

see how Thessalian farmers might be reduced to petitioning creditors to save their farms and families. Flamininus need not shoulder the blame.

Loyola College, Baltimore

JOSEPH J. WALSH
walsh@loyola.edu

PARTHENIANA MINORA

In my edition of Parthenius of Nicaea, which appeared in 1999 with Oxford University Press, I have tried to take as comprehensive a view of my subject as possible. Still, there is only so much a girl can be expected to pick up, even within the five or so years between the book's genesis and conclusion. Here is some late-breaking information, which I would have included in the book if only I had known before sending it off to the typesetter. I begin with some minor remarks and conclude with a longer one.

P. 159. Fr. 18 ὑμέες. I made rather heavy weather of this; it is, of course, a pseudo-Ionic form. I claimed that it only recurred as a *v.l.* in Hdt. 8.22. In fact it also occurs in class β of the manuscripts in Lucian, *Vit. Auct.* 13, in a parody of Ionic speech in the mouth of Democritus. See H. Weir Smyth, *The Sounds and Inflections of the Greek Dialects: Ionic* (Oxford, 1894), 442 (§ 558.5), and for the *v.l.* ἡμέες in Herodotus, H. Rosén, *Eine Laut- und Formenlehre der herodotischen Sprachform* (Heidelberg, 1962), 105 (§ 23.11), n. 126.

P. 205. The first word of the translation of the lemma (127) should be 'bath-tub', the basic meaning of *δροίτη* from which Parthenius, following Aeschylus, diverged. The point is that Aeschylus, in whom this word is first attested, always uses it of Agamemnon's bath-tub (which is also his 'coffin'), although only in *Cho.* 999 is 'coffin' its primary sense. Here I wish to add that a semantic overlap between 'tub' or 'bath-tub' and 'coffin' is paralleled in a few other words, in addition to *πύελος* / *πυελίς*, as noted in my commentary. *σκάφη*, normally a tub, trough, or bath-tub, is inscriptionally attested as a coffin several times in the north-western corner of Asia Minor (Louis Robert, *Hellenica* i.63 and n. 1); it is interesting that some of the inscriptional attestations of *πύελος* as 'sarcophagus' come from the same area (LSJ s.v., 4). Parthenius' use of *δροίτη* is literary and imitates Aeschylus; but he must also have been aware of these parallels from local usage in his homeland. There are more from further afield. There are over half a dozen instances of *λούτρα* meaning 'sarcophagus' or 'coffin' in the epigraphy of Corycos in Cilicia (*Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiquae* iii, index, v. 'Gräberwesen', p. 237): at least some of the inscriptions in question are Christian. *ἄγγειον*, properly a 'vessel for holding liquid or dry substances' (LSJ s.v.), may also mean 'coffin', 'sarcophagus', in imperial inscriptions from the west coast of Anatolia (ibid. I.3). And Latin *solium*, essentially a throne, may also mean a tub, bath-tub, or a kind of sarcophagus (*OLD* s.v., 3a, 4). I am grateful to Martin West for bringing this last case to my attention. The main reason for this overlap must have been the shape of the object in question; still, it is curious that it should occur in so many different words.

P. 461. Alexander Aetolus, ap. *Ἐρ. Παθ.* XIV, line 12 *σχήσει τὸν λιθόλευστον ἔρων*: as a parallel to the unusual phrase *ἔχειν ἔρωτα* my commentary should have noted Hdt. 5.32 *ἔρωτα σχὼν τῆς Ἑλλάδος τύραννος γενέσθαι*.

P. 486. I missed an echo of Herodotus in XVII.4, where Periander's mother asks him whether he enjoyed the company of his mystery lover the night before: *τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἀναπνυθανομένης αὐτῆς εἰ κατὰ νοῦν αὐτῷ γένοιτο καὶ εἰ αὐτὸς λέγοι*

αὐτὴν παρ' αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι, ὁ Περίανδρος σπουδάξειν τε ἔφη καὶ ἡσθῆναι οὐ μετρίως. I should have been reminded of Hdt. 1.119.5, where Astyages inquires whether Harpagus enjoyed his meal: Ἀστυάγης εἶρετό μιν, εἰ ἡσθείη τι τῇ θοίνῃ· φαμένου δὲ Ἀρπάγου καὶ κάρτα ἡσθῆναι. . . In both cases, a horrible discovery is to follow: Harpagus, that he has eaten his son, Periander, that he has had intercourse with his mother. In view of the parallels between anthropophagy and incest that others have noted, and that my commentary also adverts to, this seems a significant correspondence.

In my poetic fragment 58 (212–13), I discuss what I call a 'lunatic retelling' of the Theseus–Ariadne–Phaedra story, and deny the genuineness of a citation of Parthenius at the end of the story. I stand by that denial, and only wish to tone down the imputation of lunacy. The fragment is quoted in the collection of fragments of the grammarian 'Apuleius' published in 1565 by Achilles Statius. The authenticity of the material contained in the fragments is very controversial: some of it is indeed lunatic, but other parts seem to go back to sources that are antique (if maverick), or in fact genuinely well informed. Crusius thought that the whole lot was the invention of Ludovicus Caelius Rhodiginus (d. 1525), though Reinach showed—to my mind convincingly—that the situation is more complex, and that Rhodiginus had his hands on a manuscript containing older material; Adrian Hollis' recent studies would seem to support this view.¹ My fragment asserts that Theseus, having killed the Minotaur, abducted Ariadne for himself and Phaedra for his son Hippolytus. He then killed Ariadne and used violence against Phaedra, which prompted Phaedra to make her customary allegations against Hippolytus, with the usual outcome. The story is attributed to 'Lupus Anilius in his *Helen* tragedy', and an unspecified other version to Parthenius. It is indeed more than a little odd to a classicist; but, as Dr Leofranc Holford-Strevens has brought to my attention, Theseus' double-abduction and subsequent abandonment of Ariadne was in fact the standard version of the story in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Theseus struck a bargain with Ariadne, and in return for her aid in killing the Minotaur he agreed to take her sister home with him as well; but he went on to abandon Ariadne on Naxos or Chios (*sic*: MSS at Ov. *Met.* 8.174) and took the younger and prettier Phaedra home as his wife. It first occurs in the *Ovide Moralisé* of the early fourteenth century,² thence it appears several times in Boccaccio;³ Guillaume de Machaut's *Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*, 2741–68; Giovanni de' Bonsignori, *Ovidio methamorphoseos vulgare* (1370); Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*, 1886–2227 and *House of Fame*, 405–26;⁴ Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, vv. 5231–5495; and Hubertinus Clericus Crescentinas' commentary on *Heroides* 4

¹ The fragments were first published by A. Mai, *Virgilii Maronis Interpretes Veteres* (Milan, 1818), then re-published in F. G. Osann, *L. Caecilii Minutiani Apuleii de orthographia fragmenta, et Apuleii minoris de nota aspirationis et de diphthongis libri duo* (Darmstadt, 1826); cf. O. Crusius, 'Entstehungszeit und Verfasser von Ps.-Apuleius *De Orthographia*', *Philologus* 47 (1889), 434–48; S. Reinach, 'Le tombeau d'Ovide', *RPh* 30 (1906), 275–85; A. S. Hollis, "Apuleius" de *Orthographia*, Callimachus fr. [815] Pf. and Euphorion 166 Meineke', *ZPE* 92 (1992), 109–14.

² *Ovide moralisé*, 8.1083–1328 = iii.134–42, ed. de Boer. And in its later offshoots, Pierre Bersuire's *Ovidius moralizatus*, and the fifteenth-century prose summary.

³ *De Genealogia Deorum* 10.49, 11.29–30; *Amorosa visione*, xxii.4–24; *Filocolo*, Libro Quarto ([146] ed. Mario Marti); *Fiammetta*, Capitolo vi (Marti, 577); cf. *De casibus* 1.7.8.

⁴ On Chaucer and his sources, see the references in Florence Percival, *Chaucer's Legendary Good Women* (Cambridge, 1998), 178, n. 12. Meech, there cited, wrongly claimed that Phaedra was the older sister.

(1481). It is given in the headnote to the translations of *Her.* 10 in Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana (MS 1580, fol. 38^r) and Laurentiana (MS 36.27), and implied by a woodcut in Cinquecento editions of the *Metamorphoses* showing the Labyrinth, Theseus, Phaedra, and Ariadne. Later sources include Nannini's translation of *Heroides* (1555) and Giovanni Andrea dell'Anguillara's *Le Metamorfosi d'Ovidio* (1561). I am extremely grateful to Dr Holford-Strevens for helping to furnish all this information.⁵

The first author to mention that Phaedra is initially, at least, intended for Hippolytus is the *Volgarizzamento delle Pistole d'Ovidio* by 'Filippo' (perhaps Filippo Ceffi?);⁶ here it appears to be Theseus' idea, whereas it is Ariadne's strategy in Chaucer. Where these sources fail to provide any parallels for 'Apuleius' is in his claim that Theseus murdered Ariadne and raped Phaedra; they do not make of Phaedra anything other than a willing abductee, and leave Ariadne on Naxos (or Chios) to be rescued by Bacchus. That this could be 'Apuleius'' fiction is suggested by the fact that this is precisely the point at which he invokes the spurious authorities of 'Serapion of Rhodes and Philochorus'. In my commentary I noted a certain resemblance in this bloodthirsty turn of events to the story of Tereus, Procne, and Philomela. I have still found no parallel for murder and rape in the Theseus story, yet contamination with the Tereus legend is quite near at hand, both involving the maltreatment of two sisters. Both were known from Ovid (Chaucer adapted both episodes in the *Legend of Good Women*); both appear in adjacent exempla in Boccaccio's *Filiccolo* (n. 3); and the Tereus myth is involved in the most famous literary adaptation of the Theseus story, in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. In an episode straddling the ninth and tenth books, Ariosto narrates the love of Olimpia for the faithless Bireno, who abandons her for the daughter of the king of Frisia; Olimpia is left alone on a beach to deliver (yet another) *Lamento di Arianna*. The indebtedness of Olimpia to Ariadne is very obvious, but the modelling of Bireno on the Ovidian Tereus is hardly less so:⁷ Rajna points out not only likenesses in their situations, but also deliberate echoes, especially in a simile comparing the way love flares up in both men quicker than burning grain (*Met.* 6.455–7 ~ *Orlando* 10.11).

Where does all this leave us? 'Apuleius'' story is based on the standard fourteenth- and fifteenth-century version of the Ariadne story; and even its most bizarre departure—the rape and murder—belongs in the context of the creative recombination of Ovid that was standard in Renaissance literature. 'Apuleius', or his creator, is a prankster—at least, some of the time. Yet nobody has ever tried to claim that he himself is very early; in the extant fragments he himself cites Planudes (who came to Venice in 1296). This fragment provides support for the notion that some of his material, whatever claims he himself makes about its antiquity, could have originated in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century humanism.

All Souls College, Oxford

J. L. LIGHTFOOT

jane.lightfoot@all-souls.ox.ac.uk

⁵ While this article was in press, Dr Holford-Strevens drew my attention to his piece, "'Her eyes became two spouts': classical antecedents of Renaissance laments", *Early Music* 27 (1999), 379–93, esp. 386–7.

⁶ Luigi Rigoli (ed.), *Volgarizzamento delle Pistole d'Ovidio: testo del buon secolo della lingua citato dagli Accademici della Crusca* (Florence, 1819), 29.

⁷ P. Rajna, *Le fonti dell' Orlando Furioso*² (Florence, 1900), 214 and n. 3.