## PSEUDO-PLUTARCH

## ABOUT RIVERS AND <br> MOUNTAINS

## AND

THINGS FOUND IN THEM

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The cover image is Jean-Antoine Gros's 1801 painting "Sappho at Leucate," now at the Musée Baron Gérard, Bayeux (http://www.all-art.org/neoclasscism/gros1.html, accessed June 10, 2010). Though Pseudo-Plutarch has men alone, not women (who choose the noose), fling themselves from precipices, the despair that supposedly drove Sappho to leap to her death from Mt. Leucate is a leitmotif of About Rivers and Mountains and Things Found in Them.

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## INTRODUCTION

In the spring of 2007, I suggested to four students - Sarah Brill, Emilyn Haremza, Dustin Hummel, and Ryan Post - the preparation of an English translation of ПЕРI ПОТАМ OPSN EПתNYMIA $\Sigma$ KAI T $\Omega$ N EN AYTOI $\Sigma$ EYPI $\Sigma$ KOMEN $\Omega$, better known, when known at all, by its abbreviated Latin title, De fluviis, About Rivers. Their resultant rough version of a portion of About Rivers, in turn, provided the impetus for the translation presented here. However, while the students worked from Estéban Calderón Dorda's text in the Corpus Plutarchi Moralium series, for reasons of copyright, I have employed what was the standard edition prior to Dorda's, that of Rudolph Hercher. ${ }^{1}$

Only the ninth-century codex Palatinus gr. Heidelbergensis 398 preserves About Rivers, which it calls "Plutarch's About the Names of Rivers and Mountains and the Things Found in These." This attribution almost immediately provoked an anonymous marginal comment: "This is pseudepigraphic, for the intellectual level and diction are far from the genius of Plutarch.

[^0]Unless he might be some other Plutarch." Virtually every modern scholar agrees. ${ }^{2}$ Consensus exists, too, about placing the composition of De fluviis in the Second Century A.D. ${ }^{3}$

The situation is quite different with respect to authorial intent and the closely related issue of the evaluation of content. Hardly anyone today would accept De fluviis at face value as a sincere exposition, whether in its complete form or as an epitome of a now-lost original, of actual traditions about the naming of rivers and mountains and of descriptions of odd, but genuine flora, fauna, and stones. Likewise, few would view the form and content of De fluviis as a veil meant to obscure esoteric, hermetic doctrines. ${ }^{4}$ Rather, most scholars now see it as example of paradoxography - albeit concocted from an unusual mixture of ingredients-or as a parody of that genre. ${ }^{5}$

Less agreement pertains to the closely related matter of the historicity of the citations adduced by the author of De fluviis to document his observations. Hercher expressed serious doubts about the reality of many of these authors and works, noting in the process the suspicious correspondence between the first syllables of many of the names of alleged authorities and their subjects, and Felix Jacoby, partly in response to Joseph Schlereth's acceptance of the historicity of the sources cited in the Pseudo-Plutarchaean Parallela Minora, launched a withering attack against what he termed Schwindelautoren. ${ }^{6}$ Subsequently, Alan Cameron attempted to strengthen Jacoby's case through a series of arguments based, in the case of De fluviis, on frequency of citations, the cumulative triviality of the subject matter they supposedly treated, and the text's

[^1]relentless repetitiveness. ${ }^{7}$ Against this skepticism, Joseph Boulogne and Ken Dowden have reasonably advocated an "innocent until proven guilty" approach which, employed in specific cases and in combination with other factors, seeks to reestablish, at least in part, PseudoPlutarch's bona fides. ${ }^{8}$ One purpose of this translation is to grant those with neither Greek nor the time and inclination to read De fluviis in its entirety in the original access to the work as a whole and, thereby, to place them in a better position to gauge the strengths and weakness of the cases advanced for and against the acceptance of Pseudo-Plutarch's citations as references to genuine authors and works.

The translation itself seeks to remain as close the Hercher's text as possible. All proper names appear in their Latinate forms. De Lazzer's notes to the Budé edition of De fluviis provide a wealth of information on myriad points of detail, as do-or will—those entries in Brill's New Jacoby devoted to the authors named by Pseudo-Plutarch. ${ }^{9}$

[^2]
# PSEUDO-PLUTARCH <br> ABOUT RIVERS AND MOUNTAINS AND THINGS FOUND IN THEM 

## I. HYDASPES

1. When Chrysippe, through the anger of Aphrodite, had fallen into a yearning for Hydaspes, her parent, and become unable to resist the unnatural desires, in the depth of night, in the accompaniment of a nurse, she met the aforementioned. After he had been informed about what had transpired, the king buried alive the old woman who had ensnared him and, after he had crucified his daughter, through an excess of grief flung himself into the Indus River, which from him was renamed Hydaspes. It is of India, descending violently toward Saronic Syrtis.
2. In it is produced a stone called Lychnis. It is olive in color and very luminescent. When the moon waxes, it is found to an accompaniment of the melody of flutes. Prominent men employ it.
3. There, by the so-called Gates, is found a plant similar to heliotrope. and devours those of the speechless animals that swarm about the old lady. So records Chrysermus in Book LXXX of the Indica. And Archelaus has recounted these matters more fully in About Rivers XIII.
4. Situated nearby is a mountain called Elephant for a reason of this sort. When

Alexander of Macedon had come to India with an army and when the natives were disputing about resistance against him, an elephant of Porus, the king of the regions, when it had unexpectedly gone mad, ascended to the crest of Helius and, having employed a human voice, said, "Lord King, tracing your lineage from Gegasius, do nothing out of opposition to Alexander. For [Gegasius] is Zeus's son." And after it had finished the speech, it died. Having heard this, Porus, terrified, fell at Alexander's knees, seeking peace. And when he had gained his wish, he renamed the mountain Elephant. So records Dercyllus in About Mountains III.

## II. ISMENUS

1. Ismenus is a river of Boeotia near the city of Thebes. It was earlier called Cadmus' Foot for a reason of this sort. Cadmus, when he had slain the fountain-guarding serpent and discovered the water had been poisoned from the blood, began to roam the territory in search of a spring. When he had come near the Corycian Cave, by Athena's providence he pressed his right foot very deeply in the mud. When a river had issued forth from the spot, the hero, after he had sacrificed a bull, named it Cadmus' Foot. After some time, Ismenus, Amphion and Niobes' boy, shot by Apollo and afflicted with pain, threw himself into the aforementioned river, which from him was renamed Ismenus. So records Sostratus in About Rivers II.
2. Situated nearby is Mount Cithaeron, earlier named Asterium for a reason of this sort. When Boeotus, son of Poseidon, was intending to wed the more valuable of two noteworthy women and was waiting by night for both in the peaks of some un-named crest, a star that had descended unexpectedly from heaven fell on Eurythemiste's shoulders and vanished. Boeotus, having understood what was signified, wed the maiden and renamed the mountain Asterium from the circumstance. Later it was called Cithaeron for a reason of this sort. When Tisiphone, one of the Erinyes, had fallen into a yearning for a handsome boy named Cithaeron and was unable to resist the intensity of the desires, she sent messages to him about a tryst. Appalled at the repulsiveness of the aforementioned, he deemed her unworthy of a response. And she, frustrated in her design, plucked one of the snakes from her locks and threw it on the disdainful boy. The snake, having coiled tightly
about his chest, killed him as he was tending the flocks in the peaks of Asterium. And by the will of the gods the mountain was renamed Cithaeron from him. So records Leo the Byzantine in Boeotica.
3. Hermesianax the Cyprian has recounted the following story. Helicon and Cithaeron, brothers by chance, had differing dispositions of characters. For Helicon, being mild and meek, attentively tended to his parents in their old age, but Cithaeron, who was greedy and wished to appropriate their wealth for himself, first murdered his father, but, from ambush pushing his brother from a precipice, was himself also borne down along with him. And by the providence of the gods, transformed into homonymous mountains, Cithaeron, on the one hand, through impiety became Abode of the Erinyes, Helicon, on the other, through affection became Habitation of the Muses.

## III. HEBRUS

1. Hebrus is a river of Thrace that took its name from the whirling of the water's current. Cassander, king of the regions, when he had wed Crotonice, had from her a son, Hebrus. After he had ceased living with his former wife subsequent to the child's birth, he married Damasippe, daughter of Atrax. Falling into a yearning for the earlier offspring, she sent messages to him about a tryst. And he, having fled his stepmother like an Erinys, began to absent himself in hunts. Frustrated in her design, the licentious woman dissembled against the temperate boy - that he had wanted to assault her. And Cassander, carried away with jealousy, was led by passion to the wood and, having drawn a sword, began pursuing his son as a conniver against his father's wedding bonds. Cornered, the son flung himself into the Rhombus River, which from him was renamed Hebrus. So records Timotheus in About Rivers XI.
2. Produced in it [the aforementioned river] is a plant similar to oregano, the tips of which the Thracians, when they have severed them, place upon a fire after the surfeit of the nourishment of Demeter and, receiving the exhalation that is borne up in the vapors, they are inebriated and transported into a deep sleep.
3. Situated nearby is Mount Pangaeum, which has its name for a reason of this sort. Pangaeus, Ares and Critobules' child, when he had unwittingly had intercourse with his
daughter and been overcome with despair, ran to Mount Carmanios and, through an excess of grief, drew his sword and killed himself. And according to the providence of the gods, the spot was renamed Pangaeum.
4. And also produced in Mount Pangaeum is a plant called Cithara for a reason of this sort. After they had sundered Orpheus, they threw the limbs of the aforementioned into the river Hebrus. And the head of the dead man, according to the providence of the gods, changed the shape of its body to a serpent. The lyre was placed among the stars by Apollo's design, and from the blood that had flowed appeared a plant called Cithara. This emits a cithara's sound. And the natives, having donned fawn skins and grasped thyrsuses, sing a hymn: "Then be not prudent, when you are to be prudent in vain." So records Cleitonymus in Thracica III.

## IV. GANGES

1. Ganges is a river of India that received its name for a reason of this sort. To Indus, a certain Calauria, a nymph, bore a son, distinguished for beauty, named Ganges. Intoxicated, he unwittingly had intercourse with his mother. In the following days, after he had learned the truth from the nurse, through an excess of grief, he flung himself into a river called Chliarus, which from him was renamed Ganges.
2. Produced in it is a plant similar to an ox tongue, rubbing which smooth, its juice they guard, and in the depth of night they sprinkle it around the lairs of tigers. Unable to emerge through the power of the liquid that has been poured out, these die. So records Callisthenes in Cynegetica III.
3. Situated nearby is a mountain called Anatole for a reason of this sort. When he had beheld Anaxibia, a nymph, taking her leisure in dances, Helius fell into a yearning for her and, yielding to the desires, pursued the aforementioned, planning to assault her. Cornered, she fled to the precinct of Artemis Orthia, which was on a mountain called Coryphe, and vanished. The god, having followed behind and nowhere found whom he desired, through an excess of grief ascended from there. And the natives renamed the peak Anatole from the circumstance. So records Caemaron in Indica X.

## V. PHASIS

1. Phasis is a river of Scythia flowing near a city. Formerly it was called Arcturus, having taken the name through the situation of the chilled regions. Its name was changed for a reason of this sort. Phasis, a child of Helius and Ocyrrhoë, daughter of Ocean, when he had caught his mother in the act of committing adultery, killed her. And after he had gone mad in consequence of an epiphany of Erinyes, he flung himself into the Arcturus, and from him it has been renamed Phasis.
2. Produced in the river is a reed named Leucophyllus. It is found during the mysteries of Hecate around the dawn, at the time of the chanting of a divinely inspired paean there, around the beginning of the spring. Plucking it, men who are jealous cast it around the maiden quarters and preserve the marriage free from adultery. If one of the very wicked too recklessly turns away through drunkenness and enters the spot, he is deprived of sober calculations and immediately confesses to all the things he illegally has done or is going to do. And those present, having seized him, fling him, sown-up in skins, into the so-called Mouth of the Wicked. It is circular, similar to a well. After thirty days, it delivers what has been thrown in, full of worms, into the Maeotic Sea. And vultures, having suddenly appeared out of nowhere, rend what lies there, as Ctesippus records in Scythica II.
3. Situated nearby is Mount Caucasius. Formerly it was called Boreas' Bed for a reason of this sort. Through an erotic yearning, Boreas, when he had abducted Chloris, the daughter of Arcturus, carried her down to a certain crest called Niphante and produced from the aforementioned a son, Hyrpax, the one who received the realm of Heniochus. And the mountain was renamed the Bed of Boreas. It was named Caucasus through the following circumstance. After the battle of the giants, Cronus, avoiding Zeus's threats, fled to the peek of Boreas' Bed. When he had changed into a crocodile, he made an end of one of the natives, a shepherd Caucasus, and, after he had observed the disposition of the entrails, he said that the foes were not far off. And Zeus, having appeared, having bound his father with plaited wool, hurled him down to Tartarus. When it had been renamed Caucasus in honor of the shepherd, he fastened Prometheus to the mountain and compelled him to be tormented by an entrail-eating eagle, because he perpetrated an illicit act on the entrails, as Cleanthes
records [, having written] in Theomachia III.
4. Produced in it is a plant called Promethius, which Medea, having gathered and rubbed smooth, used for the animosities of her father, as the same one records.

## VI. ARAR

1. Arar is a river of the Celtic region, having received the name because it joined with the Rhodanus. For it enters this in the territory of the Allobroges. Formerly it was called Brigulus, but was renamed for a reason of this sort. Arar, for the sake of the hunt, when he had headed to the wood to go hunting and found his brother Celtiberus slain by wild beasts, after he had mortally wounded himself through an excess of grief, fell into the river Brigulus, which from him was renamed Arar.
2. In it is produced a large fish, called Clupaea by the natives. This is white during the waxing of the moon; during the waning, it becomes completely black. When it has grown beyond measure, it is killed by its own spines.
3. In its head is found a stone similar to a grain of salt that is most efficacious for quartan diseases when applied to the left portions of the body during the waning moon, as raven lugus in their dialect, and a prominent spot a dunum, as Cleitophon records in Foundations XIII.

## VII. PACTOLUS

1. Pactolus is a river of Lydia near the city Sardis. Formerly it was called Chrysorrhoas. Chios, a child of Apollo and Apathippe, having practiced the mechanical art
and being oppressed by a dearth of livelihood, in the depth of the night opened the treasuries of King Croesus and, carrying off the gold, gave it to the members of his household. When he had been surprised by the guards and was being seized, he flung himself into a river, which from him was renamed Chrysorrhoas. It was subsequently named Pactolus through the following circumstance. Pactolus, oeiolios ${ }^{1}$ and Leucothea's child, when he had unwittingly assaulted Demodice, his sister, during the mysteries of Aphrodite and been informed about what had transpired, through an excess of grief flung himself into the river Chrysorrhoas, which from him was called by the name Pactolus.
2. There is produced in it dust of Darius gold, being borne down to Eudaemon Bay.
3. Also produced in it is a stone called Aruraphylax. It is similar to silver. It is found with difficulty, mixed with the dust borne downriver. It has a power of the following sort. Prominent Lydians purchase it and place it before the entrance of the treasuries, and they guard without risk the deposited gold. For as often as thieves approach, the stone emits the sound of a war trumpet. And, as though pursued by guards, they are carried away down cliffs. And the spot of those who have died violent deaths is called Pactolus' Guardhouse.
4. And there is produced a plant with a purple flower, called Chrysopolis. For by it the neighboring cities test the unmixed gold. For at the same time it is cast, they dip the leaf. And if the gold is not impure, the leaves become gold and keep the essence of the substance. However, if it is corrupted, it spurns the adulterated liquid, as Chrysermus records in About Rivers III.
5. Situated nearby is Mount Tmolus, full of all sorts of beasts. Formerly it was called Carmanorius, from Carmanorus, child of Dionysus and Alexiorrhoea, who, hunting, died, wounded by a boar. Later it was renamed Tmolus for a reason of this sort. Tmolus, son of Ares and Theogone, king of Lydia, when he was hunting on Carmanorius and beheld Arrhippe, a maiden living with Artemis, fell into a yearning for her and, gripped by desire, pursued her, wanting to force himself upon her. Overtaken, she fled to the sanctuary of Artemis. Having disdained religious feeling, the tyrant despoiled the maiden in the precinct.
[^3]Overcome with despair, she marked the end of her life with a noose. Indignant by what had been done, the goddess caused a raging bull to fall upon the aforementioned, tossed in the air by which and having come down on points, he died in agony. Theoclymenus, child of the aforementioned, when he had buried his parent, renamed the mountain from him.
6. Produced in it is a stone similar to pumice and seldom found. For four times a day it changes color. But it is sought by virgins who have not yet attained the time of understanding. And these, being in the season of marriage, if they see it, are done no injustice at all by those wanting to assault them. So Cleitophon records ..

## VIII. LYCORMAS

1. Lycormas is a river of Aetolia. It was renamed Eunus for a reason of this sort. Idas, the son of Aphareus, when, through an erotic yearning, he had abducted Marpessa, carried her up to Pleuron. Informed about what had transpired, Eunus began pursuing the betrayer of his daughter. When he had come to Lycormas and lost hope of capturing him, he flung himself into the river, which from him was renamed Eunus.
2. In it is produced a plant called Zarisa, similar to a spear, efficacious for blurred vision, as Archelaus records in About Rivers I.
3. Situated nearby is a mountain called Myenus from Myenus, Telestor and Alphesiboea's child. For, loved by his mother-in-law and unwilling to defile his parent's bed, he departed to Mount Alphius. Telestor, carried away by the jealousy of his wife, began searching the desolate area with his bodyguards in order to seize his offspring. Having anticipated his father's threats, he threw himself from the precipice. And the mountain, according to the providence of the gods, from him was renamed Myenus.
4. In it is produced Leykoïum, a flower, which, when a mother-in-law is named, withers, as Dercyllus records in About Mountains III.

## IX. MEANDER

1. Meander is a river of Asia. Formerly it was named Anabaenon, for, out of all
the rivers, beginning from its own sources it runs back into itself. It was named Meander from Meander, child of Cercaphus and Anaxibia, who, at war with the Pessinuntians, vowed to the Mother of the Gods that, if he gained the victory, he would sacrifice the first person who congratulated him for his manly virtues as he was carrying the trophies. His son Archelaus, with his mother and sister, when he had come to meet him, congratulated the aforementioned first when he had returned. And he, having remembered the aforementioned religious vow, by necessity conducted his kinsmen to the altars. Dispirited about what had been done, he flung himself into the Anabaenon River, which from him was named Meander, as Timolaus records in Phrygica I. And Agathocles the Samian also recounts these things in The Constitution of the Pessinuntians.
2. Demostratus the Apamean recounts a story of this sort. Meander, having just been elected general against the Pessinuntians and, contrary to expectations, gained the victory, distributed the dedications of the Mother of the Gods to his soldiers.

Furthermore, by the providence of the goddess, when he had suddenly lost his senses, he killed his wife and son. After a bit, when he had come to his senses and left to do penance for what had happened, he threw himself into a river, which from him was named Meander.
3. Produced in it is a stone called by antiphrasis Sophron, which, if you toss it into someone's lap, he becomes insane and murders one of his kin. When he has propitiated the Mother of the Gods, he is delivered from his suffering, as Demaratus records in About Rivers III. And Archelaus, too, recounts these things in About Stones I.
4. Situated nearby is a mountain that has the name Sipylus, from Sipylus, a child of Agenor and Dioxippe. For when he had unintentionally killed his mother and been driven mad by the Erinyes, he came to Mount Ceraunium and, through a surfeit of grief, marked the end of his life with a noose. And the mountain, according to the providence of the gods, was named from him Sipylus.
5. Produced in it is a stone similar to a column. Whenever pious sons find it, they place it in the precinct of the Mother of the Gods and never err on account of impiety, but they love their fathers and show sympathy towards their kin, as Agatharchides the Samian records in About Stones IV. And Demaratus has given a more detailed account of these things in Phrygia IV.

## X. MARSYAS

1. Marsyas is a river of Phrygia [lying] near the city Celene. Formerly it was named

Midas' Spring for a reason of this sort. Midas, king of Phrygia, traversing the more desolate parts of the territory and being oppressed by thirst, stamped the earth and it yielded a gold spring, the water having become gold. Being rather thirsty and because his subjects were wasting away, he evoked Dionysus. The god, having heard, brought forth drinkable water. When the Phrygians had been sated, Midas called the river flowing from the font Midas' Spring. It was renamed Marsyas for a reason of this sort. When Marsyas had been defeated by Apollo and was being flayed, produced from the blood that had flown were both Satyrs and a homonymous river called Marsyas, as Alexander Cornelius records in Phrygiaca III.
2. Euemerides the Cnidian has recounted a story of this sort. The skin of Marsyas, when it had become worn out in time and had tumbled down, fell from the earth into Midas' Spring and, being borne down, after a bit was brought to a certain fisherman. According to the injunction of an oracle, Peisistratus the Lacedaemonian, when he had founded a city beside the remains of the satyr, named it Noricus from the concurrence. Noricus is what the Phrygians in their dialect call the skull.
3. Produced in this river is a plant named Aulus, which, if someone moves it to the wind, has a musical melody, as Dercyllus records in Satyrica I.
4. Situated nearby is a mountain called Berecynthius, having the name from Berecynthus, who had become the first priest of the Mother of the Gods.
5. Produced in it is a stone called Machaera, for it is similar to iron, which, if any of the celebrants of the mysteries of the Goddess finds it, he goes insane, as Agatharchides records in the Phrygica.

## XI. STRYMON

1. Strymon is a river of Thrace near a city Edonis. Formerly it was named Palaestinus from Palaestinus, son of Poseidon. For when he was at war with the neighboring cities and had fallen ill, he dispatched his son Haliacmon as commander. Fighting too recklessly, he was
slain. Informed about what had transpired, Palaestinus, too, unseen by his bodyguards, through an excess of grief flung himself into the river Conozus, which from him was named Palaestinus. Strymon, son of Ares and Helice, when he had heard about Rhesus’ death and had been overcome with despair, flung himself into the river Palaestinus, which from him was renamed Strymon.
2. Produced in it is a stone called Pausilupus, which, if one in pain finds it, he is forthwith delivered from the affliction oppressing him, as Jason, a Byzantine, records in the Thracica.
3. Situated nearby are the Rhodope and Haemus mountains. Since these happened to be siblings and to have fallen into a yearning for one another, he named her Hera, and she named her beloved Zeus. The slighted gods, having resented the act, turned both into eponymous mountains.
4. Produced in these are stones referred to as Philadelphi, crow-like in color, shaped like humans. When separated from one another and called by name, forthwith, too, these loose their properties, as Thrasyllus the Mendesian records in About Stones III. And he has given a more detailed account of these things in the Thracica.

## XII. SAGARIS

1. Sagaris is a river of Phrygia. Formerly it was named Zerobates from a concurrence. For in the summer season it is often seen to be dry. It was called Sagaris for a reason of this sort. Sygaris, child of Mygdon and Alexirrhoë, reckoning the mysteries of the Mother of the Gods as nothing, outraged the priests [and Galli]. Having resented the act, she hurled madness on the aforementioned. And when he had lost his senses, he flung himself into the river Zerobates, which from him was renamed Sagaris.
2. Produced in it is a stone called Autoglyphus, for it is found having been engraved "The Mother of the Gods." If anyone finds this seldom-discovered stone, he is not astonished at the incisions, but courageously bears the sight of the preternatural fact, as Aretazes records in the Phrygica.
3. Situated nearby is a mountain called Ballenaeum, which, interpreted, is Royal, having the name from Ballenaeus, child of Ganymede and Medesigniste. For when he
beheld that what had been produced was incised, he also introduced to the natives a festival to this day called Ballenaeum.
4. Produced in it is a stone called Aster. This is accustomed to shine in the depth of night like a fire, when autumn has taken its start. It is called in the dialect of the natives Balle, which, interpreted, is King, as Hermesianus the Cyprian records in Phrygica II.

## XIII. SCAMANDER

1. Scamander is a river of Troas. Formerly it was named called Zanthus, and was renamed for a reason of this sort. Scamander, child of Corubas and Demodice, when he had unexpectedly observed those celebrating the mysteries of Rhea, went mad and, borne with an impulse to the river Xanthus, flung himself in this, which, from him, was renamed Scamander.
2. Produced in it is a plant called Sistrus, similar to chickpea, and it has berries shaking to and fro, whence it took the name. Those possessing this fear neither a vision nor a god manifest, as Demostratus records in About Rivers II.
3. Situated nearby is Mount Ida, which formerly was called Gargarus, where altars of Zeus and the Mother of the Gods happen to be. Ida was renamed for a reason of this sort. Aegistheus, the one born from the Zeus-bearer Ida, having fallen in love, trysted with the aforementioned and produced from her the so-called Idaean Dactyls. When she had lost her senses in the shrine of Rhea, Aegistheus, in honor of the aforementioned, renamed the mountain Ida.
4. Produced in it is a stone Cryphius, which appears solely during the mysteries of the gods, as Heracleitus of Sicyon records in About Stones II.

## XIV. TANAÏS

1. Tanaïs is a river of Scythia. Formerly it was called Amazonius because the Amazons bathed in it, and it was renamed for a reason of this sort. Tanaïs, child of Berossus and Lysippe - one of the Amazons - , being most discreet, hated the female race, revering Ares alone, and also held marriage in dishonor. Aphrodite darted into him a yearning for his
mother. At first, he kept battling against the passion. When he was conquered by the compulsion of the stings and wanted to remain pious, he flung himself in the Amazonius River, which, from him, was renamed Tanaïs.
2. Produced in it is a plant called Halinda, and it has leaves like cabbage.

Rubbing this smooth, those inhabiting the territory anoint themselves with the juice and, warmed, stoutly endure the cold. They call it in their dialect Berossus' Oil.
3. Produced in it is a stone similar to crystal, in resemblance like a human being crowned. When a king dies, they hold elections beside the river, and whoever finds that stone [, having that], immediately becomes king and receives the scepters of the deceased, as Ctesiphon records in About Plants III. And Aristobulus in About Stones I recounts these things, too.
4. Situated nearby is a mountain, in the dialect of the natives referred to as Brixaba, which, interpreted, is Ram's Brow. It was named for a reason of this sort. Phrixus, when he had lost Helle, his sister, beside the Euxine Sea, and, through the dictates of nature, had become confounded, retired to the peaks of a certain crest. When some barbarians saw him and advanced with weapons, the golden-fleeced ram, having emerged and seen the mass of the of the attackers, employed the voice of a human and awakened a sleeping Phryxus and, having taken up the aforementioned, bore him as far as Colchis. From the occurrence, the crest was named Ram's Brow.
5. Produced in it is a plant called in the dialect of the barbarians Phrixa, which, interpreted, is a despiser of the wicked. It is similar to rue, possessing which, children from a previous marriage suffer no wrong from stepmothers. It mostly grows by a cave referred to as Boreas's. Gathered, it is colder than snow. When there is a plot from a stepmother against someone, it emits flames. And having this signal, those fearing the ones taken as second wives avoid the compulsions of the impending fears, as Agathon the Samian records in Scythica II.

## XV. THERMODON

1. Thermodon is a river of the Scythia, having taken the name from a concurrence.
situation supporting such a form. It was renamed for a reason of this sort.

## XVI. NILE

1. Nile is a river of Egypt near the city Alexandria. Formerly it was called Melas from Melas, a child of Poseidon. Later it was instead called Egyptus for a reason of this sort. Egyptus, a child of Hephaestus and Leucippe, was king of the regions, and, through a civil war, since the Nile did not rise and the natives were oppressed by famine, the Pythia delivered the solution: if the king sacrificed his daughter to the gods as an averter. Distressed by the evils, the tyrant conducted Aganippe to the altars. When she had been sacrificed, Egyptus, through a surfeit of grief, flung himself into the river Melas, which, from him, was renamed Egyptus. And it was named Nile for a reason of this sort. Garmathone, queen of the regions about Egypt, having lost her son Chrysochoas in the flower of youth, was sympathetically mourning the aforementioned with her household. When Isis suddenly appeared, she set aside the grief for a moment and, as a pretense, having simulated joy, warmly received the goddess. Wishing the disposition of these things to be altered in return for the piety, she evoked Osiris to lead her son up from the subterranean regions. When he had been won over by the woman's entreaties, Cerberus, whom some call Phoberus, barked. And Nilus, husband of Garmathone, suddenly possessed, flung himself into the river called Egyptus, which, from him, was renamed Nile.
2. Produced in it is a stone similar to a bean, which, if dogs see it, they cease barking. It is most efficacious for those possessed by demons. For when it is put before the nostrils, the demon emerges. Other stones, too, are produced, called Collotes. Collecting these during the inundation of the Nile, swallows construct the wall referred to as Chelidonian, which restrains the rush of the water and does not allow the territory to be destroyed by a cataclysm, as Thrasyllus records in the Egyptica.
3. Situated nearby is a mountain, called Argillus for a reason of this sort. Zeus, E through an erotic yearning, having abducted the nymph Arge from Lyctus, a Cretan city, carried her off to a mountain of Egypt called Argillus. He produced from her a son called Dionysus, who, when he had grown, in honor of his mother renamed the crest Argillus. When he had mustered pans and satyrs, he subjugated India to his own scepters, and, having
conquered Spain, too, he left a pan behind as overseer of the regions. From him, he renamed the territory Pania, which the later generations by a slight change named Spain, as Sosthenes record in Iberica XIII.

## XVII. EUROTAS

1. Eurotas. Himerus, child of Taÿgetus, a nymph, and Lacedaemon, through the anger of Aphrodite unwittingly assaulted and despoiled his sister Cleodice at a night festival. In the following days, when he had been informed about what had transpired and had become disheartened, through an excess of grief he flung himself into the river Marathon, which, from him, was renamed Himerus. Later it was called Eurotas for a reason of this sort. When the Lacedaemonians were waging war against Athens and awaiting the full moon, Eurotas, the general of the aforementioned, having disdained all reverence, joined in battle, though hindered by both thunder and flashes of lightning. When he had lost the army and become afflicted with grief, he flung himself into the Himerus River, which, from him, was renamed Eurotas.
2. Produced in it is a stone similar to a headgear, referred to as Thrasydilus. For at the sound of the trumpet, it advances to the riverbank. When the Athenians are named, it retreats, too, to the deep water. Consecrated, many lay in the temple of Athena of the Brazen House, as Nicanor the Samian records in About Rivers II.
3. Situated nearby is a mountain called by the name Taÿgetus, having received the name from Taÿgete, a nymph, whom Zeus assaulted and despoiled. Afflicted with grief, she marked the end of her life with a noose on the peaks of Mount Amyclaeus, which, from her, was renamed Taÿgetus.
4. Produced in it is a plant called Charisia, which women, at the beginning of spring, fasten about their necks and are loved more passionately by their men, as Cleanthes records in About Mountains I, and Sosthenes the Cnidian, from whom Hermogenes took his subject.

## XVIII. INACHUS

1. Inachus is a river of the Argive territory. Formerly it was called Carmanor.

Haliacmon, by race a Tirynthian, tending sheep on Mount Coccygium and having unwittingly beheld Zeus having intercourse with Rhea, went mad and, borne away with an impulse, flung himself into the river Carmanor, which, from him, was renamed Haliacmon. It was named Inachus for a reason of this sort. Inachus, a child of Ocean, when his daughter Io had been ravished by Zeus, began rebuking the god with blasphemous insults, trailing behind him. Indignant, he sent to him Tisiphone, one of the Erinyes, tormented by whom, he flung himself into the Haliacmon River, which, from him, was renamed Inachus.
2. Produced in it is a plant called Cynura, similar to rue, which, steeped in wine, women, when the want to miscarry without risk, place upon their navels.
3. Found in it, too, is a stone similar to beryl, which, if those having wished to bear false witness hold it, becomes black. Many lie in the precinct of Hera Prosymnea, as Timotheus records in the Argolica. Agathon the Samian also recounts these things in About Rivers II. Agathocles the Milesian in the About Rivers says that Inachus, struck with a lightning bolt by Zeus on account of his villainy, became desiccated.
4. Situated nearby are the mountains Mycenae, Apesantus, Coccygium, and Athenaeum, having received their names for a reason of this sort. Formerly Apesantus was called Selenaeus. For Hera, wishing to get justice from Hercules, took Selene as a collaborator. Employing magical incantations, she filled a chest with foam, an immense lion having come to be from which, Iris, when she had bound it with her own girdle, bore down to Mount Opheltius. After it had attacked a shepherd of the regions, Apesantus, it killed him. And, according to the providence of the gods, the spot was renamed Apesantus from him, as Demodocus records in Heracleia I.
5. Produced in it is a plant called Selene, taking the foam discharged from which around the beginning of spring, the shepherds anoint their feet and are done no wrong by vermin.
6. Formerly Mycenae was called Argium from Argus the All-Seeing. It was renamed Mycenae for a reason of this sort. When Perseus had killed Medusa, Stheno and Euryale, as sisters of the aforementioned murder victim, were pursuing the perpetrator. When they had come to this crest, having abandoned hope of capturing him, through despair they
gave out a bellow, and the natives, from the occasion, renamed the peak Mycenae, ${ }^{2}$ as Ctesias of Ephesus records in Perseïd I.
7. Chrysermus the Corinthian in Peloponnesiaca I recounts a story of this sort.

When Perseus had been borne aloft and come about this crest, the cap of his scabbard fell out of its grip. And Gorgophonus, the king of Epidaurus, when he had fallen from power, received an oracle to visit the cities of the Argolid and, where he found a cap of a scabbard, there to found a city. When he had come about Mount Argium and found the ivory grip, he founded a city, which, from the occasion, he named Mycenae. ${ }^{3}$
8. Produced in it is a stone called Coruba, in the color of a raven, if you find which lying around and hold it to your body, you will look upon monsters without any fear.
9. The mountain Apesantus, son of Acrisius. For hunting in that spot and having stepped on a venomous serpent, he died. When he had buried his son, the king renamed Apesantus the crest called Selinuntius.
10. But the mountain was denominated Coccygium for a reason of this sort. When he had fallen in love with Hera's sister and bedazzled his beloved, Zeus produced from her a male. Then the very mountain called Lyrceium from the occasion was named Coccygium, as Agathonymus records in Persis.
11. There grows in it a tree called Palinurus, upon which, if any of the unreasoning animals sits, it is held down as by birdlime-except a cuckoo, for it spares this, as Ctesiphon records in About Trees I.
12. Mount Athenaeum took its name from Athena. For when he had returned to Argos after the sack of Ilius, Diomedes ascended the Ceraunian crest and, having founded a precinct of Athena, renamed the mountain Athenaeum from the goddess.
13. Produced on the mountaintop is a root similar to rue, if any woman unintentionally eats which, she goes mad. It is called Adrastia, as Plesimachus records in Book II of Returns.

[^4]
## XIX. ALPHEIUS

1. Alpheius is a river of Arcadia by Pisa of Olympia. Formerly it was called Stymphelus from Stymphelus, child of Ares and Dormothea. For this one, when he had lost his horse-loving son Alcmaeon and been overcome with despair, flung himself into the river Nyctimus, which [, too,] from him was renamed Stymphelus. And it was called Alpheius for a reason of this sort. Alpheius, one of those descended with regard to race from Helius, having contended with his brother Cercaphus about the sovereignty, killed the aforementioned and, expelled by the Avengers, flung himself into the Nyctimus River, which from him was renamed Alpheius.
2. Produced in this river is a plant referred to as Cenchritis, similar to a honeycomb, which physicians, boiling, give to those who have lost their minds to drink and deliver them from madness, as Ctesias records in About Rivers I.
3. Situated nearby is a mountain called Cronius for a reason of this sort. After the Battle of the Giants, Cronus, fleeing the threats of Zeus, removed himself to Mount Cturus, which, from him, was renamed Cronius. When he had remained unnoticed for a brief time and grasped an opportunity, he removed himself to Caucasus of Scythia.
4. Produced in it is a stone called Cylinder from this circumstance. For whenever Zeus thunders or flashes lightning, through fear it rolls from the peak, as Dercyllus records in About Stones I.

## XX. EUPHRATES

1. Euphrates is a river of Parthia near the city Babylon. Formerly it was called Medus, from Medus, child of Artaxerxes. For because of a yearning he assaulted and despoiled the daughter of Cordyus, Rhoxane. In the following days, sought by the king for punishment and oppressed with fear, he flung himself into the river Xaranda, which, from him, was named Medus. And it was called by the name Euphrates for a reason of this sort. Euphrates, Arandacus' child, when he had discovered his son Axurta asleep with his mother and assumed he was one of the citizens, through an abhorrence of jealousy drew his sword and
cut his throat. When he had become aware of the irremediable act, through an excess of sorrow, he flung himself into the river Medus, which, from him, was renamed Euphrates.
2. Produced in it is a stone called Aëtites, which the midwives set upon the stomachs for the women having difficult labors, and immediately they give birth without pain.
3. Produced in it, too, is a plant called Axalla, interpreted Thermon. Those having quartan fever, when they set this on their chest, are immediately freed from the symptom, as Chrysermus the Corinthian records in About Rivers XIII.
4. Situated nearby is a mountain called Drimylus, produced in which is a stone similar to sardonyx, which the kings use in the royal accoutrements. Thrown into hot water, it is most efficacious for dimness of sight, as Nicias of Mallus records in the About Stones.

## XXI. CAÏCUS

1. Caïcus is a river of Mysia. Formerly it was called Astraeus from Astraeus, son of
happen to be black and similar to lyres, which the Mysians cast on ploughed territory. If there is going to be a dearth, what has been thrown remains on the spot, but if it signifies a good harvest, the pebbles leap about in the fashion of locusts.
2. There grows in it, too, a plant called Helipharmacus, which doctors apply to women who are hemorrhaging and stop the effusion, as records Timagoras in About Rivers I.
3. Situated nearby is Mount Teuthras, so-called from Teuthras, king of the Mysians, who, on account of a hunt, having ascended Mount Thrasyllus and beheld a huge boar, began

Poseidon. For he, when the night festival for Athena was being celebrated, having unwittingly assaulted and despoiled his sister Alcippe, took from the aforementioned her ring. In the following days, when he had recognized the seal of his relative, through an excess of grief he flung himself into the river Adurus, which from him was renamed Astraeus. And it was named Caïcus for a reason of this sort. Caïcus, child of Hermes and the nymph Ocyrrhoë, having murdered Timander, one of the well-born, and fearing his kinsmen, flung himself into the Astraeus, which from him was renamed Caïcus.
2. Produced in the river is a poppy having stone instead of fruit. From these, some
to pursue it with his bodyguard. It fled beforehand as a suppliant to the temple of Artemis Orthosia. When all were pressing forward to enter the shrine, the pig, having employed a human voice, gave a shout loud enough to be heard, "King, withdraw from the goddess's creature!" But, buoyed by false hopes, Teuthras killed the animal. And Artemis, having resented the act, reinvigorated the boar, and because of what had occurred sent leprosy along with madness. Ashamed of the malady, he was dwelling in the peaks. When Lysippe, mother of the aforementioned, had been informed about what had transpired, she ran to the wood, drawing along with her a seer, Polyidus, son of Coeranus. When she had searched out the whole truth from him, by sacrifices of oxen she propitiated the goddess's hatred, and, having recovered her son, who had become temperate, she dedicated an altar of Artemis Orthosia. She also fashioned a golden boar, wrought into a bust of a man. To this day, when, pursued by huntsmen, when it has entered the shrine, it emits a shout, "Withdraw!" And Teuthras, having unexpectedly regained his original form, renamed the mountain Teuthras.
5. Produced in it is a stone called Antipathe, which, dissolved through wine and placed upon those suffering, is most efficacious for vitiligina and leprosy, as Ctesias of Cnidus relates in About Mountains II.

## XXII. ACHELOUS

1. Achelous is a river of Aetolia. Formerly it was called Thestius for a reason of this some domestic issue and remained there a sufficient time, returned to the ancestral soil. When he discovered his son Calydon in bed with his mother and reckoned him an adulterer, he unwittingly murdered his own offspring. After he had become aware of the irremediable act, he flung himself into the Axenus River, which from him was renamed Thestius. Previously it was called by the name Achelous for a reason of this sort. Achelous, a child of Oceanus and Naïs, a nymph, when he had unwittingly coupled with his daughter Clestoria and been overcome with despair, flung himself into the Thestius River, which, from him, was renamed Achelous.
2. Produced in this river is a plant called Zaclum, similar to wool. Having
ground this up, if you throw it in wine, it becomes water and, while it has the bouquet, it does not have the potency.
3. Found, too, is a stone, pallid in color, called Lynurgus from this circumstance. For if you throw it on linen, through a union of desire it takes its form and becomes white, as Antishtenes records in Meleagris III. And Diocles the Rhodian recounts these things more fully in the Aetolica.
4. Situated nearby is a mountain called Calydon, having taken the name from Calydon, Ares and Astynome's child. For he, when he had unwittingly seen Artemis bathing, changed the form of his body to a rock. And by the providence of the gods, the mountain called Gyrus was renamed from him Calydon.
5. Produced in it is a plant named Gadfly, which, if anyone, having thrown it in water, washes his face, he loses his vision, and, when he has supplicated Artemis, recovers the light, as Dercyllus records in Book III of Aetolica.

## XXIII. ARAXES

1. Araxes is a river of Armenia, having taken its name from Araxus, son of Pylus. For having contested with Arbelus, his grandfather, for the scepter, he killed him with an arrow. Hounded by the Erinyes, he flung himself into the river Bactrum, which, from him, was renamed Araxes, as Ctesiphon records in Book I of Persica. Araxes, King of Armenia, when he was at war with the adjacent Persians and the engagement became protracted, received an oracle that he would gain the victory if he sacrificed to the Averting Gods two exceedingly wellborn maidens. Having spared his own daughters through paternal devotion, leading to the altars attractive daughters of one of his subjects, he killed them. And Mnesalces, the father of the victims, bore the deed gravely, having covered his outrage for an opportune moment. And having grasped an opportunity, from ambush he slew the daughters of the tyrant and, when he had left the ancestral soil behind, sailed to Scythia. Informed about what had transpired and overcome with despair, Araxes flung himself into the river Halmus, which, from him, was renamed Araxes.
2. Produced in it is a plant called Araxa in the dialect of the natives, which translated is Virgin Hater. For when the aforementioned is found by virgins, after it has
made a discharge of blood, it withers.
3. Also produced in it is a stone called Sicyonus. Whenever any oracle concerned with homicide occurs, this is placed by a pair of virgins on the altars of the Averting Gods. When the priest has touched it with his knife, there is a profuse effusion of blood. Those who have performed the rite in this fashion retire with lamentations, having borne the stone toward the shrine. So records Dorotheus the Chaldaean in About Stones II.
4. Situated nearby is a mountain called Diorphus from Diorphus the earthborn, about whom the following story is circulated. Mithras, wishing to have a son and despising the race of women, mounted a rock. When the stone had become pregnant, after the allotted time, it bore a child named Diorphus. When he had reached his prime and had challenged Ares to a contest of virtue, he was killed. According to the providence of the gods, the mountain was changed to a homonym.
5. Produced in it is a tree like mulberry, and it bears a bountiful harvest of fruit, having a taste similar to a cluster of grapes. From this fruit, if anyone who has taken down a ripe one names Ares, he becomes the color that is held. So records Ctesiphon in About Trees XIII.

## XXIV. TIGRIS

1. Tigris is a river of Armenia, discharging its current into the Araxes and the Arsacid marsh. Formerly it was called Sollax, which, interpreted, is Sunken. It was named Tigris for a reason of this sort. Dionysus, according to Hera's plan, when he had gone mad, was roaming the land and sea, wishing to end his suffering. When he came to be in the regions around Armenia and was unable to cross the aforementioned river, he invoked Zeus. The god, having heard him, sent him a tiger, after he had crossed safely on which, in honor of what had transpired he renamed the river Tigris, as Theophilus records in About Stones I. And Hermesianax the Cyprian has recounted a story of this sort. Dionysus, when he had fallen in love with Alphesiboea, a nymph, and was able to win her over neither by gifts nor entreaties, changed the shape of his body into the aforementioned tiger. Having won her over by fear, he took up his desired, and, when he had conveyed her through the river, bore a son, Medus, who, after he had grown, in honor of what had transpired, renamed
the river Tigris, as Aristonymus records in Book III.
2. Produced in it is a stone called Mynda, exceedingly white. If someone holds it, he suffers no injury by wild beasts, as Leo the Byzantine records in About Rivers III.
3. Situated nearby is a mountain called Gauran from Gauran, a satrap, son of Rhoxanes, who, pious with respect to the gods, gained a reciprocal favor. Alone of all the Persians, when he had died after he had lived three hundred years and without any disease, he was deemed worthy of a lavish grave in the peaks of Gauran. And according to the providence of the gods, from him the mountain was renamed Mausorus.
4. Produced in it is a plant that is like wild barley. The natives, warming this in oil, when they have smeared themselves with it, are never ill prior to the necessity of death, as records Sostratus in A Collection of Mythic Histories I.

## XXV. INDUS

1. Indus is a river of India, descending in a great rush to the land of the Ichthyophagi. Formerly it was called Mausolus from Mausolus, son of Helius, but was renamed for a reason of this sort. When the mysteries of Dionysus were being performed and the natives were taking time off for the observance, Indus, a youth of prominence, assaulted and despoiled Damasalcida, king Oxyalcus' daughter, who was bearing a processional basket. Sought by the ruler for punishment, through fear he flung himself into the river Mausolus, which, from him, was renamed Indus.
2. Produced in it is a stone referred to as $\langle * * *\rangle$, which, whenever maidens bear it, they in no fashion fear seduction.
3. There also grows in it a plant similar to an ox tongue. Given to the sufferers with lukewarm water, it is most efficacious for those with jaundice, as Cleitophon the Rhodian records in Indica I.
4. Situated nearby is a mountain referred to as Lilaeum from Lilaeus, a shepherd. For he, religious and revering Selene alone, in the depth of night was celebrating the mysteries of the aforementioned. Bearing the dishonor gravely, the rest of the gods sent two immense lions to him, having been torn to pieces by which, he departed life. And Selene changed her benefactor into a homonymous mountain.
5. Produced in it is a stone named Cleitoris. It is very black in color. The natives wear it in their ears for adornment, as records Aristotle in About Rivers IV.

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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. Fiumi e monti, edd. Estéban Calderón Dorda, Alessandro De Lazzer, and Ezio Pellizer, Corpus Plutarchi Moralium 38 (Naples: M. D’Auria, 2003), and Hercher's Plutarchi Libellus de Fluviis (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1851) = http://books.google.com/books?id=Q58AAAAcAAJ\&printsec $=$ frontcover\&dq=hercher+de+fluviis\&source=bl\&ots=TmyqPmu RBi\&sig=Yt2x81X0fpO-5rmM_4d4G8TcJZM\&hl=en\&ei=QVAjTI_xCYL78AbJsSqBQ\&sa=X\&oi=book_result\&ct =result\&resnum=2\&ved=0CBcQ6AEwAQ\#v=onepage\&q\&f $=$ false (accessed June 24, 2010). Carl Müller, Libellus de fluviorum et montium nominibus et de iis quae in illis inveniutur, Geographi Graeci Minores II, (Paris: A. F. Didot, 1861), pp. 637-665, with Latin translation; Friedrich Dübner, Fragmenta et spuria (Paris: A. F. Didot, 1882), pp. 80100, with Latin translation; and Gregorios N. Bernardakis, Moralia, Vol. VIII (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1896), pp. 282-328, became the only serious rivals of Hercher's edition. A loose and sometimes misleading English version by R. White appeared in Plutarch's Morals, Vol. V (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1878), pp. 477-509 = http://books.google.com/books?id =uiEAAAAAYAAJ \&printsec=frontcover\&dq=plutarch's+morals\&source=bl\&ots=8yX30R2 wsO\&sig=_3DqeG61-e8cjU5LRcDGnQSUr8w\&hl=en\&ei=qaUoTKPJBIL48AaXxPDXD $\mathrm{w} \& s \mathrm{~s}=$ X\&oi=book_result\&ct=result\&resnum=5\&ved=0CCgQ6AEwBA\#v=onepage\&q\&f =false (accessed June 28, 2010).

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ For the title and scholium, see the Hercher's apparatus to De fluviis I.1, p. 37. Within Palatinus gr. Heidelbergensis 398, De fluviis is grouped with the Erotica of Parthenius and Antonius Liberalis' Collection of Metamorphoses.
    ${ }^{3}$ De Lazzer, Fiumi e monti, pp. 30-44, discusses the evidence for and arguments about the date of De fluviis.
    ${ }^{4} C f$. Fernand de Mély, "Le traité de fleuves de Plutarque," Revue des Études Grecques 5 (1892), pp. 327-340, and, contra, De Lazzer, Fiumi e monti, p. 22.
    ${ }^{5}$ See De Lazzer, Fiumi e monti, pp. 7-23 and 44-60, for an excellent overview.
    ${ }^{6}$ Hercher, Libellus de Fluviis, pp. 22-23; Joseph Schlereth, De Plutarchi quae feruntur Parallelis Minoribus (Friburg: Herder \& Co., 1931), pp. 97-127; F. Jacoby, "Die Überlieferung von Ps. Plutarchs Parallela Minora und die Schwindelautoren," Mnemosyne Ser. III, 8 (1940), pp. 73-144 = Abhandlungen zur Griechischen Geschichtschreibung, ed. H. Bloch (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1956), pp. 359-423.

[^2]:    ${ }^{7}$ Greek Mythography in the Roman World (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 127-134.
    ${ }^{8}$ Cf. Boulogne, Plutarque, Oeuvres Morales, Vol. 4 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2002), pp. 221-241, and Dowden's commentary on "Antipater," BNJ 56 F 1b (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2007), http://www.paulyonline.brill.nl/subscriber/uid=3992/entry?entry=bnj_a56\#BNJ (accessed June 9, 2010).
    ${ }^{9}$ De Lazzer, Fiume e monte, pp. 216-263. See Index V, below for the relevant entries in Jacoby's Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1923-1958), available electronically at http://www.paulyonline.brill.nl/subscriber/uid=3992/title_home?title_id=boj _boj (accessed June 9, 2010), and in Ian Worthington's Brill's New Jacoby: On Line (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2007-) http://www.paulyonline.brill.nl/subscriber/uid=3992/title_home?title_id=bnj_bnj (accessed June 9, 2010).

[^3]:    ${ }^{1}$ Behind the corrupt oeiolios (OEIO $\mathcal{I} I O \Sigma$ ) could be the genitive of Zeus $(\Delta I O \Sigma)$ or Poseidon ( $\Pi$ O$\Sigma E I \Delta O N O \Sigma$ ).

[^4]:    ${ }^{2}$ The author plays on the similarity of the sounds of mykethmos - the word for "bellow"-and "Mycenae."
    ${ }^{3}$ The connection here depends on the sounds of myke-the word for "cap"-and "Mycenae."

