

## STYGIAS DETRUSUS IN ORAS

In his Pontic Epistles the exiled Ovid refers repeatedly to his feeling of having been thrust down to the Stygian banks (Ex P. 1, 8, 27 : *Stygias detrusus in oras*). His life at Tomi is a living death, no whit different from life along the rivers of the nether world (Ex P. 2, 3, 44 : *a Stygia quantum mors mea distat aqua?* 3, 5, 56 : *a Styge nec longe Pontica distat humus*). In another passage we read that the poet would gladly exchange the Danube region for the river Styx or even the deeper parts of the underworld lying below that river (Ex P. 4, 14, 11—12) :

*Styx quoque, si quid ea est, bene commutabitur Histro,  
si quid et inferius quam Styga mundus habet.*

(Cf. Trist. 5, 2, 73—74.)

The commentators pass by these passages in silence. No comment is offered by G. Némethy in his exegesis of Ovid.<sup>1</sup> He only refers to Tristia 1, 2, 65—66 :

*mittere me Stygias si iam voluisset ad undas  
Caesar, in hoc vestra non equisset ope.*

This shows that the great Ovid-scholar was struck only by the formal resemblances of the passages in question. We are thus faced with two alternatives. Either there is no problem at all, and the references to the Styx are nothing but the rhetorical exaggerations of a poet who was described by Fr. Leo as »novae poesis rhetoricae Romanae princeps et signifer« ; or else we have to leave this easy path and seek for a solution which gives a truer picture of the poet and his writings.

We are familiar with the description of the Pontic region in Ovid.<sup>2</sup> It is manifest from every line of his Pontic poems that for the spoilt child of fortune basking in the sun of Rome Tomi could only mean a living death : *inter glaciem Scythicasque sagittas vivere, si vita est mortis habenda genus* (Ex P. 1, 7, 9—10). He missed here everything that had

<sup>1</sup> Commentarii exegetici ad Ovidii Tristia. Bp. 1913 ; Commentarii exegetici ad Ovidii Epistolae ex Ponto. Bp. 1915.

<sup>2</sup> See I. Borzsák : Die Kenntnisse des Altertums über das Karpatenbecken. (Diss. Pann. 6.) Bp. 1936, pp. 26—27; W. Kraus: RE »Ovidius« 1919.

been dear to him in Rome : a mild climate, fruits, the blessings of peace and culture. In their place he had to endure all the evils one had never dreamt of in the capital : continual cold, a sterile soil, dull brains, living in constant peril of one's life. For an inhabitant of Rome, this hateful barbaric region always spelt the same, viz. cold and warfare. (Ex P. 4, 12, 33—34 : *bellum et frigora terrae, invisus nobis quae duo Pontus habet* ; cp. Trist, 2, 1, 195 : *frigus et hostes*, 5, 2, 63—70 ; Ex P. 1, 7, 11—12 ; 2, 2, 96).

Ovid's attitude to the contrast of Rome's mellow Mediterranean sky with the intolerable »Scythian« cold is most pregnantly expressed in a line of the Pontic Epistles : *quid melius Roma? Scythico quid frigore peius?* (Ex P. 1, 3, 37.) This line throws light on our particular problem also. On the one side we have Rome, standing for beauty, goodness, light, warmth, and life ; on the other side we find barbarism, formlessness, evil, darkness, cold, the underworld, and death.

But what is the precise connection of the frosty Black Sea coast with the infernal regions? What evidence have we that Ovid's images are not, after all, rhetorical embellishments? There is a characteristic passage in B. Schmidt's book (*Das Volksleben der Neugriechen und das hellenische Altertum*, 1871, p. 240) describing the underworld as it presented itself to the children of sun-bathed Greece ; this passage shows us that the comparison of the Tomi district with the nether world was no mere rhetorical figure : »Dwelling in Hades is dark and sadly monotonous ; no sun shines there, no cock crows, no larks sing ; water congeals to ice, no grass sprouts, numbing cold holds its continual dominion«. Schmidt quotes a modern Greek folk-song from Passow's collection, containing a reference to the ice in Hell : *κάτω στὰ Τάρταρα τῆς γῆς τὰ κροσπαγωμένα*. In the Island of Rhodes, the word *τάρταρον* still means *τὸ ψυχρότατον*. For the inhabitants of southern climes there is no greater horror in Hell than icy cold.

No less instructive for our purposes is Dante's *Inferno* which the poet traverses under Vergil's guidance. When they meet the »demonic Charon« (Inf. 3, 109 : *Caron demonio*), the latter reproves them thus :

»...Guai a voi, anime prave!  
Non isperate mai veder lo cielo :  
i' vegno per menarvi a l'altra riva,  
ne le tenebre eterne, in caldo e' n gel o«.

The punishments of Hell include not only the extremities of heat but of cold, too.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, Dante's *Inferno* contains the following reference

<sup>3</sup> The passage is quoted by *Fr. De Ruyt* : *Charun. Démon étrusque de la mort*. 1934. 248 foll. For the literature on Charon see *G. Moravcsik* : *Il Caronte Bizantino*. *Studi Biz. e Neoell.* 3 (1930) 47, 1.

to Lucifer who is identified with the Dis of classical mythology (Inf. 34, 28—29):

Lo 'mperador del doloroso regno  
da mezzo il petto uscia fuor de la ghiaccia.

(Cp. *ibid.* 75; 103; 6, 8.) In describing the beliefs held in classical antiquity on the nether world, A. Dieterich mentions,<sup>4</sup> along with the torments caused by the purifying fire and the absence of life-giving sunshine, also the darkness of the realm of the dead and the pangs of tormenting cold. Unfortunately, he does not specify those gnostic writings according to which the perpetrators of certain crimes are punished in Hell in icy regions covered with snow.

In connection with the classical view on the Styx we have to point out that the mythical river of the underworld derived its name from an icy mountain stream in Arcady (cf. Strab. 8, 389, Plin. Nat. hist. 31, 2, 27). It was primarily because of the intolerable cold that Ovid never came to like Tomi: *locus est inamabilis et quo esse nihil toto tristius orbe potest* (Trist. 5, 7, 43—44). The same complaint is voiced about the underworld in the *Metamorphoses* (see 4, 477 and 14, 590: *inamabile regnum*; cf. Verg. Georg. 4, 479: *Cocyti palus inamabilis*, as well as Gellius 2, 6, 13 and Macr. Sat. 6, 7: *κατὰ amoris στέρησιν*, and Aeneid 6, 438). A less significant yet highly interesting description of the Stygian realm is found, again, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (4, 436): *pallor h i e m s - q u e tenent late loca senta...*

As regards the relativity of the conceptions relating to heaven and hell, we have to bear in mind that the heroes of the misty northern mythology are cheered after their death by the resplendent halls of the Valhalla and the hot intoxication quaffed from the potion of the valkyries, while the Egyptian, familiar with the glare of the desert, wishes for cool northern breezes and fresh spring-water to quench the torturing thirst of his dead. The »*refrigerium*« of the Egyptian cult, affording relief to thirsting souls, became the »*refrigerii sedes*« in the liturgy of the Roman Church which is still praying for the spiritual »*rafrâichissement*« of the departed.<sup>5</sup> Prof. K. Marót has discussed<sup>6</sup> the origin of the religious

<sup>4</sup> Nekyia. 1893. 202.

<sup>5</sup> *Fr. Cumont*: Die orientalischen Religionen im römischen Heidentum. 1910. 120 foll.; for previous discussions of the subject see *Dieterich*: 95 and *W. Drexler*: Roscher ML »Isis« 465.

<sup>6</sup> *Refrigerium*. Acta Univ. Szeged. Sect. geogr.-hist. III 2. 1937. 101 foll.; from the recent literature on the subject see *A. Parrot*: Le refrigerium dans l'au-delà. Paris 1937.; *W. Deonna*: Croyances funéraires. La soif des morts. Revue de l'hist. des rél. 119 (1939) 53 foll.; *A. Jeremias*: Hölle und Paradies bei den alten Babyloniern. (Der alte Orient. I. 3.) 1903. 15 foll.; 25 foll.

concepts connected with the parching torments caused by heat (in Purgatory, etc.) and the emergence of the idea of a »refrigerium« which puts an end to this suffering; he has traced the semantic development of the Egyptian word *kbh* (»coolness, fresh water«) and came to the same conclusion as G. van der Leeuw,<sup>7</sup> viz. that the concept of »refrigerium« must have come to Rome from Egypt, the waterless country *par excellence* and reflects the dreams of Paradise cherished by the votaries of Isis.<sup>8</sup> Marót has pointed out a number of intellectual and emotional features connected with the specific climatic conditions; it is from these features that the figurative expressions and the conceptions lying at their basis »grow out«.<sup>9</sup> The Hebrew chapters in the »history« of the »refrigerium« have been discussed by Prof. I. Trencsényi-Waldapfel.<sup>10</sup> Interesting and instructive parallels to the foregoing are found in L. Radermacher's book,<sup>11</sup> dealing with the »climatological« components in the underworld of various peoples, from Greenland to Polynesia.

The relativity of situations and conceptions is clearly revealed also in the heroic songs of the Ostyaks; here the »prince-hero with the far-hearing ears« embarks upon the »holy sea that never freezes«.<sup>12</sup> The northern kinsmen of the Hungarians mention also the »people of the bird-haunted southern clime« (*morti-māxum*), the warm coast where the migratory birds spend the winter, the »holy sea with the golden waves, the »holy earth with golden lawn inhabited by southerners«, a district which they try to localize at the upper reaches of the river Ob or in the northern regions of the Black Sea.<sup>13</sup> Here we may mention also a popular custom among the Eastern Slavs pointed out by F. Haase:<sup>14</sup> in some districts the Russians bury their dead with a match-box full of matches, each of which gives a little warmth in the coldness of death.<sup>15</sup>

Thus it becomes more intelligible that in everything that is at variance with the natural concomitants of Mediterranean life, the »infernal« concepts readily emerge. In Horace's eyes winter is »informis« (c. 2, 10, 15, cf. Seneca, Apoc. 2); according to Kiessling's interpreta-

<sup>7</sup> Refrigerium. Mnemosynes Bibl. Class. Bat. III 3, 1936, 125 foll.

<sup>8</sup> Refrigerium, 103.

<sup>9</sup> Refrigerium, 125.

<sup>10</sup> Refrigerium — revajah. Libanon 3 (1938) 113 foll.

<sup>11</sup> Das Jenseits im Mythos der Hellenen. 1903. 7, 2; 33, 1; 35.

<sup>12</sup> See J. Pápay: Osztyák népköltési gyűjtemény (Collection of Ostyak folk-poetry). 1905. 108 foll. The same phrases occur in the Ostyak folk-tale published by H. Kunike: Märchen aus Sibirien. 1940. 40.

<sup>13</sup> See B. Munkácsi: Vogul népköltési gyűjtemény (Collection of Vogul folk-poetry). 2. 1910. 291 foll. The passages in question were pointed out to me by J. Harmatta. Cp. A. Alföldi: Gnomon 9 (1933) 566, 4.

<sup>14</sup> Volksglaube und Brauchtum der Ostslaven. 1939. 19.

<sup>15</sup> Cp. V. J. Mansikka: Die Religion der Ostslaven. I: Quellen. 1922. 26.

tion the sense of the word is not »missgestaltet« as in Juvenal (4, 58 : *deformis hiems*), but »gestaltlos« as in Vergil's description of the Scythian land (Georg. 3, 354—355): *iacet aggeribus niveis informis et alto terra gelu late*. The word bears here the same connotation as in the descent into the nether world in the Aeneid where, in a simile fraught with the deadly mystery of this descent, »night took away the colour from things« (6, 272 : *et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem*). In this realm all colours and contours are blurred, in contrast with the sharp, sun-bathed outlines of the Italian landscape. But this »formlessness« accompanies us also in the later course of our journey : Vergil refers to Sibylla and Aeneas whom the »frighteningly dirty« Charon (299 : *terribili squalore*) »infirmi limo glaucaque exponit in ulva« (416). Norden renders the phrase as »in hässlichem Morast« while in his commentary he contents himself with pointing out that the *limus* (the Orphic *βόρβορος*) and the *ulva* are typical features in descriptions of the nether world. (In Georg. 4, 478, describing the *κατάβασις* of Orpheus, we also meet with the »*limus niger et deformis arundo*«).

The appearance of the sedge in these passages need cause no surprise : it is just as »sterile« (Ovid, Met. 4, 299 : *steriles ulvae*) as the elm which is spreading in the middle of the vestibule to the Vergilian underworld (Aen. 6, 284 : *ulmus*). This is the reason why in Homer's Hades we find only *αἴγειροι τε καὶ ἰτέαι ὀλεσίκαρποι* (Od. 10, 510 ; cf. Paus. 10, 30, 6) ; that is why a barren cow has to be sacrificed to the queen of the lower world.<sup>16</sup> Trees »*felices*« and »*steriles*« are contrasted, among others, by Phaedrus (3, 17) ; even more instructive are Macrobius' data culled from ancient sacerdotal books (Sat. 2, 16, 2) : *in sacris felices arbores habebantur quercus, . . . pirus, malus, vitis, prunus, lotus, atque hae diis superis sacrae erant ; contra infelices ficus atra, filix, caerefolium, . . . sentes . . . et quaecumque baccam nigram nigrosque fructus ferunt, quae inferum deorum in tutela erant*.<sup>17</sup> In the eyes of the ancients it was not only the sedge, the elm, the willow, and the poplar that might be called »sterile« : the term extended also to cold (Lucr. 4, 108 : *sterile frigus*) and to winter (Mart. 8, 68, 10 : *sterilis hiems*).

We seem to read an abridged description of the Vergilian underworld in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (8, 789 foll.) :

<sup>16</sup> Od. 10, 522 and 11, 30 ; cf. Verg. Aen. 6, 251 : *sterilem tibi, Proserpina vaccam*, — »ex religionis praescripto« comments Heyne on the passage, in agreement with Servius : *deae congruam, numquam enitent*. »La stérilité est exigée pour ces sacrifices, comme la couleur noire« say the commentaries of Plessis — Lejay ; cf. *Fr. Altheim* : RE »Taurii ludi« 2543.

<sup>17</sup> *Infelix lolium et steriles avenae* : Verg. Ecl. 5, 37 ; Georg. 1, 153. For the »Totenbäume« in the 5th Epode of Horace (17 foll. : *caprifici, cupressus funebris*) cf. c. 2, 14, 23 (*invisas cupressos*) ; Serv. ad Verg. Aen. 3, 64 ; 4, 507 and 6, 216.

*triste solum, sterilis, sine fruge, sine arbore tellus,  
Frigus iners illic habitat Pallorque Tremorque  
et ieiuna Fames.*

But the poet is speaking here of »the outermost regions of icy Scythia«, those areas which were clothed in mythical associations in the consciousness of the ancients. These associations hide painful realities which were due to cause plenty of trouble to the poet at Tomi, a place which was also a »*locus extremis Scythiae glacialis in oris*« (8, 788).

In his commentary on Book VI of the Aeneid Norden contents himself with pointing out<sup>18</sup> that the demonic personifications haunting the entrance to the Vergilian underworld were imitated by a host of poets from Ovid to Milton; for the rest, he refers only to the typology of traditional descriptions. It would be outside the scope of this study to enumerate all these »imitations«, but we want to draw the attention to one of them. In the *Hercules furens* Seneca presents us the figures of *segnis Sopor, Fames maesta, Pudor serus, Metus, Pavor furvus, frendens Dolor, ater Luctus, Morbus tremens, cincta ferro Bella, and iners Senectus*. After Amphitryon's question (677):

*estne aliqua tellus Cereris aut Bacchi ferax?*

Theseus gives the following account of the lower world (699 foll.):

*Non prata viridi laeta facie germinant,  
nec adulta leni fluctuat Zephyro seges,  
non ulla ramos silva pomiferos habet;  
sterilis profundi vastitas squalet soli  
et foeda tellus torpet aeterno situ...  
Immotus aer haeret et pigro sedet  
nox atra mundo; cuncta maerore horrida  
ipsaque morte peior est mortis locus.*

What else is this but the Ovidian description of the Black Sea coast identified with the lower world?<sup>19</sup>

The above will lead to a clearer understanding of several other Ovidian passages. »There are no grapes here, the trees yield no fruit« — complains the poet in the *Tristia* (3, 10, 71 foll.), and goes on (75 foll.):

*aspiceres nudos sine fronde, sine arbore campos,  
heu loca felici non adeunda viro!*

<sup>18</sup> 2nd ed., 1916. 213.

<sup>19</sup> Hadrian's »*animula*« was also cold when it had to depart this life for the »*loca pallidula rigida*« (Hist. Aug. v. Hadr. 25, 9).

»*Felicitas*«, in its original sense of »fertility« (cp. *fecundus, femina, fetus, felare, τιθήνη*) is, indeed, incompatible with this region (Ex P. 1, 7, 13: *regio nec pomo feta nec uvis*). Far from bearing fruit (Ex P. 3, 1, 19 foll.: *rara, neque haec felix, in apertis eminent arvis arbor*) the trees are deprived even of foliage (Ex P. 4, 10, 31: *hic agri infrondes*). The »bitter« soil bears nothing but wormwood (Ex P. 3, 8, 15 foll.: *tristia deformes pariunt absinthia campi, terraque de fructu, quam sit amara, docet*; 3, 9, 37: *regio amara*, cf. 3, 1, 23 foll.); the »formlessness« referred to here is described elsewhere as the chief characteristic of the Pontic region: *iussus ad Euxini deformia litora veni aequoris* (Trist. 5, 2, 63 foll.).

Naturally, this »formlessness« constitutes but one pole of a contrast:

*omnia Romanae cedent miracula terrae,  
natura hic posuit, quicquid ubique fuit*

exclaims Propertius enthusiastically (3, 22, 17—18), echoing Vergil's hymn to Italy (ibid. 39: *haec tibi, Tulle parens . . .*, cf. Verg. Georg. 2, 173: *salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus*). Vergil was not alone in declaring Rome to be the finest city in the world (Georg. 2, 534: *scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma*). The Greeks had said much the same about Athens and Attica in general; but it was only in Rome that they firmly believed that this city embodied all the beauty of the world while the barbaric regions, especially the cold, unfriendly north, were suffering from everything opposed to beauty. These lands were regarded as barren, miserable (*λυπρά* is the commonest designation), their inhabitants were described as dirty, savage, and »formless«.<sup>20</sup>

These traits reappear in a condensed form in the ancients' accounts on Pannonia. On the basis of the literary material systematized in my study on »Die Kenntnisse des Altertums über das Karpatenbecken«, Angelo Brelich came to the conclusion<sup>21</sup> that the imaginary picture of Pannonia, this province of the mythical North, had stood even the test of empiric reality: the Italians who strayed here saw only the wild, inclement, barbaric quality of the country. The freezing of the Danube, the cold unknown to southerners contributed to the survival of mythical conceptions. »The tremendous width of the Danube, infested by incalculable barbaric tribes, must have been a disquieting feature in this landscape, especially if we take into account the classical dislike to great expanses of water which the ancients always looked upon as

<sup>20</sup> A few passages are listed in Diss. Pann. I 6, 41, 3.

<sup>21</sup> *Aquincum vallásos élete* (Religious life at Aquincum). *Laureae Aquincenses* I (1938) 29.

something dark, formless, fraught with danger, i. e. something of an infernal character . . .<sup>22</sup> Pannonia was felt to be a land of negatives, in the same way as the environs of Tomi in Ovid's eyes, sharing this negative character with all »northern« regions and, in particular, with the classical underworld.<sup>23</sup>

These negatives are voiced also in an elegy of Tibullus in which the poet, eager for peace, lays his curse on the death-bringing inventions. It is the weapons that bring people before their time from the lap of *Pax alma* to the nether world (1, 10, 35 foll.):

*non seges est infra, non vinea culta, sed audax  
Cerberus et Stygiae navita turpis aquae,  
illic percussisque genis ustoque capillo  
errat ad obscuros pallida turba lacus.*

»There are no fruitful plains there, no vineyards« — in the eyes of an Italian these are the most painful negatives marking the sterility of death. The »slashed (?) faces and scorched hair« of the pale crowd of the dead do not usually escape the attention of the commentators. On the authority of a passage in Ovid's Pontic Epistles (2, 8, 66: *et patiar fossis lumen abire genis*) G. Némethy proposed to amend<sup>24</sup> the *percussis* or *percissis* of the MSS to *perfossis*; in which case the meaning of the passage would be: »caveis oculorum effossis, i. e. oculis igne rogi exustis«. <sup>25</sup> There is no difficulty about the »dark lakes« of the lower world, either. In Némethy's view<sup>26</sup> the phrase refers to the infernal rivers: Tibullus calls them lakes only »quia tarde fluunt«. Némethy quotes a number of passages where we find, in fact, lakes, e. g. Prop. 2, 28, 42 and Tib. 2, 6, 46: *ad infernos lacus*, Verg. Aen. 6, 134: *Stygios lacus*, 369: *Stygiam paludem*, Georg. 4, 479: *Cocytii tardaue palus inamabilis unda*. (This expression survives also through the Christian authors of the Early Middle Ages, cp. Greg. Tur., *De virtutibus S. Mart.*, prooem. 4: *Acharontica stagna*, MGH Script. rer. Merov. I (1885) 649, 21; Prudentius, Cath. 5. 128.) There is, however, another passage in Tibullus (3, 5, 23—24) which requires some comment although E. Maas quotes it<sup>27</sup> by way of elucidation:

*Elysios olim liceat cognoscere campos  
Lethaeamque ratem Cimmeriosque lacus.*

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. 30.

<sup>23</sup> »Il mondo dei negativi« — so runs Brelich's phrase: *Aspetti della morte nelle iscrizioni sepolcrali dell'impero Romano*. Diss. Pann. I. 7, 1939, 16.

<sup>24</sup> A. Tibulli Carmina. Bp. 1905, 306.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, 104.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. 105.

<sup>27</sup> Orpheus. 1895, 307.



From the context it is clear that we have to do with the same rivers and lakes — but why drag in the Cimmerians? It is not a slip of the pen nor a case of textual corruption since the Vergilian Culex was also roaming among »Cimmerian groves« in the nether world (23 foll.) :

...feror avia carpens,  
avia Cimmerios inter distantia lucos,  
quem circa tristes densentur in omnia poenae.

According to Maas,<sup>28</sup> »nobody will take exception to this mention of the Cimmerian groves if he is familiar with Ovid's dark infernal forests (Met. 5, 541 : *ex Acheronte suo silvis... sub atris*) or with the thickets in Dante's »Inferno« (13, 4—6) :

Non fronda verde, ma di color fosco,  
non rami schietti, ma nodosi e 'nvolti,  
non pomi v'eran, ma stecchi con toscò.

If we want to see the problem more clearly, we have to go back to the starting point of Odysseus' visit to Hades, to the Cimmerians, ἠέρι καὶ νεφέλῃ κεκαλυμμένοι (Od. 11, 15) : »never does the bright sun look down on them with his rays either when he mounts the starry heaven or when he turns again to earth from heaven, but baneful night is spread over wretched mortals«. This mysterious northern people has taxed nearly as much the ingenuity of Homer's commentators as the »lordly Hippemolgi who drink mares' milk« (Il. 13, 5).<sup>29</sup> The variety of interpretations is to some extent indicated by the scholia appended to Od. 11, 14 ; it appears from these that Aristarchus connected the Cimmerians with Cerberus while others replaced *Κιμμερίων* by *Χειμερίων* ; Crates read *Κερβερίων* — this form had appeared already in Sophocles (Etym. M., s. v. *Κιμμέριοι*) and in Aristophanes (Ran. 187., schol.).<sup>30</sup> The tradition preserved by Pliny (Nat. hist. 6, 18) points in the same direction : *Cimmerium oppidum, quod ante Cerberion vocabatur*. Others, again, interpreted the name as »living in the West« or »in the regions of the Hades« (ἄλλοι δὲ Κιμμερίους φασὶν ὑποτίθεσθαι τοὺς κατὰ δύσιν οἰκοῦντας καὶ προσκειμένους τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Ἄϊδην τόποις) or referred it actually to the dead (τίνες τῶν νεκρῶν, παρὰ τὸ ἐν ἕρᾳ κεῖσθαι).

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. 308, 28.

<sup>29</sup> For a description of the eastern sources on the Cimmerii, an exemplary analysis of the Greek and Roman historical and geographic accounts as well as the relevant data of mythical cosmography, and an instructive comparison of this literary material with the testimony of the archaeological material see L. A. Yelnitsky's article (Киммерийцы и киммерийская культура. VDI 1949/III. 14—26, published in Hungarian in the volume »Szovjet régészeti tanulmányok« [Soviet Archaeological Studies], Bp. 1951, 153—167).

<sup>30</sup> See *Engelmann* : Roscher ML »Kimmerier« 1187.

In trying to localize the wanderings of Odysseus, the habitation of the »western« Cimerii was naturally sought in Hesperia, mostly in the district of *lacus Avernus*, this »Plutonian spot« which was generally regarded as the scene of the Homeric *νέκνια* (Strab. 5, 4, 5 c. 244: *ἐμόθενον δ'οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀόρνῳ τὰ περὶ τὴν νέκνιαν τὴν Ὀμηρικὴν . . . καὶ τοῦτο χωρίον Πλουτόνιον τι ὑπελάμβανον καὶ τοὺς Κιμμερίους ἐνταῦθα γένεσθαι*). Here we also come across the name of Ephorus who, as far as can be ascertained, was the first to place Homer's Cimmerii in this district.

This identification by Ephorus reappears also in the Roman authors. There are still traces of the Cimmerians beside the inhabitants of the mythical North (Pomp. Mela 1, 3: *supra Amazonas et Hyperboreos Cimmerii*; Plin. Nat. hist. 6,35: *ultra eos* — sc. Arimphaeos — *plane iam Scythae, Cimmerii . . . et Amazonum gens*) the Black Sea appears even in Claudian as »*Cimmerius Pontus*« (21, 129). We meet frequently with the Homeric picture of a sunless people wasting their life in eternal darkness (see e. g. Cic. Acad. 2, 19, 61: *Cimmeriis . . . aspectum solis sive deus aliquis, sive natura ademerat, sive eius loci, quem incolebant, situs*; Paneg. Mess. 64 foll.; Val. Flacc. 3, 398 foll.; as a proverbial turn in Lactantius, Inst. 5, 3, 23: *o mentem Cimmeriis ut aiunt tenebris atriores!*). According to Varro's investigations, however, the Cumaean Sibyl had been given the name of »*Cimmeria*« already by Naevius and Piso the annalist. (Lact. Inst. 1, 6, 9: *M. Varro . . . in libris rerum divinarum . . . ait quartam* — sc. Sibyllam — *Cimmeriam in Italia, quam Naevius in libris belli Punici, Piso in annalibus nominet*). The views aired in the scholia on the Odyssey reappear in the other main source of Roman »archaeology«, in the abridgement of Verrius Flaccus by Festus (p. 43): *Cimmerii dicuntur homines, qui frigoribus occupatas terras incolunt (Χειμερίων!) quales fuerunt inter Baias et Cumas in ea regione, in qua convallis satis eminenti iugo circumducta est, quae neque matutino, neque vespertino tempore sole contingitur*. Pliny, too, knows about a »*Cimmerium oppidum*« beside the *lacus Lucrinus* and the *Avernus* (Nat. hist. 3, 61); it was in keeping with this tradition that Silius Italicus described the district of the Avernus (12, 130 foll.):

*et iuxta caligantes longumque per aevum  
infernīs pressas nebulis pallente sub umbra  
Cimmerias iacuisse domos noctemque profundam  
Tartarea narrant urbis.*

One need not be surprised, therefore, that even a Christian inscription dating from 523 mirrors these concepts (CIL 5, 5737, 7): *non Tartara sentit Cymeriosque lacus*.

If we read in the light of the above the passage in which Ovid complains of »spending already the sixth summer on the Cimmerian shore« (Ex P. 4, 10, 1: *haec mihi Cimmerio bis tertia ducitur aestas litore*), we will, no doubt, agree with Némethy who interprets the phrase simply as »in litore Ponti Euxini«; but the other meaning implied in the word »*Cimmerius*« was referred to only by É. Ripert in a note to his edition of Ovid: <sup>31</sup> »Cimmérien peut signifier infernal«.

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We conclude this paper with a passage from modern literature showing that the nostalgic lovers of the South still depict the Scythian or Germanic North in »infernal« colours.

»O wie fühl' ich in Rom mich so froh!« — exclaims Goethe rapturously when recalling in Italy the »greyish-dim day« of his northern country (Röm. Eleg. VII: *da mich ein graulicher Tag hinten im Norden umfing*; — the word »*graulich*« means, of course, »terrible« as well). The poet then goes on in a truly »infernal« vein:

*Trübe der Himmel und schwer auf meine Scheitel sich senkte,  
Farb- und gestaltlos die Welt um den Ermatteten lag.*

There can hardly be any sharper contrast with the land »wo die Zitronen blühn«, so that further comment is unnecessary. We only wish to refer to the mystical opening of Aeneas' descent to the lower world when the Vergilian hero and his companion (Aen. 6, 268):

*ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram.*

Interpreters with a delicate ear are quick to observe in connection with this line that here, where *all colours and contours are blurred*, the *enallage* is particularly apposite. No less appropriate is the simile of the moon hiding behind the clouds (271—272):

*...ubi caelum condidit umbra  
Iuppiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.*

It is not a question of micro-philology, of seeking an exact parallel between the use of the words »*gestaltlos*« and »*informis*«; we have to do here with identical experiences. Goethe felt just as keenly the »formlessness« of the German world as the classical authors had missed the warmth and bright clearness of the Mediterranean landscape.

I. Borzsák

<sup>31</sup> Ovide. (Classiques Garnier.) 1937, 539.

## STYGIAS DETRUSUS IN ORAS

(Резюме)

Овидий не раз называл место своей ссылки, низовья р. Дуная и Причерноморье — адом, а свою жизнь в Томи — смертью. Действительно жизнь там оказалась для него смертью, в ней отсутствовало все, чем он наслаждался в Италии, не было ни тепла, ни фруктов, ни культуры. Жизнь постоянно была под угрозой холода и нашествия варваров. *Quid melius Roma? Scythico quid frigore peius?* — спрашивал он.

Подобные заявления Овидия, цитируемые в массовом количестве, не были пустыми фразами. Из различных мест и эпох можно было бы привести множество примеров для иллюстрации того, насколько относительны воображения отдельных народов по отношению к раю и аду, и насколько отражается в них привязанность ко всему привычному, хорошему и уклонение от нежелательного страшного. В то время, как жители побережья Средиземного моря, для которых лучи солнца составляли необходимые условия жизни, считали «ужасы» Стикса (представляющего собой первоначально горную реку с необычайно холодной водой) за наибольшую беду, египтяне, много страдавшие от жары пустыни, своим покойникам желали свежей ключевой воды и прохладного северного ветра, а суеверный русский крестьянин клал в гроб умершего коробку спичек, чтобы тот не страдал от холода.

Все, что не соответствовало требованиям жизни, на Средиземном море возбуждало представление об аде. Зима казалась Горацио столь же «безобразной» (*informis*), как и снежный северный пейзаж Вергилию («*aggeribus niveis informis et alto terra gelu*»). «*Informis*» и «*sterilis*» были эпитетами, чаще всего применяемыми при описаниях ада. Однако, Овидий употреблял эти оттенки не только в своих стихотворениях, написанных на берегу Понта. В VIII книге *Metamorphoses* можно читать слова «об окраинах мира, о ледовитых окрестностях Скифии», а слова, описывающие ад *Seneca* (*Herc. furens* 699—707), могли бы быть применены и Овидием при описании окрестностей Томи . . .

Греки говорили об Аттике и Афинах — что стало литературным шаблоном только в Риме — что все приятное и красивое на свете сосредоточено в этом городе, а все неприятное и отвратительное связано с варварскими странами, с холодными северными краями вселенной. Земли в этих краях тощи и неплодородны, а сами страны — вместе с населением — грязны, дики и бесформенны.

*Non seges est infra, non vinea culta* — вот что не нравилось Тибуллу в подземном царстве. Но в связи с «темными водами» ада (*Tib. I, 10, 38: obscurus lacus*) требует объяснения часто употребляемое выражение «*Simmerii lacus*». Как видно из античных комментариев, относящихся к таинственному народу *Κιμμέριοι* Гомера, киммерийцы — название которых интерпретировалось различным образом («*Χεϊμέριοι*», «западные», «северяне», «Живущие у Гадеса», «мертвые» и т. п.) — проживавшие в Причерноморье (*Ov. Ex P. 4, 10, 1: Simmerio litore*, (*Claud. 21, 129: Simmerius pontus*) или в сказочном подземном царстве или же в христианском аду (*CIL, 5737*), находились — по античному представлению — именно на своем месте. Местожительство Овидия напоминало о смерти не только поэту, но и каждому человеку античного мира.

Наконец, автор цитирует еще некоторые строки «Римской элегии» № VIII Гёте, содержащие подобные же мысли, освещающие античные взгляды в этом направлении.

И. Боржак