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Timothy Howe ✦ Joseph Roisman ✦ John Vanderspoel
Pat Wheatley ✦ Sabine Müller



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Diodorus' use of Timaeus*

Andrzej Dudziński

It is quite widely accepted that the main source for at least most of the Sicilian parts of Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliothēke Historike* was the lost work of Timaeus of Tauromenion.¹ Although this attribution has become a basis of some bold historical interpretations,² it also raises an important question—is Diodorus' dependence on Timaeus established firmly enough for historical hypotheses to be built on this basis? In this article I will try to answer this question by careful examination of the positive evidence for Diodorus' use of Timaeus' work. I shall, however, limit myself to the evidence firmly based in the Timaeian fragments as collected by Felix Jacoby in his *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. The aim of this article is neither a wide and complete study of Diodorus' use of Timaeus, nor a disproving of Diodorus' use of the earlier historian's work altogether—it is merely to examine the positive and reliable evidence of Diodorus' use of Timaeus' work in order to create a sound basis for any further inquiry.

Since the mid-19th century, the scholarship on Diodorus concentrated on *Quellenforschung*, following the footsteps of Volquardsen along the road later paved by Schwartz, Laqueur and Jacoby.³ The aim of their inquiries was to identify the source (or sources) of as many parts of the *Bibliothēke* as possible. In order to do that, these scholars often resorted to attribution on the basis of *Tendenz*, which is hardly a particularly reliable one.⁴ In spite of numerous attempts, scholars have so far not been able to determine the sources used by Diodorus in a satisfactory manner.⁵ The most illustrative example of the potential risks of *Quellenforschung* has been presented by Delfino Ambaglio, who pointed out that in some cases the same passage of the *Bibliothēke* is attributed by various scholars to five different sources, which means that for one possible example of 'good' *Quellenforschung* we have four examples of a certainly 'bad' one.⁶ Nevertheless, Ambaglio himself, as well as

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¹ E.g. Volquardsen (1868); Meister (1967); Pearson (1987). In general scholars tend to differ only as to what parts of Diodorus' material can be traced back to Timaeus and thus they divide Diodorus' historical narrative into different parts according to source(s) they believed he used—e.g. Hau (2009) 174-176, who analysed the *topos* of the changeability of fortune and human behaviour in good fortune throughout *Bibliothēke Historike*, suggests that Timaeus was Diodorus' source for Sicilian matters in books 12-13 or 12-14, but not 15. Perhaps the most telling example of the popularity of this attribution is R. Miles' recent monograph on Carthage, which barely mentions Diodorus at all when discussing sources, concentrating on Timaeus, whom, according to him, Diodorus and other admirers 'extensively and openly followed' (Miles (2010) 14-15). For a different view see Sanders (1987).

² The interpretation of the Carthaginian retreat in 396 (Diod. 14.75) proposed by Sordi (1980) 30-31 and accepted by some scholars (e.g. Sanders (1987) 10, 56-57; Anello (2008) 92-93), is based on the attribution of Diod. 14.75 to Timaeus.

³ Volquardsen (1868); Schwartz (1905); Jacoby (1923-1958); Laqueur (1936).

⁴ Sanders (1987) 110-112; Vattuone (1991) 139-140 n. 61.

⁵ Pearson (1984) 1-2; Sacks (1990) 7; Hau (2009) 173.

⁶ Ambaglio (1995) 9.

many other scholars, still follows this same line of inquiry.⁷ Nowadays we may also observe a new approach, more sympathetic to Diodorus' skill and competence.⁸ Although its roots reach beyond Kenneth Sacks' monograph *Diodorus Siculus and the First Century*, which quite often serves as a convenient milestone, it was not until recently that these views became an important part of scholarly discourse.⁹ These new approaches to Diodorus challenge the two tenets underlying the *Quellenforschung*. The first one, which Baron calls 'lex Volquardsen', is that when composing the *Bibliothēke*, Diodorus followed only one source at a time and changed the source only when it was exhausted or when he moved to write about a different topic.¹⁰ The other is that Diodorus preserved certain characteristics of his sources, for example their viewpoints, in the text of his oeuvre.¹¹ Therefore, proponents of the new approach to Diodorus tend to avoid a detailed discussion of his sources.¹² The question, however, remains and certainly is far too important to be ignored altogether.

The Method

The starting point of this analysis will be Jacoby's collection of Timaeon fragments and testimonies about the author himself. This approach, however, requires a few clarifications to be made. First of all, it should be noted that the fragments of the lost works are in general a difficult and potentially misleading source, since they only sporadically represent actual verbatim citations. More often than not they are summaries or rephrasing of the author's actual statement. The fragments are therefore exposed to the risk of misinterpretation, which—on occasion—may even be premeditated, due to e.g., a later author's polemic zeal.¹³ Moreover, the fragments are usually devoid of original context, which makes our interpretation of them even more difficult.¹⁴ Therefore, we should keep in mind that while the term 'fragment' is traditionally used in the context of literary evidence pertaining to the lost works of the ancient historians—and the present article follows this practice—it usually should not be understood literally, as a direct quote from a lost work,

⁷ Stylianou (1998) 49-51, 137; Ambaglio (2002a) 309; Ambaglio (2008) IX. Critical analysis of this approach (in case of Ephorus) has been presented by Parmeggiani (2011) 349-373.

⁸ Muntz (2011) 574-575; Sulimani (2011) 4-6. For short summary of the most important questions see Marincola (2007b) 177-178.

⁹ Palm (1955); Rubincam (1998a); Rubincam (1998b); Green (2006) and Sulimani (2011), who gives an ample discussion on Diodorus' genre (21-55) and method (109-162).

¹⁰ Baron (2013) 13. Pearson ((1984) 19.) suggests that it would be 'almost impossible' for anyone who worked with papyrus scrolls instead of books to have more than one source at his desk, but he does not offer any arguments to support this statement. However, many modern scholars still support one source theory: Pearson (1987); Stylianou (1998); Ambaglio (2002a); Ambaglio (2008). Pace Laqueur (1936) who suggested that Diodorus used a very simple, mechanic method to combine two sources. Modern perspective—see Sulimani (2011) 57.

¹¹ Sacks (1990) 3-5; Baron (2013) 12-14. Baron is certainly right to stress the shortcomings and perils of this method, especially when it comes to the circular arguments.

¹² Sacks (1990) 7, but see also Muntz (2011) on the sources of Diodorus' I book.

¹³ As probably happened in case of Polybius—see Baron (2009).

¹⁴ On problems concerning the use of fragments see Brunt (1980); Vattuone (1991) 11-15, who stresses the risks of using collections of fragments without placing them in the proper context, and Baron (2011); Baron (2013) 9-12.

but rather as a general representation of the way in which a particular event or phenomenon was described in it. In spite of all these obstacles, however, the fragments remain the only tangible evidence for lost historians' works. Every other kind of evidence—such as information about the author's style or expressed views—is subject to the same limitations, due to inherent subjectivity. Therefore, we have little choice but to trust that—until proven otherwise in each individual case—fragments do preserve information present in the original work, even if sometimes in a somewhat twisted form.

The argument will be divided into three main parts. Firstly, we shall analyse the testimonies on Timaeus in the *Bibliothèque Historique* in order to look for any indication of Diodorus' attitude towards his predecessor. Secondly, we will move on to examine the fragments of Timaeus found in Diodorus' work, with special attention paid to the character of the information in each fragment, as well as its context within the *Bibliothèque*. This image, however, may be incomplete by itself, since it does not take into account the ancient authors' citation practice: only rarely did they cite their sources by name. Thus, it is impossible to draw any conclusions based merely on the number of citations by name, since 'the frequency of citation does not reflect a more prevalent use of one source over the other, for it can be argued either that one cites variants of the main source or that one cites exceptions to the general consensus of a number of sources'.¹⁵ Therefore, the third part of the argument sets out to trace all the instances in which it can be reasonably asserted that the text of the *Bibliothèque* provides the same information present in the Timaeian fragments preserved in other sources, which may indicate that Diodorus followed his account without citing him by name. In this case it is necessary to bear in mind that there are some serious limitations. First of all, even if the facts in both accounts are congruent, it does not necessarily mean that Diodorus got them from Timaeus' account. Secondly, it is obvious that two different authors may have chosen different aspects of Timaeus' description of any particular phenomenon, myth or event, and therefore the lack of common points may not be an indication of Diodorus using a different source—it is just an indication of a lack of positive evidence for the use of Timaeus. Finally, there are always unanswered questions about the extent to which Diodorus could have diverged from his source due to e.g., his personal views or mistakes. These dilemmas are, however, unavoidable and should not stop us from pursuing this line of inquiry. For the purpose of this study, I will assume that each instance in which Diodorus' and Timaeus' versions are in accord and there is no serious discrepancy is an indication of the use of the latter's account by the author of the *Bibliothèque*.¹⁶ If the accounts of Timaeus and Diodorus do not share any characteristic information, I will refrain from using them as evidence, for either way it would be an

¹⁵ Hammond (1938) 145. Thus, Consolo Langher (1991) 163. In Diodorus' case specifically, it has been shown by Sulimani (2008) that he did not always cite his sources by name for the same reasons, but rather that he employed this method of citing for various purposes throughout the *Bibliothèque*, which makes Hammond's admonition even more pertinent.

¹⁶ Although this approach does indeed bring to mind 'lex Geffcken' (practice of assuming that the agreement or resemblance among later authors are a sufficient proof that Timaeus is a common source), rightfully criticized by Meister (1989-1990) 55-56, it seems inevitable. Given that the ancient authors quite often did not name the source they were using, inquiry limited only to those instances in which Diodorus did name Timaeus as his source would surely be incomplete. Bearing this in mind, we ought to note that although the agreement of fact is by no means a proof of using certain source, it still may be a clue, possibly adding to a cumulative weight of the evidence. Above all, however, it should be underlined that if this approach distorts the results of the conducted analysis, it does so in favour of the hypothesis of Timaeus being Diodorus' main source, and thus it does not undermine the overall conclusion.

argument from silence. Finally, if both accounts are markedly different from one another, I will assume that it is an indication of the use of a different source by Diodorus.

Both the second and third part of the article, which deal with fragments from Timaeus' work, will be further divided according to the part of *Bibliothēke* that their relevant parallels belong to. Diodorus himself divided his work into three parts (Diod. 1.4.6): mythical past before the Trojan War (books 1 to 6); history from the Trojan War to Alexander (books 7 to 17); and later events until Caesar's war against the Celts (books 18 to 40). However, due to chronological scope of Timaeus' work and the fact that the books 21-40 are only fragmentarily preserved, it seems counterproductive to differentiate the two historical parts from one another. However, the different scope of the first part of the *Bibliothēke*, as well as some possible differences in Diodorus' citation practice, render the comparison between the use of Timaeus by Diodorus in both parts, in light of proposed method, potentially interesting.¹⁷

Fragments analysed in these parts will also be divided into categories depending on the role of information they provided, building on the model put forward by Baron.¹⁸ Within his two main categories—narrative and non-narrative—we can also distinguish two subcategories, respectively numbers and comments. The former will be helpful in our analysis and therefore merits a separate treatment, while the latter will consist of the fragments which do not contain any single piece of information that could have been taken directly from Timaeus' work, but rather Diodorus' observations about Timaeus' work in general or his treatment of certain problems.

It should be noted here that Baron's classification does itself pose some problems, already recognized by its author. It has been introduced to replace the distinction between the main narrative and 'digressions', which tended to belittle the importance of the latter. The narrative category is designed to include the main line of sequential narration, whereas non-narrative is reserved for 'timeless description'. The distinction between the two may be quite ambiguous sometimes, and open for discussion. However, whilst Baron could have claimed that the decisions he made about any ambiguous fragments do not affect his overall result, such a risk rises significantly when operating—as in our case—on a smaller dataset, which renders caution and discipline, as well as thorough case-by-case analysis, an absolute necessity. Baron considered as narrative 'fragments (...) which deal with political/military events within the historical period' as well as brief descriptions of e.g., historical figures and the details of their personal life.¹⁹ In the present study we shall follow the same guidelines. We should remember, however, that these guidelines might be misleading when applied to the *Bibliothēke*, for they e.g., equate the non-narrative material of the historical books, which disrupts the sequential historical narration, with that of the first six books on mythical past, which by definition consist almost exclusively of the non-

¹⁷ For Diodorus' awareness of a different character of the material in the first six books of *Bibliothēke*, see Marincola (1997) 121; Sulimani (2008) 535-537. Sulimani (2008) convincingly showed that Diodorus' citation practice was quite different from the earlier historians' (pace Volkmann 1955) and should not be limited to the traditional view that the ancient writers mentioned the name of the source only when it provides some alternative or additional information (as maintained e.g. by Baron (2013) 215-216). It seems that Diodorus revealed his sources for a number of various reasons, e.g. to raise the credibility of his own work.

¹⁸ Baron (2013) 210-211.

¹⁹ Baron (2013) 211.

narrative material.

Testimonies on Timaeus in the *Bibliothēke Historike*

Before the analysis can begin, we need to explore what Diodorus says about Timaeus and what his opinion about him is. For this we must look for evidence *on* Timaeus' work rather than *from* Timaeus. Among the 31 testimonies about Timaeus collected by Jacoby, seven come from Diodorus' *Bibliothēke Historike* (T 2, 3a, 4a, 4d, 8, 11, 12). Most of these provide us with biographical details such as a *polis* of origin (T 2 = Diod. 21.16.5), family background (T 3a = Diod. 16.7.1) and his banishment by Agathokles (T 4a = Diod. 21.17.1, T 4d = Diod. 12.28.6). However, for the present study, the most important are those testimonies which concern Timaeus' work. Information about a number of books devoted to Agathokles (T 8 = Diod. 21.17.3) is hardly interesting in itself, but it comes with information that Diodorus deems those books untrustworthy.²⁰ This judgement, combined with the last two testimonies, gives us a glimpse into Diodorus' opinion about Timaeus.²¹

The first of the remaining testimonies (T 11 = Diod. 5.1.3) paints a rather balanced picture of Timaeus. He is praised for his chronological precision, but at the same time Diodorus criticises his 'lengthy censures' of earlier historians, which is said to be the reason for his nickname 'Epitimaïos'. The second testimony apparently also strives to maintain this balance:

(T 12 = Diod. 21.17.1) ὅτι οὗτος ὁ ἱστορικὸς τὰς ἀμαρτίας τῶν πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ συγγραφέων πικρότατα ἐλέγξας κατὰ μὲν τὰλλα μέρη τῆς γραφῆς πλείστην πρόνοιαν εἶχε τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀγαθοκλέους πράξεσι τὰ πολλὰ κατέψευσται τοῦ δυνάστου διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθραν.

This historian who most bitterly chastised writers before him for their mistakes, showed exceedingly high regard for truth in the rest of his writings, but the greater part of his history of Agathokles consists in lies about the dynast on the account of his hatred of him.

However, it is clear that Diodorus was well aware of Timaeus' shortcomings, at least in this particular section of his work and—as we will see later—declared his writings on

²⁰ Vattuone (2002b) 179-180; Baron (2013) 63. The testimony is usually given without Diodorus' final statement: διόπερ τὰς ἐσχάτας τῆς συντάξεως πέντε βίβλους τοῦ συγγραφέως τούτου, καθ' ἃς περιείλεφε τὰς Ἀγαθοκλέους πράξεις, οὐκ ἂν τις δικαίως ἀποδέξαιτο. In spite of this, modern authors often argue that Timaeus remained Diodorus' principal—or even the only—source for the Agathocles' rule—e.g. Meister (1973-1974) 457; Meister (1991) 187-192; Pearson (1987) 227-230; Schepens (1978); Schepens (1994) 260-6; Schepens (1997); Vattuone (2007) 196.—which brings to mind Green's bewilderment: 'Anti-Diodoran skeptics have taken this as sufficient reason to not to believe any of them, apparently on the grounds that if he really was the *Dummkopf* they paint him, he must also have been a chronic liar by definition, an assertion the logic of which eludes me' (Green (2006) 2 n. 2), but see Schwartz (1905) 687f.; Consolo Langher (1991) and Stylianos (1998) 65, who advocate for Duris of Samos. For various hypotheses concerning Diodorus sources see Meister (1967) 133-134. For more extended discussion see Vattuone (1991) 188-189 with references in footnotes.

²¹ These testimonies (T 8, T 11, T 12) have not been discussed neither by Brown (1958), nor by Pearson (1987) in their monographs on Timaeus. The latter analyses F 124d, but still recognizes Timaeus as Diodorus' main source for the history of Agathokles, in spite of a clear statement in Diod. 21.17.3.

Agathokles useless. This testimony, as well as T 8, comes from the same place as F 124d,²² which sheds light on the form that Timaeus' bias took.

Information that has been classified by Jacoby as F 124 survived in four versions, three of which (F 124 a-c) come from Polybius. Two of them (F 124b = Polyb. 8.10.12; F 124c = Polyb. 15.35.2) give us precise information which may be traced back to Timaeus' account—that is, information about Agathokles' background and his wife's reaction to his death. Fragments 124a and 124b, however, seem at least as much concerned with the way Timaeus describes Agathokles, and therefore offer a judgement about his objectivity. Fragment F 124a (= Polyb. 12.15.1-10) describes Timaeus' criticism as 'overblown', although not devoid of some justification, while F 124b (= Polyb. 8.10.12) gives us some slanderous accusations against the tyrant and the king of Syracuse and points out that the ruler had to have some extraordinary qualities, given the career he successfully made from such a low starting-point.²³ Diodorus' version (F 124d = Diod. 21.17.1-3) is somewhat different from those found in the surviving passages of Polybius. He summarizes the methods used by Timaeus—adding other bad qualities to those actually possessed by the ruler, depriving him of successes and magnifying his failures, even if they weren't his fault. Then he gives two examples of Timaeus being biased, one of which we find also in Polybius. Finally, Diodorus declares that the Timaeus' books concerning Agathokles should not be accepted. The tone of this fragment, when read together with testimony T 12, where it originally belongs, is much clearer than the testimony on its own and as such it seems to give us a better idea of what Diodorus thought about Timaeus' conduct, at least in the case of Agathokles.

Judging from the beginning of T 12, we would suppose that elsewhere Diodorus was more than content with Timaeus truthfulness and credibility. There is, however, another piece of evidence, again listed by Jacoby among the fragments. After relating the sack of Akragas in 406, Diodorus discusses the problem of the bull of Phalaris (F 28a = Diod. 13.90.4-6):

τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ταῦρον ὁ Τίμαιος ἐν ταῖς Ἱστορίαις διαβεβαιωσάμενος μὴ γεγονέναι τὸ σύνολον, ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς τύχης ἡλέγχθη· Σκιπίων γὰρ ὕστερον ταύτης τῆς ἀλώσεως σχεδὸν ἐξήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους ἔτεσιν ἐκπορθήσας Καρχηδόνᾳ, τοῖς Ἀκραγαντίνοις μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν διαμεινάντων παρὰ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἀποκατέστησε τὸν ταῦρον, ὃς καὶ τῶνδε τῶν ἱστοριῶν γραφομένων ἦν ἐν Ἀκράγαντι. (6) περὶ δὲ τούτου φιλοτιμότερον εἰπεῖν προήχθη, διότι Τίμαιος ὁ τῶν πρό γε αὐτοῦ συγγραφέων πικρότατα κατηγορήσας ... αὐτὸς εὕρισκεται σχεδιάζων ἐν οἷς μάλιστα ἑαυτὸν ἀποπέφαγκεν ἀκριβολογούμενον.

Timaeus having claimed in his Histories that this bull never existed at all was confuted by Fortune herself. For approximately 260 years after this capture Scipio sacked Carthage and along with the other things that remained in the possession of the Carthaginians restored to the Akragantines the bull which was in Akragas when these histories were being written. (6) I was led to speak rather competitively about this, because Timaeus, the man who accused the historians before him most sharply, is himself found acting off-handedly in the matters in which he has advertised himself as arguing most precisely.

²² Diod. 21.17.1-3.

²³ For a thorough analysis of the traditions about Agathokles see Vattuone (1991) 66-69.

The criticism is further strengthened by the general remarks about the distinction between historians who make mistakes out of ignorance and those who deliberately twist the facts appearing immediately after this fragment (Diod. 13.90.7). This is not the only version of the story based on Timaeus that survived until our times—another one comes from Scholia on Pindar's first *Pythian Ode* (F 28c = Schol. on Pind. *Pyth.* 1.185) and a third comes from Polybius (F 28b = Polyb. 12.25.1-5)—the Polybian version is in concordance with Diodorus, while the Scholiast provides a different version. Unlike Polybius, though, Diodorus was not always critical of Timaeus. In the discussion about the Sicani (F 38 = Diod. 5.6.1) Diodorus sided with Timaeus in his refutation of Philistus' claim that they came from Iberia; he stated that it was the number of Timaeus' arguments that led him to accept his view. Nonetheless, questions remain whether these statements are the original thoughts of Diodorus or opinions he has taken from some other source. It has been argued that in F 28a Diodorus in fact uses Polybius' criticism of Timaeus. Walbank suggested that the discrepancies between the two result from Diodorus using Polybius' account from memory.²⁴ Schepens even proposed that F 28a should not be treated as a Timaeus fragment at all,²⁵ while Ambaglio excludes the possibility of any personal inquiry concerning those matters on the part of Diodorus.²⁶ Similar allegations can be made against F 124, which as we have seen, finds a parallel in Polybius.²⁷ However, it should be noted that Diodorus' decision to include certain voices of praise or critique is perhaps ultimately more meaningful than its originality or lack thereof.

Establishing a clean-cut Diodoran opinion about Timaeus on the basis of this evidence seems therefore rather difficult. What is clear is that he did not have as one-sided a view as Polybius and that he made an effort to balance his statements, introducing some positive remarks.²⁸ They were probably supposed to remind the reader that his criticism of certain aspects of Timaeus' oeuvre did not mean that he regarded all of Timaeus' work as unworthy. But Diodorus was clearly aware of problems concerning Timaeus.²⁹ Presence of both positive and negative opinions does not suggest any strong pro- or anti-Timaeian bias, although we should note the fact that those against are more common and better-developed.³⁰

²⁴ Walbank (1945) 40-42; Walbank (1967) 381-3; Meister (1973-1974) 456. Pace Vattuone (1991) 53 n. 139, who claims that the Diodorean passage cannot be limited to merely following Polybius. More detailed discussion on problems concerning Diodorus' originality in reference to F 28 see Dudziński (2013).

²⁵ Schepens (1997). This view is also presented in the commentary to this fragment in Brill's *New Jacoby*—see Champion (2010)—and accepted by Baron (2013) 83. On Polybius' polemic against Timaeus see Schepens (2007) 51-54; Baron (2009).

²⁶ Ambaglio (2008) 154. Elsewhere he stated that on this occasion 'Diodoro parla di Timeo per bocca di Polibio, senza curarsi di andare a controllare quello che veramente Timeo aveva scritto' ((2008) IX).

²⁷ E.g. Schwartz (1905) 688; Meister (1967) 132; Meister (1991) 188.

²⁸ It seems this was Diodorus' approach in general, since we may find some similarities in his treatment of Herodotus in the discussion of the flooding of Nile (Diod. 1.37.4, see Muntz (2011) 593).

²⁹ See Sulimani (2011) 46, for discussion of similar treatment of Herodotus and Ephorus.

³⁰ Sulimani (2011) 50-51 suggests that Diodorus' critical opinion of Timaeus' conduct as a historian was the reason why he did not include him in his list of earlier universal historians.

Fragments of Timaeus' work in the *Bibliothēke Historike*

We shall now focus on the fragments of Timaeus' work coming from Diodorus' *Bibliothēke*. Jacoby listed eighteen such fragments, three of which have already been discussed in the section concerning testimonies. In this section we will deal only with the seventeen fragments, since F 164 will be discussed later on. For our purpose, we shall treat Diodorus' section on mythical past (books 1-6) separately from the rest of his work.

In the devoted to mythical past section of *Bibliothēke* we find four references to Timaeus (F 38, 85, 89, 90). In the aforesaid F 38 (= Diod. 5.6.1), Diodorus has chosen to follow Timaeus, who stood in opposition to Philistus (who is given as an example of differing accounts of various historians), on the origins of Sicanians. More interesting is the question concerning F 85 (= Diod. 4.56.3-8) dealing with the journey of Argonauts. Although Timaeus is the only writer specifically named by Diodorus, he is, however, only mentioned as one of many authors who reported the story. Nevertheless, this lengthy fragment is mostly attributed to him, except for the refutation of the tradition which had Argonauts sail up the river Ister rather than Tanais. For this specific part Diodorus had to use another source, since he refers to the Roman conquest of Istrians, which supports his initial claim that Timaeus was only one of the writers he consulted on this subject.³¹ Similar to this is the case of F 89 (= Diod. 4.21.1-7) where Diodorus recounts a story of Herakles' travels in the Western Mediterranean. Here Diodorus also mentions 'certain mythographers' two times, but since he informs his readers that Timaeus also followed them it is not impossible that he took this reference from him. In F 90 (= Diod. 4.22.6) as well Diodorus references Timaeus as the source for Herakles' adventures. This section tells the story of Herakles bringing Geryon's cattle to Sicily across the straits, where he swam between the island and the mainland. Although we should perhaps note that Diodorus brings Timaeus in precisely after the information about the distance,³² this story is present also in other authors who made use of the latter's work, namely Strabo (5.4.6) and Lykophron (*Alex.* 697), which suggests Timaeian origin of the whole passage. This time there is no hint on any other sources, so we may well accept that Timaeus was the source of this story:

F 90: ὁ δ' Ἡρακλῆς καταντήσας ἐπὶ τὸν Πορθμὸν κατὰ τὸ στενώτατον τῆς θαλάττης, τὰς μὲν βοῦς ἐπεραίωσεν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ταύρου κέρως λαβόμενος διενήξατο τὸν πόρον, ὄντος τοῦ διαστήματος σταδίων τριῶν καὶ δέκα, ὥς Τίμαιος φησιν.

Upon arriving at the strait at the sea's narrowest breadth, Herakles brought the cattle over to Sicily, took hold of the horn of a bull and swam across the passage, the distance being some thirteen stades, as Timaeus says.

In all of these cases, Timaeus provided Diodorus not only with stories concerning mythological figures, but also with some geographical (F 85, 89, 90), ethnological (F 38) and/or numerical (F 90) data. In two instances—F 85 and F 89—we have Timaeus mentioned alongside other sources which support the same version of the story in question; moreover there is an opposition between Philistus and Timaeus, in which case, Diodorus tells us that he finds the latter's arguments convincing and accepts his version.

³¹ Baron (2013) 217. Pace Pearson (1987) 63, who believes that both the 'old' and the 'more recent' writers have been taken by Diodorus from Timaeus' text or that they are 'totally imaginary'.

³² Brown (1958) 37.

Let us now move on to the fragments of Timaeus' work preserved in the historical part of Diodorus' *Bibliothēke* (books 7–40). There are thirteen references to Timaeus in this part (F 25, 26, 27, 28, 103, 104, 106, 107, 108, 120, 121, 123, 124), two of which have been already mentioned in the part concerning testimonies (F 28, F 124). Again, we shall go through them in order. The first fragment in this section (F 25 = Diod. 13.80.5) pertains to the number of Carthaginian troops invading Sicily in 406. Diodorus gives two figures relating to this army—one higher, by Ephorus, and one lower, by Timaeus, which suggests that Timaeus was not the only source for this passage.³³ The next fragment, F 26a (= Diod. 13.81.3–84.6) is of a different nature.³⁴ It is a lengthy description of Akragas, the second greatest *polis* in Sicily. The first reference to Timaeus comes with a description of monuments adorned with sculptures, which he is said to have seen in his lifetime (Diod. 13.82.6). Timaeus is mentioned again as the source of the story of Gellias (Diod. 13.83.2), and we can quite safely attribute the information about Akragantines using strigils and oil-flasks made of silver and even gold (Diod. 13.82.8) to him, since it clearly echoes Aelian's statements (F 26c). Considering Timaeus' interest in excessive wealth, it is plausible that those were not the only stories Diodorus took from his work, although the mention of Polykritos (FGrH 559 F 3) might indicate that Timaeus was not his only source here.³⁵ Nevertheless, we can see Timaeus providing a 'timeless description'.

In F 27 (Diod. 13.85.3–4) we deal with the Akragas' preparations for the siege in 406. Here, Diodorus attributes information that Dexippos the Lakedaimonian stayed at this time in Gela where he was held in high regard because of his connections to Timaeus.³⁶ The story of the bull of Phalaris, recounted by F 28a (= Diod. 13.90.4–6), has already been discussed earlier; however, we should note here that it is an example of a situation in which Diodorus rejected Timaeus' information and criticised his conduct.

Fragments F 103 (= Diod. 13.54.5) and F 104 (= Diod. 13.60.5) pertain respectively to the number of the Carthaginian troops who were brought to Sicily in 409³⁷ and to the number of Carthaginian losses during the first stage of the battle of Himera that took place in the same year.³⁸ In both cases Diodorus juxtaposes Timaeus' figures with those of Ephorus, just as he did in F 25. However, we should note that the Timaeus numbers for Carthaginian army are consistent with the number of combatants in the battle of Himera (Diod. 13.59.6, 60.3), which may indicate that Diodorus used his account in his description of the campaign.³⁹

³³ It has been suggested that in cases like this, both numbers come in fact from Timaeus', who lowered Ephorus' estimates (Brown (1958) 71–72; Pearson (1987) 151–152; Vattuone (1991) 129–130 n. 18; Stylianou (1998) 63; Ambaglio (2008) 142; Champion (2010) on F 103. Cf. Sacks (1990) 109–110.), but it seems not only impossible to prove, but also rather unlikely—*vide infra* F 108.

³⁴ The fragment survived in two other versions—by Diogenes Laertius (F 26b = Diog. Laert. 8.51.) and Aelian (F 26c = Ael. VH 12.29)—none of which is as complex as Diodorus'. Diogenes Laertius gives only a brief information about Empedokles' ancestry and origin, while Aelian says that Timaeus wrote about Akragantines using silver strigils and oil-flasks.

³⁵ Baron (2013) 230–231. On Polykritos see Muccioli (2002) 144–147.

³⁶ It is perhaps worth noting that precisely the case of Dexippos has been selected by Brown (1958) 73–74 to show (albeit on the basis of *Tendenz*) that Diodorus used more than one source in his account.

³⁷ Ambaglio (2008) 97 once again suggests that Diodorus could have found both numbers in Timaeus.

³⁸ Ambaglio (2008) 106 finds 'un piccolo segnale' that Diodorus follows Timaeus in the fact that he is mentioned first, but this argument is hardly convincing.

³⁹ Stylianou (1998) 63. At the beginning of campaign the Carthaginian forces numbered 200,000

In the next case (F 106 = Diod. 13.108.4-5.), we have an example of synchronism, which Diodorus clearly attributes to Timaeus—Alexander of Macedon was said to have conquered Tyre exactly on the same day of the year and on the same hour as the Carthaginians seized the statue of Apollo (405) at Gela, which they had later sent to Tyre. But this is not the only citation relating to the siege of Gela in 405 where Diodorus makes a reference to Timaeus. In F 107 (= Diod. 13.109.1-2) he describes succor brought to the city by Dionysius I of Syracuse. Once again, Timaeus is cited as a source for army figures and is juxtaposed with unnamed ‘some [writers] (ὡς μὲν τινες)’.⁴⁰ As usual, Timaeus numbers are more conservative. As is the case with F 108 (= Diod. 14.54.5-6) and the Carthaginian forces in the campaign of 396/5.⁴¹ According to two authorities—Ephorus and Timaeus—Diodorus reports that the former gives a more generous estimate—300,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, 400 chariots, 400 warships and 600 transport vessels. Timaeus attests that the Carthaginian forces brought from Africa numbered to ‘no more than 100,000’ to which they added additional 30,000 in Sicily. This time, however, we have a rare opportunity to compare numbers with those mentioned in the discussion of the events that took place later during the campaign—the siege of Syracuse and the plague which befell the Carthaginians at that time and which resulted in their defeat. In this instance, Diodorus informs us that the Carthaginian army approached the city with 300,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry, which clearly indicates that he followed Ephorus rather than Timaeus in this respect (Diod. 14.62.3). Further, the account of the plague seems to support Ephorus’ figures since Diodorus says the death toll to be 150,000 (14.76.2), which is higher than all of the Carthaginian army according to Timaeus. Indeed, the very number 150,000 works better in an Ephorean context, since it would not be the first time that Diodorus writes about the Carthaginian army losing around half of its troops due to the plague.⁴² This seems to indicate that it was the historian from Cumae, not Timaeus, that Diodorus based this part of his account on, and—moreover—that he chose Ephorus’ figures over Timaeus’.

Further examples of references to Timaeus in the *Bibliothèque* pertain to Agathokles, the tyrant whom—as we have seen—Timaeus was very critical of, to say the least. In fragment F 120 (= Diod. 20.79.5) Timaeus is the source for the number of talents which Agathokles received from the Carthaginians in return for the peace, while in F 121 (= Diod. 20.89.4-6) Timaeus provided the number of exiles slain treacherously by the tyrant. In both cases,

infantry and 4,000 cavalry according to Ephorus and ‘not much more than 100,000’ according to Timaeus (F 103 = Diod. 13.54.5). Those forces have been later reinforced by unspecified number of allies before the siege of Selinous (Diod. 13.54.6) and again by 20,000 Sicels and Sicans after its capture. Before the battle of Himera, Hannibal set up a camp on the hill with 40,000 soldiers and send the rest of his forces to conduct the siege (Diod. 13.59.6). When the Himeraeans attacked the enemy, Diodorus mentions that ‘eighty thousand men streamed together without order in one place’ (Diod. 13.60.3). This number matches neatly the Timaeus figures, and thus, although not excluding completely the possibility of Ephorean origin, suggests that Diodorus followed Timaeus in this respect.

⁴⁰ There is, however, no reason to follow this passage since Diodorus informs us that he uses Timaeus for his entire account of the battle of Gela, as apparently Pearson (1987) 170 does.

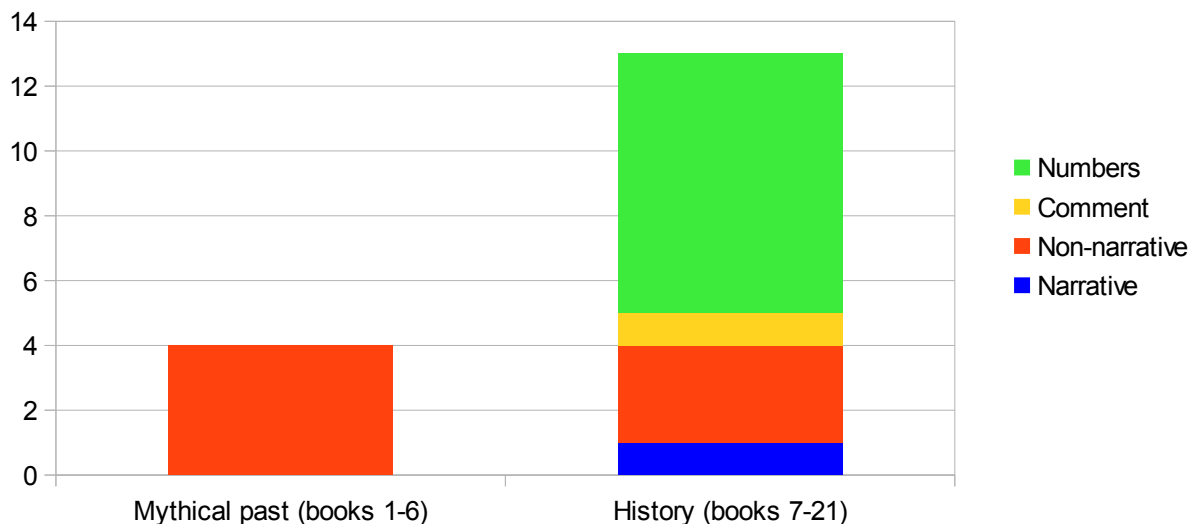
⁴¹ Sheridan’s view (2010) 43, that the fact of giving two figures is by itself a proof of Diodorus using two sources (or at least supplying main source with detailed notes) seems to be too simple, given the previous discussion.

⁴² Cf. Diod. 13.114.2. See Stylianou (1998) 73. This fact seems to have escaped Brown, while Pearson (1987) 177-178 apparently thinks nothing of it and describes the siege of Syracuse as based on Timaeus, who in turn drew from Philistus, though the fact that Diodorus uses only Ephorus’ numbers seriously undermines his focal assumption that he knew them only through Timaeus.

Diodorus juxtaposed Timaeus' figures with other numbers, though he does not provide a reference to any particular sources.⁴³ Yet, fragment F 123a (= Diod. 21.16.5) may shed some light on those other sources, since in this case, in the context of the length of Agathokles' life and reign, Diodorus references not only Timaeus, but also Kallias of Syracuse and Antandros, brother of Agathokles, all of whom give the same figures—age of seventy-two and twenty-eight years long rule. We should perhaps note that there is another version of this fragment, F 123b (Ps-Lucian, *Macrob.* 10), where the author cites Demochares and Timaeus, but sets Agathokles' age at ninety-five, though this version is probably corrupted. Either way, the most important for our purpose is the fact that once again Timaeus has been used as a source of some numerical value and once again his account is juxtaposed with other accounts by Diodorus. The last fragment in this section, F 124d (= Diod. 21.17.1-3), provides Diodorus' useful comment on Timaeus' attitude to Agathokles. Nevertheless, we cannot use it as evidence of Diodorus following Timaeus on any particular matter.

Now we shall try to recapitulate how, based on citations of Timaeus in the *Bibliotheke*, Diodorus used Timaeian material. Looking at the sheer number of references, we can conclude that the historian from Agyrion used it similarly in both parts of his work. However, let us examine the character of the information taken from Timaeus. Use of Timaeian material in the section on mythical past is rather straightforward. We have four references to his work and each introduces information pertaining to geographical placement of some mythological events or—in one case—to establishing origins of Sicanians. It is worth noting that in this particular case (F 38) Diodorus chose Timaeus over other authority, namely Philistus.

Fragments of Timaeus' work coming from Bibliotheke



⁴³ For broader context for both fragments see Vattuone (1991) 190. As pointed out by Brown (1958) 90 in reference to F 120, we do not have any indication that in either case Diodorus used Timaeus for anything more than the numbers.

The situation is quite different for the historical part of the *Bibliothēke*. Most of the references pertain to numbers, such as the size of the army, and are always juxtaposed with other sources, which only once support those of Timaeus (F 123, on the age of Agathokles). Moreover, in one of the two places where we can see source attribution, Diodorus apparently uses Ephorus' figures for the Carthaginian army instead of those provided by Timaeus. This suggests that we cannot treat numerical references as a convincing proof of Diodorus merely following Timaeus in his narration of the connected events. Consequently, if we disregard these references, as well as F 124a, which we have classified as a comment, the situation changes. We are left with just four references and only one of them (F 27) pertains to the actual events described by Diodorus and therefore falls into the narrative category. All of the other three (F 26, 28, 106) provide geographical or ethnological information, much like in the section on mythical past. Thus, we find information on the luxurious life of Akragantines and on the famous monuments taken from both Gela and Akragas. All of these non-narrative cases disrupt the sequential narration and Diodorus surely was very well aware of that, since twice (F 28, 106) he found it necessary to justify the choice of including them at all—we should also note the highly critical tone of F 28.⁴⁴

It might be useful here to compare those findings with results of similar analysis of the use of Ephorus of Cyme (FGrH 70)—who is also considered one of Diodorus' main sources.⁴⁵ In the text of the *Bibliothēke* we find thirteen fragments of Ephorus' work (whilst seventeen from Timaeus'), but their character is very different. First, we should note that in these sections there is a very clear distinction between the passages dealing with the mythical past and history. All of the non-narrative material consisting of information on myths, geography and ethnology falls—appropriately—into the former, while in the historical part we find only narrative material, including numbers, save for one comment. But the most important difference is that while in the case of Timaeus, only one of seventeen fragments pertained to the pure facts described by Diodorus without being cited as a source for numbers (almost 6%), while in the case of Ephorus, four fragments out of thirteen (over 30%) were used. Significantly, among these we find Diodorus' general statement (FGrH 70 F 196 = Diod. 12.38-41.1), in which he explicitly says that in his description of the causes of the Peloponnesian War he followed Ephorus. It is somewhat telling, then, that we cannot find any similar information concerning Timaeus. On the contrary, as we have seen, we do find Diodorus' statement that he deems the five books concerning Agathokles untrustworthy (Diod. 21.17.3).⁴⁶ Finally, analysis of the citations from Ephorus confirms that Diodorus organized his material in a consistent way, differentiating between what

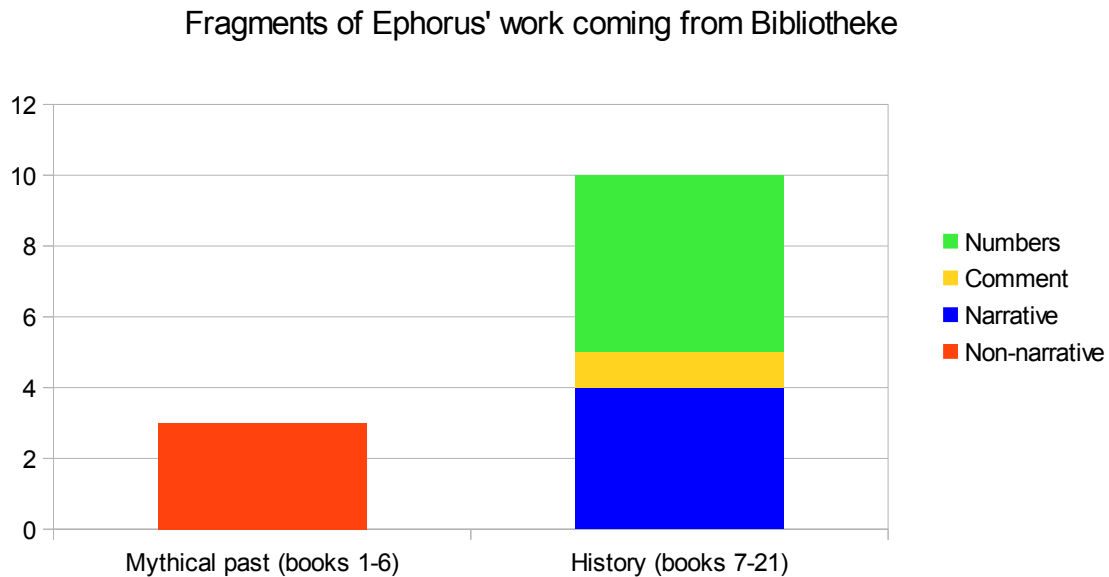
⁴⁴ These observations are congruent with Baron (2013) 212-213. Baron placed nine out of sixteen fragments in the narrative category, which seems to correspond with our narrative and numbers categories above, although no indication as to what particular fragments fell into this category was given.

⁴⁵ On Ephorus see Barber (1993); Marincola (2007b) 172-174; and especially Parmeggiani (2011) 373-394, who convincingly showed that Ephorus was not Diodorus' only source for the history of mainland Greece.

⁴⁶ We ought to note that there is also an example of Diodorus' critical assessment of Ephorus' conduct as a historian. In 1.39.13 Diodorus states that 'one would not seek precision in Ephorus, since he paid no regard to truth in many matters'. However, this statement is a part of the discussion of the Nile in which Diodorus criticized Ephorus for not being diligent enough (1.39.7-13), and although there is no grammatical reason not to treat it as a general comment, it probably pertains to this particular issue. Either way, it does not affect our observations directly. Ultimately we do have Diodorus' own declaration about using Ephorus as a main source for a major historical event, while in the case of Timaeus the only such open statement is about not being able to use the books on Agathokles. It is, however, worth noting that Diodorus was prepared to criticise a historian where he felt it was deserved, even if he considered him a good source elsewhere.

Baron considers a narrative and non-narrative material.

All in all, it is clear that the analysis of the direct citations of Timaeus in the *Bibliothēke* does not support him being Diodorus' main source for the historical events, especially in comparison to Ephorus.



Fragments of Timaeus' work found in other sources with parallels in the *Bibliothēke Historike*

So far our inquiry has not provided enough evidence to substantiate the claim of Diodorus' extensive use of Timaeus' work. The possibility remains, however, that like many other ancient authors, Diodorus did not name the source he followed. Thus, to examine the evidence for Diodorus' dependence on Timaeus' work we must not ignore the fragments of the latter's work coming from the other authors. In this section we will juxtapose these fragments with the text of the *Bibliothēke*, wherever possible, in order to trace any possible usage of Timaeus by Diodorus not stated explicitly in the *Bibliothēke*. Given the unavoidable degree of subjectivity inherent to this approach, and the negative conclusions of the previous parts of our inquiry, we will adopt a stance favourable to this Timaeus and consider all the instances of the agreement between the fragments of Timaeus' work and the text of the *Bibliothēke* as the indications of the possible dependency. Certainly, in many cases it could be argued that the information in question could have been taken from a different source. It seems, however, that at this point the risk of creating a pro-Timaeian bias is preferable to the risk of underestimating the importance of his work for Diodorus. Of course, in the case of clear discrepancies between the Timaeian fragments and the passages of the *Bibliothēke* we shall conclude that Diodorus most probably followed a different source

in such a passage. Once again, we will deal with the parts on mythical and historical past separately.

When it comes to the mythical past, the most appropriate place to begin our analysis is what Jacoby included in his collection as fragment F 164 (Diod. 5.2.1-23.5). It has not been included in the former section, because of its unique character. F 164 is a long passage of Diodorus' work, but the only instance where Timaeus is explicitly named is the discussion on the origins of Sicanians, which Jacoby listed also separately (F 38 = Diod. 5.6.1). The reason for this repetition is that Jacoby was led to believe that this whole lengthy piece derived ultimately from Timaeus due to numerous similarities with other fragments of his work, known to us from other sources. It is, however, clear that F 164 cannot be a fragment *sensu stricto*, since the position of various data would have been very different in his work.⁴⁷

Let us now go through eight fragments of Timeaus' work for which we can find relevant passages in F 164. The first one is the fragment from Polybius' 12th book concerning the description of Corsica (F 3 = Polyb. 12.3.7-4.5). Polybius testifies that Timaeus erred when he informed his readers about the wild animals (goats, sheep and cattle) living there since there is not a single wild goat or ox. He further explains that all of the animals may seem wild since the shepherds could not follow them through the woods, but they respond to their shepherds' own trumpet call. In Diodorus we find information similar to Polybius'—that the Corsican cattle, even when left unattended, are distinguished by brands and kept safe for the owner (Diod. 5.14.1), which is a picture very different from what Timaeus reportedly said.⁴⁸ Therefore, this fragment cannot be considered evidence for Diodorus' use of Timaeus—on the contrary, the discrepancy between the two seems to suggest the use of a different source.

By contrast, the fragment from the Scholion on Apollonius Rhodios, concerning the origins of the alternative name of Sicily—'Thrinakria' (F 37 = Schol. on Apoll.Rhod. 4.965)—is in agreement with the relevant passage of Diodorus' narrative (Diod. 5.2.1-2). Both sources attribute the name to the shape of the island.⁴⁹ Another fragment, F 65 (Strab. 14.2.10), also matches the text of the *Bibliothèque*, reporting a description of Balearic Islands. Here, Diodorus (5.17.2) repeats the Timaeus' mistake by saying that the largest of them is the eighth largest island in the Mediterranean.⁵⁰ Due to this agreement, F 37 and F 65 seem to support Jacoby's assessment. But the situation is very different with the next two fragments. F 66 (= Schol. on Lykoph., *Alex.* 633), which reports Timaeus' discussion of the Boeotians coming to Balearic Islands, has no analogue in Diodorus. We might perhaps link to Timaeus the fragment's other information about the way the women from these islands compel their children to practice with the sling (Diod. 5.18.4), though we should bear in mind that this information is not explicitly attributed to Timaeus and could have come from numerous other sources, since the proficiency in the use of sling by the inhabitants of Balearic Islands has been widely known.⁵¹ Also the wording does not suggest Timaeus

⁴⁷ See Baron (2013) 35 n. 77.

⁴⁸ This discrepancy makes it difficult to accept Pearson's (1987) 71 idea that Diodorus reproduced Timaeus' 'sentimental' picture of heroic-age Corsica, which Polybius mistakenly took as a description of the island as he knew it.

⁴⁹ Brown (1958) 24.

⁵⁰ Brown (1958) 38.

⁵¹ It was certainly known enough for Polybius in the 2nd century (Polyb. 3.33.10-11) to claim that the name of the islands derives from the inhabitants' excellence as slingers. The same etymology—described as

origins of all of the material in any way: he is not even introduced immediately after this information, with the same expression (Τίμαιος δέ φησιν) which is used in the next sentence to introduce Philteas (Φιλτέας δὲ ἐν τρίτῃ Ναξιακῶν Βαλιαρίδας φησὶν) and to refer to common practice of Greeks and Romans in the one after that (Ἕλληνες μὲν καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι κοινῶς Γυμνησίας φασίν). In each case, the scholiast first introduces an author and then relates the information from his work.

The next fragment comes from Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* (F 67 = Plin. *HN.* 4.120), which gives a description of the islands near the coast of Spain. Pliny says that Timaeus called the two islands Aphrodisias and Cotinusa. According to Pliny the city of Gadium was earlier situated on the former, while the latter was called Gadir by the Carthaginians. In Diodorus' text, on the other hand, there is only information that the Phoenicians founded a city on the peninsula in this region and called it Gadeira (Diod. 5.20.2). No name explicitly attributed to Timaeus is mentioned by Diodorus, and the two accounts differ profoundly, since the latter does not mention any island close to the shore at all, and situates the city in a different place to that mentioned by Pliny. Therefore, there is no evidence to support the thesis that Timaeus was Diodorus' chief, let alone sole, source in this passage.

Analysis of fragment F 68 (= Polyb. 2.16.13-15) is somewhat difficult. After describing the Apennines (2.16.1-5) and the course of the river Po (2.16.6-12), Polybius declares that he leaves aside for a moment stories told by poets about this region connected with Phaëthon, but he will return to this later, since Timaeus has shown such incompetence in matters concerning these places. Consequently, it is impossible to infer what Timaeus did—or did not—write on Phaëthon.⁵² Therefore this fragment is sadly useless for our purpose, even though Diodorus recorded story of Phaëthon, since we have no knowledge on Timaeus' version to compare it with.

It may be beneficial to discuss F 73 and F 74 together, since their subjects are closely connected. F 73 is Stobaeus' excerpt of Aetius' *De placitis reliquiae* (F 73 = Stob. 3.17.6.383) linking the ebb and the flood of the ocean to the rivers in Gaul,⁵³ while F 74 is Pliny's (F 74 = Plin. *HN.* 4.104) description of Britain and tin processing. In the latter, Pliny attributes to Timaeus information that there was an island of Ictis located six days' voyage from Britain and that this is where the tin has been found. Diodorus also mentions Britain and tin-mining operation (Diod. 5.22.1-4) and observes that the island of Ictis had some role in the processing of tin. But in his account, Ictis is where tin is sold after being brought to the island on the wagons, for during the ebb-tide the passage to the island becomes dry. Thus, although there are also some similarities between Diodorus' account and both fragments, there are substantial differences.⁵⁴ While Diodorus does discuss the ebb and the flood of the ocean, he does not suggest in any way that it is connection with rivers and the information he gives - that there are islands that become peninsulas during an ebb-tide - may have easily come from another source and not Timaeus.⁵⁵ Also, the details of tin processing are

Roman—is also given by Diodorus (Diod. 5.17.1). Pace Pearson (1987) 69, 240.

⁵² Brown (1958) 119 n. 49; Baron (2013) 73-4. Pearson (1987) 70, 96 believes that Timaeus told the story of Phaëthon and rejected it.

⁵³ Brown (1958) 27 notes that although he based his account on Pytheas, in the fragments of Timaeus there is no mention of any attempt to fix the latitude of the place. According to Pearson (1987) 70, the description of the coast of Gaul and the islands of far North fall into the context of the return of Argonauts.

⁵⁴ Some of them have been already noted by Brown (1958) 26-27.

⁵⁵ This phenomena is mentioned, for example, in Caesar's *Commentari de Bello Gallico* (Caes. *Gal.* 3.12),

different from what Pliny attributes to Timaeus. The only element common to both the fragments and Diodorus is the island Ictis. But according to Timaeus, it was supposed to lay six days' journey from Britain and the Britons were using boats or ships (*navigium*) to get there, while it is clear from the account of Diodorus that it was located much nearer if the Britons were able to carry the wagons with tin to the island during the ebb, when the passage was dry. Moreover, the direction of this movement is different in both accounts—according to Timaeus, tin came *from* Ictis to Britain, whereas Diodorus claims that the Britons were bringing it to the island solely for the purpose of trade. Thus, while in the case of F 73 there is simply not enough evidence for Timaeus' origin, the inconsistencies between Diodorus' narrative and F 74 render it unlikely that he based his account on Timaeus.⁵⁶

The next fragment of Timaeus' work that finds a possible parallel in F 164 is F 75, which survived in two versions coming from the same source—once again Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*—F 75a (= Plin. *HN*. 4.94) and F 75b (= Plin. *HN*. 37.35), the latter indicating Pytheas as the source of Timaeus. The accounts pertain to the certain island called Baunonia (F 75a) or Basilia (F 75b), which was the source of amber. Diodorus included similar story, although in his account the island was called Basileia (Diod. 5.23.1), which may be attributed to the translation or merely to an error in transmission.

As demonstrated above, even in the case of material classified by Jacoby as fragment 164 of Timaeus' work, there are some doubts concerning Timaeus' origin of the information included therein. Of the nine fragments analysed above, only three find direct and clear parallel (F 37, 65, 75) in the text of Diodorus. In two cases (F 66, 73) it is possible, though not certain, since we have no proof whatsoever for either case. One fragment does not provide us with enough information to compare it with the text of Diodorus (F 68) and, as far as we can reconstruct it from the fragments and Diodorus' (F 3, 67, 74), which render the Timaeus' origin very improbable, in three cases there are some serious discrepancies between the accounts of Timaeus. The fact that Diodorus used Timaeus' work in the first chapters of the fifth book of his *Bibliothēke* is beyond the question (after all, he refers to Timaeus himself once), but we should definitely be wary of the problems and uncertainties concerning Jacoby's F 164 and its complicated nature.

There are naturally other instances in which we can compare fragments of Timaeus' work preserved by other historians with the 'mythical past' section of Diodorus' oeuvre and we shall now focus on them, starting with fragment F 43. Preserved in two versions (F 43a = Antig. *Mir.* 1., F 43b = Strab. 6.1.9), F 43 offers a story about the cicadas along the border river Halex that divided territories of Locri and Rhegion.⁵⁷ On Rhegion's side of the river the cicadas were said to have been voiceless. Both versions connect Timaeus' story with the rivalry between two *kithara* players from those cities, though F 43a gives additional information, described as Rhegian in origin (καὶ ἄλλο δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥηγίνοις τοιοῦτον ὡς μυθικὸν ἱστορεῖται, which suggests a source different than Timaeus, to whom Antigonos referred before). According to this variant, Herakles fell asleep on this land and prayed to gods that the cicadas become voiceless. This tale, absent in Strabo's account, is precisely what we find in Diodorus (Diod. 4.22.5.), which seems to indicate he used a source other than Timaeus. Nevertheless, since it is not impossible that the Rhegian version was present

which were published in Diodorus' own times.

⁵⁶ Pearson (1987) 70.

⁵⁷ Baron (2013) 230.

in the Timaeus' work, we should consider this case inconclusive.

Another case worth examining is F 69 (= EM 220.5.), which informs us that according to Timaeus, Galatia was named after Galatos, son of Kyklops and Galateia.⁵⁸ Diodorus also links the name Galatia to Galates, but he describes him as the son of Herakles and a Celtic woman, daughter of the man who ruled all of Keltika (Diod. 5.24). The difference in ancestry is clear and renders the Timaeian origins questionable, although not impossible, given the overall similarity.

Fragment 70 (= Strab. 4.1.8) deals with the number of mouths of Rhone. Here, Strabo gives a few versions—Polybius is said to have written that there were only two mouths and criticised Timaeus who said there were five, whereas Artemidoros gave their number as three. In this case Diodorus gives the same number as Timaeus (Diod. 5.25.3), so he may have followed him in this respect.

Fragment F 83 (= Parth. 29.1-2) preserves how Timaeus described the story of Daphnis, the son of Hermes who was a shepherd in Sicily. Diodorus' account of this myth (Diod. 4.84) is more detailed and in general is in accord with Timaeus. Both accounts relate that Daphnis, son of Hermes, expert at playing the shepherd's pipe, was stripped of sight as a punishment for disrespecting the nymph that fell in love with him. Both accounts also mention Daphnis being made drunk by a certain Sicilian princess, who then seduced him. The only difference is that while Parthenius describes the loss of sight as a punishment for rejecting the nymph Echenais before being seduced by the princess, Diodorus states that the reason for it was precisely his infidelity. The discrepancy in this case seems minor, since so many details are in accord, and there is clearly some discontinuity between Parth. 29.1 (which ends with Daphnis being stripped of sight) and Parth 29.2 (which begins with him resisting something for some time), and this makes it reasonable to suspect that the story line has somehow been corrupted. Given the overall congruence of the two accounts in most of the details, we may well connect Diodorus' passage with Timaeus, although the wording (plural form μυθολογοῦσι) may suggest that he used other sources as well.⁵⁹

The name Kirkaion, attributed in fragment F 84 (= Schol. on Apoll.Rhod. 2.399-401a) to a plain in Kolchis, does appear in the *Bibliothēke* (Diod. 4.45.8), however, as a name of promontory in Italy, which renders establishing any certain connection with Timaeus impossible. A clearer discrepancy can be seen in Fragment F 91 (= Schol. A on Homer, *Il.* 18.486), which tells a story of the Pleiades, daughters of Atlas. Here, the scholiast records that there were twelve daughters and one son of Atlas, son of Iapetus to Timaeus, whereas Diodorus has Atlas having only seven daughters and being the son of Uranus (Diod. 3.60.4-5). Once again, discrepancies seem too great to ignore and indicate that a different source was used.

The last aspect we need to cover in this section is Timaeus' chronology of mythical events and how it relates to that constructed by Diodorus. Fragments F 125 (= Cens. 21.2-3) and F 126 (= Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.21.139.4) provide us with the relevant information. F 125 preserves the claim that the first Olympiad took place 417 years after the Trojan War to Timaeus, while F 126 gives 820 years between the return of Herakleidai and Alexander's crossing over to Asia. Now, chronologies based on the Trojan War are problematic because

⁵⁸ According to Baron (2013) 134, 241 n. 37, Timaeus tried to connect the Galatians with Sicily.

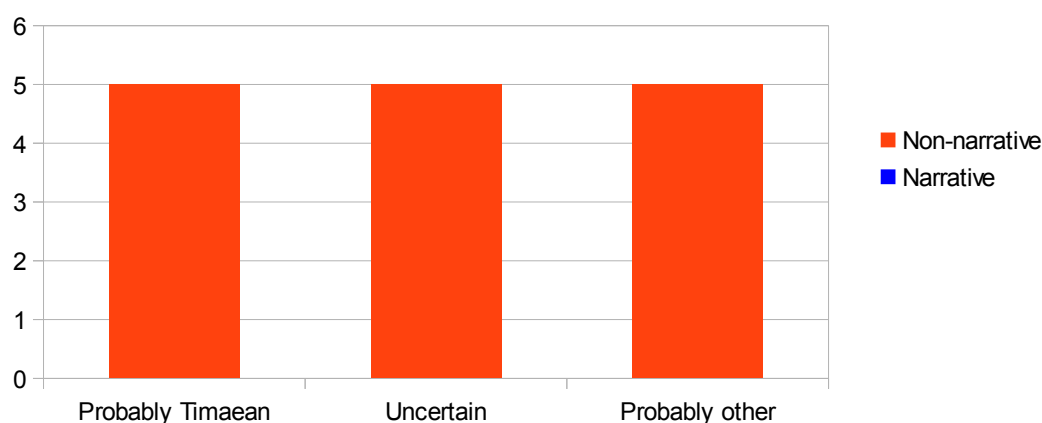
⁵⁹ The use of such words indicates that Diodorus maintained his critical distance from the story: Marincola (1997) 121; Sulimani (2008) 561.

we can rarely be sure whether the author had the beginning or the end of the war in mind. From F 125 we can infer that Timaeus situated either the beginning, or the end of Trojan War in 1194/3, and studying F 126, we can conclude that the Herakleidai returned around 1155/4, which makes the period between these events roughly 40 years.⁶⁰ Diodorus, on the other hand, in the first book of the *Bibliothēke* gives a different chronology, citing Apollodoros of Athens as his chief authority (Diod. 1.5.1). Although his figures pose some minor problems, we should note that he placed the Trojan War in 1184, which would be consistent with Timaeus if we treat it as the end of the war—as we probably should—and only if the Timaeian date is its beginning. However, Diodorus places the return of the Herakleidai in 1104, stating explicitly that it was 80 years after the Trojan War, which is fifty years after the date provided by Timaeus. It is therefore reasonable to accept that Diodorus was indeed following different chronological authority than Timaeus, at least when it comes to delineating epochs.

Let us summarize the part of our inquiry concerning fragments of Timaeus found in the works of other authors which compare with Diodorus' section on mythical past. We have dealt with seventeen fragments. For the purpose of this analysis, the two pertaining to chronology (F 125 and F 126) should be treated as one, and another (F 68) should be disregarded due to the lack of information about Timaeus' account. All of the other fragments pertain again to geography, ethnology and mythology. In five cases we found parallels in Diodorus' text that support the Timaeian origin of the material in question (F 37, 65, 70, 75, 83). In five cases such an origin cannot be ruled out, although there is also not enough evidence to confirm it (F 43, 66, 69, 73, 84) and in five there are discrepancies that seem to suggest other source (F 3, 67, 74, 91, and chronology from fragments F 125 and F 126).

Timaeian fragments and their parallels in Bibliothēke Historike (1)

Origin of information in Bibliothēke Historike - mythical past



⁶⁰ The alternative chronology found in the Timaeian fragments, which places the foundation of Corcyra six hundred years after the Trojan war (F 80 = Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 4.1216), seems to result from the corruption of the text. For discussion on Timaeian chronology see Vattuone (1991) 286-288; Baron (2013) 25-27.

Let us now move on to the analysis of the fragments from the other sources for which we could find parallels in the historical sections of the *Bibliothēke*. There are sixteen cases that may be of interest to us in this section. F 9 (= Ath. 12.58. 541c) discusses the Sybarite Smindyrides (or Mindyrides) and his visit in Sykion; however, it is clear that Athenaeus based his account on Herodotus (Hdt. 6.127) and therefore, the only thing that we can infer from it is that Timaeus did include this story in his work.⁶¹ The story is also found in Diodorus (Diod. 8.19), but given the scarce information we get from Athenaeus, we cannot neither confirm nor disprove Timaeian origin. It certainly remains a possibility. The situation is somewhat different in the case of F 20 (= Schol. on Pind. *Pyth.* 2.2), which suggests that according to Timaeus Gelon imposed tribute on the Carthaginians after the battle of Himera.⁶² Once again, lack of any details prevents us from reaching any firm conclusions. Diodorus' version is a little bit more precise—according to him, the Carthaginians were supposed to pay 2,000 talents (Diod. 11.26.2). Consequently, although there is only an agreement of general fact, not detail, we can consider this information as coming from Timaeus.⁶³

Fragment F 22 (= Polyb. 12.25k-26.8) provides an account of Hermokrates' speech during the so-called congress of Gela in 424. According to Polybius, Timaeus claimed that the congress' beginning was the truce proposal made by the Geloans to the Camarinians.⁶⁴ Next, he relates the most important points of Hermokrates' speech, contrasting them with a seemingly common opinion that Hermokrates, Pyrrhus and Timoleon were the least likely to give 'puerile and idle' speeches.⁶⁵ However, Diodorus' brief account of those events is distinctly different. The fact that he did not include any speech on the part of Hermokrates is hardly surprising given his attitude towards the lengthy speeches in general,⁶⁶ but the only agreement that he mentions in the context of the Athenians' departure from the island is the truce between Syracuse and Leontionoi (Diod. 12.54.7). Therefore, there is not enough evidence to link it to Timaeus.

Speeches are also discussed in fragment F 31. Preserved in two versions (F 31a = Polyb. 12.25.7, F 31b = Polyb. 12.26.1-4), both fragments describe Timoleon's exhortations before the battle of Crimissus. In this case F 31b is the more interesting of the two, for it gives examples of arguments which were supposed to reassure Timoleon's mercenaries about the enemy's cowardice. We find none of these arguments in Diodorus (Diod. 16.79.2), who once again summarized just the main points. However, the main accusation remains—according to his version, Timoleon stressed enemy's cowardice and the success of Gelon.⁶⁷ Given the fact that—as we will see—F 118 also parallels this passage, it is plausible that Diodorus used the Timaeian account, although we should note that the practice of questioning an enemy's valour in face of numerical superiority was not only logical, but also not uncommon and

⁶¹ See Baron (2013) 261-262, for a slightly different translation. Pearson (1987) 109 believes that it was Timaeus who based his account on Herodotus and that is how Athenaeus knows it, but this explanation is purely speculative.

⁶² Brown (1958) 63. On the positioning of this fragment in the Timaeus' oeuvre see Baron (2013) 32-33.

⁶³ See Meister (1967) 43.

⁶⁴ For more detailed discussion of Timaeus' rhetoric on the basis of F 22, see Vattuone (2002b) 213-215; Baron (2013) 180-191; Vattuone (1991) 237-266.

⁶⁵ For detailed analysis of Timaeus' speech of Hermokrates, see Vattuone (1991) 240-261.

⁶⁶ Sacks (1990) 93-108.

⁶⁷ See Baron (2013) 194-196.

may have well appeared in other sources as well.⁶⁸

Fragments F 48 (= Athen. 12.16. 515e-f) and F 50 (= Athen. 12.17-18. 519b) relate to the anecdotes about Sybarites, both of which are found in Diodorus' account (Diod. 8.18, 20),⁶⁹ and fragment F 81a (= Polyb. 12.3.1-6) pertains to the climate of Africa. Here, Polybius criticises Timaeus for his statement that Africa is sandy, dry and unproductive.⁷⁰ In Diodorus we find a very different description of this land—after Herakles brought it under cultivation (Diod. 4.17.4), it enjoyed prosperity (even if Akragas was selling olives there—see Diod. 13.81.4) that astonished Agathokles' soldiers (Diod. 20.8.3-6). However, Baron suggested that this fragment could have been purposely distorted by Polybius by extending from a region-specific to overall description.⁷¹ It is therefore unclear whether Diodorus did follow Timaeus' description of Africa.

Establishing any connections between Timaeus and Diodorus on the basis of F 95 (= Tz. H. 4.132.269-281) is impossible since the relevant passage of Diodorus' tenth book (Diod. 10.29) comes from the very same source. In consequence, we may only conclude that they both included the story about Gelon and the dog in their works. Likewise, fragment F 110 (= Polyb. 12.4a.3-4.) is impossible to render a conclusive attribution. Here, Polybius criticises Timaeus for blaming Ephoros for the mistake concerning number of years while the error was, according to Polybius at least, the scribe's. Diodorus gives the number—in both cases thirty-eight years (Diod. 13.96.4, 15.73.5)—twice, but it is impossible to tell whether he took it from Timaeus or even—more importantly—whether Timaeus gave the same number.

Timaeus' oeuvre was extensively used by Plutarch in his *Life of Dion* and *Life of Timoleon*, hence we have some fragments concerning both leaders and their struggle against Dionysius II over the power in Syracuse. The first of these fragments is F 113 (= Plut. *Dion* 14.4-7), which describes the circumstances of the banishment of Dion. In this version, Dionysius II came across the letter written by Dion to the Carthaginians and after consulting the matter with Philistus, he put Dion in a small boat and commanded the sailors to take him to Italy. Diodorus, however, paints a different picture. In his account (Diod. 16.6.4) Dion was suspected of trying to overthrow Dionysius II (without mentioning any letter, which elipsis we may attribute to the genre of Diodorus' work) and escaped from the island instead of being banished. This picture is quite different from Timaeus' and seems to indicate that a different source was used. Perhaps the most interesting and revealing fragment in this section is F 115 (= Plut. *Dion* 35.5), which gives an account of the death of Philistus, general and advisor of Dionysius II. Therefore, we shall take a closer look at it taking into account a bit broader context from the *Life of Dion* (35.3-5):

ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἐπῆρεν εὐτυχία τις γενομένη κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἐν ᾗ νικήσαντες τὸν Φίλιστον ὠμῶς καὶ βαρβαρικῶς αὐτῷ προσηνέχθησαν. Ἐφορος μὲν οὖν φησιν ὡς ἀλικομένης τῆς νεῶς ἑαυτὸν ἀνέλοι, Τιμωνίδης δὲ πραττομέναις ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταῖς πράξεσι ταύταις μετὰ Δίωνος παραγενόμενος καὶ γράφων πρὸς Σπεύσιππον τὸν φιλόσοφον ἱστορεῖ ζῶντα ληφθῆναι τῆς τριήρους εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐκπεσοῦσης τὸν [4]

⁶⁸ Cf. e.g., Brasidas' exhortation before the battle with Linkestians (Thuc. 4.126). Pearson (1991) 28 suggests that Diodorus did not use Timaeus in his 15th and 16th book.

⁶⁹ Meister (1967) 39. On Timaeus' account of Sybaris see Brown (1958) 68 and Baron (2013) 243-244. On F 50 see also Baron (2013) 262-263.

⁷⁰ Brown considers the possibility that Timaeus' account is based on Kallias—see Brown (1958) 20.

⁷¹ Baron (2009) 17-21.

Φίλιστον καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀποδύσαντας αὐτοῦ τὸν θώρακα τοὺς Συρακουσίους καὶ γυμνὸν ἐπιδειξαμένους τὸ σῶμα προπηλακίζειν ὄντος ἤδη γέροντος: ἔπειτα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμεῖν καὶ τοῖς παισὶ παραδοῦναι τὸ σῶμα, κελεύσαντας ἔλkein διὰ τῆς Ἀχραδινῆς καὶ καταβαλεῖν εἰς τὰς Λατομίας. [5] ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐφυβρίζων ὁ Τίμαιος ἐκ τοῦ σκέλους φησὶ τοῦ χωλοῦ τὰ παιδάρια τὸν νεκρὸν ἐφαψάμενα τοῦ Φιλίστου σύρειν διὰ τῆς πόλεως: χλευαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακουσίων πάντων, ὁρώντων τοῦ σκέλους ἐλκόμενον τὸν εἰπόντα μὴ δεῖν ἐκ τυραννίδος φεύγειν Διονύσιον ἵππῳ ταχεῖ χρώμενον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ σκέλους ἐλκόμενον. καίτοι τοῦτο Φίλιστος, ὡς ὑφ' ἐτέρου λεχθέν, οὐχ ὑφ' αὐτοῦ, πρὸς Διονύσιον ἐξήγγελκεν.

And they were still more elated by a successful engagement at sea, in which they defeated Philistus, and then treated him in a barbarous and savage fashion. Ephorus, it is true, says that when his ship was captured, Philistus slew himself; but Timonides who was engaged with Dion in all the events of this war from the very first, in writing to Speusippus the philosopher, relates that Philistus was taken alive after his trireme had run aground, [4] and that the Syracusans, to begin with, stripped off his breast-plate and exposed his body, naked, to insult and abuse, although he was now an old man; then that they cut off his head, and gave his body to the boys of the city, with orders to drag it through Achradina and throw it into the stone quarries. [5] And Timaeus, enlarging upon these indignities, says that the boys tied a rope to the lame leg of the dead Philistus and dragged his body through the city, while all the Syracusans mocked and jeered as they saw drawn about by the leg the man who had said to Dionysius that he must not run away from his tyranny on a swift horse, but wait until he was dragged from it by the leg. And yet Philistus has stated explicitly that this was said to Dionysius by another, and not by himself.⁷²

As we can see, Plutarch gives three different accounts which relate two separate versions of events. According to Ephorus, Philistus committed suicide, while according to Timonides' letter to Speusippus he was taken alive and beheaded and his body was dragged through the city and thrown into quarries. Timaeus apparently added a detail to Timonides' account and it was probably supposed to illustrate the all-prevailing justice, for he used the well-known motif from the advice attributed to Philistus himself—being dragged from the tyranny by the leg. That Timaeus' version was congruent with Timonides' is apparent both in the way that Plutarch introduces the former and in the fact that both versions share common features—the mutilation of Philistus' corpse and dragging it through the city by the boys. Now it is clear that this is an example of a growing—and hostile—tradition.⁷³

Let us now see how Diodorus approached the problem. The relevant passage of the *Bibliothèque* is Diod.16.16.3-4:

οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι πανταχόθεν κυκλώσαντες τὰς ναῦς ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο ζωγρίᾳ λαβεῖν τὸν στρατηγόν, ὁ δὲ Φίλιστος εὐλαβηθεὶς τὴν ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας αἰκίαν ἑαυτὸν ἀπέσφαξε, πλείστας μὲν καὶ μεγίστας χρείας παρεσχημένος τοῖς τυράννοις, πιστότατος δὲ τῶν φίλων τοῖς δυνάσταις γεγονώς. [4] οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι νικήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τὸ μὲν σῶμα τοῦ Φιλίστου διαμερίσαντες καὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς πόλεως ἐλκύσαντες ἄταφον ἐξέριψαν.

the Syracusans, encircling the ships from all sides, put forth strenuous efforts to

⁷² Transl. B. Perrin.

⁷³ On Plutarch's opinion about Ephorus and Timaeus see Vattuone (2000); Bearzot (2002b).

capture the general alive, but Philistus, with apprehensions of torture, after his capture, slew himself after having performed a great many very important services to the tyrants and having proved himself the most faithful of their friends. [4] The Syracusans, after they had won the naval battle, dismembered the body of Philistus, dragged it through the whole city, and cast it forth unburied.

This version differs markedly in details from every other, but unless we want to introduce intermediary source, it seems that at least in this particular case Diodorus attempted to reconcile and combine various accounts and traditions.⁷⁴ From this perspective, it is most striking that he apparently ignored characteristic features of Timaeus' version altogether. Diodorus' account seems to use only such information as is available in other sources (Ephorus and Timonides) and lacks the one element whose inclusion we could link to Timaeus. This seems to be quite strong evidence that Diodorus has chosen not to follow Timaeus,⁷⁵ unless we assume that he used Timaeian material, but stripped it off the moral lesson, which seems too improbable given Diodorus' interest in moral development of his readers.⁷⁶

On the other hand, F 115 provides us with the information about so-called Council of Friends, which took place in Syracuse during the revolt against Dionysius I. According to Plutarch, Timaeus wrote that the advice about leaving the tyranny and being dragged by the leg rather than run away on a swift horse came from Philistus although Philistus himself denied it. Diodorus tells this story twice, once in its proper chronological context, in the 14th book (14.8.5), attributing those words to Philistus, and then for the second time in the 20th book (20.78.3), when he sets the behaviour of Dionysius I as a positive example which Agathokles did not follow. In this second rendition, Diodorus claims that it was Megakles who gave the tyrant this advice. Although we should note that this anecdote appears already in Isocrates (Isocr. 6.45) though without any specifics; we should conclude that in 14.8.5 Diodorus probably follows Timaeus,⁷⁷ while in 20.78.3, he uses a different source.

In F 116 (= Plut. Tim. 4.5-8), the story of Timoleon and his brother, Timophanes, the latter's goal was the tyranny in their native city, Corinth. With the help of his brother-in-law Aeschylus and a seer Orthagoras, Timoleon first tried to persuade Timophanes to abandon this aim. When this proved ineffective and Timophanes lost his temper, Timoleon covered his head and wept while the other two killed Timophanes. Again, we have three authors cited by Plutarch (Theopompus, Ephorus and Timaeus) and the only noted difference between them is the name of the seer, who is called Satyrus by Theopompus but Orthagoras by the other two. Therefore, it seems we may assume that the general outline of the story, including the participation of the seer, was the same in all three sources. In the

⁷⁴ Pace Hammond (1938) 141-2, (with references to the earlier discussion) who believes that it came from Theopompus and Bearzot (2002b) 126-127, who claims that it comes from Ephorus ('la fonte di Diod. XVI, 16, 3 è certamente Eforo, perché nel passo diodereo si parla del suicidio di Filisto'), both apparently ignoring the elements indicating otherwise.

⁷⁵ Hammond (1938) 141-142.

⁷⁶ As Diodorus put it himself: 'For if it be true that the myths which are related to Hades, in spite of the fact that their subject-matter is fictitious, contribute greatly to fostering piety and justice among men, how much more must we assume that history, the prophetess of truth, she who is, as it were, the mother-city of philosophy as a whole, is still more potent to equip men's characters for noble living!' (Diod. 1.2.2). See also Drews (1962) 383-384; Sacks (1990) 78-80; Ambaglio (2002a) 306.

⁷⁷ Thus Brown (1958) 77-78; Meister (1967) 3, 85; and Pearson (1987) 172.

Bibliothēke (Diod. 16.65.4), however, Diodorus gives a very different account—not only did he not mention anyone else except Timoleon attempting to persuade Timophanes, but he also has Timoleon himself killing his own brother when he was walking through the agora. The story is quite different from what we can tell about Timaeus' account, even in matters as crucial as identity of the killer. Moreover, the wording in Diodorus' description of the act (ἀποσφάζω) is not consistent with Timaeus' idealised image of Timoleon (cf. F 119a = Polyb. 12.23.4-7). All this suggests that Diodorus used a different source in his account.⁷⁸

The remaining four fragments show no apparent pattern. In fragment F 117 (= Polyb. 12.4a.2) Polybius again criticises Timaeus, this time for accusing Theopompus for claiming that Dionysius II left Sicily in the merchant ship whereas in fact he did so in a warship. In *Bibliothēke* (Diod. 16.70.3) we find the version attributed to Theopompos although with a different wording.⁷⁹ F 118 (= Plut. *Quaes. Conv.* 5.3.2. 676d) pertains again to the Timoleon's exhortations before the battle of Crimissus. Both Plutarch and Diodorus (Diod. 16.79.3) tell the same story: that Timoleon saw some animals carrying celery and presented it as a good omen, for celery was used to crown the victors of the Isthmian Games. We may assume that Diodorus was following a historian from Tauromenion in this respect.⁸⁰ According to Cicero who supplied both versions of F 130 (F 130a = Cic. *Leg.* 2.15, F 130b = *Att.* 6.1.18), Timaeus claimed that Zaleukus, the law-giver of Locri, never existed, while Diodorus gives an account of him in the *Bibliothēke* (Diod. 12.20-21), which indicates that he was using a different source.⁸¹ Finally, fragment F 137 (= D.H. *Lys.* 3) deals with the arrival of Gorgias to Athens. Although Diodorus tells the same story, there are no details that could allow us to definitely connect his account with Timaeus'. As it is, such a popular story may have come from a number of different sources.

Let us summarise the evidence concerning the possibility of the use of Timaeian material, found in the works written by other authors, in the historical section of *Bibliothēke*. Having examined sixteen cases, for the purpose of further analysis, we should exclude F 95, since the fragments attributed to Diodorus and Timaeus come from the same source, which renders any analysis impossible. Among the remaining fifteen fragments we found five cases in which we may assume that Timaeus was Diodorus' source (F 20, 31, 48, 50, 118), five where we can neither prove nor disprove Timaeian origin (F 9, 22, 81, 110, 137) and four in which the text of the *Bibliothēke* is apparently based on other sources (F 113, 116, 117, 130). The most interesting is F 115, which gives us three different cases, since it finds three different parallels in the *Bibliothēke*—in one (account of the council of friends F 115, cf. Diod. 14.8.5) Timaeus may well have been Diodorus' source, however, in two (account of the death of Philistus and another account of the council of friends F 115, cf. Diod. 16.16.3-4, 20.78.3), the historian from Agyrion apparently used another source. As for the character of information found in those fragments, most are narrative (F 20, 22, 31, 109, 110 113, 115, 116, 117, 118, 137). The stories about Sybarites (F 9, 48, 50), Zaleukus (F 130)

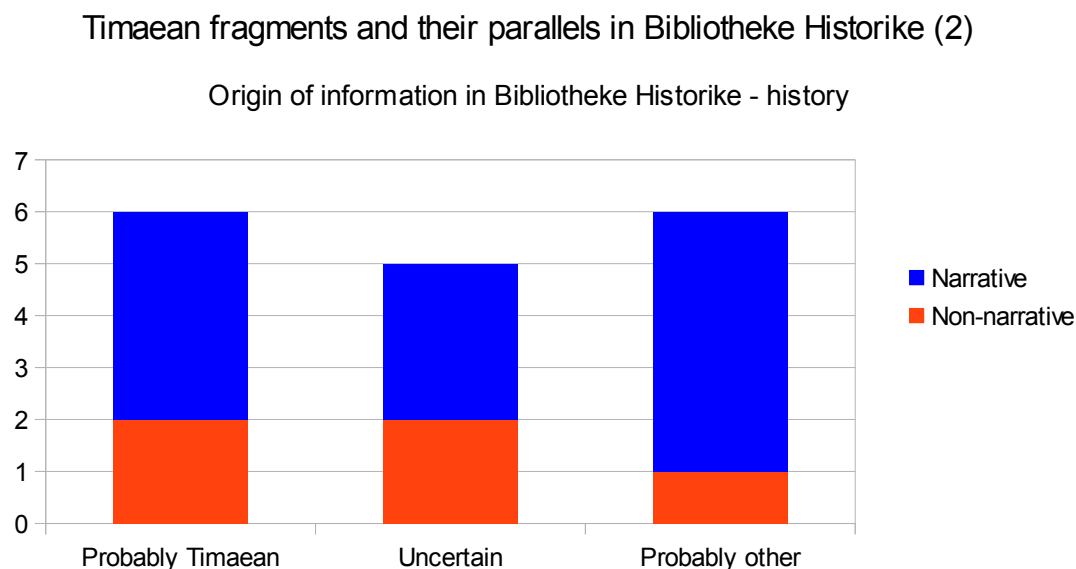
⁷⁸ Thus also Brown (1958) 84-86.

⁷⁹ Brown (1958) 82-83. This fragment has been used to both support and disprove a Theopompan origin of this passage—see Hammond (1936) 142.

⁸⁰ Brown (1958) 87; Baron (2013) 194-196. It should be noted, however that the use of celery for crowns appears also in Duris of Samos (FGrH 76 F 33).

⁸¹ Meister (1967) 54. Brown (1958) 49-50 tries to analyse why Timaeus would reject Zaleukus' existence altogether, while Pearson (1987) 106-107 argues that Cicero simply denied him any importance but still tied Diodorus' version to Timaeus, which is hardly convincing. Stylianou (1998) 58 concedes that this information could not have come neither from Ephorus, or from Timaeus.

and description of Africa (F 81a) make up non-narrative category. The distribution of categories is shown on the chart below.⁸²

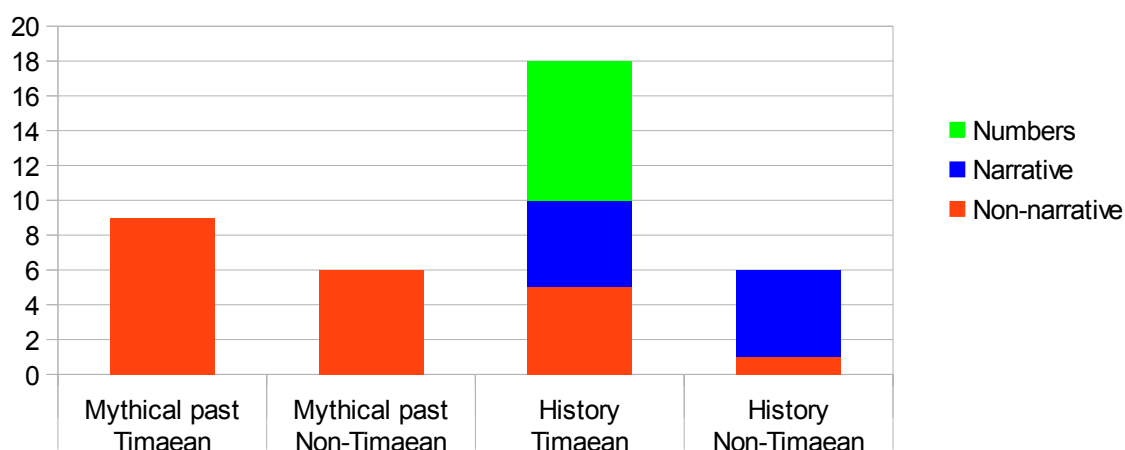


The first thing we should note is the number of narrative cases in which we proposed Timaeian origin and those in relation to which we suggested the usage of a different source. For four instances in which we have reason to believe that Diodorus used Timaeus' work as a source, there are five cases in which the discrepancies are large enough to suggest otherwise. Even combined with scarce evidence for this category from the fragments coming from the *Bibliothéke* (F 27), there is still an equal number of fragments that suggest another source than those supporting hypothesis of Timaeian origin of the bulk of Diodorus' Sicilian material.

Conclusions

Before we can try to answer the question of whether Diodorus relied on Timaeus for the history of Sicily, the evidence presented above has to be put into perspective. For now, let us set aside all the cases in which we were unable either to prove or to disprove Timaeian origin, and look at the positive and negative examples of using Timaeus in the sections of the *Bibliothéke* devoted to mythical and historical past respectively. We will maintain a distinction between the fragments coming from Diodorus' work and those coming from other sources for which we found parallels and for which we may argue with a high degree of probability that Diodorus either did or did not follow Timaeus.

⁸² Because of its unique character, F 115 is represented in the following charts three times.

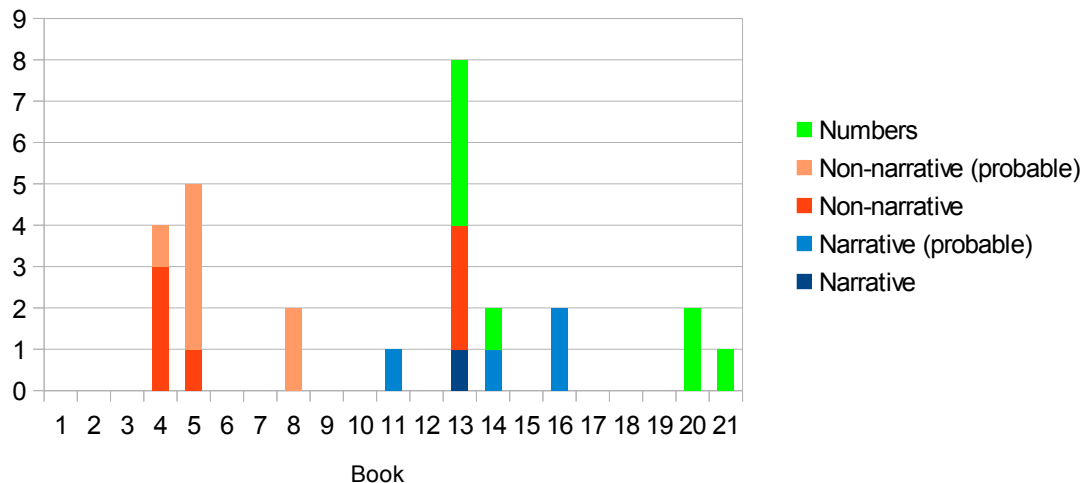
Timaeian fragments and their parallels in *Bibliothèque Historique* (3)Origin of information in *Bibliothèque Historique* - mythical past and history

It is clear that the bulk of the attributable examples pertain to geography, ethnology or myths, and a group primarily found in the section of the *Bibliothèque* devoted to mythical past. The second largest group is composed of numbers cited by Diodorus. Now, as we have seen, in all of these instances Timaeus is not the only cited source—his figures are always juxtaposed with those of others, and only in one case they corroborate his. Moreover, as we have demonstrated, in one of the two cases where we can control it, Diodorus does not use Timaeian figures later in his description of events that followed. All this renders it impossible to use Timaeus' figures as the proof of him being Diodorus' main source. We should note that if we disregard the citations concerning figures, the number of negative attributions for the sixteen historical books (of which ten are fully preserved) is equal, and the number of positive attributions merely higher by one than the respective numbers for the six books on mythical past (five of which have been completely preserved). In a vast majority of cases we can only tie Timaeus to either numbers or non-narrative material in the *Bibliothèque*. To the one explicit citation of Timaeus for the narrative material we can add only four other examples found during our inquiry, whereas in five cases it suggested the use of a different source. Given these problems, it might be useful to take a look at the distribution of the Timaeian material in the *Bibliothèque*, which—hopefully—will allow some conclusions about the role of Timaeus' work as the source in various parts of Diodorus' oeuvre.

What is quite clear is that Book 13 is a focal point of inquiry. It contains almost a third of all the evidence (all of it referring directly to Timaeus) and the only instance in which Diodorus explicitly reports an attribution to Timaeus. However, it seems that it does much more than that. First of all, it is the last time that any non-narrative material based on Timaeus' work is included in the *Bibliothèque*. While the majority of this kind of Timaeian material falls into the part of his work devoted to mythical past (books 4 and 5), Diodorus probably also used it for his account of Sybaris and Sybarites (although we should bear in mind that anecdotes mentioned in Book 8 could come from other source). Secondly, for the first time we see Diodorus citing Timaeian numbers, although as mentioned above always

juxtaposed with those from other authors (usually Ephorus). Finally, the only narrative material different from the figures also belongs to this book. All in all, Book 13 itself, although it contains the most references to Timaeus, also paints an image of his limited usability—he is employed as one of the sources for the army figures and provides information for two digressions, and another one is introduced (according to Diodorus' own statement) to correct Timaeus' error (F 28a). There is only one case in which Timaeus is mentioned as a source of narrative material (F 27) and this evidence seems to be of secondary nature to Diodorus' main purpose. The unusually high concentration of citations of Timaeus in the Book 13 is probably best explained by the very nature of events described in it—the description of the Carthaginian invasions needed the estimations of the forces involved on both sides, and the non-narrative material either pertain to the issues connected to the fall of Gela and Acragas, or provide a description of the Acragantines' wealth on the eve of the fall of their city.

Distribution of Timaeian material in Bibliotheke



What is perhaps the most important from our perspective is that the 13th book is the last place where Diodorus explicitly referenced Timaeus as a source of information other than numbers. And as we have seen, citing Timaeian figures does not necessarily mean following his account, especially since they are always cited with some other authority. The only examples of other types of information that can be tied to Timaeus are in Book 11, where it is possible that Diodorus took the information about the contribution imposed by Gelon on the Carthaginians (F 20, cf. Diod. 11.26.2.), in Book 14, where the description of the Council of Friends is probably Timaeian (F 115, cf. Diod. 14.8.5.), and in Book 16, where we acknowledged the possibility that the description of Timoleon's preparations before the battle of Crimissus may have come from Timaeus' work (F 31b, F 118, cf. Diod. 16.79.2-3). However, we should note that this is by no means certain and that in the very same 16th book we found four cases in which Diodorus apparently followed a different account (F 113, F 115, F 116, F 117).⁸³ The sources of Book 16 have been well studied and it does not seem

⁸³ For Diodorus' sources in the sixteenth book see Vattuone (1991) 94 n. 20, with references to earlier discussion.

that we will be getting any definitive answer to the question any time soon.⁸⁴ All in all, our findings in this area are mostly in accord with what N.G.L. Hammond proposed almost eighty years ago, but the shift in the approach to Diodorus sets them in a new perspective.⁸⁵

It seems also worthwhile to look at the use of Timaeus in the parts of the *Bibliothèque* which deal with Agathokles. We find there only three fragments (F 120, F 121, F 123a) of Timaeus and a lengthy testimony (Diod. 21.17.1-3, divided by Jacoby into T 12, F 124d and T 8) concluded by the statement that Diodorus deems Timaeus books on Agathokles unacceptable. All three fragments provide only figures, which are always juxtaposed with accounts of other historians, whose numbers support Timaeus only in one case (the age of the tyrant). Moreover, we do not find any clear example of the situation in which Diodorus uses Timaeus without referencing him directly. Those findings concide much more with Diodorus' own declaration than with interpretations of modern scholars, who usually claim that Timaeus was his main source for the story of Agathokles.⁸⁶ Also the character of information taken by Diodorus from Timaeus begs attention. First of all, the distinction between the narrative and non-narrative material is very clear in the *Bibliothèque*. The latter we find mostly—and appropriately—in the books on the mythical past. In the historical part Diodorus is clearly aware of its different character and in two out of three cases justifies its inclusion in this place.

More complicated is the question of numbers. It seems that numerical data was particularly important for Diodorus. In her analysis of the use of the numbers in the historical works (in comparison with poetry), Catherine Rubincam included Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon and Diodorus, receiving very interesting results. Not only *Bibliothèque Historique* displayed the highest ratio of numbers (0.89%), but also highest percentage of the cardinal numerals (over 90%) and the smallest inclination for the 'typical' numbers. All this suggests that providing his readers with accurate numerical data was important for Diodorus.⁸⁷

As we have seen, half of the Timaeus citations from the *Bibliothèque* pertains to numbers.⁸⁸ In all these cases Timaeus figures are always juxtaposed with another set, quite often coming from Ephorus. As we have mentioned above,⁸⁹ some scholars suggested that Diodorus took both sets of figures from Timaeus, who criticized Ephorean numbers in his work. However, as we have seen there is little evidence to support this hypothesis. The only case which can be considered as such is F 103 and the description of the battle of Himera in the year 409 (Diod. 13.59.6-60.3). On the other hand we have a much clearer example of F

⁸⁴ Sacks (1990) 7.

⁸⁵ Hammond (1938) 150. For a different standpoint see Alfieri Tonini (1991), who argues for the greater importance of Dyillus. It is worth noting that Hammond's vision of the 16th book is difficult, if not impossible, to maintain together with the notion of Diodorus as a passive compiler since—as rightfully noted by Vattuone (1991) 105-106 n. 56—it is unimaginable for such a compiler to change back and forth between the sources.

⁸⁶ See note 17 above.

⁸⁷ Rubincam (2003) 452-460. This notion might be further reinforced by passages like, e.g. Diod. 2.5.5-7, where Diodorus discusses the credibility of the numbers provided by his source (Ktesias). Even if we assume that he himself was not the author of this discussion, he certainly—at the very least—made a decision to include it in his work.

⁸⁸ That is eight out of eighteen fragments in Jacoby's collection, but since we excluded F 124d and F 164 from our analysis of fragments, it makes an equal half of the remaining evidence.

⁸⁹ See note 31 above.

108 and the siege of Syracuse, where Diodorus constantly used undoubtedly Ephorean figures (Diod. 14.62.3, 76.2).⁹⁰ What is more, we ought to note that Diodorus apparently did not always see the need to confront figures provided by Ephorus with a different source—see e.g. Diod. 14.22.1-2—which makes his consistency in case of Timaeus even more striking.

Moreover, claiming that Diodorus took other sets of figures from Timaeus' work, and not from the source itself, poses another problem. When we try to interpret in this way fragments F 123a and F 123b, which discuss the length of Agathokles' life and reign, serious doubts arise. F 123a (= Diod. 21.16.5) provides us with the only example of situation in which all of the historians cited by Diodorus—namely Timaeus, Kallias and Antandros—give the same numbers (72 years of life, 28 of reign):

Ἀγαθοκλῆς μὲν πλείστους καὶ ποικιλωτάτους φόνους ἐπιτελεσάμενος κατὰ τὴν δυναστείαν, καὶ τῇ κατὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ὠμότητι προσθεὶς καὶ τὴν εἰς θεοὺς ἀσέβειαν, πρέπουσαν ἔσχε τῇ παρανομίᾳ τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν, δυναστεύσας μὲν ἔτη δύο τῶν τριάκοντα λείποντα, βιώσας δὲ δύο πρὸς τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη, καθὼς Τίμαιος ὁ Συρακόσιος συγγράφει, καὶ Καλλίας καὶ αὐτὸς Συρακόσιος ... καὶ Ἀντανδρος ... καὶ αὐτὸς συγγραφεύς.

Agathokles committed many and most varied murders during his reign, and because he added impiety towards the gods to his cruelty towards his own people, the manner of his death was fitting for his lawless life. He lived for seventy-two years and ruled for twenty-eight, as Timaios the Syracusan, Kallias, another Syracusan, author of twenty-eight books, and Antandros, brother of Agathokles, who was himself a historian, write.

And so the question arises: why did Diodorus abandon his practice of juxtaposing the different sets of figures? One possibility is that there was simply no set of different figures in Timaeus. But there is in fact reason to doubt that: fragment F 123b (= Ps-Lucian, *Macrob.* 10.) provides us with another account on the length of Agathokles' life, setting the tyrant's age at the time of death at 95 and citing Timaeus and Demochares, Demosthenes' nephew, for this information.

Ἀγαθοκλῆς δὲ ὁ Σικελίας τύραννος ἐτῶν † ἐνενήκοντα πέντε τελευτᾷ, καθάπερ Δημοχάρης καὶ Τίμαιος ἱστοροῦσιν.

Agathokles the Sicilian tyrant died at the age of ninety-five, as Demochares and Timaios relate.

The number itself here is probably corrupted, but it is clear that Demochares did discuss the length of the tyrant's life in his work, which (as we know) has been in turn criticized by Timaeus in his.⁹¹ We may now ask why—even if both historians were in

⁹⁰ One might consider the possibility that Diodorus chose to use Ephorean figures taken from Timaeus in spite of following the latter's account of events, but since we know he used Ephorus' work directly in the very same book (cf. FGrH 70 F 70 = Diod. 14.11.1.) such an explanation seems to be overcomplicated. Besides, the sheer fact that Diodorus chose Ephorean numbers that were criticized in Timaeus' work above those of Timaeus himself would testify even stronger against the prevailing influence of Timaeus on Diodorus' work. Nonetheless, it is probably best to stick to the simplest explanation.

⁹¹ Cf. T 19 (= Polyb. 12.23.8.), F 35a (= *Suda* s.v. ὧι τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ οὐκ ἔξεστι) and F 35b (= Polyb. 12.13.1-14.1.) for Timaeus'—apparently quite heated and personal—critique of Demochares. The fact that T 19 places Demochares among the writers suggests that it was rather his historical work than his political career that

accord—Diodorus did not include Demochares among the sources he mentions, next to Kallias and Antandros? Of course, there is no certainty that Pseudo-Lucianus took the Demochares' number from Timaeus—in fact, if both historians indeed gave the same number, Timaeus had a little reason to cite Demochares on this matter, especially given his polemic zeal and his attitude towards the latter's work. But the same applies to Kallias and Antandros—if Timaeus was indeed in accord with them on a contemporary detail, what would be the reason for him to admit it in his work, given the fact that the former was probably the court-historian and the latter brother of his bitter enemy, Agathokles? Admittedly, this analysis, which used such risky techniques as *Tendenz* and the argument from silence, does not hold much weight by itself. Nevertheless, it shows the scale of problems we might encounter when we are trying to reduce the number of sources actually used or consulted by Diodorus as far as possible to fit him into the traditional view, when in fact the explanation seems to be much simpler.

Diodorus' use of Timaeus as the source of figures in the *Bibliothèque* seems to follow a relatively simple pattern. Since Diodorus did include an alternative set of figures every single time he gave Timaeian numbers, he clearly felt it was necessary for some reason. It seems that his habit of juxtaposing Timaeian figures with different sets from different authorities may be Diodorus' attempt to provide his reader with minimal and maximal values he found in the sources and thus make the *Bibliothèque* more objective. If that is the case, Diodorus' choices throughout the *Bibliothèque* are reasonable. Timaeus hardly could have been considered impartial, of which Diodorus was clearly well-aware (Diod. 21.17.1-3), and his political sympathies are apparent also in the numbers he included in his work—they always reflect badly on the Syracusan tyrants, usually by giving a lower figures for the strength of the enemy or the sum of the indemnities after a successful war but also—if need be—by giving a higher number of Agathokles' victims (F 121 = Diod. 20.89.4-6). In this light Diodorus' decision always to juxtapose Timaeian figures with others seems to be sound. Perhaps the most telling case is F 123a, where Diodorus gave the age of the tyrant according to three sources representing two very different traditions—pro- and anti-Agathoklean—but giving the same number. The fact that he did so, despite all three being in agreement, attests to a great deal of consistency on his part.

Therefore, bearing in mind that the burden of proof rests on the side making the claim, we shall conclude that there is not enough evidence to support the hypothesis that Diodorus took Ephorean numbers from Timaeus, and thus the fragments in the *Bibliothèque* citing Timaeus for figures (which, as we have seen, are always juxtaposed with a different set of data) cannot by themselves be considered evidence of Diodorus' following Timaeus in the relevant parts of his work.

Let us now get back to the question of Diodorus' supposed reliance on Timaeus. Generally, the presented study of the Diodorus' use of Timaeian material seems to confirm the notion we get from the analysis of the testimonies concerning Timaeus found in the *Bibliothèque*—that Diodorus displayed a critical, though as far as we can see not biased, approach to the work of his predecessor. He was more than willing to use Timaeus as the source for the mythology of the Western Greeks and for the geographical and ethnological descriptions, which fall into the non-narrative category. In the case of the historical part of his oeuvre, Diodorus seems to be much more cautious in employing Timaeus. He still used his work for non-narrative material concerning cities or monuments which he himself

Timaeus was so critical of—see Champion 2010 on F 35a.

considered as separate from his main narration. As for the numbers, Diodorus' habit of putting together very different figures suggests that we should treat this rather as an attempt to make his work more objective by providing two figures and thus giving his readers a range. Due to the presence of various sources in each of these cases it is impossible to consider them a clear indication of the dominant role of Timaeus' work in the process of creating Diodorus' own narration. Apart from this evidence, Timaeus' name is mentioned only once in the course of the main narration of events in the *Bibliothēke* and then only for a relatively minor issue. The search for possible Timaeian narrative material lacking the explicit citation by name produced mostly anecdotes. All in all, only in four cases we have found narrative material congruent with the information preserved in the extant fragments of Timaeus' work, while in five cases the evidence seems to point to the use of a different source by Diodorus. This seems to indicate that Diodorus consciously differentiated between the topics he felt were competently and objectively handled by Timaeus, and those to which he had his reservations, when he preferred to follow a different tradition. We should not exclude a possibility that Diodorus indeed made a genuine effort to consult at least a couple of sources and use them in an intelligent way when composing his account of the history of Sicily.⁹²

Naturally, this analysis cannot claim to be a complete study on Diodorus' use of Timaeus' work, for the method applied enforces rigorousness and discipline, which in turn limits the available evidence. The decisions we have made in the third part of our inquiry, concerning whether the fragments of Timaeus' oeuvre found in other sources correspond with parallel passages of the *Bibliothēke*, are unavoidably subjective, and thus—although we strived to analyse and explain every single one with due diligence—open for a discussion and reinterpretation. It seems, however, that adopting the moderate, even if cautious, approach is a better way forward than too adopt either the strictest or overly lenient criteria. In spite of these problems, though, the most reliable evidence can be seen from a new perspective—starting from preserved fragments of Timaeus' work and looking at their role in the *Bibliothēke* rather than trying to find Timaeus' fingerprints in Diodorus' oeuvre. This point of view allowed us to notice patterns which otherwise could have been missed. Due to the analysis' rigorous character it might also—hopefully—become a basis for further studies on the problem.

Diodorus clearly knew Timaeus' work and used it as one of his sources, but the surviving evidence suggests that he tended to use it for either a non-narrative material, mostly for the first part of the *Bibliothēke* pertaining to mythical past, or for numbers that he could confront with different accounts. Apart from numbers, the narrative material coming from Timaeus is rather rare, and we can in fact find as much evidence of Diodorus following a different tradition than the one preserved in the Timaeian fragments.

⁹² Especially since the list of possible sources mentioned by Diodorus ranged from the quite well-known Philistus of Syracuse to the almost otherwise unknown Hermeias of Methymna. On Philistus see Bearzot (2002a) 91-136; Vattuone (2007) 194-196. Sanders 1981, 1987, 2002 argues that Philistus has been in fact a source for Diodorus' account of the Dionysii (Pace Meister (2002)). On Hermeias see Muccioli (2002) 142-144, who seems to be right, that whenever a tradition more favourable to the Dionysii appears, scholars tend to tie it with Philistus, whereas there have been much wider array of sources and traditions we may attribute it to (Muccioli (2002) 139-140). Even if Volquardsen (1868) 5-13 is right to attribute the information about the beginning or end of various historiographical works to chronographical source, it does not exclude the possibility of Diodorus' using the work nonetheless, as was the case with Herodotus (Diod. 11.37), whose account he critically used in his discussion of the flooding of the Nile; see Muntz (2011) 593.

Therefore, an analysis of the extant fragments of Timaeus' work and their connection to Diodorus' *Bibliothēke* does not support the hypothesis about the latter's overwhelming reliance on the former's work in his own reconstruction of the history of Sicily. This conclusion, albeit in itself limited and somewhat negative, should be taken into account by historians dealing with Diodorus, for it challenges the very important tenet of the *Quellenforschung*—that Diodorus' sources can be identified and that this identification can help us reach beyond the text of the *Bibliothēke* and reconstruct the context and tone of the original source. It reminds us that it is crucial that we keep asking the questions about the sources of Diodorus' work, not taking the popular interpretations for granted, but at the same time appreciate the historical value of the *Bibliothēke* itself.

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