unusual expression[2] occurs in these two authors in virtually the same context with the same force and in both the same analogy is adduced guarantees that this is no coincidence.[3]

What inferences may we draw? Did Philo derive the language and the analogy from Lucretius? I know no evidence that he was familiar with the *DRN*.

It seems more likely that Philo and Lucretius are both dependent on an earlier Greek source.[4] We know that the theory of the 'unnamed element' was already in Epicurus and so it seems reasonable to assume that the expression *ψυχῆς ψυχή* already occurred in some Epicurean text that Lucretius and Philo both drew on.

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[2] The phrase *ψυχὴ τῆς ψυχῆς* (with the article) does occur in Meleager (*AP* 5.155). But this seems irrelevant to our passages. Meleager's context is purely amatory.

[3] The analogy in itself is not unique. It is a variation on analogies already found in Aristotle (*Top.* 1.17.108a11; see too *Rh.* 1.6.12.1096b28), *ὡς ὄψις ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ νοῦς ἐν ψυχῇ* ; also Philo (*Opif.* 53), *ὅπερ γὰρ νοῦς ἐν ψυχῇ τοῦτ' ὀφθαλμὸς ἐν σώματι.*

[4] A few lines below Philo uses the expression *ὀφθαλμοῦ ὀφθαλμόν* of the pupil of the eye. This phrase he *explicitly* attributes to earlier writers.

AENEID 12.570–1

scilicet expectem libeat dum proelia Turno
nostra pati rursusque velit concurrere victus

Readers puzzle over *victus* since there has been no prior battle between Aeneas and Turnus. Williams follows the traditional view when he writes, 'Aeneas interprets Turnus' avoidance of the single combat as a defeat.[1] We may then choose to hear a sneer in *victus*. But the verse lends itself equally to a different interpretation. *Vincere* is commonly used of persuasion.[2] Thus, 'should I wait . . . till he is convinced to be willing to fight against me'.[3] A similar collocation is found later in this book (833) when Juppiter says, *me victusque volensque remitto.*

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[1] R.D. Williams, *The Aeneid of Vergil, Books 7–12* (London, 1973), 476.

[2] For example, *Aen.* 2.699, Plaut. *Amph.* 423, Cic. *Clu.* 64, 124; Hor. *Epod.* 17.27; Quint. 1 Praef. 3. Cf. too Greek *νενικημένος*: Hdt. 1.40).

[3] Thus, *rursus* goes with *velit victus* and refers to the beginning of Book 12 where Turnus finally feels the moral pressure and decides to fight against Aeneas.

THE WATERY SOMETHING OF VIRGIL, *GEORGICS* 4.234

bis gravidos cogunt fetus, duo tempora messis:
Taygete simul os terris ostendit honestum
Pleas et Oceani spretos pede reppulit amnis,
aut eadem sidus fugiens ubi Piscis aquosi
tristior hibernas caelo descendit in undas. (Verg. *G.* 4.231–5)

1. Vergil reminds beekeepers to collect honey from their hives twice a year: one batch in early May, when the Pleiades enter the predawn sky, and a second in early

November, when they exit, setting in the west.[1] Since the poet has elected Taygete to represent her sisters, it is she who is said to depart 'fleeing the sign of the watery Fish'.

This last phrase is a troublesome one. What threat a fish, however watery, could pose to a nymph is something any reader might justly puzzle over. More serious is the problem of how to interpret this line astronomically—specifically, to decide what constellation the phrase *sidus Piscis aquosi* denotes. The solution most modern commentators accept receives its fullest exposition in Mynors's commentary.[2] There are two fish constellations in the sky, the zodiacal sign Pisces and Piscis Austrinus, the Southern Fish. Virgil's use of the singular (the zodiacal sign is plural) led Servius to conclude that he had the Southern Fish in mind: *Australem Piscem significat, qui Aquarii undam ore suscipit, unde etiam aquosi addidit; tunc enim hic Piscis oritur* (Serv. ad *G.* 234). There are, however, serious difficulties with this interpretation. Piscis Austrinus is an obscure constellation which rarely figures in discussions of seasonal signs. Le Boeuffle observes that it contains a bright star, Fomalhaut, which sets in the evening around the time of the winter solstice, and so may be taken to mark the onset of winter. Mynors objects that it is not so used elsewhere and that 'the object of *fugiens* ought to be a celestial object rising, not one which itself is setting or set many weeks ago'.[3]

This last point is worth emphasizing: Piscis Austrinus is situated just south of Aquarius, which in turn lies three zodiacal signs west of the Pleiades. Consequently, Piscis will have long plunged below the western horizon when the Pleiades begin to set; when the Pleiades return to the sky in the east they will trail the Southern Fish. Whether we consider the daily or the annual motion of the stars, Piscis leads, and the Pleiades look to be in hot pursuit—a relation quite the opposite of that conveyed by *fugiens*.

Given these difficulties, the current consensus has it that Virgil's *Piscis* stands for Pisces. The zodiacal sign is the much better known constellation, and parallels for the use of the singular *Piscis* can be found in Ovid (*Met.* 10.164–5, *Tr.* 4.7.2). However, the same objection can be offered to Pisces as to Piscis: it too lies west of the Pleiades (at a distance of two zodiacal signs), and thus runs ahead of them as they enter and exit the sky. Once again Taygete occupies the position of celestial pursuer.

To rescue the argument for Pisces, commentators abandon the notion that the lines make sense as a picture, and look instead for a plausible interpretation in purely calendrical terms. Already this is a worrisome tack since they fail to cite as parallels classical verses which are false to the heavens pictorially yet obey a temporal logic. But for the sake of argument let this objection be waived. The explanation then is that Pisces stands for winter in general, and that the Pleiades' setting in flight signifies their avoidance of the approaching winter.[4]

During winter the sun passes successively through the signs Capricorn (December/January), Aquarius (January/February), and Pisces (February/March). Given that

[1] Readers may find it profitable to confirm these and other astronomical data with one of the many publicly available sky-mapping programs; in preparing this article I have made use of Sky Map Pro 7, a free demonstration version of which can be downloaded from www.skymap.com.

[2] R. A. B. Mynors, *Virgil. Georgics* (Oxford, 1990), 288.

[3] A. Le Bœuffle, 'Quelques observations sur Virgile, *Géorgiques* iv.234 sq.', *REL* 39 (1961), 100–5; cf. Mynors (n. 2) ibid.

[4] Cf. Mynors (n. 2), 288: 'We must suppose them [sc. Pisces] chosen to represent winter in general, as a cold clammy pair whom the lovely nymph might well shun'; Conington (concurring with de la Cerda, Voss, and Catrou): '*sidus Piscis* is then put generally for winter'.

what is imminent in November is the *onset* of winter, it might make sense if Taygete were to flee this onset, that is, Capricorn, as she set. But her flight from Pisces suggests, implausibly, that she is trying to escape the *conclusion* of a season which has not yet arrived. Yet could not Pisces stand by synecdoche for the whole of winter? The line from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* usually cited to support this view—*quotiensque repellit/ ver hiemem, Piscique Aries succedit aquoso* (10.164–5)—does not in fact supply the required parallel. The verses look at winter from the other end, that is, from the perspective of spring, when the sun has left Pisces for Aries, and the new sign is taking over from its predecessor. In the line Pisces specifically represents the *end* of winter. On another occasion Ovid also uses the sign to represent the end of the year,[5] but Pisces nowhere signifies winter *simpliciter*, much less the dreary onset of the season.[6]

To sum up the problem: since Piscis Austrinus and Pisces both lie west of the Pleiades, neither is in any position to chase Taygete; if anything, it is the fish that seem to flee the nymph. While the *communis opinio* holds that we are to understand the phrase proleptically, and non-spatially, so that Taygete sets off in fear of the coming winter Pisces represents, no adequate parallels for this interpretation have been offered. The rest of this article describes a spatially and calendrically satisfactory reading of this passage in which it is assumed that the constellation at issue is something other than a fish. This last assumption has been made by others before—in fact, the solution presented here has previously been published, albeit in disparate halves, by two scholars working 308 years apart.

2. In the notes to his popular 1675 edition of Virgil's *opera*, the prominent Jesuit scholar Charles de La Rue offered the following suggestion on the line:[7]

> Certe fugimus tantum insequentes: at nullum proprie piscium sidus Pleiades sequitur, sed antecedit . . . [there follows another editor's proposal for a 'wild' repunctuation] Ego, servata vulgari interpunctione, per piscem aquosum intellego *hydram*, qui serpens est in aqua degens, unde nomen habet ab ὕδωρ, *aqua*: hoc enim sidus etsi in occasu Pleiadum, gradibus circiter quinquaginta ab iis distet: tam eas subsequitur, usque videtur imminere.

Besides being vested with all the authority of an edition intended *ad usum Delphini* (it was even said to be Dryden's preferred text), La Rue's proposal that Taygete is fleeing the constellation Hydra has a great deal to recommend it. On mornings in early November when the Pleiades lie on the verge of the western horizon, a huge parcel of southern sky is occupied by Hydra, which slinks from east to west just below Corvus the Crow and Crater the Cup. Hydra is the sky's longest constellation, and contains

[5] Ov. *Tr.* 4.7.1–1: *bis me sol adiit gelidae post frigora brumae,/ bisque suum tacto Pisce peregit iter*.

[6] Mention should also be made ➞ R. J. Getty, 'Some astronomical cruces in the Georgics', *TAPA* 79 (1948), 24–45, esp. 34–40. Getty defends the view that *Piscis* stands for Pisces and argues that Virgil made two mistakes while devising this calendrical indication. It so happens that the Pleiades set in the *evening* sky during spring while the sun moves through Aries. In this passage, according to Getty, the poet first mistook the relevant sign, synchronizing the Pleiades' setting with the sun's entrance into Pisces, Aries' neighbour; then mistook their evening for their morning disappearance, as shown by his transposition of their setting to early November. If Getty is right, Virgil was certainly the victim of an impressive confusion; yet it is not obvious why his error need have been so elaborate. It would be better to apply Occam's razor and state what remains true even on Getty's account, that Virgil made a pictorial mistake, ignoring or forgetting the relative position of Pisces and the Pleiades in the sky.

[7] Many thanks to Simon Cauchi, Johan Hanselaer, Leofranc Holford-Strevens, and David Wilson-Okamura for enlightening me on the life and importance of La Rue.

the prominent first-magnitude star Alphard. The stars that mark its length are rather faint, yet Hydra stands out clearly enough on constellation globes such as the Farnese Atlas, which presumably did somewhat to shape the ancients' imagination of the heavens.[8] Hydra straddles the southern sky at the time the Pleiades set, and pursues the Pleiades, pointing in their direction with its head and body. Finally, as La Rue suggests, the epithet *aquosus* seems to allude to the Greek ὕδωρ from which Hydra/ Ὕδρα derives its name. In short, Hydra would be the perfect candidate for Virgil's *sidus*—were it not for the crucial detail that Hydra is a snake not a *piscis*. For this reason at least Getty was right to discount La Rue's hypothesis. Yet shortly we will discover good reasons to revive it.

Another intriguing suggestion was put forward by Getty's student E. L. Brown in 1983.[9] Inspired partly by Dryden's reading of the sign as 'the wat'ry Scorpion', and in part by the fact that Scorpius is so situated in the sky that it rises at the same time Orion and the Pleiades set (whence the myth that Orion was pursued to the death by a scorpion), Brown proposed to identify the *sidus* pursuing Taygete as Scorpius. A passage from Columella which co-ordinates the rising of Scorpius and the setting of the Pleiades seems to lend this interpretation support (*DRR* 10.54–7). A scorpion of course is not a fish, so Brown proposed that the manuscripts' PISCIS be emended to PESTIS, while correcting *aquosi* to *aquosum* to go with *sidus*. For a parallel usage he cites lines in Manilius which describe Scorpius as a *pestis* (2.228–9).

As promising as this looks, the fact is that Scorpius cannot be the sought-after constellation: the epithet *aquosus* would certainly prevent a reader from connecting the word *pestis* with a creature Virgil and other writers of the Augustan age consistently describe as 'fierce' or 'burning'.[10] But Brown's proposed emendation to *Pestis* ought to be kept, given its aptness as a designation for La Rue's Hydra. Correct the text to *sidus . . . Pestis aquosae*, identify the *Pestis* as Hydra, and consider the resulting economies. The tableau of the serpent chasing the Pleiades accords with the actual sky. The epithet *aquosae* becomes functional rather than otiose, as it serves to gloss the missing proper name through etymology (*aquosae* > *aqua* > ὕδωρ > Ὕδρα), and through allusion to the wetland which the Hydra inhabited (there may also be allusion to the rains which begin falling in November). On this interpretation there is no possibility of confusion about the dates or signs being indicated. For a linguistic parallel we find Lucretius speaking of Hercules' conquest as the *Lernaeaque pestis/ hydra* (5.26–7).[11] The proposed emendation involves just two letters (I/E, C/T) and a termination, which latter may have been the original source of the confusion: if *-ae* was corrupted to *-i*, *aquosi* would have tempted a scribe to 'correct' *pestis* to *piscis*.[12] Finally, a giant snake is more likely than a fish to make a nymph run.

This solution has the further advantage of explaining something which otherwise remains mysterious: namely, why Virgil should even mention the sign chasing Taygete,

[8] Discussed in F. Boll, *Sphaera* (Leipzig, 1903). See also J. Evans, *The History and Practice of Ancient Astronomy* (Oxford, 1998), 78–84 (a good image of Hydra from the Farnese Atlas can be found on p. 78), and E. Savage-Smith, *Islamicate Celestial Globes* (Washington, DC, 1985).

[9] E. L. Brown, 'The astronomical crux at *Georgics* 4.234', *AJPh* 104 (1983) 384–90.

[10] Scorpius, fierce: Man. 2.236, 513, 544; Germ. *Arat.* fr. 4.61; burning: Verg. *G.* 1.34; Man. 1.268, 690; Germ. *Arat.* 660. Cf. Sen. *Thy.* 855, Luc. *B.C.* 1.659. Also, Brown's claim (387) that in Virgil the formula *sidus* + gen. only designates zodiacal signs is belied by e.g. *G.* 1.204 *sidera Arcturi*; 3.324 *Luciferi sidere*.

[11] Cf. Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 914–15: *exedit artus virus, ut fama est, hydrae;/ immensa pestis coniugis membra abstulit.*

[12] The error must of course pre-date Servius, whose text read *piscis*.

which strictly speaking is superfluous to the description of the time of year. As scholars have often noted, the *Georgics* is strongly marked by recurrent clusters of language and imagery.[13] A reference to Hydra would look back to Virgil's disquisition on snakes in *G.* 3 (414–39; cf. esp. *pestis acerba boum*, 419), and his marked interest in serpentine constellations in *G.* 1 (cf. *lucidus Anguis* 205, *maximus hic flexu sinuoso elabitur Anguis/ circum perque duas in morem fluminis Arctos* 244–5). And turning forward to the epyllion in the second half of the fourth *Georgic*, we discover this crucial scene, where again a nymph fleeing on foot through a riverine landscape plunges into the underworld after an unhappy encounter with a watersnake:

> illa quidem, dum te *fugeret* per *flumina* praeceps,
> immanem ante *pedes* hydrum moritura puella
> servantem ripas alta non vidit in herba.

Compare:

> bis gravidos cogunt fetus, duo tempora messis:
> Taygete simul os terris ostendit honestum
> Pleas et Oceani spretos *pede* reppulit *amnis*,
> aut eadem sidus *fugiens* ubi Pestis aquosae
> tristior hibernas caelo descendit in undas.

The *pestis*/Hydra hypothesis must stand or fall on the technical merits outlined above; but if it is correct, then we may assert that the vignette of Taygete and Hydra is a stellar foreshadowing of the tragic incident that sets the events of the epyllion in motion.

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[13] See e.g. D. O. Ross, *Virgil's Elements. Physics and Poetry in the Georgics* (Princeton, 1987), *passim*, and for further bibliography, L. P. Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Virgil* (Cambridge, 1969), 314–15.

CALLIMACHUS' *AETIA* AND AENEAS' SICILY

Near the end of *Aeneid* 3, after recounting his rescue of the suppliant Achaemenides and their escape from the approaching flock of Cyclopes, Aeneas narrates his voyage around the coast of Sicily, pointing out to his audience the various cities he passed until he eventually landed at Drepanum. An obvious model for this passage is the historical catalogue of Sicilian settlements in Callimachus' *Aetia,* but the fragmentary nature of the *Aetia* and the lack of entirely reliable information about its general structure and thematic coherence have, until recently, discouraged detailed analysis of the relationships that may exist between the two Sicilian catalogues.[1] In a

[1] While there have been important studies of Callimachus' influence on Latin poets and on Virgil in particular, more remains to be done, especially in the line of detailed examinations of specific Virgilian citations of Callimachean texts (of many examples, see especially W. Clausen, 'Callimachus and Latin poetry', *GRBS* 5 [1964], 181–96 and R. F. Thomas, 'Callimachus back in Rome', *Hellenistica Groningana* 1 [1993], 197–215, especially 205–9). Demonstrating Callimachean influence on the *Georgics* is a major accomplishment of Thomas's commentary on Virgil's *Georgics* (Cambridge, 1988); see especially vol. 1, p. 7. Extensive allusion to the *Aetia* in