# Nonnus and Theodore Hyrtakenos

# David Hernández de la Fuente

ew evidence for the Byzantine reception of Nonnus of Panopolis (fifth century) can be found in the work of Theodore Hyrtakenos (fourteenth century), a teacher and rhetor who wrote panegyrics, an ekphrasis on a garden, and several funeral speeches honouring members of the imperial family. Karl Krumbacher in 1897 included Nonnus among the sources for Hyrtakenos' mythological allusions, but provided neither examples nor references.<sup>2</sup> Many years later, Francis Vian, in the introduction to his excellent edition of Nonnus, has cited Krumbacher's opinion rather skeptically: "mais cet auteur n'indique pas les raisons sur lesquelles il se fonde."<sup>3</sup> In what follows, however, I will adduce a number of passages from Hyrtakenos that clearly reveal Nonnian influence. While less value has been put on his work in a more modern age, we shall see that Nonnus was read and admired in Byzantine times and that his work was echoed in scholarly literature of the period.

In his Lament on the Death of Michael Palaeologus the Younger<sup>4</sup> (Michael IX, who died in 1320), Hyrtakenos alludes to numerous mythological figures of mourning, beginning with the grief of the Achaeans in the *Iliad*. In so doing, Hyrtakenos invokes many ancient authors—among them Pindar and Simonides (p.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>For more details about this "obscure writer of the Palaeologan period" see A. Karpozilos, "The Correspondence of Theodoros Hyrtakenos," *JÖBG* 40 (1990) 275ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>K. Krumbacher, Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur<sup>2</sup> (Munich 1897)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>F. Vian, Nonnos de Panopolis, les Dionysiaques I (Paris 1976) LX n.1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Ed. J. Fr. Boissonade, Anecdota Graeca I (Paris 1829) 254–268.

254 Boissonade), Moschus (261), Euripides (262), and Herodotus (264)— thereby demonstrating his erudition. But when he addresses certain mythological characters whose grief is legendary, his source is seen to be Nonnus. Hyrtakenos wants these figures to cry for the deceased emperor instead of for their loved ones (265–267):

Καλλοναὶ καὶ Χάριτες, τὰ τῶν προσώπων ῥόδα καὶ τὰς παρειὰς ἀμυξάμεναι, τὰς κόμας σπαράξασθε, καὶ τετιλμέναι, μελανειμονοῦσαι, πενθεῖτε τὴν ἀκοσμίαν· ὅ τι γὰρ ἐκόσμει τὸν βίον, καλὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς συλλαβὼν ἀπιὼν ἤχετο, καὶ μνημείῳ κρυβεὶς κατορώρυχε, παρεὶς ἐκεῖνον τὸν ὅλβον ἀναζητεῖν, καὶ μηδὲν ἦττον εὑρίσκοντα μακρὰ κλάειν οἰμώζοντα.

Ήλιάδες, μηκέτι τὸν ἀδελφὸν πενθεῖτε Φαέθοντα, πρὸς Ἡριδανὸν ἐκδιφρευθέντα τοῦ ἄρματος, οὐδ' ἀπερυγόντα τὸ πνεῦμα καθ' ὕδατος, ἀλλὰ πατέρα τὸν Ἡλιον καὶ τὴν ὑφ' ἡλίῳ γῆν ἀκτῖσι φρυκτωροῦντα βασιλικαῖς, οὐ πρὸς ὁρίζοντα τὸν ἕσπερον καταδύντα, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τὸ βόρειον κλῖμα κρυβέντα, ἀλλὰ σήματι μὲν τὸ σῶμα, τὸ πνεῦμα δὲ χερσὶ Θεοῦ παραθέντα· κὰν ἥττους γένησθε πένθους, δέον πρὸς αἰγείρους μεταβαλεῖν καὶ κατομβρεῖν ὡς ἤλεκτρα δάκρυα.

Νιόβην ἄνθρωπον οὖσαν εἰς λίθον λόγος μεταβαλεῖν, τὴν τοῦ Λὼτ δὲ πρὸς ἀλὸς στήλην παγῆναι. ἀλλ' οὕτε ταύτην, οὕτ' ἐκείνην ἐξῆν δάκρυα καταρρεῖν· ποῦ γὰρ λιθίνης φύσεως ἔργον δακρύειν; ἦν δ' ἄρ' ἐκεῖνα λατόμου τέχνης λαξεύματα, διὰ μηχανῆς, ὡς διά τινος σωλῆνος, ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν λιθίνων ἀνακοντίζεσθαι πίδακας· τοιαῦτα γὰρ αὐτονομία κομψεύεται. ἀλλὰ νῦν τοὔμπαλιν δάκρυα μὲν ὑγρὰ πρὸς χαλάζης στρόμβους πηγνύσθων, μάρμαροι δὲ λίθοι καὶ στῆλαι ἀλῶν ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα γένοιντο.

Σειρῆνες ἐμμελεῖς τε καὶ λιγυραί, τοὺς τῆς κεφαλῆς βοστρύχους κειράμεναι, καὶ τὴν καλλονὴν ἀποσεισάμεναι τῶν πτερῶν, ψιλὰς ὑπανεῖσαι ζεφύρῳ τὰς πτέρυγας, μέλη πλέκετε γοερά.

ἀηδόνες ποικιλόφθογγοι καὶ λαλίστατοι, μὴ πρὸς τέρψιν ἀοιδὰς ἀσματίζετε, μηδὲ λιγυρὸν τὸν Ἰτυν πενθεῖτε, παραλλὰξ δὲ στυγνοτέραις κέχρησθε ταῖς ἀδαῖς, καὶ τὰς φιλεργοὺς μιμεῖσθε τῶν μελισσῶν, αἳ

πολλάκις καὶ τὸ κέντρον προσαφιᾶσι τῷ μέλιτι, ἵν', ἀμφότερον, ἢ τὸ γλυκὰ μὲν ἣδον τὴν γεῦσιν, τὸ κέντρον δὲ, νύττον τὴν γλῶτταν, πικραίνῃ τὴν αἴσθησιν.

- (1) Beauties and Graces, wound the roses of your faces and cheeks and tear your hair, and so plucked, dressed in black, mourn the disorder in the world. For he who was the order of life, the king who comprised goodness, has gone and lies hidden in a tomb, ceasing to seek this wordly good, and just as much finding to weep loudly in lamentation.
- (2) Daughters of Helios, mourn no longer your brother Phaëthon, who was thrown from the chariot into the Eridanus and could not exhale his breath beneath the water, but rather your father Helios, who with royal rays illuminates the earth beneath the sun, who does not set on the western horizon or hide beneath the northern latitudes, but has delivered his body to the grave and his soul to the hands of God. And if you would have fewer sorrows, you must turn into poplars and shed tears of amber.
- (3) Niobe, who was human, changed to stone, the story goes, and Lot's wife was hardened into a pillar of salt. But neither of these was able to pour forth tears. For where in a stone's nature is the ability to weep? These then are the sculptings of the mason's skill, through a device, a sort of conduit, to cast fountains from stony eyes. Free rein invents such things. But now once again let watery tears be hardened into pellets of hail, and let water and earth become stones of marble and pillars of salt.
- (4) Melodious and clear-voiced Sirens, cut the locks of your head and shake off the beauty of your feathers, let your bare wings go to the west wind and weave mournful songs.
- (5) Talkative swallows of variegated song, do not sing melodies for pleasure or lament clear-voiced Itys, but alternatively use gloomy odes and imitate the industrious bees that often release their sting into the honey, so that both sweetness is there pleasing the taste and the sting, piercing the tongue, embitters the sensation.

Hyrtakenos' addressees are (1) the Graces, who are instructed to tear and defile their clothes and hair in mourning; (2) the Heliades, who should no longer mourn Phaëthon and shed for him amber tears; (3) Niobe, the weeping mother turned to stone;

(4) the Sirens, who should turn their famous songs to the emperor's honour; (5) the swallows mourning the death of Itys. It is quite remarkable to find almost exactly the same grouping of mourning myths in Book 2 of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*: on the one hand, a mourning scene in which a Hamadryad laments his exile after Typhon's rampage, incorporating all these myths at once; on the other, cosmological and pastoral descriptions. Among these myths of mourning, Phaëthon is one of Nonnus' favourites; he alludes to the Heliades on many occasions; but Niobe also appears, and the Hours, the Nymphs, Selene, the Sirens, and Itys (this last mentioned indirectly through a reference to his mother Philomela, who was transformed into a swallow):

## The Heliades and Daphne (2.151–158)

μὴ Μύρρης ἀθέμιστον ἐπώνυμον ἔρνος ἀκούσω. ναί, λίτομαι, παρὰ χεῦμα γοήμονος Ἡριδανοῖο εἴην Ἡλιάδων καὶ ἐγὼ μία· πυκνὰ δὲ πέμψω ἐκ βλεφάρων ἤλεκτρα, φιλοθρήνοις δὲ κορύμβοις γείτονος αἰγείροιο περίπλοκα φύλλα πετάσσω δάκρυσιν ἀφνειοῖσιν ἐμὴν στενάχουσα κορείην· οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ Φαέθοντα κινύρομαι.

May I never, instead of laurel, be called that unhallowed plant which gave its name to Myrrha. Yes, I beseech thee! let me be one of the Heliades beside the stream of mourning Eridanos: often will I drop amber from my eyelids; I will spread my leaves to entwine with the dirge-loving clusters of my neighbouring poplar, bewailing my maidenhood with abundant tears—for Phaëthon will not be my lament.<sup>6</sup>

#### Niobe (2.159–160)

nysiaca I (Cambridge [Mass.] 1940).

ἔσσομαι, ὡς Νιόβη, καὶ ἐγὼ λίθος, ὄφρα καὶ αὐτὴν λαϊνέην στενάχουσαν ἐποικτείρωσιν ὁδῖται·

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Among other passages, *Dion.* 15.381–382, 27.201–203, and 38.90–102. <sup>6</sup>For the English translation of Nonnus I quote W. H. D. Rouse, *Nonnos. Dio-*

I also will be a stone, like Niobe, that wayfarers may pity me too, a groaning stone.

### The Sirens (2.11–12)

ώς δ' ότε τις Σειρηνος ἐπίκλοπον ὕμνον ἀκούων εἰς μόρον αὐτοκέλευστον ἀώριος εἴλκετο ναύτης.

When a sailor hears the Siren's perfidious song, and bewitched by the melody, he is dragged to a self-chosen fate too soon.

## Itys and Philomela (2.130-135)

εί δὲ γάμοις ἀδίκοις με βιήσεται, εἶδος ἀμείψω, μίξομαι ὀρνίθεσσι, καὶ ἱπταμένη Φιλομήλη καὶ ῥόδον ἀγγέλλουσα καὶ ἀνθεμόεσσαν ἐέρσην ἔσσομαι εἰαρινοῖο φίλη Ζεφύροιο χελιδών, φθεγγομένη λάλος ὄρνις ὑπωροφίης μέλος ἠχοῦς, ὀρχηθμῷ πτερόεντι περισκαίρουσα καλιήν.

But if he will force me by violence, I will change my shape, I will mingle with the birds; flitting as Philomela, I will be the swallow dear to Zephyros in spring-time, harbinger of roses and flowery dew, prattling bird that sings a sweet song under the tiles, dashing about her nest with dancing wings.

Therefore it seems very likely that Hyrtakenos used this Nonnian passage, for he goes beyond the *topos* of mourning. The way he groups these myths together, especially quoting the Heliades' tears of amber and Niobe's tears from the cold stone, far from being a commonplace, can be read as a retelling of Nonnus' passage—Nonnus, too, requires from them another kind of mourning, not their usual lamentation. The allusion to Itys could even imply a very thoughtful reading of the passage, since Nonnus evokes him only indirectly, through mention of Philomela. And given that we do not find these myths anywhere else gathered together in a single passage, Nonnus seems a plausible source. It could be argued that Hyrtakenos is using here a compilation of mythological commonplaces instead of the Nonnian

passage. But such a compilation is not known to us, and in any case the parallel scene is very remarkable; if Hyrtakenos did use a compilation, it may very well have been based on Nonnus.

Moreover, Hyrtakenos repeats the whole mourning scene, with almost the exact same combination of myths, in another speech —the Lament on the Death of Lady Irene (who can be identified as Yolanda-Irene, wife of Andronicus II). This lament, also, begins with the evocation of the Achaeans'  $\mu\acute{e}\gamma\alpha$   $\pi\acute{e}\nu\theta\circ\varsigma$  and contains a passage of mythological allusions, with an invocation to the Sun followed by references to the Hours and Graces, Selene, the Heliades, Niobe, etc. (some of the new characters also appear in the cosmological description that follows in Book 2 of the Dionysiaca, such as the Moon, the Sun, and the Hours, 2.171–176). Thus, those characters whom Hyrtakenos did not use in his first retelling now appear in this passage, so that all the mythological figures in the Nonnian mourning scene are quoted, one way or another, in Hyrtakenos' speeches.

The relevant passage in the *Lament on the Death of Lady Irene* (278–279 Boissonade) is very similar to the passage from the *Lament on the Death of Michael Palaeologus* discussed above:

Πασιφάη, θυγάτηρ Ἡλίου, Φαέθοντα θρηνφδοῦσα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐς Ἡριδανὸν ἄρματος ἐκδιφρευθέντα τοῦ πατρικοῦ, πρὸς δένδρον μετέβαλεν αἴγειρον, καὶ τῷ δένδρῳ τὸ δάκρυον πρὸς διειδὲς ἤλεκτρον συνεπήγνυτο. Νιόβη τὰ τέκνα [\*\*\*], καὶ λίθου φύσιν ἠλλάξατο τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ποταμοὺς δακρύων ἐξακοντίζοντος.

Pasiphaë, daughter of Helios, mourning her brother Phaëthon who was thrown from his father's chariot into the Eridanus, turned into a poplar tree, and the tears congealed on the tree into transparent amber. Niobe [\*\*\*] her children and changed her nature to stone, casting rivers of tears from her eyes.

The same mythological figures appear once again in this pas-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Ed. Boissonade 269–281.

sage, and in a similar order.<sup>8</sup> Let it be added, too, that there are many other instances of these myths in other works of Hyrtakenos. For example, Niobe—one his favourites—shows up in the *Description of the Garden of St Anna*, where Hyrtakenos refers to a fountain pouring water just like "the tears of Niobe, which were not tokens of pleasure and gladness, but rather a proof of suffering and mourning."<sup>9</sup>

Also the Sirens, the nightingale (recalling the myth of Philomela again?), and some of the other mythological figures we have seen appear in this ekphrasis alluding to the birds and flowers in the garden (*cf. Dion.* 2.130ff):

From one side a nightingale with variegated neck was singing more sweetly than the Sirens ... The Beauties were laughing, the Delights were leaping, the Muses were chanting, the Nymphs were accompanying their song with the lyre ... Graces all over, charms everywhere. From one side Luxuries, from the other Delights were calling.<sup>10</sup>

We can conclude from these examples that Hyrtakenos drew upon Nonnus as a source of mythological erudition. One might think it striking that such a late author would have used the *Dionysiaca*, a poem which more recently suffered almost a *damnatio memoriae*. However, it is not strange that a Byzantine scholar shows himself to be familiar with the *Dionysiaca*.

<sup>8</sup> Aphrodite and Adonis also appear just as in Nonnus later on, together with the Graces (278 Boissonade): ἄν, ᾿Αφροδίτης ἐρώσης ᾿Αδώνιδος, τοῦ νέου δὲ θήρα προσέχοντος, cf. Dion. 3.104–111 ἵλαθι, Πειθώ, / δηθύνει σέο Κάδμος ἐπειγομένης ᾿Αφροδίτης. / θερμὸς Ἔρως καλέει σε τί, νυμφίε, νωθρὸς ὁδεύεις; / ἡδύς, ὸς ἱμερόεντος ᾿Αδώνιδος ἔπλεο γείτων, / ἡδὺς ὁ Βυβλιάδεσσιν ὁμώλακα πατρίδα ναίων.

<sup>9</sup>Boissonade III 59–70, at 62; I quote the translation of Mary-Lyon Dolezal and Maria Mavroudi, "Theodore Hyrtakenos' Description of the Garden of St. Anna and the Ekphrasis of Gardens," in A. Littlewood, H. Maguire, and J. Wolschke-Bulmahn, edd., *Byzantine Garden Culture* (Washington 2002) 105–158, at 144–145.

<sup>10</sup>Boissonade III 65–67; Dolezal/Mavroudi 146–148. The Sirens and other myths appear also in the correspondence of Hyrtakenos: F. J. G. La Porte-Du Theil, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* V (Paris 1789) and VI (1800), letters 78 and 86.

Many other Byzantine men of letters read and admired Nonnus;<sup>11</sup> not the least of them was Maximus Planudes (ca 1260–1330), who lived under the emperors Michael VIII and Andronicus II (the latter sending him as ambassador to Venice in 1327). Planudes left an important legacy, apart from the compilation of the *Greek Anthology*, introducing Greek language and literature into the Latin West and, vice versa, translating famous Latin Classics into Greek (among them Cicero, Ovid, Caesar, Boethius, and Augustine). Planudes, a near contemporary of Hyrtakenos, is extremely important also in Nonnian scholarship and reception, for the most valuable manuscript of the Dionysiaca—kept in Lorenzo de' Medici's Library in Florence —was copied at his behest in 1280.12 Planudes also wrote poetry, including an account of the metamorphosis of an ox into a mouse. This is an idyll showing remarkable Nonnian influence: not only mythical commonplaces, as seen in Hyrtakenos, but also names hitherto attested only in the Dionysiaca (such as 59 the Indian city of Aithra, cf. Dion. 26.85), and even Nonnian words (such as ὁμοπλεκής or πανόμοιον) and whole verses (113, cf. Dion. 13.225) taken straight from the Dionysiaca and the *Paraphrase*. <sup>13</sup> Apart from this imitation of Nonnus, Planudes

<sup>11</sup>So George of Pisidia (seventh century), Joseph Genesios, and a writer of an epitaph (both tenth century): see L. Sternbach, "De Georgio Pisida Nonni sectatore," *Analecta Graeco-Latina philologis Vindobonae congregatis* (Krakow tatore," Analecta Graeco-Latina philologis Vindobonae congregatis (Krakow 1893) 38–54; A. Diller, "Nonnus Dionysiaca in Genesius Regna," CP 46 (1951) 176–177, and I. Sevcenko, "An Early Tenth-century Inscription from Galakrenai with Echoes from Nonnus and the Palatine Anthology," DOP 41 (1987) 461–468. The list is long, if we count from the early Byzantine period: Pamprepius, Musaeus, Colluthus, Christodorus, Agathias, Paulus Silentiarius, John of Gaza, Dioscoros of Aphrodito, etc. (for a catalogue see A. Cameron, "Wandering poets: A Literary Movement in Byzantine Egypt," Historia 14 [1965] 470–509; G. D'Ippolito, Studi Nonniani. L'epillio nelle "Dionisiache" [Palermo 1964] 271–289). His fame was great even at the imperial court, so that the empress Eudocia called Nonnus λογιώτατος (A. Ludwich, Nonni Panopolitani Dionysiaca I [Leipzig 1909–11] VII).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Laurentianus Plut. 32.16 (containing the Dion. at ff. 8v–173r).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Ed. C. v. Holzinger, "Ein Idyll des Maximus Planudes," Zeitschrift für d. österreichisch. Gymn. 44 (1893) 385–419, with further instances of Nonnian influence in the poem (see esp. 388, 404, 406; cf. P. Maas, "Nonniana," Byzant.-

may have admired the Panopolitan so much that he could not resist making his own peculiar "contribution" to the *Dionysiaca*: there are two interpolated verses added to the manuscripts, of which the author—possibly Planudes himself, although the handwriting does not seem to be his—says honestly:  $\dot{\epsilon}\mu\dot{o}\zeta$   $\dot{o}$   $\sigma\tau\dot{\iota}\chi o\zeta$ , "this verse is mine" (*Dion.* 17.73, 48.909).<sup>14</sup>

The Planudean manuscript of Nonnus arrived on Italian soil and was soon read and imitated (from the original Greek or from the Latin translation of 1605) by many of the Italian humanists between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries (Politian's circle, Giambattista Marino, etc.). Among these a late imitator of Nonnus should be mentioned as a coda to this paper: the Italian scholar Scipione Forteguerri da Pistoia (1466–1515), alias Scipio Carteromachus. Scipione was an editor for the Aldine Press and the first secretary of the Aldine New Academy, the "Neoacademia." As professor of Greek, he taught Pope Clement VII (Giulio de' Medici, 1478–1534, pope from 1523), among others. Sherry has recently rescued one epigram

neugriechisches Jahrbuch 4 [1923] 265–269). E.g., the verse-endings ὄρνις ἀλήτης (97, cf. Dion. 7.149, 25.248) and πολυχανδέι λαιμῷ (230, cf. Dion. 11.162), ὁμοπλεκής (33, cf. Par. 21.66), πανόμοιον (129, cf. Dion. 16.161), ἐφεσπόμενον (134, cf. Dion. 16.401); expressions like αὐτόχυτον ὕδωρ (208, cf. Dion. 6.9) and verses like 113, an imitation of Dion. 13.225.

 $<sup>^{14}\</sup>mbox{See}.$  C. Wendel, "Planudea," BZ 40 (1940) 421–422. This interpolation has been much discussed; although the idea is very appealing, there is no clear evidence that Planudes himself wrote it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>His very nickname seems "Nonnian" in a way: καρτερομάχος, "strong in battle," is not attested in Classical literature, but rather seems a neologism after the Nonnian fashion: it is attested in Manasses (*Brev.Hist.* 3712). See the discussion of R. L. Lind, "Nonnos and His Readers," *Res Publica Litterarum* I (1978) 159–170, for Politian and Marino. The latter imitates Nonnus in the *Adone* and other poems, as F. Tissoni has recently studied (*Nonno di Panopoli I canti di Penteo* (*Dionisiache* 44-46) [Florence 1998] 56–61).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>The Aldine New Academy attracted the best scholars—both Greeks and Italians, like Scipione himself—of the brilliant epoch of the quattrocento and cinquecento. Even Erasmus visited the Academy in 1508. After 1502, the phrase "ex neacademia nostra" can be found in the colophons of many books from the Aldine Press.

written by Scipione in the Nonnian style, which can serve as the finale for Nonnus' *Nachleben* in the fifteenth century:<sup>17</sup>

βακχιακὴν στέρξας μυθώδεα μοῦσαν Νόννος ἐθαυμάσθ' ἐν μουσοπόλοισι μέγα. νῦν δ' ἱερῶν χριστοῖς φανεὶς μεγάτολμος ἀοιδὸς πλεῖστον ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὐσεβὲς εὖρε κλέος οὕνεκ' ἀπορρήτων εὐαγγελίων ὑποφήτης μουνογενῆ μεγάλου πατρὸς ἄεισε λόγον.

Adoring his myth-singing Bacchic Muse,
Nonnus has amazed most the lovers of poetry.
But now showing himself to the good as a bold singer of divinity
he has found among men great and pious fame,
because as expounder of the Gospel mysteries
he sings the only-begotten Logos of God the Father.

To sum up, it has been shown that Nonnus' influence among the Byzantines can be traced as late as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Nonnus was read in Italy, after the Byzantine background. From Planudes to Scipio Carteromachus and, later on, the Nonnian poet Marino, it seems clear that Nonnus was read widely among scholars and learned men of letters. Theodore Hyrtakenos can be seen, then, as a new instance—a sort of link between the scholarship of the slightly older Planudes (representing the adespota manuscript tradition of the *Dionysiaca*) and the Italian readers of Nonnus.

The unsubstantiated opinion of Krumbacher has now been confirmed by these passages, and doubtless it could be supported by many others: the Panopolitan seems to have been used habitually by Hyrtakenos as a source of mythological erudition. Indeed, in the last quotation from the *Description of the Garden of St Anna* discussed above, Hyrtakenos refers thus

 $<sup>^{17}</sup>$ See L. F. Sherry, *The Hexameter Paraphrase of St. John Attributed to Nonnus of Panopolis* (diss. Columbia Univ. 1991) 169–170. This text can be found also in S. F. W. Hoffmann, *Bibliographisches Lexikon*<sup>2</sup> II (Leipzig 1839) 644 (with a probable misprint, χριστοῖς for χρηστοῖς, in line 3).

to one of the flowers in the garden: "The dewy lotus, as a disciple of Homer might call it." Is Nonnus the *Homerides* he has been reading for some of these myths?

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Depto. de Filología Griega y Lingüística Indoeuropea Facultad de Filología Universidad Complutense de Madrid Avda. Complutense, n/n 28040 Madrid, Spain hdezdelafuente@terra.es

 $^{18}$ Boissonade III 66 (ὁμηρίδης); Dolezal/Mavroudi 147 and n.27. The flowers recall again Nonnus' Dionysiaca Book 2: the Homeric λωτόν θ' ἑρσήεντα (II. 14.348) and the Nonnian ἀνθεμόεσσαν ἐέρσην (Dion. 2.132).