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The Source of Dante's *Eunoè*

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somewhat nearer to the letters, but in other respects it is inferior to the previous correction which is neither improbable in itself nor, from the changes which it assumes, devoid of a special plausibility when manuscripts of Tibullus are in question.

If we accept Baehrens' conjecture and interpret the next distich as reason requires, a difficulty which has been lurking all the time in the context starts up at once to confront us. The following lines and everything in the sequel deal with Messalla's achievements in peace—his mission to Asia and his works in Italy. But there is not a word to mark the transition. I conceive then that a couplet has fallen out between 10 and 11, the sense of which was this. 'Yet your successes in the field, Messalla, are equalled or surpassed by your exploits as a reorganiser and administrator.' Compare the division of the Panegyrist 39 sq. 'nam quis te maiora gerit *castrisue foroue*? nec tamen hic aut hic tibi laus maiorue minorue' Messalla's forensic eminence being

the subject of 45 sqq. and his 'bellicae laudes' that of 81 sqq.¹

That a couplet necessary for the orderly treatment of the subject has been lost seems an easier assumption than the one which is otherwise demanded, to wit that Messalla fought Aquitanians, properly or improperly so called, on all the rivers in question.

J. P. POSTGATE.

¹ Mr. Housman (Corpus Tibullus, note *ad loc.*) has suggested the loss of a pentameter and hexameter between 13 and 14 where there is certainly some corruption in the MS. text. Had Tibullus smooth water on the brain to this extent of selecting this characteristic for two rivers in succession? I doubt it. The best remedy seems to be to read *placidæ—aquæ* and to refer it to the Rhegma as Strabo calls it, the sense being that the 'blue' Cydnus flows so peacefully to the sea that its colour alone betrays its passage through the still and shallow lagoon. The ablative would be due to some scribe who understood neither the construction nor the allusion. The heaping up of expressions for the same idea is in itself no proof of corruption; cf. Tib. ii. 1. 80, 'placidus leniter,' Ov. *Pont.* 4. 10. 54 'et tacite peragens lene Melanthus iter,' Sen. *H. F.* 580 'placida quiete labitur Lethe uado.' But 'tacitus undis' and 'placidis aquis' of the same water seems impossible.

THE SOURCE OF DANTE'S *EUNOË*.

MISS HARRISON'S 'Query' (*C.R.*, February 1903, p. 58) as to whence Dante borrowed his *Eunoë*, puts a very interesting and difficult question. The question first occurred to me when I was preparing a course of lectures on Plato's Myths which I delivered in Oxford four years ago. In one of these lectures I called attention, as Miss Harrison now does, to the close analogy between the mythology of the Petelia Tablet (Kaibel, *I.G.S.I.*, No. 638, and Comparetti, *J.H.S.* iii. 111) and Dante's mythology of the twin streams, Lethe and *Eunoë*, in *Purg.* xxviii. 130, and subsequent passages. I found that Dante was true to mythological data at his disposal in placing Lethe in, or near, Elysium or the Earthly Paradise, and making it a stream, not subterranean, but on the surface of the earth; but I pointed out that there was no evidence to show that he had any knowledge of the Orphic mythology of the twin streams as we have it in the Petelia inscription. Nor could we suppose that he knew of Pausanias' mention (ix. 39) of the streams of Lethe and Mnemosyne at the entrance of the cave of Trophonius; although it was possible that he might have seen Pliny *H.N.* xxxi. 15. I thought it safest to

allow that Dante, taking the general idea of streams encircling the Earthly Paradise from *Genesis*, and the idea of Lethe as one of these streams from *Aen.* vi., might have hit, quite independently of mythological tradition, on the very natural idea of a stream of Memory to contrast with the stream of Oblivion, although his description of the attributes of *Eunoë* as stream of Memory, certainly resembles Platonic and Neo-platonic passages in which the process of *κάθαρσις* is identified with that of *ἀνάμνησις*. I ventured, however, to make a suggestion with regard to the name *Eunoë* (not a name obviously appropriate to the stream of Memory), which, if it goes in the right direction at all, perhaps does not go very far. I offer it here again for what it may be worth, as a contribution to the subject.

Starting from the lines in the Petelia Tablet, in which the deceased *μύστης* appeals to the *φύλακες* of the fountain:—

δίψῃ δ' εἰμὶ αἷψ' καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλὰ δότ' αἶψα
ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέον τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ
λίμνης·
καὶ [τοῖ σο]ι δώσουσι πιεῖν θείης ἀπ[ὸ κρήν]ης,
καὶ τότ' ἔπειτ' ἄ[λλοισι μεθ'] ἡρώεσσιν ἀνάξει[ς].

I supposed that Dante's use of the name Eunoè might have some connexion with the idea of *refrigerium* which apparently found its way into Christian literature (cf. *Par.* xiv. 27, *Lo refrigerio dell' eterna ploia—Tertullian Apologeticus xxxix. inopes quosque refrigerio isto (i.e. the Lord's Supper) juvamus*), from the early Christian epitaphs which reproduce the *ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ* of the pagan epitaphs. I had in view such pagan epitaphs as the following published by Kaibel and referred to by Dieterich in his *Nekyia* and Rohde in his *Psyche*:—*ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ δόλῃ σοι ἀναξ ἐνέρων Αἰδωνεύς* (Kaibel *I.G.* 1842)—*εὐνύχει καὶ δόλῃ σοι ὁ Οσίρις τὸ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ* (Kaibel, *I.G.* 1488)—D.M. IVLIA POLITICE DOESE OSIRIS TO PSYCHRON HYDOR (Kaibel, *I.G.* 1705), and such Christian epitaphs as *in refrigerio et pace anima tua—Deus te refrigeret—spiritum tuum Dominus refrigeret* (quoted by Rohde *Psy.* ii. 391 and Dieterich *Nek.* 95). I supposed that the name Eunoè—*εὐνοια*, benevolentia—was chosen by Dante, or rather by an unknown authority from whom he borrowed it, to indicate that a boon was graciously bestowed by God through the water of this stream—the boon of *refrigerium*—*ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ δόλῃ σοι ἀναξ ἐνέρων*

Αἰδωνεύς—Dominus te refrigeret. Dante's Eunoè would thus mean the Stream of the Loving Kindness and Grace of God.

Until Miss Harrison's *E[ἰν]όλας* (after Comparetti's *ἐ[ν]όλας*) has been proved to belong to the original text of Kaibel, *I.G.S.I.* 642, and the reference in that inscription has been shown to be certainly to the Orphic *Κρήνη Μνημοσύνης*, it will be enough to admit that an Orphic writer in the third century B.C. might very naturally speak of the *φύλακες* of the well of Memory as *εἰνοὶ* towards those *μύστραι* on whom they bestowed τὸ *ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ*, or *refrigerium*, and that he might very naturally describe that well itself as *Εἰνόλας κρήνη*—the Fountain of Loving Kindness.

Considering the probable descent through epitaphs of the Christian *refrigerium* (the idea of which makes itself felt in the lines with which the *Purgatorio* ends) from the Orphic *ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ*, I am inclined to think that it is to Christian epitaphs that we ought to go for the more immediate source of Dante's Eunoè. If the word were found there in connexion with *refrigerium*, we might infer with some confidence that it had occurred in Orphic epitaphs.

J. A. STEWART.

REVIEWS.

BELLING ON HORACE.

Studien über die Liederbücher des Horatius.

Von H. BELLING. (Berlin : 1903. 188 pp. Gärtner's Verlagsbuchh.) 5 M.

THIS is a study of the art of Horace, not as poet, but as bookmaker, if I may employ that word in its literal sense. Mr. Belling has observed that there are 10 eclogues of Vergil, 10 poems in the First Book of Tibullus, 10 Satires in the First Book of Horace, 20 Epistles in the First Book, 20 Odes in the Second Book of Odes, 30 in the Third, 15 in the Fourth, and he notices that all these numbers are divisible by 5. He concludes that this is no accident, but that the Augustan poets, in collecting their compositions for publication, put them together in groups of 5 or 10, pentads or decads, arranged on some artistic principle which can be discovered by close investigation. He has already written on Tibullus

and Propertius, and is now prepared to explain why each ode of Horace comes by its place. The poet, he admits, wrote his odes on all sorts of occasions, but, in collecting them, he had an eye either to similarity or contrast, either of subject or metre, either within the pentad or decad itself or between different pentads or decads. It need hardly be said that, with all this choice of principles, Mr. Belling is never at a loss for a good reason. Like a man playing at noughts and crosses by himself, he is always sure of winning. It happens, indeed, that there are 38 Odes in the First Book, but this accident does not provoke Mr. Belling out of his common-sense. He can explain it in many ways. Thus, if Horace published all his pieces at once and the number of pieces was not divisible by 5, some book was bound to suffer, and why not the First? Again, Mr.