

moral system (of which a fair idea is given by Cato's praise of *Venus facilis et parabilis* in Hor. *serm.* 1.2.116ff.).

Lines 1085–91 put a stronger emphasis on the condemnation of passionate love and of the sexual activity which is linked to it, and lines 1086–8 offer a very similar version of the syntactical structure exploited in 1046–9:

namque in eo spes est, unde est ardoris origo,  
restingui quoque posse ab eodem corpore flammam.  
quod fieri contra totum natura repugnat.

The point that strikes Lucretius most, the fact that the very power that causes the burning passion of love is the only one able to soothe it, is therefore mentioned briefly at first, and then picked up again and attacked once and for all: the reiteration becomes more evident because of the syntactical similarity.<sup>4</sup>

*Dirus* reappears at 1090, and this time it is connected with *cupido* (*dira cuppedine*). *Libido* in 1046 and *cupido* here are not opposed to each other as, respectively, a natural sexual desire (completely positive, from an Epicurean point of view) and a censurable psychological passion, since, as we have already seen, the very *libido* mentioned at line 1046 is marred by a wrong δόξα of the mind. Whereas *libido* stands in the foreground at line 1046, the emphasis at line 1090 is on *cupido*, which represents a passionate factor, located in the *pectus*, but nonetheless inseparable from its underlying physical impulse towards pleasure.

However, this relation does not seem to entail any kind of opposition between *libido* and *cupido*: *Venus* (1058) is *dira libido* and *muta cupido* (1057), *dulcedo* and *cura* (1059–60), all at the same time. Their mutual dependence, in fact, is so strongly felt that they can even be identified: *cupido*, at line 1115, means *semen*; this extreme brachylogy condenses the impulse towards pleasure, its psychological counterpart, and the physiological aspects in a bold metonymy that knows of no models and no imitations.

Again, at 5.964, in the description of primitive life, he mentions the *impensa libido* of males, which is not contaminated with psychological and passionate elements (these being unknown yet, 5.958–9); and from 5.962 on, Lucretius' only point of interest is the reproductive mechanism, in which both *cupido* (963: *mutua*) and *impensa libido*<sup>5</sup> are instruments which Venus uses so that all animal beings *cupide generatim saecula propagent* (1.20). *Cupido* and *libido* are therefore to be regarded as two complementary aspects of the same phenomenon, and their tight link is also strengthened at a phonic level by their collocation at the end of two subsequent lines (5.963–4).

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<sup>4</sup> Lucretius' polemical target should therefore be seen in the traditional portrait of love as only metaphorically *terribilis*, δεινός. On the contrary, Love is actually *dirus* (whether or not the two adjectives are etymologically connected). It is a flame that, as Nature herself teaches all too well, cannot be put out by water coming from the same source as the fire: ὁ τρώσας, for Lucretius, οὐκ ἰάσεται (cf. Otto, *Sprichwörter*, s.v. *amor*).

<sup>5</sup> *Impensus* does not have any negative implication, and can be referred to positive qualities as well. This is the first time that the adjective is used in poetry: cf. *ThLL* vii.1, p. 548, 73.

## BULLS AND BOXERS IN APOLLONIUS AND VERGIL

In a famous passage of the third book of the *Georgics* (3.209–41) Vergil describes two bulls fighting over a *formosa iuuenca*; the bull which is at first beaten goes off to recover and prepare, returning to attack again its arrogant opponent. The description

of the bull's training blends the toughness of early man,<sup>1</sup> the playfulness of a young animal, the suffering of the *exclusus amator* and the preparations of a human athlete:

ergo omni cura uiris exercet et inter  
dura iacet pernox instrato saxa cubili  
frondibus hirsutis et carice pastus acuta,  
et temptat sese atque irasci in cornua discit  
arboris obnixus trunco, uentosque lacessit  
ictibus, et sparsa ad pugnam proludit harena. (Georg. 3.229–34)

The phrase *uentosque lacessit/ ictibus* has been variously handled by critics, but Page's note – 'he acts like a boxer' – is very likely on the right track; cf. *Aen.* 5.375–7 of Dares answering the challenge to compete in boxing, 'talis prima Dares caput altum in proelia tollit,/ ostenditque umeros latos alternaque iactat/ braccia protendens et uerberat ictibus auras'. *Pugna* (line 234) is used of a wide variety of sporting contests, but has, through *pugnis*, a natural affinity with boxing.<sup>2</sup> *uentosque lacessit/ ictibus* would, of course, be perfectly appropriate also for the warming-up of gladiators or fencers, and Richter took the phrase both here and in *Aeneid* 5 to be a poetic version of *uentilare*, which is twice found used absolutely of a gladiator practising or warming-up.<sup>3</sup> An image from gladiatorial contests would suit the sharp horns of a bull, but *uerberare* rather suggests boxing, and it is, moreover, unclear why Vergil's phrase should be semantically equivalent to *uentilare* (which may, in any case, have been used of boxers as well as of gladiators). If it is correct that lines 233–4 hint at a likeness between the bull and a boxer, then new colour is given to certain earlier elements of the passage: *alternantes* (line 220), *uulneribus crebris* (line 221), *sanguis* (line 221), *plagas* (line 226) and *superbi/ uictoris* (lines 226–7)<sup>4</sup> may now all be seen to suggest a boxing-match. So too, the theme of the deleterious effect on bulls of sexual passion may be not merely a borrowing from love-poetry but also a transference to the bovine world of conventional wisdom about how athletes should conduct themselves.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, a *iuuena* as a prize in a boxing-match between two bulls gives an amusingly new resonance to an idea from the world of (literary) man: in Homer, Epeios and Euryalos box for a splendid mule, ἡμίονον ταλαεργόν... ἐξέετε ἄδμήτην<sup>6</sup> (*Il.* 23.654–5), and in *Aeneid* 5 Dares and Entellus compete for a *iuuencus*.<sup>7</sup>

Behind Vergil's poetic fancy lie many different 'sources'. Some commentators have found the seeds of this passage in technical writing such as Arist. *HA* 6.575a21–2, 'the victorious bull (ὁ νικῶν τῶν ταύρων) mounts the cows; but when he is weak because of his frequent mounting, the beaten bull (ὁ ἡττώμενος) attacks him, and often wins'; cf. also a preserved fragment<sup>8</sup> of 'Antipater, *Περὶ ζώων*': 'the strongest (ἀλκιμώτατος) bull in the herd mates with all the cows and does not allow any other bull to mate. But if another bull, trusting in his own strength, withstands and defeats

<sup>1</sup> cf. R. F. Thomas, *Virgil, Georgics*, II (Cambridge, 1988), on 229–31.

<sup>2</sup> cf. *Aen.* 5.365. Thomas, however, refers the verse to 'the sanding of the oiled body in wrestling'.

<sup>3</sup> Sen. *Contr.* 3 pr. 13, Sen. *EM* 117.25.

<sup>4</sup> cf. *Aen.* 5.473 'hic uictor superans animis tauroque superbus'.

<sup>5</sup> cf. Philostratus, *Gymn.* 52, where however what is at issue is the effect of actual sex rather than of sexual longing, and A. Rousselle, *Porneia: on Desire and the Body in Antiquity* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 12–15. There is a close parallel to this in the folklore of modern boxing.

<sup>6</sup> ἄδμήτης and related words are frequently used of young girls, and Vergil may be exploiting this resonance.

<sup>7</sup> At *Aen.* 5.399 Entellus sarcastically refers to the prize as a *pulcher iuuenus*, cf. *formosa iuuenca*.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted by Schol. Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 2.88–9a.

him, then the second bull mates with the cows after that.' Among poetic models, the lyric account of the fight between Heracles and Achelous for the hand of Deianeira at Sophocles, *Trachiniae* 507–30 has long been acknowledged as a particularly important forerunner.<sup>9</sup> The river-god appeared in his bull form and his horns crashed against his opponent, while Deianeira sat far off awaiting the outcome in terror (cf. *Trach.* 24); in line 520 the fight is described in what looks like the technical language of wrestling (ἀμφίπλεκτοι κλίμακες). Sophocles does not actually say 'they wrestled like two bulls over a heifer', but the idea is clearly latent in the passage and is nearly explicit at the end of the ode, where Deianeira's marriage is compared to the sudden separation of a young heifer (πόρτις ἐρήμα) from its mother. It is a small step from there to a passage of the *Argonautica* which is cited by commentators on the *Georgics*, but whose full importance has not yet been brought out.

At *Arg.* 2.88–97 the final round in the boxing-match of Amycus and Polydeuces is compared to the meeting of two bulls in competition for a 'grazing heifer':

ἄψ δ' αὖτις συνόρουσαν ἐναντίω, ἥντε ταύρω  
φορβάδος ἀμφὶ βοὸς κεκοτηότε δηριάσθων.  
ἐνθα δ' ἔπειτ' Ἀμυκος μὲν ἐπ' ἀκροτάτοισιν ἀερθεῖς  
βουτύπος οἷα πόδεσσι τανύσσατο, καὶ δὲ βαρεῖαν  
χείρ' ἐπὶ οἱ πελέμειξεν· ὁ δ' αἰσσοντος ὑπέστη,  
κράτα παρακλίνας, ὥμωι δ' ἀνεδέξατο πῆχυν  
τυτθόν. ὁ δ' ἄγχ' αὐτοῖο παρέκ γόνυ γουνὸς ἀμείβων  
κόψε μεταίγδην ὑπὲρ οὐατος, ὅστέα δ' εἴσω  
ῥήξεν· ὁ δ' ἀμφ' ὀδύνην γυνῆς ἤριπεν. οἱ δ' ἰάχησαν  
ῥωες Μινύαι· τοῦ δ' ἀθρόος ἐκχυτο θυμός.  
90  
95

Whereas Vergil presents his bulls warring over a mate as boxers, Apollonius' boxers are like bulls warring over a mate.<sup>10</sup> The simile of lines 88–9 leads in to that of lines 90–2 where Amycus is compared to a man about to sacrifice a bull; the tables are turned, however, and Amycus himself becomes the sacrificial victim. γυνῆς ἤριπεν (line 96) is appropriate both for a beaten boxer and for the bull at a sacrifice,<sup>11</sup> and the heroes' shout suggests not merely the audience of a sporting-contest<sup>12</sup> but also the ritual cry which attended sacrifice; Apollonius may in fact have specifically in mind the sacrifice at *Odyssey* 3.447–58 (cf. the ὀλολυγή in line 450, and line 455 λίπε δ' ὅστέα θυμός corresponding to *Arg.* 2.97). Vergil certainly used *Arg.* 2.90–2 and 95–6, together with *Arg.* 1.427–31, in his description of Entellus' killing of the prize bull at *Aen.* 5.477–80,<sup>13</sup>

dixit, et aduersi contra stetit ora iuueni  
qui donum astabat pugnae, duosque reducta  
librauit dextra media inter cornua caestus  
arduus, effractoque inlisit in ossa cerebro,

and the debt to the opening of *Argonautica* 2 throughout the boxing description in *Aeneid* 5 is well known.<sup>14</sup> This may encourage us to look for further Apollonian

<sup>9</sup> For Ovid's later use of the *Trachiniae* passage cf. F. Bömer, 'Der Kampf der Stiere', *Gymnasium* 81 (1974), 503–13, and note on *Met.* 9.46.

<sup>10</sup> It is tempting to believe that the fact that ancient boxing 'gloves' were made exclusively of ox-hide (cf. Philostratus, *Gymn.* 10) has had an important influence in the creation of this image.

<sup>11</sup> cf. *Il.* 17.520–4, *Arg.* 4.471. Rather similar is Lucretius 1.92 of Iphigenia, 'muta metu terram genibus summissa petebat'; the action suits both a terrified girl and a sacrificial victim.

<sup>12</sup> cf. *Arg.* 3.1370, Theocr. 22.99, Hom. *Il.* 23.847, 869.

<sup>13</sup> cf. F. Rütten, *De Vergili studiis Apollonianis* (diss. Münster, 1912), p. 19. *arduus* in line 480 may be another (cf. line 426) reflection of *Arg.* 2.90–1, but cf. Eur. *El.* 840.

<sup>14</sup> cf. Rütten op. cit. (n. 13), pp. 16–19 and Williams' notes on the *Aeneid* passage. The reference to Amycus in line 373 directs our attention to Apollonius and Theocritus.

influence in the 'boxing match' of *Georgics* 3.

When the beaten bull returns to attack its opponent, its charge is described with a simile of a crashing wave:

fluctus uti medio coepit cum albescere ponto,  
longius ex altoque sinum trahit, utque uolutus  
ad terras immane sonat per saxa neque ipso  
monte minor procumbit, at ima exaestuât unda  
uerticibus nigramque alte subiectat harenam. 240  
(*Georg.* 3.237–41)

The simile is adapted<sup>15</sup> from *Iliad* 4.422–6 which describes the Greeks moving, like the Vergilian bull, to battle:

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἐν αἰγιαλῷ πολυηχέϊ κύμα θαλάσσης  
ὄρνυτ' ἐπασσύτερον Ζεφύρου ὑπο κινήσαντος·  
πόντῳ μὲν τε πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
χέρσῳ ῥηγνύμενον μέγαλα βρέμει, ἀμφὶ δέ τ' ἄκρας 425  
κυρτὸν ἐὼν κορυφούται, ἀποπτύει δ' ἄλως ἄχνην.

Apollonius too has occasion to describe the charge of bulls, during the account of Jason's trials in the third book:

ἔδδειςαν δ' ἥρωες ὅπως ἴδον· αὐτὰρ ὁ τοὺς γε  
εὐ διαβάς ἐπιόντας ἅ τε σπιλάς εἰν ἀλὶ πέτρῃ  
μίμνει ἀπειρεσίησι δονέμενα κύματ' ἀέλλαις. (Arg. 3.1293–5)

This simile is indebted to *Iliad* 15.618–21 which describes the Greek battle-line as it resists the Trojans. Resistance was not the quality which Vergil wished to describe in *Georgics* 3, but he may have been led to use a wave-simile for his charging bull by this passage of the *Argonautica*. A further consideration, however, seems to prove beyond reasonable doubt that Vergil's choice of Homeric model here has been influenced by his knowledge of Apollonius' epic.

The opening exchanges of the bout between Amycus and Polydeuces contain another wave-simile:

ἐνθα δὲ Βεβρύκων μὲν ἀναξ, ἃ τε κύμα θαλάσσης  
τρηχὺ θοὴν ἐπὶ νῆα κορύσσεται, ἣ δ' ὑπὸ τυτθὸν  
ἰδρεΐησι πυκινόιο κυβερνητῆρος ἀλύσκει  
ἱεμένου φορέεσθαι ἔσω τοίχοιο κλύδωνος (Arg. 2.70–3)

Amycus, a son of Poseidon,<sup>16</sup> is like a mighty wave threatening to burst in on a ship, whereas Polydeuces is the skilful pilot who averts the danger:<sup>17</sup> the fact that Polydeuces and his brother had a traditional rôle as rescuers from shipwreck<sup>18</sup> – a rôle given great prominence in the opening passage of Theocritus' parallel poem (22.8–22) – foreshadows the ultimate futility of Amycus' efforts. Like so many Apollonian similes, these verses have a complex Homeric origin, but two passages are particularly important. One is *Iliad* 15.624–9 (Hector attacking the Greek lines) which follows immediately after the Homeric model for the charge of Aietes' bulls in *Arg.* 3, and the other is the same simile from *Iliad* 4 that Vergil reworked to describe the bull's charge: κύμα θαλάσσης and κορύσσεται (*sinum trahit*) point clearly to the adaptation (cf. *Il.* 4.422, 424). Vergil's choice of Homeric model thus points again to the confrontation of Amycus and Polydeuces in the *Argonautica*, which in turn looks

<sup>15</sup> cf. M. C. J. Putnam, *Virgil's Poem of the Earth* (Princeton, 1979), pp. 194–5.

<sup>16</sup> The association of Poseidon with bulls – witnessed most dramatically in the death of Hippolytus – is also important here and in the *Georgics* passage.

<sup>17</sup> The simile is later instantiated in the narrative at 2.580–7.

<sup>18</sup> cf. *Arg.* 2.806–8, 4.593, 649–53, and the remarks of A. R. Rose, *WS* 97 (1984), 125.

forward to the charging bulls of *Arg.* 3.1293–5.<sup>19</sup> Vergil's technique of allusion here is familiar enough, although a thorough investigation of how he used the Hellenistic epic remains a major desideratum.<sup>20</sup>

Other parallels between the two passages have less significance, but two further points may be mentioned. The shadow-boxing of *Georg.* 3.233–4 has its parallel in *Arg.* 2.45–7, where Polydeuces prepares for the fight. In both poems careful preparation is to pay off against an arrogant and careless opponent. Secondly, there is the phrase *irasci in cornua* (line 232). With more or less confidence, editors see here a borrowing from the only earlier instance of the phrase in extant literature, Eur. *Bacch.* 743, ταῦροι δ' ὑβρίζονται κὰς κέρασ θυμούμενοι (of animals attacked by the bacchants). If this is correct – and caution in such matters is always necessary – then it is noteworthy that Malcolm Campbell has argued<sup>21</sup> that Apollonius' description of the contest of Amycus and Polydeuces is indebted to the Euripidean confrontation of Pentheus and Dionysus: the calm, beautiful young man confronts the brutish, 'earthborn' tyrant.<sup>22</sup> Campbell also argued that οἰνωπός of Polydeuces at Theocr. 22.34 showed that Theocritus had picked up the resonance of Apollonius' account. Does *Georg.* 3.233–4 show that these allusions were not lost on Vergil? Opinions will differ, but no one will want to underestimate his appreciation of detail and nuance in the *Argonautica*.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Apollonius' account of Jason's struggle with the bulls very likely contains echoes of Callimachus' *Hecale*. This lends colour to the suggestion (cf. Thomas ad loc.) that *Georg.* 3.232–4 is indebted to Call. fr. 732 Pf., πολλὰ μάτην κεράεσσιν ἐς ἥερα θυμήναντα, a verse of uncertain authorship which has been ascribed, with some probability, to the *Hecale*.

<sup>20</sup> For Apollonius' influence on the *Georgics*, cf. the brief survey of W. W. Briggs in H. Temporini and W. Haase (edd.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 31.2 (Berlin/New York, 1981), pp. 955–8.

<sup>21</sup> 'Three Notes on Alexandrine Poetry', *Hermes* 102 (1974), 38–46, at 38–41.

<sup>22</sup> H. Fränkel, *Noten zu den Argonautika des Apollonios* (Munich, 1968), p. 157, had cited Eur. *Bacch.* 543–4 in this connection, but he did not pursue the parallel.

<sup>23</sup> I am grateful to Michael Reeve for his comments on an earlier version of this note.

#### THE NEW GALLUS AND THE *ALTERNAE VOCES* OF PROPERTIUS 1.10.10

In *CQ* 34 (1984), 167–74, Janet Fairweather makes the interesting suggestion that the elegiacs by Gallus on the Qaṣr Ibrīm papyrus should be understood as 'a fragment of an amoebaeon song-contest'. This hypothesis, as she notes, might explain why the papyrus' quatrains are set apart by spaces and by an odd type of symbol, and treat 'separate, indeed discrepant, topics', yet show 'unmistakable verbal and thematic connections'.<sup>1</sup> Fairweather's discussion is thorough, but overlooks one small piece of evidence for Gallan amoebaeon verse.

Propertius 1.10 describes Propertius' delight at having witnessed the lovemaking of someone named Gallus and his mistress. As F. Skutsch in 1906 and others more

<sup>1</sup> Fairweather, 167. L. Koenen, in L. Koenen and D. B. Thompson, 'Gallus as Triptolemos on the Tazza Farnese', *BASP* 21 (1984), 142–50, argues still for separate epigrams, principally because of the use of both a paragraphus-type symbol and space between quatrains, but he does not really confront Fairweather's suggestion. J. Blänsdorf, 'Der Gallus-Papyrus – Eine Fälschung?' *ZPE* 67 (1987), 49 n. 28, refers to Fairweather's hypothesis as 'interessante, aber unbeweisbar'.