

incongruity in this case between the flamine and the claims of the original inscription, for I cannot believe he simply shut his eyes to it; which brings us back to my original contention.

Tatum seems to me not to take seriously enough the problem of the conflict between the apparent claims of the epitaph and Cicero's account of the poor health of the son of Africanus. He finds too subtle my idea that 'facteis' in the epitaph might refer to some other achievements than success in war and politics, for both of which the son of Africanus was clearly unfit; and he insists on regarding the original text as a mere commonplace. But even a commonplace usually has some relevance to reality. Aristocratic convention, family pride and the grief of relatives might account for the exaggeration of a dead youth's potential, in a case where there had been no obstacle to his hopes of pursuing a senatorial career in due course. The Scipios, however, were people of literary tastes, sensitive to the meaning of words, who would be unlikely to inscribe an epitaph which was wildly inappropriate to the situation. They might well have appreciated, though, the subtlety of one cast in the traditional form, which could yet be understood as conveying frustrated hopes quite different from those usually intended.

In the case of the Publius Scipio described by Cicero, all his friends, and the contemporaries with whom he had been unable to share the *decem stipendia*, would have understood very well what was meant. So would Aemilianus, and thus he would not have hesitated to record a flamine which in this case involved no conflict with the rest of the epitaph.

Certainty is beyond reach, but this discussion seems to strengthen the belief that the Publius Scipio of the epitaph was indeed the son of Africanus.

Edinburgh

K. M. MOIR

VERGIL, *AENEID* 1.607-9 AND MIDAS' EPITAPH

Aeneas ends his first speech to Dido as follows:

quae te tam laeta tulerunt
saecula? qui tanti talem genuere parentes?
in freta dum fluuii current, dum montibus umbrae
lustrabunt conuexa, polus dum sidera pascet,
semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt,
quae me cumque uocant terrae.

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A number of parallels have been cited for 607-9, notably *Ecl.* 1.59f. (an *adynaton*) and the positive statement (about Daphnis) at *Ecl.* 5.76ff., which even ends with the same line:

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

But the commentators seem to have missed the most significant parallel. R. G. Austin (*ad loc.*) notes that Aeneas' words to Dido 'were used on a funeral monument to a woman who ran a butchery and poultry business at Rome'. In fact 607-9 make an excellent epitaph because they evoke a particularly famous one, and the allusion has a powerful literary effect in its context. For Vergil alludes to the famous hexameter epitaph on King Midas of Phrygia, ascribed to Cleobulus of Lindos by Simonides (*PMG* 581, = *Diog. Laert.* 1.89), but to Homer by the pseudo-Herodotean *Life of*

Homer, the Contest of Homer and Hesiod and several other sources. It runs as follows in the *Life of Homer*, 135–40:

χαλκῇ παρθένος εἰμί, Μίδεω δ' ἐπὶ σήματι κείμεαι·
 ἔστ' ἂν ὕδωρ τε ῥέῃ καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ τεθήλη
 ἡέλιός τ' ἀνίων λάμπη, λαμπρά τε σελήνη,
 καὶ ποταμοὶ γε ῥέωσιν, ἀνακλύζῃ δὲ θάλασσα,
 αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένουσα πολυκλαύτου ἐπὶ τύμβου
 ἀγγελέω παριούσι Μίδης ὅτι τῇδε τεθάπται.

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This epitaph was very familiar, since it is quoted, in whole or in part, by Plato (*Phaedrus* 264c–d), [Longinus] *On the Sublime*, 36.2, Sextus Empiricus (twice), Dio of Prusa, Diogenes Laertius, Libanius, John Philoponus and the Palatine Anthology (7.153). The numerous textual variants, conveniently collected by T. W. Allen in *Homeri Opera* v (Oxford, 1912), pp. 198f., are another index of its early and continuing popularity, with the attendant likelihood of misquotation from memory. Vergil clearly adapts the reading *ποταμοὶ γε ῥέωσιν* (= *fluuii current*), not the reading *ποταμοὶ πλήθωσι* of the *Contest* (p. 235 Allen), which looks like an alteration to remove the repetition of *ῥέω*.

As always, Vergil improves on his model in several ways. He avoids this repetition; he condenses lines 2–4 into only two verses, introducing a fine triple anaphora of *dum*, and arranging the elements in an ascending order (waters, mountains and sky), rather than the chiasitic order of ‘Homer’ (water, trees, sun, moon, rivers, sea). He darkens the passage by alluding to the sun with *umbræ*, and replacing the moon with the stars, in a well-recognised allusion to Lucretius 1.231 (*aether sidera pascit*); and he brings out the connection between the flowing rivers and the sea, which are simply juxtaposed in line 4 of the epitaph, by writing *in freta dum fluuii current*. Moreover the guardian of Midas’ tomb will sit there passively and tell passers-by whose tomb it is, whereas Aeneas will carry Dido’s glory wherever he travels; his phrasing foreshadows the fact that he will leave, but she will stay behind, less than gloriously (*manebunt* echoes *μένουσα*). But it is not enough to detect an allusion; in a consummate poem it should serve a purpose. An echo of a Homeric epitaph on a rich and famous alien ruler is especially apt and ominous here: Aeneas’ very greeting will mean death for Dido, and her death will be immortalised by the Roman Homer, Vergil.

University of California, Los Angeles

R. JANKO

AENEID 8.573 AND CALLIMACHUS’ HYMN TO ZEUS

In his final words to his son, Pallas, Evander interposes a prayer:

‘At uos, o superi, et diuum tu maxime rector
 Iuppiter, Arcadii, quaeso, miserescite regis...’

Of recent commentators, C. J. Fordyce alone is bothered by the reference to Evander’s Arcadian origin; he reckons that it alludes to his exiled condition and so establishes a claim on Jupiter’s mercy. That may be so, but it is worth suggesting that this is rather a piece of Virgil’s Callimachean learning. For at the opening of his first *Hymn* Callimachus had rejected the story that Zeus was born on Crete in favour of Arcadia (6–7, 10). The Arcadian birth-place was known to Cicero (*De natura deorum* 3.21, 53: *principio Ioues tres numerant...ex quibus primum et secundum natos in Arcadia*). Yet Cicero is less likely to be in Virgil’s mind than Callimachus, from whom