

## THE *PÍNAKES* OF CALLIMACHUS

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THE librarian who is interested in the history of cataloging often meets with references to the *Pínakes* of Callimachus (ca. 305-ca. 240)—a biobibliographical *catalogue raisonné*, no doubt based on the holdings of the libraries at Alexandria. However, we are told that this great work, originally in 120 books, survives in only a few fragments; and, for the most part, this is all the information that references give. After encountering many such disappointments, I began to look into the fragments themselves and the literature on them,<sup>1</sup> hoping at least to find them somewhere translated into English. But the only work in English which gives the *Pínakes* more than a few brief lines is that of Parsons on the Alexandrian Library,<sup>2</sup> and he gives the Loeb translations of only three fragments from Athenaeus and Diogenes

Laertius. The German scholars always chose the safe method of quoting in the original Greek; but experience has shown me that the number of librarians who handle Greek or German is far from legion. I therefore decided to locate the best critical edition of the fragments and to translate them; this paper is the result of that task.

The literature on the *Pínakes* (mentioned in the notes) treats in detail the many opinions about their form, arrangement, and purpose; accordingly, this paper will merely present the fragments in English, collected under the classes (history, epic, etc.) in which Callimachus probably first included them, with a few words of explanation where necessary. However, it is necessary at the very beginning to call attention to the fact that there are only about five true fragments, that is, actual quotations from the *Pínakes*. The other so-called fragments are merely oblique references by ancient authors to the bibliographical work of Callimachus, which scholars have concluded to be references to the *Pínakes*.

The word *pínax* (pl., *pínakes*) has an original meaning of "tablet" and might have been the name applied to tablets placed above the various library cases signifying the classes of literature contained on the rolls therein.<sup>3</sup> Later the word was used to refer to a list of authors and works or to a catalog; and it

<sup>1</sup> *Callimachus edidit Rudolfus Pfeiffer* (2 vols.; Oxford, 1949-53)—contains the fragments of *Pínakes* in I, 344-49. Literature on the *Pínakes* is small; about thirteen pages are devoted to them in E. A. Parsons, *The Alexandrian Library, Glory of the Hellenic World: Its Rise, Antiquities and Destructions* (New York, 1952). Otto Regenbogen devotes several columns to the *Pínakes* of Callimachus in his article entitled "Pínax" in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 40. Halbband (Pigranes bis Plautinus), cols. 1418-24. The two most exhaustive studies are likewise by Germans: Friedrich Schmidt, *Die Pínakes des Kallimachos* (Berlin, 1922), and Otto Schneider, *Callimachea* (2 vols.; Leipzig, 1870-73); this is in Latin, but the fragments are retained in their original Greek and appear in II, 297-322. The only fragments in English—to the best of my knowledge—are those in Athenaeus and Diogenes Laertius translated by Charles B. Gulick and R. D. Hicks, respectively, in the "Loeb Classical Library."

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 206-18.

<sup>3</sup> For further explanations and discussions of *pínax* see R. Irwin, "Callimachus: Studies in the History of Libraries—IX," *Library Association Record*, LVIII (May, 1956), 170, and Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-49.

is in this sense that the word is used here.

The medieval Greek lexicon known as Suidas<sup>4</sup> is the source for the complete title of the *Pinakes*. Suidas also lists two other works of Callimachus beginning with the word *pinax*, but these were lesser works—one being a *pinax* of the dramatic poets in chronological order (three fragments extant); the other, a *pinax* of the glosses and compositions of Democritus (no fragments extant). Regenbogen<sup>5</sup> emphatically states that these two works were not part of the greater *Pinakes*. The complete title of the work reads as follows: "Tables of Those Who Were Outstanding in Every Phase of Culture, and Their Writings—in 120 Books."

The fragments of the works of Callimachus were first collected and edited by the famous English classical scholar, Richard Bentley, and were included in the Graevius (1697) edition of the works of Callimachus. The fragments of the *Pinakes*, which are here presented, are numbered from 429 to 453 by Pfeiffer—for they are only 25 of the 825 extant fragments of Callimachus' works.

But Pfeiffer's numerical sequence will not be retained in this paper; the individual fragments are located under the literary genres to which they refer, and are numbered from 1 to 25. The source and the Pfeiffer number are given in brackets at the end of each fragment to facilitate checking with the original.

Before presenting the fragments, some mention should be made concerning the sources. Athenaeus gives us nine; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, five. Scholia on Aristophanes, Pindar, and

Euripides account for three; Harpocartes and Diogenes Laertius, for two each. Photius, Choeroboscus, Tatian, and Suidas yield one each. The reader must remember that some of these fragments are quotations taken from dinner conversation and literary discussions and are somewhat out of context; consequently, the complete passage might not be altogether intelligible. However, since the background is not pertinent to the purpose of this paper, I will confine my remarks primarily to the *Pinakes* which follow immediately.

## ORATORY

1. However, that I may also recall the lines of the poet and orator Dionysius Chalcos—he was called Chalcos (bronze) because he counseled the Athenians to employ bronze currency, and this statement is recorded by Callimachus in his *List of Orators*. [Athenaeus xv, 669, D/E; Pfeiffer 430.]
2. There is a speech of Isaeus *In Behalf of Eumathis the Alien* . . . who, after being led into slavery as a result of his heritage, was freed and defended by one of the citizens. . . . There is a story in Lysias about a man who defended an alien who was fleeing the law on account of his heritage. Callimachus entitled this oration *Concerning Pherenicus on the Heritage of Androclides*, and this former suit took place many years before the latter. [Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Isaeus* 5-6; Pfeiffer 448.]
3. Seeing at once that neither Callimachus nor the grammarians of Pergamum had written accurately about him (Dinarchus), moreover that they had done no research on him and had missed the mark in reference to his most outstanding works, so that they not only made many errors, but they also ascribed to Dinarchus some speeches which in no way belong to him, and some which were written by him, they say belong to others. [Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Dinarchus* 1; Pfeiffer 447.]
4. Genuine public orations (of Dinarchus). . . . *Evidence against Theocritus* (incipit follows). . . . Callimachus numbers this among the orations of Demosthenes. [Dio-

<sup>4</sup> *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler (5 vols.; Leipzig, 1928-38), s.v. "Kallimachos," III, 19, 227; also given in Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, II, xciv.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, cds. 1423-24.

- nysius of Halicarnassus *Dinarchus* 10; Pfeiffer 444.]
5. The speech *In Reply to the Letter and the Ambassadors of Philip*, which Callimachus entitles *On Halonnesus*, begins as follows: (incipit) . . . It is precise, to the point, and composed in the style of Lysias to the smallest detail. [Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Demosthenes* 13; Pfeiffer 443.]
  6. According to Callistratus, Diotimus claims that he (Demosthenes) delivered his first public oration before an audience of Athenians; and those who compiled the tables of orators entitled it *On the Symmories*. [Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ad Ammaeum epist.* 4; Pfeiffer 432.]

Although Callimachus is not mentioned by name in this last fragment, both Schmidt and Pfeiffer agree that "those who compiled the tables of orators" is a reference to the *Pinakes* of Callimachus.

7. Callimachus wrongly ascribes Prodicus among the orators, for he was truly a philosopher among these. [Scholia on the *Birds* of Aristophanes 692, explaining the name "Prodicus"; Pfeiffer 431.]
8. And the arbitration speech against Charidemus in behalf of Satyrus: some who oppose the judgment say that it is genuine Demosthenes; but Callimachus, not being competent to judge, thinks it is of Dinarchus. [Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Cod. 265, p. 491<sup>b</sup> 31; Pfeiffer 446.]
9. A property-claim . . . there is also a certain oration entitled *Property-Claim against Critias*, which Callimachus registers as genuine, but Dionysius of Halicarnassus considers spurious. [Harpocrates 5; Pfeiffer 445.]

#### HISTORY

10. Hecataeus of Miletus, in the *Description of Asia*—if the book was a genuine work of the historian, for Callimachus registers it under Nesiotes. [Athenaeus, *Epitome of Book ii*, 70B; Pfeiffer 437.]

This is the only fragment which indicates the existence of a *Pinax* of historians.

#### LAWS

11. For Gnathaena was very skilled in repairing; she also compiled a *Rule for Dining in*

*Company* (which lovers who came to her and to her daughter had to follow) in imitation of the philosophers who have compiled similar rules. Callimachus recorded it in the third *Pinax of the Laws*, giving the incipit as follows: The rule here inscribed is equal and fair for all"—three hundred and twenty-three lines [Athenaeus xiii. 585B; Pfeiffer 433.]

The reference to the number of lines is called a stichometric note. The librarian and the bookdealer of ancient times would be interested in the number of lines contained in a work to determine authenticity and the integrity of copies on hand. The bookdealer especially would need this information in order to estimate the cost of copying and publishing the work.

#### PHILOSOPHY

12. He (Parmenides) philosophizes in verse, just as Hesiod, Xenophanes, and Empedocles . . . and it seems that he was the first to discover Hesperus and Phosphorus—so says Favorinus in the fifth book of his *Memorabilia*; but others say it was Pythagoras. Callimachus, however, says that the work was not his (Pythagoras). [Diogenes Laertius ix 22/23; Pfeiffer 442.]

Again no exact *Pinax* is mentioned, but it is obvious that the list containing the philosophers is meant here.

13. King Attalus had both a parasite and a teacher in Lysimachus, whom Callimachus records as a pupil of Theodorus. Hermippus, however, includes him among the disciples of Theophrastus. This man has written books *On the Education of Attalus* which display every kind of flattery. [Athenaeus vi. 252C; Pfeiffer 438.]

#### MISCELLANY

14. Archestratus of Syracuse (or Gela) in a work which Chrysippus entitles *Gastronomia*, but which Lynceus and Callimachus call *Luxurious Living*, Clearchus, *The Art of Banqueting*, others, *The Gourmet Cook-Book*. The work is in epic verse with the incipit: "Giving proof of research to all Hellas." [Athenaeus, *Epitome of Book i*. 4E; Pfeiffer 436.]

15. I know also that Callimachus in his *Pínax of Miscellaneous Literature* has included books on cake making by Aegimius, Hege-sippus, Metrobius, and even Phaestus. [Athenaeus xiv. 643E; Pfeiffer 435.]
16. There is also a work by Chaerephon mentioned by Callimachus in his *Pínax of Miscellany*; he writes as follows: "Writers on banquets: Chaerephon, dedicated to Gourmand." Then he adds its incipit: "Since you have often bidden me"—three hundred seventy-five lines [Athenaeus vi. 244A; Pfeiffer 434.]

It is interesting to note that the three fragments from the *Pínax of Miscellaneous Literature* all pertain to cooking and dining. It is also of interest to note that the three come from the same source—Athenaeus; however, they are taken from widely separated books. Fragment 15 is sometimes used as evidence by those who claim that Callimachus listed his authors in alphabetical order; the four writers mentioned in this fragment are in alphabetical order both in Greek and in English. Finally, in No. 16 we again find a stichometric note.

#### MEDICINE (?)

17. Eudoxus of Cnidos was an astronomer, ge-ometrician, a doctor, and a legislator. He studied geometry under Archytas and medicine under Philistion of Sicily, as Callimachus says in the *Pínakes*. Sotion in his *Successions of Philosophers* says that he attended the lectures of Plato. [Diogenes Laertius viii. 86; Pfeiffer 429.]

As is evident from the fragment, Callimachus might have classed Eudoxus under one of several *Pínakes*. Pfeiffer suggests medicine with a question mark. This is the only fragment which even hints of a medical *pínax*.

#### LYRIC POETRY

18. It was written in honor of Hieron, winner in the chariot races, but we are not certain about the kind of contest. The number of variants before us is by no means small. Some indeed say that it was not a triumphal

ode at all, e.g., Timaeus calls it a sacrificial ode; Callimachus, a Nemean; Ammonius and Callistratus, an Olympic; others, a Pythian (e.g., Appollonius the classifier); while others call it a Panathenean. [Scholia on Pindar; Pfeiffer 450.]

This fragment and the one which follows are rather indirect references to what we believe was the *Pínax of Lyric Poets* (*Pínax Melopoión*). In the next fragment Choeroboscus quotes from Herodian's *Declension of Nouns*, and from it we infer that Callimachus included Simonides in his list of lyric poets,<sup>6</sup> with a reference which might have read: "Simonides: triumphal odes dedicated to runners."

19. It can be assigned to the paradigms, "apart from the *huiési* of the Athenians . . . and the *dromési* of Callimachus; for such was the kind of writing he (Simonides) did." He was under contract to write for runners. *Dromeús*, of course, is the nominative singular . . . still we consider the *dromési* of Callimachus as an exception . . . yet the *huiési* of Attica and the *dromési* of Callimachus are peculiar. [Choeroboscus on Theodosius' *Canons*, in the Teubner *Grammatici Graeci* iv. i, p. 139, 6; Pfeiffer 441.]

*Huiési* and *dromési* are dative plurals of *huiós*, "son," and *dromeús*, "runner."

20. Diphilus in *The Rampart-taker* (Callimachus entitles this play *Eunuch*) says . . . [Athenaeus xi 496E/F; Pfeiffer 440.]

These titles are obviously of comedies.

21. Alexis is the author of a play *The Teacher of the Spendthrift*, says Sotion of Alexandria in his work *On the Satires of Timon*. I myself have not come across the play . . . no one that I know of has thought it worth listing. For neither Callimachus nor Aristophanes (of Byzantium) has listed it, nor have they who compiled the catalogs in Pergamum. [Athenaeus viii. 336D; Pfeiffer 439.]

A piece of negative evidence for a Callimachian *Pínax* of comic poets.

<sup>6</sup> See Pfeiffer's note under Fragment 450.

## TRAGEDY

22. The time in drama is not to be taken absolutely. For this was not taught at Athens. Callimachus says that Democrates (Timocrates?) was listed as the author of the tragedy. [Scholia in MSS MNO on the *Andromache* of Euripides 445; Pfeiffer 451.]

A further note on the authorship ascription will be found in Pfeiffer under Fragment 451.

23. Isocrates in his oration *On the Exchange*: the orator could recall at that time the tragic poet Ion, who was born in Chios, the son of Orthomenes, surnamed Xunthus. He wrote many lyric poems and tragedies and a philosophical prose work entitled *The Triad*, which Callimachus says has been disputed as a work of Epigenes. Some give it a plural title *Triads*, e.g., Demetrius of Scepsis and Apollonides of Nicaea. They report in it the following . . . (incipit). [Harpocrates v *Ion*; Pfeiffer 449.]

Of course, Callimachus could have listed Ion under "Lyric Poetry" or "Philosophy."

24. Concerning the poetry of Homer, his birth, and the time when he flourished: the most ancient of those who first did research in this matter were Theagenes of Rhegium, born during the reign of Cambyses, and Stesimbrotus of Thasus and Antimachus (Callimachus?) of Colophon, Herodotus of Halicarnassus and Dionysius of Olynthia; after these, Ephorus of Cyme and Philochorus of Athens, Megaclides and Chamaeleon the Peripatetics; then grammarians, Zenodotus, Aristophanes, Callimachus (Callistratus?), Crates, Eratosthenes, Aristarchus, and Apollodorus. [Tatian *Ad Graecos*, c. 31, p. 31; Pfeiffer 452.]

While the name "Callistratus" is considered best from the point of view of textual criticism, Callimachus is really expected here, since he would have treated of such matters in his *Ptinakes*; Callistratus did not treat of this topic at all. For a fuller discussion see Pfeiffer's remarks under Fragment 452.

25. There is inscribed on his (Homer's) tomb the following note: "Made by the Ietoi"—so says Callimachus [Suidas, s.v., "*Homeros*"; Pfeiffer 453.]

This final fragment is marked "doubtful" by Pfeiffer, as is the case with much information from Suidas.

Ten classes of literature have been listed, but only three are actually mentioned by name in the fragments: "Oratory" (*anagraphè tôn rhetorikôn*, No. 1), "Laws" (*pinax tôn nómon*, No. 11), and "Miscellany" or "Miscellaneous Literature" (*pinax tôn pantodapôn syngrammáton*, Nos. 15 and 16; No. 16 omits *syngrammáton*). However, Pfeiffer, synthesizing in his notes almost three centuries of Callimachean scholarship, suggests these ten classes.

After perusing these twenty-five fragments, it is understandable why scholars have not bothered to provide a separate translation for them; the specialist who is concerned with Greek literature needs no translation, and they hardly offer anything fascinating for the general reader. But for the librarian who concerns himself with the history of his profession, and particularly with the history of cataloging, they present a mine of interesting data on early bibliographical entries and give us an idea about what information was considered important for a descriptive catalog. We see that something of the author's life and family background is given, his place of birth and death, his works and their incipits,<sup>7</sup> and controversies concerning the authorship of particular works; finally, there was included a stichometric note stating the number of lines of text for the convenience of librarians and booksellers.

<sup>7</sup> See Pfeiffer's remarks in Vol. II, "Addenda et corrigenda" to Fragment 453; possibly the incipit was included only when there were doubts concerning the work in question.