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Sonderreihe
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Jeffrey S. Rusten
Dionysius Scytobrachion

PAPYROLOGICA COLONIENSIA · Vol. X

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Foreword

The author known (if he is known at all) as Dionysius Scytobrachion is hardly a topic of general interest, and since scholars of the rank of Eduard Schwartz and Erich Bethe devoted dissertations to him in the last century it may with justice be asked why the 20th century must see yet another one. This time, however, the subject chose himself. My study of an unpublished papyrus (chapter iii below) revealed that it contained a reference to Dionysius' *Argonauts*, a work already known in outline from Diodorus and the scholia to Apollonius of Rhodes; further searching among published papyri turned up two other unnoticed fragments as well (chapters i–ii below), of which one—from an ancient manuscript of the work itself—was at least a century older than Dionysius is currently thought to have lived. Editions of these three papyri and a new examination of the evidence for Dionysius' life and works formed a dissertation (“The *Argonauts* of Dionysius Scytobrachion”) submitted to Harvard University in 1979; out of this, with the addition of a general description of Dionysius' major works (chapters vii–viii below) and a new fragment collection, the present book has grown.

At every stage of my work I have turned to others for help, and have always received a generous response. Among those to whom I owe thanks for various assistance are W. Clausen, L. Daly, H. Erbse, L. Koenen, B. Kramer, H. Lloyd-Jones, R. Merkelbach, P. J. Parsons, R. Scodel, Z. Stewart, and E. G. Turner. Photographs of P. Hibeh 2.186 and P. Mich. inv. 1316v are reproduced by permission of the British Library and the University of Michigan.

My debt is especially great to Rudolf Kassel, who read and improved many of these chapters and whose teaching has influenced them all; to Albert Henrichs, who directed the project and kept it interesting with energetic criticism and encouragement; and to Caroline, whose patient support is mainly responsible for its completion.

Although it was begun and completed in America, most of this book was written during a two years' stay (made possible by the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst and the Rheinisch-Westfälische Aka-

demie der Wissenschaften) at the Institut für Altertumskunde of the University of Cologne. More congenial and stimulating surroundings for such work cannot be imagined, and the list of those there who assisted and encouraged me almost daily—many without knowing they did so—would be long indeed. I hope, therefore, that my teachers, colleagues, and friends from those days in Cologne might accept this odd little book as some sign of my great gratitude to them all.

Cambridge, Massachusetts
September 1981

List of Abbreviations

Most of the abbreviations used throughout this study will be found in the lists of Liddell-Scott-Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (9th ed., with a Supplement, Oxford, 1968) and J. Marouzeau, *L'année philologique* (Paris, 1928–). See also the Select Bibliography (pp. 174ff below).

Bethe, <i>Quaestiones</i>	Erich Bethe, <i>Quaestiones Diodorae Mythographae</i> , Göttingen, 1887
<i>Bibl.</i>	[Apollodorus], <i>Bibliotheca</i>
F	Fragments of Dionysius, cited according to the edition pp. 120ff below
<i>FGrHist</i>	Felix Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , Berlin-Leiden, 1922– (<i>FGrHist</i> 32 = Dionysius Scytobrachion)
<i>FHG</i>	Karl and Theodor Müller, <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> , 4 vols., Paris, 1841–1851. (<i>FHG</i> II pp. 7–9 = Dionysius Scytobrachion)
Fränkel, <i>Noten</i>	Hermann Fränkel, <i>Noten zu den Argonautika des Apollonios</i> , Munich, 1968
Pack ²	Roger A. Pack, <i>The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt</i> , 2nd ed., Ann Arbor, 1965
Pape-Benseler	W. Pape, <i>Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen</i> , 3rd ed. rev. by G. E. Benseler, 2 vols., Braunschweig, 1863–1870
Pf.	Rudolf Pfeiffer
<i>RE</i>	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , Stuttgart, 1894–1979
Robert, <i>Heldensage</i>	L. Preller, <i>Griechische Mythologie</i> vol. 2: <i>Die griechische Heldensage</i> , rev. by Carl Robert, 4th ed., Berlin, 1920–1926
Roscher, <i>Lexicon</i>	W. H. Roscher, <i>Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie</i> , Leipzig, 1884–1924
Susemihl	F. Susemihl, <i>Geschichte der griechischen Literatur in der Alexandri-nerzeit</i> , 2 vols., Leipzig, 1892
T	Testimonia on Dionysius, cited according to the edition pp. 120ff below
<i>TGrF</i>	<i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , vol. I: <i>Tragici Minores</i> , ed. B. Snell, Göttingen, 1971
Welcker, <i>Ep. Kykl.</i>	<i>Der epische Kyklos</i> , 2 vols., 2nd ed. Bonn, 1865
Wendel, <i>Theokrit-Scholien</i>	Carl Wendel, <i>Überlieferung und Entstehung der Theokrit-Scholien (Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissen-schaften zu Göttingen, ph.-h. Kl., n. F. 17, 2)</i> Berlin, 1920

Introduction*

The present study aims to add to the hitherto known fragments of the mythographer Dionysius Scytobrachion three papyrus texts, and to examine their significance for the tradition of that author's date and works. Before proceeding to that task it is necessary to summarize those conclusions reached by others, primarily on the relationship between Dionysius' work and Diodorus, which form the basis of the following chapters. More controversial problems, including Dionysius' date, are only mentioned briefly here; a full treatment of them is possible only after the evidence of the new fragments on papyrus has been evaluated, and it is therefore reserved for Part II, Chapters iv – vi below.

The universal history of Diodorus of Sicily preserves several accounts of the god Dionysus from various countries, and at one point Diodorus notes that the Libyans have claimed the birthplace of Dionysus for their own land as well. He prefaces his own account of this Libyan Dionysus with a description of the source he will follow (Diod. 3.66.5–6 = T 2a):

... ἵνα μηδὲν παραλείπωμεν τῶν ἱστορημένων περὶ Διονύσου, διέξιμεν ἐν κεφαλαίοις τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Λίβυσι λεγόμενα καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν συγγραφέων ὅσοι τούτοις σύμφωνα γεγράφασι καὶ Διονυσίῳ τῷ συνταξαμένῳ τὰς παλαιὰς μυθοποιίας. οὗτος γὰρ τὰ τε περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν πόλεμον πραχθέντα καὶ πόλλ' ἕτερα συντέτακται, παρατιθεὶς τὰ ποιήματα τῶν ἀρχαίων, τῶν τε μυθολόγων καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν.

This description of “Dionysius” and his works (together with a shorter one at Diod. 3.52.3 = T 2b) has always been recognized as the necessary starting point for any inquiry into this particular Diodorean source, for the Sicilian historian clearly has direct knowledge of at least some of the works he describes. Among the subjects treated by “Dionysius”, Diodorus includes:

* For the references used see the Select Bibliography (p. 174) and the List of Abbreviations (p. 9).

- 1) Dionysus
- 2) the Amazons
- 3) the Argonauts
- 4) the Trojan war
- 5) *πόλλ' ἕτερα*

The subsequent narratives of Diodorus make it clear that the first two items on this list are related; for in those sections which he avowedly owes to Dionysius (3.52–61, 3.66.4–74.1) Diodorus places in Libya not only Dionysus but the Amazons as well, and both are connected by him with a Libyan tribe called the Ἀτλάντιοι (Diod. 3.54.1, 3.56.1–2) from whom, in euhemeristic fashion, the Olympian gods are said to have been derived. Since the passage of Diodorus just quoted gives only a list of the *subjects* treated by “Dionysius” rather than the *exact titles* of his writings, it is very likely that this whole complex of Libyan stories belonged originally to a single work by Dionysius on Libyan mythology. Although the contents of this work are reproduced by Diodorus, no certain knowledge of its original form or title is attainable, and in referring below to Dionysius’ accounts of the Amazons, Dionysus, or Ἀτλάντιοι, I shall call them simply the *Libyan Stories*.¹

The third of Dionysius’ mythical subjects is the Argonauts. Whereas Diodorus states explicitly that he will follow Dionysius for the stories about the Libyan Amazons (3.52.3) and Dionysus (3.66.5), he names no source at all for the lengthy account of the Argonauts given later at 4.40–55. Now Diodorus is perfectly capable of using as his main source, without acknowledgement, an author he has mentioned earlier in another context,² and Heyne long ago recognized that this is true in the present case;³ for the scholia to Apollonius of Rhodes frequently cite a work on the Argonauts by a certain “Dionysius”, and the version of the

¹ On the reasons for choosing this title see Chapter v, p. 80 n. 18 below. For a detailed examination of all the testimonia on these stories (including some evidence from the *Suda* s. Διονύσιος Μιτυληναῖος = T 1 a, schol. A.R. 2.963–965 c Wendel = F 1, and Strabo 7.3.6 p. 299 = *FGrHist* 244 [Apollodorus of Athens] F 157 a) see Chapter v and Appendix 1. On the importance of the *Libyan Stories* for determining the date of Dionysius see Chapter vi.

² As with Matris of Thebes, who is cited in passing on Heracles at Diod. 1.24.4, then followed (without acknowledgement) later for a full account of Heracles (Diod. 4.8–18). See the discussion and bibliography in Jacoby’s Commentary on *FGrHist* 39.

³ Chr. G. Heyne, *Apollodori Bibliotheca* II, *Observationes* (2nd ed. Göttingen, 1803) 354–5, id. *De fontibus Diodori*, in the preface to the *editio Bipontina* of Diodorus (1793) lxvii; but in assigning the *Argonauts* to Dionysius the “cyclographer” Heyne was surely mistaken (see below).

story in these citations corresponds precisely to Diodorus' narrative, even supplementing it at certain points by providing details which Diodorus has omitted.⁴ The attestation of the same story from another source establishes Dionysius as the source of Diod. 4.40–55, and the striking similarity of these scholia to Diodorus' narrative suggests that, at least in these passages, the historian has followed his source relatively closely. The scholia also add a title for Dionysius' work, either Ἀργοναυταί or Ἀργοναυτικά, a variation common for works on this subject.⁵ I will refer to it as the *Argonauts*.

The fourth subject in Diodorus' list, an account of "events of the Trojan war" by Dionysius, is not so well known as the *Libyan Stories* or the *Argonauts*. Its title, Τρωικά, seems to be supplied by an entry in the *Suda*,⁶ and a scholion on Homer which cites Dionysius is probably derived from the work;⁷ but whether Diodorus used it as his source for the Trojan war we cannot say, since that portion of his history is lost.⁸

Of the "many other" works of Dionysius which form the last entry in Diodorus' list none can be certainly verified, although a title Μυθικά πρὸς Παρμένωντα, given in the life of Dionysius of Mytilene in the *Suda* = T 1 a (and as simply Μυθικά in the life of Dionysius of Miletus = T 1 b), should perhaps be assigned here.⁹

Once it was seen that the "Dionysius" of Diodorus 3.66.6 and 3.52.3 could be credited with several works on Greek mythology, and that extensive fragments of at least two of these (the *Libyan Stories* and *Argonauts*) had been preserved, scholars attempted to determine to which of the many known Dionysii these works should be assigned. As we shall see in Chapters iv – vi below, the *Suda* and the scholia to Apollonius offer some confusing and even contradictory biographical information

⁴ Cf. especially schol. A.R. 4.1153–1154 (F 31) with Diod. 4.49.1–2 (= F 30), and schol. A.R. 4.223–230 d, 4.223–230 a (= F 29 b) with Diod. 4.48.4–5 (= F 28). The scholia in question (and a parallel citation from Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.9.19 [118]) were assembled in *FGrHist* 32 F 1–6, 9–13; but several of these, which have no counterpart in Diodorus 4.40–55, probably refer to works other than the *Argonauts* (see the table on pp. 66–67 below, with notes 4–9). On the contradictory ethnics attributed to Dionysius in these scholia see below.

⁵ See below Chapter iv, p. 67 n. 8

⁶ s. Διονύσιος Μιλήσιος = T 1 b. The fact that the works attributed by Diodorus 3.66.6 to a single author are assigned to different Dionysii in the *Suda* is examined in Chapter v below.

⁷ schol. (A Eustathius) *Il.* 3.40 = F 39.

⁸ See Chapter v, p. 81 n. 23 below.

⁹ On the supposed forgery by Dionysius of a work attributed to Xanthus of Lydia, see Chapter v, p. 82 ff below.

on this author, and this has provided ample room for conjecture. But the *Argonauts*, as the work with the most extensive remains, has always been at the center of this controversy.

The first scholar to make substantial progress on the identification of Diodorus' sources was Heyne (above note 3), and he assumed that the Dionysius used by the historian was a man known as the "cyclographer", who assembled a scholarly collection of various myths known, in imitation of the complete accounts of the "cyclic" epics, as a *κύκλος*.¹⁰ In taking this view Heyne was influenced by the occasional references to *variant* versions of the Argonauts' adventures in Diodorus 4.40–55, and also by Diodorus' description of Dionysius' method (3.66.6: *παρατιθεῖς τὰ ποιήματα τῶν ἀρχαίων, τῶν τε μυθολόγων καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν*), which suggested a scholar's comparison of various sources.

The major difficulty with Heyne's identification was the character of the *Argonauts* and *Libyan Stories* themselves, which are anything but scholarly compilations. As noted above, the latter set forth after the fashion of Euhemerus the "true story" of the origin of the gods in Libya from a tribe called the Ἀτλάντιοι, some of whose members (with names such as Uranus, Cronus, Zeus, and Dionysus), although mortals, were granted divine honors after their deaths because of their services to mankind.¹¹

The *Argonauts* on the other hand are characterized by an explicit denial of all "poetic" and fabulous elements of the legend, and their reinterpretation in the manner of rationalism, as we shall see in Chapter vii below. The tendentious treatment of myth in these stories clearly separates them from the variant (and better known) versions of the same events occasionally offered by Diodorus. Noting this fact, Friedrich Welcker argued that Diodorus' source was not the scholarly cyclographer, but another author, Dionysius of Mytilene, whose "modern" versions of these stories appealed to Diodorus' taste for "philosophical" mythography.¹² The works of "ancient poets and mythographers" which

¹⁰ The fragments of the cyclographer (also known as Dionysius of Samos) are collected in *FGrHist* 15. His date is uncertain.

¹¹ On Euhemerism in the *Libyan Stories* see T.S. Brown, *HTHR* 39 (1946) 267ff; G. Valauri, Univ. Torino, *Pubbl. della facoltà di lettere e filosofia* XII.5 (1960) 22ff; P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) I.296f, II.457f; and Chapter viii below. Although Euhemerus' date is not absolutely certain, Dionysius' obvious debt to him confirms the *terminus post quem* offered by a reference in the *Libyan Stories* (Diod. 3.57.4–8 = F 6) to the Ptolemaic cult of the *Θεοὶ ἀδελφοί* (introduced ca. 270 B.C.). See below Chapter vi p. 89 and Chapter viii p. 109 n. 47.

¹² *Der epische Kyklos* (2nd ed. Bonn, 1865) I, 70ff. Of the studies which followed Welcker's,

Dionysius is said to have consulted are described by Diodorus later and, in true euhemeristic fashion, they are purely imaginary: a poem by Linus in “Pelagian” characters, describing the exploits of Dionysus among the Libyans, and another poem entitled *Phrygia* on the same subject by Thymoitas, the grandson of Laomedon, based on stories told him by inhabitants of the region (Diod. 3.67.4–5 = F 8).¹³ Welcker succeeded to a great extent not only in characterizing Diodorus’ source, but also in untangling the complex and error-filled tradition on this author, to which we must return later. Despite its age his essay is still worth reading today. Welcker also established the practice of distinguishing the man who was Diodorus’ source from the numerous other Dionysii by adding the epithet *Σκυτοβραχίων* (“Leather-arm”), attested in the life of Dionysius of Mytilene in the *Suda* (= T 1a), Suetonius, *De grammaticis* 7 (= T 3), Athenaeus 12.515DE (= T 4), and schol. (A Eustathius) *Il.* 3.40 (= F 39). Although the reason for this epithet is obscure, and the sources which attest it are sometimes of doubtful value,¹⁴ the usage is now current; therefore in this study as well “Scyto-brachion” and “Dionysius” are used interchangeably for the author of the *Argonauts* and *Libyan Stories*.

Despite the fame its author was later to win in historical and patristic studies, the dissertation of Eduard Schwartz *De Dionysio Scytobrachione* (Bonn, 1880) is now of interest mostly as a curiosity. Taking little account of Welcker’s work, and ignoring the euhemeristic and rationalistic tendency of the narratives in Diodorus, Schwartz argued once again that Diodorus’ source was an ancient scholar of Greek myth, and attempted to show that large parts of the extant mythographic scholia to Pindar and Euripides’ *Medea* were derived from his compilations. While it rendered a service in drawing attention to the parallels between the stories cited *as variants* by Diodorus and those of various scholia, Schwartz’s analysis was clearly unsatisfactory as far as the *major* narratives in Diodorus were concerned, and it was soon challenged by Erich Bethe’s dissertation, *Quaestiones Diodoreae Mythographae* (Göttingen, 1887). Bethe offered further evidence in support of Welcker’s conclusions, and was the first to recognize the complex nature of Diodorus’ narratives in these cases: the historian had relied on Scytobrachion for

K. E. Hachtmann, *De Dionysio Mytilenaeo seu Scytobrachione* (Diss. Bonn, 1865) adds little of value, but O. Sieroka, *Die mythographischen Quellen für Diodors 3. und 4. Buch* (Lyck, 1878) contains some worthwhile observations.

¹³ On such *Schwindelliteratur* see my note *Pellaeus Leo*, *AJP* 1980 (forthcoming).

¹⁴ See Chapter vi, p. 91 ff below.

the tendentious accounts of the Libyan Ἀτλάντιοι and the Argonauts, but was unwilling to suppress entirely the more common versions of these myths, especially on the voyage of the Argo. He therefore incorporated at appropriate points parenthetical references to better known versions, usually introduced by phrases such as ἐνιοί φασιν. These variants, which are for the most part inconsistent with the main narrative and thus easily separable from it, were shown by Bethe to have been derived from the same source used for the Argonauts by Pseudo-Apollodorus, Hyginus, and the scholia to Pindar and to Apollonius of Rhodes.¹⁵ Thus Diodorus 3.52–61, 66–74, and 4.40–55 preserve an epitome of Dionysius Scytobrachion's *Libyan Stories* and *Argonauts*, into which Diodorus has occasionally made insertions, not based on his own reading, but once again derived from a specific source, of which remnants are found in other mythographic works.

Bethe's dissertation was universally accepted as providing the correct identification of Diodorus' source, and even Schwartz, the object of Bethe's attack, acknowledged its justice and repudiated his earlier work on the subject.¹⁶

The fragments of Scytobrachion had already been assembled by Karl Müller in 1848 (*FHG* II pp. 5ff); but the results of Bethe's study were now incorporated by Jacoby into his collection with commentary (*FGrHist* 32), the most important feature of which was the reprinting of the relevant chapters of Diodorus, with references to the fragments preserved elsewhere which correspond to them, and the use of double brackets or small type to distinguish the material inserted by Diodorus

¹⁵ Bethe spoke of a common "mythological handbook" of the first century B.C. at the latest, in which full variants of different myths were cited, and which has been excerpted in a variety of different works. This hypothesis has since been generally abandoned (Wendel, *RE* XVI, 1367 note) on what I believe are insufficient grounds. The whole question can only be treated on the basis of a complete collection of the parallel mythographic material in Greek and Latin (which has never been attempted) including the papyri; I hope to offer at least the beginning of such a collection elsewhere, but it is clearly beyond the scope of the present study. As far as the Argonauts are concerned, Bethe's collection of parallels clearly points to a common source (whatever its nature may have been); since this remains unchallenged, I have taken Bethe's analysis as a basis for the comments offered on Diodorus in Appendix 2 below.

¹⁶ Tacitly in his *RE* article on Dionysius Scytobrachion, then explicitly in an autobiographical sketch written in 1932 ("Wissenschaftlicher Lebenslauf", *Gesammelte Schriften* II [Berlin, 1956] 2): "Im Herbst 1879 kehrte ich nach Bonn zurück und wurde am 14. Juli 1880 zum Doktor promoviert; meine Dissertation *de Dionysio Scytobrachione* ist bald widerlegt, ohne daß es mich schmerzt hätte." See also Susemihl II, 46–47 n. 66.

from sources other than Dionysius. Although in some cases (particularly where he departs from Bethe's views) Jacoby's analysis of Diodorus is open to question,¹⁷ the outlines of Dionysius' two major works are now clear.

But the reconstruction of the *Argonauts* and *Libyan Stories* is not the only problem connected with the tradition on Dionysius: a seemingly insoluble difficulty is offered by the scholia to Apollonius of Rhodes, which attach on different occasions two different ethnics, *Μιτυληναῖος* and *Μιλήσιος*, to the Dionysius cited there as the author of the *Argonauts*.¹⁸ Since citations under both names are parallel to Diodorus' narrative, both the "Mytilenean" and the "Milesian" Dionysius must be one and the same person. Welcker (*Ep. Kykl.*² I, 80) had suggested that one of the ethnics must be simply an error, probably an incorrect later insertion by a copyist; but this explanation found little favor.¹⁹ Instead, a suggestion of Karl Müller (*FHG* II p. 6), further elaborated by others, has now gained general acceptance: we have already noted that for the *Libyan Stories* Dionysius seems to have cited imaginary "sources" such as Thymoitias' poem *Phrygia* and a poem by Linus (Diod. 3.67.4–5 = F 8), so Müller and others assumed that a Dionysius of Mytilene, author of the *Argonauts* and *Libyan Stories*, invented a "Dionysius of Miletus" as a "source" for these accounts, and that in the scholia to Apollonius the ethnic of this fictitious source has been confused with that of the real author.

In Chapter iv below I will argue that Müller's ingenious theory has in fact little to recommend it, and that Welcker's assumption of an error in the scholia offers the only reasonable solution to the problem of the double ethnics. An analysis of all the ancient citations of Dionysius and his work (including those in the papyri introduced below) will show that those citations which offer the most information, such as ethnic, title, and book number, are not necessarily the most valuable.

For Dionysius' date, most scholars have pointed to an ancient source who seems to concern himself with that very question; for Suetonius (*De gramm.* 7 = T 3) notes that some authorities say (*aliqui tradunt*) that the Roman grammarian M. Antonius Gniphos was a pupil of

¹⁷ See Appendix 2.

¹⁸ There is some confusion between the lives of Dionysius of Mytilene and of Miletus in the *Suda* as well, but it is not related to the double ethnics of the scholia (see Chapter iv, p. 68 n. 15).

¹⁹ It was endorsed by Bethe, *Quaestiones* 6 n. 1, but has evidently been ignored ever since.

Dionysius Scytobrachion, which Suetonius himself is not inclined to believe, *cum temporum ratio vix congruat*. Gniphō lived ca. 114–64 B.C.²⁰ and, if Suetonius' doubts about the chronology are correct, Dionysius Scytobrachion's date was too early for the two to be connected.²¹ But precisely *how much* earlier did our subject live? It would seem that Suetonius does not say, but the wording of the final phrase, in particular the word *vix*, has been understood to imply that the lifetimes of Gniphō and Scytobrachion were *just barely* irreconcilable, so that Dionysius could be dated to the latter half of the second century B.C.²²

This view may accurately (if somewhat subtly) take account of Suetonius' phrasing, yet this passage must also be measured against the chronological evidence offered by the other testimonia on Dionysius, and by his works themselves. A full examination of this other evidence has never been undertaken; but it is now made necessary by the appearance of new evidence on Dionysius' date—a papyrus of the late third (or possibly early second) century B.C., which can only be identified as a manuscript of that author's *Argonauts*. The reasons for this identification are presented in Chapter i below, and in Chapter vi it is argued that a considerable number of chronological indications, together with the papyrus just mentioned, suggest a date ca. 270–220 B.C. for the *Argonauts* and *Libyan Stories*, and that Suetonius' statement, to the extent that it suggests a later date, must be discarded.

Therefore Dionysius' ethnic and date, together with some other problems in the testimonia, will require further examination in Part II below. Only one of the conclusions reached by modern scholarship can be accepted as certain: Dionysius' *Argonauts* and *Libyan Stories* have been reproduced (with some insertions) by Diodorus. This knowledge will enable us in the following three chapters to identify part or all of several texts on papyrus as new fragments of the *Argonauts*.

²⁰ For details on this point and on the passage in Suetonius in general see the beginning of Chapter vi below.

²¹ It could be read into Suetonius' words that Scytobrachion lived *later* than Gniphō, but Suetonius could not then be referring to an author already used as a source by Diodorus.

²² The most recent representative of this argument is P. M. Fraser (*Ptol. Alex.* II, 457 n. 844), but it has been implied in nearly every discussion of the subject. One important exception is Carl Wendel, who postulated that the *Argonauts* was used by Apollodorus of Athens in the mid-second century B.C., so that Dionysius must have lived earlier (Wendel, *Überlieferung und Entstehung der Theokrit-Scholien* [Berlin, 1920] 101). This is strikingly confirmed by the new fragment of Apollodorus' *Περὶ θεῶν* in P. Oxy. XXXVII.2812 (Chapter ii below), in which Dionysius is quoted, and by the presence of a reference to the *Libyan Stories* in a fragment of Apollodorus' work *On the Catalog of Ships* (see Appendix 1).

“It would be possible to restore this as the labour of yoking the bulls and slaying the earth-born men imposed by Aietes as the condition of obtaining the golden fleece”, wrote Turner, but added that “the suggestion . . . is not free from difficulties.”⁴ It is indeed difficult to see how the well known story can have been adapted here. Presumably Heracles (subject of *καταβάλλει* line 5) kills some of these men “sprung from the earth” (*ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀνισταμένους* line 7), while Jason kills the rest. It is startling enough to see that Heracles here plays as important a role as Jason; but we must also adjust to the fact that some of the *γηγενεῖς* only arise to fight upon hearing the noise (*τοῦ θοροῦ βου ἀκούσαντας* line 6), and to the presence of the *ἄλλοι ταῦροι* (line 8), although the yoking of these bulls (of whom, as Turner notes, there were usually only two) must have been over by the time the earthborn men arrived on the scene. It seems therefore quite impossible to reconcile the papyrus text with the traditional version of this exploit. Since, however, the presence of Heracles has already brought forward the name of Dionysius Scytobrachion, it is reasonable to wonder whether a comparison with his decidedly untraditional version of the events in Colchis can shed any light on the story found in col. 4 of the papyrus.

In his Colchis narrative as preserved in outline by Diodorus and confirmed by the scholia to Apollonius, Dionysius evidently took great pains to remove all the fantastic and supernatural elements of the traditional story. The intervention of Eros, the yoking of the fire-breathing bulls, the magical powers of Medea—all were explicitly rejected. The capture of the *δέρος* became a simple raid, accomplished with the practical assistance of a Medea who is no witch, but an expert in pharmacology. Her motives are purely humanitarian; unlike her mother Hecate and sister Circe (both were mortals according to Dionysius) she used her knowledge to benefit mankind, not to murder. Nor does she condone the sacrifice of captured foreign sailors by her father’s Taurian guards, but rescues the doomed men wherever possible.⁵

graphs (Plate I, p. 185) am indebted to Mr. T. S. Pattie and the British Library. I am also grateful to Professor Turner for his comments on the identification proposed here, with which he is in agreement.—All supplements and readings unless otherwise identified come from the *editio princeps*.

⁴ *op. cit.* (above note 1) 53.

⁵ Diod. 4.45–46.1 = F 20, 22, schol. A.R. 3.200, 3.240 = F 21. Like Priam in Troy (Diod. 4.49.3–4, P. Oxy. 2812 lines 6–12 [Chapter ii below]), Medea is the only civilized and just person encountered by the Argonauts in a hostile, barbarian land; see below p. 99ff.

ξυνοκτονία is of course a well known feature of the Taurians as early as Herodotus,⁶ but Dionysius used this custom in a unique way. By bringing it into Colchis (Aietes had imported Taurian guards from his brother Perses, who was king of that tribe), he was able to rationalize away several “mythological” traditions, explaining them through a confusion of names.⁷ For example, he denied that there was a golden ram or a “golden fleece”; rather the paedagogue of Phrixos, who was named *Κριός*, fell victim to the Taurians in Colchis and “in accordance with the custom” (*κατὰ τὸ νόμιμον*) was flayed and his skin hung on the wall of the temple of Ares.⁸ Later, when Aietes had been informed by an oracle that his life would end when he lost τὸ *Κριοῦ δέρος*, he had the skin gilded to induce the guards to watch it more diligently.⁹ A similar mistake accounted for the fire-breathing bulls of the traditional story. According to Dionysius, it was only the Taurians (*Ταῦροι*) guarding the *δέρος* whom the Argonauts had to defeat, but they were “mythologized” into fantastic animals.¹⁰

Once Dionysius had cleared away these “myths” and altered the character of Medea, his narrative was straightforward. Aietes had grown suspicious of his more civilized daughter’s opposition to *ξυνοκτονία* and had placed her under house arrest. She escaped, however, and fled to a sanctuary of Helios near the shore, where the Argonauts happened to land and find her that very night. Recognizing her *ἡμερότης*,¹¹ they revealed their plan, and she in turn told them of her own danger. They

⁶ e.g. Hdt. 4.103, Strabo 7.3.6 (p. 298–9) = Apollodorus, *FGrHist* 244 F 157a, Herrmann, *RE* V.A, 23–24.

⁷ On the rationalistic interpretation of myth see Chapter vii, p. 93ff.

⁸ The rationalization of the golden ram through the proper name *Κριός* is found again in [Heraclitus] *περὶ ἀπίστων* XXIV pp. 81–82 Festa (cf. Palaephatus XXX p. 43.3 Festa). W. Nestle, *Vom Mythos zum Logos* (Stuttgart, 1940) 147 n. 91 notes that *Κριός* as a proper name is well attested, e.g. Hdt. 6.50, Simonides *PMG* 507, Pape-Benseler s.v. Another (anonymous) explanation for the flying ram was that Phrixos travelled in a ship that was *κριόπρωρος*; see Appendix 2, p. 117 n. 4 below.

⁹ Diod. 4.47 (see Appendix 2, p. 117 below), schol. A.R. 4.176–177 (= F 25a), 1.256–259 (F 25b), 2.1144–45a (= F 25c).

¹⁰ The name of the tribe was often derived from *ταῦρος*, see Pape-Benseler s.v.; *Ταῦρος* as a man’s name (like *Κριός*) is used by Palaephatus to explain the stories of Europa and Pasiphae, see Nestle 150.—Naturally one of the guards was named *Δράκων* as well (Diod. 4.47.3). The text of Diod. 4.47.1–5 is enclosed by double brackets at *FGrHist* 32 F 14, suggesting that Jacoby felt the rationalistic explanation of the bulls as Taurians to be an insertion by Diodorus, not taken from Scytobrachion; but this is surely incorrect, see Appendix 2, p. 117.

¹¹ For *ἡμερος* and derivatives referring to cultural and moral advancement, see Henrichs, *ZPE* 1 (1967) 51–52. *ἡμερότης* here = “civilized nature”.

decided to join forces.¹² Jason and Medea, with Heracles acting as guarantor, took oaths, the one to marry Medea, the other to help in obtaining the δέρος.¹³

The Argonauts set out for the sanctuary of Ares immediately, with Medea as their guide. Once there, she persuaded the Taurian guards to open the gates by speaking to them in their own language and identifying herself as the king's daughter. The Argonauts burst in at once with drawn swords, killed many of the guards, and routed the rest; then they took the δέρος and started back to their ship.¹⁴

Meanwhile the escaped Taurians had reached Aietes with news of the attack. He set off with his army at once in pursuit, and overtook the intruders near the shore. In the battle which followed, Aietes succeeded in killing at least one Argonaut, Iphitos the brother of Eurystheus,¹⁵ but was himself slain by Meleager. The death of the king (and the fulfillment of the oracle) broke the Colchian advance, and the Argonauts, after pursuing and killing many, returned to the ship. A few of the heroes (among them Jason) were wounded, but Medea's skillful use of herbs healed them within a few days. They took on supplies and left, with their prize, for home.¹⁶

Although Dionysius' narrative has been shortened by Diodorus, the main sequence of events is clear. It should also by now be clear that the central episode of this story, the Argonauts' attack on the sanctuary of Ares, is preserved in its original form in col. 4 of P. Hibeh 2.186, which is correctly printed and supplemented in the first edition with one exception: for ταῦροι in line 8 a modern text should read Ταῦροι. If Heracles and Jason are battling Taurian guards rather than fire-breath-

¹² Jacoby (Commentary to *FGrHist* 32 F 14, p. 516) notes the businesslike relationship between Jason and Medea, in which "das erotische Element ganz zugunsten praktischer Motive [τὸ κοινὸν συμφέρον, Diod. 4.46.4] ausgeschaltet wird."

¹³ Diod. 4.46.4. Heracles' part in the oath is not expressly mentioned until Diod. 4.54.7 (cf. schol. A.R. 1.1289–91a = F 15b: τὰ περὶ Μήδειαν συμπεπραχέναι [sc. Ἡρακλέα] τῷ Ἰάσονι).

¹⁴ Diod. 4.48.2 (quoted below p. 23). What part Medea played in the battle itself is unclear. Diod. 4.48.3 has her killing the dragon—which did not exist in Scytobrachion's version of the story (above n. 10)—so that here as occasionally elsewhere Diodorus will have filled in inconsistent details from the better known story (see Appendix 2, p. 117 below, and Bethe, *Quaestiones* 18).

¹⁵ Or Iphis according to schol. A.R. 4.223–30a (= F 29b) where the battle is described in detail.

¹⁶ Diod. 4.48.4–5. There was no Apsyrtus in Dionysius' *Argonauts*; Medea has a brother Aigialeus (Diod. 4.45.3, cf. Pacuvius ap. Cic. *De natura deorum* 3.48, Justin 42.3.1), but he is not mentioned in connection with the fighting.

ing bulls the many problems of interpretation noted above simply disappear, and Diodorus' epitome can be compared in this point with its original:¹⁷

P. Hibeh 2.186 col. 4

Diod. 4.48.2 (F 26)

<p>1] κραγοῦσαν .[ἀλλὰ ἀποκ[δ μὲν Ἡρακλῆς π[ρῶτος εἰσπεσῶν τοὺς τὰς π[ύλας ἀνοίξαντας</p> <p>5 ταχὺ καταβά[λ]λει· ὁ δὲ Ἰάσω[ν ἄ]λλους τ[ι]νάς [τ]οῦ θορόβου ἀκούσ[α]ντας [καὶ ἐκ τ]ῆς γῆς ἀνισταμένους ἀπέκτειν[ε]ν· οἱ τε ἄλλοι Ταῦροι μ]ετὰ π[ο]λλ[οῦ] πόνο]ν καὶ ἀγωνίας</p> <p>10 ..]..σα..[9–10]των ἀπε-</p>	<p>φασὶ τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας εἰσπεσόντας ἐσπασμένοις τοῖς ξίφεσι πολλοὺς μὲν φονεῦσαι τῶν βαρβάρων (sc. Ταύρων), τοὺς δ' ἄλλους διὰ τὸ παράδοξον κατα- πληξαμένους ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τοῦ τεμένους κτλ.</p>
--	--

The Argonauts and Medea have made their way at night to the sanctuary of Ares, and Medea has persuaded the guards to open the gates. The preserved text begins with a description of the attack itself.¹⁸ Heracles kills the guards who are on duty, but it must be supposed that many other Taurians are asleep in the sanctuary. Some of these (ἄλλους τινάς lines 5–6) are awakened by the noise, but are cut down by Jason just as they arise from the ground to resist. The activities of the rest of the guards (οἱ τε ἄλλοι Ταῦροι line 8)¹⁹ are no longer preserved, but we know from Diodorus (4.48.4) that they managed to escape and report the attack to Aietes.²⁰ Thus Diodorus' account alone provides a suitable context for the text of col. 4.

The papyrus text on the other hand preserves two details which were omitted by Diodorus, but are thoroughly characteristic of Dionysius' methods and may with confidence be assigned to his *Argonauts*. In the first place, Heracles' leading role in the attack on the sanctuary suits the importance given to him elsewhere in the *Argonauts*.²¹ Secondly, it is not

¹⁷ The supplements I print in lines 3–4 are offered purely *exempli gratia*, and are in any case somewhat too short for the space.

¹⁸]|κραγοῦσαν (line 1) evidently refers to Medea; did she shout to the guards to open the gates, or cry out the signal to attack?

¹⁹ For the sequence μὲν...δὲ...τε assumed here, see Denniston, *The Greek Particles* (2nd ed. Oxford, 1954) 500.

²⁰ In line 10 perhaps ἀπέφυγον.

²¹ See above, pp. 19–22 n. 2 and n. 13, and Chapter vii p. 96ff below.

Jason and Medea, Jason and Heracles, or all three. ἀμφοτέροις (line 4) are perhaps Heracles and Jason, to whom the aorist participles (?) in lines 5 and 6 might refer. In lines 4–5 ἐπαγγειλ- (cf. Diod.) would conflict with normal syllable division, but cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1906–1970) I. 1 §57 d.

P. Hibeh 2.186 col. 2 (fr. a, col. 2)

— — — — —
 1]. [
]. [
]. [
 ... ἔφασα[ν
 5 αν ὑπερ[
 ος τρον τ. [
 φ[.]. ονιμου η[.]. πα
 .. υσε δεινοῦς[
 . η ἐνίους ὡς[
 10 δυμένους ω[
 τὸ τέμεν[ος
 ...]. [
 MARGIN

4. οἷον ἔφασα[ν ed. pr. 7. “possibly φρονημον, but there seems to be space for another letter between the supposed φ and ρ” ed. pr.

This column evidently follows the oaths (col. 1 ~ Diod. 4.46.4) and precedes the attack on the temple of Ares (col. 4 ~ Diod. 4.48.2); but there is little hope for restoring the sense, as Diodorus has left out these details. τὸ τέμεν[ος in line 11 is more probably the sanctuary of Helios, where Medea met the Argonauts, than that of Ares, to which they went later (τότε μὲν[is of course possible also).

P. Hibeh 2.186 col. 3 (fr. b, col. 1)

— — — — —
 1]. [
][...ι] εἰδθέως
 κ]όπτειν τὰς
]αν μέγα βαρ[1–2]
 5]ρρρς
]..ι
 — — — — —

After line 6, 2–3 lines smeared over with ink.

The amount of text missing between columns 2 and 3 cannot be known, but probably the Argonauts and Medea have now arrived at the sanctuary of Ares (which they attack in column 4). One might expect a brief description of the sanctuary, or perhaps of the Taurian method of human sacrifice (line 3 ἀποκ]όπτειν τὰς| [κεφαλάς ? [cf. Amm. Marc. 22.8.34, Hdt. 4.103], line 4 βαρ[βα|ρ- [somewhat long for the space], line 5 Ταύ]ρους or βαρβά]ρους).

Column 4 deals as noted above (p. 23) with the attack of the Argonauts on the τέμενος of Ares, in which many of the guards were killed and the rest put to flight.

P. Hibeh 2.186 col. 5 (fr. b, col. 3)

— — — — —
 1 .].ι[
 θαι φασι[
 ἴσασιν ὡς δ[
 ἄλγεα ἀδ[
 5 — σα ἢ Μή[δεια ?
 ἐδεικνυ[
 λα ζμ[ύρνηι ?
 αη[
 MARGIN

Since the column length is uncertain, it cannot be known how much text separates these words from the attack on the sanctuary in col. 4. Yet it seems unlikely that the Argonauts' battle with Aietes, which was a high point of Dionysius' narrative,²⁶ is already over. Thus the obvious parallel in Diodorus (4.48.5), Medea's healing of the wounded Argonauts (suggested by ἄλγεα²⁷ line 4 and [if correct] ζμ[ύρνηι line 7, presumably used as an ointment) is ruled out. It is however quite possible that Medea gave some attention to the wounded after the earlier battle as well, and that Diodorus has omitted this detail.

We have seen that columns 1 and 4 of P. Hibeh 2.186 can be matched with portions of Diodorus' summary of Dionysius' *Argonauts*, and that the other three columns (in so far as they can be interpreted at all) provide nothing that conflicts with Diodorus, who has undoubtedly

²⁶ Dioid. 4.48.4–5 = F 28, schol. A.R. 4.223–30d = F 29a, 4.223–30a = F 29b.

²⁷ On the uncontracted form see Mayser, *Grammatik* I. 2 p. 37. Of course a compound adjective (e.g. ὑπεραλγέα) is also possible.

abridged his original. This alone would strongly favor an attribution of the papyrus text to Scytobrachion, but it is further clear that column 4 can only be interpreted on the assumption 1) that Heracles played a key role in the events in Colchis, and 2) that the *ταῦροι* were rationalistically explained as being in fact Taurians. The first detail is known chiefly from Dionysius,²⁸ the second exclusively from him. The inevitable conclusion is that these papyrus fragments belonged to a manuscript of Scytobrachion's *Argonauts*.²⁹

To this view there would seem to be one major obstacle, the date assigned to the papyrus (ca. 250–220 B.C.) by Turner. Dionysius has been commonly assigned by modern scholars to the late second century B.C. at the earliest, on the basis of Suetonius *De gramm.* 7 (= T 3);³⁰ if this date is correct, it is of course impossible to associate Scytobrachion with the papyrus. An analysis of the testimonia shows however that Suetonius' words by no means allow a precise determination of Dionysius' date, and that assigning him to the late second century B.C. is, for reasons even apart from the papyrus, clearly impossible. A detailed discussion of Scytobrachion's date is reserved for Chapter vi below, but since P. Hibeh 2.186 will be seen there to form a *terminus ante quem* for his work it will be useful to review here the considerations which led to the date assigned to it in the *editio princeps*.

The hand is irregular; lines are uneven, letters are occasionally reduced and bunched together at the end of a line (e.g. col. 1 line 3). ρ, τ, ι, β and φ regularly extend above the line, φ and β below it as well. ο is small and high, ξ is formed as Ξ, ζ as z. Some forms of ν (with a raised right vertical, e.g. col. 4 line 9), of ω (with the second arc raised, e.g. col. 1 line 6), and of τ (the cross stroke extending much farther to the left than to the

²⁸ That Heracles was present in Colchis is attested also for Demaratus (*FGrHist* 42 F 2 a–b), of whom almost nothing is known. Theocritus XIII.75 has Heracles continuing to Colchis on foot, after being left behind by the Argonauts, apparently in order to reconcile his own story with one that included Heracles in the whole voyage—possibly that of Scytobrachion, but see below Chapter vi, p. 87 n. 11.

²⁹ There are of course other solutions imaginable, e.g. that here we have a source of Dionysius' *Argonauts*, or a totally unattested story which happens to agree with him on these two points. One cannot call either supposition at all likely. Nestle 147 n. 91 supposes that Herodorus, who also wrote a rationalistic account of the Argonauts (*FGrHist* 31 F 5–10, 38–55), was a major source of Scytobrachion's account. This is contradicted not only by Dionysius' obvious striving for originality, but also by the fact that Herodorus' version of these events was totally different from Scytobrachion's; e.g. in Herodorus' story Heracles did not sail with the heroes at all (*FGrHist* 31 F 41), and the fleece and the yoking of the bulls were not denied (*FGrHist* 31 F 52–53).

³⁰ See the Introduction, p. 18 above.

right, e.g. col. 1 line 6, or even composed of two strokes, e.g. col. 4 line 5) are characteristic of the third century in general, but the more basic forms of ν and ω are also present.³¹ The frequent linking strokes with α , υ , ν and even ι ³² suggest a date in the second half of the third century, but the early second century is also a possibility.

This dating of the hand is confirmed by the circumstances of the papyrus' acquisition. The Greek papyri from Hibeh consist of mummy cartonnage from the Ptolemaic period. P. Hibeh 2.186 belongs to the group (designated as "mummy A") which was purchased by Grenfell and Hunt in 1902 and later traced to a single Ptolemaic tomb.³³ Therefore, while the particular mummies from which they were derived cannot be ascertained, the range of possible dates for these papyri can nevertheless be determined from the dated documents of the group; the lower limit of this range is roughly 200 B.C.³⁴ Yet here too a date in the early second century cannot be completely ruled out, for the hand of P. Hibeh 2.174 (Astydamos, *Hector*?), which is also from "mummy A", belongs according to Turner clearly to the second century, not the third.³⁵ Although this papyrus alone is definitely later than 200 B.C., it serves as a warning that later dates for other papyri of this group are at least theoretically possible.

P. Hibeh 2.186 can therefore be dated with certainty to the late third or early second century B.C. Although a date before 200 B.C. is in fact very probable, it is best to use the broadest conceivable range when employing the papyrus as evidence for the date of its author, as will be done below in Chapter vi.

The appearance of even a small part of an original source of Diodorus might be expected to answer several questions about that author's use of his sources and about the nature of Scytobrachion's writings, and this expectation is to some extent fulfilled by the papyrus. The evidence of the Apollonius scholia, as correctly interpreted by Bethe,³⁶ suggested that Diodorus reproduced Scytobrachion relatively faithfully, but inserted

³¹ P. Cairo Zenon 59532 (M. Norsa, *La scrittura letteraria greca dal secolo IV a.C. all' VIII d.C.* [Florence, 1939] pl. 2) of ca. 256–246 B.C. shows the same double forms of ν and ω (e.g. in lines 14–15) in a more regular hand.

³² On linking strokes with ι see W. Schubart, *Griechische Paläographie* (Munich, 1925) 32.

³³ See *The Hibeh Papyri* I (London, 1906) Introd. pp. 3 and 5.

³⁴ Introduction to *P. Hibeh* I p. 11, C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands 350 B.C. – A.D. 400* (Oxford, 1955) on pl. 2b = P. Hibeh 1.1. The latest dated document from Hibeh is P. Hibeh 2.265 (204–3 B.C.).

³⁵ See Turner's discussion in the *editio princeps*.

³⁶ Bethe, *Quaestiones* 1–24; see the Introduction, p. 16 above.

now and again references to other versions of the Argonaut story which are not derived from Scytobrachion. This view is confirmed by the papyrus, which is clearly a continuous account of the expedition in a simple and unassuming style, not an argumentative collection of variant versions. From the more fragmentary columns (which have no counterpart in Diodorus) and from column 4 (which is much more detailed than the Diodorean parallel) we can gain some idea of the degree of condensation of the original source by the epitome.

The verso of the papyrus contains a literary text in a different hand,³⁷ the greater part of which has been effaced by ink. On fr. b only isolated letters can be read, but fr. a preserves enough to enable the work to be characterized:

P. Hibeh 2.186 (verso) fr. a

MARGIN

1]ν[5]...ν διωρθωμε[
ο]γτα μὲν π[ρ]ῶτον εὑρετήν .[
].θεωρήσαμεν (space) δε πρώτος .[
].ησιολογίας ἐνστησαμεν[
5]. ὁ αὐτὸς εὔρεν γράμμασι [
] τὸ γράμμα ἕκαστ[
]. .[.].[
].[
].[

4. “not, e. g., γνησιολογίας” ed. pr.

These lines evidently come from a discussion of inventors, and of the invention of writing in particular. The lack of names preserved hinders any estimate of its relation to the extant catalogues of inventors,³⁸ but the presence of such a work on the verso of Scytobrachion’s *Argonauts* illustrates well the tastes to which a rationalistic account of the Argonauts’ exploits might appeal.³⁹

³⁷ Assigned to the late third century B.C. by Turner.

³⁸ See in general A. Kleingünther, “πρώτος εὑρετής”, *Philol.*, Supplbd. 26.1 (1933), K. Thraede “Erfinder” *RAC* 5 (1962) 1191–1278. On various attributions of the invention of writing see Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* I (Oxford, 1968) 21 ff, Moggi, *Annali della scuola normale superiore di Pisa*, cl. di lett. e filos. II (1972) 452 n. 4.

³⁹ For Scytobrachion’s account of the invention of writing see Diod. 3.67.1 (= F 8) and Chapter iv, p. 69 below.

Chapter II: P. Oxy. 2812

In volume 37 of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (London 1971, pp. 39–44, with pl. VII) Edgar Lobel has edited and interpreted a somewhat puzzling fragment of a commentary from the first century after Christ. He assumed, evidently correctly, that it is a commentary on a tragedy; yet most of the preserved text gives us no information on the tragedy itself, but rather a detailed discussion of the roles of Poseidon and Apollo in the service of Laomedon, with illustrative quotations from Homer, a certain Dionysius, and Nicander. Although he noted a resemblance between a sentence in this discussion and schol. (Genev.) *Il.* 21.446–449, a direct quotation from Apollodorus' *Περὶ θεῶν* (*FGrHist* 244 F 96), Lobel came to the conclusion (p. 39) that “Apollodorus was evidently not directly used” in the commentary. To the extent that we do not have here the *ipsissima verba* of Apollodorus, he is certainly correct. Yet it seems probable that lines 1–36 of the second column consist almost entirely of a paraphrase from the section of *Περὶ θεῶν* dealing with Apollo (*FGrHist* 244 F 95–100). In this paraphrase the copious citations and methods of argument characteristic of Apollodorus are still preserved, so that P. Oxy. 2812 provides one of the most detailed testimonia known to this part of *Περὶ θεῶν*; it makes possible a more precise analysis of the fragments already known, and indicates that more Apollodorean material has been preserved in the Geneva scholia on *Il.* 21 than had been thought. Accordingly, I offer below first a brief description of *Περὶ θεῶν* itself, followed by a detailed study of the fragments of it which relate to the epithets Ἀσφάλιος and Θεμελιοῦχος of Poseidon, and Νόμιος of Apollo; for these three epithets are found in lines 13–16 of the papyrus as well, as Lobel recognized. I then argue that the context of Apollodorus' treatment of these epithets is revealed by the papyrus—the proposed athetesis of *Il.* 7.452–3, where the version of the building of the walls of Troy conflicts with that given at *Il.* 21.446ff. Finally, I examine the citations with which Apollodorus illustrated his discussion of the *τειχοδομία*, from which it will appear *inter alia* that the Dionysius quoted is Dionysius Scytobrachion. At the end of the chapter I give a new and (in terms of supplements) somewhat more venturesome text of column II of this papyrus with a commentary, to both of which the reader will wish to refer in connection with the discussion which precedes them.

My debt to Lobel's edition, which remains indispensable for any detailed study of the text, is great.¹

The industry of a succession of scholars and no small amount of luck have made *Περὶ θεῶν* a much better known work today than it was a century ago. After Carl Robert² had demonstrated that the mythological handbook known as “the Library of Apollodorus” was falsely ascribed to Apollodorus of Athens, the real study of Apollodorus’ “theological” work, based on a detailed examination of several works which were indebted to *Περὶ θεῶν*, began with R. Münzel,³ and was continued by E. Hefermehl and K. Reinhardt.⁴ Jacoby’s collection of the fragments and his commentary on them⁵ were based largely on the work of these three scholars. Since the appearance of that collection however two papyri have provided substantial new fragments: R. Merkelbach⁶ has identified P. Oxy. 2260 as a portion of Apollodorus’ discussion of the epithets of Athena, while the same scholar and L. Koenen have more recently published a Cologne papyrus fragment of *Περὶ θεῶν* (P. Col. inv. 5604), which contains lengthy citations from Epicharmus and a previously unknown epic, the *Meropis*.⁷ From the considerable corpus of fragments which now exists, several characteristics of this work can be clearly defined:

1) The chief task was the interpretation and etymologizing of the names and epithets of Greek gods, not from place names or aitiological myths, but from their natures. Their names were seen as functions of their *ἐνέργειαι* and *δυνάμεις*.⁸

¹ I am most grateful to those scholars who have offered suggestions on the text of the papyrus, and allowed me to reproduce them here; their names are to be found in the Commentary on pp. 50ff. I owe a special debt to Mr. Peter Parsons, who examined the papyrus, informed me of the results and made many suggestions. I am also indebted to him and Professor Lloyd-Jones for the opportunity to read lines 18–36 of P. Oxy. 2812 col. II as they will appear in their *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, now in preparation.

² C. Robert, *De Apollodori Bibliotheca* (Diss. Berlin, 1873), cf. Van der Valk, *REG* 71 (1958), 100–168.

³ R. Münzel, *De Apollodori Περὶ θεῶν libris* (Diss. Bonn, 1883), *Quaestiones Mythographae* (Berlin, 1883).

⁴ E. Hefermehl, *Studia in Apollodori Περὶ θεῶν fragmenta Genavensia* (Diss. Berlin, 1905); K. Reinhardt, *De Graecorum Theologia Capita Duo* (Berlin, 1910).

⁵ *FGrHist* 244 F 88–153, 352–356.

⁶ *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 16 (1956) 115–117, cf. R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford, 1968) 262.

⁷ *Collectanea Papyrologica: Texts published in honor of H. C. Youtie (Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 19)* I, 3–26, Henrichs, *Cr. Erc.* 5 (1975) 5–38. The ascription to Apollodorus is confirmed by the discovery that Philodemus’ *De Pietate* (whose dependence on *Περὶ θεῶν* was already established) cites the *Meropis* for the same story, see Henrichs, *Cr. Erc.* 7 (1977) 124–125.

⁸ *FGrHist* 244 F 353.11, with Jacoby’s Commentary pp. 756–757; Pfeiffer *Hist. Cl. Schol.* I, 262; Henrichs *Cr. Erc.* 5 (1975) 25.

2) The study of these epithets was based on the evidence of Greek literary texts, which Apollodorus quoted verbatim with great frequency and from a wide range of authors, as the papyrus fragments show. Among these authors one—Homer—stands alone as the “approved” source.⁹

3) Although authors later than Homer could be cited with approval to the extent that they followed Homeric and Apollodorean interpretations of epithets, they were more often censured for *κατάχρησις*, in this case the false (i.e. non-Homeric) use of a particular epithet. Apollodorus termed these authors as a group *οἱ νεώτεροι* (sc. ‘*Ομήρου*’), borrowing the term used by his teacher Aristarchus for those who “supplemented” the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* by interpolating into them references to non-Homeric stories, or (in the case of cyclic poets and later authors) by preferring a non-Homeric version of a particular myth.¹⁰ This basically Aristarchean orientation of Apollodorus’ work could extend even to the examination and approval of his teacher’s exegetical discussions.¹¹

4) Apollodorus’ learning made it inevitable that the collection of citations would occasionally be undertaken for its own sake, rather than to illustrate the argument, and it is likely that several minor authors owe their inclusion in modern fragment collections solely to Apollodorus’ learning and curiosity.¹² P. Col. inv. 5604 provides the best example of such an “appendix” to the argument, for there the *Meropis*, although ascribed to a *νεώτερος*, is nonetheless quoted *διὰ τὸ ἰδίωμα τῆς ἱστορίας*; in such cases the philologist and antiquarian side of Apollodorus’ nature evidently prevailed over the theologian and philosopher.¹³

In P. Oxy. 2812, lines 1–36 there are ample grounds not only for postulating a close connection with other known fragments of *Περὶ θεῶν*, but also for believing that nearly all of the above Apollodorean characteristics play a role in the discussion.

⁹ It is not an exaggeration to say, with Pfeiffer and Jacoby (*loc. cit.*, preceding note), that *Περὶ θεῶν* is primarily a work of Homeric scholarship.

¹⁰ Apollodorus as student of Aristarchus: *FGrHist* 244 T 1 (Pfeiffer *Hist. Class. Schol.* I, 261, Jacoby’s Commentary to *FGrHist* 244, pp. 757–758 on Homer vs. *οἱ νεώτεροι*). On Aristarchus’ attitude to *οἱ νεώτεροι* see A. Severyns, *Le cycle épique dans l’école d’Aristarque* (Paris, 1928) 31f. This term (with its Latin adaptation *neoterici*) has a long career in Greek and Roman literary scholarship, which I hope to examine elsewhere. —Apollodorus judged the author of the *Meropis* to be *νεώτερός τις* (P. Col. inv. 5604, line 42), cf. Strabo 14.5.29 = F 170.

¹¹ See Henrichs *Cr. Erc.* 5 (1975) 8 n. 17, and 10–11, to which add schol. Pind. N. 10.114 = F 148. An important disagreement between pupil and master is preserved by schol. (BD) *Il.* 5.422 (= F 353).

¹² E. g. Onasos (*FGrHist* 41), see Wendel, *Theokrit-Scholien* 97.

¹³ Henrichs, *Cr. Erc.* 5 (1975) 23–24.

In contrast to the general characteristics of *Περὶ θεῶν*, theorizing about the structure of the work in detail is seldom justified by the available evidence.¹⁴ The section dealing with Apollo is, however, so well attested by later authors that at least a few details are recoverable. The fragments relating to P. Oxy. 2812, although they all belong to the same complex of interpretation, can be divided into three distinct groups. The first of these, represented by Cornutus, Plutarch, Macrobius, and Eustathius, concerns an explanation of the double natures of certain gods—their capability for beneficial and harmful action within the same sphere—as reflected in their epithets.¹⁵

1. Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.17.22f (= *FGrHist* 244 F 95)

nec mirum, si gemini effectus variis nominibus celebrantur, cum alios quoque deos ex contrario in eadem re duplici censi et potestate accipiamus et nomine, ut Neptunum, quem alias *Ἐνοσίχθονα*, id est terram moventem, alias *Ἀσφάλιον*,¹⁶ id est stabilientem, vocant. item Mercurius hominum mentes vel oculos et excitat et sopit, ut ait poeta (*Il.* 24.343–4):

εἴλετο δὲ ῥάβδον, τῆι τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει
 <ὦν ἐθέλγει, τοὺς δ' αἴτε καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει.>¹⁷

unde et Apollinem, id est solem,¹⁸ modo sospitatem modo pestem significantibus cognominibus adoramus, cum tamen pestis, quae ab eo noxiis immittitur, aperte hunc deum bonis propugnare significet.

¹⁴ Jacoby's Commentary to *FGrHist* 244, p. 765: "Man kann selten mehr sagen als daß dieses oder jenes in *Περὶ θεῶν* stand, nicht ob es referiert, gebilligt oder abgelehnt, übernommen oder neu aufgestellt wurde." (cf. p. 760).

¹⁵ The difficult question of whether these authors used *Περὶ θεῶν* directly or through one or more intermediate sources (which cannot anyway always be resolved) need not be considered here, since the Apollodorean material in texts no. 1–9 below distinguishes itself clearly through 1) its Homeric basis, 2) its emphasis on epithets, and 3) its relation to schol. (Gen.) *Il.* 21.446–9 (text no. 10 below), a direct quotation from *Περὶ θεῶν*. On the indebtedness of Philodemus (and the Christian apologists) to Apollodorus, see Henrichs, *Cr. Erc.* 5 (1975) 5–7; for Eustathius, Van der Valk, *Researches on the Text and Scholia of the Iliad*, I (Leiden, 1963) 23 n. 81, Hefermehl 10, n. 7.

¹⁶ *Ἀσφάλιον*, Wilamowitz: the MSS offer either *Ἀσφαλίωνα* (a form not otherwise known except as a proper name) or nonsense. The ending will have been assimilated to *Ἐνοσίχθονα*.

¹⁷ The second verse, without which the point is lost (cf. the parallels cited by Jacoby in his Commentary to *FGrHist* 244 F 129), was restored by Münzel, *De Apollod.* 22.

¹⁸ Van der Valk (*Researches* I 308 n. 22) denied that Apollodorus himself equated Apollo and Helios, suggesting that Macrobius and Eustathius have this detail from a neo-Platonist source; and Jacoby omits *id est solem* from the text here, although he seems in his Commentary (p. 760 and 764–765) to accept that Apollodorus equated

2. Eustathius *in Il.* 21.367 (p. 1241.65ff)

... οἷα καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν πλάσας ὀλέθριον μὲν τῶι Ἀχιλλεΐ, σωστικὸν δὲ τοῖς Τρωσίν. ἐκατέρων γὰρ εἶχε καὶ ἐκείνος δύναμιν. οὕτω καὶ Ποσειδῶν οὐ μόνον σεισίχθων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσφάλιος, καὶ Ἐρμῆς οὐ μόνον κερδῶιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζημίας ποιῶν κατὰ τὸν κωμικόν (Arist. *Plutus* 1124), καὶ Φοῖβος οὐ μόνον Ἀπόλλων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰατρὸς καὶ οὐλίος, ὃ ἐστὶν ὑγιαστικός, ὡς καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ εἴρηται.

3. Eust. *in Il.* 1.36 (p. 32.23ff)

Ἀπόλλων δὲ παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς οὐκ εὐφήμως μὲν, ὁμως δὲ φοβερώτερον ὃ ἦλιος, εἰς δὲ ἀναφέρεται τὰ λοιμώδη νοσήματα. ὥσπερ γὰρ Ποσειδῶν πῆι μὲν σεισίχθων τὸ φοβερόν, πῆι δὲ ἀσφάλιος τὸ εὐφημον, οὕτω καὶ ἦλιος πῆι μὲν Ἀπόλλων, πῆι δὲ ἀλεξίκακος.

4. Cornutus *Theol. Comp.* c. 22, p. 42.1ff Lang (= *FGrHist* 244 F 99)

εἶτα Ἐνοσίχθονα καὶ Ἐννοσίγαιον καὶ Σεισίχθονα καὶ Τινάκτορα γαίας ... κατ' ἄλλον δὲ τρόπον Γαιήοχος λέγεται ὁ Ποσειδῶν καὶ Θεμελιοῦχος ὑπὸ τινων, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῶι Ἀσφαλίω Ποσειδῶνι¹⁹ πολλαχοῦ ὡσὰν ἐπ' αὐτῶι κειμένον τοῦ ἐστάναι τὰ οἰκήματα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

5. Eust. *in Il.* 13.43 (p. 919.54ff)

ὅτι ἐν τῶι “ἀλλὰ Ποσειδάων γαιήοχος, ἐννοσίγαιος, | Ἀργείους ὄτρυνεν” (*Il.* 13.43–4), ὡς πρὸ ὀλίγων ἐρρέθη, ἀστείως ἀντέθηκε τὰ ἐπίθετα. ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ συνέχει γαῖαν ὡς ἀσφάλιος, καὶ διασεύει ὡς ἐννοσίγαιος.

6. Schol. Hes. *Op. et Dies* 790–1 Pertusi (= Plutarch fr. 106 Sandbach)

... τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ τὸ κινεῖν καὶ ἡρεμεῖν τὰς ἀστάτους τῶν κινουμένων ὀρμάς. διὸ ὁ θεὸς οὗτος οὐ μόνον ἐνοσίχθων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσφάλιος ὑμνεῖται, καὶ οἱ τοὺς σεισμοὺς παθεῖν ἐθέλοντες Ποσειδῶνι θύουσιν.

them. Apollodorus is known to have resisted *συννοικειώσεις* of gods with elements (see Henrichs, *Cr. Erc.* 5 [1975] 16–17), but this particular equation had been common for centuries; see Diggle on Eur. *Phaethon* 225 (to which Merkelbach adds *Hom. Hymn Ap.* 363–369); Henrichs *op. cit.* 16 n. 64; F. Buffière, *Les mythes d'Homère et la pensée grecque* (Paris, 1956) 187f. Apollodorus' teacher (*FGrHist* 244 T 2.20) Diogenes of Babylon equated Apollo and Helios also (fr. 33, II. 217.12 von Arnim, cf. Chrysippus fr. 102, II. 305). There is accordingly no reason to doubt the explicit testimony of Macrobius (I.17.19: Apollodorus in libro quarto decimo *Περὶ θεῶν Ἰγίον* solem scribit), supported by Strabo 14.1.6 = *FGrHist* 244 F 99b, [Heracl.] *Qu. Hom.* 7 (= F 98), Cornutus c. 32 (= F 99), and Eustathius (text no. 3 above, cf. Eust. p. 554.17–21).

¹⁹ Hefermehl (6, n. 1) deleted αὐτῶι; if a change is necessary, the deletion of Ποσειδῶνι as a gloss (so Osann) seems preferable.

²⁰ See *FGrHist* 244 F 129 with Jacoby's Commentary.

²¹ Cf. the variation in the epithets of Apollo between texts no. 2 and 3 above. The reading *ζημίας* at *Plutus* 1124 is otherwise attested only in V.

Texts no. 1 (Macrobius) and 2 (Eustathius) offer the same sequence of comparison: Poseidon (as originator or preventer of earthquakes), Hermes, and Apollo (as originator or healer of diseases). The comments on Hermes are preserved in different forms, but there can be little doubt that the quotation of Homer in Macrobius represents more faithfully the Apollodorean original;²⁰ Eustathius has evidently substituted a quotation from his own reading.²¹ In no. 3, Eustathius retains only Poseidon and Apollo,²² no. 6 (schol. Hes.) mentions only Poseidon, but with basically the same comparison. The original, Apollodorean comparison, from which all these texts are ultimately derived, seems to have been:

Poseidon	– ’Ενοσίχθων, ’Εννοσίγαιος, Σεισίχθων – ’Ασφάλιος, ²³ Θεμελιοῦχος, ²⁴ Γαιήοχος
Hermes	– θέλγει (Il. 24.343) – ἐγείρει (Il. 24.344)
Apollo	– ’Απόλλων (from ἀπολλύναι ²⁵) – Οὔλιος ²⁶

²² Cf. Eust. in Il. 5.344, p. 554, 17f. Cornutus (text no. 4 above) discusses Apollo (c. 32 = *FGrHist* 244 F 99 p. 1049.12ff.) and Hermes (c. 16) separately.

²³ ’Ασφάλιος, Θεμελιοῦχος and Νόμιος are the three epithets on which Apollodorus based the discussion of Il. 21.446f (see text no. 10 below), and they are found in the papyrus as well (lines 13–16, see p. 38). I offer here (and in notes 24 and 30 below) a list of the testimonia known to me. As Apollodorus himself notes (text no. 10 below), none of the epithets is Homeric. ’Ασφάλιος: the form ’Ασφάλειος is better attested in older inscriptions; Meiggs-Lewis, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1969) no. 23.40 (the Themistocles decree); *SEG* XV.517.6 (III B.C.); Engelmann-Merkelbach *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai* II (Bonn, 1973) no. 207.6 (II B.C.); *I.G.* XII.5.913.10 (II B.C.); ’Ασ[φαλείω] Dittenberger³ II.799.II.3 (A.D. I). ’Ασφάλειος in literary texts otherwise only in Arist. *Ach.* 682, schol. Arist. *Ach.* 510, Heliod. 6.7.1 (’Ασφάλιος is a variant reading). Pollux 1.24 speaks of ’Ασφάλειοι θεοί. The form ’Ασφάλιος is found in *I.G.* V. 1.559.14–15 (Roman), cf. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (2nd ed. Munich 1951) 335. For ’Ασφάλιος cf. also Strabo 1.3.16 (p. 58) = *FGrHist* 87 (Posidonius) F 87, Paus. 3.11.9, 7.21.7, Plut. *Theseus* 36d, *Suda* s. ’Ασφάλιος, Aristides 46.1 Keil, Oppian *Hal.* 5.680 (cf. Pfeiffer on Callim. fr. 623). The form ’Ασφάλειος occurs in a metrical inscription (II B.C., A. Rehm, *Didyma* II [Berlin 1958] no. 132.2, 14). Rehm is correct to call the epithet “weit verbreitet” (cf. πολλαχού in text no. 4 above). See also Wüst, *RE* XXII. 480–1, Hefermehl 6 n. 1.

²⁴ Θεμελιοῦχος: the only literary attestations of which I am aware are texts nos. 4 and 10 above (cf. *Inscr. Delos* 290.116, III B.C.), but the epithet seems to be alluded to by Oppian *Hal.* 5.680 (θεμείλια νέρθε φυλάσσαν, cf. Poseidons’ destruction of the θεμείλια of the Greek wall, Il. 12.28–29). γῆ is called θεμελιοῦχος at [Heracl.] *Quaest. Hom.* c. 48.6. Apollodorus’ equation of γῆ and θεμέλη (F 131) may have included an equation of θεμελιοῦχος and γαιήοχος. See also Wüst, *RE* XXII.499. On Apollo as a builder of city walls see n. 49 below.

²⁵ On this old etymology, see Diggle on Eur. *Phaethon* 225, and Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 1081.

²⁶ cf. Macrobius *Sat.* 1.17.21 (= F 95), Strabo 14.1.6 (= F 99f).

The second group of fragments discusses the functions of Apollo *Νόμιος*, and the Homeric evidence for this epithet:

7. Macrob. *Sat.* 1.17.43ff (= *FGrHist* 244 F 95)

Νόμιον Ἀπόλλωνα cognominaverunt non ex officio pastorali et fabula, per quam fingitur Admeti regis pecora pavisse, sed quia sol pascit omnia quae terra progenerat. Unde non unius generis sed omnium pecorum pastor canitur, ut apud Homerum Neptuno dicente (*Il.* 21.448): “Φοῖβε, σὺ δ’ εἰλίποδας ἑλικας βοῦς βουκολέεσκες”. Atque idem apud eundem poetam equarum pastor significatur, ut ait (*Il.* 2.766–7): “τάς ἐν Φηρεῖη²⁷ θρέψ’ ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων, ἄμφω θηλείας, φόβον Ἀρηος φορεούσας”.

8. Schol. D(AB) *Il.* 21.448 (= *FGrHist* 244, apparatus to p. 1049, col. 4)

φασὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα κεκλησθαι *Νόμιον* διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. οἱ παλαιοὶ τοὺς λοιμοὺς ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐνόμιζον. πᾶς δὲ λοιμὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλόγων ἄρχεται, ὡς φησι καὶ Ὅμηρος (*Il.* 1.50): “ὄρθας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπώχητο καὶ κύνας ἀργούς”. βουλόμενοι οὖν τὸν θεὸν δυσωπεῖν ἵνα τοὺς λοιμοὺς ἀποστρέψη, νόμιον καὶ φύλακα τῶν βοσκημάτων ἐκάλεσαν. ὅθεν ἠδύνατο Ὅμηρος εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἐβουκόλησε παρὰ Λαομέδοντι (cf. *Il.* 21.448) καὶ Ἀδμήτῳ ἱπποφόρῃσεν (cf. *Il.* 2.766–7). οὕτως ἱστορεῖ Ἀπολλόδωρος.²⁸

2. ἐνόμιζον εἶναι B 3. ὡς κ. Ὅμ. φ. A, ὡς φ. Ὅμ. B 5. ἀποτρέπη A 5. ὅθεν Ὅμηρον εἰπεῖν AB 6. ὅτι om. D 7. ἢ δὲ ἱστορία παρὰ Ἀπ. B

9. Philodemus *De pietate* p. 34 Gomperz (N 433 VIII)

[Ἀν]δρῶν ἐν [τοῖς] Συγγενικοῖς (*FGrHist* 10 F 3) Ἀ[δμή]τῳ λέγει τὸν Ἀ[πόλ]λω θητεῦσαι Δ[ιὸς] ἐπιτάξαντος, [Ἡ]σίοδος (fr. 54b M–W) δὲ καὶ Ἀκο[v]σίλαος (*FGrHist* 2 F 19) μέλλειν [μὲν] εἰς τὸν Τάρταρον [ὑ]πὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἐ[μβλη]θῆναι, τῆς δ[ὲ] Λητοῦς] ἱκετευσά[σης ἀν]δρὶ θητεῦ[σαι. καὶ] Ὅμηρος δὲ τ[αύτης] τε τῆς θη[τείας ἀ]πο[μνημονεύει] (*Il.* 2.766–7) καὶ τ[ῆς] “μισθῶ ἔπι ῥρητ[ῶν]” (*Il.* 21.445) παρὰ Λαομέ[δοντι] μ[ετὰ Ποσει]δῶνος, ὅτε κ[αὶ] τὸν] μισθὸν ἀ[πεστερή]θησαν [²⁹

²⁷ *Φηρεῖη*: so Jacoby for the MSS *ΦΗΡΙΦΙ* and *ΦΗΡΙΕΙ*, endorsed also by Van der Valk, *Researches on the Text and Scholia of the Iliad II* (Leiden, 1964) 606 n. 123, cf. *Il.* 2.763 *Φηρητιάδω*; according to the Teubner edition of Willis (1963) it is also the reading of one manuscript. It is probably, like *Πηρεῖη*, a post-Aristarchean emendation, attempting to replace the Macedonian city Pieria with a Thessalian one. See Van der Valk, *loc. cit.*, P. Oxy. 1086.25–27 (= Papyrus II Erbse, vol. I, p. 166), schol. (D Gen) *Il.* 2.767, apparatus to *FGrHist* 244 F 95.43 (p. 1056).

²⁸ The subscriptions of the Homeric scholia of this kind (the so-called *Mythographus Homericus* or *ἱστορίαι*) are notoriously unreliable; but in this case the assignment of

All three of these witnesses have apparently distorted their originals to some extent—especially the Epicurean with his stress on the god as a servant of mortals—yet all three cite the same two Homeric passages for Apollo's service, and two give the epithet which indicates the Apollodorean background.³⁰ In no. 9 (Philodemus) the citations of Andron, Hesiod, and Acusilaus are likely to go back to Apollodorus as well.³¹

The third group of fragments consists of only one text, which is however of great value, since it provides (through a direct quotation) a measure of confirmation for the assumption that Apollodorus is the source of texts 1–9 above, and relates directly to the papyrus.

10. Schol. Gen. *Il.* 21.446–9 (= *FGrHist* 244 F 96, cf. schol. (BT) *Il.* 21.447)

Ἀπολλόδορος φησιν ἐν <ι>γ Περὶ θεῶν “ἐφόσον γὰρ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι προσήκειν ἡγεῖτο τὰ κατὰ τὴν τειχοδομίαν, ὃν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἀσφάλιον καὶ θεμελιοῦχον, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐνοσίχθονα καὶ γαιήοχον καλεῖν εἴωθεν, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ <τὰ> κατὰ τὰς νομάς τῷ νομίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι διὸ καὶ περὶ τῶν Εὐμήλου πεποίηκεν ἱππων· τὰς ἐν Πιερίῃ θρέψ’ ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων” (*Il.* 2.766)”

Although elements of the discussions in texts 1–9 above are here combined, it is important to distinguish this scholion from those other fragments.³² In contrast to texts 1–6, Poseidon Ἀσφάλιος etc. is here compared with Apollo Νόμιος (not Οὔλιος). Unlike texts 7–9, only one

the text to Apollodorus happens to be correct. See in general Van der Valk, *Researches* I (Leiden, 1963) 303ff, and on this scholion in particular J. Panzer, *De Mythographo Homericō restituendo* (Diss. Greifswald, 1892) 64f.

²⁹ Henrichs compares Josephus *contra Apionem* 2.247, from the same Epicurean source (who used Apollodorus) as Philodemus: οἱ δὲ δὴ δουλεύοντες τοῖς ἀνθρώποις θεοὶ καὶ νῦν μὲν οἰκοδομοῦντες ἐπὶ μισθῶι, νῦν δὲ ποιμαίνοντες.

³⁰ Νόμιος of Apollo: Callim. *Hymn* 2.47 (with Pfeiffer's testimonia, and the commentary of F. D. Williams [Oxford, 1978]); A.R. 4.1218 (Livrea *ad loc.*); [Theocr.] 25.21; Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 3.57; Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2.24 P; Wernicke, *RE* II.61. The epithet is explained without reference to the two Homeric passages by Cornutus, c. 32, p. 69.5–9 Lang (= *FGrHist* 244 F 99), cf. Eust. p. 341.43, Hefermehl 7. For Aristaeus worshipped as Apollo Νόμιος see Merkelbach and West on Hesiod fr. 216.

³¹ See Henrichs, *Cr. Erc.* 5 (1975) 8, n. 21. The grounds for the *θητεία* were evidently found in *Il.* 1.400, where Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων was read for Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη (see Jacoby's Commentary to *FGrHist* 4 F 26 b, to which add. P. Oxy. 418.24f, schol. Pind. *Ol.* 8.41B, Eust. 1245.46f).

³² Only by separating the relevant fragments from *Περὶ θεῶν* into three groups in this way does the point of schol. (Gen) *Il.* 21.446–449 and of the papyrus paraphrase become clear. It is of course still possible that all three groups belonged originally to the same part of *Περὶ θεῶν*, or even that texts no. 1–9 above represent distortions of the Geneva scholion and the papyrus by an intermediate source; I see no way to settle such an issue.

passage of Homer (*Il.* 21.447) is now under discussion, as shown by the central place awarded to Poseidon as wall-builder and Apollo as cowherd; *Il.* 2.766 is only cited as further confirmation of the latter's role. In the other fragments, divine epithets were interpreted with the aid of Homeric citations, but in the Geneva scholion Apollodorus uses the evidence of the epithets to explain (*γάρ*) the story given in *Il.* 21.447. Yet why was this explanation thought necessary?

Now Lobel had already noted that a portion of P. Oxy. 2812 was very similar to the quotation from Apollodorus in the Geneva scholion; in fact the two are practically the same, for lines 13–16 of the second column probably read:

ἀσ[φάλιος μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ Πο]¹⁴σειδῶνος λέγεται καὶ
θεμ[ελιοῦχος καὶ γαυή]¹⁵οχος, ο]ἷ τε σεισμοὶ τού-
τωι προ[οσάπτονται, ὁ δὲ Ἄ]¹⁶π[όλλων νόμιος.

(On the supplements here see the text and commentary, pp. 49ff below.) But it is not only these lines of the papyrus which are relevant to *Περὶ θεῶν*; for the rest of col. 2, lines 1–36 provides indirectly the answer to our question, i.e. the reason why Apollodorus was so interested in *Il.* 21.447ff.

The text of column 2 begins in the middle of a long note, to which the relevant lemma from the tragedy is lost. The first words preserved (lines 1–2) are a quotation from *Il.* 7.452–3, in which Poseidon states that he and Apollo built the walls of Troy; this is followed by a paraphrase (from an author whose name is imperfectly preserved) to the effect that only Poseidon built the walls, while Apollo tended Laomedon's cattle (2–5). The latter version is then supported with a direct quotation from a certain Dionysius (5–12), after which the account of the *τειχοδομία* which distinguishes the roles of the two gods is endorsed with reference to their respective epithets (12–16, quoted in part above).

Who is the author who is paraphrased in lines 2–5? Homer seems inevitable; the paraphrase suits *Il.* 21.446ff perfectly, and we would expect Homer to be cited first in any series of authorities.³³ But if lines 2–5 paraphrase, and 12–16 approve the version of the *τειχοδομία* in

³³ Lobel remarks on this problem (p. 42): “If Homer is the subject of *φησὶν* . . . [line 3], it is odd that confirmation of his account by Dionysius should be offered.” It is not, however, unusual in such a series of quotations for Homer to be cited first and supported by other authors—who they were would depend on the learning of the commentator. Cf. the *Zitatennest* schol. Eur. *Hec.* 123 (I.24.18ff Schwartz), on the role of Theseus' sons in the Trojan expedition :1) Homer, 2) *Διονύσιος γούν* (here

Il. 21.446f, what are we to make of the preceding quotation of a contradictory version, also from Homer? We can only assume that this “incorrect” account was rejected in the lost text of the previous column—an assumption that is not unreasonable in view of the following notes from the scholia on the *Iliad*:³⁴

schol. (A) *Il.* 7.443–64a “οἱ δὲ θεοὶ παρ Ζηνὶ” (443)
 ἕως τοῦ “ὡς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον” (464) · ἀθετοῦνται στίχοι εἴκοσι δύο, ὅτι περὶ
 τῆς ἀναιρέσεως τοῦ τείχους λέγει πρὸ τῆς τειχομα-
 χίας (sc. *Il.* 12.3–35) ὡς ἂν μὴ προειρηγῶς ἐνθάδε.

schol. (AT) *Il.* 7.443–64b καθόλου τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἀγορὰν
 ἠθέτουσιν οἱ περὶ Ζηνόδοτον καὶ Ἀριστοφάνη³⁵ καὶ
 αὐτὸς Ἀρίσταρχος.

schol. (A) *Il.* 21.446 <ἡ διπλῆ> πρὸς τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐπ-
 ἄνω ἀθέτησιν, ὅτι διαφωνεῖ ταῦτα ἐκεῖνοις ἐν οἷς
 φησί · “τό τ’ ἐγὼ καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων | ἤρωι Λαομέ-
 δοντι” (*Il.* 7.452–3).

schol. (Genev.) *Il.* 21.446 ἡ διπλῆ πρὸς τὴν ἀθέτησιν
 τὴν ἐν τῇ *H*, ὅτι ὁ Ποσειδῶν μόνος ὠικοδόμησε
 τὸ τεῖχος.

Zenodotus, Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus—the three most famous textual critics of antiquity—all athetized *Il.* 7.443–64, for at least two reasons:

1) the account which is given later of the eventual destruction of the Achaean wall (*Il.* 12.3–35) does not refer back to this discussion between Zeus and Poseidon,

2) the account of the *τειχοδομία* in *Il.* 7.452–53 plainly contradicts that in *Il.* 21.446–49.³⁶

the “cyclographer” = *FGrHist* 15 F 5) as confirmation, 3) Hellanicus (= *FGrHist* 4 F 143) with a variant version. There too a paraphrase of Homer is followed by a direct quotation from Dionysius.

³⁴ See Klaus Nickau, *Untersuchungen zur textkritischen Methode des Zenodotos von Ephesos* (Berlin, 1977) 178–180 (whose text I follow) and Erbse *ad loc.* (Minor variants and corrections are not noted here.)

³⁵ = p. 25 Nauck. καὶ Ἀριστοφάνη is omitted in T.

³⁶ A third reason seems to be given by schol. (A) *Il.* 12.17: that in *Il.* 7 Poseidon alone will destroy the wall, whereas in 12.3–35 Apollo also takes part (see Nickau 179 n. 41). Nickau convincingly refutes the first and third objections; but the inconsistency between *Il.* 7.452f and 21.446f, which seems more substantial, he leaves undiscussed.

It is the second reason which is discussed in the papyrus—and in the Geneva scholion as well (text no. 10 above). It can now be seen that both also deal with the athetesis, even though neither the fragmentary text of the papyrus nor the single sentence preserved in the Geneva scholion mentions it explicitly.³⁷ Although three scholars athetized these lines in antiquity, and it cannot be determined what reasons each gave for doing so, there can be little doubt that Apollodorus' starting point was an Aristarchean textual discussion.

Schol. (Genev.) *Il.* 21.446–49 and lines 12–16 of P. Oxy. 2812 are therefore identical; by combining these two complementary texts we can reconstruct with reasonable accuracy the most important features of the Apollodorean discussion from which both are derived. The direct quotation from *Περὶ θεῶν* in the Geneva scholion contains 1) Apollodorus' conclusion,³⁸ that *Il.* 21.446ff is the “correct” version of the *τειχοδομία*, and 2) the relevant epithets of Poseidon and Apollo, while P. Oxy. 2812 offers in addition to these details 3) the reason for the endorsement of *Il.* 21.446ff (in that it also quotes the contradictory account from *Il.* 7.452–53), and 4) confirmation of this version from another author (“Dionysius”, lines 5–12). Not only are all of these elements traceable to *Περὶ θεῶν* through the fragments already known, they also suit perfectly the characteristics of that work as defined above—the Homeric basis of the work, its concern with divine epithets and their meanings, its copious quotations, and the emphasis placed there on Aristarchean principles. We must now turn our attention to the rest of the discussion on the papyrus, beginning with the Dionysius of line 5.

On the identity of this author Lobel offered no conjectures; but the knowledge that the discussion of the *τειχοδομία* in the papyrus stems from Apollodorus offers a clue, for Carl Wendel suggested long ago that the citations of Dionysius Scytobrachion's *Argonauts* in the scholia to Apollonius of Rhodes were derived from Apollodorus' *Περὶ θεῶν*;³⁹ and the direct quotation in lines 6–12 here does in fact correspond to an episode in the *Argonauts* which is known from Diodorus.

³⁷ Hefermehl 6 had already seen the connection between schol. (Gen.) *Il.* 21.446–9 (text no. 10) and the scholia cited above, but seems to have been ignored by subsequent scholars. The Geneva schol. on *Il.* 21.444 are also significant (see page 44 below).

³⁸ In a very similar case (schol. Theocr. 10.41–42 = *FGrHist* 244 F 149), Wendel (*Theokrit-Scholien* 95–96) saw that a direct quotation represented only the conclusion of the argument.

³⁹ Wendel, *Theokrit-Scholien* 101, see also the Introduction, p. 18 n. 22 above.

According to most ancient accounts, neither the rescue of Hesione by Heracles and Telamon, nor Heracles' sack of Troy (when Laomedon refused to reward him as promised) had any connection with the voyage of the Argo.⁴⁰ But Dionysius, who made Heracles a participant in the whole expedition and even the leader of the Argonauts,⁴¹ included the rescue of Hesione among their adventures on the way to Colchis, and placed the sack of Troy on the return voyage.⁴² The quotation in the present papyrus seems to be derived from the latter episode (Diod. 4.49.3–6 = F 32 and 34): the Argonauts stop at Troy on their return from Colchis, and send Iphiclus and Telamon to the city to claim Heracles' rewards. Laomedon, however, imprisons these ambassadors, and plans to ambush their comrades. This course of action is resisted by only one of his sons (Diod. 4.49.3 = F 32):

... καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους υἱοὺς ἔχειν (sc. Λαομέδοντα)
 τῆι πράξει συνεργούς, Πριάμον δὲ μόνον ἐναντιπραγοῦν-
 τα· τοῦτον γὰρ ἀποφῆνασθαι δεῖν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους
 δίκαια τηρεῖν καὶ τὴν τε ἀδελφὴν καὶ τὰς ὁμολογημένας
 ἵππους ἀποδιδόναι.

Just as with Medea in Colchis,⁴³ the Argonauts find in Priam a civilized member of the royal house who supports them against the tyrant's injustice. Priam's plea to his father is thoroughly characteristic of Scytobrachion, and indicates the most likely source of the quotation in the papyrus, where the previous anger of the gods is used as an *exemplum* to encourage just behavior in this instance. I have accordingly supplied Priam's name in the text below.⁴⁴

After the quotation of Dionysius, the text turns to the refutation of the version of the *τειχοδομία* in *Il.* 7.452–3 in words which, as we have seen,

⁴⁰ See C. Robert, *Heldensage* 548ff. The connection of Hesione's rescue with the Argonauts is found first in Dionysius, later in Hyginus *Fab.* 89 and Val. Flacc. 2.451–578. On Hesione in Callimachus see Chapter iii, p. 57 n. 15 below. Apollodorus may have discussed the story of Hesione in his work *On the Catalog of Ships*, see schol. (ABD) *Il.* 8.289 = *FGrHist* 244 F 158, where however Ἀπολλοδώρῳ is Valcken-aer's emendation for Ἀπολλωνίῳ, and the ascription is doubtful (see Jacoby's Commentary *ad loc.*, p. 779).

⁴¹ See Chapter vii, pp. 96ff.

⁴² Diod. 4.42 = F 16, 4.49.3–6 = F 32 and 34. Reference to Dionysius' account of the rescue of Hesione is found in P. Mich. inv. 1316 v, lines 5–8, see Chapter iii p. 54ff below.

⁴³ Diod. 4.46f, see Chapter vii, p. 99 below.

⁴⁴ *αὐτόν* in line 7 will then be Laomedon, supplied for clarity even though he is the subject of the subordinate clause.

betray the Apollodorean origin of this note. The following sentence (lines 16–18) may well relate directly to the preceding paraphrase from *Περὶ θεῶν*; but it contains so many difficulties that no reconstruction yet offered is wholly satisfactory. The various possibilities are discussed in the Commentary ad loc. (pp. 51 ff below). We have noted, however, that Apollodorus is known to have cited and criticized expressly those authors whose versions of a particular myth did not match his own. In P. Oxy. 2260 col. 1, for example, he quotes and attacks Philitas and the *Phoronis* for using *δολιχάορος* of Athena (correcting them with reference to Homer), and in col. 2 he criticizes, also with quotations, Euripides, Callimachus, Stesichorus and Ibycus for connecting the epithet Pallas with the story of her birth from the head of Zeus.⁴⁵ It seems that in the case of the *τειχοδομία* also Apollodorus must have quoted some of the versions of which he disapproved, although the paraphrase of his argument in the papyrus has not preserved any (apart from *Il.* 7.452–3). I note the following examples:

... ἤματι τῶι, δτε τεῖχος ἐνδμήτοιο πόλης
ὕψηλὸν ποίησε Ποσειδάων καὶ Ἀπόλλων
Hesiod fr. 235.4–5 M–W

... τὸν (sc. Αἰακὸν) παῖς ὁ Λατοῦς εὐρυμέδων τε Ποσειδάν,
Ἴλίῳ μέλλοντες ἐπὶ στέφανον τεῦ-
ξαι, καλέσαντο συνεργόν
τείχεος ...
Pindar *Ol.* 8.31–33

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα λέγεται Ποσειδῶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα δουλεύ-
σαι Λαομέδοντι ὅτι ὕβριστῆς ἦν πειρωμέν<ους αὐτοῦ.
λέγονται μὲν>⁴⁶ ὃν ἀνδράσιν εἰδόμενοι ἐπὶ μισθῶι,
εἴτε ἄρα ἀποδώσει εἴτε καὶ οὐ, τεῖχος λάινον ἐν τῶι
Ἴλίῳ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ τῶν κολωνῶν τειχίσαι, ὃ <ἔ>τι⁴⁷
νῦν Πέργαμος καλεῖται.
schol. *Genev. Il.* 21.444 = *FGrHist* 4 (Hellanicus) F 26a

⁴⁵ That the citations in P. Oxy. 2260 col. 2 are not approved but criticized by Apollodorus was shown by Henrichs, *Gr.ERC.* 5 (1975) 20f, 31f.

⁴⁶ suppl. Brinkmann, *Rh. Mus.* 60 (1905) 159. This fragment of Hellanicus is clearly the source of [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 2.103.

⁴⁷ suppl. Jacoby.

⁴⁸ The scholion ad loc. is worth quoting in full, as it may be partly derived from Apollodorus (see Münzel *De Apollod.* 20): Ἀπολλωνίον φασὶ τὸ Πέργαμον καὶ τῆς Ἰλίου τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ἐπεὶ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν ἱερὸν ἐκεῖσε, ὡς Ὁμηρος (*Il.* 5.446) “Περγάμωι

μετὰ ταῦτα λέγουσι παρ' αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι δύο ἀνδρας, ὀπό-
θεν μὲν καὶ οἴτινες οὐδεὶς ἔχει εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως. ἐλ-
θόντας δὲ εἰπεῖν ὅτι Λαιομέδοντι χρηὴ ἀνδρὶ βασιλεῖ
εἶναι ἀκρόπολιν ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐν ἣι αὐτὸν οἰκεῖν
πρέποι. “ἡμεῖς οὖν σοι θέλομεν τειχίον κτίσαι
καὶ ἐπιστατῆσαι.”

schol. Genév. II. 21.444 = *FGrHist* 43 (Metrodorus) F 2

(Poseidon speaks)

... ἐξ οὗ γὰρ ἀμφὶ τήνδε Τρωικὴν χθόνα
Φοῖβός τε καὶ γὰρ λαίηους πύργους πέριξ
ὀρθοῖσιν ἔθεμεν κανόσιν, οὐποτ' ἐκ φρενῶν
εὐνοί' ἀπέστη τῶν ἐμῶν Φρυγῶν πόλει.
Eur. *Troades* 4–7

ὦ Φοῖβε πυργώσας τὸν ἐν Ἰλίῳ εὐτειχῆ πάγον. . .

Eur. *Androm.* 1009

... ξεστῶν περγάμων Ἀπολλωνίων⁴⁸. . .

Eur. *Orestes* 1388

... Φοιβέλιος ἐπὶ πύργους

Eur. *Helen* 1511

... Φοῖβον, δς ἰδρύσατο χώρας

γύαλα Σιμουντίδι γαῖ

Aristophanes, *Thesmoph.* 109–110 (Agathon speaks)

(to Apollo)

ὦ παγκρατές, ὦ Τροίας

τείχη παλαιὰ δείμας

[Eur.] *Rhesus* 231–232

ἦ γὰρ δὴ Φοῖβός τε Ποσειδάων τ' ἐκάλεσαν

Αἰακὸν οὐκ ἀβοηθὶ περὶ κρήδεμνα δέμοντες.⁴⁹

schol. Pindar *Ol.* 8.41 a = Euphorion fr. 54 Powell

εἰν ἱερῶι, ὅθι οἱ νηὸς γ' ἐτένκτο”. ἦ ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀπόλλων τὰ τεῖχη ἀικοδόμησεν. ἦ Ἀπολ-
λωνίων τῶν ἀπολωλότων (there follows a quote from *Phaethon* 224–225 Diggle). The
second interpretation is supported by similar expressions, e.g. *Helen* 1511, Soph.
fr. 506 Radt *τειχέων* . . . Ποσειδεῖους θριγκούς (with the “correct” ascription of the
τειχοδομία), *Neptunia Troia* (Verg. *Aen.* 2.625, 3.3) *Neptunia Pergama* (Ovid *Fasti*
1.525) etc.

⁴⁹ ἀβοήθητα codd., corr. Lobeck.—Two other citations may be relevant: 1) Callimachus
seems to have treated the *τειχοδομία* and included Apollo in the building of the wall

Apollodorus would certainly have had no difficulty in finding authors to censure for the false version of the *τειχοδομία*, and it is probable that at least some of the passages in the list above (which does not claim to be exhaustive) were also quoted in the section of *Περί θεῶν* which the papyrus paraphrases. In the case of Hellanicus and Metrodorus it is all but certain; for these learned citations are preserved in the Geneva scholia in close proximity to the direct quotation from Apollodorus (text no. 10 above), and are introduced with the bare remark *ζητεῖται διὰ τί ἐθήτευσαν*. The same section of these scholia also preserves the clearest statement of the contradiction between *Il.* 7.452–3 and 21.446 (schol. Gen. *Il.* 21.446, quoted p. 37 above). There can, I think, be little doubt that all three scholia were derived from the same discussion in *Περί θεῶν*. A comparison of the *disiecta membra* of this discussion in the *Genevensis* with the fairly complete but paraphrased excerpt of the same in P. Oxy. 2812 is instructive in the various ways in which Apollodorus' learning could be used by excerptors and assemblers of ancient commentaries.⁵⁰

The list of passages above is also of interest for the disproportionate presence of Euripides in it. The circumstance that Euripides alludes to the story of *Il.* 7.452–3 fairly frequently may indicate how Apollodorus' discussion found its way into a commentary on a tragedy, a problem which Lobel (p. 39) found difficult. It is reasonable to assume that another brief allusion to Apollo's part in the *τειχοδομία* occurred in a tragedy of Euripides now lost, and the scholiast's note on the allusion consisted of a paraphrase of the most complete scholarly discussion of the story known to him—that of Apollodorus, whose learning extended to citations which were not directly connected with the tragedy itself. On this hypothesis it is no longer necessary to assume a tragic text in which Poseidon and Apollo, Laomedon and Laocoon (on whom see below) all played a part. The scant remains of the tragedy in lines 36ff at least do not contradict the assumption of Euripidean authorship.⁵¹

(fr. 698, see also Lloyd-Jones, *ZPE* 13 [1974] 211); he also appears to acknowledge an "Apollo *θεμελιοῦχος*", cf. *Hymns* 2.55ff, with the commentary of F. D. Williams (Oxford, 1978), Pfeiffer on fr. 467 (but see the correction in Pfeiffer's *addenda* p. 508f). 2) Herodorus (schol. Lycophr. 522 = *FGrHist* 31 F 28) denies that either god built the wall (for further testimonia to this story see Jacoby's Commentary *ad loc.*).

⁵⁰ The suggestion that the quotations in schol. (Gen.) *Il.* 21.444 are from Apollodorus has already been made by Erbse *ad loc.* Henrichs suggests to me that Hesiod fr. 235 (p. 42 above) is almost certainly derived from Apollodorus as well, since it is cited in an entry in the *Etymologicum Genuinum* derived from Seleucus, who is known to have used *Περί θεῶν* frequently (see Henrichs, *Cr. Exc.* 5 [1975] 37).

Lines 18–36, which occupy the rest of the long note with which we are concerned here, contain first a summary and then a direct quotation of a poem in hexameters, whose author was almost certainly Nicander; the reading *Νί]χανδρος* (line 18) was endorsed by Lobel, and the knowledge that the discussion of the *τειχοδομία* here stems from *Περί θεῶν* supports the reading further, for Nicander was frequently cited by Apollodorus.⁵²

Yet we must ask why the verses are quoted; from the remains of lines 26ff, it seems clear that Poseidon's and Apollo's tasks for Laomedon are separate, so that Nicander cannot be an author who is criticized for following *Il.* 7.452–3. The paraphrase of the verses which precedes points rather (*γάρ*) to the connection of the story of Laocoon with the perjury of Laomedon as the reason for the citation, and it is simplest to assume that it was the very oddity of Nicander's version which aroused Apollodorus' interest—in the same way that the *Meropis* is cited in P. Col. inv. 5604, as a curiosity, *διὰ τὸ ἰδίωμα τῆς ἱστορίας*.⁵³ The adverb which is missing in the paraphrase ought to be supplied accordingly: *ὁ δὲ Νί] | χανδρος ἐξειργάσθαι ἂν δόξειεν ἐ[τέρως τῆν| ἰ]στορίαν τὸν μὲν γάρ Ποσειδῶνά φ[ησι κτλ.*

The verses themselves as a whole are genealogical (cf. *Il.* 20.232, Hesiod fr. 177 M–W), and describe the doom of the house of Ilos (as opposed to the other Dardanids? cf. *Il.* 20.300ff), implying that it was well deserved through the *ἀφραδίαι* of Ilos and the *ψύθιοι* (?) *μῦθοι* of Laomedon *κακορρέκτης*.⁵⁴ It seems likely that the genealogy continued to Priam and beyond; if so, two other fragments of Nicander describing the misfortunes of Hecuba (fr. 62 Schneider) and Corythus (fr. 108) might be connected with the new fragment.⁵⁵

⁵¹ On the frequency of critical comparisons with Homer in the scholia to Euripides, see Ritchie, *The Authenticity of the Rhesus of Euripides* (Cambridge, 1964) 51 n. 2. On the possible contents of the text of the tragedy see the Commentary on lines 36–37 of the papyrus, p. 52 below.

⁵² See Hefermehl 10, n. 6; Wilamowitz, *Herakles* I.169, n. 97 (= *Einleitung in die griechische Tragödie* [Berlin, 1921] 170). Since lines 16–18 may be a remark by the scholiast himself, it is possible that he himself found the quotation from Nicander; but in view of Apollodorus' established familiarity with Nicander and the relevance of these verses to the preceding discussion, it seems more likely that they too were taken from *Περί θεῶν*.

⁵³ See above, p. 32.

⁵⁴ On Ilos and the *λόφος Ἄτης* see Jacoby's Commentary on *FGrHist* 4 (Hellenicus) F 25 and Van der Valk, *REG* 71 (1958) 140.

⁵⁵ In the *Περί ποιητῶν* (a most problematical work) Oenone evidently sang a prophecy of Troy's coming misfortunes (fr. 13 Schneider = *FGrHist* 271–272 F 21).

Nicander's digression on the *τειχοδομία* is difficult to restore, yet it seems that Poseidon built the walls (27–29), while Apollo tended the flocks (29?); after Laomedon's refusal to compensate them, Poseidon sent the *κῆτος* (31), which oppressed the Trojans (32) and required a human sacrifice (33?), and Apollo sent the snakes which killed Laocoon's son (33–36).

The last three lines contain the first known pre-Vergilian verses dealing with Laocoon,⁵⁶ and although they are more or less complete, at least one point is uncertain—the time at which Apollo sends the snakes. Either 1) Apollo sends them at the same time as Poseidon sends the *κῆτος*, in which case Laocoon will have been moved back a generation to Laomedon's time,⁵⁷ or 2) as in all other known versions, Laocoon belongs to Priam's generation, in which case Apollo will have deferred his revenge for a considerable period. The second view seems more likely, and is perhaps made easier by the verses' apparent emphasis on the doom of all of Ilos' descendants, in which the Laocoon-portent played a part.⁵⁸

If Nicander tried to invent a reason for Apollo's action against Laocoon, he was indulging in a pastime that was popular among ancient authors. It seems that Arctinus' *Ἴλιον πέποις* supplied no motive of revenge, but had Apollo, as a friend to the Trojans, give them this omen of their city's impending fall while there was still time for Aeneas to escape.⁵⁹ Some later authors, however, represented Laocoon as in some sense guilty.⁶⁰ Still other versions solved the problem by attributing the serpents

⁵⁶ On the various versions of the story see Austin's commentary on *Aen.* 2.199f (with bibliography). In the present fragment Laocoon's name must both times be supplied, but as Lobel notes (p. 39), the fact that even the snake's names conform to the story of Laocoon makes any other supplement unlikely.

⁵⁷ This interpretation is considerably less likely, but it is not impossible; note Robert's comment on Hyginus *Fab.* 135 (*Bild und Lied [Philologische Untersuchungen 5, Berlin, 1881] 196*): "Sie (the Laocoon catastrophe) kann lange vorher, vielleicht überhaupt vor die Ankunft der Griechen, gefallen sein." It is conceivable that if Nicander made Laocoon a contemporary of Laomedon he was influenced by Pindar, who seems to have adapted the *τέρας* of the snakes to a very different purpose in *Ol.* 8.37–42 and placed them in Laomedon's time.

⁵⁸ See Robert, *Bild und Lied* 193, Bethe *Homer: Dichtung und Sage II* (Berlin, 1922) 254–255.

⁵⁹ Proclus *Chrestom.* p. 91 Severyns (*Recherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclus IV, Paris, 1963*) = O.C.T. Homer (ed. Allen) V, p. 107 = p. 49 Kinkel; see also the preceding note.

⁶⁰ Hyginus *Fab.* 135: Laocoon . . . contra voluntatem Apollinis cum uxorem duxisset atque liberos procreasset . . . Apollo . . . dracones misit duos qui filios . . . necarent. Servius *ad Aen.* 2.201 = Euphorion fr. 70 Powell: hic (Laocoon) piaculum commiserat ante simulacrum numinis (sc. Apollinis) cum Antiopa sua uxore coeundo. The latter story is attributed by Serv. Dan. *ad loc.* to Bacchylides (= fr. 9 Snell).

to a divinity hostile to Troy, such as Poseidon or Athena.⁶¹ A version tracing the portent to Apollo's anger at Laomedon would not only have fulfilled this need for a motive, but would also have explained how Apollo avenged that insult.⁶² This Nicander seems to have done.

Nicander has also followed a version in which only one son is killed, and presumably Laocoon himself is saved. Such a story is preserved only as a variant in schol. Lycophron 347, but the paraphrase in the papyrus does not seem to regard this detail as novel.

These verses also confirm a number of quite specific features of the story of Laocoon which were already attested: the role of Apollo *Θυμβραῖος*,⁶³ the names of the serpents,⁶⁴ the fact that they came from the Calydnæ islands,⁶⁵ and that an altar was the setting.⁶⁶

With the quotation from Nicander the paraphrase from Apollodorus ends; a new lemma with trimeters from the tragedy and glosses on individual words follows.

Let us then review what may be learned about Apollodorus and about this papyrus, if my arguments are correct. In his discussion of Apollo in *Περὶ θεῶν* Book 13, Apollodorus examined that god's part in the *τειχοδομία* also. Starting from Aristarchus' athetesis of *Il.* 7.443–464 (especially 452–3), he noted the contradictory version of *Il.* 21.446ff, and cited at least one author (Dionysius Scytobrachion) who followed the latter. He then argued that on the basis of certain epithets (which he had perhaps already discussed) only the version which distinguished the tasks of the two gods could be correct, and thus implied that Aristarchus'

⁶¹ Servius loc. cit.: Alii dicunt quod post contemptum semel a Laomedonte Neptunum certus eius sacerdos apud Troiam (Troianos coni. Robert, *Bild und Lied* 206) non fuit; unde putatur Neptunus etiam inimicus fuisse Troianis et, quod illi meruerint, in sacerdote monstrare. Here too the serpents are connected with Laomedon's perfidy (Robert, *Bild und Lied* 208, considered this story to be the confused invention of a Roman grammarian). Athena as sender of the snakes is implied by *Aen.* 2.225–227 (see Heinze, *Vergils epische Technik* [4th ed. Darmstadt, 1957] 20).

⁶² cf. *Bibl.* 2.103, where he sends a plague, and Poseidon's argument at *Il.* 21.458–460; cf. also schol. Lycophr. 34 (p. 28.35f Scheer), where Apollo receives a wage of sorts, but Poseidon does not.

⁶³ Serv. *ad Aen.* 2.201 (Laocoon Thymbraei Apollinis sacerdos), Hyg. *Fab.* 135 (where one of the sons is named Thymbraeus), schol. Lycophr. 347 (*ἐν τῶι τοῦ Θυμβραίου Ἀπόλλωνος ναῶι*).

⁶⁴ Schol. Lycophr. 347, Serv. *ad Aen.* 2.211 (= Lysimachus of Alexandria, *Nostoi, FGvHist* 382 F 16, where Jacoby's comment that the snakes were nameless in epic must now be altered), and *ad Aen.* 2.204 (= Soph. fr. 372 Radt, who refers to P. Oxy. 2812).

⁶⁵ Schol. Lycophr., Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 2.201.

⁶⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 2.202, cf. *ναῶι* in the Lycophron scholia.

athetesis was justified. He cited and criticized at least two authors (Hellanicus and Metrodorus) who followed the wrong version, and cited one other account (Nicander's) as a curiosity. This whole discussion was twice thereafter used by others for separate commentaries, on *Il.* 21.446 ff in the Geneva scholia, and in P. Oxy. 2812, apparently on a tragedy which alluded to the *τειχοδομία*. In the former the original discussion has been divided into three separate notes, one quoting Hellanicus and Metrodorus, one on the athetesis, and one giving a sentence from Apollodorus' argument. The papyrus on the other hand offers a paraphrase of the original which is still coherent, and was perhaps directly credited to *Περί θεῶν* in the preceding column; for in line 47 of the fragmentary first column we find ἐ]ν τοῖς πε[ρὶ (θεῶν?).

It must of course be allowed that these conclusions are based partly on speculation and circumstantial evidence; no explanation of such a fragment can have any other basis. Yet the arguments just presented give a plausible account of the rather odd text which P. Oxy. 2812 offers; if they are correct, then the second new fragment of Dionysius Scytobrachion is at least as important for the context in which it is found as for the fact that it preserves a direct quotation from the *Argonauts*.

I offer below a text of P. Oxy. 2812 fr. 1 a, col. 2, with a commentary. The text incorporates supplements justified in the preceding discussion, and the commentary deals mostly with matters which were not considered above.

The text is written continuously on the papyrus, but it is here presented as it might appear in a modern edition of scholia. This is in part possible because of the critical signs employed in the papyrus, which mark one tragic lemma (paragraphus and dot, text ἐν ἐκθέσει, line 37), and the beginnings and ends of the quotations within the long scholion 1–36 (·/. and paragraphus, lines 5, 12, 19?, 36). There are scribal corrections (lines 8, 27, 46) and at least one wrong reading remains (34, 46?). For estimates of lacunae and the like the reader is referred to the *editio princeps*.

...τό τ' ἐγὼ καὶ] † Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
 [ἤρωι Λαομέδοντι πολίσσαμεν] ‡ ἀθλήσαντε (*Il.* 7.452–3)
 Ὀμ[ηρος]. [τὸν] † μὲν Ποσειδῶνά φησιν ἀ[περγάσασ-
 θαι τῷ Λαο] ‡ μέδοντι τὸ τεῖχος, τὸν δὲ [Ἀπόλλωνα βουκολή-]

All supplements are from the *ed. pr.*, except the following:

5–8 Rusten (after Lobel’s paraphrase; *παρὰ τούτῳ* Parsons) 10–11 *οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ* Rusten 12–15 Henrichs (*γαίηχος* Rusten, *προσάπτονται* Luppe, *Gnomon* 45 [1973] 326) 17 *ἤκουον* Erbse, cf. e.g. schol. (B) *Il.* 2.1c 18 *συντετάχθαι* Rusten 19 *ἐτέρω*s Rusten 41 Luppe 44–45 *οἱ δὲ... Διονύσου* e.g. Rusten

Commentary

1–2. This passage of the *Iliad* was athetized by Zenodotus, Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus, see p. 39 above. The end of the quotation is not marked by a paragraphus (cf. on line 12).

5ff. A quotation from Dionysius Scytobrachion’s *Argonauts*, see p. 41 above. Opposite Dionysius’ name in the margin is the sign ‘/, which evidently marks the beginning of the citation at the first mention of the author’s name rather than at the first words of the direct quotation proper in line 6 (cf. the use of the paragraphus in P. Oxy. 2260, col. 2 line 10). The following words from Dionysius follow *Il.* 21.446ff closely.

10–11. Lobel writes (p. 42) “*οὐ]κ ἀ[πέδ]ωκεν* would be expected and cannot be quite ruled out, but *]ω* is not a satisfactory interpretation of the ink.” Parsons notes that the traces seem anomalous both for *ω* and *ρ* (which Lobel prefers), and suggests that *γκ* may have been corrected to *ωκ* by overwriting. The Homeric text which Dionysius appears to be following closely has (*Il.* 21.450ff): *ἀλλ’ ὅτε δὴ μισθοῖο τέλος πολυγηθῆες ὄρῳ | ἐξέφερον, τότε νῶϊ βιήσατο μισθὸν ἅπαντα | Λαομέδων ἔκπαγλος, ἀπειλήσας δ’ ἀπέπεμπεν.*

12. A paragraphus marks the end of the quotation, as in P. Oxy. 2260, col. 1 line 7. In P. Col. inv. 5604 (Apollodorus, *Περὶ θεῶν*, see p. 31 above) the end of a quotation is marked with a coronis.

12–16. I assume that these lines (as well as most of the discussion in lines 1–36) are a paraphrase of an argument from Apollodorus’ *Περὶ θεῶν* on the Homeric *τειχοδομία*; on the evidence for this view see the preceding discussion.

12–13. These lines must have contained the statement that the version of the *τειχοδομία* in *Il.* 21.446–7 (and in Dionysius) is the correct one. As an alternative supplement Parsons suggests *καὶ λόγον [ἔχει διαφέρειν (or διελεῖν?) τὰς μισθοφο]ρίας κτλ.*

13–14. For the construction assumed cf. schol. (B) *Il.* 8.1 (Porphyrius p. 112.1 Schrader = *FGrHist* 244 F 355.1): *ὅτι δὲ ἡ κροκόπεπλος καὶ ἡ ῥοδοδάκτυλος ἐπὶ τῆς δαίμονος λέγεται, δῆλον.*

15. I supplement *γαίηχος* on the assumption that the third epithet also represents the beneficent side of Poseidon (see above, p. 35);

but *ἐννοσίγαιος* or the like (referring to his destructive powers) is perhaps equally possible. For *προσάπτονται* Erbse compares schol. *Il.* 2.813–14, 5.51, etc. (cf. also Cornutus, c. 32 p. 67.8 Lang).

16–18 The preceding portion of the column contains a paraphrase from *Περὶ θεῶν*, and the quotation from Nicander in lines 18ff is probably derived from that work as well (above, p. 45); but the sentence between these two sections is difficult. It ought to be either 1) a continuation of the paraphrase from Apollodorus, or 2) a remark inserted by the commentator himself. The grammatical terms *σὺλ|λ]ηπτικῶς ἤκ[ουσα]ν* (“understand” or “interpret together”) and *συντετ[άχθαι]* (“construe”) speak for the second alternative, and Lobel suggested that a particular construction from the tragedy (quoted in τ[ὸ “—]ος”) is examined here, in which case the loss of the tragic text prevents any reconstruction of the sense. But *συντάττειν* in the required sense governs the dative or *πρός* + accusative (*ἐπί* with the genitive would be perhaps intelligible, but the dative here is not). The crasis in *τὰπόλλωνι*, which would not be expected in the prose of a scholiast, is equally difficult. (Parsons suggests as a desperate remedy *ἐπὶ <τοῦ> τ[ἀπ]όλλωνι*, explicable as a quotation from the tragedy.)

If we assume that these lines relate more directly to the preceding argument taken from Apollodorus, *ἔνιοι* might be those writers whom Apollodorus criticized for a false version of the *τειχοδομία* (see p. 44 above), e.g. *ἔνιοι δὲ κα[ταχρώμενοι σὺλ|λ]ηπτικῶς ἤκ[ουσα]ν*, ὥστε τ[ὸ οἰκοδομηῆσαι τὸ τεῖ|χ]ος καὶ ἐπὶ τ[ἀπ]όλλωνι συντετάχθαι. “But some (Hellanicus, Metrodorus and others), who are mistaken, have understood (the description of the *τειχοδομία*) inclusively (of both gods), so that the building of the wall has been written about in connection with Apollo as well”. In this case *συντάττω* (somewhat surprisingly in this context) would mean “compose”, and *ἐπί* would be used as at Paus. 10.26.1 (*ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ Κρεούση λέγουσιν ὡς...*). Erbse notes however that the phrase *σὺλληπτικῶς ἤκουσαν* could only be used of grammarians, not poets or mythographers, and suggests that it refers to *Il.* 21.446 (*ἐγὼ... περὶ τεῖχος ἔδειμα*), stating that some grammarians understood the verb *ἔδειμα* as including both Poseidon and Apollo, so that no contradiction would exist between this passage and *Il.* 7.452–3.

17. Parson notes that ὥσπερ τ[οῦ]...συντετ[αγμένου] might be possible as well.

19. There may have been a sign (·/·) in the missing portion of the margin next to Nicander’s name, as there is opposite that of Dionysius above (see on line 5). An adverb is required for the lacuna (see p. 45

above), and since neither ἰ[δίως or ἀ[τόπως seems palaeographically possible, I assume ξ[τέρως; cf. Conon, *FGrHist* 26 F 1. XL (p. 204 line 31) ἱστορεῖ ἐτέρως.

22. διεργασαμένους: the future participle might have been expected, cf. Hyg. 135: Apollo . . . dracones misit qui filios necarent.

23. γράφων ἐν τῇι . [: the feminine article might refer to a title, but could also indicate a book number. For some speculations on the context of the fragment and on the interpretation of the verses see p. 45ff above; for linguistic notes in most cases see the *editio princeps*.

27–28. “Nothing better than μὲν Ἀγαμ[μάδας occurs to me. This adjective is not attested, and Ἀγαμμεύς (Steph. Byz. on Ἀγάμμεια) would lead one to postulate Ἀγαμμίζ” (Lobel). On Ἀγάμμεια see Jacoby’s Commentary to *FGrHist* 4 (Hellanicus) F 108.

29. πύ[ργον seems reasonable (for the singular see Jebb on Soph. *O. T.* 56) although λαῖνους πύργους (Eur. *Troades* 5) or λάινον τεῖχος (Hellanicus F 26a) might have been expected (πύ[ργωμ’ ἱεροῦ Luppe).

29–30. Presumably this line described Apollo’s task, which was separate from the τειχοδομία.

30. E. g. [δὴ τόθ’ ὁ] πον[τομέδων.

36–37. The line which begins the new lemma is marked with a dot and paragraphus, and is ἐν ἐκθέσει. The preceding discussion of the τειχοδομία provides some circumstantial support for assigning the tragedy in question to Euripides, see p. 44 above. H. Lloyd-Jones suggests: “the reference to ‘goddesses’ in line 36, and then to Hera and Athena (?), coupled with ‘out of hatred for the chief shepherd’ (line 37) suggests a possible reference to the judgement of Paris. Is the general run of the sense ‘you Trojans offended first Poseidon and Apollo, then Hera and Athena’?”

38. For ἐν καταχρήσει cf. Porphyrius p. 163.10 Schrader.

39. The line beginning the lemma is marked with a paragraphus; the margin is missing.

40. ξὺν ἡλίω | τῶι νῦν : *hoc ipso die* (Lloyd-Jones).

43. The lacuna perhaps contained another synonym for δρίζομαι. This verb (though perhaps not in this form) must have occurred in one of the first three trimeters (assuming it preceded δογιστάς), but I can offer no continuous supplement; perhaps it governed e. g. χῶ]ρον δὲ σόν, cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 256ff δρίζομαι δὲ τήν τε Περραιβῶν χθόνα | Πίνδου τε τὰπέκεινα, Παιόνων πέλας, ὄρη τε Δωδωναῖα (schol. ad loc. ὁ δὲ ὄρος ὁ ἡμέτερος τὰπὶ Δωδώνην ἔχει ἕως τῆς θαλάσσης), cf. also Eur. fr. 696 Nauck ὦ γαῖα πατρίς, ἦν Πέλοψ δρίζεται, | χαῖρ’.

44. The *exempli gratia* supplement is based on *Et. Mag.* 629.38, *ῥογια· τὰ μυστήρια· κυρίως δὲ τὰ Διονυσιακά, διὰ τὸ ἐν ταῖς ῥογάσιν αὐτὰ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι* (cf. schol. A. R. 1.919–21b Wendel, Hesychius ο 1108ff with Latte's testimonia, and Hesych. ο 1117, *ῥογιαῖς· τελεῖν Διονύσωι*). Lobel's assumption that *ῥογαῖς* (corrected from *αργαῖς* in the papyrus) is an error for *ῥογάσι* is probably correct. On *ῥογάς* see V. Schmidt, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Herondas* (Berlin 1968) 109ff.

Chapter III: P. Mich. inv. 1316 verso

12.7 cm × 24.8 cm
Plate II

top margin 1.7
bottom margin 7.6
right margin 5.8

The fragment¹ published below for the first time is apparently from a commentary on an Argonaut story or a treatise on literary criticism. Several episodes from that story (none of which is found in Apollonius of Rhodes) are discussed, among them Heracles' rescue of Hesione (with a citation of Dionysius Scytobrachion, lines 5–8) and Aphrodite's intervention with Aietes (line 23 ? known from the *Naupactia*). Although both Dionysius and Apollonius are mentioned by name, it seems unlikely that either is the main subject of the text. Lines 9–17 evidently contained an estimate of the arrangement (*οἰκονομία*) of a work (presumably on the Argonauts), but here too the precise subject is unclear, and perhaps there is a comparison between two works.

The text is written on the verso of a roll whose recto contains two unpublished documents,² and is perhaps itself a palimpsest; illegible traces of earlier writing survive to the right of lines 30–34. There are ample margins below and to the right. The column may have formed the end of the work, but no title or other such mark is visible.³

¹ The first transcript of this papyrus was made by Prof. Albert Henrichs, to whom (as elsewhere in this study) I owe many readings and suggestions. I collated the papyrus in Ann Arbor in 1976; for assistance then (as well as for checking several readings subsequently) I am indebted to Professor Ludwig Koenen. For permission to publish the text here I am grateful to the Hatcher Library of the University of Michigan.

² Evidently several documents were cut and joined to make a roll, the verso of which could be used for a literary text. P. Oxy. VI. 853 (Commentary on Thucydides) is similar. But a final decision must await publication of the recto.

³ Parsons suggests however that the traces of ink in the right margin may have contained the author's name, work title, and book number.

The largest number of letters preserved in any line is 25 (line 2). The original width of the column cannot of course be precisely estimated, but to judge from the contents, a substantial portion of the column is missing to the left;⁴ if the text was a *hypomnema*, the column could have been quite wide.⁵

The text, which is badly smeared or faded in parts (and broken at line 19), is written in a small, rounded informal hand, roughly bilinear (φ projects above and below, v and ρ occasionally project below). There are occasional ligatures. The hand is comparable to P. Oxy. X. 1231 (Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* [Oxford, 1971] pl. 17, p. 47), and should probably be assigned to the second century after Christ.

There are no lection signs; iota adscript is written. There is no punctuation (a space in line 3 may indicate the beginning of a new sentence). A wedge-shaped line filler is used in lines 4 (?), 11, and 18.

Lines 5–8 of the papyrus, although they cannot be supplemented with any certainty, are nonetheless recognizable as an account of the rescue of Hesione by Heracles and Telamon within the context of the Argonauts' expedition. We have already seen that the earliest known account of the Argonauts to include Hesione's rescue was that of Dionysius;⁶ and just as the second part of that story is cited from Dionysius in P. Oxy. 2812 lines 6–12 (above Chapter ii, p. 41), so a reference to the rescue itself (cf. Diod. 4.42 = F 16) is given here under Dionysius' name in lines 5–8. As in the scholia to Apollonius of Rhodes, he appears to have been cited for comparison with another work.

The sections of the text immediately following the citation of Dionysius cannot be precisely reconstructed or supplemented, but the vocabulary of lines 9–17 suggests that the *οικονομία* of a work is there examined. Several other such discussions are extant, the most famous of which is the prologue to Callimachus' *Aitia* (fr. 1 Pfeiffer), where the poet explains why he has not written a single, continuous poem (*ἐν ἄεισμα διηγεκῆς* line 3) on a heroic subject in many verses (*ἐν πολλαῖς . . . χιλιάσιν* line 4). Callimachus himself prefers to be *ὀλιγόστιχος* (line 9);⁷ Philitas and Mimnermus, whose shorter poems are said to be much better than their longer ones (lines 9–12), are cited to support this view.⁸

⁴ In lines 5–8, for example, the name of Heracles is nowhere preserved, although it probably occurred more than once.

⁵ Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Oxford, 1971) p. 8 (cf., e.g., the papyrus commentary on Antimachus [Wyss p. 76ff]).

⁶ See above, Chapter ii p. 41, and p. 57 n. 15 below.

⁷ This assumes a reading such as *ἦ μὲν δὴ* (Pf.) *γὰρ ἔην* (Lobel) *ὀλιγόστιχος*. Maas

Callimachus is concerned primarily with the length of a poem, but the adjective *διηνεκές* refers not solely to the bulk but also to the arrangement of the narrative, and his rejection of such a poem implies that, for whatever reason, a *discontinuous* narrative was for him preferable.⁹ It is likely that what Callimachus rejects as *τὸ διηνεκές* is equivalent to *τὸ συνεχές* in the papyrus (line 17, with *πολύστιχος*) and in a number of other texts dealing with the disposition of an historical narrative.

Polybius (38.5–6) notes that the synchronic manner in which he arranges his history is subject to the charge that the individual narratives are thereby left incomplete (*ἀτελῆ καὶ διερρομένην ἡμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι τὴν ἐξήγησιν τῶν πραγμάτων*), for according to some, the reader desires a complete account of each theme before proceeding to the next one (*ζητεῖν δὲ τοὺς φιλομαθοῦντας τὸ συνεχές, καὶ τὸ τέλος ἰμείρειν ἀκοῦσαι τῆς πράξεως*).¹⁰

But Polybius' own opinion is the opposite. He argues that just as the senses of hearing, taste, and sight delight in variety, so the *ψυχή* is provided with relief (*ἀναπαύσεις*) from monotony by frequent changes of the object of its attention. For this reason, according to Polybius, the classic Greek historians used digressions (*παρεκβάσεις*) in their narratives to provide such pauses (*προσαναπεπαῦσθαι*), and he gives several examples, which are taken from the first book of Theopompus' *Philippica* (*FGrHist* 115 T 29, F 38). But even though he approves the use of digressions in principle, Polybius criticizes those older historians (i.e. Theopompus)¹¹ for employing them unsystematically (*ἀτάκτως*), in that the digressions themselves are never completed; the author simply ends them, as in a poem (*καθάπερ ἐν ποιήματι*), and returns to the original subject.

(addenda to Pfeiffer vol. I, p. 499) preferred to abandon the punctuation of the papyrus, and take *δολιγόστιχος* with *δμπνια Θεσμοφόρος* (i.e., Philitas' poem *Δημήτηρ*). On the word see Pfeiffer *ad loc.* and R. Schmitt, *Die Nominalbildung in den Dichtungen des Kallimachos von Kyrene* (Wiesbaden, 1970) 6, n. 14.

⁸ See the *scholia Florentina ad loc.* with Pfeiffer's apparatus, and Pfeiffer, *Hist. Class. Schol.* I 89, n. 3. I follow Pfeiffer on the interpretation of these lines, but they are still somewhat controversial; see Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* II, 1058, n. 287.

⁹ See Pfeiffer, *Hist. Class. Schol.* I, 137, Brink *CQ* 40 (1946) 17–18; the latter correctly emphasizes the impossibility of defining precisely Callimachus' views on poetic arrangement.

¹⁰ Polybius is probably criticizing the view of Ephorus, as preserved by Diodorus 16.1 (K. Meister, *Historische Kritik bei Polybios* [Palingenesia 9, Wiesbaden, 1975] 77–80); especially noteworthy is the way in which the argument from *φύσις* in Diodorus is reversed by Polybius.

¹¹ See Meister, *Historische Kritik* 63–65, and the similar criticisms of Theopompus' digressions by Dionysius of Halicarnassus *ad Pomp.* 6.11 = *FGrHist* 115 T 20 a, Theon *Prog.* 4 (II.80, 27 Sp) = T 30, and Photius *Bibl.* 176 p. 121 a 35 = T 31.

Polybius therefore approves, with reservations, the breaking-up of a narrative by means of digressions (*ἀναπαύσεις*, *παρεκβάσεις*) and seems to acknowledge in the phrase *καθάπερ ἐν ποιήματι* (although it is for him a term of reproach) that this manner of arrangement was also characteristic of poetry.

The comparison with poetry is made explicit in the comments of Dionysius of Halicarnassus on the *οἰκονομία* of Herodotus (*ad Pomp.* 3.11–12). Like Polybius, Dionysius believes that every lengthy historical narrative should provide relief (*ἀναπαύσεις*) through digressions, and that in recognition of this fact Herodotus added variety to his history, just as did Homer (*ποικίλην ἐβουλήθη ποιῆσαι τὴν γραφήν Ὀμήρου ζηλωτῆς γενόμενος*).¹²

That Homer is the model for this use of digressions is also stated in schol. (BT) *Il.* 14. 114b: *Ὀμηρικὸν δὲ ταῖς παρεκβάσεσι διαναπαύειν τὸν ἀκροατὴν*.

The vocabulary of these literary analyses is found in lines 11–17 of the papyrus as well, and the terms are disposed in a way which suggests (despite the fragmentary nature of the text) a comparison of the length (vs. brevity) and narrative continuity (vs. digressions) of two poems. In lines 11–14 a concise (*σύντομος*, line 11) author (or work) is discussed, who uses digressions (*πα[|ρεκβάσεων?*, line 12); *Ὀμηρικώτερον* (line 13) points to the Homeric *ποικιλία* for which Herodotus was praised by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. In lines 15–17 a different work (and a different type of *οἰκονομία*) is discussed (*ἐναντίως ἔχει* line 15); it is longer (*μακροτε[|ρ-* line 15), does not use *παρεκβάσεις* (? line 16), but rather continuous and lengthy narratives (*συνεχέσι καὶ πολυστίχοις* line 17).

If this reconstruction is correct, then it is very probable that here (as elsewhere in the papyrus) two Argonaut stories are under consideration, and that one of them is the *Argonautica* of Apollonius (whose name occurs in lines 10 and 33).¹³ Since however none of the myths related here can be traced to Apollonius' work, another poem ought to

¹² Thucydides is criticized in the same passage for his infrequent use of such *ἀναπαύσεις*. In P. Oxy. VI.853 (Pack² 1536) Dionysius' criticisms of Thucydidean arrangement in his separate monograph on Thucydides are rejected, but it appears that the present passage in the letter to Pompey was discussed there as well, in the more fragmentary col. II. 9–12 (*ἴν οὐδ' ὡς Ἡρόδο[|τος ca. 11] ἵπτον συνεχῶς [|τ[ca. 17] υς ποικίλον[|]*), col. III. 10–15, and col. IV.4–6 (*Ὀμηρικ[|]*, *pace* Grenfell and Hunt). The argument that Thucydides does indeed use such digressions may lie behind the statement in Marcell. *Vita Thuc.* 35 that in his arrangement (*οἰκονομία*) Thucydides was *ζηλωτῆς Ὀμήρου*.

¹³ Apollonius was presumably the author whose narrative was *συνεχῆς* and *πολύστιχος*, discussed in lines 15–17; but it is perhaps unwise to attempt to anticipate the views

be the main subject of the text, and this poem I am unable to identify.¹⁴ Two authors, Callimachus and Antimachus, might seem promising candidates; as noted above, the former championed roughly the type of poem described in lines 11–14, and used several Argonaut stories in the *Aitia*;¹⁵ the latter was often criticized for excessive length and faulty arrangement,¹⁶ and told of the Argonauts in his poem *Lyde*.¹⁷ But since none of the mythographic material cited elsewhere in the papyrus betrays any connection with either author, no conclusion is possible.¹⁸

There is an apparent reference in line 3 to the *Argonautica* of Cleon of Courion (see the Commentary ad loc.), which might suggest that that work formed a chief concern of the papyrus text; but it is on the whole more likely that Cleon was cited (like Dionysius) for comparison with a more well known author.

The sort of work to which the papyrus belonged is also uncertain, since it is almost equally divided between literary and mythographic comments. Either a commentary on a poem, with an excursus on the arrangement of the work as a whole,¹⁹ or a continuous monograph on *οἰκονομία* (illustrated with specific examples) could account for the present text.

of an ancient critic, particularly since the ancient estimates of Apollonius' style (Quint. X.1.54, [Long.] *de Subl.* 33.4) are so uninformative.

¹⁴ That both works are poems and not prose works is suggested by line 32 *ἐνμέτρους* and line 35 *τὰ ποιήματα*.

¹⁵ Frs. 7–21, 108–109 Pfeiffer. According to a scholiast on Vergil *Georg.* 1.502 (= Callim. fr. 698 Pfeiffer), Callimachus also told of the rescue of Hesione and the double perjury of Laomedon; as Pfeiffer notes, there is no necessary reason to connect Callimachus' story with the *Argonauts* or Scytobrachion (as did Robert, *Heldensage* 555). Lloyd-Jones (*ZPE* 13 [1974] 209ff) suggests that Callimachus' account of Hesione is preserved in the Archebulean verses of P. Mich inv. 3499.

¹⁶ Callimachus fr. 398 (= Antim. T 19 Wyss), fr. 589 (= T 1), the scholia on Hor. *A.P.* 136, 137, 146 (= T 12 a-e), Catullus 95.10 (= T 23), Quint. 10.1.52 (= T 28), Plut. *De garrul.* 21 p. 513 (= T 30). But if lines 15–17 refer to Apollonius (above n. 13), then there is no place for Antimachus in 11–14, as the latter can hardly be *σύντομος*.

¹⁷ frs. 56–65 Wyss.

¹⁸ This is hardly the place to review modern views on the “quarrel” between Callimachus and Apollonius (see Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 382), and whether the Prologue “against the Telchines” and *Hymn Apoll.* 105–113 were directed against the latter; I see no compelling reason to regard this papyrus as evidence on the question, since the passages of Polybius and Dionysius of Halicarnassus cited above show that such literary criticism occurs independently of Callimachus as well.

¹⁹ For *οἰκονομία* in the *Iliad* scholia see the index of Baar (*Deutsche Beitr. z. Altertumsw.* vol. 15, 1961), for the term in the scholia to tragedy and comedy see Rutherford, *A Chapter in the History of Annotation* (London, 1905) 405 n. 9. On rhetorical comments in the Apollonius scholia see H. Fränkel, *Einleitung zur kritischen Ausgabe des Apollonios* (Göttingen, 1964) 106.

In sum, not only the citations of Dionysius, Cleon, a work *πρὸς Καλλισθένην* (? line 38) and various myths, but also the discussion of poetic *οἰκονομία* (in which Apollonius is mentioned) make this papyrus of more than passing interest; yet in most respects it remains a *Wartetext*. Some guesses as to the precise content of individual sections are recorded in the commentary which is appended to the text below.

MARGIN

- 1]εχοντωναντοντοντησποθε[]
] . διατουπρωτουμεχριτησβεβρ.[]
] αργοναντας (space) αλλογεκουριευσσ[]
]αβεβλημενοσπραγματειαν .
- 5] ιλιοναντουσαγαωνακολου
] διουσιω . ησιονηνητηνλαρ
] . . κειμενηντωικητειδ . ν
] . . ντησσυντελαμωνιβουλεν
] . τιχοισδιαθεμενοσπαντ . .
- 10] . απολλωνιονεχομενον . .
] καιγαρσυντομοστισκαιον .
]ραεμφαινωνδιατωνπα
] . τουμηρικωτεροιστορι
] . καιαντηνοικονομιαντι
- 15]εραγτιωσεχειμακροτε
] . ητ . σπαρεκβασεσγεα
]συνεχεσικαιπολυστιχοισ
]αυτουστιχωνεκατογ .
] . σ . [.] [.]εσθαικατατον
- 20]θεισπελιουπαρ επι
]κειμενονδιεξερχεταιμν
] . . ειτηναθηναγατε .
]ησιναφροδειτηναιητη
]σμηδειασμηστηρασαν
- 25] . υσοικτισαμενοσανθισπαρ
]θεονεχθρωσδιακειμενην
]κολαστουσπεποιηκεναι
]νεπιτηιαρεωσμοιχειαι
] . νκαιφαιδρανετιδεαρι
- 30]ντασπαραιτητονεπιθυ
]ατηλασιασωστεδοκειν
] . σδενμετροσκαταχω

35] . ατοναπολλωνιονπολ[]
] . ηματωναποδεκτεο[]
] . . ταποιηματαετεροι
] . ατοολιγαενφρωσεχειν
] αυτονπροστηναγνω
] . τωιπροσκαλλισθενην
] ραμμενωνβιβλιων
 MARGIN

1. θε[: above, either an illegible correction or the remains of the erased text. 3. The blank space is only the width of a single letter. 4. After *πραγματειαν* perhaps a line filler or a high dot. 5.] . : an arc above the line, probably]ο 6.-10. The line ends are smeared and the number of letters is uncertain. 6. *διονσιω* : the iota adscript (which is otherwise always written) is almost completely rubbed away. 8.] . . : the piece of the papyrus containing these two (almost totally obliterated) letters, and the initial letter of line 9, is now broken off, and visible only on an earlier photograph. 11. At the end, either > or χ 14.] . καιαν : a horizontal stroke above, γ or τ. 16.]μ or]γ 18. After]α a high dot (evidently without significance). At the end either > or λ 22. At line end either γ or (less probably) ξ 30.]ντασ : cf. -*ναντασ*, line 3. 32.] . σ : a vertical stroke. 33.] . ατον : evidently the left-hand vertical of κ or η. 35. Perhaps]εγ or]ρη

1]εχόντων αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς ὑποθέ[-]
 σεως] . . διὰ τοῦ πρώτου μέχρι τῆς βεβρ. []
] . Ἄργοναύτας (space) ἀλλ' ὁ γε Κουριεὺς ο. []
 κατ]αβεβλημένος πραγματεῖαν .
 5] . Ἰλιον αὐτοὺς ἀγαγὼν ἀκολου-
 θ-] . Διονυσίωι Ἡσιόνην τὴν Λαρο-
 μέδοντος] . . κειμένην τῶι κῆτει ἰδῶν
] . αὐτῆς σὺν Τελαμῶνι βουλευ-
] στίχοις διαθέμενος παντ . .
 10] . Ἀπολλώνιον ἐχόμενον . .
] καὶ γὰρ σύντομός τις καὶ οὐ >
]ρα ἐμφαίνων διὰ τῶν πα-
] . του Ὀμηρικώτερον ἱστορι-
 . ἀνα]γκαίαν τὴν οἰκονομίαν τι
 15] ἐγαγτίως ἔχει μακροτε-
 ρ-] . ητ . σπαρεκβασεσγεα
] συνεχέσι καὶ πολυστίχοις
] αὐτου στίχων ἑκατὸν >
] . σ . [.] [.] εσθαι κατὰ τὸν
 20]θεῖς Πελλίου παρ ἐπὶ

]κείμενον διεξέρχεται μν-
] . . ει τήν Ἀθηναῖαν ἀγατε.
 φ]ησιν Ἀφροδείτην Αἰήτη
]ς Μηδείας μνηστῆρας ἀ-
 25] . υς οἰκτισάμενος ἀδθις παρ-
 τήν] θεὸν ἐχθρῶς διακειμένην
 ἀ]κολάστους πεποιηκέναι
]ν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἄρεως μοιχείαι
 Πασιφά]ην καὶ Φαίδραν, ἔτι δὲ Ἀρι-
 30 ἀδνην α]ὐτὰς ἀπαράλητον ἐπιδυ-
 μ- στρ]ατηλασίας ὥστε δοκεῖν
] . ς δ' ἐνμέτρους καταχω-
] . ατον Ἀπολλώνιον πολ[]
] . ηματων ἀποδεκτέ[ν]
 35] . . τὰ ποιήματα ἕτεροι
] . α τὸ ὀλίγα εὐφρῶς ἔχειν
] αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγνω-
 σιν] . τῶι πρὸς Καλλισθένην
 γεγ]ραμμένων βιβλίων

Commentary

1. τῆς ὑποθέ[σεως: since the *οἰκονομία* of a work seems to be discussed in lines 9ff, *ὑπόθεσις* here probably = “subject matter”. The examination of an author’s choice of *ὑπόθεσις* regularly precedes a consideration of his *οἰκονομία* in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, e.g. *ad Pomp.* IV.2 οὐ μόνον δὲ τῶν ὑποθέσεων χάριν ἄξιός ἐπαινεῖσθαι (Xenophon) . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας, *op. cit.* VI.2 (on Theopompus) πρῶτον μὲν τῆς ὑποθέσεως . . . ἔπειτα τῆς οἰκονομίας . . .

2. The meaning of *διὰ τοῦ πρώτου* is unclear. Parsons suggests *μέχρι τῆς Βεβρυ[κίας]*, “in the course of the first book he (Apollonius) takes the Argonauts as far as Bebrycia”.

3. ἀλλ’ ὁ γε Κουριεὺς ο . []: Read by Parsons, who comments: “Κλέων ὁ Κουριεὺς wrote *Argonautica*; known only from the Apollonius scholia, which cite him three times on the first book (cf. the preceding line of the papyrus), 1.77–8, 587, 623–6a, for factual comparison with Apollonius. Apollonius took material from him according to Asclepiades of Myrlea (schol. A. R. 1.623–6a = *FGrHist* 697 F 5), so that Cleon would be contemporary or earlier. They don’t say whether Cleon

wrote prose or verse; but it would be convenient if he were the unknown poet with whom Apollonius is being compared." On this Cleon (who may be identical with the *ἐλεγοποιός* cited in *Etym. Mag.* p. 389.25ff) see also *RE* XI.719.

4. Cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus *A.R.* 1.1: *ἱστορικὰς καταβαλόμενοι πραγματείας*.

5–8. A reference to the *Argonauts* of Dionysius Scytobrachion (see above p. 54).

5. E.g. *εἰς τὸ Ἴλιον αὐτοῦς ἀγαγών*; *ἀγαγών* refers perhaps to Heracles or Jason (leading the Argonauts [*αὐτούς*] against Troy to exact payment from Laomedon), less probably to a poet who depicts them as going to Troy. The sense may have been "in this poem Heracles led the Argonauts to Troy and killed Laomedon, just as in Dionysius. For according to the latter Heracles had previously saved Hesione . . ." ἀκολο[υ]θ- is evidently to be construed with *Διονυσίωι* in line 6 (cf. *Diod.* 3.52.3 = T 2b: ἀκολούθως *Διονυσίωι*), but a short supplement between them is unlikely; to judge from lines 6–8 a large portion of the column is missing to the left.

7. Koenen notes that *ἔκκειμένην* (of Hesione, cf. *Bibl.* 2.5.9) is more suitable to the remaining traces than *πε]ρ]οκειμένην* (cf. *Aristoph. Thesmoph.* 1033), and that *ἰδών* (of Heracles, cf. *Bibl.* loc. cit.) is more suitable than *ἰδον-*.

9–17. See in general pp. 54ff above.

9. Perhaps only *πάντα* (it is difficult to determine where the line ended). *διαθέσθαι* as a rhetorical term is equivalent to *οἰκονομεῖν* (*Prolegomenon Sylloge*, ed. H. Rabe, p. 176.4: *διαθέσεως δὲ τὸ διαθέσθαι τὴν τάξιν καὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν*.)

10. Ἀπολλώνιον: here and in line 33, in the context of the Argonauts, can hardly be any one other than Apollonius of Rhodes.

11–17. On the interpretation of these lines see above pp. 56–57.

11. *σύντομος* might be used of a man (Wilamowitz, *Hellenistische Dichtung* [Berlin, 1924], II, 121, just as *ὀλιγόστιχος* is evidently applied by Callimachus to himself in fr. 1.9) as well as a literary work.

12. *πα|[ρεκβάσεων* seems probable.

13. Ὀμηρικώτερον: on Homer as a model for his use of digressions, cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus *ad Pomp.* 3.11–12, sch. (B) *Il.* 14.114b (quoted above, p. 56); as a model for *συντομία*, cf. Philemon fr. 97 Kock: *τὸν μὴ λέγοντα τῶν δεόντων μηδὲ ἐν | μακρὸν νόμιζε, κὰν δὲ εἴπηι συλλαβάς, | τὸν δ' εὖ λέγοντα μὴ νόμιζ' εἶναι μακρόν, | μηδ' ἂν σφόδρ' εἴπηι πολλὰ καὶ πολὺν χρόνον. | τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦδε τὸν Ὀμηρον λαβέ· |*

οὔτος γὰρ ἡμῖν μυριάδας ἐπῶν γράφει, | ἀλλ' οὐδὲ εἰς "Ὀμηρον εἴρηκεν μακρόν and Gregor. Nazianz. *Ep.* 54 = *ad Nicobulum* 3 (PG 37.109 Migne, p. 50. 4 Gallay) οὔτως ἐγὼ καὶ βραχυλογώτατον "Ὀμηρον λέγω, καὶ πολλὸν τὸν Ἀντίμαχον (= T 36 Wyss). πῶς; τοῖς πράγμασι κρῖνων τὸ μῆκος, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς γράμμασι. On Homeric ποικιλία and συντομία see also the preface to Van der Valk's edition of Eustathius, vol. 2 pp. lvi–lviii.

16. E.g. παρεκβὰς ἔς γε ἀ[- (Koenen suggests παρεκβὰς ἔστε ἀ[ν]).

17. συνεχέσι καὶ πολυστίχοις: presumably in agreement with ποιήμασι, ἱστορίαις, or even ποιηταῖς (see n. on line 11 above).

18. For στίχων ἑκατόν as a rough estimate of length cf. e.g. Plutarch, *Solon* 8.

20. Perhaps -μνησ]θεῖς Πελίου, later perhaps παρεκβὰς ἐπὶ (e. g. τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐπαναγει ?).

21. E. g. τὸν προ]κείμενον διεξέρχεται μῦ[θον.

22. Perhaps π]ριεῖ (Koenen); λ]έγει cannot be read.

23. φ]ησιν Ἀφροδείτην Αἰήτη: the collocation of these two names suggests the story preserved from the *Naupactia* (fr. 8 Kinkel, schol. A.R. 4.86 Wendel):

δὴ τὸτ' ἄρ' Αἰήτη πόθον ἔμβαλε δὴ Ἀφροδίτη
 Εὐρυλότης φιλότητι μιγήμεναι, ἧς ἀλόχοιο,
 κηδομένη φρεσὶν ἡσιν δπως μετ' ἄεθλον Ἰήσων
 νοστήσει οἰκόνδε σὺν ἀγχεμάχοις ἐτάροισιν.

if δ τὰ Ναυπακτικὰ γράφας or the like was the subject of φησιν, and the story was continued in the following line of the papyrus, we have another indication that a substantial portion of the column is lost to the left.

24.]ς Μηδείας μνηστῆρας (if the articulation is correct) suggests a story which is otherwise unattested, viz. that the Argonauts were (or pretended to be) suitors for Medea's hand in marriage. This might have added to Aietes' hostility towards them, as an oracle had warned him of danger from his family (A.R. 3.597–600, cf. schol. *ad loc.* = *FGrHist* 31 [Herodorus] F 9); he interpreted "family" (γενέθλη in Apollonius, ἔγγονοι in the scholia) to mean his grandsons (Chalciope's children) and therefore sent them away (3.601–605). For the same reason he might have been anxious (like Acrisius or Oinomaus) to prevent his other daughter Medea from marrying and having children, and might have set the bull-yoking as a trial for any potential suitor (as implied by the wording of the Herodorus fragment just mentioned). This is of course mere speculation, but it receives some support from the situation depicted in Medea's dream in Apollonius (3.619ff):

τὸν ξεῖνον (Jason) δ' ἐδόκησεν (Medea) ὑφ' ἐστώμεναι τὸν ἄεθλον
 οὐδὲ μάλ' ὀρμαίνοντα δέρος κριοῖο κομίσσαι
 οὐδέ τι τοῖο ἔκητι μετὰ πτόλιν Αἰήταο
 ἔλθέμεν, ὄφρα δέ μιν σφέτερον δόμον εἰσαγάγοιτο
 κουριδίην παράκοιτιν.

As H. Fränkel (*Noten ad loc.*) remarks, this description corresponds to Medea's unconscious wishes; but that does not mean it could not also reproduce the plot of an earlier Argonaut story.

26–30. The correct interpretation of these lines is owed to R. Kassel; they all concern Aphrodite's power over mortal passions, but in a particular case: angry at Helios' betrayal of her adultery with Ares (*Od.* 8.270–271), the goddess afflicted all Helios' descendants with ungovernable passion, most notably Pasiphae (the sister of Aietes) and her daughter Phaedra. This explanation is offered for Phaedra's affliction (and Pasiphae's) by schol. Eur. *Hippol.* 47 (II p. 11.12ff Schwartz, cf. also Jacoby's Commentary to *FGrHist* 461 F 6), Seneca *Phaedra* 124–128. The family of Aietes is added by Serv. *ad Bucol.* VI.47 (*a virgo infelix*):

quidam “virgo” non quod virum illo tempore non haberet (sc. Pasiphae), sed quia talis ei poena iam virgini destinata sit, intellegunt, ob iram scilicet Veneris, quae irata Soli quod se, ut quidam volunt, Anchisae, ut alii, Marti coniunctam prodidisset, subolem eius inhonestis amoribus subiecit, ut Circen, Medeam, Pasiphaen.

Lines 26–30 of the papyrus undoubtedly combined the same stories, although supplements are, as elsewhere, difficult.

27–28. E.g. ἀ]κολάστους πεποιημέναι [πάσας τὰς ἀφ' Ἡλίου]ν, ἐπὶ τῇ Ἄρεως μοιχείαι [χαλεπαίνουσαν (Aphrodite). But as we have seen, more is probably missing to the left than these supplements would allow.

29. Πασιφά]ην Kassel (cf. the scholion to Euripides cited above), and Koenen reports that]η is more likely than]α (e.g. Μήδει]αν).

30. E.g. Ἄφροδίτη ἠνάγκασεν α]ψτάς (Phaedra et al.) ἀπαραίτητον ἐπιθν]μίαν ἔχειν.

31. στρ]ατηλασίας: presumably the Argonauts' expedition to Colchis.

32.]ς δ' ἐνμέτρους καταχω]-: at the end, a form of καταχωρίζειν (“compose”); if the word before δέ was a name it did not end in -ος.

34.]μηματων or perhaps σ]χημάτων (Koenen).

36. Perhaps δ]ιὰ τὸ ὀλίγα εὐφυνῶς ἔχειν “because some parts (of the poem) are well written”; but Koenen reports that the first letter has a rounded foot, e.g. κα]τῆ.

38. Probably ἐ]γτῶι πρὸς Καλλισθένην (or ἐν τῶι τρ]ίτωι π. K. Parsons). I assume that a work “addressed to (or ‘against’) Callisthenes” is cited; the name was doubtless common, but it is perhaps relevant that the *Periplous* of Callisthenes of Olynthus (*FGrHist* 124 F 6–7) is quoted in the scholia to Apollonius for geographical details.

Part II: The Testimonia

Chapter IV: Dionysius' Ethnic

As new fragments of the *Argonauts*, the three papyri examined in Part I are relatively unimportant; they serve mainly to confirm what was already known of the story from Diodorus. It is rather as new testimonia on Dionysius himself (P. Mich. 1316 and P. Oxy. 2812 through their citations, P. Hibeh 2.186 through its date) that they are of value, and it seems worthwhile to examine anew all the hitherto known testimonia in the light of this new evidence, in an attempt to resolve several basic questions: where Dionysius was born (for two different ethnics are given him in the sources), which works he composed, and when he lived. If the testimonia appear at times irreconcilable, it goes without saying that only with an awareness of their natures, i.e., what we may plausibly deduce from them, and of the reliability of each witness (measured by the extent to which they are based on a knowledge of Dionysius' works themselves) can we hope to discover the truth.

Our most trustworthy source on Dionysius is clearly Diodorus—his testimony alone is demonstrably based on a first-hand knowledge of at least the *Argonauts* and the *Libyan Stories*, which he excerpted. It will therefore be best to begin with his evidence on each point.

On Dionysius' ethnic Diodorus might be thought to offer no evidence at all, since on each occasion that he acknowledges his debt to that author (3.52.3 = T 2b and 3.66.5 = T 2a), he identifies him by his works alone. Yet the omission of the ethnic is in itself significant, for two of the new fragments on papyrus name our author simply "Dionysius" as well.¹ Both of these may be assumed to cite Dionysius through an intermediary source,² but their antiquity obviously gives them a claim to our attention.

¹ P. Mich. inv. 1316 v lines 5–6:]. *Ιλιον αὐτοῦς ἀγαθῶν ἀκολου[θ—]. Διονυσίωι Ἡσιόνην τὴν Λαο[μέδοντος. . . P. Oxy. XXXVII.2812 col. II, lines 5–6: Διονύσιος γούν ἀναλ[όγως τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ]ται φησὶν οὕτως. . . . In each case it is barely possible, but not likely, that his identity was defined further in the missing text. Perhaps a previous citation of Scytobrachion in P. Mich. contained a more detailed identification, but the commentary in P. Oxy. is unlikely to have cited him elsewhere.

² On Apollodorus' *Περί θεῶν* as the source of P. Oxy 2812 col. II lines 1–36 see above

The citations of Dionysius' *Argonauts* in the scholia to Apollonius of Rhodes are to some extent similar to those in the papyri, for there too the work is compared with other stories, and it is probable that the source of the scholia (as in P. Oxy. 2812) is Apollodorus' *Περί θεῶν*.³ At first glance, these scholia might seem even more reliable than Diodorus and the papyri, since they provide additional information which, if reliable, would supersede that in the other sources. But it is precisely these additional details which convict the scholia of at least one type of error.

Of the fifteen citations in the scholia to Apollonius which have at one time or another been assigned to our author, some give only his name, but the ethnic, work (always the *Argonauts* or *Argonautica*), book number or a combination of these can also be found, as the following table shows:⁴

"Dionysius"	<i>Ethnic</i>	<i>Work</i>	<i>Book</i>
Schol. A.R. 1.54–55 b			
= F 41 ⁵			
2.904–910 a = F 40 ⁶			
4.176–177 = F 25 a	Mytilenean		
1.1289–91 a = F 15 b	Mytilenean		
1.1116 = F 42 ⁷	Milesian		
4.223–30 d = F 29 a	Milesian		
4.223–30 a = F 29 b	Milesian		
2.1144–45 a = F 25 c		<i>Argonauts</i> ⁸	
2.206–08 b = F 19		<i>Argonauts</i>	
1.256–59 = F 25 b			2
2.963–965 c = F 1			2 ⁹
3.200 b = F 21 b ¹⁰	Milesian	<i>Argonauts</i>	1
4.1153–54 = F 31	Milesian	<i>Argonauts</i>	2

Chapter ii. For P. Mich. inv. 1316 v the possibility that this author (whoever he may have been) consulted the *Argonauts* directly cannot be ruled out, but on the whole it seems more likely that the mythographic material collected there is derived from some intermediate work.

³ See above, Chapter ii, p. 40. On Wendel's theory of indirect and direct use of the *Argonauts* in these scholia see n. 36 below.

⁴ Two citations have been omitted from this table as being totally dependent on others: schol. A.R. 4.115–117 b (which is virtually identical with schol. A.R. 2.1144–1145 a = F 25 c) and schol. A.R. 3.240 = F 21 c (which refers back [ὡς προείρηται] to schol. A.R. 3.200 b = F 21 b). A similar selection might be attempted with other scholia which tell the same story, but it is not always possible to determine which

Dionysius is five times called a Milesian, twice a Mytilenean; although the scholia which cite the "Mytilenean" do not include the title and book number (as do two citations of the "Milesian"), they refer without doubt to the same story, as can be seen from Diodorus' epitome.¹¹ The natural and, I believe, necessary assumption is that one of the ethnics must be wrong.¹²

Yet most modern scholars have hesitated to admit that such apparently exact citations could contain any sort of error. Thus Müller (*FHG* II p. 6), followed by E. Schwartz (*RE* V, 932) and Jacoby (Commentary to *FGrHist* 32 T 1, p. 510), defended the double ethnics with an ingenious hypothesis: since Dionysius is known to have claimed ancient and obscure literary "sources" for his account of the Ἀτλάντιοι and Dionysus,¹³ and probably did so for his *Argonauts* as well, and since he was accused by Artemon of Cassandrea of forging the work of Xanthos of Lydia,¹⁴ Müller suggested that a Dionysius of Mytilene, author of the *Argonauts*, invented a "Dionysius of Miletus" as a source for that story. Thus both

version is the original (and the exactness with which the source is identified is probably no guide to the best version, see below p. 78). For the text of the scholia (and their line references to Apollonius) I follow Wendel's edition (Berlin, 1935), not *FGrHist* 32.

⁵ The attribution of this fragment is very doubtful (see Jacoby's Commentary *ad loc.*).

⁶ Despite Jacoby's objections this fragment is probably to be attributed to Scytobrachion (cf. Diod. 3.73.7 = F 12).

⁷ This fragment almost certainly belongs not to Scytobrachion but to the Persian historian Dionysius of Miletus (see below p. 73).

⁸ Although for convenience I consistently refer to Dionysius' work as the *Argonauts*, the scholia cite the work as both Ἀργοναῦται and Ἀργοναυτικά. This variation is inevitable for the subject (e.g. *FGrHist* 31 [Herodorus] F 5, F 8; see Welcker, *Ep. Kykl.* I, 79) and there is nothing to guide us in determining which of the two is correct.

⁹ Probably from the *Libyan Stories*, not the *Argonauts* (*pace* Jacoby); see below p. 79.

¹⁰ A shorter version of the same scholion (schol. 3.200a = F 21a) omits the title and book number.

¹¹ cf. F 25a with Diod. 4.47.5-6 (= F 24), F 15b with Diod. 4.41.3 (= F 14); for the "Milesian" citations, cf. F 21b with Diod. 4.45 (= F 20), F 29a-b with Diod. 4.48.4-5 (= F 28), etc.

¹² In the case of some other authors for whom multiple ethnics are attested it has been suggested that the author in question was active in several cities, as Aristarchus of Samothrace and Alexandria (so e.g. for Euhemerus, who is claimed for Messene and Cos—besides other cities—see Jacoby, *RE* VI, 952). This hypothesis is not open to us for Dionysius, as it is scarcely likely that enough interest was shown in his biography for such information to be thought significant; the different ethnics would in any case hardly be given in this case by one and the same source without further comment (as opposed to, e.g., Simplic. *Phys.* 28, 4 [= *VS* 67 A 8] Λευκίππος δὲ δ' Ἐλεάτης ἢ Μιλήσιος ἀμφοτέρως γὰρ λέγεται περὶ αὐτοῦ).

¹³ Diod. 3.67.4-5, 3.66.6 (see the Introduction, p. 15).

¹⁴ Athen. 12.515 DE = T 4 (see pp. 82ff below).

Dionysii could be connected with the work, and the scholia would reflect this situation.¹⁵

This bizarre theory, endorsed by three scholars of such authority, has today become more or less a *communis opinio*;¹⁶ as such it deserves a detailed examination. Since none of the advocates of this view has defended it at length, we must consider three possible applications of the hypothesis, all of which are equally improbable.

The historian Dionysius of Miletus¹⁷ is a most improbable candidate for the fictitious source of the *Argonauts*. He is said to have lived in the late sixth-early fifth centuries B.C.¹⁸ and to have composed at least one work on Persian history,¹⁹ from which only four fragments are listed in *FGrHist* 687. Three of these are variant names: *Φοινικῆ* as a name for the Red Sea,²⁰ the neuter *Αἴμων* for the Thracian mountain known to Herodotus (4.49) as *Αἴμος*,²¹ and Panxouthes as the name of the magus who set up the false Smerdis.²² Although this information scarcely assists us in evaluating his work, it clearly confirms that the Milesian Dionysius

¹⁵ "Igitur quae apud scholiastam Apollonii ex Dionysio leguntur omnia referenda sunt ad Mytilenaeum, qui in Milesium abiit vel librariorum acrisia, vel ipsius fraude Mytilenaei, ut qui non solum Xanthi Lydi, sed etiam Dionysii Milesii nomen mentitus esse videri possit" (*FHG* II, p.6). What was for Müller merely a second alternative became a certainty for Schwartz and Jacoby, although Schwartz claimed that it was the Milesian Dionysius who invented the Mytilenean (see below n.36). Schwartz (*RE* V.1, 932) and Fraser (*Ptol. Alex.* II.458, n. 844) imply that the inclusion of titles belonging to Dionysius Scytobrachion in the life of Dionysius of Miletus in the *Suda* (= T 1b) is related to the double ethnics in the scholia to Apollonius; but the confusion in the *Suda* is only superficially similar. The scholia to Apollonius do not as a rule give double ethnics, but the confusion of titles among homonymous authors is very frequent in the *Suda*, and the *Argonauts* are found there solely under the name of Dionysius of Mytilene. On the evidence of the *Suda* in general see Chapter v.

¹⁶ See, e.g., H. Gärtner, *Der kleine Pauly* II. 69.

¹⁷ *FGrHist* 687, for bibliography see F. Jacoby, *Atthis* (Oxford, 1949) 311 n. 8 and Moggi, "Autori Greci di Persika I: Dionisio di Mileto", *Annali della scuola normale superiore di Pisa, classe di lettere e filosofia* II (1972) 435 n. 1. The supposed use of this author by Herodotus, on which opinions vary widely, fortunately need not concern us here.

¹⁸ *Suda* s. *Ἐκαταῖος Ἡγησάνδρον Μιλήσιος* = *FGrHist* 687 T 2; a relatively early date for Dionysius of Miletus is also suggested by the authors who are cited together with him in *FGrHist* 687 F 1 and F 3.

¹⁹ Whether the often-emended title *τὰ μετὰ Δαρειῶν* (*Suda* s. *Δ. Μιλήσιος* = *FGrHist* 687 T 1) is identical with the *Περσικὰ Ἰάδι διαλέκτωι* also given there is again of no importance for the present discussion (see Moggi, 441 ff).

²⁰ Schol. (BT) *Il.* 16.159 = F 4 (probably not from the cyclographer [*FGrHist* 15 F 10]).

²¹ Bekker, *Anecdota* I.362, line 24 and Photius, *Lex.* p. 53, line 21 Reitzenstein = *FGrHist* 687 F 3.

²² Schol. Hdt. 3.61 = F 2. Herodotus calls him Patizeithes.

dealt with Persian affairs, with which Scytobrachion's stories have no point of contact.²³ But the remaining fragment (Schol. Dionys. Thrax [*Gramm. Graec.* I.3] p. 183, 1 Hilgard = *FGrHist* 687 F 1) attests a myth which was also treated by Scytobrachion:

τῶν στοιχείων εὐρετήν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἔφορος
 ἐν δευτέρῳ (*FGrHist* 70 F 105) Κάδμον φασίν·
 οἱ δὲ οὐκ εὐρετήν, τῆς δὲ Φοινίκων εὐρέσεως
 πρὸς ἡμᾶς διάκτορον γεγενῆσθαι, ὡς καὶ Ἡρόδοτος
 ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις (5.58) καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης (fr.
 501 Rose) ἱστορεῖ. φασὶ γὰρ ὅτι Φοίνικες μὲν
 εὗρον τὰ στοιχεῖα, Κάδμος δὲ ἤγαγεν αὐτὰ εἰς τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα. Πυθόδωρος δὲ [ὡς] ἐν τῷ περὶ στοι-
 χείων καὶ Φίλλης ὁ Δῆλιος ἐν τῷ περὶ χρόνων
 πρὸ Κάδμον Δαναὸν μετακομίσαι αὐτὰ φασιν. ἐπι-
 μαρτυροῦσι τούτοις καὶ οἱ Μιλησιακοὶ συγγραφεῖς
 Ἀναξίμανδρος²⁴ καὶ Διονύσιος καὶ Ἑκαταῖος
 (*FGrHist* 1 F 20), οὗς καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν νεῶν
 καταλόγῳ (*FGrHist* 244 F 165) παρατίθεται.

This fragment provides all the evidence necessary positively to exclude a connection between Dionysius of Miletus and the author of the *Argonauts* and the *Libyan Stories*.²⁵ One notes 1) that the Milesian ethnic is guaranteed by the nature of the citation (οἱ Μιλησιακοὶ συγγραφεῖς), 2) that the citations of the Milesians (if not the whole *Zitatennest*) are derived from Apollodorus' work *On the Catalog of Ships*, and 3) that the story which is credited to Dionysius of Miletus (Danaus' bringing the alphabet to Greece) stands in clear contradiction to that told by Scytobrachion in connection with the *Libyan Stories*²⁶ (Diod. 3.67.1 = F 8):

φησὶ τοίνυν (sc. Dionysius) παρ' Ἑλλησι πρῶτον
 εὐρετήν γενέσθαι Λίνον ὄνθμων καὶ μέλους, ἔτι δὲ

²³ Of course Medea's son Medos, the eponymous ancestor of the Medes, would quite likely have been treated by the Milesian, as he is by Diodorus (4.55.7); but this well-attested story (see West on Hesiod *Theog.* 1001) would hardly require a *Schwindelzitat*, and in any case Bethe's arguments for denying this portion of Diodorus to Scytobrachion (pp. 19–20) are well founded.

²⁴ Probably the historian (*FGrHist* 9 F 3) rather than the philosopher (*VS* 12 C 1).

²⁵ On the fragment in general see Pfeiffer, *Hist. Cl. Sch.* I, 20.

²⁶ The contradiction has already been noted by Müller *FHG* II p.5; Welcker *Ep. Kykl.* I, 82, n.102; Moggi 451 and many others.

Κάδμους κομίσαντος ἐκ Φοινίκης τὰ καλούμενα γράμματα πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν μεταθεῖναι διάλεκτον, καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας ἐκάστωι τάξει καὶ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας διατυπῶσαι.

Unless we admit that the author of the *Libyan Stories* contradicted himself in the *Argonauts*, Scytobrachion and Dionysius of Miletus are clearly different men, and in passing we may note also that Apollodorus of Athens knew and cited them both.

Müller's theory might not however require the identification of these two authors: we could assume either that the author of the *Argonauts* had added and cited fictitious details from an otherwise genuine history by the Milesian,²⁷ or even that he did not have the Milesian historian in mind at all; the invented "Dionysius of Miletus" could have been a vague mythical figure like Thymoitas (Diod. 3.67.5), who alone gave the "true account" of the myth in question.²⁸

But these theories are equally untenable for the complications they necessarily involve. In the first case we must assume that a work on Persian history written in the sixth-fifth centuries (and still known to Apollodorus in the second century B.C.) could have provided a starting point for such fancies; in the second, that the author of the *Argonauts* picked a name and city for his creation at random (Thymoitas, though shadowy, was at least already associated through his name with Troy)²⁹—a name which was the same as his own, and a city which invited confusion with the historian of Persia.

Perhaps the worst feature of this theory is that it does not even account satisfactorily for what it sets out to explain, the double ethnics in the scholia to Apollonius. In the only case that is at all similar to Müller's reconstruction—Hegesianax' invention of Kephalon of Gergis (*FGrHist* 45)—there is no such confusion within a single source; those authors who refer to the *Troica* of Hegesianax/Kephalon either accept the fiction and cite him consistently as Kephalon,³⁰ or do not, and name Hegesianax.³¹

²⁷ A similar solution has been proposed for Xanthus of Lydia (see p. 84 n.33 below).

²⁸ This may have been the view of Jacoby. At any rate, neither in the apparatus to *FGrHist* 687 (no commentary was published) nor in *Atthis* 311 n. 8 does he question the authenticity of any of the Milesian's work.

²⁹ Cf. *Il.* 3.146.

³⁰ Parthenius (*FGrHist* 45 F 2, F 6), Dionysius of Halicarnassus (F 7, F 9), and the lexica (F 4–5, F 8, F 10).

³¹ Athenaeus (*FGrHist* 45 F 1); Strabo, who knows of Kephalon (13.1.19 = T 10) but cites Hegesianax (13.1.27 = F 3, via Demetrius of Scepsis), probably belongs to the

How then can the sources of these scholia both have seen through the forgery and been taken in by it? In fact, while designed to acquit the scholia to Apollonius of a relatively minor (and I believe quite explicable) error, this theory makes of the assembler of these scholia himself a hopeless bungler, a view that will certainly find little favor.

If the double ethnics cannot be satisfactorily traced to Dionysius himself, it is reasonable to ask if the text of the scholia may not be at fault. Now a consistent corruption of *Μιτυληναῖος* to *Μιλήσιος* (or vice versa) seems quite unlikely.³² But F. G. Welcker suggested more than a century ago that this error could have arisen through the later addition of an incorrect ethnic in some cases by a copyist or reworker of the scholia. As parallels he noted Diodorus Bk. 40 *ap.* Photius Cod. 244 (*FGrHist* 264 F 6, p. 15 line 21), where Hecataeus of Abdera is mistakenly called *ὁ Μιλήσιος* after the more famous author, and Cicero *De divin.* I.23, where Dionysius has in some manuscripts replaced Dinon as the author of *Persica*.³³

This suggestion is however supported by even more arguments than Welcker adduced. First of all there are the papyrus citations, both of which, as we have seen, name merely "Dionysius", even though P. Oxy. 2812, with its direct quotation of the *Argonauts* via Apollodorus' *Περὶ θεῶν*, rests on an excellent source. It even seems that this work of Apollodorus did not as a rule cite more than the author's name for the quotations given there,³⁴ which is of particular interest in connection with the scholia, since we have seen (p. 40 above) that their citations of Dionysius may also be derived from *Περὶ θεῶν*. Certainly for a lesser known work such as the *Argonauts* (as with the *Meropis* in P. Col. inv. 5604)³⁵ the work and

same class, although this citation may not be from the *Troica* (see the *Nachträge* to the Commentary on *FGrHist* 45, pp. 559–60).

³² Jacoby's reason for accepting Müller's theory ("Da an Versehen oder Verschreibung nicht zu denken ist" [Commentary to *FGrHist* 32 T 1]) is to this extent correct. But Albert Henrichs suggests to me that the confusion of the ethnics *Μιλήσιος* and *Μιτυληναῖος* in the manner described below could have been facilitated if they were abbreviated, as *Μιλ* and *Μιτ*.

³³ Welcker, *Ep. Kykl.* I, 80; accepted by Bethe, *Quaestiones* 6 n. 3, but evidently ignored ever since.

³⁴ In this connection the fragment of *Περὶ θεῶν* in P. Oxy. 2260 is especially noteworthy, where five direct quotes are given with authors' names, but no further information on the sources (see Henrichs, *Cr. Erc.* 5 [1975] 21). The citation in [Apollod.] *Bibl.* I.118 = F 15 a is similarly inexact. These considerations of course tend to cast doubt on the book numbers given in the scholia also, a doubt which, as argued below pp. 77ff, is fully justified.

³⁵ See Chapter ii, p. 31 n. 7.

authorship would have been discussed with the first citation, but otherwise there is every reason to assume that, contrary to one's expectation, the citations without ethnic (and book number for that matter) reflect the intermediary source *more closely* than those with seemingly more exact information.

Since the Milesian historian has, as we have seen, nothing to do with the *Argonauts*, the Mytilenean ethnic will be the correct one; this conclusion is supported not only by the ascription of the *Argonauts* to the Mytilenean in the *Suda* (T 1 a, on which see Chapter v), but also by the fact that there would be no way of accounting for the presence of an otherwise unknown "Mytilenean" in the scholia if we were to accept the Milesian ethnic as correct.³⁶ But how then could the Milesian Dionysius have been well enough known to later reworkers of the scholia that they could mistakenly apply his ethnic to the other Dionysius as well? One citation—the first of Διονύσιος ὁ Μιλήσιος in these scholia—suggests the answer (schol. A.R. 1.1116 = F 42):

³⁶ Schwartz (*RE* V. 1, 932) preferred the Milesian, for no apparent reason. C. Wendel (*Theokrit-Scholien* 101, n. 1) did so as well on the basis of *Quellenkritik*: he assumed that Dionysius' *Argonauts* was used both directly and indirectly in the scholia on Apollonius. As examples of scholia taken directly (by Theon) from the *Argonauts* he noted schol. 3.200 b = F 21 b and 4.115–117 b (~2.1144–5 a = F 25 c), but believed that the only two citations of Dionysius "the Mytilenean" (schol. 1.1289–91 a = F 15 b and 4.176–177 = F 25 a) were taken from an intermediate source, concluding: "unmittelbar benutzt ist also nur eine Ausgabe der *Argonautika* [of Dionysius] in deren Titel Dionysios als Milesier bezeichnet war" (*loc. cit.*). The opinion of such an acknowledged master of these matters must command respect, but the distinction he makes depends solely on the relative completeness of the scholia paraphrases. This completeness is illusory for two reasons: 1) schol. 4.115–117 b (where Wendel claims that Dionysius was *directly* used) and 4.176–177 (where Dionysius the *Mytilenean* is cited, and which Wendel believed rested on *indirect* use) recount the same story, the latter in an abbreviated form. It is certainly more likely that these two citations of a single episode from a single author (in scholia on the same book of Apollonius) were drawn from a single source. 2) Wendel himself had suggested that some of the citations of Dionysius' *Argonauts* in the scholia to Apollonius were derived from the work Περὶ θεῶν of Apollodorus of Athens, and this hypothesis is made even more likely through the discovery that Apollodorus did in fact cite both the *Argonauts* (in P. Oxy. 2812, p. 40 above) and the *Libyan Stories* (Strabo 7.3.6 p. 199 = *FGrHist* 244 F 157 a, see Appendix 1). Yet the new papyrus fragments of Apollodorus' work (on which see above pp. 31 ff), which were of course unknown to Wendel, reveal Περὶ θεῶν to have been a work containing so many extensive verbal quotations that any ancient scholar who used it would in a sense have access to the originals through Apollodorus' liberal quotations of them. Thus questions of indirect use of an author through this work vs. direct use are now largely out of place.—A further slight argument in favor of the Mytilenean ethnic as the correct one is the account of the foundation of Mytilene by the Amazons in the *Libyan Stories* (Diod. 3.55.7 = F 4).

“καὶ πεδῖον Νηπήιον” · πεδῖον Νηπειίας ἐστὶ περὶ Κόζικον. μνημονεύει δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ Καλλίμαχος ἐν Ἐκάλῃ (fr. 299 Pf.) “Νηπειίης ἢ τ’ ἄργος, ἀοίδιμος Ἀδρήστεια”. τὴν δὲ Νήπειαν Διονύσιος ὁ Μιλήσιος πεδῖον τῆς Μυσίας φησὶν εἶναι. ὁ γὰρ βασιλεὺς τῶν Μυσῶν Ὀλυμπος θυγατέρα Ἰάσου ἔγημεν Νήπειαν ὄνομα, καὶ κατώικησεν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τούτῳ, ὃ νῦν καλεῖται Νηπειίας πεδῖον. Ἀπολλόδωρος (*FGrHist* 244 F 175) δὲ φησὶ Νηπειίας πεδῖον ἐν Φρυγίαι. ὁ δὲ Καλλίμαχος φησὶν ἐν Ὑπομνήμασι (fr. 464 Pf.) Νέμεσιν εἶναι τὴν τὸ πεδῖον κατέχουσαν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πόλις καλουμένη Ἀδρήστεια ὑπὸ <Ἀδράστου>³⁷ τοῦ ἰδρυσάμενου.³⁸

Both C. Müller and Jacoby assigned this fragment to Scytobrachion's *Argonauts*, the former (with some hesitation) because he thought that all the citations of Dionysius in these scholia (whether the Milesian or Mytilenean) must come from the same work,³⁹ the latter adding that the son of the Mysian Olympus was Kios, the eponymous hero of the Mysian town famed for the disappearance of Hylas and the Argonauts' loss of Heracles (A.R. I.1207ff, cf. Theocr. XIII).⁴⁰ Neither scholar noted the serious objections to this view: 1) this citation, alone of those in the scholia to Apollonius,⁴¹ has no counterpart in Diodorus, 2) the story of Hylas' end was explicitly contradicted by Scytobrachion, who asserted that Heracles never left the expedition,⁴² 3) Olympus is for Scytobrachion not a Mysian king, but the guardian of Zeus in the *Libyan Stories* (Diod. 3.73.4 = F 12). The first and third points are valid against assigning the fragment to the Amazons' expedition (Diod.

³⁷ Suppl. Deicke (cf. *Et. Gen.* s. *στόπος*, quoted by Wendel *ad loc.*).

³⁸ On *πεδῖον Νηπειίας* in general see Jacoby's Commentary on *FGrHist* 32 F 9, Pfeiffer on Callimachus fr. 299, and Wendel, *Überlieferung der Scholien zu Apollonios von Rhodos* (Berlin, 1932) 71.

³⁹ *FHG* II p. 8 (on fr. 8): “Locum ex Argonauticis petium esse non assevero: Dionysium vero huius loci eundem habeo cum eo, quem reliquis locis scholiasta laudat”.

⁴⁰ In the Commentary on *FGrHist* 32 F 9 (which is not even grouped with the doubtful or uncertain fragments).

⁴¹ I do not include in this category schol. A.R. 1.54–55b = F 41, which almost certainly does not belong to Scytobrachion. It cannot be ruled out that Diod. 4.44.7 passes over an important adventure of the Argonauts in Mysia, but it seems highly improbable.

⁴² Cf. F 15a–b and F 14. Hylas is never even mentioned by Diodorus, but the list of Argonauts he gives (4.41.2) is not meant to be exhaustive.

3.55.4ff = F 4) as well; since only in the *Argonauts* and Amazon stories is a connection with Mysia even remotely possible, an attribution to Scyto-brachion would seem to be definitely ruled out.

If then we consider the next most likely source—the historian Dionysius of Miletus—we find several considerations favoring an attribution to him: 1) Dionysius is here cited chiefly for a geographical detail (the *πεδῖον Νηπείας* in Mysia), not for a myth as elsewhere in these scholia, 2) Mysian affairs and geography must have been considered in any history of Persia, to whose empire that land belonged,⁴³ 3) the source of this whole nest of citations is almost certainly Apollodorus' work *On the Catalog of Ships*⁴⁴—the very work in which, as has been seen, the Milesian historian was cited for the story of Danaus (above p. 69). This fragment then, which Müller wished to assimilate to the other citations of Dionysius, is quite different from them, and assigning it to the Milesian historian seems justified, subject of course to the limitations involved when so little is known of his work. This conclusion would probably have been reached long ago (and was in fact suggested by Welcker, *Ep. Kykl.* I, 79), if the apparent similarity of this citation to the others in the scholia had not complicated matters.⁴⁵

We have concluded then that the Mytilenean ethnic is likely to be correct; that citations by author's name alone are possible even in the best sources; and that the Milesian historian named Dionysius is in fact known in the scholia to Apollonius. These three assumptions suffice to explain how the citations of our author in these scholia reached their present state of confusion. The author of the commentary on Apollonius from which the surviving scholia are in part derived took several comparative citations of the *Argonauts* by Dionysius of Mytilene from an intermediate source, probably Apollodorus' *Περὶ θεῶν*. From the same author's *Περὶ τοῦ νεῶν καταλόγου* he took a geographical notice from Dionysius of Miletus' Persian history. He differentiated these homonymous authors by ethnic (and perhaps work and book number) only as far as his sources did, and as far as was necessary for his own purposes;

⁴³ That the Milesian included mythical figures (like Iasus and Olympus here) is shown by *FGrHist* 687 F 1 (above p. 69 on Danaus).

⁴⁴ From Apollodorus' consideration of *Il.* 2.828 (which is quoted later in the scholion). Apollodorus' name has been here incorporated into the list as merely another authority, whereas in fact he is the source for all the citations; this is a common process, see Henrichs, *Cr. Erc.* 5 (1975) 12 n. 33.

⁴⁵ Even apart from this scholion, Müller's argument that the scholia do not know the Milesian (above n. 39) is false; since the scholia had access to Apollodorus' *Catalog of Ships* (schol. A.R. 3.1090b), then they also had access to the Milesian historian who was cited there (*FGrHist* 687 F 1).

probably he added the ethnic *Μιλήσιος* at schol. I.1116 (= F 42), *Μιτυληναῖος* only at schol. I.1289–91a (= F 15b), and schol. 4.176–177 (= F 25a), it being clear to him as an intelligent reader that the citations dealing with the Argonauts were from the Mytilenean. Several centuries later, for the reworkers and excerptors of this commentary, things were not so simple. They had no access to the intermediate sources and no longer understood the difference between the two types of citations, but still wished to distinguish between homonymous authors. Therefore they simply guessed at the ethnic on the basis of what was already given, but guessed incorrectly; the ethnic *Μιλήσιος*, generalized from the citation of the historian, was noted in the margins of other citations of "Dionysius" as well and eventually found its way into the text of the scholia on A.R. 3.200b (= F 21b), 4.223–30a and d (= F 29a–b), and 4.1153–54 (= F 31).

If this reconstruction seems complex, one need only recall the alternative: a Hellenistic mythographer inventing a sixth century Persian historian *cum* epic poet who is especially knowledgeable about the Argonauts, and whose name happens to be the same as his own. In comparison with this theory any other would be simple, but the process postulated here has in addition the merit that it is known from still another case. The books of epigrams known today as the Palatine Anthology incorporate several ancient collections; the first, made by Meleager of Gadara in the early first century B.C., probably included no homonymous authors,⁴⁶ and for this reason indicated authorship by name alone, as is known from the papyri. A collection of later authors made by Philip of Thessalonica in the mid-first century after Christ also contained no (or very few) homonymous authors, and again it seems no ethnics were added. The latter collection did however include several epigrammatists with the same names as Meleager's contributors, so that, when the two collections were eventually combined, it was incumbent on the new editors or copyists to distinguish among these authors, i.e., to add an ethnic. By that time this task was almost impossible; it was therefore carried out only spottily, many ethnics are manifestly incorrect, and there are probably many errors in the ethnics given that can no longer be detected.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ See A. S. F. Gow, *The Greek Anthology: Sources and Ascriptions* (Soc. for the Prom. of Hellen. Studies, Suppl. Paper 9 [London, 1958]) 18ff. It is, however, possible that in one case—the epigrammatist Dionysius—there was already confusion in Meleager's time.

⁴⁷ Besides Gow *loc. cit.* (preceding note) see Gow-Page, *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic*

In short, the incorrect *Μιλήσιος* in four citations⁴⁸ of Dionysius in the scholia to Apollonius (in the fifth, schol. 1.1116, it is correct) can be satisfactorily explained, without recourse to an unlikely duplication of Dionysii, as due to the later insertion of an incorrect ethnic. This explanation is consistent with the evidence of Diodorus and of the papyri, as well as that of the *Suda* which remains to be considered. The knowledge that such later insertions are present in these scholia tends to shake our confidence in the book numbers given there as well. This suspicion, as we shall see in the next chapter, is fully justified.

Chapter V: Dionysius' Works

The progress of modern scholars in recovering the outlines of Dionysius' *Libyan Stories* and *Argonauts* has already been described in the Introduction; we must now concern ourselves with several difficulties presented by the testimonia on these and other works, particularly by the *Suda* and the scholia to Apollonius of Rhodes.

We have seen that Diodorus, who is clearly our most knowledgeable source, gives two lists of the subjects treated by Dionysius. The most extensive of these (3.66.6) includes four items: 1) the Amazons, 2) Dionysus, 3) the Argonauts, and 4) the Trojan war.¹ The next most complete list is offered by an entry in the *Suda* (= T 1 a):

Διονύσιος, Μιτυληναῖος,² ἐποποιός. οὗτος ἐκλήθη
Σκντοβραχίων καὶ Σκντεύς. τὴν Διονύσου καὶ Ἀθηναῖς
στρατείαν,³ Ἀργοναῦται ἐν βιβλίοις ζ' · ταῦτα δέ
ἐστι περὶ Μυθικὰ πρὸς Παρμένωντα.

ἐποποιός del. Gutschmid καὶ Σκντεύς: ἢ Σκντεύς
Jacoby, qui lacunam post Σκντεύς statuit. στρατείαν:
στρατιάν codd., corr. Portus Ἀργοναῦται: -ναύτας V

Epigrams I (Cambridge, 1965) xxviii–xxix. That this confusion of ethnics does not occur elsewhere in the scholia to Apollonius is due simply to the fact that very few homonymous authors are cited there; Dionysius of Chalcis was evidently always correctly distinguished, but even he once receives the ethnic Ἀθηναῖος (schol. A.R. 2.279a), apparently a mistake for the Athenian poet Dionysius χαλκοῦς (see Müller, *FHG* IV pp. 392–3).

⁴⁸ I include schol. A.R. 3.200b and 3.240 together as one citation (see above n. 4).

¹ See the Introduction, pp. 11–13.

² *Μυτιληναῖος* is generally acknowledged as the only correct spelling, but *Μιτυλ-* is so

For the moment we must limit our consideration of this *vita* to the titles of works which are listed there, beginning with the *Argonauts*.⁴ Whereas Diodorus names only the subjects of Dionysius' works,⁵ the *Suda* and the scholia to Apollonius⁶ cite the title, either *Ἀργοναῦται* or *Ἀργοναυτικά*. This variation is common for works on that subject,⁷ and there is no means of deciding which of them is correct; but since one of them must be chosen, the former has been used throughout this study.

The *Suda* attributes six books to the *Argonauts*. But the scholia to Apollonius cite only the first and second books,⁸ and since one of these citations (schol. A.R. 4.1153–1154 = F 31, cf. Diod. 4.49.1–2 = F 30) is from the return journey of the Argonauts, there clearly exists a contradiction between the *Suda* and the scholia on this point. A single numeral is easily subject to corruption, and the emendation of the *Suda* here (as Jacoby in fact proposed) would be unobjectionable if better evidence contradicted it. But the citations in the scholia to Apollonius cannot be called better evidence. First, as we have seen, in at least some cases incorrect ethnics have been inserted there, and since book numbers were not as a rule given in the Apollodorean source of the scholia,⁹ these are *prima facie* suspect as well. They are also difficult to reconcile with the story as told by Diodorus. The only citation from Book 1 (schol. A.R. 3.200 b = F 21 b) gives the parentage of Medea with particular emphasis on the pharmacological skills of her sister Circe. A citation from the second book (schol. A.R. 1.256–259 = F 25 b) recounts briefly the story of Phrixos' arrival in Colchis. Now in Diodorus these two necessary digressions are closely linked; the first is told immediately before the Argonauts' initial meeting with Medea (Diod. 3.45.1–46.1), the second immediately after this meeting (3.47.5), so that it is difficult to imagine how they could have been in different books.¹⁰ Nor would one

frequent (see Pape-Benseler s.v. *Μυτιλήνη*) as to seem a legitimate alternative which need not be corrected (cf. also schol. A.R. 1.1289–91 a and 4.176–177).

³ The lexicon *Eudokia*, which is derived solely from the *Suda* (but may have had access to better manuscripts than now exist, see H. Schultz, *RE* VIII.2,1325) reads here *συνέθηκε τὴν Διονύσου καὶ Ἀθηναῶς στρατείας*.

⁴ On *ἑποποιός* see below p. 81; on the epithet *Σκυτοβραχίων* see Chapter vi, pp. 91–92.

⁵ See the Introduction, p. 12.

⁶ See the table in Chapter iv, p. 66.

⁷ See Chapter iv, p. 67 n. 8. The lexicon *Eudokia* (see n. 3 above) has here *Ἀργοναυτικά*.

⁸ See the table in Chapter iv, p. 66.

⁹ See Chapter iv p. 71 above.

¹⁰ Of course Diodorus' arrangement here need not reflect Scytobrachion's, but it is

suppose that a story told in as much detail as indicated by P. Hibeḥ 2.186 (Chapter i) could be contained in just two books, although the length of a book could naturally vary. It is therefore possible, perhaps in the end even more probable that the *Suda* here preserves the truth, and that some of the book numbers in the scholia to Apollonius are, like the ethnic *Μιλήσιος*, later additions. A single citation of the second (or even the first) book in the scholia would have allowed later supplementers to assume a work in two books, but no more.¹¹

The *Suda* also attributes to Scytobrachion “the campaign of Dionysus and Athena”. As a title this is clearly unsatisfactory, and Jacoby’s assumption that something has been lost before it is probably correct; but the phrase itself can be explained by comparison with the account of Dionysus in Diodorus (3.71.3–4 = F 10), where Athena and the Amazons join Dionysus and his troops in fighting the Titans.¹² Therefore *τὴν Διονύσου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς στρατείαν* in the *Suda* and the stories *περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας* noted by Diodorus (3.66.6) will refer in general to the accounts reproduced by Diodorus 3.52.4–55 (Amazons), 3.56.3–61 (*Ἀτλάντιοι*) and 3.67–73 (Dionysus). For the form these stories originally took (as with the title) there is no conclusive evidence, but they were doubtless more closely interwoven than Diodorus’ narrative indicates. All three accounts are based in Libya. The Libyan Amazons are connected both with the *Ἀτλάντιοι* (the latter were the first people to be conquered by them),¹³ and with Dionysus (whom they joined to fight the Titans, as noted above). Dionysus is in turn one of the *Ἀτλάντιοι* himself, so that Bethe (*Quaestiones* 28ff) assumed that all three sections of Diodorus’ narrative were originally contained in a single work, and this view is the most likely one. It is easy to see how the historian might have divided a single work by Dionysius into episodes in his desire to treat the Amazons (3.52.1–3) and Dionysus (3.66.4–5) separately; since the *Ἀτλάντιοι* were important to both subjects, he was forced to include them as well (3.56ff).

The only other evidence on the form and length of this work is found in schol. A.R. 2.963–965 c = F 1:

difficult to imagine that the story of Phrixos and the origin of the *δέρος* were not recounted, at the latest, shortly after the Argonauts’ arrival in Colchis.

¹¹ Schol. A.R. 2.963–965 c (= F 1, from the *Libyan Stories*) supplies a book number that is particularly suspect. See p. 79 below.

¹² Already recognized by Hermann according to Bethe, *Quaestiones* 29 n. 34. On Diod. 3.71.3 see also Appendix 2, p. 119.

¹³ Diod. 3.54.1, 3.71.3 (Appendix 2 p. 119) and schol. A.R. 2.963–965 c = F 1 (see below).

Διονύσιος δὲ ἐν β' κατὰ Λιβύην αὐτὰς (sc. τὰς Ἀμαζόνας) ὠκηκέναι φησί, ῥώμηι δὲ διενεγκούσας καὶ τρεψαμένας τοὺς δρόρους ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐδρωπὴν καὶ πολλὰς αὐτόθι πόλεις κτίσαι, ὑποτάξαι τε αὐταῖς τὸ Ἀτλαντικὸν ἔθνος, ὃ ἦν δυνατώτατον τῶν τῆς Λιβύης.

The reader who compares this scholion with the account of the Amazons in Diodorus 3.53.6–54.1 and 3.55.6–7 (= F 3–4) will be surprised to learn that Jacoby has assigned it to Dionysius' *Argonauts*;¹⁴ he argues that the scholia to Apollonius only know one work by our author and suggests that the details found in this scholion were related in the *Argonauts* to establish a connection between that work and the account of Libya. Yet Dionysius' *Argonauts* went nowhere near Libya on their return voyage, and a digression (for which there could be no reason) whereby the greater part of the Amazons' exploits would have been inserted into the *Argonauts* is surely impossible. Here again (as with the double ethnics considered in Chapter iv) a mechanical reliance on the infallibility of the scholia to Apollonius leads to an absurd conclusion.¹⁵

The scholion assigns the Libyan Amazons simply to “the second book”. If it were trustworthy, this would indicate that in Dionysius' work something must have preceded the Amazons' world conquests and subjection of the Ἀτλάντιοι—perhaps the origins of the latter tribe, which Diodorus (whose arrangement does not necessarily follow that of his original in every respect) recounts only after finishing with the Amazons. But the book number can hardly be called reliable; for it is difficult to imagine why an ancient scholar should record only a book number if the work in question was not cited, and was liable to be unknown to others or easily confused with another work by the same author. We have already seen (in Chapter iv) that the wrong ethnic has been inserted in several references to Dionysius in these scholia, and that some of the book numbers in other citations are equally suspect (p. 77 above); it is therefore very likely that ἐν β' here is simply an inept

¹⁴ See Jacoby's Commentary on *FGrHist* 32 F 4 (following Müller, *FHG* II p. 9). Wendel (*Theokrit-Scholien* p. 101 n. 1), Welcker (*Ep. Kykl.* I, 79), Susemihl (II, 49 n. 79), and Schwartz (*RE* V.1, 931) have seen the truth.

¹⁵ Schol. A.R. 2.963–965c is in fact so close to Diodorus' account that it might even be suspected of having been derived directly from his work. The book number given in the scholion is probably an invention (see below), and is therefore no hindrance to this view; but the presence of Dionysius' name rather than Diodorus' and Ἀτλαντικὸν ἔθνος (Diodorus calls them the Ἀτλάντιοι) suggest an independent source.

addition by later reworkers of the scholia, based on the book numbers given for the *Argonauts*.¹⁶

An examination of Diodorus, the *Suda*, and schol. A.R. 2.963–965c shows therefore that the Diodorean accounts of the Libyan Amazons, the Ἀτλάντιοι and Dionysus were probably taken from a single work by Dionysius, but that the title of this work is now lost.¹⁷ We shall therefore call it the *Libyan Stories*.¹⁸

A proper consideration of the rest of the information given in the life of Dionysius of Mytilene in the *Suda* (above p. 76) requires that we compare it (and Diod. 3.66.6) with the article on another Dionysius in the same work:

*Διονύσιος, Μιλήσιος, ιστορικός. τὰ μετὰ Δαρεῖον ἐν
βιβλίοις ε', περιήγησιν οἰκουμένης, Περσικὰ Ἰάδι
διαλέκτωι, Τρωικῶν βιβλία γ', Μυθικὰ, κύκλον ιστορι-
κὸν ἐν βιβλίοις ζ'*

We have already seen (above p. 68) that Dionysius of Miletus—whose ethnic is not confused with the Mytilenean's here—was an historian of Persia, and only the first and third works assigned to him here are actually his. But it is a well known feature of the biographical articles in the *Suda* that they confuse the works of homonymous authors,¹⁹ and the life of Dionysius of Miletus has become a repository of titles which for one reason or another have been displaced from their original contexts. The *Περιήγησις οἰκουμένης*, which is listed under no less than three authors,²⁰ probably refers to the extant work of that title.²¹ The *κύκλος ιστορικός* belongs to Dionysius the “cyclographer”, who is elsewhere cited *ἐν τῶι κύκλωι* and whose life is headed *Διονύσιος Μουσωνίου*.²²

The two remaining intruders in this *vita* belong to Dionysius Scytobrachion. The three books of *Τρωικά* correspond with the fourth subject

¹⁶ It is also possible that the title has been lost or corrupted into the book number.

¹⁷ Another testimonium on these stories is examined in Appendix 1, but it too omits a title.

¹⁸ I avoid calling it *Libyca* because this implies a Greek title (and a type of work) which was clearly not the actual one; I also avoid such terms as “Dionysosroman”—there are certainly novelistic elements in Scytobrachion's stories, but these can be found in earlier authors as well; there is also no reason to isolate Dionysus as the hero of all the *Libyan Stories*, even though (for Diodorus) his career is the culmination of the line of Atlantians.

¹⁹ See Welcker, *Ep. Kykl.* I, 71–72, Ada Adler, *RE* IV.A.1, 707, line 44ff.

²⁰ See n. 27 below.

²¹ See Bernhardt's edition of Dionysius Periegetes, II, pp. 491ff, Müller *FHG* II p. 6.

²² See Welcker, *Ep. Kykl.* I, 71, Jacoby's Commentary to *FGrHist* 15 T 1.

assigned to Dionysius by Diodorus (3.66.6), τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν πόλεμον παραχθέντα. It is likely that the citation of Dionysius Scytobrachion for "Dardanus the son of Paris and Helen" (together with a fictitious verse to prove Dardanus' existence) by schol. (A Eustathius) *Il.* 3.40 (= F 39 a-b) comes from this work, whose title is known only from the *Suda*. Diodorus might well have followed Dionysius' *Τρωικά* for his own account of the Trojan war, as he followed him for the other subjects listed at 3.66.6; but the relevant books of Diodorus are lost.²³

There remains only the title *Μυθικά*, which is also given, in the form *Μυθικά πρὸς Παρμένωντα*, in the life of Dionysius of Mytilene (quoted above p. 76). It could well have been one of the "many other" works of Dionysius which Diodorus (3.66.6, 3.52.3) declines to specify, so that, even though no other fragments of it are known, there is no reason to deny it to Scytobrachion. *Μυθικά* is a common title;²⁴ Parmenon is unknown.²⁵

We can therefore assign to our author the following works: 1) *Argonauts* (attested in Diodorus, the *Suda*, schol. A.R., several papyri, and elsewhere), perhaps in six books (see p. 77 above); 2) the *Libyan Stories* (Diodorus, *Suda*, schol. A.R.), original title and number of books uncertain; 3) *Τρωικά* (Diodorus, *Suda*, schol. (A Eust) *Il.* 3.40) in three books; and perhaps also 4) *Μυθικά πρὸς Παρμένωντα* (*Suda*).

One problem from the *Suda* remains, the designation ἐποποιός in the life of Dionysius of Mytilene. It is clearly incorrect; it has never seemed plausible that the *Argonauts* and *Libyan Stories*, the only works from which substantial fragments are preserved, were in anything but prose,²⁶ and if proof were needed the prose from the *Argonauts* in P. Hibeh 2.186 (Chapter i) and P. Oxy. 2812 (Chapter ii) would supply it. Yet there is no easy explanation for such an error. Perhaps one of the Dionysii who

²³ Tzetzes, *Chiliades* 12.179ff (= Diod. 7 fr. 1 = *FGrHist* 15 F 8) has been thought to imply that Diodorus used Dionysius the cyclographer for the Trojan war; but Sieroka, *Myth. Quellen* 32 showed that this is a misinterpretation of Tzetzes' words.

²⁴ Cf., e.g., the *Μυθικά* of Neanthes (*FGrHist* 84) or of Alexander of Myndos (*FGrHist* 25).

²⁵ πρὸς in such a title could mean either "dedicated to" or "against"; Parmenon himself might be simply an imaginary figure. There is no compelling reason either to assign the *Μυθικά* to another Dionysius (with Gutschmid) or to detach πρὸς Παρμένωντα from it (with Bernhardt).

²⁶ See however Welcker *Ep. Kykl.* I, 77. Bethe, in *Quaestiones* 15 and in *Die griechische Dichtung* (*Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft* ed. O. Walzel, vol. IX, Potsdam, 1924) 342, calls Dionysius a "prose poet" (cf. also Susemihl II, p. 47 n. 68); but this means only that he did not hesitate to invent new versions of myths. It is not intended to account for ἐποποιός in the *Suda*.

were poets has been confused with the Mytilenean,²⁷ or (less probably) the epic “sources” which Dionysius claimed for the *Libyan Stories* (Diod. 3.67.4–5 = F 8) have been misinterpreted.²⁸ It is certain however that the author of the *vita* was himself aware of the problem, since after the first two items in the list of titles, which refer to the *Libyan Stories* and the *Argonauts* (perhaps the only works of which he had any direct knowledge), he adds that these were in fact prose.²⁹ Since the biographer himself had his doubts, and since Dionysius’ known work was clearly not poetic, the designation *ἐποποιός*, whatever its origin, can be safely disregarded.

A brief reference to Scytobrachion by Athenaeus (XII. 515 DE = T 4) would seem to provide evidence for still another work by him:

*Λυδοὶ δὲ εἰς τοσοῦτον ἤλθον τρυφῆς ὡς καὶ πρῶτοι
γυναικας εὐνουχίσαι, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ξάνθος ὁ Λυδὸς ἢ
ὁ τὰς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένας ἱστορίας συγγεγραφῶς—
Διονύσιος δ’ ὁ Σκυτοβραχίων,³⁰ ὡς Ἀρτέμων φησὶν
ὁ Κασσανδρεὺς ἐν τῷ περὶ συναγωγῆς βιβλίων (FHG IV
p. 342), ἀγνοῶν ὅτι Ἔφορος (FGrHist 70 F 180)
ὁ συγγραφεὺς μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ ὡς παλαιότερον ὄντος
καὶ Ἡροδότῳ τὰς ἀφορμὰς δεδωκότος—ὁ δ’ οὖν*

²⁷ There is already considerable confusion among the lives of Dionysii there on the attribution of the *Περιήγησις οἰκουμένης*, which is listed under Dionysius of Corinth (no. 1177 Adler), of Miletus (no. 1180), and of Rhodes or Samos (no. 1181; in the first and last articles notes expressing doubt about the attribution are added); the Mytilenean’s designation *ἐποποιός* may be related.—The biographies in question are derived ultimately from the *Ὀνοματολόγος* of Hesychius “Illustrios” of Miletus through an intermediate source. G. Wentzel (*Die griech. Übersetzung der Viri Illustres des Hieronymus [Texte und Untersuchungen zur altchristlichen Literatur, XIII.3, Leipzig, 1895]* pp. 61–2) has shown that the intermediate source (followed by the *Suda*) arranged the lives alphabetically, whereas Hesychius—whose order is preserved only among the homonymous authors—had arranged them according to profession. Thus, since the life of Dionysius of Mytilene is found with those of epic poets, the *ἐποποιός* (and probably the objection *ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶ πεζά*) will go back to Hesychius.—Gutschmid *ap. Flach, Hesychii Milesii Onomatologus* (a work unavailable to me) had suggested deleting *ἐποποιός*.

²⁸ Even if this is so, the theory of an invented epic poet Dionysius of Miletus (see above pp. 67ff) finds no support from it, for the Mytilenean and Milesian are clearly distinguished in the *Suda*.

²⁹ It is not necessary or even reasonable to assume that the *Μυθικά* were therefore in verse (as does Welcker, *Ep. Kykl.* I 77, cf. Susemihl II, p. 45 n. 66); the normal way of indicating prose writings in the *Suda* is to add to the title *καταλογάδην*, for hexameters to add *δι’ ἐπῶν*. Probably the source of this biography could only certify that the *Argonauts* and the *Libyan Stories* were in prose, because he had no knowledge of the *Μυθικά* beyond its title.

³⁰ “Fortasse δ’ <ἐστίν> ὁ Σκυτ., aut sic certe intellegendum”, Kaibel *ad loc.*

Ἐάνθος ἐν τῇ δευτέρῃ τῶν Λυδιακῶν (*FGrHist* 765 F 4a) Ἄδραμύτην φησὶ τὸν Λυδῶν βασιλέα πρῶτον γυναικῆς εὐνοχίσαντα χρῆσθαι αὐταῖς ἀντὶ ἀνδρῶν εὐνούχων.

Athenaeus (or rather his unknown source) footnotes his citation from Xanthus with a reference to and refutation of a theory of Artemon, that Xanthus' work was actually composed by Scytobrachion.³¹ Any claim of this kind made in antiquity (even if, as here, another ancient author rejects it) deserves careful attention, and repeated attempts have been made to determine what part (if not all) of Xanthus' preserved work could be a forgery by Scytobrachion. As the whole controversy belongs more properly to the study of Xanthus than to that of Dionysius, and has been conveniently summarized by H. Herter (*RE IX.A.2*, 1355–6), there is no need for a detailed discussion here. A few of the arguments adduced (mostly by Welcker, *Kleine Schriften I*, 431ff) and the counter-arguments to them may however be noted:

1) The dating of Xanthus to the time of the fall of Sardis in 546–5 B.C. (*Suda* = *FGrHist* 765 T 1) and the choice of the famous name Kandaules for his father (whereas Xanthus is of course a Greek name) look like the patchwork invention of a character similar to Hegesianax' "Kephalon" or Dionysius' "Thymoitas" (Welcker, *Kl. Schr.* I, 444–5).

There is however nothing out of the ordinary in a (not necessarily royal) Lydian Kandaules with a son Xanthus (Herter, *RE IX.A.2*, 1354). The connection of Xanthus' lifetime with the sack of Sardis cannot be correct (F 12 refers to a fifth century drought), but the mistake in the *Suda* is easily explained: Xanthus' Lydian history ended with the fall of Sardis in that year, and from this a mistaken inference about Xanthus' own date has been drawn (Herter *loc. cit.*; Xanthus probably belongs to the mid-fifth century).

2) Xanthus' preserved work shows a tendency to derive geographical names from the names of individuals (*FGrHist* 765 F 8, F 16, F 27; Welcker *Kl. Schr.* I, 441) and is otherwise characterized by "rationalistic" explanations and an interest in *πρῶτοι εὐρεταί* (Nicolaus of Damascus, *FGrHist* 90 F 15, from Xanthus),³² all of which are well known features of Scytobrachion's work.

³¹ On the fragment itself (*FGrHist* 765 F 4a), see Herter *RE IX.A.2*, 1364, lines 55ff. Jacoby's text at *FGrHist* 32 T 6 does not include Athenaeus' refutation, which is however surely as relevant to Scytobrachion as it is to Xanthus.

³² See Jacoby's Commentary to *FGrHist* 90, p. 233, lines 41ff.

Yet that the same characteristics are to be found, long before the Hellenistic period, in Hecataeus and the Ionian historians in general has long been recognized (Herter 1358, 1364, see below Chapter vii).

3) In the relatively few stories ascribed to Xanthus which show undeniable later additions and elaborations, Scytobrachion cannot be at fault, but rather Nicolaus of Damascus (who used Xanthus quite often but with varying faithfulness, Herter 1357) or the euhemeristic author Mnaseas (*FGrHist* 765 F 17, Herter 1366).

These general considerations as well as a detailed examination of individual fragments of Xanthus (for which see Herter) lead to a clear result: there is no reason to suppose from the extant remains that Scytobrachion wrote all or part of Xanthus' *Lydiaca*.³³

Since this is so, it is difficult (as Herter 1356 notes) to see what led Artemon to make such a claim. A possible solution lies in assuming that Artemon's charge is here falsely reported; second or third-hand accounts in cases such as these are seldom above suspicion,³⁴ particularly if, as here, the reporter was more interested in refuting the charge than in doing justice to it.³⁵ Perhaps some points of contact between Xanthus' work and that of Scytobrachion led Artemon to claim either that Scytobrachion plagiarized the *Lydiaca* or that he "cited" Xanthus for stories that were not in fact told by him.³⁶ To be sure, no such points of contact are found in the extant fragments; but conceivably Dionysius' *Τρωικά* (cf. *FGrHist* 765 F 21) or a lost section of the stories on the Amazons (cf. *FGrHist* 765 F 22) could have provided one.

³³ Various other suggestions listed by Jacoby (in his Commentary to *FGrHist* 32 T 6) and Herter (1356), such as a reedition or reworking of Xanthus to which Scytobrachion added false material, are not impossible, but neither the known work of Xanthus and Scytobrachion nor the nature of Artemon's accusation as preserved here can be said to recommend them.

³⁴ Compare the three reports preserved on the controversy surrounding Neophron and Euripides' *Medea*, *Suda* s. *Νεόφρων* (*TrGF* 15 T 1), Diog. Laer. 2.134 (T 3), and the hypothesis to Eur. *Medea* (T 2); the first two give a totally false impression of the actual charge, which is not that Neophron forged a work of Euripides, but that Euripides plagiarized Neophron.

³⁵ Bethe *Quaestiones* 10–11, followed by Susemihl II, p. 48 n. 72.

³⁶ Bethe *Quaestiones* 10–11, who compares the verse which Scytobrachion evidently claimed was to be found after *Il.* 3.40 (schol. [A Eustathius] *Il.* 3.40 = F 39a–b). This is perhaps on the whole the most likely solution; such a claim by Artemon does not properly belong to a work "on book collecting" (Ionsius' *ἀναγωγῆς* for *συναγωγῆς*, accepted by Bethe *loc. cit.*, is not necessary; Müller [*FHG* IV, p. 340 note 1] gives parallels), but the title could be a catch-all for all sorts of literary studies.

Chapter VI: Dionysius' Date

For a determination of the date of Scytobrachion modern scholars have generally relied on a single testimonium (Suet. *De grammaticis* 7 = T 3):

M. Antonius Gniphō, ingenuus in Gallia natus, sed expositus, a nutritore suo manumissus institutusque (Alexandria quidem, ut aliqui tradunt, in contubernio Dionysi Scytobrachionis; quod equidem non temere crediderim, cum temporum ratio vix congruat).

Gniphō's lifetime can be dated fairly precisely. His school was visited by Cicero in 66 B.C. (Suet. *De gram.* 7, cf. Macrobi. *Sat.* 3.12.8), and since Gniphō died in his 50th year (Suet.), he cannot have been born earlier than 116. Nor is he likely to have been born much later than this year, since L. Ateius "Philologus" (*De gram.* 10) and the young Julius Caesar (*De gram.* 7) were his pupils also. Goetz therefore suggests for his lifetime 114–64 B.C., which must be correct within a few years.¹ It is this man then whose studies with Dionysius² are doubted by Suetonius, *cum temporum ratio vix congruat*. Is Suetonius correct on the chronological difficulties? If not, and if Scytobrachion was Gniphō's teacher after all, then the master was probably slightly older than his student, and was active in the early first century B.C.³

It has however more often been supposed, I believe rightly, that Suetonius' scepticism on the chronology was justified.⁴ In this case, we are justified in assuming for Dionysius a *terminus ante quem* (and nothing more, since Suetonius provides no positive chronological information) of roughly 100 B.C.

Such a *terminus ante quem* has however not been enough for most scholars, and Suetonius' words have been assumed to provide some positive evidence on Dionysius' date as well: the manner in which the chronological difficulty is expressed (*cum . . . vix congruat* instead of simply *non congruat*) might seem to imply that Suetonius did not place

¹ Goetz, *RE* I.2618–2619, see also Schanz-Hosius I,579, and the collection of fragments in Funaioli, *Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta* (Leipzig 1907) pp. 98–100.

² For *contubernium* of master and student cf. Suet. *Aug.* 89, *Tib.* 14, 56.

³ This is assumed by Goetz (*RE* I. 2618–2619), Hachtmann (*De Dionysio Mytilenaeo* 12f), and Welcker (*Ep. Kykl.* I 82).

⁴ Wendel, *Theokrit-Scholien* 101, Susemihl II 47 n. 67, Jacoby's Commentary to *FGH Hist* 32, p. 509 line 8. Since it will be argued below that Suetonius' words are less valuable than other evidence on Dionysius' date, there is no need to review the arguments here.

Scytobrachion such a very long time before Gniphō, but *just early* enough to rule out a connection between the two. On this inference alone is based the currently accepted dating of Scytobrachion to the last half of the second century B.C.⁵

It goes without saying that chronological deductions of this sort are relatively uncertain, and can be relied on only in default of less ambiguous evidence. It will later be argued that there are grounds for treating the whole of this testimonium with caution, but first we must examine several other considerations which, taken together, indicate a date for Scytobrachion quite different from the one deduced from Suetonius' words.

The most secure evidence on Dionysius' date is offered by P. Hibeh 2.186, which, as has been seen, can only be an ancient copy of that author's *Argonauts*. According to the *editio princeps* the papyrus' date is ca. 250–220 B.C. We have seen⁶ that a date even as late as the early second century for the papyrus cannot be entirely ruled out; but on the other hand this papyrus is clearly not the autograph of the work, and it is reasonable to assume that the *Argonauts* had been composed at least a few years (or even a few decades) before this particular copy was written. There is no precise formula for combining these various considerations to reach an exact lower limit for Scytobrachion's life, but it can be said that the papyrus suggests the latter half of the third century B.C. as a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the *Argonauts* and seems positively to exclude any *floruit* for Dionysius later than the third century B.C.

To the evidence of the papyrus can be added indirect evidence.

I. Use of Dionysius' work by other authors

- A. Apollodorus of Athens (ca. 180–110 B.C.)⁷ cited Scytobrachion's *Argonauts* in *Περὶ θεῶν*,⁸ and the *Libyan Stories* in his work *Περὶ τοῦ νεῶν καταλόγου*.⁹
- B. Pausanias (2.21.6) recounts a rationalistic story of the battle of Medusa and the Libyans and Gorgons from Lake Tritonis against Perseus and his troops from the Peloponnese; this narra-

⁵ Susemihl *loc. cit.* (preceding note), Fraser *Ptol. Alex.* II 457 n. 844, and many others.

⁶ Above Chapter i, pp. 27 ff.

⁷ On the date see Pfeiffer, *Hist. Class. Schol.* I, 253–4, and Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik (Philologische Untersuchungen* 16, Berlin 1902) 1 ff.

⁸ As shown by P. Oxy. XXXVII.2812 (Chapter ii above).

⁹ See Appendix 1 below.

tive must have been taken ultimately from Scytobrachion's *Libyan Stories*,¹⁰ but was immediately derived from Procles of Carthage. For Procles' date there is no direct evidence, but his interest in Pyrrhus and his nationality strongly suggest that he belonged to the second century B.C.¹¹

The second of these items can by no means be called certain, since in this case Dionysius is not mentioned by name. Yet the unique resemblance between the story reproduced there and Dionysius' version makes plausible the assumption that Scytobrachion's works are being cited, if the chronology allows it.¹² On the other hand, the use of Dionysius by Apollodorus is a fact: the Apollodorean origin of the citations of the *Argonauts* found in the scholia to Apollonius had already been postulated by Wendel,¹³ and it is now certain that the *Argonauts* were cited in *Περί*

¹⁰ Diod. 3.55.3 = F 5, see Bethe, *Hermes* 25 (1890) 311–312, Jacoby's Commentary to FGrHist 32 F 7, p. 512 lines 24ff. Frazer's Commentary on Paus. 2.21.5 calls the resemblance between the two versions slight, but Bethe has shown how closely they cohere and even complement each other. The rationalistic nature of the version in Pausanias is made even clearer by the words *ἀπόντος δὲ τοῦ μύθου τάδε ἄλλα ἐς αὐτήν* (Medusa) *εἰρημένα*, which probably mean (Frazer) "if we leave out the mythical element, the story told of her is this." (Bethe's interpretation of *ἀπόντος* . . . *τοῦ μύθου*, that Pausanias found no account of Medusa in his source and thus turned to Procles [cf. also Hitzig-Blümner *ad. loc.*], involves the unlikely assumption that the myth of Perseus and Medusa was unknown to him.)

¹¹ See Müller *FHG* IV p. 483, Ziegler *RE* XXIII.179 n.1. It is odd that Bethe did not notice that the use of Scytobrachion by Procles is a chronological impossibility if one accepts (as Bethe did) a date for the former in the late second century.—Theocritus XIII.75 (*περὶ αὐτῶν δ' ἐς Κόλχους τε καὶ ἄξενον ἵκετο Φᾶσιν*), which seems to attempt to reconcile the story of Hylas with Heracles' presence in Colchis (the latter known chiefly from Scytobrachion, but also from Demaratus [*FGrHist* 42 F 2 ab] and Nicander [Ant. Lib. XXVI = fr. 48 Schneider]), could perhaps be added to this list. But in view of the variety of works devoted to Heracles in the fifth and fourth centuries of which little or nothing is known, it seems unwise to draw the conclusion that Dionysius' *Argonauts* was known to Theocritus. In P. Hibeh 2.186 on the other hand it is the combination of Heracles' presence in Colchis and the rationalistic explanation of the *Ταῦροι* which establishes Dionysius' authorship, see above Chapter i, p. 27.

¹² Polybius 4.39.6 mentions a story that Jason first sacrificed to the twelve gods, on his return from Colchis, at the *ἰερόν* near the mouth of the Pontus; such a sacrifice on the return voyage is known only from Dionysius (Diod. 4.49.2 = F 30 and schol. A.R. 4.1153–54 = F 31), and Oldfather (on the passage of Diodorus) and Walbank (on Polybius) note that he might have been Polybius' source. To this there can no longer be any chronological objections (on the date of Polybius 1–4 see Walbank, *Polybius* [Berkeley 1972] 19ff), but Jacoby (Commentary to FGrHist 31 F 47) noticed a discrepancy: Dionysius locates the sanctuary on the European side of the Bosphorus, Polybius on the Asian side.

¹³ *Theokrit-Scholien* 101; see the Introduction, p. 18 n. 22.

θεῶν under Dionysius' name (P. Oxy. 2812 lines 5–12), and that the *Libyan Stories* were used in *Περὶ τοῦ νεῶν καταλόγου*.¹⁴ Thus even if we did not have P. Hibeh 2.186, it would be clear that Scytobrachion could not possibly have written later than the mid-second century B.C., and probably wrote considerably earlier.¹⁵ The passage from Pausanias (I. B above) suggests the same conclusion.

II. Chronological indications in Dionysius' works

- A. Euhemerus' *Ἱερόα ἀναγραφή*, which probably appeared in the first quarter of the third century B.C., is obviously influential in Dionysius' *Libyan Stories*.¹⁶
- B. Like Apollonius (I. 915–921), but in more detail, Dionysius connects the Samothracian mysteries with the Dioscuri (Diod. 4.43.1–2, 49.8 = F 18, F 34).¹⁷ This sanctuary enjoyed its greatest fame in the early third century; before her marriage to Philadelphus, Arsinoe II took sanctuary from Ptolemy Keraunos there,¹⁸ and had previously erected the *Arsinoeion*.¹⁹ The Lagids ruled Samothrace in the later third century.²⁰
- C. In Dionysius' *Libyan Stories* Dionysus is the son of the Libyan king Ammon. Since Ammon had long before foretold Dionysus' conquests and divinity, the son establishes an oracle of his father, which he thereafter consults.²¹ The similarity to the story of Alexander is patent; there are in addition several other such stories, which seem to reflect a period of intense interest in the

¹⁴ Strabo 7.3.6 (p. 299) = *FGrHist* 244 F 157 a (see Appendix 1 below).

¹⁵ The assumption that Dionysius was a contemporary of Apollodorus (Wendel, *Theokrit-Scholien* 101, Merkelbach-Koenen *Collectanea Papyrologica* [Festschrift Youtie, 1976] I, 20) is now ruled out by the appearance of P. Hibeh 2.186.

¹⁶ On Euhemerus' date see Jacoby, *RE* VI.1.953, Fraser *Ptol. Alex.* II 453 n. 827; on Dionysius and Euhemerism see Chapter viii below.

¹⁷ See below p. 95 and p. 107 n. 36.

¹⁸ Justin 24.3.9.

¹⁹ See P. M. Fraser, *Inscriptions of Samothrace* (*Samothrace*, ed. Karl Lehmann, II.1 [New York 1960]) on no. 10. Demetrius Poliorcetes and Lysimachus also made dedications there.

²⁰ See Fraser, *Inscr. Sam.* 5ff. In *Ptol. Alex.* I 207 the same author suggests that Arsinoe may have fostered or even introduced the cult of the Dioscuri in Alexandria (cf. Callim. fr. 228 Pf. [the Diegesis of the *Ἐκθέωσις Ἀρσινόης*], where the Dioscuri carry her off to heaven).

²¹ Diod. 3.73.1–3 = F 12.

fictional exploits of Dionysus-Alexander and Ammon.²² One of these stories is ascribed to Hermippus, the pupil of Callimachus, and so must date from the late third century, and it seems reasonable to expect that the others are roughly contemporary, especially since the oracle of Ammon at Siwah seems to have declined greatly in importance later.²³

- D. The story of the "Atlantian" brother and sister Helios and Selene (called *φιλάδελφος*, Diod. 3.57.5 = F 6), who are deified after their deaths, clearly alludes to the cult of the *θεοὶ ἀδελφοί* instituted by Ptolemy Philadelphus ca. 270 B.C.²⁴

This internal evidence from Dionysius' works strongly suggests that he wrote in the middle of the third century B.C., and the allusion to the *θεοὶ ἀδελφοί* in the *Libyan Stories* (II. D. above) provides a *terminus post quem* of ca. 270. Once again this evidence would not in itself be conclusive; for although nothing in Dionysius' work speaks positively for a date as late as the *second* century B.C.,²⁵ none of the evidence just described absolutely *excludes* it either. A definite *terminus ante quem* is provided only by P. Hibeh 2.186; but the rest of the chronological evidence (apart from the word *vi*x in Suetonius *De gramm.* 7, to which we must return in a moment) can be seen to agree surprisingly well with that of the papyrus. The writings of Dionysius Scytobrachion can therefore be dated roughly

²² Nock, *JHS* 48 (1928)28–9 = *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. Z. Stewart (Oxford 1972) 141–142, citing Leon of Pella ap. Hyginus, *Astronomica* 2.20 = *FGrHist* 659 F 9, Hermippus, *ibid.* = fr. 100 Wehrli, cf. also C. Robert, *Eratosthenis Catasterismorum Reliquiae* (Berlin 1878) 222, and P. Nigidius Figulus (who is evidently using a still earlier source) ap. schol. German. *Aratea* p. 80.8 and p. 143.12 Breysig = A. Swoboda, *P. Nigidi Figuli Operum Reliquiae* (Vienna 1889) p. 110. Similar stories (whose authors are unknown) are cited by Nock and Swoboda.

²³ On the decline of Siwah see Strabo 17.1.43 (p. 813), Henrichs, *ZPE* 3 (1968) 57. V. Ehrenberg, *Alexander und Ägypten* (*Beihefte zum Alten Orient* VII, Leipzig 1926) 37, asserts that Dionysus was made into the son of Ammon even before Alexander, but has not recognized that Diodorus 3.68ff comes from Scytobrachion. On Hermippus fr. 100 Wehrli see Heibges, *RE* VIII.852, and Wehrli's commentary *ad loc.*

²⁴ T. Brown, *HThR* 39 (1946) 271 and p.109 n. 47 below. The exact date of the introduction of this cult (on which see P. M. Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* I 215ff, D. B. Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience* [Oxford 1973] 56 n. 3) need not concern us here.

²⁵ Schwartz (*RE* V.931) claimed that Dionysius' choice of Libya for his *θεολογούμενα* may have been due to the interest in the circumnavigation of Africa which existed in the second century (Posidonius [*FGrHist* 87 F 28] ap. Strabo 2.3.4 [p. 98] ff); but both Jacoby (Commentary to *FGrHist* 32 F 7, p. 511.35f) and Fraser (*Ptol. Alex.* II 457 n. 844) have noted that this interest also existed earlier.

to the period between 270 (the approximate date the *θεοὶ ἀδελφοί* were introduced) and 220 B.C. (P. Hibeh 2.186).²⁶

We have seen that from Suetonius' manner of noting a chronological discrepancy between Scytobrachion and Gniphō (*De gram.* 7) a date for the former has been deduced, and that this date, in view of the other evidence just examined, is obviously not the correct one. On the other hand, no matter how little stress is laid on the word *vix* in Suetonius, it is difficult to assume that he thought of Scytobrachion as an author of the third century, and the apparent discrepancy between this testimonium and the other evidence is not easy to account for. We must however note that it is not only on the question of Scytobrachion's date that *De grammaticis* 7 stands apart from the other testimonia. Dionysius is said there to have been active in Alexandria; this is likely enough for any Hellenistic author, especially for one with interests in Ammon and Ptolemaic ruler cult, but it is attested nowhere else. Even more surprising is the fact that according to Suetonius (or at least according to the *aliqui* with whom he disagrees) Dionysius was a grammarian, while in the other testimonia there is not the slightest hint that this author was a serious scholar or commentator on ancient literature,²⁷ and it is difficult to imagine how the author of the rationalistic *Argonauts* and euhemeristic *Libyan Stories* could have been called the teacher of the sober Gniphō. If it were not for the epithet "Scytobrachion" then, there would be no reason to suppose that Suetonius even had our author in mind, and one may wonder if it is not this epithet, rather than the rest of the description, which is out of place; perhaps the *aliqui* to whom Suetonius refers knew that Gniphō was taught in Alexandria by a man named Dionysius, but wrongly called him Dionysius Scytobrachion.²⁸ It is clear that other sources on Gniphō did not agree in making him a pupil of Scytobrachion, so that Suetonius may well be referring entirely to a dispute between others, and indicating in the words *cum temporum ratio vix congruat* his

²⁶ The *terminus ante quem* provided by the papyrus will remain approximate within a decade or so, but can in no circumstances be later than 200 B.C.; see p. 86 above.

²⁷ It was in reliance on Suetonius that Schwartz produced the theory that Dionysius was a scholar of Greek myth, whose work is preserved in the scholia to Euripides; this idea was completely refuted by Bethe (see the Introduction, p. 16). On *De grammaticis* 7 in particular see Bethe, *Quaestiones*, 9–10.

²⁸ One man of this name, born in Alexandria, later had several Romans as students in Rhodes in the mid-second century, i. e. Dionysius "Thrax" (Pfeiffer, *Hist. Class. Schol.* I, 266–7). Suetonius would certainly not have confused this epithet with that of Scytobrachion, but perhaps the *aliqui* whom he cites might have done so.

²⁹ I owe this suggestion to R. Kassel. On Suetonius' habit of recounting tales which he

acceptance of the arguments of some of the disputants, rather than the results of any research of his own on Scytobrachion's date.²⁹ If that is so, we can hardly press *vix* into service to determine precisely when Scytobrachion lived.

But even if the background of *De grammaticis* 7 cannot be reconstructed with certainty, it is clear that Suetonius has mentioned in passing a dispute of which we no longer have any detailed knowledge. In this respect Suetonius' words resemble those of Athenaeus XII.515DE (= T 4, see p. 84 above), and they must be viewed with equal caution. Suetonius cannot tell us Dionysius' date, and we need not require it of him, since P. Hibeh 2.186, together with the evidence of Dionysius' works and of his use by other authors, assigns him unambiguously to the third century B.C.

On the epithet "Scytobrachion", which this Dionysius received in antiquity, there is little that can be said. It is known from four testimonia: the *Suda* (T 1a: οὗτος ἐκλήθη Σκντοβραχίων και Σκντεός), Suet. *De gram.* 7 (T 3), Athen. XII.515DE (T 4), and schol. (A Eust.) *Il.* 3.40 (F 39a-b), none of which offers an explanation of its meaning, and there are no grounds for guessing why "leather-arm" may have been particularly suitable for our author.³⁰ The ultimate reason for the epithet is however obvious; it provided a means of distinguishing him from the numerous other Dionysii, and it has been conjectured that such nicknames of literary figures (most of them known from the *Suda*) derive from the work of Demetrius Magnes (I B.C.), *περὶ δμονόμων*.³¹ The addition of an ethnic had of course the same purpose and, just as we have seen that the scholia to Apollonius have confused the ethnics of our author, it is even possible that one or another of these four testimonia (which show no direct knowledge of Dionysius' works) may be in error in applying the epithet.³² Yet since Welcker's day the epithet has been

does not himself believe, see W. Steidle, *Sueton und die antike Biographie* (Zetemata I, Munich 1951) 59.

²⁹ It is often said that his nickname (as with Didymus *Chalcenterus*) refers to his voluminous writings, but there are not in fact so very many works ascribed to him. The explanation of the epithet concocted by Welcker, *Kl. Schrift.* I 445-6, is pure fantasy.

³¹ Hug, *RE* III.A.2.1822, who also gives a list of the epithets attached to various figures.

³² This is least likely in the case of Schol. (A Eustathius) *Il.* 3.40 = F 39a-b, which probably refers to the *Τρωικά* (p. 81 above), but the *Suda* (which frequently confuses details in the biographies), Athenaeus (where only the alleged forgery of Xanthus' *Lydiaca* is mentioned), and Suetonius (who improbably makes Dionysius into a *grammaticus*) must all remain to some degree suspect.

used for our author, and it has been retained in this study as well, not because it represents an essential part of the tradition on the author of the *Argonauts* and *Libyan Stories*, but because it remains today as convenient for distinguishing him from homonymous authors as it was in antiquity.

Part III: The Works

Chapter VII: The *Argonauts*

In the preceding chapters reasons have been adduced for assigning part or all of three different papyri to the *Argonauts* of Dionysius of Mytilene, and for dating that work and the same author's *Libyan Stories* to the period 270–220 B.C. It remains to examine the nature of these works themselves, and the literary traditions to which they belong.

It is clear from the agreement between the citations of Dionysius' *Argonauts* in the scholia to Apollonius and Diodorus 4.40ff that the latter has reproduced the contents of his original relatively faithfully.¹ It is less easy to judge to what extent Diodorus has interfered with the arrangement of Scytobrachion's narrative and the emphasis given there to individual episodes. On the whole, however, the story which emerges from the combination of the various sources is one of admirable simplicity achieved through several innovations in the traditional story² and the repetition of certain basic themes; it is unlikely that these qualities are due to Diodorus.

The most striking of Dionysius' innovations in his account of the *Argonauts* is his use of that method of interpreting (or rather reinterpreting) Greek myth which is known as rationalism.³ "Rationalistic" interpreters attempted to explain the fabulous stories connected with the heroes⁴ as misunderstandings of perfectly ordinary events, by putting forward a version which preserved τὸ εἰκός, i.e. something which could

¹ See the Introduction, p. 13 and Chapter i, p. 28 above.

² Whether Dionysius' account appeared before or after Apollonius' *Argonautica*, and whether one borrowed from the other in any detail, I cannot pretend even to guess. The episodes connected with the Samothracian gods and the appearance of Glaucus (discussed below), both of which are mentioned by Apollonius and Dionysius but no one earlier, might have been borrowed by one from the other.

³ See in general F. Wipprecht, *Studien zur Entwicklung der rationalistischen Mythendeutung* (Programm Donaueschingen) I (Tübingen 1902), II (*non vidi* 1908), Nestle, *Vom Mythos zum Logos*, 131 ff. and C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* (Königsberg 1829) 987 ff.

⁴ Rationalism does not as a rule extend to denying the gods themselves, as did the related method of Euthemerism, which was used by Dionysius in the *Libyan Stories* (see chapter viii below).

actually have happened, but was later “mythologized” into an improbable fantasy.⁵ One example will suffice: Lynceus was said to have had such acute vision that he could even see things under the earth, and a rationalistic account of this story explained it as a misunderstanding. Lynceus had been one of the first miners, and had invented a lamp for use in his work (Palaephatus IX Festa).

Stories like these are often viewed with contempt by modern scholars as the products of a decadent and misguided ingenuity, but rationalistic reinterpretations of myth were actually a basic feature of the earliest Greek historiography. The first prose writers viewed the heroic age as the necessary starting point for any historical account, and the critical attitude to sources characteristic of a Thucydides was first applied by Ionian writers to the myths of the poets. The classic exponent of rationalism was Hecataeus of Miletus;⁶ Herodotus’ famous account of the origins of the dispute between east and west (1.1f) is derived from a rationalistic source; Thucydides’ condemnation of τὸ μυθῶδες (1.21, 1.22.4) as well as his treatment of Agamemnon and Minos (1.9, 1.4) reveal his sympathy with the search for τὸ εἰκός in myth; Plato cites and criticizes some rationalistic interpretations current in his own day (*Phaedrus* 229 C–E). Many other writers could be added to this list, and it is probable that many of the rationalistic explanations found scattered throughout the scholia to Greek and Latin authors go back to works of the 5th–3rd centuries B.C.

Thus Dionysius’ explanations of the fabulous elements of the Argonaut story (Diod. 4.47.2–3, 5–6 = F 24), although the details are mostly new, belong to a well established tradition of Greek prose.⁷ Nor were his explanations, as they may seem to a modern reader, meant to be wilder than the myths they replaced, for he always begins with established facts. The *Tαῦροι* were of course a real tribe, and the names *Δράκων* and *Κριός* are historical (see Chapter i, p. 21 n. 8 above). Even the gilded skin of the unfortunate *Κριός* (Diod. 4.47.5) is based on the reports of ethnographers (Hdt. 4.26, *FGrHist* 90 [Nicolaus of Damascus] F 123).

⁵ Cf. the statement prefixed to the much later collection of such explanations ascribed to Palaephatus (ed. Festa in the Teubner *Mythographi Graeci*, III.2, 1902).

⁶ See especially the preface to his *Genealogies* (*FGrHist* 1 F 1). For bibliography on Hecataeus’ rationalism see, in addition to Wipprecht and Nestle (above n. 3), Jacoby’s *Nachtrag* to the Commentary on *FGrHist* 1 F 1 and G. Nenci, *Hecataei Milesii Fragmenta* (Florence 1954) p. xxxii.

⁷ For rationalism applied to the Argonauts in particular see above, Chapter i. pp. 21–22 nn. 8–10; on Nestle’s view that Dionysius merely reproduced the rationalistic *Argonautica* of Herodorus of Heraclea, see Chapter i, p. 27 n. 29.

There are also of course instances where, for one reason or another, Dionysius does not "rationalize". For the origin of the sea monster which threatened Hesione only the conventional explanation is offered (Diod. 4.42.2), which is perhaps due to Diodorus, but more probably was allowed by Dionysius, as its fabulous element was not especially important. Oracles, which played as important a role in Hellenistic Greece as they had in the heroic age, were accepted as natural phenomena, so that the prophecies received by Laomedon (Diod. 4.42.3) and Aietes (4.47.2, 6) did not arouse any rationalistic skepticism.

Another group of exceptions is centered on the gods of Samothrace, and is probably due to contemporary interest in that cult.⁸ Whereas Apollonius (1.915–921) refers only in passing to the initiation of the Argonauts (at Orpheus' urging) into the Samothracian mysteries, Dionysius draws attention to these gods on two occasions. Both times Orpheus prays for deliverance from a storm. In the first case (4.43.1 = F 18) salvation is accompanied by two falling stars which appear over the heads of the Dioscuri, and the incident is used as an *aition* for the importance of both the Dioscuri and the Samothracian gods to sailors.⁹ On the return journey (4.48.6ff = F 30), Orpheus' prayers to the Samothracian gods once again bring safety, and the sea god Glaucus appears and accompanies the Argonauts for two days and nights (they otherwise presumably put into shore each night) foretelling their future (cf. A.R. 1.1310ff, Philostr. *Imag.* 2.15). The heroes repay their vows for safety, first by establishing an altar and a sanctuary as soon as they next reach land somewhere near Byzantium (Diod. 4.49.2 = F 30, cf. schol. A.R. 4.1153–54 = F 31), then later by dedicating at Samothrace itself some bowls which are said to have survived to Dionysius' own day, as had the *ἱερόν* at Byzantium.¹⁰

⁸ See above, Chapter vi p. 88. The Argonauts had already been connected with Samothrace in Aeschylus' *Κάβειροι* (Athen. 10.428, cf. fr. 95–97 Nauck).

⁹ On the Dioscuri as saviours of ships see Allen-Halliday-Sikes on Hom. Hymn 33. They were often identified with the Samothracian gods; see B. Hemberg, *Die Kabiren* (Uppsala 1950) Index s. *Dioskuros*. The twin comets above the heads of the twins in Dionysius' *Argonauts* evidently allude to the numerous representations of stars above their heads on coins and reliefs, for which see Fernand Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au service d' une déesse* (Paris 1935) 114–115, L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (Oxford 1921) 186.—With Diodorus 4.43.1 cf. in general schol. German. *Aratea* 146 = P. Nigidius Figulus fr. 91 Swoboda, and N. Lewis, *Samothrace: The Literary Sources* (Samothrace I, ed. K. Lehmann, New York 1958) p. 79.

¹⁰ On this sanctuary see Hemberg 219 and Jacoby's Commentary on *FGrHist* 31 F 47. Polybius (4.39.6), who also places the dedication of the sanctuary on the return

Dionysius' account of the route of the Argonauts is in accord with his concern to minimize the fabulous element and keep his story simple, since he makes them return by the same direct route along which they came,¹¹ and not via the north along the Danube or the south along the stream of Ocean and through Libya. His willingness to innovate, on the other hand, seems to have found expression in his account of the geography of Colchis¹² and in his placement of the Argonauts' visits to Byzantium (Diod. 4.49.1–2, = F 30, cf. F 31) and Samothrace (4.49.8 = F 34) on the return voyage (cf. A.R. 2.531f, 1.915f).

The rationalistic interpretation of myth and the simplification of the course of the voyage are, however, merely a means of bringing to the fore the main theme of the work, which is the contrast between the civilized humanity of the Greeks, in particular of Heracles, and the savage treachery of the barbarians they encounter. To this end the most drastic changes in the traditional story have been made—the introduction of Heracles as the expedition's leader, the addition of Hesione's rescue to the Argonauts' adventures, the alteration of their encounter with Phineus, and a new and wholly sympathetic portrayal of Medea.

The innovation for which the *Argonauts* is most frequently cited in ancient sources (schol. A.R. 1.1289, *Bibl.* 1.118, = F 15 a–b, Diod. 4.41.3 = F 14) is the replacement of Jason as leader of the whole expedition by Heracles. Jason conceives the plan of a great quest (Diod. 4.40.2) and builds the ship himself (4.41.1–2, itself a notable innovation) but is not mentioned again until the Argonauts reach Colchis, and even there plays a supporting role to Heracles (P. Hibeh 2.186 col. 4). This is because Dionysius wished to take full advantage of the figure of Heracles as a civilizing influence in distant lands;¹³ in his version Heracles first gains fame through his activities with the Argonauts. At the end of the expedition (in commemoration of which he is said to have founded the

voyage of the Argonauts (see above p. 87 n. 12), assigns it to the twelve gods, and probably Dionysius did also, as did Apollonius (2.531–533) and others.—The *φιάλαι* dedicated by the Argonauts at Samothrace are not attested elsewhere. On the use of supposedly ancient dedications as “proof” of the truth of legends see D. Fehling, *Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot* (Berlin 1971) 96f.

¹¹ Like Herodorus (*FGrHist* 31 F 10) and Callimachus (fr. 9 Pfeiffer). On the various versions of their return see Jacoby's Commentary on *FGrHist* 1 F 18 and E. Delage, *La géographie dans les Argonautiques d' Apollonios* (Paris 1930) 192f.

¹² The Colchian places mentioned at Diod. 4.46.2 = F 22, 48.1 = F 26 suggest a detailed description of that region in the original which must have been very different from that of Apollonius (see in general Delage, 181ff).

¹³ See Prodicus *VS* 84 B 2, Antisthenes frags. 22–28 (ed. Caizzi, Milan 1966), Wilamowitz, *Euripides' Herakles* II (Berlin 1889) p. 93 n. 172, pp. 100ff.

Olympic games, 4.53.4–6 = F 37) he gathers an army of young men equally eager for glory, and in their company he performs the deeds which win him divine honors. (This explanation is accompanied by a suitably rationalistic attack on those who claim, contrary to probability, that Heracles accomplished these deeds unaided by others.)¹⁴

Heracles' glory consists in leading the Argonauts against a variety of cruel barbarian kings, and the plight of Hesione provides his first opportunity. Heracles rescues her from a danger caused by the treachery of her father the king, as she herself recognizes when she prefers going with Heracles to staying in Troy (Diod. 4.42.6 = F 16). In the sequel (4.49.3–6 = F 32, F 34), Laomedon's pertidy manifests itself once again, and he plots the destruction of the foreigners (perhaps because he wants the *δέρος*). But a single barbarian, Priam, speaks out for justice to the Argonauts; when he is ignored by Laomedon, Priam assists the foreigners. Laomedon is killed by Heracles, who punishes those who are guilty and rewards the just Priam with the throne of Troy.

The Argonauts' encounter with Phineus closely resembles their adventure with Laomedon; in order to make it so, Dionysius has combined two originally different stories to produce a new account. Since this alteration has caused some confusion among modern scholars (e.g. in Jacoby's Commentary on *FGrHist* 32 F 5), it will be well to examine briefly both the traditional accounts of Phineus and Scyto-brachion's new version.

There were two stories connected with Phineus: 1) his blinding, for which various reasons were given. The most important of these for the present purpose is that Phineus had divorced his first wife Cleopatra, the daughter of Oreithyia and Boreas, to marry another woman who is variously named. The second wife exhibited her cruelty to her stepsons by persuading Phineus to blind them. Thereupon Boreas himself, in anger at the mistreatment of his grandsons, afflicted Phineus with blindness as well. The Argonauts play no part whatsoever in this story.¹⁵

¹⁴ Diod. 4.53.4–7 is therefore inconsistent with Diodorus' other account of Heracles' career (4.8ff, taken from the rhetorician Matris of Thebes, see the Introduction, p. 12 n. 2 above). Since Dionysius explains Heracles' labors in this way, it is likely (as Bethe *Quaestiones* 21 noted) that the reference to Eurystheus in 4.55.4 is an insertion by Diodorus.

¹⁵ For the sources see Robert *Heldensage* 817 (but for Robert's conclusions on Scyto-brachion and Sophocles' *Phineus*, which are based on *Bibl.* 3.200, see n. 20 below). Sophocles probably treated this story in one (if not both) of his plays entitled *Phineus* (frgs. 704–717 Radt). For representations of Phineus in vase painting see Nereo Alfieri, *Bollettino dei Musei Ferraresi* 5/6 (1975/76) 179–180.

2) The blind prophet Phineus is found by the Argonauts when they land in Thrace. For reasons variously described¹⁶ he has been afflicted by the Harpies, who steal or befoul his food so that he is nearly dead of starvation. The Boreadae rid him of the Harpies, and in gratitude he foretells the dangers the Argonauts must face on the remaining voyage.¹⁷ At the time of this episode Phineus' cruelty to his sons and subsequent punishment are already over.

Scytobrachion has combined the two stories, so that the Argonauts land to find the Phineidae being maltreated—which had happened years before according to other versions—and the children explain their situation and plead for help. The scene which follows is described only vaguely by Diodorus, but a fuller account exists in schol. A.R. 2.206–208b (F 19). Heracles questioned Phineus, who defended his actions in a skilful speech,¹⁸ which might have been effective had not an unnamed person appeared (described only as a *προεσβύτης* by the scholion, and left out entirely by Diodorus) to expose him. Heracles and the Boreadae freed the children, killed Phineus when he offered resistance, and established a new, just government.¹⁹ As in the Trojan episode, the Argonauts assist Heracles in punishing an unjust barbarian king, and in giving power to these who most deserve it.²⁰

¹⁶ Cf. *FGrHist* 12 (Asclepiades) F 31, A. R. 2.179ff.

¹⁷ A. R. 2.178ff, *Hyg. Fab.* 19. Whether Hesiod frgs. 150–157 Merkelbach-West (on Phineus, the Harpies and the Boreadae) belong to the Argonauts' expedition is uncertain. Sophocles probably told this story in his *Tympanistae* (frgs. 636–645 Radt). On *Bibl.* 3.200 see n. 20 below.

¹⁸ Diod. 4.44.1 = F 18. For other speeches of which Diodorus preserves remnants see p. 101 n. 30 below. Wilamowitz *ap.* Bethe, *Quaestiones* 14 argued that the scholion to Apollonius preserved two different versions, the latter of which (after *γεγόνει*), since it was not found in Diodorus, did not come from Scytobrachion. But there is no inconsistency between the two accounts, merely more detail in the scholion.

¹⁹ The description of Phineus' death is more accurate in the scholion to Apollonius (see the preceding note); Diodorus has ineptly reproduced the battle (4.44.3 ~ 4.49.6, partly a verbal repetition) and other details (e. g. the bonds 4.44.2 ~ 4.42.5) from the story of Hesione.

²⁰ Scytobrachion's account of Phineus has been reproduced in the Orphic *Argonautica* 671ff, and (via the mythological handbook, on which see the Introduction p. 16 n. 15 above) in *Bibl.* 3.200, where the text should read:

παραπλέοντες δὲ οἱ Ἀργοναῦται σὺν Βορεάδαις κολάζονται αὐτόν. (Βορεάδαις Aegius, σὺν τοῖς Βορέου Heyne, Βορέαι codd. [cf. Diod. 4.44.2 Βορεάδας])

The normal story of Phineus' blinding (no. 1 above) is added as a variant (from the same handbook) by Diodorus (4.44.4): *καὶ τὸν Φινέα τῆς ὁμοίας τυχεῖν συμφορᾶς (blindness) ὑπὸ Βορέου (= Serv. ad Aen. 3.209). This text and that of Servius enable us to correct the more usual version of the story at *Bibl.* 1.120 as well: οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ Βορέου (sc. φασὶ πηρωθῆναι τὸν Φινέα) [καὶ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν] (del. Bethe, *Quaestiones**

But the extreme of barbarism is reached in Colchis. The savagery of the natives of this region is mentioned at the start as Pelias' real reason for sending Jason there;²¹ for Pelias knows about the custom of *ξενοκτονία* (4.40.4 = F 14), while the Argonauts do not,²² and he hopes they will be killed.

In contrast to the exaggerated cruelty of Aietes, Hecate and Circe (4.45.2–3, cf. F 21 a–c), Medea herself is a model of humanity. Her knowledge of herbs (which, the rationalistic Dionysius adds, has nothing to do with magic) is used only to help mankind (4.46.1 = F 22, cf. 4.50.6 = F 36). Her opposition to her father's cruelty (similar to that of Priam against Laomedon) results in her own arrest; she escapes and flees to a sanctuary of Helios, and it is there that the Argonauts, who never have to wait long for an adventure, find her (like Hesione) on the shore, as soon as they disembark.

Medea's subsequent agreement with the Greeks is based not on love for Jason but on mutual self-interest (*τὸ κοινὸν συμφέρον* 4.46.4 = F 22). Because of her civilized nature²³ she is in as much danger as the foreigners, and in return for her promise of assistance she receives a guarantee that Jason will marry her, evidently a matter more of protection than love. Heracles acts as guarantor of the oaths (F 15 b, P. Hibeh 2.186 col. 1 = F 23 a), and it is to him that Medea turns later when the oath is broken (4.54.7 = F 38).

17). Bethe noticed that the parallel narratives mention Boreas only, and to suppose (as did Robert, *Heldensage* 819) that the North Wind sailed with the Argonauts is absurd. The text of *Bibl.* has frequently been supplemented with additional names, many of them incorrect; as in the present case, these can usually be removed with the help of the parallel mythographic tradition. The corruption of *Βορέδδαις* to *Βορέαι* in *Bibl.* 3.200 (through an abbreviation?) made it appear that 3.200 and 1.120 told the same story; Thus *καὶ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν* was added to the former passage also. Albert Henrichs has suggested to me that the error may be as old as the first version of *Bibl.*; but it is in any case an error and should be noted as such in any edition of Pseudo-Apollodorus. Wagner's note on *Bibl.* 1.120 (apparently a defence of the manuscript readings) is a total muddle.—Once these texts have been properly interpreted, the view of Schwartz, *De Dion. Scytobr.* 28, Robert, *Heldensage* 820, Jacoby, Commentary to *FGrHist* 32 F 5, and many others, that Dionysius derived this story from Sophocles, can be safely dismissed.

²¹ The reason that the golden fleece is sought, which remains obscure in most accounts (see Fränkel, *Noten* p. 304f), is quite simple in Dionysius' story: Jason was ready to undertake any adventure as long as it was a foreign one (*ὑπερορίους στρατείας* Diod. 4.40.2 = F 14), and simply asked Pelias for a suggestion.

²² *τὴν ἀγριότητα ἀγροῦντας* (Diod. 4.44.7 = F 20). They learn of the custom of human sacrifice only from Medea (4.46.3 = F 22).

²³ Her *ἡμερότης* (Diod. 4.46.3, see Chapter i p. 21 n. 11 above), in which she resembles the Argonauts, is the opposite of the *ὠμότης* (4.46.1) of Aietes.

After the attack on the sanctuary of Ares (on which see Chapter i, p. 22ff above) another pitched battle is fought between Greeks and barbarians, but this one is more difficult than those in Thrace and Troy. One of the Argonauts is killed,²⁴ and many others are wounded (4.48.5 = F 30), but once again the barbarian king is slain (this time by Meleager, 4.48.4, cf. F 29a–b) and the victorious Argonauts can set sail, with their prize, for home.

The arrival of the Argonauts back in Iolcus has been designed by Dionysius to exhibit to full advantage not just the ingenuity but also the humanity and piety of Medea. The situation of the voyage is now reversed, in that the Argonauts are confronted by the cruelty of a Greek ruler, and since they themselves are at a loss (4.50.4 = F 36), only the barbarian girl can help. Medea's plan for killing Pelias agrees roughly with the well known story of that deed, but its details are clearly Dionysius' own invention.²⁵ It is perhaps the finest episode of the whole book, and fortunately Diodorus has reproduced it at some length.

Medea decides to use popular superstition for her own ends; like Peisistratus (Hdt. 1.60) she feigns the entry of a goddess into the city. Made up to appear old (so that she can later rejuvenate herself for Pelias)²⁶ she approaches Iolcus in a state of *ἐνθουσιασμός*, bringing a cult image of Artemis (in which she has hidden the drugs she will need for her deception). She announces that the goddess herself, having found Iolcus (because of Pelias' piety!) a suitable place to settle, has come from the Hyperboreans to be installed in a temple there (*καθίδρουσις* Diod. 4.51.4). Medea has been sent by the goddess to bestow on Pelias a reward, in the form of eternal youth. This religious fakery, described in appropriate language,²⁷ is eagerly accepted by Pelias, and the rest of Medea's plan works perfectly.²⁸

²⁴ Either Iphitus or Iphis (Diod. 4.48.4 = F 28, cf. F 29a–b). This is evidently the only man lost on the expedition, since there are 54 Argonauts at the start (4.41.2) but only 53 at the end (4.50.4; the Phineidae, who joined the expedition along the way [4.44.6], must have been let off again on the way home).

²⁵ Schwartz, *De Dion. Scytobr.* 10, once again sees the influence of tragedy, for which there is no evidence. The absence of any recourse to magic, and the use made by Medea of Pelias' *δεισιδαιμονία* suit Dionysius' rationalism perfectly, and the whole scene has rather a comic appeal which is not, I think, unintentional.

²⁶ Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 363 P (*Μήδεια . . . ἢ Αἰήτου ἢ Κολχίς πρώτη βαφὴν τριχῶν ἐπενόησεν*) is probably not (as Schwartz [*De Dion. Scytobr.* 9 n. 2] suggests) a reference to Scyto-brachion's story, but rather a rationalistic explanation of Medea's rejuvenation of Jason and Aeson in other stories.

²⁷ Diod. 4.51.2: *παραγγέλλειν* (sc. *Μήδειαν*) *πᾶσι δέχεσθαι τὴν θεὸν εὐσεβῶς: παρεῖναι γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἐπ' ἀγαθῶν δαίμονι τῆι τε πόλει πάσῃ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ, (4.51.3) πάρεστιν ἡ θεὸς εὐδαίμονα ποιήσουσα τὸν οἶκον τοῦ βασιλέως. Ὅν (ὑπο)δέχεσθαι*

But Scytobrachion's more civilized Medea is at the same time a most reluctant murderess. She has hitherto used her skills solely to benefit mankind, and only because Pelias' behavior has been made especially monstrous²⁹ can she be persuaded to resort to violence, as she explains to the Argonauts.³⁰ Later, when she has persuaded the Peliades to kill their father, she is repulsed by the thought of actually having him dismembered and boiled, as is done in other accounts. Her goal, Pelias' death, has been achieved; since she refuses to be responsible for any further atrocity, she not only sends the unwitting daughters to give a signal to the Argonauts, but even goes with them herself, to avoid being alone with the corpse.

Since Medea's justice and piety, qualities rare in the barbarians encountered by the Argonauts, are so notable, the end of the story becomes all the more effective. When Jason abandons a wife without fault after ten years of marriage (4.54.2), Medea is driven to precisely that savagery (*ὠμότης* 4.54.7) which she abhorred in her own family and has fought against all her life.³¹ But it was not she who broke her oath.

Dionysius seems therefore to have offered a radically new version of an old story, which certainly lacks the grandeur of epic or tragedy, but is not on that account without value. The owner of P. Hibeh 2.186, if he was ever caught reading it by others with more learned tastes, had no reason to apologize.

in this sense see Henrichs, *HSCP* 80 (1976) 278 n. 71, to which he suggests be added Eur. *Bacch.* 769f, Paus. 1.37.2, Callim. *Lav. Pall.* 137f, in *Delum* 69, Ant. Lib. 24.1, schol. Nic. *Ther.* 484. On *παρῆναι* see *HSCP* 82 (1978) 210 n. 25. Diodorus probably follows his original relatively closely here.

²⁸ Diod. 4.52.1–2 (*προσάντως δὲ τῶν παρθένων . . . ὑπουργῆσαι τοῖς προστάγμασιν*) is probably not from Scytobrachion. Medea has already supplied the proof which she had planned (Diod. 4.51.5), and a second demonstration is superfluous, particularly since the rejuvenation of the ram is a feature of the well known story, such as Dionysius tends to avoid (and Diodorus to insert on his own). Diodorus probably wished to incorporate it into the narrative, and invented the last-minute reluctance of the Peliades so that he could do so.

²⁹ See Diod. 4.50.1–2 = F 35, describing the deaths of Jason's father, brother and mother. The accounts of the first two have been reproduced in *Bibl.* 1.143, where a different source is followed for the death of his mother (Bethe, *Quaestiones* 16).

³⁰ Diod. 4.50.6, one of several speeches which must have illustrated the character of the speakers quite well in the original: cf. 4.44.1 = F 18 (Phineus, see p. 98 n. 18 above), 4.49.3 = F 32 (Priam, cf. P. Oxy 2812 col. 2 lines 6ff = F 33), 4.54.3 = F 38 (Jason, cf. Eur. *Med.* 551ff).

³¹ Yet even then it is acknowledged that Medea was in the right (Diod. 4.55.1 = F 38). That this part of the story should in some ways resemble Euripides' *Medea* was inevitable, but Schwartz (*De Dion. Scytobr.* 5–8) speaks too much of tragic influence. Care has been taken to alter the story whenever possible (e. g. in the burning of the house at Diod. 4.54.5, a plan rejected at Eur. *Med.* 378).

Chapter VIII: The *Libyan Stories*

We have seen that the accounts of the Libyan Amazons, the Atlantioi and Dionysus, which Diodorus gives in three separate installments, were probably combined by Scytobrachion in a single work. Since the real title of this work is unknown, it is here called the *Libyan Stories*.¹ Like Dionysius' *Argonauts*, these stories offer a radical re-interpretation of traditional myths, this time in conformity with Euhemerism—indeed, the method of the *Libyan Stories* is so similar to that of Euhemerus' *Sacred History* that the latter work can be assumed to have influenced the former directly.² Yet “Euhemerism” (except in a special sense, as we will see below) is older than Euhemerus himself, and in order to estimate properly the *Libyan Stories* we must sketch briefly this tradition as well, as far as it can still be recovered.³

One of several philosophers of the fifth century to deny the existence of the gods was Prodicus of Ceos,⁴ who offered the explanation that they had been invented by early men in two distinct stages: 1) those aspects of nature which benefited mankind came to be treated as gods, and 2) at a later time, mortals themselves who had made useful inventions or developed a particular skill were given divine honors also.⁵

The immediate effect of this theory can be seen in the theological arguments of the Euripidean *Teiresias* (*Bacchae* 274–285),⁶ and perhaps in the work of Ephorus also.⁷ Its greatest popularity, however, begins in the decades following the death of Alexander. It was then that Hecataeus of Abdera⁸ wrote a complete ethnographical account of Egypt, of which large parts are preserved by Diodorus.⁹ The aim of this work was not

¹ See pp. 11–12 and 78–80 above.

² See p. 14 and 88 above.

³ On the growth and influence of Euhemerism see especially G. Vallauri, *Origine e diffusione dell' Euhemerismo* and A. Henrichs, *HSCP* 79 (1975) 110 n. 65.

⁴ Henrichs (above n. 3) 109 n. 62. Prodicus was therefore included (with Euhemerus) in the later lists of atheists, on which see C. W. Müller, *Hermes* 95 (1967) 151 n. 4.

⁵ Philodemus *De Pietate* p. 75 Gomperz = *VS* 84 B 5. On the interpretation see Henrichs (above n. 3) 115ff and (for second thoughts on another fragment, p. 71 Gomperz) *Cr. Erc.* 6 (1976) 15–21. Schober's supplement τού[ς Διοσκούρ]ου[ς] is however unlikely to be correct. The well known ἀρετή of the Dioscuri (e. g., Aristotle *PMG* 842.10) is of a different nature than that of Prodicus' πρώτοι εὔρεται.

⁶ See Henrichs (above n. 3) 110 n. 64.

⁷ *FGrHist* 70 F 31 b, F 34, cf. also Pseudo-Epicharmus, *VS* 23 B 8, B 53.

⁸ See in general Jacoby, *RE* VII. 2750–2769, his Commentary on *FGrHist* 264, Fraser *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I 496–504, II 718–727, and the works cited in notes 9–13 below.

⁹ Precisely how much of Diodorus I is taken from Hecataeus is still a subject of dispute; see the recent discussions of Fraser (above n. 8) II 450 n. 815, 721 n. 19 and O.

solely historical, but philosophical also: Hecataeus wished to demonstrate whenever possible the superiority of Egyptian culture to that of Greece, and the derivative nature of the latter.¹⁰ To this end the account of the origin of the Egyptian gods (from whom the gods of Greece are said to have been derived) is made to conform to the two stages of Prodicus' theory: the earliest Egyptians derived the names of their first gods (called the "celestial gods", *οὐράνιοι θεοί*) from natural phenomena,¹¹ whereas the "terrestrial gods" (*ἐπίγειοι θεοί*) were originally mortals, who were deified because of their wisdom and services to mankind.¹² There follows a list of these kings, who are identified with (among others) Cronus and Zeus.¹³

It is impossible to say precisely how the Prodician theory was expounded in detail in this work, but it is immediately clear that two basic changes have been made in the "second stage". The first is formal: what Prodicus seems to have presented as no more than anthropological or theological speculation is now claimed as historical fact, and applied to a particular set of national gods (from which the gods of Greece are also derived).

The second change is designed to make the deification of mortals more believable by modelling it after a contemporary phenomenon, the cults of individual rulers which became ever more frequent in the wake of the career of Alexander.¹⁴ Prodicus had referred to early inventors as the first men to be deified, and *εὐρεταί* are to be found among Hecataeus'

Murray, *JEA* 56 (1970) 141–171. The extreme skepticism of Anne Burton in her Commentary on Diodorus I (Leiden 1972) has little to recommend it, see Murray *JHS* 95 (1975) 415, A. B. Lloyd *JEA* 60 (1974) 287–288.

¹⁰ See Fraser (above n. 8) I 497.

¹¹ Diod. 1.11–12 = *FGrHist* 264 F 25. This is of course an adaptation of Prodicus' "first stage"; see Henrichs (above n. 3) 111 n. 65 and Nilsson, *Opuscula* III 31 ff.

¹² Diod. 1.13.1 = *FGrHist* 264 F 25: *ὑπάρξαντας μὲν θνητούς, διὰ δὲ σύνεσιν καὶ κοινὴν ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίαν τετευχότας τῆς ἀθανασίας*. Against W. Spoerri (*Späthellenistische Berichte über Welt, Kultur und Götter* [Basel 1959] 189–194) I incline to the view that Diod. 1.11ff is derived from Hecataeus (although 1.15.6–8 and 1.17–20.5 probably are not, see Schwartz, *RE* V.671). The substance of the "second stage" of this theory (the apotheosis of great inventors and benefactors) is repeated at Diod. 1.90.2–3 (cf. 1.15.4), which is certainly from Hecataeus (*FGrHist* 264 F 25).

¹³ Diod. 1.13.2–5. Some of the variants here may be attributable to Diodorus himself, but see T. Cole, *Democritus and the Origins of Greek Anthropology* (Cleveland 1967) 159–160 n. 35.

¹⁴ On Alexander himself see L. Edmunds, *GRBS* 12 (1971) 363–91, J. Seibert, *Alexander der Große* (Darmstadt, 1972) 192 and on ruler cult in general L. Cerfaux–J. Tondriaux, *Le culte des souverains dans la civilisation greco-romaine* (Paris 1957), F. Taeger, *Charisma, Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Herrscherkultes* I (Stuttgart 1957), C. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte* (Zetemata 14, second ed. Munich 1970).

“terrestrial gods” as well;¹⁵ but most of them are styled more generally *εὐεργέται*, the term frequent in contemporary cults,¹⁶ and it is noted specifically that several of them were kings,¹⁷ a detail which was not present in Prodicus’ theory.

In the *Sacred History* of Euhemerus of Messene, which was probably written within the first two decades of the third century B.C.,¹⁸ these developments were carried still further. The origins of the gods were now placed not only in an ethnographic setting, but in the context of a totally fictitious land invented solely for this purpose.¹⁹ Euhemerus claimed to have discovered south of Arabia three islands, one of which was named Panchaea. On this island, whose general characteristics and social structure were described at some length, he found a sacred precinct of “Triphylian Zeus” and, in the temple there, a golden stele on which the earthly deeds of Uranus, Zeus, and other former kings, now gods, were recorded. Based on this stele (and presumably also on the accounts of the Panchaeian priests)²⁰ Euhemerus transmitted to the Greek world the “true story” of their own Olympian gods. In this account he concerned himself solely with the deified mortals of Prodicus’ “second stage”;²¹

¹⁵ Diod. 1.13.3, 1.15.4. The preoccupation with inventions is continued in the Isis-aretologies, see A. J. Festugière, *HTHR* 42 (1949) 228–229 = *Études de religion grecque et hellénistique* (Paris 1972) 157–158, and in general Kleingünther, “*πρωτός εὐεργέτης*”, *Philol.* Supplbd. 26.1 (1933) 26ff, 109ff.

¹⁶ Diod. 1.13.1 (quoted above n. 12), 1.13.5, 1.90.3. The change in vocabulary, which corresponds to the general shift in emphasis away from cultural benefactors to political ones, is unlikely to be due solely to Diodorus. On *εὐεργέτης* in cult (the title does not necessarily imply deification) see Hepding, *Klio* 20 (1926) 490ff, Habicht (above n. 14) 156 n. 77, Murray *JEA* 56 (1970) 160 n. 1.

¹⁷ Diod. 1.13.1: *ὄν ἐνίουσ και βασιλείσ γεγονέναι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον.*

¹⁸ Euhemerus’ date is roughly fixed by his claim (Diod. 6.1 ap. Euseb. *P.E.* 2.2.59 = *FGrHist* 63 T 1) to have been a *φίλος* of Cassander, who died in 298/7; he is also called a *γέρον* in a fragment of Callimachus’ *Iambi* (fr. 191.9–11 Pf.) which cannot however be dated precisely. On the *Sacred History* in general see Jacoby *RE* VI.952–972, Fraser (above n. 8) I 289–295, II 447–457. I cite the fragments after *FGrHist* 63, but they have also been collected by G. Vallauri (Turin 1956).

¹⁹ On the tradition of fabulous ethnography and utopianism in which Euhemerus therefore stands see Appendix 1 (pp. 113ff below), Jacoby *RE* VI.957, J. Ferguson, *Utopias of the Ancient World* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1975) 102ff.

²⁰ Cf. Diodorus’ description of the Panchaeian priests (5.46.2 = *FGrHist* 63 F 3): *μετ’ ὠδῆσ τὰσ πράξεισ ἀττῶν (sc. τῶν θεῶν) και τὰσ εἰσ ἀνθρώπουσ εὐεργεσίασ διαπορευόμενοι.* The priests of Egypt had been claimed by Hecataeus of Abdera as a major source also (see Jacoby *RE* VII.2760).

²¹ Diod. 6.1 (Euseb. *P.E.* 2.2.59) = *FGrHist* 63 F 2 repeats from Hecataeus (see above n. 12) the distinction between *σδράνοι* and *ἐπίγειοι θεοί*, but notes that Euhemerus describes only the latter group (see Fraser [above n. 8] II 450 n. 815).

only political leaders, i.e. kings, (not cultural leaders and inventors) are envisioned as receiving divine honor.²²

Euhemerus' account of the Panchaeon kings is, with some slight changes,²³ the familiar succession of Uranus, Cronus, and Zeus—except that now all the participants are mortal, and their actions have more in common with the dynastic struggles of Alexander's successors than the gods of Hesiod. After the death of Uranus (*FGrHist* 63 F 12) the eldest son, Titan, claimed the throne, but the other members of the family all supported the cause of the younger son Cronus. Titan yielded, on the condition that Cronus would dispose of any male children of his own so that the succession would pass to Titan's offspring (*FGrHist* 63 F 14). When it was learned that this had not been done, the "Titans" (Titan's children) and their father imprisoned Cronus and took over the kingdom (F 15); but Zeus crossed over from Crete, where he had been raised secretly, to Panchaea. He freed his father, and returned once again to Crete. Instead of being grateful to his son, Cronus plotted to have him removed as a threat to his own power, whereupon Zeus crossed to Panchaea once again, routed his father, and took over the kingdom (F 16).

According to Euhemerus most of the legacy of the "Olympian gods" in Panchaea was the result of the conscious policy of Zeus, who lost no opportunity to establish cults, first of his grandfather Uranus (F 21), then later of himself as well (F 23, F 2 [Diod. 6.9]). After several journeys abroad, during which he spread the cults first established at home (F 23), Zeus returned to Crete, where he died; his tomb, says Euhemerus, could still be found there.²⁴

It is plain that this most elaborate product of the Euhemeristic tradition, the *Sacred History* itself, has been a major influence on Dionysius' *Libyan Stories*.²⁵ As we might expect from the author of the *Argonauts*, these tales are even more adventurous and less overtly "philosophical" than those of his predecessors.

Unlike the island of Panchaea, Libya had a real existence in fact, but Dionysius has made it clear in a number of ways that the setting of

²² See Jacoby, *RE* VI.964. According to Euhemerus (*FGrHist* 63 F 20) inventors showed their work to the king.

²³ E.g. the addition of Cronus' daughter Glauca and his brother Titan (*FGrHist* 63 F 14).

²⁴ The references to the Cretan tomb of Zeus by Callimachus (*Hymn* I.8, fr. 202.15–16) are not necessarily to be viewed as testimonia to Euhemerus' account (Fraser [above n. 8] II.456 n. 840). On Zeus in Euhemerus see also n. 57 below.

²⁵ For the influence of Euhemerus on authors other than Dionysius see the works cited above, n. 3, and Taeger (above n. 14) I.385.

his stories is purely imaginary.²⁶ The sources cited—the poems of Linus and Thymoitas, in addition to the accounts of the Libyans themselves,²⁷ are of the same order as Euhemerus' Panchaeon stele and are meant only to provide the necessary ethnographic and scholarly frame for the myths. The main showplaces of the stories are Lake Tritonis and the River Triton; both had long been associated with Libya, but with myth rather than geography.²⁸ Their exact locations were never determined. Scytobrachion provides more details on these places than any other author, alleging that both were near Ethiopia²⁹ and Mount Atlas, which in turn bordered the Ocean. In Lake Tritonis was located Hespera, the island of the Amazons (Diod. 3.53.4 = F 2), and in the River Triton was the island which contained Nysa, the hiding place of Dionysus (Diod. 3.68.5 = F 8). Lest the traveller seek the remains of any of these sites, Dionysius adds that Lake Tritonis has since disappeared, like Plato's Atlantis, as a result of earthquakes.

The story begins with the Amazons, whose military skills and social organization are described in the conventional way (Diod. 3.53.1–3 = F 2), but who are placed in Libya instead of at the Thermodon River.³⁰ Dionysius recounts the period of their greatest influence with a wealth of detail which is of course totally invented.³¹ They begin by conquering all their island, except for the holy city of Mene,³² then subdue the Atlan-

²³ Attempts to show that Dionysius or his "sources" can be relied on for the geography of Libya (Albert Hermann, *Rh.Mus.* 86 [1937] 87, RE XVII.1659) have not been successful. A more factual account of Libya which precedes in Diodorus (3.49–51) is perhaps from Agatharchides of Cnidus, see E. Schwartz, RE V.673.

²⁷ Diod. 3.67.4–5, see p. 15 above.

²⁸ Herodotus 4.178–180. See in general Windberg RE VII A. 305–323, who is however too much inclined to admit the possibility that Diodorus' (i.e. Scytobrachion's) Lake Tritonis actually existed (col. 320, cf. n. 26 above).

²⁹ "Ethiopia" is used here in general terms to denote the extreme west, cf. Homer, *Od.* 1.23–24, Herodotus 7.70, and Lesky *Gesammelte Schriften* (Bern, 1966) 417–418.

³⁰ Diodorus' introduction to the Libyan Amazons is somewhat confusing, since he first claims (3.52.2) that they are hardly known, then (3.52.3) that many writers, both old and new, have referred to them before. The inconsistency is probably due to his speaking in the first case for himself, but in the second reproducing what Scytobrachion wrote about his "sources" (see Bethe, *Quaestiones* 8). Diodorus offers a more conventional account of the Asiatic Amazons at 2.44.3–46 (the source is unknown).

³¹ In addition to the many geographical and individual names found in Diodorus' narrative (and to some extent confirmed by other sources, viz. Paus. 2.21.6 [see above p. 86], *Anthol. Lat.* 860 [quoted on F 2]) note the numbers of infantry and cavalry (Diod. 3.54.2 = F 3), of prisoners taken (3.54.7), and the description of the Amazons' weapons (3.54.3), all of which contrasts sharply with the vagueness of Diod. 2.44.3ff, where even the first queens of the Amazons remain unnamed.

³² Diod. 3.53.6 = F 3. On the "Ethiopian Ichthyophagi" who are said to have lived

tioi, the most civilized of their neighbors.³³ The queen of the Amazons, Myrina,³⁴ makes an example of the Atlantian city of Kerne, which frightens the rest of the Atlantioi into an immediate submission to which Myrina responds generously: she founds a new city named after herself and promises the tribe her protection in the future. The Atlantioi in return vote her public honors (Diod. 3.54.1–6 = F 3). The whole story is obviously based on the career of Alexander and his successors and prepares us for the account of Dionysus which is to come. The rest of Myrina's career with the Amazons is told in similar detail, which need not be reproduced here. After defeating the Gorgons, Arabs, and Syrians (and concluding a treaty with Egypt), she and the Amazons subdue Asia Minor, founding in the process cities which bear their names.³⁵ They establish a sanctuary of the Mother of the gods at Samothrace,³⁶ but are finally defeated by two exiles from their homelands, Mopsus the Thracian and Sipylus the Scythian (both otherwise unknown). The death of Myrina in this battle puts an end to their advance, and after further defeats they return to Libya.³⁷

Where the power of the Amazons ends, that of the Atlantioi begins, at least according to the arrangement adopted by Diodorus.³⁸ The first of the Atlantian kings is said to have been Uranus, who conforms to the Prodiccan concept of the cultural leader and inventor. Not only does he

there, see Jacoby's Commentary ad loc. (p. 512.7ff) and Tkač, *RE* IX.2530. I see no reason (*pace* Pape-Benseler s.v. and *Der kleine Pauly* s. Meninx) to suppose that Mene here is equivalent to Meninx. It might just as well have been a complete invention (perhaps based on the "old name" of the moon [Diod. 3.57.5 = F 6]).

³³ Diod. 3.54.1–6. At what point in their history (as described later) the "Atlantioi" were thus conquered is not said, but it was certainly before the career of Dionysus (Diod. 3.71.3, on which see p. 119 below).

³⁴ Myrina herself is derived from the woman named at *Il.* 2.814 and assumed to have been an Amazon (schol. ad loc., Strabo 12.8.6 [p. 573]) and to have founded cities (*FGrHist* 1 [Hecataeus of Miletus] F 138c, Dionysius of Chalcis fr. 2 [*FHG* IV p. 393]).

³⁵ Diod. 3.54.7–55.7 = F 3, 4. On the foundation of cities by the Amazons see Toepffer *RE* I 1756–1758 and n. 34 above.

³⁶ Diod. 3.55.8–9 = F 4 = N. Lewis, *Samothrace* I (New York 1958) text no. 31; cf. p. 95–96 above on the role of Samothrace in the *Argonauts*.

³⁷ Diod. 3.55.10–11 = F 4. The final defeat and extinction of the Libyan Amazons was accomplished later by Heracles (Diod. 3.55.3 = F 5).

³⁸ Diod. 3.56ff = F 6. For the uncertainties regarding Diodorus' arrangement see p. 78–79 above. The Atlantioi are presumably derived partly from the inhabitants of Plato's Atlantis, but partly also from the *Ἀτλαντες* (or *Ἀτάραντες*), a less remarkable people who are said to have lived in the same area (Herodotus 4.184, Rhianus of Bene fr. 12 Powell, *FGrHist* 90 [Nicolaus of Damascus] F 103u with Jacoby's Commentary).

introduce agriculture and unite his previously scattered people, but he is also an astronomer (like his counterpart in Euhemerus);³⁹ it is for his knowledge of the heavens even more than his other services (*εὐεργεσίαι*) that he receives after his death divine honors from his people, who henceforth give his name to the heavens.⁴⁰ Uranus' wife Titaea, the mother of the Titans, is also deified under the name Ge.⁴¹

In the next generation of the Atlantioi occurs a story which, as we have already noted,⁴² seems to allude indirectly to an existing Ptolemaic cult. Uranus and Titaea had not only several sons (the "Titans"), but also two daughters, Rhea⁴³ and Basileia. After the deaths of her parents, Basileia brought up her brothers and sister unaided (for which she was named the "Great Mother"), and was unanimously proclaimed ruler. After her accession she married her brother Hyperion, to whom she bore a son and a daughter, Helios and Selene. Then, however, the jealousy of the other children of Uranus intervenes; to prevent their succession to the throne, Hyperion and Helios are killed. In grief at her brother's death, Selene (called *φιλάδελφος*) commits suicide.⁴⁴ To the grieving mother appears Helios in a dream, and tells her that he and his sister have been translated to the gods, and that their names will henceforth be used for the sun and moon. After she relates this dream to the people, Basileia's grief turns into madness, and she wanders the world using rattles, drums, and cymbals (which were the playthings of her daughter) to make noises at those who see her. After she disappears in a storm,⁴⁵ the Atlantioi establish cults of Helios, Selene, and the Great Mother.⁴⁶

The use of the adjective *φιλάδελφος* and the deification of the brother and sister have long been recognized as an oblique reference to the cult

³⁹ Diod. 6.6 = *FGrHist* 63 F 2.

⁴⁰ In Euhemerus' story the deification of Uranus and the transfer of his name to the sky were acts of Zeus (*FGrHist* 63 F 21).

⁴¹ Diod. 3.57.1–2 = F 6. For the name Titaea cf. Diod. 5.66.2.

⁴² See above pp. 89–90.

⁴³ Rhea is also called Pandora (Diod. 3.57.2 = F 6), an alteration for the equation of Pandora with Ge; see the passages listed by West on Hesiod, *Works and Days* 81 (from which however Diodorus should be deleted).

⁴⁴ The same situation is the basis of Callimachus' epigram 20 Pf. (= 32 Gow-Page); it is perhaps based on an historical incident, but see Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* II.824 n. 203.

⁴⁵ For the setting-up of a cult as a result of *ἀφανισμός* see F. Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum* (RGVV 5, Giessen, 1909–1912) 480–489 (cf. the disappearance of Hesperus, Diod. 3.60.3 = F 7).

⁴⁶ Diod. 3.57.2–8 = F 6. In this novel account of the Great Mother Dionysius was perhaps influenced by other combinations of Demeter's search for Persephone with Kybele's worship (Eur. *Helen* 1301ff, F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* [RGVV 33, Berlin 1974] 155 n. 24, 157 n. 30).

of Ptolemy Philadelphus and Arsinoe II as *θεοὶ ἀδελφοί*.⁴⁷ The names Helios and Selene may have been chosen for their Libyan connections (cf. Hdt. 4.188), but it is also possible that Helios (Horus) and Selene (Isis) were already identified with the Ptolemaic royal pair in the third century B.C.;⁴⁸ by the first century at any rate the children of Antony and Cleopatra were named Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene (Plutarch, *Anton.* 36).

After Hyperion's death the kingdom of Uranus is divided between Atlas and Cronus. The former receives the westernmost parts of Libya, whose people are named after him. Like his father he is an astronomer, and (although he apparently received no divine honors) on this is based the myth that he supports the Cosmos.⁴⁹ His daughters, the Atlantides, are said to have been the mothers of many men who were later deified, but Diodorus gives only the well known example of Hermes, son of Maia.⁵⁰

Cronus, who receives the rest of Libya for his kingdom along with Sicily and Italy, plays a major role in the third and final section of Diodorus' narrative (3.68–74.1 = F 8–12), which is mainly concerned with Dionysus. This story corresponds loosely to the Titanomachy of Hesiod (and of Euhemerus), in that Cronus and the Titans are defeated and Zeus is finally established as king. But the main figure in this story is one who had no place in the traditional Titanomachy.⁵¹

Dionysus is as central to the Libyan Stories as Heracles is to the *Argonauts*, and for much the same reason.⁵² Since the fifth century B.C. the importance of the myths concerning him (as well as his cult) had

⁴⁷ See above pp. 89–90. We need not of course expect all the details of Scytobrachion's story to correspond precisely with the life of Philadelphus and Arsinoe, any more than that his account of Dionysus and Ammon should resemble precisely Alexander; nor does it cause any difficulty that the story does not especially flatter Philadelphus. The evidence which places Scytobrachion in Egypt is very uncertain (see p. 90 above; Nock, *Essays* I, 143 n. 43 misrepresents Suet. *De Gram.* 7) and to assume that he was a "court-writer" is unjustified.

⁴⁸ See D. B. Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience* (Oxford 1973) 65.

⁴⁹ Diod. 3.60.1–2 = F 7. On Atlas as an astronomer see Jacoby's Commentary ad loc. (*FGH Hist* 32 F 7) and Wernicke *RE* II.2125.

⁵⁰ Diod. 3.60.4 = F 7. Their identification with the Pleiades (3.60.5) is as old as Hesiod (*Works and Days* 383).

⁵¹ J. Dörig, *Der Kampf der Götter und Titanen* (Olten 1961) 50 has not recognized the nature of Diodorus' source. Scytobrachion mentions a Gigantomachy also, which is also very different from the traditional one (Diod. 3.70.3–6 = F 9), on which see F. Vian, *La guerre des géants* [Paris 1952] 199).

⁵² Other accounts of Dionysus (whose sources are all uncertain) are offered by Diod. 1.15.6ff, 2.38.3–39.1, 3.62–66.3, 3.74.1–3, 4.1.6–5, 5.75.4–5.

been increasing. Like Heracles, he was credited with an eventful early career and wide travels (of which traces remain in Eur. *Cyclops* 1–9 and *Bacchae* 13–19). But Scytobrachion's account reflects mainly the developments in the legend which began with Alexander, whose deeds were shortly after his death (if not during his lifetime) compared with those of the god.⁵³ The *Libyan Stories* show another part of the same process, in which the god was in turn assimilated to Alexander.

A major reason for the transposition of the origins of the gods to Libya must have been to connect Dionysus as firmly with Ammon as Alexander had been;⁵⁴ to this same end Dionysus is given an unusual set of parents—Ammon, who is said to be a king of a neighboring region, marries Rhea the daughter of Uranus, but also begets a son by Amalthea. To escape Rhea's jealousy, he arranges to have this child, Dionysus, brought up in safety in the city of Nysa (on an island in the River Triton)⁵⁵ and places him in the care of Aristaeus, his daughter Nysa, and Athena, who had recently been born at the River Triton.⁵⁶ But Dionysus' exploits (he had invented wine there while still a child) come to the attention of Rhea, who leaves Ammon and marries her brother Cronus. At her urging, Cronus and the Titans successfully besiege Ammon (who is forced to flee to Crete),⁵⁷ then attack Nysa itself. Dionysus assembles now for the

⁵³ See A. D. Nock, *JHS* 48 (1928) 21–30 = *Essays* I 134–144, Seibert, *Alexander* (above n. 14) 204.

⁵⁴ Ammon was evidently included in Euhemerus' *Sacred History* as well (Diod. 5.44.6 = *FGrHist* 63 F 3).

⁵⁵ Scytobrachion's rhetorical description of Nysa (3.68.4–69 = F 8) is preserved by Diodorus at even greater length than his accounts of Hespera (3.53.4–5 = F 2) and Mene (3.53.6 = F 3, cf. Euhemerus' descriptions in Diod. 5.41.5ff, 42.7ff = *FGrHist* 63 F 3), and must have been a major feature of the original. An unnoticed reference to Scytobrachion's Nysa by Apollodorus of Athens is discussed pp. 113ff below.

⁵⁶ For Aristaeus as guardian of Dionysus cf. Oppian *Cyng.* 4.273. Athena's epithet Tritogeneia was commonly explained as "born at Lake Tritonis" (see Henrichs, *Cr. Erc.* 5 [1975] 24ff). Diod. 3.70.2 = F 9 calls her Tritonis. On Athena's killing of the Aegis according to Scytobrachion (Diod. 3.70.3–5 = F 9), see Henrichs 32–33, Vian *loc. cit.* (above n. 51).

⁵⁷ Diod. 3.61.1–2 = F 11 states that Uranus had a brother named Zeus, distinct from the later, more famous Zeus. Zeus I ruled Crete, named it *Idaea* after his wife, and fathered the Curetes. Jacoby (Commentary to *FGrHist* 32 F 7, p. 513.23ff) argued that this passage was an insertion by Diodorus, but in the present case (Diod. 3.71.2 = F 10) Ammon flees to the same island, marries Creta, the daughter of one of the Curetes, and takes over the throne, naming the island (formerly called *Idaea*) after his wife. This corresponds perfectly with 3.61.1–2, since Zeus I would by then have died. There is therefore no reason to deny the earlier section to Scytobrachion. The career of this first Zeus is very similar to that of Euhemerus' Zeus

first time the army with which he will later conquer the world, composed of Amazons,⁵⁸ Sileni (Diod. 3.72.1–2 = F 10, the hereditary rulers of Nysa), and Athena (3.71.4). He routs Cronus and the Titans, then offers their freedom to the prisoners taken at that battle. Overcome by his clemency, they prostrate themselves before him (*προσκυνεῖν αὐτὸν ὡς θεόν*) and voluntarily join his army (Diod. 3.71.4–6). This is the first step in the process whereby Dionysus receives divine honor in his own lifetime, the first of the Atlantians to do so. The next stage follows immediately, when his guardian Aristaeus becomes the first to offer him sacrifice (*ὡς θεῶι θῦσαι*, Diod. 3.72.1).

After traversing Libya and killing the Kampe, a notorious wild beast,⁵⁹ thus winning for himself fame and the admiration of the Libyans, Dionysus and his army finally capture Cronus and Rhea, whom he treats with clemency and whose young son, Zeus, he educates. His Libyan conquests completed, Dionysus offers a monument to a prophecy which had foretold his success. Even before the final battle against the Titans, the Libyans had informed him of the word of his father Ammon, who had foretold that his son would one day recover his father's kingdom, after which he would conquer the entire world and be revered as a god. Dionysus therefore founds the well known oracle of Ammon, which he later consults to learn that his destiny is to obtain immortality through his good works and world conquests (Diod. 3.73.3 = F 12). The whole episode, of which many variants are attested,⁶⁰ reveals at its clearest the model for Dionysus' career. Like Alexander, his confidence in his invincibility and his claim to immortality derive from the assurances of his "father" Ammon.⁶¹

Dionysus then begins those world travels which, as noted above, were already known in the fifth century. He begins with Egypt, of which he

(*FGrHist* 63 F 24) except of course that he is assigned to an earlier generation.—The etymology of the name of Zeus II (Diod. 3.61.6 = F 13: *διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν τοῦ καλῶς ζῆν αἴτιον γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις*) is probably to be attributed to Dionysius rather than Diodorus; it bears some resemblance to the etymology offered by Chrysippus (P. Herc. 1428 col. 24–25a = *SVF* II fr. 1076 [p. 315], cf. Schol. [BT] *Il.* 20.127 and Erbse ad loc.), and may be based ultimately on the older etymology from *διά* (West on Hes. *W.D.* 3, Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 1485) as well as on *ζῆν*.

⁵⁸ Diod. 3.71.3 = F 10, on which see p. 119 below.

⁵⁹ Diod. 3.72.3 = F 10. The Kampe has been borrowed from Zeus' labors in the Titanomachy (see Jacoby's Commentary on *FGrHist* 32 F 8, p. 514.30ff).

⁶⁰ See Nock (above n. 53) 142 (to which add Hyg. *Fab.* 133) and p. 89 above.

⁶¹ On the visit of Alexander to the oracle of Ammon and its treatment by contemporary historians see J. R. Hamilton, *Plutarch's Alexander: A Commentary* (Oxford 1969) pp. 68ff.

appoints the young Zeus as ruler, then proceeds as far as India, always winning the immediate acceptance of the people as an *εὐεργέτης*, and spreading the cult of his own divinity. On his return he engages in one more battle against the Titans to defend his father in Crete. After the deaths of Ammon and Dionysus (whose cults of course survive them), the young Zeus, who has been trained by Dionysus to establish a reign of justice, takes over the kingdom; with him the story ends, at least in Diodorus' excerpts.

We have seen, then, that the *Libyan Stories* is a work of fiction; it is based partly on a theory of religion derived from Prodicus, with a story disguised as ethnography and characters drawn from contemporary history. But the work which results can be called neither philosophical speculation nor ethnography nor political propaganda. It is meant purely as entertainment (like the *Argonauts*) in which the techniques of these different genres are all exploited. Once this is recognized, the *Libyan Stories* can be treated with the proper caution by the student of geography and myth, and enjoyed as one more example of the diversity of Hellenistic literature.

Appendices

1. An Unnoticed Testimonium to the *Libyan Stories*

Dionysius' connection of the career of Dionysus with the oracle of Ammon at Siwah in Libya is in accord with several contemporary accounts,¹ but his odd location of Nysa in Libya is clearly his own invention.² His lengthy description of this idyllic town, where Dionysus was raised at a safe distance from Rhea's wrath (Diod. 3.68.4–70.1 = F 8), belongs with Theopompus' *Μεροπις γῆ* and Euhemerus' Panchaea to the idealizing and fabulous ethnography in vogue among historians and philosophical writers alike.³ It would be surprising if Scytobrachion's account of this city, which remains an impressive example of Hellenistic rhetoric even in Diodorus' paraphrase,⁴ had otherwise vanished without a trace in ancient literature; in fact, it seems to be referred to at least once elsewhere, in a suitable context.

Strabo (7.3.6) has reproduced (with disapproval) a large portion of the preface to the second book of Apollodorus' work *Περὶ τοῦ νεῶν καταλόγου*, in which various geographical inaccuracies in the Homeric catalog are, in agreement with Eratosthenes, defended by reference to later writers who were equally ignorant of the geography of distant lands. Apollodorus cited in this connection a long list of fabulous places and tribes which either never existed at all or were endowed with bizarre traits that no one could credit. He named first poets, then prose writers in an apparently chronological order:

οὐ θαυμαστὸν δ' εἶναι (sc. φησὶν Ἀπολλόδωρος) περὶ Ὀμήρου· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἔτι νεωτέρους ἐκείνου πολλὰ ἀγνοεῖν καὶ τερατολογεῖν· Ἡσίοδον (fr. 153 M–W) μὲν Ἡμίκωνα λέγοντα καὶ Μεγαλοκεφάλου καὶ Πυγμαίους, Ἀλκμᾶνα (PMG 148) δὲ

¹ See above pp. 89ff., with notes 22–23.

² On the various locations for Nysa see Dodds on Eur. *Bacchae* 556.

³ See in general E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer* (5th ed., Darmstadt, 1974) 210ff.

⁴ See Schwartz, *RE* V.931.

Στεγανόποδας, Αἰσχύλον δὲ Κυνοκεφάλους (fr. 431 Nauck) καὶ Στεγροφθάλμους (fr. 441) καὶ Μονομμάτους (cf. *Prom.* 804–5) [ἐν τῷ Προμηθεΐ φασι]⁵ καὶ ἄλλα μυρία. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων ἐπὶ τοὺς συγγραφέας βαδίζει (sc. Ἀπολλόδωρος) Ῥιπαῖα ὄρη λέγοντας καὶ τὸ Ὠγύιον ὄρος καὶ τὴν τῶν Γοργόνων καὶ Ἑσπερίδων κατοικίαν (*FGrHist* 1 [Hecataeus Milesius] F 194) καὶ τὴν παρὰ Θεοπόμπῳ (*FGrHist* 115 F 75) Μεροπίδα γῆν, παρ' Ἑκαταίῳ (*FGrHist* 264 [Hecataeus Abderites] F 8) δὲ Κιμμερίδα πόλιν, παρ' Εὐημέρῳ (*FGrHist* 63 T 5) δὲ τὴν Παγγ(α)ίαν γῆν, [παρ' Ἀριστοτέλει δὲ ποταμίους λίθους ἐξ ἄμμου, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὄμβρων τήκεσθαι.] ἐν δὲ τῇ Λιβύῃ Διονύσου πόλιν εἶναι (sc. φησὶν Ἀπολλόδωρος), ταύτην δ' οὐκ ἐνδέχεσθαι δις τὸν αὐτὸν ἐξευρεῖν.
Strabo 7.3.6 (p. 299) = *FGrHist* 244 F 157 a (cf. Strabo 1.2.35)

Several features of this neglected text deserve comment.⁶ That Strabo reproduces a list which was assembled by Apollodorus has been challenged by P. M. Fraser who asserts that “Apollodorus here, as frequently, reproduces the opinions, perhaps the very word of Eratosthenes” (*Ptol. Alex.* II 454 n. 830). But the evidence available points rather in the other direction. Eratosthenes’ criticisms of fabulous geography (Strabo 1.3.1 = *FGrHist* 63 T 5a) and Apollodorus’ agreement with him are beyond doubt, but Strabo (who knew the works of both authors) clearly attributes the list of *τερατολογούντες* itself to Apollodorus.⁷ If further proof is needed, the characteristically Apollodorean *Zitatennest* and the opposition between Homer and the *νεώτεροι* (cf. Strabo 14.5.29 = *FGrHist* 244 F 170) provide it.⁸

The citation of *συγγραφεῖς* on the Rhipaeian mountains, the “Ogyian” mountain, and the location of the Gorgons and Hesperides probably refers, as Jacoby notes,⁹ to other authors besides Hecataeus. The Rhipaeian mountains were mentioned also by Hellanicus (*FGrHist* 4 F 187b), Hippocrates (*Περὶ ἀέρων* 19), and Damastes (*FGrHist* 5 F 1),¹⁰ the

⁵ del. Heyne.

⁶ The need for a new treatment of the Strabonian fragments of Apollodorus’ *Catalog of Ships* (last studied by Niese, *Rh. Mus.* 32 [1877] 267–307 [288–9 on the text here discussed]) has been noted by Pfeiffer, *Hist. Class. Schol.* I 259 n. 2.

⁷ This was recognized by H. Berger, *Die geographischen Fragmente des Eratosthenes* (Leipzig, 1880) p. 31.

⁸ See Chapter ii above, pp. 32ff.

⁹ Commentary to *FGrHist* 1 T 13 and 1 F 193–4.

¹⁰ cf. Aristotle *Meteor.* 1.13, Plin. *N. H.* 4.88f.

Gorgons and Hesperides in Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3 F 11) and Herodotus (2.91).¹¹ Strabo has evidently summarized at this point a more detailed group of Apollodorean citations of fifth century prose writers.

The citation of “Aristotle”¹² presents another difficulty, but here Strabo does not appear to be to blame. These rocks do not belong in a list of fabulous places and peoples, and Aristotle forms the only exception to the chronological order otherwise observed here. (That these authors should be cited chronologically is natural, since their dates—*νεώτεροι*, later than Homer—are the reason for their inclusion.)¹³ I have assumed therefore that these words (perhaps a confused version of a Pseudo-Aristotelian paradox)¹⁴ are a later addition, and indeed they are not much less inept than the marginal note on Aeschylus’ *Prometheus* which has found its way into the text.

It is surprising that no one has ever inquired about the source of the *Διονύσου πόλις*, for the nature of the list itself offers some clues to his identity. He was a prose writer, dealing at least in this case not with history but with a place that did not really exist, one that “the same man could not find twice”.¹⁵ Assuming that the list is ordered chronologically, he can even be dated roughly between Euhemerus and Apollodorus himself (ca. 280–150 B.C.); and of course he told of Dionysus in Libya.

Now in Diodorus’ epitome of Scytobrachion the Libyan home of Dionysus is not *Διονύσου πόλις* but Nysa.¹⁶ Yet in every other respect our author fits the above description precisely, and he is the only author who does. When we add to this the fact that the source of Strabo’s list—Apollodorus—is also (through *Περὶ θεῶν*) the probable source of the

¹¹ The *᾽Ωγύιον ὄρος* (*᾽Ωγύγιον* Xylander) is however known only from this passage.

¹² It is not to be found in Rose’s collection, nor in his *Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus*. Aristotle (*Meteor.* 382 b 28ff) and Theophrastus (*περὶ λίθων* chap. 48) both discuss the dissolution of rocks, but no similar statement is found in either passage.

¹³ In his Commentary to *FGrHist* 264 (Hecataeus of Abdera) F 8 Jacoby similarly accepted the list as chronological, but did not notice that “Aristotle” is then out of place.

¹⁴ Cf. [Aristotle], *Περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων* 115 and the index to A. Giannini, *Paradoxographorum Graecorum Reliquiae s. περὶ λίθων* (p. 429).

¹⁵ I would understand this phrase of a place impossible to locate, but am aware of no parallel; Henrichs suggests that it may have been inspired by Heraclitus *VS* 22 B 91 *ποταμῶι γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμβῆναι δις τῶι αὐτῶι*. The city is attested also by Steph. Byz. s. *Διονύσου πόλις* and Eust. in *Odys.* p. 1644.59 (the latter obviously derived from Strabo). Eustathius claims that no man could find it twice because it was a floating island, but this is just his own guess at the meaning.

¹⁶ A Nysa in Libya is attested by Steph. Byz. and Hesychius s. *Νῦσα*; both are probably derived from Dionysius through an intermediate source.

citations of Scytobrachion in the scholia to Apollonius¹⁷ (among them one from the *Libyan Stories*, schol. A.R. 2.963–65c = F 1), the identification of Strabo's Dionysopolis and Scytobrachion's Nysa looks very probable indeed.

Why then does the city have a different name in Diodorus? A certain conclusion is of course not attainable, but it seems likely that here as elsewhere (e.g. in F 31 and P. Hibeh 2.186 = F 27) an outside source contains a detail which, while it fits well into Diodorus' epitome, was itself omitted there.¹⁸

It will be remembered that Dionysus, after the first of his successful campaigns against the Titans, returned to Nysa in triumph with his captives. After his demonstration of clemency resulted in their joining his army, the new troops fell down before their general in near worship (3.71.5: *προσκυνεῖν αὐτὸν ὡς θεόν*) and later, when Dionysus once again led his army out into the field from the city, he received direct worship for the first time from his guardian Aristaeus (Diod. 3.71.5–72.1 = F 10). There could be no more appropriate time for Nysa to receive its new name: *Διονύσου πόλις*.¹⁹

¹⁷ See Chapter ii above, p. 40.

¹⁸ The same passage of Strabo offers another example: Hecataeus' *Κιμμερίς πόλις* is found, without a name, in Diod. 2.47.3 (= *FGrHist* 264 F 7). See Jacoby's Commentary to *FGrHist* 264 F 8.

¹⁹ A foundation of Dionysus himself at the oracle of Ammon (Diod. 3.73.1 = F 12) might seem to have a better claim to the name, but Apollodorus' list suggests a wonderland, and this is clearly Diodorus' Nysa. That Strabo-Apollodorus should by *Διονύσου πόλις* mean "a city connected with Dionysus" (i.e. Nysa) is possible; yet the other places (perhaps even *τὴν τῶν Γοργόνων . . . κατοικίαν*, cf. Xenophon of Lampsacus *ap. Pliny, N. H.* 6.200 *Gorgonum quondam domus*) are cited by their proper names.

2. Some Insertions by Diodorus into his Epitome of Dionysius' *Argonauts*

There remains the problem, first recognized by Bethe, of separating from Diodorus' epitome of the *Argonauts* the material which he took from elsewhere, most probably from the same source as *Bibl.*, Hyginus, the scholia to Apollonius and other such works, as is shown by a comparison of the relevant passages.¹ The task is made easier by the frequent occurrence of inconsistencies between two passages in Diodorus, one of which is usually found to be innovative and in harmony with the rest of Scytobrachion's narrative, while the other repeats a more common story and is found in the other mythographic works (particularly in *Bibl.*) as well.² In such cases the latter version is clearly an insertion by Diodorus.

Bethe's conclusions on this problem are in general fully sufficient, but in a few cases his arguments can be made more precise or supported by further evidence.³

Jacoby has seen that 4.46.5–47 (= F 24) contains some material inserted by Diodorus, but has bracketed so much of the text that nothing is left to explain the subsequent actions of the Argonauts. Two sections, 4.47.1 (the well known story of the flight of Phrixus and Helle on the golden ram) and 4.47.4 (an equally well attested rationalistic explanation of the same, which is different from Dionysius' account) do not belong to Scytobrachion, and Diodorus will have inserted them from the handbook.⁴ On the other hand 4.47.2–3 (with the exception of the word *χρυσόμαλλον*) belongs to Scytobrachion; the story of the oracle and of

¹ On the mythological handbook postulated by Bethe as the source for the common material in these works see the Introduction, p. 16 n. 15.

² The mere fact of the repetition of a detail of the Argonaut story from Diodorus in *Bibl.* does not, however, suffice to prove it an insertion, since Dionysius' account was excerpted in the mythological handbook as well, as shown by *Bibl.* 1.118 (F 15a) ~schol. A.R. 1.1289 (F 15b). *Bibl.* is dependent on Scytobrachion's *Argonauts* (without citing him by name) also at 3.200 (~Diod. 4.44.2 = F 18, see Chapter vii, p. 98 n. 20 above) and 1.143 (~Diod. 4.50.1–2 = F 35, Chapter vii, p. 101 n. 29 above).

³ They should also be defended against the changes adopted (sometimes without discussion) by Jacoby, who indicates what he believes are the Diodorean insertions with double brackets in his text of *FGrHist* 32 F 14. None of Jacoby's arguments against Bethe's analysis is convincing. Some insertions in the *Argonauts* by Diodorus have been discussed already in Chapter vii, pp. 98ff, nn. 19, 20 and 28.

⁴ The assertion that Phrixus actually travelled on a ship that was *κρόπρωρος* (Diod. 4.47.4) is found again at schol. Plato *Menex.* 243a (p. 185 Greene), schol. A.R. 1.256–259, 2.168b. Van der Valk, *REG* 71 (1958) 104 n. 21, who criticizes Greene

the Taurians who guarded the *δέρος* in the sanctuary of Ares is repeated in 4.47.6, and the rationalistic explanation of the fire-breathing bulls (found also in P. Hibeh 2.186, col. 4) is taken for granted in the rest of the narrative.⁵ 4.47.5–6 belong to Dionysius as well,⁶ but Diodorus' combination of several versions of these events has made it necessary for him to repeat in 4.47.6 what he has already said more fully in 47.2.

Diodorus occasionally weaves a variant version into his narrative so closely that only the internal inconsistency enables it to be recognized. Thus we must choose whether, according to Dionysius, Pelias had one son named Acastus (4.53.1 = F 36, 4.55.2 = F 38) or had no male children (4.40.3 = F 14, as in Euripides' *Peliades*). Bethe, *Quaestiones* 21–22 has shown that only the latter alternative suits the rest of Scytobrachion's story. The mention of the well known Acastus is taken over from the handbook (Diod. 4.53.1 ~ Hyg. *Fab.* 24). Another such case is that of 4.45.4 = F 20 (Circe poisoned the king of the Scythians and took over his throne, until she was expelled for her cruelty and went to Italy) and 4.47.5 = F 24 (the same Scythian king took Phrixos as his *ἐρώμενος*, and later left him the throne). Since the natives of this region practice strict *ξενοκτονία* according to Dionysius, 4.47.5 was necessary to explain why Phrixos was not himself put to death.⁷ But 4.45.4 is, as Bethe noted (*Quaestiones* 22), an insertion by Diodorus to account for Circe's well known presence in the west.

The presence of the Thespiadai (4.41.2 = F 14, 4.48.5 = F 30) in the list of Scytobrachion's Argonauts is surprising. The usual story (even of Diodorus himself, 4.29.2ff) was that these were the children of Heracles by the fifty daughters of Thespius, and they are nowhere else connected with the Argonauts. Possibly Dionysius told a very different story of their parentage and careers; but more probably the confusion⁸ is due to a corruption in the text of the *Argonauts* which Diodorus himself used. Evidently Scytobrachion included not just Iphiclus *Θεστιάδης* (A.R. 1.201) on the journey but also some of his brothers. Diodorus found

for not noting the resemblance between part of the scholion on Plato and *Bibl.* 1.82–3, has himself overlooked the parallels in Diodorus and the scholia to Apollonius (which incidentally disprove his conclusion).

⁵ The guard Dracon (4.47.3) is not referred to again by Diodorus, but there is no reason to doubt that he too belonged to Dionysius' story.

⁶ On Diod. 4.47.5 see p. 94 above; 4.47.6 is reproduced in F 25 a–c).

⁷ In A.R. 3.584–588 this purpose is fulfilled by the command of Zeus.

⁸ In 4.41.2 Diodorus calls them *Θεσπίων παῖδες* (they were not, despite their name), and at 4.48.5 reports that the *Θεσπιάδαι* (all fifty of them?) were wounded in a battle. (See Höfer in Roscher's *Lexikon*, V.779.)

Θεσπίων instead of *Θεστίων* in his original (for the frequent confusion of the two see Pape-Benseler s.vv.) and made the best he could of it.

I add one note on a supposed insertion by Diodorus in the *Libyan Stories*. In Diod. 3.71.3 (= F 10) Cronus, Rhea, and the Titans have made war on Dionysus' father Ammon, and are advancing against Dionysus himself at Nysa. When Dionysus learns of their plans, he assembles an army of Nysaeans and also recruits some nearby tribes, including the Amazons, who it is noted have already been described.

The next sentence, as printed by Jacoby, informs us that although the Titans and Cronus are advancing on his land, Dionysus first takes his newly formed army on a tour of world conquest, after which he returns to defeat the Titans in Libya.

Jacoby concludes that this sentence (*καὶ πρῶτον μὲν . . . καταστρέψασθαι*, Diod. 3.71.3) is an insertion by Diodorus himself, since it interrupts the story and anticipates the later description of Dionysus' conquests (Diod. 3.73.6 = F 12); in fact, what these words seem to mean would be too nonsensical even for Diodorus to have written.

Yet Jacoby's comment rests on a misunderstanding and incorrect punctuation of the Greek text, which is not a complete sentence. The infinitives *στελλασθαι* and *καταστρέψασθαι* do not refer to Dionysus but to the Amazons, and they are dependent on *δοκοῦσιν*. There should be no stop in the punctuation after *διενηγκεῖν*, and the whole sentence is to be translated: "Dionysus recruited in addition from the neighboring peoples the Libyans and the Amazons; concerning the latter we have already noted that they seem to have excelled in physical strength, and to have been the first to undertake an expedition abroad and to conquer a great part of the world." Diodorus (i.e. Dionysius) is simply referring back to remind us of the military prowess (Diod. 3.53.1–3 = F 2) and wide ranging campaigns (3.54ff = F 3) of the Libyan Amazons.

The Fragments

A Note on the Fragment Collection

Since the preceding chapters have presented three new fragments of Dionysius' *Argonauts*, and proposed many alterations to the edition of the *Argonauts* and the other fragments by Jacoby (*FGrHist* 32), it seemed worthwhile to offer here a new collection of all the fragments of Dionysius. The following texts are arranged somewhat differently than in Jacoby's edition; they are no longer ordered according to the completeness of the citation, but according to their places in the narrative, so that the remains of the *Argonauts* and the *Libyan Stories* may be read continuously and the various sources compared. (The alleged reliability of the ethnics and book numbers given in the scholia to Apollonius is in any case an illusion, see p. 75 and 79 above.) The corresponding fragment numbers in *FGrHist* 32 are noted in parentheses in the apparatus to each fragment.

The single critical apparatus confines itself to recording a selection of variant readings and conjectures (from the latest editions and from *FGrHist* 32), and referring to previous discussions of the fragments, and to the chapters above (the latter designated by page number alone).

Material which I judge not to pertain to Dionysius or his works is printed in small type; this is in particular the case with insertions by Diodorus himself into his epitome of the *Argonauts* and *Libyan Stories*, many of which have been discussed above.

The *sigla* for the manuscripts of Diodorus III–IV are those of Vogel's edition (Leipzig, 1888), for the scholia to Apollonius those of Wendel (Berlin, 1935).

Dionysii Mytilenaei Fragmenta

Testimonia

1 a Suda δ 1175 Adler

*Διονύσιος, Μιτυληναῖος, ἐποποιός · οὗτος ἐκλήθη Σκντοβραχίων
καὶ Σκντεύς. τὴν Διονύσου καὶ Ἀθηναῶς στρατείαν, Ἀργοναῦται
ἐν βιβλίοις ζ' · ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶ πεζά. Μυθικὰ πρὸς Παρμένωντα.*

1 b In eodem lexico s. *Διονύσιος Μιλήσιος* (δ 1180 Adler)
pertinent ad Mytilenaeum haec: *Τρωικῶν βιβλία γ', Μυθικά.*

2 a Diod. 3.66.5–6 (= F 8)

66.6 . . . ἵνα μηδὲν παραλείπωμεν τῶν ἱστορημένων περὶ Διονύσου,
διέξιμεν ἐν κεφαλαίοις τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Λίβυσι λεγόμενα καὶ τῶν
Ἑλληνικῶν συγγραφέων ὅσοι τούτοις σύμφωνα γεγράφασι καὶ
Διονυσίῳ τῷ συνταξαμένῳ τὰς παλαιὰς μυθοποιίας. οὗτος
γὰρ τὰ τε περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς 5
Ἀργοναύτας καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν πόλεμον πραχθέντα καὶ
πόλλ' ἕτερα συντέτακται, παρατιθεῖς τὰ ποιήματα τῶν ἀρχαίων,
τῶν τε μυθολόγων καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν.

2 b Diod. 3.52.3 (= F 2)

. . . ἀναγράφειν τὰς πράξεις (sc. Amazonum Libycarum) πειρα-
σόμεθα ἐν κεφαλαίοις ἀκολουθῶς Διονυσίῳ τῷ συντεταγμένῳ
τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ
τῶν ἐν τοῖς παλαιωτάτοις χρόνοις πραχθέντων.

1 a (1) v. pp. 76–80 supra (p. 81 de ἐποποιός). ἐποποιός del. Gutschmid 2 καὶ Σκντεύς:
ἢ Σκντεύς Jacoby, qui lacunam post Σκντεύς statuit. στρατείαν: στρατιάν codd.,
corr. Portus Ἀργοναῦται -ναύτας V

1 b (5) v. pp. 80–81 supra 2 a (4) et b (3) v. pp. 11–13 supra

3 Suet. De grammaticis 7

M. Antonius Gniphō, ingenuus in Gallia natus, sed expositus, a nutritore suo manumissus institutusque (Alexandriae quidem, ut aliqui tradunt, in contubernio Dionysi Scyto-brachionis; quod equidem non temere crediderim, cum temporum ratio vix congruat).

5

4 Athen. 12.515 DE

Λυδοὶ δὲ εἰς τοσοῦτον ἤλθον τρυφῆς ὡς καὶ πρῶτοι γυναῖκας εὐνουχίσαι, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ξάνθος ὁ Λυδὸς ἢ ὁ τὰς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένης ἱστορίας συγγεγραφῶς — Διονύσιος δ' ὁ Σκυτοβραχίων, ὡς Ἀρτέμων φησὶν ὁ Κασσανδρεὺς ἐν τῷ περὶ συναγωγῆς βιβλίων (FHG IV p. 342), ἀγνοῶν ὅτι Ἐφορος (FGrHist 70 F 180) ὁ συγγραφεὺς μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ ὡς παλαιότερον ὄντος καὶ Ἡροδότῳ τὰς ἀφορμὰς δεδωκότος — ὁ δ' οὖν Ξάνθος ἐν τῇ δευτέρῃ τῶν Λυδιακῶν (FGrHist 765 F 4a) Ἀδραμύτην φησὶ τὸν Λυδῶν βασιλέα πρῶτον γυναῖκας εὐνουχίσαντα χρῆσθαι αὐταῖς ἀντὶ ἀνδρῶν εὐνούχων.

5

10

3 (2) v. pp. 85–86, 90–92 supra 2 *Alexandriae* <et> *quidem* Th. Mommsen
4 (6) v. Hertler, *RE* IXA. 1355–6, supra pp. 82ff 3 “fortasse δ’ <ἔστιν> ὁ Σκυτ., aut sic certe intellegendum” Kaibel

Fragmenta

Fabulae Libycae (De Amazonibus)

1 Schol. Ap. Rhod. 2.963–965 c

*Εφορος δὲ ἐν θ' (FGrHist 70 F 60 a) φησὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας
ὑβριζομένας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐξελθόντων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τινὰ
πόλεμον τοὺς μὲν καταλειφθέντας ἀναιρεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς
ξένης προσιόντας μὴ δέχεσθαι. Διονύσιος δὲ ἐν β' κατὰ Λιβύην
αὐτὰς ὠικηκέναι φησὶ, ῥώμη δὲ διενεγκούσας καὶ τρεψαμένας 5
τοὺς δούρους ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ πολλὰς αὐτόθι
πόλεις κτίσαι, ὑποτάξαι τε αὐταῖς τὸ Ἀτλαντικὸν ἔθνος, ὃ ἦν
δυνατώτατον τῶν τῆς Λιβύης. Ζηνόθεμις δὲ αὐτάς φησιν
ὠικηκέναι ἐν Αἰθιοπία καὶ διερχομένας ἐπὶ τὸ ἀντιπέραν 10
συγγίνεσθαι τοῖς αὐτόθι ἀνδράσιν, καὶ εἰ μὲν θῆλυ ἀποκνήσειαν,
προσεθίζειν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀγωγῇ, εἰ δὲ ἄρρεν, τοῖς ἀνδράσι διδόναι.

2 Diod. 3.52–53.5

- 52.1 τούτων δ' ἡμῖν διενεκρινημένων οἰκεῖον ἂν εἶη τοῖς προειρημέ-
νοις τόποις διελθεῖν τὰ περὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας ἱστορούμενα τὰς
γενομένας τὸ παλαιὸν κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην. οἱ πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ
ὑπειλήφασιν τὰς περὶ τὸν Θερμῶδοντα ποταμὸν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ
λεγομένας κατωικηκέναι μόνας ὑπάρξαι· τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς οὐχ 5
οὕτως ἔχει διὰ τὸ πολὺν προτερεῖν τοῖς χρόνοις τὰς κατὰ Λιβύην
2 καὶ πράξεις ἀξιολόγους ἐπιτελέσασθαι. οὐκ ἀγνοοῦμεν δὲ διότι
πολλοῖς τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων ἀνήκοος φανεῖται καὶ ξένη
παντελῶς ἢ περὶ τούτων ἱστορία· ἠφανισμένου γὰρ ὀλοσχερῶς
τοῦ γένους τῶν Ἀμαζονίδων τούτων πολλαῖς γενεαῖς πρότερον 10

Fabulae Libycae: inscriptio vera ignota, v. p. 80 supra

De Amazonibus: cf. T 2 a τὰ ... περὶ ... τὰς Ἀμαζόνας

1 (4) v. p. 79 supra 2 (7) 3 μὲν add. D

- τῶν Τρωικῶν, τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Θερμῶδοντα ποταμὸν γυναικῶν
 ἡμακνυῶν μικρὸν πρὸ τούτων τῶν χρόνων, οὐκ ἀλόγως αἱ
 μεταγενέστεραι καὶ μᾶλλον γνωριζόμεναι τὴν δόξαν κεκληρονο-
 μήκασι τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ παντελῶς ἀγνοουμένων διὰ τὸν
 3 χρόνον ὑπὸ τῶν πλείστων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς εὐρίσκοντες 15
 πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν τε καὶ συγγραφέων, οὐκ
 ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων μνήμην πεποιημένους
 αὐτῶν, ἀναγράφειν τὰς πράξεις πειρασόμεθα ἐν κεφαλαίοις
 ἀκολούθως Διονυσίῳ τῷ συντεταγμένῳ τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ἀργοναύ-
 20 τας καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ τῶν ἐν τοῖς παλαιότατοις
 χρόνοις πραχθέντων.
- 4 γέγονε μὲν οὖν πλείω γένη γυναικῶν κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην
 μάχима καὶ τεθανασμένα μέγालως ἐπ' ἀνδρείαι· τό τε γὰρ
 τῶν Γοργόνων ἔθνος, ἐφ' ὃ λέγεται τὸν Περσέα στρατεῦσαι,
 παρελήφμεν ἀλκῆι διαφέρον· τό γὰρ τὸν Διὸς μὲν υἱόν, τῶν 25
 δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὸν Ἑλλήνων ἄριστον, τελέσαι μέγιστον ἄθλον
 τὴν ἐπὶ ταύτας στρατεῖαν τεκμήριον ἂν τις λάβοι τῆς περὶ τὰς
 προειρημένας γυναικῶν ὑπεροχῆς τε καὶ δυνάμεως· ἢ τε τῶν
 νῦν μελλουσῶν ἰστορεῖσθαι ἀνδρεία παραδόξον ἔχει τὴν ὑπεροχὴν
- 53.1 πρὸς τὰς καθ' ἡμᾶς φύσεις τῶν γυναικῶν συγκρινομένη. φασὶ 30
 γὰρ ὑπάρξαι τῆς Λιβύης ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἐσπέραν μέρεσιν ἐπὶ
 τοῖς πέρασιν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἔθνος γυναικοκρατούμενον καὶ βίον
 ἐξηλωκὸς οὐχ ὁμοῖον τῷ παρ' ἡμῖν. ταῖς μὲν γὰρ γυναιξὶν ἔθος
 εἶναι διαπονεῖν τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον, καὶ χρόνους ὠρισμένους
 35 ὀφείλειν στρατεῦσθαι, διατηρουμένης τῆς παρθενίας· διεληθόν-
 των δὲ τῶν ἐτῶν τῶν τῆς στρατείας προσιέναι μὲν τοῖς ἀνδράσι
 παιδοποιίας ἕνεκα, τὰς δ' ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ κοινὰ διοικεῖν ταύτας
- 2 ἅπαντα. τοὺς δ' ἀνδρας ὁμοίως ταῖς παρ' ἡμῖν γαμεταῖς τὸν
 κατοικίδιον ἔχειν βίον, ὑπηρετοῦντας τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν συνοικουσῶν
 προσταττομένοις· μὴ μετέχειν δ' αὐτοὺς μήτε στρατείας μήτ' 40
 ἀρχῆς μήτ' ἄλλης τινὸς ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς παρρησίας, ἐξ ἧς ἔμελλον
- 3 φρονηματισθέντες ἐπιθήσεσθαι ταῖς γυναιξί. κατὰ δὲ τὰς
 γενέσεις τῶν τέκνων τὰ μὲν βρέφη παραδίδοσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι,
 καὶ τούτους διατρέφειν αὐτὰ γάλακτι καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἐψήμασιν
 οἰκείως ταῖς τῶν νηπίων ἡλικίαις· εἰ δὲ τύχοι θῆλυ γεννηθέν, 45

11 γυναικῶν om. E 13 καὶ om. D 19 τῷ συντεταγμένῳ om. D 27 στρατηγίαν D
 31 ἐπὶ τοῦ πέρατος II (codd. praeter DAB) 33 οὐκ ἴσον CF 34 τὸν πόλεμον CF
 36 τῶν τῆς : τῆς CF 42 ἐπιθέσθαι II 45 οἰκείως Vogel

ἐπικάεσθαι αὐτοῦ τοὺς μαστούς, ἵνα μὴ μετεωρίζωνται κατὰ
τοὺς τῆς ἀκμῆς χρόνους· ἐμπόδιον γὰρ οὐ τὸ τυχόν εἶναι δοκεῖν
πρὸς τὰς στρατείας τοὺς ἐξέχοντας τοῦ σώματος μαστούς· διὸ
καὶ τούτων αὐτὰς ἀπεστερημένας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀμαζόνας
4 προσαγορεύεσθαι. μυθολογοῦσι δ' αὐτὰς ὠικηκέναι νῆσον τὴν 50
ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ πρὸς δυσμὰς ὑπάρχειν αὐτὴν Ἑσπέραν προσα-
γορευθεῖσαν, κειμένην δ' ἐν τῇ Τριτωνίδι λίμνῃ. ταύτην δὲ
πλησίον ὑπάρχειν τοῦ περιέχοντος τὴν γῆν ὠκεανοῦ, προσηγο-
ρευθεῖσθαι δ' ἀπὸ τινος ἐμβάλλοντος εἰς αὐτὴν ποταμοῦ Τρίτωνος·
5 κείσθαι δὲ τὴν λίμνην ταύτην πλησίον Αἰθιοπίας καὶ τοῦ παρὰ 55
τὸν ὠκεανὸν ὄρους, ὃ μέγιστον μὲν ὑπάρχειν τῶν ἐν τοῖς τόποις
<τούτοις> καὶ προπεπτωκὸς εἰς τὸν ὠκεανόν, ὀνομάζεσθαι δ'
6 ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀτλαντα. τὴν δὲ προειρημένην νῆσον
ὑπάρχειν μὲν εὐμεγέθη καὶ πλήρη καρπίμων δένδρων παντοδα-
πῶν, ἀφ' ὧν πορίζεσθαι τὰς τροφὰς τοὺς ἐγχωρίους. ἔχειν δ'
60 αὐτὴν καὶ κτηνῶν πλῆθος, αἰγῶν καὶ προβάτων, ἐξ ὧν γάλα
καὶ κρέα πρὸς διατροφὴν ὑπάρχειν τοῖς κεκτημένοις· σίτωι δὲ
τὸ σύνολον μὴ χρῆσθαι τὸ ἔθνος διὰ τὸ μήπω τοῦ καρποῦ
τούτου τὴν χρεῖαν εὐρεθῆναι παρ' αὐτοῖς.

cum Hespera cf. *Anth. Lat.* 860:

Inter Amazonidas, quas insula celsa Tritonis | Hespera
progenuit, qui me nescire Myrinam (cf. F 3 = Diod. 3.54.2) |
Dixerit, ignarum sese fateatur oportet | Eximiae laudis:
Libyamque Asiamque subegi.

3 Diod. 3.53.6–55.2

53.6 τὰς δ' οὖν Ἀμαζόνας ἀλκῇ διαφερούσας καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον
ὤρμημένας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τὰς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πόλεις καταστρέφεσ-
θαι πλὴν τῆς ὀνομαζομένης Μήνης, ἱερᾶς δ' εἶναι νομιζομένης,
ἣν κατοικεῖσθαι μὲν ὑπ' Αἰθιοπῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων, ἔχειν δὲ πυρὸς
ἐκφυσῆματα μεγάλα καὶ λίθων πολυτελῶν πλῆθος τῶν ὀνομαζο- 5

47 δοκεῖ codd., corr. Dindorf 57 <τούτοις> Jacoby προκεκυφός Eichstaedt
3 (7) 3 <μὲν> Μήνης Hertlein

- μένων παρ' Ἑλλησιν ἀνθρώκων καὶ σαρδίων καὶ σμαράγδων, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πολλοὺς τῶν πλησιοχώρων Λιβύων καὶ νομάδων καταπολεμήσαι, καὶ κτίσαι πόλιν μεγάλην ἐντὸς τῆς Τριτωνίδος
- 54.1 λίμνης, ἣν ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος ὀνομάσαι Χερρόνησον. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ὀρωμένηας ἐγχειρήσαι μεγάλαις ἐπιβολαῖς, ὀρωμῆς αὐταῖς ἐμπε- 10
σοῦσης ἐπελθεῖν πολλὰ μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης. ἐπὶ πρώτους δ' αὐτὰς στρατεῦσαι λέγεται τοὺς Ἀτλαντίους, ἄνδρας ἡμερωτάτους τῶν ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐκείνοις καὶ χώραν νεμομένους εὐδαίμονα καὶ πόλεις μεγάλας· παρ' οἷς δὴ μυθολογεῖσθαι φασι τὴν τῶν 15
θεῶν γένεσιν ὑπάρχει πρὸς τοῖς κατὰ τὸν ὠκεανὸν τόποις, συμφώνως τοῖς παρ' Ἑλλησι μυθολόγοις, περὶ ὧν τὰ κατὰ
- 2 μέρος μικρὸν ὕστερον διέξιμεν. τῶν οὖν Ἀμαζόνων λέγεται βασιλεύουσαν Μύριαν συστήσασθαι στρατόπεδον πεζῶν μὲν τρισμυρίων, ἰππέων δὲ τρισχιλίων, ζηλουμένης παρ' αὐταῖς 20
περιττότερον ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἰππέων χρείας. ὄπλοις δὲ χρῆσθαι σκεπαστηρίοις ὄφρων μεγάλων δοραταῖς, ἐχούσης τῆς Λιβύης ταῦτα τὰ ζῶια τοῖς μεγέθεσιν ἄπιστα, ἀμυντηρίοις δὲ τοῖς ξίφεσι καὶ ταῖς λόγχαις, ἔτι δὲ τόξοις, οἷς 25
μὴ μόνον ἐξ ἐναντίας βάλλειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὰς φυγὰς τοὺς ἐπιδιώκοντας εἰς τοῦπίσω τοξεύειν εὐστόχως. ἐμβαλούσας δ' αὐτὰς εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀτλαντίων χώραν τοὺς μὲν τὴν Κέρρην καλουμένην οἰκοῦντας παρατάξει νικῆσαι, καὶ συνεισπεσοῦσας τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν κυριεῦσαι τῆς πόλεως· βουλομέ- 30
νας δὲ τῷ φόβῳ καταπλήξασθαι τοὺς περιοίκους ὡμῶς προσενεχθῆναι τοῖς ἀλοῦσι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας ἠβηθὸν ἀποσφάζει, τέκνα δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἐξανδραποδισαμένας κατασκάψαι
- 5 τὴν πόλιν. τῆς δὲ περὶ τοὺς Κερναίους συμφορᾶς διαδοθείσης εἰς τοὺς ὀμοεθνεῖς, λέγεται τοὺς μὲν Ἀτλαντίους καταπλαγέντας δι' ὀμολογίας παραδοῦναι τὰς πόλεις καὶ πᾶν τὸ προσταχθὲν ποιήσιν ἐπαγγείλασθαι, τὴν δὲ βασιλίσαν Μύριαν ἐπεικῶς 35
αὐτοῖς προσενεχθεῖσαν φιλίαν τε συνθέσθαι καὶ πόλιν ἀντὶ τῆς κατασκαφείσης ὀμώνυμον ἑαυτῆς κτίσαι· κατοικίσαι δ' εἰς αὐτὴν τοὺς τε αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τῶν ἐγχωρίων τὸν βουλόμενον.
- 6 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Ἀτλαντίων δῶρὰ τε μεγαλοπρεπῆ δόντων αὐτῇ καὶ τιμὰς ἀξιολόγους κοινῇ ψηφισαμένων, ἀποδέξασθαι 40
τε τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν αὐτῶν καὶ προσεπαγγείλασθαι τὸ ἔθνος

- 7 εὐεργετήσιν. τῶν δ' ἐγχωρίων πεπολεμημένων πολλάκις ὑπὸ
 τῶν ὀνομαζομένων Γοργόνων, οὐσῶν πλησιοχώρων, καὶ τὸ
 σύνολον ἐφεδρον ἐχόντων τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος, φασὶν ἀξιοθεῖσαν
 τὴν Μύριναν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀτλαντίων ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν 45
 προειρημένων. ἀντιταξαμένων δὲ τῶν Γοργόνων γενέσθαι
 καρτεράν μάχην, καὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας ἐπὶ τοῦ προτερήματος
 γενομένης ἀνελεῖν μὲν τῶν ἀντιταχθειῶν παμπληθεῖς, ζωγρηῆσαι
 δ' οὐκ ἐλάττους τρισχιλίων· τῶν δ' ἄλλων εἰς τινα δρυμώδη 50
 τόπον συμφυγουσῶν ἐπιβαλέσθαι μὲν τὴν Μύριναν ἐμπρηῆσαι
 τὴν ὕλην, σπεύδουσας ἄρδην ἀνελεῖν τὸ ἔθνος, οὐ δυνηθεῖσαν
 δὲ κρατῆσαι τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἐπανελθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς χώρας.
 55.1 τῶν δ' Ἀμαζόνων νυκτὸς τὰ περὶ τὰς φυλακὰς ραιθυμοσῶν
 διὰ τὴν εὐήμερίαν, ἐπιθεμένας τὰς αἰχμαλωτίδας, σπασαμένας
 τὰ ξίφη τῶν δοκουσῶν κεκρατηκέναι πολλὰς ἀνελεῖν· τέλος δὲ 55
 τοῦ πλήθους αὐτὰς πανταχόθεν περιχυθέντος ἐδγενῶς μαχομένας
 2 ἀπάσας κατακοπῆναι. τὴν δὲ Μύριναν θάψασαν τὰς ἀναιρεθεῖσας
 τῶν συστρατεουσῶν ἐν τρισὶ πυραῖς χωμάτων μεγάλων
 ἐπιστήσαι τάφους τρεῖς, οὐδὲ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν Ἀμαζόνων σωροὺς
 60 ὀνομάζεσθαι.

4 Diod. 3.55.4–11

- 55.4 τὴν δὲ Μύριναν φασὶ τῆς τε Λιβύης τὴν πλείστην ἐπελθεῖν,
 καὶ παραβαλοῦσαν εἰς Αἴγυπτον πρὸς μὲν Ὀρον τὸν Ἰσιδος
 βασιλεύοντα τότε τῆς Αἰγύπτου φιλίαν συνθέσθαι, πρὸς δ'
 Ἀραβας διαπολεμήσασαν καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀνελοῦσαν, τὴν 5
 μὲν Συρίαν καταστρέφασθαι, τῶν δὲ Κιλικίων ἀπαντησάντων
 αὐτῇ μετὰ δώρων καὶ τὸ κελεύμενον ποιήσιν ὁμολογούντων,
 ἐλευθέρους ἀφεῖναι τοὺς ἐκουσίως προσχωρήσαντας, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ
 ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας μέχρι τοῦ νῦν Ἐλευθεροκίλικας καλεῖσθαι.
 5 καταπολεμηῆσαι δ' αὐτὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ταῦρον ἔθνη, διάφορα
 ταῖς ἀλκαῖς ὄντα, καὶ διὰ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης ἐπὶ θάλατταν 10
 καταβῆναι· ἐξῆς δὲ τὴν παραθαλάττιον χώραν προσαγαγομένην
 6 ὄρους θέσθαι τῆς στρατείας τὸν Κάικον ποταμόν. τῆς δὲ δορι-

44 ἐφεδρον : ἐφάμιλλον II ἐχουσῶν codd., corr. Eichenstaedt 48 ἀντιταχθέντων D
 55 δοκούντων D 56 αὐταῖς II 59 σοροὺς Reiske
 4 (7) 1 τε om. D 4 αὐτῶν om. D 11 προσαγομένην D

- κτίτου χώρας ἐκλεξαμένην τοὺς εὐθέτους τόπους εἰς πόλεων κτίσεις οἰκοδομῆσαι πλείους πόλεις, καὶ τούτων ὁμώνυμον μίαν ἑαυτῇ κτίσαι, τὰς δ' ἄλλας ἀπὸ τῶν τὰς ἡγεμονίας τὰς μεγίστας 15
- 7 ἔχουσῶν, Κύμην, Πιτάναν, Πριήνην. ταύτας μὲν οὖν οἰκίσαι παρὰ θάλατταν, ἄλλας δὲ πλείους ἐν τοῖς πρὸς μεσόγειον ἀνήκουσι τόποις. κατασχεῖν δ' αὐτὴν καὶ τῶν νήσων τινάς, καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Λέσβον, ἐν ἧι κτίσαι πόλιν Μιτυλήνην ὁμώνυμον 20
- 8 τῇ μετεχούσῃ τῆς στρατείας ἀδελφῆι. ἔπειτα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νήσων τινὰς καταστρεφομένην χειμασθῆναι, καὶ ποιησαμένην τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας προσενεχθῆναι νήσωι τινὶ τῶν ἐρήμων· ταύτην δὲ κατὰ τινα ἐν τοῖς ὄνειροις φαντασίαν καθιερωῶσαι τῇ προειρημένῃ θεῷ καὶ βωμοὺς ἰδρῦσασθαι καὶ θυσίας μεγαλοπρεπεῖς ἐπιτελέσαι ὀνομάσαι δ' 25
- αὐτὴν Σαμοθράικην, ὅπερ εἶναι μεθερμηνεύμενον εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον ἱερὰν νῆσον· ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν ἱστορικῶν λέγουσι τὸ πρὸ τοῦ Σάμον αὐτὴν καλουμένην ὑπὸ τῶν κατοικούντων ἐν αὐτῇ τότε Θραικῶν
- 9 Σαμοθράικην ὀνομασθῆναι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων ἐπανελθουσῶν εἰς τὴν ἥπειρον μυθολογοῦσι τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν εὐαρε- 30
- στηθεῖσαν τῇ νήσωι ἄλλους τέ τινας ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικίσαι καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῆς υἱοὺς τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους Κορῦβαντας· ἐξ οὗ δ' εἰσι πατρὸς ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ κατὰ τὴν τελετὴν παραδίδοσθαι καταδείξει καὶ τὰ νῦν ἐν αὐτῇ συντελούμενα μυστήρια καὶ 10 τὸ τέμενος ἄσυλον νομοθετῆσαι. περὶ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους 35
- Μόψον τὸν Θραικῶν, φυγάδα γενόμενον ὑπὸ Λυκούργου τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Θραικῶν, ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἀμαζόνων μετὰ στρατιᾶς τῆς συνεκπεσοῦσης αὐτῶν· συστρατεῦσαι δὲ καὶ Σίπυλον τῷ Μόψῳ τὸν Σκυθῆν, πεφυγαδευμένον ὁμοίως ἐκ 11 τῆς ὁμόρου τῇ Θραικῇ Σκυθίας. γενομένης δὲ παρατάξεως, 40
- καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Σίπυλον καὶ Μόψον προτερησάντων, τὴν τε βασίλισσαν τῶν Ἀμαζόνων Μύριναν ἀναιρεθῆναι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὰς πλείους. τοῦ δὲ χρόνου προβαίνοντος, καὶ κατὰ τὰς μάχας ἀεὶ τῶν Θραικῶν ἐπικρατούντων, τὸ τελευταῖον τὰς περιλειφθείσας τῶν Ἀμαζόνων ἀνακάμψαι πάλιν εἰς Λιβύην. 45
- καὶ τὴν μὲν στρατείαν τῶν ἀπὸ Λιβύης Ἀμαζόνων μυθολογοῦσι τοιοῦτο λαβεῖν τὸ πέρασ.

15 ἡγεμονίας μεγίστας D 16 Πριήνην : πρίνειαν F, πρεττανίαν πρι· D, πρεττανίαν πρίμην A 27–29 ἔνιοι—ὀνομασθῆναι cf. Diod. 5.47.1–2 = FGrHist 548 F 1 27 τὸ πρὸ τούτου D 28 τότε CD, ποτε vulg. 29 ἀμαζονίδων D 35 τὸ om. D 37 ἀμαζονίδων C 38 συνεπιπεσοῦσης D, συνεπιπευσούσης C, συνεπιπεσοῦσης F, corr. Wesseling

5 Diod. 3.55.3

τὰς δὲ Γοργόνας ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις ἀξήθεισας πάλιν
 ὑπὸ Περσέως τοῦ Διὸς καταπολεμηθῆναι, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν
 ἐβασίλευεν αὐτῶν Μέδουσα· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους
 ἄρδην ἀναιρεθῆναι ταύτας τε καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων ἔθνος,
 καθ' ὃν καιρὸν τοὺς πρὸς ἐσπέραν τόπους ἐπελθὼν ἔθετο τὰς 5
 ἐπὶ τῆς Λιβύης στήλας, δεινὸν ἠγούμενος, εἰ προελόμενος τὸ
 γένος κοινήι τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐεργετεῖν περιόφεται τινα τῶν
 ἔθνων γυναικοκρατούμενα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὴν Τριτωνίδα
 λίμνην σεισμῶν γενομένων ἀφανισθῆναι, ῥαγέντων αὐτῆς τῶν
 πρὸς τὸν ὠκεανὸν μερῶν κεκλιμένων. 10

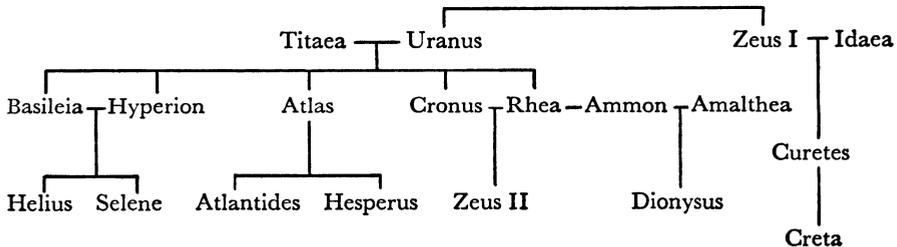
de Gorgonibus his cf. Proclēm Carthaginiensem apud
 Paus. 2.21.6 = FHG IV p. 484 (v. p. 87 supra): ἀπόντος
 δὲ τοῦ μύθου τάδε ἄλλα ἐς αὐτήν (sc. Medusam) ἔστιν εἰρημένα·
 Φόρκου μὲν θυγατέρα εἶναι, τελευτήσαντος δὲ οἱ τοῦ πατρὸς
 βασιλεύειν τῶν περὶ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Τριτωνίδα οἰκούντων καὶ
 ἐπὶ θήραν τε ἐξιέναι καὶ ἐς τὰς μάχας ἠγεῖσθαι τοῖς Λίβυσι
 καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἀντικαθημένην στρατῶ πρὸς τὴν Περσέως
 δύναμιν — ἐπεσθαι γὰρ καὶ τῷ Περσεῖ λογάδας ἐκ Πελοποννή-
 σου — δολοφονηθῆναι νύκτωρ, καὶ τὸν Περσέα τὸ κάλλος
 ἔτι καὶ ἐπὶ νεκρῶι θαυμάζοντα οὕτω τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντα
 αὐτῆς ἄγειν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν.

(De Atlantiis)

6 Diod. 3.56–57

- 56.1 ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπειδὴ περὶ τῶν Ἀτλαντίων ἐμνήσθημεν, οὐκ ἀνοίκειον ἡγούμεθα διελθεῖν τὰ μυθολογούμενα παρ' αὐτοῖς περὶ τῆς τῶν θεῶν γενέσεως, διὰ τὸ μὴ πολὺ διαλλάττειν αὐτὰ
- 2 τῶν μυθολογούμενων παρ' Ἑλλήσιν. οἱ τοίνυν Ἀτλάντιοι τοὺς παρὰ τὸν ὠκεανὸν τόπους κατοικοῦντες καὶ χώραν εὐδαίμονα 5 νεμόμενοι πολλῶι μὲν εὐσεβείαι καὶ φιλανθρωπίαι τῆι πρὸς τοὺς ξένους δοκοῦσι διαφέρειν τῶν πλησιοχώρων, τὴν δὲ γένεσιν τῶν θεῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι φασί. συμφωνεῖν δὲ τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι ποιητῶν ἐν οἷς παρεῖσάγει τὴν Ἥραν λέγουσαν 10
- εἶμι γὰρ ὄφρομένη πολυφόρβου πείρατα γαίης,
Ἔκκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν. (II. 14.200–201)
- 3 μυθολογοῦσι δὲ πρῶτον παρ' αὐτοῖς Οὐρανὸν βασιλεῦσαι καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους σποράδην οἰκοῦντας συναγαγεῖν εἰς πόλεως περὶ βολον, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀνομίας καὶ τοῦ θηριώδους βίου παῦσαι 15 τοὺς ὑπακούοντας, εὐρόντα τὰς τῶν ἡμέρων καρπῶν χρείας καὶ παραθέσεις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν χρησίμων οὐκ ὀλίγα κατακτήσασθαι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν πλείστην, καὶ
- 4 μάλιστα τοὺς πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέραν καὶ τὴν ἄρκτον τόπους. τῶν δὲ ἄστρον γενόμενον ἐπιμελή παρατηρητὴν πολλὰ προλέγειν 20 τῶν κατὰ τὸν κόσμον μελλόντων γίνεσθαι· εἰσηγήσασθαι δὲ

De Atlantiis: stemma gentis:



- 6 (7) 1 ἀτλαντίδων D, ἀτλαντείων C 4 ἀτλάντειοι C, ἀτλαντεῖς οἱ D 6 πολλῶι Vogel, πολὺ Dindorf, πολλῆι codd. 9–12 συμφωνεῖν—Τηθύν cf. e.g. Diod. 1.12.5–6 9 ποιητῶν ὄμηρον D 16 ὑπακούσαντας D τὰς : δὲ τὰς D 19 τῶν τε D

- τοῖς ὄχλοις τὸν μὲν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου κινήσεως,
 τοὺς δὲ μῆνας ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης, καὶ τὰς κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον
 5 ὥρας διδάξει. διὸ καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς, ἀγνοοῦντας μὲν τὴν τῶν
 ἄστρον αἰώνιον τάξιν, θαυμάζοντας δὲ τὰ γινόμενα κατὰ τὰς 25
 προρρήσεις, ὑπολαβεῖν τὸν τούτων εἰσηγητὴν θείας μετέχειν
 φύσεως, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αὐτοῦ μετάστασιν διὰ τε
 τὰς εὐεργεσίας καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄστρον ἐπίγνωσιν ἀθανάτους
 τιμὰς ἀπονεῖμαι· μεταγαγεῖν δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπὶ
 τὸν κόσμον, ἅμα μὲν τῷ δοκεῖν οἰκειῶς ἐσχηκέναι πρὸς τὰς τῶν 30
 ἄστρον ἐπιτολάς τε καὶ δύσεις καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ γινόμενα περὶ τὸν
 κόσμον, ἅμα δὲ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν τιμῶν ὑπερβάλλειν τὰς εὐε-
 ργείας, καὶ πρὸς τὸν αἰῶνα βασιλέα τῶν ὄλων αὐτὸν ἀναγο-
 ρεῦσαντας.
- 57.1 Οὐρανοῦ δὲ μυθολογοῦσι γενέσθαι παῖδας ἐκ πλειόνων γυναικῶν 35
 πέντε πρὸς τοῖς τετταράκοντα. καὶ τούτων ὀκτωκαίδεκα λέγουσιν
 ὑπάρχειν ἐκ Τιταίας ὄνομα μὲν ἴδιον ἔχοντας ἑκάστους, κοινῆι δὲ
 2 πάντας ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ὀνομαζομένους Τιτᾶνας. τὴν δὲ Τιταίαν,
 σώφρονα οὖσαν καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαν γενομένην τοῖς
 λαοῖς, ἀποθωεθῆναι μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν ὑπὸ τῶν εὖ παθόντων 40
 Γῆν μετονομασθεῖσαν. γενέσθαι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ θυγατέρας, ὧν
 εἶναι δύο τὰς πρεσβυτάτας πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανεστάτας,
 τὴν τε καλουμένην Βασίλειαν καὶ Ῥέαν τὴν ὑπ' ἐνίων Πανδώραν
 3 ὀνομασθεῖσαν. τούτων δὲ τὴν μὲν Βασίλειαν, πρεσβυτάτην
 οὖσαν καὶ σωφροσύνην τε καὶ συνέσει πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρου- 45
 σαν, ἐκθρέψαι πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς κοινῆι μητρὸς εὖνοϊαν
 παρεχομένην· διὸ καὶ μεγάλην μητέρα προσαγορευθῆναι· μετὰ
 δὲ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων εἰς θεοὺς μετάστασιν, συγχω-
 ρούντων τῶν ὄχλων καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, διαδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν
 παρθένον οὖσαν ἔτι καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς σωφροσύνης 50
 οὐδενὶ συνοικῆσαι βουληθεῖσαν. ὕστερον δὲ βουλομένην διαδόχους
 τῆς βασιλείας ἀπολιπεῖν υἱούς, Ὑπερίονι συνοικῆσαι τῶν
 4 ἀδελφῶν ἐνί, πρὸς δὲ οἰκειότατα διέκειτο. γενομένων δ' αὐτῆι
 δύο τέκνων, Ἥλιου καὶ Σελήνης, καὶ θαυμαζομένων ἐπὶ τε
 τῷ κάλλει καὶ τῆι σωφροσύνηι, φασὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ταύτηι 55
 μὲν ἐπ' εὐτεκνίαι φθονοῦντας, τὸν δ' Ὑπερίονα φοβηθέντας

32 <σπουδάσαντας> τὰς εὐεργεσίας Reiske 36 μὲν λέγουσιν D 40 λαοῖς : ἄλλοις
 vulg. 41 αὐτῷ D (cf. Euseb. Pr. Ev. 2.2 p. 57c), αὐτῶν vulg. 44 μετονομασθεῖσαν
 CF 49 διαδέξασθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν Βασίλειαν CF 50 ἔτι δὲ codd., corr. Bekker
 54 τε om. vulg.

- μήποτε τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς αὐτὸν περισπάσει, πρᾶξιν ἐπιτελέσασ-
 5 θαι παντελῶς ἀνόσιον· συνωμοσίαν γὰρ ποιησαμένους τὸν μὲν
 Ἐπερίονα κατασφάζει, τὸν δ' Ἥλιον ὄντα παῖδα τὴν ἡλικίαν
 ἐμβαλόντας εἰς τὸν Ἡριδανὸν ποταμὸν ἀποπνίξαι· καταφανοῦς 60
 δὲ γενομένης τῆς ἀτυχίας, τὴν μὲν Σελήνην φιλάδελφον οὔσαν
 καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγουσ ἐαυτὴν ῥῖψαι, τὴν δὲ μητέρα
 ζητοῦσαν τὸ σῶμα παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν σύγκοπον γενέσθαι, καὶ
 κατενεχθεῖσαν εἰς ὕπνον ἰδεῖν ὄψιν, καθ' ἣν ἔδοξεν ἐπιστάντα 65
 τὸν Ἥλιον παρακαλεῖν αὐτὴν μὴ θρηγεῖν τὸν τῶν τέκνων
 θάνατον· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Τιτᾶνας τεύξεσθαι τῆς προσηκούσης
 τιμωρίας, ἐαυτὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν εἰς ἀθανάτους φύσεις
 μετασχηματισθῆσεσθαι θείαι τινὶ προνοίᾳ· ὀνομασθήσεσθαι
 γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἥλιον μὲν τὸ πρότερον ἐν οὐρανῶι πῦρ 70
 ἱερὸν καλούμενον, σελήνην δὲ τὴν μήνην προσαγορευομένην.
 6 διεγερεθεῖσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὄχλοις τὸν τε ὄνειρον καὶ τὰ περὶ
 αὐτὴν ἀτυχήματα διεληθοῦσαν ἀξιῶσαι τοῖς μὲν τετελευτηκόσιν
 ἀπονεῖμαι τιμὰς ἰσοθέους, τοῦ δ' αὐτῆς σώματος μηκέτι μηδένα
 7 θιγεῖν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐμμανῆ γενομένην καὶ τῶν τῆς θυγατρὸς
 παιγνίων τὰ δυνάμενα ψόφον ἐπιτελεῖν ἀρπάσασαν πλανᾶσθαι 75
 κατὰ τὴν χώραν, λελυμένην μὲν τὰς τρίχας, τῶι δὲ διὰ τῶν
 τυμπάνων καὶ κυμβάλων ψόφωι ἐνθεάζουσαν, ὥστε κατα-
 8 πλήττεσθαι τοὺς ὄρωντας. πάντων δὲ τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν πάθος
 ἐλεούτων, καὶ τινων ἀντεχομένων τοῦ σώματος, ἐπιγενέσθαι
 πληθὸς ὄμβρου καὶ συνεχεῖς κερανῶν πτώσεις· ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὴν 80
 μὲν Βασιλείαν ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι, τοὺς δ' ὄχλους θαυμάσαντας
 τὴν περιπέτειαν τὸν μὲν Ἥλιον καὶ τὴν Σελήνην τῆι προσηγορίᾳ
 καὶ ταῖς τιμαῖς μεταγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ κατ' οὐρανὸν ἄστρα, τὴν δὲ
 μητέρα τούτων θεὸν τε νομίσει καὶ βωμοὺς ἰδρῦσασθαι, καὶ
 ταῖς διὰ τῶν τυμπάνων καὶ κυμβάλων ἐνεργείαις καὶ τοῖς 85
 ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀπομιμουμένους τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν συμβάντα θυσίας
 καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τιμὰς ἀπονεῖμαι.

(aliena sunt quae Diodorus 3.58–59 de Magna Matre narrat)

69 τὸ : τὸν DF 73 μηκέτι om. D 76 λελυμένην Euseb. loc. cit., καταλελυμένην codd.
 81 βασίλισσαν D 84 καὶ ταῖς : ταῖς D

7 Diod. 3.60

- 60.1 μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ὑπερίονος τελευταίην μυθολογοῦσι τοὺς υἱοὺς
 τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ διελέσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν, ὧν ὑπάρχειν ἐπιφανεσ-
 τάτους Ἄτλαντα καὶ Κρόνον. τούτων δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἄτλαντα
 λαχεῖν τοὺς παρὰ τὸν ὠκεανὸν τόπους, καὶ τοὺς τε λαοὺς Ἄτ-
 λαντίους ὀνομάσαι καὶ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ὄρων 5
 2 ὁμοίως Ἄτλαντα προσαγορευῆσαι. φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν τὰ περὶ τὴν
 ἀστρολογίαν ἐξακριβῶσαι καὶ τὸν σφαιρικὸν λόγον εἰς ἀνθρώπους
 πρῶτον ἐξενεγκεῖν ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας δόξαι τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον
 ἐπὶ τῶν Ἄτλαντος ὤμων ὀχεῖσθαι, τοῦ μύθου τὴν τῆς σφαίρας
 εὔρεσιν καὶ καταγραφὴν αἰνιττομένου. γενέσθαι δ' αὐτῷ 10
 πλείους υἱοὺς, ὧν ἓνα διενεγκεῖν εὐσεβείαι καὶ τῆι πρὸς τοὺς
 ἀρχομένους δικαιοσύνη καὶ φιλανθρωπία, τὸν προσαγορευόμενον
 3 Ἐσπερον. τοῦτον δ' ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ Ἄτλαντος ὄρους
 ἀναβαίοντα καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀστρῶν παρατηρήσεις ποιούμενον
 ἐξαίφνης ὑπὸ πνευμάτων συναρπαγέντα μεγάλων ἄφαντον 15
 γενέσθαι· διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ τὸ πάθος τὰ πλήθη ἐλεήσαντα
 τιμὰς ἀθανάτους ἀπονεῖμαι καὶ τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν κατὰ
 4 τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀστέρων ὁμωνύμως ἐκείνῳ προσαγορευῆσαι. ὑπάρξει
 δ' Ἄτλαντι καὶ θυγατέρας ἑπτὰ, τὰς κοινῶς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ
 πατρὸς καλουμένας Ἀτλαντίδας, ἰδία δ' ἐκάστην ὀνομαζομένην 20
 Μαϊαν, Ἡλέκτραν, Ταυγέτην, Στερόπην, Μερόπην, Ἀλκύνονην,
 καὶ τελευταίαν Κελαινώ. ταύτας δὲ μιγείσας τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις
 ἥρωσι καὶ θεοῖς ἀρχηγοὺς καταστήναι τοῦ πλείστου γένους
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τεκούσας τοὺς δι' ἀρετὴν θεοὺς καὶ ἥρωας
 ὀνομασθέντας, οἷον τὴν πρεσβυτάτην Μαϊαν Διὶ μιγείσαν 25
 Ἐρμῆν τεκνῶσαι, πολλῶν εὐρετὴν γενόμενον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις·
 παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας Ἀτλαντίδας γενεῆσαι παῖδας
 ἐπιφανεῖς, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἐθνῶν, τοὺς δὲ πόλεων γενέσθαι κτίστας.
 5 διόπερ οὐ μόνον παρ' ἐνόις τῶν βαρβάρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ
 τοῖς Ἕλλησι τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων ἡρώων εἰς 30
 ταύτας ἀναφέρειν τὸ γένος. ὑπάρξει δ' αὐτὰς καὶ σώφρονας
 διαφερόντως, καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευταίην τυχεῖν ἀθανάτου τιμῆς
 παρ' ἀνθρώποις {καὶ} καθιδρυθείσας ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ τῆι
 τῶν Πλειάδων προσηγορίαι περιληφθείσας. ἐκλήθησαν δὲ <αἱ>
 Ἀτλαντίδες καὶ νύμφαι διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐγγχωρίους κοινήι τὰς 35
 γυναῖκας νύμφας προσαγορεύειν.

7 (7) 16 τὸ : τοῦτο τὸ D 21 ἀστεροπὴν II 22 εὐφνεστάτοις II, Euseb. Pr. Ev. 2.2 p.
 46 23 πλείστου om. DF 33 καὶ del. Dindorf 34 <αἱ> Reiske 35 καὶ αἱ νύμφαι II

(De Dionyso Libyco)

8 Diod. 3.66.4–70.1

- 66.4 οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δ' ὅτι καὶ τῶν τὴν Λιβύην νεμομένων οἱ παρὰ τὸν ὤκεανὸν οἰκοῦντες ἀμφισβητοῦσι τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσεως, καὶ τὴν Νῦσαν καὶ τὰλλα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ μυθολογούμενα παρ' ἑαυτοῖς δεικνύουσι γεγενημένα, καὶ πολλὰ τεκμήρια τούτων μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίου διαμένειν κατὰ τὴν χώραν φασί· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν παλαιῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι μυθογράφων καὶ ποιητῶν συμφωνούμενα τούτοις ἱστοροῦσι καὶ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων συγγραφέων οὐκ ὀλίγοι. διόπερ, ἵνα μηδὲν παραλείπωμεν τῶν ἱστορημένων περὶ Διονύσου, διέξιμεν ἐν κεφαλαίοις τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Λίβυσι λεγόμενα καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν συγγραφέων ὅσοι τούτοις σύμφωνα γεγράφασι καὶ Διονυσίῳ τῷ συνταξαμένῳ τὰς παλαιὰς μυθοποιίας. οὗτος γὰρ τὰ τε περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν πόλεμον πραχθέντα καὶ πόλλ' ἕτερα συντέτακται, παρατιθεῖς τὰ ποιήματα τῶν ἀρχαίων, τῶν τε μυθολόγων καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν.
- 67.1 φησὶ τοίνυν παρ' Ἑλλήσι πρῶτον εὔρετὴν γενέσθαι Λίνον ἐνθμῶν καὶ μέλους, ἔτι δὲ Κάδμου κομίσαντος ἐκ Φοινίκης τὰ καλούμενα γράμματα πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν μεταθεῖναι διάλεκτον, καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας ἐκάστωι τάξαι καὶ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας διατυπῶσαι. κοινῇ μὲν οὖν τὰ γράμματα Φοινίκεια κληθῆναι διὰ τὸ παρὰ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐκ Φοινίκων μετενεχθῆναι, ἰδίαι δὲ τῶν Πελασγῶν πρῶτων χρησαμένων τοῖς μετατεθεῖσι χαρακτῆρσι Πελασγικὰ προσαγορευθῆναι. τὸν δὲ Λίνον ἐπὶ ποιητικῇ καὶ μελωδίᾳ θαυμασθέντα μαθητὰς σχεῖν πολλοὺς, ἐπιφανεστάτους δὲ τρεῖς, Ἡρακλέα, Θαμύραν, Ὀρφέα. τούτων δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἡρακλέα καθαρίζειν μανθάνοντα διὰ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς βραδυτῆτα μὴ δύνασθαι δέξασθαι τὴν μάθησιν, ἔπειδ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Λίνου πληγαῖς ἐπιτιμηθέντα διοργισθῆναι καὶ τῇ κιδάρα τὸν διδάσκαλον πατάξαντα ἀποκτείνειν, Θαμύραν δὲ φύσει

De Dionyso Libyco: cf. T 2b τὰ περὶ . . . τὸν Διόνυσον, T 1a τὴν Διονύσου καὶ Ἀθηναῶν στρατείαν, v. p. 78 supra

8 (8) 8 παραλείπωμεν D, παραλίπωμεν cett. 11 τῷ συνταξαμένῳ om. D 12 μυθολογίας D 21 φοινικῆ D, φοινίκια CF 24–40 τὸν δὲ—διέξιμεν v. Bethe, Quaestiones Diodoreae pp. 25sq. 26 et 29 θάμυρον CF

- διαφόρῳ κεχορηγημένον ἐκπονήσαι τὰ περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν 30
 ἐν τῷ μελωδεῖν ὑπεροχὴν φάσκειν ἑαυτὸν τῶν Μουσῶν ἐμμελέστερον αἰδεῖν.
 διὸ καὶ τὰς θεὰς αὐτῷ χολωθείσας τὴν τε μουσικὴν ἀφελέσθαι καὶ πηρῶσαι
 τὸν ἄνδρα, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον τούτοις προσμαρτυρεῖν λέγοντα
 (II. 2.594sq.) ἐνθα τε Μοῦσαι
 ἀντόμεναι Θάμυριν τὸν Θρήικα παῦσαν αἰοιδῆς, 35
 καὶ ἔτι
 αἱ δὲ χολωσάμεναι πηρὸν θέσαν, αὐτὰρ αἰοιδὴν
 θεσπεσίην ἀφέλοντο καὶ ἐκλέλαθον κιθαριστύν.
- 4 περὶ δὲ Ὀρφῶος τοῦ τρίτου μαθητοῦ <τὰ> κατὰ μέρος ἀναγράφομεν, ὅταν τὰς 40
 πράξεις αὐτοῦ διεξιῶμεν. τὸν δ' οὖν Λίνον φασὶ τοῖς Πελασγικοῖς
 γράμμασι συνταξάμενον τὰς τοῦ πρώτου Διονύσου πράξεις καὶ
 5 τὰς ἄλλας μυθολογίας ἀπολιπεῖν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν. ὁμοίως
 δὲ τούτοις χρήσασθαι τοῖς Πελασγικοῖς γράμμασι τὸν Ὀρφῆα
 καὶ Προναπίδην τὸν Ὀμήρου διδάσκαλον, εὐφνῆ γεγονότα
 μελοποιόν· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Θυμοίτην τὸν Θυμοίτου τοῦ Λαομέ- 45
 δοντος, κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν γεγονότος τὴν Ὀρφῶος, πλαηθηθῆναι
 κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους τῆς οἰκουμένης, καὶ παραβαλεῖν τῆς
 Λιβύης εἰς τὴν πρὸς ἐσπέραν χώραν {τῆς οἰκουμένης} ἕως
 ὠκεανοῦ, θεάσασθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Νῦσαν, ἐν ἣι μυθολογοῦσιν
 οἱ ἐγγύριοι {ἀρχαῖοι} τραφῆναι τὸν Διόνυσον, καὶ τὰς κατὰ 50
 μέρος τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου πράξεις μαθόντα παρὰ τῶν Νυσαέων
 συντάξασθαι τὴν Φρυγίαν ὀνομαζομένην ποιήσιν, ἀρχαῖοις τῆι
 68.1 τε διαλέκτῳ καὶ τοῖς γράμμασι χρησάμενον. φησὶ δ' οὖν
 Ἄμμωνα βασιλεύοντα <τούτου> τοῦ μέρους τῆς Λιβύης Οὐρανοῦ
 γῆμαι θυγατέρα τὴν προσαγορευομένην Ῥεάν, ἀδελφὴν οὖσαν 55
 Κρόνου τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Τιτάνων. ἐπιόντα δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν
 εὐρεῖν πλησίον τῶν Κεραννίων καλουμένων ὄρων παρθένον
 2 τῷ κάλλει διαφέρουσαν Ἀμάλθειαν ὄνομα. ἐρασθέντα δ'
 αὐτῆς καὶ πλησιάσαντα γεννῆσαι παῖδα τῷ τε κάλλει καὶ τῆι 60
 ῥώμῃ θαναμαστόν, καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἀμάλθειαν ἀποδείξει κυρίαν
 τοῦ σύνεγγυς τόπου παντός, ὄντος τῷ σχήματι παραπλησίον
 κέρατι βοός, ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας Ἐσπέρον κέρας προσαγορευθῆναι·
 διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς χώρας εἶναι πλήρη παντοδαπῆς ἀμπέλου

30 τὰ κατὰ D 31 ἑαυτὸν : δ' αὐτὸν D 33 τὸν ἄνδρα om. II 36 καὶ ἔτι om. D 39
 <τὰ> Dindorf 44 προνοπίδην D 46 γεγονότος Gruppe, Ziegler (RE XVIII.1211),
 γεγονότα codd. τὴν D, τοῦ vulg. 48 τῆς οἰκουμένης del. Rhodomanus 50 ἀρχαῖοι
 del. Vogel 52 ἀρχαϊκῶς codd., corr. Dindorf 54 <τούτου> τοῦ Jacoby (τοῦ om.
 CF) 57 Κερναίων C. Mueller 58 et 60 Ἀμαλθίαν codd.

- 3 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δένδρων τῶν ἡμέρους φερόντων καρπούς. τῆς
 δὲ προειρημένης γυναικὸς τὴν δυναστείαν παραλαβούσης, ἀπὸ 65
 ταύτης τὴν χώραν Ἀμαλθείας κέρας ὀνομασθῆναι διὸ καὶ τοὺς
 μεταγενεστέρους ἀνθρώπους διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἰτίαν τὴν
 κρατίστην γῆν καὶ παντοδαποὺς καρποὺς πλήθουσαν ὡσαύτως
- 4 Ἀμαλθείας κέρας προσαγορεύειν. τὸν δ' οὖν Ἄμμωνα φοβού-
 μενον τὴν τῆς Ἑρέας ζηλοτυλίαν κρούει τὸ γεγονός, καὶ τὸν 70
 παῖδα λάθραι μετενεγκεῖν εἰς τινα πόλιν Νῦσαν, μακρὰν ἀπ'
- 5 ἐκείνων τῶν τόπων ἀπηρητημένην. κεῖσθαι δὲ ταύτην ἔν τινι
 νήσῳ περιεχομένῃ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ, περι-
 κρήμνῳ δὲ καὶ καθ' ἓνα τόπον ἐχούσῃ στενὰς εἰσβολὰς, ἃς 75
 ὠνομάσθαι πύλας Νυσίας. εἶναι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ χώραν εὐδαίμονα
 λειμῶσιν τε μαλακοῖς διειλημμένην καὶ πηγαίοις ὕδασιν ἀρδευομέ-
 νην δαφιλέσι, δένδρα τε καρποφόρα παντοῖα καὶ πολλὴν
 ἄμπελον αὐτοφυῆ, καὶ ταύτης τὴν πλείστην ἀναδενδράδα.
- 6 ὑπάρχειν δὲ καὶ πάντα <τὸν> τόπον εὐπνουν, ἔτι δὲ καθ' ὑπερ-
 βολὴν ὑγιεινόν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικοῦντας 80
 μακροβιωτάτους ὑπάρχειν τῶν πλησιοχώρων. εἶναι δὲ τῆς
 νήσου τὴν μὲν πρώτην εἰσβολὴν ἀδλωνοειδῆ, σύσκιον ὑψηλοῖς
 καὶ πυκνοῖς δένδρεσιν, ὥστε τὸν ἥλιον μὴ παντάπασι διαλάμπειν
- 69.1 διὰ τὴν συνάγκειαν, ἀγῆν δὲ μόνην ὄρασθαι φωτός. πάντῃ
 δὲ κατὰ τὰς παρόδους προχεῖσθαι πηγὰς ὑδάτων τῇ γλυκύτητι 85
 διαφόρων, ὥστε τὸν τόπον εἶναι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐνδιατρῶνται
 προσηνέστατον. ἐξῆς δ' ὑπάρχειν ἄντρον τῷ μὲν σχήματι
 κυκλοτερές, τῷ δὲ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ κάλλει θαυμαστόν. ὑπερ-
 κεῖσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ πανταχῆ κρημνὸν πρὸς ὕψος ἐξαίσιον, πέτρας 90
 ἔχοντα τοῖς χρώμασι διαφόρους· ἐναλλάξ γὰρ ἀποστίλβειν τὰς
 μὲν θαλαττίαι πορφύραι τὴν χροάν ἐχούσας παραπλήσιον, τὰς
 δὲ κνανῶι, τινὰς δ' ἄλλαις φύσεσι περιλαμπομένας, ὥστε μηδὲν
 εἶναι χρῶμα τῶν ἐωραμένων παρ' ἀνθρώποις περὶ τὸν τόπον
- 2 ἀθεώρητον. πρὸ δὲ τῆς εἰσόδου πεφυκέναι δένδρα θαυμαστά, τὰ 95
 μὲν κάρπιμα, τὰ δὲ ἀειθαλῆ, πρὸς αὐτὴν μόνον τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς
 θέας τέρεφιν ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως δεδημιουργημένα· ἐν δὲ τούτοις
 ἐννεοττεύειν ὄρνεα παντοδαπὰ ταῖς φύσεσιν, ἃ τὴν χροάν ἔχειν
 ἐπιτερεπῆ καὶ τὴν μελωιδίαν προσηνεστάτην. διὸ καὶ πάντα τὸν
 τόπον ὑπάρχειν μὴ μόνον θεοπρεπῆ κατὰ τὴν πρόσοψιν, ἀλλὰ

75 Νυσίας CF 76 πηγαίοις Dindorf, κρηναίοις Vogel, κηπίοις D, κηπέοις C, κηπέοις F 78 αὐτοφυῆ <φέρουσαν> Jacoby 79 <τὸν> Dindorf 92 περιλαμπομέναις Wesseling

- καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἤχον, ὡς ἂν τῆς αὐτοδιδάκτου γλυκυφωνίας 100
 3 νικώσης τὴν ἑναρμόνιον τῆς τέχνης μελωιδίαν. διελθόντι δὲ τὴν
 εἴσοδον θεωρεῖσθαι μὲν ἄντρον ἀναπεπταμένον καὶ τῆι κατὰ
 τὸν ἥλιον αὐγῆι περιλαμπόμενον, ἄνθη δὲ παντοδαπὰ πεφυκότα,
 καὶ μάλιστα τὴν τε κασίαν καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ δυνάμενα δι' ἐνιαυτῶν
 διαφυλάττειν τὴν εὐωδίαν ὄρασθαι δὲ καὶ νυμφῶν εὐνάς ἐν 105
 αὐτῷ πλείους ἐξ ἀνθῶν παντοδαπῶν, οὐ χειροποιήτους, ἀλλ'
 4 ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως ἀνειμένας θεοπρεπῶς. κατὰ πάντα δὲ
 τὸν τῆς περιφερείας κύκλον οὐτ' ἄνθος οὐτε φύλλον πεπτωκός
 ὄρασθαι. διὸ καὶ τοῖς θεωμένοις οὐ μόνον ἐπιτεροπῆ φαίνεσθαι
 τὴν πρόσοψιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν εὐωδίαν προσηνεστάτην. 110
- 70.1 εἰς τοῦτο οὖν τὸ ἄντρον τὸν Ἄμμωνα παραγενόμενον
 παραθέσθαι τὸν παῖδα καὶ παραδοῦναι τρέφειν Νύσηι, μιᾷ τῶν
 Ἀρισταίου θυγατέρων ἐπιστάτην δ' αὐτοῦ τάξαι τὸν Ἀρισταῖον,
 ἄνδρα συνέσει καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ πάσῃ παιδείᾳ διαφέροντα.

hanc Nysam Libycam, quam etiam ap. Steph. Byz. et Hesych. s. Νῦσα invenies, respicit Apollodorus Atheniensis ap. Strab. 7.3.6 p. 299 = FGrHist 244 F 157a: ἐν δὲ τῆι Λιβύῃ Διονύσου πόλιν εἶναι (sc. φησὶν Ἀπολλόδωρος), ταύτην δὲ οὐκ ἐνδέχεσθαι δις τὸν αὐτὸν ἐξευρεῖν (v. p. 113 sqq. supra)

9 Diod. 3.70.2–6

- 70.2 πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς μητριᾶς Ῥέας ἐπιβουλὰς φύλακα τοῦ
 παιδὸς καταστήσαι τὴν Ἀθηναῖαν, μικρὸν πρὸ τούτων τῶν
 χρόνων γηγενῆ φανεῖσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ, δι' ὃν
 3 Τριτωνίδα προσηγορεῦσθαι. μυθολογοῦσι δὲ τὴν θεὸν ταύτην
 ἐλομένην τὸν πάντα χρόνον τὴν παρθενίαν σωφροσύνηι τε 5
 διενεγκεῖν καὶ τὰς πλείστας τῶν τεχνῶν ἐξευρεῖν, ἀγγλίνου
 οὔσαν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ζηλώσαι δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον,
 ἀλκῆι δὲ καὶ ῥώμῃ διαφέρουσαν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ προᾶξαι μνήμης
 ἄξια καὶ τὴν Αἰγίδα προσαγορευομένην ἀνελεῖν, θηρίον τι
 4 καταπληκτικὸν καὶ παντελῶς δυσκαταγώνιστον γηγενὲς γὰρ 10

103 δὲ D, τε vulg. 104 δι' ἑαυτῶν D 111 τὸν om. D
 9 (8) 3 δι' ὃν : δι' ὃν καὶ C, διὸ Jacoby

ὑπάρχον καὶ φυσικῶς ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἄπλατον ἐκβάλλον φλόγα
 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον φανῆναι περὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν, καὶ κατακαῦσαι τὴν
 χώραν, ἣν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν κατακεκαυμένην Φρυγίαν ὀνομάζεσθαι
 ἔπειτ' ἐπελθεῖν τὰ περὶ τὸν Ταῦρον ὄρη συνεχῶς, καὶ κατακαῦσαι
 τοὺς ἐξῆς δρυμοὺς μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ἐπὶ 15
 θάλατταν τὴν ἐπάνοδον ποιησάμενον περὶ μὲν τὴν Φοινίκην
 ἐμπρῆσαι τοὺς κατὰ τὸν Λίβανον δρυμοὺς, καὶ δι' Αἰγύπτου
 πορευθὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Λιβύης διελθεῖν τοὺς περὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν τόπους,
 καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον εἰς τοὺς περὶ τὰ Κεραύνια δρυμοὺς ἐγκατα-
 5 σκῆναι. ἐπιφλεγομένης δὲ τῆς χώρας πάντη, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων 20
 τῶν μὲν ἀπολλυμένων, τῶν δὲ διὰ τὸν φόβον ἐκλειπόντων τὰς
 πατρίδας καὶ μακρὰν ἐκτοπιζομένων, τὴν Ἀθηναίαν φασὶ τὰ
 μὲν συνέσει τὰ δ' ἄλκῃ καὶ ῥώμῃ περιγενομένην ἀνελεῖν τὸ
 θηρίον, καὶ τὴν δορὰν αὐτοῦ περιεπαμένην φορεῖν τῷ στήθει,
 ἅμα μὲν σκέπτης ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τοῦ σώματος πρὸς τοὺς 25
 ὕστερον κινδύνους, ἅμα δ' ἀρετῆς ὑπόμνημα καὶ δικαίας δόξης.
 6 τὴν δὲ μητέρα τοῦ θηρίου γῆν ὀργισθεῖσαν ἀνεῖναι τοὺς ὀνομα-
 ζομένους γίγαντας ἀντιπάλους τοῖς θεοῖς, οὗς ὕστερον ὑπὸ
 Διὸς ἀναιρεθῆναι, συναγωνιζομένης Ἀθηναῖς καὶ Διονύσου μετὰ
 τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. 30

10 Diod. 3.70.7–72

70.7 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τὸν Διόνυσον ἐν τῇ Νύσῃ τρεφόμενον καὶ
 μετέχοντα τῶν καλλίστων ἐπιτηδευμάτων μὴ μόνον γενέσθαι
 τῷ κάλλει καὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ διάφορον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλότεχνον καὶ
 8 πρὸς πᾶν τὸ χρήσιμον εὐρετικόν. ἐπινοῆσαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔτι
 παῖδα τὴν ἡλικίαν ὄντα τοῦ μὲν οἴνου τὴν φύσιν τε καὶ χρεῖαν, 5
 ἀποθλίψαντα βότρυς τῆς αὐτοφνοῦς ἀμπέλου, τῶν δ' ὠραίων τὰ
 δυνάμενα μὲν ξηραίνεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἀποθησαυρισμὸν ὄντα
 χρήσιμα, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τὰς ἐκάστων κατὰ τρόπον φυτείας
 εὐρεῖν, καὶ βουληθῆναι τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων μεταδοῦναι τῶν
 ἰδίων εὐρημάτων, ἐλπίσαντα διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς εὐεργεσίας 10
 ἀθανάτων τεύξεσθαι τιμῶν.
 71.1 τῆς δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς τε καὶ δόξης διαδιδομένης, λέγεται

11 ἄπλατον D^a, ἄπλετον cett. 19 κατασκῆναι CF 21 ἐκλειπόντων CD 24 τῷ
 στήθει φορεῖν Vogel 27 ὀνομασμένους II

10 (8) 3 καὶ φιλότεχνον ἀλλὰ II 8 τρόπον : τόπον CF

τὴν Ῥέαν ὀργισθεῖσαν Ἄμμωνι φιλοτιμηθῆναι λαβεῖν ὑπο-
 χεῖριον τὸν Διόνυσον· οὐ δυναμένην δὲ κρατῆσαι τῆς ἐπιβολῆς
 τὸν μὲν Ἄμμωνα καταλιπεῖν, ἀπαλλαγεῖσαν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς 15
 2 ἀδελφοὺς Τιτᾶνας συνοικῆσαι Κρόνῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ· τοῦτον
 δ' ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥέας πεισθέντα στρατεῦσαι μετὰ τῶν Τιτάνων ἐπ'
 Ἄμμωνα, καὶ γενομένης παρατάξεως τὸν μὲν Κρόνον ἐπὶ τοῦ
 προτερήματος ὑπάρξει, τὸν δ' Ἄμμωνα σιτοδείαι πιεζόμενον 20
 φνεῖν εἰς Κρήτην, καὶ γήμαντα τῶν τότε βασιλευόντων Κουρή-
 των ἑνὸς θυγατέρα Κρήτην δυναστεῦσαι· τε τῶν τόπων καὶ
 τὸ πρὸ τοῦ τὴν νῆσον Ἰδαίαν καλουμένην ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς
 3 ὀνομάσαι Κρήτην. τὸν δὲ Κρόνον μυθολογοῦσι κρατήσαντα
 τῶν Ἄμμωνίων τόπων τούτων μὲν ἄρχειν πικρῶς, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν
 Νῦσαν καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον στρατεῦσαι μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως. 25
 τὸν δὲ Διόνυσον πνθόμενον τά τε τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλαττώματα καὶ
 τὴν τῶν Τιτάνων ἐπ' αὐτὸν συνδρομήν, ἀθροῖσαι στρατιώτας
 ἐκ τῆς Νύσης, ὧν εἶναι συντρόφους διακοσίους, διαφόρους
 τῆι τε ἀλκῆι καὶ τῆι πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίαι· προσλαβέσθαι δὲ καὶ
 τῶν πλησιοχώρων τοὺς τε Λίβυας καὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας, περὶ 30
 ὧν προειρήκαμεν ὅτι δοκοῦσιν ἀλκῆι διενεγκεῖν καὶ πρῶτον
 μὲν στρατείαν ὑπερόριον στείλασθαι, πολλὴν δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης
 4 τοῖς ὅπλοις καταστρέψασθαι. μάλιστα δ' αὐτάς φασι παρορμηῆσαι
 πρὸς τὴν συμμαχίαν Ἀθηναίων διὰ τὸν ὅμοιον τῆς προαιρέσεως
 ζῆλον, ὡς ἂν τῶν Ἀμαζόνων ἀντεχομένων ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ἀνδρείας 35
 καὶ παρθενίας. διηρημένης δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ τῶν μὲν
 ἀνδρῶν στρατηγούστων Διονύσου, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
 ἐχούσης Ἀθηναίας, προσπεσόντας μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς τοῖς Τιτᾶσι
 συνάψαι μάχην. γενομένης δὲ παρατάξεως ἰσχυρᾶς, καὶ πολλῶν
 παρ' ἀμφοτέροις πεσόντων, τρωθῆναι μὲν τὸν Κρόνον, ἐπι- 40
 5 κρατῆσαι δὲ τὸν Διόνυσον ἀριστεύσαντα κατὰ τὴν μάχην. μετὰ δὲ
 ταῦτα τοὺς μὲν Τιτᾶνας φνεῖν εἰς τοὺς κατακτηθέντας ὑπὸ
 τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἄμμωνα τόπους, τὸν δὲ Διόνυσον ἀθροίσαντα
 πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Νῦσαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ 45
 τὴν δύναμιν περιστήσαντα καθωπλισμένην τοῖς ἀλοῦσι κατη-
 γορίαν ποιήσασθαι τῶν Τιτάνων, καὶ πᾶσαν ὑπόνοιαν καταλιπεῖν
 ὡς μέλλοντα κατακόπτειν τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους. ἀπολύσαντος δ'
 αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐγκλημάτων καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν δόντος εἴτε συστρα-
 τεύειν εἴτε ἀπιέναι βούλοιντο, πάντας ἐλέσθαι συστρατεῦειν· διὰ

- 6 δὲ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς σωτηρίας προσκνεῖν αὐτὸν ὡς θεόν. τὸν 50
 δὲ Διόνυσον παράγοντα καθ' ἓνα τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ διδόντα
 σπονδὴν οἴνου πάντας ἐξορκῶσαι συστρατεύειν ἀδόλως καὶ μέχρι
 τελευτῆς βεβαίως διαγωνιεῖσθαι· διὸ καὶ τούτων πρώτων
 ὑποσπόνδων ὀνομασθέντων τοὺς μεταγενεστέρους ἀπομιμου-
 μένους τὰ τότεπραχθέντα τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις διαλύσεις σπονδὰς 55
 προσαγορεύειν.
- 72.1 τοῦ δ' οὖν Διονύσου μέλλοντος στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν Κρόνον
 καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκ τῆς Νύσης ἐξιούσης, μυθολογοῦσιν Ἄρι-
 σταῖον τὸν ἐπιστάτην αὐτοῦ θυσίαν τε παραστήσαι καὶ πρώτων 60
 ἀνθρώπων ὡς θεῶι θῦσαι. συστρατεύσαι δέ φασι καὶ τῶν
- 2 Νυσαίων τοὺς εὐγενεστάτους, οὓς ὀνομάζεσθαι Σειληνούς. πρῶ-
 τον γὰρ τῶν ἀπάντων βασιλεῦσαι φασὶ τῆς Νύσης Σειληνόν,
 οὗ τὸ γένος ὄθεν ἦν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀγνοεῖσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα.
 ἔχοντος δ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὁσφῦν οὐράν, διατελέσαι καὶ τοὺς 65
 ἐκγόνους τὸ παράσημον τοῦτο φοροῦντας διὰ τὴν τῆς φύσεως
 κοινωσίαν. τὸν δ' οὖν Διόνυσον ἀναζεύξαντα μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως,
 καὶ διελθόντα πολλὴν μὲν ἄνδρον χώραν, οὐκ ὀλίγην δ' ἔρημον
 καὶ θηριώδη, καταστρατοπεδεῦσαι περὶ πόλιν Λιβυκὴν τὴν 70
 3 ὀνομαζομένην Καβίριαν. πρὸς δὲ ταύτηι γηγενῆς ὑπάρχον
 θηρίον καὶ πολλοὺς ἀναλίσκον τῶν ἐγχωρίων, τὴν ὀνομαζομένην
 Κάμπην, ἀνελεῖν καὶ μεγάλης τυχεῖν δόξης ἐπ' ἀνδρείαι παρὰ
 τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις. ποιῆσαι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ χῶμα παμμέγεθες ἐπὶ
 τῷ φονευθέντι θηρίω, βουλόμενον ἀθάνατον ἀπολιπεῖν ὑπό-
 μνημα τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς, τὸ καὶ διαμεῖναν μέχρι τῶν νεωτέρων 75
 4 χρόνων. ἔπειτα τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον προάγειν πρὸς τοὺς Τιτᾶνας,
 εὐτάκτως ποιούμενον τὰς ὁδοιπορίας καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις
 φιланθρώπως προσφερόμενον καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἑαυτὸν ἀποφαινό-
 μενον στρατεύειν ἐπὶ κολάσει μὲν τῶν ἀσεβῶν, εὐεργεσίαι δὲ
 τοῦ κοινοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων. τοὺς δὲ Λίβυας θαυμάζοντας
 τὴν εὐταξίαν καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς μεγαλοπρεπές, τροφάς τε παρέχε- 80
 σθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δαφιλεῖς καὶ συστρατεύειν προθυμότατα.
- 5 συνεγγιζούσης δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἀμμωνίων, τὸν
 Κρόνον πρὸ τοῦ τείχους παρατάξει λειψθέντα τὴν μὲν πόλιν
 νυκτὸς ἐμπρῆσαι, σπεύδοντα εἰς τέλος καταφθεῖραι τοῦ Διονύσου

50 αὐτὸν Reiske, αὐτοῖς codd. 52 συστρατεύειν Wesseling 59 θυσίαις τε παρασκευάσαι D 61 Νυσαίων C, Νυσσαίων F Σιλήνους D, Σιλίνους C 62 τῶν ἀπάντων del. Jacoby τῆς Νύσης om. D, del. Vogel Σιλήνον D, Σίλινον C 63 οὗ: οὗτος D 67 πολλὴν μὲν: τὴν D 69 καβίριαν D, ζάβιριαν rell. 75 προάγειν II 83 παρατάξει om. CE 84 διαφθεῖραι D

τὰ πατρῶια βασίλεια, αὐτὸν δ' ἀναλαβόντα τὴν γυναῖκα Ῥέαν 85
καί τινες τῶν συνηγωνισμένων φίλων λαθεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
διαδράντα. οὐ μὴν τὸν γε Διόνυσον ὁμοίαν ἔχειν τούτῳ προαι-
ρεσιν λαβόντα γὰρ τὸν τε Κρόνον καὶ τὴν Ῥέαν αἰχμαλώτους
οὐ μόνον ἀφείναι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ παρακαλέσαι τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον γονέων ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτὸν 90
εὐνοϊάν τε καὶ τάξιν καὶ συζῆν τιμωμένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μάλιστα
6 πάντων. τὴν μὲν οὖν Ῥέαν διατελέσαι πάντα τὸν βίον ὡς υἱὸν
ἀγαπῶσαν, τὸν δὲ Κρόνον ὑπουλον ἔχειν τὴν εὐνοϊαν. γενέσθαι
δ' αὐτοῖς περὶ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους υἱόν, ὃν προσαγορευθῆναι
Δία, τιμηθῆναι δὲ μεγάλως ὑπὸ τοῦ Διονύσου, καὶ δι' ἀρετῆν ἐν 95
τοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις γενέσθαι πάντων βασιλέα.

11 Diod. 3.61.1–3

61.1 Κρόνον δὲ μυθολογοῦσιν, ἀδελφὸν μὲν Ἄτλαντος ὄντα,
διαφέροντα δ' ἀσεβείαι καὶ πλεονεξίαι, γῆμαι τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ῥέαν,
ἐξ ἧς γεννησάι Δία τὸν Ὀλύμπιον ὕστερον ἐπικληθέντα.
γεγονέναι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον Δία, τὸν ἀδελφὸν μὲν Οὐρανοῦ, τῆς δὲ
Κρήτης βασιλεύσαντα, τῆι δόξῃ πολὺ λειπόμενον τοῦ μεταγενε- 5
2 στέρου. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν βασιλεῦσαι τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου, τὸν
δὲ προγενέστερον, δυναστεύοντα τῆς προειρημένης νήσου, δέκα
παῖδας γεννῆσαι τοὺς ὀνομασθέντας Κούρητας· προσαγορευθεῖσαι
δὲ καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Ἰδαίαν, ἐν ἧι καὶ τελετη-
σαντα ταφῆναι, δεικνυμένον τοῦ τὴν ταφὴν δεξαμένου τόπου 10
3 μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων. οὐ μὴν οἱ γε Κρηῆτες ὁμολογούμενα
τούτοις μυθολογοῦσι, περὶ ὧν ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Κρήτης (5.64
sqq.) τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀναγράφομεν· δυναστεῦσαι δὲ φασὶ τὸν
Κρόνον κατὰ Σικελίαν καὶ Λιβύην, ἔτι δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τὸ
σύνολον ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἑσπέραν τόποις συστήσασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν· 15
παρὰ πᾶσι δὲ φρουραῖς διακατέχειν τὰς ἀκροπόλεις καὶ τοὺς
ὄχυρους τῶν τόπων {τούτων}· ἀφ' οὗ δὴ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν χρόνου
κατὰ τε τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν νεύοντα μέρη πολλοὺς
τῶν ὑψηλῶν τόπων ἀπ' ἐκείνου Κρόνια προσαγορευέσθαι.

93 ὑπουλον εὐνοϊαν ἔχειν D 94 ὃν : καὶ D

11 (7) 4–11 γεγονέναι—χρόνων a Diodoro ipso ficta esse putavit Jacoby, sine causa
(v. p. 110 n. 57 supra) 1 μυθολογοῦσι : ἱστοροῦσι II 12 κρητῶν D 17 ἰσχυροῦς D
τούτων del. Dindorf

12 Diod. 3.73–74.1

- 73.1 τῶν δὲ Λιβύων εἰρηκότων αὐτῶι πρὸ τῆς μάχης ὅτι καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας Ἄμμων, τοῖς ἐγχωροῖσι προειρηκῶς εἶη τεταγμένοις χρόνοις ἤξειν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Διόνυσον, καὶ τὴν τε πατρώϊαν ἀνακτήσεσθαι βασιλείαν καὶ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης κυριεύσαντα θεὸν νομισθήσεσθαι, ὑπολαβὼν ἀληθῆ 5
γεγονέναι μάντιν τό τε χρηστήριον ἰδρῦσατο τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὴν πόλιν οἰκοδομήσας τιμᾶς ὥρισεν ὡς θεῶι καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελησο-
μένους τοῦ μαντείου κατέστησε. παραδεδῶσθαι δὲ τὸν Ἄμμωνα ἔχειν κριοῦ κεφαλὴν τετυπωμένην, παράσημον ἐσχηκότος αὐτοῦ
2 τὸ κράνος κατὰ τὰς στρατείας. εἰσι δ' οἱ μυθολογοῦντες αὐτῶι πρὸς 10
ἀλήθειαν γενέσθαι καθ' ἑκάτερον μέρος τῶν κροτάφων κερᾶτια διὸ καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον, υἱὸν αὐτοῦ γεγονότα, τὴν ὁμοίαν ἔχειν πρόσοψιν, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγινω-
3 μένοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων παραδεδῶσθαι τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον γεγονότα κερᾶτιαν. μετὰ 15
δ' οὖν τὴν τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομίαν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ χρηστήριον κατάστασιν πρῶτόν φασι τὸν Διόνυσον χρήσασθαι τῶι θεῶι 20
περὶ τῆς στρατείας, καὶ λαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς χρησμόν ὅτι
4 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εὐεργετῶν τεύξεται τῆς ἀθανασίας. διὸ καὶ μετεωρισθέντα τῆι ψυχῆι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον στρατεῦσαι, καὶ τῆς χώρας καταστήσαι βασιλέα Δία τὸν Κρόνον καὶ Ῥέας, παῖδα τὴν ἡλικίαν ὄντα. παρακαταστήσαι δ' αὐτῶι 25
καὶ ἐπιστάτην Ὀλυμπον, ἄφ' οὗ τὸν Δία παιδευθέντα καὶ
5 πρωτεύσαντα κατ' ἀρετὴν Ὀλύμπιον προσαγορευθῆναι. τὸν δ' οὖν Διόνυσον λέγεται διδάξαι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους τὴν τε τῆς ἀμπέλου φύτεϊαν καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν καὶ τὴν παράθεσιν τοῦ τε 25
οἴνου καὶ τῶν ἀκροδρόων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων καρπῶν. πάντη δὲ
6 διαδομένης περὶ αὐτοῦ φήμης ἀγαθῆς μηδένα καθάπερ πρὸς πολέμιον ἀντιτάττεσθαι, πάντας δὲ προθύμως ὑπακούοντας 30
ἐπαίνοις καὶ θυσίαις ὡς θεὸν τιμᾶν. τῶι δ' αὐτῶι τρόπῳ φασὶν ἐπελθεῖν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἐξημεροῦντα μὲν τὴν χώραν ταῖς φυτεῖαις, εὐεργετοῦντα δὲ τοὺς λαοὺς μεγάλαις τιμαῖς καὶ
χάρισι πρὸς τὸν αἰῶνα. διὸ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς τιμαῖς οὐχ ὁμοίαν ἔχοντας προαίρεσιν

12 (8) 5 ὀνομασθήσεσθαι D 6 ἰδρῦσατο : ἰδρυσεν τὸ D, om. F 7 ἀνοικοδομήσας Dindorf 9 σχεῖν CF 10–13 εἰσι δ' οἱ—κερατίαν, cf. Diod. 4.4.2 21 ὑφ' οὗ II 24 καὶ χρῆσιν καὶ παράθεσιν D 25 καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων D, καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων II 26 διαδομένης D 30 τιμαῖς καὶ : δωρεαῖς καὶ Rhodomanus καὶ τιμίαις Vogel

- ἀλλήλοις σχεδὸν ἐπὶ μόνου τοῦ Διονύσου συμφωνουμένην ἀποδεικνύειν μαρτυρίαν τῆς ἀθανασίας· οὐδένα γὰρ οὐθ' Ἑλλήνων οὐτε βαρβάρων ἄμοιρον εἶναι τῆς τούτου δωρεᾶς καὶ χάριτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀπηγριωμένην ἔχοντας χώραν ἢ πρὸς φυτεῖαν ἀμπέλου παντελῶς ἀπηλλοτριωμένην μαθεῖν τὸ κατασκευαζόμενον ἐκ τῶν κριθῶν πόμα βραχὺ λειπόμενον τῆς περι
7 τὸν οἶνον εὐωδίας. τὸν δ' οὖν Διόνυσόν φασι τὴν κατάβασιν ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ποιησάμενον καταλαβεῖν ἅπαντας 40 τοὺς Τιτᾶνας ἠθροικώτας δυνάμεις καὶ διαβεβηκώτας εἰς Κρήτην ἐπ' Ἄμμωνα. προσβεβοηθηκός τε καὶ τοῦ Διὸς ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τοῖς περι τὸν Ἄμμωνα, καὶ πολέμου μεγάλου συνεστῶτος ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ταχέως καὶ τοὺς περι τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναῖν καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν νομισθέντων συνδραμεῖν εἰς Κρήτην. 45
8 γενομένης δὲ παρατάξεως μεγάλης ἐπικρατῆσαι τοὺς περι τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ πάντα ἀνελεῖν τοὺς Τιτᾶνας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἄμμωνος καὶ Διονύσου μεταστάντων ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως εἰς τὴν ἀθανασίαν, τὸν Δία φασὶ βασιλεῦσαι τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου, κεκολασμένων τῶν Τιτάνων, καὶ μηδενὸς ὄντος 50 τοῦ τολμήσοντος δι' ἀσέβειαν ἀμφισβητῆσαι τῆς ἀρχῆς.
74.1 τὸν μὲν οὖν πρῶτον Διόνυσον ἐξ Ἄμμωνος καὶ Ἀμαλθείας γενόμενον τοιαύτας οἱ Λίβυες ἱστοροῦσιν ἐπιτελέσασθαι πράξεις·

13 Diod. 3.61.4–6

- 61.4 Κρόνου δὲ γενόμενον υἱὸν Δία τὸν ἐναντίον τῷ πατρὶ βίον ζηλώσαι, καὶ παρεχόμενον ἑαυτὸν πᾶσιν ἐπιεικῆ καὶ φιλόανθρωπον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους πατέρα προσαγορευθῆναι. διαδέξασθαι δ' αὐτὸν φασὶ τὴν βασιλείαν οἱ μὲν ἔκουσίως τοῦ πατρὸς παραχωρησάντος, οἱ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχλων αἰρεθέντα διὰ τὸ μῖσος τὸ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα 5 ἐπιστρατεύσαντος δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοῦ Κρόνου μετὰ τῶν Τιτάνων κρατῆσαι τῇ μάχῃ τὸν Δία, καὶ κύριον γενόμενον τῶν ὄλων ἐπελθεῖν ἅπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, εὐεργετοῦντα τὸ γένος τῶν 5 ἀνθρώπων. διενεγκεῖν δ' αὐτὸν καὶ σώματος ῥώμῃ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀπάσαις ἀρεταῖς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ταχὺ κύριον γενέσθαι 10 τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου. καθόλου δ' αὐτὸν τὴν ἅπασαν σπουδὴν

45 τῶν θεῶν Hertlein
13 (7) 4 φασὶ om. CF ἐκόντος II (et Euseb. Pr. Ev. 2.2 p. 49)

- ἔχειν εἰς κόλασιν μὲν τῶν ἀσεβῶν καὶ πονηρῶν, εὐεργεσίαν δὲ
 6 τῶν ὄχλων. ἀνθ' ὧν μετὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων μετάστασιν ὀνομασ-
 θῆναι μὲν Ζῆνα διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν τοῦ καλῶς ζῆν αἴτιον γενέσθαι
 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καθιδρυθῆναι δ' ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τῆι τῶν εἰς 15
 παθόντων τιμῆι, πάντων προθύμως ἀναγορευόντων θεὸν καὶ
 κύριον εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου. τῶν μὲν οὖν
 παρὰ τοῖς Ἀτλαντίοις θεολογουμένων τὰ κεφάλαια ταῦτ'
 ἔστιν.

ΑΡΓΟΝΑΥΤΑΙ

14 Diod. 4.40–41

- 40.1 περὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν, ἐπειδὴ τούτοις Ἑρακλῆς συνε-
 στρατεύσεν, οἰκειὸν ἂν εἶη διελθεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν.
 Ἰάσονα γενέσθαι λέγουσιν υἱὸν μὲν Αἴσονος, ἀδελφιδοῦν δὲ
 Πελίου τοῦ Θετταλῶν βασιλέως, ῥώμη δὲ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς
 λαμπρότητι διενέγκαντα τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐπιθυμήσαι τι πράξαι 5
 2 μνήμης ἄξιον. ὄρῶντα δὲ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ Περσέα καὶ τινὰς
 ἄλλους διὰ τὰς ὑπεροχίους στρατείας καὶ τὸ παράβολον τῶν
 ἄθλων δόξης ἀειμνήστου τετευχότας, ζηλώσαι τὰς προαιρέσεις
 αὐτῶν. διὸ καὶ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ἀνακοινωσάμενον τῷ βασιλεῖ
 ταχέως λαβεῖν αὐτὸν συγκάτινον, οὐχ οὕτω τοῦ Πελίου σπεύ- 10
 δοντος προαγαγεῖν εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν τὸν νεανίσκον ὡς ἐλπίζοντος
 3 ἐν ταῖς παραβόλοις στρατείαις διαφθαρῆσεσθαι· αὐτὸν μὲν γὰρ
 ἐκ φύσεως ἔστερηθῆναι παίδων ἀρρένων, τὸν δ' ἀδελφὸν εὐλαβεῖ-
 σθαι μήποτε συνεργὸν ἔχων τὸν υἱὸν ἐπίθηται τῆι βασιλείαι.
 κρύπτοντα δὲ τὴν ὑποψίαν ταύτην, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν 15
 χρῆσιμα χορηγήσειν ἐπαγγειλάμενον, παρακαλεῖν ἄθλον τελέσαι
 στείλάμενον τὸν πλοῦν εἰς Κόλχους ἐπὶ τὸ διαβεβοημένον τοῦ
 4 κριοῦ δέρος χρυσόμαλλον. τὸν δὲ Πόντον κατ' ἐκείνου τοὺς χρῶ-

13 ὄχλων : ἀγαθῶν Euseb. 18 μυθολογουμένων D
 ΑΡΓΟΝΑΥΤΑΙ (vel ΑΡΓΟΝΑΥΤΙΚΑ, v. p. 67 n. 8 supra): cf. T 1a Ἀργο-
 ναῦται ἐν βιβλίῳς ζ' (β' Jacoby, sed. v. p. 77 supra), T 2 ab τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ἀργο-
 ναύτας, F 19, 21a, 25c, 31.

14 (14) 6 τὸν codd., τῶν Dindorf 9 τῆς ἐπιβολῆς CF 18 δέρος D, δέρας CF (ut
 plerumque)

- νους περιοικούμενον ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν βαρβάρων καὶ παντελῶς
 ἀγρίων ἄξενον προσαγορεύεσθαι, ξενοκτονούντων τῶν ἐγχωρίων 20
 5 τοὺς καταπλέοντας. Ἰάσονα δὲ δόξης ὀρεγόμενον καὶ τὸν
 ἄθλον δυσέφικτον μὲν, οὐ κατὰ πᾶν δ' ἀδύνατον κρίνοντα, καὶ
 41.1 διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐπιφανέστερον ἔσεσθαι διαλαμβάνοντα,
 25 παρασκευάσασθαι τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολήν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν
 τῆι λοιπῇ κατασκευῇ τὴν τότε συνήθειαν ὑπερβάλλον, διὰ τὸ
 σχεδίασις πλεῖν τοὺς τότε ἀνθρώπους καὶ μικροῖς παντελῶς
 ἀκατίους. διὸ καὶ τῶν ἰδόντων αὐτὸ τότε καταπληττομένων, καὶ
 τῆς φήμης διαδοθείσης κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα περὶ τε τοῦ ἄθλου καὶ
 τῆς κατὰ τὴν ναυπηγίαν ἐπιβολῆς, οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχαῖς 30
 2 νεανίσκων ἐπιθυμήσαι μετασχεῖν τῆς στρατείας. Ἰάσονα δὲ
 καθελκύσαντα τὸ σκάφος καὶ κοσμήσαντα πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνήκουσι
 πρὸς ἔκπληξιν λαμπρῶς, ἐκλέξει τῶν ὀρεγομένων τῆς αὐτῆς
 προαιρέσεως τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἀριστεῖς, ὥστε σὺν αὐτῶι 35
 τοὺς ἅπαντας εἶναι πεντήκοντα καὶ τέτταρας. τούτων δ' ὑπάρχειν
 ἐνδοξοτάτους Κάστορα καὶ Πολυδεύκην, ἔτι δ' Ἡρακλέα καὶ
 Τελαμῶνα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ὀρφέα καὶ τὴν Σχοινέως Ἀταλάντην,
 3 ἔτι δὲ τοὺς Θεσπίου παῖδας καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν στελλόμενον τὸν 40
 πλοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Κολχίδα. τὴν δὲ ναῦν Ἀργῶ προσαγορευθῆναι κατὰ μὲν
 τινὰς τῶν μυθογράφων ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸ σκάφος ἀρχιτεκτονήσαντος Ἄργου καὶ
 συμπλεύσαντος ἔνεκα τοῦ θεραπεύειν αἰεὶ τὰ πονοῦντα μέρη τῆς νεώς, ὡς δ'
 ἔνιοι λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸ τάχος ὑπερβολῆς, ὡς ἂν τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀργὸν
 τὸ ταχὺ προσαγορευόντων. τοὺς δ' οὖν ἀριστεῖς συνελθόντας ἐλέσθαι
 σφῶν αὐτῶν στρατηγὸν Ἡρακλέα, προκρίναντας κατ' ἀνδρείαν.

15a [Apollodorus], Bibliotheca 1.9.19 (118)

Ἡρόδοτος (FGrHist 31 F 41a) δὲ αὐτὸν (sc. Ἡρακλέα)
 οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν φησι πλεῦσαι τότε (sc. cum Argonautis),
 ἀλλὰ παρ' Ὀμφάλῃ δουλεύειν. Φερεκύδης (FGrHist 3 F 111a)
 δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν Ἀφειταῖς τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἀπολειφθῆναι λέγει, τῆς 5
 Ἀργοῦς φθεγξαμένης μὴ δύνασθαι φέρειν τὸ τούτου βᾶρος.
 Δημαρέτης (FGrHist 42 F 2b) δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς Κόλχους πεπελευκότα

21 τὸ ἄθλον CDF, τὸν ἄθλον rell.
 15a (6a) 1 ἠρόδοτος A, corr. Faber 6 Δημάρατος Aegius

παρέδωκε· Διονύσιος μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ ἠγεμόνα φησὶ τῶν Ἄργοναυτῶν γενέσθαι.

15b Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.1289–91a (p. 116.7 Wendel)

Ἀπολλώνιος μὲν οὖν ἀπολελείφθαι φησὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα περὶ Κίον ἐκβάντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ὑλα ζήτησιν· Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Μιτυληναῖος συμπεπλευκέναι φησὶ τὸν ἥρωα τοῖς ἀριστεύσιν ἕως Κόλχων καὶ τὰ περὶ Μήδειαν συμπεπραχέναι τῷ Ἰάσονι. ὁμοίως καὶ Δημαρέτης (FGrHist 42 F 2b). Ἡρόδοτος (31 F 41b) δὲ φησὶ μὴ 5
συμπεπλευκέναι αὐτὸν τε καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους.

16 Diod. 4.42

- 42.1 ἔπειτ' ἐκ τῆς Ἰωλκοῦ τὸν ἔκπλον ποιησαμένους, καὶ παραλάζαντας τὸν τε Ἄθω καὶ Σαμοθράικην, χειμῶν περιπεσεῖν, καὶ προσενεχθῆναι τῆς Τρωιάδος πρὸς Σίγειον. ἐνταῦθα δ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἀπόβασιν ποιησαμένων, εὐρεθῆναι φασὶ παρθένον 5
2 δεδεμένην παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. λέγεται τὸν Ποσειδῶνα διὰ τὴν μυθολογουμένην τῶν Τρωικῶν τειχῶν κατασκευὴν μῆνισαντα Λαομέδοντι τῷ βασιλεῖ κῆτος ἀνεῖναι ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους πρὸς τὴν χώραν· ὑπὸ δὲ τούτου τοὺς τε παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν διατρέβοντας καὶ τοὺς γεωργοῦντας τὴν παραθαλάττιον παραδόξως συναρπάζεσθαι· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις λοιμὸν ἐμπεσεῖν 10
εἰς τὰ πλήθη καὶ καρπῶν παντελεῖ φθοράν, ὥστε πάντας 3 ἐκπλήττεσθαι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς περιστάσεως. διὸ καὶ συντρεχόντων τῶν ὄχλων εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ζητούντων ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἀτυχημάτων, λέγεται τὸν βασιλέα πέμψαι πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλω τοὺς ἐπερωτήσοντας περὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων. ἐκπεσόντος οὖν 15
χρησμοῦ μῆνιν ὑπάρχειν Ποσειδῶνος, καὶ τότε ταύτην λήξειν ἔσταν οἱ Τρῶες τὸ λαχὸν τῶν τέκνων ἔκουσίως παραδῶσι βορὰν τῷ κῆτει, φασὶν ἀπάντων εἰς τὸν κληρὸν ἐμβαινόντων ἐπανελ- 4
θεῖν εἰς Ἡσιόνην τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα· διόπερ τὸν Λαο-

7 μὲν γὰρ non intellego
15b (6b) 4 τὰ Wellauer: τὸν P, τοῖς L, <ἐν> τοῖς Keil 4 Δημάρετος P, Δημάρατος F
16 (14) 10 παραδόξως : παραχρῆμα II 18 ἐμβληθέντων II

- μέδοντα συναναγκασθέντα παραδοῦναι τὴν παρθένον καὶ 20
 5 δεσμοῖς καταλαβόμενον ἀπολιπεῖν παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν. ἐνταῦθα
 δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἑρακλέα μετὰ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν τὴν ἀπόβασιν
 ποιησάμενον, καὶ μαθόντα παρὰ τῆς κόρης τὴν περιπέτειαν,
 ἀναρρηῆσαι μὲν τοὺς περὶ τὸ σῶμα δεσμούς, ἀναβάντα δ' εἰς τὴν
 6 πόλιν ἐπαγγείλασθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ διαφθερεῖν τὸ κῆτος. τοῦ δὲ 25
 Λαομέδοντος ἀποδεξαμένου τὸν λόγον καὶ δωρεὰν δώσειν
 ἐπαγγειλαμένου τὰς ἀνικήτους ἵππους, φασὶ τὸ μὲν κῆτος ὕφ'
 Ἑρακλέους ἀναιρεθῆναι, τῆι δ' Ἑσιόνῃ δοθῆναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν
 εἴτε βούλοιο μετὰ τοῦ σώσαντος ἀπελθεῖν εἴτε μετὰ τῶν
 γονέων καταμένειν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι. τὴν μὲν οὖν κόρην ἐλέσθαι 30
 τὸν μετὰ τοῦ ξένου βίον, οὐ μόνον τὴν εὐεργεσίαν τῆς συγγενείας
 προκρίνασαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φοβουμένην μὴ πάλιν φανέντος κήτους
 7 πρὸς τὴν ὁμοίαν ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐκτεθῆι τιμωρίαν. τὸν δ'
 Ἑρακλέα δώροις καὶ τοῖς προσήκουσι ξενίοις λαμπρῶς τιμηθέντα
 τὴν Ἑσιόνην καὶ τὰς ἵππους παραθέσθαι τῷ Λαομέδοντι, 35
 συνταξάμενον μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Κόλχων ἐπάνοδον ἀπολήψεσθαι,
 αὐτὸν δ' ἀναχθῆναι μετὰ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπὶ
 τὸν προκείμενον ἄθλον.

cf. Hygin. Fab. 89.2–3

... ob eam rem (sc. fraudem Laomedontis) Neptunus cetum misit qui Troiam vexaret; ob quam causam rex ad Apollinem misit consultum. Apollo iratus ita respondit, si Troianorum virgines ceto religatae fuissent finem pestilentiae futuram. cum complures consumptae essent et Hesionae sors exisset et petris religata esset, Hercules et Telamon cum Colchos Argonautae irent eodem venerunt et cetum interfecerunt, Hesionenque patri pactis legibus reddunt, ut cum inde rediissent secum in patriam eam abducerent, et equos qui super aquas et aristas ambulabant.

17 P. Mich. inv. 1316 v, 11. 4–8

κατ]αβεβλημένος πραγματεῖαν .
 5]. Ἴλιον αὐτοῦς ἀγαγὼν ἀκολου-
 θ-]. Διονυσίωι Ἑσιόνην τὴν Δαρ-
 μέδοντος]ἐκκειμένην τῶι κῆτει ἰδῶν
]. αὐτης σὺν Τελαμῶνι βουλευ-

18 Diod. 4.43–44.6

43.1 ἐπιγενομένον δὲ μεγάλου χειμῶνος, καὶ τῶν ἀριστεῶν
 ἀπογινωσκόντων τὴν σωτηρίαν, φασὶν Ὀρφέα, τῆς τελετῆς
 μόνον τῶν συμπλεόντων μετεσχηκότα, ποιήσασθαι τοῖς Σαμό-
 2 θραιξὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας εὐχάς. εὐθύς δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος
 ἐνδόντος, καὶ δυοῖν ἀστέρων ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν Διοσκόρων κεφαλὰς 5
 ἐπιπεσόντων, ἅπαντας μὲν ἐκπλαγῆναι τὸ παράδοξον, ὑπολαβεῖν
 δὲ θεῶν προνοίαι τῶν κινδύνων ἑαυτοῦς ἀπηλλάχθαι. διὸ καὶ
 τοῖς ἐπιγινόμενοις παραδοσίμου γεγενημένης τῆς περιπετείας,
 αἰεὶ τοὺς χειμαζομένους τῶν πλεόντων εὐχὰς μὲν τίθεσθαι τοῖς
 Σαμόθραιξιν, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀστέρων παρουσίας ἀναπέμπειν εἰς 10
 3 τὴν τῶν Διοσκόρων ἐπιφάνειαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τότε λήξαντος
 τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀποβῆναι μὲν τοὺς ἀριστεῖς τῆς Θυράκης εἰς τὴν
 ὑπὸ Φινέως βασιλευσμένην χώραν, περιπεσεῖν δὲ δυοῖν νεανίσκοις
 ἐπὶ τιμωρίαι διωρυγμένοις καὶ μάλιστα πληγὰς συνεχεῖς λαμ-
 βάνουσι· τούτους δ' ὑπάρχειν Φινέως υἱοῦς καὶ Κλεοπάτρας, 15
 ἣν φασὶν ἐξ Ὀρειθυίας τῆς Ἐρεχθέως γεννηθῆναι καὶ Βορέου,
 διὰ δὲ μητριῆς τόλμαν καὶ διαβολὰς ψευδεῖς τυγχάνοντας ὑπὸ
 4 τοῦ πατρὸς ἀδίκως τῆς προειρημένης τιμωρίας· τὸν γὰρ Φινέα
 γεγαμηκότα Ἰδαίαν τὴν Δαρδάνου τοῦ Σκυθῶν βασιλέως
 θυγατέρα, καὶ διὰ τὸν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔρωτα πάντα χαριζόμενον, 20
 πιστεῦσαι διότι τῇ μητριῆι βίαν ἐφ' ὕβρει προσήγαγον οἱ
 5 πρόγονοι, βουλόμενοι τῇ μητρὶ χαρίζεσθαι. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν
 Ἑρακλέα παραδόξως ἐπιφανέντων, φασὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς
 ἀνάγκαις ὄντας ἐπικαλέσασθαι καθάπερ θεοὺς τοὺς ἀριστεῖς,
 καὶ τὰς αἰτίας δηλώσαντας τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς παρανομίας δεῖσθαι 25

17 (-) v. pp. 53–64 supra

18 (14) 8 γενομένης II 13 περιτυχεῖν II 17 δὲ del. Vogel

- 44.1 τῶν ἀτυχημάτων αὐτοὺς ἐξελέσθαι. τὸν δὲ Φινέα πικρῶς
ἀπαντήσαντα τοῖς ξένοις παραγγεῖλαι μηδὲν τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν
πολυπραγμονεῖν μηδένα γὰρ πατέρα λαβεῖν παρ' υἱῶν ἐκουσίως
τιμωρίαν, εἰ μὴ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἀδικημάτων ὑπέρθοιντο τὴν
2 φυσικὴν τῶν γονέων εἰς τέκνα φιλοστοργίαν. ἐνταῦθα συμ- 30
πλέοντας τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους μὲν
Βορεάδας, ἀδελφοὺς δ' ὄντας *Κλεοπάτρας*, λέγεται διὰ τὴν
συγγένειαν πρώτους ὀρμῆσαι πρὸς τὴν βοήθειαν, καὶ τοὺς
μὲν περικειμένους τοῖς νεανίσκοις δεσμοὺς περιρρῆξαι, τοὺς δ'
3 ἐναντιούμενους τῶν βαρβάρων ἀποκτείνει. ὀρμήσαντος δὲ τοῦ 35
Φινέως πρὸς μάχην, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Θραικῶν συνδρα-
μόντος, φασὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα πάντων ἄριστα διαγωνισάμενον
αὐτόν τε τὸν Φινέα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ὀλίγους ἀνελεῖν, τὸ
δὲ τελευταῖον κρατήσαντα τῶν βασιλείων τὴν μὲν *Κλεοπάτραν*
ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς προαγαγεῖν, τοῖς δὲ *Φινεΐδαις* ἀποκαταστήσαι 40
τὴν πατρώϊαν ἀρχήν· βουλομένων δ' αὐτῶν τὴν μητροῖαν μετ'
αἰκίας ἀποκτείνει, πείσαι τῆς μὲν τιμωρίας ταύτης ἀποστήναι,
πρὸς δὲ τὸν πατέρα πέμψαντας εἰς τὴν *Σκυθίαν* ἐκεῖνον παρακα-
4 λέσαι τῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀνομημάτων λαβεῖν κόλασιν. οὗ γενηθέντος 45
τὸν μὲν *Σκύθην* τῆς θυγατρὸς καταγνῶναι θάνατον, τοὺς δ'
ἐκ τῆς *Κλεοπάτρας* υἱοὺς ἀπενέγκασθαι παρὰ τοῖς *Θραιξί* δόξαν
ἐπιεικείας. οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ διότι τινὲς τῶν μυθογράφων τυφλωθῆναι φασὶ
τοὺς *Φινεΐδας* ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ τὸν *Φινέα* τῆς ὁμοίας τυχεῖν συμφορᾶς
5 ὑπὸ *Βορέου*. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τινὲς παραδεδώκασιν πρὸς ὑδρείαν 50
ἐξελθόντα κατὰ τὴν Ἄσιαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας
ἀπολειφθῆναι. καθόλου δὲ τοὺς παλαιοὺς μύθους οὐκ ἀπλῆν οὐδὲ
6 συμπεφωνημένην ἱστορίαν ἔχειν συμβέβηκε· διόπερ οὐ χρὴ θαυμάζειν, εἴαν
τινα τῶν ἀρχαιολογουμένων μὴ συμφώνως ἅπασιν τοῖς ποιηταῖς καὶ
συγγραφεῦσιν συγκρίνωμεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς *Φινεΐδας* λέγεται
τὴν βασιλείαν παραδόντας τῇ μητρὶ *Κλεοπάτραι* συστρατεῦσαι 55
τοῖς ἄριστεῦσιν.

cf. [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 3.15.3 (200)

Κλεοπάτραν δὲ ἔγημε *Φινεύς*, ᾧ γίνονται παῖδες <ἔξ> αὐτῆς
(add. Hercher) *Πλήξιππος* καὶ *Πανδίων*. ἔχων δὲ τούτους
ἐκ *Κλεοπάτρας* παῖδας Ἰδαίαν ἐγάμει τὴν *Δαρδάνου*. κἀκείνη
τῶν προγόνων πρὸς *Φινέα* φθορὰν καταφεύδεται, καὶ πιστεύσας

Φινεύς ἀμφοτέρους τυφλοῖ. παραπλέοντες δὲ οἱ Ἄργοναῦται
σὺν Βορεάδαις (Βορέαι codd., corr. Aegius, v. p. 98 supra)
κολάζονται αὐτόν.

19 Schol. Ap. Rhod. 2.206–208 b

Διονύσιος δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἄργοναῦταις φησὶν ἀναιρεθῆναι τὸν
Φινέα ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἰδόντος τοὺς παῖδας ἐν ἐρημίαι καὶ
μαθόντος ὅτι ὑπὸ Φινέως ἦσαν ἐκβεβλημένοι κατὰ διαβολὴν
Σκυθικῆς γυναικός, ἣν γεγαμήκει ὁ Φινεύς παραιτησάμενος 5
Κλεοπάτρην· γηγόνει δὲ τοῦ Φινέως καὶ πρεσβύτης κατήγορος
παρὰ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ. διόπερ Ἡρακλῆς ἀναιτίους εὐρῶν τοὺς
παῖδας κατήγαγεν εἰς τὴν πατρῴϊαν οἰκίαν, Φινέα δὲ ἀνιστάμενον
καὶ θελήσαντα καταποντίσαι τὸν ἕτερον τῶν παίδων λακτίσας
ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἀπέκτεινεν.

20 Diod. 4.44.7–45

- 44.7 ἀναχθέντας δ' αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς Θοράικης καὶ κομισθέντας εἰς τὸν
Πόντον προσχεῖν τῇ Ταυρικῇ, τὴν ἀγριότητα τῶν ἐγχωρίων
ἀγνοοῦντας· νόμιμον γὰρ εἶναι τοῖς τὴν χώραν ταύτην οἰκοῦσι
βαρβάρους θύειν Ἀρτέμιδι Ταυροπόλῳ τοὺς καταπλέοντας ξέ- 5
νους· παρ' οἷς φασὶ τὴν Ἰφιγένειαν ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις
ἰέρειαν τῆς εἰρημένης θεοῦ κατασταθεῖσαν θύειν τοὺς ἀλίσ-
κομένους.
- 45.1 ἐπιζητούσης δὲ τῆς ἱστορίας τὰς τῆς ξενοκτονίας αἰτίας,
ἀναγκαῖον βραχέα διελθεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς παρεκβάσεως
οἰκείας ἐσομένης ταῖς τῶν Ἄργοναυτῶν πράξεσι. φασὶ γὰρ 10
Ἡλίου δύο γενέσθαι παῖδας, Αἰήτην τε καὶ Πέρσην· τούτων δὲ
τὸν μὲν Αἰήτην βασιλεῦσαι τῆς Κολχίδος, τὸν δ' ἕτερον τῆς
2 Ταυρικῆς, ἀμφοτέρους δὲ διενεγκεῖν ὠμότητι. καὶ Πέρσου μὲν
Ἐκάτην γενέσθαι θυγατέρα, τόλμη καὶ παρανομία προέχουσαν
τοῦ πατρὸς· φιλοκύνηγον δ' ὄδσαν ἐν ταῖς ἀποτυχίαις ἀνθρώπους 15
ἀντὶ τῶν θηρίων κατατοξεύειν. φιλότεχρον δ' εἰς φαρμάκων

19 (5) 5 τις post καὶ add. P πρεσβῦτις Wendel

20 (14) 2 προσέχειν D^a 4–6 θύειν—κατασταθεῖσαν om. D 11 Πέρσην : Περσεύς
F 21a

θανασίμων συνθέσεις γενομένην τὸ καλούμενον ἀκόνιτον
 ἐξευρεῖν, καὶ τῆς ἐκάστου δυνάμεως πείραν λαμβάνειν μίσγουσαν
 ταῖς διδομέναις τοῖς ξένοις τροφαῖς. ἐμπειρίαν δὲ μεγάλην ἐν
 τούτοις ἔχουσαν πρῶτον μὲν τὸν πατέρα φαρμάκῳ διαφθεῖραι 20
 καὶ διαδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν, ἔπειτ' Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἰδρυσά-
 μένην καὶ τοὺς καταπλέοντας ξένους θύεσθαι τῇ θεῷ καταδεί-
 3 ξασαν ἐπ' ὠμότητι διονομασθῆναι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συνοικήσασαν
 Αἰήτην γεννήσασιν δύο θυγατέρας, Κίρκην τε καὶ Μήδειαν, ἔτι δ'
 υἱὸν Αἰγιαλέα. καὶ τὴν μὲν Κίρκην εἰς φαρμάκων παντοδαπῶν 25
 ἐπίνοιαν ἐκτραπέυσαν ἐξευρεῖν ῥιζῶν παντοίας φύσεις καὶ
 δυνάμεις ἀπιστομένας· οὐκ ὀλίγα μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς
 Ἐκάτης διδαχθῆναι, πολὺ δὲ πλείω διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἐπιμελείας
 ἐξευροῦσαν μηδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ἀπολιπεῖν ἐτέραι πρὸς ἐπίνοιαν
 4 φαρμακείας. δοθῆναι δ' αὐτὴν εἰς γάμον τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν 30
 Σαρματῶν, οὗς ἔνιοι Σκύθας προσαγορεύουσι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
 τὸν ἄνδρα φαρμάκοις ἀνελεῖν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν βασιλείαν διαδεξαμένην
 5 πολλὰ κατὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων ὠμὰ πρᾶξαι καὶ βίαια. διόπερ ἐκπεσοῦσαν
 τῆς βασιλείας κατὰ μὲν τινὰς τῶν μυθογράφων φυγεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν ὠκεανόν,
 καὶ νῆσον ἔρημον καταλαβομένην ἐνταῦθα μετὰ τῶν συμφυγουσῶν γυναικῶν 35
 καθιδρυθῆναι, κατὰ δὲ τινὰς τῶν ἱστορικῶν ἐκλιποῦσαν τὸν Πόντον κατοική-
 σαι τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀκρωτήριον τὸ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀπ' ἐκείνης Κίρκαιον ὀνομαζό-
 μενον.

21a Schol. Ap. Rhod. 3.200a

τὴν Κίρκην τινὲς μὲν Αἰήτου ἀδελφὴν, τινὲς δὲ θυγατέρα.
 ἱστορεῖ δὲ Διονύσιος Ἡλίου ὅτι ἐγένοντο Περσεὺς καὶ Αἰήτης.
 Περσεὺς δὲ Ταύρων ἐβασίλευσεν καὶ συγγενόμενος νύμφῃ τινὶ
 Ἐκάτῃ ἔσχε θυγατέρα, ἣ περὶ τὰς ἐρημίας ἐκάστοτε διατρί-
 βουσα ἐμπειροτάτη τῶν τε δηλητηρίων καὶ τῶν ἰᾶσθαι δυνα- 5
 μένων ἐγένετο· ἦν μεταπεμφόμενος ὁ Αἰήτης ἔγνημεν καὶ ἔσχεν
 ἐξ αὐτῆς τὴν Κίρκην.

17 τὸ : τὸν D 31–38 καὶ τὸ—ὀνομαζόμενον v. p. 118 supra 36 ἐκλείπουσαν D
 21a (1a) 2 Περσεὺς : Πέρσης F 20, F 21b 4 ἦ καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἐρημίας ἐκάς τότε
 (περὶ τὰς καλουμένας ἐκάς P) διατρίβουσα Ἐκάτη τε ἐκλήθη καὶ ἐμπειροτάτη κτλ. A,
 v. H. Fränkel, Einleitung zur kritischen Ausgabe der Arg. des Apollonios (Göttingen
 1964) 101–102

21 b Schol. Ap. Rhod. 3.200 b

τὴν Κίρκην Διονύσιος ὁ Μιλήσιος ἐν α' τῶν Ἀργοναυτικῶν
 θυγατέρα Αἰήτου καὶ Ἐκάτης τῆς Πέρσεως θυγατρὸς, ἀδελφὴν
 δὲ Μηδείας. Ἑλλίωι γάρ φησιν υἱὸς γενέσθαι δύο ἐν τοῖς
 τόποις ἐκείνοις, οἷς ὀνόματα ἦν Πέρσης καὶ Αἰήτης· τούτους
 διακατασχεῖν τὴν χώραν, καὶ Αἰήτην μὲν Κόλχων καὶ Μαιωτῶν, 5
 Πέρσεα δὲ τῆς Ταυρικῆς κυριεῦσαι· τὸν δὲ Πέρσεα πρεσβύτερον
 ὄντα γῆμαι γυναῖκα τῶν ἐγχωρίων τινά, καὶ γενέσθαι αὐτῷ
 θυγατέρα, ἣι ὄνομα Ἐκάτη, ἣτις λέγεται ἀνδρική γενέσθαι
 περὶ τὰ κνηγετικά καὶ πρώτη θανασίμους ῥίζας εὖρειν καὶ 10
 τὸν ἑαυτῆς πατέρα φαρμάκοις ἀποκτεῖναι. ταύτην γήμασθαι
 πεμφθεῖσαν εἰς Κόλχους Αἰήτηι τῷ πατραδέλφωι, ἀφ' ἧς γενέ-
 σθαι Κίρκην καὶ Μήδειαν τὴν δὲ Κίρκην, πρεσβυτέραν οὖσαν τῆς
 Μηδείας, ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν ἑαυτῆς μητέρα, τὰ μὲν διακούσασαν,
 τὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ἐφευρηκυῖαν πολλὰ καὶ δεινά.

21 c Schol. Ap. Rhod. 3.240

<σὸν ἐῆι ναῖσκε δάμαρτι·> ὁ τὰ Ναυπακτικὰ πεποηκῶς
 (fr. 4 Kinkel) Εὐρυλύτην αὐτὴν λέγει, Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος
 Ἐκάτην μητέρα Μηδείας καὶ Κίρκης, ὡς προείρηται (schol.
 3.200 ab), Σοφοκλῆς (fr. 344 Radt) δὲ Νέαιραν μίαν τῶν
 Νηρηίδων, Ἡσίοδος δὲ Ἰδυῖαν (Theog. 958, 960). 5

22 Diod. 4.46.1-4

46.1 τὴν δὲ Μήδειαν ἱστοροῦσι μαθεῖν παρὰ τε τῆς μητρὸς καὶ
 τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἀπάσας τὰς τῶν φαρμάκων δυνάμεις, προαιρέσει
 δ' ἐναντιωτάτη χρῆσθαι· διατελεῖν γὰρ τοὺς καταπλέοντας
 τῶν ξένων ἐξαιρουμένην ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν παρὰ
 τοῦ πατρὸς αἰτεῖσθαι δεήσει καὶ χάριτι τὴν τῶν μελλόντων 5

21 b (1a) 3 φησιν P, φασιν L 4 τούτους δὲ κατασχεῖν HF 5 Κόλχους καὶ Μαιώτας
 L, Κόλχων καὶ τῆς Μαιώτιδος P, corr. Wendel 6-13 πρεσβ.—Μηδείας in L post
 πολλά καὶ δεινά add. P Μήδειαν δέ, νεωτέραν μὲν Κίρκης,
 οὐχ ἠττωμένην δὲ αὐτῆς. ταῦτα μὲν Διονύσιος

21 c (1b) 1 lemma suppl. Wendel 2 δὲ P, om. L

- ἀπόλλυσθαι σωτηρίαν, ποτὲ δ' αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς ἀφιέισαν
 προνοεῖσθαι τῆς τῶν ἀτυχοῦντων ἀσφαλείας· τὸν γὰρ Αἰήτην
 τὰ μὲν διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ὠμότητα, τὰ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Ἑκάτης
 2 πεισθέντα, προσδέξασθαι τὸ τῆς ξενοκτονίας νόμιμον. ἀντιπρα-
 τούσης δὲ τῆς Μῆδειας αἰεὶ μᾶλλον τῆι προαιρέσει τῶν γονέων, 10
 φασὶ τὸν Αἰήτην ὑποπεύσαντα τὴν ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐπιβουλήν
 εἰς ἐλευθέραν αὐτὴν ἀποθέσθαι φυλακὴν· τὴν δὲ Μῆδειαν
 διαδραῶσαν καταφυγεῖν εἰς τι τέμενος Ἑλλίου κείμενον παρὰ
 3 θάλατταν. καθ' ὃν δὴ χρόνον τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας ἀπὸ τῆς Ταυρι-
 κῆς κομισθέντας νυκτὸς καταπλεῦσαι τῆς Κολχίδος εἰς τὸ 15
 προειρημένον τέμενος. ἔνθα δὴ περιτυχόντας τῆι Μῆδειαι
 πλανωμένῃ παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, καὶ μαθόντας παρ' αὐτῆς τὸ
 τῆς ξενοκτονίας νόμιμον, ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν τὴν ἡμερότητα τῆς
 παρθένου, δηλώσαντας δ' αὐτῆι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιβολὴν πάλιν
 παρ' ἐκείνης μαθεῖν τὸν ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῆι κίνδυνον ἀπὸ τοῦ 20
 4 πατρὸς διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ξένους εὐσέβειαν. κοινῶ δὲ τοῦ συμ-
 φέροντος φανέντος, τὴν μὲν Μῆδειαν ἐπαγγείλασθαι συνεργῆσειν
 αὐτοῖς μέχρι ἂν συντελέσωσι τὸν προκείμενον ἄθλον, τὸν δ'
 Ἰάσονα διὰ τῶν ὄρκων δοῦναι πίστεις ὅτι γήμας αὐτὴν ἔξει
 25 σύμβιον ἅπαντα τὸν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον.

23a P. Hibeh 2.186 col. 1 (fr. a, col. 1)

1 —————
]ωρ[. .].
].ατ[. .].
] Ἰάσονος τὰς δεξιὰς
]. ἀμφοτέροις καὶ ἐπα-
 5]. αντι αὐτ[ο]ῖς
]σαντι τὰς τιμωρίας
]νδ[
 MARGO

22 (14) 7 ἀσφαλείας : σωτηρίας D 9 τὸ : τότε D 10 μᾶλλον τῆι προαιρέσει om. D
 17 παρὰ : περὶ II 20 ἀπὸ Wesseling, ὑπὸ codd. 23 συντελώσι D
 23ab (-) v. pp. 24–25 supra

τεῖχος καὶ φύλακας πολλοὺς ἐπιστῆσαι τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ταυρικῆς·
 ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τερατώδεις παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι πλασθῆναι μύθους.
 3 διαβεβοῆσθαι γὰρ ὅτι πυρίπνοοι ταῦροι περὶ τὸ τέμενος ὑπῆρχον, 20
 δράκων δ' ἄυπνος ἐτήρει τὸ δέρος, ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν Ταύρων μετεν-
 εχθείσης τῆς ὁμωνυμίας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν βοῶν ἰσχύν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς
 κατὰ τὴν ξενοκτονίαν ὠμότητος πυρπνεῖν τοὺς ταύρους μυθολο-
 γηθέντος· παραπλησίως δὲ τοῦ τηροῦντος τὸ τέμενος Δράκοντος
 ὀνομαζομένου, μετενηνοχέται τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐπὶ τὸ τερατώδες 25
 4 καὶ καταπληκτικὸν τοῦ ζώου. τῆς ὁμοίας δὲ μυθολογίας ἔχεσθαι καὶ
 τὰ περὶ τοῦ Φρίξου λεγόμενα. διαπλευσαι γὰρ αὐτόν φασιν οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ νεῶς
 προτομῆν ἐπὶ τῆς πρῶτης ἐχούσης κριοῦ, καὶ τὴν Ἕλλην δυσφοροῦσαν ἐπὶ
 τῇ ναυτίᾳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τοῦ τοίχου τῆς νεῶς ἐκκύπτουσαν, εἰς τὴν
 5 θάλατταν προπεσεῖν. ἔνιοι δὲ φασὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Σκυθῶν, ὄντα 30
 γαμβρὸν Αἰήτου, παρὰ τοῖς Κόλχοις ἐπιδημῆσαι καθ' ὃν
 καιρὸν ἀλῶναι συνέβη τὸν Φρίξον μετὰ τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ,
 ἐρωτικῶς δὲ σχόντα τοῦ παιδὸς λαβεῖν αὐτόν ἐν δωρεᾷ παρ'
 Αἰήτου, καὶ καθάπερ υἱὸν γνήσιον ἀγαπήσαντα καταλιπεῖν
 αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν. τὸν δὲ παιδαγωγὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Κριὸν 35
 τυθῆναι τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐκδαρέντος προσηλωθῆναι
 6 τῷ νεῶι τὸ δέσμα κατὰ τὸ νόμιμον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Αἰήτη
 γενομένου χρησμοῦ, καθ' ὃν ἐσημαίνετο <τότε> τελευτήσειν
 αὐτόν ὅταν ξένοι καταπλεύσαντες τὸ τοῦ Κριοῦ δέρος ἀπενέ-
 γκωσι, τὸν βασιλέα φασὶ τειχίσει τὸ τέμενος καὶ φρουρὰν 40
 ἐγκαταστήσει, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις χρυσῶσαι τὸ δέρος, ἵνα διὰ τὴν
 ἐπιφάνειαν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπιμελεστάτης ἀξιοθῆι φυ-
 λακῆς. ταῦτα μὲν ὅν ἐξέσται τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας κρίνειν πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας
 ἐκάστου προαιρέσεις.

25a Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.176–77

πολλοὶ δὲ χρυσοῦν τὸ δέρας εἰρήκασιν, οἷς Ἀπολλώνιος
 ἠκολούθησεν. ὁ δὲ Σιμωνίδης (PMG 576) ποτὲ μὲν λευκὸν
 ποτὲ δὲ πορφυροῦν, Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Μιτυληναῖος ἀνθρωπῶν
 φησι γεγενῆσθαι, παιδαγωγὸν τοῦ Φρίξου, ὀνόματι Κριόν.

21 ἄυπνος Vogel, αὐτοῖς codd. 26–30 τῆς—φασὶ v. p. 117 supra 29 ναυτιλία D
 37 νεῶι Poggio, θεῶι codd. 37 κατὰ τὸ D, κατὰ τι rell. 38 τότε Dindorf, ἐσήμεινε
 D, ἐσήμεινε <ὁ θεὸς τότε> Jacoby 44 ἐκάστους aut ἐκαστον Hertlein
 25ab (2ab)

25b Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.256–59

ἡ δὲ ἱστορία κεῖται παρὰ Ἑκαταίωι (FGrHist 1 F 17) ὅτι ὁ κριὸς ἐλάλησεν. ἔνοι δέ φασιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ κριοπρώρου σκάφους πλεῦσαι. Διονύσιος δὲ ἐν β' Κριὸν φησι Φρίξου τροφέα γενέσθαι καὶ συμπεπλευκέναι αὐτῷ εἰς Κόλχους· διὸ καὶ μεμνηθεῖσθαι τὰ περὶ τῆς τοῦ κριοῦ θυσίας αὐτόθι. 5

25c Schol. Ap. Rhod. 2.1144–45a (= 4.115–117b)

Διονύσιος ἐν τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις φησὶ Κριὸν γεγονέναι τροφέα Φρίξου, ὃν αἰσθόμενον τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς Ἴνους ὑποδέσθαι τῷ Φρίξω τὴν φυγὴν ποιήσασθαι, ὅθεν καὶ μεμνηθεῖσθαι ὡς ὑπὸ κριοῦ διασωθεῖη. Ἡρόδωρος (FGrHist 31 F 38) δὲ φησιν ἐξ Ἀθάμαντος καὶ Θεμιστοῦς γενέσθαι παῖδας Σχοινέα, Ἐρύθρην, Λεύκωνα, Πτοῖον, νεωτάτους δὲ Φρίξον καὶ Ἑλλήν, οὓς διὰ τὴν Ἴνους ἐπιβουλήν ἐκχωρήσαι. τελευτῆσαι δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήν κατὰ Πακτύην φησὶν Ἑλλάνικος (4 F 127). 5

26 Dioid. 4.48.1–3

- 48.1 τὴν δὲ Μῆδειαν ἱστοροῦσι καθηγήσασθαι τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Ἄρεος τέμενος, ἀπέχον ἑβδομήκοντα σταδίου ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἣν καλεῖσθαι μὲν Σύβαριν, ἔχειν δὲ τὰ βασιλεία τῶν Κόλχων. προσελθοῦσαν δὲ ταῖς πύλαις κεκλειμέναις νυκτὸς τῇ Ταυρικῇ διαλέκτῳ προσφωνῆσαι τοὺς φρουροὺς. 5
- 2 τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἀνοιξάντων προθύμως ὡς ἂν βασιλέως θυγατρί, φασὶ τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας εἰσπεσόντας ἐσπασμένοις τοῖς ξίφεσι πολλοὺς μὲν φονεῦσαι τῶν βαρβάρων, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους διὰ τὸ παράδοξον καταπληξαμένους ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τοῦ τεμένους, καὶ τὸ δέρος ἀναλαβόντας πρὸς τὴν ναῦν ἐπείγεσθαι κατὰ σπουδὴν. 10
- 3 παραπλησίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὴν Μῆδειαν ἐν τῷ τεμένει τὸν μυθολογούμενον ἄπνον δράκοντα περιεσπειραμένον τὸ δέρος τοῖς φαρμάκοις ἀποκτείνει, καὶ μετὰ Ἰάσονος τὴν ἐπὶ θάλατταν κατάβασιν ποιήσασθαι.

25c (2c) fere similia habet sch. Ap. Rhod. 4.115–117b

26 (14) 5 τοὺς φρουροὺς Hertlein, τοῖς φρουροῖς D, τοῖς φρουροῦσι II

28 Diod. 4.48.4–5

- 48.4 τῶν δὲ διαφυγόντων Ταύρων ἀπαγγειλάντων τῷ βασιλεῖ
 τὴν γενομένην ἐπίθεσιν, φασὶ τὸν Αἰήτην μετὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν
 στρατιωτῶν διώξαντα τοὺς Ἑλληνας καταλαβεῖν πλησίον τῆς
 θαλάττης· ἐξ ἐφόδου δὲ συνάψαντα μάχην ἀνελεῖν ἓνα τῶν
 Ἀργοναυτῶν Ἴφιτον τὸν Εὐρυσθέως ἀδελφὸν τοῦ τοὺς ἄθλους 5
 Ἡρακλεῖ προστάξαντος, ἔπειτα τοῖς ἄλλοις τῷ πλήθει τῶν
 συναγωνιζομένων περιχυθέντα καὶ βιαιότερον ἐγκείμενον ὑπὸ
 5 Μελεάγρου φονευθῆναι. ἔνθα δὴ πεσόντος τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπαρθέντων, τραπήναι πρὸς φυγὴν τοὺς Κόλχους,
 καὶ κατὰ τὸν διωγμὸν τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν ἀναιρεθῆναι. 10

29a Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.223–30 d (p. 272.16 Wendel)

φησὶ δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος διὰ τούτων τὸν Αἰήτην ἄπρακτον
 ὑποστρέφαι, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἐξῆς (4.224sq.) φησὶ τὸν Ἀψύρτον
 νέον ὄντα ἠνιοχεῖν παραβεβηκότα τῷ πατρὶ. Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ
 Μιλήσιός φησιν ὅτι Αἰήτης ἐδίωξεν αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ ἀριστεῖς 5
 ἠγωνίζοντο ἀκοντίζοντες, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Αἰήτην ἵππευον· ἔνθα
 καὶ Ἴφιν τελευτῆσαι τὸν Σθενέλου· καταβαλόντα γὰρ δύο τῶν
 περὶ Αἰήτην ἵππέων περικατάληπτον γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Αἰήτου,
 περισπασθέντα τῷ βρόχῳ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐξῆς φησιν, ὡς οἱ Κόλχοι
 εἰς φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν.

29b Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.223–30 a (p. 271.25 Wendel)

ὁ μὲν Ἀπολλώνιος ἄπρακτόν φησιν ἀναχωρῆσαι τὸν Αἰήτην
 σὺν ὀχήματι ἠνιοχοῦντος Ἀψύρτου, Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιός
 φησιν ὅτι καταλαβὼν τὴν ναῦν ὁ Αἰήτης παραταξαμένων τῶν
 ἀριστέων Ἴφιν ἀνεῖλεν Ἀργεῖον, Εὐρυσθέως ἀδελφόν, καὶ
 αὐτὸς πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλε. 5

28 (14) 6 τοὺς ἄλλους—περιχυθέντας—ἐγκειμένους II 10 τὸν διωγμὸν : τὴν ὁδὸν II
 29a (10a) 6 Ἴφιν : Ἴφιτον F 28 8 περισπασθέντα Wilamowitz, περισπαθέντα L,
 om. P
 29b (10b)

30 Diod. 4.48.5–49.2

- γενέσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀριστέων τραυματίαν Ἰάσονα καὶ
 Λαέρτην, ἔτι δ' Ἀταλάντην καὶ τοὺς Θεσπιάδας προσαγορευο-
 μένους. τούτους μὲν οὖν φασιν ὑπὸ τῆς Μηδείας ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις
 ῥίζαις καὶ βοτάναις τισὶ θεραπευθῆναι, τοὺς δ' Ἀργοναύτας
 ἐπισιτισαμένους ἐκπλεῦσαι, καὶ μέσον ἤδη τὸ Ποντικὸν πέλαγος 5
 48.6 ἔχοντας περιπεσεῖν χειμῶνι παντελῶς ἐπικινδύνῳ. τοῦ δ'
 Ὀρφέως, καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον, εὐχὰς ποιησαμένου τοῖς
 Σαμόθραισι, λῆξαι μὲν τοὺς ἀνέμους, φανῆναι δὲ πλησίον τῆς
 νεῶς τὸν προσαγορευόμενον θαλάττιον Γλαῦκον. τούτον δ'
 ἐπὶ δύο νύκτας καὶ δύο ἡμέρας συνεχῶς τῆι νηὶ συμπλεύσαντα 10
 προειπεῖν μὲν Ἡρακλεῖ περὶ τῶν ἄθλων καὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας,
 τοῖς δὲ Τυνδαρίδαις, ὅτι προσαγορευθήσονται μὲν Διόσκοροι,
 7 τιμῆς δ' ἰσοθέου τεύξονται παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις. καθόλου δ'
 ἐξ ὀνόματος προσφωνήσαντα πάντας τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας εἰπεῖν
 ὡς διὰ τὰς Ὀρφέως εὐχὰς θεῶν προνοαὶ φανεῖς αὐτοῖς σημαίνει 15
 τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι· συμβουλεύειν οὖν αὐτοῖς, ὅταν τῆς
 γῆς ἄφωνται, τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς θεοῖς, δι' οὓς τετεύχασι
 49.1 δις ἤδη τῆς σωτηρίας. ἔπειτα τὸν μὲν Γλαῦκον δῦναι πάλιν
 εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, τοὺς δ' Ἀργοναύτας κατὰ στόμα τοῦ Πόντου
 γενομένους προσπλεῦσαι τῆι γῆι, βασιλεύοντος τότε τῆς χώρας 20
 Βύζαντος, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Βυζαντίων ὠνομάσθαι.
 2 ἐνταῦθα δὲ βωμὸς ἰδρυσάμενος καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς τὰς εὐχὰς
 ἀποδόντας καθιερωῶσαι τὸν τόπον τὸν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τιμώμενον
 ὑπὸ τῶν παραπλεόντων.

31 Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.1153–54

Τιμαίου (FGrHist 566 F 87) λέγοντος ἐν Κερκύραι τοὺς
 γάμους (sc. Iasonis et Medeae) ἀχθῆναι, Διονύσιος ὁ Μιλήσιος
 ἐν β' τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ φησίν, Ἀντίμαχος δὲ ἐν
 Λύδη (fr. 64 Wyss) ἐν Κόλχοις πλησίον τοῦ ποταμοῦ μιγῆναι.

30 (14) 1 τραυματίας F 4 καὶ βοτάναις del. Dindorf 16 ὅταν: ἐπὶν τάχιστα II 17
 ἀποδιδόναι CF 23 ἀποδιδόντας D

31 (3) 3 Ἀργοναυτῶν L : Ἀργοναυτικῶν P δὲ om. L

32 Diod. 4.49.3

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναχθέντας, καὶ διαπλεύσαντας τὴν τε Προποντίδα καὶ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον, προσενεχθῆναι τῇ Τρωιάδι. ἐνταῦθα δ' Ἑρακλέους πέμπαντος εἰς τὴν πόλιν Ἴφικλόν τε τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ Τελαμῶνα τὰς τε ἵππους καὶ τὴν Ἡσιόνην ἀπαιτήσαντας, λέγεται τὸν Λαομέδοντα τοὺς μὲν πρεσβευτὰς 5 εἰς φυλακὴν ἀποθέσθαι, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις Ἀργοναύταις δι' ἐνέδρας βουλεύσασθαι θάνατον· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους υἱοὺς ἔχειν τῇ πράξει σννεργούς, Πριάμον δὲ μόνον ἐναντιοπραγούντα· τοῦτον γὰρ ἀποφῆρασθαι δεῖν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους δίκαια τηρεῖν, καὶ τὴν τε ἀδελφὴν καὶ τὰς ὠμολογημένας ἵππους ἀποδιδόναι. 10

33 P. Oxy. 37.2812 col. 2.2–12

Ὁμ[ηρος]. [τὸν]³ μὲν Ποσειδῶνά φησιν ἀ[περγάσασθαι τῷ Λαο] ⁴ μέδοντι τὸ τεῖχος, τὸν δὲ [Ἀπόλλωνα βουκολῆ-] ⁵ σαι (Il. 21.446sqq). Διονύσιος γοῦν ἀναλ[όγως τοῖς παρὰ τού-] ⁶ τῶι φησὶν οὕτως·
μετὰ δὲ [ταῦτα ὁ Πριάμος ἀνα] ⁷ μιμνήσκει αὐτὸν τῆς 5 ἀπὸ [τῶν θεῶν μήνιος τοῖς] ⁸ Τρωσὶν ὅτε, Ποσειδῶνος μ[ὲν κατασκευάσαντος] ⁹ τὸ τεῖχος περὶ Τροίαν, Ἀπόλλ[ωνος δὲ τοῖς ποιμνί] ¹⁰ οἰς [ἐπι]στατήσα[ν]τος, Λαομ[έδων οὐ μόνον οὐ] ¹¹ κ ἄ[πέδ]ωκεν αὐτο[ῖ]ς τὸν μι[σθόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπει] ¹² λήσας ἐξέβαλεν. 10

34 Diod. 4.49.4–8

49.4 οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτῶι (sc. Πριάμῳ) προσέχοντος, φασὶν εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν δύο ξίφη παρενέγκαντα λάθρῳι δοῦναι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Τελαμῶνα, καὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς προαίρεσιν ἐξηγησάμενον 5 αἴτιον γενέσθαι τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς. εὐθὺς γὰρ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Τελαμῶνα φονεῦσαι μὲν τῶν φυλάκων τοὺς ἀντεχομένους, 5

32 (14) 4 τὰς Eichstaedt, τοὺς codd. 7 βουλεύσασθαι DF

33 (–) verba Dionysii e Priami apud Laomedontem oratione sumpta sunt, ut videtur; cf. F 32 et v. p. 40 sqq. supra 5–8 supplevi paraphrasin ed. pr. secutus (παρὰ τοῦτωι Parsons) 10–11 οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ supplevi

- φυγόντας δ' ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἀπαγγεῖλαι τὰ κατὰ μέρος τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις. διόπερ τούτους μὲν ἐτοίμους γενομένους πρὸς μάχην ἀπαντῆσαι τοῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκχεομένοις μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως· γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς, καὶ τῶν ἀριστέων διὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐπικρατούντων, μυθολογοῦσι τὸν Ἡρακλέα πάντων ἄριστα διαγωνίσασθαι· τὸν τε γὰρ Λαομέδοντα φονεῦσαι, καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐξ ἐφόδου κρατήσαντα κολάσαι μὲν τοὺς μετασχόντας τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, Πριάμῳ δὲ διὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην παραδοῦναι τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ φίλιαν συνθέμενον ἐκπλεῦσαι μετὰ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν. ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν παραδεδώκασιν οὐ μετὰ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν, ἀλλ' ἰδία στρατεύσαντα τὸν Ἡρακλέα ναυσὶν ἐξ ἔνεκα τῶν ἵππων ἐλεῖν τὴν Τροίαν. προσμαρτυρεῖν δὲ τούτοις καὶ Ὀμηρον ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ἔπεσιν (Il. 5.638sqq.)
- ἀλλ' οἷόν τινα φασὶ βίην Ἡρακληεῖην
εἶναι, ἐμὸν πατέρα θρασυμέμονα, θυμολέοντα,
ὅς ποτε δεῦρ' ἔλθῶν ἔνεχ' ἵππων Λαομέδοντος
ἐξ οἴης σὺν νηυσὶ καὶ ἀνδράσι πανροτέροισιν
Ἰλίου ἐξαλάπαξε πόλιν, χήρωσε δ' ἀγνιάς.
- 8 τοὺς δ' Ἀργοναύτας φασὶν ἐκ τῆς Τρωιάδος ἀναχθέντας εἰς Σαμοθράκιαν κομισθῆναι, καὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις θεοῖς τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδόντας πάλιν ἀναθεῖναι τὰς φιάλας εἰς τὸ τέμενος τὰς ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμενούσας.

35 Diod. 4.50.1–2

- 50.1 τῆς δὲ τῶν ἀριστέων ἀνακομιδῆς ἀγνοουμένης ἔτι κατὰ τὴν Θετταλίαν, φασὶ προσπεσεῖν φήμην ὅτι πάντες οἱ μετὰ Ἰάσονος στρατεύσαντες ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Πόντον τόποις ἀπολώλασι. διόπερ τὸν Πελίαν καιρὸν ἔχειν ὑπολαμβάνοντα τοὺς ἐφέδρους τῆς βασιλείας πάντας ἄρδην ἀνελεῖν, τὸν μὲν πατέρα τὸν Ἰάσονος ἀναγκάσαι πιεῖν αἷμα ταύρου, τὸν δ' ἀδελφὸν Πρόμαχον, παῖδα τὴν ἡλικίαν ὄντα, φονεῦσαι. Ἀμφινόμην δὲ τὴν μητέρα μέλλουσαν ἀναιρεῖσθαί φασιν ἔπανδρον καὶ μνήμης ἀξίαν ἐπιτελέσασθαι πρᾶξιν· καταφυγοῦσαν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ καταρρασαμένην παθεῖν αὐτὸν ἀξία τῶν ἀσεβημάτων, ξίφει πατάξασαν ἑαυτῆς τὸ στήθος ἡρωικῶς καταστρέψαι τὸν βίον.

34 (14) 15 ἔνιοι—Ἀργοναυτῶν om. C 19 τινα A, ποτε cett.

35 (14) 5 τοῦ Ἰάσονος CF

cf. [Apollod.], Bibl. 1.9.27 (143)

Πελλίας δὲ ἀπογνοὺς τὴν ὑποστροφὴν τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν τὸν Αἴσονα κτείνειν ἤθελεν· ὁ δὲ αἰτησάμενος ἑαυτὸν ἀνελεῖν θυσίαν ἐπιτελῶν ἀδεῶς τοῦ ταυρείου σπασάμενος αἵματος ἀπέθανεν· ἡ δὲ Ἰάσονος μήτηρ ἐπαρασαμένη Πελλίαι, νήπιον ἀπολιποῦσα παῖδα Πρόμαχον ἑαυτὴν ἀνήρτησε· Πελλίας δὲ καὶ τὸν αὐτῆι καταλειφθέντα παῖδα ἀπέκτεινεν. 5

36 Diod. 4.50.3–53.3

- 50.3 τὸν δὲ Πελλίαν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰάσονος συγγένειαν ἄρδην ἀνελόντα ταχὺ τὴν προσήκουσαν τοῖς ἀσεβήμασι κομίσασθαι τιμωρίαν. τὸν γὰρ Ἰάσονα καταπλεύσαντα νυκτὸς τῆς Θετταλίας εἰς ὄρμον οὐ μακρὰν μὲν τῆς Ἰωλκοῦ κείμενον, ἀθρόωτον δὲ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, μαθεῖν παρὰ τινος τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν τὰ γενόμενα περὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἀτυχήματα. πάντων δὲ τῶν ἀριστέων ἐτοιμῶν ὄντων βοηθεῖν τῷ Ἰάσονι καὶ πάντα κίνδυνον ἀναδέχεσθαι, περὶ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀμφισβήτησιν· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ συμβουλεύειν παραχρῆμα βιασαμένους εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπροσδοκῆτως ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, τινὰς δ' ἀποφαίνεσθαι δεῖν στρατιώτας ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας πατρίδος ἕκαστον συλλέξαντα κοινὸν ἄρασθαι πόλεμον· ἀδύνατον γὰρ εἶναι πεντήκοντα καὶ τρισὶν ἀνδράσι περιγενέσθαι βασιλέως δύναμιν ἔχοντος καὶ πόλεις ἀξιολόγους. τοιαύτης δ' οὐσης ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπορίας, λέγεται τὴν Μήδειαν ἐπαγγεῖλασθαι δι' ἑαυτῆς τὸν τε Πελλίαν ἀποκτενεῖν δόλῳ καὶ τὰ βασίλεια παραδώσειν τοῖς ἀριστεύουσιν ἀκινδύνως. ἐνταῦθα πάντων θαναμασάντων τὸν λόγον καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς μαθεῖν ζητούντων, εἰπεῖν ὅτι κομίζει μεθ' ἑαυτῆς πολλὰς καὶ παραδόξους δυνάμεις φαρμάκων εὐρημένας ὑπὸ τε τῆς μητρὸς Ἑκάτης καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Κίρκης· καὶ ταύταις μὲν μηδέποτε χρῆσθαι πρότερον πρὸς ἀπώλειαν ἀνθρώπων, νυνὶ δὲ δι' αὐτῶν ἀμυνεῖσθαι ἑαυδίως τοὺς ἀξίους τιμωρίας. προειποῦσαν δὲ τοῖς ἀριστεύουσι τὰ κατὰ μέρος τῆς ἐπιθέσεως, ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγεῖλασθαι σημανεῖν 20

36 (14) 9 οὐδὲ μὲν CF 12 συλλέξαντα : ἐκλέξασθαι D 16 ἀποκτείνειν codd., corr. Hertlein 16 παραδώσειν : παραδοῦναι F 22 ἀμύνεσθαι D 24 σημαίνειν codd., corr. Hertlein

- τῆς μὲν ἡμέρας καπνῶι, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς πυρί, πρὸς τὴν ὑπερκει- 25
 51.1 μένην τῆς θαλάττης σκοπὴν. αὐτὴν δὲ κατασκευάσασαν Ἄρτε-
 μιδος εἶδωλον κοῖλον, εἰς μὲν τοῦτο παντοδαπὰς φύσεις φαρ-
 μάκων κατακρύψαι, ἑαυτῆς δὲ τὰς μὲν τρίχας δυνάμεσί τισι
 χρίσασαν ποιῆσαι πολιὰς, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον καὶ τὸ σῶμα ῥυτίδων
 πλήρες, ὥστε τοὺς ἰδόντας δοκεῖν εἶναι τινα παντελῶς πρεσβῦτιν· 30
 τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἀναλαβοῦσαν τὴν θεὸν διεσκευασμένην κατα-
 πληκτικῶς εἰς ὄχλων δεισιδαιμονίαν, εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσβαλεῖν
 2 ἄμ' ἡμέραι. ἐνθραζούσης δ' αὐτῆς, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους κατὰ τὰς
 ὁδοὺς συντρέχοντος, παραγγέλλειν πᾶσι δέχεσθαι τὴν θεὸν
 εὐσεβῶς· παρεῖναι γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐξ Ἑπερβορέων ἐπ' ἀγαθῶι 35
 3 δαίμονι τῆι τε πόλει πάσῃ καὶ τῶι βασιλεῖ. πάντων δὲ προσκυ-
 νούντων καὶ τιμώντων τὴν θεὸν θυσίαις, καὶ τὸ σύνολον τῆς
 πόλεως ἀπάσης συνενθραζούσης, εἰσβαλεῖν τὴν Μήδειαν εἰς τὰ
 βασίλεια, καὶ τὸν τε Πελίαν εἰς δεισιδαίμονα διάθесιν ἐμβαλεῖν
 καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτοῦ διὰ τῆς τερατείας εἰς τοιαύτην κατά- 40
 πληξιν ἀγαγεῖν ὥστε πιστεῦσαι διότι πάρεστιν ἡ θεὸς εὐδαίμονα
 4 ποιήσουσα τὸν οἶκον τοῦ βασιλέως· ἀπεφαίνετο γὰρ ἐπὶ δρα-
 κόντων ὄχουμένην τὴν Ἄρτεμιν δι' ἀέρος ὑπερπετασθῆναι
 πολλὰ μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης, καὶ πρὸς καθίδρυσιν ἑαυτῆς καὶ
 τιμὰς αἰωνίους ἐκλελέχθαι τὸν εὐσεβέστατον ἀπάντων τῶν 45
 βασιλέων προστεταχέναι δ' αὐτῆι καὶ τὸ γῆρας ἀφελούσαν τὸ
 Πελίου διὰ τινων δυνάμεων νέον παντελῶς ποιῆσαι τὸ σῶμα
 καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα πρὸς μακάριον καὶ θεοφιλῆ βίον δωρήσασθαι.
 5 ἐκπληττομένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ παράδοξον τῶν λόγων,
 ἐπαγγείλασθαι τὴν Μήδειαν παραχορῆμα ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος 50
 ἑαυτῆς τὰς τούτων πίστεις παρέξασθαι. εἰποῦσαν γὰρ μιᾷ τῶν
 Πελίου θυγατέρων καθαρὸν ἐνεγκεῖν ὕδωρ, καὶ τῆς παρθένου τὸ
 ῥηθὲν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τέλος ἀγαγούσης, φασὶν εἰς οἰκίσκον τινὰ
 συγκλείσασαν ἑαυτὴν καὶ περινιψαμένην τὸ σῶμα πᾶν ἀπο-
 κλύσασθαι τὰς τῶν φαρμάκων δυνάμεις· ἀποκατασταθεῖσαν δ' 55
 εἰς τὴν προὔπαρχουσαν διάθесιν καὶ φανεῖσαν τῶι βασιλεῖ
 καταπλήξασθαι τοὺς ὀρῶντας, καὶ δόξαι τινὶ θεῶν προνοίαι
 μετηλλαχέναι τὸ γῆρας εἰς παρθένου νεότητα καὶ κάλλος
 6 περιβλεπτον. ποιῆσαι δ' αὐτὴν καὶ διὰ τινων φαρμάκων εἶδωλα
 φαντασθῆναι τῶν δρακόντων, ἐφ' ὧν ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὴν θεὸν 60

32 ἐμβαλεῖν D 36 τε om. D 38 συνθραζούσης codd. (om. D), corr. Reiske 46
 ἀφελόντα codd., corr. Stephanus 51 τούτων om. II 51 μιᾷ E, μίαν cett. 60 ἐφ' :
 ἀφ' D

- κομισθεῖσαν δι' ἄερος ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἐπιξενωθῆναι τῷ Πελλίαι.
 τῶν δ' ἐνεργημάτων ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν φανέντων, καὶ
 τοῦ βασιλέως μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἀξιοῦντος τὴν Μήδειαν καὶ τὸ
 σύνολον πιστεύσαντος ἀληθῆ λέγειν, φασὶν αὐτὴν κατὰ μόνας
 ἐντυχοῦσαν τῷ Πελλίαι παρακαλέσαι ταῖς θυγατρᾶσι διακελεύ- 65
 σασθαι συνεργεῖν καὶ πράττειν ἅπερ ἂν αὐταῖς προστάττη·
 προσήκειν γὰρ τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως σώματι μὴ δουλικαῖς χερσίν,
 ἀλλὰ ταῖς τῶν τέκνων θεραπευθέντα τυχεῖν τῆς παρὰ θεῶν
 7 εὐεργεσίας. διόπερ τοῦ Πελλίου ταῖς θυγατρᾶσι διαρρηθῆναι
 εἰπόντος πάντα πράττειν ὅσα ἂν ἡ Μήδεια προστάττη περὶ 70
 τὸ σῶμα τοῦ πατρός, τὰς μὲν παρθένους ἐτοίμους εἶναι τὸ
 52.1 κελυόμενον ἐπιτελεῖν, τὴν δὲ Μήδειαν νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης
 καὶ τοῦ Πελλίου πρὸς ὕπνον τραπέντος λέγειν ὡς ἀναγκαῖον ἐν
 λέβητι καθεψῆσαι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Πελλίου. προσάντως δὲ τῶν παρθένων
 δεξαμένων τὸν λόγον, ἐτέραν αὐτὴν ἐπινοῆσαι πίστιν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῆς λεγομέ- 75
 νων. τρεφομένου γὰρ κριοῦ πολυετοῦς κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐπαγγεῖλασθαι ταῖς
 2 κόραις τοῦτον πρότερον καθεψῆσειν καὶ ποιήσειν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἄρνα. συγκατα-
 θεμένων δ' αὐτῶν, μυθολογοῦσι τὴν Μήδειαν κατὰ μέλη διελοῦσαν τὸ σῶμα
 τοῦ κριοῦ καθεψῆσαι, καὶ διὰ τινων φαρμάκων παρακρουσαμένην ἐξελεῖν 80
 ἐκ τοῦ λέβητος ἄρνός εἶδωλον. ἐνταῦθα τῶν παρθένων καταπλαγαισῶν,
 καὶ πίστεις τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἠγησαμένων ἐνδεχομένας ἔχειν, ὑπουργῆσαι τοῖς
 προστάγμασι. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀπάσας τὸν πατέρα τυπτούσας
 ἀποκτείνει, μόνην δ' Ἄλκηστιν δι' εὐσεβείας ὑπερβολὴν ἀποσχέ-
 3 θαι τοῦ γεννησαντος. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν Μήδειαν φασὶ τοῦ μὲν τὸ
 σῶμα κατακόπτειν ἢ καθέψειν ἀποστῆναι, προσποιησαμένην δὲ 85
 δεῖν πρότερον εὐχὰς ποιήσασθαι τῇ σελήνῃ, τὰς μὲν παρθένους
 ἀναβιβάσαι μετὰ λαμπάδων ἐπὶ τὸ μετεωρότατον τέγος τῶν
 βασιλείων, αὐτὴν δὲ τῇ Κολχίδι διαλέκτῳ κατευχῆν τινα
 μακρὰν διερχομένην ἐγχρονίζειν, ἀναστροφὴν διδοῦσαν τοῖς
 4 μέλλουσι ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπίθεσιν. διὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἄργοναύτας 90
 ἀπὸ τῆς σκοπῆς καταμαθόντας τὸ πῦρ, καὶ νομίσαντας συντετε-
 λέσθαι τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τοῦ βασιλέως, ὄρμησαι δρόμῳ πρὸς τὴν
 πόλιν, παρεισελθόντας δ' ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους ἐσπασμένοις τοῖς
 ξίφεσιν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια καταντῆσαι καὶ τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους
 τῶν φυλάκων ἀνελεῖν. τὰς δὲ τοῦ Πελλίου θυγατέρας ἄρτι 95

63 ἀποδοχῆς : ὑπεροχῆς II 64 φασὶν αὐτὸν κ. μ. ἐντυχεῖν τὸν πατέρα (τὸν π. om. FM) ταῖς θυγατρᾶσι καὶ παρακαλέσαι συνεργεῖν II 68 θεραπεύειν F, θεραπευθέντι vel θεραπευθέν Vogel 69 διαρρηθῆναι om. D 71 εἶναι Dindorf, ὅσας codd. 74–82 προσάντως—προστάγμασι v. p. 101 n. 28 supra προσάντως Dindorf, προσηγῶς codd. 81 ἐπαγγελίας : πράξεως CF 84 τὴν om. D 94 καταντῆσαι καὶ om. II

- καταβεβηκυίας ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους πρὸς τὴν καθέψησιν, καὶ παρα-
 δόξως ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἰδούσας τὸν τε Ἰάσονα καὶ τοὺς ἀριστεῖς,
 περιαλαγείς ἐπὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ γενέσθαι οὔτε γὰρ ἀμύνασθαι τὴν
 Μήδειαν εἶχον ἐξουσίαν οὔτε τὸ πραχθὲν αὐταῖς μύσος δι'
 5 ἀπάτην διορθώσασθαι. διόπερ ταύτας μὲν δρμηῆσαι λέγεται 100
 στερίσκειν αὐτάς τοῦ ζῆν, τὸν δ' Ἰάσονα κατελεήσαντα τὰ
 πάθη παρακατασχεῖν αὐτάς, καὶ θαρρεῖν παρακαλέσαντα
 δεικνύειν ὡς ἐκ κακίας μὲν οὐδὲν ἤμαρτον, ἀκουσίως δὲ δι'
 53.1 ἀπάτην ἠτύχησαν. καθόλου δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς συγγενέσιν ἐπαγγει- 105
 λάμενον ἐπιεικῶς καὶ μεγαλοψύχως προσενεχθήσεσθαι, συν-
 αγαγεῖν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὰ πλήθη. ἀπολογησάμενον δὲ περὶ τῶν
 πεπραγμένων, καὶ διδάξαντα διότι τοὺς προαδικήσαντας ἡμύνατο,
 τιμωρίαν ἐλάττονα λαβῶν ὧν αὐτὸς πέπονθεν, Ἀκάστωι μὲν τῷ
 Πελίου τὴν πατρίαν βασιλείαν παραδοῦναι, τῶν δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως
 2 θυγατέρων ἀξιῶσαι αὐτὸν φροντίδα ποιήσασθαι. καὶ πέρας 110
 συντελέσαι τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν αὐτὸν φασὶ μετὰ τινα χρόνον συνοικί-
 σαντα πάσας τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις. Ἄλκηστιν μὲν γὰρ τὴν
 πρεσβυτάτην ἐκδοῦναι πρὸς γάμον Ἀδμήτῳ τῷ Φέρητος
 Θετταλῷ, Ἀμφινόμην δὲ Ἀνδραίμοι Λεοντέως ἀδελφῶι, Εὐ-
 ἀδνην δὲ Κάνηι τῷ Κεφάλου, Φωκέων τότε βασιλεύοντι. ταῦτα 115
 μὲν αὐτὸν ὕστερον προᾶξαι, τότε δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἀριστεῶν εἰς
 Ἰσθμὸν τὸν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πλεύσαντα θυσίαν ἐπιτελέσαι
 3 τῷ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ καθιερῶσαι τὴν Ἀργῶ τῷ θεῷ. ἀποδοχῆς 120
 δὲ μεγάλης τυγχάνοντα παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Κορινθίων
 Κρέοντι μετασχεῖν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐν τῇ
 Κορίνθῳ κατοικῆσαι.

37 Diod. 4.53.4–7

- 53.4 μελλόντων δὲ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν εἰς τὰς πατρίδας διαχωρί-
 ζεσθαι, φασὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα συμβουλευῆσαι τοῖς ἀριστεῦσι πρὸς τὰ
 παράδοξα τῆς τύχης ἀλλήλοις ὄρκους δοῦναι συμμαχήσειν, ἐάν
 τις βοήθειας προσδεθῆι· ἐκλέξασθαι δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸν 5
 ἐπιφανέστατον τόπον εἰς ἀγῶνων θέσιν καὶ πανήγυριν κοινήν,
 καὶ καθιερῶσαι τὸν ἀγῶνα τῷ μεγίστῳ τῶν θεῶν Διὶ Ὀλυμ-

99 εἶχον : ἔχειν II 105 μεγαλοπρεπῶς II 107 δείξαντα D 108 τιμωρίαν :
 διατιμωρίαν D 108–109 Ἀκάστωι—παραδοῦναι cf. F 13 (Diod. 40.3), Bethe, Quaestiones
 Diodoreae p. 21 Ἀκάστωι : ἐκάστωι DF 110 ἀξίως αὐτὸν II 115 Κάνηι τῷ :
 καὶ νιτω D, καπατώνει CEG² 115 Φωκέων : Φυλακέων AB 117 ἐν : ἐπὶ D

- 5 *πίωι. συνομοσάντων δὲ τῶν ἀριστέων περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας, καὶ τὴν διάταξιν τῶν ἀγώνων ἐπιτρεφάντων Ἑρακλεῖ, φασὶ τοῦτον (τόν) τόπον προκρίναι πρὸς τὴν πανήγυριν τῆς τῶν Ἑλλείων χώρας τὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἀλφειόν. διὸ καὶ τὴν παραποταμίαν καθιερώσαντα τῷ μεγίστῳ τῶν θεῶν, Ὀλυμπίαν ἀπ' ἐκείνου προσαγορεῦσαι. ὑποστησάμενον δ' ἱππικὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ γυμνικόν, τὰ τε περὶ τῶν ἄθλων διατάξαι καὶ θεωροὺς ἀποστεῖλαι τοὺς* 10
- 6 *ταῖς πόλεσι προερωῦντας τὴν θέαν τῶν ἀγώνων. διὰ δὲ τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις γενομένην ἀποδοχὴν αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν οὐ μετρίως δοξασθέντος, προσγενέσθαι τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ὀλυμπικῆς πανηγύρεως δόξαν, ὥστε πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιφανέστατον ὑπάρχειν καὶ παρὰ ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσι γνωσθέντα πολλοὺς ἔχειν ἐπιθυμητὰς τῆς φιλίας, οὓς προθύμους* 15
- 7 *εἶναι μετασχεῖν παντὸς κινδύνου. ταχὺ δ' ἐπ' ἀνδρείαι καὶ στρατηγίαι θυμασθέντα στρατόπεδόν τε κράτιστον συστήσασθαι καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπελθεῖν τὴν οἰκουμένην εὐεργετοῦντα τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἀνθ' ὧν τυχεῖν αὐτὸν συμφωνουμένης ἀθανασίας. τοὺς δὲ ποιητὰς διὰ τὴν συνήθη τερατολογίαν μυθολογήσαι μόνον τὸν Ἑρακλέα καὶ γυμνὸν ὄπλων τελέσαι τοὺς τεθρυλημένους ἄθλους.* 20 25

38 Diod. 4.54–55

- 54.1 *ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου τὰ μυθολογούμενα πάντα διήλθομεν, νυνὶ δὲ προσθετέον ἡμῖν καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἰάσονος τὸν ὑπολειπόμενον λόγον. φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν Κορίνθῳ κατοικοῦντα καὶ συμβιώσαντα δεκαετῆ χρόνον Μηδεῖαι γεννηῆσαι παῖδας ἕξ αὐτῆς, τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτάτους δύο διδύμους Θετταλόν τε καὶ Ἀλκιμένην, τὸν δὲ τρίτον πολὺ νεώτερον τούτων Τίσανδρον.* 5
- 2 *τοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸν χρόνον ἱστοροῦσιν ἀποδοχῆς ἀξιοθῆναι τὴν Μηδεῖαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνον κάλλει διαφέρειν αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς κεκοσμησθαι· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αἰεὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ χρόνου τὴν φυσικὴν εὐπρέπειαν ἀφαιρουμένου, λέγεται τὸν Ἰάσονα Γλαύκης ἐρασθέντα τῆς Κρέοντος θυγατρὸς μνηστεῦσαι τὴν παρθένον. συγκαταθεμένου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τάξαντος ἡμέραν τοῖς γάμοις, τὸ* 10

37 (14) 9 τὸν del. Hertlein τῶν om. D 17 τῶν om. D 18 ὑπάρξαι II 20 μετέχειν II
38 (14) 3 ἀπολειπόμενον II 12 μνηστεύσασθαι D

μὲν πρῶτον ἐπιβαλέσθαι φασὶν αὐτὸν πείθειν τὴν Μήδειαν
 ἐκουσίως παραχωρῆσαι τῆς συμβιώσεως· βούλεσθαι γὰρ {αὐτήν} 15
 γαμῆν οὐκ ἀποδοκιμάσαντα τὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν ὀμιλίαν, ἀλλὰ {καὶ}
 τοῖς τέκνοις σπεύδοντα συγγενῆ τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως οἶκον ποιῆσαι.
 4 ἀγανακτούσης δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ θεοὺς μαρτυρομένης τοὺς
 ἐπόπτας γενομένους τῶν ὄρκων, φασὶ τὸν Ἰάσονα καταφρονή-
 5 σαντα τῶν ὄρκων γῆμαι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα. τὴν δὲ 20
 Μήδειαν ἐξελαννομένην ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ μίαν ἡμέραν παρὰ
 τοῦ Κρέοντος λαβοῦσαν εἰς τὴν τῆς φυγῆς παρασκευὴν, εἰς μὲν
 τὰ βασίλεια νυκτὸς εἰσελθεῖν ἀλλοιώσασαν τοῖς φαρμάκοις τὴν
 αὐτῆς ὄψιν, καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ὑφάψαι, ῥίζιον τι προσθεῖσαν, ἐρρη-
 μένον μὲν ὑπὸ Κίρκης τῆς ἀδελφῆς, δύναμιν δ' ἔχον, ἐπὶν ἐξαφθῆι, 25
 δυσκατάσβεστον. ἄφνω δὲ φλεγομένων τῶν βασιλείων, τὸν
 μὲν Ἰάσονα ταχέως ἐκπηδήσαι, τὴν δὲ Γλαύκην καὶ τὸν Κρέοντα
 6 τοῦ πυρὸς περικαταλαβόντος διαφθαρῆναι. τινὲς δὲ τῶν συγγραφέων
 φασὶ τοὺς μὲν υἱοὺς τῆς Μηδείας δῶρα κομίσαι τῇ νύμφῃ φαρμάκοις κεχει-
 μένα, τὴν δὲ Γλαύκην δεξαμένην καὶ τῷ σώματι περιθεμένην αὐτὴν τε 30
 συμφορᾷ περιπεσεῖν καὶ τὸν πατέρα βοηθοῦντα καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀπάμενον
 7 τελευτῆσαι. τὴν δὲ Μήδειαν ἐπιτυχοῦσαν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐγχειρήμασιν
 οὐκ ἀποστῆναι τῆς Ἰάσονος τιμωρίας. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο γὰρ προελθεῖν
 αὐτὴν ὄργῆς ἅμα καὶ ζηλοτυπίας, ἔτι δ' ὠμότητος, ὥστ' ἐπεὶ 35
 διέφυγε τὸν μετὰ τῆς νύμφης κίνδυνον, τῇ σφαγῇ τῶν κοινῶν
 τέκνων ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς μεγίστας συμφορὰς· πλὴν γὰρ
 ἑνὸς τοῦ διαφυγόντος τοὺς ἄλλους υἱοὺς ἀποσφάζει καὶ τὰ
 σώματα τούτων ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἥρας τεμένει θάψαι καὶ μετὰ τῶν
 πιστοτάτων θεραπαινίδων ἔτι νυκτὸς μέσης φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς
 Κορίνθου, καὶ διεκπεσεῖν εἰς Θήβας πρὸς Ἡρακλέα· τοῦτον 40
 γὰρ μεσίτην γεγονότα τῶν ὁμολογιῶν ἐν Κόλχοις ἐπηγγέλθαι
 55.1 βοηθήσειν αὐτῇ παρασπονδουμένηι. ἐν τοσοῦτω δὲ τὸν μὲν
 Ἰάσονα στερηθέντα τέκνων καὶ γυναικὸς δόξαι πᾶσι δίκαια
 πεπονθέναι· διὸ καὶ μὴ δυνάμενον ἐνεγκεῖν τὸ μέγεθος τῆς
 συμφορᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν ἑαυτὸν μεταστῆσαι. τοὺς δὲ Κορινθίους 45
 ἐκπεπληχθαι μὲν τὴν δεινότητα τῆς περιπετείας, μάλιστα δ' ἀπορεῖν περὶ τῆς
 ταφῆς τῶν παίδων. διόπερ ἀποστειλάντων αὐτῶν Πυθώδε τοὺς ἐπερωτήσοντας
 τὸν θεὸν ὅπως χρηστέον ἐστὶ τοῖς σώμασι τῶν παίδων, προστάξει τὴν Πυθίαν

15 αὐτήν del. Jacoby (ἄλλην Dindorf, αὐτὸν vel Γλαύκην Vogel) 16 ἀποδοκιμάζοντα
 II καὶ del. Dindorf 21 παρὰ : ἀπὸ II 28–32 τινὲς δὲ—τελευτῆσαι v. Bethe,
 Quaestiones Diodoreae p. 18 32 ἐπιτυχοῦσαν : ἀποτυχοῦσαν Dindorf 35 ἐξέφυγε II
 39 νυκτὸς μέσης : πολλῆς νυκτὸς οὔσης CF 45–50 τοὺς δὲ—τὸ προσταχθέν v. Bethe,
 Quaestiones Diodoreae p. 19 48 ὅπως : πῶς II ἐστὶ om. CF

- ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Ἥρας αὐτοὺς θάψαι καὶ τιμῶν ἥρωικῶν αὐτοὺς ἀξιοῦν.
 2 ποιησάντων δὲ τῶν Κορινθίων τὸ προσταχθέν, φασὶ Θετταλὸν μὲν τὸν 50
 διαφυγόντα τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς φόνον ἐν Κορίνθῳ τραφέντα
 μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς Ἴωλκόν, οὖσαν Ἰάσονος πατρίδα·
 ἐν ἣι καταλαβόντα προσφάτως Ἄκαστον τὸν Πελίου τετελευτηκότα παρα-
 λαβεῖν κατὰ γένος προσήκουσαν τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ τοὺς ὕφ'
 5 εαυτὸν τεταγμένους ἀφ' εαυτοῦ προσαγορευῆσαι Θετταλοῦς. 55
 3 οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ διότι περὶ τῆς τῶν Θετταλῶν προσηγορίας οὐ ταύτην μόνην τὴν
 ἱστορίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαφάνους ἑτέρας παραδεδοσθαι συμβέβηκε, περὶ ὧν ἐν
 4 οἰκειότεροις μνησθησόμεθα καιροῖς. τὴν δ' οὖν Μῆδειαν ἐν Θήβαις
 φασὶ καταλαβοῦσαν Ἡρακλέα μανικῶι πάθει συνεχόμενον καὶ
 τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀπεκταγόντα, φαρμάκοις αὐτὸν ἰάσασθαι. τοῦ δ'
 60 *Εὐρυσθέως* ἐπικειμένον τοῖς προστάγμασιν, ἀπογνοῦσαν τὴν
 κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἐκ τούτου βοήθειαν καταφυγεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας πρὸς
 5 Αἰγέα τὸν Πανδίοιο. ἐνταῦθα δ' οἱ μὲν φασιν αὐτὴν Αἰγεί συνοικήσασαν
 γεννῆσαι Μῆδον τὸν ὕστερον Μηδίας βασιλεύσαντα, τινὲς δ' ἱστοροῦσιν ὕφ'
 65 Ἰππότου τοῦ Κρέοντος ἐξαιτουμένην τυχεῖν κρίσεως καὶ τῶν 65
 6 ἐγκλημάτων ἀπολυθῆναι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Θησεῶς ἐπανελθόντος
 ἐκ Τροίης ἔως εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἐγκληθεῖσαν ἐπὶ φαρμακείαι
 φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· δόντος δ' Αἰγέως τοὺς παραπέμψοντας
 7 εἰς ἣν βούλοιοτο χώραν, εἰς τὴν Φοινίκην κομισθῆναι. ἐντεῦθεν 70
 δ' εἰς τοὺς ἄνω τόπους τῆς Ἀσίας ἀναβᾶσαν συνοικήσαι τινι
 τῶν ἐπιφανῶν βασιλέων, ἐξ οὗ γεννῆσαι παῖδα Μῆδον· καὶ τὸν
 {μὲν} παῖδα μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτῆν διαδεξάμενον τὴν βασι-
 λείαν θυμασθῆναι τε κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ τοὺς λαοὺς ἀφ'
 εαυτοῦ Μῆδους ὀνομάσαι.

53 καταλαβόντα—τετελευτηκότα v. ad F 36 (Diod. 53.1) 54 τὴν om. D παραγενέσθαι D
 60 ἀπεκτακότα C a verbis τοῦ δ' *Εὐρυσθέως* usque ad cap. 55 finem quid Dionysio,
 quid Diodoro aut eius fontibus aliis tribuendum sit valde incertum; v. Bethe, Quaes-
 tiones Diodoreae pp. 21–22 72 μὲν del. Bekker 73 λαοὺς Rhodomanus : ἄλλους codd.

ΤΡΩΙΚΑ

39a Eust. in Il. 3.39–40 (*Δύσπαρι, είδος ἄριστε, γυναιμανές, ἠπεροπευτά, | αἰθ' ὄφελος ἄγονός τ' ἔμεναι ἄγαμός τ' ἀπολέσθαι*) p. 380.29

λέγεται Διονύσιον τὸν Σκυτοβραχίονα ἱστορεῖν Δάρδανον παῖδα Ἑλένης καὶ Πάριδος, ὅς, φασί, καὶ προφέρει μετὰ τὸ “ἄγαμός τ' ἀπολέσθαι” στίχον τοῦτον “μηδέ τι γούνασιν οἷσιν ἐφέσσασθαι φίλον υἱόν, Δάρδανον”.

39b Schol. (A) Il. 3.40

Διονυσίος φησιν ὁ Σκυτοβραχίων Δάρδανον ἀπὸ Ἑλένης καὶ Πάριδος γενέσθαι.

Dubia vel spuria

40 Schol. Ap. Rhod. 2.904–10a (p. 193.21 Wendel)

ὅτι δὲ ἐπολέμησεν Ἰνδοῦς ὁ Διόνυσος, Διονυσίος φησι καὶ Ἀριστόδημος ἐν α' Θηβαικῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων (FGrHist 383 F 1) καὶ Κλείταρχος ἐν ταῖς Περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἱστορίαις (FGrHist 137 F 17).

41 Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.54–55b

*Ἀμφρυσσος γράφεται καὶ διὰ τοῦ β, ὡς Διονύσιος. ἔστι δὲ ποταμὸς Θεσσαλίας. προπαροξύνεται δέ, ὡς ἐν τῇ η' τῆς Καθόλου (Herodian. I 213, 16 L.).

ΤΡΩΙΚΑ: v. T 1b, T 2a (τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν πόλεμον πραγθέντα) et p. 81 supra
39a (11) μηδέ τι—Δάρδανον cf. Il. 9.455
39b (11)
40 (13) de Dionysio “Bassarico” cogitavit M. Schneider, fort. recte, cf. autem F 12
(Diod. 3.73.7)
41 (12)

42 Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.1116

“καὶ πεδῖον Νηπήιον” πεδῖον Νηπειάς ἐστὶ περὶ Κόζικον.
 μνημονεύει δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ Καλλίμαχος ἐν Ἑκάληϊ (fr. 299 Pf.)
 “Νηπειῆς ἢ τ’ ἄργος, αἰοιδίμος Ἀδρήστεια”. τὴν δὲ Νήπειαν
 Διονύσιος ὁ Μιλήσιος πεδῖον τῆς Μυσιάς φησὶν εἶναι. ὁ γὰρ
 βασιλεὺς τῶν Μυσῶν Ὀλυμπος θυγατέρα Ἰάσου ἔγημεν Νή- 5
 πειαν ὄνομα, καὶ κατώικησεν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τούτῳ, ὃ νῦν
 καλεῖται Νηπειάς πεδῖον. Ἀπολλόδωρος (*FGrHist* 244 F 175)
 δὲ φησὶ Νηπειάς πεδῖον ἐν Φρυγίᾳ. ὁ δὲ Καλλίμαχος φησὶν ἐν
 Ὑπομνήμασι (fr. 464 Pf.) Νέμεσιν εἶναι τὴν τὸ πεδῖον κατέ-
 χουσαν. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ πόλις καλουμένη Ἀδρήστεια ὑπὸ ᾗ Ἀδράστου 10
 τοῦ ἰδρυσαμένου.

42 (9) sine dubio Dionysio Milesio historico (*FGrHist* 687) tribuendum, v. p. 73
 supra 10 suppl. Deicke ex Et. Gen. s. v. *στύπος*

4.48.5–49.2	30
4.49.3	32
4.49.4–8	34
4.50.1–2	35
4.50.3–53.3	36
4.53.4–7	37
4.54–55	38
Eust. in <i>Il.</i> 3.39–40 p. 380.29	39 a
Hesych. s.v. <i>Nῆσα</i>	(8)
Hyg. <i>Fab.</i> 89.2–3	(16)
P. Hibeh 2.186 cols. 1–2	23 a–b
cols. 3–5	27 a–c
P. Mich. inv. 1316v lines 4–8	17
P. Oxy. 37.2812 col. 2 lines 2–12	33
Paus. 2.21.6	(5)
Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.54–55 b	41
1.256–59	25 b
1.1116	42
1.1289–91 a	15 b
2.206–208 b	19
2.904–10 a	40
2.963–965 c	1
2.1144–45 a (= 4.115–17 b)	25 c
3.200 a	21 a
3.200 b	21 b
3.240	21 c
4.115–17 b (v. Schol. 2.1144–45 a)	
4.176–77	25 a
4.223–30 a	29 b
4.223–30 d	29 a
4.1153–54	31
Schol. (A) <i>Il.</i> 3.40	39 b
Steph. Byz. s.v. <i>Nῆσα</i>	(8)
Strabo 7.3.6 p. 299 (= <i>FGrHist</i> 244 F 157 a)	(8)
Suda δ 1175 (<i>Διονύσιος Μιτυληναῖος</i>)	T 1 a
δ 1180 (<i>Διονύσιος Μιλήσιος</i>)	T 1 b
Suet. <i>De Gram.</i> 7	T 3

Comparatio Numerorum

FGrHist 32

Haec editio

T 1
2
3
4
5
6

T 1 a
3
2 b
2 a
1 b
4

F 1 a
1 b
2 a-c
3
4
5
6 a-b
7
8
9
10 a-b
11
12
13
14

F 21 a-b
21 c
25 a-c
31
1
19
15 a-b
2-7, 11, 13
8-10, 12
42
29 a-b
39 a-b
41
40
14, 16, 18, 20, 22,
24, 26, 28, 30, 32,
34-38

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Addenda

p. 15, n. 13 (*Pellaeus Leo*): See now *AJP* 101 (1980) 197–201.

p. 21, n. 10 (Taurus as a man's name in rationalistic explanations): See also *FGrHist* 327 (Demon) F 5, 328 (Philochorus) F 17, 156 (Arrian) F 58, R. B. Edwards, *Cadmus the Phoenician* (Amsterdam 1979) 39–40. For 'Drakon' cf. Palaephatus 3, *FGrHist* 305 (Hagias and Derkylos) F 6, 70 (Ephorus) F 31.

p. 29 (P. Hibeh 2.186 verso, fr. a line 3): Perhaps τ]εθεωρήκαμεν (κ]αθεωρήκαμεν of the first edition is a *vox nihili*).

p. 31, n. 1: The entire text of P. Oxy. 2812 has now been included as F 721 in *TrGF* vol. 2 *Fragmenta Aesopota*, ed. R. Kannicht and B. Snell (Göttingen 1981).

p. 31, n. 7: The text has now been re-edited by B. Kramer as P. Köln 3.126 (*Papyrologica Coloniensia* VII.3 [Opladen 1980] pp. 23–33).

p. 34 (Text no. 4 [Cornutus]): τινάκτορα γαίας is from Soph. *Trach.* 503.

p. 35, n. 23 (ἀσφάλιος): A. Henrichs adds the Delphic oracle found at Tralles (mid-third cent. after Christ, *BCH* 5 [1881] 340 = Parke-Wormell no. 471) verses 5–6: καλείσθω Ἀσφάλιος Τεμενοῦχος Ἀπότροπος Ἴππιος Ἀργής.

p. 52 (P. Oxy. 2812 fr. 1 a col. 2, line 19): For ἐτέρως ιστορεῖ cf. also schol. Hom. *Od.* 10.6, Philostratus, *Her.* 28.4 (p. 36.24 De Lannoy).

p. 56 (Schol. [BT] *Il.* 14.114b): N. J. Richardson *per epist.* compares schol. (BT) *Il.* 16.666a: μικρᾷ δὲ παρεκβάσει ἀναπαύει τὸν ἀκροατὴν καμόντα.

p. 57, n. 18: On this supposed quarrel see now M. Lefkowitz, *ZPE* 40 (1980) 1–19.

p. 57, n. 19: On οἰκονομία in the scholia on the *Iliad* see now N. J. Richardson, *CQ* 30 (1980) 267–269.

p. 63 (P. Mich. inv. 1316 v, lines 26–30): Cf. also the story of Pasiphae as told by ‘Libanius’, *Διηγήματα* 15 (J. Jacobs, *De Progymnasticorum Studiis Mythographicis* [Diss. Marburg 1899] 54).

p. 85, n. 4 (Dionysius as teacher of Gniphō): For chronological arguments against a master-pupil relationship R. Kassel compares Pythagoras and Numa (see Ogilvie on Livy 1.18) and Pythagoras and Democritus (Diog. Laert. 9.38).

p. 94: The fate of Krios was perhaps influenced by the story of Pherecydes the philosopher (Plut., *Pelop.* 21)—or Epimenides according to Diog. Laert. 1.115 = *FGrHist* 595 (Sosibius) F 15—whose skin was preserved by the Spartans in obedience to an oracle (see M. L. West, *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient* [Oxford 1971] 4).

p. 96, n. 10 (Heroic dedications): Cf. also the *φιάλαι* supposedly dedicated by various heroes in the temple of Athena at Lindos (*FGrHist* 532 F 1 B–C), and see in general F. Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum* (Giessen 1909–1912).

p. 96, n. 11: On the various routes for the Argonauts’ return see also Lesky, *Thalatta* (Vienna 1947) 62–64.

p. 96: Jason as builder of the Argo is found already in Hdt. 4.179.1.

p. 101, n. 29: See also the Homer lexicon of Apollonius Sophistes, p. 156.18 Bekker (and Erbse, *Beiträge zur Überlieferung der Iliasscholien* [Munich 1960] 429ff): *τάριον αἷμα θανάσιμον, ἀπὸ Μίδα καὶ Αἴσωνος* (*Ἰάσωνος* cod., corr. Robert, *Heldensage* 866 n. 5)· *περὶ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους οὐ πᾶσι συμφωνεῖται*.

p. 108, n. 45: On *ἀφανισμός* see also A. S. Pease, *HSCP* 53 (1942) 12–18.

p. 116, n. 19 (*Gorgonum quondam domus*): Cf. also Herodian, *Περὶ μόν. λέξ.* c. 9 Lehrs, II.914.5 Lentz = *Cypria* fr. 21 Kinkel: *Γοργόνων οἰκητήριον*.

p. 117, n. 4 (A ship that was *κρηόπρωρος*): Cf. also Tac., *Ann.* 6.34.

p. 118, n. 8 (*Θεσπίου/Θεστίου*): See also Jacoby’s Commentary on *FGrHist* 4 F 3.

p. 137, F 8 (Diod. 3.70.1): With Nysa, the daughter of Aristaeus and nurse of Dionysus, cf. the words *μαῖα ἡδίστη* used of Mt. Nysa in Soph. F 959 Radt.

p. 141, F 11 (Diod. 3.61.3): Since the alleged *Kρόνια* (on which see Pape-Benseler s. v.) are a feature of Sicilian geography this etymology might be an addition by Diodorus himself.

p. 142, F 12 (Diod. 3.73.2): (Ram-horned Dionysus) For Dionysus with the horns of a bull see Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Odes* 2.19.29. Lysimachean coinage represents Alexander with the ram's horns of Ammon (Franke-Hirmer, *Die griechische Münze* [Munich 1964] pl. 176), and it is possible that a similarly horned Dionysus appears on 3rd cent. B.C. coins of Cyrene (Franke-Hirmer pl. 215), but Apollo Karneios is another possibility (Nock, *Essays* I.142).

p. 167, F 38 (Diod. 4.54.7): For one son escaping death at Medea's hands cf. the 4th cent. Apulian crater now in Munich, which probably illustrates a tragedy (E. Simon, *Gymnasium* 61 [1954] 212–215, Kannicht-Snell, *TrGF* Adespota F 6a; the story depicted there is in most respects unlike that of Scytobrachion).

p. 168, F 38 (Diod. 4.55.5): Hippotes the son of Creon is also attested on the Munich crater and in Hyg., *Fab.* 27 (cf. schol. Eur. *Med.* 19).

p. 169, F 39ab: On supposed children of Paris and Helen see *RE* 14.2830ff, schol. (A) *Il.* 3.175, *FGrHist* 382 (Lysimachus) F 12, 271–2 (Nicander) F 33, Tzetzes schol. Lycophr. 851.



Plate I : P. Hibeh 2.186 recto



Plate II: P. Mich. inv. 1316 verso