

# Remarks on the marginal notes in codex Palatinus Graecus 398 (the stories of Parthenius and Antoninus Liberalis)

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CODEX Palatinus Graecus 398 preserves the collections of Parthenius (*Erotica Pathemata*, hence *EP*) and Antoninus Liberalis (*Metamorphoses*), Pseudo-Strabo's *Chrestomathy*, and diverse works of geographers, paradoxographers and others. The codex is now stored at the Universitätsbibliothek at Heidelberg.<sup>1</sup>

As Diller (1952, 3ff.) and Celoria (1992, 15–16) note, our knowledge about this manuscript's history begins in the fifteenth century, when Cardinal John Stojković of Ragusa offered to the Dominican convent in Basle a collection of Greek codices (Palatinus Graecus 398 being one of them), which he had acquired in Constantinople during a mission in 1436. This codex remained in Basle and was used by J. Comarius for the *editio princeps* of Parthenius in 1531 and by S. Gelen for the *editio princeps* of Pseudo-Strabo's *Chrestomathy* and Pseudo-Plutarch's *De fluviis* in 1533. The printer Hieronymus Froben, who published these editions, had obtained the manuscript from the convent but never returned it. Instead, he offered it in 1553 to the Elector of the Palatinate, Ottheinrich, who founded the Palatine Library in Heidelberg. It was in this library that this codex was listed under its present number 398 and it was there that G. Xylander had access to this codex for editing Antoninus Liberalis, Phlegon, Apollonius (the author of ἱστορία θαυμάσια)

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<sup>1</sup> First, I would like to extend my profound gratitude to the Universitätsbibliothek at Heidelberg for providing me with the microfilm of the codex. As Dr Karin Zimmermann kindly informed me the manuscript has been digitized and is available online. I have incorporated four pages of the manuscript in the Appendix in order to enable the reader to visualize the references in the main text. Secondly, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Mr. A. Griffiths and to Professors P. Easterling and R. Janko, who kindly read a draft of this work, and to Professors C. Carey and R. Hunter, who were the examiners of my thesis and provided me with valuable comments and insights, as well.

and Antigonus in 1568. In 1623, after the capture of Heidelberg, the Palatine Library was offered to Pope Gregory XV by Maximilian I, duke of Bavaria, as a gift in return for Pope's financial assistance. Leo Allatius tore all the covers from the books and carried them to Rome, where they were rebound in the Vatican. Codex Palatinus Graecus 398 remained in the Vatican Library, where it was studied by Holsten and gave him the chance to deepen his knowledge on the Geographers. At the end of 1797 this codex, among many others, was taken to Paris on Napoleon's order, where it was studied by Bast (1805). In 1815, when the books were restored, the University of Heidelberg requested that some of them be returned. With the aid of the King of Prussia, Pope Pius VII was persuaded to return the books and thus codex Palatinus Graecus 398 was finally brought back to Heidelberg in 1816.<sup>2</sup>

The codex consists of 321 well-preserved parchment leaves, preceded by ten paper leaves. As Diller (1952, 3) notes, originally there were 48 quires containing about 390 leaves. However, some of these are no longer extant since five works of the Minor Geographers, the contents of which are preserved in codex Vatopedinus 655, are missing. Some other folios are missing from Antoninus' Liberalis *Metamorphoses*, so that editors have had to rely on Xylander's edition for those parts. Generally, the writing is in early minuscule, the 'minuscola libraria' of Mioni (1973), whereas the marginalia are written in semi-uncial.

I will focus on folios 173v–188v, which contain Parthenius' *EP*, but I will take into consideration the *usus scriptoris* in the whole codex. The marginal notes are written by the same hand as the text and the same ink was used, in semi-uncial script. They can basically be divided into two categories: the headings, that is, the title of each story with the numeration (e.g. *περὶ Λύρκου α, περὶ Πολυμήλης β*, etc.) and the ascriptions (e.g. in *EP* 1 ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Νικαινέτῳ ἐν τῷ Λύρκῳ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ Ῥοδίῳ Καύνῳ) on the one hand, and the glossae on the other (e.g. in *EP* 3 *CH τὸν Ὀδυσσεῶς θάνατον ὁποῖος*).

With regard to the titles and the numeration, it must be noted that the text is preceded by a numbered table of contents. In twenty out of thirty-six stories the title in the margins precedes and then the number

<sup>2</sup> For the history of the codex see: ESCHER 1917, 208–12, SCHMIDT 1919, 160–254, LEHMANN 1922, 176–82, VERNET 1961, 75–108. For the Palatine library see: CHRIST 1919, 3–34, 49–66, BIEDL 1937, 18–41. For recent discussions on the manuscript see: DILLER 1952, 3–10, ALLEN 1893, 48–55, CALDERÓN DORDA 1986, 93–105, CELORIA 1992, 15ff., LIGHTFOOT 1999, 246–56, ASTYRAKAKI 2000, 39–41.

follows, with both being set together on the left margin of the page. In contrast, in the remaining sixteen cases, the number precedes, set in the left margin, and then the title follows in the right margin. These sixteen cases differ simply because they are written on the recto, which has less space on the left. In *EP 27* only the title is written both in minuscule and in very pale ink (in contrast to the others which are written in semi-uncial and very clearly), presumably having been forgotten by the scribe and added afterwards. Given that this title is written in minuscule and not in semi-uncial, and with different ink, it is likely that this addition was a later one, perhaps by the reader who commented on various passages of the codex.

A. Griffiths, during the supervision of my PhD thesis on Parthenius, suggested that the marginal numbers were integral to the original writing of the MS, probably not simultaneously with the copying of the text but they were added immediately afterwards since, given the existence of the preceding table of contents, it makes no sense for a chart to exist without the numbers. His argument, on the other hand, does not apply to the marginal titles for the simple reason that they are not necessary. Thus, in *EP 27*, in which the number is cited but not the title, it is likely that a later title-adder missed out this title, jumping over Alkinoe by haplography after Apriate. Moreover, why should the annotator have written ‘ΤΙΣ Η ΚΡΟΙΣΟΥ ΘΥΤΑΤΗΡ’ on folio 184v (*EP 22*), if the title ΠΕΡΙ ΝΑΝΙΑΔΟΣ stood already exactly above this annotation? Griffiths concludes that there is the following sequence: chart and text written, immediately followed by numeration of the stories, notes introduced with CH added and then marginal titles added. However, if we accept that the chart was written prior to the titles, then who was the writer of the chart? If the writer was not the author of the *EP* himself, then what criteria did he use in naming each story? Last but not least, the marginal titles are more accurate and closer to the text than the titles mentioned in the chart. That is, in the table of contents we read that the title of *EP 20* is Περὶ Αἰροῦς, with a smooth breathing, whereas the marginal title is with a rough breathing, like the name mentioned in the text; the title of *EP 23* in the chart is Περὶ Ἰωνίδος, whereas in the marginal title and in the text the name is Χειλωνίς; the title of *EP 33* in the chart is Περὶ Αἰσάωνος, but the name in the marginal title and in the text is Ἀσσάων. In addition, the title of *EP 4* in the chart is squeezed in and the title of *EP 17* is abbreviated, thus giving the impression that the writer of this chart knew beforehand what he should write (that is, the titles of the stories).

Although marginalia appear throughout the codex to a greater or lesser extent, the folios which include Parthenius' and Antoninus Liberalis' works have a genuine characteristic in common. That is, there are ascriptions on the top and the bottom of the pages, referring to other authors and works. Although in the case of Antoninus Liberalis these ascriptions mainly refer to Nicander's *Heteroeumena* and Boios' *Ornithogony*, in the case of Parthenius there is a great variety. These ascriptions are basically introduced with the verb ἰστορεῖ (e.g. *EP* 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, etc.), or the phrase ἡ ἱστορία παρά... (e.g. *EP* 1, 15, 22), or ἡ ἱστορία αὕτη ἐλήφθη ἐκ... (i.e. *EP* 9). The ascriptions are placed at the bottom of the page (except of folio 177r) unless there are two stories in one page; in this case the ascription of the first story is set at the top of the page (e.g. folios 174v, 183v, 185v, etc.). On the single occasion when three stories appear on the same page, then the ascription of the middle one is on the side (left margin of the page in the case of folio 186v). Usually, the ascriptions consist of the name of the author (or authors) and the title of the work (e.g. *EP* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, etc.) and sometimes they even explicitly state the number of the book (e.g. *EP* 8, 9, 16, etc.), whereas on other occasions they state just the name of the author (e.g. *EP* 7, 25, 31, etc.).

As has been previously mentioned, there is a great variety of authors cited in these ascriptions, ranging from Classical to Hellenistic times, from poets to philosophers and scholars, from well-known authors to less known ones (such as Dectadas in *EP* 13 and Andricus in *EP* 19). Thus, Sophocles is the only poet of the Classical period cited, whereas there is an abundance of Hellenistic poets, such as Apollonius of Rhodes, Euphorion, Hermesianax, Nicander, Philetas and others. Hellanicus, Xanthus and Theophrastus are the earliest historians cited and then Hellenistic historians follow, such as Aristocritus, Hegesippus, Neanthes and others. Aristotle is cited once and other philosophers follow, such as Phanius, Aristodemus and Asclepiades of Myrlea.

These ascriptions seem to exhibit two areas of concern. The first is about their credibility and the second is about their authenticity. Moreover, these ascriptions are also connected with another important problem, that is, the interpretation of the sign ὀ. There are ascriptions in the margins of twenty-six out of thirty-six stories, whereas, of the remaining cases, in four (*EP* 20–24) there is nothing in the margins and in six (*EP* 10, 12, 17, 30, 32, 35) there is the sign ὀ. But before examining the interpretation of this sign, let us consider the ascriptions.

The first editors of Parthenius, and scholars such as Schneider (1856, 27–28), Bergk (1884, I 233), Wiseman (1974, 55), Diller (1952, 6) and

Forbes-Irving (1990, 19–35) take these ascriptions as the actual sources of Parthenius, stemming from himself. The main arguments in favour of this position are that these ascriptions are accurate, credible and always cite pre-Parthenian authors. Wiseman (1974, 55) supports this view on the grounds that Parthenius' careful citing of his sources is an intentional part of his scholarly Alexandrianism. Sellheim (1930, 62) argued in favour of the authenticity of Parthenius' ascriptions but he also added that in the case of Antoninus Liberalis things were different. That is, a Grammarian of the fourth or fifth century, imitating the ascriptions in Parthenius, reunited the authentic sources of Antoninus (i.e. Nicander and Boios) with what a later scholiast had added in the margins based on Pamphilus' *Λειμών*.

However, many scholars dispute the authenticity of Parthenius' ascriptions. Rohde (1914, 122–25) argues that, if Parthenius indeed wrote these ascriptions, then why does he fail in ten cases to provide his sources? Moreover, Rohde adds, why does he have to inform us that in *EP* 8 he does not follow his source concerning the names of the heroes? Rohde concludes that the ascriptions are the work of a later scholar or editor of Parthenius. His conclusion is accepted by Stern (1992, 106–7), who, although he disputes the authenticity of the ascriptions, accepts their reliability, noting that they report “with reasonable accuracy pre-Parthenian sources in which the same or roughly the same stories were told. Whether this later editor happened to hit on the exact sources used by Parthenius remains, of course, an open question”.

Rohde was not the first to pose such questions. Hercher,<sup>3</sup> in a series of articles, argued against the authenticity of those ascriptions, which were the product of a learned Grammarian. According to Hercher, Parthenius was not interested in naming his sources, and that is why he uses indefinite introductory motifs in the stories, that is, he uses mainly the verbs λέγεται (e.g. *EP* 6, 12, 17, etc.), or φασί (e.g. *EP* 11 and 14, where different versions are introduced, 22, etc.) or the verb ιστορεῖται (with the adverb διαφόρως, thus presenting two different versions of the same story, e.g. *EP* 11, 28, 33). The nature of this work, as explained in the letter he sent to Gallus, shows that Parthenius would not have bothered to name “τοὺς ιστορήσαντας ἄνδρας” (as Hercher calls them) and that he was interested only in the material. Secondly, the ascriptions

<sup>3</sup> HERCHER 1852, 452; 1877, 306–19. See also the praefatio of his edition of Parthenius in *Erotici Scriptores Graeci* (Leipzig, 1858).

in the margins break the continuity of the main text and this is not in accordance with Parthenius' intentions, since he tries hard to establish a continuity in his narrative by inserting particles (e.g. *EP* 7, Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἰταλῇ Ἡρακλείᾳ or *EP* 8, Ὅτε δὲ οἱ Γαλάται κατέδραμον) or by making reference to the previous story (e.g. *EP* 3, Οὐ μόνον δὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς περὶ Αἴολον ἐξήμαρτεν, which connects with *EP* 2). Last, but not least, Parthenius in some cases cites his sources within his main narrative (i.e. *EP* 11, 14, 21 and 34), and these are different from those cited in the ascriptions of these stories.

Some of Hercher's arguments can be challenged: *EP* 21 cannot be taken as a characteristic example since there is no ascription in the margins and, moreover, Parthenius does not actually mention the name of the author (a periphrasis is used instead ὁ τὴν Λέσβου κτίσιν ποιήσας'). As for *EP* 34, Schneider (1856, 27–28), disputing Hercher, claims that the ascription of *EP* 4 mentions Nicander, so Parthenius does not have to repeat the name of this author again, since *EP* 34 is, in a way, a continuation of *EP* 4. However, if Schneider is right, one cannot help wondering at this point why Parthenius did not put these two stories in sequence and why he did not bother to repeat the name of Nicander since he repeats the name of Cephalon in the ascription of *EP* 34. Martini (1902, xii–xiii), Cobet (1873, 203) and Oder (1886, 42ff.) accepted Hercher's view and agree that the ascriptions do not stem from Parthenius himself; in Oder's view these ascriptions stem from Pamphilus' *Λειμών*, whereas Blum (1892, 51ff.) distinguishes two scholiasts—Wendel (1932, 148–54) also is in favour of the existence of two scholiasts—the first of whom, in the case of Antoninus Liberalis, wrote the real sources of Antoninus in the ascriptions, that is Nicander, Boios and perhaps Hermesianax, whereas the second scholiast added the names of the other authors cited in the ascriptions of Antoninus and Parthenius based on Pamphilus' *Λειμών*.

Bethe (1903, 614) presented a new aspect by claiming that Parthenius and Antoninus Liberalis actually quoted their sources, but these quotations went through numerous transformations, resulting in this form, which was probably made by a learned man, such as Arethas, in Byzantine times. Bethe also based his arguments on Alexandrianism, which would not accept anything without attestation (ἀμάρτυρον οὐδὲν αἰίδω, as Callimachus<sup>4</sup> would put it) and on the speculation that the

<sup>4</sup> Callim. Fr. 612 (Pfeiffer).

quotation of the sources would be useful and helpful for Gallus. Moreover, Bethe tried to explain both the contrast in the numbers (singular-plural), which often appears between the ascriptions and Parthenius' own references within the text (e.g. *EP* 26, τινὲς μέντοι ἔφασαν, whereas the ascription refers only to Aristocritus), and the contrast between the accuracy of the ascriptions and the inaccuracy of Parthenius' own references (e.g. *EP* 27, ἔχει δὲ λόγος, whereas the ascription refers to Moero's *Arai*) as something not rare in the Scholia ("In den Scholien ist das nichts Seltenes") (Bethe 1903, 614). Pasquali (1913, 55ff.), in turn, suggested that these ascriptions in the text of Antoninus and Parthenius are just as suspicious as the ones in the Homeric Scholia (hence *MH*), where the motifs ἱστορεῖ ὁ δεῖνα or ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τῷ δεῖνα appear, too. Another cross-variant view is offered by Cessi (1921, 345ff.), who agrees with Rohde, and claims that these ascriptions are the result of a succession of learned readers.

The theory which disputes the idea that the ascriptions stem from Parthenius himself seems to be justified by the discovery of a papyrus fragment of Euphorion's *Thrax*. This fragment preserves the stories of Harpalyke and Apriate, which are also dealt with in *EP* 13 and 26 respectively. Bartoletti (1948, 33–36), examining the papyrus, came to the same conclusion, that is, the ascriptions were made by a learned reader, who wanted to show that he had read these stories. As Papatomopoulos (1968, xix) notes, the mention of Euphorion's *Thrax* in the ascriptions of *EP* 13 and 26 is valuable but not enough to prove that *EP* 13 and 26 stem from this source. Papatomopoulos believes that the ascriptions are the result of successive work across the centuries, starting from 350 AD onwards.

A more recent approach to investigate this issue was Cameron's (1995, 124–25). He points out that what Euphorion summarized in five and seven lines, Parthenius in *EP* 13 and 26 respectively described in fully detailed narratives. However, Cameron claims that the fact that the marginalia are written in the same hand as the main text might imply that these ascriptions are an integral part of the original text. For, when the compiler's aims were purely mythographic, he did not need to provide sources, but in the case of Parthenius, who wanted to provide Cornelius Gallus with inspiring material, citing the sources would be very useful. Cameron (1995, 124) goes on to assume that, if both Parthenius and Antoninus provided their references in the equivalent of footnotes, those were very likely "to be dropped at random by successive copyists".



Cameron (1995, 125) concludes that, as with the scribes in the *Greek Anthology*, who cite hundreds of author's names in the margins of the manuscript but also omit as many (and at the same time, the corrector adds hundreds more names from the more carefully copied exemplar), in the case of Parthenius also “we would have a securely dated late-Republican example of an epitome equipped with source references”.

What one can question in the first place, which Cameron takes for granted, is his statement that, when a compiler's aims are purely mythographic, he does not need to provide sources. In Palatinus 398 Pseudo-Plutarch's *De fluviorum et montium nominibus et de iis quae in illis inveniuntur* (157r–173r) and Apollonius' *Mirabilia* (236v–243r) are also included. Both authors have incorporated in their works plenty of references to their sources, although they did not intend to send it to anybody and their interest was purely mythographic. For instance, Pseudo-Plutarch in *De fluviiis* 1.5 mentions in his text that the story concerning Therogonos hill was also known to Chrysermus (καθὼς ἰστορεῖ Χρῦσερμος ἐν π' Ἰνδικῶν), whereas Archelaus was aware of more details (μὲμνηται δὲ τούτων ἀκριβέστερον Ἀρχέλαος ἐν ιγ' περὶ Ποταμῶν). References such as these, which mention not only the name of the author but also his specific work, are numerous in the above-mentioned works of Pseudo-Plutarch and Apollonius. This habit of incorporating references to other authors within one's text was not unusual. A primary form, but in the style of a disclaimer, is found in tragic poets, such as Euripides, but also Hellenistic poets, such as Theocritus and Callimachus. In addition, many prose writers, such as Apollodorus, Athenaeus and Pseudo-Plutarch, demonstrate this kind of technique, too. Parthenius himself incorporates references to authors in some of his stories, as we have already seen. If indeed a scribe separated what Parthenius had incorporated in his main narrative, resulting thus in the ascriptions in the margins, then why did the scribe not do so in the cases of Pseudo-Plutarch and Apollonius, too? Moreover, how strict can we be in supporting the view that Parthenius did not care about mentioning his sources, since he does so in some cases but not in the form of an ascription?

Perhaps one could obtain a broader view regarding such questions, if one examines the mythographical *historiae* of the MH. Without implying any connection between MH and Parthenius' *EP*, one has to observe the similarities between the ascriptions in Parthenius' work and the subscriptions in MH. The similarities lie in the following points: firstly, in



the fact that the greater part of these *historiae* have subscriptions but not all of them (as in *EP*, where in ten cases out of thirty-six the ascriptions are missing); secondly, the ascriptions refer mainly to authors and works which are no longer extant, so one cannot trace the exact relationship between these works and the *historiae*; thirdly, in some cases the subscriptions indicate even the number of the specific book of a work; and, last but not least, the form of the subscriptions bears similarities with the ascriptions in the *EP*, since they are usually written based on the following motifs—ἱστορεῖ ὁ δεῖνα or ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τῷ δεῖνα, οὕτως ὁ δεῖνα. These *historiae* and their subscriptions have been the subject of many disputes among scholars, too.<sup>5</sup> The theory (Schwartz 1881, 458) that these subscriptions go back to the Byzantines was rejected after the discovery of the group of papyrus fragments, which bear the subscriptions, too. These papyri have led scholars to reconsider the validity and authenticity of these subscriptions. Montanari believes that the MH stems from reliable sources, which belong to the field of Homeric scholarship and learned mythography, and that “some compiler built up the MH by borrowing from sources with mixed material, like *hypomnemata* or other learned products, and shaping it into a veritable specialised commentary which, from a certain point of time onwards, circulated separately” (Montanari 1995, 165). As for the subscriptions, Montanari adds, they are on the whole reliable, and it is likely that someone made a selection from high-quality learned commentaries of the Alexandrian age; the material contained in the MH is not based on indirect manualistic knowledge.

What Montanari argued for the MH seems to apply in a way to Parthenius’ *EP*, too. In other words, if Parthenius merely copies stories based on indirect manualistic knowledge, then how can he offer original verses, sometimes at great length (e.g. *EP* 14 and 21)? The fact that Parthenius was able to offer the original verses of his own and of Nicanetus in *EP* 11; of the *Apollo* of Alexander the Aetolian in *EP* 14; of the author of the *Foundation of Lesbos* in *EP* 21; and of Nicander in *EP* 34, proves that Parthenius had consulted these individual works and he was not basing himself on a mere mythographical compendium. However, this observation imposes further questions, such as, why does Parthenius not follow this technique in the remaining stories, too? Why does

<sup>5</sup> VAN DER VALK 1963, 303–413, JANKO 1986, 52ff., ARRIGHETTI 1987, 204–10), CELORIA 1992, 13ff., MONTANARI 1995, 135–72, VAN ROSSUM-STEENBEEK 1998, 85–118.

he offer the original verses in specific cases (which leads to the question of why the ascriptions exist at all)? Last but not least, why, in the cases in which Parthenius cites the original verses, are these in contrast to the ascriptions? The fact that Parthenius offers only poetic passages and not prose ones makes it clear that his purpose was to give Gallus a ‘taste’ of some poetic styles and stylistic preferences of some authors. So, whenever he has a poet as his direct source, he quotes some of the original verses. I find it unlikely that these quotations were given in order that Gallus would consult the original source, too. That is, in *EP* 11 there is only a mention of Nicaenetus, and his work, in which the passage belongs, is not cited; as for Parthenius’ own poem cited in the same story, no title is given (although one can argue that Gallus was probably familiar with Parthenius’ works). In *EP* 14 the reference is complete, whereas in *EP* 21 the name of the author is implied but not explicitly stated. In *EP* 34 the name of Nicander is mentioned but not the title of his work. Given Parthenius’ incomplete way of making references and given that he offers the original verses (which sometimes are long enough) within his narrative, one can put forward the suggestion that Parthenius did not intend to make Gallus look for these sources; instead, Parthenius was rather saving his friend the trouble by means of these quotations.

It has been shown that Parthenius had the habit of making references (at least in some cases) to other authors within his narrative, as Apollodorus, Pseudo-Plutarch, Athenaeus and others used to do. However, is this strong evidence that he wrote the ascriptions too? In *EP* 11 different versions are introduced, so that the ascriptions could refer to a version. In *EP* 14 the fragment of Alexander offers another version, according to which a golden bowl and not a partridge was thrown into the well, and this cannot exclude the ascription as being referred to one of these versions, too. In *EP* 21 there is no ascription but the way the fragment is introduced by the καί (Μέμνηται τοῦ πάθους τοῦδε καὶ ὁ τὴν Λέσβου κτίσιν ποιήσας ἐν τοῖσδε) makes it clear that there were also other authors dealing with this subject. In *EP* 34 the fragment again offers another version, according to which Corythus was the son of Helen and not of Oenone, and this also cannot exclude the possibility that the ascription refers to the other version. After the discovery of the papyrus fragment of Euphorion’s *Thrax*, it became clear that trying to evaluate the ascriptions (but also the quotations by Parthenius himself within his main narrative) strictly as ‘sources’ was rather utopian. It has been mentioned already that Parthenius’ account was longer and full of details

but one must also note that the ascription in the *EP* 26 was not wrong or misleading. That is, there is a genuine thematic link but *EP* 26 and the fragment of the *Thrax* should be treated rather as parallels, whereas the authors cited by Parthenius himself deal with a part of the story or simply offer another version.

As mentioned already, the fact the Parthenius quotes original verses within his narratives shows that he had access to direct sources and not only compendia. This is further proved by the fact that one can trace fragments of verses within his main narrative, without these being quoted as such. That is, in *EP* 3 we read that Odysseus was killed by his own offspring with a sea-fish's prickle (τρωθεις ἀκάνθη θαλασσίας τρυγόνος ἐτελεύτησεν) and this is almost a Sophoclean verse, as Meineke observed. Notably, the ascription at this point cites Sophocles' *Euryalus* and this could be a strong argument in favour of the credibility of the ascriptions. However, in *EP* 3 Odysseus appears as killing his son Euryalus and, although this play is no longer extant, Eustathius, commenting on *Odyssey* 16.119–120 (1796. 50), informs us that Sophocles presented Euryalus as being killed by Telemachus. It is clear that Parthenius' story did not follow the Sophoclean version at this point.

Before examining the credibility of the ascriptions in detail, let us return to the direct sources of Parthenius as proved by the text itself. In *EP* 12 we read that Circe fed Calchus with magical drugs and then drove him into the pig-styes (ἤλασεν ἐς συφεούς). A further examination of the *EP* demonstrates that Parthenius might have used various kinds of sources, which are not mentioned in the ascriptions. Thus, in *EP* 20 it is likely that Ion of Lesbos was the one who associated Orion with the island of Chios and Oenopion. In *EP* 21 Parthenius quotes some original verses from the author who wrote on Lesbos' foundation. Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Μυτιλήνη) cites that Callimachus calls Lesbos Mytonis and Parthenius is aware of this name too. The story of Cleonymus and Cheilonis in *EP* 23 was also treated by Plutarch and Phylarchus presumably could be a source. Theopompus was likely to be the source for *EP* 24, which deals with the story of Hipparinus and his lover, and *EP* 25, which deals with the story of Phayllus and the wife of Ariston (this is a story treated also by Plutarch). The story of Hercules and Celtine in *EP* 30 has great resemblances to Herodotus 4.8–10. The story of Corythus and Helen in *EP* 34 was also known to Lycophron and Conon. With regards to the story of Eulimene in *EP* 35, Pausanias, drawing probably on Rhianus, states a parallel Messenian story. Last

but not least, Flavius Arrianus was aware of Arganthonē's wild nature, which is the theme of the first part of *EP* 36.

Some more remarks with regards to the validity of the ascriptions must be added at this point. That is, *EP* 16 gives the story of Laodice and Acamas, and the ascription cites Hegesippus' *Palleniaca*. Tzetzes commenting on Lycophron's *Alexandra* 495–96 credits to Euphorion some verses regarding the death of Mounippus. One can wonder at this point why Euphorion's name (mentioned in other ascriptions) is missing from the ascription of *EP* 16. A new element also emerges from an analysis of the manuscript as a whole. That is, the marginalia in this codex are generally written in the left or right margin and not above or below the text. However, in the cases of Parthenius and Antoninus there are marginalia in the upper and lower margins and these marginalia are ascriptions. What is new is that these are not the only cases in the codex. In Diogenes' *Epistulae* 35 (i.e. folio 320v) on the top margin of the page a note appears, which makes a reference to *Odyssey* 14. In addition, again in the same work (folio 308r) but at the bottom of the page this time, there is a comment on the word ἴππου, and this time the scholiast makes a reference to Aristophanes' *Cocalus*. In folio 305 at the bottom of the page there is a comment on σπλεγγίς, in which Aristophanes' *Daetaleis* is cited (obviously someone is drawing on the plays of Aristophanes or on scholia to Aristophanes in these cases). Last but not least, in Themistocles' *Epistulae* folio 285r, the marginal note on a vocative case at the bottom of the page cites Ctesiphon and Didymus but also the νεώτεροι. Although the examples mentioned above are incorporated into marginal notes and do not constitute independent ascriptions, the tendency to cite other authors which partly deal with a parallel issue is notable. Given this tendency, and also the fact that the style of the ascriptions is identical in both Parthenius and Antoninus, it is likely that a later scribe gave them this shape (even if these ascriptions stem directly from Parthenius and Antoninus it would not be possible to have been presented exactly in the same way by the two authors). And it is even more impossible for the two authors to have had the same inspiration to use the sign ð.

This sign has been the subject of many discussions, too. Like the ascriptions, this sign appears only in the cases of Parthenius and Antoninus Liberalis (folios 179r, 180r, 182v, 186v, 187r and 188r in Parthenius and folios 196r, 205v and twice in 206v in Antoninus). Generally, in the manuals of the Greek abbreviations this sign stands as an abbrevi-

ation for ου and Hercher (1877, 314) agrees suggesting that, when the Grammarian does not find the source, then he puts this sign. Martini (1896, LIX), sharing Hercher's view, interpreted this sign as οὐδὲν ἔχω, but Papathomopoulos (1968, xix) notes that the common abbreviation for οὐδὲν is ο and not οὐ. Cazzaniga (1962, 8) in turn takes it as an abbreviation for οὐχ εὔρον. Wendel (1932, 151–52) was the one who shed more light on this issue, by distinguishing the scriptor of the ascriptions from the scriptor of the sign and by arguing that this sign stands as an abbreviation for οὔτω (i.e. οὔτως εὔρον or οὔτω κεῖται ἐν τῷ ἀντιγράφῳ). In other words, a copyist put this sign denoting that there were no ascriptions in certain stories. The fact that this sign appears only in the cases of Parthenius and Antoninus is related to the fact that the ascriptions appear only in these two cases. At this point it must also be added that this sign is distinguished from the ὀ cited in *EP* 1, in the case of the word Βύβαστον, where P2 has written an υ above the ο in an attempt to correct the word Βόβαστον into Βύβαστον.

In Antoninus, seven of the forty-one stories lack ascriptions; four of these seven stories are marked with this sign, whereas the remaining three lack both an ascription and the sign. In Parthenius, in ten stories out of thirty-six the ascriptions are missing, and six of these ten stories bear the sign, whereas the other four do not. Identifying the scribe who wrote the ascriptions with the one who put the sign, a question emerges: why does the scribe not put the sign in all the stories that lack ascriptions? Wendel's (1932, 151–52) view offers a new dimension. A later copyist adds the sign wherever he observes that the ascription is missing. At this point a new element should be added in favour of Wendel's view; the fact that there are some stories with no ascription and at the same time the fact that they are not marked by the specific sign can be explained as a matter of inattentiveness. That is, the scriptor of the sign was not the one who dealt with the ascriptions and was not familiar with the stories; he just added the sign in cases where he did not see any ascription, and this usually happened at the bottom of the pages (leading thus to the wrong placing of the sign in the case of *EP* 35 and 36). In other words, the scriptor's failure to add the sign in the stories, in which the ascriptions are missing, does not signify anything more than his inattentiveness. This inattentiveness is also observable in the case of the sign CH. In the general manuals of Greek abbreviations<sup>6</sup> we read

<sup>6</sup> cf. McNAMEE 1981, 91.

that this is an abbreviation for σημείον or σημείωσαι. It is not a genuine characteristic only of Parthenius and Antoninus but appears throughout the whole codex. In Parthenius' case, this abbreviation appears in the margin of *EP* 3 (folio 175r) and introduces the explanatory note τὸν Ὀδυσσέως θάνατον ὁποῖος, which refers to the death of Odysseus. However, the pronoun in the end of the note gives us the impression that the note is not complete. In the margin of *EP* 9 (folio 179r) the CH introduces the note τὴν μολυβδίνην ἐπιστολήν; this adds nothing more to what we already know from the main text regarding Diognetus' message, which was written on a strip of lead. In *EP* 22 (folio 184v) the note, introduced by the CH, in the margin refers to Nanis, explaining that τίς ἢ Κροῖσου θυγάτηρ, offers nothing new since this is already mentioned in the main text. In the margin of *EP* 30 an explanatory note appears but without being introduced this time by the CH. This note again is of no great value since it reads, referring to Celtus, that πόθεν Κελτοὶ τὸ ἔθνος οὕτω λέγεται, which is a piece of information already given in the main text. In *EP* 32 (folio 187v), the note in the margin, introduced this time by the CH, reads πόθεν ἢ γῆ Ἕπειρος ἐκλήθη and refers to nothing more than is already known from the main text. The last example comes from *EP* 33 (folio 187v), in which the marginal note, introduced by the CH, reads τὰ περὶ Νιόβης ἄλλως ἰστορούμενα; this refers to the introduction of the story διαφόρως δὲ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἰστορεῖται καὶ τὰ Νιόβης.

However, in folios 178r, 179r, 182v, 183v, and 184r the abbreviation CH appears alone, without introducing any note (and this occurs throughout the codex, e.g. 51r, 78r, 81r, 157r, 196r, etc.). It is likely that the scriptor wanted to make a note in these cases but he forgot. As he was going through the text, he marked with CH the points which interested him for making a note but then he did not bother to return to them. This inconsistency argues in favour of the inattentiveness of the scriptor of the sign  $\delta$ . Of course one can wonder whether the one who wrote the sign  $\delta$  can be identified with the scriptor of the CH. Judging from the amateurish character of these marginal notes, which merely repeat things already known from the main text, and given the inconsistency in both cases, it is not unlikely, at least in my view, that both the marginal notes and the addition of the sign  $\delta$ , are the products of a superficial reader or even a pupil, who practised making a kind of scholia. On the other hand, one could argue that the marginal notes and the CH (whether with a note or not) are used to draw the attention of reader(s)

to something noteworthy or useful for their purposes (and this is very common in many Byzantine MSS).

Last but not least, it must be added that in the margin of *EP* 26 (folio 186r) the abbreviation of γράφει (i.e. †)<sup>7</sup> is attested, introducing the note Ἀριστόκριτος ἐν τοῖς περὶ Μιλήτου. This marginal note refers to the other version cited in the main text and introduced by the τινὲς μέντοι ἔφασαν. It is interesting that the ascription of this story has been mentioned already in the bottom of folio 185v and this note does not have the style of the usual ascriptions. That is, it is introduced by an abbreviation and not the usual ἱστορεῖ and it is set at the right side of the margins, exactly where the second version begins. However, apart from these differences, the way the name of the author and his work are cited recalls how the ascriptions are given.

To conclude, Parthenius incorporates within his main narrative not the names of his sources but authors who give a variant (just as Apollodorus does by quoting only the authors who offer versions that depart from his main sources). He has a preference for verse, since Gallus is supposed to use this material for poetry. The fact that Parthenius provides original verses, which are often lengthy, implies that, at least in some cases, he had direct contact with his source and that the *EP*, at least as a whole, is not based on indirect knowledge stemming from compendia and collections. Another argument in favour of this view is that the stories vary in length, some of them containing various details (e.g. *EP* 8 and 9), whereas others consist only of the necessary motifs (e.g. *EP* 19, 20 and 34). The fact that in some stories the ascriptions are missing, and the fact that Parthenius refers to his sources in an indefinite way within his main narrative, make it unlikely that the ascriptions stem from him. In favour of this view is also the point that there would be no obvious reason for Parthenius to provide Gallus with various, and often inaccessible, sources. This is also proved by the fact that Parthenius, whenever he finds it useful, provides Gallus with some original verses, saving him from the trouble of looking for them and giving him the chance to have contact with the poetic style of various poets (why should Parthenius give ascriptions to historians or philosophers?). However, one cannot argue that the ascriptions contrast with what Parthenius quotes within his main narrative. In other words, the indefinite way in which Parthenius introduces his stories does not allow a strict conclusion regarding

<sup>7</sup> For the abbreviations of the verb γράφει see McNAMEE 1981, 20.



a contrast between Parthenius' allusions and the ascriptions. As for the cases where Parthenius quotes some authors within his main text, it is clear that these authors offer alternative accounts. Thus, one cannot be inclined to contrast them with the ascriptions, since one could argue that the ascriptions refer to the main version. After the discovery of the papyrus fragments of Euphorion's *Thrax* it became clear that, at least in the cases of *EP* 13 and 26, the author quoted in the ascriptions (that is, Euphorion) had dealt with these stories too. However, these fragments do not prove that the *Thrax* was Parthenius' main source, since details mentioned by Parthenius are missing in the *Thrax*. The only thing we can safely deduce from this comparison is that there is a thematic relationship and that the *Thrax* offers rather a parallel story.

One can also notice a tendency of the scribe to record allusions to other authors (as seen in the cases of Pseudo-Plutarch and Apollonius). Given this tendency and given also the similar way in which the ascriptions are given in both Parthenius and Antoninus (although Antoninus never quotes other authors within his main text, he never introduces his stories with indirect speech and never introduces versions of the story) one can be inclined to take these as the products of later scholars and scribes. Although the codex has been preserved to us with uniformity (only one hand, besides the corrector), I believe that it is very likely that the ascriptions were produced as early as in the 2nd century AD (given the date of the papyri with the ascriptions in the case of MH) and that they were produced prior to the sign  $\delta$ .

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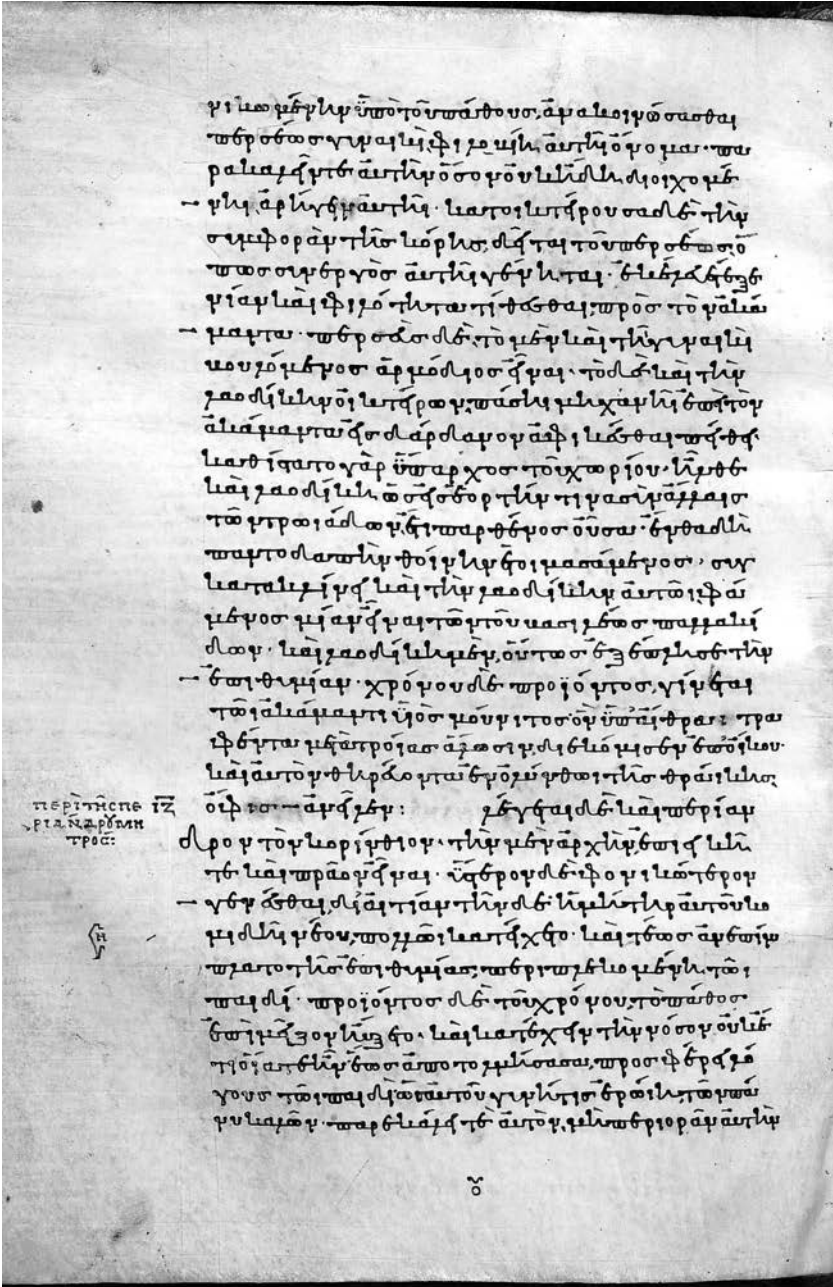
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APPENDIX



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φάνειας  
τῆς ἀποστο-  
λῆς

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## Remarks on the marginal notes in codex Palatinus Graecus 398 (the stories of Parthenius and Antoninus Liberalis)

Eva ASTYRAKAKI

### *Abstract*

CODEX Palatinus Graecus 398, which is now stored at the Universitätsbibliothek at Heidelberg, has attracted the interest of many scholars because it preserves unique and valuable texts, such as the collections of Parthenius (*Erotica Pathemata*) and Antoninus Liberalis (*Metamorphoses*), Pseudo-Strabo's *Chrestomathy*, and diverse works of geographers, paradoxographers and others.

In this paper, I will focus on folios 173v–188v, which contain Parthenius' collection, but I will take into consideration the *usus scriptoris* in the whole codex. Although marginal notes appear throughout the codex to a greater or lesser extent, the folios which include Parthenius' and Antoninus Liberalis' works have a genuine characteristic in common. That is, there are ascriptions on the top and the bottom of the pages, referring to other authors and works. Moreover, Parthenius incorporates, in some cases, in his main narrative original verses of other authors and works, which are often lengthy.

These ascriptions seem to exhibit two areas of concern. The first is about their credibility and the second is about their authenticity. Moreover, these ascriptions are also connected with another important problem, that is, the interpretation of the sign  $\delta$ .

The fact that in some stories the ascriptions are missing, and the fact that Parthenius refers to his sources in an indefinite way within his main narrative, make it unlikely that the ascriptions stem from him. However, one cannot argue that the ascriptions contrast with what Parthenius quotes within his main narrative.

After the discovery of the papyrus fragments of Euphorion's *Thrax* it became clear that, at least in the cases of *EP* 13 and 26, the author quoted in the ascriptions (that is, Euphorion) had dealt with these stories too. However, these fragments do not prove that the *Thrax* was Parthenius' main source, since details mentioned by Parthenius are missing in the *Thrax*. The only thing we can safely deduce from this comparison is that there is a thematic relationship and that the *Thrax* offers rather a parallel story.

One can also notice a tendency of the scribe to record allusions to other authors. Given this tendency and given also the similar way in which the ascriptions are cited in both Parthenius and Antoninus (although Antoninus never quotes other authors within his main text, he never introduces his stories with indirect speech and never introduces versions of the story), one can be inclined to take these as the products of later scholars and scribes. Although the codex has been preserved to us with uniformity (only one hand, besides the corrector), I believe that it is very likely that the ascriptions were produced as early as in the 2nd century AD and that they were produced prior to the sign ð.

