

has prevented the death of Dido from receiving the serious attention that it deserves. Once we realize that the cutting of Dido's lock was in fact not conventional, entirely new interpretations present themselves, interpretations that have effectively been blocked from consideration due to the unwarranted influence of Macrobius' remarks. We are invited to ask anew why Virgil makes an issue of the cutting of her lock and what significance this has for his portrayal of Dido. The answers to these and other questions, along with the particular meaning that Proserpina herself has for Dido's death, will not necessarily be found by diligently searching for the sources that lie behind Virgil's text, as Macrobius believed. Other ways of reading that depart from the sort of scholarship that Macrobius idealized are needed in order to avoid false interpretations and to approach more closely to a "true" understanding of Virgil's text. From this perspective it is perhaps a rather cruel irony that Macrobius, who so opposed invention and falsehood and who so valued tradition and learning, should, by the very exercise of these values, himself become the inventor of a fiction, and the author of one of the most persistent myths of Virgilian scholarship.<sup>25</sup>

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brief, discussion of Cornutus as a textual critic is given by James E. G. Zetzel, *Latin Textual Criticism in Antiquity*, Monographs in Classical Studies (Salem, 1984), 38–41.

25. I would like to thank the Editor and readers of *CP* for their suggestions and for saving me from some errors. Thanks are also due to my colleagues at Michigan State University for their support and suggestions when a version of this paper was read as part of the College of Arts and Letters Medieval Consortium, and to my research assistant, Jennifer Stolen, for her help when this paper was in its final stages.

#### APOLLO'S OTHER GENRE: PROCLUS ON NOMOS AND HIS SOURCE

Apollo had a general interest in music and song, but his family had a special connection with one genre, the paean.<sup>1</sup> This link is attested in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, where the Cretan priests whom Apollo presses into service sing the paean (516ff.), and it remains an important genre at Delphi. And it is explicitly stated in one of our earliest eidographic sources, the proem of one of Pindar's *Threnoi* (frag. 128c), where paeans are said to belong to the "children of Leto." Apollo's link with the paean is reflected in the fact that the name "Paian" usually means Apollo, since an amplified address to "Paian" is essentially what a paean is. The wide range of functions with which paeans might be performed, ranging from apotropaic prayer to the celebration of victory, simply reflects the wide range of Apollo's interests and capacities.

The paean's close connection with Apollo can be the point of contrast with other genres linked with their own deities. Thus, at Delphi, sources contrast the paeans performed in honor of Apollo during the spring, summer, and autumn while he was believed to be present there, and the dithyramb performed in honour of Dionysus during the three winter months while Apollo was believed to be absent. This contrast

1. On the paean: Arthur Fairbanks, *A Study of the Greek Paean* (Cornell, 1900); Ludwig Deubner, "Paian," *NJKA* 1919 (22), 385–406 (= *Kleine Schriften zur klassischen Altertumskunde* [Königstein/Ts., 1982], 204–25); Albrecht von Blumenthal, "Paian," *RE* 36, 2340ff.; Lutz Käppel, *Paian. Studien zur Geschichte einer Gattung*, Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte, Band 37 (Berlin, 1992).

is first attested in the proem of a dithyramb by Bacchylides (*Ode* 16), which situates itself at Delphi during the period of great Dionysiac intensity, just before Apollo returns.<sup>2</sup> Later reflections include a fragmentary musical treatise, PHibeh 13 (line 32), probably to be attributed to Alcidas,<sup>3</sup> and a passage of Plutarch's *De E apud Delphos* (*Mor.* 389A–B), where the Apolline paeon and the Dionysiac dithyramb are symbols of cosmological tendencies, the former associated with unity (i.e., Apollo = ἁ-πολύς), perfection, and knowledge, the latter with multiplicity and imperfection. Plutarch's formulation is probably influenced by philosophical and mystical thought that is alien to the fifth century.<sup>4</sup> Still, the contrast itself is classical, and presumably it reflects a more general contrast between the paeon, symbol of political orderliness, in virtue of Apollo's close association with the institutions of the polis, and the dithyramb, symbol of emotional disorder (because of the association of Dionysus with wine and ecstasy) or even political subversion (insofar as the Dionysiac group could be taken as a threat to political authority).

Close as the link with Apollo was, it was never absolute, and from the fourth century B.C.E., we find more and more signs of its being broken. Such transgressions take place in two directions. First, paeans are also performed in honor of other gods. Usually, the conduit of transition is the paeon's healing function, and healing gods, such as Asclepius, and later Sarapis, are common addressees. A particularly rich example is the Delphic paeon in honor of Dionysus composed by the poet Philodamus to commemorate the inauguration of the sixth temple of Apollo at Delphi in 339 B.C.E. This song is clearly meant as a sort of generic transgression, extending the scope of the paeon to the deity with whom (especially in the context of Delphi) one would least expect to find it connected.<sup>5</sup>

Second, a function that becomes prevalent in the fourth century is praising distinguished men, or commemorating their lives. An early example is a late fifth century Spartan paeon performed in honor of Lysander (*PMG* 867).<sup>6</sup> This extension becomes part of a general problem over whether divine honors can be paid to mortals in the fourth century. It reaches crisis-point in the case of a paeon composed by the philosopher Aristotle in honour of his one-time protector Hermias of Atarneus, now deceased (*PMG* 842), and performed by him at συμπόσια; the genre of this poem became the ground for a charge of impiety against Aristotle, because enough of the earlier divine scope of the paeon survived in the late fourth century for there to be a feeling that it was impious to perform a paeon in honor of a mortal.<sup>7</sup>

2. See Bernhard Zimmermann, *Dithyrambos. Geschichte einer Gattung*, Hypomnemata 98 (Göttingen, 1992), 70ff.; A. P. Burnett, *The Art of Bacchylides* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 123ff.; Käppel, *Paian*, 55.

3. See M. L. West, "Analecta Musica," *ZPE* 92 (1992): 16ff. I owe this reference to one of the journal's anonymous readers.

4. Perhaps Pythagorean: cf. *De Is. et Os.* 381–82.

5. On the paeon of Philodamus, see A. Stewart, "Dionysus at Delphi: The Pediments of the Sixth Temple of Apollo and Religious Reform in the Age of Alexander," in *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times*, Studies in the History of Art, 10, ed. Beryl Barr-Sharrar and E. N. Borza (Washington, 1982), 207–84.; Käppel, *Paian*, 55.

6. Reported by Duris, apud Ath. 15.695E (*FGrH* 76 F27; cf. F71) and Plut. *Lys.* 18; Christian Habicht, *Gottmenschen und Griechische Städte*<sup>2</sup>, Zetemata 14 (Munich, 1970), 5 and 244, believes that the παίων dates from 403.

7. Sources on Hermias: Ingemar Düring, *Aristotle and the Ancient Biographical Tradition* (Göteborg, 1957), 272ff.; D. E. W. Wormell, "The Literary Tradition Concerning Hermias of Atarneus," *YCS* 5 (1935): 55ff. Ath. 15.696B, drawing on Hermippus the Callimachean, frag. 48 Wehrli; Didymus at Diels/Schubart 6.19; Diog. Laert. 5.5. Discussions of the song include C. M. Bowra, "Aristotle's Hymn to Virtue," *CQ* 32 (1938): 182ff. (= *Problems in Greek Poetry* [Oxford, 1952], 182ff.: it is a paeon + dirge);

Generic theory reflects generic practice, though it sometimes lags behind it. For a theoretical challenging of Apollo's link with the paean, we have to wait until the much later *Chrestomathia* of Proclus, preserved in the *Bibliotheca* of Photius, which contains an important survey of classical lyric genres. The author is probably a sophist of the second century C.E. (not the fifth-century Neoplatonist), and he was clearly heavily indebted to earlier musical and literary sources.<sup>8</sup>

The *Chrestomathia* applies a four way division of lyric genres: genres addressed to gods, genres addressed to men, genres addressed to both gods and men, and finally genres composed in response to particular circumstances (319B35–20A9). The first group consists of eight genres: hymn, prosodion, paean, dithyramb, νόμος, ἄδωνίδιον, ἰόβακχος, ὑπόρχημα. One notices at once that the accounts of the paean and the dithyramb are consecutive, suggesting the traditional contrast between these two genres.<sup>9</sup> Proclus includes a short discussion of the paean, which he thinks was originally associated with Apollo, though it is not any more (320A21–25). Then he turns to a much longer account of the Dionysiac dithyramb (320A25ff.). We expect the conventional contrast between paean and dithyramb, but it turns out that the foil for the dithyramb is a second Apolline genre, the citharodic νόμος (320A33ff.), which in Proclus' cartography of lyric genres has usurped the place of the paean.

The presence of the νόμος here is a little surprising, not least because it is not one of the great choral lyric genres in the repertoire of Simonides, Pindar, or Bacchylides. At its most general, νόμος is a melodic idiom, and the term covers a broad range of musical patterns, with or without verbal accompaniment.<sup>10</sup> Forms without music were the auletic (in the case of the αὔλος) and the citharistic (in the case of the κιθάρα; the latter was comparatively rare); forms accompanied by words were the citharodic, first given canonical form by the great musical innovator Terpander of Antissa, and the aulodic, associated with the name of Clonas. It was almost invariably a solo form.<sup>11</sup> In late fifth-century Athens, the citharodic form of the νόμος appears as an independent genre of lyric poetry, introduced there apparently by Phrynis

Robert Renehan, "Aristotle as Lyric Poet," *GRBS* 23 (1982), 251ff.: it is an experiment with dithyrambic elements. The best discussion of the Hellenistic practice of dedicating παιᾶνες to prominent men is Habicht, *Gottmenschentum*, 148.

8. Author: see Michael Hillgruber, "Zur Zeitbestimmung der Chrestomathie des Proklos," *RM* 133 (1990): 397ff.; Rudolf Beutler, *RE* 45, 207–8; source: often thought to be the *Περὶ τῶν λυρικῶν ποιητῶν* of Didymus, which was in turn closely indebted to earlier Hellenistic works, e.g., Apollonius ὁ εἰδογράφος. See Moritz Schmidt, *Didymi Chalcenteri grammatici Alexandrini Quae supersunt omnia* (Leipzig, 1854), 390ff.; Rudolf Pfeiffer, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford, 1968), 184; Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Pindaros* (Berlin, 1922), 108; Hans Färber, *Die Lyrik in der Kunsttheorie der Antike*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1936), 1:19.

9. The same sequence is repeated in the continuity of ἰόβακχος (Dionysiac) and ὑπόρχημα (generally regarded as Apolline) at the end of the list. Proclus does not say that the ὑπόρχημα is Apolline, but some sources imply a weak connection: Joh. Sardanios 119.21–23; Hugo Rabe (cf. Färber, *Lyrik in der Kunsttheorie*, 2:29); Lucian, *Salt.* 16; Sparta: Sosibius Lacon, *FGH* 595 H23 = scholion on Pind. *Pyth.* 2.69 (Drachmann 2.53.2ff.); Menander Rhetor, *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* 331.21 Sp. (D. A. Russell and N. G. Wilson, edd., *Menander Rhetor* [Oxford 1981], 1).

10. Sources for the νόμος are collected in: Färber, *Lyrik in der Kunsttheorie*, 1:33 and 2:37; Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Timotheos. Die Perser* (Leipzig, 1903), 84ff.; Walther Vetter, *RE* 33.840ff.; C. J. Herington, *Poetry into Drama: Early Tragedy and The Greek Poetic Tradition* (California, 1985), 19; M. L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford, 1992), 215ff.; Gregory Nagy, *Pindar's Homer: The Lyric Possession of an Epic Past* (Baltimore, 1990), 87ff.; Maria Cannatà Fera, "ΙΑΝΟΙΕΙΣ ΝΟΜΟΙΣΙ (Aesch. «Suppl.» 69)," *GIF* 32 (1980): 189–93; it is included in the canon of lyric genres at Pl. *Leg.* 700B.

11. References to choral performance: Proclus, cited earlier; and Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.133 (2.66.18–9 Dindorf), says that Timotheus was the first to sing νόμοι in a chorus, but Wilamowitz doubts that, probably rightly.

of Mytilene and perfected by Timotheus of Miletus, whose partially extant *Persai* belongs to this genre (PMG 791).

The account of the νόμος in the *Chrestomathia* is the longest that survives from antiquity, but it conflicts with what we know of the genre from elsewhere. Proclus says that the νόμος is written in honour of Apollo, and that Apollo's epithet Νόμιμος (oddly used instead of Νόμιος) derives from this practice (320A35).<sup>12</sup> The νόμος was invented, he says, at Delphi, when Chrysothemis of Crete, a figure elsewhere linked with Delphic tradition,<sup>13</sup> adapted choral performances of νόμοι, and established the practice of solo performance, wearing distinguished clothing, and holding the κιθάρα "in imitation of Apollo" (320B1ff.). There follows a list of the principal exponents of the genre, all from Lesbos: Terpander perfected it, apparently using the hexameter meter (there is no mention of the five-part structure that other sources tell us that Terpander imposed on it);<sup>14</sup> Arion of Methymna augmented it (320B6ff.); Phrynis altered it, linking the hexameters to an astrophic form (320B8ff.), and finally Timotheus, the great fifth-century master of the genre, "brought it into the present form" (320B10ff.).

To focus the profile of the νόμος Proclus compares it to the Dionysiac dithyramb (320B12ff.).<sup>15</sup> The latter, he says, is emotional, the former calm and dignified (this closely parallels the passage from Plutarch's *De E* cited earlier). The dithyramb is said to use simpler vocabulary (320B15ff.), the νόμος uses double words (διπλασίοις λέξεσιν). This is a surprising statement, considering the dithyrambic vocabulary was notoriously complex.<sup>16</sup> In musicological terms, the dithyramb is in the Phrygian ἁρμονία, the νόμος in the Lydian (320B19ff.).<sup>17</sup> In terms of their origins, the dithyramb is derived from country games and drunkenness, while the νόμος, which we have previously been told arose from the choral νόμοι of Delphi, is now said to have arisen from the orderly and reverential paeon (320B21ff.).<sup>18</sup> This seems to modify the more conventional opposition between the dithyramb and the paeon: the paeon, it now turns out, is not directly comparable to the dithyramb, but is a more primitive form of poetry.

12. There may be a corruption here. This etymology contrasts with the more normal one from νομεύς, implying that Apollo is a shepherd god (cf. Callim. *Ap.* 40ff.).

13. Connected with the Delphic Septon in the hypothesis to Pind. *Pyth.* 4.10 (Drachmann 2); with Delphic tradition generally at Pausanias 9.7.2.

14. Poll. 4.66 distinguishes seven sections of the citharodic νόμος: ἀρχά, μεταρχά, κατατροπά, μετακατατροπά, ὁμαλός, σφραγίς, ἐπίλογος. So the auletic Πυθικός Νόμος of Sacadas of Argos had a series of sections imitating stages of the fight between Apollo and Python.

15. The νόμος and dithyramb were perhaps similar in some respects. Plut. *De mus.* 1132E suggests that Timotheus used "dithyrambic" diction in his νόμοι; see Paul Maas, *RE* A12, 1334–35.

16. Perhaps Proclus has confused the order of these. Albert Severyns, *Recherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclus* (Liege, 1938), 154ff., defends the transmitted reading, and an indication that Proclus might after all be right is Pl. *Cra.* 417E, where the artificial word βουλαπτερόν, "wishing to fasten," supposed to be the etymon of βλαβερός, reminds Hermogenes of the νόμος of Athena.

17. The link of dithyramb with Phrygian mode was traditional; that of νόμος with Lydian mode is harder to understand; Severyns, *Recherches*, 162, reports that Westphal suggests emending from Λυδίῳ to Αἰολίῳ: Aeolian was related to the Hypodorian and Dorian, traditionally linked to the paeon. However, there was a connection between Lydian mode and paeon: [Plut.] *De mus.* 1136C (= Pind. frag. 64).

18. The text seems to suggest that they be combined to generate the sequence: 1) choral paeon, 2) choral νόμος, 3) solo νόμος (Chrysothemis). And this seems to be confirmed by the word δοκεῖ in 320B24, which indicates that the change from paeon to νόμος was more distant and hypothetical than that from choral νόμος to solo νόμος. Strabo 9.3.10, 421, (drawing on Timosthenes of Rhodes [see below, n. 21]), says that before the reorganization of the Pythian Games in 576 B.C.E., solo citharodic paeans were performed at Delphi, later to be replaced by the auletic Πυθικός Νόμος. Was this part of another way of explaining the transition from paeon to nomos, i.e., 1) choral paeon, 2) solo paeon, and 3) solo νόμος?

Contrasting the account of Proclus with what we know of the νόμος from other sources, we can see that what he says applies better to the citharodic νόμος as it was popularized in Athens in the fifth-fourth centuries B.C.E. than to the earlier manifestations of the νόμος. He ignores αὐλοφῳδία, and also the purely musical forms. Furthermore, he treats it as a poetic genre on a level with other genres, like the dithyramb, but in its earlier manifestations it was a purely musical form, which could accompany a wide range of lyric genres.<sup>19</sup>

The link Proclus argues for between the νόμος and Apollo is even more problematic. The νόμος was not a particularly Apolline genre in its early phase, when it was the most general of musical forms, capable of being applied to a wide range of deities and themes.<sup>20</sup> And even in the period of Phrynis and Timotheus, there seems *prima facie* to be no special connection with Apollo. Thus, Timotheus' *Persai* does not at least on the surface appear to be a particularly Apolline type of song, even though the final section (the σφρηγίς) opens with a prayer to Apollo to come to the city (*PMG* 791. 237ff.).

However, there are reasons to think that there was after all a general link between the νόμος and Apollo. First, some νόμοι were specially associated with Delphi: the auletic Πυθικός Νόμος of Sacadas of Argos, for example, which imitated Apollo's killing of the Delphic dragon, and Olympus of Lydia's auletic ἐπικήδειον for Python; notice also the semi-mythological musician Philammon of Delphi, who, according to Heracleides of Pontus, was the first to establish choral performances at Delphi, and whose νόμοι were supposed to have been an inspiration of Terpander's κιθαροφῳδία.<sup>21</sup> Second, Apollo's general association with music determines a link with the νόμοι, because the νόμοι, in their most general sense, constitute melody. There was a tradition that Apollo invented them.<sup>22</sup> There is a good illustration of Apolline κιθαροφῳδία at Pindar *Nemea* 5.25, where Apollo performs on the φόρμυγξ at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, leading off "all sorts of νόμοι"; the νόμοι here symbolize music in general; there is no suggestion of a specific genre called "νόμος." The preceding passage illustrates the third point I want to make, that Apollo tended to be imagined as a citharode. This pattern seems also to be implied at Herodotus 1.24.5, where Arion, who is threatened in the course of a sea-trip, escapes by performing the ὄρθιος νόμος, and then leaping to the sea, where he is rescued by dolphins, whose willingness to help can be interpreted as a response to the Apolline appearance of Arion.<sup>23</sup> We find the image of Apollo the citharode also in a rich series of iconographical sources.<sup>24</sup>

19. This point is well made by M. L. West, "Stesichorus," *CQ* 21 (1971): 310.

20. The general associations are clear from the names of the νόμοι cited by [Plut.] *De mus.* 1132D. Poll. 4.44, says that the νόμοι of the πύλοι κιθαρισταί belonged to Zeus, Athena, and Apollo.

21. Νόμοι at Delphi: Sacadas: H. Abert, *RE* s.v. A2. 1768–69; Strab. 9.3.10, 421 (assigning the Πυθικός Νόμος to a Hellenistic general Timosthenes); Poll. 4.84; Philammon: [Plut.] *De mus.* 1132A, 1133A–B; also Suda s.v. Τέρπανδρος (5.527.23 Adler); the ἐπικήδειον of Olympus of Lydia: Aristoxenus frag. 80 Wehrli = [Plut.] *De mus.* 1136C. *De mus.* 1133D says that Olympus dedicated the "many-headed νόμος" to Apollo, though there were other theories about its origin.

22. Apollo establishes νόμοι: *EM* 607.1 (= Färber, *Lyrik in der Kunsttheorie*, 2:39) Suda 3.473 Adler (= Färber, *Lyrik in der Kunsttheorie*, 2:40).

23. On Arion, cf. Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, 87.

24. Olga Palagia, *LIMC* 2.199ff.; examples are the statue on the pediment of the sixth temple at Delphi (101 Palagia), Euphranor's statue of Apollo Patroos from the Athenian Agora (145 Palagia); Scopas' statue, the model for the Apollo Palatinus (147 Palagia); and Timarchides' statue of Apollo Kitharodos (222 Palagia).

To return to Proclus, his elevation of the νόμος to the Apolline genre par excellence has the corollary that he eliminates the Apolline element from the paeon. In his discussion of the origin of the solo νόμος, Proclus said it arose from choral performances of νόμοι at Delphi. In his comparison of paeon and dithyramb he explicitly says that the form from which the (choral) νόμος arose was the paeon (320B24–26):

ὁ δὲ νόμος δοκεῖ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ παιᾶνος ῥυῆναι (ὁ μὲν γάρ ἐστι κοινότερος, εἰς κακῶν παραίτησιν γεγραμμένος, ὁ δὲ ἰδίως εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα).

The difference between the two is expressed purely in functional terms; the not inconsiderable differences of performance-mode and of form between the two genres, at least in their classical manifestations, is ignored. Compare now Proclus' account of the paeon, which comes slightly earlier (320A21–25):

(i) ὁ δὲ παιάν ἐστιν εἶδος ᾧδης εἰς πάντας νῦν γραφόμενος θεούς, (ii) τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ἰδίως ἀπενέμετο τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, (iii) ἐπὶ καταπαύσει λοιμῶν καὶ νόσων ᾄδόμενος, (iv) καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καὶ τὰ προσόδια τινες παιᾶνας λέγουσιν.

This paragraph presents three contrasting views of the paeon. Clauses (i) and (ii) distinguish a contrasting broader modern scope (addressed to all gods) and narrower ancient scope (addressed to Apollo and Artemis). Proclus himself believes that the paeon is broad at least in so far as it can be addressed to any deity.<sup>25</sup> Clause (iv) gives an even broader interpretation of the genre-identity with the prosodion (= a cult-song performed in procession).<sup>26</sup> This interpretation Proclus believes is erroneous, presumably not because he thinks that paeans could not be performed in procession, but because the crucial property of the paeon is its apotropaic function (as he says in the account of the νόμος). Clause (iii) might seem to go with (ii), but in fact we can see from his account of the νόμος (320B24–26) that the apotropaic function of the paeon must be part of its contemporary form; in fact its apotropaic function would seem to be the defining feature of the genre for Proclus.<sup>27</sup>

The νόμος has usurped the place of the paeon as the quintessentially Apolline genre, then. Why would this have happened? There are two reasons why the paeon is an inappropriate genre for Apollo. First, as Proclus says, the paeon was perceived as so diverse that it was no longer felt to be a worthy symbol of Apollo. The paeon may also have been perceived as artistically archaic and crude, as compared to the more perfect artistry of the citharodic νόμος. Proclus aligns the paeon with the παιδιά from which the dithyramb developed, not a flattering comparison. It might seem to support this that most famous paeans were written in the archaic period, by poets such as Thaletas of Gortyn; the paeon remained alive in the fifth-fourth centuries, but it was never a popular genre at Athens. Besides these factors that led to a perception that the paeon was an inappropriate genre for Apollo, there were other factors that pointed to the νόμος as a more appropriate choice. First, the name νόμος suggests the

25. Of other eidographic sources (Färber, *Lyrik in der Kunsttheorie*, 2), some echo Proclus in playing down the Apolline element, but most make it central. There was also a tradition that the paeon was dedicated to both gods and men (Serv. ad Verg., *Aen.* 10.738 [Hagen–Thilo 2.464.1]) so one might have expected Proclus to put the paeon in the mixed category of poems addressed to both gods and men.

26. Proc. *Chrest.* 319B18ff., contrasts the prosodion with the ὕμνος, which is performed by a stationary χορός; the same contrast is attributed to Didymus in *EM* 690.25 (= Schmidt 4.9.4, 390).

27. We may well have to emend the text here, moving clause (iii) earlier in the text, so that it goes with clause (i), otherwise clause (ii) has to be read as a parenthesis.

principle of order that Apollo is supposed to stand for, as reflected in his epithet Νόμος, and also in Ephorus' interpretation of Apollo as an euhemerisation of a civilizing mortal.<sup>28</sup> Several fourth-century sources associated the name of the genre with the idea of "law," and Apollo is often linked with law-giving in this period.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, the solo νόμος was felt to be an appropriate symbol for Apollo, who (as we saw) was often represented as a solo citharode, and who already in Plutarch's theology was a symbol for unity.<sup>30</sup> This is in contrast with the Dionysiac dithyramb, which represents choral song at its most communal.

When would this change have taken place? It may well have been much earlier than Proclus. Several factors point us in this direction. First, the scope of the paeon was already an issue in the fourth century B.C.E. This is clear from the case of the Hermias-song, already mentioned. Secondly, the notion of a relationship between genre and musical ἀρμυνία also suggests a background in the fourth century, since Plato, Aristotle, and Aristoxenus make similar associations.<sup>31</sup> Thirdly, the idea of the νόμος being derived from the paeon has parallels in the fourth and third century. Aristotle derived tragedy and comedy from the dithyramb and the phallic songs (*Poet.* 1449a9), as well as from hymns or ἐγκώμια and invective (1448b27). Aristotle's genealogy of genres has two special parallels with Proclus. First, tragedy's development "stopped when it achieved its proper growth" (1449a15), and Proclus' idea that Terpander "perfected" the νόμος is reminiscent of this.<sup>32</sup> Second, Aristotle's genealogy implies a contrast between serious and comic, and Proclus' genealogy is similar in this respect, the νόμος being the more serious of the two (it arose from the reverential paeon), and the dithyramb the more comic (it arose from country games).<sup>33</sup> But this sort of theorizing was not Peripatetic only; Alexandrian interest in the development of genres was traced by Pohlenz in his study of Hellenistic theories about the origins of satyr drama.<sup>34</sup>

Thus, it seems likely that the theory could have arisen in the fourth-third centuries B.C.E. It is impossible to establish which scholar was responsible. It might have been a Peripatetic scholar: Aristotle himself was highly critical of Timotheus,<sup>35</sup> but the Peripatetic Phaeneas of Eresus approved of the νόμοι of Terpander and Phrynis.<sup>36</sup> A non-Peripatetic candidate is equally possible, such as Heracleides of Pontus,

28. Ephorus, *FGRH* 70 F 31 (= Strabo 9.3.2, 422); see Albert Henrichs, "The Sophists and Hellenistic Religion: Prodicus as the Spiritual Father of Isis Aretalogies," *HSCP* 88 (1984): 148ff.

29. The genre and law: Pl. *Leg.*, 7 799E ff. and Arist. [*Pr.*] 919b28 ("laws were originally in verse"); Apollo and law-giving: Pl. *Resp.* 4 427B, *Leg.* 1 624A, 632D, 6 759C, 8 828A; Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.57, with A. S. Pease, ed., *M. Tulli Ciceronis "De Natura Deorum,"* vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1958), 1110.

30. For the paeon as a symbol of unity, see Plut. *De E ap. Delphos* 388F, 393C, *De Is. et Os.* 381F.

31. Pl. *Resp.* 398E (Mixolydian and Syntonolydian ἀρμυνία suitable for ὁρθῆνοι.); Arist. *Pol.* 1342b (Phrygian ἀρμυνία was the only one in which dithyrambos could be written; Philoxenus of Cythera, *PMG* 826, tried to compose dithyrambos in the Dorian ἀρμυνία but failed); Aristoxenus, frag. 82 Wehrli (Simonides composed paeans, prosodia and parthenia in the Dorian mode); cf. Arist. [*Pr.*] 19, 40 (Hypodorian and Hypophrygian ἀρμυνία were inappropriate for dramatic χοροί); also [Plut.], *De mus.* 1136F.

32. Stephen Halliwell, *Aristotle's "Poetics"* (London, 1986), 92ff.

33. But notice that in Aristotle's scheme, the dithyramb belongs with tragedy, i.e., the serious side of poetry.

34. Max Pohlenz, *Das Satyrspiel und Pratinas von Phleias*, NGG (1926) 3, 311, relating to Hor. *Ars P.* 220ff.

35. Improper: *Poet.* 1454a30 (= *PMG* 793); imitation: *Poet.* 1148a11. Phrynis and Timotheus mentioned also at *Metaph.* 993b.

36. Frag. 10 Wehrli; I owe this reference to one of the anonymous readers. Cf. Polybius 4.20.9, who attributes to the νόμοι of Timotheus and Philoxenus an important part in the traditional choral education of Arcadia (!).

the Platonist and Pythagorean of the fourth century. Heracleides believed that κίθαρις was the earlier form of music (*De mus.* 1131F–32A), apparently opposing the view of Glaucos of Rhegium that αὐλός music was earlier (*De mus.* 1132F);<sup>37</sup> he was interested in the Terpandrian νόμοι (*De mus.* 1132C = frag. 157 Wehrli), and discussed Philammon, to whom he attributed the establishment of choral dancing at Delphi (*De mus.* 1132A). Hence, Heracleides may be the authority cited by Ps. Plutarch (1133A–B) to the effect that some of the Terpandrian νόμοι were invented by Philammon, and thus for Proclus' belief that Terpandrian νόμος had its origins at Delphi.<sup>38</sup> Heracleides is thus a strong candidate, but it is impossible to be certain.

To conclude: the contrast attested in Proclus between νόμος and dithyramb seems to have superseded an earlier contrast between paean and dithyramb. This change can be understood as reflecting the belief that νόμος was preferable artistically, and a better symbol for Apollo. This change could be much older than Proclus. All the conditions for it were already around in the fourth century B.C.E. And I would suggest that the fourth century B.C.E.—when the νόμος and dithyramb were thriving genres of lyric poetry in Athens—is the period to which it can most reasonably be attributed.

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37. Felix Jacoby, *RE* 113.1419; Eduard Hiller, "Beiträge zur griechischen Literaturgeschichte. 4," *RM* 41 (1886): 414ff. Glaucos also seems to have held that Thaletas of Gortyn adapted cretic-paeonic meter from the auletic νόμοι of Olympus of Lydia (*De mus.* 1134D), so that for him paean is derivative (partly) on νόμος, not νόμος on paean, as in Proclus.

38. Notice also frag. 158 Wehrli = Ath. 15.701E–F: the trimeter was invented when Apollo repeated ἡ παῖάν thrice; cf. Terentianus Maurus, *De litteris syllabis metris* 159–94. There also seems to be a parallel between Proclus' account of the τριποδφορικόν (321B32ff.) and Heracleides, frag. 136 Wehrli.

## COPTICA IN MARTIANUS CAPELLA *DE NUPTIIS* 2.193

In Philology's hymn to the Sun in Book 2 of Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, at section 193 occurs the line in which it is asserted of the divine sun that "octo et sescentis numeris,"<sup>1</sup> "your number is 608."<sup>2</sup> Premodern comments on this text attempted to explain the arcane numerology in various ways. Medieval explanations can be traced in the three commentaries on Martianus edited by C. E. Lutz. The earliest of the Carolingian commentators, Dunchad,<sup>3</sup> began the habit of going back to a somewhat garbled reminiscence of Macrobius' *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* 2.3.3 with its strange form ΝΥCΤΗΤ or ΝΗΥCΤΗΤ:<sup>4</sup> he added up

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1. Ed. James Alfred Willis (Leipzig, 1983), 53. Luciano Lenaz, *Martiani Capellae De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii liber secundus* (Padua, 1975), 162 prints Dick's (1925) "sexcentis".

2. Trans. W. H. Stahl and Richard Johnson, *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts*, II: *The Marriage of Philology and Mercury* (New York, 1977), 59.

3. Ed. C. E. Lutz (Lancaster–Oxford, 1944), 9.

4. Compare the edition by J. A. Willis, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1963), 104: apparently a distortion of Apollo's epithet Μουσηγέτης.