

## SOME ALLUSIONS TO EARLIER HELLENISTIC POETRY IN NONNUS

Nonnus, as well as being soaked in Homer and, no doubt, earlier epics on his particular theme (enough survives of Dionysius, *Bassarica*, to show the debt), had a great affection for the Hellenistic masters—above all Callimachus, Apollonius, Theocritus, and Euphoriion. For this reason he can provide valuable help towards the study of fragments and new papyri. Pfeiffer, in his edition of the Callimachus fragments, is of course fully alive to this point, and regularly quotes Nonnus. From the other side there is a useful collection of parallels in Keydell's *Dionysiaca* (1959) and the new Nonnus lexicon (ed. Werner Peek) will be invaluable, though not a complete substitute for actually reading the poem because imitation need not involve more than a small amount of verbal reminiscence.<sup>1</sup> This article may, I hope, cast some light on Nonnus' methods of adaptation and thought processes, but is written mainly with his models in mind. I try to concentrate on imitations of material published too late for Keydell. Needless to say I do not expect to convince everybody of everything, and have not been able to resist a certain amount of pure speculation.<sup>2</sup>

The nature of the support given by Nonnus will normally just be encouragement and confirmation. Let us start with a Callimachean example. A new reading of *Hecale*, fr.260.1<sup>3</sup> οἰόκρως · ἕτερον γὰρ ἀπηλοίησε κορύνῃ<sup>4</sup> (Lloyd-Jones and Rea, *Harvard Studies* 72, 1968, 130) differs startlingly from the old one (in Pfeiffer). The Marathonian Bull is dragged along by Theseus 'single-horned, for the other one he broke with his club'. Although some of the letters are far from clear, Lloyd-Jones and Rea (p. 134) quote from Michael Choniates, who knew the *Hecale* well, κορύνῃ θάτερον κεράτων ἠλόησεν. In fact parallels from the *Dionysiaca* strengthen the new reading: particularly 17.210 ταυρείην . . . ἀπηλοίησε κεραίην which to some extent preserves the original context, also 10.59 ἀπηλοίησε μαχαίρῃ, and numerous other examples with the verb similarly placed, providing ever more remote echoes of the *Hecale*,<sup>5</sup> while in 25.228–9 (quoted later) there is very little verbal contact, but imitation of Callimachus may still be suspected. This serves to show how a model passage, once absorbed into Nonnus' system, will appear time and time again; one could perform the same exercise for Call. fr.259

<sup>1</sup> A. Wifstrand, *Von Kallimachos zu Nonnos* (1933), is primarily concerned with metrical-stylistic questions, while D'Ippolito's *Studi Nonniani* (1963) seems to me rather disappointing on the aspect treated here. But I. Cazzaniga, 'Temi Poetici Alessandrini in Nonno Panopolitano' (in *Miscellanea di Studi Alessandrini in memoria di A. Rostagni*, Turin 1963, 626–46) has some useful material. Also Lloyd-Jones adds to Keydell's parallels in his review (*CR* 75, 1961, 22–4).

<sup>2</sup> This article was prompted by reading part of the forthcoming Supplement to Powell's *Collectanea Alexandrina*, to be edited by Professor Hugh Lloyd-Jones and

Mr. P.J. Parsons. I am grateful to both of these for showing me their work, and for comments on some of the ideas here. A number of my Nonnus parallels had not escaped them.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps immediately following fr.259 (echoed, incidentally, in Nonnus 15.28 ταῦρον ἀπειλητῆρα μετήγαγε δέσμιον ἔλκων).

<sup>4</sup> Taking up κορύνῃ<ι> (see Lloyd-Jones and Rea, op. cit. 135).

<sup>5</sup> However Keydell on 30.138, following Wifstrand, quotes ἀπηλοίησε σιδήρῳ from *Blemyomachy* 43.

νωθρὸς ὀδίτης, which, besides standing three times unaltered at the end of a hexameter (3.101, 17.27, 43.381), is probably responsible for ὕγρὸς ὀδίτης (e.g. 26.239 of a hippopotamus!), κοῦφος ὀδίτης (e.g. 22.41) and several more combinations.<sup>6</sup> On occasion (though the greatest caution is necessary) Nonnus can help over the reading, interpretation, context, or even authorship of a new papyrus—a passage with which Nonnus was intimately familiar is at least more likely to come from one of his favourite authors than from a lesser and obscurer figure.

Influence on Nonnus can be shown by devices other than pure verbal reminiscence. Sometimes he will allude to a parallel myth in such a way that (as often in neoteric poetry) the reference is more literary than mythological. In effect Nonnus is reminding readers of a famous predecessor, and inviting them to recognize a literary tradition. Thus when the countryman Brongus entertains Dionysus in his simple cottage Nonnus makes a comparison with the entertainment of Heracles by Molorchus: οἶα Κλεωναῖοιο φατίζεται ἀμφὶ Μολόρχου, / κεῖνα, τὰ περ σπεύδοντι λεοντοφόνους ἐς ἀγῶνας / ὥπλισεν Ἡρακλῆι (17.52–4). Undoubtedly he intends to recall the Molorchus episode in Callimachus (*Aetia* frs. 54–9). No *Aetia* fragments describing the actual meal survive, and Nonnus is also using that other meal in the *Hecale* as an important source. But one individual motif from the Molorchus-legend does reappear—the sacrifice refused (Pfeiffer on Call. fr.54, cf. Nonnus 17.46 ff.).<sup>7</sup> The parallel with Comaetho at *Dionysiaca* 40.141 καὶ ἔσσομαι οἶα Κομαιθῶ alludes to a poetic fragment of Parthenius (we are lucky to be able to establish this) and that with Periboea a few lines below (147 οἶα φηγὰς Περίβοια) conceivably to Euphorion.<sup>8</sup>

Usually no debt to a predecessor is acknowledged, but in one way or another we are allowed to see the model. In two of the late books Nonnus makes bizarre use of a labour of Theseus from Callimachus, *Hecale*. First in 45.173 ff. the encounter of Dionysus with Alpus seems to be based on that between Theseus and Sciron; in both legends a lawless brigand who besieges a mountain path, luring travellers to their death, is disposed of by the hero. Very little survives of this incident in the *Hecale*,<sup>9</sup> but faint echoes are discernible of Euphorion fr.9.6–9 Powell, undoubtedly imitating the *Hecale*. Thus Nonnus 45.174 ἀπηλοῖησε cf. Euph. 8 ἀλοιηθεῖς, 177 ὀδοιπόρος cf. 6 ὀδοιπόροι, 181 τυμβεύσατο λαμῶ cf. 9 ἐλιπήνατο λαμόν (of Sciron's tortoise). Secondly the wrestling match against Pallene, daughter of the murderous Sithon in the last book, recalls Theseus' encounter with the wrestler Cercyon. We can find clearer echoes of Call. fr.328 ἦχι κονίστραι / ἄξινοι λύθρῳ τε καὶ εἶαρι πεπλήθασιν in Nonnus 48.96–7 λύθρῳ / . . . ἐφουνίσσοντο παλαίστραι and 103 κακοξείνοιο παλαίστρης.

I find especially interesting the way Nonnus handles Caunus and Byblis at

<sup>6</sup> Other Callimachean phrases with which Nonnus was obsessed include Ἄσωπὸς βαρύγουνος (*Hymn* 4.78) and καὶ τὰ μὲν ὥς ἡμελλε μετὰ χρόνου ἐκτελέεσθαι (fr.12.6).

<sup>7</sup> May I repeat that the close resemblance between Ovid, *Met.* 8.684 ff. and Nonnus 17.46 ff. is most probably caused by common imitation of Callimachus. It is rightly recognized now that many late Greek poets read Latin ones, but still many

resemblances must be due to shared models. This is a particularly good example because Nonnus in effect quotes his source. Also in the Byblis legend (discussed below) Ovid and Nonnus probably glance at the same original (?Nicaenetus) for the parallel reference to Zeus and Hera.

<sup>8</sup> Both cases, the second much more speculative, discussed later.

<sup>9</sup> For an argument that fr.245 refers to Sciron, see *CR* 79 (1965), 259–60.

13.546 ff. The legend itself was treated by many Hellenistic poets—Apollonius Rhodius (in the *Καύνον Κτίσις*, cf. fr.5 Powell), Nicaenetus (fr. 1 P), Nicander (Ant. Lib. 30 = fr.46 G—S) and Parthenius (lines of his own quoted in *Narr. Amat.* 11 = fr.29 Martini)—and has often been discussed by modern scholars.<sup>10</sup> Nonnus describes Caunus at a time when he had not yet succumbed to his incestuous passion:

οὐ πω γὰρ δυσέρωτα δολοπλόκον ἔπλεκε μολπήν  
 γνωτῆς οἴστρον ἔχων ἀδαήμονος, οὐδὲ καὶ αὐτὴν  
 ἀντιτύπου φιλότῃτος ὁμοξήλων ἐπὶ λέκτρων  
 Ζηνὶ συναπτομένην ἐμελίζετο σύγγονον Ἥρην  
 Λάτμιον ἀμφὶ βόαυλον ἀκομήτοιο νομήτος,  
 ὀλβίζων ὑπ' ἔρωτι μεμηλότα γείτονι πέτρῃ  
 νύμφιον Ἐνδυμίωνα ποθοβλήτοιο Σελήνης·  
 ἀλλ' ἔτι Βυβλὶς ἔην φιλοπάρθενος etc.

The 'deceitful song' (546) with which Caunus tries to win over Byblis must surely point to a specific piece of earlier Greek poetry. Now the particular form of the legend (Caunus rather than Byblis has conceived the unfortunate love) enables us to eliminate as likely models most of the Hellenistic poets mentioned above. In fact the version according best with Nonnus would seem to be that of Nicaenetus in his *Λύρκος*<sup>11</sup> (fr.1 P), even though Caunus there originally loves Byblis against his will (*ἀέκων*, line 5). Caunus sings of another brother-sister couple, Zeus and Hera;<sup>12</sup> obviously he hopes thereby to promote his own suit, like Byblis in Ovid (*Met.* 9. 497 ff. 'di nempe suas habuere sorores: / sic Saturnus Opem iunctam sibi sanguine duxit, / Oceanus Tethyn, Iunonem rector Olympi', cf. 555 'sequimur magnorum exempla deorum'). I imagine that the parallel story of Zeus and Hera was treated at greater length in Nonnus' model than in Ovid—otherwise Nonnus would hardly single it out thus. So we can see here in outline the famous 'epyllion structure', with the Zeus-Hera love-affair providing an inset story. It is widely assumed that Callimachus' *Hecale* formed the prototype for this kind of structure; which of course did not preclude briefer references to other myths *en passant* (as apparently in the *Hecale*). While there can be no certainty that Nonnus has in mind Nicaenetus, the latter's probable date (middle to late third century B.C.<sup>13</sup>) would allow him to be influenced by Callimachus. A final point also rather favours Nicaenetus: the love of Zeus and Hera is linked in some way to that of Selene and Endymion. How the latter would assist Caunus' case remains obscure,<sup>14</sup> but Nonnus 555 γείτονι πέτρῃ offers a hint why Nicaenetus of Samos might have included the myth. He had a particular interest in local legends (Athenaeus 15.673b, discussing a Carian custom, ποιητῆς ἐπιχώριος καὶ τὴν ἐπιχωρίον ἱστορίαν ἡγαπηκῶς ἐν πλείουσιν) and could have men-

<sup>10</sup> Most recently by George Huxley in *GRBS* 11 (1970), 251–7, with special reference to Nicaenetus and topographical questions. He gives further bibliography.

<sup>11</sup> But Huxley, *op.cit.*, 256 points out that Nicaenetus fr. 1 P does not certainly come from his *Λύρκος*—the lines could belong to a different poem. In any case the passage is clearly lacunose, and perhaps preserves only

the outline of Nicaenetus' narrative.

<sup>12</sup> I imagine that he alludes to the 'secret marriage' of Zeus and Hera (see Pfeiffer on Callimachus, fr.48).

<sup>13</sup> See Gow-Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* ii. 417.

<sup>14</sup> Omission or corruption in the text of Nonnus has been suspected.

tioned the Selene-Endymion tale for its Carian associations (the Latmian cave), matching the Carian setting of the Byblis myth. Geography can help with the Zeus-Hera legend too. Nonnus (550) sets the scene near Mount Latmos. Now an *Iliad* scholiast (on 14.296, Erbse iii. 635) records that 'some authorities' placed the secret liaison of Zeus and Hera in Samos. Surely the linking of these three myths, two connected with Caria and one with Samos, suggests a poet who had a special concern for local stories; and such was Nicaenetus of Samos.

Often little or nothing remains of an earlier Hellenistic poem (or individual episode in a poem) beyond the bare evidence that 'so and so told this story',<sup>15</sup> or told it in such a way. When the author is one of Nonnus' favourites, or else particularly celebrated, and when the story recurs in the *Dionysiaca*, we are entitled to a strong suspicion that this was Nonnus' model—e.g. that he used Euphoriion (fr.101 Powell) for the lines on Hyrieus (13.96 ff.) and on Harpalyce (12.72 ff., cf. Euph. fr.26 and PSI 1390, fr. A). Eratosthenes' *Hermes* (fr.2 P) may lie behind 9.232 ff. on the suckling of the infant god by Hera (it appears that the story was unusual if not personal to the Cyrenean poet); Nonnus does not mention the Milky Way, presumably the *raison d'être* for the incident in Eratosthenes, but 9.238 νόσφι δόλου Διόνυσος ἐλεύσεται εἰς χορόν ἄστρων recalls how Hermes made a tour of inspection of the heavenly bodies (Erat. fr.13). It would be astonishing if Nonnus' version of Erigone (47.1 ff.) did not owe much to the famous elegy by Eratosthenes. On the other hand we must be cautious about using Nonnus to reconstruct detailed incidents in Eratosthenes, and certainly the later poet gives no guide to the style of the earlier. In the case of Aristaeus and the Dog Star, where three sources used by Nonnus have survived (at least in part), we shall see how he incorporates echoes of all of them, but the style of the resulting passage is unmistakably his own.

Now I tabulate some more possible allusions (of varying degrees of certainty) which further illustrate the points discussed above:

### I. Callimachus and Nonnus

(a) ἄλματος Ἰνώοιο μεμνηνότες ὅστις ἀπευθής,<sup>16</sup> a post-Pfeiffer fragment probably of the *Aetia* (cf. frs.91–2), cf. Nonnus 9.269 ἄλμασιν Ἰνώοιοι (43.306 ἄλμασι μητρῶοιοι of Melicertes).

(b) a motif from the *Hecale*? This depends on the suggestion by Lloyd-Jones and Rea (*Harvard Studies* 1968, 142) that in fr.260 an old crow warns another bird (? an owl) against taking to Theseus the bad news of Hecale's death. The crow recalls her own loss of Athena's favour through revealing how the daughters of Cecrops failed in their guardianship of Erichthonius, and prophecies that one day the raven will suffer a similar fate: 'I wish you would still be alive then, to learn ὡς Θριαὶ τὴν γρηῖν ἐπιπνεῖουσι κορώνην (line 50)'. The detached way she speaks of herself is striking, and closely paralleled at Nonnus 3.119 ἐπαυήσεις δὲ κορώνην. There line 122 καὶ εἰ πέλον ὄρνις Ἀθήνης suggests that Nonnus has in mind the *Hecale* as well as Apollonius (iii.927 ff., the main source for this incident). Could the crow in Callimachus first have put her advice more positively: refrain from bringing such bad news to Theseus, 'and you will commend the crow'?

<sup>15</sup> A difficulty: I suspect that scholiasts often give a whole legend, adding e.g. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Εὐφορίωνι when that poet may

only have alluded to the myth briefly.

<sup>16</sup> For the text see M.L. West, *Maia* 20 (1968), 203.

(cf. Ovid's imitation of Callimachus, *Met.* 2.550 'ne sperne meae praesagia linguae')? (c) A similar case from Nonnus 25.227 ff. Lines 228–9, though referring to Heracles and the Cretan Bull, suggest that the *Hecale* was running in his mind, *τινάσσων / τοσσατήν κορύνην ὀλίγην ἔτμηξε κεραίην* (cf. Call. fr.260.1 discussed above<sup>17</sup>). In view of that one may be encouraged to see Theseus wrestling with the Marathonian Bull behind 234–5 *εἰ κέραεσσιν ἐμάρνατο μαινόμενος βούς, / εἰς γόνυ ταῦρον ἔκαμψεν*, cf. Call. fr.732 *πολλὰ μάτην κέραεσσιν ἐς ἥερα θυμήναντα* (with Catullus 64.110–11 (Theseus and the Minotaur) 'sic domito saevum prostravit corpore Theseus / nequiquam variis iactantem cornua ventis') and fr.258 *θηρὸς ἐρωήσας ὀλοὸν κέρας*.

## II. Euphorion and Nonnus

To Euphorion Nonnus pays the particular compliment of borrowing a line whole (13.186 *ἀγχίαλον Βραυρώνα, κενήριον Ἰφιγενείης* = Euph. fr.91 Powell). I suspect that more substantial remains of Euphorion might show that Nonnus owes more to him than to any other poet in vocabulary (though hardly in metrical technique) and that Euphorion rather than Callimachus formed the starting-point from which Nonnus' general style developed. In recent years a number of Euphorion papyri have been published or re-published; although they seldom give us complete lines, one can illustrate even from the scraps how thoroughly Nonnus had absorbed Euphorion. Not all of them are securely ascribed to Euphorion by already attested quotations, but the very fact that Nonnus was so familiar with them rather strengthens the attribution, since we can prove by other means that Euphorion was one of his favourite authors.

(a) *P.Oxy.* 2526 (not certainly ascribed to Euphorion, but many indications point that way). The two best preserved fragments (B frs. 2 and 3) describe respectively a drowning and the measures with which the Ceans, following the prescription of Aristaeus, placate the Dog Star.

Of the former piece only line-endings survive. With 7 *βρεκτῶν τε κομάων* compare Nonnus 1.208 *ἀλιβρέκτων δὲ κομάων*. Note also, concerning line 6 *νοτερῇ δ' ἀνεκῆκειν ἄλμη*, that *ἀνεκῆκειν* occurs several times in Nonnus, but Call. fr.763 *πολιῇ δ' ἀνεκῆκειν ἄλμη* offers an alternative model (see Pfeiffer ad loc.). Finally, a hazardous attempt to explain the reference to Dionysus in line 9 which puzzled Lobel. The location is near the Euboean town of Chalcis,<sup>18</sup> and line 4 mentions Combe (also called Chalcis) after whom the city was named. Now Combe was mother of the Corybantes (cf. Nonnus 13.146 ff.) who guarded the infant Dionysus (cf. Nonnus 9.162 ff., 13.135 ff.). All this would be quite insubstantial but for the fact that *P.Oxy.* 2085 (apparently a commentary on a poem by Euphorion) mentions together Chalcis, Combe, and the Corybantes in fr.1 col.i, while some of the subject matter in col.ii seems to be Dionysiac (Maenads etc.).

The second fragment (*P.Oxy.* 2526 B, fr.3) preserves rather more and is of especial interest (also providing in line 11 a probable link with a testimonium on the destruction of the Phlegyes<sup>19</sup>). I quote lines 4–7; Lobel suggested possible supplements—4 *ἀλέγο[ντες]*,<sup>20</sup> 5 'when', 6 some such word as *ἀνθρώπων*, *αἰζηίων* or *ἡυθέων*, 7 perhaps *αὐτίκα* or *τηνίκαι*

<sup>17</sup> We can now see that this provides a more likely model than the struggle between Heracles and Achelous, suggested by W.H.D. Rouse.

<sup>18</sup> Incidentally, of course, the *patria* of Euphorion.

<sup>19</sup> Euphorion fr.115 P.

<sup>20</sup> But the case, at least, is uncertain.

] Ἀρισταίῳ θεοφροσ[ύνη]ς ἀλεγο[  
 ]ε διψαλέωι Κυνὶ κάρφεται ἡμερίς [ῥ]λη  
 ]ων καὶ γούνατ' ἀναρδέα σειραίνονται  
 ]α φράζονται καματώδεος ἀστέρα Μαίρης[ς

Here we have a third passage on the placating of the Dog Star by the Ceans in accordance with the precept of Aristaeus, to set beside those in Callimachus (fr. 75.32 ff.) and Apollonius (2.522 ff.). Now this story is almost an obsession with Nonnus in his earlier books, and we will see that the version of Euphorion contributes no less to Nonnus than do those of the other two poets. First of all Euphorion's καματώδεος ἀστέρα Μαίρης inspires πυρώδεος ἀστέρα Μαίρης at Nonnus 12.287 (also 5.221 but with πυρώπιδος). Probably σειραίνονται accounts for σειράοντα . . . ἀστέρα Μαίρης (5.269), διψαλέω for δίψιον . . . ἀστέρα Μαίρης (12.287 again) and ἡμερίς ῥλη conceivably for the juxtaposition ἡμερίς<sup>21</sup> . . . εὐάμπελος ῥλη (12.298–300<sup>22</sup>). One other resemblance in vocabulary may be a subconscious association in Nonnus' mind without regard to the context in Euphorion. Line 11 of the earlier piece ends with εὐνηθείσα, seemingly of some person 'laid to rest', i.e. brought to her death. Now Nonnus twice uses εὐνάω (εὐνάζω) of 'pacifying' the Dog Star in the imitations of Euphorion cited above (5.221, 12.287). But, although the structure of lines 10–11 remains mystifying (Lobel suspected some omission), it is impossible to see how εὐνηθείσα could refer to Maera; the poet has apparently moved on to another topic. Before leaving this subject, see how in 13.279 ff. Nonnus incorporates echoes of Callimachus, Apollonius, and Euphorion, but produces a fantastical picture very much his own:

οὐ πω δ' ἄτμον ἔπαυσε (sc. Aristaeus) πυρώδεα διψάδος ὥρης  
 Ζηνὸς ἀλεξικάκοιο φέρων φυνίξουν αὐρην,  
 οὐδέ σιδηροχίτων δεδοκμημένος ἀστέρος αἴγλην  
 Σείριον αἰθαλόεντος ἀναστέλλων πυρετοῖο  
 ἐννύχιος πρήννε, τὸν εἰσέτι διψαλέον πῦρ  
 θερμὸν ἀκοντίζοντα δι' αἰθέρος αἶθρι λαιμῶ  
 ἀσθμασι λεπταλέοισι καταψύχουσιν ἄηται.

We can recognize the traces of Callimachus in πρήννε (cf. fr.75.35 πρηύνειν), of Apollonius in εἰσέτι (cf. 2.526 ἔτι νῦν) and καταψύχουσιν (cf. 2.525 ἐπιψύχουσιν), of Euphorion in πυρώδεα διψάδος ὥρης, διψαλέον πῦρ and possibly δεδοκμημένος (cf. φράζονται).

(b) *P.Schubart* 7 = *P.Berol.* 13873. This piece (from which only the latter part of each line in column i is preserved), was attributed by G. Scheibner to Philetas. R.J.D. Carden in *BICS* 16 (1969), 29–37 gives an improved text and argues much more plausibly for Euphorion as the author.<sup>23</sup> It is possible that we should recognize the opening of Euph. fr.130 in col.ii, line 48.

Line 7 ends ταυρώπιδος Ἥρης, paralleled (as Keydell and Carden note) at Nonnus 47.711. Also I think we may find an imitation of line 12 παλίγκοτον ἴσχετε φλοῖσβον<sup>24</sup> in *Dionysiaca* 27.177 μηδὲ πάλω Βάκχοισι παλίγκοτον οἶδμα κορύσση (sc. the river Hydaspes). Accordingly the reference in Euphorion is perhaps literal, to a flood which is in some way refractory, rather than the

<sup>21</sup> Nonnus regularly uses ἡμερίς as a noun = 'vine' (see Lobel's note on the Euphorion passage).

<sup>22</sup> Note the proximity to 12.287 twice

mentioned above.

<sup>23</sup> So did Barigazzi before him (see Carden for bibliography).

<sup>24</sup> Most naturally taken as a command,

metaphorical alternative considered by Carden. But the subject matter remains elusive. We seem to hear of magic, deception, (?broken) oaths, angry complaint. Line 12 suggests a watery context (cf. also line 5 ὕδατα Γάλλου). Various mythological and geographical allusions can be discerned, among them Oromedon (5), who, in view of ταυρώπιδος Ἥρης (6), may be identical with Eurymedon, attested as a lover of Hera in Euphorion (fr.99 P). Two lines earlier there is mention of μνήστη<sup>25</sup> Περίβοια; of the various heroines called Periboea, it is reasonable to think of the daughter of the Giant Eurymedon, who in *Odyssey* (7.56 ff.) becomes mother of Nausithous by Posidon. What story Euphorion associates with her (if this be she) is unclear, but I draw particular attention to Nonnus 40.146 ff. Neither the parentage nor the would-be husband of Periboea is there stated, but it appears that she was wooed by an aquatic deity, and at some stage was herself changed into a stream. Then, in her transformed state, she attempted to avoid the union by 'holding back her meandering water' (147–8 καμπύλον ὕδωρ / ἄψ ἀνασειράζουσα), either 'by-passing' or 'outwitting' (according to the precise meaning of παρέρχομαι, 146) her intending mate. One thinks of some myth purporting to explain a geographical peculiarity in the course of a river.

(c) A few more possible imitations by Nonnus of Euphorion fragments already in Powell:

(i) fr.51.7 ff., cf. *Dionysiaca* 22.337 ff. A simile of sparks flying from the anvil illustrates respectively Cerberus' flashing eyes and a continuous shower of arrows; verbal echoes include fr.51.9 ὅτε ῥήσσοιτο σίδηρος cf. 22.340 ἀρασσομένοιο σιδήρου, fr.51.10 ἀναθρώσκουσι of the sparks cf. 22.339 ἀποθρώσκουσι and 343 θρώσκοντα. Note that the line-ending of fr.51.15 ἐθῆσαντο γυναῖκες is repeated at Nonnus 35.13 (as observed by Keydell).

(ii) fr.88 πάντα δέ οἱ νεκυηδὸν ἐλευκαίνοντο πρόσωπα. Nonnus is extremely fond of ἐλευκαίνοντο placed thus, often with some part of πρόσωπον in close attendance, e.g. 2.522–3 προσώπων / . . . ἐλευκαίνοντο παρειαί. Meineke suggested (quoting Nonnus 29.274 and 34.144<sup>26</sup>) that Euphorion may refer to followers of Dionysus whitening themselves with gypsum as a mystic ceremony. This is plausible—one occurrence of the motif (47.733) is in a context which we know have been Euphorionic, after the war between Dionysus and Perseus over Argos.<sup>27</sup>

### III. Parthenius and Nonnus

Pfeiffer, in his well-known article<sup>28</sup> vindicating *P. Genev.* 97 for Parthenius' *Arete*, dealt at some length with the not unnatural surprise people might feel that a poem by Parthenius should have been copied, together with a commentary, in the late Empire (? fourth century). In the course of so doing he gives an account of Parthenius' posthumous reputation—at least he had two imperial admirers (Tiberius and Hadrian) to set against some virulent adversaries. One or two links with Nonnus have been noticed before; it is possible, I think, to put a little more

though it might be a statement, even a complaint.

<sup>25</sup> Or some compound thereof.

<sup>26</sup> He could have added several more parallels (e.g. 27.228–9 ἐλευκαίνοντο δὲ γυψῶ / μυστιπόλῳ).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. fr.18 Powell. *P. Oxy.* 2219 fr.3.19 probably restores to us at least part of the

original paraphrased as ἐπρήνιξε τὴν Εὐρυμέδοντος πόλιν, viz. πρήνιξε δορυσσόου Εὐρυμέδοντος. The imitation at Nonnus 47.668 καὶ νῦν κεν Ἄργος ἔπερσε καὶ ἐπρήνιξε Μυκήνας has long been recognized. Once again note that πρήνιξε is a favourite word of Nonnus (also δορυσσός).

<sup>28</sup> *CQ* 37 (1943), 22–32.

substance into them. Much less has survived of Parthenius than e.g. of Euphorion, but again I suspect he might have exercised a significant influence upon the poet from Panopolis.

(a) Parthenius fr.22 Martini,

παρθένος ἢ Κιλικῶν εἶχεν ἀνακτορίην  
ἀγχίγαμος δ' ἔπελεν, καθαρῶ δ' ἐπεμαίνετο Κύδνῳ  
Κύπριδος ἐξ ἀδύτων πυρσὸν ἀναψαμένη,  
εἰσόκε μιν Κύπρις πηγὴν θέτο, μίξε δ' ἔρωτι  
Κύδνου καὶ νύμφης ὑδατόεντα γάμον.

Rohde (*Griechische Roman*<sup>2</sup>, p.100) first deduced from Nonnus 2.143–4 and 40.141 ff. that the girl's name must be Comaetho.<sup>29</sup> He also paralleled line 5 from Nonnus 26.357 ὑδατόεντι γάμῳ. One can find resemblances to line 3 as well, e.g. 5.591 Παφίης . . . ἀνῆπτετο μείζονι πυρσῶ, where μείζονι may reflect ἐξ ἀδύτων (not just a normal passion, but a particularly intense one). Much more extensive imitation of Parthenius, however, occurs at 40.138 ff. Protonoe prays for a watery reunion with her husband who has been killed and cast into a river:

εἶην ἱμερόεις καὶ ἐγὼ ῥόος· αἶθε καὶ αὐτὴ  
δάκρυσιν ὀμβρηθεῖσα φανήσομαι αὐτόθι πηγῇ,  
ἦχι θανῶν εὐνδρος ἐμός πόσις οἶδμα κυλίνδει,  
εὐνέτις ὑδατόεσσα· καὶ ἔσσομαι οἷα Κομαιθῶ,  
ἣ πάρος ἱμερόεντος ἐρασσαμένη ποταμοῖο  
τέρπεται ἀγκὰς ἔχουσα καὶ εἰσέτι Κύδνον ἀκοίτην.

As we have noted before, the comparison with Comaetho acts as a kind of literary signpost, warning that we should look out for echoes of Parthenius in the surrounding lines as well. Accordingly one finds not only ἱμερόεντος ἐρασσαμένη ποταμοῖο (142) from καθαρῶ δ' ἐπεμαίνετο Κύδνῳ (2), but, where Protonoe is speaking of herself, εὐνέτις ὑδατόεσσα (141) from ὑδατόεντα γάμον (5) and φανήσομαι αὐτόθι πηγῇ (139) from Κύπρις πηγὴν θέτο (4). Meineke (*Analecta Alexandrina*, p.278) wondered whether (at least) a couplet is missing from the Parthenius quotation after line 3, telling what the girl did in her love-sickness. I sympathize with this feeling; since Comaetho ends by being transformed into a spring, one rather expects a reference to her tears. Compare Ovid, *Met.* 9.663–4 (Byblis) 'sic lacrimis consumpta suis Phoebeia Byblis / vertitur in fontem'.<sup>30</sup> And the presence of δάκρυσιν ὀμβρηθεῖσα in Nonnus (139)<sup>31</sup> perhaps lends colour to the suspicion that he found something about Comaetho's tears of frustrated love in Parthenius.

(b) fr.30 Γλαύκῳ καὶ Νηρήϊ καὶ εἰναλίῳ<sup>32</sup> Μελικέρτῃ. This is the line imitated by Virgil in *Georgics* 1.437 (of a period of calm weather) 'votaque servati solvent in litore nautae / Glaucō et Panopeae et Inoo Melicertae'. With Nisbet and Hubbard

<sup>29</sup> Presumably distinct from the Comaetho who cuts off her father's magic lock with whom Nonnus was not unacquainted (Euphorion, *PSI* 1390, fr.C, col.ii.16, ἐκ δὲ τρίχα χρυσέην κόρσης ὤλοψεν Κομαιθῶ, cf. Nonnus 21.70 κόμην ὤλοψεν Πολυξῶ). The Loeb note on 2.143 is confused, while that on 40.141 seems oblivious of the earlier passage.

<sup>30</sup> For the motif in a different context cf also *Lament for Bion* 29 ὕδατα δάκρυα γέντο.

<sup>31</sup> The same phrase of Byblis at 13.560.

<sup>32</sup> No doubt at least that Gellius read εἰναλίῳ rather than 'Ἰνώῳ, because he remarks (13.27) on the two changes made by Virgil. Nonnus' epithets ὕγροπόρῳ and ὑποβρυχίῳ (quoted above) may also support εἰναλίῳ. In *Anth. Pal.* 6.164.1 (Lucianus) we find Γλαύκῳ καὶ Νηρήϊ καὶ 'Ἰνοῖ καὶ Μελικέρτῃ, where several editors correct to 'Ἰνώῳ.



(*Horace, Odes I*, p.41) one may think of the *propempticon*, a form which Parthenius is known to have used (fr.21); note Philodemus G—P 19 = *Anth.Pal.* 6.349. Reminiscent of the Virgilian context, and perhaps directly taken from Parthenius, is Nonnus 9.88—9 (addressed to Ino/Leucothea) σοὶ πίσυρος πλεύσειε φιλέμπορος εἰν ἀλὶ ναύτης / βωμόν ἕνα στήσας ἐνοσίχθονι καὶ Μελικέρτῃ. For the rhythm of Parthenius' line-ending cf. also 10.136 ὑποβρυχίῳ Μελικέρτῃ, 46.169 σὺν ὕγροπόρῳ Μελικέρτῃ. So far not clear. But surely 26.257 Γλαύκῳ καὶ Περίφαντι καὶ ὀψιγόνῳ Μελανῇ shows beyond reasonable doubt that the line of Parthenius was embedded in Nonnus' memory, and made him choose the name Glaucus for an otherwise unknown follower of Deriades.

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