CRITICA

TEXTUAL ISSUES IN HORACE, ENNIUS, VERGIL AND OTHER AUTHORS

Egil Kraggerud

ROUTLEDGE

Critica

Gathering together over 60 new and revised discussions of textual issues, this volume represents notorious problems in well-known texts from the classical era by authors including Horace, Ennius, and Vergil.

A follow-up to *Vegiliana: Critical Studies on the Texts of Publius Vergilius Maro* (2017), the volume includes major contributions to the discussion of Horace's Carmen IV 8 and IV 12, along with studies on Catullus Carmen 67 and Hadrian's Animula vagula, as well as a new contribution on Livy's text at IV 20 in connection with Cossus's spolia opima, and on Vergil's Aeneid 3. 147–152 and 11. 151–153. On Ennius, the author presents several new ideas on Ann. 42 Sk. and 220–22l, and in editing Horace, he suggests new principles for the critical apparatus and tries to find a balance by weighing both sides in several studies, comparing a conservative and a radical approach.

Critica will be an important resource for students and scholars of Latin language and literature.

Egil Kraggerud is a professor emeritus in the Department of Philosophy, History of Art, and Ideas at the University of Oslo, Norway. He has published extensively on Vergil and has translated works by Vergil, Aeschylus and Euripides, among others.

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Textual Issues in Horace, Ennius, Vergil and Other Authors

Egil Kraggerud

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Preface

What is in this book?

This book contains in its 44 chapters above all an even greater number of textual issues, about 70. Each of them has occupied me for a longer or shorter period of time. The distribution of my *lucubratiunculae* can be seen most conveniently from the table of contents (cf. also the index at the end of this book with its chronological order). Where I have accepted a transmitted reading, I have marked this with an asterisk (*). Where I have given my assent to an existing conjecture, I have used the symbol (emoji) ❀ (white florets), my own conjectures I mark with ❦ (a floral heart). I hope that this system will be useful for the majority whom this book is intended for, that is those who will use it as a companion for the texts I have comments on or analyse.

Important for me is to plead for a new form of editions in classical philology (cf. I, 1). In that respect, my ideas have grown out of a sympathy with early learners and students in need of easy access to texts focusing on text and grammar. The old Weidmann editions did have care for this group (Ladewig – Schaper – Jahn's 'Vergil', Kiessling – Heinze's 'Horace'). Comments were printed at the bottom of the page and scrutinized and revised from edition to edition. Textual difficulties were visible and often dealt with in appendix form.

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My acknowledgements apply first to my own teachers in Latin and Greek at Oslo Katedralskole (1954–1957), in particular Jørgen Frederik Ording (1902–1987), who taught me to make halts and be surprised or admire some peculiar linguistic twist in the texts. No text is self-evident – it is always worded by men of flesh and blood and often invites the reader to a sort of interactivity. What I owe to my academic teachers at the University of Oslo I have briefly commented on at the end of the introduction to follow.

Above all I am thinking with gratitude of my 'encounters' with scholars from many a past century, some well-known, others almost totally forgotten today. With their comments and not least through the difficulties they were struggling with they have sometimes shed unexpected light on unsolved and seemingly insoluble

textual problems. One of these scholars was, for example, mentioned honourably already in my *Vergiliana* and reappears now in *Critica*, Friedrich Jasper (see now III, 9), who taught Latin at the Gymnasium Christianeum in Hamburg-Altona. Another almost anonymous Latinist was the director of the Gymnasium at Koszalin, Poland, Friedrich Roediger (see I, 7).

From the older and my own generation I remember early encouraging words from the French Vergilian Jacques Perret (1906–1992). Many have, like me, the amiable Mario Geymonat in grateful memory. I only regret that I got to know him late in life. The late Nicholas Horsfall could scarcely reconcile himself with my deviant standpoints, but was nevertheless always friendly in spite of my stubbornness (cf. also later III,8). Hans-Peter Stahl's long friendship has meant a lot to me for decades. As a young student, I became a member of The Virgil Society, London, sharing its values and love of the 'Roman poet'. As editor of *Symbolae Osloenses* Monika Asztalos has read a good deal of the contributions collected in this and my former volume *Vergiliana* (2017). I have always profited from her prudent advice. My most recent critics, Gian Biagio Conte and Stephen Heyworth, have been stimulating for me in recent years, although I may have disappointed them in the past and am still incorrigible on some issues.

Last, but not least, my life companion Beate deserves my thanks and permanent gratitude: *a te principium, tibi desinam*.

Oslo, May/November 2019
Egil Kraggerud

Introduction

CRITICA: CORPUS VERSUS DISIECTA MEMBRA

This book is in many ways, but not all, a continuation of my previous book *Vergiliana*: *Critical Studies on the Texts of Publius Vergilius Maro* (2017). The plural noun *critica* I understand approximately as 'textual issues to diagnose and judge'. However, as the negative meaning of κρίνειν and its derivatives is predominant in modern languages today, I prefer to emphasize at the start a central point in my activity: *critica* is shorthand for the hendiadyoin *Critica et exegetica*; see on this implication in the term *critica* some elaborating comments later – and in my endeavours throughout the book.

My *Critica* is intertwined in its genesis with *Vergiliana*. The titles themselves have their origin in a few studies (eight altogether), published in *Symbolae Osloenses* (*SO*) between the years 1998 and 2005. At this later date, I realized that if I got time to do more studies like this – and a life long enough to acquire a sample of a certain size – I would aim at collecting my studies to make up one or two books. *Hoc erat in votis*. I am now in the lucky position to publish my second volume. As fate did grant me the opportunity, I am thankful for the prompt willingness of *SO*'s English publisher to realize my ambition.

As to the difference from *Vergiliana*, the main thing to mention already here is that I use the opportunity to put forward some general ideas as well concerning:

- how to organize the necessary critical information on a text (I, 1),
- on the peculiar nature of textual criticism (Introd.),
- on the ratio between hits and misses in great textual critics (Introd., I, 1;2;9),
- "how textual conjectures are made" (II, 1),
- on the validity of Lex Meineke (I, 12),
- on the importance of discussions and dialogue in textual criticism (Introd.).

Critica consists of three main parts, discussed next.

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I HORACE

In the first section, which is the main one in the book, I discuss some textual problems that have caught my interest so much so that I wished to be a participant in the discussions, believing that I had something of worth to say. I have made use of the same symbols as in my previous book to show what is entirely new, which old articles of mine I have in one way or the other, altered significantly, and what is more or less a reprint. New articles are (**I, 2)** *Epod*. 2; (**I, 7**) *Carm*. 3. 4. 10; (**I, 17**) *Epist*. 1. 1. 78. In all but one or two cases, I believe in my old standpoints and conclusions. The particular exception is *Ars* 65. I must honestly confess that I have changed my mind since 1973, but it may be of interest to explain why I now endorse Bentley's conjecture.

Often, however, I defend a transmitted reading against more or less popular conjectures: *Epod*. 2. 37 (cf. **I, 2**); *Carm*. 3. 2. 1 (**I, 6**).

In a couple of cases, I have found my own conjectures anticipated by scholars of the past who have undeservedly been ignored: (**I, 7**) *Carm*. 3. 4. 10 (Friedrich Röder [1808–1870] 1869); (**I, 21**) *Ars* 120 (Jean Bouhier [1673–1746] 1805); cf. also **I, 1** on *Epod*. 1. 34 (Karl Städler [1844–1911] 1903 whose name should oust Sh. B's in the latter's app. crit. *ad loc*.); all of these scholars have contributed to conjectures belonging to the first category described in **I, 1**). They are accordingly highly worthy of mention in any future edition of Horace.

As for my own conjectures on Horace (if I am entitled to the ownership), those ten listed later are, of course, dear to me in a special way. They reflect my inability to come to terms with the transmitted readings (sometimes inclusive of the variants and previous conjectures). The verdict on my solutions I leave, of course, to posterity. Here is an updated list:

Carm. 1. 28. 31 *forsit* (< *fors et*) (cf. also *Carm*. 2. 16. 31), *Eranos* 105, 2008, 37 (**I, 5**)
Carm. 1. 28. 32 *supernae* (< *superbae*), *SO* 89, 2016, 82ff. (cf. **I, 5**)
Carm. 4. 8. 10 *rerum est* (< *res est*) *SO* 87, 2013, 134–136 (**I, 11**)
Carm. 4. 8. 18 *illi* (*eius*) together with deletion of 14–17, *SO* 88, 2014, 98ff. (**I, 12**)
Carm. 4. 15. 31 *Troianum* (< *Troiamque* or *Troiamve*), *SO* 87, 2013, 136–142. (**I, 15**)
Ep. 1. 1. 78 *avari* (< *avaras*) (**I, 17**)
Ep. 2. 1. 46 *vello* (< *vello et*), *SO* 79, 2004, 117–119 (**1, 18**)
Ep. 2. 1. 133 *vati* (< *vatem*), *SO* 79, 2004, 119–120 (**I, 19**)
Ars 254 *non ita longe* (< *non ita pridem*), *SO* 79, 2004, 121–123. (**I, 22**)
Ars 353 *natura*? (< *natura*), *SO* 79, 2004, 123–126. (**I, 23**)

II FROM ENNIUS TO HADRIAN

In the second part, I have brought together critical issues in different authors who throughout my career have confronted me with highly interesting passages, poems and texts. These texts have nothing else in common than their importance in one way or another and their critical issues. If I am able to shed light on one or the other problem, or even vindicate some conjecture that does them justice and makes them more accessible, my engagement will have paid off.

My contributions to some fragments from **Naevius** and **Ennius** play a pivotal role in my personal experiences of textual issues. I have therefore included them in the article II, 1. I am indebted to Robin Nisbet's magisterial article "How textual conjectures are made" in *Materiali e discussioni* 26, 1991, 65–91 (= *Collected Papers on Latin Latin Literature*, pp. 338–361). "It may be instructive", Nisbet writes, "to trace the process of investigation, not after it has been organized and rationalized in a published article, but as it actually occurred". In the light of this recommendation, which I fully endorse, I have devoted some time to recall the process of coming to terms with passages not particularly offensive and faulty in themselves. On reflection, however, they contained what I would call concealed distortions. I could argue that most of my conjectures to Vergil and Horace are of this kind. For my own part, I would like to underscore as well one of the stages in textual criticism often neglected in former generations, namely the initial phase, centring on the diagnosis and its symptoms. Ever so often, we find earlier critics, even the best among them, acting as if a manuscript corruption is an established fact. Einar Löfstedt taught my own generation to be wary and constrained in that respect.

The fragments of Ennius loom large in this section of *Critica*. For decades I thought that there was nothing more in them in the wake of such scrupulous masters as Skutsch and Jocelyn. Only in the last decade have I let myself be fascinated in earnest. Ennius was more important for Vergil and Horace than they have explicitly said.

I have analysed only one poem by **Catullus** in print. The article stems from 2008. Ten years on it has become mandatory for me to confront it with the critical eye of John M. Trappes-Lomax, who published his radical and challenging book on Catullus in 2007. I would never have thought of republishing an analysis of Catullus 67 without first having listened carefully to a critic as shrewd and discerning as Trappes-Lomax.

Two prose historians have attracted my attention at different times, **Sallust** and **Livy**. Sallust's *De bello Catilinae* was my daily companion during the two years I was engaged in commenting on Henrik Ibsen's debut drama *Catilina*.[1] My interest in the relationship between Livy and Octavian/Augustus centred in the last resort on some textual issues in the famous passage 4. 19–20.

Hadrian's little poem *Animula vagula* was analysed by my teacher Jens S. Th. Hanssen in an article hardly noticed by the learned world. As it inspired me more than three decades ago to rethink the textual issues and the poem's "Sitz im Leben", I hope my analysis will still be representative of my critical ideals today.

III NEW VERGILIAN *LOCI* WITH ADDENDA ON OLD ONES

This part is an extension of my *Vergiliana*. The former collection was on the whole finished by the end of 2015. In the intervening years some new ideas have popped up for me; they belong clearly to my critical immersions in Vergil's poems. As both my past and my new conjectures have often presented themselves for me in

the wake of other scholars' opinions, I thought it would be unfair not to be open about this in this book (cf. III,8 in particular).

A clear instance of fruitful dialogue belongs to my experience with *A*. 9. 461–464. Had it not been for Conte's spontaneous protest against my analysis,[2] I would have persevered in my ignorance about Servius's valuable comment, which meant a real *eureka* for me. So, in fact, I am grateful for being allowed to better my position and reach a new understanding of the syntax and the wider coherence of the Nisus–Euryalus tragedy.

I am also grateful for those reviews from learned colleagues which I have received so far (by May 2019). According to accepted practice, I could have chosen to ignore them. *Cui bono*? Neither for me nor for them. Instead, I regard the comments and remarks as part of an ongoing and rather limitless seminar on Vergil's texts. The reviews have given me the opportunity to deepen my own understanding, in some cases either to correct myself or others and even to remedy some blind spot in my interpretation. In textual criticism, collegial discussions are too seldom in the public arena. If my welcoming attitude helps to make dialogues of this kind more common in classical studies, I will reckon it as a precious corollary to my textual criticism. An example illustrating the need for openness of mind is *A*. 10. 362–368, one of the most controversial passages in all of Vergil. If I have so far been in the wrong even in my second or third attempt, I am not in the mood for asking colleagues to forgive my perseverance. A wide field for trial and error must be allowed in such cases. A clarified diagnosis may be the happy outcome of endeavours centuries old. That much confidence I have in the permanent validity of Bentley's *ratio ipsa*. Our philological tools have moreover been much refined and extended since the eighteenth century. This attitude towards the discipline explains my comments on the reviewers' suggestions and objections. I have in some cases left out the names and references where such information is irrelevant. I know quite well that reviews are mostly too brief on details to count as fully valid counterthrusts. What I want to stress here, however, is that *obiter dicta* have inspired me to make additions to my previous analysis for the benefit not only of my proposals but also for clarifying my position, I hope.

ADDED REFLECTIONS

A word on the peculiar nature of textual criticism

Starting from the rear and the closure of the critical process: only one solution, be it in the form of the transmitted reading, a variant or a conjectural emendation, can be correct. A 'solution' means often in my case a restoration of the original reading through conjectural emendation, the aim being in other words to catch what the author wrote and edited. It is almost equally true, however, that no solution, a conjectural emendation least of all, can be *proved* to be correct. In rare cases, however, we are close to a proof. It is in the nature of things that there are degrees of probability inherent in the critical activity. A high degree of probability in that regard is provided by the discovery of a hitherto unknown independent

ancient tradition, for instance, in the form of a papyrus find. When Emil Bährens argued for *noris* instead of *noras* at *Aen*. 4. 423 his conjectural emendation was later 'confirmed' by a papyrus find two generations on (Pap. Colt. 1), and when Moritz Schmidt, in his edition of Sophocles's *Oidipus Tyrannos* (Jena 1871) supplied *δ'* at the end of line 523, obviously to avoid asyndeton, he was 'proved' correct by P. Oxy. XVIII 2180 (today in the Sackler Library, Oxford). This is to say that unknown ancient variants have turned up in relatively recent times in these cases, variants few would call inferior to the existing readings on closer inspection. Equally valid examples can turn up through new manuscript evidence: when I read the Sixth Book of the Aeneid as a student, neither Norden's nor Fletcher's editions told me about manuscript evidence for *pacis* at line 852, not before codex Ausonensis 197[3] became known. On this basis, the reading *pacis* is most probably reflected also in Servius's commentary;[4] the genitive, then, has thus in my opinion won the status of being an ancient *varia lectio*. I do not hesitate to label it a *lectio difficilior potior*. Who would have emended the dative *paci* to an example of an *apo koinou* construction?

Only a proper diagnosis of the transmitted text can provide a safe basis for a conjecture

But such a lucky case as *A*. 4. 423 does not exempt the scholar from arguing precisely and diligently concerning the quality of the transmitted text. What grounds are there for suspecting it? If a variant is transmitted, which variant represents the original reading, if any? Did the more common reading arise as a corruption of the original reading? Our attention should from the start be concentrated on the transmitted readings, their virtues and their shortcomings. I can only subscribe to Nisbet's concise credo in the previously mentioned paper (*CP*, p. 341): "The most important stage in conjecture is to know that there is a corruption". Diagnosis is in fact alpha and omega. One's suspicion is often aroused by a stylistic trait not to be expected in an author or a poet. Two relevant examples from my own sample are telling: *eius* at Hor. *Carm*. 4. 8. 18[5] is the one example of the genitive of *is* in Horace's lyrics – a clear sign that the poem was tampered with at an early stage in the paradosis. At *A*. 4. 225 Housman branded *exspectat* as a corruption.[6] How can it be that a hundred years later it is still read by all editors?[7] Their line of defence should be scrutinized. Of course, the *res publica philologorum* should ask for commentaries, taking such issues more seriously and attentively than is most often the case.[8]

The status and canals of textual research

Textual criticism is nowadays more than ever a special branch of classical philology; it is primarily an offshoot of the fundamental process of editing texts and shows its worth and virtues above all in such a context. When a text edition at the highest level is being discussed competently and in a detailed manner (say in *Gnomon*), this branch of philology shines forth as an activity of fundamental

importance in classical philology. Scholarly editions, however, are today essentially in the hands of a few publishing houses whose editorial policy is dependent on a variety of considerations. Only a handful of series have a long-term basis enabling them to commission texts to competent and available scholars. Accordingly, the number of those involved in textual criticism in this way is quite limited and even more so when it comes to the narrower canon of authors. In other words, much relevant activity in this field of learning finds other outlets than in connection with sporadic and rare text editions.

We are constantly meeting this diverse and relevant activity in periodicals and stray publications whereby a veritable motley of notes, miscellanea articles and 'Lesefrüchte' turns up in scattered places. Even in the rare cases when they are published as a series in one periodical,[9] they almost crave to be collected.[10] Usually such contributions are difficult to find, although the Internet has gradually become a better source of quick information. Good bibliographic tools are still missing, however. Articles are all too often difficult to come by even in a well-equipped library. The textual critics must use a disproportionate amount of time to map out the terrain they are interested in in order to survey the relevant material. That some scholars publish their textual ideas and observations in a number of more or less abstruse periodicals I am willing to excuse: they may be eager to seek reactions from the community of colleagues at large (i.e. editors, referees and readers) before editing a text. I doubt, however, that this form is much to go after as a means of communication.

Periodicals with a higher speed of circulation can be a worthwhile arena for such communication. (*Berliner*) *Philologische Wochenschrift* (1881–1944) and *(Ilbergs) Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* (1898–1924) were once good examples; others, like the Italian *Museum Criticum*, have had a limited lifespan whereupon it is almost unavoidable that, when discontinued, they run the risk of being banished from open shelves to some magazine. *Festschriften* and other ad hoc publications are today flourishing types of publications, but likely to be ignored by textual critics.

As for myself, my own contributions were parcelled out in shorter articles, primarily in *Symbolae Osloenses* (*SO*). If a scholar has many items of this heterogeneous and miscellaneous sort, they will almost cry out to be unified at some point in one publication. In such a unified form, they will perhaps and hopefully have an automatic bonus exhibiting a sort of unity stemming from their author, his method or his peculiar physiognomy. This more fortuitous unity is not dependent on the number of texts dealt with. In short, there is a need to renew a practice more common a century or more ago. The great modern example is *The Classical Papers of A.E. Housman* ed. by J. Diggle and F. R. D. Goodyear, I–III, Cambridge 1972. There is every reason to praise such enterprises and hope that scattered contributions of other scholars in the field can be found together in one volume. If this can come about through the cooperation of the scholar concerned, so much the better.

In general, a thematically unified book will be much more apt than separate papers to stimulate interest and debate about textual matters and problems. It is regrettable that there are so few surveys of research in the critical area.[11] Some

editions are useful: the Spanish Alma Mater project on the *Aeneid*, as well as the last Vergil edition by Mario Geymonat and the Paravia edition of Horace by Domenico Bo are outstanding examples, but a repertory of conjectures on Vergil is still a desideratum.

Why collections of critical problems in particular?

At the risk of being taken as speaking to excess *pro domo mea* I will dwell in the following on special cases like my own collections. They are not exactly of the usual kind known as 'collected papers', 'Opuscula Academica', 'Kleine Schriften', etc. An exact parallel where textual problems are the common denominator is hard to find on my Vergil and Horace shelves. Sh. B.'s *Profile of Horace* (particularly pp. 78–138) may be mentioned. As for Vergil, Gian Biagio Conte's *Critical Notes on Virgil. Editing the Teubner Text of the 'Georgics' and the 'Aeneid'* (2016) is hopefully a presage of a new interest.[12] They ought to be more common, be it as summaries of the critical activity of individual scholars, as surveys covering at least half a century and as repertories supplemented by veritable net archives.[13] A companion like Bruce Metzger's invaluable *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* would be recommendable for Horace in particular. In short, efforts should be made to save the critical legacy of past scholarship from disregard and oblivion.

I mention here a couple of examples that have given thought to my reflections in this connection. From the late 1860s until the early 1870s the great Danish classical scholar **Johan Nicolai Madvig** collected his innumerable 'Lesefrüchte' to Greek and Latin authors under the title *Adversaria Critica* in two volumes, more than 1400 pages followed by a supplementary third volume a decade later.[14] Today these volumes are strange reading indeed. When his *loci* are taken one by one as separate items or lemmata, as they should, their often peremptory and authoritarian character is striking. Madvig is, for all his genius, generally one-sided without much thought for possible objections and other perspectives. It is fair to argue that their importance would diminish vastly if they had been published only as separate notes. These *adversaria* can only play the role they no doubt deserve in collective form where the hits are, so to speak, protected by the covers encompassing a major critical output. Madvig himself must have been aware that his proposals are often no more than guesses made in passing. *Adversaria Critica* constitutes a great effort of critical reading, but a work definitely only to be consulted and read piecemeal. Only in this way can Madvig be judged in a long-term perspective: his suggestions should be evaluated by readers themselves engaged in the issues he has commented on, preferably readers who know the history of the textual and exegetical issues. Collections like his cannot be evaluated by a single contemporary reviewer, but should all the same be taken down from the shelf from time to time by readers deeply involved in a text or an authorship.

I have myself consulted it on the *loci* I deal with later when these also happened to occupy Madvig's acumen. Only in such cases have I ventured to have an opinion of the quality of Madvig's criticism.[15] I mention in this connection specifically

Carm. 4. 8, one of the most important texts for me in the Horace part of my book. It challenged also Madvig in particular, whereby he vented his criticism not only against his favourite target Hofman Peerlkamp but also against respected scholars like Lachmann and Haupt.

In only one of the five cases concerning texts of common interest I share Madvig's conclusion; in the four other cases his rash form of textual criticism suffers from a lack of diagnostic skill and fantasy and therefore of self-criticism. As a referee, one would have sent his treatment back to him asking for a more thorough analysis of the transmitted text. It is in the nature of such collections of critical observations that they are more valuable by asking questions and giving stuff for debates than for providing reliable answers. My ambition must be seen in the light of such experiences: my *loci* are issues worthy of discussion; my conjectures should be taken as the best answers I have been able to come up with.

My second example concerns a more recent Latinist, a critic as awe-inspiring, learned and sharp as any Latinist of his generation, D. R. Shackleton Bailey. Approaching his eightieth birthday, he made a collection consisting of a number of his most important papers under the title *Select Classical Papers*. Although he had the opportunity to rethink problems, and even alter or modify his views on certain *loci*, he seldom does so. Second thoughts did not occupy him to any appreciable extent. In the two first epodes, 104 lines altogether, Sh. B. accepts in his text six conjectures (Housman's punctuation included) – 1. 10–11; 34; 2. 13; 27; 37; 43 –, Borzsák, however, has none. I for one vote for four: 1. 5 (*sit* instead of *si*); (punctuation) 10–11; 34 (*perdat* instead of *perdam*); 2. 39 (*iuvans* instead of *iuvet*). I think this suffices as a basis for a verdict on the two Teubner editions of the 1980s: Borzsák is too conservative, and Sh. B. is too rash to accept conjectures. The truth is to be sought somewhere in the middle between Borzák and Sh. B. (more on this I, 2 and 9 later).

Why the preponderance of Vergil and Horace?

As a classical scholar, I profess to like the Terentian Chremes *Homo sum: humani nil a me alienum puto* (*Haut*. 77), namely in the sense that every text from the ancient world belongs to my professional domain. Nevertheless it is fair to mention that I would never have devoted years of my life to textual criticism had it not been for my admiration for Vergil and Horace as poets. The pleasure I have had from delving into their versification and poetic technique awoke in me long before any textual problem had taken hold of me. Some of my academic teachers I am in permanent debt to because they were close to the spirit of these great poetic masters, especially Leiv Amundsen (1898–1987) under whose guidance I read Greek tragedy (*Agamemnon, Troades*) and Horace at an early stage. As to Vergil, the incomparable Henning Mörland (1903–1989) pointed in my first term to Richard Heinze's *Vergils epische Technik* as fundamental reading. On the Latin side, Vergil and Horace became not only great poets for me but also great masters of language and form.

Notes

1 E. Kraggerud, *Catilina og Ibsen* [Ibsen ad notam 3], Oslo 2005: Aschehoug, a monograph summarized in "Ibsen and Sallust" in: E. K. Emilsson, A. Maravela, M. Skoie (edd.), *Paradeigmata. Studies in Honour of Øivind Andersen* [Papers and Monographs from the Norwegian Institute at Athens, Series 4°, vol. 2], Athens 2014, 101–108.
2 G. B. Conte, *Critical Notes on Virgil*, Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 51–52.
3 Collated by Miryam Librán Moreno, *Exemplaria Classica* 9, 2005, 33–73.
4 pace Ed. Fränkel, *Museum Helveticum* 19, 1962, 133f., cf. Kraggerud, *Gymnasium* 118, 2011, 457ff.
5 B. Axelson, *Unpoetische Wörter*, Lund: Gleerup, 1945, 71f.
6 Indirectly confirmed by O. Hiltbrunner in his *TLL* article (see 5,1893,77).
7 More on this in part III. No variant gives us any lead or clue in this case.
8 Cf. later I, 1 (at the end).
9 My predecessor's predecessor Samson Eitrem, who was also a keen textual critic (and of course papyrologist), published 19 articles 'Varia' in *SO* apart from other textual comments under titles like *Textkritische Bemerkungen* or '*Zu* . . . ' on a wide range of texts, giving hard work for the *L'Année Philologique* team. It is regrettable that he (or others) never collected such notes in one volume.
10 Worthy of praise in that respect is Heikki Solin's *Analecta epigraphica*, 1970–1997, Roma 1998, bringing together his comments on more than 300 inscriptions.
11 I cannot here hide my long-term disappointment that even scrupulous surveys fail to acknowledge discussions of textual readings and variants as a special category. The excellent periodical *Vergilius* has so far been less observant in that regard than one might have wished. The same holds true for the impressive bibliographies included in the ANRW vol. 31.1. (Vergil) and 31.3 (Horace), not to speak of great, alphabetically arranged, online surveys.
12 Cf. also his earlier book *Ope ingenii. Experiences of Textual Criticism* (2013).
13 To a large extent, such an archive can be based easily on the present resources of the Internet and can be attached to a repertory through links.
14 It is a great credit to the publishing house Olms for having made these volumes more accessible in the form of anastatic reprints (1967).
15 These are the five Madvigian issues I have dealt with in my book: *Epod*. 1, 29 (*superne* favoured rightly by M.). – *Epod*. 5, 87 (full stop after *convertere*; then *Humana vice* instead of *humanam vicem*; see my objection to this *ad loc*.). – *Epod*. 16,15. – *Carm*. 3. 4. 10 (*altricis extra limina* ***villulae***; see my comments *ad loc*.). – In his dealings with *Carm*. 4. 8 Madvig chooses to downplay Meineke's Law without further comment (see later).

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Part I

Horace

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1 *Epod.* 1. Exemplifying challenges in editing Horace*

Later one finds the text of *Epod*. 1 in the form I would like to see it in a future edition. *Epod*. 1 is not *any* iambic poem. It testifies strongly to the poet's loyalty to the victor at Actium in introducing a genre that, under the umbrella of tradition, could hit both high and low at random (*Ars* 79 *Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo*, cf. *Ep*. 1. 19. 30). This new iambic poet in Rome is in his first epode pretty much the opposite of the iambic Catullus in the latter's twenty-ninth poem.

I

As for my appended critical apparatus, I only account for the conjectures of the first and second category defined later. Otherwise, the apparatus is a simplified version of Shackleton Bailey's (I have for the most part left out the manuscript evidence).

Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium,
amice, propugnacula
paratus omne Caesari[1] periculum
subire, Maecenas, tuo.
Quid nos, quibus te vita sit superstite
iucunda, si contra, gravis?
Utrumne iussi persequemur otium,
non dulce ni tecum simul,
an hunc laborem, mente laturi decet
qua ferre non mollis viros,
feremus et te vel per Alpium iuga
inhospitalem et Caucasum
vel Occidentis usque ad ultimum sinum
forti sequemur pectore?
Roges tuum labore quid iuvem meo
imbellis ac firmus parum:[2]
comes minore sum futurus in metu,
qui maior absentis habet,

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ut adsidens implumibus pullis avis
serpentium allapsus timet
magis relictis, non ut adsit auxili
latura plus praesentibus.
Libenter hoc et omne militabitur
bellum in tuae spem gratiae,
non ut iuvencis illigata pluribus
aratra nitantur mea
pecusve Calabris ante sidus fervidum
Lucana mutet pascuis,
neque ut superne villa candens Tusculi
Circaea tangat moenia.
Satis superque me benignitas tua
ditavit; haud paravero
quod aut avarus ut Chremes terra premam,
discinctus aut perdat nepos.

3 Caesari π *post ras*. : Caesaris *codd*. • **5** sit *Aldus 1501* : si *codd*. • **9–14** *distinxit Housman 1882* • **15** labore *Glareanus 1536* : laborem *codd*. • **34** perdat *Städler 1903* : perdam *A B C λ l sch. Pers. 3*, *31* : perdam ut *R Ψ*

Three conjectures have been adopted in my text earlier (*sit* instead of *si* 5, *labore* instead of *laborem* 15 and *perdat* instead of *perdam* 34). Only one of these, *labore* (15), has now been accepted by all and sundry,[3] whereas the other two, *sit* (5) and *perdat* (34), are still being either ignored or contested by a majority of scholars. And so the text of Horace, on the face of it so well preserved, seems to some extent to be in a state of flux whereby the role of conjectures is much disputed. As the number of conjectures to Horace runs to more than 7700,[4] editors should address the question of how to deal with this huge legacy in the most responsible way. Looking at both older and newer editions one suspects that, so far, there is an underdeveloped editorial policy, for instance, concerning the question: What percentage of conjectures would have a reasonable claim to be mentioned in the *apparatus criticus*, let alone to be adopted in the text? What about the rest? Nobody in his right mind would say that every conjecture should be registered at the bottom of the printed text page. On the other hand, to be so restrictive as Niall Rudd in his Loeb edition or David Mankin in the *Cambridge Greek and Latin texts* is not commendable. A happy golden mean is called for. It is every editor's duty to consider the proper use of the apparatus in this regard. This is a topic many editors are almost silent about in their *Praefatio*.[5]

In choosing the First Epode as my example in order to delineate some principles in the matter, an important motive has been to see in practice and *exemplorum gratia* the challenges confronting an editor. *Epod*. 1 has a number of difficulties which do not seem insoluble if one allows some space for interpretation and argument. That said, I hope that my main and principal focus will serve not only future editors of Horace well but may also be relevant for editions of

classical authors in general, whether or not such editions will encompass elucidating commentaries.

When dealing with the First Epode I will take special account of two more recent text editions and three commentaries: Borzsák (critical text) 1984, Shackleton Bailey (critical text) 1984 (4th ed. 2001, hence Sh. B.), Cavarzere ('stripped' text with commentary) 1992, Mankin (critical text with commentary) 1995 and Watson (commentary) 2003.[6]

For more than half a millennium, an army of more or less competent, more or less divinely inspired classical philologists have committed to print their assumed improvements on the text of Horace. Only in the case of a small handful of ancient authors[7] have there been serious undertakings in more recent times to collect the whole output of conjectures. A full survey of conjectures from the start of the printing era until the present day, however, is an indispensable prerequisite for any critical editing of a classical text, no less so than a complete catalogue is necessary to the user of a library. That few scholars have so far given priority to the matter should not be normative for future priorities among scholars. The drawbacks and calamities following in the wake of ignorance are, of course, difficult to measure like any contra-factual evaluation. To cut the argument short, however: easily available complete information in this regard would be a particular boon to editors and commentators alike, and I am equally sure that time-saving repertories of conjectures would have much to offer philologists in general as well.

There may have been many brave endeavours to establish the evidence in this regard for private use, only that we know too little about them except for what becomes visible in editions. It is a pity that editors so seldom care to tell us how far this part of their preparations extends. But whether they know, say 40 per cent or 70 per cent of the actual output of former generations, the percentage figure is not the crucial issue (though an important one). It is more essential how consciously and responsibly they will be dealing with what they happen to be informed of and whether their knowledge is based on autopsy or second-hand sources. In this latter respect, there is reason for concern. The ways of editors are often of an almost clandestine nature. For one thing, they are usually less than generous in the critical apparatus and in the edition as a whole to those readers who want to see for themselves the arguments that induced this or that scholar to his proposal. Such a simple thing as a bibliography should not be below an editor's dignity. Second, nobody would like to insinuate that an editor in his small bag of *coniectanea* has been content, when it pleases him, only to take over the information from a previous editor. However, occasional blunders – misspellings, for instance – iterated from edition to edition speak for themselves.

An example opens up for a couple of relevant reflections: at *Carm*. 4. 3. 15 we come across the name 'Anchensen' (sic) both in Borzsák's edition and in Sh. B.'s, and for that matter in Fedeli-Ciccarelli (2008) and Thomas (2011). This error can be traced back at least to Friedrich Vollmer's *editio maior* (1907). To this 'Anchensen' is attributed the conjecture *vatem* for *vatum*. The only clue one gets to his time of writing is from Vollmer, who places him before Franz Bücheler, who in his latest *Coniectanea* (*Index lectionum hibernarum*, Bonnae 1878, pp. 16–17)

made the same conjecture, independently to all appearances. The correct name, however, is Hans Peter **Anchersen**, or Latinized Johannes Petrus Anchersen (born 1700); he was *professor eloquentiae* at the University of Copenhagen from 1737 to 1765. Between 1749 and 1760 he published a series of dissertations on Horace's so-called 'carmina saecularia', continuously paginated (643 pages in all). In the second of these dissertations, published in 1750 under the title *Prologi Horatiani ad laudes Phoebi et Dianæ e carm. lib. 1. oda XXXII, editi et explicati stropha Ima*, he deals also with *Carm*. 4. 3 and argues for his conjecture on pp. 32–38.[8]

What inference should be drawn from this? First, that the *apparatus criticus* should as a rule also include the year of publication. Thus, with reference to the previous note dealing with *Carm*. 4. 3. 15, an improvement would be: "vatem *Anchersen 1750*". Moreover, all scholars mentioned in an edition's critical apparatus (or *appendix critica*) should be alphabetized in an 'Index philologorum' (or 'Index criticorum') followed by bracketed information about the scholars' contributions. Thus, "Anchersen [c. 4. 3. 15 vatem]"[9] followed by full information about the publication in a separate index ('Index operum').[10] I shall deal later with some typographical refinements reflecting the editor's evaluation of his conjectural material.

One would hope that the editorial board of prestigious running series such as *Bibliotheca Oxoniensis* or *Bibliotheca Teubneriana* would make up their minds to include such handy information regularly, not just in their future new editions but also in the old ones. There is no reason for postponing this improvement until a new edition, say of Horace, is under way. It would be no great trouble to provide reprints of e.g. Wickham – Garrod (1912) with the necessary additions. The Budé editions are on the whole better in this respect.[11] But it has not yet affected the way the two greatest Roman poets, Horace and Vergil, have been edited there. Domenico Bo's edition of the Satires and Epistles in the *Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum Paravianum* series has an impressive bibliography, but lacks the *ultima manus* in accuracy. Above all, one misses here an accompanying 'Index philologorum' to convey systematic information about the conjectures.

The usual text edition distinguishes between two categories of conjectures only: those adopted in the text and those recorded in the *apparatus criticus*. This amounts to a distinction between two levels of quality by signalling the editor's evaluation of those conjectures that he has considered worthy of mention.

In the light of my initial remarks, it follows that a third level as well is more or less consciously a part of the editorial project: the editor cannot escape passing judgment on those conjectures which he does not mention. It does not really matter whether he knows them or not. For all practical purposes, everything not mentioned must be regarded as rejected. Accordingly, when taking up an edition, whether its apparatus is slim or bulky, one should be aware of this ghost-like category. The aim in classical philology should, in the long term, be to make much more of this neglected or suppressed heritage visible. The best means by which to bring it to our attention is by establishing two more categories. To be more specific ourselves, let us start by taking these categories, four in all, one by one, the more so as they are not independent of each other.

II

The first category: conjectures adopted in the text

This category might be likened to the gold-plated top of an imaginary pyramid. An interesting undertaking would be to compare the composition and size of this category from edition to edition across the ages, identifying each stone and observing which has been in place almost always, which has been added when, which has been there for a shorter period or more irregularly and which has gone into oblivion. Here, however, we shall concentrate on the end of this long time span, abstaining from using the term development and look at the status that faces readers today. In an author like Horace, it would be relatively easy to list the aristocrats of the first category. The gap between a so-called conservative edition and a radical one may be bridged, however. The somewhat unstable class of high-profile conjectures – an A level with a *summa cum laude* – constitutes not only a class of their own, it tends also to be too much severed from the rest, often rather arbitrarily. It goes without saying that they are close to the editor's heart in being 'right' and thereby sanctified as the *ipsissima verba poetae*, from a subjective point of view that is. Their status is highly dependent on the editor's competence and wisdom. From a historical point of view, they are a mixed lot, and far from everyone can be labelled an *emendatio palmaris*, a term that had better be avoided.[12]As to the First Epode, the situation is as follows in my view:

5 sit (instead of *si*), the conjecture I have adopted in my text earlier is read by none of our five recent editors/commentators.[13] They all adhere to the ancient manuscript reading *si* and their conformism in that regard, a surprising trait, is a little disquieting in that the curious text they go for, with its repeated *si*, gets so little and far from adequate attention from a grammatical point of view. The wisdom of earlier centuries has been ignored; *sit* has in fact been degraded for most of the last century, but a reaction is on the way, expressed by myself in 1984 and 2005, by the reviewers Nisbet (1986b) and Delz (1988, 498) and in particular by Du Quesnay (2002). I have dealt with this problem in more detail in a separate study (Kraggerud 2005) independently of Du Quesnay; I have inserted this study below.[14]

Horace begins his poem by focusing on his friend's friendship and loyalty to Caesar at a fateful hour for the nation and the ruling class (1–4). Thereupon (5–6) he caps it all on his own behalf, deepening the opening theme and elaborating his own relationship with Maecenas in considerable detail. As it is, however, the very first couplet of this personal address, lines 5 and 6, is difficult to analyse and understand grammatically in its transmitted form. In the manuscripts, it is unanimously phrased *quid nos, quibus te vita si auperstite/ iucunda, si contra, gravis*, One may wonder why it has been so readily accepted as Latin worthy of Horace by generation after generation. Even stranger is the fact that modern editors and commentators like the ones mentioned earlier seem to have no qualms endorsing it.

But it was not always so: at the start of the era of printed texts *si* was replaced by *sit* by Aldus Manutius (1459–1515) in his famous editions of Horace from 1501 onwards (5th ed. 1527), an improvement that was widely accepted. But why has this emendation fared so badly in later centuries, and why is it still all but

ignored by editors? Only a small handful among the more respected editions from the nineteenth and twentieth century have adopted Aldus's emendation, among them A. Meineke (1854), H. Schütz (1889) and F. Vollmer (1907).

Seeking help to understand the Latinity involved, one soon becomes frustrated over the casual manner with which such a serious problem has been handled. Partly responsible for the one-sidedness and acquiescence of editors is no doubt the influence exercised, directly or indirectly, by the greatest among them, Richard Bentley. In this case, however, his confident defence of the paradosis, seemingly so contrary to his famous editorial principle, is in my view patently below his usual standard: "Recipiendum est omnino *si*, cum ob tot codicum auctoritatem, tum ob singularem suam elegantiam. *Quibus vita*, ait, *iucunda*; *si te superstite* vivitur; *si contra, gravis*. Neque enim vacat *si* aut *abundat*, ut Enarratores [i.e. Graevianus and Porphyrio respectively] crediderunt." Bentley then continues comparing *Ep*. 1. 5. 1ff.; *S*. 1. 3. 5 and *Carm*. 3. 29. 53 to show – otherwise correctly – that the second *si* is = prosaic *sin* ('but if'), but he fails signally to put these parallels to good use in explaining the couplet in question.

First, Bentley's analysis seems to strain the reader's (or listener's) ability to grasp elliptical constructions. *Brevitas* of this kind can spoil clarity, and nobody was better aware of this than Horace, to judge from *Ars* 25–26. Anyway, the 'singularis elegantia' of *si* is a mystery to me. Second, and more significantly for our discussion, the examples adduced by Bentley from Horace himself (see the previous paragraph) square badly with his interpretation of the couplet. Bentley's last parallel (*Carm*. 3. 29. 53f.) is in fact particularly well suited to illuminate an essential point in our couplet: *laudo manentem* [*sc. Fortunam*]; *si celeris quatit/ pennas, resigno quae dedit* ("I praise her while she stays. If she shakes out her swift wings, I return what she gave." [D. West 1997]). Here the participle *manentem* is a substitute for a conditional clause and serves well enough as the antithesis to the following *si* clause. The parallelism with *te superstite* followed by *si contra* is evident. Third, one could legitimately ask how the traditional text would be understood by Horace's first readers, who had little or no punctuation to guide them: a native speaker would hardly understand the first *si* like Bentley (more on this later), but more naturally in either of the following two ways:

a) as *quibus, si uita te superstite iucunda* (+ a form of *esse*) *<et si> grauis* (+ a form of *esse*) . . . In this reading as well the antithesis between *te superstite* and *si contra* looms large. One must immediately add, however, that such a reading would come to nought of itself, as there would be no sequel to *quibus*.
b) as *quibus, si uita te superstite iucunda* (+ a form of *esse*), [in continuation of the relative *quibus*] *grauis* (+ a form of *esse*) *si contra* (+ a form of *esse*). This is hardly more acceptable in view of the resulting clumsy hypotaxis. Moreover, the emphasis falling of itself on the last three words would arouse suspicion: It would be downright unfortunate if the poet had chosen to adumbrate the sinister prospect of death too much.

My only apology for this kind of hypothetical and long-winded exegesis is the prevalent 'Korruptelenkult' regarding this issue (to use Bertil Axelson's provocative phrase). The obvious conclusion, then, is that *te superstite* – and these two words alone – must be considered the antithesis to *si contra*. On this basis, the text has to be construed and expounded. So even if Bentley had been able to defend the first *si* more successfully than he did, he cannot be adduced (as is done by Watson) to prove the point (urged by e.g. Kiessling-Heinze), that the first *si* is "formally necessary for the sake of the antithesis". Nor will the diluted alternative do in this connection, viz. to dub the construction a 'pleonasm' (Cavarzere).[15] This is no more than a feeble restatement of Porphyrio's basically sound reaction: "bis posuit particulam'si', sed semel abundat. Melius enim sic loqueretur: 'quibus te superstite vita iucunda est'".

The term pleonasm is meaningful only on the condition that an *ablativus absolutus* as here (or a *participium coniunctum*) could be strengthened and defined by *si*.[16] To see that this cannot be the case in Horace, we need only to consult Szantyr § 85a Zus. γ (p. 140f.),[17] cf. also § 206 Zus. β. (p. 385).[18] Adverbial *nisi* (cf. Kühner-Stegmann II § 221, 2) or *etsi, quamquam, quamvis, quamlibet, quantumvis* (cf. Kühner-Stegmann II § 221, Anm. 4) are not relevant to our discussion.

As far as diagnosis is concerned, it is time to conclude that the first *si* is corrupt and has ousted what Horace wrote. Instead, we must have a word that goes with *iucunda* and *grauis* to make them predicatives. There are, as far as I can see, three possibilities:[19] *sit, erit* or *fit*. If either *fit* or *erit* had been in the manuscript tradition, there could hardly have been any strong objection against either of them (cf. on the use of the present and future indicative in conditional clauses Kühner-Stegmann II § 214). However, as *sit* is paleographically superior to *erit* and *fit*, Aldus's emendation should carry the day. The potential subjunctive is also a case in point. It would hardly be relevant to argue that such a *sit* is better suited to the sinister 'possibility' *si contra, grauis* (*sc. vita*), than to the *uita . . . iucunda*, the present situation. This would in my view be to ignore the character of *te superstite* which is in fact equivalent to a potential *si* clause: *si superstes sis*.

So let this impeccable and elegant Latin arising from Aldus's decision eventually be printed by common consent from the twenty-first century on:

> Quid nos, quibus te uita sit superstite
> iucunda, si contra, grauis?

At **15 labore** (instead of *laborem*) proposed by Henricus Glareanus[20] is not only one of the most obvious corrections in all of Horace, and therefore almost universally accepted, but is also rightly reckoned by all of our five reference scholars as a necessity for the sake of metre.[21]

At **34** Sh. B. has given ***perdat*** (instead of *perdam*) the status of Horace's autograph.[22] In spite of his *scripsi* he was in fact anticipated by Karl Städler (1903).[23] Sh. B.'s preference is at odds with Borzsák, Cavarzere, Mankin and Watson, who all adhere confidently to *perdam*. Whereas Cavarzere and Mankin do not even mention the conjecture, Watson must be praised for not taking part in this kind of blank dismissal; on the other hand, he leaves no room for doubt about the excellence of

the transmitted *perdam*. Sh. B.'s most prominent reviewers, Nisbet and Delz, are divided. Whereas Delz rejects *perdat*,[24] Nisbet has given his assent (without further comment). Watson's objection is that *perdat* "distorts the emphasis of 31–34 by directing attention away from Horace, who is praising Maecenas for generosity such that any additional wealth is superfluous to requirements, and would be either hoarded or dissipated". Now this is not a particularly apt paraphrase of the lines in question. It is clear enough that an essential aspect of the last two couplets is to praise Maecenas for his generosity (*benignitas tua*). This generosity has enriched Horace beyond (*super . . . ditavit*) what is needed (*satis*). The last word touches on a pivotal point in Horace's philosophy of life and reminds us – and was meant to remind us – of his first satire dedicated to Maecenas. The basic tenet of this satire was the conviction that to be happy in life one should be content with one's lot, base one's consumption on what was just enough and reject excessive wealth (cf. 92 ff.). With a clear reference to the satire, Horace sums up this philosophy at the end of his new dedication to Maecenas: *avaritia* is not only unnecessary for attaining happiness, but a meaningless pursuit especially in the ridiculous way it was practised by a figure like Chremes, who hid his wealth in the ground without making any use of it. Additionally Horace points out an all too common way of misuse and waste: an heir may later punish such niggard *avaritia*. Those who have so far rejected the conjecture *perdat* have scarcely done their linguistic homework adequately (as was also the case for *si* in line 5). They should have focused on the combination *discinctus . . . nepos*. As *aut* in the epode's last line has a postponed position, *discinctus . . . nepos* must be taken predicatively when *perdam* is read. But an adjective to go with a noun adding nothing to its meaning is tautology.[25] Horace here, as is often the case, presents extremes: the *avarus* is unable to make any use of his wealth,[26] in this case posing hypothetically as the poet's 'I'. Horace brands useless accumulation of wealth with the additional point that an unworthy late heir may waste it all. Even in cases where wealth is accumulated more openly and not treated in the way Chremes did, it happens ever so often that a descendant (*nepos*)[27] can bring shame on a man's name and waste his legacy disgracefully.

These three brilliant conjectures will be mentioned in the traditional way in the *apparatus criticus* before the colon. In the 'Index philologorum', they could be printed in bold within the square brackets I introduced for the purpose earlier, e.g.: "Aldus [1. 5 *sit*] . . . Glareanus [1. 15 *labore*] . . . Städler [1. 34 *perdat*]". Future editors will hopefully consider these aristocrats of the first category anew and weigh the arguments in their favour in more detail than usual. The outcome of such a concentration would no doubt be that the gap between the authoritative editions would diminish itself in the longer run.

The second category of conjectures adopted in the *app. criticus* only

These conjectures, high-ranking but inevitably either uncertain or in one or more respects *secundi gradus*, are those entitled to a place of honour after the colon in the *apparatus criticus*. Speaking in general terms I for one think that there

should be severe restrictions on membership to this category as well. These conjectures, though secondary compared to those integrated in the text, would nevertheless have a distinction that would set them off as, in a way, 'silvery'. It may be that their quality will consist in mainly highlighting a particular difficulty in the text or that they may seem in some way equal to what has been handed down in the manuscript tradition and printed as the text. But on the whole, an *apparatus criticus* should only include handpicked conjectures that may represent the original, but where the manuscript reading (or one of the variants) cannot safely be ousted by any conjecture, no matter how brilliant. Caution is called for against 'fallen angels': that a conjecture has received high marks at one time or even been adopted by previous editors cannot alone be a valid claim for being included in this category. Accordingly, I for one do not believe that the name Bentley is a qualification in itself. On the contrary, a famous name carries with it its own inherent dangers. It may lend a proposal a sort of recommendation contrary to the principle that every conjecture should be assessed on its own merits.

Now, the obvious counter-argument to such strictness would be the fame of the originator and the prestige that surrounds his critical activity have more or less compelled many editors to mention and give priority to his proposals and have thus created a history of the text one should not neglect. This sort of meta-relevance is undeniable for all interested in the history of philology. In my opinion, however, this aspect could, even in a simple edition, be far better catered to by means of an *appendix critica* and the 'Index philologorum', for which see later.[28]

In my view, then, slimness and lucidity will be essential virtues in any future critical apparatus. It is an illusion or impracticable to try to cover the annals of philology anywhere near exhaustively in the *apparatus criticus*. Least of all I would wish a future editor of Horace to fill up his apparatus with whatever conjectures he or she has unearthed. To judge from modern practice, however, editors wisely refrain from the worst kind of overburdened *apparatus critici*. The drawback to copious references is obvious: the more that is included, the more difficult it will be to see the editor's choice and priorities. The significant and interesting issues threaten to become indistinguishable from the trite and obsolete queries. As to additional information and arguments in favour of either a variant or a conjecture, the place to look for it should generally *not* be the *apparatus criticus*, but a commentary.

An annoying trait that seems to persist among industrious compilers should be banned once and for all; that is the habit, usually prompted by fatigue I believe, of adding an *alii alia* or the like to two or three proposals mentioned, sometimes no doubt more or less by chance. One of the secondary aims of this text is to stamp this 'escape' button as useless and ill advised.[29]

Let us take a more detailed look at how a rather austere line would work out in the case of the First Epode. Sh. B. has included three conjectures in his *apparatus criticus*. One is a suggestion of his own making, *precantibus* (instead of *praesentibus*) at line 22. He has marked it with a question mark, another dubious trait in editions: it is often a sign added to those of the editor's own proposals that he has refrained from adopting in his text. As he gives no arguments against the unanimous *praesentibus*, it is difficult to see the merits of the/a conjecture. The

conclusion is, in my view, that so far there has been no diagnosis of the passage that invalidates *praesentibus*. That is not to say that the whole discussion should be banned from the edition. The issue has presumably a claim to being discussed, but we have other means that will allow a better treatment of it, preferably an attached brief commentary on textual issues.

The other two examples of this category in Sh. B.'s edition are conjectures to one and the same word by Janus Broukhusius[30] (or Markland)[31] suggesting *superbi* and by Bentley suggesting *supini* at line 29. As the manuscript tradition is divided here (*superne* vs. *superni*) and editors and commentators are still very much divided on the issue, the first step must be to assess the transmitted variants.[32] *Superne* is chosen by Cavarzere, Mankin and Sh. B.,[33] *superni* by Borzsák and Watson. Although *superni* seems better supported by the paradosis, few would consider that a decisive argument in itself. As to *superne . . . villa candens . . . tangat*, the meaning may not seem obvious at first glance. If *superne* is taken closely with *candens*, the meaning would be 'above', 'high up', 'aloft', 'from above'[34] (Mankin), or, in view of the adjectival nature of *candens* (cf. *TLL*), even 'shining in its upper part' (i.e. 'roof').[35] If *superne* is what Horace wrote, the first of these interpretations seems preferable. If, on the other hand, it is taken with *tangat*, only the first meaning would be possible, not 'from above' (Watson), as a villa above Tusculum which at the same time 'touches' its walls is not recommended by topography. Whereas *superne* was a useful adverb for Lucretius,[36] *supernus*, though more seldom, was also in his vocabulary: *Nonne vides etiam diversis nubila ventis/ diversas ire in partis inferna supernis* (5. 646 f. "Do you not see as well that lower clouds move in directions contrary to the upper ones owing to contrary winds?") and *principio fit ut in speluncis saxa superna* (Lachmann *superne)/ sudent umore et guttis manantibus stillent* (6. 942f. "First of all, in caverns the rocks above sweat with moisture and trickle with oozing drops").

As to Horace, instead of *superni*, Bentley preferred his own conjecture *supini*[37] because he thought that *superni*[38] would have to refer to something lower by implication and that a meaning 'lying above', 'lying higher up' would not be acceptable in the context. Granted that Bentley is correct about this,[39] he is wrong in disqualifying *superni* on that account.[40] The name Bentley does not save *supini*, and we had better degrade it. I consider Broukhusen's (and Markland's) *superbi*,[41] though unnecessary, a better candidate for being mentioned in the *apparatus criticus*.

Word order is important, though. We should acknowledge that *villa candens* does not go well with *superni . . . Tusculi*; *Tusculi* belongs instead to *Circaea . . . moenia*. The villa, splendid in itself, would be a lot more valuable to its owner (and envied by others of the leisured class) if it was close to the prestigious old town so beautifully situated on a ridge facing the Roman Campagna. To come as near as possible to the town itself, would of course add to the owner's status among his peers in the neighbourhood, the more so because of Tusculum's illustrious mythical past. Moreover, the town with its acropolis had a wonderful view, as modern guidebooks do not fail to point out. Situated high up (higher than the villas below) the owner of a villa adjoining its walls would look down on other villas around. The surroundings of Tusculum were anyway a much-coveted area

for Roman *villeggiatura* in Horace's times. The result is that there are three great assets to such an ambitious owner: to live on the highest ground, to live close to the town that had high prestige in the history of Latium (*Circaea moenia*) and to enjoy a villa of the most luxurious kind.[42] One could well think that the next step on the social ladder for a highly successful poet would be to acquire something even better and closer to the city of Rome than the villa Sabina that had recently been given to him.[43] To conclude: word order should probably have the decisive say in the matter: as *Tusculi* goes with *Circaea . . . moenia*, *villa candens* belongs naturally with *superne* 'from above' (with Cavarzere, Mankin, Sh. B.).

The third category of conjectures mentioned in the *appendix critica* only

What I prefer to call the *appendix critica* will be the repository for the rest, with some limitations. Here one should register the large majority of conjectural activity of the printing era.[44] A storehouse of rejected and unnecessary proposals? No doubt to a large extent, but nevertheless useful for many purposes, not least to get an overall view of each philologist's contributions. With dates added to the names, this appendix will give some idea of what occupied critics in different periods.

The fourth category of conjectures relegated to a repertory

A few restrictions are recommended for the material under the previous category: in the nineteenth century in particular, and even in the early twentieth, deletions, transpositions and downright rewritings flourished.[45] Some screening is imperative, and sound philological judgment should not be suspended altogether. Some scholars' *somnia* must therefore suffer relegation from the printed edition altogether. Provided there is a repertory to consult, such material will be better taken care of separately. How much one should take account of in the *appendix critica* will depend on the existence of such a repertory.

So far, I have been talking mainly of the edition proper, and my recommendation is to provide it with far more data reflecting the critical activity of bygone ages than is nowadays the case. On the one hand, then, the *apparatus criticus* should be strictly limited; on the other, an *appendix critica* should be the main storehouse for informing the reader of conjectures proposed during the course of half a millennium. This would save everyone from making extensive and time-consuming investigations on his own. The nearest aim should be to provide the well-known series (like the Teubneriana and Oxford Classical Texts OCT) with such an appendix along with an 'Index philologorum' and a bibliography to make the edition a more valuable tool for users.

Punctuation

As every student of the First Epode with the most recent Teubneriana in his hand will see, Sh. B.'s *apparatus criticus* contains in passing an important decision on punctuation with this entry: "**9–14*** *dist. Housman*".[46] Punctuation is, often

enough, an important issue in the editing process. In many cases the problems are difficult to decide. Punctuation is of course a means of conveying the meaning of speech, in this case recited poetry, via the printed page. A responsible editor should have a clear standpoint on how to handle this matter.

Much hinges on punctuation reckoned from line 7 on. The usual way has been to put a question mark after *viros* (10) and take *feremus* as the beginning of a new period. After due presentation of the alternatives (*utrumne . . . an* 7–9) the solution to the dilemma is emphasized (*feremus* 11): after a short pause, one may assume, the word brings a definite decision whereby any doubt is dispelled once and for all. An alternative way was proposed by A. E. Housman (1882, 192–193 = *CP* 5), who made the second question chiastic, taking *hunc laborem* (9) with *feremus* (11) and putting the question mark at the end of line 14. Sh. B., like myself in 1984, adopted this syntax.[47] I still support it, only a lot more confidently.[48] As the traditional punctuation is now again supported both by Du Quesnay and Watson, it is worth spending a few more words on the matter.

According to the old way of taking the passage, a reasonable translation of 9–14 (second question/answer) would be: "or [shall we] choose this strenuous life and tell ourselves/ to bear what brave men must? // We'll bear. Across the ridges of the Alps/ and the inhospitable Caucasus,/ or to the furthest bay of all the Western seas/ we'll follow you with fearless heart" (D. West). The core of the problem is the postulated double duty of *persequemur* (7), seemingly a typical *apo koinou* (*ἀπὸ κοινοῦ*), but how well does the verb *persequi* fit both *otium* (7) and *laborem* (9) as parallel objects? Mankin is doubtless right in seeing *persequi* as a strengthened *sequi*. But this would be more strained with *hunc laborem* than is usually acknowledged. A sort of zeugma would be involved. *Persequi otium* is equivalent to "pursue a life of leisure",[49] which in Horace's case will be a life devoted to poetry. *Persequi laborem*, on the other hand, is not so easily "pursue the travails of war".[50] Provided the expression would be so understood, it would sound odd, at best paradoxical, in the wider context: it would suggest something in the vein of a mercenary life. That would be to misinterpret the situation, however, as there had been a call for an all-out fight with the Egyptian enemy wherever that fight would take place.[51] The nearest parallel according to *TLL* is Hirtius in Caes. *Gal*. 8. 1. 2 (*nec, si diversa bella complures eodem tempore intulissent civitates, satis auxili aut spati aut copiarum habiturum exercitum populi Romani ad omnia persequenda*). In itself, *persequi laborem* would more naturally mean 'to carry something through', 'accomplish' = *perficere, absolvere*, see *TLL* (*s.v. persequi* 1692,13 ff.; cf. the general remark 1687,71 f.) with many examples mentioned under 'bellum sim.' In this latter case there would be too much of a semantic shift involved in the *apo koinou* construction. Moreover, *iussi*[52] belongs only to *persequi otium*, and to prevent this participle from being associated with the second alternative as well, it would be far better to combine *hunc laborem* with *feremus*, the more so as we get two reminders in between to look for just this verb: *laturi* (9) and *ferre* (10). Instead of a rather untidy, disjointed structure (*laborem* sc. *persequemur*, *laturi* sc. *laborem*, *ferre sc. laborem*, (new sentence:) *feremus sc. laborem*) we have, thanks to Housman, a triple emphasis in the

build-up to the climax in the finite form of the verb: *laborem . . . laturi* (9) . . . *ferre* (10) . . . *feremus* (11) set against the following *te . . . sequemur* (11–14). This gives us a balanced prospect consisting of two components, each with its finite verb (*feremus* 11 and *sequemur* 14), the second of which carries particular weight by reintroducing the friendship with Maecenas as its climax and elaborating the point of following him all over the world in a *tricolon crescens* (*per Alpium iuga* 11, *inhospitalem Caucasum* 12, *Occidentis usque ad ultimum sinum* 13). The sheer length of the alternative to *otium persequi* serves to emphasize its superiority as far as the obligation of friendship is concerned. There is no real dilemma to weigh pro and contra – the bellicose alternative is the only viable one. However, two words palpably undermine this grand gesture of the poet in the same moment as they are being uttered, namely *forti . . . pectore*. In 15–16 Horace concedes the rather embarrassing truth for a Roman in his prime: he is no warrior. In the eyes of the world and his friend, *roges* makes no distinction in that regard – he is *imbellis* and *firmus parum* (16). Consequently, the alternative to staying peacefully at home is being disclosed as something that Horace is not able to live up to in the required way. The obvious contradiction between *forti . . . pectore* (14) and *imbellis ac firmus parum* (16) makes a full and heavy stop at the end of line 10 almost impossible. Lines 10–14 seem at first glance to promise martial qualities in the poet, but in the next sentence he admits himself that he cannot muster a *forte pectus*. Lines 9–11, then, fall into place: the future participle *laturi* is a *participium coniunctum*. The translation should be something like "or shall we bear the hardships of war intending to bear them with the attitude with which it befits men without weakness to bear them ?" We are now able to see that just this somewhat cumbersome phrase interpolated into the first colon of the alternative *hunc laborem . . . feremus* corresponds to and balances *forti . . . pectore* attached to the second colon (*te . . . sequemur*), and in combination they emphasize the discrepancy between what is required and reality. Horace, then, goes on to define the frame of mind that characterizes his attitude towards Maecenas, making the loving care of a mother bird the metaphor for the kind of friendship he can offer. The poem gets a new shift: from the warlike spirit and courage necessary to protect a friend indeed (what Horace cannot muster) to the closeness of true friendship in danger irrespective of its effectiveness. His choice to accompany his friend abroad will be more for his own benefit in order to allay his own fears.

Indices

Indexed information about the punctuation issues should have a place of its own under the heading 'Interpunctiones nonnullius momenti'. Housman should earn explicit credit for his ingenious improvement of 9–14. Another, though less spectacular, change to record has to do with the punctuation at the end of line 16, where the question mark has now, for good reason, disappeared from editions. Likewise Klingner's comma after *timet* (20) should not be forgotten, if for no other reason than to save others from making the same mistake.

The 'Index philologorum', comprising all three categories of conjectures dealt with, would profit from signalling the editor's evaluation typographically, viz.:

Aldus (1501) [1. 5 *sit*], i.e. adopted in the text.
Glareanus (1536) [1. 15 *labore*]
Städler (1903) [1. 34 *perdat*]
Broukhusen (Markland 1723) [1. 28 *superbi*], i.e. mentioned in the *appendix critica*.
Bentley (1711) [1.28 *supini*]

If the edition covers the whole of Horace, it would be in the form of, for example, Städler [*Epod*. 1. 34 *perdat*].

Such indexing along with the habitual 'Initia carminum', 'Conspectus metrorum' and 'Index nominum'[53] should be seen as obligatory extensions in a modern 'Horatius'.

Commentary

In my view, and as suggested already, an edition is not complete without adequate comments on the textual difficulties that the editor has been struggling to resolve. Many modern editors have tried to get around the constraints of the edition by publishing separate volumes or a series of articles elucidating their textual decisions.[54] It would be a boon to philology if the textual research constituting a long process could be kept together between two covers, not least for the benefit of the user; in other words, if one could have this kind of reasoning and analysis integrated in the edition in a place of its own, that is in a commentary. There is still a legion of issues on which there is no consensus in Horace's texts. In such a commentary, manuscript readings and conjectures as well as lexical and grammatical questions can be discussed. Not every commentator should aspire to cover every aspect of a literary work. This often entails a wealth of information and may lead to elephantiasis, while young students and non-specialist scholars in general are left gasping for breath. One can only wish for some publishing house to initiate a series of commented texts along strict philological lines. The text covered should, in the case of Vergil and Horace, correspond to the size of the ancient *liber*. Time is overdue for a commented series of texts geared to the basic needs of learners and scholars alike.

Notes

* Cf. for an earlier version *SO* 80, 2005, 41–57.

1 *Caesari* is attested, though weakly (π *post ras*. Sh. B.); more or less in favour have been Brink (1982b, 34) and Delz (1988, 497), but see Du Quesnay (2002, 199, n. 38) and Watson (2003) *ad loc*. As for my old sympathy for it cf. Kraggerud (1984, 39, n. 7, 2005, 158, n. 2). The arguments in its favour are still slightly stronger in my view than those for the genitive *Caesaris*.

2 A question mark at the end of line 16 is found in Villeneuve, Klingner and Borzsák, but Mankin, among others, rightly points to the colloquial parataxis: *roges* = *si roges*

(see Hofmann – Szantyr (1972) § 359 I b, g (p. 657) "Should you ask . . ., then as a companion I would etc."); we have to do here (as many have observed already) with a condition expressed as a potential paratactic clause, cf. further Menge (2000) § 568 and Kühner-Stegmann § 214 b with n. 1 (Vol. 2, p. 394).

3 An exception is E. Bährens's (1880) rearrangement *roges laborem quid tuum iuvem meo*. Bährens was anticipated by N. W. Ljungberg in *Q. Horatii Flacci Carmina lyrica*, Carolstadii 1872: C. Kjellin, p. 130.

4 The data bank assembled by Monika Asztalos Murdoch and her team at the University of Oslo has recorded them at www.tekstlab.uio.no/horace; cf. *SO* 79, 2004, 198. Needless to say, I am much indebted to this source of information in the Horace part of the present book.

5 To mention only one case: M. Geymonat who presented the most detailed edition of Vergil in the twentieth century, has only six lines about his 'conjectural policy' out of the 20 odd pages of his *Praefatio* (p. xiii f.). He stresses that he finds conjectures useful for pointing out "obscurities" and "verbal discrepancies" in the text, but to judge from his own words, they would hardly bring anything relevant for emendation: "philologorum coniectationes . . . notavi non tam ut textum emendarem quam ut carminum obscuritates verborumque discrepantiae illustrarentur".

6 Both Borzsák's and Sh. B.'s editions must be supplemented by articles and publications containing their reasoning behind their decisions (cf. references at the end of the Horace part of this book).

7 Aeschylus: R. D. Dawe, *Repertory of Conjectures on A*., Leiden: Pindar, 1965; D. E. Gerber, *Emendations in Pindar 1513–1972*, Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1976. – Sophocles: L. van Paassen (not printed, but gratefully consulted by editors of Sophocles: R. D. Dawe and H. Lloyd-Jones – N. G. Wilson. – Catullus: D. Kiss, *An Online Repertory of Conjectures*, Catullus Online. – Propertius): W. R. Smyth, *Thesaurus criticus ad Sexti Propertii textum*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970; Seneca: M. Billerbeck – M. Somazzi, *Repertorium der Konjekturen in den Seneca-Tragödien* [Mnemosyne. Suppl. 316], Leiden: Brill 2009.

8 I am grateful to Research Librarian Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, Copenhagen, for access to Anchersen's dissertations. It would have been interesting to compare Anchersen's arguments with Bücheler's, but as *vatem* is anyway a lost cause, I refrain from going further into the matter.

9 An abbreviation like *c*. or *carm*. is only called for if the edition comprises the whole oeuvre; in a separate edition of the odes or the epodes the case would be as follows. Of course, added initials for first names are occasionally necessary.

10 In the case of several publications by the same scholar, these should be numbered and a corresponding number should be inserted into the bracketed reference.

11 See, for instance, the *Histoire Auguste* edited by J. P. Callu (Paris 1992).

12 Delz uses the term *emendatio palmaris* twice in his review of Sh. B.'s edition: *S*. 1. 2. 132 *sit* proposed by Sh. B.; *Carm*. 3. 1. 42 *sindone* proposed by Nisbet.

13 Rudd (2004b) adheres also to double *si*. Consulting, as I often do, the *conspectus lectionum* (pp. 578–581) in E. Burck's 1960 ed. of Kiessling-Heinze (1930) line 5 of this epode is not recorded. More recently *sit* is also ignored by B. Sans in his analysis of the First Epode, *LEC* 78, 2010, 25–35.

14 I recommended this conjecture already in my *Horaz und Actium* (1984, 40, n. 13) and have recently been supported by Du Quesnay (2002, 22 with n. 49).

15 In his note, Cavarzere seems to regard it as a contamination of *te superstite* and *si superstes mihi eris*, which I consider inconceivable even in a shabby classical writer (cf. n. 17 later).

16 Many seem by their editorial practice to have thought like F. Villeneuve (1927): "quod quamvis paulo durius dictum videretur, nolui quicquam mutare".

17 Szantyr (1972, 140) (*in fine paginae*) mentions (like his predecessor Hofmann) as the solitary Latin example of an abl. abs. with *si* Chiron § 800 (i.e. the so-called *Mulomedicina Chironis* from ca. A.D. 400, ed. Oder, Leipzig 1901): *si croco addito,*

melior erit, explaining it (tentatively) as a contamination of *si crocus additur* and *croco addito*.

18 Horace has causal *quippe* with participle (cf. Szantyr *loc. cit*.) at *Carm*. 1. 31. 13: *dis carus ipsis, quippe ter et quarter/ anno revisens aequor Atlanticum/ impune*, . . . cf. the note in Nisbet – Hubbard (1970). A both succinct and thorough treatment of all such particles is offered by Lease (1928).

19 Because Ritter (1856) with his *vita si est* fails to acknowledge the conditional opposition *te supersite* vs. *si contra*.

20 Only Mankin has a date for this conjecture, i.e. 1585, which is patently too late. Henricus Glareanus's edition of Horace, "poemata omnia" appeared in Freiburg 1536; the correction is found on p. 171. Cf. *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke, des XVI Jahrh. s* (1987), H 4855.

21 For once it would be preferable to speak of an emendation. Neither Cavarzere nor Watson wastes any words on it. As the prose would have been *tuum laborem quid iuvem meo* (sc. *labore*), one may assume that the faulty text arose at a time when people did not notice the difference between the forms in pronunciation and were no longer at home with the required quantities in iambic dimeter and trimeters.

22 His only comment on this is his reference in his *app. crit*. to *Ep*. 2. 2. 191 (where the context is too different to prove the point) and his brief comment: "A man is not likely to pile up riches and then waste them on a dissolute spendthrift. He leaves that to his heir." (Shackleton Bailey (1985, 158)).

23 Städler's argument (Städler (1903, 26, n.18)) is: "'Ich begehre keine Reichtümer, die ich, da ich sie ja für mich nicht brauche, entweder nach Chremes-Art vergraben müsste (so dass sie nach meinem Tode niemand fände und benutzen könnte), oder die (wenn ich sie nicht vergrabe, mein Sohn oder doch spätestens) mein Enkel lüderlich vertun würde." Denn 1) verlangt die Vernunft, dass der *nepos perdens* eine andere Person sei als der *parans Horatius*, und 2) mag Horaz eben damals an Sohn und Enkel gedacht haben (vgl. zu Od. II 20).'

24 Delz (1988, 497): 'Damit würde jedoch die durch aut . . . aut gegebene Antithese zum mindesten abgeschwächt." Cf., however, the helpful reminder in Menge (2000, § 438, 5) and by Sh.B. himself *SCP* 293.

25 Cf. the rendering (e.g. Mankin) of *dissolutus* with 'dissolute' and *nepos* with 'prodigal' (noun). Thus also *OLD*. With *perdat*, on the other hand, there is a nice play on the double meaning of *nepos*. At times one must expect from a *nepos* that he is *discinctus*.

26 Cf. *S*. 1. 1. 41f.: *Quid iuvat immensum te argenti pondus et auri/ furtim defossa timidum deponere terra?*

27 You are not safe unless you happen to have a wise son.

28 There may be more serious contenders for a place in the sun in our poem than the conjectures mentioned in Sh. B.'s apparatus. As an example of this category, one could have considered N. Heinsius's *sim* (for *sum*) at line 17 a worthy candidate had it not been for the fact that it exists as a reading in Vaticanus Ott. (9th c.). As far as I know, it has not been adopted in the text of any editor.

29 One effect is that it cajoles many into the treacherous belief that further investigation would be a waste of time. The notorious *Ars* 120 is one of my best examples: Brink's use of the formula in the apparatus, seen in the light of a rather full discussion in his commentary, has hidden perhaps the best solution to the problem from view, that of Bouhier, published by G. Prunelle (1807). See on this I, 21.

30 Or: Jan van Broekhuyzen (1649–1707), not mentioned by Sh. B. The Dutch scholar later withdrew his proposal.

31 J. Markland made the conjecture (independently?) in his note on Stat. *Silvae* 3. 86 (1728).

32 In our poem, there are many cases where the decision between variants is by no means obvious to judge from editors' choices: *Caesaris* vs. *Caesari* (3, cf. n.1 earlier), *ut adsit* vs. *uti sit* (21), *meis* vs. *mea* (26), *pascuis* vs. *pascua* (28).

33 And by Leo (1896–1898), Brink (1982b) and Martina (1989).
34 But this meaning would hardly be clear enough in itself (cf. *OLD* 1 b with examples).
35 Cf. *Carm*. 2. 20. 9–10: *iam iam residunt cruribus asperae/ pelles et album mutor in alitem / superne* and *Ars* 34 (talking of a monstrous fantasy figure) . . . *undique collatis membris, ut turpiter atrum / desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne*, in which cases *superne* goes with the adjectives *album* and *formosa*, and as *candens* is primarily an adjective *superne villa candens* could mean: a "villa gleaming at the top."
36 Lucretius has *superne* 19 times, 15 of which are at the end of the hexameter; in the Sixth Book alone he has *superne* 11 times (192. 254, 264, 286, 425, 434, 491, 544, 597, 1018, 1099).
37 As far as I know, nobody has ever adopted this suggestion in the text.
38 "Supernus enim nomen est relativum; semperque aliud quid secum trahit, cuius respectu superiorem locum occupare censetur: quod hic non fit."
39 On the one hand Madvig (*Adversaria* II, 1873, 55) shares Bentley's view on *superni*, but cf. *OLD s.v*. 1 (sc. 1a) "situated above or at a higher level". On the other, Madvig rightly rejects Bentley's *supini* and concludes correctly: "Superne urbis moenia tangit villa, quae in colle vicino adiacet".
40 At Lucretius 6. 942 *principio fit ut in speluncis saxa superna / sudent umore et guttis manantibus stillent* would mean "rocks obove". Cf. Smith's and Godwin's editions: "rocks at the top", "higher" as opposed to *inferiora* ("lower").
41 For the required meaning of *superbus*, cf. *OLD s.v*. 1 c; for Verg. *A*. 7. 630 (see, however, Horsfall *ad loc*.). It may be considered, however, whether *superbus* at *A*. 7. 630 may have crept in for the original *supernus* (see my treatment of *superbus* in I, 5).
42 *Villa candens* would probably be taken to refer to the use of marble, not necessarily the whitest sorts; 'marmor' could designate "all stones capable of taking a high polish" (*OCD s.v*.) (cf. Greek λευκός as an epithet and the adjective λευκόλιθος, which would give associations to the sun; Circe was otherwise the daughter of the sun, and the villa would in that regard be in tune with the town being founded by the sun's grandson.
43 See the article by G. McCracken in *RE s.v*. Tusculum.
44 I mention here (with reference to Asztalos Murdoch's online Horace Repertory) e.g. J. Ritter (1856/7) *si est* (instead of *si*), H. J. Müller (1881) *erit* (instead of *si*) **5**; Edwards in Campbell (1953) *an nunc laborem ferre natura hunc docet / qua mente* anticipated partly by A. Y. Campbell (1945) *ferre natura edocet / qua mente* (instead of *an hunc laborem, mente laturi decet / qua ferre* **9–10**; H. Gogavius *minus* (instead of *magis*) **21**; E. Bährens (1880) *quieta* (*relictis*) **21**; Campbell (1945) *praesepibus* (*praesentibus*), R. G. M. Nisbet (1986) *poscentibus* or *petentibus* (*praesentibus*) **22**; C. Fea *ut* (*aut*) 34.
45 E.g. F. Teichmüller (1911).
46 The asterisk refers to Shackleton Bailey (1982, 79).
47 See also Shackleton Bailey (1982, 79).
48 Cf. also Delz (1988, 497).
49 Housman (1882, 192): "Shall I pursue my present stay-at-home life." *Persequi* was dealt with by Friedrich Spoth in his thorough *TLL* article. In today's English, one would in a comparable context perhaps say "devote oneself to"; Du Quesnay (referring to Cic. *Off*. 3. 1. 1, the most relevant parallel, see *TLL* 10,1691,26f.) takes the meaning as 'seek out', but in Cicero as well 'pursue' would be a good rendering.
50 Mankin quotes Cic. *Phil*. 12. 15 *Aut isto tuo, mihi crede, consilio erit tuendum, ut cedamus, abeamus, vitam inopem et vagam persequamur*; 'pursue (a certain kind of) life', 'continue a peaceful life'; the alternative to this cannot be *persequi laborem* in the sense of 'go on living the toil of war', as the *Aktionsart* would be different: Horace is in the midst of a peaceful life, but he is about to enter the toil of war.
51 Lines 11–14 (*et te . . . pectore*) leave the question open as to where the end fight will take place (Actium has not yet happened in the poem's dramatic time).

52 I cannot agree that *iussi* is so watered down as to equate 'as suggested'. It may have been influenced, however, by Vergil's address to Maecenas at *G*. 3. 41: *tua, Maecenas, haud mollia iussa*; 'urged' would therefore be better.

53 In his edition, Sh. B. wisely left out Klingner's 'Metrica et prosodiaca' and 'Notabilia grammatica' (altogether 17 pages) and shortened the 'Index nominum' slightly.

54 To mention only a few prominent ones: M. West, *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad*, Leipzig: De Gruyter, 2001 and his *Studies in Aeschylus*, Leipzig: Teubner, 1990; H. Lloyd-Jones – N. G. Wilson, *Sophoclea. Studies on the Text of Sophocles*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990 together with their *Sophocles: Second Thoughts* [Hypomnemata 100] Göttingen 1997; J. Diggle, *Euripidea. Collected Essays*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994; S. J. Heyworth, *Cynthia. A Companion to the Text of Propertius*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007; O. Zwierlein, *Prolegomena zu einer kritischen Ausgabe der Tragödien Senecas*, Wiesbaden: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1983 and his *Kritischer Kommentar zu den Tragödien Senecas*, Stuttgart: Mainzand, 1986; M. Winterbottom, *Problems in Quintilian* (*BICS* Supplement 25), London 197. As to Horace, one could have wished that Sh. B. had made a much broader and more concentrated effort.

2 *Epod.* 2. Sorting out conjectures

Neither Borzsák nor Mankin have adopted any conjecture in their text of '*Beatus ille*'. As for Mankin, however, he does not even mention any in his *app. crit*. On the other hand, Shackleton Bailey (Sh. B.) favours four in his text: **13** *-ve* after *Bentley* (instead of *que*),[1] **27** *frondes* after *Markland* (instead of *fontes*), **37** *Roma quas* after *Scrinerius* (instead of *quas amor*) and **43** *-que tostis* as his own conjecture (built on *-ve tostis* proposed by Ross) to replace *vetustis* which implies an asyndeton in the period structure. In his *Selected Classical Papers* [*SCP*] Sh. B. chooses to retain *vetustis*, however.[2] Whereas Watson rejects the conjectures at 13, 27 and 43, he, like Cavarzere, supports *Roma quas*, the one conjecture that has so far gained considerable ground. Rudd (2004b), however, ignores it. I for one would add Turnebus's *iuvans* at **39** as being interesting and persuasive enough to merit discussion, perhaps even a place in category 1.

The couplet **13–14** is somewhat disturbing in its transmitted form:

> inutilisque falce ramos amputans
> feliciores inserit

Not that *-que* in itself is unacceptable in a row of disjunctives (*aut* 9. . . *aut* 11. . . *aut* 15. . . *aut* 16) – *que* has been well defended by Mankin[3] – more serious is the sequence of spring and summer activities: 1) ploughing (3), 2) *aut* viticulture (9–10), 3) *aut* tending of cattle (11–12), 4) *-que* grafting of fruit trees and their pruning (13–14), 5) *aut* gathering of honey (15) and 6) *aut* gathering of wool (16). It has been suggested that 2) and 3) should change place in order to make 13–14 with its *-que* connection come after the couplet on viticulture. As the text handed down to us, however, cannot be labelled safely as corrupt, none of these expedients seems necessary. Whether they should be mentioned in the *apparatus criticus* or in the *appendix critica* depends on the diagnosis of the critic. I for one find it advisable to downgrade the conjectures here and place them in the *appendix critica*. Nothing compels us to enforce upon the speaker's examples an order similar to that of the *Georgics*: 1), 2) and 3) may seem to comply with a sequel of that sort, but in order to make all examples comply 4) should have been 3), 6) should have been 5) and 5) should have been 6). In *Beatus ille* another ordering is evidently at work: in his enthusiasm the speaker has obviously no wish to group

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activities according to any disposition. Variation is more in accordance with his mood: 1) ploughing, 2) wine, 3) cattle (big), 4) fruit trees, 5) beekeeping and 6) sheep. So I think the case for change has not been vindicated, and the transpositions proposed have too little to recommend them. The same holds good for Bentley's conjecture (cf. *OLD s.v.* -que 7).

27:

labuntur altis interim ripis aquae, 25
  queruntur in silvis aves,
fontesque lymphis obstrepunt manantibus,
  somnos quod invitet levis.

25 ripis (*B*)] rivis *B pr. δ φ ψV*: risis *R* **27** frondes *Markland, coll. Prop. 4*, *4*, *4*: fontes *codd. P*

Meanwhile the streams glide between their steep banks,
birds twitter in the trees,
springs burble as their water gushes forth –
sounds that induce a pleasant nap (Rudd).

The use of *obstrepere* (27) has been carefully investigated by H.-Th. Johann in *TLL s.v.* 9,248–250. Horace uses the verb about loud and clearly audible sounds from water (ocean, river) at *Carm* 2. 18. 20–21 (***maris****que Bais* ***obstrepentis*** *urges/ summovere litora*); *Carm*. 3. 30. 10 (*dicar, qua violens* ***obstrepit Aufidus***); *Carm*. 4. 14. 47–48 (*remotis/* ***obstrepit Oceanus*** *Britannis*). Accordingly, *lymphis . . . manantibus* is abl. instr. whereas Markland's *frondes* would mean 'make noise against' followed by a dative. Propertius talking about the *Tarpeium nemus* depicts rustling trees that compete with the sound of natural streams at 4. 4. 4 *multaque nativis* ***obstrepit arbor*** *aquis*. On the basis of the Horatian parallels Sh. B.'s case against *fontes* and in favour of *frondes* cannot be called particularly strong. Markland's conjecture deserves nevertheless a place in the *apparatus criticus*.

37:

The other and seemingly stronger candidate to a place in the text is Scrinerius's[4] *Roma quas* at line 37.[5] The transmitted text is this:

quis non malarum, quas amor curas habet,
  haec inter obliviscitur

Watson has convincingly shown that there is no reason to see the anticipated *malarum* as corrupt per se. Read slowly, and the couplet becomes immediately clear: *curarum* must be supplied from the relative clause in spite of this comparatively rare variant (Kühner-Stegmann § 195. 2 & 3). *Roma quas* would make the couplet a bit more complicated by introducing still another inversion (*Roma quas* instead of *quas amor*). Nevertheless, Watson adopts Scrinerius's conjecture *Roma quas* in his text, writing: "Framed by an idyllic description of rural life, and an

account of the domestic felicity enjoyed by the countryman (39–66), the question 'who is there that does not forget the cares of love amid such things as these?' is unexpected and inconsequential in the mouth of a speaker whom no one could have suspected until now was suffering the pangs of love."[6]

To counter these scruples we may start from the question: what do we know about the speaker so far? A first response[7] would probably have been that Horace is speaking in his own name; *negotia* would then have been understood as the nuisance of city life, a common enough theme in Horace (add Lucretius and Vergil), but the line *paterna rura bobus exercet suis* (3), in view of Horace's gratefulness for the villa Sabina at the end of the previous poem, would have led one to suspect that the person speaking can hardly be Horace after all, but a city dweller whose *negotia* would imply that business and commercial interests come more strongly into the picture than would be the case if the poet himself were the central character. *Forum* (7) would have strengthened this impression. The point about interests is uttered in an ambivalent way. One would first think that the person speaking is labouring under his own debt. He gives us the impression that he is a *cliens* who has to call upon his superiors to be able to carry on and that he feels his situation humiliating. The opening *makarismos* revealing a longing for the *vita rustica* is followed in line 19 by the joy he invests his rustic alter ego with (*ut gaudet* 19).[8] Having idealized the farmer's activities he dwells upon the carefree side of country life with its apparently long[9] and relaxing siestas (*somnos . . . levis*) in the bosom of one's private *locus amoenus*. The prospect of dreary winters does not deter him from thinking of adventurous hunting (wild boars), but he soon turns to the less demanding uses of hunting nets for catching thrushes, hares and cranes whereby the gastronomic side of the games become prominent, cf. *iucunda praemia*.

On the basis of this reading, it would be awkward to refer *haec inter* to hunting alone. The "quarrel between love and sport" has been discussed by Nisbet and Hubbard on *Carm*. 1. 1. 27 (*manet sub Iove frigido/ venator tenerae coniugis immemor*). The old men's chorus in Lysistrate talking of Melanion utter (784 ff.): "In flight from marriage he went off to the wilderness and lived in the mountains and kept a dog and wove traps and hunted rabbits." (J. Henderson's translation in the Loeb series). The realm of Diana is not seldom set against the realm of Venus. This contrast is sharpened by thinking of hunting taking place in snow and under open air (Cic. *Tusc*. 2. 40). Only one example is suited to bringing out such a contrast: the boar hunt and possibly hunt for hares. Otherwise, the contrast here is another than in *Carm*. 1. 1 where there is a question of priority when the hunter chooses the sport. Here, however, *malae . . . curae* – a troublesome condition[10] – is set against a joyful activity. The joys will make one forget the *curae*. Then this point comes much better off if one refers *haec* to the speaker's whole conception of country life, the red thread of which is the joy it brings the man who finds himself in the midst of it (1, 19, 23, 36). This idealized totality of rural happiness that is a means for him to banish his *malae curae*.

What sort of *malae . . . curae* is the speaking person referring to then? Those brought about by city life or those caused by love? The fairest basis for an evaluation of the couplet is to ignore the fact that the one is transmitted in the manuscripts,

the other the result of a conjecture and to pitch them against each other on equal terms. In favour of *Roma quas* Watson adduces Tac. *Ann*. 3. 37. . . *solus et nullis voluptatibus avocatus maestam vigilantiam et malas curas exerceret* (sc. Tiberius) where J. Jackson in his Loeb edition renders *malae curae* with 'sinister meditations', cf. *OLD s. v. cura* 1 'anxiety', 'worry' as at Hor. *Carm*. 3. 1. 40. That is to say, that nothing so far in this epode has prepared us for mental sufferings of that sort: the speaker finds his present situation annoying. One understands that he is talking of a busy city life, but he is not specific; therefore, one would think of a situation reminiscent of the end of the second Book of the Georgics; but *malae curae* is definitely too strong to belong to a context like this. Horace could say that with growing riches worry follows in their wake (cf. *Carm*. 3. 16. 17: *crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam*). It could well be said that the city of Rome entailed bad anxieties which (one's conception of) rustic life would be free from. The reader would feel that it would make the speaker's inconsistent withdrawal from his wish less understandable if *malae curae* meant his concerns caused by life in the city.

On the other hand, the transmitted *quas amor curas* would be quite what one would expect from a speaker who is apparently a man in his prime. Horace himself was somewhere in his early thirties. It would surprise nobody if the man he is portraying through his monologue had affairs of the kind known from elegy. We are soon to learn of gastronomic preferences that obviously mean so much to him at present: expensive fishes like *Lucrina . . . conchylia*, *rhombus, scarus*, exquisite fowls like *Afra avis*, *attagen Ionicus*. Only a wealthy man could afford such fare. The kind of dainty dishes described would apparently not be easy for him to part with.

The epithet *malus* strengthens the negative meaning of *cura*, 'bad', 'unpleasant', 'painful', 'nasty' (cf. *OLD s.v*. malus 1); *curae*, then, would be 'passions' and in the light of the sequel, passions turned sour due to the infidelity of one's girlfriend.

To conclude: there has so far been no convincing arguments against line 35 in its transmitted form. *Ceteris paribus*, *quas amor curas* suits both the poem as a whole and its nearest context better than the conjecture *Roma quas curas*.

43:

The following passage presents a double problem:

Quodsi pudica mulier in partem iuvet
domum atque liberos,
Sabina qualis aut perusta solibus
pernicis uxor Apuli,
sacrum vetustis exstruat lignis focum
lassi sub adventum viri
claudensque textis cratibus laetum pectus
distenti siccet ubera
et horna dulci vina promens dolio
dapes inemptas apparet:
non me Lucrina iuverint conchylia
(etc. ending with line 60)

Thus the text is presented by Mankin. There can scarcely be any doubt[11] about the structure of the long period spreading across 22 lines. The first 10 lines constitute a series of four conditional clauses (with the finite forms *iuvet, exstruat, siccet* and *apparet*). A period of this length requires a clear and unambiguous structure in order not to confuse the reader or listener. Latin and even poetical Latin is not different from any language; clarity is a fundamental principle of communication. The asyndeton exhibited by line 43, defended somewhat hesitatingly by Mankin, is in a complicated and long syntactic structure like the present one almost doomed to have such a confusing effect on some readers: *Quodsi . . . iuvet* will be taken as the protasis, followed by iussive subjunctives in the apodosis. Separated from its context this syntactical interpretation makes sense and is quite acceptable Latin. In principle, however, there are two good remedies to preclude this dead end:[12] either to change *iuvet* into *iuvans* with Turnebus (1604) in line 39 – a conjecture not to be ignored in any *apparatus criticus* – or to supply *et* with some late manuscripts in line 43. The first of these expedients has the appealing side to it that the couplet 39–40 would go with all three following finite verbs, all of which are subjunctives;[13] nor is, on the other hand, an *et* added to *sacrum* to be discarded: its loss is easily explained as a consequence of a faulty understanding of the syntax. All things considered, I would prefer Turnebus's participle as the best solution. As an editor, I would have dared to put it in the text.

69:

The epode ends with these four lines:

> Haec ubi locutus faenerator Alfius,
> iam iam futurus rusticus,
> omnem redegit Idibus pecuniam,
> quaerit Kalendis ponere. 70

These last two couplets have been taken syntactically in two different ways.[14] I add a third one based upon a conjecture of mine. I will deal with them in the reversed order of preference:

1 To supply *est* with *locutus*, an ellipsis of the *verbum substantivum* not uncommon with deponent verbs,[15] cf. the common *sic orsus*. So a native response to the period might well have been to take *locutus* as a finite verb, going with *ubi* followed by two main clauses joined asyndetically.[16] There is some risk of misunderstanding the syntax (see item 2). Admittedly, I cannot muster strong complaints against this way of taking the sentence structure, but complaints there should nonetheless be when dealing with a poet as careful as Horace. Apart from the asyndeton, which easily could have been avoided (see item 3), the perfect in the one main sentence followed by present in the last, is another argument against this interpretation, whereas Mankin, though somewhat hesitatingly, finds here a particular expressiveness. It fails to convince us, however.[17]

2 A relatively easy conjecture deserves nevertheless to be mentioned which I would have put more faith in if I had considered *locutus = locutus est* correct. To add *et* at the end of 69 would solve our misgivings with regard to the syntax. Is this acceptable? As to the hexameter in Vergil, we find no example of such an *et* in his poems.[18] In Horace, as is well known, monosyllables abound in the hexameter closures,[19] e.g. *sit mihi mensa tripes et/ concha salis pura*. With elision of the previous word cf. *S*. 2. 2. 58 (*vinum et/*); 2. 8. 92 (*earum et/*).[20] It is perhaps unconventional to propose a conjecture which its originator does not want to recommend. It does not aspire to more than being better than the usual interpretation – and thereby to serve as an antidote to it. According to my own categories of value, I would put it in the third category (the *appendix critica*), but nonetheless consider it as a good and worthy candidate for some comments in a commentary to the poem.

3 The best solution, however, is is to construe *haec locutus* as a *participium coniunctum* and then to take *ubi* (temporal clause) with the perf. indic. *redegit* as the subordinate clause followed by *quaerit Kalendis ponere* as the main clause. This understanding of how the couplets are connected is not in much vogue nowadays (as shown by Cavarzere, Mankin and Watson). However, the arguments put forward against it[21] lack substance in my view. To argue from 'word order' alone is of dubious value, not least talking of poetry of the innovative kind seen in Horace's epodes. Moreover, the interlaced word order to be observed here is unobjectionable also from a linguistic point of view: deictic *haec* with *ubi* in the second place sounds per se perfect in my ears. A participle belonging closely to this deictic word *after* the temporal conjunction runs as smoothly as in the case of Verg. *A*. 3. 219 *huc ubi delati portus intravimus, ecce*, etc. Having accepted this way of taking the final lines of the poem, one should try to probe the consequences for the interpretation: *haec locutus* as a *participium coniunctum* becomes subordinate in the following way: "after these words, when the money-lender Alfius, just on the point of becoming a countryman, had collected all his money"; *omnem* is emphasized through word order. The reader, will in view of what he has heard about Alfius's ardent longing for country life, understand this as the first and essential step towards a better life: he has decided to give up his profession as a usurer[22] and invest all of it in a country villa, but the whole plan comes to naught. Before a new month begins, that is from the earliest possible date with its prospect of making his capital grow, his dreams vanish in thin air and he is back on the old track. This reminds us of the opening of *S*. 1. 1: the professions grudge each other, but if Jupiter gave them the possibility to change their occupation, nothing would happen. The *aprosdoketon* is not the four lines 67–70 (Watson on 67–70). A money lender understandably praises the *agricola;* the surprising effect is his incapability to take a stand and change his own way of life. He is in fact too deeply entrenched in his profession, and the lifestyle following from it, to cut the matter short. The syntax with its surprising final line serves to enhance this effect.

Notes

1 Bentley's conjecture at 13 has also been adopted by Cavarzere.
2 This second thought in 1997 has not affected his 2001 edition of Horace.
3 Cf. also Watson *ad loc*. For examples see *TLL s.v*. aut 2,1571,21ff.
4 Sh. B. attributes the conjecture *Roma quas* to Scri**v**erius [sic] in *SCP*, p. 293 [n. 6]. On the seventeenth-century Dutch scholar Petrus Scriverius (Peter Schryver) see Sandys II, p. 307. But Scri**n**erius is correct in all Sh. B.'s editions (1984[1]–2001[4]); Wickham – Garrod got it wrong in their *OCT*. Petrus Johannes Scrinerius had previously written a dissertation on Velleius Paterculus (*Quaestiones Velleianae*), published in 1879.
5 Sh. B., who adheres to Scrinerius's conjecture in all editions, seems to be adverse neither to other conjectures nor to the transmitted reading in *SCP*, p. 294f. with [n. 7].
6 This reflects Scrinerius's objection to *amor*: "Nemo adhuc satis intellexit unde tam subito amoris feneratori veniat in mentem, neque qualem cogitet amorem inter omnes constat".
7 The importance of this aspect in the interpretation I have tried to make fruitful in my *Horaz und Actium* (1984).
8 This *ut* (*OLD s.v*. 2 'exclamatory') brings out the speaker's longing for this life.
9 cf. *tenaci* 24: the pleasant life has a grip on him.
10 Which is not Love itself like in the Lysistrate example earlier, but concomitant circumstances of Love.
11 The full stop in Sh. B. (*plene distinxi*) is difficult to understand, the more so as he has eliminated the asyndeton with his (and Ross's) conjecture *sacrum**que tostis***. As far as I know Sh. B. has nowhere given any reason for this change nor an explanation of the syntax.
12 Accordingly, I cannot recommend Sh. B.'s *sacrumque tostis* for any better position than in the *appendix critica*.
13 Cf. the observation of Cavarzere (on 39–66) "le operazione descritte ai vv. 43–48 costituiscono una spiegazione e un ampliamento del generico *iuvet domum* del v. 39 s." which is better suited to justify Turnebus's conjecture than to explain the asyndeton (43) in the paradosis (Cavarzere, Watson on l. 43).
14 A third way from Lambinus's time, and recommended by him, is to supply *sum* with *locutus*, an expedient at least worthy of discussion; see Mankin on 67.
15 Vergil says *locuta est* at the end of a line before *oratio recta*, but also *locuti* (*A*. 6. 662) and particularly *locutus*: *G*. 4. 444 (*hominis tandem ore locutus*); *A*. 5. 303 (*sic deinde locutus*); *A*. 9. 319 (*sic ore locutus*), but more often *locutus* is a *participium coniunctum*: *A*. 5. 14 (*sic deinde locutus / . . . iubet*); *A*. 11.461 (*nec plura locutus / corripuit sese*); *A*. 4. 276 (*tali . . . ore locutus / . . . reliquit*); *A*. 7. 599 (*nec plura locutus / saepsit*); *A*. 8. 404 (*ea verba locutus / . . . dedit*).
16 In favour of this interpretation one might also adduce the common epic formula: *haec ubi dicta dedit* (8x in the *Aeneid*: 2. 790; 6. 628; 7. 323 & 471; 8. 541; 10. 633; 12. 81 & 441), *haec ubi dicta (sc. sunt)* (2x: *A*. 5. 32 & 315) and *A*. 4. 80 (*post ubi digressi* (*sc. sunt*).
17 "The asyndeton . . . may serve to emphasize the suddenness of Alfius' final action." In my view suddenness is not the point here no matter how we will take the syntax.
18 One solitary example of *atque* (*A*. 12. 355). This type is common in Horace, cf. *S*. 1. 3. 83 and 129; 1. 4. 107; 1. 5. 31; 1. 10. 28 & 82.
19 Cf. N.-O. Nilsson (1952, 114).
20 In the *carmina* there are plenty of examples combined with elision: Book I: 3. 19 (*turbidum et/*); 9. 13 (*fuge quaerere et / . . . appone*); 18. 3; 28. 31 (*fors et/*).
21 "Meno opportuno" Cavarzere, "unnatural word order" Mankin, sharpened by Watson's "runs counter to word-order".
22 See J. Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, II, 58ff.

3 *Epod.* 5. 87 f.

The cruelty of witchcraft[1]

There are few sentences more elusive in all Horace than the couplet presented here. It has elicited a good many conjectures, every possible (and impossible) punctuation, not to speak of widely differing interpretations.

The Fifth Epode is one of the most appalling texts in Latin literature. It takes us right into a repulsive scene where a young boy is being tortured to death by a sorceress and her assistants so that his liver can be used for a magical brew. Epode 5 falls into clear units whereby the spoken parts are prominent. The epode starts with the abducted boy's horror at the sinister dealings of the witches. Pleading for pity, he appeals to the maternal feelings of their leader, Canidia, but in vain. Relentlessly, the preparations are taking their course in accordance with the requirements necessary for the magical recipe. A speech by Canidia (49–82) gives us some information about the background for the magical proceedings. At last, the boy is heard anew bitterly cursing Canidia and her company and threatening them with certain revenge after his own death (87–102).

Our problematic distich 87–88 serves to introduce these vehement imprecations (characterized as *Thyesteae preces* 86). There are no manuscript variants in the transmitted (here unpunctuated) text:

> Venena magnum fas nefasque non valent
> convertere humanam vicem.

To say that the paradosis is still widely accepted is true only in a very restricted sense. Even among conservative editors there is little agreement on grammar, semantics and the overall meaning. This is immediately clear from the multifarious punctuation found in the editions: 1) parenthetical *magnum*, with or without an exclamation mark; 2) *magnum fas nefasque* invested with commas (or parentheses) to separate this syntagm from being linked with *convertere*; 3) a comma only after *nefasque* (e.g. Klingner); 4) after *convertere* some have put another comma; or 5) even a full stop.

There is also an abundance of conjectures:

> **87** [**Venena magnum**] venena magica *Bentley*: venena magicum *Rutgers* : venena maga non *Haupt* : venena maga tum *Nauck*: venena miscent *Garnsey,*

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Giangrande : magnum venena non *Ussani* : venena Marsum *Lenchantin* : venena mactant *Paratore* [**nefasque**] nefasque at *Paratore* [**non valent**] num valent *Nauck* **88 [*convertere*]** non vertere *Bentley* [**humanam vicem**] humanas vices *Bentley* : immani vice *Peerlkamp* : humana vice *Madvig*[2] : humana invicem *Keller*

It must be recorded that the lines have been seen as an interpolation (Bentley) or have been transposed to follow 82 as part of Canidia's speech (Speijer).

In the course of the last generation I know of seven critical editions (with or without a commentary). One would much like to know the reasons for the editors' decisions:[3]

1	*Venena (magnum fas nefasque) non valent convertere humanam vicem*	*Borzsák* 1984
2	*Venena miscent fas nefasque, non valent convertere humanam vicem*.	*Shackleton Bailey* 1985
3	= 2)	*Venini* 1991
4	= 2)	*Cavarzere* 1992
5	*Venena magnum fas nefasque, non valent convertere humanam vicem*	*Mankin* 1995
6	*Venena miscent fas nefasque, non valent convertere humanam vicem*	*Watson* 2003
7	*Venena maga non fas nefasque, non valent convertere humanam vicem*	*Rudd* 2004b

Two of the editors, Borzsák and Mankin, have settled for the conservative option, whereas the others have adopted more or less radical solutions, *miscent* or *maga non*, instead of the transmitted *magnum*. Shackleton Bailey's (Sh. B.'s) choice *miscent* has obviously convinced the two Italian editors.

Because a text edition (e.g. 1) and 2) earlier) contains no (or only the most meagre) argumentation, generally we cannot say much about what led the editors to any given choice. In this instance, however, the case is somewhat clearer on closer inspection. We can see that Borzsák bases his reading primarily on Viljamaa 1976, whereas Sh. B. 1985 (and later editions), followed by 3) and 4), falls in with Giangrande 1967.[4] Mankin, however, coinciding with Klingner's Teubneriana (1959), hesitatingly approves of Lambinus's 1561 interpretation of the transmitted text.[5] This being the present state of affairs, I will concentrate on the issues connected with the earlier solutions in particular.[6]

About Borzsák's and Viljamaa's solution, we may be brief. A parenthetical *fas nefasque* regarded as an "asyndetically coordinated" subject alongside *venena* seems artificial. None of the translations that I have seen are able to bypass this impression. Viljamaa's translation, even if accepted as linguistically viable, is especially difficult to penetrate:[7] "Not the poisons, not even the monstrous act which confuses the norms of right and wrong is able to change human fate [i.e. the boy's fate]."[8]

Neither Viljamaa's nor Giangrande's study is particularly attentive to the context of the distich. But as more than half the epode consists of dialogue, and the boy's passionate threat of vengeance is not only an answer to the situation in general but also, and not least, a reaction to Canidia's speech (49–82) – a third of the whole epode – the contextual links must be carefully considered.

So let us first try to bring out the line of thought in Canidia's effusions.[9] She first turns to 'her' goddesses *Nox et Diana* for help (49–54); while conveying the impression that the divine powers are all on her side (49f.) she bids them turn their wrath and vengeance on the house of her enemy. At the heart of her outburst is the awareness that her lover Varus is unfaithful to her. The dogs of Subura are barking at him when he is out on his amorous paths at night. At line 57 Canidia discloses what must be the underlying situation of the epode: the unfaithfulness of Varus has so far not been checked by her magic despite all her competence. Through her own mouth, we also learn something about her earlier undertakings to win him back: Canidia had applied an ointment that represented the utmost of what her art could provide (59 f.). Now she is almost in disbelief: What went wrong?[10] Why do not (*minus* 61 ~ *non* 87) her *venena* 62 (= *venena* 87) have any power (*valent* 62 = *valent* 87) though they are of the barbarian Medea's own making? Canidia proceeds to describe what these *venena* of Medea's were once able to effect: Medea's ointment, a *tabum*, had been applied to the gift she sent her rival, enabling her to take a gruesome revenge. The parallel goes only so far, however. Canidia's wish is above all to win back her lover, not to take revenge on her rival. On the other hand, the same example of Medea serves to suggest the far more sinister course of action Canidia has now entered upon. She is preparing *venena* connected with murder just as in Medea's case, and no less abominable due to the fact that a totally innocent boy must pay with his life for Canidia's selfish purposes. Canidia is also unable to cope mentally with her previous patent failure (67 f.). She is a prey to her illusions and convinced that there was no fault with her *unctio* or the way she had applied it. There is an incisive change of tone at v. 71. Bursting into a fit of rage, she acknowledges (or, probably better, she rephrases her previous acknowledgement) that counter-magic is at play to annul her 'science'. She believes that she has been put out of action by another more knowledgeable *venefica* than herself (71 *veneficae scientioris*) who has been using a magic spell to free Varus from the influence of Canidia's own magic. But now, at the new escalated stage (which is that of the epode), she has something extraordinary (*non usitatis*) in store to get the better of her rival and turn Varus's desire towards herself. Her new *potio* (*poculum*) will, she is confident, bring about immediate results. Accordingly, the other *venefica* will have no chance whatever with her Marsian spell (73–76). Canidia is preparing a brew (*poculum*) that is stronger and more potent (*maius . . . poculum*) than anything she has administered for Varus so far (so we learn incidentally that she has tried to control her lover with philtres as well). What kind of drug (*potio*) she is about to make this time we know all too well. Obviously, she is even more positive about her powers and final success this time. After this the boy, who has been unable to call forth any human response in her by means of a *captatio misericordiae*, has nothing else than

curses to resort to: *diris agam vos; dira detestatio/ nulla expiatur victima* (89–90 and the rest of it). Between this prophecy of inescapable vengeance and Canidia's immediate intentions (77–82) we have our problematic couplet.

The most important issue, as reflected in our survey of the most recent editions, is whether magical drugs (*venena*)[11] have the power to confound *fas* and *nefas* or not. Let us leave aside the attempts to seclude the words by means of commas or parentheses (Borzsák) and thereby to avoid the issue. The other editors (2–5) have taken the view that the first colon contains the boy's admission that *venena* (the present one of course included) do possess such a power.[12] This interpretation is in my view the result of confusing two different issues: 1) that of the power of the drug itself and 2) that of the criminal acts connected with preparing and applying it.[13] There can be no doubt that Canidia and her gang, by murdering the young boy, are perpetrating a deed so horrible that nothing can exculpate it and that the women will deserve the severest penalty. This verdict is conveyed by the poem itself in no ambiguous way, but that is not what our lines are primarily meant to express. Indeed, to make the words carry such a meaning (however acceptable the interpretation may be in itself) would be to twist them: e.g. "sorceresses (*veneficae* instead of *venena*) like you may well be able to perpetrate heinous crimes, nevertheless you are not able to escape punishment" or the like. Instead, the words concentrate on the first of the two previously mentioned alternatives, the power of magic drugs, or, to be more precise, on the lack of that power. It is in the nature of magical activities (enchantments, drugs) to try to enforce change (from love to hatred and vice versa), and it is often claimed that magic can exercise a sort of cosmic control, bringing down the stars and the moon from the heavens at the magician's will (cf. v. 45). The way Horace mentions such claims strongly suggests that he considers it all humbug through and through (cf. *otiosa credit Neapolis/ et omne vicinum oppidum*).[14] However, the boy is not simply an alter ego for Horace's rationalistic attitude to magic, and so the poet does not let him speak out of character. The situation demands an appeal from the boy to the highest conceivable authority (cf. the beginning of the epode 1 f.). It is in my view evident from the repetitions signalled in our paraphrase earlier (61–62 ~ 87–88) that the boy's opening statement is a head-on attack on the core of Canidia's speech: against *her* hubristic claims concerning magical drugs *he* is confident that there are some abiding and superior moral powers at work to put things straight; these powers are such that no *venena* will ever master or alter them to serve purposes like those of Canidia. This unalterable court of last resort (*fas nefasque* 'what is right and wrong') should probably be taken as an equivalent of a lofty Greek notion like *dike* or *nomos*[15] and with religious connotations making them sacrosanct.[16] It would be preposterous to let such fundamental ethical notions as right and wrong be subject to the power of magical drugs used by despicable characters like Canidia and her hirelings. And this is especially the case in regard to the present situation where an abhorrent crime is on the point of being perpetrated.

Horace himself has suggested some further implications. We have heard already from Canidia's own confession that her first drugs have had no effect. Then, one would ask, what about the new ones she is preparing? We would guess from the

whole tenor of the poem that these will have no effect either. They are not a bit more effective in that they are made from the organs of a child tortured to death. On the contrary: the idea that the brew will be all in vain even from the forlorn Canidia's selfish point of view affects our whole attitude to the practices of love magic in general and to the present one in particular.

On such a basis to have the boy's words imply any kind of belief in the power of drugs is *a priori* doubtful, to say the least. To try to evade the issue by stressing a concessive notion (*although* drugs may confound, etc.)[17] is equally mistaken. If my reasoning about *venena miscent fas nefasque*[18] is correct, we need not spend much time on the improbable construction involved, e.g. in Mankin's interpretation.[19]

Now, line 87 has always reminded readers of Vergil's *quippe ubi fas versum atque nefas* (*G*. 1. 505). This parallel has understandably been quoted to suggest that we should take *fas nefasque* as objects with the verb *convertere*. The problem has only been how to harmonize the idea voiced in Horace with what Vergil seems to assert in the *Georgics*. Vergil's statement is a positive one: in his outlook on the horrors of civil war going on, right and wrong *have been* confounded. Such is the upheaval caused by the civil war, so out of joint is the whole world, that the most sacred moral values necessary to uphold society have been overturned. As the ultimate expedient, one must therefore invoke Rome's divine protectors (*G*. 1. 498 ff.) and hope that the world will be brought back to order again. As we have already rejected the idea that *venena* have the power to cause a similar political and social catastrophe in Horace's poem, the words *fas nefasque convertere* must instead be understood in light of the boy's impassioned curses to follow. This can only be achieved by adding the negative *non* to the first colon. Then the boy would voice the conviction that the magical proceedings are powerless with regard to overturning the highest norms and so justice will soon prevail. Is this a probable or convincing solution?

One single word remains to be dealt with. In itself it looks innocent enough. I admit that the adjective *magnum* is not per se entirely impossible,[20] although it seems quite otiose. It is only by pondering upon the consequences for the syntactical structure and overall meaning of the couplet that we come to consider it as a veritable stumbling block. Along with so many philologists of the past, Giangrande was at least right in rejecting it. Do any of the conjectures that we have mentioned hit the mark?

It is advisable that I open my peroration with a summing up of what I by now consider to be the overall meaning: drugs are, as we have seen, not able to change right into wrong or vice versa, as the moral universe is high above the reach of magical manipulations. Then follows: nor are the magical drugs (or similar practices) able to change the course of revenge and punishment (i.e. in Horatian terms, 'reverse human requital'), this being, in the order of things, the corollary to the crime they are committing (*convertere vicem* is virtually an inner object),[21] i.e. they cannot prevent such a just retaliation from taking its course. There is in my view only one solution at hand to express this sense satisfactorily – and to make further search for a solution unnecessary – namely the *maga non* of Moritz Haupt

(1808–1874).[22] The brilliance of his conjecture (or rather emendation) consists not least in the emphatic *non*, which adds to the intensity of the boy's (and Horace's) conviction and serves excellently to introduce the ensuing curses: "Your magic spells have not the power to alter right and wrong, nor to avert human retribution", to quote the translation of Bennett (1914). That *maga non* could become *magnum* needs no further demonstration.[23] As to the resolutions and what Horace allows himself in this regard, the best parallel is 2. 35 *pavidumque leporem et advenam laqueo gruem*. A corruption of the text, then, would have taken place before Porphyrio's time. This should serve as a reminder (once more) that even in Horace textual truth has at times to be restored pretty much from scratch. Ergo (with Bennett's and Rudd's Loeb text):

Venena maga non fas nefasque, non valent
convertere humanam vicem.

Notes

1 The first version of this article was published in *SO* 75, 2000, 80–88. The solution was accepted (*per litteras*) by J. Delz whereas O. Zwierlein, also *per litteras*, doubted the resulting iambic metre with its resolutions.
2 Madvig (*Adversaria* II, p. 56): "Interpunctione locus adiuvandus est et detrahenda littera ex prava interpunctione orta: Venena magnum fas nefasque non valent/ convertere. *Humana vice*, diris agam vos" translating *humana vice* as 'menschliche Vergeltung'. Such a collocation of fairly unrelated asyndetic ablatives is extremely harsh.
3 Their merits are not at stake and cannot be inferred from their decisions on our problem.
4 Giangrande was unaware that he had been anticipated by Garnsey (1907, 28–31), cf. Huxley (1971); *miscent* has also been accepted by Syndikus (1995, 595).
5 Based on an *apo koinou* construction (for more on this see later n. 18).
6 Some older opinions pertaining to the second line will be treated more cursorily, e.g. conjectures replacing *humanam vicem* or the analysis of it as an apposition to *fas nefasque*, with a comma after *convertere* (see e.g. Villeneuve 1927) or even as the start of a new sentence. In some cases, like Keller's conjecture, the meaning may be acceptable, but the syntax is tortuous.
7 One questionable supposition is that *fas nefasque* and *humanam vicem* imply an opposition of divine and human. *Fas nefasque* and *humanam vicem* are in my view the two sides of the same concept (a moral cosmos comprising both gods and men) as opposed to the perverse world of magic.
8 On a similar basis, but no less questionable, is Macleane (1869) in his commentary: "Witchcraft or the great powers of right and wrong cannot change the fate of men." – Ingallina (1974, 226f.) writing "i veleni, gran cosa lecita e illecita, non hanno il potere di mutare il corso dell' umano destino" explains *fas* as apposition to *venena* and refers to the use of *venena* in medicine and for *good* purposes in magic. The *venena*, not even the *maius poculum* (77–78), cannot change human destiny and therefore Canidia's homicide is of no avail.
9 I am much in sympathy with the fine analysis offered by Bain 1986.
10 I prefer to take *quid accidit?* (61) as "what happened?", not "why is it happening?" (Mankin 1995).
11 *Venenum* is a wide term, cf. Graf (1997, 46), but in our poem comparable with e.g. Plaut. *Pseud*. 870 where *venena* means 'magical potions' (Graf, p. 253).
12 The conjecture *miscent* 'confound' (not much different from *convertere*) makes a common reading based on the traditional text (cf. Mankin 1995 earlier) more explicit.

13 See, e.g., the commentary of Page–Palmer–Wilkins (1896): "magic rites (can change the) great (laws of) right and wrong . . . i.e. though they may be able to murder him and so confound the great laws of right and wrong."
14 D. Jordan remarks on this passage in a private communication: "I wonder whether the *otiosa . . . oppidum* necessarily expresses Horace's own view and is not simply the kind of thing his Roman readers would be flattered to hear. To express a polite (even witty) scepticism like this seems to have been a regular part of the genre of tales of the supernatural."
15 Cf. e.g. Soph. *OT* 863ff., *Ant*. 450ff., Aesch. *Supp*. 707.
16 See *OLD s.v. fas*, whereby both sect. 2 and 3 are relevant; there is no clear-cut boundary between human moral and divine law.
17 Porphyrio: *Quamvis venena multa possint, non tamen valent merita in contrarium vertere*.
18 Translations offered by its proponents: "Sorceries make evil their good" (instead of the common construction with acc. + dat. as in *miscebis sacra profanis Ep*. 1. 16. 54) which is Garnsey's (1907) rather arbitrary rendering. Giangrande (1967) quotes approvingly Wickham's translation of the *consensus codicum*: "Sorceries may overset the laws of right and wrong". Elisa Romano in Venini (1991) writes: "I filtri magici possono confondere del fas del nefas, possono sovvertire la videnda dell' umannon giustizia, ossìa non possono stornare la punizione dei colpevoli."
19 "Enchantments can confound [*valent convertere* supplied *apo koinou*] great right and wrong, they cannot confound human vengeance." For the syntax Cic. *Att*. 10. 1. 4 is adduced: *Istum, qui filium Brundisium de pace misit – de pace idem sentio, quod tu, simulationem esse apertam, parari autem acerrime bellum – me legatum iri non arbitror*. (Wesenberg proposed the neater *istum . . . legatum iri arbitror*); if conjecture be needed I would consider *istum . . . non me legatum iri arbitror*. However, the passage is in my view best explained as an anacoluthon. Due to the long interruption, Cicero forgets *istum*; to supply the infinitive after the long insertion would, after all, strain one's understanding. Jumping to the conclusion Cicero substitutes a regular construction (*me legatum iri non arbitror*). The parallel, then, is not reliable. Mankin's comment that the construction "may reflect the boy's difficulty in finding words" goes a long way towards admitting the weakness of his position. A better *apo koinou* would be to supply *non valent convertere* with the first colon. This could be compared to Greek constructions like Aesch. *Ag*. 532ff. It would at best be rare in Latin, however, and who would understand it?
20 But I find the defence of Viljamaa (1976, 211) unconvincing: "the adjective *magnum* emphasizes the meaning of a single monstrous act logically qualifying the *nefas*".
21 See *TLL s.v. converto* 4,867,57f. with Manilius 3. 649 *convertit . . . vices* referred to also by Delz (1988, 498). It is tempting to quote Prop. 1. 15. 23 *convertere = evertere*.
22 His neat edition of Horace appeared in 1852. *Maga non* was accepted (albeit not always wholeheartedly) by a number of editors and commentators prior to the 1920s: Baiter–Hirschfelder, Bennett (1914), Kiessling, Lehrs, Meineke, Müller, Nauck (1854 in his Teubner commentary), Plessis, Vahlen, Villeneuve. Keller's (1879, 374) critical arguments carry little or no weight. In more recent times Bentley's *magica* has often been mentioned with approval (Heinze in Kiessling–Heinze, Delz (1988, 498), West (1997, xxviii).
23 A similar corruption (probably the other way round according to R. Helm [Teubner] and Robertson [Budé] is recorded by *TLL* 8,152,6f. (*s.v. maga*) at Apul. *Met*. 6. 16. 2.

4 *Epod*. 16. 15 f. How to escape a doomed society

The lines in question are these without punctuation:

> Forte quid expediat communiter aut melior pars
> malis carere quaeritis laboribus

There is hardly anything in this couplet that has not given cause for differences of opinion. My interpretation here is, after more than 30 years,[1] my second thoughts on the problems. The poem begins with describing the frightening situation of the state; what follows is a depiction of a possible and depressing future scenario.

Forte is used by Horace with a preterite verb at *S*. 1. 9. 1 ***ibam forte*** *via sacra*; *Ep*. 1. 7. 29 ***forte*** *per angustam tenuis vulpecula rimam/* ***repserat*** and *Ep*. 2. 2. 34 ***forte*** *sub hoc tempus castellum evertere praetor/ nescio quod cupiens, hortari* ***coepit***. . . . "Soon after this it chanced that the commander, wishing to storm some fort, began to urge." The nuance conveyed by *forte* is everywhere 'it happened', 'by chance', 'accidentally'. This use is quite in harmony with Vergil's usage, e.g. *G*. 4. 28 *si forte morantis* (sc. *apes*)/ *sparserit aut praeceps Neptuno immerserit Eurus*: "If it now should happen that the East Wind has sprinkled the loiterers or with swift gust has plunged them in the flood", which is similar to Horace *Ep*. 1. 20. 26 *forte meum siquis te percontabitur aevum*, . . . *sciat* "if haply one will inquire my age, let him know". I can see no difference between *Epod*. 16. 15f. and these examples: *forte* . . . *quaeritis* is clearly *si forte quaeritis*, *forte* being an adverb.

Carere belongs to *quaeritis* and should not be taken in a final sense, but as "If it happens that you seek to evade." *Quaerere* with the infinitive is quite common in Horace. The following examples are comparable: *S*. 1. 9. 8 *misere* ***discedere quaerens*** "seeking unhappily to get away"; *Carm*. 3. 4. 37–39 *vos* (the Muses) *Caesarem altum* . . . ***finire quaerentem*** *labores/ Pierio recreatis antro* "You refresh the exalted Caesar within a Pierian grotto as he seeks to bring his labours to an end."

Quid expediat: *quid expediat* and the infinitive *carere* belong to different cola. The easiest way to construe is 1) first to combine *quaeritis quid expediat*: you are asking what benefits (for *expedit* cf. *OLD s.v*. 8) and then 2) to take *quaeritis*,

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with a slightly zeugmatic change of meaning as 'seek', in combination with the inf. *malis carere laboribus*.[2]

Communiter: belongs to *expedit* and is rendered by *OLD s.v.* 1 as 'by joint or common action', 'jointly', 'in common', 'together'.

melior pars: is an apposition going with *quaeritis* = "*vos, qui melior pars estis*" ("you who are the better part of society").

The latest commentary, that of Watson, follows in the footsteps of G. Giri (1926), W. Schmid (1958) and W. Batstone (1985): "Perhaps you in common, or the better part of you, ask what brings about being free from wretched sufferings", *expedire* being taken as 'to bring about', 'effect' whereby *carere* is taken as equivalent to an accusative governed by *expediat*. This interpretation entails that *communiter aut melior pars* is taken together.

I will claim that my reading noted earlier is syntactically the most natural and presumably how a native speaker would have understood the couplet on first sight/hearing.

Our first rendering will then be:

> "Maybe you are asking what is profitable for the common good or the better part of you is seeking to avoid woeful sufferings."

An improvement of this will present itself on consideration, namely that the apposition *melior pars* is an *apo koinou* element in this couplet and belongs equally to both cola. Therefore, my rendering will be:

> "Maybe the better part of you ask what is profitable for the common good and seek to avoid woeful sufferings."

Notes

1 See my *Horaz und Actium* (1984) 156–168 for a first version, but now modified on one important point.

2 In my previous treatment I quoted *Carm*. 1. 1. 19ff. as a parallel: *est qui nec veteris* ***pocula*** *Massici/ nec partem solido* ***demere*** *de die/* ***spernit***. This example is still suitable with regard to my present interpretation of *Epod*. 16. 15–16.

5 *Carm*. 1. 28. 32.
A corruption in the Archytas ode?

Neglegis immeritis nocituram
postmodo te natis fraudem committere? Forsit[1]
debita iura **vices**que **superbae** 32
te maneant ipsum: precibus non linquar inultis
teque piacula nulla resolvent.

Some years ago, I tried to get around the problematic *vices superbae* by taking it as an instance of *enallage (hypallage) adiectivi* (*SO* 84, 2010, 125–127). I paraphrased the expression as *poena superbiae tuae*. At that time, the best parallel for me was the ps.-vergilian expression (*A*. 2. 576) *sceleratas sumere poenas*[2] whereby the adjective does not characterize the punishment as such, but the accursed and guilty woman about to be punished. The adjective was therefore equivalent to an obj. genitive.[3] From a linguistic point of view, there can hardly be any serious objection to this except for the unfortunate double meaning following from the use of an artificial rhetorical figure. As for *vices superbae*, I ended up with the translation "retribution will overtake you because of your arrogance" (that is to say, by refusing the drowned man the handful of dust necessary to appease his soul). For a couple of years I had misgivings about this until I settled for the second thoughts I present here; in honest language, I now think that my earlier attempt was mistaken.

The considerations that bothered me were primarily the *enallage* I claimed for line 32. This seems to me now to be too much on the radical side for a poet as fastidious as Horace and *vices superbae* will on first sight (or hearing) be taken as 'haughty retribution', which definitely strikes a wrong note in the context. The examples of *enallage* that may be gathered elsewhere from Horace are definitely more perspicuous and linguistically less demanding. I referred then to Domenico Bo's collection of examples[4] in vol. III of his Paravia edition (p. 134) where *Carm*. 1. 37. 6–8[5] may be seen as typical: *dum Capitolio/ regina **dementis** ruinas/ funus et imperio parabat*. I would now like to add that the most recent commentator on the First Book of Odes, Roland Mayor, adduces the following other examples of the *enallage* figure from that book: **1**. 22 (*aquae lene caput sacrae = lenis aquae caput sacrum*); **2**. 31 (*nube candentes umeros amictus = nube candenti* ["possibly"]); **3**. 40 (*iracunda Iovem ponere fulmina = iracundum Iovem ponere*

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fulmina); **7**. 12 (*domus Albuneae resonantis = domus Albuneae resonans*) & 22–23 (*uda Lyaeo tempora = udo Lyaeo tempora*); **8**. 6–7 (*Gallica . . . ora = Gallici [equi] . . . ora*); **12**. 34–35 (*superbos Tarquini fasces = superbi Tarquini fasces*); 59–60 (*inimica . . . fulmina = inimicus . . . fulmina*); **15**. 19–20 (*adulteros cultus*); 33 (*iracunda . . . classis Achillei*); **17**. 26 (*incontinentes . . . manus*); **29**. 6 (*quae . . . virginum . . . barbara*); **31**. 9 (*Calena falce*); **35**. 29–30 (*ultimos . . . Britannos*).

Moreover, the transmitted phrase *vices superbae* should be taken in tandem with the previous *debita iura*. J. Gow (1896) took the latter expression as 'rights unpaid',[6] an interpretation that still finds approval.[7] Mayor defends this meaning of *debita iura* as being on a par with *meta evitata = evitatio metae* (*Carm*. 1. 1. 4 f.). However, I fail to see how it could have been taken in this way by a native contemporary audience. The participle *debitus, -a* is found three other times in the odes: at *Carm*. 1. 36. 1–2 *Et ture et fidibus iuvat/ placare et uituli* ***sanguine debito*** *custodes Numidae deos* ("With incense and the lyre and *due blood* of a calf I am pleased to propitiate the guardian gods of Numida"): Horace owes an offering he may have promised in return for the gods' protection of his friend. *Carm*. 2. 6. 23 *ibi tu calentem/* ***debita*** *sparges* ***lacrima*** *favillam/ vatis amici* ("there you will sprinkle the warm ashes of your friend with *a due tear*"): The friend will merit that token of genuine mourning. *Carm*. 3. 27. 30 ***debitae*** *Nymphis opifex* ***coronae*** ("making *a due garland* to the nymphs"): some (precious) thing (*vituli sanguen, lacrima*, *corona*) is seen as a debt due to be spent, given, promised or offered to some higher being or a dear deceased friend. Each time the context shows in whose favour the action will take place, either the *custodes dei*, the *amicus* or the *Nymphae*. The context of 1. 28. 30–34 is equally clear in that respect; the dead man points emphatically to 'you' (*te* three times). *Debita iura*, then, will accordingly mean 'due justice' understood as a just penalty, a punishment deservedly meted out to the negligent man for his *fraus*.

As to *vices superbae*, I now find it probable, indeed highly likely, that Horace wrote *vices super**n**ae*: 'heavenly retribution'. In this way, the *vices* are surely weightier and more urgent and become a strengthening addition to *debita iura*. Finally, to mention only one parallel for this use of *supernus*, Labienus paying a tribute to the high *virtus* of Cato in Lucan says: *Certe vita tibi semper directa* ***supernas/ ad leges*** *sequerisque deum* ("You have surely always directed your life *in accordance with the laws of heaven* and you are a follower of God", 9. 556f.).

Notes

1 I read *forsit* with the mss. *a* and *R*.
2 For interesting, but controversial, comments on this expression see G. Scafoglio, *Noctes Vergilianae* [Spudasmata B. 135], Hildesheim, 2010, pp. 66–67.
3 *Pace* Scafoglio, I doubt whether Vergil could have written such an expression. At first sight, it means "to mete out an atrocious punishment".
4 Mayor (2012) *ad loc*.
5 Bell (1923) 326.
6 Gow (1896) *ad loc*.
7 Accepted both by Nisbet – Hubbard (1970) and Mayor (2012) *ad loc*.

6 *Carm*. 3. 2. 1. An appeal to friendly youth*

This is Shackleton Bailey's text of the opening sentence of *Carm*. 3. 2:

> Angustam †amice† pauperiem pati
> robustus acri militia puer
> condiscat . . .

This critical information may go with it here:

> angustam amice *codd*. : angustam amici *inscr. codicum* ς : angustam avite *Campbell 1934*: angustam, Amici *Ker 1964*: angustam et aeque *Shackleton Bailey 1985* : anguste amictam *Stroh 1989*: angusto amictu *Allen 1995*: angustam Amyclae *Holmes 1995*

Among editors and commentators, *amice* is by now a well-known issue and has been so for at least 300 years. In a note, by no means unworthy of his genius, Bentley voted forcefully for voc. pl. *amici* (of doubtful ms. authority), rejecting *amice* both as a voc. sing. (an amphibrach) and as an adverb (a bacchius). He spent most of his note arguing, quite convincingly by the way, that the voc. sing. *amice* (for which he had evidently much sympathy per se) was ruled out by the Roman poet's handling of Alcaic hendecasyllables. As to the alternative, however, the adv. *amice* with its correct prosody, he found it in the first place superfluous with *pati* ("satis profecto est, si patitur") and, second, hardly acceptable as a synonym for *facile* and *aequo animo*. Bentley's diagnosis seems at first sight quite reasonable: *angustam . . . pauperiem pati* is admittedly sufficient in itself,[1] nevertheless his comment falls short of a satisfactory treatment. Since my conclusion will be that a conjecture is not called for, I refrain here from discussing and ranking the different attempts at a conjectural solution from Campbell 1934 to Holmes 1995.[2]

As to *amicē*, the defenders are divided. Page took *amice* as 'gladly' and as "almost an instance of oxymoron",[3] whereby "such 'endurance' should be 'welcome as a friend' to him" (sc. the youngster), an idea which Williams (1969) found surprising but acceptable. My contention is that even the consensus of Delz, Syndikus and Nisbet – Rudd on the issue has a frail basis. Delz believed he had found a valid parallel for *amice* at Sen. *Dial*. 7. 6. 2: *beatus est praesentibus*

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qualiacumque sunt contentus amicusque rebus suis. This meaning of *amicus* as adjective, 'attached to', 'devoted to' (*TLL s.v.* 1,1904,6ff. ["homo amicus rei"]) is quite common,[4] *amicus* with an abstract like *pauperies* (*paupertas*) would rather make one think of a Cynic philosopher. Is Horace aiming at something in that vein?[5] What does the usage in fact tell us about *amice*?

The fundamentals of the case are conveniently accessible for us in the Thesaurus passage on *amice*[6] and should be carefully studied.[7] Against Page it may be said: friendliness, not happiness is everywhere basic to the meaning of the adverb although the person(s) towards whom the friendly feelings are directed, is (are) seldom explicitly mentioned. An example of the explicit kind, however, is Cic. *Fin*. 1. 34 (uttered by the participitant Torquatus): *quos* [*sc*. the Torquati] *tu* [*sc*. Cicero] *paulo ante cum memoriter, tum etiam erga nos* ***amice*** *et benevole collegisti*, i.e. Cicero's contribution in the discussion has shown a friendly and benevolent attitude towards the Torquatus family.[8] The persons affected by the friendly relationship can for the most part be identified on the basis of the situation or the context, cp. e.g. Cic. *Att*. 8. 2. 2 *facis* ***amice*** *tu quidem mihique gratissimum* which is to say that Atticus (hardly surprisingly!) acted like a true friend towards Cicero.[9] Equally transparent is Hor. *Ars* 196 *ille* [*sc. chorus*] *bonis faveatque et consilietur* ***amice***: like any scenic actor the chorus should support good people (*bonis* going with *faveat*) and give them advice like friends. We usually find the person(s) either mentioned in the nearest context or as easily identifiable, like e.g. Caes. *Civ*. 2. 17. 1: when M. Varro spoke about Caesar "in the most friendly way" (***amicissime*** *de Caesare loquebatur*), it goes without saying that his friendly feelings are also *erga Caesarem*.[10] Equally clear is the friendly attitude Pliny admits that he has shown towards Martial who had just died: Plin. *Ep*. 3. 21. 6 *Meritone eum* [*sc*. Martial] . . . *tunc dimisi* ***amicissime*** [. . .]? ("Was it deservedly I sent him away [to Spain] at that time in the most friendly way?"). Cases where *amice* is combined with passive verbs may sometimes need a paraphrasing word or two: Cic. *Amic*. 88 (on the necessity of candid speech between friends): *nam et monendi amici saepe sunt et obiurgandi; et haec* [*sc*. *obiurgationes*] *accipienda* ***amice****, cum benevole fiunt*: that is to say that friendship should not be forfeited when blame or criticism cannot be avoided.[11] It may of course happen, but not often, that a poet can use *amice* in an un-prosaic way by making not a person, but a personified or a quasi-living thing, the object of friendliness: Hor. *Ars* 410b-411 *alterius sic/ altera poscit opem res* [*sc*. *natura/ ingenium – ars/ studium*] *et coniurat* ***amice***: the main factors that should be present in persons writing epic, drama, lyrics etc., i.e. natural talent and craftsmanship, are in principle good friends, "allies on friendly terms with each other".[12] Ov. *Pont*. 2. 7. 17–19 *liquet* [. . .] *observare deos, ne quid mihi cedat* ***amice*** is, pace *TLL*, which cites it alongside Horace, not quite parallel, inasmuch as the gods (Augustus included) are responsible for Ovid's misery: they are keeping their watchful eyes on him to prevent anything from turning out in a friendly way for him. So the third category "de rebus" in the Thesaurus article (1,1914,44–48) vanishes to almost nothing.

Sed haec hactenus. To sum up: I can find no support for diluting *amice* to something like 'libenter', 'gladly', 'happily' or 'contentedly' and letting it

refer to a personal and very special relationship towards *angusta pauperies*. I believe another possible line of thought is more fruitful. It has in addition the advantage of being in tune with the Thesaurus material analysed earlier. As many have pointed out already, *puer* (2) harks back to the poet's self-defined audience at the start of the cycle, the *virgines* and the *pueri* of Rome (*Carm*. 3. 1. 4). For these – surely the upper-class children of Rome – a new society is about to be constructed. Horace speaks in his most solemn voice as *Musarum sacerdos* and is anxious to convey to the youth some crucial moral truths. In that capacity he has donned the role of a moral instructor of the kind that Augustus seems to have had a special liking for in literature.[13] Some implications of the poet's hierarchical role are easy to see: the poet is not only a *sacerdos*, but above all a *praeceptor*. An important aspect of this – and not least in the cycle's opening poem – is to impart to the young a philosophy of moderation and modesty as a starting point in life in general and to further the military career in particular. To be content with what is necessary is a basic tenet in the poet's philosophy. The poet alerts the young to his own conviction that a plush way of life does not lead to individual or public happiness. Military training and service under stressing circumstances, combined with having to renounce the niceties of an aristocratic lifestyle, are crucial factors for Rome's strength and moral recuperation. Insubordination and negative or hostile feelings against military commanders would be a dangerously weakening factor. The recipient side, the youngster, comes to the fore in our poem where the poet begins by specifying his cure for a sound upbringing of the military elite by showing what benefits can be had from this philosophy both for the young man himself and for his country.

To appreciate fully Horace's serious intention, we cannot restrict *amice*'s function to the first line only; the sentence cited at the beginning of this article should be taken as a whole culminating with its last word *condiscat* (3), that is to say: let the young boy *learn with friendly feelings* to put up with the constraints of poverty. As usage has already suggested to us (cf. especially Cic. *Amic*. 88 quoted earlier), there is every reason to combine *amice* with *condiscat*. It is towards their instructors and superiors the young should have sympathy and show friendly behaviour, the poet himself being the first among them to give voice to the broader vista behind the stern lifestyle recommended. This is a basic part of a downright programme for strengthening Rome. The first line in the final stanza of *Carm*. 4. 9. 49 *duramque callet* [*sc*. *beatus*] *pauperiem pati* reads almost like a summary of this first 'lesson' whereby *callet pauperiem pati* can be seen as the outcome of *condiscere pauperiem pati*. *Callet* points to an ability and a true soldier's quality which, with the earlier poem in mind, has already been acquired from the lessons taught him from the very start of his career (*condiscat*). A difference to be noted between the two passages is that *amice* goes well with *condiscat* and the virtual address to the *pueri*, but would in my opinion be incongruous, if not impossible, at 4. 9. 49 because of the changed application, since the addressee, Marcus Lollius, was a man approximately 50 years of age at the time of composition.

Notes

* Cf. *SO* 85, 2011, 184–188.

1 On *duram . . . pauperiem pati* at *Carm*. 4. 9. 49 (to which Bentley refers) see more later.

2 Campbell's *avite* seems rather hopeless.

3 Pointedly V. Cremona, *La poesia civile di Orazio*2, Milano, 1982, p. 192: "la pauperies deve essere un sacrificio fatto con amore."

4 e.g. Hor. *Ep*. 1. 2. 26 *amica luto sus* where *amicus* is equivalent to a Greek φιλο-compositum (cf. Mayor (1994) *ad loc*.).

5 It reminds us of the Nietzschean concept *amor fati*. If one accepts *angustam amice pauperiem pati* as approximately "devoutly acquiesce in straitened poverty", it would be a good idea to pursue such an oxymoron further.

6 *TLL* 1,1914,16–62 (*s.v. amicus* O. Hey).

7 It is interesting to see, but hardly surprising, that poetic instances are few. Apart from the three examples in Horace (two of which belong to the *Ars*), Ovid is the only other Augustan poet known to have used it, but once only.

8 If either *hominibus amice* or *hominum <generi>* (conj.) is correct at Cic. *Fin*. 1. 92, a dative also occurs.

9 *Facere amice* is common in colloquial Latin: e.g. Pl. *Cist*. *facis benigne et* ***amice*** (Syra acts in a friendly way towards Selenium). Cf. for further examples *TLL loc. cit*. lines 20–23.

10 Cf. Nep. *Han*. 2. 6 *Quare, si quid* ***amice*** *de Romanis cogitabis* etc. where it is equally evident that some friendly like feelings towards the Romans are not inconceivable even in Hannibal's soul.

11 A comparable example is Cic. *Part*. 28 (on how to gain the sympathy of one's audience)*: a principiis primum ordiar quae quidem ducuntur aut ex personis aut ex rebus ipsis; sumuntur autem trium rerum gratia: ut* ***amice****, ut intelligenter, ut attente audiamur:* sympathy, comprehension and attention are crucial factors on the recipient side.

12 The mutual relationship to be seen here can also be illustrated by other examples: Gellius 12. 8. 6 *fidissime* ***amicissime****que vixerunt* [*sc*. Aemilius Lepidus and Fulvius Flaccus] from the time when these former antagonists became censors; so *inter se* or the like is unnecessary. With sg. subj. *cum* would be required cf. Cic. *Caec*. 29: *M. Caecilium [. . .] cum illo [sc. Verres] familiarissime atque* ***amicissime*** *vivere*.

13 *In evolvendis utriusque linguae auctoribus nihil aeque sectabatur, quam praecepta et exempla publice vel privatim salubria, eaque ad verbum excerpta aut ad domesticos aut ad exercituum provinciarumque rectores aut ad urbis magistratus plerumque mittebat, prout quique monitione indigerent* (Suet. *Aug*. 89. 2).

7 *Carm*. 3. 4. 10. The terrified nurse

For once, the two editors engaged, respectively, by the Leipzig and the Stuttgart branch of the Bibliotheca Teubneriana in the 1980s, Borzsák and Shackleton Bailey (Sh. B.),[1] agreed on the following text of a difficult stanza:

Me fabulosae Vulture in Apulo 9
nutricis extra limina Pulliae
ludo fatigatumque somno
fronde nova puerum palumbes 12

texere . . .

This text (inclusive of the better attested *nutricis* instead of *altricis*)[2] is identical with that of their predecessors Friedrich Vollmer (1907) and Friedrich Klingner (1959). Only Lucian Müller (1901) had the courage to obelize *Apuliae* (10),[3] the reading exhibited by the great majority of manuscripts. That *Apuliae* is corrupt needs no further arguments.[4] But *Pulliae*, based on the scholia, is equally suspicious and should have been obelized no less rightfully, no matter whether it represents an older manuscript phase than that of *Apuliae* or not. It is a better reading than *Apuliae* in so far as plural *limina* is more probable than singular *limen*. But what had the nurse to do with the *nomen gentile* Pullius, the best-known member of that family being Gnaeus Pullius Pollio, who became *praetor ad aerarium* in 23 B.C.?[5] What function can the name of the nurse possibly have in this extraordinary stanza, the structure of which is so admirably devised: The object *me* is put in the front and immediately followed by the epithet of the governing subject long before we have any idea about that subject's nature. In that regard we are for the present left wondering as *fabulosus* in itself transports us to a wondrous realm somewhat like the eastern river Hydaspes at *Carm*. 1. 22. 8.[6] In the first place, the object, namely the poet, is put in his real native landscape with the no less wondrous name 'the Apulian Vultur', a mountain that has its name after the high-flying bird of prey, whereupon, at the end of the stanza, it comes almost as a surprise that only gentle *palumbes* have had anything directly to do with the poet after all.

In the previous stanza (5–8), Horace has described a sort of feverish or dreamlike hallucination where he seems to be wandering about in an Elysium, whereupon

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the next stanza (9–12) puts him in the midst of an earthly scenery – the poet's own childhood surroundings.

Niall Rudd suggested in his Loeb edition (2004b) *nutricis extra limina* ***pergulae*** "beyond the threshold of my nurse's cottage". This text was first suggested by Emil Bährens (1879) and is still considered perhaps the best conjecture. Independently, so it seems, it was proposed by Housman (1888)[7] (= *Classical Papers* 1, 99f.). The word *pergula* ("a more or less open attachment to the front of a building" *OLD s.v.*) is rare and found only in Plautus and Lucilius before Horace. One would ask: why was the boy removed from his home and given over to the nurse's cottage? Another objection is that the form *nutricis* confuses. Is it an adjective as claimed by Nisbet – Rudd? I for one find such a function highly unlikely – the adjective is *nutricius* or *nutritius*. Their reference to Ps.-Quint. *Decl*. 13. 4 does not convince.[8] The noun *nutrix* is always used as a noun in Horace: cf. *Ep*. 2. 1. 99 *sub nutrice puella velut si luderet infans*; *Ars* 116 *matrona potens an sedula nutrix*; *Carm*. 1. 22. 16 *Iubae tellus . . . leonum/ arida nutrix*. I would also claim that the double genitive *nutricis* (possessive gen. with *pergulae* [which in turn is a genitive with *limina*]) lacks the clarity we would expect from Horace. We are therefore confident that *nutricis* is a genitive belonging to *limina*.

What we are looking for is the genitive of an adjective to go with it, a cretic form. The adjective should preferably describe some kind of personal involvement in the wondrous event. Last, but not least, the adjective should have some discernible palaeographic affinity to the transmitted forms *Pull*iae, respectively, A-*pul*iae. From this diagnosis an adjective almost immediately springs to mind: *pallidae*. The nurse, responsible for the little boy, his safety and well-being, would of course be worried, even panic-stricken, as long as she could not see or find the little child.[9] Paleographically *p* and *l* are the same as in the transmitted *pul-*. Propertius has the same epithet at 4. 3. 41f. : *assidet una soror, curis et* ***pallida nutrix****/peierat hiberni temporis esse moras* ("Only my sister sits with me, and pale with anxious thoughts my nurse swears falsely that your delay is due to the winter season").

My text of the stanza is accordingly this:

Me fabulosae Vulture in Apulo
nutricis extra limina pallidae
    ludo fatigatumque somno
        fronde nova puerum palumbes

texere . . .

*

Thanks to the lead given by the *Repertory of Conjectures on Horace* I found – after I had arrived at my own conclusion – that I had been anticipated by Friedrich (Ferdinand) Roeder (Röder), "Director" of the Gymnasium at Cöslin (today Koszalin, Poland) in his publication *Corollarium Venusinum: Adversariorum in Q. Horatium*

Flaccum particula. [Programm des Königlichen und Stadt-Gymnasiums zu Cöslin], 1869. A copy of this rare publication was forwarded to me from Princeton Library through the university library in Oslo. It is thought-provoking that Röder's proposal has not been heeded in any text edition or commentary in the course of these 150 years. Röder evidently lacked an illustrious reputation to recommend his suggestion to the learned world.[10] Rejecting Bentley's *sedulae* he asks "Num forte nutrix etiamtum fuit sedula [Bentley's conjecture], quum passa est puerulum custodiae suae commissum ex oculis elabi et evadere? Non dixerim".[11] Then he proposes *altricis extra limina pallidae* with the highly pertinent comment: "Certe consentaneum est, subito terrore mulierculam expalluisse, quum infantem fidei suae creditum desiderare ac frustra quaerere coepisset."

Notes

1 In his *apparatus criticus* Sh. B. writes "limina Dauniae *Paldamus, alii alia*" whereas Borzsák writes typically "*alii aliter corrigere voluerunt, v. sagenam coniecturis vanis impletam ap. Kellerum vel Lenchantin – Bo*."

2 *Nutrix* instead of *altrix*, preferred by e.g. Bentley, seems indeed corroborated by comparing the word material provided by *TLL s.v altrix* (*s.v. altor*) 1,1770,58ff. [A. von Mess a. 1904] and its archive, not forgetting *OLD*: *altrix* designates in authors of the classical era the suckling *lupa*, *terra*, *Ida mons* and seems more solemn and more often used figuratively whereas *nutrix* is closer to life, more common and apt for both poetry and prose. *Nutrix* is perfectly fit to suggest the contrast between the setting and the wonder taking place.

3 Nisbet – Rudd include *limen* within *cruces*.

4 The latest to condemn the paradosis is P. A. Perotti, *"Pullia/ Apulia* e *fabulosae* (Hor. *Carm*. 4. 4. 9–10)", *Latomus* 72, 2013, 366–379.

5 When lecturing on the Roman Odes I was too sympathetic to Kiessling – Heinze's biographical deductions from *Pulliae* to reject the paradosis (cf. *Horats. Romerodene*. Utgitt av Egil Kraggerud, Oslo 1994 [ISBN 82–992697–2–5], p. 51f.).

6 For *fabulosus* cf. *TLL s.v*. VI,38,1–2.

7 "Horatiana", *Journal of Philology* 17, 313–314.

8 *Volui relinquere avitos lares et conscios natalium parietes et ipsam nutriculam casam* where I for one suspect that the original reading was *nutriciam casam* cf. *nutritius sinus* in Col. 3. 13. 7.

9 Cf. *TLL s.v*. 10,129 (I 2 curis vel timore) and Stat. *Theb*. 3. 394 *pallida coniunx*; *Silv*. 5. 1. 70 *quantus pro coniuge pallor*.

10 It is equally typical that Madvig pays no attention to him when proposing *villulae* in 1873 (*Adversaria* II 54), but in the Addenda (p. II) he can report that he had been anticipated by G. Herbstius (= Wilhelm Herbst) in *Jahrbücher für classiche Philologie* 103, 1871, 432. Even Madvig was not bothered by the accumulated genitives resulting from his conjecture.

11 He wonders why Bentley, who considered the *altrix* to be an *ancillula sole cocta*, did not consider *pullulae* instead. I for one would say because the word is even more malapropos in the context.

8 *Carm*. 3. 6. Its date and function*

Problems for discussion

The sixth Roman ode has usually been dated to 29/28 B.C. based on the reference to the great temple restoration programme in the first stanza. This dating, however, tends to affect our reading of the whole cycle (3. 1–6). An 'inner' *dramatic date* deliberately established by the poet (that is post-Actium but *before* 28 B.C.) should not be mistaken for the time of writing, the *compositional date*.[1] There may even be calculated effects arising from the poet's use of a dramatic date. Moreover, one should investigate whether the poem is an independent poem to the effect that it is a self-contained expression of the poet's stance or requires a wider context, namely the cycle of Roman poems and Horace's previous political epodes. How should we in particular understand the provoking diagnosis of contemporary society in 3. 6? Is it perhaps a warning reflecting Augustus's policy and paving the way for reforms already publicized or to be expected? It is instructive to compare epode 16, to which ode 3. 6 bears resemblance. A comparison seems to support the late dating of the epode.[2]

Most scholars today will probably find the designation 'Roman Odes' both justified and illuminating. The solemn introduction to the cycle amounts to a call for the reader's special attention as he starts unfolding the last of the three *volumina* of *carmina*.[3] Nowhere else among the 88 odes do we find a sequence of poems of such ambitious character. This in itself should warn us against discussing any single ode in isolation from the rest of the ensemble. However, to what extent the Roman Odes have been designed as a whole is difficult to assess. So far, a complicating factor has been the question of when the individual odes were written. In this article, I intend to concentrate, among other issues, on the dating of the first stanza of the last poem, 3. 6. 1–4 and the relevance of this issue for a deeper appraisal of the poet's role.

Delicta maiorum immeritus[4] lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris
aedisque labentis deorum et
foeda nigro simulacra fumo. 4

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The restoration programme – its character and duration

The obligation which the poet imposes on his fellow citizens is obviously connected with the restoration programme launched by the senate in 28 B.C. Augustus refers to it in his *Res gestae* (20,4): *Duo et octoginta templa deum in urbe consul sextum ex aucoritate senatus refeci nullo praetermisso quod eo tempore refici debebat*. Commentators here understandably grasp at the opportunity to give the ode a more precise date within the cycle. Leiv Amundsen[5] voiced the *communis opinio* in the middle of the twentieth century: "This ode must necessarily have been written before the general restauration of the temples of 29/28 B.C."[6] The former of these two years seems to be based on the opinion of Kiessling – Heinze: "wahrscheinlich schon vor der Heimkehr und dem Triumphe Caesars (Sommer)".[7] This would imply, however, that Horace already by that time knew of the plan forwarded by the senate the following year, unless we presume that the decree had been passed as early as the summer of 29, whereas *consul sextum* would refer to the programme as finished. I for one would not easily subscribe to the year 29 as relevant for the *composition* of the ode on any account. Accordingly, if one wants to be as precise as possible based on the evidence at hand, one should vote exclusively for 28 B.C. as the starting point. The evidence of Augustus himself seems to settle the matter: The programme was not launched by the senate before Octavian had entered upon his sixth consulship, i.e. in 28 B.C. However, *consul sextum* does not necessarily imply that the programme was *finished* in that same year.[8] We shall presently have to say something about that aspect of the issue as well.

So far, the discussion may seem to be mere hair-splitting, but the consequences resulting from an early dating are in fact considerable. Ode 3. 6 would become one of the oldest, if not the oldest, among the Roman Odes. It would be reasonable, then, to infer as Amundsen did: "When Horace arranged his *carmina* for publication he collected in a prominent place, at the beginning of the third book, a series of poems which he had written at different times during the last 7 or 8 years." Thus, what we call the Roman Odes would be the product of an editorial arrangement implying that there never was a planned cycle or, at most, a very vague one. Whatever unity the reader perceives might then be quite accidental.

How well founded is this view? The almost universal consensus concerning the date of 3. 6[9] is per se surprisingly unimaginative and becomes on reflection quite improbable.

The most obvious point concerns the restoration programme itself. It is a pity that we have no more precise knowledge as to which temples were restored and to what extent. As the number 82 comprises only temples in the city (*in urbe*), however, the programme must have been quite comprehensive. It would have affected the majority of temples in Rome in some way or other. Now, if we can rely on Horace, a great many of those 82 temples were in desperate need of repair. Otherwise, the poet's grave concern would have been misplaced. The situation after the return of Octavian in 29 made the restoration programme a useful item on the political agenda. The programme was evidently launched not least to visualize a break with

the past and the beginning of a new era coincident with the sole monarchy of Caesar Octavianus/Augustus. All other evidence seems to corroborate the importance of the matter and its large scale. Accordingly, Augustus would have shunned the impression that the matter could be dispatched in a short time by easy repairs or makeshift solutions.[10] In all probability he used the programme as an excuse for a more general overhaul of the city in order to mark a coordinated and decisive step towards that state which he decades later was to express so memorably: *marmoream se relinquere* [sc. *urbem*], *quam latericiam accepisset* (Suet. *Aug*. 28. 3).

Suetonius moreover lends weight to the accuracy of Horace's wording: *aedes sacras vetustate conlapsas aut incendio absumptas refecit easque et ceteras opulentissimis donis adornavit* (*Aug*. 30. 2). Many restorations must have amounted to little less than entirely new temples. The point made by some contemporary observers was that Augustus made as much for the improvement of old temples as for the building of new ones: Livy calls Augustus in his famous aside (4. 20. 7) *templorum omnium conditorem aut restitutorem* and Ovid agrees (*Fast*. 2. 59): *templorum positor, templorum sancte repostor*.

While all the Latin evidence, including Augustus himself, points to the *princeps* as the sole and only responsible contractor, Cassius Dio (53. 2. 4–5) add interesting nuances: "τῶν δὲ δὴ ναῶν πρόνοιαν ἐποιήσατο. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὑπ᾽ ἰδιωτῶν τινων γεγενημένους τοῖς τε παισὶν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις, εἴγε τινὲς περιῆσαν, ἐπισκευάσαι ἐκέλευσε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς αὐτὸς ἀνεκτήσατο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῆς οἰκοδομήσεώς σφων ἐσφετερίσατο, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τοῖς κατασκευάσασιν αὐτούς[11] ("but he took care of the temples. Those which had been built by various private individuals, these he ordered their sons and descendants, if only they were around, to repair, but the rest he restored himself. He did not, however, take from them and appropriate for himself the reputation for the erection (of a temple), but returned them to the very men who had built them"). Seemingly, Cassius Dio wants to give an account of the general policy adopted by Augustus in such matters. Although he does not specifically mention the decree of the senate, there can be little doubt that he has the programme initiated in 28 B.C. in mind, as he is treating the matter under that year. The point he is making is that irrespective of the official charge, Augustus did nothing that might eclipse the names of those families who had erected the temples or sanctuaries in the first place. It would be too rash to suggest that Cassius Dio contradicts the Latin sources. Even without his testimony, we would have surmised that Caesar/Augustus offered the aristocracy a great share in the glory. It was no doubt politically advisable not to infringe on their traditional rights in that respect however much they depended on him and acted in his interest. For as every Roman would have known, Augustus would all the same earn considerable credit for his altruism and generosity. Augustus himself and the Latin sources in general reflect no doubt the fact that the *princeps* and he alone was in the end responsible for the implementation of the programme in accordance with the decree of the senate (cf. *ex auctoritate senatus* in the *Res gestae*).

The restorations were no doubt, then, a major enterprise in the early years of the new-born Principate. Besides, much would tell against speeding up the business.

Other new buildings and temples were being erected at the same time, requiring their share in available expertise and resources of manpower, not to speak of fiscal and Egyptian money. In addition, the propaganda effect gained from protracting the repairs over a somewhat longer period should not be overlooked. Scaffolds and more long-term visible activities going on at different sites all over Rome would be an eloquent witness for the shift of emphasis in religious policy. The official provision for Rome's derelict and dilapidated sanctuaries would speak tangibly for a new orientation towards those values that had made the city great in past centuries. It was no novelty that mighty men built splendid temples and buildings; wealth and munificence had for a long time been channelled into lavish projects by triumphant generals and leading politicians. But a systematic renewal of older sanctuaries, together with a revival of their cults, would be a clear manifestation of a more serious-minded religious responsibility and strongly suggest a return to *mos maiorum*. Moreover, favourable light would fall on the pious intentions behind entirely new projects as well.

We can conclude, then, that the programme took several years to finish – how many we are in no position to tell. A fair guess relevant for our argument would be that some three to four years after it had been launched, i.e. by the time of Augustus's return to Rome after his Spanish campaign, the whole programme – that is as far as the "temples fallen down through age and consumed by fire" are concerned – would have been completed.

The two dates of Ode 3. 6

One's first impression when reading the ode should be taken seriously. In a solemn and grave mood the poet addresses the Roman citizen (*Romane*) and presents him with a condition (but not the only one, as we shall presently see) for escaping the consequences of his father's sins: he has to restore the crumbling constructions of temple buildings (*templa . . . aedisque labentis deorum)* and substitute their damaged statues.[12] As to the nature of the condition, Horace makes two points: the architecture is in a state of decay and the statues are damaged by fire.[13] This corresponds exactly with the description of Suetonius: *(aedes sacras) vetustate conlapsas aut incendio absumptas*. The poetical word economy of Horace allows us to understand, as a matter of course, that many *templa . . . aedesque deorum* as well had been damaged by fire.[14]

Horace presents us with a state of affairs neither modified nor mitigated in any respect. The poet's role as a prophet would be weakened if he did not seem to be ahead of any specific political measures to improve the situation. As the decree of the senate was just such a move, the *inner* situation of the poem presupposes a date not later than 29 B.C., the chosen *terminus ante* of the poem. It is fictional insofar as it is deliberately chosen with the primary intention of feigning the impression that the *Musarum sacerdos* (*Carm*. 3. 1. 3) is inspired to reveal the truth to the Roman people. It is natural to think that such a poet has a political voice of his own reminiscent of the archaic Greek poets, say an Alcaeus or a Solon. Nobody among his contemporaries would have been deceived by this kind

of role-playing. His best readers would, of course, know who was holding the reins. They would also know that even the senate was not the prime mover other than in a formal sense. They would have no difficulty in perceiving the political realities behind and above the *dramatis persona* of the poet.

If this 'inner' date is correctly interpreted, why has Horace put the ode as the last one in the cycle, whereas other poems strongly suggest them to be later in time? Both the third (cf. its eleventh line) and the fifth ode (line 3) use the honorary title (by-name) *Augustus*, which did not become official before January in the year 27. But in these cases as well it is profitable not to accept the traditional 'chronology' without looking closer at the context. In the Third Ode the poet places Augustus among the great civilizing heroes in heaven:

> Hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules
> enisus arces attigit igneas,
> quos inter Augustus recumbens
> purpureo bibet ore nectar. 12

The future *bibet* colours not only the participle *recumbens* – that is elementary grammar – but even the title Augustus. When read after the January meeting in the senate in 27 B.C. *Augustus* is little more than an adaptation of the official honorary by-name. However, as part of a prophecy the *Musarum sacerdos* is in a position to anticipate the political decree, the more so because the title is a true reflection of the person's merits. So even here, political realities seem to follow on the *vox poetae*. Ode 3, then, cannot necessarily be said to be 'earlier' than Ode 6. From a dramatic point of view, the poems are simultaneous. The same holds good for Ode 5. The title *Augustus* is again linked with his future divinity and results from his achievements:

> Caelo tonantem credidimus Iovem
> regnare: praesens divus habebitur
> Augustus adiectis Britannis
> imperio gravibusque Persis. 4

Here the conditional and potential nature of the enunciation is more marked: neither the *Britanni* nor the *Persae* had been added to the realm by the time Horace wrote and published his *Carmina*. Therefore, it cannot be problematic from any point of view to accept the sequence of the odes as quite natural. Ode 6, then, seems be the last from a *compositional* point of view. It was above all written with a view to making sense as the conclusion of the cycle. Accordingly, its place is vital for the message the poet wants to convey.

There is more to the Sixth Ode than the enigma caused by its 'dates'. The poem had a head-on character all of its own. The rest of the poem is perhaps more castigating and damning than anything the poet had written about his compatriots. Roman contemporary morals are here being exposed to scorn by a ruthless critic. The role Horace plays in it is like that of an Old Testament prophet asking his people to heed the calamities of the past and to judge them as the result of a mentality

that had estranged itself more and more from the ways of the forefathers. Such tones are nothing unheard of in Rome, as is shown by the historians Sallust and Livy. What requires some comment is the combination of harshness, the rather belated date and the context of our poem.

3. 6 ends with an outlook whose seemingly gloomy pessimism is unprecedented in our poet. Ode 3. 3 contained some serious warnings against adopting the ways of Troy, as this would lead to merciless reprisals from vengeful gods (61–68). In 3. 6 Horace emphasizes what Roman rule depends upon: a pious mind that always puts the gods first, whereas national calamities, like those suffered against the Parthians, were caused by an irreligious attitude. But lack of piety is only part of the bad state of affairs. Private ethics, primarily the sexual morals, have become outrageous in themselves and have, moreover, a corrupting and weakening influence on the young generation, for Rome's enemies a cause to rejoice. The poem ends with this prediction:

> Damnosa quid non imminuit dies?
> Aetas parentum peior avis tulit
> nequiores, mox daturos
> progeniem vitiosiorem. 48

Severe problems would arise and involve contradictions with other statements expressing hope for the nation if we were to take the last stanza as the poet's indisputable credo. For one thing, we might hesitate to call Horace a man of a balanced mind. As commentators have been well aware, his 'pessimism' makes more sense as a warning against what would happen if things were to continue in the same depressing track.[15] A condition was mentioned in the first stanza, and the last stanza harks back to something along the same lines, the implication being: *unless this development is halted*, further moral decay is bound to take place with the disintegration of Rome as its inevitable result. In this light, a deliberate and successful restoration of temples can be a reassuring thing indeed within the broader compass of the smouldering morals in general. What is a call for action and appears to be a feasible step, i.e. visibly to re-establish piety as a force in society, is certainly meant to instigate people to restore *mos maiorum* in general, chastity being a prominent part of that complex.

3.6: a self-contained political utterance?

A fruitful approach to 3. 6, then, is to see it as only a part of the truth. We would be wrong in reading it as a self-contained poem in the modern sense. It is part of a dialectical process, whose frame is set by the cycle as a whole, and it can only unfold its fuller meaning in the light of that higher unity. Each poem is to be read with a mind having registered what has been said in the previous odes in the series. This is in particular the case with the Sixth Roman Ode to such an extent that it is inconceivable that the poem was ever meditated or written in isolation from the rest of the cycle.

This conclusion becomes evident if we compare the contents of 3. 6 with a couple of the poet's more self-contained political utterances. The poem 1. 2 (*Iam*

satis terris) – in reality the first ode in the whole collection of Carmina I – III – is almost as harsh on the offences committed by the Romans: *Audiet pugnas vitio parentum/ rara iuventus* (23–24). It mentions the *scelus* to be expiated (29) and returns to *nostra vitia*. These are so grave that a god might well choose to turn his back on the people (47). In that poem, however, the condemning attitude towards the Romans is counter-balanced by the role of the expiator who turns out to be no other than the murdered Caesar's avenger. The poet asks him to enjoy life on earth for a long time ahead, in the midst of his people, while gaining triumphs over the nation's most dangerous foes.

The Third Roman Ode holds out the prospect that Rome, if she follows morally in the steps of Troy, will meet with the same fate from angry gods as her mother city (57–68). In the same *carmen* the poet is anxious to present Romulus as the successful saviour. Just as Romulus brought about reconciliation between the gods and his city wiping out the sins of Troy, so Augustus will accomplish the same for contemporary Rome and in consequence enjoy eternal bliss as one of the great benefactors of mankind. It is left to the reader, however, to draw the inferences as to the nature and character of Augustus's *ars* (9).[16] When coming to the Sixth Ode the reader will notice that the poet deliberately avoids mentioning Augustus himself. It is necessary, then, to modify one's conclusion; the steady debasement of Roman manners and morals will only take place if there is a lack of adequate leadership. Nobody would on reflection be in doubt on this point: The reader has already heard in the Fourth Ode that the leadership of Augustus will entail the proper handling of all kinds of brutal forces (cf. *vis consili expers* 4. 65). In particular, he will know how Augustus and all right-minded forces will deal with sexual offenders like *Orion, temptator . . . Dianae* (70–72). In the last stanza of that poem, Tityus and Pirithous are singled out to be punished for the same reason:

> incontinentis[17] nec Tityi iecur[18]
> relinquit ales, nequitiae[19] additus
> custos: amatorem[20] trecentae
> Pirithoum cohibent catenae. 80

Returning on this basis to the depressing state of family morals described in the middle of the Sixth Ode (17–32), one would suppose for good reason that the description serves as a preparation for another main item on Augustus's political agenda, the law-making concerning family policy and sexual morality. It took Augustus several years to launch the *leges Iuliae*,[21] but nobody would have doubted his seriousness in this respect long before that. According to Horace, it is essential to heal the much-defiled state of marriage if Rome is to recover her strength:

> Fecunda culpae saecula nuptias
> primum inquinavere et genus et domos:
> hoc fonte derivata clades[22]
> in patriam populumque fluxit. 20

By 23 B.C. the first readers of the Roman Odes would have been well aware of the countermeasures initiated by the *princeps*. Those supporting his rule would have been convinced that a return to sound moral standards was possible (cf. 33–44).

In the same way, the first stanza would reassure the same circles that the large-scale and sumptuous religious renewal was a significant part of the expiation required after the civil wars. All things considered, a time of writing coincident with the Spanish campaign (26–24) would be a reasonable guess.[23] Anyway, the possible fulfilment implicit in the reference to the restoration programme puts its stamp also on the rest of the poem. Though Augustus himself is not mentioned by name, he is very much present throughout. In addition to offering harsh words on the Romans for their most manifest deficiencies, the poem is a deft indirect homage to Augustus for his practical piety so as to arouse expectations that he would do something about the bad state of family life as well. The underlying message would be that only through him could the depraved people be healed and brought back to its former strength and vigour.

Ode 3. 6 and epode 16

This way of reading ode 3. 6 finds a striking parallel in the collection of Epodes. In my earlier study,[24] I based my interpretation of the political poems contained in that collection on the natural response of the contemporary Roman to the political poems he would meet in the collection. A number of poems could be grouped together as pleas of a concerned citizen in the revolutionary last phase of the civil wars. In this light, the Sixteenth Epode can no longer be read in isolation as an early cry of anguish from an outsider. It is instead to be seen as a calculated warning and a positive call for action to found Rome morally anew.[25] Although Octavian plays no part in that poem, he is, in reality, an essential part of it, and the reader unfolding the volume will have no difficulty in applying this poem to the contemporary situation of crisis at the end of the thirties and providing it with the necessary *addenda* from the earlier political poems in that *liber*.

There is, then, an important factor to reckon with in reading the poet's political poems, the factor of a context that has the potential for modifying whatever pessimism there is in them concerning the Roman people and its conduct. What could per se be an expression of despair is all the same an integral part of a larger and more positive outlook on the contemporary Roman situation. The regime of Augustus is pivotal in this *claire-obscur*. The positive factors that will enable the Romans to get out of their quagmire are there already clearly to be seen and appreciated, as demonstrated in the previous odes. In the Roman Odes Horace has made a strong bid for the cause of the victorious Caesar, whom he hails not only as a possible saviour but as a successful one at that. Seen in such a light, the 'pessimism' of the Sixth Ode is a warning against laissez-faire. It shows what is at stake. The cause of Caesar is essential and needs whole-hearted support to combat the disgraceful development that had brought the Roman nation almost to its ruin.

Conclusion

To conclude, there is nothing that contradicts a late day of composition for the Sixth Roman Ode, that is between 26 and 24. Having got rid of the dogma of its early genesis and having demonstrated the poem's one-sided political message, we can safely conclude that it was deliberately composed for the effective place it has as the last poem in a highly unified cycle of political poems.

Notes

* This is a revised and extended version of my article "The Sixth Roman Ode of Horace: Its Date and Function", *SO* 70, 1995, 54–67.

1 On the term 'Roman Odes', see C. Wilke (1983, 1, n. 1).

2 Cp. Kraggerud (1984, 129–172).

3 The *Odi profanum* stanza (3. 1. 1–4) introduces the whole cycle, not primarily the First Ode, cp. e.g. Syndikus, II (1990, 13f.).

4 The renderings of *immeritus* are often debatable or inadequate, cf. e.g. Zanker (1990, 108): "*Befleckt* bleibst du, Römer, durch die Schuld deiner Väter. The word is in my opinion excellently rendered by D. West (1997) as "though innocent". *Immeritus*, 'undeserved', here 'undeserving', (the latter = *OLD s.v.* 1 a) is a predicative adj. implying a concessive shade of meaning due to the context; the juridical implication is that it is unfair to have to atone for the sins committed by one's fathers. It is basic for the Roman sense of justice that the culprit and not his relatives are punished (cf. Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 11). Cf. for the idea *Carm*. 1. 28. 30f. Personally, I admit to have been in doubt whether *immeritus* is correctly transmitted – and increasingly so after all these years, separating me from my contribution 25 years ago. See on this problem my discussion in the appendix (I, 9). At the end of the day, I have found *immeritus* acceptable.

5 Amundsen (1942, 1–24).

6 Amundsen (1942, 15). Here are some other comments: "weshalb man fast mit Gewissheit das Gedicht in das J. 28 selbst setzen darf" (H. Schütz in his comm. 1889); "not . . . later than 28 B.C . . . probably before all the other Roman Odes" (E. Fränkel (1957, 261). "Wenn die Restaurierungsarbeit bereits abgeschlossen wäre, hätte man nicht mehr III 6, 1f. schreiben können" (Syndikus (1990, 5).

7 In the introduction to 3. 6 (Kiessling – Heinze (1960, 288f.). Likewise Büchner (1976, 160): "Im Jahre 28 hat Caesar Octavianus die Tempel wiederhergestellt. Vorher muss dieses Gedicht entstanden sein".

8 Comments on this point are scarce, but Rudi Thomson says in his Danish booklet *Det augustæiske principat* what safely can be claimed: "The 82 temple restorations . . . were as a matter of course not finished in this year (i.e. 28 B.C.)."

9 More sceptical voices can be found: H. Silomon, "Bemerkungen zu den Römeroden", *Philologus* 92, 1937, 444f., dates the ode to 27/26 and finds a complimentary reference to Augustus's great achievement (p. 453). I cannot understand his logic in the following statement, however: "Dann erklingt als letzte und höchste Forderung an Roms Jugend die Mahnung, auch ihrerseits die Tempel der Götter wiederherzustellen, wenn sie mithelfen wolle an der Rettung des Staates. Im gleichen Augenblick musste doch gerade dieser Jugend das Bild der neuerstandenen Heiligtümer lebendig vor Augen treten." How can one be inflamed to do what one has already accomplished? I guess that the author's contemporary Germany was somehow a factor in this interpretation. Somewhat better, but suffering from the same inconsistency, is B. Fenik, "Horace's Roman Odes and the second Georgic", *Hermes* 90, 1962, 87: "The Sixth Roman Ode is perfectly understandable, and in fact more naturally taken, as having been written

after Augustus had already begun his rebuilding programme, as 'Begleitliteratur', an encouragement to the citizenry to continue the task of restoration with undiminished vigour, and a warning as to the disastrous result to follow should they slacken."

10 Zanker (1990, 114) seems to me to stress this aspect of the programme too strongly. One should have liked to know whether, for instance, the temple of Apollo Medicus (or Sosianus) were among the 82 temples.

11 In the earlier passage, two terms refer to repair/restoration – ἐπισκευάσαι and ἀνεκτήσατο – and three to the building/erection process γεγενημένους, οἰκοδομήσεως and κατασκευάσασιν.

12 It is not easy to tell whether *templa* and *aedes deorum* are synonyms or *templa* is the wider term (cp. Vitruvius 8 pr. 4: *ad templum aedemque*). A third possibility is to take *aedes* in the more restricted sense of 'temple cella' (*OLD s.v.* 2 b citing Plin. *NH* 36. 32 *in templo Dianae post aedem*). This would be less natural, however, insofar as the plural would create an ambiguity. On the whole, we find it most likely that Horace first focuses on the whole temple site, then on the temple proper and lastly on the statues, including the cult statues of the *cella*, whereby the gods themselves have become the injured party.

13 It would be a rather lame point to understand *foeda nigro simulacra fumo* as discoloured by deposits of soot from altar fires (thus Kiessling – Heinze).

14 The damaged statues can indirectly be accounted for in Suetonius (*Aug*. 30. 2 quoted earlier) by the following words *easque . . . opulentissimis donis adornavit*.

15 The comment of Kiessling – Heinze is wholly appropriate: "Aber so gut es nur eines Entschlusses bedarf, um die mit der Zeit verfallenen Tempel wieder herzustellen, so kann auch ein Aufraffen des Volkes die alte Sittlichkeit neu heraufführen: das soll der Hörer, aufgerüttelt durch den pessimistischen Schluss, sich selbst sagen."

16 *Ars* is used in a metaphorical sense: "the moral character of a man, so far as it is made known by actions, conduct, manner of acting, habit, practice" (Lewis & Short *s.v.* II), in our case almost "policy".

17 According to the usual account, he had tried to rape Leto on her way to Delphi: *Od*. 11. 576ff.; Pind. *Pyth*. 4. 90; Apoll. Rhod. 1. 760f.; Apollodorus 9. 23; Hyginus 55; Plat. *Gorg*. 525e. *Incontinens* is one who is intemperate in sexual matters, cp. expressions like *continere cupiditatem, libidinem, se in libidine continere*.

18 *Iecur*: here the seat of lust (*TLL s.v.* 7,245,71ff.).

19 *Nequitia*: here with the connotation of sexual depravity.

20 *Amator*: 'lustful'. Pirithous who had tried to abduct the queen of the underworld to become his wife, is not very different from his father Ixion and is dealt with accordingly. In Vergil (*A*. 6. 601ff.) he is mentioned in the same breath as his father and gets the same punishment if we stick to the manuscripts (see my *Vergiliana* (2017, 228–230)).

21 See E. Badian, "A Phantom Marriage Law", *Philologus* 192, 1985, 82–98.

22 I support *clades* see the comm. of Nisbet – Rudd (2004). Peerlkamp's *labes* would, somewhat inelegantly, give a transferred meaning (*OLD s.v.* 5) to the key concept *labi* ('collapse' *OLD s.v.* 6 b) in the opening stanza.

23 A fair guess would be that the cycle of poems had been written as a welcome gift to Augustus on his return from Spain.

24 See my *Horaz und Actium* (1984).

25 I am pleased to see that W. Stroh in his paper "Horaz und Vergil in ihren prophetischen Gedichten", *Gymnasium* 100, 1993, 289–322) shares my view that epode 16 is a late poem. At the same time he maintains (p. 309) – unconvincingly in my view – that it is a pessimistic poem written by a poet establishing himself as a sort of antagonistic and disappointed prophet of woe when Vergil's prophecy in the Fourth Eclogue had not come true in eight years.

9 An appendix on the text of *Carm*. 3. 6 *exempli gratia*

The subtitle of my appendix has a more personal background: in the early years of this century the department of Greek and Latin at the University of Oslo supported an online repertory of conjectures on Horace put into effect by Professor Monika Asztalos Murdoch and Riksbankens Jubileumsfond (Stockholm).[1] The material going into this tool was intended for everyone interested in the Latin text of Horace, but became by and by downright overwhelming in its number of registrations. When the total amount of textual conjectures/emendations[2] exceeded 7700, a possible side effect could be that even serious scholars would turn their back on such activity from sheer nausea. A next step was and will therefore be badly needed (except for those, of course, who have no need of a repertory): that is some sort of evaluation and running discussion of the quality of such critical sports. A consultant of the repertory may find himself between Scylla and Charybdis: either the temptation to accept a random suggestion too easily or to reject beforehand any textual novelty proposed post-Gutenberg. The best help would be provided by an edited text, say, of volume as an ancient book (liber), where the editor has digested both variants and conjectures and divided the latter sort into separate categories (on this see I, 1). More scholars writing literary analyses of single odes should feel stimulated, however, to use the repertory and state the reason for their textual choices. In that case, there would be a richer critical discussion for future editors to take account of. What I have to say here is a specimen of this latter sort containing no particular novelty, but only attempts at personal decisions where earlier scholars have been in doubt:

The text itself (as the result of my examination) Obs. In my manuscript I have no blank spaces between stanzas for this poem! So I would much appraciate if you could remove the blank lines.

(**1**) Delicta maiorum inmeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris
aedisque labentis deorum et
foeda nigro simulacra fumo. 4

(**2**) Dis te minorem quod geris, imperas:
hinc omne principium, huc refer exitum;
di multa neglecti dederunt
Hesperiae mala luctuosae. 8

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(**3**) Iam bis Monaeses et Pacori manus
non auspicatos contudit impetus
nostros et adiecisse praedam
torquibus exiguis renidet. 12

(**4**) Paene occupatam seditionibus
delevit urbem Dacus et Aethiops,
hic classe formidatus, ille
missilibus melior sagittis. 16

(**5**) Fecunda culpae saecula nuptias
primum inquinavere et genus et domos:
hoc fonte derivata clades
in patriam populumque fluxit. 20

(**6**) Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
matura virgo et fingitur artibus
iam nunc et incestos amores
de tenero meditatur ungui, 24

(**7**) mox iuniores quaerit adulteros
inter mariti vina neque eligit
cui donet inpermissa raptim
gaudia luminibus remotis, 28

(**8**) sed iussa coram non sine conscio
surgit marito seu vocat institor
seu navis Hispanae magister,
dedecorum pretiosus emptor. 32

(**9**) Non his iuventus orta parentibus
infecit aequor sanguine Punico
Pyrrhumque et ingentem cecidit
Antiochum Hannibalemque dirum, 36

(**10**) sed rusticorum mascula militum
proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus
versare glaebas et severae
matris ad arbitrium recisos 40

(**11**) portare fustis, sol ubi montium
mutaret umbras et iuga demeret
bobus fatigatis, amicum
tempus agens abeunte curru. 44

(**12**) Damnosa quid non imminuit dies?
Aetas parentum, peior avis, tulit
nos nequiores, mox daturos
progeniem vitiosiorem. 48

On the presentation of the text

This poem is typical of the majority of Horace's lyrical poems, being divided into a number of four-line stanzas between 3 (poem 3. 26) and 20 (3. 4). The Alcaic stanzas represent the dominant stanza form, counting 319 in all Horace's four books of *carmina*. Most editions print the poems with open space between the stanzas. There are some notable exceptions in this regard, however: as distinct from the Teubner editions Wickham – Garrod's *OCT* edition (1912) and the *LCL* edition by Rudd (2004b) (not, however Bennett's *LCL* 1914).[3] The use of a blank line to separate stanzas is seemingly a handy way of marking the stanzaic character of the ode, especially so where the stanza ends with a full stop, like the first five stanzas of 3. 6. Thereafter, the drawbacks of this practice become obvious. Stanzas 6–8 have the frivolous *virgo* and her 'career' as their centre; seven instances of verbs in the present tense unite their twelve lines grammatically and ideologically. The eighth and last stanza in this sequence is attached to the seventh in a particularly close way (*neque eligit* 26 corresponds with *iussa . . . surgit* 29–30). A similar unification of stanzas can be observed also in the case of stanzas 9 and 10: the *sed* (st. 10, 37) continues the theme introduced by *non his iuventus orta parentibus* (st. 9, 33). Finally, we have the freest form of unification with stanza 11, where the infinitive *portare* (41) continues the connective *et* (39) corresponding with *versare*, illustrating an independence in relation to the stanzaic division strengthened furthermore by the tight nexus *recisos fustis* divided on stanza 10, 40 and stanza 11, 41. Both visually (the reader's written/printed poem) and acoustically (the recitator's performance) we had better not to mark the stanza as a metrical unity by means of an open space on either side. On the basis of this Alcaic poem alone, we may say that blank lines between stanzas hardly reflect what the poet strives at with his whole composition.

There is a balance of form to be carefully observed, namely, to observe closely the evolving artistic process whereby the syntax of the sentences and the distribution of long and short syllables in relation to the given metrical pattern are involved simultaneously. This process ought to be visible, in the best possible way, on the printed page. The need to attain something of the sort comes even clearer to the fore elsewhere among the 37 Alcaic poems of Horace. Particularly conspicuous cases are the last poems of the Fourth Book, poems 14 and 15. The compulsory pauses signalled by the blank line in a poem like 4. 14 addressed to Augustus are a distracting factor. In poem 15 the long breath of the coda to the whole book can hardly show to advantage if an extra break is marked by separated stanzas.

I hasten to add that my text, in its margins on either side, is equipped with a double set of numbers to ease the reader's navigation and references: on the left

hand an Arabic numeral for each stanza, on the right for each fourth line, that is, in a regularly recurrent form, outside the enneasyllable in the Alcaic stanza. As to this latter modification of the usual practice, I would claim that a shorter interval, four lines at a time versus five, makes the orientation a lot easier apart from being more in harmony with the stanzaic form in general.

Critical comments on the text

As these are here presented, there will be as many justifications as are my choices for my text earlier.

I have preferred here to make two publications and three scholars my primary references. Their importance needs no documentation in addition to their general reputation: Robin G. M. Nisbet (1926–2013)[4] in team with Niall Rudd (1928–2015) (hence N – R) and David R. Shackleton Bailey (1917–2005) (hence Sh. B.). In the former case there is the bonus of a preceding scholarly discussion respectively consensus to be evaluated: in the Third Book of Odes Nisbet not only cooperated with profit with Niall Rudd, a great expert on Horace in his own right, but each agreed on defending their individual convictions if necessary. Their differences of opinion on textual matters is therefore not the least interesting thing about their joint commentary (nothing of the sort had come to the surface in the cooperation between Nisbet and Margaret H. Hubbard on Carmina I and II, commentaries that are therefore less fascinating in critical respect). Sh. B.'s 'radicalism' is well known among Latinists. He first published his text on Horace in 1984.[5] In the same year the text edition of István Borzsák (1914–2007) appeared in the Teubner publishing house under the aegis of the *Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Zentralinst. für alte Geschichte und Archchäologie*: these editors were both intent on replacing Friedrich Klingner's pre-war Teubner edition, at that time still considered the best edition for Horace's whole oeuvre, especially north of the Alps. A new evaluation of the paradosis was under way in the early 1970s when Charles Brink published his commentary on the *Ars Poetica* (1971). In view of a united 'Teubner' again in the 1990s one could for good reason raise the question of whether a cooperation (respectively a joint edition) of Shackleton Bailey and Borszák would have been possible. It is a futile thought, however: in the longer perspective it is far better for 'nachgeborene' Horatians to have each of them in full blossom as independent critics.[6]

1 IMMERITUS[7]

The participle's concessive shade of meaning should surprise no one (see e.g. Kühner-Stegmann II 1, p. 776 f. = §139. 4). Peerlkamp wrote succinctly and thought-provoking as often in his 1834 commentary (p. 277) "Majores autem neglexerant templa, aedes et simulacra restituere. Romani, qui nunc vivebant, aeque erant in ea re negligentes. Igitur puniebantur. Et merito. Nam poterant restituere, si vellent. Scribendum puto: *Delicta majorum meritus lues*." Even Sh. B. ignored this conjecture, although no other editor of the twentieth century was so

open for Peerlkamp's suggestions as Sh. B. In, fact Peerlkamp's *meritus* is one of his better ideas, or rather one of his best. As was his wont, he never raised his conjectures to a place in the sun – that is in the text itself. *Meritus* has left only a few scattered traces in the intervening 150 years before Nisbet and Rudd's commentary. Nisbet endorses Peerlkamp's rejection of *immeritus* for the simple reason that "the current generation must also have been neglectful of religion" and *immeritus* "destroys the *necessary* word-break after the fifth syllable. [my italics]" This categorical attitude is considerably modified in Nisbet – Hubbard (N – H) in their treatment of the Alcaic stanza (p. xl f.) : "in the first two lines there is *normally* a word-break after the fifth syllable". Four exceptions occur in the previous books. In connection with 1. 16. 21 we have to quote the preceding stanza to appreciate line 21:

> Irae Thyesten exitio gravi
> stravere et altis urbibus ultimae
> stetere causae cur perirent
> funditus imprimeretque muris 20
> **hostile aratrum exercitus insolens**.

Destruction caused by anger (*irae*) is the theme here, the culmination of which is when a whole city (be it Troy or Carthage) is levelled with the ground so thoroughly that the enemy's plough can pass over its defensive walls. When Horace skips a word break after the fifth syllable, I assume that he will illustrate the irresistible force behind the levelling of the enemy city.[8] According to N – H "the irregularity is mitigated by the preceding elision".

There are two instances in the Cleopatra ode (1. 37), at line 5 and 14:

> The second stanza begins *antehac nefas depromere Caecubum/ cellis avitis*. Only a slight irregularity is involved since *de-*, according to N – H "may be regarded as separable" (p. xli). Is the licence spurred by the jubilant celebration at the begin of the poem as being an occasion marked by *pede libero* (*pes* in the metrical terminology *OLD s.v.* 11)?

The impression is so far that the poet only hesitatingly loosens the strict rules he adheres to. Already in the fourth stanza he has the clearest irregularity in the First Book: *sed minuit furorem // vix una sospes navis ab ignibus/mentemque lymph**atam Mareo**tico/ redegit in verso timores/ Caesar ab volantem // remis adurgens*. This is the first example of a molossan word intruding lawlessly into the second half of the hendecasyllable. This means a novel form of irregularity, as the two previous exceptions were the other way round, namely that the latter half began a syllable too early. It is very probable that this licence is meant to illustrate the deranged *ebrietas* of the queen in contrast to the previous truly Dionysian exultation of the poet.[9]

The final interesting exception is at 2. 17. 21 *utrumque nostrum incredibili modo/ consentit astrum*. *Incredibili* gets extra emphasis by this irregularity. It may

seem to be of the former type, *incredibili modo* being "mitigated by the preceding elision" (N – H). It may also underline the unbelievable conjunction of the two men's *astra*.

Returning now to the line under scrutiny, the assumed form *Delicta maior**um meritus lues*** would be an irregularity like the one exception in Book I *mentem lymphat**am Mareotico*** lacking a cesura after the fifth syllable, the difference being that the one (1. 37. 14) is securely guaranteed by the paradosis, the other (3. 6. 1) is based only on a conjecture. A plausible motive for introducing such an irregularity in poem 3. 6 would therefore be welcome. Well, I know nothing better to say than that the theme of the two opening stanzas is serious *negligence*. Horace's own hendecasyllable could, provided that we accept Peerlkamp's emendation, be said to *neglect* the claims of his own metrical practice and is therefore in need of *metrical repair*. I leave it to future editors to decide on the matter. Both Karl Lehrs's *heu meritus* (1867) and Nisbet's *et meritus* (2004) seek to save the fifth syllable before the caesura by means of elision.

In the last resort, however, the question is whether *immeritus* is acceptable or not. My interpretative rephrasing is this: without deserving it, you, Roman, will have to atone for the sins of your fathers until you have brought about the situation when you have repaired, refurbished and rebuilt the temples and thus shown visibly that you do not neglect the gods any longer. I will add that *delicta maiorum* has per se a broader scope than the sin of letting the temples decay. Horace singles out one grave example of a decline in contemporary ethics. The innocence of individuals in this respect is not the point, but the collective guilt of the society. Horace aims at a moral rearmament on a broad scale. The restoration of temples is the most manifest example of respect and reverence for the gods. This will save the city from defeats and humiliations like those experienced in the near past.

To conclude this lengthy comment: I consider Peerlkamp's *meritus* as worthy of a place in any *apparatus criticus*. N – R's *et meritus* should also be mentioned in this category. It must suffice for Lehrs's *heus meritus* to be mentioned in an *appendix critica*, however. See for such evaluations and rankings what I said above on this topic in I, 1 earlier.

10 INAUSPICATOS/ NON AUSPICATOS

The independent negative *non* is witnessed both by Priscian (GL 2, 518) and a number of manuscripts. It has found favour in Wickham – Garrod, Sh. B. and Rudd (2004b), but Rudd did not raise any objection to Nisbet's preference of ***in**auspicatos*. See Nisbet – Hubbard (1970), p. xl on short opening syllable in the Roman Odes: **1**. 2 (***fa**vete*); **1**. 26 (***tu**multuosum*); **3**. 34 (***in**ire*); **3**. 71 (***re**ferre*); **4**. 78 (***re**liquit*); **5**. 22 (***re**torta*); (these six 'exceptions' are mentioned in N – H, p. xl, but not the possible seventh **6**. 10. Did they use Wickham – Garrod as their 'Handexemplar'? In the mature art of the Roman Odes Horace has this anomaly only once in the third line (3. 71), the six others belong to the second line of the stanza. In view of this preference for allowing the short syllable in the second line, a look back on Horace's practice in Books I and II is interesting. The First Book

has 60 Alcaic stanzas and 13 instances of short syllables at the start of lines 1, 2 and 3: the first line has five instances of short syllable, the second has three and the third five, that is, each of the three lines has approximately an equal share in the phenomenon. The Second Book has more Alcaic stanzas (88), but the ratio of long vs. short opening syllables has changed insofar as there are only eight instances, less than one instance in ten stanzas on average. The distribution is this: the first line has one, the second has four and the third three instances. May we assume that Horace gradually becomes more fastidious in allowing this short initial syllable? He seems to have found a passable balance coming to the Roman Odes which have as many Alcaic stanzas as the Second Book. In the first line he no more allows a short initial syllable. In this august collection of political odes Horace seems deliberately to avoid any irregularity in the opening line of each stanza. Only the second line may occasionally admit a short initial syllable. The one exception in the third line of the Roman Odes seems intended to illustrate his conscious attitude to the Alcaic metre. In the middle of the whole cycle, in the last stanza in the Third Ode, Horace has an exception in this regard to the otherwise austere character of the whole cycle in this way (semi-bold italics marks the exceptional syllable):

> Non hoc iocosae conveniet lyrae.
> Quo, Musa, tendis? Desine pervicax
> ***re***ferre sermones deorum et
> magna modis tenuare parvis.

Horace looks at his cycle of poems in relation to what must have been an expectation among readers coming from the two earlier volumes. The urgent and authoritative admonitions in the three first poems of Book Three are summed up by means of the demonstrative *hoc* whereupon follows the more specifying reference to the lofty third ode (*sermones deorum*, *magna*), themes not in tune with the cheerful lyre (*iocosa lyra*) he elsewhere masters so well. In the light of these contrasts *referre* may illustrate not only the metrical *licentia*, but serve to make the present anomaly related to the subject matter of Horace's *iocosa lyra* almost tangible.

I conclude, then, that the anomaly of the line ***in****auspicatos contudit impetus* was 'rectified' in part of the tradition by some metrically conscious grammarian. As *inauspicatos* has five prosodic parallels in the second line in the course of 84 stanzas the reading is in my view unobjectionable. The word itself is a symptom of *neglegentia deorum*. *Inauspicatus* or *auspicatus* does not occur elsewhere in Horace's lyrical poetry (*auspicā-* is excluded from the hexameter). *Inauspicatus* occurs for the first time according to *TLL* at Liv. 7. 6. 11 *num etiam in deos immortales inauspicatam legem valuisse?*

11 NOSTROS

Nisbet frames *nostros* with the utmost sign of disapproval, *cruces* on either side. Sh. B., however, keeps the word in his text, although his apparatus reveals his doubts: he would have preferred *nostratem* if this word had been poetical, but asks

whether *Romanam* would be a good idea (in favour of which he argues in *HSCP* 89, 1985, 156). For my own part, I can only say that neither *nostratem* nor *Romanam* deserves to be mentioned at the bottom of the text page. Priscian's *nostris* and Bentley's *nostrorum* have more to be said in their favour. Nisbet gives two reasons for branding the word as corrupt: *nostros* is not wanted after *inauspicatos impetus* and *nostros* "at the beginning of the line before a pause seems over-emphatic". This interpretation of the word is quite the opposite of my own: *nostros* is simply called for in its position. How *nostris* (dat.) should be taken is not clear. Is it to go with the previous line: "have the troops of Pacorus crushed the unsanctioned attacks *for our soldiers*" or is it, with a postponed *et* (11) to go with the following? This latter way is improbable: the two datives *nostris* and *torquibus* will easily confuse the listening ear as if *nostris* could belong, in a strong hyperbaton position, to *torquibus exiguis*, but the *torques* are clearly associated with the Persian soldiers. Nisbet suggested on his own account *praeclaram*, i.e. *praeclaram et adiecisse praedam/ torquibus exiguis renidet*, supposing that *praeclaram* had been corrupted to *praedam* followed by an attempt at substituting an appropriate word for the meaningless anadiplosis. After these complexities in a relatively simple syntactical structure, I welcome Rudd's sober view in the Oxford commentary as gratifying: "NR thinks that nostros can stand; for two epithets are permitted when one is a possessive (3. 13. 15 f. 'loquaces/lymphae desiliunt tuae'), and the emphasis on the word may stress the indignity of Roman defeats." Rudd is almost certainly right. As both Nisbet and Rudd point out in their note, in the Bandusia poem *lymphae* is clearly predicative and thereby gets an additional emphasis in addition to that of its prominent position. Not only the prominent position of *nostros* but also the enjambement adds emphasis: The Romans had *themselves* (emphatic *nostros*) launched these attacks (on *impetus* see *OLD s.v.* 2 b), which their archenemies had crushed (*contundo OLD s.v.* 3 a), due to the negligence of the gods at the start of their military undertakings (*inauspicatos*). Moreover: the natural word order *nostros et* makes the sentence as a whole both easier to grasp and more forceful.

19 CLADES

The word *labes* is a conjectural substitute for *clades* owed to Peerlkamp and has been adopted by Sh. B. Nisbet and Rudd ably defend *clades* adding the important viewpoint that "the political implications of the word suit the present context" whereby the reference to the *clades* suffered by Monaeses and Pacorus will be foremost in the readers' minds (9–12). Accordingly, there is little reason for mentioning conjectures like *labes* or *tabes* (Palmer) in the *apparatus criticus*; they belong instead to the *Appendix critica*.

20 IN PATRIAM POPULUMQUE

The conjecture of Bentley which he adopted in his text, *inque patres* instead of *in patriam*, has found much sympathy in Sh. B.'s *apparatus criticus*: "vereor ne recte". Bentley concedes that all manuscripts have in *patriam*, but adds

immediately: "numquam tamen a me impetrabunt, ut huic lectioni calculum apponam". As Jolliffe (1939) showed, investigating 12 important critical editions between Bentley (1711) and Plessis – Lejay (1924), nobody followed Bentley in this. N – R mention as parallel Ov. *Met*. 15. 572 *quidquid, ait, superi, monstro portenditur isto,/ seu laetum est*, ***patriae*** *laetum* ***populoque Quirini***.[10] N – R find Bentley's *inque* inelegant as the only other occurrence of this combination is at *S*. 1. 3 141. I would also add that double *que* (first after the preposition, the second time after the noun) seems not to be used in this way, see Bo III (1966) p. 193 and the examples there collected.

22 MATURA/ INNUPTA

Sh. B. rejects *matura* and writes *innupta* in his text. Stanza 6, about the perverse upbringing of young girls in contemporary society, and stanza 7 should be considered as a unity (see later): Stanza 6 deals with the girl of marriageable age, *matura virgo*, not yet married, but on the point of becoming *marita*.[11] *Innupta*, however, is not found elsewhere in Horace's oeuvre. In the first place, it would be less precise because it would broaden the time span dealt with in the sixth stanza. The word itself is not so self-evident as one might think at first glance: before ca. 25 B.C. *innupta* is used as adj. only by Vergil at *G*. 4. 476 according to *TLL s.v.*; as substantive it occurs four times in Catullus 62. It is hardly surprising that it is not used as epithet to *virgo* elsewhere; the combination would verge on a pleonasm.

It is not the *virgo* in general Horace focuses on, but the *matura virgo* in the relatively short period, usually a couple of years at most after the begin of her menstruation, until she enters into matrimony. During this period of time she is being taught the opposite of virtue and womanlike behaviour, namely indecent dances (*motus Ionici*) and the instruction even takes place to her own pleasure (*doceri* ***gaudet***). She is moreover trained in arts of a similar kind, that is in the tricks of flirtation, *artes* one would definitely associate with the practices of older and more 'experienced' women. Therefore, *iam nunc* ('already now') does not go beyond the time horizon of *matura virgo*, but adds to the poet's disapproval: such active *artes* are even more inappropriate for a young still unmarried girl than dances. In this second example she also seems to be more responsible herself as *fingitur* apparently implies much self-education. The third 'example' carries the poet's full condemnation: she has 'internalized' (*meditatur*) love affairs of the illicit kind – as a kind of behaviour she will take with her into the approaching marriage. On the connection between the stanzas see my whole argument below.

On this basis alone, I firmly believe that Sh. B.'s *innupta virgo* is one of this editor's more unsuccessful conjectures.

STANZAS 6–8 (LINES 21–32)

Whereas the five first stanzas of 3. 6 are each a separate unity in syntactical respect the three next (6–8) are a continuous whole both syntactically and with respect to its thematic concentration. I would therefore vote for a comma after 24 (*ungui*),

not a semi-colon (e.g. Williams, Sh. B., Rudd *LCL*) or even a full stop (Vollmer, Villeneuve, Klingner, Borszák). The unity is also marked by the descriptive character and the series of verbs in the present tense: *gaudet, fingitur, meditatur, quaerit, eligit, surgit*,[12] *vocat*.

The following analysis is meant to ease the understanding of the poet's argument and the issues involved. The subject of stanza 6 is, as shown above, *matura virgo*, a combination which has aroused more controversy in this poem than anything else. Nisbet has his second pair of *obeloi* with *matura* which he otherwise rightly takes to mean "'of marriageable age' (about 12 or 13)". He adds, however: "But in this context one expects the immaturity of the girl to be emphasized (which the immorality worsens)". This was more or less the point made already by Peerlkamp who would rather have "a matre", instead of *matura*, to go with *doceri*. Karl Lehrs suggested *Romana* (1867), Lucian Müller *acerba* (1901), Josef Delz (1988) suggested *nuptura*.

In spite of the individual scholarly ingenuity in these proposals they all fail to convince for the simple reason that no serious problem with *matura* can be ascertained. I understand *matura virgo* as a girl on the point of becoming married, a time suitable for looking ahead at what will be required of her in the state she is about to enter.

Matura is in fact the last word I would tamper with in this stanza. The relevant lines on the word in *TLL*[13] are well worth a closer look; a sample of the examples is: Plaut. *Merc*. 521 ***iam inde <a> matura aetate***,[14] *quom scis facere officium tuom, mulier*, i.e "already from your early youth"; Verg. *A*. 7. 53 ***iam matura viro***; Ovid *Fast*. 2. 559 ***quae*** *cupidae* ***matura*** *videbere matri*; Vitr. 4. 1. 9 ***Virgo*** *. . .* ***iam matura nuptiis*** *. . . decessit*; Stat. *Silv*. 3. 1. 175 f. *iuvenes spectare nepotes/ donec et hic sponsae maturus et* ***illa*** *(sc.* ***matura***) ***marito***; Gell. 12. 8. 4 *nam P. Scipio filiam* ***virginem*** *habens* ***iam viro maturam*** *. . .*; Claud. *Carm. min*. 25. 125 ***Matura*** *tumescit* ***virginitas***; Claud. *Rapt. Proserp*. 1. 130 (somewhat pleonasticly expressed) *iam* ***matura toro*** *plenis adoleverat annis/* ***virginitas***. All expressions with *matura* point to the same early, though sexually mature age.

As a sign of the defilement of marriage something of the opposite has become common. In other words: the preparation for marriage consists in learning frivolous Ionian dances. Already before matrimony she is being educated in the art of coquetry belonging to women of quite another sort. As the third and culminating element in the depiction of the mentality of the young girl brought up in this way: the marriageable *virgo* devotes her thoughts to illicit affairs. A sort of increasing moral decline comes to the fore in the stanza through *motus Ionicos*, *artibus* and *incestos amores*.

What, then, does *de tenero . . . ungui*, or rather what do we expect the expression to mean in view of the context? The girl has the same age all through the stanza. In so far we agree with the Nisbet's estimate: 12 or 13 years of age is here as well the relevant period of time Horace is focusing on. Puberty, then, is seen as the most important transition in a young girl's life: *tener unguis* is associated with the last time before puberty. It is not surprising that Horace pushes language more to its edge in depicting the culpable situation in his rhetorically effective

way. We are, then, closer to Nisbet's interpretation than to Rudd's "with every fibre of her being" ("with total absorption" *LCL*) which does not fit the context. The best parallel for the meaning Horace attributes to the expression seems to be Claudian's *De sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti* 79–80 *dilectaeque urbis* [i.e. Roma] ***tenero*** *conceptus* ***ab ungue****/ tecum crevit amor*, approximately "from early childhood". As to meaning, *tener unguis* is probably not much different from *tenera aetas*. In each of three sentences in stanza 6 the time closest to an early marriage is at the centre of the poet's attention, each is defined in temporal terms *matura virgo*, *iam nunc* belonging to *fingitur*,[15] *de tenero ungui*. The link with the seventh stanza is provided by *incestos amores* as Horace proceeds to the next phase by means of *mox*, but without defining the girl's new status for the simple reason that he does not need to. After *mox* everyone understands that she is married as signalled by *inter* ***mariti*** *vina* (26) and then in the eighth stanza, with the same word in the same place, a repetition with the use of a rhetorical effective polyptoton (*marito*) whereas the situation itself only becomes more shameless (cf. *dedecorum*).

Our conclusion about these stanzas, then, is negative and conservative. If I had been an editor, I would only have given a reference to the *appendix critica* for line 22 to signal that an emendation is neither needed nor worthy of serious contemplation.

36 DIRUM

If it had not been for Quintilian 8. 2. 9 *dirum* for *durum* (*codd*.) would have been a nice trophy for the scholar proposing the change of only one letter.

To conclude this appendix: on the basis of the repertory of conjectures the text of Horace needs a companion volume somewhat like Bruce M. Metzger's indispensable *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (2nd ed. 1994, 9th reprint 2012), Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft. Whether one will end up closer to the radicalism of Sh. B. or to the conservatism of Borszák is a moot question. The result can anyway become a 'catalogue raisonné' of textual criticism summing up and evaluating the endeavours of half a millennium.

Notes

1 See http://tekstlab.uio.no/horace
2 The word emendation reveals or should reveal a high ambition, but many conjectures even today are no more than non-committal ideas produced on the spur of the moment. They often reveal their irresponsible nature by their lack of specific support from their own originators.
3 I mention here only these editions among the hundreds of editions. A broader investigation of editors' practices would, of course, be welcome.
4 On Nisbet in general, and not least on his cooperation with Niall Rudd, see Harrison (2014) in his detailed account. On his attitude towards textual criticism see Harrison's verdict "Textual criticism of both prose and poetry was a keynote of Nisbet's career from first to last."
5 His *Praefatio* was signed in January 1984.

6 Sh. B.'s textual comments are found, partly in his *Profile of Horace* (1982), partly in his *Selected Classical Papers* (1997), Borzsák's in a series of papers mentioned in his edition, p. IX and in *Eine Handvoll. Ausgewählte kleine Schriften von István Borzsák*, Budapest 1999.
7 See also my preliminary remarks about *immeritus* I 8, n. 3.
8 Cf. Talbot (2007, 43).
9 For a discussion of the effects achieved by these transgressions see Talbot (2007, 41–61).
10 On the point of laying down his arms in the light of this parallel Bentley finds a conjecture to 'save' his 'magnus conatus', namely *seu laetum est,* ***patribus*** *laetum populoque Quirini*.
11 *marita* is only used by Horace at *Epod*. 8. 13 *nec sit marita, quae rotundioribus/ onusta bacis ambulet*. A *marita* would be of indeterminate age; that is perhaps why Horace shuns to use it here.
12 Campbell's conjectured future tense *quaeret . . . eliget . . . surget* in stanza 7 and 8 does not square well with my analysis of 21–32 as a description of a topical situation.
13 *Col*. 499, 38ff.
14 The text here is not sure, however.
15 This means that I reject a comma after *artibus* (like e.g. Villeneuve).

10 *Carm*. 3. 14. 11. Bentley vindicated

This is how lines 10–12 are presented in Borzsák's edition:

. . . . Vos, o pueri et puellae 10
non virum expertae, male †nominatis†
parcite verbis.

This is his *apparatus criticus*:

10 puellae et *Torrentius* (*cf. ad 3*, *1*, *39*) puellae ac *Horkel* puellae*, Maas* **11** iam virum expertae *codd. omn.; post tot (et quales!) coniecturas Maas* (*coll. Callim. hymn. 6*, *118*) *locum vexatissimum rectius ut videtur interpretatus est ('und nunmehr ihr . . . ')*; audacius *Delz* (*Mus. Helv. 1973, 53 sqq*.) : coniugi expertes male ominatis **V A**^{2} **E U** *pr*. (*?*) ***γ*MI**^{2} *Ott*.^{1} *Ox*. **P** male nominatis **aBU**^{2} *post ras*. **R Fλpu** *Ott*.^{2} *et ante ras*. **Al**^{1} *quod non facile interpretaberis* (*Paul. Nol. ad Nicetam, v. 153 sq*. tuque **N**.: bene nominatus corporis victor *ne ex contrario quidem huc spectat*); male inominatis *Bentley* (*coll. ep. 16*, *38* inominata cubilia) ab inominatis *Delz coll. Liv. 25, 25, 6 et Hor. s. 1*, *4*, *129*; *de loco vix sanabili fusius disseruit W. Peters, Die Stellung der Handschriftenkl. Q, Hamburg 1954, 26 sq.: nuper H. Y. McCulloch, Hermes 110 (1982) 382 sqq*.

*

So much is evident from this conglomerate that the editor considers line 11 *vix sanabilis*. Here Shackleton Bailey is a superior critic on both heads: his text convinces and his stripped *apparatus criticus* has all the succinct clarity needed.

In the three first stanzas of *Carm*. 3. 14 Horace describes the public celebrations on the occasion of Augustus's return from a long and relatively uneventful Spanish campaign in 24 B.C. The participation of Livia and Octavia marks the occasion as a grand one. The official mustering of girls and boys from the best families to take part and the *vittae* decorating the mothers are signs that the religious side of it all is on the highest level. The *supplices vittae* (cf. 8) and the sacrifice (6) to the gods tell of a thanksgiving ceremony rejoicing in the happy return of Augustus and his army.

To replace the unsatisfactory manuscript readings (*male nominatis/ male ominatis*) conjectures have been numerous,[1] but only Bentley's *male inominatis* is

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worthy of serious discussion. Today *male nominatis* is still taken in influential quarters as a 'calque sémantique' (see Nisbet – Rudd *ad loc*. and Nisbet – Hubbard on 1. 27. 9 and 2. 19. 29) based on δυσώνυμος meaning, so it is argued, not only 'bearing an unlucky name' but also 'of ill omen'. But even assuming that δυσώνυμα ῥήματα were a familiar combination with the latter meaning in Greek (which I doubt), it is inescapable that *nominata verba* is a "unerhörte Verbindung" (Kiessling – Heinze). It is strange to see that Nisbet – Rudd (2004 on the suggestion of J. G. F. Powell) adduce *verba nuncupare* as a possible source of inspiration for *verba nominare* without seeing that *nuncupatis* would have been a much better word to use. If, on the other hand, *nuncupatis* had been what Horace wrote here, I do not see how it could end up with *nominatis/ominatis*.

Bentley's palmary emendation *inominatis verbis* has won far too little recognition in view of its eminence.[2] In the course of the last 100 years, only Shackleton Bailey has adopted it in his text. It is especially disappointing that it is not approved by the authoritative voices of Nisbet and Rudd nor by Rudd in his Loeb edition. Gordon Williams tried, in vain in my view, to discredit this conjecture in his commentary.[3] *Inominatus* is coined after *inauspicatus* (see *TLL* 7,1,842,27–42).[4] *Auspicium* all but converges with *omen* in some uses (cf. *auspicium OLD s.v.* 5 and *omen s.v.* 1 d and 2 a). For two reasons *inominatus* is secondary to *inauspicatus*: 1) it is only recorded by the *TLL* with one example from Horace,[5] whereas *inauspicatus/ non auspicatus* is known both from Horace (*Carm*. 3. 6. 9–10 *Iam bis Monaeses et Pacori manus/ inauspicatos contudit impetus* see earlier my chapter I, 9) and other authors[6] and 2) an adj. *ominatus* corresponding to the fairly common *auspicatus* is also rare. *Epod*. 16. 37b-38 *mollis et exspes/ inominata perpremat cubilia* is rendered well by David West (1997): "The weak and hopeless/ let them stay and burden their doomed beds." I consider this a rather clear example of *enallage adjectivi*: it is the *indocilis grex* which is *inominatus*, 'ill-omened', 'doomed'.

My text is therefore

. . . . Vos, o pueri et puellae
non virum expertae, male inominatis
parcite verbis.

As for the *apparatus criticus*, mine would preferably be a simplified version of Shackleton Bailey's:

11 non virum *Bentley* : iam virum *codd*. Σχ • male inominatis *Bentley* : male nominatis A B R λ l Ψ P^1 : male ominatis E V *P* (*?*): ab inominatis *Delz*
(cf. Liv. 25. 25. 6)

Notes

1 W. Nötzel, "Zu Horaz c. III. 14", *RhM* 101, 1958, 285–287 (*male in omen aptis*); J. Delz, "Glossen im Horaztext?", *MH* 30, 1973, 53–54 (*ab inominatis*).

2 Among older editions only Meineke (1854) and L. Müller seem to have accepted Bentley's emendation.

3 Gordon Williams says 1) that Bentley's strongest parallel *Epod*. 16. 38 *inominatus* in the line *inominata perpremat cubilia* does not mean 'ill-omened', but 'un-omened', an idea that is quite unconvincing and 2) that intensive *male* is quite inappropriate because it is not used with negative adjectives. This is patently wrong in view of Horace's own *male dispari* at *Carm*. 1. 17. 25 and the examples collected by Nisbet – Hubbard in their note on 1. 9. 24.
4 Probably by Horace himself, cf. Kiessling – Heinze on *S*. 1. 3. 3.
5 But H. Y. McCulloch, "The Ill-omened Murder of Piso (Tac. Hist. I, 43)", *Hermes* 110, 1982, 380–384 has in my view convincingly restored it also at Tac. *Hist*. 1. 43. 2. His argument for *inominatus* at *Carm*. 3. 14. 11 should be carefully considered (*art. cit*. p. 382).
6 See *TLL* 7,842,27ff.

11 *Carm*. 4. 8. 9–10. *rerum* replacing *res**

> Sed non haec mihi vis, nec tibi talium
> res est aut animus deliciarum egens.
>
> "But I have no such store, nor does thy condition or thy spirit crave such toys."
> [Bennett 1914, *LCL*]
>
> "But none of that lies within my power, and neither your circumstances nor your tastes require such luxuries."
> [Rudd 2004b, *LCL*]

Whereas *nec tibi talium/ est . . . animus deliciarum egens* causes no particular problem for the reader on the linguistic level, dealing as the distich does with a praiseworthy rejection of luxurious gifts,[1] the alternative with *res* as subject is far from straightforwardly phrased. In other words: what is meant by *nec tibi talium/ res est . . . . deliciarum egens* ("your condition/ circumstances do(es) not crave/ require such toys/ luxuries")?

It is interesting to compare the latest commentators on the Fourth Book of Odes. R. F. Thomas (2011) writes:

> 'and you're not concerned with such luxuries nor do you have a mind that needs them'. An example of syllepsis, with *est tibi* construed differently (though correctly: *tibi res est* and *tibi animus est*) in both clauses, *talium . . . deliciarum* going ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with *res* (cf. *OLD s.v. res* 10 c) and *egens*.

But the usage referred to in *OLD s.v.* 10 c ("*res est mihi cum*, and sim., I am concerned with, have to deal with") cannot be applied to this case. As shown by the examples quoted, this expression is always defined well enough semantically by being combined with *cum* + (usually) a living being.[2] The one Vergilian example (*A*. 9. 154) sheds light on the issue: *haud sibi cum Danais rem faxo et pube Pelasga/ esse ferant* (Turnus speaking to his men about the Trojans: "I'll see to it that they don't say they are dealing with Greeks and Pelasgian man power"), uttered in a rather crude and colloquial military manner.[3] If Horace had said **nec tibi cum talibus deliciis res est*, the meaning would at least have resembled this

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idiom. It is moreover out of the question that *talium . . . deliciarum* can belong both to *res* and to *egens* at the same time; it belongs definitely to *est egens* alone. So the earlier way of construing the sentence must be rejected.

Contrary to this abstract way of taking *res* the Italian commentator Paolo Fedeli (2008) understands the word in a concrete sense, as many others before him had done, with *res* being equivalent to *res familiaris* (cf. *OLD s.v. res* 1). I paraphrase his interpretation like this: "As you <Censorinus> are rich enough already it is not sensible for me <even if it had been within my power> to honour you by donating luxury objects to you." But the clumsiness involved is nonetheless striking: on the one hand something external, quasi personified, as subject, *tibi* ***res*** *est egens*: "your wealth/ family fortune is not in need" (with a loosely appended *dat. sympatheticus*); on the other hand the owner himself taking over the picture, *tibi* ***animus*** *est egens*, "your spirit is not in need", i.e. you yourself have no inclination for such luxuries. Queer, but perhaps not inconceivable as a linguistic experiment, but not easily if at all grasped by a native ear, I should think.

I react also to the much-emphasized hyperbaton in the text and see no obvious motive for it. The designation "such luxuries" is perhaps a bit too sweeping as well. Horace has just described precious objects starting with *paterae, aera* and *tripodes* and ending with *artes* (paintings, statues), the latter specified as exquisite masterpieces of the highest order.

My conclusion is, then, that the sentence is not immediately convincing in its transmitted form and needs emendation:

My proposal is to substitute *res* with *rerum*:

> Sed non haec mihi vis, nec tibi talium
> rerum est aut animus deliciarum egens.

'The proof of the pudding' – that is of my construction: **nec tibi est animus egens talium rerum aut deliciarum*. The postponement of *animus* (after *aut*) is probably the factor that in the first place caused the corruption. As seen from the perspective of my solution: an ἀπὸ κοινοῦ there undoubtedly is, but it has to do with *est . . . egens*, a form of predicate that anyway eases the belated *animus* considerably by bridging the alternatives *rerum* and *deliciarum*. The described objects in the previous passage are both of high market value (*res* pl.), then (*aut* = 'or rather', cf. *OLD s.v.* 6 b) there are objects apt to give high artistic pleasure to their owner (*deliciae*). Finally it goes without saying that the construction in its emended and simpler form **nec tibi est animus egens talium rerum aut deliciarum* has become rhetorically more effective in its context, viz. both in relation to the preceding *non . . . mihi vis* (*haec* being 'this sort of' corresponding with *talium*) and in relation to the following *gaudes carminibus*. And not least important: Horace no longer emphasizes Censorinus's wealth quite as much. The poem makes more sense if Censorinus was not particularly noteworthy for his wealth among the addressees of Horace.

Notes

* Cf. *SO* 87, 2013, 134–136.

1 "non c'è alcun bisogno di aggiungere altri splendidi oggetti a quelli che già si trovano in casa sua" (Fedeli – Ciccarelli (2008) *ad loc*.).

2 In comedy the dative is sometimes left out: *Sed utriscum rem esse mavis?* ("But which of the two lots do you prefer to deal with?") Plaut. *Truc*. 153.

3 Clearly imitated by Silius Italicus (Juno chides Hannibal as he is approaching the walls of Rome) *non tibi cum Phrygio res Laurentive colono* (12. 706).

12 *Carm*. 4. 8. A distorted ode*

Scholarly opinions on ode 4. 8 differ as widely as ever even today.[1] One or the other of the following positions has been held in the past by respected scholars and must evidently still be reckoned with. I have collected the alternatives here with a view to dissuading others from choosing a solution at random which often enough has been the case:

I 'the extremes': **a** the poem is not by Horace, **b** all of it is genuine,
II two interpolated lines, 28 & 33: **a** divisible 2x16, **b** 4x8,
III two interpolated lines, 17 & 33: **a** divisible 2x16, **b** 4x8,[2]
IV four interpolated lines, 15b – 19a,
V six interpolated lines: **a** 14–17, 24b – 26a, **b** 14–17, 28 & 33, **c** 15b – 19a, 28 & 33,
VI incomplete poem, with lacuna after: **a** 17, **b** 16 & 17, **c** 32,
VII 1–28 genuine, the rest being spurious and has ousted the lost genuine part.[3]

It is fair to say that these opinions are not on an equal footing, in other words that some of them must be closer to truth than others and that only painstaking evaluations can distinguish the wheat from the tares. Whether my own solution, underlined in the earlier survey, in combination with a brand-new conjecture, will stand scrutiny, is, of course, an open question, but hopefully it will be debated in the years to come. The advocates of most of the earlier positions are likely to agree, however, that the ode *Donarem pateras* has not only suffered from corruption but is also one of the less successful among the 104 *carmina*. I will question this evaluation as well.

To mention some of the more or less unresolved issues in random order: it has often been an enigma that just this ode, at first glance unimportant compared with some of the others in the collection, has received a pride of place in it. A primary concern of ours will therefore be, directly and indirectly, to try to shed some beneficial light on this issue. Then one has to ask: whom was the ode written for? Censorinus the elder or the younger? And what was the occasion? Should we assess the poem's mood as serious, light-hearted or even comic? Does the ode comply with Meineke's Law? If so, which are the interpolated lines? In particular: is Scipio Africanus an integral part of the poem or to be expunged from it? And whom is the poet referring to by the expression *Calabrae Pierides*?

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The order of these questions is, however, by no means unimportant. One issue should in particular be resolved before all others: does our poem comply with Meineke's Law? If the answer is found to be in the affirmative, it cannot be doubted that we have here a criterion of utmost importance. Thus, unlike Jachmann (1935, 331), I do not save this issue for the end of my investigation in case it should become relevant when other arguments have had their say. I for one consider the issue an essential basis for any analysis of the poem right from the start.

LEX MEINEKIANA AND 4. 8

The 'Lex Meinekiana' (or 'Lex Meineke'), though generally accepted by scholars as a fundamental truth in dealing with the Odes of Horace, has from time to time been overshadowed by discussions about the stanzaic division versus the thought structure and syntactical units, an approach which is admittedly an interesting and worthwhile topic to investigate in itself. The virtuosity of Horace in this respect, however, may have led some scholars astray concerning *Carm*. 4. 8. In my view, we should strive primarily to see the basic categories involved and to get the appropriate bird's-eye view on the metrical division lines.

There are 121 poems of Horace altogether, i.e. comprising both the *carmina* (*Saec*. included) and the *iambi* (epodes). They can be grouped as:

Four-line poems (tetrasticha, quatrains), only in the *Carminum libri*: 79 poems (37 Alcaic, 26 Sapphic and 16 Asclepiadean poems),
Two-line poems (disticha, couplets): 16 epodes, 18 odes (= 34)
One-line poems (monosticha, stichic): one epode (17), 7 odes (including 3. 12[4]) (= 8)

When Horace published his Book of *Epodes* (around 30 B.C.) he was already a versatile metrician:[5] in the ten first poems of that collection we find regular iambic disticha (trimeter + dimeter). His iambic genre has indeed more on its formal palette, however: In the last part (11–16) Horace has combined a dactylic hexameter with various lines (11: elegiambus, 12: catalectic dactylic tetrameter, 13: iambelegus; 14 and 15: iambic dimeter like in the ten first poems, 16: iambic senarius) whereas the last poem (17) consists solely of stichic iambic trimeters. Among the 16 epodic disticha Horace has thus 6 different systems, 5 of which are represented in the second half of the collection (11–16).

In the ensuing years, Horace devoted himself wholly to lyrics, at least from 29 onwards until 23, that is for more than six years. His *carmina* is a new genre in metrical respect as well.

The most marked feature among the 88 poems of Odes I to III is his (somewhat modified) use of four-line stanzas used by Alcaeus (37 poems) and by Sappho (26 poems). The rest is characterized by asclepiads combined with either a pherecratean + glyconic (second asclepiad system) used for the first time in 1. 5 or combined with a glyconic only in 1. 6. These four-line (tetrastichic) systems, stanzaic as we may call them, Horace uses in more than three-fourths of all odes (79 out

of 104) with a number of syllables in the stanza ranging from 38 to 44. By nature they comply with Meineke's Law and constitute indeed, as we shall see, the decisive factor for his wish to implement the law in the non-stanzaic poems as well.

Whereas four-line stanzas are represented only in the *carmina*, the distich poems are divided quite evenly between the epodes and the odes: 16 against 18. Of the 18 odes, less than a fourth in comparison with the tetrastichic group, all of which comply with Meineke's Law in having a number of lines divisible by four. In the *Epodes* all but one are disticha, but only half of them are divisible by four. It is evident that the Lex Meineke does not apply to the epodic genre and, on the other hand, that the poet has deliberately made it apply to his distich odes. The law seems, in other words, applied in these poems to signal their lyrical nature. They are in harmony with the stanzaic majority of poems in a basic numeric respect. This external feature, however, is not enough to separate them clearly from the epodes. A careful analysis of Epode 12 in relation to the two odes written in the same meter, *Carm*. 1. 7 and 1. 20, would be instructive in that respect.[6]

Six *carmina* in stichic asclepiads, then, remain to be compared with one poem in stichic iambs in the *Epodes*: *Epod*. 17 has 81 lines and is neither divisible by four nor by two. The six *carmina* of this category fall into two rather distinct categories. The dedication poem to Maecenas, 1. 1, with its continuous series of asclepiads, stands apart from the rest of the First Book also in metrical respect. In the stichic systems a syntactic notch after quatrains of lines seems mostly either lightly marked (1. 1. 8; 1. 11. 4) or altogether neglected (3. 30; 4. 10), the exceptions being 1. 1. 28 and 4. 8. 8 and 12 (as to 4. 8. 24 see later). The structure of these poems is more subtle than revealed by one's first impression: poem 1. 1 consists of 36 lines (4 × 9) giving us almost no assistance from the syntax for perceiving a structure divisible by 4; after line 28, however, there is a clear notch setting off the last eight lines. The opening poem has most probably a double structure to prevent a too marked impression of a stanzaic form. Another structure propounded by Elter (1907, 49, cf. particularly for the layout p. 70) should be heeded: 1. 1–2 may be seen as an introductory distich followed by entities comprising tetrastichs to which is added a final distich. By means of this sort of double structure, Horace seems deliberately to avoid the impression of a neat division by tetrastichs. Its counterpart, 3. 30, seems to confirm this: it is a shorter poem with 16 lines (4 × 4). It is quite, almost ostentatiously, free from syntactical pauses that could indicate a four-line structure; the pauses are always *inside* the imaginary four-line groups as if to remind us that the poem is a coda as tightly knit as any, but free in relation to the stanza form of the great majority of odes. This should be a warning to editors against applying Meineke's Law with automatic space between four-line groupings, as most Teubner editions cling to even in this poem (see later).

The other type, the 'Fifth Asclepiad', consists of the Greater Asclepiad with 16 syllables a line due to the added choriamb: 1. 11; 1. 18 and 4. 10. These poems do not have addressees of equal importance, however. 1. 11 comprises only eight lines and has no syntactical pause after four lines; 1. 18 has only syntactical pause after line 8. The short poem 4. 10, with only eight lines, has no such pause.

To sum up the metrical section: *all* systems so far considered end with a number of lines divisible by four. Compulsive proof of the universal validity of Meineke's Law is above all provided by the metrical systems consisting of alternating lines and stichic lines, that is 1) the six poems 1. 4; 1. 7; 1. 8; 1. 28; 2. 18; 4. 7 and 2) the five stichic asclepiad poems (1. 1; 1. 11; 1. 18; 3. 30; 4. 10). Statistically half of the former group could have been exceptions had it not been for the law. In the second group only one or two poems would have had a number of lines divisible by four if Horace had not sought to establish the same numeric principle for these poems as well. So again, why should 4. 8 alone be an exception? In all future editions, it will, hopefully, fall in place with the others.

For the time being, however, we are content to recommend the textual presentation that seems best in accordance with our survey of the metrical habits described earlier. The preferable thing for an editor would be to adopt a uniform layout for all 104 poems. I for one cannot see valid reasons for printing the text of these poems with space between stanzas, whether these are of the orderly kind of four lines (i.e. Sapphic, Alcaic, Asclepiad Second and Third) or consisting of either disticha (Greater Sapphic, [Fourth] Asclepiad, Archilochean, Hipponactean) or of the stichic kind (First and Fifth Asclepiad, Ionics). The oral or recitative practice is a basic condition to observe and indeed a unifying factor for all lyrical poems of Horace. In the ordinary four-line stanzas, the listener will easily perceive their structure in the other systems where there are alternating (disticha) or stichic lines Horace is anxious to bring about the unity represented by all stanzaic systems. Systems *without* an inherent structure have in other words clearly been adjusted to the basic form of the majority.

It should come as no surprise, then, that we are in favour of a more uniform presentation of the odes. The diversified and fortuitous treatment of the stichic odes found in the Teubner editions should be discontinued. Below I present a survey of five Teubnerianae in this respect: Müller 1901[3], Vollmer 1907, Klingner 1959[3], Borzsák 1984 and Shackleton Bailey 2001[4] (stanza = grouping of four lines, distichon = groupings of two lines):

	Müller	Vollmer	Klingner	Borzsák	Sh. B.
1. 1	stanza	stanza	continuous	distichon	continuous
1. 11	stanza	stanza	continuous	distichon	continuous
1. 18	stanza	stanza	continuous	distichon	continuous
3. 30	stanza	stanza	stanza	distichon	stanza
4. 8	stanza	stanza	stanza	distichon	stanza
4. 10	stanza	stanza	stanza	distichon	stanza

None of these editions complies with my own requirements for an optimal layout. Müller, Vollmer and Borzsák are at least consistent, Klingner and Shackleton Bailey both change their practice from one form used in the First Book to adopting a division by 'stanzas' from 3. 30 onwards, but the reason for this switch is inscrutable to me.[7] I therefore recommend future editors to adopt the simple continuous layout of Wickham – Garrod 1912 (cf. my own text at the end).[8]

THE CORE OF THE MATTER: THE ROMAN HEROES (13–24)

The following pages I have written with a view to opening up a new path to the poem by removing the most persistent obstructions in that regard, like *Calabrae Pierides* in lines 14–15a and *eius* in line 18. If successful, I hope that my analysis will contribute to a greater appreciation of an admirable ode. I start therefore in the highly controversial middle section.

Calabrae Pierides (20)

It was an early opinion, traceable as far back as to Martial (5. 30. 2; 8. 18. 5; 12. 94. 5),[9] that Horace was a *Calaber*. As shown convincingly by Jachmann (1935, 348f.) this opinion had no other basis than *Calabrae Pierides* in our poem. Nothing else uttered by Horace about his original home district can support Martial's claim. Although Porphyrio as well embraces this interpretation (*sua vult intellegi carmina, quia in urbe Venusia natus est, quae est in Calabria atque Apulia*),[10] one may suspect that both Martial and Porphyrio had vague notions about the geography of Southern Italy. The essential thing, however, is that Horace could not have referred to himself as a *Calaber* and even less could he have identified himself as a *poet* by way of *Calabrae Pierides*. He knew, of course, that the distance between Venusia in Apulia, his own birthplace, and Rudiae in Calabria, the birthplace of Ennius, was on a rough estimate about three days' hasty journey (about 250 km) along existing roads.[11] This made a misunderstanding and possible confusion improbable among Horace's contemporaries.[12] Such a misunderstanding is the more unlikely as educated Romans immediately would have seen *Calabrae Pierides* as pointing to Ennius.

Why the Muses of *Ennius* and not the Muses in general? To start with the most basic division line in the poem, that between 12 (*donare et pretium dicere muneri*) and 13 (*non incisa notis marmora publicis*): *Calabrae Pierides* would not have been meaningful if the examples had been only Romulus on the Roman side (22–24) versus the Greek heroes of lines 26–34 (Aeacus, Tyndaridae, Hercules and Liber). Greek Muses (*Pierides*) on Italian soil (*Calabrae*) require both a poet writing in Latin and a Roman example in front. Admittedly, we have at least one clear-cut Roman example, viz. Romulus, father of the *Romula gens* (*Saec*. 47; *Carm*. 4. 5. 1). It is a common belief that *Calabrae Pierides* could well refer exclusively to the *Annales*.[13] Is the whole truth, then, that *Calabrae Pierides* refers to Romulus as the prime and only national example? This would indeed be the consequence if we were to follow the notable line of scholars from Lachmann to Shackleton Bailey (V c in the survey earlier). Now Horace introduces Romulus in the form of an explicative/causal asyndeton (*quid foret Iliae/ Mavortisque puer*, etc. 22f.). All educated Romans, not least Censorinus himself among them, were certainly aware that Romulus and his accomplishments were celebrated in the *Annals* of Ennius and filled a substantial part of the First Book, perhaps also a part of the Second. Ennius's account started with the birth of Romulus (*Ann*. 34ff. Sk.,

cf. our poem's *Iliae/Mavortisque puer*) and ended with his apotheosis (*Ann*. 110f. Sk.). Romulus is no doubt a hero *par excellence* in a Roman context. Of course, the followers of Lachmann's famous brackets would, for good reason, say that the *Annals* of Ennius had immortalized a number of great Roman *duces* (cf. *ducibus* at line 15 in our poem), Romulus being the most eminent among them. I think comments in this direction are inadequate and only partly truthful (for which assertion see later). As we shall soon see, there is a connection between *Calabrae Pierides* and Romulus, though more subtle and learned than is seen at first glance.

The syntax (13–22)

It is basic for our reading, and indeed for our understanding of the text itself, that the first syntactic unity, beginning with *non . . . marmora* (13) and ending with *mercedem tuleris* (22a), consists of two finite verbs, *indicant* (19) and *tuleris* (22), each with a negation (*non*, *neque*) and each centring around *Calabrae Pierides* and exhibiting the lucid structure *non . . . marmora . . . indicant . . . neque . . . mercedem tuleris*.[14] What is confronted in the first part of this structure is poetry (*Pierides*) set against official inscriptions (*incisa . . . marmora* 13), whereas the second part, in a chiastic arrangement, has likewise poetry (*chartae* 21), but this time opposed to taciturnity (*taciturnitas* 23), leading inevitably to oblivion. In both cases, then, poetry is the pivotal factor. In each part of the structure, poetry is opposed to something less effective (*incisa . . . marmora*) or downright negative and reprehensible (*taciturnitas* 23). What about the poet's role on behalf of poetry? Only in the latter case, in the second half of the long passage 13–24, does poetry have an exclusive position in combatting *taciturnitas*. To my knowledge the authenticity of the text in the second part has only been questioned by Peerlkamp and Schütz, but their arguments do not convince.[15] The core of the matter is undoubtedly the problematic passage, eight lines, which the transmission has provided for us in the first part of this structure. Already by its sheer length, it upsets the balance of the poem's centre. Two and half of these lines *(non celeres fugae/ reiectaeque retrorsum Hannibalis minae,/ non incendia Carthaginis impiae* 15b – 17) exemplify the achievements of the *duces* 15a.[16] The plural *duces* is, however, only provisional; immediately it becomes clear that one man is after all at the centre of attention also in the first part. Thus a certain historic individual represents in fact the heroic element prominent in both parts of the structure (*laudes* in the first part being varied by *quod bene feceris* in the second), but in order to allow the achievements of the first of these Roman heroes to be exemplified in detail the first part is growing out of all proportion spoiling what the poet focuses on as the counterpart to poetry (see our analysis earlier). 15b – 17, then, qualify eminently as an alien addition.

So far I am quite in agreement with Lachmann. A convincing defence of the logic[17] and contents of these two and a half lines (15b – 17) has not come to the fore. On the contrary: that the lines must be rejected can be claimed also on other strong grounds.[18] Instead of repeating them here,[19] I will concentrate next on the virtues of what is genuine.

Non incisa notis marmora publicis (13)

Horace starts with mentioning honorary inscriptions carved in stone (marble). His use of the word *marmor* is classified in *TLL s.v.* (8,410,35) as "tabula sepulchralis vel ipsum sepulchrum inscriptione incisum", in other words as referring to a time after the death of the person(s) concerned. As can be seen immediately afterwards in the same Thesaurus column, line 13 may just as well, or even better, be taken as a case of "crusta marmorea in pariete posita". In any case, the material (*marmor*) with its inscription (*OLD s.v. nota* 6 b) is the essential point in the context. In principle, Horace could well be referring to an arch[20] or honorary column[21] erected to celebrate a *living* person, like the Columna rostrata in honour of C. Duilius. With its *elogium* carved in Luna marble it stood in a prominent place in the northwestern corner of the Forum.[22]

per quae spiritus et vita redit bonis/ post mortem ducibus (14–15a)

This relative clause, inserted in the otherwise complicated structure, is likely in itself to cause confusion,[23] not so much by its form which squares well enough with Horace's other asclepiads, as by its general purport. *Marmora* changes suddenly its meaning from line 13 (see earlier) and emerges in line 14 illustrating the meaning "de certis operibus e marmore factis" (*TLL* 8,410,26ff.), in other words not a *crusta marmorea incisa*, that is an inscription, but a *statua marmorea* like e.g. Stat. *Silv*. 4. 6. 26 f. [*monstrabit*] *laboriferi* ***vivant*** *quae* ***marmora*** *caelo/ Praxitelis* ("which marble statues live from the chisel of laborious Praxiteles"). As a matter of course it is statues, not inscriptions, that can make the dead appear as if they were alive. This has been misunderstood by some commentators (e.g. Becker (1963) 186 f.). Who would not in this case think of the famous lines *A*. 6. 847–848? In this passage Vergil has succeeded in fusing the two forms of sculpture, bronze and marble, into the one concept of animated *mimesis*: *excudent alii* ***spirantia mollius*** *aera/ (credo equidem)*, ***vivos*** *ducent de marmore* ***vultus***? I would call 14–15a an *imitatio Vergilii*. However, is the imitator Horace or an interpolator? A decisive argument is in my view found in *per quae* which shows that the author of line 14 has wrongly envisaged from the start marble statues with their *elogia* written underneath. I do not believe that Horace himself could have jumped from talking about marble inscriptions to focusing on sculpture in such an ambiguous or floppy way. This must be the work of an interpolator pursuing his own agenda. Moreover, Horace could scarcely have wished to direct our thoughts towards brilliant artists (like the aforementioned sculptor Scopas) who were immediately before considered as his most prominent colleagues in the *artes*. His own ambition in lyrical poetry is to be a counterpart to sculptors like Parrhasius and Scopas and fit to compete with their excellence, each of whom is *sollers nunc hominem ponere, nunc deum*. Had Horace written line 14 he would in reality have created the impression that he was about to concede superiority to the visual arts. For it would have been hard, if not impossible for poetry to compete with such a

revitalizing power in the visual arts. As to inscriptions, on the other hand, they are least of all able to bring breath and life back to dead heroes. And, even worse: if Horace had written 14–15a (*per quae . . . ducibus*), he would have damaged the gist of his own main point which is to compare inscriptions and poetic encomia. The almost braggart and grandiloquent extension of *incisa marmora* in the line *per quae*, etc., punctures effectively the modest aspiration on behalf of his art which the poet has indicated as his starting point.[24] What Horace wants to say in the form of an understatement is that honorary tributes to a person's achievements by means of an official inscription cannot *really* compete with panegyric poetry.

eius qui domita nomen ab Africa/ lucratus rediit (18–19a)

As to *eius*, it is safe to say that Horace could never have used such a form in a lyrical poem. The suggestion that he may have imitated archaic Latin or old epigraphic style[25] has nothing to recommend itself in so fastidious and consistent a poet. The form *eius* is otherwise only in use as rare exceptions by contemporary poets:[26] Ovid has *eius* three times (but *huius* 81 times), Lucan and Valerius Flaccus have avoided it, Silius Italicus has it only once. Horace himself has it in his hexameters twice, even Propertius likewise only twice. The non-conformer is, of course, Lucretius who greatly prefers *eius* to *huius* (35 times against 1). As already shown convincingly by others, all forms of the pronoun *is* seem banned from Horace's *carmina*.[27] In fact *eius* in our poem would not be the only stylistic error attached to it, there is also another one of no less serious kind in the word order: the wide hyperbaton *eius . . . laudes* is more than suspicious. As shown by Pearce (1966) a hyperbaton as wide as the one at the end of Catullus's hymn to Diana is exceptional: ***Romuli****que*,[28]*/ antique ut solita es, bona/ sospites ope* ***gentem*** (34. 22–24 Glyconic – Pherecratean) where 13 syllables, including a subordinate clause, are inserted between the genitive/adjective (*Romuli* or *Romulam*) and its noun (*gentem*). Between *eius* and *laudes* there would be 22 syllables, a gap that would no doubt strain to the utmost the attention both of the *recitator* and of his audience.

However, I can see nothing wrong with the rest of the sentence, the relative clause *qui domita nomen ab Africa/ lucratus rediit*. As the name Scipio Africanus does not fit the metre, an unequivocal periphrasis was required. *Lucratus* has been ably defended by Thomas *ad loc*. with reference to *TLL s.v. lucror* 7,1716,15–45. And I, too, believe, like e.g. Harrison (1990, 39 f.), that the coinage *nomen lucrari* reflects the memorable incident told by Valerius Maximus when Scipio was called upon to give an account of a sum of money from king Antiochus (3. 7. 1e) and said in his defence: *Nam cum Africam totam potestati vestrae subiecerim, nihil ex ea quod meum diceretur praeter cognomen rettuli* ("For when I subjected the whole of Africa to your power, I brought nothing back that I could call mine except the surname") whereupon the whole senate approved of Scipio's conduct and rejected the false incriminations directed against him. No doubt Horace wishes to recall the way Scipio vindicated himself by pointing to his unselfishness (*innocentia* Val Max. *ibidem*) in the campaign against Hannibal.

An interpolator caught all but *in flagranti* while inserting in Horace's well-designed fabric four self-composed lines (14–17), could also be suspected of having no scruples about making other encroachments on the text if his wish was to present his product as engaging as possible or to make the poet more accessible to readers. Line 18, which originally must have followed immediately upon line 13, was severed from it by the insertion just mentioned and had therefore to be reoriented towards the following. This was achieved by means of the genitive *eius*. Originally, Horace must have written *illi* which signified that the *elogia* had been carved and put up in the public domain *for*, i.e. *in honour of* Scipio. The dative suggests that Scipio *in his lifetime* was made the recipient of a monument and thereby implicitly would appear more heroic than ordinary men.[29] When reaching *laudes* at line 20 we need no longer a pronoun in the genitive to understand that the achievements of Scipio are still the poet's specific theme.

Having got rid of four spurious lines and emended *eius* to *illi* let us next analyse the relatively simple and logical unity consisting of the eight lines we are left with as an interim part of our final text:

Non incisa notis marmora publicis	13
illi, qui domita nomen ab Africa	18
lucratus rediit, clarius indicant	19
laudes quam Calabrae Pierides neque,	20
si chartae sileant quod bene feceris,	21
mercedem tuleris: Quid foret Iliae	22
Mavortisque puer, si taciturnitas	23
obstaret meritis invida Romuli?	24

These reassembled and corrected lines clearly belong together as a unity. They start with line 13 showing a steady progress and a line of thought which have been rendered unrecognizable by the interpolator's high-handed additions (the four lines 14–17) and his extra adjustment of the text (writing *eius* instead of the original *illi*).

As a result of our surgery, not one, but two Roman names are attached to the Ennius reference *Calabrae Pierides*, the one directly (Scipio), the other (Romulus) indirectly. What is more important: they seem deliberately intended to complement each other. Scipio is the great, perhaps unsurpassed, republican hero changing the course of Roman history and rescuing the nation from its Hannibalic trauma. The triumph Scipio celebrated after his return from Africa made him fully deserve his compatriots' honorary inscriptions. Among all the seven heroes celebrated in the second part of the poem, only Scipio was without a divine father and in that important respect he was on a level with Censorinus. Nobody could miss the implicit parallelism: as Scipio corresponds to Censorinus, Horace aspires to the role of a panegyric poet like Ennius who had praised Scipio. Scipio's career culminated, as everybody knew, with his triumph over Hannibal, Censorinus's political prominence is left unmentioned in the poem.[30] In Scipio's case, the

relation between the politician and Ennius would have been well known by those who had a knowledge of and interest in Rome's literary history. Censorinus was doubtless one of these (cf. *gaudes carminibus* 11); Ennius was an admiring friend of Scipio Africanus, and their close relationship was recognized after their death if we are to believe what was told.[31]

One thing is the tradition about their combined graves,[32] another what we can extract from *Ennianae poesis reliquiae* about Scipio's place in Ennius's poems. Scipio was surely mentioned honourably in several places in the *Annales*, but according to Cicero (*Arch*. 22) he was on a par with Cato, the Maximi (i.e. notably Fabius Maximus Cunctator), the Marcelli (M. Claudius Marcellus) and the Fulvii (M. Fulvius Nobilior). In the *Annales* Ennius dealt with Scipio's role in the war against the Carthaginians in the third triad (books 7–9). Scipio was of course a great and deserving general both in Spain and in Africa. Accordingly, the impression left by these passages would surely have made his *laudes* stand forth in more memorable form than any official inscription. But Scipio's place in the *Annales*, honourable though it undeniably must have been, was not the sole or specific reason for mentioning Scipio and Ennius together in the same sentence in *Carm*. 4. 8.

At the height of Scipio's career Ennius wrote the encomium *Scipio* in his honour.[33] It may presumably be called the first panegyric poem in Latin of literary renown. Admittedly, we do not know when Ennius wrote this poem,[34] but it is a fair guess that the most likely occasion would have been in connection with Scipio's triumphal celebrations after his return from Zama. Only a few fragments and references are known (*Varia* V.[2,] p. 212–213, now Russo 2007, 187 ff.). In one of the preserved fragments, Ennius makes the point that even the mightiest token of fame and recognition one can imagine, would not equal Scipio's accomplishments (*Var*. II, preserved in *Hist. Aug. Claudius* 7, 7): *Quantam statuam faciet populus Romanus,/ quantam* ***columnam quae res tuas gestas loquatur****?* Only here an honorary column for Scipio Africanus is mentioned. Maybe Ennius thought of it as a project to be expected from Scipio's compatriots (cf. the honour that was accorded Duilius), but the column may have remained only an imaginary one. It serves anyway as a metaphor for the highest form of official homage to the victor. It is also possible that this passage from the poem of Ennius, not necessarily preserved by the *Historia Augusta* in its original form, gave Horace the idea for his line 13. For he did scarcely need an existing monument for his comparison, a literary reference might suffice. What Horace expresses, then, is that no *elogium* carved for Africanus on such a 'speaking' column (cf. *loquatur* earlier) could indicate the victor's merits more clearly than what Ennius had put in poetic words.

What kind of honourable admiration for the rest Ennius might have expressed in his poem, we cannot tell. The manner of citation in later literature is also less precise and reliable than we should have wished; the attribution of lines to it and not least its metrical form are matters of controversy. But the battle of Zama was obviously the core of the poem: *qua propter Hannibalis copias considerat* ("where close to Hannibal's troops Scipio had put up his quarters"). Cf. also *Var*. 13 = Gell. 4. 7. 3 with the memorable spondaic line *sparsis hastis longis campus*

splendet et horret. If the fragments *Varia*, *Scipio* 6–8 V. (from Cic. *Fin*. 2. 106) should belong to the poem *Scipio*, this would exceed the praise conceivable in the *Annales*: *Nam tibi moenimenta mei peperere labores* ("For my toils have achieved secure fortifications for you"), a line put in the mouth of Africanus when addressing the personified fatherland.

No less important for our discussion of Horace's poem is in my view the *Epigrammata* of Ennius, provided that the attributions are trustworthy in this case as well. Already with the comparative adv. *clarius* Horace seems to indicate some exceptional recognition of Scipio's deeds. The most lavish praise from Ennius came presumably after Scipio's death. It was then he composed the epitaph(s) contained in the *Epigrammata*, private honorary distichs testifying to his friendship with Scipio. Cf. *Epi*. 19–20 V. *hic est ille situs* (from Cic. *Leg*. 2. 57) *cui nemo civis neque hostis/ quibit*[35] *pro factis reddere opis pretium* (from Sen. *Ep*. 108. 32), which contribute to putting his *laudes* in an exceptional category. Later generations would probably have read such utterings as part of the national mourning of a great loss. During Scipio's lifetime, in the 190s or early 180s one would rather have taken them as a strong criticism against Scipio's political antagonists. The most noteworthy fragment of all concerning the relationship between the two men is the couplet *Epi*. 23–24 V. (from Lactantius *Div. Inst*. 1. 18. 10) *Si fas endo plagas caelestum ascendere cuiquam est,/ mi soli caeli maxima porta patet* ("If it is right for anyone to ascend the regions of the gods, for me alone the great gate of heaven stands open"). The Roman people were probably not used to such thoughts about the afterlife,[36] and least of all when coming from one who gave himself that kind of testimonial for his political and military *facta*/*res gestae*. In such a case, one should appreciate the carefulness and discretion shown by Ennius: the protasis (the hexameter) does no more than propounding the idea, the apodosis (the pentameter), makes the claim that Scipio's deeds have been unique.

As to the partly implicit, partly explicit difference in heroic status between Censorinus and the apotheosized sons of Mars and Jupiter (Romulus, Aeacus and the others), this was all too evident to pass unnoticed, ignored and not reflected upon by the audience. Would they not think that the gap ought to be bridged so that (some) historical figure nearer in time like Scipio deserved to be put on a par with the others mentioned in the poem? This is the 'Pindaric' manner observed e.g. in the First Isthmian, perhaps the epinician poem closest to our poem. Horace makes it clear that such a heroization of exemplary humans is the poet's task and that only a poet is fit to do it. We may otherwise assume that both the elegiac couplet from the *Epigrammata* (23–24) quoted earlier and Scipio's role at the end of Cicero's *De re publica* was familiar to Horace. According to Cicero Scipio's unique career had deservedly earned him the reward of a place in heaven: cf. 6. 16: ***ea vita*** *via est in caelum et in hunc coetum eorum qui iam vixerunt et corpore laxati illum incolunt locum quem vides*. Here the thought of an afterlife in heaven as a reward for earthly merits hinted at in Ennius's poem seems accepted as a fundamental dogma by Cicero.

***neque, (20)/ si chartae sileant quod bene feceris,/ mercedem tuleris: Quid foret Iliae,/ si taciturnitas/ obstaret meritis invida Romuli?* (20–24)**

It is noteworthy how cautiously and unassumingly Horace had started on behalf of poetry in line 13. Having chosen as his first example a hero situated in broad historical daylight, he does not claim more, it seems,[37] than that encomiastic poetry has some unspecified advantage over official honorary inscriptions in heralding the virtues and achievements of great men like Scipio. However, as he goes back in time in 22b–24 to Romulus, the very beginning of Rome itself, the change is marked. Of course, at that early stage, there were no public inscriptions to preserve men's great deeds. These deeds, and the men who had performed them, would either have been remembered on *chartae* or had simply been forgotten or ignored (*taciturnitas*), in which latter case one could suspect that envy had been a deliberate cause why human greatness had been obliterated from memory (cf. *Epi*. 2. 1. 12 f.). One would perhaps think that the word *chartae* (21) in Horace would encompass the records of historiography like chronicles. The backdrop for Horace's continuation in lines 21–24 is his conception of the oldest form of tradition in Roman society, heroic poetry in the most literal sense. He sketches it out in the two last stanzas in the collection, *Carm*. 4. 15. 25–32,[38] where he predicts a renewal of the old custom:

nosque et profestis lucibus et sacris
inter iocosi munera Liberi
  cum prole matronisque nostris
    rite deos prius apprecati
virtute functos **more patrum** duces
Lydis remixto carmine tibiis
  Troianum[39] et Anchisen et almae
    progeniem Veneris **canemus**.

The genealogical line from Anchises onwards, including the *virtute functi duces* of the nation, is taken care of and saved from oblivion through festive gatherings that gave the participants both the opportunity and the inspiration for heroic song. Such lays were by and by recorded on *chartae*. So thanks to these anonymous singers the nation's earliest heroes and their achievements – and among these par excellence Romulus as most Romans would agree – were admired and made famous. These *duces* were in turn celebrated by the earliest epic poets of Rome, Ennius above all. In this way, the heroes 'got their reward' and were 'saved from death'.

There is thus a manifold progress to be seen in Horace's line of thought from 13 to 24 (minus the interpolations!) from the exemplary Roman hero Scipio back to the half-divine founder of the Roman nation (Romulus) five centuries earlier whereby the greater part of the Roman tradition is bridged. From what Horace may have considered the first preserved literary encomia in Roman literature (Ennius's *Scipio* and his *Epigrams* ~ *Calabrae Pierides*) – being qua poetry superior to another public medium (inscriptions) as to representing a man's merits – he

goes back to oral heroic song. This song composed in a kind of monopoly situation at the beginning of Roman history was the means to preserve great men's deeds and merits. It constituted the material on which poets like Ennius could build their epic works. The result was however the same: the celebrated person could thereby be accorded a deserved afterlife, i.e. be remembered as part of the nation's history thanks to poets.

Having mentioned Scipio Africanus in immediate connection with Ennius and then Romulus more indirectly, it may strike us that Horace just stops short of the next step: to remind us of the deification which the son of Ilia and Mars had attained. The god himself turns up in the *Annales* in the dream of Ilia as *homo pulcher* (38 Sk.), his and Ilia's son will be honoured with deified status after an agreement has been struck in a heavenly *concilium*. Mars himself will one day receive his son in heaven: *Unus erit quem tu tolles in caerula caeli/ templa* (54 Sk.). In due time it so will be: like his maternal grandfather Aeneas (Serv. *Aen*. 6. 777), he will live eternally in heaven together with the gods under the name Quirinus: *Romulus in caelo cum dis genitalibus aevum/ degit* (110 Sk.). It would not have escaped Horace that Ennius had a rationalistic outlook in his *Euhemerus* or *Sacra historia*, that those called gods and approached with prayers as gods had once been mighty or admirable men. The evidence for this had been reported by Euhemeros visiting the island Panchaia and its temple of Zeus where he had read about the great deeds of Zeus in his life on earth recorded on a golden column.

Accordingly, we are able also from the specific Roman point of view to appreciate Horace's allusion to his own real *vis* as a poet (9). The poet, *in casu* Ennius, has the power either way: both to record deification (Romulus) and to reduce gods to human status (in particular Zeus/Jupiter) – the common denominator being the poet's power to praise somebody and preserve a great man's memory across the ages by virtue of being a talented poet.

By means of the Romulus example at the end of this passage Horace paves the way for a much higher appreciation of the importance of poetry throughout the nation's history – its *pretium* – than what we could have foreseen by the Scipio example alone.

ADRESSING CENSORINUS (1–12)

After this rather extensive analysis of the middle third of the ode, lines 13–24, it is high time to approach some of the other issues connected with the background for the ode: who is Censorinus? And against what sort of situation does Horace seem to depict him in honouring him? Textually the first 12 lines of the poem have luckily and for good reason never come under any serious suspicion.[40]

It is time to return to the opening passage:

> Donarem pateras grataque commodus,
> Censorine, meis aera sodalibus,
> donarem tripodas, praemia fortium
> Graiorum, neque tu pessuma munerum
> ferres, divite me scilicet artium 5

quas aut Parrhasius protulit aut Scopas,
hic saxo, liquidis ille coloribus
sollers nunc hominem ponere, nunc deum.
Sed non haec mihi vis, non tibi talium
rerum est aut animus deliciarum egens;
gaudes carminibus; carmina possumus
donare et pretium dicere muneri:

Donare – munus

Three times in the course of these lines we find the verb *donare* (lines 1, 3, 12) and twice the noun *munus* (4, 12). This insistence on the gift aspect of the situation can hardly be understood otherwise than as referring to some sort of realistic and recognizable situation. It is legitimate to ask on which occasion Censorinus could have been the centre of such attention on Horace's part. As pointed out for instance by Syndikus (p. 350) the poem's 'Sitz im Leben' is a day when presentations of gifts by good friends and family members were quite natural, even expected. That could be either on the first day of the Saturnalia (17 December), in connection with the New Year (by old reckoning on 1 March) or on somebody's birthday. The last type of occasion would be by far the most likely,[41] as the other occasions would have a universal or reciprocal character. A birthday is, on the other hand, individual and would also be the best occasion for celebrating, within the private sphere, a friend's personality, popularity (cf. *favor* 26) and achievements. And then, as now, this character of birthday celebrations reaches its apogee in connection with some round number of years.

Censorinus[42]

But which Censorinus? However much can be said in favour of the younger Censorinus as being the addressee of this poem, I doubt that the young man was mature enough for the chosen position the poet has given him in the collection. At the time of writing he must still have been several years away from a more prominent place in society. If the younger Censorinus had been the poet's *sodalis*, I think Horace would have given us some clue to identify him. His father, Lucius Marcius Censorinus, is the more obvious choice. He was at the time an elderly statesman, evidently much respected by the leading duumvirate, Augustus and Agrippa, for his loyalty. He was probably about ten years older than Horace. He had been a devoted younger friend of Julius Caesar and had tried to interfere when Caesar was murdered on 15 March 44. Thereupon he had been loyal to Mark Antony, had been governor in Macedonia and had earned a triumph from this in 39. His connection with Mark Antony had obviously been forgiven and forgotten long ago. Close enough in time to the present occasion he resurfaces for us as a member of the *quindecimviri* responsible for arranging the greatest of all festivals in Horace's time, the Ludi Saeculares. A friendship with Horace was probably struck (or deepened) in the course of these preparations when Horace himself played such a significant part as *poeta laureatus*. It is admittedly only a guess, but

a fair one I think, that Censorinus celebrated his sixtieth birthday not long after and could derive some of his prominence from the role both he himself and Horace had played in arranging the Secular Games. One may assume that Agrippa, and maybe Augustus as well, took part in the celebration of Censorinus. Such a private feast celebrating the birthday of a highly respected individual would for many, among them the leading men of Rome and the poet himself, reflect the great national 'birthday' of Rome, that had been so memorably marked by these same men not much earlier. Be that as it may, a probability only, but this cannot be the only reason why Horace has given the poem the central place it has got. It has been a concern of his to broaden the encomium perspective to encompass chosen members of the Augustan aristocracy and show that even a man lacking the lustre of the nation's greatest names could be saved from oblivion and get an eternal life by a distinguished poet (cf. 4. 2. 9). It is a poet's privilege, just like it had been in Pindar's time, to raise his addressee to immortality by means of the company of heroes he is associating him with in his poem.

Aspects of the introduction

Horace opens the poem by saying that he is unable to give his friend the sort of gift one could expect from a wealthy friend: a *patera*, an *aes* (i.e. *aes Corinthium*) or a *tripus*. The poet is obviously mentioning these objects in an ascending order of worth. He has clearly in mind the prizes won by the victors in the Greek Games as mentioned by Pindar in the first Isthmic ode written in honour of the winner in the chariot race, Herodotos of Thebes. Horace all but quotes the lines where Pindar declares his wish to fit the winner into (ἐναρμόξαι) a hymn either to Kastor or to Iolaos (15):

ἔν τ᾽ ἀέθλοισι θίγον πλείστων ἀγώνων 18
καὶ **τριπόδεσσιν** ἐκόσμησαν δόμον
καὶ **λεβήτεσσιν φιάλαισί** τε χρυσοῦ, 20
γευόμενοι στεφάνων
νικαφόρων, λάμπει δὲ σαφὴς ἀρετὰ[43]

Horace has turned upside-down Pindar's order in mentioning the prizes whereby the apposition *praemia fortium/ Graiorum* belong to all three nouns, just like *grata, commodus* and *meis sodalibus* are equally fit for *pateras* and *tripodas* as well. *Fortes Grai* would, with Pindar in mind, imply a reference both to the living 'victor' Censorinus ~ Herodotos of Thebes and the series of heroes to come ~ Kastor and Iolaos in Pindar's poem. Indirectly Horace is here already taking on the role of Pindar τεύχων . . . γέρας (13–14), "making a gift of honour", in order to celebrate the victor, i.e. by means of his poem. By the sheer mention of the gifts associated with the mythical athletes in Pindar's poem Horace honours indirectly Censorinus as a victor and his ἀρετά, i.e. as a man of the highest merit in politics. The quotation (*pateras . . . aera . . . tripodas*) serves to broaden the horizon right from the start and turn the reader's thoughts to the truly great heroes of old to

whose company the present victor belongs. Horace combines Pindar's γέρας for the victor to be honoured by the poem and the prizes (Homer's ἄεθλα) accorded to the (mythical) heroes[44] by using the term *munus* (4 and 12) that covers both Greek terms.

By means of these combined 'references' Horace indicates that for the occasion he is himself a Roman Pindar abandoning the traditional role of an ordinary participant at a birthday party or an organizer of games handing over some usual and cherished prize to the winner like those of *Il*. 23 (see the previous endnote). Instead, he will give the addressee the prize his poem represents. It is not irrelevant in this connection that the word *pretium* (cf. 12) means both 1) 'reward', 'prize' and 2) 'value'.

As it is, then, the poet cannot afford gifts like those the heroes of Pindar had won in the mythical era according to Pindar; the word χρυσός attached to φιάλη suggests that, according to Pindar, the prizes in the Greek national games back in mythical times far exceeded the worth of ordinary utensils. This presupposition is essential for a correct assessment of Horace's introduction. He expresses the fact that he is a man of more ordinary means. By his circumstantial way he makes one listen attentively: "If I had been rich on the works of art[45] which[46] Parrhasius or Scopas created, skillful as they were at representing, the latter in stone, the former in bright colours, now a man, now a god", then Censorinus would have received something equally precious from Horace. With this detailed description of what a rich man's wealth might consist of, the poet does not want to add to the previous objects equally precious works of art among which he would then have chosen an appropriate gift for Censorinus,[47] but to approach his own artistic domain.[48] Had he himself been a wealthy man, he could have had the best of the visual arts to adorn his home. Such a hypothetical preference of his brings him close to the main concern of the poem, however. He establishes the common bond between himself and the addressee, namely their love of poetry. Whereas everybody would be aware of the priceless worth of Parrhasius's paintings and Scopas's sculptures, Horace is anxious to point to the worth of poetry (*pretium*), a theme at the centre of his new book of lyrics. A true poet is able to equal these masters of the fine arts, not in the simple way of representing men and gods as these master artists had done, but by indicating clearly (**clare indicare* cf. 19) the godlike, eternal qualities of men as shown by their deeds in the world. In this way the opening 1–12 has a programmatic character.

THE GREEK HEROES (25–34)

As handed down to us this part of the poem constitutes almost a third part of it in length, that is ten lines. By accepting the rejection of the four lines 14, 15, 16 and 17 we are no nearer a solution of the Lex Meineke issue. If the law is going to be valid for 4. 8, two more lines will have to be rejected. If there are separate lines that can be taken away without detriment to the meaning, these will almost automatically come under suspicion; if they can be proven superfluous or had better be left out, our case will be as close to proof as philological analysis can ever hope for.

Aeacus

After the unassuming and almost probing start displayed in the eight previous lines Horace presents assertively another group of heroes: His next example should be seen as a Greek pendant to Romulus and make his own ambition to be a modern Roman Pindar more tangible for his audience:

> Ereptum Stygiis fluctibus Aeacum
> virtus et favor et lingua potentium
> vatum divitibus consecrat insulis. 25

Like Romulus Aeacus was the founder of a nation, the Myrmidons of Aigina, and according to post-Homeric genealogy grandfather of great heroes at Troy. An obvious factor behind Aeacus's prominent place in our series of heroes is Pindar's close relation to him and his island: Κλεινὸς Αἰακοῦ λόγος, κλεινὰ δὲ καὶ ναυ-/σίκλυτος Αἴγινα Pindar says in the first of the Isthmian fragments. Aiginetan victors are often praised (*P*. 8; *N*. 3; 4; 5; 7; 8; *I*. 5; 6; 8). Aigina was a great island (e.g. *N*. 7. 80; *N*. 8; *I*. 8. 22) worshipping Zeus Xenios. Zeus's son Aeacus and his descendants were illustrious rulers. Among the nearest Aiakidai are Telamon and Peleus, Aias and Achilles. Aeacus had assisted Poseidon and Apollo in building the walls of Troy (*O*. 8. 30 ff.) and thereby had been an instrument in the city's downfall, not to speak of what his descendants had achieved.

The participle *ereptum* is of the conjunct kind and no less important than the main verb *consecrat* with which it is almost simultaneous in time. The factors causing the ultimate home of the immortalized Aeacus to be the Blessed Isles are, in coordinate form, *virtus et favor et lingva potentium vatum*. In view of the context, of course, *virtus*[49] and *favor* belong to Aeacus, the poem being primarily about the heroes' qualifications for eternal life: the *laudes* and *merita* of men and half-divine heroes have made them deserving candidates for a blessed afterlife. But who will there be to give them this eternal status? That is an equally essential point. And so the ambiguous nature of *virtus et favor* seems calculated in this context.[50] Horace's phrase allows it to be applied to poets as well. Only a qualified poet in full mastery of his craft can bring success to such undertakings. One is reminded of the anecdote about Sulla told by Cicero in his speech for the poet Archias: once a lousy poet from the crowd handed Sulla an epigram in his honour whereupon the mighty man paid him a reward for his diligence (*sedulitatem*), valid, however, *sub ea condicione ne quid postea scriberet*. This, according to Cicero, in contrast to Archias's *ingenium et* ***virtutem*** *in scribendo et copiam* which were the qualities Sulla would have sought after (Cic. *Arch*. 25). As Horace had suggested earlier (8), that he might possess some other *vis* than that of affluence, so by means of his ambiguous line he states here that *virtus* is a prerequisite both for the poet and for the man he praises.

An effect of Aeacus's *virtus* was his *favor* with men and gods alike. Aeacus was praised for his piety and justice and accordingly the gods willingly granted his prayers. According to Plato (*Ap*. 41a; *Grg*. 523 c) and widespread belief (cf. Isocr.

9. 14–15) Aeacus was one of the judges of the Underworld together with Minos and Rhadamanthus. According to Pindar (*I.* 8. 25) Aeacus judged between the gods already in life (ὃ καὶ δαιμόνεσσι δίκας ἐπείραινε). Had the poet said just *virtus et favor . . . divitibus consecrat insulis* it would have been a different example. Horace would then simply have seemed to give preference to some less attested tradition that Aeacus after his death had been transported to the Blessed Isles, not to Hades. This would not only have blurred his point, but probably been a learned bluff as well. The search for Horace's literary source has been going on for a long time. A common guess is that Pindar mentions it in a lost poem. Bacchylides has also been assumed as the source.[51] These poets can always be claimed to be behind otherwise unattested 'mythologemata' as so much of their poetry has vanished. But I for one think that Horace deliberately created this divergent version to suggest the following points underlying the poet's claim to encomiastic power: 1) the concept of 'immortality' may (in the poet's context that is) be attached to *any* popular concept of afterlife and 2) the power (*vis)* of the poet allows him in principle to choose whichever variant he finds most suitable. Tradition is what has been told by poets in the past and is being told by them just now. Their tales have, of course, no literal reality. This *vis* exercised by the poet is no negligible factor (but, of course, pronounced in a light, unassuming mood): This 'power' is extended even to religious language used in the myths about the hereafter as shown by the verb *consecrare*. The unattested variant is in fact not far to seek, but may be reached by the equation: Rhadamanthus: judge in Hades (attested e.g. by Pl. *Apol*. 41a), Aeacus: judge in Hades (attested by Pl. *Apol*. 41a), Rhadamanthus: living in bliss in Elysium (attested by Hom. *Od*. 4. 564; Pindar *O*. 2. 75), ergo: Aeacus will also live in bliss on the Islands of the Blest (only here).

In the light of the common tradition, the double meaning of *ereptum Stygiis fluctibus* comes to the fore: indeed, it is correct, the poet seems to say, what I claimed in *Carm*. 4. 2 earlier, that a mighty poet like Pindar is able to 'immortalize' a man, and paradoxically a dead man at that: // *flebili sponsae iuvenemve raptum/ plorat* [*sc*. Pindarus] *et viris animumque moresque/ aureos* [i.e. of *fortes Grai* cf. 4. 8. 3–4] *educit in astra nigroque invidet Orco*. So Horace, needless to say, does not claim that poetry can save a man from death in the literal sense – he has emphasized our common mortality very much in the previous ode 4. 7. As a poet, however, he can operate all the time on a metaphorical level: the immortalization he or any poet can offer is the figurative one of being remembered for a very long time to come (as Greek poetry and Pindar in particular had already proved by Horace's time). At the same time something like humour is shining through: Horace 'saves' Aeacus from the questionable immortality of spending his afterlife eternally as a judge in Hades and creates a final fate unquestionably more in tune with his merits and popular standing. His afterlife deserves to be one of affluence and unsullied blessedness. This veritable change testifies not least to the poet's power apart from being more in accordance with our feeling of what is justified and right, hence *favor* becomes more meaningful as subject for *divitibus consecrat insulis*.

Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori. 28

Having thus in a double sense 'saved' the deserving Aeacus from a grimmer Hades the metrically flawless line 28 cannot but strike us as emphasizing, rather trivially, one side only of line 25. It is as if Horace felt a need to recapitulate in plain words 1) what is rather a matter of course and 2) what he has expressed so elegantly by means of 25–27. Formally, the line is an apophthegm, not only fit for the Aeacus example, but more or less for all of them. It seems inspired by the Alcaic stanza praising *Virtus* for opening up the path to heaven for deserving men at *Carm*. 3. 2. 21 ff.: *Virtus, recludens immeritis mori/ caelum, negata temptat iter via*. Line 28 could in fact have summarized the whole ode 4. 8 rather well as a sort of heading. Other arguments against the line have been pointed out already, especially the repetition of *Musa* in the next line. I for one would stress that 28 is no more than a superfluous variation of 29a (see below).[52] Another reason for rejecting the line is based on the poet's syntactical practice: the line would be the only independent 'one-liner' in the stichic odes 1. 1; 3. 30 and 4. 8. Hübner (2004, 242) argues that line 28 is a closure rounding off the whole poem and giving it a pointed conclusion. If, on the other hand, this line is kept in its place, the poem will have to end with line 32 *quassas eripiunt aequoribus ratis*, but without it (and line 33) the compositional structure covers again eight lines like 13–24.

Caelo Musa beat: . . . 29

As is often the case when an interpolation is removed, the underlying structure or line of thought will emerge more clearly, so here as well when one proceeds directly from Aeacus (25–27) to Hercules (29b-30) via 29a *Caelo Musa beat*. It appears to advantage as a sentence of transition, and serves not only as an introduction to the next example (cf. the following *sic*); its function is to bridge the Aeacus example with the Hercules example. When 28 disappears, it is more to *Caelo Musa beat* than *Musa* pointing back to *lingva potentium/ vatum*. The poets are shown to possess an even more beatifying power (*beat*). This is demonstrated in detail when Horace reminds us that even the Olympian abodes of popular mythology (*caelo*) belong to the poets' metaphorical discourse about immortality.

As a phrase of transition between the two examples, *caelo* seems at first sight only to be appropriate for the following example, our first reaction being that *divites insulae* are a separate locality for heroes having been immortalized. But Horace reflects the syncretistic outlook of the first century B.C. when the souls of great statesmen like Scipio were received by and got their permanent abode in the Milky Way (*orbis lacteus*),[53] cf. *Somnium Scipionis* § 11.[54] As to this modern syncretism, Büchner surmises several influences: Pythagoreans, Plato, Herakleides Pontikos in addition to Ennius (see earlier text on Scipio) and even Lucretius on the Roman side. Viewed in this light *caelo Musa beat* is applicable to all exempla, not only the following.

Hercules

. . . sic Iovis interest
optatis epulis impiger Hercules; 30

Hercules,[55] being a deserved participant at Jupiter's table,[56] is suggestive in several directions:

1 to indicate the poets' myth-making power is to give a real hero a happy afterlife and an altogether blissful fate,
2 in turn to say that a living recipient of a similar attention from the poet, can rejoice in songs for more than one reason (cf. *gaudes carminibus*),
3 and if we think of 4. 8 as reflecting an actual birthday party, to intimate that the poem here projects such an occasion in its way to the heavenly realm by depicting Hercules, the greatest of Greek heroes, as he is enjoying the meals of the Olympians. At the same time it may have struck a learned reader that Ennius, mentioned only 8 lines earlier, in his *Euhemerus* had shown a similar promotion for Jupiter himself.

The well-known merits of Hercules, who most of his life was a benefactor of humankind, are only alluded to in passing with the adjective *impiger*. I can agree with Lachmann and Syndikus that there is humour in the poem, but more in the manner of a light-hearted mood attuned to a festive occasion. Thus Hercules, a hero notoriously fond of food, is here a dignified participant at the heavenly table he had been longing for (*optatis*). And what nicer connection can be created by a poet at a birthday party than reminding both the present and future generations of Hercules's well-deserved bliss at Jove's table?

Tyndaridae (Castor and Pollux)

clarum Tyndaridae sidus ab infimis 31
quassas eripiunt aequoribus rates;

A double entendre seems to shine through in the apposition *clarum . . . sidus*. The sons of Tyndareus, Castor and Pollux, have been turned into stars appearing in the sky as the constellation *Gemini* (or *gemini fratres* or *gemina sidera*).[57] The *katasterismos* is a conception due to poets and is a heavenly honour even greater than that which Hercules is enjoying. In that regard we observe a continuation of the poets' creative power, the theme of *katasterismoi* being just another form of the theme formulated in line 29 *caelo . . . beat* and a tribute to the innovative pen of poets. It is not the main point in this example introducing the new idea that the heroes are something more than deserved pensioners enjoying eternally their heavenly status. They are, not least, beneficiary forces in contact with men saving them in moments of peril and crisis.

So *clarum . . . sidus* calls at the same time to mind that the Tyndaridae appear as St. Elmo's fire to save sailors (*OLD s.v.* 4). In Pindar's First Isthmian (31) likewise the son of Tyndareos, namely Kastor, is mentioned,[58] but in that poem it is Poseidon who has the role of divine helper and patron at sea (52ff.) having once saved the victor's father Asopodoros from shipwreck (cf. *I.* 1. 32). As viewed in the light of Theocritus (ἀλλ᾽ ἔμπης ὑμεῖς γε καὶ ἐκ βυθοῦ ἕλκετε νῆας/αὐτοῖσιν

ναύτησιν οἰομένοις θανέεσθαι *Id*. 22. 17–18) Horace is not the first poet to deal with the idea that the Dioscuri, in the form of St Elmo's fire, save ships from the depth of the ocean. The relevance of this example for a Roman citizen would be immediately obvious because of the temple of Castor and Pollux on the Forum, reaching almost half a millennium back and making people daily aware of the fact that these divine twins were permanent rescuers and helpers and not only at sea (Strabo 5, 232).

Line 32 *quassas eripiunt aequoribus ratis* has often been misunderstood. Horace does not mean to say that ships are *already* at the bottom of the ocean wherefrom they may be saved by divine intervention. The Tyndaridae intervene in advance of catastrophe to prevent the worst outcome.[59]

Liber and epilogue 33–34

ornatus viridi tempora pampino 33
Liber vota bonos ducit ad exitus.

The last example deals with a third son of Jupiter, although Horace cares to allude to the divine fatherhood of Jupiter once only (line 29 creating balance with Mars on the Roman side in line 23). Liber was always more of a god in his own right and surpasses in that respect the previous heroes, and a Graeco-Roman one at that whose Latin name is favoured by Horace in his *carmina*.[60]

Line 33 is still hotly debated as *viridi tempora pampino* is a verbatim quotation from *Carm*. 3. 25. 20 (that poem's last line). The argument against it is not so much the repetition in itself,[61] but that it is otiose. Even Heinze rejected this line finding that it added nothing but a secondary trait ("nebensächlicher Zug"). I as well see nothing but a trivialization of this metaphor of divine inspiration. The interpolator has evidently understood it as a fitting adornment of the god, something like a constant epithet. It has been discussed whether *cingentem viridi tempora pampino* at 3. 25. 20 applies to the god or to the poet, but Nisbet and Rudd conclude there – and rightly so, I believe – that it is the poet. Our interpolator probably understood to be a description of the god as wreathed permanently with vine foliage. In *Carm*. 4. 8, however, Liber can do well without an epithet altogether (cf. *Carm*. 1. 12. 22 and 3. 21. 21).

What, then, does the final genuine asclepiad achieve? This example as well is above all about the blissful *presence* of the hero/ god among men. In Pindar's First Isthmian it was Hermes (ἀγώνιος Ἑρμᾶς 60) who gave Herodotos all his victories. That a real god is the last to appear in the row to fulfill peoples' luck is thus natural also from the point of view of the literary model. That Liber has made himself deserving of his status, is not mentioned, but by now we have little difficulty in supplying this idea. What is still important is that Liber is a divine helper *now and in the future* and that this has always been a primary concern of his. This much we can add on the basis of the present *ducit*. Close in time to the ode is *Ep*. 2. 1. 5–10 where Liber is also one of the heroes mentioned (Romulus, Castor and Pollux are the others); they were deified ***post*** *ingentia facta*, also called *merita* ('post hoc'

being 'propter hoc' as Heinze notes). Cicero had earlier mentioned among men transported to heaven: Hercules, Castor and Pollux, and Aesculapius adding Liber and Romulus to these (*N.D.* 2. 62); cf. *Carm.* 3. 3. 9 ff.; 4. 5. 34). The final brevity is due, at least partly, to Horace's economical style, eschewing to repeat what is common to all as the cause for their apotheosis. On closer inspection, however, Horace does not really repeat himself when he specifies the blissful presence of the hero/ god in the two last examples. From Aeacus to Liber there has been a noticeable progress in time. What distinguished Aeacus is suggested by *virtus* and belongs to the most distant past. Then follows the civilizer of earth, a man who, according to the *Aeneid*, even rescued the earliest settlement of Rome from its monster Cacus. Triumphant generals were reminded of this passing the hero's *Ara Maxima* in the Forum Boarium. In this respect, Hercules may have been even closer to the Romans than even to the Greeks. The *Tyndaridae* are quite simply *ever-present* rescuers. Finally, Liber appears as a guarantee that even the *future* outcome of our present enterprises will be happy. Only Liber is in this account mentioned as being invoked by men (cf. *vota*). Of course, no one will deny that the Tyndarids are helpers to be invoked as well. Aeacus was no doubt remote as a helper, but he had at least been one in the past. Romulus would be identified with Quirinus and enjoyed a permanent cult.

So the notion that man is often supplicant to a divine hero becomes in the last example quite tangible. It is even more to this one-liner than the theme of personal invocation and, as a consequence, the suggestion of future blessings for devout men (*bonos . . . exitus*). Seen in the light of 4. 8 as a birthday poem for Censorinus Liber, no less than Hercules, is at the centre of the banquet. Liber is there, as he always is, when guests spend wine to him, like in Homeric times to Zeus, as shown by the set expression σπείσας τε καὶ εὐξάμενος (*Il.* 16. 253; cf. *Od.* 1. 258; 3. 45; 394).[62] Accordingly, Liber is a very appropriate example to close the series of heroes: where wine is, the god of wine will be near; where wine is spent from a *patera*, a *votum* will be connected with the act. There is also a connection with another 'birthday poem' "*si parva* (i.e. the individual) *licet componere magnis*", namely the Secular Games in 17 B.C. on the occasion of the birth of a new generation accompanied by a series of *vota* uttered by the Musa in the legitimate hope of future happiness for the nation.

HORACE AND PINDAR

Horace orientates himself in relation to Pindar above all, the great poet who in his *Epinician Odes* was intent on praising men for their merits and excellence by associating them with heroes and gods. This entails that Pindar's focus will be on men raised to the level of the heroes of old due to their achievements in the games. The victor himself may even at times be a minor figure in it all. So Horace, following in the footpaths of Pindar, has taken up this peculiarity of the Pindaric ode: the great honour is not to have the topical achievement of the victor depicted and praised in detail, but to place him alongside more or less divine heroes of old who themselves were close to or even in the company of gods. Thus the concern

of many commentators of *Carm*. 4. 8, namely that little or nothing is said about the achievements of Censorinus, is not relevant. Horace has adopted a conscious restraint in his modernization of the Pindaric manner. Thanks to the poet's words, the addressee's memory will all the same last and help to acquire an 'immortality' for him.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As mentioned in the introduction to this study, one of the problems raised by this ode was its central place in Book Four. The fact that the ode is manifestly also a literary document on the nature of panegyric poetry, its worth, history, ambition and effect and, to a far lesser degree, a praise of Censorinus *in concreto*, makes the poem's place much more understandable. Deified status and eternal afterlife are the two sides of the same coin. Elaborating on concepts like these in his poem Horace uses diversified examples from Roman history and Greek myth; amalgamating Greek heroes is so much easier, as they are a part also of Roman religion and cult. Half-divine birth is no qualification per se. Apotheosis is only earned by means of exceptional merits. For this very reason, it has been essential for Horace to include a Roman, a true man, Scipio Africanus, who was the nation's rescuer in its worst crisis. This allows Horace to bring in the one great pioneer in Roman literature, Ennius, who was famous both for his encomiastic dealings with Scipio and for his epic account of Rome's oldest history. Thereby Horace is deliberately bridging the present with the past: Censorinus is greatly honoured by being brought together with Scipio, with Romulus, the founder of Rome, and with the half-divine divine heroes of Graeco-Roman myth.

MY VERSION OF *CARM*. 4. 8

This is how I should like to see the poem printed in a future edition (my conjectures of single words are in italics). The *apparatus criticus* (or an *appendix critica*) will of course need some more information.[63] Mark how I would like to have Meineke's Law reflected in the line counter (every fourth line).

Donarem pateras grataque commodus,
Censorine, meis aera sodalibus,
donarem tripodas, praemia fortium
Graiorum, neque tu pessuma munerum
ferres, divite me scilicet artium
qualis Parrhasius protulit aut Scopas,
hic saxo, liquidis ille coloribus
sollers nunc hominem ponere, nunc deum.
Sed non haec mihi vis, non tibi talium
rerum est aut animus deliciarum egens;
gaudes carminibus; carmina possumus
donare et pretium dicere muneri:

Non incisa notis marmora publicis
illi, qui domita nomen ab Africa ***18***
lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
laudes quam Calabrae Pierides neque, 16 ***20***
si chartae sileant quod bene feceris,
mercedem tuleris: quid foret Iliae
Mavortisque puer, si taciturnitas
obstaret meritis invida Romuli? 20
Ereptum Stygiis fluctibus Aeacum ***25***
virtus et favor et lingua potentium
vatum divitibus consecrat insulis.
Caelo Musa beat. Sic Iovis interest 24
optatis epulis impiger Hercules; ***30***
clarum Tyndaridae sidus ab infimis
quassas eripiunt aequoribus rates;
Liber vota bonos ducit ad exitus. 28

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6 qualis *Serv. ad Aen. 6. 20* : quas aut *codd.* • **10** rerum *scripsi* : res *codd.* • **14** illi *scripsi* : eius *codd.* • *Exclusit Peerlkampius 1834* per quae spiritus et vita redit bonis 13a = ***14*** *sec. vet. ordinem*/ post mortem ducibus, non celeres fugae 13b = ***15*** /reiectaeque retrorsum Hannibalis minae, 13c = ***16***/ non incendia Carthaginis impiae 13d = ***17*** • *Exclusit Lachmann 1845* Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori 23a = ***28*** *et* ornatus viridi tempora pampino 27a = ***33***.3

Notes

* Cf. *SO* 88, 2014, 89–125.

1 See especially Fedeli in: Fedeli – Ciccarelli (2008, 365–399) adopting Shackleton Bailey's text and stanzaic layout. Thomas (2011, 184–196) has much sympathy for accepting the 'defects' of the poem as intentional communication. Among modern articles, Harrison's (1990) stands out, although I disagree with him on some more essential points.

2 Madvig (*Adversaria* III, pp. 51–53) supported the theory that two lines only has been interpolated, namely 16 and 17. Madvig who found Lachmann's deletion of the two half-lines (*non celeres fugae* 15 and *lucratus rediit* 19 in addition to the three whole lines 16–18 in between) particularly unconvincing chose instead to change *celeres fugae* (nominative) to *celeris fugae* (genitive) going with *vita* in the previous line. As the result of this operation he understood lines 13–15 accordingly like this "Vitam non celeris fugae, hoc est, non fugacem et brevem, ducibus per marmora notis publicis incisa redire, Horatius concedit." A fanciful idea expressed in a way far from the elegance of Horatian lyrics.

3 Some representatives: **I a** Lehrs, Gow, Earle, Terzaghi **b** Cauer, Beck, Wickham – Garrod, Elter, Shorey – Laing, Villeneuve, Putnam, Dornseiff, Lenchantin De Gubernatis, Stiehl, Bonaria, Porter, Kirichenko **II a** Borzsák, **b** Harrison, **III a** Bohnenkamp, **b** Kiessling – Heinze, Büchner, Pasquali **IV** Kerkhecker, Syndikus, Krasser **V a** Peerlkamp, Schütz, **b** (underlined above) **Kraggerud**, **c** Lachmann, Haupt, Müller,

Vollmer, Becker, Shackleton Bailey, Stok, Fedeli **VI a** Meineke, **b** Campbell, **c** Kovacs **VII** Hübner.

4 I choose to put *Carm*. 3. 12 here because of the stichic impression it makes with its ionic decametres repeated four times. Anyway, it complies well enough with the Lex in all respects whether we print the decametres in this way or that (see Sh. B. as compared with e.g. Kiessling – Heinze). In my view it shows clearly the recitative character of Horace's poems: 10 ionics are equal to 40 syllables and may be labelled an 'expected unity' of a stanza almost wherever we look into the corpus of poems: the Sapphic stanza counts 38 syllables, the Alcaic 41, the Second Asclepiadean 44, the Third Asclepiadean 42.

5 See in particular Mankin (1995, 14–22).

6 I may here just point to the phenomenon appearing at *Epod*. 12. 6 *quam canis acer ubi lateat sus*. Such a monosyllable Horace has four times in this dactylic tetrameter. In *Carm*. 1.7 and 1. 20 he has (of course) nothing of the sort.

7 It leads to such bizarre divisions as *neque* at 4. 8. 20 being separated from the rest of its sentence by open space.

8 Büchner (1962 = 1939) makes a brave, but partly futile attempt at defending a stanzaic division by excluding lines 17 and 33 only: 1–4, 5–8, 9–12, 13–16, 18–21, 22–25, 26–29, 30–34. The last five of these 'stanzas' seem to me arbitrary and make his main thesis about the priority of the stanza form doubtful. He is followed by Bohnenkamp who divides the poem into disticha with the same excisions.

9 Cf. Jachmann (1935, 348).

10 Porphyrio's words cannot be cited in support of a text like the one Lachmann and his followers want, i.e. with the athetesis of 15b – 19a. The syllogism could easily have been: Scipio is praised in the previous lines – Horace is praising both him and other heroes in his poem – ergo: the poet is speaking of his own Muses (with little concern for the geography of Southern Italy).

11 It would have been difficult to cover that distance in less than four days. In *S*. 1. 5 (Iter Brundisinum) Horace and his company use approximately six days from Trivicum (77) to Brundisium along the via Minucia, that is about the same distance as that between Venusia and Rudiae along via Appia.

12 In spite of Suerbaum's idea (p. 198) that the explanation behind Martial's and Porphyrio's misunderstanding was that both districts were combined under Augustus as *regio II*.

13 Cf. *EO* I 722.

14 Sh. B. marks a full stop after *Pierides*, but this is misplaced. Neither Müller nor Vollmer has any punctuation mark here.

15 Peerlkamp and Schütz rejected 24b–26a *virtus et favor et* on the following assumptions: 1) that we find in the main sentence *Iliae Mavortisque puer* whereas the subordinate clause has the *nomen proprium* Romulus as if one could say in Latin *quid foret Philippi filius, si non Aristotele Alexander magistro usus esset?* and 2) *virtus* and *favor* and *lingua vatum* is "ein wunderliches Durcheinander." As to 1), one should bear in mind that this is not prose. The poets can have ways of their own accommodating appositions like *Romulus,* ***puer Iliae et Martis***, cf. ***clarum*** *Tyndaridae* ***sidus***. Cf. also Fedeli's parallel *Epod*. 3. 9–12. As to 2), we have commented above on the ambiguity of this coordination.

16 This much defence of the interpolator is legitimate: he tries to combine the two *Africani* as the two great *duces* of Republican Rome, cf. Verg. *A*. 6. 842–843 *duo fulmina belli,/ Scipiadas, cladem Libyae*.

17 My main argument is – irrespective of the factual blunders of the interpolation – that the exemplification of Scipio's *laudes* upsets the careful balance shown in the previous paragraph and blurs, if not destroys the point in comparing inscriptions and poetry.

18 In addition, the metrical arguments against them are weighty in themselves.

19 We find good discussions in the comments by the group of scholars under V c. I for one would also like to point to the harsh hysteron proteron: *celeres fugae/ reiectaeque . . . minae* (15b – 16) which must necessarily cause confusion. Schütz (p. 418) says: "ist seine Flucht von Zama allein gemeint, so steht sie offenbar falsch vor *reiectae minae*." Fedeli, however, takes *fugae* as flight from Italy (!).

20 Livy (37. 27. 4) mentions arches by Stertinius in 196 B.C. Scipio Africanus had an arch built six years later (Livy 37. 3. 7) on the Capitol close to the Clivus Capitolinus with gilded statues and two horses, an arch that could not but give triumphal associations. We do not know, however, whether it had a commemorative inscription.

21 Old honorary columns were a well-known sight for Rome's inhabitants in the centre of their city. The oldest is said to have been the so-called Columna Minucia from 439 B.C. (Pliny 18. 15; 34. 21). Columnia Maenia from 338 B.C. was also erected in the Forum close to the Curia Hostilia on the occasion of Maenius's victory over the Latins, but there may never have been an *elogium* on this column. The most famous was evidently the Columna rostrata for G. Duilius in memory of his victory over the Carthaginians in 260 B.C. (Servius on *G*. 3. 29; Pliny 34. 20; Quintilian 1. 7.12).

22 It was brought to light near the arch of Septimius Severus in 1565. Text in Gordon (1983, 125f.).; *CIL* 6. 1300.

23 This is clear to see from Suerbaum's notes 553 (p. 185) and 555.

24 Peerlkamp deserves to be quoted, if not in full, at least for a couple of good points: "Sententia Horatii est: Non marmora notis publicis incisa, clarius indicant laudes illius, qui domita Africa nomen lucratus est, quam Pierides Calabrae. Atque haec sententia est facilis, et vera; interpositis quatuor versibus, difficilis, neque plane vera. *Spiritum et vitam* poëta debet Virgilio VI. Aen. 848. Excudent etc. Quod Virgilius recte ad artis excellentiam dixit, hoc meus poëta perverse ad laudis immortalitatem transtulit, et sententiam formavit huic loco et communi poëtarum opinioni contrariam. Non enim tanti faciebant statuas et monumenta, quia, ut ait Tacit. Agric. 46. Ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus imbecilla et mortalia sunt . . . Iam novimus apud poëtas simulacra *vivere* et *spirare*. Neque culpaverim mortuis vitam in statua quasi redire. Sed kakozelon est, mortuo *redire spiritum*, ipsam vitae actionem". Later Peerlkamp fell in with Lachmann's deletion instead.

25 Büchner 97, Harrison 39.

26 On this issue see Butterfield (2008).

27 Axelson 1945, 71: "In augusteischer Zeit ist das Abstandnehmen von *is* am stärksten in der Lyrik des Horaz, welche, den einer zweifellos interpolierten Strophe angehörigen Beleg carm. 3, 11, 13 abgerechnet, nur ein einziges Beispiel dafür aufweist (carm. 4, 8, 18 *eius*) . . ."

28 Or *Romul**am**que* as proposed convincingly by D. Fowler and R. O. A. M. Lyne, *CQ* 52, 2002, 604.

29 *incisa marmora . . . /illi*: a dat. commodi like e.g. *statuam statuere alicui*, cf. e.g. Pl. *As*. 712 (the slave Libanus speaking) *si quidem **mi** statuam et aram statuis/atque ut deo mi hic immolas bovem: nam ego tibi Salus sum*; *Bac*. 640. . . ***huic** decet statui ex auro*. Enn. *Ann*. 579 Sk. ***Huic** statuam statui . . .* (on this fragment see II, 3).

30 If our Censorinus is the elder contemporary he had once been closely attached to Mark Antony. Horace would not remind us of that period in Censorinus' life, although it contained his greatest triumph.

31 Cic. *Arch*. 22 *carus fuit Africano superiori noster Ennius*. Cf. Suerbaum 200f.

32 For a short account of the evidence from literature and archaeology see L. Richardson, jr. *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore-London, 1992, *s.v.* "Sep. Scipionum", 359–360.

33 For a thorough and careful treatment of this poem, see now Ll. Morgan, "A Metrical Scandal in Ennius", *CQ* 64, 2014, 152–159. Morgan sees the poem *Scipio* as a panegyric poem written in catalectic trochaic tetrameters (*versus quadrati*) after Scipio's return to Rome in 201 B.C.

34 Russo 2007, 208.
35 Probably *quivit*, cf. O. Skutsch, "On the Epigrams of Ennius", *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 10.10 (Dec. 1985), 146–148.
36 H. D. Jocelyn *s.v.* Ennius in *OCD* (199, 526): "The notion that Scipio's soul may have been assumed into heaven went against conventional Roman doctrine on the afterlife, as did the deification of Romulus narrated in the first or second book of the *Annales*."
37 So speaks the Pindarizing poet who is careful not to challenge the priorities of the average Roman: the inscriptions one could see in the centre of the City must be respected as priceless tradition. Horace uses at the same time the litotes figure (*non . . . clarius*).
38 On this passage, see my chapter I, 15 later.
39 My conjecture for the *Troiamque* of the mss. was first published 2013 (cf. *SO* 87, 136–142).
40 My complaints about *res* at line 10 (Kraggerud *SO*, 2013, 134–136), is to my knowledge the only serious challenge to the text in the age of printed editions. See now on this emendation the previous chapter in *Critica* (I, 11).
41 This was pointed out already by Lachmann 1846, 166.
42 See Sallmann (1996, 684f.), (with references).
43 "And they (i.e. Kastor and Iolaos) got hold of the prizes from most contests and with tripods they adorned their house and with cauldrons and with cups of gold when they enjoyed their victorious wreaths and their excellence shines clearly."
44 There is also another deft combination in the opening lines of Horace. Horace himself is also a sort of Homeric style ἀγωνοθέτης, admittedly a sham one, as he cannot produce such prizes as are put up for the participants in the chariot race in honour of Patroclus (*Il*. 23, 262–270), a passage that makes it clear how the gifts are rated by Homer: the winner will have a τρίπος (in addition to a slave girl), the third will have a λέβης, while the fifth man in the race will receive a φιάλη): ἱππεῦσιν μὲν πρῶτα ποδώκεσιν ἀγλά᾽ ἄεθλα/ θῆκε γυναῖκα ἄγεσθαι ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυῖαν/ καὶ **τρίποδ**᾽ ὠτώεντα δυωκαιεικοσίμετρον/ (265) τῷ πρώτῳ: ἀτὰρ αὖ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἵππον ἔθηκεν/ ἑξέτε᾽ ἀδμήτην βρέφος ἡμίονον κυέουσαν:/ αὐτὰρ τῷ τριτάτῳ ἄπυρον κατέθηκε **λέβητα**/ καλὸν τέσσαρα μέτρα κεχανδότα λευκὸν ἔτ᾽ αὖτως:/ τῷ δὲ τετάρτῳ θῆκε δύω χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,/ (270) πέμπτῳ δ᾽ ἀμφίθετον **φιάλην** ἀπύρωτον ἔθηκε.
45 *Ars* used in the sense of '*artis opus*', as correctly noted by Fedeli contra Thomas.
46 The quotation of lines 6–8 in Servius's note on *A*. 6. 20 is noteworthy in one respect, *qualis* instead of *quas aut*. The difference here is between the works of arts in themselves (*quas*) and the quality of objects mentioned *exempli gratia* (*qualis*) by referring to a couple of masters. The other two differences (*prodidit* instead of *protulit* and the order of lines, 6,8,7) can in my view safely be ignored.
47 This is the way many have interpreted the passage, see Suerbaum p. 178.
48 At *Carm*. 4. 6. 29 Horace had declared: *mihi Phoebus artem/ carminis . . . dedit* (cf. also *Epi*. 1. 19. 27).
49 Corresponding to the emphasized *areta* in Pindar *I*. 1. 22 at the start of the athletic achievements of Kastor and Iolaos.
50 Cf. Kovacs 32, n. 32.
51 Barchiesi 1996, 44.
52 I would also mention *laus* meaning 'praise' after its use as 'praiseworthy act' just eight lines earlier. Subtle phrasing is not among our interpolator's virtues (cf. *spiritus et vita redit post mortem* 14); he is direct and prosaic.
53 See F. Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922, p. 94.
54 As K. Büchner, *Somnium Scipionis. Quellen, Gestalt, Sinn* [Hermes Einzelschriften 36], Wiesbaden, 1976, p. 71, reminds us, the long excursus on the Milky Way, peopled by Roman heroes in Manilius (1. 718–804) is close to Cicero, but we may also cite Horace *Carm*. 4, 8 which probably was in Manilius's mind when he extended Cicero's list from Scipio Africanus and Aemilius to a veritable pageant of Graeco-Roman

heroes, cf. *An fortes animae dignataque nomina caelo/ corporibus resoluta suis terraeque remissa/ huc migrant ex orbe suumque habitantia caelum/ aetherios vivunt annos mundoque fruuntur?/ Atque hic **Aeacidas**, hic et veneramur . . .* [792] ***Scipiadaeque duces**, fatum Carthagnis unum/.*

55 There is an allusion to Herakles at Pindar's *I*. 1. 55f. (ἄμμι ἔοικε . . . σέθεν, Ἀμφιτρύων, παῖδας προσειπεῖν) pointing to the Herakleia in Thebes. Besides, Iolaos, the nephew and companion, is one of the two mythical athletes of the poem.

56 Horace's example is a close adaptation of *Od*. 11. 602f. (αὐτὸς δὲ μετ᾽ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι/ τέρπεται ἐν θαλίῃς).

57 *OLD s.v. geminus* 2 b. For the Tyndarids as a constellation see Preller – Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*, II 14, Berlin, 1920, p. 323.

58 As in *N*. 10. 38 and 73; 3. 1 and 39; P. 1. 66; *Paean* 18. 1.

59 So correctly against many Kovacs 2009, 34.

60 *Liber* and *Bacchus* are each mentioned ten times in the *Carmina* whereas Horace does not use the name Dionysus, nor do the classical Roman poets (cf. *OLD s.v. Dionysus*).

61 Porter (417) adduces many examples that might support the repetition.

62 See M. P:n Nilsson, *Opuscula* 1, Lund 1951, 439ff.

63 See the information in Kovacs's article 2009, 24.

13 *Carm*. 4.12. The enigmatic *Vergili**

(1) Iam veris comites, quae mare temperant,
impellunt animae lintea Thraciae,
iam nec prata rigent nec fluvii strepunt
hiberna nive turgidi. 4

(2) Nidum ponit, Ityn flebiliter gemens,
infelix avis et Cecropiae domus
aeternum opprobrium, quod male barbaras
regum est ulta libidines. 8

(3) Dicunt in tenero gramine pinguium
custodes ovium carmina fistula
delectantque deum, cui pecus et nigri
colles Arcadiae placent. 12

(4) Adduxere sitim tempora, **Vergili**,
sed pressum Calibus ducere Liberum
si gestis, iuvenum nobilium cliens,
nardo vina merebere; 16

(5) nardi parvus onyx eliciet cadum,
qui nunc Sulpiciis accubat horreis,
spes donare novas largus amaraque
curarum eluere efficax. 20

(6) Ad quae si properas gaudia, cum tua
velox merce veni; non ego te meis
immunem meditor tingere poculis,
plena dives ut in domo. 24

(7) Rerum[1] pone moras et studium lucri,
nigrorumque memor, dum licet, ignium
misce stultitiam consiliis brevem:
dulce est desipere in loco.

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> **(1)** Already the companions of spring, the Thracian breezes that calm the sea, drive the sails on, the meadows are stiff no longer, nor do the rivers roar swollen from winter snow. **(2)** With weeping laments for Itys the bird builds her nest, the ill-starred and an everlasting disgrace on Cecrops' house, by having avenged so cruelly the barbarous lust of kings. **(3)** Shepherds, while tending fat sheep on soft grass, recite songs to the pipe, delighting the god who finds pleasure in the flocks and dark hills of Arcadia. **(4)** The season has brought thirst, **Vergilius**, but if you wish to drink the juice of Liber, squeezed at Cales, o client of young nobles, you will only earn your wine by means of nard. **(5)** A small flacon of nard will lure out a jar just now reposing in the Sulpician storage rooms, a jar generous in giving fresh hopes and effective at washing away a bitter layer of cares.**(6)** If you are eager for these delights, come hastily with your commodity. For I have no intention to moisten you from my own goblets free of charge, as if I were a rich man in a well-stocked house. **(7)** Put aside the delay of affairs and the pursuit of profit and, mindful of the black flames, blend while you may a brief folly with your counsels: it's a sweet thing to be silly on occasion.[2]

The problem

Strange, if not inscrutable, assertions about the friend of Horace, addressed as *Vergili* at line 13, seem to be in vogue.[3] One recent and fairly representative example may suffice:

> In *Carm*. 4. 12, Vergil is to be guest of honour at the symposium, and his attendance is of the utmost importance. Without Vergil and the gift he will bring *(tua merx*, 4.12.21–2) there will be no party. That he has passed away will provide no barrier; if Vergil himself cannot be present, at least his poetry can. It is the *merx*[4] that will pay for the cups of wine Horace will provide. By addressing the poem to Vergil, Horace has resurrected him, and by making his poetry the necessary contribution for the symposium to take place, he recalls 4.10 and invites his readers to reflect again on Vergil.[5]

Making the poet Vergil (dead or alive) the pivotal figure of a private symposium is a fairly risky and challenging business. If the poem is read in this way, a kind of meta-meaning easily becomes its quintessence. Still, while I myself,[6] and perhaps the majority of modern scholars in the field, have been opposed to the idea that the poet Vergil is the addressee, this is not to say that the arguments for that position have generally been altogether lacking in substance and credibility. A principal argument is, of course, that, since the poet Vergil is mentioned indisputably nine times in Horace's œuvre[7] the burden of proof lies rather heavily with those who are disallowing the tenth instance. But what of the main objection,[8] the putative date of the poem's composition and publication, after Vergil's death?[9] To reconcile the genesis of the collection with the invitation of the famous poet colleague

to a wine party is so difficult to accept that Richard Thomas and others have certainly chosen a safer ground by assuming that Horace has included a poem written *before* Vergil's death in his collection.[10] But even this position does not escape the objection: how could the younger poet escape a verdict from most contemporary readers that he had shown bad taste and irreverence by addressing the master of the recently published *Aeneid* in such a way? In view of the standing both Vergil and Horace must have had with Augustus and his regime, the attitude shown by Horace may seem on this assumption to verge on the frivolous. The poem's setting would also be hard to reconcile with what we know about the respective abodes of both poets: Vergil presented himself as a citizen of Naples at the end of the *Georgics* in 30/29 B.C. (*G*. 4. 563–64) and so he remained apart from short visits to Rome and abroad, Horace was seldom more than two days' journey away from Rome (to the Digentia valley in particular). So it is hard to believe that the poem could have been written between the publication of *Odes* 1–3 (probably 23 B.C.) and Vergil's death. The situation depicted in the poem seems rather to be one between old friends living in the same city on a more permanent basis and within walking distance from each other. But so far the alternative to this, namely, to posit another Vergilius,[11] has had little appeal.

The other *Vergilius*

Let us then set out on another course and start from what the poem is actually offering us in the way of identifying clues. For Horace seems deliberately to have put such clues into his poem to prevent future ages from being bewildered by the name Vergilius and from drawing false conclusions. If his friend had been an otherwise anonymous *mercator* or *ungentarius*, there would in all likelihood have been no solution to our enigma and no end to the discussions it has given rise to. But Horace is certainly a circumspect poet. For a start, he knew that contemporary readers of the fourth book of *Carmina*, be it in 13 B.C. or somewhat later, would **(1)** certainly be attentive and think of Vergilius Maro when meeting the vocative *Vergili* at line 13 – and, what is more important – ask themselves **(2)** whether there was another man with the same *nomen gentile* who was well enough known to merit the attention caused by such a conspicuous name. To use the name Vergilius instead of for example an anonymous Liguri-nus (as in *Carm*. 4. 1 and 10) was obviously as deliberate a choice as putting any nobleman's name into the collection. Horace must therefore have reckoned with the probability that his compatriots would be in a position to identify the other Vergilius, not least those who were his primary audience: the circle around Augustus, men of letters, those who had listened to his *Carmen Saeculare*, in short all he believed would know the identity of *Vergili* as well as that of *Censorine* (*Carm*. 4. 8. 2).

My theory, then, is that Horace included the man calling himself *Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces* as one of his identifiable individuals in the Fourth Book of Odes. But as this person has so far not been considered as a candidate by commentators, he will need some introduction.

The monument of Eurysaces

All we know about Vergilius Eurysaces is connected with his tomb just outside the Porta Maggiore in Rome, the *Sepulchrum Eurysacis* as it is called by modern handbooks.[12] I prefer to use the term monument (*monimentum*) in accordance with the owner's own designation: it is clearly both a memorial and a tomb.

This is an extraordinary construction, and no less so is its history. It was brought to light in 1838 after having been encapsulated for more than 14 centuries in the fortifications outside the most easterly entrance to the city through the Aurelian Walls.

Built during the early years of Augustus's reign the monument was spared by the emperor Claudius around 50 A.D. when he led two aqueducts across the fork of the Via Labicana and Via Praenestina. These aqueducts were supported by arches constituting the Porta Maggiore, which had an impressive attica celebrating the emperor and his care for the water supply of Rome. In the 270ies the arches were integrated into Aurelian's walls. Early in the fifth century, under Stilicho, the baker's tomb was incorporated into a fortification tower at the entrance and its inscription was hidden from view.

The form of the monument is called trapezoid, its shape being perhaps best characterized as deliberately non-rectangular quadrilateral: there are neither right angles nor sides of equal length.[13] Eurysaces's builder or architect had been constrained in his enterprise by the roads on either side and the restricted space available for his architectural plan. The longer northern side of the monument is parallel to the ancient Via Praenestina, the southern side to the Via Labicana. The now totally demolished eastern side was in all probability decorated above the entrance with a marble portrait relief of Eurysaces and his wife Atistia after their deaths.[14] The main part of the monument, built in travertine, consists of a lower tier with solid supportive elements, conspicuous among them being the cylindrical columns standing between more or less broad partition props. Above is a fascia reminiscent of an architrave. The next tier is even more extraordinary than the first, because of its three rows of horizontal drums adorning the wall, each side of the monument having a different number of drums in accordance with the varying length of the sides. The corners of this tier have nice regular pilasters ending in capitals. An illustrative frieze encircling the upper part on the three preserved sides is obviously meant to be the main attraction for the passer-by. A geison gives a further impression of a kind of a construction inspired by grand temples.

Much attention has, as a matter of course, been given to the monument's most striking and distinctive feature, the drums – framed orifices, 30 of which are extant. This decorative element is explained well enough, it seems, for both the ancient and the modern viewer by a closer look at the frieze, which exhibits their full context and function: the drums are representations of a key element in the baking process, circular tanks for preparing dough. The sheer number of these alludes to a big bakery producing bread on an industrial scale.[15] The cylinders below in the first tier are more disputed: I find the interpretation offered by Diana Kleiner appealing: they are meant to point at or represent silos for grain.[16]

However, it is the inscription, as taken together with a reading of the frieze, that has been the most relevant part of the monument in my quest for the correct identification of the *Vergili* at line 13.

The inscription(s)

Accordingly we start, as the ancient viewer would have done, with the inscribed message on the architrave-like fascia. The inscription – I prefer to refer to it in the singular – presents itself in the middle of the monument between the lower and upper tiers and is the key element of the whole. It is identical on two sides (the western and northern) and has an abbreviated form on the third (southern) side, which perhaps ended on the destroyed eastern side.[17] The western side, however, has a layout which in my view should be seen as the "original" and the first one which seems to have been put in place. On this side the inscription is divided into two lines in this way:[18]

EST·HOC·MONIMENTUM·MARGEI·VERGILEI·EVRYSACIS
PISTORIS·REDEMPTORIS·APPARET

The inscription here is marred by a spelling mistake, corrected on the northern side (see Figure 13.2): The stonecutter wrote a G for a C in the forename.[19] Otherwise the inscription is diligently and beautifully carved (Figure 13. 1).[20] Only, at the end of the first line, IS was written in somewhat smaller letters due to lack of space.

The first line informs us about the monument's ownership. The second is more essential for our purposes. *Pistor*, the usual word for a baker, should be taken in its etymological sense: this baker is also grinding (*pinsere*) his grain at the start of the baking process. The word *redemptor*, contractor, adds essential information: Eurysaces is no ordinary baker, he is a baker who holds a contract[21] with the authorities of Rome. Before I expatiate on this designation, or rather title, the last word *apparet* is in sore need of comments. Theodor Mommsen took *apparet* here as an abbreviation of *apparitoris*,[22] when writing in his early years an otherwise magisterial article about the mixed group of *apparitores* in Roman public life.[23] The function of an *apparitor*, a magistate's attendant or servant, differs much according to the department of public life administered by the magistrate in question. In our case it would not be easy to see or say how Eurysaces would have functioned as an *apparitor*. For which magistrate? Or simply in the capacity of being a contract baker? But Eurysaces's "function" vis-à-vis the authorities has already been defined well enough by the added *redemptoris*. I cannot see the point of mentioning any functions in the inscription beyond the one that is connected with his special occupation, which is clearly pointed out and defined in the monument as a whole. Besides, an abbreviation like this does not seem to have any parallel in inscriptions. Finally, it raises one's suspicion that supposedly 'E' was written instead of an 'I'. It is to the credit of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*[24] that Mommsen's interpretation was rejected in favour of an impersonal *apparet*.[25] At first glance, however, an abrupt and one-word statement like *apparet*,"it is

obvious", seems strange. For one thing, the common expression is *ut apparet*.[26] But *apparet* alone in an absolute usage might arguably be taken as a more definitive way of expression. The one parallel mentioned by the *TLL* is Plaut. *Cist*. 696 [Phanostrata:] *locum signat, ubi ea* (sc. *cistella*) *excidit: apparet*. The colloquial nature of this example is plain to see. The brevity is in tune with the speaker's observations on the spot and her immediate conclusions. The same kind of brevity and syntax seems out of place on the monument, however. Consequently an interpretation of the syntax seems best guided by the western *in situ* version: we should make a pause at the end of the first line after EURYSACIS, preferably in print marking the line's pause with a semicolon or colon and then read the whole lower line as a sentence in its own right. This creates a more even balance between the two verbs (EST and APPARET). The syntactic construction of the lower line is thus: *apparet* + acc. c. inf. (*TLL* 1,266,77–267,11) with an easy ellipsis: *pistoris redemptoris <esse hoc monimentum> apparet*[27] which points to the man's profession, emphasizing the fact that he is a contract baker. For *apparet* is the monument's way of calling on the attention of passers-by.[28] Every Roman on the point of leaving the city or entering it, either by way of the Via Praenestina or the Via Labicana, would have seen the monument and some of them at least would have looked at the frieze which the inscription is specifically referring to.

The frieze

The sequence of illustrations depicting the baking process can, at least from Eurysaces's point of view, be seen as the most important part of the monument. But however interesting in itself, it does not need to detain us for long here. I single out the top panel on Figure 13.3, showing the sequence on the western side which represents the last phase in the production of bread: after the loaves of bread have come out of the ovens they are carried to the weighing scales, emphasized by their central position, then they are put in baskets, and finally they are carried away by slaves into the city. Persons dressed in togas are supervising each stage. The artists who planned and carved this frieze were almost certainly following the ideas and instructions of Eurysaces himself. That is why the official supervision of the production is so prominent in his frieze. Eurysaces was keen to show the public that he was scrupulously and honestly fulfilling his obligations towards the authorities. A business like his was based on trust from those who paid for the bread, as to both the quality of the production and the accountability of the owner.

The dating of the monument

Experts are far from agreed on when Eurysaces had his monument built. The dating ranges from the late 50s B.C.[29] to the end of the century and beyond. A date of the monument after the Mausoleum Augusti was begun (in the early 20s B.C.), seems altogether the likeliest. I hope that my contribution will lead to a new interest in this issue among archaeologists and art historians. I have come to believe that the monument was built when the baker's enterprise had been flourishing

for years and Caesar Octavianus had for some time been Augustus, in short that Paola Ciancio Rossetto's dating of the monument between 30 and 20 BC is tenable.[30] The portrait relief of the baker and his wife stems most probably from a somewhat later date than the monument itself, so that Diana Kleiner may well be right in dating the drapery and coiffure as belonging to the period influenced by the craftsmanship of the *Ara Pacis* between 13 B.C. and A.D. 5.[31]

Without being, I hope, too much a prey to circular reasoning, I conclude that Horace wrote his poem when the monument was a fairly recent sight at the eastern crossroads leading out of the city and that its owner was still at the time concerned with the bakery firm on a daily basis and the contract he was responsible for.

The poem in view of its addressee

As can be easily seen, the poem is a sort of combination of two well-known subtypes of Horatian poetry: a spring poem (1–12) and an invitation poem (13–28). As to its respective dates, that of composition and that of publication, the most reasonable estimate is this: 4. 12 was probably written between 17 B.C. (autumn) and 13 B.C. (summer), the latter year being a fair guess for the publication of the collection. This would mean that when his compatriots were for the first time confronted with the collection, more than five years had passed since the poet Vergil's death. Coming to the twelfth poem they would probably have ascertained by then that the other identifiable addressees in the collection were alive, contemporary friends and acquaintances of Horace. Then, why should poem 12 be an exception? Vergil the poet was out of the question, but they would not have to look far for another addressee: there was another Vergilius around and a Roman citizen at that, Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces.[32] His name indicates a *libertus* who had once had an unfree status, but had become a citizen of distinction, and his monument spoke eloquently of his success, both to his contemporaries and to posterity.

As to his name, there is no reason to dwell on the fact that our modern age has mostly preferred to call him by his Greek name, which was added to his acquired Roman name on which he had a legitimate right like other *liberti*. But if a successful *libertus* could be identified only by his *nomen gentile*, so much the better. The case of Andronikos from Tarentum, who in the second half of the third century B.C. became the first Roman poet, is relevant here. As a free man his *tria nomina* were Lucius Livius Andronicus. About two centuries later Livy, belonging to the same widely ramified *gens*, mentions him on more than one occasion just as Livius, not by his Greek name added.[33] So *Vergili* was in the eyes of Romans the most honourable way of addressing a Eurysaces living as a respected and wealthy citizen of Rome. Perhaps the fuller form Vergilius Eurysaces would have been officially preferable in many situations during the poet Virgil's lifetime, in order to distinguish between them if required. But after the poet's death confusion was less likely and Vergilius alone would have been sufficiently clear to identify the contract baker in both official and everyday speech. As for Horace himself, he would hardly have left out his acquired Roman *nomen gentile* which must have contributed much to his social standing.

As to much discussed details in the poem,[34] *iuvenum nobilium cliens* (16) could in theory designate poets from Ennius onwards, but it suits our contract baker infinitely better than the poet Vergil. For Eurysaces, being a *libertus*, it adds to his prestige that one could meet him at times among the high and mighty. Horace implies: you are a well-known man and have connections pointing to the highest places in society and politics. In fact, as he set out rather explicitly himself in his frieze, Eurysaces's kind of business would clearly involve close cooperation and contact with the authorities, not least with a view to obtaining a steady and undisputed income from his contract. Horace himself could well have become acquainted with Eurysaces in such a social setting. Vergilius Eurysaces must indeed have been a pivotal figure for the satisfactory supply of bread in Rome, most probably to the poor and needy populace. Social unrest would be the result if such supplies failed.

But with the opening line of the seventh stanza we are nearer to proving our case. Applied to the poet Virgil *rerum pone moras et studium lucri* (25) would come dangerously close to an insult (*i.e. vivo poeta*) or thoughtlessness. To go after profit would be no compliment addressed to men serving the Muses like Vergil and Horace, *lucrum* having often a negative notion. It would necessarily imply that to make profit was rated as a reputable aim for their poetic talent.[35] It would be even worse in a sort of obituary. Misplaced teasing would be the only explanation and excuse which I can come up with in that case. But if the address is to Vergilius Eurysaces, the potentially provocative *lucrum* will say something quite different: on an occasion like the one depicted, the friend must not let himself be kept back by his business[36] and his perfectly legitimate interest in its profit (*studium lucri*). Applied to Eurysaces *studium lucri* is in tune with his monument and will be taken as the best of compliments. It would signal that Eurysaces is always intent on fulfilling his duties towards the authorities and the people of Rome and not putting his income at stake by forfeiting their goodwill.

There are also positive factors in the poem's whole structure and wording that speak in favour of our identification. Horace allows himself, in the playful second half of the poem, to allude to Eurysaces's profession as *pistor redemptor*, demonstrated so precisely on the frieze, as he makes the whole symposium dependent on a form of contract between them, a contract to be scrupulously observed. Otherwise, the invitation will evidently be annulled. Horace is not in the mood for treating *Vergilius* with good wine for nothing, this being in accordance with the Roman principle: *do ut des*. Horace insists on this condition by repeating it in consecutive stanzas (4, 5 and 6): *nardo vina merebere* (16), *nardi parvus onyx eliciet cadum* (17), *cum tua . . . merce veni* to compensate for *meis . . . tingere poculis* (21–24). Words like *mereri, merx, immunis* emphasize that the business-like side of their contract must be agreed upon and accepted.[37]

The poem itself

But there are even more indications that we are on the right track identifying *Vergili* with Eurysaces. The spring section of the poem dominating the three first stanzas takes us away from Rome and Italy to the eastern part of the Greek world.

Here, the expression *animae . . . Thraciae* (2) for *zephyri* (or *favonii*) are unusual. In his comment on the line, Richard Thomas seems to be right in spotting an influence from the Greek word for *venti*, ἄνεμοι. The epithet *Thraciae* reveals Greek influence even more. Horace is alluding to Homer's personified Ζέφυρος whose grand moment in the *Iliad* is his role in the twenty-third song, when the pyre of Patroclus will not catch fire (192). The helpless Achilles calls on the brothers Boreas and Zephyros, promising them rich offerings (193–198). The goddess Iris takes his prayer to the abode of Zephyros in Thrace, finds the other winds assembled there and asks Boreas and Zephyros to make haste, whereupon the winds rush forth with formidable strength and noise on their way across the sea (that is the Mare Thracium).[38] Having completed their mission at Troy they return to their home in Thrace (198–230). The reference to the *locus classicus* about Zephyros and Boreas in Homer makes us see that the rough winds of spring emanating from the north have undergone a metamorphosis in Horace, in accordance with the mild season evoked. The same winds are now moderating the sea and allowing the ships a safe travel across calmer waves.

Greek associations are also very much brought to the fore in the second stanza. While seen building its nest the bird of spring, the swallow or *hirundo* in daily speech, is associated with terrible memories of the mythical age before the bird's final metamorphosis, when she, as an Athenian princess, Pandion's daughter, had killed her off-spring Itys to avenge the gruesome passion of her husband, the Thracian king (Tereus). The everlasting infamy attached to the Athenian royal house (*Cecropia domus*) comes from her horrible deeds. This atrocity is more prominent in Horace's condensed account than Tereus's barbarous passion. We cannot say for sure whether Horace had specifically in mind the tragedy *Tereus* by Sophocles, the earliest famous treatment of the myth. All the same the emphasis on the tragedy of Athens and the grave guilt of its princess are motives that stand out in the stanza.

Then, with the third stanza, a bright Greek spring is seen without all sinister associations: the bucolic world of Arcadia is filled with singing shepherds and thriving sheep. Pan himself enjoys it all to the full. The elements of bucolic poetry set in the landscape Arcadia are pointing directly to the poet Vergil,[39] a reference that clashes almost paradoxically with the immediate address to (another) Vergilius at the beginning of the next stanza. From (possible) references to Homer and Sophocles we are turning in the third stanza unmistakably to the Roman poet Vergil, whose first poetic achievement was to have transplanted a bucolic Greek scenery to Italy.[40]

This account of a spring in the Greek world with its allusion to Greek myth and literature, and finally to Vergil's adoption of the pleasant scenery of Arcadia, seems well attuned to an address made to a man who had emerged socially from the state of a Greek slave to become a successful Roman citizen. It is as if Horace wants to communicate indirectly: you, my Vergilius Eurysaces, by birth a Greek, have become a Roman, nay even a Vergilius, and are able to enjoy your new status in the high levels of Roman society. There is even a meta-poetic dimension involved in the spring stanzas if I am right in combining my literary associations

with the Greek name Eurysaces. After the initial reference to a famous Homeric scene in the first stanza, the second reference seems to point to Sophocles, who had also dealt notably with Eurysaces by name both in his *Ajax*, in *Eurysaces* and in *Teucer*. Then the poet Vergil is directly alluded to in the third stanza, just before the introduction of the guest.

Conclusion

Incontrovertible arguments are of course lacking, but the sum of possible and probable indications is much in favour of *Vergili* being Vergilius Eurysaces. The outlook on contemporary Rome which Horace shows in his Fourth Book of Odes seems indeed to strengthen this interpretation. Seldom, if ever, is a clearer ideology worded by the poet. In brief, Horace is praising the happy present in undisguised terms: prosperity, peace and security have become manifest realities, and the country is thriving. The regime of Augustus is behind it all. These odes seem almost intended to prop up the impression communicated by the *Ara Pacis*. Right from the *Carmen Saeculare* (29–30, cf. also 59–60) the goddess Ceres is at the centre of people's wellbeing. And one man, Vergilius Eurysaces, can be adduced as a prominent example in that regard, instrumental on behalf of the regime in passing on the blessing of this affluence to the people of Rome. He is, as shown by his own monument, both a worthy and a necessary mainstay for Rome in these years, a man in whom Augustus must have put his trust no less than in aristocratic

Figure. 13.1 The monument's western (and shorter) and northern side seen through the Porta Maggiore. © *Rachel McCombie*

Figure. 13.2 The inscription in its full form in two rows on the western side. © *Jonathan Rome*

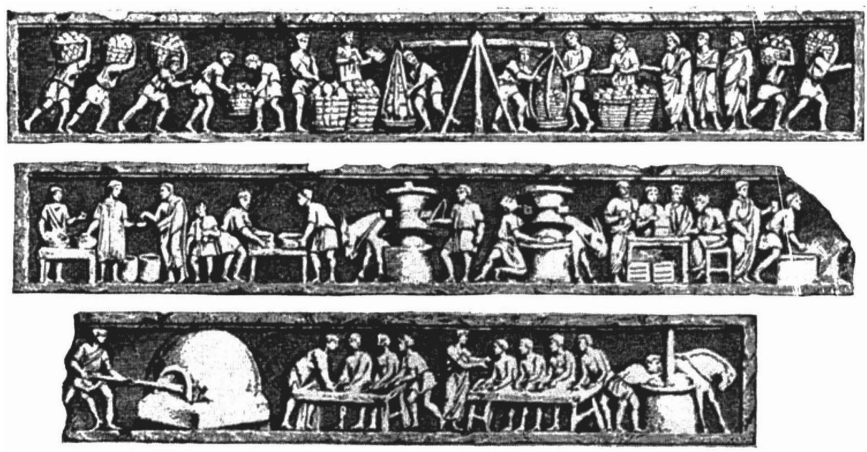

Figure. 13.3 First row: western side (from left to right). *second row:* southern side (from right to left). *third row:* northern side (from right to left). *Image from Foto Flickr Commons*

addressees like Censorinus and Lollius. I also think that Horace felt some personal motive in giving prominence to a man who was a *libertus*, albeit in a category of his own, just as Horace's father had been a *libertus*.

And to end on a word of compromise and reconciliation, in order to bring together those for and those against the presence of the poet Vergil in the poem: in an elegant way Horace has in my view deliberately combined the two *Vergilii*, the dead poet and the living contract baker, both friends, evoking the presence of each of them in very different ways, making us aware of them with striking effect by means of the juxtaposed lines 12 (*Arcadiae*) and 13 (*Vergili*).

Notes

* Reprinted by generous permission of the Virgil Society, cf. its *Proceedings* (*PVS*) 28, 2014,219–235, edited by Daniel Hadas.

1 Shackleton Bailey (2001) and Fedeli in Fedeli – Ciccarelli (2008) have adopted Campbell's conjecture *rerum*, justly it seems to me (on this issue see more later).

2 The author's translation.

3 References to pro and con positions are found in Thomas (2001, 55–58) and Thomas (2011, 226–227).
4 I am at a loss as to how *merx* can be taken as "Virgil's poetry", when it is, according to the poet's own words, "a small bottle of spikenard". The reference to 4. 10 is of no relevance.
5 Zarecki (2010) 250. See further *e.g*. Putnam (1986, 145–156).
6 Cf. Kraggerud (2012, 599).
7 See Shackleton Bailey (2001) in his *index nominum*, 371.
8 Phrased with sharpness and authority in a footnote by Fränkel (1957, 418 n.1), quoted also by Thomas 2001, 56 and Thomas 2011, 226.
9 The common opinion is that the Fourth Book of Odes was written in the years following the *Carmen Saeculare* and published in 13 B.C. Cf. the collection's opening sort of "sphragis", *circa lustra decem* (*Carm*. 4. 1. 6). It is in the nature of things that some poems in the collection are without any indication of date. For a recent discussion see Fedeli in Fedeli – Ciccarelli (2008, 13–16).
10 Niall Rudd is a recent spokesman for a similar view: "The ode seems to be an imaginary invitation, set nostalgically in the period when Horace first knew him." The problem is that there is no indication in the poem (or for that matter in the collection as a whole), why its chronological setting should differ so radically from the rest of the book.
11 Shackleton Bailey (2001, 371) rejecting the comments of the scholiasts says: "alius amicus Horati, ut vid.".
12 Platner – Ashby (1929); Richardson, Jr (1992); Steinby (1993–2000).
13 Coarelli (2007, 204).
14 The relief of Eurysaces and Atistia was found in the ruins in 1838. A photograph of it in its pre 1934 state of preservation can be seen in the documentation of the monument by Nash (1989) II, 329–332. An inscription belonging to Atistia's so-called *panarium*, *i.e*. her cinerary urn in the form of a bread bin, was also found (*CIL* I2 1206). Recently the statue group has been restored and shown to the public (March 2019).
15 This interpretation is borne out by the westernmost part of the northern frieze showing the same cylindrical trough in its normal upright position in the bakery. The preparing of the dough was the start of baking proper after the flour had been inspected. It is clear for the modern viewer that the upper tier is built in the "Lego" fashion from prefabricated identical travertine blocks with drums in the middle.
16 This view is most recently advocated in Kleiner's online course on Roman funerary art at Yale University (openyalecourses, HSAR 252, Lecture 10).
17 For all the versions see *CIL* I2 1203–05, the two-line version being 1204.
18 An excellent printed reproduction can be seen in Paola Ciancio Rossetto (1973, 35).
19 Was he a Greek more familiar with the word ΜΑΡΓΟΣ than the Roman *praenomen*?
20 I do not follow O. Brandt (1993, 13–17, esp. 14–15) in his assumption that the version written on the western side is copied after the "original" on the "southern side", "as that inscription is more beautiful than the rest". Apart from the article's obvious mistake in mixing up the southern and northern sides in the text in Figure 13.1, I cannot see any significant difference in the quality of the versions. I believe that the same *incisor* wrote the inscription on all extant sides with the same diligence. Having taken the most difficult task first, the short western side, he has probably followed the owner's instruction in dividing the inscription as he does; afterwards he became aware of (or was told about) his spelling mistake and made it all correct on the northern side. The southern inscription was, according to Brandt's attractive idea, continued on the eastern side because of the easy angle for the viewer. This would strengthen my point that the three last words of the inscription were meant to have an emphasis of their own.
21 *redemptor*, added to *pistor*, should be taken as an adjective and not be printed after a dividing comma. Cf. the standard example *exercitus victor* = "a victorious army" (Leumann – Hofmann – Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*, § 92).

22 Repeated also in recent times: A. Claridge translated the inscription in her archaeological guide (1998, 360) as: "This is the tomb of Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces, baker, contractor, he serves . . . [possibly some minor public official]". In the 2010 edition, however, she has changed "he serves" to "it's obvious". Cf. also Coarelli (2007, 205): "attendant".
23 Mommsen (1848). For our inscription, 22.
24 And not least the author of the lemma *appareo*, A. von Mess (1875–1916).
25 *TLL* 2,267,48–61.
26 e.g. Cic. *Flac*. 38; *Brut*. 95; *Fin*. 5. 21; later *sicut apparet* is also common.
27 An analogous case can be found in *CIL* XI 494; the epitaph in question has *quod suis dedit appare(t)*, "what he gave to his own people is obvious".
28 It is well known how often Greek and Latin inscriptions, especially epitaphs, address the passer-by with an appeal to make a stop before the monument and take an empathic interest in the deceased. A fair number of examples was collected by Richmond Lattimore in his valuable 1935 University of Illinois dissertation, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*, later published in part as Lattimore (1942), where see esp. 230–34.
29 Kockel (1993, 88–90) (with many references).
30 Ciancio Rossetto (1973, 67).
31 Kleiner (1977, 202).
32 He had a name by birth ('Broad-shield') "inherited" from the son of Aiax Telamonius. The mythical Eurysaces became king of Salamis and made over his island to Athens (Plut. *Sol*. 10. 2) where there was a heroic shrine, the Eurysakeion at Melite (Paus. 1.35.1–3). To claim descent from Eurysaces gave honour among Salaminians (Ferguson 1938, esp. 15–17). Eurysaces is prominent in Sophocles's *Aiax* (particularly 545–595). Sophocles dealt with him also in the lost tragedies *Teucer* (presumably) and *Eurysaces* (cf. *RE s.v*. and Lloyd-Jones 1996, 96–97).
33 Liv. 7. 2. 8; 27. 37. 7. For "Livius" alone cf. also Cic. *Brut*. 72; *Tusc*. 1.3. Likewise Horace: mentioning Andronicus twice in *Epist*. 2. 1 (62, 69), he calls him by his *nomen gentile* (*Andronicus* could not, admittedly, be handled in a hexameter).
34 Another perhaps significant detail: Horace's mentions that his exquisite wine is waiting to be fetched from the Sulpician magazines (*Sulpicia horrea*) close to the Tiber. With the baker at the centre of the poem, it is a unifying trait that his provisions of grain would come from the same complex of magazines.
35 That poets were sponsored by aristocrats and by the Augustan regime more or less directly was a matter of course, but to say that a fellow poet was devoting his spiritual energy to acquiring a good income would be tasteless or offensive or both.
36 Especially if we adopt, as I think we should, the reading *rerum* for *verum*, a subjective genitive; understand *morae* caused by his *res* ("business", "affairs", *OLD s.v*. 14).
37 If the contract Eurysaces had with the authorities was not duly kept it would be the end of both his "commodity" produced by his bakery (~ spikenard) and *lucrum* from the authorities (~ wine from Cales).
38 τοὶ δ᾽ ὀρέοντο / *ἠχῇ θεσπεσίῃ* νέφεα κλονέοντε πάροιθεν. / αἶψα δὲ πόντον ἵκανον *ἀήμεναι, ὦρτο δὲ κῦμα / πνοιῇ ὕπο λιγυρῇ* (*Il*. 23. 212–15).
39 Pan and Arcadia are mentioned together both in *Ecl*. 4 (58–59) and in *Ecl*. 10 (26).
40 For a somewhat more detailed comment on this literary and linguistic Romanization in Virgil's *Bucolics* see the comments on *Prima . . . Thalea* in Kraggerud (2010) 111 f. = *Vergiliana* 34ff.

14 *Carm*. 4. 14. 20–24. The misunderstood *prope*

The stanzas 4, 5 and 6 need more clarity on one point. I must therefore quote what belongs together syntactically:

(4) [. . .]
Maior Neronum mox grave proelium
commisit immanisque Raetos
auspiciis pepulit secundis 16

(5) spectandus in certamine Martio
devota morti pectora liberae
quantis fatigaret ruinis,
indomitas prope qualis undas 20

(6) exercet Auster, Pleiadum choro
scindente nubis, impiger hostium
vexare turmas et frementem
mittere equum medios per ignis. 24

(4) Shortly after, the elder Nero fought a bloody battle and, under your happy auspices, routed the savage Raeti. (5) It was a sight to see how, in Mars' contest, he crushed with utter destruction hearts that were determined to die in freedom. *Much like the South Wind* as it whips up the wild waves (6) when the Pleiades' group shines through the torn clouds, he never tired of harassing the squadrons of the foe, and sending his snorting steed through the hottest fires of battle. [Rudd (2004b)]

The problem is *prope qualis* when taken as a simile that is not wholly accurate, but rather an approximate depiction of the reality, so to speak. Kiessling – Heinze (1930) had no answer to this awkwardness.[1] According to Shorey – Laing (1919) *prope qualis* "seems a rather prosaic limitation"; Page – Palmer – Wilkins (1896) write: "the introduction of this word before *qualis* is very remarkable" stating rightly that, unlike prosaic writers, poets never introduce comparisons with apologies and qualifications. More recently Richard Thomas asks: "is the Matine bee

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somewhat uncomfortable with such similes and such elevation, or is T.(iberius) not quite worthy of an unqualified simile such as this?" Ciccarelli (in Fedeli – Ciccarelli (2008) p. 583) comments on what is called *la formula attenuativa* and finds a sort of answer in pointing out that the ravaging *Auster* is something different from a Tiberius attacking his foes.

In this situation it is worthwhile and useful to have a look at *TLL* and what it can tell us about the use of *prope* (*s.v.* prope II = paene). Subsection C of the article (*TLL* 10,1964,32ff.) deals with cases where *prope* is attached to single parts of the sentence or words ("pertinent ad singulas partes orationis"); for the most part it is placed before the word it belongs to ("prope plerumque antecedit voci, ad quam pertinet"), but it happens quite often that it is placed behind. To mention three examples one should read aloud: Cic. *Har.* 3: *Sed tamen mei facti rationem exponere illis volo, qui hesterno die dolore me elatum et iracundia* ***longius prope*** *progressum arbitrabantur quam sapientis hominis cogitata ratio postulasset* ("I wish, however, to expound the reason for my behaviour to benefit those who thought yesterday that I, under the stress of resentment and indignation, went *to greater length maybe* than what a wise man's reasoned principles might have called for"). – *Rosc.* 140 *Quae quidem dominatio, iudices, in aliis rebus antea versabatur, nunc vero . . . quod iter adfectet, videtis, ad fidem, ad ius iurandum, ad iudicia vestra, ad id, quod* ***solum prope*** *in civitate sincerum sanctumque restat* ("This domination was earlier active in other fields, but now you see what course it takes, towards your loyalty, your oath, your verdicts, towards *almost the only thing* left uncorrupted and holy in the community"). – Livy 10. 11. 1 *qui* (T. Manlius) *vixdum ingressus hostium finis cum exerceretur inter equites, ab rapido cursu circumagendo equo effusus* ***extemplo prope*** *exspiravit* ("When he had barely entered the territory of the enemy and was exercising with the cavalry, he was thrown off when he was wheeling his horse after a swift gallop and *almost at once* he breathed his last.") Theoretically word order allows the meaning "he almost breathed his last", but when reading the passage, it becomes evident that *prope* belongs to *extemplo*.

The same will hold good for the trained reciter of Horace's poem as well: he will be careful to read *indomitas* together with *prope* and make a small pause before proceeding to the following simile.

Let us see what we will gain by this: *indomitus* is a strong word. It has an absolute sense 'unconquered' and 'unconquerable'. The word says that the tribe in question was so far unconquered and that, even now, it is barely to be conquered. The poet has to modify the adjective: the Raeti have been conquered after all due to the energy of Tiberius and so he adds *prope* to give *indomitus* the sense *qui paene haud domandi erant*.

Note

1 "warum H. gerade hier das einschränkende *prope* gesetzt hat, ist schwer zu sagen".

15 *Carm*. 4. 15. 25–32. Trojan Anchises*

(7) nosque et profestis lucibus et sacris
inter iocosi munera Liberi
cum prole matronisque nostris
rite deos prius apprecati 28

(8) virtute functos more patrum duces
Lydis remixto carmine tibiis
Troiamque et Anchisen et almae
progeniem Veneris canemus. 32

(7) And we shall (on our part), on ordinary days and holidays, among the gifts of merry Liber, together with our wives and children, having first dutifully offered prayers to the gods **(8)** be singing according to our fathers' custom, in song accompanied by Lydian flutes, in praise of leaders who have displayed valour, and of Troy and Anchises and the offspring of kindly Venus.

More patrum (29), in my rendering here going with *canemus*, has been taken by many with *virtute functos . . . duces*. Their main argument is based on the word order which in their view makes it unnatural to sever the sandwiched *more patrum* from its surroundings and attach it to the more distant *canemus*. Their rendering becomes accordingly something in the vein of David West's (1997): "sing . . . in praise of leaders who have shown the virtues of their fathers" or to quote John Conington's (1863) more poetical version: "shall sing of chiefs whose deeds are done, as wont our sires". But as remarked justly by Richard Thomas (2011, 268): "formulating rules about Horatian lyric word order is hazardous". R. D. Williams's claim (*CR* 10, 1960, 6f.) was "that Horace . . . has here and here only between a participle and its noun used an adverbial phrase which is suitable in meaning for the participle, but not intended to go with it". As to word order, the question is not whether the adverbial phrase may *seem* to belong to its surroundings or not: what matters is the poet's actual practice and the meaning involved.

To mention an example of an adverbial phrase[1] between a participle and its noun corresponding with a more distant and likewise finite verb: in the eleventh stanza of *Saec*. 41–44, *cui* (*sc. parti Troianorum*) *per ardentem* ***sine fraude*** *Troiam/*

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castus Aeneas patriae superstes/ liberum munivit iter, daturus/ plura relictis, the adverbial complement *sine fraude* does not belong to *ardentem . . . Troiam*, nor for that matter to *castus* or *superstes*, but to *liberum munivit iter*. Troy was admittedly burning due to deceit (i.e. *fraus* in another sense, viz. in the form of the Wooden Horse). The point emphasized in the quoted stanza is, however, that Aeneas provided the remnants of the Trojan people with a voyage that secured freedom instead of slavery 'without any loss or harm' (*fraus* in the old and here valid sense).

Similarly, *more patrum* is embedded in an equally long syntactic span. For the two stanzas as a whole, it is irrelevant to state that the leaders had displayed bravery 'as their fathers were wont'. In that case the 'fathers', undoubtedly *duces* themselves, would have an equal claim to be praised. To take *more patrum* in this way would be to curtail arbitrarily the legitimate number of candidates deserving to be mentioned as *virtute functi duces* (as if not all, but only certain later ones would stand out as the worthy category!). Accordingly the phrase *more patrum* reveals on closer inspection its independence of its nearest surroundings and will eventually find its 'harbour' in the banquet situation itself and attach itself to the main verb *canemus*.

However, there is another important matter at stake in these final stanzas unobserved by commentators. Before discussing that, we had better start with a closer look at the whole fabric of the two stanzas bringing not only the Fourth Book of Odes to a close, but indeed the whole body of Horace's lyric poetry.

The long syntactic period begins with a subject (*nos*) followed by temporal ablatives (*profestis lucibus et sacris*). Then two complements (*inter* and *cum*) with their individual lines are attached depicting not only a festive dinner party, but also conjuring up a grand family occasion. This banquet situation is introduced (cf. *prius*) by a *partcipium coniunctum* (*apprecati*) marking the end of the preparatory frame whereupon the next stanza (29–32) focuses on the zenith of it all, the songs that will celebrate the leaders of the nation. Already in the second line of the last stanza, we know that a 'song', *carmen*, accompanied by Lydian flutes is the banquet's main event paving the way for the finite verb *canemus* at the end. After the first object *duces* three more objects follow in the transmitted text, *Troiam*, *Anchisen* and *progeniem* before *canemus*. *More patrum . . . remixto carmine* (best taken as an abl. abs.) . . . *canemus* is thus the central pillar of the stanza.

Describing the banquet situation in this way the reference to the well- known tradition about ancient heroic songs in Rome becomes obvious. The mention of this custom we can trace back to Cato the Elder in the first half of the second century B.C. In the middle of the 50s in the first century, Cicero focuses on those vanished songs with a sigh:

1 *Utinam exstarent illa carmina, quae multis saeclis ante suam aetatem in epulis cantitata a singulis convivis de clarorum virorum laudibus in Originibus scriptum reliquit Cato* ("if only those songs were still extant which, as Cato has put down in writing, were sung by the guests in turn at banquets many

generations before his own time dealing with the deeds of famous men", *Brut*. 75).

Ten years later, he has twice the same reference to this custom in the *Tusculan Disputations*:

2 *Quamquam est in Originibus solitos esse in epulis canere convivas ad tibicinem de clarorum hominum virtutibus, honorem tamen huic generi non fuisse declarat oratio Catonis, in qua obiecit ut probrum M. Nobiliori, quod is in provinciam poetas duxisset; duxerat autem consul ille in Aetoliam, ut scimus, Ennium*. ("Although it is stated in the *Origines* that guests at banquets used to sing to the accompaniment of a flute player about the achievements of famous men, this sort of poetry was not accorded honour as shown by a speech of Cato wherein he laid to Marcus Nobilior's charge as a shame that he brought poets with him to the province. He had in fact as a consul brought Ennius to Aetolia as we know", *Tusc*. 1. 3).

3 *gravissimus auctor in Originibus dixit Cato morem apud maiores hunc epularum fuisse, ut deinceps qui accubarent canerent ad tibiam clarorum virorum laudes ac virtutes* ("Cato, the authoritative writer, has told in his *Origines* that there was among our ancestors at banquets the custom that the guests sang at the table in succession to the accompaniment of the flute in praise of the brave deeds and feats of illustrious men.", *Tusc*. 4. 3).

Comparing the three versions from Cicero's pen we can be sure that in Cato's account festive *epulae* constituted the social frame for these songs and that he emphasized the customary nature of the institution (cf. 1) *cantitata*, 2) *solitos esse . . . canere*, and 3) *morem apud maiores*. *Cantitata*, a double frequentative known only from comedy before Cicero (Terence, Afranius) and the verb possibly used by Cato, implies not only that the deeds of brave men were praised on different occasions, but also that several guests made their contributions at one and the same gathering (cf. 3) *ut deinceps qui accubarent* and 1) *a singulis convivis*. Likewise, the *tibia* occurs in all three versions. The phrase *clari viri* and, probably also, either the word *laudes* (twice above) and/or *virtutes* (likewise twice) seem to belong to Cato's original account; *canere* is of course a laudatory term in this context: 'sing in praise of', cf. *OLD s.v*. 3 a & b; *morem apud maiores* 3) is taken up again by Horace in *more patrum*. In light of this, we can clearly perceive that the reference in the closing stanza's first line has the important function of calling to mind this ancient custom told by Cato (and others) about the practice of their distant ancestors.

What kind of song are we talking about? Roman readers would not have been in doubt: epic heroic song is the subject, albeit in a primitive and oral form. This is also shown by the relevant contexts in Cicero, cf. earlier *huic generi* before the mention of Ennius.

It is worth pointing out that Cato says nothing about the relation between the singing *convivae* and the songs. Had the guest/host composed the lay or epic

poem himself or had he learnt it from someone else or even the poet? It is natural to think that the poems were handed down to posterity as part of the family history and thus became the ultimate source for the traditions about the *maiores*. I believe that Horace must have thought along this line; it gives sense to the core message of his final stanza.

To spell out the tradition as mentioned by Cicero, the near contemporary of Horace: in all three accounts, Cicero refers explicitly to Cato's *Origines*, a source more than 100 years back in time. Cato for his part is pointing to an apparently long-standing custom many generations older than his own times, a custom honouring men still further back. Cicero considers the custom to have become extinct by Cato's time (cf. his *utinam* in 1); he even blames Cato for being opposed to this kind of encomiastic poetry himself as he dared to criticize Marcus Fulvius Nobilior for having brought Ennius with him to his province. It goes without saying that the epic poet went with the general to praise his *laudes* and *virtutes*.

Against this backdrop, it is not difficult to see that Horace advocates a revitalization of the custom on a par with so many forms of restoration taking place under the early regime of Augustus. However, Horace has not here primarily in mind the men of old whom Cato and Cicero were speaking of. He seems to turn away from the distant past to a timeless sphere by using the future tense (*canemus*).

To begin with there is no particular reference in *virtute functos . . . duces*, but it is unavoidable to think of the context just created by Horace himself: the latest representative of a remarkable *virtus* displayed for all to see was, of course, Caesar Augustus himself. More or less simultaneously with his honorary title *Augustus* the Princeps was donated a golden *clupeus* that honoured his *virtus* together with his *clementia*, *iustitia* and *pietas*.[2] We have reason to believe that at least Augustus himself considered *virtus* and *clementia* as the two sides of the same coin.[3] The latest *virtus* unmistakably to be praised by Horace is likewise that of Augustus. Poem 14 in the Fourth Book has Augustus' *virtutes* as its main theme (*tuas,/ Auguste, virtutes* 2–3) praising first his military prowess through his 'agents' Drusus and Tiberius and thereafter drawing the line back to Caesar Octavianus' capture of Alexandria fifteen years earlier (4. 14. 34–36). Poem 15 elaborates still more the theme of the universal peace achieved by Augustus: In the meantime (between 30 and 15 B.C.), he had forcefully brought back the lost *signa* from the Parthians to Jupiter in Rome and had ended all wars even to the effect of closing the Gates of Janus on sollemn occasions (*Carm*. 4. 15. 6–9). He had extended the fame and majesty of Roman rule to the whole world and pacified it as well, both internally (17–20) and externally (21–24). That is *virtus* to the highest degree. Accordingly, my conclusion thus far is that we should include Caesar (4) as the principal figure of his age (cf. *tua . . . aetas* 4) among *virtute functos . . . duces*. But his *privigni* Drusus and Tiberius belong to this category as well (*Carm*. 4 and 14) and even less eminent generals of Augustus like the later rather infamous Lollius whose debacle is 'covered' by the success of Augustus himself (*Carm*. 9 versus *Carm*. 2. 36 and 14. 51); cf. also *Carm*. 2. 41ff., where Horace in an elegant way lets the praise of Augustus's *virtus* be shared with Iullus Antonius. With this near perspective in mind, it is striking that Horace, when about to end his collection of

poems, has already made his own literary contributions to *virtute functi duces* of Rome. He has even as a lyric poet brought it to such a point in heroizing *duces* that the god in charge of the *lyra* had to warn him against overstepping the boundaries of the poetic genre. So also from the viewpoint of his own genre Horace has made a bold advance towards the ancient form of encomiastic song envisaged by Cato in his *Origines* and has come close to merging his own lyric song with it. A fundamental point conveyed by Horace is in fact that there is a common ground between his own lyric song and both archaic and modern epic song.

Who represents the latest manifestation of the epic genre in Rome becomes clear in the last two lines where the reference to the *Aeneid* is unmistakable. In this way, Horace achieves to draw a line back to the Trojan origins of both the Roman race and the dynasty in the closing lines.

Having reached these lines we must call the transmitted text to account: I for one am unable to see that an annoying peculiarity has got the attention it deserves. The transitive *canere* has four objects altogether, aptly rendered I think in the earlier translation as 'sing in praise of': 1) *duces*, 2) *Troiam*, 3) *Anchisen* and 4) *progeniem*. Two of these nouns or names are more closely qualified: *duces* as *virtute functos*, *progeniem* as *almae Veneris*. Among these four objects, *Troiam* is 'the odd man out', being a city, not *men* or *one man* as the rest. I venture to assert that the name *Troia* is objectionable for a reason of its own in this context. It makes one think that something like the *Ilias Parva* will be the theme of future songs (cf. Ἴλιον ἀείδω). But an unspecified mention of *Troia* will easily be taken as a bad omen, not least in the perspective of the *Aeneid*: The *Aeneid* had in fact depicted an apocalyptic vision of the Olympian gods tearing the city down and deservedly reducing it to rubbles. Neptunus, Juno, Pallas and even Jupiter himself destroyed Troy due to *divum inclementia* (*A*. 2. 603–618). In the last resort, it happened because of the deceitfulness of Laomedon (cf. *periuria G*. 1. 502; *dux fraudulentus Carm*. 3. 3. 24). In Horace's poem as well, Troy is a doomed city: cf. *Carm*. 1. 8. 14 f. *lacrimosa Troiae/ funera*; a ban was issued by Juno against reconstructing Troy, *Carm*. 3. 3. 59–62; cf. *Carm. saec*. 41 *per ardentem . . . Troiam*.

To resolve these queries an easy remedy is at hand. This is my proposal:

> **Troianum et** Anchisen et almae
> progeniem Veneris canemus.

Corrected in this way we have not only done away with the 'odd man out' but have got a harmonious series consisting of three objects, none without some specification added. The inverted *et* may have played a part in leading to an early corruption of the line. Part of the confirmation of this emendation is provided by Klingner's *Ψ* group of manuscripts with – *ve* closer to the genuine reading than Ξ's – *que*. Accordingly, I see the development of the paradosis in this way: TROIANVM or TROIANV > TROIAMVE.

As for *Troianus* (or a synonym) added to a proper name, it is not seldom in the *Aeneid*: *Troianus Acestes A*. 5. 757, cf. also the repeated *speluncam Dido* ***dux et Troianus*** *eandem A*. 4. 124 = 165. *Troius Aeneas* is found thrice: *A*. 1. 596; 6. 403;

7. 221, whereas *Tros Anhisiade*(*s*) occurs at *A*. 6. 126 and 10. 250; *Tros Aeneas* at *A*. 12. 723; *Tros . . . Aenea* at *A*. 6. 126. We are reminded of the Eastern origins of Rome that made Augustus's claim for world rule all the more legitimate. Nor should we forget, while listening to the Lydian flute, that the Etruscans had their origin in Lydia and that Vergil made Tiber a Lydian river by letting Creusa point it out as the future abode for Aeneas and his people (*A*. 2. 781f.).

Our text is accordingly this:

nosque et profestis lucibus et sacris
inter iocosi munera Liberi
  cum prole matronisque nostris
    rite deos prius apprecati
virtute functos more patrum duces
Lydis remixto carmine tibiis
  Troianum et Anchisen et almae
    progeniem Veneris canemus.

Notes

* Cf. *SO* 87, 2013, 136–142.

1 Instructive is also the adverb *amice* with *pati . . . condiscat* at *Carm*. 3. 2. 1–3; the role of the finite form *condiscat* must be taken account of as I see it, cf. *SO* 85, 2011, 184–188, esp. 186f., and above my chapter I, 6.

2 Augustus, *Res gestae* 34. 2 [*et clu*]*peus* [*aureu*]*s in* [c]*úria Iúliá positus, quem mihi senatum pop*[*ulumq*]*ue Rom*[*anu*]*m dare virtutis clement*[*iaeque e*]*t iustitiae et pieta*[*tis cau*]*sá testatu*[*m*] *est pe*[*r e*]*ius clupei* [*inscription*]*em*. On this shield, see the comments by Alison E. Copley, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti. Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Cambridge 2009, 266ff.

3 Cf. in the *RG virtutis clementiae**que*** whereas the two last qualities (*iustitia* and *clementia*) are added to the first ones by means of *et*. The *clupeus* itself mentioned the four qualities in asyndetic form. To judge from *A*. 6. 853 Vergil put *clementia* before (*bellica*) *virtus*: cf. *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos* (which is, by the way, as far as Vergil goes in his use of *hysteron proteron*, cf. in general my art. "Commenting on *hysteron proteron"*, *SO* 86, 2012, 118–144). Horace reversed the order and brought it back to the normal in his imitation of Vergil at *Saec*. 51–52 *bellante prior, iacentem/ lenis in hostem*.

16 *Saec*. 25–28. Prayer versus fact*

(7) Vosque, veraces cecinisse, Parcae,
quod semel dictum est stabilisque rerum
terminus servet, bona iam peractis
iungite fata. 28

You Fates, who truly tell what has once been decreed (and may that be preserved by the immovable landmark of our fortunes), add a happy destiny to what has already been fulfilled. [Rudd (2004b)]

This text is that of Klingner (1959) whom, among others, Putnam (2000) and Thomas (2011) follow, whereas Shackleton Bailey (2001) adopts Bentley's *dictum stabilisque* ***per aevum***.

Putnam (2000) translates: "And you, Fates, truthful in your song, as was once ordained and may the steady hand of events confirm it, join happy destinies to those now past."

The clues that exist to assist the reading deserve careful consideration. That Horace had particularly two lines from Vergil's Fourth Eclogue in mind when he composed this stanza, seems obvious:

"Talia saecla," suis dixerunt "currite" fusis
concordes stabili fatorum numine Parcae.

"Ages so blessed, glide on!" cried the Fates to their spindles, voicing in unison the fixed will of Destiny. [*Ecl*. 4. 46–47 as translated by Fairclough – Goold *LCL*]

Dicere, here with the dative *suis* . . . *fusis*, followed by an imperative, is 'prescribe' when used about a person of authority; it leaves no room for discussion. This *dicere* is taken up again by Horace in *dictum* (sc. *est*?). The word *stabilis*, only twice in Vergil, has clearly influenced *stabilis terminus* in Horace although his use of the adjective is somewhat different (see my translation).[1] But just as Vergil was influenced by the song of the Parcae in Catullus 64, so was Horace. His *veraces cecinisse* varies the epithet *veridicus* used twice by Catullus about

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the song (*cantus*) of the Parcae (64. 306 and 326). Vergil does not use the words 'sing' or 'song' in this connection, but Catullus uses it several times: in addition to *cantus* (pl.) at 64. 306, *carmen* is found at 321 and repeated as *epanalepsis* at 322. At the very end, he has *carmina . . . cecinerunt* (383). Also the notion *fata* is close to Catullus, whose lines 320–323 should be quoted in full:

> hae (sc. Parcae) tum clarisona vellentes vellera voce
> talia divino fuderunt carmine fata,
> carmine, perfidiae quod post nulla arguet aetas.
>
> Plucking then their fleeces they poured out with a clear-sounding voice these fates in divine song, song which no later age will ever convict of falsehood.

If, on this basis, one should try to sum up the poets' view of the Parcae, the popular background of these women clearly shines through in Catullus: their song is prophetic and unfailingly in accordance with what will be the future reality. According to the old conception Klotho, Lachesis and Atropos are simultaneously *ordaining* the future. Vergil is careful not to revive these images from popular mythology: he states simply that the Parcae are 'concordant with the steadfast will of destiny' without specifying the nature of this will any further. When Horace appeals to the Parcae to add *bona fata* to those already completed he avails himself of the same diffuse conception: the Parcae are so much in unison with the coming age that its good or bad character in fact lies in their hands quite literally.

Before proceeding further, we should make some remarks about the character of the *Carmen Saeculare*. The song is, above all, a series of prayers: it starts with a prayer to the presiding gods Apollo and Diana to fulfil the prayers of the Romans: ***date*** *quae precamur tempore sacro*. An imperative is addressed as prayer to Ilithyia, ***tuere*** (14), varied with iussive subjunctives to the same goddess at 17–18 ***producas . . . prosperes***. The subjunctive ***donet*** (30) follows after the imperative ***iungite*** in our stanzas, whereupon follow the repeated imperatives ***audi*** at 34 and 35 and ***date*** at 47. An optative subjunctive at 51, ***impetret***, is also to be recorded in the second part of the poem. All of these six imperatives and the four subjunctives occur in main clauses. On this background *servet* at 27 would be the only subjunctive in a subordinate clause in the whole *Carmen Saeculare*.

A formal peculiarity is to be noted in our stanza: The pattern of prayer shining through is well-known from time immemorial whereby the god or goddess addressed is reminded of a similar service rendered previously, often strengthened by pointing out how well the supplicant has fulfilled his obligations towards the god on his part. In this way, he is making his prayer all the more justified.[2] The power of precedence and the *do ut des* principle are strong factors to justify the appeal and one's hope for the best. One example from Homer must suffice (Diomedes appealing to Athena, *Il*. 5. 115–120):

> κλῦθί μευ αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος Ἀτρυτώνη, 115
> εἴ ποτέ μοι καὶ πατρὶ φίλα φρονέουσα παρέστης

δηΐῳ ἐν πολέμῳ, νῦν αὖτ᾽ ἐμὲ φῖλαι Ἀθήνη:
δὸς δέ τέ μ᾽ ἄνδρα ἑλεῖν καὶ ἐς ὁρμὴν ἔγχεος ἐλθεῖν
ὅς μ᾽ ἔβαλε φθάμενος καὶ ἐπεύχεται, οὐδέ μέ φησι
δηρὸν ἔτ᾽ ὄψεσθαι λαμπρὸν φάος ἠελίοιο.

Hear me, child of Zeus who bears the aegis, Atrytone! If ever with kindly thought you stood by my father's side in the fury of battle, so now again show your love to me, Athene. Grant that I may slay this man, and that he come within the cast of my spear, the man who has struck me unawares, and boasts over me, and declares that not for long shall I look on the bright light of the sun. [A. T. Murray])

The first famous example in poetry is Sappho, frg. 1 L – P:

(2) ἀλλὰ τυίδ᾽ ἔλθ᾽, αἴ ποτα κἀτέρωτα
τὰς ἔμας αὔδας ἀίοισα πήλοι
ἔκλυες, πάτρος δὲ δόμον λίποισα
χρύσιον ἦλθες//
. . .

(7) ἔλθε μοι καὶ νῦν

But come here, if ever in the past you heard my voice from afar and acquiesced and came, leaving your father's golden house, with chariot yoked . . . Come to me now again [D. A. Campbell]

The first stanza of *CS* appeals to the goodwill of Apollo and Diana by assuring that they have always enjoyed worship and always will. The seventh stanza starts with an assurance reflecting the basic εἴ ποτε form; *veraces cecinisse* will comprise their previous behaviour and be understood as *si vere cecinistis quod semel dictum est*: they have demonstrably been truthful in their songs in the past and are expected to be so again (and always). They sing truthfully about what has been ordained once and for all. Horace says nothing in this connection about what power or will the Parcae are serving. He probably understood it as Vergil did earlier: The Parcae are fully in tune with the will of fate.[3] So far, the strong bond between *dictum (est)* and *veraces cecinisse* is evident: truthfulness and reality amount in fact to the same thing. However, *dictum est* alone would be a poor rendering of Catullus and Vergil. Catullus emphasized that the *fata* were the infallible contents of the song (*carmine perfidiae quod post nulla arguet aetas*) whereas Vergil said the same idea about *fata* stressing their *stabile numen*. It is evident from Vergil in particular that *stabilis rerum terminus*[4] is an explanatory elaboration of *dictum* and should be expressed with the same mode in the predicate. Horace varies from a passive *genus verbi* in the first part to an active one in *servat* (indicative!) which makes *quod* in the latter case an object instead of a subject. The relative sentence expresses the strong belief that the prophecy

expressed in the *oraculum* for the *ludi* will fulfil itself so that a new festival will take place in due time.

The latest edition I know to print *servat* in the wake of the Aldina was Lucian Müller's Teubneriana (1901). *Servat* has been preserved by the best ms. *L* (Leidensis) for Servius (Pseudo-Probus) on *Ecl*. 4. 46.

As Thomas has recently shown, *dictum e**st st**abilisque* is unpleasant for the ear. On the other hand, several manuscripts ($C^1\Psi$) have *dictum* alone.[5] I cannot see anything that argues against taking *dictum* = *dictum est* which will be immediately understood when the listening ear or the reading eye reaches – *que*.

In our interpretation we have accordingly to do with two relative clauses. To say that *quod* has a double function, as nominative with *dictum* and accusative with *servat*, is not an adequate description, however. The second clause is elliptical and turns from the passive to the active; to have a complete sentence we would supply the underlying concept in the stanza addressing the Parcae, namely *carmen* or more specifically something like *verax carmen vestrum*. Such an unspoken accusative object contained in the previous *quod* needs to be revitalized in the interpretation in order to do justice to this important and dense stanza. As to the verb *servare*, *OLD* gives a nice collection of parallels *s.v* 7a ('maintain in existence', 'preserve intact' and 9a ('preserve', 'save (from death, danger)'.

The text I will recommend is therefore:

> Vosque, veraces cecinisse, Parcae,
> quod semel **dictum** stabilisque rerum
> terminus serv**at**, bona iam peractis
> iungite fata. 28

> And you Parcae, who truthfully sing what has once been ordained and is maintained by a firmly fixed boundary stone of events, add a good destiny to the one already completed.

Notes

* First published in *SO* 87, 2013, 142–146.

1 He uses the adjective again only at *Ars* 256.

2 Norden (1913, 153ff.).

3 Cf. W. Pötscher (1977, 101) explains it in the following way: "Entscheidungen der Götter, hier im besonderen der *Parcae*. Diese *fata* enthalten ein *numen*, weil sie Ausdruck göttlichen Willens sind. . . . Sie haben aber auch *numen* in dem Sinne, dass durch sie die Götter – ihren Willen verwirklichend – wirken. Die Einheitlichkeit und Gemeinsamkeit dieses Wirkens (*concordes stabili fatorum numine Parcae*), das der Dichter ersehnt, wird darin deutlich, dass die *fata* ein *numen* haben."

4 On the adj. *stabilis* see earlier; the word *fata* Horace has spared for the main clause and replaced Vergil's *fatorum* by *rerum*, which in this context should be understood as 'march of events' (*OLD* 17 b), the natural reference of *terminus* is to the period of 110 years.

5 Cf. e.g. *porrecta* = *porrecta est* 4. 15. 15.

17 *Ep*. 1. 1. 78. Greedy widows?

In his first epistle in the First Book of Epistles Horace, in search of models for his life, makes a survey of the moral stature of his fellow men:

> Pars hominum gestit conducere publica; sunt qui
> frustis et pomis viduas venentur avaras
> excipiantque senes quos in vivaria mittant;
> multis occulto[1] crescit res faenore; verum
> esto aliis alios rebus studiisque teneri.

> Some men rejoice to farm state-revenues; *some with titbits and fruits hunt miserly widows, and net old men to stock their preserves*; with many their money grows with interest unobserved. But let it be that men are swayed by different aims and hobbies. [H. R. Fairclough (1929) with my italics]

A natural question is this: What is a main theme of the first epistle? Heinze's comment on 77–80 gives a relevant answer: "die Geldgier ('greed') stumpft ('dulls') ihr Gefühl für Anstand ('men's appreciation of decency') und Vornehmheit ('and nobleness') ab". A sort of diagnosis at the heart of the poet's concern is given previously in line 33: *fervet avaritia miseroque cupidine pectus?* Greed, *avaritia*, is the primary spiritual disease that must be combatted. Horace focuses on a central moral issue in the first century B.C. Avarice and blind lust for honour force men to transgress the bounds of law according to Lucretius 3. 59 (*avarities et honorum caeca cupido,/ quae miseros homines cogunt transcendere fines/ iuris*). According to Sallust *Cat*. 10. 3, when diagnosing the moral state of the Roman republic, greed is at the root of all evils: *Igitur primo pecuniae, deinde imperi cupido crevit: ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere. Namque avaritia fidem probitatem ceterasque artis bonas subvortit*. This seems to reflect the wisdom of old Cato according to Livy (34. 4. 2) *Saepe me querentem de . . . magistratuum sumptibus audistis diversisque duobus vitiis, avaritia et luxuria, civitatem laborare, quae pestes omnia magna imperia everterunt*.

Horace varies this thematic point by bringing examples to pinpoint the disease in various contexts: 42f. *vides, quae maxima credis/ essa mala*, ***exiguum censum*** . . . (45) *impiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos,/ per mare* ***pauperiem***

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***fugiens**, per saxa, per ignis . . . .* (53) *'O cives, cives*, ***quaerenda pecunia primum est**,/ virtus post nummos.' Haec Ianus summus ab imo/ prodocet, haec recinunt iuvenes dictata senesque . . . .* (65) *Isne tibi melius suadet qui "**rem facias**, rem,/ si possis, recte, si non, quocumque modo, rem*".

In the passage 77–81, greed comes to the fore in Horace's brief focus on the *captatores* who had been so thoroughly unmasked in his *S.* 2. 5. The *viduae* and *senes*, who are the targets of obtrusive attention from the legacy-hunters, have no characterizing adjectives except that the *viduae* are called *avarae*. The *viduae* are probably elderly widows, a category of its own; it is hardly probable that they are unwedded single women. One wonders only more: why are they *avarae*? Many commentators pass over this problem in silence. Dilke tries to escape by rendering (like Rudd earlier) "miserly widows". I fail to see a point in the stinginess of widows. In *S.* 2. 5 Horace had no interest in their individual character or their attitude towards the legacy-hunter.

My conclusion, then, is that *avaras* needs emendation. The context decides the remedy. It is, of course, the legacy hunters who are greedy. We have to choose between a predicative adjective and an adverb to characterize these greedy social predators. I prefer the predicative adjective going with both verbs (*venentur* and *excipient*) and my text is accordingly:

> Pars hominum gestit conducere publica; sunt qui
> frustis et pomis viduas venentur **avari**
> excipiantque senes quos in vivaria mittant;
> multis occulto crescit res faenore. Verum
> esto aliis alios rebus studiisque teneri.

Note

1 *Occulto* with *faenore*. *Occulto* was taken by D. Bo in his lexicon as adv. '*occulte*', but was correctly registered in *TLL s.v.* 9,365,69.

18 *Ep*. 2. 1. 45–46. Syntax to be simplified*

In the Letter to Augustus the couplet 45–46 is inseparable from its context:

> Si meliora dies, ut vina, poemata reddit,
> scire velim chartis pretium quotus arroget annus.
> Scriptor abhinc annos centum qui decidit, inter
> perfectos veteresque referri debet an inter
> vilis atque novos? Excludat iurgia finis.
> "Est vetus atque probus centum qui perficit annos."
> Quid qui deperiit minor uno mense vel anno?
> Inter quos referendus erit, veteresne probosque[1]
> an quos et praesens et postera respuat aetas?
> "Iste quidem veteres inter ponetur honeste
> qui vel mense berevi vel toto est iunior anno."
> Utor permisso caudaeque pilos ut equinae
> paulatim vello et demo unum, demo etiam unum
>
> If poems are like wine which time improves, I should like to know what is the year that gives to writings fresh value. A writer who dropped off a hundred years ago, is he to be reckoned among the perfect and ancient, or among the worthless and modern? Let some limit banish disputes. "He is ancient," you say, "and good, who completes a hundred years." "What of one who passed away a month or a year short of that, in what class is he to be reckoned? The ancient poets, or those whom to-day and to-morrow must treat with scorn? "He surely will find a place of honour among the ancients, who is short by a brief month or even a whole year." I take what you allow, and like hairs in a horse's tail, first one and then another I pluck and pull away little by little, till, after the fashion of the falling heap, he is baffled and thrown down, who looks back upon the annals, and values worth by years, and admires nothing but what the goddess of funerals has hallowed. [H. R. Fairclough (1929)]

The question how to fill in the two shorts of the fifth foot in line 46 (the alternatives being *et item*, *et idem*, *iterum*, *etiam*) shall not detain us here. However, the more interesting issue is how to take the syntax in 45–46; this problem is, as

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far as I can see, ignored by critics and misunderstood by commentators. Before proceeding to the analysis of *caudae . . . / . . . unum* a word on *permisso* may be fruitful for our main analysis. According to Rudd (1989) *ad loc*. it should be taken as a substantival n. sg.: "I take advantage of your concession", but *permissum* so used is "a rare occurrence" (Rudd *loc. cit*.).[2] Something may still be said in favour of taking *permisso* as *permisso anno* in the light of *annus* being the dominant concept of the whole passage (*annus* 35, *annos* 36, *uno . . . anno* 40, *toto . . . anno* 44, *annis* 48).

There is, however, a more important issue to be raised here. Starting from Kilpatrick's translation my problem is easy to see: "I accept the year conceded and, like the hairs from a horse's tail, I pull at the rest a little at a time, taking one away and another one". One can easily see that *vellere* is a verb well suited to go with *pilos*, whereas *demere* is apparently the *vox propria* to go with *annum*, which strongly suggests itself as the object to be supplied regardless of whether we should take *permisso* as 'concession' or as 'year conceded'. If one follows the generally accepted interpretation the juxtaposition of two well-nigh synonymous notions, *vellere* and *demere*[3] sharing the same object, seems to me neither elegant nor economical. What is more, the tautology may well lead the reader astray as he will be tempted to understand *pilum* wrongly as the noun to be supplied with *unum*.

This is enough to awaken our suspicion that some form of corruption may lurk in the paradosis and one naturally asks: is there a remedy to one's discontent with the couplet? If I am not mistaken, my own answer makes the above-mentioned queries vanish into thin air: I propose to delete *et* after *vello*. The construction would then become *utor permisso* [sc. *anno*] *et, ut pilos caudae equinae paulatim vello, demo unum* [sc. *annum*]*, demo iterum unum*; *-que* in *caudaeque* would now connect *utor* and *demo* etc. (*paulatim* belongs only to *vello*), *ut . . . vello* would make up a complete clause of comparison, and nobody would be at a loss as to what notion should be combined with *unum*, namely *annum*. The attractive corollary resulting from this easy surgery is, so to speak, the better life quality of the couplet. It now presents us with two clear and balanced examples of the sophism called *sorites*.

In conclusion, then, I put forward what I consider as the genuine wording of the passage discussed:

> Utor permisso, caudaeque pilos ut equinae
> paulatim vello, demo unum, demo etiam unum
> dum cadat etc.

Notes

* Cf. *SO* 79, 2004, 117–119.

1 This is Bentley's conjecture instead of *poetas*, and it may well be right. In his wake I would like to propose *bonosque* which would avoid repeating the combination used in line 39; *bonus* is suggested by *meliora* in line 34, and is perhaps even closer to *perfectos* in line 37 (cf. *Ars* 358, 359). That said, I do not find the reasons for rejecting the

transmitted *poetas* particularly cogent (*veteres . . . poetas* also in line 63). The idea of quality implicit in *vetus* is at this stage established in the previous lines and indirectly emphasized by the negative alternative that follows (with its strongly antithetical *respuat*). As to *poetas*, Shackleton Bailey's criticism (*frustra versum onerat*) is moreover deaf to an ironic connotation: Do the old ones really deserve a honorific designation like *poetae*?

2 See *TLL* 10,1562,32ff. (*s.v. permitto*) *p.p.p. pro subst*.

3 That *demo* is repeated in the same line rather adds to the confusion.

19 *Ep*. 2. 1. 132–133. The bard as mediator*

> Castis cum pueris ignara puella mariti
> disceret unde preces, vatem ni Musa dedisset?

Brink's note on line 133 (1982a) should be heeded: "As for dedisset, this instance differs from all cases of dare, with which it is confidently joined in *TLL* V,1,1696,71–78; but two passages of the Ars may be compared, although what the Muse grants there is an action and therefore in the inf.: A.P. 83, 323–4."[1] The transmitted text must mean: wherefrom should the young learn prayers if the Muse had not granted *them* the bard?[2] What Brink does not comment on is the difference between his adduced examples and our case. In the *Ars* Horace is talking of inspiration and poetic talent as gifts from the Muse. This is the natural thing to expect from the interference of a Muse, but in *vatem ni Musa dedisset* it is the poet himself that is the gift. This is unusual as far as I can see, but it could be defended as a kind of shorthand way of saying that certain august prayers to the gods are dependent on poets inspired by the Muse for their beneficial effect.

In my view, the meaning is more clear, elegant and strong if we change *vatem* to *vati*, the basic conception being: the solemn prayers in times of crisis or on great ceremonial occasions stem ultimately from the Muse who has granted them to the bard. The bard, being the intermediary between the Muse (the divine level) and supplicant men, is thus in the privileged position of obtaining the gods' favour on behalf of the society. Instead of supplying a dative (*eis*) from *castis cum pueris ignara puella mariti*, which strictly speaking would be *kata synesin* (instead of *ei*, *sc. puellae*), we will have it the easier way by supplying *eas* (sc. *preces*) to *vati*. After all, it is more apposite for a Muse to grant prayers to a bard, i.e. inspired words which is her domain, than to grant the bard himself. Thus, the two parallels adduced by Brink are actually in favour of our conjecture by emphasizing the inspiration, that is the poetry, given by the Muse to poets (*Ars* 323) or to their instruments (*fidibus, Ars* 83).

Notes

* Cf. *SO* 79, 2004, 119–120.

1 *Ars* 83–85 *Musa dedit fidibus divos puerosque deorum/ et pugilem victorem et equum certamine primum/ et iuvenum curas et libera vina referre. Ars* 323–324 *Grais ingenium,*

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Grais dedit ore rotundo/ Musa loqui. Brink's point regarding this construction (quoted earlier) is not entirely correct, as there are both a noun (*ingenium*) and an infinitive (*loqui*) as objects for *dedit*. Since the infinitive is an abstract verbal *noun*, this is of no importance, however.

2 Sc. *eis*, those young people that have been chosen to sing or recite the poet's religious compositions.

20 *Ars* 65. A late recognition of Bentley's conjecture

It is hardly an overstatement to say that line 65 in the *Ars poetica* has occupied my whole professional life. As a student I read the passage 60–72 like this in Klingner's Teubner edition (*Horatius. Opera*, 1959):

> Ut silvae foliis pronos mutantur in annos, 60
> prima cadunt: ita verborum vetus interit aetas,
> et iuvenum ritu florent modo nata vigentque.
> Debemur morti nos nostraque: sive receptus
> terra Neptunus classes Aquilonibus arcet,
> regis opus, sterilisve diu palus aptaque remis 65
> vicinas urbes alit et grave sentit aratrum,
> seu cursum mutavit iniquum frugibus amnis
> doctus iter melius: mortalia facta peribunt,
> nedum sermonum stet honos et gratia vivax.
> Multa renascentur quae iam cecidere cadentque 70
> quae nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,
> quem penes arbitrium est et ius et norma loquendi.

Twenty-five years later, nothing is different in Borzsák's edition (1984). In the meantime, however, Charles Brink had shaken, if not undermined, our confidence in the transmitted text: thrice he had used the obeloi to mark spurious words or word combinations: in connection with *pronos* (60), *regis* (65) and *diu palus* (65). In addition he had accepted as indubitable a lacuna after *prima cadunt* and before *ita verborum vetus interit aetas* at line 61, pointed out by Ribbeck: u̲ u̲ | – u̲ u̲ | – u̲ u̲ | – u u | – X // – u̲ u̲ | –.

In 1973 my point of departure for understanding *diu palus* was Vollmer's commentary on the line in *Glotta* 8, 1917, 135 whereby he emphasized that whoever imputed the blunder *palus* to Horace was obliged to point out the special reason the poet had to deviate from the usual prosody in such a way. I believed at the time to have found this reason on the basis of the context in which the transmitted pyrrhicic *palus* was embedded. Horace was dealing with the possibility of enriching and renewing the poetic vocabulary: everyday words could become new through new combinations and the poet was free to create new designations if necessary.

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Greek might provide the basis for new coinages, and in passing Horace gave himself an example of this by construing the passive *invideor* after φθονοῦμαι (57) instead of *invidetur mihi*. He summed up his standpoint in the sentence *licuit semperque licibeit/ signatum praesente nota producere nomen* (58f.). The innovative nature of poetic language is an idea he expatiates on and exemplifies in the following: he uses a simile (60–62) and three examples (63–68) to elucidate the transitory nature of all things human. In the second of these examples he uses *palus* with shortened *-us*. This phenomenon I ventured to see as another example of "la leçon par l'exemple" using the phrase of Jules Marouzeau (*REL* 14, 1936, 58–64). I do not think that this was the egg of Columbus anymore, however,[1] although I still regard my explanation as the only valid one if the transmitted text is to be accepted.

The analysis has to go deeper into the two first examples of transitoriness (to explain *debemur morti nos nostraque*) and the way Horace has phrased this fundamental law of existence.

(1) sive receptus
terra Neptunus classes Aquilonibus arcet,
regis opus,

(2) sterilisve diu palus aptaque remis
vicinas urbes alit et grave sentit aratrum

If we look at these examples in tandem, it strikes us that something seems to be missing here in each of them, namely a word to signal the essential element of change that is a pivotal point in the passage. By way of suggestion *receptus terra Neptunus* could be mentioned: what has been *terra* before has become sea afterwards. In the second example, however, nothing of the sort is expressed: we must just guess that the *palus* has been turned into arable land through human intervention. Therefore, Bentley reacted strongly against *diu*. The *palus* has been there not just for a long time, he says, but it has been *sterili*s "ab omni aevo". However, *diu* says only that something has lasted "for a long time", not for ever which Horace must have meant. The change to be understood should in plain terms be "nunc exsiccata". There is an easy way to rectify the sentence and to bring the idea of a change brought about by human intervention, namely if we say *palus prius*. *Prius* implies that there will be a following stage *posterius* when the *palus* is no longer *palus*, but has become arable land to the benefit of the people living in the area. Bentley illustrates the essential nuance of *prius* in his emendated text by quoting Vergil *G*. 3. 360–362 *Concrescunt subitae currenti in flumine crustae,/ undaque iam tergo ferratos sustinet,/ puppibus illa* ***prius****, patulis nunc hospita plaustris*. "Sudden ice crusts form on the running stream, and anon the water bears on its surface iron-bound wheels – welcome once to ships, but now to broad wains!" *Prius* opens our eyes for the change that has taken place.

How did Bentley's emendation fare after 1711? As far as I can see, nobody was ready to accept his proposal in the text. Whereas Brink praises it as "excellent

indeed but too uncertain to be put in the text", and adds "the passage still awaits emendation", Niall Rudd deserves praise in that respect for giving Bentley his full support in his text and commentary (Rudd (1989).[2]

Notes

1 At the same time, J. Delz presented the ingenious idea *diu lama* in *Museum Helveticum* 30, 1973, 51f. which Sh. B. gave preference with a *bene* over Bentley's conjecture. But it is liable to the same objection which I raise against my own idea.
2 Page (1890) is more positive to Bentley's conjecture than to those of others.

21 *Ars* 120. Whose honour?

The text of *Ars* 119–124 (with no punctuation added) is transmitted almost[1] unanimously as:

> Aut famam sequere aut sibi convenientia finge
> scriptor honoratum si forte reponis Achillem
> impiger iracundus inexorabilis acer
> iura neget sibi nata nihil non arroget armis
> sit Medea ferox invictaque flebilis Ino
> perfidus Ixion Io vaga tristis Orestes

The problems

There is so far no agreement on two points in this normative passage: 1) about where the first sentence ends, that is what sort of punctuation, if any, should be preferred after *finge* (119), and 2) about the status of *honoratum* (120). To mention the range of options among a handful of influential editions still widely used (with or without accompanying commentaries):

1 Shackleton Bailey (1984) sticks (in all four impressions of his Teubneriana) to a full stop after *finge* (following Garrod (1912) [*OCT*] and Fairclough (1929) [*LCL*]). Brink, Borzsák and Rudd have a comma. Klingner (1959) has no punctuation (nor has Heinze 1914). Those who have no full stop after *finge* put it instead after *scriptor*. Shackleton Bailey (with Garrod) includes *scriptor* in the conditional clause of 120.
2 Brink, Shackleton Bailey and Rudd have put daggers around *honoratum*, a reading accepted by Garrod, Heinze, Fairclough and Borzsák, though with varying confidence. It is noteworthy that none of these editors has adopted a conjecture in the text. Bentley's two conjectures (*Homereum*, *Homeriacum*)[2] are mentioned by all except Shackleton Bailey who has chosen to specify only J. Delz's *adoratum* (*MH* 36, 1979, 142) in his *app. crit*.

The number of conjectures is high indeed.[3] Among the numerous articles dealing with the problems, I will mention only the last (?) in the row; S. Sørensen

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(2004) argues in favour of adopting A.Y. Campbell's conjecture *honore actum*, understood as "driven by longing for honour"/ "sense or need of honour" (p. 144). In my view, this has little or nothing to recommend it except as an entertaining *jeu de mots*.

Diagnostic approach

A flaw in the analysis results from severing the two issues at hand and concentrating on finding the right substitute for *honoratum* as the one and only panacea.[4] Convinced that the textual issues in lines 119–120 are inseparable from each other, I will treat the one with a constant eye on the other in the following. The last-mentioned conjecture, then, may, above all, be criticized (*pro multis!*) for staking everything on the effort of replacing the accusative *honoratum* with another accusative of a word deemed the right and proper one.

A stylistic and grammatical analysis of the passage should be part of any attempt at a solution: Achilles is clearly the main example by covering three (Garrod & Co.), or almost three lines (the majority) followed in rapid succession by five further parallel examples (Medea, Ino, Ixion, Io, Orestes), all of which are well-known scenic characters. Each has a particular personality that a dramatist should abide by and not deviate from at will. The names of the characters mentioned are either preceded or followed by predicative *flebilis, perfidus, tristis* and *ferox invictaque, vaga*. As for Achilles, the description of his character is multifaceted within rather narrow bounds (121) whereby he shows his nature in quasi scenic incidents (122), whereas in the case of the last four examples succinct single epithets do the same business (Medea only has got two predicative adjectives). In this perspective an adjective, whether *honoratum* or its conjectured substitute – highlighted moreover by wordorder (hyperbaton) – messes up a carefully constructed set of examples. In fact, I venture to assert that any attribute (let alone a predicative one) attached to *Achillem* brings an alien element into the period leading to legitimate and disquieting questions like: why should Achilles be singled out in this way? What about the others? Are they also '*honorati*' (or whatever), just as *si forte reponis*[5] undoubtedly is to be understood as a conditional premise no less for them as well? Or has Horace especially in mind the Iliadic Achilles, and if so, what is foremost in his mind, the 'Achilles' of the Iliad as a whole, his conduct in the First Book or in the Ninth Book ('Presbeia')? Without denying for a moment that the Homeric epics are relevant for the development of ancient drama, I would say that Horace is clearly giving good advice to the future *playwright* referring primarily to the dramatic tradition. So one would rather think of 'Achilles' as treated by prominent playwrights. There is scant reason for commentators to give Homer's Achilles an exclusive pride of place.

My conclusion will be that an accusative form going with the name *Achillem* in the protasis is in a double sense the crux of the matter. However, I do not necessarily think that the adjective (or participle!) *honoratus* is wrong here, nor do I believe in any deeper corruption worthy of editors' *cruces*.

Cure prescribed

We are in the meantime in a better position to return to the punctuation problem we started with.

Aut famam sequere ("either follow tradition") *aut sibi convenientia finge* ("or <else, in case you do not do that, don't forget to (*OLD s.v. aut* 7)> make up the things in a consistent manner." The two injunctions do not exclude each other mutually, but coexist in relative harmony as the two ways of going about the business of creating dramatic characters (cf. Euripides vs. Agathon as key dramatists in this regard). Horace presents two conditions of which the second is a *sine qua non* if the first is abandoned. The *fama* must, of course, be internally consistent (*conveniens*) as well. The following names with their focus on traditional characters[6] are not least relevant to the first injunction.

To put a full stop at the end of 119 seems unnatural considering that both injunctions address the *scriptor* opening the next line. This tight connection is a signal to the reader that there is an enjambment to be respected. Would I then opt for a comma after *finge* with a full stop postponed until after *scriptor* and *scriptor* taken as a vocative? Brink and Rudd vote unconvincingly for this way of ending the first sentence. Nor is the nearest alternative, a nominative, any better. To assume a solitary and stripped *scriptor*, stylistically questionable and with little or no function, is in my view no viable option at Horace's level of writing.

This expedient, with its rather arbitrary choice between a vocative and a nominative *scriptor*, vanishes fortunately in thin air as soon as we can muster a corrected *honorat**us*** to go with it, an operation that kills two problematic birds with one stone. This is also the easiest of adjustments in a faulty transmission. The difference between *honoratus si* and *honoratum si* would hardly have been discernable by the ear in later centuries. The adj./ ppp. *honorat**us*** "honoured", "(highly) respected" conveys – in the form of a condition more suggested, than emphasized – that if you want recognition from critics and public alike you had better comply with these injunctions.

*Honorat**us*** for *honorat**um*** was in fact proposed, but with little or no impact on scholarship, in a publication 200 years ago: *Remarques inédites du Président Bouhier, de Breitinger et du Père Oudin, sur quelques passages d'Horace, Avec une Lettre sur l'Art Poétique et sur la Sat. IV, Liv. II; publiées Par G. Prunelle*, Paris 1807. The conjecture originated from the remarkable jurist, magistrate, scholar and book-collector Jean Bouhier (1673–1746) whose highly subjective edition ("*ordini suo, ex meâ sententiâ, restituta*") appeared in the *Magasin encyclopédique*, October 1805.[7] It was soon republished, along with other Horatiana, by the librarian G. Prunelle. The conjecture is found on p. 19 (as line 69!) in this latter publication, but without any specific comment on Bouhier's part. Prunelle, however, approved of Bouhier's correction with arguments in his introductory "Lettre" pp. xxi–xxiii.[8] He rightly pointed out that this use of *honoratus*, about "ce que'on doit", is fully acceptable in Horace's diction. He referred also to *Ars* 235 (*Satyrorum scriptor amabo*)[9] as an illuminating parallel.

The passage, then, should have this form (sparingly punctuated!) in future editions:

> Aut famam sequere aut sibi convenientia finge
> scriptor honoratus: Si forte reponis Achillem, 120
> impiger iracundus inexorabilis acer
> iura neget sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis,
> sit Medea ferox invictaque, flebilis Ino,
> perfidus Ixion, Io vaga, tristis Orestes.

Notes

1 Understandably, neither Brink nor Shackleton Bailey cares to mention *neg**at*** (122) in some MSS.
2 In view of my next section ("Diagnostic approach") I can the more easily refrain here from a discussion of these (and other) conjectures. Bentley's ubiquitous name among modern editors of Horace is an indication that 'names' still count more than carefully assessed quality, cf. this author *SO* 80, 2005, 41–57, and earlier I, 1.
3 It will soon be possible to see the wide range of conjectures by means of a few keyboard touches now when Prof Asztalos Murdoch's database "A Repertory of Conjectures on Horace" has become available to the scholarly world.
4 Both Brink and Rudd are in the grip of the accusative and fail to analyse adequately the period as a whole.
5 I understand *reponere* here as: if you put Achilles on stage yet another time it would be in the wake of forerunners which strengthen Horace's point about sticking to character as treated by <the best of> these (cf. Rudd *ad loc*.).
6 Not the plot construction as in Aristotle c. 15, as Brink (1971) pointed out.
7 See Ch. Des Guerrois, *Le président Bouhier. Sa vie, ses ouvragres et sa bibliothèque*, Paris 1855, p. 183.
8 Rendering Bouhier's text in the following rather free way: "Si vous voulez acquérir de la gloire en écrivant, et que vous mettiez sur la scène des personnages connus, conservez-leur le caractère que la renommée leur a donné. Qu'Achille soit intrépide, emporté, inexorable; Médée barbare, etc." (xxi-xxii).
9 Cf. Rudd (1989) *ad loc*.

22 *Ars*. 254. *Cruces* or emendation?*

This is the standard text:

> Syllaba longa brevi subiecta vocatur iambus,
> pes citus; unde etiam trimetris accrescere iussit
> nomen iambeis, cum senos redderet ictus
> primus ad extremum similis sibi. †non ita pridem†
> tardior ut paulo graviorque venire ad aures,
> spondeos stabilis in iura paterna recepit
> commodus et patiens, non ut de sede secunda
> cederet aut quarta socialiter.

> A long syllable following a short one makes an iambus. He is a quick foot; this is why he ordered iambic lines to be called trimeters, although he was giving six beats to the line, and was the same in form from first to last. Not all that long ago, wanting to fall rather more slowly and weightily upon our ears, he admitted the stately spondees to family privileges – what a comfortable, easy-going foot he is! – but without being quite so complaisant as to give up the second and fourth positions in the line. [D. A. Russell (1989)]

This is also the text of Brink (1971 *ad loc*.) who is admirably clear concerning the difficulties of the transmitted text:

> H[orace] of all Romans, would not suggest that the alleged change from all-iambic senarius to classical trimeter was made 'not so long ago.' The required sense is either 'later. Afterwards', mox in Terentianus Maurus' account of the same metre, 2196 (which seems influenced by the Horatian theory), or else the very opposite of the MSS reading, 'a long time ago'. But no plausible emendation to these lines has occurred to me. I hope it will occur to others.

Doing my best to comply with his hope, I believe that a good, possibly *the* right, conjecture can be found along the first of these tracks. The text I would advocate is:

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Non ita longe:

tardior ut paulo graviorque veniret ad aures,
spondeos stabiles in iura paterna recepit.

Non ita longe would correspond to Terentianus's *mox* and be a piece of colloquial Latin to judge from e.g. Plautus *Trin*. 721 *video caculam militarem me futurum haud longius* ("I see that I'll become a soldier's batman pretty soon"). In *or. recta*, this amounts to *ero cacula militaris haud longius* which would be more or less equivalent to *non ita longe*. Accordingly, the text proposed earlier would mean: "It did not last long until it (i.e. the trimeter) admitted etc."

As I have suggested with my pause after *longe*, I assume that we have to do with a more colloquial and elliptic construction, basically paratactic, which we could render more adequately in this way: "It did not last long: in order to reach the ears with somewhat more slowness it (the iambus) adopted steady spondees into its ancestral rights." I believe to have two quite close parallels for this construction in Gellius:

1 *Ac deinde annis fere post quindecim bellum adversum Poenos sumptum est atque* ***non nimium longe*** *M. Cato orator in civitate et Plautus poeta in scaena floruerunt* (17. 21. 46f.): "Then, about fifteen years later, war was begun with the Carthaginians and not very long after that Marcus Cato became famous as a political orator and Plautus as a dramatic poet"; *post* is unnecessary here.
2 In view of these examples, one should probably at 17. 21. 35 (shortly before the earlier example) accept *Neque ita* (with ω) *longe* (discarding C. Hosius's conjectured supplement *post* adopted by P. K. Marshall in his Oxford ed.) *Aristoteles philosophus et post aliquanto Demosthenes vita functi sunt*.[1]

We can only speculate about what happened to the text of Horace at some narrow point in the transmission. My guess is that an editor took *non ita longe* to mean "not so long ago" and glossed it or replaced it, maybe in one go, with the more familiar expression *non ita pridem*.[2]

Notes

* Cf. *SO* 79, 2004, 121–123.

1 As is now generally acknowledged in the *Epistula Alexandri* p. 9, l. 7 (ed. W.W. Boer, 2nd ed. Lugd. Batav. 1973 = p. 22b7 ed. Feldbusch, Meisenheim 1976) *Nec longe mihi in desertis locis flumen apparuit* "it didn't last long before a river came into my sight in the desert."

2 *TLL* 10,1228,22f. (quoting Cic. *Brut*. 41 and Hor. *S*. 2. 2. 46 *haud ita pridem*) and vol. 7,521,56.

23 *Ars* 353. An ignored question mark*

Sunt delicta tamen quibus ignovisse velimus;
nam neque chorda sonum reddit quem vult manus et mens
[poscentique gravem persaepe remittit acutum]
nec semper feriet quodcumque minabitur arcus. 350
Verum ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis
offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fudit
aut humana parum cavit natura. Quid ergo est?
Ut scriptor si peccat idem libraries usque,
quamvis est monitus, venia caret; ut citharoedus 355
ridetur chorda qui semper oberrat eadem,
sic mihi qui multum cessat fit Choerilus ille,
quem bis terve bonum cum risu miror; et idem
indignor quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus;
verum operi longo fas est obrepere somnum. 360

However, there are some mistakes we are ready to forgive. The string doesn't always give the note that the hand and mind intended: it often returns a high note when you ask for a low. The bow won't always hit what it threatens to hit. But when most features of a poem are brilliant, I shan't be offended by a few blemishes thrown around by carelessness or human negligence. But what then? If a copyist goes on making the same mistake however much he is warned, he is not forgiven; if a lyre-player always gets the same note wrong, people laugh at him; so, in my estimation, if a poet fails to come off a good deal, he's another Choerilus, whom I admire with a smile if he's good two or three times. Why, I'm angry even if good Homer goes to sleep, though a doze is quite legitimate in a long piece of work. [D. A. Russell (1989)]

The first section of the final part of the *Ars* from 347 focuses on faults (*delicta*), "the occasional 'faults' of Homer contrasted with the persistent faults of Choerilus. In a long poem the former faults are venial and therefore irrelevant, the latter are not (347–360)." Thus, Brink 1971. But it is possible to argue that Horace is somewhat less willing to condone occasional 'faults' than is indicated by Brink's analysis.

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The three[1] lines 347–350, starting with a modifying *tamen*, brings seemingly a laxer attitude on the critic's part towards faults. The question is, however, whether this attitude can be extended to poetry.[2] One should not fail to notice that Horace does not go head on talking of poetry and that his words are carefully phrased at that: the critic does not define a sort of carte blanche on 'venial' and 'irrelevant' faults in art (*ignovisse velimus*, not *ignoscendum est, ignoscamus oportet* or the like). And third: Horace is leaving the question open whether the instrument or the artist himself is to blame for the occasional shortcomings.

The continuation of the argument, 351–353, seems strange in the usual interpretation with its opening adversative: "But (*verum*) when the beauties in a poem are more in number, I shall not take offence at a few blots which a careless hand has let drop, or human frailty has failed to avert" (Fairclough 1929). At first glance this and similar renderings[3] make good sense in so far as Horace seems to define a similar attitude towards poetry as the one he has just been describing concerning lyre playing and archery. Moreover, the word *paucis* seems to strengthen the connection with the previous examples. But *paucis maculis* is in fact disquieting and should have been so for editors as well: is Horace, of all people, one who would gladly overlook such blemishes in an otherwise brilliant poem, few though they may be? One may legitimately ask: why accept *maculae* at all?

The central point in our reading, not to say diagnosis, is the word *verum* (351). 'But' is in my view not the proper word for connecting the new statement with the preceding lines (347–350). General 'brilliance' (*plura nitent* 351) may well be equally true in the case of the lyre musician or the archer. There is accordingly a real problem here if I am not mistaken. To doubt *verum* would be hazardous. An alternative to be considered, only to be rejected, is to see the sentence as an imagined interlocutor's remark.[4] But such an expedient does not solve the problem of *verum*: if it was a remark of that kind it would in fact not go against, but help to extend the previous indulgence to the art of poetry, and that would seem to be contrary to the interlocutor's legitimate role in such discourses.

But in my view a question mark will work miracles:

> Verum ubi plura nitent in carmine, non[5] ego paucis
> offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fudit
> aut humana parum cavit natura?

Against the lenient attitude seemingly opening up a new track (347–350), Horace immediately raises a warning as the first signal of the high ideals he is going to uphold: "However, in a case where most features are brilliant in a poem,[6] shouldn't I be offended by a few blemishes thrown around by human[7] carelessness or shortcoming?" There is a sort of inverse *a fortiori* line of thought at play here: who would not be ready to forgiveness should it happen that an experienced performer strikes a dissonant chord or a usually unfailing archer misses his target? (And to paraphrase the sequel:) *But* <poetry is more demanding than that, because> when a stern critic like me finds much in a poem to admire for its brilliance (cf. the personal *ego* that is not quite otiose here) then there is much less cause for

indulgence. *Incuria* (352) cannot be a valid excuse. As to poetry, Horace is not the man who easily turns a blind eye to any shortcomings whatsoever: according to his general outlook 'blots' caused by lack of *cura* could have been prevented by *ars = techne*. And the same is true when it comes to *humana . . . natura*, it is in sore need of being propped up by training even in a highly gifted nature.

This reading and punctuation of 351–353 as *verum . . . natura?* makes *Quid ergo est?* come into its own: "What, then, is the truth?" (Fairclough 1929), "What am I getting at?" (Kilpatrick 1990), calling for an explanation of the puzzling contradiction of 351–352 to 347–350.

In answering this question, Horace again takes his point of departure (354–356) from skills or rather lack of skills in other professions, pointing explicitly back to 348 by including the incompetent musician as one of his examples (355b – 356). Instead of the mainly accomplished poet of 351, we are presented with his almost totally incompetent counterpart, ridiculous figures reminding one of Choerilus and his likes. The last-mentioned category is no problem: sheer incompetence gets no forgiveness (*venia*) and is rather an object of ridicule and mirth (*ridetur, cum risu*) in every *ars*, included poetry.

How does the last couplet dealing with Homer fit into this (359–360)? Horace has no need to say that Homer is not a Choerilus. The contrast in quality is an underlying matter of course and part of Horace's intended message. In view of this – and of Homer's standing for Horace and his generation in general – Horace's negative reaction to Homer's insufficiencies is indeed surprising. *Indignor* reminds us of *offendar* (352), but is even stronger. The two verbs serve as a sort of exclamation marks in our passage: beware my negative reactions to blemishes in works of the highest order! This interpretation is borne out even better if we are willing to put a full stop after *miror*, i.e. the first *brevis* of the fifth foot in line 358: then the metrical shape of *quem bis terve bonum cum risu miror* becomes exactly the same as *aut humana parum cavit natura?*

In combination with the remarkable full stop in the fifth foot and the critic's strong negative feeling (*indignor*), the paradox is in full bloom: don't forget my uncompromising stand above (*offendar*) and understand why I become indignant (*indignor*) whenever Homer, who is indeed an excellent poet,[8] drowses.[9] After this strong reaction, the last line comes almost as an apology, rounding off the passage and reminding us that there is some leniency in the literary critic after all. At the end of the day even the greatest of poets is a human being like the rest of us and in need of sleep when working on a literary project of such long duration, viz. of such a length. In the light of this interpretation, however, one should not take this indulgent attitude too far. I should like to point to three factors one should take account of: 1) Horace drops the first person and becomes impersonal; 2) he is pointing specifically to the supremacy of nature and its needs – *somnus* being the most obvious example; and 3) the impersonal indicative (*fas est*) has often a potential character: 'it would be permissible' that sleep gets the better of even a Homer at times. The impression created is thus: as far as the best poetry is concerned, Horace reacts strongly (*indignor*) even in the most pardonable kind of carelessness, i.e. one caused by too long hours at work.

The source for the description of Horace's attitude towards Homer is not far to seek for one living in his society: Horace the critic is the *dominus* 'master' and Homer is the *servus* 'slave' – another paradox. A *dominus* would often have been indignant if he had found his slave asleep when he expected him to work at the best of his ability, but it would have been a reproachable master in a more humane society if he had been too stern with a slave succumbing to nature over a long and arduous task. And so, from this point of view as well, Horace keeps up the paradoxical character of the passage in which his concessions to imperfections are after all minimal.

If one wants confirmation of this interpretation, all one has to do is to go on reading the treatise. As can be seen, Horace is a strong advocate of the highest standards and is everywhere taking a definite stand in favour of the exigencies of *ars*. Only to mention the nearest passage, his position is well summarized by Niall Rudd by the rubric heading to 366–390 *The poet's is a demanding calling*.

Notes

* Cf. *SO* 79, 2004, 123–126.

1 The deletion of 349 by A. Platt (*CR* 4, 1890, 50) seems justly to have won general acceptance since and because of Brink 1971.

2 On the *poeta perfectus* see Brink 1971, 359.

3 E.g. "But when the bright places in a poem are more numerous I am not to be offended by a few blemishes that carelessness has let in or human nature failed to avoid" (Kilpatrick 1990).

4 In Horace *verum* is often used to introduce an opposing viewpoint (*Ep*. 2. 2. 70 (with Brink's comm.), *Ars* 225, *S*. 1. 2. 58; 2. 3. 205).

5 On *non = nonne* see Brink 1982a on 2. 1. 54.

6 *In carmine* seems to me by its position to be slightly emphasized as the central issue.

7 Going with both nouns.

8 *Bonus* points back to the only accidental and rare goodness (*bonum*) of Choerilus & Co in the previous line.

9 *Dormitat* (359) and *somnus* (360) seem in fact to point back to *humana . . . natura* at 353 (more on this later).

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24 Conjectural emendation in three stages

Diagnosis, conjecture, interpretation

In November 1989, Professor Robin Nisbet held a lecture in Oxford which he gave the title "How Textual Conjectures Are Made". He later published it in *Materiali e Discussioni* (1991). It is a very personal paper built partly on previous discussions of textual issues in a number of authors. The article is unusual in the sense that the reader can follow Nisbet's steps from the initial stages until he arrives at a conclusion. It is seldom to see among textual critics this kind of communicative attitude about the whole of the critical process. On the contrary, critics often jump to conclusions by leaving out some or all of their premises.

I have found Nisbet's way of going about his critical business exemplary. Of course, he has made a selection; not every one of his conjectures needs to be included. His essay pertains to the handpicked few of the conjectures that seem to be closest to the critic's heart. Something of the sort is what I intend to do in the pages that follow. I guess that I am not alone among critics to have a chosen group of emendations that I cherish more than others. It is not that I consider them eminent in a class of their own. They are important for me because so much seems to hinge on them. In other words, the consequences are considerable if they are accepted.

My shortlist has become the following one, as I am leaving out some I am equally proud of:

1 Naevius 37 Bue./Bl.,
2 Ennius *Ann*. 220–221Sk.,
3 Verg. *Ecl*. 4. 8,
4 *Ecl*. 10. 44,
5 *G*. 1. 500,
6 *A*. 1. 4,
7 *A*. 6. 852,
8 *A*. 7. 598,
9 Hor. *Carm* 4. 8. 18,
10 Hor. *Carm*. 4. 15. 31.

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DIAGNOSIS

1) It nearly always takes some time before the conclusion 'probably corrupt' becomes dominant in one's mind. In the end, the lexical realities were decisive for me in evaluating 1) **Naevius fr. 37:**[1]

> Transit Melitam Romanus, insulam integram
> Urit, populatur, vastat, rem hostium **concinnat**

I have read many ingenious comments on the verb *concinnare* in this connexion, inclusive of the latest commentary on Naevius.[2] For me all of them have failed due to the *TLL* article *concinno* (by Poeschel, H.). The author of the article has put it under II *conformare*, *componere*, but stamped it as doubtful (4,1,50,65) noting that Nonius was also uncertain as to its meaning (equating it with *conficere* vel *colligere*, whereas Gloss. V 639, 49 with no more certainty suggests *dissipare* as its meaning). Nothing suggested so far, however, can be supported by parallels. For me it was utterly astounding that it would have another meaning than the one found in contemporary literature, that is 1) *conformare* or 2) *facere*, cf. Plautus *As*. 216 *auceps quando concinnavit aream, offundit cibum* ("When a fowler has prepared a clearing, he spreads food around") or Plautus *Truc*. 793 *iam livorem tute scapulis istoc concinnas tuis* ("With that you are now giving your shoulder blades a darker colour").

The conclusion was that the Naevius example was most probably corrupt.

2) On a nice summer day I was confronted with **Ennius' Ann. 220–221Sk**.[3] As always, it presented itself with the dilemma of *Paluda* versus *paluda* and all the ingenious discussions going along with it.

> Corpore tartarino prognata **Paluda** virago
> Cui par imber et ignis, spiritus et gravis terra,

These were lines I could never read without recalling vividly my early enthusiasm for Norden's masterpiece *Ennius und Vergilius* where the author with his sovereign command of all the details was able to weave an imposing and seemingly convincing whole from his wide erudition. As to *Paluda*, Norden accepted Varro's interpretation of *paluda virgo* as *paludata virgo*, that is a "kriegsgewandiges Mannweib", based on the adjective *paludatus* "wearing a military cloak".[4] That is perhaps the best that can be made of the transmitted form, but it had long since ceased to convince me. I had become more sceptical about fragments in general. The grammatical tradition had severed line 220 Sk. from its context and thereby made it more exposed to misinterpretation. Looking closer at the comments of Varro, I became even more convinced that the wording had somehow been changed or corrupted. Why was the *virago* at all dressed in a military cloak? The *virago* has become anthropomorphic in a way that takes us away from the explanation of her nature in the next line: she is definitely not a creature of flesh

and bone. Whether we read *Paluda* or *paluda*, the negative impression of the reading's legitimacy was equally strong: there was no goddess named *Paluda* and the adjective *paludus/-a* did not exist.

3) When I lectured on the *Eclogues* in the late 1980s I always consulted Jacques Perret's commentary in the Érasme series and on ***Ecl.* 4. 8** I found his comment on ***quo*** challenging: "valeur sociative assez vague"; "grâce auquel, avec lequel, pendant la vie duquel". L'enfant jouera sans doute un rôle personnel (17); mais les transformations annoncées dépassent visiblement son pouvoir, elles sont, d'ailleurs, déjà engagées (v. 5–6) alors qu'il ne fait que naître". However vague one takes *quo*, it does not fit the ablativus instrumentalis-sociativus category. I can see how Perret strives to make it palatable for his understanding of the opening, but he did not succeed in convincing me. Other commentators are more evasive. When I published my first article on the subject, I had the optimistic hope that it would foster a discussion. So far, I have been disappointed. Wendell Clausen seemed unaware of my proposal. My respected reviewer Fabio Stok (2018) now adheres to the ablative but has no new argument to support it. The latest Teubneriana (Ottaviano) makes the assertion that *quo = quo auctore*. To ignore grammatical issues or sweep them under the carpet is for me the least commendable strategy in dealing with textual issues. When an editor cannot explain a difficulty and has no belief in a remedy, the obvious solution is to put *obeloi* around the word. If that had been so more often, scholars would sooner have come up with a solution in many cases.

4) ***Ecl.* 10. 44–45** *Nunc insanus amor duri* ***me*** *Martis* ***in armis****/ tela inter media atque adversos detinet hostis* evoked both suspicion and disappointment when I read Clausen's undecisive comments: "*Amor* should probably be taken with *Martis*, although most commentators . . . refer *amor* to Lycoris, with *Martis* dependent on *in armis*." Clausen ends by saying that Gallus seems to have forgotten for the moment that he is in Arcadia, that is to say that Vergil seems to have forgotten that he has brought Gallus to Arcadia. I was happy to find that Heumann and Heyne had solved some of the mystery by keeping Gallus within Arcadia. Their conjecture was not mentioned, however, in the *apparatus critici* of neither Mynors nor Clausen. Nevertheless the redundant repetition *in armis* and *tela inter media* kept bothering me.

5) When I translated the Georgics into Norwegian at the beginning of the nineties Mynors's commentary was, of course, an invaluable companion. Coming to ***G.* 1. 500** ***hunc saltem*** *everso iuvenem succurrere saeclo/ ne prohibete!* Mynors took the interpretation of the line seriously indeed. He discussed a number of interpretations, found none of them convincing and presented his own solution. I found each of them, inclusive that proposed by Mynors himself, equally unsatisfying and none of them any better than any of the others. I ended, therefore, rather unhappily, with the translation of what I thought was in the text: "nekt ikke denne vår sønn i det minste å hjelpe sin tid og/ hjemsøkte slekt" ("do not deny this son of ours at least to come to the rescue of his age and afflicted generation"). A corruption was lurking in it, but I did not care enough at the time to handle it. Only years later I had gained the distance necessary for reflecting on the problems anew. Both

in the day-by-day preparations of my five lectures per week and in the translation commissions I felt the lack of time for immersing myself in the most interesting problems as a depressing factor in my professional life.

6) In my commented Norwegian translation of the *Aeneid* in the middle of the 1980s, I devoted a whole paragraph to the analysis of the proem of the *Aeneid* (***A.* 1. 1–7**). I thought at the time that I had grasped the structure of the seven lines quite convincingly – until I happened to read it again more than ten years later. It was not a pleasant experience to discover that the text edition (*OCT*) had led me astray: *iactatus* (3) and ***passus*** (5) could not be parallel participles. I found that *passus* could not be subordinate to *venit* as *iactatus* was. But even today the wrong perception of the syntactic grid of the proem persists in analyses and commentaries.[5] The latest commentary on the *Aeneid* (for college students) write on *multum ille . . . multa quoque* "much buffeted on land and by sea . . . much too having suffered in war".[6]

7) When Mynors substituted ***paci*****que imponere *morem*** for Hirtzel's *pacisque imponere morem* at ***A*. 6. 852** it was for me no improvement. A nice example of an *apo koinou* was tacitly dropped: = *eisque (sc. populis) pacis <memento> imponere morem*. And the whole structure lost its focus for me. I struggled with the question: what *is* this primitive *pax*? "an absence of armed conflict" (Maclennan), ergo the whole expression amounts to something like "to set the force of habit upon peace" (Horsfall), "to set the stamp of civilized usage upon peace" (Austin). The *pax* has become a peace containing two stages, presumably one basic belonging to a kind of pre-civilized epoch and another later under the sway of Roman civilization. This two-stage theory has never persuaded me. One would think that the *pax Romana* must be an indivisible and overall positive concept, not least in a context, like that of Anchises's authoritative statement.

8) Latinus's resignation at the end of his meeting with Turnus ***A*. 7. 598f.** *Nam mihi parta quies omnisque in limine portus/ funere frelici spolior* has been a stumbling block for more readers than me. A perusal of a great number of commentaries will probably convince everybody that previous scholars have done their best and that there must be some fault with the transmitted text. Unless we can detect that fault discussions are bound to continue endlessly I think. My own quest for the best meaning ended with spotting the fault in the first of the two sentences.

9) While I was busy collecting my items for this book a brand-new text of Horace arrived at my desk.[7] An impressive list of independent textual choices testified to the scholar's serious involvement in the *recensio*. The greater was my disappointment to see that the Censorinus poem, ***Carm*. 4. 8**, was left untouched as if the endeavours of more than 150 years had been all in vain. I for one consider this ode the greatest challenge for a textual critic addressing Horace's *opera*. If Horace – in this ode alone – had shown no care for the law that carries August Meineke's name, that every ode must be divisible by four, it would have been disquieting indeed. Since Meineke's and Lachmann's time there have been countless discussions. The adherents of a non-interpolated text are nowadays few, but they are rather faithful towards their utterly conservative cause. These scolars have to swallow some camels, however, the most notorious of which is in my view *eius*

at line 18, a form of the anaphoric pronoun Horace has apparently banned from his lyric poetry. I became therefore convinced that the ode was heavy-handedly revised at some early stage and that one of the greatest assignments for serious scholarship was to peel off the counterfeit accretions.

10) The two last stanzas of the last ode of Horace, ***Carm*. 4. 15. 25–32**, contain nothing conspicuous in critical respect at first reading:

> Nosque et profestis lucibus at sacris
> inter iocosi munera Liberi
> cum prole matronisque nostris
> rite deos prius apprecati
>
> virtute functos more patrum duces
> Lydis remixto carmine tibiis
> **Troiamque** et Anchisen at almae
> progeniem Veneris canemus.

When I analysed the stanzas and searched for the background for the last two lines *Troiamque* at line 31 became more and more disturbing for me.

Summary

The textual problems mentioned here and elsewhere in *Vergiliana* and *Critica* are not new; they have mostly been acknowledged as problems for centuries, some of them even in antiquity. When looking at them through the lens of editors and commentators, however, they have to a great extent been downplayed, some of them even neglected or denied. In some notable cases, a correct solution had already been found, but instead of reaching a respected status, these conjectures were still suppressed or ignored rather undeservedly. I am proud to have unearthed some of them and given their originators the credit they fully deserve. Already in the eighteenth century the magistrate Jean Bouhier (1673–1746) had found the solution to a problem even the genius of Richard Bentley had failed to solve. Bouhier's text was *Aut famam sequere aut sibi convenientia finge scriptor honoratus: si forte reponis Achillem/*. If it had not been for the endeavours of Domenico Bo in his Paravia edition, I would probably not have known him. Another hero of mine is Johannes Schrader (1722–1783). At *A*. 9. 539 he suggested the indubitable correction *recedunt* instead of *resident*. Likewise, Niklaas Heinsius (1620–1681) has earned laurels from me for his unassuming suggestion *luci* at *A*. 6. 761. Whether he believed fully in it himself or not I cannot tell. As will be apparent from my defence in this book as well, F. Jasper deserves our permanent gratitude for having relegated the transmitted *urbem* at *A*. 9. 377 to the critical apparatus and recommended *orbem* adopted in the text instead. Later I am able to defend it better than I did in *Vergiliana*. Too many excellent conjectural emendations have been treated as irrelevant in the course of centuries without the discussions needed for vitalizing them.

Only two text series have today the widespread authoritative status needed to focus on textual issues, the Bibliotheca Teubneriana and the Oxford Classical Texts. Both would profit from some renewal, however. In my textual studies I have pleaded for appending an *Appendix critica* within their covers so that that more of the critical legacy could be easily accessible.

The problems I have presented here from my own reading of texts are of the same nature and we need therefore in general to address them more thoroughly in the future. Editors will have to highlight the best conjectures on the text page itself with an indispensable *apparatus criticus*. A meticulous procedure in that regard will contribute to giving the textual problems a more central place in education and research. Those defending the transmitted text will thereby have a more urgent challenge at times to produce the onus of proof on difficult textual issues.

Robin Nisbet wrote in the earlier-mentioned article: "The most important stage in conjecture is to know that there is a corruption." The two most important symptoms come from grammar (like e.g. *Ecl*. 4. 8) and usage (cf. e.g. Naevius fr. 37). In the examples 1–10 there is usually more than one symptom of corruption. Bentley's *ratio ipsa* is never to be despised as e.g. the proem *A*. 1. 1–7 hopefully shows. When corruption is diagnosed this is the 'in for a penny' stage only. Clausen's comment on 10. 44 is admittedly honest, but stops halfway. The scholar must be 'in for a pound' at any time.

Conjecture

1) The best thing a textual critic in Vergil can do is to look at variants in Geymonat's or Rivero *et alii*'s edition. The critic will soon be convinced that the basis for conjectural emendation is rather slim. As a principle, I ask myself what would be the easiest expedient, particularly with regard to Vergil. I think this has worked well in a number of the cases. As to 1) **Naevius fr. 37** Bl. one should remember that *m* in a final position was a nasal on the point of disappearing totally in pronunciation. If *concinnam* was the orginal form it would be heard as *concinna* and easily understood as *concinnat*. I was soon convinced that the adjective would give the required meaning making *rem hostium* an apposition. *Concinnus* is according to *OLD s.v*. 2 'pleasing', either a *femina* ('pretty', 'handsome') or a place = ~ *venustus*. Horace calls the island Samos *concinna*, this is just what Naevius' *rem hostium*, i.e. Melita, seems to imply. The punctuation is difficult. My text would differ from that of Blänsdorf only by a semicolon after *integram* instead of the enjambement in his edition.

> Transit Melitam Romanus [exercitus], insulam integram;
> urit, populatur, vastat rem hostium **concinnam**

2) As to **Ennius *Ann*. 220–221**, part of Varro's comment led me more or less directly to a solution. Varro (on *L* 7. 37) makes an awkward comment based on Plato's *Phaedo* and the latter's description of the underworld geography: *Plato in IIII de fluminibus apud inferos quae sint in his unum Tartarum appellat* ("Plato

in his Fourth Dialogue (referring to *Phaedo* §§ 112–113) describing the rivers which are in the world of the dead, gives Tartarus as the name of one of them"). At Phaedo 112d Tartaros is a reservoir for all the rivers, in other words a *palus* or a *stagnum* in Latin. Varro seems to have incorporated an older scholium on the combination *Tartarea palus* or, closer to Ennius, *Tartarina palus*. In what way could we restore this combination in the fragment? A straightaway possibility turns up, namely, to write

> Corpore Tartarinae prognata **paludi'** virago
> cui par imber et ignis, spiritus et gravi' terra

The copyist who disapproved of the ecthlipsis in line 220 (but not in line 221) had nothing better to supplant the genitive with than a meaningless nominative. Understandably, he brought confusion to Varro – and to the subsequent twenty centuries.

3) As to ***Ecl.* 4. 8**, the easiest path was also the right path: *quo* pointed to the quasi homonym *quom*, the temporal subjunction. It could not have been easy to distinguish between the forms in the early stages of transmission. All instances of *quom* were soon after Vergil's time written *cum*. The *quom* at *Ecl*. 4. 8, however, was wrongly taken as the abl. of the relative pronoun, presumably because the (dat.) *puero* preceded it. The godlike influence the boy has been accorded ever since due to the ablative *quo* had no real foundation in the Roman conception of *saecula* nor in the Hesiodic conception of γενεαί of different quality. Therefore, I recommend as wholeheartedly as ever this text (cf. also my chapter III, 8):

> Tu modo nascenti puero, **cum** ferrea primum
> desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo,
> casta fave Lucina: tuus iam regnat Apollo.

4) The stylistic infelicity represented by *in armis* at ***Ecl.* 10. 44** followed immediately in the next line by *tela inter media* vanished for me when I studied the witnesses somewhat closer: the *Palatinus* had originally the nominative *inermis* which pointed to the right epithet *inermem* as accusative to go with Heumann's female *te*. Even without *P inermem* would have been a beautiful conjecture while it relieves the text of its annoying and redundant *arma*.

> Nunc insanus amor duri te Martis **inermem**
> tela inter media atque adversos detinet hostis.

5) At ***G.* 1. 500** I found nothing wrong with *saltem*, but the combination with *hunc* was problematic indeed. It soon occurred to me that the physical presence of Caesar Octavianus was the crux of the matter. The paraphrase of Manfred Erren was not acceptable: "The gods addressed are in a way asked to see the young Caesar standing next to the poet in his prayer". That *nunc* was the original word here was proved by the many parallels of *nunc saltem*. Even more important was the connection with Horace *Carm*. 1. 2 it opened up. Horace was obviously influenced by this recently

published passage in the *Georgics*. *A*. 1. 670 provided a last confirmation showing the same initial *N* being mistaken for *H* (*HUNC* < *NUNC*). An easier paleographic change is hard to imagine. A new text of Vergil should have this text, then:

> Di patrii Indigetes, et Romule Vestaque mater,
> quae Tuscum Tiberim et Romana Palatia servas,
> **nunc saltem** everso iuvenem succurrere saeclo
> ne prohibete! Satis iam pridem sanguine nostro
> Laomedonteae luimus periuria Troiae.

6) In the proem of the Aeneid, ***A*. 1. 1–7**, there was in fact no conjecture to seek. The solution to the persistent state of inadequate logic was only to look up in a concordance where all instances of *passus* are finite forms = *passus est*. Since 1989 I have therefore been campaigning for a semicolon after line 4. It remains, however, to be seen that an editor adopts this remedy:

> Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris
> Italiam fato profugus Lvinaque venit litora,
> **multum ille et terries iactatus et alto**
> **vi superum, saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram;**
> **multa quoque et bello passus**, dum conderet urbem
> inferretque deos Latio, genus unde Latinum
> Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae.

7) Anchises' reminder to the future Roman people (***A*. 6. 851–853**) is without doubt something of a central ideological pillar in the *Aeneid*: To establish/ restore its unity it is required to recognize its structure: *memento* governs it all. The theme is Roman rule (*imperium*) over the external nations (*populi*). Roman rule implies civilized peace (*pacis mores*), clemency towards those who have accepted this rule (*parcere subiectis* sc. *populis*) and subjugation of rebelliousness (*debellare superbos*). The text of line 852 now prevalent in all editions (*pacique imponere morem*) dissolves this well-knit structure.

> Tu regere imperio populous, Romane, memento
> (hae tibi erunt artes), **pacis**que imponere **mores**,
> parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.

8) ***A*. 7. 598–599** is the last outcry from the despairing and resigned king Latinus as he gives in to the overwhelming opposition. I had found *nam mihi* ***parta*** *quies* impossible to defend: Latinus has not in the least obtained peace or quietness. He can only look forward to an unhappy death. How can 598 give an acceptable meaning, one to suit the rest of his bitter sigh? I discovered, thanks to *TLL* (10,399,48–9), that the *V* ms. had *partum* instead of the obvious *raptum* (conjectured by Petrus Ciacconius in the sixteenth century) at Sallust *Hist*. 4. 17 (*Epistula Mithridatis*): *Neque quicquam a principio nisi* ***raptum*** *habere, domum, coniuges,*

agros, imperium? "(Don't you know) that from the beginning they have nothing except what they have stolen: their homes, wives, lands, and dominion?"). If we think that the parallel *parta quies* (at *A*. 3. 495) was jotted down in the margin the case for changing *parta* to *rapta* is strong indeed.

This much I want to add to my former treatment (*Vergiliana* pp. 263ff.): Theodor Ladewig (1812–1878) published his conjecture ***Non*** *mihi parta quies*, in 1853,[8] but he had already adopted it the year before in vol. III (Leipzig 1852) of his commented edition. His successor Carl Schaper dropped it without further ado. This conjecture seems stronger than I realized then, however. In his fundamental *TLL* article on *nam* in *TLL* (9,1,7–31) Nigel Holmes gives 4 examples of *nam* where it "confunditur in codd . . . cum . . . " *non*: Pl. *Ps*. 642, Catul. 68. 51, Hor. *S*. 2. 4. 90, Luc. 9. 317, among which maybe the last is deliberate on a scribe's part.

I have not myself reached a final decision. No matter what one decides in the matter, we cannot in my view return to *Nam mihi parta quies* in its context.

ille velut pelago rupes immota resistit,
ut pelagi rupes magno veniente fragore,
quae sese multis circum latrantibus undis
mole tenet; scopuli nequiquam et spumea circum
saxa fremunt laterique inlisa refunditur alga.
Verum ubi nulla datur caecum exsuperare potestas
consilium, et saevae nutu Iunonis eunt res,
multa deos aurasque pater testatus inanis
"frangimur heu fatis" inquit "ferimurque procella!
Ipsi has sacrilego pendetis sanguine poenas,
o miseri. Te, Turne, nefas, te triste manebit
supplicium, votisque deos venerabere seris.
Nam mihi **rapta** quies, omnisque in limine portus
funere felici spolior." Nec plura locutus
saepsit se tectis rerumque reliquit habenas.

9) The text of Horace has been more exposed to interpolations and interventions than Vergil's. The most glaring example is ***Carm*. 4. 8**. If we are willing to accept the validity of the lex Meinekiana for this ode as well, we have at least some safe ground to proceed from. We have in my opinion to choose between 32 (8 × 4) or 28 (7 × 4) lines. I had no problems with agreeing with Lachmann in rejecting 15b-17 (*non celeres fugae/ reiectaeque retrorsum Hannibalis minae,/ non incendia Karthaginis impiae*). As it was, however, I found 14–15a equally unacceptable (*per quae spiritus et vita redit bonis/ post mortem ducibus*), words introducing a reflection wholly incompatible with both line 13 and 19b–20. I excluded therefore the four lines 14–17 with Peerlkamp. I was not willing, however, to give up line 18–19b with its quite successful line about Scipio Africanus (*qui domita nomen ab Africa/ lucratus rediit*). But the genitive *eius* had to go and be substituted by a pronominal form that established a connexion with line 13; the dative *illi* was for me the obvious solution to the problem. The two lines that had to go, together with

the four I had already deleted, had already their brackets in Shackleton Bailey's edition. The reasons for suspecting them as interpolations turned indeed out to be decisive. This has accordingly become 'my' Censorinus poem (4. 8):

Donarem pateras grataque commodus,
Censorine, meis aera sodalibus,
donarem tripodas, praemia fortium
Graiorum, neque tu pessuma munerum
ferres, divite me scilicet artium
qualis Parrhasius protulit aut Scopas,
hic saxo, liquidis ille coloribus
sollers nunc hominem ponere, nunc deum.
Sed non haec mihi vis, non tibi talium
rerum est aut animus deliciarum egens;
gaudes carminibus; carmina possumus
donare et pretium dicere muneri:
Non incisa notis marmora publicis
illi, qui domita nomen ab Africa
lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
laudes quam Calabrae Pierides neque,
si chartae sileant quod bene feceris,
mercedem tuleris: quid foret Iliae
Mavortisque puer, si taciturnitas
obstaret meritis invida Romuli?
Ereptum Stygiis fluctibus Aeacum
virtus et favor et lingua potentium
vatum divitibus consecrat insulis.
Caelo Musa beat. Sic Iovis interest
optatis epulis impiger Hercules;
clarum Tyndaridae sidus ab infimis
quassas eripiunt aequoribus rates;
Liber vota bonos ducit ad exitus

10) As to ***Carm*. 4. 15. 31–32**, *Troiamque et Anchisen et almae/ progeniem Veneris canemus*, the critical editions were helpful by showing that Klingner's Ψ group of manuscripts had – *ve* which no editor would normally take too seriously. Neither would I, had it not been for the illogical first member of the Trojan trias. For me the V was an original U and revealed TROIANUM ET ANCHISEN.

Interpretation

My attitude towards these texts is not different from the cases where one editor has chosen one variant, whereas another editor has preferred a different one. You must weigh the pro arguments on either side. A tour de force of Emil Bährens was that he conjectured *noris* at *A*. 4. 423. Had it been a transmitted variant it would

surely have been a success long before a papyrus scrap confirmed his conjecture in 1950. Then, and then only, the majority of scholars was persuaded. This conjecture was equally good in 1887, however. Even more superior than the transmitted text was his *parva initu primo* at line 176. This excellent emendation brought the weakness of the transmitted text to the fore. Bouhier's *honoratus* at Hor. *Ars* 119 made the transmitted *honoratum* even more unacceptable. An editor must dare to let a first-class conjecture replace the transmitted text. That has been my ambition concerning the examples I have dealt with in this chapter.

It is not enough that a conjecture does away with the problems of a transmitted text. It must have some intrinsic quality of its own in addition. I for one like to subject the 'new' text to a period of trial and ask: what if the emended had been the only form transmitted? What does it bring of positive improvement? To mention briefly a few points that have struck at least myself:

1) At **Naevius 37** the contrast between a neatly cultivated island of the enemy and one devastated and ruined by the Roman army comes now clearly through. 2) At **Ennius 220–221** the goddess *Paluda* and the unattested adjective *paluda* were cleared away so as to open up a direct access to Horace's Discordia, whose nature of intrinsic incompatibilities is demonstrated in line 221. 3) ***Ecl.* 4. 8** takes the focus away from the wonder child and makes him a representative of a new golden age. 4) At last the unfaithful Lycoris of ***Ecl.* 10. 44** gets the pity from Gallus which she has in no way deserved. The elegiac poet himself receives all the sympathy Vergil can muster in the Arcadia he has created in the Bucolics. 5) Caesar Octavianus is no longer present in person at ***G.* 1. 500**, but the poet's heartfelt prayer for the end of his country's travails has no less emphasis in the *nunc* which is a strong marker of the onset of a new era. 6) The proem of the *Aeneid*, ***A.* 1. 1–7**, has at long last got a short breathing space in its midst, something which it certainly needed to mark a division line between the 'odyssean' and the 'iliadic' half of the epic. 7) For me *pacis . . . mores* at ***A.* 6. 852** has restored the unity of Anchises' injunction on the Roman people: it is all about their 'foreign policy' whereby the nations under Roman rule shall enjoy the blessings of peace in harmony with Jupiter's vision (at *A.* 1. 264). 8) At ***A.* 7. 598** old Latinus's resignation over his lost tranquil peace amounts to a much more serious accusation against Turnus than was the case with the transmitted text. 9) My proposal *illi* at **Hor. *Carm* 4. 8. 18** is at least deeply satisfying for me as an admirer of Horace by giving me back the Censorinus Ode as a poetic masterpiece. 10) At **Hor. Carm. 4. 15. 31** we are witnessing the poet's swansong. When Horace wrote the two last stanzas of *Phoebus volentem* he was well aware that this was his farewell to lyric poetry. The last lines contained a greeting to his great colleague Vergil and his *Aeneid*, a greeting that comes far more satisfactory to the fore by substituting '*Troia and Anchises'* by '*Troianus Anchises*'.

Notes

1 See my article "A Fragment of Naevius Reconsidered" (not included here), *Glotta* 83, 2007, 95–97.

2 Cf. Flores (2011, 51) (vehemently opposing my conjecture). Flores translates "la roba dei nemici stiva in ordine" (cf. his Introd. p. xxxvii f.).

3 For the original version of the article included below (II, 2) cf. "Zum Verständnis von Ennius *Ann*. 220–221 Sk", *Glotta* 90, 2014, 174–179.
4 In a note on p. 12 Norden expresses his sympathy for a theory (by O. Morgenstern) that *Paluda* is a sort of preliminary proper name preceding her true name, that is 'die Jungfrau Kriegsmantel' whereby the *virago* is named after her attribute (like the fairy tale figure Little Red Riding Hood). I find this explanation equally unconvincing.
5 See for example the recent analysis in Scheidegger Lämmle (2016, 11–12).
6 See Ganiban (2009) *ad loc*.
7 *Horaz, Sämtliche Werke*, Lateinisch-deutsch. Herausgeg. und übersetzt von Niklas Holzberg [Tusculum], Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2018.
8 It was published in the programme *Ueber einige Stellen des Virgil* [Zur 300 jährigen Jubelfeier des Güstrower Gymn.], Neustrelitz, 17.

25 Ennius *Ann*. 42 Sk. Ilia left alone

Ita sola
postilla, germana soror, errare videbar
tardaque vestigare et quaerere te **neque posse**
corde capessere: semita nulla pedem stabilibat.

I cannot read Skutsch's sober and honest note on 42 *corde capessere* without asking myself why he did not mark *corde* with cruces, an expedient Jocelyn would have thought just and proper in this case, I believe. Skutsch writes:

> A very difficult phrase. *capere* and its derivatives used with the instrum. abl. *corde* denote understanding rather than than perception (differently Stat. *Theb*. 8. 261 *tenui captabat corde tumultum*). The meaning 'to perceive (see, hear) you' is thus ruled out. So, by the lack of even a remote parallel, is the sense of *sinu complecti*. There remains only 'to reach you'. The addition of *corde*, which strains this sense, conforms to the alliterative pattern of the passage (cf. above) and seems to convey the sense of *cupitam capessere*; compare *corde cupitus* 47. The emendations proposed are not convincing. *corpus* (Marx) is excellent in Ov. *met*. 11. 675 *corpusque petens amplectitur auras* but feeble here. Havet's *corda capessere* 'to take heart' is unsatisfactory from every point of view. If *corde* should be wrong it might conceal the name of the sister.

Skutsch, hardly convinced himself, fails to prove that *corde capessere* can convey the sense of *cupitam capessere*. The word *corde* Ennius uses three times in these 17 lines. At line 47 (*corde cupitus sc. pater*) and at 50 *corde* (*aegro cum corde meo*) the word is totally justified. It is obvious that Skutsch understands *te* as object from the previous infinitive in which case *corde* must be Ilia's *cor* seeking physical contact with her sister; *corde* spoils such a natural extension of *vestigare* and *quaerere*. The unavoidable conclusion is that *corde* is corrupt. It is true enough that *capessere*, a desiderative, can mean 'grasp' with the additional notion 'eagerly', cf. Priscian (II 535, 10 Keil) = *desidero capere*. But another meaning of *capessere* is more striking in early Latin, 'set forth', 'set off', 'sally forth', 'betake oneself': Plautus *Bac*. 113 *quo nunc capessis ted hinc advorsa via?* ("where are

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you now betaking yourself from here up the street?"), cf. *Rud*. 178 *si ad saxum* [*fort*. a saxo] *quo capessit ea deorsum cadet, errationis fecerit compendium* ("If she falls down the cliff where she's heading, she'll go to the devil more quickly.") From these two examples one may observe that there is both a reflexive[1] and an intransitive use of *capessere*.[2] Of the latter alternative, I believe we have an example in our text. All examples for this use of *capessere* are either defined as *motion whither* (adverb or prepositional phrase) or as *motion whence*. Instead of *corde*, *inde* would stand out as an excellent extension of an intransitive *capessere* (like *Rud*. 178, Apul. *Met*. 1. 22), namely defined as *motion whence* (like *Bac*. 113). *neque posse/ inde capessere* expresses "without being able to get away/ betake myself from there" – a good description of a person's situation in a dream. The ensuing *semita nulla pedem stabilibat* is an asyndetic clause explaining *neque posse/ inde capessere*: "<as> no path was there to make my foot steady." In other words, she is stuck among the willow thickets on an unknown riverbank. My text, then, is this:

Ita sola
postilla, germana soror, errare videbar
tardaque vestigare et quaerere te neque posse
inde capessere: semita nulla pedem stabilibat.

Notes

1 Cf. Pl. *Am*. 262 *nunc pergam . . .* ***me*** *domum* ***capessere*** ("Now I'll continue to go home"); *As*. 158 *quam magis* ***te*** *in altum* ***capessis*** ("the more you set off to sea"); *Rud*. 172 *horsum* ***se capessit*** "she is coming this way"); Titin. *com*. 180 (*domum se*); *Bac*. 1077 *quam se ad vitam et quos ad mores praecipitem inscitus* ***capessat*** (what sort of life and what manners he betakes himself to, headlong and without thought").

2 Cf. Apul. *Met*. 1. 22 *et cum dicto rursum foribus oppessulatis intro* ***capessivit***.

26 Ennius *Ann*. 220–221 Sk. The nature of Discordia*

It is notorious that important philologists of the twentieth century have struggled with this fragment.[1] They are admittedly all admirable by their ingenious attempts at finding the best sense. They have also made some correct observations, but in my opinion at least, none of them has found a satisfactory interpretation of both lines.

We start with the usual form of the text written in capital letters as shown by the editions: 220–221 Skutsch (= 521–522 Vahlen = 261–62 Warmington):

CORPORE TARTARINO PROGNATA PALUDA VIRAGO
CUI PAR IMBER ET IGNIS SPIRITUS ET GRAVIS TERRA

220: Varro *L*. 7. 37 **220–221**: Probus ad Verg. *Buc*. 6. 31 (p. 340 H.).
App. criticus:

220 corpore tartarino *Varro* : corpora[2] tartareo *Probus* paluda *Varro* palude *Probus*

As could be expected from Skutsch in his *magnum opus*, his comment on 220 is a piece of mature exegesis. That he becomes somewhat less certain in his conclusion, I reckon to his honour. The most difficult *quaestiones* connected with his interpretation I summarize here:

1 *Corpore tartarino* is on the one hand taken as an abl. originis (cf. Szantyr § 73), not as an abl. qualitatis, and on the other as a circumlocution of the metrically impossible *Tartaro*.
2 *Paluda* is for Skutsch either a proper name (or 'quasi-name' like for example 'Little Red Riding Hood'[3]) or possibly an adjective.[4]

Our investigation starts with *Paluda*, resp. *paluda*. An elucidation of this issue can be regarded as a necessary prerequisite in order to explain *corpore tartarino*.

Paluda is anyway no casual part of the line, but the main reason for its quotation. *Paluda* gets the following commentary:

a: *Paluda a paludamentis: Haec insignia atque ornamenta militaria*.[5]
b: *Ideo ad bellum cum exit imperator ac lictores mutarunt vestem et signa incinuerunt*, ***paludatus*** *dicitur proficisci*.

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c: *Quae propter quod conspiciuntur qui ea habent ac fiunt* ***palam****, paludamenta dicta*.

(For the sake of analysis and clarity I have divided Varro's commentary into three parts (a, b, c) and moreover used underlining and semibold typeface).

On **a**: It is surprising that Varro explains *paludamenta*[6] as *insignia atque ornamenta militaria*, an explanation that has given rise to a special category b) in *OLD s.v. paludamentum*.[7]

Here is probably a lack of preciseness to blame whereby *insigne* and *ornamentum* have acquired a *pars pro toto* function. The most reasonable interpretation of Varro would be to decipher him in relation to the word *paludamentum* somewhat like the following: **Haec sunt vestimenta insignibus atque ornamentis militaribus praedita*.[8]

On **b**: In the first part of the *cum* clause as well (*exit imperator ac lictores mutarunt vestem*) we have an abbreviated expression which needs to be paraphrased. The notion can be supplemented both auditorily and visually like this: "When the commander <has taken off his toga and donned his *paludamentum*> and marches off behind his lictors whereby these as well are on a war footing with their fasces and axes and are blowing their signals." Varro wants in particular to draw attention to the *imperator paludatus* as the central figure at the same time as he reminds us of the impressive route march of the lictors which serve to strengthen the visual totality of an army ready for combat.

On **c**: This brings Varro's conclusion: these (*Quae* just as the following *ea* and the previous *haec*), i.e. the adorned cloaks, are called *paludamenta* because the commanders in this attire "draw the attention of the people to themselves" (*conspiciuntur*, cf. *OLD s.v.* 3 b) and 'appear for all to see' (*palam fiunt*). An important point is apparently attached to the 'etymological' connection between *paludamentum* and *palam* whereby – *mentum* is taken in analogy with *orna-mentum* ('means of adorning'). In this way *paludamentum* is a (situational) means of making a person conspicuous among people.

Thus far, Varro's comments have not been able to answer two questions concerning *paluda*: what is the meaning of the word? Is the word a proper name or an adjective?

As to the meaning, his comments can be interpreted in two ways: *paluda* is an abbreviated feminine adjective, derived from *paludatus* and synonymous with this word. This explanation is according to Norden to be preferred linguistically. He explains the word as a bold invention on Ennius' part and understands *paluda virgo* as a 'kriegsgewandiges Mannweib' ('a war dressed mannish woman'). It is moreover possible to imagine a context for this figure: dressed in *paludamentum* the goddess Discordia behaves almost like a commanding general as she is about to push open the doors of the Janus shrine (cf. fr. 225).[9]

My objections to this solution are several: Most of Varro's comments become irrelevant with this interpretation and make the impression of being learned fabrications. He should have been content with indicating *paluda* as an abbreviated form of *paludatus*. Moreover, 'dressed in *paludamentum*' does not go well with

the following line of the fragment (221) that points clearly to the doctrines of Empedocles. Varro's interpretation is not only unconvincing in itself, but may at most be considered as his personal opinion. *Paluda = paludata* is in all probability not Varro's personal interpretation. For him the connection with *palam* was decisive. He has evidently taken *paluda* as *palam facta = conspicua, insignis*. It is unnecessary to say, that such an understanding is neither convincing nor binding.

We draw therefore the following conclusions: 1) Varro evidently considers *paluda* as an adjective. If it had been a proper name for him, he would have phrased his comments accordingly. 2) There is nothing to indicate that he knows the word from any other source. His explanation is therefore mere speculation. 3) It is also unlikely that he knows the Ennian context. One must assume that he quotes the fragment from a secondary source. The suspicion therefore arises that *paluda* is due to some sort of misunderstanding or misrepresentation.

As to our first *quaestio*, it is obvious that the grammarians have taken *corpore Tartarino* as an abl. qualitatis. Festus understands *Tartarinus* as *horribilis*, as if *corpore Tartarino* meant 'with frightening body'. He repeats Verrius Flaccus who has a more complete scholion: *Tartarino cum dixit Ennius, horrendo et terribili Verrius vult accipi, a Tartaro qui locus est apud inferos* (Lindsay p. 484, 7 f.). Here is presumably etymological speculation at play. From Servius (on Verg. *A*. 6. 577 Thilo p. 80, 23–25) can be seen, that various theories on the etymology of Tartarus were in vogue: *TARTARUS vel quia omnia illic turbata sunt, ἀπὸ τῆς ταραχῆς, aut, quod est melius, ἀπὸ τοῦ ταρταρίζειν, id est a tremore frigoris; sole enim caret*. This latter and better explanation seems to be at the bottom of the explanation of the grammarians (Festus, Verrius) because *horrere* is the same as ταρταρίζειν, originally applied to the description of the effect of cold (cf. *OLD s.v.* 1 b and 4); it means also 'fear', to be 'fearsome'. Moreover, fear is more characteristic of the underworld than frost. That an abl. qualitatis here could be implicit is understandable: Lucretius has e.g. *pulchro corpore creti* (5. 1116) in this sense (but also as an abl. originis cf. 4. 1228; 5. 6).

Against *corpore Tartarino* being taken as an abl. qualitatis usage is decisive. *Prognatus* is regularly connected with an abl. originis, never with an abl. qualitatis (cf. *TLL s.v. prognatus*). There should be no hesitation about the abl. *corpore Tartarino* being dependent on *prognata*. Skutsch assumes that *corpus* here means 'substance', 'mass' (cf. *OLD s.v. corpus* 13). This usage is often found in Lucretius, e.g. *Neptuni corpus acerbum* 'the salt sea water' (2. 472), *corpus aquae* 'the watery element' (2. 232), a meaning treated in *TLL s.v*. 4,2,1025,11–33. In particular, I want in this connection to point to Lucr. 1. 1086–1085 (sic!): *umorem ponti magnasque e montibus undas,/ et quasi terreno quae corpore contineantur* ("the liquid of the sea and the mighty waters from the mountains and those things which are, as it were, contained in an earthy substance"). All the same this meaning of *corpus* is doubtful in so far *Tartarus* can hardly be regarded as a homogenous elementary mass or matter and be designated a *corpus* in the same sense as the earlier *terrenum corpus*.

It is time to proceed on a more positive path. If we continue reading Varro, we find a truly remarkable comment on the adjective *Tartarinus*:

> *Tartarino dictum e Tartaro. Plato in IIII de fluminibus apud inferos quae sint in his unum Tartarum appellat quare Tartari origo Greca.*
>
> ("*Tartarino* is derived from *Tartarus*. Plato calls in his Fourth Dialogue one of the rivers in the underworld Tartarus. Therefore, the origin of Tartarus is Greek.")

Under any circumstances, this comment on the adj. *Tartarinus* seems to have little relevance in a comment to elucidate Ennius. *Tartarus* is an important notion both in the Homeric poems and in Hesiod. There is above all no need to bring up a somewhat blurred passage from Plato in order to conclude that the word *Tartarus* has a Greek origin and not a Roman. One may therefore, with just reason, suppose that Varro happens to refer to some lore from an earlier source about an underworld river Tartarus. Norden (p. 10) was probably right in pointing to the *glossematum scriptores* as a possible common source for both Varro and Verrius Flaccus. It is therefore probable that Varro is dependent on older commentators for his speculations about the word *Tartarinus* and *Tartarus*. One could think of an Ennius commentator like Marcus Antonius Gnipho (cf. Skutsch 1985, 9) who was probably also a source for Probus. Norden supposed moreover that Probus quoted directly from the Annals. We have here no need to enter into this discussion, but be content with regard to Varro's comment on Tartarus as being *longe petitum* or irrelevant for the text he has. But just this comment is the key to the correct understanding of our fragment in spite of the fact that Tartarus is no underworld river in Plato's *Phaedo*.

Varro's excerpt shows that the original commentator had not *paluda*, but *palude* (Probus). Thereby he was remembering the description of Tartarus in Plato's Phaedo dealing with the theme of the enormous reservoir of water deep in the earth. The water there is of a terrifying character and full of mud.

The river Acheron in Plato's *Phaedo* flows into the Acherusian sea (ῥέων εἰς τὴν λίμνην ἀφικνεῖται τὴν Ἀχερουσιάδα 113a 1–2). Similarly, Acheron is designated *Acherusia palus* in Roman literature. Plato has in addition listed the following rivers inside the earth (113): Okeanos and Pyriphlegethon; the latter receives the greater part of his attention, a river that λίμνην ποιεῖ μείζω τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν θαλάττης, ζέουσαν ὕδατος καὶ πηλοῦ: ἐντεῦθεν δὲ χωρεῖ κύκλῳ θολερὸς καὶ πηλώδης (113 a-b). Also the fourth river, Styx, forms a sea.

Varro's informant has developed the idea that Plato in *Phaedo* 112a – 113c describes the greatest abyss in the world in dependence of Homer's *Il*. 8. 14 where Tartarus notoriously is a yawning depth in the interior of the earth (ᾗχι βάθιστον ὑπὸ χθονός ἐστι βέρεθρον). This abyss absorbs according to Plato all the rivers (εἰς γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ χάσμα συρρέουσί . . . πάντες οἱ ποταμοί) causing a bottomless mass of water to be created (πυθμένα οὐκ ἔχει οὐδὲ βάσιν τὸ ὑγρὸν τοῦτο) whereby 'Tartaros' is mentioned four times. In this way, the commentator of Ennius may easily have gained the impression that the whole Tartarus consisted of a muddy sea and as a whole could just as well be designated a *palus*.[10]

Thanks to these Varronian comments, we have so far something palpable: in all probability, *palus* is therefore a correct word in our fragment. To *palus* belongs *Tartarinu*s as epithet. *Tartarina prognata palude virago* would be possible *per se*. But in that case there would no longer be a place for *corpore*. *Prognata* must therefore, as Skutsch assumed, be attached to *corpore* as an abl. originis in the sense of 'mass'. Our last step is accordingly to emend *palude*. I am confident that Ennius originally wrote *paludis*. This reading fell victim to a more modern prosody when the ecthlipsis of *s* was no longer automatically acknowledged. The original form of the line was accordingly:

CORPORE TARTARINAE PROGNATA PALUDIS VIRAGO
"Warrior woman born of the muddy mass of water in Tartarus."

The latest edition of Ennius's *Annals*, that of Goldberg – Manuwald (2018) have still the following text

corpore tartarino prognata Paluda virago 220
cui par imber et ignis, spiritus et gravis terra 221

the warrior maiden Paluda, of hellish body born,
to whom showers and fire, spirit and weighty earth are equal.

In a recent article in *Revue de Philologie* 87, 2013, 121–131, Giampiero Scafoglio believes, on the basis of Varro, and like Norden (see earlier), that *paluda* is a syncopated form of the adjective *paludata* signifying "munie des insignes et des vêtements militaires, c'est-à-dire "guerrière" and adding justly "c'est . . . le même sens que le nom virago, comme une tautologie, de sorte que le substantive et l'adjectif se renforcent mutuellement. Donc, le passage peut être traduit ainsi: "la femme guerrière, dotée d'une nature infernale, **faite en proportions égales d'eau, de feu, d'air et de terre lourde**."

*

The two latest renderings of line **221** are thus very much in harmony: *par* is evidently taken as an adjective, in number corresponding with the nearest noun, but belonging to all the four nouns mentioned.

I did not in my previous study (see earlier) include the second line in my interpretation. Now, as then, I hold that the *virago* is no other than the goddess Discordia[11] named by Horace in his reference to this passage (*S.* 1. 4. 60–62):

non, ut si solvas "potsquam Discordia taetra
belli ferratos postis portasque refregit",
invenias etiam disiecti membra poetae.

The traditional rendering of line 221, exemplified earlier by the renderings of Goldberg – Manuwald and Scafoglio, deprives it of all tension, a description

not much akin to the goddess herself. The grammatical analysis has not been adequate, however; *par* is not an adjective, but a noun (*OLD s.v.* par[3]; *TLL s.v.* 10,1,270,50).: *cui* (i.e. *voragini*) *imber et ignis par <sunt, et item> spiritus et gravis terra <par sunt>*.

This is accordingly my translation:

> "for whom water and fire are a pair, <and likewise> air and solid earth"

This is to say that *Discordia* is a goddess that unites quite incompatible elements in accordance with her split and contentious nature. It remains to say that the structure of the line comes now much better to its own with its asyndeton in the middle contributing to the grouping by pairs. The line is rather exceptional, even by Ennius's standards, by being without a cesura and with a middle diaeresis dividing the line in two equal halves, a phenomenon underlined by the asyndeton as if Ennius was keen to show that νεῖκος and φιλία keep each other at bay in Discordia, *ad interim* that is.

Notes

* I thank heartily the editors of Glotta for the opportunity to combine my article "Zum Verständnis von Ennius *Ann*. 220–221 Sk", *Glotta* 90, 2014, 174–179 with my recent comments on line 221 later.

1 Among these in particular Norden (1915, 10–18), Fraenkel (1945, 12–14), Friedrich (1948 277–301).

2 According to Hagen three manuscripts (*VPM*, all of which belong to the fifteenth century) have *corpora* which was changed to *corpore* in the ed. Princ. 1507.

3 Cf. Norden p. 12, n. 1.

4 The adjective *paluda*, mentioned in Skutsch's *apparatus criticus,* is almost completely ignored in his commentary on the lemma *Paluda*.

5 In substance unobjectionable, but imprecisely rendered by R. G. Kent: "*Paluda* is from *paludamenta* which are distinguishing garments and adornments in the army" [*LCL* 1938[1], 1951[2]].

6 Why does Varro write the plural *paludamentis* (as if *paluda* was a neuter plural)? I believe that he was already heavily influenced by the plural world of *insignia* and *ornamenta*.

7 Correctly in the *TLL*: "de origine nihil constat nec liquet". Fest. (L. p. 298, 12f.) has added further speculation and become misleading: *omnia enim militaria ornamenta paludamenta dici*.

8 An alternative is possibly that Varro regarded *paluda* as a neuter plural and that *haec* referred directly to *paluda*.

9 Against this view Fraenkel p. 12f.

10 In the material collected by *OLD* (*s.v.* 2 a) the term *palus* is used of Acheron (Sil. 13. 573), Styx (Verg. *A*. 6. 323; Ov. *Me*t. 2. 46) and Cocytus (Sil. 13. 425f.).

11 *Discordia* is, as Aust reminds us (*RE* 5, 1183), a personification probably coined on the basis of Eris. She is mentioned twice in the *Aeneid*, at 6. 280 and 8. 702.

27 Ennius *Ann*. 579 Sk. A statue for the conqueror

The fragment dealt with in this article has been attributed to the *Annals* by both Skutsch (579 Sk.) and Vahlen (567 V.) as one of a large group without specified location ("sedis incertae"). The fragment has been preserved for us by the late grammarian Consentius (*GL* 5. 410 Keil) and is presented thus by Skutsch with app. crit.:[1]

> Huic statuam statui maiorum †orbatur† athenis
>
> orbatur *B* (*supra* o *tria puncta posuit corrector, idem in margine* morbo *punctis cinctum*): obatu *M* (*supra* o *alia man*u et *uel* eius): maiorem horto auream ahenis *Lachm*.: magis mansuram auguro ahenis *Ilberg*: maiorem etiam arbitro ahenis *Mar*.: malo remouatur Athenis *Stow*.

The text itself

The conjectures listed earlier[2] are all concerned with the last half of the hexameter (where superscript 4, 5 and 6 in the following refer to the *sedes* in the line):

> *mai-*^{4}*or*(*em*) *or-*^{5}*batur* (*B* vel *ob-atu M*) *A-*^{6}*thenis*: 1) no scholar keeps ***mai-***^{4}***orum***; two propose the relatively minor change *mai-*^{4}*or*(*em*) (Lachmann, Mariotti) followed by resp. *hort*(*o*) and *eti*(*am*), the two others either *magi*(*s*)^{4} *mansur*(*am*) or *ma-*^{4}*lo remo-*, 2) ***or-***^{5}***batur*** (*B*)/ *o-*^{5}*batu* (*M*) by contrast, however, undergoes profound changes: *hort*(*o*) ^{5}*aure*(*am*) (Lachmann), *-sur* (*am*) ^{5}*augur*(*o*) (Ilberg), *eti*(*am*) ^{5}*arbi*(*tro*) (Mariotti), *remo-*^{5}*uatur* (Stowasser). 3) Only one keeps ***A-***^{6}***thenis*** (Stowasser), the three others agree on *a-*^{6}*henis*.

As to *orbatur* (*B*)/ *obatu* (*M*) in particular all commentators seem to consider it corrupt. At the same time the conjectures are unbelievably far from the paradosis, and even worse: they are all difficult to reconcile with the context in Consentius. As the focus of Consentius is on *orbatur*/ *obatu*, it is highly improbable that the word should have deviated as much in the course of transmission as is implied in these conjectures. For other reasons, mainly concerning the elisions allowed in the conjectures, Skutsch is critical to every single one of them, but seems none the less, to judge from his *obeloi*, to keep the door open for some better proposal.

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I quote the relevant section of Consentius's text (GL V, p. 400,2–11 on *barbarismi* and *metaplasmi* as presented by Skutsch (p. 719):

> scire debemus metaplasmos hos uel a poetis ipsis positos iam in ipsa scriptura fieri, uel nobis, cum ita scandendi aut pronuntiandi necessitas urgebit, faciendos relinqui. Poetae faciunt metaplasmos cum ipsi iam scripturam relinquunt corruptam, ut est 'relliquias Danaum' (*Aen*. 1. 30) et 'tanton me crimine dignum duxisti' (*Aen*. 10. 668): addidit enim unam litteram per metaplasmum l, item contra dempsit unam litteram per metaplasmum e; sic ut Lucilius 'atque (*om. M*) ore corupto' (1243; κορύπτω *Lucilium uoluisse suspic. Heraeus*): dempsit enim unam litteram per metaplasmum r (*M*: r per metapl. *B*); et Ennius 'huic statuam statui maiorum †orbatur† athenis'. Et hic quoque per metaplasmum (*M*: per metapl. quoque et hic *B*) dempsit litteram r (*M*: r^{s} *B*).

A relatively easy line of thought can be observed; theoretically, it is perhaps even a little naive. The first example of a *metaplasmus – Aen*. 1. 30 *re**ll**iquias* – claiming that Vergil added a letter *l* (better: doubled the letter "*l*") corresponds to the scanning required by the grammarian: *Poetae ipsi* and *nos* (*grammatici*) are consequently the two sides of the same coin. Consentius does not mention that *tanton* at *Aen*. 10. 668 is a colloquial form. The examples from Lucilius and Ennius, on the other hand, are not legitimate forms. Lucilius's *corupto* seems to be registered as a corruption left in the text by the poet himself (cf. earlier *scripturam . . . corruptam*, but see Heraeus's explanation). The Ennius example shows the habit of grammarians to lay a false reading or variant at the door of the poet himself.[3] But it is not too far-fetched to suppose that *obatu* was found in an early manuscript and was believed to have been misspelt by the poet himself. That is why Ennius is said to have taken away (*dempsit*) the *r*, that is, to have omitted/forgotten to write the *r* in *orbatus*. If Consentius had meant that Ennius omitted to write *r* twice over (cf. *B*), he would surely have made that explicit. We must proceed from the reading of *M* (*obatu*). Then, it is, of course, the duty of the grammarian to obey the *pronuntiandi necessitas*. One may ask if such a deficient orthography reflects the tradition mentioned by Isidore of Seville (*Orig*. 1. 22. 1f.) that Ennius in writing availed himself of a great number of *notae*, that is, abbreviations.

If our reasoning so far is justified one should not, on the basis of Consentius that is, use *obeloi*/*cruces*, but rather accept *orbatus* as the correct reading in the fragment.

Having safeguarded *orbatus* we are left with five words, the first three of which are not subject to suspicion: *huic statuam statui*. Admittedly, Skutsch is open to the possibility that *statui* may be taken as a pres. inf. pass., but this idea seems influenced by Mariotti's conjecture which Skutsch rejects as far as the *Annals* are concerned. Our conclusion, then, is that *statui* is the 1.p. perf. indic. It follows that *orbatus* becomes a *participium conjunctum* going with the subject of the sentence. An interpretation of the fragment, then, would have to come to terms with the tension between the main verb and the participle. Our problem line has only two words left to comment: *maiorum* and *Athenis*. From the meaning of *orbatus* we

expect to hear what the person in question has been bereaved of (in the ablative), in other words what he is now missing which he previously had. The obvious correction of Consentius' text would be to restore *ahenis* from *Athenis* and to supply the missing noun from *statuam*, namely, *statuis*.[4]

That the other correction, *maiorem* from *maiorum*, is far from obvious was already perceived by Skutsch. A "greater statue" (in whatever sense of "greater") would require an *abl. comparationis*. As this seems pointless or senseless in the more literal sense, it is understandable that Suerbaum brought the fragment to bear on a figurative meaning of *statuam* reminiscent of Horace's *Carm*. 3. 30 (*Exegi monumentum aere perennius*). As a real comparative *maiorem* seems rather improbable, I think that *maiorum* taken as a gen. of *maiores* must be correct. My text is therefore:

> *Huic statuam statui maiorum orbatus ahenis*.
> "For this person I have erected a statue, bereaved <though I am> of the bronzes of my ancestors."

A location for the fragment

Who could have said in the *Annales* that he had suffered the loss of his ancestor's bronze statues? None more so than a citizen of Ambracia in 189/188 B.C. Early in 189 the consul Marcus Fulvius Nobilior had brought his army across the Adriatic to Apollonia with the intent of waging war against the Aetolians.[5] His first aim was Ambracia, the old capital of Pyrrhus, which was an ally of the Aetolians. Resolutely Fulvius laid siege to the town (Polybius 21. 26, 1–6; Liv. 38. 5–9). Fulvius did not succeed in storming and capturing it straightaway, however: its surrender was negotiated and became part of a peace agreement with the Aetolians. After the agreement had been accepted, the Ambraciotes gave the consul a golden crown and had to accept that all the embellishments stemming from Pyrrhus's days were removed: *signa aenea marmoreaque et tabulae pictae quibus ornatior Ambracia . . . quam ceterae regionis eius urbes erant, sublata omnia avectaque* (Liv. 38. 9. 13; cf. Polybius 21. 30. 9 f.). The best part of the city's statues – the group of Muses – got their place in the temple built by Fulvius for Hercules Musarum.[6] Whether this should be called looting of the sort which a victor was privileged to carry out at will or a violation of the peace agreement, could be and was contested. Fulvius's conduct at Ambracia had a sequel. His personal enemy, Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, consul for the year 187, listened to the grievances of the Ambraciotes, envoys whom Lepidus introduced to the senate with their accusations against Fulvius. These accusations culminated in incriminating the consul with religious sacrilege: *simulacra deum, deos immo convolsos ex sedibus suis ablatos esse; parietes postesque nudatos quos adorent, ad quos precentur et supplicent, Ambraciensibus superesse* (Liv. 38. 43. 6). It was to no avail that Fulvius was defended by Lepidus's colleague who claimed that the Ambraciotes had justly suffered the treatment vanquished foes might expect. The senate decreed that the property Fulvius had taken from the Ambraciotes should

be restored to them. As for the statues and other embellishments belonging to temples and shrines in Ambracia, the senate's verdict was that the ultimate decision about this issue should be put in the hands of the pontiffs when Fulvius himself was back in Rome (Liv. 38. 44. 5). Towards the end of the year 187, Fulvius was none the less able to celebrate his triumph *de Aetolis et de Cephallania*. A huge booty was carried before Fulvius's triumphal chariot containing not least an enormous number *signa aenea et marmorea*, 785 items of the former kind and 320 of the latter according to Livy (39. 5. 15).

To make my ensuing speculation as brief as possible: I think that fr. 579 Sk. is reflecting the grievances of the spokesman of the Ambraciotes before the senate in Rome. He was probably one of the *principes* (Liv. 38. 9. 7) responsible for the surrender on behalf of the Ambraciotes in 189. This spokesman had, much to his own and his compatriots' exasperation, seen the town's temples and shrines robbed of their bronze and marble statues and other ornaments, although the town – in addition to the golden crown handed over to the Romans – for its part had paid for a statue in honour of Fulvius to celebrate its own "freedom" (Liv. 38. 44. 4). We must hasten to add that we do not know from historical sources that Fulvius received such a statue. We know, however, that Titus Quinctius Flamininus was thanked and honoured in this way by having a statue with a Greek inscription (Plutarch *Flam*. 1. 1). So such a statue in honour of Fulvius would have been no novelty in Rome.

My conclusion, then, is this: *Huic* means "in honour of Fulvius Nobilior" and the fragment belongs to Book XV of the *Annales*.

Notes

1 For the manuscripts *B* and *M* see Lindsay (1909, 20–21).
2 Cp. Suerbaum (1968, 342) with more information about these conjectures and their supporters: H. Ilberg, Bonn (1852), K. Lachmann (1850) on Lucretius 6. 1135, J. M. Stowasser, *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie* 3, 1886, f.; Mariotti, (1951, 102).
3 G.B. Conte points in his edition of the *Georgics* (Teubner Berlin – Boston 2013, 99f.) to a similar habit in ancient commentaries on Vergil, see *G*. 2. 344f. where a learned variant/conjecture is said to be the first *lectio* by the poet himself.
4 Provided that the line ends with a syntactical pause and not with an enjambment continuing into the next line with, for example, *signis*.
5 On the siege see Hammond (1967, 144ff.). See now also the detailed account of Fabrizi (2012, 179ff.).
6 On this temple as a result of Fulvius's expedition and on its role in Ennius's poetry, see Fabrizi (2008).

28 Ennius *scen.* 32 TrRF (= XLIII, 109–110 Joc.)

The *gemitus* of Andromache

With an unprecedented thoroughness, in addition to circumspect evaluations, Gesine Manuwald has edited Ennius's scenic fragments as vol. II (2012) in the great *Tragicorum Romanorum Fragmenta* project. Every future Ennian scholar commenting on the scenic scripts (to use Jocelyn's term[1]) will be heavily indebted to this new edition, not least due to the plethora of references to earlier scholarship. The following lines will bear witness to this on my part as well.[2]

One of the more noteworthy fragments among the 216 items[3] in Manuwald's edition is the following one from *Andromacha aechmalotis* (*'A. in captivity'*)[4] handed down to us by Nonius (p. 515, 24 ff. M):

> sed quasi aut ferrum aut lapis
> durat rarenter gemitum † conatur trabem†

whereby Manuwald immediately signalled her compliance with Jocelyn's *cruces* (cf. the critical note appended to the fragment on p. 93).

There is no transmitted variant for *conatur* and *trabem* in the codices of Nonius. In critical respect, however, these words should not be put on line as being equally objectionable. Admittedly, the scribe who wrote *conatur trabem* could hardly have understood them as meaningful in combination. Only the word *trabem* may safely be considered corrupt, however: c*onatur* is not corrupt straight off; *conatur gravem* was proposed by Lucas Fruterius, paleographically a reasonable suggestion, although it does not go particularly well with *gemitum*. My first reaction was that *brevem* would be much better in view of the context, but I would never ask to have this idea entered in a future app. crit. So far, then, *conatur* cannot be rejected in the resolute and confident way Jocelyn did: it is not to be excluded that the present indicative can be an acceptable companion to *durat*.

My first conclusion is that I would not have signalled as strong a disapproval of *conatur* in an edition.[5]

As to *durat* and *conatur* in the same line, some discussion is indeed required. The fact that there are two present indicatives in the same sentence without a connective needs a comment anyway. First, one would have to decide what syntactical role *quasi* plays. If we could take *quasi* as introducing a regular conditional comparative clause, we would have *duret*, not *durat*, and the *agens* would

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normally be the same for both clauses.[6] An indicative in the *quasi* clause is highly improbable, however: "But just as either iron or stone endures/ hardens, she (he) seldom etc." Accordingly a comma after the indicative *durat*[7] as if we had here an enjambement, like in Warmington's edition[8] (1935[1], 1956[2]), is misleading. The subjunction *quasi*, then, belongs as so often solely to the noun(s) involved ("it (*quasi, tamquam*) can even express comparison without connection to a condition (= *ut* 'as', 'like')" to quote any school grammar[9]).

My second conclusion: a comma is required, but it should be put after *lapis*, not after *durat*.

On the other hand, Warmington deserves praise for having adopted Justus Lipsius's otherwise widespread conjecture *conat**u** tra**hens***. A weak pronunciation of the final *s* could easily lead to *trabem* whereby *conatu* would almost of itself become present *conatur*; g*emitum trahere* is excellent. As close a parallel for the expression as one could wish occurs at Ov. *Met*. 11. 709 (the grief-stricken Alcyone) *attonito **gemitus** a corde **trahuntur*** or at Val.Fl. 4. 134–36 *Echion/ invenit obscura **gemitus** in valle **trahentem**/ clam iuvenem*. Thus, the participle *trahens* has at least done away with the unmotivated asyndeton.

My third conclusion is that no better emendation of *conatur trabem* than Lipsius's *conatu trahens* is likely to be proposed.

Then, what does the intransitive *durare* mean as precisely as possible? *OLD s.v. duro* does not include this fragment, but the dictionary's German equivalent Georges's *Handwörterbuch* (1913) has the fragment under II as "hart werden, Härte bekommen, sich verhärten", that is with an ingressive aspect attached to it. The *tertium comparationis* is simply 'hardness'. Better is accordingly Wilhelm Bannier in his *TLL* article (1934) *s.v. duro*, vol. V,1, col. 2296, 16 adding the durative alternative "***durum esse***" to ***d. fieri***. I, however, would have preferred another category, not under II A "regnante aut praevalente notione duritiae corporeae", but under B "*imminuta aut evanida notione duritiae corporeae. Sensu strictiore fere i.q.* ***iniquitates perferre, sustinere, perdurare***". Our fragment moves from *duritia corporea* (iron, stone) to the *duritia* of the person's soul and character in the next line. In this way *durat* is on line with Vergil's ***durate*** *et vosmet rebus servate secundis* (*A*. 1. 207). The quotation at Sen. *Con*. 2. 3. 6 = Quint. *Inst*. 9. 2. 91 *dura, anima, dura: heri* (Quint. *here*) *fortior eras* (Quint. *fuisti*) is also apt. The parallel from Euripides (quoted by Jocelyn) is striking: at *Med*. 1279–1281, at the height of the intense drama, the chorus exclaim:

> τάλαιν', **ὡς ἄρ' ἦσθα πέτρος ἢ σίδα-**
> **ρος**, ἅτις τέκνων
> ὃν ἔτεκες ἄροτον αὐτόχει-
> ρι μοίρᾳ κτενεῖς.

"how you are stone or iron, then!" (the impf. expressing what has been a fact for some time already but not recognized by everybody). Here is not the formal comparison as in Ennius, but a comparison developed further to an identity: the hardest stuff in nature and the person are not distinguishable. Whereas Medea is

horrendous and abominable, Ennius expresses without doubt admiration for his heroine's perseverance and strength amid her suffering and humiliation. I have, then, no doubt that the fragment is about Andromache and probably uttered in the prologue part near the beginning of the play.

As my final conclusion my text would be

> sed quasi aut ferrum aut lapis,
> durat rarenter gemitum conatu trahens

As an epilogue, I would like to add a suggestion I cannot get rid of: what if Nonius renders the context for his *rarenter* in an abridged way? In view of Lipsius's convincing *trahens* a nice parallelism (adjective followed by pres. part.) is tempting in this way:

> sed quasi aut ferrum aut lapis,
> dura ac rarenter gemitum conatu trahens

Observe how Euripides had an adjective in front (*τάλαινα*) and how Vergil described Dido in the *Lugentes Campi*: Dido has, so to speak, coalesced with the stone like a Niobe (*A*. 6. 471) when she is likened here to ***dura*** *silex* (which is of course a pleonastic combination taken by itself).

Notes

1 In his edition and cf. *AC* 38, 1969, 181.
2 For references in the following, see *TrRF*.
3 Corresponding to CCXXVII items and their 402 lines in Jocelyn's edition.
4 For the defining *aechmalotos* or *aechmalotis* see Manuwald p. 71 and comments on F(ragment) 28, 29 and 31.
5 I am, then, more in favour of Lindsay's conatur † trabem in his Nonius edition (1903).
6 School grammar type: *Puer clamat, quasi demens sit*.
7 For the indicative after *quasi* cf. e.g. Cic. *Sen*. 71 ***quasi*** *poma ex arboribus, cruda si sunt, vix* ***evelluntur****, [. . .], sic vitam adulescentibus vis aufert [. . .]*, cf. Menge § 570: mark, *sic* or *ita* would be the normal continuation in the main clause.
8 Warmington's translation, "But like unto stiff strength of iron or stone", does not make his punctuation a whit better in my eyes.
9 In this case: N. Sjöstrand, *Ny latinsk grammatikk*[2], Lund: Uppsala Universitet, 1960, 392.

29 Ennius *scen.* 130 TrRF (= CXLVII, 288 Joc.)

Telephus at Argos

Nonius alone has almost all the extant fragments from Ennius's *Telephus*. One line among them is quoted to illustrate the difference in meaning between *urbs* and *civitas* (p. 429, 1 ff. M), *urbs* being taken as the *aedificia, ciuitas* as the *incolae*:

sed civitatem video Argivum incendere

As to the text, transmitted *et* was changed by Lucian Müller to *set*, adopted by Lindsay and Jocelyn (as *sed*), and now by Manuwald (as *set*). The adversative conjunction best explains the nominative variant *Telephus* (*Ennius Telephus et civitatem,* etc.) in a part of the transmission). This is after all a minor critical issue, however.

A far more interesting problem is raised by the rest of this iambic senarius, namely *civitatem video Argivum* ***incendere***, so presented both by Jocelyn and Manuwald: "I see **he** sets the Argives' town ablaze" (the translation of Warmington fr. 343 (p. 345) = fr. 332 Vahlen) introducing a person stirring up the passion among the citizens of Argos. The translation is surprising, and one's immediate reaction is understandably: was this how the excerptor understood his quotation? If the acc. subject of *incendere* – the 'he' of Warmington (maybe a character in the play) – came to the fore in the following line according to Vahlen, why was this logical subject left out with the consequence that the line became ambiguous at best? I can see no satisfying answer to this question. It is a natural assumption that Nonius saw a full and satisfactory meaning in the line to quote it as an adequate example among his others. Lindsay's conjectures *incedere*, though mentioned *dubitanter* according to Manuwald, is a solution for which I have much respect. Jocelyn who ignored it was evidently not convinced, however. Jocelyn mentions instead *incendier* from the Aldina edition, the archaic and poetic pres. inf. passive, but does so without further comment let alone recommending it as an emendation.

The great virtue of a passive instead of an active infinitive is that the five words make up a complete sentence, in other words establish a self-contained whole, quotable and easy to understand.

But it is more to this expedient than this. Above all, the word order is as often an important factor to recognize. Easy syntax ought to prevail over complicated (and hypothetical) syntax *ceteris paribus*. It would be highly artificial to separate

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video from its nearest accusative, making *civitatem* object of *incendere* instead. The listening ear will unavoidably combine *civitatem* and *video*. With the present infinitive one could understand the line as "I see the community stirring up the Argive man" (*Argivum* acc. sing.) or "I see the community of Argive citizens stirring up" (somebody mentioned in the next line). It requires some effort to make the last alternative viable whereby the object for *incendere* according to natural word order becomes instead the subject pointing back to the previous line). This much only to show that the active transitive infinitive *incendere* is rather improbable and does not deserve a place in the sun as an uncorrected text.

In his comment on *Ann*. 574 Skutsch wrote: "In Ennius' tragedies I find – *ier* twice, *-i* twenty-two times . . . in the dramatists it [that is – *ier*] is restricted almost exclusively to the end of the line." Sure examples occur at *scen*. 23,1–2 TrRF = 78–9 Joc.: *Vidi . . . /Hectorem curru quadriiugo* ***raptarier*** (end of the line) and at 112 TrRF = 260 Joc.: *atque exerce linguam ut* ***argutarier*** *possis*. If we follow Scaliger in fr. 179 TrRF = 100 Joc. *Hectoris natum de Troiano muro iactari* should be read instead *Hectoris natum de muro* ***iactarier.***

Every reader of Plautus will have found such passive infinitives a number of times in final position before full stop. It may even be restored as at *Mer*. 56–58. . . *a me ea quae ipsus . . . / . . . invenisset . . ./amoris vi diffunditari ac* ***didier***: the unfamiliar form appears in the codices as corrupt *diedere* (or *die heret*) which was convincingly emendated by J. F. Gronovius. At *Ps*. 1 *Exporgi meliust lumbos atque* ***exsurgier*** was misspelt as *exsurger* by *P* (the archetype for the so-called *Palatina recensio*).

My text would then be (with a full stop after the passive infinitive!):

set civitatem video Argivum incend**ier**.

30 Ennius *Var.* 17–18 V. Tears for the poet

Thanks to two quotations in the first book of the *Tusculan Disputations* (1. 34 and 1. 117) Ennius's most personal epigram can be restored:

> Nemo me lacrimis decoret nec **f**unera **f**letu
> **f**axit. Cur? **V**olito **v**ivos per ora **v**irum.

The alliterations are a distinctive feature of the distich, as I have emphasized typographically earlier. Every reader of Ennius's fragments has come across memorable examples: I mention here only some lines with three or more alliterative letters: *Excita cum tremulis **a**nus **a**ttulit **a**rtubus lumen* (34 Sk.); *nec sese dedit in **c**onspectum **c**orde **c**upitus* (47 Sk.); *Accipe daque **f**idem **f**oedusque **f**eri bene **f**irmum* (32 Sk.); O **T**i**t**e, **t**u**t**e, **T**a**t**i, **t**ibi **t**an**t**a, **t**yranne, **t**ulis**t**i (ta 2x, ti 4x, te 2x, tu 2x, ty 1x) (104 Sk.); *O**r**ato**r** sine pace **r**edit **r**egique **r**efert **r**em* (202 Sk.); *Africa **t**erribili **t**remit horrida **t**erra **t**umultu* (309 Sk.); as for the tragedies: *Menelaus me obiurgat; id meis **r**ebus **r**egimen **r**estitat* (203 Joc.); *quam tibi ex orationem **d**uriter **d**ictis **d**edit* (258 Joc.); *saeviter suspicionem **f**erre **f**alsam **f**uttilum est* (262 Joc.); *per ego deum **s**ublimas **s**ubices/ **u**midas unde oritur imber **s**onit**u** **s**aevo et **s**pirit**u*** (3 f. Joc.).

I guess that the first colon would have had alliteration as well, namely ***d**acrimis **d**ecoret* using the archaich form of *lacrima*. Cf. Paul. Fest. P. 68 *dacrimas pro lacrimas Livius saepe posuit, nimirum quod Graeci appellant δάκρυα.*

I agree with Courtney (1993, 43) that the alliteration achieved is hardly sufficient to justify Th. Bergk's change of *larimis* to *dacrumis*. However, in his short note on this in *Philologus* 14, 1859, 187 Bergk had pointed to the glossator Placidus who probably had read *dacrimis* in this epigram. See now Goetz's edition of Placidus's *libri glossarum* in *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum* 5, 1894, p. 63,9 *Dracumis lacrimis* which in its slightly corrupt orthography has preserved both the 'd' and the ablative. I believe that this a valid testimony in favour of *dacrumis* and I therefore would like to support Bergk's reading:

> Nemo me **d**acrumis **d**ecoret nec **f**unera **f**letu
> **f**axit. Cur? **V**olito **v**ivu' per ora **v**irum.

Ennius may have preferred an archaic form of the word due to its function as an epitaph among old inscriptions. In any case, this trait would in its way make the 'last words' more memorable for the Rudine poet of *tria corda* who founded Roman literature so exceptionally well.

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31 Catullus 64. 313. The spinning *Parcae*

With a keen eye, Catullus describes the spinning Parcae in his epyllion (64. 311–319).[1] The first four lines of the relevant passage[2] run as follows in the editions:[3]

> Laeva colum molli lana retinebat amictum,
> dextera tum leviter deducens fila supinis
> formabat digitis, tum prono in pollice torquens 313
> libratum tereti versabat turbine fusum

One might paraphrase this passage in this way:[4]

> With her left hand the spinning woman held the distaff (*colus*) wrapped in unspun wool (*molli lana*). Her right hand changed between two positions and activities during her work (cf. *tum* . . . *tum* 312–313). In the first position[5] she held her hand with fingers pointing upwards (*supinis/* . . . *digitis*) as she drew down (*deducens*)[6] the fibres and formed[7] them into thread; in the second the right hand was turned palm downwards (*prono*) and whirled (*torquens* . . . *versabat*) the spindle (*fusum*) which was poised (held in balance: *libratum*) on (by) its round whorl (or 'flywheel' *tereti* . . . *turbine*).

So far, the description of Catullus gives us a straightforward account of the procedures involved and agrees well enough with other testimonies on ancient spinning.[8]

But one small detail represents a problem: what is precisely the function of *in* with *pollice* in line 313? On this point, the commentators fail to give us a satisfactory account. By rendering it "on the thumb", it is not further elucidated.[9] Preferably, the expression should stand up to scrutiny both semantically and grammatically. In this case, illuminating parallels abound. Describing the admirable skill of Arachne, Ovid focuses on her nimble fingers (*Met*. 6. 20–22):

> seu *digitis* subigebat opus repetitaque longo
> vellera mollibat nebulas aequantia tractu,
> sive *levi* teretem versabat *pollice* fusum

> whether she was shaping the stuff with her fingers, drawing out the fleecy cloud of wool, with constant handling, into one long soft thread, or whether she was twirling the slender spindle with deft thumb.

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The drawing out of the thread gets its description in lines 20–21. Instead of using the technical verbs *ducere, deducere* or *trahere* Ovid elaborates it through *repetere longo tractu*, and *mollire* varies *formare* referring to the smoothing of the thread.[10] Line 22 describes the whirling of the spindle in words reminiscent of Catullus, only with the important difference[11] that the thumbs' activity (like that of the fingers in line 20) is described with an instrumental ablative. This is unproblematic in every respect. Irrespective of whether the drawing of the wool or the handling of the spindle is concerned, the instrumental ablative is regularly used in describing the hand's (the fingers') activities. Here are some further parallels. They do not claim to be all there is: Ov. *Met*. 4. 34 *stamina* ***pollice*** *versant*; 36 *levi deducens* ***pollice*** *filum*; 8. 453 *staminaque impresso fatalia* ***pollice*** *nentes*; 12. 475 *stamina* ***pollice*** *torque*; *Ep*. 9. 77 *robusto deducis* ***pollice*** *fila*; 79 ***digitis*** *dum torques stamina duris*; *Am*. 1. 14. 7 (the spider!) *vel* ***pede*** *quod gracili deducit aranea filum*; Tib. 1. 6. 78 *ducit . . . tremula stamina torta* ***manu***; 2. 1. 64 *fusus et apposito* ***pollice*** *versat opus*; *Eleg. Maec*. 73 *torsisti* ***pollice*** *fusos*; Sen. *Herc. Oet*. 376 *udum feroci stamen intorquens* ***manu***; Stat. *Ach*. 1. 581 *tenuare rudes attrito* ***pollice*** *lanas*; Mart. 6. 3. 5 *trahet aurea* ***pollice*** *fila*; Iuv. 12. 65 *pensa* ***manu*** *ducunt*; Hieron. *ep*. 128. 1 *et tenero tentet* ***pollice*** *fila ducere*; 130. 15 *staminis* ***pollice*** *fila ducito*. Most of the above examples are concerned with the first position of the hand (palm upwards), but three of them (Ov. *Met*. 6. 22; Tib. 2. 1. 64 and *Eleg. Maec*. 73) refer to the whirling of the spindle. As to the choice of words (*digitus, pollex* or *manus*) one should notice that there is no difference in meaning, but owing to the thumb's prominence in all activities (and its metrical suitability in the ablative case as well) *pollex* is by far the most common one.

There is one passage, though, that seems to offer a parallel to *prono in pollice* in the Catullan passage: Apuleius *De mundo* 38 (373). It deserves to be quoted in full: *tria Fata sunt, numerus cum ratione temporis faciens, si potestatem earum ad eiusdem similitudinem temporis referas. Nam quod in fuso perfectum est, praeteriti temporis habet speciem, et quod torquetur* ***in digitis****, momenti praesentis indicat spatia, et quod nondum ex colo tractum est subactumque cura digitorum*,[12] *id futuri et consequentis saeculi posteriora videtur ostendere*.[13] The finished part of the work, gathered as it is on the spindle (*in fuso*), corresponds to the past, whereas what is being twined on the fingers symbolizes the laps of the present moment. Here *torquere*,[14] as afterwards *trahere*,[15] refers to the forming of the thread from the distaff (palm upwards),[16] not to the whirling of the spindle (palm downwards). It is fairly obvious, then, that *in* in the Apuleius passage should be taken as 'on' referring to the place where the thread is formed when drawn from the wool, i.e. between the fingers. In this activity, then, there was direct contact between the fingers and the thread (*filum, stamen*). It is easy to infer from our collection of examples that the formation of the thread by means of the right hand was the most significant one in the whole process of spinning. This part of the process is often enough referred to in order to denote spinning in general,[17] whereas the handling of the spindle seems to have a more supplementary and technical interest in the descriptions. With the use of the preposition *in* here (instead of a mere instrumental ablative) one could compare *impresso* in Ov. *Met*.

8. 453 *(staminaque impresso fatalia pollice nentes*) which also seems to focus on the contact between thread and finger. Last, but not least, the plural *digiti* makes the function of *in* all the clearer, whereas *in pollice* would have to be understood as 'between the thumb and the forefinger'.

We can conclude, then, that the use of abl. to denote the hand (or its parts) is the rule for both activities in poetry, but that it is not unreasonable to find the phrase *in digitis* in a less formalized prose description (Apul.) focusing on the contact between the fingers and thread as part of the twining process. I would maintain, however, that it seems awkward to use *in* to describe the light contact (cf. Ovid above *Met*. 6. 22 (*levi . . . pollice*) between the finger(s) and the spindle.

If we have been on the right track so far, there is an obvious correction to remedy the exceptional phrase in Catullus: simply to read *prono pollice*. What is gained by this, in addition to a clearer diction and a neater metrical shape, is:

1 a full and logical correspondence between the two sentences whose parallelism is stressed by *tum . . . tum* and by the opposition *laeva – dextera* inclusive of that of upward and downward motion (*supinis – prono*),
2 the phrase used would agree with virtually all other comparable descriptions of the spinning process.

I cannot claim, however, to be the first to have seen this solution. I found it in A. Riese's edition from 1884;[18] in L. Schwabe's edition (Giessen 1866) there are references to *β*,[19] to Muretus (1554) and to W. A. B. Hertzberg (1862). But why this ingenious correction is not even worthy of a note in the modern *apparatus critici* I have not found out.

Notes

1 See the remarks of Syndikus (1994, 178f.).
2 It can be viewed as a *locus classicus* on spinning in Roman literature, cf. H. Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern*, Vol. I, Leipzig – Berlin 1912, 126, n. 3.
3 The text cited is that of Bardon (Teubner 1973). His apparatus contains nothing of interest on these lines.
4 I am indebted to English commentators in terminological matters, above all to Fordyce (1961) and Quinn (1970).
5 However, as can be seen from the use of the verbs here this position comprises two activities: the drawing of the wool (*deducens*: "das Ausziehen des Fadens", the first of Blümner's three 'main manipulations' *loc. cit*. 126) and the twining of it into thread (*formabat*: "das Drellen des Fadens", Blümner's third manipulation).
6 *Deducere* is the appropriate word, cf. *TLL* 5,279,69ff., in poetry with *filum* or *stamen* as objects. See also F. Bömer on Ov. *Met*. 4. 34. Sometimes, however, *trahere* is used (Mart. 6. 3. 5), Apul. cited below and cf. *longo . . . tractu* in Ovid's text *Met*. 6. 21) or just *ducere* (Sen. *ep*. 90. 20; Sil. 4. 28; cf. Blümner loc. cit. 127, n. 1).
7 *Torquere* or *versare* is commonly used to describe the forming of the thread in connection with the drawing of the wool, explicitly so at Tib. 1. 6. 78, cf. Blümner *loc. cit*. p. 127. As these verbs are also in use for the whirling of the spindle (Blümner *loc. cit*.) one should ascertain whether the object going with it is the thread (*filum*) or the spindle (*fusus*).

8 One could, of course, question how true to life this description was in the days of Catullus. It seems that Catullus describes the spinning woman in standing (or walking) position, whereas her usual position must have been the sitting one (cf. Blümner *op. cit*. p. 131). Pliny mentions (*NH* 28. 28) that in most of Italy it was expressly forbidden to spin while walking around.

9 Cornish (1962) in the Loeb edition translates reasonably enough: "with downward thumb". One should be cautious, however, in accepting so-called instrumental *in* known from biblical Latin (influenced by Greek ἐν, e.g. Lev. 4, 30 *tolletque sacerdos de sanguine* ***in digito suo*** ("And the priest shall take of the blood thereof with his finger"). For an example without *in*, however, see Lev. 4, 34; cf. *TLL* 7, 792,77ff. Quinn talks of the shuttle, "which is balanced on the thumb of the hand held palm downwards". But apart from the somewhat inappropriate description of the hand concerned with the hanging spindle, *prono in pollice* cannot well go together with *libratum*; the perfect participle *libratum* goes instead closely with *tereti . . . turbine* (cf. our paraphrase earlier). Fordyce is at least better on this point: "the right . . . turned palm downwards (prono police [sic!] twirled on the thumb the spindle". Doubtful is likewise Kroll's comment (1929): "Der Wirtel [more correctly "spindle", i.e. *fusus*] dreht sich eigentlich nicht im Daumen, aber man versteht, wie C. zu dem Ausdruck *in pollice* kommt. Der Daumen ist, wenn er dem Wirtel seine Drehung gibt, nach unten gewendet (*pronus*)".

10 For which see *Eleg. Maec*. 74.

11 Only in Catullus, as far as I can see, two synonyms, *torquere* and *versare*, have been combined to describe one activity; Ovid has only *versare*.

12 Virtually equivalent to an instrumental *digitis*.

13 The text is based on Ps.-Aristotle's *De mundo* which, however, cannot help decide the issue at stake in the Latin text.

14 "Das Drillen des Fadens" (Blümner *loc. cit*. p. 121). On *tortum* = κλῶσμα see Blümner loc. cit. p. 122 with n. 2.

15 Cf. Tib. 1. 6. 80 *tractaque de niveo vellere ducta putat*.

16 Corresponding to *deducens . . . formabat* in Catullus. For the terminology see earlier n. 6.

17 This is what the Greek κλώθειν means. As the crucial twining started in the first position of the right hand and is continued by the spindle and described by means of the same verbs (*torquere* and *versare*), this emphasis is all the more natural.

18 *Die Gedichte des Catullus*, herausgeg. u. erklärt von A. Riese, Leipzig 1884 with the very concise comment: "*in* ist zu tilgen".

19 *β = lectiones librorum qui supersunt manu scriptorum a lectionibus codicis veronensis discrepantes*.

32 Catullus 67. In search of sense

By way of a short introduction, it is perhaps useful to say that my reading of this poem* bases itself on the assumption that the first five lines deal with the following three members of a Veronese family:

1 the younger Balbus (= the *natus* (conjectured) (5) = the *vir* (1) = *Caecilius* (9)),
2 his father, the older Balbus (3) (= *parenti* (1) and *senex* (4)),
3 the wife of Balbus jr and the main target of the poem (= *marita* (6)).
She is also the *virgo* (19) on the assumption that this *virgo* refers, paradoxically, to the sexual incapacity of her former husband from her time in Brixia.[1]

However much readers of Catullus are indebted to Hans Peter Syndikus for his discerning and sensitive art of interpretation it is hard to follow his main line of argument in his reading of Catullus 67.[2] One can only conclude: there is so far no basis for consensus on some vital points for the understanding of this poem. Simple though it may seem, it has for good reasons – some of them due to faulty transmission – baffled many interpreters in the past.

That there are some notable textual problems involved in the process is incidentally my best excuse for making the text itself the backbone of my article. Thereby I want to put forward what I consider the best options concerning some disputed readings.

I have come to believe that our understanding of the whole poem is much dependent on how we take the poet's first address to the house door.

Poet's address to the door.

O dulci iucunda viro, iucunda parenti,
  salve, teque bona Iuppiter auctet ope,
ianua, quam Balbo dicunt servisse benigne
  olim, cum sedes ipse senex tenuit,
quamque ferunt rursus nato servisse maligne,
  postquam est porrecto pacta marita sene.
Dic agedum nobis, quare mutata feraris
  in dominum veterem deseruisse fidem.

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5 nato *Fröhlich*: voto *OGR* • maligne *O* : maligno *GR* **6** est *OGR*: es *Ald.* • pacta *Badian*: facta *OGR* • marita *z* : marite *OGR*

Pleasing to a beloved husband, pleasing to his parent, be greeted! And may Jupiter enrich you with a favourable blessing, you door, who they say served Balbus generously once, when the old man himself was master of the house; (5) who afterwards, however, they say served his son meanly after the old man was laid out and when a bride was betrothed. Come now, tell us why it is said that you have changed and abandoned your old loyalty to your master.

At first glance, the opening address *O . . . ianua* (1–3) might well be regarded as a typical one that could be said to any door: a door pleasing to its owner, both a husband (*viro*) and a father (*parenti*) by protecting the chastity both of the *vir*'s wife and the daughter(s) of the house.[3] If Catullus, however, had aimed at a typical address like this he would probably have used the term *dominus* already here[4] (cf. 8 and 38). The identity of *vir* and *parens* is by no means the most natural one. By highlighting a husband (*vir*) and *his* father (*parens*), Catullus is from the start quite specific about the house and the occupants in question. On the basis of knowledge/suspicion, he will soon enough be talking of a notable change connected with its recent history. However typical the address may sound at first, *dulci iucunda viro* turns out to be a pivotal issue of the poem, not to the effect, however, that these first adjectives connected with the door are necessarily wrong,[5] but we are gradually about to see that they imply a rather complex relationship. If a reader of the poem, however, should think of the father as still alive, he is soon to be corrected. And so, the first interpretation that would probably come to an ancient reader's mind is: you who are equally pleasing to a beloved husband now as you were formerly to his father – a statement, however, no sooner uttered than it becomes a difficult issue.

Badian (1980, 81) has pointed to a "delightful aprosdoketon" here. Until the word *ianua* is uttered, the listener/reader would believe that a young wife is being addressed as "dear to both her beloved husband and her father". If this idea has any truth to it, it goes only as far as the first half-line is concerned. Another ambiguity popping up in the second part of the line is more relevant to the way the poem is going to unfold: *iucunda parenti* would probably be taken by most readers as 'dear to the *vir*'s father'. And coming to the second line's *teque bona Iuppiter auctet ope*, hardly anyone would readily connect this with the status of a married woman. So the understanding "dear to your beloved husband" has to be substituted by "a beloved husband" and Badian's association should, consequently, better be held in check. I concede, however, that there is some kind of *aprosdoketon* connected with *dulci* in bringing in a shade of eroticism in the opening address. Accordingly, the owner of the house is presumably a married man in the prime of his married life.

For Catullus's generation the personified door is already a familiar motive, and after Catullus's time it plays a significant role in the paraclausithyron form of elegy.[6] This relationship need not detain us: Catullus is no wooing lover. A far more important motive in the poem is the subtle interplay between the poetical

personification of the door and the meta-poetical realism, making the door from time to time a *res inanimata*. In the poetical perspective, the door is a *ianitor* indeed. In that capacity the door is responsible for shutting out unwelcome visitors, especially those who could harm the owner. With the *dulcis . . . vir* in mind, that would suggest rivals and threats to the wife's fidelity, not least if the wife should happen to be of the unfaithful kind. In the first of the relative clauses (3) we learn, unsurprisingly, that there had never been any stain on the good relationship between the door and the *vir*'s father: "who (i.e. the door) people say once served Balbus in a beneficial way, when the old man himself was the master of the house". Obviously, he is no more there, and his death is explicitly confirmed by line 6.

That *parens* in line 1 and Balbus in line 3 refer to one and the same person should accordingly be obvious. It soon becomes apparent, however, that the immediate function of the father is to set off his son. Some light is thereby shed on the person speaking, i.e. (as one will presume) Catullus himself. If he[7] had been at home in Verona or had lived there for a long time, he would hardly have been so dependent on hearsay; *dicunt, ferunt, feraris* reveals that he is a visitor, and so we find our first thought corroborated that the person speaking is the poet.[8]

There has been much discussion about the status in life of Balbus senior. There is no indication, however, that he was a *caelebs* or *viduus* as is often assumed:[9] since he has an heir who is in all probability his own son (see later), Balbus senior was evidently a married man. And besides, what would be the point in stressing the door's benevolence for the old man[10] (*senex* 4) if the door had not protected his marital life? Nor is there any indication that his wife is dead. That there is no word about her at all, though the marriage of the elder Balbus is very much a part of the argument, should surprise nobody. According to Roman morals, her virtuous character would have been borne out by the silence about her. So one may well consider her alive at the time, but that is a matter of no concern.

A sharp division between idyll and scandal becomes visible by line 5. I have not hesitated to adopt Fröhlich's *nato . . . maligne* instead of *voto . . . maligno*.[11] The repetition of *servisse* underlines the difference between then and now.[12] In this context, the accusation against the door of having served the son *maligne* is to suggest that the door had admitted somebody to the house who had harmed the *vir*'s rights and reputation. The truth of the matter is not revealed until 45–48. Whereas *parens* in line 1, according to the easiest way of sorting things out, turned out to be Balbus the *senex, natus* (5) is likely to be Balbus's son and identifiable with the husband (*vir*) of line 1. In lines 5–6 we have every reason to suspect that Balbus junior is a cuckold, and that the scandalous state of affairs started after the old man had died (*porrecto . . . sene*) and his son had married (*postquam est . . . pacta . . . marita*). That the family name Balbus was handed down to the son is, then, without further indications to go by what everyone would have expected.

As to the wording of line 6, I have adopted here the conjecture of Badian (1980). The mss. *O,G,R* have *postquam est porrecto facta marite sene*. There is rightly no doubt among editors that *marite* should be *marita* (with *z*). The usual expedient, then, has been to adopt Aldina's *es* for *est*. Badian, however, keeps *est*

and changes *facta* to *pacta*, *marita* being taken as a noun ('wife').[13] His conjecture has been rejected by Syndikus, but it may in my view be an emendation of the palmary kind. If my line of thought holds water so far, a strong case against the Aldina conjecture *es* as an address to the door is that it had in fact been in a 'married' state for a considerable time.[14] So in front of it, the poet cannot assert that the door was '*facta marita*' by virtue of the new owner's marriage.[15]

One important inference may be drawn from Badian's *pacta marita*: The femme fatale makes her appearance in person in the introduction. This makes the transition from the introductory address to the narrative proper in line 19 smoother: that she, namely the *marita*, was handed over as a virgin.

In the couplet 5–6 a much more important issue is at stake. Is *ferunt rursus nato servisse maligne* the first signal that the door's bad service for Balbus junior is a thing of the past, as Macleod and Syndikus have claimed strongly among more recent analysts? 'People say that you served his son in a harmful way (in the past)'.[16] One should be careful not to make the construction semantically more precise than it is per se.[17] The meaning of *ferunt ianuam servisse* is: "People say", either: "that you served" or "have served'" We are not entitled to infer from the construction alone that the service is finished and over. As one can see, *dicunt (ianuam) servisse Balbo* (3) needs an *olim* (4) to go with it to make it limited to the past: "you served him once (formerly)". *Oratio recta* of *ferunt . . . nato servisse maligne* (5) could be either *serviebas* or *servi(i)sti*, the latter form meaning either "you have served him (at one time)" or "you have been serving him up to now (and is still serving him)". So far, then, we can say nothing about whether the door has ended its bad service for Balbus junior or not, only that there is a *terminus a quo* indicated by the following *postquam* clause, which is fairly specific: the old master of the house is no longer in charge, since he had passed away. Balbus junior had taken over and had married, probably shortly after.

So far, rumour had been ambivalent about the door's behaviour: In the first case (*dicunt* 3) rumour had been of the positive kind, in the second (perhaps still valid) vituperative. This aspect gets a prominent sting the third time rumour is referred to: the door has changed its attitude and forsaken the loyalty it used to show towards the house. It has in fact become *infida*, if not *perfida*. Such a volte-face does more than just arouse the poet's curiosity, it is obviously the very reason for addressing the door in the first place.

As to the much-debated question, whether *veterem* should be taken with *dominum* or with *fidem* (or with both); not only are rhythm and word order in favour of *dominum*, but also sense. *Veterem fidem* would most probably mean 'a loyalty of long standing', which is hardly the point. However, the notion that the door's loyalty towards "the old master" has changed and become instead disloyalty towards the new one, is perfectly straightforward.

[In line 6 Trappes-Lomaz adopts Fröhlich's *postquamst porrecto factus maritus sene* defending the ecthlipsis of final s. This makes the introduction more centered on father and son and has much to be said in its favour as far as sense is concerned. This text may well be right.]

The Door's Self-Defence

IANUA

"Non (ita Caecilio placeam, cui tradita nunc sum)
culpa mea est, quamquam dicitur esse mea,
nec peccatum a me quisquam pote dicere quicquam:
verum istis populis ianua cuncta facit,
qui, quacumque aliquid reperitur non bene factum,
ad me omnes clamant: 'ianua, culpa tua est."

12 istis populis *Vahlen*: istius populi *OGR*: qui te *OGR*: cuncta *Bährens* : quidque *Statius*

As much as I should like to please Caecilius, to whom I now belong, I'm not to blame, though they say I am. No one can truly say I did anything wrong, but according to those people a door does all sorts of things. For whenever any misdeed comes to light they all shout at me "Door, it's your fault".

The most remarkable thing about this passage is that the personified door launches a self-defending meta-poetical perspective: an inanimate thing like a door cannot be guilty. As a matter of course, this is self-evident and so the door's vociferous plea is part of the fun of this poem.[18]

Careful attention should be paid to the contents and to the form of the first couplet (9–10). As to the mode of speaking used here: after an emphatic *non*, widely separated from its sequel (*culpa mea est*), follows a wish 'whose fulfilment depends on the truth of a statement' (*OLD s.v. ita* 17). Comparable to some extent is Cicero *Fam*. 16. 20: *Sollicitat, ita vivam, me tua . . . valetudo* being in fact an oath 'upon my life', i.e. 'may I forfeit my life if it isn't true that your health concerns me'. The earnestness of Cicero's concern for Tiro's health is linked with the concern for his own life. And so the couplet conveys a strong assertion of loyalty: 'Let me forfeit the favour of Caecilius'[19] if I am not innocent. The door thinks that there is every reason why it should be in favour with its owner. The expression is clearly a variant of the common type *ita me di ament*.[20]

Who is Caecilius? Most commentators today see him as the third owner of the house (after, first, Balbus senior and then his son), "apparently not involved in the door's story" (Macleod 1982, 187). This means a complication of the story that can only make us posit idle questions like: what happened, then, to Balbus junior? Did he die? Or did he leave his house after divorce to settle somewhere else? Some even think that Caecilius is to be identified with the Caecilius mentioned in poem 35, a friend of Catullus apparently living on a regular basis in Novum Comum. According to defenders of this doubtful combination, such an identification could help explain the change in ownership in our poem.[21]

The basis for assuming a total change in the ownership is the *nunc* of l. 9: "[it] clearly marks a different stage of time from *olim* (4) [correctly enough] and the subsequent past tenses (58: *servisse . . . deseruisse*) [which I contest, see earlier]".

The nature of these perfects is to be seen in the light of *cui tradita nunc sum* (9), where the emphasis is on the abiding result, practically to be rendered by "whom I now belong to" (Goold 1983). This follows immediately after *dic agedum nobis etc*. (7–8), which is: "Come now and tell us why people say . . . that you have changed and forsaken your loyalty towards your old master (and are as a consequence disloyal to your new one)." What follows is an emphatic retort from the door: "No, as sure as I want to preserve my loyalty and good relationship to the person to whom I am now entrusted,[22] (for you are wrong in accusing me for being disloyal). I am not to be blamed for any wrongdoing (nor have I any part in what has happened)", the nature of which, however, has not yet been disclosed.

It is clear that we have a closely knit argument from line 5 to line 14. As an outsider, having confronted the door with the charge of being disloyal in a harmful[23] way to his own present master,[24] Catullus is immediately rebutted by the door, who vehemently denies that there is any substance in the charge at all (on the meta-poetical aspect, see earlier). The door wants nothing more than to have a permanent good relationship to its owner, emphasizing this in the strongest possible form by means of an oath.[25] That is to say, if there had been any truth in the rumour the door would have earned its master's wrath. On this basis, one could legitimately ask why a third owner should care at all if the door had been disloyal to its former master? We could add as well: what would this person's function be in our context if he was the third owner? To identify the house in question? But this is made clear enough by the name Balbus in line 3. So, by the sheer juxtaposition of the provocative question and the door's strong self-defence we would expect Caecilius to be no other than the *natus* of line 5, i.e. Balbus junior.

Admittedly, we do not know of any Caecilius Balbus, but this is hardly sufficient to rule out the possibility of the family's existence.[26] In other words, there could well have been a Veronese family with this name, but Catullus could also have coined a pseudonym for a prominent local family whose identity he is reluctant to reveal. Another consideration is also relevant: what would a readership in Rome have thought, knowing no more than we do, about the citizenry of Verona? Their natural inference would have been that a person with the *cognomen* 'Balbus' would also have a *nomen gentile*. Coming, then, to the *nomen gentile* 'Caecilius', such a non-informed reader would almost certainly have believed that it was to be added to the name 'Balbus'.

To heal the pentameter *verum istius populi ianua qui te facit* (12), where *istius* and *te* are plainly corrupt, something rather simple should be found that can bridge the contradictory claims "nobody is capable of mentioning anything done wrong by me" (11) and "who, whenever any misdeed is found, all shout at me: 'Door, yours is the fault'" (13–14). A plural antecedent to *qui* is, if not absolutely required,[27] a natural expedient. A number of more or less ingenious conjectures[28] deviate too much from the text of *O,G and R*. An excellent solution is Kroll's combination of two earlier conjectures: *verum istis populis ianua cuncta facit*.[29] *Istis populis*, which I would call a *dativus relationis*, has been adopted by Lafaye 1922 and Merrill (1923); instead of Bährens's and Kroll's *cuncta*, Lafaye (1922), Merrill (1923) and Schuster (1949) took over *quidque* 'each thing' from

Achilles Statius (1566). I still prefer *cuncta* 'all things' (Bährens). *Cuncta facere* is not much different from *cuncta agere*[30] and implies the meaning 'is likely to do anything'.

[Instead of *verum istis populis ianua cuncta facit* (12) Trappes-Lomax favours *vere, etsi id populi uana querela facit* which combines suggestions by Heyse/Schwabe 1866 and Lee (1990). This is some distance from what the transmission has given us. In my reading the 6 lines deserve a simple syntax in line with the simplistic contents of 9–14.]

Catullus fishing for information

CATULLUS

Non istuc satis est uno te dicere verbo,
  sed facere ut quivis sentiat et videat.

IANUA

Qui possum? Nemo quaerit nec scire laborat.

CATULLUS

Nos volumus: nobis dicere ne dubita.

The door has so far been discrete enough not to give away the secrets of the house, though we cannot at this stage be in doubt that there is some cuckoldry of the *dominus* going on (cf. *servisse maligne* after marriage 5–6, *culpa* 10 & 14 and *peccatum* 11). Implicitly the door has already admitted that something reproachable has taken place, a fact Catullus is keen on eliciting from the door in plain language. Lines 15–16 make it clear that Catullus has not been duped: well and good that the door itself is not to be blamed, 'but please' (cf. the urgent *nos . . . nobis*) 'give us the real details for all to discern and understand'.[31] *Uno verbo* 'in short', i.e. *culpa* or *aliquid . . . non bene factum*. On behalf of his audience, Catullus is eager to get past the moralistic stage concerning the door's standing in people's eyes and hear about the more substantial core of the matter that he is sure to be there.

The door reveals the lady's incestuous affair

IANUA

Primum igitur, virgo quod fertur tradita nobis,
  falsum est. Non illam vir prior attigerat,[32]
languidior tenera cui pendens sicula beta
  numquam se mediam sustulit ad tunicam:
sed pater incestus nati violasse cubile
  dicitur et miseram conscelerasse domum,

sive quod impia mens caeco flagrabat amore, 25
seu quod iners sterili semine natus erat,
et quaerendu' vir unde foret nervosius illud,
quod posset zonam solvere virgineam.

23 incestus *scripsi*: illius *OGR*: ille sui *Scaliger*: ipsius *Muretus*: illius a *Riese*: illusi *Baehrens*: illius ut *Weber*: illi eius *Cahen*: ipse sui *Trappes-Lomax* **27** et *OGR*: ut *Bergk* quaerendu' vir unde *scripsi*: querendus unde *OGR*: quaerendum unde unde *Statius*: quaerendus is unde *Lachmann*: quaerendus ei unde *Haupt*: quaerendum erat unde *Kroll*: quaerendus homo unde *Lenchantin*: querendust unde *Terzaghi*

First, then, that she came to us as a virgin is false. Her former husband had indeed not touched her: his dagger hung more limply than a soft beet and never raised itself to the middle of his tunic. But the story goes that the father violated the bed of his son and desecrated the wretched house, either because his wicked mind burnt with blind passion or because the son was of barren seed and impotent, and from somewhere or other had to be found a stronger force to loose the maiden's girdle.

As for the most important textual and exegetical difficulties in the passage:

1 An important issue is the understanding of *vir prior*: Macleod took it with many others as pointing to Balbus junior: "The father and the husband of 20 ff. are naturally the same as those of lines 3 ff." Given this basis for the understanding, he is compelled to take *vir prior* as 'her husband . . . beforehand (i.e. before the wedding)'.[33] This interpretation is highly improbable. To defend it, one must resort to awkward arguments: linguistically, *prior* is taken as a predicative = *prius*[34] with reference to Tibullus 1. 4. 32; Quintilian 5. 13. 42 and Ovid *Met*. 13. 34. But taking a closer look at these examples: *quam iacet, infirmae venere ubi fata senectae,/ qui* ***prior*** *Eleo est carcere missus equus!* (Tib. 1. 4. 31f.); *Non male respondit, male enim* ***prior*** *ille rogarat* (Quint. 5. 13. 42 [verse]); *an, quod in arma* ***prior*** *nulloque sub indice veni* (Ov. *Met*. 13. 34), one can see that word order here makes the predicative function of *prior* obvious. This is not the case in Catullus, however.

2 *illius* (somehow to be taken with *pater* and not with *nati*) is suspect, though it scans well enough as a molossan word (not elsewhere with a long *i* in Catullus, however, cf. Thomson 1997 *ad loc*.). If we deprive it of all emphasis (Kroll 1929 *ad loc*.), it becomes also devoid of all function. One may assume that at an early stage someone combined a corrupt *illius* as *pater illius nati*. The popular *illusi* (Bährens 1885, 487) with its metathesis of letters seems too influenced by the genitive *illius* and brings in a note, moreover, that does not go well with the alternative explanation of the incestuous affair (26–28). As I see it, *-us* probably hides an adjective to go with *pater* who lacks a fitting epithet. In such a case, my best guess would be *incestus* 'unholy', 'incestuous'.[35] This adjective gives the

required meaning and paves the way for the following *conscelerasse* (24) and *impia mens* (25).

3 What does *iners sterili semine* (26) mean? *Iners* is to be taken in the sense 'having no sexual capacity', 'impotent'. Understood in this way, the impotence of the husband is underlined thrice (21–22 and 27b/28). *Sterili semine*, here, is not exactly to be taken in the sense "weil es nicht ausreicht und nicht den Erfolg erzielt" (Kroll 1929 *ad loc*.). Such a thing as 'inferior seed quality' is not an issue in this kind of crude story telling. A husband is either a man in the full sense or he is not able to carry out sexual intercourse. Because there is no *semen* to reach the *vulva*, it is bound to be 'barren'.

4 *et quaerendus (. . .) unde foret nervosius illud* (27) should be read closely with the previous line 26: "but because his son was impotent with barren seed". Accordingly, many would think that the son needed the assistance of more vigorous genitalia in order that his wife could be deprived of her virginity. This cannot free the father, however, from serious blame. What we may consider from the start as the correct transmission in this is *et quaerend-* and *unde foret nervosius illud*. In the space between, i.e. either – (a longum) or uu (two shorts), we could either choose to change *quaerendus* into *quaerendum* and fit in an elided trochee like *unde* (Statius' *undeunde*, cf. Hor. *S*. 1. 3. 88) or keep *quaerendus* and fit in either a short monosyllable or a pyrrhichian/ iambic word with elision. In the latter case, a solution close to that of Lachmann's *quaerendus is unde*[36] would be Lenchantin de Gubernatis's *quaerendus homo unde foret* "so that one should have to search for a man from whom (*unde*) one could have, etc." But in view of Catullus'" indisputable ecthlipsis at 116. 8 *tu dabi' supplicium*,[37] I suggest the following improvement on this: *quaerendu' vir unde*, a reading which may also account for the corruption due to the scarcity of the ecthlipsis phenomenon in the late republican era. Besides, the word *vir* is much more apt in this context than *homo*.[38]

The natural way of taking *prior* (20), then, is as an attribute due to its juxtaposition to the noun: 'her earlier husband'. Catullus would know what humorous effect would arise from this: the 'lady', the new *marita* of Balbus junior, was a divorcée. This, of course, was well known in contemporary Verona: Catullus has dotted his poem with *dicunt* (3), *ferunt* (5), *feraris* (7), *dicitur* (10), *fertur* (19) and *dicitur* (24). In this way, he manages to put practically all piquant details in quotation marks, though some bits of the story may seem to rest on a factual basis outside the sphere of report. In reality, there are only two sources of information: rumour and the door itself.

The Veronese gossip had it that the *vir prior* had been impotent. Therefore, some people chuckled and said that Balbus, her new husband, had married a *virgo*. The door, however, goes one better in scandalizing her and her present husband by refuting their joke (and, of course, thereby adding to the scandal): she had in reality been involved in an incestuous relationship with her former father-in-law. To think that this man could be identical with Balbus senior is preposterous in

every respect.[39] Not only are the two *senes* as different as any old men can be, but Balbus senior is obviously a paragon of pristine virtue, the other a lecherous old man satisfying his libido by scandalizing his house and his son. Besides, Balbus senior had been dead for some unspecified time when Balbus junior contracted his marriage.

Another problem is the locality, though I would rather call it a problem created by interpreters being on the wrong track. Catullus himself is sufficiently clear about it: the lady in question came from Brixia. Obviously, she had been married in Brixia and had spent all the time of her first marriage there. How long this marriage lasted we do not know, but evidently long enough to allow three affairs, one with her (unnamed) father-in-law, another with a Postumius and a third with a Cornelius. According to the interpretation of Macleod[40] and Syndikus, she had lived in Brixia with both the Balbi who afterwards moved back to Verona accompanied by the lady in order to start, so to speak, the second phase of their hapless marriage with Balbus junior there. According to this understanding the lady's marriage to Balbus junior must have caused a total change in the moral behaviour of Balbus senior. No more does he take advantage of the situation, but instead earns the full moral approval of his fellow citizens. And the impotent son who, one would have presumed, had had enough of the liaison contracted a veritable marriage whereupon his misery started all over again. I for one do not find such a story either probable or entertaining. And why has a more straightforward reading been rejected among the best interpreters in recent years? Syndikus finds it clumsy ("ungeschicklich") that there should be a reference to a second pair of father and son so soon after the first one. But what can be more natural than that there have been two marriages in a less than virtuous woman's life over a period of some years? I am sure that modern readers of this poem can mention a number of such examples from their own social circles. For the Roman milieu, Balbus's wife would be regarded as a sort of Clodia.

So let us be open to the surface meaning of Catullus and take the scandalous story at face value. To start with, his first humorous point is to refute Veronese people when they said that the divorced lady had been a virgin when she married anew. The clause *non illam vir prior attigerat* is paratactic and an explicative asyndeton (a *quidem* would have formalized the line of thought in prose): although her previous husband (back in Brixia) had not touched her, her former father-in-law had indeed.

CATULLUS

Egregium narras mira pietate parentem,
qui ipse sui nati minxerit in gremium. 30

The poet's ironic comment reflects the harsh words of the *ianua*: cf. the extremely ironic *egregium . . . mira pietate parentem* which is in line with the previous *impia mens*. In the second line he makes *nati violasse cubile* rather coarse.[41]

Further information about the lady's Brixia past

IANUA

Atqui non solum hoc dicit se cognitum habere
  Brixia Cycneae supposita speculae,
flavus quam molli praecurrit flumine Mella,
  Brixia Veronae mater amata meae,
sed de Postumio et Corneli narrat amore,
  cum quibus illa malum fecit adulterium.

And yet not only this does Brixia say she has learnt, Brixia that lies beneath the Cycnean citadel, past which runs the soft stream of golden Mella, Brixia dear mother of my own Verona; but she tells stories about Postumius, and the amours of Cornelius, with whom she committed wicked adultery.

Surprisingly, it is revealed here for the first time that her earlier marriage took place in Brixia, some fifty miles away from Verona. What calls a wider circle to witness are her dealings in Brixia; these have the function of making the Veronese scandal more credible: Balbus junior, being a Veronese, would not have known about these scandalous rumours from Brixia. To prevent the inference that the scene for both marriages was Brixia, Catullus is careful to add two important points to his mention of Brixia: 1) the close relationship between Brixia and Verona, Brixia being Verona's 'mother' (34). This makes it likely that there are connections between the two towns, for example in such a way that some persons may have good knowledge of what was going on in the other. As we shall see, the poet has an additional explanation of how the *ianua* got wind of these scandals. 2) The second point, however, is important: by mentioning 'my Verona' (34) the door makes it abundantly clear that the house of the Balbi was situated in Verona. The affair with the previous father-in-law might well have put the lady in a relatively favourable light: she was at the start of that marriage a true virgin (*zona . . . virginea*), because her husband was unable to fulfil his marital obligations in the most basic sense of the word. The father-in-law had, according to the *ianua*, violated his son's bed in an unlawful way (whether she had accepted him willingly or not, is not mentioned with a word, however). Anyway, this had meant pollution to the house, and if the father-in-law were in league with his son (cf. 26–28), it was not a whit better for the bride who was entitled to a husband functioning normally. Accordingly, the two examples of adultery that had taken place in Brixia seriously undermine the kind of excuse there might have been in the incestuous affair with the lady's father-in-law. Postumius and Cornelius make her indeed a scandalized partner for young Balbus in advance of his marriage with her: he had in fact married an adulteress. Therefore, of course, she is to blame, not the door. This is at the same time a part of the door's self-defence. Nothing is said about how the first marriage ended in Brixia, but if her husband had become aware of her affairs (35–36), a blunt divorce would have been the natural response on his part.

The door as a credible source of information

IANUA

Dixerit hic aliquis: qui tu istaec, ianua, nosti,
cui numquam domini limine abesse licet,
nec populum auscultare, sed hic suffixa tigillo
tantum operire soles aut aperire domum?
Saepe illam audivi furtiva voce loquentem
solam cum ancillis haec sua flagitia,
nomine dicentem quos diximus, utpote quae mi
speraret nec linguam esse nec auriculam.
Praeterea addebat quendam, quem dicere nolo
nomine, ne tollat rubra supercilia.
Longus homo est, magnas cui lites intulit olim
falsum mendaci ventre puerperium.

37 qui Aldina : XO quid

Here someone will probably say: "You door, how do you know these rumours of yours, you who can never leave your master's threshold, nor listen to people, but being fixed here under the lintel have nothing to do but to shut or open the house!" Well, often I have heard her talking of these crimes of hers with a secretive voice when being alone with her maids and speaking by name of those of whom I spoke; she expected no doubt, that I had neither tongue nor ear. She added besides one whom I do not want to mention by name, lest he should raise his red brows. He is a tall person, on whom a fake childbirth owing to a mendacious pregnancy once inflicted a great lawsuit.

These lines are nowadays taken as part of the door's speech. That may well be right.[42] A parallel would be the orator's self-interruptions (e.g. Cicero *Verr*. 4. 13; *Pis*. 68), but it should not be forgotten that the orator is thereby staging a possible dialogue with his audience, anticipating a natural reaction from an attentive listener. Anyway, the interlocutor's reaction is a useful technique in propping up one's argument. Whether or not it is Catullus' own remark or just a possible objection to the door's credibility occurring to the door itself, we are reminded in a funny way of the realistic meta-poetical perspective. There is a play on the lady being mistaken about the door's faculties because she has taken it for a *res inanimata* and therefore both dumb and deaf (emphasized in a humorous way in 38–40). To the detriment of her reputation, however, the lady is unaware that the door has both ears and tongue (43b-44). The address to the door/the self-address (37–40) serves, more impersonally, as a means of revealing the door's source of information and thereby of adding credibility to the scandal: in fact, the door's knowledge rests on the confessions of the culprit herself. Every rationalistic mind is free to think that Catullus had in fact a source of information in one of the lady's *ancillae* or from somebody who knew or had known one of these.

The two distichs to close the poem is no doubt its climax; the lady's illicit affair in Verona itself caps it all. Once more, she is making a cuckold of a husband of hers. She has so far been priding herself with her affairs in Brixia, now her latest scandal in Verona is more than secret talk to her confidants. There is no name given to her present lover, not because any person involved – the lady or her *ancillae* – are set on hiding it out of discretion, but because the door fears reprisals from the adulterer. Eventually the poetic fiction is re-established. The person is identified, however, in a way that leaves no doubt about his identity in a town like Verona: he has red eyebrows, a long frame and has been involved in a notorious lawsuit. Though he was evidently acquitted (cf. *falsum*), the affair with the woman who had sued him must have been town gossip. The door's fear of revealing his name seems to show that the man is presently walking in and out of Balbus' house. The door has no means of stopping him; and we are reminded indirectly, if a reminder is needed, that the moralistic phrases applied to the door – *benigne*, respectively *maligne servire* – make no sense in the real world of human behaviour.

Notes

* Cf. *SO* 80, 2005, 23–38.

1 See now my appended comments on Trappes-Lomax's text at the end of the first section. I gladly concede that his text of line 6 may well be right.

2 The three volumes of his *Catull: Eine Interpretation* appeared in 1984 (I), 1987 (III) and 1990 (II: Poems 61–68). A second unchanged edition was published 2001 with an updated bibliography.

3 Kroll (1929) (on 1) is thinking in general terms of a family house consisting of a father (*parens*) having one or more unmarried daughters living with him. "Sie [i.e. the door] ist beim Gatten . . . wie beim Vater beliebt, weil sie über der Keuschheit der Gattin wie der Tochter wacht."

4 It was conjectured at line 5 by Giri (1909), however, instead of transmitted *voto*.

5 One has even thought of replacing it with *iniucunda* (Goligher).

6 See Canter (1920) and Copley (1956).

7 Not 'she'. It was the mistaken idea of Richardson (1967) that the speaking person is a lady. This was rightly rejected by Badian (1980, 81, n.2).

8 Cf. also the juxtaposition with poem 68.

9 For some useful considerations on this, see Giangrande (1970, 90 n. 19).

10 *Senex* is seen from the perspective of the younger generation; it does not mean that he had owned the house only in his later years. The good relationship between him and the door had evidently existed throughout his married life until he passed away as an old man. One is reminded of the use of *senex* in comedy, where it is often used as a synonym for *pater familias* (Plautus *Bac*. 175; *Epid*. 314; *Most*. 25; Terence *Ph*. 546; cf. Syndikus 229 n. 14).

11 Macleod (1987, 187 n.4) thinks that this may be right; Lafaye (1922) (until changed by Viarre (1992)), Lenchantin de Gubernatis (1928) and Cazzaniga (1941) were in favour of *voto . . . maligno*.

12 See J. Évrard-Gillis, *La récurrence lexicale dans l'œuvre de Catulle*, Paris 1976, 41.

13 *TLL* has tabulated the genus of *pactus s.v. pacisci* making it evident that the passive use of *pactus* is more frequent than the active.

14 In itself it is idiomatically possible: 'after you became associated with marriage'. But Latin-speaking persons are more likely to take *marita* as a noun in the sense: "after you became or were made a housewife" (cf. *OLD s.v. marita* a). *Maritus* as an adjective

means either 'belonging to marriage'(this is the more common use as shown by expressions such as *lex marita* – in analogy with *lex sumptuaria, l. annalis, l. iudicaria* -, *faces maritae* (Prop. 4. 11. 33), *sacra marita* (Prop. 3. 20. 26) or, just occasionally, 'belonging to the husband' (cf. Sen. *Her. O*. 1801).

15 The example contra Badian adduced by Syndikus (2001, 229, n.16) in defence of *es . . . facta marita* is Plautus *Epid*. 180; it should be quoted in full: [Apoecides] *Pulcra edepol dos pecunia est*: [Periphanes] *Quae quidem pol non marita est*. (Ap: "A dowry is beautiful money". Per.: Indeed, if it comes without the wife.") Syndikus leaves out the notion *dos*, which is in fact essential, as the dowry belongs to marriage as closely as anything. That is also the point of the answer: I take *dos* as the subject, *pulcra . . . pecunia* as the predicate, that is 'money' (that can compensate for the hardships of married life)'. *Quae* I take to refer to *dos*; *marita* thus creates a 'contradictio in adiecto': there is, of course, no *dos* without marriage. Besides: *marita* is an adjective in Plautus, a noun in Catullus.

16 Syndikus (2001, 229) also adduces *deseruisse fidem* (8) as part of his evidence, but his expression is even more difficult to limit to the past: *deseruisti fidem* would normally be taken as a *perfectum praesens*: 'I have forsaken my loyalty (and I am now in a state of disloyalty).'

17 This was pointed out by Kroll (1904, 140): "Aber bei genauerem Zusehen findet man, dass durch das Perfektum *servisse* jene Handlung als vergangene zwar bezeichnet werden kann, aber nicht muss: *postquam* (seitdem) *marita facta es, male servisti* (und tust es noch)."

18 Mark the repetitive character, *non . . ./ culpa mea est* (9–10) at the start against the emphatic verdict of people: *ianua, culpa tua est* (14), whereas in reality a door is no legally responsible person and is therefore incapable of any wrong-doing whatsoever (11).

19 Some translations have the aspect wrong here: "so may I win favour with Caecilius". More correct would be: "So may I be in favour with C". "May it please Caecilius . . ./ it is not my fault" (Godwin) is no happy rendering. Kroll (1904, 141) stresses that the door could not wish to win favour with the man whose house it had, guilty or not, opened for his wife's lovers. Kroll thereby dismisses the meta-poetical claim that the door is innocent. Besides, if the owner had any knowledge of his wife's affairs, he would have divorced her.

20 Plautus *Am*. 597, Terence *Hec*. 207, with variations in Plautus *Mil*. 501; *Per*. 639; *Poen*. 1325; Terence *Eu*. 852; *Ph*. 165, or even fut. simplex: Plaut. *Trin*. 447; *Most*. 520; Terence *An*. 947. For *ita me di ament* cf. *Cat*. 97. 1; 61. 196 (perf. subj.); Plaut. *Aul*. 496 (*ita me di amabunt*); Terence *Hec*. 579; 761. Cf. *TLL s.v. ita* 7,2,23ff. (*in asseveratione*) II *absolute*; 7,2,526,65ff.; Hofmann – Szantyr I (1957, 50ff., 56ff.).

21 F. Della Corte, *Due studi Catulliani*, Genova, 1951, 143ff. actually thought that Caecilius had bought the house but did not live there because the house had such a bad reputation for protecting conjugal fidelity (!).

22 For the concept of '*tradere*', see, e.g., *traditio* Cic. *Verr*. 1. 132.

23 The moral reproach in *maligne* is not to be overheard; it suggests harm based on a malevolent disposition.

24 This is how one would understand by implication *in dominum veterem deseruisse fidem*.

25 I would also like to point to the phraseological closeness of line 9 to the opening line of the poem; *iucunda* corresponding to *placeam*, which would be another indication that 'Caecilius' is not to be separated from the *dulcis vir* in line 1 and is the same man as *nato* in line 5.

26 Some points in the same direction have been put forward by Carratello (1988, 336 with n. 77).

27 A singular noun like *populus* could also do in a *constructio ad sensum*.

28 Forsyth (1982) (cf. also her 1986 edition) has a good review of earlier proposals.

29 Not adopted in his text (Kroll 1929), but recommended in his commentary.
30 Sall. *Cat*. 42. 2; *Jug*.; Liv. 33. 11. 5; Tacitus *Dial*. 8. 3. On *cuncta* se *TLL s.v*. cunctus 4,1401,34ff.
31 *Sentire* (16): not 'feel' (Godwin), but 'become aware of' (*OLD s.v*. 2); *videre* (16): 'understand' (*OLD s.v*. 14) is better than 'see'.
32 A sure correction in ζ of *attigerit* in *OGR* (cf. Kroll 1929; Thomson 1997 as against Thomson 1978).
33 The same position is taken by Syndikus (230 with n.17).
34 Among others Magnus (1907, 304): 'zuvor', 'vor allen anderen'.
35 *Ille sui* would have been excellent if there had been a need for *ille* (see my comments on *illius* above), *ipse sui* is better (not to my knowledge proposed), but would be weakened by its repetition in line 30 *qui ipse sui*.
36 Lachmann's *is* is not quite what we would like to add by means of conjecture; cf. B. Axelson, *Unpoetische Wörter*, Lund, 1945, 70f. *Hic* would then offer a better prosody. For the prosody of *hic* see *TLL* 6,2696,58ff.; *hic* is long in Cat. 6. 9, short in Lucr. 2. 1066; 4. 921.
37 On which see Fordyce's note *ad loc*. and, besides, Trappes-Lomax (2007) on 'ecthlipsis of final – *s*', p. 6ff.
38 Cf. *OLD s.v*. vir 1 c.
39 Della Corte (1977, 327): "La porta . . . apparteneva alla casa di un Balbo (figlio) . . . Balbo era sessualmente impotente; il padre lo aveva sostituito presso la moglie e la cosa era nota a Brescia".
40 Macleod (1982, 188) denies that Balbus junior and the lady had been married in Brixia in spite of her *adulterium*.
41 *mingere* in the sense of 'ejaculate' stands with *Anth*. 374 alone in *TLL* 8,998,70ff. But cf. *meio* (two examples: Hor. *S*. 2. 7. 52 and Mart. 11.46.2, cf. *TLL* 8,605,16ff., *immeio* (one solitary example: Pers. 6.73, cf. *TLL* 7,446,74f.) and *permingo* (one example: Hor. *S*. 1. 2. 44, cf. *TLL* 10,1539,18ff.).
42 A formal argument in favour of attributing lines 37–40 to Catullus himself would be the overall structure of the poem: *ianua* 9–14 (6 lines), 17 (1), 1928 (10 lines), 31–36 (6 lines), 41–48 (8 lines) = 31 lines. Catullus: 18 (8 lines), 15–16 (2 lines) 18 (1 line), 29–30 (2 lines), 37–40 (4 lines) = 17 lines, that is two-thirds of the dialogue belong to the *ianua* versus one-third to Catullus.

33 Sallust *Cat.* 3. 5. Another deletion?

The end of chapter 3 may look deceptively unproblematic in Reynold's Oxford edition (1991),[1] but on closer inspection few sentences have been more protean than the one quoted here:

> (3. 3) Sed ego adulescentulus initio, sicuti plerique, studio ad rem publicam latus sum, ibique mihi multa aduorsa fuere. Nam pro pudore, pro abstinentia, pro uirtute audacia largitio auaratia uigebant. (4) Quae tametsi animus aspernabatur insolens malarum artium, tamen inter tanta uitia inbecilla aetas ambitione corrupta tenebatur; (5) *ac me*, quom ab relicuorum malis moribus dissentirem, *nihilo minus honoris cupido eadem qua ceteros fama atque inuidia uexabat*.
>
> *(5) qua ϛ : quae ω*
>
> When I myself was a young man, my inclinations at first led me, like many another, into public life, and there I encountered many obstacles; for instead of modesty, incorruptibility and honesty, shamelessness, bribery and rapacity held sway. And although my soul, a stranger to evil ways, recoiled from such faults, yet amid so many vices my youthful weakness was led astray and held captive by ambition; for while I took no part in the evil practices of the others, yet the desire for preferment made me the victim of the same ill-repute and jealousy as they.
>
> (J. C. Rolfe)

As presented, the text of §5 may be rendered: "for while I took no part in the evil practices of the others, yet the desire for preferment troubled me with the same reputation and envy as the others".[2] In this reading, *eadem* is ablative going with *fama* and *inuidia*;[3] *qua* is found in the manuscripts *A* (= *C* Vretska 1976), *B* and T^2 (Kurfess).[4] The better attested *quae*, however, is preferred by e.g. Pabón (1954), Kurfess (1957), Ernout (1958) and McGushin (1980).[5] But the editors who have chosen *quae* have been divided as to the best way of taking *eadem* (either as nom. or abl.).[6] Among the more recent editors, Hellegouarc'h alone attaches *eadem* as nominative to *cupido*.[7] But this is contrary to Sallust's usage, as he places *idem*,

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in the sense of 'the same', before, not after, the word to which it belongs (cf. 20. 3; 58. 11).[8]

In my opinion, we may safely ignore other suggestions, like e.g. taking all three nouns (*cupido*, *fama* and *inuidia*) as co-ordinate nominatives and subjects,[9] or reading *eadem**que** quae . . .*,[10] or even *eadem **eademque** quae* (Dietsch).

However, the reasoning presented by Dietsch against the transmitted text has still some weight (p. 15), the gist of his argument being: One may well say that a man *vexat aliquem probris omnibus maledictisque*, but it seems, at best, odd to say the same with *honoris cupido* as subject. We will readily reach the same conclusion of awkward logic and awkward Latin (which are at times interchangeable notions) if we put the sentence into the passive: (*ego*) *honoris cupidine vexabar*; in that case one could hardly add another abl. instrum. to it (*fama atque invidia*). One would instead expect something in the way of **propter honoris cupidinem (meam) eadem . . . fama atque invidia vexabar*, equivalent to the active **propter honoris cupidinem (meam) eadem . . . fama atque invidia vexabat*.[11]

Among the conjectures made, none equals that of Pieter H. Damsté's *honoris cupid**um*** going with *me* from 1893.[12] This brings into play the causal notion postulated by my analysis above.[13] The same analysis has also convinced me, however, that *honoris cupido* is not only unnecessary in the context, but must have been alien to it from the beginning. So far in the *Bellum Catilinae* man's natural desire to win glory (1. 3) and fame (2. 9) has been a governing idea (cf. *ne vitam silentio transeant* [*sc. homines*]); to gain a lasting name by means of one's intellectual and moral prowess is indeed what counts in life according to Sallust.

§§ 4 and 5 contain two sentences of essentially the same make: a concessive clause (*tametsi, cum*) followed by a main clause (introduced by *tamen, nihilo minus*). The concessive clauses serve to voice the same self-defence: Sallust himself scorned *vitia* (like *audacia, largitio* and *avaritia* 3. 3), as he was unaccustomed to such evil ways in politics (§ 4) and consequently he recoiled from the bad practices of others (§ 5). The main clauses, however, differ from each other, suggesting cause and effect. First, Sallust admits his personal weakness (*inbecilla aetas* explains why he did not distance himself from politics altogether): he was under the influence of *ambitio*, which had corrupted his tender age (by the way, his youthful lack of strength made it all the more understandable why he had succumbed to *ambitio*).[14] This *ambitio* is referred to again at 4. 2, where Sallust calls it *mala* (even if it was not combined with the *malae artes* or *mali mores* of others). The next main clause (§ 5) concentrates on the repercussions following from the prevailing political morals: ill repute and jealous opposition (*fama atque invidia*). This reaction was well deserved for most politicians, but by its indiscriminate nature it was a negative experience for Sallust himself: he had suffered from people's prejudices rather undeservedly, he claims, as if he were as guilty as anyone. In view of this, a less sharp punctuation than the usual semicolon is called for to connect the two paragraphs: "and in fact (*ac OLD s.v.* 4), though I dissociated myself from the unethical practices of the others". As for the main clause, I propose to read just this: *ac me . . . nihilo minus ĕădem quae ceteros famă atque invidiă vexabat*. In Sallust's line of thought, no further causal factor is required

besides *ambitio*, which Sallust had just confessed to as his juvenile defect, least of all a sort of embellishment of it. Thus *honoris cupido* is an intrusion that may have crept in to explain *ambitio*;[15] *eadem*, then, emerges clearly as a nominative like *fama atque invidia* and *quae* is accordingly the only possible reading to go with these nouns.

My text:

> (5) ac me, quom ab relicuorum malis moribus dissentirem, nihilo minus [honoris cupido] eadem quae ceteros fama atque inuidia uexabat.

Notes

* Cf. "Critica (III): Another Interpolation in Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae*?", *SO* 77, 2002, 110–113.

1 I have only added the paragraph numbers.

2 I have combined here the rendering of Rolfe (1931) with that of Ramsey (1984).

3 This is also the reading of Vretska (1976).

4 *Qua* has found favour with for example Ahlberg (1919), Vretska (1976) and Ramsey (1984).

5 "My desire for glory was as great as theirs, and it plagued me by bringing me into disrepute" (McGushin's rendering based on Ernout (1958) who, however, was reluctant to make a decision).

6 Cf. Vretska 1976 (*ad loc*.).

7 Hellegouarc'h 1972 renders: "la même soif d'honneurs me tourmentait qui livrait les autres aux attaques de la médisance et de l'envie."

8 Thus Vretska 1976; Ramsey 1984 and before them, for example, Dietsch 1859.

9 See Vretska 1976 *ad loc*.

10 F. D. Gerlach's suggestion 1831 accepted by Dietsch.

11 The singular verb according to grammar (see, e.g., Kühner – Stegmann II § 14).

12 More editors should have heeded his comment: "Miror neminem umquam sensisse sententiae structuram gravem atque inconcinnam manere quamcunque de ista copia scripturam sibi elegerit." However, Damsté's conjecture was adopted by M. C. Gertz in his (Danish) edition, Copenhagen 1895.

13 The only objection I have is that we should have liked the causal notion to come out more clearly, by e.g. *utpote honoris cupidum*.

14 Gertz 1895 (see previous note) *ad loc*. distinguishes wrongly between the *ambitio* of others and *honoris cupidus* as Sallust's own confession, but it is unnatural to except Sallust himself from the *inbecilla aetas ambitione corrupta tenebatur* as this is morally by far less harsh than the others' bad morals.

15 These are the interpolations in *Bellum Catilinae* according to L. D. Reynolds (in most cases one word only): 1. 3; 14. 2; 22. 2; 25. 2 (bis); 40. 5; 55. 1; 59. 3.

34 Sallust *Cat.* 57. 4. A *locus conclamatus*

In his *OCT* edition of Sallust L. D. Reynolds prints *Cat*. 57. 4 in accordance with the paradosis, and rightly so I believe:[1]

> *Neque tamen Antonius procul aberat, utpote qui magno exercitu locis aequioribus expeditos in fuga sequeretur*.
>
> "Antonius also was not far distant, since he was following the fleeing rebels over more level ground with an army which, though large, was lightly equipped" (J. C. Rolfe, who however, reads *expeditus* and confesses that text and meaning are uncertain).

But the interpretation of this seems still to leave something to be said to judge from J. T. Ramsay's defence (1984, [2]2007):

> *expeditos*: this is the reading of the principal MSS, confirmed by a citation in the grammarian Priscian (*pace* Kurfess who falsely attributes the reading *expeditus* to Priscian). Most modern editors emend to *expeditus* on the assumption that *utpote qui* is causal (equivalent to *quippe qui*) introducing an explanation for the statement that Antonius was not far off. *Utpote qui*, however, is to be taken here in a limiting sense (= "considering the fact that"), and the acc. *expeditos*, going closely with *in fuga*, is needed to provide the direct object of *sequeretur* (for this meaning of *utpote qui*, cf. Plaut. *Mil*. 530; Cic. *Att*. 2.24.4). Catiline's men were *expediti* in comparison with Antonius' army because they were less fully equipped and not loaded down with baggage. Antonius was forced by the size of his army to take a less direct route over more level terrain (*locis aequioribus*).

Utpote qui

I am not sure I fully understand Ramsay's way of taking *utpote qui*, especially if he is thereby trying to define a separate semantic category. I have traced this interpretation back to a short, but hardly more convincing note by W. A. Camps (1959) where *utpote qui* is rendered "considering" followed by the comment: "the clause governed by *utpote qui* introduces, not a reason for the main statement, but

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a circumstance to be kept in mind when evaluating it".[2] Ramsay and Camps each adduces two parallels for this, one from archaic Latin (Plautus) and one from late republican Latin (viz. the same Cicero example). Let me concentrate on this more relevant later stage.

Although *utpote qui* is, as often observed, not as common as *quippe qui*, there are sufficient examples to draw a safe conclusion. Herewith a broad sample: at Catullus 64. 56 *necdum etiam sese quae visit visere credit [sc. Ariadna]/* ***utpote*** *fallaci* ***quae*** *tum primum excita somno/ desertam in sola miseram se cernat harena* ("nor does she yet believe that she sees what she is seeing,/ since she has only just been awakened from a deceitful sleep/ to see her poor self abandoned on the lonely sand" (J. Godwin 1995). The reason for her lack of belief is that she – after a treacherous[3] sleep – <quite unexpectedly> – finds herself deserted by Theseus on the lonely beach. The causal nature of the subjunctive *cernat* is signalled unequivocally by *utpote* ("no wonder since" as C. J. Fordyce (1960) renders it in his comm.). Catullus uses *utpote* again at 67. 43: *nomine dicentem quos diximus, utpote quae mi/ speret nec linguam esse nec auriculam* [the *ianua* passing on gossip about her *domina*] "<who has been> mentioning by name the men I've spoken about, since <as a matter of course>[4] she did not expect me to have either tongue or ear"). *Utpote qui*, an extended variant of *ut qui*, was commonly avoided by the poets of the next generation. Horace uses *utpote*, but only in the satires and epistles and in less cumbersome syntactical forms suitable to the hexameter: . . . *Beatus Fannius, ultro/ delatis capsis et imagine, cum mea nemo/ scripta legat vulgo recitare timentis ob hanc rem,/ quod sunt quos genus hoc minime iuvat*, ***utpote*** *plures/ culpari* ***dignos*** (*S*. 1. 4. 21b-25a "seeing that a majority of them [i.e. of people listening to recitals of satires] deserve censure" (P. M. Brown 1993). Expressions like "seeing that" or "considering that" is no less explanatory than "since". A similar example is *S*. 2. 4. 8–9: *Quin id erat curae, quo pacto cuncta tenerem*, ***utpote*** *res* ***tenuis***,[5] *tenui sermone peractas* ("Indeed that [*i.e*. the art of memorizing] was my concern, how to retain everything, since the subject matter <as is well-known> is fine-spun, treated in fine-spun language"). Cf. *Ars* 206f. *quo sane populus numerabilis*, ***utpote parvus****,/ et frugi castusque verecundusque coibat* ("where [in the theatre] the people used to gather, certainly easy to count, few as they were, and honest and decent and modest"). *Utpote parvus* gives the obvious reason for the people being easily countable (*numerabilis*).[6]

Utpote (like *quippe*) is used also to emphasize *cum* in its causal function: Cic. *Att*. 5. 8. 1: *Me et incommoda valetudo, e quam iam emerseram*, ***utpote cum*** *sine febri laborassem, et Pomptini exspectatio . . . tenebat duodecimum iam diem Brundisi* ("This is my twelfth day at Brundisium. An indisposition from which I have now recovered (there was no fever) and the expectation of Pomptinus' arrival . . . has kept me here" (D. R. Shackleton Bailey 1999, *LCL*). The *utpote cum* clause could here have been rendered more distinctly: Cicero had (in his own view) recovered more speedily *as* there had been no fever aggravating his indisposition.

Cicero has *utpote qui* only sparingly: *Phil*. 5. 30 *Lucius quidem frater eius*, ***utpote qui*** *peregre depugnarit, familiam ducit*. ("His [Mark Antony's] brother

Lucius, being a man <as you know> who has fought in the arena abroad, leads a gang of gladiatiors.") Lucius's infamous position has an obvious <ironic> explanation: His 'competence' is based on his having been an international star of the gladiator arena.

Cicero, *Att*. 2. 24. 4 (from the year 59) *ea* [*sc. iudicia*] *nos, utpote qui nihil contemnere sole<a>mus* (or: *soleremus*), *non pertimescebamus*. ("These [lawsuits] I for one did not dread very much, since <as you might expect> I am not used to making light of any danger"; *nihil contemnere soleamus* is a kind of litotes expressing approximately: "we *do* take them seriously according to our habit". Cicero sees himself as a person well prepared for anything his enemies [Clodius that is] may have in mind. Accordingly, there is no reason to follow Ramsey and Camps and put this instance into a bag of its own.[7]

Summa: As to the syntactic sense, *utpote* in the Sallustian passage is straightforward and follows the normal usage. If Sallust had used the word in any other way he would most probably have failed to convey his meaning to his readers. "Nor (cf. *OLD s.v. tamen* 2 b, K. Vretska on 19,2) was Antonius far off, as one might expect since he was pursuing unburdened men in their flight[8] over more level terrain."

The situation

According to 56. 4 Antonius had already set out when Catiline tried to evade enemy troops by marching in mountainous terrain (*per montis* 56. 4), at one time southwards, at another northwards, *Galliam versus*. After receiving report of the death sentences against the leading conspirators in Rome, Catiline led his remaining troops "over rugged mountains" (*per montis asperos* 57. 1) towards the district of Pistorium intending to find "tracks" (*tramites*) across the Apennines to reach Gallia transalpina. On the other side of the mountains, Metellus Celer took up position where Catiline would most probably descend. That Catiline hurried is emphasized twice in addition to our sentence: He marched towards *ager Pistoriensis* ***magnis*** *itineribus* (57. 1), and haste would characterize his further flight as well: *sub ipsis radicibus montium consedit [sc. Metellus], qua illi [sc. Catilinae] descensus erat* ***properanti***.

Ramsay can give no reason for the fact that Antonius was so close on Catiline's heels. On the contrary, the relative clause amounts in his interpretation to contradicting the main clause: against a Roman general hampered by a great army with its usual equipment and therefore having to move along "a less direct route" over more level ground is an army free from such constraining factors and very much intent on flight. If so, why should Catiline not have outdistanced his opponent by far?

Sallust is focussed, however, on explaining how Antonius's army had caught up with Catiline and was so close[9] and how it achieved to prevent his flight towards Gallia: *locis* ***aequioribus*** – the comparative highlighted by *utpote* – harks back to *per montis* ***asperos*** (57. 1) and is the main factor in the context. Due above all to the marked difference in the terrain to be traversed, the regular army was

able to keep pace and catch up with Catiline's less burdened men intent on flight. Having probably heard about or agreed on a joint pincer movement to catch the insurgents, both Roman generals seemed to have found speed essential for their strategy: on the other side of the Apennines Metellus moved quickly (*propere*) to stop Catiline. As to Antonius, it was unnecessary for Sallust to mention that speed – suggested in itself by the ongoing pursuit (*sequeretur*) – was a key factor on his side as well.

Notes

1 So even the otherwise useful *TLL* article by O. Hiltbrunner (1943) on *expedio* 5, 1604–1623. The corrected *expedit**us*** going with the general in charge instead of his 'army', 'troops', 'men') necessitated a subcategory *sensu laxiore* (1622, 61).
2 Camps refers to Lewis and Short's Dictionary who, however, make no such distinction in their article on *utpote,* but offer a wide choice of renderings of the explanatory sense: *as namely, namely, as being, as, seeing that, inasmuch as, since*. Vretska *ad loc*. is particularly undecided about *utpote qui* considering both a consecutive, comparative and limitative meaning in order to escape the explanatory one, to no avail in my view.
3 "Weil er [sc. der Schlaf] ihr den Gatten [sc Iason] entführt hat" (Kroll 1929).
4 Godwin's "as if she expected" is off the mark.
5 Not all editors have observed that a comma is needed here (as in Klingner's and Borzsák's editions).
6 The same holds good for *S*. 1. 5. 94 (with *utpote* and participle): *Inde Rubos fessi pervenimus, utpote longum/ carpentes iter et factum corruptius imbri*. Horace and his fellow travellers were tired on their arrival at Rubi because of the long distance covered in one day and the bad condition of the road." Kühner – Stegmann's note on *utpote* and the like is worth quoting: "sie [these particles] drücken eine *Erklärung* des Redenden aus von einem Umstande, der sich von selbst versteht, der ganz natürlich ist" (II 1, 791).
7 What, then, about the archaic examples? *Rud*. 462 (quoted by Camps) is *satis nequam sum, utpote qui hodie amare inceperim* and in my interpretation: "I am pretty naughty, no wonder since I have started to love to-day." Plautus *Mil*. 530 is at the heart of the intrigue; when Philocomasium is pretending to be her own twin sister this leads to the following exclamation from the soldier's slave: *Pro di immortales, similiorem mulierem/ magisque eandem, ut pote quae non sit eadem, non reor/ deos facere posse*. "I don't think the gods are able to make a woman more like <my master's courtesan> and more the same *since she is <of course> not the same* (i.e. as she obviously is another person)" (on this point the slave is wrong).
8 I can think of no explanation for adnominal *in fuga* if *expedit**os*** is changed to *expedit**us***.
9 It goes without saying that all parties made use of the best intelligence they could muster. The regular Roman armies were of course superior to Catiline in that respect.

35 Liv. 4. 20. *Iuppiter feretrius*, Livy and Augustus

Feretrius

As far as I have seen there is to date no consensus among modern scholars concerning the cult title *feretrius*,[1] nor was there among the ancients. *Der neue Pauly/ New Pauly* has chosen a cautious line: "epithet . . . of uncertain meaning". All the same, the derivation from *ferire* still seems to prevail, based as it is on the comments of Festus; he seems to have given substance to this idea by mentioning a stone in the god's old temple used for the purpose of *foedus ferire* (Fest. 81 Lindsay).[2]

I for one find this etymology with its variants unacceptable from a linguistic point of view.[3] The adjective is obviously to be connected with *feretrum*,[4] taken commonly as an early Greek loanword[5] (a φέρετρον is simply 'a means for carrying <something>, that is a 'litter', a 'bier' in the dictionaries).[6] This noun was obviously felt by Livy's generation as genuinely Latin,[7] and the meaning is mainly the same as in Greek. The great majority of the Thesaurus material is classified rightly as "lectus, in quo mortui efferuntur". *Iuppiter feretrius* is thus the god associated with the *feretrum*: "Jupiter of the bier". A *lectus mortui*, or better a *feretrum*, might well be understood as a bier where a *dux* or a *rex hostium*, killed by the hand of the *rex* or *dux Romanus*, is transported back to Rome.

We may assume that the first temple on the Capitolium was a Jupiter shrine of a more general kind for the highest god. This explains the other objects contained in it: the *silex* used by the *fetiales* when striking the victim to conclude a treaty (Fest. 92) or a *sceptrum* when swearing solemn oaths. Soon, however, the *feretrum* became the principal object in the temple. It was scarcely odd that Jupiter also showed himself as a war god as well and in this capacity came to dominate the little temple before there was any other cult in the Capitoline area.

For one thing, *feretrius* is a *hapax*, and adjectives derived from nouns with the suffix *trum* seem to be quite rare in Latin. A possible parallel is *vitreus* from *vitrum* 'glass'. The lack of comparable adjectives has a fairly simple explanation, I think. There was hardly any need for a coinage like *feretrius* in ordinary speech. Only religion and its cult nomenclature engendered some notable exceptions to the ordinary mechanisms of language. And thus we find some parallel *hapax legomena* within the religious sphere, known partly from inscriptions, and though these

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lonely forms may sometimes look a bit queer, it is generally not difficult to guess their meaning and function. In an inscription, we find Jupiter mentioned as *iurarius*, that is 'he who is presiding over oaths'.[8] Jupiter is also *culminalis* 'belonging to the heights' in some regional inscriptions,[9] and he can be defined as *secundanus* when called upon by men at sea praying for a favourable wind.[10] If Jupiter resides in a birch grove, one may coin the epithet *fagutalis* for him.[11] As the lord of beneficial rain he was *elicius* from *elicere*. An inscription pertaining to a certain cult of Hercules refers to the hero as *saxetanus* 'he who is connected with the quarry', *saxetum*; he is in other words presiding over the stone-workers' business.

What is, then, a *feretrum* really? The usual meaning is 'bier' from Vergil's *Aeneid* onwards. But this can hardly be the right and proper notion in connection with the cult of *Iuppiter feretrius*, however much the meaning 'bier' is strictly the oldest one and outstrips other meanings as to frequency. The word is of course to be connected with *ferre* or better with Greek φέρειν and properly signifies broadly a means of carrying something. The nearest genuinely Latin equivalent would be *ferculum*. This latter word acquired the special meaning 'tray for food', then a 'course' at dinners and had an older religious meaning as well by signifying a means of carrying sacred objects in processions, a 'stretcher' (*TLL* VI,491,53ff.). The word *feretrum* is semantically a near relative to it in the religious sphere.

An interesting example illustrating the meaning and implication of *feretrum*, one finds in Sil. 5. 166–169 where Flaminius, in the battle at Lake Trasimene, is shouting to one of his soldiers/officers (*bellator*) as the fight is about to begin:

> "est, Orfite, munus, 166
> est", ait, "hoc[12] certare tuum, quis opima volenti
> dona Iovi portet **feretro** suspensa cruento
> Nam cur haec alia pariatur gloria dextra?"
>
> "It is your task, Orfitus, he cried, "to contend for this prize – who shall bear the spoils of honour to Jupiter, a welcome offering borne aloft on a blood-stained *litter* [my italics]. For why should this glory be won by the hand of another?" [transl. J. D. Duff, *LCL*]

The passage opens up for two aspects pertaining to *feretrum*, of which the first is relevant for our semantic argument: in line 168 *feretrum* cannot mean 'litter' = 'stretcher'. The *feretrum* is a means to carry the armour of the slaughtered enemy commander, not his dead body.

Second, the passage is emphatic in announcing that the *spolia opima* were obtainable for ordinary soldiers as well. Festus is our source that Varro had propounded this view on the distinction in addition to the traditional elitist definition: *M. Varro ait opima spolia esse etiam, si manipularis miles detraxerit dummodo duci hostium* (Fest. *s.v. opima spolia*, p. 204 L.). Accordingly, there were two prevailing views on *spolia opima*, one elitist and one egalitarian. Livy sets unequivocally forth the elitist one at the earliest possible occasion in his *Ab urbe condita*.

Romulus and his spolia opima

The passage 1. 10. 4 ff. contributes considerably to giving the opening part of *Ab urbe condita* a majestic and paradigmatic character.

> Exercitum fundit fugatque, fusum persequitur: regem in proelio obtruncat et spoliat: duce hostium occiso urbem primo impetu capit. [5] Inde exercitu victore reducto, ipse cum factis vir magnificus tum factorum ostentator haud minor, spolia ducis hostium caesi suspensa fabricato ad id apte ferculo gerens in Capitolium escendit; ibique ea cum ad quercum pastoribus sacram deposuisset, simul cum dono designavit templo Iovis fines cognomenque addidit deo: [6]'**Iuppiter Feretri**,' inquit, '**haec tibi victor Romulus rex regia arma fero**, templumque his regionibus quas modo animo metatus sum dedico, sedem opimis spoliis quae regibus ducibusque hostium caesis me auctorem sequentes posteri ferent."

This passage also helps towards a better understanding of the epithet *feretrius*, but, above all, it reads like the paragraph of a catechism concerning the basic nature of the cult and its place in Roman history. The story is well enough known. Having repulsed the first attack on the city Romulus kills with his own hands his counterpart, the king of Caenina, and strips the body of its *spolia*.[13] *Ferculum* is here to be understood as a sort of frame that could be carried in an upright position by one person. Romulus placed it in the proximity of a holy oak on the Capitol to honour Jupiter. In his prayer he addresses Jupiter as the god to whom the *ferculum* belongs as an offering: the invocation of *Iuppiter feretrius* conveys to us the fact that Romulus was the first to use the word *feretrum* for the special kind of *ferculum* he had provided for carrying the *spolia opima* to be his dedication to the god. In this way, Livy is able to reflect the linguistic inventiveness at work once the cult was established. Apparently, the religious authorities avoided the ordinary word *ferculum* and introduced a related designation to be associated more specifically with the cult in question. Consequently, I have no doubt that the word *feretrum* used in Silius's fictive account of the battle at Lake Trasimene in reality dates back to the early stages of Rome's Latinity.

The short dedicatory prayer of Romulus in §6 should be commented upon more fully because it sheds light on the questions to meet us in the main part of my article. Romulus continues: "To you, I, Romulus, a victorious king, am herewith carrying a king's arms"; it is wonderfully succinct in Latin: *haec tibi victor Romulus rex regia arma fero*. A point to be noted is the rhetorically effective juxtaposition of *rex*, i.e. Romulus, and *regia*, referring to his royal adversary. In such a context it can hardly be taken otherwise than that the position of *rex* was crucial for both victor and vanquished and thus a double prerequisite for honouring *Iuppiter feretrius*. That Livy wanted to stress the equal superior status of the antagonists, once and for all, is clear from the sequel to §6 as well. At §7 he has appended some words on the later history of the rite in order to assure us that the descendants did not fall short of the requirements needed to honour the god as they should: there

were only two commanders in Rome's whole history who had been able to dedicate *spolia opima* in the shrine.

> Haec templi est origo quod primum omnium Romae sacratum est. Ita deinde dis visum nec irritam conditoris templi vocem esse qua laturos eo spolia posteros nuncupavit nec multitudine compotum eius doni volgari laudem. Bina postea, inter tot annos, tot bella, opima parta sunt spolia: adeo rara eius fortuna decoris fuit.
>
> Such is the origin of the temple that was the first of all to be consecrated at Rome. After that, the gods ordained on the one hand that the utterance from the man who had founded the temple should not be in vain when he mentioned that future men would carry their *spolia* to it and on the other that the glory of this offering should not be cheapened by the multitude of those entitled to it. In the course of so many years and so many wars the *spolia opim*a have been won only twice more: so rare was the occurrence of this distinction.[14]

Livy shows that he is well aware of the egalitarian view of the distinction, but that Romulus *expressis verbis* reserves the distinction for Roman commanders-in-chief. The temple of *Iuppiter feretrius* acquires in this way a pride of place in Roman history. It was not only locally situated near the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the terminal point of every roman triumph, it can be regarded as an honorary chapel belonging to it, lending a sort of super-status to a very restricted number among the many *viri triumphales* from all centuries. Which two other men Livy had in mind would immediately have been clear to any Roman interested in his nation's saga. One of them, Marcellus, was never in dispute. He had won his *spolia opima* when he killed the Keltic chieftain Virdumarus just before the outbreak of the second Punic war. The late brother-in-law of Augustus, Octavia's first husband, was a descendant of this Marcellus; by the time of the great triple triumph of 29 B.C. it was obvious that Octavia's and Marcellus's young son Marcellus was about to acquire the position of a crown prince of a kind. When he was taken ill and died in 23 B.C., Augustus in his funerary speech evidently recalled his nephew's famous ancestor. Anyway, Vergil makes the elder Marcellus embody the hopes attached to his young descendant. But as to the middle hero in the row, Aulus Cornelius Cossus, he was the cause of some problems and concerns.

Aulus Cornelius Cossus

In Cottus's case, Vergil, during the same period of time as Livy wrote his first pentad, is very brief by mentioning him only in a *praeteritio*, honourably though (*A*. 6. 841).[15] Livy, however, is by far our most interesting source for the problems connected with him. Cossus is mentioned in the fourth book of *Ab urbe condita*. All of a sudden and without warning Livy plunges his readers into the problems arising from his own vivid account of the war with Veii.

It is my first contention that the scholarly discussion has failed to take into proper account the Romulus passage we have just been dealing with in the First Book. According to Romulus's forecast and prayer, later award-winning candidates should fulfil the necessary requirements no less than the founder of the cult himself: *opima spolia, quae regibus ducibusque hostium caesis* ***me auctorem sequentes*** *posteri ferent*. The relative clause with its fut. simplex has not only the character of a strict condition, but will also, 700 years on, be read as a *vaticinium ex eventu*. Why *duces* and not *reges* one might well ask? Romulus was a king, so was his opponent. The word is far from otiose, however. Livy lets the speaker (Romulus) take account of the Roman counterparts of the enemy kings, the Republican heirs to the kingship of Romulus. The crucial feature common to both a *rex* and a *dux* (*consul*) was, of course, the *auspicium*.

First, I will take a brief overall look at the passage about Cossus in the Fourth Book. Livy is dealing with the conflict with Fidenae and Veii from ch. 17 onwards. Mamercus Aemilius had become dictator and had accordingly the command of the Roman army. The Veian king, Lars Tolumnius, was responsible for the murder of four Roman envoys. Rome had therefore an outrageous violation of international law to revenge. The ensuing war is fought under Mamercus's strong and able command. At the height of the battle, while the mounted Tolumnius roams fiercely to and fro, attacking the Roman cavalry, Livy introduces, by means of a short ekphrasis, a protagonist, a military tribune, from among the leading cavalry officers in ch. 19: *Erat tum inter equites tribunus militum A. Cornelius Cossus*. He emerges as the one man able to cope with the insolent Tolumnius, morally as well as militarily. Filled with rage on behalf of the murdered envoys, Cossus spurs his horse and attacks the Etruscan king head on and succeeds splendidly in finishing him off, whereupon he strips him of his regal amour and impales the king's head on the point of his lance. This causes general flight among the enemies. Although Mamercus himself cuts a worthy figure throughout the campaign and earns a well-deserved triumph, Cossus is indeed the hero of the day and the centre of attention in the triumphal procession carrying the *spolia opima* of the slain king (20. 2), all the while the soldiers are singing their improvised song comparing him to Romulus (*aequantes eum Romulo*). Then follows immediately: Cossus hung up the *spolia* as an offering with solemn dedication (*cum sollemni dedicatione*) in the temple of *Iuppiter feretrius* next to those of Romulus (*prope Romuli spolia*).

We may well enjoy this story as a fine example of Livian narrative and ethos: two figures on the Roman side, both of whom are embodying qualities that made Rome strong, are through no fault of theirs matched against each other. They are depicted in the sort of rivalry that can arise, especially in a society where hierarchy and social position are a threat to qualities claiming glory and spontaneous recognition by their sheer eminence and brilliance. We can feel how happy Livy was to record that the good old Romans were able to rise above social restrictions of that kind and give true valour its due when popular sentiments have free scope.

Although the majority among Livy's readers may have taken all of this to heart Livy suddenly upsets his own successful game, anticipating the criticism that could be voiced among the most well-informed members of his audience:

he confesses that his story has a serious flaw. As the account of Romulus's feat will have shown, Livy must have been aware of this before he dramatized the part Cossus played in his story. Cossus was no doubt entitled to be a hero in the procession. Livy, however, makes the common soldiers go one step too far in their *licentia* when they are comparing him to Romulus. It is even more alarming when he writes that Cossus himself made an intrusion into Jupiter's shrine as a mere *tribunus militum* and placed his spoils next to those won by Romulus; thereby Cossus seemed to be gravely at odds with the ritual that had been laid down by Romulus himself (1. 10. 6–7).

Against this backdrop of a serious issue, it is not surprising that Livy proceeds to step out of his narrative and make a veritable aside. There has been a build-up for an authorial point of view, an intervention to clear up a conflict much more worrying than that between the commander and his subordinate. A matter of the deepest concern for a man devoting his life to write a full account of his nation's history has become urgent, a problem not to be by-passed or swept under the carpet. An important factor in this situation is that there had recently been a change of attitude, not only towards *Iuppiter feretrius*, but towards old religious rites and the monuments attached to them in general. So a few words on that score will be highly relevant.

A few years before Livy published his first books Caesar Octavianus had his attention drawn to the temple of *Iuppiter feretrius* by one of Rome's most learned men, Titus Pomponius Atticus. By 37, at the latest, Atticus was not only reconciled to the regime that had murdered his friend Cicero, but was actually on familiar terms with it. His daughter was married to Agrippa and Atticus was soon delighted to have a granddaughter. When this dear little thing was one year of age Octavian betrothed his stepson Tiberius to her. However, there must have been more to the relation between Atticus and Octavian than dynastic concerns. Old Cornelius Nepos tells us in his biography on Atticus that hardly a day passed (*nullus dies temere intercessit* 20. 2) without Octavian being somehow in touch with Atticus and writing to him even when they were both present in Rome. Nepos had looked into their correspondence and was struck by its intimate character. In this connection, he adds the interesting information: "So it happened that when the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, founded by Romulus, had lost its roof from age and neglect and was collapsing, it was at Atticus' urging that Caesar saw to its restoration" (20. 3). As Atticus died in March 32 B.C., this project could not have been part of the general overhaul of temples in Rome some years later. So one may ask why Atticus had singled out this shrine from the great number of dilapidated temples. As he was himself much concerned with the history of Rome – he composed a brief, much praised account of it – he may have considered it as a particularly venerable shrine because of its age and may even have found some reasons why Octavian himself should take over the responsibility for its restoration. It was the one and only temple foundation of Romulus, a kind of model for a triumvir who was officially engaged in founding Rome anew constitutionally. The name Romulus was perhaps in the air as a byname for the man who was by now successful in that regard.

I gather from the context in Nepos that Octavian was not long in taking action. Nepos, who incidentally died in 29, would hardly have mentioned the initiative of his friend had it not led to speedy results, probably while Atticus was still alive. I venture therefore to believe that Octavian had the restoration done well in advance of the war with Cleopatra. Octavian did more than just fulfilling the request of Atticus, however. He took a personal interest in the history of the cult according to Livy.

Analysis of 4. 20. 5–11

Eventually I turn to Livy's careful account. The text here is that of Ogilvie in the *OCT* (a simplified app. crit. is appended; the sigla as well are those of the *OCT*):

> [20. 5] Omnes ante me auctores secutus, A. Cornelium Cossum tribunum militum secunda spolia opima Iouis Feretri templo intulisse exposui; [6] ceterum, praeterquam quod ea rite opima spolia habentur, quae dux duci detraxit, nec ducem novimus nisi cuius auspicio bellum geritur, titulus ipse spoliis inscriptus illos meque arguit consulem ea Cossum cepisse. [7] Hoc ego cum Augustum Caesarem, templorum omnium conditorem ac restitutorem, ingressum aedem Feretri Iouis quam uetustate dilapsam refecit, se ipsum in thorace linteo scriptum legisse audissem, prope sacrilegium ratus sum Cosso spoliorum suorum Caesarem, ipsius templi auctorem, subtrahere testem. [8] Quis ea in re sit error quod tam ueteres annales quodque magistratuum libri quos linteos in aede repositos Monetae Macer Licinius citat identidem auctores, decimo post demum anno cum T. Quinctio Poeno A. Cornelium Cossum consulem habeant, existimatio communis omnibus est. [9] Nam etiam illud accedit, ne tam clara pugna in eum annum transferri posset, quod imbelle triennium ferme pestilentia inopiaque frugum circa A. Cornelium consulem fuit, adeo ut quidam annales velut funesti nihil praeter nomina consulum suggerant. [10] Tertius ab consulatu Cossi annus tribunum eum militum consulari potestate habet, eodem anno magistrum equitum; quo in imperio alteram insignem edidit pugnam equestrem. [11] Ea libera coniectura est sed, ut ego arbitror, uana. Versare in omnes opiniones licet, cum auctor pugnae, recentibus spoliis in sacra sede positis, Iouem prope ipsum, cui vota erant, Romulumque intuens, haud spernendos falsi tituli testes, se A. Cornelium Cossum consulem scripserit.[16]
>
> [7] ac *M* : aut *Δ* Cosso *Sigonius*: Cossum **N** [8] Quis *Gron.*; *cf.* 23. 47. 8: qui si **N** quodque] quod me *H*: qq. *U*, *add.* od U^{csl} magistratuum *Δ*: magistratum *M* aede *Δ*: eade *M* Monetae *U*: moneta eam *MHOP* decimo *Glareanus*, *cf.* 3. 30. 4: septimo **N**, *cf.* 4. 31. 1 Quinctio] quintiano *O*: quinctinio *P* Poeno **N**: Penno *Sigonius*; *cf.* 4. 30. 5, 4. 31. 1, 4. 32. 9, 6. 42. 4 [9] posset *Δ*: posse *M* circa A. *Ed. Frob.* 1531: circa m *MHU*: quo m U^{csl} : circa m *P*: circa marcium *O* [11] *sic distinxit J. Walker*: uana; auersari enim omnes *Wagner*: est. Sed, ut ego arbitror, uana uersare . . . licet *dist. H. J. Müller* scripserit **N**: inscripserit *Perizonius*

> [5] Following all writers before me, I claimed that Aulus Cornelius Cossus carried the second *spolia opima* to the temple of Iuppiter feretrius as a military tribune. [6] However, apart from the facts that only those spoils are rightly considered *opima*, which one commander has taken from another commander, and that we know nobody to be a commander unless the war is conducted under his auspices, the inscription itself, written on the spoils, disproves both them and me showing that Cossus took them as consul. [7] Having heard that Augustus Caesar, the founder or restorer of all temples, on entering the temple of Iuppiter feretrius, which being dilapidated by age he rebuilt, had himself read that this was written on the linen corselet, I thought it would be next to sacrilege to rob Cossus of Caesar, the builder of the temple itself, as witness to his spoils.
>
> [8] What the mistake is in this matter, that such ancient annals and that the linen books of the magistrates, deposited in the temple of Moneta, and which Licinius Macer constantly cites as authorities, have Aulus Cornelius Cossus as consul with Titus Quinctius Poenus, in the tenth year after this, every person may form his own opinion. [9] For there is this additional proof to prevent so celebrated a fight to be transferred to that year, that the three year period before and after the consulship of Aulus Cornelius was practically free from war due to pestilence and scarcity of grain; so that some annals, as if they were casualty-lists, offer nothing but the names of the consuls. [10] The third year from the consulship of Cossus saw him military tribune with consular powers, and in the same year he was master of the horse, in which office he fought another famous cavalry-engagement. [11] Here is freedom for conjecture, but in my opinion it is idle; for one may brush aside all theories when the man who fought the battle, after placing the newly-won spoils in their sacred resting-place, testified in the presence of Jupiter himself, to whom had vowed them, and of Romulus – witnesses not to be held lightly by a forger – that he was Aulus Cornelius Cossus, consul.[17]

Livy presents the reader with a kind of critical assessment of the truthfulness of his own narrative (4. 19–20. 4), a procedure that is more than rare in his history.

Now source criticism is one thing, self-criticism another, and the exercise of self-criticism usually takes some time to gather momentum in men's lives, but here Livy immediately goes on to undermine his own account in the previous chapter (4. 19). The usual way to explain this remarkable behaviour is to make the most of what one believes to be an intervention of authority to check the historian. Livy had heard, he says, that Caesar Augustus had read on the old corselet that Cossus won it as a *consul*. How is that? Modern scholars have been ingenuous in filling in the missing bits of information in their endeavour to end up with a consistent picture, involving for instance a strained relation between Livy and Augustus. Readers cannot be blamed for thinking of an autocrat who tries to manipulate history that he had no noble motives at all. From sheer concern for his own power and glory Augustus would in such a case be forcing the unhappy historian to insert a miserable palinode, and by acting so he would resemble comrade Stalin reported to have been very persuasive on the telephone with display of a minimum of rhetoric.

First of all, it would be wise for me to signal beforehand that I do not claim to have an answer to all the questions arising from this passage. On the contrary, part of my aim is to ask for more discernment in analysing it. It is all too tempting to jump to conclusions and mix quite unrelated topics, some of which are rather speculative, as is often the case when one harnesses the old horse 'wie es eigentlich gewesen' speaking of pretentions, disingenuity, wiliness and forgery as decisive factors. To be more specific: what did for instance Caesar Augustus, hardly a competent epigraphist, really read,[18] provided there was anything to read at all? It is not self-evident that an inscription dating back more than 400 years and exposed to all sorts of weather due to a damaged roof was legible at all,[19] and if Caesar Octavian invented the inscription, what were his selfish motives? These are obvious *a priori* questions, aren't they? Augustus did not delve into this issue just to satisfy his own antiquarian curiosity.[20] Even if Augustus had a bona fide case, the inscription could have been forged 200 years earlier. What about Livy? Why did he suddenly refer so conspicuously to Augustus like a submissive pupil parading an *ipse dixit*? Is Livy at all sincere? Is his intention just to flatter or, on the contrary, to expose the autocrat? In one interpretation, Livy stands boldly up rejecting the authenticity of the inscription, and trying instead to prop up the fact that Cossus was only an army tribune after all. In that way, he would have risked repercussions from Augustus who denied a triumph to M. Licinius Crassus between 29 and 27 B.C. by way of reference to a fully authorized Cossus.

When so manifold and rather evasive factors are involved, an Archimedean point is, of course, in demand. What I have to offer is a go at trying to establish what seems after all to be in the text, with some tentative deductions.

For one thing, it is well to remind oneself that this is an issue involving much more than the historian's ordinary doubts and uncertainties. Nobody can pass lightly over issues pertaining to state religion, least of all when evidence crucial for upholding religion in the right and proper way is involved. Consequently, Livy could not reject the opinion of Augustus out of hand, based as it was on evidence that could be subjected to closer scrutiny; at least Livy could not do so without stating his reasons and counterevidence. A critical attitude like this is far from Livy's mind, however. For so far, i.e. in our interpretation of Romulus, Livy has from the very beginning of his history been at pains to establish a precedent defending the essential principles involved (cf. *rex regia arma* 1. 10. 6), *those that have now been corroborated by the evidence produced by Augustus*. Romulus had set the standard and the conditions for obtaining the honour, once and for all. That seemed also partly recognized by the soldiers praising Cossus's feat in the triumphal procession when they compared him to Romulus (*milites . . . aequantes eum Romulo* 4. 20. 2).

The conclusion seems clear: if Cossus entered the temple against the provisions of Romulus, he should either at once have been refrained from dedicating Tolumnius's armour by the authorities in charge, or in case there was gross negligence on their part, the removal of the *spolia* from the temple was long overdue as a first step towards placating the god. Livy creates in fact an *aporia* by his seemingly happy-go-lucky narrative in the Fourth Book when he presents Cossus as a

tribunus militum. But in my view the whole account about Cossus was deliberately executed on Livy's part. He would not have left his account without comment even if Augustus's own research and assertion had not been known to him. But my thesis is that Livy knew it long beforehand.[21]

According to Livy and his excursus ch. 20, §§ 5–11, there are only two ways of breaking out of the impasse created by the account in ch. 19: either Cossus must have been a *dux* with *auspicium* or a veritable sacrilege against *Iuppiter feretrius* should at long last be rectified.

From what I have said so far it is evident that I oppose the claim that the passage 4. 20. 5–11 is a later, last minute addendum or corrigendum on Livy's part after he had heard what Augustus had to report. Some believe that Livy had already halfway published, that is recited, his first pentad when he became aware that Augustus frowned on his account of Cossus whereupon he had to do amends as best he could – and in the end the result was far from satisfactory. It is more probable that the question became urgent in the wake of the restauration work at some time in the later thirties. It was probably known in wider circles what Octavian had discovered. It is scarcely probable that it had the form of a casual remark on the ruler's part.[22] Livy would have known about it already by the time he told how Romulus founded his temple in the First Book where he stated the provisos for honouring Jupiter in his new temple. I would not, however, totally deny the possibility that Livy could have heard it from the mouth of Octavian, for instance on the occasion of an official recital of the First Book. But that he got wind of the Cossus inscription only after he had written the nineteenth chapter in the Fourth Book I find improbable.

So turning again to §§ 5–11 in ch. 20, I do not think that the historian suspends his narrative in a mood of repentance and shame. The tradition is his fundament: *Omnes ante me auctores secutus, A. Cornelium Cossum tribunum militum secunda spolia opima Iouis Feretri templo intulisse exposui* ("I have followed all previous historians in saying that Cossus was a military tribune when he deposed his *spolia* with *Iuppiter feretrius*").

Then, proceeding towards the information provided by Augustus, Livy, by way of a parenthesis, reminds us of the contradiction between the account of Cossus he has just presented to us and the passage on *Iuppiter feretrius* in the First Book: *praeterquam quod ea rite opima spolia habentur, quae dux duci detraxit, nec ducem novimus nisi cuius auspicio bellum geritur* ("However, apart from the fact that only those spoils are considered *opima* which the commander has stripped from the commander and that we know of no commander except the man under whose auspices the campaign is fought").

Only in this situation the *titulus* on the corselet helps to save both Cossus, the ancient rite and by implication the *pax Iovis*, at the expense of the historiographical profession and of Livy himself: *titulus . . . illos meque arguit consulem ea Cossum cepisse*. ("the inscription . . . proves both them and me wrong in [i.e. by showing] that[23] Cossus took them as consul"). For those perceiving the link with the First Book Livy eventually saved himself in the twelfth hour from a serious mistake though he had to confess that his account was incorrect on one essential point. This reveals a deliberate technique of building up an argument to end in an

emphatic statement. Livy surrenders even before the discussion has started, and more than that, even before he has said anything about his source of information. Whatever the standing of Caesar Augustus, it is the inscription itself that is the decisive factor. Livy gives us no basis for believing that he is stretching arms before an autocrat. Now I am admittedly concerned with the surface meaning conveyed by Livy's wording. I do not say, nor can I say, that Livy was not influenced by some sort of expectation from powerful circles or that writing under the Augustan principate did not involve a certain attuning to what men of influence and power thought good and proper. But judged from the first impression it is not difficult to see what Livy would like to have us believe. So when he brings in the name of Augustus as his source of information, it is obvious that he does so to strengthen his case, drive the nail home so to speak. Caesar Augustus himself is the man in charge of the restoration work on behalf of the neglected god. Augustus has moreover seen the inscription with his own eyes. Therefore, to think that Livy is not convinced or was in some way duped, is improbable. He vouches strongly for the truth of the report. It seems highly likely that Livy has regarded this as a *non plus ultra* of credible evidence.

On this basis, I want especially to call attention to the last part of the same sentence, that is § 7 where I suspect that the usual interpretation has misunderstood his words: *prope sacrilegium ratus sum Cosso spoliorum suorum Caesarem, ipsius templi auctorem, subtrahere testem*. My translation: "I considered it almost a sacrilege to deprive Cossus of Caesar, the restorer of the temple itself, as a witness to his spoils". Some have commented on this to the effect that Livy all but deifies Augustus prostrating himself before him, a behaviour so much at odds with his decent nature, that the discrepancy would have been noticed by all and sundry.[24] Now *testis spoliorum suorum* is shorthand for 'witness to the just claim of Cossus'. For if one chooses to follow the annalistic tradition he would have been an intruder and to connive with this would be an impious act towards the sanctity of Jupiter's temple. I take *sacrilegium*, then, to be, like so often in Livy, an act of impiety towards a god and his sanctuary, not in the sense of insult against a superhuman ruler. According to Livy, then, it would amount to almost the same as sacrilege to leave Cossus with his spoils in the temple **in the capacity of a *tribunus militum* only**.

(§8) *Quis ea in re sit error quod tam ueteres annales quodque magistratuum libri quos linteos in aede repositos Monetae Macer Licinius citat identidem auctores, decimo post demum anno cum T. Quinctio Poeno A. Cornelium Cossum consulem habeant, existimatio communis omnibus est*. ("What the mistake is in this matter, that such ancient annals and that the linen books of the magistrates, deposited in the temple of Moneta, and which Licinius Macer constantly cites as authorities, have Aulus Cornelius Cossus *as consul* with Titus Quinctius Poenus, *only*[25] *in the tenth year after this*, every one is free to have his own opinion.") [my italics].

Modern readers, historians above all, reproach Livy more or less directly for taking the observation of Augustus at face value instead of asking the pertinent question whether Augustus could have misunderstood it. Despite this shortcoming of his as a historian in the modern sense of the word, Livy is not at all without a critical attitude towards the source material at hand. He is well aware that the

historiographical tradition has a trump: not least the old *magistratuum libri*, the so-called *libri lintei* preserved in the temple of Juno Moneta had the information that Cossus was a consul at a later stage in his career. How the *error* arose, however, might be anybody's guess, he stresses. Some answers can be ruled out, however, for instance that Cossus slew Tolumnius in that later year of his consulship (§9 *ne tam clara pugna in eum annum transferri posset*). The reason is for him that the year in question belonged to a period of pestilence and crop failure not suited to warfare (*quod imbelle*[26] *triennium ferme inopiaque frugum circa A. Cornelium consulem fuit)* to such an extent that a book of annals contained nothing except the names of the consuls. Livy gives the denial a pointed form by minimalizing the information of the annals to the outmost degree. By comparing the annalistic source to a casuality list he denies that any memorable activity could have taken place in that year (*adeo ut quidam annales velut funesti nihil praeter nomina consulum suggerant*). Another solution, namely, to postpone the heroic feat of Cossus even further away from the year of the unanimous tradition until the year when Cossus was *tribunus militum consulari potestate* and *magister equitum*, as just mentioned, is considered as a guess only.

In the concluding paragraph (§ 11) Livy seems to make a dangerous logical shortcut to get rid of an embarrassing issue to which he can give no definite answer.[27] It must be legitimate for modern readers to have some qualms with the historian's reaction to patent contradictions between his old and his modern source material. In continuation of his seemingly detached attitude towards the whole *error* (*existimatio communis omnibus est* §8) a variation comes at the beginning of § 11: *Ea libera coniectura est*: "This is a matter of free conjecture", whereupon he turns to his own convictions in the matter, *sed, ut ego arbitror, vana*. At this point is, convincingly, a full stop in Ogilvie's *OCT* as was once recommended by John Walker (1822) and since then widely accepted.[28] My paraphrase is: "however, as I judge the matter myself, (it is a conjecture) lacking substance".[29]

Why does Livy cut further debating and speculations short so abruptly? It is useful to take a somewhat broader look at his line of argument in the excursus. Livy voices the freedom to form one's own opinion altogether three times. 1°, as to the military rank of Cossus (as an equestrian *tribunus militum*) being incompatible with a heroic feat as grand as winning the rightful *spolia opima*, a double evidence is required from the old sources, on the one hand concerning Cossus's *auspicium*, on the other concerning his winning of the *spolia opima*. The freedom of opinion is admittedly possible if Cossus's feat is placed in the year of his much later consulate. The lack of evidence for the *spolia opima* is a drawback to this theory. Nonetheless Livy does not oppose it straightaway, but seems to connive at an *existimatio communis omnibus* (§8 *in fine*) as possible before undermining it by the additional point (*illud accedit*) that the year in question was apparently without war. – 2°, one's private guess may be better based than the year of the consulate if one places Cossus's martial activity in the third year after the consulate: he had then as well *auspicium* (*tribunus militum consulari potestate*). The possibility of acquiring the spolia turned up in that same year when a famous cavalry fight took place. Both requirements, apart from the explicit mention of *spolia opima* won, have accordingly some

support in the historian's sources. A guess is insofar justified (*Ea libera coniectura est*, §11 *in initio*), but at this point and 3°, Livy breaks off the discussion and asserts his own personal judgment as the authority in the matter at hand. He characterizes the field of speculations and presumptions as a waste: *sed, ut ego arbitror vana*. A neutral or undetached suspension of a final judgment is no more on the agenda.

So far so good. Then starts a real textual crux in §§ 5–11 connected with the emphatic credo to close the passage. Does Livy by *versare in omnes opiniones licet* (*OCT* Ogilvie) more or less embrace an uncommitted stance like what he had said in the first place (§8), cf. *existimatio communis omnibus est*. Is *omnes opiniones* equivalent to *existimatio communis omnibus*, only more defeatist? If so, what kind of asyndeton is probable from *versare* onwards in relation to the preceding sentence? An *asyndeton adversativum* should anyway convince nobody. The very structure of the whole passage almost precludes a return to the 1° position earlier, the freedom of a definitive opinion. On the contrary. This was obviously felt by Wagner and Madvig when they favoured quite another course for the fresh beginning after *coniectura . . . vana* influenced not least by the easiest way to understand the subjunction *cum*. After *vana* I prefer to read a negative statement instead of the positive in Ogilivie's edition *versare* ***in*** *omnes opiniones* (Ogilvie) which entails a following *cum concessivum*. That would namely imply a somewhat pale repetition of the preceding *libertas opinionis* theme (see more on a. – c. below). It would also weaken the pro argument that settles the case. Wagner was the first to suggest *aversari enim omnes opiniones licet*: "It is namely permitted to reject all presumptions when etc." (cf. *OLD s.v. omnis* "all possible" 6), in this case that is. The introduction of the verb *aversari* as a transitive has a parallel at Livy 3. 12. 9 *Sed alii aversabantur preces* (appeals for forgiveness at the trial of Caeso) *verecundia aut metu*; 3. 50. 5 *orabat ne . . . se ut parricidam liberum aversarentur*; 8. 7. 14 *filium* (i.e. Titus Manlius) *aversatus*; 8. 12. 1 *iuventutem . . . aversatam eum* (i.e. Titum Manlium) *exsecratamque*; 26. 31. 4 *Tradentis urbem principes Syracusanorum aversatus sum*; 26. 31. 6 *me neminem qui navatam operam rei publicae nostrae vellet, aversatum esse*. As one can easily see from these examples, Livy uses *aversari* as a strong word: turn away from in a case evoking strong feelings. This is not the case if *aversari omnes opiniones* is accepted. In addition the hiatus *vana*. *Aversari* is no recommendation. An alternative conjecture preserving the negative meaning would be most welcome. Wagner's *enim* is excellent: it prepares the reader (or listener) for the following modal *cum logicum* with causal connotation (see Menge § 576 with 1, Anm. 1). I for one believe, however, that *versare* should be kept and a *non* (or *haud*) inserted before *licet*. I propose therefore *Versare enim omnes opiniones* ***non*** (or even ***haud***, ***vix***) *licet*. The textual trouble began apparently when *versare* was taken with *vana* and the reader was led astray by the previous permission to entertain his own suppositions about the matter in hand. *Versare* is excellent with *omnes opiniones*, 'discuss' see *OLD s.v.* uerso 8 (e.g. Verg. *A*. 11. 550f.).

Forcefully Livy goes on to present what really counts when considering the case of Cossus; the chief historian of the new principate is as good a counsel for the defence as any Roman barrister. At the end of the day, Livy has no need of a definite answer. At this point, he does not simply repeat the evidence reported by Augustus

Caesar, he is able to corroborate the evidence obtained by the temple's *conditor* or *restitutor* investing it with a context to demonstrate the strong intrinsic probability of the case. The main argument in this is Cossus's 'claim' that he was justified all along in the light of the situation there and then as he dedicated his spoils.

In §11 Livy reaches the conclusion that it is a waste to continue speculating and hypothesizing on the error, no matter how probable that may seem. Anyway, it is highly improbable that Cossus himself would have committed a sacrilege in the presence of Jupiter and the founder of the temple Romulus. Not least in view of the fact that Cossus was from the beginning an exemplary Roman eques (*eximia pulchritudine corporis, animo ac viribus par memorque generis, quod amplissimum acceptum maius auctiusque reliquit artius* 4. 19. 1).

To sum up accordingly § 11 (from *Versare* to *scripserit*) in a free paraphrase: It is an indisputable fact that the very man who had fought against Tolumnius wrote that he was A. Cornelius Cossus, the consul, when he placed his newly won spoils in the sacred place. This he did face to face with Jupiter himself, to whom the spoils were being dedicated, and face to face with Romulus who had established the rite, both of whom are witnesses not to be spurned and therefore potentially dangerous if Cossus had falsified his *titulus*. A holy shrine has a way of defending itself and the offended god is sure to take revenge on an impious man sooner or later. Anyone in his right mind would have refrained from such a sacrilege as lying about his real position in the presence of a god as mighty in men's lives as Jupiter.

Some final apologetic remarks

As for the theories of how Livy composed and edited the first part of his history – say the first pentad – the discussion is sure to go on. As to the part played by Cossus and the temple of *Iuppiter feretrius* in that discussion, one should probably accept what Livy has presented us with as a kind of deliberate strategy which he on balance found both efficient and irreproachable. When it was not possible for him to combine a highly dramatic and poignant narrative based on his literary sources and one in accordance with the full *veritas*, he preferred to present the narrative in accordance with the tradition and then interpolate an excursus on one or the other controversial part in it, Cossus's rank versus year of winning the *spolia*. The alternative would have been to turn to what would have been a non-existent or, at best, an unfamiliar way of writing. Livy could then easily have derailed from the way he wanted to present an utterly important incident in Roman history. T. J. Luce has made a good point concerning the difficulty Livy would have faced had he tried to combine on his own the consulship of Cossus with the defeat of Tolumnius. In fact, such a procedure was inconceivable unless Livy was prepared to replace tradition with free imagination. By doing as he does, he has found the only honest solution to an insoluble dilemma. Moreover, he loses none of my respect for trying to have it both ways, both a gripping narrative and historical truth, although he had to achieve this by means of two separate tracks. If my reading is justified it is natural to assume that Livy and Augustus were as a rule on the same wavelength and in harmony with regard to the history of Rome.

Appendix

On the textual corruptions at 4. 20. 10–11

This is my text of both paragraphs highlighting my proposed changes with semibold and underlined letters:

> [10] Terti**o** ab consulatu Cossi ann**o** tribunum eum militum consulari potestate habe**n**t, eodem anno magistrum equitum; quo in imperio alteram insignem edidit pugnam equestrem. [11] Ea libera coniectura est, sed – ut ego arbitror – uana. **Versare enim** omnes opiniones **<non>** licet, cum auctor pugnae, recentibus spoliis in sacra sede positis, Iouem prope ipsum, cui vota erant, Romulumque intuens, haud spernendos falsi tituli testes, se A. Cornelium Cossum consulem scripserit.
>
> **[10]** Tertio . . . anno *scripsi*: Tertius . . . annus **Ω** habent *scripsi*: habet **Ω** **[11]** uana; *dist. Walker (1822)* versare enim *scripsi*: versare in **Ω** auersari enim *Wagner*.
>
> [10] In the third year after the consulship of Cossus, they (i.e. annals) have him as a military tribune with consular power; in the same year as master of the horse, in which command he fought another distinguished horse battle. [11] This is an open conjecture on the matter, but, as I think, an idle one. For one may not debate all sorts of opinions when the hero of the fight, having placed the recent spoils in their sacred repository and having before him Jove himself, to whom they were consecrated, and also Romulus, no contemptible witnesses to a falsified (forged) inscription, wrote that he was the consul Aulus Cornelius Cossus.

To justify my new text of § 10 in particular

Nothing seems wrong in the transmittance with the sentence *Tertius ab consulate Cossi annus tribunum eum militum consular potestate habet*. On the contrary, it seems securely safeguarded by a favourite annalistic formula in Livy; the construction is always *habere* + double accusative objects, first name(s) or pronoun, then predicative obj. (position: *consul, dicator, tribunus* etc.). Compare Livian examples like these: (2. 18. 1) *Insequens* ***annus Postumum Cominium et***

T. Larcium consules habuit*;** (2. 54. 3) *Hoc anno*, ***quoscumque consules habuit [*sc. hic* ***annus***], *rei ad populum Furius et Manlius circumeunt sordidati non plebem quam iuniores patrum*; (2. 56. 1) . . . *plebs proximis comitiis tribunum plebe creat in eum* ***annum qui L. Pinarium P. Furium consules habuit***; (4. 8. 1) *Hunc* ***annum****, seu* ***tribunos*** *modo seu tribunis suffectos* ***consules*** *quoque* ***habuit*** [*sc. hic* **annus**], *sequitur annus haud dubiis consulibus*.

So far so good. The problem arises with the short sequel *eodem anno magistrum equitum*. To understand it as <*tertius annus*>, serving as the subject, *eodem anno magistrum equitum* <*Cossum habet*> is at best harsh and inelegant, like saying in English "The third year had him in the same year as Master of the Horses", but I see no other option. Instead we should have expected *idem* ***annus magistrum equitum*** [sc. ***eum habet***] to comply with the earlier examples. Our first parallel suggests another possibility: 2. 18. 2 (in continuation of the *annus* at 2. 18. 1) has ***Eo anno*** *Romae, cum . . . scorta raperentur, concursu hominum rixa ac prope proelium* ***fuit***.

An emendated text could accordingly be *eodem* ***anno magister equitum fuit***. I have even contemplated the possibility that Livy inadvertently was culpable of a contamination: he may have started the sentence almost automatically with *eodem anno* but was too influenced by *tertius annus habet* to notice the accusative *magistrum*. Such things may happen to anyone in a sketch, but in view of the careful writing that otherwise characterizes the excursus, I have not found these explanations convincing.

The solution I have arrived at is the following: At some narrow point in the course of the early transmission the original construction in § 10 was not properly understood. The scribe was too prone to see *annus* as the subject for *habere* in the first of our discussed sentences. The scribe failed to see that the subject for that verb must be supplied from the two previous paragraphs. If we read the excursus carefully, we perceive that Livy and Augustus are in opposition to *omnes . . . auctores*, to a greater or lesser extent. In the first place Livy declares sweepingly that Cossus brought the *spolia opima* into the temple of *Iuppiter feretrius*, a tradition he himself had followed in the previous account (§ 20. 5), but was proven wrong by Romulus (implied in 20. §6) and the *titulus ipse* which is only here revealed by way of introducing an *auctor* of another kind (20. 7). An inescapable conflict comes to the fore (20. 8). Livy mentions some possible attempts at solving this error or harmonizing the written sources with both his own account of Romulus and the new evidence from Augustus himself. At this stage in the discussion, centering on §8, we must call to mind some essential elements in the wording (here marked with semi-bold): *Quis ea in re sit error quod tam ueteres* ***annales*** *quodque magistratuum libri quos linteos in aede repositos Monetae Macer Licinius citat identidem auctores,* <u>*decimo*</u> *post demum* <u>*anno*</u> *cum T. Quinctio Poeno* ***A. Cornelium Cossum consulem habeant****, existimatio communis omnibus est*. In the following paragraph (§9) we are once again reminded of the *annales* as subject for an active verb: *quidam* ***annales*** . . . *suggerant* whereby the importance of that tenth year (or seventh se app. crit.) is underlined (*in eum* <u>*annum*</u>). This analysis has paved the way for our emendation of the first sentence whereby *annales*, not

annus, is made the subject to be supplied for the verb *habere*. The effect of this is that §10 can no longer be seen as disconnected from the focus on the old sources, but as an integral part of the previous argument directed against the *annales*. The first thing to do is therefore to change singular *habet* to plural *habent*, whereby *tertius . . . annus* has to give way for *tertio . . . anno*.

Notes

1 Here and throughout I use (preferably) the designation *Iuppiter feretrius* in italics, the epithet *feretrius* thereby having a lowercase 'f'; *TLL* printing the word with the uppercase letter *s.v.* regrettably refers to the (so far abandoned) *Onomasticon*. *OLD*1 and 2, on the other hand, still favours the connection with *ferio*, albeit with a 'perhaps', without heeding Kurt Latte's wise note in his *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, München 1960, 126 n. 2: "Die heute geltende Ableitung von ferire, die auch schon antik ist (Prop. 4, 10, 45), ist lautgesetzlich unmöglich. Um sie aufrechtzuhalten, muss man ein mit ferire synonymes Verbum *ferere erfinden (Walde – Hofmann, Wb. I 481), von dem es sonst keine Spur gibt."

2 Supported by the influential Platner – Ashby (1929), *s.v.*

3 *dux ferit ense ducem* Prop. 4. 10. 46.

4 *TLL s.v.*

5 Thus e.g. R. Thurneysen in *TLL s.v. feretrum* 6,501,26.

6 From *φέρ-ε and the instrumental suffix -τρον (Kühner – Blass 2, p. 271 = § 329, 27). Homer has once φέρτρον (*Il.* 18. 236),

7 As in Var. *L.* 5. 166 *lectus mortui <quo* [abl. instrum.E.K.]> *fertur, dicebant feretrum nostri, Graeci φέρετρον*. On the Indo-European *–trom* in Latin see Leumann – Hofmann – Szantyr I, p. 312f.

8 *TLL s.v.* referring to two inscriptions only.

9 *TLL s.v.* referring to some exx. in the third vol of *CIL*.

10 *OLD s.v.* mentions only *CIL* 1.2236.7.

11 Here as well *TLL* (with lower case 'f'!) refers to the *nomina propria*. The epithet is mentioned and commented on by Varro *L.* 5. 152, cf. also Var. *L.* 5. 49 and Plin. *Nat.* 16. 37.

12 *Hoc* is taken by commentators (and Duff) as an internal acc. with *certare* ('contend for') like e.g. *certare honorem* (Stat. *Theb.* 6. 6) followed by an explanatory interrogative clause (*quis etc.*). But the neuter *hoc* between the neuters *munus* and *tuum* is in my view less than fortunate poetic technique. It is better in my view to take *est munus* as an aborted sentence from the mounted Flaminius, but taken up again by the halfway repetitive *est tuum* (in itself meaning much the same as *est munus*). In any case, however, I would suggest a conjectural emendation in this line as the best solution, namely in the form of ***hac*** (that is < *hac via*, in more modern terms approximately '<in your fight> on this sector <of the battlefield>'). After this strong appeal, Flaminius rides past the lines inspecting other sectors: ***hinc*** *praevectus equo* (170). Another bonus of my proposal is to get rid of an unnecessary and preparatory *hoc* (cf. *TLL* 6,3,2732,15ff.).

13 Instead of *escendit* with the *OCT* in §5 I would prefer *ascendit*.

14 Likewise Plutarch, *Romulus* 16. 7 αὐτουργῷ δ' ἀριστείας στρατηγῷ, στρατηγὸν ἀνελόντι, δέδοται καθιέρωσις ὀπιμίων "The right to dedicate the *opima* (sc. *spolia*) is given to a general who with his own hand has slain a general."

15 See Cavallaro (1984, 911–913).

16 *Nota bene*: for a synoptic impression of my own text with its emendations in §10 and §11 see the Appendix at the end of this article.

17 The translation of §§ 10 and 11 are taken from B. O. Foster's Loeb edition.

18 *Consul* is contrary to the correct designation in the fifth century, see Syme (1959, 44).

19 Ogilvie (1965, 563).
20 On Augustus putting effectively an end to further dedications of the like sort by his personal inspection and by having done so presumably was able to counter a claim of the fourth candidate Crassus, see Dessau (1906) and further Daly (1981, 50ff.).
21 Cf. in particular the repetition of the 'false' account at 4. 32. 4 *qui priore bello tribunus militum, Larte Tolumnio rege Veientum in conspectus duorum exercituum occiso, spolia opima Iouis Feretri templo intulerit*. This Mensching (1967, 18) considers as an "Affront gegen Augustus". This is in my view nothing but a summarizing reference to ch. 19, §1 and ch. 20, §3 *inclusive of the passage 20, 5–11*.
22 Cf. Badian (1993, 14f.) against K. Cichorius (*JRS* 1922, 261–263).
23 *OLD s.v arguo* 5 (cf. sense 1).
24 It is, for instance, arguable that Mensching (1967, 14, 24f.) (cf. also p. 26f.) grossly misrepresents *sacrilegium* when he applies it on Augustus instead of Jupiter in his analysis.
25 On *demum* see *OLD s.v*. 1: "only (at the stated time and not before)".
26 *OLD s.v*. imbellis 1(a).
27 See for example Miles 1995, 46: "Without calling Augustus wrong, the author has nonetheless subverted his claim of authority by suggesting that the evidence simply does not support any certain conclusion."
28 The transmitted text is *ea libera coniectura est sed ut ego arbitror uana versare in omnes opiniones licet cum etc*. The full stop after *uana* was proposed rightly by J. Walker, *Supplementary Annotations on Livy*, Glasgow 1822. Ogilvie has: *Versare in omnes opiniones licet*, Wagner proposed *auersari enim omnes*. In my view, the sentence after *uana* has as its function to explain *uana,* something in the way of*:* 'you may make whatever guesses you like, but it is an idle occupation since you cannot debate all sorts of opinions when etc.'
29 *OLD s.v. vanus* 3 (a).

36 Hadrian's *Animula vagula*. Diagnosis and interpretation*

The well-known little poem by Hadrian, transmitted to us in the *Vita Hadriani* of the *Historia Augusta*[1] (25. 9–10) and allegedly written or dictated[2] by the emperor on his deathbed (*et moriens quidem hos versus fecisse dicitur*), is even today a matter of dispute as regards both text and interpretation. At least to judge from some recent contributions[3] consensus seems far to seek indeed: K. Büchner ([2]1982)[4] and J. Blänsdorf (2011) in their editions *Fragmenta Poetarum Latinorum* hardly differed from their predecessor W. Morel[5] in printing the following text:

Animula vagula blandula,
hospes comesque corporis,
quae nunc abibis in loca
pallidula rigida nudula
nec ut soles dabis iocos. 5

Like Morel, Büchner urges the reader in the app. crit. to take the adjectives of line 4 with *loca*. In consideration of his (their) punctuation – with a single stop at the end of the poem – this seems to imply that *quae* is taken as a relative.[6]

In the same year as Büchner, Steinmetz (1982) after careful assessment of previous arguments arrived at the following text:

Animula vagula blandula,
hospes comesque corporis,
quo nunc abibis in locos
pallidula rigida nudula?
nec ut soles dabis iocos! 5

Steinmetz bases his reading of line 3 on the so-called *Σ* group of manuscripts of the *HA* (*quo . . . loco*), and his position is in substance identical with that of E. Hohl in his early article on the poem.

A somewhat similar evaluation of the transmission we find in I. Mariotti's well-documented article[7] in which he pleads for this text:[8]

Animula vagula blandula,
hospes comesque corporis,

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quo nunc abibis? In loca
pallidula rigida nudula?
nec ut soles dabis iocos. 5

It would be tempting, then, to follow in the wake of these scholars and concentrate on the problems involved in lines 3 and 4. There is no reason to skip the two opening lines, however, as the interpretation here is almost as wavering as in the rest of the poem.

In the first line, the sheer repetition of diminutives has an almost seductive impact on our feelings and tends to push aside important semantic issues and their implications for the whole poem.

Vagula was rendered by Th. Birt as 'wanderlustig', by F. Gregorovius as 'rastlos wandernd'.[9] The German notion 'wandern' may at first glance seem very apt as a self-characterization[10] by an emperor who spent more time away from Rome on long travels than had any of his predecessors. Hadrian obviously enjoyed the hardships he had to endure and the varied experiences this kind of life gave him.[11] Some interpreters, however, are nearer to another trait in our author's psyche by rendering the same adjective as 'unstet',[12] which calls to mind the personality sketch found in *HA* 14. 11 stressing his utterly changeable temper and character: *idem severus laetus, comis gravis, lascivus cunctator, tenax liberalis, simulator <dissimulator>, saevus clemens et semper in omnibus varius*.[13]

In my view, however, there is hardly room for individualizing traits in the poem,[14] and it is even more questionable whether we are entitled to read it with romantic spectacles as a kind of self-confession. The flaw in such interpretations is obviously that the adjective *vagula* is taken in a metonymic sense, but on an altogether inadequate basis.

Others again are at least nearer to the truth in comparing the notion of 'Seelenvogel'.[15] Renderings like 'flatternd', 'fleeting',[16] 'fluttering'[17] or the like seem, explicitly or not, influenced by this idea.

R. Mayor in an otherwise lucid treatment of this poem[18] reached the conclusion that "the opening couplet describes the soul in life . . . followed by the couplet describing the soul in what is now seen to be death . . . in contrast to the beginning".[19] This idea needs some further clarification. If the poem were sharply divided in such a way, the third line would plunge us rather abruptly into a situation we have not been properly prepared for.

The first thing, then, is to sort out whether the poet aims at describing some abiding quality or peculiarity of the soul, i.e. the personality of the speaking person, or whether instead *vagula* and *blandula* are attached to the soul due to a particular situation only.

Now it is not difficult to see that *vagula*, if taken in a restricted literal sense, can provide us with the required preparation for the last part of the poem (3–5). Regardless of the question of the poem's inner development, the word *vagula* taken thus in itself strongly suggests a link with the following idea of a journey (*abibis*). Not only the basic meaning of *vagula* but also the following apposition about the soul's temporary abode in the body should obviously be seen in the light

of the soul's departure in line 3. *Vagula*, then, is 'wandering (away)'.[20] By implication it also suggests 'homeless',[21] i.e. in relation to the body. A Latin-speaking person on hearing the phrase would immediately bring to mind the concept of *animae vagae*. This concept was dealt with by S. Eitrem who referred explicitly in this connection to Hadrian's poem.[22] According to Eitrem *vagari* is a proper word for describing souls that have left their bodies.[23] Although Eitrem's kind of *animae vagae* has little to do directly with Hadrian's *animula vagula*, except in the broadest sense of the concept, it offers us the correct semantic category for Hadrian's phrase: the poem begins by addressing a soul that has been separated from its body and left to wander on its own. There can be no objection to this in the fact that the rest of the poem sounds as if the person is still in touch with his body (cp. especially the present *ut soles* 5). *Vagula*, being equivalent to *vagans* (*qui vagatur*), does not exclude the start of the wandering. "Departing little soul" would probably catch the nuance well enough, or "little soul, wandering your way".[24]

The start of the wandering is suggested further on by the main verbs in line 3 and 5, the futures *abibis* and *dabis*. The 'inner' or dramatic time of the poem is thus the moment of death,[25] which is ambivalent to the effect that it suddenly opens up a new reality without being yet fully severed from the former state of being.

If this is correct, then *blandula* is not on a par with *vagula*.[26] Only when one sees that the whole poem is phrased in general terms, it becomes clear that the two adjectives have a semantic claim to be separated from each other. Accordingly, *blandula* can neither refer to the *animula* leaving or having left the body nor characterize the soul/personality in a permanent way, but applies only to its former state of being. Accordingly, the comma should be removed from its place after *blandula* and instead be put after *vagula*, corresponding to a perceptible pause between the two diminutives required by the shift of focus. Thus *blandula*, going only with *hospes comesque corporis*, makes the apposition weightier compared with the address proper (*animula vagula*), whereas in the usual interpretation its place as an addition to *vagula* produces a staccato rhythm and syntactically an unevenly balanced sentence. The whole apposition, then, can be freely rendered by something like this: "You who were the charming, ingratiating guest and companion of the body in life". The sense of *blandus* is amply documented in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae s.v.*[27] Our word 'charming' probably comes as near as any. One reason why this simple and natural way of taking the first two lines has not hitherto been seriously considered,[28] is evidently that it has been taken for granted that the syntactic units coincide with the dimeter lines all through the poem. There is no rule that enjoins such a colometry as one can easily see from the scanty evidence for this metre.[29] Nor do lines 3 and 4 fit in with such an artificial requirement, as we shall see further on.

The more obtruding feminine gender of *hospes comesque* that results from this regrouping of attributes should cause no hesitation.[30] The words, standing in apposition to *animula* as they do, would not be masculine anyway.

We can, then, assert that the first two lines of the poem contain nothing to characterize any single individual, let alone a highly idiosyncratic emperor through a

sort of self-revealing irony. The two first lines of the poem are phrased economically and plainly as general statements about the soul (*animula*) in relation to the body (*corpus*), dwelling on the separation from it after death and the coexistence with it during life, respectively.

However, these problems are minor ones in comparison with the troubles scholars meet with in lines 3 and 4. Before going into details about the problematic *quae*, we have to deal first with those who reject the reading of *P* (*quae . . . in loca*) preferring to base their solutions, in one way or the other, on the *Σ* group of manuscripts.

Steinmetz (I), accepting this line (and the next one) as a question, considers the reading of *P* as a "Glättung" of the *lectio difficilior quo . . . in locos*,[31] a correction based on the *Σ* reading *quo . . . in loco*. The time is hardly yet ripe for assessing the respective merits of *P* as against the *Σ* group of manuscripts.[32] Even if we had a unanimous tradition for it, *quo in locos* = *quo locorum* would be awkward Latin and difficult to accept. Its proponents, Hohl and Steinmetz, have not brought up a single parallel for so clumsy an expression neither in prose nor in poetry. From a philological point of view, *quos . . . in locos*[33] would at least have the credit of being straightforward Latin, but it is no viable alternative. As to masculine *loci* as against neuter *loca* one should care to look again at the material. "The original distinction between the individualizing plur. masc. and the generalizing plur. is often obscured in poetry."[34] There are at least two probable reasons behind this freedom of choice in hexameter poets. One is the easy access they have to (quasi) synonyms of different prosodic value (a pyrrhic as against an iambic form),[35] another can easily be seen from e.g. Vergil's *devenere locos laetos* (*A*. 6. 638): *loci* as against *loca* gives us an impression of a variegated landscape where one place is different from the other.[36] As far as we can ascertain from the Thesaurus material, lyrical poets did not need or favour this option. Neither Catullus nor Horace uses *loci* at all. There is evidently no reason, other than the apparent ambiguity connected with the construction in *P* (see more on this later), that would speak for an otherwise unattested *loci* in Hadrian's poem.[37] On the other hand, the generalizing neuter plural (*loca*) seems to offer just what is called for in this context, describing as it does an uncanny and hideous world without individualizing character.

The other solution, Mariotti's *quo nunc abibis? In loca etc*., which has *Σ* (*quo*) in combination with *P* (*loca*) as its basis, is in my opinion on the right track in several respects, first in retaining *loca*. It has also other merits compared with the solution of Steinmetz and Hohl. If *quo* is accepted, then no more words are necessary in Latin to express 'whereto?', 'to which place?' And this advantage is particularly to be welcomed in such an epigrammatic poem as ours. The embarrassing ambiguity[38] of the adjectives in line 4 also disappears. What holds one back, however, from accepting this ingenious expedient, is not only a lingering doubt about the manipulated manuscript evidence. My main concern is that in this punctuation the little poem falls apart between our hands.[39] Instead of one whole and integrated clause one, in fact, comes out with three: a question (1–3a), an answer to the same (3b-4) and an additional comment (5). Whatever can be said of the poem's merits in other interpretations this one cannot avoid making it more trivial.

Even so, it would have to be adopted, provided we were left with no better option. As to the light dismissal of the *P* text, one must maintain that *quae . . . in loca* has not only a primary claim to be seriously considered, but that the onus of proof lies decidedly with those basing their interpretation on *Σ*. My contention is that the many misrepresentations of the meaning of *P*'s text have unduly discredited it with many scholars.

The following three factors are crucial for a new verdict: 1) the manuscript tradition, 2) the Latinity (inclusive of the question of ambiguity) and 3) (admittedly the most subjective side of them all) the meaning.

What, then, of following Morel and Büchner and a host of others taking *quae* as a relative?[40] The main objection against this interpretation has often been worded, but never been adequately answered: a relative clause leaves the reader not only with an incomplete period, but also with a truncated poetic message.[41] One answer is this: what is cited in the Vita as a fragment,[42] is only the beginning of a poem or it is incomplete in other ways. Otherwise, in order to find the missing main clause different expedients have been launched: 1) To take *nec* as *non* in the last line.[43] Apart from the resulting linguistic ambiguity, this solution seems to me to be detrimental to the poem: the main point of it all would then become the loss of opportunity for joking. 2) A similar objection can also be raised against Hanssen's interpretation: the alleged difficulties of combining the last line with the predicative adjectives in the previous line led him to give *nec* the sense of *ne . . . quidem*; he rendered the last two lines as "pallid, stiff and naked you do not even jest as you are wont".[44] It is arbitrary, however, to make this sort of emphasis within the syntactical structure.[45] Hanssen's interpretation would in the end only enrich our text with another ambiguity and give no better reading in recompense. 3) Scarcely better from the linguistic point of view is to put a question mark[46] or an exclamation mark after line 3, turning line 4 into the main clause by adding an elliptic *eris* to it and coordinating it with *nec ut soles dabis iocos*.[47] At the end of the day, it is not easy to accept that Hadrian's last thoughts were concerned with phrasing an enigma to confuse posterity.[48]

To conclude this part of our discussion: whereas *blandula/ hospes comesque corporis*, as we have seen, is virtually a relative clause and equivalent to a *quae eras blandula*, etc., the next line with its *quae* is wrongly taken as a relative clause in which capacity it has caused much additional confusion concerning the adjectives of line 4. If one could agree that it would be safer to regard the poem as one whole and well-balanced period[49] and not as an address with a series of appended qualifications, then *quae* would instead have to be taken as an interrogative pronoun. This interpretation of *quae*, in the main the correct one in my opinion, is, of course, no novelty, nor has it been forgotten in the twentieth century though it has not been backed up by as much authority as one could have expected or wished. However, a necessary specification to our grammatical diagnosis is called for: the notion 'interrogative pronoun' needs to be qualified, as widely differing interpretations belong to this head.

Let us leave this line of thought for a moment and proceed at once to a problem that cannot be separated from it. Whether we take *quae* one way or the other, we

cannot escape the core of the old discussion, the function of the three adjectives *pallidula rigida nudula*. Accordingly, we had better try to reach a conclusion on this point before delving deeper into the nature of the interrogative clause. Do the adjectives belong to *animula* as feminine singulars or to *loca* as neuter plurals?

A case can admittedly be made for taking them predicatively with *animula*.[50] As to the three criteria mentioned earlier, this way of taking them often seems to have had a special poetic appeal to translators and interpreters alike. The translation of J. W. and A. M. Duff is representative: "What region now must be thy goal, *Poor little wan, numb, naked soul*, Unable, as of old, to jest?"[51] Or Gregorovius:[52] "*In welch Land wirst jetzt du reisen, Starr und nackt, voll Todesblässe?* Nun hat all dein Scherz ein Ende." In these renderings, attention is very much focused on the *animula*.[53] So the poem becomes in consequence more insistent on self-pity. Although this interpretation cannot easily be rejected as regards the third criterion, its supporters have generally passed too lightly over some of its implications:

1 To construe the adjectives with *animula* means that the notions about the dead man's soul become rather detailed and explicit.[54] How can so unsubstantial a thing as the *animula* be qualified in so explicit terms and to what effect in so short a poem? Parallels would be welcome.
2 More important is perhaps this consideration: The setting of the poem becomes more blurred. Up to at least line 4 we are envisaging the precarious, but yet rather vague moment of death as it presents itself. It would be a good point not to make that moment too circumscribed as a state of being. Is the *animula* already pale through death or will it become so?[55] In other words, are we to understand the adjectives as strict predicatives with the future verb *abibis* or have we to do with a looser general description?
3 An unspecified *quae . . . in loca?*, whether taken as a real question or as a sigh, leaves some room for an objection on our part. After all there exists a place of pleasure and happiness after death, an Elysium, according to a well-established tradition. Our Hadrian, however, can only have had the kind of a traditional 'Homeric' and dreary Hades in mind. This is in itself perhaps no decisive point, but it merits some attention in a *ceteris paribus* assessment of alternatives.
4 Quite essential, however, are the linguistic and stylistic aspects pertaining to our second criterion. These cannot be so easily dismissed. If we take the adjectives predicatively with *animula* we are left with an almost embarrassing ambiguity, as our first linguistic response will be to connect them with *loca* and for good reasons at that. It has always turned out that this way of taking the words cannot be easily refuted.[56] Moreover, word order is strongly in favour of this combination.[57] As a studied ambiguity gives no sense in this connection,[58] one would be tempted to believe that the ambiguity was not noticed, let alone intended by the author. There is in my view, then, only one possible conclusion to draw from this: either no ambiguity should be recognized or, if recognized, it should be reckoned as an infelicity in the composition of the poem.

Having reached this stage, we have very few options left, since we have eliminated every possibility except reading *quae* (interrog.) *nunc abibis in loca/pallidula rigida nudula* (attributive neuter plurals). One important issue is still left to our discretion. It concerns how we are to understand the whole within the given grammatical category of an interrogative clause. If we take the sentence as a question, putting a question mark at its end (in this case either after line 4 or after line 5 or after both of them), the result would be no real question at all as the clause would contain its own answer and leave no room for alternatives.

Luckily, there is a solution also to this problem, which implies that there is no rhetorical question[59] involved, but an exclamation. I am not the first one to suggest this, but I cannot find that it has played any role in the overall interpretations of the poem.[60] The exclamatory function of the interrogative pronoun is not treated particularly well in grammars. The phenomenon is therefore often dealt with rather cursorily. A good example to look at is the famous opening of Dido's monologue at the beginning of the Fourth Book of the *Aeneid*: *Quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes,* etc. (10). It even happens that these lines are printed with a question mark[61] leading to a patent misunderstanding of the heroine's feelings. The meaning is approximately: "What extraordinary guest is this man who has entered our dwelling!" Dido's exclamation is one full of admiration. *Quis* has the function of *qualis*. The strong emotional adjective *novus*[62] is of particular importance. In this respect, the case is quite similar in our poem: "To what luridly pale, stiff and barren regions is it that you will wander!" It is an exclamation of shudder and abhorrence – in the strongest possible contrast to the sort of existence the soul is leaving behind, characterized as it was by the intimate and cosy relation between the *animula* and its, albeit temporary, dwelling. Add the last sentence to it (line 5) and the bereavement can only be felt the more strongly.

Now the objection always raised against combining *pallidula rigida nudula* with *loca* is closely linked with the use of diminutives in the poem. According to most interpreters there is, so to speak, a strong signal from the start for taking all the following adjectives with *animula*, in the same mood and spirit as *vagula* and *blandula* in the first line.[63] How valid is this argument? To appreciate line 4 for what it is worth within the texture of the whole poem another line of thought should be considered.

In commenting upon the colour of "compassionevole dolcezza" and the atmosphere of "autocompatimento" conveyed by the diminutive form *pallidula*, Mariotti states that it "mitiga . . . la crudezza della risposta . . . il colore nell'aldilà non è spento del tutto".[64] On the other hand, Mørland, in an interesting reply to Hanssen (1952) concerning this word,[65] regarded the diminutive not as one expressing pity, but as emphatic.[66] Against Mariotti (and others) there is this to say: the force of a diminutive is not necessarily always to convey the notion of smallness in size or degree in relation to the primitive it has been coined from.[67] On the other hand, in answer to the discussion between Hanssen and Mørland it can be said that there is no a priori contradiction between pity and emphasis in diminutives. Hanssen in his treatment of Latin diminutives defines a pejorative category that seems to relate to our case.[68] In his study of the same subject, Hakamies appropriately defined a

"valeur intensifiante".[69] The diminutives can carry different shades of meaning according to the emotion aroused in each case. *Feroculus* can, for instance, be one whose *ferocia* is on the wrong side and is likely to bring the person concerned into serious trouble.[70] The emotion signalled by the diminutive is related to the meaning of the primitive and can be one of contempt or rejection. *Vetulus* may characterize a person who is repellent through the contemptible state of his age.[71]

Context is always essential in these delicate matters. Emotional nuances must be defined *ad hoc*. A clear example of the intensifying use is Petr. 63. 5 *Habebamus tunc hominem Cappadocem, longum, valde audaculum*. In the case of *pallidulus* "disgustingly pale" or "abhorrently pale" would probably not be far from the mark.

Two conclusions will follow from this: First, the obvious one that there can be no difference in the quality of tone or accompanying feelings between *pallidula* and the rest of line 4. The ugly and frightening aspects of the underworld are emphasized in the following adjectives as well. *Rigida* as a primitive between two diminutives represents no problem as an 'exception'.[72] It transposes to the Hades scene *per se* the impression of a frozen, lifeless landscape.[73] *Nudula* means 'without vegetation', 'barren'. The diminutive nuance connected with *nudula* is, of course, the same as the one found in *pallidula* and is no doubt influenced by it as well. Second, if we have made a tenable diagnosis of the tone conveyed by the diminutives in line 4, it is a misconceived idea that the diminutives should necessarily have the same tone throughout the poem. Why should they? The diminutives reflect emotions called forth by each single unusual phenomenon mentioned in the poem. As these change radically, the emotions change with them. The poem starts with an address to the *animula* in exile. It is usually taken as an invocation full of compassion and pity. The diminutives *animula vagula* show the emotional potential lying in the extraordinary state into which the soul all of a sudden has been thrown. The diminutives also prepare us for the reactions to follow: a special attitude is emphasized. The lamentation concerns a personal painful loss of something priceless. In the next phase, however, turning to what has been the former state (*blandula hospes comesque corporis*), the diminutive takes on another 'meaning', but none the less closely related to the primitive word. *Blandula*, then, strengthens the affective side of the notion in a nostalgic way.[74] The contrast between the adjectives on the semantic level is thus emphasized. Through the diminutives, the present and the former state stand even more sharply against each other. In the next stage, in line 4, the author rather surprisingly uses the diminutive to emphasize the prospective horror of the soul's destination. To the 'objective' traditional side, that one could be tempted to find trite enough if only the primitives had been used, is added a strong feeling of personal fear and anxiety by means of the diminutives and so the traditional picture gains in intensity. Taken with *animula*, however, the diminutives would have harped on the note of self-pity.

The author's technique, adding personal emotional response and emphasis to central notions through his use of diminutives, is, in my opinion, a linguistic tour de force. I for one cannot think of anything parallel to these emotional twists

and changes within so short a text. I regard it as the little poem's strongest claim to originality and oppose the criticism that lightly dismisses it as artificial and decadent.[75]

When the case for combining *loca* with the adjectives in line 4 is undoubtedly the stronger one, we may reasonably ask if not the solution to the long-debated question of ambiguity lies just here: to combine the words in this way was for Hadrian so obvious that even the possibility of another interpretation never occurred to him. The poem starts with an address to the departing soul, reminding us of its warm stay with the body in life, and proceeds to vent a strong anxiety for the place that awaits it. The poem is built on this pointed contrast between one residence and the other. In this perspective, the question of ambiguity could never really arise.

What, then, about the last line *nec ut soles dabis iocos*? This way of expressing oneself should be familiar to all students of Latin seeking equivalents for 'without', 'ohne zu'.[76] We have to do with the straightforward example of Latin parataxis instead of a hypotactic order. Its nature can easily be demonstrated by means of our example (suitably simplified), e.g. *abiisti nec iocos dedisti* "you went without jesting", "with no jokes on your lips"; *quo abiisti nec iocos dedisti?* "Where did you go away without jesting?"[77] And returning to our poem: "To which pallid regions you are about to depart and not jest as you are wont". Although the paratactic clause of the last line does not partake in the exclamatory clause *quae . . . in loca pallidula*, etc., in a strict formal sense, it is nonetheless affected by it and so the last line cannot be unhooked from the two previous ones and carry a weight of its own.[78] As part of a larger syntactical unit it shares in the shudder conveyed by the previous exclamation clause and 'accompanies' *abibis* in a way that can only be taken account of in print by a shared exclamation mark.[79] This line also takes up again and elaborates the impression of the *animula*'s pliant state in a pointed form, so contrary to the time when it was "at home" in its body. It conveys a feeling that this state of existence, though seemingly based on the traditional and hopeful platonic dichotomy soul – body,[80] is in fact as near to annihilation of the personality as it can be and is consequently no alternative to life at all. And so the contrast between the living person on the one hand, with his *anima* in a state characterized by such positive notions as *blandu(lu)s* and *iocus*,[81] and the prospective bleak and disgusting abode on the other, is sustained to the very end and becomes the dominant. Thus, a personal testimony accrues to the sombre pessimism of the Homeric outlook on life after death. What Catullus had said about the *passer* of his beloved mistress[82] is in our poem uttered by the suffering person of himself in the form of a soliloquy. Although it would be rash to claim that this is great poetry according to habitual criteria, the poem's epigrammatic qualities are undeniable. It encompasses in an elegant and impeccable form a universal human reaction to approaching death: love of life is set against the piteous state to come, a state without a whit of the dear qualities of life. It is exactly this pessimistic outlook, reflecting so concisely the ancient experience and serious thinking about these matters, which has made Hadrian's poem so successful with readers from the earliest renaissance to our own days.

The information that goes with the poem in the *Historia Augusta* has often been met with scepticism.[83] It is not easy to find a convincing 'Sitz im Leben' for this sort of composition whether one chooses to reject the information found in the Vita or give credence to it. It has been suggested that the poem is addressed by Hadrian not to himself on the occasion of his own fate, but to mankind in general whereby the *nunc* of line 3 is accorded a general prospective value with a view to the shortness of life.[84] The idea is ingenuous, but has nothing to recommend it from the poetical side. Nor is there anything in the poem to make it suitable as an epitaph, say, on a friend or some other beloved person. In this respect, it seems to differ from the fragment of Septimius Serenus with which it has often been compared.[85]

As to the question whether Hadrian is really its author, there are general arguments that point in either direction and have little force.[86] It is of course not inconceivable per se that it that it could have been faked by some biographer and foisted on the emperor.[87] The well-known distich given by the Vita Vergiliana (*Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, habet nunc/ Parthenope, cecini Pascua rura duces*) was of course not written by Vergil himself.[88] Our poem, however, is no funerary *elogium*. As a self-contained poem, it is a 'self-address', a *soliloquium*, the setting of which is one of imminent death. Therefore, we cannot ascribe it to the poems published by Hadrian during his lifetime. So far, the discussion has brought nothing to the surface that can discredit our poem as a composition by Hadrian himself. But can it really in a literal sense be accepted as a sort of farewell to life on the emperor's deathbed?[89] In my view only, with due modification: this self-assertive and self-conscious man, who had his own tomb constructed in a way that could match that of Augustus,[90] is also a person likely to have made other arrangements for a worthy sortie from life. And one of the ways of staging this sortie could undeniably have been to deliver a personal and pertinent poem as his last memorable saying.[91] Thus, he would in that respect as well outdo his rival artist on the throne, Nero, who died with a plaintive and repeated *qualis artifex pereo!* on his lips.[92] Thereby Hadrian could also show himself fascinatingly superior to the military kind of Roman emperor, Trajan, whom he had himself succeeded on the throne. The contents of the poem seem to signal not only that its author was a man of letters, but also that he had serious questions on his mind. His questions relate to life and death, in other words he was a philosopher. In that capacity, he would call to mind the philosopher Socrates who in his last hours discoursed on the fate of the soul after its departure from the body (*Phaedo*).[93] Intent on his own posthumous reputation as he was[94] Hadrian even before his illness or in the early stages of it could have composed his poem in order to preserve it in his memory until the appropriate hour would come to deliver it. His memory was notoriously exceptional according to the Vita.[95] There is, then, nothing intrinsically implausible in the idea that he could have phrased and stored his farewell cue long before the end was near. Many of his predecessors had died after having made more or less memorable sayings in their last moments. Why should not he himself set a seal upon his deathbed in the most appropriate way, the more so as he had always taken pride in being in the front row of intellectual and literary life during his

lifetime? If we should assign a more definite date to the dying emperor's recital of his own composition, it could well have been after he had come to Baiae. Before that time he could still have nurtured hopes of recovery. As it was, however: *Ubi cum nihil proficeret, arcessito Antonino in conspectus eius apud ipsas Baias perit die VI. iduum Iuliarum* (*HA* 25. 6).

It is appropriate, then, to end this article with the poem in the punctuated form that in my view comes nearest to that of the dying emperor's voice:[96]

Animula vagula, blandula
hospes comesque corporis,
quae nunc abibis in loca
pallidula rigida nudula
nec ut soles dabis iocos! 5

Notes

* This is a revised version of my 1993 article in *SO* 68, 72–95.

1 Edited by E. Hohl in *Scriptores Hiatoriae Augustae* I [Bibliotheca Teubneriana], Leipzig 1925 (2nd ed. with addenda et corrigenda by Ch. Samberger – W. Seyfahrt, Lpz. 1965).

2 *Fecisse* can cover both meanings. Those who have voiced doubt as to Hadrian's possibility of writing anything on his painful deathbed, do not consider that it would in any case have been more natural for him to dictate the poem.

3 Th. Birt's translation in his *Römische Charakterköpfe* ([1]Lpz. 1913 [p. 309],[3] 1918 [p. 323f.]) gave rise to a vigorous debate. The suggestions then made are still very much part of the debate today.

4 The critical apparatus in Büchner's edition is marred by some inaccuracies, e.g. that the *Σ* group, like *P*, exhibits *loca*. This is taken over from Hohl's edition. In his earlier study, however, Hohl reported correctly that the *Σ* group had *loco*; see also Mariotti (1970, 235) with notes 23 and 24. A new autopsy of these manuscripts is nevertheless needed.

5 *Fragmenta poetarum Latinorum*[2], Lpz. 1927 (repr. 1963).

6 This view of *quae* is also taken by Mattiaci (1982, 74f.). For useful bibliographical references cf. her book as well as Mariotti's article.

7 Cf. also Mariotti's additional comments in "Note in margine ai poeti novella", *Munus amicitiae. Scritti in memoria di A. Ronconi*, II, Firenze, 1988, pp. 11–21.

8 Mariotti's view have in substance been accepted by Gallavotti (1984).

9 Cited in his *Der Kaiser Hadrian*[3], Stuttgart, 1884, p. 241.

10 Thus Immisch (1915a).

11 The Vita mentions three travels in the passage 10. 1–14. 5; on these, with references, see H. W. Benario, *A Commentary on the* Vita Hadriani *in the* Historia Augusta, Ann Arbor 1980, Append. IV, 147–149.

12 E.g. E. Hohl in his translation of the *Historia Augusta* I ed. by E. Merten and A. Rösger, Zürich-München 1976; see also Büchner's paraphrase in his *Römische Literaturgeschichte,* Stuttgart 1962*:* "seine arme kleine Seele, *die so unruhig schweifte*, ohne daß es zur Leidenschaft ausgeartet wäre" (p. 483). Cf. also Mariotti (1970, 245) with n. 74 ('mutevole') and Mattiaci (1982) who sees in it a reflection of "quella molteplicità di interessi e quell' irrequitezza che fu tipica dell' indole di Adriano".

13 This passage has been specifically adduced by S. Borzsák, *Acta classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 4, 1968, 101–105 and Mariotti (1970, 245).

14 Nearest comes line 5 on which see later.

15 Cf. especially Immisch (1915a) who compares the *animula* to a *papilio* ('Seelenschmetterling') and refers to Plato's κυλινδούμενα Phaedo 81C. See also Gwynn Griffiths (1984, 264).
16 E.g. A. Pope (*Works*, Vol. VI, p. 393, Lond. 1871), J. W. Duff – A. M. Duff, *Minor Latin Poets* (Loeb), London – Cambridge, MA 1934.
17 J. Öberg (ed.), *Two Millennia of Poetry in Latin*, I, London 1987, 21 (Translated by Eva Odelman).
18 Mayor (1976, 58).
19 Similarly, but still more refined Schuster (1929, 15): "die zwei ersten Verse sprechen von der Seele, die noch im Leibe des Lebenden weilt, die weiteren zwei Zeilen sprechen von dem Zukunftsschicksal der Seele, wenn sie den Körper verlassen haben wird, der Endvers fasst Gegenwart (ut soles) und Zukunft (nec dabis iocos) zu künstlerischem Abschluss zusammen. . . . Der Animula vagula blandula des Lebenden ist die animula pallidula, ridgida, nudula des Entseelten gegenübergestellt."
20 This is also the interpretation of Gwyn Griffiths (1984, 263) rendering *vagula* by "wandering away (the action of the soul in leaving the body)". Many translations are also correct, e.g. A. O'Brien-Moore in D. Magie's edition, *The Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Loeb), 1921; 'flitting away'.
21 The meaning seems indicated by the following apposition *hospes comesque corporis*. E. Skard, *Ennius und Sallustius. Eine sprachliche Untersuchung*, Oslo 1933, p. 45, found 'poetisches Kolorit' in the adjective. He cites *B. Afr*. 93. 3 *regem vagum ab suisque desertum* (king Juba having been shut out from his kingdom) and Accius (415 Ribbeck = 407 Warmington), a line preserved by Nonius 12,4 *exul inter hostes expes, expers desertus vagus*.
22 S. Eitrem, "Varia", *SO* 32, 1956, 110ff. and in his *Notes on the Demonology in the New Testament*[2] (*SO* fasc. supplet. XX), Oslo 1966, 16.
23 S. Eitrem *SO* 32, 1956, 111.
24 In Homer we are reminded of *Il*. 16. 856 = 22. 362 ψυχὴ δ' ἐκ ῥεθέων πταμένη Ἄϊδος δὲ βεβήκει and *Od*. 11. 222 ψυχὴ δ' ἠύτ' ὄνειρος ἀποπταμένη πεπότηται.
25 Cf. also *ut soles* in line 5, not *ut solebas*.
26 This implicit flaw in the renderings of the poem has not been questioned to my knowledge. Immisch (1915a, 202) insisted that the first two adjectives had the same colouring.
27 *TLL* 2,2036,40ff. "de animantibus".
28 My one-time teacher, J. F. Ording in his Norwegian Roman history (*Aschehougs Verdenshistorie. Oldtiden*, p. 372–871, Oslo 1958) prints no commas and translates: "Min stakkars flakkende sjel/ legemets gjest og *gode* kamerat" (p. 661).
29 Cp. e.g. Sen. *Ag*. 759–774.
30 For *hospes* see *TLL* 6,3020,21ff.; for *comes TLL* 3,1769,39ff.
31 Steinmetz (1982, 303).
32 Cf. P. K. Marshall in L. D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics*, Oxford 1983, 355.
33 Suggested as an alternative – and understandably so – by E. Hohl (earlier n. 1, p. 413 n. 3).
34 Skutsch on Ennius *Ann*. 40.
35 The accompanying adjectives are, of course, an equally important factor in this connection.
36 Verg. *A*. 2. 28 *desertosque videre locos* is also a good example: *deserta loca* would present the spectator with a desolate and unrecognizable landscape, *deserti loci* reminds him of the different sites that had been there before the war. For further examples se *TLL* (*s.v*. locus) 7, 1576, 7–20.

37 The argument from the resulting rhyme (*locos-iocos*), pointed out by its proponents, is to beg the question. The rhyme rather tells against it.
38 That is to say, however, if we judge from what has been written about the poem. The problem is not a real one. See more on this later.
39 Steinmetz (1992, 273).
40 Sajdak (1916), Hollstein (1916), Bardon (1940) and (partly) Mattiaci (1982, 74f.) This seems also to be the way of Marguerite Yourcenar at the end of her famous *Mémoires d'Hadrien* from 1951: "Petite âme, âme tender et flottante, compagne de mon corps, qui fut ton hôte, tu vas descender dans ces lieux pales, durs et nus, où tu devras renoncer aux jeux d'autrefois."
41 Cf. Schuster (1929, 12): "dann wäre das ganze Gedicht nichts weiter als die Zusammenfügung einer Apostrophe mit einem affektlos angereihten Relativsatze." An unconvincing defence was given by Hollstein (1916, 413f.) who claimed that the whole poem was a "Scherzgedicht". Cf. also Mariotti (1970, 239).
42 The regular inclusion of the poem in *Fragmenta poetarum Latinorum* seems to testify to this.
43 Thus Mattiaci (1982, 75f.).
44 "Blek, stiv og naken spøker du ikke engang som du pleier."
45 On which see later.
46 O. Ribbeck, *Geschichte der römischen Dichtung*, III, Stuttgart – Berlin: Cotta, 1913, 317: "Wohin willst du jetzt gehen? Bleich, starr und nackt bist du nun, und keinen der gewohnten Scherze wirst du mehr spenden."
47 Thus Immisch (1915a, 202) classifying it as a 'nominativus absolutus'. Contra: Hollstein (1916, 407f.), Mattiaci (1982, 70f.).
48 Cf. A. von Domaszewski, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiser*, II, Leipzig 1909, p. 211: "Widerspruchsvoll wie immer den Ernst der letzten Stunden durch ein spielendes Gedicht vertändelt."
49 On Mariotti's (1970) device of dividing the poem into two periods see p. 80.
50 Mariotti (1970, 248) n. 86 harbours legitimate doubts about the possibility of applying *rigida* and *nud(ul)a* as epithets to *anim(ul)a*.
51 In *Minor Latin Poets* (Loeb). Cf. J. Öberg (ed.), *Two Millennia of Poetry in Latin*, 1, 21: "what places are you setting out for now, a little pallid, cold and quite unclothed? No longer you may jest as once you did" (translated by Eva Odelman).
52 *Der Kaiser Hadrian*[3], Stuttgart 1884, p. 341.
53 Cf. Hanssen (1933, 334): "animula est, de qua agitur".
54 The best one can do is to make the point of e.g. Hanssen, 344: "Pallidum esse, rigiditatem, nuditatem a mortuo corpore in animam transfert." This may have some support from the notion of the *anima* as the *imago mortui*, a notion that belongs to the traditional Hades. Cf. also Schuster (1929, 17).
55 Thus D. R. Shackleton Bailey (review of Mattiaci), *Gnomon* 57, 1985, 374: "The adjectives in v. 4 are grammatically subordinate, but in effect they make statements about the future condition of the soul."
56 The best treatments of the adjectives with a special view to their reference are those of Hollstein (1916), especially 408ff. and Mariotti (1970, 247ff.) to which it must here suffice to refer. Cf. also Mattiaci (1982, 76ff.).
57 This point was also made by Hollstein (1916, 408).
58 Cp. J. Janoužek, "Animula vagula blandula" [in czech] *Zpápy Jednoty Klasických Filologu* 26, 1984, 49–52; the author seems to ride two horses if the summary in *APh* is to be trusted: "les adjectifs du v. 4 se rapportent tout d'abord à animula, mais aussi de façon secondaire à loca".
59 Mariotti (1970) suggests that it should be seen as a rhetorical question. But a rhetorical question is still a question.

60 This possibility is barely mentioned in Mattiaci's thorough review. It was stressed by Schuster (1928, 2): "quae im Sinne von qualia 'ach, in welche", though at the same time he took the adjectives with *animula*. He treats the issue along the same lines in Schuster (1929, 11ff.).

61 E.g. in B. H. Kennedy's edition, London 1876; H. E. Gould – J. L. Whiteley, London, 1943.

62 For the meaning of *novus* cf. Verg. *A*. 9. 371.

63 Immisch (1915a, 201f.) ("Das Ethos der Diminutivformen schliesst die Beziehung auf *loca* aus"), Schuster (1928, 4), Gallavotti 299, Mayor 58, Shackleton Bailey, *Gnomon* 57, 1985, 374. Some protest was voiced by Sajdak (1916) and Hollstein (1916, 10f.), but with little effect it seems.

64 Similarly Bardon (1940, 418): "pour ramener tout ce terrible de la mort à la mièvrerie d'une poésie plaintive et souriante." Cf. also Schuster (1928, 3); Schuster (1929, 14f.) (as to "das Traurige der Situation in gemildeter Form" mässigt er [der Dichter] der Traurigkeit des Bildes dadurch, dass er die das Furchtbare etwas abschwächenden Deminutiva gebraucht." Similarly Mariotti (1970, 247) quoted earlier. See also Mattiaci (1982, 76) ("a cui [i.e. l'Ade] i diminutivi tolgono ogni paurosa drammaticità") and sees in them (p. 78) expressions of "incredulità, sorridente ironia, scetticismo" (resulting from reading *quae* as a relative, that is). I would rather say that Hadrian strengthens the notions through a kind of empathy. In the same way as when Propertius (1. 19. 7) states about Protesilaus in Hades that he was *iucundae coniugis . . . non . . . immemor* the litotes does not tone down his love, but rather **strengthens** it. Such a modification of the conditions does not seem to be supported by other descriptions of Hades, cf. e.g. the passage cited by Mariotti himself, Sen. *Her. F*. 698ff.

65 H. Mørland, "Pallidulus = miris modis pallidus (pallens)", *SO* 30, 1953, 104–107 commenting on Hanssen's interpretation (Hanssen (1952, 160).

66 In Mørland's words 'emphatisch – superlativisch', rendering it as 'leichenblass' (art. cit. p. 106). The best parallel seems to be that from Juvenal 10. 82, but this also begs the question. As to the well-known example of *pallidulus* in Catullus *Carm*. 65. 5–6 *namque mei nuper Lethaeo gurgite fratris/ pallidulum manans unda pedem*, I would side with Hanssen (1952, 160) that the idea of pity is to the fore; see also K. Quinn's commentary, London 1970, *ad loc*. ("pathetic diminutive").

67 For the language of Plautus cf. M. F. Conrad, "Die Deminutiva im Altlatein", *Glotta* 19, 1931, 127–148 & 20, 1932, 74–84, especially *Glotta* 20, 1932, 79 with the modifying remarks of J. S. Th. Hanssen, *SO* 18, 1938, 91 & 100; Hanssen (1952, Ch. 1) (passim).

68 Hanssen (1952, 22ff.).

69 R. Hakamies, *Étude sur l'origine et l'évolution du diminutif latin et sa survie dans les langues Romanes*, Helsinki 1951, 29ff.

70 [Caes.] *B. Afr*. 16. 1. The word belongs to the scathing remarks Labienus is shouting to the hard-pressed soldiers of Caesar. What is meant by the subheading *in bonam partem* in *TLL s.v*. I cannot tell. Hanssen (1952, 43), cf. p. 120 (referring tentatively to *ferocu-lus*): "through a sort of litotes some of them [diminutives of adjectives] may become stronger than the primitives."

71 E.g. Plautus *Merc*. 314, on which see Hanssen (1952, 22f.).

72 To suggest that *pallidula* and *nudula* go with *animula* whereas *rigida* belongs to *loca* or that *pallidula* goes with *loca* and *rigida* and *nudula* with *animula* is equally arbitrary; Deubner, St. Schneider, *Eos* 21, 1916, 92ff., Gallavotti. Contra Mattiaci (1982, 71) n. 31. More recently Steinmetz (1992, 273) stresses wrongly the impossibility of referring "die gefühlsbetonten Deminutiva pallidula and nudula auf die Stätten der Unterwelt".

73 Ovid, *Tr*. 3. 10. 70 (talking of his enforced new home) characterizes it like this: *cessat iners rigido terra relicta situ*. Manilius 3. 641 (describing midwinter) *tunc riget omnis ager*. Curtius 8. 9. 13 *ut . . . ubi cetera rigent, illic intolerandus aestus existat*. Horace

Carm. 4. 12. 3 *Nec prata rigent nec fluvii strepunt hiberna nive turgidi*; the opposite is *solvitur acris hiems* (*Carm*. 1. 4. 1).

74 It can thus be compared with the use of diminutives in erotic language, amply attested in comedy, cf. Hanssen (1952, 27ff.).

75 E. Norden's rash negative verdict in *Die antike Kunstprosa* (Berlin – Leipzig 1915) 349 is quoted *ad nauseam*. Cf. e.g. Schuster (1929, 19): "ein Erzeugnis schlichten Dilettantismus".

76 Cf. H. Menge, *Repetitorium der lateinischen Syntax und Stilistik*, §361 (g) which enjoins the use of *neque* (and *et non*) when something concurs with the lack of something, e.g. *Romae fuisti neque Capitolium vidisti*. "Were you in Rome without seeing the Capitol?" The fact that the person did not see the Capitol is common to both examples.

77 It is essential to see what the question mark refers to. The fact that the person went away and that he did not jest still holds good. What we do not know (and what the question mark refers to) is the kind of place the person went to. Nevertheless the question mark has to go with the whole period.

78 In Propertius 2. 8. 5f. the editors punctuate as follows *Possum ego in alterius positam spectare lacerto?/ nec mea dicetur, quae modo dicta mea est?* In my opinion, only one question mark is called for. The tone of the first clause will give colour to the second one as well. Taken by itself *nec mea dicetur* gives no guidance to our understanding of this as a question; taken paratactically with the previous line it at once becomes indignant in tone.

79 The objection of Schuster (1929, 18) and Mattiaci (1982, 69), that line 5 is merely stating a fact ("eine blosse Tatsachenfeststellung") and has a completely different tone, is therefore not tenable.

80 On the difference see pertinent remarks by Mattiaci (1982, 79) with notes 67 and 68.

81 I do not exclude that the stress laid on *iocus* as the last word of the poem owes something in the last resort to Catullus 2. 6 (on the pet *passer* of Lesbia) *carum nescio quid lubet iocari,* without, however, sharing the view that Hadrian's poem can be characterized as a "Scherzgedicht". The idea that the poem is "Spott", "frivole Stiummung" (and so on) is also combatted by Schuster (1929, 13). – For the importance of Catullus 3 see later.

82 Catullus 3, to which poem Mariotti (1970, 249) also refers.

83 Hohl (1915, 415): "In Wirklichkeit war es dem todkranken Herrscher im letzten Stadium seines chronischen Leidens nicht mehr nach dergleichen zumute."

84 This is the interpretation of Gallavotti (1971).

85 Fr. 16 Büchner (Blänsdorf p. 354) *animula miserula properiter obiit* (Lachmann *abiit* cf. Nonius 831 Lindsay).

86 Poets making poetry on their deathbeds (e.g. Leopardi se Mariotti (1970, 238) prove very little. From my own national angle it is natural to point to one of Henrik Wergeland's greatest poems, *Til min Gyldenlak*, written on his deathbed (on 19 May 1845), a few weeks before he passed away (on 12 July): "Gyldenlak, før Du din Glands har tabt,/ da er jeg Det hvoraf Alt er skabt;/ ja før du mister din Krones Guld,/ da er jeg Muld.// Idet jeg raaber: med Vindvet op!/ mit sidste Blik faar din Gyldentop./ Min Sjel dig kysser, idet forbi/ den flyver fri". In English translation by I. Grøndahl (Henrik Wergeland, *Poems*, Oslo, 1960, 184): "Wallflower mine, ere thy bright hues fade,/ I shall be that whereof all is made;/ ere thou hast shattered thy crown of gold,/ I shall be mould.// When 'Open the window!' I call from my bed,/ my last look lights on thy golden head;/ my soul will kiss it, as over thee/ it flieth free."

87 Literature on this controversy is listed in Steinmetz (1992, 272) n. 31. A. Cameron, "*Poetae Novelli*", *HStCPh* 84, 1980, 127–175, after a review of the verses in the *Historia Augusta* full of scepticism he concludes nonetheless (p. 172): "there seems no good reason to doubt that Hadrian did write it."

88 VD §36 *in quo* [sc. tumulo] *distichon fecit tale*. Cf. Hieronymus ad Ol. 190,2: *quem* [sc. titulum] *moriens ipse dictaverat*. Varius could well be the distich's author (cf. F. Della Corte *s.v.* Virgilio in: *Enciclopedia Virgiliana*, Vol. V, Roma 1991, 96). Otherwise, it must be attributed to a time after the arrival at Brundisium, a supposition in which no one can believe.

89 Here are a couple of samples: Birt (1913, 323): "Ein schweres Leiden hat ihn in seinen Schlussjahren heimgesucht, und er merkte bald, dass es mit ihm zu Ende ging. Aber anfangs verliess ihn inmitten der Schmerzen sein Humor nicht, und er schrieb Verse wie die folgenden". J. Fink, "Hadrians Animula-Gedicht", in: W. Eisenhut (ed.), *Antike Lyrik*, Darmstadt, 1970, p. 481: "Unter heftigen Schmerzen, die ihn zeitweilig in Wahnsinn hüllten, rang er mit dem Tode, ihn anfangs ungeduldig erwartend, bis schliesslich Gelassenheit und Ruhe über ihn kamen. Da erfüllte ihn – noch auf dem Sterbebett – sein feinsinniger Geist. Damals hat er das Gedicht verfasst".

90 Cf. Mary Taliaferro Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*, Princeton, 1987, 161ff.

91 In this connection one should not forget that the last sayings of a person could be expected to be taken special care of and recorded to posterity. The example of Seneca is noteworthy (Tac. *Ann*. 15. 63. 3 *et novissimo quoque momento suppeditante eloquentia advocatis scriptoribus pleraque tradidit, quae in vulgus edita eius verbis invertere supersedeo*). It would not have escaped any man of position that such *dicta* played their significant role in histories and biographies in depicting the personalities of history. Roman writers were no exception in this respect. Hadrian's contemporaries Suetonius and Tacitus were as intent as any on people's *exitus*, and it was fashionable to ascribe apophthegmata to the last moments of a person; see W. Schmidt, *De ultimis morientium verbis* (Diss.) Marburg 1914, 8f., 11ff., 43.

92 Suet. *Nero* 49. 1 (cf. Cass. Dio 63. 29. 2). The man to make a joking sortie from life was Vespasian (Suet. *Ves*. 23. 4; cf. Cass. Dio 66. 17. 3): "*Vae . . . puto deus fio*." Augustus quoted two lines from the end of a Greek comedy (Suet. *Aug*. 99. 1): *et admissos amicos percontatus, ecquid iis videretur mimum vitae commode transegisse, adiecit et clausulam: Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάνυ καλῶς πέπαισται, δότε κρότον/ καὶ πάντες ἡμᾶς μετὰ χαρᾶς προπέμψατε*.

93 His death seems to have been emulated, e.g. by Thrasea Paetus according to Tac. *Ann*. 16. 43–35; cf. especially 34. 1: *de naturae animae et dissociatione spiritus corporisque inquirebat*. Such a philosopher king was also Julian whose death Ammianus Marcellinus invested with the appropriate enlightened discourse (25. 3. 15ff.; cf. especially 25. 3. 22–23). Among philosophers some died with a memorable saying of this or that kind on their lips, e.g. Theophrastus (Diogenes Laertius 5. 40–41), Crates (D.L. 6. 92), Zeno (D.L. 7. 28).

94 One thinks in this connection above all of Hadrian's memoirs which he, *famae celebris . . . cupidus*, chose not to edit in his own name (cf. *HA* 16. 1).

95 *HA* 20. 7.

96 It is fitting to be reminded that H. Peter in his edition of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Lipsiae 1865) had the same punctuation only that he had no comma in the first line.

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TrRF see Manuwald.

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Part III

Vergil

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37 *Ecl.* 3. 100–102. A bull's skin and bones*

My contribution here – and the following articles – may well illustrate, I believe, a possibility of great value inherent in textual criticism, perhaps even more than in other pursuits of classical philology: the dialectical way leading to deeper insights and sometimes hopefully to final answers. The new Teubner editions of Vergil by Gian Biagio Conte (*Aeneis* 2009 and *Georgica* 2011) and by Silvia Ottaviano (*Bucolica* 2011) are stimulating by giving us a fresh impetus towards searching for more steadfast ground on certain – in all likelihood still unsolved – problems.

IN FAVOUR OF QUAM *(100)*

In the latest critical edition of *Bucolica* to appear[1] – that of Silvia Ottaviano – the last interchange but one between Damoetas and Manalcas in the Third Eclogue (100–103) is presented thus:

DAMOETAS

Heu heu, quom[2] pingui macer est mihi taurus in eruo. 100
idem amor exitium pecori pecorisque magistro.

MENALCAS

Hisce arte – neque amor causa est – uix ossibus haerent; 102
nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos.

As to Havet's and Ottavianos's *quom*, Heyworth (2015) has rightly objected to it in his n. 11, p. 204. It may be useful to dwell a little on the difference between *quom* and *quam*. But first of all, Ottaviano's preference of *quom* fails in one important respect: there is no valid objection to the transmitted reading *Heu heu* ***quam*** *pingui macer est mihi taurus in ervo*. The common prosaic word order would admittedly have been *Heu heu, quam macer est mihi taurus in ervo pingui!* By means of the juxtaposition of the adjectives and the two intertwined hyperbata

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(*quam . . . macer* and *pingui . . . in ervo*), the second of which is the most marked, there is a crucial emphasis in line 100. It is not the fact that the bull is lean in itself that causes concern, but that the bull is lean amidst the rich fodder around him. The word order is comparable in Menalcas's answer: *nescio quis **teneros** oculus mihi fascinat **agnos***. In any case, the exclamative *quam* does not always need to be juxtaposed to the most emphatic word, cf. Ov. *Pont*. 3. 9. 5 *o, quam de multis vitium reprehenditur unum!*

On the other hand, a closer look at *quom* will clearly show that the conjecture weakens the speaker's emotional involvement, whereas exclamative *quam* adds to the element of moan, anguish, fear of the preceding interjection, *quom* has primarily the function to explain it. This can be shown, by means of Ottaviano's own references, where the interjection (*eheu, heu* or *ei*) is combined with the conjunction *quom*:

1 Plautus *Capt*. 995 *Eheu, quom ego plus minusque feci quam <me> aequom fuit* ("Alas, since I have done more (in the way of punishment) and less (in the way of kindness) than I ought to have done").
2 *Mil*. 1358 *Eheu, quom venit mi in mentem ut mores mutandi sient,/ muliebres mores discendi, obliscendi stratiotici* ("Alas, when it occurs to me, how my manners must be changed, how womanish manners must be learnt, and the military ones forgotten!")
3 *Poen*. 791 *Eheu, quom ego habui hariolos, haruspices;/ qui si quid bene promittunt, perspisso euenit;/ id quod mali promittunt, praesentarium est* ("Poor me, since I had prophets and soothsayers! If they promise anything good, it comes very slowly; the bad they promise is at hand.")
4 Ter. *An*. 622–623 *ei mihi,/ quom non habeo spatium ut de te sumam supplicium ut volo!* ("Oh dear me, since I have no time to punish you as I would like").[3]
5 Acc. *trag*. 346 *Heu me miserum, cum haec recordor, cum illos reminiscor dies* ("Ah, wretched me, when I recall these things, when I remember those days").

The interjection marks a more or less sudden regret over past behaviour 1), or a painful realization that one will have to change one's way of life 2), or that one has relied too much on bad counsellors 3), or cannot pursue one's immediate wish 4) or has to acknowledge one's regret in the case of one's unhappy experience in the past (5). In all these cases, there is more of a causal nuance to *quom* than a temporal one in explaining the circumstances that cause the interjection. In these instances it would have been possible to use *quam* instead of *quom* except in the negative statement of 4). At *Poen*. 791 one should even consider changing *quom* to *quam*. Comparing these cases with *Ecl*. 3. 100 we immediately perceive that Damoetas is far less affected by observing the emaciated bull amid the rich fodder when *quom* is used: "Alas! Alas! Since my bull is lean amidst the rich vitch." If *quom* had been the transmitted form it would have been more than a reasonable guess that *quam* had been the original reading.

IN FAVOUR OF HISCE CUTES *(102)*

Among disputed lines in the *Bucolics* line 3. 102 ranks high indeed. This is evident not least from the most recent discussions of the text found in the two landmarks of the second decade of our twenty-first century: Silvia Ottaviano's Teubner edition (2011a) and Andrea Cucchiarelli's commentary (2012). There are besides some detailed and valuable comments on various difficult issues in the *Bucolics* (and *Georgics*) published by Stephen Heyworth (2015) in the wake of Ottaviano's and Conte's joint edition of both poems. This fresh interest in textual matters among Vergilian scholars is to me an invitation to join in.

At line 102 *Hisce artē* is Ottaviano's conjecture. The manuscripts have *his certe*. Geymonat mentions John S. Phillimore's *hisce cutes*, but Phillimore was preceded by Augustin Cartault as Ottaviano reports in her *MD* article. An unpunctuated text of *Ecl*. 3. 102 (based on *R* and *γ*) combined with *scriptura continua* and capital letters might have looked somewhat like this:

HISCERTENEQVEAMORCAUSAESTVIXOSSIBUSHAERENT

or (alternatively and with helpful markings of word division):

HIS·CERTE·NEC·AMOR·CAUSAST·VIX·OSSIBUS·HAERENT

But either way, as the text is presented in the handwriting found in ancient *libri* and *codices*, with minimal adjustment of the typeface to the meaning communicated, it is easy to see that capital manuscripts must *a priori* have been more liable to corruption and misunderstanding over the centuries than typed communication in our modern world. Encountering serious difficulties or peculiar phenomena in texts we should, of course, always take a number of less obvious factors into account, but first of all bear in mind that a good number of variants in the history of the early (for us highly lacunose) transmission have been irretrievably lost. Unfortunately, the manuscript paradosis does not become manifest to us, even in the favourable case of Vergil, until a very restricted number of more or less complete vellum manuscripts turn up allowing us complete access to Vergil's poems. Due to the wide gap between the date of composition/first publication and the date of the oldest manuscripts, every scrap of indirect evidence may hide potential gold.[4]

So we must first ask ourselves in the case of our problematic line: does it represent what Vergil himself, or his amanuensis, wrote many centuries earlier? If not, is there some indirect evidence indicating corruption? In what way is the context in Vergil's poem helpful?

Here is what the most recent and influential editors and commentators of the new millennium have got out of the line. One may see the disagreements between them as a reflection of the general state of affairs in Vergilian textual criticism today. Consensus on the best text seems more remote than ever. Among the four

editors whose text I specify here, none seems to have considered using the *obelos* or *crux desperationis* (†). I give the chosen *textus receptus* or proposals of these scholars with numbers from 1 to 5 (adding a translation whenever the editor or commentator provides one):

Goold (adopting H. Stephanus' *hi*[5] ca. 1580):

1 *Hi certe – neque amor causa est – vix ossibus*

("With mine at least – and love is not to blame – their skin scarce clings to the bones.")[6]

Ottaviano (adopting her own conjecture *artē*):[7]

2 *Hisce arte – neque amor causa est – uix ossibus haerent*

("questi qui – a l'amore non ne è la causa – aderiscono alle loro ossa a malapena")

Cucchiarelli (the text of the mss. *Rγ*):

3 *His certe neque amor causa est; vix ossibus haerent;*

("Per questi certo non ha colpa l'amore, se son pelle e ossa:")

Heyworth (proposing either A. Cartault's conjecture *cutes* 1896 or his own *pelles*):

4 *Hisce cutes – neque amor causa est – uix ossibus haerent*[8]

(or, preferably, his own suggestion *pelles*):

5 *His pelles – neque amor causa est – uix ossibus haerent*

These versions of line 102 can be grouped together according to different types of solutions: 1, 2, 4 and 5 have *neque amor causa est* as parenthetical, correctly in my view; 3 has *his certe neque amor causa est* as the one sentence, *vix ossibus haerent* as the other; 1 has *hi*, 3 and 5 have *his*, 2 and 4 have *hisce*; 1 and 3 keep *certe* whereas 2, 4 and 5 replace it with a conjecture. Goold is alone in taking Stephanus's marginal suggestion on board, Cucchiarelli is alone in construing *his* as a dative with *causa est* and beginning a new sentence with *vix*.

Nobody can today ignore the complicating factor brought into play in the fourth century by Aelius Donatus[9] and his scholium on Terence.

His versus *hisce as a nominative plural*

As to the first word *his* in the manuscript tradition, it seems to have caused grave concerns among early commentators on Vergil: Aelius Donatus, almost as an aside in his comment on the nominative pl. *hisce* (=*hice*) at Terence, *Eunuchus* 269 *Hisce hoc munere arbitrantur/ suam Thaidem esse*, mentions Vergil's use of

this archaism (*vetuste*) as an established fact. The use of archaisms in Vergil is not in itself to be rejected.[10] Accordingly, we have to discuss this phenomenon more closely. Now the text of Donatus's scholium is itself not above some serious doubts: "*hisce pro hi vetuste. Vergilius: hisce certe neque amor causa est uix ossibus haerent quia hice debebat dicere*".[11] Both the quotation of Vergil's line and the appended *quia* clause (here as corrected by Hagen) contains the deictic particle *ce* added to *his* (so according to all text witnesses). I cannot believe, however, that the scholium renders what Donatus actually wrote. We cannot impute the metrical blunder of the creticus *hiscĕ certe* to this eminent *grammaticus*. In addition '*hisce' pro 'hi'* fails to convince because of the inconsistent equation: Donatus should have said '*hisce'* pro '*hice'*. *Hisce* must stem from the text of Terence. It is highly probable that Aelius Donatus read the same Vergil text here as the one transmitted by *R* and *γ*, namely *his certe*. Accordingly I correct his comment to become: *'his' pro 'hi' vetuste. Vergilius: his certe neque amor causa est vix ossibus haerent quia 'hi' debebat dicere* (Ottaviano: *debebant* [sc. Terentius et Vergilius]). As to the first two words of line 3. 102, we may so far conclude that there existed only one reading at the end of antiquity, namely *his certe*. If, on the other hand *hisce* had been in Donatus's text, he would have had to supply an iambic word like item 4 or a spondaic word beginning with a vowel like item 2; in either case it would be a far cry to think of *hisce* as a nominative plural.

It is therefore clear to me why Donatus came up with the explanation he did on *his*. The clause initiated by *nec*[12](*neque*) would easily lead our insightful commentator to the natural and not very remarkable conclusion, that the line consists of two clauses, one within the other. The parenthetical serves as an emphasized and distinct retort to Damoetas who had made *amor* a 'cause' for ruin both to the cattle and the *boukolos* (101). Since he considered *neque amor causa est* a parenthetical answering Damoetas's *amor exitium pecori*, he saw no other possibility for construing *his certe . . . vix ossibus haerent* than to make *his* the subject for *haerent*.

An urgent query remains: why did Donatus of all consider even the possibility of such an astounding nominative in Vergil? For a teacher imparting his knowledge of the greatest national poet and being deeply familiar with poetic language, this is more than a legitimate question to ask. For whereas *hi* as expected is found several times elsewhere in Vergil,[13] not to speak of *his* as a dative or ablative, the anomaly of *his* = *hi* is striking. I think the reason must have been the two other difficulties meeting the reader in the line, problems that could be resolved *simultaneously* by means of *his* = *hi*: Donatus, or a forerunner, must have been happy to remember the pronominal archaism of comedy. Otherwise, one would have thought that he would have considered the easy conjecture of Stephanus. Indeed, the lemma all but suggests that he did so, but he must have thought that this archaism was part of the *rusticitas* of Vergil's bucolic style.[14]

In the light of this, *his* taken as an archaic nom. pl. would provide *haerent* with a highly desirable subject:[15] The interpretation would then be: *His* (= *Hi*) . . . – *nec amor causa est – vix ossibus haerent*. But this interpretation has an obvious flaw in addition to the solitary occurrence of the nom. pl. *his*.[16] It would under any circumstances create a disconcerting ambiguity, in so far as every reader or listener

would take it as a dative. This is almost typical in ancient exegesis. The *docti* are high above the level of the average readers and listeners. These were very much a concern of the poet Vergil. Accordingly, the grammatical learning of Donatus does not apply here.

If, as I strongly believe, Donatus was right on *his* as the correct reading the solution proposed by Heyworth in item 5, *his pelles*, would regrettably have to stand down as a candidate for the best textual choice instead of *certe*. Then we are left with only Ottaviano's text and Cartault's conjecture; both of them starting the line with *hisce*. But Ottaviano's text is scarcely understandable Latin, whereas Cartault's conjecture ***hisce cutes*** convinces in every respect. *Ce* belongs to *his*, not to *certe*, *cu* has been lost through haplography, whereupon the line was restored as *his certe*. What about Heyworth's objection to Cartault, that "Vergil nowhere else uses . . . *-ce* after parts of *hic*"?[17] I cannot see that this argument has much weight: the style of the *Eclogues*, not least in the direct speech of the *personae*, is just where one would expect such a strengthened form of the demonstrative pronoun to appear. A look at Lucretius is also telling. Whereas *his* is his normal dativ/abl. of *hic* (50 times) he has two examples of *hisce*: 2. 718–9 *Sed ne forte putes animalia sola teneri/* ***legibus hisce****, eadem ratio disterminat omnia* and 6. 647 ***Hisce*** *tibi* ***in rebus*** *latest alteque videndum*.

The critical challenge is, above all, connected with the next word. Ottaviano's *artē* is too dependent on *certe*, Second, *artē* does not go well with *vix*, as observed by Heyworth, and third, and most importantly, *ossibus haerent* would lack a noun for skin in the plural strongly suggested by usual idioms.[18] *Cutes* is the obvious choice. *Cutis* is so used by Columella describing emaciated sheep: 7. 5. 6 *oportebit . . . lanam diducere; nam subest aspera* ***cutis*** *et velut quaedam porrigo*.

So, in a way, I have been dependent on both Ottaviano and Heyworth, Ottaviano for adopting *hisce* in the text, Heyworth for making room for Cartault's conjecture. I can do nothing better than referring in my note to Cartault's admirable brief note with its fully adequate justification of:[19]

MENALCAS

Hisce cutes, neque amor causa est, uix ossibus haerent; 102

Notes

* Cf. *SO* 91, 2017, 94–100.

1 I pointed out some of its eminent qualities in *Gymnasium* 121, 2014, 496–497.

2 In her own text Ottavianio has adopted L. Havet's conjecture (*RPh* 38, 1914, 165–168) [not *quem* as stated by Geymonat] instead of the transmitted *quam*.

3 For a comparable negated phrase Pl. *Men*. 303–4 *Ei mihi/ quom nihil est qui illic homini dimminuam caput!*

4 As is well known, Servius is a treasure trove in that regard. See later and *Vergiliana passim* for examples of independent transmission from antiquity into the Carolingian era and later.

5 *I.e*. Henricus Stephanus (Henri Étienne 1531(?)–1598). His conjecture was probably first published in *P. Virgilii M. Poemata*, novis scholiis illustrata, quae H. Stephanus

partim domi nata, partim e virorum doctissimorum libris excerpta dedit: ejusdem H. Stephani schediasma de delectu in diversis apud Virgilium lectionibus adhibendo, Genève 1576 (2. ed. [Paris] 1583). *Hi* is also defended by Clausen *ad loc*.

6 Goold's predecessor in the Loeb Classical Library (from 1916 until 1999), H. Rushton Fairclough, has, however, *His certe – neque amor causa est – vix ossibus haerent*, but the translation is the same as Goold's; the problem is that there is no word for 'skin' in the Latin text (the same can be said about Traina's rather too free translation to accompany Cucchiarelli's text); a translation closer to Goold's text in item 1 could therefore be: "These surely . . . cling to their bones".

7 Ottaviano (2011b, 203–208) has written a detailed defence of her conjecture.

8 With reference to A. Cartault (1897, 124, n.2) and J.S. Phillimore 1916, 148–149. Phillimore seems to have had no knowledge of Cartault's proposal. Partly to blame for this is Cartault himself whose treatise, 500 pages long and full of philological details, unfortunately lacks an edition of the text to sum up the results relevant for an edition, nor is the reader helped by an index.

9 On Aelius Donatus see G. Brugnoli *EV* II *s.n*. 125–127.

10 See M. Lipka, *Language in Vergil's Eclogues*, Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2001, General Index *s.v*. 'archaism'.

11 The text is from P. Wessner's edition *Aeli Donati quod fertur Commentum Terenti*, Leipzig: Teubner, 1902–1905. As to punctuation, I have simplified Wessner's text.

12 This shortened form is found in ***nd*** (according to Ottaviano's app. crit.), but I do not doubt that it should be accepted here: according to Wetmore *nec* is found 22 times in the Eclogues, *neque* at best only 4 times.

13 *G*. 4. 86; *A*. 1. 106; 5. 229; 231; 6. 773; 774; 7. 695; 696.

14 Donatus was, of course, right on *hisce* = *hice* in *Eunuchus*, a normal strengthened form of *hi*. This in accordance with the practice of Plautus: *hi* (as well as *illi* and *isti*) is found regularly before consonants; *hisce* (as well as *illisce* and *istisce*) are only used before words beginning with a vowel, cf. *Capt*. 35 *Hisce autem inter sese hunc confinxerunt dolum* with Lindsay's comment.

15 See Heyworth (who, however, prefers a different subject than 'these'): "it is nonsense to say of animals 'they barely stick to their bones': the line needs a subject for *haerent*, and that subject needs to be placed before *neque* so that the suspension of the thought of the main clause is clear."

16 It is of little help, tentatively, to call it a 'volgarismo' (Cucchiarelli) (one could in that case compare it with the same Menalcas' *cuium* in the opening line of the same *Eclogue*).

17 His other objection is that the word *cutis* does not occur elsewhere in Vergil, but it is not uncommon in Horace (*Carm*. 1. 28. 13; *Ep*. 1. 2. 29; 4. 15; 18. 7; *Ars* 476).

18 See the examples collected by Phillimore and sifted by Heyworth, from Theocritus (!) to Silius.

19 Cartault 1897, 124, n. 2: "Le v. 102 me parait altéré. Qu'on fasse d"ossibus" un datif ou un ablative, l'expression est également bizarre, malgré l'imitation de Gratius, Cyn., 290, citée par Forbiger[4], *ad h.l*.; "neque" ne se comprend que s'il commence une parenthèse. Cf. Donat ad Ter. *Eun*., II, 2, 38. Je proposerai de lire: "Hisce cutes, neque amor causa est, uix ossibus haerent". Ce qui empèche la peau de tenir aux os, c'est que l'intermédiaire naturel, la chair, manque. La faute peut s'expliquer ainsi: CV étant tombé devant CE, il est resté HISCETES, dont, par une correction malheureuse, on a fait HISCERTE."

38 *Ecl.* 4. 40–62. A baby's smile once more*

A

RISU COGNOSCERE MATREM (ECL. *4. 60)*

Recently Heyworth (2015, 207–211) launched an energetic defence of ***cui*** *non risere* ***parentes*** (*Ecl*. 4. 62) published in the collection "Virgilian Studies . . . dedicated to the Memory of Mario Geymonat". Heyworth makes his interpretation of line 60 *Incipe parve puer, risu cognoscere matrem* an important element in his line of thought in favour of the codex paradosis of lines 62–63.[1] He sees, then, ***cui*** *non risere* ***parentes***,/ *nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est*, not only as Vergil's original text[2] but also the commonly accepted alternative ***qui*** *non risere* ***parentes*** as an early distortion due to some inferior manuscript that mislead Quintilian in his comment on the line. A scholar like myself whose belief in the 'reconstructed' ***qui*** *non risere* ***parenti*** (with Schrader's conjecture), based on Quintilian 9. 3. 8, has only become stronger over the years, is of course alert to arguments coming from the other position. In that regard, Heyworth's reading is now a stimulating challenge.

Thanks to this challenge, I now understand that I should have dealt more thoroughly with line 60 when I wrote on 62–63 in earlier contributions, in particular *Vergiliana* p. 21–22.[3]

The syntagm *risu cognoscere matrem* is subject to widely differing interpretations. Both Heyworth and I can agree, however, that a proper grasp of these three words is an essential prerequisite for estimating correctly the whole epilogue of the Fourth Eclogue (60–63). Heyworth (like some notable predecessors[4]) takes *Incipe, parve puer, risu cognoscere matrem* as "Begin, little boy, to recognize your mother *from her smile*",[5] the crux of the matter being accordingly what function *risu* has. One should, when culling parallels for the expression, be aware that the Latin ablative is a composite, not seldom rather elusive category: the same phrase can with equal right claim registration under different grammatical rubrics.[6] It is therefore highly recommendable when looking at the poet's ablatives to interpret each one of them in their individual context. The verb *cognoscere* should moreover be carefully heeded as well. Accordingly, *cognoscere* + ablative noun may lead to arbitrary conclusions if put in one bag, as the examples may differ considerably from each other semantically.

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It is not controversial that *cognoscere* + abl. often means 'recognize *from*' as documented by Heyworth's note 22 dealing with Vergilian parallels. These deserve, however, to be quoted and analysed in a somewhat fuller form: *G*. 1. 393–395 *Nec minus ex imbri soles et aperta serena/ prospicere et* ***certis*** *poteris* ***cognoscere signis*** (signs listed in the ensuing lines) and *G*. 4. 253 *quod* (i.e. the decease of bees*) iam* ***non dubiis*** *poteris* ***cognoscere signis*** (likewise signs closer defined in the following).[7] These two examples (with their synonymous attributes) leave us in no doubt about the correct instrumental interpretation. *G*. 1. 394 gives us by chance an additional clue: The function of the abl. without preposition going with *cognoscere* is not different from examples *with* the preposition *ex*; see the rubric *ex aliqua re cognoscere* in *TLL* 3,1511, 7ff., including in particular Lucretius 4. 663 and 6. 423; to these add ***hinc*** . . . *cognoscere* in Lucr. 4. 44; 749; 5. 285; 882; 6. 167). In prose *ex* is common, e.g. *reliqua, quae expectabam*, ***ex tuis litteris cognovi*** *omnia* (Cic. *Att*. 12. 1. 2) which is hardly different from *proximis enim* ***tuis litteris*** *primum te id non nolle* ***cognovi*** (*Att*. 13. 22. 1). In Vergil's *Georgics* the *certa* (or *non dubia*) *signa* are the *means* whereby you can predict the weather or the decease of bees.

Another more important aspect may be added: the persons in the quotes noted earlier are in the process of recognizing something *outside themselves* from *outward* means. In the *Georgics the signs* (forecasting sunshine and a clear sky at *G*. 1. 393 or diagnosing severe illness in bees at *G*. 4. 253) are vehicles for understanding the world we are dependent on. In some other cases adduced by *TLL*, however, *cognoscere* goes with ablatives with a quite different relation to the verb. Lucr. 5. 882 may serve as an example: *id* (the conclusion that there was never such a thing as Centaurs) *licet hinc* (the arguments presented in the following) *quamvis* ***hebeti*** *cognoscere* ***corde***. The ablative *hebeti corde* characterizes the person's own (possibly deficient) faculty of *cognitio*. Our case is comparable; *risu* belongs to the child itself and characterizes its form of recognition: it is accordingly a modal ablative, the use of which is fairly common and easy to interpret. As Gildersleeve and Lodge remind us (§399, n. 2), the ablative of manner (often without an attribute) is extended in Latin after Cicero, not least in poetic diction. It has adverbial force and serves in many instances as a substitute for an adverb: in Vergil *clamore* is typical in this regard (*A*. 1. 324 *spumantis apri* ***clamore*** *prementem*; 519 *templum* ***clamore*** *petentem*; 8. 216 *colles* ***clamore*** *relinqui*; 9. 597; 636; 12. 252.

Close to *risu* are several verbal nouns: like ***fletu***: *A*. 6. 699 *sic memorans largo* ***fletu*** *simul ora rigabat*; ***gemitu***: *A*. 2. 323 *vix ea fatus eram*, ***gemitu*** *cum talia reddit*; 3. 663–4 *luminis effossi fluidum lavit inde cruorem/ dentibus infrendens* ***gemitu***; 12. 928 *consurgunt* ***gemitu*** *Rutuli*; and ***plausu***: *A*. 5. 575 *excipiunt* ***plausu*** *pavidos gaudentque tuentes/ Dardanidae*. In such cases, the modal ablative may be substituted by a participle describing the attendant circumstances.

The verbal elements of line 60 (*incipe* . . . *cognoscere*) expresses in a way a *cognitio* in an elementary or rudimentary form: 'recognize' is here to be understood like German 'widererkennen', i.e. what one can expect from a baby, that is recognition in its simplest form. A good parallel in Vergil is *A*. 2. 10 *sed si*

tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros where the primary meaning is 'get to know' (what has been unknown before). A newborn child has no conception of its mother before it gets to know her and can show its recognition by its mode of behaviour after birth. This process of recognition is accompanied by, indeed identical *with its smile/laughter* as its most manifest and characteristic way of expressing itself. Vergil's stresses its first manifestations with *Incipe*: the child *begins* to recognize its mother and becomes in this way worthy of moving on to a heroic status.

B

QUI *(PL.) VERSUS* HUNC *(SING.) (62/63)*

Heyworth 2015, 208 repeats what George Goold thought was the decisive argument against plural *qui* (in the relative clause) followed by singular *hunc* in the main clause, namely that this change in number would be unparalleled in Latin. I will in the following aim at refuting this allegation.

As Wilhelm Ehlers reminds us in his fundamental *TLL* article on the pronoun *hic*[8] there are at times notions flavouring *hic*. They are related either to quality, identity[9] or quantity, and these aspects are very much a consequence of *hic*'s deictic nature at work in its respective context: The first of these, quality, is by far the most common, *hic* being equivalent to *talis*. In our Augustan poets, Horace is a particularly good source of linguistic information in his satires and epistles. In these low-poetic genres, *hic* is often found with this function: the referent is not something or somebody in particular, but one of a type: e.g. Hor. *Ep*. 1. 6. 39–40 *Mancipiis locuples eget aeris Cappadocum rex:/ ne fueris* ***hic*** *tu*: "do not be like him", "one of his kind"; that is to say that the aforementioned Cappadocian king is so special that he can serve as an example of a kind of self-contradictory life; *hic* immediately picks up this corollary to the line about the Cappadocian king. The context shows that *hic* is next to equivalent to *talis*. *Ep*. 1. 15. 42 *Nimirum* ***hic*** *ego sum* "I am no doubt such a man", "a man of this (general) type". While jeering at people's contradicting attitudes Horace warns the reader against becoming like himself. He uses not the prohibitive form, but self-irony to persuade. *Ars* 35 ***hunc*** *ego me, si quid componere curem,/ non magis esse velim quam . . .* "I should not wish to be like him etc.", i.e. some *faber* on the Forum Romanum. *Ars* 345 ***hic*** *meret aera liber Sosiis*, ***hic*** *et mare transit/ et longum noto scriptori prorogat aevum* "Such a book makes money for the Sosii, such a book crosses the sea and extends the life for its well-known author for a long time." Horace has immediately before described in general terms how one should combine utility and entertainment in order to earn great popularity among readers (333–344). In these cases, *hic* marks the transition from a generalizing description to an individual example of that truth.

In the examples earlier, a singular *hic* corresponds *in numero* with a singular entity described in the context, either a human or a thing (*Cappadocum rex*: *hic Ep*. 1. 6. 39–49; *Maenius*: *hic Ep*. 1. 15. 26–42; *faber*: *hunc Ars* 32–35). As to *Ars* 345 *hic . . . liber*, there is no definite singular notion in the previous passage: there

are undefined limits between singular and plural as we can see from Hor. *S*. 1. 2. 77–80 *Quare, ne paeniteat te,/ desine* ***matronas*** *sectarier, unde laboris/ plus haurire mali est quam ex re decerpere fructus./ Nec magis* ***huic*** *inter niveos viridisque lapillos/ sit licet, hoc, Cerinthe, tuo tenerum est femur aut crus/ rectius, atque etiam melius persaepe* ***togatae***. Here the switch from plural (*matronas*) to singular *huic*, i.e. such a rich, noble, married woman, is very natural. The man Horace targets married wives in general in order to have sex with one of them. Compare also: Hor. *S*. 2. 2. 33 *Laudas, insane, trilibrem/* ***mullum****, in singula* ***quem*** *minuas pulmenta necesse est./ Ducit te species, video. Quo pertinet ergo/* ***proceros*** *odisse* ***lupos****? Quia scilicet* ***illis****/ maiorem natura modum dedit*, ***his*** *breve pondus*. Here the singular *mullus* at the start could equally well have been plural *mullos*, and it appears also as plural at the end because another gourmet fish, the *proceri lupi* (pl.), is mentioned in between and finally, due not least to the concinnity of the last clause, anything else than plural *his* would have been unnatural.

The next step in our argument, to show a wide freedom of the demonstrative *hic* as to *numerus*, goes almost without saying: equally well within one syntactical unit (a period) *one* case or experience – regarded as a typical case – not seldom leads to ascertaining a truth of general validity, an example of Ehler's category "ex singularibus ad generalia pervenitur". From the parataxis at e.g. Ter. *Hec*. 709–710 *non mirum fecit uxor si* ***hoc*** *aegre tulit: amarae mulieres sunt; non facile* ***haec*** *ferunt* ("women don't take things of that sort easily"), it is only a short step to hypotaxis.[10] It would, of course, make no great difference to this shift from singular to plural if we paraphrased it in the following hypotactic way: ****Hoc*** *aegre tulit tua uxor quia non facile* ***haec*** *ferunt mulieres*. This is also shown by Ter. *Eu*. 1–3 *Si* ***quisquam est qui*** *placere se* ***studeat*** *bonis/ quam plurimis et minime multos laedere,/ in* ***his*** ('among such people') *poeta hic nomen profitetur suom*. From here it is an easy step to say: ***Qui*** *placere se* ***studet*** (singular) *bonis quam plurimis et minime multos laedere*, ***in his*** *poeta hic nomen profitetur suum*. I would not hesitate to call this example from *Eunuchus* a slight anacoluthon. It is slight in the sense that as soon as the speaker has expressed the possible reality that there may exist a playwright (sg.) who would like to please the audience and hurt as few as possible, it immediately occurs to him that there are probably some more of the same kind around and he will himself be happy to join them (pl.). A gradual transition is also represented by the sentence at Ter. *An*. 55–59 (SIMO) ***Quod*** *plerique omnes faciunt adulescentuli,/ ut animum ad aliquod studium adiungant, aut equos/ alere aut canes ad venandum aut ad philosophos,/* ***horum*** *ille nil egregie praeter cetera/ studebat*. Starting with the singular neuter (*quod*) as if he was going to say nothing more specific than an unspecific *aliquod studium*, the father proceeds to list a variety of activities, whereupon the plural is felt quite natural in the main sentence. – Ter. *Hau*. 392–3 *Vobis cum uno semel ubi aetatem agere decretum est viro,/* ***quoius*** *mos maxime consimilis vostrum*, ***hi*** *se ad vos applicant*. The sentence starts off with a mix of plural (*vobis*) and singular (distributive, *cum uno . . . viro*); thereupon a relative clause is appended with the same singular, but the plural start is not forgotten, as shown by *vostrum*; coming to the main clause the plural, which all

the time has been the accompanying side of the singular, comes to the fore and is restored in the form of *hi*. – I add some more examples from Terence of the same nature: *Hau*. 257–260 (CLINIA) *Dum ego propter te errans patria careo demens, tu interea loci/ conlocupletasti te*, ***Antiphila****, et me in his deseruisti malis,/* ***propter quam*** *in summa infamia sum et meo patri minus obsequens. Quoius nunc pudet me et miseret, qui* ***harum*** *mores* (the character of women like Antiphila) *cantabat mihi,/ monuisse frustra neque eum potuisse umquam ab* ***hac*** *me expellere*. – *Eu*. 168 *porro* ***eunuchum*** *dixti velle te,/ quia solae utuntur* ***his*** (servants of that sort) *reginae*.

It should not come as a surprise, then, if we come across sentences like the one next, albeit less often. They start off with a general plural covering two claims, one topping (*senatum <servire> debere*) the other (*senatum servire posse*) in the relative clause, whereupon the speaker concentrates on the most outrageous of them in the main clause (*hoc*): Cic. *de Orat*. 1. 226 ***Quae*** *vero addidisti, non modo senatum servire posse populo, sed etiam debere, quis* ***hoc*** *philosophus tam mollis, tam languidus, tam enervatus, tam omnia ad voluptatem corporis doloremque referens probare posset, senatum servire populo, cui populus ipse moderandi et regendi sui potestatem quasi quasdam habenas tradidisset?*

Nor would anyone find the following example in Ovid provocative; it displays nothing but a sensible freedom of expression. The singular *hic* concentrates on the quality of one specimen: Ov. *Met*. 8. 657–8 ***vestibus*** *hunc velant* ***quas*** *non nisi tempore festo/ sternere consuerant, sed et* ***haec*** *vilisque vetusque/* ***vestis*** *erat, lecto non indignanda saligno*. "Numerorum usus liberior" is Wilhelm Ehlers's comment on this example (*TLL* 6,2727,75).

Against this range of comparable examples, there is nothing in *Ecl*. 4. 62–63 that is at odds with good Latin:

> Incipe, parve puer: **qui** non **risere** parenti,
> nec deus **hunc** mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est.

There is, however, one novelty here: both in the relative clause and in the main clause the statements have negated form. Babies (pl.) *not* recognizing their mother (distributive sg.) with a smile, such a one (slight anacoluthon focusing on the type) will *not* attain heroic status either in life (like e.g. Anchises), or in afterlife in the heavenly Olympus (like e.g. Heracles). This kind of negative statements is less definitive than its positive counterpart would have been.

Notes

* Cf. *SO* 91, 2017, 100–105.

1 Geymonat (whose *app. crit*. gives ample proof of the divided opinions among scholars) seemed himself never to have doubted the transmitted text.

2 The fact that Goold advocated this text with strong conviction in the popular Loeb series (which already was that of his predecessor Fairclough for generations), accusing Quintilian of being in error and misleading, will still give this interpretation, in spite of Mynors's and Hirtzel's correct assessment in the *OCT* editions, a high status.

3 With reference on p. 82 to my earlier contributions in *SO* 71, 1996, 103–107 and *SO* 83, 2008, 53–54, cf. also *EV* III (1987) p. 766 (col. 2) – 767 (1) *s.v. nosco* (read with the caveat from *SO* 71, 1996, 104f.).
4 Foremost among these is Heyne (followed by Wagner 1830), but a clear understanding of Quintilian 9. 8. 3 had not yet been achieved by that time.
5 Heyworth quotes with approval Saint-Denis's translation in the Budé edition (1967 and later) as representative for his own stand: 'Commence, petit enfant, à reconnaître ta mère **à son sourir**'.
6 Much profit can be gained from a perusal of Szantyr § 76 – § 84 in this regard.
7 *TLL* 3,1512,58f. Cf. also *ibidem Ciris* 243 (***nullo*** *possim cognoscere* ***signo***); Ov. *Met*. 14. 524 (***suco****que licet cognoscere mores*); Sil. 9. 162 (*parentem* ***vulnere*** *cognosco*).
8 *TLL* 6,2693,32f.
9 As to identity: *TLL* 6, 2729 points to the formula *hoc facere,* cf. *A*. 2. 394; 5. 73. Quantity: *hic* approaching in meaning *tantus*, cf. Stat. *Theb*. 9. 218 *audisse accensumque putes:* ***hoc*** *fulmine raptum/ abstulit*, though this example can equally well be explained as equivalent to *tali*.
10 To make the meaning plain one could add *huius modi* (Turp. *com*. 201).

39 *G.* 2. 20–22: The art of propagation*

> Hos natura modos primum dedit, his genus omne
> silvarum fruticumque viret nemorumque sacrorum.
> Sunt alii, quos ipse via sibi repperit usus:[1]
>
> "These are the modes Nature first ordained; these give verdure to every kind of forest trees and shrubs and sacred groves. Others there are which Experience has *in her course* discovered for herself" [my italics; Goold, *LCL*].

Looking back at the annals of philology one must praise the endeavours of some scholars trying to come to terms with the difficulty of *viā*. "Quid *via* significet, haud facile dictum est. . . . Nusquam *via* sic simpliciter positum," Peerlkamp rightly remarked in 1861, p. 137. A suggestion to solve the difficulty had been made by Joseph Justus Scaliger (1600):[2] *Sunt* ***aliae***, ***quas*** *ipse* ***vias*** *sibi repperit usus*, a text that was adopted by Ribbeck in his edition. There is no trace of such a variant in Servius. I would also say that Scaliger's text is a simplification. Heinsius presented with a *forte* another solution, definitely inferior to that of Scaliger: *Sunt* ***aliae quas*** *ipse* ***viae*** *sibi repperit usus*. Peerlkamp *loc. cit*. came up with two conjectures: *Sunt alii, quos ipse* ***etiam*** *sibi repperit usus* or, preferably, *Sunt alii quos ipse* ***una*** *sibi repperit usus*. He added the justifying comment: "Natura primum dedit tres modos: hi sunt naturales. Sunt et alii, quos homines invenerunt usu et experientia, non illi quidem ita statim a natura profecti, sed qui tamen sine natura favente adhiberi non potuerunt. Hos usus sibi reperit una cum natura." But Vergil's point at the beginning of 22 ff. is not the partaking of nature which is anyway self-evident.

The last commentator to present what I would call a serious and unbiased discussion was Will Richter (1957, 188), although he had no clarified result himself, as no solution was, in his view, satisfactory. Today there seems to be a sort of consensus to accept the text as it stands, albeit with misgivings. Richard Thomas admits: "The exact sense of *uia* is somewhat difficult (locative?), but the meaning is clear enough." Williams seems to be puzzled indeed: "The use of *via* is very extraordinary." Williams even finds that Vergil is paraphrasing a passage from Lucretius quoted later. Mynors says: "'on its way', the progress of knowledge being thought of as a journey from one innovation to another." One should,

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however, heed the lexicographers of *OLD* who have only this example *sub verbo* 4 b: 'on its way' used figuratively. It seems that commentators today are happy to refer to Lucr. 5. 1448–53 as the relevant parallel, but they have only quoted the latter part of the sentence. If we look at the whole sentence, however, this parallel will scarcely do: *Navigia atque agri culturas moenia leges/ arma vias vestes et cetera de genere horum,/ praemia, delicias quoque vitae funditus omnis,/ carmina picturas et daedala signa polita,/usus et impigrae simul experientia mentis/ paulatim docuit pedetemptim progredientis*. ("Ships and agriculture, fortifications, laws, weapons, roads, clothing, and all other things of this kind, the prizes and also all the luxuries of life without exception, poems and pictures, and the artfully wrought polished statues, it is a practice and at the same time the acquired skills of a vigorous mind that have taught men, little by little, as they went forward step by step.") I do not doubt that Vergil could have subscribed to this description of cultural progress, but I doubt that he would have compressed such a view by means of the solitary abl. *via*. Besides, such a lofty view on human development is not Vergil's point here. I will finally claim that the ablative *via* cannot be taken as 'on its way', 'on its course', 'by finding a way' unless a commentary of a sort accompanies the text.

I suggest, therefore, this text:

> *Sunt alii, quos ipse* ***vias*** *sibi repperit usus*
>
> "There are other forms of propagation which experience itself has found to be (viable[3]) methods for itself."

My main objection to the endeavours of scholars so far is that they have failed to take account of a common syntactical construction pertaining to verbs meaning 'find'. These verbs are quite often constructed with a predicate, either in the accusative going with the active verb or in the nominative going with the passive. I concentrate next on three verbs and cite examples for both the active and the passive voice for each of them.[4]

For ***invenire*** compare Pl. *Capt*. 644 ***nihil*** . . . ***invenies*** *magis hoc certo* ***certius***. – *Cas*. 81 ***Ea invenietur*** *et* ***pudica*** *et* ***libera***. – Cic. *Div*. 1. 30 *Romuli* ***lituus . . . inventus est integer***. – Lucr. 2. 616 *qui* . . . ***ingrati*** . . . ***inventi sunt***. – Hor. *Epi*. 2. 1. 112 ***invenior*** *Parthis* ***mendacior***. For examples with a predicative noun see *TLL* 7,139,6ff.

For ***offendere***: Cic. *Att*. 16. 4. 4 ***paratiorem offendi Brutum*** *quam audiebam*. – Pl. *Mil*. 484 ***cubantem*** *eam modo* ***offendi*** *domi*. – Pac. *trag*. 204 ***quos ego*** *ita, ut volui*, ***offendi incolumes***. – Cic. *Verr*. 2. 2. 12 *Siciliam*, ***quam inanem offenderant***.

For ***reperire***: Cic. *Verr*. 1. 50 *ut in hoc iudicio* ***nemo improbus*** *praeter eum, qui iam pridem inventus est*, ***reperiatur***. – Cic. *Fam*. 3. 8. 6 ***mea ratio*** *in tota amicitia nostra* ***constans reperietur***. – Verg. *A*. 6. 343 ***fallax*** *haud ante* ***repertus*** (sc. ***Apollo***).

It remains only to say that the meaning of *via* is well illustrated by *OLD s.v.* 10.

Notes

* Cf. *SO* 91, 2017, 106–108.

1 I mark the indentation to indicate that a new passage starts with line 22.

2 *Prolegomena in Manilium* p. 9 (for the edition see Conte's Teubner edition p. 118). Scaliger was evidently influenced by *M* showing *alie quos*, then *alie quas* (M1), then *alii quos* (M2).

3 Cf. e.g. for the positive notion attached to *via*: *A*. 3. 395 *fata viam invenient* "the fates will find a (successful) way"; 11. 128 *si qua viam dederit fortuna* "if some piece of good luck will grant the (right) way".

4 My sample of examples is collected from *TLL* 7,138,19ff. (*invenire*), *TLL* IX,492,38ff. (*offendere*), *OLD s.v. reperio* 5. The singular (*via**m***) is also worthy of attention in view of sg. *usus*.

40 *G.* 2. 265–268. The nursery for vine plants*

> At si quos haud ulla viros vigilantia fugit, 265
> ante locum similem exquirunt, ubi prima paretur
> arboribus seges et quo mox digesta feratur,
> mutatam ignorent subito ne semina matrem.

This is how the text is presented in the Teubner edition of Ottaviano (2011b).

> "But men whose watchful care nothing escapes first seek out like plots – one where the crop may be nursed in infancy for its supporting trees, and one to which it may be moved anon when planted out, lest the nurslings should fail to recognize the mother suddenly changed." [Goold = Fairclough, *LCL*]

A

The interpretation which Mynors seems to accept is "the full sense would be given by *locos similes, unum ubi*, . . . *alterum quo*, and that as only one place is to be chosen (the nursery), the site of the vineyard being known, the singular was used through incomplete adjustment of language to thought". Similarly Richard Thomas: "The soil is to be the same (*locum similem*) both where the young vines are first readied for their supporting trees (*ubi* . . . *seges*) and where they will eventually be permanently transplanted (*et quo* . . . *feratur*). "The coordination is a little awkward" is Williams's comment. Ultimately, these comments seem to stem from Conington's notes on 266 and 267.

It is obvious to me, however, that Page was right in construing *similem* . . . *et* together, i.e. "*like* in character *to* that whither it is to be carried when planted out." Similarly Erren p. 429. Richter (1957) has also understood the construction to be the common one: *exquirunt locum, ubi prima* . . . *seges paretur, similem atque eum, quo mox feratur*.

But as Latinists have been unfamiliar with 'like to', 'similar to' being expressed as *similis* . . . *et* in Latin, and particularly so in Vergil, it may be useful to collect some more examples than even big grammars usually care to present:[1] Cic. *Tusc*. 5. 9: ***similem*** *sibi videri vitam hominum* ***et*** *mercatum eum, qui haberetur maximo ludorum apparatu totius Graeciae celebritate* ("The life of men seemed to him

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[Pythagoras] to resemble the festival which was celebrated with most magnificent games before a concourse collected from the whole of Greece"). *Fin*. 4. 31: *nec si ille sapiens ad tortoris eculeum a tyranno ire cogatur*, ***similem*** *habeat vultum* ***et*** *si ampullam perdidisset* ("even such a wise man, if a tyrant sent him to the rack, would not wear the same look as if he had lost his oil-flask"). *Phil*. 2. 59 ***dissimilis*** *est militum causa* ***et*** *tua* ("the case of soldiers is different from yours");[2] Lucr. 2. 414–6 *neu* ***simili*** *penetrare putes primordia forma/ in nares hominum, cum taetra cadavera torrent/* ***et*** *cum scenacroco Cilici perfuse recens est* ("never think that first-beginnings of similar shape penetrate men's nostrils, when noisome carcasses are roasting, as when the stage is freshly sprinkled with Cilician saffron"); Lucr. 3. 7–8 *aut quidnam tremulis facere artubus haedi/* ***consimile*** *in cursu possint* ***et*** *fortis equi vis?* ("or what could kids with their trembling limbs do in running to match the strong horse's vigour?"). We see clearly from these examples that the "vis comparativa" derives from the parataxis.

I would prefer to put a comma after *seges* for the sake of clarity.

The translation will accordingly be: "But men whose watchful care nothing escapes, first seek out a plot, where the crop may be nursed in infancy for its supporting trees, a plot similar to the one where it will be moved anon when planted out, lest the nurslings . . ."

B

MUTATAM . . . MATREM VS. MUTATA . . . SEMINA *(268)*

This is the reading chosen by all modern editors instead of the reading of *P* *mutata* going with *semina*, but they have done so without discussing the meaning of *mutare*. Heyworth has commendably signalled his differing opinion: "mutata, 'changed in place' (applied to the young plants, as at 50) is the easier reading, and may well be right" (Heyworth 2017, 231). I should like here to support Heyworth's preference. *Mutatam* does not go well together with *matrem* at all: "lest the cuttings should fail to recognize their changed mother", but Vergil could hardly have suggested something in the vein of *matrem utpote mutatam*. His appeal to the diligence shown by wine farmers in reconnoitring the soil is to ascertain beforehand *the least possible difference* in soil quality; *mutatam*, then, would suggest that the farmer has not been successful in that regard; ***mutata*** *ignorent subito ne* ***semina*** *matrem*, on the other hand, would point to the precaution that the transplanted (*OLD s.v. muto* 10) cuttings fail to recognize their mother soil (cf. *mater* with parallels *TLL* VIII,442,71ff.). This meaning of *mutare* is dealt with in *TLL s.v* under I A 1 b *α c. respectu loci*, col. 1723,71ff. where a number of phrases contain movement: Plaut. *Amph*. 274–5 *nam neque se Septentriones quoquam in caelo commovent, neque se Luna* ***quoquam mutat*** *atque uti exorta est semel* ("the Great Bear isn't moving anywhere in the sky, nor does the Moon change her position to any place different from when once she rose"); Ov. *Pont*. 1. 1. 79 ***in . . . locum*** *Scythico vacuum* ***mutabor*** *ab arcu* ("I will be me moved to a place free from the Scythian bow"); 4. 14. 7 *nulla mihi cura est, terra* ***quo muter*** *ab ista*

("it is no concern of mine whereto I am moved from such a land"). And besides, without any 'additamentum motionem illustrans': Luc. 6. 44 ***castra****que Caesareo circumdatus aggere* ***mutat*** ("and he [Magnus] moved his camp within the circle of Caesar's lines"); Stat. *Theb*. 9. 676–7 *nec* ***se*** *vestigia* ***mutant;****/ stat cuneo defixa acies* ("they do not move their feet, but the ranks stand rooted to the spot in a wedge"); and as pointed out by Heyworth, Vergil has given a clear example of *mutare* with this meaning a little earlier: *G*. 2. 49–50 *tamen haec quoque, si quis/ inserat aut scrobibus mandet* ***mutata*** *subactis* ("Yet even these, if one were to graft them, or transplant and commit <them> to well-worked trenches"). Mynors *ad loc*. "change of place . . . of transplanting".

Notes

* Cf. *SO* 91, 2017, 108–110.

1 See J. B. Hofmann, *TLL s.v. et* 5,894,4ff. where *et* is registered with 'vi comparativa' after *idem, alius, aliter, aeque, communis, par, pariter, dissimilis, similis, similiter, iuxta, perinde*.

2 Compare also *Planc*. 60 *horum gradus summis hominibus* ***et*** *infimis sunt* ***pares*** ("for the steps of office are equal for the greatest and meanest of men"). Lucr. 5. 1081–2 *longe* ***alias*** *alio iaciunt in tempore* ***voces****/* ***et*** *quom de victu certant praedaeque repugnant* ("they utter at other times cries which differ greatly from those which they utter when they are fighting for food and their prey is offering resistance"). Hor. *Carm*. 3. 1. 14–5 ***aequa*** *lege Necessitas sortitur insignes* ***et*** *imos* ("Necessity recognizes no distinctions, but chooses by lot the highest and the lowest alike").

41 *A*. 1. 377. An instance of *forte* at stake*

Fors

The noun *fors*, in the nominative that is, occurs according to my count 6 times in Vergil's *Opera* (once in the *Bucolics* and the rest in the *Aeneid*):[1] 1) *Ecl*. 9. 5 is a case of its own as *Fors omnia versat* is uttered by the character Moeris; with older editors I would prefer a capital *F* here; one would easily associate with *Fors* both the popular goddess Fors Fortuna and the popular Greek forces that shape our destiny, Tyche and Moira (NB! the name Moeris). 2) *A*. 2. 94 ***fors*** *si* ***quă*** *tulisset* is close to what I suspect was a common (alliterative) idiom like *ut fors fert* (cf. Cic. *Att*. 7. 14. 3; Lucr. 3. 983 and already Enn. *Ann*. 186 Sk. where Skutsch has capital *F*). 3) 7. 554 *quae* ***fors*** *prima dedit sanguis novus imbuit arma* (*prima* going with *arma* see Horsfall *ad loc*.); 4) 8. 476 *quam* ***fors inopina*** *salutem/ ostentat*; 5) *A*. 10. 458 *si quā* ***fors*** *adiuvet ausum* where Vergil varies the proverbial and popular *audentes Fortuna iuvat* (cf. Harrison *ad loc*.); 6) 12. 41 *fors dicta refutet!*, where likewise *fors* is = *Fortuna* (*in bonam partem*). 7) 12. 714 ***fors*** *et virtus miscetur in unum* (the distinction between chance and valour is blurred in the fierce combat between Turnus and Aeneas, see Tarrant *ad loc*.). As can easily be seen by means of my bold letters *fors* is without an epithet except in two cases: *A*. 2. 94 (Sinon speakingt): '*some* chance' (whatever that might be) and 8. 476 'an *unexpected* good luck' which helps to bring this ex. closer to a force that men are dependent on in their lives (*Tyche agathe*).

However, *fors* is also an adverb in Vergil, with 3 exx. in the *Aeneid* only: 5. 232 *et fors aequatis cepissent praemia rostris,/ ni* etc.; 6. 537 *et fors omne datum traherent per talia tempus*; 12. 183 *cesserit Ausonio si fors victoria Turno*. This use is not recorded earlier according to *OLD s.v.*[2], but it is fully understandable as an abbreviation of a conditional clause like *si fors ita tulisset*. This use of *fors* occurs many times in later epics. I mention only Val.Fl. 3. 665 *nova Tartareo* ***fors*** *semine monstra:* "may be new portents of Tartarean seed". A one-syllable alternative for 'perhaps' is at times a handy thing to resort to when needed (*forsan, -it*: trochaic or spondaic, *fortasse* (– – u), *forsitan* (dactylic) are the other alternatives found in our poet, but there is no *fortassis* in Vergil as in Horace).

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Forte

Forte, on the other hand, originally abl. of *fors*, is found 43 times altogether. It is common in conditional and quasi- conditional clauses with the meaning 'if by any chance', 'as may/might happen', 'as may/might be the case'. *Forte* will in such cases strengthen or modify the conditional nature of the clause, as seen in the case of the common expression *si forte*: *Ecl*. 6. 57; *G*. **1**. 202; **4**. 28; *A*. **1**. 151; 375; **2**. 81; 136; 756 (bis); **5**. 291; 486 (*qui forte*); **10**. 724.

Another large group of cases consists of chance happenings, events or circumstances that have neither been foreseen nor planned, but occur then or there while the main narrative unfolds and tend to influence it in some significant way: 'accidentally', 'as it happens/happened':[2] *Ecl*. **3**. 29; **7**. 1; *A*. **1**. 322; 362; 375; **2**. 342; **3**. 22; 301; **5**. 329; **6**. 171; 186; 190 (add to these examples from the Sixth Book O. Hey's comment in *TLL* VI (1) 1131, 8–17); **6**. 349; 682; **7**. 112; 494; 509; **8**. 102; **9**. 3; 325; 437; 638; **10**. 653; **11**. 456; 552, 768; **12**. 206; 270; 488; 766; 897.

So far every example of *forte* is 'merum adverbium' and a connection with the declension of the noun *fors* is probably absent from the reader's mind – and so far we have accounted for all the examples of *forte* in Vergil **except one, *A*. 1. 377**. I quote the sentence to which this incongruous example belongs:

Nos Troia antiqua, si vestras **forte** per auris	375
Troiae nomen iit, diversa per aequora vectos	376
forte sua Libycis tempestas adpulit oris.	377

We have here two examples of *forte* in close proximity, one in the subordinate conditional clause, the other in the main clause. After Jeffrey Wills's well-documented book, one would hesitate to say that this repetition must arouse suspicion as such.[3] The same Wills has commented on the repetition of the name *Troia* in the same lines (p. 144), but not on *forte*.

A more serious issue is involved when coming from the first adverbial *forte* (line 375) which is quite in keeping with Vergil's usage, namely *forte* modifying the conditional *si* to fit the polite conversational tone. The second *forte* with *sua* added, however, 'has no parallel' (Austin) and the meaning attributed to it 'seems to be . . . by a chance of its own' (Austin). Austin's forerunner Conway ascertains "the only ex. in V. of an Adj. attached to the Abl. of this noun". From the result of our survey earlier, we can safely claim, however, that *forte sua* is 1) the only ex. in Vergil of an ablative of this noun and 2) the only ex. among the 43 occurrences of *forte* **not being the adverb**. The great Emil Bährens (who was sensitive, sometimes oversensitive, to Vergil's *usus*) stated that he was convinced that *forte sua* was corrupt, but confessed that he did not know how to emend it.[4] If he had had more time, he would probably have found a solution.

We should start with *sua*. The usage found in our line is recorded in more detail under *OLD s.v.* 11 and highlight: "qualities etc. . . . associated with him [read also 'it'] more than any others ['other things']", "distinctive or characteristic" – "for somebody or something": Pliny *Nat*. 11. 30 (talking of honeydew)

provides a good linguistic parallel: *utinamque esset purus ac liquidus et* ***suae naturae****, qualis defluit primo!* ("and had it only been pure and clear and **of its own characteristic nature** as it was when it first flowed down!"). A *tempestas* had landed Aeneas and his people on the African coast. It was a force affecting their course and acting perfectly in line with **its own characteristic, that is chaotic, nature**.

I do not say that words like *fors* and *fortuna* would fail to communicate something of the sort, only that *forte sua* is puzzling in view of Vergil's lexical preferences. Therefore I should like to turn the editors' and commentators' attention to a better word often confounded with *fors* in mss.,[5] namely *sors* as used especially in examples collected *s.v.* 8 (see b and c) in *OLD*: b) "circumstances, terms, conditions (affecting one at any time)" and particularly c) "the special laws and conditions governing the behaviour of a thing." Cf. Luc. 10. 542 (on Pompeius's precarious position after Pharsalus) *captus* ***sorte loci*** *pendet*, that is "trapped by circumstances (outside his control) conditioning his (helpless) position he is hesitant and indecisive". Illuminating is not least Seneca, *Agamemnon* 406–413 (the answer of Eurybates, the herald of Agamemnon, being asked by Clytemnestra about the fate of her sister Helena and her husband Menelaus): *Meliora uotis posco et obtestor deos:/ nam certa fari* ***sors maris dubii*** *uetat* ("I pray and beseech the gods for better things in my prayers; for **the hazards of the dubious sea** forbids me to speak with certainty"). As I understand this: the sea is an unpredictable element according to its own conditions; likewise we may paraphrase our '*locus*': **nam tempestates* ***sorte sua*** *rapiunt nos quocumque velint* "**due to their own arbitrary terms**". This is, by the way, less bewildering than **nam tempestates* ***forte sua*** *rapiunt nos quocumque velint*. The same use of *sors* is found in one of the elder Seneca's *Suasoriae* (3. 1): *Non in aliam condicionem deus fudit aequora quam ne omnis ex voto iret dies. Nec ea* ***sors*** *mari tantum est* ("a god poured out the sea water with no other intent that not every day should go according to our wish. And it is not only the sea that has this special law", that is "the sea <with its unforeseen winds and weather changes> has such terms for its mode of behaviour". These examples have in common that the force affecting the person(s) is not only in itself strong, but *unruly* and not least *unpredictable* and put the person(s) affected at the mercy of their arbitrary nature and behaviour.

Accordingly, I would prefer this text:

> Nos Troia antiqua, si vestras **forte** per auris
> Troiae nomen iit, diversa per aequora vectos
> **sorte sua** Libycis tempestas adpulit oris. 377

Notes

* "*Fors* and *forte* in Vergil and the problem of A. 1. 377", *SO* 90, 2016, 82–84.

1 At *A*. 2. 139 and 11. 50 I take as *forsit*, not as *fors et* as editors have done hitherto, cf. "*Fors et* in Vergil, Horace and Propertius" *Eranos* 105, 2008/2009, 36–39, cf. *Vergiliana* 158–159.

2 *TLL* 6,1,1130, 67ff. ("merum adverbium eventus . . . significat aliquam actionem non conexu causali, sed tantum temporali cum alia esse coniunctam.").
3 Cf. also Austin's collection of close repetitions in his n. on *ruunt* (repeating *ruunt* two lines earlier) at 1. 85 (p. 53).
4 "Emendationes Vergilianae", (Fleckeisen's) *Jahbücher für classische Philologie* 30, 1884, 404, n. 7 (*in fine*).
5 See *TLL* 6,1,1128,19ff., examples worthy of further discussion in some cases I believe.

42 *A*. 3. 147–152. An epiphany and its textual issues

> "[E]iner Exegese, die keine Probleme sieht, pflegt eine andere, die mit solchen ringt, lächerlich und verkehrt zu erecheinen."
> E. Norden in his foreword to the 3rd ed. of Aeneis VI (1927)

Summary

In this article on the epiphany of the Penates I propose two improvements of the traditional text: 1) the analysis leads me to suggest the dative *iacenti* instead of the transmitted genitive *iacentis* in line 150 and 2) the unanimously transmitted reading *insertas* in line 152 has in my view not been convincingly defended in ancient or modern times. Having dealt exhaustively with the current ways of taking it, I discuss specifically the treatment of the problem in Servius's commentary and the way Vergil relates to Lucretius's 'vision' in *De Rerum Natura* 2. 112–115. In the final section, I discuss Gregor Maurach's views and find his suggestion *insaeptas*, though rejected by himself, to be the only viable solution to the age-old problem.

In my translation of the *Aeneid* more than 30 years ago,[1] I happened almost by chance to translate the difficult line 152 correctly (and even at 150 I seemed to have combined the Latin words in the right way and as I now read the line). All the same, it has taken me recently a long while to reach a satisfactory interpretation of the six first lines of the episode. To present this arduous process in due detail will necessarily take some pages.

In reading Book II and III, we tend at times to overlook that Aeneas is engaged in a narration about the fate of his people and his mission, in which he himself is the virtual centre all along. His listeners encompass both Dido and Augustus. The situation Vergil describes at the start of his hero's narration, *omnes intenti . . . ora tenebant* (*A*. 2. 1), should be borne in mind throughout: from the very beginning, his 'I' is prominent, be it in the explicit manner (through 1. p. pronouns and verbs) or implicitly by the narrator's person and viewpoint being the obvious reference. On reading the opening lines

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of the episode (in the traditional text form) that perspective should always be heeded:

> Nox erat et terris animalia somnus habebat: 147
> effigies sacrae divum Phrygiique penates,
> quos mecum a Troia mediisque ex ignibus urbis
> extuleram, visi ante oculos astare iacentis 150
> in somnis multo manifesti lumine . . .

Accordingly, line 147 ("it was night and on earth sleep held sway over the living creatures") could per se be applicable to a third-person account describing the situation before the divine epiphany. It implies in this case specifically the narrating 'I', that is Aeneas – unless something definite is said to the contrary. Thus the 'I' situation reduces at once the probability that a predicative adjective *insomnis* (151), 'sleepless' could be right. Instead, we see that line 147 in that regard is quite in harmony with the situation in Aeneas' bedchamber as if he was saying of himself "when I myself was asleep". The gods – in the form of *effigies sacrae divum* – the very images Aeneas has told his father to take care of and hold in his hands as Aeneas was taking him on his shoulders. Obviously, the *cista* containing the *signa/sigilla* of the gods[2] had constantly been in close proximity to them and to Aeneas in particular. This is what *mecum . . . extuleram* implies. After having thus marked his relation to the gods in this double manner (pronoun *me*, 1. p. verbal ending – *am*), I would paraphrase *visi ante oculos astare* as *visi (sunt) ante oculos (meos) astare mihi*. Then I would not claim that the genitive *iacentis* is impossible, but that it slightly blurs the account as a first-person account. *Ante oculos . . . iacentis* (genitive) "before the eyes of the lying person" (*iacens* being in this case a substantivated participle) fits a third-person account better. In my analysis of the passage, such was my initial reaction, *iacenti* would have been better, but this feeling was hardly in itself enough to entitle the conjecture; other arguments did soon accrue, however. Coming to the nominative plural *manifesti*, a notable point seems to be that the word is better in touch with the dominant subject of the passage, provided we can read or recite the lines (*Penates*) *visi . . . astare . . . manifesti* without the genitive *iacentis* preceding *manifesti*.[3]

In particular, the comparison with the corresponding vision of Hector in the previous book is telling and helps one towards settling the matter in hand.

> Tempus erat quo prima quies mortalibus aegris
> incipit et dono divum gratissima serpit:[4]
> in somnis, ecce, ante oculos maestissimus Hector 270
> visus adesse mihi largosque effundere fletus,
> raptatus bigis ut quondam.

There are some striking similarities between the two accounts: first the night-time with its rest and quiet (beginning with the durative tense *erat, erat . . . habebat*). Next there is the expression *in somnis* at the beginning of a line leading up to the vision, then *ante oculos* strengthening the perfect of *videri* in both passages (*visus* and *visi* being parallel in both visions),[5] then *adesse* (2. 271) and *astare* (3. 150)[6] being felt as synonyms. After this follows the 'I' in the form of *mihi*, whereas a similar reference to the 'I' is expressed through the conjectured dative *iacenti* (~ [*mihi*] *iacenti*). Finally, the structure of the sentence is similar in both texts with regard to the fact that the subject in the Second Book (Hector 270) is followed, after *visus* and its dependent infinitives, by a description of the special mode of appearance expressed by a participle *raptatus* 272, corresponding to that of the Penates expressed by *manifesti* (3. 151). In Book 2 the kind of appearance is expressed by a comparative clause, whereas in Book 3 it is important for Aeneas to say that they were seen appearing in his bedchamber strongly illuminated[7] in the full moonlight depicted in the following relative clause.

So far, we have to touch upon the reality of the appearing figures in, respectively, Book 2 and Book 3. There can be no doubt that Hector appears as a dream vision, "eine Traumerscheinung". The situation is the same in Book 3. Aeneas asleep, *ante oculos* is likewise the eyes of the sleeping 'I', *in somnis* belonging to the scene as a whole. That Hector is a dead man, whereas the Penates are gods, does not affect the basic situation. As to the situation in III, we are led to believe that Aeneas went to bed with the moon streaming into the room through open windows, an experience that gave the setting for his dream.

Finally, why was *iacenti* corrupted to *iacentis*? There are a couple of contributing factors, I think. The closure of the previous line with the genitive *urb**is*** may have played a part, perhaps at an early date. An even greater factor can be found in the following *in somnis* slightly emphasized as enjambment. In the ancient paradosis many copies[8] may have showed *in somnis* as *insomnis* 'sleepless'.[9] When *insomnis* was taken as a genitive, it immediately turned *iacenti* into a genitive; the same would happen if a scribe understood *insomnīs* as an acc. pl. going with *oculos*.

My conclusion is that a dative *iacenti* improves the narration and its clarity so much that I would not have hesitated as editor to print the following main clause (without commas before or after[10] *in somnis*) in the form, as I am doing now to introduce the second part of my investigation:

effigies sacrae divum Phrygiique penates 148
. . .
. . . visi ante oculos astare iacenti 150
in somnis multo manifesti lumine . . .

The problem of 'insertas'

Before starting my journey towards an answer, I will express my own amazement that no editor of Vergil's text has so far marked corruption by putting daggers (*obeloi*) around *insertas*. This is a symptom that a good many admirable scholars

have swept textual problems under the carpet to uphold the outward impression of an excellent textual tradition.

Every attentive student will necessarily come to a halt in line 152 asking for the meaning of the epithet *insertus* in the expression *per insertas . . . fenestras*.

visi ante oculos astare iacenti(s) 150
in somnis multo manifesti lumine qua se 151
plena ***per insertas*** fundebat luna ***fenestras***; 152

Beginning with what one finds online today, few will be satisfied, and for various reasons, by this translation of the text:[11]

seemed in a vision clear
to stand before me where I slumbering lay,
bathed in bright beams which from the moon at full
streamed **through the latticed wall.**

Serious students would rather consult G. P. Goold's 1999 revision of H. Rushton Fairclough's 1916 Loeb translation:

> "seemed as I lay in slumber to stand before my eyes, clear in the flood of light, where the full moon streamed **through the inset windows**."

Brief comment on a bundle of explanations in elementary commentaries

As for the commentators, the latest edition designed for today's college and university students[12] is representative of the prevailing perplexity: it rejects the translation of *insertas* as "inserted" for the reason that it is "overly obvious". Like other commentaries it sways between two possibilities, either to take the meaning as "unshuttered", "open" (referring to R. D. Williams)[13] or, alternatively, to understand *insertas* as a transferred epithet, in this case from the moon (*luna*) to the windows (*fenestrae*), the moonlight being "inserted" through the windows (with reference to Horsfall).

The non liquet conclusion of Heyworth – Morwood (2017)

The most recent commentary on the Third Book, that by Stephen Heyworth and the late James H. W. Morwood (2017), sums up the *status quaetionis* in an adequate way. I can do nothing better than quoting it here [the semi-bold numbers in square brackets are mine]:

> "Windows were normally shuttered, and not glazed, in antiquity;[14] [**1**] *insertas* thus apparently refers to the construction of the gap within the wall of the house, and the point of the epithet is hard to see. [**2**] Alternatively we

> might wonder whether *fenestras* means 'shutters' as at Horace, *Odes* 1.25.1 *iunctas fenestras*, *OLD* 1b), but in that case *insertas* would have to convey the sense parted (cf. Prop. 1.3.31 *diuersas praecurrens luna fenestras*, 'the moon running past the parted shutters, but this seems most implausible, [**3**] as does a suggestion of Servius (followed by Horsfall), that we have a kind of hypallage = *luna inserta per fenestras* (cf. Lucretius 2.114–15 *solis lumina . . . inserti fundunt radii per opaca domorum*, 'the let-in rays pour the light of the sun through the dark parts of houses'). [**4**] Is the participle perhaps corrupt?"

All four of my numbered brackets need further comments. In addition to what I will say here (concerning [**3**] in particular), as to [**2**], I doubt whether expressions like *iungere*, *divertere, claudere, aperire fenestras* are semantically much different from each other, as "shutters" cannot easily be separated from "windows" as an independent category of meaning (see the material collected by *TLL* (*s.v. fenestra*) VI,479,15ff.). You have either a shut *fenestra* or an open *fenestra*. Whether the plurals found in the texts are real plurals or stand for one of two possible *foramina fenestrae*, or point to the two shutters serving one window opening, is difficult to say in each case. An expression like *iungere fenestram* in the singular (verb + object) could well be called a compendious expression (= *iungere fores fenestrae* + possibly a bar added cf. *OLD s.v. iungo* 2) creating an inseparable connection between verb and noun.[15] The windows (*fenestrae*), that is openings in the wall (the sort of which we have to reckon with in *Aeneid* 3), were shut off from outside light (sun, moon) and to some extent as well from noise, wind, heat and cold, by shutters (Germ. 'Fensterläden') or by railings: *clat(h)ri* (*plurale tantum*) or *luminaria* (see *TLL s.v. luminare*); the latter designation seems at best irrelevant in a poetic context.

Heyworth's and Morwood's comment on *insertas* could be said to culminate in their *non liquet* (cp. "the point . . . is hard to see", "most implausible" (in reality twice) ending with "perhaps corrupt?").

The stages in such a diagnostic quest is not seldom a sort of introduction to a discussion of conjectures. Consulting other commentaries, one becomes increasingly convinced that an old distortion of the text is at stake, indeed a downright pre-servian *corruptela* (on which more will be said later). Under these circumstances, one would expect to find conjectures proposed in the annals of scholarship; the scrupulous 'Alma Mater' edition (2009) has only "incertas *agn. Burman in notis*",[16] whereas Geymonat (1973[1], 2008[2]) attributes the same uninteresting idea to Manutius (1449–1515).[17]

Servius and Tiberius Donatus on 3. 152

A Servio principium interpretationis. In Thilo's edition (I p. 371, 5ff.) we find the following comment on our line*:* "INSERTAS aut clatratas; aut non seratas, ut sit quasi 'inseratas', id est non clausas, et dictum, quomodo 'asprosque molares'[18] pro 'asperos', 'conpostus' [*A*. 1. 249] pro 'conpositus', 'vixet' [*A*. 11. 118] pro

'vixisset'. [and added from Servius auctus] *vel 'insertas fenestras' quas lumine suo luna inseruerat, ab inserendo, quod se per rimas insereret*." My brackets.

See Horsfall's (2003) note on *vixet ad loc*. with Norden's note on 6. 57 where such syncopated forms are taken as both reflecting archaic language and fit for epic *oratio recta*. This syncopation can hardly be applied in favour of *insertas* in *per insertas . . . fenestras*, however. The examples mentioned by Servius are all of an easier type (involving the short unstressed vowels 'e' and 'i'). It is therefore improbable in itself that Vergil would have written *insertas* instead of *inseratas*, even with the intent to substitute a metrically intractable word; *insĕrare* is neither the appropriate word in the context nor a word commonly used in Latin nor reliably recorded in prose. Its doubtful existence is almost proved by the *TLL*: it seems to be restricted to the glossators and grammarians: apart from Servius it is only recorded in the *TLL* material at 7,1,1868,77–80;[19] 1869,5f.; 1874,53ff. The other explanation given by Servius seems to point in another direction (cf. his *aut . . . aut*): *clatratas* based on *clat(h)ri*/ *clatra* (Prop. 4. 5. 74 where Heyworth is perhaps too sceptical of *clatra*), is somehow a Greek loan-word reflecting Attic κλεῖθρα. Servius fails, however, to comment on the difference involved; a *sera* is according to *OLD* 1 "a detachable bar placed across a door in order to fasten it" or 2 "the rail of a post-and-rail fence" with reference to Col. 9. 1. 4.[20] According to *OLD clat(h)ri* are lattices or bars, railings; *clatrare* (according to Columella) is to 'fence (a field)' by means of wooden stakes and rails. What, then, is the difference, if difference there is, between *clathri* and *serae*? More importantly: the explanations are quite contradictory: in the first place the function of *in-* (in *inseratas*) would be as a prefix (reflecting the preposition), in the second, it is = ***non*** *seratas*, a negative reflecting the privative syllabic *n* of Indo-European (Greek ἀ(ν)). In this light the guess is natural that *aut clatratus* explains *inser(a)tas* (= the 'prepositional' prefix), the other, *aut non seratas*, the negative prefix. How could such an awkward idea that Vergil wrote an otherwise unsupported compound and even in an abridged form involving an unprecedented syncopation of a long *a*, how could this idea get credence in a serious and learned commentator?

How could Claudius Donatus, who evidently had the same text as Servius write in his *Interpretationes Vergilianae* after his lemmatic citation of 3. 152 (*qua . . . fenestras*) write *inde, inquit, fuit per noctem lumen maximum qua luna* ***fenestris patentibus*** [i.e. *per insertas . . . fenestras* (sic!?)] *pleno orbe* [*plena*] *oculis meis apparebat obiecta* (ed. Georgii, p. 286, 14–16)? I am therefore asking myself whether the explanations were taken over as pieces of undigested learning by both Servius and Donatus. Maybe their words reflect an earlier tradition handed down by previous commentators and glossators. Then, perhaps, the alternative explanation (respectively *non seratas* and *fenestris patentibus*), reflects something as hypothetical as an unknown word ousted by the transmitted *insertas*? *Quod erit demonstrandum* – see my last section later.

The correct word, if it had been metrically possible as a substitution of *insertas = non seratae* (Servius)*, patentes* (Donatus) would have been **resertas* from the perfectly normal *reserare*, "to open something barred", a verb used three times in the *Aeneid* (7. 613; 8. 244; 12. 584).

On Horsfall's approach based on TLL and Görler ('form of hypallage')

Turning, then, in the last resort, to the most learned and detailed treatment of the passage in the last generation in order to clarify the last-mentioned "inserted" moonlight and to assess the claim of a 'transferred epithet' being at stake, we start, as we often do, with an authoritative translation offered. Leaving out line 148 and *quos . . . extuleram* we find this extraordinary rendering in Horsfall's commentary (2006, 9):

> "The sacred statues of our gods, the penates of Troy, [. . .] appeared to stand before my eyes as I lay (150): in my sleep, they were clearly revealed in strong light,[21] just where the full moon poured in, **passing through the windows**." [my semi-bold].

Horsfall's dense and complicated note on 152 provides further help. A link is established with Servius (*auct*. = Danielis), part of whose paraphrase serves as an explanation and seems to have played a role for this interpretation: '*insertas fenestras*', [1] **quas lumine suo inseruerat, ab inserendo**, [2] *quod se per rimas insereret* (the numbered square brackets and semi-bold typeface are mine). Horsfall concludes by labelling the combination *insertae fenestrae* an "entirely credible and attractive form of hypallage". He refers to Woldemar Görler's fundamental article on the language of the *Aeneid* (*EV* II (1985, 262–278) as support for understanding *inserta* as having to be supplied by *lunā* ('moonlight')[22] from the context; accordingly we have to start the analysis from

> *per insertas <lunā> . . . fenestras*.

The reasoning seems to be: starting from a hypothetical **fenestra lunā/ lumine inserta* (pass.) a so-called hypallage could be assumed along the following syllogistic line: let the transmitted *passive* and inverted construction correspond to an *active inserere fenestram luna/ lumine = *lunam/ lumen inserere per fenestram*. A near parallel from Vergil, one might argue, is the passive *excussa magistro/ . . . navis* (*A*. 6. 353 f.) corresponding to an active *excutere magistrum (de) nave*. In my view, this parallel or the like fails to convince. I shall try to argue why.

By the designation "a form of hypallage", I assume that Horsfall means the same phenomenon called by Görler's 'spostamento dell'oggetto'[23] (the object's change of position, *EV* II p. 269 col. 1) and what Szantyr (1965) dealt with in his §43 (p. 35 under accusative) as 'Verschiebungen' ('displacements') between so-called 'movable' and 'stationary' objects; it is also called 'Objekstverschiebung' in German. By this we cannot escape entering deeper water syntactically and stylistically. In Horsfall's analysis a reference is made concerning *inserere* to *TLL* (K. Stiewe) VII,1, 1869, 59ff.; 1874, 48ff., dealing with an inversion implying verbs, according to Szantyr, with the meaning 'fill'/ 'fill in', 'enrich', 'add' and the like, thus, above all, in connection with compounds. 'Sportamenti' of this sort is indeed

a feature of Vergil's poetic style; see also the examples adduced by Görler where the subject is involved in a similar way (*EV* II p. 269 col. 2). As to 'sportamenti dell'oggetto' Görler's examples are anyway interesting to delve into. In order not to go astray from the beaten track, I put the details in indented form in the following for the more interested to study.

> Görler has first two examples from the *Aeneid* excellently suited to demonstrate the phenomenon under discussion: 1. 195 (*vina quae cadis onerarat Acestes*) and 8. 180 f. (*onerantque canistris/ dona laboratae Cereris*). I simplify these quotations to clarify the syntactical issue: ***vina*** (acc.) *onerat cadis* and ***dona*** (acc.) *onerat canistris* (*OLD s.v. onero* 1b). According to 'normal' and prosaic usage this would be *vino* (abl.) *onerat* ***cados*** (acc.) and *donis* (abl.) *onerat* ***canistra*** (acc.) (*OLD s.v. onero* 2b);[24] as can be seen: the accusative objects have changed place from the 'movable' thing ('wine', 'flour') to the 'stationary' thing ('jars', 'baskets'). In either of these examples we have two nouns of which one is object in the accusative governed by a transitive verb (I use the semi-bold typeface to set the accusative object off). The other noun is in our examples more variable as to case category and connection; it may be either a dative (e.g. with a prefixed verb), an ablative of different sort (like in the examples earlier) or a prepositional phrase. The object is what the verbal activity is directed against. Two separate 'things' are brought together, one of which can be 'transferred' as some sort of substance (not necessarily a liquid), whereas the other is at the receiving end (not necessarily stationary or immobile *stricto sensu*).
>
> The two examples should suffice for us to move directly on to *A*. 3. 152, but as there are other useful examples for a more comprehensive view of the phenomenon we are dealing with, I add some further comments. In line with the above examples, I accommodate from Görler's list the following documentation from the *Aeneid* (in parentheses an inverted form of expression) divided into an active and a passive category, respectively:
>
> a) with *active* transitive verb and based on *A*. **1**. 704: *flammis* (abl.) *adolet* ***Penates*** (*OLD* 2) (instead of ****flammas*** *Penatibus* (dat.) *adolet OLD* 1 (a));[25] **3**. 465f.: *stipatque carinis/* ***ingens argentum Dodonaeosque lebetas*** (*OLD s.v. stipo* 1) (instead of **stipat* ***carinas*** *argento etc*.);[26] **6**. 884f.: ***animam****que nepotis/ his saltem accumulem donis* (abl.) (*OLD s.v. accumulo* 3a (Görler: instead of **animae* (dat.) ***dona*** *accumulare* cf. *OLD s.v.* 1(a)[27]).
> b) with a *passive* involved such unusual construction as *A*. **6**. 353f.: *excussa magistro* (dat.)*/ . . . navis* "a ship torn from/ (almost: wrested from) its helmsman" (~ (active) ***navem*** *excutere alicui*; according to Görler, instead of a 'normal' active ***magistrum*** *navi* (dat.) *excutere*); **6**. 609: *fraus innexa clienti* (*OLD s.v. innecto* 4) (~ (active) ***fraudem*** *innectere clienti; *fraude* (abl.) ***clientem*** *innectere* (*OLD s.v*. 3); **6**. 742: *infectum scelus* (= *scelus quod eis (sc. animis) infectum est* or, alternatively, *scelus*

> *quo infectae sunt* (~ (active) *inficere animis* (dat.) ***scelus*** versus ***animas*** *scelere* (abl.) *inficere*;[28] **10**. 479 *ferro praefixum robur* (~ *praefigere* ***robur*** *ferro* (abl.); Görler: *robur, cui ferrum praefixum erat ~ praefigere robori (dat.)* ***ferrum***).

We perceive from our sample that the passive examples are not so easy to treat in several respects: what is 'normal' when we invert it to an active form? How far can we apply the *genus verbi* opposition commonly associated with active and passive in the verb conjugation system? Also in semantic respect, our passive batch of examples is not that easily analysed as one might assume from Görler's treatment of it. Whereas the passive *navis excussa magistro*[29] corresponds to an active *navem excutere magistro* the normal expression would doubtless be *navi* or *(d)e navi/-e excutere magistrum*, cf. *A*. **1**. 115 *excutitur . . . magister sc. e navi*. At *A*. **6**. 609 *fraus innexa clienti* exhibits an example of a more seldom metaphorical use. Semantically *innectere aliquid alicui rei*, for example, *diadema capiti*, is something quite different from *innexum esse alicui rei* to "be involved in something", "be entangled in something" like at Tac. *Ann*. 3. 10. 4 (*OLD* 1d). *A*. **6**. 742 *Infectum . . . scelus* in Görler's sample consists of two words only, but a third one is required to be on a par with the active examples I have presented (sub a); based on the context one would at first glance transform it into an active *animis inficere scelus*. One may easily enough invert this to a 'sportamento' like *civitatem vitiis inficere* (cf. Cicero's passive at *Leg*. 3. 30 and *OLD s.v.* 4b). Austin translates this appropriately as 'the dye of sin' comparing Sen. *Ep*. 59. 9 about *vitia*: *non enim inquinati sumus sed infecti* (sc. *vitiis*), but here the active form would apparently be *inficere aliquem* corresponding to the above-mentioned *inficere animos scelere*.

So far, such 'Verschiebungen' ('sportamenti') have been a sort of exercise consisting in evaluating the alternatives to be found in the Thesaurus material. Usage and intelligibility are decisive factors at play, at least as far as Vergil is concerned. It is striking that a review of a sample of passive examples has shown the passive perfect participle to be particularly elusive in this connection. As any grammar teaches us, the past participle is a late intruder into the conjugation system as ever so often its adjectival nature shows. Not seldom, it is difficult to decide whether these forms are participles or adjectives. The adjectival status of *infectus* in *infectum scelus* is a case in point. Another irksome point is the homonymity between *infectus* (with *in-* as prefix) and *infectus*, preceded by the negative *in*). So, in principle *infectum scelus* can mean 1) 'a crime not committed' (negated adjective) or 2) an 'infected crime' or crime having been infected someone (as in *Aeneid* 6).[30] The examples are accordingly very dependent on the context to be properly understood by the listening or reading eye.

Arriving eventually at our *insertus*, there is no adequate parallel for this in Görler's material, nor has the author of the Thesaurus article, Klaus Stiewe, produced any parallels of consequence in his article "**1. Insero**". He did not succeed in proving his case when he placed Vergil's *insertus* under the lonely heading **II** ***'aliquid*** *(aliquem)* ***aliqua re'*** *fere i. q. implere . . .* **A** indicating that *implere* was an approximate translation of *inserere* at 3. 152[31] and specifying the *res* in question

as 'res indita' (evidently here "something poured into" or similarly). The slight reservation of Stiewe should be noted, however: "locus licentiam poeticam redolet." It is relevant to make a test changing *insertae fenestrae* to the active gender *inserere fenestram* asking: would an educated Roman have grasped such a combination on first hearing? Or, made aware of a 'callida iunctura', have accepted it in its context? Who would have taken the verb otherwise than in the light of the parallel material collected by *TLL*, that is as a parallel to *inserere cornu* in the *Georgics* (see n. 31)? In Vergil's context, however, neither (active) *inserere fenestras* 'to inset windows' nor (passive) *insertae fenestrae* 'inset windows' makes sense. The context always limits the freedom of a poet describing otherwise natural events. In any case, a 'movable' noun (as a liquid or moonlight) we would have to supply in full with *lumine* or *luce*, but Vergil has already taken well and clearly account of the moonlight (*luna*), its flowing state (*se fundebant*) and its influx through the windows (*per . . . fenestras*). *Insertas* understood as *impletas lumine fenestras* (*TLL*) would imply a doubling of the notion of moonlight streaming into the bedchamber.

To conclude, the theory of a hypallage/transposed object is a dead end: as it happens, arguments that can be quite good, and even theoretically probable, have here nothing of worth to contribute.

Insertas in Vergil versus inserti in Lucretius

In his comment on *se/ . . . fundebat luna* (151–152) Horsfall sensibly adduces Lucr. 4. 375 *Semper enim nova se radiorum lumina fundunt* as a possible influence on account of the reflexive construction and perhaps because new rays of light can be said to be pouring forth. In my view, a much stronger Lucretian influence on Vergil stems from the lines 2. 112–115 due to the important function these lines have in their context:

> Cuius, uti memoror, rei simulacrum et imago
> ante oculos semper nobis versatur et instat.
> Contemplator enim, cum solis lumina cumque
> inserti fundunt radii per opaca domorum:

> Of this fact there is, I recall, an image and similitude always moving and present before our eyes. Do but apply your scrutiny whenever the sun's rays are let in and pour their light through a dark room [Loeb: Rouse – Smith].

The beginning of Lucretius's Book II deals with atomic behaviour and the way atoms are thought to operate in their constant motion, be it individually or in groups. An analogy sums up and illustrates the previous discourse on the motion of atoms at large (112–120). The sun's rays bring a stream of light from the outside into the darkness of a house and present for keen onlookers a kind of drama: they can observe from their inside vantage point a lot of small particles like motes in the streaming light. This is the image of a cosmic drama at large, an endless

war with incessant attacks to and fro, now with vehement meetings in groups, now with partings.

Lucretius as well talks about a sort of epiphany, an image of a cosmic physical phenomenon always taking place before our eyes (cf. *ante oculos* 113 and *A*. 3. 150 = *A*. 2 270). Whereas Lucretius is talking of a reproduction (*simulacrum et imago*) of the phenomenon, one presenting itself at all times for us to observe under the right conditions, the vision experienced by Aeneas is a single occurrence where real images (*effigies*) of gods are involved.

The vision in Lucretius is dependent on the strong contrast between light (cp. *lumina, radii* 114 and 115) and darkness (*opaca* 115), the scene for the vision being inside any house. So far, and so far only, the same factors are central for the vision in *A*. 3. 147–152 as well. In other respects, the situation in the *Aeneid* is almost diametrically the contrary: broad daylight and clear sun (***solis*** *lumina*, (*solis*) *radii*) in Lucretius, ***nox*** as the first word in the *Aeneid*. The vision can only unfold in the dark quarters of a house in Lucretius (*opaca domorum*), in the *Aeneid* the gods appear in the light of a full moon, to which is evidently added the emanation of light from the gods themselves. In Lucretius man is the agent observing the phenomenon by his own initiative, in the *Aeneid* the man, Aeneas, is the utterly passive centre of a miraculous intervention. This divine initiative has even its own hierarchy (Penates < Apollo).

Here my analysis will concentrate on the subordinate clause *cum solis lumina cumque/ inserti fundunt radii per opaca domorum* (114b-115).[32] One's first reaction to the double *cum* would most probably be that the temporal conjunction has been repeated in the same line. This is how Munro (1864) took it in his esteemed text and commentary placing unconvincingly *solis lumina* on a par with *inserti radii* as nominatives and subjects. This would be less elegant and uneconomic even measured by low stylistic standards. Much to preferred is how Bayley takes the sentence translating the previous text as "whenever rays are let in (*inserti . . . radii = radii se inserunt et*) and pour (transitive *fundunt*) the sun's light (*solis lumina*) through the dark places in houses (*per opaca domorum*)." The problem remains, however, that "whenever" is never elsewhere expressed by *cumcumque*, let alone in *tmesis* form. The best that can be said in favour of this is found in Bayley's commentary that *cumcumque* is coined "on the analogy of *quandocumque*, *quotienscumque* and that Lucretius is fond of relatives followed by *cumque*, often separated by *tmesis* (e.g. 2. 21 *quae . . . cumque*, 6. 85 *qua de causa cumque*, 6. 738 *quae sint loca cumque* and, as the closest parallel in this author, 5. 583 *ut est* [sc. *luna*] *oris extremis cumque notata = utcumque notata est oris extremis* ("just as the moon is marked off [cf. *OLD s.v. noto* 5(a)] by its outermost edges"). I would add that the conjunction was probably written *quom* in the fifties B.C. and *quom . . . cumque (cunque)* was probably as easy to understand as *quando . . . cumque* (with an indefinite meaning at Hor. *S*. 1. 9. 33). The corresponding subordinate clause in the *Aeneid* describes in the same way the light entering the house and has the same verb *fundere* as its predicative centre. Lucretius describes the event as an everyday occurrence (cp. *semper* 113), Vergil as an epochal and unique event. Lucretius uses accordingly present tense, Aeneas who is describing an ongoing event as something personally

experienced, uses imperfect. Above all, the syntax differs between the two authors. Lucretius has rather inelegantly an accusative object for the verb in the previous line. The reader might initially have taken *lumina* as a nominative; *fundunt radii* helps the reader combine the words correctly, but at the cost that a marked hyperbaton severs the word *radii* from *solis lumina* emphasizing the rays' importance in the visual experiment. However, as the rays are emanating from the sun (*sol*) as an integral side of sunshine, some readers are bound to find the word order clumsy. Vergil makes the verb reflexive instead (*se fundebant*). He attaches the notion *lumen* closely to the very epiphany (*manifesti*) whereby the light of the celestial body (*luna*), equally dominant at the start of the subordinate clause as the Lucretian *sol*, has been reduced to a secondary position.

The preposition *per* is a further link between Lucretius and Vergil, but with quite different function in either author. In Lucretius ***per*** *opaca domorum* ("through the darkness of houses") marks a field of action, the space within the house analogous to space at large to illustrate the atoms' behaviour in the heavenly *magnum inane* (122). In Vergil, on the other hand, ***per*** *fenestras* serves to mark the borderline between the outside and the inside, which is the room where man, Aeneas, is confronted with the intervening divine beings. In Lucretius the border between the outside and the inside is more indirectly prominent through the participle *inserti* (mediopassive, = *qui se inserunt*) going with the subject *radii*; the rays are in a way transformed entering into a dark room from the outside when sunlight passes through either a door, window, or a *compluvium*, in short an opening, the nature of which is, of course, a matter of no concern for Lucretius. Vergil's supernatural event both needs and provides a more specific explanation of its manner of appearance, therefore *per fenestras*. This comparison word by word highlights the close agreement between the religious vision of Vergil and the physical experiment of Lucretius, but Vergil's elegance marks his descriptive style off.

In all this Vergil's *insertas* is left as an unaccountable rest for us. It turns out that it has no function to fill. The one thing to be said of it, from the present angle of perspective, is that it fails as an adaptation of the Lucretian participle *inserti*. It remains a mystery and smacks of a *corruptela*. Even so, the analysis has in my view given us the clue to the meaning required of an adjective/participle to go with *fenestras*. The essential thing about *inserti* in Lucretius is that it indirectly points to the essential thing about the house, that it, on the one hand, encompasses darkness and, on the other, allows sun rays to pour in to demonstrate the behaviour of atoms and group of atoms for the viewer. The one and a half foot filled with *insertas* must therefore contain an epithet indicating the inside as accessible for light – in other words, the *openness* of the *fenestrae*. The basic thing about a *fenestra* is that it is either closed and shut off from light or open to the outside world, allowing light to pour in.

On Maurach's withdrawn proposal

No editor of our new century seems to have been aware that Gregor Maurach, an authority on Latin poetic language,[33] proposed a conjecture in his book *Methoden der Latinistik: Ein Lehrbuch zum Selbstunterricht* the first edition of which

appeared in 1998 (2nd revised ed. 2008).[34] Maurach proposes *insaeptas* and discusses it ably. But no sooner does he launch his novel idea than he withdraws it and instead opens up a quite different path[35] of approach which seeks to give sense to his enigmatic heading "corrected conjecture" ("korrigierte Konjektur") in his manual. Only recently I became aware of Maurach's proposal, by lucky chance I would say, for neither the detailed table of contents nor the index signalled a discussion of line 3. 152. This double surprise – both on the occasion of a highly interesting, but unnoticed, *coniectura princeps* and its immediate rebuttal by its own originator – led me deeper into the problems to form an independent opinion (and hopefully now a contribution of some worth for my *Critica*). To reach that independent opinion, both an adequate account and a thorough discussion have been necessary. I apologize for briefly repeating a standpoint that I have already rejected earlier.

> Maurach bases much of discussion of lines 151–152 on the assumption of a close genetic dependence on Lucretius 2. 114–115 (*Contemplator enim, cum solis lumina cumque/* ***inserti***[36] *fundunt radii per opaca domorum*), but overrates the importance of the verbal agreement. In his correspondence with his colleague Woldemar Görler the latter pointed at what he believed to be the neglected syntactical phenomenon here, the kind of inversion called in German *Objektsverschiebung*.[37] According to Maurach (and Görler) this type of construction is not least due to the younger poet's allusion to Lucretius[38]; Vergil seems to them to have removed his combination of participle and noun (*inserta fenestra*) away from the meaning 'window inset in the walls' to 'window used as admission/ let-in'[39] (Görler) or even better, according to Maurach, 'window filled with moonlight'[40] (with reference to Servius). Maurach is focused on describing the alleged phenomenon theoretically and grammatically as a "eine Bezugsverschiebung", that is as a deliberate shift of reference in relation to Lucretius whereby Vergil wanted to outdo his model. In this way, Vergil would allow himself of a 'construction formed secondarily ("sekundär entstandene Konstruktion") according to Günter Neumann, another of Maurach's correspondents in the matter. In this interpretation, the verb *inserere* has as its accusative object the (stationary) thing (*fenestra*) affected by the transitive verb, not the movable as in Lucretius (*radii*). Thus, a displacement of reference has taken place, from *radii* to *fenestrae*. This approach is admittedly shrewd thanks to an ingenious and enthusiastic argumentation, called in conclusion "raffiniert" ("refined", "elegant") by Maurach. In this light, his first idea *insaeptas* does not even seem to him to have a proper function.[41] The connection with Lucretius would also become questionable: *insaeptas* would eliminate one of the three 'Lucretian' words in Vergil's corresponding lines and thereby obscure Vergil's connection with Lucretius. Further, *insaeptas*, would according to Maurach be just as obvious and therefore 'uninteresting' as the traditional rendering "inset (in the walls)" whereas a "Verschiebung" would be a refined example of Vergil's poetic practice with a group of verbs. As his *summa summarum* Maurach enjoins his advanced young readers not

to accept a conjecture or amendment of the text at 3. 152: a better understanding of the poet's language and style rescues one from a "leichtfertig" (that is 'reckless') conjecture – as is often the case.

By my long paraphrases, I have been at pains to analyse the prevalent position today as an inadequate path to resolve a problem as old as our textual transmission.

In favour of insaeptas

As to *saepire* (*saepio, saepsi, saeptus*), the diphthong seems early to have been monophthongized and in that respect earlier in general pronunciation than in script we may assume. *OLD* calls attention to the fact that the orthography in the manuscripts is often *sep-*. The well-known Saepta Iulia in Rome was in the spelling of later centuries 'Septa', in Greek τὰ Σέπτα. We may therefore assume that transmitted INSAEPTAS was often pronounced and written INSEPTAS. Only the lower slanting line separating a *R* from a *P* would distinguish the seldom INSEP-TAS from the more common INSERTAS.

When I wrote my article on *inaratus* (now in *Vergiliana* pp. 100–112) I went through the Thesaurus material on prefixed *in-* with a view to the homonymous cases where *in-* is 'prepositional' or the negative *in-* equivalent to Greek ἀ(ν). I commented then on *insaeptus* (*TLL* 7,1,1823,65–70) in Paul. Festus, p. 111 *insaeptum non saeptum; ponitur tamen et pro aedificatum*. Concerning the latter information I conjectured ***in****aedificatum* (according to *OLD s.v. inaedifico* 4), a meaning well-illustrated by Livy describing the defensive measures taken by the inhabitants of Pydna against the Romans (44. 45. 6): *nec clausae modo portae, sed etiam inaedificata erant*: "the gates were not only closed, but walled up". I cannot prove that Marcus Verrius Flaccus had registered the unusual *insaeptus* from Vergil's combination *per insaeptas fenestras*, but I find it nevertheless possible, even probable. I also think that the messy nonsense we find in Servius (see my analysis earlier) results from the early loss of *insaeptas* in the manuscript tradition. A commentator or glossator could have explained *insaeptas* as *non seratas*. When *insertas* crept into the manuscripts, no one would really know what to do with this except concocting the loss of an 'a' in *inseratus*. Claudius Donatus reflects, however, the true explanation of *insaeptas* in his *fenestris patentibus* (see my quotation of his comment earlier). We have still another reflex of this correct text in the Gloss ^{L} II Philox. IN 476 *insertas* (for *inseptas*): *ἀνεῳγμένας*.[42] As to the previously mentioned example, the acc. fem. pl. is an almost waterproof indication that *A*. 3. 152 haunted the ancient lexicographers. The parallel description in Lucretius 2. 114–115 may also have contributed to the false *insertas*.

The usual meaning of *saepio* is 'surround' Verg. *A*. 11. 398 *inclusus muris hostilique aggere saeptus* (*OLD s.v.* 2); *saepsit se tectis rerumque reliquit habenas A*. 7. 600, but there is also a more restricted usage where the notion 'all around' (*circum*, *undique*) is *not* present. Then *saepio* means simply 'close', 'block', 'seal off, for instance, a road, an entrance (or exit), or openings in a circle (but also a square room or a forum surrounded all around by structures and buildings), as is

shown by *OLD s.v*. 4 b with examples like Cic. *Phil*. 5. 9 *omnes fori aditus ita* ***saepti*** *ut . . . nisi* ***saeptis revolsis*** *introiri in forum nullo modo posset*; Val. Max. 4. 7. 2 *Laetorius autem in ponte Sublicio constitit et* ***eum****, donec Gracchus transiret, ardore spiritus sui* ***saepsit***. Tac. *Ann*. 1. 5. 6 *Acribus namque custodiis* ***domum et vias saepserat*** *Livia*. – The noun *saeptum* (*OLD s.v*. 4 a) is used to designate a 'sluice gate' or a 'weir'.

Vergil's *ins(a)eptae fenestrae* points to windows having their openings shuttered, perhaps even with crossbars. In prose one would presumably have said simply *apertas* or (like Propertius) *diversas*. Vergil wanted to emphasize that nothing prevented the moon from shining with its full potential through the windows. Anyone who has experienced a full moon in a Mediterranean summer night will guess that the bedroom was bathed in moonlight at the time when the moon had full access.

The context provides another reason for open windows: it was the season of scorching Sirius whose heat would motivate anyone to open the bedroom windows as much as possible.

A last word: what do I think that a future *apparatus criticus* should say in this case? a) "ins(a)eptas *Maurach*", that's it? No, to save a conjecture from oblivion or rather an ill-advised warning, must somehow count. Should the *app. crit*. then say: "ins(a)eptas *Maurach sed vide Kraggerud Critica*" or the like? As if I rejected it? Least of all. An easy and correct solution would in my view be "insaeptas [Maurach 1998] Kraggerud (2020) with a reference to the *Praefatio critica* where the brackets [] in the app. crit. indicates a withdrawn conjecture.

Notes

1 Kraggerud 1983–89. The translation of the relative clause 151b – 152, referred to earlier, is in the second volume, containing Book 2 and 3, p. 46: "der månen I fulleste glans strømmet inn ad de åpnede glugger". At line 150, I happen to have combined correctly *astare* (as "stå fremfor") with the participle.

2 For an idea of what Vergil's compatriot readers would have imagined, my first reference would be to Tabula Iliaca; see for example the relevant drawing in F. Bömer's *Rom und Troia*, Baden-Baden 1951, p. 17 together with his chapter "Die Penaten" *ibid*. 50ff.

3 A college student might well understand *manifesti* as a genitive when reading the translation offered online: "[the Penates] seemed in a vision clear/ to stand before me where **I slumbering lay, bathed in bright beams**."

4 Here I greatly prefer a colon instead of the usual full stop.

5 As Horsfall has pointed out in his notes on *A*. 3. 150 (and on 7. 420): *ante oculos* is used only in the previous places about a dream vision.

6 Cp. for this construction of *a(d)stare* e.g. Ov. *Met*. 2. 147 ***solidis*** *etiamnunc* ***sedibus*** *adstas*. Sil. 12. 547 *ante oculos astant lacerae* ***trepidantibus*** *umbrae*; Sulpicius Severus *Chron*. 1. 39. 1 ***huic*** *per soporem astare deus visus est*; Dial. 1. 1. 3 ***mihi*** *in somnis adstare visus es* (here as well together with *visus*).

7 Horsfall points justly to the oddness of the account in the sense that at first glance *multo . . . lumine* suggests the halo often accompanying the epiphanies of epic gods, but that this sort of divine light comes best to its own *in darkness*, not in full moonlight. Could it be that Vergil intends a double entendre here, that *multo lumine* could also be understood as anticipating the moonlight emphasized in the following relative clause?

If so, is this another indication that Vergil is under particular influence from the rationalistic Lucretius in this passage, as I try to demonstrate in my analysis of the relation between them later?

8 Servius on line 151.

9 Servius: *multi hic distinguunt et volunt unam partem esse orationis, id est 'vigilantis'*. Tiberius Donatus interprets a text having *insomnis*: *prope pervigil fui et, licet iacerem, arcebant tamen ab oculis meis plenum diversae sollicitudinis somnum* (ed. Georgii, 6–8, 286).

10 Before *in somnis*: Heyworth – Morwood, Cova; after: e.g. Geymonat, Goold, Conte. No commas: Mynors, Perret and Rivero García et alii.

11 Translated by Theodore C. Williams (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1910) [adopted by the 'Perseus' site].

12 "Intermediate and advanced level" in the series edited by Randall T. Ganiban. The commentator of Book 3 is Christine G. Perkell.

13 Lexically this may seem so arbitrary to most Latinists that in all fairness we should quote R. D. Williams (1962) more fully on line 152: "It seems best to accept the meaning 'unshuttered' because this is the most sensible in the context; possibly a negative was formed from one of the aspects of meaning of *consertus* (594)." Unfortunately, the idea deserves no more praise on that score. Ten years later, commenting on the whole *Aeneid* as a 'successor' of T. E. Page Williams still adhered to this bizarre idea and writes "the word would then be a Virgilian coinage making a negative adjective from the participle of *sero*"; a rebuttal of this idea is also found in Horsfall (2006) on 152. On the whole, Williams seemed in his latest comment to have become more negative towards "('inserted') windows" and more favourable towards "unshuttered".

14 Usually in a storey above the ground floor, I would add (see J. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*2 [Handbuch der römischen Altertümer VII], Leipzig: Beck, 1886, 246 n. 6).

15 As to the plural *fenestrae*, we do not know whether Horace refers to one window or several windows.

16 In the commentary's variorum part (on this edition see Kallendorf (2009, 206–208) Burmann shows that this was not his own idea, but attributable to 'Menagianus prior'. Wisely enough, Burmann does not care to spend words on *incertas*.

17 I hesitate to call *incertas* a conjecture, since I cannot tell whether this should rather be called an orthographical error occurring in some late mss due to the homophony with *insertus*, cf. *TLL s.v. incertus* 7,876,78 & 880,48f.

18 Stat. *Theb*. 1. 622.

19 According to *TLL* the *Itinerarium Alexandri* cap. 44 (4th c.) has the *hapax*: *aditu reserato, quem* ***inserabiliter*** *obstruxerant*. Here Peiper had conjectured *inreserabiliter* based on the 'normal' compound *irreseratus* (the one instance recorded in *TLL* is Ps. Hieronymus *epist*. 6, 6 p. 84B *sola . . . Maria* ***irreserato aditu seminali*** *clause utero concepit*).

20 *Satis est autem vacerras inter pedes octonos figere,* ***serisque transversis*** *ita* ***clatrare*** *ne spatiorum laxitas quae foraminibus intervenit pecudi praebeat fugam*. ("It is enough to fix the posts at intervals of eight feet and to fence with cross-bars in such a way that the width of space that is between them does not offer the animals a means of escape by its openings.") The *serae* are accordingly transverse and horizontal and *clatrare* is "put up a fence with *vacerrae* and appropriate rails in the crosswise manner".

21 The colon here I reckon as a typographical slip; the following 'they were' I would rather have deleted for the sake of clarity writing only "clearly visible" instead (cf. *manifestus OLD* 4).

22 See *OLD s.v*. 1d citing Ov. *Pont*. 3. 3. 5 *intrabat luna fenestras*.

23 Horsfall's specific reference in his lemma **per insertas fenestras** (p. 146) points to page 246 in *EV*. This seems to be wrong, however.

24 Vergil has these examples of the same construction: *G*. 4. 378 *pars epulis onerant* ***mensas***; *A*. 8. 284 *cumulantque oneratis lancibus aras* ~ **onerant* ***lances.***

25 Cp. *A*. 3. 547 *rite Iunoni Argivae iussos adolemus honores* (“burn offerings ritually”).
26 Cp. for example Sil. 11. 500 *multo patrum stipatur curia coetu* (*OLD s.v. stipo*) 3 c.
27 E.g. Sil. 2. 336f. *tanta accumulat praeconia leto/ vulneribusque virum*.
28 Cf. (from *OLD s.v. inficio*) respectively *inficere aliquem aliqua re* meaning primarily ‘dye’ (see especially *OLD* 1 (a)) and *inficere aliquid alicui OLD s.v*. 5 “to make (a stain) engrained” where the one other example (Cic. *Att*. 1. 13. 3) lacks a dative.
29 On this coinage, see the comment of G. B. Conte, *The Poetry of Pathos*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, 87.
30 I have collected many instances of this in my *Vergiliana* 100ff.
31 Only one other time is 1. *insero* used by Vergil: *G*. 3. 509: *Profuit inserto latices infundere cornu/ Lenaeos* (“It has been helpful to pour in Lenaean juice (i.e. wine) by means of an inserted horn”) i.e. as an assumed effective cure against the plague in Noricum causing devastating deaths among horses. That the passive perf. part. *insertus* here corresponds to an active *inserere cornu* is obvious. *Vino inserto per cornu* would have changed one object (going with *inserere*) with another, a ‘Verschiebung’. This example *TLL* places correctly *s.v*. 1. *insero* as heading I “aliquid (aliquem) alicui”.
32 The construction is the same as at 6. 189f. ***Contemplator*** *enim,* ***cum*** *montibus adsimulata/ nubile portabunt venti transversa per auras*.
33 Cf. in particular his *Lateinische Dichtersprache*[2], Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006.
34 The book seems to have attracted little attention in the Anglo-Saxon world. Both the ‘teach yourself’ form and partly the way the exercises are handled have been severely criticized, see R. F. Glei’s review in: *Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft* 2, 1999, 1071–1076.
35 “Es gibt nun aber einen ganz anderen Weg”.
36 Cf. *OLD s.v*. insero.2
37 See my discussion earlier.
38 With reference to *TLL* 7,1874, 49–53 they assume unconvincingly a desire on Vergil’s part to remind us of Lucretius’s line (“daß Vergil die Lucrez-Stelle anklingen lassen wollte”).
39 “Das als Einlass benutzte Fenster” (Görler).
40 “Das vom Mondlicht erfüllte Fenster.”
41 “Was wäre mit *insaeptas* geleistet (oder: angerichtet)?”
42 ἀνοίγειν is the verb for ‘open’, in particular a door, a gate or a shutter, cf. Homer *Il*. 24. 455; Aeschylus *Ag*. 604; Herodotus 1. 9. 2; Euripides *Hipp*. 56; *Med*. 660; Aristophanes *V*. 768; Plato *Smp*. 174e.

43 *A*. 9. 462 ff. The fruitfulness of a withdrawn charge*

In my *Vergiliana* (2016, 311–312) I made two serious mistakes dealing with the interpretation of 9. 462–4: 1) I was too prejudiced and in favour of the traditional text and punctuation to see the qualities of the punctuation launched by Gian Biagio Conte in his Teubner edition and 2) I dealt with 459 ff. as if a new scene had been set by accepting too readily the indentation of modern editions.[1] I can now see no reason for marking the beginning of a new paragraph here. There is a seamless transition from the preceding *aristeia* of Euryalus and Nisus, the arrival of the victorious allies of Turnus to the camp and Turnus preparing his men for the attack on the Aeneadae. It is as if Vergil by imitating Homer's formulaic Ἠὼς δ' ἐκ λεχέων παρ' ἀγαυοῦ Τιθωνοῖο/ ὤρνυθ', ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι φόως φέροι ἠδὲ βροτοῖσιν wants to convey that a new day does not always mark a new beginning. The function of *et iam* (459) is to bridge the gap between night and day.[2]

The first thing to do, then, is to quote as a start what the theologians would call a more substantial pericope in order to show the broader context for our *locus conclamatus*.

> Volvitur Euryalus leto, pulchrosque per artus
> it cruor inque umeros cervix conlapsa recumbit:
> purpureus veluti cum flos succisus aratro
> languescit moriens, lassove papavera collo
> demisere caput pluvia cum forte gravantur.
> At Nisus ruit in medios solumque per omnis
> Volcentem petit, in solo Volcente moratur.
> quem circum glomerati hostes hinc comminus atque hinc
> proturbant. instat non setius ac rotat ensem
> fulmineum, donec Rutuli clamantis in ore
> condidit adverso et moriens animam abstulit hosti.
> Tum super exanimum sese proiecit amicum
> confossus, placidaque ibi demum morte quievit.
> Fortunati ambo! Si quid mea carmina possunt,
> nulla dies umquam memori vos eximet aevo,
> dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum
> accolet imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.

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Victores praeda Rutuli spoliisque potiti
Volcentem exanimum flentes in castra ferebant.
nec minor in castris luctus Rhamnete reperto
exsangui et primis una tot caede peremptis,
Serranoque Numaque. ingens concursus ad ipsa
corpora seminecisque viros, tepidaque recentem
caede locum et pleno spumantis sanguine rivos.
agnoscunt spolia inter se galeamque nitentem
Messapi et multo phaleras sudore receptas.
Et iam prima novo spargebat lumine terras
Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile.
iam sole infuso, iam rebus luce retectis
Turnus in arma viros armis circumdatus ipse
suscitat aeratasque acies in proelia cogunt
quisque suos variisque acuunt rumoribus iras.[3]
quin ipsa arrectis (visu miserabile) in hastis
praefigunt capita et multo clamore sequuntur
Euryali et Nisi.
Aeneadae duri murorum in parte sinistra
opposuere aciem (nam dextera cingitur amni),
ingentisque tenent fossas et turribus altis
stant maesti; simul ora virum praefixa movebant
nota nimis miseris atroque fluentia tabo.
Interea pauidam volitans pennata per urbem
etc.

My main intention is to show the unbroken narrative line in the expedition of Nisus and Euryalus. It becomes clear that these two youngsters represent more than an account of youthful but futile bravery. The tragic end to their expedition evokes a deep-felt outburst in the poet. Nisus and Euryalus become heroes in spite of their obvious shortcomings. The *makarismos* in the poet's name opens up a view towards the fully established Imperium Romanum in the early Augustan era: *domus Aeneae* (448) points towards Caesar Octavianus and *pater Romanus* (449) anticipates SPQR.

There is every reason to dodge the usual paragraph markers. Paragraphs are meant to mark what belongs naturally together by making it easier to see the architecture of the text. However, one should be aware of the weaknesses of such editorial interventions. Indentation is in itself a form of standardization with little room for nuances. Our editions have indentation in four places: at 446, 450, 459 and 473. But by looking closer at the text, one can hardly deny that each of them has its own rationale. A well-trained ancient reciter would be able to convey to his listeners interpretative signals of a nuanced sort in cases where his written manuscript – be it in *liber* or in codex form – had nothing to mark paragraphs in the text. In his oral performance, the reciter would immediately respond to 11 cases of full stop in the course of the 41 lines. He would try to expound with his

voice and histrionic empathy the shifts, for example, where the poet is not able to refrain from an almost paradoxical emotional reaction in the form of a blessing (*makarismos*).

Thereupon follows the grief-stricken arrival of the allied equestrian force to the camp. They are bringing with them their dead leader Volcens, the victim of Nisus. In the camp itself, the mourning when Rhamnes is found dead reminds us of the havoc Euryalus had caused, but no less of the fatal plundering of his victim leading to the separation from his friend and the tragedy following in its wake.

Just before dawn, there is turmoil all over the camp. Chieftains are found murdered; the cavalry is there in dismay over their lost leader. Everywhere wailing grief is heard: a huge throng rushes to the corpses and the fatally wounded. While these scenes are going on Aurora is leaving her husband's saffron bed only to uncover the horrors of the camp with the sun's early rays.

In this situation I should have paid more attention to Servius's short comment on 461 COGIT QVISQVE SVOS scilicet comites; nam plenum est 'aeratasque acies'. Servius has evidently this syntactical understanding:

> Iam sole infuso, iam rebus luce retectis
> Turnus in arma viros armis circumdatus ipse
> suscitat aeratasque acies; in proelia cogunt 463
> quisque suos variisque acuunt rumoribus iras.

By *plenum est 'aeratasque acies'* Servius means that there should be a full stop after *acies*, that the sentence is complete with *aeratasque acies* (cf. *TLL* 10,2418,74f. *s.v. plenus*). But why does he differentiate between 'men to be armed' (*in arma viros . . . suscitat*) and bronze-clad ranks (*aeratas acies*), the latter group being added almost as an afterthought? Conte has recently given us this answer (2016, 53–54):

> the poet imagines Turnus as the commander of a Roman legion which is called to arms to face the enemy. Every Roman legion, as we know, was composed of single maniples each headed by centurions, who took care to array the combatants according to a prearranged order of battle (*cogit quisque suos*). The battle line included both light-armed soldiers (for the first charge) and heavy infantry (equipped with breastplates, *hasta* and large *scutum*), the latter of which can be identified as *aeratas acies*. After the light had launched the first assault, it withdrew behind the lines of the armoured infantry, which in turn advanced in a compact and well protected formation. Virgil takes his inspiration from this contemporary model. Turnus' command to take up arms for the forthcoming battle is addressed both to the regular combatants (*uiros*) and to those assigned to the heavy infantry (*aeratas acies*).[4]

I believe that there is another answer to Vergil's peculiar and situational call to arms. There were ranks in the camp already fully equipped for attack, namely those who had just arrived. These 300 men on horseback had been introduced

in line 367 as being sent forward from the Latin city. The *equites* led by Volcens were part of the troops Turnus had asked for, probably from Laurentum. They would report that they were just the vanguard and that the rest of the troops, the infantry, would come any time soon. By line 450 the cavalry brings the corpse of their leader to the camp together with the spoils taken from Euryalus and Nisus. These men are accordingly fully prepared for battle and must be identified with the *aeratas acies* in line 463. The *viri* of line 462, on the other hand, whom Turnus calls to arms, are his own men residing in the camp. These unprepared men, infantry men as we understand, will need to don their armour and make themselves ready for fight.

Notes

* Cf. *SO* 91, 2017, 110–114.

1 It is easy to see that the influence of the Homeric daybreak descriptions at *Il*. 11. 1 and *Od*. 5, 1 is partly responsible for the marking of 459ff. as a new passage.

2 The same two lines occur at *A*. 4. 584f. to bridge the departure of the Trojan fleet at night and Dido's sight of them at dawn.

3 The lines 461–464 I quote without punctuation; see later.

4 Pertinent comments on this by Thomas (2018, 512).

44 *A*. 11. 151–153. Pallas' promise to Evander

Nicholas in (gratam) memoriam

This additional chapter (dated 2019) – another *locus* of mine after the publication of *Vergiliana* – is intended as well as a kind of commemorative tribute to an outstanding Vergil scholar of our time. References to Nicholas Horsfall (1946–2019) have been and will be ubiquitous in Vergil studies. It is not difficult to pay him respect for his vast learning and incredible dedication. I for one, however, was never afraid to forward views to him of which I assumed that he would be reserved to say the least of it – like probably the present one. It was a wise thing for fellow 'Vergilians' to grant him *libertas dicendi* both in print and in correspondence, an attitude all the more recommendable as he was an oracle that could be consulted concerning all aspects related to the poet. I have found his huge commentaries stimulating in one way or the other for two decades, *not least because of his strong convictions*. The basis and fairness of these were constantly in my mind when reading him. The problems in question discussed next are examples. Here as elsewhere his comments may serve as a stimulating starting point in general, allowing for a sort of 'Auseinandersetzung' (dispute) that would not have been possible in an exchange of e-mails. A protagonist part in the discussion I grant him by right of his superior learning; the right to doubt or hold a different view has always been my privilege. This much, then, at the outset of a supplement to viewpoints promoted in the Introduction to my book.

*

At line 149 in the Eleventh Book King Evander hastens from Pallanteum towards the Trojan procession bringing back the lifeless body of his only son. The passage as a whole (139–181) is emotionally a peak in the first third of Book 11 and in that respect among the strongest scenes in the epic narrative as well. Overcome by grief the father throws himself at the corpse. At last, he is able to vent his feelings in a speech 30 lines long (152–181), the importance of which within the total epic fabric can scarcely be overrated. Among the comments on the passage, I will here only refer to a couple of readings that may help to place Evander's outburst within a wider context. In the former generation Friedrich Klingner (1967, 583)

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emphasized that the nine last lines of the speech (173–181) urge Aeneas to take revenge on Turnus. Moreover, the whole account about the last respects paid to Pallas points towards the single combat between Aeneas and Turnus and the latter's death. In a similar way, Hans-Peter Stahl (2015, 50, 112) sees now Evander's speech in the same perspective, only more detailed, as he is proceeding in his examination of the whole conflict between Aeneas and Turnus.

Our concern here, however, is just the three lines quoted next in the form they have, spelling and all, in Horsfall's commentary (2003, forthwith H.):

> et uia uix tandem uoci laxata dolore est: 151
> 'non haec, o Palla, dederas promissa parenti, 152
> cautius ut saeuo uelles te credere Marti. 153
> . . . '.
>
> . . . till scarce at last does choking grief allow a path for speech:
> "Not this, my Pallas, was the promise you gave your father,
> that you would with caution entrust yourself to the savage god of war.
> (Loeb, Goold)

This text, with the transmitted *parenti* followed by a comma, is the standard one in modern editions. As always, H. renders the lines in an independent way:

> At last grief just opened a passage to his voice:
> "These, Pallas, were not the promises[1] you had given to your father,
> that you would take to cruel war with some prudence."

Two capital Ts and one P in the margin of H.'s text (p. 8) signal that both the choice of text and the punctuation are topics of comment and evaluation.[2]

151

> et uia uix tandem **uoci** laxata **dolore est**:

The transmission is not quite easy to evaluate, see now Conte's edition for the basic information:

> *voci*: is attested by *P* and *M* (though it was not *M*'s original reading) + ω (the consensus of a great many medieval mss.). In addition, Tiberius Donatus is also to be grouped here.
>
> *voc**is***: *M*'s scribe wrote originally *voc**es*** which probably reflects *voc**is***), P^1 (not to be written off as secondary in value) and the group *Raiγ*.

The transmission seems on first sight to support the editors' choice of *voci*. The genitive, however, is evidently no slip of the pen in the later centuries of antiquity. The readings are in my view equally strong – per se that is.

The other textual issue in the line has almost no foundation in the transmission:

*dolo**re*** (or *dolo**rest***) is practically the only reading,

*dolo**ri*** has only support in some (better) Servian mss. in the comment on *A*. 12. 47, cf. Murgia – Kaster (2018, 415,13 with n.): "VT PRIMUM FARI POTVIT nimius enim dolor et iracundia ei intercluserant vocem: sic de Evandro (11.151) *et via vix tandem voci laxata dolori est*."

Had line 151 been a so-called half-line ending with *laxata* no one would ever have questioned dat. *vo**ci***; *dolore* is a complicating factor for the line both 1) grammatically and 2) semantically. This is evident enough from H.:

1 "abl. not of cause but if anything of separation." (H., p. 132).
This translation ("grief . . . opened a passage to his voice"), focusing on the pivotal role of *dolore* in the line, shows the significance of grief in releasing Evander's tongue from its paralysis. Why this abl. cannot be one of cause is therefore not obvious to me.
2 I am not much helped by H.'s comment on the physiological side of it "[Vergil] is sharply aware of the throat as a shared passage for voice and breath" (cf. 10. 348 on *vox* and *anima*) whereby the breathless "sobbing of grief [. . .] subsides enough to yield passage [. . .] for breath and speech."
In short: a penetrating and admirable interpretation trying to account for the problems and to end the uncertainties felt by centuries.

Thus for me at least the problems remain. Among these the following is the most important: what kind of factor is *dolor* in the transition from silence to speech? Is Evander prevented from speaking due to grief? Or, is grief, on the contrary, making it at last possible for him to express himself verbally? Our line should somehow allow an answer to this.

As it is, the prevailing reading today has been summarized succinctly by Tiberius Donatus: *dolor loquendi praestitit laxamentum* (p. 429, 7–8 ed. Georgii "grief has brought about an opening up for his speech"). The translation of H. is in accordance with this, his commentary *seems* to obfuscate it.

I put forward the following conjectural emendation, an almost obvious next step in anyone's contemplations:

*et via vix tandem vo**cis** laxata dolo**rist***

I owe this text to N. Heinsius (1676). Its elegance is striking: the genitive ending '-is' changes its place. The proposal was well known to Heyne – Wagner, Ribbeck and others, but it was more or less explicitly rejected by them all. Not so, however, in the latest edition of authority, Conte's: it seems even halfway to be recommended in his *app. crit*.: "*Heinsius non male*".[3]

But what does Heinsius's text actually mean? It seems – I cannot be more precise at present – that the combination, taken as *vocis laxata dolori*, is understood

as "opened up for the sorrow of his speech" or something similar. In that case, it is perhaps understandable that one has rejected or passed over Heinsius's proposal in silence.

The genitive belongs more naturally to *via* already by right of being the first noun after *via* in the line. Moreover, as H. reminds us, *via vocis* is a combination found at Lucretius 6. 1148–50, in the gripping account of the plague-stricken Athenians: *ulceribus* ***vocis via***[4] *saepta coibat,/ atque* [with consequences for the soul as well:] *animi interpres manabat* ***lingua*** *cruore/ debilitata malis, motu gravis, aspera tactu*. Vergil's interest, however, is not in physiology, but in the relation between the soul's feelings and the tongue as is quite natural in describing Evander's situation. This implies a transformation of the Lucretian combination; *via . . . vocis* in our line has an entirely different context than that in Lucretius. Vergil's concern is the father's ability to speak whereby a change from aphasia to words of mouth is taking place. Then, and then only I dare say, the path is opened up for the *dolor* (*dolori* dat. commodi) so that the feeling may unfold in the following 30 lines.

Dolor is the intense emotion which has filled Evander from the start of the scene and which is predominant throughout. To begin with *dolor* is an obstruction which suppresses his voice for some considerable time; the shock of Pallas's death has paralyzed him, then, as it may happen with a loving father, he recovers his ability to speak and can give vent to his feelings. This transition encompasses both grief and anguish in themselves (*dolor OLD s.v.* 2a), what has caused his suffering (*OLD s.v.* 2c) and his resentment (*OLD s.v.* 3): thoughts of revenge arise as a matter of course (173–181). The *dolor* gets its due and the emphasis it deserves in the scene. My own attempt at rendering the line will accordingly be on the earlier basis:

"And with difficulty the path of his voice was at last opened up for his anguish":

152

non haec, o Palla, dederas promissa **parenti,**

Goold's Loeb-ed.: Not this, my Pallas, was the promise you gave your father that you. . . .

H.: These, Pallas, were not the promises you had given to your father that you. . . .

This text, with *parenti* followed by a comma, is the standard one in modern editions. Rightly, as far as concerns the text. H. rendering of *haec . . . promissa* as 'these promises' in the plural, is almost in principle never my first choice (see above n. 1).

The 'P' in the margin of H.'s text is particularly relevant in the case of this line: the punctuation to follow *parenti* is an issue involving an important evaluation – and a central issue in this is my present ch. III 8.

Turning to H.'s commentary we learn that *petenti* attested only by Servius (auctus)[5] "is truly deplorable, a palpable simplification (under the influence of 9.83?) in the interest of easier syntax". A harsh verdict it may seem, other commentators are indeed less negative, even positive.[6] H.'s emotive dismissal of *petenti* has apparently more to it than caused by an inferior variant in itself.[7] It has more to do with what H., with some justification, mentions as misapplied "interest of easier syntax". The punctuation issue, then, turns out to be the crucial one according to H. Coming to the syntactic analysis (in line 153) H. shows that he has R. D. Williams (1973) specifically in mind when he dissociates himself so emphatically from *petenti* in his comment on line 152 shortly before. He now says that Williams "fails to realise" that *dederas promissa* is just "an evocative and metrically more tractable alternative to *promiseras*".[8] H. then goes on to defend *promittere* + *ut* (see now *TLL*), adding that we should possibly supply a dative participle like e.g. *precanti* [why not *petenti*? E.K.] to go with the construction without ousting *parenti* as Williams did. Neither H.'s grammatical + lexical analysis nor Williams's choice of *petenti* has convinced me. Nevertheless, I am grateful to both of them for their attempts.

However, one word gets no comment, namely the predicative *haec*: in the earlier translations it anticipates the *ut*-clause (cf. the *hic praeparativum* category, *TLL* 6,2729,63ff.). Quoted in isolation in a grammar I would hardly have surmised another interpretation, let alone that something was seriously amiss. As part of a larger context, or better a scene as vividly described as any in the poem, my understanding changes. The situation described by Vergil in the 13 previous lines reaches its culmination with the father flinging himself on the body of his son who is lying outstretched on the bier after the Trojan procession had placed it on the ground (*feretro Pallanta reposto/ procubuit super*). Evander clings to Pallas (*atque haeret*) as much as King Kreon did in the case of his daughter (Euripides *Med*. 1205 f. προσπίτνει νεκρῷ,/ ᾤμωξε δ' εὐθὺς καὶ περιπτύξας χέρας/).[9] This is a highly audible scene as well (Evander: *lacrimansque* ***gemens****que* (150); add the *plangentia . . . / agmina* of citizens marching out (145f.) and the *clamores* from mothers (147)). On this backdrop, or better, amidst this general loud outcry of grief, a short opening verbal outburst is called for in 152 to connect with the previous line focusing on Evander's individual and personal grief (*et via vix tandem vocis laxata dolorist*). In this light, I read the line opening Evander's speech as complete in itself; if the next line (*cautius ut etc*.) had not existed, nobody would have doubted that 152 was self-contained. Moreover, one should bear in mind that Evander is least of all a well-prepared and fluent orator taking the floor: emotionally he is in turmoil.

The line could be paraphrased by something like (with a heart-broken groan): "you did not promise[10] me *this*, did you?" The Latin is clearly to be printed with an exclamation mark after *parenti*. Williams (*ad loc*.) objects that it would be very abrupt to end the sentence with *parenti*. An abrupt asyndeton between 151 and 152, however, is indeed one of the poet's most cherished artistic effects. That is also why the previous line emphasized that Evander was first incapacitated by grief, unable to get words past the lips.

Hirtzel (1900) put a full stop after *parenti*, and the influential Oxford edition kept it for two-thirds of a century, but to my knowledge Hirtzel had no important followers.

153

cautius ut saeuo uelles te credere Marti.

So far I have rejected to append this line to 152, the usual expedient,[11] and the only alternative left to discuss seems to be to take *ut* = *utinam*, an archaic usage. This solution has had no proponents in more recent time except R. D. Williams (*ad loc*.)[12] referring to *A*. 10. 631 f. (*oratio recta*: Juno in her tearful appeal to Jupiter to save Turnus), an example which gives a good illustration of the function of *ut* as a wish particle: . . . *Quod* ***ut o*** *potius formidine falsa/***ludar***, et in melius tua, qui potes, orsa* ***reflectas****!* ("would indeed that I were rather deluded by a false fear, and that you, who have the power, would turn back your plans to the better!" S. J. Harrison [1991]). In this case the regular construction is present subjunctive + *o* (with 1. and 2. p. forms) to express a future wish. In our case (153) there is no *o* and the subj. is imperfect. This is accordingly no viable alternative either. It would simply have been too difficult to understand the line in this way for a reciter of the Augustan age.

My solution is to combine the line with the following lines:

Cautius ut saevo velles te credere marti,
haud ignarus eram quantum nova gloria in armis
et praedulce decus primo certamine posset.

Ut is the *ut concessivum* and this interpretation fits indeed both the syntax and the contents of the three lines. Here is my somewhat free rendering:

Although you wanted (then, before departure), cautiously enough, to engage in the fighting, I was not unaware of the power the unfamiliar glory in arms and the oversweet (attraction of) honour would have on you in your first battle.

Pallas, then, from the beginning a wise and circumspect young man who well knew the risks connected with his inexperience, could nevertheless, in the eyes of the father, fall victim to the allures of glory and honour in his maiden battle. He would the more easily become prey to these attractions as he was undoubtedly a brave hero by nature.

The restored passage with its two conjectural emendations (151 Heinsius) and new punctuation (153 E.K.) will accordingly be this:

et via vix tandem vocis laxata dolorist: 151
non haec, o Palla, dederas promissa parenti ! 152

Cautius ut saeuo velles te credere marti, 153
haud ignarus eram quantum nova gloria in armis 154
et praedulce decus primo certamine posset. 155

Notes

1 For me (as for Goold and others) *promissa* is a typical poetic plural (cf. my *EV* art. *s.v.* 'plurale per singolare').
2 As to Horsfall's legacy to Vergilian scholarship, it would be a worthwhile topic for a monograph to go through all 'T's and 'P's in Horsfall's commentaries on the Aeneid (on books 7, 11, 3, 2, 6).
3 Burmannus (in the Vergil ed. edited by his nephew of the same name in 1746, vol. III, p. 611) mentions the conjecture (incorrectly it seems) only as *dolori* in the 'Variorum' part *ad loc*. (refers to Heinsius' n. on Ovid's *Ep*. 15. 113). In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries this reading was already known from Servius (N.B. not DServ.). Rightly, Burman criticizes this *partial* correction: "sed quid tum fiet voci?" Dr. Thea S. Thorsen (Trondheim) informs me that Burman had made the mistake already in his Ovid ed. *ad loc.cit*. 1727, if not earlier.
4 The combination seems reflected in Vergil's variation of it at *A*. 7. 533f. *udae vocis/ iter*.
5 See now Murgia – Kaster (2018, 285).
6 Madvig (*Adversaria critica* II (1873, 30) wrote "sine ulla dubitatione restituendum".
7 Evidently considered as a viable alternative by other (*alii*) ancient commentators (Murgia – Kaster (2018, 285, 11ff.) when paraphrasing it as "petenti mihi, o Palla, fidem dederas te cautius quam fortius dimicaturum".
8 His comment reflects Servius (*ad loc*.) saying that Vergil "hoc dicit: non mihi talia promittebas, ut crederem cautius de dimicaturum" (Murgia – Kaster 285, 3f.). *Promittebas* (4 longa) could theoretically be possible, *promiseras* (cretic ending) could not.
9 Quoted in her note *ad loc*. by Miryam Librán Moreno in Rivero *et alii* (2011, 76).
10 But *dederas* is a true pluperfect.
11 In this regard, *ut* smacks almost of a modern prosaic 'namely that'.
12 This alternative is not even mentioned by such scrupulous editors as Geymonat (2008) and Rivero et alii (2011).

45 Additions and second thoughts

My conjectures on Vergil (to substitute the list at *Vergiliana* p. 4) are these as of 2019. I have written in semi-bold those two that are new after the publication of *Vergiliana*:[1]

1 *Ecl*. 3. 62 *At* instead of *Et* (2007)
2 *Ecl*. 4. 8 *quom* (=*cum*) instead of *quo* (1989)
3 ***Ecl*. 6. 24 *videre* instead of *videri* (2019)**
4 *Ecl*. 10. 44 *inermem* instead of *in armis* (2016)
5 *G*. 1. 500 *nunc* instead of *hunc* (2006)
6 ***G*. 2. 22 *vias* instead of *via* (2017)**
7 *G*. 3. 159 *ecquos* instead of *et quos* (2016)
8 *A*. 1. 4 a semicolon instead of a comma (*passus* = *passus est A*. 1. 5)
9 ***A*. 1. 377 *sorte sua* instead of *forte sua* (2016)**
10 *A*. 2. 139 *forsit* instead of *fors et* (2008)
11 *A*. 2. 738 *fato mea rapta* instead of *fatone erepta* (2011)
12 ***A*. 3. 150 *iacenti* instead of *iacentis* (2019)**
13 ***A*. 3. 152 *insaeptas* instead of *insertas* (2019)**
14 *A*. 3. 417 *medius* instead of *medio* (2016)
15 *A*. 4. 375 *amissae classis* instead of *amissam classem* (2013)
16 *A*. 6. 588 *mediam* instead of *mediae* (2016)
17 *A*. 6. 615 *-que* instead of *-ve* (2016)
18 *A*. 6. 659 *silvas* instead of *silvam* (2016)
19 *A*. 6. 852 *pacis . . . mores* instead of *paci . . . morem* (combining *var. lect.*) (2011)
20 *A*. 6. 893–6 Transposition of 897–8 (minus 896) before 893–5 (2002)
21 *A*. 7. 598 *rapta quies* instead of *parta quies* (2012)
22 *A*. 9. 79 *et* instead of *sed* (1996)
23 *A*. 9. 215 *saltem aut* instead of *solita aut* (based on Peerlkamp) (2016)
24 *A*. 9. 709 *tergum* instead of *tergus* (1998)
25 *A*. 9. 733 *clipeus* instead of *clipeo* (1998)
26 *A*. 11. 50 *forsit* instead of *fors et* (2008)
27 *A*. 11. 256 *mitto* instead of *mitto ea* (2012)
28 *A*. 12. 218 *se viribus aequos* instead of *non viribus aequis* (*aequos* Schrader) (2016)

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The good thing about reviews and other forms of readers' or referees' responses is that it may move one's own insight forward and, hopefully, spark off future discussions as well. In the course of the relatively short time that has elapsed from the release of my *Vergiliana* three years ago several of my interpretations and proposals have attracted comments and sometimes objections. A few of either kind I have read as invitations to rethink problems. In the following, I have tried to do so with an open mind. The (preliminary) results of this process will have particular relevance for those who already have my *Vergiliana* on their shelves.[2]

ECL. 3. 62 (*VERGILIANA* P. 14)

"[T]here is . . . not the slightest reason to read *At* for *Et*", declares one critic (Heyworth). Well, that depends very much on the basic assumptions about the first of the two distichs involved in the first competitive exchange between Damoetas and Menalcas.

DAMOETAS

Ab Iove principium musae: Iovis omnia plena;
ille colit terras, illi mea carmina curae. 60

MENALCAS

Et me Phoebus amat: Phoebo sua semper apud me
munera sunt, lauri et suave rubens hyacinthus.

Damoetas has a strong opening, indeed, but it is not straightaway an adaptation of Komatas's distich in Theocritus (5. 80–81), let alone a translation:

Ταὶ Μοῖσαί με φιλεῦντι πολὺ πλέον ἢ τὸν ἀοιδόν
Δάφνιν· ἐγὼ δ᾽ αὐταῖς χιμάρως δύο πρᾶν ποκ᾽ ἔθυσα.

The Muses love me much more than they love the singer Daphnis. I sacrificed to them two goats the other day.

For those remembering Theocritus Vergil does not pay homage to the Muses even we reckon with the vocative *Musae*. He has completely changed the alleged model: instead of presenting himself as a favourite of the Muses, we see a poet whose poems have the patronage of Jupiter. In establishing this relationship, he does not imitate Theocritus, but Aratus and the latter poet's devote homage to Zeus.

Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα, τὸν οὐδέποτ᾽ ἄνδρες ἐῶμεν
ἄρρητον: μεσταὶ δέ Διὸς πᾶσαι μὲν ἀγυιαί,

> πᾶσαι δ᾽ ἀνθρώπων ἀγοραί, μεστὴ δὲ θάλασσα
> καὶ λιμένες: πάντη δὲ Διὸς κεχρήμεθα πάντες.
>
> Let us begin from Zeus whom we mortals never leave unnamed: full of Zeus is every street and every marketplace of men; full is the sea and its havens; everywhere all of us have need of Zeus.

Damoetas's allusion to Aratus is an abbreviated tribute to Jupiter, two lines against four. Aratus's insistence on the all-pervading presence of the god (twice μεστός, four times πάντ-/ πᾶσ-) is replaced by the solitary *omnia plena* in Damoetas's distich, and the Greek poet's list of places (ἀγυιαί, ἀγοραί, θάλασσα, λιμένες) is expressed through *terras* alone. Only Jupiter is present in every colon of Damoetas's distich (*Iove, Iovis, ille, illi* as nominative, genitive, dative and ablative). In that regard, Damoetas seems even more insistent than Aratus (three times with the genitive Διός): In the last line Damoetas plays his trump *illi mea carmina curae*, which announces his own special relationship as a poet to the mighty god, half a line representing a great challenge to Menalcas. What can he possibly have to offer to match this?

Some critics take *musae* as a vocative plural addressed to the Muses, an interpretation already in vogue in antiquity (see Servius) and of late recommended by Cucchiarelli. In that case the first half of the line would be read, with a comma added and capital *M*, as *Ab Iove principium, Musae*. But what function could such an invocation of the Muses have? I fail to see any, and I share Clausen's view on the issue: "had Menalcas heard *Musae* as a vocative he would have answered with a vocative", the pattern adhered to in the ensuing exchanges between the singers. Vergil uses the famous formula without its strong exhortation ἀρχώμεσθα in the originator's version. Grammatically, Vergil has a noun phrase as he has at *Ecl*. 8. 11 *A te principium <sc. mihi versuum meorum erat/ est>, tibi desinam <sc. versus meos>* "in your honour I will cease from my lines". Similarly the self-centred Damoetas: *Ab Iove principium <mihi est>*, his rival singer has no part in it as is the case in the Aratean formula. This speaks definitely in favour of *musae* as a genitive, as it used in the second line of the First Eclogue (*tu . . . / silvestrem . . . musam meditaris*).

By this distich from Damoetas Menalcas is not sidelined that easily. As a poet he has an even more intimate relationship to a god, namely to the protector of poets par excellence. Menalcas's deity Apollo can offer more than *cura*: Menalcas is loved by the god and he can even offer the god some ever-present favours in return: *Phoebo sua semper apud me/ munera sunt etc*.). After this, it is not possible to say whether Damaotas or Menalcas has the stronger hand: Jupiter is the sovereign god always and everywhere; Menalcas's Apollo is closer and more intimate to the poet's activity.

In this way, the two gods have each their favourite. In this interpretation, the singers do not have the common ground Komatas and Lacon had in Theocritus's *Id*. 5 (Muses and Apollo). Vergil has chosen to oppose his singers. In the light of this, we cannot read Lakon's and Menalcas's lines in just the same way. Here is Lakon:

> Καὶ γὰρ ἔμ᾽ Ὠπόλλων φιλέει μέγα, καὶ καλὸν αὐτῷ 82
> κριὸν ἐγὼ βόσκω· τὰ δὲ Κάρνεα καὶ δὴ ἐφέρπει.

> Yes, and me too Apollo dearly loves. And a fine ram I feed for him, and already the Carnea are coming on.

I will still maintain that *Et* is the wrong connective in Vergil's line 62. In that respect, line 44 is in perfect order and shows the function of *et* to expect: ***Et nobis*** *idem Alcimedon duo pocula fecit* "the same Alcimedon made two cups for us as well". Read 60–63 slowly (as e.g. presented by Goold, *LCL*, and a number of other translators):

> *D.*: With Jove my song begins; of Jove all things are full. He makes the earth fruitful; he cares for my verses.
> *M.*: **And** me Phoebus loves; Phoebus always finds with the presents he loves, laurels and sweet-blushing hyacinths.

As presented in this way, line 62 is no longer part of an exchange between competing singers, a match to be judged by a competent umpire. Menalcas seems in this rendering to receive a cue from his colleague for the protective god to mention. He simply adds another great name (*Phoebus*) to join the one already mentioned (*Iuppiter*). At least Augustine Cartault (*Étude sur les Bucoliques de Virgile*, Paris 1897, p. 119 with n. 2) seems to have felt the inadequacy of the transmitted connective: "'Et me Phoebus amat' s'explique par une brachylogie, '**moi aussi** j'ai un protecteur : c'est Phœbus qui m'aime'". Cartault is right about *et* as it ought to be taken, namely as equivalent to *etiam* here (see my documentation *Vergiliana* p. 15), but to try to repair the deficient logic by referring to brachylogy is unconvincing. Heinrich Naumann goes one better in his translation (*Hirtengedichte*. Lateinisch und deutsch, München 1968) "Mich **aber** liebt Apoll", thereby restoring the spirit of the song contest. Unfortunately, he is out of step with the Latin.

Rebus sic stantibus, a look at Eclogue 3 as a whole is helpful. In the middle of the poem, Palaemon takes on the role as referee for a song contest between Damoetas and Menalcas to settle their rivalry.

As I see it, then, it is not only their second exchange of lines (64–67) that marks their rivalry with *At* (66), but also the first (60–63). In this way, the idea of a contest comes distinctly to the fore in the opening. Afterwards, however, there is no need to have this signal of opposition.

ECL. 4. 8 (*VERGILIANA* P. 16)

My learned critic Heyworth has asked for a translation of *cum* (< *quom*), conjectured instead of *quo*, as I have integrated it in my reading of lines 8–10:

> Tu modo nascenti puero, **cum** ferrea primum
> desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo,
> casta fave Lucina: tuus iam regnat Apollo. 10

This is how I would translate these lines:

> Only do you, chaste Lucina, look kindly on the child <who is> born, **when first** ("just at the time when") the iron race shall cease and a golden race arise all over the world! Your Apollo reigns already!

The syntactical construction consists of main clause with an imperative (*fave* pointing to the immediate future) and a subordinate temporal clause with future tense. This is much like *G*. 1. 187f. ***Contemplator*** *item*, ***cum*** *se nux plurima silvis/* ***induet*** *in florem et ramos* ***curvabit*** *olentis*[3] ("Pay likewise attention when the walnut clothes itself thickly in the woods and bends its fragrant boughs"). For prosaic examples of *cum* + future, cf. these examples from Cicero: ***Cum*** *tabella vobis* ***dabitur****, iudices, non de Flacco dabitur solum etc*. ("When the ballot is given to you, judges, it will not only be one concerning Flaccus" *Flac*. 99); *magna vis conscientiae, quam qui neglegunt*, ***cum*** *me violare* ***volent****, se ipsi indicabunt* ("strong is the force of (a guilty) conscience; those ignoring it when they want to violate me, will denounce themselves" *Cat*. 3. 27); *non facies fidem scilicet*, ***cum*** *haec* ***disputabis*** ("you will not be believed to be sure when you put forward such arguments" *Pis*. 59). Cf., as further examples, *Inv*. 1. 75; 81; *Fam*. 6. 4. 5; *Att*. 14. 16. 3; *Marc*. 29.[4] The future in the subordinate clause expresses simultaneity with the main clause. The idiomatic tense preferably used in English in these cases is the present, as we can see from my translations.

The parallel I adduced from *A*. 8. 408–410 (*Vergiliana* p. 18) (***cum*** *femina* ***primum****/ . . . / . . . cinerem et sopitos suscitat ignis* "**when first** a wife . . . awakes the embers and dormant fire", that is "**when** a wife **starts** awakening the embers and dormant fire") exhibits the same use of *cum . . . primum*, whereby the adverb gives precision and emphasis to the temporal subjunction. This is well commented on by Ladewig – Schaper – Deuticke in their rendering "gerade zu der Zeit, wo", English "just (at the time) when".

Cum is essential for my view of the fourth *Eclogue*. Lines 8–10 mark for me what in German is called a 'Zeitenwende', 'a turning point in time.' According to the concept of a series of *saecula* constituting the history of mankind, this turning point concurs with the birth of a new generation, or rather with the birth of a child initiating a new generation at the same time as a new age begins. The abstract idea of a turning point, attributable to a year – a consul's period of government – Vergil has, so to speak, enriched by means of the Hesiodic concept of generations of different quality succeeding each other: a γένος σιδήρεον at the end (Hes. *Op*. 176) versus a γένος χρύσεον in a distant mythical past (*ibid*. 109). Vergil calls attention to the inversion of this development when the times turn from the cessation of the iron race to the rise of a golden race, a change marked by the birth of a child; the way *nascenti* is synchronic with *cum ferrea primum/ desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo* expresses this perfectly.

ECL. 6. 24 (*VERGILIANA* P. 47)

I thank Emanuele (Berti, 2017) for his explicit criticism of my former conjecture. I left my flank wide open on this issue by stretching unduly the meaning of the seldom verb *vieo*[5] under the seductive influence of Hofman Peerlkamp. The first reaction would seemingly be to return straightaway to the text in its unanimously transmitted form *satis est potuisse videri*; the problem is only that this is just as confusing as it has always been.

Four interpretations have been discussed in the last generations, not least due to the ambiguity created by the two infinitives (*potuisse* and *videri*): is *videri* dependent on *satis est* or on *potuisse*? If *videri* is dependent on *potuisse* the meaning seems to be 1) "It is enough (for me) that I was able to be seen (viz. against my will)" (*Satis est <mihi> <me> potuisse videri*, Coleman's preferred interpretation). The alternative is *videri* directly dependent on *satis est*, whereas *potuisse* depends on *videri*: 2) "it is enough that you **are seen** to have been capable (of capturing me)" and 3) "it is enough that you **seem** to have been able to bind me" (a sham and illusion, "basta/ vi basti sembrare di aver potuto", Cucchiarelli).

My question for a long time has been: is there a way to avoid this unfortunate ambiguity? The word unfortunate is justified because one's first reaction would almost unavoidably be to see (or hear) *potuisse* as linked with *satis est* "it is enough to be able (or to have been able)". Then the following second infinitive would be dependent on *potuisse*.

The context and the situation depicted are important in our evaluation of the issue. The two young men, Chromis and Mnasyllos, come across Silenus asleep in a cave. All of a sudden, they have the chance to hear a song from the age-old god. They improvise *vincula* made from the very *serta* (*ipsis ex vincula sertis* 19) which Silenus had been wearing during his drinking bout the previous day: the garlands had slipped from him and were available for the boys to use. They put these *vincula* around him (*iniciunt*) as if they now had him in their power, on the face of it a drastic action. Would an approach of a more polite kind be better is a natural question. Their way of entangling Silenus with inefficient 'vincula' of the god's own make (*serta*) is, of course, not to be taken seriously at all. It is, at most, a symbolic mastery only, but in fact rather ludicrous both for the ancient reader and not least for the god himself. Adding to this comic effect the beautiful nymph Aegle joins their party and paints him with the crimson juice from mulberries. During this latter treatment, the god awakens. The scene is altogether hilarious. The good-humoured Silenus goes along with it: he asks, *dolum* ***ridens***: *quo vincula nectitis?* ("to what end do you plait fetters?[6]") That is: "what do you want from me. Loose me, you lads". The following *satis est potuisse videri* (or whatever) must be understood in the light of this cheerful character of the scene. Servius was on the right track in the first of the interpretations on the lemma SATIS EST POTUISSE VIDERI (after Thilo – Hagen III, 68, 21–25):

> Solvite me: [1] sufficit enim, quia potui a vobis (*qui estis homines*) videri; quod ideo dicit quia hemithei, cum volunt, tantum videntur, ut fauni,

> nymphae, Silenus. [2] Potest et aliter intellegi: solvite me; sufficit enim, quod talis vobis visus sum, ut etiam ligari possim. (The minor adjustments of this quotation inclusive of the numbering are mine)

Ottaviano quotes the second of these interpretations with approval. Coleman chose, however, to support the former for good reason. In either case, however, the sentence remains cryptic (Clausen) and equivocal.

Word order does not seem to have made any difference in previous discussions. It certainly does in my opinion. In that regard, Servius's first interpretation is definitely to be preferred: after his question about the boys' behaviour, Silenus transforms the situation into a good laugh. All reproach is absent from his attitude towards his 'guests'. With the change of one letter only Silenus shows himself accessible for the youngsters in plain and unequivocal language. In tune with this, I propose line 24 as follows: *Solvite me, pueri: satis est potuisse viderе*. The asyndeton is explicative, the ellipsis of *me* with the active infinitive *videre* is explained by the previous *me*; *vos* is easily supplied by the context, but is hardly called for. The sentence implies that the boys' improvised "*vincula*" were both useless and unnecessary. "Loosen me, lads: it is sufficient that you have been able to see me."

ECL. 7. 29–32 (*VERGILIANA* P. 58)

This is no more than a belated footnote to my discussion *without affecting my own interpretation of Corydon's lines*. In an article in *Revue de Philologie* (2009) J. Scheid and P. Veyne give the following translation of the last distich "Tu auras ta statue en pied, de marbre poli, avec des cothurnes de pourpre lacés à tes mollets, **si cela te convient**." For the authors, the discreet wit of this promise is the image "séduisante d'une chasseresse" reminding the reader of Venus like the goddess in the First Book of the *Aeneid venatrix . . . nuda genu* (1. 319 f.). This meaning of *proprius* is supported by reference to the inscriptions from the Secular Games (Dessau *ILS*, II, number 5050, line 98, 103 and 136; *TLL s.v.* 2016 B.1. β): "proprius veut dire . . . que la victime est conforme à ce qu'exige le rite, qu'elle est appropriée à la divinité concernée par le type, le sexe et la couleur".

ECL. 10. 44 (*VERGILIANA* P. 74)

Heyworth considers *inermem* to be "an ineffectual epithet to apply to an elegiac *puella*. It is erotic love, not desire for war that has taken her away". Here one has to distinguish between the persons involved and their feelings. It is indeed *erotic love* that has brought Lycoris to the front where her present lover, an officer, is defending the borders. Her love (*amor*) is not *insanus* qua erotic love, but in view of the realities that surround her on all sides, expressed in pointed form as its consequence, a truly *insanus amor duri Martis*. Gallus, on the other hand, is full of *pitiful love* in spite of her faithlessness. He knows what dangers she, being an unarmed girl, is exposed to *media inter tela*, an expression of a military camp,

which fully suffices in the context, whereas the transmitted *in armis* is felt to be quite superfluous.

G. 3. 303–304 (*VERGILIANA* P. 115)

Emanuele Berti, who is preparing a commentary on the *Georgics*, has convinced me of my mistaken understanding of the verb *cadere* in this context. It is no excuse that I have been wrong with so many others.

A. 2. 121 (*VERGILIANA* P. 156)

This is what I wrote in an otherwise commendatory and appreciating review of Sergio Casali's edition of the Second Book (*nota bene*: the parallels for *fata* [= *mortem*] *paret* [sg.] have been revised):

> Whereas Casali accepts one conjecture in the Second Book, *ardere* for *audere* at 347, he defends *parent* at 121 ("si chiedino a chi i fati preparino morte"), a problem already addressed by Servius (cf. *TLL s.v. paro* II B 422. 78–82). The result is, as can be seen, a harsh ellipsis. To avoid this and save the meaning 'oracle' for *fata* (*OLD s.v. fatum* 1) Hofmann Peerlkamp conjectured *quid*. An oracle is never specific in the way required by the reading *cui fata* (subj.) *parent*. If we instead assume the meaning of *fata* to be 'fate', that is 'death', we can either think that 'they' (the Greeks or Ulixes and Calchas) are the subjects for *parent*, or allow the conjecture *paret* with Apollo as subject. An overwhelming material is in favour of *paret*, cf. for *fata parare alicui* cf. Val.Fl. 1.648 f., Stat. *Theb*. 5.714 (for *p. mortem* cf. Cic. *Milo* 19; Ov. *met*. 10.348; Luc. 5.773; 7.470; Tac. *Ann*. 13.1.1; 15.61.2); *p. letum* Lucr. 6.1229; Ov. *Ibis* 355; *met*. 15.762f., [Sen.] *Octavia* 619f.; Statius 5.660; *p. finem* Lucr. 1.551; *p. exitium* Enn. *sc*. 167V, Sil. 11.576; Tac. *Hist*. 4.58.1). I am accordingly in no doubt that sg. *paret* is much to be preferred.

A. 4. 224 (*VERGILIANA* P. 181)

In 1905 A. E. Housman rejected *expectat* as clearly and unequivocally as any corruption in Vergil deserved: *expectat = moratur, deterit tempus* (Servius) was simply unacceptable. Otto Hiltbrunner confirmed this in his *TLL* article on *expecto* in 1950 (without any mention of Housman). Since then many have tried to make *expectare* a transitive verb to no avail. The present *status quaestionis* is rather depressing for the *tiro*.[7] I regret to say that I have managed to do nothing worthy of mention myself to overcome the impasse except adding to the number of unconvincing conjectures.

The reason why I did not accept Housman's conjecture was, for one thing, that I did not previously see any reason why *Hesperiam* should be totally lost in the paradosis. As a geographical designation *Hesperia* was introduced with some emphasis at 1. 530 (by the unanimous *MPR*) as equivalent to *Italia* in more modern *usus*. *Hesperia* was mentioned again at 1. 569. Aeneas himself had at the end of Book 2

told about Creusa's prediction of the land *Hesperia*, of the *regnum* and the *regia coniunx* awaiting him after a long exile and an extended voyage at sea. Aeneas himself repeated the notion a number of times in Book 3 (163; 186; 418; 503).

Second, the palaeographic reasoning for its disappearance in Housman's article did not convince me: *hes-* often mispronounced as *ex-*, whereas – *periam* through a "chain of errors" (> *-pertam* > *-pectam*) would easily enough have the ending – *pectat* according to Housman.

I believe now that there may be an easier explanation why *expectat* could have ousted *Hesperiam*. My reasoning rests on the assumption that, at an early stage in the transmission, *non expectat* was written in the margin as an explanatory note on *non respicit*. Livy has *spem ab Romanis respicere* (cf. Liv. 4. 17. 5) in the sense of 'look to somebody (esp. for help or protection)', signifying much the same as *spem ab Romanis expectare*; further *subsidia respicere* is almost synonymous to *subsidia expectare* (cf. Liv. 4. 46. 8). See *OLD s.v.* 3 b. Under such circumstances, the loss of *Hesperiam* is conceivable.

A. 6. 852 (*VERGILIANA* P. 258)

Haven't I said enough about my 'deplorable'[8] position on 6. 852? Not quite I think. I have not commented more specifically on Servius's lemma "PACIS MOREM leges pacis" (Servius Vol. II Thilo p. 119, 23). I have never understood how *pacis* could have become part of the Servian lemma without reflecting a genitive in the text at some point. The lemma does not record something like the end result of a process, but an existing word combination. This combination may not have been in Servius's own text of the *Aeneid*, but his commentary reflects at times variants he has picked up from the exegetical tradition, and that is just the case in our line, I think. The supposed older commentator had asked himself: "What does the poet mean by *pacis morem/ mores*?" He bases his interpretation not on free speculation, but on the sound principle of previous similar statements by the same poet. Here is what he probably remembered:

1 Jupiter's prediction about Venus's son (*A.* 1. 263–4):

populosque feroces
contundet **mores**que viris et moenia **ponet**.

that is an announcement in perfect agreement with [*eis sc. populis*] *pacisque imponere morem/ mores*,

2 Dido founding Carthage (*A.* 1. 507):

iura dabat **leges**que viris.

3 Jupiter to Mercurius on Aeneas and his mission (*A.* 4. 229–231):

Sed fore, qui gravidam imperiis belloque frementem
Italiam regeret, genus alto a sanguine Teucri
proderet, ac totum sub **leges** mitteret orbem.

For an interpreter it would be of primary importance to reconcile Jupiter's announcements about Aeneas's mission with Anchises's memento to the Roman people. According to Jupiter the *leges* (4. 231) are by far the most important element of the *mores* under the Roman sway and thereby the most important part of the *pax Romana*. This was correctly seen by the pre-servian commentator on 6. 852 whoever he was.

A. 6. 893–896 (*VERGILIANA*, 246–256)

It may seem, almost two decades after I published my view on the *Somni portae* (2002), that the textual discussion has reached a new notable stage. Both Gian Biagio Conte (*Hermes* 2019) and Gerhard Binder (2019) now vigorously maintain that the lines 6. 893–896 are *oratio recta*. Conte, by summarizing nicely this conviction in the second edition of his Teubner *Aeneis* (2019) on p. 174 (*app. crit.*), and Binder, by renewing his and his wife's 1998 position emphatically ("mit Nachdruck") in his recent commentary on the *Aeneid* (cp. in particular his appendix pp. 645–648). Accordingly, inverted commas mark out the four lines (*Sunt geminae Somni portae . . . insomnia Manes*) as spoken by Anchises.

Future discussions will have to compare all the arguments stemming, respectively, from Conte and Binder, and much more closely than I can do in this chapter.

This attribution of the four lines to Anchises would no doubt have played a greater part in my original paper and *Vergiliana*, if I had been convinced that there was something sketchy or otherwise unfinished (e.g. a missing line or passage) at the end of the Sixth Book. As it is, the description of the exit taken as a final *oratio recta* from the mouth of Anchises is simply that it comes far too abruptly both for the ear (as recited poetry) and for the eye to be understood in the way my respected colleagues claim.

A. 7. 377 (*VERGILIANA* P. 258)

Notable scholars of the nineteenth century, Heyne, Peerlkamp, Ribbeck, Ladewig did not accept *immensam . . . per urbem*. Their remedy was either to make the epithet *immens**am*** an adverb, namely as *immens**um*** (Heyne, Ribbeck, Ladewig) or to delete v. 377 altogether (Peerlkamp 1861). F. Jasper has the merit in a comment,[9] less than a printed page long, to turn our attention to *urbem* which he considers a spelling mistake ("verschrieben", i.e. a slip of the pen) for *orbem* in which case we have to correct the epithet to *immens**um***. The whole expression he characterizes as "one of those hyperbolic phrases for which Vergil is known to have had a strong predilection" ("eine jener Hyperbeln . . . für welche Vergil bekanntlich eine so große Vorliebe hat."). He has no other comment on the word *orbis* than pointing to the fact that Amata ranges over a relatively sizeable tract of land ("einen verhältnismäßig bedeutenden Landstrich durchstreif[t]") with reference to lines 383 ff. I was too much influenced by this understanding of <u>*orbem*</u> to see that my interpretation had a flaw. Therefore my comments on Jasper's proposal are now twofold:

1 His substitution of the almost ridiculous *immensa urbs* by proposing *immensus orbis* is patently obvious and indisputable. I pointed in my analysis to the

simile using the almost synonymous *gyrus* immediately after. The word *urbs* is about three times more common in Vergil than *orbis*. A misunderstanding of the spoken word or a spelling mistake is what an experienced palaeographer will always have at the back of his mind to reckon with. At *Ecl*. 6. 34 *P*'s first hand has ***ur****bis*; similar examples are found in inscriptions (cf. *TLL* 9,2,906,67ff.).

2 According to the thorough and basic analysis in *TLL* (by K. E. Bohnenkamp) *orbis* should be divided into two main categories (*capita*), the first of which (*TLL* 9,2,907) is subdivided according to the classes *de circulo* and *de globo*. I had regrettably made the mistake to put the restored word into the *Caput alterum* ("de mundo eiusve corporibus, partibus") with its *pars pro toto* group ("usu liberiore vel hyperbolico orbis dicitur de parte pro toto", *TLL* 9,2,916,70ff.) where one eventually meets with examples used of territories and larger areas, partly on the fringe of the Roman world (*TLL* 9,2,78ff.).

I should have chosen, however, the *Caput prius* instead. This category has as its first subcategory *de circulo* mainly corresponding to Greek κύκλος. Here we find examples collected under subheading 2 ("*orbis appellatur potius figura circuli, in quam quae (qui) ducuntur, formantur sim*.") with prepositional expressions like *in orbe(m)* and *per orbem* or just *orbe* (*ad modum, figuram, speciem orbis*). Our (conjectural) expression *furere* (*OLD s.v*. 5 (a) "to rove furiously about") *per orbem* describes an excited and hasty movement taking on a circular form in its development until it returns to its point of departure. The example in Vergil resembling this use is *A*. 8. 673 f. *delphines in orbem/ aequora verrebant*. The best parallel I have found so far is provided by *A*. 11. 694 f. *Orsilochum fugiens* (*sc*. Camilla) *agitata per orbem/ eludit gyro interior sequiturque sequentem* ("fleeing from Orsilochus and chased in a wide circle she dodged him by an inner ring and pursued the pursuer.").

A. 10. 336 (*VERGILIANA* P. 327)

The seven lines 10. 362–368 are syntactically perhaps the most intricate in all Vergil. They will continue inviting Latin scholars to provide new attempts. The latest contribution to it by G. B. Conte (*Critical Notes* p. 51 f.) has not settled the matter for me. My late colleague Knut Kleve convinced me (from his work on a papyrus scrap of Lucretius) that the earliest manuscripts of Vergil would have marked word divisions by raised dots between the words, thus between *aspera* and *quis* in this way: ASPERA · QVIS, which would have prevented any misunderstanding or the sort of alternative word division propounded by Madvig. My hypothesis, then, is that no emendation is needed in line 366.

At parte ex alia, qua saxa rotantia late
impulerat torrens arbustaque diruta ripis,
Arcadas insuetos acies inferre pedestris
ut vidit Pallas Latio dare terga sequaci,
aspera quis natura loci dimittere quando
suasit equos, unum quod rebus restat egenis,
nunc prece, nunc dictis virtutem accendit amaris:

If 366 is a relative clause (with *quīs*) *quando* will be an indefinite adverb (*OLD s.v.* 4) 'at any time', 'at some time or other', 'ever'. In that case, it does not comply with Vergil's normal usage which combines *si quando* a number of times (12 altogether) *G.* 1. 128; 259; 2. 126; 3. 98; 4. 314; 228; *A.* 3. 500; 10. 272; 803; 11, 653; 12. 749; 851. The only parallel I have found is at Livy 36. 2. 5 (the end of a sacred law about the Great Games of 191 B.C.): *Quisquis magistratus eos ludos* ***quando ubique*** *faxit, hi ludi recte facti donaque data recte sunto*. ("Whatever magistrate shall celebrate these games, at whatever time and place, let these games be regarded as duly celebrated and the gifts as duly offered.") This must have been felt as a seldom and archaic usage by Vergil's time. I assume that Ennius had at least one example of the same free *quando*. If the parallel from Livy is valid, line 366 could be rendered: "whom the rough nature of the terrain persuaded *at some time or other* to dismiss their horses". In prose *aliquando* would have been used in a similar case (past tense).

Notes

1 I have removed from my list the conjecture at *G.* 3. 304 (*extremumque* instead of *extremoque*) due to the criticism of Emanuele Berti (2017, 478f.) and at *A.* 4. 224–225 (see later on an argument in favour of Housman's conjecture). I owe also to the same Professor Berti that I have changed my mind concerning *Ecl.* 6. 24 (see later).

2 In a number of cases which seem to testify to scepticism or rejection, no arguments have put forward. If I have nothing to add or detract I do not comment on these.

3 Vergil seems to reflect here Lucretius 6. 189f. ***Contemplator*** *enim,* ***cum*** *montibus adsimulata/ nubile* ***portabunt*** *venti transversa per auras*.

4 My examples from Cicero are taken from J. Lebreton, *Études sur la langue et la grammaire de Cicéron*, Paris: Hachette, 1901, 335.

5 On this verb *OLD* is admittedly much better than Donatus (on Ter. *Eunuchus* 688) who took *viere* as *religare*. It does not help either to point to *nectere* meaning "to make by plaiting" (*OLD s.v.* 1) and compare Vergil's *vincula nectere* (*Ecl.* 6. 23) with *nectere catenas* at Hor. *Carm.* 1. 29. 5 arguing that it would be appropriate for the immortal Silenus to use a synonym of *nectere* (= *viere*) this second time. This way of resolving the issue I have abandoned as well.

6 Cp. *OLD s.v.* necto 3 b.

7 Whereas Williams declares "the innovated shade of meaning is perfectly acceptable", Maclennan (2007) says 'He is waiting around for his city' (much like Austin) and O'Hara (2011) "he is simply "waiting" without object or aim".

8 Horsfall on *Aeneid* 6. p. 585.

9 F. Jasper, "Zu Vergil", *Sokrates. Zeitschrift für das Gymnasialwesen* 33, 1879, 561–574, in particular p. 569. Jasper's proposal is now available on Wikisource *s.v.* "Zeitschrift".

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