

SEAFARERS AND WINDS IN GERM. FR. 5 Two Philological Notes

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The nine lines that form Germ. fr. 5 are preserved in poor conditions only by Codex Arundelianus 268 (British Museum Library, London, indicated below as A) and very likely represent the scanty remains of the prooemium introducing the second part of Augustus' grand-nephew's poem. Since Baehrens' edition, the text has undergone little changes:¹

*Arstrorumque globos et sidera maximus Atlas
protulit in populos, numeris uersutus, et omnes
stellarum motus certa ratione notauit;
quae Pharii Tyriique uiri commenta sequentes
aequora uere nouo {.....} 5a
.....} uentos et flamina cuncta 5b
Aeolus in partes diuisi rettulit orbis:
quo premeret Boreas, Notus unde attolleret imbres
quaque Euris Zephyrusque domo procederet undis
et circumpositos armaret in aequora fratres.*

1 -*que* add. Baehrens *adhlans* A : *Atlans* Baehrens 2 *numeris uersutus* Baehrens : *humeris uirtutis* A 4 *Pharii Tyriique* Baehrens : *farii syriique* A 5 inter *nouo* et *uentos* lacunam indicauit Baehrens 5b *uentos et* Baehrens : *uento set* A 6 *quo* A : *qua* Baehrens 8 *procederet* Baehrens : *proce* **** A

The first 5 lines present the $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\upsilon\rho\epsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ of astronomical knowledge, Atlas, who is described as an expert sky-observer: after having enumerated the discoveries of the mythical character, line 4 mentions two expert seafarers from antiquity, the Egyptians and the Phoenicians (*Pharii Tyriique uiri*, where the correction *Tyrii* is supported by a similar passage² present in Val. Fl. 1.19–20 *sed te duce Graecia mittet / et Sydon Nilusque rates*), but then the text has an abrupt breakdown and the whole period is left suspended. Baehrens cut line 5 into two hexameter-halves, arguing for a lacuna after *uere nouo* of line 5a, while Maass, in an article not mentioned by recent editors,³ suggested emending *uere nouo* in *uerrebant*. This conjecture re-

1) The first publication is in E. Baehrens, *Neue Bruchstücke der Aratea des Germanicus*, RhM 32, 1877, 323. I reproduce here the text established by D. B. Gain, *The Aratus ascribed to Germanicus Caesar* (London 1976), which differs from Baehrens' one only for the spelling of the line-end *Atlas* (line 1) and the retaining of *quo* instead of the conjectural *qua* (line 7).

2) For this parallel, see Gain (n. 1 above) 139.

3) E. Maass, *Untersuchungen zu Properz und seinen griechischen Vorbildern*, Hermes 31, 1896, 419 n. 2.

stores a main verb and apparently resolves the problem of the meaning of the line, but I wonder why a copyist should have altered such a verb into an expression which breaks the grammaticality of the sentence, although fitting well in a seafaring context.⁴ Maass' proposal, however, is intriguing if we combine it with Baehrens' hypothesis; suppose that in line 5a *aequora uere nouo* might have been followed by a form like *uerrebant*, and it will be easy to argue that the conflation of 5a and 5b has been determined by an eye-slip of a copyist, who was misled by the "homoeomeson" occurring in the two lines (*uerrebant* ~ *uentos*).⁵ A possible supplement for the two omitted halves may run as follow:

<i>aequora uere nouo</i>	5a
<i>torquebantque undas.</i>	5b

This reconstruction is mainly indebted to Virg. Aen. 3.208 (= Aen. 4.583) *adnixi torquent spumas et caerulea uerrunt*, a line that Germanicus could have had in mind, especially if we reflect on the fact that in both passages we have a scene of departure by sea. As regards the first integration, *uerrebant caerulea remis*, the proposed reconstruction tries to reproduce Germanicus' ability to mingle various sources in one line: in particular, the expression *aequora ... caerulea* may be reminiscent of Catul. 64.7 *caerulea uerrentes abiugnis aequora palmis*, while the ablative *remis* at the end of the line could be due to the Virgilian phrase *uerrere remis* (see Virg. Aen. 6.320: *illae remis uada liuida uerrunt*). The second integration, *torquebantque undas*, does not follow exactly the main model, but it can be considered as well a reworking of Vergil's *torquere undas*, just as it will be made later by Val. Fl. 8.287 *illi autem intorquent truncis frondentibus undam*.⁶

The second and last point of this note deals with the figure of Aeolus. The epic god of the winds is represented as the ruler of *uenti* and *flamina*: he is able to part a circle into four sections and to assign a cardinal wind to each of them. Lines 7 and 8 are devoted to the description of the wind rose: the first polar couple is composed of *Boreas*, the North wind, and *Notus*, the South wind, then we have *Eurus* and *Zephyrus*, respectively the East and West wind. After these two lines, the manuscript preserves the last hexameter of the fragment *et circumpositos armaret in aequora fratres*, which turns out to be tantalizing for the interpreters.⁷

As the text has come down to us, the only possible subject of the verb can be the couple of winds formed by *Eurus* and *Zephyrus*, according to the translation

4) For a discussion of ancient sources on this topic, see J. Morton, *The Role of the Physical Environment in Ancient Greek Seafaring* (Leiden / Boston / Köln 2001) 255–258.

5) This error typology has been defined by A. E. Housman, *M. Annaei Lucani Belli Civilis Libri Decem* (Oxford 1926) xix.

6) Cf. T. Pellucchi, *Commento al libro VIII delle Argonautiche di Valerio Flacco* (Hildesheim / Zürich / New York 2012) 328. For the sake of completeness, I shall remark that the elision of the enclitic *-que* in this metrical position and before a long syllable is attested also in Germ. Arat. 16, 164, 263, 337.

7) Incidentally, it is worth noting here that in Latin poetry the identification of winds as brothers is first attested in Ov. Met. 1.60 *tanta est discordia fratrum*, from whom Germanicus certainly drew inspiration: see the commentary of F. Bömer, *P. Ovidius Naso. Metamorphosen, Buch I–III* (Heidelberg 1969) 35.

made by Le Bœuffle: "... de quelle demeure Eurus et Zéphyr s'avancent sur les ondes et arment contre la mer leurs frères postés à la ronde."⁸ Gain, however, refers the verb *armaret* not to the winds, but to Aeolus, and he renders the same lines in this way: "from what abodes Eurus and Zephyrus proceed against the waves. He [sc. Aeolus] arrayed these brothers in a ring against the sea".

The last interpretation quoted is the most likely for two reasons: on the one hand, the verb that expresses the arming of the winds requires a subject which must be different from the winds themselves, and on the other it is better to refer the past participle *circumpositos* to all the four cardinal winds, not simply to *Boreas* and *Notus* as in Le Bœuffle's version. However, the transmitted text does not allow Gain's translation: a possible solution, then, is to print *armauit* instead of *armaret*, the original verbal form being attracted by the subjunctive of line 7 (and that of line 8, which is not attested by manuscript A, but which was most certainly present in Germanicus' original text). If we accept this conjecture, we can notice two very impressive stylistic effects in this fragment: first of all, the description of Aeolus' deeds towards humans would be perfectly symmetrical to Atlas' one (note the parallelism between the two main clauses in lines 1–3 *Astrorumque globos . . . maximus Atlas / protulit in populos . . . et omnes / stellarum motus certa ratione notauit*, and the two main clauses in the last lines *in partes diuisi rettulit orbis / . . . / et circumpositos armauit in aequora fratres*), and secondly the wind rose would be emphasized by the particular structure of the last four lines. Lines 7 and 8, in fact, would be enclosed by the two actions of Aeolus (a sort of visual representation of the *orbis* drawn by Aeolus himself), and in each hexameter the symmetry existing among the winds would be enhanced by placing at the end of the line the water element influenced by the winds themselves (*imbres* and *undis*).⁹

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8) A. Le Bœuffle, Germanicus. Les Phénomènes d'Aratos (Paris 1975).

9) It is obvious that if *Eurus Zephyrusque* had been the subject of the transmitted *armaret*, this carefully crafted construction would have been broken by an asymmetric structure. This second stylistic remark was made to me by the anonymous referee of this paper, whom I wish to thank for his many other helpful suggestions.