Anubio Reconsidered

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The Greek poet Anubio, who lived probably in the first century AD, was hitherto a rather shadowy figure in the history of ancient astrology. His poem was one of many ancient texts dealing with the alleged influences of the heavenly bodies on Earth, a product of that widely spread ancient view according to which astrology and astronomy were two indiscernible halves of the one and only astral science. There was no clear terminological distinction between these two parts,[1] and what we call 'astrology' was by many considered to be the practical application of the more theoretical sister science ('astronomy').[2] Important discoveries have now been made, and new insights gained, concerning one of these astrological manuals.

Obbink's new Teubner edition[3] of the fragments of the astrological poet Anubio grew out of his earlier edition [1999] of five papyri from Oxyrhynchus, namely, P. Oxy. 66.4503–4507.[4] These new fragments[5] substantially deepened our knowledge of the poem of Anubio and called for a collection of all its fragments. It is praiseworthy that the editor, an expert in papyrology but not in astrology, agreed to undertake this difficult task and to make his collection of all relevant

[1] See Hübner 1989. I owe some observations in this review to personal communications from W. Hübner. My borrowings from his review of the same work [2008] will be acknowledged in the notes.

[2] See, e.g., Ptolemy, *Tetr.* 1.1.1.

[3] Dirk Obbink. ed. *Anubio. Carmen astrologicum elegiacum.* Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Munich/Leipzig: K. G. Saur, 2006. ISBN 978–3–598–71228–9. Pp. x + 79 (with 4 plates). € 64.95, $91.00.

[4] For a detailed discussion of Anubio's life and times, his poem, its structure, its relation to Firmicus' *Mathesis*, its content, and its meter and versification, see Obbink 1999, 57–66. I agree on most, yet not all, detail of that otherwise very useful and informative discussion. The account of Gundel and Gundel 1966, 155–157, is largely obsolete and should be used with extreme caution.

[5] In Obbink 2006, they are F1 [4503 *recto*], F3 [4504], F4 [4503 *verso*], F5 [4505], and—among the *fragmenta incerta*—F19 [4506], F20 [4507].

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texts available within a few years after the first publication of the new papyri.[6] I have rarely found it so exciting to work through a new book. Despite various shortcomings that will be addressed in the following, this book has the potential to stimulate much subsequent research, as the length of the present review article indicates.

Obbink's edition is based on all relevant texts except for one important, recently published fragment [P. Gen. IV 157].[7] It contains nine testimonia and 14 fragments with a total of about 100 original verses. In addition, Obbink presents eight uncertain fragments [F15–F22]. Obbink 2006 is, therefore, much more than a simple reproduction of Obbink 1999. Its value is further increased by the facts that Obbink 1999 is no longer available in print, that the papyri are now presented in a double page layout[8]—the diplomatic transcript (left) facing the edited text (right), and that some details have been corrected or updated.[9] The volume is illustrated with four plates [F1, F3, F4, F5]. As usual in the Teubner series, the texts are presented without translations or commentaries. In the case of the new fragments from Oxyrhynchus, English translations and commentaries are available in the previous publication [Obbink 1999]. However, many of the texts collected in Obbink 2006 were never translated into any modern language. The expected readership is, then, experts in classical philology and/or in the history of the astral sciences in antiquity.[10] Therefore, detailed comments will be given below in the second part of this review article, regarding each single *testimonium*/fragment.

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[6] Various other scholars—but no historian of astrology—made contributions: see the acknowledgements in the *praefatio* and in the *apparatus criticus*.

[7] See Schubert 2009a and 2009b as well as Appendix 3, p. 178. In a few cases Obbink did not use all relevant passages of a text [e.g., F21]; more on this below.

[8] Except for F19–F20, which are too badly preserved as to deserve such a layout.

[9] There are, however, new typographical errors in Obbink 2006 which were absent in the original publication.

[10] Note, however, that the astronomical and calendrical computations in the fragments are not numerous and of an elementary character [see esp. F2 and F16.1–7].

1. Anubio's place in the history of Greco-Roman astrology

First, however, I will offer a general survey in order to give the reader an idea of the philological methods that made this collection of more than 20 fragments possible despite the fact that only three of them bear explicit attributions to Anubio [F2, F7, F9].[11] This survey will lead to new insights concerning both the sources and the reception of Anubio.

It was W. Kroll who observed around 1900, while working with O. Skutsch on the second volume of their edition of the *Mathesis* of Firmicus Maternus,[12] that two Greek prose paraphrases, one explicitly derived from Anubio, one without attribution, both matched the content of *Math.* 6.3–27 so closely as to leave no doubt that all three texts went back to a common source, which Kroll identified with Anubio.[13] Soon after (this was overlooked by many, including Obbink) J. Heeg [1910a] argued convincingly that the paraphrase without attribution does not go back to Anubio but to Dorotheus of Sidon, author of a lost astrological poem in dactylic hexameters of which scattered Greek fragments and a complete (rather free) translation in Arabic are preserved.[14] Since these paraphrases will be mentioned frequently in the following, I shall avoid confusion by calling them consistently 'Par. Anub'. and 'Par. <Dor.>'.[15]

An important new step towards the edition that is here under review was the publication in 1950 of the astrological papyrus P. Schubart 15 (P. Berol. inv. 9587), since this publication led to S. Weinstock's discovery [1952, 211] that its elegiacs distichs 'are almost verbally translated by Firmicus Maternus, 6, 31, 78–85'. Chapters 6.29–31 of Firmicus' *Mathesis* contain a large collection of examples:

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[11] On F13, see p. 157.

[12] Vol. 1 (1897) and vol. 2 (1913): repr. with addenda by K. Ziegler [see Kroll, Skutsch, and Ziegler 1968].

[13] See Kroll's analysis in 1900, 159–160.

[14] See Heeg 1910a. Kroll acknowledged the correctness of Heeg's argumentation in 1913 [see Kroll, Skutsch, and Ziegler 1968, 2.71]. Dorotheus was edited by Pingree [1976].

[15] For full references to the available editions of these texts, see the bibliography below. As will be shown in the following, *Par. Anub.* is—despite its explicit attribution to Anubio—mostly derived from Dorotheus. Its short title will, therefore, be expanded later to 'Par. Anub. <et Dor.>'.

more precisely they contain typical alignments which were probably derived, at least partially, from the analysis of the charts of historical individuals and serve to illustrate and deepen the theoretical instruction concerning the effects of astrological aspects in the previous chapters 6.3–27. Since

- *Math.* 6.3–27 has a complete Greek equivalent in *Par. Anub.* and
- 6.29–31 has a partial Greek equivalent in the elegiac distichs of P. Schubart 15 and
- Anubio is the only known astrological poet to have written in elegiac distichs,[16]

it is reasonable to infer that all of *Math.* 6.3–31 goes back to Anubio. This assumption was further substantiated by Obbink's discovery that the new elegiac fragments F3–F5 from Oxyrhynchus almost verbally correspond to sections in *Math.* 6.29–31,[17] thereby forming a group with P. Schubart 15 [= F6].

This brilliant philological reconstruction done by several generations of scholars leaves no reasonable doubt that all Greek astrological texts in elegiac distichs that correspond with passages in *Math.* 6.3–31 derive from the lost poem of Anubio. Other astrological texts in elegiac distichs, which have no equivalent in *Math.* 6.3–31, are very likely to be of Anubio, too. Yet, these cases are not certain and need, therefore, to be listed as *fragmenta incerta*. This is the basic, convincing rationale that underlies Obbink's selection and arrangement of the fragments. In some cases, however, Obbink did not apply his own criteria rigorously enough or there are special circumstances that need to be taken into consideration. These cases, which will be discussed below, suggest a partial rearrangement of both the *testimonia* and the fragments.

Before we embark upon the discussion of single *testimonia* and fragments, one question of fundamental importance remains to be addressed: What is the actual source that Firmicus drew on in *Math.* 6.3–31? Is it

[16] Authors from late antiquity such as Hephaestio as well as authors from the Byzantine period speak of Anubio in a way that shows that he was the only elegiac astrological poet whom they knew of.

[17] F3 = 6.29.23–30.5; F4 = 6.30.6–7; F5 = 6.30.20–22.

(a) Anubio's original poem, or
(b) the preserved paraphrase *Par. Anub.*, or
(c) the poem of Dorotheus of Sidon?[18]

While all scholars so far either take one of these various possibilities or hesitate between (a) and (b), I do not find their arguments compelling. I wish to propose instead a hitherto unexplored alternative, namely, that all these authors (Anubio, Dorotheus, Firmicus, and also pseudo-Manetho) drew, independently from each other, on a common source, one that was authoritative enough to influence numerous successors. I will now outline briefly the main arguments for this view.

Firmicus never mentions the poet Anubio by name[19] and there is no evidence that he knew the elegiac poem at all. As Obbink and others have rightly observed, Firmicus treats his astrological topics in much more detail than the preserved corresponding passages of Anubio's poem do. This is usually explained as the result of textual expansions and changes either by Firmicus himself or by the author of *Par. Anub.* (if Firmicus drew on that) or by both of them.[20] But a close inspection of the material gives rise to serious doubts. For example, F4 b 7–9 says exactly the opposite of *Math.* 6.30.6.[21]

Let us take a closer look at F3. The whole hexameter F3 ii 4 has no equivalent in the corresponding passage *Math.* 6.29.23, while *Math.* 6.30.1 *et Sol sit in MC., Luna et horoscopo in Cancro constitutis* has no counterpart in F3 ii 15–16. The immediately preceding condition regarding Mars is less clearly defined in Anubio [F3 ii 14] than in Firmicus, and the following condition regarding Saturn's aspect to the Moon bears in each of the two texts a specification that cannot be found in the other one (μοῦνος, *pariter*). Interestingly, both these conditions are fulfilled perfectly in the chart of Oedipus, which forms the last part of *Math.* 6.30.1, so as to suggest that both Anubio and Firmicus drew in a selective manner on a common prose source which

[18] This is the view of Heeg [1910a] and Stegemann [1943].
[19] I agree on this with Boll [1909, 2371]. On T3, which must be rejected as a *testimonium* see p. 140.
[20] *Math.* 6.30.2, for example, has no counterpart in Anub. F3. The preceding paragraph [*Math.* 6.30.1] can be paralleled with F3 ii 10–18 and the following paragraph [*Math.* 6.30.3], with F3 ii 19–24.
[21] See Obbink 1999, 80 for an attempt to explain this.

already contained that horoscope as an example. Note that these idealized horoscopes at 6.30.1 (Oedipus), 6.30.11–12 (Paris), 6.30.22–26 (Demosthenes, Homer, Plato, Pindar, Archilochus, Archimedes), and 6.31.37 (Thersites) were absent from Anubio's poem, as F3 ii 10–18 [~ *Math.* 6.30.1] and F5 b [~ *Math.* 6.30.22] show, where Firmicus' final remarks that these were the horoscopes of Oedipus and Demosthenes, respectively, are missing. Moreover, it is very unlikely that Firmicus himself made them up (except, maybe, that of Archimedes, the most recent historical individual and the only one from Sicily, Firmicus' homeland). These ideal horoscopes look quite archaic in their simplicity, and it is noteworthy that the core of the *Corpus Manethonianum*, i.e., pseudo-Manetho 2/3/6,[22] which can be dated to the early second century thanks to the author's autobiographical horoscope [pseudo-Manetho 6[3].738–750],[23] also contains in the same book the horoscope of Oedipus [pseudo-Manetho 6[3].160–169]. If one examines the details, one finds that both authors, pseudo-Manetho as well as Firmicus, seem to have derived this horoscope from a common source, independently from each other.[24] This strongly indicates that Firmicus' ideal horoscopes in 6.30–31 are from the first century AD or even earlier. In order to conclude this part of the argument with regard to Anubio, it is important to keep in mind that Firmicus seems to have drawn not on Anubio, nor on paraphrases derived from Anubio, but on the same source as Anubio. Whoever prefers to stick

[22] These are books 1, 2, and 3 in the restored order in Koechly 1858.

[23] The alignment can be dated to AD 80 May 27/28.

[24] This is all the more obvious because also the context in both texts reveals striking parallels which, however, cannot be explained on the hypothesis that Firmicus used pseudo-Manetho. Compare, for example, the following passages that precede the horoscope of Oedipus in both texts:

pseudo-Manetho	Firmicus, *Math.*
6[3].151–153	6.29.20
6[3].154–159	6.29.22
6[3].180–184	6.29.24

and so forth. It would go beyond the scope of this article to compare both books systematically, but there is no doubt that pseudo-Manetho and Firmicus drew their examples from the same source.

to the commonly accepted view that Firmicus drew his material in book 6 from Anubio must, then,

- resort to the unlikely hypothesis that Firmicus regularly checked Anubio against Anubio's source (the 'common source'), because otherwise Firmicus would not have found the references to Oedipus, Demosthenes, and others, and
- deny the validity of the arguments that will be adduced later with regard to *Par. Anub.* [p. 134].

It is now time to take a closer look at Dorotheus. As has long been observed, the Arabic translation of Dorotheus (hereafter, Dor. Arab.) contains a long section [2.14–33] that corresponds so obviously with *Par. Anub.*(!) as to make Pingree [1976, 344–367] include *Par. Anub.* in his edition of the fragments of Dorotheus. Pingree [1976, 344] assumed that Anubio used Dorotheus and that the text of Anubio was then translated into Latin by Firmicus. But why should a poet find it attractive to rephrase in a closely related meter (elegiac distichs) astrological material that had already been versified in dactylic hexameters by Dorotheus? An additional, more compelling argument against Pingree's view is the following: as the new fragments F3, F4, F5, combined with P. Schubart 15 [F6], show, Anubio did the same as Firmicus, namely, after his exposition of general rules concerning the effects of the aspects [= *Math.* 6.3–27], he continued with the presentation of *specific* examples [= *Math.* 6.29–31].[25] Since these examples were (as the Arabic version shows) completely absent from Dorotheus' poem, Anubio cannot have drawn this material from Dorotheus. And since the general rules and the specific

[25] Compare Firmicus' explicit remarks in the transitional chapter 6.28 which begins thus:

> [6.28.1] completis his omnibus [i.e., 6.3–27], antequam sermo noster ad horoscoporum transferatur exempla [i.e., 6.29–31], illud prudentiam tuam breviter admonemus etc.

and ends thus [6.28.2]:

> ut quicquid generali explicatione monstravimus [i.e., 6.3–27], specialiter rursus iunctis sententiis explicemus.

> [6.28.1] Now that we have finished all these discussions and before our work turns to the examples concerning the ascendant, we must briefly call to your attention that... [6.28.2] so that whatever we have described in general we shall show again in detail.

examples form a unit whose two parts logically follow upon each other, it is reasonable to assume that already in Anubio's and Firmicus' common source they formed a unit. Dorotheus arranged the material differently. After the exposition of general rules for aspects, he decided to fill the remaining part of his second book with other material from the common source, namely, the effects of the planets in the centers [2.21–27] and in each other's houses and terms [2.28–33]: this is material that Firmicus had already treated earlier, in his fifth book, and Anubio must also have treated it, as F22 shows.[26] Table 1 illustrates the correspondences, including also the core poem of the *Corpus Manethonianum*, i.e., pseudo-Manetho 2/3/6 [1/2/3]. The table is based on the order of the material in Firmicus, which must have been that of the common source because it logically proceeds from the isolated effects of single planets in certain places to the combined effects of two or more planets aspecting each other.

While Pingree wrongly thought that Anubio used Dorotheus, he wisely included *Par. Anub.* in his edition of the fragments of Dorotheus (this is the last important clarification to make here). For despite the explicit attribution to Anubio in the heading of the first chapter, the anonymous excerptor obviously also had at his disposal a copy of Dorotheus, whose name he mentions twice explicitly.[27] Analysis of this paraphrase shows that the scribe very soon after the start switched from Anubio to Dorotheus, and one gets the impression that he kept following Dorotheus until the end. Note, however, that the manuscript attribution of this paraphrase's chapters on aspects to Anubio is not just a scribal mistake or guesswork of a later copyist: in the same manuscript, the immediately preceding chapter contains literal quotations of elegiac distichs from Anubio [= F8]. Apparently the scribe really started the paraphrase [T8] from Anubio and switched, then, to Dorotheus.

This insight is important because it makes Table 1 more easily understandable and has the consequence that not only F10 (from *Par. <Dor.>*) but also F9 (from *Par. Anub.* [= T8], which will in the following be more appropriately called *Par. Anub. <et Dor.>*) must

[26] On F22, see p. 169.

[27] T8.342 φησὶ γὰρ ὁ Δωρόθεος κτλ. = Pingree 1976, 355.6 and—beyond the section that Obbink included in his edition—361.19–20 φησὶ γὰρ καὶ Δωρόθεος κτλ.

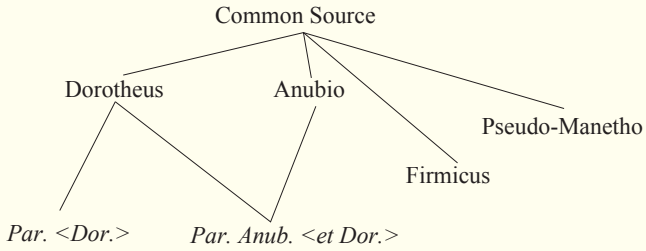
Dor. Arab.	*Par. Anub.*	Anubio	pseudo-Manetho[a]	Firmicus, *Math.*	Subject[b]
2.20–27	(*)[c]	F22.3–4	3 [2] 8–226	Lost in the *lacuna* before 5.5	The seven 'planets' in the four centers (κεντροθεσίαι)
2.28–33	T8.411–54	F22.6–7 F22.14–15 F22.11–12	2 [1] 141–396	5.5–6[d]	The seven 'planets' in each other's houses and terms (τοπικαὶ διακρίσεις)
					Effects of:
2.14	T8.1–75	(F10.2)[e]	3 [2] 227–362	6.3–8	trine aspects
2.15	T8.76–207	——	3 [2] 227–362	6.9–14	square aspects
2.16	T8.208–302 + 305–307[f]	(F9),[g] F10.5[h]	3 [2] 227–362	6.15–20	oppositions
2.17	T8.302–304	——	——	6.21	sextile aspects
2.18–19	T8.308–410	(F10.1),[h] F14	2 [1] 397–485	6.22–27	conjunctions
——	——	F3–F6	6[3]	6.29–31	Typical charts

[a] Book numbers are given according to the mss tradition, followed by Koechly's restored order in parentheses [1858].
[b] The Greek key words in parentheses derive from Dorotheus: see Pingree 1976, 367.21–23 (quoted in full below).
[c] This is the final section in Pingree 1976, 361–367. Obbink rightly omits it as irrelevant to Anubio.
[d] Most of this long chapter is lost in the *lacuna* before 5.5; only the final section is preserved. See Kroll, Skutsch, and Ziegler 1968, 2.58 *app. crit.*
[e] *Re vera* from Dorotheus! See p. 154 on F10.
[f] T8.305–307 is an addendum (after the concluding remarks on sextile aspects) on the opposition of the luminaries. It equals Firmicus, *Math.* 6.18, but is missing in Dor. Arab. 2.16. Thus, the scribe was following Dorotheus here.
[g] *Re vera* from Dorotheus! See p. 153 on F9.
[h] *Re vera* from Dorotheus! See p. 154 on F10.

Table 1

be eliminated from the list of fragments of Anubio. This crucial point will be substantiated with detailed argument in Appendix 2 [p. 173].

Altogether, then, it is clear that this paraphrase, despite its initial attribution to Anubio, is almost entirely derived from Dorotheus. It seems most plausible to assume the following relationships between the authors in question:



Can the 'Common Source' be identified? Firmicus provides two clues for an answer. After his quotation from the chapters on κεντροθεσίαι and τοπικαὶ διακρίσεις, he assures Mavortius that he left out absolutely nothing of what 'the divine men of old' had put forth:

> haec tibi sunt omnia Mavorti decus nostrum specialiter intimata, nec a nobis aliquid est praetermissum, quod divini veteres et istius interpretes disciplinae prudentis sollertiae et docti sermonis studio protulerunt. [Firmicus, *Math.* 5.7.1]
>
> These matters have now all been explained to you in detail, my dear Mavortius, and nothing has been left out by me of what the divine men of old and the expounders of this discipline produced in their eagerness for prognostic expertise and learned discourse. [my trans. with borrowings from Bram 1975, 180]

He is probably referring to Nechepso and Petosiris, the major authorities of Hellenistic astrology.[28] The second clue is from the presence

[28] See also Firmicus, *Math.* 5.prooem. 6: *animus* [*scil. noster*] *divina inspiratione formatus totum conatus est quod didicerat explicare, ut quidquid divini veteres ex Aegyptiis adytis protulerunt, ad Tarpeiae rupis templa perferret.* Boll [1909, 2371] interprets this as 'einen deutlichen Hinweis auf die Ägypter, d.h. Nechepso-Petosiris'. See also *Math.* 8.5.1 *divini illi viri et sanctissimae religionis antistites, Petosiris et Nechepso.*

of that large collection of more than 100 typical charts preserved in Firmicus, *Math.* 6.29–31. The only prose collection of such examples from the time before Valens that we know of are the (now lost) παραδειγματικαὶ γενέσεις of 'the Egyptian authors' that Ptolemy mentions in *Tetr.* 1.21.18.[29] Ptolemy probably means Nechepso and Petosiris. Both clues hint, then, at the same source.[30] Even if certainty is impossible, it is very likely that all three poets, Anubio, Dorotheus, and pseudo-Manetho, versified extensive prose sections from the famous, authoritative manual of Nechepso and Petosiris, and that Firmicus translated them in books 5 and 6.[31] That would also explain why almost nothing of that 'bible of astrology'[32] is preserved in the original.

If Obbink and earlier scholars, starting with Riess,[33] are right with their dating of Anubio to the reign of Nero, which is the time of Dorotheus, both poets may have versified their common source more or less contemporaneously, independently from each other, in a period when astrology was especially *en vogue*, so much so that it gave rise both to versifications by poets wishing to satisfy the high demand of practitioners for summaries that could easily be learned by heart, and to such derisory texts by critics as the epigram of the

[29] Ptolemy mentions these exemplary horoscopes in the context of the Egyptian system of terms. In Firmicus' Latin adaptation, references to the astrological terms are admittedly rare: see, e.g., *Math.* 6.30.2 *in finibus Mercurii* and 6.30.6 *in finibus Veneris*.

[30] Note that Firmicus moves on from *Math.* 5.7.1, where he mentions the *divini veteres*, to the immediately following sixth book without indicating a change of source.

[31] Already Boll [1909, 2371] thought that the ultimate source of *Math.* 6.3–27 on aspects was the manual of Nechepso and Petosiris, and still earlier Kroll [1906, 62] had expressed his opinion that Valens' long chapter on aspects [*Anthol.* 2.17] went back to Nechepso and Petosiris: *ad Nechepsonem et Petosiridem haec redire haud dissimile est veri.* To my knowledge, however, no comprehensive view of Firmicus and the three astrological poets, like the one proposed here, has been put forth so far. Note that besides Valens, *Anthol.* 2.17, there is another prose treatise on aspects in papyrus PSI 158 [see Boll 1914, 5–10] whose internal order is, like that of *Anthol.* 2.17, confused; and it is unclear which relationship they have to the texts that are included in the stemma above.

[32] Boll 1908, 106 = Boll 1950, 4 (*die Astrologenbibel*).

[33] See Riess 1894, col. 2322, and Riess 1895, 186n1.

Neronian poet Lucillius (think also of the zodiacal dish in Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis*).[34] As for the concise, poetical versions of authoritative yet endless manuals like that of Nechepso and Petosiris, Anubio's choice of the elegiac meter seems particularly happy because it combines the mnemotechnical advantage of an alternating meter with the somewhat more modest stylistic level of elegiac distichs which may seem more suitable to such versifications than the epic grandeur of stichic hexameters.[35]

2. Remarks on individual *testimonia* and fragments

The dating problem brings us to the second part of this review article, comments and observations on single *testimonia* and fragments of Obbink's edition.[36]

T1, T2, T9, F14 These all come from a collection now called the *pseudo-Clementines*, both the *Homilies* and the *Recognitions*. Within the *testimonia*, Obbink rightly separated T9, which deals with a specific astrological tenet, from T1 and T2, which are of general interest for the identity of Anubio. Pingree [1978, 2.422] saw no reason to identify the Anubio mentioned on numerous occasions in the *Pseudo-Clementines*[37] with the poet of the preserved astrological fragments, but that seems overly cautious to me. Several characters in the *Pseudo-Clementines* are based on such historical individuals as the apostle Peter, his (indirect) successor Clement of Rome, Simo Magus, and the Alexandrian scholar Apion against whom Josephus wrote his defense of Judaism, *Contra Apionem*. Why should the unknown author of the *Pseudo-Clementines* not have been inspired by the astrological work of Anubio to include the figure of a homonymous astrologer in his novel? This latter Anubio, whom Clement's

[34] *Anth. Pal.* 11.164 [= Riess 1891–1893, Test. 3] and Petronius, *Cena* 35.

[35] An additional reason for the choice of elegiac distichs may have been the existence of literary and funerary epigrams of astrological content that inspired Anubio to compose a larger poem in the same meter. See also Obbink 1999, 63–64.

[36] Note that it is not my intention to give a list of the numerous typos in the preface, in the *apparatus*, and in the quotations from Firmicus in this edition. Only typographical errors in the Greek main text will be mentioned.

[37] For a complete list, see Strecker 1989, 480.

father accepts as an authority, provides the Christian author with important opportunities to discuss and refute deterministic pagan beliefs that are irreconcilable with the Christian faith. As long as one duly emphasizes our lack of certainty, as Obbink [2006, iv] does, the inclusion of T1, T2, T9 and F14 in an edition of the astrological poet Anubio is justified.

Since the Anubio of the novel is introduced as a contemporary of the apostle Peter, Obbink follows a conjecture that was, to my knowledge, first published by Riess [1894] and followed by others, namely that the astrological poet lived under Emperor Nero [Obbink 1999, 60–62 and 2006, iv]. This is possible but not certain, and one can only hope that the authors of future encyclopedic articles will not simply present this narrow chronological frame as a matter of fact. It would be interesting to know when exactly the *Pseudo-Clementines* originated, and how well their author was informed about the poet Anubio. Interestingly, T9 [Rufinus, *Rec.* 10.9.4–7], which includes F14 [= *Rec.* 10.9.5],[38] is part of an important discussion between the protagonist Clement and his father on the value and truth of astrology, and a long part of this discussion [10.9.7–10.13.1] is preserved not only in the late Latin translation of Rufinus but also in a quotation by Origen (*ca* AD 185–253/4) from the lost Greek original.[39] This indicates that the whole passage from which T9 and F14 are derived originated no later than *ca* AD 200, right in the middle of those two centuries (the second and third) from which almost all the papyri in Obbink's edition are preserved. In this period, the poem of Anubio must have been quite successful and well known. This may explain the introduction of a certain Anubio as spokesman of astrology in the *Pseudo-Clementines*, and it is hard to believe that the Christian novelist openly distorted commonly known chronological and biographical data of the poet Anubio, if any such data were commonly known. They may of course have been fictitious data that the poet Anubio revealed about himself in his poem. Be this as it may, the reference to Anubio's provenance from Diospolis [T1.8–9 Ἀνουβίωνα τὸν Διοσπολίτην τινὰ ἀστρολόγον] must have been acceptable to those readers of the Greek original of the *Pseudo-Clementines* who

[38] On T9, see p. 144.

[39] Origen, *Philocal.* 23.21–22 (from Origen, *Comm. III in Gen.*). See the synoptic edition of Rehm 1965, 330–334.

were familiar with the poem of Anubio, and so it deserves our attention.[40] As to Anubio's date, the combined evidence of the papyri and the *Pseudo-Clementines* points to the second half of the first century AD or, at the latest, to the early second century AD.

T1 Correct T1.4 κατελήφει to κατειλήφει and T1.8 πρός μοι to πρὸς πατρός μοι.[41]

T2 Correct T2.3 'nuber' to 'nuper' and T2.5 'fortassis' to 'fortassis autem'.

T3 The inclusion of Firmicus, *Math.* 3.prooem.4–3.1.2 among the *testimonia* implies a problem that Obbink is aware of, as his circumspect discussion in 1999, 61–62 [cf. 2006, iii and n1] shows. Yet he does not draw the necessary consequences. The problem is: Does the name 'Hanubius' at T3.8 refer to the Egyptian god Anubis or to Anubio, author of our astrological poem? And in the latter case, is Anubio the real name of a historical individual (other such Anubios are attested with certainty) or a pseudonym referring to the god Anubis? T3 says that Nechepso and Petosiris (second/first century BC) followed the doctrine of Aesculapius and Hanubius regarding the horoscope of the world (*thema mundi*), which Hermes Trismegistus had revealed to them. Therefore, Aesculapius and Hanubius denote, strictly speaking, the gods Asclepius and Anubis from which the author(s) who wrote under the pseudonym of Nechepso and Petosiris claimed to have learned the secrets of the horoscope of the world. The only way to identify this Hanubius with our elegiac poet is to postulate that a very early astrological poet, whose real name may or may not have been Anubio, chose to write under the theophoric name Anubio as if he were the god Anubis, and that the author(s) who wrote under the pseudonym of Nechepso and Petosiris actually used that earlier poem as a source.

This hypothesis must be rejected for various reasons: from all that we know about the history of ancient astrological literature, it is unthinkable that our elegiac poem originated at such an early date.

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[40] According to Obbink [1999, 60], the city in question is Diospolis Magna, capital of the Theban nome in Upper Egypt, not Diospolis Parva in the Delta.

[41] I owe these observations to W. Hübner.

Instead, it must have been written at least one, probably two (or even three) centuries later than the manual attributed to Nechepso and Petosiris.[42] In addition, Obbink himself rightly points out that all references to Anubio in later sources [T1–2, T4–6] 'betray a view of him as a didactic technician, rather than a mythical bearer of revealed knowledge' [1999, 62].

And what about Aesculapius? We know of an early (lost) book *Myriogenesis* (not *Moirogenesis*) that circulated under the name of the god Asclepius [see below on T3.16], but are we to think that it contained the horoscope of the world just as the hypothetical early 'Anubio' did, and that it was used together with this early 'Anubio' as a source by Nechepso and Petosiris? Certainly not. The passage in Firmicus is much easier to explain on the assumption that the author hidden behind the pseudonym of Nechepso and Petosiris let his human protagonists, the King Nechepso and the Priest Petosiris, make a standard claim to revelation through divine authorities (in this case, Asclepius and Anubis) without actually drawing on any real texts under those names. Altogether, then, the Hanubius mentioned by Firmicus cannot be our astrological poet,[43] and T3 must be eliminated from the list of *testimonia*.

T3.16 Μοιρογένεσις is a conjecture of Claude Saumaise (1588–1653). I prefer to stick to the manuscript reading Μυριογένεσις. For a detailed discussion, see the commentary on Antigonus of Nicaea, F5 §§68–70 in Heilen 2011.

T5 In this quotation from Tzetzes, read (T5.3) Ῥητόριος instead of Ἑκτόριος. Between Πρωταγόρας (last word on page 3) and ἀποφαίνεσθαι (first word on page 4) two lines of text are missing. Supply

> Νικαεὺς Δωρόθεος καὶ λοιποί, ὧν τά τε ὀνόματα καὶ τὰς χρήσεις ἐπέφερον ἄν, εἰ μὴ φορτικός τε καὶ ἀλαζὼν καὶ μακρός τισιν ἔμελλον.
>
> . . . from Nikaia, Dorotheus and the remaining ones whose names and practices I would adduce, if I were not likely to be tiresome and boastful and tedious to some.

[42] Obbink basically agrees with this chronological relation, as his dating of Anubio to the time of Nero shows.

[43] Boll [1902, 141] and Heeg [1910a, 315–316] came to the same conclusion.

	Olivieri 1900a	Cumont 1921	Rhetorius 5.82[a]
F7	190.15–21 (also mentioned by Obbink: this is Rhetorius, *Epit.* 4.27.2[b])	208.2–8 (Obbink quotes from this source)	5.82.2 (unknown to Obbink; 'Anubio' is corrupted to σάρει)
T7	190.32–191.1 (Obbink quotes from this source; it is Rhet. *Epit.* 4.27.8–9[b])	208.18–24 (not mentioned by Obbink)	5.82.6–7 (unknown to Obbink; 'Anubio' is here suppressed: 5.82.6 φησὶ δέ τις τῶν σοφῶν)

[a] I am currently preparing the late David Pingree's edition of this compendium for publication.
[b] In Pingree 1977.

Table 2

In both cases, the entries in the *apparatus* call for correction too because the emendations Ῥητόριος and Νικαεύς are attributed to the codex Lipsiensis of Tzetzes (which actually reads Ἑκτόριος and Νικήρατος) rather than to the modern philologists Koechly and Pingree.

T6 The source indication should read 'Hephaestio . . . 2.2.11'.

T7 This text is from a chapter Περὶ πράξεως καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματος ('On Profession and Business') attributed to Rhetorius of Egypt (early 7th century AD). It is quoted from one of the two preserved epitomes of this chapter (the original is lost). Correct T7.2 τία to τίνα and T7.5 ἐπιτροπον to ἐπίτροπον. Note that F7 is from the same chapter, but—as far as Obbink's quotation is concerned— not from the same branch of transmission. One of them, which is Rhetorius, *Epit.* 4.27 in the count of Pingree 1977, was edited by Olivieri [1900a] from codd. Marc. gr. 335 and Paris. gr. 2506; the other one is chapter 5.82 of the version of Rhetorius' compendium that is preserved in cod. Paris. 2425 [= Rhetorius, *Epit.* 3.82]. The two versions preserve the same chapter in slightly different wording. A conflated version of it, which never existed as such in the manuscript tradition, was edited by Cumont [1921] on the basis of all three mss [see Table 2, p. 142]. It is possible that the few lines between T7 and F7, which Obbink omitted, go back to Anubio as well.

T8 This anonymous prose paraphrase is by far the longest *testimonium* [Obbink 2006, 4–19]. It has been mentioned above [see p. 134]; and it will be proven in Appendix 2 [p. 173] that this paraphrase is, despite the explicit attribution to Anubio in the first chapter heading, mostly derived from Dorotheus. Nevertheless this text deserves inclusion in this edition as an indirect *testimonium* because both Anubio and Dorotheus drew on the same source [see the stemma on p. 136]. The metrical traces that this paraphrase contains are from Dorotheus and will be included in the collection of hitherto overlooked fragments of Dorotheus in Appendix 1 [p. 173].

This text allows for an interesting observation of how scribal habits can distort grammar and syntax. See, for example, T8.16–17

> ὁ Κρόνος τριγωνίζων ῎Αρην, εἰ καὶ Ζεὺς μὴ ὁρᾷ μήτε ὁ Ἑρμῆς, εὔποροι γίνονται κτλ.
>
> if Saturn casts a trine aspect on Mars, even if Jupiter does not watch nor Mercury, then [the natives] become ingenious etc.

Correct Greek grammar would require a genitive absolute at the beginning, τοῦ Κρόνου τριγωνίζοντος ῎Αρην. The reason for this and many similar odd constructions in the following is probably that the lost exemplar from which our preserved manuscripts (C and H) stem used symbols instead of full words for those stereotypical lists of conditions in the opening of each prediction (in the above example: ♄Δ♂).[44]

T8.53 ῎Αρης Δία τριγωνίζων κτλ. is not a duplicate or variant of the discussion of trine aspects between Mars and Jupiter, which was given *suo loco* [T8.36–40], but about a trine aspect between Mars, Sun, and Jupiter, as the parallel passages in Firmicus *Math.* 6.5.2, Dor. Arab. 2.14.17 and *Par.* <*Dor.*> 383.28–30 clearly show. Hence, correction to ῎Αρης <῞Ηλιον καὶ> Δία τριγωνίζων (or the like) is needed, and the preceding line break must be deleted.

[44] The various planetary aspects are discussed in a clear order that goes back to the common source (Nechepso and Petosiris): first trine aspects, then squares, then oppositions, then conjunctions. Each section of this text is arranged according to the usual astrological sequence of the planets (Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon) and comprises 21 predictions (6+5+4+3+2+1): Saturn trine with Jupiter, Saturn trine with Mars, etc.; then: Jupiter trine with Mars, etc.; lastly, Mercury trine with the Moon.

In T8.169 εἰ μάλιστα ἢ ἀμφότεροί εἰσιν ὑπὲρ γῆν ἢ ὅμως ὁ Ἄρης looks suspicious:[45] one might expect ἢ μόνος ('or alone') instead of ἢ ὅμως ('or at least'). While there seem to be no parallels for ἢ ὅμως in Greek literature, many can be adduced for the type ἀμφότεροι... ἢ μόνος.[46] The corresponding passages in Firmicus, *Math.* 6.11.8 (at the end) and Dor. Arab. 2.15.27 do not contain the specification in question. Therefore, it was probably absent from Dorotheus' original and ἢ ὅμως may be a clumsy, contracted expression for ἢ, εἰ μὴ ἀμφότεροι, ὅμως κτλ. ('or, if not both, at least ...').

T9 The reader does not learn on which grounds the passage from Rufinus [*Rec.* 10.9.4–7], which includes F14 [*Rec.* 10.9.5] is relevant to Anubio. The context as quoted in T9 does not mention Anubio's name, nor does the wider context in the immediately surrounding chapters of the *Recognitions*. Nevertheless Obbink is probably right in drawing the reader's attention to this passage. It would have been useful if he had started his quotation a bit earlier, from the important paragraph

> quia ergo cum eo mihi sermo est, qui in astrologiae disciplina eruditus est, secundum ipsam tecum agam, ut de his quae tibi in usu sunt accipiens rationem, citius adquiescas. [*Rec.* 10.9.1]

Clemens, the protagonist, is here talking to his father. Clemens announces that he plans to convince his father, who is knowledgeable in astrology, by following the rationale of that very discipline so that the father may acquiesce more promptly when presented with arguments drawn from those texts or tenets that he is familiar with. Clemens moves on to quote specific astrological tenets from 'you' (plural), the astrologers.[47] Who are these authorities with whom Clemens associates his father, who is not to be thought of as an author in his

[45] In Obbink 2006 as well as in its source [see Pingree 1976, 349.32] and in the first edition by Olivieri [1900c, 208.27]. The respective *apparatus critici* do not mention the problem.

[46] Cf., e.g., in the works of Galen: Kühn 1821–1833, 3.63.14–15 ὅταν μέγαν ὄγκον σώματος ἢ ἀμφοτέραις ὁμοῦ ταῖς χερσὶν ἢ μόνῃ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ περιλαμβάνωμεν, 12.848.8–9 ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις ἢ θατέρῳ μόνῳ συμβαίνῃ τις ὀδύνη, 15.602.8–9 καὶ γίνεται τοῦτο ποτὲ μὲν ἀμφοτέρων τεινομένων σπασμωδῶς ἢ τῆς ἑτέρας μόνης, and so on.

[47] See, e.g., Rufinus, *Rec.* 10.9.2 *secundum vos*, 10.9.4 *dicitis*, 10.9.5 *ponitis... pronuntiatis*, 10.9.6 *dicitis*.

own right but as one of their followers? Since the father is in other passages characterized as a close friend and admirer of the astrologer Anubio [see esp. Rufinus, *Rec.* 10.52.3 = T2.4–6], Anubio is the only candidate to think of.

This may, at first sight, seem to be an over-interpretation of a generic reference to widely spread astrological tenets. But there is an additional argument in favor of the view that the Christian author is here referring specifically to the poet Anubio. There are two significant parallels (overlooked by Obbink)[48] in the sixth book of Firmicus, a book which is so important for the analysis of Anubio's fragments: Rufinus, *Rec.* 10.9.5 [= F14] corresponds to Firmicus, *Math.* 6.23.5 combined with 6.24.2. It would have been illuminating if Obbink had printed both Latin passages in the margin of F14 [compare the layout of F1, F3–6, and F16].

Since a main criterion for the order of Anubio's fragments in Obbink 2006 is the order of the corresponding passages in Firmicus, *Math.* 6.3–31, F14 should not be listed last of the *fragmenta loci incerti*, but between F2 and F3. That is, if Rufinus, *Rec.* 10.9.5 really were to be classified as a fragment. But since we are dealing with the Latin translation of a lost Greek novel, whose author, in his turn, seems to have drawn on original Greek verses of Anubio, the whole of Rufinus, *Rec.* 10.9.4–7 [T9], including 10.9.5 [F14], is a *testimonium*, not a fragment. It needs to be treated in the same way as T7 and T8 which equally report specific astrological tenets of Anubio in the form of prose paraphrases. The extraction of a fragment from the surrounding *testimonium* would be justified only if we had a real Greek verse, as is the case with T8.277 = F9.

This brings us to Obbink's modest presentation (in a smaller font) of his skillful attempt at restoring two Greek distichs from Rufinus' Latin translation. In the absence of any preserved word of the equivalent passage of the Greek original on which Rufinus drew, this restoration remains purely hypothetical. It does not justify the treatment of Rufinus, *Rec.* 10.9.5 as a fragment.

F1–F2 I should rather assign these fragments to the first book than to the third. For detailed discussion of this problem, see below on F5.

[48] For two similar cases, see pp. 153–154 on F9 and F10.

F1 The attribution of this text [P. Oxy. 66.4503 *recto*] to Anubio is secured, apart from the inconclusive arguments from elegiac meter and parallels with the second book of Firmicus [*Math.* 2.1.1, 2.4.1, 2.4.4–6], by the fact that on the back of the same papyrus is F4, which equals Firmicus, *Math.* 6.30.6–7 and falls, therefore, in the significant section *Math.* 6.3–31. It is extremely unlikely that astrological distichs on the two sides of one and the same papyrus be of different authors. While I agree with Obbink on the inclusion of F1 among the certain fragments, I cannot follow him regarding the book number: F1 must have been from the first book of Anubio, not from the third [see p. 148 on F5].

F1 is precious because it provides us with a much earlier attestation of a special doctrine that was hitherto known from Firmicus alone, the subdivision of the 36 *decani* into 108 *liturgi*. Probably both Anubio and Firmicus drew this basic information from the same source, which is likely to be again the 'common source' discussed earlier, Nechepso and Petosiris.

Note that in F1 ii 11–12 οὗτοι was removed from the position where it belongs and where the papyrus has it, at the end of the hexameter, to the beginning of the following pentameter. This mistake in Obbink 2006, 24–25 goes back to Obbink 1999, 70/73.

F2 This text concerns the determination of the ascendant at birth when the hour is not known.[49] In the fifth elegiac couplet [F2.9–10],

> χρὴ δὲ Σεληναίης προτέρης ἀνελέσθαι ἀριθμόν
> ὥρην νυκτερινὴν σκεπτόμενον θέματος.
>
> When examining the nocturnal ascendant of a chart, one must first take the number (of degrees) of the Moon.

I prefer the reading νυκτερινοῦ [cod. **P**] to νυκτερινήν [cod. **A**], which has been adopted by the editors so far [Cumont 1929a, 147.20; Pingree 1973, 90]. The methodological distinction in this passage is between the ascendant of either a day chart [F2.3 ἡμερινῇ γενέσει] or a night chart [F2.10 νυκτερινοῦ θέματος],[50] not between either the day ascendant or the night ascendant of a chart. The reading of cod. **P** creates a poetically preferable hyperbaton (which may have given rise to the

[49] See Bouché-Leclercq 1899, 389 and Feraboli 1981, 159.
[50] The terms γένεσις and θέμα are synonymous.

lectio facilior νυκτερινήν) and is supported by a poetical parallel in pseudo-Manetho 1[5].277–278:

> ἡνίκα δ᾽ ἡ Κερόεσσα μέσον πόλον ἀμφιβεβῶσα
> νυκτερινοῦ θέματος κατὰ μοῖραν ἰοῦσα φαανθῇ.[51]
>
> When the Moon, reaching the middle pole of a nocturnal horoscope, appears to go to the actual degree (of midheaven). [trans. Lopilato 1998, 197].

There is no parallel for the reading of cod. **A** in the required sense 'ascendant of a night chart'.

F3 This text makes the correct interpretation of a debated passage in Firmicus easier: the critical view of women's mysteries adopted in Firmicus, *Math.* 6.29.24 [*in nocturnis sacrorum vigiliis etc.*]

> provides no ground (as is sometimes alleged) for connecting the Firmicus Maternus of the *Mathesis* with the one who wrote *De errore profanarum religionum*, in part a Christian attack on the pagan mysteries. [Obbink 1999, 89]

because the same thought is already present in the corresponding passage, F3 ii 5 θιάσοις παννυχίσιν τ᾽ ὀλέσει.

F3 ii 7 κείμενος ὥσπερ ἔφην seems to confirm the correctness of a scholarly conjecture in Firmicus, *Math.* 6.29.24 * * * * * *ante collocatus*, where Kroll, Skutsch, and Ziegler [1968, 2.139.10] tentatively filled the lacuna with the words *effectus, et sit etiam ipse sic ut diximus*.

After F3 ii 20, the interpunction must be changed to a comma because F3 ii 21 is a relative clause referring to F3 ii 20 μοῖραν. . . τήνδε.

In F3 ii 23, Obbink reads ἢ δυτικῷ στείχωσι Κρόνος Κυθέρεια τ᾽ ἄποικοι. But the corresponding passage in Firmicus, *Math.* 6.30.3 *si. . . Venus uero et Saturnus in Capricorno uel Aquario pariter constituti et eundem partium numerum possidentes* makes it clear that Saturn is envisaged as being in one of his own houses with Venus at his side. Therefore, the last word, which in the diplomatic transcript [Obbink 2006, 26] reads ạποικο ̣ ('away from home'), was probably not the plural ἄποικοι but the singular ἄποικος referring to Venus

[51] Besides, there is one prose parallel in Olympiodorus: see Boer 1962, 49.9 εἰ μέντοι νυκτερινὸν ἦν τὸ θέμα.

alone. That also suits the prediction better: sterility (as opposed to Venus' proper domain, fertility). The opposite scenario is envisaged in F4.7–8: Venus together with Saturn in her own places, i.e., Saturn being away from home.

F5 In F5 b 4 after Ἥλιος insert δ'.[52] The missing end of line scans – ˘ ˘ – –, not – ˘ ˘ – ˘ ˘ – –. The following lines F5 b 11–13 contain a numeral (Γ = 3, a book number) followed by two lines of text:

] Περὶ τοῦ δεσπότου
τοῦ τρί]του θέματος

According to Obbink [1999, 101], this is the colophon to book 3 of Anubio's poem. The fact that the preserved lower margin of the papyrus [P. Oxy. 4505] follows right after θέματος seems to support this interpretation.[53] Note, however, that the preserved text of F5 (as well as the whole of Firmicus, *Math.* 6.3–31 with which F3–F6 present correspondences) contains nothing to which the words of F5 b 12–13 can be applied as a title.[54] I am not a papyrologist, but I do wonder if the words F5 b 12–13 (maybe also the numeral in F5 b 11) were not meant to be *prospective* but rather *retrospective*. Note that the line ends of this preserved column are missing. Therefore, we do not know if more columns of text followed and, if so, what their content was.[55] Another possibility that comes to mind is that the numeral in F5 b 12–13 denotes the book that is ending, as Obbink assumes, while F5 b 12–13 may be a catch-word referring to the next book in sequence or, more precisely, to the title on the parchment label attached to the outside of the next papyrus roll.[56]

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[52] This letter is clearly visible on the photograph at the end of Obbink 2006 and correctly noted in both the *apparatus criticus* and in the diplomatic transcription.

[53] See the photograph at the end of Obbink 2006.

[54] Obbink himself saw this [1999, 101 on δεσπότου], although his explanation of δεσπότου as the 'ruling sign' is astrologically impossible.

[55] An additional, admittedly weak argument in favor of F5 b 12–13's being a book heading and not a colophon may be found in the presence of two indisputable prose headings that precede groups of elegiac distichs in F5 a 2 and F5 a 7.

[56] Obbink himself remarks [1999, 101] that 'often the book number follows the title in colophons, rather than preceding as here'.

Be this as it may, the editor's tentative restoration of F5 b 12–13[57] is inadmissible. I rather tend to assume that the missing part of both lines was blank and read:

] Περὶ τοῦ δεσπότου
] τοῦ θέματος

This would mean 'On the ruler (i.e., the ruling planet) of the chart' and be equivalent to the more usual phrasing Περὶ τοῦ οἰκοδεσπότου τῆς γενέσεως [see, e.g., Firmicus, *Math.* 4.9 *De domino geniturae*]. Although there is no Greek parallel for ὁ δεσπότης τοῦ θέματος, this unusual terminology is easy to explain: οἰκοδεσπότης does not suit dactylic meter, nor does γενέσεως, unless one resorts to synizesis as Dorotheus did in writing καὶ γενέσεως τὰ ἕκαστα διίξομεν, ὅφρα δαείης [Dorotheus in Hephaestio, *Apotelesm.* 2.18.20 = Pingree 1976, 339.3]. Therefore, it is probable that in the lost lines of his poem to which F5 b 12–13 refer, Anubio spoke of the δεσπόζων θέματος. Both terms occur in other passages of Anubio's preserved fragments, e.g., F2.4 οἴκου δεσπόζων and F3 ii 2 δεσπόζοντα γάμου. The scribe who inserted F5 b 12–13 probably followed the terminology of the poem. For a similarly indented heading whose second line begins right below the first letter of the first line, see F15 i 25–26 [Obbink 2006, 47].

A thorough discussion of this problem also requires a closer study of the corresponding chapters in the *Mathesis* of Firmicus. F5 equals Firmicus, *Math.* 6.30.20–22. In his preface to book 6, Firmicus says that he plans to discuss the effects of the astrological aspects, which he actually does in the following chapters 6.3–27.[58] So far, there is nothing in book 6 that would justify the assumption that Firmicus' source, which was also Anubio's source, mentioned a 'ruler of the chart' (δεσπότης τοῦ θέματος). But this changes in the remaining part of book 6, which is devoted to a second large topic: time rulership. Framed by a brief transition [6.32] and concluding remarks [6.40], the discussion of the *dominus temporum* comprises

[57] In his *apparatus criticus*, Obbink]2006, 33] writes, 'τοῦ τρί]του *vel* καθ' ἑκάστου, e.g., *supplevi*'. See also the English translation in Obbink 1999, 99: 'On the Ruling Sign of the Third (?) (i.e., type of?) Horoscope'.

[58] The intervening chapter 6.2 about the bright fixed stars is but a brief excursus meant to adorn the beginning of book 6. See Firmicus, *Math.* 6.1.10 *ut huius libri principia augustarum stellarum explicationibus adornentur.*

6.33–39. It is again based on some Greek source, as not otherwise to be expected from Firmicus and confirmed by the initial information that the Greek technical term for *dominus temporum* is χρονοκράτωρ [6.33.1]. Firmicus' decision to include this second part into book 6 accounts for a surprisingly long book (by far the longest in the *Mathesis*)[59] and may be seen as an indication that in writing 6.33–39 he kept following the same source as in 6.3–31, i.e., probably Nechepso and Petosiris. Note also the close structural resemblance between the two parts and their stereotypical underlying patterns. One may wonder if it is this 'time ruler' of the chart which the δεσπότης τοῦ θέματος announces. Since the term χρονοκράτωρ does not suit dactylic hexameters or elegiac distichs,[60] a poet could theoretically resort to a metrical expression such as δεσπόζοντα χρόνων θέματος, thus giving rise to the prose expression preserved in F5 b 12–13.[61]

In conclusion, the interpretation of lines F5 b 11–13 is uncertain and requires further discussion, especially with regard to the question whether F5 b 12–13 may be interpreted as a catchword.

Another point, however, is certain: Obbink is wrong in assigning F1–F5 *en bloc* to Anubio's third book [2006, 22 'Liber III']. It is just unthinkable that F1 belongs to any book but the first. Obbink rightly points out that there are clear correspondences between F1 and the second book of Firmicus. But a second book is still not a third; and, what is more important, even in Firmicus' case book 2 is, in a way, the true beginning of the *Mathesis* because the first book is just a hypertrophic introduction to the seven books of the compendium proper (seven in analogy with the number of planets known in antiquity).[62] Anubio wrote in a much more succinct style than Firmicus, as the preserved fragments of his poem show and the mnemonic purpose of versified astrological manuals demands. It is

[59] This is the length of each of the eight books of the *Mathesis* in the edition of Kroll-Skutsch-Ziegler 1968: 1 (39 pp.), 2 (50 pp.), 3 (105 pp.), 4 (84 pp.), 5 (66 pp. with a very long *lacuna* in the mss tradition: see Kroll, Skutsch, and Ziegler 1968, 2.58 *ad loc.*), 6 (141 pp.!), 7 (73 pp.), 8 (81 pp.)

[60] Only the oblique forms can theoretically be used by an astrological poet, but there is no preserved evidence of such practice.

[61] There would be enough space left for χρόνων in the missing first half of line 13, but it is also possible that the scribe limited the expression somewhat vaguely to the δεσπότης (without χρόνων).

[62] See Firmicus, *Math.* 8.33.1 and Hübner 1984, 143.

unthinkable that he filled an entire book (or even two) before coming to the elementary information that the number of the zodiacal signs is 12 [F1 a i 2]. F2 on the determination of the ascendant belongs probably to the same first book of Anubio.

Among the following books of his poem, F3–F6 very likely belonged to one and the same book because they form a unit, having their obvious equivalents in Firmicus, *Math.* 6.29–31. Thus, I disagree with Obbink who assigns F6 to a later book than F3–F5. His reason for doing so is the book end indicated in F5 b 11–13; but it is possible that F5, which preserves less than 10 of the original distichs, derives not from a complete copy of Anubio's poem but from a series of excerpts. The question remains whether F3–F6 are from Anubio's third book (which is, apart from F6, Obbink's view) or from the second.

If one takes into account the comparable poems of Dorotheus and pseudo-Manetho [see Table 1, p. 135], one finds that the latter presents the material that equals Firmicus, *Math.* 6.29–31 in what was originally the third book (now book 6 of the enlarged *Corpus Manethonianum*). This may be taken as an argument in favor of the assignment of F3–F6 to the third book of Anubio, and of the correctness of Obbink's interpretation of the numeral in F5 b 11. However, the evidence is inconclusive because Dorotheus managed to treat the same material with which pseudo-Manetho filled his first two books in the second half of his second book [cf. Dor. Arab. 2.14–33].[63]

In conclusion, F3–F6 must *en bloc* have been from either the second or, more likely, the third book of Anubio.

F6 This was probably part of the same book as F3–F5, not of a later book as Obbink assumes. For details, see pp. 148–150 on F5.

In F6 ii 32 Obbink's intention was apparently to print -ετερείη [cf. *apparatus criticus* '-ετερείη *scripsi*']; but in the text he actually kept οετει εἰ ἢ, the reading of Schubart [1950, 33]. In F6 ii 35b add another *breve* after μαινόμενος ˘ ˘ – ˘.[64] The long quotation from Firmicus, *Math.* 6.31.78–85 is obscured by numerous typographical errors, omissions of words, and the inexplicable transposition of *constituti in occasu fuerint inuenti, et his tertius* from 6.31.83 to 6.31.82

[63] Dorotheus has no equivalent to Firmicus, *Math.* 6.29–31.
[64] I owe this observation to W. Hübner [see 127n1].

[Obbink 2006, 37]. One *locus similis* from Firmicus is missing: F6 ii 55–59 ~Firmicus, *Math.* 6.31.86. This is important because it shows that in the hexameter ὡρονό[μ]ον δ᾽ ὀλο[ὸς κατέχῃ Φαίνων Πυρόεις τε [F6 ii 56], whose second half was tentatively restored by Weinstock [1952, 214], κατέχῃ is probably wrong: Firmicus has 'horoscopum vero Saturnus et Mars diversa radiatione respiciant', which makes me rather think of κατίδῃ.

F7 This is the first among the *fragmenta loci incerti*. It is from the same chapter of Rhetorius as T7. The source from which Obbink quotes [Cumont 1921, 8.4.208.2–8] presents a version that was conflated by the editor and never existed as such in the manuscript tradition. However, in view of the complicated editorial problems connected to the compendium of Rhetorius [see above on T7, p. 142], Obbink's choice is acceptable for the purpose of his edition. Note that τὸν before πρῶτον (F7.5) must be deleted. At the end of line 6 read ';' (Greek question mark).

F8 The attribution of these anonymous excerpts to Anubio is very likely, not only because of the elegiac meter but also, as Obbink rightly emphasizes [1999, 57], because what follows right after F8 in the manuscript is the paraphrase T8, whose attribution to Anubio in the first chapter heading has been discussed above [see p. 134].

In F8b correct the unmetrical τὰ <πάντα> to <πάν>τα. Obbink apparently intended to adopt this emendation which was first proposed by Ludwich [1904, 119]. Ludwich's τὰ [πάντα?] μέγιστα διδοῖ gave rise to a lapse.

Obbink commendably gives in a smaller font the prose context of F8d and F8e but he omits the context of F8a–c. Supply:

> F8a ὁ Κρόνος εἰς Ἀφροδίτην (*scil.* ἐπεμβὰς)...
> F8b ὁ Κρόνος εἰς Ἑρμῆν (*scil.* ἐπεμβὰς) ἢ νόσον ἢ θάνατον σημαίνει, ἀπὸ δ᾽...
> F8c ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη εἰς Ἄρην (*scil.* ἐπεμβᾶσα βλάπτει) πλὴν ἥττων ἡ βλάβη·....

Apart from the metrical elements of this text that Obbink included into F8, there are two more (admittedly, very small ones) which Olivieri, the first editor, printed in expanded font to draw attention to their metrical character: see Olivieri 1900b, 203.18 καὶ μάλα χαίρει, 203.19 οὐ πάνυ χαίρει.

F9 This is part of *Par. Anub. <et Dor.>*, i.e., T8 in Obbink 2006, and preserves two metrical fragments that are, as was shown above [p. 134], actually from Dorotheus. Nevertheless, they deserve some comment here.

F9.1 [= T8.264] βίος ἄρκιος ἔσ<σε>ται αὐτῷ: Ludwich's conjecture ἔσσεται for the mss reading ἔσται is certainly right. Compare, in the same source, T8.113 ἔσσεται, the only instance in T8 where the correct epic form has survived.

F9.4 [= T8.277] is a complete hexameter: ἤθεσιν ὁρμητήν τε καὶ οὐκ εἴκοντά περ ἄλλῳ.[65] *Par. <Dor.>* 382.1–2 contains the same passage in a prose version (ἤθεσι δ' ὁρμητὴς καὶ ἄλλῳ τινὶ οὐκ εἴκων) which must go back to the metrical original that is preserved in F9.4. Compare also Dor. Arab. 2.16.20 'he will be one of those who relies on himself and will not obey another' [trans. Pingree 1976, 220].

Obbink does not mention that the two hexametrical fragments in F9 have parallels in Firmicus, *Math.* 6.3–31 [= F11]. F9.1 corresponds to Firmicus, *Math.* 6.16.5

> Habebunt tamen in quibusdam maxima felicitatis augmenta.
>
> Nevertheless, the natives will have a very big increase in good fortune in some cases.

and F9.4 corresponds to Firmicus, *Math.* 6.16.8

> Sed et omnia potentiae ornamenta decernit, et facit talem qui nunquam possit alienis potestatibus subiacere, et qui semper virtutis gratia et animi constantia alienis confidenter resistat potestatibus.
>
> But he [Jupiter] also attributes all the adornments of power and produces such a person that can never be subject to the power of others and that always with courage and steadfast character confidently resist other powers. [my trans. with borrowings from Bram 1975, 195]

Maybe Obbink omitted this information because his intention is not to adduce all parallels but only the most important ones as he states

[65] In the context [F9.2–3], change αὐξιφωτοῦσα to αὐξιφωτεῖ [= T8.275]. The discrepancy is due to the fact that in T8 Obbink quotes from Pingree's edition [1976] and in F9, from Olivieri's edition [1900c, 211].

[2006, 41 on F11 = Firmicus, *Math.* 6.3–31], 'ex quibus et aliis locis praecipue comparanda excerpsi et addidi iuxta fragmenta F3, F4, F5, F6, F16'.[66] However, it would, I think, be more consistent to indicate all correspondences between Firmicus, *Math.* 6.3–31 and the Greek fragments. This would also secure methodological consistency: while F9 and F10 are now listed among the *fragmenta loci incerti*, they would (if they were from Anubio) have, thanks to their equivalents in Firmicus, *Math.* 6.3–31, the same right as F3 and F4 to be among the *fragmenta* along with F5.

F10 This is from *Par. <Dor.>* and derives, therefore, from Dorotheus, not from Anubio [see above 129n14]. Nevertheless F10 deserves extensive comments here which will make the establishment of a supplement to Pingree's edition of the fragments of Dorotheus possible [see Appendix 1, p. 173].

W. Kroll [1900], the first editor of this paraphrase, noticed that the three metrical elements in F10 had parallels in the second half of Firmicus' *Mathesis* which was not yet critically edited at that time. These parallels are now, in vol. 2 of Kroll's and Skutsch's edition of the *Mathesis* [1968], Firmicus, *Math.* 6.23.7 *omnem fortunae substantiam cum maxima deiectione debilitat semper et minuit* [~F10.1], 6.4.4–5 *alios faciunt caelestium siderum secreta cognoscere* [~F10.2], and 6.17.4 *religiosa fidei commercia polluentes* [F10.5].[67]

Kroll further noticed that the same paraphrase contained several more elements that were, in his judgement, beyond doubt of poetic origin.[68] He had these elements printed in expanded character spacing. I shall present and discuss them in the order of the paraphrase, which is different from the order of the corresponding passages in Firmicus, *Math.* 6.3–27.

- Pingree 1986, 370.28 (on Saturn in conjunction with Mars): εἰ μὴ ἄρ᾽ Αἰγίοχος δαμάσει σθένος ὀλοὸν αὐτῶν. This is obviously a dactylic hexameter, even if minimal changes are needed to restore the original.[69] Since the whole paragraph about Saturn in conjunc-

[66] Add: F1.

[67] On F10.5, see 191n b.

[68] Kroll [1900, 159–160] says, 'hexametri apparent dictionisque epicae frustula manifestissima quae diductis litteris distinguenda curavi ita ut certa tantum respicerem.'

[69] Note in the *apparatus criticus*: 'δαμάσῃ et οὐλοὸν fuit in versu'.

tion with Mars [Pingree 1986, 370.17–28] equals Firmicus, *Math.* 6.22.4–8, there can be no doubt that the Greek words quoted above have their Latin equivalent in *Math.* 6.22.8 *nisi Iuppiter... omnia malorum discrimina mitigarit.* A decade after Kroll had first published the Greek paraphrase [1900] in the erroneous belief that its source was Anubio, Heeg discovered that the verse in question here is a fragment from Dorotheus: in a Vatican codex edited by Heeg [1910b, 125.11], the verse is quoted as εἰ μὴ ἂρ Αἰγίοχος δαμάσει σθένος οὐλοὸν (*sic*) αὐτῶν with explicit attribution to Dorotheus. The importance of this hexametrical fragment for the attribution of the whole paraphrase in Kroll 1900, 159–180 [= Pingree 1986, 369–389], to Dorotheus has rightly been emphasized by Heeg [1910a]. Pingree [1976] included the verse in question at 369.6 of his authoritative edition of Dorotheus.

- Pingree 1986, 371.13 (on Saturn in conjunction with the Sun): βαρυδαίμονες ὄντες ~*Math.* 6.22.11 *erunt sane hi ipsi tristitia semper obscuri.*
- Pingree 1986, 371.20–21 (on Saturn in conjunction with Venus): ἀνάξια λέκτρα γυναικῶν δίδωσι ~*Math.* 6.22.12 *indignarum mulierum nuptias decernit.* The words ἀνάξια λέκτρα γυναικῶν seem to be the end of a dactylic hexameter.
- Pingree 1986, 374.4 (on Saturn opposite Mars): ἐκ μόχθων μόχθους ~*Math.* 6.15.5 *ex laboribus labores* and Dor. Arab. 2.16.3 'misery on top of misery'.
- Pingree 1986, 375.21–22 (on Saturn in square aspect with Mercury): αὐτοὺς δ᾽ ἑτέροις προσώποις ὑποτεταγμένους... σημαίνει ~*Math.* 6.9.13 *facit etiam alienis semper potestatibus subiacere.* In the poetic original, the first words were probably αὐτοὺς δ᾽ ἑτέροισι προσώποις.
- Pingree 1986, 380.29–30 (on Jupiter opposite Venus): ἕτερα μὲν λέγοντες ἕτερα δὲ βυσσοδομεύοντες ~*Math.* 6.16.4 *aliud malitiosa cogitatione tractantes et aliud ficta sermonis bonitate dicentes.* The singular (!) βυσσοδομεύων is a frequent hexameter ending in Homer and Hesiod.
- Pingree 1986, 382.1–2 ἤθεσι δ᾽ ὁρμητὴς καὶ ἄλλῳ τινὶ οὐκ εἴκων is a prose version of F9.4 [see p. 153].
- Pingree 1986, 383.12 (on Mars in conjunction with Mercury): ψεύστας μέν, συνετοὺς δὲ καὶ πολλῶν ἴδριας κατ᾽ ἐξοχήν ~*Math.* 6.24.5 *cordatos quidem et maximarum disciplinarum studiis eruditos, sed*

mendaces. The original ending of the hexameter may have contained the word πολυπείρους, as the corresponding passage in *Par. Anub.* <*et Dor.*> suggests: ψεύστας μέν, συνετοὺς δὲ καὶ πολυπείρους [T8.373 = Pingree 1976, 356.4].[70] In that case, more syllables between καὶ and πολυπείρους are lost (– ◡ ◡ –).

- Pingree 1986, 383.21 (on Mars in conjunction with the Moon): θερμόν τε καὶ οὐ δύστευκτον ἔθηκεν ~*Math.* 6.24.9 *faciet ista coniunctio homines calidos, et quos in omnibus prospere frequenter sequatur eventus*.
- Pingree 1986, 383.33–384.1 (on the Sun in square aspect with Mars): πταίσματα γὰρ πάμπολλα φέρει ~*Math.* 6.11.2 *infortuniorum cumulus* <*in*>*ponitur*.
- Pingree 1986, 384.6–8: see p. 170.
- Pingree 1986, 387.9 (on Venus in square aspect with Mercury): ἀστείους τέχνης εἰδήμονας ~*Math.* 6.13.1 *praeclara enim et amabilis cuiusdam artis officia*.
- Pingree 1986, 388.29–30 (on Mercury in conjunction with the Moon): μηχανικῆς πολύπειρος ~ *Math.* 6.27.2 *mendaces*.
- Pingree 1986, 389.7 (on Mercury in opposition to the Moon): αὐτοὺς δὲ δειλοὺς εἶναί φασι τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἀθαρσεῖς ~*Math.* 6.20 *sed et animo et verbis eorum deiectam trepidationem timoris indicunt*, but it is unclear why Kroll highlighted these words as traces of a metrical original by using expanded character spacing.

F11 Firmicus, *Math.* 6.3–31 is not a fragment of the original poem but an indirect Latin *testimonium* that goes back to the same source that Anubio used. It would be appropriate to place F11 either before or after T8.

F12 and F13 The sources ought to be quoted as Hephaestio, *Epit.* 4.23.4 (lunar prognostication on which one of the parents will die first) and 4.21.4–7 (calculation of the ascendant sign). I do not understand why Obbink inverted Hephaestio's sequence of these passages, which goes back to Ptolemy (*Tetr.* 3.2 Περὶ σπορᾶς καὶ ἐκτροπῆς and 3.5 Περὶ γονέων) and implies a natural progression from consideration of the native *per se* to consideration of him/her within his/her

[70] For another occurrence of the adjective πολύπειρος in Dorotheus, see below on 179.13.

closest familiar environment. Besides, these texts, being prose paraphrases of original Greek distichs, ought to be placed among the *testimonia* just as the prose paraphrase T8 is (rightly) placed in that category.

F12 This fragment reports Anubio's predictions concerning the effects of the Moon in Pisces on which of the native's parents will die first. The critical parameters are the phases of the Moon and the astrological gender of the zodiacal signs. If Firmicus' long section on the effects of the planets in the various signs, which begins in *Math.* 5.3.1, were preserved in its entirety (it actually breaks off early at 5.4.25 with Jupiter in Capricorn), it would be worth checking his prediction for the Moon in Pisces in order to find out if the 'common source' contained yet another large chapter on which both Firmicus and Anubio drew. It is, however, more likely that Anubio was here following a chapter by an earlier authority that was based not on the order of the zodiacal signs but on the familiar relationships of the native, a chapter *On Which of the Parents Will Die First* like Firmicus, *Math.* 7.9 or Hephaestio, *Apotelesm.* 2.5. The latter chapter preserves an original verse of Dorotheus' discussion of the same topic, which was based on a different astrological method than the one recommended by Anubio and located in the first book of Dorotheus.[71] Based on this meager evidence, I tentatively assign F12 an early position in the list of *testimonia*, right after F13, which precedes F12 both at the level of content and in the order of the material in Hephaestio, *Epit.* 4.

F13 It has escaped Obbink's attention that this is a prose paraphrase of the distichs in F2:[72] Hephaestio, *Apotelesm.* 2.2.11–15 [= F2] ~Hephaestio, *Epit.* 4.21.4–5 [= F13.1–6]. The remainder of F13, i.e., Hephaestio, *Epit.* 4.21.6–7 [= F13.6–12] ~*Apotelesm.* 2.2.16–17 is not included by Obbink in his edition.[73] Note that the author of the fourth epitome wrongly speaks throughout his whole chapter 21 and especially in the section on Anubio [4.21.4–5] of the ascendant at conception, while Anubio and Hephaestio actually meant the ascendant

[71] Hephaestio, *Apotelesm.* 2.5.3 καὶ γενέτην ὀλέκουσι παροίτερον ἠὲ τεκοῦσαν. Cf. Pingree 1976, 332–333 and Dor. Arab. 1.15.

[72] This editorial mistake has been observed independently, and earlier, by W. Hübner [see 127n1].

[73] See the concordance in Pingree 1973–1974, 2.352.

at birth. On the epitomizer's motive for doing so, see Feraboli 1981, 160.

F14 See above on T9, p. 144.

F15 This is P. Oxy. 3.464, the first among the *fragmenta incerta*. Obbink's criterion for this group is the presence of elegiac distichs of astrological content that bear no attribution to Anubio nor have a parallel in Firmicus, *Math.* 6.3–31. Apart from one case [F22], I agree with Obbink on which fragments ought to be included in this group.

F15 contains mixed predictions (mostly about children, childbirth, number of children, and their chances to survive) that are each preceded by a short prose heading. One gets the impression that in the process of excerpting tenets that he found interesting, the author of P. Oxy. 3.464 did not always respect the original wording of his source. This is evident in the case of F15 i 5–6:

> ε]ἰ δὲ Κρόν[ος ἴδοι μ]ήνην κ̣α̣ὶ [ὕ]ψ[οθεν ἑστώς,
> ἐ]κ δ̣ο̣υ̣λ̣ων δούλους τούσδε νοεῖ ξυ̣[νέσει.
>
> If, however, Saturn aspects the Moon, positioned above, know with your intelligence that these [natives] are slaves and from slaves. [my trans. based on Lopilato 1998, 199]

This distich is independently preserved in pseudo-Manetho 1[5].344–345 [= F21.85–86]:

> καὶ ταύτην τετράγωνος ἴδοι Κρόνος ὑψόθεν ἑστώς,
> ἐκ δούλων δούλους τῇδε νόει ξυνέσει.
>
> [If . . .] and Saturn aspects it [Venus] from quartile, positioned above, know with your intelligence that these [natives] are slaves and from slaves. [trans. Lopilato 1998, 199][74]

Deplorably, there are no cross references between these two passages in Obbink 2006, neither in the *apparatus* nor in the *subsidia interpretationis* [2006, 67]. The version in F15 i 5–6 is meant to be complete, as is clear from its being preceded by an indented, almost entirely lost prose heading [F15 i 4 Ομ[. . .] and immediately followed by another

[74] Lopilato follows the manuscript reading τούσδε ('these [natives]'), not—as Obbink [2006, 63] does—Axt's and Rigler's conjecture τῇδε ('this [intelligence]').

such heading [F15 i 7]. However, F21.85–86 shows that the original source (probably Anubio) presented a more complex syntactical structure that comprised not one but two or more distichs: only the last of these was excerpted by the author of F15 who resorted to clumsy adjustments in order to make the distich syntactically independent. This accounts for the fact that the hexameter is so strangely fluffed in the papyrus [F15 i 5]. It is tempting to conjecture κατίδοι for the unmetrical ἴδοι,[75] but the lacuna is too short for that. Instead, ἴδοι fits perfectly. Apparently, the scribe of P. Oxy. 3.464 kept the simplex of the original [F21.85 ἴδοι] unchanged. He further omitted the original information on the kind of astrological aspect (square, τετράγωνος), replaced the pronoun ταύτην with the noun referred to (μήνην, the Moon), and connected the finite verb ἴδοι with the following participle ἑστώς[76] by means of a very inelegant (but metrically needed) καὶ. This is enough to get an idea of how poetically unskilled the scribe of P. Oxy. 3.464 was, and how freely he treated the original text. Nevertheless his testimony is precious in so far as it helps to determine with certainty to which planetary deity the pronoun ταύτην in pseudo-Manetho 1[5].344 = F21.86 refers (the Moon, not the other female deity, Venus) and to confirm that the manuscript reading τούσδε in the *codex unicus* (Laurentianus graecus 28.27) is correct. Koechly, who edited the Manethonian corpus long before the publication of P. Oxy. 3.464, wrongly adopted the conjecture τῇδε of Axt and Rigler. In the present edition, it would have been good to return to the manuscript reading τούσδε in F21.86 [Obbink 2006, 63], as Lopilato [1998, 36] actually does.

F16 The first editor Franz Boll [1914] interpreted this papyrus [PSI 3.157] as containing new fragments of the astrological poem of Manetho.[77] He also saw that three verses (3, 27, 39) are pentameters. This justifies their inclusion in Obbink's edition of Anubio (where verse

[75] Cf. e.g., pseudo-Manetho 5[6].173–174: ἣν δὲ Σεληναίη ὕψωμ' ἀνιοῦσα σὺν Ἑρμῇ | αὐξιφαὴς κατίδοι κλυτὸν Ἥλιον κτλ.

[76] ὕψοθεν ἑστώς, which Housman brilliantly restored in the papyrus from the only preserved letter (ψ) by way of comparison with pseudo-Manetho 1 [5].344, refers to the astrological concept of καθυπερτέρησις. Cf. the very similar prose expression in T8.111 ὁ Κρόνος Σελήνην τετραγωνίζων, τοῦ Κρόνου καθυπερτεροῦντος, κτλ. In Obbink's *apparatus criticus* [2006, 44], Housman's restoration is inadvertently recorded twice.

[77] Boll 1914, 1 [No. 157]: 'Carminis astrologici Manethoniani fragmenta nova'.

27 needs to be indented). Boll also directed the reader's attention to parallel passages in the *Mathesis* of Firmicus. Obbink quotes these passages, which are not part of Firmicus, *Math.* 6.3–31 (hence the commendable inclusion of F16 among the uncertain fragments), *in margine*. Deplorably, there is no clear indication of which lines of the Greek text are their respective equivalents. This is unfortunate because the Latin quotations are generally printed several lines above the positions where they actually belong. Note that Firmicus, *Math.* 4.6.1 goes with F16.8–13, Firmicus, *Math.* 3.6.29 with F16.18–21,[78] and Firmicus, *Math.* 3.5.30 with F16.35–37. A fourth parallel is missing *suo loco* [51] but mentioned among the *subsidia interpretationis* [67]: F16.22–27 ~Firmicus, *Math.* 3.4.23.[79] This is the only case where one of the three Greek pentameters of F16 falls into one of the four parallel passages of Firmicus. In the Greek text of Obbink 2006, 51 and 53, correct verse 8 β[α]σιλήιδα to β[α]σιλῆΐδα,[80] verse 10 ὁρ[ί]ο[ς

[78] After 'semper' add the missing words 'Venus cum', and note that from 'quae fortiora' onwards the source is Firmicus, *Math.* 3.6.31.

[79] This entry is *s.v.* 'F17' (read 'F16'). The whole reference for verses 22–27 to Firmicus is a rather sloppy quotation from Boll 1914, 3 (without acknowledgement). The lines quoted as 'Firm. Mat. I 121,19' are part of the paragraph Firmicus, *Math.* 3.4.23. Instead of 'Venus et Iouis' read 'Venus aut Iouis' (this lapse is Boll's); instead of 'pereant' read 'depereant' (this lapse is Obbink's). The following words 'igitur Iouis testimonio sors eorum paulo melior fit' are not a continuation of Firmicus' text but Boll's comment on it. Therefore, they should be formatted in italics or put into quotation marks. My attention was drawn to this last sentence by W. Hübner, who acutely noticed that it is not likely to be a continuation of the text of Firmicus because ancient authors mostly use *igitur* in postposition, due to its origin from enclitic *agitur*. In this context it deserves to be mentioned that throughout Obbink 2006 the *apparatus criticus* below the Latin quotations from Firmicus would be more easily comprehensible if Obbink's own words were (as is customary in Latin editions) systematically italicized and thus clearly distinguished form the ancient Latin author's words. This kind of distinction is applied only to F4 [2006, 31]. Besides, the *lemmata* of the *apparatus* ought always to be preceded by the number of the paragraph to which they refer, as on page 24 (proper indication is missing on page 26 and elsewhere).

[80] Correct also the index in Obbink 2006, 70.

to ὀρ[ί]ο[ις, and verse 34 καταχεύει (‘pours down’) to κατατεύχει (‘makes, renders’).[81]

F17 P. Rylands 3.488 contains one badly damaged column of text. No more than roughly eight letters from the second half of each line are preserved; most line ends are broken off. The meter is probably elegiac[82] and the content astrological, but neither of these features is certain. Therefore, the most that can be admitted is inclusion among the *fragmenta incerta*.[83]

F18 In P. Schubart 16 (P. Berol. inv. 7508), one damaged column of astrological poetry is preserved. Line 11 is the only clearly discernible hexametrical line end. Lines 8, 12, 15, 19, and 21 can only be pentameters. Inclusion among the *fragmenta incerta* is plausible. Note the poet’s personal remark in F18.16 ἐγὼ ὁδὸν ἡγεμον[εύω (or ἡγεμον[εύσω), to which Schubart [1950, 37] first drew attention.

F19–F20 P. Oxy. 66.4506–4507 contain traces of elegiac distichs in the preserved line-ends of F19 a, F19 b, and F20 b 2–3. F19 and F20 both contain traces of astrological terminology. Inclusion among the *fragmenta incerta* is plausible.

F21 This fragment is from the first book of the *Corpus Manethonianum*.[84] To discuss this fragment comprehensibly requires some preliminary information. The six books of dactylic hexameters attributed to ‘Manetho’ are composed of various elements taken from different sources and composed at different times. They fall into three groups that are usually quoted with the book number in the *codex unicus* first, followed in square brackets by the restored order of Koechly 1858.[85] The earliest element, which was also called the ‘core’ earlier in this review, comprises books 2[1], 3[2], and 6[3]; book

[81] These are lapses. Obbink did not mean to change the text as established by Boll 1914.

[82] See esp. line 9, ending in -τυχίῃ (with a blank line following): this seems to be a pentameter, as was correctly noted by the first editor Roberts [1938, 102].

[83] The line number ‘5’ ought to be printed one line below its current position.

[84] The numerals ‘84–99’ in the source indication ‘Manetho, Apotelesm. A [E], 84–99 (Koechly)’ [Obbink 2006, 61 and 66] refer to the page numbers in Koechly 1858.

[85] Koechly’s rearrangement of the book sequence was criticized by many.

4 is by a later author, and books 1[5] and 5[6] form still another unit of uncertain date. Hence, F21 is *not* from the core poem by pseudo-Manetho that was included in the stemma on p. 136. The whole corpus was re-edited by Lopilato [1998] in a doctoral thesis directed by the late David Pingree. It is deplorable that this edition, which also provides a full English translation and commentary, remains unpublished and is available only on UMI Microform 9830484. (In any case, this edition has escaped Obbink's attention).[86]

It has been observed more than a century ago that some 20 elegiac distichs are interspersed in the dactylic hexameters of the first (fifth) book, and that they are likely to derive from Anubio because he is the only ancient author known to have written elegiac distichs of astrological content [see Kroll 1898, 131–132; Usener 1900, 335–337]. Obbink rightly included these verses in his edition among the *fragmenta incerta*. His method, however, is unclear. He starts quoting the first 57 lines from book 1[5] in their entirety (in a small font), although in this portion only lines 37–38 (an elegiac couplet, printed in the larger, regular font) are relevant to Anubio. After line 57, which is an arbitrary dividing line, Obbink stops quoting the context and presents the reader only with the elegiac couplets to be found in the remaining part of the same book. For various reasons, he should have done this from the beginning: lines 1–57 do not contain a unit of content but a proem [1–15] followed abruptly by a series of short, poetically as well as astrologically unconnected prognostications. Some of them are of such a low quality as to deserve (in Koechly's opinion) cruces at the beginning of each line (verses 16–17 and 38–41), a peculiar use of this diacritical sign that is normally used to denote textual corruptions.[87] The reader who is interested in Anubio would not miss anything if the long quotation from pseudo-Manetho 1[5].1–57 were reduced to 1[5].37–38. And Obbink ought to have made it clear that the first of these two lines, the dactylic hexameter, is a conjecture by Koechly that cannot be found in the manuscript tradition. Therefore, Koechly prints it in a smaller font and does not

[86] For book 1[5], see Lopilato 1998, 263–275 (Engl. trans.), 394–425 (comm.).
[87] Obbink follows Koechly's special use of these cruces without explanation. See Koechly 1858, vii 'praefixis crucibus ineptissima quaeque notavi'.

include it in his line count.[88] This seems to have escaped Obbink's attention. As a consequence, Koechly's line count in parenthesis on the right side of Obbink 2006, 62 is, from '(40)' to '(55)', indicated one line above the position where it actually belongs.

In F21.20, Obbink, who generally follows the text of pseudo-Manetho as established by Koechly 1858, returns here to the reading ἠδὲ λαφύροις [Koechly 1851] instead of ἤθεα φαύλαις [Koechly 1858]. Note that Lopilato [1998] prints ἦστε λάφυρα.

In F21.42, Obbink prints μοῖραν δ᾽ οὐκ ἐκφεύγουσι, attributing this in the *apparatus criticus* to Koechly: I assume that he means the edition of 1851 (which I have not seen) because the revised *editio minor* [Koechly 1858] reads μόρον αἰνὸν ὑπ᾽ ἐμφαίνουσι. Note that Lopilato [1998, 25] conjectures μόρον αἰνὸν <δ>᾽ οὐκ φεύγουσι.

F21.61–62 are verses 89 and 91 (not 90–91) in Koechly 1858.

In F21.63/67/69, the small font is a faithful reproduction of Koechly's layout; it means that each of these three lines is based on conjecture and is not to be found in the manuscript tradition. In Obbink 2006 it is not made clear that the use of a small font for these three dactylic hexameters is different from the one in F21.1–58 where it was reserved to providing authentic hexametrical context without giving it too much prominence. The potential confusion grows still wider when Obbink uses the small font for a hexametrical line [F21.91] which is neither a conjecture of Koechly nor clearly identifiable as part of a stichic hexametrical context.

F21.79 δεκτεῖρα κακῶν would mean 'receiver of evil' (the Moon), a sense opposite to what the context demands ('evildoer'). Correct the unattested noun δεκτεῖρα to ῥεκτεῖρα, the reading of the *codex unicus* [ms **M**], Koechly, and Lopilato. Apparently δεκτεῖρα is a lapse due to the similar shapes of δ and ῥ.

In F21.83 δούλους ποιήσει καὶ γονέων στερέσει, although καὶ (second hand in **M**) is preferable to ἢ (first hand in **M**) for metrical reasons, Lopilato [1998, 36] is probably right in assuming hiatus and printing ἤ. The question is complicated by the fact that Byzantine scribes frequently confuse ἤ ('or') and καὶ ('and'). Note, however,

[88] See Koechly 1858, vii 'quae a me probabili coniectura suppleta videbantur minoribus literis exprimenda curavi'.

that apart from being the original reading and yielding better sense, ἢ is supported by the disjunctive syntax of the parallel in Firmicus, *Math.* 6.29.3 *aut . . . aut* (this has hitherto been overlooked). For more details, see the synoptic Table 3 [p. 167].

In the *index verborum*, the final word στερέσει is listed under στέρεσις. However, instead of being dative singular of the noun στέρεσις, στερέσει must be the third person singular future indicative of the verb στερέω. Admittedly, the regular form ought to be στερήσει, and I do not know of any parallel for the future tense of στερέω without the obligatory lengthening from -ε- to -η-; but the context here (esp. ποιήσει) leaves no doubt about the grammatical interpretation. Besides, the noun στέρεσις is in itself a rare variant of the regular form στέρησις. I assume that the poet took the freedom of coining an analogous variant for the future tense of the verb, one that suited his metrical needs.[89] Lopilato [1998, 199] interprets this line correctly: 'will make them slaves or deprive them of parents'.

The distich F21.85–86 made its way from the original source (probably Anubio) into both pseudo-Manetho 1[5].344–345 and P. Oxy. 3.464 [F15 i 5–6]. In F21.86 change τῇδε to τούσδε. For a detailed discussion, see pp. 158–159 on F15.

F21.90 is line 349 in Koechly's edition, not 351.

Obbink is probably right in rejecting Usener's attempt to restore a pentameter from pseudo-Manetho 1[5].335 [Obbink 2006, 66 *s.v. Spuria*]. But there are, in addition to the elegiac couplets accepted by Obbink in F21, some further traces of pentameters that might have been worth inclusion in Obbink's new edition. One such verse seems to be hidden in pseudo-Manetho 1[5].168–169 (about Mars in the midheaven of day-born children):

> πρῶτον μὲν γονέων βίον ὤλεσε, καὶ λέχος αὐτῶν
> χωρίζει θανάτῳ κακῷ ἠὲ διχοστασίῃσιν.
>
> First, it destroys the life of parents, and it separates them from the marital couch by evil death or dissension. [trans. Lopilato 1998, 193]

[89] This phenomenon is not limited to poetry. Compare the grammarian Phrynichus Arabius (2nd c. AD), *Atticistes ecloge* n° 420 [Fischer 1974, 108] who reminds us that the correct spelling of εὕρημα is with -η-, not with -ε-.

Koechly (and Obbink) did not know that Hephaestio of Thebes quotes these lines with explicit attribution to Manetho [Hephaestio, *Apotelesm.* 2.4.27], reading the final words as χωρίζει θανάτῳ ἢ καὶ διχοστασίῃ. Both Pingree [1973, 102] and Lopilato [1998, 316] saw that this may originally have been a pentameter. Neither of them, however, tried to restore it to impeccable Greek meter. Yet, it can be restored by changing ἢ καὶ to ἠὲ, the reading of the *codex unicus* **M** of the direct transmission of pseudo-Manetho. On the assumption that the original couplet was inserted into the text of pseudo-Manetho, the surrounding hexametrical context may have led to the change from pentameter to hexameter. The restored elegiac distich to be included among the *fragmenta incerta* of Anubio would then be:

> πρῶτον μὲν γονέων βίον ὤλεσε, καὶ λέχος αὐτῶν
> χωρίζει θανάτῳ ἠὲ διχοστασίῃ.
>
> First, it destroys the life of parents, and it splits their marital union by death or dissension.

Moreover, pseudo-Manetho 1[5].336 deserves attention. Koechly presents it, with substantial changes, as καὶ Πυρόεις, μήτηρ προτέρη πατρὸς οἴχετ᾽ ἐς Ἄιδην, while the manuscript transmission (followed by Lopilato [1998, 36]) reads a pentameter: ἡ μήτηρ προτέρη οἴχεται εἰς ᾽Αΐδην.

While it is generally believed that only book 1[5] contains scattered elegiac fragments, two more of them may be contained in book 5[6]. These two books are closely related to each other and form together what Koechly considered to be the youngest part of the pseudo-Manethonian corpus.[90] Lopilato interprets the somewhat damaged verse 5[6].292 φαινόμενον πάλιν καὶ μακαριζόμενοι as a pentameter and prints τιόμενοι πᾶσιν καὶ μακαριζόμενοι [cf. Koechly 1858, xxviii 'quasi pentameter esset']. Lopilato further suspects [1998, 408] that beneath the corrupt hexameter verse 5[6].55 another original pentameter may be hidden, which he tentatively restores thus: ψυχρὸς γάρ τε πέλει, τῇ δὲ Κρόνοιο βολή ('For you see, Saturn is cold, and so, too, is its ray.')[91]

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[90] Therefore they come last, as books 5 and 6, in his rearrangement.
[91] Lopilato's translation does not convince me.

It remains to ask if there are, apart from the elegiac meter, textual correspondences with the common source of Anubio and Firmicus (as indirectly attested in books 5–6 of Firmicus) which support the suspicion that the elegiac distichs in pseudo-Manetho go back to Anubio. Some of these distichs are preserved in a too fragmentary form as to allow for comparisons, especially when the whole astronomical protasis is missing [e.g., F21.71]. But some other distichs yield interesting results, even if these are not as striking as the parallels that Weinstock and Obbink detected between F3, F4, F5, F6 and Firmicus, *Math.* 6.29–31. I shall present two cases where the apodoses [A] are virtually identical, while the protases [P] are slightly different, yet not so different as to obscure the fact that there must be some relationship between the Greek and the Latin versions [see Table 3].[92]

More difficult to judge are cases like pseudo-Manetho 1[5].89/91 [= F21.61–62]:

> Ἑρμείας διάμετρον ἔχων Κρόνον ἠδὲ Σελήνην
> ἐμμανέας τεύχει τ᾽ ἠδὲ φρενοβλαβέας.

The passages to compare are

- Firmicus, *Math.* 6.15.16–17 esp. *linguam sic positi tardo sono vocis inpediunt, ut in ipsis faucibus tardis conatibus inpedita verba deficiant, aut verba linguae obligatione confundunt*
- Dorotheus [Pingree 1976, 351.30–352.4] esp. δυσγλώττους ἢ τραυλοὺς σημαίνει. . . βλαβήσεται ἡ λαλιά
- *Par.* <*Dor.*> 375.25–376.2 esp. βραδυγλώσσους καὶ δυσέκφορον τὴν λαλιὰν ἔχοντας ἢ τραυλούς, and
- Dorotheus Arabus 2.6.12–13 esp. 'it indicates a stammer of the tongue and few words, or he will be a lisper'.

This time the astronomical protases are all identical (Mercury in opposition with Saturn, while the Moon is in conjunction with one of them), but the astrological apodoses are different: while the *loci similes* quoted above unanimously predict a speaking disability, the pseudo-Manethonian passage insists on a mental disorder. But there is more to be observed. Koechly's rearrangements easily make one overlook that the manuscript tradition has another hexameter between lines 89 and 91. Lopilato prints the passage without comment:

[92] Complex astronomical protases are more likely to be corrupted than the rather simple astrological apodoses.

pseudo-Manetho	Firmicus, *Math.*
1[5].122, 124, 124b, 128 [= F21.67–70]	6.30.5
[P] ῎Αρης δ᾽ ἢν τετράγωνον ἴδοι καλὴν ᾽Αφροδίτην, ǀ μαρτυρίην τούτῳ καὶ Κρόνος ἀμφιβάλοι,	[P] *Si Mars et Luna diametra sibi fuerint radiatione contrarii, et easdem ambo in diametro constituti partes accipiant, Venus vero in dextro eorum quadrato fuerit constituta, et Venerem de diametro Saturnus respiciens per sinistrum quadratum Lunam Martemque pulsaverit, ut Venerem quidem de diametro, Lunam vero et Martem de quadrato respiciat, et Mercurius MC. possederit,*
[A] εὐνούχους στείρους, ὁτὲ δ᾽ ἑρμαφρόδιτον ἔτευξαν, ǀ δισσάς, ἀχρήστους εἰς ἓν ἔχοντα φύσεις.	[A] *ex hac stellarum mixtura aut steriles aut hermaphroditi aut certe generantur eunuchi.*
1[5].341–345 [= F21.82–86]	6.29.3–4
[P] Ἠελίῳ τετράγωνος ῎Αρης, Μήνῃ δέ τε Φαίνων,	[P] *Si Lunam*[a] *de diametro Mars et Saturnus pariter aspexerint, et nulla benivolarum stellarum vel Lunam vel illos qui sunt in diametro constituti salutari radiatione convenerit,*
[A] δούλους ποιήσει ἢ γονέων στερέσει.	[A] *aut servos efficiet ista coniunctio aut privatos parentum praesidio misero faciet orbitatis onere praegravari.*
[P] ἢν δ᾽ ἔτι καὶ Παφίη κατεναντίον ῎Αρεος ἔλθῃ, ǀ καὶ ταύτην τετράγωνος ἴδοι Κρόνος ὑψόθεν ἑστώς,	[P] (4) *Si Venerem et Lunam in diversis locis constitutas Saturnus et Mars quadrata vel diametra radiatione respexerint, et his omnibus Iovis oportunum testimonium denegetur,*
[A] ἐκ δούλων δούλους τούσδε[b] νόει ξυνέσει.	[A] *a servis parentibus natos ista coniunctio perpetuo faciet servitutis onere praegravari.*

[a] One is tempted to conjecture 'Si <Solem et> Lunam'.

[b] For τούσδε and not τῇσδε, see the comments on F5, p. 148.

Table 3

> Ἑρμείας διάμετρον ἔχων Κρόνον ἠδὲ Σελήνην
> κεντρωθεὶς δ᾽ αὐτὸς[93] κατ᾽ ἐναντίον ὡρονόμοιο,
> ἐμμανέας τεύχει τ᾽ ἠδὲ φρενοβλαβέας.
>
> Mercury having Saturn and the Moon in opposition, and being encardined opposite the ascendant, makes [people] who are mad and deranged. [trans. Lopilato 1998, 80]

I wonder if one pentameter has dropped out after the first line, a pentameter in which the speaking disability was mentioned, maybe thus:

> Ἑρμείας διάμετρον ἔχων Κρόνον ἠδὲ Σελήνην
> <δυσγλώττους τεύχει, τραυλοὺς τὴν λαλιάν,>[94]
> κεντρωθεὶς δ᾽ αὐτὸς κατ᾽ ἐναντίον ὡρονόμοιο,
> ἐμμανέας τεύχει τ᾽ ἠδὲ φρενοβλαβέας.

This would imply a progression from a moderate disability to a severe one, both belonging to the astrological domain of Mercury (speaking, writing, reading, communication, sciences, mental skills), the latter one occurring only under particularly disadvantageous circumstances, when Mercury is setting. The context of Firmicus, *Math.* 6.15 contains other references to the centers and the places of the *dodecatropos*, for example 6.15.3 and 6.15.10. Compare especially 6.15.2–3 where a similar progression from simple opposition (Saturn-Jupiter) to the additional requirement that Saturn be rising is found. Therefore, pseudo-Manetho 1[5].89–91 may well go back to the same common source on which Firmicus, Dorotheus, and also Anubio drew [see the stemma on p. 136]. However, the absence of the reference to the setting point in all the *loci similes* that have been adduced above suggests that Anubio, if he really is the author of the two distichs quoted in the pseudo-Manethonian corpus, added the latter distich either *Marte suo* or drew (or inferred) it from the section of the common source that dealt with κεντροθεσίαι, especially from the chapter

[93] αὐτὸς is the reading of the *Liber Halensis*, αὐτοῖς that of the *codex Laurentianus* (followed by Koechly).

[94] With *spondiazon* and intentionally onomatopoeic accumulation of the dentals -δ- and -τ-? My tentative restoration of the pentameter means ‘creates [people] with a speaking disability, lisping in their talk’.

on Mercury in the centers.[95] That Anubio was familiar with the section on κεντροθεσίαι is clear from F22.3-4 [see below].

Maybe a close examination of the remaining elegiac elements in the Manethonian corpus will reveal some more correspondences with Firmicus and the other texts that go back to the common source, especially if one keeps in mind that many of these elegiac elements are mutilated and entire lines are missing, which makes the comparison awkward. Such an endeavor would, however, go beyond the scope of the present article. Suffice it to have pointed out what remains to be done.

F22 This fragment is transmitted in the commentary on *Job* by Julian the Arian whom Usener [1900, 335–336], who first drew scholars' attention to this fragment, mistakenly identified with the sixth century bishop Julian of Halicarnassus. Hagedorn [1973, lvi], the modern editor of this work, was able to show that it was written much earlier, between AD 357 and 365. The commentary on *Job* 38.7 ὅτε ἐγεννήθη ἄστρα ᾔνεσάν με φωνῇ μεγάλῃ πάντες ἄγγελοί μου preserves five separate fragments of elegiac astrological poetry (four distichs and one pentameter). Julian addresses the astrological poet by way of apostrophe in the second person singular (καταψεύδῃ, συνάδεις, φής, λέγεις), yet without mentioning his name. That seems to be the reason why Obbink placed F22 among the *fragmenta incerta*, together with other fragments in elegiac distichs that (a) bear no explicit attribution and (b) have no equivalent in Firmicus, *Math.* 6.3–31. In the present case, however, it has been overlooked that condition (b) is not fulfilled. See the introductory words of Julian: τί δ᾽ ἄρα τῶν ἄστρων καταψεύδῃ λέγων, ὅτι ἂν τριγωνίσῃ Ἄρης τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, μοιχοὺς ποιεῖ; [F22.1–2]. This reference to the effect of Mars in trine aspect with Venus corresponds to Firmicus, *Math.* 6.5.3.[96] Therefore F22.1–2 would belong among the *fragmenta*, if it were original metrical text. However, it is a prose

[95] The relevant passages of the preserved texts are in Pingree 1976, 366.24–367.20; Dor. Arab. 2.27; pseudo-Manetho 3[2].90–105.

[96] Firmicus, however, envisages only the positive effects of this astrological aspect: *quottidiana lucra ex assidua quaestuum continuatione decernunt, et prosperi matrimonii nuptias . . . perficiunt.*

paraphrase. Therefore, it belongs among the *testimonia*, with a reference to the following original verses that are to be listed among the *fragmenta*.[97]

Dorotheus treated the same aspect, as is clear from *Par. <Dor.>* 384.6–8:

> πρὸς δὲ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην τρίγωνος ὢν ὁ Ἄρης εὐπορίαν καὶ λέχος εὔνυμφον δίδωσιν· φιλοσκόσμους ποιεῖ καὶ μεγαλόφρονας καὶ πολλῶν γυναικῶν λέχη θηρώντας

and from *Par. Anub. <et Dor.>* 346.22–24 [= T8.58–60]:

> ὁ Ἄρης Ἀφροδίτην τριγωνίζων ἐμπόρους, εὐγάμους, φιλοκόσμους καὶ μεγαλόφρονας ποιεῖ, οἱ τοιοῦτοι δὲ πολλῶν γυναικῶν λέχη θηρῶσιν ἤτοι μοιχοὶ γίνονται.

The similar wording (note also the hunting metaphor in both versions) shows that both paraphrases drew on the same source, i.e., Dorotheus. While the version in *Par. <Dor.>* seems to preserve a poetical expression of the original (λέχος εὔνυμφον), it may need emendation of εὐπορίαν to ἐμπορίαν (maybe εὐπορίαν originated under the influence of the following εὔνυμφον?).

Now back to Julian. Note that the first elegiac distich quoted by him [F22.3–4] is about the luminaries together in a center, while the second and third distichs quoted by him [F22.6–7 and F22.11–12] are about the effects of Mars in a 'house' of Jupiter (i.e., in Sagittarius or Pisces) and of Saturn in a 'house' of Venus (i.e., in Taurus or Libra). These predictions belong to the κεντροθεσίαι and τοπικαὶ διακρίσεις which were discussed in the same order in the common source (probably Nechepso and Petosiris) that has been analyzed in the first part of this review article. While Firmicus translated this material into Latin, Dorotheus and pseudo-Manetho versified it.[98] Apparently Anubio did the same, and it is almost certain that he did so *before* embarking upon the discussion of the aspects. Within that earlier section, the κεντροθεσίαι must have preceded the τοπικαὶ διακρίσεις, as Julian's words καὶ μετὰ βραχέα [F22.5] prove. Julian also clarifies the relative order of all other elements in F22, except for

[97] Compare Obbink's analogous treatment of T6/F2 and T8/F9. See also T7/F7 which, however, do not immediately cohere in the source.

[98] For details, see Table 1, p. 135.

the transition between the two halves F22.1–9 and F22.10–15. Although F22.10–15 comes later in Julian's text, its metrical elements must have preceded those of F22.6–7 in Anubio's original not only because Saturn precedes Mars in the typical descending order of the planets but also because we have specific evidence to this effect from the order of the corresponding passages on τοπικαὶ διακρίσεις in Dorotheus.[99]

Altogether, then, Julian's remarks and the preserved astrological treatments of κεντροθεσίαι and τοπικαὶ διακρίσεις show beyond reasonable doubt that Anubio followed the order of the material as he found it in the common source. As a consequence, F22 ought to be placed between F2 and F3, and the various metrical elements of F22, which probably belonged to the same book of the original, ought to succeed each other in the following order as distinct fragments:[100] F22.3–4, F22.11–15, F22.6–9.[101]

Some final remarks on F22.

- Julian's quotations require more emendations than this badly preserved text has hitherto received. For example, F22.6 εἰ δ᾽ Ἄρην ἐσίδοις εἰς τὸν Διὸς ἀγλαὸν οἶκον is certainly not an authentic hexameter of Anubio but its distortion by a Byzantine scribe. Its second half must have been ἐν τῷ Διὸς ἀγλαῷ οἴκῳ in the original [cf. F22.11 ἐν Κύπριδος οἴκῳ]. In addition, F22.6 ἐσίδοις and F22.11 ἐσίδῃς look suspicious (originally κατ-?), and so does F22.11 γεραρόν [see *app. crit.*; I prefer Usener's conjecture παρέοντ᾽].
- F22.3 κεντρογραφηθείσης ('placed in a center of the drawing') is the only attestation of the verb κεντρογραφέω[102] and commendably highlighted as such (with an asterisk) in the *index verborum*

[99] F22.11–12 ~Pingree 1976, 357.19–23 [= T8.421–425 Obbink] ~Dor. Arab. 2.28.3. F22.6–7 ~Pingree 1976, 358.17–18 [= T8.448–449] ~Dor. Arab. 2.30.2.

[100] Compare Obbink's commendable distinction between T4 and T5, both from the same work of Tzetzes.

[101] F22.11–15 came before F22.6–9 because Saturn precedes Mars in the typical descending order of the planets.

[102] Note, however, that there is also one attested case of the compound συνκεντρογραφέω in Greek: see Cumont 1929b, 174.3 συγκεντρογραφηθῇ.

[Obbink 2006, 69–79].[103] Interestingly, this verb describes astronomical positions not only with reference to the observer's horizon, but also with reference to the chart drawn up by the astrologer to illustrate the heavenly alignment.

- In F22.3–4 Dorotheus did not discuss the conjunction of the luminaries in a center, as the relevant chapters in Dor. Arab. 2.21–22; Pingree 1976, 361.16–362.16; and *Par.* <*Dor.*> show.[104] Hence, we have yet another argument against Anubio's dependence on Dorotheus.
- In F22.12 γάλλους ἢ μοιχοὺς ἔννεπε τὴν γένεσιν, the person born with Saturn in a house of Venus [F22.11] is called, by way of a frequent astrological metonymy, 'the birth' (ἡ γένεσις for ὁ γεννηθείς). The grammatical congruence between direct object (singular) and predicative nouns (plural) is awkward but somewhat mitigated by the astrological concept of typical alignments under which several 'copies' of the same type of human being can be born. For this concept, compare, e.g., Firmicus, *Math.* 6.30.25 where the same planetary alignment is said to have caused the births of two famous lyric poets, Archilochus and Pindar.

3. Rearrangement of the preserved *testimonia* and fragments

In light of the first two parts of this article, I suggest rearranging the preserved *testimonia* and fragments of Anubio as follows [see Table 4a–e on pp. 185–189]. I use a single asterisk (*) to indicate that the passage in question was placed in another category[105] by Obbink. Some elements of the mixed elegiac predictions in F21 deserve to be mentioned among the certain fragments, but only in the form of references preceding and following F6, in a smaller font, and without being assigned a number of their own, because they are too uncertain to justify their definitive excision from F21.

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[103] In the same index, correct ἄποικοις to ἄποικος, ἄφραστος to ἄφραστος, βασιλήιδα to βασιληΐς, γεραρόν to γεραρός, ἤθεσιν to ἦθος, μειρόμαι to μείρομαι, ὀλίγας to ὀλίγος, and στέρεσις to στερέω.

[104] As to the omission in *Par.* <*Dor.*>, see Kroll, Skutsch, and Ziegler 1968, 2.128.

[105] *Fragmenta / Fragmenta loci incerti / Fragmenta incerta.*

APPENDIX 1
DOROTHEUS ON ASPECTS

Addenda to Pingree's Collection [1976] of the Fragments of Dorotheus of Sidon

Pingree included only *Par. Anub. <et Dor.>* in his collection, not *Par. <Dor.>*. Since the latter paraphrase contains a considerable number of obvious metrical fragments, and the former paraphrase contains three of which only one was highlighted as such by Pingree,[106] it will be useful to give a list of all fragments of the Greek original text of Dorotheus from the section on aspects that corresponds to Dor. Arab. 2.14–19. Any uncertain elements are underlined. See Table 5 on pp. 190–192.

APPENDIX 2
THE SOURCE OF THE PARAPHRASE T8

This appendix serves to substantiate the claim made above on p. 134 that the paraphrase T8 is, despite its explicit attribution to Anubio in the heading of the first chapter, mostly derived from Dorotheus and has therefore, in this review, rightly been labeled 'Par. Anub. <et Dor.>'.

The metrical fragments in this paraphrase that Obbink considered relevant to Anubio, F9.1 [T8.264] and F9.4 [T8.277], are from the three page chapter that deals with oppositions [T8.208–307]. Already in the previous chapter on square aspects [T8.76–207], the scribe must have switched from Anubio to Dorotheus, as the section on Mars in square aspect with Mercury shows [T8.170–173]:

> εἰ δὲ τὸν Ἄρην ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐπιδεκατεύει, δεινοὺς ἐξετέλεσεν, πανούργους, ἀλλοτρίων ἅρπαγας· οἱ τοιοῦτοι γὰρ ἀπὸ ἄλλου εἰς ἄλλον μετέρχονται ὅπως κακόν τι αὐτοῖς προστριψάμενοι προδώσουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν χρημάτων γυμνώσουσιν.

[106] By way of centered formatting and blank lines preceding and following the hexameter; see Pingree 1976, 353.6. This is item 11, F9.4, in Table 5b, p. 191.

The beginning of the apodosis seems to go back to a metrical original like δεινοὺς ἐξετέλεσσε, πανούργους – ◡ ◡ – ◡̆.[107] The Latin equivalent is Firmicus, *Math.* 6.11.9:

> malos malignos malitiososque perficiet [~δεινοὺς ἐξετέλεσε], pessima ac pestifera semper cupiditate mentis armatos, omnia circumscriptionum exercentes officia [~πανούργους], rapaces et qui de rebus alienis varia mentis cupiditate pascantur [~ἀλλοτρίων ἅρπαγας].

There is no equivalent in *Par. <Dor.>*. A fortunate coincidence has it that Rhetorius adapted the same metrical original, on which the scribe of *Par. Anub. <et Dor.>* [= T8] drew, in his discussion of the nativity of the grammarian Pamprepius of Panopolis [AD 440–484], which is Rhetorius 5.113–117 or, more precisely, in 5.115, the chapter that discusses why Pamprepius was a traitor. This chapter reads, in Pingree's forthcoming attempt to emend the badly corrupted *codex unicus* Paris. gr. 2425 (dactylic hexameters are indented):

῞Ορα τὸν Ἑρμῆν καθυπερτεροῦντα τὸν ῞Αρην κατὰ τετράγωνον. φησὶ γάρ τις τῶν σοφῶν·[108]

> εἰ δέ νυ τετράπλευρος ἐὼν τὸν ἀνώτερον ἴσχει
> Ἑρμείας, βαιὸν δὲ τόπον φ<α>υλώτατος ῞Αρης,
> δεινῶς ἐξετέλεσ<σ>ε πανούργος ἤτε μέλοντας
> ἁρπαγὰς καὶ ἀλλοτρίων στερήσεις <ποιεῖν>,
> εἰς ἕτερον δ᾽ ἑτέρου μεταν<άστ>ασιν ἀνέρος ἄνδρα.
> ἄλ<λ>οτ᾽ εὕρομεν καὶ τὸ λοιπόν·
> ἐνισκήψουσι <πρ>οδόντες
> <σ>φὶ<ν> κακομηχανίῃ, κτεάνων δ᾽ <ἀπο>γυμνώσουσιν.

This is not the place to discuss Rhetorius 5.115 in detail. For previous attempts to restore this passage and for the indispensable *apparatus criticus*, see Pingree 1976, 368.[109] Suffice it to say that the reading

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[107] Cf., e.g., Homer, *Od.* 2.110 = 24.146 and (in an astrological context) pseudo-Manetho 3[2].169 with ἐξετέλεσσε in the same position.

[108] The names of the sources quoted are systematically suppressed in this branch of the transmission of Rhetorius [cod. Paris. 2425]. In the lost original, Rhetorius must have mentioned Dorotheus.

[109] See further Stegemann 1943, 122–125, who provides a synoptic table that includes also his German translation of fol. 4 of the Arabic excerpt which was omitted by Pingree [see note a in Table 5a [p. 190].

δεινοὺς of the paraphrase [T8.171] is preferable to Cumont's conjecture δεινῶς for the manuscript reading δυνὸς in Rhetorius 5.115.2, which Pingree accepted; and, more importantly, that the source of both passages [T8.170–173, Rhetorius 5.115] was undoubtedly written in stichic dactylic hexameters. In other words, the scribe of the paraphrase cannot have followed the elegiac distichs of Anubio when writing T8.170–173.

In the following chapter on oppositions [T8.208-307], which contains the two elements that Obbink assigned to Anubio [T8.264 = F9.1 and T8.277 = F9.4], the scribe kept following Dorotheus, as arguments drawn from the beginning and from the end of this chapter indicate. Regarding the beginning, compare the paragraph about Saturn in opposition to Mars in the paraphrase's version [T8.211–226] with Dor. Arab. 2.16.3–9 and *Par.* <*Dor.*> 374.1–14.[110] As for the end, note that the opposition of the luminaries is missing *suo loco* in the paraphrase,[111] as it is missing in the Arabic translation of Dorotheus. Probably Dorotheus himself omitted it. But it was present in the common source, as Firmicus, *Math.* 6.18 shows, who has this paragraph where one would expect it. Interestingly, the paraphrase adds the missing paragraph at the end of the chapter on oppositions [T8.305–307: see note f in Table 1, p. 135], certainly not from Dorotheus, because we would then expect to find an equivalent right after Dor. Arab. 2.17, where nothing of the sort is to be found. In all likelihood, the scribe of the paraphrase made the addendum based on his second source, Anubio, which he compared after completing his chapter on oppositions. But altogether he was following Dorotheus, and therefore F9 Obbink [T8.264 and T8.277], which falls into this chapter on oppositions, is to be excluded from the edition of Anubio. This is confirmed by the fact that the other paraphrase, which Heeg [1910a] proved to be from Dorotheus, contains the words ἤθεσι δ' ὁρμητὴς καὶ ἄλλῳ τινὶ οὐκ εἴκων [*Par.* <*Dor.*> 382.1–2], which are undeniably a prose version of what F9.4 [= T8.277] preserves in the metrical original, i.e., ἤθεσιν ὁρμητήν τε καὶ οὐκ εἴκοντά περ ἄλλῳ.

[110] The equivalent in Firmicus is *Math.* 6.15.4–11.
[111] One would expect it after T8.295.

Hence, both paraphrases must here be drawing from the same source, namely, Dorotheus.[112]

In the next chapter, which is about conjunctions, the paraphrase that started with that misleading attribution to Anubio quotes again from Dorotheus, first implicitly, and then explicitly. The implicit instance occurs in T8.310–317

> ὁ Κρόνος σὺν Ἄρει τοῖς ἤθεσι πραεῖς ποιεῖ καὶ ἀργοὺς ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς ἀποτυγχάνοντας, νοσερούς τε καὶ ὑπὸ μελαίνης χολῆς βλαπτομένους,. . . εἰ μὴ Ζεύς ποθεν ἐπιμαρτυρήσῃ, ὑπομονητικοὶ δὲ οἱ τοιοῦτοι καὶ βαρύθυμοι.

This goes back to Dorotheus, as an excerpt from his poem in the important manuscript Vat. gr. 1056, fol. 156, shows. The scribe quotes the following lines with explicit attribution to Dorotheus:[113]

> ἢν δ᾽ ἂρ᾽ Ἐνυαλίῳ συνέῃ Κρόνος, ἤθεα τεῦξε
> πρήεα· δὴ γὰρ Θοῦρος ἀεὶ σφοδρός τε καὶ ὠκύς
> εἰς ὁρμὰς ἄσκεπτον ἀεὶ τάχος ἠδ᾽ ἀλόγιστον
> θερμὸς ἐὼν ἤνεγκεν, ὁ δὲ βραδύς, ἀμφοτέρων δὲ
> κιρναμένων μέσσος κείνων βροτὸς ἔσσετ᾽ ἄριστος.

εἶτα προστίθησιν ὅτι κωλύσεις ἔργων καὶ χολῆς μελαίνης κίνησιν ποιεῖ,

> εἰ μὴ ἂρ᾽ Αἰγίοχος δαμάσει σθένος οὐλοὸν αὐτῶν.

The second instance occurs in T8.342–353, and it is here that the author of our paraphrase quotes for the first time explicitly from Dorotheus. This quotation combines two paragraphs from the chapter Περὶ τοπικῶν διακρίσεων [T8.411–541], after which Obbink's quotation in T8 breaks off, and has obvious equivalents in the Arabic translation of Dorotheus:

> T8.342–347 ~T8.432–437 ~Dor. Arab. 2.29.2
> T8.347–353 ~T8.448–451 ~Dor. Arab. 2.30.2

It is clear that the chapter Περὶ τοπικῶν διακρίσεων [T8.411-541] is from Dorotheus, who had this chapter (plus the one on κεντροθεσίαι) in the same position, *after* the discussion of the various aspects,

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[112] Compare also Dor. Arab. 2.16.20 'he will be one of those who relies on himself and will not obey another' [trans. Pingree 1976, 220].

[113] See Pingree 1976, 368.25–369.6. This text was first published by Heeg [1910a, 125]. See also the discussion in Stegemann 1943, 116–119.

as the Arabic translation shows [Dor. Arab. 2.28–33], while Anubio and Firmicus followed the common source in placing the same two chapters *before* the discussion of the aspects, and in presenting *after* the aspects a collection of typical alignments [see Table 1, p. 135].

At this point the anonymous author of our paraphrase reached the end of the second book of Dorotheus and decided to add, before finishing his work, the one chapter that he had for some reason (lack of interest?) left out previously, that is, the chapter on κεντροθεσίαι, which concerns the planets and the luminaries in the four centers [see Pingree 1976, 361–367 ~Dor. Arab. 2.21–27]. It actually made sense to recover this previously skipped chapter because its content is closely related to the τοπικαὶ διακρίσεις [T8.411–541 ~Dor. Arab. 2.28–33]. Within this last section on κεντροθεσίαι [Pingree 1976, 361–367], Dorotheus is once more mentioned explicitly as the author of two consecutive dactylic hexameters, in which a hitherto overlooked emendation is needed [Pingree 1976, 361.19–22].[114] The paraphrase ends with a remark on the usefulness of all three topics that have been discussed:

> Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα τὰ εἰρημένα, αἱ τοπικαὶ διακρίσεις τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ αἱ κεντροθεσίαι καὶ οἱ πρὸς ἀλλήλους σχηματισμοὶ χρειώδεις εἰσὶν ἐν ταῖς καταρχαῖς κτλ. [Pingree 1976, 367.21–23]

Altogether, it is clear that the scribe had two sources at his disposal, Anubio and Dorotheus. In their poems, they had both versified (among other things) three sections of their common source that dealt with τοπικαὶ διακρίσεις, κεντροθεσίαι, and σχηματισμοί. The scribe started from Anubio but very soon switched to Dorotheus, from whose second book he drew most of the following material. Only at the end of each chapter does he seem to have checked the corresponding passages in Anubio and made rare addenda.[115]

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[114] These verses in Pingree's edition read: ἢν Ζεὺς μὴ λεύσσῃ μιν ἢ αὐτὴ πότνια θεία | ἢ δόμον ἢ ὕψος τύχῃ λελαχυῖα Σελήνη. Instead of the unmetrical mss reading ὕψος, the original must have read ὕψωμα, a frequent astrological term that is once attested with certainty in the fragments of Dorotheus [see Pingree 1976, 324.5 αἱ δὲ ταπεινώσεις ὑψώματα ἐν διαμέτρῳ]. Besides these verses, see also Pingree 1976, 365.26 with another (somewhat mutilated) hexameter bearing no explicit attribution to Dorotheus.

[115] See p. 175 on T8.305–307.

APPENDIX 3
THE NEW GENEVA PAPYRUS

P. Gen. IV 157 was recently edited by Paul Schubert [2009a, 2009b]. It is F9 in my rearrangement of the fragments of Anubio.[116] This find increases the total of preserved verses of this poet by roughly 25%, adding substantially to our knowledge of his vocabulary. The Geneva fragment provides further arguments in favor of the views expressed in the first part of the present review article. An observation that neatly ties in with what has been said about F3 on p. 131 above can be made with regard to P. Gen. IV 157 ii 10–24. These lines correspond to Firmicus, *Math.* 6.31.53–54. However, while lines 14–16 and 21–24 of Anubio's version have no counterpart at all in the Latin text, Firmicus, *Math.* 6.31.54 gives more details than Anubio in lines 19–20. This may again be explained with the assumption that both authors drew on a common source [see Table 1, p. 135].

With regard to my conjecture [see 132] that Firmicus' ideal horoscopes in 6.30–31 are from the first century AD or even earlier, it deserves attention that the description of an imperial horoscope (*decretum potentissimi imperatoris*) in Firmicus, *Math.* 6.31.55 [cf. P. Gen. IV 157 ii 25–30] is unusually detailed, providing a complete set of astronomical data for the luminaries and the five planets. Maybe this is not just a fictitious alignment but the birth chart of a historical individual, comparable to indisputable cases such as the anonymously transmitted chart of Emperor Nero in Vettius Valens, *Anthologiae* 5.7.20–35. The only date within centuries that astronomically matches the positions given by Firmicus is 27 (or 28) Sept. 96 BC, *ca* 4 AM (Alexandria).[117]

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[116] See Table 4c, p. 187. I am grateful to Paul Schubert for directing my attention to this new Anubio fragment and for sharing his (at that time still) forthcoming publications with me.

[117] I realized only after establishing this date that already Holden [1996, 74] had the same idea. However, his tentative identification with Ptolemy XI, Auletes must be rejected on chronological grounds as pointed out by Hübner [2005, 15n13]. As for the astronomical data, 96 BC suits the zodiacal positions perfectly if one takes into account that sidereal longitudes computed by ancient astronomers for the early first century BC would be roughly 7° higher than tropical longitudes obtained with modern computer software for the same period. The date in 96 BC is unsatisfactory only with regard to the additional condition that all five planets be in their own boundaries (*et*

P. Gen. IV 157 ii 1–2 corresponds to Firmicus, *Math.* 6.31.51 with the difference that Anubio speaks of Venus (Κύπρις) symbolizing the ἄλοχος (lit. 'partner of one's bed', i.e., either wife or concubine), while Firmicus speaks of the Moon (*Luna*) symbolizing the *uxor* (legitimate wife). If Firmicus had translated Anubio, one would expect 'Venus' instead of 'Luna'. Schubert [2009b, 423] in his commentary refers to Bouché-Leclercq's remark [1899, 449–450] that 'la planète Vénus, qui laisse à la Lune le premier rôle quand il s'agit du mariage légitime, le reprend quand il s'agit des passions de l'amour.' If, as argued above, both authors drew on a common source, this may have spoken of 'either Venus or the Moon', with Anubio quoting only the former deity and Firmicus only the latter. But on closer inspection another explanation seems preferable: the German branch of the MSS tradition of Firmicus omits the name of the planet in question, which suggests that *Luna* in the other (Italian) branch may be nothing more than a failed attempt to restore a name (or an astrological symbol) which had been lost in the course of transmission. Despite Bouché-Leclercq's correct observation above, it would not be surprising if the common source had spoken of Venus symbolizing the legitimate wife. This is clear from Obbink's F6 ii 30–33—a fragment belonging to the same roll as the Geneva papyrus[118]—where Venus (Κυθέρεια) indisputably symbolizes the legitimate wife (ἀλόχου) as opposed to a prostitute (πόρνης). The corresponding passage in Firmicus [*Math.* 6.31.82] speaks of *Venus* and *matrimonium* as opposed to *meretrices publicas*. See also Obbink's F4 b 12 where Venus (Κυθέρεια) symbolizes the ἄλοχος (probably again = 'wife'), while Firmicus in his corresponding passage [*Math.* 6.30.6] speaks of *Venus* and *uxor*.

omnes in suis sint finibus constituti). This detail may have been stylized in an otherwise historical alignment in which, as Holden [1996, 74] has rightly observed already, only Mars would, taking the 7°-shift into account, be in his own boundaries. Note that there is reason to suspect another historical horoscope behind a closely related passage, namely Firmicus, *Math.* 6.31.1 which Hübner [2005] tentatively dates to 23 May 139 BC, and identifies with Sulla. The date, but not the identification, was already ascertained in Holden 1996, 73.

[118] See Schubert 2009a, 73; 2009b, 406.

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[119] This paraphrase is mostly derived from Dorotheus [see Appendix 2, p. 173] and presents the same material as Firmicus, *Math.* 6.3–27 in the same order, i.e., by aspects. Pages 345.1–354.3 (= T8.1–307 in Obbink 2006) were first edited by A. Olivieri [1900c, 204–212]. Pages 345.1–361.14 were reprinted as T8 in Obbink 2006 and contain F9.

[120] This paraphrase is basically derived from Dorotheus (with other elements from Valens and Ptolemy) and contains F10 in Obbink 2006. Its order (by planets) differs substantially from Firmicus, *Math.* 6.3–27.

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TABLE 4
REARRANGEMENT OF THE PRESERVED CITATIONS OF ANUBIO
[see p. 172]

General *testimonia* on Anubio and his poem

H[a]	O[b]	Source	AM[c]	IT[d]	Notes
T1	T1	pseud.-Clem., *Hom.* 4.6	•		
T2	T2	Rufinus, *Rec.* 10.52.2–3	•		
	T3	Firm *Math.* 3.pr. 4–3.1.2			Refers to Anubis (the god) not Anubio[e]
T3	T4	Hermann 1812, 33.15–18	•		
T4	T5	Hermann 1812, 53.26–54.8	•		
T5	T6	Heph., *Apotelesm.* 2.2.11	•		Introduces F2

[a] H = Heilen. [b] O = Obbink. [c] AM = Anubio mentioned.
[d] IT = Indirect *testimonium*, that is, a *testimonium* in which the author draws not on Anubio but on Anubio's source.
[e] See p. 140.

Table 4a

Specific *testimonia* on the topics treated by Anubio

H[a]	O[b]	Source	AM[c]	IT[d]	Notes
T6	F13*	Heph., *Epit.* 4.21.4–7	•		How to determine the ascendent when the hour is unknown (paraphrases F2)
T7	F12*	Heph., *Epit.* 4.23.4	•		On which of the parents will die first
T8	T8	*Par. Anub. <et Dor.>*	•[e]	•	On the various aspects, and the seven planets when in each other's houses and terms
T9	F11*	Firm., *Math.* 6.3–31		•	On the various aspects, plus a collection of typical charts
T10	F22.1–2*	Hagedorn 1973, 255.3–4		•	Mars in trine aspect with Venus [= Firmicus, *Math.* 6.5.3]
T11	T9 + F14*	Rufinus, *Rec.* 10.9.4–7			Venus in conjunction with Jupiter *vs* Venus in conjunction with Mars [= Firmicus, *Math.* 6.23.5 + 6.24.2]
T12	T7	Rhetorius, 5.82.6–7/*Epit.* 4.27.8–9	•		On the profession and business [cf. Ptolemy, *Tetr.* 4.4]

[a] H = Heilen. [b] O = Obbink. [c] AM = Anubio mentioned.
[d] IT = Indirect *testimonium*, that is, a *testimonium* in which the author draws not on Anubio but on Anubio's source.
[e] Mostly derived from Dorotheus, despite the initial attribution to Anubio.
See p. 134.

Table 4b

Fragmenta

H[a]	O[b]	Source	Attribution A[c]	B[d]	C[e]	D[f]	Firmicus, *Math.*	Topic
F1	F1	P. Oxy. 66.4503[r]		•		•	2.1.1 2.4.1 2.4.4–6	12 zodiacal signs, 36 decans, 108 subordinate deities (λειτουργοί, *liturgi*)
F2	F2	Heph. *Apotelesm.* 2.2.11–15	•	•				determining the ascendent at birth
F3	F22.3–4*	Hagedorn 1973, 255.5–6		•		•[g]		luminaries (and planets?) at the centers (κεντροθεσίαι)
F4	F22.11-15*	Hagedorn 1973, 260.2–6		•		•		planets in each other's houses and terms (τοπικαὶ διακρίσεις)
F5	F22.6–9*	Hagedorn 1973, 255.8–11		•		•		
	F21.61–62*	ps.-Manetho 1[5].89–91[h]		(•)		(•)	(6.15.16–17)	on aspects (esp. oppositions)
	F21.82–86*	ps.-Manetho 1[5].341–345[i]		(•)		(•)	(6.29.3-4)	typical charts
F6	F3	P. Oxy. 66.4504		•		•	6.29.23–30.5	
	F21.67–70*	ps.-Manetho 1[5].122, 124, 124b, 128[j]		(•)		(•)	(6.30.5)	
F7	F4	P. Oxy. 66.4503[v]		•		•	6.30.6–7	
F8	F5	P. Oxy. 66.4505		•		•	6.30.20–22	
F9		P. Gen. IV 157		•		•	6.31.51–55	
F10	F6	P. Schub. 15		•		•	6.31.78–86	

[a] H = Heilen. [b] O = Obbink. [c] Explicit attribution to Anubio in context. [d] Astrological content in elegaic meter. [e] Parallels in Firmicus, *Math.* 6.3–31. [f] Other reasons. [g] On F22, see p. 169. [h] On F21.61–62*, see p. 189. [i] On F21.82–86*, see p. 189. [j] On F21.67–70*, see p. 189.

Table 4c

Fragmenta loci incerti

H[a]	O[b]	Source	Attribution A[c]	B[d]	C[e]	D[f]	Firmicus, *Math.*	Topic
F11	F7	Rhetorius 5.82.2, *Epit.* 4.27.2	•	•				on the profession, business (περὶ πράξεως καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματος)
F12	F8	Olivieri 1900a, 203.3–36		•		•[g]		on arrival in places (περὶ ἐπεμβάσεων, *de revolutionibus nativitatum*)
	F9 + F10[h]							
	F11 [= *T9*]							
	F12 [= *T7*]							
	F13 [= *T6*]							
	F14 [= *T11*]							

[a] H = Heilen. [b] O = Obbink. [c] Explicit attribution to Anubio in context.
[d] Astrological content in elegaic meter.
[e] Parallels in Firmicus, *Math.* 6.3–31.
[f] Other reasons. [g] On F8, see p. 152.
[h] From Dorotheus, to be omitted. On F9 and F10, see pp. 153–156.

Table 4d

Fragmenta incerta

H[a]	O[b]	Source	Attribution A[c]	B[d]	C[e]	D[f]	Firmicus, *Math.*	Topic
F13	F15	P Oxy. 3.464	•					mixed predictions concerning children
F14	F16	PSI 3.157	•				3.4.23[g]	on Mars in the eighth place of the dodecatropos
F15	F17	P. Ryl. 3.488	•					(unclear)
F16	F18	P. Schub. 16	•					(unclear)
F17	F19	P. Oxy. 66.4506	•					(unclear)
F18	F20	P. Oxy. 66.4507	•					(unclear)
F19	F21	verses from ps.-Manetho 1[5][h]	•					(various)
F20		verses from ps.-Manetho[i] 1[5].168–169, 336; 5[6].292	•					(various)
	F22 [= *T10* + *F3–F5*]							

[a] H = Heilen. [b] O = Obbink. [c] Explicit attribution to Anubio in context.
[d] Astrological content in elegaic meter.
[e] Parallels in Firmicus, *Math.* 6.3–31.
[f] Other reasons.
[g] Other passages in PSI 3.157 equal Firmicus, *Math.* 3.5.30, 3.6.29, and 4.6.1; but they are composed in stichic hexameters, not in elegaic distichs.
[h] For F21.61–62, F21.67–70, and F21.82–86, compare the entires before and after Obblink's F3 in Table 4c.
[i] See comments on F21, p. 164

Table 4e

TABLE 5
ADDITONAL FRAGMENTS OF DOROTHEUS OF SIDON
[see Appendix 1, p. 173]

	Text	Source			Parallels	
		Par. <*Dor.*>	*Par. Anub.* <*et Dor.*>	Other Sources	Dor. Arab.	Firm. *Math.*
Trine aspects						
1	ἄλλοι δ' αἰθερίων ἄστρων ἐπιῒστορές εἰσιν [F10.2]	381.5			2.14.12[a]	6.4.4–5
2	λέχος εὔνυμφον	384.6–7			2.14.18	6.5.3
Square aspects						
3	αὐτοὺς δ' ἑτέροισι προσώποις	375.21			2.15.10	6.9.13
4	ἔσσεται		348.12		2.15.12	6.9.15
5	πταίσματα γὰρ πάμπολλα φέρει	383.33–384.1			2.15.23	6.11.2
6	quoted on p. 174		cf. 349.33–350.3	Rhetorius 5.115	2.15.28	6.11.9
7	ἀστείους τέχνης εἰδήμονας	387.9			2.15.33	6.13.1

[a] See further Stegemann 1943, 126–127, which provides a synoptic table that includes also a German translation of an Arabic excerpt (a different Arabic prose version of Dorotheus' chapters on aspects which was omitted by Pingree) from MS Leiden or. 891, fol. 1–27: at fol. 2: 'Und zu ihnen gehört der, der die Wissenschaft von der Berechnung der Gestirne unterstützt'.

Table 5a

	Text	Source			Parallels	
		Par. <Dor.>	*Par. Anub. <et Dor.>*	Other Sources	Dor. Arab.	Firm. *Math.*
Oppositions						
8	ἐκ μόχθων μόχθους	374.4			2.16.3	6.15.5
9	βυσσοδομεύων	380.30			*lacuna*	6.16.4
10	βίος ἄρκιος ἔσ<σε>ται αὐτῷ [F9.1]		352.28–29		*lacuna*	6.16.5
11	ἤθεσιν ὁρμητήν τε καὶ οὐκ εἰκοντά περ ἄλλῳ [F9.4]		353.6		2.16.20	6.16.8
12	πίστιν ἀποστέρ-γουσι δικαίων[b] [F10.5]	384.26–27	cf. 353.17		2.16.25	6.17.4

[b] 'They reject/betray the trust that just men put into them'. Note that instead of δικαίων, *Par. Anub. <et Dor.>* reads δικαίαν [T8.288 = Pingree 1976, 353.17]. Cf., e.g., pseudo-Clement, *Hom.* 9.21.3 (and later authors) τὴν δικαίαν πίστιν. The non-Greek parallels of our fragment are Firmicus, *Math.* 6.17.4 *religiosa fidei commercia polluentes* and Dor. Arab. 2.16.25 'he will run away from the discharge of [his] trust' [trans. Pingree 1976, 220].

Table 5b

	Text	Source: *Par.* <*Dor.*>	Source: *Par. Anub.* <*et Dor.*>	Source: Other Sources	Parallels: Dor. Arab.	Parallels: Firm. *Math.*
Conjunctions						
13	quoted on p. 176	370.28[c]	cf. 354.6–12	Dorotheus [Pingree 1976, 368.25–369.6]	2.18.2–3	6.22.4–5, 22.8
14	βαρυδαίμονες ὄντες	371.13			2.18.5	6.22.11
15	ἀνάξια λέκτρα γυναικῶν	371.21			2.18.7	6.22.12
16	καί κεν ἀμαυρώσειε τύχην καὶ μείονα θείη [F10.1]	379.25			2.19.11	6.23.7
17	ψεύστας μέν, συνετοὺς δὲ καὶ – ◡ ◡ – πολυπείρους	383.12			2.19.16	6.24.5
18	ἑ̔θερμόν τε καὶ οὐ δύστευκτον ἔθηκε	383.21			(2.19.23)[d]	6.24.9
19	μηχανικῆς πολύπειρος	388.29–30			2.19.30	6.27.2

[c] These lines preserve only the last hexameter. [d] The relevant detail is omitted.

Table 5c