

ETHIOPIANS

I

HOMER spoke of

*Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίταται ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,
οἱ μὲν δυσσομένον Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος* (Od. 1. 23-4).

It was natural and inevitable that his two Aethiopias, in the eastern and western extremities of the world, should be identified with the countries of the two dark-skinned peoples in the Far East and the Far West of the Ancient World: India and Mauretania.

There was the difficulty that the real Aethiopia was in Africa, neither in the Far East nor in the Far West. Serious writers on geography tried to reconcile Homer and the geographical facts.

I wish to excerpt from Strabo three theories concerning Aethiopia and the Aethiopians which will then be used to elucidate passages in Latin literature.

2

(i)

Strabo referred Homer's words to the Aethiopians proper. He separated *ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν* from its context, and explained that it meant that the Aethiopians lived in the *southern* extremity of the world: for Aethiopia stretched from its northern border with Egypt southwards right down to Ocean. In that sense the Aethiopians were *ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν*.

Aethiopia was divided by the Nile.¹ In that sense *διχθὰ δεδαίταται* was true. Some Aethiopians lived west of the Nile, some east of the Nile, and Aethiopia stretched along the whole of the southern limit of the world, from south-west to south-east—in that sense *οἱ μὲν δυσσομένον Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος*.

So Strabo explained Homer without reference to peoples other than the Aethiopians proper (Str. 1. 2. 25, 27).

(ii)

That is Strabo's own solution. Strabo reports other explanations involving Mauretanians and Indians.

Posidonius placed the Eastern Aethiopians in India. Strabo does not state this explicitly, but in two passages where he is disputing Posidonius' theories he reveals the latter's opinion.

2. 3. 8. *Ὁμηρος οὐ διὰ τοῦτο διαιρεῖ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας, ὅτι τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἤδει τοιούτους τιὰς τοῖς σώμασιν (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀρχὴν εἰδέναι τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς εἰκὸς Ὁμηρον . . .).*

2. 3. 7 (Posidonius) *παραδείγματι χρῆται τῷ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς τῶν Αἰθιόπων*

¹ Strabo personally believed that Aethiopia was divided in two by the Arabian Gulf (1. 2. 28). But Aristarchus had stated that Homer did not know of the Arabian Gulf nor, consequently of the isthmus

between the Arabian Gulf and the Mediterranean. Strabo therefore here substitutes the Nile for the Arabian Gulf, to conduct the argument on Aristarchus' terms (1. 2. 24-5).

διαφέρειν τῶν ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ. εὐρνεστέρους γὰρ εἶναι καὶ ἦττον εἶσθαι τῇ
 ξηρασίᾳ τοῦ περιέχοντος. διὸ καὶ Ὁμηρον πάντας λέγοντα Αἰθίοπας δίχα διελεῖν
 οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος.

The Western Aethiopians, according to Posidonius, were the Aethiopians proper. But the Aethiopians proper are not in the Far West. It is probably partly to remove this difficulty that Posidonius suggested the emendation to Homer's text

ἡμὲν ἀπερχομένου Ὑπερίονος

which means, according to Strabo, ἀπὸ τοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ περικλίνοντος, 'where he declines from the meridian' (tr. Jones).

(iii)

Strabo also mentions the theory of Ephorus, who placed Homer's Western Aethiopians in Mauretania, near Mt. Atlas, and along the shore.

Str. 1. 2. 26. λέγεσθαι γὰρ φησιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ταρτεσσιῶν Αἰθίοπας τὴν Λιβύην
 ἐπελθόντας μέχρι Δύρεως (Mt. Atlas) τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ μείναι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τῆς
 παραλίας κατασχεῖν πολλήν. τεκμαίρεται δ' ἐκ τούτου καὶ Ὁμηρον εἰπεῖν
 οὕτως:

Αἰθίοπας τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίταται ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν.

How Ephorus explained the Aethiopians in the Far East Strabo does not say. Nor is it relevant to our purpose.

We have seen Aethiopians in Far East, Far West, and Far South—enough to explain erudite references in Virgil, Lucan, Statius, Juvenal.¹

3

(i)

The first passage of Virgil we look at is plain enough. I quote it here, with two parallels, to explain other passages of Virgil we shall examine subsequently:

Eclogues 10. 64–8 non illum nostri possunt mutare labores
 nec si frigoribus mediis Hebrumque bibamus
 Sithoniasque niues hiemis subeamus aquosae,
 nec si, cum moriens alta liber aret in ulmo
 Aethiopum uersemus oues sub sidere Cancri.

As editors point out, this is an imitation of Theocritus 7. 111–14:

εἷης δ' Ἡδωνῶν μὲν ἐν ὥρεσι χερίματι μέσσω
 Ἐβρον παρ ποταμὸν τετραμμένος ἐγγύθεν Ἄρκτω,
 ἐν δὲ θέρει πυμάτοισι παρ' Αἰθιοπέσσι νομεύοις
 πέτρα ὑπο Βλεμμύων, ὅθεν οὐκέτι Νεῖλος ὄρατός.

¹ For Aethiopians in Far West see A. fr. 192 (Nauck); in Far East, Eur. fr. 177 (Nauck). Herodotus 7. 70 has two kinds of Aethiopians: those ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου and those ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολέων. Dict. Cret. 4. 4 says

that Memnon's army at Troy was made up of Aethiopians and Indians. For Aethiopians in Mauretania, near Mt. Atlas, see Plin. *H.N.* 6. 199, Isid. *Orig.* 14. 5. 16.

Cf. Pindar *I.* 6. 22–3:

μυρία δ' ἔργων καλῶν τέ-
τμανθ' ἑκατόμπεδοι ἐν σχερῶ κέλευθοι,
καὶ πέραν Νείλοιο παγᾶν καὶ δι' Ὑπερβορέους.

Virgil, like Strabo (2 (i) above), here places the Aethiopians in the Far South. Theocritus and Pindar associate that region of the world with the source or upper reaches of the Nile.

(ii)

Now for Western Aethiopians in Virgil:

Aeneid 4. 480–2 Oceani finem iuxta solemque cadentem
 ultimus Aethiopum locus est, ubi maximus Atlas
 axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum.

Virgil's placing of the Aethiopians is here in agreement with the more natural interpretation of Homer. Like Ephorus (2 (iii)) he places Homer's Western Aethiopians in Mauretania, near Mt. Atlas.

(iii)

In the last passage, the reference to Aethiopians was explicit. In the following, the reference is oblique.

Fama has come to Iarbas telling him that Dido and Aeneas have been helping each other to keep the winter warm. Iarbas, jealous, prays to his father Juppiter:

Aeneid 4. 206–8 Iuppiter omnipotens, cui nunc Maurusia pictis
 gens epulata toris Lenaeum libat honorem,
 aspicias haec?

nunc has exercised the ingenuity of editors. The explanation generally favoured is Henry's (*Aeneidea* 2. 658) that *nunc* means 'now that I have inaugurated your cult in my country', referring to lines 199–200. That explanation involves one difficulty: Iarbas is nowhere said by Virgil to belong to *Maurusia gens*. He is born of a Garamantian nymph (198), and a Gaetulian (326). Editors realize that there is this difficulty, and (e.g. Pease, Benoist) have to extend *Maurusia* to include other parts of Africa. The difficulty disappears and *nunc* finds a natural explanation once we realize that Virgil is referring to a Homeric theme: *Maurusia* is Mauretania, the land of the Western Aethiopians. *nunc* means that at the moment when Iarbas is praying, Juppiter is in Mauretania—the reference being to the common Homeric motif of the gods being present at banquets among the Aethiopians; a motif imitated in Latin literature by Statius (*Silv.* 4. 2. 53, *Theb.* 5. 427–8).

A sceptic objects: 'Surely *Lenaeum libat honorem* means that the Mauretanians are pouring a libation in honour of Juppiter (see Pease ad loc.). Are they pouring a libation to him in his presence?'

I refer my sceptic to the passage of Homer part of which we have already looked at:

Od. 1. 22–6 Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν (Poseidon) Αἰθίοπας μετεκίαθε τηλόθ' ἔοντας,
 Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίεσθαι ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,
 οἱ μὲν δυσσομένου Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος,

ἀντιόων ταύρων τε καὶ ἀρνεῖων ἑκατόμβης.
 εἴθ' ὃ γε τέρπετο δαυτὶ παρήμενος.

If Poseidon has a hecatomb sacrificed to him in his presence, is that not a good reason why Juppiter should have a libation poured to him in his presence?

This explanation of *nunc* has the further advantage that it sets the scene of the subsequent conversation between Juppiter and Mercury in Mauretania. Otherwise it must be assumed that the conversation takes place in an unspecified region, in the abode of the gods. Editors have assumed this, and pointed out two difficulties arising from that assumption:

(a) Hearing Iarbas' prayer, Juppiter decides to take action against Dido and Aeneas. He calls Mercury and says:

Aeneid 4. 223-4 vade age, nate, uoca Zephyros et labere pennis
 Dardaniumque ducem, Tyria Karthagine . . .

Why should Mercury call the Zephyrs? Servius asked the question: Pease (ad loc.) offers a fair sample of answers.

The run of the sense clearly suggests that the Zephyrs are to help Mercury *labere pennis*. And if he is going from Mauretania to Carthage, are the Zephyrs not the most suitable winds to waft him along with all speed?

(b) At 246, Mercury, soon after he sets off (*iamque*), arrives at Mt. Atlas. Again Pease (ad 227) notes that Mercury, going presumably from Olympus (cf. 268)¹ to Carthage, goes via Mt. Atlas. He fails to give a satisfactory explanation for this. But if Mercury is in fact coming from Mauretania, the land of the Western Aethiopians, it is natural that he should come to Mt. Atlas on his way.

All this is seen most clearly if we compare the Virgil with its Homeric model, of which it is a very close imitation:

Od. 5. 43-53

Ὡς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἀπίθησε διάκτορος Ἀργειφόντης.
 αὐτίκ' ἔπειθ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα,
 ἀμβρόσια χρύσεια, τὰ μιν φέρον ἡμὲν ἐφ' ὑγρὴν
 ἡδ' ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαίαν ἅμα πνοῆς ἀνέμοιο.
 εἴλετο δὲ ῥάβδον, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει
 ὧν ἐθέλει, τοὺς δ' αὖτε καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει.
 τὴν μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχων πέτετο κρατὺς Ἀργειφόντης.
 Πιερίην δ' ἐπιβὰς ἐξ αἰθέρος ἔμπεσε πόντῳ·
 σεύατ' ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ κύμα λάρῳ ὄρνιθι ἐοικώς,
 ὃς τε κατὰ δεινούς κόλπους ἁλὸς ἀτρύγετοιο
 ἰχθῦς ἀγρώσσων πυκινὰ πτερὰ δεύεται ἄλμῃ.

Mercury's obedience is in Virgil; his sandals and their function; his rod and its functions; and the simile. There is one glaring difference in subject-matter, and it is a significant one: in Homer, Hermes comes from Olympus, down to Pieria, then over the sea like a bird. In Virgil Mercury comes from wherever his conversation with Juppiter took place, *arrives at* Mt. Atlas, then swoops down from it, over the sea like a bird. We can see that the Homeric passage has

¹ 268 means only that Mercury has come from gods to men. His words are meant to impress Aeneas with the importance of his

visit. They should not be pressed literally, as by Pease.

been manipulated so as to fit in with the change of scene: as there was a mountain in Homer, Mt. Olympus, the abode of the gods, Virgil wanted a mountain too. In Homer, the mountain was Hermes' point of departure, the scene of his conversation with Zeus. But as Virgil had set the scene of the conversation between Jupiter and Mercury, and consequently Mercury's point of departure, at a banquet among the Mauretanians/Aethiopians, Mercury had to be made to *arrive at a mountain* on his way; Mt. Atlas was the obvious choice. Its association with Aethiopians (see 3 (ii)) would provide a clue to the reader. Moreover it is in Mauretania/Aethiopia itself: so that, if it cannot be the actual point of departure of Mercury like Homer's Olympus, it is at least very near to his point of departure: '*iamque uolans apicem et latera ardua cernit . . .*'

There is another difference between Homer and Virgil, less striking but equally significant: Virgil's *uoca Zephyros* has no counterpart in Homer.

(iv)

Now for the Aethiopians of India, or rather, by a Virgilian twist, for the Indians of Aethiopia.

Aeneid 6. 792-7 Augustus Caesar, diui genus, aurea condet
saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arua
Saturno quondam; super et Garamantas et Indos
proferet imperium; iacet extra sidera tellus,
extra anni solisque uias, ubi caelifer Atlas
axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum.

There are two difficulties here:

(a) Indians fit ill in this context of *post euentum* prophecies. Augustus never conquered Indian territory.

(b) The run of the sense: 'he will extend his empire over Garamantes and Indians; the land lies beyond the stars . . .' seems to indicate that it is the land of the Garamantes and Indians which lies beyond the stars.

Editors have disregarded the run of the sense, and difficulty (b), by seeing a reference to three lands: that of the Garamantes, that of the Indians, and that which is beyond the stars. They have then solved (a) by saying that 'Indians' is a vague word for 'Parthians', and that Virgil is referring to the recovery of the standards from the Parthians (see Heyne, Benoist, Conington). Fletcher sees that this explanation of 794-5 is unnatural, but confesses his helplessness in his note ad 795: 'The connexion between the two halves of this line is obscure, and we get the impression of an unrevised passage where something would have been filled in later. The "land outside the stars and the courses of the sun and of the year" (i.e. beyond the Zodiac) is apparently meant to describe the districts beyond the Garamantes and India which the empire will reach.'

But a solution is not impossible along the following lines:¹

Augustus' *imperium* will extend over Garamantes and Indians, a land that lies beyond the stars; as the Garamantes are an African tribe, we may already suspect, since Garamantes and Indians belong to one land—*iacet extra sidera tellus*—that the Indians Virgil talks of are also to be found in Africa. And if we know that Homer's Eastern Aethiopians were located in India (2 (ii) above), we may also suspect that Virgil's 'Indians' are Aethiopians. Those suspicions

¹ E. Norden, 'Ein Panegyricus auf Augustus in Virgils Aeneis', *Rh. Mus.* liv (1899), 470-2, explains this passage with reference to the Ethiopians. He is mistaken in details.

are increased by the knowledge that the armies of Augustus, if they never penetrated Indian territory, did fight a victorious campaign against Queen Candace of the Aethiopians, advancing as far as Napata, which they captured and rased (Strabo 17. 1. 54). This victory is also celebrated by Propertius (4. 6. 78), and commentaries refer to it.

Virgil now confirms our suspicions by giving two indications of where this land of the Garamantes and Indians is situated,

(a) *iacet extra sidera tellus, / extra anni solisque uias*, i.e. beyond the Zodiac. Servius refers to Lucan 3. 253-5:

Aethiopumque solum, quod non premeretur ab ulla
signiferi regione poli, nisi poplite lapso
ultima curuati procederet ungula Tauri.

Housman explains the astronomical error involved in both passages on pp. 327-9 of his edition of Lucan, in the astronomical appendix.

The description in Virgil and Lucan fits a land in the Far South. Virgil (3 (i) above) refers to the Aethiopians as a people of the Far South. That fact, in addition to the parallel with Lucan, who is referring explicitly to Aethiopia, shows that Virgil is here referring to Aethiopia.

(b) Lucan was not the only one to imitate this passage of Virgil. Housman in *CR* xx (1906), 44 compares it also with Statius *Silu.* 4. 3. 153-7, which he rightly considers to be a direct imitation of Virgil:

iuravit tibi iam niualis Arctus,
nunc magnos Oriens dabit triumphos.
ibis qua uagus Hercules et Euhæ
ultra sidera flammeumque solem
et Nili caput et niues Atlantis.

Housman points out that Statius, like Virgil, seems to place Mt. Atlas much further south than it is, and he calls that poetic licence. But it is not pointless licence. Virgil and Statius are playing with the notion that Mauretania, where Mt. Atlas is, is traditionally the home of Aethiopians; and so, disregarding geography, as poets may, they transfer Mt. Atlas from Mauretania, *an* 'Aethiopia', to Aethiopia proper.

By comparing the reference to the source of the Nile in Statius with the passages of Theocritus and Pindar in 3 (i) above, we see that Statius has Aethiopia in mind.

We also note that *Aen.* 6. 797 is a repetition of *Aen.* 4. 472 (quoted in 3 (ii)), where Virgil is explicitly talking of Aethiopians.

So three sets of Aethiopians are involved in this passage of Virgil: he is talking about the *Aethiopiæ proper*; he calls them *Indians*; and locates them by a reference to Mt. Atlas in *Mauretania*.

(v)

We find in the *Georgics* another passage where Virgil calls the Aethiopians proper 'Indians'. Virgil is giving the limits of Egypt, west, east, north, and south:¹

Georgics 4. 287-93 nam qua Pellæi gens fortunata Canopi
 accolit effuso stagnantem flumine Nilum
 et circum pictis uehitur sua rura phaselis,

¹ See Benoist ad loc. for this. Transposition is unnecessary.

quaque pharetratae uicinia Persidis urget
 et uiridem Aegyptum nigra fecundat harena
 et diuersa ruens septem discurrit in ora
 usque coloratis amnis deuexus ab Indis . . .

We saw in 3 (i) that Virgil placed the Aethiopians in the southern extremity of the world. We saw that Pindar and Theocritus, quoted there, associated that region of the world with the sources of the Nile, as did Statius, quoted in 3 (iv). We also know that the country bordering on Egypt to the south is Aethiopia. All this, in addition to the passage of Virgil discussed in 3 (iv) makes it quite clear that by 'Indians' Virgil means 'Aethiopians'.

Virgil is generous and gives us one verbal clue: he calls his Indians 'coloratis'. The word is not simply descriptive. It contains a reference to the commonly accepted etymology of *Aiθιοψ*.

Virgil is being erudite. Conington is puzzled by his reference to Indians and writes ad loc.: '“Indis”, apparently the Aethiopians, unless we are to extend Virgil's geographical untrustworthiness further.' J. André¹ believes that Virgil makes a mistake. E. de Saint-Denis² sees a reference here to the Pygmies. And R. de Ravinel³ would excise a line and have us think of the Indus.

(vi)

Before we leave Virgil, let us consider a last passage of the *Georgics*, where decision is impossible, but where, after what we have seen of his practice, certain coincidences may be significant:

Georgics 2. 116–21 diuisae arboribus patriae. sola India nigrum
 fert hebenum, solis est turea uirga Sabaeis.
 quid tibi odorato referam sudantia ligno
 balsamaque et bacas semper frondentis acanthi?
 120 quid nemora Aethiopum molli canentia lana,
 uelleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres?

Taking the cotton-tree of the Aethiopians first (120): Aristobulus (in Str. 15. 1. 21), Eratosthenes (in Str. 15. 1. 20), Nearchus (in Str. 15. 1. 20, and Arr. *Ind.* 16. 1), Theophrastus (*H.P.* 4. 7. 7 and 4. 4. 8), Pliny (*H.N.* 12. 25), and Herodotus (3. 106) all speak of the cotton-tree as growing in India. Pliny (*H.N.* 13. 90) refers to the cotton-trees of Aethiopia. Pliny (cf. *H.N.* 12. 38 and 19. 14) says that a plant called *gossypion*, which is probably the cotton-tree, grows in Arabia and Egypt. Pollux (7. 75) talks of cotton-trees growing in Egypt. The same is implied by Herodotus 3. 47. It is impossible on this evidence to be certain whether Virgil really meant that cotton-trees grew in the region of Aethiopia, Egypt, and Arabia, and is being poetically imprecise by calling the whole region 'Aethiopia', or whether his 'Aethiopians' are in fact meant to include the Indians, who are 'Aethiopians' too.

Now for the ebony which 'only India' produces (116). Pliny (*H.N.* 12. 17) repeats Virgil. He expresses his doubts, and refers to Herodotus (3. 97) who talks of ebony in Aethiopia. Strabo (17. 2. 2) says that ebony is one of the trees

¹ 'Virgile et les Indiens', *RÉL* xxvii (1949), 157–63.

² 'Notes sur le livre iv des *Géorgiques*',

RÉL xxviii (1950), 204–9.

³ 'A propos du livre iv des *Géorgiques*',

RÉL xxxix (1961), 94–7.

the rising and the setting sun. The gods, like Poseidon in Hom. *Od.* 1. 22-4, are visiting

*Αἰθίοπας . . . τηλόθ' ἔοντας,
Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαῖσται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,
οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος—*

i.e. the Aethiopians, who live in the Far East and the Far West, and are 'reddened' by the rising and the setting sun.

(iii)

Stat. *Theb.* 10. 84-6 stat super occiduae nebulosa cubilia noctis
Aethiopasque alios, nulli penetrabilis astro,
lucus iners . . .

Statius can take it for granted that when he talks of the Western Aethiopians as the 'other' Aethiopians, his audience will understand what he means: that they are 'other' than the Aethiopians of the East, near the rising sun. Mozley's note in the Loeb edition ('The Aethiopians of the Far West; they were usually spoken of as being in the East or South') obscures this very clear point.

(iv)

Four passages of Juvenal contain references to Aethiopians.

Before we look at the first one, a quotation from Seneca will indicate that the Eastern and Western Aethiopians were used quasi-proverbially to mark the ends of the world:

Sen. *Herc. Fur.* 37-40 qua sol reducens quaque deponens diem
 binos propinqua tinguat Aethiopas face,
 indomita uirtus colitur et toto deus
 narratur orbe.

(Notice also *tinguit*. Cf. *coloratus* and *concolor* of Virgil and Lucan.)

We now look at Juvenal 6. 336-8, where the satirist is talking of the wide-spread scandal of the Bona Dea affair:

sed omnes
nouerunt Mauri atque Indi quae psalteria penem
maiores quam sunt duo Caesaris Anticatores . . .

In other words, Clodius' fame, like Hercules', has reached the two Aethiopias in Far West and Far East, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν.

Apuleius (*Met.* 1. 8) refers to the same eastern and western limits of the world: 'nam ut se ament efflictim non modo incolae uerum etiam Indi uel Aethiopes utrique uel ipsi Antichthones, folia sunt artis et nugae merae . . .', where the presence of 'Indi' in close proximity to 'Aethiopes utrique' is not fortuitous; 'Indi' are Eastern Aethiopians and Apuleius means: 'not only the people here but even the people in the Far East (Indi), or even the people in the Far East and the Far West (*Aethiopes utrique*), or even the people on the other side of the world'. The presence of 'Indi' and the fact that the two Aethiopias represent the limits of the world make it obvious that Apuleius is thinking of the two Homeric Aethiopias in Far East and Far West, and not of the Aethiopians in southern Africa, as the note ad loc. in the Budé edition would indicate.

(v)

Elephants now come to complicate matters. The ancients knew that there were elephants in Africa and in India. In Africa, they were found not only in Aethiopia, but also in Mauretania (cf. Sil. 9. 620; Plin. *H.N.* 8. 32). By a coincidence, then, there were Aethiopians and elephants in Mauretania, Aethiopia, India. Juvenal uses this coincidence humorously, in three passages; in 11. 123-6 he enumerates the places from which ivory comes to Rome:

grande ebur et magno sublimis pardus hiatu
dentibus ex illis quos mittit porta Syenes
et Mauri celeres et Mauro obscurior Indus
et quos deposuit Nabataeo¹ belua saltu.

Syene was a Roman outpost and probably the centre of the ivory trade with Aethiopia. From the real Aethiopia, the satirist passes to the two fictitious Aethiopias in Far West and Far East: *Mauri* . . . *Indus*, with *obscurior* playing its now familiar part.

(vi)

Juvenal 12. 102-5 quatenus hic non sunt nec uenales elephantī,
 nec Latio aut usquam sub nostro sidere talis
 belua concipitur, sed furua gente petita
 arboribus Rutulis et Turni pascitur agro . . .

Ruperti ad loc. rightly explains that *furua gente* means 'ab Indis, Mauris, Aethiopibus', and refers the reader to 11. 125-6.

But why the singular *gente*? Because Indians, Mauretanians, Aethiopians are all one nation: *furua gens* = Aethiopes.

(vii)

More Aethiopian elephants in 10. 148-50:

hic est quem non capit Africa Mauro
percussa oceano Niloque admota tepenti
rursus ad Aethiopum populos aliosque elephantos.

'This is the man whom Africa cannot contain, Africa beaten by the Mauretanian ocean [in the west] and stretching to the warm Nile [in the east] right back [i.e. southwards] to the Aethiopians' tribes and other . . . elephants.'

The force of *alios* would be felt with *populos* as well as with *elephantos* in the Latin. It is postponed so as to make the *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* more striking: other poets had made erudite references to 'other Aethiopians' (see 4 (iii)). Juvenal makes fun of this erudition of epic poets by referring to 'other elephants'. And the 'other elephants of the Aethiopians', after Mauretania had been mentioned in 148, would inevitably suggest to a Roman audience 'Indian elephants'.

The sceptic objects: 'since there are elephants and Aethiopians in Mauretania and in Aethiopia, why can "other elephants" not simply mean "other than the Mauretanian ones"?'

My reply is that Juvenal does mean the Aethiopian elephants, i.e. the elephants of Aethiopia proper, but that he refers to them in such a way as to suggest, humorously, that the elephants of Aethiopia proper are Indian elephants.

¹ i.e. around Napata in Ethiopia (so (as most editors). For the spelling, cf. *Res* Pearson and Strong), not in Arabia Petraea *Gestae Divi Augusti* 26.

There are four reasons for preferring this more complicated explanation :

(a) *alios elephantos* carries the suggestion 'elephants of a different kind', and although there were elephants in Mauretania and Aethiopia, they were of the same type, whereas the Indian elephant was of a different type, and the Romans were aware of this : see Plin. *H.N.* 8. 32 ; Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. *elephas*.

(b) Juvenal's audience would be so used to the 'two Aethiopias' that they would immediately sense that Juvenal was referring to this theme. There are enough clues : *Mauro*, *Aethiopum*, the Nile. Once they had sensed the learned reference, they would think of the Homeric, and by now traditional, location of the two Aethiopias, in Far West and Far East. For that is the natural location of the Aethiopians considered as a pair.

(c) is really a corollary of (b). *Maurus* and *Indus* belong together in Aethiopian contexts. They form a pair. We saw this in Lucan. We saw it in two passages of Juvenal himself. Here too *Mauro*—and Juvenal uses the rare appellation instead of the more usual *Atlanticus*—would prepare the audience for its counterpart *Indus*, which would never come but which they would supply mentally.

(d) the audience knew that there were elephants in Mauretania and in Aethiopia. But when they came to *alios*, for the reasons suggested in (a), (b), and (c), they would think of *Indian* elephants. Consequently there would be a mental pause while they asked themselves : 'Is Juvenal suggesting that the elephants of Aethiopia are Indian ?'

Having received the traditional Roman education, they would thereupon be reminded of a passage of the *Georgics* (4. 287–93 quoted in 3 (v) above) which would confirm their suspicions ; for they would realize that Juvenal was giving a parody of it.

That Juvenal expected his audience to be familiar with Virgil is well known.¹ That he expected them to know this particular passage is shown by the humorous reminiscence of a line of it in Satire 15, pointed out by Gehlen.²

As Virgil is giving the boundaries of Egypt, so Juvenal here is giving the boundaries of Africa. The Nile is a conspicuous feature in both passages. Virgil says 'Indians' meaning 'Aethiopians'. Juvenal says 'Aethiopian', suggesting 'Indian'. Virgil says that going up the Nile one comes to India. Juvenal jokingly suggests that going south along the Nile one comes to the country of Indian elephants. Virgil had referred to the Aethiopians proper as 'Indians'. Juvenal refers to the elephants of Aethiopia proper as 'Aethiopian' indeed, but in such a context as to suggest that they are Indian.³

Juvenal's excessive subtlety is a sardonic comment on Virgil's. The satirist's irony is the pin applied to the swelling bombast of Roman Epic erudition. Juvenal's audience saw the joke ; but we cannot say, as they could, 'et nos ergo manum ferulae subduximus'.⁴

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¹ Cf. Gehlen, *De Iuvenale Vergilii Imitatore* (Erlangen, 1886) ; Scott, 'The Grand Style in the Satires of Juvenal', *Smith College Classical Studies*, viii (1927) ; Highet, 'Juvenal's Bookcase', *AJP* lxxii (1951), 369 f.

² *Georgics* 4. 289, Juv. 15. 127–8.

³ 10. 150 has been discussed recently by : E. Laughton, 'Juvenal's other elephants',

CR vi (1956), 201 ; J. Triantaphyllopoulos, 'Juvenal's other elephants once again', *Mnem.* iv. 11 (1958), 159 ; R. G. M. Nisbet, *JRS* lii (1962), 236.

⁴ I should like to thank Mr. F. J. Cairns, Professor D. A. West, Professor I. M. Campbell, and Dr. P. G. Walsh for their help.