PSEUDO-MANETHO AND THE INFLUENCE OF BION OF SMYRNA

The Apotelesmatica ascribed to Manetho are a didactic poem on astrology in six books, of which Books 2, 3, and 6 (1, 2, and 3 Koechly) share a single author; since at 6 [3K.]. 738–50 he gives his own birthdate as 28 May A.D. 80, this section of the poem must date from around the reign of Hadrian. The three remaining books were composed several centuries later, and the whole compilation had probably acquired its present shape around A.D. 400. We are here concerned with 2 [1 K.]. 242–3, in a list of the effects of the planet Venus in the house of Jupiter:

\[ \text{ἡδὲ καὶ ἄνδρας ἔτευξε γυναικείουσιν ἔτ' ἔργοις} \\
\[ \text{ἔξ ὦν χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ εὐφροσύνην πόρεν ἔσθλὴν.} \]

The phrasing of the first line is artful: the planet sets men to “deeds having to do with women” (i.e. love affairs), a semantic renovation of the phrase γυναικεία ἔργα, which in Hdt. 4.114 denotes “womanly tasks” (needlework and the like). In the second line artistry gives way to obscurity: by means of these ἔργα she grants “much money and excellent good cheer”. Why money? Are we to imagine men born under this sign prostituting themselves? That interpretation stumbles against “excellent good cheer”; such εὐφροσύνη would have been deemed αἰσχρή, not

1) For information on the Apotelesmatica and its authorship see W. Gundel and H. G. Gundel, Astrologumena (Wiesbaden 1966) 159–64. Although “Manetho” may actually have been the name of the author of at least Books 2, 3, and 6, it is more likely that the six-book collection attracted the name of the Egyptian priest and chronicler who lived under the second Ptolemy. The Apotelesmatica were edited by Hermann Koechly in the Didot Poetae Bucolici et Didactici (Parisii 1851) and in his Teubner Manethonis Apotelesmaticorum qui feruntur libri VI (Lipsiae 1858). His is the awkward system of book-numbering that gives the received number first, then his own in brackets.
Surely for χάρματα we should read χάρματα, "delights", whose pairing with εὐφροσύνη is traditional: Bion fr. 8.6 Gow εὐφροσύναν καὶ χάρματα; Orac. Sib. 3.770–1 χάρματα πάντα [...] εὐφροσύνην τε; Nonnus Dion. 39.148 χάρμα πόρες Δήμητρι καὶ εὐφροσύνην Διονύσοις; Pseudo-Apolinarius Hom. psalt. 9.3, 31.25, 34.56, 39.38, 69.5 Ludwich χάρμα καὶ εὐφροσύνη et sim. Thus in [Manetho] Apot. 2 [1 K.]. 243 read

εὖ ὀν χάρματα πολλὰ καὶ εὐφροσύνην πόρεν ἐσθλὴν.

Through the γυναικεῖα ἔργα Venus grants many delights and excellent good cheer.

The emendation itself is of slight importance; its interest lies mainly in the light it sheds on Imperial Greek poets' use of Hellenistic literature. The late Hellenistic bucolic poet Bion of Smyrna is our earliest source for this verbal pairing, and he is likely to be the later authors' model. Although Bion's major surviving work, the Epitaph on Adonis, is known to have influenced poets of the Empire3, the influence of the works whence his surviving fragments were extracted remains to be documented. Koechly's first three books of the Apotelesmatica, in fact, contain two more Bionean traces: 2 [1 K.]. 39 ὅταν Ἡέλειος τεῦχε νῦντ' ἀμβροτον ἥτοι echoes Bion fr. 2.18 χά νύξ ἀνθρώπισε Ἱερὰ καὶ ὁμοίας ἀοῦς, and 6 [3 K.]. 140 ξύναις ἀνύσις κελέυθουσας echoes Bion fr. 12.5 ξύναις Πυλάδας ἔρημοτο κελέυθους. Bion fr. 3.3 γλυκεραῖα μουτάν may have suggested 6 [3 K.]. 369 ὁμοίλην γλυκερηῖισι (but cf. Il. 11.637 = Od. 23.145). Elsewhere in Imperial and early Byzantine poetry the following passages are to be regarded as probable or certain imitations of Bion: Orph. H. 9.9 (cf. Bion fr. 11.2), Maximus 6.186 Ludwich (cf. Bion fr. 12.5) and 7.284 (cf. Bion fr. 13.12), Nonnus Dion. 11.241–2 (cf. Bion fr. 1.3–4) and 41.317 (cf. Bion fr. 8.5), Pseudo-Apolinarius Hom. psalt. 106.55 Ludwich (cf. Bion fr. 1.2)4, Quintus 12.171 (cf. Bion fr. 8.5)5, Leontius Scholasticus App. Plan. 245.1 (cf. Bion fr. 1.1), and Agathias A. P. 4.3.110 (cf. Bion fr. 10.8)6. Most interesting in this list

2) Similarly, γυναικεῖα ἔργα here must not denote the "womanly role" in sex (though the sense is conceivable), since the ancients, with their prejudice against male sexual receptivity, would have been unlikely to describe the enjoyment derived from that role as ἐσθλὸς (which has moral overtones of "fine, noble").


4) On Bion's influence on the pseudo-Apolinarian Homeric Psalter see J. Golega, Der homerische Psalter (Ettal 1960) 60.

5) M. Campbell, A Commentary on Quintus Smyrnaeus, Posthomerica XII ([Mnemosyne Suppl. 71] Lugduni Batavorum 1981), sees in Quintus 12.256 ὁτρὺνει πάντεσι κακῶν Τρίφθεις γενέσθαι "an identical pattern" to Bion fr. 14.4 ταλίκοιν ὡς πάντεσι κακῶν τὸν Ἐρωτα τεκέσθαι, but the similar wording may be fortuitous.

6) In prose, Longus 3.4 echoes both the sentiment and the context of Bion fr. 2.5–6, and 2.4 (Philetas' vain pursuit of Eros around his garden) strongly recalls Bion fr. 13. There are less certain imitators of Bion in Themistius Or. 4.56 A and Agathias A. P. 5.273.6, who follow Bion's application of βαμβαῖνον "tremble" to the stammering of the voice (cf. fr. 9.9). Note also Nonnus Dion. 16.8 (cf. Bion fr. 14.6).
is Nonnus, who is commonly held to have been oblivious to Bion's fragmentary work despite his enthusiasm for the *Adonis*7).

Scholars have often sought in later imitations of Bion evidence for the ancient transmission of bucolic poetry8). It is impossible to say whether the authors cited above found Bion whole or excerpted in anthologies like those of Stobaeus and Orion (where his fragments are preserved for us), and thus already in fragments, but it would be rash to assert that they knew only the Bionate works that we can trace in theirs. A possibility – though no more than that – is that under the Empire Bion circulated in a small collection of late bucolic poems9), some of whose contents (like the *Epitaph on Adonis*) eventually entered larger bucolic collections, while others survived only as anthologized excerpts. In any case, the neglected fragments of the late bucolic poet, worthy objects of study in themselves and precious evidence for later Hellenistic literature, turn out to illuminate, no less than the same author's *Adonis*, the taste and reading of the Greek poets of the Roman Empire.

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7) See U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Bion von Smyrna: Adonis (Berlin 1900) 31–2; Fantuzzi (n. 3 above) 144; Matthews (n. 3 above) 35. Matthews also holds that echoes of Bion’s fragments are found nowhere in the pseudo-Theocritean idylls, a belief refuted by [Theoc.] 23.2 (cf. Bion fr. 14.5). The fragments’ influence on Ovid has long been recognized: see e.g. I. Cazzaniga, *La tradizione poetica ellenistica nella favola ovidiana di Giacinto*, PP 13 (1958) 153–4 on Met. 10.188–9 and A. S. Hollis, Ovid: Ars Amatoria Book I (Oxford 1977) on A. A. 1.7–8 and 17–8.

8) See especially Fantuzzi (n. 3 above).

9) One can infer the existence of such a collection from a cluster of seven late bucolic poems preserved in one family of bucolic manuscripts; see R. J. H. Matthews, *Antichthon* 28 (1994) 25–51 and Reed (see n. 3 above) 65–66.

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**PARVA LEXICOGRAPHICA**

1. αἰσιομήτης

Zur Kategorie der ‚ghost-words‘ gehört αἰσιομήτης, das sich einer eigenen Eintragung im Greek-English Lexicon von Liddell-Scott-Jones (= LSJ) erfreut. Es geht auf das Methodios-Lexikon zurück1), wo es als eine Form erscheint, die die Ετυμολογία von αἰσιομητής veranschaulichen soll. Die relevante Glosse des sogenannten Αἴμωδεῖν-Lexikons, die aus Methodios stammt, lautet folgendermaßen: αἰσιομήτης: ο ὁμόλεξος: παρά το αἰσιομήν, δ ἔκτεν αἰσιόων μνήμην ποιεῖθαι: δ