyptian astrologer of perhaps the first century BC, Campestris a much later Latin writer.[131] In his *On Celestial Signs* (*De ostentis*) of around 550 John the Lydian refers to "the Roman Campestris, a follower of the teachings of Petosiris" and then gives in his own Greek translation a long excerpt from Campestris on comets, covering in more detail the same ground as the summary in Servius.[132] The Lucan scholia also cite Campestris for much the same information on comets.[133] He presumably belongs some time between the second and mid-fourth centuries. It is usually a safe assumption that a late Latin writer who cites a Hellenistic text together with a recent Latin version knows only the latter at first hand.

At x.388–9 Vergil mentions the killing of Anchemolus, "from the ancient family of Rhoetus, who had dared to pollute the marriage-chamber of his stepmother." We have just seen that Juvenal selected the "name and birthplace of Anchemolus's stepmother" as one of his impossible mythological questions. Yet Servius and (with three extra sentences) Servius Danielis managed to answer the question. Rhoetus was a Marsian king who married a certain Casperia. After seducing his stepmother, Anchemolus fled to the court of Turnus's father Daunus. The ultimate source for the "whole story" is given as Alexander Polyhistor, a Greek polymath and ethnographer "whom L. Sulla rewarded with the Roman citizenship."

Alexander wrote on a great many subjects: Bithynia, the Black Sea, Caria, Cilicia, Crete, Cyprus, Egypt, India, Libya, Lycia, Paphlagonia, Phrygia, Syria, the Jews and five books on Rome, not to mention a few works on poets and philosophers.[134] As we might expect, the quotations from these works often touch

128. For the inscription that finally settles the question of the poet's name, Cameron, "Avienus or Avienius?" *ZPE* 108 (1995), 252–62.

129. *quam rem plenissime Avienus exsequitur*, on *Georgics* i.488.

130. Reprinted with French translation and useful notes as an appendix in Jean Soubiran, *Aviénus: les Phénomènes d'Aratos* (Paris 1981), 297–9.

131. For what is known of them, see Soubiran 1981, 301 n. 13; K. Sallman in Herzog/Schmidt 4, § 409.2.

132. C. Wachsmuth, *Ioannis Laurentii Lydi liber de ostentis* (Leipzig 1897), pp. 24.5 and 35.8; see too C. Wachsmuth's preface, pp. xxxiii-iv.

133. On i.529: I. Endt, *Adnotationes super Lucanum* (Leipzig 1909), 30; Riess, *RE* s.v. Campestris 1443–4.

134. Almost 150 testimonia and fragments collected in *FGrH* 273.

on mythological origins. The families of Rhoetus and Turnus would seem to belong in his *Italica*—except for the fact that the only evidence for the existence of such a work is (again) the Ps-Plutarchan *Parallela minora*.[135] His Περὶ Ῥώμης is a possibility, but if a story so relevant to a Vergilian problem regarded as unanswerable by Juvenal was treated in detail by so influential a writer as Alexander, it is odd that it should not be recorded in Latin before Avienius. We cannot exclude the possibility that the information, complete with source, was invented by some emulator of Ps-Plutarch and that Avienius was gullible enough to be taken in.

However this may be, the direct source of the Servian note is clearly Avienius. It begins as follows: "this story is nowhere found in Latin writers. But Avienius, who put the whole of Vergil into iambics, records it, saying that it is Greek."[136] Since Avienius seems to have been a younger contemporary of Donatus, these words cannot go back any further in the exegetical tradition than Donatus himself. And if the story was not to be found in any other Latin writers, it must have been in Avienius that Donatus found the reference to Alexander Polyhistor. Avienius evidently prided himself on his knowledge of recondite Greek works. All three of his surviving poems are translations or paraphrases of Greek geographical, astronomical, and mythographic works.[137] That is to say, Avienius's book was equipped with Greek source references.

Did he put his references in iambics? Improbable though this might seem, almost certainly so, since he cites a number of sources in his *Ora maritima*, also in iambics, a work he boasts to have been *ex plurimorum sumpta commentariis*. Lines 42–4 provide a sample:

> Hecataeus istic quippe erit Milesius,
> Hellanicusque Lesbius, Phileus quoque
> Atheniensis . . .

Surprising enough, he was here following well-established Greek precedent. The clearest and most relevant illustration is the iambic *Periegesis* by an anonymous geographer, writing ca 100 BC, generally known as Ps-Scymnus, in which there are a number of versified source references.[138] For example, line 967, "Herodotus seems unaware of this when he says . . ." (ὁ δ' Ἡρόδοτος ἔοικεν ἀγνοεῖν λέγων . . .); or 880, ὡς Δημήτριος / εἴρηκεν, ὡς Ἔφορος δέ. In his preface Ps-Scymnus refers to an unnamed scholar of Athens who wrote a chronicle from the fall of Troy down to 144/3 BC in "comic" iambics.[139] It was long ago recognized that this

135. § 40 B = *Mor*. 315 EF; *FGrH* 273 F 20. The Anchemolus story is F 110 in Jacoby, who did not know what to make of it.

136. The transmitted reading seems to be *qui totum Livium iambis scripsit*, but there is a variant *Vergilium*, and for a variety for reasons detailed by Charles Murgia, "Avienus's Supposed Iambic Version of Livy," *CSCA* 3 (1970), 185–97, there can be no doubt that *Vergilii fabulas* is the true reading—not least because Livy does not mention Anchemolus.

137. For a brief recent account, K. Smolak in Herzog 1989 (= *Nouvelle histoire* 5, 1993) § 557.

138. C. Mueller, *Geographi Graeci Minores* i (1855), 196–237; for a radically revised text of part of the poem (whence the citations above), A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (Lancaster 1952), 165–76.

139. Lines 16–49 = T 2 in *FGrH* 244, with Jacoby's commentary.

must be Apollodorus of Athens, from whose chronicle we have a small number of quotations in iambics.[140] To illustrate how widespread Greek didactic poems with source citations became, I mention a handful of other examples: a *Periegesis* of Greece by Dionysius son of Calliphon,[141] the first-century medical writer Servilius Damocrates,[142] the *Iambi ad Seleucum* of Amphilocius of Iconium, and a poem on anger by Gregory Nazianzen in 546 iambic lines.[143] Some of the Apollodorus extracts contain source references: on the chronology of Empedocles, for example (Ἀριστοτέλης γάρ . . . ἔτι δ' Ἡρακλείδης . . .).[144] Dionysius quotes the early geographical writer Phileas of Athens (line 36) and Gregory quotes Aristotle (line 261). To return to Avienius, it is not hard to detect iambic sequences in the comet citations. Let anyone who wants "more detailed distinctions" (*plēnĭōrēs dīffĕrēntĭas*), that is between the different sorts of comets, "look in Campestris or Petosiris" (*vĕl īn Cāmpēstro*[145] *vel in Petosiri siquem dēlēctāvĕrīt quaerat*). The repeated *vel in* also suggests the idiom of poetry rather than prose. Interestingly enough Ps-Scymnus gives Apollodorus's reasons (and by implication his own) for writing in verse (and this particular metrical form): clarity (τῆς σαφηνείας χάριν), and easy memorization (εὐμνημόνευτον, lines 34–5). And Galen more than once says the same about the versified antidotes of Damocrates.[146]

Avienius's goal was ostentation rather than simplicity and utility. His *Ora maritima* seems in the main to be a translation of a long since antiquated Greek Periplus dating from around 500 BC, though he "patched on to this basic framework other scraps of information which took his fancy, snipped out of a variety of archaic sources."[147] A great many of the names he uses for both peoples and places are otherwise wholly unknown. In fact 20 of the 30 cities he names are unknown, and of the ten that are known, six bore different names in his own day. Understandably enough, the poem has been mostly studied for the dim light it casts on voyages of the sixth and fifth centuries BC.[148] Avienius positively boasts of the antiquity and obscurity of the sources he has used (*secretiore lectione*, 11; *veterum abdita*, 17; *fulcit haec fides / petita longe et eruta ex auctoribus*, 78) though (like

140. Pfeiffer 1968, 253–7; *FGrH* 244 F 3, 4, 26, 32, 43, 47, 53, 54, 55, 58–60.

141. *Geog. Graec. Min.* i.238–43 with p. lxxx; both names are spelled out by an opening acrostic.

142. For two excerpts from his collection of versified prescriptions, see Galen XIV. 90f. and 116f.

143. *Carmen i.2.25* (*PG 37.813–51*).

144. *FGrH* 244 F 32a 15–6.

145. *So the DS MSS, but Campestre* would fit the iambic meter better.

146. See the passages quoted and discussed by Heinrich von Staden, "Gattung und Gedächtnis: Galen über Wahrheit und Lehrdichtung," in W. Kullmann, J. Althoff, and M. Asper (eds.), *Gattungen wissenschaftlicher Literatur in der Antike* (Tübingen 1998), 65–94 at 75–8.

147. Barry Cunliffe, *The extraordinary voyage of Pytheas the Greek, the man who discovered Britain* (London 2001), 42.

148. For the various identifications of Avienius's sources, M. Schanz, *Gesch. d. röm. Literatur* iv. 1² (1914), 19–20; Smolak in Herzog 1989, § 557. 3. A. Schulten's edition with introduction and commentary, (*Avieni Ora Maritima*: *Periplus Massiliensis saec. VI a.c.* (Berlin 1922) is a useful guide; see too Cunliffe 2001, 42–9, 94.

the mythographers) it is likely that he knew most of the earlier Greek sources he names through Hellenistic intermediaries. In addition, he affects obsolete forms like *ducier* for *duci*, *duello* for *bello*, and *ollis* for *illis*. Avienius's iambics certainly lack the down-to-earth flavor aimed at by Apollodorus. This may explain why his *Vergilii fabulae* have perished without trace except for a handful of references in his contemporary and perhaps acquaintance Aelius Donatus.

Donatus's claim that he put the "whole of Vergil" (*totum Vergilium*) into iambics is no doubt something of an exaggeration. Yet the two *fabulae* we know of concern comets (not really a *fabula* at all) and Anchemolus, only mentioned in passing by Vergil. Like Mythographus Vergilianus and Ps-Eratosthenes, his goal seems to have been to supplement the mythological allusions in his poet. Obviously much of his work is likely to have been versified MV, but not all. Donatus would not have cited Avienius for comets and Anchemolus if he had found the same material in the standard Vergil commentaries. Almost alone among pagan writers of his age, he read Hellenistic (if not earlier) Greek texts at first hand. As in the case of Anchemolus, he is bound to have preserved a certain amount of information not known from any surviving Latin sources.

9

Myth and Society

1: MYTHOLOGY AND MYTHOGRAPHERS

What is the relevance or importance of Greek mythology in the vast world of the Roman empire? Moderns are understandably drawn to the way Roman poets and artists make use of particular myths:[1] the vogue (for example) for the myth of the Golden Age in Catullus, Vergil, and Horace; the political exploitation of the gigantomachy myth for the victories of the princeps; more generally, the use of myth as source of imagery and exemplarity; or myth as allegory (whether physical, spiritual, or moral) in the essayists and philosophers; the development of certain mythical figures through different ages and literatures (the Ulysses theme, the Heracles theme, and so on); the sometimes puzzling myths chosen to decorate Roman sarcophagi. I myself have long been fascinated by the extraordinary vogue for the childhood rather than manhood of Achilles in the literature and (above all) art of the empire.[2] No less intriguing in a different way is the negative attraction the old myths held for early Christians, who insisted on taking them literally, so that they could attack pagans for having unworthy gods (adulterers, parricides, crybabies). Obviously this can be seen as a sort of perverse tribute to their continuing power.

There are rich fields for research in all these areas. This study has focused instead on the surprisingly large number of writers in the first two or three centuries of the empire (mainly but not exclusively Greek) who concerned themselves with mythology in and for itself, simply telling the stories. Few of these writers show any interest in deeper meanings—or even in establishing the earliest or most authoritative versions, for all the importance they attach to citing authorities. Following in the footsteps of Palaefatus, Diodorus and Mythographus Vergilianus fairly systematically rationalize away the supernatural elements in stories involving transformations and monsters, but (like Palaefatus again) their purpose was not to uncover deeper truths but simply to make the stories plausible in human terms. The main concern of all these mythographers was the stories as stories, to present a coherent narrative that included all the main genealogical details. Philosophers, poets, and

1. Jacqueline Fabre-Serris, *Mythologie et littérature à Rome: La réécriture des mythes aux 1ers siècles avant et après J.-C.* (Lausanne 1998).

2. See my forthcoming paper "Young Achilles in the Roman World."

artists might draw on the rich resources of mythology in a variety of ways for a variety of purposes, but before they could even begin they needed to know the basic facts. It was the modest task of the mythographer to supply those facts.

In the small world of classical Athens, most people knew at least the outlines of the relatively limited range of myths drawn on by the tragedians (mainly the Trojan and Theban cycles). A number of texts reveal such tales being told to small children by the women of the household.[3] Things were different in the vastly larger and more diverse and diffuse world of the Roman empire. More people, more myths. What classical scholars think of as the basic myths were no longer a routine part of the lives of uneducated folk. "The people continued to have their tales and superstitions, but mythology, now a matter for the learned, moved beyond their reach."[4]

To give a single illustration, in one of his *Iambi* (F 198) Callimachus describes an Aeginetan festival (known as Hydrophoria) that supposedly commemorated the Argonauts landing on Aegina to obtain fresh water. Callimachus may have drawn on local historians (though the two known historians of Aegina are probably no earlier than the second century)[5] or even a personal visit. The festival no doubt still took place, though the story behind it may have been a genuinely old tradition. Apollonius, drawing on Callimachus but evidently also consulting a map, made it the Argonauts' last stop on their return journey, a nice illustration of how an obscure local festival came to be grafted onto archaic saga.[6] Mythology became a part of literary culture, in effect a status marker. It had to be learned, and this is where the mythographers and compilers of mythographic companions came in. Not scholarly commentaries as we are accustomed to think of them but a well-defined separate category of nonphilological aides to reading and appreciating the classics and acquiring the knowledge and technique to write, talk, and think in the classicizing style.

We have seen in the course of this work just how many early imperial mythographers can be identified in one way or another. Very few by name, and those few (understandably enough) seldom rate more than a couple of patronizing sentences in modern literary histories.[7] They are a shadowy lot, most of them pseudonymous or otherwise unknown, with very modest literary aims. Only two are known for anything but mythography, Parthenius as a minor poet,[8] Didymus as a prolific but second-rate scholar. The erudition they were at such pains to claim for themselves with their learned citations is mostly pretense: all too often they had never even seen the countless authorities they cite, simply copying them from

3. Richard Buxton, *Imaginary Greece: The contexts of mythology* (Cambridge 1994), Ch. 2.

4. Paul Veyne, *Did the Greeks believe in their Myths?* (Chicago 1983), 45.

5. Pythaenetos and Theogenes: *FGrH* 299–300, with Jacoby's notes.

6. Call. F 198; Apoll. *Arg.* iv. 1765–72; see the first of the useful maps in vol. iv of Vian's edition.

7. "Like Parthenius's collection, Conon's is only of interest to us because of its subject matter," A. Lesky, *A History of Greek Literature* (London 1966), 756; similarly 857 on Apollodorus.

8. In a now famous article, still widely cited (*GRBS* 5 [1964], 181–96), W. Clausen wildly exaggerated the influence of Parthenius on the Augustan poets: Cameron 1995, 28.

the latest in a chain of unnamed intermediaries. Of the surviving texts, only Ps-Eratosthenes (characteristically an epitome of a once longer work)[9] is transmitted in a respectable number of manuscripts. We have seen that Antoninus Liberalis, Parthenius, Ps-Plutarch, and several of the paradoxographers all owe their survival to one and the same manuscript.[10] But for the survival of this one manuscript, all these works would have perished without trace.[11] Hyginus's *Fabulae*, another abridgment, likewise came down to us in a single, incomplete copy, itself now lost. Even Ps-Apollodorus survives in a single, incomplete manuscript, supplemented by two sets of excerpts.[12] Ptolemy the Quail and Conon reached Photius (and Ptolemy Tzetzes) but then perished. Photius's copy of Apollodorus was bound up with Conon.[13]

The unimportance of individual writers and the derivative and undistinguished character of their books has led to a serious (if understandable) undervaluation of the importance of mythographers in the Roman world. This importance lies in the large number of very similar books rather than any single representative. The papyri have revealed just how widespread they were even in the country districts of Egypt. We now have one fragment of Conon, eleven of Mythographus Homericus, and (at the latest count) bits from no fewer than two dozen sets of tragic hypotheseis. Three otherwise unknown works are PSI xiv. 1398, from an account of the death of Tiresias;[14] P. Oxy. 4309, a very fragmentary mythographic text apparently incorporating a number of learned citations;[15] and the Michigan dictionary of metamorphoses. Particularly welcome is the information that a copy of the *Tragic Myths* of the otherwise unknown Thersagoras was for sale in Oxyrhychus around 170 AD at the shop of Demetrius the bookseller.[16]

Van Rossum-Steenbeek classified most of the texts she assembled from the papyri as "subliterary,"[17] no doubt with some justification. But literary quality notwithstanding, we might be surprised if we knew how many people of cul-

9. As shown by Robert 1878, 2–10 on the basis of material in Hyginus's *De astronomia* that must have come from the same source as its Ps-Eratosthenic material but is missing in the surviving Greek text (which Robert refers to as the *Epitome*).

10. Heidelberg Pal. gr. 398 of mid s. IX; A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (Lancaster 1952), 3–10.

11. Of the two citations of Parthenius's book (Lightfoot 1999, 297), the one in Ps-Plutarch (*Par. min*. 21) would have been dismissed as bogus, and Ps-Probus on *Buc*. 3. 62 would have been identified as a reference to one of his poems.

12. There are a dozen manuscripts of s. XV-XVI, all dependent on Par. gr. 2722 of s. XIV: A. Diller, *TAPA* 66 (1935), 296–313; M. Papathomopoulos, *Ellenica* 26 (1973), 18–40.

13. ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ τεύχει, Phot. *Cod*. 186, p. 142. 37.

14. So identified by Hugh Lloyd-Jones, *Greek Comedy, Hellenistic Literature, Greek Religion and Miscellanea* (Oxford 1990), 359–61.

15. M. A. Harder, in *P. Oxy*. lxii (1995), 52–3, tentatively suggests Apollodorus, Περὶ Νεῶν, but was such a work still circulating as late as s. III (the date of the papyrus)? More likely an early imperial mythographic text.

16. P. Oxy. 2192; Turner and Parsons, *GMAW*[2] no. 68.

17. Some of her Homer-digests contain glossaries as well as summaries and were clearly intended as school texts.

ture and status owned well-thumbed copies of one mythographer or another. The fact that some were illustrated points to a well-to-do readership. One of the principal postulates of Kurt Weitzmann's *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art* (1951) was an illustrated Ps-Apollodorus. The basis of his claim was the standardized representation of mythological scenes (including entire mythological cycles) in many different media, culminating in de luxe manuscripts of the Middle Ages.[18] On more fragile grounds Weitzmann also postulated an illustrated Conon.[19] Many medieval copies of *Aratea* (whether Aratus, Cicero, Germanicus, Avienius, or Hyginus's *De astronomia*) are illustrated, and obvious similarities among all these miniatures point to a common ancient source, perhaps an illustrated Ps-Eratosthenes.[20] And while there is no indication that the now lost unique manuscript of Hyginus's *Fables* was illustrated (the two surviving fragments are not), Ps-Dositheus's copy apparently was.[21] We also have two illustrated copies of the Ps-Nonnus companion to Gregory Nazianzen.[22] Prose paraphrases of Nicander's *Theriaca* and Dionysius's *Ixeutica* in the sixth-century Vienna Dioscorides are also illustrated.[23] Renaissance mythographic treatises were often illustrated.[24] Then there is the fact that so many mythological scenes on wall paintings, mosaics, and other media appear in standardized form. Clearly there must have been illustrated manuals or pattern-books of some sort.[25]

2: MYTHOLOGY AND CULTURE

The role of Greek mythology in the culture that defined and unified the elite of the Greco-Roman world is so immense that it tends to be taken for granted.[26] It

18. See especially pp. 78–87, 126–7, 143–4, 155–6, 194–6, 204–5; more in Kurt Weitzmann, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination* (Chicago 1971), 185–7.

19. Kurt Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 28f.; *Greek Mythology*[2] (Princeton 1984), xii.

20. Kyle M. Phillips, Jr., "Perseus and Andromeda," *AJA* 72 (1968), 16–23; P. McGurk, *Catalogue of Astrological and Mythological Illuminated Manuscripts of the Latin Middle Ages* iv (1966), xxii–xxv; Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*[2] (Princeton 1970), 72, 96; J. Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art* (Princeton 1953), 150–64.

21. *picturae igitur huius laboris multis locis dant testimonium*/ζῳγραφία τοιγαροῦν τούτου τοῦ κόπου πολλοῖς τόποις δίδωσι μαρτυρίαν (*CGL* iii. 56. 47). His Aesop was also illustrated: *per eum enim picturae constant*/διὰ τοῦτον γὰρ αἱ ζωγραφίδες συνέστηκαν (ib. 39.49).

22. Weitzmann, 1951, 6–92.

23. Weitzmann, 1970, 145; see the five plates appended to Garzya's Teubner edition of the *Ixeutica* (1963).

24. Seznec 1953, passim.

25. Roger Ling, *Roman Painting* (Cambridge 1991), 217–20 (with bibliography on p. 235); Christine Kondoleon, *Domestic and Divine: Roman mosaics in the house of Dionysos* (Ithaca 1995), 45, 191–205, 212–21; Katherine M. D. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge 1999), 302–3.

26. Not directly mentioned, for example, in Simon Swain, *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism and Power in the Greek World,* AD *50–250* (Oxford 1996); see (briefly) W. Liebeschuetz, "Pagan Mythology in the Christian Empire," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 2 (1995), 193–208.

would be easy to fill an entire book and still not do justice to the subject. Mythology in Strabo and Pausanias alone (not to mention Diodorus) would fill substantial dissertations. This chapter simply collects a few illustrations from a variety of different fields.

We tend to think of myth as the subject matter par excellence of poetry. The first century was the golden age of Roman poetry but saw a low ebb for Greek poetry. The Greek world was dominated by the so-called Second Sophistic; it was the age rather of epideictic oratory. But sophists no less than poets were expected to adorn their work with clever and appropriate mythological allusions. Modern readers are less struck by all these allusions than perhaps they should be, largely because the only people who are still able to read the imperial sophists are classical scholars, who have effortlessly absorbed the necessary mythological knowledge in the course of their own study of the classics and so take them for granted.

While strongly recommending mythological allusions for the budding orator, Menander Rhetor warns that he has less license than the poets and should dispatch them as briefly as possible.[27] But this did not mean that either writer or reader needed to know less. Quite the contrary; allusions had to be picked up from a single, preferably paradoxical detail. One handbook suggests the Alcestis story to illustrate the importance of choosing the right wife: that was how Admetus escaped his destined death![28] In four lines the Michigan dictionary gives just what a member of the second-century elite needed to know about the shearwater story: the names and parentage of the unfortunate girls before their transformation, a picturesque detail (the crows), and a classical citation. On this basis he could casually allude to shearwaters hating crows "as Aeschylus says."

Display oratory continued in importance down into Byzantine times, but the third century also saw a major revival of mythological poetry, beginning with Dionysius Periegetes and the prolific father-and-son team of Nestor and Peisandros of Laranda,[29] a movement that culminated in the 48-book *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus in the fifth century. Even epigrams inscribed on the statue bases of local dignitaries and imperial officials are full of mythological references.[30]

Greek mythology was the cultural currency of even the remotest corners of the Roman world. One of the most famous sophists of the mid-fourth century was Prohaeresius, a man of Armenian family born in Cappadocia (incidentally a Christian) who held a chair in Athens. Around 357 the Emperor Constans offered him any reward he wanted for his achievements, and Prohaeresius asked for the gift of a few islands to provide Athens with a corn supply. The gift had to be confirmed by the praetorian prefect of Illyricum, at the time a man called Anatolius, born in Beirut. Prohaeresius gathered a number of his supporters to address the

27. 339. 1, p. 17 Russell-Wilson.

28. Ps-Dionysius p. 264 Radermacher, translated in Russell-Wilson, *Menander Rhetor* p. 367.

29. For a brief account, Ewen Bowie, "Greek Poetry in the Antonine Age," in D. A. Russell (ed.), *Antonine Literature* (Oxford 1990), 53–90.

30. L. Robert, *Épigrammes du Bas-Empire* (Paris 1948), passim.

prefect on his behalf, but instead Anatolius called on Prohaeresius to speak extempore himself. So Prohaeresius spoke off the cuff "about the imperial gift, and cited Celeus and Triptolemus and how Demeter sojourned among men that she might bestow on them the gift of corn. With that famous narrative he combined the tale of the generosity of Constans, and very speedily he invested the occurrence with the splendour and dignity of ancient legend."[31]

Anyone with any pretensions to culture knew Greek myths in the same way that medieval Christians knew Bible stories. Yet while Christianity superseded paganism as the religion of the Roman and post-Roman world, educated people continued to know the stories of Greek myth as well as they knew the Bible. For all its deep Christian piety, it would be impossible to make head or tail of much Byzantine literature without extensive knowledge of classical mythology.[32] As we have seen, our own knowledge of many details in the oldest myths comes from scholia laboriously copied into Byzantine manuscripts of classical poets. By far the longest subject category in the index to Herbert Hunger's great work on Byzantine secular literature is "Mythologie."[33]

But it was by no means in and for literature alone that mythology was important. A comprehensive knowledge of Greek myth was essential for anyone who wanted to hold his head up in polite society, throughout the length and breadth of the Roman world. Not just for reading the classics or identifying allusions in contemporary poets and orators but for understanding the conversation of peers, scenes on wall paintings, silver plate, mosaic floors, and (above all) the decoration of the sarcophagi in which loved ones were now interred.[34] The most important comprehensive aid to understanding the role of art in ancient society to appear in recent years is the (happily now complete) *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (1981–97).

Given the sheer number of surviving examples (several thousand), the case of sarcophagus decoration raises the question of the reading of mythological scenes in a particularly acute form. Among the most popular are Dionysus (more than 430 examples), Meleager (200 from Rome alone), the Muses (200), Endymion (120 from Rome alone), the rape of Persephone (90), Amazons (60), Heracles (40) and Hippolytus (40). The meaning of such scenes in this context has been long debated. It is naturally tempting to read them as evoking some aspect of the life of the deceased or the promise of life after death, and many learned and ingenious studies have been devoted to this pursuit. Many of the issues for and

31. Eunap. *Vit. Soph.* 492.

32. For a single, albeit striking example, K. Demoen, *Pagan and Biblical Exempla in Gregory Nazianzen* (Turnout 1996), 211–31.

33. *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* i–ii (Munich 1978).

34. For a comprehensive study of sarcophagi reliefs myth by myth, G. Koch and H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage* (Munich 1982); M. Koortbojian, *Myth, Meaning and Memory on Roman Sarcophagi* (Berkeley 1995); D. Grassinger, *Die mythologischen Sarkophage I: Achill . . . Amazonen* (Berlin 1999), and H. Sichtermann, *Die mythologischen Sarkophage II: Apollon . . . Grazien* (Berlin 1992), with M. Koortbojian, *JRA* 8 (1995), 421–34.

against were summarized in Arthur Darby Nock's famous critical review of Franz Cumont's *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains* (Paris 1942).[35] As Nock remarked, while it is easy to see funerary significance in (say) the death of Actaeon or the Niobids or Dionysiac processions, there are many scenes that seem utterly inappropriate. Notably the 16 Medea sarcophagi, all featuring the murder of her children.[36] There are also 40-odd Orestes sarcophagi, divided fairly evenly between two scenes: Orestes killing Aegisthus and Clytemnestra and (evidently based on Euripides's *Iphigeneia among the Taurians*) Orestes and Pylades with Iphigeneia fighting Scythians to board a ship.[37] Neither seems at all appropriate for a sarcophagus.

Paul Zanker has recently argued that preoccupation with the afterlife is a modern perspective. In the second and third centuries sarcophagi were a focus of celebrations by the family of the deceased and so reflected the concerns of the living rather than the expectations of the dead.[38] The deceased is sometimes represented reclining on a couch, cup in hand, with an inscription exhorting his survivors to drink and be merry.[39] This may be the simplest explanation for the overwhelming dominance of Dionysiac themes, with their festive processions. Both here and in a great many Meleager sarcophagi, outdoor picnics are a favorite theme, perhaps reflecting real-life banquets round the sarcophagus. Meleager was popular because so many members of the elite were keen hunters; a woman might be represented as Persephone simply because "she was beautiful and charming like Persephone when Hades seized her." Rather than classifying mythological sarcophagi iconographically by myth (Zanker suggests), perhaps we should classify them by the message they were intended to convey. Here just as in the poets and orators or indeed the mosaic floors or domestic wall paintings of the age, the stories of mythology are used "not only because they are familiar but because they are exemplary, because they illustrate and explain something about the order of the world and the relationship of gods and men."[40]

More simply still, according to Nock,[41]

> We are left with classicism and culture as a prime factor when we look at these representations or at a grave-altar with the tale of Pasiphaë. . . . Any scene out of the heritage of antiquity, whether it was pathetic or not, whether it was in any sense capable of being regarded as parallel to personal experience or hopes for the future, gave dignity.

35. Nock, "Sarcophagi and Symbolism," *AJA* 50 (1946), 140–70 = *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* ii (Oxford 1972), 606–41.

36. Koch and Sichtermann 1982, 159–61.

37. Koch and Sichtermann 1982, 170–1.

38. Zanker, "Die mythologischen Sarkophagenreliefs und ihre Betrachter," *Sitzungsberichte d. Bay. Akad.* 2000, 2 (Munich 2000), 1–47.

39. See Zanker 2000, 9–14.

40. Jasper Griffin, *The Mirror of Myth: Classical Themes and Variations* (London 1986), 17.

41. Nock 1946, 166 = 1972, 637.

This is no less true of the frequent mythological allusions and comparisons in funerary poetry, in some ways (as Nock saw) more obviously so when badly done. One delightful example is the often unmetrical 52-line inscription in which an evidently grief-stricken man mourns for his freedwoman concubine. Among other things he gives a detailed physical description of this incomparable woman: fair complexion, golden hair, small breasts, skin carefully depilated, and what about her legs (*quid crura*?)? "Atalanta's figure would be comic beside hers." She kept her quarrelsome sons together, like Pylades and Orestes. How different what Helen did to Troy! While the execution is grotesque, the intention is clear. The writer must have believed that his mythological comparisons created a patina of classical dignity.[42]

3: MYTHOLOGICAL KINSHIP

A fascinating recent book by Christopher Jones has traced the less familiar but no less significant role mythical kinship played in intercity relations in the Greek world of the Hellenistic and Roman age.[43] Whether in making territorial claims or negotiating alliances, Greek cities regularly appealed to descent from common mythological ancestors. Such connections (most famously through Aeneas and Troy) played a major part in relations between Rome and its Greek subjects. The Greek cities of the Roman world also regularly used their coinage to build themselves a respectable (if often entirely fictitious) mythological past, usually by inventing liaisons between some local nymph and itinerant heroes like Heracles, Perseus, the Argonauts, or Odysseus.[44]

Ambassadors faced with arguing the case for an alliance with a particular city needed all the information they could dig up on any possible mythical ties between the cities concerned. The classics were unlikely to suffice except in the most obvious cases. This was a situation where genealogical information was especially important, including variants, complete with documentation. The only available link might turn on a rare alternative, which it might be advisable to cite for the benefit of sceptics. Perhaps the most eloquent single illustration of such claims and links is a recently published inscription, from the late third century BC, from the temple of Leto at Xanthos in Lycia, reporting an embassy from the city of Kytinion in Doris requesting assistance in rebuilding its walls after the combined destruction of earthquake and invasion. The appeal of the Kytinians is recorded in such detail that it is worth quoting at length:[45]

42. E. Lommatsch, *CLE* ii. 3. 1988; R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana 1962), 298–9. There is an extensive bibliography on this charming but often puzzling poem.

43. C. P. Jones, *Kinship Diplomacy in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999); see too O. Curty, *Les parentés légendaires entre cités grecques* (Geneva 1995).

44. K. Harl, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics in the Roman East A.D. 180–275* (Berkeley 1987), 78–80.

45. For text and useful commentary, J. Bousquet, "La stèle des Kyténiens au Létôon de Xanthos," *RÉG* 101 (1988), 12–53; *SEG* xxxviii. 1476. The quotation is from lines 14–42, and I have gratefully adapted the translation in A. Erskine, *Troy Between Greece and Rome* (Oxford 2001), 164–5.

> [The Kytinians] asked us [the Xanthians] to remember the kinship which we have with them through gods and heroes and not to be indifferent to the destruction of the walls of their native city. For Leto, the founder of our city, gave birth to Artemis and Apollo here among us. Asclepius, son of Apollo and of Coronis, who was daughter of Phlegyas, descendant of Dorus, was born in Doris. In addition to the kinship which they have with us through these gods they recounted their intricate descent from the heroes, tracing their ancestry to Aiolus and Dorus. They further pointed out that Aletes, one of the Heraclids, took care of the colonists who were sent from our city by the command of Chrysaor, son of Glaucus, son of Hippolochus. For Aletes, setting out from Doris, helped them when they were under attack, and when he had freed them from the danger which surrounded them, he married the daughter of Aor, son of Chysaor. After demonstrating with additional examples the goodwill based on kinship which has joined them to us from ancient times, they asked us not to remain indifferent to the obliteration of the greatest city in the Metropolis but give as much help as we can to the building of the walls, and make clear to the Greeks the goodwill which we have toward the league of the Dorians and the city of the Kytinians, giving assistance worthy of our ancestors and ourselves. In agreeing to this we will be doing a favor not only to them but also to the Aetolians and all the rest of the Dorians, and especially to King Ptolemy, who is a kinsman of the Dorians by way of the Argead kings descended from Heracles.

It is not just the sheer amount of mythological detail that makes this appeal so remarkable but the distance of Xanthos from Kytinion. There must have been scores, if not hundreds of "Dorian" cities much closer, and it is natural to assume that the Kytinians tried them first, or as well. Some of the arguments listed here could have been used for any city with Dorian connections, but the appeal to Xanthos appropriately takes as its point of departure the birth of Apollo and Artemis there instead of the standard literary version, which (of course) places it on Delos. This is a very obscure tradition, only otherwise known from a single dedication at Araxa, a small town about 50 kilometers inland from Xanthos, which actually cites a literary source, the *Lyciaca* of the local historian Polycharmus.[46] Yet it was a tradition known to and exploited by the Kytinian ambassadors. The military assistance rendered to Xanthian colonists by Aletes, who subsequently married Aor, son of Chrysaor, is also otherwise entirely unknown. Evidently the Kytinians did their homework.

One other curious detail is the claim that Asclepius was born in Doris. This is not only otherwise unattested but rather surprising in the context. So far as we know there was no prominent cult of Asclepius in Xanthos. Bousquet plau-

46. *Tit. As. Min*. ii. 1. 174; *FGrH* 770 F 5; for its location, L. Robert, *À travers l'Asie mineure* (Paris 1980), 305–6.

sibly suggests that this is a link originally worked out for an appeal to another city that did have a prominent Asclepieum and carelessly kept in the Xanthos version.[47]

Such appeals to remote mythological kinship ties continued to be made well down into the Roman period, as nicely illustrated by three passages of Tacitus.[48] A particularly instructive parallel to the Xanthos decree is provided by Tacitus's report of an appeal from Ephesus in 22 BC about its right of asylum:

> Apollo and Diana were not, as commonly supposed, born on Delos. In Ephesus there is a river Cenchrius, with a grove called Ortygia, where Latona, heavy with pregnancy and supporting herself by an olive-tree that remains to this day, gave birth to the heavenly twins.

The petition continued with stories about Apollo and the Cyclopes, Dionysus and the Amazons, and Heracles, but the most intriguing detail is yet another claimant to the place of Leto's labor. Ephesus's claim is borne out by Strabo's account of Ortygia, "traversed by the river Cenchrius, where Leto is said to have bathed herself after her travail. For this, according to the myth, was the site of the birth, of the nurse Ortygia and the shrine where the birth took place, and the olive tree."[49] The ultimate basis for this claim must be the statement in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* that Apollo was born on Delos and Artemis at Ortygia.[50] At some point Ortygia was identified as an archaic name for Delos, though this is clearly not what the hymn implies. There were a number of other places called Ortygia, one of them a grove just outside Ephesus.

It is clear from Tacitus that these petitions were decided on the basis of other, more practical grounds as well (alliances in the historical period, benefits conferred on Rome, etc.), but the amount of space he allots to purely mythological material makes plain that it played a part, in some cases perhaps a decisive part. For example, in 25 an embassy from Segesta urged the restoration of the temple of Aphrodite on Mount Eryx, telling "the familiar story of its foundation, which was welcome [*laeta*] to Tiberius, who as a kinsman [*ut consanguineus*] willingly undertook the task."[51] Obviously the reference is to the descent of the Julii from Venus, and *laeta* and *consanguineus* presumably reflect Tiberius's response to the ambassadors' petition. Notoriously Suetonius mocked Tiberius's weakness for mythology (see pp. 304–7), but there seems no hint of irony in Tacitus here. The Segestans must have treated the Julian connection in detail in their petition; it was far and away their best argument. Tiberius surely did no more than allude to it in his response. Tacitus himself must often have heard similar mythologically based petitions himself when serving as proconsul of Asia and,

47. Bousquet 1988, 32–34.
48. *Tac. Ann.* iii. 60–64; iv. 43; iv. 55–6.
49. Strabo 14. 1. 20.
50. *Hymn. Apoll.* 16, τὴν μὲν ἐν Ὀρτυγίῃ, τὸν δὲ κραναῇ ἐνὶ Δήλῳ.
51. *Ann.* iv. 43.

whether or not he took such factors seriously, was well aware that a great many people did.

In late antiquity as in the days of the Ptolemies, one of the most popular subjects for poets was city foundation legends.[52] There were specialists in the genre who traveled from city to city, singing the praises of local heroes.[53] The richest surviving poetic source of these local mythical traditions is Nonnus's *Dionysiaca*, the work of a Christian.[54] But the richest and most comprehensive source we can identify must have been the 60-book geographical dictionary of Stephanus of Byzantium in the age of Justinian, including as it did a summary account of the mythical past of every city of note. The surviving epitome of this massive work carries several thousand references to more than 270 different sources. No one will believe a compilation of this nature and date to be a work of authentic research. Stephanus's bookshelves were obviously stuffed with mythographers and the sort of geographers discussed in § 5 below.

There must have been many earlier mythological gazetteers. One such, in all probability, was used by Vibius Sequester in compiling his little dictionary of rivers, fountains, lakes, swamps, and so on mentioned in literature. Some of the names he excerpted from book 14 of Silius's *Punica* are equipped with brief mythographic notes. For example, it was from the banks of the river Acis (Silius 14. 221) that runs from Mount Aetna to the sea "that Polyphemus is said to have thrown rocks at Ulysses" (§ 18). This information survives nowhere else, though a note in Servius Danielis says that the rocks the Cyclops threw at Ulysses were found between Catina and Tauromenium.[55] § 17 deals with the river Alabon in Megara (Silius 14. 227), whose source Daedalus widened, restoring land devastated by the river to agricultural use. Note particularly § 83 on Himera (Silius 14. 232–4): *hoc flumen in duas partes findi ait Stesichorus, unam in Tyrrhenum mare, aliam in Libycum decurrere*. Despite the absence of any evidence earlier than the fourth-century sophist Himerius, it is perfectly plausible in itself that Stesichorus should have written a poem on his native city.[56] It is unlikely that a commentary on Silius ever existed. Vibius surely just looked up his Silian names

52. Menander Rhetor likewise particularly recommends mythical allusions in speeches in praise of cities: "of the Athenians, it is said that Athena and Poseidon competed for their land; of the Rhodians, that Zeus rained gold on them; of the Corinthians and the Isthmus, that Helios and Poseidon competed; and of the Delphians, that Apollo, Poseidon, Themis, and Night did the same" (§ 362, p. 62 Russell-Wilson).

53. See my article "Wandering Poets: a literary movement in Byzantine Egypt," *Historia* 14 (1965), 470–509; continued backward in time in Cameron, 1995, 47–53; G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire* (Paris 1984), Ch. 1.

54. Pierre Chuvin, *Mythologie et géographie dionysiaques: recherches sur l'oeuvre de Nonnos de Panopolis* (Clermont-Ferrand 1991), passim, building on the work of Louis Robert. That Nonnus was a Christian when he wrote the *Dionysiaca* has been finally proved by F. Vian, *RÉG* 110 (1997), 143–60.

55. Serv. and DS on *Aen*. i. 202; cf. Plin. *NH* iii. 89.

56. M. Davies, *PMGF* i (1991), 229, F 270.

in an earlier version of Stephanus's alphabetical gazetteer, a work that, like Stephanus, gave source references. For Himera, Stephanus cited the *Europa* of Hecataeus; for Alabon the *Cities of the Same Name* by Cicero's friend Demetrius of Magnesia.[57] Vibius quotes a number of Greek words in his text, and this source of his was surely Greek.

Not the least interesting feature about the long list of mythical stories that (according to Lucian) formed the repertoire of an experienced pantomime dancer is that they are grouped and arranged on geographical lines: Athens, Megara, Thebes, Corinth, Argos, Sparta, Elis, Arcadia, Crete, Aetolia, Thrace, Thessaly, Lemnos, Samos, Asia Minor, Italy.[58] Since it is unlikely that anyone could come up with so comprehensive and systematic a list off the top of his head, we are bound to assume that it reflects the table of contents of some lost mythographic text or texts. The *Library* of Ps-Apollodorus follows a mainly chronological sequence, though long sections on the main families tend to focus on particular areas as well (Argos, Thebes, Crete, Athens). But Lucian's geographical arrangement is much more thoroughgoing. Obviously such an arrangement would facilitate consultation by ambassadors and poets alike.

4: POPULAR MYTHOLOGY

Some knowledge of myth was nonetheless widespread at a much lower social level. Greek mythology established itself early in Rome, as shown by the evidence of Republican drama. The themes of Ennius's tragedies are all from Greek mythology; in fact they are adaptations of Greek tragedies, and Plautus's comedies are full of mythological allusions. Eduard Fraenkel plausibly argued that many of these allusions were actually added by Plautus to his Greek originals.[59]

Before a characteristically acute and learned paper by Peter Wiseman, most of us probably thought that Julius Caesar's claim to descent from Venus through Aeneas and Iulus was an eccentric fantasy, elaborated by Vergil in what was, after all, a poem. Wiseman showed that there were in fact a great many "Trojan" families among the Republican nobility.[60] The Geganii and Sergii claimed descent from Aeneas's followers Gyas and Sergestus, and the Nautii from Nautes, who received the Palladium from Diomedes. These traditions (mainly known to us from the Vergil scholia) were collected in two books entitled *De familiis Troianis*, by Varro and Augustus's freedman Hyginus.[61] Some of these traditions may have been

57. For the few fragments of this work, J. Meier, *Hermes* 109 (1981), 449 n. 5.

58. §§ 37–63; for a useful analysis of the list, Margaret E. Molloy, *Libanius and the Dancers* (Hildesheim 1996), 282–7.

59. E. Fraenkel, *Elementi plautini in Plauto* (Rome 1960), 55–94; disputed by N. Horsfall, *Roman Myth and Mythography* (London 1987), 5 n. 25, who was rebutted by H. D. Jocelyn, *LCM* 17 (1992), 105.

60. Wiseman, "Legendary genealogies in late-republican Rome," *Greece and Rome* 21 (1974), 153–64 = *Roman Studies: Literary and Historical* (Liverpool 1987), 207–20 (with addenda on p. 381).

61. See Wiseman 1974, 153–4 = 1987, 207–8.

no earlier than the first century, but since the patrician Nautii and Geganii disappear in the third and fourth centuries, respectively, others are surely much earlier.[62] Here is Wiseman's imaginative reconstruction of the audiences at which such legendary genealogies were aimed:[63]

> the dinner guests at a great house, listening to the anagnostes read from a not too rigorous work of history; the loungers in the exedra of the baths, as the poet recited his panegyrical epic; the Forum crowd, enjoying the splendor of a society funeral and listening to the orator declaim on the greatness of the deceased and of his family.

There are two areas where we happen to be surprisingly well informed. First pantomimes, by far the most popular stage-stars of the early imperial Greco-Roman world. Pantomimes were dancers who performed to the accompaniment of flutes and a chorus. The pantomime himself did not sing but mimed a story from myth.[64] Fifty years ago E. Wüst compiled a list of some two hundred "titles," further expanded by M. Kokolakis. Margaret Molloy has recently produced a more balanced list of what she more plausibly styles "roles," which still runs to more than a hundred.[65] Every one is taken from Greek mythology.[66] We have already studied Lucillius's epigram on the bad pantomime who danced every part "according to the story" (καθ' ἱστορίην) except one. When doing Canace (who killed herself) he left the stage alive![67]

Interestingly enough, Lucian saw knowledge of all these roles in terms of literary culture rather than professional training. In his curious treatise *On the Dance* (§§ 35–7) he claims that the dancer must reach "the very summit of all culture (πάσης παιδεύσεως ἐς τὸ ἀκρότατον), and enjoy the favor above all of Mnemosyne and her daughter Polymnia." He devotes several pages to a comprehensive list of all the myths the dancer should know (§§ 37–63). Of course there is more than a touch of hyperbole here, but it is clear that pantomimes really did need to know at any rate the highlights of all the myths they might be called on to mime. Obviously they are more likely to have got this information from comprehensive mythographic handbooks than from allusions in the poets. After all, all they needed to know was the highlights of each story. Ps-Dositheus mentions three

62. In favor of more recent origin, Horsfall in Bremmer and Horsfall 1987, 22–3; Erskine, 2001, 21–2.

63. Wiseman 1974, 159 = 1987, 213, with documentation.

64. The best brief account is by C. P. Jones, *Culture and Society in Lucian* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), ch. 7; see too Molloy 1996.

65. E. Wüst, *RE* 18. 2. (1949), 847–9; M. Kokolakis, "Pantomimus and the Treatise Περὶ ὀρχήσεως," *Platon* 11 (1959), 3–56 at 51–5; Molloy 1996, 277–87.

66. Even if we count Nero's alleged wish to dance "Vergil's Turnus" (Suet. *Ner*. 54. 1), that is hardly an exception.

67. *Anth. Pal*. xi. 254; O. Weinreich, *Epigramm und Pantomimus* (Sitz. Heidelberg 1948), 87–90; the last detail was παρ' ἱστορίην, "against the story."

categories of people as "bearing witness" to the value of Hyginus's *Fables*: painters, teachers—and pantomime dancers.[68]

It is not surprising that educated aficionados of the dance took pleasure in watching the stories they knew so well reenacted on the stage, but pantomimes were the rock stars rather than ballet stars of their age, popular idols with devoted fan clubs who often came to blows with the fans of rival pantomimes.[69] Evidently the fans too must have been familiar with at any rate the favorite roles of their heroes.

To move to another area of popular entertainment, gladiators were frequently named after warriors from myth. For example, Achilles, Ajax, Amphiaraüs, Eteocles, Hippomedon, Idomeneus, Meleager, Meriones, Orestes, Parthenopaeus, Patroclus, Perseus, Polydeuces, Pylades, Troilus, and Tydeus are all epigraphically attested.[70] It is natural to assume that some at least of these names had a special reference; for example, that Achilles was a particularly fast runner (a fourth-century North African mosaic depicts a hunting dog appropriately named Atalanta);[71] that Meleager specialized in fighting wild boars; and that Ajax was a giant of a man.

On the other hand, gladiators called Narcissus, Hyacinthus, or Hylas, though no doubt proficient fighters, must have been young men conspicuous for their boyish good looks (everyone knows the dedications praising one evidently dashing young gladiator as *puellarum suspirium*, "the girls' heartthrob").[72] These names were no doubt chosen by those who ran the gladiatorial schools rather than the gladiators themselves, but their significance must have been obvious to spectators. Thus when Achilles was announced, people would expect some fancy running; when Ajax, that (like the modern wrestler André the Giant) he would take on several opponents at once. One monument records the manumission of two female gladiators, appropriately named Achillia and Amazonia.[73]

Such names also appear in the imagery of monuments to heroes of the hippodrome. One nice illustration is the opening of one of the many epigrams from a series of monuments to the greatest of all Byzantine charioteers, Porphyrius Calliopas, presumably from near the beginning of his long career:[74]

68. Here are the two versions, correcting only the most obvious errors: ζῳγραφία τοιγαροῦν τούτου τοῦ κόπου πολλοῖς τόποις δίδωσι μαρτυρίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ γραμματικοὶ τέχνης ταύτης οὐ μόνον ἐπαινοῦσιν τὴν εὐφυΐαν ἀλλὰ καὶ χρῶνται. μῦθοι μέν<τοι> τῶν ὀρχηστῶν ἔνθεν λαμβάνουσιν ἔπαινον καὶ μαρτυροποιοῦνται ἐν τῇ ὀρχήσει ἀληθινὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα / *picturae igitur huius laboris multis locis dant testimonium. nam et grammatici artis eius non solum laudant ingenium sed et utuntur. fabulae quoque pantomimorum inde accipiunt laudem et testantur in saltatione vera esse quae scripta sunt*.

69. Briefly, my *Circus Factions* (1976), ch. VIII, esp. 223–5.

70. L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec* (Paris 1940), 299.

71. Aïcha Ben Abed-Ben Khader et al. (eds.), *Image de Pierre: La Tunisie en mosaïque* (Ars Latina 2002), no. 159.

72. Robert 1940, 301; *ILS* 5142.

73. Robert 1940, 188–9, with pl. XII; for a full discussion of this monument, see now K. Coleman, *HSCP* 100 (2000), 487–500.

74. *Anth. Plan*. 337. 1–2, modeled on 357 by Leontius Scholasticus; for Porphyrius and his many inscribed monuments, see my *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (Oxford 1973).

> ᾿Αγχίσην Κυθέρεια καὶ ᾿Ενδυμίωνα Σελήνη
> φίλατο· καὶ Νίκη νῦν τάχα Πορφύριον.
>
> Cytherea fell in love with Anchises, and Selene with Endymion;
> Now it seems that Victory has fallen in love with Porphyrius.

Another illustration is what Kathleen Coleman has characterized the "fatal charades" of the Roman amphitheatre, reenactments of mythical stories by condemned criminals.[75] Tertullian describes seeing Attis castrated, Hercules burnt alive, and Pluto hauling corpses out of the arena. According to Tertullian again, the gods of the pagans "dance the stories of myth" (*saltant . . . historias*) in human blood at the gladiatorial shows.[76] Clement of Rome describes Christian women being martyred in the guise of the Danaïds and Dirce (who was tied to the horns of a bull).[77] Martial describes an Orpheus killed in the amphitheatre by the beasts he was supposed to be charming; a Prometheus hanging from a real cross (*non falsa pendens in cruce*) while a Caledonian boar tears at his naked flesh; a Daedalus without his wings being torn to pieces by a bear;[78] and Pasiphaë mating with a bull. "Whatever is told of in legend, the arena grants you, Caesar."[79]

It has sometimes been argued that these are just literary jokes, but Martial's *Liber Spectaculorum* was a collection of epigrams commemorating the games with which Titus dedicated the Flavian Amphitheatre in 80 AD.[80] The grim truth is that that these mythological tableaux really were acted out in the amphitheatre. Condemned men and women were dressed up to look like Orpheus (with a lyre), Daedalus (with wings), or Pasiphaë (with her bull). These elaborate charades would have misfired unless most of the audience was able to identify the pretend Orpheus and appreciate the horrific joke of his failure to charm real wild beasts.

If a pretend Pasiphaë mating with a real bull strains belief, we have Apuleius's account of the projected mating of Lucius the ass with a condemned murderess in the theatre of Corinth before she is thrown to the beasts. In the event Lucius seizes the opportunity of escaping first, but while he is waiting he watches an elaborately staged enactment of the judgment of Paris on the slopes of a Disneyesque wooden Mount Ida planted with real bushes, with a real stream flowing down from its peak and real grazing goats for Paris to herd.[81] A beautiful boy dressed as

75. K. M. Coleman, "Fatal Charades: Roman executions staged as mythological enactments," *JRS* 80 (1990), 44–73; see too Thomas Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators* (London 1992), 84–89.

76. *Ad nat*. i. 10. 46–7; *Apol*. 15. 4.

77. Coleman 1990, 65–6.

78. Presumably (as Coleman 1990 argues, p. 63) the Daedalus figure was lowered into the arena by a crane as though flying and then left, without his wings, among the bears.

79. *Lib. Spect*. 29; 9; 10; 6.

80. J. P. Sullivan, *Martial: The Unexpected Classic* (Cambridge 1991), 6–12.

81. On this episode, see Ellen Finkelpearl, "The Judgment of Lucius: Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 10. 29–34," *Classical Antiquity* 10 (1991), 221–36, accepting the basic verisimilitude of the Ida tableau but unfortunately confusing mime and pantomime throughout.

an ephebe with two golden wings in his hair carrying a caduceus offers him a golden apple and nods his head as though passing on Jupiter's instructions. Then three female pantomimes appear outfitted as Juno, Minerva, and Venus, respectively, each miming the gift she will give Paris if he awards her the prize. Minerva is accompanied by two boys bearing arms, Terror and Fear. To the accompaniment of martial music she indicates to Paris with menacing glares and fierce gestures that if he gives her the golden apple he will become a great warrior. While Juno's gestures are lady-like (*nutibus honestis*), Venus, accompanied by a mob of little cupids and a chorus of young girls, gives a more languid performance, indicating that she will give Paris whichever girl he wishes, whereupon he presents her with the apple, and Juno and Minerva angrily leave the stage. What is so striking about Apuleius's vivid account of this tableau is the attention paid to its staging, to the use of props, gestures, dress, and music to tell the story. Anyone who knew the basic story could easily have followed the performance.

The importance of mythological knowledge at a lower social level is famously illustrated by Trimalchio's hilariously muddled identifications of the mythological scenes on his silver plate and in the Homeric passages declaimed by a troupe of actors. Notoriously, he describes Cassandra killing her children, Daedalus shutting Niobe in the wooden horse, Helen and her brothers Diomede and Ganymede, and Agamemnon marrying off Iphigeneia to Achilles.[82] It all seems hopelessly garbled, though (as Martin Smith pointed out) actually Trimalchio just gets a few key details wrong (it was Medea who killed her children, Pasiphaë whom Daedalus shut in a wooden cow, and Castor and Pollux who were Helen's two brothers; and Agamemnon only pretended to be planning to marry Iphigeneia to Achilles). Petronius's purpose was to depict a pretentious nouveau riche. But what is most interesting in the present context is the pretensions he illustrates: the cultural importance of Greek mythology.

A less familiar illustration is Seneca's mockery of the vulgar millionare Calvisius Sabinus, who "had a freedman's brain as well as a freedman's fortune":[83]

> His memory was so bad that at one moment or another the names of Ulysses, or Achilles, or Priam, characters he knew as well as we know our *paedagogi*, would slip his memory. No doddering butler [*nomenclator*] ever made so many errors not so much announcing as inventing people's names as he did with the Greek and Trojan heroes. But this didn't stop him wanting to appear a man of culture [*eruditus*].

Not only does Seneca apparently consider confusing mythological names as the worst sort of social gaucherie. He singles out mythological names precisely because they are the core components of a literary culture dinned into any well-brought-up boy from childhood.

82. Petron. *Sat*. 52 and 59; see M. S. Smith's commentary (Oxford 1975), 165.
83. Sen. *Ep*. 27. 5 (Campbell's Penguin translation, much adapted).

We should also bear in mind that, while we smile at Trimalchio's wine-waiter dressed up as Dionysus (41. 6–8), Varro reveals to us no less a person than the great Hortensius holding a picnic in his own game-preserve (*therotrophium*) at which an Orpheus, decked out in appropriate robes and harp, sang to the guests, whereupon "a multitude of stags, boars, and other animals poured around us." Elsewhere in his book Varro stresses the importance of feeding dogs properly, "so that they will not enact the story of Actaeon, and sink their teeth in their master."[84]

5: MYTHOLOGY AND TOURISM

Wherever Greeks and Romans traveled in the Mediterranean world, they were likely to pass places famed in myth. Greece was a land rich in history, but it was the figures of myth who attracted most of the curious traveler's attention. Pausanias is naturally always ready with such information, often prompted by a statue, painting, or set of reliefs illustrating some mythological scene but no less often simply by arriving at a place with a mythological connection, however tenuous. For example: "the Kerameikos is named after the hero Keramos, the reputed son of Dionysus and Ariadne" (i. 3. 1). Here is Pausanias on the Akropolis:[85]

> From this point the sea is visible, and it was here, they say, that Aegeus cast himself down and perished. For the ship that bore the children to Crete used to put to sea with black sails, but when Theseus courageously sailed off to fight the bull called the Minotaur, he told his father he would use white sails if he came back victorious.

As Lionel Casson has remarked, "this mythological digression, appended to the description of the imposing entry to Athens' finest sight yet running longer than the description itself, brings into sharp relief the fundamental difference between the modern and Pausanias' conception of a guidebook." Here is an excerpt from Casson's list of mythological sites and sights, mainly based on Pausanias:[86]

> At Salamis, the visitor was shown the stone where old Telamon sat and watched his sons, Ajax and Teucer, sail off to Troy; near Sparta, the point in the road where Penelope made up her mind to marry Odysseus; at Troezen, the spot where Phaedra used to spy on Hippolytus while he exercised in the nude . . . the plane-tree in Phrygia in Asia Minor where Apollo strung up Marsyas for flaying; the olive-tree at Troezen where Hippolytus' chariot crashed, and the one at Mycenae under which Argos sat as he guarded Io; the cave in Crete where Zeus was born, and the one on Pelion where Chiron lived.

84. Varro, *De agric*. iii. 13. 2–3; ii. 9. 8–9.

85. Paus. i. 22. 5; L. Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World*[2] (Baltimore 1994), 295.

86. Casson 1994, 233. All of the first and much of the second volume of F. Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum* i–ii (Giessen 1909–12) is devoted to such sites and relics; see too L. Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms* i (Leipzig 1922), 450–3.

For less energetic tourists there were museums, such as the temple of Apollo in Sicyon described by Ampelius, which (he claimed) contained the following remarkable collection:[87]

> The shield and sword of Agamemnon; the cloak and breastplate of Odysseus, the bow and arrows of Teucer; a chest of unknown contents placed there by Adrastus; the bronze cauldron in which Pelias was boiled; the letter of Palamedes; the skin of Marsyas; the oars and rudder of the Argonauts; the pebble that Minerva cast for the acquittal of Orestes . . . the loom of Penelope.

Nor were educated Christians any less curious about such mementoes. Here is Sidonius, describing a voyage from Gaul to Rome in 467: "at Ticinum I went aboard a packet-boat (so they call the vessel) and travelled quickly down-stream to the Eridanus, where I had my laugh over Phaethon's sisters, of whom we have often sung amidst our revels, and over those mythical tears of amber ore."[88] And here is Procopius, visiting Beneventum in 536 in the retinue of Belisarius:[89]

> This city was built of old by Diomedes, the son of Tydeus, when after the capture of Troy he was repulsed from Argos. And he left to the city as a token the tusks of the Calydonian boar, which his uncle Meleager had received as a prize for the hunt, and they are there even up to my time, a noteworthy sight and well worth seeing, measuring not less than three spans round and having the form of a crescent. There, too, they say that Diomedes met Aeneas, the son of Anchises, when he was coming from Ilium.

The Greek visitor was evidently impressed to find a western city with such strong Greek roots. In his *Periplus of the Black Sea* Arrian records having pointed out to him the peak in the Caucasus to which Prometheus was chained, as well as being shown two anchors from the Argo, one iron, the other stone. The iron one he judged too recent, but the stone one looked quite old enough.[90] Pausanias remarks that he had seen Niobe when climbing Mount Sipylos in Asia Minor: close up just a rock, but from further off "you seem to see a woman in tears with bowed head" (i. 21. 3). Pliny records that the skeleton of the monster to which Andromeda was exposed was brought to Rome from Jaffa by M. Scaurus, aedile in 58 BC.[91] It was widely accepted that this was the site of Andromeda's harrowing experience. Strabo, Pliny, Josephus, and Jerome all mention the impressions left by her chains in the cliffs where she awaited her doom, and Pausanias describes a blood-red spring where Perseus washed himself after killing the monster.[92] It is unimpor-

87. Ampel. *Lib. Memor*. 8. 5 (the text is very uncertain toward the end).
88. *Ep*. i. 5. 3, trans. W. B. Anderson (Loeb).
89. *Bell. Got*. i. 15. 8–9.
90. *Periplus Eux. Ponti* 19. 5 (ii. 114. 10 Roos) and 11. 2 (ii. 110. 14 Roos).
91. Plin. *NH* ix. 11; Ascon. pp. 18–20 Clark.
92. Strabo xvi. 2. 28, p. 759; Plin. *NH* v. 69; Jos. *BJ* iii. 421; Jer. *In Jonam* 1. 3, p. 62 Antin; Paus. iv. 35. 9.

tant whether any of them actually believed the story. It is striking enough that five people from such very different backgrounds (Greek- and Latin-speakers, pagans, Jews, and Christians) all paid enough attention to remember and record the sight.

Geographical texts routinely allude to mythical traditions about the places they mention, even (perhaps especially) otherwise obscure places. Here is Strabo on a small city in Cappadocia called Comana: "it is thought that Orestes, with his sister Iphigeneia, brought these sacred rites here from the tauric Scythia, the rites in honour of Artemis Tauropolus, and that here also they deposited the hair [κόμην] of mourning, whence the city's name."[93] Even the much less learned *De chorographia* of Pomponius Mela offers the following on the stony Crau plain between the Rhône and Massilia in Gaul:[94]

> Here, they say, Hercules was fighting Alebion and Dercynos, the sons of Neptune, and when his arrows had run out, he was helped by a rain of rocks at the hands of Jupiter, whom he had invoked. You would believe that it had rained rocks, so numerously and so widely do they lie scattered all over.

Ps-Apollodorus briefly alludes to the story, without mentioning the rocks, as much earlier did Aeschylus, without naming the sons of Neptune.[95] Improbably enough, Mela preserves the fullest known version of this obscure aetiological myth.

The most distinctive feature of Pausanias's countless mythological digressions is the frequency with which he cites sources–early and often recondite sources at that. Where did he get all this mythological lore? A recent study by Léon Lacroix plausibly traces much of it to local traditions, in particular to etymologies of place names and fanciful explanations of geological oddities and features of the landscape.[96] This may well be how many of the stories he reports originated, and he often refers to oral information, both from personal acquaintances and local guides.[97] A recent article by Christopher Jones has shown that these guides were not, as Preller put it, "very low people, induced by a small wage to undertake a rather demeaning trade, and only superficially acquainted with literature," but for the most part respectable local antiquarians.[98] Nonetheless much of the information Pausanias quotes not only derives from books but from books he took care to cite by name.

93. 12. 2. 3; see K. Clarke, *Between Geography and History: Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World* (Oxford 1999), 299–300, 319–24.

94. *De chor*. ii. 78 = F. E. Romer, *Pomponius Mela's Description of the World* (Ann Arbor 1998), 91.

95. Ps-Apoll. ii. 5. 10 (with the useful notes in Carrière and Massonie 1991, 193); Aesch. F 199 N², quoted by Strabo ii. 4. 10; Gantz 1993, 408.

96. L. Lacroix, "Traditions locales et légendes étiologiques dans la *Périegèse* de Pausanias," *Journal des savants* 1994, 75–99.

97. C. Habicht, *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece* (Berkeley 1985), 144–5.

98. Jones, "Pausanias and his Guides," in S. E. Alcock, J. F. Cherry, and J. Elsner, *Pausanias: Travel and Memory in Roman Greece* (Oxford 2001), 33–9.

Lacroix saw a simple distinction between local and learned sources. What was not picked up from guides reflects Pausanias's wide general culture. Pausanias was certainly a cultivated man, undoubtedly familiar with a great deal of classical and archaic literature at first hand, but his direct sources must often have been more recent mythographers or mythographically oriented local historians and geographers. Let us look at the two examples Lacroix himself adduces: the citation of the *Foundation of Chios* by Ion of Chios for the mythological origin of the name of Chios (from χιών, a snowstorm); and the Atthidographer Cleidemus for damage done to the gilt image of Athena on a bronze palm-tree dedicated by Athens at Delphi (a flock of crows supposedly swooped down on the image and pecked away the gold when the Athenians were preparing their fateful Sicilian expedition).[99] Lacroix seems to have assumed that Pausanias drew his erudition directly from copies of Ion and Cleidemus. But no one who looks at the sources of the few surviving fragments of either (mainly lexicographers and Athenaeus) will find it easy to believe that original copies were still circulating for casual consultation in the mid–second century.[100] It is far more likely that Pausanias found both texts already cited in more recent mythographers.

A few more illustrations. First, on Messenia: "being anxious to discover what children were born to Polycaon by Messene, I read the *Eoeae* and the epic *Naupactia*, and the genealogies of Asius and Cinaethon as well." Since he goes on to regret that they did not satisfy his curiosity, Pausanias must actually have consulted these texts (which he also cites on other matters). Indeed Pausanias preserves most of what we know about Asius and Cinaethon. When discussing the sons of Medea, he cites Hellanicus, the *Naupactia*, Cinaethon, and Eumelus.[101] But even granted that (unlike most of his peers) he had firsthand knowledge of all these texts, it is unlikely that he simply *remembered* their evidence on such precise points. There can (I think) be little doubt that his starting point was citations in more recent and accessible local mythographers—whom (here like his peers) he does *not* name. He may then have looked up such actual texts as he could lay his hands on,[102] but it is not a question of *either* mythographers *or* original texts. A few lesser *litterati* may have depended entirely on mythographers rather than texts, but the more scholarly (like modern scholars) will have used the one to lead them to the other.

Another example is the very beginning of his account of Athens (i. 2. 1):

> As you enter the city, there is a monument to the Amazon Antiope. Pindar says she was carried off by Pirithoüs and Theseus, but according to Hegias of Troezen, when Heracles was besieging Themiskyra on the Thermodon

99. Paus. vii. 4. 8; x. 15. 5; *FGrH* 323 F 10 and 392 F1.

100. Plutarch too quotes both Ion and Cleidemus, but Ziegler puts both in his column of texts only doubtfully read at first hand: *Plutarchos von Chaironeia* (Stuttgart 1949), 275.

101. Paus. iv. 2. 1 and ii. 3. 6–11; Bernabé, *PEG* i (1987), 115–6 (Cinaetho), 127–30 (Asius), 106–8 (Eumelus).

102. Two passages imply that he knew the *Arimaspea* of Aristeas of Proconnesus at first hand, but there can be little doubt that in reality, like us, he knew no more than what he had read in Herodotus (i. 24. 6; v. 7. 9; J.D.P. Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconnesus* [Oxford 1962], 32–3, 65).

> and was unable to reduce it, Antiope fell in love with his companion Theseus and so betrayed it. . . . But the Athenians claim that at the coming of the Amazons Antiope was shot by Molpadia and Molpadia was shot by Theseus.

The Pindar reference is to an unidentifiable lost poem (F 175), and this is the only reference to the otherwise unknown and undatable Hegias. "The Athenians" probably means one of the Atthidographers, perhaps Philochorus.[103] It is hard to believe that Pausanias had all this information at his fingertips. The likelihood is that he found it ready-assembled in a single well-documented mythographer whom (as usual) he does not name.

On the mythical history of Boeotia he cites verses from two purportedly archaic poets, Hegesinus and Chersias, both (he says) lost by his day and only known to him from the *History of Orchomenos* by Callippus. Huxley and West believe in these poets, but many others, notably Jacoby, think that Callippus invented both the verses and (in all probability) the two poets as well.[104] If so, yet another mythographer not above faking his references. Pausanias's scholarly instincts are underlined by his attempt to find copies, and the fact that he mentions his failure strongly suggests that he succeeded in finding copies of most of the other archaic works he cites.[105] But it was surely the mythographers (in this case Callippus) who pointed him in their direction in the first place.

6: LEARNING MYTHOLOGY

So where did people acquire their knowledge of myth? We tend to assume that cultivated folk simply absorbed it from reading the classics, and up to a point many of them did, of course. No one can read Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, and the tragedians without picking up a lot of mythology. And naturally enough the later Roman poets often drew on their predecessors. At a lower social level, lesser folk must have picked up at least the outlines of the more popular stories from the theatre, or from statues, paintings, or mosaics.

But very few of the classics give a straightforward, much less complete narrative of even the most famous stories. To take the two richest classical sources of myth outside Homer and Hesiod, tragedy notoriously presupposes the antecedents of its plots (which is why the hypotheseis regularly supply background information), and Pindar is hardly less allusive than the Hellenistic poets, singling out the details in a story that best suited the patron and location of his poem—and often presupposing alternative versions. According to Geoffrey Kirk, this was

103. On the surprisingly many and varied versions of the Antiope story, see Jacoby's notes on *FGrH* 606 F 1 (= Paus. i. 2.1) and Philochorus 328 F 110 in *FGrH Suppl.* (1954), 439–40; also now Gantz 1993, 282–5.

104. Paus. ix. 29. 1–2 and 38.9; G. L. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry* (London 1969), 120–1; West 1985, 4; Jacoby on *FGrH* 385 (p. 180) and 331, *Suppl.* i (1954), 608–9; Bernabé's notes in *PEG* i. 142–4; West, *Greek Epic Fragments* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003), 32.

105. One archaic mythographic text we now know from the papyri to have been widely available in at any rate the early empire is the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*.

because in the classical period "the myths were so well known that formal exposition was unnecessary."[106] Yet Aristotle claimed that even the best known myths were known to only a few.[107] Everyone knew their essence or outline, but there was no definitive narrative. In fact the essence of many a myth was simply one vivid, memorable, often shocking detail: Oedipus marrying his mother, Medea killing her own children; or a striking tableau: "Paris before the three goddesses, Theseus confronting the Minotaur in the heart of the labyrinth, Odysseus tied to the mast and listening to the deadly allurements of the Sirens' song."[108] The tragedians were often the first to single out specific episodes for detailed treatment (whence the mythographic importance of the tragic hypotheseis).

Parthenius's preface gives this very fact as justification for his own collection: the poets do not tell the stories completely or in their own right (αὐτοτελῶς).[109] Parthenius claims in his preface that his stories will enable his patron, Cornelius Gallus, "to put the most suitable of them into hexameters and elegiacs." Yet the truth is that Gallus was never likely to treat more than one or two as the subject for an entire poem. Every bit as important as mythical subject matter was myth as a source of imagery, comparisons, and similes in nonmythological poetry—and oratory too (§ 7). Mythological allusions were supposed to be just that, allusive. They were not expected to *tell* the story but to evoke some aspect relevant to the writer's own context by a colorful or paradoxical detail. Everyone knew that Achilles was fierce, Odysseus cunning, Penelope faithful, but hardly anyone knew what stories lay behind Apriate, Harpalyce, Polycrite, and other obscure names found in the pages of Parthenius, and a full account served many useful purposes—including ethnics and patronymics for oblique references.

One of the reasons people turned to books like Parthenius and Antoninus Liberalis and the various Diegeseis was to acquire material for both solving and creating puzzling allusions. The citations provided will have varied in kind and purpose from work to work. When explaining a learned and allusive poet, it is actual sources that help the reader most. Thus for the first story in Callimachus's *Aetia*, the *Diegeseis* cite the *Argolika* of Agias and Derkylos and Aristotle's *Parion Politeia*, books that probably gave a more or less factual account of the custom Callimachus explains in his own way. But when writing *for* a poet (as Parthenius was) it would be helpful to add a few model illustrations of clever allusions to or uses of the myth in question.

7: MYTHOGRAPHIC LISTS

Let us take a closer look at one well-represented category of mythographic text: lists of names. Lists of mythological characters, deeds, and events were clearly ubiquitous in the early empire. We have papyrus fragments from scores of lists of

106. Kirk, *The Nature of Greek Myths* (Penguin Books 1974), 14.
107. τὰ γνώριμα ὀλίγοις γνώριμά ἐστιν, *Poet*. 1451*b*26.
108. Jasper Griffin, *The Mirror of Myth: Classical Themes and Variations* (London 1986), 14–5.
109. See the detailed commentary on this phrase in Lightfoot 1999, 368–9.

one sort or another. The following selection is numbered as in van Rossum-Steenbeek's recent catalogue:[110] children of goddesses and mortal men (no. 58); Argonauts and Calydonian boar-hunters (61); Calydonian boar-hunters again (62); Muses and victors in the funeral games for Pelias (63 and 69. 7); Actaeon's dogs and various monsters (65); people killed by Heracles (71); mothers who killed their own children (72). The longer fragments offer a plurality of lists: number 60 offers Greek leaders against Troy, suitors of Penelope, Danaïds, and Argonauts (60); number 69 first sacrifices, builders of temples, epithets of goddesses, metamorphoses, sons of gods and mortal women, inventors, establishment of games, and murderers tried in the Areopagus (69). All these papyri evidently came from mythographic works of one sort or another. Several of the lists appear in much the same form in Ps-Apollodorus or the later chapters of Hyginus.

While mainly devoted to a narrative record of the great mythical sagas, Ps-Apollodorus's *Bibliotheca* also includes a great many lists. For example, the 50 sons and daughters of Danaus and Aegyptus (ii. 5); the 50 sons of Lycaon (iii. 8. 1); the 51 sons Heracles sired by the 50 daughters of Thespios (the eldest gave birth to twins), and his four sons by Deianeira, three by Megara, and one each by Omphale, Chalciope, Epicaste, Parthenope, Auge, Astyoche, Astydameia, and Autonoë (ii. 7. 8); the 31 suitors of Helen (iii. 11. 8) and 55 children of Priam (iii. 12); and the 136 suitors of Penelope: 57 from Dulichium, 23 from Same, 44 from Zacynthus, and 12 from Ithaca, all of them named (*Epit*. 7. 26–30).

The first 220 sections of Hyginus's *Fabulae* (which vary greatly in length) are mainly devoted to individual mythical figures, though many of even these are lists of names: for example, Argonauts (§ 14), kings of Athens (48), kings of Thebes (76), the 54 sons and daughters of Priam (90), heroes who went to Troy (97), duels at Troy (112), who was killed by whom at Troy (113), how many the Greek and Trojan leaders killed, respectively (114–5), the daughters of Danaus and the victims of each (170). The last 50-odd sections were almost entirely devoted to such lists: mortals who slept with the various male gods (226–33); mythical figures who killed their fathers, mothers, brothers, sons, children, wives, husbands, selves, kinsmen, in-laws (234–45); those who ate their sons for dinner, were eaten by dogs, killed by boars (246–8); those who were pious, impious, chaste, devoted friends, warlike, brave, handsome, beautiful, and so on. Unfortunately, most of this second batch have perished. We only know of their existence thanks to a very full table of contents that fared better than the text of the work itself.

There are numerous coincidences here with the papyrus lists, and not only in such obvious categories as lists of Argonauts and Calydonian boar-hunters. Two that list victors in the games for Pelias are virtually identical with Hyginus (273. 10–1). As for mothers who killed their own children, a surviving fragment of papyrus (no. 72) gives the same four examples as the first five lines of Hyginus 239, complete with patronymics throughout. Number 69. 132–52 seems to list mur-

110. All conveniently reprinted in van Rossum–Steenbeek 1998, nos. 58–74 with ch. 4; see too O. Regenbogen, *RE* 20 (1950), 1479–82.

derers tried in the Areopagus in Athens, an unusual item, but exactly paralleled by an (unfortunately lost) chapter in Hyginus entitled *Iudicia parricidarum qui in Areopago causam dixerunt* (272). A little earlier in the same papyrus (no. 69. 70–131) we have a list of those who instituted games, again paralleling a chapter in Hyginus (192).[111] Given the ubiquity of such lists, it is not likely that poets or rhetors who list (say) mortal women who slept with gods or mothers who killed their children are simply drawing on their recollections of classical literature.

Significantly enough, most give more detail (especially genealogical) than any given classical poet. This is particularly obvious in the case of the various lists of the Greeks who went to Troy and their ships, most of which (even Hyginus's) give more information than Homer himself.[112] We should not take it for granted that these names all come from early sources now lost. Many were almost certainly just invented, not indeed by Ps-Apollodorus himself but by one predecessor or another, going all the way back to Pherecydes and Acusilaus. Pherecydes, for example, names the six companions of Odysseus seized by Scylla, none of them named by Homer.[113] While it is possible that he found them in (say) the *Nostoi* of Stesichorus, this really only pushes the problem back a stage, and it is at least as likely that, here as elsewhere, he just made them up himself.[114] Only a handful of Ps-Apollodorus's list of Penelope's suitors appears in Homer, who says that there were 52, not 57 from Dulichium, 24, not 23 from Same, 20, not 44, from Zacynthus (*Od*. 16. 247–51). In chapter I we saw that the *Narrationes* supply a list of 40 otherwise unknown mythological characters turned to stone by Perseus, evidently drawn from some now lost Greek list.[115]

Further parallels are to be found in a series of anonymus mythographic excerpts in a Laurentian manuscript that I propose to call Anonymus Florentinus,[116] excerpts long known but now generally forgotten. In the form in which we have them the excerpts are Byzantine, but the many mythographical papyri published since anyone last paid Anonymus any attention provide a rich ancient context that helps to explain their nature and purpose. They mainly consist of lists of mythological names (some of them otherwise unknown) that would have attracted a certain amount of attention and learned commentary if they had just turned up on a papyrus.

Here is the chapter on "Those who love their friends" (φιλέταιροι) in Anonymus Florentinus:

> Theseus and Pirithoüs. Achilles and Patroclus. Idomeneus and Meriones. Achilles and Antilochus. Orestes and Pylades. Diomedes and Sthenelus. Phintes and Damon of Syracuse, Pythagoreans; when one of them was con-

111. For other lists of inventors of games, van Rossum–Steenbeek 1998, 136–7.

112. Van Rossum–Steenbeek 1998, 124–25.

113. Pher. F 144 = *EGM* i. 351 Fowler.

114. For other examples of likely inventions by Pherecydes, J. Forsdyke, *Greece before Homer* (London 1956), 143.

115. *Narr*. 5. 1; see p. 7.

116. Laur. gr. 56. 1; reedited in appendix 5.

> demned by Dionysius, the other undertook to die if the former did not turn up on the agreed day; having set in order some personal business, he arrived and freed his friend from his undertaking; the tyrant was amazed and freed him too and numbered himself along with them as a third friend.

Like other chapters in the compilation, this one begins by simply enumerating standard examples, and closes with a less well known case treated in more detail, though this time the final example is historical. There is an intriguing parallel with Hyginus's chapter on "Best friends" (*Fab*. 257): most of the same mythological pairs (with the addition of father's names throughout), then Harmodius and Aristogiton, and finally an expanded and fictionalized version of the Phintes and Damon story. Interestingly enough, it is Anonymus who has preserved the more authentic version of this well-known anecdote, with the correct names and philosophical allegiance (Pythagoreans).[117]

Another chapter appears, as set out in the manuscript, to list the impious. This is the title supplied by Westermann (ἀσεβεῖς). In fact the first item on the list is quite different from the rest. It tells the story of Lityerses the bastard son of Midas, whom Heracles killed for treating guests badly (he made them harvest with him and then beheaded them), citing two passages from the *Daphnis* of the Hellenistic dramatist Sositheus, totaling 24 lines.[118] After this come five cases of variously wicked people (three of them rapists) who shared the same fate, being struck by a thunderbolt:

> After Philanthropus the tyrant burned the temple at Olympia because his prayers were not fulfilled as he wished, he was not only struck by a thunderbolt when driving to Elis, but the three hundred men with him as well. Alphaeus, the son of the River Sangarius, taught Athena to play the flute and after trying to rape the goddess was struck by a thunderbolt from Zeus. Ardys the son of Hippocoön tried to rape Hera when she was traveling to Argos and was struck by a thunderbolt from Zeus. Phorbas the Thesprotian fell in love with Demeter and, when he tried to rape the goddess, was struck by a thunderbolt from Zeus. Valerius Vestinus was blinded by Lucius Umbrius because of the death of his son Rusticus, left for safekeeping [with Vestinus], who had killed him because of the money left with him.

117. For the various versions, A. R. Dyck, *A Commentary on Cicero, De Officiis* (Ann Arbor 1996), 549–50 (omitting Anon. and Hyginus); see too E. des Places and A. Ph. Segonds, *Porphyre: Vie de Pythagore* (Paris 1982), 64–5. The earliest surviving version comes in Diodorus (x. 4. 3–6), but the story goes back to Aristoxenus of Tarentum. Hyginus's names are Selinuntius and Moerus. *Selinuntius* is presumably a misunderstood ethnic, "from Selinus," not inappropriate for a Pythagorean who lived in Syracuse. But Moerus is a puzzle, not even a standard Greek name. Bizarrely enough, at *Fab*. 254. 4 we find a version of the story of the pious brothers of Catania (for the various versions, F.R.D. Goodyear on *Aetna* 603, p. 207) in which they are given the names Damon and Phintia!

118. Nauck, *TGF*^{2} 822–3 = *TGrF*^{2} 99. F 2–3 (three lines from the passage are also quoted by Athenaeus, 415B); T.B.L. Webster, *Hellenistic Poetry and Art* (London 1964), 129. For what little is known about this story, see Crusius in Roscher ii. 2 (1894–7), 2065–72.

Since one of the missing chapters in Hyginus (254) listed people struck by thunderbolts (*Qui fulmine icti sunt*), we must surely divide off the last five items as a separate chapter under an appropriate title (presumably κεραυνωθέντες).[119] So far as I know, not one of these stories is preserved in any other source, except for the last, invented by Ps-Plutarch as a Roman parallel to Euripides's story of Hecuba's blinding of Polymestor for killing her son Polydorus.[120] Since it is both the only nonmythological story as well as the only story not involving a thunderbolt, it is presumably some later compiler's addition to an originally all-mythological list.

Here is another chapter (entitled φιλάδελφοι) listing those who loved their siblings:

> Agamemnon and Menelaus. Orestes and Electra. Castor and Pollux. Zethus and Amphion. Kleobis and Biton. Antigone and Polyneices. Tennes and Hemithea. Procne and Philomela. The sisters of Meleager: Phoebe, Eurydice, Menesto, Erato, Antiope, Hippodameia. The sisters of Phaethon: Aegle, Lampetie, Phaethousa. Helle and Phrixos. Macaria the daughter of Heracles offering herself up as a sacrificial victim on behalf of her brothers Theriomachus, Aechmaeus, Diopeithes, and Creontiades. The daughters of Erechtheus Creousa and Chthonia because of their sister Procris, who could not face life after she had been sacrificed for the Athenians.

Like the chapter on "Those who love their friends" but unlike most of the rest of this section in the Laurentianus, the pairs are set out in three parallel columns. It is tempting to see this as part of the user-friendly layout of actual mythographic texts of the Roman age. At least two surviving papyrus lists support the hypothesis. First, a fragmentary second-century Oxyrhynchus alphabetical list of Argonauts.[121] Three items are included, Argonaut's name, father's name, and city of origin, with the three items aligned vertically so that there are three parallel columns, with sometimes quite large blank spaces left where the names are short. Here are the three best preserved lines:

Ileus[122]	Hodoidocus	from Locri
Iphitus	N[aubol]us	from Phocis
Castor and Pollux	[Zeu]s	from Sparta

Here we may compare a recently published second-century list from Oxyrhynchus of children of goddesses and mortal men. Though lacunose and much restored, this is is how the list seems to have been set out in the single surviving column, with a new line for each item:[123]

119. As suggested long ago by Wilamowitz, *Analecta Euripidea* (Berlin 1875), 181 n. 4.

120. *Par. Min*. 24 A and B; Nachstädt's Teubner (p. 27) accept's Anon.'s Rusticus for Rustius, but not his Vestinus for Gestius.

121. P. Oxy. 4097 (with Fowler's notes) = van Rossum–Steenbeek 1998, no. 61, pp. 128–9.

122. A well-attested byform of Oileus; see Fowler's note and Roscher iii (1897–1909), 749, also citing texts for his father's name. Note particularly Lyc. *Alex*. 1150, καὶ πᾶς Ὁδοιδόκειος Ἰλέως δόμος.

123. P. Oxy. 4308 (with pl. VI); van Rossum–Steenbeek 1998, no. 58, and pp. 121–2.

[Harmonia and Cadmos, Ino, S]emele, Agaue,
[Autonoë, Polydoro]s.
[Callirhoë an]d Chrysaor, Geryoneus.
[Eos and Tithonos, Me]mnon and Emathion.
[Eos and Cephalos, Phaetho]n.
[Medea and Jason, Me]deios.
[Psamathe and Aeacos, Pho]kos.
[Thetis and Peleus, Achi]lles.
[Aphrodite and Anchises, A]eneas
[Circe and Odysseus, Agrio]s and Latinos.
[Calypso and Odysseus,] Nausithoös and Naus[inoös].

Obviously such a layout made it easier for the person skimming or consulting rather than reading the text to locate specific details. The supplements may seem adventurous but are pretty much guaranteed by the fact that the list corresponds to the persons mentioned in Hesiod, *Theogony* 975–1018. In fact it might be called a mythographic summary of Hesiod. The list of Argonauts has marked correspondences with Hyginus's list (*Fab*. 14): these are the only two sources to give Iolaos, Thersanor, Priasos, and Phokos as Argonauts, and both (unlike, for example, Ps-Apollodorus) list father's name and ethnic. But there are also substantial divergences, one more illustration (as the editor rightly concluded) of "how much mythography has vanished without trace, making source criticism futile."[124]

The next chapter will discuss the debt of Roman poets to mythographical lists and handbooks. On the whole, scholars have been reluctant to accept that poets turned to such lowly guides, largely (I suspect) because mythology is so central an element in classical and classicizing poetry. To suggest that a poet's knowledge of mythology was secondhand is to imply that his knowledge of the classics was secondhand. But it is overly restrictive to think of mythographical lists and handbooks as no more than painless shortcuts for the lazy or uneducated. While they could certainly serve this purpose, at the same time they were also tools to be consulted by cultivated poets and rhetors who knew all the basic stories perfectly well but needed an ethnic or patronymic or perhaps a rare variant to add the right touch of obliquity or puzzlement to a learned allusion.

One story whose potential for puzzlement seem to have particularly attracted Ovid is the betrayal of Amphiaraüs by his wife Eriphyle, daughter of Talaos, bribed by a necklace to reveal his hiding place when he was trying to avoid taking part in the expedition against Thebes, knowing (as a seer) that he would not return (in fact he was swallowed up alive by the earth complete with his chariot). Before leaving he made his son Alcmaeon promise to kill Eriphyle, for which (like Orestes) the young man was pursued by the Furies.[125]

124. Fowler in *Ox. Pap*. LXI (1995), 47.

125. There are in fact a number of variants: see Gantz 1993, 506–8 and 525–6, and Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage* iii. 1 (Berlin 1921), 915–22 and 956–67.

From Homer to Horace and Propertius, Eriphyle is the paradigm of greed.[126] So even the classically oblique allusion in Horace:

> concidit auguris / Argivi domus, ob lucrum / demersa exitio.
>
> It was for the sake of gain that the house of the Argive prophet plunged to ruin.

Significantly enough, she is cited in a rhetorical treatise to illustrate the maxim that "the race of women is avaricious."[127] Yet Ovid alludes to the story four times, each time making a slightly different point. First, among the Calydonian boar-hunters we find "the son of Oecles still safe from his wife" (*Met*. viii. 316–7). Second, Ovid wishes Ibis as faithful a wife as the "son-in-law of Talaos" (*Ibis* 354). Who remembers off the cuff the name of Amphiaraüs's father or father-in-law? In the third passage (*Ars* iii. 13–4) the most cryptically expressed element is Amphiaraüs's fate (he apparently remained alive in the underworld, where he continued to utter prophecies):[128]

> Si scelere Oeclides Talaioniae Eriphylae
> vivus et in vivis ad Styga venit equis.
>
> If by the crime of Talaonian Eriphyle the son of Oecles
> went to Styx alive and drawn by living steeds.

In the fourth (*Amores* i. 10. 51–2), the clue of the necklace is held back till the end, and illustrates the less familiar detail of Alcmaeon's matricide (itself very obliquely expressed):

> e quibus exierat traiecit viscera ferro
> filius, et poenae causa monile fuit.
>
> The son pierced with his sword the womb from which he had come,
> and a necklace was the cause of the punishment.

Every one of Ovid's allusions requires more knowledge than the stock motif of Eriphyle as the paradigm of avarice. Hyginus's chapter "Amphiaraüs, Eriphyla et Alcmaeon" (*Fab*. 73) provides most of the necessary information,[129] but the puzzled reader could not easily have located it on the basis of the information Ovid provides. Hyginus's (now missing) chapter "Those who killed their mothers" (*Fab*. 235) would have helped with 4 but not 1–3. As for 1, who remembers that Amphiaraüs went on the Calydonian boar hunt (not mentioned by Hyginus)?

126. Hom. *Od*. xi. 326–7 and xv. 246–7; Plato *Rep*. 590A; Prop. ii. 16. 29 and iii. 13. 57–8; Hor. *Carm*. iii. 16. 11–3; *Nux* 109–10.

127. *Mulierum genus avarum est; nam Eriphyla auro viri vitam vendidit*, Cicero, *De inventione* i. 94.

128. For the various sources, Roscher i (1884–90), 298.

129. So too Ps-Apoll. iii. 6. 2 and 7. 5.

Anonymus Florentinus preserves a chapter (which has no counterpart in Hyginus) under the heading "Which houses were ruined by women":[130]

> The house of Heracles, because of his new marriage with Iole, daughter of Eurytus; and the house of Eurytus because of his daughter. The house of Theseus because of Phaedra's love for Hippolytus. The house of Athamas because of his new marriage to Themisto daughter of Hypsis. The house of Jason because of Glauce daughter of Creon. The house of Tereus because of the seduction of Philomela. The house of Agamemnon because of Clytaemnestra. The house of Priam because of the presence of Helen. *The house of Amphiaraus because of Eriphile*.

Compare too this speech in Achilles Tatius's novel, warning Cleitophon against women:[131]

> If you were a stranger to poetry, you would not know about the dramas involving women, but as it is you could tell others how many plots women have contributed to the stage: Eriphyle's necklace, Philomela's feast, Stheneboia's false accusation, Aerope's cheating, Procne's slaughter. Agamemnon desires the beautiful Chryseïs, and it brings a plague on the Greeks; Achilles desires the beautiful Briseïs and introduces himself to sorrow; grant that Candaules's wife be fair, yet this same wife killed Candaules. The fiery torch, lit for Helen's marriage, lit another fire hurled against Troy. The wedding of Penelope, chaste creature, was the death of how many suitors? Phaedra loved Hippolytus and killed him; Clytemnestra hated Agamemnon and killed him. Oh women, women, they stop at nothing! They kill the men they love, they kill the men they hate.

Twelve examples, more even than Anonymus (though missing Iole and Themisto). The speaker implies that he knows these stories from tragedy, but the direct source for so full a list is surely some mythographer. Anonymus's list is obviously much abridged. Its ancient source will have supplied a more detailed outline of the stories complete with patronymics and the sequel of Alcmaeon and the Furies. It is not likely that Ovid himself just remembered from the classics every detail he so skilfully exploits in these four texts. It was surely in some such texts as these that he studied the entire story, from boar-hunt to Furies, with an eye to its potential for model cryptic allusions.

Interestingly enough, while roundly disparaging mythological handbooks, modern critics have not usually been so disdainful about the use of rhetorical handbooks. The best known (and most comprehensive) Latin handbook we know of is the surviving *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri novem* of Valerius Maximus, a

130. Τίνες οἶκοι ἀνάστατοι διὰ γυναῖκας ἐγένοντο, Westermann, *Mythographi graeci* (1843), 345, republished in Appendix 5.

131. Ach. Tat. *Leuc. et Clit*. i. 8, Winkler's translation in B. P. Reardon, *Collected Ancient Greek Novels* (Berkeley 1989), 181–2 (slightly modified).

massive collection of *exempla* of every sort, foreign as well as domestic, elaborately classified and indexed. Since it dates from the reign of Tiberius, it came just too late for the Augustans but proved an invaluable standby for later Latin poets, rhetoricians, and writers of every sort, right down into late antiquity (when it spawned two abridgments for those with more modest needs). As with the mythographers, it is seldom possible to *prove* that a given passage derives from Valerius rather than his sources. For example, it has long been a matter of dispute whether Lucan drew directly on Livy or only indirectly through Valerius. Some have insisted that a cultivated man of letters like Lucan must have read Livy for himself. But there is no need to make such a distinction. Of course Lucan had read *some* Livy at first hand. But when he needed a Roman example of bravery, patriotism, cruelty, or the like, he naturally turned to the neatly classified material in Valerius as his first resource.[132] The key factor here is less verbal parallels (Valerius's style is hardly distinctive) than *using* the *exempla* in the way Valerius recommends.

As we have just seen, some mythographic lists include historical exempla and vice versa. Almost all of Valerius Maximus's *exempla* are historical. But when illustrating conjugal love, he could not resist Alcestis and Admetus (iv. 6. 1); or, for ingratitude, the Athenians exiling Theseus (v. 3. 3a); or, for brotherly love, Castor and Pollux (v. 5. 3 fin.); or, for patriotism, the death of Codrus (v. 6. 1). A much later example in the same tradition is Boccacio's *De claris mulieribus*, whose 106 chapters are divided about evenly between historical and mythological characters.

But the clearest illustration is Ovid's *Ibis*. The second half is an unbroken list of people who met various sorts of horrible ends or were betrayed in various ways by their nearest and dearest. Not surprisingly, most of these *exempla* are mythological, but just over a quarter are historical (more or less), from a variety of Greek tyrants down to Cinna the poet, lynched in error on the day of Caesar's funeral.[133] When illustrating any given category of crime or misfortune, Ovid selected mythical or historical *exempla* indifferently. Ptolemy the Quail's revisionism likewise embraces history and mythology indifferently. As Jasper Griffin put it, for writers of the Roman age "such historical figures as Socrates (embodiment of continence and wisdom) and Alexander (embodiment of glamour) were hardly less mythical than Homer's Nestor and Achilles."[134]

To turn to a different sort of handbook, there is the varied contents of the *Liber memorialis* attributed to L. Ampelius, according to the preface everything a bright schoolboy was expected to know: astronomy, geography, history, and (of course) a bit of mythology. Then there is a second-century papyrus recently published by Robert Fowler and reedited by Marc Huys that begins with a list of the sons of the Seven against Thebes (naturally complete with patronymics); then follow lists (without explanatory headings) of the names of the Fates, Horai, Graces, Gorgons,

132. See M.P.O. Morford, *Lucan and Rhetorical Epic* (London 1967), 65, 76, 81.
133. *Ibis* 539–40, with J. D. Morgan, *CQ* 40 (1990), 558–9.
134. Griffin 1986, 14.

Titanesses, Eumenides, Hesperides, and finally (very fragmentary) Sentences of the Seven Wise Men.[135] Once again there are quite close parallels with Hyginus. Hyginus (*Fab*. 71) lists the Epigoni in the same order, and offers in last place Thesimenes son of Parthenopaeus, otherwise unknown. Most editors have emended to Tlesimenes, on the basis of a passage of Pausanias (iii. 12. 9). The papyrus offers [Th]eximeles son of [Partheno]paeus, which should perhaps be restored in Hyginus (so Fowler).[136] More intriguing, Hyginus also has a chapter on Sentences of the Seven Wise Men (*Fab*. 221). Rose quite reasonably assumed that this was a late interpolation in what he assumed to have been in origin an exclusively mythographic text, but the papyrus suggests that the combination might well go back to the original compilation. Schoolchildren evidently learned mythological lists along with a wide range of other useful information. It was just as important to be able to identify the Seven Wise Men as the Seven against Thebes.

At a more elementary level we have an exercise on a late third- or early fourth-century papyrus in which some schoolboy copied two-, three-, and four-syllable words in alphabetical sequence. Almost all the names come from literature, some geographical but most mythological. For example: Hephaistos, Heracles, Helios, Ithaka, Iasos, Iason, Iphiklos . . . Skamandros, Semele, Sirenes, Sisyphos, Strophie, Sarpedon . . . Chryseïs, Chrysaor, Xeimaira, Charybdis.[137] Note too that almost the only writer's name in the list is that of the mythographer Pherecydes. In view of the amount of space allotted to explaining mythological allusions in surviving commentaries on the poets, it is natural to suppose that even elementary teachers offered a word or two of explanation while dictating these words to their classes. So far from schoolchildren first encountering the myths when they read the poets, it looks as if they learned at least the names in advance so that they would recognize them when they began to read the poets.

In fact, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that by the Roman age mythology was in danger of becoming a department of grammar or rhetoric. It is not sufficiently appreciated that a great many mythological allusions in both poets and orators of all periods are little more than what a grammaticus would have classified as examples of metonymy. The mere name evokes in a particularly vivid manner a particular sort of human quality or character: Odysseus cunning; Penelope fidelity; Clytemnestra or Phaedra infidelity; Phaethon or Icarus ambition; Eriphyle (as we have just seen) avarice; Orestes or Alcmaeon matricide; Niobe grief; Medea revenge; Chiron the beloved teacher; Peleus the father outdone by his son; and so on. Or suppose the poet or orator is writing about love. How better to illustrate certain of its aspects, dangers, or consequences than some extreme exemplification from the world of myth: love's power (victims include Zeus and Heracles);

135. P. Oxy. 4099, ed. R. Fowler in *Ox. Pap*. 61 (1995), 55–8; M. Huys, *ZPE* 113 (1996), 205–12.

136. Remember that the only MS was hard to read and is now lost anyway.

137. W. Clarysse and A. Wouters, "A schoolboy's exercise in the Chester Beatty Library," *Ancient Society* 1 (1970), 201–35.

love rescues loved ones from death (Alcestis, Eurydice), triumphs over obstacles (Leda or Danaë), drives to monstrous deeds (Scylla or Medea), leads to war (Hippodameia bride of Peirithoüs), is won by devoted service (Milanion); forbidden love (Phaedra, Pasiphaë); love outlasts death (Protesilaus and Laodameia); traitors repaid by treachery (Myrtilus); the importance of keeping an eye on one's sweetheart (Hylas and the Nymphs); and so on. When warning people to treat their slaves well, mindful that some twist of fate might reduce them to slavery, however late in life, the first example that came to Seneca's mind was Hecuba![138] What appears to be a remarkably obscure (or perverse) allusion in an unlikely writer may be no more than a name remembered from a list in a rhetorical handbook.[139]

When giving advice about informal encomia (*laliai*) on places, Menander's widely used handbook recommends that[140] "one should also search out metamorphoses of plants, birds and trees. The poet Nestor and some sophists have written about metamorphoses of plants and birds, and it is extremely profitable to be familiar with these writings." As we shall see in the following chapter, in their original Greek (as distinct from Ovidian) form, stories of metamorphosis are regularly anchored to the place where the transformation is said to have taken place, often as a cult aetion. For example, Antoninus Liberalis reports, supposely from Pherecydes, the otherwise unattested story that, when Alcmene died, Hermes substituted a stone for the body in her coffin, and Heracles's children "set it up in the grove where now stands the Heroon of Alcmene in Thebes" (§ 33). Obviously a nice detail to work allusively into a poem or speech performed in Thebes. The Nestor Menander cites is the Severan poet Septimius Nestor of Laranda; and by "sophists" he presumably means prose mythographers like Liberalis.[141]

Another genre where Menander offers detailed recommendations is wedding literature. He suggests beginning the epithalamium with a narrative: "when Dionysus married Ariadne, the young Apollo was there and played his lyre," or "at the marriage of Peleus, all the gods were present, and the Muses too." He does cite one historical example, the wedding of Megacles and Agariste from Herodotus, but otherwise draws all his material from mythology. For example, stories of rivers: "how Alpheus the Pisan loves the Sicilian spring Arethusa . . . or Poseidon marrying Tyro in the estuary of the Enipeus, or Zeus marrying Europa and Io."[142] He also recommends going further back in time, "telling how marriage was created by Nature immediately after the dispersal of Chaos," mentioning "the Graces, Aphrodite, and, shortly after, Artemis the goddess of childbirth." And, naturally,

138. *Ep. Mor.* 47. 12.

139. See H. V. Canter's useful study, "The Mythological Paradigm in Greek and Latin Poetry," *AJP* 54 (1933), 201–24, though a more comprehensive and systematic treatment would repay the effort.

140. Menander 393. 1–5, ed. Russell and Wilson (Oxford 1981), p. 122, in their translation, slightly adapted.

141. For what looks like a fragment from his *Metamorphoses*, see *Anth. Pal.* ix. 364.

142. Menander Rhetor 400–402, ed. Russell and Wilson (Oxford 1981), pp. 134–40.

a description of Eros is in order. All these instructions are followed in the many surviving epithalamia, 17 in Latin alone, many by Christians.[143]

8: RENAISSANCE MYTHOGRAPHICAL MANUALS

The world of the Roman empire was not the only society that turned to handbooks for its Greek mythology. The society of the Renaissance is another example, much better documented, thanks to the fact that it is so much nearer to us in time and coincided with the invention of printing. Here is the account in a classic work by Douglas Bush:[144]

> In spite of more modern rivals, Boccaccio's respectable labors, the *De Genealogia Deorum*, *De Claris Mulieribus*, and *De Casibus*, were constantly reprinted, translated, and borrowed from. Mythological handbooks later in date, and more learned, but not much more modern in spirit, were the *De Deis Gentium* of Lilius Giraldus (1548), the *Mythologiae* of Natalis Comes (1551),[145] and *Le Imagini, con la Spositione de i Dei degli Antichi* of Vincenzo Cartari (1556). These books, especially the last two, had an enormous influence throughout literary Europe, and the number of editions perplexes the bibliographer. Natalis Comes (Natale Conti) is perhaps the most attractive of the compilers, and he has his merits. He summarized mythological tales in easy Latin, *assembled abundant references*, quoted and translated Greek authors, and altogether provided the means which enabled many men, such as Chapman, to appear more learned than they were.

The immense debt of even such major English poets as Spenser, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and Milton to mythological dictionaries of one sort or another is examined in detail in a fascinating study by Starnes and Talbert.[146] In a satire written in 1598, John Marston pictures himself reaching for his Cartari and Conti to help him decipher the obscure works of contemporary poets:[147]

> Reach me some poets' index that will show,
> *Imagines Deorum*, Book of Epithets,
> Natalis Comes, thou I know recitest,
> And makest anatomy of poesy . . .
> . . . ayde me to unrip
> these intricate deepe oracles of wit.

143. Michael Roberts, "The Use of Myth in Latin Epithalamia from Statius to Venantius Fortunatus," *TAPA* 119 (1989), 321–48.

144. Bush, *Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry*[2] (London 1960), 29 (my italics); see the whole chapter 2.

145. In fact 1567, as shown by Philip Ford, "The Mythologiae of Natale Conti and the Pléiade," *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Bariensis . . . Bari*, 29 Aug. to 3 Sept. 1994 (Tempe AZ 1998), 243–50.

146. Dewitt T. Starnes and E. W. Talbert, *Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries* (UNC Press 1955).

147. Bush 1960, 29; J. Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art* (Princeton 1953), 313–4.

On top of all its other advantages, the invention of printing allows modern bibliographers to track the popularity of now long forgotten works decade by decade during the period of their vogue, by distinguishing and dating reprints, revisions, new editions, translations, and the like. For example, Conti's book went through 14 editions between 1567 and 1627, with 5 editions of the French translation; Cartari 12 Italian editions, with 5 more in Latin, 5 in French and one each in English and German between 1556 and 1699.[148] That later bible of the field, John Lemprière's *Classical Dictionary*, went through 15 editions in England alone between 1788 and 1829, and the American edition edited by Charles Anthon 7 editions between 1825 and 1833. Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus* (written ca 1362) survives in more than a hundred manuscript copies in the original Latin, at least nine different vernacular translations into Italian, French, Spanish, German, and English, and no fewer than three printed editions before 1500.[149]

I suspect that there was a similar outpouring of such works in the first and second centuries AD. But we have no more than a page or two from most of them, and no means of discovering how popular and influential they were in their heyday. It might be thought that the literary conditions of the Roman empire and Elizabethan England were too different to make such a comparison fruitful. Yet both societies valued a highly artificial, "learned" style. To quote Bush again, "no one in this period could set pen to paper without invoking classical authority . . . and a multitude of anecdotes and allusions passed from hand to hand in English books."[150] Much the same could be said of both Greek and Latin writers of the Roman empire. The importance attached to the citation of sources is also the same at both periods. Conti in particular documented his stories quite in the style of ancient mythographers. Enough of this documentation is authentic to lead the incautious to give him the benefit of the doubt for his occasional otherwise unknown citations, probably mistakenly, given the notorious weakness of mythographers for faking sources, or at any rate claiming erudition they did not possess.

The tenacity of this disreputable tradition is truly astonishing. The preface to Boccaccio's *De genealogia deorum* implies both that his own knowledge was firsthand and that he had no predecessors: "it would be absurd," he claimed, "to search in tributaries for what can be drawn from the source."[151] But as Seznec remarks, "both affirmations are exceedingly ill-advised. The reader soon sees: (1) that Boccaccio's knowledge of classical literature is for the most part indirect; (2) that he has not scrupled to make extensive use of his predecessors' works."

If Boccaccio exaggerated, Conti sometimes demonstrably faked his citations. But he did it skilfully, usually taking anonymous notes found in scholia and simply adding more or less appropriate names, often little-known but plausible names, unlikely to arouse suspicion. For example, he produces a number of citations of

148. For details and dates, Seznec 1953, 279.

149. Virginia Brown, *Giovanni Boccaccio: Famous Women* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), xxi.

150. Bush 1960, 32.

151. *Insipidum est ex rivulis quaerere quod possis ex fonte percipere*; cited by Seznec 1953, 220–1.

such (in his day) desperately obscure writers as the Atthidographer Philochorus and Nymphodorus of Syracuse.[152] One case of a double citation (always suspicious) was neatly exposed by A. G. Roos. Conti describes Dionysus in Italy leaving for a war against Tarsus, on the authority of *Androtion in libro de sacrificiis secundo et Dionysiocles*. Why distant Tarsus? Roos showed that Conti was drawing on an entry in the *Etymologicum Magnum* where the manuscript he used gave the false reading Ταρσηνούς (Tarsians) for Τυρσηνούς (Tyrrhenians = Etruscans). The citations he simply invented, and Roos was even able to identify his sources (the non-existent name Dionysiocles from a faulty reading in manuscripts of Athenaeus, a work Conti had translated into Latin).[153] Like Narrator, he cites Hesiod often, even little-known works like the *Wedding of Ceyx*. Many of these citations are (more or less) genuine, but some otherwise unknown.[154] The most surprising is an entire line, allegedly cited from Hesiod *in sacro sermone*, styling Inachus son of Oeneus:[155]

> Ἴναχος Οἰνείδης Κρονίδῃ πολὺ φίλτατον ὕδωρ
> *Inachus Oenides coelo gratissimus amnis*.

Like most river gods, Inachus is elsewhere said to be a son of Oceanus.[156] But Pausanias describes a place called Oenoë, founded by Oeneus, close to the source of the Inachus, and it is conceivable that the line is authentic—though much more likely that Conti invented it on the basis of this very passage. Conti's Latin version echoes *caeruleus Thybris caelo gratissimus amnis* at Vergil, *Aen*. viii. 64, but the Greek is otherwise unknown. If it was beyond Conti's powers to compose the line himself, he may have found it, no doubt anonymous, in a scholion in some now lost manuscript.[157] Renaissance scholars undoubtedly treated manuscripts in a very cavalier fashion, and it is often impossible to exclude the possibility that he drew on lost sources. But enough of his otherwise unknown citations have been exposed as outright forgeries to make it unwise to give him the benefit of the doubt in any given case. As Fowler rightly remarks, "it is simply incredible that so many unique details should be preserved by him alone at such a date."[158]

Other Renaissance scholars were careless and sometimes unscrupulous about their citations,[159] but none more audacious than Giovanni Nanni, otherwise known

152. *FGrH* 328 F 81, 82, 103, 228, and 572 F 17–21, all convincingly exposed in Jacoby's notes (see especially iii b (Supplement) 1954, 360–1, 421–2, 593, and iii b (1955), 605. Also Phanodemus (*FGrH* 325 F 5, 5 bis and 30 (p. 196) and Istros, *FGrH* 334 F 54 (p. 654).

153. A. G. Roos, "De fide Natalis Comitis," *Mnemosyne* 49 (1917), 69–77 at 71–2.

154. For a brief, sceptical assessment, J. Schwartz, *Pseudo-Hesiodeia* (Wetteren 1960), 48 n. 1.

155. F 122 M-W; cf. West 1985, 76.

156. Gantz 1993, 198.

157. However remote the possibility, Merkelbach and West were right to include it with appropriate warning.

158. Fowler, *EGM* i (2000), xxxiii, promising a detailed discussion.

159. For some examples, A. Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 52–55.

as Annius of Viterbo, author of the infamous *Commentaria super opera diversorum auctorum de antiquitatibus loquentium* (1498), a bizarre attempt to show that his native Viterbo was the cradle of human civilization on the basis of a mass of forged quotations that "wove biblical history, ancient myths, and medieval Trojan legends together into a single story," all but one (Metastenes the Persian) ascribed to genuine authors.[160] Many contemporaries saw through the fraud at once,[161] but Nanni continued to exercise a baleful influence for some time, and in recent decades has come to acquire a different sort of fame, as a forger who stimulated critics to work out new ways of detecting forgeries.[162]

To turn from the manuals to their customers, a nice illustration of the importance still attached to documenting mythological lore is one of E.K.'s glosses to Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* (1579):[163]

> Flora, the Goddesse of flowres, but indede (as saith Tacitus) a famous harlot, which, with the abuse of her body having gotten great riches, made the people of Rome her heyre . . .

Tacitus (of course) says nothing of the sort, nor is it likely that he would have. This is not a genuine ancient tradition but the result of a confusion between Flora and Acca Larentia made in a passage of Christian polemic by Lactantius.[164] Various explanations were offered until Starnes and Talbert pointed out that the entire gloss was copied practically verbatim from Thomas Cooper's *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Britannicae* of 1565:

> Flora, a notable harlotte, which with the abuse of hir bodie, having gotten exceeding great riches, at hir death left the people of Rome hir heyre . . .

The citation of Tacitus, of which there is no trace in Cooper, is apparently pure fabrication, added by E.K. himself to give the impression that he had consulted an ancient source rather than a modern dictionary.[165] Other telltale bogus citations in Spenser are Homer for Achilles's heel (not attested before Statius) and the feats of Penthesileia (no surviving poet earlier than Quintus of Smyrna).[166]

160. Grafton 1991, 76–103; for a brief summary, C. Ligota in M. Jones (ed.), *Fake? The Art of Deception* (Berkeley 1990), 64–5.

161. Grafton 1991, 76–8, 101–3; Scaliger saw through both Conti and Nanni; Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger* ii (Oxford 1993), 606.

162. Grafton 1991, and in *Forgers and Critics* (1990).

163. Whether or not the introduction and notes signed E. K. are the work of Spenser himself, he must at any rate have approved them.

164. *Div. Inst*. i. 20. 6–10; cf. Macrob. *Sat*. i. 10. 13–7. Since the previous paragraph in Lactantius dealt with Acca Larentia (and the mysterious Faula, supposedly a *scortum* of Hercules), the likelihood is that the confusion was made by Lactantius himself. Lactantius cites Verrius Flaccus as his source (i. 20. 5), presumably at second hand: R. M. Ogilvie, *The Library of Lactantius* (Oxford 1978), 47.

165. Starnes and Talbert 1955, 44–5, with many more examples in the pages that follow.

166. Bush 1960, 93 and 97.

10

The Roman Poets

1: INTRODUCTION

Mythological allusions and comparisons are a very conspicuous feature of Roman poetry. Take Propertius. "How," asks Oliver Lyne, "did Propertius acquire his knowledge of the myths he uses? More importantly, what sort of familiarity did his readers have with this type of myth, and how did they acquire it?"[1] Apart from the classical poets, he suggests two possible sources: mythographic handbooks, and the mythological paintings that decorated so many walls in Pompeii and no doubt most other Italian towns.

The opening of Propertius i.3 has often been cited as a classic instance of the influence of mythological paintings:[2]

> Qualis Thesea iacuit cedente carina
> languida desertis Gnosia litoribus;
> qualis et accubuit primo Cepheia somno
> libera iam duris cotibus Andromede;
> nec minus assiduis Edonis fessa choreis
> qualis in herboso concidit Apidano:
> talis visa mihi mollem spirare quietem
> Cynthia.

> Just as Cretan Ariadne lay, exhausted on the deserted beach while Theseus's ship departed; just as Andromeda rested in her first sleep, released now from the unyielding rocks; just as the Bacchante, no less wearied from her unending dances, fell asleep by the grassy Apidanus: so Cynthia seemed to breathe gentle rest.

The first and last scenes are indeed familiar from wall paintings (set in the very landscapes that Propertius evokes), which he may well have known. It is entirely

1. R.O.A.M. Lyne, *The Latin Love Poets* (Oxford 1980), 82.

2. For example, Eleanor Winsor Leach, *The Rhetoric of Space: Literary and Artistic Representations of Landscape in Republican and Augustan Rome* (Princeton 1988), 361–3; Bettina Bergmann, "Rhythms of Recognition: Mythological Encounters in Roman Landscape Painting," in *Im Spiegel des Mythos. Bilderwelt und Lebenswelt* (Palilia 6, DAI Rom, Wiesbaden 1999), 102.

plausible that his inspiration for this memorable sequence of images of sleeping heroines came from such paintings, where the image of Dionysus about to comfort Ariadne or a lustful satyr about to rape an exhausted maenad would remind readers of the presence (and amorous intentions) of Cynthia's lover. To take a less idyllic but more explicit example, when fantasizing about his new girlfriend's legs, Ovid's learned lover immediately thinks of the legs of swift Atalanta, and Diana with her skirt girded up *as in the paintings*:[3]

> talia *pinguntur* succinctae crura Dianae.

Nonetheless, this still only pushes the question a stage further back. How did people identify the paintings? They had to know the stories in the first place. Diana was easy, and Atalanta easy enough—*if* you knew the story. In order to distinguish a sleeping Ariadne from a sleeping maenad, informed spectators would look for clues like a departing ship or hovering Dionysus, whereas the maenad would be identified by a discarded thyrsus or hovering satyr.[4] Painters did not *tell* the stories of myth any more than poets. Where poets dealt in oblique allusions or concealed proper names under periphrases (to identify Propertius's maenad the reader needs first to be able to identify *Edonis* and *Apidanus*), painters were obliged to focus on one or two key moments in any given story (Dirce on the horns of a bull, Achilles in a frock grabbing a spear). As Susan Woodford has recently put it, artists[5]

> had to decide how to encapsulate a myth, which a storyteller might take hours to narrate, in a static image. They also had to choose whether to focus on the climax of the story, to hint at the outcome or to suggest the cause, to concentrate on a few pivotal figures or events, or to sketch in the broad context in which the story was set.

Any art historian who sets out to study Pompeian wall paintings will learn a great deal of Greek mythology on the way. But she will need to know the main stories before she starts.

On the grounds that when he wrote his early books he had not yet made the thorough study of Hellenistic poetry that underlies book 4, Lyne himself suspected that, at least to start with, Propertius relied on handbooks, a more likely place than "the devious complexities of Callimachean and Euphorionic verse" for a young poet to "hunt out mythical details." While no doubt true enough, such a formulation fails to make a sharp enough distinction between the general, unsystematic mythological knowledge no one could avoid picking up from the variety of sources

3. *Amor*. iii.2.31.

4. Note too that, while it is plausible in human terms that Andromeda should faint away when Perseus releases her, paintings, naturally enough, normally show her standing, still chained to the rocks. The identifying clues are the chains, the sea-monster and Perseus on his winged horse.

5. Woodford, *Images of Myths in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge 2003), 11 and passim.

surveyed in the last chapter, and more detailed information on specific points. The next two sections will illustrate this distinction.

2: VERGIL AND PEISANDROS

Take Vergil. Most critics have been reluctant to believe that so cultivated and learned a poet had recourse to such elementary manuals.[6] So even Jane Lightfoot, as an editor of Parthenius naturally in general sympathetic to the idea:[7]

> Even where a close correspondence seems to subsist between a handbook and a poetic text, as between Virgil, *Aen*. 2 and Ps-Apollodorus, *Epit*. 5.14–22, where we might postulate that Virgil was using a mythographic text of very similar content to Ps-Apollodorus, it is impossible to prove that Virgil did not read the *Ilias Parva* and the *Iliupersis* for himself. Indeed, it would perhaps be uncharitable to conclude that he did not.

But this is to pose the alternatives in too stark a form. It need not be a black-and-white issue of *either* classical poets *or* mythographic manuals. In the case of *Aeneid* 2, it has been a commonplace since Heinze that Vergil carefully selected from a mass of different traditions those that best suited his requirements: a first-person narrative that would allow Aeneas to avoid the reproach of cowardice in deserting his city in its hour of need.[8] But how did he go about the process of selection?

While it is natural to assume that he read what parts he could lay his hands on of the Epic Cycle,[9] there were many other relevant works, notably early mythographers such as Hellanicus. Dionysius of Halicarnassus cites more than 30 Greek sources in book i of his *Roman Antiquities*, covering the period up to Romulus: Antigonus, Philistus,Timaeus, Damastes, Demagoras, Agathyllus, Ariaethus, and "others of the Italian mythographers" (i.34.4), not to mention tragedies like Sophocles's *Laocöon*. How would Vergil orient himself in this immense bibliography? At a purely practical level, it cannot have been easy even to locate copies of all these works. At the very least, he had to know what he was looking for. Like any modern scholar, he surely began by consulting a comprehensive recent work such as Ps-Apollodorus that (like most mythographers) quoted its sources.[10] He would then follow up the most promising references.

We might recall in this context the gratitude Cicero expresses more than once for Varro's *Liber Annalis*, the work that made his own *Brutus* possible. Varro him-

6. A notable exception is Nicholas Horsfall, *Virgilio: l'epopea in alambicco* (Naples 1991), 42–52 and "Virgil, Parthenius and the art of mythological reference," in *Vergilius* 37 (1991), 31–36.

7. Lightfoot 1999, 298 (where in n. 259 read 1990b for 1990a).

8. R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik* (Leipzig 1915), 3–81 = *Virgil's Epic Technique*, trans. Hazel and David Harvey and Fred Robertson (Berkeley 1993), 3–67. For a masterly summary of the many conflicting traditions available to Vergil, see R. G. Austin's commentary (1964), xii–xvi.

9. E. C. Kopff, "Virgil and the Cyclic Poets," in *ANRW* 31.2 (1981), 919–47; there is no real evidence either way.

10. In the form in which we have it, the *Bibliotheca* itself is almost certainly post-Vergilian.

self is represented in the dialogue as modestly laying no claim to originality, whereupon Cicero in reply praises the sheer utility of the work.[11] At all periods, even the most cultivated and scholarly writers turn gratefully to whatever reference books lie to hand. For his *Fasti* Ovid not only drew on real Roman calendars but more specifically on Verrius Flaccus's scholarly recent edition of the *Fasti Praenestini*.[12] Why would he deprive himself of the potential benefits of so valuable a tool? As we have just seen, since Renaissance mythographers survive complete and can be precisely dated, it has often proved possible to trace many a seemingly learned ancient allusion in Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton back to its recent source in some handbook.[13] Yet the poets themselves naturally give no hint of the fact that their plumage is borrowed. As Jean Seznec put it,[14]

> The books that everyone consults and keeps constantly at his elbow are never, or hardly ever, mentioned; by reason of their popularity they soon become anonymous handbooks; no one quotes a dictionary. Furthermore, a writer or artist who wishes to display his erudition is not particularly eager to reveal the source of the learning that he has acquired with so little expenditure of time or energy; those who owe the most to Giraldi, Cartari and Conti are usually careful not to acknowledge their indebtedness.

With more recent poets we sometimes also have the sort of background information (reminiscences of friends, inventories of libraries) we never have for ancient poets. Keats and William Morris were both well read in the classics and had a good general knowledge of Greek mythology. Yet both regularly turned to the handbooks of their age, Lemprière's *Classical Dictionary* and Potter's *Archaeologia Graeca*, in search of information on specific points.[15]

Much of the mythology in the *Aeneïd* is tralatician, stories and allusions familiar to anyone with a good general knowledge of Homer and the tragedians—even of the Roman poets of the republic. But the story of Dido (for example) was not familiar and required a certain amount of research.[16] The general outline of the sack of Troy was familiar enough, but the details varied considerably, above all the role of Aeneas.

11. *Brutus* 13–5; *Orator* 120; Atticus's modern successor, Broughton's *Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, earned similar eulogies on its appearance in 1951–2, for the same reason, its sheer utility. Cicero's praises become more understandable if we bear in mind the cumbersome Roman dating system, and the ease of confusion given the recurrence of so many of the same names in the consular fasti.

12. G. Herbert-Brown, *Ovid and the Fasti* (Oxford 1994), 15–26; Stephen M. Wheeler, *A Discourse of Wonders: Audience and Performance in Ovid's Metamorphoses* (Philadelphia 1999), 45–8.

13. Dewitt T. Starnes and E. W. Talbert, *Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries* (UNC Press 1955).

14. J. Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods* (Princeton 1953), 80.

15. See the index entries for Lemprière, John, and Potter, John, in Douglas Bush, *Mythology and the Romantic Tradition in English Poetry* (New York 1937).

16. See the introduction to A. S. Pease's edition of *Aeneid* iv (1935) or the entry "Didone" in *Enc. virg.* 2 (1985).

Oddly enough, no one seems to have noticed that Macrobius drew on a source that directly accused Vergil of using a mythographer for precisely this part of the Aeneas saga. In the passage in question Euangelus, represented as a severe critic of Vergil, has just denied that Vergil knew Greek: "How could a Venetian, born of peasant parents and reared amidst forests and scrub, have acquired even a smattering of Greek letters?" Eustathius (one of Macrobius's Greek interlocutors) responds with a vigorous defense:[17]

> You are perhaps thinking that I shall speak of things that are common knowledge [*ea quae vulgo nota sunt*]: for example, that in his pastoral poetry Vergil took Theocritus for his model, and in his work on husbandry, Hesiod; and that in the *Georgics* he drew on the *Phaenomena* of Aratus for the signs of bad and good weather; or that he copied his account of the overthrow of Troy, with the tales of Sinon and the wooden horse and all the rest that goes to make up the second book of his *Aeneid*, almost word for word from Peisandros (*a Pisandro ad verbum paene transcripserit*), a writer eminent among the poets of Greece for a work which, beginning with the marriage of Jupiter and Juno, has brought within the compass of a single sequence of events all the history of the world through the intervening ages down to its author's own day, bridging the divers gaps of time to form a single whole, and, among the other stories in it, telling in this way of the destruction of Troy—an example which Vergil has faithfully followed in fashioning his own narrative of the fall of Ilium. But this, and the like, as being no more than the commonplace themes of schoolboys, I propose to omit.

Most of this was indeed common knowledge. Every schoolboy knew that Vergil had imitated Theocritus, Hesiod, and Aratus. But who is Peisandros? Here we have an alarming illustration of the limitations of Macrobius's knowledge of Greek. Certainly not the archaic poet Peisandros of Cameiros, credited with an epic on Heracles.[18] There can be no doubt that the poet Macrobius had in mind here is Peisandros of Laranda, author of a now lost but once influential epic entitled *Heroïcae Theogamiae* in 60 books that formed a sort of mythological history of the world. Macrobius's characterization of the poem fits what we know of the *Heroïcae Theogamiae* well enough. But there is a major problem. Peisandros of Laranda wrote more than two centuries *after* Vergil, in the age of the Severi in the early third century AD.[19]

How did Macrobius come to make so colossal a blunder? According to the standard work on the subject, by Rudolf Keydell, Macrobius "came across" parallels between this poem of Peisandros and *Aeneid* 2 and, having no idea who Peisandros

17. *Sat*. v.2.4, in Davies's translation, slightly modified.

18. For the few testimonia and fragments, Bernabé, *PEG* i (1987), 164–70; G. L. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry from Eumelos to Panyassis* (London 1969), 100–05.

19. For the fragments and testimonia, E. Heitsch, *Die griechische Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit* ii (Göttingen 1964), 44–7; Mary Whitby in N. Hopkinson (ed.), *Studies in the Dionysiaca of Nonnus* (Cambridge 1994), 125–6.

was or when he wrote, simply assumed that, here as elsewhere in his investigation, it was the Greek poet who wrote first and was imitated by Vergil.[20] The true explanation of these parallels, according to Keydell, is that Peisandros imitated Vergil.

But in the first place it is highly unlikely that Peisandros imitated Vergil. To be sure, until recently some scholars (myself included) were prepared to believe that Quintus of Smyrna read Vergil and Nonnus Ovid. But a carefully argued article by Peter Knox has put paid to that notion.[21] Yet even if (improbably) Peisandros of Laranda knew enough Latin to read the *Aeneid*, it is impossible to believe that he turned to Vergil rather than the multitude of more accessible Greek sources (prose and verse) for the fall of Troy. And while Macrobius might have been misled by parallels between Peisandros and Vergil that in fact derived from common subject matter or a common source, it is even less likely that Macrobius read Peisandros. We have seen how limited his (and Servius's) knowledge of Greek was, and it is hard to believe him capable of stumbling through more than a few lines of a mythological poem in 60 books of classicizing hexameters.

Not that this solution would explain what Macrobius actually says in any case. This is not a matter of one or two "parallels" that he himself had observed in the course of his own reading of Peisandros. In the first place, he represents this supposed debt to Peisandros as one of those things that are "common knowledge" for every schoolboy, on a par with the debt of the *Bucolics* to Theocritus and the *Georgics* to Aratus. Second, he claims that Vergil "transcribed Peisandros practically verbatim." There is an unmistakable polemical undertone here that (in the Macrobian context) allows only one explanation.

This entire book of the *Saturnalia* is devoted to a catalogue of parallels between Vergil and Greek texts, with the (often polemical) purpose of establishing his mastery of Greek literature. Book 6 goes on to give similar lists of parallels between Vergil and earlier Roman literature. No one who has studied these lists as a whole in context believes that they are the fruit of Macrobius's own reading. As was first clearly seen by Ribbeck and more recently illustrated for archaic Latin texts by Jocelyn, they are largely if not entirely drawn from the polemical anti-Vergilian pamphlets of the first and second centuries, where their purpose was to illustrate Vergil's *plagiarism*.[22] While Macrobius himself quotes all these lists in admiration, as proof of Vergil's incredible familiarity with earlier poets, he transcribed them so mechanically from their original contexts that he often overlooked hostile terms like "steal" and "word for word."

For example, at 5.11.1 Eustathius gushes that Vergil's imitations improve on Homer and at 5.11–2 goes on to illustrate these improvements, evidently taken

20. "Die Dichter mit namen Peisandros," *Hermes* 70 (1935), at 308–9 = R. Keydell, *Kleine Schriften zur hellenistischen und spätgriechischen Dichtung* (Leipzig 1982), at 360–1.

21. P. E. Knox, "Phaethon in Ovid and Nonnus," *CQ* 38 (1988), 536–51; Neil Hopkinson, in N. Hopkinson (ed.), *Studies in the Dionysiaca of Nonnus* (Cambridge 1994), 3.

22. O. Ribbeck, *Prolegomena critica ad P. Vergili Maronis opera maiora* (Leipzig 1866), 103–13; H. D. Jocelyn, "Ancient scholarship and Virgil's use of Republican Latin poetry," *CQ* 14 (1964), 280–95, and 15 (1965), 126–44.

from a pro-Vergil source. The following chapter (5.13) lists cases where Vergil's imitations are allowed to be less successful than the original. Here the source was plainly hostile to Vergil. Early in the chapter Macrobius's tone is fairly neutral, but as he progresses it becomes increasingly hostile. For example: "here Vergil repeats the same *fault* as before" (*idem et hic vitium quod superius incurrit*, 5.13.15); "if you compare the passages, you will appreciate the *shameful* difference between them" (*pudendam invenies differentiam*, 19); "nothing could be more *meagre*" (*nihil possit esse ieiunius*, 26); "a *lifeless* body" (*exanimum . . . corpus*, 30). Then at the end of the chapter he explains that if Vergil sometimes falls below the Homeric standard, this is because "it was impossible that his human powers should everywhere have been able to equal the superhuman genius of the other" (33). This is a common pattern in Macrobius's catalogues. At the beginning and end of long chapters he takes some pains to adjust his source material to fit the speaker of the moment in his dialogue frame, but his concentration lapses once he embarks on the brute labor of transcribing example after example. Just as he no longer bothers to maintain the illusion of a man at a symposium quoting from memory but mechanically repeats words like *excerpere* and *transcribere*,[23] so also he unthinkingly reproduces the bias of his source, without apparently noticing how it conflicts with his own highly favorable attitude.[24]

The reference to Peisandros is clearly such a passage. Indeed at 5.3.1 he uses exactly the same formula of Vergil's debt to Homer, promising to list passages "which Vergil has translated almost word for word" (*versus ad verbum paene translatos*, 5.3.1). In his own context, Macrobius expects us to admire Vergil as much for his knowledge of Peisandros as for his knowledge of Theocritus and Hesiod, but the *ad verbum paene transcripserit* that he thoughtlessly included reveals that his source, some earlier critic, had accused Vergil of *plagiarizing* Peisandros.

It follows that Vergil's supposed debt to this Peisandros was one of the many issues discussed in the pro- and anti-Vergil pamphlets of the first and second century that Macrobius drew on for this part of the *Saturnalia*. That leaves only one possible identification: a well-documented Hellenistic mythographer called Peisandros, cited a number of times in the Euripides and Apollonius scholia and once by Ps-Apollodorus.[25] Citations in the Apollonius scholia imply that he wrote

23. See Jocelyn 1964, 285.

24. Since so many members of the Roman elite dictated when composing (whence the use of the term *dictare* = write), it is tempting to wonder whether he delegated the brute labor of copying these lists to an amanuensis.

25. *FGrH* 16, with addenda on pp. *10–1 of the 1957 reprint, with Jacoby's notes in the commentary volume, pp. 493–6 and 544–7; see too now, for schol. Eur. *Phoen*. 1760 (F 10 Jac.), Hugh Lloyd-Jones, *CQ* 52 (2002), at 3–5 (though his argument that "ἱστορεῖ Πείσανδρος . . . would be a surprising verb to use in speaking of a poet" overlooks the formulaic nature of the phrase in mythographic texts, where (e.g.) ἱστορεῖ Εὐφορίων is standard for "this is how Euphorion tells the story"). Jacoby thought that the mythographer took the name Peisandros as a pseudonym after the epic poet from Cameiros, but it was a common enough name (*LGPN* i.368).

before Theon, and so in all probability before Vergil. As Nino Marinone saw,[26] Macrobius must have confused a reference in his source to this obscure and by his day no doubt forgotten mythographer with the more famous Severan poet, of whom he knew at any rate the name. He simply assumed that the Peisandros named in his source was the author of the *Heroicae Theogamiae* and added a brief account of the poem. But he cannot have had any firsthand knowledge of the Severan Peisandros (least of all his date) or he would have realized his error.

Of course, we do not need to take the accusation of plagiarism any more seriously here than in the many other cases Macrobius has rescued for us from these early critics. It is absurd to suppose that Vergil followed any mythographer word for word. Yet just as the other accusations are based on genuine parallels adduced between Vergil and earlier poets, here too there is no reason to doubt that some early critic did produce evidence, presumably in the form of parallel passages, that Vergil drew material from Peisandros. We have already seen that there are parallels between Ps-Apollodorus and *Aeneid* ii, and Ps-Apollodorus cites Peisandros.[27] To quote the most obvious illustration, Vergil rejected the view of the *Iliou Persis*, followed in Sophocles's *Laocoön*, that Aeneas and his household withdrew to Mount Ida *before* the taking of the city, influenced by the Laocoön portents.[28] Instead he followed the view Dionysius ascribes to Hellanicus's *Troïca*, reflected in Ps-Apollodorus, that Aeneas led a fierce resistance and withdrew in good order when the situation became impossible.[29] This is a particularly instructive case, because, whether or not Vergil knew Sophocles or the *Iliou Persis* at first hand, he demonstrably preferred a chronology known to us from the mythographical tradition.

Indeed there may be one other scrap of evidence to add to Macrobius. The DS note on *Aen*. ii.211 cites an otherwise unknown Thessandrus for the names of Laocoön's two sons. Heyne emended the name to Peisandros, identified by Jacoby as the mythographer rather than the archaic poet (p. 203). It was inevitable that Vergil consulted mythographers when searching out and assessing the various traditions about both the fall of Troy and Aeneas's route to Italy,[30] but as a guide rather than a source. Not the least interesting thing about this passage of Macrobius (once properly understood) is the fact that an ancient critic drew attention to Vergil's debt to a mythographer.

Misguided accusations of plagiarism aside, most contemporaries would have thought no less of Vergil for consulting mythographers than we do of modern scholars for consulting encyclopedias. He naturally turned to mythographers for "factual" information, but no one could be in any doubt that it was the poets he knew intimately at first hand who influenced him most once he started composing.

26. In his note on the passage, in Marinone, *I Saturnali di Macrobio Teodosio* (Turin 1967), 510 n. 6.

27. i.8.4 = *FGrH* 16 F 1 (mistakenly identified by Hurd as Peisandros of Cameiros).

28. *Iliou Persis* p. 106.24–6 Allen; Soph. ap. Dion. Halic. *Ant. Rom*. i.48.2.

29. Hellan. ap. Dion. Hal. i.46–8 = *FGrH* 4 F 31; Ps-Apoll. *Epit*. 5.21.

30. On the many traditions about Aeneas's route to Italy, see now Andrew Erskine, *Troy between Greece and Rome* (Oxford 2001).

3: OVID'S LISTS

In earlier times scholars often postulated mythographic (rather than poetic) sources for specific passages in the Roman poets.[31] An interesting recent attempt is an article by Francis Cairns on Horace, *Odes* 3.7 (*Quid fles, Asterie*).[32] The temporarily separated lovers Asterie and Gyges bear the names of two Titans, and the neighbor Enipeus against whom Horace warns Asterie bears the name of a river god whose form Poseidon took when pursuing Tyro the daughter of Salmoneus.[33] Given the obvious mythological associations of all these names and (in addition) the two cautionary mythological *exempla* of temptation and adultery at lines 13–20, it is tempting (with Cairns) to infer that Horace is alluding to a version in which Poseidon raped the Titan Asterie in the form of Enipeus (in the standard version it is Zeus who rapes Asterie).[34] Where might he have found such a version? In favor of a mythographical source is the relative obscurity of the names and stories. Having thought of Asterie for the name of his addressee, Horace might well have decided to check what police files call the "known associates" of the Titan Asterie in myth, and most handbooks (unlike the poets) were indexed and user-friendly in a way very few ancient books were. On the other hand, since according to the standard version he got the story wrong, perhaps after all Horace was simply relying on his faulty recollection of a poem he had once read. Notoriously the poets allude to rather than narrate their mythological exempla, and it is very easy to misunderstand an allusion to an unfamiliar story.[35]

More important, even if a papyrus fragment of just such a mythographic version of the love life of Asterie were to turn up, it would still not amount to *proof* that Horace used the mythographer himself rather than the earlier text he drew on (or misremembered). In fact no *individual* mythological allusion is likely to provide such proof.[36] If it is proof we are looking for, we are more likely to find it in *lists* of allusions, given the many lists in handbooks like Ps-Apollodorus, Hyginus, and the mythographical papyrus fragments listed in the previous chapter.

Ovid provides a number of illustrations. First, his description of the tapestry Arachne wove in her contest with Athena incorporates, in allusive detail, nine of

31. For an anthology of such views and some useful general remarks, Lightfoot 1999, 298–301.

32. F. Cairns, in S. J. Harrison (ed.), *Hommage to Horace: A Bimillenary Celebration* (Oxford 1995), 65–99 at 88–93.

33. West 1985, 65; Cairns 88–9.

34. No such version survives, but Nonnus more than once alludes to Poseidon pursuing Asterie, where the reference to a deserted island suggests that he confused Asterie with the nymph Aegina (Nonn. *Dion*. xlii.410; ii.125, with F. Vian's note; xxxiii.336–40). J. Schwartz (*Pseudo-Hesiodeia*, Wetteren 1960, 289–90), pointed out that Hyginus tells the story of Asterie immediately after Aegina (*Fab*. 52–3).

35. Cairns 1995, 88–91, postulated a "muddle" in a handbook list, a less farfetched postulate than might at first sight appear. Though it can never be proved, many a variant version must derive from someone simply misunderstanding an allusion or misremembering a detail in some story.

36. The case of Vibius Sequester's borrowings from Narrator (ch. I.4) are a rare case of a mythographer's language being distinctive enough to establish such a relationship.

Jupiter's liaisons with mortal women in various disguises, followed by six of Neptune's (*Met*. vi.103–22). Most classical scholars could name four or five of Jupiter's disguises without much trouble, but how many could manage nine? Who can remember (for example) in what shape he approached Asterie or Aegina? As an eagle and flame, respectively, according to Ovid, though other sources have him approach Aegina as an eagle and describe Asterie being turned into a quail to avoid his embraces. Who can think of more than two or three disguises for Neptune? Who remembers that Melantho "knew him as a dolphin"?

During the period he was writing the *Metamorphoses* Ovid's command of mythological detail was no doubt impressive, but as many as 15 liaisons, all in different disguises, points to a comprehensive source. The list of 32 for Jupiter alone in the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* must derive from a systematic mythographic source, as put beyond doubt by its alphabetical sequence and the inclusion of all children born of the unions.[37] A second- or third-century papyrus is obviously a fragment from such an alphabetical list, again complete with offspring.[38] Hyginus originally included a chapter headed "Which mortal women slept with Jupiter," followed by "Which with Apollo," "Which with Neptune," then those who slept with Mercury, Dionysus, Mars, and even Aquilo, all unfortunately lost.[39]

Why risk overlooking one or two colorful examples by relying on one's own memory (however well stocked) when a few minutes leafing through a handbook would supply the full dossier, complete with parents and children and the gods' disguises? Ovid naturally abandoned the telltale alphabetical sequence, and since it was the seductions that Arachne was supposed to be representing, he did not need the parents and children of the various victims either. Yet, concise as the section is (15 seductions compressed into 18 lines), characteristically succinct touches do in fact presuppose much of this information. For example (vi.110–1):

> addidit ut satyri celatus imagine pulchram
> Iuppiter inplerit gemino Nycteïda fetu.

> she added how, concealed in the form of a satyr, Jupiter
> filled the daughter of Nycteus with twin offspring.

This is Antiope, daughter of Nycteus, mother of Amphion and Zethus, whom Zeus seduced disguised as a satyr. More succinctly still, *Asopida luserit ignis* (113) summarizes in three words the story of Jupiter deceiving Aegina, the daughter of Asopus, in the form of a flame. This is a perfect example of a phrase skilfully de-

37. B. Rehm and G. Strecker, *Die Pseudoklementinen II: Rekognitionen*[2] (Berlin 1994), 339–42, § 21 (§ 22 gives a second list, restricted to cases involving disguise or transformation, again in alphabetical order); for a briefer list, see Rehm and Strecker, *Die Pseudoklementinen I: Homilien* (Berlin 1992), 97–8, §§ 13–4. For a variety of other lists in Christian polemics, van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998, 132–3.

38. Van Rossum–Steenbeek 1998, no. 64, with pp. 132–3.

39. *Fab*. 226–32, known from the gathering of these headings together at the beginning of the work as a table of contents (p. 7 Marshall).

signed to tease (or test) the reader. All three words are highly allusive. Since at least 20 other daughters of Asopus are known by name,[40] out of context the alias *Asopis* was insufficient to identify Aegina even for those who knew the story, especially since there is no mention of Jupiter and *ludo* is not an inevitable word for seduction. But in context the reader is lead to expect one of Jupiter's seductions, and the distinctive flame helps him to decipher the colorless patronymic. It was no doubt a matter of honor for those who considered themselves well read to solve such teasers. But for those who were stumped, the user-friendly mythographic handbook was a godsend.

Another passage surely written with the aid of a handbook is *Amores* iii.6, an apostrophe to a river by a young man in love. Much of the poem is given over to a list of rivers who have also been in love: Inachus, Xanthus, Alpheus, Peneus, Asopus, Achelous, Nilus, Enipeus, Anio. How did Ovid come by all this information on the love life of river gods? It is hardly credible that he just happened to remember so many stories about this one offbeat category of lover from his general reading in the classics. Some of these affairs are mentioned by surviving poets or mythographers, but three are otherwise undocumented (Xanthus and Neaera, Asopus and Thebe, Nilus and Euanthe).[41] Elsewhere Thebe is one of Asopus's many daughters rather than wife,[42] and while it is possible that Ovid misrembered some allusion in a poet, the circumstantial detail that this Thebe was a daughter of Mars and mother of five daughters (33–4) suggests a "genuine" variant tradition—and incidentally presupposes a detailed knowledge of the relationship.

As for Inachus's beloved, Bithynian Melia (*Melie Bithynide*, 25), elsewhere Inachus's Melia is said to be the daughter of Oceanus, while Bithynian Melia is elsewhere the beloved of Poseidon and mother of the brutal Amycus encountered by the Argonauts and killed by Pollux.[43] But Bithynian Melia is worth a closer look. It seems that she derives from an ambiguous line in Apollonius identifying Amycus's mother as Βιθυνὶς Μελίη, where, as the ancient scholia rightly remark, "it is unclear which is the proper name":[44] Melia from Bithynia, or Bithynis the ash-nymph, using μελίη generically, like δρυάς and πτελεάς (oak- and elm-nymph, dryad and ptelead), a usage found as early as Hesiod.[45] Once again, Ovid may have misremembered, but hardly this line of Apollonius, which specifies Melia's lover as Poseidon. Furthermore, he knew perfectly well that Inachus was a river

40. Klügmann in Roscher i (1884–90), 642–3.

41. For such information as we have on the subject, see Paul Brandt's commentary (1911) or (better) F. W. Lenz, *Ovid: Die Liebeselegien* (Berlin 1965), 220–23.

42. See Roscher v (1916–24), 552–3.

43. They are nos. 2 and 3 in Roscher ii.2 (1894–7), 2628–9, s.v. Melia.

44. Apoll. *Arg.* ii.4; ἄδηλον πότερόν ἐστι τὸ κύριον (Schol.); see F. Vian's note (vol. 1 (1976), 176 n. 2).

45. Jennifer Larson, *Greek Nymphs: Myth, Cult, Lore* (Oxford 2001), 283 n. 31; West's note on Hes. *Theog.* 187, Νύμφας θ' ἃς Μελίας καλέουσ' ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν.

in Argos, and must have been aware of the geographical problem created by a union between an Argive river and a Bithynian nymph. In the ordinary way nymphs and rivers enjoyed very limited mobility. It may be that he is alluding to a variant version devised to explain precisely this geographical anomaly.[46]

The natural conclusion is that Ovid found all these stories together in a chapter in some mythographer entitled "Which women slept with river gods" or "Mortal men and women descended from river gods" (such unions always result in children).[47] Trojan heroes in particular are often provided with a descent from river gods by a variety of nymphs.[48] Once again, there need be no suggestion that Ovid was somehow cheating. Now that we have discovered from the papyri just how common such lists were, why resist the notion that Ovid used the same shortcuts as everyone else? As with the love lives of Jupiter and Neptune, he may well have known all or most of the examples on the list he consulted from his own reading of the classics, but the full dossier not only ensured that he did not miss the cases that best fitted his own context but (once again) supplied all the information necessary for neat ways of concealing names allusively behind patronymics, ethnics, or periphrases of one sort or another.

For example, he styles Enipeus's beloved the "daughter of Salmoneus" (*Salmonida*, 43), and Alpheus is "driven by unwavering love [*certus amor*] for the Arcadian maid" (30), where *certus* hints at the passion that drove Alpheus to pursue his beloved, the Arcadian nymph Arethusa, right under the Ionian sea to Syracuse. He might also have styled Arethusa daughter of Nereus; or Alpheus son of Oceanus, or father of Orsilochus and Phegeus.[49] According to Hyginus, she bore a son Abas to Neptune (*Abas ex Arethusa Nerei filia*), but he has confused the Nereid with another Arethusa, for whom Stephanus of Byzantium cites a learned source, the *Laconica* of Aristocrates of Sparta.[50] As it happens, Ovid styles Perseus *Abantiades* (iv.673), but this is a different Abas, son of Lynceus. It is not surprising that the poets sometimes confuse homonyms, when even the mythographers let them down.

Another likely case is Niobe's children. As we have already seen, mythographers and commentators delighted to compile lists of the different totals of her children offered by different poets. No surviving Greek poet actually names any of these ill-fated children, but mythographers from Pherecydes on give widely differing lists of anything from seven to fourteen male and female names.[51] Ovid

46. The division of mythological characters into two or more homonyms to account for chronological, geographical, and other anomalies is a rich source of variant versions. Zeus, Dionysus, and Heracles are well-documented examples; Atalanta is probably another (Gantz 1993, 335–9).

47. See Paul Maas's famous article "De deorum cum feminis mortalibus concubitu," *Kleine Schriften* (Munich 1973), 66–7.

48. Larson 2001, 95, 194–5.

49. See their entries in Roscher.

50. Hyg. *Fab*. 157.2; Steph. Byz. s.v. ʼΑβαντίς, p. 3.5–6; *FGrH* 591 F 7 ("s.I^{a}–s.I^{p}" Jacoby).

51. Schol. Eurip. *Phoen*. 159 (Fowler, *EGM* i.342); Hyginus, *Fab*. 11 and 69.7; Ps-Apoll. iii.45; Schol. Stat. *Theb*. iii.193.

names seven sons, but drew the line at daughters. Five of his seven coincide with Ps-Apollodorus's male names.[52]

Two more extreme illustrations are Ovid's lists of the Calydonian boar-hunters and Actaeon's hounds. The game of naming the boar-hunters began early. The hunt is frequently represented on black-figure vases, where individual hunters are often identified by name.[53] The François vase (ca 570 BC) lists no fewer than 20, plus seven dogs; a cup in Munich names eight hunters and four dogs. These lists often differ, with Meleager, Atalante, Peleus, and Ancaeus among the regulars. The first literary source to provide a detailed list may have been Stesichorus's *Boar-hunters*.[54] A messenger speech in Euripides's *Meleager* also gave a brief list.[55] The mythographers naturally took care to provide comprehensive lists, complete (as usual) with father's names and ethnics (to underline the importance of the exploit, with participants from far and wide): Ps-Apollodorus has 21, Hyginus 33. And at least two fragments of mythographic papyri provide similar lists, again with patronymics and ethnics, the first additionally in alphabetical sequence.[56]

The hunt for the Calydonian boar is a story of heroic collaboration that turned to bitterness and tragedy. Ovid decided to give it a characteristic twist.[57] I quote Anderson's summary:[58]

> [Ovid's version,] while following the conventional outlines, abandons the heroic and tragic aspects in order to concentrate on the mock-heroic. Of the heroes who have answered Meleager's appeal and arrived to help him, not one performs any important service. On the contrary, Ovid inserts details about their actions and words which undermine their heroic status. Nestor, for example, avoids the boar by a desperate move: he pole-vaults into the branches of a nearby tree (365–8). Telamon eagerly runs forward to hurl his spear but trips over a root and falls flat on his face (378–9). The great Theseus makes a passionate speech against *virtus*—it is dangerous!—to his beloved Pirithous (405–7), then throws his spear impressively, only to watch it futilely hit a branch (408–10). Jason's aim is even clumsier; instead of striking the boar [he hits one of the dogs] (411–13). These are but a few of the indications that Ovid is playing with the normally solemn story.

52. In fact Ps-Apollodorus is the only list to offer Damasichthon, the one son singled out at *Ibis* 581.

53. Twenty are listed by Susan Woodford and Ingrid Krauskopf in *LIMC* 6.1(Zürich 1992), 416–8.

54. Jennifer R. March, *The Creative Poet* (BICS Suppl. 49), London 1987, 44–6.

55. Macrob. *Sat*. 5.18.17, quoting Eur. *Mel*. F 530 N². For further details on the hunt in literature, A. S. Hollis, *Ovid Metamorphoses Book VIII* (Oxford 1969), 66–9.

56. Ps-Apoll. i.8.20; Hyg. *Fab*. 173; van Rossum–Steenbeek 1998, nos. 61, 62, and perhaps 74, with pp. 129–30 and 148.

57. Hollis 1969, 68, perhaps exaggerates the epic features of Ovid's account.

58. W. S. Anderson, *Ovid's Metamorphoses: Books 6–10* (Norman 1972), 357–8; I have modified Anderson's reference to line 412 in the light of his Teubner text of 1972.

Unsurprisingly enough, the list of hunters (viii.300–17) has playful touches. Nestor was still a young man; Caeneus no longer a woman; the Dioscuri not yet constellations. There are also one or two teasing periphrases. While "father-in-law of Penelope" is easy enough to penetrate (Laertes), not everyone will have known that the "son of Oecles still safe from his wife" (316–7) was Amphiaraüs the seer.

Ovid's is the longest list of boar-hunters we have, 35 plus an unspecified number of sons of Hippocoön (there were 20, according to Diodorus).[59] Nor does he stop here. Attentive readers will notice that in the course of his narrative he names three more: Enaesimus, one of Hippocoön's sons (362), and the two sons of Thestius (440–1) left unnamed in the original list (304). Ovid was not in general much interested in mythographic minutiae. We have seen that Narrator frequently adds names and patronymics Ovid had omitted. But by Ovid's day the list of hunters had become a central element in the story of the Calydonian boar. When he came to describe the temple of Athena at Tegea (Atalanta's home town), Pausanias solemnly listed all 18 hunters identified in the relief on the pediment.[60] Ovid was not going to disappoint his readers' expectations. Nor did he reach his total of 38 by invention or guesswork. As Albert Henrichs noticed, the only other source to name Akastos son of Pelias is two black-figure vases from the early sixth century.[61] Ovid did his homework.

Then there are Actaeon's hounds, no fewer than 36 of them in Ovid's list (iii.206–25). The game of naming the hounds also began early. A fragment of Aeschylus quoted by Pollux names four, including one (Harpyia) featured in Ovid's list.[62] It may even go back to Hesiod, though the epic lines listing six or seven names quoted by Ps-Apollodorus are probably Hellenistic.[63] Hyginus gives two lists, the first copied straight from Ovid,[64] the second (*alii auctores tradunt*) giving 46 names (25 male, 21 female), only three of which (Harpyia, Hylaeus, Melampus) overlap with Ovid. A second- or third-century papyrus gives 28 legible names (14 male, 14 female) out of what must have been an originally even longer list, in substantial agreement with the second list in Hyginus.[65] Ps-Apollodorus gives no names, but his reference to Actaeon's 50 dogs[66] implies knowledge of a list of 25 males and 25 females, a list that (mercifully) he refrained from quoting. The hunters are undeniably an important part of the story of the Calydonian boar, not least because they end up fighting each other. And catalogues of heroes are also an established feature of epic poetry. But catalogues of dogs are not.

59. Diod. iv.33.5; Gantz 1993, 427–8; Roscher i.2677–8.

60. As described by Pausanias viii.45.6–7.

61. Henrichs 1988, 252.

62. Ovid, *Met*. iii.206–33; Pollux 5.47 = *TGrF* iii.F 245 (Harpyia).

63. Powell, *CA* 71–2; West 1985, 88.

64. *Fab*. 181; it may have been Hyginus himself who added the Ovidian list to the list offered by his Greek source, though more probably it is a later interpolation.

65. Van Rossum–Steenbeek 1998, no. 65, with p. 134.

66. *Bibl*. iii.4.4.

More than one critic has remarked that Ovid's list "is fatal to the pathos of the situation."[67] But the explanation is not (as some have implied) mere lack of judgment,[68] or he would not have waited till the thirty-third name before saying that it would take too long to name them all![69] And it is three more again who begin the attack on Actaeon a few lines later. Ovid even explains the omission of these three extra dogs from his earlier list;[70] they had set out later than the rest but arrived first by taking a shortcut! While we may certainly agree with Anderson that Ovid did not "copy" his list from a handbook,[71] it is surely impossible to deny some connection. In its own terms it is a model list, with names elegantly linked in a variety of different ways, and skilful alternation between epithets, ethnics, descriptive phrases, and personal details (Nape sired by a wolf, Harpyia with her two cubs, Hylaeus recently gored by a boar). Line 217 consists entirely of Greek talking names.[72] Here is an extract (3.211–8; I give no translation, since the skill of the list lies precisely in what cannot be translated):

> Nebrophonosque valens et trux cum Laelape Theron
> et pedibus Pterelas et naribus utilis Agre
> Hylaeusque ferox nuper percussus ab apro
> deque lupo concepta Nape pecudesque secuta
> Poemenis et natis comitata Harpyia duobus
> et substricta gerens Sicyonius ilia Ladon
> et Dromas et Canache Sticteque et Tigris et Alce
> et niveis Leucon et villis Asbolos atris.

Nonetheless, a catalogue of dogs cannot help being a parody of a catalogue of heroes. The inspiration of this (for all its elegance) preposterous catalogue must surely have been the tedious lists of canine names mechanically divided by gender that he found in the mythographers. Ovid was poking fun at such lists in his own way by outdoing and improving on them.

One final illustration. The speech of Pythagoras that fills almost half of book 15 (60–478) lists a great many marvels of nature: rivers and mountains that appear and disappear, cities swept away by tsunamis, rivers with strange properties, one creature born from another, animals that change sex or color. Naturally there has been much speculation about Ovid's sources. Throwing around names like Callimachus,

67. G. K. Galinsky, *Ovid's Metamorphoses: an introduction to the basic aspects* (Berkeley 1975), 195, rightly seeing the length of the list as a deliberate device to "strike a humorous note."

68. Ovid's "unfortunate passion for being exhaustive," L. P. Wilkinson, *Ovid Recalled* (Cambridge 1955), 235. On the same page the list of all 12 of his labors Hercules gives on his deathbed "destroys credibility." But that presupposes that he was aiming at credibility rather than "a tour de force of considerable elegance" (Anderson 1972, 430).

69. *quosque referre mora est*, iii.225.

70. The technique is much like the three extra hunters named later in the account of the boar hunt.

71. W. S. Anderson, *Ovid's Metamorphoses: Books 1–5* (Norman 1997), 359.

72. For those based on etymological wordplays, A. Michalopoulos, *Ancient Etymologies in Ovid's Metamorphoses* (Leeds 2001), 16.

Posidonius, and Varro suggests serious erudition, but as Sara Myers recently pointed out, the generic name for this sort of thing is *mirabilia*, or paradoxography.[73] We have seen that the main difference between the out-and-out paradoxographer and the (more or less) sober scientists and geographers who are the ultimate sources of his information is that the paradoxographer reduces explanatory detail to a minimum and exaggerates the element of sheer wonder (ch. VI.3). Ovid is clearly more interested in wonders than explanation, and the very length of his list suggests a paradoxographical source. More specifically, lines 259–336, entirely devoted to wonders concerning rivers and springs, bear an obvious relationship to the so-called Paradoxographus Florentinus, a list of 43 wonders concerning rivers and springs, including several of Ovid's illustrations.[74] Paradoxographus cites sources throughout, mainly Isigonus of Nicaea, a late Hellenistic paradoxographer known to have written on rivers and springs,[75] presumably his own (and quite possibly also Ovid's) direct source. At lines 322–8 Ovid gives an account of the Clitor, said to turn men away from wine because this is where Melampus washed their madness from the Proetides. The story about the Proetides is told in a 10-line epigram quoted by Paradoxographus that was evidently known to Ovid.[76]

By the Roman age mythography and paradoxography had much in common. Ptolemy Quail, Ps-Plutarch, and Aelian combine both in the same books. Together with the rest of its variously useful information, the *Liber memorialis* of Ampelius provides a list of 25 wonders of the world (the last seven drawn from the same source as one of the later chapters of Hyginus).[77] Palatinus graecus 398 is a famous example of a whole series of mythographers and paradoxographers bound up in the same volume. Laurentianus graecus 56.1 is another, on a smaller scale, since Paradoxographus Florentinus is none other than the Anonymus Florentinus we met in the previous chapter. It is no surprise to find such a volume on Ovid's bookshelf.

4: THE *METAMORPHOSES*: SOURCES

Ovid's *Metamorphoses* poses the question of mythographic sources in a particularly acute form. Most Roman poets—Horace and the elegists, for example—sprinkle their poems with mythological allusions. Others deal with one main mythical story or saga, whether on the grand scale (the Argonauts, the Seven

73. K. Sara Myers, *Ovid's Causes: Cosmogony and Aetiology in the Metamorphoses* (Ann Arbor 1994), 146–59, citing earlier discussions.

74. H. Öhler's *Paradoxographi Florentini anonymi opusculum de aquis mirabilibus* (Tübingen 1913) remains the most valuable and informative work on this text; also useful is A. Giannini, *Paradoxographicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Milan 1965), 315–29.

75. F. Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur in der Alexandrinerzeit* i (Leipzig 1891), 480–1; Giannini 1965, 146–8; and Öhler 1913 passim (see his index), with summary on p. 162.

76. *Par. Flor.* 24 (Giannini 1965, 320–2); for the epigram, T. Preger, *Inscr. Graec. Metricae* (Leipzig 1891), no. 215. It is also quoted by Vitruvius (8.3.21), but Ovid is more likely to have known the paradoxographer than Vitruvius.

77. *Lib. mem.* 8.1–25; 18–23 are the traditional seven wonders, also found in Hyg. *Fab.* 223 as well as Vibius Sequester and Cassiodorus; for a comparison of the four versions, which evidently go back to a common source, M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet, *L. Ampelius: Aide-Mémoire* (Paris 1993), 93–6.

against Thebes) or in miniature (Ciris or Peleus and Thetis). Mythological allusions often require little more than the tralatician lore any cultivated person would pick up from a variety of sources, literary and nonliterary alike. Nor was it hard to come by sufficiently detailed poetic sources for well-known individual stories. Already by Ovid's day, for example, there were a number of more or less well-known versions of the story of Myrrha/Smyrna/Ciris.[78] Apollonius's *Argonautica* at once became the canonical version for the story of the Argonauts, but for that very reason any poet wishing to be thought learned would try to show knowledge of a few *non*-Apollonian traditions. We have already seen that Valerius Flaccus includes a handful of obscure non-Apollonian details, probably deriving (ultimately at any rate) from Chares's *On the stories of Apollonius* (ch. III.2). The *Bibliotheca* likewise includes a number of non-Apollonian details along with a basically Apollonian version.[79] In the *Metamorphoses* Ovid set out to tell a couple of hundred different stories from start to finish. That required a much more precise and detailed knowledge of a much wider range of stories than we find in any other Latin poem.

This is no less true of a work often left out of account in discussions of this topic, the *Ibis*. Housman famously argued that Ovid's researches for the *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti* "had furnished him with a far greater number of stories and histories than could be crowded into those two poems," and so he used up the leftovers in the *Ibis*.[80] This is no doubt an unfair and inadequate assessment of the *Ibis*.[81] But there is no denying that lines 251–634 are stuffed to overflowing with obscure stories, more indeed per line of text than the *Metamorphoses*, since every story is reduced to a few hints and compressed into a single couplet—sometimes as many as three stories in one couplet (e.g. 359–60). More so here than in the *Metamorphoses* itself Ovid resorts to periphrases based on obscure genealogical details. I give two examples. First, a case where he demonstrably draws on learning acquired during his research for the *Metamorphoses* (lines 581–2):

> Utque ferunt caesos sex cum Damasichthone fratres,
> intereat tecum sic genus omne tuum.

> And as they say his six brothers perished with Damasichthon,
> so may all your family perish together with you.

Damasichthon was one of the seven sons of Niobe (ch. VII.1). Second, perhaps the only trace in the Latin poets of Parthenius's *Erotica Pathemata*. At *Ibis* 434, in the context of serving up relatives for dinner, Ovid expresses the wish that his victim become "Tantalus's son or the son of Teleus."[82] According to Parthenius,

78. R.O.A.M. Lyne, *Ciris: A Poem attributed to Vergil* (Cambridge 1978), 5–14.

79. E. Liénard, "Pro Hygini Argonautarum Catalogo," *Latomus* 2 (1938), 240–55.

80. "The *Ibis* of Ovid," *Journ. Phil.* 35 (1920), 317–8 = *The Classical Papers of A. E. Housman* iii (Cambridge 1972), 1041–2.

81. See now Gareth D. Williams, *The Curse of Exile: A Study of Ovid's Ibis* (Cambridge 1996).

82. Parthen. § 13, with Lightfoot 1999, 446–9. On the problems of this line, see Williams 1996, 111 n. 99.

citing Euphorion's *Thrax* and the otherwise unknown Dectadas as sources, Clymenus son of Teleus raped his daughter Harpalice, who served him her brother for dinner in revenge. To judge from what remains of the *Thrax* papyrus, Euphorion did not mention Teleus, and Hyginus gives a different father.[83] The only surviving source that does name Teleus is Parthenius.[84] The obvious assumption is that Ovid skimmed Parthenius in search of suitable stories. But all he actually used was a genealogical detail that made his allusion all but impenetrable.

Both are among the many *exempla* where, as Lindsay Watson has remarked, "it is generally not necessary for Ovid's reader to be familiar with the legend in order to comprehend the import of the curse which is built around it."[85] Indeed Gareth Williams has gone further, pointing out that[86]

> in his pose as a ruthless avenger, Ovid was not writing for the Politians, Heinsii and Housmans of this world, or for a select audience of savants who would positively relish the challenge of pitting their wits against the catalogue; on the contrary, Ovid relies on a very different class of reader for the unnerving impact of the catalogue—the "ordinary" reader who will inevitably struggle to see through the impenetrable curtain of allusions.

This is a true enough, and an important difference between the allusions in the *Ibis* and the stories told in the *Metamorphoses*. Yet the erudition itself is genuine and stood as a challenge to any learned reader who took his mythological knowledge seriously, as the scholia and successive modern commentaries abundantly illustrate.[87]

According to Fritz Graf, "it has rightly become unfashionable to posit as [Ovid's] source mythological handbooks, so favoured by nineteenth-century scholarship," adding that "there is nothing to prevent us from assuming that [he] read avidly and systematically."[88] No one doubts that Ovid read avidly, but it is not clear what difference reading *systematically* could have made. The only ancient writers to tell the stories of myth systematically were the mythographers. To take a single major category of Greek poetry almost entirely devoted to myth, even if we assume that Ovid read widely in the tragic poets, each tragedy dealt with only one story (or part of a story), and very few of them involved a metamorphosis.

To start with, we need to be clear how we are using the rather imprecise term "source" in this context. For the stories themselves Ovid clearly needed sources in a very straightforward sense, more or less detailed narratives of the literally

83. *SH* 413 A. 12–17; Hyg. *Fab*. 206 (Schoeneus).

84. Roscher s.v. Teleus cites Parthenius, but not *Ibis* 434.

85. Watson, *Arai: The Curse Poetry of Antiquity* (Leeds 1991), 106.

86. Williams 1996, 93.

87. Rosario Guarino Ortega, *Los comentarios al Ibis de Ovidio: El largo recorrido de una exégesis* (Frankfurt 1999), has collected all attempts to solve the riddles of the *Ibis* from the scholia to the present day in the form of a line-by-line commentary.

88. Graf, "Myth in Ovid," in P. Hardie (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Ovid* (Cambridge 2002), 119.

hundreds of stories he was planning to include. This did not mean that he was obliged to "follow" these sources. Indeed there is every reason to believe that he treated earlier versions of the stories he selected with the utmost freedom. Scholars have often wondered which version of the Erysichthon story he used, since his own is so different from the most famous, that of Callimachus.[89] But Ovid may well have reshaped the story himself, to stress Erysichthon's impiety in cutting down sacred trees for the contrast with the preceding story, in which the pious Philemon and Baucis are changed into sacred trees.[90] Another intriguing illustration is the way Ovid disposes of Medea's most horrific crime, the murder of her children, in a single line (vii.396). The preceding book had treated at length the story of Procne's infanticide. Procne, like Medea, had been driven to her crime by being betrayed by a foreign husband. Through Procne, suggests Carole Newlands, "Ovid explores the themes that are acutely compressed in his version of the Medea myth—betrayal, vengeance, and infanticide—and reveals their troubling complexities."[91] In a work like the *Metamorphoses*, where transformations follow each other thick and fast, the character or tone of any given story was liable to be affected by its predecessor or successor.[92] This, rather than a different source, may be responsible for a well-known story taking a lighter, darker, or simply different turn from the standard version. No less than the Greek tragedians, Ovid felt entirely free to handle traditional stories any way he pleased.

Nonetheless, however he treated them, Ovid needed stories, lots of them. For preference he also wanted variants as well, partly to avoid overly familiar versions, partly so that he could select the version that best fitted the context he had in mind—or offered the neatest segues into or from adjacent stories (detailed information about ancestors and descendants was essential here). For example, his version of the Daphne and Apollo story differs "in detail, theme and tone and even geographical location" from the many other versions that have come down to us, not least that provided by Parthenius, which Ovid surely knew.[93] It may be that Ovid himself moved the location to Thessaly to facilitate his transition to the story of Io that followed. But he may just have followed a version now lost.[94] He also needed stories of a very specific type. Tales of metamorphosis are not in fact very common in pre-Hellenistic literature.[95]

89. On the differences between the Ovidian and Callimachean versions of the Erysichthon saga, K. J. McKay, *Erysichthon: A Callimachean Comedy* (Leiden 1962), 5–33; Galinsky 1965, 5–14; Solodow 1988, 159–62.

90. See Otis 1970, 413–5; Solodow 1988, 16–7.

91. See her contribution to J. J. Clauss and S. I. Johnston (eds.), *Medea: Essays on Medea* (Princeton 1997), 178–208 at 195.

92. Otis 1970 in particular repeatedly illustrates this phenomenon.

93. Anderson 1997, 190; for the other versions, Lightfoot 1999, 471–5.

94. Though he did not invent Peneus as Daphne's father—also found in Hyginus (*Fab.* 203), in a version where it is Terra who turns her into the laurel. Obviously Ovid himself added the Augustan conclusion.

95. L. P. Wilkinson's claim that "there were few legends that did not contain a metamorphosis at some point" (*Ovid Recalled* [Cambridge 1955], 145) is a gross exaggeration.

For this reason alone it would have been unproductive simply to work through the classics in the hope of finding suitable material. Systematic research was required. Ovid no doubt began with the handful of poems specifically dedicated to the topic: Nicander's *Heteroioumena* (four or five books), and the *Ornithogonia* of the mysterious Boio or Boios (at least two books). But clearly neither satisfied his needs. Quite apart from the fact that they cannot have supplied nearly enough material for his projected 15 books, he passes over four stories Antoninus attributes to Nicander, and often treats those he did include very differently. J. Dietze assumed that Ovid drew only on Nicander for the stories they share and that all differences are due to the freedom with which Ovid treated his source (even the changes of name).[96] Given the age in which he worked, it was to Dietze's credit that he acknowledged Ovid's independence, but (to take a single example), we saw in an earlier chapter that there must have been at least two or three other versions of the story of Leto and the frogs (pp. 210–11). Other works for which we have no more than titles are the *Metamorphoseis* of Parthenius, the *Alloioseis* of Antigonus (*SH* 50), and the *Metamorphoseis* of Didymarchus (*SH* 378A), the last two only known from the same source citation to Antoninus.[97] And Ps-Probus seems to confirm a pre-Ovidian *Metamorphoseis* by Theodorus (though in both stories for which we have any information the Ovidian version is different).[98]

Some or all of these works might have been in prose (like Parthenius's *Erotica Pathemata*) rather than verse.[99] It is something of a paradox that, if they were poems, their use would be held to illustrate Ovid's "Alexandrianism"—but not (it seems) if they turned out to be prose handbooks. The surviving handbooks of Parthenius and Antoninus, though of very modest literary ambitions, nevertheless embody a fair amount of what a poet in Ovid's position would have found extremely useful research. The source references they cite (early, whether or not supplied by the authors themselves) are often to little-known prose works such as Ovid was most unlikely to have come across in the usual course of his reading, however "systematic." Even without the source citations, it is clear from Antoninus's summaries that many of Nicander's stories were originally found in (often obscure) local histories, regularly in the form of aetiologies of local cults. Many of the works Callimachus combed for little known stories were in effect mythographers (Xenomedes of Ceos, Agias and Dercyllus of Argos). Most are

96. Johannes Dietze, *Komposition und Quellenbenutzung in Ovids Metamorphosen* (Hamburg 1905), Kap. III.

97. The *Metamorphoseis* attributed to Callisthenes and Dorotheus never existed outside the mind of Ps-Plutarch.

98. Ceyx and Alcyone and Myrrha/Smyrna (*SH* 749–50): see above p. 17. Ps-Plutarch (22A) cites Theodorus for what is by and large Ovid's version of the story of Myrrha/Smyrna, though he says that she incurred "the wrath of Aphrodite," while Ovid insists that she was pursued by the Furies, and Cupid had nothing to do with it. According to Hyg. *Fab.* 58, her mother had boasted that she was more beautiful than Aphrodite.

99. Lightfoot 1999, 164–7.

classified as local historians by Jacoby, but their early books at any rate were pretty much pure mythography.

A couple of illustrations. First, we happen to know that the ultimate source of the story of Pygmalion was Philostephanus's *On Cyprus*.[100] In this version Pygmalion falls in love with a statue of Aphrodite and actually takes it to his bed as if it were his wife. It is conceivable (if unlikely) that Ovid came across it in Philostephanus and saw the possibilities of a cleaned-up and romanticised version. But our own source for the Philostephanus version is Clement of Alexandria.[101] This alone is enough to prove that it was one of the many stories included in the sort of mythographical and paradoxographical handbooks from which Clement derived so much of his classical erudition (Ch. II.3). The fact that Clement continues with another story about a man having sex with a statue both confirms the assumption of a handbook and makes it clear that in its original form the story did not conclude with a metamorphosis. It was surely in some such secondary source that Ovid first encountered Pygmalion.[102]

Second, Ovid would have known from a number of allusions in writers both classical and postclassical that there was a hero called Caeneus who used to be a woman and was killed in a strange way. Though probably included in the *Catalogue of Women*,[103] no classical or Hellenistic text that has come down to us tells the whole story.[104] Obviously such an intriguing figure was a prime candidate for inclusion in the *Metamorphoses*, but where was Ovid to find the necessary details? Rather than searching the poets at random, the obvious first step was to check a handbook like the Michigan dictionary under kappa. If Mythographus Homericus was available as early as Ovid's day, there was an entry there as well, conveniently near the beginning (*Iliad* i.264)—now preserved on papyrus as well as in the D-scholia to Homer.[105] Whatever sort of spin Ovid was planning to give any story, he always needed the basic "biographical" data, and evidently found what he needed: father's name (Elatus the Lapith), born Caenis in Thessaly, raped by Neptune, granted invulnerability, driven into the ground by centaurs (xii.189–535). *Atracides* in line 209 is either an ethnic from Atrax, a city in Thessaly, or a patronymic (according to Stephanus, Atrax was founded by the hero Atrax, son of the river god Peneus).[106]

100. Of which there are perhaps four "fragments," two of them deriving from Tzetzes: *FHG* iii.20–1 (not yet in Jacoby).

101. Clem. *Protr*. 57.11; see too Arnob. 6.22, deriving from Clement; Roscher iii.2 (1902–9), 3318.

102. Anderson 1972, 496, seems to assume that it was Ovid who added the metamorphosis, which is possible, though it is equally possible that he had a Greek predecessor.

103. F 87–8 M-W; West 1985, 71.

104. Gantz 1993, 280–1; and see now the full treatment in Katharina Waldner, *Geburt und Hochzeit des Kriegers: Geschlechterdifferenz und Initiation in Mythos und Ritual der griechischen Polis* (Berlin 2000), 51–81.

105. See van Rossum–Steenbeek 1998, 280; chapter V.

106. So Antoninus Liberalis § 17, citing Nicander; Stoll in Roscher i.711. In the Ovidian context it would have to mean grandson of Atrax, since Ovid names Elatus as her father.

Ovid surely skimmed every mythographic text he could lay his hands on in search of material—on top of, not (of course) instead of reading the poets. Mythographers (as we have seen) would refer him to more detailed and literary accounts in the poets and local historians. He no doubt followed up the more promising citations, but the more obscure Greek local historians must already have been hard to find in Rome.

5: THE *METAMORPHOSES*: STRUCTURE

This brings us to an issue much discussed in recent years. Once he had collected his material, how did Ovid arrange it? In 1903 a young Swiss scholar, Hermann Kienzle, published a dissertation under the title *Ovidius qua ratione compendium mythologicum ad Metamorphoseis componendas adhibuerit*. This thesis has come to be treated as a *reductio ad absurdum* of misguided nineteenth-century source criticism.[107] Brooks Otis began his (still valuable) appendix on the sources of the *Metamorphoses* by remarking that his entire book was "of course, an implicit denial of the thesis once widely held . . . that Ovid followed, *more or less faithfully*, the plan of a mythological handbook or compendium."[108] Kienzle went too far, of course. But his thesis was never so extreme as often implied, and he never for one moment claimed that Ovid followed any such source "more or less faithfully."

Ovid himself claimed to be following a *chronological* scheme, from the origin of the world down to his own day (*primaque ab origine mundi / ad mea . . . tempora*), a claim that he repeated in his *Tristia*, addressing Augustus himself (*prima surgens ab origine mundi / in tua deduxi tempora, Caesar, opus*).[109] And in keeping with this plan there is almost always a *narrative* link of some sort between successive stories.

Otis conceded that, broadly speaking, Ovid did just what he said he would do. He began with Chaos, the flood, and Deucalion, treated gods before heroes, put Hercules, the Argonauts, and the Calydonian boar hunt before the Trojan War,[110] then proceeded to Roman myths and finally Roman history, ending with the prospective apotheosis of Augustus. Yet Otis was more impressed by Ovid's "attention to variety and diversity" and identified four basic thematic sections: The Divine Comedy (i–ii), The Avenging Gods (iii–vi.400), The Pathos of Love (vi.401-xi), and Rome and the Deified Ruler (xii–xv). The principle of these sections is supposed to be symmetrical correspondence, with central "panels" framed by matching episodes on either side.[111] Many of the parallels

107. Thanks to the happy coincidence that I came across a copy of Kienzle in a Chicago bookstore while writing this chapter, I have had the opportunity of studying this (actually rather moderate and carefully argued) thesis more carefully than most. Also still worth consulting, though more one-sided, is J. Dietze's 1905 dissertation, cited above.

108. Otis 1970, 375 (my italics).

109. *Met*. i.3–4; *Trist*. ii.559–60.

110. On the evidence of Homer, many fathers of heroes of the Trojan War were Argonauts or participated in the boar hunt.

111. Otis 1970, 77–8 and 83–6.

and contrasts Otis detected between successive stories and groups of stories are persuasive and illuminating and may well be deliberate, but other critics have come up with different groupings, and it is hard to believe that the reader of any given story can (even subliminally) have appreciated the link to its "matching" episode on the far side of a central panel in a previous book. After all, does not Ovid himself deliberately transgress the most obvious division of all by pointedly overriding the transitions between books?

It is not my purpose here to analyse the structure of the *Metamorphoses*—for the entire poem perhaps a hopeless task—but simply to reconsider the likely contribution of mythographers. According to Fritz Graf, the arrangement of the *Metamorphoses* "owes less to the structure of mythological handbooks than to that of universal histories like the one of Diodorus Siculus."[112] It was Walther Ludwig who first suggested this comparison, claiming that, like the universal historians, Ovid divided his material into three basic blocks, primeval, mythical, and historical time. Stephen Wheeler has now developed the idea in detail.[113]

That Ovid was directly influenced by Diodorus (or any other universal historian) is surely most unlikely, for at least three reasons. In the first place, while Diodorus's preface, like Ovid's, announces his intention of moving "from the most ancient times down to his own day,"[114] that is about the only significant parallel between the two works.[115] As we have just seen, there are much closer correspondences in detail with Ps-Apollodorus. Second, while Ovid does indeed reach his own day, it can scarcely be said that he ever reaches historical time. Such figures or events of Roman history as he alludes to are thoroughly mythologized; even the wanderings of Aeneas are virtually de-Romanized.[116] The only event he mentions between Numa and Julius Caesar is the arrival of Aesculapius (introduced in allusive mythological style as "Coronis's son") in Rome in 291 BC, and significantly enough he substitutes an unhistorical appeal to Apollo's oracle at Delphi for the actual consultation of the Sibylline books. The figure of Numa frames well over half of book xv, but less than one line goes to his founding of the Roman cults (*sacrificos docuit ritus*, 483) and more than four hundred to his unhistorical meeting with Pythagoras (60–478), ridiculed by Cicero, Livy, and Dionysius on the grounds that Pythagoras lived at least a century after Numa.[117] The only role his

112. Graf 2002, 119.

113. W. Ludwig, *Struktur und Einheit der Metamorphosen Ovids* (Berlin), 74–86 (esp. 80); S. Wheeler, "Ovid's Metamorphoses and Universal History," in D. S. Levene and D. P. Nelis (eds.), *Clio and the Poets: Augustan Poetry and the Traditions of Ancient Historiography* (Leiden 2002), 163–89.

114. Diod. i.3.6, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων . . . μέχρι τῶν καθ' αὑτὸν καιρῶν.

115. The other "parallels" adduced by Wheeler 2002, 188, are far from convincing.

116. On this, see particularly Solodow 1988, ch. 4.

117. R. M. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy: Books 1–5* (Oxford 1965), 89–90; E. Gabba, *Dionysius and the History of Archaic Rome* (Berkeley 1991), 13–4; E. S. Gruen, *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy* (Berkeley 1990), 158–70; Myers 1994, 137; D. Feeney, "*Mea tempora*: patterning of time in the *Metamorphoses*," in P. Hardie, A. Barchiesi, and S. Hinds (eds.), *Ovidian Transformations* (Cambridge 1999), 13–30 at 22.

consort Egeria plays in Ovid's narrative is to listen to the story of Hippolytus's translation to Italy in the form of Virbius (487–551).[118]

Third, there is the sheer improbability of *any* Roman poet making a serious study of historical writings or adopting a specifically historiographical approach.[119] More than a century ago Hermann Peter made the point that, for most of the poets, the historical record was little more than a series of rhetorical *exempla*. Lucan might seem to be an exception in that he chose a historical theme, but outside his period he employs the same rhetorical exempla as the other poets.[120] Like his Hellenistic predecessors, Ovid no doubt consulted such Greek local historians as he could lay his hands on for mythological stories, and while working on the *Metamorphoses* he was also engaged in detailed research on Roman festivals and the Roman calendar for his *Fasti*.[121] And there is much in both poems that is certainly *political*. But it is most unlikely that Ovid devoted the postulated time and effort to familiarizing himself with anything so marginal to any of his interests as universal history.

There was simply no need. For the idea of beginning with creation and proceeding in genealogical sequence he did not need to look further than the *Theogony* and *Catalogue of Women*—or any systematic mythological handbook.[122] While Ps-Apollodorus does not offer a straightforward narrative, he does begin with a theogony and then follows each of the great mythical houses generation by generation down to the age of the Trojan War. As for a straightforwardly chronological ordering of all the main figures and events of myth, that too was conveniently available, in the form of chronicles. The most systematic was the *Chronological Epitome* of Castor of Rhodes, covering the period from Ninus to Pompey (2123–61 BC).[123] Varro drew on Castor for his *De gente populi Romani*, an antiquarian work that set the origins of Rome in a Greek context.[124] More important in the present context, Castor is regularly drawn on by the mythographers.[125] Ps-Apollodorus cites him for a detail of genealogy (ii.5): Io as daughter of Inachus rather than Iasus (his own view) or Peiren (for which he cites Hesiod and

118. For this story, deriving from Callimachus and summarized by Vergil, see Horsfall's notes on *Aeneid* 7.761–82.

119. See C. J. Classen, "Clio Exclusa," in Levene and Nelis 2002, 1–24, a recent conference volume dedicated to "Augustan poetry and the traditions of ancient historiography." Naturally many of the other contributors to the collection disagreed, but if Classen exaggerated, he did not exaggerate much.

120. H. Peter, *Die geschichtliche Litteratur über die römische Kaiserzeit bis Theodosius I und ihre Quellen* i (Leipzig 1897), 67–75.

121. Elaine Fantham, *Ovid Fasti: Book 4* (Cambridge 1998), 25–35; A. Schiesaro's chapter in *Cambridge Companion to Ovid* (2002).

122. Momigliano's paper "The Origins of Universal History" (*Settimo Contributo* [1984], 77–103) quite properly begins with Hesiod.

123. See F. Jacoby, *FGrH* 250.

124. E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* (London 1985), 244; Wheeler 2002, 173–6.

125. Schol. Eur. *Phoen*. 13 (for the sons of Oedipus); Steph. Byz. s.v. Βοιωτία (for Boeotia being named after the βοῦς of Cadmus).

Acusilaus). For what it is worth, Ovid follows Castor's version.[126] Note too that Castor offered the false synchronism of Numa and Pythagoras.[127]

Diodorus justifiably complained about the problems of establishing mythical chronology, perhaps in polemic against Castor,[128] most of whose dates and synchronisms were (of course) entirely arbitrary.[129] Eratosthenes had done his best to keep mythology out of chronography by making the Trojan War the starting point of his own chronicle. But Castor was not the first to ignore this sensible policy. Among datable original texts we have the Lindian temple chronicle of 99 BC and the Parian Marble of around 250 BC, both full of mythological material.[130] And through Castor and his successors, Deucalion, Prometheus, Cadmus, Io, Daedalus & Co. continued to hold their place, precisely dated, in medieval world chronicles. Oddly enough, Wheeler seems to have thought it more likely that Ovid knew Diodorus than Castor.[131] Yet getting the sense of a universal history, by its very nature a long work, required ploughing through many hundreds of pages of narrative (40 books in the case of Diodorus), while it took no more than a matter of minutes to consult the pre-Trojan entries in the tables of a chronicle.[132]

Calling Diodorus a "universal historian" may seem to elevate him above the mythographers, but for all his pretensions what his books iii–vi offer is really little more than euhemerizing mythography. While occasionally citing poets and historians by name, for the most part Diodorus refers anonymously to "the mythographers," thus distinguishing them as a group from named poets and historians as sources for the stories of myth.[133] The implication is that he drew most of his mythological information from the sort of anonymous or pseudonymous handbooks that are the subject of this book—as the countless parallels between his work and later scholiasts abundantly illustrate.[134]

126. Not alone, of course: so too Herod. i.1.3; Bacchyl. 19.18; *PV* 590; West 1985 76–7; Gantz 1993, 198.

127. *FGrH* F 15 = Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 10 (*Mor.* 266CE); Castor is presumably likewise Plutarch's source for *V. Numae* 1 and 8; despite the caution of Jacoby, presumably also the source of Diod. viii.14.

128. Kenneth Sacks, *Diodorus Siculus and the first century* (Princeton 1990), 65.

129. For what is known about Castor's "Pseudochronologie," E. Schwartz, "Die Königslisten des Eratosthenes und Kastor," *Abhandl. Göttingen* 40 (1894/5), esp. 94–6, and (of course) Jacoby's notes on *FGrH* 250.

130. *FGrH* 239 and 532.

131. Wheeler, *Discourse of Wonders* (1999), 126.

132. Three and a half pages in Jacoby's text of the Marmor Parium (*FGrH* 239).

133. οἱ μυθόγραφοι: iii.62.7; 63.1; 66.4; 66.6; iv.7.1; 7.3; 8.5; 43.4; 45.5. He also regularly uses the verb μυθολογεῖν of what they wrote: iii.64.3; 66.4; 67.5; 70.3; 71.3; 72.1; 73.2; 74.6; iv.4.1; 5.4; 6.1; 6.5; 8.4; 17.5; 21.5; 21.7; 34.6; 47.1; iv.61.5. For the distinction between poets and mythographers: iii.64.3; 66.4; iv.8.5. The only mythographer he cites by name is the third-century euhemerizer Dionysius Scytobrachion, also cited by name in Ps-Apollodorus and the Apollonius scholia: see *FGrH* 32 and, for an up-to-date treatment based on new papyri, Jeffrey Rusten, *Dionysius Scytobrachion* (Cologne 1982).

134. Many of them collected in Eric Bethe's still useful dissertation, *Quaestiones Diodoreae Mythographae* (Göttingen 1887). Note particularly the many close parallels with the Apollonius scholia (ib. 51–6).

As for the idea of continuing down to his own day, a much closer precedent undoubtedly known to Ovid is Ennius's *Annales*.[135] In any case, it was not just a question of looking for a suitable point to break off a historical narrative. Ovid's promise has to be understood in terms of his theme (metamorphosis) and genre (by the second half of book 15, in effect praise poetry). His goal was not to record Roman history as such[136] but to culminate in the most important metamorphosis of all, the (anticipated) catasterism of Augustus—whence his emphasis on the successive preparatory deifications of Aeneas, Romulus, and Caesar and the fact that he makes only two stops between Romulus and Caesar.[137] The notion that mortal benefactors of mankind might be elevated to the stars had been a commonplace of praise poetry since the court poets of Alexandria. Since the Ptolemies claimed descent from the Argead house of Macedon, which claimed descent in turn from Heracles (the prime example of a mortal benefactor rewarded with apotheosis), there was precedent for claiming that such apotheosis was hereditary. The other mythological example to which the poets regularly appeal is Castor and Pollux,[138] translated to heaven in the form of a conspicuous constellation. A comet that appeared soon after the death of Caesar was identified by his heir as the reception of his soul in heaven, and mentioned a number of times by Horace, Propertius, and (especially) Vergil.[139]

Thus it was almost inevitable that in a work devoted to metamorphosis Ovid would treat Augustus's future apotheosis as a catasterism. Here his models were Callimachus (who had translated both Arsinoë and the Lock of Berenice to the stars) and (more immediately) Horace and Vergil.[140] In Emma Gee's formulation, the end of the *Metamorphoses* returns to the genealogical mode of its beginning, emphasising the dynastic aspect of Caesar's catasterism ("aetherias aedes *cognataque sidera* tanget," as he says of Augustus). Peter Knox emphasizes rather the Callimachean ending of the poem, picking up its Callimachean opening.[141] Whichever way we choose to look at it, for all its actuality the poem ends on a mythological rather than historical note.

135. For Ennian influence precisely at the end of the poem, P. E. Knox, *Ovid's Metamorphoses and the Traditions of Augustan Poetry* (Cambridge 1986), 69–71.

136. *Pace* Philip Hardie's eccentric contribution in Levene and Nelis 2002, "The Historian in Ovid," 191–209.

137. In much the same way the Shield of Aeneas leaps from the Gallic sack of 387 BC to the Battle of Actium, as Hardie 2002, 194, points out.

138. *Dicam et Alciden puerosque Ledae*, Horace, *Carm*. i.12.25; *Romulus et Liber pater et cum Castore Pollux*, *Ep.* ii.1.5.

139. On the comet, see now the detailed investigation by John T. Ramsey and A. Lewis Licht, *The Comet of 44 B.C. and Caesar's Funeral Games* (Atlanta 1997); see too S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford 1971), 370–84; and for the *Iulium sidus* in Vergil, David West, *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* 21 (1993), 5–16.

140. All the relevant material is assembled and analysed in the final chapter of Emma Gee, *Ovid, Aratus and Augustus: Astronomy in Ovid's Fasti* (Cambridge 2000).

141. Knox 1986, 65–83.

To return to the mythographers, not even Castor could have helped Ovid to arrange *all* his stories in chronological sequence. Castor and systematic handbooks like Ps-Apollodorus dealt with the various royal dynasties of myth, but many of the best known stories of metamorphosis (Arachne, Byblis, Cyparissus, Daphne, Echo, Erysichthon, Hyacinthus, Narcissus, to pick a few at random) cannot be linked to any remotely "datable" mythological figure or event. Ovid can never have imagined that he could weave more than a fraction of his stories into a genuinely continuous narrative. What he could (and did) do was use the relatively small number of stories that can be linked as a *framework* into which he could fit, by a variety of devices, the much larger number of what we might call "unattached" stories.

I begin with the well-documented generations of the great mythological houses. The house of Cadmus at Thebes (bks. ii–iv) was singularly rich in transformation stories (Jupiter and Europa, Cadmus himself and Harmonia, the dragons' teeth, Ino and Melicerte, Actaeon).[142] Kienzle naturally emphasized the links between Ovid's Theban books and Ps-Apollodorus, while Otis thought he had refuted Kienzle by emphasizing the differences:[143]

> Actaeon (Semele's nephew) is put first before Semele herself; Pentheus (Ino's nephew) is put third (after the quite extraneous Narcissus-Echo story) and again before the story of his aunt (Ino). Here the divergence between Ovid and [the] *Bibliotheca* (that almost certainly follows the normal order of Theban chronology) reflects a clear design on Ovid's part.

Otis's account of this design is entirely convincing: "Ovid's arrangement of the Theban stories . . . has a dramatic logic that quite surpasses the logic of genealogy."[144] But this in no way disproves a modified version of the Kienzle thesis.

The key fact is Ovid's evident familiarity with all these often very obscure family relationships, which are not limited to the Theban royal house. First of all, the story of Europa picks up the story of Io, her great-grandmother. Second, the Cadmus saga is directly linked to the saga of Perseus, which immediately follows it. Perseus's grandfather Acrisius, styled *Abantiades*, is described as "descended from the same *origo*" as Cadmus (iv.607). Then Perseus himself is styled successively *Abantiades* (iv.673; v.138, 236), *Inachides* (iv.720), *Lyncides* (iv.767; v.99, 185), and *Agenorides* (iv.772). Commentators dismiss these patronymics as artificial and remote, which they certainly are. But they are also *correct*—at any rate on a perfectly defensible stemma of the houses of Inachus, Agenor, and Belus (as set out in fig. 10.1).[145] Abas and Lynceus are Perseus's grandfather and great-grandfather, respectively. Strictly speaking he was not descended from Agenor,

142. The house of Pelops, in contrast, is a disappointment; crimes and tragedies galore generation after generation—but no metamorphoses.

143. Otis 1970, 130.

144. Otis 1970, 131.

145. Obviously this is a highly selective stemma, including only the stages and links necessary to establish my point.

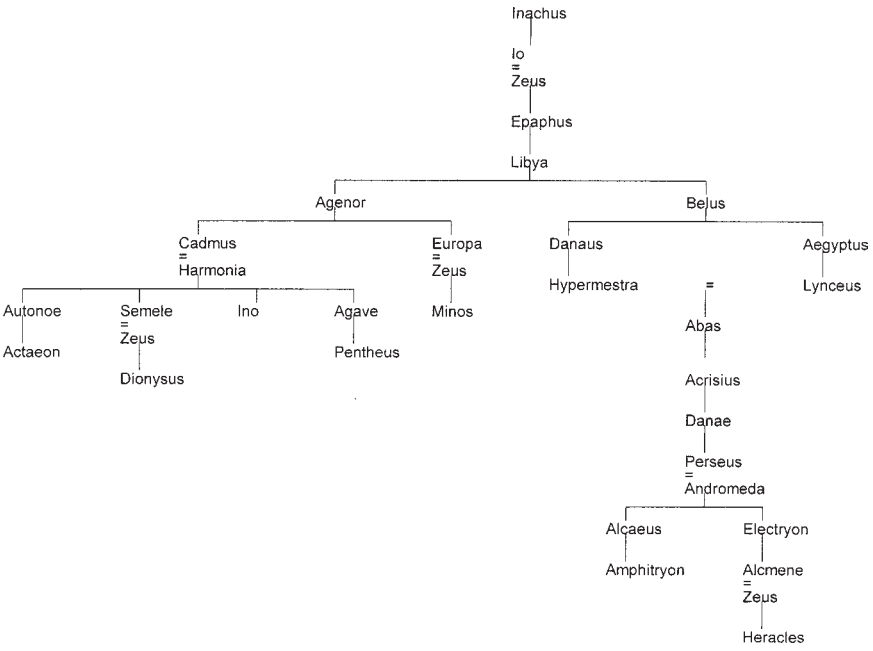

Figure 10.1 The House of Inachus, Agenor, and Belus.

who all sources agree was the brother of his direct ancestor Belus,[146] but he was "descended from the same *origo*." And he was certainly a direct descendant of Inachus. Furthermore, though Ovid does not spell it out, Hercules (whose story is postponed till book ix) was descended from the same line, twice over. Both Amphitryon and Alcmene were grandchildren of Perseus.[147]

Some of these links are familiar enough. But who knows who Abas and Lynceus were? How did Ovid know that Actaeon was Cadmus's grandson and Semele's nephew, or that Ino was Semele's sister—or, as Ovid characteristically preferred to put it, Dionysus's aunt?[148] Modern scholars often assume that ancient poets simply absorbed this sort of information from their general reading of earlier poets. Yet the poets deal with one story at a time, and that allusively. Poets telling (more often alluding to) the story of Actaeon had little interest in mentioning his aunts. It was the mythographers who put all these details together. We ourselves know such details (if we can remember them) from the family trees conveniently displayed in the modern handbooks on Greek mythology we ourselves consult all the time.[149]

146. West 1985, 77–8.

147. Whence the importance of both Heracles and Perseus to the royal house of Macedon: Cameron 1995, 281.

148. Twice: *Met.* iii.313 and iv.417.

149. To give recent examples, the tables in West 1985, 173–82, Gantz 1993, 803–21, and more systematically, Vanessa James, *The Genealogy of Greek Mythology* (New York 2003).

Three generations of the house of Cadmus appear in Euripides's *Bacchae*, but even so he does not spell out all the family relationships. He names Autonoë as Actaeon's mother (line 230, in a passage many editors regard as an interpolation) but doesn't say who Autonoë was. Cadmus's speech in the same play (337–40) implies that Actaeon is a kinsman of Pentheus but doesn't say how. Hesiod (*Theogony* 977) identifies Autonoë as Cadmus's daughter and wife of Aristaeus but doesn't mention her son. The entry for Actaeon in the Michigan dictionary has revealed that the *Catalogue* named his father and mother—but not Cadmus. Earlier versions that have Actaeon competing with Zeus for the favors of Semele imply that she was not yet thought of as his aunt.[150] "Cadmus' family is an artificial creation," remarked E. R. Dodds in his commentary on the *Bacchae*, "and the family relationships might well be unfamiliar to some members of Euripides' audience."[151] By way of an informal experiment I recently asked a number of colleagues (all of whom had taught Greek mythology) whether they could name Actaeon's mother and grandfather. Not one could do so off the cuff. The only surviving text where all this information is put together is Ps-Apollodorus, in a general account of the house of Cadmus (iii.4).

Perhaps the clearest pointer to a mythographic source in this block is the story of Acoetes, one-time captain of Tyrrhenian pirates turned into dolphins by Dionysus, who, as the sole survivor, tells Pentheus the cautionary tale (iii.582–670). The story of the transformation of the pirates is first found in the Homeric *Hymn to Dionysus* (7) and told in essentially the same form by Seneca, Oppian, and both the *Fabulae* and *De astronomia* of Hyginus.[152] But none of these versions connect the pirates in any way with Pentheus. The first source (other than Ovid) to do that is Nonnus (*Dionysiaca* 45.105–68), in a version that otherwise has little in common with Ovid's (no Acoetes, no survivor, and the story is told to Pentheus by Tiresias).[153] The version that has most in common with Ovid is the one in Hyginus's *Fabulae* (134), which lists 12 of the pirates by name.[154] We have seen that exhaustive lists of names are one of the hallmarks of the mythographer, an affectation occasionally indulged

150. Gantz 1993, 478–80; Dodds (next note) 113.

151. *Euripides Bacchae*[2] (Oxford 1953), 98, citing Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* (1922), 46.

152. Seneca, *Oed*. 451–66; Oppian, *Hal*. i.646–85; Hyginus, *Fab*. 137 and (with a source citation) *Astron*. ii.17.

153. So, rightly, Otis 1970, 400; the most important discussion of the passage is P. Chuvin, *Mythologie et géographie dionysiaques: recherches sur l'oeuvre de Nonnos de Panopolis* (Clermont-Ferrand 1991), 74–7, (exaggerating the similarities between Ovid and Nonnus).

154. I am ignoring Servius Danielis on *Aen*. iv.469, hitherto (from Ribbeck, *Trag. Rom. Frag.*[3] (1897), 127–8 to Dodds, Eu*ripides Bacchae*[2] (1960), xxxiii) read as a summary of the *Pentheus* of Pacuvius, mentioned in the preceding sentence as showing Pentheus mad. But as Chuvin 1991, 76–7, pointed out, it is simply a mythographic note, introduced by one of the scholiast's stock formulas (*de quo fabula talis est*, cf. p. 145) and opening in the regular way with geneaogical details (*Pentheus, Echionis et Agaves filius* . . .). In context, *de quo* must refer to Pentheus, not Pacuvius. It is simply a summary of Euripides's *Bacchae* with Acoetes substituted for Dionysus, with no mention of the Tyrrhenian pirates. The presumption is that this is no more than a Euripidean hypothesis interpolated with the name Acoetes from Ovid.

by Ovid. So we are not surprised when Ovid names his pirates, claiming that there were 20 (iii.687). Nine of his names are identical to those in Hyginus, and two more nearly the same.[155] The possibility that Hyginus took his names from Ovid is excluded by the fact that each has one name missing in the other: Ovid, Proreus; Hyginus, Simon.[156] The obvious inference is that both drew on a common source. Another hint that Ovid drew on an existing list of names is the way he playfully describes Melanthus, Blackie, as *flavus*, blond![157]

Yet another pointer to a common mythographic source is the fact that Ovid shares with Hyginus and Ps-Apollodorus Dionysus's request that the pirates take him to his *home* on Naxos (*illa mihi domus est*, iii.637), which it is natural to connect with the fact that Hyginus's *De astronomia* (presumably here as elsewhere deriving from a fuller version of Ps-Eratosthenes)[158] cites the *Naxica* of Aglaosthenes as source.[159] To have been included in a work on Naxos, this version must have been part of the story of the worship of Dionysus on Naxos. No fewer than two of the six other fragments of Aglaosthenes are in fact concerned with the story of Dionysus on Naxos, and Diodorus reports a Naxian tradition that Dionysus was reared there.[160] Whether or not Ovid drew directly on Aglaosthenes, the source he shared with Hyginus[161] allowed the steersman, whom both name Acoetes, to survive. But to judge from Hyginus, this source did *not* link Acoetes with Pentheus. That link is suggested by Ps-Apollodorus (iii.5.3), who narrates the story of the pirates immediately after the story of Pentheus.

It may well have been the juxtaposition of the Pentheus and Acoetes stories in a handbook set out like the *Bibliotheca* that gave Ovid the idea of combining them. For the story of Pentheus itself contains no metamorphosis. In the ordinary way, Ovid should have left Pentheus on one side together with a great many other colorful but metamorphosis-free myths. In the event he was able to justify the inclusion of Pentheus by neatly linking him to the metamorphosis of the Tyrrhenian pirates. At the point Pentheus orders the mysterious stranger—in fact Dionysus—to be brought to him in chains, his minions instead bring him Acoetes, the Tyrrhenian sea-captain, and Acoetes describes how his crew resisted the power of Dionysus and were transformed into dolphins. Pentheus continues to scoff at the new cult regardless, and is duly torn to pieces by his mother and aunt on Cithaeron.

155. Where Ovid gives Aethalion and Melanthus, Hyginus has Aethalides and Melas.

156. So rightly Haupt-Ehwald-von Allbrecht[10] on *Met*. iii.615.

157. Naturally Ovid *could* have played with a name he had invented, but it is perhaps more likely that he found it in his source.

158. See C. Robert, *Eratosthenis Catast*. (1878), 8; 158–61, for the parallel texts; add Schol. Opp. *Hal* i.649, not specifying Naxos but mentioning "one of the Cyclades."

159. Anderson 1996 assumes that Ovid's sole source was the Homeric Hymn, which has nothing about Naxos.

160. *FGrH* 499 F 4 and 5; Diod. v.52 (μυθολογοῦσι δὲ Νάξιοι . . .). In the historical period Naxos was famous for its wine.

161. Probably a fuller version of Ps-Eratosthenes, but so much mythographic literature has perished that it is idle to suggest a specific work.

It is important to be clear that postulating consultation of a work like the *Bibliotheca* for relationships and biographical details is not at all the same as claiming it as Ovid's *source* for the stories in question. Even when he had a satisfactory poetic source, Ovid may well have needed one or two genealogical details or variants that source did not supply, useful (as we have seen) for suitably puzzling periphrases and patronymics. Above all, a comprehensive work like the *Bibliotheca* will have suggested ways of linking and arranging stories. Otis's dismissal of the Narcissus-Echo story as "quite extraneous" to the Theban saga overlooks one of Kienzle's most important points. Ovid is not likely to have seen any particular virtue in simply reproducing handbook genealogies. Dealing with Actaeon before his aunts did not significantly subvert the natural order of things. Family tragedies do not have to proceed in exact generational sequence. What the comprehensive treatment of (say) the house of Cadmus in a handbook could supply was a solid geographical and chronological *framework* into which Ovid could fit a number of other more or less suitable "unattached" stories his research had turned up. The clearest illustration of this method is his use of the one source we know he knew intimately: Vergil's *Aeneid*.

For the events covered by the *Aeneid* Ovid followed Vergil's narrative framework throughout. Indeed at one point he actually restored the implied "true" sequence Vergil himself disrupted by making Aeneas narrate events out of sequence. This is not immediately obvious to the casual reader, first because "wherever Virgil is elaborate, Ovid is brief, and wherever Virgil is brief, Ovid elaborates,"[162] second because he adds transformation stories from other sources and greatly expands those Vergil had mentioned in passing (Scylla, Circe, Picus, and Diomedes's companions). In consequence, the general character of what has come to be known as Ovid's *Aeneid* is very different. In this context there is no need to consider Ovid's motive in treating the Aeneas story in the way he did.[163] It is enough to observe that, among other things, he was able to use the bare bones of Vergil's narrative as a *framework* for tales of metamorphosis. Though many had little or nothing to do with Aeneas, their connection to the places he visits gives the impression that they do. They all *appear* to share in the familiar momentum (both chronological and geographical) of Aeneas's progress from Greece to Rome.

The table on the following page illustrates Ovid's treatment of the house of Cadmus (left) compared with Ps-Apollodorus (right). Items in italics are additional stories included by Ovid.

Tiresias appears in a later section of the *Bibliotheca* (iii.6.7), but his connection with both Dionysus and the royal house of Thebes is firmly attested in Greek drama, and this was the obvious context for him. His prophecy about Narcissus (a long life "if he never knows himself") together with its implication that they were contemporaries was no doubt invented ad hoc by Ovid himself, but since Narcissus's pool

162. Stephen Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext* (Cambridge 1998), 106.

163. See (for example), Galinsky 1975, 217–51; Solodow 1988, 110–56; Hinds 1998, 103–22.

Met. ii.833-iv.603	*Bibl.* iii.2–4 and 21–39
ii.833–75: Europa raped by Jupiter as bull	2–4: Europa raped by Jupiter
iii.1–137: Cadmus follows heifer, kills dragon of Mars, sows dragons' teeth, founds Thebes, marries Harmonia	21–26: Cadmus follows heifer, kills dragon of Mars, sows dragon's teeth, founds Thebes, marries Harmonia
138–252: Actaeon	
253–315: Semele	26–7: Semele
316–338: *Tiresias*	28–9: Ino and Athamas
339–510: *Echo and Narcissus*	30–2: Actaeon
511–733: Pentheus	33–5: Dionysus, Lycurgus
582–691: Tyrrhenian sailors	36: Pentheus
iv.1–415: Minyads	37–8: Tyrrhenian sailors
44–6: Dercetis of Babylon turned into fish	
47–8: Dercetis's daughter turned into dove	
49–50: nymph turned boys into fishes	
55–156: Pyramus and Thisbe	
169–89: adultery of Mars and Aphrodite	
190–270: Leucothoë and Clytie	
285–388: *Salmacis and Hermaphroditus*	
388–415: *Minyads turned into bats*	
416–562: Ino and Athamas	
563–603: Cadmus and Harmonia turned into snakes in Illyria	39: Cadmus and Harmonia turned into snakes in Illyria

was believed to be near Thespiae,[164] he too fits comfortably in the Theban block. It was also Ovid (it seems) who wove the story of Echo into the Narcissus story, an obvious thematic contrast ("Narcissus totally preoccupied with himself and Echo pathetically preoccupied with others"),[165] which also neatly anchored Echo in the same time and place. The three daughters of Minyas are put here partly because they lived in nearby Orchomenos, partly because (like Pentheus and the Tyrrhenian sailors) they refused to follow Dionysus. But in this case Ovid also adopted a device he used again for the contest between the Muses and Pierides (v.294–678) and the songs of Orpheus (x.148–739): each of the three Minyads tells a story (Pyramus and Thisbe, Salmacis and Hermaphroditus, Leucothoë and Clytië), after rejecting (and so in fact briefly telling) three other stories. This is a neat way of putting the main narrative on hold (as it were) and slipping in a series of "unattached" stories that had only thematic links with each other.

Another extended case where we are surely compelled to postulate consultation of a handbook—less for the stories themselves than for chronology and relationships—is the way Ovid weaves together the story of the Argonauts and Medea with the mythical history of Athens (another saga rich in colorful transformations). As Kienzle pointed out, Ovid names no fewer than *16* members of the house of Pandion over five generations, evidently well aware of all the genealogical details.[166]

164. Pausanias ix.31.6; Roscher iii.12.

165. Anderson 1996, 372.

166. Kienzle 1903, 37–48. In general see too P. Grimal, "La chronologie légendaire dans les *Metamorphoses* d'Ovide," in N. I. Herescu (ed.), *Ovidiana* (Paris 1958), 245–57.

Furthermore, the fact that Medea tried to kill the young Theseus allows a natural segue into the saga of Minos, Pasiphaë, the Minotaur, Daedalus, and Icarus. Another link is the fact that among the Argonauts were Calaïs and Zetes, the winged sons of Boreas, whose mother was Orithuia, daughter of Erechtheus and granddaughter of Pandion.

The transition to this section, a sort of trailer of coming attractions, is particularly noteworthy. All neighboring cities except Athens (where Pandion was preoccupied with the Procne-Tereus affair) offered Thebes their sympathy after the sad end of Niobe, Amphion, and their children.[167] Among them Ovid mentions Pelopid Mycenae, Calydon not yet hateful to Diana, Nelean Pylos, and Troizen, not yet ruled by Pittheus (vi.412–8):

> Argosque et Sparte Pelopeiadesque Mycenae
> et nondum torvae Calydon invisa Dianae
> Orchomenosque ferax et nobilis aere Corinthus . . .
> et Nelea Pylos neque adhuc Pittheia Troezen.

If we press all these epithets, Ovid is establishing a whole series of synchronisms: the petrifaction of Niobe, daughter of Tantalus; Mycenae under Pelops;[168] Pylos under Neleus; Calydon before its boar hunt; and Troizen before Pittheus, the son of Pelops and grandfather of Theseus. Indeed we can go further still. Since Pelops was Agamemnon's grandfather and Neleus's son Nestor was a generation older than Agamemnon, all five indications converge on a date one generation before the Calydonian boar hunt and two before the Trojan War and the Theseus saga. The voyage of the Argonauts is not directly mentioned, but since Medea took refuge after the voyage with Aegeus in Athens while Pittheus was king of Troizen,[169] by implication it is correctly assigned to the same generation as the boar hunt. It is surely impossible to believe that Ovid worked all these links and synchronisms out for himself on the basis of his recollection of the classical poets. Why would he, when they were readily available in any mythographic handbook? In addition, much of the Athenian material at any rate is listed year by year in the chronicles, where anyone could check on the sequence of the various kings at a glance.

Otis was right to stress the importance of thematic links and contrasts. Unnatural love, for example. The story of Byblis who loves her brother is followed by the story of the maiden Iphis who loves another girl (ix.454–797); and the shameless Propoetides turned into stone are followed by the statue of pious Pygmalion that turns into a human being (x.220–92). But in both cases, as in many others, Ovid was not content with the thematic link and added a chronological link as well. The story of Byblis's unnatural passion "would have been

167. Ovid had earlier used the same device to link the story of Io to Daphne (*Met*. i.577–87).

168. Note that the preceding paragraph refers to her brother Pelops as still alive (vi.403–5).

169. See Eur. *Medea* 683; Ps-Apoll. iii.15.6–7 (Pittheus gets Aegeus drunk so that he will sleep with his (Pittheus's) daughter Aethra and give birth to Theseus).

the talk of Crete's hundred towns, if Crete had not *lately* [*nuper*] had a wonder of its own in the transformation of Iphis" (ix.666–8); and Pygmalion is said to have actually witnessed [*viderat*] the behavior of the Propoetides (x.243–4). Synchronisms like this Ovid simply made up.[170] They were not meant to withstand a moment's serious scrutiny. It was enough that they maintained the illusion of forward movement long enough to get the reader from one story to the next. But this illusion was obviously as important to Ovid as the thematic link.

Critics naturally look for thematic patterns in the sequence of stories, but Ovid's main problem must always have been an abundance of otherwise attractive stories of metamorphosis that illustrated the same few themes (unhappy love stories, boastful or unlucky mortals punished by unforgiving gods).[171] The device of the singer who sings a sequence of stories allowed him to dispense with advancing his narrative for a few hundred lines and make a virtue of necessity by grouping together a series of stories on the same or similar themes. By this means the Minyads fill two thirds of book iv. Their own story only takes up 60 lines, but since it frames the section (iv.1–35 and 389–415), the appearance of forward movement is maintained. There is no simple key to the structure of the *Metamorphoses*. While devoting considerable ingenuity and skill to constructing thematic links and contrasts, Ovid was no less concerned to maintain his narrative by one means or another.

Ovid did not *depend* on mythographic handbooks. But they did supply him with a mass of information he could use in a variety of ways. In relatively few cases to link stories directly (for example, in the royal houses of Thebes and Athens); in rather more to devise links between stories; and more or less constantly to check on this or that detail or relationship (the name of someone's father, wife, or daughter). There can be little doubt that he owned a bunch of such texts and (like other poets, and orators too) regularly referred to them as he both read and wrote. But (to repeat) they served him as guides rather than sources.[172]

5: A GREEK SOURCE OF THE *METAMORPHOSES*?

I close this chapter with a detailed examination of one particular mythographic text, a sequence of seven transformation stories preserved in four manuscripts along with a handful of other brief mythographic and paradoxographic excerpts

170. My personal favorite in this category is Apollo's founding of the Pythian games to commemorate his defeat of Pytho (i.438–48): winners had to be content with oak wreaths since the laurel had not yet been invented (449–51). Cue for the story of Daphne and Apollo. See the sections "Narrative Links" in Solodow 1988, 15–6 and 26–8.

171. This is also true of all those attempts to find ingenious patterns in the sequence of poems in ancient poetry books. It cannot have been hard to find neat and telling links between *some* of the poems the poet had at his disposal, but there was always likely to be a recalcitrant residue. Modern solutions usually press the attempt too far.

172. As L. Castiglioni put it long ago, "Tali manuali hanno avuto certamente un deciso influsso sulla composizione del grande poema ovidiano, e i moderni ne hanno anche esagerata l'importanza sostenendo che Ovidio s'è quasi interamente ispirato ad essi," *Studi intorno alle fonti e alla composizione delle Metamorphosi di Ovidio* (Florence 1906), 372.

(among them Paradoxographus Florentinus), the Anonymus Florentinus already discussed in the previous chapter.[173] Here is the full text with a translation:[174]

1. King Lycaon was changed into a wolf because he placed human flesh on the table before Zeus when he was a guest at his house.

1. Λυκάων ὁ βασιλεὺς μετεμορφώθη εἰς λύκον διὰ τὸ τῷ Διὶ παραθεῖναι ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης κρέα ἀνθρώπινα παρ' αὐτῷ ξενουμένῳ.

2. All-seeing Argus the guardian of Io was killed by Hermes. Through the pity of Hera he was turned into a peacock, on whose wings his many eyes appeared.

2. Ἄργος ὁ πανόπτης Ἰοῦς φύλαξ ἀναιρεθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἑρμοῦ εἰς ὄρνεον ταὼν μετέβαλε κατ' ἔλεον Ἥρας, οὗ διὰ τῶν πτερῶν ἡ πολυπλήθεια τῶν ὀμμάτων φαίνεται.

3. The nymph Syrinx, pursued by Pan, threw herself into the River Ladon, and when reeds grew [in her place] he cut them and made them into an instrument and called it syrinx in honor of the aforementioned nymph.

3. Σύριγξ νύμφη διωκομένη ὑπὸ Πανὸς, εἰς τὸν Λάδωνα ποταμὸν αὐτὴν ἔρριψε, καλάμων δὲ φυέντων Πὰν τεμὼν καὶ ὄργανόν τι κατασκευάσας σύριγγα προσηγόρευσεν εἰς τιμὴν τῆς προειρημένης νύμφης.

4. Cycnus the son of Sthenelus was turned into the bird of that name [the swan] because of his grief for Phaethon.

4. Κύκνος Σθενέλου υἱὸς διὰ τὸ Φαέθοντος πένθος εἰς ὁμώνυμον ὄρνεον [μετέβαλεν].

5. Corone the daughter of Coroneus the king of the Phocians, fleeing the love of Poseidon, was turned into a bird [the crow] through Athena's pity.

5. Κορώνη Κορωνέως θυγάτηρ τοῦ Φωκέων δυνάστου, φεύγουσα τὸν Ποσειδῶνος ἔρωτα, εἰς τὸ ὁμώνυμον μετέβαλεν ὄρνεον κατ' ἔλεον Ἀθηνᾶς.

6. Nyctimene the daughter of Klymenus, fleeing the love of her father, was turned into an owl by the pity of Athena.

6. Νυκτινόμη Κλυμένου θυγάτηρ, φεύγουσα τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς ἔρωτα, κατ' ἔλεον Ἀθηνᾶς εἰς γλαῦκα μετεμορφώθη.

7. Helius, wishing to make love to Leucothoë the daughter of Orchomenus, changed himself into the shape of her mother. Her father buried her alive, and Helius changed her into the frankincense tree, causing it to grow out of her tomb. Her sister he changed into the heliotrope plant for accusing her.

7. Ἥλιος Λευκοθόῃ τῇ Ὀρχομένου μιγῆναι θελήσας εἰς τὴν μητέρα τῆς προειρημένης μετεμορφώθη. ταύτην ὁ πατὴρ ζῶσαν κατώρυξεν, Ἥλιος δὲ εἰς δένδρον λιβανοφόρον μετεμόρφωσε, ποιήσας ἐκ τοῦ τάφου αὐτῆς φῦναι, τὴν δ' ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς εἰς πόαν ἡλιοτρόπιον διὰ τὸ κατηγορῆσαι αὐτῆς.

In its present form this is a (probably Byzantine) abridgment of an earlier and no doubt fuller series of stories of metamorphosis: either a dictionary (like the Michigan papyrus); or a more detailed series of narratives (like Antoninus Liberalis); or a series of diegeseis of one of the many poetic *Metamorphoseis*.

173. A. Westermann, ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΟΓΡΑΦΟΙ: *scriptores rerum mirabilium graeci* (1839), 222, and in his ΜΥΘΟΓΡΑΦΟΙ: *Scriptores poeticae historiae graeci* (1843), 347–8; for a more securely based text and an account of its transmission, see appendix 5.

174. Note the following textual details: (2) in margine: περὶ τάωνος; 3) σύριγμα cod.; 4) μετέβαλεν add. Westermann; (6) Νυκτιμένη Heeren; (7) Ὀρχάμου Westermann.

The Michigan dictionary was arranged alphabetically. There seems no discernible principle of organization in the sequence of 41 stories in Antoninus's collection, nor does the author make any attempt to engineer links between them. Eighteen concern transformations into birds, four into animals, seven into rocks or stones, and two into stars.[175] A second-century list from Oxyrhynchus briefly summarizes the stories of Callisto, Io, and Procne and Philomela, sandwiched between lists of epithets of goddesses and sons of gods and mortal women.[176] There is also a brief sequence of metamorphoses in the Ps-Clementine *Recognitions*: the catasterism of Andromeda, the transformation of Daphne into a tree, the catasterism of Callisto, the transformation of Procne, Philomela, and Tereus into birds and of Pyramus and Thisbe into a river and fountain in Cilicia; "in fact [says Ps-Clement] almost all constellations, trees, fountains, rivers, flowers, animals and birds were once human beings."[177] The fact that the Christian author includes a number of other such mythological lists strongly suggests that he was drawing on handbooks rather than his own classical reading. Once again, no obvious principle of organization.

There is no obvious principle in Anonymus either. Items 2, 4, 5, and 6 concern transformations into birds (two male and two female), 3 and 7 into plants, and 1 into an animal. The main interest of the series lies in the fact, first noted in a characteristic footnote in his earliest book (1875) by Wilamowitz, that all these stories appear in the first four books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.[178] More significant, they appear *in the same sequence as in Ovid*—omitting (of course) many of the longest and best known Ovidian stories included in these books (Daphne, Io, Phaethon, Callisto, Actaeon, Pyramus and Thisbe, Narcissus).

Given the small number, the coincidence in sequence alone might be put down to mere chance. But there is more. In Ovid, the metamorphoses of Argus and Syrinx form part of the story of Io. In order to extricate Io from under the hundred watchful eyes of Argus, Mercury uses the pipes of Pan, the syrinx, to lull him to sleep, allowing Ovid to slip in the otherwise unconnected story of the transformation of the nymph Syrinx into the reeds from which Pan made his pipes. Properly the story of Syrinx belongs in the saga of Pan, together with his other loves, Pitys and Echo.[179] No student of Ovid's sources thinks that he found it in his source for the Io saga. According to Otis, it is "all but certain" that it was Ovid himself who introduced it here, and that he truncated it so abruptly and wittily to avoid repeating himself, because it is essentially the same story as that of Daphne, told at length earlier in the book.[180] And yet here it is next to Argus in Anonymus. It is true that the actual transformation of Argus

175. Papamothopoulos 1968, x; Forbes Irving 1990, 19–24.

176. Van Rossum–Steenbeek 1998, no. 69, with pp. 141–2.

177. B. Rehm and G. Strecker, *Die Pseudoklementinen II: Recognitionen*[2] (Berlin 1998), 10.26.3 (p. 344.20–345.4).

178. *Analecta Euripidea* (Berlin 1875), 181 n. 4 (on p. 182).

179. P. Borgeaud, *The Cult of Pan in Ancient Greece* (Chicago 1988), 77–85.

180. Otis 1970, 385; so too Anderson 1997, 215.

(*Met*. i.722–3) comes after the transformation of Syrinx in Ovid (i.703–12), but (as Wilamowitz noted) the story of Argus begins first.

Number 4 is the transformation of Cycnus, son of Sthenelus, into a swan, out of grief for the death of Phaethon. Why place Cycnus after Argus and Syrinx? It is not easy to think of a mythological connection. Of course, the juxtaposition might be pure chance. Yet in Ovid the Io/Argus/Syrinx saga is immediately followed by the Phaethon saga, where the Cycnus story naturally enough follows the death of his kinsman Phaethon, immediately after the transformation of Phaethon's sisters the Heliades. But Ovid's link between the Io/Argus saga and the Phaethon/Heliades/Cycnus saga is (again) generally assumed to be his own invention. Once Io was restored to her human shape, she was worshiped as a goddess in Egypt, where she gave birth to a son, Epaphus, the result of her intercourse with Jupiter. This boy's closest friend and playmate, claims Ovid, was the young Phaethon, and it was Epaphus who inspired him to seek out Phoebus by casting doubt on his claim that he was Phoebus's son (i.747–56). There is no other evidence for any relationship between Epaphus and Phaethon (or for locating Phaethon in Egypt), and no one has ever been in much doubt that Ovid made it up himself to provide a playful transition to the Phaethon story. In Otis's words, it is "Phaethon's boyish embarrassment and shame that initiate all the action."[181] It is therefore the more significant that Cycnus follows Argus and Syrinx in Anonymus.

Then come the stories of Corone and Nyctimene. Once again they appear together in Ovid, where they nicely illustrate Quintilian's remark about the frivolity of Ovid's transitions (*ut Ovidius lascivire in Metamorphosin solet*, iv.1.77). At the end of the Callisto story Juno rides off in her chariot pulled by peacocks, recently decorated with the slain Argus's hundred eyes, *at the same time that* the raven's plumage was changed from white to black (ii.531–41). In explanation of this outrageously contrived synchronization (obviously invented by Ovid himself to link the stories),[182] he goes on to tell, in a curiously contorted way, the stories of the raven and the crow, with Anonymus (but not Ovid) calling the latter Corone (κορώνη, "crow").[183] Ovid begins confusingly enough with the story of the similarly named Coronis (ii.542), a girl beloved by Apollo. The raven spies her playing Apollo false and hastens to tell Apollo. On the way she meets the crow, who advises her not to tell Apollo,[184] having herself lost divine favor for betraying a secret. The garrulous crow then tells of her own transformation from girl to bird when, pursued for her beauty by the lustful Neptune, Minerva took pity on her

181. Ehwald-von Albrecht i (1966), 78; H. Fränkel, *Ovid: a poet between two worlds* (Berkeley 1969), 216 n. 45; J. Diggle, *Euripides Phaethon* (Cambridge 1970), 183; Otis 1970, 108–9.

182. Combined with an implicit comparison and contrast: Argus's transformation is a reward, the raven's a punishment.

183. Though both from the same family, ravens and crows are carefully distinguished in Greek literature and myth: J. Pollard, *Birds in Greek Life and Myth* (London 1977), 25–7; D'Arcy Thompson 1936, s.v. κόραξ and κορώνη.

184. Good advice predictably ignored; the raven's wings are turned from white to black in punishment.

and changed her into a crow. For a while she was Minerva's favorite bird, until ousted by the owl, another contrived transition, this time to the story of Nyctimene, a maid of Lesbos who slept with her father, and in her shame fled the sight of men and the light of day and turned into an owl (ii.589–95), Minerva's new favorite. Crows are mentioned often enough in myth,[185] but Coroneus king of Phocis and his unlucky daughter are only found in this one passage of Ovid—and Anonymous. Most commentators, unaware of the very existence of Anonymus, have assumed that this is another story Ovid made up himself.[186] But here it is in Anonymus again, immediately followed by Nyctimene, just as in Ovid.

Anonymus's last metamorphosis is the story of Leucothoë and Clytie.[187] Helius seduces Leucothoë disguised as her mother, and Clytie betrays the seduction to Leucothoë's father, who buries her alive in punishment. Helius cannot bring her back to life but causes her to grow out of her tomb in the form of the frankincense tree. Clytie is then turned into the heliotrope. Once again, Ovid and Anonymus are the only surviving sources for this complex love triangle involving two girls and two transformations.[188] In both accounts Helius loves Leucothoë from afar but ignores Clytie, who loves Helius from afar.

It is hard to resist the conclusion that there is a relationship of some kind between Ovid and Anonymus. Wilamowitz simply assumed without argument that Anonymus drew on Ovid.[189] He did not speculate about the nature of the work but presumably envisaged something like a Greek version of the *Narrationes*. A few years later (1894) Ernst Maass rejected this solution, on the basis of some variations in names between the two versions (discussed later),[190] concluding instead that "Ovid used the same compendium of metamorphoses as Anonymus, more freely but preserving the basic sequence."[191] This was back in the days when scholars were perfectly content to explain Ovid's poem as little more than a Latin version of a Greek mythographic compendium, which explains why neither Maass nor even the Ovidian scholars of the period found such a conclusion worth further discussion. Add the inaccessibility of his publication, and it is not perhaps surprising that so potentially explosive a text has been entirely forgotten.

Wilamowitz was certainly wrong. Neither Ovid nor (an alternative he did not consider but we must) the Ovidian *Narrationes* can have been Anonymus's source.

185. Thompson 1936, 169–70.

186. Haupt-Ehwald-von Albrecht i (1966), 123; Anderson 1996, 302.

187. Anonymus does not actually name the betrayer of Leucothoë—or Leucothoë's mother (Eurynome in Ovid). Both omissions are probably just consequences of the abridgment. For the sake of clarity, I refer to Leucothoë's betrayer as Clytie throughout.

188. Narrator cites Hesiod for the story (*hoc Hesiodus indicat*, at the end of the section).

189. The generally accepted solution among the few scholars who have paid the question any attention. So J. Dietze, *Komposition und Quellenbenutzung in Ovids Metamorphosen* (Hamburg 1905), 12; E. Martini, *Einleitung zu Ovid* (Vienna 1933), 40.

190. E. Maass, *Commentatio mythographica II* (Index Schol. Aestiv. Gryphiswaldensis [Greifswald] 1894), xiii–xv.

191. *Idem "Metamorphoseon" compendium, quod Anonymus excerpsit, adhibuisse Ovidius censendus est, sed liberius, ordine tamen primario fere servato* (p. xv).

Quite apart from the general improbability of a Greek turning to Ovid as a source for stories of metamorphosis when there were so many Greek sources available, there are several significant differences between the versions.

To take the Leucothoë story first, Ovid calls her father Orchamus, Anonymus (according to our excerpts) Orchomenus (a much commoner mythological name).[192] Wilamowitz, following Westermann, was prepared simply to emend (Ὀρχόμενος to Ὄρχαμος), but we can hardly exclude the possibility of a genuine variant. More significant, Anonymus has Helius turn Clytie into the heliotrope in punishment, while Ovid is very specific that Helius did nothing but continue to ignore her devotion. Clytie simply gazes longingly on her beloved Helius until she just withers away and turns into a heliotrope (the name of a number of plants that turn to face the sun as the day progresses). Third and decisive, Anonymus calls Clytie Leucothoë's sister. He could not have inferred this from anything in Ovid, and why should he have invented such a detail? Ovid would surely have modified his account accordingly if he had been drawing on a version in which it was her sister rather than just a rival that Clytie betrayed.

There are also a number of differences between the two versions of the Corone and Nyctimene stories. In the first place, where Ovid has *Nyctimene*, Anonymus offers *Nyctinome*. Heeren emended to Νυκτιμένη on the basis of Ovid. Perhaps rightly, but Νυκτινόμη is a perfectly acceptable name in itself, and, once more, we cannot exclude the possibility of a genuine variant. Printed editions of Hyginus offer *Nyctimene* with Ovid (*Fab*. 204; 253.2), but we have to bear in mind that all are based on Micyllus's free transcription of a now lost manuscript he admits he found difficult to decipher. He may well have corrected or interpreted what he read on the basis of Ovid.

Second, Anonymus gives the raven a name, Corone, not found in Ovid. Third, all Ovid says about Nyctimene is that she lived on Lesbos (ii.591), without naming a father. This is just the sort of omission that mythographic commentators liked to make good, and Narrator duly produces a father, Nycteus (*Nyctei filia*, 2.9). The Statius scholia "confirm" this parentage, specifying Nycteus king of Ethiopia.[193] But Hyginus offers an otherwise unattested Epopeus king of Lesbos, who at any rate fits Ovid's Lesbian location (*Fab*. 204). Anonymus has yet another alternative, Clymenus (no location), possibly the result of confusion (or assimilation) with the story of Clymenus of Argos, the seducer of his own daughter Harpalyce, who in Parthenius's version ended up being turned into a bird (though not an owl).[194] But whatever the origin of Anonymus's version, he certainly did not find it in Ovid—or indeed in the *Narrationes*.

192. For the various Orchomeni in Greek mythology, Roscher iii.1 (1897–1902), 939–40.

193. Schol. *Theb*. iii.507 = Myth. Vat. ii.50 (p. 135.16 Kulcsár).

194. Parthen. xiii, with Lightfoot 1999, 446–54; in Hyg. 206 Harpalyce's father is Clymenus, king of Arcadia. In Hyginus's version Harpalyce serves up her own child to Clymenus for dinner, in Parthenius's her brother. In Parthenius the bird is the χαλκίς (Thompson 1936, 186–7); Hyginus says nothing about transformation into a bird. Roscher ii.1 (1890–94), 1228–30 lists a dozen Clymeni, from all over the mythological map.

Fourth, according to Anonymus, Nyctimene was fleeing from the lustful advances of her father when Athena took pity on her and turned her into an owl.[195] That is to say, a sympathetic version told from Nyctimene's point of view. Ovid offers the version of her rival, the former raven, a biased and hostile witness, who accuses Nyctimene of seducing her father, claiming that she was turned into a bird "because of her shocking crime" (*diro facta volucris / crimine*) and the "consciousness of her guilt" (*conscia culpae*).[196] This perspective is likely to be an innovation of Ovid, provoked by the context he had himself created by linking the two stories. Anonymus probably reflects the standard Greek version. It is true that both Servius and the Statius scholia reflect the Ovidian perspective, but then both may have been influenced by Ovid.[197] Hyginus, however, who shows little sign of Ovidian influence[198] and seems to depend entirely on Greek sources, like Anonymus has Nyctimene raped by her father (*Fab*. 203). His versions of the Lycaon, Coronis, and Daphne stories (*Fab*. 176, 202, 203) likewise all differ significantly from the Ovidian versions.

In Ovid, then, Nyctimene's transformation, like Clytie's, is not effected by the whim of a deity (whether in anger or pity). Both of them simply become in their external shape what they already are within; form finally reflects character. There is much more here than a difference of emphasis in the telling of one or two stories. The single most distinctive feature of Ovid's treatment of metamorphosis is that, while obviously revelling in the (often horrific) details of the actual physical transformation of a human being into a tree or rock or animal (Io-into-cow and Arachne-into-spider are classic examples), at the same time he often stresses the continuity of the transformee's essential nature. As Solodow put it, his "chief characteristic is made manifest in his appearance; his essence, externalized and given physical form, is made clearer."[199] The classic illustration is the very first transformation of a human in the poem, Lycaon (*Met*. i.233–9):

> exululat, frustraque loqui conatus; ab ipso
> colligit os rabiem solitaeque cupidine caedis
> vertitur in pecudes et nunc quoque sanguine gaudet . . .
> fit lupus et *veteris servat vestigia formae*;

195. There is no obvious reason why this should have caused the owl rather than the raven to become Minerva's favorite bird, though as Anderson remarks the story may have been meant to explain the well-documented hostility between crows and owls (on which see D'Arcy Thompson 1936, 170).

196. Rightly emphasized by Anderson 1996, 305.

197. Narrator too, unsurprisingly, reflects Ovid's version (*nimia libidine effrenata . . . scelus . . .*). The Statius scholiast has a more complicated version, in which Nyctimene falls in love with her father and confides in a nurse, who arranges for her father to sleep with her without knowing her identity.

198. The clumsy citation of Ovid in *Fab*. 183.3 is likely to be an interpolation.

199. See particularly Solodow 1988, ch. 5; Galinsky 1975, 46–8. Solodow may have exaggerated the frequency of this motif (Myers 1994, 39 n. 40), but the cases here cited are certainly clear examples.

> canities eadem est, eadem violentia vultus,
> idem oculi lurent, eadem feritatis imago est.
>
> He howls, and tries in vain to speak. His jaw gathers ferocity from the man himself, with his accustomed greed for blood he turns against cattle, still delighting in slaughter. . . . He becomes a wolf, *and yet retains the traces of his former shape*, the same grey hair, the same fierce face, the same gleaming eyes, the same picture of savagery.

No less telling is the case of the hardhearted Anaxarete (xiv.757–8):

> paulatimque occupat artus
> quod fuit in duro iam pridem pectore saxum.
>
> Little by little the stone which for a long time already had been inside her hard heart takes over her limbs.

Here the *paulatim* underlines a gradual and, as it were, natural hardening of her body brought about over time by her hardness of heart. More striking still is the fate of the Propoetides, promiscuous women who became the first prostitutes and (again) were turned into stone (x.241–2):

> utque pudor cessit sanguisque induruit oris,
> in rigidum *parvo* silicem *discrimine* versae.
>
> As modesty disappeared and the blood in their faces grew hard, they changed into unmoving flint. *The difference was slight*.

The behavior of the Lycian shepherds turned into frogs likewise remains the same after as before their transformation (vi.374–6):

> nunc quoque turpes
> litibus exercent linguas pulsoque pudore
> quamvis sint sub aqua, sub aqua maledicere temptant.
>
> even now they exercise their foul tongues in quarrels,
> and shamelessly, though under water, try to curse under water.

When a quick-witted young man called Perdix (partridge) is turned into the bird that bears his name, his quickness of wit passes into the bird's wings and legs, and he keeps the name he had before (*nomen quod et ante remansit*, viii.254–5).[200] Even in cases where this approach is impossible in any strict sense, Ovid nonetheless likes to emphasize some human characteristic that survives the transformation. Daphne, for example, turned into a laurel tree, becomes a smooth, glossy tree (*remanet nitor unus in illa*, i.552). The phrases *nunc quoque* and *veteris servat vestigia formae* might be mottos for the entire poem. Ovid's fascination with con-

200. For other cases where the name at least remains the same, Michalopoulos 2001, 9.

tinuity through metamorphosis rather than arbitrary transformation by a god is not entirely new, but it is a distinctive feature of his poem, especially in view of its length and the sheer number of metamorphoses it includes.

The transformation of Clytie provides a particularly clear illustration. In her unrequited obsession with Helius, she remained in one spot and kept her gaze trained on him alone (*nec se movit humo: tantum spectabat euntis / ora dei, vultusque suos flectebat ad illum*, iv.264–5) until she eventually turned into a plant and (iv.269–70)

> quamvis radice tenetur,
> vertitur ad solem *mutataque servat amorem*.

> though held fast by her roots, she turns toward Helius and, *despite her new form, persists in her love for him*.

Even as a plant, she continues to follow the passage of Helius across the sky. But according to Anonymus, Helius "transformed her . . . for her betrayal" (μετεμόρφωσε . . . διὰ τὸ κατηγορῆσαι), clearly implying punishment. There is no suggestion of punishment in Ovid. Clytie brings her transformation on herself by her obsessive behavior.

Narcissus is another case. Conon's version is a straightforward case of punishment for dishonoring a god, Eros. Not only does Narcissus reject the advances of a certain Ameinias; he sends him a sword, at which Ameinias curses Narcissus and then kills himself. After Narcissus's strange death the people of Thespiae treat Eros with more respect. Like many a story in Antoninus, the metamorphosis is marginal and the main point is a cult aetion. Ovid clearly knew essentially the same version; he twice mentions (but does not name) rejected lovers, one of whom actually curses Narcissus. Yet Tiresias had foretold his fate at birth, and the emphasis of Ovid's version (as Freud correctly perceived) falls overwhelmingly on obsession rather than punishment.[201] Thus Narcissus's rejection of lovers can be seen as a consequence of this obsession rather than as the cause of his punishment.

Ovid's Lycaon is a less clearcut example. Jupiter tells the other gods that Lycaon has "paid his penalty" (*poenas . . . solvit*, i.209), but all Jupiter himself actually does is destroy Lycaon's palace with a thunderbolt. In his frenzy Lycaon runs into the fields, where he undergoes his metamorphosis, but the form it takes arises out of his own character and behavior, as described earlier. Narrator simplified rather than misunderstood in claiming that Jupiter *in lupi saevi eum formam convertit* (1.6). We have seen that he was a poor reader of poetry. But he did not make the same mistake when summarizing the transformation of Clytie, whom he represents accurately enough as abandoned by her lover and wasting away until she

201. B. Manuwald, "Narcissus bei Konon und Ovid," *Hermes* 103 (1975), 349–72; M. K. Brown, *The Narratives of Konon* (Leipzig 2002), 172–8. See too now G. W. Most, "Freuds Narziss: Reflexionen über einen Zelbstbezug,"in Almut-Barbara Renger (ed.), *Narcissus. Ein Mythos von der Antike bis zum Cyberspace* (Stuttgart 2003), at 121–3.

turned into a plant (*ab amatore deserta, ita tenuata visceribus est ut in herbam converteretur*, 4.6).

If Anonymus had been drawing on Ovid (or even Narrator), he was not likely to represent Athena taking pity on Nyctimene or Helius punishing Clytie. The pity motif is also found in his version of the Argus story; Argus was metamorphosed "through the pity of Hera." In Ovid the metamorphosis is indeed effected by the direct intervention of Juno (*in volucrem pavonem transformavit*, as Narrator put it, 1.13), but he says nothing about pity. Yet in Anonymus's seven brief summaries we find the formula κατ' ἔλεον, "through pity," no fewer than three times, of Argus, Corone, and Nyctimene.

Anonymus also uses the formula εἰς ὁμώνυμον μετέβαλεν ὄρνεον twice, of Cycnus and Corone; both are said to have "turned into the bird that bears their name." This is one of the stock formulas of metamorphosis literature. But it is a formula that suits the Ovidian metamorphosis rather poorly. What it does suit is a narrative in which the metamorphosis is simply a detail, briefly stated. For example, the main interest in many of Antoninus Liberalis's stories is plainly the aetiology of some local festival or cult, and the actual transformation is often treated as a minor detail, abruptly introduced. It seems that Nicander, Antoninus's main source for such stories, seldom actually described the transformation, sometimes treating it (in Forbes Irving's phrase) more as a "cult miracle" than the aetiology of a new species.[202] Ovid almost always drops these local and cult details and focuses on the transformation, often in vivid detail.

Antoninus does not use exactly the same formula as Anonymus (the closest he comes is when Zeus turns Smyrna into a tree καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁμώνυμον αὐτῇ σμύρναν, 34.5).[203] Nor Parthenius, who writes of Daphne that "they say she became the tree named after her (τὸ δένδρον τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς), the laurel" (§ 15). But the Greek source drawn on by the Latin mythographer incorporated in the Vergil scholia (Ch. VIII) seems to have used it regularly. Servius's source translated it into Latin and then rather awkwardly appended a Latin gloss for the benefit of Greekless readers. For example, *in arborem sui nominis vertit, quae Latine nux dicitur* or *Chelonen in animal sui nominis vertit, quam nos Latine testudinem dicimus*, where *sui nominis* clearly represents ὁμώνυμον.[204] Ps-Plutarch (§ 22A) describes how Smyrna the daughter of Cinyras εἰς ὁμώνυμον δένδρον μετεμορφώθη. Hyginus seems not to have used the formula—at any rate not in the abridged text we have. But according to Ps-Dositheus's version of the transformation of Philyra (mother of Chiron the centaur) into a linden tree, she was changed εἰς ὁμώνυμον δένδρον (φιλύρα, "linden tree").[205] Like Anonymus, Hyginus also follows the version that Nyctimene was raped by her father and

202. Briefly emphasized by Forbes Irving 1990, 27; see too Myers 1994, 31–4; Lightfoot 1999, 226.

203. In the same way, where Anonymus always uses the formula κατ' ἔλεον for the deity transforming people out of pity, Antoninus always uses οἰκτείρω.

204. Schol. Bern. on *Aen*. viii.37; Serv. on *Aen*. i.505.

205. *CGL* iii.59.33; *Fab*. 138; see chapter II.

turned into an owl out of pity (*pater amore incensus compressit . . . quam Minerva miserata in noctuam transformavit*).[206] Divine pity and anger are likewise stock motives for transformations in Servius's source (14 and 15 examples, respectively).[207] We saw in chapter VIII that this Latin mythographic source of Servius wrote no later than the early second century AD. Most of Antoninus's transformations are likewise the consequence of either the anger or the pity of some god.[208]

Despite the fact that he is supposed to be summarizing Ovid's rather differently conceived transformations, even Narrator uses the Latin equivalent of Anonymus's formula a couple of times. Once, appropriately enough, of Picus son of Saturnus, who turned into a woodpecker (*picus*), in Narrator's words *in volucrem nominis sui* (14.7). The other time quite inappropriately, of the invulnerable Caeneus, finally killed by being driven into the ground by tree-trunks (12.5). According to Ovid, Mopsus claimed that, instead of dying, Caeneus turned into a bird with golden wings. This metamorphosis is mentioned nowhere else, and it is generally agreed that Ovid made it up himself.[209] Without any basis in Ovid, Narrator claims that Neptune turned him *in volucrem nominis sui*.[210] But which bird? Ovid does not identify any particular bird.[211] This is apparently a case where Narrator, evidently well read in mythographic literature, used the standard formula without thinking.[212] It works well enough for Picus turned into a bird with the Latin name *picus*, but not for Caeneus turned into a bird with no name at all. Nor does it work for the two cases in Anonymus, obviously drawn from a Greek, not a Latin source. For Cycnus and Corone are not the *Latin* for swan and crow.

That makes seven separate divergences between Ovid and Anonymus in 14 lines of Greek. None is decisive taken by itself. But the cumulative effect is hard to resist. *Orchomenos* for *Orchamos* might be a copying error, but none of the others can be explained as simple slips. All imply different versions. It is virtually impossible to believe that Anonymus could have written as he did if he had been drawing on either Ovid or the Ovidian *Narrationes*. We are bound to conclude that he did *not* draw on Ovid.

206. Hyg. *Fab*. 204; the versions of Servius (on *Geo*. i.403) and the Statius scholia (on *Theb*. iii.507) are closer to (and no doubt influenced by) Ovid, assigning the blame to daughter rather than father.

207. In addition, 10 more are the consequence of grief, and 14 happen in the course of flight. The material is collected and categorized in A. Leuschke, *De Metamorphoseon in scholiis Vergilianis fabulis* (Marburg 1895), 16–8.

208. Lightfoot 1999, 226. Note too the way that, according to Narrator, Cycnus was turned into a swan *deorum voluntate* (2.4), where Ovid simply represents the change as a consequence of his grief (ii.364–80).

209. So Haupt-Korn-Ehwald-von Albrecht 1966 on xii.521; Galinsky 1975, 178.

210. It was Poseidon/Neptune who raped Caeneus's earlier self, the maiden Caenis, but nothing in Ovid suggests that it was Neptune who was responsible for the metamorphosis.

211. Forbes Irving 1990, 116, suggests the phoenix, which is hard to reconcile with the full account of the birth of the phoenix at xv.391–407; Haupt-Korn-Ehwald-von Albrecht 1966 suggest the χαραδριός, on which see D'Arcy Thompson 1936, 311–4.

212. An otherwise lost Greek source can probably be excluded, since there is no evidence for a bird known as καινεύς or καινίς.

There is one other possibility that might occur to anyone familiar with the transmission of the *Metamorphoses*. In addition to a fairly large number of Latin manuscripts, there is also a translation into Byzantine Greek by that remarkable polymath Maximus Planudes, dating from around 1300.[213] Is it conceivable that our excerpts derive from Planudes' translation?[214] The answer is a firm no, for three reasons. In the first place, the earliest manuscript to carry the excerpts, Laurentianus graecus 56.1, was probably written *before* Planudes. Earlier critics were willing to date it as late as the second half of the thirteenth or even the fourteenth century, and the issue is complicated by the fact that it was copied by two or three different hands. But the best authorities now place the entire book in the second half of the twelfth century.[215] Second, it is hard to believe that we have these summaries in their complete, original form. If they are based on a Greek translation of Ovid, why did the summarizer excerpt just these seven stories? Why pass over Io and Phaethon and Actaeon from the very same books of Ovid? No one can be in much doubt that what we have is a much reduced *selection* of excerpts from some originally fuller and more comprehensive sequence of tales of metamorphosis. If so, even if the Laurentianus is as late as the active lifetime of Planudes (ca 1275–1305), the original work would have to be earlier.

Third, and decisive by itself, since Planudes's translation survives in its entirety, it is possible to compare the excerpts against his versions of the stories in question, and in every case he follows the Ovidian version faithfully. For example, he has Ovid's Orchamus, not Orchomenus; he does not make Leucothoë and Clytie sisters; and with Ovid he calls Leucothoë's mother Eurynome. If anything, he has been criticized (not always fairly) for translating too literally rather than too freely.[216] To turn to the stories under discussion, in Planudes as in Ovid, the future crow is not named but simply described as daughter of Coroneus, lord of Phocis. Nyctimene's father is not named either, and, as in Ovid again, Nyctimene is presented as the seductress and transformed into an owl through her own guilt.

213. For a brief account of Planudes's works (emphasizing his many translations from Latin), see Elizabeth Fisher's entry in Graham Speake (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Greece and the Hellenic Tradition* ii (London 2000), 1330–2; add my own *Greek Anthology* (1993), passim, esp. 345–65. For the *Metamorphoses* translation, see Jo. Fr. Boissonade, *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon libri XV graece versi a Maximo Planude et nunc primum editi* (Paris 1822).

214. For example, excerpts of a Byzantine translation of Ovid's amatory works that may well have been the work of Planudes survive in two s. XIV manuscripts: see P. E. Easterling and E. J. Kenney, *Ovidiana Graeca* (*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*: Suppl. 1, 1965), with Elizabeth Fisher in A. R. Littlewood (ed.), *Originality in Byzantine Literature, Art and Music* (Oxford 1995), 93–8.

215. D. A. Russell and N. G. Wilson, *Menander Rhetor* (Oxford 1981), xli; E. B. Fryde, *Greek Manuscripts in the Private Library of the Medici 1469–1510* i (Aberystwyth 1996) 127, 382, 409 n. 384.

216. Boissonade's useful annotations draw attention to the few outright mistakes. For a balanced assessment of Planudes as a translator, see Elizabeth Fisher, *Planudes' Greek Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses* (New York 1990), 69–98.

There is nothing in Planudes about Athena pitying her plight.[217] Brief as they are, the excerpts could not possibly be the result of even a careless reading of Planudes's translation.

Not that their divergences from Ovid are to be seen as isolated errors or inexactitudes. The frequent repetition of set formulas—κατ' ἔλεον (three times) μετεμορφώθη (three times), εἰς τὸ ὁμώνυμον μετέβαλεν ὄρνεον (twice), μετέβαλε (three times), φεύγουσα τὸν . . . ἔρωτα (two times), τῆς προειρημένης (two times)—give a certain unity to the sequence. We have seen that some at least of these formulas reflect pre-Ovidian Greek metamorphosis stories. The natural inference is that the excerpts derive, no doubt heavily abridged and at a number of removes, from a pre-Ovidian Hellenistic mythographer.

Yet despite these divergences in detail there are nonetheless striking coincidences between Anonymus and Ovid: Lycaon in first place; Syrinx linked to Argus; Cycnus following Argus; Nyctimene following Corone; Leucothoë linked to Clytie. The fact that Lycaon comes first need not mean that Anonymus anticipated Ovid in treating his lack of hospitality as the primeval crime that led to mankind being punished by the flood. But to the best of my knowledge no other known source treats Lycaon as (by implication) the first human metamorphosis. There is no indication that Anonymus included the story of Syrinx *within* the Argus story as Ovid did, but that could be a consequence of the abridgment. They are at any rate juxtaposed. Although Cycnus lamenting Phaethon follows Argus, that does not *prove* that Anonymus linked the stories of Io and Phaethon. But it remains a possibility. The linking of Corone and Nyctimene might just be thematic, two young women turned into birds. And the linking of Leucothoë and Clytie might be the only version of this story.

Each coincidence taken by itself can be explained away. Yet the cumulative effect is surely impressive. If we conclude, as I think we must, that the parallels between Anonymus and Ovid are close enough to require a connection of some sort, and if we have eliminated the possibility that Anonymus derives from Ovid, that leaves only one alternative. Ovid was influenced by Anonymus, or rather the fuller, earlier text of which Anonymus is a skimpy abridgment.

A century ago scholars would have pounced on this as the discovery of Ovid's Greek source—and even come up with an author's name. It is certainly an intriguing and important discovery, but there is little justification for drawing quite so far-reaching a conclusion. Ovid's only identifiable poetic predecessors are Nicander, Boios, and (perhaps) the *Metamorphoses* of Parthenius and (if he existed) Theodorus. Can we discover anything about the structure of these works? Most critics have assumed that they were simply catalogues. According to Garth Tissol, for example, it has been "often pointed out" that their works are "in every sense catalogue-poetry."[218] According to Otis, Nicander's poem was arranged

217. The two stories are told in Boissonade 1822, 72–5.

218. Tissol, *The Face of Nature: Wit, Narrative, and Cosmic Origins in Ovid's Metamorphoses* (Princeton 1997), 168.

on a purely geographical basis.[219] The casual reader might be tempted to infer that such firm assertions were based on evidence. In fact the only basis for the latter claim is Lafaye's observation that all five of the stories attributed to book 1 by Antoninus Liberalis are localized in or near Thessaly. But Lafaye himself conceded that he could find no such indications in the citations from later books (and there are eight from book 4).[220] According to Forbes Irving, all the stone stories quoted in Antoninus come from book 1, all the tree stories from books 1–2, and all the bird and animal stories from books 3–4.[221] But even assuming that we can rely on Antoninus's summaries, book 1 did not consist entirely of stone stories or 3–4 entirely of bird and animal stories. As for Otis's claim that Boios's *Ornithogonia* was "quite clearly didactic of the narrowest sort . . . with the birds arranged by genera and species," this is pure assertion. Nothing whatever can be inferred from Antoninus's nine citations, two to book 1, five to book 2. Otis was in the grip of a misguided dogma of his own creation that "Callimachus and the didactic poets" were writing what he characterized as "Hesiodic epic" and were accordingly "not remotely concerned with either a chronological scheme or any sort of narrative unity." I have argued elsewhere that there is no basis of any kind for this strange notion.[222] Nicander wrote a great many other poems besides his two surviving didactic poems and a lost *Georgica*, many of them local epics: *Oetaïca*, *Thebaïca*, *Sicelia*, and *Europia*.[223] As for Callimachus, while the *Aetia* might be classified as a catalogue (of sorts), the *Hecale* was a miniature epic, for all its originality a complex, carefully constructed piece of narrative.[224] The few fragments we have from Nicander's epics and the *Heteroioumena* are in much the same learned, precious style as the *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaca*. Adrian Hollis characterized the longest single fragment we have, a four-line description of Hecuba's transformation into a dog, as "bald and unexciting."[225] This is as fair as a *stylistic* judgment based on four lines can be but has no bearing on the *structure* of the poems. We are surely bound to assume that Nicander's epics were at any rate *narrative* poems.

The saga of Ceyx, king of Trachis, which fills much of *Met*. xi, contains three metamorphoses: Ceyx's brother Daedalion turned into a hawk; a wolf that attacks Peleus's flocks turned into stone; and Ceyx and his wife Alcyone turned into kingfishers. According to Ps-Probus, opinions differed as to whether Ovid followed Nicander or Theodorus for the last of the three. The fact that Ovid makes Ceyx

219. Otis 1970, 48.

220. G. Lafaye, *Les metamorphoses d'Ovide et ses modèles grecs* (Paris 1904), 28; so too Castiglioni 1906, 341.

221. Forbes Irving 1990, 31–2.

222. See Cameron 1995, passim, esp. chs. XII–XIII.

223. Jacoby, *FGrH* 271–2; Cameron 1995, 298–300.

224. Cameron 1995, 380–6, 437–53.

225. F 62 Gow-Scholfield from Schol. Eur. *Hec*. 3 to illustrate Hecuba's parentage; Hollis 1970, xxi.

consult the oracle of Apollo at Claros strongly favors Nicander, who was himself a hereditary priest of Clarian Apollo.[226] And according to Antoninus (§ 38), Nicander told the story about Peleus and the wolf. Yet according to a study by A. H. F. Griffin, the linking of these three transformations "was entirely an Ovidian invention" because "Nicander's poem did not link episodes together in a connected narrative."[227]

On this basis he assumes (for example) that it was Ovid himself who made Daedalion Ceyx's brother and inserted the Peleus story into the Ceyx story, thereby achieving a nice contrast: "Peleus is guilty of fratricide (xi.267), whereas Ceyx is a model of fraternal concern." It is his brother's death and the transformation of the wolf that motivate Ceyx's consultation of the oracle. The difference in character between both the brothers and the different birds they turn into (hawk and kingfisher) is also assumed to be Ovid's innovation.[228] It would indeed be entirely characteristic of Ovid to tie three previously separate episodes together like this, but what is the evidence that they were previously separate? Griffin simply referred to Otis's dogma about Hellenistic didactic in general. Yet not only is there no direct evidence of any sort about the structure of the *Heteroioumena*,[229] there is no reason whatever to consider it a didactic poem in the first place. For all their epic trappings, the *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaca* are both treatises on "scientific" subjects treated in a self-consciously didactic manner, with frequent addresses to a named disciple.[230] It is obviously most improbable that the various transformations collected in the *Heteroioumena* were treated in this manner. If we drop the catalogue hypothesis, the obvious alternative is some sort of narrative organization. This need not imply, to quote Otis again, "either a chronological scheme or any sort of narrative unity," but we can hardly exclude the possibility that Nicander devised links of some sort between consecutive stories.[231]

For example, three of the five stories from book 1 set in Thessaly have a quite different sort of link in addition to location: all three deal with characters who are entrusted with secrets of the gods, betray them (Cerambus, Battus, and two unnamed girls), and are punished by losing their human form. The fact that two of these stories occur in consecutive chapters of Antoninus allows the possibility that Nicander himself had juxtaposed them.[232] As for the stories we know from Antoninus to have been common to Ovid and Nicander, the transformations of Typhon and Ascalabus (*Met*. v.318–33 and 538–50) both appeared in Nicander book 4; the stories of Byblis and Iphis, told consecutively at the end of *Met*. ix

226. *Met*. xi.413; Nic. *Ther*. 958; *Vita Nic*.; Cameron 1995, 206.

227. A.H.F. Griffin, "The Ceyx Legend in Ovid, *Metamorphoses* xi," *CQ* 31 (1981), 147–54.

228. So too Forbes Irving 1990, 242.

229. No more than six complete and two half lines survive.

230. On the criteria for defining didactic poetry, see now Katharina Volk, *The Poetics of Latin Didactic* (Oxford 2002), 56–7 (Aratus and Nicander).

231. Castiglioni 1906, 335–65, goes far beyond the evidence but makes some good points.

232. Antoninus 22, 23 and 32; Lafaye 1904, 31.

(454–665 and 666–797) were both told in Nicander book 2; and the stories of Ctesylla and Cycnus, told consecutively, albeit briefly and allusively, at vii.369–72, were both in Nicander book 3.[233] To be sure, there is no evidence that Nicander himself linked any of these pairs, but the possibility can hardly be excluded. To take another example, there can be little doubt that Ovid found his contest between the Muses and Pierides (*Met*. v.250–678) in Nicander book 4 (Antoninus § 9), not least because it is in this connection that both poets mention the blow from the hoof of Pegasus that created the spring of Hippocrene on Mount Helicon.[234] Once again, there is no evidence that, like Ovid, Nicander used the contestants as mouthpieces for inset tales, but this too is a possibility than cannot be excluded. It is no objection that Antoninus's summary lends no support. We have only to think of the *Narrationes*, which systematically break up into separate sections (complete with individual titles) countless stories that Ovid had skilfully tied together. No more is it an objection that Ovid's versions of all these stories differ somewhat from Antoninus's summaries. Even if Ovid drew on other versions as well, we know that he knew Nicander.[235]

Ovid's great innovation was to weave *all* his metamorphoses, more than two hundred, into one continuous narrative, a narrative at least three times as long as Nicander's entire poem. He certainly had no predecessor in this astonishing conception. But once we set unfounded modern dogma aside, it is clearly possible that *some* predecessor, whether poet or mythographer, devised occasional ingenious links between transformations, or juxtaposed similar stories, such as the successive transformations of girls into birds (crow and owl) we find in Anonymus. We should bear in mind that recent scholarship has identified multifarious links between individual poems and groups of poems in Hellenistic poetry books.[236]

Parthenius's *Metamorphoses* is lost, but we have his *Erotica Pathemata*, and although the book as a whole has no obvious principle of arrangement, there is one suggestive link between individual stories. § 2 tells the discreditable story of Odysseus's affair with Aeolus's daughter Polymela on the island of Meligounis. The following chapter begins: "Aeolus was not the only one Odysseus wronged" and relates another discreditable episode in Odysseus's love life. That is to say, Parthenius not only juxtaposed similar stories about the same person but explicitly linked them with a formula of transition.[237]

It is a perfectly reasonable assumption that one of Ovid's poetic predecessors linked groups of transformations into stretches of continuous narrative. We

233. Anton. Lib. 28 and 24; 30 and 17; 1 and 12.

234. Stephen Hinds, *The Metamorphoses of Persephone* (Cambridge 1987), 14.

235. Ovid may also have taken the story of Philemon and Baucis from Nicander; for an argument from nomenclature, C. P. Jones, *HSCP* 96 (1994), 216–8.

236. See my *Greek Anthology* (1993), passim; Cameron 1995, 163–73; and (more speculatively) Kathryn J. Gutzwiller, *Poetic Garlands: Hellenistic Epigrams in Context* (Berkeley 1998).

237. There is also a less significant link between §§ 24 and 25, both stories about the love lives of tyrants.

have seen how transformations cluster in the royal houses of Thebes and Athens, and anyone might have anticipated Ovid in grouping these stories in a narrative according to successive generations in the house of Cadmus or Pandion. This would still be a far cry from Ovid's ambitious plan, but it would be a step in that direction. As for the linking of Argus and Syrinx, since Hermes was known as both the slayer of Argus and (as early as the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*) the inventor of both syrinx and lyre,[238] there would be nothing surprising in some pre-Ovidian writer linking the two transformations on this basis. This would not in the least detract from the originality and brilliance of the way Ovid inserts the Syrinx story *into* the Argus story and then has Argus fall asleep halfway through it.[239]

Note too that, where Anonymus has Pan "cut the reeds that grew [in Syrinx's place] and make them into an instrument," according to Ovid (i.705–8),

> Panaque cum prensam sibi iam Syringa putaret,
> corpore pro nymphae calamos tenuisse palustres,
> *dumque ibi suspirat*, motos in harundine ventos
> effecisse sonum tenuem similemque querenti

> and Pan, when he thought he had now caught Syrinx, instead of her held naught but marsh reeds in his arms; and while he *sighed in disappointment*, the soft air stirring in the reeds gave forth a low and complaining sound.

So the Loeb translation. No translator or commentator I have consulted seems to have appreciated that, since Pan has been running hard to catch Syrinx, what he was doing *ibi*, "there," that is to say in the neighborhood of the reeds Syrinx has just turned into, had to be *panting*. Whereas in Anonymus Pan apparently knows that reeds can be used as a musical instrument and simply calls this one syrinx "in honor of the aforementioned nymph," in Ovid it is Pan's heavy breathing that *by chance* creates the querulous sound of the syrinx. Ovid has turned the honorific naming of a particular instrument into the accidental discovery of the first wind instrument.[240]

There is certainly no question of Ovid "following faithfully" this or any other predecessor. Brief as Anonymus's summaries are, they are detailed enough to show that Ovid's versions of the same stories differ in a number of key respects. Furthermore, the excerpts only overlap with seven of Ovid's stories. The problem of devising a structure for 15 books posed an altogether different challenge. None-

238. *Hymn to Hermes* 24–5, 511–2; Roscher i.2372–3.

239. D. Konstan, "The death of Argus, or what stories do: audience response in ancient fiction and theory," *Helios* 8 (1991), 15–30; P. Murgatroyd, "Ovid's Syrinx," *CQ* 51 (2001), 620–3.

240. It has not (I think) been noticed that, in Achilles Tatius's version of the story (*Leuc. et Clit.* 8.6), the sound is produced by Pan groaning (ἔστενε) as he placed his lips on the reeds to kiss them; once again, the characteristic sound of the pipes is produced by accident.

theless, instead of assuming that Ovid came up with his dazzling, shifting combination of chronological and thematic links between successive stories out of thin air, I suggest we substitute the more natural and plausible hypothesis that he seized and built upon whatever cruder and less systematic connections he found in his predecessors. One of these predecessors (I suggest) is reflected in the Florentine metamorphosis excerpts.

11

Conclusion

1

From first to last, Greek mythography was a Greek affair. Between (for example) the ages of Catullus and Statius there was little need for mythographers who wrote in Latin. Both poets and poetic commentators (the earliest Vergil scholiasts) were quite capable of reading Greek mythographers. Given the influence of learned and allusive poets like Callimachus, Apollonius, Nicander, Euphorion, and Parthenius on the *litterati* of late republican and Augustan Rome, Greek mythographers were likely to be better informed and more useful guides than anything Roman grammarians could produce. Parthenius's little book was actually dedicated to a Roman poet.

Take the emperor Tiberius, imperial rank aside a typical cultivated member of the Roman elite, a philhellene unusual only in the degree of his enthusiasm for Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius.[1] According to Suetonius, learned men vied with each other to dedicate works about these poets to him.[2] Suetonius's actual words are *multa de his ediderunt*, generally taken to refer to commentaries. But we should not oversimplify the history of scholarly literature in this way. Full-scale philological commentaries were the exception rather than the rule. Most of the late Hellenistic commentaries on the poets we can identify before the death of Augustus were written by just two men, Didymus and Theon. Most scholars (including Didymus himself) wrote monographs about (περί) this or that aspect of the poets, what Friedrich Leo called περί-literature.[3] Suetonius goes on to report that Tiberius's real passion was the study of mythology (*fabularis historia*). He surrounded himself with mythological sculpture, and he may have been the patron responsible for the massive Odyssean sculpture complex discovered in a cave at Sperlonga in 1957.[4] The boys and girls who participated in the infamous sexual

1. See ch. XXIV, "The Education of an Aristocrat," in R. Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy* (Oxford 1986), especially 349–52.

2. Suetonius, *Tib*. 70.2–3; as we shall see, Suetonius might as well have included Callimachus in his list.

3. F. Leo, *Ausgewählte Kleine Schriften* ii (1960), 387–94; Cameron 1995, 126–7, 187–94.

4. A. F. Stewart, "To entertain an emperor: Sperlonga, Laokoon and Tiberius at the dinner table," *JRS* 67 (1977), 76–90.

exploits on Capri described by Suetonius are said to have been dressed up as "little Pans and Nymphs."[5] He would test grammarians by asking them his famous questions about Hecuba's mother, Achilles' name among the girls, and the Sirens' song. Philip of Thessalonica, a poet who wrote at court during the next two or three reigns, mocks grammatici who debated who was the father of Proteus and Pygmalion, and whether the Cyclops kept dogs.[6]

It is natural to infer that some at least of the books these scholars wrote dealt with mythological topics, and there is in fact an instructive illustration, a strange anecdote in Plutarch. The historian Philip of Prousias (in Bithynia), one of the interlocutors in Plutarch's dialogue *On the Obsolescence of Oracles*, tells a story he claims to have heard from Epitherses, a fellow Bithynian, father of the rhetor Aemilianus and his own grammaticus.[7] Philip adds that a number of those present had been pupils of Aemilianus and could vouch for the story. Epitherses was sailing to Italy once, and as his ship was passing the Paxi islands (about midway between Corcyra and Leucas), a disembodied voice called on Thamous the steersman by name to announce, when they reached Palodes, that "Great Pan is dead." After much debate among the passengers, Thamous decided not to follow these mysterious instructions unless the wind dropped when they reached Palodes. Sure enough, the wind dropped, and Thamous called out as instructed. He was answered by a ghostly cry of lamentation. Romantically misinterpreted from the age of Eusebius on as a (premature) proclamation of the end of paganism,[8] but probably no more than a practical joke played on passing ships by the locals, there seems no call to doubt that the incident really happened. Philip, Epitherses, and Aemilianus were all real people, and Plutarch clearly treated the ghostly lamentation as a fact that could be used to support the view that demonic and heroic souls do eventually die.

Tiberius heard the story and, after interviewing Thamous, "was so convinced of its truth that he caused an inquiry and investigation to be made about Pan; and the scholars, who were numerous at his court, decided that he was the son of

5. *Paniscorum et Nympharum habitu*, Suet. *Tib*. 43.2.

6. *Anth. Pal*. xi.321 and 347; Gow and Page, *The Garland of Philip* ii (Cambridge 1968), 362–3. Theocritus 6.9 mentions a dog that guarded Polyphemus's sheep, but Homer is silent on the point. On Philip's dates, Cameron, *The Greek Anthology* (Oxford 1993), 56–65.

7. Plut. *De def. orac*. 17, 419 B–E; for Epitherses and Philippus, Bowersock, *CQ* 15 (1965), 268–9; B. Puech, "Prosopographie des amis de Plutarque," *ANRW* 33.6 (1992), 4833 n. 1, 4846, and 4869–70.

8. Pointing out that the age of Tiberius was the period of Jesus's ministry, Eusebius thought that Pan was one of the demons he cast out (*Praep. Ev*. v.17). Rabelais (*Quart Livre* § 28), on the other hand, argued that Pan represents Jesus himself (who "can rightly be called Pan in the Greek language, seeing that he is our ALL"), and that the ghostly lamentation was a reaction to the crucifixion (for more on Renaissance interpretations, M. A. Screech, *Rabelais* [Ithaca 1979], 354–63). More recently, there are well-known poems by both the Brownings and by Wilde ("Great Pan is dead, and Mary's son is King"). For a sketch of Pan in European literature and art (regrettably missing both Eusebius and Rabelais), see now John Boardman, *The Great God Pan: The Survival of an Image* (New York 1998).

Hermes and Penelope."[9] What was it that these scholars did? The Greek word (rather loosely) translated "decided" here is εἰκάζειν, rendered "conjectured" in F. C. Babbitt's Loeb. This is certainly what the word normally means, but Tiberius's scholarly commission was not resorting to conjecture as we usually understand the term. There were a great many contradictory versions of Pan's parentage. Roscher was able to list as many as 14:[10] suggested fathers are Zeus, Apollo, Hermes, Aether, and Odysseus; suggested mothers Callisto, an Arcadian nymph called Oeneïs, and (most commonly, surprisingly enough) Penelope.[11] One version repeated in several sources is that he was the son of Penelope and *all* the suitors, whence his name (πᾶς / πᾶσα / πᾶν: "all")!

Evidently what Tiberius's group of scholars did was weigh conflicting authorities and versions and decide in favor of the one given by Herodotus (ii.145.4), that Pan was the son of Hermes and Penelope. All sources cited in the various scholia, whether Greek or Latin, are Greek (Aeschylus, Apollodorus, Araethus, the *Arcadica* of Aristippus, Didymarchus, Epimenides, Euphorion, Herodotus, Mnaseas, Pindar, and Theoxenus),[12] and it is natural to infer that most of these scholars were also Greek. Tiberius had surrounded himself with Greek men of letters since his self-imposed exile on Rhodes in 6 BC, and a great many are known to have lived in Rome during his reign.[13]

The fact that much of this material on Pan survives (via Mythographus Vergilianus)[14] in the Vergil scholia may well reflect the attention drawn to the issue by the activity of these Tiberian mythographers. There may in fact be further evidence of Tiberius's interests influencing the Greek mythographic tradition. According to Hyginus, Achilles was called Pyrrha when he lived among the girls, with Ptolemy the Quail (as we have seen) offering another four suggestions.[15] It is natural to suppose that it was Tiberius's (surely tongue-in-cheek) question that provoked scholars to come up with these answers. A garbled illustration of the debate survives in a poorly executed representation of Achilles at Scyros on a late antique Spanish mosaic: "Pyrrha the son of Thetis" (*Pyrra filius Tetidos*)![16]

9. τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν φιλολόγους συχνοὺς ὄντας, *Mor*. 419D.

10. W. H. Roscher, "Die Sage von der Geburt des Pan," *Philologus* 53 (1894), 362–77, and ib. 56 (1896), 61; the main source is Schol. Theocr. 1.3/4 e–f, with the other references quoted in Wendel, *Schol. in Theocr. Vetera* (1914), 27–32, and *FGrH* 244 F 134–7.

11. For Penelope's Arcadian connections, Marie-Madeleine Mactoux, *Pénélope: légende et mythe* (Paris 1975), 222–30; F. Borgeaud, *The Cult of Pan in Ancient Greece* (Chicago 1988), 54.

12. The ultimate source of all these citations was the Περὶ θεῶν of Apollodorus: Jacoby on *FGrH* 244 F 134–7.

13. G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (Oxford 1965), 77; Daniela Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia: A Greek Man of Letters in Augustan Rome* (London 2000), 130–44. Still useful, A. Hillscher, "Hominum litteratorum graecorum ante Tiberii mortem in urbe Roma commoratorum historia critica," *Jahrb. f. klass. Philo.* Suppl. 18 (1892), 387–8; 405–39.

14. Mainly in the *Brevis Expositio* on *Geo*. i.17 = Thilo-Hagen iii.2 (1902), p. 204; and Serv. Dan. on *Buc*. ii.32 and *Aen*. ii.44; most of it is quoted in Wendel's notes to Schol. Theocr. i.3/4.

15. Hyg. *Fab*. 96; Ptol. in Phot. *Bibl*. 190, p. 147a19 = vol. 3.53 Henry.

16. Katherine M. D. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge 1999), 158.

On one occasion (which deserves to be better known) Tiberius acted out a mythological role in person. According to Cassius Dio, at the first meeting of the senate after Augustus's death, Tiberius offered incense but "did not employ a flute-player."[17] Suetonius offers a fuller account of the same incident, placing it in the context of Tiberius's "silly and laughable" enthusiasm for mythology:[18]

> On the first day that he entered the senate after the death of Augustus, to satisfy at once the demands of filial piety and of religion, he offered sacrifice after the example of Minos with incense and wine, but without a flute-player [*sine tibicine*], as Minos had done in ancient times on the death of his son.

Ps-Apollodorus gives more detail about the allusion to Minos.[19] When told of the death of his son Androgeos while sacrificing to the Graces on Paros, Minos took the garland off his head and silenced the flutes but continued the sacrifice. No source is cited, but any student of Hellenistic poetry will recognize the very first story in Callimachus's *Aetia* (why do the Parians sacrifice to the Graces without flutes and garlands?), known to us (as no doubt to Ps-Apollodorus and Suetonius) from the *Diegeseis*.[20] This incident in the senate must have taken place. Presumably Tiberius did silence the flute-players (who regularly accompanied Roman sacrifices)[21] on this occasion. But did he really do so because he saw himself as Minos sacrificing to the Graces on Paros? Hardly. At the moment he ordered the flute-players to stop, he may simply have felt that silence would be more appropriate or impressive. But given his intimate familiarity with Hellenistic poetry, there seems no reason to doubt that the Callimachean parallel flashed into his mind—and that he mentioned it to one of his scholar friends afterward. Who more likely than the emperor himself to notice so improbable a parallel at such a moment? His scholar friends would not have been present in the senate.

Compared to the richness and variety of the Greek mythographic tradition, remarkably few Latin mythographers can be identified, all of them not just based on Greek sources but for the most part actually translated from the Greek. The only comprehensive work we know of is Hyginus's *Fabulae*, in its original form a work in (at least) two books called *Genealogiae*. Whether originally written in Greek or Latin, it is heavily dependent on Greek sources. The newly identified Mythographus Vergilianus, wide ranging though utterly unsystematic, was likewise based almost entirely on Greek sources, clearly conceived as a Latin equivalent to Mythographus Homericus. It is one of many indications of the poverty of the Latin mythographic

17. τοῦ μὲν λιβανωτοῦ καὶ αὐτοὶ [Tiberius and Drusus] ἔθυσαν, τῷ δ' αὐλητῇ οὐκ ἐχρήσαντο, Dio 56.31.3.

18. Suet. *Tib*. 70.3.

19. *Bibl*. iii.15.7; so too Plut. *Mor*. 132E, 277F, and *De aud. poet*. 2 = 16C.

20. Call. F 3 with Schol. Flor. [*Diegeseis*] Pfeiffer = F 5 Massimilla, with their commentaries. The poet Crinagoras presented Augustus's nephew Marcellus with a copy of Callimachus's *Hecale*: *Anth. Pal*. ix.545, with Gow and Page 1968, 220–1.

21. G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2] (1912), 417 n. 4.

tradition that the mythographic part of Hyginus's *De astronomia* and the Germanicus scholia are both in large measure translations of one of the most influential Greek mythographic texts, Ps-Eratosthenes' *Catasterisms*.[22]

Two of the most important mythographic sources of the Middle Ages were Dictys Cretensis and Dares Phrygius, likewise both translations from Greek originals.[23] Since cultivated Westerners had always read Homer (if they read him at all) in the original Greek, no one had ever translated either the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* into Latin.[24] The *Ilias Latina* in 1070 reasonably competent hexameters, faute de mieux popular in the Middle Ages, was obviously no more than a summary,[25] and most readers saw no reason to disbelieve the claim of Dictys and Dares to have been participants in the Trojan War and so better informed than Homer anyway. Both (especially Dictys) drew on a variety of mythographic sources as well as Homer, though medieval readers were naturally unable to distinguish between Homer, (more or less) authentic post-Homeric traditions and genealogies, and the authors' own novelistic fabrications.

We have seen how many Greek mythographers survived the ancient world, many in fragments, some more or less complete, some at any rate to Byzantine times. Which Latin mythographers survived? Hyginus's *Fabulae* was apparently less popular in the Middle Ages than one might have expected of so useful a manual (it survived in a single manuscript from ca 900, now lost save for a few tattered fragments, and one fifth-century leaf palimpsested in the seventh or eighth century).[26] Much more widely read, though covering a more limited field, were the various *Aratea* (all again adapted from Greek originals), Hyginus's *De astronomia*, the Latin Aratus, and Germanicus and his scholia, often illustrated.[27] The only substantial mythographic sources drawn on by the first and second Vatican mythographers in the ninth or tenth century were Servius, the Statius scholia, the *Narrationes*, and the (probably sixth-century) *Mitologiarum libri tres* of Fulgentius. Hyginus they knew only indirectly through the Statius scholia and the *Narrationes*, both heavily indebted to the *Fabulae*.

With his precious style and heavy allegorizing, Fulgentius's book is very different from most earlier mythographers, except for two details, one not previously

22. The fact that neither seems to have been known to the other (Swoboda, *Nigidius Figulus* 37) might seem to suggest that they were written at around the same time.

23. For a useful brief account, see R. M. Frazer, Jr's introduction to his translation of both works, *The Trojan War: The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian* (Bloomington 1966). On the medieval tradition of the Latin Dictys, K. Sallmann in Herzog and Schmidt 4 (1997), § 484.2.

24. Livius Andronicus's translation of the *Odyssey* into Saturnians had long since perished except for a handful of quotations.

25. For its various shortcomings and manuscript tradition, see M. Scaffai, *Baebii Italici Ilias Latina* (Bologna 1982); see too P. K. Marshall in *Texts and Transmission* (1983), 191–4. Not surprisingly, the *Ilias Latina* was transmitted together with Dares and Dictys.

26. M. D. Reeve, *Texts and Transmission* (1983), 189–90.

27. J. Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods; The Mythological Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art* (Princeton 1953), 150–67.

emphasized in this connection.[28] First, he certainly knew Greek, after a fashion.[29] Second, he cites 50-odd authorities in his 78 pages—many of them very dubious.[30] One case we can pin down to a certain extent is *Mit*. i. 14, where in a chapter on Daphne, *Antiphon, Filocorus et Artemon et Serapion Ascalonites* are all cited for the claim that if bay leaves are placed by the head of a sleeper his dreams will come true. We have seen that multiple citations are seldom a reassuring sign, but Fulgentius is no Ps-Plutarch. His list is a selection from an even longer list of dream interpreters in Tertullian: "*Artemon*, *Antiphon*, Strato, *Philochorus*, Epicharmus, *Serapion*, Cratippus, Dionysius Rhodius, Hermippus."[31] Fulgentius offers one detail not in the text of Tertullian as we have it, the ethnic *Ascalonites*. Since it is unlikely that Fulgentius would invent an ethnic for just one name, it may be that *Ascalonites* has fallen out of the text of Tertullian. But since it is unlikely that Tertullian knew all these texts either,[32] it is perhaps more likely that Fulgentius and Tertullian drew on a much earlier and more erudite common source that cited ethnics throughout (note that Tertullian offers one for Dionysius). Even if such a common source existed, it is obviously most unlikely that every one of these authorities reported the claim about bay leaves. Either way, these were just names to Fulgentius.

But one or two of his citations are genuine (notably three lines quoted in the original from Euripides),[33] and he seems to have had read a certain amount of Homer at first hand.[34] More intriguing, there is one detail that points, at however many removes, to a genuine Greek mythographic source, a reference to *Mnaseas in primo libro de Europa* (p. 58. 10 Helm) for the strange claim that Endymion was the first person to discover the lunar cycle. Mnaseas of Patara, a disciple of Eratosthenes and author of a mythographic geography of the world, was identified by Wendel as the major source for the mythological material in the poetic commentaries of Theon of Alexandria.[35] The first book of this work was indeed

28. R. Helm, *Fabii Planciadis Fulgentii v. c. opera* (Leipzig 1898). For a useful introduction, L. G. Whitbread, *Fulgentius the Mythographer* (1971), soon to be superseded by Gregory Hays, *Fulgentius the Mythographer: Art and Allegory in Vandal Africa* (forthcoming); see too P. Lemats, *Fabula: Trois études de mythographie antique et médiévale* (Geneva 1973), 55–60.

29. Helm 1898, vi–vii; P. Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers and their Greek Sources* (Cambridge Mass., 1969), 222–3. This remains true even if we reject the standard identification with Fulgentius of Ruspe the theologian.

30. For a list and discussion of Fulgentius's sources, see Barry Baldwin, *Traditio* 44 (1988), 37–57.

31. *De anima 46. 10*, with J. H. Waszink's commentary (Amsterdam 1947), 495–6.

32. In addition, though it is perfectly possible that Fulgentius had read works by a fellow African, Tertullian's *De anima*, preserved in a single manuscript, was apparently little read in late antiquity: Waszink 1947, 48*–49*.

33. Admittedly assigned to the wrong play; he also quotes three lines he attributes to Epicharmus (Baldwin 1988, 45) and is the only source for a line allegedly from Menander's *Disexapaton* much discussed by commentators (see Arnott's Loeb *Menander*, i, 1979, 166–7).

34. R. Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian* (Berkeley 1986), 279–82.

35. *RE* 16.2 (1935), 1363; the fragments have still to be consulted in *FHG* iii.149–58, with H. J. Mette, *Lustrum* 21 (1978), 38–9.

called *Europa*, and Fulgentius's story of Endymion and the lunar cycle appears in the Apollonius scholia and (so far as I have been able to discover) nowhere else.[36]

2

By the fourth century there was something of a revival of mythological poetry in Latin as well as Greek. But the range of myths drawn on was in general much narrower and more conventional than that found in the Greek poets of the high and late empire. Claudian, the most gifted of the later Latin poets, was born in Alexandria, and his earliest published work was in Greek. He was much influenced by Greek rhetorical teaching, and he wrote mythical histories (Πάτρια) of four Greek cities (Anazarbus, Berytus, Nicaea, and Tarsus). All four are lost, but we can perhaps grasp something of their outline from the long sections on Berytus, Nicaea, and Tarsus in Nonnus.[37]

Claudian clearly had a much wider knowledge of Greek local myths than his Western contemporaries. Readers of the Latin poetry of the late empire often come away with the impression that it is full of the old mythology, but, as C. S. Lewis pointed out long ago, the gods who people the poems of Statius and his successors are more personifications than figures of myth. To quote a single example, Mars in Statius (as later in Claudian) is more the spirit of war than a deity with specifically mythical kin, loves, and feuds.[38]

"The story of the recovery of classical mythology in the Carolingian Age is inextricably bound up with the story of the recovery of classical literature,"[39] and it was what Michael Herren has called mythophoric texts like the *Aeneid*, Statius's *Thebaïd*, and the *Metamorphoses* that played a major role. Even Christian poets like Prudentius, Paulinus, and Dracontius were full of allusions to pagan gods and myths. In the absence of the countless well-informed mythographic manuals, monographs, and lists available in the Greek world, people turned to such unlikely sources as Dictys, Dares, Augustine's *City of God*, and book 1 of Orosius's

36. *Scholia in Apoll. Rhod.* iv.263–4b, p. 275. 22 Wendel; the Latin parallel from a late Germanicus scholion (p. 201. 7 Breysig) cited in Mnaseas F 1 Mueller derives from Fulgentius rather than vice versa. No mention of Endymion in A. Kleingünther, ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΕΥΡΕΤΗΣ: *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte einer Fragestellung* (Leipzig 1933).

37. Cameron, *Claudian* (1970), 7–11, 26; Chuvin 1991, 196–216 (Berytus), 147–54 (Nicaea) and 174–85 (Tarsus).

38. *The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition* (Oxford 1936), ch. 2; David Vessey, *Statius and the Thebaid* (Cambridge 1973), 86f.

39. Michael Herren, "The earliest European study of Graeco-Roman mythology (AD 600–900)," in *Acta Classica Univ. Scient. Debrecen*. 34–5 (1998–9), 25–49 at 26; see too his "The transmission and reception of Graeco-Roman mythology in Anglo-Saxon England, 670–800," *Anglo-Saxon England* 27 (1998), 87–103; "Literary and Glossarial Evidence for the Study of Classical Mythology in Ireland, AD 600–800," in H. C. O'Briain, A. M. D'Arcy, and J. Scattergodd (eds.), *Text and Gloss: Studies in Insular Learning and Literature Presented to Joseph Donovan Pheifer* (1999), 49–67. There is surprisingly little on this theme in Jane Chance, *Medieval Mythography: From Roman North Africa to the School of Chartres* (Gainesville 1994) and *Medieval Mythography 2: From the School of Chartres to the Court at Avignon, 1177–1350* (Gainesville 2000): see the devastating review of the first volume by Winthrop Wetherbee in *Speculum* 72 (1997), 125–7.

History against the Pagans. Early in the seventh century Isidore of Seville produced an influential list of pagan gods in book 8 of his *Origines*, apart from Solinus, Servius, and Philargyrius entirely based on Christian writers (mainly Lactantius, Augustine, and Jerome).[40] Given the continuing centrality of Vergil in the curriculum, it is not surprising that Servius and the various later Vergil scholia, all of which incorporated large amounts of often very recondite mythographic material (Ch. VIII), remained basic resources.

Ultimately, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was to become by far the most important and influential of all Latin mythographic texts, the richest and most memorable single source of Greek myth for the Roman, medieval, and Renaissance worlds—at any rate for those able to read almost 12,000 hexameters.[41] Since Ovid is not a difficult poet, in theory this included most educated people, but it was still a very long poem, far too long and diffuse to consult for information on specific points. At the same time Ovid frequently slipped in brief allusions to minor transformations that he either had no further information about or could not find any more suitable location for. To give a single illustration, as Medea flies on her dragon-chariot from Iolcus to Corinth, Ovid briefly and allusively evokes 15 metamorphoses localized at a series of places on her (rather roundabout) itinerary (vii.354–90). The result is naturally a dense and difficult passage. Narrator carefully distinguishes and summarizes each transformation, each with its own title. Moreover, from the purely mythographic point of view, the wit, rapidity, and allusiveness of Ovid's narrative precluded mention of countless details that any mythographer worth his salt would have considered essential.

The *Metamorphoses* cried out for the sort of mythographic companion that was standard in the Greek world, a guide that (where possible) would add the genealogical details and authorities that Ovid, inevitably, had not been able to include. Such a work would serve a number of different purposes. It would supply extra names and sources even for those who knew the poem well; it would serve as an index for rapid location of individual stories in a long poem; and it could also be read instead of the poem by those (from schoolboys to bureaucrats) unable or unwilling to invest the time and effort required. Handy, straightforward "Keys to the Classics" have always filled a useful niche. Renaissance readers found the *Narrationes* no less useful than their Roman and medieval predecessors; more than half of the 45 surviving copies are of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. Though later than both Hyginus and (probably) Mythographus Vergilianus, the original version of the *Narrationes* is earlier than the Germanicus scholia. In round numbers it belongs around 150–250. It is, in fact, an entirely typical mythographic work of the high empire, unusual only in being written in Latin.

40. K. N. MacFarlane, *Isidore of Seville on the Pagan Gods* (*Origines* viii.11) = *Trans. Am. Philosoph. Society* 70.3 (1980), with a full analysis of Isidore's sources.

41. In Anderson's Teubner text, 11,993 lines. For a magnificent new resource on the reception of the *Metamorphoses*, see now *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide, illustrées par la peinture baroque* (*370 oeuvres couvrant le XVIIe siècles*, two volumes (Paris 2003).

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Appendix 1

Lactantius Placidus

The name Lactantius is exceptionally rare. The only example in all three volumes of the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (1971–92), covering the years 260–641 AD, is the Christian apologist L. Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius, an African, no doubt a distant descendant of a L. Caecilius Firmianus known from a second-century inscription found at Cirta.[1] Since Jerome introduces the apologist as Firmianus *qui et* Lactantius (*De vir. ill*. 80), the last name is evidently a signum or nickname. At a lower level of society we find Seius Clebonianus *qui et* Lactantius on an inscription from Numidia, another African and another signum.[2] Even in Africa it cannot have been a common name, given its absence from volume 1 of the *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire* (1982), covering Christian Africa from 303 to 533.[3]

One or two late manuscripts ascribe the scholia on Statius's *Thebaid* to a Lactantius Placidus. It is not easy to discover which, since Sweeney's new Teubner edition unaccountably fails to supply any information on the point. But it hardly matters, since there can be little doubt where it comes from. The ascription to the second earliest and most important MS, M (Monacensis 19482, s.X) runs as follows: *Celii Firmiani Placidi Lactancii expositio in Thebaidem Stacii*. This in turn evidently derives from the scholion on *Theb*. vi.364, where Apollo sings of the secret forces of the universe: rivers, winds, the sources of the ocean, the course of the sun, and (finally) "whether the earth be at the bottom or in the middle of heaven, supported by a world we cannot see" (*imane tellus / an media et rursus mundo succincta latenti*). The scholiast (correctly) interprets this "hidden world" as the Antipodes and (less obviously) *succincta* as "suspended," adding that he has written a separate monograph on the subject, drawing on the knowledge of his learned teacher Perseus (or his learned Persian teacher):

1. *CIL* viii. 7241; T. D. Barnes, *JRS* 63 (1973), 39; J. L. Creed, *Lactantius: De mortibus persecutorum* (Oxford 1984), 34.

2. *CIL* viii. 17767; I. Kajanto, *Supernomina: A Study in Latin Epigraphy*, Comm. Hum. Litt. Soc. Sci. Fenn. 40. 1 (Helsinki 1966), 56–57 suggests that it was originally a baby name, formed from *lactans*.

3. Volume 2 of the *Prosopographie chrétienne* (2000) offers one possible but far from certain example, [La?]ctan[tius?], a fifth- or sixth-century inscription found at Florence (p. 1227).

> latentem mundum antipodas dicit. succincta autem pro pendenti, quia, si media est, nulla stabilitate firmatur. sed *de his rebus, prout ingenio meo committere potui*, ex libris ineffabilis doctrinae Persei praeceptoris *seorsum libellum composui Caelius Firmianus Lactantius Placidus.*

On the face of it, the scholiast is here identifying himself as *Caelius Firmianus Lactantius Placidus*. While willing to accept the abbreviated form Lactantius Placidus, most critics have understandably found the full name incredible. Sweeney, following Lindenbrog, deleted *Caelius Firmianus*, assuming a confusion with the Christian apologist. But that only deals with half the problem. Why should the scholiast mention his own name in the middle of his commentary in the first place? This was no place for a writer to identify himself. I for one cannot believe that he wrote even *composui Lactantius Placidus*. In the original form of the commentary, the sentence surely stopped with *composui:* "I have written a separate treatise." No reader of the original commentary needed reminding who the author of this treatise was—obviously the author of the commentary he was holding in his hands. But when the work was broken up into hundreds of anonymous marginal scholia in a copy of Statius, the unidentifiable first-person reference would frustrate curious readers.

The obvious explanation is that it was at this stage, perhaps centuries later, that some reader of a copy of Statius equipped with marginal scholia excerpted from this commentary added his identification of the author of the monograph against the word *composui*. The chances are high that he was simply guessing: it is obviously improbable that the author should be an almost exact homonym of the Christian apologist.

It was G. Brugnoli who found the key,[4] even if he did not know just how to turn it. It can hardly be coincidence that the Christian apologist Lactantius devoted a polemical chapter of his *Divine Institutes* (iii.24) to denying the existence of the Antipodes, going on to claim that he would go into more detail if he had the room but that it would take more than one book to treat the subject adequately.[5] The implication is that he was at least considering a separate treatise. Perhaps then the man who added the apologist's name was not (at least in the first instance) identifying the scholiast; he was identifying the book about the Antipodes on the basis of a recollection of the apologist's polemic.

Brugnoli himself did not see the name as a gloss. Reading the (much less well attested) third-person *composuit* rather than *composui*, he argued that the scholiast was not citing a work of his own on the Antipodes but a treatise by the apologist. Yet quite apart from the fact that there is no evidence that (whatever his intentions) the apologist ever actually wrote any such book, the scholiast's words *prout*

4. *Identikit di Lattanzio Placido* (Pisa 1986).

5. *multis argumentis probare possem nullo modo fieri posse ut caelum sit terra inferius, nisi et liber iam concludendus esset et adhuc aliqua restarent quae magis sint praesenti operis necessaria. et quoniam singulorum errores percurrere non est unius libri opus, satis sit pauca enumerasse* (§ 11).

ingenio meo committere potui unmistakably imply a book he had written himself; and *seorsum libellum composui* no less clearly implies separate publication. Separate from what? What else but his Statius commentary? Why would a third party have described the apologist writing a treatise on the Antipodes "separately"? Jerome lists 10 different works by Lactantius.

Nor is there any justification for Brugnoli's claim that the scholiast shared the apologist's hostility towards the idea of the Antipodes. His remark that the earth, *si media est, nulla stabilitate firmatur*, implies no scepticism. Indeed the scholion on iii. 36 implies the exact reverse (*dicunt physici quod suis fixa ponderibus in aere librata pendeat tellus . . . ergo terra cum in medio fuerat aere librata . . .*). A number of other notes suggest that the scholiast was keenly interested in natural science,[6] and there is no sufficient reason to doubt his claim to have written a separate book on such themes.

I conclude that in his note on *Theb*. vi.365 the scholiast is indeed referring to a book of his own, and that his sentence originally stopped at *libellum composui*. Much later, someone coming to it as a marginal note in a text of Statius, someone familiar with the apologist's influential diatribe against the Antipodes,[7] jotted down his name as a possible author of the *libellus*. That explains Caelius Firmianus Lactantius well enough. But not the Placidus.

According to Brugnoli, this is the grammarian Placidus, credited with a modest surviving collection of poetic glosses.[8] If I understand his rather involved argument aright, Brugnoli claims that, in glossing Statius's *succincta* as "hanging" (*pro pendenti*), the scholiast drew on a gloss to Vergil's *Scyllam . . . candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstris* (*Buc*. vi.74–5)—or rather on a version of this gloss preserved in his copy of Placidus. But not only is *succinctam* used in a wholly different sense here but also no such Vergilian gloss survives, whether in the Vergil scholia or indeed in Placidus, whose entry for Scylla (mainly based on *Aen*. iii.424–32) paraphrases the passage with *cincta* instead of *succinctam*![9] There is no reason in the world why anyone should have thought to associate anything in this note with the shadowy glossographer Placidus.

There is no single or simple solution. Rather this passage provoked a series of glosses and misunderstandings. First, someone suggested Caelius Firmianus Lactantius as the author of the *libellus* on the Antipodes—and (given the first-

6. A. Klotz, *ALL* 15 [1908], 512–13; Wessner, *RE* xii. 359–60. After almost a century Klotz's paper remains the most important study of the Statius scholia.

7. Presumably the source of Augustine's chapter in *Civ. Dei* xvi.9 as well as Isidore, *Orig*. ix.2.133.

8. C. Goetz, *Corp. Gloss. Lat*. v (1894); W. M. Lindsay and J. W. Pirie, *Gloss. Latina* iv (1930); see R. A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language* (Berkeley 1988), 341–2.

9. Placidus v.42.14 Goertz = iv.35. 36 Lindsay. Brugnoli's further claim that *subnixus*, which does appear in Placidus (v.42. 10 Goetz = iv.35. 33 Lindsay), is used in the same sense that Statius uses *succincta* in Manilius i.375–8, even if true (which it is not: see Housman's note), is entirely irrelevant.

person *composui*) by implication the author of the Statius scholia as well.[10] Someone else who thought he knew better corrected this guess by suggesting, for whatever reason, the *alternative* "Placidus." Then someone else again read all four names—Caelius Firmianus Lactantius Placidus—as a single name, subsequently abbreviated to Lactantius Placidus. Why some Renaissance reader connected this composite name of a nonexistent person with the *Narrationes* is anyone's guess.

10. Not utterly absurd, since Lactantius was a grammarian by profession and certainly knew Statius.

Appendix 2

Three Versions of Hyginus

I print with minimal comment the three cases where the Ps-Dositheau excerpts of Hyginus are substantial enough to allow a direct comparison between the standard Latin text (lefthand column) and Ps-Dositheus's two versions. As was proper for his purposes, Goetz offered a diplomatic transcription, without word division or accents. Rose transcribed the Greek (though oddly not the Latin) in an appendix, Boriaud both Greek and Latin (unfortunately with no page or section numbers).[1] I have made a few obvious corrections and one supplement in the Greek, but little in the Latin (righthand column), given the glossographer's uncertain command of Latin.

1. Standard text (Hyg. 138):	Ps-Dositheus Graecus (*CGL* iii.59):	Ps-DositheusLatinus (*CGL* iii.59):
Philyra quae in tiliam versa est. Saturnus Iovem cum quaereret per terras, in Thracia cum Philyra Oceani filia in equum conversus concubuit, quae ex eo peperit Chironem centaurum, qui artem medicam primus invenisse dicitur. Philyra postquam invisitatam speciem se peperisse vidit, petit ab Iove ut se in aliquam speciem commutaret; quae in arborem philyram, hoc est tiliam, commutata est.	Περὶ Φιλύρας. Κρόνος Διὰ πανταχῆ ζητῶν, μετεμορφώθη εἰς ἵππον, καὶ Φιλύραν Ὠκεανοῦ θυγατέρα ἔγκυον ἐποίησεν, καὶ ἔτεκεν Χείρωνα τὸν κένταυρον, ὃς πρῶτος ἰατρικῆς ἐπιστήμης εὑρετὴς ἐγένετο. Φιλύρα δὲ αἰσχυνομένη διὰ τὴν ἀθεώρητον τοῦ τέκνου μορφὴν, θεῶν ἐλέῳ εἰς ὁμώνυμον δένδρον ἠλλάγη.	De Filura. Saturnus Iovem ubique inquirens, demutatus est [i]n equum, et Filuram Oceani filiam pregnantem faciet et enixa est Chironem centaurum, qui primus medicinae artis disciplinae adinventor fuit. Filura autem confusa propter invisam fili figuram, deorum misericordia in cognominatam arborem demutata est.

2. Standard text (Hyg. 144):	Ps-Dositheus Graecus (ibid. 59):	Ps-Dositheus Latinus (ibid. 59):
Prometheus. Homines antea ab immortalibus ignem petebant, neque in perpetuum servare	Περὶ Προμηθέως. Προμηθεὺς πῦρ κλέψας ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ, κρύψας εἰς νάρθηκα κατήνεγκεν	De Prometheos. Prometheus ignem furatus de caelo, abscondens in ferula detulit hominibus,

1. H. J. Rose, *Hygini Fabulae* (Leiden 1933), 174–81; J.-Y. Boriaud, *Hygin Fables* (Paris 1997), 181–93.

sciebant; quod postea Prometheus in ferula detulit in terras, hominibusque monstravit quomodo cinere obrutum servarent. ob hanc rem Mercurius Iovis iussu deligavit eum in monte Caucaso ad saxum clavis ferreis, et aquilam apposuit quae cor eius exesset; quantum die ederat, tantum nocte crescebat. hanc aquilam post XXX annos Hercules interfecit eumque liberavit.

ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἐμήνυσεν αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν εἰς τὴν κονίαν, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν Διὸς κελεύσαντος κατεδήθη ὑπὸ Ἑρμοῦ ἐν ὄρει Καυκασῷ. καὶ ὑπεβλήθη αὐτῷ ἀετὸς ὅς τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ δι' ἡμέρας ἐδαπάνα, νυκτὸς δὲ πάλιν ἀνεγεννῶντο. τοῦτον οὖν τὸν ἀετόν . . .

et demonstravit eis servare in cinere, propter quam causam Iovis iusso abligatus est ab Mercurio in monte Caucaso, et summissa est ei aquila quae viscera eius inper dies consumebat, per noctem autem iterum renascebatur. hanc ergo aquilam . . .

3. Standard text (Hyg. 141):

Sirenes. Sirenes, Acheloi fluminis et Melpomenes Musae filiae, Proserpinae raptu aberrantes ad Apollinis terram [petram, Bursian] venerunt, ibique Cereris voluntate, quod Proserpinae auxilium non tulerant, volaticae sunt factae. his responsum erat tam diu eas victuras quam diu cantantes eas audiens nemo esset praetervectus. quibus fatalis fuit Ulisses; astutia enim sua cum praenavigasset scopulos in quibus morabantur, praecipitarunt se in mare.

Ps-Dositheus Graecus (ibid. 60):

Περὶ Ὀδυσσέως. Πῶς ἐδυνήθη Σειρῆνας παρελθεῖν. Σείρηνες, Αχελῴου καὶ Μελπομένης Μούσης θυγατέρες, διὰ τὴν ἁρπαγὴν Περσεφόνης θρηνοῦσαι, κατέφυγον πρὸς πέτραν Ἀπόλλωνος, κἀκεῖθεν συμβουλίᾳ θεῶν μετεμορφώθησαν εἰς ὄρνεα, κεφαλὰς μόνον ἔχουσαι <γυναικῶν>, κἀκεῖ ᾄδουσαι κατεῖχον τοὺς πλέοντας. καταλειφθεῖσαι ὑπὸ Ὀδυσσέως ἔρριψαν ἑαυτὰς εἰς θάλασσαν καὶ ἀπώλοντο.

Ps-Dositheus Latinus (ibid. 60):

De Ulixe. quemadmodum potuit Sirenas transire. Sirenae, Acheloi et Melpomenae Musae filiae, propter raptum Proserpinae lamentantes, confugerunt ad petram Apollinis et inde consilio deorum demutatae sunt in aves, capita solum habentes, et ibi cantantes detinebant navigantes. relictae ergo ab Ulixe, proiecerunt se in mare et perierunt.

In (1) the vulgar *adinventor* (*TLL* i. 688–9 s.v. *adinvenio, -tio, -tor*) is a giveaway, as is *demutatus/ae* in (1) and (3). In (2) it is the title *De Prometheos*, with Latin *de* governing a genitive like Greek περί. I am assuming that the puzzling *INPERDIES* in (2) reflects uncertainty whether to translate Greek διά by *in* or *per*.

Appendix 3

The Text of the Narrationes

Are there substantial differences between the text of the *Narrationes* as it is transmitted together with the text of the *Metamorphoses* and as transmitted separately from the poem? Ursula Hunt, tentatively followed by Tarrant, thought that there were.[1] We may provisionally distinguish them as the longer and shorter version, respectively. Obviously no definitive answer will be possible until the scores of uncollated manuscripts of both versions have been fully collated. It might well turn out that the situation is more complicated than just two basic versions. But even now three points may be made.

1. Hunt's definition of "interpolation" was anything that did not contribute to a simple, accurate summary of the Ovidian text—and included half the source citations in the work (pp. 3–5, 18). Such a definition would find the hypotheseis of Greek tragedy, the Callimachean *Diegeseis*, and various other such works heavily interpolated. Interpolations there no doubt are in a work of this nature, but more than subjective judgments of irrelevance are required to establish the point.

2. In chapter I.4 we saw that Vibius Sequester took a number of details from the *Narrationes*. In the course of a detailed list of cases, R. Gelsomino pointed out that, where the two versions differed, Vibius's closest verbal similarities were with the longer version.[2] Of course, this does not in itself prove that the longer version is the original version. And the many uncollated manuscripts may carry other versions, intermediate between the two we know of. Nonetheless, this must be counted prima facie evidence against the shorter version.

3. Finally, let us take a closer look at a specific passage. Tarrant draws attention to *Narr*. 5.8, where the shorter (i.e. separately transmitted) version offers what he claims to be a "purer" text (left-hand column below). Two of its representatives omit "a section of several lines that derives in part from Hyginus *Fab*. 125.13 and that Slater rightly bracketed as an interpolation."[3] It is true that the bracketed section "carries the story of the Sirens beyond the end of Ovid's episode," but we have seen that it is nothing out of the ordinary for Narrator to include details that

1. Hunt 1925, xv–xvi; Slater 1927, 38; Tarrant 1995, 88.

2. *Le fonte ovidiane di Vibio Sequestre* (Bari 1962), 39–76.

3. BM Burney 311 (Hunt's manuscript) and the Cologne edition of 1556; Tarrant 1995, 89. It remains to be seen whether all representatives of this version omit these lines.

go beyond the Ovidian text. The last two sentences of the bracketed passage, as Tarrant notes, are indeed verbally quite close to Hyg. 125.13 (*harum fatum fuit tam diu vivere quam diu earum cantum mortalis audiens nemo praetervectus esset. Ulysses monitus a Circe . . . praetervectus est*). But we have seen that many a passage in Narrator seems to derive from Hyginus, and in this passage it is not just the bracketed lines that do so. The entire chapter is closely related to a different chapter of Hyginus (*Fab*. 141):

Narr. 5.8: Sirenes, Acheloi et Melpomenes Musae filiae, cum Proserpinam raptam requirerent neque eam ullo modo possent invenire, a deis novissime impetraverunt ut, versae in volucres, non tantum in terra sed etiam in mari requisitam consequi possent. [novissime devenerunt ad petram Martis, quae imminebat proxima pelago. harum ita fatum fuit, quamdiu earum vox audita non esset a mortalibus, manerent incolumes. forte Ulixes monitu Circes praetervectus est. tum se praecipitaverunt.]

Hyg. 141: Sirenes, Acheloi et Melpomenes Musae filiae, Proserpinae raptu aberrantes ad Apollinis petram venerunt, ibique Cereris voluntate quod Proserpinae auxilium non tulerant, volaticae sunt factae. his responsum erat tam diu eas victuras quam diu cantantes eas audiens nemo esset praetervectus. quibus fatalis fuit Ulysses; astutia enim sua cum praenavigasset scopulos in quibus morabantur, praecipitarunt se in mare.

Ps-Dositheus offers yet another, again slightly different, version of Hyginus on the Sirens (see appendix 2, no. 3, center- and right-hand columns), in both Greek and Latin. While generally closer to *Fab*. 141, the phrase κεφαλὰς μόνον ἔχουσαι/ *capita solum habentes* is clearly abridged from *partem superiorem muliebrem habebant, inferiorem autem gallinaceam* in *Fab*. 125.13. There can be little doubt that all three versions of Hyginus derive from the same originally fuller version—or that *Narr*. 5.8 in its entirety is loosely adapted from this same fuller version. There are no sufficient grounds for seeing the lines Slater bracketed as an interpolation.

Appendix 4

Marginal Source Citations in Parthenius and Antoninus Liberalis

There are two main arguments against attributing all these citations to Parthenius and Antoninus themselves.[1] First, scepticism that the texts cited really are the sources of the stories in question, an objection we have seen to be misplaced (Ch. V). Second, the fact that they are written in the bottom (less often top) margins rather than the body of the text.[2] But the fact that they are written in the same hand as the body of the text might equally be held to imply that they are an integral part of the original text.

This appendix is devoted to just one question: is it credible that ancient writers put references in the bottom margin, quite literally footnotes? Most critics have taken it for granted that this was simply beyond the technology of ancient book production. But it was not beyond the technology of the medieval book. By the twelfth century we find regular source citations in the margins of texts of Peter Lombard's commentaries on the Psalter and Pauline Epistles, picked out in red. To give a single illustration, the general assertion "unde Augustinus quaerit" in Peter's text presupposes the precise citation "Augustinus in XV libro De Trinitate" in the margin, together with a variety of other marginal rubrics to help the reader. Those who have studied the manuscripts of the work are in no doubt that these marginal notations go back to the author himself.[3]

Interpreting footnotes as precise documentation, the closest Anthony Grafton could find to the modern footnote in the ancient world was references by book and chapter in late antique legal texts (for example, *Ulpianus libro VIIII de officio proconsulis ad legem Iuliam de vi publica et privata*, in *Mosaicarum et Romanarum*

1. So I. Cazzaniga, *Antoninus Liberalis: Metamorphoseon Synagoge* (Milan 1962), 8–9; M. Papathomopoulos, *Antoninus Liberalis: Les Métamorphoses* (Paris 1968), xi–xxii; Jacob Stern, *Parthenius: Erotika Pathemata* (New York 1992), 106–7; Lightfoot 1999, 246–56. This is also the view of the overwhelming bulk of the surprisingly extensive literature on the subject (most listed by Lightfoot).

2. Mainly in the bottom margin; in the top margin only if the need for two sets of references on the same page arose.

3. *Magistri Petri Lombardi Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, editio tertia, I.1 (Grottaferrata 1971), 138*–40*; I. Brady, "The Rubrics of Peter Lombard's Sentences," *Pier Lombardo* 6 (1962), 5–25; M. B. Parkes, "The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book," in J.J.G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson, *Medieval Learning and Literature* (Oxford 1976), 116–7 (citing a couple of ninth-century examples).

legum collatio ix.1.1).[4] But these are not really footnotes, any more than the hundreds of often quite precise learned quotations we find in ancient commentaries on the classics. We can in fact come a lot closer than might be supposed.

To start with, we saw in Ch. VII that scholia, often including learned citations, were regularly placed in the top and bottom margins of ancient books (where there was most space), even at the roll stage. The Berlin Aratus codex in particular shows a marked difference between the sort of material written in top margins (continuous paraphrase) and side margins (individual glosses).[5] In addition, titles of individual poems in larger collections were often placed in the lefthand margin, where they could easily be picked out by someone skimming the text for a particular item. So, for example, the London Bacchylides papyrus and three different papyri of Pindar's *Paeans*.[6] Less often, the names of speakers in tragic or comic texts are written in the lefthand margin (perhaps only on their first appearance).[7] More remarkably, the celebrated didascalia fragment that led to the redating of Aeschylus's *Supplices* is one of a series of comments by the original scribe in the margins of rolls containing plays of Aeschylus.[8] Inasmuch as they are drawn from learned hypotheseis, these notes might be classified as footnotes of a sort. Of course, all such marginalia were highly vulnerable, liable to be omitted by scribes anxious to finish their task—which explains why so few of them have survived.

More specifically, I would suggest that it is not so much its location or even its precision that define the footnote as its *segregation* from the text that it supports or justifies. Segregating documentation allows a writer to produce an uncluttered narrative while still citing his sources.

Current critics are much preoccupied with intertextuality but much less interested in direct quotation (except as a source of indirect transmission).[9] Philosophers, orators, and essayists quote freely enough, especially from the poets, often by name. But they usually devote much care and skill to integrating the quotation into their own syntax and context. To cite a single example from Plutarch: "Sophocles's remark 'from unfair deeds no fair result can come' is not altogether true."[10] Quotations like this do not function simply as source references; they are woven into the texture of the argument. Straightforward source references are in fact very uncommon in works with literary pretensions, especially historians, where we miss them

4. A. Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 30.

5. M. Maehler, *APF* 27 (1980), 19–32; p. 167 above.

6. Ian Rutherford, *Pindar's Paeans* (Oxford 2001), 150–51; Turner, *GMAW*² 13, with nos. 22 and 50.

7. So (for example), Turner 1987 no. 28, 31, 34 and 43.

8. Turner 1987, no. 25, with plate; van Rossum–Steenbeek 1998, 35–6; for earlier bibliography, Pack² 46.

9. E.g. John Whittaker, "The Value of Indirect Tradition in the Establishment of Greek Philosophical Texts or the Art of Misquotation," in J. N. Grant (ed.), *Editing Greek and Latin Texts* (New York 1987), 63–95.

10. *How to study poetry* 27 F (Soph. F 755 N = 839 R). For many illustrations, see R. Seippel, *De veterum scriptorum graecorum ratione auctores laudandi* (Greifswald 1903); E. Howind, *De ratione citandi in Ciceronis Plutarchi Senecae Novi Testamenti scriptis obvia* (Marburg 1921).

most.[11] Dionysius of Halicarnassus is quite exceptional in both providing a list of his main sources in the preface to his *Roman Antiquities* and then citing them freely in the text of, at any rate, book 1. As we have seen, it seems to have been paradoxographers and mythographers who began the practice of systematically citing sources by both name and title (see Ch. V). Since so many of them are at second or third hand, if not actually forged, this is (of course) deeply ironic.

Papathomopoulos and Lightfoot found marginal citations wholly anomalous and unacceptable in an ancient book. Both contrasted Ps-Plutarch, who (they claimed) incorporated his references in his text in the traditional way.[12] Actually Ps-Plutarch's citations resemble those in the other mythographers and the margins of Parthenius and Antoninus more than quotations in the real Plutarch. They are simply source references, and they always come at the end of their chapter, normally in the form καθὼς ἱστορεῖ A. ἐν B. In theory we might so punctuate as to include such formulas in the final sentence, following a comma. But since in most cases they are clearly meant to document the whole chapter rather than just the final sentence, editors normally (and rightly) print them as separate sentences. The source references in MH likewise close their chapters in the form of separate sentences (ἡ δὲ ἱστορία παρὰ A. ἐν B. or ἱστορεῖ A. ἐν B.). Compare too *Phanocles in Cupidinibus auctor* at the close of *Narrationes* 2.5. There are occasional examples even in more literary writers: for example, at the close of Plutarch, *Greek Questions* 10 (293A), we find as a separate sentence the words "the evidence is Aeschylus" (τὸ δὲ μαρτύριον Αἰσχύλος).

Citations like this are, in fact, about as close as an ancient writer could get to footnotes: first the narrative, then the source reference. There is also another, perhaps more relevant parallel for the segregation of sources from text. Pliny the Elder "prefaced" (*praetexui*) each book of his *Natural History* with both a full table of contents and a succinct bibliography of sources consulted for that book, with authors' names in the ablative after the formula *ex auctoribus:* first Roman writers and then, introduced by *externis*, "foreigners," that is, Greeks.[13] There are few titles in the first group, but rather more information is given about the more obscure Greek books. In view of the unique interest of these bibliographies, it is worth transcribing one of them in full (book 35):

> *Ex auctoribus*: Messala oratore, Messala sene, Fenestella, Attico, M. Varrone, Verrio, Nepote Cornelio, Deculone, Muciano, Melisso, Vitruvio, Cassio Severo, Longulano, Fabio Vestale qui de pictura scripsit. *Externis:* Pasitele, Apelle, Melanthio, Asclepiodoro, Euphranore, Parrhasio, Heliodoro qui de anathematis Atheniensium scripsit, Metrodoro qui de architectonice scripsit, Democrito, Theophrasto, Apione grammatico qui de metallica medicina scripsit, Nymphodoro, Iolla, Apollodoro, Andrea, Heraclide, Diagora, Botrye,

11. Stemplinger, *Das Plagiat* (1911), 177–80.
12. Papathomopoulos 1968, xi; Lightfoot 1999, 248.
13. Interestingly enough, he included Romans writing in Greek in his first category.

> Archedemo, Dionysio, Aristogene, Democle, Mneside, Xenocrate Zenonis, Theomnesto.

At an early stage these bibliographies were transferred from this rather vulnerable location in front of individual books to stand all together in sequence as book 1, immediately following the very detailed tables of contents for each book. But Pliny's preface leaves no doubt about the original arrangement.[14]

There is also another respect in which Pliny's bibliographies parallel learned citations in the mythographers. They are derivative and misleading in much the same way. No modern scholar believes that Pliny had read (or even seen) most of the numerous Greek works he lists, and it is unlikely that informed ancient readers believed it either. The standard (and surely correct) assumption is that he simply repeated at second hand the references he found in the various Latin works he consulted. They are certainly not the actual sources of his own knowledge, but it was not altogether without justification that he saw them as his ultimate sources.[15] Above all in a field like that covered in book 35 (painting), any Roman knew that the ultimate sources of most knowledge were Greek. Anyone keen to dig deeper in the literature on painting could follow up the names and titles Pliny had provided, writing to Greek friends or searching in libraries in Greek cities. Even modern scholars sometimes cite works they have not seen (usually because they are inaccessible) if they believe them to have been influential, though they are usually straightforward enough to admit the fact.[16]

There is one other, so far unrecognized case of a segregated bibliography. Some time probably late in the fourth century, an unknown person put together a tripartite corpus consisting of two anonymous treatises, the *Origo gentis romanae* (*OGR*) and *De viris illustribus*, covering the prehistory of Rome and the monarchy and republic, and the *De Caesaribus* of Aurelius Victor, taking the story of the empire down to 360 AD. As Momigliano pointed out, *Origo gentis Romanae* may have been intended as the collective title of the corpus rather than just its first component, a 20-page summary of Roman prehistory with extensive citation of learned references.[17] Before this first work begins we find the following summary statement of the nature and sources of the corpus:

> Origo gentis Romanae a Iano et Saturno conditoribus, per succedentes sibimet reges, usque ad consulatum decimum Constantii, digesta *ex auctoribus* Verrio Flacco, Antiate (ut quidem idem Verrius maluit dicere,

14. See too 18. 212; Schanz-Hosius, *Gesch. d. röm. Literatur* ii[4] (1935), 771–2.

15. As Gian Biagio Conte put it, Pliny's bibliography was conceived "not as a register of books read and used, but as a list of the sources whose existence can somehow be verified," *Genres and Readers* (Baltimore 1994), 69.

16. Here modern writers can make use of typographic devices like marking such items with an asterisk. This device was known in antiquity, but writers could not count on them being systematically reproduced in every copy.

17. A. Momigliano, "Some observations on the *Origo gentis Romanae*," *Secondo contributo alla storia degli studi classici* (Rome 1960), 145–76; on the citations, Appendix 5.

> quam Antia), tum ex annalibus pontificum, dein Cincio, Egnatio, Veratio, Fabio Pictore, Licinio Macro, Varrone, Caesare, Tuberone, atque ex omni priscorum historia; proinde ut quisque neotericorum asseveravit, hoc est Livius et Victor Afer.

Many scholars have described this as a preface,[18] but it lacks all the standard features and themes of prefaces to ancient books (address to dedicatee, importance of the subject, author's modest ability and stylistic deficiencies).[19] It has no main verb and is not even a grammatical sentence. Furthermore, three quarters of it are devoted to the first and by far the shortest of the three texts, supposedly because it is "based on an original preface to the Origo,"[20] a claim vulnerable to all the same objections. It is in fact nothing more than a table of contents to the three components of the corpus (*A Iano . . . ad consulatum decimum Constantii*) followed by a list of works cited in it (*digesta ex auctoribus . . . Victor Afer*). It is this that explains the disproportionate space devoted to the different components: the third is the work of a single author (Victor), the second (so the compiler erroneously believed) a summary of a single author (Livy). The list for the first is so long simply because it happens to cite so many works.

The two latest editors, J.-C. Richard and Giovanni d'Anna, refer to it as a *titulus*,[21] which at least takes account of the fact that the opening words function as the title of the corpus and the rest of the text is grammatically dependent on them (*Origo . . . digesta ex auctoribus . . .*). F. Pichlmayr solved the problem with a convenient modern typographic convention by printing the first three words as title, and the rest in smaller type, to mark it off from the text of the *Origo* itself.[22] The parallel with the original layout of successive books of Pliny's *Natural History* is exact, right down to the identical introductory formula *ex auctoribus*. First title, then table of contents (*libro XXXV continentur . . .*), then list of sources (*ex auctoribus Messala . . .*).

Anything not directly included in the text of an ancient book (and that includes the title) enjoyed a precarious existence. It is hard to believe that Pliny and the compiler of the *OGR* were alone in listing their sources in this way, especially among technical writers. Almost certainly there were other cases we do not know of because copyists omitted marginal material they deemed unimportant—or simply did not identify as part of the book rather than scholia.[23]

18. Momigliano 1960, 148; Bruce W. Frier, *Libri Annales Pontificum Maximorum. The Origins of the Annalistic Tradition*[2] (Ann Arbor 1999), 41–2.

19. Not surprisingly, no mention in Tore Janson's useful work *Latin Prose Prefaces: Studies in Literary Conventions* (Stockholm 1964).

20. Frier 1999, 42.

21. J.-C. Richard, *Pseudo-Aurelius Victor: Les origines du peuple romain* (Paris 1983), 8; Giovanni d'Anna, *Anonimo: Origine del popolo romano* (Milan 1992), xii.

22. In his Teubner edition of 1911 (and later reprints).

23. As surviving manuscripts show, successive owners often wrote all manner of comments in the margins of their texts, and it cannot have been easy for a scribe who was not a scholar to distinguish what was worth copying from what was not.

For example, manuscripts offer the puzzling heading *Libellus de vita et moribus imperatorum breviatus ex libris Sexti Aureli Victoris a Caesare Augusto usque ad Theodosium* for the work generally known as *Epitome de Caesaribus.* Once again, this is really too long to be considered a title; more specifically, Aurelius Victor's *De Caesaribus* consists of only one book, and only the first eleven chapters of the *Epitome* are in fact drawn from Victor. The most recent editor rightly follows a seventeenth-century critic in identifying the heading as a now fragmentary table of contents and bibliography.[24] *Libellus de vita et moribus imperatorum breviatus . . . a Caesare Augusto usque ad Theodosium* is a description of the work rather than its title, and Aurelius Victor the first of its sources ("abridged from the books of S. Aurelius Victor, X, Y and Z"). Unfortunately, some copyist cut the list short.

We do in fact know of a fourth case at second hand. According to Photius, the novelist Antonius Diogenes "prefaced each book with a list of those who had told of such things before (προαπεφήναντο), so that the improbable might not seem to lack documentation."[25] Whether or not these were genuine sources,[26] we are not entitled to doubt Photius's word. In the copy he read he found bibliographies "prefixed" to successive books. As in Pliny (προτάττει, *praetexui)*, they must have been segregated in a separate block, presumably between the title and the beginning of the text. Here at any rate a segregated bibliography survived the transference from the original roll to Photius's codex.

Given the widespread use of margins for extratextual material of various sorts, there seems no obvious reason why Parthenius and Antoninus should not have anticipated Peter Lombard in citing illustrative texts in their margins. On my interpretation of both works (Ch. V), these texts are not straightforwardly *sources* for the stories narrated in the text but texts of various sorts where the story is *either* told in detail, *or* used as an elegant or paradoxical comparison, *or* alluded to with classic obliquity. All are illustrative model uses of a given mythological story.

Whoever compiled them, have the Parthenius and Antoninus citations survived in full? I suspect that the list of for each story was in at least some cases originally longer. For example, Antoninus § 23, a straightforward enough version of the story of the baby Hermes stealing Apollo's cattle, is provided with a bibliography of six items: Nicander, Hesiod, Didymarchus, Antigonus, Apollonius, and Pamphilus, most including both titles and book numbers. But § 26 on Hylas cites only Nicander, not even such obvious texts as Apollonius and Theocritus (the Apollonius scholia cite and compare Theocritus, Nicander, and Apollonius). Other likely omissions have been suspected, at any rate in Parthenius (notably Euphorion

24. M. Hankius, *De Romanarum Rerum Scriptoribus* (Leipzig 1669–75), II. 5; M. Festy, *Pseudo-Aurélius Victor: Abrégé des Césars* (Paris 1999), viii-xii.

25. προτάττει δὲ καὶ ἑκάστου βιβλίου τοὺς ἄνδρας οἳ τὰ τοιαῦτα προαπεφήναντο, ὡς μὴ δοκεῖν μαρτυρίας χηρεύειν τὰ ἄπιστα, Phot. *Cod.* 166, p. 111a38–40.

26. Perhaps so (in part at least); Photius goes on to remark that Diogenes's tale, though "verging on the mythical and marvellous, is cast in a most credible format and structure." Readers of George MacDonald Fraser's *Flashman* novels will know how much deadpan learned references to genuine sources can contribute to a purely fictional narrative.

and Callimachus).[27] Antoninus § 4 tells how a lion cub helped to rid Ambracia of the tyrant Phalaecus. The citations name Nicander (presumably for a later detail in the story) and the *Ambracica* of the otherwise unknown Athanadas.[28] But one of the very few authentic notes in the scholia to Ovid's *Ibis* cites Callimachus for what appears to be the same story (F 665 Pf.), confirmed now by a new fragment of the *Diegeseis*.[29]

Then there is the fact that several stories lack any documentation. Whether the abbreviation ου found in the margin by such stories should be expanded οὐ(χ εὗρον) or οὔ(τω),[30] it is most naturally interpreted as implying that there were gaps at these points in the exemplar of the mid-ninth-century unique manuscript, which is known from a number of marginal notes to have been carefully collated against its exemplar.[31] When many stories have two citations and some more still, it is likely that all of them had at least one. That is to say, the documentation cited may originally have been more a series of bibliographies than one or two source references, more similar to the bibliographies of Pliny, *OGR*, and Antonius Diogenes.

Segregated bibliographies at the beginning of a book may not be quite the same as source references in the margins, but then we cannot be sure that (if authentic) this is where they originally stood in copies in roll format. Like Pliny, Parthenius and Antoninus both equipped their books with detailed tables of contents.[32] One possibility is that, like Pliny's second thoughts, both originally placed their source references together with chapter titles in their tables of contents. Thus the heading to Antoninus § 2 (for example) might have run as follows: αἱ Μελεάγρου ἀδελφαὶ εἰς μελεαγρίδας ἱστορεῖ Νίκανδρος Ἑτεροιουμένων γ΄. It may have been the copyists who transcribed the books from roll into codex who (for whatever reason) moved them to the margins.

27. Lightfoot 1999, 250–2.

28. *FGrH* 303, with Jacoby's commentary.

29. Claudio Gallazzi and Luigi Lehnus, "Due nuovi frammenti delle Diegeseis," *ZPE* 137 (2001), at 7–13.

30. Papathomopoulos 1968, xix–xx; Lightfoot 1999.

31. On the corrections, A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (1952), 6. This strongly suggests that the citations are at any rate pre-Byzantine—as does the date of the MS, much too early for the scholarly research implied by the addition of learned references.

32. There are in fact two tables of contents to Antoninus (Papathomopoulos 1968, x–xi); there are also much briefer headings to individual chapters.

Appendix 5

Source Citations in the Origo Gentis Romanae

Although this book is devoted to Greek rather than Roman mythography, the much-discussed question of the authenticity of the citations in the *Origo Gentis Romanae* (*OGR*) demands brief reconsideration in the light of the results obtained in chapters V and VI. Justifiably suspicious of the wealth of learned citations in so late and trivial a piece, Niebuhr condemned the work in its entirety as a renaissance forgery, and others, more moderately, have seen it as a late antique forgery. An influential study by Arnaldo Momigliano found "suspicious features, but no certain proof of a forgery."[1] Subsequent critics have gone much further in the direction of credulity. Nicholas Horsfall praised J.-C. Richard's edition (Paris 1983) for "decisively and rightly" accepting the authenticity of both text and citations,[2] and had no doubt that it preserves "material of the highest value."[3]

With one or two reservations I would be prepared to stipulate that the author did not *fabricate* his citations—or at any rate not many of them. The *OGR* is no *HA*. But in a work of this nature, eliminating outright forgery does not get us very far.[4] We are still left with fundamental questions: where did the compiler find his four-hundred-year old citations (none later than the age of Augustus); and do they really provide any genuine information about the works cited? To take the obvious parallel in this context, the Ovidian *Narrationes* is no forgery, and all the sources it cites certainly existed. But only one of them preserves vestigially genuine information about an ancient text (Phanocles). The *OGR* is surely closer to the *Narrationes* than (as most current critics seem to assume) Aulus Gellius or even Macrobius.

It is a work of mythography, not history.[5] No one who has read the preceding pages is likely to believe that the compiler came by these references to such ob-

1. "Some Observations of the *Origo Gentis Romanae*," *JRS* 48 (1958), 56–73 = *Secondo Contributo alla storia dei classici* (Rome 1960), 145–76 at p. 167.

2. See his learned contribution in *CR* 37 (1987), 192–4.

3. J. Bremer and N. Horsfall, *Roman Mythography* (London 1987), 11.

4. For example, Martine Chassignet's new edition of the Roman annalists includes *OGR* citations without further comment on the grounds that they are no longer held to be forgeries (*L'annalistique romaine* i [Paris 1996], ci–cii). In a later paper (reprinted in his *Settimo Contributo* [1984], 451) Momigliano simply repeats his belief that *OGR* quotations "are, as a rule, authentic."

5. And Roman mythography, as distinct from a handbook of Greek mythology that happens to be written in Latin, like Hyginus.

scure and (in some cases) otherwise unknown texts at first (or even second or third) hand. Perhaps the single most dubious case is *ut docet Alexander Ephesius libro primo belli Marsici* (9.1), cited for Agamemnon allowing Aeneas to retreat at night to Mount Ida on the fall of Troy, with his father on his shoulders, his son, and the Penates, where he built ships and sailed for Italy on the advice of an oracle. According to Momigliano, "suspicions about Alexander Ephesius are entirely unjustified. He is known to Cicero as a bad poet and to Strabo as a historian."[6] But in the first place, it is less than certain that the bad poet Alexander whom Cicero mentions is the poet/historian Alexander from Ephesus whom Strabo mentions.[7] And second, even if the identification is accepted, all that proves is the *existence* of someone of the right name at about the right time. There is no other evidence of any kind for such a history of the Social War, nor is it likely that a Greek poet from Ephesus would undertake such a project. Caecilius of Calacte's monograph on the Servile Wars has been claimed as a parallel,[8] but Caecilius came from Sicily, where there had been a long series of slave wars.[9] Nor is it likely that a history of the Social War would offer a detailed account of Aeneas's departure from Troy. While it is certainly *possible* that the citation might refer to a mythological preface to or digression in such a monograph, that can scarcely be called likely. It is going too far to conclude, with Momigliano, that "the reference to Alexander Ephesius has turned out to be an argument in favour of the honesty of the writer."[10] To repeat, honesty is not the key issue.

It is also a problem that, with the sole exception of the role attributed to Agamemnon, every detail in the summary just quoted could have come from Vergil, who is in fact indisputably the basic source, frequently cited, of the first nine chapters of *OGR*.[11] As a consequence Momigliano inferred that the role attributed to Agamemnon is the *only* detail attributed to Alexander. But that is certainly not what the placing of the citation at the end of the section implies. The natural inference is that Alexander is being cited as authority for the whole section. If he was really just cited for the detail about Agamemnon, then the citation is seriously misleading, which augurs ill for any attempt to identify the reference of other citations.

To take another example, earlier critics who believed in forgery drew attention to the contradiction between *OGR* 15.5 and Servius on *Aen*. i.267, which ascribe quite different etymologies of the name Iulus to Cato. Most defenders have been satisfied with Momigliano's observation that the contradiction disappears if *OGR*'s

6. Momigliano 1960, 166.

7. *Att*. ii.22.7 = 42 Shackleton Bailey, with his note; see too F. Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur in der Alexandrinerzeit* i (Leipzig 1891), 308; W. Sontheimer, "Alexandros 18" in *Kl. Pauly* 1 (1975), 251.

8. The large-scale political histories of Rome by Polybius and Posidonius are no real parallel.

9. For a brief account, M. I. Finley, *Ancient Sicily*[2] (London 1979), 137–47.

10. Richard 1983, 135; Momigliano 1960, 170.

11. As for the claim at the beginning of the chapter that Antenor betrayed Troy, that goes back to Lycophron (*Alex*. 340, with schol. ad loc.); for detailed discussion, L. Bracchesi, *La leggenda di Antenore: Dalla Troade al Veneto*[2] (Padua 1997), 113–33.

citation (*ut scribunt Caesar in libro secundo et Cato in Originibus*) is restricted to the final claim about the origin of the Julii (*a quo Iulia familia manavit*). But once again this is hardly the most natural interpretation of a double citation at the end of a chapter. In this case, given the Servian parallel, it might be the right interpretation. But if so, this would be further evidence of the difficulty of identifying the reference of such citations.

Another worrying feature is the prevalence of double citations, almost always, as we have seen, a sign of dissimulation. The immediately preceding chapter (15.4) gives a double citation for a peace treaty between Mezentius and the Latins: *ut docet Lucius Caesar libro primo, itemque Aulus Postumius in eo volumine quod de adventu Aeneae conscripsit atque edidit*. For the (in so brief a work) ostentatiously longwinded form of the second citation we may compare *Narrationes* 1.1 (p. 631.16 Magnus): *ut Hesiodus indicat volumine quod deorum originem continet*. Note that in both cases these citations close a section, as in so many of the mythographers discussed in Ch. V. So too *OGR* 16.14: *ut scribunt Gaius Caesar et Sextus Gellius in Origine gentis Romanae* (where no such person as Sextus Gellius is known,[12] and elsewhere the writer cites *Lucius* Caesar); and 18.2: *ut scribunt Lucius Cincius libro primo, Lutatius libro tertio*, cited for the changing of the name of the river Albula to Tiber after Tiberius Silvius, who drowned in it. Note especially 17.3: *ut scriptum est in annalium pontificum quarto libro, Cincii et Caesaris secundo, Tuberonis primo*. This last dossier of no fewer than four names is cited in support of the claim (made in a single sentence) that, after Ascanius moved the Penates from Lavinium to Alba Longa, they miraculously returned of their own accord and no one ever moved them again. Did all four of these texts really tell exactly the same story? The absolute most we are entitled to infer is that each said *something* about the Penates, in all probability something different. It is highly unlikely that the compiler could have said which details in his drastically simplified narrative came from the *Pontifical Annals*,[13] which from Cincius, Caesar, or Tubero. Never having actually seen any of the texts named himself, he simply listed them all together at the end of his chapter. In cases of double citations we are at the very least bound to assume that the compiler found the later work already cited by the earlier—or (more probably) both by some much later intermediary he does *not* name.

Most critics have assumed that OGR abbreviated (drastically, and often to the point of unintelligibility) a scholarly work of Augustan date. Augustan, because none of the sources cited are later than this. That such a work was in some sense the ultimate source of *OGR* is certainly a possibility, and the most plausible iden-

12. Chassignet, *L'annalistique romaine* ii (Paris 1999), cites this passage with Smit's *Cnaeus* for the MS *Sextus* without further comment on the grounds that "Sextus Gellius n'est attesté nulle part ailleurs" (F 9: pp. 74 and 155).

13. On which the fullest treatment is Bruce Frier, *Libri Annales Pontificum Maximorum: The Origins of the Annalistic Tradition*[2] (Ann Arbor 1999). At p. 41 n. 5 Frier sensibly calls for a modern statement of the case against simply accepting the citations in *OGR*. To the best of my knowledge, this appendix is the first such attempt.

tification for such a source is Verrius Flaccus's *Rerum memoria dignarum libri*, most fully argued by P. L. Schmidt, more briefly by Bruce Frier. Verrius is the first source named in the *titulus*; the text of the work offers several parallels with other citations of Verrius; and no citation in the work is later in date than Verrius.[14] Note too that, according to the *titulus*, Verrius preferred the form *Antias* to *Antia* in the name of the annalist Valerius Antias, implying that the writer knew his citation of Antias via Verrius. That Verrius documented his writings is proved for this very work by Pliny's remark that he "cited trustworthy authorities."[15]

Nevertheless, I find it hard to believe that the compiler himself abbreviated any such Augustan original at first hand. Much more likely he was abridging an abridgment, in all probability a text already abridged more than once already. There is also a further, more disturbing consequence of postulating such a source (whether or not Augustan or, more specifically, by Verrius Flaccus). Even if we grant that the compiler did not actually fake any of his citations, it is hard to absolve him entirely of the accusation of dishonesty—or at any rate dissimulation. While for the *Caesares* he cites in his *titulus* its actual author (Aurelius Victor) and for the *De viris illustribus* its presumed author (Livy), for *OGR* he does *not* cite any such single source. Instead he lists as sources (*ex auctoribus*) 11 named texts,[16] closing with "all the ancient historians" (*ex omni priscorum historia*), just as if he had consulted them all equally at first hand himself. Even on this hypothesis he has suppressed the name of his direct source in order to give the impression of firsthand study of numerous archaic texts he cannot possibly ever even have seen, much less read.

There is no indication that the person who put together the surviving tripartite corpus was the author of any of its individual components,[17] but most critics have followed Momigliano in accepting (1) that the corpus dates from soon after the date of its latest component, the *Caesares* of Aurelius Victor (ca 361);[18] and (2) that the two other components are of approximately the same date. The only one of the three to survive in an independent manuscript tradition is the *De viris illustribus*. Apart from a modification of its opening chapter to fit the format of the corpus, the two versions are essentially the same.[19] As for Victor's *Caesares*, the corpus version clearly preserves the original opening chapter and conclusion, though it may have been the editor who added the brief table of contents (*ab*

14. Schmidt, in *RE* Suppl. xv (1978), 1602–34; summary in Herzog/Schmidt 5, §532.1; Frier 1999, 41–48.

15. *Verrius Flaccus auctores ponit quibus credatur*, Plin. *NH* xxviii.18; and again at xxxiii. 111, *enumerat auctores Verrius quibus credere necesse sit*.

16. Three of them not in fact cited in the text of *OGR*: Verrius, Varro, and Veratius (often corrected to Veranius). This proves that the *titulus* was not compiled from excerpting names cited in the text of the work.

17. Though there is no indication that he was not either.

18. For the date of Victor, C.E.V. Nixon, *CP* 86 (1991), 113–25. If the compiler was working much later, why did he select a work that ended at this point rather than (say) the so-called *Epitome de Caesaribus*, which ended in 395?

19. Tarrant and Reeve in L. D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission* (Oxford 1983), 149–53.

Augusto Octaviano, id est a fine Titi Livii, usque ad consulatum decimum Constantii Augusti et Iuliani Caesaris tertium). Thus there is no good reason to believe that *OGR* ever existed in a substantially different form from the version we have. If it was written as late as the fourth century, it is most unlikely that its author was able to consult a complete text of Verrius's book, last cited by name by Gellius.[20]

The writer was obviously deeply interested in Vergil and at 1.6 (improbably) claims that he has begun to write a commentary on Vergil himself.[21] Much of the sort of material he cites is also known from the surviving Vergil commentaries. For example, we have seen that *OGR* 15.4 cites the *De adventu Aeneae* of Aulus Postumius. This is just the sort of text we should expect to be cited by Vergil commentators, and predictably enough the only other citation comes in Serv. Dan. on *Aen*. ix.710, an instructive parallel to the *OGR* citations:[22]

> Postumius *de adventu Aeneae* et Lutatius *Communium historiarum* <*primo*> Boiam Euximi comitis Aeneae nutricem, et ab eius nomine Boias vocatas; veteres tamen portum Baias dixisse. Varro a Baio Ulixis comite, qui illic sepultus est, Baias dictas tradit.

The derivation of Baiae here attributed to Varro (and repeated twice elsewhere in Servius) was standard. It is found as early as Lycophron and known to Strabo and Silius Italicus.[23] The other derivation is preserved, in a slightly different form, in *OGR* 10.1:

> addunt praeterea quidam Aeneam in eo litore Euxini cuiusdam comitis matrem <Baiam> ultimo aetatis affectam circa stagnum quod est inter Misenon Avernumque extulisse, atque inde nomen loco inditum [qui etiamnunc Euxinius sinus dicitur].

It was on this shore that Aeneas celebrated the funeral (*extulisse*) of Baia, mother (rather than nurse) of his companion Euxinus (-imus). It was on the basis of the scholion on *Aen*. ix.710 that *Baiam* was restored in *OGR*,[24] and it was the omission of this word that led someone to assume that it was Euxinus the place was named after and to add the explanatory phrase (bracketed in the extract) that all recent editors have deleted as an interpolation. Yet can we be sure that the interpolator was not the author himself?

20. Schanz-Hosius ii[4] (1935); 366–7; Verrius was used fairly extensively by the elder Pliny: F. Münzer, *Beiträge zur Quellenkritik der Naturgeschichte des Plinius* (Berlin 1897), 299–321.

21. S. Mariotti, *Language and Society: Essays . . . Arthur M. Jensen* (Copenhagen 1961), 110–11.

22. I have inserted *primo* exempli gratia because the genitive suggests an omitted numeral.

23. Serv. on *Aen*. iii.441 and vi.107; Lyc. *Alex*. 694 (with the ancient scholia); Strabo 5.4.6; Sil. *Punica* 8.539; Steph. Byz. s.v. βαία mentions a mountain in Cephallenia also named after "Baios the helmsman of Odysseus." A similar story of the naming of the nearby island of Prochyta after a kinsman of Aeneas was told by Naevius, according to Serv. Dan. on *Aen*. 9.715, fives lines later (Naev. 13 Strzelechi = 9 Mariotti).

24. Why not *Boiam*?

Whether or not Postumius and Lutatius both really reported this version, the reason their views survived at all is presumably because both were quoted by Varro (Funaioli rightly included the entire passage as a fragment of Varro).[25] As we have seen, the Danieline additions to Servius are plausibly assigned to the variorum commentary of Aelius Donatus (ca 350). Did even Donatus consult Varro direct? Almost certainly not. The only person we know of who read Varro in the original as late as the fourth century is St. Augustine.[26] Friedrich Münzer's subtle investigation of the sources of Pliny long ago pointed out that a number of passages that can be traced back to Verrius Flaccus's *Rerum memoria dignarum libri* include material that derives ultimately from Varro, not least a passage in book xviii quoting Cassius Hemina.[27] Note too Serv. Dan. on *Aen*. xi. 143, *alii, sicut Varro et Verrius, dicunt*, clearly implying Varro as cited by Verrius.

Not that Donatus drew on even Verrius Flaccus at first hand. Servius only cites Verrius once, and the more learned Daniel additions a mere three times.[28] Macrobius's handful of citations are likewise derivative, not least because at *Sat*. i.15.21 he cites Verrius *as cited by Varro* instead of Varro as cited by Verrius! Augustine does not even mention Verrius. We may confidently assume that virtually all antiquarian material bearing in any way on the interpretation of Vergil was tracked down and assembled no later than the second century, when archaic texts and those who studied them, like Varro and Verrius, were in vogue. After that it was simply repeated, unverified, by one commentator after another. Varro and Verrius Flaccus were both serious scholars who cited their sources accurately and honestly, but the same cannot be said for the later links in the chain.

Take the "Lutatius" quoted five times in *OGR*, usually claimed as Q. Lutatius Catulus consul in 102 but just as likely to be his freedman Lutatius Daphnis.[29] The work in question is presumably the mysteriously named *Communes historiae*, just cited from Servius Danielis, once again naming a bare Lutatius and a book number. Two of the six other quotations from this work likewise come in Vergil scholia (F 1–2). They too in all likelihood first entered the Vergilian tradition via Varro, and were then repeated by Verrius Flaccus, Asper, Donatus, and so on. With the best will in the world, at each remove the possibility of error, confusion, abridgment, or omission increased.

To take a different sort of case, *OGR* 6 gives a rationalizing version of the Cacus story, with a closing source reference: *haec Cassius libro primo*. Since two or three quotations of the second-century annalist Cassius Hemina show euhemerist ten-

25. F 382 in H. Funaioli, *Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta* i (Leipzig 1907), 347.

26. H. Hagendahl, *Augustine and the Latin Classics* ii (Göteborg 1967), 589–630. For more detail, see my *Last Pagans of Rome*, forthcoming.

27. Münzer 1897, 299–307.

28. *Sicut in epistulis probat Verrius*, Serv. on *Aen*. viii.423; SD on *Buc*. vii.53, *Aen*. viii.203 and xi. 143 (quoted above).

29. H. Bardon, *La littérature latine inconnue* (Paris 1952), 121–3; Kaster's note on Suet. *De gramm*. 3. 5 (pp. 82–3); W. Suerbaum, in Herzog/Schmidt 1, §172.3.

dencies,[30] it is natural to identify this Cassius as Cassius Hemina and see his history as the ultimate source behind this chapter (though it is going too far to claim that *OGR* "preserves Cassius Hemina's account").[31] But did the writer know any of this? He gives no title and not even a full name. I doubt whether he knew anything more about his citation than the bare words *Cassius in primo* that he found in some commentary on *Aeneid* viii. It should be noted that no fewer than four of the ten fragments of Cassius *Hemina* book 1 come in Vergil commentaries.

Hermann Peter pushed scepticism much too far in simply excluding all *OGR* citations from his (still standard) collection of fragments of the Roman historians (*Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae* 1², 1914). Jacoby included a great many unquestionably bogus citations of nonexistent historians in his collection (Ch. VI), with suitable warning and justification; and the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (i–iii, 1971–92) includes nonexistent or dubious persons attested in *Lives of the Saints*, again with suitable warning. No one can foresee when new evidence might vindicate or at any rate reveal some redeeming quality in a seemingly worthless text. It would have been enough if Peter had indicated his doubts. The *OGR* citations are no less (though also no more) reliable than a good many texts cited in the Vergil scholia.

The value of any so-called fragment of a Roman annalist varies according to where and how it is transmitted. As with most texts, some of the *OGR* citations look more plausible and informative than others. To take just two of the cases already discussed, *Cassius in primo* (7.1) is a better bet than *Alexander Ephesius libro primo belli Marsici* (9.1).[32] But we should not for one moment imagine that the writer had ever seen a single one of the exotic citations he so proudly peppers his pages with at first (or even third or fourth) hand. Thus through not knowing their original reference, he might quite unwittingly have falsified them simply by misplacing them in his own text, just as Narrator in effect falsified most of his Hesiod citations by placing them at the wrong point in his own narrative (Ch. II.3).

One final caution. It is an alarming index of the literary culture of the compiler of the corpus that he apparently believed *De viris illustribus* a work of Livy. Incredibly enough, he must have been completely unaware of the enormous difference in scale and style between *DVI* and the multibook original text of Livy. In fact it is hard to believe that he had ever seen an actual book of Livy. Given that the compiler of *OGR* and the compiler of the corpus were contemporaries with the same antiquarian interests, it is unlikely that the former was significantly better informed than the latter.

30. Elizabeth Rawson, *Roman Culture and Society* (Oxford 1991), 250.

31. Jocelyn Penny Small, *Cacus and Marsyas in Etrusco-Roman Legend* (Princeton 1982), 25.

32. If there is something wrong with the Alexander reference, it need not be the result of deliberate forgery. It might be (for instance) that, thanks to the omission of a few words, Alexander acquired the title of someone else's book, an obvious danger in lists of authors and titles.

Appendix 6

Anonymus Florentinus

The mythographic excerpts discussed in chapter IX and (especially) X.5 were first published by T. C. Tychsen and A.H.L. Heeren in *Bibliothek der alten Litteratur und Kunst*, volume 7 (Göttingen 1789), from manuscripts they described simply as *Codex Mediceus* and *Codex Escorialensis*. They were reprinted (with no more information about manuscripts) by A. Westermann, ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΟΓΡΑΦΟΙ: *scriptores rerum mirabilium graeci* (1839), 222, and in his ΜΥΘΟΓΡΑΦΟΙ: *scriptores poeticae historiae graeci* (1843), 347–8. In 1895 C. Landi edited them again together with a small group of other mythographic and paradoxographic excerpts of which they form part (Westermann, ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΟΓΡΑΦΟΙ 213–23), for the first time identifying the three manuscripts on which he based his text.[1] Then in 1913 H. Öhler, investigating the longest text in this group, the so-called Paradoxographus Florentinus, identified a fourth.[2] Finally Öhler and (in more detail) A. Dain confirmed V. Rose's analysis of the relationship between them.[3] Recent research allows a few further refinements of the picture.[4]

The earliest of the four and (on the basis of their text of Polyaenus and Paradoxographus Florentinus) beyond question the source of the other three is Laurentianus graecus 56.1. It contains the following texts:[5]

Menander Rhetor
Paradoxographus Florentinus
The mythographic excerpts

1. "Opuscula de fontibus mirabilibus, de Nilo etc. ex cod. Laur. 56, 1 descripta," *SIFC* 3 (1895), 531 and 547–8; see too Wilamowitz, *Analecta Euripidea* (Berlin 1875), 181 n. 4.

2. H. Öhler, *Paradoxographi Florentini anonymi opusculum de aquis mirabilibus* (Tübingen 1913), 29; see now A. Giannini, *Paradoxographorum Graecorum Reliquiae* (1965), 315–29.

3. V. Rose, *Anecdota graeca et graeco-latina* 1 (Berlin 1870), 4–8; Öhler 1913, 28–33; A. Dain, "Un manuscrit de Polyen, le Scorialensis T.i.12," *Emerita* 18 (1950), 425–39.

4. I am indebted here to the expertise of Mark Sosower.

5. A. M. Bandini, *Catal. cod. manuscr. bibl. Med. Laurentianae: Codices graeci* i (Florence 1768), 289–94; F. Schindler, *Die Überlieferung der Strategemata des Polyainos*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl. 284.1) 1973, 15–8 and passim (index p. 292). This codex is the ultimate source of all surviving manuscripts of Polyaenus.

Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi
Four orations of Theophylact of Bulgaria
The declamations of Polemo
Excerpts from Gregory of Corinth
Pollux, *Onomasticon*
Polyaenus, *Strategemata*

The other three books contain only Polyaenus, followed (rather than preceded) by the paradoxographic and mythographic excerpts.[6]

Two of them, Marc. gr. 414 and Vat. Urbin. gr. 107, are the work of the famous Cretan calligrapher Michael Apostoles, copied in Crete after 1453.[7] Their text of Polyaenus derives from Laur. 56.1, evidently in Crete at this time, where Janus Lascaris bought it for Lorenzo de Medici (at Candia) in 1592.[8] Schindler reasonably assumes that Michael made both copies in quick succession while he still had access to L, some time before 1468, when Bessarion gave Marc. gr. 414 to the Marciana.[9] The third, Escor. gr. T.i.12, was copied by Balerius Baleris, a scribe who worked in Venice in the 1540s,[10] using paper (as Mark Sosower informs me) bearing a watermark datable to ca 1545. As Dain showed, Baleris's source was Marc. gr. 414.[11] There are also two much later copies of the Escorialensis, of s. XVII and XVIII, respectively: one (Leidensis BPL 875) made by Janus Valckenaer;[12] and another apparently made by Tychsen and used by Heeren for his edition (now Hauniensis 426).[13]

There is much less agreement about the date of Laur. 56.1, different parts of which are in different hands (and on different paper). Earlier editors placed it as

6. Dain 1950, 431.

7. For a list of some 80 manuscripts copied by Michael, see E. Gamillscheg and D. Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600* i (Vienna 1981), no. 278; ii (1989), no. 379; iii (1997), no. 454.

8. R. Piccolomini, *RFIC* ii (1874), 415 and 422; E. B. Fryde, *Humanism and Renaissance Historiography* (1983), 223 no. 11; *Greek Manuscripts in the Private Library of the Medici 1469–1510* i (Aberystwyth 1996), 127; D. F. Jackson, "A New Look at an Old Book List," *SIFC* 91 (1998), 83–108 at 100.

9. Schindler 1973, 80–82; E. Mioni, *Bibl. Divi Marci Venet. Cod. Graeci Manuscripti* 2 (Rome 1985, 170–1.

10. The identification was made by Jose Maria Fernandez Pomar, *Copistas en los códices griegos Escurialenses: Complemento al catalogo de Revilla-Andres* (Madrid 1986), 6; for other manuscripts copied by Baleris, with bibliography, see Gamillscheg and Harflinger 1981, i. no. 34; ii. no. 50; iii. no. 67.

11. See Dain 1950, 434–6. I am not counting two apographs of Escor. T.i.12 from s. XVII and XVIII, Leidensis BPL 875 and Hauniensis 426 (Dain 439).

12. *Bibl. Univ. Leid. codices manuscripti III: Codices bibl. publicae latini* (Leiden 1912), 155; see too Öhler 1913, 32; Dain 1950, 439.

13. Dain 1950, 439; Heeren may also have used an apograph of the Laurentianus by Lucas Holsten (Öhler 1913, 31–2), now apparently lost.

late as s. XIV, but Nigel Wilson, followed by E. B. Fryde, suggests the second half of s. XII.[14]

The text of the mythographic excerpts that follows is based on my own collation of Laur. 56.1, and the translation is my own:[15]

1. Τίνες οἶκοι ἀνάστατοι διὰ γυναῖκας ἐγένοντο; Ὁ μὲν Ἡρακλέους διὰ τὴν ἐπιγαμίαν Ἰόλης, τῆς Εὐρύτου θυγατρός· καὶ ὁ Εὐρύτου διὰ τὴν θυγατέρα. ὁ Θησέως διὰ τὸν ἐφ' Ἱπολύτῳ Φαίδρας ἔρωτα. ὁ Ἀθάμαντος διὰ τὴν Θεμιστοῦς τῆς Ὑψέως ἐπιγαμίαν. ὁ δὲ Ἰάσονος διὰ Γλαύκην τὴν Κρέοντος. ὁ Τηρέως διὰ τὴν Φιλομήλας φθοράν. ὁ Ἀγαμέμνονος διὰ τὴν Κλυταιμνήστραν. ὁ Πριάμου διὰ τὴν Ἑλένης παρουσίαν. ὁ Ἀμφιαρέω διὰ τὴν Ἐριφίλην.

Which houses were ruined by women? The house of Heracles, because of his new marriage with Iole, daughter of Eurytus; and the house of Eurytus because of his daughter. The house of Theseus because of Phaedra's love for Hippolytus. The house of Athamas because of his new marriage to Themisto daughter of Hypseus. The house of Jason because of Glauce daughter of Creon. The house of Tereus because of the seduction of Philomela. The house of Agamemnon because of Clytaemnestra. The house of Priam because of the presence of Helen. The house of Amphiaraus because of Eriphile.

2. Φιλάδελφοι· Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος. Ὀρέστης καὶ Ἠλέκτρα. Κάστωρ καὶ Πολυδεύκης. Ζῆθος καὶ Ἀμφίων. Κλέοβις καὶ Βίτων. Ἀντιγόνη καὶ Πολυνείκης. Τέννης καὶ Ἡμιθέα. Πρόκνη καὶ Φιλομήλη. αἱ Μελεάγρου ἀδελφαί· Φοίβη, Εὐρυδίκη, Μενεστώ, Ἐρατώ, Ἀντιόπη, Ἱπποδάμεια. αἱ Φαέθοντος ἀδελφαί· Αἴγλη, Λαμπετίη, Φαέθουσα. Ἕλλη καὶ Φρίξος. Μακαρία ἡ Ἡρακλέους ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν Θηριμάχου, Αἴχμαίου, Διοπείθους, Κρεοντιάδου σφάγιον ἑαυτὴν ἐπιδοῦσα. αἱ Ἐρεχθέως θυγατέρες Κρέουσα καὶ Χθονία διὰ Πρόκριν τὴν ἀδελφὴν μὴ ὑπομείνασαι ζῆν ἐκείνης σφαγιασθείσης ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων.

Those who loved their siblings: Agamemnon and Menelaus. Orestes and Electra. Castor and Pollux. Zethus and Amphion. Kleobis and Biton. Antigone and Polyneices. Tennes and Hemithea. Procne and Philomela. The sisters of Meleager: Phoebe, Eurydice, Menesto, Erato, Antiope, Hippodameia. The sisters of Phaethon: Aegle, Lampetie, Phaethousa. Helle and Phrixos. Macaria the daughter of Heracles offering herself up as a sacrificial victim on behalf of her brothers Therimachus, Aechmaeus, Diopeithes and Creontiades. The daughters of Erechtheus Creousa and Chthonia because of their sister Procris, who could not face life after she had been sacrificed for the Athenians.

3. Φιλέταιροι· Θησεὺς καὶ Πειρίθοος. Ἀχιλλεὺς καὶ Πάτροκλος. Ἰδομενεὺς καὶ Μηριόνης. Ἀχιλλεὺς καὶ Ἀντίλοχος. Ὀρέστης καὶ Πυλάδης. Διομήδης καὶ Σθένελος. Φίντης καὶ

Those who loved their friends: Theseus and Pirithous. Achilles and Patroclus. Idomeneus and Meriones. Achilles and Antilochus. Orestes and Pylades. Diomedes and Sthenelus. Phintes and

14. For two facsimiles from different parts, R. Merkelbach and H. van Thiel, *Griechisches Leseheft* (Göttingen 1965), nos. 2 and 15 (dated to s. XIV and XIII respectively). Wilson in D. A. Russell and N. G. Wilson, *Menander Rhetor* (Oxford 1981), xli; Fryde 1996, 127, 382, 409 n. 384. G. Rochefort (quoted by Schindler 1973, 17) assigns the Polyaenus to the end of s. XIII, ca 1295.

15. I am grateful to Federica Ciccolella for helping me to obtain photographs in time for this appendix.

Δάμων Συρακούσιοι, Πυθαγόρειοι, ὧν τοῦ ἑτέρου κατακριθέντος ὑπὸ Διονυσίου ὁ ἕτερος ἠγγυήσατο ἀποθανεῖν, ἐὰν ἐκεῖνος μὴ ἐλθῇ τῇ ὡρισμένῃ ἡμέρᾳ· ὁ δὲ τὰ περὶ τὰ ἴδια διαταξάμενος ἐλθὼν τῆς ἐγγύης τὸν φίλον ἠλευθέρωσε· θαυμάσας δὲ ὁ τύραννος κἀκεῖνον ἀπέλυσε καὶ τρίτον ἑαυτὸν αὐτοῖς φίλον συνηρίθμησεν.

Damon of Syracuse, Pythagoreans; when one of them was condemned by Dionysius the other undertook to die if the former did not turn up on the agreed day; having set in order some personal business, he arrived and freed his friend from his undertaking; the tyrant was amazed and freed him too and numbered himself along with them as a third friend.

4. [Φιλομήτορες]· Κλέοβις καὶ Βίτων Ἀργεῖοι τὴν μητέρα ἐπὶ ἁμάξης εἵλκυσαν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἕως τοῦ ναοῦ, μὴ ἔχοντες βοῦς.

Those who loved their mothers: Cleobis and Biton from Argos pulled their mother on a cart from the city to the temple, since they did not have oxen.

5. [Ἀσεβεῖς]· Λιτυέρσης Μίδου υἱὸς νόθος, ὅν ὁ Ἡρακλέης ἀνεῖλειν ὄντα κακόξενον. ἠνάγκαζε γὰρ τοὺς ξένους συνθερίζειν αὐτῷ, εἶτα εὐωχῶν ἀπεκεφάλιζε, τὰ δὲ σώματα ἐκόμιζεν ἐν τοῖς δράγμασιν ὡς παραλελογισμένων. ἱστορεῖ ταῦτα κατὰ μέρος Σωσίθεος ἐν Δαφνίδι λέγων οὕτως . . .
[24 lines from the *Daphnis* of Sositheus; Nauck, *TGF*[2] 822–3; *TGrF* 99 F 2–3]

[*Impious men*]: Lityerses the bastard son of Midas, whom Heracles killed for treating guests badly. For he compelled guests to harvest crops with him, and then cut off their heads rejoicing and carted away their bodies among the sheafs of corn as if they had cheated him. This is recorded in part by Sositheus in his *Daphnis* . . .

5a. [Κεραυνωθέντες]· Φιλάνθρωπος ὁ τύραννος τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἱερὸν ἐμπρήσας ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ τὰς εὐχὰς τελεῖσθαι, ὑποστρέφων εἰς Ἦλιν οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἐκεραυνώθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ὄντες τριακόσιοι. Ἀλφαιὸς ὁ Σαγγαρίου τοῦ ποταμοῦ υἱὸς Ἀθηνᾶν αὐλητικὴν διδάξας καὶ βιαζόμενος τὴν θεὸν ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐκεραυνώθη. Ἄρδυς <ὁ> Ἱπποκώντος υἱὸς Ἥραν εἰς Ἄργος πορευομένην βιαζόμενος ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐκεραυνώθη. Φόρβας Θεσπρωτὸς Δημητρὸς ἐρασθεὶς καὶ βιαζόμενος τὴν θεὸν ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐκεραυνώθη. Οὐαλέριος Οὐεστῖνος ἐτυφλώθη ὑπὸ Λευκίου Οὐμβρίου διὰ τὸν τοῦ υἱοῦ Ῥουστίκου θάνατον, ὃν παρακαταθήκην παρὰ Οὐμβρίου λαβὼν ἀνεῖλε διὰ τὰ μετ' αὐτοῦ χρήματα.

[*Those struck by thunderbolts*]: After Philanthropus the tyrant burned the temple at Olympia because his prayers were not fulfilled as he wished, he was not only struck by a thunderbolt when driving to Elis, but the three hundred men with him as well. Alphaeus the son of the River Sangarius, taught Athena to play the flute and after trying to rape the goddess, was struck by a thunderbolt from Zeus. Ardys the son of Hippocoön tried to rape Hera when she was traveling to Argos and was struck by a thunderbolt from Zeus. Phorbas the Thesprotian fell in love with Demeter and, when he tried to rape the goddess, was struck by a thunderbolt from Zeus. Valerius Vestinus was blinded by Lucius Umbrius because of the death of his son Rusticus, who had been left for safekeeping [with Vestinus], who had killed him because of the money left with him.

6. [Μεταμορφωθέντες] (quoted in full on p. 287 above)

7. Λευκώνη Κυανίππου γυνή, φιλοκυνήγου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑπάρχοντος,

Leucone the wife of Cyanippus, whose husband was a keen hunter, becoming

16. The Leucone story is also told in Parthenius, *Erot. Path.* 10, and Ps-Plut. *Par. Min.* 21; for details, Lightfoot 1999, 428–32.3.

ζηλοτυποῦσα καὶ ὑποπτεύουσα πρὸς ἑτέραν αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι γυναῖκα αὐτῆς ἀμελοῦντα, νυκτὸς ἀκολουθήσασα καὶ λάθρα εἰς τὴν ὕλην ἐγκρυβεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κυνῶν διεσπάσθη. Πολύυμνος Ἀργεῖος Διονύσου ἐρασθεὶς ὑπέσχετο ζητοῦντι τὴν εἰς Ἅιδου κάθοδον μηνύσειν, ἐὰν αὐτῷ τῆς ὥρας ἀποχαρίσηται. ἐπαγγειλαμένου δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐμήνυσε διὰ τῆς Λέρνης οὔσης ἀβύσσου. ἀναγαγὼν δὲ τὴν Σεμέλην εὗρε τὸν Πολύυμνον τετελευτηκότα, θέλων δὲ εὐορκεῖν, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον τοῦ ἐραστοῦ συκίνῳ φάλλητι περιεκυλίσατο. διὰ τοῦτο ἔνιοί φασι ἵστασθαι τῷ θεῷ φάλλους ὑπομνήματα τῆς εὐορκίας.

envious and suspecting him of ignoring her and going to another woman, followed him at night and, hidden secretly in the wood, was torn to pieces by her husband's dogs.[16] Polyhymnus of Argos, being in love with Dionysus, when he asked the way down to Hades [Dionysus] promised to tell him, if he would give him the favor of his beauty. When the god gave his promise, he told him, since the lake of Lerna was bottomless. When he [Dionysus] brought Semele back up [from the underworld], he found Polyhymnus dead. Wishing to keep his oath he came to the tomb of his lover and rolled around on a phallus made from fig-wood. This is why some people think that phalli are erected to the god to commemorate his keeping of his oath.[17]

17. For the story of Polyhymnos (also called Prosymnos) and Dionysus, see Roscher iii.2 (1902–9), 2657–61. According to the fuller version in Clem. Alex. *Protr*. 2. 34, Dionysus went to Polyhymnus's tomb and "felt lustful" (πασχητιᾷ). So he cut off a branch from a fig-tree, shaped it like a phallus, and sat on it (ἐφέζεται), "thus fulfilling his promise to the dead man."

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Since my concern is with mythography, not mythology, I have only indexed the names of mythological characters when I discuss the sources of the myth in question. I have also been selective in indexing both Ovid and the *Narrationes*.