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HARTS AND HEDGES: FURTHER ETYMOLOGIZING IN VIRGIL'S FIRST *ECLOGUE*¹

NEIL ADKIN

O'Hara's comprehensive treatment of etymologizing in the *Eclogues* opens with the admission that in this work he had only been able to find "comparatively few" examples.² It has however been argued recently that the beginning of the very first *Eclogue* is particularly dense in *jeux étymologiques* which have hitherto escaped notice.³ The aim of the present article is to show that the same *Eclogue* contains further etymologizing that has likewise defied identification. Of particular importance in this respect is a celebrated *adynaton* that occurs towards the end of the poem (*ecl.* 1,59–63).⁴ The opening distich of this *adynaton* reads: *ante leves ergo pascentur in aethere cervi / et freta destituent nudos in litore piscis*. The idea of harts "in the air" is puzzling: in *adynata* such terrene animals are normally represented as simply living in the sea.⁵ Here *levis* is particularly difficult. Coleman for example cannot decide whether it means "fleet of foot" or "floating lightly".⁶ Pasqualetti finds the epithet problematical because there is nothing in the context

¹ Citation of Latin works follows the method of *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae: Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum*, Leipzig 1990².

² J. J. O'Hara, *True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay*, Ann Arbor 1996, 243.

³ Cf. N. Adkin, "Etymologizing in Virgil, *Eclogue* 1,11–15", forthcoming in *AC* 80 (2011).

⁴ On this passage cf. most recently A. Loupiac, "Notula Vergiliana II: Les métamorphoses d'un *Adynaton*. Sur quelques vers des *Bucoliques* I et IX", *BAGB* (2006) 142–7. Here nothing is said about etymology.

⁵ Cf. I. M. Le M. Du Quesnay, "Vergil's First *Eclogue*", in F. Cairns (ed.), *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* III (ARCA 7), Liverpool 1981, 137. One might also refer to (e. g.) K. Löschhorn, "Zu Vergils *Eclogie* I", *BPhW* 39 (1919) 23, who remarks that "auch die kühnste Phantasie nicht gestattet, ... Hirsche eine Luftreise machen zu lassen".

⁶ R. Coleman, *Vergil: Eclogues*, Cambridge 1977, 85.

that has to do with "speed";⁷ he evidently dismisses out of hand the notion that the word could signify "floating lightly". It would seem that the solution to this crux is to be sought in etymology.

The Greek for *cervus* is ἔλαφος.⁸ The noun ἔλαφος was etymologized from ἐλαφρός.⁹ Ἐλαφρός in turn is regularly glossed as *levis*.¹⁰ *Levis* itself was etymologized from *levo*.¹¹ It may accordingly be supposed that here *levis* means "light": the term is being used as an etymological gloss on the Greek equivalent of *cervus*.¹² It would appear therefore that the odd choice of *aether* in this *adynaton* has been determined by etymology: it is etymologically appropriate for "light" harts to be "in the air". The same etymological considerations provide decisive evidence against the variant reading *in aequore*, which is wrongly preferred by some editors to *in aethere*:¹³ if harts belong etymologically in air, they have no business in water.

The sentence which immediately precedes this *adynaton* contains the following lines: *hinc tibi quae semper vicino ab limite saepes / Hyblaeis apibus florem depasta salicti / saepe levi somnum suadebit inire susurro* (53–55). This passage has been qualified as "locus difficillimus".¹⁴ Here *saepes* as subject is

⁷ O. Pasqualetti, "lēvis", in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* III, Rome 1987, 198.

⁸ Cf. G. Loewe – G. Goetz, *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum* VI, Leipzig 1899, 204 (s. v. *cervus*).

⁹ Cf. *Etym. magn.* 326,1f.: ἔλαφος: ... διὰ τὴν κουφότητα ... , ἐλαφρὴ τις οὔσα.

¹⁰ Cf. Loewe and Goetz (above n. 8) 639 (s. v. *levis*).

¹¹ Cf. N. Adkin, "Further Supplements to Marangoni's *Supplementum Etymologicum*: The Scholia to Persius and Juvenal", *BStudLat* 39 (2009) 177; Id., "More Additions to Maltby's *Lexicon of Ancient Latin Etymologies* and Marangoni's *Supplementum Etymologicum*: The Scholia to Lucan", *C&C* 5 (2010) 54f.

¹² *Leves* and *cervi* enclose the line. For such "framing" as an etymological marker cf. F. Cairns, "Ancient 'Etymology' and Tibullus: On the Classification of 'Etymologies' and on 'Etymological Markers'", *PCPhS* 42 (1996) 33 (= Id., *Papers on Roman Elegy 1969–2003* [Eikasmos, Studi 16], Bologna 2007, 317).

¹³ For bibliography cf. M. Geymonat, *P. Vergili Maronis opera*, Rome 2008², 6 and 707 (ad loc.).

¹⁴ So A. Forbiger, *P. Vergili Maronis opera* I, Leipzig 1872⁴, 13. In particular *semper* in the first of these lines has been found problematic: editors have attempted to eliminate the word by a variety of emendations (cf. Forbiger 14). It may however be noted that here *semper* at the strong 3rd-foot caesura is followed by *saepe* at the beginning of the line (55). In lines 7f. the replication of exactly the same pattern would seem to be an argument in support of *semper* in 53. Further parallels between lines 7f. and 53–55 will be examined below.

surprising.¹⁵ Similarly *saepe* requires an elucidatory gloss.¹⁶ It would in fact appear that Virgil is etymologizing *saepes* from *saepe*. Though neither Maltby nor Marangoni documents such a link,¹⁷ evidence for the connection can nonetheless be adduced: *saepe ... venit a nomine, quod est saepes vel a verbo saepio, i(dest) munio. saepes est munitio et dicitur, eo quod frequenter ligna vel virgae ibi ponuntur*.¹⁸ Virgil's *saepe* and *saepes* occupy the initial and final positions in their respective lines: the two words are merely separated by the participial phrase that fills the intervening line.¹⁹

Further evidence of Virgil's etymological intent would appear to be supplied by his use of *levis* immediately after *saepe*: *saepe levi ... susurro*. Here Pasqualetti finds *levis* problematic because Virgil does not apply this adjective to sound.²⁰ The same scholar was similarly troubled by Virgil's application of exactly the same epithet to *cervi* a mere four lines later (59): *ante leves ergo pascentur in aethere cervi*.²¹ It is noteworthy that in both of these lines *levis* occupies precisely the same *sedes* before the trihemimeris and after the trochaic break in the first foot, where on each occasion this adjective follows a temporal adverb (*ante leves / saepe levi*).²² It was established above that in line 59 *levis*

¹⁵ Cf. Forbiger (above n. 14) 14: "Saepes, cui tribuitur a poeta, quod in soluta oratione apibus earumque susurro tribuendum erat, ad somnum te invitabit".

¹⁶ Cf. P. Burman, *P. Virgilio Maronis opera* I, Amsterdam 1746, 17: "*saepe*, id est, ubi vacabit et libebit".

¹⁷ R. Maltby, *A Lexicon of Ancient Latin Etymologies* (ARCA 25), Leeds 1991; C. Marangoni, *Supplementum Etymologicum Latinum* I (Polymnia 8), Trieste 2007.

¹⁸ *Gramm. suppl.* 259,25–28. Modern scholarship corroborates the etymological link between *saepes* and *saepe*, whose basic meaning is "d'une façon serrée"; cf. A. Ernout – A. Meillet – J. André, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine: Histoire des mots*, Paris 1985⁴, 588 (s. v. *saepe*).

¹⁹ On the importance of these *sedes* in etymologizing cf. Cairns (above n. 12 [1996]) 33 (= Id. [above n. 12 (2007)] 317). Further attention is drawn to *saepe* by the similarly temporal adverb *semper*, which precedes it in the middle of line 53; both terms are also semantically and phonetically similar. It will be argued below that medial *semper* has the same function in line 7, where it likewise precedes initial *saepe*.

²⁰ Pasqualetti (above n. 7) 198.

²¹ Cf. n. 7 above.

²² The two lines are also marked by further correspondences: in each the bacchiac verb occurs immediately after the strong 3rd-foot caesura, while the noun qualified by *levis* stands in hyperbatically final *sedes*. It may accordingly be observed that the two nouns being etymologized (*cervi / saepes*) have both been placed in the same emphatically terminal position in the line.

means "light": there the adjective serves as an etymological gloss on the Greek for *cervus*. It would seem that in line 55 the same epithet is again being put to a similarly etymologizing use. This time *levis* serves as an antiphrastic gloss on the sense in which juxtapositional *saepe* is to be understood as the etymon of *saepes*: "heavy", "thick".²³ Virgil himself employs *levis* as the antonym of both *gravis* (*georg.* 2,254f.) and *pinguis* (*georg.* 2,92).²⁴

There would appear to be a further passage of the first *Eclogue* itself in which Virgil is propounding the same etymology. Exactly twenty lines before the passage just discussed (53–55) Virgil inserts the following tristich (33–35): *quamvis multa meis exiret victima saeptis, / pinguis et ingratae premeretur caseus urbi, / non umquam gravis aere domum mihi dextra redibat*. It might be thought that *meis exiret ... saeptis* is a rather odd way of saying that the animal was "taken to market to be sold for sacrifice".²⁵ Here *saepta* requires a gloss.²⁶ The epithet *pinguis* is also surprising.²⁷ *Pinguis* is further highlighted by postponement of *et*.²⁸ As a result *pinguis* occupies the same initial position in the line as *saepe* (55), while *saeptis* is placed in the same final *sedes* as *saepes* (53): thus *pinguis* and *saeptis* are directly juxtaposed.²⁹ It would seem that here too Virgil is advanc-

²³ For etymologizing κατ' ἀντίφρασιν in Virgil cf. O'Hara (above n. 2) 66. It may be noted that the present instance supplies further confirmation that in line 59 *levis* means "light", not "fleet".

²⁴ The final point may be made that Virgil would again appear to etymologize *saepes* from *saepe* at the start of his next work (*georg.* 1,269–74): *nulla / religio vetuit segeti praetendere saepem, / ... / ... ; / saepe oleo tardi costas agitator aselli / ... onerat*. Here *saepe* is surprising; cf. (e. g.) M. Erren, *P. Vergilius Maro, Georgica II: Kommentar*, Heidelberg 2003, 162 (ad loc.): "Das immer auf gelegentliche, einzeln motivierte Vorgänge bezogene Wort *saepe* wirkt hier geradezu als Verharmlosung, denn falls der Betrieb Öl nicht nur für den eigenen Bedarf produzierte, musste mehr verkauft werden als ab und zu einmal ein Krug auf dem Jahrmarkt". The oddness of *saepe* is evidently due to the etymologizing. As in *Eclogue* I, the final *sedes* in the line is occupied by *saepes*, which is again followed by *saepe* in similarly initial position.

²⁵ So T. E. Page, *P. Vergili Maronis Bucolica et Georgica*, London 1898, 96 (ad loc.).

²⁶ Cf. Serv. *ecl.* 1,33 (ad loc.): *saepta proprie sunt loca in campo Martio inclusa tabulatis, in quibus stans populus Romanus suffragia ferre consueverat. ... hoc loco saepta pro ovilibus posuit*. The *saepta* of this passage also has to be glossed by Philargyrius (*Verg. ecl.* 1,33 rec. I).

²⁷ Cf. (e. g.) W. Clausen, *A Commentary on Virgil, Eclogues*, Oxford 1994, 46 (ad loc.), who remarks that this application of *pinguis* to cheese is "virtually unique". Servius too is uncomfortable (*ecl.* 1,33 [ad loc.]: *sane "pinguis" melius ad victimam, quam ad caseum refertur*).

²⁸ Cf. Forbiger (above n. 14) 9 (ad loc.): "particula *et* uni vocabulo ... postponitur, ubi illud, quod praemittitur, vocabulum praecipuam vim habet".

²⁹ On these *loci* as etymological markers cf. Cairns (above n. 12 [1996]) 33 (= Id. [above n. 12 (2007)] 317).

ing his view that *saepes*³⁰ is to be etymologized from *saepe* connoting "thickness". This time however Virgil has "suppressed" the etymon *saepe*,³¹ which has here been replaced by the semantically equivalent *pinguis*.³²

Saepe is employed in this *Eclogue* with remarkable frequency. No fewer than three occurrences of this adverb are to be found in the poem's first twenty lines alone. Immediately after the etymological word-play mentioned at the start of the present article³³ *saepe* again stands in emphatically initial *sedes* (16f.): *saepe malum hoc nobis, si mens non laeva fuisset, / de caelo tactas memini praedicere quercus*. Here *saepe* might be thought strange. It is proverbial that "lightning never strikes the same place twice".³⁴ In its note on the *saepe* of this passage the standard commentary in German accordingly remarks that "Vergil neigt zu Übertreibungen".³⁵ Servius moreover points out that the oaks in question are Jupiter's own trees:³⁶ hence Jupiter is being represented as striking his very same own oaks not just twice, but "often". Significantly *saepe* is omitted altogether from every one of the three most recent English translations of the *Eclogues*.³⁷

All of the afore-mentioned problems vanish if *saepe* is instead construed as the ablative singular of the noun *saepes*. The etymological link which Virgil establishes between adverb and noun naturally invites the reader to understand *saepe* in this way. Every single instance of *saepe* in this *Eclogue* can in fact be given such a construe.³⁸ The ambiguity which results was considered especially

³⁰ For the link between *saepes* and *saeptum* cf. (e. g.) Non. p. 41,1–3: *saepiunt ... dictum a saepibus ... ; unde et circumseptum dicitur*.

³¹ On such "suppression" cf. O'Hara (above n. 2) 79–82.

³² It may be observed that the next and closing line contains the phrase *gravis aere* immediately before the main caesura. Here *gravis* requires elucidation from Philargyrius: "*gravis*" *idest ponderosa* (*Verg. ecl.* 1,35 rec. II). In this connection it may therefore be significant that at the end of the previous paragraph the point was made that *gravis* as well as *pinguis* is used by Virgil as a counterterm of the *levis* which in line 55 glosses antiphrastically the directly antecedent *saepe*.

³³ Cf. n. 3 above.

³⁴ So J. Speake (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs*, Oxford 2003⁴, 179.

³⁵ T. Ladewig – C. Schaper – P. Deuticke – P. Jahn, *Vergils Gedichte*, Dublin and Zurich 1973¹⁰, 3.

³⁶ *Serv. ecl.* 1,17 (ad loc.).

³⁷ Viz. B. H. Fowler, *Vergil's Eclogues*, Chapel Hill 1997, 1; D. Ferry, *The Eclogues of Virgil*, New York 2000, 3–5; L. Krisak, *Virgil's Eclogues*, Philadelphia 2010, 3.

³⁸ This point is an argument against the authenticity of the immediately succeeding verse (17a:

clever.³⁹ In the present case such a reading also yields excellent sense. A place which had been struck by lightning was enclosed with a *saepes*.⁴⁰ It was accordingly the *saepes* which constituted the "forewarning": *saepe ... praedicere*. Such an ablative regularly qualifies this verb.⁴¹

The next *saepe* occurs in the next sentence but one, which is separated from the sentence just discussed by a brief question consisting of only a single line. This time Tityrus states (19–21): *urbem quam dicunt Romam, Meliboeae, putavi / stultus ego huic nostrae similem, quo*⁴² *saepe solemus / pastores ovium teneros depellere fetus*. Once again *saepe* is problematic: here its use with *solemus* involves a pleonasm.⁴³ At the same time there is also a problem with the infinitive that depends on *solemus*: *teneros depellere fetus*. Coleman notes that here *depello* cannot mean "drive", because the lambs are "too tender to be driven to market".⁴⁴ He therefore takes the meaning to be "wean". This cannot however be the meaning either, since Clausen points out that in this sense *depello* is "always a perfect passive participle".⁴⁵ All these problems disappear if *saepe* is again understood as the ablative singular of *saepes*: *saepe ... depellere* accordingly means simply that the lambs are "made to leave the fold".⁴⁶ When so understood, Virgil's language

saepe sinistra cava dicebat ab ilice cornix), since this would be the only place in the poem where *saepe* could not be satisfactorily construed as a noun. This line is therefore wrongly defended by L. Herrmann, "Notes critiques sur les *Bucoliques* de Virgile", *Latomus* 2 (1938) 12.

³⁹ Cf. Cic. *de orat.* 2,253: *ambigua sunt in primis acuta*. At the same time it is tempting to see in such verbal prestidigitation a specimen of what was to lead Agrippa to characterize Virgil as a *novae cacozeliae repertor; non tumidae nec exilis, sed ex communibus verbis atque ideo latentis* (Don. *vita Verg.* ll. 181–83): both *saepe* and *saepes* are eminently *communia verba*. For two comparable instances which likewise involve etymologies cf. N. Adkin, "Virgilian Etymologizing: The Case of Acestes", *AC* 69 (2000) 205–7; Id., "More Yukky Virgil: *Aeneid* 2,410–15", *Hermes* 134 (2006) 398–406. For a conspectus of other attempts to understand Agrippa's statement cf. W. Görler, "*cacozelia*", in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* I, Rome 1984, 597.

⁴⁰ Cf. (e. g.) Sidon. *carm.* 9,193: *saeptum ... bidental*.

⁴¹ Cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* X 2, 565, 34–48 (s. v. *praedico* 2).

⁴² *quoi* is preferred by Burman (above n. 16) 11 and Coleman (above n. 6) 43.

⁴³ Direct juxtaposition in conspicuously final *sedes* exacerbates the cacology. *Saepe* is again combined with *solere* at *georg.* 2,186f.: *qualem saepe cava montis convalle solemus / despiceret*. However it would appear that there too Virgil is engaging in etymological play, since in the previous line but one the same *sedes* as *saepe* is occupied by *pinguis*.

⁴⁴ Coleman (above n. 6) 77.

⁴⁵ Clausen (above n. 27) 42.

⁴⁶ For this well-attested sense of *depello* cf. *OLD* 518 (s. v. 5a: "compel to go away"; ib. "w.

here is exactly parallel to the afore-mentioned *exiret ... saeptis* of line 33.

In the present passage *depello* is directly juxtaposed with *tener* (*teneros depellere*). *Tener* is associated by Virgil with *tenere*, which he in turn associates with *saepes*.⁴⁷ In this connection it would seem pertinent to adduce a Virgilian text which combines all three of the terms at issue (*saepes, tenere, tener*): *texendae saepes etiam et pecus omne tenendum, / praecipue dum frons tenera* (*georg.* 2,371f.). Here both *tenere* and *tener* are highlighted by ambiguity.⁴⁸ While moreover *tenere* has been placed last in the line, *tener* is located immediately after the main caesura: these two *loci* are the most important of the etymological markers.⁴⁹ It would in fact seem that Virgil thought these two words were linked etymologically.⁵⁰ In this distich of the *Georgics* the proper sense of *tenendus* ("to be kept in") is accordingly expressed by *tenera*: because the foliage is "tender", it has etymologically "to be kept in" (*tenenda*). If such an etymological sense is also given to *tener* in the present passage of the first *Eclogue* (*saepe ... teneros depellere fetus*), it is natural to take *saepe* as referring *apo koinou* to both *teneros* (= *tenendos*) and the efficaciously juxtapositional *depellere*: whereas the lambs ought "to be kept in" the fold, they are instead "made to leave" it.⁵¹

abl."). For *saepes* as synonymous with *saeptum* (i. e. "fold") cf. (e. g.) *Synon. Cic.* p. 425,2: *caulae saepes septa*.

⁴⁷ Cf. Non. p. 41,1: *saepiunt significat tenent ... dictum a saepibus*. Here reference may be made to Virgil's own employment of *teneo* in line 31, where this verb occupies exactly the same emphatically final *sedes* as his notable use of *saeptis* in the very next line but one. A number of considerations would seem in fact to indicate that here Virgil has deliberately sought to link the two terms. Only three other occurrences of any form of *teneo* are to be found in the whole of the *Eclogues*. Use of this verb here was felt to require elucidation; cf. *Gloss.*^L I Ansil. TE 285 (*tenebat: inclusum retinebat*). There were in fact grounds for avoiding *teneo* in this line, since the *-tea te-* of *Galatea tenebat* comes near to breaking the rule *ne syllaba verbi prioris ultima et prima sequentis idem sonet* (Quint. *inst.* 9,4,41); cf. N. Adkin, "Further Virgilian Etymologizing: *Aeneid* 6,432f.", *AC* 71 (2002) 150 n. 12. Such cacophony is especially noticeable in the present case, where it occurs between penultimate and final word in both clause and verse; cf. H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, Stuttgart 2008⁴, 475f. For the large number of available synonyms cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* X 2, 112, 77–84 (s. v. *possideo*).

⁴⁸ On *tenendum* cf. R. A. B. Mynors, *Virgil: Georgics*, Oxford 1990, 146 (ad loc.): "*tenendum*: equivalent to *retinendum* ... ; it means 'keep in' more often than, as here, 'keep out'". On *tenera* cf. R. F. Thomas, *Virgil: Georgics I*, Cambridge 1988, 224 (ad loc.), where the point is made that *frons tenera* "at first glance looks curiously as if it might refer to cattle". Here however *frons* must mean "foliage", not "forehead".

⁴⁹ Cf. Cairns (above n. 12 [1996]) 33 (= Id. [above n. 12 (2007)] 317).

⁵⁰ He was evidently right; cf. Ernout – Meillet – André (above n. 18) 684 (s. v. *tener*).

⁵¹ It may be noted that the section devoted to this sense of *depello* in *OLD* (5a) includes a text

The first occurrence of *saepe* in this *Eclogue* is found in Tityrus' foregoing speech, which is his first in the poem (7f.): *namque erit ille mihi semper deus, illius aram / saepe tener nostris ab ovilibus imbuet agnus*. Again *saepe* might strike the mind of a *grammaticus* as entailing a problem, which is due this time to the adverb's combination with *imbuere*.⁵² As in line 53, *saepe* is further emphasized by foregoing *semper*: in both passages this similarly temporal adverb of related sense and sound has been placed conspicuously at the main caesura.⁵³ In this first occurrence of *saepe* itself the adverb occupies the same prominently initial *sedes* as the *saepe* that glosses *saepes* in line 53 and as the *pinguis* that replaces "suppressed" *saepe* as the gloss on *saeptis* twenty lines earlier. A similarly glossatorial purpose would also seem to be served by this opening instance of *saepe*; however by a further case of "suppression" *saepes* has here been replaced by *ovilia*.⁵⁴

As in the last passage to be discussed (20f.), the lamb is again qualified as *tener*. This time however *tener* and *saepe* are directly juxtaposed: *saepe tener*. If *tener* is again given its etymological sense of *tenendus*, *saepe* itself can once again be understood as ablative singular of the etymologically related *saepes*: the lamb is "to be kept in the fold". Such a construe obviates the afore-mentioned problem of applying adverbial *saepe* to *imbuere*. The resultant sense is also highly appropriate: Du Quesnay concludes his own discussion of *tener* in this passage by observing that "in other words, the *agnus* will be kept in a state of ritual purity, presumably, then, in the fold".⁵⁵ Nominal as opposed to adverbial *saepe* also gen-

that similarly contrasts this verb with a form of *teneo* (Ulp. *dig.* 43,16,1,46). A final point may be made regarding the phrase *teneros ... fetus*, which is preceded by the dependent genitive *ovium*. For an attempt to solve the notorious crux at Hor. *epod.* 2,16 (*infirmas ovis*) by supposing that in this roughly contemporaneous passage Virgil's close friend is etymologizing *ovis* from ο(ὐ) (ῥ)ίς cf. N. Adkin, "Horace's Weak Sheep: Etymologizing in *Epode* 2,16", *InvLuc* 31 (2009) 7f.

⁵² Cf. Serv. *ecl.* 1,8 (ad loc.): *imbuere est proprie inchoare et initiare. nemo autem unam eandemque rem saepe inchoat*. This inconcinnity apropos of the first occurrence of *saepe* at the start of the *Eclogue* is evidently meant by the poet to signal to those who share with him the *grammaticus*' mind-set his own intention of playing with this word throughout the poem.

⁵³ It may also be noted that on each occasion *semper* is preceded by a dative pronoun (*mihi / tibi*) and followed by an anastrophic epithet with *ab* (*nostris ab ovilibus / vicino ab limite*).

⁵⁴ For the two terms as synonymous cf. nn. 26 and 30 above. This time the "suppression" concerns the word that is glossed (*saepes* replaced by *ovilia*) rather than the word that does the glossing (*saepe* replaced by *pinguis*).

⁵⁵ Du Quesnay (above n. 5) 109. In the same connection he remarks that *tener* "refers not so much to age as to the purity of the victim". Du Quesnay does not consider the etymology of *tener*.

erates an effective antithesis to the immediately preceding *aram*: the lamb that ought to be kept in the snug fold will instead die on the chill altar. Finally this reading also has a bearing on the interpretation of *ab* in *ab ovilibus*. Here Clausen compares Lucretius 2,51: *fulgorem ... ab auro*.⁵⁶ It would seem however more pertinent to compare instead *saepe ... depellere* and *exiret ... saeptis* in lines 20f. and 33 of this *Eclogue*. The *ab* in *ab ovilibus* would likewise appear to signify "motion away from": in all three passages the lamb is leaving the fold.

It will be appropriate to end this article by returning to the *adynaton* in the sentence after the one containing the first instance of *saepe* to be discussed above.⁵⁷ In this *adynaton* the opening line runs (59): *ante leves ergo pascentur in aethere cervi*. At the beginning of the present article it was argued that *leves* merely etymologizes the Greek translation of *cervi*. Since therefore harts are by etymology "light", it is a mistake to suppose simply that the *adynaton* consists in the (etymologically) unsurprising circumstance that these creatures are *in aethere*.⁵⁸ The "usual" phrase in Latin is not *in aethere*, but the prosodically equivalent *in aere*.⁵⁹ Though *aether* is employed by Virgil on some sixty occasions, the present passage is the only time this word is used in the *Eclogues*. Here the phrase *in aethere* is directly juxtaposed with *pascentur*. The *aether* was however known to be *tenuissimus*.⁶⁰ This *aether* could accordingly offer a hart nothing whatever to eat. Here then is the actual *adynaton*: *pascentur in aethere cervi*.⁶¹

The next line of the *adynaton* reads (60): *et freta destituent nudos in litore piscis*. Here Du Quesnay detected an "apparent allusion to the etymology *piscis dicti, unde et pecus, a pascendo scilicet*".⁶² Du Quesnay himself gave no further attention to the "apparent" etymology, which is ignored in O'Hara's survey.⁶³ Closer investigation would however seem to be in order. Du Quesnay believed Virgil's point to be merely that the fish "will exchange habitats". Such was also

⁵⁶ Clausen (above n. 27) 39.

⁵⁷ Here too (55) *saepe* could theoretically be taken as a noun. If however the resultant collocation (*saepe levi*) is syntactically feasible, it is a semantic no-no, since a "thin hedge" (cf. *OLD* s. v. *levis* 7) is etymologically a contradiction in terms.

⁵⁸ As is assumed by (e. g.) Clausen (above n. 27) 54.

⁵⁹ Cf. Clausen (above n. 27) 54.

⁶⁰ Cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* I, 1150,11f. (s. v. *aether*).

⁶¹ Here therefore *aether* cannot simply be equated with *caelum*, as is done by (e. g.) H. Holtorf, *P. Vergilius Maro: Die grösseren Gedichte* I, Freiburg – Munich 1959, 135.

⁶² Du Quesnay (above n. 5) 137, referring to *Isid. orig.* 12,6,1.

⁶³ O'Hara (above n. 2) 244.

the view of Conington, who finds Virgil's language "not very happy, as there is nothing wonderful in the sea's throwing up the fish on the shore".⁶⁴ Conington accordingly takes Virgil's meaning to be that "fishes shall dwell on the land".⁶⁵ It would however seem possible to show that this is not in fact Virgil's point.

After the etymological play on *cervus* in the foregoing line it is natural to anticipate similar etymologizing of *piscis*, which occupies exactly the same final position, while *pascentur* itself is placed straight after the strong 3rd-foot caesura.⁶⁶ In the case of *cervus* the *adynaton* involved the inability to eat: the same is evidently true of *piscis*. The hart had nothing to eat *in aethere*. The same penultimate *sedes* in the next line is filled by the matching *in litore*.⁶⁷ A *litus* was proverbially infertile.⁶⁸ It is therefore impossible to eat *in litore*. The etymological *raison d'être* of a *piscis* is however to *pasci*. The collocation *in litore piscis* accordingly entails an etymological *adynaton*: fish without food cannot be their etymological selves. Here Virgil's language, so far from being "not very happy", is on the contrary piquantly felicitous.⁶⁹ Besides the linguistic issue the charge of unoriginality of content also turns out to be similarly unwarranted.⁷⁰

The second half of this *adynaton* consists of the following distich (61f.): *ante pererratis amborum finibus exul / aut Ararim Parthus bibet aut Germania Tigrim*. In these lines it is customary to assume that the *adynaton* consists merely in the shift of locations.⁷¹ It would however seem possible to show that here Vir-

⁶⁴ J. Conington – H. Nettleship – F. Haverfield, *The Works of Virgil* I, London 1898⁵, 31.

⁶⁵ Cf. (e. g.) R. D. Williams, *Virgil: The Eclogues and Georgics*, New York 1979, 94: "What Virgil means is that ... fish will live their lives on dry land".

⁶⁶ For the importance of both these *sedes* as etymological markers cf. Cairns (above n. 12 [1996]) 33 (= Id. [above n. 12 (2007)] 317).

⁶⁷ These two phrases are linked by both homoeocatacton and homoeoteleuton which involve respectively the first and last two letters.

⁶⁸ Cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* VII 2, 1538,72–76 with 1537,33–37 (s. v.).

⁶⁹ The effect is enhanced by the immediately antecedent *destituent nudos*, since the fishes' inability to feed is further aggravated by loss of natural environment (*nudos*) and by immobility; for this basic sense of *destituo*, which is a Virgilian hapax, cf. *OLD* 528 (s. v. 1a: "to ... fix [in a position]; to make fast"). This "motionlessness" accordingly forms a nifty contrast to the hyper-mobile volitation of the previous line.

⁷⁰ For this negative view cf. (e. g.) J. Michel, "Une allusion à la Paix de Brindes dans la première *Bucolique* (v. 59–66)?", *Latomus* 14 (1955) 448: "Ils (sc. v. 59f.) ne se distinguent pas par une particulière originalité". Regarding the same distich Du Quesnay (above n. 5) 137 speaks of "the commonplace nature of these lines".

⁷¹ So (e. g.) M. Bonamente, "Tigri", in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* V*, Rome 1990, 177: "a differ-

gil is being rather more subtle. Du Quesnay remarks that in *exul* at the end of the first line there is "apparently" an allusion to the etymology of "Parthian": *Scythico sermone exules "parthi" dicuntur*.⁷² Du Quesnay's suggestion is registered by O'Hara, who however prefaces it with a question mark.⁷³ None of the aforementioned scholars addresses the issue of Virgil's possible purpose in admitting this "apparent" piece of etymology. It may therefore be noted that the etymologizing of *Parthus* as *exul* at the start of the second half of this *adynaton* corresponds exactly to the etymologizing of *cervi* as *leves* at the start of the first half. The correlation also extends to structure, since each clause evinces precisely the same sequence of adjectival etymon of a foreign word (*leves* / *exul*), followed by a term denoting location (*aethere* / *Ararim*), followed in turn by the nominative noun that is being etymologized (*cervi* / *Parthus*). If moreover it is etymologically unremarkable for harts to be in the ether, from an etymological standpoint a Parthian in exile is similarly unsurprising. Since such an individual does not make a very good *adynaton*, where can the real "impossibility" lie this time?

In his note on *Ararim Parthus bibet* Heyne stated: "Reprehenduntur haec, et merito, tamquam aliena a pastorum memoria, nomina, nimisque longe petita".⁷⁴ The Arar in particular is problematical. Heyne continues with reference to the Arar's place in the verse as a whole (*aut Ararim Parthus bibet aut Germania Tigrim*): "Porro 'Germania' et 'Arar' sibi respondere debebant; hic vero Galliae fluvius est, qui in Rhodanum se immittit". The reader may well wonder why Virgil should have chosen a mere branch of the Rhône like the Saône in preference to one of the great rivers of Germany as a counterpart to Parthia's correspondingly great Tigris.⁷⁵ Wellesley exclaims: "It is ... with dismay that we deduce from line 62 ... that the poet supposed that the Saône was a German river. Such ignorance is intolerable in an educated Roman writing some dozen years after the

enza dei primi due (sc. paradossi; 59f.) ... il terzo trae la sua efficacia dalla distanza geografica fra Arar e T."

⁷² Isid. *orig.* 9,2,44, cited by Du Quesnay (above n. 5) 137 with n. 650, where the detection of this etymological reference in the present passage is credited to a verbal communication from J. McKeown.

⁷³ O'Hara (above n. 2) 244f.

⁷⁴ C. G. Heyne – G. P. E. Wagner, *P. Virgili Maronis opera* I, Leipzig – London 1830⁴, 73.

⁷⁵ For a handy conspectus of German potamonymy cf. (e. g.) Plin. *nat.* 4,100: *amnes clari in oceanum defluunt Guthalus* (= Oder?), *Visculus sive Vistla*, *Albis* (= Elbe), *Visurgis* (= Weser), *Amisis* (= Ems), *Rhenus*, *Mosa* (= Maas).

publication of Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*".⁷⁶ Wellesley accordingly proposed that *Ararim* should be emended to *Rhenum*.⁷⁷ Wellesley concludes: "The Arar was a singularly unhappy choice". Virgil must therefore have had a very good reason for making this choice. What can the reason have been?

Arere had already been used by Virgil for etymologizing purposes in *Eclogue* III, which is earlier than the present one.⁷⁸ There (*ecl.* 3,94–97) Virgil had taken a cue from Varro (*ling.* 5,98) in regarding *arere* as the etymon of *aries*.⁷⁹ It would seem that *arere* is again being exploited for etymological ends in the present passage of the first *Eclogue*: given the density of the etymologizing in these lines, another such *jeu étymologique* would be no surprise. The usual nominative of the hydronym in question is disyllabic *Arar*,⁸⁰ which is also the form employed by Caesar himself.⁸¹ The name Arar accordingly consists exclusively of the reduplicated stem of the verb *arere*.⁸² Derivation of Arar from *arere* was highly plausible, since by the date of the *Eclogues* this river was known to be *incredibili lenitate, ita ut oculis in utram partem fluat iudicari non possit*:⁸³ if the Arar did not appear to be moving at all, it was natural to think that like other stagnant bodies of water such a river could dry up altogether.⁸⁴ Virgil's point is accordingly the following: as the "light" hart cannot eat in the ether, because there is nothing to eat, so the "exiled" Parthian cannot drink from the Arar, because there is nothing to drink: this river is etymologically "dry" – twice over.⁸⁵ Drinking what is

⁷⁶ K. Wellesley, "Virgil's Araxes", *CPh* 63 (1968) 139. Wellesley continues: "Stylistically, the artful antithesis of the *adynaton* is spoiled and obscured by the introduction of a word that does not immediately and indisputably carry the connotation of 'Germany'".

⁷⁷ The Rhine is mentioned elsewhere in the *Eclogues* (10,47); cf. also the later mention at *Aen.* 8,727, where the previous verse refers to the Euphrates. For the earlier proposal to emend *Ararim* to the palaeographically easier *Albim* cf. Heyne – Wagner (above n. 74) 73.

⁷⁸ On the issue of relative chronology cf. Coleman (above n. 6) 14–21.

⁷⁹ Cf. N. Adkin, "Wet Rams: The Etymology of *aries* in Virgil", *WS* 122 (2009) 121–4.

⁸⁰ Cf. M. Ihm, "Arar", in *RE* II, Stuttgart 1896, 379: "Dies (sc. Arar) die allgemein übliche Form".

⁸¹ *Gall.* 1,12,1. For this work as Virgil's source cf. Michel (above n. 70) 452: "... le *Bellum Gallicum*, d'où Virgile a sans aucun doute tiré le nom de l'*Arar*".

⁸² As with *aries*, the quantity of the "a" is immaterial. On such indifference to vowel length in ancient etymologizing cf. O'Hara (above n. 2) 61f.

⁸³ *Caes. Gall.* 1,12,1.

⁸⁴ For Virgil's application of *arere* to a river cf. (e. g.) *Aen.* 3,350: *arentem ... rivum*.

⁸⁵ Ar-ar. Like *pascentur, bibet* is placed immediately after the main caesura: on this *sedes* as

doubly "dry" also makes a very good *adynaton*.

The final words of this *adynaton* are *Germania Tigrim*. It would appear possible to show that here too Virgil is etymologizing. If the Arar is not in fact a German river, there was no need to mention *Germania*. As with the potamonym, Virgil's choice of language would again seem to have been determined by etymological considerations. Varro etymologized *germanus* from *manans*.⁸⁶ A specifically Varronian etymology had already been exploited at the start of this *Eclogue*;⁸⁷ it would seem that in the present passage near the end of the same poem Virgil is again following Varro's cue in order to propose an etymology of *Germania*. The participle *manans* means "wet".⁸⁸ Such an etymon was highly appropriate for *Germania*, which was *multis impedita fluminibus ... et magna ex parte ... paludibus invia*.⁸⁹ "Wet" Germany makes a piquant contrast to "dry" Arar.⁹⁰ Again the etymology provides the *adynaton*: as "dry" Arar cannot be drunk, so "wet" Germany cannot drink.⁹¹

Virgil's *adynaton* ends with *Tigrim*. Here the Tigris is a surprising choice. The present reference to this river is "probablement la première mention dans la littérature latine".⁹² Virgil himself does not speak of this waterway in any other passage: elsewhere it is always the Euphrates that instead engages his interest.⁹³ It would be no surprise if this remarkable choice of Tigris here were once again due to a concern with etymology. Immediately after the etymologizing "dry-dry" (*Ar-ar*) and "wet" (*-man-*) it is natural to look for another etymological "wet" to match the foregoing dyad of "drys" and so provide the line with an appropriately etymologizing frame. If the Latin for "wet" is *manans*, the Greek equivalent is τὸ

an etymological marker cf. Cairns (above n. 12 [1996]) 33 (= Id. [above n. 12 (2007)] 317).

⁸⁶ Cf. Maltby (above n. 17) 258. For the identity of appellative *germanus* with the ethonym cf. (e. g.) Strab. 7 p. 290.

⁸⁷ Cf. N. Adkin (above n. 3).

⁸⁸ Cf. *OLD* 1074 (s. v. *mano* 3: "to be wet", where instances of the participle are given *passim*).

⁸⁹ So Mela 3,29.

⁹⁰ Such "wetness" can be more easily predicated of a country (*Germania*) than of a person (*Germanus*, which would match *Parthus*).

⁹¹ For *manare* used specifically "of liquids" cf. *OLD* 1074 (s. v. 1a). "Liquids" cannot drink, but only be drunk.

⁹² So Michel (above n. 70) 451.

⁹³ Cf. *georg.* 1,509; 4,561; *Aen.* 8,726. In the first of these texts the Euphrates is coupled with *Germania*, like the Tigris here. The last passage combines Euphrates with Rhine (727).

ὕγρὸν.⁹⁴ In ὕγρὸς the υ was undergoing a phonetic transformation into an ι.⁹⁵ The final vowel of the concomitant definite article would also tend to be obscured by synalepha before another vowel. The collocation τὸ ὕγρ- might accordingly have been heard as *tigr-*, which is the stem of the potamonym: evidently τὸ ὕγρ- is being proposed as the latter's etymon.⁹⁶ This interpretation of *Tigrim* means that the line is filled by four proper nouns (*aut Ararim Parthus bibet aut Germania Tigrim*), all of which are etymologized: such an etymological *schesis onomaton*⁹⁷ makes a very striking conclusion to this *adynaton*.

The foregoing analysis would seem to have shown that each of the four elements in Virgil's *adynaton* involves either drink (*bibere*) or food (*pasci*): this ingestive leitmotif invests the *adynaton* with a coherence which it might otherwise appear to lack. The other derivative of *pasci* besides *piscis* to be given by Isidore is *pecus*.⁹⁸ It will therefore be fitting to close with two passages of this *Eclogue* which seem to exploit this etymology. The first is the sentence immediately be-

⁹⁴ For the stock-phrase τὸ ὕγρὸν signifying "wet", "moisture" cf. *LSJ* 1843 (s. v. I 3). The meaning of *manare* is "i. q. madere, umidum esse" (*Thes. Ling. Lat.* VIII, 322,24; s. v.): ὕγρὸς is glossed as both *umidus* and *madidus* (cf. G. Loewe – G. Goetz, *Corpus glossariorum Latino-rum* VII, Leipzig 1901, 665; s. v. ὕγρὸς).

⁹⁵ For evidence that "Hellenistic υ had shifted from [u] in the direction of [i]" cf. E. H. Sturtevant, *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*, Philadelphia 1940², 43.

⁹⁶ A further allusion to this etymology would seem to occur at *Aen.* 10,166 (*aequora Tigri*), which is the only other instance of Virgil's use of *Tigris* as a proper noun: there *Tigris* is the name of a ship. *Aequor* was etymologized from *aqua* (cf. Maltby [above n. 17] 14), which was in turn glossed as ὕγρὰ οὐσία (*Lyd. mens.* 4,46). For such direct juxtaposition (*aequora Tigri*) as an etymological marker cf. Cairns (above n. 12 [1996]) 33 (= Id. [above n. 12 (2007)] 317), where attention is also drawn to the importance of "the same *sedes* ... in lines separated by one ... line[s]". It is therefore noteworthy that in the next line but one (168) the same final *sedes* as *Tigri* should be occupied by *sagittae*, which is the other etymon of *Tigris* (cf. Maltby [above n. 17] 612). For such use of alternative etymologies cf. O'Hara (above n. 2) 92f. Virgil would also appear to be alluding to *sagitta* as the etymon of *tigris* at *Aen.* 6,802–05 and 11,577. Both texts are problematic: *Aen.* 6,802f. are athetized by P. H. Peerlkamp, *P. Virgilii Maronis Aeneidos libri I–VI*, Leiden 1843, 442, while in *Aen.* 11,577 *tigridis* has recently been qualified as "really quite difficult" by N. Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 11: A Commentary* (Mnemosyne Suppl. 244), Leiden – Boston 2003, 336. The difficulties in both passages would seem to be removed by recognition of Virgil's etymological intent. All three texts of the *Aeneid* are dealt with by N. Adkin, "Virgil and the Etymology of 'Tiger'", forthcoming in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* XVI.

⁹⁷ For the figure cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* IX 2, 641,21–40 (s. v. *onoma* 2).

⁹⁸ Cf. n. 62 above. For additional evidence of this derivation of *pecus* cf. Maltby (above n. 17) 459.

fore the one containing the *jeu étymologique* on *saepes* discussed at the start of the present article: *quamvis lapis omnia nudus / limosoque palus obducat pascua iunco, / non insueta gravis temptabunt pabula fetas / nec mala vicini pecoris contagia laedent* (47–50). Here *pecoris* stands immediately after the main caesura, while *pabula* and *pascua* each occupies the same penultimate *sedes* in adjacent lines.⁹⁹ Both *pabula* and *pascua* were likewise etymologized from *pasci*.¹⁰⁰ All three clauses in this sentence are accordingly linked by the same etymon. This correlation is a strong argument in favour of Du Quesnay's punctuation, which was adopted above.¹⁰¹ The other passage involving the etymology of *pecus* occurs at the very end of this *Eclogue*. Here *meae ... pecus, ite capellae* (74)¹⁰² is followed by *me pascente, capellae* (77). Opening *meae* matches similarly initial *me* by *derivatio*,¹⁰³ while vocative *capellae* occupies the same final position in each line. Both *pecus* and *pascente* begin the same fourth *biceps*.¹⁰⁴ The point of this elaborate parallelism is evidently to underline the etymology: *pecus a pascendo*.

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⁹⁹ On these *loci* as etymological markers cf. Cairns (above n. 12 [1996]) 33 (= Id. [above n. 12 (2007)] 317).

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Maltby (above n. 17) 145 (s. v. *compascuus*); 440 (s. v. *pabulum*). It may be noted that here *pascua* and *pabula* are prosodic equivalents enclosed by a spondaic noun at line-end and by a molossic verb opening the second hemistich.

¹⁰¹ Du Quesnay (above n. 5) 74. The usual punctuation of the whole passage is the following: *fortunate senex, ergo tua rura manebunt, / et tibi magna satis, quamvis lapis omnia nudus / limosoque palus obducat pascua iunco. / non insueta gravis temptabunt pabula fetas, / nec mala vicini pecoris contagia laedent* (46–50). Here the comma instead of a full stop before *quamvis* and the full stop instead of a comma after *iunco* link *quamvis ... iunco* to what precedes, not to what follows. In arguing for the other punctuation Du Quesnay himself fails to mention the crucial issue of etymology.

¹⁰² *Pecus* is enclosed by a species of *schema Cornelianum*.

¹⁰³ For the figure cf. Lausberg (above n. 47) 328f. For the genitive of the pronoun (*mei*) as the source of *meus* cf. N. Adkin, "Further Additions to Maltby's *Lexicon of Ancient Latin Etymologies: Priscian*", in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History XIII* (Coll. Latomus 301), Brussels 2006, 471.

¹⁰⁴ Here we accordingly have another instance of "the same *sedes* ... in lines separated by one or more lines"; cf. Cairns (above n. 12 [1996]) 33 (= Id. [above n. 12 (2007)] 317).