

humanitas

Vol. III

IMPrensa DA UNIVERSIDADE DE COIMBRA
COIMBRA UNIVERSITY PRESS

FACULDADE DE LETRAS DA UNIVERSIDADE DE COIMBRA

INSTITUTO DE ESTUDOS CLÁSSICOS

HVMANITAS

VOLUME III



COIMBRA

MCML - MCMLI

Vergiliana

I

Vergil, Eel. 8. 58, and notes on some possible Hellenistic Sources.

W. F. Jackson Knight, in his book 'Roman Vergil' says (P.202), «In his early enthusiasm Vergil was perhaps more inclined than later to accept association (of ideas) and leave it, without making it appear superficially rational,» and cites Vergil's apparent 'mistranslation' of Theocritus 1.132.

πάντα 5' εναλλα γένοιτο

in

omnia vel medium fiat mare (Eel. 8.58.)

It is with acknowledgment to Mr. Knight's generous advice and encouragement that I venture to supply a reason why Vergil was lead to write this.

Vergil is imitating a passage of Theocritus describing a world upside-down, and contrary to the order of nature :

νῦν <5' τα μὲν φορέοιτο βᾶτοι, φορέοιτο ἄΓακάνθαι
α δὲ γ,οάά νάρκισσος ἐπ' ἄρκεύθοισι κομάσαι,
πάντα 5' εναλλα γένοιτο.

*nunc et ovis ultro fugiat lupo, aurea durae
mala ferant quercus, narcisso floreat alnus,
pinguia corticibus sudent electra myricae,
certent et cygnis ululae, sit Tityrus Orpheus,*

Orpheus in silvis, inter delphinas Arion...

omnia vel medium fiat mare.

(Ecl. 8.52-58.)

No doubt *εναλλα* ('otherwise', 'contrary') may have been mistaken for *ένάλιος* or *εναλος*, or by a simple process of auditory association have suggested *εν άλι* ; but it is highly unlikely that Vergil, even if he was inclined to associate sounds with very different meanings, would have let such a mistake pass, unless the mention of the sea had some connection in his mind with the context; and to say, with Page, that «the wish that 'all things may become even mid ocean' has little sense or connection with what precedes and follows» is to deny an author of many felicitous translations from the Greek that modicum of the translator's art, that his translation make sense.

Here, what is wanted is, not so much a reason why Vergil was lead on this occasion to a thought about the sea (for visual or auditory association is a sufficient explanation), but rather an answer to the question, what connection was there in his mind between the sea and this idea of a world upside-down.

As Mr. Knight has pointed out, «conflation of literary reminiscences is characteristic of Vergil, and his peculiar adaptation of one source is often to be explained by his conflation of another source with it.»

The answer is partly to be supplied from Archilochus :

εκ δὲ τοῦ καὶ πιστὰ πάντα κάπτελπτα γίννται
 ἀνδράσιν μ'ήοεις εθ' υμῶν εἰσορών θαυμαζέτω,
 μῆό' ὅταν δελμσι Θήρες ἀνταμείψωνται νομόν
 ένάλιον καὶ σφιν θαλάσσης ἠχέεντα κύματα
 φίλτερ' ηπειρου γένητοι, τοῖσι δ' ἠδὲ η ορος.

(Anth. Lyr. Graeca, Ed. Diehl.

Vol. i, p. 232, No 74)

Archilochus, perhaps using an already familiar *τόπος*, represents the notion of a world upside-down with the thought of confusion between life on land and life in the sea, in which he uses the word *ένάλιον*. Here alone there is ample reason why *εναλλα* should have directed Vergil's imagination towards the thought of the sea. It is probable besides that the reference

to dolphins (1.56) reminded him of Archilochus, and he may also have known the line of Pseudo-Arion :

Φῆόμοῦσι δελφίνες, ἴνχλα θρέμματα.

(Anth. Lyr. Graeca, Ed. Diehl.

Vol. 2, p. 5, No. i)

But I wish to show that this idea of reversal of life on land and life in the sea had become an integral part of Vergil's poetic equipment, and was only one of the means at his disposal for expressing the notion of strangeness or reversal of the natural order, and indeed was generally so connected with other similar figurative modes of expression that it would have been natural, even without the suggestive *halla*, for Vergil to have amplified and embellished the original idea of Theocritus in the way he did. I hope to show that this notion of reversal in nature is closely connected with the similar idea of what may conveniently be included under the title of the 'Golden Age' ('Saturnia regna'), and that together their immediate source for Vergil is probably Hellenistic (in particular Callimachus), and finally I shall note a few passages in the Georgics connected with another aspect of nature that may also have their source in Callimachus.

To begin with, a much fuller expression than in the passage already quoted (Ecl. 8. 58) of the notion of reversal of land and sea life, and one which conforms closely to the Archilochus, is found in

*Ante leves ergo pascentur in aequore cervi,
et freta destituent nudos in lit ore piscis. . . .
quam nostro illius labatur pectore vultus.*

(Ecl. i. 5g63-)

(After making a rough sketch of these notes I came across an article of Max Schneider in *Philologus* 68 (1909), P. 447, wherein he quotes this passage of Vergil and the passage of Archilochus, arguing from a comparison of them the reading 'aequore' (Moretanus quartus, Ribbeck) which I have adopted

here instead of that of the Oxford Text (‘aethere’) (For a full discussion of the MSS. see Schneider.) But he neither quotes nor refers to any other passage of Vergil nor to any other Greek source than the Archilochus.)

A passage in another eclogue shows the connection between this one type of ‘reversal’ and other instances of nature in and out of its element, and here a possible reversal is only hinted at:

*dum iuga montis aper, fluvios dum piscis amabit,
dumque thymo pascentur apes, dum rore cicadae,
semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt.*

(Ecl. 5. 76-78)

Such figurative expressions occur often in protestations, either where the speaker means that the impossible has now been brought to pass, or where he compares the constancy of his love etc. or the inviolability of his oath with the unchangeableness of the natural order. In the twelfth Aeneid we find the ‘sea and land reversal’ connected with other expressions (partly copied from Homer, II. 1, 234-239):

«...*nulla dies pacem hanc Italis nec foedera rumpet,
quo res cumque cadent; nec me vis ulla volentem
avertet, non, si tellurem effundat in undas,
diluvio miscens, caelumque in Tartara solvat;
ut sceptrum hoc» -*dextra sceptrum nam forte gerebat —
anumquam fronde levi fundet virgulta nec umbras,
cum semel in silvis imo de stirpe recisum
matre caret... »* (A. 12, 202-209.)*

This forms a close parallel with Herodotus —

αTH <3ή ο τε ουρανός εσται ενερθε τής ^ής, και ή γγι μετέωρος υπέρ του ουρανού, και 01 άνθρωποι νομόν εν θαλάσση έξουσι, και 01 ιχθύες τον πρότερον άνθρωποι...» (5, 9²² - ·)

wherein the words νομόν εν θαλάσση echo Archilochus’ νομόν ένάλιον.

The ‘air and earth reversal’, combined with the already familiar notion of that of land and sea, is again found in the

description of the plague at the end of Georgics HI, as well as the common idea of harmony between wolves and sheep etc. to indicate the unnatural results of the plague, though it is this time to be interpreted literally :

*non lupus insidias explorat ovilia circum
nec gregibus nocturnus obambulat : acrior illum
cura domat: timidi dammae cervique fugaces
nunc interque canes et circum tecta vagantur.
iam maris immensi prolem et genus omne natantum
litore in extremo ceu naufraga corpora fluctus.
proluit; insolitae fugiunt in flumina phocae.
interit et curvis frustra defensa latebris
vipera et attoniti squamis astantibus hydri.
ipsis est aer avibus non aequus, et illae
praecipites alta vitam sub nube relinquunt.*

For other examples of similar unnatural phenomena, see Eel. 3, 91-92; Eel. 8, 4; 26-28; 52-58; Eel. 9, 30-31.

Before passing on to the connection between this and passages concerning the 'Golden Age' there are one or two possible Hellenistic parallels to be noted. With Callimachus, Iambus 111 (Fr. 193), 11. 7-9 (in R. Pfeiffer's recently published volume, ⁴Callimachus, Volume 1, Fragmenta[^] Oxford, 1949, to which all further citations from Callimachus refer, under the abbreviation 'Pf.'),

ινερθε ὄδ χεῖσθαι
λιστI 3' ὀχενμεν
ζρη μετέστραπται

Pfeiffer compares the passage of Herodotus already quoted (5.92.2), and also a choliambic fragment (Powell, Coll. Alex, p. 214), 1. 14 sq.

[..ή] 5α)ασσα με|ν πεζή
άν|θρώποι|σιν ή 3έ| γγ| πλωτή.

and 1. 30

ἀνέστρωφ αν γὰρ την ζοην Λμών ούζο ι.

(Unfortunately I have not been able to see G. A. Gerhard's *Phoinix von Kolophon* V (1909), pp. 45-47, to which Pfeiffer refers the reader.)

Perhaps we may also compare Callimachus, *Iambus* xii, (Fr. 202, Pf.) 1. 70, as supplemented by Lobel, though the reading and meaning in the context are equally uncertain,

κήλ]άφοις χαφωσιν [ά]ρπα^ [ες λ]ύκ[ο]ι

Compare also with the passage of the twelfth Aeneid already quoted Call. fr. 388 (Pf.), 11. 9-11,

Φωκαέο>ν μέχρις κε μένη μέγας είν ά)ά μύδοος,
αχ]ρι τέκη Παλλά[ς κη γάμος] Άρ[τ]έμιδι,
...]ς άεϊ πανάγιοτ[α μέ]νειν « [. . .] Βερενίκη

and also the passages referred to by Pfeiffer in the commentary (esp. Horace, *Epod.* 17.)

Especially in connection with the nature of wolves, serpents etc., the idea of reversal is closely connected in Vergil with descriptions of what I have included under the «Golden Age» («Saturnia regna»). Compare, for instance, with examples already quoted, the description of Daphnis' deification (*Eel.* 5, 60-61),

*nec lupus insidias pecori, nec retia cervis
ulla dolum meditantur ; amat bona otia Daphnis,*

the description of the Golden Age in *Eel.* 4, 18-45, especially

*nec magnos metuent armenta leones. ..
occidet et serpens, et fallax herba veneni
occidet;* (11.22-25).

and the similarity of

Assyrium vulgo nascetur amomum (1. 25)

and

et durae quercus sudabunt roscida mella (1. 30)

to

*aurea durae
mala ferant quercus, narcisso floreat αληηδ_η
pinguia corticibus sudent electra myricae. ...*

(Ecl. 8, 52-54)

and

et maestum inlacrimat templis ebur aeraque sudant.

(G. i, 480)

Again, contrast the «Saturnia regna» in Georgics I, 127, 128

*in medium quaerebant, ipsaque tellus
omnia liberius nullo poscent e ferebat*

with the reverse

*ille malum virus serpentibus addidit atris,
praedarique lupos iussit pontumque moveri,
mellaque decussit foliis ignemque removit...*

(11. 129-131)

(Note the emphasis here on ‘ipsa’ (‘of its own accord’), and in the Fourth Eclogue). Further compare Georgics 1. 1. 479 with Eclogue 8, 1. 4.

Turning to Hellenistic precedent, we may note the possible concurrence of ‘reversal in nature’ and the ‘Golden Age’ in Callimachus, Iambus in, (Fr. 193, Pf.), the former already cited (11. 7-9), the other possibly to be found, if Lobel’s suggestion of men eating acorns is right, in lines 15 and 16:

]ε 5εξιη τξ,ώγειν
]Ιέγονσι τά πρώτα

There is also a possible reminiscence in the description (G. i, 478) of a portent attending Caesar’s murder,

pecudesque locutae
(*infandum!*):

of Callimachus, Iambus n, (Fr. 192, Pf.), 11. 13⁻ (cf. Milan Diegesis ad. 10c.),

Ἐν κείνος οὐνιαυτός, ὦ το τε πτηνόν
καί τούν θαλάσση και το τετράπουν αὐτως
ἐφθέ^εθ^θ ὥς ο πηλός ο Προμή θειος

(Concerning the same phenomenon of animals with speech in the Saturnian age, Pfeiffer gives references to Cratinus, Plutoi, PSI 1212, and Crates, CAF, 1, p. 133 K.)

There remains now to notice one or two possible borrowings of Vergil in the Georgics from Callimachus, concerned with weather lore.

In the description of stormy weather, Georgics 1, 390-392

*ne nocturna quidem carpentes pensa puellae
nescivere hiemem, testa cum ardente viderent
scintillare olewn et putris concrescere fungos.*

is compared by Pfeiffer with Callimachus, fr. 269 (Pf.),

ὄπποτε λύχνου
δα το μένου πυρόεντος ἀδην ἐ^ενοντο μύκητες.

Compare also Georgics i, 360

iam sibi tum curvis male temperat unda carinis

and Georgics 1, 456-457,

*non illa quisquam me nocte per altum
ire neque ab terra moneat convellere funem,*

with Callimachus fr. 327 (^·)^

γ·· αἰθυιης υπό πτερύ^εσσιν ἔλυσαν πείσματα νηός *f⁻

In this fragment Callimachus probably describes the movement of birds attendant on bad weather.

With this compare G I. 361.

cum medio celeres revolant ex aequore mergi sqq.,

and further 11. 378-389 and 398-423.

Similarly in descriptions of a country scene, Vergil's lines, in their general form and rhythm, sometimes remind one of Callimachus: with fr. 527 (a) (Pf.)

(βούτομον, Schneider) *ον τε μάλιστα βοών ποδέουσιν εχίνοι*

and fr. 301 (Pf.)

βονσόον ον τε μύωπα βοών χαδέουσιν άμορβοί

compare Verg. G. 3. 147¹50⁻

*plurimus volitans, cui nomen asilo
Romanum est, oestrum Grai vertere vocantes,
asper, acerba sonans, jwo tota exterrita silvis
diffugiunt armenta*

and Verg. G. 4. 271-278

*es/ etiam flos in pratis cui nomen amello
fecere agricolae, facilis quaerentibus herba. ...
asper in ore sapor; tonsis in vallibus illum
pastores et curva legunt prope flumina Mellae.*

and Verg. A. 12, 414-415

*(dictamnium) non illa feris incognita capris
gramina, cum tergo volucres haesere sagittae.*

II

Vergil, Ecl. 10, 24-25.

*venit et agresti capitis Silvanus honore
floreantis ferulas et grandia lilia quassans.*

I would place a comma after 'florentis', and construe 'florentis' with 'capitis', to explain what the 'rustic honour' was, namely, a garland of flowers.

Some think 1.25 epexegetic of 'agresti capitis honore', thus regarding Silvanus as having the ferulas and lilies on his head. Sidgwick, rightly I think, assumes that he is holding, and shaking them, in his hand. Two reasons may be adduced to support this assumption.

(1) Vergil uses 'quasso' of Juno shaking her head *in anger* (A. 7, 292); in our passage there is no reason why Silvanus should shake his head violently. Elsewhere Vergil uses 'quasso' of warriors brandishing a spear (A. 9, 521 ; ib. 12, 94.) — a violent motion — and it is therefore natural to suppose that Silvanus is shaking the flowers in his hand here. In Georgics 1, 20, he is portrayed carrying a young cypress.

(2) Vergil chooses the plants carefully: they have long stalks, and can easily be held in the hand. Indeed the 'ferula' was used as a staff or walking stick, and as a rod. Vergil explicitly states that the lilies were 'grandia' and their flowers, as well as their stalks, are long. Such plants would not, therefore, be used in a chaplet.

Vergil and the 'Aetia' of Callimachus.

Rudolph Pfeiffer's recently published edition of the Fragments of Callimachus makes plain the debt which the Augustine poets owed to the 'Aetia' of Callimachus. There is a frequent similarity of phrase or idea between fragments of the 'Aetia' and passages in the Roman poets, while Catullus' imitation (LXVI) of Callimachus is well known. The 'Aetia', besides, seems to have been the inspiration for Ovid's copious stories.

Vergil too, in his youth, was naturally influenced by the Alexandrian poets, (cf. Knight, 'Roman Vergil', P.33), and indeed wrote his own 'Aetia', if the 'Ciris' and other poems of the Appendix Vergiliana are his. (On the 'Ciris' cf. Pf. Call, fr. 113; on the Appendix cf. 'Roman Vergil' P.61. sqq.). But he was later to forsake the composition of poetry of modest

proportions (a practice for which Callimachus himself was censured (fr. 1. Pf.)), and finally to triumph in the Aeneid with ‘εν άεισμχ διηγεκές’.

In the Sixth Eclogue (which I hope to show is based on the first book of the ‘Aetia’), Vergil playfully hints that the time is not yet ripe for him to attempt the epic, and he must muse meanwhile in a lowlier strain :

*Cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthus aurem
vellit, et admonuit: Pastorem, Tityre, pinguis
pascere oportet ovis, deductum dicere carmen.*

Nunc ego...

agrestem tenui meditabor harundine Musam.

Non iniussa cano.

(E.6. 3-9.)

Pfeiffer cites this passage in a comparison with Callimachus’ own apology for writing the ‘Aetia’ : —

καί γάρ οτε πρώτιστον έμοίς επί τέλτον εθηκα
γοῦνχστυν, Ἐπόλλων ειπεν ο μοι Ληιαος*
4]...άοι3 έ, τό μεν θύος οττι πάχιστον
θρέψαι, τη]ν Μούσαν <5' ώ^αθέ λεπταλεην
τώ πιθόμ7)]ν* έντ τοις γάρ άείόομεν 01 λι^ύν ήχον
τέττ1}’ος, 0]όρυβον (5' ούκ ζίφίλησαν ονων. (fr. 1 . 21-24^ 2930-)

It is to be noticed that it is not Vergil himself, (as in the exalted Fourth Eclogue), but Silenus, who indulges in these Alexandrian ‘carmina’. Vergil was to express his opinion about these later in the Georgics, where he deserts such frivolity : —

Te quoque, magna Pales, et te memorande canemus

pastor ab Amphryso, vos, silvae amnesque Lycaei.

*Cetera, quae vacuas tenuissent carmine mentes,
omnia iam volgata: quis aut Eurysthea durum,
aut in laudati nescit Busiridis aras?*

Cui non dictus Hylas puer et Latonia Delos,

... Temptanda via est, qua me quoque possim

tollere hu?no victor que virum volitare per ora. (G.3. 1-9)

(On Busiris cf. Call. ff. 44-47 Pf.)

We find the nymph Clymene also singing such songs to an intent audience (⁴carmine quo captae'): —

*Inter quas curam Clymene narrabat inanem
Volcani, Martisque dolos et dulcia furta,
Aque Chao densos divom numerabat amores.*

(G.4. 345-347)

(With I.347 cf. Call. fr. 48(Pf.): -

ὥς τε Ζεὺς ἐράτιζε τριηκοσίους ἐνιαυτούς

and see Pfeiffer's notes.)

Yet Vergil can transform the story into a very beautiful art form, as in the myth of Aristaeus at the end of Georgics 4, though the facts of the story itself may have come from Callimachus. (On Aristaeus cf. Call. fr. 471, (Pf.))

Vergil's Sixth Eclogue (ll. 3-g) has already been compared with Callimachus' Aetia fr. 1, but no comparison, so far as I know, has yet been made between the song that Silenus sings in that Eclogue, and the fragments of the first book of the Aetia, which I suggest as the inspiration of Vergil's poem.

In Callimachus' poem, Hesiod, in a dream (cf. Schol. Flor. on fr. 2.) holds converse with the Muses, and hears of various ⁴aetia' from them.

1.

ποιμένι *μῦθᾶ* νέμοντι παρ' ἰχθινον οἴξιος ἵππου

Ἡσιόδω Μουσέων *ΕΣΜΌΣ* ἔν ἠντιάσεν

μ]ΕΝ *σὶ* χάειος *γένεσ[*

[επί πτέρνης ὕδα]

5.

τευχών ὡς ἐτέρω τις ἐώ κακόν ἦπατι τεύχει

[ὄ ζώειν ἄξιον α]

[εν πάντες σε* το γα]

[δε πρήσσειν *ΕΔ* *μῶ*]

(fr. 2.)

In Vergil, the sleeping Silenus is awakened by Chromis and Mnasylos, and is then constrained to sing them the ⁴car-

mina' which he had before promised them. He sings to them
of how

*Magnum per inane coacta
Semina terrarumque animaeque marisque fuissent
et liquidi simul ignis; ut his exordia primis
omnia'et ipse tener mundi concreverit orbis.....*

(E.6. 11. 31-34)

This roughly corresponds to the beginning of Callimachus fr. 2. Lobel supplies ζ[θανάτων in 1.6 and tentatively suggests 'de aetate aurea' (cf. 'Saturnia regna»). 1.41, Vergil.) Silenus continues : —

*Caucasiasque refert volucres furtumque Promethei.
His adiungit, Hylan nautae quo fonte relictum
Clamassent, ut litus, Hyla, Hyla, omne sonaret;
Et fortunatam, si numquam armenta fuissent,
Pasiphaen-----*

(E.6. 42-46.)

It does not seem from the Scholia that Callimachus told the story of Hylas in this place, but Theocritus' thirteenth eclogue and Apollonius Rhodius' account would doubtless have suggested to Vergil its inclusion here; at all events Callimachus tells of the Argonauts, whose return from Colchis is the subject of ff. 7. 1. 19 to fr. 21. Moreover Callimachus proceeds to recount two stories about Heracles eating an ox ('Sacrificium Lindium,' and 'Theiodamas Dryops', ff. 22-23, and 24-25 respectively), and he may have mentioned that Heracles, when he had killed Theiodamas, took his (Theiodamas') son Hylas with him on the Argonautic voyage.

There is no mention of Pasiphae here, but Callimachus tells the story of her husband Minos and their son Androgeos. In any case, exact correspondence between the two poets is hardly to be looked for. If, as I suggest, the Sixth Eclogue is an imitation of the 'Aetia', the various mythological persons may have been taken from Callimachus; but probably Vergil was content to use Callimachus' framework and include what specially appealed to him. There is also of course the diffe-

rence that Callimachus presents his story under the guise of a 'cause' for some custom etc., Vergil neglects it.

The introduction of Gallus, wandering by the Permessus, and his being led by one of the Muses on to Helicon (Verg. 11. 64-65, seems a counterpart to the dream of Hesiod (Schol. Flor, on Call. fr. 2)

ὡς κ[ατ]’ οναρ συμμείξας Μούσ[αις εν Ἐλι]κῶνι.

Silenus proceeds : —

quid loquar, aut Scyllam Nisi...

(E. 6. 74)

Pfeiffer's conjecture K[e]ptv, in two places of fr. 113 (fragmentum incerti libri Aetiorum: libri I?) may therefore be right, if Vergil's mention of Scylla was a reminiscence of Callimachus (See Pfeiffer's notes on fr. 113).

London.

B. VAZQUEZ.