

**NEMESIS:
A CONCEPT OF
RETRIBUTION IN ANCIENT
GREEK THOUGHT AND
CULT**

BY

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of the phenomenon of the abstract concept of *nemesis* together with its later personification, the goddess Nemesis, in the Archaic and Classical periods of ancient Greece. It seeks to ascertain how and why it was that an abstract concept of ‘righteous indignation’, later becoming ‘divine retribution’, would ever have been thought of as an appropriate concept to personify and worship as a deity.

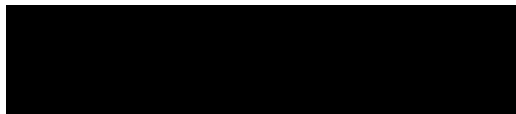
The first chapter presents my methodological approach to the thesis, including its objectives, the questions to be addressed, and the state of current scholarship. The second chapter examines the Archaic literary evidence: Homer, where *nemesis* is purely an abstract concept, although by means of subtle grammatical mechanisms he imbues the term with different nuanced interpretations from mild indignation through to heated anger; Hesiod, and the fragmentary *Kypria*, both of which expand the mythology surrounding the personified Nemesis, with the *Kypria* revealing her role in divine affairs as the mother of Helen. The third chapter focuses on the Classical literature through the genres of: tragedy where, as a personification, a chthonic role is evident; comedy, where her mythological sanctity is turned into religious profanity; and history, where Herodotos uses or implies the abstract concept as a caution. The fourth chapter concentrates on the archaeology at Rhamnous where the epigraphical evidence confirms the deity’s worship from *ca.* the sixth century. Several archaeological finds are analysed, including funereal *loutrophoroi* which stress Nemesis’ chthonic nature, a sixth-century miniature votive wheel, an early fifth-century helmet, and the frieze on the pedestal of her cult statue which served as an Athenian propaganda tool during the Peloponnesian War.

The initial appeal of *nemesis* was as a means to judge one’s fellow man for behaviour deemed contrary to the accepted contemporary traditions. The deity, the personification of righteous indignation and later divine retribution, was worshipped both in her role as defender of the wronged dead as the one to whom appeals for justice could be made; and, for her perceived ability to punish those miscreants who had consciously carried out reprehensible acts. The omnipotence of her capacity in this sphere was perceived as formidable.

Certification

I certify that the substance of this thesis has not already been submitted for any degree and is not currently being submitted for any other degree or qualification.

I certify that any help received in preparing this thesis and all sources used have been acknowledged in this thesis.

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Signature

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Abbreviations and Conventions

Wherever practical I have followed the Greek spelling when translating into English, but have used the Latinized form in cases where this is more commonly recognizable: for example, Thucydides not Thoukydides. Translations are from the Loeb editions, unless otherwise specified. All dates are BC unless otherwise stated. The terms ‘man’ and ‘mankind’, where used, refer to the species *homo sapiens*, and should not be read as an indication of gender.

Abbreviations of ancient authors and works generally follow those listed in the *LSJ*⁹ and *OCD*, with a few changes for Greek transliteration, and journals according to *L'Année Philologique*. Modern works not listed below are found in the bibliography. Greek text is written without quotation marks to avoid any confusion with accents and breathings. Square brackets indicate doubtful authorship.

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i> , de Gruyter, Berlin, 1889 -
AAA	<i>Athens Annals of Archaeology</i> , Athens, 1968 -
ABSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i> , 1895 -
ABV	Beazley, J. D., <i>Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters</i> , Oxford, OUP, 1956
Add. ²	Carpenter, T. H., Mannick, T., Mendoca, M., <i>Beazley Addenda: Additional References to ABV, ARV² and Paralipomena</i> , 2 nd edn, Oxford, OUP, 1990
Ael. Arist.	Aelius Aristides: <i>Pan. (Panathenaikos) Or. (Orationes)</i> , trans. Dindorf, W. (ed.), Hildesheim, Olms, 1829, repr. 1964
Ael.	Aelian: <i>NA (De Natura Animalium [On the Characteristics of Animals])</i> , trans. Scholfield, A. F., 3 vols, 1958-1959; <i>VH (Varia Historia)</i> , trans. Wilson N. G., 1997: Cambridge MA, HUP
AEph	<i>Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς</i> , Archaeological Society at Athens, 1837-
Aeschin.	Aeschines: <i>Emb. (On the Embassy); Tim. (Against Timarchos)</i> , in: <i>Aeschines Speeches</i> , trans. Adams, C. D., Cambridge MA, HUP, 1988
Aischyl.	Aischylos: <i>Ag. (Agamemnon); Choe. (Choephoroi); Eu. (Eumenides)</i> ; trans. Sommerstein, A. H., 2008; <i>Pers. (Persai); Prom. (Prometheus Bound); Seven (Seven against</i>

- Thebes*); *Suppl. (Suppliant Maidens)*; trans. Smyth, H. W., 1973; F (Fragments), see: Sommerstein, Smyth: Cambridge MA, HUP
- AntK* *Antike Kunst*, Basel, 1958 -
- AJA* *American Journal of Archaeology*, Boston, 1885 -
- AJPh* *American Journal of Philology*, John Hopkins, Baltimore, 1880 -
- Alk.* *Alkaios*: in *Greek Lyric I: Sappho and Alcaeus*, trans. Campbell, D. A., Cambridge MA, HUP, 1982
- Andok.* *Andokides*: trans. Maidment, K. J., 3 vols, Cambridge MA, HUP, 1968
- Anecd. Bekk.* Bekker, I. (ed.), *Anecdota Graeca*, 3 vols, Berlin, Nauck, 1814-1821
- Ant. Tetr.* *Antiphon: Tetralogy*, trans. Maidment, K. J., Cambridge MA, HUP, 1941
- Anth. Gr.* *Anthologia Graeca (Greek Anthology)*, trans. Paton, W. R., 5 vols, Cambridge MA, HUP, 1916-1918
- Antim.* *Antimachos*: in *Anth. Gr.*, vol. 3, Cambridge MA, HUP, 1923
- Apollod. Bibl.* *Apollodoros: The Library*, trans. Frazer, J. G., 2 vols, Cambridge MA, HUP, 1921
- Apollod. Ep.* *Apollodoros: The Epitome*, trans. Frazer, J. G., Cambridge MA, HUP, 1921
- Apollon. Argon.* *Apollonios Rhodios: Argonautica*, trans. Race, W. H., Cambridge MA, HUP, 2009
- Apoll. Dys.* *Apollonios Dyskolos: de Pron. (de pronomibus)*, Maas, P. (ed.), Bonn, Marcus und Weber, 1911
- Apuleius* *Apuleius: (Met.) Metamorphoses*: trans. Hanson, J. A., 2 vols, Cambridge MA, HUP, 1996; *(Apol.) Apologia*, trans. H. E. Butler & Owen, A. S., Oxford, OUP, 1914
- Ar.* *Aristophanes: Ach. (Acharnians); Av. (Aves); Eccl. (Ecclesiazusae); Eq. (Equites); Lys. (Lysistrata); Ran. (Ranae); Pax (Peace)*: trans. Henderson, J., Cambridge MA, HUP, 1998-2002
- Arch. Zeit.* Gerhard, E. *et al.* (eds), *Archäologische Zeitung*, Berlin, Reimer, 1843 -
- [*Arist.*] [Ps-Aristotle]: *Ath. Pol. (Athenian Constitution)*, Rackham, H., 1935; *On Marvellous Things Heard (in Minor Works)*, Hett, W. S., Cambridge MA, HUP, 1936
- Arist.* *Aristotle: APo. (Posterior Analytics)*, Tredennick, H., 1960; *DA (On the Soul)*, Hett, W.S., 1936; *EE (Eudemian Ethics)*, Rackham, H., 1935; *Meta. (Metaphysics)*, *EN (Nicomachean Ethics)*, Rackham, H., 1926; *Poet. (Poetica)*,

- Halliwell, S., 1995; *Pol. (Politics)*, Rackham, H., 1944; *Rh. (Rhetoric)*, Freese, J. H., 1926: Cambridge MA, HUP
- Aristod. Aristodemos, *FGrH*, vol. 1
- Arr. Arrian: *Epict. (Epictetus Discourses)*, trans. Oldfather, W. A., Cambridge MA, HUP, 1928
- ARV² Beazley, J. D., *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, 3 vols, 2nd edn, Oxford, OUP, 1963
- Asclep. Asclepiades Tragilensis, *FGrH*, vol. 1
- Athen. Athenaios: *Deipnosophistai (The Learned Banqueters)*, trans. Olson, S. D., 8 vols, Cambridge MA, HUP, 2006-2012
- Ausonius Ausonius: *Epigrams on Various Matters*, trans. Evelyn-White, H. G., Cambridge MA, HUP, 1921
- Autenrieth Autenrieth, G., *An Homeric Dictionary: for use in schools and colleges*, trans. Keep, R. P., London, 1877
- Bacchyl. Bacchylides: in *Greek Lyric IV, Bacchylides, Corinna, and Others*, trans. Campbell, D. A., Cambridge MA, HUP, 1992
- BCH *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
- BE *Bulletin épigraphique* (annually in *Revue des études grecques*), Paris
- Beazley Archive *The Beazley Archive Database*, Classical Art Research Centre, Oxford, <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk>
- BICS *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*
- BM British Museum, London
- Boston MFA Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
- CA *Classical Antiquity*
- CAH *Cambridge Ancient History*
- Catull. Catullus: 'The Poems of Gaius Valerius Catullus', in *Catullus, Tibullus, and Pervigilium Veneris*, trans. Cornish, F. W., rev. Goold, G. P., 2nd edn, Cambridge MA, HUP, 1988
- CB *The Classical Bulletin*
- Cic. Cicero: *Inv. Rhet (De Inventione Rhetorica)*, trans. Hubbell, H. M., 1949; *Leg. (De Legibus)*, trans. Keyes, C. W., Cambridge MA, HUP, 1928
- CIG Böckh, A., Franz, J. *et al.* (eds), *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 4 vols, Berlin, Officina Academica, 1828-1877
- CJ *Classical Journal*
- Clem. Clement of Alexandria: *The Exhortation to the Greeks*, trans. Butterworth, G. W., Cambridge MA, HUP, 1919
- Ps. Clem. Ps. Clement: *Homil. (Homilies)*, Rehm, B. & Strecker, G. (eds), 'Die Pseudoklementinen I Homilien', *Die*

- griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* 42, Berlin, de Gruyter, 1992
- Collard/Cropp Collard, C. and Cropp, M., (eds), *Euripides Fragments*, vols vii-viii, Cambridge MA, HUP, 2008
- Cornutus Cornutus: Lang, C. (ed.), *De Natura Deorum*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1881
- CPG von Leutsch, E. L. & Schneidewin, F. W., (eds), *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, Hildeheim, Olms, 1958
- CPh *Classical Philology*
- CQ *Classical Quarterly*
- Cunliffe Cunliffe, R. J., *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect*, new edn, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1963
- CUP Cambridge University Press
- CVA *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, 1925 -
- Delos Deonna, W., *Le Mobilier Délien – Rouelles: Exploration Archéologique de Délos*, vol. XVIII, Paris, de Boccard, 1938
- Dem. Demosthenes, vols 1-7, Cambridge MA, HUP, 1926-1949
- Diehl Diehl, E., *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, vols 1-3, 3rd edn, Leipzig, Teubner, 1949-1952
- Diod. Diodoros (Siculus), trans. Oldfather, C. H., vols 1-13, Cambridge MA, HUP, 1933-1957
- Diosc. Dioscorides: Gunther, R. T. (ed.), *The Greek Herbal of Dioscorides: Illustrated by a Byzantine AD 512, Englished by John Goodyer AD 1655*, New York, Hafner, 1959
- DK Diels, H. and Kranz, W., *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 3 vols, 6th edn, Berlin, Weidmann, 1951-1954
- DL Diogenes Laertios, trans. Hicks, R. G., 2 vols, Cambridge MA, HUP, 1925
- DNP *Der Neue Pauly*, Stuttgart, Brill, 1996-; cf. *RE*
- EAA Bianchi Bandinelli, R. and Beccati, G. (eds), *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale*, i-vii, Rome, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1958-1966, Supplemento 1971-1994
- Edmonds Edmonds, J. M. (ed.), *The Fragments of Attic Comedy: after Meineke, Bergk, and Kock*, 3 vols, Leiden, Brill, 1957-1961
- EGF Davies, M. (ed.), *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988
- EM Epigraphical Museum, Athens
- Eratosth. Ps-Eratosthenes: Olivieri, A. (ed.), *Katast. (Katasterismoi), Mythographi Graeci*, vol. 3 part 1, Leipzig, Teubner, 1897;

- Condos, T., *Star Myth of the Greeks and Romans: A Sourcebook*, Grand Rapids, Phanes, 1997
- Έργον Το Έργον της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, Athina, Archaialogiki Etaireia, 1954-
- EtrStud* *Etruscan Studies: Journal of the Etruscan Foundation*
- Eur. Euripides: *Andr. (Andromache)*; *Bacch. (Bacchae)*; *Bell. (Bellephron)*; *Cyc. (Cyclops)*; *Elekt. (Elektra)*; *Hel. (Helen)*; *Hek. (Hekabe)*; *Herakl. (Herakleidai)*; *Hipp. (Hippolytos)*; *Iph. (Iphigeneia in Aulis)*; *Iph. Taur. (Iphigeneia in Tauris)*; *Melanipp. Capt. (Melanippe Captiva)*; *Orest. (Orestes)*; *Phoen. (Phoenissae)*; *Rh. (Rhesos)*; *Tro. (Trojan Women)*, trans. Kovacs, D., Cambridge MA, HUP, 1994-2009; F (Fragments – see: Collard/Cropp)
- Eust. Eustathii, *Iliadem (Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem)*; *Odysseum (Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam)*, 4 vols, Hildesheim, Olms, 1960
- FGrH* Jacoby, F., (ed.), *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, 3 vols in 15, Leiden, Brill, 1923-1958, repr. 1993-2000
- FPL* Morel, W., (ed.), *Fragmenta Poetarum Latinorum Epicorum et Lyricorum: Praetum Ennium et Lucilium*, Stuttgart, de Gruyter, 1975
- Gell. Gellius, A., *Attic Nights*, trans. J. C. Rolfe, 3 vols, Cambridge MA, HUP, 1927
- GRBS* *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, Durham NC: Duke University, 1958 -
- Harp. Harpokration: Dinsdorf, W. (ed.), *Harpokrationis Lexicon in Decem Oratores Atticos*, Oxford, OUP, 1853
- Hdt. Herodotos: *Histories*, 4 vols, trans. Godley, A. D., Cambridge MA, HUP, 1920-1925, rev. 1926-1938
- HE* *Greek Anthology*: Gow, A. S. F. and Page, D. L., (eds), *Hellenistic Epigrams*, 2 vols, Cambridge, CUP, 1965
- Hellanik. Hellanikos: *FGrH*, vol. 1
- Hense Stobaios, Joannes, *Anthology*, in: Hense, O. & Wachsmuth, C., (eds), 5 vols, Berlin, Weidmann, 1844-1912 (see Stob.)
- Herakl: DK Herakleitos: Diels, H. and Kranz, W., *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, vol. 1, 6th edn, Berlin, Weidmann, 1951
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- Hes. Hesiod: *WD (Works and Days)*; *Theog. (Theogony)*; F (Fragments); *Cat. (Catalogue of Women)*, trans. Most, G. W., Cambridge MA, HUP, 2006-2007

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- Hom. Hymn* *Homeric Hymn (to) Aph. (Aphrodite); Dem. (Demeter); Herm. (Hermes); Zeus (Zeus)*, trans. West, M. L., Cambridge MA, HUP, 2003
- Hor. Horace: *Sat. (Satires)*, trans. Fairclough, H. R., Cambridge MA, HUP, 1926
- HUP Harvard University Press
- Hyginus Hyginus: Vire, G., (ed.), *Astron. (Poetica Astronomica)*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1992; Marshall, P. K., (ed.), *Fab. (Fabulae)*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1993, corr. 2002, München, K. G. Saur
Condos, T., *Star Myths of the Greeks and Romans: A Sourcebook*, Grand Rapids, Phanes, 1997
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- Ibycus Ibycus: in *Greek Lyric III*, trans. Campbell, D. A., Cambridge MA, HUP, 1991
- IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1873 –
- IGBulg Mihailov, G. (ed.), *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, 5 vols, Sofia, Academia Litterarum Bulgarica, 1958-1970, 1997; Vol. 4: *Inscriptiones in Territorio Serdicensi et in Vallibus Strymonis Nestique Repertae*, 1966
- IK Petzl, G., *Inscripfen griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, Habelt, Bonn, 1982, 1987, 1990, (Smyrna, vols 23, 24); cf. *I.Smyrna*
- Iliou Persis* *Iliou Persis: Arg (Argumentum); F (Fragments)*, in (*Greek Epic Fragments*, trans. West, M. L., Cambridge MA, HUP, 2003)
- Ilias Mikra* *Ilias Mikra: Arg (Argumentum); F (Fragments)*, in (*Greek Epic Fragments*, trans. West, M. L., Cambridge MA, HUP, 2003)
- IM Isthmia Miscellaneous (Isthmian catalogue numbering)
- I.Rhamnous* Petrakos, V., *Ὁ δῆμος τοῦ Ραμνοῦντος: Σύνοψη τῶν ἀνασκαφῶν καὶ τῶν ἐρευνῶν (1813-1998), I: Τοπογραφία;*

- II: Οι Επιγραφές*, II vols, Athens, Archaiologike Etaireia, 1999.
- Iscr. di Cos* Segre, M., *Iscrizioni di Cos, Public Documents (ED)*, vol. 1, (Peppas-Delmousou, D. and Rizza, M. A. (eds)), Rome, 1993
- I.Smyrna* Petzl, G., *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*, 2 vols in 3 parts, Habelt, Bonn, 1982, 1987, 1990; cf. *IK*
- Isok.* Isokrates, trans. Norlin, G. and van Hook, L-R., Cambridge MA, HUP, 1929, 1945
- JDAI* *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Berlin, Georg Reimer, 1918-
- JHS* *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
- JNES* *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
- Josephus* Josephus, *Against Apion*, trans. Thackeray, H. St. J., Cambridge MA, HUP, 1926
- JWAG* *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*
- Kaibel* Kaibel, G. (ed.), *Epigrammata Graeca: ex lapidibus conlecta*, Berlin, G. Reimer, 1878, repr. Hildesheim, Olms, 1965
- Kallim.* Kallimachos: Pfeiffer, R., (ed.), *Callimachus, Hymni et Epigrammata*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1953; Pfeiffer, R., (ed.), *Callimachus, Fragmenta*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1949; *Callimachus: Hymns and Epigrams*, trans. Mair, A.W. and G.R., Cambridge MA, HUP, 1921
- Kypria* *Kypria: Arg. (Argumentum); F (Fragments) in Greek Epic Fragments*, trans. West, M. L., Cambridge MA, HUP, 2003
- Lactantius* Lactantius, *Divine Institutes*, trans. Bowen, A. and Garnsey, P., Liverpool, 2003
- Lazzarini* Lazzarini, M. L., ‘Le formule delle dediche votive nella Grecia arcaica’, in *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Memorie, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Rome, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, series 8, vol. 19.2, 1976
- Libanius* Libanius: *Or. (Oration)*, trans. Norman, A. F., 2 vols, Cambridge MA, HUP, 1977
- LIMC* *Lexikon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vols i-ix, Zürich und München, 1981-1999
- LSCG* Sokolowski, F., *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris, École Française d’Athènes, 1969
- LJ* Liddell, H. G., and Scott, R., *Greek-English Lexicon*, Abridged edn., Oxford, OUP, 1997
- LSJ*⁹ Liddell, H. G., Scott, R., and Jones, H. S., *Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th edn, with revised supplement, Oxford, OUP, 1996

- Luk. Lukian: *DD (Dialogues of the Dead)*; *DG (Dialogues of the Gods)*: trans. MacLeod, M. D., 1961; *Hall (The Hall)*, trans. Harmon, A. M., 1913; *TH (True History)*; *Zeus Rants (Zeus Tragodos)*; *Prom. (Prometheus)*: trans. Harmon, A. M., 1915: Cambridge MA, HUP
- Lyk. Lykourgos: Conomis, N.C. (ed.), *Lycurgus Oratio in Leocratem, Cum Ceterarum Lycurgi Orationum Fragmentis*, Teubner, Leipzig, 1970
- Lykoph. Lykophron, *Alexandra*: Scheer, E. (ed.), *Lycophronis Alexandria*, (incl. schol. Tzetzes), 2 vols, Berlin, Weidmann, 1881-1908
- Lys. Lysias, trans. Lamb, W. R. M., Cambridge MA, HUP, 1930
- MAMA Levick, B., Mitchell, S., Potter, J., and Waelkens, M. (eds), *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, vol. X: Monuments from the Upper Tembris Valley, Cotiaem, Cadi, Synaus, Ancyra, and Tiberiopolis, London, 1993
- Marm. Par. Marnor Parium (Parian Marble)
- MDAI(A) *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, Berlin, von Zabern
- Men. Rhet. Menander Rhetor: Russell, D. A. and Wilson, N. G. (eds), *On Epideictic Speeches: Menander Rhetor*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1981
- Meiggs & Lewis Meiggs, R. and Lewis, D. M., (eds), *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions: To the End of the Fifth Century BC*, 1969, rev. ed., Oxford, Clarendon, 1988
- New York MMA New York Metropolitan Museum of Art
- Mon. Piot *Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, de la Fondation Piot, Paris, 1894-
- MUP Manchester University Press
- NAMA National Archaeological Museum at Athens
- OCD³ Hornblower, S. & Spawforth, A. (eds), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn, Oxford, OUP
- OED *Oxford English Dictionary*
- OUP Oxford University Press
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- REA *Revue des études anciennes*, Talence, 1889-
- REG *Revue des études grecques*, Paris, 1888-
- Rhamnous Apotheke at Rhamnous
- RhM Rheinisches Museum für Philologie
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- TAPhA *Transactions of the American Philological Association*
- Telegonia* *Telegonia: Arg (Argumentum)*; F (Fragments), in (*Greek Epic Fragments*, trans. West, M. L., Cambridge MA, HUP, 2003)
- TGF Nauck, A. (ed.), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta: Supplementum*, Leipzig, 2nd edn, 1889, suppl. by Snell, B., 1964
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Timaeus	Timaeus of Locri: Marg, W. (ed.), <i>De Natura Mundi et Animae</i> , Leiden, Brill, 1972
<i>TLG</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae</i> , http://www.tlg.uci.edu
<i>TrGF</i>	<i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> : 1: Snell, B. 1971, 2 nd rev. edn 1986; 2: Kannicht, R., 1981; 3: Radt, S. 1985, 2 nd edn 2008; 4: Radt, S. 1977, 2 nd edn 1999; 5 (in two vols): Kannicht, R., 2004: Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht
Tzetz.	Tzetztes; cf. Σ Lycophon
Vell. Pat.	Velleius Paterculus, trans. Shipley, F. W., Cambridge MA, HUP, 1924
Virgil <i>Aen.</i>	Virgil <i>Aeneid</i> , trans. Fairclough, H. R., Cambridge MA, HUP, 1999
West	West, M. L. (ed.), <i>Greek Epic Fragments: From the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC</i> , Cambridge, MA, HUP, 2003
Xen.	Xenophon: <i>Anab. (Anabasis)</i> ; <i>Hell. (Hellenika)</i> ; <i>Mem. (Memorabilia)</i> , trans. Todd, O. J., Cambridge MA, HUP, 1923
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YUP	Yale University Press
Zen.	Zenobios: in von Leutsch, E. L. and Schneidewin, F. W., (eds), <i>Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum</i> , vol. 1, Hildeheim, Olms, 1958; cf. <i>CPG</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i> , Bonn, Habelt, 1967-

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Contractions

add.	addendum
Anon.	Anonymous
ca.	<i>circa</i>
cat.	catalogue
col.	column
corr.	corrected
edn	edition
fig(s)	figure(s)
F(F)	Fragment(s)
F. Adesp.	Fragmenta Adespota
incl.	including
inv.	inventory
n(n)	note(s)
no(s)	number(s)
p(p)	page(s)
pl(s)	plate(s)
ps.	<i>pseudo</i>
rev.	revised
suppl.	supplement
s.v.	sub voce (under the word)

T	Testimonium
TT	Testimonia
trans.	translation
vol(s)	volume(s)

Textual Sigla

$\alpha\beta$	letters damaged or not completely legible
[...]	letters missing
[$\alpha\beta$]	letters lost from document and restored by editor
[± 6]	about 6 letters lost
< $\alpha\beta$ >	enclosed letters omitted by scribe and added by editor, or enclosed letters inserted by editor to replace incorrect letters engraved by scribe
($\alpha\beta$)	editor has resolved an abbreviation in the text
<i>vac.</i>	space left blank

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