

Philogelos 216

216 Φθονερός ἰδὼν τὸν γείτονα θηριομαχοῦντα λέγει τῷ κυβερνήτῃ: Ἄρκος.

This joke from *Philogelos* (the Greek joke-book sometimes known under the names of Hierocles and Philagrios) has been thought unintelligible. The most recent editor, Thierfelder (Munich 1968) quotes previous commentators: 'Narratio lacuna laborare videtur. Quod superest non potest intelligi' (Boissonade); '... corriget qui intellexerit' (Eberhard).

The difficulty lies in the apparent juxtaposition of two quite different situations—the amphitheatre (θηριομαχοῦντα) and the ship (κυβερνήτη). But does κυβερνήτης really mean 'steersman'—even if ἄρκος, 'Bear, Ursa Major', is so close? The first use that LSJ records in the meaning 'governor' is in a sixth-century papyrus, and *Philogelos* is tentatively assigned to the fourth or fifth century. The metaphor, however, is frequently used in early Christian Greek (see Lampe, *PGL* s.v.). If the word means 'governor' here, the joke may be paraphrased:

An Envious Man saw his neighbour showing his prowess as a beast-fighter (*venator*) in the arena: so he shouted¹ to the governor (who was president of the games), 'The Bear!' (a much more dangerous animal²).

Not very funny, to the modern taste. We have to remember that the majority of the character-jokes in the collection are not jokes at all to the listener who looks for anecdote or twist. They are in the tradition (which goes back at least to Theophrastus) of the isolation and exaggeration of one trait, in circumstances that may range from the ludicrous to the natural. The grotesque extreme can be seen in the joke of the Envious Man who died of congestion of the bladder because of his reluctance to supply raw material to a fuller whom he envied: but the sickness of obsessive envy may be shown as well in more naturalistic situations. If we understand our joke in the way proposed, it is at least as funny as the one that precedes it:

An Envious landlord saw that his tenants were lucky: he evicted them from his house.

GARETH MORGAN

University of Texas,
Austin, Texas

¹ There are ample references to crowds shouting in the games, and notice being taken of them: they range from cries for release or death of a fallen gladiator (*ILS* 5134) to the complicated organized chants of the Byzantine Hippodrome. For some early examples, see Friedländer, *Sitt.Roms* ii 74f. Note especially the crowd calling upon Claudius to bring on another act: 'Palumbum postulantibus daturum se promisit' (Suet. *Div.Cl.* v 21.5).

² Cf. Mart. *Lib.Spect.* 21.7–8. A Pompeii advertisement for a *venatio* mentions 'bears' as the star turn (*ILS* 5147). In a mosaic from Nennig, in Germany, illustrated J. Pearson, *Arena* (London 1973) 125 a bear is mauling a fallen *venator* while two other men are trying to whip the beast away.

Herakles at the Ends of the Earth*

(PLATE III)

Representations of Helios in his chariot rising above

* This article stems from a discussion in a graduate seminar held at

the sea begin toward the end of the sixth century B.C., with a small series of black-figure vases, mostly lekythoi.¹ Five of them have been interpreted as illustrations of the myth of Herakles and the Golden Bowl of the Sun. In Pherekydes' version of the story, Herakles, vexed by the burning rays, threatened Helios with his arrows, and obtained the god's golden vessel to sail the Ocean to the land of Geryon.² Although the correspondence of the picture to the story is not literal, in fact largely limited to the cast of characters, such an interpretation is plausible for four vases.

On the lekythos in Athens by the Daybreak Painter, Herakles is crouching on a spur of ground which seems to emerge from the waves; he looks at the Sun in apparent awe.³ The scenes on the skyphos by the Theseus Painter in Taranto are akin to the Athenian piece: on one side Herakles rushes up the steep ground, on the other he sits on the rocky outline, his right hand gesturing toward the Sun.⁴ On a third vase, a lekythos in Cambridge, and on a fourth in Oxford, both Herakles and Athena are depicted on either side of Helios; on the Cambridge lekythos Herakles is actually striding toward the Sun, lifting the bow in his right hand.⁵ Only in this case can Herakles' attitude be taken as a threat; on all four vessels, however, the hero and the Sun look at each other, as if an exchange were to take place soon, and so are shown as the actors of the scene.

On the fifth case, a lekythos by the Sappho Painter in the Metropolitan Museum, once in the Gallatin Collection (PLATE III),⁶ the scene can be made to fit the legend of the Golden Bowl only by Procrustean means. Helios is once again shown frontally in his four-horse chariot and, as on the lekythos by the Daybreak Painter and on the skyphos in Taranto, Herakles is placed on a rocky elevation. But a number of other elements have been introduced. To begin with, the hero is depicted sacrificing at an altar and thoroughly intent on his task;⁷ his back is turned so that he appears unaware of the rising Sun. The rock on which he squats is rendered in outline, indicating the opening of a cave. Within it a

Bryn Mawr College during the Academic Year 1978/9. We wish to acknowledge the contribution of Antonia Holden, Ronald Lacy, and Jeffrey McCallum to the discussion. B.S.R. saw the possibility of the interpretation and G.F.P. provided the supporting evidence. We thank Richard Hamilton and Cedric G. Boulter for helpful criticism and Dietrich von Bothmer for the gift of the photographs.

¹ The list was assembled by C. H. E. Haspels, *ABL* 120–4; see also F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage* (Marburg 1973) 68, and K. Schauenburg, 'Gestirnbilder in Athen und Unteritalien', *AntK* v (1962) 51. An earlier picture of Helios rising appears perhaps on a Thera neck-amphora: J. N. Coldstream, 'A Thera Sunrise', *BICS* xii (1965) 36.

² *FGrH* 3 F 18a; *RE* Suppl. iii (1918) 1061–2. There are three representations, all Attic, of Herakles afloat in the bowl. The earliest is on the olpe by the Daybreak Painter, Boston 03.783, *ABL* pl. 17, 3; *ABV* 378, no. 252 (Leagros Group), contemporary with the earliest depictions of the rising Helios (see n. 3). A general discussion in G. Jacopi, 'Figurazioni inedite e poco note di Ἡρακλῆς διαπλέων εἰς τὴν Ἡρακλῆς τοξεύων', *Bd'Arte* xxx (1936–7) 39–44.

³ Athens 513, *ABV* 380, no. 290 (Leagros Group); *ABL* pl. 17, 1.
⁴ Inv. no. 7029, *ABV* 518; *ABL* 120; *CVA* Taranto 2 (Italy xviii) pl. 10.

⁵ *ABL* 120, 123; Oxford 1934.372 and Cambridge G 100, the latter illustrated also by Jacopi (n. 2) fig. 8 on p. 42 (Stackelberg drawing).

⁶ Inv. no. 41.162.29, *ABL* 120–4, App. XI no. 6, pl. 32.1; *CVA* Gallatin and Hoppin Collections 2 (USA viii: 1942) 93–4, pl. 44.1.

⁷ On the spits see U. Kron, 'Zum Hypogaeum von Paestum', *Jdl* lxxxvi (1971) 138–44.

large dog crouches restlessly. Helios, on the opposite side of the lekythos, is shown emerging from the base-line. Directly above him, and on either side, two more chariots, only partially rendered, appear in divergent motion. Their drivers are labelled Nyx and Eos respectively, and are surmounted by astral symbols. Their heads and shoulders, and the foreparts of their horses, emerge from two black streamers which reach down to the area below the handle, where the cave begins.

No satisfactory explanation has been given to account for the presence of the added elements: the dog has been ignored entirely, while Night and Dawn have been taken as indication of time, a redundant detail in conjunction with Helios.⁸ If the Sappho Painter had represented Eos following Nyx upon the same path, it would be obvious that they symbolize a specific moment, daybreak, when Dawn chases Night away. The position of the two chariots, next to each other but set in opposite directions, seems instead deliberately chosen to preclude such a reading. The two personifications are explicitly represented together only on this vase,⁹ and the careful labelling assures us that this is not a casual juxtaposition.

In ancient cosmology Night and Day come near each other only in one place: at the ends of the earth, where they dwell.¹⁰ On the Gallatin lekythos the personifications show this site, rather than the hour of the day: place, not time. The best authority for this interpretation is Hesiod's description of the Underworld (*Th.* 720–819). In the region where the entrance to Hades lies, Day and Night share the same house, but are never there at the same time, since one leaves as the other returns, to wait indoors her turn to circle the earth. At the gate they greet each other, as they cross the threshold of bronze:

τῶν πρόσθ' Ἰαπετοῖο πάις ἔχει οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν
 ἔστηώς κεφαλῇ τε καὶ ἀκαμάτῃσι χέρεσσιν
 ἀστεμφέως, ὅθι Νύξ τε καὶ Ἡμέρη ἄσσον ἰούσαι
 ἀλλήλας προσείπον ἀμειβόμεναι μέγαν οὐδὸν
 χάλκεον· ἡ μὲν ἔσω καταβήσεται, ἡ δὲ θύραζε
 ἔρχεται, οὐδέ ποτ' ἀμφοτέρας δόμος ἐντὸς ἔργει,
 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ἐτέρη γε δόμων ἔκτοσθεν εἴουσα
 γαῖαν ἐπιστρέφεται, ἡ δ' αὖ δόμου ἐντὸς εἴουσα
 μῖμνε πῆν αὐτῆς ὥρην ὁδοῦ, ἔστ' ἂν ἰκηται.
 (*Th.* 746–54)

ἄσσον ἰούσαι at the end of 748 is generally preferred to the equally acceptable reading *ἀμφὶς εἴουσαι*, but the resultant imagery seems confused and the syntax difficult.¹¹ In his commentary, West suggested that

⁸ A summary of previous interpretations is given by M. Z. Pease, *CVA* (n. 6); see also E. D. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley, L.A./London 1979) 134–5.

⁹ Schauenburg (n. 1) 51.

¹⁰ Already *Odyssey* x 86: ἐγγὺς γὰρ νυκτὸς τε καὶ ἡματὸς εἰσι κέλευθου. On the location of the Laestrygonian city at the ends of the earth see especially H. Vos, 'Die Bahnen von Nacht und Tag', *Mnemos.* xvi (1963) 22–6, and D. Frame, *The Myth of Return in Early Greek Epic* (New Haven/London 1978) 59–63. On the lekythos the personifications are called Eos and Nyx, rather than Hemere and Nyx, but the assimilation of Hemere to Eos in the fifth century is well documented, W. Drexler in *Roscher Lexikon* s.v. 'Hemera'.

¹¹ M. L. West, *Hesiod, Theogony* (Oxford 1966) 36–7; on the question of interpolations in this section of the poem, see 357–8, and M. C. Stokes, 'Hesiodic and Milesian Cosmogonies', *Phronesis* vii (1962) 1–37. M. Pellikaan-Engel, *Hesiod and Parmenides* (Amsterdam

ἀμφὶς may have been the version known to Parmenides. It occurs in the Proem, where echoes of the *Theogony* have been recognized precisely in the description of the gates of the paths of Day and Night:¹²

ἔνθα πύλαι Νυκτὸς τε καὶ Ἡματὸς εἰσι κελεύθων
 καὶ σφας ὑπέρθυρον ἀμφὶς ἔχει καὶ λάινος οὐδός.
 αὐταὶ δ' αἰθέριαι πλῆνται μεγάλοισι θυρέτροις
 τῶν δὲ Δίκη πολυποίνος ἔχει κληΐδας ἀμοιβούς.
 (Parm. 1.11–14)

All interpretations of this passage, however, have taken *καὶ σφας* to refer to *πύλαι*, so that *ἀμφὶς* here sheds no light on the position of Night and Day. In Guthrie's translation for instance: 'There are the gates of the paths of Night and Day, set between a lintel and a threshold of stone. They themselves, high in the sky, are blocked with great doors, of which avenging Justice holds the alternate keys.'¹³ This understanding does not obviously force the text, but is awkward in small ways: *σφεῖς* seldom refers to things;¹⁴ *αὐταὶ δέ* seems excessively emphatic. The expression occurs frequently in Homer when the narrative has been broken by a brief digression or by a simile, or when sheer length requires that the subject be brought back sharply to the attention of the audience (e.g. *Il.* iv 132; v 512; vi 288; viii 403; xv 296; xix 355). Further, that the gate is endowed with lintel and threshold is a truism, while the particular that the threshold is of stone is hardly worth a line by itself.

It is possible to take, instead, *σφας* as referring to *Νύξ* and *Ἡμαρ*: 'There are the gates of the paths of Night and Day, whom lintel keeps apart and threshold of stone; the gates themselves, reaching the sky, are closed by great doors, and avenging Justice holds the keys which let the one in and the other out.' The *κληΐδας ἀμοιβούς* of line 14 have been understood as 'rewarding keys' or as 'keys that open and close (in succession)', but surely the only alternation pertinent here is that of Night and Day, regulated by austere Justice.¹⁵ Both poets offer a definition which consists of two essential parts: Night and Day are distinct; they alternate. The correspondence in thought is underscored by that of key words: *ἀμφὶς εἴουσαι*, *ἀμφὶς ἔχει*, *ἀμειβόμεναι*, *ἀμοιβούς*. Parmenides then makes the same point which is stressed by Hesiod: that Night and Day are never *both on the same side of the gate*. The two are visualized separated by the gateway, one within, the other without, until the moment they share the threshold. The image implicit in this definition is

1974) 11–33, defends *ἀμφὶς εἴουσαι* as meaning on either side of the gate of Atlas, which she equates with the edge of the earth; cf. West 366.

¹² On the question of Parmenides' knowledge and use of Hesiod's description of the Underworld, see W. Burkert, 'Das Prooimion des Parmenides und die Katabasis des Pythagoras', *Phronesis* xiv (1969) 1–16 *passim*, and M. Pellikaan-Engel (n. 11) 9–10.

¹³ W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy* ii (Cambridge 1965) 8; cf. L. Tarán, *Parmenides* (Princeton 1965) 8.

¹⁴ LSJ s.v. *σφεῖς*; cf. the construction of Parmenides 9:

αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ πάντα φάος καὶ νύξ ὀνόμασται
 καὶ τὰ κατὰ σφετέρας δυνάμεις ἐπὶ τοῖσι τε καὶ τοῖς
 πᾶν πλέον ἐστὶν ὁμοῦ φάεος καὶ νυκτὸς ἀφάντου

where *τά* may refer to *φάος* and *νύξ*; Tarán (n. 13) 161–2.

¹⁵ K. Deichgräber, 'Parmenides' Auffahrt zur Göttin des Rechts', *Akad. Wiss. Lit. Mainz. Abh. d. geistes- u. sozial-wiss. Kl.* (1958) 659–60; Burkert (n. 12) 10–12. Tarán (n. 13) 15 reviews earlier interpretations.

coherent with that conjured by the reading ἀμφὶς ἐούσαι: Night and Day moving toward each other as they cross the threshold.

Let us now return to the scene on the Gallatin lekythos with the text of Hesiod in mind. Since one will wait at home until the other returns, Day and Night can be near each other only in the Underworld; since one goes when the other comes, and there is but one door,¹⁶ their chariots can move only in opposite directions, precisely as they do on the vase. On the narrow body of the lekythos they may well be seen facing each other rather than back to back.

With this understanding of the scene, the other details fall into place. The dark bands streaming from the shoulders of Eos and Nyx, which have proven so difficult to explain in previous discussions of the lekythos, can now be read as veils of mist, dark clouds which grant invisibility and here envelop the regions beyond the stream of Ocean. The streamers are painted in swirling strokes of thin glaze, well distinct from the solid black outline of the rock. The technique is not common. Painters of late black-figure use it to represent the sea, when they wish to suggest not simply the body of water, but transparency which allows creatures and objects to show through.¹⁷ If the bands were water, their contour should be flowing, or scalloped, marking the crests of waves. Instead, curving incisions along the margins give the impression that the transparent matter is billowing, as if it were a 'substance like rolling smoke'.¹⁸ The Sappho Painter has given us an illustration of imagery known to us through literature, primarily the Homeric poems.¹⁹ Helios too finds explanation within this topographical conception: in the *Odyssey* the path to Hades leads past the gates of the Sun.²⁰

Beyond, or facing, the dwelling of Night and Day Hesiod places the house of the god of the Underworld, its entrance guarded by the implacable Cerberus (*Th.* 767–74). This is the identification of the restless animal at the entrance to the cave—witness the glaring eye, the teeth bared in a snarl, and the abnormally long curling tail. The dog of Hades is variously described by ancient writers, and his monstrous nature is usually expressed by many heads, but there is no fast rule. In the *Theogony* it is πεντηκοντακέφαλος at 312, but endowed with just two ears at 771. On archaic Attic vases it has most often two heads, but it is shown with only one on at least another, the cup in Altenburg by the Aktorione Painter.²¹ A

¹⁶ Deichgräber (n. 15) 667; M. C. Stokes (n. 11) 17.

¹⁷ To the examples collected by M. Z. Pease, *CVA* (n. 6) add: skyphos in Taranto (see n. 4); hydria Cab. Méd. 255, *ABV* 361, no. 18 (Leagros Group), *CVA* Bibl. Nat. 2 (France x) pl. 60,4; olpe Cab. Méd. 260, *ABV* 378, no. 253 (Leagros Group) *CVA* pl. 63,4; cf. also the red-figure stamnos by the Siren Painter, *ARV*² 289, no. 1, *CVA* Brit. Mus. 3 (Great Britain iv) pl. 20,1.

¹⁸ *ABL* 123; G. M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Greek Collection. MMA* (Cambridge 1953) 74: 'streaky clouds'.

¹⁹ *Il.* v 776; viii 50, e.g., and *Th.* 726–7, 736, 745.

²⁰ *Od.* xxiv 11–14. Stesichoros describes the return of Helios to the depths of Night, D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford 1962) no. 185; W. Burkert (n. 12) 9; A. Rapp in Roscher (n. 10) s.v. 'Helios', 2011–12.

²¹ *ARV*² 137, no. 1, *CVA* Altenburg 2 (Germany xviii) pl. 67, 2; the figure is damaged, but there is no room for another head. See F. Brommer, 'Mythologische Darstellungen auf Vasenfragmenten der Sammlung Cahn', *AntK* Beiheft. vii (1970) 50, for two-headed Cerberus, and *Vasenlisten* (n. 1) 91–7 for a list of vases with representations of this labor.

single-headed Cerberus appears on one of the metopes of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, where the animal is represented being dragged by Herakles from his cave, and, in Athens itself, on one of the metopes of the Hephaisteion.²²

In the Olympia metope and in many representations on vases, Athena and Hermes stand by the hero's side.²³ We venture to suggest that it is to enlist divine help that Herakles on the Gallatin lekythos performs a sacrifice, issuing the plea which Athena has answered many times (*Il.* viii 362–5). In the series of late archaic vases showing Helios rising, frontal in his chariot, a neck-amphora in the Cabinet des Médailles presents on the reverse Hermes and Athena rushing across the Ocean. They may be taken to be hastening to Herakles' aid, summoned by his prayer. It is worth noting that this vase was decorated by the Diosphos Painter, the workshop companion of the Sappho Painter.²⁴

In summary, the scene on the New York vase illustrates Herakles about to descend to the Underworld: he has already reached the boundary of the misty regions beyond the Ocean, as the presence of Helios, Eos and Nyx indicates, and he now sacrifices to the Olympians before attempting to capture the dangerous beast which appears right below him.

The sources for this labor do not mention the sacrifice,²⁵ but both Herakles sacrificing and the capture of Cerberus are represented on the cup by the Epidromos Painter in Berlin, roughly contemporary with the Gallatin lekythos.²⁶ In the tondo Herakles, clad in a long thin robe over the bulky lion skin, pours a libation over an altar, while a satyr kneeling next to him roasts the meat of the victim. On the exterior, one side has a satyr molesting a sleeping maenad, the other the capture of Cerberus. The subjects decorating the interior of cups are not of necessity related to those on the exterior. In this case, however, the striking analogy with the treatment of the theme on the Gallatin lekythos encourages us to connect the sacrifice to the labor, and to wonder besides if the Epidromos Painter and the Sappho Painter drew upon the same source of inspiration. The satyr on the cup in Berlin suggested to Buschor that the scene might have been inspired by a satyr-play.²⁷ The flowing robe worn by the hero gives the tondo a slight comic flavor, more distinct on the exterior, where the dog is two-headed, large and

²² B. Ashmole and N. Yalouris, *Olympia* (London 1967) figs 201 and on p. 184; B. Sauer, *Das sogenannte Theseion und sein plastischer Schmuck* (Berlin/Leipzig 1899) pl. VI.

²³ F. Brommer (n. 21) 50.

²⁴ Cab. Méd. 220, *ABL* 120, 238; *Paralipomena* 248; *CVA* Bibl. Nat. 2 (France x) pl. 76, 5–6. More of the vases with representations of Helios rising listed by Haspels may be excerpts of representations of the Underworld, and perhaps of the labor of Herakles. Six lekythoi, five by the Haimon Painter, show streamers emanating from the disc of the Sun (overlaid with white on the red-ground ones): three too the streamers may indicate the mists of the Underworld; *ABL* 120–1, nos 10–15, 123–4, App. XIII A, nos 53–57. No. 54 is illustrated in *CVA* Karlsruhe 1 (Germany vii) pl. 13,9; no. 57 in Schauenburg (n. 1) pl. 17,1. On the connection of the Haimon Painter to the Diosphos Workshop see D. C. Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi* (Oxford 1975) 150–2; on that of the Sappho Painter to the Diosphos Painter, *ABL* 94–7.

²⁵ *RE* Suppl. iii (1918) 1077–8.

²⁶ Berlin 3232, *ARV*² 117, no. 2; *CVA* Berlin 2 (Germany xxi: 1962) 19, pls. 63, 1–2, 66, 1.

²⁷ E. Buschor, 'Satyränze und frühes Drama', *Sitz. Akad. Wiss. München, phil.-hist. Kl.* v (1943) 96.

terrible, and Herakles, small by comparison, flees jerkily along with Hermes. Although there is no hint of mockery in the picture on the Gallatin lekythos, the sudden and short-lived appearance of the theme of Herakles sacrificing on archaic Attic vases suggests a common source, a new version of the legend, such as might be produced in a play.²⁸

The Sappho Painter may not have intentionally selected this subject for a funerary gift: it is however intriguing that he should choose that one of Herakles' labors which made him such a popular symbol of immortality.

GLORIA FERRARI PINNEY
BRUNILDE SISMONDO RIDGWAY

Bryn Mawr College

²⁸ A list of vases with representations of Herakles sacrificing at an altar is given by F. Brommer (n. 1) 176–7. The representations seem to fall in two series: a late sixth-century one, which includes Brommer's nos 1–7 (A) and 1 (B); and a later and unconnected classical one, which shows the sacrifice at the sanctuary of Chryse. See E. M. Hooker, 'The Sanctuary and Altar of Chryse . . .', *JHS* lxx (1950) 35–41.

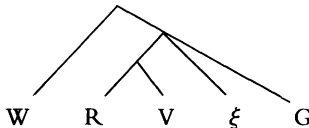
Five Dispensable Manuscripts of Achilles Tatius

Four manuscripts of Achilles Tatius break off at *i* 10.3 *τοῖς ῥήμασιν*, and a fifth originally did so. All five begin with Longus, where they descend from Vat. gr. 1348.¹ This manuscript too has Achilles Tatius after Longus, but complete, so that they may seem unlikely to descend from it in Achilles Tatius. According to the latest editor, E. Vilborg (Gothenburg 1955), they do not descend from it: they avoid three of its errors (p. lxii, lxvi). Expectation and evidence coincide, then, and that should be that.

Every fragmentary manuscript, however, goes back eventually to a complete one, and whether three errors will bear the weight of a stemma depends on others. To test Vilborg's conclusion it suffices to examine the behaviour of five manuscripts:

- ξ the hypothetical source of the five fragmentary manuscripts²
- R Vat. gr. 1348 (*s.* xvi¹/₄)
- V Vat. gr. 114 (*s.* xiii²)
- G Ven. Marc. gr. 607 (*s.* xv)
- W Vat. gr. 1349 (*s.* xii).

Vilborg cites two errors common to ξRVG (p. xlvi) and two common to RV (p. lxvi). On these he erects the following stemma (p. lxxii):



That ξ might equally well have been put in three other places matters less than that just as many errors or more unite other groups of manuscripts.³

- Rξ: p. 2.16 *πρὸς* for *περί*, p. 3.14–15 *ἡρέμα τῶν στέρνων* for *τῶν στέρνων ἡρέμα*

¹ H. van Thiel, *RhM* civ (1961) 356–62; see also my full stemma in *JHS* xcix (1979) 165–7, hereafter 'Reeve'.

² I regard this as extant in one of them, Paris. gr. 2903 (cf. Reeve), but for the present purpose nothing turns on whether I am right.

³ As I am attacking Vilborg with his own weapons, I take his word for it that these readings are all errors. In fact I largely agree.

- Wξ: p. 5.6 *προμελετώμενον* for *μελετώμενον*, p. 6.9 *μοι* for *με*, p. 8.21 *αὐτὸν* for *αὐτό*, p. 9.6 *ἀποκτείνεις* for *ἀποκτενείς*

- VRG: p. 3.13 *ἐφαίνετο* for *ὑπεφαίνετο*, 18 *ἡ* om., 5.26 *μέσω* for *μέσοις*, 27 *ἐπέτεινα* for *ἐνέτεινα*, 8.12 *ὡς* add., 23 *αἰί* om., 10.22 *καί* om. ante *θεοῖς*, 23 *μιᾶ* om., 24 *τηρήσ-* for *ζητήσ-*, 11.1 *οὖν* om., 10 *σε* om., 12.3 *μᾶλλον* om.

Indeed, if numbers are anything to go by, much the most obvious group is VRG.

Plainly such a conflict of loyalties points to contamination. Where? 'R', says Vilborg, 'is collated with a MS from the *a*-group, the variants of which are introduced in the margin by another hand (probably Orsini's⁴). This *a* MS is undoubtedly W' (p. lxii). A descendant of R + R² might therefore be expected to have the truth in numerous places where R¹ or W is corrupt but to share a few errors now with R, now with W. That is precisely what ξ does. Without collating R I cannot prove that ξ descends from R, because Vilborg seldom reports R²; but I take leave not to doubt it.

I have touched before on a historical problem connected with one descendant of ξ, Paris. gr. 2895, which appears in a list of Greek manuscripts brought to Paris from Italy by Girolamo Fondulo of Cremona.⁵ The date that accompanies the list (Paris. gr. 3064 f. 69v) was read by Boivin as 1529,⁶ and 1529 it had remained for everyone who discussed either Paris. gr. 2895 or Francis I's acquisition of Greek manuscripts; but after seeing it I expressed doubt whether it was not rather 1539.⁷ I can now go further.

On 18th September 1538 Francis I wrote to the Duke of Ferrara requesting every assistance for the learned Fondulo in his task of collecting Greek and Latin manuscripts.⁸ In a letter of 1st September, 1540 the French ambassador to Venice, Guillaume Pellicier, wrote of an encounter with a Corfiote who had previously offered Fondulo a number of Greek manuscripts;⁹ the Corfiote, Antonios Eparchos, migrated to Venice late in 1537.¹⁰ Already on 10th July, 1540 the same Pellicier had told another correspondent about a visit from an agent of Fondulo's immediately after Fondulo's departure from Venice:¹¹ Pellicier arrived in Venice towards the end of June 1539,¹² and the visit took place after Fondulo's death in Paris on 12th March, 1540,¹³ which the agent had heard of. These three

⁴ Certainly not Orsini's (cf. Reeve).

⁵ Published by H. Omont, *Catalogues des manuscrits grecs de Fontainebleau sous François I^{er} et Henri II* (Paris 1889) 371–2.

⁶ Cited by L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale* i (Paris 1868) 152.

⁷ Reeve 166 n. 6.

⁸ A. Lefranc, *Histoire du Collège de France* (Paris 1893) 153–4, cited in the fullest treatment of Fondulo to be found, P. S. and H. M. Allen, *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami* vi (Oxford 1926) 376. I owe to Carlotta Griffiths both this reference and the encouragement to consider the problem soluble. On Fondulo see also J. Zeller, *La diplomatie française vers le milieu du XVI^e siècle* (Paris 1881) 97–9.

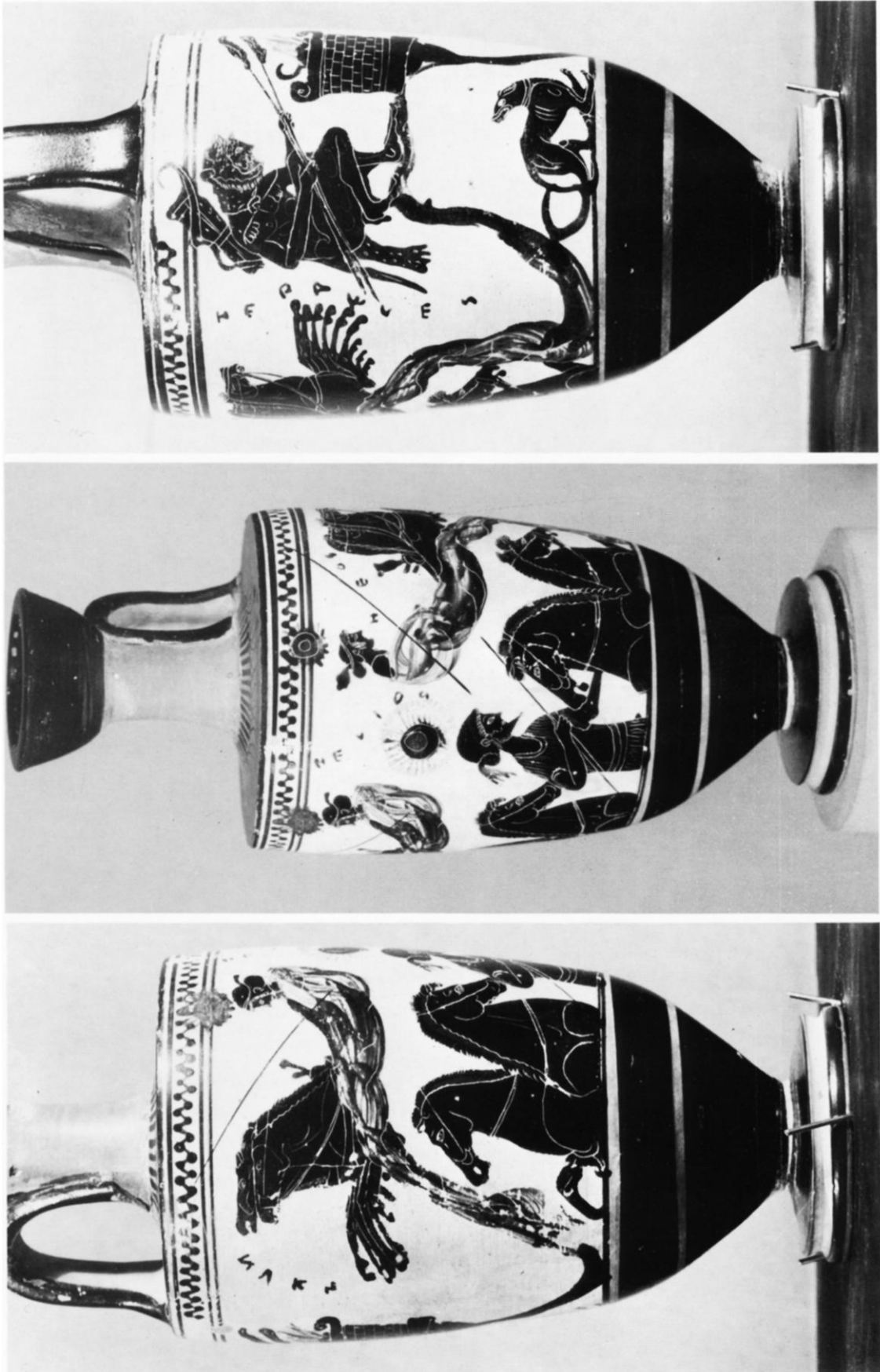
⁹ Delisle (n. 6) 156–7 = *Correspondance politique de Guillaume Pellicier*, ed. A. Tausserat-Radel (Paris 1899) i 78–9.

¹⁰ E. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique* i (Paris 1885) ccxiii.

¹¹ Omont, *Bibl. de l'Éc. des Ch.* xlvi (1885) 613 = *Tausserat-Radel* (n. 9) i 14.

¹² Tausserat-Radel (n. 9) i xxxii.

¹³ Delisle (n. 6) 152.



(a) (b) (c)
HERAKLES AT THE ENDS OF THE EARTH
Lekythos by the Sappho Painter, New York 41.162.29 (Courtesy, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, N.Y., Rogers Fund, 1941.)