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the Odyssey contains elements from more than one tale; we are concerned here with the one which tells of a hero's escape by blinding a giant. In 74 out of 125 modern versions, the giant has only one eye, and in many of the remainder he has some other defect of vision. 9

Interestingly, Porada suggests that 'perhaps the rather frequent third hollow on the forehead of the hero with upright curls in cyclinders of the Fara style... was meant to indicate a third eye'. We may compare Servius ad Aen. iii 636, 'multi Polyphemum dicunt unum habuisse oculum, alii duos, alii tres...'11

It is tempting to see in the first seal described above a portrayal of a Cyclops victorious against lions who might have threatened his sheep in their enclosure. An enclosure of some sort (hut, house, cave, castle etc.) features in most modern versions of the tale, and sheep are more often than not involved.<sup>12</sup>

It would be tempting also to find some hint of our hero preparing his weapon, in the figure brandishing a stick. However, the stick shown in the seal is curved or bent, and it is hard to connect it with any of the weapons commonly used in more recent versions (spit, boiling liquid, staff or stake).<sup>13</sup>

We are well into the realm of speculation now, and using even cuneiform sources (let alone Homer!) to interpret scenes in cylinder seals is notoriously hazardous. There is a long gap of time and place between Mesopotamia in 2500 B.C. and the Odyssey; a gap which at present can only be bridged by postulating persistent oral traditions and possible transmission via, say, Ugarit. 14

Yet such transmisson is not inherently improbable, and the 1500-year gap between the Odyssey and the earliest modern versions of the tale, as well as its extremely wide geographical distribution<sup>15</sup> testify to its enduring appeal. It may well be that the Cyclops should join the ranks of Greek monsters who have oriental ancestry.

MARY KNOX

Victoria University, Wellington, N.Z.

## AP ix 272 (Bianor) and the meaning of $\phi\theta\acute{a}\nu\omega$

Καρφαλέος δίψει Φοίβου λάτρις εὖτε γυναικός εἶδεν ὑπὲρ τύμβου κρωσσίον ὀμβροδόκην, κλάγξεν ὑπὲρ χείλους, ἀλλ' οὐ γένυς ἤπτετο βυσσοῦ·Φοῖβε, σὺ δ' εἰς τέχνην ὅρνιν ἐκαιρομάνεις· χερμάδα δὲ †ψαλμῶν σφαῖρον †, ποτὸν ἄρπαγι χείλει ἔφθανε μαιμάσσων †λαοτίτακτον † ὕδωρ.

In verse 6 Professor Giangrande (JHS xcv [1975] 36-7) would read λαοτίταντον, saying that it means 'expanded

by the stones'.1 But τιταίνω does not mean 'expand' in volume; it ordinarily means 'extend', 'stretch' in length, and -τίταντον has no real claim to be regarded as suitable here. Besides, Giangrande's whole approach is based on the assumption that we have in this epigram exactly the same version of the story as is found in e.g. Pliny NH x 125, where the bird uniformly raises the level of the water by dropping stones into the vessel and can then drink at leisure. But some of the wording here suggests snatching haste; in particular  $\epsilon \phi \theta a \nu \epsilon$  suggests that the bird 'caught' water splashed by the dropped stone(s) 'before it got away', i.e. before it fell back to the bottom of the vessel (cf. Gow-Page, The Garland of Philip ii 203 ad loc.).2 Salmasius' λαοτίνακτον ('stone-shaken'; LSJ should indicate s.v. that it is a conjecture), very widely accepted and not mentioned by Giangrande, fits well with this interpretation (though there may be some doubts about the complete suitability of τινάσσω as a word for disturbing water; λαοτάρακτον, which I have not seen suggested, perhaps deserves a place in the apparatus).

To suit his view Giangrande gives φθάνω a new meaning, saying that  $\epsilon \phi \theta \alpha \nu \epsilon$  means simple 'reached', 'got at', and in support of this he cites a number of occurrences of φθάνω in the Anthology, to wit APl. 384.3; AP vii 183.2; ix 252.5; ix 278.6. Anyone who thinks that  $\phi\theta\acute{a}\nu\omega\nu$  is devoid of the notion of anticipation in API. 384.3 (τοὺς τρεῖς ἐνίκα, πρῶτος αἰθέρα φθάνων) should think again, about  $\pi \rho \hat{\omega} \tau$ os: what justification can there be for creating a new meaning for  $\phi\theta\dot{\alpha}\nu\omega$  on the basis of this verse, in which  $\pi\rho\hat{\omega}\tau$ os and  $\phi\theta\acute{a}\nu\omega\nu$ , with its true and expected sense, reinforce each other in expressing the clearly paramount notion of anticipation, of victory? AP vii 183.2 ("Aιδης την Κροκάλης έφθασε παρθενίην) is part of an epigram of which the first verse is lost, but the sense is clear and it is quite certain that  $\ddot{\epsilon}\phi\theta\alpha\sigma\epsilon$  does not simply mean 'reached', 'got at'; it means 'took' her virginity 'before her husband could': she died on her wedding day before consummation of the marriage. In AP ix 252.5-6 (ἔφθανε δ' ἄνδρα / νηχομένων θηρών αὐτοδίδακτος ἄρης) the ingenious wolves caught, overtook, their quarry before he could escape. In AP ix 278.6 (Bianor) (αὐτὸς ὑπὸ βλοσυροῦ χεύματος ἐφθάνετο) the boy was carried off by the flood before he could gain the shore: it is ludicrous to suggest that εφθάνετο means 'was reached'—he was already in the flood ( $\chi \epsilon \hat{\nu} \mu a \delta$ '  $\hat{a} \nu a i \delta \hat{\epsilon} s / \epsilon i \sigma \hat{\epsilon} \theta o \rho \epsilon \nu$ , 3-4). The boy (ix 278), the man pursued by the wolves (ix 252), and the water (ix 272) are all prevented from doing what they are trying to do or would naturally do; the subject of  $\phi\theta\acute{a}\nu\omega$  is in each case too quick for the object and gets ahead of it, as it were, and stops it.

## JAMES N. O'SULLIVAN

The University of Newcastle upon Tyne

## Fulvio Orsini and Longus

H. van Thiel demonstrated only 16 years ago that the text of Longus's novel rests on two manuscripts, Laur.

<sup>8</sup> Glenn op.cit. 143-4.

<sup>9</sup> Ihid 154-5

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> 'Sumerian Art in Miniature (n. 3) 115-16. The cylinders she refers to date from the Early Dynastic period, in the first half of the 3rd millennium B.C. See Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* pl. 39A for a particularly clear example.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> The three-eyed giants of modern Cretan folktales, however, are not a convincing parallel, since their third eye was apparently at the back of their head: Faure, *REG* lxxviii (1965) xxvii-xxviii.

<sup>12</sup> Glenn, op.cit. 152 and 167.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 164-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> See for example M. Schretter, Alter Orient und Hellas (Innsbruck 1974) 7-15; J. T. Hooker, Mycenaean Greece ch. 6, esp. 117-18.

<sup>15</sup> Glenn, op. cit. 134-5.

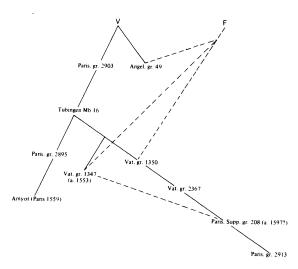
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In the Liverpool Class. Month. ii (1977) 91 Professor Giangrande puts forward this supposed corruption of λαοτίταντον to λαοτίτακτον against me as an example of confusion of K and N.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The doubts expressed in Gow-Page on whether Bianor quite knew what he was about are without justification; Professor Page's conjecture in v 5 (χερμάδι δ' ὑψηλῶν, the participle being a neologism) fits better with the usual version of the story.

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conv. sopp. 627 (s. xiii2) and Vat. gr. 1348 (s. xvi1).1 The descripti nevertheless yield historical information, and so it is as well to establish their relationships. Three scholars who knew them at first hand have tried: A. Kairis in his edition (Athens 1932), H. Dörrie in De Longi Achillis Tatii Heliodori memoria (Göttingen 1935), and E. Vilborg in his edition of Achilles Tatius (Gothenburg 1955). None of them arrived at the truth.2 Perhaps the same applies to me, because I have contented myself with collating at most book i and checking a few passages elsewhere; but I can give reasons for my disagreement.

I will first set out my stemma. As everyone's symbols conflict, I will use none except F for the Laurentianus and V for the Vaticanus,4 but in my discussion I will abbreviate the shelfmarks. Relationships that I do not discuss are adequately treated by Kairis, Dörrie, or Vilborg.



Kairis derives 208 from 2913, impossibly: the latter stops at iv 40.2 ὑμέναιον ἄδοντες. I reverse the relationship because at i 12.4 a marginal note in the former is indented into the text of the latter. The subscription in 2913 reads 'Romae ad Fulvii Ursini exemplar emendatus 1597'; since that cannot be true of 2913 itself unless the emendator recorded no variants, perhaps 1597 is the date of 208 (lost from 208 in rebinding or conveyed at the time by word of mouth?). Certainly 208 was ad Fulvii Ursini exemplar (1347) emendatus.

Dörrie and Vilborg derive 2903 from Tüb., impossibly: i 20.2 τε προσθίους V 2903, τ' έμπροσθίους Tüb. ceteri (τ' om. 1347), i 30.3 παρήρτοντο V 2903 ante corr., παρήρτυντο 2903 ex corr. et Tüb. ante corr., παρήρτηντο Tüb. ex corr. et ceteri. I reverse the relationship in the absence of evidence to the contrary.

Dörrie makes 2895 independent of the other descripti, impossibly: it incorporates the corrections in Tüb. and

1 RhM civ (1961) 356-62.

<sup>2</sup> It may differ in Achilles Tatius, but I doubt it.

misinterprets at least one, i 2.2 πεφυλαγμένην 2903, -ηνως Tüb., -ην ώς 2895. Vilborg says no more about it than that in Achilles Tatius it 'seems to have no close connection with the three other MSS in the group' (Tüb., 2903, 1347) and 'shows some orthographical peculiarities' absent from them (p. lxv).

Orsini wrote 1347 and at some date acquired 1350 (not to mention V). Though the corrections in 1350 have largely been erased, enough remain to show that 1347 was not, as Dörrie supposes, the sole source of readings imported from F:5 i 10.2 ἐμελέτα F 1350 supra lin., ἐμελέτησε 1350 in textu et 1347 cum cett., i 28.3 ταις χερσίν om. A del. 1350, cum cett. non del. 1347. Did Orsini transfer them to 1347 and then erase them from 1350 to restore its former elegance? Unfortunately 2367 was copied from it before they were added. All that Angel. has from F is i 12.4-13.1; so far as the evidence goes, it could have come by way of

The second and third of these changes, and to a lesser extent the fourth, shift Orsini's place in the tradition. 2895 occurs in a catalogue of manuscripts brought to Paris from Rome by Fondulo in 1529 or 1539,6 and while it passed for an independent copy of V the only manuscript whose date it affected was V; now that it carries with it both Tüb. and 2903, they too must have been written before the 11th birthday of Orsini (1529-1600). Admittedly there was nothing to connect either with him. Dörrie, however, labels all the manuscripts except VF 'familia Ursiniana'; 7 Vilborg fallaciously argues that 2903 must have been written after 1553 (pp. xxi-xxii) and wrongly attributes to Orsini the corrections in Tüb. (pp. lxv-lxvi); and everyone has trusted the note at the front of Tüb. in its entirety.8

Columbanius says that he used for his edition (Florence 1598) a codex Aloisii Alamannii, to which someone had added variants.9 At i 8.1 neither reading of N(oster) goes further back than the supplement ἴσως οδτοι in Tüb., where ἴσως of course marks the conjecture and is not part of it. Many errors associate the manuscript with 1347 and 1350, e.g. i 5.1 [συλ-], 9.2 παλαιοί, 28.2 περιεργαζόμενοι.

<sup>5</sup> That they came from F has been doubted for the reason mentioned by van Thiel (361); but 1347 has no variants between iii 31.2 ήδη and iv 8.1 κενὸν (iv 4.3 ὁ δὲ and iv 7.5 κατα- correct slips in copying, as the hand and 1350 show), and iii 32.1-iv 7.5 is missing from F through loss of a leaf. People ignore this defect in F when they extol it for preserving the shorter passage absent from V and its descendants, i 12.4-17.4.

<sup>6</sup> H. Omont, Catalogues des manuscrits grecs de Fontainebleau sous François I<sup>er</sup> et Henri II (Paris 1889) 119 no. 349; L. Delisle, Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Imperiale i (Paris 1868) 152. Delisle read the date on f. 69v of Paris gr. 3064 as 1529, but I am not sure it is not 1539; if he was right, what I am about to say has even more force.

2913 in van Thiel's summary (356) should read 2895.

8 'Codice di Longo fatto copiare da Fulvio Orsini su di un codice che sta alla Vaticana sul principio della stampa. Il codice di Longo del Sig. A. Astori è scritto da Giovanni Onorio greco, di cui si serviva il chiarissimo Fulvio Orsini, come si può rilevare da molti altri codici della Vaticana. Dörrie (33) reports that this note was written in 1860 and surmises that it reproduces an earlier one, as it must if Mercati was right that 'sul principio della stampa' belongs to the next sentence. The microfilm left me in doubt whether Giovanni Onorio did indeed write Tüb. as well as 1350 and 2367, but Dr Dieter Harlfinger kindly tells me: 'Der Tubingensis Mb 16 ist in der Tat von Ioannes Honorius Hydruntinus geschrieben. Er datiert um 1535, da sein Wasserzeichen (gekreuzte Pfeile) identisch in dem a. 1535 in Venedig von Ange Vergèce geschriebenen Paris. gr. 1822 wiederkehrt'.

9 According to Dörrie (26), 'pars quidem bibliothecae Alamannianae inter libros Strozzianos inserta est', and Augusto Guida, whose comments on this article have greatly assisted me, points out that Ph. Labbeus, Nova bibliotheca mss. librorum (Paris 1653) 171, mentions a Longus in Stroziana. Labbeus's source, however, was a catalogue compiled by Scipione Tetti no later than 1573, 25 years before Columbanius's edition and 30 before the death of Luigi Alamanni; cf. ibid. 166 and P. de Nolhac, La bibliothèque de

Fulvio Orsini (Paris 1887) 90 n. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For microfilms of Tübingen Mb 16, Vat. gr. 1347 and 1350, and the Laurentianus, I am indebted to their custodians; for photographs of the Laurentianus and Vat. gr. 1348 used by the late Douglas Young, to Professor William Slater. The other manuscripts not derived from editions I have seen on the spot.

The customary A for the Laurentianus falsely implies superiority to the Vaticanus; the most recent editors of Chariton, Achilles Tatius, and Xenophon Ephesius, call it F(lorentinus), and there is a strong case for uniformity. B for the Vaticanus then loses its foundation, and not everyone has adopted it anyway.

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At ii 34.2, the only place where Columbanius distinguishes primary and secondary reading, the secondary reading comes ultimately from F; his text has at least one reading of F that is not in 1347, i 23.2 τούτοις.

Columbanius also says that Orsini had collated 'nostrum codicem' with three manuscripts of his (besides 1347 he owned V and 1350). Except in a few passages that Orsini had checked before, 10 readings of his manuscripts are confined to the Notae, and in fact Orsini sent them on a proof of the text, which survives not quite complete in Bodl. Auct. K 4 18. This volume, 'Raphaelis Columbanii κτημα' according to a note on the frontispiece, looks at first sight like an ordinary copy of the edition; but on the first page of text, A Ir (p. 1), someone has written 'Avvertasi che in questa stampa sono molti errori del stampatore. et che le lettioni piaciute sono notate con la līā p. et le altre si potranno mettere come varie lettioni', and the annotations up to the end of gathering I (p. 72) are plainly what Columbanius received from Orsini. Although leaves 1-3 of gathering K, which complete the text, have no annotations except one by Columbanius himself, his Notae continue to cite Orsini's V(ariants) and P(references); no doubt he later detached gathering K, f. 4 of which must have been blank, and substituted K-N of the finished edition, in which the Notae start on K 4r. The note 'Avvertasi . . .' is obviously Orsini's, but at least one other hand helped collate the manuscripts.

From Columbanius's edition derive either directly or through others Vallicell. Allat. XCII, Paris. supp. gr. 1149, Bucharest Acad. 248, and Athens Nat. 1186.<sup>11</sup>

Annibal Caro (1507-66) was engaged on a translation some 20 years before Amyot published his. 12 In

January 1538 it lay unrevised because Antonio Allegretti had carried off 'l'originale', which Caro had been hoping to see again in order to add 'parecchie carte che si disiderano nel greco'. However he proposed to do this,13 the translation as it survives14 certainly includes i 12.4-13.1 and other things imported into 1350 and 1347 from F; like them, however, it fails to restore i 21.2 τον Δόρκωνα . . . πικρον μάλα, omitted by 2903 and all its descendants, and thereby reveals the ancestry of Allegretti's manuscript. It would be interesting to know how Caro came by readings of F and when. After Politian, the next scholar known to have seen it is H. Stephanus, 15 who visited Italy three times between 1547 and 1555;16 on his first visit (1547-9) he met Caro. 17 By 1554, when Caro promised someone a copy of the translation, Orsini had already written 1347, and it becomes doubtful which of them would have been more likely to receive a collation from the other.

M. D. REEVE

Exeter College, Oxford

- 13 'In nessun caso il C. avrebbe potuto reperire la parte mancante dell' opera nel codice laurenziano che gli aveva offerto l'Allegretti (il ritrovamento del romanzo integrale di Longo Sofista risale ai primi anni del Ottocento)' says C. Mutini, Diz. Biog. degli Italiani xx (Rome 1977) 502. Why 'laurenziano'?
- 14 The first edition (Parma 1786) was printed from a Neapolitan Farnesianus not in Caro's hand; see E. Faelli, *Il Bibliofilo* vii (1886) 84. Terence Hunt very kindly looked for it in the Biblioteca Nazionale, but without success. Older spelling and better readings are found in Vat. lat. 3221, owned by Orsini (see Nolhac, op. cit. in n. 9, p. 9 and p. 394 no. 27), and Ambros. N 140 sup., assigned by the entry in the *Inventario Ceruti* to s. xvi but by the index to s. xvii.
- $^{15}$  G. Dalmeyda amplifies this discovery, made by A. Hulubei, in Rev. de Phil. lx (1934) 169–81.
  - 16 L. Clément, Henri Estienne et son oeuvre française (Paris 1898) 468-9.
  - 17 A. A. Renouard, Annales de l'imprimerie des Estienne 2 (Paris 1843) 374.

<sup>10</sup> See p. 82, note on p. 8.4: 'Ita ex cod. Ursin. locum concinnavimus (is enim antequam nos hunc librum inpressioni subiiciendum traderemus locos aliquot cum suis codicibus collatos Roma ad nos remiserat)'.

<sup>11</sup> I am much obliged to John Taylor for examining the last, copied from an edition no earlier than Villoison's. On the others see Dörrie (27).

<sup>12</sup> Annibal Caro: lettere familiari, ed. A. Greco (Florence 1957–61), no. 27–28 bis §4. For other references see nos 119 §3, 414 §4, 416 §3, 663 §3. As only two of these passages appear in the index under Longo Sofista, there may be more.