

## 294 Ctesiphon

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BJN	Ctesiphon Ctesiphon
Historian Number:	294

294 F 1 - (IV 375, 1) [Plutarch] Parall. min. 12A = Moralia 308DE meta[[ id="294" type="F" n="1"]]

Subject: Law: capital punishment; Politics: political history; War  
 Historical Work: Boeotian history book 3  
 Source date: 2nd century AD  
 Historian's date: unknown  
 Historical period: 371-362 BC

Translation

Ἐπαμεινώνδας ὁ τῶν Θηβαίων στρατηγὸς ἔχων πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πόλεμον καὶ ἀρχαῖρεσιῶν ἀγομένων ἦκεν εἰς πατρίδα, παραγγείλας τῷ παιδί Στησιμβρότῳ μὴ συμβάλλειν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μαθόντες τὴν ἀπουσίαν ἐβλασφήμουν τὸν νεανίαν ὡς ἄνανδρον· ὁ δ' ἀγανακτήσας καὶ ἐπιλαθόμενος τοῦ πατρὸς συνέβαλε καὶ ἐνίκησεν. ὁ δὲ πατὴρ βαρέως ἐνέγκας στεφανώσας ἐτραηλοκόπησεν, ὡς Κτησιφῶν ἰστορεῖ ἐν τρίτῳ Βοιωτικῶν.

Epameinondas, the general of the Thebans, was at war with the Lakedaimonians and there were elections; he returned home, having left orders to his son Stesimbrotos not to engage the enemy. The Lakedaimonians, having learned of his absence, kept accusing the youth of cowardice. He felt violently irritated and, forgetting his father, engaged the enemy and won. But his father, deeply affected, having crowned the youth, cut his throat, as Ctesiphon relates in the third book of his *Boeotian History*.

### 294 F 1 Commentary

This story is paired by [Plutarch] with that of Manlius Imperiosus, who dealt in exactly the same way with his son, guilty of having attacked the Samnites against his orders; the source for the Roman story is Aristeides of Miletos (*BNJ* 286 F 18). The Roman story corresponds, with some qualifications, to an event that was part of the Roman tradition: Livius 8.7 and Valerius Maximus 2.7.6 narrate that T. Manlius Torquatus killed his son, during the war against the Latini (not the Samnites) in 340 BC, because the son had disobeyed his orders. However, nothing is known of a son of Epameinondas, and in fact Nepos, *Epaminondas* 10.1-2 says explicitly that the general never married; the certainly apocryphal anecdote about his last words, addressed to a

friend who was lamenting his dying childless, that he was leaving two immortal daughters, Leuctra and Mantinea, (Diodoros of Sicily 15.87.6; Valerius Maximus 3.2.5; see Jacoby, *FGrH* 3a, 398) points in the same direction. The story was thus in all likelihood invented to form a parallel for the Roman story (so already Jacoby, *FGrH* 3a, 398; A. De Lazzer, *Plutarco. Paralleli minori* (Naples 2000), 332). **The principle of the 'obvious source' is recognizably at work in the title of Ctesiphon's work: for a Boeotian general, a book on Boeotian history.**

The text offered by the epitome (Σg) of the *Parallela minora* is fairly close to that of *Parallela*; but interestingly, while it is more compressed at some points, and while it omits the source-reference (as is on the whole typical of the *Epitome*), it gives elsewhere more details:

Ἐπαμινώνδας ὁ τῶν Θηβαίων στρατηγὸς πολεμῶν Λακεδαιμονίοις, παρήγγειλε τῷ παιδί Στησιμβρότῳ ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ὑποστρέφων μὴ συμβαλεῖν Λακεδαιμονίοις. οἱ δὲ τὸν νεανίαν εἰς τὸ συμβαλεῖν ἐρεθίζοντες ὡς ἄναδρον ἐκάκιζον· οὗτος δ' ἀγανακτήσας συμβάλλει παρὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ νικά· ὁ δὲ πατὴρ βαρέως ἐνέγκας ἐστεφάνωσε μὲν ὡς νενικηκότα, ἐτραχηλοκόπησεν δ' ὡς στρατηγικὸν ὑβρίσαντα νόμον. Epameinondas the general of the Thebans, while at war with the Lakedaimonians, gave an order to his son Stesimbrotos, as he was going back home, not to engage with the Lakedaimonians. But they, trying to push the young man into an engagement, kept accusing him of cowardice. And he, feeling irritated, engages against the order of his father and wins; but his father, deeply affected, crowned him for his victory, and cut his throat for having disobeyed the command of the general.

For the implications of this on the evaluation of the tradition of the *Parallela* see De Lazzer, *Plutarco. Paralleli minori*, 84-89, **and in particular the stemma proposed at p. 87 (itself a copy of that proposed by F. Jacoby, 'Die Überlieferung von Ps. Plutarchs *Parallela minora* und die Schwindelautoren', *Mnemosyne* S. 3, 8 (1940), 143): *Parallela* and the epitome Σ would both depend from the epitome of an original version.**

294 F 2 - (2) [Plutarch] De fluviis 23, 1 = Moralia 1164D meta[[ id="294" type="F" n="2"]]	
Subject: genre: aetiology; law: homicide Historical Work: Persian stories book 1 Source date: 2nd century AD Historian's date: unknown Historical period: mythical	Translation
Ἄραξης ποταμὸς ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας, τὴν προσηγορίαν εἰληφὼς ἀπὸ Ἀράξου τοῦ Πύλου. οὗτος γὰρ πρὸς Ἄρβηλον τὸν πάππον ὑπὲρ σκίπτρων ἀμιλλώμενος αὐτὸν κατετόξευσε· ποινηλατούμενος δὲ ὑπὸ Ἐρινύων ἑαυτὸν ἔρριψεν εἰς ποταμὸν Βάκτρον, ὃς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Ἀράξης	The Araxes is a river of Armenia, which takes its name from Araxes son of Pylos. For he, when competing for the kingship against Arbelos his grandfather, killed him with an arrow; and being pursued by the Erinyes he threw himself into the river Baktros, which after him changed its name

μετωνομάσθη, καθὼς ἱστορεῖ Κτησιφῶν ἐν ᾧ Περσικῶν.	to Araxes, as Ctesiphon narrates in the first book of <i>Persian stories</i> .
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## 294 F 2 Commentary

The Araxes was already mentioned in Herodotos (1.201-202, 1.205, 1.209-11, 1.216, 3.36, 4.11 and 4.40), but different rivers are referred to with this name: the Araxes (modern Araks), the Volga with its delta and islands (1.202.1), and the Oxos (1.205.2): see A. De Lazzer, in E. Calderon Dorda, A. De Lazzer, E. Pellizer, *Plutarco. Fiumi e monti* (Naples 2003), 255). Jacoby, *FGrH* 3a, 398 points out that the more detailed information on the Armenian Araxes is to be connected with the increase in geographical knowledge that followed the campaign of Pompey; but that nonetheless, there is wild confusion or creativity at work in the distribution of the names. Thus, Pylos is an invention based on the Caspian gates (Κάσπια πύλαι), while the name of the grandfather Arbelos echoes that of an Assyrian king attested in Abydenos (in Eusebius (Arm.), *Chronographia* p. 25, 26-26, 8 K, *BNJ* Abydenos 685 F 7), itself derived from the Assyrian city-name Arbela (see G. De Breucker, commentary to *BNJ* 685 F 7). It may well be that [Plutarch] or his source actually created the name Arbelos directly from the place name: after all, the location at which Alexander defeated Darius III was probably better known than the name of the Assyrian king, although the two are often mentioned together, as in Strabo 16.1.3: τὰ δὲ Ἄρβηλα κατοικίαν ἀξιόλογον, κτίσμα ὡς φασιν Ἄρβήλου τοῦ Ἀθμονέως, ‘Arbela is a colony worthy of mention, founded, as they say, by Arbelos son of Athmoneus’.

The earlier name of the river is also problematic, as Baktros must be a river of Bactria; De Lazzer, in Calderon Dorda, De Lazzer, Pellizer, *Plutarco. Fiumi e Monti*, 256, points out that the two rivers Araxes and Baktros are clearly distinguished in Aristoteles, *Meteorology* 1.13.350a23-25: ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτου ῥέουσιν ἄλλοι τε ποταμοὶ καὶ ὁ Βάκτρος καὶ ὁ Χοάσπης καὶ ὁ Ἀράξης, “And from it (Mt. Parnassus) flow other rivers, among them the Baktros, the Choaspes, and the Araxes.” The Baktros is also mentioned by Polyainos, *Stratagems* 7.12, and by Curtius Rufus, *Histories of Alexander* 7.4.1, who states that the river gives its name to the city and region.

The pursuit by the Erinyes is typical of crimes against kin; the Erinyes are very present, in various ways and for various reasons, in the *On rivers* (2.2; 2.3; 3.1; 5.1; 9.4; 18.1, and our passage); here, they bring the narrative to its expected conclusion.

This paragraph is followed by another one, for which [Plutarch] does not give a source reference, and which narrates an entirely different story concerning the naming of the Araxes (whose previous name is here said to have been Halmos); as De Lazzer, in Calderon Dorda, De Lazzer, Pellizer, *Plutarco. Fiumi e Monti*, 256 points out, this is not how [Plutarch] usually proceeds: even when there are two metonomasies, they tend to follow on from each other (the river, or mountain is given a name; it then receives a second name; but because of other events, it is given a third name, and so on).

G. Dossin, ‘Le fleuve Araxe - Bactre - Halmos’, in *Hommages à Waldemar Déonna*, *Latomus* 28 (Bruxelles 1957), 194-6, has suggested that in this story the names (or the events, as the case may be) mostly derive from etymological puns. The story concerns power and

the desire to reign: the name of the main character, Araxes, may, through a false etymology, be connected to ἄρχειν, 'to command'. The dispute concerns the kingdom - but this is expressed with ὑπὲρ σκήπτρων rather than with βασιλεία; the scepter is the sign of the royal power, and from it comes the idea for the earlier name of the river, Βάκτρος, 'stick'. The grandfather Arbelos (Ἄρβηλος) has a name with a good, oriental pedigree ('son of Bel' in Accadian); he must die by an arrow, as his name in Greek could be divided into ἄρ- from αἰρέω, to kill, and βέλος, the arrow. Dossin's speculations as to the name of the Halmos (the river in which Araxes throws himself in the second story, narrated in the following paragraph) involve the knowledge on the part of [Plutarch] or his source of Aramaic, and seem entirely implausible, all the more since a Greek etymology is ready at hand: Araxes 'jumps' (ἄλλομαι, ἄλμα) in the Ἄλμος.

294 F 3 - (3) [Plutarch] De fluviis 18, 11 =  
Moralia 1161E meta[[ id="294" type="F" n="3"]]

Subject: natural sciences  
Historical Work: On trees, book one  
Source date: 2nd century AD  
Historian's date: unknown  
Historical period: n/a

Translation

φύεται δ' ἐν αὐτῷ δένδρον παλί[ν]ουρος<sup>1</sup>  
καλούμενον, ἐφ' ᾧ ἂν τι καθίση τῶν  
ἄλόγων ζώων ὡς ὑπὸ ἰξοῦ κατέχεται,  
παρὲξ κόκκυγος· τούτου γὰρ φεῖδεται,  
καθὼς ἱστορεῖ Κτησιφῶν ἐν ᾧ Περὶ  
δένδρων.

And in it (the Argive Mt. Kokkygios) grows a tree called paliouros, and if anyone of the irrational animals sits on it, he is held as if with glue, apart from the cuckoo; for this one is spared, as Ctesiphon narrates in his first book *On trees*.

## 294 F 3 Commentary

This story pursues a motif broached in the preceding paragraph of the work. *On rivers* 18.10 narrates how Zeus, taken by love for his sister Hera, generated with her a male son, and how, because of Zeus's shame for this union, the mountain originally called Lyrkeion took the name of Kokkygios, 'of the cuckoo'. This story is attributed by the author of the *On rivers* to the *Perseis* (if one accept Hercher's correction, as Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores* 2 (Parisii 1861) 658 and Jacoby did, and as is most likely) of an Agathonymos who would have been a poet (hence his absence from *FGrH*); or to the *Persian histories* of an historian Agathonymos, as suggested by A. De Lazzer (who maintains the transmitted text Περσίδι), in E. Calderon Dorda, A. De Lazzer, E. Pellizer,

<sup>1</sup> The correction of παλίουρος in παλίουρος has been proposed by Hercher, and accepted by Bernardakis and Jacoby, because a plant παλίουρος is mentioned in Theophrastos, *History of Plants* 1.3.1, 3.18.3, 4.3.3 and elsewhere, in Theokritos 21.80, in Dioscorides 1.92.1, in Pliny, *Natural history* 24.155 and in a number of other authors, while παλίουρος is not attested as the name of a plant. C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores* 2 (Paris 1861) 658 and E. Calderon Dorda however retain the transmitted text; De Lazzer in the commentary does not appear fully convinced (in E. Calderon Dorda, A. De Lazzer, E. Pellizer, *Plutarco. Fiumi e Monti* (Naples 2003), 186 and 245).

*Plutarco. Fiumi e monti* (Naples 2003), 68. Because of the likelihood that the name Agathonymos is invented, it does not make sense to discuss whether he was meant to be a poet or a historian (although for this kind of story a *Perseis* seems more appropriate). What is important is that Pausanias 2.36.1 mentions the change in name of mount Kokkygios, and links it to the love between Zeus and Hera, and to Zeus' metamorphosis into a cuckoo (this important element is actually missing in [Plutarch], but it is essential to understand the derivation of the name); Pausanias however states that the previous name of Mt. Kokkyx was Thornax (on the story, see T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth. A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources* (Baltimore 1993), 58; A.B. Cook, *Zeus. A study in ancient religion* III (Cambridge 1925), 63-66; and the commentary of R.B. Fowler, in *BNJ Aristokles* 33 F 3 = scholia to Theokritos 15.64). Thus here as elsewhere, [Plutarch] recounts a relatively well-known story, modifying an aspect of it, and probably inventing the source. Note finally that a Mt. Lyrkeion, located in the Argolis, is mentioned in Strabo 8.6.7.

The qualities of the plant reflect the story. However, elsewhere the *paliouros* is known for very different properties: it corresponds to either the plant known as Christ's thorn, or to the great jujube (*Zizyphus Spina-Christi*) – at any rate, to a very thorny plant.

F. Atenstädt, 'Zwei Quellen des sogenannten Plutarch de fluviis', *Hermes* 57 (1922), 236-7 has compared a series of magical plants/stones in [Plutarch] with passages in Pliny's *Natural History*: he points out that there are quite a few common (or relatively similar) passages. In particular, in Pliny (*Natural History* 37.56.152) a stone is mentioned, whose properties are by and large comparable to those of the tree here in [Plutarch]: *catochitis corsicae lapis est, ceteris maior et magis mirabilis, si vera traduntur, inpositam manum veluti cummi retinens*, "Catochitis is a stone found in Corsica, of larger size than the others and more wonderful, if the story is true, that it retains the hand placed on it like gum". Of course, [Plutarch] is discussing a plant, and Pliny a stone; but on the whole the similarities between the two authors seem sufficient to postulate a common source that [Plutarch] would have altered depending on his purposes. This common source Atenstädt saw in Xenokrates of Aphrodisias, a doctor active in the first century AD who wrote on pharmacology, and who is mentioned by Galen, *On the mixture and properties of simple medicines* vol.11 p. 793 Kühn, and Artemidoros, *Interpretation of dreams* 4.22 (on him, see F. Kudlien, Xenokrates 8, in *RE* 9A (Stuttgart 1967), 1529-31, and C.J. Classen, Xenokrates 4, in *Der kleine Pauly* (München 1975), 1416). It seems however more likely that the common source, if a common source there was, should be seen in the works of a doctor active at the time of Pliny, Xenophon son of Zenon, of Ephesos, who wrote a book on stones (see K. Ziegler, Xenokrates 7, in *RE* 9A (Stuttgart 1967), 1529; J. Kollesch, Xenokrates 5, in *Der kleine Pauly* (München 1975), 1416; and M. Ullmann, Xenokrates 7, in *RE Suppl.* 14 (Stuttgart 1974), 974-7).

294 F 4 - (3) [Plutarch] De fluviis 23, 5 =  
Moralia 1165B meta[[ id="294" type="F" n="4"]]

Subject: natural sciences  
Historical Work: On trees book thirteen

Translation

Source date: 2nd century AD Historian's date: unknown Historical period: n/a	
γεννᾶται δ' ἐν αὐτῷ δένδρον ῥοιαῖ παραπλήσιον. καρπὸν δ' ἄφθονον τρέφει μήλων, τὴν γεῦσιν ἔχοντα σταφυλῆι παρόμοιον. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ὀπώρας πέπειρον ἔάν τις καθελὼν ὀνομάσῃ τὸν Ἄρη, γίνεται κρατούμενος χλωρός, καθὼς ἱστορεῖ Κτησιφῶν ἐν ἰγ' Περὶ δένδρων.	And on it (the Mt. Diorphos on the Araxes river) grows a tree similar to a pomegranate, which bears a rich harvest of fruits, which have a taste similar to grapes. If one, after having taken from these fruits a ripe one, pronounces the name of Ares, the fruit although picked becomes green, as Ctesiphon narrates in the thirteen book <i>On trees</i> .

## 294 F 4 Commentary

Nothing is known of such a plant; nor is the link with the preceding paragraph of the *On rivers* (for which no source reference is given, so that it is possible that both paragraphs may have been conceived as depending upon Ctesiphon's work) immediately clear. In *On rivers* 23.4, [Plutarch] narrates that Mithras, wishing to have a son but hating women, mounted a rock, and had from it a son to whom he gave the name of Diorphos. When Diorphos reached maturity, he challenged Ares and was killed by the god (on this story see the discussion in *BNJ* 23 F1d). Ares thus connects the two stories, and, as A. De Lazzer suggests (in E. Calderon Dorda, A. De Lazzer, E. Pellizer, *Plutarco. Fiumi e monti* (Naples 2003), there may be a parallelism of sorts: Ares kills Diorphos as the latter reaches maturity, just as his name renders the ripe fruit green, depriving it of maturation. De Lazzer, in Calderon Dorda, De Lazzer, Pellizer, *Plutarco. Fiumi e monti*, 259 suggests, on the basis of a passage of Herodotos (1.202.1-2: the men who live on the Araxes know of a tree whose fruits, once thrown on a fire, produce fumes that make men drunk as with wine) that an authentic tradition may lie behind F 4: for the fruits mentioned in F 4 are said to have a taste similar to grapes. Ctesiphon is quoted twice in the chapter on the Araxes, at *On rivers* 23.1 (F 2) and here, at 23.5. This consistency is however up to a point belied by the fact that the works referred to are different, *Persian stories* in one case, and *On trees* in the other.

294 F 5 - (3) [Plutarch] De fluviis 14, 3 =  
Moralia 1158C meta[[ id="294" type="F" n="5"]]

Subject: natural sciences  
Historical Work: On plants book three  
Source date: 2nd century AD  
Historian's date: unknown  
Historical period: n/a

Translation



<p>γεννᾶται δ' ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ λίθος κρυστάλλωι παραπλήσιος, ὦν ἀνθρωπόμιμος<sup>2</sup>, ἔστεμμένος. ὅταν δ' ἀποθάνῃ βασιλεύς, ἀρχαιρεσίας παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τελοῦσιν· καὶ ὃς ἂν εὐρ-εθ-ῆ τὸν λίθον ἐκεῖνον ἔχων παραχρῆμα βασιλεύς γίνεται καὶ τὰ σκῆπτρα παραλαμβάνει τοῦ τελευτήσαντος, καθὼς ἱστορεῖ Κτησιφῶν ἐν ᾧ Περί φυτῶν. μὲμνηται δὲ τούτων καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος ἐν ᾧ Περί λίθων (BNJ 830 F 2).</p>	<p>And in it (the Scythian river Tanais) occurs also a stone similar to crystal, resembling in shape a man, crowned. Whenever the king dies, they held elections along the river; and the person who is found having that stone immediately becomes king and receives the scepter of the dead king, as Ctesiphon records in his third book <i>On Plants</i>. The story is mentioned also by Aristoboulos in his first book <i>On stones</i>.</p>
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## 294 F 5 Commentary

The preceding paragraph of the *On rivers* concerns the Tanais; on it, see the commentary of M. Rostock, BNJ 830 (Aristoboulos) F 2. There is no discernible connection between the story told about the Tanais, and the peculiarities of the stone found in it.

A stone with these peculiar qualities (its name is not given) is not mentioned in any ancient text. F. de Mély, 'Le traité des fleuves de Plutarque', *Revue des Études Grecques* 5 (1892) 335-40 assumed that here a cameo must have been meant (the same assumption he made for some other stones mentioned in the treatise), and derived from this assumption far reaching consequences for the date of the treatise as a whole: the work would have been composed after the third century AD, when no memory was left of the art of glyptic, and the writer could confuse engraved stones and natural ones. But J. Bidez, 'Plantes et pierres magiques d'après le Ps. Plutarque *De Fluviiis*', *Mélanges offerts à O. Navarre* (Toulouse 1935), 35-6, has argued convincingly that this not a cameo but a natural stone (so also A. De Lazzer, in E. Calderon Dorda, A. De Lazzer, E. Pellizer, *Plutarco. Fiumi e monti* (Naples 2003), 40 and 236); he compares for the shape the 'gamahei', stones engraved according to the face of heaven, carrying a prophetic message, and useful for healing wounds, well-known in Renaissance hermetic and medical texts (they are for instance mentioned by Paracelsus); as for its virtue, Bidez compares the stone 'atizoe', which according to Pliny 37.147 was used by the Magi to consecrate kings ('necessariam magis regem constituentibus'). This last connection had been made already by F. Atenstädt, 'Zwei Quellen des sogenannten Plutarch de fluviiis', *Hermes* 57 (1922), 236, in the context of a general comparison between the information of [Plutarch] and that of Pliny. For Bidez, 'Plantes et pierres magiques', 36-38, the crystal stone of [Plutarch] and the atizoe of Pliny are part of an ancient tradition which reaches far back in time. This is certainly possible, and much of what is found in [Plutarch] is actually a reworking of ancient (and less ancient) traditions; but it is certainly not enough to establish that the reference to Ctesiphon is authentic. Atenstädt, 'Zwei Quellen', 236-46 argues, to my mind convincingly, that [Plutarch] for

<sup>2</sup> So P. Hercher in apparatus proposed to delete ὦν and to write λίθος κρυστάλλωι παραπλήσιος, ἀνθρωπομίμως ἔστεμμένος (crowned as a man), a solution accepted by Jacoby. This is possibly more elegant, but the transmitted text is understandable, and there is no reason to intervene (so also Calderon Dorda).

his work made use of (and suitably modified the information contained in) a treatise by the doctor Xenokrates (of Ephesos or Aphrodisias: see bibliography above, commentary to F 3), who wrote on stones and plants with peculiar virtues, and who is one of the sources of Pliny.

ἄνθρωπόμιμος used of a stone reappears in *On rivers* 11.4 of the stones *philadelphoi* (a passage whose source is said to be Thrasyllus of Mende); but there it refers to the behaviour of the stones and not to their shape. The term ἄνθρωπόμιμος is very rare (according to a TLG search it appears only one other times, besides the two times it is used in the *On rivers*, in one of the letters attributed to Ignatius of Antiochia, *Epistle 9 (to the Antiochians)* 6; in [Plutarch], it implies the notion of a *sympatheia*, of a correspondence between the mineral world and humanity (see De Lazzer, in Calderon Dorda, De Lazzer, Pellizer, *Plutarco. Fiumi e monti*, 232), a concept that is also seen at work in the correspondence between the plots of the mythical stories narrated to explain the names of places and rivers, and the virtues of plants and stones that grow there. Here the stone is symbolic of kingship.

## 294 Biographical Essay

The only references to a historian Ctesiphon, author of a *Boeotian history* in at least three books (F 1), of *Persian stories* in at least two books (F 2), and of works *On trees* in possibly 13 books (F 3 and 4) and *On plants* in three books (F 5), come from the *Parallela minora* (F1) and the *On rivers* (F 2-5) of [Plutarch]. **At work in the titles of the works attributed to Ctesiphon is the principle of the 'obvious source': *Boeotian history* for a story that concerns Epameinondas, *Persian history* for Araxes and Arbelos, *On trees* for particular trees.**

Because of the heavy doubts on the reliability of the source-references of [Plutarch] (an issue on which see R. Hercher, *Plutarchi Libellus De Fluviis* (Lipsiae 1951), 17-30; F. Jacoby, 'Die Überlieferung von Ps. Plutarchs *Parallela minora* und die Schwindelautoren', *Mnemosyne* S. 3, 8 (1940), 98-124; A. Cameron, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World* (Oxford 2004), 127-34; as well as *BNJ* 22, biographical essay; and *BNJ* 56 F 1b for a slightly different view), and because it is very unlikely that the author of so diverse works would be known only through these two very dubious treatises, it is universally accepted that Ctesiphon is one of the bogus authors invented by [Plutarch] (so the short notice by R. Laqueur, 'Ktesiphon' 3, *RE* 9.2 (1922) 2079; but his belief in Hefermehl's attempt (in *Rheinisches Museum* 61 (1906) 296) to defend the authenticity of one of the references of [Plutarch] is misplaced: see P. Ceccarelli, *BNJ* Aristodemos 22, 'Biographical essay'). The fact that eleven of the authors mentioned in the *On rivers* (Agatharchides of Samos, Agathon of Samos, Callisthenes, Chrysermos, Demaratos, Derkyllus, Dorotheos, Sostratos, Theophilos and Ctesiphon) are also attested in the *Parallela minora* cannot be an argument for their real **existence**, *pace* J. Boulogne, *Plutarque. Oeuvres morales*, 4 (Paris 2002), 231, once it is agreed (as Boulogne does) that the two treatises are by the same author. The existence of a fifth-century BC doctor named Ctesiphon may have provided the idea for the bogus reference; or Ctesias may lurk behind it (so Jacoby, *FGrH* 3a, 398; A. De Lazzer, in E. Calderon Dorda, A. De Lazzer, E. Pellizer, *Plutarco. Fiumi e monti* (Naples 2003), 78).



## 294 Bibliography

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