

Appendix 1: The Myth of Penelope

This is a brief overview of the myth of Penelope with all significant variants, and main sources (also cross-references to fuller discussions in the main text); a full list of references to Penelope in Classical literature, briefly annotated, follows (App. 2).

In Homer, Penelope is described as the daughter of Icarius; her mother is not named. She is also said to have a sister, Iphthime, married to Eumelus and living in Pherae in Thessaly, and brothers are mentioned¹. Later sources add other different details; her father, however, is always given as Icarius in later sources, except in one passage of Aristotle, where the claim is made that his name was originally Icadius, and that the change from -d- to -r- was a later error².

Penelope's mother is named variously as Periboia, Asterodia, Dorodoche, or Polycaste. Periboia is the name most commonly given in modern mythological compendia³; our ancient sources for this name are Apollodorus and a scholiast to Lycophron⁴. Pherecydes, our earliest evidence if reliably reported, is said by an *Odyssey* scholiast to have called the mother of Penelope Asterodia⁵. Another scholiast reports that Philostephanus called her Dorodoche⁶. Finally, Strabo calls the mother of Penelope Polycaste⁷, referring to the epic *Alcmaeonis*. The different sources give Icarius and his wife differing numbers of children, and with differing names; only Penelope is a constant

¹ At *Od.* 15.16-17, Athene says to Telemachus that Penelope is being pressured by her father and brothers to marry Eurymachus.

² *Poetics* 1461 b 9-10.

³ For example, P. Grimal *The Dictionary of Classical Mythology* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford 1986).

⁴ Apollod. 3.126, schol. *ad Lyc.* 511.

⁵ Schol. *ad Od.* 1.275, 4.797, 15.16.

⁶ Schol. *ad Od.* 15.16.

⁷ Strabo 10.461.

figure. Apollodorus says that in addition to Penelope, Periboia bore Icarius five sons, named Thoas, Damasippus, Imeusimus, Aletes, and Perilaus. According to *Odyssey* scholia, Pherecydes also attributed five sons to Icarius, by Asterodeia, namely Perilaus (the only shared name), Amasichus, Phalereus, Thoon, and Pheremelias. In addition, he gave them two daughters, Penelope and another, named as Mede, Hypsipyle, or Laodamia. This second sister was named Mede by Asius and Hypsipyle by Andron; it is not clear which name Pherecydes himself used. It may have been this variation in the name of Penelope's sister which caused Aristarchus to query whether Iphthime, the name Homer gives Penelope's sister, could be another name for her, or merely an epithet⁸. The scholiasts are agreed that here it is a proper name, but it is an adjective, and so could originally have been an epithet, so this is not conclusive evidence for the "original" name of Penelope's sister. It is, of course, most likely that each variant name was an independent creation, and that there is no "original". The scholiast at *Od.* 15.16 implies that Dorodoche bore Icarius Penelope and five sons, as in Apollodorus, but adds two new names, Semus and Auletes. The similarities between Thoon and Thoas, Aletes and Auletes may suggest that some of these variations are due to scribal error at some stage in the tradition.

From scholiasts, Pausanias and Apollodorus, we have some details of Penelope's early life history. The suggestion that she was named after the *πηνελόψ* duck is linked to a story of her being rescued from the sea by these ducks⁹. This story is either given as referring to her as a baby, thrown out to sea by her parents, or to her later life, when Nauplius was said to have pushed her off a cliff in Ithaca (or caused her to throw herself

⁸ Schol. *ad Od.* 4.797.

⁹ See passages quoted on p.57.

off a cliff), as part of his revenge on the Greeks for the death of his son Palamedes. When the time came for Penelope to marry, we have two versions of how Odysseus came to be the successful suitor. Apollodorus says that Odysseus came up with the scheme whereby all the suitors of Helen would swear an oath to accept her father's ruling, and fight to uphold it¹⁰. His price for this advice was for Tyndareus to persuade his brother Icarius to let Odysseus marry the latter's daughter, namely Penelope. The other story is that Icarius offered his daughter to the winner of a foot-race, on the model of Danaus or the father of Atalanta¹¹. The race was won by Odysseus - his prowess at running is seen in the *Iliad*¹². Pausanias also writes that when Odysseus and Penelope set out for Ithaca, her father came after them, pleading with his daughter not to leave him. Faced with a choice between husband and father, Penelope covered her head with a veil and stayed in the chariot with her husband¹³. This may reflect her reputation for devotion to her husband; the story that Laertes chose her as a wife for Odysseus on account of her *σωφροσύνη* shows that characteristic pushed back into her earlier history¹⁴.

Penelope in Homer is married to Odysseus, with one son, Telemachus. She appears never to have been given another husband, nor her son another mother. Odysseus joined the Greek expedition to Troy to recover Helen. As one of Helen's suitors, he was bound to support Menelaus' attempt to recover her, because of the oath he is said to have suggested¹⁵. Not wanting to go (due to an oracle that he would be away twenty years), he pretended to be mad, and was found ploughing the sea-shore and

¹⁰ *Bibl.* 3.10.9.

¹¹ Paus. 3.12.1-2; cf. pp.45, 158.

¹² 23.740-83.

¹³ Paus. 3.20; cf. pp.68-9.

¹⁴ Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F 129.

¹⁵ Odysseus as a suitor first appears in Hes. *Catalogue of Women* fr.204.87-9 West. The story is given in more detail by Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.8-9.

sowing it with salt when the Greeks came to collect him. Palamedes proved his madness false by snatching Telemachus from Penelope's arms and putting him in front of the plough; Odysseus had to stop in order not to harm him¹⁶. The *Odyssey* sets itself twenty years later: Penelope has been courted by the youth of Ithaca and the surrounding islands for three years or so. Her suitors included Antinous, Eurymachus, and Amphinomus (said to be her favourite). When they would not accept her refusal to remarry, Penelope devised a stratagem for putting off her suitors: saying that she could not marry until she had finished weaving a shroud for her father-in-law, Laertes, she wove it by day, but at night unpicked her work, so that she would never finish it. The *Odyssey* states that Penelope was betrayed to the suitors by one of her maids (identified by Winkler as Melantho¹⁷), and compelled to finish her weaving. In *Od.* 24, the ghost of Amphimedon (another suitor) says that Odysseus returned as soon as the web was completed, but this is not the impression given by other references to it. From Antinous' and Penelope's descriptions, it appears that the web was finished a few months before Odysseus' return. Homer says that Penelope herself decided to hold a contest, a test of strength and skill at archery, to choose a husband. After he had won the contest (an aspect passed over by Homer except as proof of Odysseus' prowess), Odysseus and Telemachus turned to the slaughter of the suitors, and killed them all. In the *Odyssey*, Penelope is dismissed by Telemachus before the competition is fully under way, but reappears after the slaughter to identify Odysseus.

Later writers, on the whole, keep to Homer's version of this story, and there is little evidence in art for alternative versions; Etruscan urns may attest a version in which

¹⁶ *Cypria* fr.1 (Allen/Davies)

¹⁷ J.J. Winkler *The Constraints of Desire* (Routledge 1990) p.149.

recognition happened through a mirror¹⁸. However, there are late sources which record a different ending to the story, namely that Penelope was unfaithful to Odysseus with Antinous or Amphinomus, and when he returned to Ithaca, he either sent her away, or killed her¹⁹: these names must be drawn from the *Odyssey* text, but no earlier texts giving more detail survive; they would be of great interest if they did. Pausanias, giving a local Mantinean story, states that Odysseus sent Penelope away for her infidelity when he returned from Troy; she wandered for some time and eventually came to Mantinea, where she bore Pan, died and was given a tomb.

Our main source for the post-Odyssean history of Penelope is Eugammon's *Telegony* and the various later writings which drew on it. The summary of the *Telegony* by Proclus describes the events leading up to the accidental killing of Odysseus by his son by Circe, Telegonus, and its aftermath. Tying up all possible loose ends, it says that Circe transported Penelope and Telemachus to her island, where she herself married Telemachus, and Penelope married Telegonus. Hyginus (*fab.* 127) gives Penelope and Telegonus a son, Italus (the eponymous hero of Italy)²⁰, who is otherwise said to be the son of Odysseus and Circe. Eugammon of Cyrene also described events before Odysseus' death, and gave him and Penelope another son, Arcesilaus (a name of the royal house of Cyrene), born after Odysseus' return from Troy²¹: this suggests that a genealogical link between Odysseus and the royal house of Cyrene was claimed. Apollodorus and Pausanias both report the birth of another son to Penelope and Odysseus, a son named Poliporthes or Ptoliporthes (meaning "sacker of cities")²², again

¹⁸ See pp.94-6 above.

¹⁹ Apollod. *Epit.* 7.38-9, Pausanias 8.12.6.

²⁰ Eudocia *Violarium* 918.

²¹ Eustath. 1796 = *Nostoi* fr.9/*Telegony* fr.1 (Allen) (= *Teleg.* 3 Bernabé/ 2 Davies) mentions Arcesilaus.

²² Apollod. *Epit.* 7.35, Paus. 8.12.6.

born after Odysseus' return from Troy and named for his father's exploits there. Pausanias says that this story was found in the *Thesprotis*; Odysseus is said to have returned from Troy to discover that Penelope had borne him this child, but the mention of Poliporthes may have been included in the later part of the poem which dealt with Odysseus' journey to Thesprotis and his death, as there is nothing to suggest that Poliporthes was thought of as nearly the same age as Telemachus, which suggests that he was born after Odysseus' return from Troy.

Penelope is also said to be the mother of the god Pan (for a summary of sources and variant details, see appendix 2, and pp.50-4 above for fuller discussion). Our earliest definite source for this tale is Herodotus (2.145), but it is also attributed to Pindar in scholia (fr. 100 Snell-Maehler). There is, however, some confusion in the scholia as to whether Pindar named the father of Pan by Penelope as Apollo or Hermes. Both these names appear in other places too (citations listed by father pp.330-1). Examination of this list will show the interesting fact that Apollo is named as the father of Pan by Penelope solely by sources now known from references by scholiasts, while there are some definite classical sources for Hermes as the father. The link between the name Pan and πᾶν meaning "all" with reference to all the suitors appears to have been given first by Douris²³, thus giving a rough date of late fourth or early third century BC. This version was referred to by [Theocritus]²⁴; it has a rather bizarre flavour which might well be seen as making it appeal to a later Alexandrian writer. The suggestions that the father of Pan was Odysseus²⁵ or Hermes after Odysseus' death²⁶ seem to be rationalisations in view of Penelope's reputation as a good wife.

²³ Fr. 21.

²⁴ *Syrinx*.

²⁵ Euphorion *apud schol. ad Luc.* 3.402., *Schol. ad Theoc.* 1.123b.

²⁶ First Vatican Mythographer 1.89.

Appendix 2: References to Penelope in Classical Literature

This list is based mainly on Mactoux 1975, together with other references I have found (cf. Roscher *Lexicon* and *RE* under “Penelope”). I have divided the references into three groups: definite references, places where we may conclude with a reasonable degree of certainty that Penelope appeared, and places where it is possible that she appeared; this is followed by a breakdown of references to Penelope either as the mother of Pan or otherwise unfaithful. References in the Scholia have been placed after the author whom they are discussing; these references may duplicate references to fragments of some authors. Epigrams from Anthologies have all been collected under the “Anthologies”, even where the author is named. References to inscriptions and anonymous papyrus fragments are gathered at the end of each list. Most references (where possible) are followed by a brief description of the content; **P** stands for Penelope as the paradigm of the good wife, **O** for her merely as Odysseus’ wife. Main references only are given for Eustathius and the Homeric scholia.

Definite references

Achilles Tatius (Vilborg, Stockholm 1955)

Leucippe and Cleitophon 1.8.6 (**P**, but as cause of men’s deaths)

Aelian (Dilts, Leipzig 1974)

Variae Historiae 14.45 (P. praised by Greeks)

Aeschylus *Penelope* TRI B IV (cf. fr. 187 *TGrF* III)

Anthologies (Beckby, Munich 1965-8)

Palatine Anthology 6.289 (Leonidas Tarentinus) (C. 3 BC) (**P**)

6.314 (Nicodemus of Heraclea) (date unknown, ?late) (**O**)

7.557 (Cyrus of Panopolis = Peek 885) (C.5 AD) (**P**, weaving)

9.166 (Palladas of Alexandria) (C.4 AD) (**P**, but as cause of men’s deaths)

9.192 (Antiphilos of Byzantium) (C.1 AD) (P)

9.395 (Palladas of Alexandria) (C.4AD)

9.816 (Anon.) (on Euboulus' plate) (date unknown, ?Byzantine)

15.8 (Anon. = Peek 1999.31-6) (C.4 AD) (P)

Planudean Anthology 16.300 (Anon.) (date unknown) (O)

Antisthenes in Diogenes Laertius 6.16 (p.19 in Caizzi, Milan 1966)

Περὶ Ἑλένης καὶ Πηνελόπης

Περὶ τοῦ Οδυσσέως καὶ Πηνελόπης [καὶ] περὶ τοῦ κυνός

Apollodorus (Wagner *Mythographi Graeci*, Leipzig 1894)

Bibliotheca 3.10.6 (family)

3.10.9 (marriage of P. to Odysseus, through Tyndareus' agency)

Epitome 3.7 (Palamedes seizes Telemachus)

7.26-40 (the return of Odysseus and its aftermath)

Aristaenetus (Mazal, Stuttgart 1971)

Lib. Ep. 1.28 (weaving/philosophical)

Aristippus fr.23 (Mannebach, Leiden 1961) (philosophical)

Ariston of Chios in Stobaeus *Ecl.* 3.4.109(=fr.350 *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* I, von Arnim

Leipzig 1903-24) (philosophical)

Aristophanes (Coulon and van Daele, Paris 1967)

Thesmo. 547-50 (P)

Aristotle

fr.176 (Rose, Leipzig 1886) (why did O. not reveal himself to P.?)

Rhetorica 3.16 (1417a) (Ross, Oxford 1959) (ref. to *Od.* 23)

in *Eliae in Porphyrii Isagogen et Aristotelis Categorias Commentaria* (Busse, Berlin

1900) c.8.11.6-10 (411.15-19) (philosophical)

Apophthegmata fr.26 (Bussemaker in Dübner *et al.*, Paris 1848-69, vol. IV)

[Aristotle] *Oeconomica* 3.1 (van Groningen and Wartelle, Paris 1968) (P)

Asius of Samos fr.10 Davies (Göttingen 1988)/Bernabé (Stuttgart 1987)=Schol. M *ad Od.* 4.797

(family)

Athenaeus (Kaibel, Leipzig 1887-90)

Deipnosophistae 1.14b-c (ref. to Phemius)

5.190d (quotes *Od.* 4.110ff.)

8.351c (Rhodians are a “community of suitors”)

13.559c (=Euboulus fr.)

13.597e (=Hermesianax fr.)

14.615a (P)

Bion fr.3 Kindstrand (*Bion of Borysthenes*, Uppsala 1976) in Plutarch *de lib. educ.* 7D

(philosophical)

Catullus (Mynors, Oxford) 61.219-23 (P)

Chariton (Gould, Loeb Classical Library 1995)

Chaereas and Callirhoe 8.1.17 (quotation of *Od.* 23.296)

Cicero *Academica* 2.29.95 (Plasberg, Leipzig 1922) (philosophical/weaving)

De natura Deorum 3.22 (Ax, Leipzig 1933) (Pan)

Claudian (Hall, Leipzig 1985) *Laus Serenae* 20-32 (P, weaving)

Crates (Hercher *Epistolographi Graeci* Paris 1873)

Epistulae 9 (P)

23 (suitors: implies that P.’s own actions kept them about)

Demetrius Poliorcetes at Athenaeus 14.615a and Plut. *Demetrius.* 25 (P)

Dicaearchus of Messene (Wehrli, Basel 1967) *Homeric Questions* fr.92 (P)

Dictys Cretensis (Eisenhut, Leipzig 1973) *Belli Troiani lib.* 6.6 (P)

Dio Chrysostom (von Arnim, Berlin 1893-6)

Discourses 7.84-6 (denies P.’s good sense)

11.134 (P. courted due to O.'s delay at returning, due to shame)

15.4 (P - Telemachus was wrong to doubt P. re his father)

52.13 (ref. to *Odyssey*)

55.20 (Antinous slept with her maids)

Diogenes Laertius (Lang, Oxford) *Vitae Philosophorum* 6.16

Dosiadas *Bomos* (pp.182-3 in Gow *Bucolici Graeci*, Oxford, also in Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* p.175) (Pan)

Schol. *ad* Dosiadas *Bomos* 15-18a (in Theocritean scholia, ed. Wendel 1914) (Pan)

Douris *FGrH* 76 F 21 = Schol. *ad* Lyc. 772 (Pan)

Etymologicum Magnum (Gaisford, Oxford 1848) *s.v.* ὡς (quotation)

s.v. Πλειστοδίκηια (name)

Euboulus *Chryzilla* quoted at Ath. 13.559b, Hunter (Cambridge 1983) fr.117 = *PCG* 115 (P)

Eudocia (Flach, Leipzig 1880) *Eudociae Augustae Violarium*

63 (Amphinomus - P.'s favourite of the suitors, although she did not like him)

918 (about Telemachus, gives Arcesilaus as son of P. and O.)

Eugammon *Telegony* = Proclus *Chrest.* 306 (Severyns) (OCT Homer V pp.143-4 (Allen, Oxford), Davies *Ep. Gr. Fr.* p.71ff., Bernabé (Teubner) p.100ff.)

Euphorion fr.109 (Powell *Coll. Alex.*) (Pan)

Euripides (Diggle, Oxford)

Orestes 588-90 (P)

Troades 422-3 (P)

Schol. *ad* Eur. *Rhesus* 36 (Schwartz, Berlin 1891) (Pan)

Eustathius *Commentarii ad Iliad.* 23.762 (van der Valk, Leiden) (weaving and name)

Commentarii ad Od. 1389 (philosophical/weaving)

1390 (philosophical/weaving)

1412 (name)

1417 (Icarius' family)

1422 (P.'s original name)

1436-7 (weaving/philosophy)

1466 (Timolaus *SH* 850)

1518 (family)

1796 (Euryalus)

1956 (O.s departure for Troy)

Gorgias (Diels-Kranz *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*⁶, Berlin 1952) 82 fr. B 29 (philosophical)

Hecataeus *FGrH* 1 F 371 = Schol. *ad* Luc. 402 (Pan)

Heliodorus (Rattenbury, Lumb and Maillon, Paris 1960) *Aethiopica* 5.22.3 (P)

[Heraclitus] (Buffière, Paris 1962)

Homeric Allegories 76.13 (O. wandered for sake of P.)

78.2-3 (P)

[Heraclitus] Pap. Genév. Inv 271 = V. Martin "Un recueil de diatribes cyniques, pap. Genév. Inv. 271" *MH* 16 (1959) pp.83-111

coll.15.29-30 (suitors died because of P.)

15.47-8 (P. is the last in O.'s string of women; Arete was σωφρονεστέρα)

Hermesianax fr.7 (Powell, *Coll. Alex.*) (Homer was in love with P.)

Herodotus (Hude, Oxford) *Histories* 2.145 (Pan)

Hesychius *Lexicon* (vol.2, Schmidt, 1861-2)

s.v. Penelope (p.1239, 2203) (P. as proper name)

Homer (Allen, Oxford)

Od. 1.13, 215-6, 223, 245-50, 269-79, 292, 329-66, 415-6

2.52-4, 88-137, 195-207, 223, 249-50, 274-5, 336-7, 373-6, 411

3.212-3

4.110-13, 316-21, 675-767, 787-841

5.37, 113, 209-218

6.182-5

8.242, 411

9.344-5, 444-50

13.333-8, 406

14.9, 123-7, 164, 172, 373

15.14-26, 40-2, 313-4, 374-8, 515-22

16.33-8, 73-7, 130-2, 151-3, 301-3, 328-41, 385-6, 395-400, 409-451, 458-9, 469

17.6-9, 36-61, 99-166, 390-1, 492-588

18.143, 158-301, 313-5, 322-5

19.51-604

20.57-94, 131-43, 289-90, 327-44, 387-9

21.1-12, 43-82, 86-88, 101-11, 114-7, 157-62, 311-42, 349-58

22.38, 324, 424-9, 462-4, 482-3

23.1-116, 149-51, 166-296, 297-309, 350-365

24.126-50, 167-9, 192-202, 294-6, 404-5, 407

Schol. *ad* Hom. *Od.* (Dindorf, Oxford 1855)

1.275 (family)

1.277 (family)

1.329 (P)

1.332 (Dicaearchus fr.92)

2.89 (on the timing of the weaving)

4.1 (family)

4.797 (family, both names)

14.68 (family)

15.16 (family)

Horace (Wickham/Garrod, Oxford)

Ep. 1.2.28 (suitors)

Sat. 2.5.75-83 (P?)

Odes 1.17.20 (P. as lover)

Odes 3.10.11-12 (P)

[Acron] (Keller, Leipzig 1904)

Commentarii in Hor. ad carm. 3.10.11 (P, O)

4.9.9 (P)

ad serm. 2.5.76, 80 (P)

Schol. *ad Hor.* (Botschuyver, Amsterdam 1935)

Ser. 2.5.76, 79, 80, 81 (*cod par lat* 7972 etc) (P, O)

Carm. 3.10.11 (P)

Hyginus (Rose, Leiden 1963)

Fabulae 125.19 *et Scholium* (in Rose) (story of the *Odyssey* and aftermath)

126.3-5, 7, 9 (story of O.'s return to Ithaca)

127.2-3 (story of Telegonus)

224 (gods born from mortals: Pan)

256 (P)

Isocrates wrote an epideictic speech *Penelope* (*Vita* 136-43, p.xxxvii in vol. 1 of works (Mathieu and Bremond, Paris))

Jerome *adv. Iovin.* 1.45 = 312A (Bickel, *Diatribae in Senecae philosophi fragmenta* VII, Leipzig 1915) (P)

Julian *Epistulae* 81 (Bidez, Paris vol.1.2) (P - but Callixene is above P.)

Eulogia Eusebiae (Bidez, Paris 1932) 104c (P)

110c (P - but Eusebia's mother surpassed P.)

112c (P)

113d-114 (P)

Juvenal (Clausen, Oxford) *Satires* 2.54-6 (weaving)

Libanius (Foerster, Leipzig 1903-8)

Orat. 5.8 (*Artemis*) (Homer compared P. and Artemis)

Orat. 64.73 (Homer shows P. weeping)

Declamations. 5.61, 62 (O)

Declamations. 6.59 (P)

Ethopoeiae 15.1 (O)

25.1 (O)

Ep. 495 (P)

Ep. 746 (weaving)

Livius Andronicus (Blänsdorf *Fragmenta Poetarum Latinorum* Stuttgart and Leipzig 1995)

(*Odyssey* translation) frs.8 (7 Morel), 27 (30 Morel), 28 (36 Morel)

Schol. *ad* Lucan 3.402 (Usener, Leipzig 1869) (Pan)

Lucian (Macleod, Oxford)

Verae Historiae 2.29, 35, 36 (O. bored with P. in Isles of Blessed)

Dialogi Meretricii 12 (P)

Dialogi Deorum 2 (22) (Pan)

Fugitivi 21 (weaving)

Pro Imaginibus 7 (P)

Imagines 20 (P)

Lucilius (Charpin, Paris 1979)

bk.17, esp. fr. 3 (= ll.538-9 Marx) (*Odyssey* story)

Lycophron (Mascialino, Leipzig 1964)

Alexandra 770-1 (ref. to *Od.* 18)

791-2 (P. Spartan)

Schol. *ad* Lycophron (including Tzetzes) (Scheer, Berlin 1958)

ad Alexandra 511 (family)

772 (= Douris fr.; Pan as son of another P.)

792 (mother and P.'s other name)

805 (P. married Telegonus)

806 (= Theopompus fr.)

Martial (Shackleton-Bailey, Stuttgart 1990)

Epigrams 1.62 (P)

11.7.5 (P)

11.104.15-6 (P?)

Vatican Mythographers (*Classicorum auctorum e vaticanis vol.III*, ed. Mai, 1832)

Mythographus primus 1.89 (P, Pan)

3.204 (P. mother of Telemachus)

Mythographus secundus 212 (P)

Nonnus (Keydell, Berlin 1959)

Dionysiaca 14.92, 24.87 (Pan, son of nymph P.)

Nonnus Abbas (Migne, Petit-Montrouge 1858 vol.36)

Ad s. Gregorii orat. I contra Jul. 13 (col.1008, 40) (P, Pan)

Ad s. Gregorii orat. II contra Jul. 34 (col.1052-3) (Pan)

Nostoi dub. et sp. 1 (Davies) = fr. 9 Allen = fals. 16 Bernabé

Schol. *ad* Oppian *Halieutica* 3 (Bussemaker, Paris 1849) (Pan)

Ovid

(Kenney, Oxford) *Amores* 1.8.46-7 (P)

2.18.21, 29 (*Heroides*)

3.4.23-4 (P)

3.9.30 (weaving)

Ars Am. 1.477 (P)

2.355 (P. as lover)

3.15-16 (P)

(Showerman, London and Harvard 1914) *Heroides* 1 *passim*

(Anderson, Leipzig 1991) *Met.* 8.315 (O)

13.301 (O)

13.511 (O)

14.671 (O; had many suitors)

(Owen, Oxford 1904) *Tristia* 1.6.22 (praised by Homer)

5.5.3-4 (O), 43-4 (P), 51-2 (P. has praise due to O's sufferings)

5.14.35-6 (P)

Ex Ponto 3.1.107, 113 (P, weaving)

4.16.13 (*Heroides*)

Parthenius (*Mythographi Graeci* 2.1, Martini, Leipzig 1902)

Erotica Pathemata 3 (summary of Soph. *Euryalus*)

Pausanias (Rocha-Pereira, Stuttgart and Leipzig 1989-90)

Periegesis 3.12.1 (place of the foot-race)

3.12.4 (foot-race for P.)

3.13.6 (foot-race for P.)

3.20.10-11 (P. chooses O. over her father)

8.12.5-6 (tomb of P. in Mantinea)

9.41.5 (quotation *Od.* 18.295)

10.30.1 (reference to *Od.* 20.66-78)

Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F129 = Schol. MV *ad Od.* 15.16 (Laertes chose P. as O.'s wife -P)

Philargyrius (Hagen, *Appendix Serviana*, Leipzig 1887)

ad Verg. Buc. 2.32 (Pan, O)

Philocles *TGrF* I wrote a *Penelope*

Philostephanus Cyrenaeus *FGrH* III (Müller) F 38 (family)

Philostratus the elder (Kayser, Leipzig 1871) *Eikones* 2.28.81 (weaving)

Pindar fr.100 (Snell-Maehler, Stuttgart = fr. 90 Bowra, Oxford) (Pan)

Schol. *ad* Pindar (Drachmann, Leipzig 1903-27)

ad Ol. 8.30c, k (quotation)

ad Ol. 9.79d (name)

Hypothesis *ad* Pindar *Pythians* (Pan)

Plato (Burnet, Oxford; Duke et al., Oxford 1995 for *Phaedo*)

Alcibiades 112b (P. caused suitors' deaths)

Phaedo 84a-b (weaving)

Plautus (Lindsay, Oxford) *Stichus* 2 (P)

Pliny (Croisille, Paris 1985) *NH* 35.63 (P)

Plutarch (Loeb Classical Library, ed. Babbitt *et al.*, Perrin (*Lives*))

bruta animalia rat. uti 985f (P. will be old when O. returns)

988b (P. is not protecting O.'s house)

989b (P, but P.'s σωφροσύνη surpassed by crows)

coniug. praecept. 140f-141 (P)

de def. orac. 419 (Pan - Hermes)

de garrulitate 506 (Homer makes O. and others silent)

quaest. graec. 302e (48) (why Sparta has shrine to Odysseus)

de lib. educ. 7d (suitors - philosophical)

quomodod adol. poet. aud. deb. 27 b-c (suitors)

quaest. conviv. 706d (P)

vita Demetrii 25 (P)

[Plutarch] *de vita et poesi Homeri*

84 (quotation)

135 (P, O)

217 (on *Od.* 19 - recognition scene)

Porphyrus (Schrader, Leipzig 1890) *quaestiones homericae ad Odysseam pertinentem*

ad 1.262 (pp.15, 16) (suitors/Telemachus)

1.332 (pp.18-22) (Dicaearchus, P)

4.1ff. (pp. 40-2) (family)

7.258 (p.70) (wise O. pursues wise P. not immortality)

15.188 (pp.121-3) (O. and P.; quotation; why does O. not reveal himself immediately to P. and the servants?)

Priapaeans (W.H. Parker, Croom Helm, London 1987)

67, 68 (P)

Probus (Hagen, *Appendix Serviana*) *ad Verg. Buc.* 2.58 (Pan)

Proclus *Chrest.* 306-330 (Severyns, *Récherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclus* Brussels 1962)

Propertius (Barber, Oxford)

2.6.23 (P)

2.9.3-8 (P)

3.12.23-38 (P)

3.13.10, 24 (P)

4.5.7-8 (P)

Pythagoras in *Iamblichus de vita Pythagorica liber* (Deubner-Klein, Leipzig 1975) 11.57 (virtue in men and women)

Seneca

(Zwierlein, Oxford) *Troades* 698-702 (P?)

(Reynolds, Oxford) *Ep. Mor.* 88.8 (when did P. suspect the beggar was O., was she unfaithful?)

Servius (Editio Harvardiana, Pennsylvania 1946 for *Georgics*; Hagen and Thilo *Servii ...*

commentarii III Leipzig 1881-7 for *Aeneid*)

Comm. in Verg. Georg. 1.16 (ed. Rand et al) (Pan - ref. to Pindar)

Comm. in Verg. Aen. 2.44 (Pan; born before O.'s return)

Statius (Courtney, Oxford)

Silvae 3.5.6-10, 46-7 (P)

Stesichorus *PMG* (Page, Oxford 1962) 209 = Stes. F 32 (from *Nostoi*)

Stobaeus (Wachsmuth and Hense, Berlin 1884-1912) *Eclogues* 3.4.109 (Ariston fr.)

Strabo *Geography* (Meineke, Leipzig 1877)

8.6.5 (suitors)

10.2.9 (family: ref. to *Alcmaeonis*)

10.2.24 (family: why Telemachus did not meet Icarius in Sparta)

14.1.23 (Thrason's picture of P. and Eurycleia)

Suda (Adler, Leipzig 1929-38) *s.v Penelopeia, Philokles*

Theocritus (Gow *Bucolici Graeci*, Oxford 1952) *Syrinx* 1, 2, (15) (p.180) (Pan)

Schol. *ad Theoc.* (Wendel, Leipzig 1914)

1.3/4c, f (Pan - suitors and Hermes)

1.123b (Pan - Hermes and Odysseus)

7.109/110b, [c] (Pan - suitors and Hermes)

Syr. 1/2a, b, c (Pan - Pindar)

Syr. 3 (Pan)

Syr. 15a, b, c (Pan - Hermes)

Theognis (Young, Leipzig 1971) 1126-8 (P)

Theophylactus Simocatta (Zanetto, Stuttgart 1985)

Epistulae 61 (weaving)

82 (O, philosophy)

Theopompus of Athens *PCG VII Penelope*

Theopompus of Chios *FGrH 115 F 354* (O. left Ithaca, when he discovered P.'s infidelity)

Timolaus of Larisa *SH 850*

[Vergil] (Clausen *et al.*, Oxford)

Culex 265-6 (P)

Schol. Bernensia *ad Verg.* (Hagen *Scholia Bernensia, Jahrb. für class. Phil.* 40, Leipzig 1861-7)

Georg. 1.17, 18, cod.165 (Pan - Hermes as father, after O.'s death)

Brevis expositio in Verg. Georg. I ad ll.17 (in *Appendix Serviana*) (Pan - Pindar)

(See also Servius, Probus and Philargyrius above)

Epigrams, papyrus fragments and inscriptions:

A. Rehm *Didyma* II (Berlin 1958) 532, reedited by Peek "Die Penelope der Ionerrinnen"

MDAI(Ath) 80 (1965) pp.160-9 (P)

Coll. Alex.: Epica Adespota 8 (?Heraclea) l.12 (Hellenistic epic) (P)

SH 952 (Hellenistic epic poem on a Trojan war theme, Penelope speaking?)

Kaibel *Epigrammata Graeca* (Berlin, 1878) 874 (P) = *IG V.2.599* (C.2/3 AD)

917 (P) = *IG V.2.540* (C.4 AD)

Peek *Griechische Vers-Inschriften I* (Berlin 1955) 693 (P) = *IG XII.2.65* (C.3 AD)

727 (P) (C.2/3 AD)

848 (P) = Kaibel 250 (C.1 BC)

885 (P, weaving) = *AP* 7.557 (C.5 AD)

1115 (P) = Kaibel 277 (late)

1735 (P) = Kaibel 471 = *IG IV.491* (C.2/1 BC)

1736 (P) = Kaibel 558 = *IG XIV.2064* (C.2 AD)

1737 (P) (C.3 AD)

1999.31-36 = *AP* 15.8 (P) (C.4 AD)

IG V.2.598 (P) (C.2/3 AD)

V.2.607 (P)

XII.5.66 (P) (C.3 AD)

Oslo Papyrus (*Pap. Osloenses* I, Eitrem, Oslo 1925) I col.12.289 (C.4 AD) (P)

D.L. Page *Greek Literary Papyri* I (Loeb Classical Library) fr.137 (C.3/4 AD poem on Odyssean theme; Penelope in supplement)

Probable References (mainly lost works)

Anon. *Odysseus Pseudangelos* (*Poetics* 1455a 13)

Alexis PCG II wrote an *Odysseus Aponiptomenos* (Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca* 98.17) (C.4 BC)

Odysseus Hyphainon (Ἵφαινών) (Ath. 6.240c, 7.302f, 10.421a)

Amphis PCG II wrote an *Odysseus* (and a *Pan*) (Ath.15.691a) (C.4 BC)

Anaxandrides PCG II wrote an *Odysseus* (Ath. 6.227b, 6.242f, cf. 7.307e) (C.4 BC)

Andron of Halicarnassus *FGrH* 10 F 12 (family) (C.5 BC)

Antisthenes in Diogenes Laertius 6.16 Περὶ Ὀδυσσεΐας

Apollodorus of Tarsus *TGrF* I wrote an *Odysseus*, and an *Acanthoplex* (C.4 BC)

Chaeremon *TGrF* I wrote an *Odysseus* (C.4 BC)

Corinna in Apollodorus *Pron.* 69c 145.37; Mactoux (p.39 n.65) suggests that the citation of a Boeotian form of “Penelope” may be from Corinna’s work

Hesiod *Catalogue of Women*

Lycophron *TGrF* I *Telegonus* (C.3 BC)

Pacuvius (Warmington *Remains of Old Latin* III) *Niptra*

Sophocles *TGrF* IV *Euryalus*

Niptra

Odysseus Acanthoplex

Odysseus Mainomenos

Stasinus *Cypria* (see Proclus)

Theopompus of Athens *PCG* VII wrote an *Odysseus* (C.5/4 BC)

Thesprotis author of a *Telegony* (Paus. 8.12.5; fr. 1 (Kinkel)) or a separate epic

Timesitheus *TGrF* I wrote a *Mnesteres* (date unknown)

Possible References

Anacreon in [Acron] *ad Hor Carm.* 4.9.9 (=Bgk. 133, *PMG* fr.505e rejects it)

Antisthenes (C.5 BC) in Diogenes Laertius 6.16 Περὶ Κίρκης

Ἀθηνᾶ ἢ περὶ Τηλεμάχου

Cratinus *Odysseuses* fr.147 *PCG* IV = fr.149 Edmunds (line attributed to Penelope by Edmunds, elsewhere to Cyclops) (C.5 BC)

Epicharmus *PCG* I wrote *Cyclops*, *Odysseus Automolos*, *Odysseus Nauagos* (cf. Kaibel fr.173) (C.5 BC)

Euboulus wrote an *Odysseus* fr.71 Hunter/*PCG* V (C.4 BC)

Philyllius *PCG* VII wrote various plays on Odyssean themes (C.5/4 BC)

Timotheus wrote an *Odyssey* (?) *Et. Mag.* 630,40ff, 1791 s.v. *Timotheus* (not in *PCG* or *TGrF*)

Epigrams and inscriptions:

Kaibel 520 = Peek 876; Keil proposed Penelope as the name in the first line.

Page *Greek Literary Papyri* fr.143 (C.5 AD; no explicit reference to Penelope, but Odysseus and children mentioned)

W. Schubart *Griechische literarische Papyri* (Berlin 1950) 3 (“Days of the *Odyssey*”)

References to Penelope as unfaithful

This collection is divided, for easy analysis, into statements about Penelope as the mother of Pan, broken down by the name of the father, other definite references to Penelope as

unfaithful, and statements which might suggest a version of the story in which Penelope was unfaithful (these may be prompted, however, by a desire to undermine the standard *exemplum pudicitiae*, or by other factors in the individual texts, which are discussed in the main text).

Mercury/ Hermes as father of Pan

Apollodorus *Epitome* 7.38

Cicero *de nat. deor.* 3.22

Douris fr.21 = Tzetzes *ad Lyc.* 772 (also all suitors)

Herodotus 2.145

Hyginus *fab.* 224 (but cp. 256)

Lucian *Dialogi deorum* 22

Mythographus Primus 1.89 (after Od.'s death)

Nonnus Abbas *greg I* (also all suitors)

Schol. *ad Oppian Halieutica* 3

Philargyrius *ad Verg. Buc.* 2.32

Pindar fr.100 (Snell-Maehler) (see also under Apollo)

Schol. *Hypothesis ad Pindari Pyth.*

Plutarch *de def. orac*

Probus *ad Verg. Buc.* 2.58

Servius *Comm. in Verg. Georg.* 1.16

Comm. in Verg. Aen. 2.44

Schol. *ad Theocritus* 1.3/4f, 123b

7.109/110b,c

Syrinx 15a, b, c (15a also gives Apollo)

Schol. Bernensia *ad Verg. Georg.* 1.18, cod.165

Apollo as father of Pan

- Euphorion *apud schol. ad Eur. Rhes.* 36 (also by Od.)
Schol. *ad Eur. Rhes.* 36
Hecataeus fr.371 *apud schol. Luc.* 3.402
Schol. *ad Luc.* 3.402
Pindar *apud schol. Luc.* 3.402, *et al.* (Hermes also)
Schol. *ad Theoc. Syrix* 1/2a (15a,c gives Hermes)
Schol. Bernensia *ad Verg. Georg.* 1.17 (attributed to Pindar)

One or all of the suitors as father of Pan

- Schol. *ad Dosiadas Bomos* 15-18a
Douris fr.21
Et. Mag. s.v. Λαερτιάδης (implicit)
Nonnus Abbas *ad S. Greg. orat. I, II contra Iulian.* (I also Hermes)
Schol. *ad Oppian Halieutica* 3 (also Hermes)
Theocritus *Syrinx*
Schol. *ad Theoc.* 1.3/4c, 7.109/110b, *Syr.* 15a

Odysseus as father of Pan

- Euphorion *apud schol. ad Luc.* 3.402 (cf. Schol Eur. *Rhes* 36)
Schol. *ad Theoc.* 1.123b

Father of Pan unnamed

- Dosiadas *Bomos*
Schol. *ad Theoc. Syrix* 3

Other references to Penelope as unfaithful

Apollodorus *Epit.* 38-9

Eugammon *Telegony* (remarriage after O.'s death)

[Heraclitus] *Pap. Genv. Inv.* 271

Hyginus 127

Pausanias 8.12.5-6

Plutarch *brut. anim. rat. us.* 988b

Seneca *Ep.* 88.8

Theopompus of Chios fr. 354

Other places where story of Penelope's infidelity may be hinted at

Homer *Od.* e.g. 15.16-17

Lycophron *Alex.* 772-3

Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 14.92

Ovid *Am.* 1.8

Priapaeans 68

Strabo 8.6.5

References to Penelope's Weaving

Although the story of Penelope weaving by day and unravelling it at night, in order to put off her marriage to one of the suitors, is well known now, surprisingly little reference is made to it in Classical literature. Where Penelope is described as weaving, there is not always a reference to the unravelling as well; it must be remembered that weaving was a normal activity for most women in the Classical world.

AP 7.557

Apollodorus *Epit.* 31

Aristaenetus *Lib. Ep.* 1.28

Cicero *Acad.* 2.29

Claudian *Laus Serenae* ll.31-2

Juvenal *Sat.* 2.54-6

Libanius *Ep.* 746

Lucian *Fugitivi* 21

Ovid *Am.* 3.9.30

Philostratus *Eikones* 2.28.81

Plato *Phaedo* 84

Schol. Theoc. 7.109/110

Theophylactus *Ep.* 61

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