

Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship

VOLUME 1

History
Disciplinary Profiles

Edited by

Franco Montanari, Stephanos Matthaios and
Antonios Rengakos



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Mythography

Claudio Meliadó

- 1 *The Origins of Mythography*
- 2 *The Birth of Scientific Mythography*

What was mythography in ancient times? The answer to this question cannot be easily deduced from the occurrences of terms such as “mythographers” and “mythography” (understood as a literary genre). *Μυθογράφοι* is used for the first time by Polybius, who in *The Histories* 4.40.2 classifies the mythographers together with poets, as witnesses on whom to base knowledge of the world; in this context the mythographers are probably to be identified with the first logographers, who were authors of *Genealogies*.¹ This association also occurs in later writers and in some cases it is the poets themselves who are called *μυθογράφοι*. In this sense an *excerptum* of Diodorus Siculus handed down by Eusebius of Caesarea is characteristic (*Praep. evang.* 2.2.54 = Diod. Sic. 6., fr. 1): among the historians (ἱστορικοί) Euhemerus of Messene is mentioned, while poets such as Homer, Hesiod and Orpheus are considered as mythographers. As regards the latter, Philon (*De spec. leg.* 1.28) states in the same way that in order to charm the readers of their works they had adapted the falsehood to the melodies, rhythms and metres (πρὸς δὲ τὸ εὐπαράγωγον μέλεσι καὶ ῥυθμοῖς καὶ μέτροις ἐνηρμόσαντο τὸ ψεῦδος, νομίζοντες ῥαδίως καταγοητεύσειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας).

In a more general perspective, the mythographer (μυθογράφος) was he who narrated a myth (μυθογραφεῖν), either in prose or in poetry. In this sense the term is used by Strabo (4.1.7) with reference to Aeschylus who had been attacked by the philosopher-scientist Posidonius because, in his *Prometheus Unbound*, he had tried to explain the origins of the “Stony Plain”, situated between Massilia and the mouth of the Rhodanus river, narrating that Heracles had found himself without arrows and Zeus, in order to help him in the fight against the Ligurians, had made stones rain down from a cloud, which the hero of Tiryns had then used to beat his enemies.

1 Cf. Diod. Sic. 4.14.4 Ζεὺς γὰρ πρώτη μὲν ἐμίγη γυναικὶ θνητῇ Νιόβῃ τῇ Φορωνέως, ἐσχάτῃ δ' Ἀλκμήνῃ· ταύτην δ' ἀπὸ Νιόβης ἐκακιδεκάτην οἱ μυθογράφοι γενεαλογοῦσιν.

1 The Origins of Mythography

The first narrator of myths in prose was Hecataeus of Miletus (550–480 BC),² an author of *Genealogies*, which the sources also called *Histories* or Ἡρωολογία³ (*Heroic Tale*), as well as of a work of a geographical nature, the *Periegesis*, written at the end of the sixth century accompanied by a sort of map, the Περίοδος γῆς, in which a description of the lands known until then appeared.

His activity is usually seen from two points of view. One approach sees him as the inventor of genealogical chronography and the rationalistic exegesis of mythical traditions;⁴ the other denies him the merit of being the father of historical research and considers him merely as a continuer of the Hesiodic tradition: thus in this interpretation the only novelty he introduced would be the transformation into prose of material dealt with by poets.⁵ The main features of his *Genealogies* can however be drawn from the opening phrase of the work preserved for us by Ps.-Demetrius (*Eloc.* 12 = Hec. fr. 1 Fowler):

Ἐκαταῖος Μιλήσιος ὧδε μυθεῖται· τάδε γράφω, ὥς μοι δοκεῖ ἀληθέα εἶναι· οἱ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι πολλοί τε καὶ γελοῖοι, ὥς ἐμοὶ φαίνονται, εἰσίν.

Thus says Hecataeus of Miletus: I write these words as they seem to me to be true; for the stories of the Greeks, as they seem to me, are many and ludicrous. (Transl. by Fowler [2001] 101)

What emerges clearly from this proem is the embarrassment of the historian in the face of the contradictory nature of innumerable and ridiculous stories. If previously it was the authority of the poet inspired by the Muses which guaranteed the veracity of the song, for Hecataeus instead the only 'yardstick' is the author's opinion. In fact he does not limit himself to recording the traditions he encounters but makes a *krisis* of his sources so as to be able to create interpretations that respond to a precise criterion of likelihood. Proof of this is, for

2 Bertelli [2001].

3 From a *Heroologia* of Anaximander of Miletus (to be identified with the historian of the first part of the fourth century BC mentioned by D. L. 2.2 and by *Suidas* s.v. Ἀναξίμανδρος) only one certain fragment remains: Ath. (*Deipn.* 11.99 p. 498a = Anax. fr. 1 Fowler) informs us that Anaximander had used, as did Hesiod before him in the *Melampodia* (fr. 271–272 M.-W.), the form σκύπφος instead of σκύφος; the fragment is also important as it states that in the view of Anaximander, Pterelaus was the son of Teleboas, in his turn the son of Poseidon, while Pterelaus is usually given as the father of Teleboas. Cf. Schubart [1832], pp. 62–63.

4 So for example Jacoby [1912a] 2667ff.

5 Pearson [1939] 105ff.

instance, his explanation about the real nature of Cerberus the “dog of Hades” of Cape Taenarum (Paus. 3.25.4 = Hec. fr. 27 Fowler):

ἄκρα Ταίναρον [...] ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἄκρῃ ναὸς εἰκασμένος σπηλαίῳ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἄγαλμα. ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ὡς Ἡρακλῆς ἀναγάγοι ταύτην τοῦ Ἄιδου τὸν κύνα [...]. ἀλλὰ Ἑκαταῖος μὲν ὁ Μιλήσιος λόγον εὗρεν εἰκότα, ὅφιν φήσας ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ τραφῆναι δεινόν, κληθῆναι δὲ Ἄιδου κύνα, ὅτι ἔδει τὸν δηχθέντα τεθνάναι παρατυτῖκα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰοῦ· καὶ τοῦτον ἔφη τὸν ὅφιν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἀχθῆναι παρ’ Εὐρυσθέα.

On the promontory (sc. Taenarum) is a temple like a cave, with a statue of Poseidon in front of it. Some of the Greek poets state that Heracles brought up the hound of Hades here [...]. But Hecataeus of Miletus gave a plausible explanation, stating that a terrible serpent lived on Taenarum, and was called the hound of Hades, because anyone bitten was bound to die of the poison at once, and it was this snake, he said, that was brought by Heracles to Eurystheus. (Transl. by Jones [1926] 159–161)

Among the criteria to establish the veracity of a story, Hecataeus therefore paid attention to the possible linguistic misunderstandings caused for example by homonymy. This certainly does not make him a rationalist *tout court*; one has the impression that in his *Genealogies* he has attempted to demythicize some elements in the narration that provoked particular surprise and incredulity, with the aim of strengthening the reliability of the tale. On the whole, he does not seem to have had doubts about the traditional mythological system.

Acusilaus of Argos,⁶ who lived in the sixth century BC or more probably in the first half of the fifth, also wrote *Genealogies*. *Suidas* s.v. Ἀκουσίλαος (test. 1 Fowler) defines him as “the oldest of the investigators” (ἱστορικὸς πρεσβύτατος) and reports a legend according to which he wrote his work on the basis of the text of some bronze tablets, found by Cabas, his father, digging somewhere in his house. From Welcker⁷ onwards this tradition has been considered a late invention, but, even though it was Acusilaus himself who stated this, it could represent an interesting parallel for the use that Herodotus would make of Theban inscriptions of the archaic period, which he had interpreted with reference to the breed of the Labdacids.

6 Mazzarino [1966] 60–70; Dowden [1992] 30; Toye [1995]; Calame [2004]; Pàmias [2008] 166–169; Fontana [2012].

7 Welcker [1844] 444.

During the writing of his *Genealogies*, in at least three books, he had probably used material found in the epic poems written before his time: he followed the *Phoronis* making Phoroneus, the “first man”, the father of Niobe (mother of Argos and Pelasgus) and of Sparton (father of Mykeneus), thereby foreshadowing the conflict between Mykene and Argos that led to the destruction of the former in 468 BC (fr. 24 Fowler). Because of his dependence on poetic sources, in particular on Hesiod, he had been accused of plagiarism for having limited himself to transforming into prose what his predecessors had expressed in poetry (Clem. Al. *Strom.* 6.26.8 = test. 5 Fowler); however, this opinion is not completely trustworthy if we consider what can be deduced from the fragments of Acusilaus. In the *Bibliotheca* attributed to Apollodorus (2.1.1), it is stated that according to Acusilaus (fr. 25 Fowler), Pelasgus was the son of Zeus and Niobe, while Hesiod (fr. 160 M.-W.) had defined him as αὐτόχθονος (“born from the earth”). Similarly, while according to the poet of Ascra (fr. 131 M.-W.), the daughters of Proetus had gone mad for not having accepted the Dionysiac rites, Acusilaus had attributed the reason of their folly to the fact that they had not honored a statue of Hera (fr. 28 Fowler).⁸ All this confirms what was stated by Flavius Joseph (*Apion.* 16 = Acus. test. 6 Fowler):

περίεργος δ' ἂν εἶην ἐγὼ τοὺς ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον ἐπισταμένους διδάσκων ὅσα μὲν Ἑλλάνικος Ἀκουσίλαῳ περὶ τῶν γενεαλογιῶν διαπεφώνηκεν, ὅσα δὲ διορθοῦται τὸν Ἡσίοδον Ἀκουσίλαος.

It would be superfluous for me to instruct those who know more than I how much Hellanicus disagreed with Acusilaus on the genealogies, how often Acusilaus corrects Hesiod. (Transl. by Barclay [2007] 18)

In the *Genealogies* there were also alternative versions about the fleece captured by the Argonauts, which in reality was not golden but turned purple by the sea (fr. 37 Fowler), and as regards the Trojan war, provoked by Aphrodite to bring about the defeat of the breed of Priam and to favour the descendents of Anchises (fr. 39 Fowler).

Probably of the same period as Acusilaus was Pherecydes of Athens.⁹ Despite the condition of information about him in *Suidas Lexicon*, in which a certain confusion with two other homonymous writers of Syros and of Leros occurs, it is possible, with a high degree of certainty, to attribute to him a genealogical work, on the basis of the evidence of Diogenes Laertius (1.119) and of Dionysius

⁸ Kowalzig [2007] 276.

⁹ Dolcetti [2004].

of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.13.1): the former informs us that according to Andron of Ephesus two “Pherecydes” who were natives of Syros had existed, the astrologist and the theologian, Pythagoras’ master; instead, Eratosthenes believed that only one Pherecydes came from Syros, while a γενεαλόγος (“genealogist”) with the same name was Athenian; to this can be added the eloquent statement by Dionysius who defines the Pherecydes in question as γενεαλόγων οὐδενὸς δεύτερος (“not inferior to any of the genealogists”). His *Ἱστορίαι* in ten books, a possible but not certain title of the Pherecydean text, judging from the extant fragments with the indication of which book they belonged to, may have had a division κατὰ γένος; the author should have systematically treated the stories about the characters belonging to each single race. Uhl¹⁰ therefore supposes that the work had a three-part structure: Inachides (Books 1–5),¹¹ Deucalionides (Books 5–8)¹² and Atlantides (Books 8–10).¹³ The reconstruction proposed by P. Dolcetti is more complex: the first book may have been taken up by the first part of the race of Asopus (descendents of Aegina and Salamina) and by the race of Inachus; this theme was continued in the second book (Heracles), in the third (Heraclides), in the fourth (race of Agenor) and in the fifth (Cadmus, Dionysus and Theban races), which included the first part of the treatment of the race of Deucalion, that goes as far as part of the eighth book, where it gives place to the second part of the race of Asopus (descendents of Arpina: Oenomaus, Ippodamia, Pelops and Pelopides). This fills the ninth book (Trojan war and Νόστοι and other descendents of Pelops) and the tenth (descendents of Antiope). We can have a fairly clear idea of how detailed and wide the treatment of the myth by Pherecydes was from some fragments preserving quotations of his *ipsissima verba*. For example, fr. 105 Fowler about the events that were at the basis of the Argonaut venture:

Ἦθνε τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ὁ Πελῆης, καὶ προεῖπε πᾶσι παρῆναι· οἱ δὲ ἦῖσαν οἳ τε ἄλλοι πολῖται καὶ ὁ Ἰήσων. ἔτυχε δὲ ἀροτρεύων ἐγγὺς τοῦ Ἀναύρου ποταμοῦ, ἀσάμβαλος δὲ διέβαινε τὸν ποταμόν, διαβάς δὲ τὸν μὲν δεξιὸν ὑποδεῖται πόδα· τὸν δὲ ἀριστερόν ἐπιλήθεται, καὶ ἔρχεται οὕτως ἐπὶ δειπνον. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Πελῆης

10 Uhl [1963] 83ff.

11 1. Pelasgians-Arcades, Asopides, Athenians; 2. A catalogue of the Danaides, breed of Lynceus, Heracles (first part of the twelve labours); 3. The continuation of the labours and other feats, descendents of Heracles; 4. Races of Agenor and Phoenix, descendents of Europa, Cadmus; 5. Cadmus and Theban families.

12 5. Hellenus, Aeolus; 6. Atamas, Creteus, Argonauts; 7. Argonauts, race of Creteus, Deion; 8. Alcestis, Eleoetolic races.

13 8. Tantalus, Sterope; 9. Electra-Dardanus, Taygete; 10. Alcyone.

συμβάλλει τὸ μαντήϊον, καὶ τότε μὲν ἡσύχασε, τῇ δ' ὕστεραίη μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτὸν ἤρετο ὅ τι <ἄν> ποιοίη εἰ αὐτῷ χρησθείη ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποθανεῖν· ὁ δὲ Ἰήσων, πέμψαι ἄν εἰς Αἶαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας τὸ χρυσόμαλλον, ἄξοντα ἄν ἀπὸ Αἰήτεω. ταῦτα δὲ τῷ Ἰήσωνι Ἥρη ἐς νόον βάλλει, ὥς ἔλθοι ἡ Μήδεια τῷ Περίῃ κακόν.

Pelias was sacrificing to Poseidon, and summoned all to attend. Among the citizens who came was Jason. He happened to be ploughing near the river Anauros, which he crossed without his sandals on; once across he tied on the right one, but forgot the left, and thus he came to the feast. Pelias saw him and understood the oracle. For the time being he kept quiet, but the next day he sent for him and asked what he would do if he had an oracle saying that one of the citizens would kill him; Jason replied that he would send him to fetch the golden fleece from Aietes. Hera put this in Jason's mind so that Medea's arrival would spell doom for Pelias. (Transl. by Fowler [2006] 39)

Among the constant elements of the Pherecydean tales there emerges, according to Dolcetti,¹⁴ the attempt to blend different traditions, harmonizing them in order to present a consistent and exhaustive treatment, sometimes almost rationalistic. Fowler, on the other hand, argues that "Pherecydes seems to have given his genealogies straight, without qualification, variants, or anxiety about truthfulness".¹⁵

An author of *Genealogies* in three books and of a *Περὶ εὐρημάτων* (*On discoveries*) was Simonides of Ceus, writing in the second half of the fifth century BC, perhaps the grandson of the more famous lyrical poet. Only two fragments remain of the first work: they deal with the two daughters of Itonus, Athena and Iodama, who was killed by her sister (Sim. fr. 1 Fowler),¹⁶ and with the genealogy of Ancaeus, the son of Poseidon and of Astypalaea.¹⁷

Of the same period as Thucydides, but older, was Hellanicus,¹⁸ probably a native of Mitylene. Tradition attributes at least 23 works to him, in prose and in verse according to *Suidas* s.v. Ἑλλάνικος, classifiable in three main groups:

14 Dolcetti [2004] 34.

15 Fowler [2001] 104.

16 On the fragment, Kowalzig [2007] 363 n. 75.

17 For Jacoby [1957] 480, the work of Andron of Halicarnassus, author of *Συγγένειαι* or *Συγγενικά* (*Relationships*) in at least eight books, can be attributed to a phase of transition between the genealogies and the works of a strictly historiographical nature.

18 Pearson [1939] 152–235; Toye [1995]; Fowler [1996]; Möller [2001]; Ambaglio [2005].

to the first phase of his activity belong his works of a mythographical-genealogical nature (*Phoronis*, *Deukalioneia*, *Atlantis*, *Asopis*, *Troika*)¹⁹ and the ethnographic works (*Argolika*, *Boiotika*, *Thessalika*, *Aigyptika*, *Expedition to the Shrine of Ammon*, *On Lydia*, *On Arcadia*, *Origins of Cities and Tribes*, *On the Foundation of Chios*, *Barbarian Customs*); later he devoted himself to the writing of chronicles (*Victors at the Carneia*, *Priestesses of Hera at Argos*, *Atthis*).²⁰

In the *Phoronis*, perhaps in two books, he reconstructed the history of the Pelasgians, and also described their stationing in Thessaly and in Italy, where they took the name of Tyrrenians (Etruscans). Among the surviving fragments no reference appears to the mythical founder of the race, Phoroneus, the first man, but it is probable that Hellanicus dealt with the genealogies of his three sons (Iasus, Pelasgus and Agenor) systematically, describing them separately. The second book was partly dedicated to Heracles, to the expedition against Troy and to his labours: for example, fr. 102 names Bembina, a place near Nemea; fr. 103 refers to the battle against the Hydra of Lerna, fr. 104a to the birds Stymphalides, fr. 111 to the oxen of Geryones.

The structure of the *Deukalioneia* is difficult to reconstruct. It may possibly begin, as Pearson²¹ hesitantly proposes, with the flood, then dealing with the story of Ionians, Dorians and Aeolians, the Hellenic tribes descending from Dorus, Xuthus and Aeolus, three grandsons of Deucalion, the sons of Hellenus. The story of the Argonautic venture could have been placed in the section regarding Aeolus, who had received the kingdom of Thessaly from Hellenus, and his descendents.²² Kullmer²³ proposes a different reconstruction, according to which the work in Book 1 dealt with Deucalion, the flood and the foundation of the first cities, the descendants of Deucalion and their spreading throughout Thessaly and into the bordering lands, with particular attention to

19 According to Möller [2001] 250 "in the *Deukalioneia*, *Phoronis*, *Asopis*, and *Atlantis* he reduced the mass of mythological tales and genealogies to just four ancestors. He managed to tell the stories of those four 'lineages' in a parallel and synchronistic manner, leading to the generation of the Trojan war, which he described in the *Troika*".

20 Such a large number of titles might be due to the fact that ancient authors may have referred to the same work when citing a subtitle or title of a section. For example, Pearson [1939] 170 suggests dividing the *Phoronis* into three parts (or books), and identifying the first, concerning the descendents of Agenor and the Theban saga, with the *Boiotika*, the second, connected to the race of Iasus and Heracles, with the *Argolika*, the third, centering on the descendents of Pelasgus, with the *Thessalika*.

21 Pearson [1939] 176.

22 As Ambaglio [2005] 137 conjectures.

23 Kullmer [1902].

the race of Aeolus. The second book might have contained the narration of the propagation of the Hellenic tribes in Asia.

The other mythographic works (the *Atlantis*, the *Asopis* and the *Troika*) are connected to the Trojan war. In Book 1 of the *Atlantis* a Homeric *scholion* (Il. 18.486) places the catalogue of the divine lovers of six of the seven daughters of Atlas and of the children of each couple: Taygete and Zeus gave birth to Lacedaemon, Maya and Zeus to Hermes, Electra and Zeus to Dardanus,²⁴ Alcyone and Poseidon to Hyrieus, Sterope and Ares to Oenomaus, Celaeno and Poseidon to Lycus.²⁵ Fr. 21 lists the names of the children of Niobe, who had married Amphon, a descendent of Alcyone and Poseidon, and was the daughter of Tantalus and therefore sister of Pelops. The latter is the protagonist of fr. 157, dealing with his relationship with Hippodamia, daughter of Oenomaus (perhaps the grandson of that Oenomaus who was born from the union of Sterope and Ares), and the curses he sent down on his children, Atreus and Thyestes. Almost nothing can be said about *Asopis*. The only explicit reference to this work is in a passage of *The life of Thucydides* by Marcellinus (2–4 = fr. 22), from which we learn that, like Pherecydes, Hellanicus likewise considered Miltiades as a descendent of Aeacus. The *Troika* were in at least two books: the first had an exclusively genealogical character, while the second was devoted to the story of the events of the Trojan war. The work, in which the author tried, among other things, to clarify obscure elements in the Homeric poems, sometimes giving an interpretation of a rationalising nature, might have contained references to the wanderings of Aeneas and Odysseus.

A genealogical treatment of the Trojan Saga is suggested by the title of the *Περὶ γονέων καὶ προγόνων τῶν εἰς Ἴλιον στρατευσαμένων* (*On the sons and grandsons of those who fought against Troy*) of Damastes of Sigeus, pupil or master of Hellanicus.²⁶ Nothing remains of this work in two books, mentioned by *Suidas* s.v. *Δαμάστης* (Dam. test. 1 Fowler) and it can possibly be identified with the *Γενεαλογία τῶν ἐπὶ Ἴλιον στρατευσάντων Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων* (*Genealogy of the Greeks and of the Barbarians who fought at Troy*) of Polus of Acragas, about which *Suidas* s.v. *Πῶλος* (test. 1 Fowler) notes that somebody attributed the work to Damastes (τινὲς δὲ αὐτὸ Δαμάστου ἐπιγράφουσι).

24 Fr. 23 attributes information about Dardanus and Electra to the first book of the *Troika*, therefore Sturz [1826] 103 proposed considering this work as a section of the *Atlantis*. Instead Pearson [1939] 181 believes that *Atlantis* and *Asopis* were parts of the *Troika*.

25 A similar treatment is also present in *P.Oxy.* 8.1084, attributed by Hunt to the *Atlantis*. *Contra* Pearson [1939] 177–178.

26 On the chronological relation between the two authors, see Gallo [2005].

After Hellanicus, we find evidence of other works dedicated to the Trojan Saga with the title *Troika*;²⁷ only two fragments survive of the text of Metrodorus of Chius (second half of the fourth century BC); from the first (fr. 1 Fowler = Ath. *Deipn.* 4.82 p. 184) we learn that it was Marsyas who had invented the *syrinx* and the *aulos*, the second (fr. 2 = Sch. *Il.* 21.444c) is about the service carried out by Poseidon and Apollon to Laomedon. We know nothing certain about the grammarian Palaephatus (*FGrHist* 44),²⁸ born in Egypt or Athens, author among other things of *Trojan Stories* (Τρωικά) in seven books, of which we possess three brief quotations containing historical-geographical information about Asia Minor. Between the third and the second century BC Hegesianax of Alexandria in Troas published his *Troika* under the pseudonym of Kephalon or Kephalion of Gergitha (*FGrHist* 45 T 7).²⁹ Of the ten surviving fragments of this work, only two mention the title: *FGrHist* 45 F 1 attributes to Hegesianax (with the specification “author of the *Troika* of Kephalon”, ὁ δὲ τὰ Κεφάλωνος ἐπιγραφόμενα Τρωικὰ συνθείς) the idea that Cycnus who had duelled with Achilles had been brought up at Leucophrys by the bird whose name he bore; the second fragment (*FGrHist* 45 F 2) derives from the *manchette* of one of the *Narrationes* of Parthenius of Nicaea, who states that the story of Oenone had been narrated by Nicander in his work *On poets* (fr. 13 Schneider) and by Kephalon of Gergitha ἐν Τρωικοῖς.³⁰

Around 400 BC, Herodorus³¹ dealt with some mythical traditions that bore a connection with his native land, Heracleia on Pontos. We know almost nothing about his life: Aristoteles in his *Historia Animalium* (6.5 p. 563a 7 = test. 1a Fowler) defines him as “father of the sophist Bryson” (Βρύσωνος τοῦ σοφιστοῦ πατήρ), the latter known as a pupil of Platon and object of the comic ‘arrows’ of Ehippus (fr. 14 K.-A.), who in order to censure his greed had coined the *hapax* Βρυσωνοθρασυμαχειοληψικέρματος (“who takes a little coin like Bryson and Thrasymachus”).

The works which can be attributed with certainty to Herodorus are two, written probably in Ionic dialect: in the first he discussed, in at least seventeen books, the facts relating to Heracles (ὁ καθ’ Ἡρακλῆα λόγος); in the second, whose title might have been *Argonautika* or *Argonautai* (sources vary between the two forms), dealt with the Argonautic Saga. He may also have written a

27 See below for the *Troika* of Dionysius Skytobrachion.

28 Wipprecht [1892] 49–53; Schrader [1893] 43–48; Ippolito [2007].

29 Lightfoot [1999] 391–393; Cameron [2004] 124–125; Pagani [2005b].

30 Tradition preserves the memory of the *Troika* of Abas (*FGrHist* 46), of Servius (*FGrHist* 47) and of Theodorus of Ilion (*FGrHist* 48).

31 Fraser [1972, 1] 627–632; Desideri [1991]; Borin [1995].

Pelopeia. Judging from the content of the fragments, transmitted mostly by the scholiographic documentation, his aim was not to offer, like the previous mythographers, an arrangement of the myths, but rather to draw up, at least for the stories regarding the eponymous hero of his city, a sort of encyclopaedic, almost romanced, account, rich in astronomical, geographical and zoological information.

Furthermore, it cannot be excluded that he had rationalistic and allegorical tendencies:³² basing himself in fact on the double meaning of the term *ἄετός*, interpretable both as *eagle* and as the name of a river, he stated that Prometheus had been a Scythian king whom his subjects had chained up because, after a flooding of the Aetos, he had not been able to ensure them the necessities of life. Heracles intervened, deviated the course of the river into the sea and freed the king from his imprisonment (fr. 30 Fowler). An allegorical interpretation is recognisable in fr. 13 Fowler (Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.15):³³

Ἡρόδωρος δὲ τὸν Ἡρακλέα μάντιν καὶ φυσικὸν γενόμενον ἱστορεῖ παρὰ Ἀτλαντος τοῦ βαρβάρου τοῦ Φρυγὸς διαδέχεσθαι τοὺς τοῦ κόσμου κίονας, αἰνιττομένου τοῦ μύθου τὴν τῶν οὐρανίων ἐπιστήμην μαθήσει διαδέχεσθαι.

Herodorus recounts that Heracles, who was a soothsayer and a naturalist, received from Atlas, a barbarian from Phrygia, the “Columns of the world”: but the myth really means that he received, through learning, the knowledge of celestial things.

Similarly, his vision of the conquest of the apples of the garden of the Hesperides is very eloquent (fr. 14 Fowler = Io. Antioch. *Archaeol.* 1 fr. 6.2 Roberto). In fact according to Herodorus, Heracles had to kill the snake of evil passions (τὸν πολυποίκιλον τῆς πικρᾶς ἐπιθυμίας λογισμὸν) with the club of philosophy (διὰ τοῦ ῥοπάλου τῆς φιλοσοφίας), wearing a lion skin to indicate the nobility of the spirit (ἔχοντα περιβόλαιον φρόνημα ὡς δορὰν λέοντος). Moreover the apples symbolized three virtues, abstinence from anger, greed and hedonism (τὸ μὴ ὀργίζεσθαι, τὸ μὴ φιλαργυρεῖν, τὸ μὴ φιληδονεῖν).

32 Jacoby [1957] 502; Ramelli-Lucchetta [2004] 207.

33 It is possible that Herodorus interpreted rationalistically the figure of the snake guarding the golden fleece: cf. Fowler [1996] 70.

2 The Birth of Scientific Mythography

The birth of the μυθογραφία, understood as “attività di registrazione e trasmissione scritta dei materiali narrativi e descrittivi che per convenzione secolare ed empiricamente condivisa, siamo soliti chiamare *mitici*”,³⁴ is mainly dated to the period when there arose, in the critical conscience of the scholars of the first Hellenistic age, the necessity of an approach to mythical traditions (conveyed by epic, lyric and tragic poetry) that was of a philological nature and scientifically based. It is usual, therefore, to identify the first real mythographer with Asclepiades of Tragilos (second half of the fourth century BC).³⁵ According to what can be read in the Plutarchean *Corpus* (*X orat.* 837c, 8–11), he was a pupil of Isocrates together with Theodectes of Phaselis and the historians Theopompus of Chios and Ephorus of Kyme. In his Τραγωδούμενα (*Subjects of Tragedies*) in six books³⁶ he examined myths treated by the tragedians, comparing them with the well-known versions of the epic and lyric poets and the mythographers of the first generation such as Pherecydes of Athens.³⁷ To understand the richness of the information which must have been contained in this work, it may be useful to examine briefly a recently restored fragment. A *scholion* to the *Rhesus* (v. 916 = Ascl. fr. 14 Bagordo),³⁸ citing the *Commentary on the Catalogue of the ships* by Apollodorus of Athens, reveals the existence of two brothers named Thamyras, the elder of whom was the maternal grandfather of Orpheus, while the younger had generated Antiphemus, from whose union with Pandias, Selene’s daughter, Musaeus (father of Eumolpus) had been born. After this information, the scholiast adds the detailed account, which preserves particulars otherwise unknown, of the contest between Thamyras and the Muses, which Asclepiades had perhaps dealt with in reference to Sophocles’ *Thamyras*:

34 Pellizer [1993] 284.

35 Werfer [1815]; Wagner [1891] 137, 145–147, 149, 266–267, 278, 294; Bagordo [1998] 33 and 102–108; Pagani [2004]; Villagra Hidalgo [2008]. Pressler [1997] tentatively has made the proposal to identify Asclepiades with the homonymous winner at the Lenaea in 351, indicated in the tragic *didascaliae* (*Did* A 3b, 54, in Snell [1986] 30).

36 Cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Τράγιλος, p. 630, 11–13 Meineke.

37 Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff [1875] 183 n. 3. Heyne [1803] 353 had hypothesized that the text was in verse, but Photius (*Bibl.* cod. 260) writes ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ Ἀσκληπιιάδης, ὃς τὰ Τραγωδούμενα συνεγράψατο (“and this subject is also dealt with by Asclepiades, the author of the *Tragodumena*”), employing the verb συγγράφεισθαι generally used with regard to prose works. Also Werfer [1815] 495–496.

38 See now the new edition supplied by Merro [2006].

ὁ γοῦν Ἀσκληπιάδης ἐν τῷ β' περὶ αὐτῶν φησι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· «τὸν μὲν Θάμυριν περὶ τὸ εἶδός φασι θαυμα[στ]όν· τῶν δὲ ὀφθαλμῶν τὸν μὲν δεξιὸν γλαυκὸν [λευκὸν cod.] εἶναι, τὸν δὲ ἀριστερόν μέλανα, περὶ δὲ τὴν ᾧδὴν οἶεσθαι διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων. ἀφικομένων δὲ τῶν Μουσῶν εἰς Θράκην, τὸν μὲν Θάμυριν μνεῖαν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ συνοικεῖν ἀπάσαις, φάσκοντα τοῖς Θραξὶ νόμιμον εἶναι πολλαῖς τὸν ἕνα συνεῖναι. τὰς δὲ προκαλεσάμενῳ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δι' ᾧδῆς ἄμιλλαν, ἐφ' ᾧ, ἐὰν μὲν αὐταὶ νικήσωσιν, ὅτι ἂν θέλωσιν αὐτὸν ποιεῖν, εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνος, ὅσας ἂν αὐτὸς βούληται, τοσαύτας λήψεσθαι γυναικάς. συγχωρηθέντων δὲ τούτων, νικήσαι τὰς Μούσας καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξελεῖν αὐτοῦ».

Asclepiades in the second book [of the *Tragodumena*] speaks thus about these characters: “it is said that Thamyris was of an extraordinary beauty: his right eye was blue, while the left one was black and his singing was different from all the others. When the Muses reached Thrace, Thamyris had asked to join them, saying that for the Thracians it was usual for one man to couple with many women. The Muses, on hearing this, proposed him a song contest: if they won they would do what they wanted with him, but if Thamyris won, he could take as many women as he wanted. After arranging this, the Muses won and blinded him”.

The first work about myths on the stage is however recognizable in the *Περὶ Αἰσχύλου μύθων* (*On the Myths of Aeschylus*) by Glaucus of Rhegium (second half of the fifth century BC)³⁹ of which only two fragments survive. In the first (Glauc. fr. 1 Bagordo), handed down by the *hypothesis* of the *Persae*, Glaucus is cited as a witness of the fact that the subject of the tragedy had been taken from the *Phoenissae* of Phrynicus; very probably what is reported by a Euripidean *scholion* (*Hec.* 41 = Glauc. fr. 2 Bagordo) can also be attributed to the same work; according to the *scholion*, while Ibycus and Euripides had stated that Polyxena had been killed by Neoptolemus, Glaucus writes that for the author of the *Cypria*, Diomedes and Odysseus had killed her. The *Περὶ τῶν παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ καὶ Σοφοκλεῖ* (*On the <Myths> of Euripides and Sophocles*) by Heraclides Ponticus (fourth century BC) must have been complementary to the text of Glaucus; this work probably narrated the plots of the tragedies by the other two tragedians.⁴⁰

39 Lanata [1963] 278–279; Huxley [1968]; Bagordo [1998] 14–15 and 137–138; Caroli [2006] 9; Ucciardello [2007a].

40 Cf. Hiller [1886] 428, Wehrli [1953] 123, Bagordo [1998] 30–31 and Ippolito [2009]. For the collection of Ὑποθέσεις τῶν Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους μύθων (*Plots of the Myths narrated by Euripides and Sophocles*), apparently attributed by Sextus Empiricus to a pupil of Aristotle, Dicaearchus of Messene, and for all the problems concerning the identification

Philochorus of Athens⁴¹ devotes a *Περὶ Σοφοκλέους μύθων* in five books to the myths in the tragedies of Sophocles between the fourth and third century BC, as we can learn from a hint in *Suidas* (s.v. Φιλόχορος = Philoch. fr. 2 Bagordo). Little more than mere names are also Demaratus (or Demagetus),⁴² who wrote *Tragodumena* in at least three books and probably a text about the Argonautic saga used by Dionysius Skytobrachion, and Thersagoras,⁴³ an epitomator of tragic myths (λόγω ἐπιτομὰς Θερσαγόρου τῶν τραγικῶν μύθων), cited in a private letter of 170 AD (*P.Oxy.* 18.2192) published in 1941 by E. Turner.

The activity of Dionysius,⁴⁴ working probably between 270 and 220, can be dated to the mid third century BC; in several sources he is called Σκυτοβραχίων (“Leather-arm”), a nickname of unknown origin. Diodorus Siculus (3.66.6) provides us with a list of the subjects to which Dionysius had given his attention: the Amazones, Dionysus, the Argonauts and the Trojan War. Another list can be found in *Suidas* s.v.

Διονύσιος, Μιτυληναῖος, ἐποποιός. οὗτος ἐκλήθη Σκυτοβραχίων καὶ Σκυτεύς. τὴν Διονύσου καὶ Ἀθηναῶν στρατεῖαν, Ἀργοναῦται ἐν βιβλίοις 5· ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶ πεζά· Μυθικὰ πρὸς Παρμένοντα.

Dionysius, Mitylenean, epic poet.⁴⁵ He was nicknamed “Skytobrachion” (Leather-arm) and Skyteus. He wrote the *Military campaign of Dionysus and Athena*, the *Argonauts* in six books (these are prose works), *Mythical Narrations* against (or “dedicated to”) Parmenon.⁴⁶

of this work with the *hypotheses* handed down by some papyri, see Cannatà Fera [2002], cf. also Montana and Dickey in this volume.

41 Bagordo [1998] 33 and 155–156; Caroli [2006] 10.

42 Schwartz [1901]; van Looy [1970]; Bagordo [1998] 35 and 118; Caroli [2006] 11. The correct name is Demaretes for Wendel [1931].

43 Bagordo [1998] 70–71 and 168; Cameron [2004] 59; Caroli [2006] 10.

44 Welcker [1865] 70ff.; Bethé [1887]; Rusten [1982b]; Stephens [2003] 39–43; Ippolito [2006a]. Lehnus [1993] had proposed to identify Dionysius Skytobrachion with one of the *Dionysioi* listed among the *Telchines* in the *Scholia Florentina to Callimachus* fr. 1.1 (ll. 3–8) Pf. The correctness of this hypothesis has been recently demonstrated by Bastianini [2006], who after revising the papyrus that transmits the *scholia* was able to rectify the transcription of the previous editors, reaching the conclusion that at lines 3–4 it is possible to read] Διονυσίοις δυ[σ]ί, τῷ Σκυ[υ]τοβραχίῳ]νι.

45 ἐποποιός is certainly an error: the works of Dionysius, as can be seen from *P.Hibeh* 2.186 and *P.Oxy.* 37.2812 which transmit some fragments of them, were in prose.

46 Lehnus [1993] 27–28 insightfully proposes the hypothesis that this may be Parmenon, a native of Byzantium, but working in Alexandria, a contemporary of Callimachus. We have an iambic fragment (fr. 2 Diehl) by this Parmenon, in which a clear relationship with the

The title of the first work can be explained in the light of a comparison with Diodorus 3.71.3–4 (Dion. fr. 10 Rusten), where it can be read that Athena and the Libyan Amazones joined Dionysus in the struggle against the Titans. The setting of the fight must have been Libya and, although the actual title of the work is unknown, we can imagine that it was something like *Libyan Stories*. The *Argonauts* are known through the citations in the *scholia* to Apollonius Rhodius also as Ἀργοναυτικά (*Argonautic Stories*).

Another entry of *Suidas* may be of help in reconstructing the production of Dionysius:

Διονύσιος, Μιλήσιος, ἱστορικός. Τὰ μετὰ Δαρεῖον ἐν βιβλίοις ε΄, Περιήγησιν οἰκουμένης, Περσικά Ἰάδι διαλέκτῳ, Τρωικῶν βιβλία γ΄, Μυθικά, Κύκλον ἱστορικὸν ἐν βιβλίοις ζ΄.

Dionysius, Milesian, historian. He wrote *Facts after Darius* in 5 books, *Periegesis of the inhabited earth*, *Persian Stories* in Ionic dialect, three books about the Trojan events, *Mythical narrations*, *Historical cycle* in 7 books.

Excepting the *Facts after Darius* in five books, the *Periegesis of the inhabited earth* and the *Persian Stories*, works of a late Archaic historian, native of Miletus, the Κύκλος ἱστορικός is without doubt to be attributed to Dionysius “the Cyclographer”, son of Musonius, while the Τρωικῶν βιβλία γ΄ and the Μυθικά to Skytobrachion. For the first work a correspondence can be found in Diodorus who attributes to the Dionysius in question a text about the Trojan War (3.66.6 τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν πόλεμον πραχθέντα), and the Μυθικά are to be identified with the Μυθικά πρὸς Παρμένοντα of the *Suidas*’ entry on Dionysius of Mitylene.

The *scholia* to Apollonius Rhodius sometimes define him as *Mitylenean* and sometimes as *Milesian*, but a comparison with Diodorus Siculus, who is one of the primary sources of our knowledge of this grammarian, allows both ethnics to be referred to the same character. Müller made a suggestion that had a certain popularity: Dionysius of Mitylene, who in his *Libyan Stories* seems to have introduced false sources speaking of the Ἀτλάντιοι and of Dionysus, and who was accused by Artemon of Cassandreia of falsifying the *Lydian Stories* (Λυδιακά), a work transmitted under the name of Xanthus of Lydia (test. 4 R.),⁴⁷

beginning of the first *Iamb* of Callimachus can be recognized. Cf. Gerhard [1909] 211 and Maas [1949].

47 See Rusten [1982b] 82–84.

may have invented Dionysius of Miletos as his source, to give authority to his narratives.⁴⁸ According to Rusten, Welcker's thesis is more probable; in his opinion, one of the epithets Μιτυληναῖος and Μιλήσιος was the result of an error, caused perhaps by its belated insertion by a scribe.⁴⁹ As the historian Dionysius of Miletus, author of *Persian Stories*, who lived between the sixth and fifth century BC, could not have had any link with the *Argonauts*, very probably the correct ethnic must be "Mitylenean".⁵⁰

The approach adopted in the treatment of the mythological sagas, subjects of the two works we know best, the *Libyan Stories* and the *Argonauts*, is of a rationalistic nature, based on the ideal of the λόγος εἰκός, so that mythographers attempted to explain certain extraordinary features of the myth, justifying them as mere misunderstandings of far more normal facts. In this sense, Dionysius' re-elaboration of the Argonaut myth is exemplary. Tradition had it that Aeetes, king of Colchis, had received an oracle who informed him that he would die when some foreigners had succeeded in stealing the golden fleece of a ram (κρίος) kept in a sanctuary. According to the legend, the place was guarded by fire-breathing bulls (ταῦροι), and the fleece by a never-sleeping serpent (δράκων). Dionysius notes that Δράκων (Dracon) was really the name of the man who guarded the sacred enclosure, while the Ταῦροι were nothing but the guards from the Chersonesus Taurica. Moreover, the skin preserved inside the temple had an origin different from the fantasy reconstructions of the myth: while Phrixus was a prisoner in Colchis together with his *paedagogus*, the king of the Scythians, brother of Aeetes, the fell in love with the young man and received him as a gift from Aeetes. The *paedagogus*, whose name was Krios (Κρίος), was sacrificed to the gods and his skin was hung in the sanctuary. Characteristic is also the role played by Heracles within Dionysius' narrative: if it is up to Iason to organize the expedition and build the ship, his role as captain seems to be reduced in favour of the predominant presence of the hero of Tiryns, whose responsibility for the civilization of distant and savage peoples the mythographer strongly underlines. This probably underlies the characterization of the inhabitants of Colchis as cruel barbarians (fr. 14 R. = Diod. 4.40.4):

τὸν δὲ Πόντον κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους περιοικούμενον ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν βαρβάρων
καὶ παντελῶς ἀγρίων ἄξενον προσαγορεύεσθαι ξενοκτονούντων τῶν ἐγχωρίων
τοὺς καταπλέοντας.

48 Müller [1848] 6. And also Schwartz [1905] 932 and Jacoby [1957] 510.

49 Welcker [1865] 80.

50 So Rusten [1982b] 72–76.

The Pontos, inhabited at that time along its coasts by barbarian and extremely savage peoples, was called *Axenos* (“Unhospitable”), because the people of the region killed the foreigners who landed there.

Behind the glorification of Heracles there probably lay the celebration of Alexander the Great’s conquests,⁵¹ as is possible to deduce from Diodorus 4.53.7 (Dion. fr. 37 R.):

ταχὺ δ’ ἐπ’ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ στρατηγίᾳ θαυμασθέντα στρατόπεδόν τε κράτιστον
 συστήσασθαι καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπελθεῖν τὴν οἰκουμένην εὐεργετοῦντα τὸ γένος τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων.

As he was the object of admiration for his courage and commanding skill, he rapidly put together a very strong army and visited all inhabited lands, benefitting mankind.

Skytobrachion had been wrongly identified by Heyne as another grammarian who probably lived between the third and second century BC, Dionysius called the “Cyclographer” (*FGrHist* 15),⁵² about whom we obtain some confused information from *Suidas* s.v. Διονύσιος Μουσωνίου (*FGrHist* 15 T 1). Dionysius was in fact the son of Musonius, originally from Rhodes or Samos, a priest of the temple of Helios and author of *Local Tales* in 6 books, *Periegesis of the earth*, *Instructive Story* in 10 books. As has been seen previously, *Suidas*’ entry on Διονύσιος Μιλήσιος (*FGrHist* 15 T 2) cites the *Kyklos Historikos* in 7 books, a work to be attributed to the Cyclographer.⁵³

Bethe,⁵⁴ struck by the strong similarity between Proclus’ summaries of the myths of the *Cycle* and the corresponding narratives in the *Bibliotheca* of Ps.-Apollodorus, suggested that they both drew their information from a manual of mythology, the *Kyklos* of Dionysius, about which Proclus (in Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 239) may have said that it was read not so much for its artistic value as for the sequence of events narrated in it (σπουδάζεται τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐχ οὔτω

51 This naturally meant celebrating at the same time all the Ptolemaic race who boasted origins from Heracles, precisely through Alexander. See Meliadò [2004a].

52 Heyne [1783] 980–982; Meliadò [2005a] with further bibliography.

53 It cannot be excluded that *Ἱστορία παιδευτική* in 10 books is to be identified with the *Κύκλος ἱστορικός* in 7 books, even though the fragments do not allow for a certain conclusion.

54 Bethe [1891].

διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὡς διὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πραγμάτων).⁵⁵ Bethe's thesis is undoubtedly without grounds: when Proclus names the *Kyklos* he clearly intends to indicate the poems of the *Epic Cycle* (τοῦ ἐπικοῦ κύκλου τὰ ποιήματα) and not, as supposed by the scholar, the set of mythical sagas. The Dionysian work probably dealt with the same myths narrated in the *Cycle* and the complementary ones in the poems not included in the *Cycle* (if we consider the *Danaïdes* and the *Alcmaeonis* as not belonging to the collection), but when we find a comparison with the surviving fragments and with Proclus' *excerpta*, the difference between these and the narrative of Dionysius is evident. We can deduce from this that Dionysius the Cyclographer was not Proclus' source, but he collected in his *Kyklos* learned versions of the myth which were different from the tales, universally known, of the *Epic Cycle*. Book 1 is likely to have mentioned the guardian of Io, Argos; according to Dionysius (*FGrHist* 15 F 1) he wore a skin (probably that of the bull which infested Arcadia, as we learn from [Apollod.] 2.1.2) and his whole body was covered with eyes. The myth was dealt with in the *Aegimius* ([Hes.] fr. 294 M.-W.) and probably in the *Nostoi* (fr. 9 Bernabé). In addition, a piece of information about the number of children that Heracles had had from Megara also belonged to the same book; not three, four or eight as stated elsewhere but two, Therimachus and Deicoon (*FGrHist* 15 F 2).⁵⁶ *FGrHist* 15 F 7 refers to a mythical detail present in the *Alcmaeonis*, which, according to Dionysius, Euripides followed when speaking about the lamb with the golden fleece. Referring to the events narrated in the *Ilias parva*, *FGrHist* 15 F 3 (Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4.47.6) relates that the *palladium*, taken away from Ilium by Diomedes and Odysseus and entrusted to Demophon, was built with the bones of Pelops, just like the Zeus of Olympia with the bones of an elephant (ἐκ τῶν Πέλοπος ὀστέων κατεσκευάσθαι, καθάπερ τὸν Ὀλύμπιον ἐξ ἄλλων ὀστέων Ἰνδικοῦ θηρίου). *FGrHist* 15 F 5 can be linked to what was recounted in the same poem; it informs us of Dionysius's statement that Demophon, the son of Theseus, had asked for the return of Aethra so as to take her back home. Menelaus had therefore sent Talthybius to Helena ordering that Aethra should

55 Brown [2002] 15 and n. 63 has recently agreed with this hypothesis.

56 As Cingano [2002–2003] 65 underlines, Creon, the father of Megara and king of Thebes, in the most ancient phase of the tradition, seems linked exclusively to the cycle of Heracles, and not to that of Oedipus. So it is probable that the information about the children of Heracles and Megara was contained in a section about the hero of Tiryns, from which fr. 1 may also come; we know in fact that the *Aegimius* narrated the aid brought by Heracles to the king of the Dorians, Aegimius, against Coronus and the Lapithes, and that Aegimius had in the end adopted Hyllus out of gratitude.

be accompanied; Aethra, embellished with every kind of ornament, was then sent to Demophon and Acamas. The story told in the cyclic poem, however, was different: according to the testimony of Pausanias (10, 25, 8 = *Ilias Parva* fr. 20 Bernabé), Aethra, after the fall of Troy, reached the Greek camp, where she was recognized by the sons of Theseus. *FGrHist* 15 F 4 links up with the *Odyssey*; from this fragment we learn that according to Dionysius' interpretation, Odysseus had given the Cyclops some wine to drink in a κυμβίον, not in a κισσύβιον. Perhaps the corrupt *FGrHist* 15 F 6 can be compared with the content of the extra-cyclic poem *Danaides*. From this fragment it is at least possible to deduce that Dionysius concurred with the view that Aegyptus had not gone to Argos together with his fifty sons. In *FGrHist* 15 F 8 we read that, according to Dionysius, Homer lived during the Theban expedition and the Trojan war.

For the second century BC, Apollodorus of Athens (ca. 180–110) should be mentioned.⁵⁷ At first a pupil of Diogenes of Babylon in Greece, after moving to Egypt he completed his education under the guidance of Aristarchus of Samothrace. After the expulsion of the philologists from Alexandria in 145 BC, by Ptolemaeus VIII Euergetes II, he went to the court of Attalus II at Pergamum, returning to Athens between 138 and 133, where he died between 120 and 110 BC. He wrote about comedy and about the Athenian prostitutes, collected the comedies of Epicharmus in 10 *volumina*, composed a chorography (Γῆς περίοδος) in comic metre (cf. Strab. 14.5.22) and a commentary in twelve books on Book 2 of the *Iliad*, the so-called *Catalogue of the ships* (Περὶ τοῦ τῶν νεῶν καταλόγου), not displaying any doubt as to the Homeric authorship of this section of the poem; he also wrote a work entitled *Chronicles* (Χρονικά) in three books, again in iambics in order to help memorization (*FGrHist* 244 T 2.35), from the Trojan war (which, in agreement with Eratosthenes, he dated to 1184 BC) until 145/144 BC. He then added a fourth book to cover the time period up to 120/119. He also dealt with Greek myths in his *On the Gods* (Περὶ θεῶν) in 24 books. With regard to the nature of this work Photius (*Bibl. cod.* 161 = *FGrHist* 244 T 11) informs us:

ἀνεγνώσθησαν ἐκλογαὶ διάφοροι ἐν βιβλίοις ιβ'.... Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον περὶ τῶν παρ' Ἑλληνισι μυθολογουμένων θεῶν διαλαμβάνει· ὁ συνείλεται ἐκ τῶν Ἀπολλοδώρου περὶ θεῶν γ' λόγου. Ἀθηναῖος δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος, καὶ γραμματικὸς τὴν τέχνην. Οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ τρίτου δὲ μόνον ἡ διαλογὴ αὐτῷ πεποιήται, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ ἐκ δ' καὶ ε' καὶ θ', τοῦ τε α' πάλιν καὶ ιβ' καὶ ιε' τε καὶ ις' καὶ μέχρι τοῦ κδ'. ἐν ᾗ συλλογῇ τὰ τε μυθικῶς περὶ θεῶν διαπεπλασμένα, καὶ εἴ τι καθ' ἱστορίαν

57 Pfeiffer [1968] 253–266; Fraser [1972, 1] 471 and 538–539; Habicht [1997] 119–121; Pontani [2005b] 54.

εἴρηται, περιείληφε, περί τε τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡρώων καὶ Διοσκούρων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἄιδου καὶ ὅσα παραπλήσια.

Several extracts have been read in the twelve books by the sophist Sopater... the first, then, deals with Greek theology expressed in the myths, and it is a collection from the third book of *On the Gods* of Apollodorus. Apollodorus came from Athens, and from the point of view of his skills, he was a philologist and man of letters. (Sopater), however, did not only summarize the third book, but also the fourth, the fifth and the ninth books and again, the first, the twelfth, the fifteenth and sixteenth, as far as the twenty-fourth. And this sylloge embraced both the invented myths about the gods, and what has been said in historical-legendary narratives, both regarding the heroes of their tradition and the Dioscuri, and also about what is in the Hades and other similar matters.

In his work Apollodorus seems to start from the interpretation and etymology of the names of the gods, in order to show, by resorting to the most varied literary testimonies, the link between their functions and the epithets.⁵⁸ It is not clear whether, in this respect, *Περὶ θεῶν* was influenced by Stoic doctrine; even though the recourse to etymology for analyzing the names of the gods may have been inspired by the writings of the philosophers of the Stoa, this is not sufficient to prove that Apollodorus subscribed to those theories. In any case it is certain that he derived the names of the divinities not from toponyms connected with cults (οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν τόπων), but ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχικῶν ἐνεργειῶν ἢ... συμβεβηκότων περὶ τὸ σῶμα, “from the active faculties of the soul, or from qualities of the body” (*FGrHist* 244 F 353.11). For instance, he maintained that the epithet *Δήλιος* of Apollon had no connection with the island of Delos, but was due to the fact that the god made everything visible (*FGrHist* 244 F 354 ὥς δῆλα καὶ εὐόρατα πάντα ποιῶν).⁵⁹ The explanation of why the sun was also called *Ἥλιος* is likewise significant: according to Apollodorus (*FGrHist* 244 F 95 = *Macrob. Sat.* 1.17.19), this was attributable to the fact that it races round the universe (ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν κόσμον ἰέσθαι καὶ ἰέναι, *quod sol per orbem impetu fertur*).

58 Parsons [1993] 167. Etymological explanations of the names of the Greek gods are contained in *Ἐπιδρομή τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν θεολογίαν παραδεδομένων* (*Introduction to the Traditions of Greek Theology*) by L. Annaeus Cornutus, who lived in the second half of the first century A.D. and was the teacher of Persius and Lucanus.

59 A summary of the section of *Περὶ θεῶν* centred on Apollo is transmitted by the second column (ll. 1–36) of *P.Oxy.* 37.2812, identified by the editor princeps E. Lobel with a commentary on a tragedy. See Rusten [1982b] 30ff.

The same interpretative mechanism is also applied to the bream (τρίγλη) that is sacrificed to Artemis because of the similarity of the names, inasmuch as the goddess has three forms (τρίμορφος).⁶⁰

Our knowledge of the work is based not only on numerous fragments of indirect tradition, but also on lucky findings of papyrus fragments which help to understand the research method adopted by Apollodorus. The first text, linked to him by R. Merkelbach,⁶¹ was published in 1952 by Lobel (*P.Oxy.* 20.2260).⁶² In it the use of the adjective δολιχάρορος in relation to Athena made by the post-Homeric poets (among whom Philitas and the author of the *Phoronis*) is criticized, as ἄρορ, the second term of the compound, in these circumstances must necessarily be a synonym of δόρυ (“spear”), whereas in Homer it is always understood as ξίφος (“sword”). Criticism is also voiced with regard to the improper use of the adjective Pallas, which together with Τριτογένεια is the subject of another papyrus fragment probably by Apollodorus, the *P.Köln* 3.126.⁶³ The preserved text opens with the citation of a fragment of Epicharmus (fr. 135 K.-A.) from which we learn that the adjective Pallas derived perhaps from the name of one of the Titans,⁶⁴ who, during a battle against Cronus (ἐν μάχαι | τῇ γενομέναι κατὰ Κρόνον), had been killed by Athena, at which point she then put on his skin. After quoting the comic verses, Apollodorus states that he had come across a poem entitled *Meropis*,⁶⁵ of which he had not managed to identify the author (περιεπέσομεν δὲ ποιήμασιν, ἐφ’ ὧν ἦν ἐπιγραφή Μεροπίς οὐ δηλοῦσα τὸν ποιησο[...]). The subject treated in the work (summarized by Apollodorus and exemplified with a series of textual quotations) was the battle at Cos between Heracles and Asteros, the latter being defeated thanks to the intervention of Athena who, having skinned him, had put on his skin in this case as well (τέλος δὲ ἀπολομένου τούτου ὑπ’ αὐτῆς συνθεωρήσαι χρήσιμον αὐτοῦ τὸ δέρος ἐσόμενον πρὸς τοὺς [ἄλ]λους κινδύνους). Moreover, the mythographer explains the motives that had made him cite this obscure poem:

ἐδόκει δέ μοι τὰ ποιήμα[τα] νεωτέρου τινὸς εἶναι· διὰ [δὲ] τὸ ἰδίωμα τῆς ἱστορίας [ἐξε]λάβομεν αὐτό.

60 *FGHist* 244 F 109 = Athen. *Deipn.* 7.126, p. 325b.

61 Merkelbach [1956].

62 On the papyrus, see now De Luca [1999].

63 Koenen-Merkelbach [1976]; *SH* 903 A; Lloyd-Jones [1984]; Bernabé [1996] 131–135. Recently Obbink [2011] 29 has proposed assigning *P.Oxy.* 76.5094 to Apollodorus.

64 So Olson [2007] 54.

65 On which, see the careful analysis of Henrichs [1993] 187–195.

The poem looked post-Homeric to me. I excerpted (?) it because of the peculiarity of the story. (Transl. by Henrichs [1993] 188)

Apollodorus' idea that the *Meropis* was a post-Homeric work is certainly correct, but even today it is debated whether it should be dated to the sixth century BC (as seems more probable) or even to the Hellenistic period.

The fame of this work *On the Gods* and of its author were such that Apollodorus was even credited with the authorship of an anonymous mythological handbook entitled *Bibliotheca* (Βιβλιοθήκη). While the name of the author is destined to remain unknown, some attempts were made in the past to understand to what period the composition dated back.⁶⁶ A *terminus post quem* for the dating is clearly identifiable in the citation of Castor of Rhodes (first century BC) author of *Chronica*, in *Bibliotheca* 2.1.3; thus C. Robert in 1873 proposed to date the work to the first half of second century AD (M. van der Valk thought the first century AD was more likely)⁶⁷ and to consider it an instrument for use in schools.⁶⁸ The mainly linguistic criterion used by Carrière and Massonnie,⁶⁹ who believed that the handbook was addressed to a cultivated public in the period of the second sophistic, led them to identify a language with an imperial tone, datable between the first and the third century AD, with numerous lexical and semantic contacts with Plutarch, Lucian and the scholiographic tradition; accordingly, they dated the work to the age of the Severi, between the end of the second and beginning of the third century AD, probably around 200 AD, also keeping in mind that Philostratus in his *Imagines* of 175 AD seems to know the *Bibliotheca*.

In his summary of the Greek myths, the author of the handbook resorts to numerous literary sources. As well as Homer and Hesiod's *Theogony*, he certainly knew the *Catalogue of the women*, which he seems to have used as a basis for the genealogical structure of his work.⁷⁰ He knew the contents of the

66 The attribution of the work to Apollodorus seems implicitly testified in the *subscriptions* of some *historiae* present in Homeric *scholia* (*ad Il.* 1.195, 2.103, 1.42, 2.494), in which at the foot of the treatment of the myths present also in the *Bibliotheca* we can read Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν α', β', γ'. On the other hand, this may instead be a reference to the monumental Περὶ θεῶν by Apollodorus of Athens. Cf. Diller [1935] 297–301.

67 Van der Valk [1958].

68 Some scholars were convinced that it was correct to credit Apollodorus of Athens with the *Bibliotheca*, which might be an epitome of his Περὶ θεῶν: Haeniche [1875] (according to whom it could be Sopater's epitome) and Lehrs [1878] (who moreover hypothesizes that the reference to Castor of Rhodes is the result of an interpolation).

69 Carrière-Massonnie [1991] 9–12.

70 See among others Dräger [1997] 11, 36–107.

Epic Cycle, even though we cannot tell whether it was from a direct reading of the various poems or thanks to mythological summaries. As regards archaic poetry he also cites Orphic texts, the *Geryoneis* and the *Palinodia* by Stesichorus, Telesilla. Furthermore, the mythographers of the fifth century BC are present in the *Bibliotheca* (Acusilaus, Pherecydes, Herodorus and Hellanicus; knowledge of Philochorus cannot be excluded) and authors less well-known to us (Amelesagoras, Demaratus, Philocrates). Ps.-Apollodorus mentions the three tragedians (in particular Euripides) and also Callimachus, Apollonius Rhodius, Asclepiades and Dionysius of Mitylene.

Photius (858 A.D.) attributes the handbook to the grammarian of Athens and summarizes its purposes perfectly (*Bibl. cod.* 186):

Ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ τεύχει καὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου γραμματικοῦ βιβλιδάριον ἀνεγνώσθη μοι· Βιβλιοθήκη αὐτῷ ἢ ἐπιγραφὴ· περιεῖχε δὲ τὰ παλαιτάτα τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅσα τε περὶ θεῶν καὶ ἡρώων ὁ χρόνος αὐτοῖς δοξάζειν ἔδωκεν, ὀνομασίας τε ποταμῶν καὶ χωρῶν καὶ ἔθνων καὶ πόλεων ὅθεν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀνατρέχει, καὶ κάτεισι μέχρι τῶν Τρωϊκῶν, καὶ ἀνδρῶν τινῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους μάχας καὶ ἔργα ἐπιτρέχων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Τροίας πλάνας τινάς, μάλιστα δ' Ὀδυσσέως εἰς ὃν αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἀρχαιολογία καταλήγει.

In the same codex I also read a little book by a grammarian Apollodorus entitled *Bibliotheca*. It contained the antiquities of the Greeks, which they had come to believe in the course of time concerning gods and heroes, and the names of rivers and countries and tribes and cities with their origins, and other matters that go back to early times; and he comes down to the Trojan War, touching upon the fights of some of the champions with each other and their deeds, as well as some of the wanderings back from Troy, especially that of Odysseus, with whom he ends his account of antiquity. (Transl. by Diller [1935] 300)

In the text of Photius an epigram follows which may have opened the *Bibliotheca* originally, but its authenticity is debatable:⁷¹

αἰῶνος σπείρημα ἀφυσσάμενος ἅπ' ἐμείο
 παιδείης, μύθους γνῶθι παλαιγενέας,
 μηδ' ἐς Ὀμηρεῖν σελίδ' ἔμβλεπε μηδ' ἐλεγείην,
 μὴ τραγικὴν Μοῦσαν, μηδὲ μελογραφίην,
 μὴ κυκλίων ζῆται πολύθρου στίχον· εἰς ἐμέ δ' ἄθρῶν
 εὐρήσεις ἐν ἐμοὶ πάνθ' ὅσα κόσμος ἔχει.

⁷¹ The epigram is considered genuine by van der Valk [1958] 167–168.

Draw your knowledge of the past from me and read the ancient tales of learned lore. Look neither at the page of Homer, nor of elegy, nor tragic muse, nor lyric strain. Seek not the vaunted verse of the cycle; but look in me and you will find in me all that the world contains.

The *Bibliotheca*, on the grounds of presumed citations in the *Scholia minora* to Homer, was divided from the *editio princeps* of Aegius (Romae 1555) onwards into three books. In the first the author speaks of the birth of the gods (1.1–44) and of the race of Deucalion (1.45–147); in the second he deals with the race of Inachus (2.1–180); in the third (and in the epitomes preserved) he is concerned with the races of Agenor (3.1–95), Pelasgus (3.96–109), Atlas (3.110–155), Asopus (3.156–176), of the kings of Athens (3.177–218 and Ep. 1.1–24), and of the descendants of Pelops (Ep. 2.1–16); he also touches on the events in the Trojan war preceding the Iliadic narration (Ep. 3.1–35), the events recounted in the *Iliad* (Ep. 4.1–8), the events in the Trojan war following the *Iliad* (Ep. 5.1–25), the consequences of the Trojan war (Ep. 6.1–30), and the wanderings of Odysseus (Ep. 7.1–40).

While Photius must have had a complete copy of the work at his disposal, in the manuscripts known today only the first two books are integral; the third is gravely damaged and finishes when Theseus is spoken of; its content has been re-constructed thanks to the finding of two epitomes at the end of the nineteenth century. The *Epitome Vaticana*, discovered by R. Wagner⁷² in 1885 in a fourteenth century codex (*Vat. gr.* 950), is probably the work of Ioannes Tzetzes who, in the twelfth century, used the mythographical handbook for the compilation of the *scholia* to the *Alexandra* of Lycophron and for his *Chiliades*. The publication by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus⁷³ of the so-called *Fragmenta Sabaitica* dates back to 1891; in 1887 he had identified the text of Ps.-Apollodorus in a thirteenth century manuscript (*Sabbaiticus-Hierosolymitanus* 366), during the classification of the codices preserved in the Library of the Jerusalem patriarchy.

During the Hellenistic age a certain Pisander⁷⁴ must also have been working, as the *scholion* to line 1760 of Euripides' *Phoenissae* attributes to him some mythographical material about the Labdacids. After rejecting the hypothesis that he could be one of the homonymous epic poets of Kamyros and of Laranda, the former probably living in the sixth century BC and the latter in the third century AD, Welcker⁷⁵ proposed identifying Pisander with an otherwise

72 Wagner [1891].

73 Papadopoulos-Kerameus [1891].

74 Mastronarde [1994] 31–38; Lloyd-Jones [2002].

75 Welcker [1865] 91ff.

unknown mythographer to whom Keydell⁷⁶ later attributed another four fragments, taken from the *Bibliotheca* of Ps.-Apollodorus and from the *scholia* to Apollonius Rhodius and Euripides. According to Jacoby,⁷⁷ Pisander probably took his material from various sources, among which the cyclic *Oedipodia* and the *Phoenissae* and the *Chrysippus* of Euripides.⁷⁸

Recently A. Cameron,⁷⁹ following in the steps of N. Marinone,⁸⁰ suggested identifying him with the Pisander mentioned by Macrobius in *Sat.* 5.2.4–5, in a section regarding the Greek sources of Virgil:

Dicturumne me putatis ea, quae uulgo nota sunt, quod Theocritum sibi fecerit pastoralis operis auctorem, ruralis Hesiodum, et quod in ipsis Georgicis tempestatis serenitatisque signa de Arati Phaenomenis traxerit, uel quod eursionem Troiae cum Sinone suo et equo ligneo ceterisque omnibus, quae librum secundum faciunt, a Pisandro ad uerbum paene transcripserit, qui inter Graecos poetas eminet opere, quod a nuptiis Iouis et Iunonis incipiens uniuersas historias, quae mediis omnibus saeculis usque ad aetatem ipsius Pisandri contigerunt, in unam seriem coactas redegerit.

You are perhaps thinking that I shall speak of things that are common knowledge: for example, that in his pastoral poetry Vergil took Theocritus for his model, and in his work on husbandry, Hesiod; and that in the *Georgics* he drew on the *Phaenomena* of Aratus for the signs of bad and good weather; or that he copied his account of the overthrow of Troy, with the tales of Sinon and the wooden horse and all the rest that goes to make up the second book of his *Aeneid*, almost word for word from Peisandros, a writer eminent among the poets of Greece for a work which, beginning with the marriage of Jupiter and Juno, has brought within the compass of a single sequence of events all the history of the world through the intervening ages down to its author's own day. (Transl. by Cameron [2004] 257)

There are, as we have seen, two Greek poets called Pisander, one native of Kamyros, the author in the archaic period of an *epos* on Heracles, and one from

76 Keydell [1935] 301–302 and [1937].

77 Jacoby [1957] 493–496 and 544–547.

78 In contrast, von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff [1925] denied the existence of this mythographer and connected the *scholion* with an *epos* of Pisander of Kamyros entitled *Kyklos*.

79 Cameron [2004] 255–260.

80 Marinone [1967] 510 n. 6.

Laranda, who corresponds perfectly to the description made by Macrobius, but the latter cannot be held in consideration because he lived at the time of the Severi, at the beginning of the third century AD. This explains why Heyne suggested that Macrobius had confused the two authors. Cameron's interpretation is different: he suggests that the Pisander mentioned in the *Saturnalia* is actually the Hellenistic mythographer, who, given that he is cited in the *scholion* to Apollonius Rhodius, must have lived before the grammarian Theon (compiler of a commentary on which the *scholia* partly depend) and therefore also before Virgil. On the grounds of this re-construction, Macrobius may have taken the catalogue of Virgil's Greek sources, and with them the reference to Pisander, from the writings of the first and second centuries AD in which the Roman poet was accused of plagiarism.

The activity of Parthenius of Nicaea⁸¹ dates back to the first half of the first century BC. We know very little about his life: *Suidas* s.v. Παρθένιος states that he was the son of Heraclides and Eudora or Tetha, and came from Nicaea or Myrlea, and in this regard, Meineke⁸² had hypothesized that his family, coming from Myrlea, had moved to Nicaea and that Parthenius was born there.

After being captured during the third Mithridatic war, he was taken to Italy where he became Virgil's teacher. A refined poet, classified by ancient sources with Callimachus, his fame is due above all to his elegiac production, consisting of *Arete* in three books (for his dead wife), *Aphrodite*, *Delos*, *Leucadia*, *Crinagoras*. He also wrote *epicedia* (*Lament for Archelais*, *To Bias*, *To Timander*, *Lament for Auxithemis*), a poem whose original title might have been *Propemptikon* and perhaps a composition entitled *Moretum*. We do not know the metre of other poems mentioned by *Suidas*, (*Anthippe*, *Heracles*, *Iphiclus*, *Idolophanes*). As for the *Metamorphoses* we do not know whether it was written in prose or rather in hexameters, according to the model of Nicander's *Ἑτεροιούμενα*. He compiled, between 52 and 26 BC, a collection of thirty-six myths about unhappy loves (*Ἑρωτικά Παθήματα*), which opens with an epistolary dedication to the poet Cornelius Gallus:

Μάλιστα σοὶ δοκῶν ἀρμόττειν, Κορνήλιε Γάλλε, τὴν ἄθροισιν τῶν ἐρωτικῶν παθημάτων ἀναλεξάμενος ὥς ὅτι πλείστα ἐν βραχυτάτοις ἀπέσταλκα. τὰ γὰρ παρὰ τισι τῶν ποιητῶν κείμενα τούτων, μὴ αὐτοτελῶς λελεγμένα, κατανοήσεις ἐκ τῶνδε τὰ πλείστα· αὐτῷ τέ σοι παρέσται εἰς ἔπη καὶ ἐλεγείας ἀνάγειν τὰ μάλιστα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀρμόδια. <μηδὲ> διὰ τὸ μὴ παρεῖναι τὸ περιττόν αὐτοῖς, ὃ

81 Lightfoot [1999].

82 Meineke [1843] 256.

δὴ σὺ μετέρχῃ, χεῖρον περὶ αὐτῶν ἐννοηθῆς· οἶονεὶ γὰρ ὑπομνηματίων τρόπον
αὐτὰ συνελεξάμεθα, καὶ σοὶ νυνὶ τὴν χρῆσιν ὁμοίαν, ὥς ἔοικε, παρέξεται.

Thinking, Cornelius Gallus, that the collection of sufferings in love was very appropriate to you, I have selected them and sent them to you in as brief a form as possible. For those among the present collection that occur in certain poets where they are not narrated in their own right, you will find out for the most part from what follows. You, too, will be able to render the most suitable of them into hexameters and elegiacs. Think none the worse of them because they lack that quality of refined elaboration which you pursue. For I have collected them after the fashion of a little notebook, and they will, I trust, serve you in the same way. (Transl. by Lightfoot [1999] 309)

Thus the official purpose of the collection was that of serving Cornelius Gallus as a background to poetic compositions.

Some elements present in the *Erotika pathemata* can be classified as typically Hellenistic: loves with a tragic epilogue, morbid passions, an interest in foundation myths. Moreover, the narratives seem to contain moralistic elements and in the main the author avoids divine intervention and recourse to *adynata* (only three *metamorphoseis*: Daphne, Harpalyce and Byblis can be found), but this does not imply that he was a euhemeristic mythographer. As J. Lightfoot underlines, some plots repeat well-known myths: the ventures of Lyrceus (*Amat. narr.* 1), which center on an oracle received at Didyma, seem to resemble those of Ion and Aegeus associated with the Delphic oracle; the story of Leucippus (*Amat. narr.* 5) has much in common with that of Althaemenes and his sister; the very famous myth of Oenomaus and Hippodamia is repeated in the *narratio* about Sithon and Pallene (*Amat. narr.* 6) and the same happens for Leucone and Cyanippus (*Amat. narr.* 10) who are modelled on Cephalus and Procris.

Even though in the dedicatory epistle Parthenius states expressly that he took his stories from previous poems (but he probably also consulted prose works, as can probably be suggested for the ventures of Oenone, Paris and Corythus, which may depend on Hegesianax),⁸³ he rarely mentions his sources during his discussion. Speaking of Byblis (*Amat. narr.* 11) he quotes ten lines of Nicaenetus, a long passage of his *Apollon*; he adds twenty-one lines from the *Foundation of Lesbos* in the story of Peisidice (*Amat. narr.* 21) and three lines from Nicander testifying a variant of the story of Corythus (*Amat. narr.* 34).

83 See Lightfoot [1999] 246.

The possible sources of Parthenius are however explained by some brief annotations, commonly known by the name of *manchettes*, inserted in the upper or lower margin of the only manuscript that hands down the *Erotika pathemata* and the *Metamorphoses* by Antoninus Liberalis (*Palatinus Heidelbergensis gr.* 389—ninth century AD), corresponding with most of the *narrationes* in the two collections. Modern scholars mostly reject the hypothesis that these indications date back to the authors (Sellheim for example thought so)⁸⁴ and regard it as probable that these brief notes refer to works in which the various stories were presumably present. We do not know when the *manchettes* were compiled but, judging from the authors cited, a dating for the middle of the third century AD has been proposed, even though an earlier date cannot be excluded. A. Cameron⁸⁵ has recently brought back to favour their attribution to the author; he argues that they must originally have been contained in a ‘bibliography’ placed at the beginning of the roll containing the work, a sort of index in which were specified the titles of the various chapters followed by their sources. According to this reconstruction, we could have had the beginning of an imaginary roll of the *Erotika pathemata*:

(α') περι Λύρκου. Ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Νικαινέτῳ ἐν τῷ Λύρκῳ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ Ῥοδίῳ Καύνῳ.

(β') περι Πολυμήλῃς. Ἱστορεῖ Φιλητᾶς Ἑρμῇ.

(γ') περι Εὐίππῃς. Ἱστορεῖ Σοφοκλῆς Εὐρυάλῳ.

(δ') περι Οἰνώνῃς. Ἱστορεῖ Νίκανδρος ἐν τῷ περι ποιητῶν καὶ Κεφάλων ὁ Γεργίθιος ἐν Τρωϊκοῖς.

(ε') περι Λευκίππου. Ἱστορεῖ Ἑρμησιάνᾱξ Λεοντίῳ. And so on.

It may have been a copyist who transferred the information into the margins when he copied the two works from the roll to the codex.

The same solution is also proposed by Cameron for the *manchettes* which accompany the work of Antoninus Liberalis.⁸⁶ We know nothing about this author's life: on a linguistic basis he has been tentatively placed in the second century AD,⁸⁷ while the *gentilicium* Antoninus would seem to lead to a placement in the third AD.⁸⁸ We have a collection of forty-one narratives of metamorphoses handed down under his name: they are metamorphoses of

84 Sellheim [1930].

85 Cameron [2004] 106–116, 321–327.

86 Papathomopoulos [1968]; Celoria [1992].

87 Knaack [1890] 39; Blum [1892] 26–27.

88 Bücheler *ap.* Oder [1886] 56 n. 1.

people, groups of people or animals, of which some deal with a ἀφανισμός, some contain metamorphoses at the origin of a cult, others are centred on κτίσεις, ὀνομασίαι and μετονομασίαι. The various typologies of transformations, in which the erotic *topoi* (derived from the Hellenistic literature)⁸⁹ often have a primary role, can be thus summarized: a) metamorphoses into birds (1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 27) or winged insects (22); b) into plants (31, 32, 34); c) into animals (24, 28, 29, 35); d) metamorphoses into stone (4, 23, 33, 36, 38, 39, 41); e) *catasterismi* (25, 36); f) disappearances (ἀφανισμοί—8, 13, 40); g) metamorphoses into echoes (26); h) changes of sex (17); i) acquisition of immortality (27, 30, 32, 33).

The *manchettes* mainly cite Nicander and Boius (a Hellenistic poet, author of an *Ornithogonia*), beside whom another twelve authors are present: Antigonus Carystius (poet of the imperial age), Apollonius Rhodius, Areus Laconicus, Athanadas, Corinna, Didymarchus (an Alexandrian poet), Hermesianax (an elegiac poet of the third century BC), Hesiod, Menecrates Xanthius (a historian of the fourth century BC, author of *Lydiaca*), Pamphilus (an Alexandrian grammarian of the first century BC), Pherecydes, Simmias Rhodius.

Our knowledge of the mythographer Conon and of his Διηγήσεις ('Narratives') almost entirely derives from the *Bibliotheca* of the patriarch Photius (cod. 186 = Con. test. 1 Brown):⁹⁰

Ἀνεγνώσθη βιβλιδάριον Κόνωνος Διηγήσεις· προσφωνεῖ μὲν τὸ πονημάτιον Ἀρχελάῳ Φιλοπάτορι βασιλεῖ, περιέχεται δ' αὐτῷ ἐκ πολλῶν ἀρχαίων συνειλεγμένα ν' διηγήματα.

A little book was read, the *Narratives* of Konon. He dedicates this short work to King Archelaos Philopator, and it consists of fifty narrations gathered from many ancient sources. (Transl. by Brown [2002] 47).

On the basis of the dedication to Archelaus Philopatris (correction by Jacoby instead of Photius' Philopator), king of Cappadocia from 36 BC to 17 AD, it has been proposed to date Conon's activity in the reign of Augustus, between 36 BC and 10 AD. Some rhetorical elements in the Διηγήσεις might suggest that he was a simple teacher or a librarian at the court of Archelaos, or a rhetor, but it is not easy to establish this, just as it cannot be excluded that he was also the author of a *Heracleia*, of *Italica* and of a text about the Jews, attributed to a certain Conon (not otherwise identified) respectively by a *scholion* to Apollonius

89 Calderón Dorda [2002].

90 Henrichs [1987] 244–247; Brown [2002].

Rhodium (1.1165 = fr. 2), by Servius (*Ad Aen.* 7.738 = fr. 3), and by Flavius Joseph (*Apion.* 1.216 = fr. 4). The *Narrationes*, on the grounds of what can be deduced from Photius' summaries, were a collection of fifty tales on mythological subjects, which often give new versions of well-known myths. In some cases (*Narr.* 1 about Midas, 37 about Cadmus, 40 about Cepheus and Andromeda) Conon produces stories supplying a rationalistic reading, in order to eliminate the elements that violated the principle of veracity.

That the *Διηγήσεις* were little read is demonstrated by the total lack of mention in ancient sources except for Photius, even though some papyrus fragments (*P.Oxy.* 53.3648), published in 1984, which hand down stories 46 and 47 in a more extended version, testify to a certain circulation in Egypt in the second century AD. The aims of the work cannot be clarified with certainty. As regards Conon's style, Photius writes:

Ἀττικὸς δὲ τὴν φράσιν ἐστί, ταῖς τε συνθήκαις καὶ ταῖς λέξεσι χαρίεις τε καὶ ἐπαφρόδιτος, ἔχων τι καὶ τοῦ συνεστραμμένου καὶ ἀνακεχωρηκότος τοῖς πολλοῖς.

He is Attic in style, graceful and charming in his constructions and words, having a certain terseness and avoiding the commonplace,⁹¹

thereby letting it be understood that the *Διηγήσεις* had not been conceived as simple summaries of stories taken from other sources (like Parthenius' *Erotika Pathemata*, about which the author himself, in the dedication to Cornelius Gallus, apologises for the unrefined style): rather, they had literary claims. The subjects treated, mostly belonging to the kind of the *Lokalsagen* (epichoric myths and legends), can be grouped into various categories, closely connected to themes already widely exploited by previous poets and prose writers, above all in the Hellenistic period, when the protagonists are men and the gods have a clearly marginal role:

- 1) foundation myths (κτίσεις): 2, 3, 4, 8, 12, 13, 14, 19, 21, 28, 29, 36, 37, 41, 46, 47, 48;
- 2) aetiological myths: 6, 11, 15, 17, 19, 20, 24, 30, 33, 35, 44, 45, 49;
- 3) love vicissitudes: tragic and unhappy loves already recounted by Parthenius (2, 10, 23) and homosexual loves (16);
- 4) paradoxographical stories: 5, 22, 43;
- 5) paroemiographical myths: 28 and 34;

91 Transl. by Brown [2002] 351.

- 6) fables: 35, 38, 42;
- 7) Trojan and Roman myths: 4, 6, 8, 12, 13, 18, 21, 23, 28, 29, 34, 41, 46.

In the surviving text the sources used by the mythographer are never specified, but this does not mean that Conon had been deliberately reticent, as suggested until now by scholars;⁹² on the contrary the fact that Photius says that the διηγήματα (“narrations”) had been taken from various ancient authors (ἐκ πολλῶν ἀρχαίων συνειλεγμένα), means instead that the indications of the sources were probably present in the original version of the work and that the Patriarch had omitted them in the process of abridgement.⁹³ This work had led him initially to transcribe the first three stories almost completely, later deciding to summarise further the contents. At the end of the third *Narratio* he notes:

Ἀλλὰ τί μοι δεῖ μικροῦ μεταγράφειν ταύτας, δέον πολλῷ κεφαλαιωδέστερον ἐπελθεῖν;

But why should I practically transcribe these? I must approach them in a much more summary manner. (Transl. by Brown [2002] 68)

The activity of the so-called *Mythographus Homericus*⁹⁴ likewise very probably dates back to the first century AD; he compiled a mythographical commentary on the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, a complete collection of *historiae* regarding the mythical characters, places, origins of rites and customs of the Homeric *epos*, ordered according to the succession of books and lines. Traces of this work have reached us through numerous papyrus fragments (distributed over a period of time which ranges from the late first century AD to the fifth)⁹⁵ and the mythological narratives incorporated during the proto-Byzantine age in the *scholia* D to the *Iliad* and in the *scholia* V to the *Odyssey*. The structure of the *historiae* remains nearly constant: the text opens with a lemma (a line

92 Henrichs [1987] 246 and Brown [2002] 31.

93 Thus in Cameron [2004] 72–73.

94 Van der Valk [1963] 303–413; Arrighetti [1968]; Arrighetti [1977a]; Arrighetti [1977b]; Arrighetti [1987] 204–210; Montanari [1995c]; Rossum-Steenbeek [1998] 85–118; Montanari [2002b]; Pontani [2005b] 71–72; Pagès Cebrián [2007]. The name *Mythographus Homericus* was coined by Panzer [1892], who had made conjectures about the existence of the collection before the finding of the papyrus fragments. See also Dickey in this volume.

95 *P.Oxy.* 418 (1–11); *P.S.I.* 1000 (1–11); *P.Hamb.* 199 (11); *P.Lond.Lit.* 142 (11); *P.Oxy.* 3003 (11); *P.Oxy.* 3830 (11); 4096 (11); *P.Berol.* 13282 (111); *P.S.I.* 1173 (111); *P.Vindob.* 29784 (111); *P.Berol.* 13930 (V).

or part of a line, sometimes in *ekthesis*) which gives a link with the Homeric poems; this is followed by the mythological narrative, centred on the name in the lemma; at the end almost always a *subscriptio* is inserted stating the source from which the story is taken, usually in the form ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τῷ δεῖνᾳ, (ὡς) ἱστορεῖ ὁ δεῖνᾳ or οὕτως ὁ δεῖνᾳ. See for example the narrative about *Il.* 3. 151:

τεττίγεσσιν ἑοικότες· Τιθωνοῦ τοῦ Λαομέδοντος, Πριάμου δὲ ἀδελφοῦ, ἡράσθη ἡ Ἥμερα, ἐξ οὗπερ ἐποίησεν υἱὸν Μέμνονα. μακρῶι δὲ βίωι δαπανηθέντος ἐκείνου μετέβαλεν αὐτὸν εἰς τέττιγα ἢ θεός. διὸ δὴ αὐτοῦ τοὺς συγγενεῖς δημογέροντας τέττιξιν εἰκάζει ὁ ποιητής. ἱστορεῖ Ἑλλάνικος.

similar to the crickets: Hemera fell in love with Tithonus, son of Laomedon and brother of Priam, and with him she generated a son, Memnon. As Tithonus had lived a long life, the goddess transformed him into a cricket. For this reason the poet compares the chiefs [of the Trojans], his relatives, to crickets. Hellanicus recounts this.

In a dissertation published at the end of the nineteenth century, Schwartz, from a study of the *historiae* present in the *scholia* D, deduced that in order to write the stories the *Mythographus* had used a mythological compendium similar to the *Bibliotheca* of Ps.-Apollodorus; therefore, he reasoned, the subscriptions, which in his view had been added in the Byzantine period,⁹⁶ did not intend to prove the presence of all the elements of the narrative in the authors indicated at the foot of the page, but to advise that part of the story was present in those authors.⁹⁷ In 1961 Lünstedt re-examined the question and, focusing his research on those subscriptions that mentioned preserved authors, he noted that some details in the stories, although not present in the sources indicated, could have been taken from the exegetic literature linked to those texts. He therefore reached the conclusion that a certain value should be attributed to the subscriptions as evidence, since “the reference to the author cited does actually exist in some ways”.⁹⁸ In reality it is not possible to establish with certainty the origins of the material assembled by the *Mythographus*: the compiler may have drawn the diegetic material directly from the works cited, starting from the input of the Homeric text: that is, he may have resorted to the unmediated reading of authors such as Hesiod, Acusilaus, Hellanicus, Euphorion and Lycophron, but it is more plausible that the *historiae* are based

96 The discovery of ἱστορίαι on papyrus naturally demonstrated the fallacy of this hypothesis.

97 Schwartz [1881].

98 Montanari [1995c] 144.

on material deriving from works dedicated to the Homeric exegesis (*hypomnēmata*, *syggrammata*) or on investigations of a mythographical-antiquarian nature.⁹⁹ The approach recently used by Cameron¹⁰⁰ is different. Cameron considers it almost impossible to assume that the great Alexandrian philologists would have devoted so much space to mythological themes in their commentaries; besides, it is improbable that the collection of the *Mythographus Homericus* continued to circulate until the Byzantine period as an independent work, if it limited itself to reflecting material coming from Homeric *hypomnēmata*. It would be better, Cameron continues, to presume that philologists like Didymus and Theon dipped into the same sources as the *Mythographus*. In works such as Apollodorus' *Περὶ θεῶν* the mythological narrative was undoubtedly enriched by quotations from poets and prose-writers, intended to illustrate different versions of the stories. During the transfer of the material, the *Mythographus Homericus* might have eliminated the citations, moving the names of the authors cited to the subscriptions.

There are serious doubts about the genuineness of the sources cited by Ptolemaeus Chennos ("The Quail"),¹⁰¹ an Alexandrian grammarian who lived between Nero and Hadrian. Photius (*Bibl. cod.* 190) speaks of his *Καινὴ ἱστορία* ("New History"), in seven books, describing its richness and usefulness, but also underlining the presence of a number of incredible stories, irrational and badly structured. In the work, of which we have knowledge thanks to *excerpta* handed down above all by Eustathius and Tzetzes, and to the synthesis given by the Patriarch, there is, therefore, a mixture of paradoxographical and mythographical information, and new and traditional versions of mythological stories. Let us consider, for example, what he writes about Odysseus in the first book (Phot. *Bibl. cod.* 190, p. 147a):

Ὅτι Ὀδυσσεύς, διότι ὦτα μεγάλα εἶχεν, Οὐτίς πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο· ὑετοῦ δέ φησι γενομένου μὴ ἀντισχοῦσαν τὴν μητέρα ἐγκυον οὔσαν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τεκεῖν, καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως ὀνομασθῆναι.

That Odysseus, because he had big ears (ὦτα), was first called Οὐτίς; but he says also that, one rainy day, his pregnant mother, as she could not hold out, gave birth by the side of the road (ὁδός), and that is why he was then called Odysseus.

99 Montanari [1995c].

100 Cameron [2004] 104–106.

101 Tomberg [1968]; Pagani [2005a] n. 5; Pontani [2005b] 72–73; Pagani [2006a]; Hose [2008].

In the fifth book Ptolemaeus also touches on a presumed plagiarism committed by Homer (p. 151a–b): a woman of Memphis, called Phantasia, is said to have composed (συνέταξε) the Trojan war (τὸν Ἰλιακὸν πόλεμον) before Homer's poem and the story about the adventures of Odysseus (τὴν περὶ Ὀδυσσεύας διήγησιν), and to have deposited these books at Memphis; according to this report, Homer then went to that place, obliged the scribe in the temple to give him some copies and subsequently composed his poems. Modern criticism tends to consider Ptolemaeus a supporter of the *gelehrte Lüge*, a genre much appreciated at the court of the Roman Emperors: in the *Καينὴ ἱστορία* he is said to have collected narratives he himself had invented, which he attributed to sources—partly real and partly invented—in order to increase their reliability.¹⁰² However, some have seen this work as a miscellaneous collection to be placed in the ambit of similar peripatetic texts, thus attempting to give a more positive reappraisal of the author.¹⁰³

This overview on the principal mythographers recorded in the Greek literary tradition, which certainly does not claim to be complete, may have helped to define the fundamental role covered by the study of myth in ancient times. An interest in this subject arose, as can be seen, from the most varied cases: historical and ethnological research, reconstruction of the origins of epichoric traditions, customs, rites and cults, philological investigations. Of the hundreds of works which entered into the stream of the μυθογραφεῖν, Fate has allowed us to read only small scraps of texts, apart from a very few fortunate exceptions: yet meagre though they are, they are not without their fascination and able, sometimes, to trace the outlines of a world still, from many points of view, shrouded in shadows.

102 The first to propose this was Hercher [1855–1856] 276 and 282.

103 Cf. Chatzis [1914].

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