

La presenza dell'oppio rappresenta un elemento estremamente significativo, giacché può rinviare ad un'alterazione dei sensi da parte di eventuali partecipanti ad un rituale. La prova più chiara del rapporto, nel mondo egeo, tra la pianta dell'oppio e la sfera culturale, è rappresentata da un idolo rinvenuto a Gazi, in un ambiente del secolo XIII a. C.: la figura femminile, con seno scoperto e braccia alzate, presenta sulla testa tre esemplari di papaver somniferum, con incisioni che dimostrano una conoscenza del metodo di estrazione dell'oppio.

L'iconografia egea sembra pertanto dar ragione a B. Malinowski, il quale, contro la teoria frazeriana, postulò un'originaria coesistenza delle due dimensioni, magica e religiosa, nel pensiero speculativo umano (*Magic, science and religion* – 1948).

Da Malinowski in poi non è più possibile parlare di una “fase magica” ed una “fase religiosa” dell'essere umano, e le prime tracce di un comportamento religioso appartenenti al mondo greco rivelano la necessità d'inserire l'elemento magico in un contesto culturale: nell'anello miceneo preso in esame, la divinità si manifesta a seguito di un atto sacrificale, di cui la doppia ascia e le teste di animali costituiscono l'emblema; tuttavia, l'epifania divina è anche conseguenza di un contatto con elementi della natura, tra i quali il papaver somniferum s'impone in quanto necessario per provocare l'estasi che conduce alla visione.

Il mago manterrà il proprio ruolo significativo all'interno della sfera culturale greca, esercitando un'arte che contribuisce alla creazione di una dimensione mistica, e l'importanza di questo ruolo viene magnificamente mostrata nelle pagine di questo libro.



Statuetta in argilla da Gazi (Museo Archeologico di Candia).

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CLAUDIO DE STEFANI (Ed.), *Ps.-Manethonis Apotelesmatica. Einleitung, Text, Appendices*, Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2017 (Serta Graeca. Beiträge zur Erforschung griechischer Texte, vol. 33), 304 pp., 98,00 € [ISBN 978-3-95490-200-2].

The five major Greek astrological poets have received considerable editorial attention during the last years¹. With De Stefani's edition of the pseudo-Manethonian corpus, they are

¹ Besides these five major poets, we have three hexametrical fragments of astrological poems attributed to Orpheus (ed. A. BERNABÉ, *Poetae epici Graeci. Testimonia et fragmenta, pars II: Orphicorum et Orphicis similia testimonia et fragmenta*, fasc. 2, München – Leipzig 2005: 313–328, *OF* 778–781), of which the first and longest is a conceptually complete passage of 66 lines on earthquakes, the second on continuous horoscopy, and the third on catarchic astrology (cf. R. MARTÍN HERNÁNDEZ, “Orfeo científico”, *Estudios Clásicos*, 129 (2006) 111–119, and the more detailed study by EAD., *La ciencia*

now eventually all available in recent critical editions. I shall list them in chronological order:

1. Dorotheus of Sidon: ed. D. Pingree 1976 (Teubner). This edition includes, besides most of the extant fragments of the Greek original text (ca. 390 hexameters)², the massive body of Greek and Latin paraphrases and the very free Arabic translation of a Pahlavī (middle Persian) translation of the whole work. The only (yet important) weak part of this edition are the original hexameters³.

2. Anubio of Diospolis (Egypt): fragments in the amount of about 200 relatively well preserved (plus numerous badly mutilated) hexameters, which are mostly preserved on papyri, have been edited by D. Obbink 1999 (P. Oxy. vol. LXVI) and – including the extant *testimonia* – by D. Obbink 2006 (Teubner) and P. Schubert 2015 (Les Belles Lettres)⁴.

3. (Ps.-?)Antiochus of Athens: the extant fragment (115 hexameters) of a poem on the effects of the seven planets in the single places of the *dodekátropos* has been edited with

de Orfeo. Lapidarios y escritos sobre astrología y medicina, Madrid 2015: 103–154). Moreover, we have the late ‘Homeric’ hymn to Ares (17 vv.), which is actually a late antique prayer to the planetary deity (see esp. vv. 6–8; the author is likely to be Proclus: cf. M. L. WEST, “The Eighth Homeric Hymn and Proclus”, *CQ*, 20 [1970] 300–304), an anonymous Greek poem (13 hexameters, maybe by Theon of Alexandria) on the names, qualities and effects of the planets that we owe to Stobaeus, 1.5.14 (cf. E. HEITSCH, “Carmen astrologicum”, in ID. [ed.], *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*, vol. II, Göttingen 1964: 43–44), and traces of iambic astrological poetry from the 2nd c. BCE in the pseudepigraphic work(s) of Nechepsos and Petosiris (cf. S. HEILEN, “Some metrical fragments from Nechepsos and Petosiris”, in: I. BOEHM & W. HÜBNER [eds.], *La poésie astrologique dans l’Antiquité*, Paris 2011: 23–93). Moreover, we have two large Greek astrological poems by the Byzantine poet John Camaterus (12th c.); cf. L. WEIGL (ed.), *Johannes Kamateros, Εἰσαγωγή ἀστρονομίας* [...], Würzburg 1907–1908, and E. MILLER (ed.), “Poèmes astronomiques de Théodore Prodrome et de Jean Camatère [...]”, in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques* 23, 2^e partie (1877): 1–112.

² All but 31 of them are extant in the work of Hephaestio of Thebes. In addition to Pingree’s edition of Dorotheus, a few more original hexameters have been recovered by Hübner from Hephaestio’s prose paraphrase, and some further Dorothean verses or fragments thereof have been recovered by Heilen from a prose paraphrase that Pingree had not taken into account. Cf. W. HÜBNER, “Dorothee de Sidon: L’édition de David Pingree”, in I. BOEHM & W. HÜBNER (eds.), *La poésie astrologique dans l’Antiquité*, Paris 2011: 115–133, here: 124–129 (cf. EUND., *Die Eigenschaften der Tierkreiszeichen in der Antike* [...], Wiesbaden 1982: 409), as well as HEILEN 2010 (as n. 4 below): 190–192 (tab. 5a–5c).

³ Cf. HÜBNER 2011 (as n. 2 above): 124–130.

⁴ The most complete edition is that of Schubert because it includes a new papyrus (P. Gen. IV 157). See, however, its criticism by C. DE STEFANI in *BMCR* 2016.10.23. On the shortcomings of Obbink’s edition, see S. HEILEN, “Anubio Reconsidered”, in *Aestimatio. Critical Reviews in the History of Science*, 7 (2010) 127–192 [<http://www.ircps.org/aestimatio/7/127–192>], esp. 138, n. 36.

translation and commentary by A. Pérez Jiménez (2014)⁵.

4. Maximus (of Ephesus?): his extant 610 hexameters on catarchic astrology have been edited by N. Zito 2016 (*Les Belles Lettres*)⁶.

5. Ps.-Manetho: C. De Stefani 2017 (here under review). In addition, there is a regrettably unpublished edition with English translation and commentary by R. Lopilato, a doctoral student of D. Pingree (1998)⁷. Much to his credit, De Stefani has checked Lopilato's dissertation systematically⁸.

By far the largest of the extant Greek astrological poems comprises six books, totalling a bit more than 3000 hexameters. It is attributed to 'Manetho'. This is a pseudepigraphical reference to the Egyptian priest and historian Manetho who lived in the 3rd c. BCE under Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II. Books 2, 3 and 6 (altogether 1684 vv.) form the original nucleus of the corpus⁹ and are by one anonymous author who wrote in the first half of the 2nd c. CE. This date of composition results from his horoscope, which he gives as a *sphragis* (6.738–750): it dates astronomically to 27–28 May 80 CE (more on this below). Book 4 is a summary of books 2, 3, and 6 by a different author and must have originated no later than the 3rd c. CE because fragments of this book are extant on papyri from that period. Books 1 and 5 are the latest parts of the corpus and may belong to one and the same author who must have written before Hephaestio of Thebes (born in 380 CE)¹⁰, who quotes some verses from book 1¹¹. Hence, we are dealing with a corpus whose parts have been written by at least three different anonymous poets starting in the 2nd c. CE. The proem to the original nucleus (bks. 2, 3, 6) is missing¹², probably because it has been moved to the beginning of what is now book 1 by its late antique compiler. This proem is addressed to 'king Ptolemy' (v. 1.1). The author of this book (1) has compiled various parts of book 4 and parts of an older astrological poem in

⁵ A. PÉREZ JIMÉNEZ, "Antiochi *De stellarum in locis thematis significationibus fragmentum epicum*. Edición, traducción española y comentario", *MHNH*, 14 (2014) 217–289. Since this poem breaks off after the luminaries in the 5th place, its original size must have been about 300 hexameters.

⁶ The beginning of the poem is lost. As the extant prose paraphrase shows, the first three of altogether twelve sections (and the proem) are missing. The text begins in the middle of the fourth section.

⁷ R. LOPILATO, *The Apotelesmatika of Manetho*, PhD thesis Providence (RI) 1998 (UMI microform 9830484). It contains the only existing full translation of the *Manethoniana* into any modern language.

⁸ See his brief appraisal of this dissertation ("ein allerdings intelligentes Werk") on 42, n. 167.

⁹ I.e., the transmitted books 2, 3 and 6 were books 1, 2 and 3 of the original work.

¹⁰ On his autobiographical horoscope in Heph. 2.11.6–7 and 2.11.9–15, see S. HEILEN, Hadriani genitura. *Die astrologischen Fragmente des Antigonos von Nikaia*, Berlin et al. 2015: 297.

¹¹ Heph., 2.4.27 (cf. *ibid.*, 2.11.12 a reference to book 3 and *ibid.* app. 1.7 a reference to book 6).

¹² Cf. DE STEFANI's introduction, 23.

elegiac distichs¹³, which modern scholars have attributed to Anubio, the only Greek astrological poet known to have written in this meter. In addition to those traces of elegiac distichs that have been included by Obbink and Schubert in their editions of Anubio (see above), De Stefani argues (25) that the end of the proem of book 1, namely vv. 1.11–15, may be a hitherto overlooked fragment of Anubio that has been adapted by the late antique compiler to the dactylic hexameter. I am sceptical about this claim¹⁴.

¹³ This is certain because the *textus receptus* contains, scattered over the first book, more than twenty pentameters, which the compiler did not adapt to the dactylic meter. Their indentations in De Stefani's edition are the same as those which indicate the beginnings of new paragraphs. This is a bit confusing, also because both the new paragraphs and the scattered pentameters begin with minuscules.

¹⁴ Before I can adduce my arguments, a brief explanation is needed: the poet who wrote vv. 1.11–15 claims to have rewritten in the heroic meter what Petosiris had written earlier. Therefore vv. 1.11–12 are part of Nech. et Pet. test. 8 Riess. Since the extant Greek fragments attributed to the most revered authorities on ancient astrology, 'Nechepsos and Petosiris' (see the up-to-date list in HEILEN 2015 [as n. 10 above]: 40–47), were written no earlier than the middle of the 2nd c. BCE, our poem's pseudepigraphical attribution to the historian Manetho of the early 3rd c. BCE seems, at first sight, chronologically impossible. However, 'Nechepsos and Petosiris' is a pseudonym, too. It refers to several centuries before the rule of the Ptolemaic dynasty over Egypt, more precisely: to the reign of Necho II, 610–595 BCE (cf. HEILEN 2015 [as n. 10 above]: 551–552). Hence, the chronology of the alleged times when both works were composed is in order, regardless of the question who actually wrote vv. 1.11–15. Now to my scepticism regarding De Stefani's tentative attribution of these lines to Anubio (1st c. CE) instead of the Ps.-Manetho who was born in 80 CE: since the verses in question are impeccable dactylic hexameters, De Stefani tentatively athetizes v. 13 and modifies vv. 12 and 15 in order to 'restore' the original distichs (in his tentative restauration on 25, correct πῆδιον to πεδίον). I wonder if this is not too speculative. Moreover, De Stefani does not mention the fact that if his conjecture were true, the remaining, in my view probably authentic proem from the early 2nd c. CE would be extremely short (just seven hexameters, because De Stefani plausibly athetizes vv. 8–10). Thirdly, the adverb ἐπιτροχάδην (v. 1.11), 'fluently', is extremely rare before Ps.-Manetho. Its only two poetic attestations besides our passage in question are Hom., *Il.* 3.213 and Hom., *Od.* 18.26. It seems to have passed unnoticed that our verses 1.11–13 may well be an intertextual allusion to the passage in the *Iliad* where Homer compares Menelaos and Odysseus as speakers in the assembly. Homer says (I quote from the commentary on *Il.* 3.213–214 by G.S. KIRK, Cambridge et al. 1985: 295) "that Menelaos is a clear and fluent speaker, but a somewhat laconic one; even his fluency must be in a lower class than Odysseus' 'snowflake' delivery which he is about to describe." Since Homer compares Menelaos to Odysseus, it is noteworthy that Ps.-Maneth., 1.12 πάντα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω is attested only once in Greek poetry, namely in Hom., *Od.* 24.303, where Odysseus himself is the speaker. (For incomplete parallels, cf. Hom., *Il.* 10.413. 10.427. *Od.* 24.123). By describing his own activity with words that are unmistakably Odysseus' words to his father Laertes in *Od.* 24.303, our astrological poet seems to associate himself with Odysseus. At the same time, Petosiris is associated with Menelaos, not only through the extremely rare adverb ἐπιτροχάδην, whose position in both verses is the same, but also because their names have four syllables each and are metrically equivalent. (One may object that the two names are not in the same positions of the respective hexameters, but the pronoun αὐτός, which characterizes Petosiris in quasi-Pythagorean manner as our poet's teacher and authority [αὐτός ... εἰρηκεν ~ αὐτός ἔφα],

The pseudo-Manethonian corpus has been transmitted through a single, heavily corrupted manuscript (Laur. plut. 28.27, saec. IX, = L), from which three copies derive which all go back to the work of the 17th c. scholar Lukas Holste.¹⁵ Moreover, a few hexameters are transmitted independently by P. Oxy. 2546 (saec. III), P. Amst. inv. 56 (saec. III), and cod. Vat. gr. 1056 (saec. XIV)¹⁶.

Since the publication of the last two critical editions of the pseudo-Manethonian corpus by Armin Koechly (1851 and 1858)¹⁷, a new edition had been a *desideratum*. This is all the

is in the same position as the last two syllables of Μενέλαος). These observations indicate that Ps.-Manetho deliberately describes the relationship between himself (who writes in heroic hexameters) and Petosiris (who wrote in prose and/or iambic trimeters, see Heilen 2011, as n. 1 above) by means of an allusion to how the greatest epic poet, Homer, describes the relationship between Odysseus and Menelaos, implying that Petosiris was, as far as purely literary (not astrological) qualities are concerned, a thoroughly respectable writer yet inferior to Ps.-Manetho himself. All this speaks in favor of considering v. 13 authentic, not (as De Stefani conjectures) as a later addition to some hypothetical elegiac distichs borrowed from Anubio (in De Stefani's tentative reconstruction of these distichs, v. 13 is necessarily athetized, and v. 12 is made into a pentameter at the price of destroying the large correspondence with *Od.* 24.303). One last point to consider is this: even if De Stefani does not say so, he may have liked his conjecture because it seems to remove a difficulty: De Stefani adopts (23, n. 73; cf. *IBID.*: 32 and 39) Lopilato's view (1998: 10) that the content of books 2 and 3 is largely derived from Dorotheus. This view is difficult to reconcile with the attribution of vv. 1.11–13 to the Ps.-Manetho of the early 2nd c. CE (unless one interprets v. 1.11 as a statement of indirect dependence on Petosiris, with Dorotheus as a not explicitly mentioned intermediary). This problem vanishes into nothing if vv. 1.11–13 were originally written by Anubio and borrowed by the late antique compiler of book 5: we would then have the original speaker of vv. 1.11–15, Anubio, claiming to draw his content from Petosiris, while Ps.-Manetho would have drawn his content from Dorotheus. However, the problem that De Stefani may have envisaged here does, in my opinion, not exist because there are good reasons to assume that Ps.-Manetho, Dorotheus, Anubio and Firmicus Maternus all drew independently of each other from 'Nechepos and Petosiris' (see my arguments in Heilen 2010 [as n. 4 above]: 130–138, esp. the diagram *ibid.*: 136). In sum, I tend to think that vv. 1.11–15 make good sense as spoken by Ps.-Manetho and do not require a new attribution. Last, I should like to point out one curious detail: v. 14 δαίμονες ἄνδρες εἰμέν has only one parallel in Greek literature, namely *Anth. Gr.* 11.23.1 Ὁκύμορον με λέγουσι δαίμονες ἄνδρες ἄστρον. This is the opening line of an epigram attributed to 'Antipater', who is commonly identified with Antipater of Thessalonike, a contemporary of the emperor Augustus. The first line of this epigram mentions a death prediction given to the speaker by astrologers. One would be tempted to suspect an allusion of Antipater to our proem if the chronology did not speak against it. Did maybe both authors allude to a lost expression used by (or, in the sg. δαίμων ἄνθρωπος, about) 'Petosiris'? On this epigram, cf. G. GALÁN VIOQUE, "La astrología y los astrólogos en la *Antología Palatina*: alusiones y paradojas", *MHNH*, 2 (2002) 221–236, here: 224–225.

¹⁵ See DE STEFANI 2017: 13–18. One of these three copies (formerly at Halle) is lost.

¹⁶ P. Oxy. 2546: vv. 4.384–433 and 4.564–604; P. Amst. inv. 56: a few lines from bk. 4; Vat. gr. 1056, f. 156^{r-v}: vv. 1.357–358, 2.150–153, 2.213–214, 5.58–61. See DE STEFANI 2017: 26.

¹⁷ *Arati Phaenomena et Prognostica. Pseudo-Manethonis et Maximi carmina astrologica, cum frag-*

more true in view of the fact that Koechly did not have access to the *codex Laurentianus* but drew on the collation that Jakob Gronovius made in 1698. With De Stefani's book, we have not just a new edition of the *Manethoniana*, but one by an expert in the fields of Greek poetry and editorial technique. De Stefani has published profusely on Greek poetry from Homer to the Byzantine period. Before turning his attention to Ps.-Manetho, he has edited two other late antique poems, book 1 of Nonnus' paraphrase of the gospel of John (2002) and the description of the Hagia Sophia by Paul the Silentiary (2011). His present edition of the pseudo-Manethonian corpus comprises four major parts:

1. a very solid and learned introduction (9–48), which informs the reader of the transmission of the text, the *codex unicus* L, the independent witnesses of small portions of text (see the next to last paragraph above), humanistic copies of L (they contain the first large wave of early modern emendations), printed editions, the chronological order in which the six books originated as established by Koechly (it is 2, 3, 6, 4, 1, 5), the origin and authors of the extant corpus, stylistic and orthographical peculiarities with a view to their relevance for textual criticism, the origin, character and content of L's Greek lists of topics treated in books 2, 3, 6 and 1 (4 and 5 lack such summaries), De Stefani's editorial method, sigla, abbreviations, and bibliography. This introduction is by far the best and most up-to-date available treatment of the *Manethoniana*, except for the poem's astrological content and its sources, whose treatment De Stefani explicitly leaves to others (41–42).

2. the edition (49–193) which (following Koechly) presents the six books in their original order (i.e., the chronological order in which they were written) while keeping the book numbers of their late antique rearrangement as transmitted in L (2, 3, 6, 4, 1, 5), with an *apparatus criticus* and occasionally (when applicable) *apparatus testimoniorum*. The relatively large interlinear blanks make the text easily readable and contribute to avoiding excessive amounts of *apparatus criticus* per page. This *apparatus* is superior to Koechly's in various respects, first of all because it is based on autopsy of L and distinguishes systematically between L and L²¹⁸. Moreover, it is praiseworthy because it elucidates the editor's decisions by means of countless brief comments on his understanding of the text, on manuscript readings, on the quality of scholarly conjectures, on secondary literature, on *loci similes*, etc. The *apparatus testimoniorum* requires two addenda¹⁹.

mentis Dorothei et Anubionis. Recensuit et praefatus est A. KOECHLY Paris 1851: xxv–lxi [*critical commentary to the Greek text*] and 41–101 [*text and Latin transl.*] (repr. Paris 1931); editio minor with further emendations: *Manethonis Apotelesmaticorum qui feruntur libri VI*. Relegit A. KOECHLY. *Accedunt Dorothei et Annubionis fragmenta astrologica*, Leipzig 1858. Note that the TLG online text is based on the earlier edition (1851).

¹⁸ De Stefani has thus taken care of a *desideratum* emphasized by W. KROLL, art. 'Manethon (2)', *RE* XIV.1 (1928), coll. 1102–1106, here: col. 1106.30–33: "Dringend notwendig ist eine Neuvergleichung der Handschrift, wobei die Korrekturen der zweiten Hand vom ursprünglichen Text geschieden werden müßten."

¹⁹ It mentions only one of the altogether three references to the *Manethoniana* that we find in He-

3. an appendix of minor mistakes in **L**, most of which were corrected by **L**² (195–197), of wrong accents in **L** (197–199), of hundreds of scholarly conjectures (200–211), and of copying mistakes in the dependent early modern manuscripts (212–218). While all this material was not important enough for inclusion into the main *apparatus criticus* of the edition, which it would have burdened excessively, it was too important to be excluded altogether from the edition. As a result, De Stefani's book provides by far the most comprehensive and reliable account of the manuscript readings and the scholarly conjectures that have been made during the last centuries. Suffice it to mention that this appendix contains some thirty formerly unedited conjectures that Koechly made (and partly discarded afterwards) on the margins of his copy of the edition of Axt and Rigler²⁰, and that it also contains 131 unpublished conjectures made by Lopilato in his PhD-thesis (1998)²¹. Some readers may, however, find it regrettable that De Stefani decided not to include the numerous conjectures of David Pingree as mentioned by Lopilato, because “man hätte sonst dem großen Orientalisten und Wissenschaftshistoriker keinen guten Dienst geleistet” (42, n. 167). It is certainly true that Greek poetical style and meter were not among the strengths that account for Pingree's outstanding, well-deserved scholarly reputation, but even unconvincing or, in the worst cases, metrically impossible conjectures may have a heuristic value for future editors.

4. a meticulously made index verborum (219–297) whose entries are in many cases usefully differentiated with regard to semantical, syntactical, or other criteria.

The book ends with three black-and-white plates of MS Hamb. cod. phil. 4, f. 69^r (vv. 3.1–20), **L** f. 9^v (vv. 1.1–41) and **L** f. 25^v (vv. 3.412–4.19).

Besides adopting about 1500 emendations by earlier scholars²² into his constitution of the badly transmitted text, De Stefani also made more than fifty emendations of his own²³.

phaestio, namely (165, ad vv. 1.167–169) Heph., 2.4.27. On 92, ad vv. 399–428, add Heph., 2.11.125 (= Heph., *epit.* 4.25.155); on 169, ad vv. 1.250–255, add Heph., *app.* 1.7 (= Heph., *epit.* 4.88.7). D. Pingree in his edition of Hephæstio (Leipzig 1973–1974), vol. I: 330, *app. font.* ad *app.* 1.7, refers erroneously to vv. 6.237–239. I owe the correct reference to G. BEZZA, “Alcune note sull' eutocia e la distocia”, *MHNH*, 7 (2007) 289–292, here: 290, n. 6.

²⁰ See DE STEFANI 2017: 21–22. The book is part of Koechly's *Nachlass* at the university of Heidelberg (cod. Heid. 365, 209).

²¹ Besides these conjectures, which De Stefani did not find convincing, there are three emendations by Lopilato which De Stefani adopted in his text (vv. 2.104, 2.472, 1.335–336).

²² This figure excludes the very numerous corrections made by **L**² (saec. IX), on whose qualities and shortcomings as a corrector and emendator see DE STEFANI 2017: 11–12. Some 300 corrections are due to KOECHLY (1851 and 1858), and about the same amount to AXT and RIGLER (1832 and 1835); some 200 go back to D'ORVILLE (1783), some 130 to GRONOVIVS (1698).

²³ Bk. 2: vv. 10, 153, 303, 308, 309 (“dub.”), 334, 344, 381, 433–434 (mult.); bk. 3: vv. 60, 180 (“dub.”), 261, 419 (bis); bk. 6: vv. 209, 212, 426, 566, 605, 674, 712; bk. 4: vv. 49, 86, 88, 150, 156, 214, 318, 536, 562, 566 (“dub.”), 612; bk. 1: vv. 41, 120, 146, 167, 283; bk. 5: vv. 11, 37, 56, 74, 97, 118, 184, 198, 203, 204, 235, 246, 297, 322. These changes to the transmitted text are all indicated

Nevertheless, he is more restrictive than Koechly with regard to emendations, as the higher number of *cruces desperationis* in his edition, compared to Koechly's, shows²⁴. This severe weighing of the value of every conjecture made by his predecessors is an important merit of De Stefani's edition. As to his own emendations, most of them are plausible, and some are excellent. The editor has explained a selection of his emendations in his article "Per il testo dei *Manethoniana*", in *Prometheus*, 42 (2016) 178–206 (henceforth: De Stefani 2016)²⁵. To adduce just a few examples, De Stefani has changed Ps.-Maneth., 2.381 ἄλλα τ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις καὶ τ' αἴσχεα† πολλὰ τελοῦντας το αἰὲν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι κάκ' αἴσχεα πολλὰ τελοῦντας (2016: 187–188)²⁶, 3.60 ἢ λώβην τιν' ἀεικελίην ἀκάχησε γυναῖκας το ἢ λώβην δι' ἀεικελίην ἀκάχησε γυναῖκας (ibid. 189), and the corrupt word at the end of 5.197–198 ἦνίκα δ' ἢ βασύλεια μέση συνέχοιτο Σελήνη / Ἄρεος ἠδὲ Κρόνου †συνλιβομένη† ισόμοιρος το συνθλιβομένη (2016: 203)²⁷. As so often in the case of excellent emendations, one wonders why no other scholar had thought of them earlier. The last example, for instance, is clearly about the moon being hemmed in physically by the two malefics²⁸, and συνέχοιτο is the clue to understanding that the last two words of this conditional clause serve to specify and 'dramatize' the relatively vague predicate συνέχοιτο. The quality of De Stefani's emendation becomes evident if contrasted with the failed conjectures of earlier editors (συντεινομένη Axt, συλλαμπομένη Koechly)²⁹.

While the edition under scrutiny has substantially benefitted from the editor's indisputably high competence in the fields of Greek poetry, style, meter etc., some difficult technical details of ancient astrology still leave room for further improvement. This is not surprising, and De Stefani himself, who has not published on ancient astrology before the present edition

by the remark "correxii" in the *apparatus criticus*, which mentions, in addition, conjectures that De Stefani made but did not adopt into his Greek text (cf. ex. gr. app. crit. ad vv. 1.14, 1.60, 2.311, 2.336, 3.132, 4.68, 5.292, 6.458).

24 One of them is a typo: 92 (v. 412) †προθέοντα.

25 This article also summarizes (178–184) large parts of the introduction to the edition.

26 Expanding on Axt's (early 19th c.) conjecture ἀλλήλοισι κάκ'.

27 He could have referred to 3.263 where the same verb occurs (yet in a different meaning, and with corruption of the prefix).

28 Ancient astrologers spoke of ἐμπερίσχεσις κατὰ συμπαρουσίαν. For details on this doctrine, see HEILEN 2015 (as n. 10 above): 807.

29 Paradoxically, however, De Stefani's translation (2016: 203) of the uncorrected sentence – "Quando la regina Luna è presa in mezzo, condividendone le sorti, da Marte e Saturno † ... †," (etc.) – reveals a misunderstanding of ισόμοιρος, which does not mean 'sharing their (scil. Mars' and Saturn's) fate' but 'occupying the same zodiacal degree (as Mars and Saturn)'. This astronomical meaning occurs many other times in various books of the pseudo-Manethonian corpus (see De Stefani's index 256 s.v. ισόμοιρος), and we find it once more just four lines later, in 5.202 Μη λαθέτω σε Κρόνος ισμοιρήσας Ἀφροδίτη κτλ.

(2017) except for the already mentioned article (2016) and his review of Schubert's edition of the fragments of Anubio³⁰, modestly states, at the end of his introduction to the edition, that he plans to leave the task of a commentary to experts of ancient astrology³¹. In the following, I shall adduce three examples of technically difficult passages where the text could be further improved, one from each book of the original nucleus of the pseudo-Manethonian corpus (i.e., books 2, 3 and 6). These examples will be based on the edition itself (2017) and on De Stefani's article from 2016 (see above). They will be arranged in order of increasing complexity.

1. The original nucleus of the poem ends with the autobiographical horoscope of Ps.-Manetho (6.738–750), which has been dated astronomically to 27–28 May 80 CE in Neugebauer's authoritative study on Greek horoscopes³². The astronomical data are specified in vv. 745–749 which read thus in De Stefani's edition:

Ἡέλιος μὲν ἔην Διδύμοις, τῷ δ' αὖθ' ἅμα καλῆ 745
Κύπρις καὶ Φαέθων ἐρατὸς καὶ χρύσεος Ἑρμῆς,
Ἵδροχόω δὲ Σεληναίῃ Φαίνων τε καθ' ὥρης,
πολυπόδη δ' Ἄρης ἐν Καρκίνω, ἀμφὶ δὲ μέσσον
οὐρανὸν ἐστρωφᾶτο βέλος Κένταυρος ἀνέλκων.

In v. 747, the *codex unicus* (L) reads καὶ ὥρη ('and the ascendant') which De Stefani has changed (following Koechly's editions from 1851 and 1858) to καθ' ὥρης ('on the ascendant', or: 'in the first place of the *dodekátropos*'). This change is not plausible because the poet is here enumerating the canonical core data of a horoscope, namely the zodiacal longitudes of the sun, the moon, the five planets, and the ascendant. In v. 747, he is saying that the moon, Saturn and the ascendant were in Aquarius, not that the moon was in Aquarius and Saturn on the ascendant. If the poet had written v. 747 as given by the present edition, the reader would not be able to understand the zodiacal longitudes of both Saturn and the ascendant. A further important argument is that the poet specifies also the position of the midheaven (vv. 748–749), which happened to fall into Sagittarius. The midheaven is far less frequently mentioned in ancient horoscopes than the ascendant³³. As a matter of fact, there is not a single one among the more than 350 extant Greek horoscopes³⁴ which specifies the midheaven but not the ascendant. The ascendant came to be considered the most important

³⁰ See note 4 above.

³¹ DE STEFANI 2017: 41–42: “Die Gedichte benötigen allerdings noch eine systematische Darstellung der Metrik und einen *apparatus fontium* mit poetischen bzw. astrologischen Parallelstellen: ich vermag dies leider den Lesern nicht anzubieten. Erst musste ein zuverlässiger kritischer Text etabliert werden [...] den Kommentar [...] muss ich [...] *eruditioribus* überlassen.”

³² OTTO NEUGEBAUER & B. L. VAN HOESSEN, *Greek Horoscopes*, Philadelphia 1959: 92, no. L 80.

³³ See the explanation by R. HAND, “Signs as Houses (Places) in Ancient Astrology”, *Culture And Cosmos*, 11/1–2 (2007) 135–162, here: 138–143 (“Missing Midheavens”).

³⁴ See my catalogue in HEILEN 2015 (see n. 10 above): 204–333.

single parameter of the entire set of astronomical data of a nativity, so much so that the Greek prose term for “ascendant”, ὠροσκόπος, came over the centuries to denote (by *pars pro toto*) the entire nativity (hence, English “horoscope”). Even if the manuscript offered καθ’ ὥρης, which is not the case, it would necessitate the emendation καὶ ὥρη. Since, however, the manuscript does offer the reading that is needed here, the transmitted text must by all means be kept. De Stefani was aware of the fact that Garnett, whom he quotes in the *apparatus ad locum*, had already defended the manuscript reading³⁵ and that Lopilato adopted and correctly translated it in his unpublished edition. Nevertheless, De Stefani preferred to follow Koechly, who was inspired to conjecture καθ’ ὥρης because these are the final words of v. 6.716 where, however, the sense is different and was not understood by Koechly³⁶. An up-to-date discussion of this horoscope, including a defense of the manuscript reading καὶ ὥρη, is available (regrettably ‘hidden’) in an earlier article of mine³⁷.

2. A similar case occurs in v. 3.411, which is part of the explanation how one finds the ἀφέτης (‘releaser’), i.e., the planet that releases the vital ray whose length predetermines the native’s lifespan. Since this is one of the most important topics in ancient astrology, our poet placed it prominently at the end of this book (vv. 3.399–428). In his article from 2016 (see above): 191–192, De Stefani discusses vv. 3.410–420, which he edits and translates thus (words to which I shall refer in the following are underlined):

ὀπότε δ’ ἄν κέντρων ἐκτὸς †φαέθων ἀποκλιθῆ,	410
ἢδ’ ἄρ’ ἐπὶ μοίρησι κατωφερέεσσι πόλοιο	
νίσσηται προθέοντα, τὸτ’ ἀστέρος ἄρχεο κείνου,	
ὃς ῥά τε δεσπόζει γενέθλης, μέγα τε κράτος ἴσχει.	
εἰ δ’ ἄρα κάκεινον λεύσσοις κλινθέντ’ ἀπὸ κέντρου,	
ἐξ ὥρης τὸτ’ ἔπειτα χρόνων ἄφεσιν σύ γε φράζου.	415
ζωῆς δ’ αὐτ’ ἀρχὴν <u>εὗτ’ ἄν διζήμενος εὖρης,</u>	

³⁵ R. GARNETT, “On the Date of the Ἀποτελεσματικά of Manetho”, *Journal of Philology*, 23 (1895) 238–240, here: 239 (with correct translation of the passage in question). Garnett repeated his criticism in: “On Some Misinterpretations of Greek Astrological Terms”, *Classical Review*, 13 (1899) 291–293, here: 292.

³⁶ The meaning of vv. 6.716–718 is (as LOPILATO 1998: 303, correctly translates): “When [...] the malefics, Saturn and Mars, either appear in the ascendant or are in quartile or trine to the ascendant” etc. For Koechly’s misunderstanding of that passage, see his translation (1851: 73). Koechly misunderstood v. 747, too, whose last words he translates (*ibid.*) as “et Saturnus in hora”.

³⁷ S. HEILEN, “Problems in translating ancient Greek astrological texts”, in: *Writings of Early Scholars in the Ancient Near East, Egypt and Greece. Translating Ancient Scientific Texts*, ed. by A. IMHAUSEN & T. POMMERENING, Berlin – New York 2010: 299–329, here: 316–321. This article clarifies, too, that Κένταυρος (v. 749) means Sagittarius, not, as the otherwise meritorious Neugebauer (see n. 32 above) thought, the extra-zodiacal constellation Centaurus, which is a paranatellon of 12° Scorpio. See my chart *ibid.* 319 which shows that Neugebauer’s misunderstanding implies an error of about three hours regarding the time of birth.

δεικῆλων σκέπτοιο χρόνους, ὅποσους περάτηθεν
 ἀντέλλει, †κείνου τε περι μοιβαῖσι δάσασθαι†·
 τὼς κεν³⁸ πλειώνων ἀριθμὸν μηνῶν τε φράσαιο,
 ὄσους Μοῖρ' ἐπέδησε βροτῶν μογεροῦ βιότοιο. 420

Ma se †Giove declina da uno dei centri o si muove procedendo nelle parti inferiori del cielo, allora comincia da quell'astro che signoreggia la nascita, e ha grande potere. E se anche quello vedrai declinare dal centro, deduci dall'ora il computo del tempo [scil. della vita]. Se poi cerchi di stabilire l'inizio della vita, guarda i tempi dei segni [zodiacali], durante i quali sorgono da oriente e ... [*corrupt*]. Così potresti comprendere il numero degli anni †e delle parti†, a cui il destino ha legato la faticosa vita umana.

De Stefani's point is that L's reading μοιρῶν τε in v. 419 ("†e delle parti†") must be emended to μηνῶν τε, 'and of the months', as opposed to the full years of life (πλειώνων) mentioned in the first half of the same verse. This is an excellent proposal because μηνῶν τε yields better sense than Hermann's conjecture μοίρησι (which had been adopted by Koechly)³⁹ and is both phonetically (itacism) and palaeographically⁴⁰ plausible. However, De Stefani's translation reveals misunderstandings of some other details⁴¹. My reason for adducing this example is a problem in v. 411, which affects the Greek text: De Stefani follows Koechly's change of the transmitted ἦ τ' ('or') to ἦδ' ('and')⁴². This is no trifle because it means that the two astronomical conditions, which are expressed respectively in v. 410 and vv. 411–412, must be fulfilled either both (ἦδ') or only one of them (ἦ τ'). Koechly seems to have understood both conditions as describing one and the same motion,⁴³ which

³⁸ Thus in the edition (2017: 92); but ID. 2016: 191: τὼς γὰρ [κεν].

³⁹ One could point out, in addition to De Stefani's arguments, that Vettius Valens (ed. D. PINGREE, Leipzig 1986) specifies on many occasions that the natives of his sample horoscopes lived so and so many years and so and so many months, e.g. Val. 3.7.20 (about an anonymous individual born on 13 May 114 CE) ἔζησεν ἡ γένεσις ἔτη κημῆνας θορ ibid. 3.10.28 (about someone born on 15 February 115 CE) ἔζησεν ἔτη λβμῆνας ε̄.

⁴⁰ On the frequent confusion of ρ and ν in L see DE STEFANI 2017: 10.

⁴¹ One of them is ἐξ ὥρης (v. 415), which he translates as "dall'ora" ('from the hour'), while the meaning here is beyond doubt 'from the ascendant' (see W. HÜBNER, "Zur Verwendung und Umschreibung des Terminus ὠροσκοπος in der astrologischen Lehrdichtung der Antike", *MHNH*, 1 [2001] 219–238, esp.: 231: "Ersatz der Nominalkomposition durch Polysemie"; see also HEILEN 2015 [as n. 10 above]: 687). Moreover, he translates v. 414 ἀπὸ κέντρου as "dal centro" ('from the centre'), while the meaning is indefinite: 'from one of the (altogether four) centres', and v. 416 as "se poi cerchi di stabilire l'inizio della vita" ('if you try, then, to determine the beginning of life'), while the meaning is 'when you have, then, by means of your search, found the beginning of life' (i.e., once you have, following the instructions in vv. 410–415, found the releasing planet).

⁴² Already before Koechly, Gronovius had changed ἦ τ' to ἦδ' (*sic*, ed. 1698, f. H2^r), Axt and Rigler to ἦ δ'.

⁴³ He translates (1851: 59): "Quando autem extra centra duo lumina declinent atque in partibus declivibus poli ferantur praecurrentia".

is not the case⁴⁴. Curiously, De Stefani translates ἦ τ' ("o") while he prints Koechly's ἦδ' (which would, in Italian, be "e"). He was not aware of my recent edition of the entire final section of this book (Ps.-Maneth., 3.399–428), which is based on a systematic examination of all ancient sources for the astrological method of calculating an individual's life-span by means of a primary direction (ἄφεις), including extant horoscopic applications⁴⁵. This is not the place to explain the details of that method; suffice it to say that the sources require the logical connection with 'or', as transmitted by L⁴⁶, not 'and'⁴⁷. In this case, too, Lopilato (1998) rightly follows the manuscript reading by printing (74, without *spatium*) ἦτ' and translating (237) "or". If an epic parallel for the use of ἦ τ' is needed, see the important words that Achilles speaks to Agamemnon in *Ilias* 19.147–148: δῶρα μὲν αἶ κ' ἐθέλησθα παρασχέμεν, ὡς ἐπιεικές, / ἦ τ' ἐχέμεν παρὰ σοί· κτλ.

3. Ps.-Maneth., 2.402–437 discusses the effects of conjunctions of the five planets with the sun. The topic is clearly announced (v. 402) and concluded (vv. 436–437). The first lines (vv. 403–409) summarize the underlying principle which is then applied to each of the five planets, whose sequence (Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury) follows the traditional descending order of the so-called ἐπτάζωνος. In other words, we are dealing with a well-organized section. In contrast to this observation, the text of the introductory explanation (vv. 403–409) is all but clear. De Stefani repeats it without change from the edition of Koechly (1851)⁴⁸. It reads thus (with the uncorrected readings of the *codex unicus* L on the right margin)⁴⁹:

πάντες μὲν χαίρουσιν ἐπ' ἀντολίησιν ἔόντες,	
ὡς ἐν εἰσίν ἕκαστος ἀγαλλόμενος βασιλείοις·	
καὶ ῥά τ' ἐπ' ἀντολῆς μὲν <u>ἰόντες <ἄτ'></u> ἐς νεότητα,	405 L: ἔόντες εἰς νεότητα
θητοῖς πάντα τελοῦσιν ἄγαν κρατεροὶ <u>παρεόντες</u> ·	L: περ ἔόντες
<u>ἐσπερίοι</u> δὲ βαρδύτεροι προϊῶσι χρόνοισιν,	L: ἐσπερίοι δὲ βραδιότεροι
<u>δείλοιοι</u> ἀγγήσιν μαλεραῖς ὑποπεπτηῶτες,	L: δειλοὶ δ'
<u>ἀδρανέες</u> τε πέλονται ἐδὼν σθένος ἀμβλύνοντες.	L: ἀδρανες (corr. L ²)

⁴⁴ If the sun declines (in the astrological technical sense of ἀπόκλιμα) from the descendant or from the lower midheaven, it is below the horizon, but if it declines from the ascendant or from the midheaven, it is *above* the horizon.

⁴⁵ HEILEN 2015 (see n. 10 above): 991–1021 (analysis of the sources) and 1385–1389 (edition of Ps.-Maneth., 3.399–428, with translation).

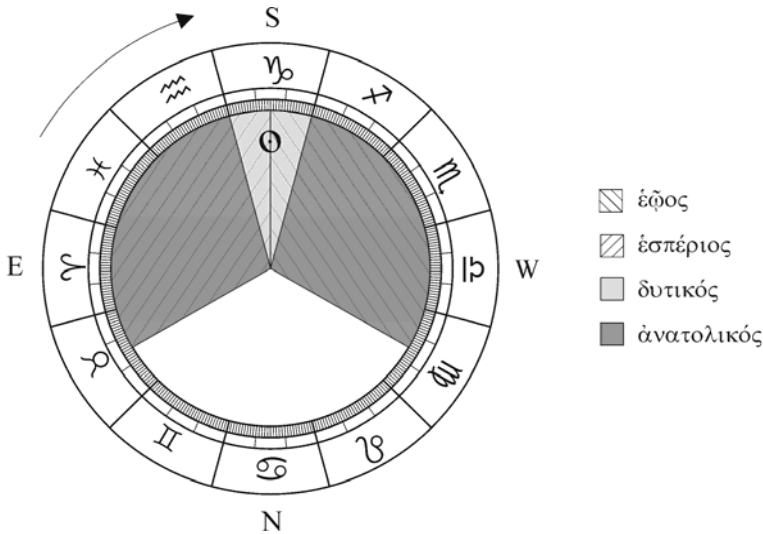
⁴⁶ I have verified through autopsy of L fol. 25^r that it reads ἦ τ', as correctly stated by De Stefani.

⁴⁷ It seems to have been taboo among ancient astrologers to release from positions beneath the horizon, except for the first place (cf. Ptol., *apotel.* 3.11.4 and HEILEN 2015 [see n. 10 above]: 999). But not all places above the horizon are suitable for ἄφεις. If 'and' were correct, the method explained by Ps.-Manetho would not tell the practicing astrologer what to do in the many situations when the sun is above the horizon but cadent from a center (either from the ascendant or from the midheaven).

⁴⁸ Koechly's *editio minor* (1858) is different in reading προϊᾶσι (v. 407) and σφαλεραῖς (v. 408).

⁴⁹ I have taken these readings from De Stefani's apparatus and verified them through autopsy of L fol. 19^r.

De Stefani found it (understandably) difficult to make sense of this text, as is clear from his remarks in the apparatus criticus. One gets a similar impression when reading the confused translations by Koechly (1851: 48) and Lopilato (1998: 216–217, based on a few different textual choices). These difficulties arise from the text’s references to risings (vv. 403, 405) and to the evening (v. 407). They do not, as (to the best of my knowledge) all scholars to the present have assumed, refer to the *motions* of the sun and the planets with respect to the horizon⁵⁰ but to the *positions* of the single planets with respect to the sun. The poet is here reporting an exclusively astrological, *static* definition of ἀνατολή and δύσις which has developed out of (and envisages nothing but the results of) the *dynamic* processes of heliacal rising and setting. The exclusively astrological meaning of ἀνατολή and δύσις is attested in many texts and has been masterfully analyzed by S. Denningmann⁵¹. I use her diagram of the phases of the planets in relation to the sun to illustrate the doctrine⁵²:



When a planet happens to be located in one of the two dark grey areas, it is either ἔσπεριος ἀνατολικός (in the diagram: 15°–120° left of the sun) or ἔφος ἀνατολικός (in the diagram: 15°–120° right of the sun). In the light grey area, which extends 15° to either side of the sun, the planet is either ἔσπεριος δυστικός (left) or ἔφος δυστικός (right). Instead of δυστικός, one

⁵⁰ This assumption is explicitly perpetuated by DE STEFANI 2016: 188–189.

⁵¹ S. DENNINGMANN, *Die astrologische Lehre der Doryphorie. Eine soziomorphe Metapher in der antiken Planetenastrologie*, München – Leipzig 2005: 386–474. Cf. the short version by EAD., “The Ambiguous Terms ἔφα and ἔσπερία ἀνατολή, and ἔφα and ἔσπερία δύσις”, *Culture And Cosmos*, 11/1–2 (2007): 189–210. See also my German summary in HEILEN 2015 (see n. 10 above): 741–743.

⁵² DENNINGMANN 2007 (as previous note): 200 (reproduced with kind permission by the author).

also finds ὕπανυγος, ‘under the rays’ of the glaring sun which makes any other celestial body nearby invisible. In this technical terminology, the adjectives ‘vespertine’ (ἑσπέριος) and ‘matutinal’ (ἑφῶς) refer to the time within a νυχθήμερον (i.e., within 24 hours) when a planet that is ἀνατολικός is visible, i.e., either after sunset or before sunrise. In other words, they mean the same as ‘being on a higher / lower zodiacal longitude’. The use of ἑσπέριος and ἑφῶς is independent of the actual time of day. If the sun, which is arbitrarily located at the upper culmination (= noon) in the above diagram, were in any other position with respect to the horizon, the terminology would still be the same. As far as the astrological interpretation is concerned, a planet that is ‘under the rays’ (ὕπανυγος, = δυτικός) is weak and miserable, one that has ‘risen’ from the burnt zone around the sun (ἀνατολικός) is strong, especially when it is ‘matutinal’ (ἑφῶς), a bit less so when it is ‘vespertine’ (ἑσπέριος)⁵³, and its effects will come about soon when it is ‘matutinal’ (ἑφῶς), rather late when it is ‘vespertine’ (ἑσπέριος). It will be useful to take a fresh look at Ps.-Manetho’s introductory explanation (vv. 403–409) with two authoritative astrological statements in mind, one by Antigonos of Nicaea (2nd c. CE) and one by Paul of Alexandria (4th c. CE; he preserves much astrological material from earlier periods). The former says: αἱ γὰρ αἱ μὲν ἑφῶι ἀνατολαὶ ἐκ νεότητος ποιοῦσιν, αἱ δὲ ἑσπέριοι ἐπὶ προβάσεως δηλοῦσι τὰς πράξεις⁵⁴. And the latter: καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν ἑφῶς ἀνατολῆς οἱ ἀστέρες τυγχάνοντες ἐνεργεῖς καὶ δραστικοὶ ἀπὸ νεότητος πρὸς τὰ ἴδια ἀποτελέσματα νοεῖσθωσαν. ἐπὶ δὲ ἑσπερίας ἀνατολῆς κατὰ τὴν τῶν χρόνων πρόβασιν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀποτελέσμασιν ἐνεργοῦσιν. ἑφῶν δὲ κρύψιν ἢ ἑσπερίαν ποιοῦμενοι [...] ἀδρανεῖς καὶ ἀπράκτους καὶ ἀνεπιφάντους τὰς ἀποτελέσεις ἔχουσιν. ἑφῶι δὲ ἀνατολικοὶ οἱ ἀστέρες γίνονται, ὅταν ἀποδιαστῶσι τοῦ Ἡλίου μοίρας τε’ ἐν ταῖς προηγουμέναις μοίραις κτλ.⁵⁵

It now becomes clear that the modern editors’ ‘corrections’ of vv. 405, 407 and 408 are implausible. The original text is likely to be this (my conjectures in bold):

πάντες μὲν χαίρουσιν ἐπ’ ἀντολίησιν ἐόντες,
 ὡς ἐν εἴοσιν ἕκαστος ἀγαλλόμενος βασιλείοις,
 καὶ ῥά τ’ ἐπ’ ἀντολῆς μὲν **ἑφῆς** ἐκ νεότητος 405 (ἑφῶς ἀνατολικός; best case)
 θνητοῖς πάντα τελοῦσιν ἄγαν κρατεροὶ παρεόντες,
ἑσπέριοι δ’ ἔ<τι> βαρδύτεροι **ποιοῦσι** χρόνοισιν, (ἑσπέριος ἀνατολικός; good case)
δειλοὶ δ’ ἀγῆσιν μαλεραῖς ὑποπεπηθῶτες (δυτικός = ὕπανυγος; bad case)
 ἀδρανεές τε πέλονται ἐδὸν σθένος ἀμβλύνοντες.

All planetary deities rejoice when they are in their (respectively two) risings (with respect to the sun), as if each of them exulted in his own (two) palaces, and – to be precise (ῥά) – in their morning rising they accomplish everything for the mortals being present

⁵³ Cf. HEILEN 2015 (see n. 10 above): 744, with reference to Antig. Nic., F1 § 32 (ap. Heph., 2.18.32).

⁵⁴ Antig. Nic., F1 § 31 (ap. Heph., 2.18.31), ed. HEILEN 2015 (see n. 10 above): 138.

⁵⁵ Paul. Alex., 14, ed. E. BOER, Leipzig (Teubner) 1958: 28,21–29,8. Cf. the detailed analysis of this passage by DENNINGMANN 2005 (as n. 51 above): 430–437.

with utmost might; (in) vespertine (rising) they exercise their effects with more delay⁵⁶, and when they are crouched beneath the fierce rays (of the sun) and (therefore) wretched, they become (astrologically) weak because they blunt their (former) strength.

My conjectures have the advantage of establishing coherent, well-documented⁵⁷ meaning while sticking, on the whole, more closely to the transmitted text than all previous editors. Some details: The change of number from the plural ἐπ' ἀντολίησιν (v. 403) to the singular ἐπ' ἀντολῆς (v. 405) is probably not a chance product nor dictated by metrical convenience but due to the fact that there are actually two areas near the sun where a planet has astrologically 'risen', namely the ἐφ' ἀνατολή and the ἐσπερία ἀνατολή. As soon as these two are differentiated (v. 405), the singular is appropriate. L's εἰς (ibid.) is likely to be a corruption of ἐκ⁵⁸ and (since εἰς requires the accusative) to have led to a secondary corruption of νεότητος to νεότητα⁵⁹. For the verb ποιεῖν (v. 407) in its standard astrological meaning 'exercise an effect' cf. (if any proof is needed) v. 433 within the same passage (ποίησε, scil. Mercury) and v. 177 within the same book (Ἀφρογενουῶς δὲ Κρόνος παρεὼν οἴκοις τάδε ποιεῖ). The intrusion of ρ into the reading of L (προϊούσι) may have occurred under the influence of the immediately following word χρόνοισιν, but see also the preceding word which begins (in L) with βρα-. My conjecture δ' ἔ<τι> (v. 407) is far less certain. Note, however, that there are several instances of καὶ δ' ἔτι, πρὸς δ' ἔτι and εἰ δ' ἔτι in the corpus. Here the loss of τι could have been caused by the following word⁶⁰. As to δειλοὶ (v. 408), this adjective occurs frequently in the *Manethoniana*, and we even find it, earlier in the same book, combined with both ἀδρανέες and a compound of the participle πεπηθῶτες (2.168–169): Φαίνων νωχελέας τε καὶ ἀδρανέας μάλα ῥέζει, / δειλοὺς πανταρβεῖς τε, φρεσὶν καταπεπηθῶτας (note that even the positions of δειλ- and -πεπηθῶτ- within the respective verses are the same; it is irrelevant for the textual criticism that the objects described in 2.168–169 are mortals, not planetary gods). As to the syntax and meaning of vv. 408–409, cf. v. 421 (in the same passage, about Mars): ἦσσαν δ' ἐσπέριος γεγαῶς ἀδρανέστερα ῥέζει. Last, it is revealing how earlier editors have struggled with μαλεραῖς (v. 408): Koechly did not understand the point ("*fulgentibus*", 1851: 48) and changed the adjective to σφαλεραῖς in his subsequent *editio minor* (1858). De Stefani remarks (2017: 70, app. crit.): "*haud iniuria, quamquam μαλερός obvium ap[ud] Maneth[onem] est; f[or]t[asse] intellegi potest de stellis quae nondum ἀπὸ μβλύνται (et c[on]f[er] [Opp[ian]i] Hal[ieutica] 1.300 ἀμβλύνων μαλερόν σθένος).*" In his precious word index (2017: 265), he mentions six more occurrences of μαλερός, all of them in the original nucleus

⁵⁶ Lit.: being more slow with respect to time.

⁵⁷ See the previous quotations from Antigonus of Nicaea and Paul of Alexandria.

⁵⁸ Cf. De Stefani's approval (2016: 187) for Axt's correction of 2.381 καὶ τ' τοὺς κάκ' (see n. 26 above).

⁵⁹ De Stefani points out (2017: 10) that the *antigraphon* of L must have contained cases of the well-known abbreviation ο for -ος. If this was the case in v. 405, the scribe of L may even more easily have corrupted νεότητ^ο to νεότητα.

⁶⁰ Another, less likely conjecture: δ' ἔ<τ>ε (with omission of the *copula*).

of the poem (i.e., in books 2, 3, and 6). One of them, 6.389–390 (εἰ δέ κε τοῖσι καὶ Ἥλιος συνέπηται, / ἄσσοτέρω μαλεροῖο πυρὸς τέχνας μογέουσιν), alludes to what is meant in our verse (408), too, namely the destructive heat in the immediate proximity of the sun⁶¹.

After this introduction, the poet moves on to the specific tenets regarding each planet's conjunction with the sun (vv. 410–435). These lines present various difficulties that cannot be solved here. It is a *desideratum* for future research to determine if the poet specifies all three situations mentioned in vv. 403–409 or – this is my impression – only the last one, namely being under the rays of the sun (either on a lower or on a higher longitude, i.e., either ἔϕος δυτικός or ἑσπέριος δυτικός). This analysis requires careful comparison with several parallels in the works of Dorotheus, Anubio, Vettius Valens and Firmicus Maternus⁶². Suffice it here to focus briefly on v. 433, where De Stefani changes the transmitted ἐζ//ομένους to δυόμενος⁶³. This line belongs to the last piece of information in our passage (vv. 431–435), which deals with the conjunction of Mercury with the sun. The first two lines (vv. 431–432) describe a negative effect (Ἐρμῆς δ' Ἡλίῳ ξυνήν βαίνων κατ' ἀταρπὸν / ἡμερσεν σοφίης καὶ παιδείης μάλα πολλῆς), which is clearly one of the negative effects of 'being under the fierce rays' as generally stated in vv. 408–409. It would therefore be very surprising to hear in v. 433 of Mercury heliacally setting and thus becoming astrologically δυτικός, as if the previous two lines had been about the opposite, i.e., about being astrologically ἀνατολικός. Moreover, there is no form of δύνειν or δύνεσθαι in this entire passage (vv. 2.402–437), and the change from ἐζ//ομένους to δυόμενος is palaeographically awkward. I do not see the need for an emendation of the first three words of v. 433 as transmitted in L: ἐζομένους ποίησε βίους may be a pun that allows for two equally correct interpretations, 'he produces sitting lives' (because Egyptian scribes would hold the writing tablets on their laps while sitting on the ground) and 'he produces crouched lives' (cf. v. 408 ὑποπεπηῶτες, LSJ s.v. ἔζομαι I.2 "crouch" with epic examples, and Firm., *math.* 6.25.2 about these very natives – with Mercury under the rays – being *omni ratione sollicitos ... superstitiosa trepidatione sollicitos etc.*).

Incidentally, this third example leads to another potentially useful insight which concerns the summaries of the contents of books 2, 3, and 6 in L. De Stefani states in his introduction (35) that they are in all likelihood old, probably written by an ancient editor of the poems, if not by the author himself ("wenn nicht vom Autor selbst"). While they may indeed be old, or even very old, we shall see that the summary of book 2 (and probably those of books 3 and 6, too) cannot be by the author himself because it contains substantial misunderstandings and

⁶¹ In the quotation from Oppianus, instead, the fierce strength is that of pain (πήματος) and therefore irrelevant to our context.

⁶² Dor. paraphr., PINGREE 1976: 354,4–357,7 (= Anub., T8,308–410 Schubert). Dor. arab., 2,18–19. Vett. Val. *app.* I (PINGREE 1986: 369–389). Firm., *math.* 6,22–27. These texts present clear parallels for several (yet not all) details of Ps.-Manetho's passage. Compare, for instance, vv. 426–430 (on Venus) with Firm., *math.* 6.25.1.

⁶³ Cf. De Stefani's discussion of this passage in his article (2016): 188–189.

omissions. It reads thus (L f. 14^r)⁶⁴:

Ἐν τῷ β' τούτῳ βιβλίῳ διέξεισιν·

A. Περὶ τῆς θέσεως τῶν ἐν τῇ σφαίρᾳ κύκλων φαινομένων τε καὶ ἀφανῶν καὶ ἄξονος καὶ ὀρίζοντος καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς κύκλοις τῶν ἄστρον τε καὶ ἀστέρων θέσεως καὶ τῶν λοξῶν κύκλων.

B. Τί ἕκαστος τῶν ἑπτὰ πλανητῶν ἐν ἰδίῳ, καὶ τί ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ οἴκῳ φαινόμενος ἀποτελεῖ.

Γ. Τίς ἐκάστου τῶν ἑπτὰ πλανητῶν ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, καὶ τίς ἐν τῇ δύσει ἢ δύναις.

Δ. Περὶ τῆς φάσεως τῶν ζ' πλανητῶν, καὶ τί μὲν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τῷ ἡλίῳ συνὼν ἀποτελεῖ, καὶ τί διαμετρῶν, τί δὲ τῇ σελήνῃ καθ' ἕκαστην τῶν δύο φάσεων αὐτῆς.

While the first two entries (A and B) summarize quite accurately the long sections 2.18–140 (on the celestial circles) and 2.141–398 (on the effects of the planets in their own and other planets' houses), the last two entries (Γ and Δ) show that whoever wrote them did not understand that vv. 2.402–437 form a unified whole, 2.402–409 (cf. Γ) being the general introduction to the subsequent specific tenets (2.410–435, cf. Δ) about the conjunctions of each of the five planets with the sun⁶⁵. This misunderstanding is all the more remarkable because the poet has emphasized the unity of vv. 2.402–437 by phrasing the first and last lines in almost identical wording⁶⁶. As a consequence of his misunderstanding, the writer of the summary misinterpreted πάντες (2.403) as denoting all seven planets including the luminaries (cf. Γ: ἐκάστου τῶν ἑπτὰ πλανητῶν), while it actually refers only to the five planets Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury, whose conjunctions with the sun are discussed in the following lines⁶⁷. The misunderstanding of πάντες continues in the next entry, Δ, which speaks once more of seven planets (Περὶ τῆς φάσεως τῶν ζ' πλανητῶν κτλ.) although the poet actually discusses the phases of the same five planets as before. Apart from this numerical mistake, the content of Δ is acceptable until including διαμετρῶν; then it gets wrong because the remainder of the second book does not treat 'what (each of the planets brings about being in conjunction) with the moon during the moon's two phases'. If one takes the words τί δὲ τῇ σελήνῃ (scil. ἕκαστος αὐτῶν συνὼν ἀποτελεῖ) alone, they acceptably (though somewhat

⁶⁴ DE STEFANI 2017: 37.

⁶⁵ In the same fashion, vv. 2.141–398, which the writer of the summary correctly treats as a unity (B), falls into a general introduction (2.141–149) that is followed by the respective specific tenets (2.150–398). By the way, both general introductions (2.141–149 and 2.402–409) are, in L (ff. 15^v and 19^v), marked with asterisks, one asterisk preceding each verse. I assume, however, that whoever added these asterisks simply meant to mark the respective verses as important, nothing more.

⁶⁶ Cf. v. 402 ὄσσα δ' ἄμ' Ἠελίῳ δρῶσιν παρεόντες, αἰέσω and vv. 436–438 τόσσα μὲν Ἠελίῳ μούνην ζυνη παρεόντες / ῥέζουσ', ἴσα δὲ τοῖσι καὶ ἀντίον Ἠελίου / φαινόμενοι.

⁶⁷ That πάντες cannot refer to the sun is also clear from v. 408 where 'they' (i.e., πάντες) are envisaged as being under the fierce rays of the sun (cf. above on the meaning of ἀυγήσιν μαλεραῖς ὑποπεπτηῶτες). Moreover, cf. the title of Paul of Alexandria's chapter 14, from which the above quotation (see n. 55) had been taken: Περὶ ὧν ποιοῦνται φάσεων οἱ πέντε (!) ἀστέρες πρὸς τὸν Ἥλιον.

vaguely) describe the content of vv. 441–480, which are about the moon’s approaches to and separations from the five planets. If the poet himself had written the summary, one would expect to find the two technical terms συναφή (‘approach’) and ἀπόρροια (‘separation’)⁶⁸, especially since the poet clearly announces this topic in vv. 438–440 (Μήνη δ’ ἅ σὺν αὐτοῖσιν παρεοῦσα / ῥέζει ἐν δισσησιν ἀπορροίαις συναφαῖς τε / θνητοῖς ἐν μογερωῖ βιότω, καὶ νῦν ἐνέποιμι). It is only after these two sections (vv. 2.402–437 and 2.441–480) that the poet extends the perspective (v. 481) to the moon’s approaches to and separations from the *sun*, and still later (v. 489) to conjunctions and oppositions of the two luminaries, thus touching eventually, in the last 14 lines of book 2 (vv. 489–502), upon two phases of the moon (cf. Δ at the end), which are, by the way, not ‘the’ two, as the writer of the summary has it (τῶν δύο φάσεων αὐτῆς – he was probably misled by v. 491 τάσδε δύο φάσιαις), but two out of a canonical set of seven lunar phases⁶⁹. The poet himself implies that there are more than two lunar phases when he speaks (v. 497) of ‘all’ lunar phases (ἐν φάσεσιν πάσησιν). In short, the writer of the summary did not understand the structure of lines 2.399–502, which fall into three distinct sections that deal with three distinct topics: each of the five planets being in the proximity of either the sun (vv. 402–437) or the moon (vv. 438–480) or both luminaries being in the proximity of each other (vv. 481–520). Each of these three sections contains brief remarks on oppositions of the respective celestial bodies, too. The final words of item Δ of the summary do not allow for a plausible emendation, obviously because they are not a sentence from the poet’s pen, which suffered textual corruption, but the confused attempt of another, less competent person at summarizing vv. 2.402–502. The poet’s own qualities with regard to clear structure and circumspect organization of his didactic material become evident if we consider that the first two of the aforementioned three sections (vv. 2.402–437 and 2.441–480) are of almost equal length, both discuss the five planets in descending order, and both finish with a brief reference to oppositions⁷⁰; there is even more: the last hundred verses of this book (vv. 2.402–502), which item Δ summarizes so inadequately, form but the beginning of what the poet has announced in vv. 2.399–401, namely that he will now (after having completed the treatment of each planet being alone in its own or another planet’s house, vv. 2.141–398) speak of configurations (either conjunctions or aspects) of planets either among each other or with respect to specific places of the chart. This broad topic occupies not only the rest of the second book but also most of the third book where the places and cardines of the chart as well as aspects of the five planets first come into play, and they do so right from the start, thus justifying the beginning of a new book⁷¹. This last remark

⁶⁸ Cf. HEILEN 2015 (as n. 10 above): 749–758.

⁶⁹ Cf. HEILEN 2015 (as n. 10 above): 851–852, with copious references to Greek and Latin texts (add Paul. Alex., 16 and Olymp., 15). Besides the canonical seven phases, one finds isolated references to four, five, ten, or eleven phases of the moon, but never to a total of only two.

⁷⁰ See also another shared feature mentioned in n. 65 above.

⁷¹ The only kind of aspect treated in the second book is the opposition of the luminaries (full moon, vv. 490–502).

is important because it leads back to and further corroborates my above emendation of vv. 403–409: the entire section 2.402–502 has nothing to do with horizon phenomena such as cosmic risings or settings⁷²; it is exclusively about zodiacal positions of celestial bodies with respect to each other.

The analysis of the three examples above leads to some general insights:

1. One should not overdo in emending the *codex unicus* L. This heavily corrupted manuscript certainly requires numerous emendations, but here and there words that have prompted editorial interventions in the past turn out to be sound, as is the case with v. 6.747 καὶ ὄρη (example 1 above).

2. One should evaluate the merits of all printed editions that preceded De Stefani's, especially of the last two (Koechly 1851 and 1858, cf. n. 17 above), with caution. Young Koechly, whom De Stefani calls 'the hero of the *Manethoniana*' and 'their greatest editor'⁷³, was doubtlessly an admirable philologist. However, he applied his outstanding talent at a time when only a tiny amount of the extant astrological literature was available in unreliable editions from the 15th to 17th centuries, to say nothing of the scholarly investigation of the complex doctrinal system of ancient astrology from the late 19th century onwards⁷⁴. It is important cautiously to weigh each of Koechly's conjectures against the results of this research. All three of the above examples contain 'emendations' that should not have been adopted in the latest edition that is here under review⁷⁵.

3. It is promising systematically to search for parallels of both wording and content in the vast body of extant Greek astrological texts that has become available in recent decades, as the parallels from Antigonus of Nicaea and Paul of Alexandria in the third example above have shown⁷⁶.

In sum, De Stefani deserves credit for his high editorial standards and his obvious philological acumen. He has produced the best available edition of the *Manethoniana*. In view, however, of the poor state of transmission of the text and its partly difficult astrological content, there is room left for further improvement. Even if the present reviewer would not dare to claim that all textual problems of this corpus can be solved, it is much to be hoped that De Stefani's edition will stimulate further research on the *Manethoniana*.

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⁷² I emphasize this point because the ascendant and the descendant are two of the aforementioned four cardines of the chart, and I speak of 'cosmic risings and settings' as opposed to heliacal risings and settings.

⁷³ DE STEFANI 2017: 21 and 42. He also dedicates his edition to Koechly (ibid.: 42).

⁷⁴ See my survey of the development of research into the history of astrology in HEILEN 2015 (as n. 10 above): 3–9.

⁷⁵ Cf. Koechly's changes of v. 6.747 καὶ ὄρη to καθ' ὄρης (example 1), of v. 3.411 ἦ τ' to ἦδ' (example 2), and of v. 2.407 ἐσπέριοι to ἐσπερίοισι (example 3).

⁷⁶ See notes 54 and 55.