only after Prusias' assault on Heraclea Pontica suggests that Eumenes II's justification for going to a war against Prusias was to help Heraclea Pontica. This city is known to have been allied with the Attalids in the post-Apamean period. The interpretation suggested for this war by Benedikt Niese can, therefore, be upheld. However, his dating of this war to *c*. 186-184 needs to be changed to *c*. 184-183.[37]

SVIATOSLAV DMITRIEV
Ball State University

[n. 36 cont.] Pontica in the 190s, i.e. before the Apamean settlement. This view, as we have seen, derives from the opinion that can be traced back to Meyer (n.1) 75 (with nn. 2 and 3), who put the siege of Heraclea Pontica by Prusias in the period between 200 and 196 and his war against Eumenes II in 185/4.

[37] See Niese (n.11) 70-2.

A NEW MONOGRAPH BY ARISTARCHUS?

Abstract: This article argues that the Homeric scholia preserve the title of a lost monograph by the second-century BC Alexandrian scholar Aristarchus on the date of Hesiod's life. Apparent references to the contents of this monograph occur in the Homeric as well as the Hesiodic scholia, and demonstrate that Aristarchus compared the works of the two poets and concluded that Hesiod had lived sometime near 700 BC.

THE AbT scholia to Homer's *Iliad* are an invaluable source for our understanding of ancient Homeric criticism.[1] They inform us about scholarship and readership, and occasionally transmit the titles of now-lost monographs.[2] I will argue that one such title, hitherto unnoticed,[3] resides in the following scholion:

> Schol. A ad Hom. *Il*. 10.431 a (Aristonicus): καὶ Φρύγες ἱππόδαμοι ⟨καὶ Μῆονες ἱπποκορυσταί⟩· ⟨ἡ διπλῆ⟩ ὅτι ἑτέρους τῶν Τρώων οἶδεν τοὺς Φρύγας· καὶ ὅτι Ὅμηρος οὐκ οἶδεν καλουμένους Λυδούς, ἀλλὰ Μῆονας. πρὸς τὰ Περὶ ἡλικίας Ἡσιόδου.[4]
>
> καὶ Φρύγες ἱππόδαμοι ⟨καὶ Μῆονες ἱπποκορυσταί⟩: <The *diplê*> is because he [i.e. Homer] knows that the Phrygians are separate from the Trojans, and because Homer does not know that the people are called Lydians, but Maeonians. Refer to Περὶ ἡλικίας Ἡσιόδου (*On the Age of Hesiod*).

This scholion derives from Aristonicus' commentary entitled Περὶ σημείων Ἰλιάδος which offered explanations of Aristarchus' marginal notations in his *diorthosis* of Homer's *Iliad*.[5]

[1] H. Erbse (ed.), *Scholia graeca in Homeri* Iliadem *(scholia vetera)* (7 vols, Berlin 1969-88). For a recent assessment of Erbse and his edition's impact on the field of ancient Homeric criticism, *cf*. M. Schmidt, 'The Homer of the scholia: what is explained to the reader?', in F. Montanari (ed.), *Omero tremila anni dopo* (Rome 2002) 159-83.

[2] R. Janko (*The* Iliad. *A Commentary* 4: *Books 13-16* (Cambridge 1992) 71 (note *ad* 13.195-7)) was the first to spot Aristarchus' Περὶ τῆς πατρίδος in the Homeric scholia (schol. A ad Hom. *Il*. 13.197: Αἴαντε ⟨μεμαότε⟩: ὅτι συνεχῶς κέχρηται τοῖς δυϊκοῖς. ἡ δὲ ἀναφορὰ πρὸς τὰ Περὶ τῆς πατρίδος· Ἀθηναίων γὰρ ἴδιον). Aristonicus regularly cites Aristarchus' works with the formula πρὸς τά + title.

[3] Unnoticed perhaps because in I. Bekker's edition of the *Iliad* scholia (*Scholia in Homeri* Iliadem (Berlin 1825) 1.295) he printed πρὸς τὰ περὶ Κιλικίας Ἡσιόδου in the last line instead of the reading of Venetus A, correctly printed in Erbse's edition (*cf*. n.1). The great Aristarchean critic K. Lehrs (*De Aristarchi studiis Homericis* (3rd edn, Leipzig 1882) 229) noted the correct reading of the scholion, but did not follow its implication.

[4] Scholia such as this normally begin with a reference to the sign Aristarchus used in his marginal notation; none is recorded here, though it was surely a *diplê*, which I have added.

[5] Aristonicus' biographical entry in the *Suda* (s.v. Ἀριστόνικος (Adler A 3924)) lists the titles of three such commentaries: Περὶ τῶν σημείων τῶν ἐν τῇ Θεογονίᾳ Ἡσιόδου καὶ τῶν τῆς Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὀδυσσείας. The fragments of Aristonicus' *Iliad* commentary were collected by L. Friedländer, *Aristonici* Περὶ σημείων Ἰλιάδος *reliquiae emendatiores* (Göttingen 1853), those of his commentary on the *Odyssey* by O. Carnuth, *Aristonici* Περὶ σημείων Ὀδυσσείας *reliquiae emendatiores* (Leipzig 1869).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S007542690000166X Published online by Cambridge University Press

Aristonicus' work, perhaps in its entirety, was copied into the so-called *Viermännerkommentar* sometime in late antiquity. Aristonicus' commentary is a reliable compendium of Aristarchus' judgements on Homer's language, mythology, plot structure and the social conditions of the world of the heroes.[6] Aristarchus' opinions even extended to the biography of Homer himself. Based on the findings of Peripatetic and Hellenistic chronographers, as well as on his own research, Aristarchus concluded that Homer had lived during the Ionian migration, about 140 years after the Trojan War, that is, near 1000 BC.[7] Since he believed that Homer lived at so early a date, Aristarchus sensibly reasoned that he knew nothing of later historical developments, such as shifting populations, the rise and fall of empires, or technological advancements. In accordance with this historicizing view, Homer could only have known the people of west-central Asia Minor by their earlier name Maeonians (Μῆονες), and not by their later name Lydians (Λυδοί). It is unclear what source Aristarchus used for these ethnonyms, but he must have been familiar with two passages in Herodotus which document the change of name from Maeonians to Lydians (1.7.3): οἱ δὲ πρότερον Ἄγρωνος βασιλεύσαντες ταύτης τῆς χώρης ἦσαν ἀπόγονοι Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄτυος, ἀπ' ὅτευ ὁ δῆμος Λύδιος ἐκλήθη ὁ πᾶς οὗτος, πρότερον Μηίων καλεόμενος ('those who had ruled this country before Agron were the descendants of Lydus son of Atys, from whom the entire people took the name Lydians, formerly being called Maionians'); and (7.74.1): οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ Μηίονες ἐκαλεῦντο τὸ πάλαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄτυος ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην, μεταβαλόντες τὸ οὔνομα ('the Lydians of old were named Maionians, and took this name from Lydus the son of Atys, having changed their name'). Aristarchus may also have known Herodotus' source, Xanthus of Lydia (cf. *FGrHist* 765 F1, 15-16).

The reference πρὸς τὰ Περὶ ἡλικίας Ἡσιόδου in the scholion suggests that in a now-lost poem Hesiod mentioned the Lydians. In their collection of the fragments of Hesiod, Merkelbach-West assigned this scholion to their category *fragmenta incertae sedis* (*fr*. 334).[8] Of course, the poem that contained a reference to the Lydians was probably not by the poet we know as Hesiod, but was attributed to Hesiod in antiquity, and Aristarchus evidently believed the poem was genuine. A reference to the Lydians in a Hesiodic poem is credible because Cyme, the city Hesiod's father fled, lay on the border of Lydia (*Op*. 635-8). The mention of Lydia in a Hesiodic poem would thus tally with the autobiographical information contained in the *Works and Days*. Aristarchus, who believed that Homer lived too early to have known the people as Lydians, concluded that if Hesiod knew them as Lydians, it was because he lived after Homer and after they changed their name from Maeonians to Lydians. Aristarchus' Περὶ ἡλικίας Ἡσιόδου must then have argued for a later date for Hesiod based upon a close study of the ethnonyms and geography mentioned in his poetry.

The absolute and relative dates of Homer and Hesiod were topics of debate already in the sixth century BC and were much discussed in later periods. A paraphrase from Gellius reports that Xenophanes considered Homer to be older than Hesiod (*DK* 21 B 13): *alii Homerum quam Hesiodum maiorem natu fuisset scripserunt, in quibus Philochorus et Xenophanes, alii minorem* ('some have written that Homer was older than Hesiod, among them Philochorus and Xenophanes, but others say [Homer] was younger'). In the late fifth century BC, Herodotus maintained that both poets had lived in the ninth century BC (2.53.2): Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρον ἡλικίην τετρακοσίοισι ἔτεσι δοκέω μευ πρεσβυτέρους γενέσθαι καὶ οὐ πλέοσι ('I believe that Hesiod and Homer are four hundred years before me, and not more'), but he says nothing about their relative chronology. In the fourth century BC, Heraclides Ponticus wrote a two-volume work dedicated to the chronology of the poets: Περὶ τῆς Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου

[6] *Cf*. M. Schmidt, *Die Erklärungen zum Weltbild Homers und zur Kultur der Heroenzeit in den bT-Scholien zur Ilias* (Munich 1976); and Schmidt (n.1) 168-9.

[7] Proclus, *Chrestomathia* §7. *Cf*. B. Graziosi, *Inventing Homer. The Early Reception of Epic* (Cambridge 2002) 93-4, 100 n.26; G. Nagy, *Homer's Text and Language* (Urbana and Chicago 2004) 11.

[8] R. Merkelbach and M.L. West (eds), *Fragmenta Hesiodea* (Oxford 1967) 167.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S007542690000166X Published online by Cambridge University Press

ἡλικίας α′β′ (*On the Ages of Homer and Hesiod in Two Books*).[9] His conclusions are unknown. The *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*, based on the early fourth-century BC Alcidamas' Μουσεῖον, contains three divergent opinions concerning the relationship between Homer and Hesiod (§4): ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν προγενέστερον Ἡσιόδου φασὶν εἶναι, τινὲς δὲ νεώτερον καὶ συγγενῆ ('some say that [Homer] is older than Hesiod, but some say younger and a relation'); meanwhile, the narrative of the *agon* between the two poets obviously requires them to be contemporaries, though one could have been represented as older than the other, as in the presentation of Aeschylus and Euripides in Aristophanes' *Frogs*. The debate about the dates of Homer and Hesiod continued into the second century AD.[10] Aristarchus' Περὶ ἡλικίας Ἡσιόδου thus stands in a tradition reaching back to biographical monographs from the fourth century BC, and connects with intellectual trends apparent already in the sixth century BC.

Aristarchus' belief that Hesiod was younger than Homer allowed him to contrast their poetry in a number of interesting ways, and many of his observations may well have been included in the Περὶ ἡλικίας Ἡσιόδου. As the Homeric scholia demonstrate, Aristarchus was interested in the differences between the geographical horizons of Homer and Hesiod (schol. HMPQT ad Hom. *Od.* 4.477): Αἰγύπτοιο: ὅτι τὸν Νεῖλον Αἴγυπτον ὀνομάζει. ὁ δὲ Ἡσίοδος ὡς ὢν νεώτερος Νεῖλον αὐτὸν οἶδεν ἤδη καλούμενον ('Αἰγύπτοιο: <The sign is> because he [i.e. Homer] calls the Nile Αἴγυπτος. Hesiod is younger since he knows that (the river) is already called the Nile'). The same Aristarchean observation appears in scholia to Hesiod's *Theogony* (schol. R2WLZT ad Hes. *Th*. 338): Νεῖλον τ': ἐκ τούτου φαίνεται Ἡσίοδος Ὁμήρου νεώτερος· καὶ γὰρ Ὅμηρος Αἴγυπτον καλεῖ τὸν Νεῖλον ('Νεῖλον τ': From this it seems that Hesiod is younger than Homer, for Homer calls the Nile Αἴγυπτος').[11] Besides this geographical observation, Aristonicus recalls that Aristarchus had pointed to a datable historical event as further proof that Hesiod was younger than Homer (schol. A ad Hom. *Il*. 23.683 a (Aristonicus)): ζῶμα δέ οἱ ⟨πρώτον παρακάββαλεν⟩: ἡ διπλῆ πρὸς τὸ παλαιὸν ἔθος, ὅτι ἐν ἑνὶ περιζώματι ἠγωνίζοντο ('ζῶμα δέ οἱ ⟨πρώτον παρακάββαλεν⟩: The *diplê* refers to an ancient practice, because they wrestled in a *perizoma* alone').[12] While Hesiod is not directly mentioned in Venetus A, it is clear that he should be adduced as a witness to this historical fact given the more comprehensive explanation in the Townleian scholia to the same passage (schol. T ad Hom. *Il.* 23.683 b[1]):

> ζῶμα δέ οἱ πρώτον ⟨παρακάββαλεν⟩· κατὰ τὴν δεκάτην καὶ τετάρτην Ὀλυμπιάδα ἐφ' Ἱππομένους Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος Ὀλυμπίασι στάδιον θεόντων ἐν περιζώμασι συνέβη ἕνα αὐτῶν Ὄρσιππον ἐμποδισθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ περιζώματος πεσεῖν καὶ τελευτῆσαι· ὅθεν ἐθεσπίσθη γυμνοὺς ἀγωνίζεσθαι· ὅθεν καὶ γυμνάσια οἱ τόποι, ἐν οἷς διεπονοῦντο. νεώτερος οὖν Ἡσίοδος γυμνὸν εἰσάγων Ἱππομένη ἀγωνιζόμενον Ἀτάλαντῃ.
>
> ζῶμα δέ οἱ πρώτον ⟨παρακάββαλεν⟩: During the fourteenth Olympiad [714-711BC], while Hippomenes was archon at Athens, during the Olympics it happened that Orsippos, one of those running the *stadion* in a *perizoma*, was hindered by his *perizoma*, fell and died. Since then it was decreed that men compete in the nude, and the places where they exercise (are called) γυμνάσια. Therefore Hesiod is younger [i.e. than Homer] because he represents Hippomenes competing naked with Atalante.[13]

According to Aristarchus' reasoning, since Hesiod presented Hippomenes as competing naked in the *Catalogue of Women*, it could only have been because he lived sometime after Orsippos had actually dropped his *perizoma* in the foot race and the institution of nude competition began.

[9] Diogenes Laertius 5.87 = Wehrli *fr*. 176 (F. Wehrli, *Herakleides Pontikos. Die Schule des Aristoteles* 7 (2nd edn, Basel 1969)).

[10] *Cf*. Gell. 3.11.1-5, Paus. 9.30.3.

[11] This scholion was assigned to Aristonicus' Περὶ τῶν σημείων τῶν ἐν τῇ Θεογονίᾳ Ἡσιόδου by H. Flach (*Glossen und Scholien zur hesiodischen* Theogonie *mit Prolegomena* (Leipzig 1876) 103).

[12] *Cf*. Schmidt (n.6) 226.

[13] Schol. b ad Hom. *Il*. 23.683 b[2] repeats these details.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S007542690000166X Published online by Cambridge University Press

Aristarchus must thus have believed in an absolute date for Hesiod sometime after 714-711 BC, the purported date of the fourteenth Olympiad.[14]

These comparisons, and many others like them, may well derive from Aristarchus' Περὶ ἡλικίας Ἡσιόδου. This monograph was a comprehensive study of Hesiodic poetry in its cultural context. It focused on Hesiod's knowledge of geography, ethnonyms and contemporary culture, drawn from the *Theogony*, *Works and Days* and *Catalogue of Women*, and its ultimate purpose was to propose a date for Hesiod's life sometime in the late eighth or seventh century BC. The surviving fragments of the monograph indicate that Aristonicus used the Περὶ ἡλικίας Ἡσιόδου when he was writing his commentaries on Aristarchus' marginal notations on Homer's and Hesiod's poetry. The existence of this monograph demonstrates that the Hellenistic reception of Hesiod matters more than scholars have realized for our understanding of how Homer was read in antiquity.

CHAD MATTHEW SCHROEDER
University of Michigan

[14] Schmidt (n.6, 226-7) doubts that the discussion of Hesiod's date in relation to Olympic nudity can be attributed to Aristarchus because he nowhere else uses absolute chronology for Hesiod's date, and that three hundred years is too wide a separation between Homer and Hesiod. But if Aristarchus had established an absolute date for Homer (*cf.* n.7), why not for Hesiod as well? There is also nothing inherently implausible about so wide a date between the two poets. Schmidt's argument would require that Aristarchus considered Hesiod to have lived as early as the tenth or ninth centuries BC, which is surely implausible.

PRONOMOS AND POTAMON: TWO PIPERS AND TWO EPIGRAMS*

Abstract: Although he was one of the most famous musicians of Classical antiquity, the pipe-player (*auletes*) Pronomos of Thebes has never attracted serious scholarly attention in his own right. This contribution seeks to address this neglect by attempting to establish a basic chronological framework for his life. In doing so, it introduces a new item of evidence, the inscribed funerary monument of one Potamon of Thebes, a contemporary and colleague of Pronomos in the art of *auletike*. A close relationship is shown to exist between the epigram on this funerary monument, found in Athens, and that which accompanied the statue on the Theban *akropolis*, erected in honour of Pronomos.

PRONOMOS of Thebes was the most famous pipe-player (*auletes*) of antiquity. He was a panhellenic star of the rapidly burgeoning musical industry of his day whose talents were sought in places as culturally and politically diverse as Athens, Messene and Khalkis (very probably after its liberation from Athenian hegemony). He was a major musical innovator, both at the technical and at the compositional levels; a composer of poetic, as well as purely instrumental, forms; and an innovator too in the theatricalization of instrumental performance, credited with spectacular kinetic use of his body and of facial expressiveness on stage.

To his birthplace of Thebes Pronomos was a cultural icon as significant as Pindar for an earlier generation. The Thebans erected a statue in his honour on the heights of the Kadmeia that came to signify the centrality of the piper and his music to Theban identity. It was placed not far from that holy of holies, the site of Harmonia's bed-chamber. And the piper apparently shared this honour with only one other mortal – the architect of resurgent Theban confidence and power, the general and Boiotarkh Epaminondas, victor of Leuktra and Mantinea.[1] This statue (perhaps)

* Thanks to Ewen Bowie, Eric Csapo and the two anonymous readers of the journal for helpful comments.

[1] Paus. 9.12.5-6. Note the emphasis on ἐνταῦθα in the sentence: τοῦτόν τε οὖν ἐνταῦθα οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Ἐπαμινώνδαν τὸν Πολύμνιδος ἀνέθεσαν ('And so the Thebans erected this [the statue of Pronomos] and the statue of Epaminondas, son of Polymnis, there').

https://doi.org/10.1017/S007542690000166X Published online by Cambridge University Press